ORGANIZATION AND CONTENT OF THE MANDAN FILE

[This File has 10 sources by 8 different authors. Much of the material is from early travelers accounts, (Wied-Nuwied 6, Catlin 7, Henry 10). The first source by Charles DeLand, is a compilation of material taken from early travel accounts. Most of this source has not been categorized since it repeats material in other primary sources also processed. Studies by Lowie (4, 5) and Bowers (2) cover the social organization of the Mandan. Material culture is covered by Will and Spinden (3) as well as by the early travelers. Bruner (8, 9) treats the modern Mandan acculturation process. DeLand is an example of pseudo-scientific writing and speculation about the Mandan. The so called evidence showing the Mandan to be descended from a Welsh prince has not been categorized.

Bowers use of Clan corresponds with the O. C. M. Sib (category 614). His clan is matrilineal, matrilocal, exogamous and does not incorporate the in-marrying spouse. Scattered references to this same unit in other sources have of course, been marked for Sib (category 614) also.]

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ABORIGINES OF SOUTH DAKOTA.

PART II.

The Mandan Indians are the subject of this second part of the treatment of the Aborigines of South Dakota, as were the Aricaras or Rees of Part I. In closing the present paper, however, some recurrence will be had to the Rees in connection with their ancient habitat on the Missouri in South Dakota and further south, as indicated by some evidences which have come to light since the first paper was published.

The Mandan Indians, "People of the Pheasants," or "People of the East," as they have termed themselves, or "Bearded Whites," as they were called by some French Canadians who first heard of and came among them, have been regarded by the explorers and chroniclers who have visited and made a study of them, as aborigines possessing some peculiarities and some excellencies which distinguish them from Indians of America in general to a degree which has aroused special curiosity and unusual speculation as to their ancestry and origin.

Any attempt to trace an Indian tribe back to a basic point at which the beginnings of a race in the human families of remote antiquity are discoverable, inevitably results in mystery or confusion, or both. And while this statement is and must be predicated upon the past in research and the philosophies which have grown up with or out of it, the present seems to promise, in definite results, but little hope of rescuing from the realm of myth the farther ends of the threads of history. Yet we believe the future is not wholly devoid of hope in that direction.

Nor are we able to declare that the foregoing observations do not apply with equal force to the Mandans, as to other Indians of America. But we shall bring into this paper toward its end some narratives, affirmations and some conclusions on the part of

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boine guides; that November 20th he left that village to go 17 leagues, where the meeting place of the Mandans had been chosen, at which point he arrived November 28th; that on the evening of November 30th he continued on toward the first Mandan fort, at about seven leagues from which he lost some papers; that the Indian "orator" there said: "We must leave before four o'clock in the morning in order to arrive early at the fort;" that at noon next day at one and one-half leagues, near a small river (the Mouse?) they rested two hours, where a number of Mandans had come to meet them; that Verendrye was carried thence by the Indians to a point "four acres from the fort," where "the old men" were waiting; that after firing a salute to the fort he marched to and entered it December 3rd, 1738, at four p. m. He had thus spent fifty-two days in going from his "fort" on the Assiniboine to what must have been not far from the neighborhood of Washburn, N. D., 43 miles above Bismarck, or from Coal Harbor, some 25 miles northwest of Washburn, during which journey much time was lost on the detour above mentioned, "so that we took forty-six days to go a distance we should have done easily in sixteen or twenty days at the most." The distance from his fort on the Assiniboine to the first Mandan fort can probably be roughly estimated at about 400 miles by a substantially direct route; and on that basis Verendrye's estimate of sixteen days' travel would be 25 miles per day.

In Neill's account of the Verendrye expedition to the Rocky mountains in 1742 he states that the explorer reached the "country of the Mantanes" by "ascending the Assiniboine, and by the present trail to Mouse river." (Contributions to Historical Society of Montana, Vol. 1, p. 307.) From which it would appear that a thoroughfare overland from the Assiniboine to the Missouri existed anciently as the usual mode of passing over the divide between the basin of Lake Winnepeg and the Missouri valley.

In a note by Neill to the above observation he says:

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"The Mandans, or White Beards, of the Dakotah family are noted for being gray-haired. Sometimes children six years of age have this appearance. They were nearly destroyed by small-pox in 1837, and in 1874 they lived near the Aricaras and Gros Ventres, in the vicinity of Fort Berthold, on the Missouri. For-

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merly all dwelt in mud cabins, surrounded by ditches. A few yet live in dirt lodges." This account was published in 1876. 131

In another note by Neill in connection with his account of Verendrye's expedition to the mountains, and explanatory of the text, it is stated: "Father Coquard, who had been associated with Verendrye, says that they first met the Mantanes, and next the Brochets. After these were the Gros Ventres," etc. His note explains that the Brochets, or Fish tribe, may perhaps be the Assiniboines. That the Gros Ventres "are said to have formerly lived on the Assiniboine and Red rivers." He then quotes from a report made by Governor Ramsey, of Minnesota, made in 1850 to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to this effect: "The chief of the Red Lake Chippewas of Minnesota some years ago met a village of Gros Ventres toward the sources of the Missouri. They learned that the smoke of the Gros Ventres lodges once arose at Sandy Lake, and that they had a large village of earthen houses at mouth of the Savanna river, which empties into the St. Louis." This would indicate that the Gros Ventres once inhabited the country bordering on the west end of Lake Superior, and by comparing what is said in these Neill notes concerning their residence on the Red and Assiniboine, with the reference to their habitat near the St. Louis river, we may find warrant for observing that the traditions about the Mandans having lived northward and eastward of the Missouri river country, where they were first found by white men, may really have become confused with the Gros Ventres traditions—the latter having joined the Mandans prior to white exploration of those regions. 101 174

Then Neill in his account of the Verendrye expedition of 1742 thus refers to Bougainville's version of that expedition and the route taken by quoting him as follows: "He went from Fort La Reine to the Missouri. He met, on the banks of this river, the Mandans, or White Beards, who had seven villages, with fine stockades, strengthened by a ditch. Next to these were the Kinongewiniris, or the Brochets (Assiniboines), in three villages; and toward the upper part of the river were three villages of the Mahantas." These Mahantas were by Neill understood as being the Mahas, or Omahas. And Bougainville adds, after referring to the Mahantas: "All along to the north of the Wabiek or Shell river were situated twenty-three villages of the Panis." Neill in his note says this: "Shell" may mean the Musselshell river

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131 of modern maps. He then says regarding the Panis: "The
●101 Pawnees on De L'Isle's map, are marked on the Missouri, and
174 on Panis, now Platte river. Jeffreys on his map marks a tribe west of Lake Winnipeg, called 'Cris Panis Blanc.' Drake speaks of White Pawnees, Freckled Pawnees and Pawnees of the Platte. They now number about eighteen hundred and dwell on a reservation on a branch of the Platte in Nebraska." (They had gone south from that reservation at or about the time of publication of Neill's account—1876).

From Bougainville's account Neill finds him stating: "Opposite the Mandans are the Ospekakaernousques, or Flatheads, four villages; opposite the Panis are the Arcs, or Knisteneaux, and Utasiaoutchactas, or Assiniboel, three villages." (Id., pp. 312-13-14.)

The summary of evidences as to the course pursued by La Verendrye on his expedition to the mountains in 1742-3, as found in the said Historical Society Contributions, is as follows as regards the Mandans:

"Starting from Fort La Reine, on the Assiniboine river, they went up the Mouse river in a southerly direction, and then crossed over to the Missouri a little below where is now Fort Berthold. They then ascended the Missouri," etc. (Id., p. 316.)

From Bougainville's Memoirs on the State of New France, 1757, the following extract is taken and published by Brower in his "Missouri River:"

"Voyage de la Verendrye. The one who most forwarded this discovery is the Sieur de la Verenderie; from the Fort de la Reine he reached the Missouri; he met first of all upon this river the Mandannes or Blancs Barbus (Bearded Whites) to the number of seven villages fortified by terraced stockades with a ditch; next the Kinongewiniris, or the Brochets (Pikes, i. e., fish) to the number of three villages; in the upper part of the river he found the Mahantas making also three villages; and along the Missouri, in descending it to the mouth of the river Wabiek, or Shell (Coquille) twenty-three villages of Panis." (P. 65.) "Opposite the Panis are the Gens de l'Arc (People of the Bow), Atchapeivinioques in Cristinaux and Utasibaoutchactas in Assibinboels, three villages." (Id. p. 65.)

131 **Where Lewis and Clarke Found Them.** Lewis and Clarke, in
174 their expedition of 1804, are the first visitors to the Mandan vil-

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his drawings of the lodges of the Aricaras at their village near the mouth of Grand river, and which he merely passed by on the river when he visited the Mandans in 1833, in which connection he states that the lodges of both of those tribes were substantially identical in form and general construction, which is true. His point of observation having been the deck of the steamer, which in its progress up or down the river was, of course, at some distance from the Aricara village which he sketched, he failed to observe that the outer surface of the lodge, below the line where the lower part of the roof joined the sides, was not a curved surface, nor in strictly circular form, but that it was formed of many planes, each of which stood at an angle with the two others joining it, and that instead of the floor surface of the lodge being a circle it was in the form of an ellipse. He also considerably overestimated the height of the lodge in his drawings. These defects in his observations have been remarked upon by many subsequent writers and by some whose personal observations of both Mandan and Aricara lodges enable them to speak with authority. This point will be brought out in some quotations from later observers found in this paper. He also wholly failed to observe another vital feature of the Mandan lodges, and which it is somewhat strange that he overlooked, viz., the covered entrance to the lodge, some ten feet long by about four feet wide and some seven feet high. 342

Nor will we dwell longer upon any phase of the Mandans by way of preliminary, but will proceed now to bring into the account a few quotations embodying the conclusions of some of the authoritative publications upon the Mandans, followed by the narratives of the various visitors and observers already referred to, in chronological order, with occasional comments by the way. 000

From the "Handbook of American Indians," published by the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1907, we glean the following:

Mandan. A Siouan Tribe of the Northwest. The name, according to Maximilian, originally given by the Sioux, is believed by Matthews to be a corruption of the Dakota Mawatani. Previous to 1830 they called themselves simply Numakiki, "people" (Matthews). Maximilian says: "If they wish to particularize their descent they add the name of the village whence they came originally." 101

Hayden gives Miahtanes, "people on the bank," as the name

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101 they apply to themselves, and draws from this the inference that "they must have resided on the banks of the Missouri in a very remote period." According to Morgan (Syst. Consang. and Affin., 285), the native name of the tribe is Metootahak, "South Villagers." Their relations so far as known historically and traditionally have been most intimate with the Hidatsa; yet, judged by the linguistic test, their position must be nearer the Winnebago. Matthews appears to consider the Hidatsa and Mandan descendants from the same immediate stem. Their traditions regarding their early history are scant and almost entirely mythological. All that can be gathered from them is the indication that at some time they lived in a more easterly locality in the vicinity of a lake. This tradition, often repeated by subsequent authors, is given by Lewis and Clarke.

These references to the east and south in the Mandan traditions are encountered by those who have been among them, and they are to be found in narratives based upon the authorities or upon the personal experiences of visitors, who are quoted by some who have heard the accounts from them; and it will be seen in what follows from "Indian Sign Language," by W. P. Clark (Phila., L. R. Hamersly & Co., 1885) that according to one of his authorities the reference to "people of the east" is interpreted to mean "the position they first occupied in the village." This is in keeping with a similar reference to one of the Dakota tribes—the Ihanktonwans, or Yanktons, meaning "village at the end," and of the Ihanktonwannas, or Yanktonais, meaning the "end village." All of which tends to indicate that not the American continent, but mere location in a group of Indian villages, may account for some legend-phrases supposed by many to prove a habitat in some remote part of North America. It will be seen also that Clark brings in some evidences of habitation of the Mandans to northward of the upper Missouri. We quote his summary on the Mandans, to-wit:

304 **Tribal Sign—Tattooing.** Mandan. Conception: Tattooing chin and lower sides of the face. These Indians are usually indicated by the same sign as that made for the Arickarees; but the proper tribal sign is to partially compress the right hand, bring tip of thumb near tips of fingers and tap the chin and lower part of the face several times with tips of the thumb and fingers. "I was told by Mr. Girard that tattooing was practiced when he

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

167 smallpox in 1837, after which, for a time, they occupied only one village. In 1845, when the Hidatsa moved away from Knife river, some of the Mandans went with them, and others followed at different times afterwards. For a short time, it appears that a few Mandan families occupied the old Amahami village. We have an account of some moving up to the village at Fort Berthold as late as 1858, and of others still remaining at the mouth of Knife river at the same time.

101 "The word Mandan seems to be a corruption of the Dakota name Matani or Mawatani. Previous to 1837, they called themselves simply Numakaki, i. e., People, Men. They sometimes spoke of themselves and the Minnetarees together as Nuweta, **Ourselves.** A large band of their tribe was called Siposka-Numakaki, **Prairie-Hen People,** or Grouse Men. This name, Mr. Catlin, in his first work, renders, 'People of the Pheasants,' and in his last work, presents in the shape of 'Nu-mah-ka-kee (pheasants),' and then, from this translation, leaves us to draw the 'important inference' that the Mandans once lived in the Ohio valley. They now often call themselves Metutahanke, after their old village below Knife river." (p. 13[illegible])

114 Matthews, in mentioning the earlier visitors of the Mandans, speaks in high commendation of the accounts of Maximilian:

Tribute to Maximilian. "Captains Lewis and Clarke, Mr. Catline, the Prince of Neuwied, and Dr. Hayden have written very full accounts of this tribe, and all but the first named explorers present vocabularies of their language. The work of Prince Maximilian contains the most accurate and extensive information regarding their customs and manners. Notwithstanding the great changes in the tribe since 1834, the majority of his notes might be used without alteration in describing the Mandans of today. In a few cases, however, I believe that the deductions which he drew from his observations were incorrect." (p. 14-15.)

Population—Official Reports—Errors. "The population of the
161 village is not known. It is said that the inhabitants of some of the old villages allowed a census to be taken immediately before the epidemic which proved so fatal to them. They believed that their calamity resulted from the census, and have since resisted all efforts to ascertain their numbers. Many ingenious plans have been devised for counting them without their knowledge, but

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for two small villages to combine in one at the new location. Owing to the immense difficulty of cutting timbers with their crude stone axes, in making these changes of residence they undoubtedly carried with them the timbers of the abandoned huts and used them in rebuilding, wherever possible. The Indians left Knife river because of the scarcity of timber and the attacks of the Sioux. When the trading post of Fort Berthold—so called in honor of Bartholomew Berthold, a fur trader of St. Louis—was established, about 1844 or 1845, the Indians 'drew the logs (of which it was built) with lariats of rawhide over their shoulders.'" (p. 223.)

Lodge Ruins. "The dirt mounds, ruins of their former homes, have often been mistaken for the ancient burial grounds of these tribes, which is not surprising unless one has studied the history of this interesting people. About ten miles above Bismarck one of the best of these collections of mounds is found, on a bluff overlooking one of the most beautiful stretches of the Missouri, just below Square Butte. There are eighteen or twenty of the mounds, most of them well-defined, and generally more or less circular in their form. They form a semi-circle arc, with the river as a chord, and are now more or less merged together into an irregular ridge. These mounds have been dug over and over, yet I was able to find among them many shards and arrow-points and knives when I visted them." (pp. 5-6.)

Lower Village. "The Mandans call themselves Metutahanke, **the Lower Village,** as Dr. Matthews gives it, or Miti-Untanhanke, **the Village on the East,** as it was given to, and partially written for me by Mrs. Baker, both referring to the same village, the one called Ma-too-ton-ha by Lewis and Clarke. Maximilian calls this village Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, and these different readings of the same word well indicate the difficulties experienced in obtaining correct Indian vocabularies."

Farmers. "These people have always been farmers, and both men and women have for years, now, shared the labors of the field. In early days they raised corn, tobacco, squashes, beans, the wild sunflower, etc., and now they grow, in addition, potatoes, turnips, and various vegetables. The Aricaree seem to be the best farmers. Each tribe now raises cattle and horses, but they do not seem to grasp the idea that cattle raising, if attended to

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

INTRODUCTION

THE Mandan are a small Siouan-speaking tribe who in 1910 numbered 197, according to the government census. In 1929 the writer collected data on lodge groups at Fishhook Village for the period 1870–72 from the information of a number of older Mandan and found that they considered forty-three households with a population of three hundred and nineteen as Mandan. Of this number, some of the individuals were Arikara, Hidatsa, and even Crow. Nevertheless, the household was considered to be Mandan because of the participation of the individuals of the household in the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan.

This study of the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan was made during a six-month visit to the Fort Berthold Reservation in 1930 and 1931. The census of lodge groups at the last village of Fishhook for both the Mandan and the Hidatsa was prepared from the data supplied by several of the older informants. Pertinent information on sacred bundles owned and offices filled by the various individuals was recorded. Genealogies were prepared from the data obtained from the census and the inheritance of bundle and other ceremonial rights. This preliminary study, made by the writer in 1929 for Beloit College and under the immediate supervision of Dr. George L. Collie, indicated that much of the aboriginal culture could be reconstructed. The Logan Museum of Beloit College conducted archeological studies of documented Mandan village sites during the period when this study was made, and native informants were especially helpful in identifying numerous traditional sites and interpreting archeological data.

While preparing the census and genealogies of the Mandan, no especial effort was made to record sacred rites. Informants offered little resistance to the recording of data on the possession of these bundles or the order of their inheritance. When the recording of the sacred myths and rites was undertaken, the writer was acquainted with all his informants. Tom Smith, who

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

172 other than the Awatixa site at the mouth of Knife River show
171 long occupation; this substantiates native traditions that the
174 Awatixa lived longest on the Missouri and that the Hidatsa and Awaxawi were last to arrive.

The archeological evidence collaborates traditions of both the
174 Mandan and the Hidatsa groups relative to migrations and pe-
101 riod of residence on the Missouri. The Mandan were first to move onto the Missouri and establish villages. On this earliest cultural horizon, those farthest north had rectangular semi-subterranean lodges and pottery that was decorated with impressed cord. The southern groups built small circular earth lodges; their pottery was lighter in color and was decorated predominantly with incised bodies and rims. As the southern groups moved northward to join the northern groups, each group borrowed from the other. The northern groups adopted the circular earth lodge and incised pottery, while the southern groups adopted the open circle, rectangular lodge for ceremonial purposes, and pottery with cord-impressed decorations and grooved-paddle impressed bodies. By A.D. 1600 the entire Mandan population was living at or above the Heart River, having abandoned the Missouri to the south to the nomadic groups.

During the century 1600–1700, group after group of Hidatsa and Crow moved westward and occupied sections of the Missouri and its tributaries. According to native traditions, which can be verified by the depth of refuse accumulation at Awatixa village site at the mouth of Knife River, this village group was first to reach the Missouri. At this time the Awatixa were united with the Crow, who separated at the Missouri, those who remained agricultural and settled at the mouth of Knife River being known as the Awatixa and the nomadic group who moved westward onto the Little Missouri being known as Crow. This migration was followed by the Awaxawi a short time later. They came as agriculturalists and settled below the mouth of Knife River at Painted Woods, where the southern Mandan had built after leaving the Grand River. The last migration of Hidatsa and Crow followed a number of years later. According to the traditions of both the Mandan and the Hidatsa groups, this last migration was of a nomadic peoples who had lived northeastward of Devils Lake. This group occupied the territory up-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

stream from the Knife River, where they separated after quarreling over the division of a buffalo. Those who moved farther upstream along the Missouri and Yellowstone became the "Paunch" Indians, while those who remained near the other Hidatsa villages were known as the Hidatsa.

By 1700 the entire section of the Missouri from the Cannonball to the mouth of the Yellowstone was occupied by groups of Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow of the "Paunch" band. The greatest concentration of villages was near the mouth of Heart River. These large earth-lodge villages were occupied by Mandan of the Nuptadi and Nuitadi bands and were situated on both banks of the Missouri. Agriculture was intensively practiced by these groups. Farther upstream at the Painted Woods, the Awigaxa band of Mandan and the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa had villages. The Awatixa band of Hidatsa were on the south bank of Knife River. Agriculture was practiced by all these groups. North of Knife River were the less agricultural Hidatsa, who sometimes came to the north bank of Knife River to occupy their large earth-lodge village and to plant corn. Generally they were farther upstream, on the Mouse River, or in the Turtle Mountains, living as nomadic hunters. Immediately to the west of the more nomadic Hidatsa were the nomadic Crow. These groups had prescribed territories and lived peacefully together so long as one group did not infringe on the territorial rights of the others. These groups moved little until the close of the eighteenth century, when the aboriginal population was sharply reduced by smallpox and other epidemics. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the region below the Cannonball was occupied by nomadic groups who were in part replaced by the Arikara after 1725 when they began their northward migration which did not terminate until 1862, at which time they united with the survivors of the Mandan and Hidatsa villages at Fishhook Village.

In another report the writer has analyzed the ceremonial organizations of the various village groups of Mandan and Hidatsa, using genealogies, historic accounts of travelers, and native traditions and has shown that two distinct inheritance patterns existed: (1) the Mandan pattern of inheritance of principal bundles and rites within the clan and (2) the Hidatsa and

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

According to Calf-woman, the Prairie-chicken clan is the most important on the Reservation. This is consistent with Mr. Curtis's data, according to which the larger moiety bears the name of this clan, corresponding preëminence being assigned to the tamī'sik in the Three-clan moiety. It should be noted that the Prairie-chicken clan is the only one common to the Hidatsa and Mandan series. 614 [171]

Calf-woman's ō'rɛ' 'kūpa (nitɛ) was given by Turtle-woman not as the designation of a clan but of all the seven clans jointly in addressing the entire tribe. [101]

Mr. Curtis states that the marriage of fellow-clansmen was considered improper and publicly ridiculed, but according to my witnesses this rule has long ceased to be absolute. Thus, Calf-woman declared that sometimes people married within their own clan, though there were some who regarded this as wrong; and Two-chiefs, a maxi' 'kina married to a xtaxta', cited the case of her husband's mother who had married another xtaxta', not related by blood. 582 178 614

Kinship Terms.

A brief but in most respects accurate statement as to Mandan kinship nomenclature is made by Maximilian.[1] Recently Mr. Curtis has summarily characterised the Mandan terminology as largely influenced by the clan factor, the father's brother and his clansmen being classed with the father, the father's clanswomen with the father's sister, all mates in one's clan with brothers and all females as mothers.[2] This statement is undoubtedly in large measure correct, but, the last part is manifestly not to be taken literally since the mother's mother and her generation and the sisters are certainly not called "mother." Morgan already had to contend with the difficulty of finding interpreters fully conversant with Mandan and offers an avowedly imperfect list. So far as essentials are concerned, he correctly characterises the system as of the usual classificatory type. The most important deviation from the norm mentioned in his résumé consists in the classification of the father's sister with the mother in feminine parlance, a distinctive word for paternal aunt being used only by males.[3] My data yield no confirmation of this peculiarity. A remarkable feature found by Morgan among the Hidatsa and Crow but not noted by him among the Mandan, though recorded both by Mr. Curtis and myself, is the confusion of generations in the designation of the father's sister's female descendants 601 601 171 177

[1] Maximilian, II, 122, 543.
[2] Curtis, V, 145.
[3] Morgan, (a), 184.

CHAPTER XXV.

ACCOUNT OF THE MANDAN INDIANS.

000 In communicating the information contained in the following chapters, in which I mean to treat especially of some tribes of the aborigines of North America, I shall take it for granted that the reader is acquainted with the interesting and important particulars which have been given us by Messrs. Edwin James, T. Say, and Schoolcraft. Dr. E. James speaks especially of the origin of the North American Indians, of their near affinity to each other; of the recently broached hypothesis of their descent from the Israelites, which he proves to be groundless, and which is contradicted by the bodily conformation of the Indians, and also of the injudicious and unjust treatment which they suffer from the Anglo-Americans. According to him many of the Indian nations would long since have been converted to the Christian religion, and have settled in fixed abodes, like the Cherokees, &c., if the earlier missionaries had better understood the work on which they were sent. It is notorious that this subject was treated, in early times, with the most unwarrantable want of discretion, and positive ignorance; that the greatest injustice was exercised towards the Indian population, and that, even now, wrongs untold are heaped on this much to-be pitied and oppressed race. A large portion of those nations has entirely disappeared, and the accounts which have been preserved of them are extremely imperfect; others are expelled from their native seats, mixed together in small fragments of various tribes, half degenerated, and consequently now affording but little that can interest the inquirer. Such were the Indians whom Volney saw: only to the west and north-west of the Mississippi may the Indians be yet found in their original state. Before, however, I speak of them in general, I will describe more in detail a small tribe which has hitherto been very imperfectly known.

101 The Mandans (called by the Canadians, les Mandals), by which name these Indians are generally known, though it was originally given them by the Sioux, were formerly a numerous people, who, according to the narrative of an aged man, lately deceased, inhabited thirteen, and

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NO17 Mandan NO17

perhaps more, villages. They call themselves Numangkake (*i. e.*, men), and if they wish to particularise their descent, they add the name of the village whence they came originally. Some, for instance, call themselves Sipuske-Numangkake, the men of the pheasant or prairie hens, from the village Sipuska-Mihte, pheasant village; others, Mato-Numangkake, the men of the bear, from the village Mato-Mihte, bear village, &c. &c. Another general name of this people is Mahna-Narra, the sulky, because they separated from the rest of their nation, and went higher up the Missouri.

The early history of the Mandans is involved in obscurity; their own traditions and legends will be discussed in the sequel, when treating on their religious ideas. They affirm that they descend originally from the more eastern nations, near the sea-coast.* Though the above-named villages do not all exist at this time, these Indians still call themselves by their several names. They formerly dwelt near the Heart River: when Charbonneau arrived here at the end of the last century, the two Mandan villages, which are still standing, were about six or eight miles further down the Missouri. The small-pox and the assaults of their enemies have so reduced this people, that the whole number now reside in two villages, in the vicinity of Fort Clarke. These two villages are Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush (the southern village), about 300 paces above Fort Clarke, and on the same side of the river, and Ruhptare,† about three miles higher up, likewise on the same bank. The first had, at the time of our visit, sixty-five huts, and contained about 150 warriors; the other, thirty-eight huts and eighty-three warriors. According to this, the tribe had not more than 230 or 240 warriors; and, on the whole, scarcely 900 or 1000 souls; Dr.

* Warden is mistaken when he says (Vol. III. p. 559), that the Mandans are descended from the Crows; for this is applicable to the Maniaries, of whom we shall speak afterward.

† Lewis and Clarke write this name Roeptahee, which is incorrect. (See Account of their Journey, Vol. I. p. 120.) These celebrated travellers passed the winter among the Mandans, and give many particulars respecting them, which, on the whole, are correct; but their proper names and words from the Mandan and Manitari languages are, in general, inaccurately understood and written. It is said, they derived their information from a person named Jessiaume, who spoke the language very imperfectly, as we were assured everywhere on the Missouri. Of this kind are many of the names mentioned by these travellers, which neither the Indians nor the Whites were able to understand; for instance, Ahnahoways (Vol. I. p. 115), a people who are said to have formerly dwelt between the Mandans and the Manitaries; Shewine Mahawha, where the Arwacahwas lived (*ibid.*); the fourth village is said to have been called Metaharta, and to have been inhabited by Manitaries (*ibid.*); of all these names, except, perhaps, Mahawha, which ought probably to be Machahe, nobody could give us the slightest information, not even Charbonneau, though he has lived here so many years. It is necessary to be much on your guard against bad interpreters, and I acted in this respect with much caution. All the information given by me, respecting Indian words and names, was carefully written down from the statements of sensible, well-informed men of these nations. I have endeavoured to write down their language exactly, according to its real pronunciation, in doing which, the German guttural sounds were of great assistance to me, as it is that of the Missouri Indians. Mr. Kipp and Charbonneau, with some others who have lived long among these Indians, daily assisted me, during a long winter, with much patience and kindness, in this work.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LETTER—No. 11.

MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

000 I SAID that I was here in the midst of a strange people, which is literally true; and I find myself surrounded by subjects and scenes worthy the pens of Irving or Cooper—of the pencils of Raphael or Hogarth; rich in legends and romances, which would require no aid of the imagination for a book or a picture.

101 The Mandans (or See-pohs-kah-nu-mah-kah-kee, "people of the pheasants," as they call themselves), are perhaps one of the most ancient tribes o. Indians in our country. Their origin, like that of all the other tribes is from necessity, involved in mystery and obscurity. Their traditions and peculiarities I shall casually recite in this or future epistles; which when understood, will at once, I think, denominate them a peculiar and distinct race. They take great pride in relating their traditions, with regard to their origin; contending that they were the *first* people created on earth. Their existence in these regions has not been from a very ancient period; and, from what I could learn of their traditions, they have, at a former period, been a very numerous and powerful nation; but by the continual wars which have existed between them and their neighbours, they have been reduced to their present numbers.

This tribe is at present located on the west bank of the Missouri, about 1800 miles above St. Louis, and 200 below the Mouth of Yellow Stone river. They have two villages only, which are about two miles distant from each other; and number in all (as near as I can learn), about 2000 souls. Their present villages are beautifully located, and judiciously also, for defence against the assaults of their enemies. The site of the lower (or principal) town, in particular (PLATE 45), is one of the most beautiful and pleasing that can be seen in the world, and even more beautiful than imagination could ever create. In the very midst of an extensive valley (embraced within a thousand graceful swells and parapets or mounds of interminable green, changing to blue, as they vanish in distance) is built the city, or principal town of the Mandans. On an extensive plain (which is covered with a green turf, as well as the hills and dales, as far as the eye can possibly range, without tree or bush to be seen) are to be seen rising from the ground, and towards the heavens, domes—(not "of gold," but)

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8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Two Processes of Change in Mandan-Hidatsa Kinship Terminology *

EDWARD M. BRUNER
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INTRODUCTION

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WE ALREADY have some understanding of the progressive stages in the breakdown of a Crow type kinship system under conditions of social change (Spoehr 1947; Eggan 1950), but we lack sufficient information on the actual processes and interactions involved in the shift from one basic kinship type to another. This paper deals with processes of kinship change in one village of Mandan-Hidatsa Indians living on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

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The Mandan and Hidatsa are both small Siouan-speaking tribes with a long history of residence in the Missouri River Valley. Although the Mandan and Hidatsa had different origins, spoke mutually unintelligible languages, and lived in separate villages, they have been in intimate and peaceful association for over two hundred years, with constant cultural borrowings and intermarriage. For the problem to be dealt with here, we may consider the two tribes as one.

Both groups were part of the Prairie earth lodge complex, which included the Chiwere and Dhegiha Sioux and the Caddoan tribes and covered the area encompassed by the Arkansas and Missouri River valleys. A dual subsistence economy of agriculture and hunting was adjusted to an abundant ecological setting in the fertile creek and river bottom lands. Each tribe was composed of a number of independent villages integrated by social and ceremonial ties. The characteristic dwelling was the earth lodge, occupied by matrilocal extended families. The social structure of the Mandan-Hidatsa included a clan and moiety system, matrilineal lineages, an elaborate set of societies, and a Crow type kinship system.

In the early nineteenth century, the two tribes were severely reduced in population by a series of smallpox epidemics. By 1862, the remnants of the Mandan-Hidatsa had consolidated with the Arikara in one village for mutual defense against hostile nomads. With the Indian Bureau allotment program in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the people of the village were scattered into a number of separate and smaller communities on the Fort Berthold Reservation. A group of Mandan and Hidatsa families established

* An abbreviated version of this paper was read at the 52nd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association held at Tucson, Arizona, Dec. 28–30, 1953. I am indebted to the Social Science Research Council and the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago for financial support of field work. Fred Eggan and others have kindly read this paper and have made suggestions for its improvement.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

themselves in one of these communities located on an isolated segment of the reservation between the Missouri and the Little Missouri rivers. The village is called Lone Hill by the Indian people. In 1951, Lone Hill had a total Indian population of 267 individuals forming 48 nuclear families. 101 175 [16]

THE PROBLEM

In the summer of 1951 and continuing in 1952–53, I studied social and cultural change in Lone Hill village. Starting with an investigation of kinship using the genealogical method I obtained kinship schedules essentially similar to those reported by Morgan (1871:291–382), Lowie (1917), and Bowers (1950, ms.) as characterizing the traditional Crow lineage system. It became apparent that for some members of Lone Hill, both old and young, the terminological system had not changed. While the majority of the schedules gathered in the village represented the Crow lineage system, this was not so for every case. A number of schedules were obtained with English terms and were directly comparable to the American type of system. Thus, within one community, I obtained two kinds of kinship patterns, the first aboriginal Indian and the second modern near-white. 121 601

This extreme variation is not too surprising if one considers previous work on kinship change in other American Indian tribes which have had a comparable Crow lineage system. Spoehr (1947), comparing related tribes within the Southeastern area, found direct evidence of a complete series from a pure Crow type to a variant of an American generational system with intermediate forms showing a regular pattern of change. The Schmitts (n.d.), within one community of Wichita, found variations in kinship terminology which fitted into the latter part of Spoehr's more complete series. The direction of the Wichita data tends to validate Spoehr's conclusions—when a Crow system changes under modern acculturative influence, there is an increasing patrilineal emphasis, a shift from a lineal to a generational pattern in classification, and a diminishing importance of kinship in regulating social life.

The point to be stressed here is that the terminological systems gathered among the Indian people of Lone Hill village were either pure Crow or white generation types—both extremes without the intermediate variations. While a generational type kinship system is found among the Mandan-Hidatsa and in the cases reported upon by Spoehr and the Schmitts, the absence of intermediate variations in Lone Hill suggests a significant difference in the kind of acculturation taking place. This difference may be clarified by a description of the types of terminological systems found in Lone Hill, followed by an analysis of the mechanisms of kinship change.

THE KINSHIP PATTERNS

Of the two terminological kinship patterns found in Lone Hill, the pure Crow type remains the operating functional system for the majority of the people of the village. Figure 1 is a diagram of the system in the Hidatsa language with English equivalents. The orthography follows Bowers (ms.). 601

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Primary Group Experience and the Processes of Acculturation[1]

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INTRODUCTION

101 121 THE problem of this paper is to explain why some members of the Mandan-Hidatsa village of Lone Hill[2] become more acculturated than others. Our particular thesis is that the differences in degree of acculturation found among the Indian people are in large measure a product of early experience in the intimate family group, and the cultural orientation of their parents or their surrogates.

177 121 There are striking differences in extent of acculturation in Lone Hill. They are manifest in type of home, education, subsistence, speech, and manner, and would be readily apparent even to the most casual observer. In a previous paper it has been shown that some families in Lone Hill follow the Crow lineage kinship system and Indian values while others have adopted the American kinship and value systems (Bruner 1955). A former superintendent of the Agency, who is also a trained social scientist, has written, " . . . there is at Fort Berthold every degree of acculturation, from the family living on the reservation in the hoe culture age of the original village life to a few well-to-do ranchers with nearly every modern convenience in their homes" (Riefel 1952:125). Our purpose in this paper is not to describe these differences in acculturation in any detail, nor is it to correlate them with a check list of unweighted factors; it is rather to delineate the process by which they arise in the family situation and to analyze the larger social context in which they occur.

HISTORY AND METHOD

Any study of acculturation is facilitated to the extent that a means can be established to control comparisons (Eggan 1954); in this paper the control stems from comparison of group differences within one village (cf. Spindler 1955; Rapoport 1954). The criteria for segmenting the population according to degree of acculturation will be based upon differential participation in contemporary reservation culture and not upon the presence or absence of aboriginal Indian or white traits. The people of Lone Hill live in a culture that has emerged from the aboriginal culture of their ancestors and has borrowed from local white, mass American, and pan-Indian cultures.

177 175 The Upper Missouri River Valley was the scene of turbulent changes during the past 200 years. Within this period the horse was introduced, many white men came and with them trade, numerous manufactured goods, devastating plagues of smallpox, the arrival of white homesteaders, the development of surrounding towns, and deliberate attempts by missionaries and other members of a superordinate majority to change a subordinate Indian minority, including the efforts of the military and of the Indian Bureau. An

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

177 selves, their children, and their culture. The presence of the American gener tional kinship system and other cultural changes in Lone Hill (Bruner 1955 were the result of conscious efforts by individuals to bring about these change through their children.

3. The remaining ten families have had a white model; three follow th unacculturated life pattern, and seven marginal families periodically shif their residence from Indian to white society. The marginal families are b cultural; they have a dual model of the universe situationally defined.

Given the total situation as it exists in Lone Hill, early experience in th nuclear family is decisive in the acculturative process. We may even hazar the guess that unless there is a major change in the total milieu, acculturatio in Lone Hill will continue to be dependent upon social learning in small famil groups.

NOTES

000 [1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 53rd meeting of the American Anthro pological Association held in Detroit, December, 1954. The Department of Anthropology of th University of Chicago and a Social Science Research Council pre-doctoral fellowship provide financial support for field work. Elaine-Carol Bruner, Donald T. Campbell, Dorothy Eggan Fred Eggan, Omar K. Moore, George P. Murdock, Robert Redfield, Sol Tax, Sherry Washburn and especially two fellow fieldworkers, Robert Merrill and Robert Reitz, have generously offere suggestions at various stages of this work. Their cumulative aid has indeed been considerable.

101 [2] Lone Hill is the Indian name for the community. Names of all informants mentioned in thi paper are pseudonyms.

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10: Neill H-4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LIFE AMONG THE MANDANS AND GROS VENTRES EIGHTY YEARS AGO.

AS DESCRIBED BY A PARTNER OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY.

101 175 The Mandans were unknown to white men, until they were visited by the Sons of Sieur Veranderie, who reached the Missouri, by way of the Mouse river, and, in January, 1743, discovered the Rocky mountains. The Jesuit Coquard, who had accompanied the Veranderies in some of their expeditions, writes that they first met the Mantanes, and next the Brochets. After these, were the Gros Ventres, the Crows, the Flat Heads, the Black Feet and Dog Feet, who were established on the Missouri, even up to the Falls, and about thirty leagues beyond they found a narrow pass in the mountains.

114 After the organization of the North-west Company of Montreal, English traders came from the Assinaboine river, to trade with the tribes of the Missouri. The compiler of this article has in his possession a copy of the unpublished journal of Alexander Henry, a partner of the North-west Company, which contains the following account of what he knows of the condition, position and customs of the Mandans at the beginning of the present century, and extracts from which are worthy of preservation for the use of the antiquarian and ethnologist.

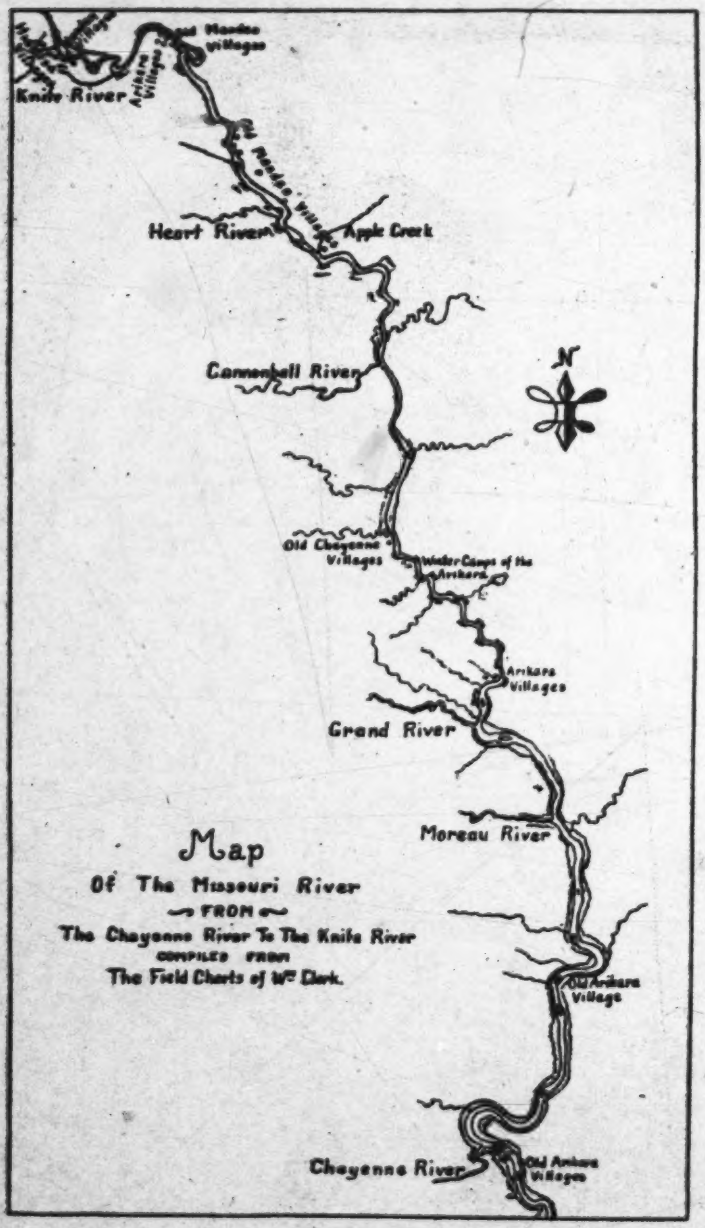
On the 7th of July, 1806, Henry left the post of the North-west Company at the junction of the Pembina with the Red River of the North, and on the 12th he arrived at the establishments of Riviere la Souris (Mouse river), on the south side of the Assinaboine river. A Hudson Bay Company post was on the north side, where a North-west Company post was once situated. He found the Hudson Bay Company's people very busy in making hair lines which are used to fetter horses. He writes: "The hair which they commonly make use of, is that which the buffalo has between the horns, which is sometimes upward of a foot long. They also make use of the horse hair for that purpose, which is much stronger."

The post near the Mouse River of the North West Company was in charge of F. A. LaRocque. On Monday the 14th of July the expedition left for the Missouri, consisting of Henry, Allan McDonald, T. Viandvia, Joseph Du Charme, and Hugh McCracken, * the guide an old Irishman who had once been a soldier in the British artillery. McCracken was the per-

* Lewis and Clarke found McCracken in 1804 at the Mandan Village where they wintered. In an account of their expedition published in *Harper's Family Library*, vol. 1, page 125, under date of November 1, 1804, is the following: "Mr. McCracken the trader whom we found here set out to-day on his return to the British fort and factory on the Assiniboin River, about one hundred and fifty miles from this place."

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

•102



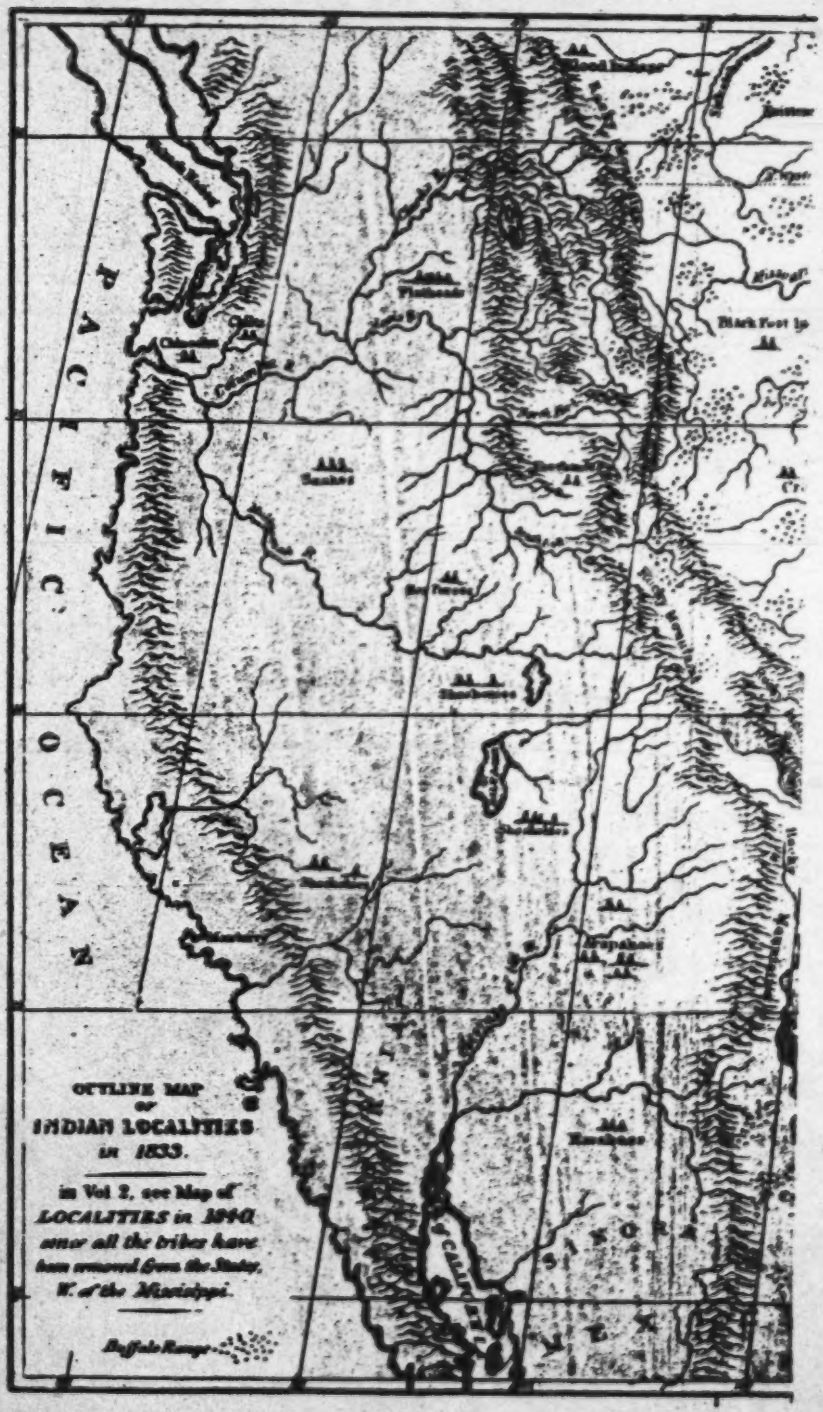
MAP. 1. THE MIDDLE MISSOURI.

[Facing p. 85]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857

NQ17 Mandan NQ17

• 102



[page p. 1 (A)]

7: Catlin R, E-5 ([illegible]0) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

• 102

[face p. 1 (B)]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

• 102

[face p. 1 (C)]

104

104 GLOSSARY--definitions of native terms frequently used in the sources; orthographies and transliteration systems. See also:

Word lists and vocabulary. 192

I. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS.

	Mandan	Hidatsa	Crow	Dakota	Iowa	Catawba
I	miona	miki	bi	miye	meae	diyi
thou	niona	diki	di	niye	deae	yiye
he	iona	iki	i	iye	aeae	owa
we	nuona	midoki	birud	unkiye-pi	heae	hiha
you	niaona	didoki	dirud	niye-pi	dewe	wiwa
they	iaona	hidoki	irud	iye-pi	aeae	owa

II. SUBJECTIVE INCORPORATED PRONOUNS.

	Mandan	Hidatsa	Crow	Dakota	Iowa	Omaha	Winnebago	Catawba
I	wa-	ma-	b-	wa-	ha-	wi-	ne-	di- de- or mi-
thou	θa or da-	da-	d-	ya-	ra-	thi-	neninenu	yi- or ye-
he	i-	—	i-	—	ae-	e-	e-	owa- or oa-
we (dual)	nunompca-	—	—	u"	—	—	—	napri
we	nu-	ma-	bu-	un-pi	he-	ungu-	newankerina-	hi- or ha-
you	niaθa-	da-	du-	ya-pi	de	thi-	—	wi-
they	ia-	—	i-	-pi	ae-	e-	—	oa-

III. CONJUGATION OF TO EAT.

	Mandan	Hidatsa	Crow	Dakota	Winnebago
Root	rut	dut	duc	yut	rut
I eat	wawarutoc	muti (ts)	babuce	mata	wahatcona
thou eatest	θawarutoc	duti (ts)	baduce	yata	waratcona
he eats	ihwarutoc	duti (ts)	ibaduce	yuta	ewarutcona
we eat	nuwarutoc	muti (ts)	———	u"tapi	hewarutcuwinu
you eat	niawarutoc	duti (ts)	———	yatapi	anatcwaratciwise
they eat	iawarutoc	duti (ts)	———	yutapi	anatcwaratcide

IV. POSSESSIVE PREFIXED FORMS.

	Mandan	Hidatsa	Crow	Dakota	Iowa	Winnebago	Catawba
my	mi-	ma-	ba-	mi- or ma-	he-	nianinu	di-
thy	ni-	di-	da-	ni-	de-	zeku	yi-
his	i- or iko-	i-	i-	—	e-	—	oa-
ours	nu-	ma-	—	u^{n}-pi	he-	nianiwida	dowa-
yours	nia-	di-	—	ni-pi	de-	acinina	—
theirs	iona-	i-	—	—	e-	ianideda	owa-

V. NUMERALS.

	Mandan	Hidatsa	Crow	Dakota	Omaha	Winnebago	Osage	Catawba
one—	maxana	duetsa	hamat	wantca	wi	izakida	minehi	dube
two—	nompah	dopa	nop	nonpa	wamba	nomp	nomba	no^{n}prere
three—	nameni	dami	nam	yamni	thabathi	tan	laubena	nomnere
four—	tohpa	topa	cop	topa	duba	cop	toba	porprere
five—	kexu	kihu	tsixop	zaptan	satan	satc	satta	poktrere
six—	kima	akama	akamak	cakpe	cape	akewe	cappa	dipkrare
seven—	kuhpa	sapua	xapua	cakowi^{n}	penamba	shagowe	panomba	wassignurere
eight—	tettaka	dopapi	nopape	caxdogan	pethabathi	haniwunk	kelauban	dowesare
nine—	maxpe	duetsapi	amatape	napci^{n}wanka	canka	hizakicanskani	canka	wantcharere
ten—	piraq	pitiki	piraka	wikcemma	y'ethka	kerapunaze	crabra	pitchinere
eleven—	ahga maxana	ahpiduetsa	piraka mata	ake wantca	'ay'thwi	izukida cina	augre minehi	pitchin napere hasare

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

VOCABULARY.

104

This vocabulary has been compiled from those taken down by Catlin, Maximilian, Hayden, Morgan and Schoolcraft. All the different words were gathered together, and were then transliterated into a uniform, phonetic spelling, corresponding with the alphabet used in the grammatical sketch. Where different forms were given for the same word, the form adopted has been that most in accordance with the phonetic character of the language. This has usually resulted in an agreement with the forms as given by Maximilian.

A.

abode — iwakcuntuc
above — aketa
afar off — te"hac
affection — paxade
aim, to — mitahruc
alive — nankec
all — a"be
alone — iixa
always — ama"kahuc
ambassador — kasedehc
ampelis (a bird) — ohpakotika
and — kani or qani
animal — wahokcukke
ankle — tauihhankac or asoli-keninde
antelope — koka
" buck — kokberoke
ants — karasisitka
anything — itaskacka or itaskacLa
Arapahoe Inds. — Arapahoes or Axixte Numankake
Ark (of first man) — mahminituxe
arms — ahde
arm bands, of metal — u"kita"he
arrow — mahha
as far as — ohdada
ash — tabsa
ashes — waracunte
ask — kümahxec
Assiniboine Inds. — Hosika
aunt — kohtmini-kohc
aurora borealis — wawawacirute
autumn — ptande or manaahpo
axe — ohmanaté

B.

baby — sukxamahe
back — nupxe
backwards — nacita
bad — xikoc
Bad Lands — see land
badger — mahteke
ball (of lead) — wahtocemahe
ball or play ball — mihptohtkic
bake — rokinni
bank — miniwakaxte
bark — manaa
basket (women's, of leather) — xe-hank
bat — hahxurahde
to be — kihtoc
beak — paxu
beans — ominikekene
bear — mahto
bear, grizzly — mato unknapininde
beard — hikerukis

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

104 beaver — warahpa
beautiful — eihe
bed — omunkasekoc
before — untihedic
behind — nacitero
behold — hanista
belly — ahxi
below — mapita
belt — ihparaxe
berdash — mihdeke
besmooch — tkapoaheric
best — kocihc
between — nasta
beyond — kuta
birch — wahxoc
bird — mandek
bite — nacec
bitter — pahruc
black — psihc
blackbird — tuxika
Blackfeet Inds. — Cipsi
bladder — idaxe
blind — istaxedetoc
blond — pahinsihduc
blood — ida
bloody — ihkerrede
bloom, to — hohsedehoc
bloom on fruit — ratakoc
blue — tohe
bluff, a — kucapehckac
body — maandac
bog — manixte
bone — ahude
both — nompca
bottle (of leather) — ihduke
bow or bend, to — kiskoppoheric
bow — warneruhpa
bow-lance — eruhpahixte
box — widake
box-elder — mihnxkatahmanaka
boy — suknumank
braid, to — kackec
brains — natenu
branch — ohxanxa
brandy — minipahre
brass — watucsede
brave — kakahonc, xarake
bread — wapabci
break — pehruc
breast — taxaraxe
breath — onihe
breechclout — mike
bridge — manaaxkinihnde
bridle — menissikaske
brilliant (splendid) — eduxtukoc
bring forth — ehtuc
broad — pxihruc
brook — passankcuk
broom — i^{n}kagicka
brother — mo^{n}ka
brown — tkop
bud — aci^{n}koc
buffalo — ptemde
" (bull) — beroke
bullet pouch — assohkaxeruke
burn (or roast) — naxuhduc
burn — raptec
bury — omahxedeherec
bush, a — manasuk
buttocks — ihta
buy, to — kauikahka
by — pexti
by and by — isakanacoc

C.

cache — moxe
call — rukeric
calm — ihpataheckac
Cannonball R. — Passa^{n}xte
canoe — menanka
captive — inishedic
captured — ihnise
carrion — kommahe
catfish — potande
charcoal — behxe
cheat, to — manoxaharuc
chew, to — rapsahkoc
Cheyenne Inds. — Tamaho^{n}ruckape
chicken (prairie) — sipuska
chief — numankci
child — sukxamahe
chin — ihku

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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choke, to — niheohwaptec
chop down — manakaseheric, pauicohc
circle, a — ohkamickakuc
claw — unkahe
clean, to — ihkixkanhuc
clear the throat, to — hauikisckuc
clear — dexe, karacekoc
cloud — haade
coat — imacote
cold — cinihuc
colibri — manacopkoxaxka
colt — u"pamenissinikac
comb — paiwaxu"ke
come, to — huruc, kuhohc
come here — huta
comfort, to — kehapheric
comfortable — ohmanakacic
compel, to — si"hi"kehde
complete — waki"koc
completely — ratakoc
conciliate, to — herohkaheric
cook, to — umpec
copper — watucsekeri
corn — koha"te
" meal — mapexeri
corpse — watehhede
costly — icahehonc
cottonwood — manawaxe
cough — kokeruke
council fire — kaheruka warade
" house — kaheruka kahur
count, to — pakirihduc
cover — ahkupoc
cowardly — wakaraxkahe
crane — tehreke
Cree Inds. — Cahi
crooked — skophoc
Crow Inds. — Hehderuka
crow — xohxixaka
crush — rusi"koc
cry, to — sarahruc, rataxoc
crying all the while — ratuxeama"—kahoc
cure, to — kinikohc
early — minimenihc
cut, to — pawecuc
cutting — pohkha"

D.

Dakotas — Hahenumankoc
dance — wahnape
scalp-dance — wikskekenahpic
dark — hampaheriskah
daughter — sukmihuc
" in-law — ptauihhangkac
day — hampah, kacekoc
dead — otehruc
deaf — nakocsidikoc
death — waotec
deceive — kauxac
decoy, to — wattaxakhuhroc
deer — mahmanaku
" (black tail) — cumpsi
delay, to — ohikahunwaheric
destroy, to — kimixerec, tedepohc
Devil (Evil Spirit) — Omahankxike
dew — beddede
die — teruc
dirty — waratkeric
disappear — kcipoc
dish (wooden) — manapaxe
distant — teha"c
divide — ihkapehduc
do, to — isekoc
dog — menisswarut
door — bedehe
doubled — nahtac
draw — inisuc
dream, to — xikhedehc
drink, to — he"duc
drive, to — koxehrutoc
drop — sehuc
drum — berexe
dry, to — sahkoc
dry up, to — rasakoc
duck — patohe
dull — sukohc
dumb — wahronexa
dung (of an animal) — ehde
dust — warate

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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E.

eagle, war — mahxsi
" bald — patake
ears — nakoha
early — wamampsita
eat, to — warutoc
egg — mandeksuknike
elbow — akcicenahde
elevation — maaxte
elk — ompa
" female — ompa mihkac
elm — manawareruhp
empty — okikohe
end — onakeoha"kte
enemy — wirata"de
enough — antexkac
err, to — xiqaheric
escape — ptehec
evening — istundehuc
everywhere — ekunheakskewaheric
eyelid — istarapxe
eyes — ista
explain, to — ikikuhntec
express, to — ihkastatuc

F.

face — estah
fade, to — daxihduc
fall, to — dopxec
fan — ihkerehedite
far — ruhxedeta
fasting — nahnkawawarutenexoc
fat — sihnde
" melted — ihkeri
father — tate
fear — wohkaraxka
feather — si
" headdress — wokiruc
feel — packatuc
female (of an animal) — mihkac, mika
fetch — kitahuc, kixkararuc
few — sankac
file, a — watuciwipuci
fight, to — sahnduc
fin — posi
find, to — onopohc
fingers — unkahe
" first — unkamihe
" middle — unknatkakanaxka
" fourth — unknatsemingke
" little — unkniingke
fire — warade
firebrand — wararakce
fish — po
" to — pohrupcikohe
fisher (a bird) — iitikpsi
fish-hook — poikinnih
fist — o"kirasanake
flank (of the body) — dopicanhe
flat — pcihde
flatter, to — ihkiriahkawacuc
flea — pecki
flesh — oro
flint — mahikcuke
flood, to — minisukhedic
flour — wacita
flower — osedehe
fly, a — hamparaka
" to — kikarehduc
foam — puxte
fog — masihc
follow — waxahuc
food — worute
foolish — oxkac
foot — ci
forehead — ithake
forest — manaroxte
forget, to — ikihanxikac
forks (of a tree) — manaokiss"ka
foul — natkaxihpoc
fox — irute
" gray — hirutcote
" red — hirutse
" black — hirutpsih
" prairie — ohxa
free — wainihsinixoc
freeze — ktahohe
friend — manuka
frog — psanka
frost — istunhewahetuhc
full — ohihc

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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G.

gall — waxnihde
gay-colored — puhse
girl — sukmihe
gloves — ogixitike
go, to — dehuc
go forth — huhketa
God — Omahank Numankei
gold — watacisidegocikeric
good — cihc
goose — miha^{n}
" wild — miha^{n}kcuke
grandfather — tatecike
grandmother — nancike
Grand River — Waracunt Ptassahe
grass — xanxe
" dried (hay) — xanxesakoc
" sharp (thistles) — xancixena
gray — xote, cote
grease — ikeri
great — xtec
Great Spirit — Maxopinita
green — wiratohe
groan, to — inihe
ground — manpeteroh
grow, to — inihnduc
growl, to — xanahhahoc
gull — ixtikpeih
gun — eruhpa

H.

hail — rakanande
hail, to — rapanaruc
hair — pahin
hairless — paheserokoc
hair ornament — itahwacungke
half — ihxanhe
hand — onka
handsome — cinacuc
hard — kahsec
hark — ha^{n}ta
hate, to — worattehuc
have, to — wakahktoc
hawk — teta^{n}he
he — i, ih-
head — pan
head-ache — panahruc
head-dress (of feathers) — mahxsi akubhacka
head ornament — pa^{n}okatkape
hear, to — waec
heart — natka
heat, to — manasinkoc
heaven — xaretohoc, maxopeni-omanke
heavy — t'kac
heel — cirute
help, to — ohtawasakuc
hereafter — ha^{n}ka
hide, to — axawehc
high — wahkoruc
highlands — mahankwaihkoruc
hill — oparace
hist or hush — ihampta
hoarse — hohxikoc
hole, cavity — opohpuc
hollow — xowokoc
hoof — cahhe
hope, to — iwatehruc
horns — anse
horse — meniss or umpameniss
hot — dsacoc
house — oti
hunger, to — waruhtec
hunt, a — cante
" to — wahnundehuc or can-terehuc
hunter — kacanteka
hurrah — ukahe
hurricane — cextec
husband — ibero

I.

ice — xode
in — rokta
inquire — kimaxec
intoxicate, to — russidihruc
iron — watucemahe
island — witka
it — unt
itch — ciruha

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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J.

jaw — dohhupa
joy — nettkacic

K.

kettle — biruxe
kettle-tender — kapexka
kidneys — piksukeh
kill — teheruc
kindle — rapteheric
kinikineck — manasaxka
Kiowa Inds. — Kaiwa
knee — i^{n}ta or sapaxe
knife — ma^{n}hi
knock — wahuhde
know, to — ihwahekoc

L.

lake — minixte
lame — onindexikoc
lament, to — nahdeiratahuc
lance — manahiterukcuke
land — maank
Bad Lands — maxiki
lash, to — karaparacuc
last race (in Okeepa) — ehkenah-kanahpik
late — hapetepanic
laugh — kikidacoc
lay, to — makherehc
lead — watucamahe (Cf. iron)
leader (of a war party) — karok-kanakah
leap, to — pedehc
leather (dressed) — wapa^{n}piimac-ote
leaves — manape
left, on the — nususkac
leg — dohka
leggings — wapa^{n}pihu^{n}ci
level — kahosta, opcidecic
lie, to — cehekohc
life — nankec
lift, to — ruhxopkac
light — idehuc
light, to — ihdexewaharic
lightning — xeninde
like, to — watihkidasuc
lips — ihxdopxi
listen to, — minnakocwakerupcec
Little Missouri R. — Mantaktcuka
live, to — inihuc
liver — pi
log — manaite
long — hacka
love, to — paxare
love sticks — mihhirucekehkaruc
lungs — koppehk
lynx — matoxka, cuntepuse

M.

magpie — wihkxakxeke
man — numank
mankind or people — numankahkec
many — hanktec
master of the Okeepa — okipa-kasika
meal (Indian) — koha^{n}te gatiriki
meat — maskape
medicine — xopinic
" lodge — tixopinic
" feast — maxopinicwahedic
medicine-man — numankxopinic
melt, to — racedehc
midnight — istunatoc
mine — wawakahruc
mink — monika suntike
mirror, a — ihmi^{n}kiec
miss, to — kakaho^{n}c
Missouri R. — Mantahe Passahe
moccasins — humpa
mole — maxtopka
money — okihkikidasuc
moon — istamenahke
moose — paxuptaptax
more — opaxedehc
morning — mampsita
" early in — wamampsita
mortar — ipeke
most — mihkac
mother — hu^{n}de
" in-law — ptohinix

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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mountain — maankxtec, oparacxtec
mouse — mihtike
mouth — ihe
much — kerexe, hunc
mud — tuntukoc
Muddy R. (Platte) — Matuhntu Passahe
mule — cumpsimeniss
murder — tehruc
muskrat — cantcuke
Musselshell R. — Tohki Passahe

N

nails — onkahe
name — dase
nape of the neck — nahkute
narrow — kcukoc
navel — doptasu
near — askac
neck — itaenu
necklace — warapeni^{n}xe
" of bears' claws — mahto-onknapinihude
needle — mihstuhereohopetuhc
negros — wacipsi
nest — taxande
net, fish — poikuhnde
nettle — xa^{n}higanade
never — mekimikoc
new — nankac
night — estogr
night-jar — pihska
no — megoc
noon — hampenatoc
north — misiahankta
northeast — misihanktaropuc-ahankta
northwest — agahanktarotamisa hankta
nose — pahu
nostril — pahxusuh
nothing — mikska, mikohc
now — naka
nude — ikarasuninakoc

O.

oak — manaitahu
obscure — ihinikoc
of or from — ta
oh! — ca!
old — xihoc
old man — waratohkaxihoc
old woman — rokankaxihen
Omaha Inds. — Ohmaha
once — xanahremaxanac
one or the other — kotewektoc
open — rupcukoc
opened — rupcuk
other — tahonc
otter — pehxtekeh
Ottoe Inds. — Ohto
outside — matinda
oversleep, to — owakinatekahunhuc
owl — ixixe

P.

paddle — ipaxaka
pain — wahuhdenahduc
paint over, to — wakapusoc
pair — nupca
palate — nutiskeokissangka
pale, to — sterukeceh
panther — cuntehacka
parfleche — wakexde
part — okape
pasture — pokanahhuc
path — nanko
Pawnee Inds. — Xaratenumanke
peace — herohkaheric
peas — omeniasamakeri
pelican — nutkuxte
people — wakahde
pepper — waparepsi
perhaps — tuchaktoc
pig — wacitamato
pigeon, wild — warawitkcuke
pinch, to — ruhckapuc
pine — manaxopini
pipe — tcudka, ihkinkosuhe
plain — xahoste
plant, to — wahkihedeic
play, to — menixeni
" a — kehni

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play, (of women with ball) — mihptotke
play, (Tchungkee) — Skohpe
plover — miniswakahe
pluck, to — paxke
pointed — cihuc
pole-cat — co^{n}kte
pomme blanche — mahe
pond — minixedoc
poor — akarihe
porcupine — pahi
pot, of clay — berexe
potato — omenikatekxteqeri
powder (gun) — waracunte
prairie — okaraxta
precipice — pehuc
pregnant — ehxixte
proud — tahuixtecihkeric
pulse — katinktinkkanaqic
pumpkin — kode
" (uncooked)— kodeseharutoc
pupil (of the eye) — istarupxe
push — putkec
put in the cache, to — moxdarahkoc

Q.

queue — pahinokskec
quiet — hapoeherohnknunihuc
quirt — ihkaparace
quiver — ixtike

R.

rabbit — maxtike
race— ptihi^{n}kikeruc
rain — xehuc
" to — haiduc
rainbow — xehikuhnde
Rampart Creek — Manahmeni Passahe
rat — mihtikxte
rattle — ihnade
raven — kaka
red — sukse, sehc, se
redden, to — stasehereh
reed — wihpuhde
reek — wiha
refuse, to — ruhkahuc
returned — kiride
revenge, to — tauihcahetunc
ribs — duthuhde
rich people — kowakahdehunc
ring, to — nihe
ripe — manabihdukeihkamenihude
river — passahe, passa^{n}he
robe — mahitu, mihihe
robin — mandeka^{n}ka
rock — misanake
" large — misanakextec
" (cliff) — ihcancekeh
Rocky Mts. — Mihnde Manke
roe (fish) — ponika
root — manahisse
rosin — ohruckop
rot, to — terrepoc
round — sanakohc
run — ptehuc

S.

sack (of skin) — ihwatarake
sacrifice — wapaci
saddle, of a horse — menissaganake
saliva — oksohke
salt or sugar, to — skuhoc
salt or sugar — waskucote
sand — mapucakohc
sandstone — wipuci
sash — ixparake
scaffold, for dead—ohmaxe, macote
scale — posi
scalp — pandopxi
scalp-dance — pandopxinapic, wihskekenahpic
scar — oxatuhc
scent, to — ihkameninduc
scrape — onkaberic
scraper, for hides — ihwadipka
sea — minikerre
seat — ita
secretly — axawehc
see — wahec
shadow — ahkunc
shake, to — katidiricuc
shallow — minipsikac

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sharp — cihuc
shave, to — hikirukes
she — ih
sheep (bighorn) — a"saxte
shield — wahki
shin bone — dopkahge
ship — menankaxte
shirt — imacote
" buckskin — wapanhi imacote
shiver, to — kaxohkaharawahankic
shoot, to (with gun) — eruhpakahte
" " (with bow) — mananah-nihnduc
short — sanakoc
shot pouch — watuceduke
shoulder — akit
show, to — hehmenihedic
shrub — manasuke
shut against, to — ikisanpac
sick — ahxenaduc
sinew — wacakoc
silver — watucocote
sinew — hise
sing, to — wakikinaruc
sister — tamixena
" (eldest) — menuke
" (youngest) — ptanka
sit, to — kikanake
skin — dopxi
skin lodge — tihinkoti
sledge — manawiratohe
sleep, to — hanaruc
" to fall to — wahanaedukan-huc
sleepy — hanaruk
slide, to — pacihuc
small — xamahe
smallpox — xedepe
smoke — hihuc
" to — manechihnduc
smooth — sa"hic
" to — kaa"hic
Snake or Shoshone Inds. — Wah-kirexkaasmanke
snake — wahxkaruxka
" rattle — matanxpini
sneak upon, to — xeruhradehuc
snipe — marexsepaguxa"xska
snow — wahe
snow-shoes — manahumpe
soldier — kawakarakaxe
something — ikotui
son — konike
son-in-law — rohhankoc
sour — haruc
spark — waranihka
speak — rohdec
spear — manaitirutcuke
spirits or ghosts — munoheka
spoon (of horn) — manse
spread, to — pxiheric
spring, to — skec
spring, a — minihini
spring (season) — behinunde
spy out, to — oksohkuc
squash — rode
squint — istakxekohc
stab, to — rapec
stain, to — ahksehuc
stars — xkaka
" shooting — rokankadehuc
steal — wanunduc
step-father — ptutt
step-mother — ptehinx
stick or pole — manakcuke
stingy — cirukoc
stirrup — menissiwaxungke
stomach or belly — taxaraxe
stone — misanake
" large — mindextec
stone (of a fruit) — tsuhnta
stop up, to — patarokoc
storm — hampexikoc (a bad day)
straight — cohruc
stream — minixcakoc
strike, to — rotkec
strong — sinhuc
struggle, to — rahpuc
stump — manahuta
sugar (white) — waekucote
summer — raskeke
surprise — wahetex

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swallow, to — ocaropoc
swan — madexopni.
sweat, to — dasi^{a}kohe
sweep, to — ipkukieuc
sweet — skuhoc
swift — katucoc
swim, to — ihwaxahac
swollen — pahoc
sun — menahka

T.

tail — conte
tallow — sinde
tan (or dress), to — ruhintuc
tangle up, to — ihkirumenic
Tattooed Face (village name) — Histoppe
teach, to — ikikuhnta
tears — istaminihuhruc
tear out, to — packe
" down, to — ohsehruc
" up, to — ruxa^{a}koc
testicle — asutka
Teton R. — Minixte Passahe
that — eθ
thaw — racedehuc
there — etta
they — iona or ihetta
thick — xtec
thief — wanundexte
thigh — dokoc
thin — pampihc
think — wapucide, wapusoc
this — ant
throat — nutiske
throat, sore — itaenunahruc
throw out, to — kaxerutoc
thumb — onka
thunder — xeinihe
tickle — ruksiksikuc
tie, to — kaskec
tinder — mihkade
tired — iwahatec
tiresome — xehruc
itmouse — patahpsi
to — oh
toad — hatka
tobacco — manaca
" (mixed with cornus) — manacotkicxe
tobacco pouch — manacedoke
to-day — ehampe
toe — cipa
" (second) — cihapa
toe (smallest) — cinika
tomahawk — axkenkse
" of stone — mihkaske
" of wood — manapauice
to-morrow — mahtke
day after to-morrow — mahtke ohma esta
tongue — desike
tooth — hi
toothache — hinahruc
top — mahakahgitta
tough, sticky — kedehruc
trade, to — wikaruc
trail — onihnde
trap or fall — ahxkataxka
travois, a — menissican
tree — manainindue
tremble, to — katidericuc
true — tkucoc
turkey — marusi
" cock, wild — mahnsi
" buzzard — ruhahde
turn around, to — kiptahanikusoc
turnip — mahoc
turtle — kipsa^{a}de
twice — xanahrenumpoc
twist — mihnuptakohe
twisted — kaminic

U.

ugly — xikanacoc
uncle — ratode
under — mahpita
unfruitful — ohromikohe
unhealthy — wahcixihe
unripe — canhohe
upon — akia
urine — dexe

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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V.

valley — owakope
vein — iduke
vermilion — wahsap
very — kucōc
village — mihti
vine — hachude

W.

wait, to — kihahnakoc
wake, to — kitahruc
walk — ninduc
war-club — mixaske
war-dance — kirukahnapic
war-hoop — ceddekohc
warm — dadecuc
warrior — kiraksanxarakac
wash, to — kiruskikuc
watch, to — iwakcuntuc
water — mini
water jar — minimihnde
wax — ohkeruccecipkaohdeke
we — nu or nuona
weak — ahikoc
weasel — mahxpax
wedge (of wood) — manakakihhe
weed — mahe
wet — akapoc
what (relative) — ta
" (interrog.) — tackaL
what thing — aankotewe
what person — iinkotewe
which — kotewe
whirlpool (in water) — miniruh-menicka
whiskey — minipahde
whistle — ihkoce
white — cote or cotte
white buffalo — wokada
White Earth R. — minicote passahe 104
white men — waci
who — teve or tewe
wicked (hated) — xikoc
wife — murse or kons
willow — haxsehuhde
wind — ehe
windpipe — inihe
wing — apxac
winter — mahna
wish, to — iteruc
within — kucta
without — akeha
wolf (grey) — harrata
" prairie (coyote) — ceheke
woman — mihe
woodpecker — tocka
work, to — waisekoc
worm — waixirika
wrap up, to — ikikahmenic
wrinkle — sihpoc
write, to — kapusoc
writing — kapuse

Y.

yawn — ixbedehruc
year — mahna
years — manahna
yellow — pside
Yellowstone R. — Mihsi
yes — ho^{n}
yesterday — xodake
" day before — horakekusero
yolk (of an egg) — mandeksukniika-kuhctaosiida
you — da or ôa
young — xamahoc
" the (of animals) — koniks

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

783 We were told never to forget these women, and we make these gifts to them so that they will say a kind word for us.' Their oath is made by the moon or sun. After death they believe they 775 go to the east, and claim that a man killed in battle is better treated, better liked, in the hereafter than one who dies of disease. They cling tenaciously to their old beliefs, customs and 186 habits, and though they have adopted some of the manners of the Sioux and their own allies, the Arickarees and Gros Ventres, they are bitterly opposed to the ways of the whites. . .

Language Different from Sioux. In speaking of their language 197 Mr. Mitchell says: 'I always contended that Mr. Gallatin was in error in supposing the Mandans and Sioux descended from the same stock. Mr. Kipp, who has been well acquainted with both tribes for upward of thirty years, and speaks both languages with great fluency and correctness, fully concurs with me in opinion. There are a few words that are somewhat similar in sound, but this Mr. Kipp accounts for by the fact of the Sioux and Mandans having been neighbors from time immemorable, and during intervals of peace visiting and intermarrying with each other.' Many of them now speak the Sioux language, and though I consider their vocal language as distinct and different from all others, still high authorities at present class it with the Sioux; that is, being with the same stock." (P. 242.)

From the "Collections of the American Antiquarian Society," Vol. II (Cambridge, 1836), we quote the following concerning the Mandans, in which they are spoken of as one of three tribes of the Minnetarees. What is said therein concerning the chief Big White and the Welsh theory will receive consideration later on.

"The Minetares (Minetaree and Minetaries) consist of three tribes, speaking three different languages which belong to a common stock. Its affinities with the Dahcota are but remote, but have appeared sufficient to entitle them to be considered as of the same family.

"Two of those tribes, the Mandans, whose numbers do not 105 exceed fifteen hundred, and the stationary Minetaries, amounting to three thousand souls, including those called Annahwas, cultivate the soil and live in villages situated on or near the Missouri, between the forty-seventh and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude. They are kept in a state of perpetual alarm by the Assiniboines, the Tetons, the Rapid Indians and other erratic

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

tribes, and have on that account often been obliged to change the seat of their villages. 105

"Yet they have often been quarreling with the Ricaras, who like them are agricultural people; and they often make predatory expeditions against the Shoshones, in the eastern valleys of the Rocky mountains. Both the Mandans and the Minnetaries consider themselves as natives of that part of the country.

"The tradition of the Mandans is that they came from under ground by means of a great vine, which, breaking under the weight of some of them, has left behind a part of their nation, whom they expect to join after death. The color of the chief who visited Washington appeared less dark than that of our Indians, and he was the only full-breed Indian ever seen by me, whose eyes were of a bluish cast. It is believed that this is the tribe, often spoken of as White Indians, and which gave rise to the fabulous account of a tribe descended from the Welsh and speaking their language, a tale which the knowledge we have now acquired of the various Indian nations and of their dialects has set at rest. 173 142

"The vocabulary of the stationary Minetaries and the specimen of the Crow of Upsaroka dialect were obtained by Dr. Say. We knew from Lewis and Clarke that the Mandans spoke a kindred dialect, and this has been confirmed by the significant names of their chiefs, subscribed to a treaty with the United States. Lewis and Clarke appear to have considered the Rapid, Fall or Paunch Indians, sometimes also called the "Minetaries of the Prairies," as belonging to the same family. But all the subsequent accounts agree in assigning to them an entirely distinct language." (P. 125.) 197

The above reference to the "chief who visited Washington" (Big White) is from Albert Gallatin.

We will here refer to the note by Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson on the Mandans, found among his notes on "Historical Sketch of North and South Dakota," by Dr. William M. Blackburn, in Hist. Coll., S. D., Vol. I, page 98, being a very concise and creditable summary of the tribe. In that note Dr. Robinson affirms that "their traditions give their former abode as being about the headwaters of Lake Winnipeg. It is probable that they were driven from their homes at Lake Winnipeg about 1680 by the Crees and Assiniboines, both powerful tribes which about this period came into possession of firearms. Their first stopping place, after being driven out by their enemies, was on the Mis- 174

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

PREFACE

185 THE Mandan Indians are one of the famous agricultural tribes of the Missouri Valley region. When first visited by white traders during the early part of the eighteenth century, they lived in large fortified villages of permanent lodges overlooking the wooded bottomlands of the Missouri River where they planted their gardens. Evidence of their traditional southeastern origin is indicated by the many ancient village sites downstream from the mouth of Heart River in North Dakota. This evidence of downstream origin is further strengthened by cultural features of unquestionable early southeastern origin which survived in this northern region dominated by the buffalo-hunting economy.

And though the specialist will recognize numerous traits in the Mandan culture—peace and war chiefs, clans and moiety divisions, village squares and ceremonial centers, high villages dominating ceremonial activities, confederacies of the Mandan with other co-operating tribal and village groups, agricultural complexes of rites and practices, and many material culture traits—to be characteristic of the southeastern Mississippian cultures, these survivals were heavily overlain by recently borrowed traits more characteristically either Woodlands or Plains. These survivals of an earlier downstream culture, Woodlands traits reflected in certain ceremonial practices and pottery traits, and Plains traits reflected in the importance of the vision quest, buffalo-hunting and eagle-trapping economies, and large summer tribal ceremonials, combine to give the Mandan distinctive cultural characteristics.

Here on the banks of the Missouri River the aboriginal Mandan Indians lived in a rude but productive harmony with nature. Their villages were important trading centers where all the nomadic tribes of the Northern Plains met annually to trade for corn and other agricultural products. And the fur-trader found their villages strategically situated for bartering his goods

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

105 for furs. But Mandan sedentary life proved ill adapted to cope with the epidemics of smallpox and other contagious diseases that soon swept through their villages in successive waves until the tribe narrowly escaped extinction in 1837. During this period of rapidly reducing population, increased pressure from newly arrived and well-armed Siouan nomadic tribes hastened the downfall of the Mandan and all other agricultural village Indians living along the Missouri River.

105 121 The Mandan were a conservative people; behavior was traditional and stemmed from institutional sources, the sacred rites, and ceremonies. If you ask an old Mandan to describe a commonplace custom or even a tool used in his daily activities, he will invariably first introduce data on its origin to explain its adoption and use by his people. Those possessing vast knowledge of these "origin myths" occupy high status positions in the village and tribe. Early in this study it became evident that no adequate understanding of Mandan cultural and social values was possible except in terms of these origin myths, most of which were inseparable parts of the various sacred-bundle complexes. In recording the data contained in this report, I encouraged informants to express in their own way meanings which customs had for them; and this report is an attempt to describe Mandan culture in terms of its meaning to the Mandan Indians.

121 So far as possible, considering overlapping of myths and bundle rites, I have attempted to bring the related sacred myth and descriptions of the rituals together in the same chapter. Though these sacred myths provide the student of Indian folklore with a new body of materials not heretofore available, I believe that their greatest value will be to provide a better understanding of Mandan habits, customs, ideologies, institutions, social values, and human controls. In describing Mandan culture, I have endeavored (1) to penetrate the veneer of European culture and to describe life as it was in aboriginal times and (2) to indicate recent cultural changes which have occurred under the impact of the fur trade and closer associations with the Hidatsa.

000 It is a privilege to express my thanks to the many persons who have helped me in the preparation of this book—all of

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

HISTORIC BACKGROUND

105 175 177 UNLIKE most tribes of the Northern Plains, the Mandan have moved little since first mentioned in the accounts of travelers, and their basic culture has changed little except for minor adjustments in their economy resulting from the introduction of the horse and European trade goods. The prominent part played by agriculture and the size and concentration of their villages at and above the mouth of the Heart River in early historic times, the semisedentary nature of their population, and their comparatively richer material wealth distinguished them from the nomadic buffalo hunters when European explorers first reached the Northern Plains. During late prehistoric times the Mandan were in intimate contacts with the Awatixa and Awaxawi bands of semisedentary Hidatsa, whose villages were situated below the Knife River at this time. So far as the writer was able to determine, the Mandan have always remained on friendly terms with the various Hidatsa and Crow groups.

175 361 Their first contacts were with the French coming overland from the Lake Winnipeg region to trade shortly after A.D. 1700, for La Harpe in A.D. 1719 gave the location of the Arikara on the Missouri as one hundred and twenty leagues southeast from "seven famous villages," which would, from the location of the Arikara in the La Harpe map, place the Mandan near the mouth of the Heart River.[1] We cannot be certain that the "seven famous villages" referred to by La Harpe do not include both the Mandan and at least part of the Hidatsa villages, since the Hidatsa are not mentioned in the literature until 1797, when they were identified by David Thompson as a separate linguistic group.[2] La Verendrye, who visited the earth-lodge vil-

1. Bernard de la Harpe, "Relation du voyage de Bernard de la Harpe," in Pierre Margry (ed.), *Découvertes et établissements des Française dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique septentrionale, 1614–1754*, Sixième partie (Paris, 1886), pp. 292–93.

2. *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1916), pp. 209–42.

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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177 175 indirect effect of contact resulted in the displacement of Eastern tribes, the formation of full Plains equestrian nomadism, and constant raids by hostile groups. These momentous events precipitated radical changes in the cultures of all Plains-Prairie peoples, and the Mandan-Hidatsa were no exception, although they did change less than other earth-lodge tribes (Strong 1940; Jablow 1950; Eggan 1952; Krieger 1953).

105 177 Indian culture today includes automobiles, farm equipment, washing machines, radios, and other material objects of American culture. Clothing and household goods are generally purchased through Western mail order catalogs. The major sources of cash income are the cattle business, agricultural enterprises, leasing lands to whites, wage work, and relief money. Every adult has attended government or missionary schools, and Catholic and Congregational Churches are established in the village. Thirty-one of the sixty-four males over seventeen years of age have had military experience.

Lone Hill village has never been a closed, self-sufficient society, from the time it was founded in the last decade of the nineteenth century with the allotment program of the Indian Bureau until the present. Today every adult deals with white people who reside outside the community, although contact is limited. The Indian's cash income and the education of his children are controlled in part by the Indian Bureau and by forces in the larger American society. Agency personnel, government employees, missionaries, day school teachers, traveling salesmen and local tradespeople, farmers and ranchers, visit with Indians both on and off the reservation. The resident of Lone Hill village buys goods from white storekeepers, attends schools taught by whites, transacts business with white government people, and often seeks wage work from nearby whites. The Indian must satisfy specialized needs through the services of white doctors, lawyers and professional people.

[191 601 614] Despite the many American elements which have been adopted, Hidatsa is the major spoken language in Lone Hill today, secular Indian ceremonial dances are performed, and the social organization includes matrilineal clans and a Crow type kinship system. Sacred bundles are highly respected, Indian doctors utilize native medicine to cure the sick, and distinctively Indian values are manifest on many occasions. The linguistic, religious, and social patterns are not considered here as isolated survivals persisting intact from the aboriginal past, for they too have changed from older times as a consequence of changing conditions of life; and they function in a very different total situation in 1950 as compared with 1850 or 1750.

Viewed historically, contemporary Indian culture is mixed. It consists of automobiles from Detroit, dances from the Cheyenne, medicine bundles from the Mandan, and a language from the Hidatsa. From the perspective of some individuals who share it, this mixed culture is perfectly consistent. No person in Lone Hill today knows how to stalk buffalo, scalp a Sioux, or shape a stone arrowhead. With the exception of a few very old people, no one in Lone Hill has ever lived in a culture in which these activities were performed. Our task is to understand how groups of individuals in Lone Hill come to regard and participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture.

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

177 white, would be favorably predisposed toward white ways. But the descend-
121 ants of the previously mentioned Irishman are biologically part white, yet they remain unacculturated; and there are three families who have had a white model but who have not become acculturated. Another possible explanation is that the lighter skin color per se allows the children of mixed marriages to "pass" in local white society. The data does not confirm this notion either, as an Indian's ability to be accepted by local whites depends upon how he behaves rather than upon his racial characteristics. A series of relevant factors in the total situation, when taken together, do give at least partial understanding of the importance of white intermarriage. They add up to a picture of such extreme psychological and social isolation of the Indian people that a white person married into the family becomes the primary agent by which white ways and values are learned and internalized.

131 Lone Hill is physically isolated between the Missouri and the Little Mis-
177 souri rivers, and contact with white people is thus infrequent and limited. There are no stores, no paved roads, and no post office in the village. The
[36] only whites who reside in Lone Hill itself are the two teachers in the govern-
487 ment grade school, who rarely participate in community affairs. None of the
489 whites currently married to Indians live permanently in the village today, although a few couples occasionally return to Lone Hill, during which time they stay with Indian families. There are two ways to travel to the surrounding towns: either across the Missouri River by boat during the summer and over the ice in winter, or by making a sixty-mile trip over dirt roads through irregular rolling hills and flat-topped buttes. Anyone who has lived in Lone Hill during the late spring comes to realize the meaning of isolation. The ice over the river is too thin for passage, the roads become blocked by mud and melting show, and the one telephone usually breaks down and remains unrepaired. Mail and supplies are often dropped by airplane. The physical isolation works in a double way—few whites come to Lone Hill and few Indians leave.

105 The Mandan-Hidatsa have never experienced a serious ecological read-
177 justment, as they have lived along the Missouri River Valley for at least the two centuries preceding the completion of this study in 1953. The Indian people today are certainly dependent upon the American economic system for their cash income, but almost every family in Lone Hill derives a relatively large noncash income from exploitation of the natural resources of the area. This exploitation is similar in some respects to the adjustment made by the aboriginal earth lodge tribes to the same fertile river bottom lands. Fuel is provided by wood from the timber, and from indigenous lignite outcroppings. Over half the families live in log cabins, which they erect themselves from timber found in the wooded bottoms. The food staples of corn and potatoes are obtained in part from small garden plots, now jointly worked by the men and women of the household. The meat supply depends largely upon the man's ability as a hunter of deer and small game. Abundant wild fruits and berries are gathered during the appropriate seasons and are preserved for use during the winter months. Thus, many of the economic goods which are normally

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

purchased with cash income derived from productive employment are obtained by the people of Lone Hill directly from natural sources. 105 177

The paternalistic policy of the Indian Bureau has probably been more effective than the geographical isolation and the ecological setting in limiting direct social relationships between the Indian people and surrounding whites. Most of the necessary economic, educational, and welfare activities are handled by the Agency staff instead of by the Indian people. What is called paternalism arose from the necessities of an earlier historical period, during which it was a humane and just policy to aid those Indian people whose life pattern had been disrupted by American expansion. The people of Lone Hill still expect this protection today, yet they resent the associated dependency. At Fort Berthold and on other Indian reservations, this has come to be one of the most complex and pressing problems of native administration. Given the problems that exist, the current Bureau policy of withdrawal is far from an adequate solution. In a paper of this scope we can do no more than call attention to the importance of the administration as an isolating barrier between the Mandan-Hidatsa and the larger American society. 657

What is possibly the most important isolating factor stems from the sharp discontinuity in the unacculturated Indian life career. From the point of view of the age grading of the learning process, acculturative influences are operative primarily in the adult years. During the early formative period the unacculturated child comes to internalize Indian ways from an intimate group of close relatives in a permissive and secure atmosphere. Before he attends school the child eats Indian food, attends the ceremonial dances, and hears about the daring exploits of the Stone Hammer Society from his old grandfather. The activities of the outside world are dim and vague to the Indian child, for he rarely leaves the village and has few opportunities for direct contact with whites. He does attend an occasional movie and he listens to the radio, but the child has had no context within his own experience with which to relate these impersonal mass media. Those whites who come to Lone Hill on business deal with the adults and rarely see the children. I recorded three life histories of young adults who knew no white people until they were seven or eight years of age. 177 867

From the unacculturated child's point of view, life in Lone Hill revolves around his family, peer, and residential groups. His main satisfactions are obtained from within these groups, and the activities of their members, most of whom are relatives, form the major topics of conversation. That kinship is widely extended among the Mandan-Hidatsa takes on added meaning in this context, as all of an unacculturated Indian's emotionally charged and rewarding experiences occur within, and are shared by, the kinship group. Members of the kinship group are also the agents of cultural transmission, and from them the child learns the approved norms of conduct and patterns of social relations. 177 867 602 571

The unacculturated Indian child soon learns that his emotional security and his very identity are dependent upon his maintaining good relationships with his kinsmen. He does not derive security from acts designed merely to 156 602 431

111 NQ17 Mandan

1: DeLand, Charles E. The Aborigines of South Dakota: Part II, The Mandan Indians. South Dakota Historical Collections, Vol. IV: pp. 273-748. Pierre: State Historical Society of South Dakota, 1908.

Yale: Cp51.51 v.4.

[This source is mainly a collection of extracts from all the texts on the Mandan known to the author. As is usually the case in such collections, there are some errors and distortions in transcription, most noticeable in the section on Alexander Henry. There is a long discussion of the probable (as DeLand sees it) Welsh origin of a great number of American Indian tribes and of the Mandan in particular. Since this section is kept separate from the main portion of the texts, it does not detract from the value of the source in general. Appenditory Notes may be found in category 116, pp. 726-727. Pp. 406-529 and 529-605 had been processed previously and may be found in the NQ17 Mandan file under 6: Wied-Neuwied and 7: Catlin. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analysts: Louise Sweet, Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Lawyer - 4
Processed in 1957

111 NQ17 Mandan

2: Bowers, Alfred W. Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950.

Pp. xvi, 407; 44 illustrations include plates, kinship charts, 1 sketch map.

Yale: C62.131

[This source is an analysis and historical reconstruction of Mandan social and ceremonial organization. The close relationship of these aspects and the economic is revealed more in the evidence than is explicitly realized by the author, who maintains uncritically the terminology of commercial transactions in respect to transfer of ritual objects and knowledge. Nevertheless, it is a competent discussion and a comprehensive source for all that can be learned of Mandan society, ceremony, and beliefs. There is very little information on subsistence techniques and material culture. --Analyst]

Field date: 1930-31
Analyst: Louise Sweet

Evaluation: Ethnologist--5
Processed in 1957

3: Will, G. F. and H.J. Spinden. The Mandans: A Study of Their Culture, Archaeology, and Language. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University. Vol. III, pp. 79-222. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1906.

4 maps; 15 plates.

Yale: C52 12 v. 3

[This monograph is one of the first summaries of Mandan culture. Section I summarizes the traits of Mandan culture from the reports of early travellers. Section II describes the Burgois site and artifacts and interprets these as a late Mandan village. Section III comprises a brief description of Mandan grammar and vocabulary. Except for the archaeological materials, all information is secondary. The authors were Harvard students at the time of their investigation and report. --Analyst]

Field date: 1905 (archaeological work)
Analyst: Louise Sweet

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed 1957

4: Lowie, Robert H. Societies of the Crow, Hidatsa and Mandan Indians. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XI, pp. 219-358. New York, 1913

Yale: Nk10 Am45e v.11.

Omitted from Files: Pp. 219-293.

[This is the main source on the societies of the Mandan, including both original material and historical texts and observations thereon. Covered in this material are Mandan men's societies, and Mandan and Hidatsa women's societies. Stress is laid upon the actual ceremonies of purchase of these societies. The author, schooled at Columbia University, was Professor of Anthropology (Emeritus) at the University of California (Berkeley) at the time of his death in September 1957. -- Analyst]

Field date: 1910-1911
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1957

5: Lowie, Robert Harry. Notes on the Social Organization and Customs of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow Indians. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 21, pp. 1-16, 97-99. New York: American Museum Press, 1917.

Yale: Nk10 Am35e v.21.

[This source consists mostly of references to Mandan kin groups and kinship terminology. The Mandan section was written as a background to the author's main study in the article on Hidatsa social organization. The author, at the time of his death in September 1957, was Professor of Anthropology (Emeritus) at the University of California (Berkeley). He received his degree from Columbia University under Franz Boas. --Analyst]

Field date: 1910-1913
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1957

6: Wied-Neuwied, Prince Maximilian. Travels in the Interior of North America. London: Ackermann and Co., 1843.

Pp. x, 520; processed for the files, pp. iii-x, 334-39, 8 text figures, 1 map; omitted from the files are pp. 1-333, 395-520.

Yale: Eg+ 832g

Translated from the German by H. Evans Lloyd.

[This chapter (XXV) contains one of the few early accounts of the Mandan before the small-pox epidemic of 1837-38 decimated the population. Maximilian spent the winter of 1833-34 in a Mandan village. Allowing for his time, his account is descriptive and sympathetic. Details on settlement pattern and material culture are fair; economics and social organization are scantily treated or are not clearly understood. The emphasis is on mythology, tradition, ceremonials and prestige iconography. The account is not consistently organized in topical paragraphs and marking procedures have had to be adjusted to the author's rambling over an abundance of detail--Analyst]

Field date: 1832-34
Analyst: Louise Sweet

Evaluation: Traveler-5
Processed in 1957

7: Catlin, George. Illustrations of the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians: With Letters and Notes Written During Eight Years of Travel and Adventure Among the Wildest and Most Remarkable Tribes Now Existing. Vol. I, pp. i-vii, 1-10, 80-184. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1857.

1 map; 29 plates.

Yale: C53 349c 1

[This source presents Catlin's purpose in describing the Indians he traveled among and his specific account of the Mandan. Catlin's purpose was to record Indian customs and individuals before they disappeared and to show that Indian customs, understood in their context, were meaningful and worthy of respect. Catlin's style is florid; his account of the Mandan is abundant in details on visually accessible materials (e.g., dress, dwellings) and features an eyewitness account of the annual religious ceremony. It is lacking in material on social organization and annual economic cycle. His interpreter was J. Kipp, an American fur trader who had acted in the same capacity for Maximilian Wied-Neuwied, see category 111, 6: Wied-Neuwied. --Analyst]

Field date: 1832-40
Analyst: Louise Sweet

Evaluation: Artist, Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1957

8: Bruner, Edward M. Two Processes of Change in Mandan-Hidatsa Kinship Terminology. American Anthropologist. Vol. 57, pp. 840-50. Menasha, Wisconsin: The American Anthropological Association, 1955.

HRAF Copy

[This article describes the several kinship terminologies used in a Mandan-Hidatsa village on Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota. The aboriginal pure Crow type lineage system survives alongside the American white generational type. Lack of intermediate patterns "suggests a rapid process of change caused by early socialization in those families in which there has been white intermarriage." There are a number of examples of kinship behavior patterns. The author trained at the University of Chicago, is a member of the Yale faculty, Anthropology. --Analyst]

Field date: 1951-53
Analyst: Louse Sweet

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1957

9: Bruner, Edward M. Primary Group Experience and the Processes of Acculturation. American Anthropologist, Vol. 58, pp. 605-23. Menasha, Wisconsin: The American Anthropological Association, 1956.

HRAF Copy

[This article discusses the differential in acculturation to white culture and society among Mandan-Hidatsa Indian families. The community studied is an Indian village on the Fort Berthold reservation. Participation in contemporary reservation culture is the criterion for distinguishing acculturated (7), marginal (7), and unacculturated (31) families. Acculturation is "dependent upon social learning in small family groups" and the presence of a "white model" as a member of the nuclear family is considered a prerequisite. The author is a member of the Yale faculty, Anthropology--Analyst]

Field date: 1951-53
Analyst: Louise Sweet

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1957

10: Neill, Edward D. Life Among the Mandans and Gros Ventres Eighty Years Ago: As Described by a Partner of the North West Company. The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, Vol. 6, pp. 248-53, 377-84. Chicago: James and Morse, Publishers, 1884.

Yale: C52 15 5-6.

[In this source E. D. Neill presents extracts from the journal of Alexander Henry who visited the Mandan in 1806. The brief account contains several items of descriptive information. These topics are, in particular, the dwellings and settlement pattern, boats, and distribution of game after a buffalo hunt. Neill left out a good deal of information concerning sexuality, trade, games and religious experience which has been collected by the analyst from the major source on Henry (Coues, Elliott. New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson, 1799-1814. Volume I. New York: Francis P. Harper, 1897. Pp. xxviii, 446. Yale: Ca81.25 1.) and added to category 116. Henry had little if any perception of kinship-based social organization, but he was a sympathetic observer. --Analyst]

Field date: 1806 (Henry's Trip)
Analyst: Louise Sweet

Evaluation: Neill, clergyman-historian-4
Henry, Traveller - 5
Processed in 1957

Hayden, F.V. A Sketch of the Mandan Indians, with some observations Illustrating the Grammatical Structure of their Language. The American Journal of Science and Arts. Second Series, Vol. 34, pp. 57-66, New Haven, 1862.

Yale: A79 20 II .34

[This short and rather superficial article contains little or no material not contained in other sources processed for this file. The historical data is taken mostly from Wied Nu Wied. (Source No. 6) A few items of linguistic material are given. --Analyst]

Howard, James H. Butterfly's Mandan Winter Count: 1833-1876. Ethnohistory, vol. 7, pp. 28-43. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University, 1960.

Yale: C61 26 7-8

/The "winter count" is a calendrical record detailing the events of the year, so-called because count was kept of the winter rather than of the year as a whole. This particular record was taken from the notes of Gilbert Wilson, a minister who worked among the Mandan and Hidatsa for many years. It consists of the text only, the accompanying pictograph record which the text is supposed to explain is missing. --Analyst/

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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177 selves, their children, and their culture. The presence of the American generational kinship system and other cultural changes in Lone Hill (Bruner 1955) were the result of conscious efforts by individuals to bring about these changes through their children.

3. The remaining ten families have had a white model; three follow the unacculturated life pattern, and seven marginal families periodically shift their residence from Indian to white society. The marginal families are bicultural; they have a dual model of the universe situationally defined.

Given the total situation as it exists in Lone Hill, early experience in the nuclear family is decisive in the acculturative process. We may even hazard the guess that unless there is a major change in the total milieu, acculturation in Lone Hill will continue to be dependent upon social learning in small family groups.

NOTES

000 [1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 53rd meeting of the American Anthropological Association held in Detroit, December, 1954. The Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago and a Social Science Research Council pre-doctoral fellowship provided financial support for field work. Elaine-Carol Bruner, Donald T. Campbell, Dorothy Eggan, Fred Eggan, Omar K. Moore, George P. Murdock, Robert Redfield, Sol Tax, Sherry Washburn, and especially two fellow fieldworkers, Robert Merrill and Robert Reitz, have generously offered suggestions at various stages of this work. Their cumulative aid has indeed been considerable.

101 [2] Lone Hill is the Indian name for the community. Names of all informants mentioned in this paper are pseudonyms.

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out of material which was once well known for fact, but has been lost in the mist of ages—is by the writer hereof regarded as warrant for bringing into this paper sundry narratives bearing upon the theory in question which in themselves may be of doubtful value, but which, when forming part of a symposium upon the theme of origin, may be legitimate material. 121

But we defer to a later stage of treatment of the general subject this phase of remote origin, only adding that, as regards the Mound Builders, it seems very probable that a rational connection will be found to be shown to exist between them and the Mandans; and that a few quotations from the earliest observers of the Mandans, by way of preliminary to an account of them when first known to civilized man, may not be out of place as indicating what we in the outset remarked as to their singularities.

Their Peculiar Characteristics. The Mandans conveyed to all visitors and observers who came in contact with them in the Eighteenth and the first half of the Nineteenth centuries the impression, in marked degree, that they were emphatically more civilized than other Indian tribes of the west, and that they were of such fair complexion and had hair and eyes of such color as to convey the distinct, profound impression—to some the belief—that they were not Indians in the usual sense of that word. 142 114

La Verendrye, who visited them in 1738 for several weeks, recorded of them that "their fortifications are not Indian. This nation is mixed with white and black." "The women have not the Indian physiognomy." Le Raye, who as a prisoner of the Brule Sioux was taken up the Missouri river in 1803 and into the Mandan villages, observes of them that they are "of the lightest complexion," that their hair "inclines to a chestnut color, and in some instances has a slight curl; it is never so dark and coarse as most other Indians;" that "their eyes are full and lively" and that they are "courteous and sociable." General Clarke (of the Lewis and Clarke expedition), who wintered with them in 1804-5, told Catlin that he would find them "a strange people and half white." Alexander Henry, who in 1806 visited them, says: "What struck me as extraordinary among these people was several children about ten years of age whose hair was perfectly gray, and who thus resembled aged persons; those I saw were all girls. These people in general have not such strong, coarse hair as other nations of North America; they have it much finer,

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142 rather inclining to a dark brown, and I observed some whose hair
•114 was almost fair;" eyes not jet black, common to other Indians, but "inclined to be a dark brown; some few are dark gray."

Maximilian, who tarried among and critically studied them in 1833, observes that their noses are sometimes "aqualine, or slightly curved, and often quite straight" and "not so long and arched as those of the Sioux"; that their eyes are "in general long and narrow, of a dark brown color;" that the children's hair "is often only dark brown," and that Brackenridge "speaks of brown hair among the Mandans. There are whole families among them, as well as among the Blackfeet, whose hair is gray, or black mixed with white, so that the whole head appears gray." While Catlin, who sojourned among them in 1832, declares that "they are distinct from all other red folks I have seen," as "differing in many respects, both in looks and customs, from all other tribes which I have seen;" that they were "many steps ahead of other tribes in manners and refinement"; that they were called "polite and friendly Mandans" by the traders; that he "was struck with the peculiar ease and elegance" of them; that "the diversity of complexions, the various colors of their hair and eyes, the singularity of their languages and their peculiar and unaccountable customs" made him "fully convinced that they have sprung from some other origin than that of the North American tribes, or that they are an amalgam of natives with some civilized race;" that "their personal appearance alone, independent of their modes and customs, pronounces them at once as more or less than Indians;" that a stranger "is first struck with the different shades of complexions and various colors of their hair which he sees in a crowd about him, and is at once almost disposed to exclaim that 'These are not Indians.'" That there are many women "whose skins are almost white, with the most pleasing symmetry of features, with hazel, with gray and with blue eyes—with mildness and sweetness of expression and excessive modesty of demeanor, which render them exceedingly pleasant and beautiful."

131 **Habitat.** The habitat of the Mandans when first seen by white
114 men from the east was, to what may be regarded as a moral
174 certainty, at and in the immediate vicinity, northward, of Mandan and Bismarck in what is now North Dakota, territory then claimed by Spain, and probably by England. We refer to the

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first visit by La Verendrye to the Mandans in November and December, 1738. We have not caused to be examined the Spanish chronicles to ascertain whether it is either certain or probable that subjects of that nation had come in contact with the Mandans prior to Verendrye's said visit; but if we are to credit the positive statement made to him by a Mandan Indian at the most northerly or prairie village of that tribe where he first made a stand among them—to the effect that the narrator and other Mandans had had a conflict with one or more white men to the south, who were on horseback and in armor, and that he had barely escaped with his life. Spaniards had penetrated into the near neighborhood of the Mandans on the upper Missouri before Verendrye visited them. 131 114 174

Verendrye—Where He Met Them. It is impossible to locate with any certainty the spot where, or even the immediate vicinity in which Verendrye met the delegation of Mandans who left their most northerly village and returned with his messengers (sent on to announce his coming) to a designated meeting place not far from that village and greeted and parleyed with him November 28th, 1738, and where the Mandan chief invited him to "his fort"—the nearest by and "smaller than the others," and informed him that there were "six forts." All that can be gathered clearly from Verendrye's record (being his official letter to the French governor general of New France, etc.) is that, having started from Michilimackinac on this expedition to the Mandans on the Missouri river, and having arrived at the Assiniboine river and built a fort there sixty leagues below the "forks" of that river—(which we believe to have referred to the confluence of the main stream with the Souris or Mouse river, some 150 miles west) southwest from what is now Winnipeg—he left this "fort" October 18th; three days thereafter the Assiniboine Indians joined him; that on October 21st, he reached the "first mountain," which he states was 26 leagues from his fort and south by southwest; that he next reached the "second mountain," traveling a west by northwest course 24 leagues (we are inclined to think this second mountain was Turtle mountain), and that from this mountain to the Mandans "is southwest;" that November 18th he arrived at an Indian village far (some sixty leagues) out of the direct route to the Mandans, to the west-southwest 120 leagues, to which point he was forced to go, being in the hands of Assini- 131 174

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more likely to be exact than the estimate of those early explorers. Opinions upon this point will naturally differ.

Thompson. David Thompson, who in the preface to Coues' edition of the Henry-Thompson Journals (Francis P. Harper, 1897) is referred to as "the celebrated astronomer, geographer, explorer and discoverer—in a word the scientist," and who, in the employ of the Northwest Company, left McDougall's house on the Assiniboine river November 28th, 1797, and arrived at the Missouri river and the Mandan villages December 29th, 1797, and departed on his return trip January 10th, 1798, is thus noted by Dr. Coues, who has summarized from the Thompson Journal: "He notes five villages, altogether of 318 houses and 7 tents, viz: Upper Fall Indians, 31 houses, 7 tents; Lower Fall Indians, 82 houses; third village, 'Mahnon of Mandens and a few Fall Indians,' 52 houses, 37 Mandan and 15 Fall; fourth village, Mandan, 'across the river,' 40 houses; fifth, or principal Mandan village, lowest, 113 houses." (Vol. 1, p. 301-2.) He does not undertake to locate precisely any of these villages. But it is clear that he does find two villages on the westerly side of the Missouri in 1797-8, one of which is exclusively Mandan, the other principally composed of that tribe.

Now, both the Thompson and the Lewis and Clarke accounts declare that there were, in the general group of Indian villages on the Missouri at and just below the mouth of the Big Knife river five of them in all. But in order to harmonize the two accounts as to how many of them were **Mandan** villages we must consider the statement in Lewis and Clarke that the two Mandan villages "who had emigrated together" from below and in the neighborhood of Heart river (opposite to Bismarck, North Dakota), and who "settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri," and who were found there by Thompson in 1797 in two villages, had consolidated between that time and 1804, as Lewis and Clarke say of them (referring to the visitors of "1796"), "since which the two villages have united into one." They also say that the "Mahaha" village, on the south side of the Big Knife and at its very mouth, was half a mile below the so called Minitaree, or "Metaharta" village on that stream, and that "on the opposite side of the Knife river, and one and a half miles above this village, is a second of Minnetarees, who may be considered as the proper Minnetaree nation." (Id., p. 198.) We

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must probably, therefore, regard Thompson's account (which included two Mandan villages below the Knife and on the westward side of the Missouri, and doubtless all those on both sides of the Knife) as contemplating the two villages on the south bank of the Knife as but one, since, if he regarded them (as did Lewis and Clarke) as two, his total would be six villages in the whole group, including the Mandan village on the easterly side of the Missouri. In this connection the fact that Thompson's journal speaks of "the third village" (evidently counting from the north southward) as "Mahnon of the Mandans and a few Fall Indians," is significant as indicating a second Mandan village on the westerly side, and also as indicating that he had regarded the two villages of Lewis and Clarke on the south bank of the Knife as one. These considerations would, we believe, substantially harmonize Thompson's and Captain Lewis' journals on the basis of five villages in the whole group in question. Of these the three (of Lewis and Clarke) and the two of Thompson's most northerly villages are called "Fall" Indians by the latter, while Captain Lewis says (as shown above) that the lower of those three is the Mahaha, or Ahnahaways village—known to the French as Gens des Soulliers, and who were, according to Dr. Coues, Matthews and others, closely related to the Hidatsas, Minnetarees or Gros Ventres, and offshoots of the Crows, and differ but little from the Mandans. While the two (of Lewis and Clarke) and (probably) the one of Thompson's upper village or villages in the general group are called by Lewis and Clarke Minnetarees, "surnamed Metaharta," and the one north of the Knife is called by them "the proper Minnetaree nation." (Coues' ed., vol. 1, pp. 197-8.) These Minnetarees are said by Captain Lewis to be "part of the great nation called Fall Indians." (Id., p. 199.) And Coues' note at that point declares that the term is "traceable to the trader, Edward Umfreville, who was on the Saskatchawan in 1784-87, and who mentions these Indians as being about the falls of the south branch of that river" (Id., p. 199); that they were called, without reason, by the French Gros Ventres, or Big Bellies; while Matthews says the tribe thus referred to by Umfreville is that known as "the Atsinas, or Gros Ventres of the Prairie;" that there were "Minnetarees of the Prarie" and "of the Missouri"; that as designated by Lewis and Clarke they are "two entirely different tribes of Indians, the former being Atsinas, or the Fall

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Indians, and the latter being the Hidatsas, with whom they (Lewis and Clarke) are now wintering," and that it is necessary, when reading Lewis and Clarke, to bear this in mind. (Id., pp. 199-200.) 114 131 174

We have made this detailed explanation of those of said group of villages which were not properly Mandan, but whose occupants are said to have closely resembled them, in order to make clearer what was meant by all of the early visitors in referring to the general group as "The Mandan Villages."

As indicating the oldest definitely known habitat of the Mandans, on the first deserted Mandan village site found by Lewis and Clarke in proceeding up the Missouri, we find in their journal a reference to their having found at or near their camp, eight miles below the lower end of what is now known as Sibley Island —which latter is some fourteen miles below Bismarck, North Dakota—on the east bank of the Missouri, in Burleigh county, "the remains of an old village which is high and strong, and has been fortified; this our chief" (an Aricara) "tells us is the remains of one of the Mandan villages, and are the first ruins which we have seen of that nation in ascending the Missouri." (Vol. 1, p. 153, London ed.) That this location may be fixed very definitely, that journal may be quoted further as stating that that camp was "opposite to the uppermost of a number of round hills, forming a cone at the top, one being about ninety, another sixty feet in height, and some of less elevation;" that "near to one of these moles, on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain" those "remains" were found. (Id.)

The narratives in Lewis and Clarke, from day to day after this first indication of former occupancy of the Mandans was seen by them, will show (as seen in extracts therefrom inserted hereinafter) that many such deserted villages were found by them in the neighborhood of Mandan and Bismarck, North Dakota. The "chief" referred to by them as having pointed out this first deserted site as that of the Mandans being an Aricara who was guiding the expedition, was beyond doubt possessed of knowledge enabling him to speak to the fact in the premises. Captain Lewis' statement, based upon the observations of the expedition and the declarations of the Aricara guide, by way of summary as to the former abodes and the migration of the Mandans therefrom upriver, is to the effect that "within the recollection of living wit-

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114 nesses the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about 80 miles below (i. e., below 131 Fort Mandan), seven on the west and two on the east side of 174 the Missouri," which two moved up the river "opposite the Ricaras" after becoming united, the seven (reduced to five) emigrating also "to the Ricara nation" in a body, forming "two villages"—all being driven thence as the result of attacks by Sioux and the ravages of smallpox; that being still insecure "the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present location. The two who had emigrated together settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri, while the single village took a position on the southeast. In this situation they were found by those who visited them in 1796, since which the two villages have united into one. They are now two villages, one on the southeast of the Missouri, the other on the opposite side, at the distance of three miles across. The first, in an open plain, contains about 40 or 50 lodges, built in the same way as those of the Ricaras; the second the same number; and both may raise (i. e., can muster) about 350 men."

E. R. Steinbreuck, of Mandan, N. D., who is connected with the State Historical Society of North Dakota, and who has examined many village ruins of both Mandans and Aricaras between Mandan and the Knife river, states in a letter to the writer hereof in 1908:

"There is one village on the road from Heart river to Fort Clarke, about half way, which I think to have been a Mandan village, while the next below, only about two miles distant, has been decidedly an Aricara village. Some of the Mandans may have stopped there on their move up to Fort Clarke region."

174 **They Came from Whence?** From what direction did the Mandans come to the locality on the Missouri river where were found their deserted villages in 1804? Two theories are, or have been extant upon this subject: One that they emigrated up the Missouri from the region of the mouth of the Ohio, or lower down, on the Mississippi; the other that they at one time lived to the northeast of those portions of the Missouri where those deserted villages and the Mandan villages near the Big Knife were located, and were driven to the Missouri by the Crees, Assiniboines and other tribes inhabiting the region of Lake Winnipeg and west and southwest therefrom.

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We believe they came up the Missouri from a point at least as far south as southern South Dakota, and probably much farther; that they progressed through what is now South Dakota and preceded the Aricaras here; that the supposition that they were in the Winnipeg country before they settled on the Missouri is not tenable; and that to the extent that their appearance on or in the neighborhood of the Assiniboine and the Saskatchewan rivers is provable they were there seeking game and the extension of their then present domain on and in the vicinity of the upper Missouri, or battling with enemies at some distance from their own home base—a perfectly natural and probably necessary pursuit, as Indians have from time immemorial been wont to view the issues of tribal welfare and protection. 174

We shall not stop here to mass the evidences which, respectively, tend or are regarded as tending to support one or the other of these theories of the territorial origin or more ancient habitat of the Mandans, but will proceed to bring forward, in chronological order, the various accounts and narratives of the explorers and visitors who came in contact with them, and some few of the traditions and legends of those Indians themselves, as composing the body of the evidences at large in this paper, after first presenting in brief some authorities going to support the primary assumption that the Mandans were aborigines of South Dakota, and then citing the conclusions of some authorities as to who and what those Indians were among the American Indians; recurring later on to this point as to whence they came, in the light of all that is presented touching their remote habitat and involving at least some of the collateral evidences as to their origin.

Once Inhabited South Dakota. As supporting the assumption that the Mandans once inhabited some parts of what is now South Dakota and may be regarded as aborigines of this region of the Missouri valley, we will mention the conclusions of some explorers and writers, with some Indian traditions on that head.

Catlin believed it a fair deduction that "they formerly occupied the lower part of the Missouri, and even the Ohio and Muskingum, and have gradually made their way up the Missouri to where they now (1833) are." That "there are many remains on the river below this place" (i. e., the Mandan villages below the Knife river, now North Dakota), "(and in fact to be seen nearly as low down as St. Louis) which show clearly the peculiar construc- 114 174

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tion of Mandan lodges, and consequently carry a strong proof of the above position." That the Aricaras in ascending the Missouri occupied lodge villages which had been abandoned by the Mandans. Hayden, whose exhaustive labors in tracing the origin of some of the tribes of western Indians have justly given him a high place among the authorities, and who gives Miahtanes, "people on the bank," as the name these Indians applied to themselves, infers therefrom that "they must have resided on the banks of the Missouri in a very remote period," while another eminent authority, Morgan (Syst. consang. and Affin., 285), assigns as the native name of the tribe Metootahak, or "South Villagers." The Handbook of American Indians, Vol. 1, p. 796, concludes that "all that can be gathered from them is the tradition that at some time they lived in a more easterly locality in the vicinity of a lake, and that "this tradition, often repeated by subsequent authors, is given by Lewis and Clarke." This reference to a lake is here inserted, since the tradition in connection with it may relate to some one of the inland waters of the northwest, or to the ocean on the Atlantic coast, or to the Gulf of Mexico at the mouth of the Mississippi, as will be shown farther on. E. E. Blackman, state archaeologist of Nebraska, in his report in 1902 refers to the Mandans as part of the Siouan stock, stating: "The Mandans were one of the first bands to break off from the parent stock, and the only excuse we have for counting them in our history is the probability that they crossed our borders in their way up the Missouri river, some time prior to the coming of the Skidi band in 1400." He adds: "The above is legendary and not a proven fact." Practically all of the authorities ascribe to them a Siouan origin, which in itself seems to warrant the probability that they once inhabited the country west of Minnesota and in the Missouri valley. The oldest ruins of Mandan lodge-villages on the upper Missouri, found by Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian and others, were not far from sixty miles north of the South Dakota line. (See S. D. Hist. Coll., Vol. 3, p. 389, where in Part I. of this paper it is said to be about seventy miles.) Joseph H. Taylor, of Washburn, N. D., who with Daniel Williams (now of Painted Woods, N. D.) discovered in 1872 on Apple creek, seven or eight miles southeast from Bismarck, N. D., two old Indian village sites, states that inquiry among the Indians at that time led to information that those villages were Mandan, and

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that the occupants had been practically exterminated by the Sioux "near 140 years ago," that some young squaws and children were saved by the captors and that among their descendants was Medicine Bear, the well known Yanktonais chief of thirty years ago. As the Mandans are known to have been located at and across from Bismarck (at Mandan) some twenty years before Lewis and Clarke visited them, this Sioux tradition imparted to Taylor seems to further tend to show that the Mandans were driven up the Missouri from below Mandan by the Sioux. Dr. Cyrus A. Peterson, president of the Missouri Historical Society, is understood to have entertained the belief that the Mandans were traced by the remains of their habitations, and that they were thought to have lived along the central Missouri. Dr. Eastman, himself a Sioux Indian who was reared among them and who in his boyhood days wandered with members of his tribe over large areas of country, affirms that the Yanktonais Sioux traditions are to the effect that the Mandans inhabited the lower James river and other Missouri river country on the east side, which tradition is regarded as having existed some two hundred years. Little Owl, a Mandan Indian on the Fort Berthold reservation, and living in 1905 on the southeast side of the Missouri about four miles below the mouth of the Little Missouri, was interviewed, through an interpreter, by the writer of this article; and in giving an account of the traditional ancient habitat of his tribe stated that Bear-on-the-Water, who he said is "the oldest man," says they came from where the Mississippi empties into the sea; spoke of a "boat without oars" (sailboat?) in which they could go across the sea, "or anywhere on the water, up-stream or anywhere;" that the Mandans came all the way up the river to Heart river; that the villages down the river to the Mississippi that had ditches around them were Mandan villages; that one of the Mandan villages (bands) went north from the Heart river to Winnipeg, etc. Bear's Ghost, another Indian in the same neighborhood, interviewed the same day, and who claimed to be a full-blood Mandan, but who disclaimed having such information as certain older men whom he named possessed in the premises, entered into the traditional account of the origin of the Mandans, which seems to have involved the creation of things in general; and he declared it was "in the mouth of the sea, where this river (Missouri) empties into the sea" that the two "men" who made the earth, etc., met,

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and that the Mandan language was the first one made, etc. (See these narratives at large further on this paper.)

Mr. E. R. Steinbroeck, of Mandan, N. D., who has spent much time in examining both Aricara and Mandan village sites below and above Mandan, and who has compared the pottery and other utensils used by both, declares: "It seems to me beyond a doubt that the Mandans and the Arickara came in contact long before they crossed the boundaries between North and South Dakota," and doubts not that they came from "somewhere south before they settled at and near Heart River."

Further reference to the Mandans is found in the "Handbook of American Indians," Vol. 1, p. 797, where, after quoting Maximilian as declaring that "They affirm that they descended originally from the more eastern nations, near the seacoast," the account proceeds:

"Their linguistic relation to the Winnebago and the fact that their movements in their historic era have been westward up the Missouri correspond with their tradition of a more easterly origin, and would seemingly locate them in the vicinity of the upper lakes. It is possible that the tradition which has long prevailed in the region of northwestern Wisconsin regarding the so called 'ground-house Indians' who once lived in that section and dwelt in circular earth lodges, partly underground, applies to the people of this tribe, although other tribes of this general region formerly lived in houses of this character. Assuming that the Mandan formerly resided in the vicinity of the upper Mississippi, it is probable that they moved down this stream for some distance before passing to the Missouri. The fact that when first encountered by the whites they relied to some extent on agriculture as a means of subsistence, would seem to justify the conclusion that they were at some time in the past in a section where agriculture was practiced. It is possible, as Morgan contends, that they learned agriculture from the Hidatsa, but the reverse has more often been maintained. Catlin's theory that they formerly lived in Ohio and built mounds, and moved thence to the northwest is without any basis. The traditions regarding their migrations, as given by Maximilian, commence with their arrival at the Missouri. The point where this stream was first reached was at the mouth of White river, South Dakota. From this point they moved up the Missouri to Moreau river, where they came in con-

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tact with the Cheyenne and where also the formation of 'bands or unions' began. Thence they continued up the Missouri to Heart river, North Dakota, where they were residing at the time of the first known visit of the whites, but it is probable that trappers and traders visited them earlier." 114 174

In the foregoing account in the "Handbook"—certainly a very authoritative and recent exposition of the Mandans as to former habitat—it is seen that no reference is made to the supposed expulsion of them from the Winnipeg country by the Crees or Assiniboines, or to their ever having had a home there, while emphasis seems to be laid upon the theory that they once inhabited the upper Mississippi, moved down that stream "for some distance before passing to the Missouri," and that (on Maximilian's authority regarding their traditions) they first came to the Missouri "at the mouth of White river" in South Dakota, proceeding thence up the latter stream, and that they first came in contact with the Cheyennes at the Moreau river—which is some 75 miles south of the northern boundary of South Dakota. Other accounts which we refer to below show that, according to the Cheyenne traditions the latter Indians, when they crossed the Missouri about 225 years ago, crossed it near the mouth of the Cheyenne river, and that they there met the Mandans, still farther south; and that the Gros Ventres (or Minnetarees or Hidatsas) while coming from the north first encountered the Mandans on the upper Missouri and crossed that stream to join them. Whether the eminent editor of the "Handbook" (Hodge) and his able assistants intended, by refraining from referring to the Winnepeg theory in the foregoing account of the Mandans because of lack of confidence in it, or whether such course was taken because that theory is brought out in the "Handbook" in one or two instances in connection with accounts of other northwestern tribes can only be conjectured.

Lieut. Clarke, in "Indian Sign Language," speaking of the Gros Ventres, relates that Poor Wolf, then 61 years of age, and born near the mouth of Knife river, whom he found to be "a venerable, professor-like looking old fellow," dressed in a nondescript patchwork of mis-matches, including "a pair of old-fashioned iron spectacles," informed him that the Gros Ventres "migrated toward the Missouri river from the north, and here" (at or near Fort Berthold on the Missouri) "first met the Mandans. The

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Arickarees were then below Fort Pierre." We italicize. We here refer to Poor Wolf in no sense of disparagement in connection with his apparel, but rather in connection with the well known fact that he has long been regarded, and doubtless with good reason, as a prominent member and chief among his tribesmen and the "Confederated Village" at large, and as one whose knowledge of the tribal traditions is of a high order. We desire to point out the above quotation from that venerable and authoritative chief, by wayof comment upon Lieut. Clarke's statement on the next page of his account of the Gros Ventres (p. 195), wherein he says: "Their known migrations are limited to the Missouri River Valley, and from Knife river up to their present village (Fort Berthold), "and I am quite convinced that the Mandans moved from the north and joined them, crossing the river for that purpose." We again italicize. Our point is that not only Poor Wolf, but many other authorities to be found in connection with the history of the Gros Ventres in their relation to migration and contact with the Mandans seems to make it very plain and practically indisputable that the Gros Ventres came to the Missouri from the Devil's Lake region, hailed the Mandans across the Missouri, and after being visited by the latter, who crossed in "bull-boats" to parley with them, were allowed to cross and join them. And we can not but think that Lieut. Clarke, when making the statement last above quoted, had become somewhat confused amid the maze of traditions of the three Confederated Tribes which had grown up, and that he here imputes to the Mandans what really was done by the Gros Ventres.

The fact, too, that Poor Wolf's tradition to the effect that the Aricaras were below the Fort Pierre country when the Gros Ventres found the Mandans on the upper Missouri was recorded by Lieut. Clarke, indicates his inclination to listen to the suggestion that, as between the Mandans and the Aricaras the former were dominant over a long stretch of the river to the southward and were familiar with the fact that the Aricaras had not yet reached the Cheyenne river northward when the Mandans were joined by the Gros Ventres.

Cheyennes and Mandans. Lieut. Clarke, treating of the Cheyennes in "Indian Sign Language" (pp. 99-100), thus refers to the Mandans as incidental to the migration westward of the Cheyennes:

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"Occupying then the country at the headwaters of the Mississippi several hundred years ago, they were slowly forced westward by the Sioux, perhaps southward by the Mandans, the latter being driven from the north by the same power which pressed upon the Sioux, viz., the great Algonquin family, assisted in later years by French arms. It is more than probable that this migration was due in a measure to and determined by their search for game, as traditional evidence in regard to their relations with the Sioux and Mandans is not clear and conclusive." He then parenthetically refers to information given him by Lieut. Bailey, Fifth Infantry, "obtained from what is considered a reliable source," going to show (among other things) "that the Cheyennes met the Mandans two hundred and two years ago, as they—the Cheyennes—crossed the Missouri river. For several years they were at war with the Mandans, after this made peace and have maintained peaceable relations ever since. Before the whites commenced making war against these tribes they frequently camped together, and many Cheyennes and Mandans intermarried."

As this statement was made about 1881, the time thus fixed as that of the first contact between the Cheyennes and Mandans would be about 1680, and the same information shows that the Cheyennes, going westward, met the Mandans on the Missouri. This at least indicates clearly that the Mandans were domiciled on and probably west of the Missouri before the Cheyennes were driven there by pressure of other Indians from the east or north, and this situation seems out of harmony with the idea that the Mandans were behind the Cheyennes to northward and were drving them southward or westward, as supposed by Lieut. Clarke, at another point above quoted.

Again: As bearing out the supposition that the Mandans were established on the west side of the Missouri when the Gros Ventres came into that part of the country, we find in "Handbook of American Indians," Vol. I, page 547, this reference to the Gros Ventres (as Hidatsas) and to the Mandans: "By the Mandan they are known as Minitari, signifying 'they crossed the river,' traditionally said to refer to their having crossed Missouri river from the east." Indeed, it is taken for proven that the Mandans were living on the west side of the Missouri at that time, as in the same account (p. 548) we find this reference to the former traditional habitat of the Gros Ventres, their subsequent alliance

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with the Mandans west of the river and the fact that they "learned agriculture" from the latter:

"According to their own tradition the Hidatsas came from the neighborhood of a lake northeast of their later home and identified by some of their traditionists with Mini-wakan, or Devil's Lake, North Dakota. They had here the circular earth-covered log house, in use also by the Mandan, Arikara and other tribes living close along the upper Missouri, in addition to the skin tipi occupied when on the hunt. Removing from there, perhaps in consequence of attacks by the Sioux, they moved southwest and allied themselves with the Mandans, who then lived on the west side of the Missouri, about the mouth of Heart river. The three tribes, Hidatsa, Mandan and Arikara, were all living in this vicinity about 1765. From the Mandan the Hidatsa learned agriculture. * * * In home life, religious beliefs and customs, house building, agriculture, the use of the skin boat, and general arts, they closely resembled the Mandan with whom they were associated."

Further reference is made in "Handbook of American Indians," Vol. I, p. 251, under the heading "Cheyenne," to the locality on the Missouri where that tribe crossed that stream, viz: "The Cheyenne moved west toward the Missouri river, where their further progress was opposed by the Sutaio—the Staitan of Lewis and Clarke—a people speaking a closely cognate dialect, who had preceded them to the west and were then apparently living between the river and the Black Hills. After a period of hostility the two tribes made an alliance, some time after which the Cheyennes crossed the Missouri below the entrance of the Cannonball and later took refuge in the Black Hills about the heads of Cheyenne river of South Dakota." We have then various references to the point or locality of crossing the Missouri by the Cheyennes and where they came in contact with the Mandans with that event, the general and usual place of their reputed crossing being at or about the mouth of the Cheyenne river; the "Handbook" reciting the Moreau river as the point to which the Mandans had progressed up-river when they "came in contact" with the Cheyennes, and the above reference to the locality "below the entrance of the Canonball." All of these localities save the one last indicated are in South Dakota, while as to the locality "below" the Cannonball it may or may not have been within this state, since

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the mouth of that river is nearly fifty miles north of the line between the Dakotas. 1140

Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson, in his note on the Cheyenne Indians (S. Dak. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 146) says concerning the locality in which that tribe crossed the Missouri: "For some time after the Cheyennes reached the valley of the Missouri they lived on its east bank, and finally crossed at or about the mouth of the Big Cheyenne river, South Dakota." He also says: "Alexander Henry says the Salteurs informed him that they severely defeated the Cheyennes in a great battle about 1740, after which the latter tribe abandoned the country, going westward. The Cheyennes of the present day give the time of their crossing the Missouri river at about 1690." 174

Their Upper Missouri Villages. We will briefly trace the localities in which the Mandans have lived on the Missouri river since their most ancient and definite village remains, actually discovered by the whites, were occupied, and so far as information has come to hand. 361

We regard it as almost certain that when La Verendrye visited the Mandans in 1738 and 1742 they were stationed in the neighborhood of and across from what is now Mandan, N. D., and were, according to that explorer, in "five forts on the two banks of the river"—how many were on each side not appearing. Lewis and Clarke's interpreters informed them that forty years prior to 1804 they were settled in nine villages—seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri, about eighty miles below the Fort Mandan built by that expedition. The closest calculation we can make of the actual distances traveled by Lewis and Clarke after they found the first or most southerly Mandan ruin—as shown by the data in their journal—until they had reached the most northerly of what they call the nine deserted villages, shows that the stretch of river covered by those sites was about twenty-eight miles (instead of twenty miles, as their journal states), and taking as true Dr. Coues' statement that the first Mandan ruin found by them was eight miles below the lower end of what he says is Sibley Island, or about twenty-two miles below Bismarck, we find that the northermost deserted Mandan village in that group must have been located about six miles north of Mandan, N. D. But, as will be seen from Lewis and Clarke's journal inserted hereinafter, they actually point out only eight village sites in that group,

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174 souri river, where they were living at the time they were discovered by the fur trader." That one of Dr. Robinson's authorities which he recalls as a basis for the foregoing statement concerning the Mandans having had an abode in the Lake Winnipeg country is, he declares, Clarke in his "Indian Sign Language," under various tribe headings therein, from some of which accounts we have hereinbefore quoted. He expresses with confidence his belief that he came in contact with further information leading to the same conclusion, but is at present without definite information as to the identity of such authorities.

●114 We will now set forth the account at large of Sieur Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Verendrye, as published in "Canadian Archieves" (1889 pp. 1-29), concerning his visit to the Mandans in 1738, being, so far as now known, the first formal approach made by white men to those Indians, from which will appear the decided agricultural proclivities of this tribe, a reference also to their formidable barricaded villages or "forts," their exceptional makeup as to complexion, their marked hospitality, their fear of the Sioux, their shrewdness as traders, etc.

000 **Verendrye's Account.** "On the morning of the 28th we arrived at the place selected for the meeting of the Mandans, who arrived toward evening—a chief with thirty men and the four Assiniboines. The chief, after having from the top of a height considered for some time the extent of our village, which appeared of a good size, I had him brought to the hut where I was, where a place had been prepared to receive him on one side of it. He
431 came and placed himself near me; one of his people then, on his
276 part, presented me with a gift of Indian corn in the ear, and of their tobacco in rolls, which is not good, as they do not know how to cure it like us. It is very like ours, with this difference, that it is not cultivated and is cut green, everything being turned to account, the stocks and the leaves together. I gave him some of mine, which he thought very good. I acknowledged that I was surprised, expecting to see different people from the other Indians, especially after the account given me. There is no dif-
291 ference from the Assiniboines; they are naked, covered only with a buffalo robe, worn carelessly without breech clout.

000 "I knew from that time that we had to make an allowance for all we had been told. The chief spoke to me in Assiniboine, testifying the joy which I had given to all their nation by my arrival

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the country, principally with the Titon-anah band of Sioux. We concerted a plan for making an escape down the Missouri. As he had a light canoe, we prepared ourselves to leave the Indians, and accordingly, on the night of the 26th of April, we were so happy as to make our escape from these miserable beings. In ten days we arrived at the town of Saint John's, which is the upper settlement on the Missouri river, and from thence we proceeded to the lower settlements. Here I found myself in the full enjoyment of a freedom, of which I had long been deprived; having been a prisoner more than three years and six months. During this period I had been subjected to many severe sufferings. Although I had always been well treated by the Indians, I had undergone great fatigues, and was often much distressed for provisions. Frequent exposure to wet and cold, and the inclemency of weather, brought on a rheumatism, which became so severe, as to confine me eighteen months after I had obtained my liberty." (Pages 201 to 204.)

The document of LeRaye, showing his grand sweep from Canada through the Illinois country well towards the Gulf of Mexico west of the Mississippi, thence northward by many meanderings through the great region of the Missouri and its sources to the very edge of the Rocky mountains, thence back to Canada in the Winnepeg country, thence to near the sources of the Mississippi and back to the Missouri, up the valley again to the Ree villages, and back to the mouth of the "Jim," during nearly the whole of which period he was in the hands of the Indians and followed their capricious movements over practically one-third of the American continent and he being, so far as known, one of two white men who first saw the Flatheads and the Snakes, truly forms one of the most important records ever made relating to early explorations and actual contact with Indians anywhere in America, as it is certainly one of the most remarkable among all those pertaining to the northwest.

The journal richly merits publication as a whole and liberal dissemination among historical societies and students of history.

Lewis and Clarke Journals. The Lewis and Clarke journals come next in order of time, in developing the accounts of the first visitors to the Mandans, and will now be presented, wherein they touch that subject, commencing with the most southerly remains of Mandan village sites and continuing to embrace the

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114 winter's sojourn among them in 1804-5, and taking up the brief journal entries made on the return trip in 1806. The observations relating to these Indians, found therein, also embrace references to other neighboring tribes with whom the Mandans were in contact at the time, and which later we also insert, as we believe nothing can so well assist in showing the precise status of the Mandans on the upper Missouri when first known to the whites as their daily experiences showing their relation to their Indian neighbors.

While the journals of Lewis and Clarke relating to the Mandans are of very great value and, in themselves, give us knowledge of such character and scope as to enable us, without other evidence, to understand quite clearly most of the leading phases of the life of that tribe, yet it is probably within bounds to observe that, considering the length of time during which that notable expedition was quartered at the Mandan villages and the rare opportunities presented for gaining a comprehensive insight into the then more recent history of the tribe, where it came from and how it came to be established within those strong entrenchments and barricades at that point or in that general locality on the great river, the results recorded in those journals are less satisfactory than could be wished, or reasonably expected. Why were not those who were most responsible in that expedition in handing down to the government and posterity the obtainable evidences of leading Indian communities en route, and who were camped among the Mandans for five and a half months, able to ascertain and note down more than they did regarding the history and experiences of those Indians during, say one hundred or one hundred and fifty years immediately preceding that period? It seems incredible that among the members of a tribe so singularly intelligent and having, as all accounts unite in proving they did, so many characteristics leading to the suggestion if not the probability of mixture of Caucasian blood, there did not exist individuals who had treasured up, as have almost every Indian tribe in America, ancestral and tribal traditions in the nature of credible history which, if made known to investigators, would have laid bare the Mandan tribal history for several centuries far more clearly than is done in those journals. And if such individuals were at hand to be interviewed and prodded with persistent inquiry if necessary, until the truth was

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revealed in their responses, it would seem that the influence of so notable and numerous a company as sat down among them during that winter might and should have evolved more than seems to have been learned by the members of that commission and recorded in those journals. Similar observations would seem to be warranted concerning the relative brevity and absence of more detailed and exhaustive information touching their ancient customs, religion, etc. However, observations such as are here indulged in must be regarded as largely speculative. Just how much the patriarchs and leading men of the Mandans had stored up along the lines indicated, and how much of what they did possess they were willing to impart to this the first formal delegation of whites who had ever visited them from the south, is matter of mystery, not of history. 114

The journal entry first to be reproduced here occurs under date of Friday, October 19th, 1804.

First Mandan Ruins. After seventeen and a half miles we encamped on the north, opposite to the uppermost of a number of round hills, forming a cone at the top, one being about ninety, another sixty feet in height, and some of less elevation. Our chief tells us that the calumet bird lives in the holes formed by the filteration of the water from the top of these hills through the sides. Near to one of these holes, on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain, are the remains of an old village which is high, strong, and has been fortified; this our chief tells us is the remains of one of the Mandan villages, and are the first ruins which we have seen of that nation in ascending the Missouri; opposite to our camp is a deep bend to the south, at the extremity of which is a pond. (Page 153, Vol 1, Lewis and Clarke's journal Original Edition, London, 1815.)" 361

Under the date-heading next following, the Lewis and Clarke Journal refers to a "creek on the north" which, according to Dr. Cones, is "Shepherd's Creek" of the Lewis and Clarke map and now known as Apple Creek; it is stated as being six miles below the southerly end of the island mentioned in said Journal. That creek is about seven or eight miles below Bismarck, N. D. The Journal continues:

"Saturday 20. At eight miles we reached the lower point of an island[1] in the middle of the river, though there is no current on

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

versed and great apparent harmony; after which we returned to the boats." (id 370) 648

"Friday, 22nd. While here we had occasion to notice that the Mandans, as well as the Minnetarees and Ricaras, kept their horses in the same lodges with themselves." (id 372)

Patrick Gass' observations on the Mandans, taken from his journal made while a member of the Lewis and Clarke expedition, will now be presented. Gass was a redoubtable Irishman of sound sense and keen observation. While much of what he records is largely a duplication of the Lewis and Clarke entries in substance, yet it will be found upon comparison of the two records that considerable additional information is contained in his journal. Some of his descriptions of Indians, situations and circumstances surrounding the sojourn with the Mandans and at Fort Mandan are striking, and constitute a substantial addition to the main journals. The original edition, published by Ells, Claflin & Co., Dayton (Ohio), in 1847, is here referred to. 114

Journal of Patrick Gass—Lewis and Clarke Expedition. (p. 56, et seq.) 000

"Wednesday, 24th, (October 1804). At twelve we came to a hunting party of the Mandan nation of Indians, and remained with them until 2 and then continued our voyage. There were three lodges of these Indians on an island, which has been cut off the Grand Bend, a short distance below the Mandan village. We encamped on the north side. Five of the Indians came to us, and our Indian went over with them and returned in the morning.

"Thursday, 25th. Passed a beautiful bottom on the south side, and hills on the north. A great many of the natives, some on horseback and some on foot appeared on the hills on the north side, hallooing and singing. At 2, we stopped for dinner, and as we could not get our boat to shore on the north side, the water being shallow, our Indian was sent over to them. In the afternoon we passed a bottom covered with timber on the north side and hills on the south, and encamped on the north side. Here our Indian returned accompanied by one of the Mandans.

"Friday, 26th. Passed a large willow bottom on the south and high land on the north side. The Mandan Indian left us early in the morning. At 10, we came to a hunting party of the Mandans,

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The ground on which they play is a smooth level place about forty paces long and five broad; the players stand side by side, start from one end of the ground and trot on until they are half way through, then one of them throws the ball gently ahead in such a manner that it will not roll further than the space allowed for the game. At the same time, both players push their rods forward to overtake and keep pace with the ball, but not to check its course. Then then examine the particular notch or bunch of feathers at which the ball stops and count accordingly." 000

He learned a good deal about their self-mutilation and torture to which they subject themselves, and from which most of the men have lost a joint of each of their several fingers, the amputation being performed as a memorial to some relative. Before a young man can become a brave, he is required to do a penance. He strips entirely naked and repairs to a high hill, a day's journey from the village, in the depth of winter and must remain there as many days as his strength will permit, dancing, bawling, howling. Some of them have been known to remain out seven days in the severest weather. He is then to return to the village at full speed where he is met by a particular friend and for every day he is absent is given a bull's head, to which is fastened one and a half fathoms of cord and this is fastened to an incision in the penitent's back or shoulders made by pinching up a fold of the skin through which is thrust the barb of an arrow. A separate incision must be made for each bull's head. He must then walk through the village, dragging these weights after him. He found that most of the women had their faces tatooed in a most disgusting manner.

Bradbury's Observations. John Bradbury, F. R. S., who with the noted naturalist, Nuttal, Brackenridge, and others, accompanied the Hunt-Astoria Expedition in 1811, tells of his experiences among the Mandans in his book entitled "Travels In the Interior of America," (printed in Liverpool and published in London, 1817). 114

In the following quotations therefrom, it will be noted that he remarks upon the "brown hair" of a Minnetaree squaw and her child. Also concerning She-he-ke (Shahaska or Big White), the taking of whom through to the states and back in connection with the Lewis and Clarke expedition involved so much trouble.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

•114 The observations of Bradbury concerning the Rees may be found in Part I of this paper, (Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., p. 432, et. seq.) Extracts from his book, relative to the Mandans follow:

Brown Hair. Big White. "28th. (June, 1811.) Having selected some silver ornaments which I proposed to present to She-he-ke, Mr. Brackenridge agreed to accompany me to the Mandan village. We obtained horses from Mr. Lewis for the journey, and about ten o'clock set off. We crossed Knife river at the lower of the Minnetaree villages, and paid the accustomed price to the squaw who ferried us over; for each of us three balls and three charges of powder. Before we left the village, we were invited into the lodge belonging to the White Wolf, one of the chiefs of this village, with whom we smoked. I was surprised to observe that his squaw and one of his children had brown hair, although their skins did not appear to be lighter colored than the rest of the tribe. As the woman appeared to be above forty years of age, it is almost certain that no intercourse had taken place between these people and the whites at the time she was born. I should have been less surprised at the circumstance had they been one of those tribes who change their places of residence; but they have not even a tradition of having resided in any other place than where the present village stands. The White Wolf appeared to be much pleased with our visit, and by signs invited us to call at his lodge whenever we came that way. He shook hands very cordially with us at parting. In our way to the Mandans we passed through the small village belonging to the Ahwahhaways, consisting of not more than eighteen or twenty lodges. This nation can scarcely muster fifty warriors and yet they carry on an offensive war against the Snake and Flathead Indians. On our arrival at the Mandans, She-he-ke, as before, came to the door of his lodge and said, 'Come in house.' We had scarcely entered when he looked earnestly at us, and said, 'whisky.' In this we could not gratify him, as we had not thought of bringing any. I presented the silver ornaments to him, with which he seemed much pleased, and after smoking we were feasted with a dish consisting of jerked buffalo meat, corn and beans boiled together. I mentioned to him my wish to purchase some moccasins, and he sent out into the village to inform the squaws, who flocked into the lodge in such numbers, and with so plentiful a supply, that I could not buy a tenth part. I furnished myself

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

with a dozen pairs at a cheap rate, for which I gave a little vermillion, or rather red lead, and a few strings of blue beads. During our stay, She-he-ke, pointing to a little boy in the lodge whom we had not noticed before, gave us to understand that his father was one of the party that accompanied Mr. Lewis, and also indicated the individual. On our return we crossed the Knife river at the upper village of the Minnetarees. The old squaw who brought the canoe to the opposite side of the river, to fetch us over, was accompanied by three young squaws, apparently about fourteen or fifteen years of age, who came over in the canoe, and were followed by an Indian, who swam over to take care of our horses. When our saddles were taken off, and put into the canoe, Mr. Brackenridge and myself stepped in, and were followed by the old squaw, when the three young squaws instantly stripped, threw their clothes into the canoe, and jumped into the river. We had scarcely embarked before they began to practice on us every mischievous trick they could think of. The slow progress which the canoe made enabled them to swim around us frequently, sometimes splashing us; then seizing hold of the old squaw's paddle, who tried in vain to strike them with it; at other times they would pull the canoe in such a manner as to change the direction of its course; at length they all seized hold of the hind part, and hung to it. The old squaw called to the Indian who was following our horses. He immediately swam down to our assistance, and soon relieved us from our frolicsome tormentors, by plunging them successively over head, and holding them for a considerable time under water. After some time they all made their escape from him, by diving and swimming in different directions. On landing, by way of retaliation, we seized their clothes, which caused much laughing betwixt the squaw and the Indian. We had many invitations to have staid to smoke, but as it was near sunset, and we had seven miles to ride, they excused us." (p. 150-153.)

Brackenridge's Journal. H. M. Brackenridge, who came up the Missouri river with the Hunt-Astoria Expedition in 1811, and whose views on the Aricaras were presented in Part I of this paper, (Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., p. 408, et. seq.), also briefly visited the Mandans, and some of his observations concerning them will now be presented. His travels on that occasion are published in his "Journal of a Voyage up the River Missouri,"

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114 (Coale & Maxwell, Baltimore, 1816), and he also mentions briefly the tribe in his "Views of Louisiana," (Schaeffer & Maund, Balto., 1817.) He was a lawyer of keen observation, given somewhat to philosophical reflections upon the red man. The party reached the Mandan villages July 26, 1811. We quote as follows from his "Voyage," etc.:

Villages. "Wednesday, 26th, (July, 1811.) Continued our voyage through a beautiful country, on both sides of the river. In the afternoon passed by all five of the Mandan villages, which are situated upon high open plains, the village of She-he-ke, divided from the others by a handsome stream. The inhabitants had gathered to the bank to see us, several waded into the water, but returned when we beckoned to them not to approach. The men were generally naked, the women dressed according to their age or quality, from the course elk skin, to the elegant agalia. It was late at night before we reached the fort of the Missouri Company, which is situated above all the villages, and sixteen hundred and forty miles from the mouth of the Missouri, and in latitude 47 degrees, 13 minutes N."

Brackenridge describes the grim spectacle of the aerial sepulcher of the Mandans:

Burial Scaffolds. "We made several excursions to the villages below, the nearest about six miles off; but as they differ but little from those of the Arikara, I will give no particular description of them. I noticed but one thing as remarkable.

"About two miles on this side of the first village, my attention was attracted by a number of small scaffolds, distributed over several acres of ground on the slope of a hill. I soon discovered that this was a depository of the dead. The scaffolds were raised on forks about ten feet, and were sufficiently wide to contain two bodies; they were in general covered with blue and scarlet cloth, or wrapt in blankets and buffalo robes; we did not approach near enough to examine closely, this frightful Golgotha, or place of human skeletons, but we could see a great number of valuable articles which had been left as offerings to the manes of the deceased. Several crows and magpies were perched upon them; we could not but experience a sensation of horror, when we thought of the attraction which brought these birds to this dismal place. Some of the scaffolds had nearly fallen down, perhaps overturned by the wind, or the effect of decay, and a great num-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

gender, except in addressing a man or woman. For my observation on the Mandan language, I am chiefly indebted to the kindness and patience of Mr. Kipp, who has lived eleven years among that people, had married an Indian wife, and had attained a perfect knowledge of the language. The Mandan names always have a signification, and are often equivalent to the whole sentences; all surrounding objects are made use of in giving names. I subjoin a few singular specimens: 'The bear which is a spirit'; 'The bull which is a spirit,' 'I hear somebody coming'; 'There are seven of them married to the old woman,' etc." 800

As seen from Maximilian's concluding words on the Mandans, he failed to find that the Mandans spoke the Gaelic language. But what he affirms in opposition to the claim that their complexion was fairer than that of other Indians in general seems in some contrast to his opening observations relative to their complexion. He thus concludes:

"In conclusion, I would say, that some have affirmed that they have found, in North America, Indians who spoke the Gaelic language; this has been said of the Mandans; but it has been long ascertained that this notion is unfounded, as well as the assertion that the Mandans had a fairer complexion than the other Indians."

Dr. Matthews' Views. "From a work entitled "Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians," prepared by Dr. Washington Matthews, assistant surgeon United States army, published by the federal government in connection with and as a part of Hayden's Survey (1877), we quote the following extracts from the elaborate and authoratative observations of Dr. Matthews found therein; he having been stationed near the Fort Berthold village of the confederated tribes in the sixties and seventies of the last century, and for several years while there made close study of the Mandan, Ariccaree and Hidatsa (or Minnetaree) Indians and of their language, particularly as to the Hidatsa language. His entire work in that behalf was published, composed of "Ethnography of the Hidatsa Indians," his "Hidatsa Grammar," his "Hidatsa Dictionary," and his "English-Hidatsa Vocabulary," in one volume. The entire work is of a very high order of excellence, and is in fact one of the leading authorities of its kind in existence. All that appears below is from his "Ethnography." 1140

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114 The Mandans and Ariccaras come in for some separate treatment, but most of what is extracted herein is said by him as pertaining to the "Three Tribes" at Fort Berthold, above mentioned. Those extracts now follow:

Location of Confederated Village of Mandans, Etc. "An arid 131 prairie- terrace, some four miles wide, stretching southward to the Missouri from the base of bluffs which form the edge of a higher plain, becomes gradually narrower as it approaches the river, and terminates in a steep bluff of soft rock and lignite which overhangs the river. On the southern extremity of this terrace, near the brow of the bluff, stand the Indian village, and what remains, since a recent fire, of the old trading post of Fort Berthold. This is on the left bank of the Missouri, in latitude 47 degrees, 34 minutes north, and longitude 101 degrees, 48 minutes west nearly. About five years ago, a large reservation was declared for them in Dakota and Montana, along the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. Fort Berthold is in the northeast corner of this reservation."

000 See, for further description of this site and surroundings, Part I of this paper, Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., pp. 574-7.

Matthews' reference to the lodge-groupings in that village is as follows:

Dwellings. 361 "The village consists of a number of houses built very closely together, without any attempt at regularity of position. The doors face in every possible direction; and there is great uniformity in the appearance of the lodges; so it is a very difficult matter to find one's way among them."

342 And of the type of lodges as originally constructed, he gives the following description, with some features not noted by the earlier visitors:

Old-Style Lodges of Mandans, Etc. "Most of the houses of the village were in 1865 peculiar, large, earth-covered lodges, such as were built by various tribes of Indians of the plains, in the valley of the Missouri, and so often, with varying accuracy, described by travelers. Each one of these lodges consists of a wooden frame, covered with willows, hay, and earth. A hole in the top, which lets in the light and lets out the smoke, and a doorway on one side, are the only apertures in the building. The door is made of rawhide stretched on a frame, or of puncheons.

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167 smallpox in 1837, after which, for a time, they occupied only one village. In 1845, when the Hidatsa moved away from Knife river, some of the Mandans went with them, and others followed at different times afterwards. For a short time, it appears that a few Mandan families occupied the old Amahami village. We have an account of some moving up to the village at Fort Berthold as late as 1858, and of others still remaining at the mouth of Knife river at the same time.

101 "The word Mandan seems to be a corruption of the Dakota name Matani or Mawatani. Previous to 1837, they called themselves simply Numakaki, i. e., People, Men. They sometimes spoke of themselves and the Minnetarees together as Nuweta, **Ourselves.** A large band of their tribe was called Siposka-Numakaki, **Prairie-Hen People,** or Grouse Men. This name, Mr. Catlin, in his first work, renders, 'People of the Pheasants,' and in his last work, presents in the shape of 'Nu-mah-ka-kee (pheasants),' and then, from this translation, leaves us to draw the 'important inference' that the Mandans once lived in the Ohio valley. They now often call themselves Metutahanke, after their old village below Knife river." (p. 13-14.)

●114 Matthews, in mentioning the earlier visitors of the Mandans, speaks in high commendation of the accounts of Maximilian:

Tribute to Maximilian. "Captains Lewis and Clarke, Mr. Catline, the Prince of Neuwied, and Dr. Hayden have written very full accounts of this tribe, and all but the first named explorers present vocabularies of their language. The work of Prince Maximilian contains the most accurate and extensive information regarding their customs and manners. Notwithstanding the great changes in the tribe since 1834, the majority of his notes might be used without alteration in describing the Mandans of today. In a few cases, however, I believe that the deductions which he drew from his observations were incorrect." (p. 14-15.)

161 **Population—Official Reports—Errors.** "The population of the village is not known. It is said that the inhabitants of some of the old villages allowed a census to be taken immediately before the epidemic which proved so fatal to them. They believed that their calamity resulted from the census, and have since resisted all efforts to ascertain their numbers. Many ingenious plans have been devised for counting them without their knowledge, but

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could trace any resemblance between the modern Mandan and Aricaree tongues. As far as I have observed them, there is not a single word alike in both. It is not likely that intercourse has produced a noteworthy approximation of languages in one case and none whatever in the other. There is no doubt that the Hidatsa language has changed in the course of time; but the change has resulted chiefly from causes other than the influence of the Mandan tongue. Some of the old men occasionally converse among themselves in terms which younger members of the tribe do not understand, and, when asked what they mean, they say they are trying to speak the old language." (p. 84.)

Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, D. D., LL. D., who was for so long a missionary of the Congregational church among the Dakota and other Indians, and who is author of the "Dakota Grammar and Dictionary" and "Gospel Among the Dakotas," has, in his book entitled "Mary and I. Forty Years With the Sioux" (W. C. Holmes, Chicago, 1880), given some account of the Mandans, whom he visited at Fort Berthold in 1874. We quote from said work, pages 271, et seq., the following:

Riggs' Observations On Mandans. "Here (at Fort Berthold, N. D.) were gathered the remnant of the Mandans, only a few hundred persons, and the Rees, or Aricarees, a part of the Pawnee tribe, and the Gros Ventres, or Minnetaree, properly the Hidatsa. Altogether, they numbered about two thousand souls. We had before this entertained the desire that we might be able to establish a mission among these people, and this thought or hope gave interest to my visit. The Mandan and the Hidatsa languages were both pretty closely connected with the Dakota; but what seemed to bring these nearer to us was the fact that many of all these people could understand and talk the Dakota, that forming a kind of common language for them.

"**Howard Mandan,** or 'The-man-with-a-sacred-face,' as his Indian name is interpreted, was the son of **Red Cow,** the principal chief of the Mandans, and had been taken down by Gen. C. H. Howard, a year before, and placed in A. L. Riggs' school at Santee. Howard had returned home before my visit, and also Henry Eaton, a Hidatsa young man, who had been east a good many years and talked English well.

"George Catlin had, many years ago, interested us in the Man-

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ADDENDA.

Since the completion of the foregoing article, the author has been afforded an opportunity of an examination of the work by Will and Spinden on the Mandans; and deeming it well worthy of mention herein, we have prepared a brief reference to some of the salient points brought out therein, which will be found below: 114

G. H. Will and H. J. Spinden. These gentlemen, being Harvard University students of the class of 1906, explored in part an old Mandan village site fourteen miles above Bismarck on the east bank of the Missouri in 1905, on behalf of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology; which labor is in part the subject of their "Papers," etc., published by that museum (Cambridge, Mass.) in 1906, under the title "The Mandans: A Study of Their Culture, Archaeology and Language." The work, which shows considerable study and research and is a highly interesting and instructive study of the subject treated of, deals, in three parts, of the "History, Life and Customs;" the "Archaeology;" and the "Language" of the Mandans. The illustrations are very faithful, and comprise the various specimens of pottery, implements, etc., found in said village site, and several illustrations of Mandan village sites visited by them in that locality. Part III ends with a valuable vocabulary of Mandan words compiled from Catlin, Maximilian, Hayden, Morgan and Schoolcraft; all of which vocabularies, they assert, came from James Kipp. The authorities relied on by them in regard to the general characteristics of the Mandans are the well known travelers and others among the classics, brought out in this paper. As pertains to the original habitat of the Mandans, these authors assert that previous to living upon the Missouri "they probably occupied some portion of the Ohio valley;" that that valley "would seem to have served as a point of dispersal whence the Plains members of the Siouan stock are supposed to have moved in four successive migrations"—the language of the Mandans being regarded by them as "unquestionably of Siouan stock, but does not appear to show very much closer affiliation with one than with another branch of that stock;" that "information upon the Mandan language is exceeding scarce and no very accurate or full gram-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

114 matical sketch exists." They dwell upon the lightness and other peculiarities of complexion of the Mandans, stating: "There can be little question that there was a tendency toward light complexion among the Mandans, and all of the authorities, even Maximilian, express the opinion that this was not from contact with the whites;" and while declaring it "difficult to decide" as to the cause of these peculiarities, they add: "It is almost needless to say that there is absolutely no trace either in language or in physical characteristics of any European origin or admixture." No professed study of this latter question seems to have been made by those worthy authors, so far as we are able to judge from said publication. We regret that we did not have access to a copy of said work in time to have dealt with it in the proper place in the foregoing paper.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931) 1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

INTRODUCTION

THE Mandan are a small Siouan-speaking tribe who in 1910 numbered 197, according to the government census. In 1929 the writer collected data on lodge groups at Fishhook Village for the period 1870–72 from the information of a number of older Mandan and found that they considered forty-three households with a population of three hundred and nineteen as Mandan. Of this number, some of the individuals were Arikara, Hidatsa, and even Crow. Nevertheless, the household was considered to be Mandan because of the participation of the individuals of the household in the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan.

This study of the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan was made during a six-month visit to the Fort Berthold Reservation in 1930 and 1931. The census of lodge groups at the last village of Fishhook for both the Mandan and the Hidatsa was prepared from the data supplied by several of the older informants. Pertinent information on sacred bundles owned and offices filled by the various individuals was recorded. Genealogies were prepared from the data obtained from the census and the inheritance of bundle and other ceremonial rights. This preliminary study, made by the writer in 1929 for Beloit College and under the immediate supervision of Dr. George L. Collie, indicated that much of the aboriginal culture could be reconstructed. The Logan Museum of Beloit College conducted archeological studies of documented Mandan village sites during the period when this study was made, and native informants were especially helpful in identifying numerous traditional sites and interpreting archeological data.

While preparing the census and genealogies of the Mandan, no especial effort was made to record sacred rites. Informants offered little resistance to the recording of data on the possession of these bundles or the order of their inheritance. When the recording of the sacred myths and rites was undertaken, the writer was acquainted with all his informants. Tom Smith, who

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

115 riage with the Mandan. Bears Arm supplied information on Eagle-trapping Rites.

115 As the study progressed, less resistance to divulging sacred lore was encountered except in the recording of the People 124 Above rites. The omission or incompleteness of data for some ●114 of the rites is due to the shortness of the period of study and the failure of the writer to recognize the significance of some of the rites in interpreting the ceremonial life until the study was nearly completed or while analyzing the data after leaving the field. By that time those who could have supplied the information had died. Additional information on the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan, particularly eagle-trapping, was obtained while making a study of the Hidatsa for the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago under the supervision of Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole in 1932 and 1933. Beloit College transferred the field notes on the Mandan to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago in 1940, and the section on Mandan ceremonial organization was prepared at that time. The writer worked with Crows Heart, now ninety-two years of age and the only survivor of the original group of informants, during the summer of 1947 recording his autobiography. At that time the section dealing with the social organization was checked with him.

128 In the preparation of this manuscript, the writer has attempted to record as fully as possible the myths relating to the ceremony. At times these myths, because of their exceeding length, make reading difficult. However, were the myths removed from their proper context, the meaning of the various rites and practices of the ceremony would be lost. The introductory chapter is a brief summary taken from two other manuscripts recently prepared by the writer. These are: "Archeology of the Upper Missouri" and "A History of the Mandan and Hidatsa." These manuscripts may be examined at the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago. I have purposely avoided reference to cultural similarities to neighboring tribal groups other than to indicate broad cultural similarities with the Hidatsa.

194 In the brief recording of native terms the writer has employed the symbols used by Kennard in his report on "Mandan Gram-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

built a village on Eagle Nose Butte, where they remained until 1823, one year after James Kipp established a trading post at the Mandan villages.

Various aspects of Mandan culture were recorded by visitors to the region after 1832. Catlin and Maximilian described the village life in 1832 and 1833 from observations made of their daily activities.[12] Chardon's journals, written at Fort Clark between 1834 and 1839, carries a day-by-day account of the tribe during the second major smallpox epidemic of 1837 and of the reorganization of the population at that time.[13] Kurz, Boller, and Matthews have described various aspects of their culture as observed between 1851 and 1870.[14]

After 1870, the Mandan received little attention until 1908, when Libby used native informants to identify village sites of the Mandan and other tribes on the Upper Missouri.[15] He showed that Mandan sites could be distinguished from those of other tribes by the peculiar arrangement of lodges around a central plaza or open circle. A year later Curtis published a report of the Mandan covering various aspects of their culture.[16] Between 1912 and 1919, Lowie published reports on the social organization, societies, and ethnological problems of the Mandan based on field work with the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow.[17]

12. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (Philadelphia, 1857), and *O-Kee-Pa* (Philadelphia, 1867); Maximilian's *Travels in the Interior of North America*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Thwaites, Vols. XXII–XXIV (Cleveland, 1906).

13. *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark, 1834–1839*, ed. Annie Heloise Abel (Pierre, S.D., 1932).

14. *Journal of Rudolph Friederick Kurz*, ed. J. N. B. Hewitt (Bulletin 115 of the Bureau of American Ethnology [Washington, 1937]); Henry A. Boller, *Among the Indians: Eight Years in the Far West, 1858–1866* (Philadelphia: Elwood Zell, 1868); Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* ("U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey, Miscellaneous Publications," Vol. VII [Washington, 1877]).

15. O. G. Libby, "La Verendrye's Visit to the Mandans in 1738–39" and "Typical Villages of the Mandan, Arikara and Hidatsa in the Missouri Valley, North Dakota," *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, Vol. II (1908).

16. Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indians*, Vol. V: *The Mandan*, ed. Ferderick Webb Hodge (Cambridge, Mass.: University Press, 1909).

17. Robert H. Lowie, "Some Problems in the Ethnology of the Crow and Village Indians," *American Anthropology*, Vol. XIV (new ser., 1912); *Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XI [1913]); *Social Life of the Mandan and Hidatsa* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXI [1917]); *The Hidatsa Sun Dance* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVI [1919]).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

175 Will and Hyde studied the agriculture of a number of Plains tribes which included the Mandan.[18] Their report indicated that 114 much of the aboriginal Mandan culture could still be preserved from the knowledge of a number of the older Mandan. Densmore's study of Mandan and Hidatsa music indicated something of the rich ceremonialism shared by these two tribes.[19] Beckwith studied and recorded the folklore of the Mandan during the 1930's.[20] Although her reports by no means cover all the secular and sacred myths of this tribe, a considerable body of traditional lore was preserved and recorded during several brief visits to the tribe. Kennard studied the Mandan language in 1933 and published a report on Mandan grammar in 1936.[21]

172 Archeological studies have not kept pace with the ethnological studies of this important Plains tribe. The first intensive 114 archeological study of a Mandan earth-lodge village site was made by Will and Spinden in 1905 at the Double Ditch site, the residence of the Nuptadi Mandan on the east bank of the Missouri north of Bismarck, North Dakota.[22] Subsequent studies by Strong[23] and by the writer in other documented Mandan sites of the same region show that minor cultural differences existed between Mandan sites of the same period. In 1908 Libby employed native informants to assist in the interpretation of archeological phenomena.[24] He found that lodge arrangement around an open circle was characteristic of the Mandan and Arikara villages, the latter group placing a large circular ceremonial lodge in the center of the open circle, whereas the Hidatsa practiced no particular lodge arrangement, and that the leaders of the Mandan villages lived adjacent to the village plaza. He in-

18. George F. Will and George E. Hyde, *Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri* (St. Louis: William Harvey Miner Co., Inc., 1917).

19. Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* ("Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology," Bull. 80 [Washington, 1923]).

20. Martha W. Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-lore Society," Vol. XXXII [Boston, 1938]).

21. Edward Kennard, "Mandan Grammar," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. IX, No. 1.

22. George F. Will and H. J. Spinden, *The Mandans: A Study of Their Culture, Archaeology and Ethnology* ("Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University," Vol. III, No. 4 [Cambridge, Mass., 1906]).

23. William Duncan Strong, *From History to Prehistory in the Northern Great Plains: Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America* ("Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," Vol. C [Washington, 1940]).

24. *Op. cit.*

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

dicated that La Verendrye had actually reached the Hidatsa and not the Mandan when making a winter trip to the Missouri in 1738. He based his conclusions largely on the journals of the course followed after leaving the Souris River. He believed that La Verendrye reached the Missouri River near the present town of Sanish, North Dakota. Because of the absence of large earth-lodge village ruins near Sanish, this opinion has been largely rejected by subsequent students of Mandan-Hidatsa history. 172 114

The first reference to observed temporal differences in cultures of earth-lodge sites in the area was made by Will, who wrote:

> In pursuing the above-described work an impression gradually grew that there were two rather distinct types of sites in the region, distinct enough in fact so that nearly every site could be referred readily to one or the other group. The center for one type seems to be below the Heart River, with the Huff site as perhaps the best representative. The second type is found at and above the mouth of the Heart River altogether, although the lower sites seem to overlap. . . . A reasonable conclusion therefore seems to be that the two types must represent a difference in time and culture between two periods of occupation by the same tribe. This agrees well with the historical traditions of the Mandan, and seems a fair hypothesis although much longer and more detailed work would be required to demonstrate it fully.[25]

The relative age of sites near the Heart River suggested by Will has been demonstrated to be correct by archeological explorations in the sites by Strong,[26] by Will and Hecker,[27] and by the writer. In another report the writer enumerated pottery traits and frequencies that could be used to distinguish Hidatsa sites from those of the Mandan and indicated that the sites showing pottery traits characteristic of the Hidatsa village groups were traditionally Hidatsa sites according to the information of both Mandan and Hidatsa informants.[28] Having established the frequency of pottery types characteristic of the documented Mandan sites of the early historic period, it was shown that differences in frequencies occurred between different levels within each village site and that the same changes in 172 174

25. George F. Will, *Archaeology of the Missouri Valley* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXII, Part 6 [1924]), p. 341.

26. *Op. cit.*

27. George F. Will and Thad C. Hecker, *Upper Missouri River Valley Aboriginal Culture in North Dakota* ("North Dakota Historical Quarterly," Vol. XI [1944]).

28. Alfred W. Bowers, "A History of the Mandan and Hidatsa" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago).

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778 554 sacred bundles they had acquired, providing, of course, they had been successful in life and had not "kicked the stone." One having repeated bad luck usually put his bundles away and sought new vision experiences. This could not be done with tribal bundles. The only instance on record of an attempt to dispose 425 of a tribal bundle was made by Red Bird in 1838, a year after 778 the smallpox epidemic when he lost a son of smallpox. A son-in-law offered to buy the bundle and received tribal approval of the transfer. Personal bundles were normally taken to the scaffold and hung with the pipe and firearms when the owner died.

796 In summary, the above report covers the main features of the Mandan ceremonial life so far as it was possible to ascertain. In 178 evaluating the data supplied by informants, the writer gave especial emphasis to the information of those informants whose •114 parents lived in the Nuptadi village which was occupied at Deapolis as a separate Mandan village after the Fort Clark village group had united with the Hidatsa. It was found that the Mandan preserved their ceremonial structure with minor variations after the smallpox epidemic. The clan system and age-grade organization were simplified to meet the new conditions of a reduced population. I have not attempted to indicate cultural borrowing, since a companion report covering details of the Hidatsa social and ceremonial organization is in the process of preparation. So far as the Mandan were concerned, there is little evidence of ceremonial borrowing since 1837, owing in large part, no doubt, to the heavy ceremonial burden inherited from earlier times when the population was materially larger. That the Mandan have played an important role in the growth of Plains culture must be inferred from their central position in the Low Plains, the high development in trade for agricultural products with their nomadic neighbors, and the admitted borrowing by the Hidatsa of many significant elements of their culture.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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THE MANDANS.

A Study of their Culture, Archaeology and Language.

●114 As yet very little archaeological work has been done on the old sites of the Mandan villages in North Dakota, although they are numerous, interesting, and rich in material relating to the past life of the people. The sites in some places have been injured by plowing and farming, but most of them are in good condition, though in a precarious situation owing to the rapid settlement and increasing cultivation of the land about them. Many of the sites have been marred by relic hunters and inexperienced collectors, but none are seriously damaged.

Besides the collection in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge which forms the basis of the archaeological section of this paper, collections from this region are also in the possession of: the American Museum of Natural History in New York, the Minnesota State Historical Society, the North Dakota State Historical Society and the National Museum in Washington. The Minnesota and North Dakota collections, while large and interesting, were not the result of careful, systematic work on any one site.

No single site has yet been fully investigated, and the work last summer was the first attempt at a thorough exploration. A complete excavation of the entire site was beyond the resources of the expedition, which confined itself to a detailed examination of certain selected areas. There still remains a wide field for additional investigation.

On the ethnological side little further research is possible owing to the practical extinction of the tribe. All that can be done is to assemble and sift the considerable mass of information to be gathered from the accounts of early travellers.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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114 The position of the Mandans on the main travelled road up the Missouri to the fur country, the fact that their villages were one of the recognized stops on this journey, and their difference from the average Plains Indians which surrounded them, caused travellers to take especial note of them. Moreover, there were many wonderful tales concerning them scattered abroad over the country, started probably by their own less cultured neighbors. Hence there are a number of historical accounts running from the early part of the 18th century, to the middle of the 19th. Only a few of these make any mention of the old village sites.

The first known account of the Mandans is that of the Sieur de la Verendrye.[1] As agent of a Canadian fur company, he made the trip across country from the Portage du Prairie to the Mandan villages in the fall of the year 1738. His account is some fifteen pages long, and is very interesting as giving the only picture of the Mandan period of prosperity which can be obtained. He was led to make this trip to extend the fur trade and because of the wonderful stories related to him by the Assiniboines. Verendrye in his visit to the Mandans was disappointed because they did not come up to these tales.

There is a long jump between Verendrye's account and that of Lewis and Clarke, and this gap is bridged only by an account which cannot be found and is only known to exist by mention of it in a letter.[2] It is said to be the story of a certain McKenzie, who in the employ of a Canadian fur company visited the Mandans in 1772 and brought back a glowing account of them.

Lewis and Clarke,[3] however, are the next certain chroniclers. They arrived among the Mandans in the fall of 1804, and spent the winter at Fort Mandan in the neighborhood of the Mandan villages. Their account is good, but the details are scattered and must be collected from a mass of other material. They furnish practically the only information concerning the

[1] Brymner: Report on the Canadian Archives, 1889, pp. 3-39. Margry, P.: Decouvertes et Etablissements des Francois dans l'Ouest et dans le sud de l'Amerique septentrionale, vol. VI, pp. 592 et seq. Paris, 1886.

[2] Quoted in Schoolcraft: History, Condition and Prospects, vol. III, p. 252.

[3] All the important editions of the Journals have been examined; for convenience, reference will usually be made to date of entry only.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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location and early condition of the archaeological remains both of the Mandans and Arikara, and their account is thus doubly valuable. 114

Next in point of time comes the journal of Alexander Henry, who visited the Mandans during the year 1806. He was a trader for the Northwest Company and came to the Mandans in connection with the fur trade. He kept a fairly full journal, which was edited and published by Dr. Elliot Coues.[1] In this he gives the details of several weeks residence among the Mandans and Hidatsa with reasonably full descriptions of many interesting details of their life.

After Henry, came two men of lesser importance, but who give some additional facts, although devoting most of their space to the Arikara. These are Brackenridge[2] and Bradbury,[3] who came together, in 1810, and each of whom later printed an account of their journey. The former was an American, the latter an Englishman of scientific interests.

The next authority, chronologically, is the artist and Indian lover, George Catlin.[4] He visited the Mandans in the spring of 1833, and has devoted almost two hundred pages in his "North American Indians" to an extended account of that tribe. All his work is colored by his romantic imagination and deep love for the Indians, nevertheless in matters of actual fact he seems to be as reliable as any other authority, judging from comparison with Maximilian and others. Catlin became a great supporter of the wild theory that the Mandans were of Welsh origin, little of this appears, however, in his main work, and his facts have not been interfered with by his theories. His drawings are probably a little idealized, but they, too, afford a reasonably accurate source of information.[5] Withal it may be said that while Catlin's theories are to be questioned, his facts are of value.

[1] New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest; the Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson. 1799-1814, 3 vols. New York, 1897.

[2] Journal of a Voyage up the River Missouri. Baltimore, 1816.

[3] Travels in Interior America. Liverpool, 1817.

[4] North American Indians. New York, 1841.

[5] Matthews: The Earth Lodge in Art. Amer. Anth. (N. S.), vol. IV, pp. 1 et seq.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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114 After Catlin comes Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied.[1] During the winter of 1833–4 he passed several months among the Mandans, and has given us a minute and accurate account of the manners and customs of the people in so far as he observed them. In addition he has given one of the best vocabularies of Mandan and almost the only grammatical sketch of that language. This, though incomplete, is of great value. There is nothing romantic and imaginative in Maximilian's style and treatment of the Mandans, and he may be justly recognized as the best of the various authorities.

Besides these more important chroniclers of the Mandans there is a group of minor authorities to whom something is due for an occasional fact. Most of these men have taken their accounts almost wholly from the above first-hand narratives, making in some cases small additions of their own. First in this group is Patrick Gass,[2] a member of the Lewis and Clarke expedition. With the exception of McKenzie and Larocque,[3] two Northwest Company men who tell us scarcely anything, he is the only one of the minor authorities who writes from personal observation. The others are men who have only condensed what has been gathered by reading, such are Schoolcraft,[4] Hayden,[5] and Matthews.[6]

172 361 The remains which form a basis for the archaeological section of the present paper are part of a single village site. There are numerous other sites of a similar type scattered from the Grand River in South Dakota, to the north side of the Knife River in North Dakota. These sites are attributed to two different tribes, the Mandans and the Arikara. We may first consider the remains which seem to be of Mandan origin.

The field in which these sites are found is restricted to an area along the Missouri River from a few miles south of Apple

[1] Voyage en l'Amerique du Nord. Paris, 1843.

[2] Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a corps of Discovery under the command of Captain Lewis and Captain Clarke. Philadelphia, 1812.

[3] Journals in Masson, Les Bourgeois de la Campagnie du Nord-Ouest, vol. II. Quebec, 1889.

[4] Op. cit., vol. III, pp. 248 et seq.

[5] Contributions to the Ethnography and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley. Trans. Am. Philos. Soc. (N. S.), vol. XII, pp. 435 et seq.

[6] Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians. Washington, 1877.

SECTION III.

LANGUAGE.

197 The language of the Mandans is unquestionably of the Siouan stock, but does not appear to show very much closer affiliation with one than with another branch of that stock. The Hidatsa is perhaps nearest to the Mandan but even that differs materially both in vocabulary and grammatical construction. It has been said that the Winnebago resembles most closely the Mandan, but from a careful comparison with vocabularies containing over one hundred equivalents from some six or seven Siouan dialects it appears that this resemblance is not as great as that between the Winnebago and the Iowa.

197 The Mandans were excellent linguists and we are told by early travellers that they were accustomed to learn the lan-
191 guages of nearly all their neighbors, while very few of the other tribes ever learned Mandan. Such a condition was apt to bring about considerable change in the language, and very likely it did so. Maximilian was told by the old men that in their youth the Mandan and Hidatsa resembled each other much less than they did in 1834. The songs of the Okeepa and society dances were in an older language which no one but the medicine men and those whom they taught understood. And lastly at this time the Mandans in the two villages spoke different dialects. The ones on the south side of the river, who thus had more intercourse with the Hidatsa, spoke a dialect resembling that language more closely than did the dialect in the northern village. Words in the south village became shortened to resemble the more abrupt speech of the Hidatsa, and sound changes, notably that of *d* for *n*, crept in from the latter.

●114 Information upon the Mandan language is exceedingly scarce and no very accurate or full grammatical sketch exists. Small vocabularies are found in many places, but these have

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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never before been brought together. Those given by Catlin, Maximilian, Hayden, Morgan and Schoolcraft have been carefully gone over and a composite vocabulary (see following pages) of all the words has been compiled. Several other lists of words were examined and were found to contain only words taken from the above authorities. James Kipp who lived in the Mandan villages for a large part of his life furnished every one of the above mentioned persons with their material, and consequently all vocabularies of the Mandan language come through him. 114●

Maximilian and Hayden both left short grammatical sketches, very incomplete, which have, nevertheless, been of considerable assistance in the preparation of this paper.

Mandan texts have been most difficult to obtain, there being only two small publications printed in that language. One is a translation of the Ten Commandments by the Rev. Charles L. Hall.[1] The other is a hymn book containing also the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, prepared by Mr. R. D. Hall, which has been of the greatest assistance in further grammatical study.

PHONETICS: — The question of phonetics in the Mandan is very uncertain. There is no full discussion of the subject and in taking down vocabularies little care seems to have been used to obtain the exact sound, each authority spelling the same word a little differently. Consequently an enumeration of the Mandan sounds can only be an approximation. 194

The vowels were *i*, *e*, *a*, *ŏ*, *o*, *u*, and perhaps *ü*. The *a* seems to be as *a* in "father." The *e* is used as *e* in "met" or as *ä* in German. No distinction can be made between the two as both are used in different vocabularies in the same word.

The *i* is long as in "machine;" *o* is long as in "note;" *ŏ* is short as in "not." A clear distinction between the two *o*'s cannot always be made however. The *u* is long as *oo* in "boot" or as the German *u* in "buch." The German *ü* occurs occasionally in Maximilian but in no other vocabularies.

The vowels seem often to be nasalized (koha^{n}te=corn) as in Dakota, though careless transcription has failed to note this.

[1] See Pilling: Bibliography of the Siouan Languages; Washington 1887, p. 31.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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PREFACE.

121 The Hidatsa, while most closely related to the Crow, have been in close contact with the Mandan for so long a period that the culture of all three tribes must be considered in conjunction. That is to say, it is impossible to acquire an accurate picture of Hidatsa life without taking into account, on the one hand, the persistence of old elements characteristic of the parent tribe before its division into Crow and Hidatsa and, on the other hand, the influence exerted by the Mandan subsequently to the Crow separation. Our information on the Mandan, for reasons stated below, is tantalizingly meager and suggests rather than solves problems. Fortunately, the Crow data are sufficiently extensive to permit a comparison of their social culture with that of the Hidatsa and to make possible a reconstruction of their pristine organization. In a previous paper of this series issued in 1912 (Vol. IX, part II) I dealt with the "Social Life of the Crow Indians." Since its appearance I have paid several visits to this people and have secured much additional information, which partly confirms and in part supplements and amends my earlier results. I have naturally devoted much more space to the new material but found it necessary to summarize briefly some facts previously described.

124 A few words may be in place regarding the method followed in illustrating the use of Crow kinship terms. It has become clear to students that relationship nomenclature harbors innumerable pitfalls for the field investigator. These can be minimized only by utilizing every possible means of checking the information obtained. We must not content ourselves with abstract statements nor even with the confirmation supplied by a genealogical scheme but should determine the use to which terms are put by the native when not harried by ethnological questioning, when, in other words, he is in a perfectly normal and naïve position with reference to his tribesmen. One way to do this is to keep one's ears open in Indian households when not ostensibly engaged in belaboring the aboriginal consciousness; another equally effective one is to collect systematically the evidence yielded by mythological texts. It is even possible to make use of myths taken down in English provided the recorder insists on noting down in the vernacular every relationship term that occurs.

124 The Hidatsa and Mandan were visited in the summers of 1910, 1911, and 1913, while my acquaintance with the Crow dates back to 1907 and has been frequently renewed since.

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

June 15, 1917.

[p. 2 is blank]

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913) 1917
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601 nō'hakàs. Daughter's husband.
pta +ì' maratokàs. My wife's father.
ptù hinî ks. My wife's mother, my wife's mother's sister.

601 114 It will be noted that beyond the second ascending and the second descending generations no relatives are designated by special terms, lineal and collateral ancestors being classed with grandparents and descendants with grandchildren, regardless of male or female lines.* This fact is borne out in detail by Morgan's schedules. According to these, it would appear that no distinction was drawn between the father's father's and the mother's mother's sister, nor between the father's father's and the mother's mother's brother. On the latter point I unfortunately failed to get data, which would have been of interest in comparison with the Hidatsa usage of classing the maternal grandmother's brother with the elder brother. According to Morgan the word for grandchild was also applied to the sister's grandchild (w. sp.), brother's grandchild (m. or w. sp.), and the sister's son's wife (m. sp.).

With the father Morgan, doubtless correctly, classes the mother's sister's husband and the stepfather. His identification of the father's sister with the mother in female parlance, however, seems doubtful since both my informants were women but gave a single word for the paternal aunt, corresponding to one of Morgan's terms for male usage. A second word given by Morgan for the father's sister (m. sp.) [177] *mā-sā-we*, is not Mandan at all but unmistakably the Hidatsa *bacā'wi*, which is used by both sexes. On the other hand, Morgan has only the equivalent of *tà waratòre'* for the maternal uncle, while I also obtained a distinct word for women's use as well as the classification with the elder brother (by men only?).

Except for the applications already mentioned, my connotations for the elder brother term closely coincide with Morgan's, which is also essentially true of the younger brother category. The essential point here is that women have a single term for elder and younger brother coinciding with the men's word for younger brother, the men having an additional term for the elder brother.

In the designation of sisters there is only partial parallelism. To be sure, the [171] women (i. e., members of the sex of the person designated) have two distinct words for elder and younger sister, while the men have only one. The men's generic term, however, does not coincide with either of the women's words so that there are not two words but three to be reckoned with. Here Morgan agrees as regards the men's word, but differs in ascribing a single generic term to the women. Analogy, not only with the brother terms but also with the usage of other Siouan tribes, such as the Winnebago, strongly suggests that Morgan is in error.

My list contains two words for son without clear differentiation. Morgan practically restricts *minikè'* to male and *kunika'* entirely to female speech. The latter word is also translated by him to cover the brother's son, sister's son, father's brother's son's son, mother's sister's son's son and mother's sister's daughter's son,—all with a woman speaking. He interprets *minikè'* to cover the son, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, mother's son's son and stepson in male speech, and the stepson and father's brother's daughter's son in female speech. The two last-mentioned meanings are not very convincing; more particularly, the father's brother's daughter being classed with the sister, her son would logically be a sister's son, i. e., a "son" for women according to the usual classificatory rules, and it is not at all clear why this particular "son" should be distinguished from others by substituting a word ordinarily confined to male usage. It is further strange that a woman should

* [Consult category 116, pp. 124 for information on the Kinship terms.—Analyst]

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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use a single word for brother's and sister's son. On the other hand, my own list of meanings for *minikē'* is rendered somewhat doubtful by extending the word to the brother's son of both men and women. A similar feature of the daughter category, however, viz., the classing of the man's brother's daughter with the woman's, is supported by Morgan's as well as my own informants.

One of my words for husband, *mī' morus*, is approached by Morgan's *mo-mer-ul*, while his *moo-hul* and his *moo-ha* for wife and brother's wife are at least of the same stem as my *mū'us* and *mu' uhō'aks* (m. rp.). I did not get the words by which the wife's and the husband's fathers and mothers address each other, but analogy with other Siouan systems supports Morgan's statement that there are distinct terms, which he gives as *kote'-he-a* for the father-in-law and *me-ho-he-a* for the mother-in-law. My list also lacks a word for wife's sister, which Morgan gives as *noo-ko-ho-mus*.

Instead of *koo-too'-min-ik* I have *ptunē'* for brother's wife (w. sp.); Morgan's informants, consistently enough, included under his term the father's brother's son's and the mother's sister's son's wife. In my list the husband's sister is put into this category.

To my *p'i'ā'is* for daughter's husband clearly corresponds Morgan's *p'too'-ta*, brother's daughter's husband (m. sp.), which indicates that his *ko-too'-te* is merely a form of the same stem. He gives many connotations for this word, none of which (except son-in-law) is given in my series. Thus, Morgan, translates it also "husband's father" and "husband's mother" and reciprocally "daughter-in-law" (m. sp. and w. sp.), but here judging from analogy, he is almost certainly wrong, the latter relative being classed with the grandchild, the parents-in-law with the grandparents, as my list indicates. Consistently with his classification of the brother's with the sister's daughter (w. sp.) and with the customary classificatory extensions, Morgan further lists under the same caption the brother's son's wife, brother's daughter's husband (w. sp.), sister's son's wife (w. sp.) and sister's daughter's husband (w. sp.). Of these meanings only those applied to men are compatible with my data.

My *mā' wa'k i ka'*, wife's brother, sister's husband (m. sp.) is phonetically the equivalent of Morgan's *wo-wā' ke-a* and *wo-wā-ks*. He gives various additional meanings, viz., sister's husband (w. sp.), husband's brother, sister's daughter's husband (m. sp.), father's brother's daughter's and mother's sister's daughter's husband. The two last-mentioned meanings follow of course from the meaning "sister's husband." That a woman should call the sister's husband by the same term applied by a man to his brother-in-law, seems rather improbable, but unfortunately I did not get evidence on this point. On the other hand, I have two distinct terms for the husband's brother, so that in this respect Morgan's data seem inaccurate. Altogether it is regrettable that the terms of affinity are involved in so much doubt.

Social Customs.

On this subject I only collected a few items, some of which, however, are of some comparative interest. 602

As among the Hidatsa and Crow, there was a joking-relationship, which obtained among the sons and daughters of men belonging to the same clan. These relatives, if such they may be styled, were called *i'trusit*.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NO17 Mandan NO17

perhaps more, villages. They call themselves Numangkake (*i. e.*, men), and if they wish to particularize their descent, they add the name of the village whence they came originally. Some, for instance, call themselves Sipuske-Numangkake, the men of the pheasant or prairie hens, from the village Sipuska-Mihte, pheasant village; others, Mato-Numangkake, the men of the bear, from the village Mato-Mihte, bear village, &c. &c. Another general name of this people is Mahna-Narra, the sulky, because they separated from the rest of their nation, and went higher up the Missouri.

The early history of the Mandans is involved in obscurity; their own traditions and legends will be discussed in the sequel, when treating on their religious ideas. They affirm that they descend originally from the more eastern nations, near the sea-coast.* Though the above-named villages do not all exist at this time, these Indians still call themselves by their several names. They formerly dwelt near the Heart River: when Charbonneau arrived here at the end of the last century, the two Mandan villages, which are still standing, were about six or eight miles further down the Missouri. The small-pox and the assaults of their enemies have so reduced this people, that the whole number now reside in two villages, in the vicinity of Fort Clarke. These two villages are Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush (the southern village), about 300 paces above Fort Clarke, and on the same side of the river, and Ruhptare,† about three miles higher up, likewise on the same bank. The first had, at the time of our visit, sixty-five huts, and contained about 150 warriors; the other, thirty-eight huts and eighty-three warriors. According to this, the tribe had not more than 230 or 240 warriors; and, on the whole, scarcely 900 or 1000 souls; Dr.

* Warden is mistaken when he says (Vol. III. p. 559), that the Mandans are descended from the Crows; for this is applicable to the Manitaries, of whom we shall speak afterward.

† Lewis and Clarke write this name Roeptahee, which is incorrect. (See Account of their Journey, Vol. I. p. 120.) These celebrated travellers passed the winter among the Mandans, and give many particulars respecting them, which, on the whole, are correct; but their proper names and words from the Mandan and Manitari languages are, in general, inaccurately understood and written. It is said, they derived their information from a person named Jessaume, who spoke the language very imperfectly, as we were assured everywhere on the Missouri. Of this kind are many of the names mentioned by these travellers, which neither the Indians nor the Whites were able to understand; for instance, Ahnahawaya (Vol. I. p. 118), a people who are said to have formerly dwelt between the Mandans and the Manitaries; Ilowista Mahowha, where the Arwanahwas lived (*ibid.*); the fourth village is said to have been called Menharra, and to have been inhabited by Manitaries (*ibid.*); of all these names, except, perhaps, Mahowha, which ought probably to be Mochaha, nobody could give us the slightest information, not even Charbonneau, though he has lived here so many years. It is necessary to be much on your guard against bad interpreters, and I acted in this respect with much caution. All the information given by me, respecting Indian words and names, was carefully written down from the statements of sensible, well-informed men of these nations. I have endeavoured to write down their language exactly, according to its real pronunciation, in doing which, the German guttural sounds were of great assistance to me, as it is that of the Missouri Indians. Mr. Kipp and Charbonneau, with some others who have lived long among these Indians, daily assisted me, during a long winter, with much patience and kindness, in this work.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

161 Morse,* therefore, estimates the number of these people rather too high, when he states it at 1250 souls.

142 The Mandans are a vigorous, well-made race of people, rather above the middling stature, and very few of the men could be called short. The tallest man now living was Mahchui-Karehde (the flying war eagle), who was five feet ten inches two lines, Paris measure (above six feet English). In general, however, they are not so tall as the Manitaries. Many of them are robust, broad-shouldered, and muscular, while others are slender and small limbed. Their physiognomy is, in general, the same as that of most of the Missouri Indians, but their noses are not so long and arched as those of the Sioux, nor have they such high cheek bones. The nose of the Mandans and Manitaries is not broad—sometimes aquiline, or slightly curved, and often quite straight. Their eyes are, in general, long and narrow, of a dark brown colour; the inner angle is often rather lower in childhood, but it is rarely so in maturer age. The mouth is broad, large, rather prominent, and the lower jaw broad and angular. No great difference occurs in the form of the skull: in general I did not find the facial angle smaller than in Europeans, yet there are some exceptions.† Their hair is long, thick, lank, and black, but seldom as jet and glossy as that of the Brazilians: that of children is often only dark brown, especially at the tips; and Bradbury speaks of brown hair among the Mandans. There are whole families among them, as well as among the Blackfeet, whose hair is grey, or black mixed with white, so that the whole head appears grey. The families of Sih-Chida and Mato-Chiha are instances of this peculiarity. The latter chief was particularly remarkable in this respect: his hair grew in distinct locks of brown, black, silver grey, but mostly white, and his eyebrows perfectly white, which had a strange effect in a tall otherwise handsome man, between twenty and thirty years of age. They encourage the growth of their hair, and often lengthen it [302] by artificial means. Their teeth, like those of all the Missouri Indians, are particularly fine, strong, firm, even, and as white as ivory. It is very seldom that you see a defect or a tooth

114

* See Dr. Morse's Report, p. 252. He speaks (p. 349) of the Mandans, Blackfeet, Rapid (Fall) Indians, and Assiniboins. His tables of the Indian population of the United States are in page 362.

† Say, who, in general, gives a very accurate description of the North American Indians (see Major Long's Travels), lays too much stress, as it appears to me, on the character of the receding of the forehead; for, by a comparison of a great many skulls, I have fully convinced myself of the contrary. Say affirmed, also, that the facial angle is not so small as Professor Blumenbach supposes. The Indian features, as far as my experience reaches, cannot be called either Mongul or Malay, the latter of which is more perceptible in the Brazilians, notwithstanding the manifest affinity with the North Americans. The learned traveller, Augustus de St. Hilaire, even attributes to the Brazilians a conformation of the skull, according to which those people are endowed with inferior intellectual faculties. (See Voyages dans les Districts de Diamande). The missionary, Parker, in his Travels to the Columbia River, p. 155, expresses himself, in this respect, entirely in accordance with my views; and D'Orbigny confirms them in respect to the South Americans, in the conformation of whose skulls he found considerable diversities.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LETTERS AND NOTES

ON THE

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

LETTER—No. 1

000 As the following pages have been hastily compiled, at the urgent request of a number of my friends, from a series of Letters and Notes written by myself during several years' residence and travel amongst a number of the wildest and most remote tribes of the North American Indians, I have thought it best to make this page the beginning of my book; dispensing with Preface, and even with Dedication, other than that which I hereby make of it, with all my heart, to those who will take the pains to read it.

If it be necessary to render any apology for beginning thus unceremoniously my readers will understand that I had no space in these, my first volumes, to throw away; nor much time at my disposal, which I could, in justice, use for introducing myself and my works to the world.

Having commenced thus abruptly then, I will venture to take upon myself the sin of calling this one of the series of Letters of which I have spoken; although I am writing it several years later, and placing it at the beginning of my book; by which means I will be enabled briefly to introduce myself to my readers (who, as yet, know little or nothing of me), and also the subjects of the following epistles, with such explanations of the customs described in them, as will serve for a key or glossary to the same, and prepare the reader's mind for the information they contain.

Amidst the multiplicity of books which are, in this enlightened age, flooding the world, I feel it my duty, as early as possible, to beg pardon for making a book at all; and in the next (if my readers should become so much interested in my narrations, as to censure me for the brevity of the work) to take some considerable credit for not having trespassed too long upon their time and patience.

Leaving my readers, therefore, to find out what is in the book, without
• 114 promising them anything, I proceed to say—of *myself*, that I was born in Wyöming, in North America, some thirty or forty years since, of parents

114 who entered that beautiful and famed valley soon after the close of the revolutionary war, and the disastrous event of the "Indian massacre."

The early part of my life was whiled away, apparently, somewhat in vain, with books reluctantly held in one hand, and a rifle or fishing-pole firmly and affectionately grasped in the other.

At the urgent request of my father, who was a practising lawyer, I was prevailed upon to abandon these favourite themes, and also my occasional dabblings with the brush, which had secured already a corner in my affections; and I commenced reading the law for a profession, under the direction of Reeve and Gould, of Connecticut. I attended the lectures of these learned judges for two years—was admitted to the bar—and practised the law, as a sort of *Nimrodical* lawyer, in my native land, for the term of two or three years; when I very deliberately sold my law library and all (save my rifle and fishing-tackle), and converting their proceeds into brushes and paint pots; I commenced the art of painting in Philadelphia, without teacher or adviser.

I there closely applied my hand to the labours of the art for several years; during which time my mind was continually reaching for some branch or enterprise of the art, on which to devote a whole life-time of enthusiasm; when a delegation of some ten or fifteen noble and dignified-looking Indians, from the wilds of the "Far West," suddenly arrived in the city, arrayed and equipped in all their classic beauty,—with shield and helmet,—with tunic and manteau,—tinted and tasselled off, exactly for the painter's palette!

In silent and stoic dignity, these lords of the forest strutted about the city for a few days, wrapped in their pictured robes, with their brows plumed with the quills of the war-eagle, attracting the gaze and admiration of all who beheld them. After this, they took their leave for Washington City, and I was left to reflect and regret, which I did long and deeply, until I came to the following deductions and conclusions.

121 Black and blue cloth and civilization are destined, not only to veil, but to obliterate the grace and beauty of Nature. Man, in the simplicity and loftiness of his nature, unrestrained and unfettered by the disguises of art, is surely the most beautiful model for the painter,—and the country from which he hails is unquestionably the best study or school of the arts in the world: such I am sure, from the models I have seen, is the wilderness of North America. And the history and customs of such a people, preserved by pictorial illustrations, are themes worthy the life-time of one man, and nothing short of the loss of my life, shall prevent me from visiting their country, and of becoming their historian.

114 There was something inexpressibly delightful in the above resolve, which was to bring me amidst such living models for my brush: and at the same time to place in my hands again, for my living and protection, the objects of my heart above-named; which had long been laid by to rust and decay

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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in the city, without the remotest prospect of again contributing to my amusement. 114

I had fully resolved—I opened my views to my friends and relations, but got not one advocate or abettor. I tried fairly and faithfully, but it was in vain to reason with those whose anxieties were ready to fabricate every difficulty and danger that could be imagined, without being able to understand or appreciate the extent or importance of my designs, and I broke from them all,—from my wife and my aged parents,—myself my only adviser and protector.

With these views firmly fixed—armed, equipped, and supplied, I started out in the year 1832, and penetrated the vast and pathless wilds which are familiarly denominated the great "Far West" of the North American Continent, with a light heart, inspired with an enthusiastic hope and reliance that I could meet and overcome all the hazards and privations of a life devoted to the production of a literal and graphic delineation of the living manners, customs, and character of an interesting race of people, who are rapidly passing away from the face of the earth—lending a hand to a dying nation, who have no historians or biographers of their own to pourtray with fidelity their native looks and history; thus snatching from a hasty oblivion what could be saved for the benefit of posterity, and perpetuating it, as a fair and just monument, to the memory of a truly lofty and noble race.

I have spent about eight years already in the pursuit above-named, having been for the most of that time immersed in the Indian country, mingling with red men, and identifying myself with them as much as possible, in their games and amusements; in order the better to familiarize myself with their superstitions and mysteries, which are the keys to Indian life and character.

It was during the several years of my life just mentioned, and whilst I was in familiar participation with them in their sports and amusements, that I penned the following series of epistles; describing only such glowing or curious scenes and events as passed under my immediate observation; leaving their early history, and many of their traditions, language, &c. for a subsequent and much more elaborate work, for which I have procured the materials, and which I may eventually publish.

I set out on my arduous and perilous undertaking with the determination of reaching, ultimately, every tribe of Indians on the Continent of North America, and of bringing home faithful portraits of their principal personages, both men and women, from each tribe; views of their villages, games, &c. and full notes on their character and history. I designed, also, to procure their costumes, and a complete collection of their manufactures and weapons, and to perpetuate them in a *Gallery unique*, for the use and instruction of future ages. 121

I claim whatever merit there may have been in the originality of such a 114

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

114 design, as I was undoubtedly the first artist who ever set out upon such a work, designing to carry his canvass to the Rocky Mountains; and a considerable part of the following Letters were written and published in the New York Papers, as early as the years 1832 and 1833; long before the Tours of Washington Irving, and several others, whose interesting narratives are before the world.

I have, as yet, by no means visited *all* the tribes; but I have progressed a very great way with the enterprise, and with far greater and more complete success than I expected.

I have visited forty-eight different tribes, the greater part of which I found speaking different languages, and containing in all 400,000 souls. I have brought home safe, and in good order, 310 portraits in oil, all painted in their native dress, and in their own wigwams; and also 200 other paintings in oil, containing views of their villages—their wigwams—their games and religious ceremonies—their dances—their ball plays—their buffalo hunting, and other amusements (containing in all, over 3000 full-length figures); and the landscapes of the country they live in, as well as a very extensive and curious collection of their costumes, and all their other manufactures, from the size of a wigwam down to the size of a quill or a rattle.

A considerable part of the above-named paintings, and Indian manufactures, will be found amongst the very numerous illustrations in the following pages; having been, in every instance, faithfully copied and reduced by my own hand, for the engraver, from my original paintings; and the reader of this book who will take the pains to step in to "CATLIN'S NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN GALLERY," will find nearly every scene and custom which is described in this work, as well as many others, carefully and correctly delineated, and displayed upon the walls, and every weapon (and every "Sachem" and every "Sagamore" who has wielded them) according to the tenor of the tales herein recited.

So much of *myself* and of my *works*, which is all that I wish to say at present.

Of the INDIANS, I have much more to say, and to the following delineations of them, and their character and customs, I shall make no further apology for requesting the attention of my readers.

121 The Indians (as I shall call them), the savages or red men of the forests and prairies of North America, are at this time a subject of great interest and some importance to the civilized world; rendered more particularly so in this age, from their relative position to, and their rapid declension from, the civilized nations of the earth. A numerous nation of human beings, whose origin is beyond the reach of human investigation,—whose early history is lost—whose term of national existence is nearly expired—three-fourths of whose country has fallen into the possession of civilized man within the short space of 250 years—twelve millions of whose bodies have fattened the soil in the mean time; who have fallen victims to whiskey, the small-pox and the

10: Neill H-4 (no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LIFE AMONG THE MANDANS AND GROS VENTRES EIGHTY YEARS AGO.

AS DESCRIBED BY A PARTNER OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY.

101 175 The Mandans were unknown to white men, until they were visited by the Sons of Sieur Veranderie, who reached the Missouri, by way of the Mouse river, and, in January, 1743, discovered the Rocky mountains. The Jesuit Coquard, who had accompanied the Veranderies in some of their expeditions, writes that they first met the Mantanes, and next the Brochets. After these, were the Gros Ventres, the Crows, the Flat Heads, the Black Feet and Dog Feet, who were established on the Missouri, even up to the Falls, and about thirty leagues beyond they found a narrow pass in the mountains.

● 114 After the organization of the North-west Company of Montreal, English traders came from the Assinaboine river, to trade with the tribes of the Missouri. The compiler of this article has in his possession a copy of the unpublished journal of Alexander Henry, a partner of the North-west Company, which contains the following account of what he knows of the condition, position and customs of the Mandans at the beginning of the present century, and extracts from which are worthy of preservation for the use of the antiquarian and ethnologist.

On the 7th of July, 1806, Henry left the post of the North-west Company at the junction of the Pembina with the Red River of the North, and on the 12th he arrived at the establishments of Riviere la Souris (Mouse river), on the south side of the Assinaboine river. A Hudson Bay Company post was on the north side, where a North-west Company post was once situated. He found the Hudson Bay Company's people very busy in making hair lines which are used to fetter horses. He writes: "The hair which they commonly make use of, is that which the buffalo has between the horns, which is sometimes upward of a foot long. They also make use of the horse hair for that purpose, which is much stronger."

The post near the Mouse River of the North West Company was in charge of F. A. LaRocque. On Monday the 14th of July the expedition left for the Missouri, consisting of Henry, Allan McDonald, T. Viandria, Joseph Du Charme, and Hugh McCracken, * the guide an old Irishman who had once been a soldier in the British artillery. McCracken was the per-

* Lewis and Clarke found McCracken in 1804 at the Mandan Village where they wintered. In an account of their expedition published in *Harper's Family Library*, vol. 1, page 125, under date of November 1, 1804, is the following: "Mr. McCracken the trader whom we found here set out to-day on his return to the British fort and factory on the Assiniboin River, about one hundred and fifty miles from this place."

10: Neill H-4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

son who Lewis and Clarke found in October, 1804, trading among the Indians. On the 19th Henry and party came in sight of the Missouri. He writes in his Journal: "Descending the high banks we came to the river Bourbeuse [Bourbeux, Moiy.] We had much difficulty in crossing; on both sides nothing but soft clay, into which our horses sunk almost up to their ears. Having got through we washed and cleaned them, and ourselves in the Missouri * * * At 2 o'clock we saddled and proceeded on passing near to the water side. At the foot of the Lodge de Serpent is a bank upon the north side of the Missouri, about three hundred feet high; the side fronting the river is very steep and barren composed of gravel intermixed with a quantity of flat decayed stones of bluish and iron color with some streaks." 114

A short distance from the foot of the hill was a Gros Ventres winter village[1] and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon they arrived opposite the mouth of the Knife River, on the bank of which a mile from the Missouri, was also a village of Gros Ventres.[2] Riding down on the north bank of the Missouri, a distance of five miles, to a Mandan village, "we passed," writes Henry, "through one of their old villages that was abandoned a few years ago; they have now built about a mile lower down the river. Near this deserted village we saw great numbers of the dead exposed upon stages about eight feet from the ground. The envelopes or coverings are generally of dressed leathe- and parchments, many of which were still good, whilr others were decayed, and nothing but the bones appeared. e * * We now met a Mandan who was well armed, he ac* companied a party of women that were hoeing corn, and he served as their guard. On perceiving us, he instantly came up and shook hands with us and expressed himself by signs that we should put up at his village. We saw numbers of women and children at work in the corn field. 000 574 576

Just before we entered the village we were met by the chief of the place, Chat Noir * [Black Cat] and a number of the natives. Every one of them were shaking hands with us, and bid us welcome. The chief then conducted us to one of his huts, appropriated for the reception of the strangers. He has another, in which the principal friends of his family resides. He keeps one of his wives, in the one we were in, to attend upon his guests, cook, bring water, etc., and to serve as a bed fellow if required. [837]

In a moment, the whole village flocked around us, and all were curious to see what articles we had brought to trade, and they were neither troublesome, nor impertinent. Having unsaddled our horses, and taken our baggage into the hut, the 574 609

* Lewis and Clarke made Poscopeeah or Black Cat, the first chief of the village, and the grand chief of the whole Mandan nation.

1 [See category 116, p. 322, for section, missing here, which is in original account. Ann Ed] 2 [See category 116, p. 323, for missing section. — Ann Ed]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

124 served as interpreter, was exceedingly helpful in planning th
study of the ceremonies. Resistance to the divulging of sacre
126 lore was anticipated. He indicated those who would be leas
likely to co-operate. Work was begun with Christianized in
formants. Before recording a ceremony, additional informatio
on the household not brought out in recording the census wa
obtained. Employing genealogies based on household groups,

[535]

FIG. 3.—Dance of the Goose Society

was possible in nearly every instance to determine both th
former villages at Fort Clark and the older villages near Hea
River of which the older people of the households were descend
ants. This information was important in determining cultur
differences between the old villages.

115 The writer used fourteen informants for this study; eleven
these were Mandan and three were Hidatsa of the Awaxaw
band. The six Mandan male informants were White Calf, Crow
Heart, Ben Benson, Bear on the Flat, Foolish Woman, an
Little Owl. The female informants were Scattercorn, Mrs. Goo
Bear, Calf Woman, Mrs. Owen Baker, and Front Woman. Wo
Chief and Mrs. White Duck supplied information on the Okip
and Corn ceremonies that had reached them through interma

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

115 riage with the Mandan. Bears Arm supplied information on Eagle-trapping Rites.

115 As the study progressed, less resistance to divulging sacred
124 lore was encountered except in the recording of the People
114 Above rites. The omission or incompleteness of data for some of the rites is due to the shortness of the period of study and the failure of the writer to recognize the significance of some of the rites in interpreting the ceremonial life until the study was nearly completed or while analyzing the data after leaving the field. By that time those who could have supplied the information had died. Additional information on the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan, particularly eagle-trapping, was obtained while making a study of the Hidatsa for the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago under the supervision of Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole in 1932 and 1933. Beloit College transferred the field notes on the Mandan to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago in 1940, and the section on Mandan ceremonial organization was prepared at that time. The writer worked with Crows Heart, now ninety-two years of age and the only survivor of the original group of informants, during the summer of 1947 recording his autobiography. At that time the section dealing with the social organization was checked with him.

128 In the preparation of this manuscript, the writer has attempted to record as fully as possible the myths relating to the ceremony. At times these myths, because of their exceeding length, make reading difficult. However, were the myths removed from their proper context, the meaning of the various rites and practices of the ceremony would be lost. The introductory chapter is a brief summary taken from two other manuscripts recently prepared by the writer. These are: "Archeology of the Upper Missouri" and "A History of the Mandan and Hidatsa." These manuscripts may be examined at the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago. I have purposely avoided reference to cultural similarities to neighboring tribal groups other than to indicate broad cultural similarities with the Hidatsa.

194 In the brief recording of native terms the writer has employed the symbols used by Kennard in his report on "Mandan Gram-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date) 1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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SOUTH DAKOTA

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND ENGRAVINGS

COMPILED BY THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME IV

1908

[p. i]

1908
PRESS OF MARK D. SCOTT
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1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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The Aborigines of South Dakota.

PART II.

The Mandan Indians.

BY CHARLES E. DeLAND.

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1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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NOTE BY DOANE ROBINSON.

Students of northwestern history who examined Mr. DeLand's History of the Arickara, contributed to the third volume of this series, will, I am fully persuaded, want to have this compilation of the material available relating to the Mandans with Mr. DeLand's commentaries thereon.

These two papers complete the undertaking of Mr. D. to gather in comprehensive and comprehendable form all of the known authorities relating to the primitive inhabitants of this region, and I am sure the consensus of opinion will support my view that the history of the northwest has received invaluable service at his hands.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ABORIGINES OF SOUTH DAKOTA.

PART II.

The Mandan Indians are the subject of this second part of the treatment of the Aborigines of South Dakota, as were the Aricaras or Rees of Part I. In closing the present paper, however, some recurrence will be had to the Rees in connection with their ancient habitat on the Missouri in South Dakota and further south, as indicated by some evidences which have come to light since the first paper was published.

The Mandan Indians, "People of the Pheasants," or "People of the East," as they have termed themselves, or "Bearded Whites," as they were called by some French Canadians who first heard of and came among them, have been regarded by the explorers and chroniclers who have visited and made a study of them, as aborigines possessing some peculiarities and some excellencies which distinguish them from Indians of America in general to a degree which has aroused special curiosity and unusual speculation as to their ancestry and origin.

Any attempt to trace an Indian tribe back to a basic point at which the beginnings of a race in the human families of remote antiquity are discoverable, inevitably results in mystery or confusion, or both. And while this statement is and must be predicated upon the past in research and the philosophies which have grown up with or out of it, the present seems to promise, in definite results, but little hope of rescuing from the realm of myth the farther ends of the threads of history. Yet we believe the future is not wholly devoid of hope in that direction.

Nor are we able to declare that the foregoing observations do not apply with equal force to the Mandans, as to other Indians of America. But we shall bring into this paper toward its end some narratives, affirmations and some conclusions on the part of

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

121 their authors in connection therewith which it seems should be regarded as tending to support in some degree a tangible theory of the origin of certain elements of character in the Mandans, while not accounting for them in the sense of the original elements of an Indian tribe or nation. Those evidences are claimed, with more or less positiveness, by those who have brought them forward to be such as to lead to the supposition, or the conclusion, that the Mandans are a residium of the Mound Builders; that they, with the latter, were an amalgamation of whites with native Americans; that the alleged white element in their racial composition is of Welsh origin; and that this latter element may be referred to the Madocian theory—that of the alleged immigration into the New World of Prince Madoc and his followers in the Twelfth century. Some remoter consequences are sought to be drawn by some of those theorists, in the direction of identifying as the offshoot of the Mound Builders the race of Montezuma in Mexico, and as derivable from some alleged settlement of the Madocians upon the Atlantic coast of America—the Incas of Peru. And the theory of the Moundbuilders as associated with the Aztecs is sought to be brought into relation to the Mandans upon the hypothesis that the junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi river was the probable point of separation of various tribes of the Mound Builders who, driven from point to point down the Ohio by overpowering numbers of Indians from the neighborhood of the Great Lakes, scattered from each other, some progressing up the Missouri, while others went southward along the Mississippi and, roughly speaking, westward into what is now New Mexico and Arizona, thence southward. These theories, wherein they seek to establish a Welsh origin of the Mandans and some other Indian tribes, have been discarded by the vast majority of commentators, who base their conclusions upon reasoning in the light of the narratives and conclusions of others who were observers and narrators, while some who have assembled what seem to them tangible evidences cling tenaciously to that theory.

The fact that the whole field of historical foundation everywhere is, under the limelight of later investigation and inquiry, yielding up new evidences which in some degree rescue truth from mythology, or from oblivion itself, or according to other estimates are building anew those foundations in tangible form

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

out of material which was once well known for fact, but has been lost in the mist of ages—is by the writer hereof regarded as warrant for bringing into this paper sundry narratives bearing upon the theory in question which in themselves may be of doubtful value, but which, when forming part of a symposium upon the theme of origin, may be legitimate material. 121

But we defer to a later stage of treatment of the general subject this phase of remote origin, only adding that, as regards the Mound Builders, it seems very probable that a rational connection will be found to be shown to exist between them and the Mandans; and that a few quotations from the earliest observers of the Mandans, by way of preliminary to an account of them when first known to civilized man, may not be out of place as indicating what we in the outset remarked as to their singularities.

Their Peculiar Characteristics. The Mandans conveyed to all visitors and observers who came in contact with them in the Eighteenth and the first half of the Nineteenth centuries the impression, in marked degree, that they were emphatically more civilized than other Indian tribes of the west, and that they were of such fair complexion and had hair and eyes of such color as to convey the distinct, profound impression—to some the belief—that they were not Indians in the usual sense of that word. 142 114

La Verendrye, who visited them in 1738 for several weeks, recorded of them that "their fortifications are not Indian. This nation is mixed with white and black." "The women have not the Indian physiognomy." Le Raye, who as a prisoner of the Brule Sioux was taken up the Missouri river in 1803 and into the Mandan villages, observes of them that they are "of the lightest complexion," that their hair "inclines to a chestnut color, and in some instances has a slight curl; it is never so dark and coarse as most other Indians;" that "their eyes are full and lively" and that they are "courteous and sociable." General Clarke (of the Lewis and Clarke expedition), who wintered with them in 1804-5, told Catlin that he would find them "a strange people and half white." Alexander Henry, who in 1806 visited them, says: "What struck me as extraordinary among these people was several children about ten years of age whose hair was perfectly gray, and who thus resembled aged persons; those I saw were all girls. These people in general have not such strong, coarse hair as other nations of North America; they have it much finer,

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142 rather inclining to a dark brown, and I observed some whose hair
114 was almost fair;" eyes not jet black, common to other Indians, but "inclined to be a dark brown; some few are dark gray."

Maximilian, who tarried among and critically studied them in 1833, observes that their noses are sometimes "aqualine, or slightly curved, and often quite straight" and "not so long and arched as those of the Sioux"; that their eyes are "in general long and narrow, of a dark brown color;" that the children's hair "is often only dark brown," and that Brackenridge "speaks of brown hair among the Mandans. There are whole families among them, as well as among the Blackfeet, whose hair is gray, or black mixed with white, so that the whole head appears gray." While Catlin, who sojourned among them in 1832, declares that "they are distinct from all other red folks I have seen," as "differing in many respects, both in looks and customs, from all other tribes which I have seen;" that they were "many steps ahead of other tribes in manners and refinement"; that they were called "polite and friendly Mandans" by the traders; that he "was struck with the peculiar ease and elegance" of them; that "the diversity of complexions, the various colors of their hair and eyes, the singularity of their languages and their peculiar and unaccountable customs" made him "fully convinced that they have sprung from some other origin than that of the North American tribes, or that they are an amalgam of natives with some civilized race;" that "their personal appearance alone, independent of their modes and customs, pronounces them at once as more or less than Indians;" that a stranger "is first struck with the different shades of complexions and various colors of their hair which he sees in a crowd about him, and is at once almost disposed to exclaim that 'These are not Indians.'" That there are many women "whose skins are almost white, with the most pleasing symmetry of features, with hazel, with gray and with blue eyes—with mildness and sweetness of expression and excessive modesty of demeanor, which render them exceedingly pleasant and beautiful."

131 **Habitat.** The habitat of the Mandans when first seen by white
114 men from the east was, to what may be regarded as a moral
174 certainty, at and in the immediate vicinity, northward, of Mandan and Bismarck in what is now North Dakota, territory then claimed by Spain, and probably by England. We refer to the

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first visit by La Verendrye to the Mandans in November and December, 1738. We have not caused to be examined the Spanish chronicles to ascertain whether it is either certain or probable that subjects of that nation had come in contact with the Mandans prior to Verendrye's said visit; but if we are to credit the positive statement made to him by a Mandan Indian at the most northerly or prairie village of that tribe where he first made a stand among them—to the effect that the narrator and other Mandans had had a conflict with one or more white men to the south, who were on horseback and in armor, and that he had barely escaped with his life. Spaniards had penetrated into the near neighborhood of the Mandans on the upper Missouri before Verendrye visited them. 131 114 174

Verendrye—Where He Met Them. It is impossible to locate with any certainty the spot where, or even the immediate vicinity in which Verendrye met the delegation of Mandans who left their most northerly village and returned with his messengers (sent on to announce his coming) to a designated meeting place not far from that village and greeted and parleyed with him November 28th, 1738, and where the Mandan chief invited him to "his fort"—the nearest by and "smaller than the others," and informed him that there were "six forts." All that can be gathered clearly from Verendrye's record (being his official letter to the French governor general of New France, etc.) is that, having started from Michilimackinac on this expedition to the Mandans on the Missouri river, and having arrived at the Assiniboine river and built a fort there sixty leagues below the "forks" of that river—(which we believe to have referred to the confluence of the main stream with the Souris or Mouse river, some 150 miles west) southwest from what is now Winnipeg—he left this "fort" October 18th; three days thereafter the Assiniboine Indians joined him; that on October 21st, he reached the "first mountain," which he states was 26 leagues from his fort and south by southwest; that he next reached the "second mountain," traveling a west by northwest course 24 leagues (we are inclined to think this second mountain was Turtle mountain), and that from this mountain to the Mandans "is southwest;" that November 18th he arrived at an Indian village far (some sixty leagues) out of the direct route to the Mandans, to the west-southwest 120 leagues, to which point he was forced to go, being in the hands of Assini- 131 174

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boine guides; that November 20th he left that village to go 17 leagues, where the meeting place of the Mandans had been chosen, at which point he arrived November 28th; that on the evening of November 30th he continued on toward the first Mandan fort, at about seven leagues from which he lost some papers; that the Indian "orator" there said: "We must leave before four o'clock in the morning in order to arrive early at the fort;" that at noon next day at one and one-half leagues, near a small river (the Mouse?) they rested two hours, where a number of Mandans had come to meet them; that Verendrye was carried thence by the Indians to a point "four acres from the fort," where "the old men" were waiting; that after firing a salute to the fort he marched to and entered it December 3rd, 1738, at four p. m. He had thus spent fifty-two days in going from his "fort" on the Assiniboine to what must have been not far from the neighborhood of Washburn, N. D., 43 miles above Bismarck, or from Coal Harbor, some 25 miles northwest of Washburn, during which journey much time was lost on the detour above mentioned, "so that we took forty-six days to go a distance we should have done easily in sixteen or twenty days at the most." The distance from his fort on the Assiniboine to the first Mandan fort can probably be roughly estimated at about 400 miles by a substantially direct route; and on that basis Verendrye's estimate of sixteen days' travel would be 25 miles per day.

In Neill's account of the Verendrye expedition to the Rocky mountains in 1742 he states that the explorer reached the "country of the Mantanes" by "ascending the Assiniboine, and by the present trail to Mouse river." (Contributions to Historical Society of Montana, Vol. 1, p. 307.) From which it would appear that a thoroughfare overland from the Assiniboine to the Missouri existed anciently as the usual mode of passing over the divide between the basin of Lake Winnepeg and the Missouri valley.

In a note by Neill to the above observation he says:

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"The Mandans, or White Beards, of the Dakotah family are noted for being gray-haired. Sometimes children six years of age have this appearance. They were nearly destroyed by small-pox in 1837, and in 1874 they lived near the Aricaras and Gros Ventres, in the vicinity of Fort Berthold, on the Missouri. For-

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merly all dwelt in mud cabins, surrounded by ditches. A few yet live in dirt lodges." This account was published in 1876. 131

In another note by Neill in connection with his account of Verendrye's expedition to the mountains, and explanatory of the text, it is stated: "Father Coquard, who had been associated with Verendrye, says that they first met the Mantanes, and next the Brochets. After these were the Gros Ventres," etc. His note explains that the Brochets, or Fish tribe, may perhaps be the Assiniboines. That the Gros Ventres "are said to have formerly lived on the Assiniboine and Red rivers." He then quotes from a report made by Governor Ramsey, of Minnesota, made in 1850 to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to this effect: "The chief of the Red Lake Chippewas of Minnesota some years ago met a village of Gros Ventres toward the sources of the Missouri. They learned that the smoke of the Gros Ventres lodges once arose at Sandy Lake, and that they had a large village of earthen houses at mouth of the Savanna river, which empties into the St. Louis." This would indicate that the Gros Ventres once inhabited the country bordering on the west end of Lake Superior, and by comparing what is said in these Neill notes concerning their residence on the Red and Assiniboine, with the reference to their habitat near the St. Louis river, we may find warrant for observing that the traditions about the Mandans having lived northward and eastward of the Missouri river country, where they were first found by white men, may really have become confused with the Gros Ventres traditions—the latter having joined the Mandans prior to white exploration of those regions. 101 174

Then Neill in his account of the Verendrye expedition of 1742 thus refers to Bougainville's version of that expedition and the route taken by quoting him as follows: "He went from Fort La Reine to the Missouri. He met, on the banks of this river, the Mandans, or White Beards, who had seven villages, with fine stockades, strengthened by a ditch. Next to these were the Kinongewiniris, or the Brochets (Assiniboines), in three villages; and toward the upper part of the river were three villages of the Mahantas." These Mahantas were by Neill understood as being the Mahas, or Omahas. And Bougainville adds, after referring to the Mahantas: "All along to the north of the Wabiek or Shell river were situated twenty-three villages of the Panis." Neill in his note says this: "Shell" may mean the Musselshell river

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131 of modern maps. He then says regarding the Panis: "The
101 Pawnees on De L'Isle's map, are marked on the Missouri, and
on Panis, now Platte river. Jeffreys on his map marks a tribe
174 west of Lake Winnipeg, called 'Cris Panis Blanc.' Drake speaks
of White Pawnees, Freckled Pawnees and Pawnees of the Platte.
They now number about eighteen hundred and dwell on a reservation on a branch of the Platte in Nebraska." (They had gone south from that reservation at or about the time of publication of Neill's account—1876).

From Bougainville's account Neill finds him stating: "Opposite the Mandans are the Ospekakaernousques, or Flatheads, four villages; opposite the Panis are the Arcs, or Knisteneaux, and Utasiaoutchactas, or Assiniboel, three villages." (Id., pp. 312-13-14.)

The summary of evidences as to the course pursued by La Verendrye on his expedition to the mountains in 1742-3, as found in the said Historical Society Contributions, is as follows as regards the Mandans:

"Starting from Fort La Reine, on the Assiniboine river, they went up the Mouse river in a southerly direction, and then crossed over to the Missouri a little below where is now Fort Berthold. They then ascended the Missouri," etc. (Id., p. 316.)

From Bougainville's Memoirs on the State of New France, 1757, the following extract is taken and published by Brower in his "Missouri River:"

"Voyage de la Verendrye. The one who most forwarded this discovery is the Sieur de la Verenderie; from the Fort de la Reine he reached the Missouri; he met first of all upon this river the Mandannes or Blancs Barbus (Bearded Whites) to the number of seven villages fortified by terraced stockades with a ditch; next the Kinongewiniris, or the Brochets (Pikes, i. e., fish) to the number of three villages; in the upper part of the river he found the Mahantas making also three villages; and along the Missouri, in descending it to the mouth of the river Wabiek, or Shell (Coquille) twenty-three villages of Panis." (P. 65.) "Opposite the Panis are the Gens de l'Arc (People of the Bow), Atchapeivinioques in Cristinaux and Utasibaoutchactas in Assibinboels, three villages." (Id. p. 65.)

131 **Where Lewis and Clarke Found Them.** Lewis and Clarke, in
174 their expedition of 1804, are the first visitors to the Mandan vil-

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lages who give any definite information of the precise location of those Indians on the Missouri river. And while they do clearly state where a Mandan village on the westerly side of the Missouri was located, their reference to the Mandan village on the easterly side does not show to a certainty whether it was at a point above or below the one which they speak of as being on the opposite side, but they state that the latter is "at the distance of three miles across." They then proceed to substantially fix the location of the village on the westerly side by calling it "the lower Mandan village" and by locating the village called "Mahaha" as being "on the same side of the river, and at a distance of four miles from the lower Mandan village," and which "Mahaha" village is "at the mouth of the Knife river." That river, known as the Big Knife, flows into the Missouri on the westerly side about three miles above Stanton, and about 63 miles above Bismarck, North Dakota.

Lewis and Clarke declare that when they visited and wintered among the Mandans in 1804-5 the Mandan villages were two in number. This statement is so clear that it can not be misunderstood. They erected Fort Mandan about three miles below the first or lower Mandan village reached by their expedition in its up-river progress, but on the opposite or easterly side of the Missouri. (See the narrative from Clarke's journal, farther on.) Nowhere in their journal is it made plain how far above the "Fort" the Mandan village on that side was situated. But it cannot be far from correct to assume that, as the distance between the two villages (as stated by them) is "three miles across," and assuming that the river itself was about one mile in width, the village at the easterly side was about two miles above the other on the Missouri. This would indicate—still basing our conclusion upon the data of Lewis and Clarke—that the Mandan village on the easterly side of the Missouri was about two miles below a point opposite to the mouth of the Big Knife. And the same data would place the fort at about seven and one-half miles below said outlet; and this is in harmony with the generally understood fact. Dr. Coues says that post was "seven or eight miles" below the mouth of the Big Knife. The more exact location of those Mandan villages may perhaps be shown by evidences to be brought into this paper later on.

But a difficulty has arisen in determining whether there were

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or not more than one Mandan village on the westerly side of the Missouri, and also as to how far below the Big Knife they were situated, if there were two.

The writer of this article, in preparing his note (6) on Fort Clarke, the trading post in that vicinity, in editing the reprint of Maj. Wilson's article on "Old Fort Pierre and Her Neighbors" (S. D. Hist. Col., Vol. 1, p. 318) found, from various historical data then at hand, that Fort Clarke, which seemed to be shown by all the authorities to be situated substantially eight miles below the mouth of the Big Knife river on the westerly side of the Missouri, was but a very short distance—less than one-fifth of a mile—below a Mandan village on that side, while other data pointed to another Mandan village on the same side "in the wooded bend some three miles below" Fort Clarke, and which seemed to be known as "the lower Mandan village." That "bend" would thus be about eleven miles below the mouth of the Big Knife. But the Lewis and Clarke account shows, as we have seen, the lower Mandan village to have been, in 1804-5, but four miles below that point. Fort Clarke was established in 1831, and while it is possible that the one Mandan village of 1804 became divided into two at or some time after Fort Clarke was built, so as to account for the data found by the writer as stated, yet it would seem improbable that one of the two which such separation would result in would not be on the same spot where those explorers found a Mandan village on the westerly side. Yet they place the one village they saw at four miles, while the other data referred to shows the upper of two villages about seven and three-fourths miles and the lower one eleven miles below the mouth of Big Knife. And it is at about the latter distance below that stream where the Missouri bends from a southeasterly to an easterly direction, thus furnishing the locality for a "wooded bend" where, at some time between 1831 and the date of migration of the Mandans further up stream, about fourteen years later, one of their two villages on the westerly side of the Missouri was situated. If, therefore, there was in fact but one Mandan village on the westerly side in 1804 it seems probable that the estimate of Lewis and Clarke in placing it but four miles below the mouth of Big Knife is erroneous, as we believe the data of a later period concerning the location of Fort Clarke and its very near proximity to a Mandan village just above it is

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more likely to be exact than the estimate of those early explorers. Opinions upon this point will naturally differ.

Thompson. David Thompson, who in the preface to Coues' edition of the Henry-Thompson Journals (Francis P. Harper, 1897) is referred to as "the celebrated astronomer, geographer, explorer and discoverer—in a word the scientist," and who, in the employ of the Northwest Company, left McDougall's house on the Assiniboine river November 28th, 1797, and arrived at the Missouri river and the Mandan villages December 29th, 1797, and departed on his return trip January 10th, 1798, is thus noted by Dr. Coues, who has summarized from the Thompson Journal: "He notes five villages, altogether of 318 houses and 7 tents, viz: Upper Fall Indians, 31 houses, 7 tents; Lower Fall Indians, 82 houses; third village, 'Mahnon of Mandens and a few Fall Indians,' 52 houses, 37 Mandan and 15 Fall; fourth village, Mandan, 'across the river,' 40 houses; fifth, or principal Mandan village, lowest, 113 houses." (Vol. 1, p. 301-2.) He does not undertake to locate precisely any of these villages. But it is clear that he does find two villages on the westerly side of the Missouri in 1797-8, one of which is exclusively Mandan, the other principally composed of that tribe.

Now, both the Thompson and the Lewis and Clarke accounts declare that there were, in the general group of Indian villages on the Missouri at and just below the mouth of the Big Knife river five of them in all. But in order to harmonize the two accounts as to how many of them were Mandan villages we must consider the statement in Lewis and Clarke that the two Mandan villages "who had emigrated together" from below and in the neighborhood of Heart river (opposite to Bismarck, North Dakota), and who "settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri," and who were found there by Thompson in 1797 in two villages, had consolidated between that time and 1804, as Lewis and Clarke say of them (referring to the visitors of "1796"), "since which the two villages have united into one." They also say that the "Mahaha" village, on the south side of the Big Knife and at its very mouth, was half a mile below the so called Minitaree, or "Mitaharta" village on that stream, and that "on the opposite side of the Knife river, and one and a half miles above this village, is a second of Minnetarees, who may be considered as the proper Minnetaree nation." (Id., p. 198.) We

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must probably, therefore, regard Thompson's account (which included two Mandan villages below the Knife and on the westward side of the Missouri, and doubtless all those on both sides of the Knife) as contemplating the two villages on the south bank of the Knife as but one, since, if he regarded them (as did Lewis and Clarke) as two, his total would be six villages in the whole group, including the Mandan village on the easterly side of the Missouri. In this connection the fact that Thompson's journal speaks of "the third village" (evidently counting from the north southward) as "Mahnon of the Mandans and a few Fall Indians," is significant as indicating a second Mandan village on the westerly side, and also as indicating that he had regarded the two villages of Lewis and Clarke on the south bank of the Knife as one. These considerations would, we believe, substantially harmonize Thompson's and Captain Lewis' journals on the basis of five villages in the whole group in question. Of these the three (of Lewis and Clarke) and the two of Thompson's most northerly villages are called "Fall" Indians by the latter, while Captain Lewis says (as shown above) that the lower of those three is the Mahaha, or Ahnahaways village—known to the French as Gens des Souliers, and who were, according to Dr. Coues, Matthews and others, closely related to the Hidatsas, Minnetarees or Gros Ventres, and offshoots of the Crows, and differ but little from the Mandans. While the two (of Lewis and Clarke) and (probably) the one of Thompson's upper village or villages in the general group are called by Lewis and Clarke Minnetarees, "surnamed Metaharta," and the one north of the Knife is called by them "the proper Minnetaree nation." (Coues' ed., vol. 1, pp. 197-8.) These Minnetarees are said by Captain Lewis to be "part of the great nation called Fall Indians." (Id., p. 199.) And Coues' note at that point declares that the term is "traceable to the trader, Edward Umfreville, who was on the Saskatchawan in 1784-87, and who mentions these Indians as being about the falls of the south branch of that river" (Id., p. 199); that they were called, without reason, by the French Gros Ventres, or Big Bellies; while Matthews says the tribe thus referred to by Umfreville is that known as "the Atsinas, or Gros Ventres of the Prairie;" that there were "Minnetarees of the Prarie" and "of the Missouri"; that as designated by Lewis and Clarke they are "two entirely different tribes of Indians, the former being Atsinas, or the Fall

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Indians, and the latter being the Hidatsas, with whom they (Lewis and Clarke) are now wintering," and that it is necessary, when reading Lewis and Clarke, to bear this in mind. (Id., pp. 199-200.) 114 131 174

We have made this detailed explanation of those of said group of villages which were not properly Mandan, but whose occupants are said to have closely resembled them, in order to make clearer what was meant by all of the early visitors in referring to the general group as "The Mandan Villages."

As indicating the oldest definitely known habitat of the Mandans, on the first deserted Mandan village site found by Lewis and Clarke in proceeding up the Missouri, we find in their journal a reference to their having found at or near their camp, eight miles below the lower end of what is now known as Sibley Island —which latter is some fourteen miles below Bismarck, North Dakota—on the east bank of the Missouri, in Burleigh county, "the remains of an old village which is high and strong, and has been fortified; this our chief" (an Aricara) "tells us is the remains of one of the Mandan villages, and are the first ruins which we have seen of that nation in ascending the Missouri." (Vol. 1, p. 153, London ed.) That this location may be fixed very definitely, that journal may be quoted further as stating that that camp was "opposite to the uppermost of a number of round hills, forming a cone at the top, one being about ninety, another sixty feet in height, and some of less elevation;" that "near to one of these moles, on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain" those "remains" were found. (Id.)

The narratives in Lewis and Clarke, from day to day after this first indication of former occupancy of the Mandans was seen by them, will show (as seen in extracts therefrom inserted hereinafter) that many such deserted villages were found by them in the neighborhood of Mandan and Bismarck, North Dakota. The "chief" referred to by them as having pointed out this first deserted site as that of the Mandans being an Aricara who was guiding the expedition, was beyond doubt possessed of knowledge enabling him to speak to the fact in the premises. Captain Lewis' statement, based upon the observations of the expedition and the declarations of the Aricara guide, by way of summary as to the former abodes and the migration of the Mandans therefrom upriver, is to the effect that "within the recollection of living wit-

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114 nesses the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about 80 miles below (i. e., below 131 Fort Mandan), seven on the west and two on the east side of 174 the Missouri," which two moved up the river "opposite the Ricaras" after becoming united, the seven (reduced to five) emigrating also "to the Ricara nation" in a body, forming "two villages"—all being driven thence as the result of attacks by Sioux and the ravages of smallpox; that being still insecure "the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present location. The two who had emigrated together settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri, while the single village took a position on the southeast. In this situation they were found by those who visited them in 1796, since which the two villages have united into one. They are now two villages, one on the southeast of the Missouri, the other on the opposite side, at the distance of three miles across. The first, in an open plain, contains about 40 or 50 lodges, built in the same way as those of the Ricaras; the second the same number; and both may raise (i. e., can muster) about 350 men."

E. R. Steinbreuck, of Mandan, N. D., who is connected with the State Historical Society of North Dakota, and who has examined many village ruins of both Mandans and Aricaras between Mandan and the Knife river, states in a letter to the writer hereof in 1908:

"There is one village on the road from Heart river to Fort Clarke, about half way, which I think to have been a Mandan village, while the next below, only about two miles distant, has been decidedly an Aricara village. Some of the Mandans may have stopped there on their move up to Fort Clarke region."

174 **They Came from Whence?** From what direction did the Mandans come to the locality on the Missouri river where were found their deserted villages in 1804? Two theories are, or have been extant upon this subject: One that they emigrated up the Missouri from the region of the mouth of the Ohio, or lower down, on the Mississippi; the other that they at one time lived to the northeast of those portions of the Missouri where those deserted villages and the Mandan villages near the Big Knife were located, and were driven to the Missouri by the Crees, Assiniboines and other tribes inhabiting the region of Lake Winnipeg and west and southwest therefrom.

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We believe they came up the Missouri from a point at least as far south as southern South Dakota, and probably much farther; that they progressed through what is now South Dakota and preceded the Aricaras here; that the supposition that they were in the Winnipeg country before they settled on the Missouri is not tenable; and that to the extent that their appearance on or in the neighborhood of the Assiniboine and the Saskatchewan rivers is provable they were there seeking game and the extension of their then present domain on and in the vicinity of the upper Missouri, or battling with enemies at some distance from their own home base—a perfectly natural and probably necessary pursuit, as Indians have from time immemorial been wont to view the issues of tribal welfare and protection. 174

We shall not stop here to mass the evidences which, respectively, tend or are regarded as tending to support one or the other of these theories of the territorial origin or more ancient habitat of the Mandans, but will proceed to bring forward, in chronological order, the various accounts and narratives of the explorers and visitors who came in contact with them, and some few of the traditions and legends of those Indians themselves, as composing the body of the evidences at large in this paper, after first presenting in brief some authorities going to support the primary assumption that the Mandans were aborigines of South Dakota, and then citing the conclusions of some authorities as to who and what those Indians were among the American Indians; recurring later on to this point as to whence they came, in the light of all that is presented touching their remote habitat and involving at least some of the collateral evidences as to their origin.

Once Inhabited South Dakota. As supporting the assumption that the Mandans once inhabited some parts of what is now South Dakota and may be regarded as aborigines of this region of the Missouri valley, we will mention the conclusions of some explorers and writers, with some Indian traditions on that head.

Catlin believed it a fair deduction that "they formerly occupied the lower part of the Missouri, and even the Ohio and Muskingum, and have gradually made their way up the Missouri to where they now (1833) are." That "there are many remains on the river below this place" (i. e., the Mandan villages below the Knife river, now North Dakota), "(and in fact to be seen nearly as low down as St. Louis) which show clearly the peculiar construe- 114 174

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OLD EARTH LODGE

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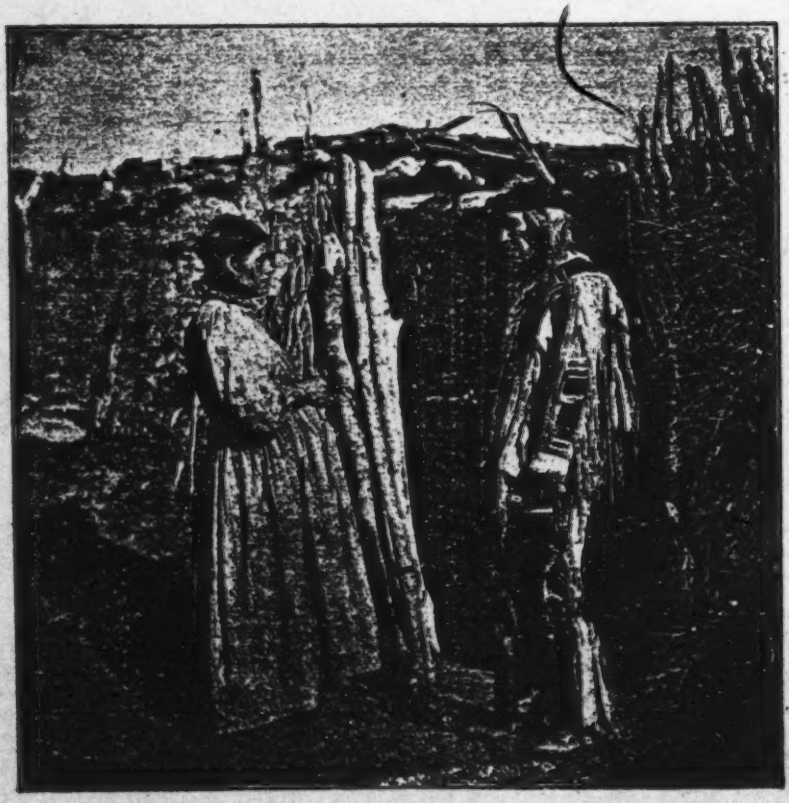

A SUMMER COTTAGE

[face p. 289]

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tion of Mandan lodges, and consequently carry a strong proof of the above position." That the Aricaras in ascending the Missouri occupied lodge villages which had been abandoned by the Mandans. Hayden, whose exhaustive labors in tracing the origin of some of the tribes of western Indians have justly given him a high place among the authorities, and who gives Miahtanes, "people on the bank," as the name these Indians applied to themselves, infers therefrom that "they must have resided on the banks of the Missouri in a very remote period," while another eminent authority, Morgan (Syst. consang. and Affin., 285), assigns as the native name of the tribe Metootahak, or "South Villagers." The Handbook of American Indians, Vol. 1, p. 796, concludes that "all that can be gathered from them is the tradition that at some time they lived in a more easterly locality in the vicinity of a lake, and that "this tradition, often repeated by subsequent authors, is given by Lewis and Clarke." This reference to a lake is here inserted, since the tradition in connection with it may relate to some one of the inland waters of the northwest, or to the ocean on the Atlantic coast, or to the Gulf of Mexico at the mouth of the Mississippi, as will be shown farther on. E. E. Blackman, state archaeologist of Nebraska, in his report in 1902 refers to the Mandans as part of the Siouan stock, stating: "The Mandans were one of the first bands to break off from the parent stock, and the only excuse we have for counting them in our history is the probability that they crossed our borders in their way up the Missouri river, some time prior to the coming of the Skidi band in 1400." He adds: "The above is legendary and not a proven fact." Practically all of the authorities ascribe to them a Siouan origin, which in itself seems to warrant the probability that they once inhabited the country west of Minnesota and in the Missouri valley. The oldest ruins of Mandan lodge-villages on the upper Missouri, found by Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian and others, were not far from sixty miles north of the South Dakota line. (See S. D. Hist. Coll., Vol. 3, p. 389, where in Part I. of this paper it is said to be about seventy miles.) Joseph H. Taylor, of Washburn, N. D., who with Daniel Williams (now of Painted Woods, N. D.) discovered in 1872 on Apple creek, seven or eight miles southeast from Bismarck, N. D., two old Indian village sites, states that inquiry among the Indians at that time led to information that those villages were Mandan, and

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that the occupants had been practically exterminated by the Sioux "near 140 years ago," that some young squaws and children were saved by the captors and that among their descendants was Medicine Bear, the well known Yanktonais chief of thirty years ago. As the Mandans are known to have been located at and across from Bismarck (at Mandan) some twenty years before Lewis and Clarke visited them, this Sioux tradition imparted to Taylor seems to further tend to show that the Mandans were driven up the Missouri from below Mandan by the Sioux. Dr. Cyrus A. Peterson, president of the Missouri Historical Society, is understood to have entertained the belief that the Mandans were traced by the remains of their habitations, and that they were thought to have lived along the central Missouri. Dr. Eastman, himself a Sioux Indian who was reared among them and who in his boyhood days wandered with members of his tribe over large areas of country, affirms that the Yanktonais Sioux traditions are to the effect that the Mandans inhabited the lower James river and other Missouri river country on the east side, which tradition is regarded as having existed some two hundred years. Little Owl, a Mandan Indian on the Fort Berthold reservation, and living in 1905 on the southeast side of the Missouri about four miles below the mouth of the Little Missouri, was interviewed, through an interpreter, by the writer of this article; and in giving an account of the traditional ancient habitat of his tribe stated that Bear-on-the-Water, who he said is "the oldest man," says they came from where the Mississippi empties into the sea; spoke of a "boat without oars" (sailboat?) in which they could go across the sea, "or anywhere on the water, up-stream or anywhere;" that the Mandans came all the way up the river to Heart river; that the villages down the river to the Mississippi that had ditches around them were Mandan villages; that one of the Mandan villages (bands) went north from the Heart river to Winnipeg, etc. Bear's Ghost, another Indian in the same neighborhood, interviewed the same day, and who claimed to be a full-blood Mandan, but who disclaimed having such information as certain older men whom he named possessed in the premises, entered into the traditional account of the origin of the Mandans, which seems to have involved the creation of things in general; and he declared it was "in the mouth of the sea, where this river (Missouri) empties into the sea" that the two "men" who made the earth, etc., met,

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and that the Mandan language was the first one made, etc. (See these narratives at large further on this paper.)

Mr. E. R. Steinbroeck, of Mandan, N. D., who has spent much time in examining both Aricara and Mandan village sites below and above Mandan, and who has compared the pottery and other utensils used by both, declares: "It seems to me beyond a doubt that the Mandans and the Arickara came in contact long before they crossed the boundaries between North and South Dakota," and doubts not that they came from "somewhere south before they settled at and near Heart River."

Further reference to the Mandans is found in the "Handbook of American Indians," Vol. 1, p. 797, where, after quoting Maximilian as declaring that "They affirm that they descended originally from the more eastern nations, near the seacoast," the account proceeds:

"Their linguistic relation to the Winnebago and the fact that their movements in their historic era have been westward up the Missouri correspond with their tradition of a more easterly origin, and would seemingly locate them in the vicinity of the upper lakes. It is possible that the tradition which has long prevailed in the region of northwestern Wisconsin regarding the so called 'ground-house Indians' who once lived in that section and dwelt in circular earth lodges, partly underground, applies to the people of this tribe, although other tribes of this general region formerly lived in houses of this character. Assuming that the Mandan formerly resided in the vicinity of the upper Mississippi, it is probable that they moved down this stream for some distance before passing to the Missouri. The fact that when first encountered by the whites they relied to some extent on agriculture as a means of subsistence, would seem to justify the conclusion that they were at some time in the past in a section where agriculture was practiced. It is possible, as Morgan contends, that they learned agriculture from the Hidatsa, but the reverse has more often been maintained. Catlin's theory that they formerly lived in Ohio and built mounds, and moved thence to the northwest is without any basis. The traditions regarding their migrations, as given by Maximilian, commence with their arrival at the Missouri. The point where this stream was first reached was at the mouth of White river, South Dakota. From this point they moved up the Missouri to Moreau river, where they came in con-

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tact with the Cheyenne and where also the formation of 'bands or unions' began. Thence they continued up the Missouri to Heart river, North Dakota, where they were residing at the time of the first known visit of the whites, but it is probable that trappers and traders visited them earlier." 114 174

In the foregoing account in the "Handbook"—certainly a very authoritative and recent exposition of the Mandans as to former habitat—it is seen that no reference is made to the supposed expulsion of them from the Winnipeg country by the Crees or Assiniboines, or to their ever having had a home there, while emphasis seems to be laid upon the theory that they once inhabited the upper Mississippi, moved down that stream "for some distance before passing to the Missouri," and that (on Maximilian's authority regarding their traditions) they first came to the Missouri "at the mouth of White river" in South Dakota, proceeding thence up the latter stream, and that they first came in contact with the Cheyennes at the Moreau river—which is some 75 miles south of the northern boundary of South Dakota. Other accounts which we refer to below show that, according to the Cheyenne traditions the latter Indians, when they crossed the Missouri about 225 years ago, crossed it near the mouth of the Cheyenne river, and that they there met the Mandans, still farther south; and that the Gros Ventres (or Minnetarees or Hidatsas) while coming from the north first encountered the Mandans on the upper Missouri and crossed that stream to join them. Whether the eminent editor of the "Handbook" (Hodge) and his able assistants intended, by refraining from referring to the Winnepeg theory in the foregoing account of the Mandans because of lack of confidence in it, or whether such course was taken because that theory is brought out in the "Handbook" in one or two instances in connection with accounts of other northwestern tribes can only be conjectured.

Lieut. Clarke, in "Indian Sign Language," speaking of the Gros Ventres, relates that Poor Wolf, then 61 years of age, and born near the mouth of Knife river, whom he found to be "a venerable, professor-like looking old fellow," dressed in a nondescript patchwork of mis-matches, including "a pair of old-fashioned iron spectacles," informed him that the Gros Ventres "migrated toward the Missouri river from the north, and here" (at or near Fort Berthold on the Missouri) "first met the Mandans. The

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Arickarees were then below Fort Pierre." We italicize. We here refer to Poor Wolf in no sense of disparagement in connection with his apparel, but rather in connection with the well known fact that he has long been regarded, and doubtless with good reason, as a prominent member and chief among his tribesmen and the "Confederated Village" at large, and as one whose knowledge of the tribal traditions is of a high order. We desire to point out the above quotation from that venerable and authoritative chief, by wayof comment upon Lieut. Clarke's statement on the next page of his account of the Gros Ventres (p. 195), wherein he says: "Their **known** migrations are limited to the Missouri River Valley, and from Knife river up to their present village (Fort Berthold), "and I am quite convinced that the Mandans **moved from the north and joined them,** crossing the river **for that purpose.**" We again italicize. Our point is that not only Poor Wolf, but many other authorities to be found in connection with the history of the Gros Ventres in their relation to migration and contact with the Mandans seems to make it very plain and practically indisputable that the Gros Ventres came to the Missouri from the Devil's Lake region, hailed the Mandans across the Missouri, and after being visited by the latter, who crossed in "bull-boats" to parley with them, were allowed to cross **and join them.** And we can not but think that Lieut. Clarke, when making the statement last above quoted, had become somewhat confused amid the maze of traditions of the three Confederated Tribes which had grown up, and that he here imputes to the Mandans what really was done by the Gros Ventres.

The fact, too, that Poor Wolf's tradition to the effect that the Aricaras were below the Fort Pierre country when the Gros Ventres found the Mandans on the upper Missouri was recorded by Lieut. Clarke, indicates his inclination to listen to the suggestion that, as between the Mandans and the Aricaras the former were dominant over a long stretch of the river to the southward and were familiar with the fact that the Aricaras had not yet reached the Cheyenne river northward when the Mandans were joined by the Gros Ventres.

Cheyennes and Mandans. Lieut. Clarke, treating of the Cheyennes in "Indian Sign Language" (pp. 99-100), thus refers to the Mandans as incidental to the migration westward of the Cheyennes:

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"Occupying then the country at the headwaters of the Mississippi several hundred years ago, they were slowly forced westward by the Sioux, perhaps southward by the Mandans, the latter being driven from the north by the same power which pressed upon the Sioux, viz., the great Algonquin family, assisted in later years by French arms. It is more than probable that this migration was due in a measure to and determined by their search for game, as traditional evidence in regard to their relations with the Sioux and Mandans is not clear and conclusive." He then parenthetically refers to information given him by Lieut. Bailey, Fifth Infantry, "obtained from what is considered a reliable source," going to show (among other things) "that the Cheyennes met the Mandans two hundred and two years ago, as they—the Cheyennes—crossed the Missouri river. For several years they were at war with the Mandans, after this made peace and have maintained peaceable relations ever since. Before the whites commenced making war against these tribes they frequently camped together, and many Cheyennes and Mandans intermarried."

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As this statement was made about 1881, the time thus fixed as that of the first contact between the Cheyennes and Mandans would be about 1680, and the same information shows that the Cheyennes, going westward, met the Mandans on the Missouri. This at least indicates clearly that the Mandans were domiciled on and probably west of the Missouri before the Cheyennes were driven there by pressure of other Indians from the east or north, and this situation seems out of harmony with the idea that the Mandans were behind the Cheyennes to northward and were drving them southward or westward, as supposed by Lieut. Clarke, at another point above quoted.

Again: As bearing out the supposition that the Mandans were established on the west side of the Missouri when the Gros Ventres came into that part of the country, we find in "Handbook of American Indians," Vol. I, page 547, this reference to the Gros Ventres (as Hidatsas) and to the Mandans: "By the Mandan they are known as Minitari, signifying 'they crossed the river,' traditionally said to refer to their having crossed Missouri river from the east." Indeed, it is taken for proven that the Mandans were living on the west side of the Missouri at that time, as in the same account (p. 548) we find this reference to the former traditional habitat of the Gros Ventres, their subsequent alliance

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114 with the Mandans west of the river and the fact that they "learned agriculture" from the latter:

174 "According to their own tradition the Hidatsas came from the neighborhood of a lake northeast of their later home and identified by some of their traditionists with Mini-wakan, or Devil's Lake, North Dakota. They had here the circular earth-covered log house, in use also by the Mandan, Arikara and other tribes living close along the upper Missouri, in addition to the skin tipi occupied when on the hunt. Removing from there, perhaps in consequence of attacks by the Sioux, they moved southwest and allied themselves with the Mandans, who then lived on the west side of the Missouri, about the mouth of Heart river. The three tribes, Hidatsa, Mandan and Arikara, were all living in this vicinity about 1765. From the Mandan the Hidatsa learned agriculture. * * * In home life, religious beliefs and customs, house building, agriculture, the use of the skin boat, and general arts, they closely resembled the Mandan with whom they were associated."

Further reference is made in "Handbook of American Indians," Vol. I, p. 251, under the heading "Cheyenne," to the locality on the Missouri where that tribe crossed that stream, viz: "The Cheyenne moved west toward the Missouri river, where their further progress was opposed by the Sutaio—the Staitan of Lewis and Clarke—a people speaking a closely cognate dialect, who had preceded them to the west and were then apparently living between the river and the Black Hills. After a period of hostility the two tribes made an alliance, some time after which the Cheyennes crossed the Missouri below the entrance of the Cannonball and later took refuge in the Black Hills about the heads of Cheyenne river of South Dakota." We have then various references to the point or locality of crossing the Missouri by the Cheyennes and where they came in contact with the Mandans with that event, the general and usual place of their reputed crossing being at or about the mouth of the Cheyenne river; the "Handbook" reciting the Moreau river as the point to which the Mandans had progressed up-river when they "came in contact" with the Cheyennes, and the above reference to the locality "below the entrance of the Canonball." All of these localities save the one last indicated are in South Dakota, while as to the locality "below" the Cannonball it may or may not have been within this state, since

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the mouth of that river is nearly fifty miles north of the line between the Dakotas. 114

Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson, in his note on the Cheyenne Indians (S. Dak. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 146) says concerning the locality in which that tribe crossed the Missouri: "For some time after the Cheyennes reached the valley of the Missouri they lived on its east bank, and finally crossed at or about the mouth of the Big Cheyenne river, South Dakota." He also says: "Alexander Henry says the Salteurs informed him that they severely defeated the Cheyennes in a great battle about 1740, after which the latter tribe abandoned the country, going westward. The Cheyennes of the present day give the time of their crossing the Missouri river at about 1690." 174

Their Upper Missouri Villages. We will briefly trace the localities in which the Mandans have lived on the Missouri river since their most ancient and definite village remains, actually discovered by the whites, were occupied, and so far as information has come to hand. 361

We regard it as almost certain that when La Verendrye visited the Mandans in 1738 and 1742 they were stationed in the neighborhood of and across from what is now Mandan, N. D., and were, according to that explorer, in "five forts on the two banks of the river"—how many were on each side not appearing. Lewis and Clarke's interpreters informed them that forty years prior to 1804 they were settled in nine villages—seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri, about eighty miles below the Fort Mandan built by that expedition. The closest calculation we can make of the actual distances traveled by Lewis and Clarke after they found the first or most southerly Mandan ruin—as shown by the data in their journal—until they had reached the most northerly of what they call the nine deserted villages, shows that the stretch of river covered by those sites was about twenty-eight miles (instead of twenty miles, as their journal states), and taking as true Dr. Coues' statement that the first Mandan ruin found by them was eight miles below the lower end of what he says is Sibley Island, or about twenty-two miles below Bismarck, we find that the northernmost deserted Mandan village in that group must have been located about six miles north of Mandan, N. D. But, as will be seen from Lewis and Clarke's journal inserted hereinafter, they actually point out only eight village sites in that group,

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361 and four of those are stated to be on the northeasterly and four on the southwesterly side of the Missouri. And by extending the calculation of distances on up the river, upon the further data of that expedition, we find that it is but about sixty-eight and one-half miles (instead of eighty, as they state it to be) from where they built Fort Mandan (say, seven miles below the mouth of Knife river) to said first or most southerly Mandan ruin. In other words, starting from eight miles below Sibley Island as the most southerly site (on the east side of the Missouri), the succeeding seven deserted villages are (2) fourteen miles on east side; (3) fourteen and one-half miles on west side; (4) sixteen and one-half miles on east side; (5) nineteen and one-half miles on west side; (6) twenty-three miles on west side; (7) twenty-six miles on east side, and (8) twenty-eight miles on west side—counting northward. The Lewis and Clarke journal says, by way of summary, that "these villages, which are nine in number, are scattered along each side of the river within a space of twenty miles." (London ed., Vol. I, p. 156.)

About twenty-four or twenty-five miles farther up the Missouri from the most northerly of said group of eight or nine village sites Lewis and Clarke found another on the east side which they call "the old village of the Mandans and Ricaras." (P. 157.) This would be about thirty miles above Bismarck, and it was eight miles above "an old village on the north" (northeast side of the Missouri) "which was the former residence of the Ahnahaways, who now live between the Mandans and Minnetarees." Another old Mandan village "which has been deserted for many years" was found about four miles farther up on the west side. The Lewis and Clarke journal adds: "A short distance above it, on the continuation of the same rising ground, are two old villages of Ricaras, one on top of the hill, the other in the level plain, which have been deserted only five years ago. Above these villages is an extensive low ground for several miles, in which are situated at three or four miles from the Ricara villages three old villages of Mandans near together. Here the Mandans lived when the Ricaras came to them for protection, and from this they moved to their present situation above." (P. 158.) This group of four Mandan and two Aricara villages would thus be shown to extend from about thirty-four to thirty-nine miles above Bismarck; and it seems probable that this locality is referred to by the Aricara

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chief who was with Lewis and Clarke when they passed the second deserted Mandan village, and who told them that the Mandans "once lived in a number of villages on each side of the river" (doubtless the eight or nine village group already referred to) "till the Sioux forced them forty miles higher, whence, after a few years' residence, they moved to their present position." (London ed., Vol. I, p. 154.) Now speaking roundly, forty miles would span the gap between the oldest group of Mandan village sites and this locality, which is upwards of thirty miles above Bismarck. But it will be seen that Lewis and Clark speak of the Aricaras having come to that locality of the Mandans "for protection;" while at another point in their journal (p. 177) they mention two villages of the Mandans (who had doubtless been living in some of the so-called "nine villages")*** as "finding themselves wasted away before the smallpox and the Sioux,*** and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras," of the remaining Mandans, impelled by similar causes, having "emigrated in a body to the Ricara nation." This would indicate that they, within forty years prior to 1804, went up-river into the neighborhood of the Aricaras for protection. Nowhere in any of the early chronicles is it made clear where the Aricaras were located, above the Mandans, when the latter "moved up the river opposite to" them, or when, later on, the Mandans on the west side "emigrated in a body to the Ricara nation, where they formed themselves into two villages and joined those of their countrymen who had gone before them." Was it here, where these "two old villages of Ricaras" were located? If so, there should be found a Mandan village site somewhere in the neighborhood on the east side of the Missouri, but none is mentioned by Lewis and Clarke. And, as seen, Lewis and Clarke say the Aricaras came to the Mandans for protection in that locality. Here is an apparent difficulty which, involving time, locality and mutual protection, is not satisfactorily cleared up by any comparison of the various accounts of the early explorers which the writer has been able to make.

In Part I of this paper will be found a treatment of the subject of the various habitations of the Aricaras, and, in connection therewith, of the Mandans and their relations to the former. as shown by the journals of Lewis and Clarke and others; and reference is here made to that part of this paper to avoid repetition

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000 and as throwing further light upon the Mandans in this relation. (See Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., pp 388-402, et seq.)

Without attempting to exhibit a continuous account of the Mandans, as to locus, from the time when the first visitors were among them early in the last century down to the present day—since such treatment of them is not within the scope of this paper as originally conceived by the writer—we will outline their principal movements as tribes after they went northward from their home at the "Mandan Villages" below Knife river.

361 **Their Recent Contact with Other Tribes.** In 1845 the Hidatsa or Minnetaree (otherwise known as Gros Ventre or Big Bellies) Indians moved up the river from the Knife river, some forty miles, to the immediate vicinity of the site of Fort Berthold, which stockaded trading post was built there that year by the American Fur Company and the Indians, on the north side of the Missouri in what is now McLean county, North Dakota. The Mandans followed them soon after, removing thence from the "Mandan Villages." (See, for an account of Fort Berthold, Fort Atkinson and Fort Stevenson, and the Indians at that point, Part I of this paper, Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., pp. 572-578; also note of Dr. D. W. Robinson in Vol. I, p. 124, and note by the writer of this article, id., pp. 359-60.) The Aricaras joined the other Indians above referred to at Fort Berthold in 1862.

The "Confederated Village." There what was long known as the Confederated Village of the Mandans, Minnetarees and Aricaras was established, and this stockaded village stronghold was occupied by those tribes until about 1888, when they broke up their urban establishment and scattered out into the country westward and northward, comprising the Fort Berthold reservation at large, the Mandans having practically all crossed to the southwesterly side of the Missouri and settled in the area embraced within from a few miles below to many miles above the mouth of the Little Missouri, all of the Indians in question having dissolved their tribal relations and taken lands in individual allotments and become citizens under the severalty laws of the United States, where they now reside, the Mandans being a mere remnant of their former prowess as tribes.

Some few salient incidents in the experience of the Mandans in the last century, incidental to general history, will be touched upon later on in this paper.

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Of Siouan Origin. As will be seen from a consideration of the accounts and conclusions set forth hereinafter, the Mandans are regarded by the authorities upon this subject as belonging to the great Siouan family, of which the Dakotas are the head and substantial body. It is believed that a close analysis of the foundations for this conclusion will reveal two main sources thereof, i. e., their locality in the territory generally accredited to the Dakotas, and the analogies supposed to exist between their language and that of the Dakotas. 144

Upon this latter phase it has seemed to the writer that the assumption that those analogies exist to an extent which raises a fair presumption of identity between the Mandans and the Dakota tribes, is not borne out by the evidences at hand. If any one familiar with the languages involved has gone into a study to demonstrate that from a comparison of words or roots entering into the language of the Mandans and of the Dakotas or Sioux, respectively, there are found to be sufficient points of resemblance to bear out the claim of identity, such effort has not come to the attention of the writer. Maximilian assembled in a table sets of words of the Mandans, Aricaras and Sioux, of supposed similar meanings, of which he gained knowledge while among those various tribes, but it is far from clear that a comparison of those words indicates common lingual origin between the Mandans and Dakotas. 197 144

We are unable to quote upon this question any authorities among the people who have been in contact with both the Mandans and the Sioux so as to have become masters of both languages. There are several persons, however, who, having more or less special knowledge of one or the other of them, and who, at the same time have been to some extent in contact with that one of the tribes in question whose language they have not mastered, have expressed their views upon this question of common origin or otherwise. Doane Robinson, Secretary of the State Historical Society of South Dakota, and who met and conversed with Simon J. Kirk, an educated Sioux Indian connected with the Indian school service on the Standing Rock reservation, and who for nearly a year was in contact with the Mandans, thus speaks of his (Kirk's) views upon this question:

"Simon Kirk, Little Eagle, South Dakota, is a full blooded Sisseton, reared with his people and perfectly conversant with

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the Santee and other dialects of the Sioux language. He is educated, a graduate of the Santee Normal Institute of Santee, Nebraska, and has long been in the federal classified service as a teacher among the Indians, and was for a year a teacher among the Mandans. In an interview at Little Eagle on July 8th, 1908, he said:

'I made a careful study of the Mandan language and learned to speak it fluently, and I failed to find anything in it to justify the belief that it originated from the Siouan tongue. There is nothing in the language, or in the history or traditions of the Mandans, to justify the theory exploited by the ethnologists that the Mandans are of Siouan stock. They are utterly foreign to the Sioux in language, blood, customs and traditions.' "

Upon this subject Mr. Kirk replied to a letter of inquiry to the writer as follows:

"I will say that as far as I know personally I don't believe the Mandans are Siouan. Their language is entirely different from the Sioux language. I think it is very easy to learn and talk the Gros Ventre and Ree language, but I never heard or knew a Sioux Indian could talk the Mandan language."

On the other hand, Rev. R. D. Hall, now stationed at the Rosebud Indian Mission in South Dakota, where he has been for about one year, and who is a son of Rev. C. L. Hall, of Elbowoods, N. D., the headquarters of the Fort Berthold Indian Agency and of the Mandan Indians, has kindly and very intelligently responded upon a different trend of thought to a similar inquiry put to him by the writer in August, 1908, upon this subject. This gentleman has, we believe, been among the Mandans during practically his whole life until he came to the Sioux country in this state, since his father has been in constant contact with the Mandans as a missionary for something over thirty years. He states his present views, which as will be seen are but tentative and subject to more mature consideration and study of the Sioux language, as follows:

"The subjects on which you touch in your letter are of much interest to me, as one of the first things I noticed as I began studying the Sioux of this reserve—which is about like all the Sioux language, was the similarity of words in so many cases. I am planning at a later date to tabulate these, but as yet have not had time. I have three theories, or lines, along which this similarity may have come. I hope to work this out later on when I can

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speak the Sioux well enough to get into the history of both people intelligently, according to their traditions. 197 144

"My first thought is that the Mandans and Sioux were once a common tribe, or branches of a tribe, but some rupture separated them into two bands whose dialects changed as decades passed. These changes can be seen in the different Sioux tribes now—they even have different words now for some things.

"My second thought is that the Mandan and Sioux were tribes that for a period were on intimate terms, but not related by blood, and that the stronger language 'infected' the Mandan.

"My third thought is that the Mandans were once a Sioux tribe like the Tetons, Santees, Yanktons, etc., but through isolation for years—maybe centuries—became more widely differentiated.

"The similarity of the languages is **striking to me**, first as to similarity of words, the pronouncing of syllables, facial expression accompanying the words, etc.

"The order of my theories is my **present** preference."

The italics in the above quotations are those of Rev. Hall himself.

It will be seen that years of constant contact with and study of the Mandans, and a comparatively brief period of residence among and study of the Sioux, have left this gentleman with a decided inclination to believe the two tribes to have been at some time in the past members of the same racial family or group of tribes, and that but one of his three immature theories supposes them to have been originally strangers in blood; but that he is not yet satisfied to settle down upon any definite conclusion upon the subject.

We will leave this particular phase of the general subject, after quoting Dr. W. H. Holmes, chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, wherein he remarks, in connection with the subject of the Welsh language as possibly involved in the alleged existence of Welsh-speaking Indians and as compared to the language of the American Indians: "It is difficult to find any two languages, howsoever distinct in their origin, that do not contain remarkable correspondences. This must be allowed for in considering the presence of Welsh and other words in the Indian tongue." That eminent authority does not credit the idea of Indians of Welsh extraction. But his observation above quoted

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197 concerning correspondence between languages, however distinct
in origin, if applied to the Mandan and Sioux languages, would
144 seem to tend strongly to suggest caution as to their identity, judging upon the facts set forth in the foregoing quotations from Rev. R. D. Hall.

181 **Peaceably Inclined.** The Mandans are unquestionably and justly regarded by substantially all the whites who have been among them from the earliest period of their discovery to have been peaceably inclined, in a sense which distinguished them from most of the warlike tribes who surrounded them on the upper Missouri. Yet they possessed high qualities of valor and actual prowess at arms when invasion of their rights led them to war, in some of which contests they without hesitation took the offensive and proved their ability to cope with their enemies under circumstances placing them at a disadvantage. They also maintained exceptionally friendly relations with the whites.

000 **Highly Civilized.** Their habitations in strongly entrenched and palisaded "forts," as they were called by the whites; the indubitable proofs of their having been agriculturalists in an eminent degree; their relatively polished and kindly mannerisms and unstinted hospitality, and their skill as artisans in fashioning pottery and other utensils adequate to their needs as families and communities—all seem to argue conclusively an exceptionally high state of civilization and such as marks them as being in a substantial degree apart from all other Indian tribes of the northwest. There are phases of their religious ceremonies which, coupled with some of their legends, lend strong support to the theory of the high character of their civilization and, taken in connection with all their other attributes, including physiognomy, are undeniably persuasive towards the conclusion that they have white blood in their veins and which must have existed for centuries.

342 The writer will not descend to a detailed description of the individual lodge, or hut, of the Mandans. It would be useless as mere repetition in substance of the various pen pictures given of them by a number of the early observers whose accounts are set forth hereinafter, and to which the reader or the student is referred. Suffice it to remark here that a substantial error has gone into prominent Indian literature upon the subject of the characteristics of such lodges, in Catlin's account and through

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his drawings of the lodges of the Aricaras at their village near the mouth of Grand river, and which he merely passed by on the river when he visited the Mandans in 1833, in which connection he states that the lodges of both of those tribes were substantially identical in form and general construction, which is true. His point of observation having been the deck of the steamer, which in its progress up or down the river was, of course, at some distance from the Aricara village which he sketched, he failed to observe that the outer surface of the lodge, below the line where the lower part of the roof joined the sides, was not a curved surface, nor in strictly circular form, but that it was formed of many planes, each of which stood at an angle with the two others joining it, and that instead of the floor surface of the lodge being a circle it was in the form of an ellipse. He also considerably overestimated the height of the lodge in his drawings. These defects in his observations have been remarked upon by many subsequent writers and by some whose personal observations of both Mandan and Aricara lodges enable them to speak with authority. This point will be brought out in some quotations from later observers found in this paper. He also wholly failed to observe another vital feature of the Mandan lodges, and which it is somewhat strange that he overlooked, viz., the covered entrance to the lodge, some ten feet long by about four feet wide and some seven feet high.

Nor will we dwell longer upon any phase of the Mandans by way of preliminary, but will proceed now to bring into the account a few quotations embodying the conclusions of some of the authoritative publications upon the Mandans, followed by the narratives of the various visitors and observers already referred to, in chronological order, with occasional comments by the way.

From the "Handbook of American Indians," published by the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1907, we glean the following:

Mandan. A Siouan Tribe of the Northwest. The name, according to Maximilian, originally given by the Sioux, is believed by Matthews to be a corruption of the Dakota Mawatani. Previous to 1830 they called themselves simply Numakiki, "people" (Matthews). Maximilian says: "If they wish to particularize their descent they add the name of the village whence they came originally."

Hayden gives Miahtades, "people on the bank," as the name

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101 they apply to themselves, and draws from this the inference that "they must have resided on the banks of the Missouri in a very remote period." According to Morgan (Syst. Consang. and Affin., 285), the native name of the tribe is Metootahak, "South Villagers." Their relations so far as known historically and traditionally have been most intimate with the Hidatsa; yet, judged by the linguistic test, their position must be nearer the Winnebago. Matthews appears to consider the Hidatsa and Mandan descendants from the same immediate stem. Their traditions regarding their early history are scant and almost entirely mythological. All that can be gathered from them is the indication that at some time they lived in a more easterly locality in the vicinity of a lake. This tradition, often repeated by subsequent authors, is given by Lewis and Clarke.

These references to the east and south in the Mandan traditions are encountered by those who have been among them, and they are to be found in narratives based upon the authorities or upon the personal experiences of visitors, who are quoted by some who have heard the accounts from them; and it will be seen in what follows from "Indian Sign Language," by W. P. Clark (Phila., L. R. Hamersly & Co., 1885) that according to one of his authorities the reference to "people of the east" is interpreted to mean "the position they first occupied in the village." This is in keeping with a similar reference to one of the Dakota tribes—the Ihanktonwans, or Yanktons, meaning "village at the end," and of the Ihanktonwannas, or Yanktonais, meaning the "end village." All of which tends to indicate that not the American continent, but mere location in a group of Indian villages, may account for some legend-phrases supposed by many to prove a habitat in some remote part of North America. It will be seen also that Clark brings in some evidences of habitation of the Mandans to northward of the upper Missouri. We quote his summary on the Mandans, to-wit:

304 **Tribal Sign—Tattooing.** Mandan. Conception: Tattooing chin and lower sides of the face. These Indians are usually indicated by the same sign as that made for the Arickarees; but the proper tribal sign is to partially compress the right hand, bring tip of thumb near tips of fingers and tap the chin and lower part of the face several times with tips of the thumb and fingers. "I was told by Mr. Girard that tattooing was practiced when he

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first came among these people in 1849. The women had a line on the chin and a small spot on the forehead tattooed by the medicine man, whom they paid roundly for the work. The chiefs only, of the men, were tattooed, and on one side, or one-half of the breast, or one arm and breast. This was part of the ceremony when they were elected or made chiefs. They call themselves by a word which signifies 'people of the east,' but claim that this refers only to the position they first occupied in the village." 304

Migrations—From North? "Tradition among these Indians gives no definite account of their migrations other than the movements of their villages on the Missouri river; not, of course, considering the myth of their subterranean origin at Devil's Lake, Dakota. The Cheyennes, who are clearer in their traditions than most tribes, claim that the Mandans came from the north. Mr. Donald Gunn, in his 'History of Manitoba,' says: 'The Crees who visited the trading posts on the shores of Hudson's Bay, and the Assiniboines, who traded in 1678 with Duluth at the west end of Lake Superior, were about the same time put in possession of firearms, and within a few years thereafter they seemed as if by mutual consent to have made a simultaneous movement, the former pressing on to the southwest, the latter pursuing their course to the northwest, until they met in the region west of Lake Winnipeg, and on the plains of Red and Assiniboine rivers. Indian tradition informs us that during the first half of the last century the Mandans occupied the country to the southwest of Lake Winnipeg, and that they had been forced by the united efforts of their invaders to leave their hunting grounds and retire to the upper Missouri. How long it took these tribes to drive out those whom they found in possession of the country, and what wars they carried on to accomplish that object, are lost in the mist of years. However, we have had the evidence of a living witness to the fact that the Crees and the Assiniboines lived on the plains southwest of Lake Winnipeg for some years previous to the year 1780, and that they made a preconcerted attack that year on the trading posts on the Assiniboine." 173

"I am inclined to think that this statement is in the main correct, but believe that the Mandans were driven out of this part of the country (adjacent to Lake Winnipeg) at an earlier date, for we find them located on the Missouri in 1772, with evidences of their having been there for many years." (P. 239.)

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173 The foregoing is far from historic proof that the Mandans did not at the times mentioned have their real base on the Missouri river. If they had been driven out of the "plains southwest of Lake Winnipeg" southward to the Missouri river about the end of the 17th century, which plains had been their own country, it seems hardly possible that they would not have so informed Verendrye in 1738—less than half a century after such ejection; nor would they have been likely to have forgotten it as a fresh tradition when Lewis and Clarke visited them. But if they had been hunting or marauding on those Canadian plains, and had failed to make permanent lodgment there as a home while really living on the Missouri, such rebuffs by the Crees and Assiniboines would be less consequential and might account for silence on the part of the Mandans concerning their Canadian campaigns. We continue the account from "Indian Sign Language:"

"Information given to the late General William Clarke in his expedition up the Missouri denotes that the Mandans have suffered greater vicissitudes of fortune than most of the American tribes."

361 **Walled Villages.** About a century ago they were settled on both banks of the Missouri some fifteen hundred miles above its mouth. They were then living in mire villages, surrounded by circular walls of earth without the adjunct of a ditch. The ruins of one of the old villages, observed in 1804, covered nearly eight acres and denoted a comparatively large population. Two of these villages were on the east and seven on the west side of the Missouri. They were first discovered and made known to us in this position in 1772. (Mitchell's letter herewith.)

721 **Their Wars.** They appear to have been a hated tribe to the Dakotas, or Sioux, and Assiniboines, who from the earliest traditionary times carried on fierce war against them.

361 **Smallpox.** Finding themselves sorely pressed by this war and
166 having experienced the wasting inroads of the smallpox the two
[164] eastern villages united into one and migrated up the river to a
721 point opposite to the Arickaree, fourteen hundred and thirty miles above the mouth. The same causes soon pressed the other seven western villages, reducing them to five; they also afterward migrated in a body and joined their tribesmen in the Arickaree country, and concentrated and settled themselves in two large villages. Here they dwelt for a time, but were still subject to

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the fierce attacks of their enemies; and deeming the position unfavorable they removed higher up the river and took possession of a precipitous and tenable point of land formed by an involution of the Missouri, where they formed one compact village in 1776. The eastern Mandans had settled in two villages, but finding the attacks of the Sioux hard to be resisted united also in one village. The two divisions of Mandan villages were still separated by the Missouri river, but seated directly opposite each other about three miles apart, including lowlands. 361 166 721

The position is estimated to be sixteen hundred miles from the junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi. There they were visited by Lewis and Clarke on the 27th October, 1804. This was a memorable and an auspicious event in their history, as these intrepid American explorers determined to pass their first winter in this vicinity. They built Fort Mandan, a few miles distant, on a heavily wooded piece of bottom land, which yielded trees of sufficient size for erecting quarters for themselves and the men. They immediately opened an intercourse with the Mandans and established a friendship with them, which was strengthened by the incidents of a winter's residence." (pp. 239-240). 361 166

The following is an extract from Mr. Mitchell's letter above referred to: "The early portion of their history I gather from the narration of Mr. Macintosh, who, it seems, belonged to, or was in some way connected with the French Trading Company as far back as 1772. According to his narration, he set out from Montreal in the summer of 1773, crossed over the country to the Missouri river and arrived at one of the Mandan villages on Christmas day. He gives a long and somewhat romantic description of the manner in which he was received, and dwells at some length upon the greatness of the Mandan population, their superior intelligence and prowess in war. He says at that time the Mandans occupied nine large towns lying contiguous and could at short notice muster fifteen thousand mounted warriors." Clarke continues:

"I am inclined to think that the statistics of the author whom I have quoted are somewhat exaggerated, and at the time he visited the Missouri the Mandans were not so numerous as he represents. There are, however, the ruins of five villages in the neighborhood of the present village, which were evidently at one time occupied by the Mandans; and judging from the space which

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361 these 'deserted villages' cover they must have been powerful
166 communities, at least as far as numbers could make them powerful.

"Whatever may have been their population, there is no doubt
164 that the Mandans suffered more severely from the smallpox than any of the other tribes, and were, in fact, nearly exterminated by it. Mr. Girard says that when he joined them in 1849 the memory of the terrible ravages made by this disease was still fresh in their minds, and they stated that only thirty-five survived the terrible ordeal. He thinks that the disease overtook them in 1832 or 1833, when there were five villages of from sixty to two hundred and fifty lodges each, in all about one thousand lodges, averaging some thirteen persons to a lodge. I am inclined to think he is mistaken in regard to the date, and that they had the smallpox in 1837 instead of 1832-3. Schoolcraft, speaking of this, says: 'Surrounded, as the Mandans were, by active enemies, and doomed, as they appeared to be, to extinction, they might have resisted this course of depopulation a long period had it not been for the reoccurrence of smallpox among them in the summer of 1837. By this fatal calamity their numbers were reduced in a few days to less than one-sixteenth of their whole number. One of the reports of the disease reduced the survivors to thirty-one, another to one hundred and twenty-three.'

168 "They maintained their individuality as a tribe and increased their numbers by stringent marriage laws. They did not allow their women to marry into other bands or tribes unless the man would renounce his tribal relations, join them and agree that the children should talk the Mandan language and be reared in their customs and beliefs." (P. 241.)

144 Clarke discards without discussion the idea that their physical peculiarities or language indicates Welsh antecedents. He proceeds:

"The physical peculiarities of many of the Mandans, viz., their blue eyes and light hair, have led to the wildest kind of speculation in regard to their origin, some claiming that they were a lost Welsh colony and that their language supported this theory. It is hardly necessary to say that this has no foundation in fact. Some of the children also have gray hair, but this probably 'only denotes a morbid state of it, analogous to that which supervenes in albinoes.' This peculiarity is not limited to the Mandans, the

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Arapahoes having fully as many children who have gray hair, it being seemingly an inherited quality in certain families. I have also seen the same thing in other tribes. In regard to the light hair, one of the old men said to me that when God made them He as a special mark of His pleasure took the silky tassel of the corn with which to make their hair. As a matter of fact this peculiarity is of recent date. Since 1804, when Lewis and Clarke spent their winters with this tribe, their liking for the white men of their party is a matter of record, and particularly of one or two of the men who had red hair and blue eyes." (P. 241.) 144

The above expressed opinion that those peculiarities were of "recent date," and Clarke's evident intention of referring them as to origin to the period of the Lewis and Clarke visit is, we believe, so far fetched as to be without any substantial basis. We have already seen and will hereinafter find further references to evidences which are indisputable to the effect that long before Lewis and Clarke saw the Mandans they had become renowned in the Canadian and eastern American country as "Bearded Whites" and as "Welsh Indians." Even Verendrye, as will be seen later on, knew of those reports and expressed disappointment that the Mandans were not much nearer white men in complexion than he found them to be.

Clarke concludes with the following:

Religious Phases. "They place calico and other cloths round the posts in their lodges as a gift to the god of timber to satisfy him for the spoilation, believing that it hurts a tree to be cut down; i. e., gives it physical pain. The tree is alive and its destruction is the destruction of life, but by giving something to God—making a sacrifice—it pleases Him and gives them good luck. This is a curious peculiarity of their religious belief, which is shared by no other tribe that I have ever met. Near the village and cultivated fields I saw poles fifteen or twenty feet long planted in the ground, with bundles of female clothing tied to these poles near the top. On inquiry they told me that these were gifts to the three Mandan medicine women, who keep the lodges for the sun—one where the sun rises, one at the zenith and one where the sun sets. These women never die, and the sun stops at their lodges to smoke. 'By watching closely,' said the old man, 'you can see that the sun stops for a short time just as he rises, the same at meridian, and he stays with the third at night. 774 778 783

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783 We were told never to forget these women, and we make these gifts to them so that they will say a kind word for us.' Their oath is made by the moon or sun. After death they believe they 775 go to the east, and claim that a man killed in battle is better treated, better liked, in the hereafter than one who dies of disease. They cling tenaciously to their old beliefs, customs and 186 habits, and though they have adopted some of the manners of the Sioux and their own allies, the Arickarees and Gros Ventres, they are bitterly opposed to the ways of the whites.

Language Different from Sioux. In speaking of their language 197 Mr. Mitchell says: 'I always contended that Mr. Gallatin was in error in supposing the Mandans and Sioux descended from the same stock. Mr. Kipp, who has been well acquainted with both tribes for upward of thirty years, and speaks both languages with great fluency and correctness, fully concurs with me in opinion. There are a few words that are somewhat similar in sound, but this Mr. Kipp accounts for by the fact of the Sioux and Mandans having been neighbors from time immemorable, and during intervals of peace visiting and intermarrying with each other.' Many of them now speak the Sioux language, and though I consider their vocal language as distinct and different from all others, still high authorities at present class it with the Sioux; that is, being with the same stock." (P. 242.)

From the "Collections of the American Antiquarian Society," Vol. II (Cambridge, 1836), we quote the following concerning the Mandans, in which they are spoken of as one of three tribes of the Minnetarees. What is said therein concerning the chief Big White and the Welsh theory will receive consideration later on.

"The Minetares (Minetaree and Minetaries) consist of three tribes, speaking three different languages which belong to a common stock. Its affinities with the Dahcota are but remote, but have appeared sufficient to entitle them to be considered as of the same family.

"Two of those tribes, the Mandans, whose numbers do not 105 exceed fifteen hundred, and the stationary Minetaries, amounting to three thousand souls, including those called Annahwas, cultivate the soil and live in villages situated on or near the Missouri, between the forty-seventh and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude. They are kept in a state of perpetual alarm by the Assiniboines, the Tetons, the Rapid Indians and other erratic

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tribes, and have on that account often been obliged to change the seat of their villages. 105

"Yet they have often been quarreling with the Ricaras, who like them are agricultural people; and they often make predatory expeditions against the Shoshones, in the eastern valleys of the Rocky mountains. Both the Mandans and the Minnetaries consider themselves as natives of that part of the country.

"The tradition of the Mandans is that they came from under ground by means of a great vine, which, breaking under the weight of some of them, has left behind a part of their nation, whom they expect to join after death. The color of the chief who visited Washington appeared less dark than that of our Indians, and he was the only full-breed Indian ever seen by me, whose eyes were of a bluish cast. It is believed that this is the tribe, often spoken of as White Indians, and which gave rise to the fabulous account of a tribe descended from the Welsh and speaking their language, a tale which the knowledge we have now acquired of the various Indian nations and of their dialects has set at rest. 773 142

"The vocabulary of the stationary Minetaries and the specimen of the Crow of Upsaroka dialect were obtained by Dr. Say. We knew from Lewis and Clarke that the Mandans spoke a kindred dialect, and this has been confirmed by the significant names of their chiefs, subscribed to a treaty with the United States. Lewis and Clarke appear to have considered the Rapid, Fall or Paunch Indians, sometimes also called the "Minetaries of the Prairies," as belonging to the same family. But all the subsequent accounts agree in assigning to them an entirely distinct language." (P. 125.) 197

The above reference to the "chief who visited Washington" (Big White) is from Albert Gallatin.

We will here refer to the note by Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson on the Mandans, found among his notes on "Historical Sketch of North and South Dakota," by Dr. William M. Blackburn, in Hist. Coll., S. D., Vol. I, page 98, being a very concise and creditable summary of the tribe. In that note Dr. Robinson affirms that "their traditions give their former abode as being about the headwaters of Lake Winnipeg. It is probable that they were driven from their homes at Lake Winnipeg about 1680 by the Crees and Assiniboines, both powerful tribes which about this period came into possession of firearms. Their first stopping place, after being driven out by their enemies, was on the Mis- 174

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174 souri river, where they were living at the time they were discovered by the fur trader." That one of Dr. Robinson's authorities which he recalls as a basis for the foregoing statement concerning the Mandans having had an abode in the Lake Winnipeg country is, he declares, Clarke in his "Indian Sign Language," under various tribe headings therein, from some of which accounts we have hereinbefore quoted. He expresses with confidence his belief that he came in contact with further information leading to the same conclusion, but is at present without definite information as to the identity of such authorities.

114 We will now set forth the account at large of Sieur Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Verendrye, as published in "Canadian Archieves" (1889 pp. 1-29), concerning his visit to the Mandans in 1738, being, so far as now known, the first formal approach made by white men to those Indians, from which will appear the decided agricultural proclivities of this tribe, a reference also to their formidable barricaded villages or "forts," their exceptional makeup as to complexion, their marked hospitality, their fear of the Sioux, their shrewdness as traders, etc.

000 **Verendrye's Account.** "On the morning of the 28th we arrived at the place selected for the meeting of the Mandans, who arrived toward evening—a chief with thirty men and the four Assiniboines. The chief, after having from the top of a height considered for some time the extent of our village, which appeared of a good size, I had him brought to the hut where I was, where a place had been prepared to receive him on one side of it. He 431 came and placed himself near me; one of his people then, on his part, presented me with a gift of Indian corn in the ear, and of 276 their tobacco in rolls, which is not good, as they do not know how to cure it like us. It is very like ours, with this difference, that it is not cultivated and is cut green, everything being turned to account, the stocks and the leaves together. I gave him some of mine, which he thought very good. I acknowledged that I was surprised, expecting to see different people from the other Indians, especially after the account given me. There is no difference from the Assiniboines; they are naked, covered only with 291 a buffalo robe, worn carelessly without breech clout.

"I knew from that time that we had to make an allowance for 000 all we had been told. The chief spoke to me in Assiniboine, testifying the joy which I had given to all their nation by my arrival

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among them; that he begged me to accept them among the number of your children; that he wished afterward to have to do only with us; that I might dispose of all he had; that he begged me to remain at his fort, that it was the nearest and smaller than the others, but well supplied with provisions; that there were six forts belonging to the same nation; that it was the only one not far from the river. He told me he had received two belts from me; that they had been shown to me on my arrival, as they had always hoped to see me. I thanked him for all his civilities and offers, telling him that I had come from a long distance to form a friendship with them, and that I would speak to them as soon as I should have arrived at their fort. He immediately played us a trick. Having examined our village on his arrival, as I have stated, judging that there would be many people, and if they all came to his fort, there must be a great consumption of grain, their custom being to feed liberally all who came among them, selling only what was to be taken away, he gave many thanks to the Assiniboines for having brought the French among them; that it could not have happened more opportunely; that the Sioux would not be long of arriving among them, having been warned, begging me, like the Assiniboines, to assist them, hoping much from our valor and courage. I was entrapped like the Assiniboines, with this difference, that the Assiniboines stood confounded whilst I rejoiced, believing that I had found an opportunity to be avenged on that accursed nation. I promised him every assistance from myself and our Frenchmen should they come whilst we were with them, for which he thanked me. He was sent for to come to the feast and questioned respecting the Sioux. The Assiniboines, numerous, strong and robust men, are not brave; they greatly fear the Sioux, whom they think to be braver. The Mandans know their weakness and profit by it as opportunity arises. A counsel was held to discuss what should be done. The most decided opinion was that it was not necessary to go farther than to warn me of the risk I was about to run if I wished to pursue our course. An old man rose firmly: 'Do not think that our father is a coward; I know him better than the others do; I have been with him ever since he left his fort; do not believe that the Sioux can frighten him or any of his people. What will he think of us? He has lengthened his road to join us, agreeing to our wish for his company among the Mandans and to bring him back to his

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fort. He would have gone today if he had not listened to us, and you would think of abandoning him by letting him go alone, which cannot be. If we fear the Sioux, let us leave our village here till our return; let every man able to march follow our father.' All agreed in the old man's opinion; it was decided that only a few should remain to protect the women; all the rest would accompany me. I was notified of the result of the counsel; word was sent throughout the village to warn every one to be ready to march the day after tomorrow, the 30th of the month, thus making a little longer delay among the Mandans, who knew how to profit by it by the sale of their grain, tobacco, peltry and painted plumes, which they know the Assiniboines greatly value, who had brought and now gave in exchange muskets, axes, kettles, powder, balls, knives and awls. They are much craftier in trade than the Assiniboines and others, who are constantly their dupes. We left on the morning of the 30th, about 600 men, several women without children, the best walkers.

"On the evening of the third day of our march, about seven leagues from the first fort of the Mandans, I was informed that an Assiniboine had taken the bag from my slave on the road under pretext of relieving him, and had returned to the village. My box, in which were my papers and many things of use to me, were in the bag. I immediately engaged two young men to run after him, whom I paid, making them promise to bring the bag to the Mandans, where I would wait for them. They set out during the night, overtook the rascal, who had already decamped from the village, made him return everything, and came back to their village to keep the whole, hoping to restore it to me on my return, not daring to come after me, being afraid of the Sioux. I saw myself deprived of many things which were of daily use.

"The orator gave notice that we must leave before four in the morning in order to arriver early at the fort. I found at a league and a half, about noon, near a small river, a number of people who had come to meet us had lighted fires, expecting us, and had brought coarse grain cooked and flour made into a paste, with pumpkins, to give us all enough to eat. Two chiefs had made a place ready for me near the fire and presented me first with something to eat and to smoke. Mr. de la Marque arrived shortly after me. I asked him to sit near me and eat whilst resting. We remained fully two hours resting.

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"We were warned that it was time to go. I made one of my children take the flag painted with the arms of France and march at the front, and ordered the French to follow in ranks. The Sieur Nolant relieved my son in carrying the flag, each taking it in turn. The Mandans would not let me march, but offered to carry me, to which I had to consent, being requested by the Assiniboines, who told me I would displease them greatly if I refused.

"At four acres from the fort, on a small height, the old men of the fort, accompanied by a great number of the youth, were waiting to present me with the calumet and to show me the two belts I had sent them four or five years ago. They gave a seat to me and to Mr. de la Marque. I received their compliments, which related only to the joy they felt at our arrival. I ordered my son, the Chevalier, to make all our Frenchmen draw up in line, the flag four paces in front; all the Assiniboines who had muskets placed themselves in line like our Frenchmen. After compliments had been made I saluted the fort with three volleys. Many people came to meet us, but nothing in comparison with what appeared on the ramparts and along the trenches.

Enters Mandan Fort. "I marched in good order to the fort, into which I entered on the third day of December at four in the afternoon, escorted by all the French and Assiniboines. We were led into the hut of the head chief. It was certainly large, but not enough to hold all who wished to enter. The crowd was so great that they crushed one another, Assiniboines and the Mandans. There was only the place where we were, Mr. de la Marque, his brother and my children, free of them. I asked that the crowd should retire, to leave our Frenchmen clear, and put their baggage in a place of safety, telling them they had all time to see us. Every one was put out, but I had been too late. The bag of goods had been stolen, in which were all my presents, through the fault of one of the hired men in whose care I had placed it before reaching the fort. He had unloaded on entering the hut, without looking out for the bag, which he had put beside him in the great crowd. I felt rather confounded; my box lost, my bag of presents, which was very necessary for the place, and there were upwards of 300 livres inside. The Assiniboines seemed greatly annoyed, and at once made a strict but useless search. Their fort is full of caves, well suited for concealment.

"The chief of the Mandans appeared to be greatly moved at

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my loss, and said for my consolation that there were many rascals among them. He would do his utmost to discover something about it. Had I accepted the offer of the Assiniboines I might have had it found in a little time by force, but I preferred to lose it and to make peace about everything, as I wanted to spend a part of the winter with them to get a knowledge of the more distant country. On the 14th. I had the principal Mandans and Assiniboines assembled in the hut where I was. I gave them my present of powder and balls, telling them that I could give them nothing else; that they all knew that what I had brought to give in presents had been carried off. I declared to them that I was inclined to remain some time to gain a knowledge of the country according to our orders, which I could not do in a day. The Mandans testified their joy, assuring me that I need not be afraid of fasting, that they had provisions in reserve, far more than were necessary for us, and that their whole fort was well supplied; that I might dispose of it being master among them. The elder of the Assiniboines, the orator of the village, said to me: 'My father, we have brought thee here; I do not doubt that thou mayest be well here; we flatter ourselves with bringing thee back to thy fort; thou art master to do what thou shalt consider suitable; we will come to seek thee as soon as thou shalt wish it.' Speaking then to the Mandans: 'We are leaving our father; take good care of him and of all the French; learn to know them; they know how to do everything; he is a spirit; we love and fear him; do like us. We leave much grieved at the theft which has been committed on our father by entering among us; what can he think of us? We cannot deny that it was an unworthy thing. The Frenchmen came to see us and you robbed him. We are pleased that our father should be good or it would not have passed in that way. I do not fear to tell you so; we could have found the bag had he wished it; there is still time if he will.' I made him finish, as I saw the old man was getting heated. One of the Mandan chiefs answered: 'Neither I nor my people have any share in what you accuse us of; I do not answer for others; I am vexed enough; I have had every search made by my young men; I have nothing to reproach myself with. Who knows if it is not an Assiniboine? There were some of both in the crowd; thou canst answer for nothing. Be not uneasy as to what regards our father and all his people; he is here master as if he

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were at home. We beg him to number us among his children.' 000
This I did at once by putting my hands on the head of each chief, which is the usual ceremony, answered by loud shouts of joy and thanks. I then said to the Assiniboines: 'I am sending four Frenchmen to my fort to give my news there; I recommend you to get them to that place as soon as you can. I have left powder in the village, and all that is necessary to have them brought.' The council ended with loud thanks from both parties. As the Assiniboines did not yet speak of leaving, although they had purchased all they were able to do, such as painted ox robes, deer skin, dressed buckskin and ornamented furs and feathers, painted feathers and peltry, wrought garters, circlets for the head, girdles. These people dress leather better than any of the other nations 281
and work in furs and feathers very tastefully, which the Assiniboines are not capable of doing. They are cunning traders, cheating 439
the Assiniboines of all they may possess, such as muskets, powder, balls, kettles, axes, knives or awls. Seeing the great 000
consumption of food daily by the Assiniboines, and afraid that it would not last long, they set afloat a rumor that the Sioux were near and that several of their hunters had noticed them. The Assiniboines fell into the trap and made up their minds quickly to decamp, not wishing to be obliged to fight. A Mandan chief let me understand by a sign that the rumor about the Sioux was to get rid of the Assiniboines. At six in the morning they all left in great haste, believing that the Sioux were near and fearing that the road might be blocked up. The chief with whom I had lodged brought five men to remain with me, saying: 'My father, I still hope that you will join us for a little; I march peaceably. Here are five of my young men, whom I give thee to remain with thee and to guide thee when thou shall wish to leave.' I made him a small present to thank him, telling him that he knew that I had sense and that I intended shortly to reward him for his attention. He left with great protestations of friendship. I was notified shortly after that an interpreter whom I had paid liberally to secure him had decamped in spite of all the offers which my son, the Chevalier, had made him, as he was going after an Assiniboine woman with whom he had fallen in love, but who would not remain with him. He was a young man of the Cree nation, speaking good Assiniboine. As there were several Mandans who spoke it well enough, I made myself very well under-

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000 stood, as my son spoke Cree and the Cree interpreted into Assiniboine. But here was the height of misfortune, as we could only make ourselves understood by signs and demonstrations. If I had suspected my interpreter, who every day assured me that he would always remain with me and never abandon me, I would have taken advantage of the time I had him with me to make the demands on the Mandans I wished to make. But flattering myself that I had a man on whom I could rely I put off till after the departure of the Assiniboines. All day I was greatly embarrassed; all that I wanted to know and the few questions which I had put were asked in the evening after every one had retired, such as if there were many people along the river going down, and what nations; if the places at a distance were known. I was answered that there were five forts on the two banks of the river belonging to their nation, much larger than that in which we were; that at a day's journey from the last of their forts were the Pananas, who had several forts; then the Panaris; that these two nations, who held much of the country and were now at war for four years, had always from all time been closely united and in alliance together; that he would tell me afterwards the causes which had set them at variance. The Pananas and Pananis made their forts like them. In summer they grew wheat and tobacco on the lower part of the river, which was very wide, land not being visible from one shore to the other; the water bad for drinking. All these lands are inhabited by whites like us, who work in iron. The word iron among all the nations here means all sorts of metals, which they call iron; that they only marched on horseback, both for hunting and war; that these men could not be killed by arrow or musket, being covered with iron, but that by killing the horse the man could be caught easily, as he could not run; that he had a shield of iron very clear, fought with lances and sabers, with which he was very skillful; the women were never seen in the fields; their forts and houses are stone. I asked if there were fine woods, and if the prairie continued in heights and hollows. He answered that the wood was along the river in places and also on the prairies in islands; that the farther down the more the hills increased; that many of them were only rocks of fine stone, especially along the river. I asked if it took long to go to where the whites, the horsemen, were. I was answered that the Pananas and Pananis had horses like the

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whites; it would take a whole summer to make the journey, and that since they were at war with the Pananas the men would not undertake to go far, the roads being closed to them. That cattle were abundant on the prairies, far larger and fatter than those we had seen on their prairies; their coat white and of several colors. He showed us horns split in half, of a greenish color, which hold nearly three pints. In all the huts they have them in use as ladles, proving that they have killed many when the road was open. That was all I could learn even by chance, as I had relied on my interpreter, that I would have time to be thoroughly informed at leisure. 000

"Six days after the Assiniboines left I sent my son, the Chevalier, with Sieur Nolant, six Frenchmen and several Mandans, to the nearest fort, which is on the bank of the river. If well received they were to sleep there, to get the best information of the course of the river; who dwell there; if they are acquainted with the lower part, in accordance with what was told us; to learn all that could be ascertained by signs and demonstrations. After their departure Mr. de la Marque walked about to observe the size of their fort and their fortifications.

The Village. "I decided to have the huts counted. It was found that there were a hundred and thirty of them. All the streets, squares and huts resemble each other. Several of our Frenchmen wandered about; they found the streets and squares very clean, the ramparts very level and broad, the palisades supported on cross pieces mortised into posts of fifteen feet. At fifteen points doubled are green skins which are put for sheathing when required, fastened only above when needed, as in the bastion there are four at each curtain, well flanked. The fort is built on a height in the open prairie, with a ditch upwards of fifteen feet deep by fifteen to eighteen feet wide. Their fort can only be gained by steps or posts, which can be removed when threatened by an enemy. If all their forts are alike they may be called impregnable to Indians. Their fortifications are not Indian. This nation is mixed white and black. 361 712

"The women are faily good looking, especially the white, many with blonde and fair hair. Both men and women of this nation are very laborious; their huts are large and spacious, separated into several compartments by thick planks; nothing is left lying about; all their baggage is in large bags hung on posts; their beds 142 342 513

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342 are made like tombs, surrounded by skins. These men are always
513 naked, covered only with a buffalo robe. * * * * Their fort
251 is full of caves, in which are stored such articles as grain, food,
436 fat, dressed robes and bear skins. They are well supplied with
these; it is the money of the country. The more they have of it
304 the richer they believe themselves to be. They are fond of tattooing, but never more than half of the body is tattoed, both of
285 men and women. They make wicker work very neatly, flat and in baskets.

Pottery. "They make use of earthen pots, which they use like
323 many other nations for cooking their food. They are for the most
part great eaters; are eager for feasts. They brought me every
261 day more than twenty dishes of wheat, beans and pumpkins, all cooked. Mr. de la Marque, who did not hate feasts, went to them continually with my children. As I did not go to them my share
141 was sent to me. The men are stout and tall, generally very active, fairly good looking, with a good physiognomy. The women have not the Indian physiognomy. The men indulge in a sort of ball
526 play on the squares and ramparts.

000 "On the evening of the 4th the Sieur Nolant and my son arrived, well satisfied with their journey, having been well received and strongly urged to remain longer. The fort is on the bank of the river, as large again as this; the squares and streets are very fine and clean; their palisade is in the best order and strength; the whole built in the same fashion as the one in which we were. From what they could hear all their forts are alike; who saw one saw all, with this difference, that some were much larger than others. The nearest to the Pananas that the river appeared to go was, according to the compass, southwest by south, by signs given to them; the lower part may go to the sea to the southwest by west. They were often amused by broken talk; not being able to answer questions put to them, they answered something else, for want of understanding. The waters of their rivers come down with great rapidity, having many shoals. The water is not good for drinking, being brakish. We have constantly found from the last mountain almost all the marshes and ponds brakish or sulphurous. What they could understand was that on the lower part of the river there were men like us, who made cloth and linen, were very numerous and had wars with a large part of the Indians. We saw that it was useless to question them, as they

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could not understand us. We did not cease going to their feasts all the time we were at their fort, but could not attend all those to which we were asked. We noticed that in the plain there were several small forts, of forty or fifty huts, built like the large ones, but no one was there at the time. They made us understand that they came inside for the summer to work their fields and that there was a large reserve of grain in their cellars. This was all the information they could give of their journey. On the 8th of December I ordered my son to take the altitude, which was 48 degrees 12 minutes. On the evening of the 7th I had consulted with Mr. de la Marque as to the course we should take. Like myself, he knew that little remained with us for presents, which rendered it impossible for us to go farther; the season too trying to be able to undertake anything, and above all no interpreter nor any hope of getting one during the winter. We had every reason to fear that the roads would become impracticable in spring on account of the waters and with the risk of arriving too late for the setting out of our canoes; the powder I would have would not perhaps be enough to supply all our wants during the winter, and with the small quantity of goods remaining we might find ourselves in a difficulty about all our people, having no longer anything to carry us on, as the Indians would only serve us so far as they were paid, and that in advance, as they looked on promises as a very small resource. On the other hand, that we had reason to apprehend setting out on a march in the worst season of the year. After having considered the whole we decided that we must set out, leaving two men fit to learn the language in a short time, one in the fort in which we were and the other in the nearest fort, as being alone they could learn much more quickly and could consequently give all the information. Mr. de la Marque selected one of his hired men, a man of intelligence, whom he offered me as being one of the most capable, able to write. I accepted him with pleasure and gave him my servant as the second. Although he was very useful to me, as well as very useful and attached to my service, I preferred to deprive myself of him for the good he might afterwards render, knowing his strong and quick intellect, with a good memory and a facility in learning languages, very wise and fearing God. I gave him full instructions of all he had to do, and on his side Mr. de la Marque promised to send to look after them next summer. That

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000 ended, so far as regarded the two men whom I left, I notified our five Assiniboines, whom I made to understand that I wished to set out shortly, which gave them much joy. I showed them by signs, not being able to make myself understood otherwise, that it would be necessary for them to set out with the two Frenchmen on the morning of the next day, that everything would be ready for them, so that they might go speedily to the village to warn them to expect us; that I would leave four days after them, so that I might prepare everything for the journey. I then informed the Mandans of my design, which appeared to give them much sorrow. I showed them the two Frenchmen whom I left in my place, recommending that they should be taken good care of. They gave me many thanks, with great protestations of friendship and fidelity. I then let them know that I would not abandon them. I asked the chief to give me meat for the journey. The news soon spread throughout the fort.

"On the morning of the 8th I made the two Frenchmen set out, guided by two Assiniboines, as I have already said, to go to warn the village of my departure. Wheat flour pounded for the journey was brought, much more than was necessary.

"I thanked them, giving them some needles, which they greatly value. They would have loaded a hundred men for the journey; in a short time all hastened to bring me some. I made all our people take what they wished, which was done in a very short time. Having provided for all that our people needed, I assembled the chiefs and principal Mandans, made them a present of powder, balls and several trifles, which they greatly value, owing to their need of them. I gave the head chief a flag, gave him a leaden plate, which I had ornamented with ribbon at the four corners. It was put into a box to be kept in perpetuity in memory of my taking possession of their lands, which I did in the King's name. It will be preserved from father to son better than if I had put it in the ground, where it would have run the risk of being stolen. I made them understand as well as I could that I left them that mark in memory of the Frenchman who had come upon their lands. I very much desired I could have made them understand, in order to tell them many things which might have been very useful to them and to us, which to my regret and theirs I could not do.

"I had wrought with so much diligence that on the evening

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of the 8th everything was ready for our departure, which I calculated to accomplish sooner than I had given notice of. During the night, between the 8th and 9th, I was taken ill, and in a very short time I was very ill; I did not know what to think of it. I kept my bed for three days. Finding myself better on the 4th I prepared to set out the next day. I gave the two men enough to defray their expenses liberally, and even to pay a guide if need were to bring them to our fort; informed them once again of the cause which obliged me to leave them there. So soon as they could make themselves understood they were to neglect nothing to learn what was this nation of whites, what metal they worked with; if there were any mines to their knowledge; what nations were above, going up the river; if they knew a height of land—in a word, to neglect nothing to obtain all possible information respecting the country. (P. 25.)

"I set out, although ill, in the hope that it would be nothing, and that I would recover at the village my box in which I had put some remedies. On the 13th of December, to the great regret of all Mandans, a chief came to conduct us a league and half's distance, whence I sent him back. He testified to me by great demonstrations the regret he felt at my departure, making a sign that I would not abandon him, but to return and he would accompany us. I gave him a small present of powder, once more recommending the two Frenchmen whom I had left with them. He made me a sign that he would take one to his own house. I dismissed him after giving him many thanks. In the evening I noticed that we had only two Assiniboines with us. They made me understand that one had remained with our Frenchmen, not wishing to abandon them; that they would return only in summer with them. I arrived at the village on the 24th, still very ill. We had experienced excessive cold, which caused great delay. My box was restored to me; nothing had been touched; they had been satisfied with the slave's bag, which was returned to me empty. Having rested a little, I reproached them for lying to me respecting the Mandans; that there was very little truth in all they had told me.

"They answered that they had not pretended to speak of the Mandans, saying that they were like us; that they had intended to speak of the nation which is at the lower part of the river, who work in iron. An Assiniboine rose above the others, saying

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000 to me: 'This is the only one who can speak better to thee about it. Thou dost not understand properly what has been said to thee; I do not lie. Last summer I killed one who was covered with iron, as I have already said several times. If I had not killed the horse first I could not have killed the man.'

"I said to him: 'What hast thou brought of his spoil to show us that thou speakest the truth?' 'As I wished to cut off his head I noticed men on horseback, who were blocking the way; I escaped with difficulty; I kept nothing to carry off; I threw away everything I had, even to my blanket in my flight. What I say is true, and I will have it told to thee by others who were with me the following spring. They are not here now, but thou shall see them. What I have said I repeat; the other side of the river cannot be seen; the water is salt; it is a country of mountains; a great extent between the mountains of fine land; many cattle, big and stout, white and of different colors; many stags and deer; I have seen their wheat fields, where no women are to be seen; what I tell thee is without deceit; thou will learn further of it afterwards.' "

823 It cannot well be doubted that what is recorded by Verendrye as having been related to him by the Mandans concerning the whites "who work in iron" on "the lower part of the rivers" refers to the Spaniards and mailed warriors of that race inhabiting the lower Mississippi, and that the Mandans then knew enough of that lower country to understand that those whites peopled it; and it seems a fair deduction from the reference to the lower part of the river being "very wide, land not being visible from one shore to the other; the water bad for drinking," that they there referred to the mouth of the Mississippi. Again, they speak of the "Pananas"; that is, the Pawnees or Aricaras, as having "several forts at a day's journey from the last of their forts." It also appears that some of their own warriors had come into hostile contact with the Spaniards, and it was made clear to Verendrye from information given him by the Mandans that "on the lower part of the river there were men like us, who made cloth and linen, were very numerous, and had wars with a large part of the Indians," whose "forts and houses are stone," and that it would "take a whole summer to make the journey" to the whites below.

000 Now it is in evidence from an entirely different source that

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Now it is in evidence from an entirely different source that prior to the spring of 1734—over four years before Verendrye visited the Mandans—a Frenchman had visited the Aricaras at their upper Missouri villages, that fact being evidenced by "a letter from Bienville, dated April 22nd, 1734, stating that a Frenchman, having lived several years among the Pawnees, had ascended the Missouri river to the Ricaras, who had never before seen a Frenchman." That letter is taken from Margry, Vol. 6, page 455. See the Appendatory Note to Part I of this paper in Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., page 586, which note refers to Vol. 9, Kas. Hist. Coll. for 1905-6, as the source of the information. From all of which, and the information imparted to Verendrye by the Mandans, it would seem that communication, however imperfect and irregular, between the whites below and the Indians as far up as the Aricara villages of the Missouri, had already been established when that intrepid explorer made his first memorable visit to the Mandans. Whether the advent of the Frenchman at the Aricara villages had anything to do with the commencement of that war between those Indians and the Mandans which he was told had then raged "for four years," and prior to which, according to further information given him, the Pawnees (Aricaras) and the Mandans "had always from all time been closely united and in alliance together"—may never be determinable by competent evidence; but as the dawn of the fur trade of the upper Missouri was not to appear for some fifty years then yet to come, it is safe to declare that fur traffic or its incidents in rivalries and overreachings among the whites had nothing to do with this first breach between the tribes in question. Verendrye's record concerning the long duration of peace and alliance between the upper Missouri Pawnees and the Mandans at that early date is significant as indicating that the Mandans had then long been in those quarters. And that the Pananas "made their forts like them" (i. e., the Mandans) is also indicative of a long period of mutual experience in housebuilding by both tribes in that general locality. And it seems highly probable that such resemblance in the character of habitations is less likely to have been occasioned by the proximity of the two tribes brought about through a southwestward approach to the Missouri by the Mandans and an up-river progress by the Aricaras, than to have followed a mutual progress up-river. And when we further consider that all of the formidable village defenses of both tribes were, according to information recorded

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by Verendrye, such as brought him to conclude that "they may be called impregnable to Indians," there would seem to be made out at least a presumptive case of mutual defense by Mandans and Aricaras against enemies from below—including the dreaded Sioux—rather than against those from the north; in other words, that such formidable earthworks as are thus recorded, including in at least one case a ditch "upwards of fifteen feet deep by fifteen to eighteen feet wide," reinforced by "ramparts very level and broad, the palisade supported on cross pieces mortised into posts of fifteen feet," were probably the climax of the efforts of years to ward off a strong, persistent and generally successful foe who had driven both tribes up the Missouri.

From Agnes C. Laut's "Pathfinders of the West" (Macmillan Co., 1904) we quote the following extract relating to the second contact of the Verendryes (sons of him who headed the expedition of 1738) with the Mandans in 1742. The account is set forth in the spirited phrases indicative of movement and inspiration, for which that gifted author is famous:

"The two men left among the Mandans to learn the language had returned to the Assiniboine river with more news of tribes from the "setting sun" who dwelt on salt water. Pierre de la Verendrye went down to the Missouri with the two interpreters, but the Mandans refused to supply guides that year and the young Frenchman came back to winter on the Assiniboine. Here he made every preparation for another attempt to find the Western Sea by way of the Missouri. On April 29th, 1742, the two brothers, Pierre and Francois, left the Assiniboine with the two interpreters. Their course led along the trail that for two hundred years was to be a famous highway between the Missouri and Hudson Bay. Leading southwest, they followed the Souris river to the watershed of the Missouri, and in three weeks were once more the guests of the smoky Mandan lodges. Round the inside walls of each circular hut ran berth beds of buffalo skins with trophies of the chase, hide shields and weapons of war, fastened to the posts that separate berth from berth. A common fire, with a family meat pot hanging above, occupied the center of the lodge. In one of these lodges the two brothers and their men were quartered. The summer passed feasting with the Mandans and smoking the calumet of peace; but all was in vain. The Missouri Indians were arrant cowards in the matter of war. The terror

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of their existence was the Sioux. The Mandans would not venture through Sioux territory to accompany the brothers in the search for the Western Sea." (p. 230 to 231.)

The writer of this paper can not withhold an expression of doubt as to the justice of the statement contained in the above quotation that the Mandans were "arrant cowards in the matter of war." While all the evidences point to them as being loth to embark in offensive war, and as being peaceably inclined, yet we believe the records of their experience after the whites came among them—being evidences of the same general character—indicate that when it came to defense of their homes and tribal rights they were brave and effectual fighters, among the incidents of which defensive action offensive campaigns were not unknown.

Next in chronological order among the visitors to the Mandans, after the Verendryes, and who have left written accounts of their experience, is David Thompson, a reference to whose journal of his short sojourn among them from December 29th, 1797, to January 10th, 1798, we have hereinbefore set forth as found in Dr. Coues' edition of the Henry-Thompson Journals, to which reference we here cite the reader, the account being very brief. (And see those Journals, Vol. 1, pp. 301-2.)

However, before Thompson came to the Mandans various other traders and their employes had visited them, though but very brief mention is to be found in known records, which journals were not made by the visitors themselves. For instance, Dr. Coues found, as shown in Vol. I of his Henry-Thompson Journals, page 302, the following entry in McDonnell's Journal of May 21st, 1795, published in Masson I, 1889, p. 294: "Jussome and the Mandan men arrived here with their returns fifteen days ago, all but Joseph Dube, who deserted from the rest and stayed with the Indians of the Missouri." Also, that in McDonnell's Journal of December 10th, 1793, the following entry recorded in the same note by Dr. Coues: "The nine men equipt (on their own account) for the Missouri started, viz: Raphael Faignan, Antoine Bourier de Lacigne, Joseph Dube, J. B. Lafrance, Joseph Tranquille, J. B. Bertrand, Chrysostome Jonequard, Louis Houle et Francois La Grave." Those men above referred to under date May 21st, 1795, were in the employ of the Northwest Company. Coues also states in the same note that the Hudson Bay Company also sent traders

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from the Assiniboine to the Missouri "in those years," but that no memoranda "of names and exact dates" were at hand.

Le Raye's Journal. We now come in point of time to what is believed to be the most important historical document extant which, from the standpoint of the Indians, pertains to the years immediately preceding the advent into the upper Missouri region of the Lewis and Clarke expedition, and shows in a very vivid and highly intelligent manner the daily life and adventures of the Sioux Indians of that period, and incidentally of the Mandans and Aricaras. We refer to the Journal of Charles LeRaye, the French Canadian, who left Canada in the summer of 1801, bound for a trading venture on the Missoui river via the French settlement on the Illinois, who in the fall of that year while with his men on the upper Osage river was captured by what he supposed were Osage, but who later proved to be Bois Brule Sioux Indians; who was taken thence in actual, though for the most part virtually privileged captivity, northward and who for three and one-half years remained in captivity, having traveled with the Indians twice up and down the entire upper Missouri river country, during which time he doubled back and forth in what is now South Dakota several times, visited in 1802 the Aricara villages, where he conceived and afterward reduced to writing the most intelligent account of their habitations, their agriculture, their personal attributes and some of their manners and customs we have anywhere read; who in June of that year visited the Mandan villages, of which Indians he leaves a valuable sketch, especially concerning their burial rituals and their splendid house furnishings in furs, etc., and notes that they spoke the Osage tongue, but with a different accent and dialect, who after first returning from the upper Missouri camped with Indians on what he calls the Sasqui river—the Vermillion near the present town of Parker—in July, 1803; thence to the Missouri in the neighborhood of the mouth of the White river and northward, and after returning to the "Sasqui" comes up to the mouth of the Teton river, where Pierre and Fort Pierre were in time to come into being; who from thence went, with the Indians' consent, in the fall of the latter year again to the "Rus" (Rees) village, where he spent the winter of 1802-3 "with a number of traders belonging to Saint Louis," and who noted that the Sioux were enemies of the traders on the Missouri; who says the traders with whom he wintered went up the

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Cheyenne the next spring and he himself was taken down to the Sioux (Big Sioux) river, removing thence in June to the "Sasqui," and who was probably beyond a doubt the first white man in the Indian country above the Sioux river to learn of the coming of the Lewis and Clarke party, recording the fact in these words: "On the 26th of August a report was spread among the Indians that a party, an army, as they called it, of soldiers were coming up the Missouri," and who narrates the successive Indian councils which followed this report, "to deliberate on the object this army should have in view" and looking to making war upon that expedition and resulting in a declaration of war to be begun against them and also against the Mandans and Gros Ventres the next spring, and to inviting the 'Rus' to join them, and who declares in this connection that during the winter (1804-5) "large bodies of Indians assembled on the Sioux river and the River Sasqui, near to the Missouri," but that spies reported early in the spring that "the soldiers had gone farther up the river," ending his journal entries with the statement that thereafter, upon reaching the Missouri, he secretly planned for and effectuated his escape with a "Mr. Pantille, a Frenchman, who had long resided in the country, principally with the Titon-anah band of Sioux," going down the Missouri—probably from the mouth of the James—in a light canoe "on the night of the 26th of April," and arriving ten days later at "the town of Saint Johns, which is the upper settlement on the Missouri river," and whose fatigues and exposures during those fateful years left him confined for eighteen months with rheumatism.

The Le Raye Journal is contained in a publication prepared "By a Late Officer in the U. S. Army," the publisher being "Charles Williams, Boston, 1812," and entitled "A Topographical Description of the State of Ohio, Indiana Territory, and Louisiana. To which is added "An Interesting Journal of Mr. Charles Le Raye While a Captive with the Sioux Nation on the Waters of the Missouri River."

In view of the fact that this Le Raye Journal is so scarce a publication as to be next to unobtainable, and its contents are so closely related to the general subject of this paper as to render it, we believe, excusable to bring the bulk of its contents into the former; and while that part of it bearing upon the Aricaras or "Rus" would ordinarily be postponed to the later portion of the paper

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wherein we shall speak a final word relative to that tribe, we shall present Le Raye's narrative in its substantial continuity so as to make its perusal the more cogent and valuable. Before doing so substantial credit to Doane Robinson, secretary of the South Dakota Historical Society, dictates that we should state his proverbial vigilance in seeking out the rarest "finds" in historical lore from "parts unknown" has again resulted in the possession by that society of another and a most precious volume of the earliest accounts of primary experience in the northwest.

After Le Raye and his six Frenchmen of his trading party were captured on the upper Osage, in the night, they were taken northward, and some distance south of a branch of the Kansas river he discovered, as his journal shows, "that the Indians were not Osage, but a party of Sioux, of the Bois Bucil (Brule) band." Proceeding probably northwestward they struck and followed "the Kansas warpath to the Missouri," a few miles then left it and went northward, and camped on a branch of the Kansas, on which farther down they stopped at the Indians' camp, where the Frenchman Pardo, "who resided with this people," assured him, after finding that his men (prisoners) were all Frenchmen, "that we should be well treated," and they were then unbound (they had been kept bound nights since captivity), Pardo explaining that the Le Raye party had been accidentally come upon by the Sioux in pursuit of Osages who "had killed some of their band, but suspecting me to be taking goods and arms to the Osage Indians, their enemies, they took me." He notes that Pardo had told him "that in a few days the band would go to the Ricarus village, where more of the band were." This probably meant a village of the Pawnees on the Platte, as we shall see. They went on, crossing the Kansas forty miles above its mouth, thence northwestward to a branch of the Platte. "Here the Indians separated, and about 150 directed their course toward the Missouri, with whom all my men were taken. Mr. Pardo, myself, the chief who took me and the rest of the Indians continued their course toward the Ricaras village," reaching the Platte November 24th, 1801. It will be seen that Le Raye adopts two spellings of the word indicating the Rees, viz., "Ricaras"—the probably usual mode—and "Ricarus," which is much more rare.

Le Raye's journal here shows: "The Panis, Ottoes, Missouri

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and Wolf Indians live on the waters of this river (Platte) and are all at war with the Sioux." Crossing the Platte November 25th, he notes that they continued "northwesterly," reaching and crossing the Missouri December 2nd, "near the mouth of the Little Sioux," continuing their course "on the north side of the Missouri, often near it, until we arrived at the lodges on the Sioux river, which was on the 8th, where we prepared to spend the remainder of the winter." Here is a reference to South Dakota soil. Having wintered there with "the dirtiest creatures on earth," then on March 20th, 1802, "left this camp of filth and misery," and "proceeded towards the Ricaras, or Rus, as the traders call them." "We arrived on the banks of the Missouri, near the salt springs, on the 23rd," and proceeded up the river to a point about twenty miles below the mouth of the White river, where they crossed the Missouri, reaching White river on the 27th, thence up that stream sixteen miles, where "a small party of Rus joined us at this camp;" crossed the White "and continued our journey towards the Rus village." These last references were, of course, to the upper villages on the Missouri. April 9th they camped on Tyler's creek, and on the 12th "we arrived opposite Tuton (Teton) river;" thence westerly to "the river Chein, or Dog river," reached on the 14th, "and immediately crossed it in buffalo canoes." Then follows the journal narrative:

Ricara Villages—"Huts": "We met with a camp of the Rus Indians, who were hunting, and continued there until the 18th, when they joined us, and we proceeded to the villages about sixty miles, traveling through a country destitute of timber and interspersed with large hills. On the 22nd, arrived at the lower village and joined several camps of Sioux and Dog Indians. The Ricaras or Rus have three villages situated on the south bank of the Missouri in the great bend of the river. The lower village is on a large bottom, covered with cottonwood, and contains about fifty huts. These huts were built in a different manner, and were more comfortable habitations than any Indian huts I had seen before. To build their huts they cut four forked posts, which are up fifteen feet high. Two of these posts stand eighteen inches apart, and two stand at the distance of ten feet from the other two posts and ten feet from each other, on which two ridge poles are placed. Around these posts they erect sixteen forked posts more, six feet high, which are so placed as to form a circular figure,

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eighteen feet in diameter. On the front side two more posts, six feet long, are set up, ten feet from the building and four feet apart. Short poles are then laid round on these sixteen forks, and on the forks of the two posts which project in front to connect them with the building. Stakes are then placed in a reclining position, so as to lean against the poles which are placed on the six feet posts, and stand eight or nine inches apart. At the upper end of these stakes poles are fastened, so that the other end rests upon the ridge poles. When the frame is thus completed the whole is covered with willow and cottonwood branches, except an opening between the ridge poles, for the smoke to pass, and the space in front of the projection, which is left for a doorway. Over the branches is laid a covering of long grass, and over the grass a coat of clay mortar.

"These huts are placed with great regularity in two straight rows. The doors in each row front those in the opposite row, so that the huts stand facing each other, with a space of twelve feet between the doors. The town is picketed with pickets twelve feet high and set very close, to prevent firing between them. There is one gateway, which is shut at night."

It will be seen that Le Raye does not state that the Indian party went down the Cheyenne river after crossing it, while it does appear that they spent four days after proceeding from where they crossed "to the villages about sixty miles," being accompanied by some Ree Indians; that they traveled through "a country destitute of timber" in reaching the Ree villages, which we believe shows that they did not go down the Cheyenne, which stream certainly had and still has considerable timber upon its borders; that they reached the lower one of "three villages, situated on the south bank of the Missouri in the great bend of the river." The thought naturally arises, could Le Raye, in using the phrase "the great bend of the river," have really referred to the important landmark at the mouth of the Cheyenne known in history and by the Indians as the "Little Bend?" We do not believe that he did. This point is important, since if he did find in the "Little Bend" three inhabited Ree villages, then those villages must all have been deserted for the three villages in the immediate neighborhood of the mouth of the Grand river found by Lewis and Clarke in 1804, only three years later. On the contrary, we believe it is reasonably plain and certain from

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Le Raye's account that the Ree villages to which he refers were all "on the south bank of the Missouri," to-wit, on the westerly side of the Missouri in what is really a "great bend" of the river where it swings westward and then back southeasterly at the mouth of the Grand river. Comparing this theory with the account of Lewis and Clarke concerning the three villages found by that expedition in the immediate neighborhood of the mouth of the Grand river we find that not one of those three villages found by the latter was on the northerly or easterly bank of the Missouri, but they were either on islands or on the westerly or southerly bank. (See Part I of this paper, S. D. Hist. Coll., Vol. III, pp. 381-385.) Furthermore, it does not seem possible that the Le Raye party would have spent four days in proceeding down the Cheyenne to its mouth from where they crossed it, since they spent but two days in going from near the mouth of the Teton to the Cheyenne; nor does he mention the mouth of the Cheyenne. Still further Lewis and Clarke made no mention of any inhabited Ree villages on the northerly side of the mouth of the Cheyenne or the Little Bend vicinity beyond the Cheyenne, nor do they even mention a deserted Ree village north of the Cheyenne until they had proceeded upward of forty miles. The Journal proceeds:

"These people are much more cleanly in their person, dress and food than the Sioux. They are also of a lighter complexion, which is of a bright copper color, with acquiline noses and black, lively eyes. The women have high cheek bones, oval faces and regular features. Both men and women are of a social, sprightly make. The men are tall and well formed, and the women, though smaller, are equally well shaped, and rather handsome than otherwise. Their dress consists of a shift made of dressed deer skins, and reaches from the chin, below the knee, to the middle of the leg, with short sleeves. It is secured round the waist by a belt of wampum. They wear moccasins and leggins, and in the winter a buffalo robe, thrown over their shoulders. The men wear a wide strip of leather about three feet long, which they draw betwen their legs and fasten it around the middle by a belt. They have long leggins and moccasins and a buffalo robe over their shoulders.

"These Indians raise corn, beans, melons, pumpkins and tobacco. Their tobacco differs from that which is raised by the

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white people. It has a smaller stalk, that grows about eighteen inches high, with long, narrow leaves, and is only used for smoking. The Indians never chew nor snuff tobacco. They carry on at these villages a considerable commerce with these productions, having much more than they want for their own consumption. It is a barter trade with neighboring nations, who never cultivate the ground, for such articles of European goods as they have procured at the British establishments at the Falls of Saint Anthony or from traders; and also for horses, mules, dried meat and other articles. Their principal customers are the Sioux, the Chein Indians, Watapahatoes, Gens-dis-vatch, Kites and Dotame, the most of whom, except the Sioux, reside on the river Chein. This nation was once very numerous, and consisted of ten tribes of the Panis, who reside on the river La Plate, and whose tongue they speak in somewhat different accent. They have now not much over five hundred warriors, having been reduced from five thousand warriors to their present number in less than thirty years by the smallpox and attacks of their enemies, particularly by the Sioux, who have got them so far under subjection that they dare not offend them, and are frequently robbed, plundered and even murdered without daring to resent it. This information was given me by an old chief of the lower villages." (Pages 171 to 174, Le Raye's Journal.)

Feast—Ornaments. "The lower village, on the 20th of May, held their great feast. Two days' previous notice was given by their principal chiefs. There being a number of camps of different tribes, they were all invited to join, and in the morning of the festival were dressed out in their best attire and made no indifferent appearance. Their faces were daubed with a variety of paints. Their ears, noses and hair were full of silver rings and of silver and glass trinkets, with silver breastplates and a multitude of beads hanging round their necks. Their hair was also filled with the feathers of the eagle and other large birds. Bandages full of brooches were tied round their foreheads; their cloths neatly worked with porcupine quills and beads and large wampum belts around the middle. Their moccasins and leggins strung with bits of brass and beads, worked full of porcupine quills and horsehair, dyed red. In this finical, gaudy dress they all assembled in a place prepared for the purpose, near the village, in the fore part of the day. The men only partake of the feast, but

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the women are distant spectators, for they are never suffered to eat with the men, neither at feasts nor in their own families when strangers are present. This, however, does not prevent them from decorating themselves for the occasion. After all had assembled the head chief of the village addressed the people in an impressive speech, in which he informed them that it had been a practice, time immemorial, to celebrate the return of spring by a feast to the Great Spirit. He recommended to them peaceable and friendly behavior, and told them that as the Great Spirit had given them an unclouded sky he was well pleased with their intention, and that each one should be careful not to offend him by improper conduct.

"After the address, the company were seated, and the head chief opened his medicine bag, from which he drew the sacred stem or pipe. This he placed on the sticks set in the ground before him for the purpose. Fire was then brought and he lighted the pipe, and blowed the smoke to the east, south, west and north; after which he handed the pipe to the chief next to him, on the right, who smoked two or three whiffs and passed it to the next, and so on, until it had gone round the company.

"The provisions were now brought forward, composed entirely of dog flesh, and placed before the great chief, and each one sent in his dish to him, in turn; for before they came, every one took care to provide a dish for himself. Some of the youth attended as waiters to the company. The greatest order and regularity was observed during the feast. Each one considered himself obliged to eat all that was sent him; but at such feasts it is seldom more than they can devour in a few minutes. As soon as the feast was ended, fire was brought, and the whole commenced smoking, which was continued for about an hour. The smoking then ceased and the dance commenced. Their music consisted of beating on buffalo skins, shaking dried parrow and martin skins, tied up, in a form to contain small stones, and beating on a kind of drum, made by stretching a skin, dressed like parchment, over the end of a hollow log about four feet long, which is joined by the singing of the company. Their songs are a rehearsal of the exploits of themselves and their ancestors, and is accompanied with a variety of antic gestures. In all their movements they

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000 keep exact time; dance in a circle around a fire, never taking hold of hands, nor touching one another unless by accident. The dance continued until near morning. When the dance was closed, all retired to their respective quarters, perfectly quiet and peaceable. Although the company consisted of not less than a thousand people, of different nations, and some of whom were mortal enemies to others, there was not the least confusion heard during the day or night."

Gambling. "The Indians are extravagantly fond of gambling, and spend most of their leisure hours in it. The game they appear most attached to is played with eight bones, of the size of a man's finger, of an oval form, three-fourths of an inch long, with four square sides, two of which are colored black and red. They are placed on wooden trenchers, or oval platters. From this dish the bones are tossed into the air, and then caught in the dish. They win or lose according to the number of a certain color, previously agreed upon, being uppermost, until the game is finished, which is always forty-five. Two bands or parties will play at this game, the loser rising and letting one of his party take his place, until the whole band has had a part in the game. They often play for all the property they possess, and after losing that, set up their wives and children, for they are considered a man's property, as much as their arms, or any thing they possess. Another game is played by means of small sticks, five inches long, of the size of a goose quill, neatly polished and marked with red and black lines. Forty of these sticks are divided between the two persons who play. One wraps up a part of his stick in grass, the other matches a part of his to them. If they agree in number or color of the lines, the one that matches wins five, or otherwise loses the same number. The game is always forty.

"On the 18th of May, several parties of Indians arrived from the river Chein, for the purpose of trading, consisting of Dog Indians, Gens-dis-valch, Kaewas, and Kales. A trader likewise came in from the Assiniboine river.

"They all assembled at the village, at the mouth of the Warriuna river, and our camp moved up to the same village. The trader soon procured what furs of any value they had to dispose of, and departed. Mr. Pardo having procured a supply of

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ammunition, proposed to ascend the Missouri, on a hunting expedition with a party of Gros Ventres, with whom he was connected by marriage. His wife was the daughter of the chief of this nation. He applied to the chief of our camp, to whom I belong, whose name is Man-di-tongue-go, for liberty for me to accompany him. The chief consented that I should go with him, on condition that I should give him a part of the skins I procured, and lent me an old musket. There were three of the Sioux, one of whom was his relation, who agreed to go with us. 000

"We started on the 27th of May, crossed Missouri, and arrived the same evening at the upper village. This village is situated on an island, in the Missouri, and is fortified in the same manner as the lower village, containing about sixty huts. Our party consisted of twenty-seven men, six women and four children; none of the Gros Ventres having their familiies with them. The next morning we proceeded, and soon left the Missouri, traveling a northwest course, in a well beaten path. The land on each side of us ascended into high ridges. On the northern side of them, was considerable timber, mostly cedar and the land poor. The path continued up the valley, but often passed over low ridges. On the 29th, we struck a branch of the stream called by the traders, Ball river. We followed this branch to its mouth. Here we crossed Ball river." (Pages 175 to 180 LeRaye's journal.)

Mandan Villages. "We now frequently passed camps of Mandans, and on the 5th of June, arrived at the lower Mandan village. This village, which is above the great bend of the Missouri, is situated on a pleasant interval, covered with cottonwood and cedar. Is built and fortified in the same manner as those of the Rus. Here, a sight new to me, and exceedingly disagreeable, arrested my attention as soon as I came in view of the village. This was their manner of disposing the bodies of the dead. Immediately after my arrival I had an opportunity of witnessing the funeral ceremonies practiced by these people, which was in the following manner: A dead body was brought out of the hut, and laid on the ground before it, dressed in its best apparel, and wrapped in a buffalo robe. The relations and principal part of the people in the village, assembled around it. A fire was then made, and the sacred stem or pipe, was brought and lighted. The deceased having been a warrior, an eulogy of considerable 764

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764 length was pronounced by his brother, in which he impressed on their minds, the great importance which the deceased man had been to their nation; rehearsed his war exploits, and concluded by urging all to follow his example, and to become of equal usefulness to their tribe. Then they would be sure of following and becoming companions of him, and all the other great warriors, which had died before, in the world of spirits. After this address was closed, provisions were brought out, consisting of boiled dog's flesh, of which the company just tasted, and then a bowl full of it was presented to the dead man. He was then taken up by four men and carried outside of the village, just into the edge of the woods, and placed on a stage which had been previously erected, about ten feet high. The bowl of food was brought and set by his head, and his arms and accoutrements laid by his side. In this manner their dead are deposited, and are never buried. The wife and relations of the deceased made the most violent and dreadful howlings, tearing their hair and appearing to be in the deepest anguish, under the loss they had sustained."

142 **Complexion, Etc.** "The Mandans and the Gros Ventres are of the lightest complexion, and largest Indians on the Missouri. Their hair inclines to a chestnut color, and in some instances has a slight curl; it is never so lank and course as most other Indians. Their eyes are full and lively, their cheek bones rather high, and their countenances open and agreeable. The Gros Ventres have more of a fierce, savage look, than the Mandans who are courteous 291 and sociable in their behavior. They are neat in their dress, which is similar to that of the Rus, except that they decorate it with white rabbit, and white ermine skins. Many of their lodges, or 353 huts, are decorated in a beatiful manner; having the inside lined with the richest furs, such as the lynx, beaver, otter, white rabbit, martin, fox, mountain cat and white ermine, sewed together like patch-work, which gives them a rich and beautiful appearance. The lodge of the head chief was sixty feet in diameter, elegantly lined with furs, and the seats, which are also used as beds, were covered with the grizzly bear and buffalo skins. These people keep their lodges and buildings in a state of great neatness. They 439 cultivate the same kind of produce with the Rus, and carry on a trade with the roving Indians, who occasionally visit them. The 648 Mandans and Gros Ventres live in great friendship, although

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they speak different languages; and it is necessary they should, for their villages are not more than six miles apart. The Mandans speak the same tongue of the Osage, but have a different accent, and dialect. They were once a numerous, war-like people, but have been reduced by the smallpox, and by their enemies, the Sioux, to less than four hundred warriors." (Pages 180 to 183 LeRaye's journal.)

After having tarried eight days with the Mandans, LeRaye and his Indian escorts left there, arriving on the 13th July, 1802, at the Gros Ventre village "on the lower side of the Batteau (Knife) river," called the Meniture village. Another village, called Meni-tar-u-miti-ha-tah, is situated on the upper side of the Batteau river. These villages are larger than the Mandans, built in the same manner, and containing about 600 warriors, and about 2500 inhabitants. They were formerly more numerous, but the smallpox has made its ravages among them. These people deposit their dead in the same manner as the Mandans, but at a greater distance from their villages."

Marriage Ceremony. Here LeRaye gives interesting particulars of an Indian marriage ceremony at the last mentioned village: "Proclamation was made, by one of the relations, that on the next day, in the morning, the marriage would be celebrated." The next morning "The company assembled at her father's lodge, where the chief of the village attended. He informed the company, that the young man, calling him by name, intended to take the girl, calling her by name, to be his wife. He then asked each of them if that were their intention, which each of them answered in the affirmative. The chief then handed them a small rod, which was broken between them. The groom then broke his part into a number of small pieces, and handed them to the men who stood near to him. The bride did the same with her part of the rod, which consummated the marriage. Fire was then brought, and the sacred pipe was lighted. After all the men had smoked in it, the dance commenced, which was continued for several hours." Down to the point of smoking, the foregoing seems to have been strikingly similar to the usual civilized marriage ceremony of those times.

Rocky Mountain Hunt. After a feast on July 2nd, 1802, the Indians, still holding LeRaye, and accompanied by Pardo, set out on the fall hunt to the Yellowstone and the Rocky mountains;

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000 crossed the Knife to the north side above "the second large fork;" on the 10th came to the Road river branch of the "Jaun," went to its mouth, where "we supposed ourselves about a hundred miles from the mouth" of the Yellowstone; crossed it and ascended it to the mouth of the Crooked river July 19th; August 3rd they "moved up to the mountains," meeting a camp of the "Paunched Indians." "The mountains here are steep, and some of their sides are covered with a small growth, mostly of the spruce kind. The stream we were ascending is winding, interrupted, and full of rapids, but is about one hundred yards wide. We encamped in a large interval, at the mouth of a small stream, and continued here until the 12th. * * On the 25th, we proceed up, eighteen miles, to the mouth of a large fork of the river, which comes from the north, and encamped on a plain. At this encampment, the snow-topped mountains appeared to be at no great distance. * * In the evening (of the 28th) we had a severe storm of hail. * * On the 30th, moved further up the river. * * On the 2nd of September, had a heavy shower of snow, after which we returned to our encampment of the 28th of August; then crossed the river and followed up a south branch about sixteen miles, thereafter crossing "over a mountain" to a branch of the Big Horn river, down which they proceeded where, on September 30th they camped with some Crow Indians, arriving at the Big Horn October 5th; on the south side of which a winter camp of the Crows was found, the huts being "some three feet below the surface of the ground, but otherwise are built nearly similar to the Gros Ventres. In the center a post is erected, with notches cut in it for steps, and a hole is left open at the top of it, sufficiently large for a man to crawl out, which is their passage in and out, during the winter." The mouth of the Big Horn was reached October 11th, where they found more Crows and some Snake Indians with whom the former had been at war. "We were the first white people which either they, or the Flatheads had ever seen." October 16th they ascended the Yellowstone, meeting more "Paunch Indians," and continuing on, "passing many camps of Indians." until the 22nd when they reached "the mouth of a large branch which comes from the southeast; camping about six miles up said branch for the winter on the 25th, in a grove of cottonwood and willows, and we formed as comfortable huts as possible. Mr. Pardo and myself

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built one for our own accommodation." They were in sight of the mountains, with a mountain to eastward, "called the Turtle." March 12th, 1803, they moved up the river they had wintered upon, which he notes as the Stillwater river; found some salt springs on the 15th; proceeding thence northward and on April 4th camped on a branch of the Stillwater; arriving at the "Road river" on the 12th, reaching the "Salt Springs" on the 13th, and thence to the mouth of Knife river, arriving there April 24th; left the upper Gros Ventres village May 4th "with a large number of Indians for the trading post on the Assinniboine" about 100 miles away, arriving there May 11th. The Indians still held him. "The traders not be willing to offend the Indians, I was obliged to remain with them. On the 5th of June, I parted with Mr. Pardo and my former companions, and went with a party of Sioux, of the Tilon (Titon) Okandanas band, for the heads of Saint Peter's river." On the 17th they had proceeded down the St. Peter's where on the 20th they met some Yanktonias Sioux who were returning from Saint Anthony Falls and had been met in advance by some Brule Sioux. "On the 27th, the bands mostly separated, and the greatest part returned to the Missouri, among whom was the Bois-bruil band, who took the war path."

We will again quote at large LeRaye's journal, showing his return to the Missouri river in South Dakota, his sojourn with the Rees during the succeeding winter (1803-4), his continued wanderings with the Sioux back over the James, the rumors of the coming of the Lewis and Clarke party, the declaration of war, and his final escape at the mouth of the James, as follows:

"On the 12th of July, (1803), encamped at the forks of the river Sasqui, a branch of the Missouri. On the 18th, these bands separated, and we proceeded to the crossing of the three rivers, on the Missouri, above the mouth of White river. On the 8th of August, we arrived at the Missouri, and a party of us went down to the Salt Springs, and made a quantity of salt. The water in the river Sasqui and in the Three rivers is so brackish, as to be very disagreeable to drink; and many other streams on on the Missouri have a similar taste. On the 20th, we returned to the encampment, and on the 28th I went with a party up the Middle Fork of the Three rivers to hunt. The country is considerably broken, and destitute of timber; but numerous salt licks

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and a plenty of game. On the 16th of September, we returned, having loaded our horses.

"We remained at this encampment until the 27th, when we moved up to Teton river. I obtained liberty on the 3rd of October, to go to the Rus village. Here I spent the winter with a number of traders belonging to Saint Louis. The Sioux are enemies to the traders, who follow this employment on the Missouri. They hold them in great contempt, and always rob them whenever they get a good opportunity.

"On the 12th of April, 1804, the traders left the village, and went up the river Chein, or Dog river, to trade. The chief, Manda-tongue-qua, came to the village, on the 18th, and took me with him on to the Sioux river, where we arrived on the 6th of May, and continued until the 12th of June, when we removed to the river Sasqui. On the 26th of August, a report was spread among the Indians, that a party, an army, as they called it, of soldiers were coming up the Missouri. After dispatching messengers to all the Indians near, they hastened to the river, leaving all their women and children with a few men in the encampment. They did not permit me to go with them. On the 25th of September, a council was held on the river Sasqui, to deliberate on the object this army should have in view, and to determine what should be done."

War Declared. "Lengthy debates took place, and being much divided in the sentiment whether they should attack them, or not, they dissolved the council on the 29th, without deciding what should be done. Another council was held on the 5th of November, consisting of a much larger number, when they came to a determination to invite the Rus to join them, and to attack the soldiers early in the spring. They also agreed to declare war against the Mandans and Gros Ventres. During the winter, large bodies of Indians assembled on the Sioux river and the river Sasqui, near to the Missouri.

"In the meantime, war was declared against the soldiers and against the Mandans and Gros Ventres. Early in the spring the spies had sent out, reported that the soldiers had gone further up the river, so that on the 4th of April, 1805, our camp with the women and children, moved on to the Missouri. Immediately after I arrived here, I was so fortunate as to become acquainted with Mr. Paintille, a Frenchman, who had long resided in

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the country, principally with the Titon-anah band of Sioux. We concerted a plan for making an escape down the Missouri. As he had a light canoe, we prepared ourselves to leave the Indians, and accordingly, on the night of the 26th of April, we were so happy as to make our escape from these miserable beings. In ten days we arrived at the town of Saint John's, which is the upper settlement on the Missouri river, and from thence we proceeded to the lower settlements. Here I found myself in the full enjoyment of a freedom, of which I had long been deprived; having been a prisoner more than three years and six months. During this period I had been subjected to many severe sufferings. Although I had always been well treated by the Indians, I had undergone great fatigues, and was often much distressed for provisions. Frequent exposure to wet and cold, and the inclemency of weather, brought on a rheumatism, which became so severe, as to confine me eighteen months after I had obtained my liberty." (Pages 201 to 204.)

The document of LeRaye, showing his grand sweep from Canada through the Illinois country well towards the Gulf of Mexico west of the Mississippi, thence northward by many meanderings through the great region of the Missouri and its sources to the very edge of the Rocky mountains, thence back to Canada in the Winnepeg country, thence to near the sources of the Mississippi and back to the Missouri, up the valley again to the Ree villages, and back to the mouth of the "Jim," during nearly the whole of which period he was in the hands of the Indians and followed their capricious movements over practically one-third of the American continent and he being, so far as known, one of two white men who first saw the Flatheads and the Snakes, truly forms one of the most important records ever made relating to early explorations and actual contact with Indians anywhere in America, as it is certainly one of the most remarkable among all those pertaining to the northwest.

The journal richly merits publication as a whole and liberal dissemination among historical societies and students of history.

Lewis and Clarke Journals. The Lewis and Clarke journals come next in order of time, in developing the accounts of the first visitors to the Mandans, and will now be presented, wherein they touch that subject, commencing with the most southerly remains of Mandan village sites and continuing to embrace the

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114 winter's sojourn among them in 1804-5, and taking up the brief journal entries made on the return trip in 1806. The observations relating to these Indians, found therein, also embrace references to other neighboring tribes with whom the Mandans were in contact at the time, and which later we also insert, as we believe nothing can so well assist in showing the precise status of the Mandans on the upper Missouri when first known to the whites as their daily experiences showing their relation to their Indian neighbors.

While the journals of Lewis and Clarke relating to the Mandans are of very great value and, in themselves, give us knowledge of such character and scope as to enable us, without other evidence, to understand quite clearly most of the leading phases of the life of that tribe, yet it is probably within bounds to observe that, considering the length of time during which that notable expedition was quartered at the Mandan villages and the rare opportunities presented for gaining a comprehensive insight into the then more recent history of the tribe, where it came from and how it came to be established within those strong entrenchments and barricades at that point or in that general locality on the great river, the results recorded in those journals are less satisfactory than could be wished, or reasonably expected. Why were not those who were most responsible in that expedition in handing down to the government and posterity the obtainable evidences of leading Indian communities en route, and who were camped among the Mandans for five and a half months, able to ascertain and note down more than they did regarding the history and experiences of those Indians during, say one hundred or one hundred and fifty years immediately preceding that period? It seems incredible that among the members of a tribe so singularly intelligent and having, as all accounts unite in proving they did, so many characteristics leading to the suggestion if not the probability of mixture of Caucasian blood, there did not exist individuals who had treasured up, as have almost every Indian tribe in America, ancestral and tribal traditions in the nature of credible history which, if made known to investigators, would have laid bare the Mandan tribal history for several centuries far more clearly than is done in those journals. And if such individuals were at hand to be interviewed and prodded with persistent inquiry if necessary, until the truth was

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revealed in their responses, it would seem that the influence of so notable and numerous a company as sat down among them during that winter might and should have evolved more than seems to have been learned by the members of that commission and recorded in those journals. Similar observations would seem to be warranted concerning the relative brevity and absence of more detailed and exhaustive information touching their ancient customs, religion, etc. However, observations such as are here indulged in must be regarded as largely speculative. Just how much the patriarchs and leading men of the Mandans had stored up along the lines indicated, and how much of what they did possess they were willing to impart to this the first formal delegation of whites who had ever visited them from the south, is matter of mystery, not of history. 114

The journal entry first to be reproduced here occurs under date of Friday, October 19th, 1804.

First Mandan Ruins. After seventeen and a half miles we encamped on the north, opposite to the uppermost of a number of round hills, forming a cone at the top, one being about ninety, another sixty feet in height, and some of less elevation. Our chief tells us that the calumet bird lives in the holes formed by the filteration of the water from the top of these hills through the sides. Near to one of these holes, on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain, are the remains of an old village which is high, strong, and has been fortified; this our chief tells us is the remains of one of the Mandan villages, and are the first ruins which we have seen of that nation in ascending the Missouri; opposite to our camp is a deep bend to the south, at the extremity of which is a pond. (Page 153, Vol 1, Lewis and Clarke's journal Original Edition, London, 1815.)" 361

Under the date-heading next following, the Lewis and Clarke Journal refers to a "creek on the north" which, according to Dr. Cones, is "Shepherd's Creek" of the Lewis and Clarke map and now known as Apple Creek; it is stated as being six miles below the southerly end of the island mentioned in said Journal. That creek is about seven or eight miles below Bismarck, N. D. The Journal continues:

"Saturday 20. At eight miles we reached the lower point of an island[1] in the middle of the river, though there is no current on

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361 the south. This island is covered with willows and extends about two miles, there being a small creek[3] coming in from the south at its lower extremity. After making twelve miles we encamped on the south, at the upper part of a bluff containing stone-coal of an inferior quality; immediately below this bluff and on the declivity of a hill, are the remains of a village covering six or eight acres, formerly occupied by the Mandans, who, says our Ricara chief, once lived in a number of villages on each side of the river, till the Sioux forced them forty miles higher; whence, after a few years' residence, they moved to their present position. (id 154)"

"Sunday, 21. * * * * * At two miles from our encampment we came to the ruins of a second Mandan village, which was in existence at the same time with that just mentioned. It is situated on the north at the foot of a hill in a beautiful and extensive plain, which is now covered with herds of buffalo; nearly opposite are remains of a third village on the south of the Missouri; and there is another also about two miles further on the north, a little off the river.

"Monday, 22nd. In the morning we passed an old Mandan village on the south, near our camp; at four miles another on the same side. (id 155)"

"Monday, 22nd. * * * * At six we reached an island about one mile in length at the head of which is a Mandan village on the north in ruins, and two miles beyond a bad sandbar. At eight miles are the remains of another Mandan village on the south.

"These villages, which are nine in number, are scattered along each side of the river within a space of twenty miles; almost all that remains of them is the wall which surrounded them, the fallen heaps of earth which covered the houses and occasionally human skulls and the teeth and bones of men, and different animals, which are scattered on the surface of the ground."(id 156)

000 **Mandan Chief.** "Wednesday, 24th. The day was again dark and it snowed a little in the morning. At three miles we came to a point on the south, where the river, by forcing a channel across a former bend, has formed a large island[4] on the north. On this island we found one of the grand chiefs of the Mandans, who with Five Lodges was on a hunting excursion. He met his enemy the Ricara chief, with great ceremony and apparent cordiality, and

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smoked with him. After visiting his lodges, the grand chief and his brother came on board our boat for a short time; we then proceeded and encamped on the north, at seven miles from our last night's station and below the old village of the Mandans and Ricaras. Here four Mandans came down from a camp above, and our Ricara chief returned with them to their camp, from which we augur favorably of their pacific views towards each other. The land is low and beautiful, and covered with oak and cottonwood, but has been too recently hunted to afford much game.

"25th. The morning was cold and the wind gentle from the southeast; at three miles we passed a handsome high prairie on the south, and on an eminence about forty feet above the water, and extending back for several miles on a beautiful plain, was situated an old village of the Mandan nation, which has been deserted for many years. A short distance above it, on the continuation of the same rising ground are two old villages of the Ricaras, one on the top of hill, the other on the level plain, which have been deserted only five years ago. Above these villages is an extensive low ground for several miles, in which are situated, at three or four miles from the Ricara villages, three old villages of the Mandans near together. Here the Mandans lived when the Ricaras came to them for protection, and from this they moved to their present situation above. In the low ground the squaws raised their corn, and the timber of which there was a little near the villages, was supplied from the opposite side of the river, where it was and still is abundant.

"As we proceeded, several parties of Mandans both on foot and horseback came along the river to view us, and were very desirous that we should land and talk to them; this we could not do on account of the sandbreaks on the shore, but we sent out the Ricara chief to them in a perioque." (id 158.)

The Traders. "26th. We set out early with a southwest wind, and after putting the Ricara chief on shore to join the Mandans, who were in great numbers along it, we proceeded to the camp of the grand chiefs, four miles distant. Here we met Mr. M'Cracken, one of the Northwest or Hudson Bay company, who arrived with another person about nine days ago to trade for horses and buffalo robes. Two of the chiefs came on board with some of their household furniture, such as earthen pots and a little corn, and went on

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000 with us; the rest of the Indians following on shore. At one mile beyond the camp we passed a small creek, and at three[4] more a bluff of coal of an inferior quality on the south. After making eleven miles we reached an old field where the Mandans had cultivated grain last summer, and encamped for the night on the south side, about half a mile below the first village of the Mandans. In the morning, we had a willow low ground on the south and highland on the north, which occasionally varied in the course of the day. There is but little wood on this part of the river, which is here subdivided into many channels and obstructed by sandbars. As soon as we arrived a crowd of men, women and children came down to see us.

304 765 **First Meeting of the Mandans.** "Captain Lewis returned with the principal chiefs to the village, while the others remained with us during the evening; the object which seemed to surprise them most was a corn-mill fixed to the boat which we had occasion to use, and delighted them by the ease which it reduced the grain to powder. Among others who visited us was the son of the grand chief of the Mandans, who had his two little fingers cut off at the second joints. On inquiring into this accident, we found that it was customary to express grief for the death of relations by some corporal suffering, and that the usual mode was to lose two joints of the little fingers, or sometimes the other fingers. The wind blew very cold in the evening from the southwest. Two of the party were afflicted with rheumatic complaints." (id 159)

576 **The Interpreter.** "Saturday, October 27th. At an early hour we proceeded and anchored off the village. Captain Clarke went on shore, and after smoking a pipe with the chiefs, was desired to remain and eat with them. He declined on account of his being unwell; but his refusal gave great offense to the Indians, who considered it disrespectful not to eat when invited, till the cause was 000 explained to their satisfaction. We sent them some tobacco, and then proceeded to the second village, on the north passing by a bank containing coal, and a second village, and encamped at four miles on the north, opposite to a village of Ahnahaways. We here met with a Frenchman, named Jesseaume, who lived among the Indians with his wife and children, and whom we take as an interpreter. The Indians had flocked to the bank to see us as we passed, and they visited in great numbers the camp, where some

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of them remained all night. We sent in the evening three young Indians with a present of tobacco for the chiefs of the three upper villages, inviting them to come down in the morning to a council with us. 000

Minnetarees and Ahnahaways. "Accordingly, the next day, Sunday, October 28, we were joined by many of the Minnetarees and Ahnahaways from above but the wind was so violent from the southwest that the chiefs of the lower villages could not come up, and the council was deferred till tomorrow. In the meantime we entertained our visitors by showing them what was new to them in the boat; all which, as well as our black servant, they called Great Medicine, the meaning of which we afterwards learnt. We also consulted the grand chief of the Mandans, Black Cat and Mr. Jesseaume, as to the names, characters, etc., of the chiefs with whom we are to hold the council. In the course of the day we received several presents from the women, consisting of corn, boiled hominy, and garden stuffs; in our turn we gratified the wife of the great chief with a gift of a glazed earthen jar. Our hunter brought us two beavers. In the afternoon we sent the Minnetarees chiefs to smoke for us with the great chief of the Mandans, and told them we would speak in the morning. Finding that we shall be obliged to pass the winter at this place, we went up the river about one and a half mile to-day with a view of finding a convenient spot for a fort, but the timber was too scarce and small for our purposes.

First Indian Council. "Monday, October 29th. The morning was fine and we prepared our presents and speech for the council. After breakfast we were visited by an old chief of the Ahnahaways, who finding himself growing old and weak, had transferred his power to his son, who is now at war against the Shoshonees. At ten o'clock the chiefs were all assembled under an awning of our sails, stretched so as to exclude the wind which had become high. That the impression might be the more forceable, the men were all paraded, and the council opened by a discharge from the swivel of the boat. We then delivered a speech, which like those we had already made, intermingled advice with assurances of friendship and trade; while we were speaking the old Ahnahaway chief grew very restless, and observed that he could not wait so long, as his camp was exposed to the 622 648

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hostilities of the Shoshonees. He was instantly rebuked with great dignity by one of the chiefs for this violation of decorum at such a moment, and remained quiet during the rest of the council. Towards the end of our speech we introduced the subject of our Ricara chief, with whom we recommended a firm peace. To this they seemed well disposed, and all smoked with him very amicably. We all mentioned the goods which had been taken from the Frenchman, and expressed a wish that they should be restored. This being over, we proceeded to distribute the presents with great ceremony. One chief of each town was acknowledged by a gift of a flag, a medal with the likeness of the president of the United States, a uniform coat, hat and feather; to the second chiefs we gave a medal representing some animals, and a loom for weaving; to the third chiefs, medals with the impressions of a farmer sowing grain. A variety of other presents were distributed but none seemed to give them more satisfaction than an iron corn-mill which we gave to the Mandans.

"The chiefs who were made today are: Shahaka or Big White, a first chief, and Kagohami or Little Raven, a second chief of the lower village of the Mandans, called Matootonha. The other chiefs of an inferior quality who were recommended were: 1. Ohheenaw, or Big Man, a Cheyenne taken prisoner by the Mandans who adopted him, and he now enjoys great consideration among the tribe. 2. Shotahawrora, or coal, of the second Mandan village, which is called Rooptahee. We made Poscopsahe, or Black Cat, the first chief of the village, and the grand chief of the whole Mandan nation; his second chief is Kagonomokshe, or raven man chief; inferior chiefs of this village were Tawnoheo and Bellahsara, of which we did not learn the translation." (id 161)

Big White. "Tuesday, 30. We were this morning visited by the two persons from the lower village, one the Big White, the chief of the village, the other the Cheyenne called the Big Man. They had been hunting, and did not return yesterday early enough to attend the council. At their request we repeated part of our speech of yesterday, and put the medal round the neck of the chief. Captain Clarke took a perioque and went up the river in search of a good wintering place, and returned after going seven miles to the lower point of an island on the north side,

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about one mile in length, he found the banks on the north side high with coal occasionally, and the country fine on all sides, but the want of wood and the scarcity of game up the river, induced us to decide on fixing ourselves lower down during the winter. In the evening our men danced among themselves to the great amusement of the Indians. 622 648

Mandan's Speech. "Wednesday, 31st. A second chief arrived this morning with an invitation from the grand chief of the Mandans, to come to his village where he wished to present some corn to us and speak with us. Captain Clarke walked down to his village. He was first seated with great ceremony on a robe by the side of the chief, who then threw over his shoulders another robe handsomely ornamented. The pipe was then smoked with several of the old men who were seated around the chief. After some time he began his discourse by observing that he believe what we had told him, and that they should soon enjoy peace, which would gratify him as well as his people, because they could then hunt without fear of being attacked, and the women might work in the fields without looking every moment for the enemy, and at night put off their moccasins, a phrase by which is conveyed the idea of security, when the women could undress at night without fear of attack. 622 648 537

"As to the Ricaras, he continued, in order to show you that we wish peace with all men, that chief, pointing to his second chief, will go with some warriors back to the Ricaras with their chief now here and smoke with that nation. When we heard of your coming, all the nations around returned from their hunting to see you, in hopes of receiving large presents. All were disappointed and some discontented. For his part he was not much so, though his village was. He added that he would go and see his great father, the president. Two of the steel traps stolen from the Frenchman were then laid before Captain Clarke, and the women brought about twelve bushels of corn. After the chief had finished, Captain Clarke made an answer to the speech and then he returned to the boat, where he found the chief of the third village and Kagohami (the Little Raven) who smoked and talked about half an hour. After they left the boat the grand chief of the Mandans came dressed in the clothes we had given him, with 622 648

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648 his two children, and begged to see the men dance, in which they willingly gratified him."(id 168)

Peace With the Aricaras. "Thursday, November 1st. At ten o'clock the chiefs of the lower village arrived. They requested that we would call at their village for some corn; that they were willing to make peace with the Ricaras; that they had never provoked the war between them, but as the Ricaras killed some of their chiefs, they had retaliated on them; that they had killed them like birds, till they were tired of killing them, so that they would send a chief and some warriors to smoke with them. In the evening we dropped down to the lower village, where Captain Lewis went on shore, and Captain Clarke proceeded to a point of wood on the north side.

"Friday, November 2. He therefore went up to the village, where eleven bushels of corn were presented to him. In the meantime Captain Clarke went down with the boat three miles, and having found a good position where there was plenty of timber, encamped and began to fell trees to build our huts. Our Ricara chief set out with one Mandan chief and several Minnitarees and Mandan warriors; the wind was from the southeast, and the weather being fine, crowds of Indians came down to visit us." (id 169)

224 **Mandan Hunt.** "Monday, 5th. The Indians are all out on their hunting parties. A camp of Mandans caught within two days one hundred goats a short distance below us. Their mode of hunting them is to form a large strong pen or fold, from which a fence made of bushes gradually widens on each side. The animals are surrounded by the hunters and gently driven towards this pen, in which they imperceptibly find themselves inclosed, and are then at the mercy of the hunters." (id 170.)

231 "Thursday, 8. The morning again cloudy; our huts advanced very well, and we are visited by numbers of Indians who come to let their horses graze near us. In the day the horses are let loose in quest of grass, in the night they are collected and receive an armful of small boughs of the cottonwood, which being very juicy, soft and brittle, form nutritious and agreeable food." (id 171.)

000 **Northern Indians.** "Wednesday, 14th. The river rose last night half an inch, and is now filled with floating ice. This morning was

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cloudy with some snow. About seventy lodges of Assiniboines and some Knistenaux are at the Mandan village, and this being the day of adoption and exchange of property between them all, it is accompanied by a dance, which prevents our seeing more than two Indians today. These Knistenaux are a band of Chippeways whose language they speak. They live on the Assiniboine and Saskashawan rivers, and are about two hundred and forty men." (id 173)

Hostilities With Assiniboines and Knistenauxs. "Sunday, November 18. Today we had a cold windy morning. The Black Cat came to see us, and occupied us for a long time with questions on the usages of our country. He mentioned that a council had been held yesterday to deliberate on the state of their affairs. It seemed that not long ago, a party of Sioux fell in with some horses belonging to the Minnetarees, and carried them off; but in their flight they were met by some of the Assiniboines, who killed the Sioux and kept the horses. A Frenchman, too, who had lived many years among the Mandans, was lately killed on his route to the British factory on the Assiniboine. Some smaller differences existed between the two nations, all of which being discussed, the council decided that they would not resent the recent insults from the Assiniboines and Knistenaux, until they had seen whether we had deceived them or not in our promises of furnishing them with arms and ammunition. They had been disappointed in their hopes of receiving them from Mr. Evans, and were afraid that we too, like him, might tell them what was not true. We advised them to continue at peace, that supplies of every kind would no doubt arrive for them, but that time was necessary to organize the trade. The fact is, that the Assiniboines treat the Mandans as the Sioux do the Ricaras; by their vicinity to the British they get all the supplies, which they withhold or give at pleasure to the remoter Indians. The consequence is, that however badly treated, the Mandans and Ricaras are very slow to retaliate, lest they should lose their trade altogether." (id 175.)

Fort Mandan. "Tuesday, 20th. We this day moved into our huts, which are now completed. This place, which we call Ft. Mandan, is situated in a point of low ground, on the north side of the Missouri, covered with tall and heavy cottonwood. The works consist of two rows of huts or sheds, forming an angle

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000 where they join each other. Each row contains four rooms, of fourteen feet square, and seven feet high, with plank ceiling, and the roof slanting so as to form a loft above the rooms, the highest part of which is eighteen feet from the ground. The backs of the huts form a wall of that height, and opposite the angle the place of the wall was supplied by picketing. In the area were two rooms for stores and provisions. The latitude by observation is 47 degrees, 21 minutes, 47 seconds, and the computed distance from the mouth of the Missouri, sixteen hundred miles." (id 176)

648 **Sioux Threats.** "In the course of the day several Indians came down to partake of our fresh meat; among the rest, three chiefs of the second Mandan village. They inform us that the Sioux on the Missouri above the Cheyenne river, threaten to attack them this winter; that these Sioux are much irritated at the Ricaras for having made peace through our means with the Mandans, and have lately ill-treated three Ricaras who carried the pipe of peace to them, by beating them and taking away their horses. We gave them assurances that we would protect them from all their enemies." (id 176)

361 **Mandan Villages and Tribe.** "The villages near which we are established are five in number, and are the residence of three
167 distinct nations—the Mandans, the Ahnahaways and the Minnetarees. The history of the Mandans, as we received it from our interpreters and from the chiefs themselves, and as it is attested by existing monuments, illustrates, more than that of any other nation, the unsteady movements and the tottering fortunes of the American nations. Within the recollection of living witnesses, the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about eighty miles below, and situated seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri. The two finding themselves wasting away before the smallpox and the Sioux, united into one village, and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras. The same causes reduced the remaining seven to five villages, till at length they emigrated in a body to the Ricaras nation, where they formed themselves into two villages, and joined those of their countrymen who had gone before them. In their new residence they were still insecure, and at length the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present position. The two

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who had emigrated together still settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri, while the single village took a position on the southeast side. In this situation they were found by those who visited them in 1796, since which the two villages have united in one. They are now in two villages, one on the southeast of the Missouri, the other on the opposite side, and at the distance of three miles across. The first, in an open plain, contains about forty or fifty lodges, built in the same way as the Ricaras; the second, the same number, and both may raise about three hundred and fifty men. 361 167

Mahahas. "On the same side of the river, and at a distance of four miles from the lower Mandan village, is another called Mahaha. It is situated on a high plain at the mouth of the Knife river, and is the residence of the Ahnahaways. This nation, whose name indicates that they were "people whose village is on a hill," formerly resided on the Missouri, about thirty miles below where they now live. The Assiniboines and Sioux forced them to a spot five miles higher, where the greatest part of them were put to death, and the rest emigrated to their present situation, in order to obtain an asylum near the Minnetarees. They are called by the French, Soulier Noir or Shoe Indians; by the Mandans, Wattasoons, and their whole force is about fifty men. 000

Minnetarees "On the south side of the same Knife river, half a mile above the Mahaha, and in the same open plain with it, is a village of Minnetarees surnamed Metaharta, who are about one hundred and fifty men in number. On the opposite side of the Knife river, and one and a half mile above this village, is a second of the Minnetarees, who may be considered as the proper Minnetarees' nation. It is situated in a beautiful low plain, and contains four hundred and fifty warriors. The accounts which received of the Minnearees were contradictory. The Mandans say that this people came out of the water to the east, and settled near them in their former establishment, in nine villages; that they were very numerous, and fixed themselves in one village on the southern side of the Missouri. A quarrel about a buffalo divided the nation, of which two bands went into the plains, and were known by the names of the Crow and the Paunch Indians, and the rest moved to their establishment. The Minnetarees proper assert, on the contrary, that they grew where they now

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000 live, and will never emigrate from the spot; the great spirit having declared that if they moved they would all die. They also say that the Minnatrees Metaharta, that is Minatrees of the Willows, whose language with very little variation is their own, came many years ago from the plains and settled near them, and perhaps the two traditions may be reconciled by the natural presumption that these Minnetarees were the tribe known to the Mandans below, and that they ascended the river for the purpose of rejoining the Minnetarees proper. These Minnetarees are part of the great nation called Fall Indians,[5] who occupy the intermediate country between the Missouri and Saskaskawan, and who are known by the name of Minnetarees of the Missouri, and Minnetarees of Fort de Prairie; that is, residing near or rather frequenting the establishment in the prairie on the Saskaskawan. These Minnetarees indeed, told us that they had relations on the Saskaskawan, whom they had never known until they met them in war, having engaged in the night, were astonished at discovering that they were fighting with men who spoke their own language. The name of Gros Ventres, or Big Bellies is given to these Minnetarees, as well as to all the Fall Indians. The inhabitants from these five villages, all of which are within the distance of six miles, live in harmony with each other. The Ahnahaways understand in part the language of the Minnetarees; the dialect of the Mandans differs widely from both; but their long residence together has insensibly blended their manners, and occasioned some approximation in language, particularly as to objects of daily occurrence and obvious to the senses." (id 177.)

Indian Corn. "November 22nd. The morning was fine, and the day warm. We purchased from the Mandans a quantity of corn of a mixed color, which they dug up in ears from holes made near the front of their lodges, in which it is buried during the winter." (id 182.)

"Tuesday, 27th, the weather cloudy, the wind continuing from the northwest and the river crowded with floating ice. Captain Lewis returned with two chiefs, Mahnotah and Ahnahaway, and Minnessurraree, a Minnetaree, and a third warrior; they explained to us that the reason of their not having come to see us, was, that the Mandans had told them that we meant to combine with the Sioux and cut them off in the course of the winter; a suspicion

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increased by the strength of the fort, and the circumstances of our interpreters having both removed there with their families. These reports we did not fail to disprove to their entire satisfaction, and amused them with every attention, particularly by the dancing of the men, which diverted them highly. All the Indians whom Captain Lewis had visited were very well disposed, and received him with great kindness, except a principal chief of one of the upper villages, named Mahpahpaparapassatoo, or Horned Weasel, who made use of the civilized indecorum of refusing to be seen, and when Captain Lewis called, he was told the chief was not at home. In the course of the day seven of the Northwest company's traders arrived from the Assiniboine river, and one of their interpreters having undertaken to circulate among the Indians unfavorable reports, it became necessary to warn them of the consequences, if they did not desist from such proceedings. The river fell two inches today and the weather became very cold." 000

No British Flag. "About eight o'clock Poscopsahe came down to visit us, with some warriors; we gave them presents and entertained them with all that might amuse their curiosity, and at parting we told them that we had heard of the British trader, Mr. Laroche, having attempted to distribute medals and flags among them; but that those emblems could not be received from any other than the American nation, without incurring the displeasures of the great father, the president. They left us much pleased with their treatment." (id 182.) 648

Sioux Raid. "Friday, 30th. About eight o'clock an Indian came to the opposite bank of the river, calling out that he had something important to communicate, and on sending for him, he told us that five Mandans had been met about eight leagues to the southwest by a party of Sioux, who had killed one of them, wounded two, and taken nine horses; that four of the Wattasoons were missing, and that the Mandans expected an attack. We thought this an excellent opportunity to discountenance the injurious reports against us, and to fix the waivering confidence of the nation. Captain Clarke therefore instantly crossed the river with twenty-three men strongly armed, and circling the town, approached it from behind. His unexpected appearance surprised and alarmed the chiefs, who came out to meet him, and 648 721

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conducted him to the village. He then told them that having heard of the outrage just committed, he had come to assist his dutiful children; and that if they would assemble their warriors and those of the nation, he would lead them against the Sioux and avenge the blood of their countrymen. After some minutes' conversation, Ohenaw, the Cheyenne arose: 'We now see,' said he, 'that what you have told us is true, since as soon as our enemies threatened to attack us you come to protect us and are ready to chastise those who have spilled our blood. We did indeed listen to your good talk, for when you told us that the other nations were inclined to peace with us, we went out carelessly in small parties, and some have been killed by the Sioux and Ricaras. But I knew that the Ricaras were liars, and I told their chief who accompanied you, that his whole nation were liars and bad men; that we had several times made a peace with them, which they were the first to break; that whenever we pleased we might shoot them like buffalo, but that we had no wish to [illegible]em; that we would not suffer them to kill us, nor steal our h[illegible]s; and that although we agree to make peace with them, because our two fathers desired it, yet we did not believe that they would be faithful long. Such, father, was my language to them in your presence, and you see that instead of listening to your good counsel they have spilt our blood. A few days ago, two Ricaras came here and told us that two of their villages were making moccasins, that the Sioux were stirring them up against us, and that we ought to take care of our horses; yet these very Ricaras we sent home as soon as the news reached us today, lest our people should kill them in the first moments of grief for their murdered relatives. Four of the Wattasoons whom we expected back in sixteen days have been absent twenty-four, and we fear have fallen. But, father, the snow is now deep, the weather cold, and our horses cannot travel through the plains; the murderers have gone off; if you will conduct us in the spring time, when the snow has disappeared, we will assemble all the surrounding warriors, and follow you.' "

Clarke Counsels Peace. "Captain Clarke replied, that we were always willing and able to defend them; that he was sorry that the snow prevented their marching to meet the Sioux, since he wished to show them that the warriors of their great father would

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chastise the enemies of his obedient children who opened their ears to his advise; that if some Ricaras had joined the Sioux, they should remember that there were some bad men in every nation, and that they should not be offended at the Ricaras till they saw whether these ill-disposed men were countenanced by the whole tribe; that the Sioux possessed great influence over the Ricaras, whom they supplied with military stores, and sometimes led them estray, because they were afraid to oppose them; but that this should be the less offensive, since the Mandans themselves were under the same apprehensions from the Assiniboines and Kristenaux, and that while they were thus dependent, both the Ricaras and Mandans ought to keep on terms with their powerful neighbors, whom they may afterwards set at defiance, when we shall supply them with arms, and take them under our protection. 648 721

"After two hours conversation Captain Clarke left the village. The chief repeatedly thanked him for the fatherly protection he had given them, observing that the whole village had been weeping all night and day for the brave young men who had been slain, but now they would wipe their eyes and weep no more as they saw that their father would protect them. He then crossed the river on the ice and returned on the north side of the fort." (id 184.)

Cheyenne Delegation. "Saturday, December 1st. The wind was from the northwest, and the whole party engaged in picketing the fort. About ten o'clock the half-brother of the man who had been killed, came to inform us that six Sharhas, or Cheyenne Indians, had arrived, bringing a pipe of peace, and that their nation was three days' march behind them. Three Pawnees had accompanied the Sharhas, and the Mandans being afraid of the Sharhas on account of their being at peace with the Sioux, wished to put both them and the three Pawnees to death; but the chiefs had forbidden it, as it would be contrary to our wishes. We gave him a present of tobacco, and although from his connection with the sufferer, he was more embittered against the Pawnees than any other Mandan, yet he seemed perfectly satisfied with our pacific counsels and advise. The Mandans we observed called all the Ricaras by the name of Pawnee; the name of Ricaras being that by which the nation distinguished itself." 648

"Sunday, December 2nd. At eleven o'clock, the chiefs of the

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648 lower village brought down four of the Sharhas. We explained to them our intentions, and advised them to remain at peace with each other; we also gave them a flag, some tobacco, and a speech for their nation. These were accompanied by a letter to Messrs. Tabeau and Gravelines at the Ricara village, requesting them to preserve peace if possible, and to declare the part which we should be forced to take if the Ricaras and Sioux made war on those whom we had adopted. After distributing a few presents to the Sharhas and Mandans, and showing them our curiosities, we dismissed them, apparently well pleased at their reception." (id 187.)

Mandan Religion—Origin. "Tuesday, 4th. Oscapsaee and
776 two young chiefs passed the day with us. The whole religion
782 of the Mandans consists in the belief of one great spirit presiding over their destinies. This being must be in the nature of a good genius, since it is associated with the healing art, and the great spirit is synonymous with the great medicine, a name also applied to every thing which they do not understand. Each individual selects for himself the particular object of his devotion, which is termed his medicine, and is either some invisible being or more commonly some animal, which henceforward becomes his protector or his intercessor with the great spirit; to propitiate whom every attention is lavished, and every personal consideration is sacrificed. 'I was lately owner of seventeen horses,' said a Mandan to us one day, 'but I have offered them all up to my medicine, and am now poor.' He had in reality taken all his wealth, his horses, into the plain, and turning them loose, committed them to the care of his medicine, and abandoned them forever. The horses, less religious, took care of themselves, and the pious votary traveled home on foot. Their belief in a future state
775 is connected with this tradition of their origin; the whole nation
773 resided in one large village under ground, near a subterraneous lake; a grape vine extended its roots down to their habitation, and gave them a view of the light; some of the most adventurous climbed up the vine, and were delighted with the sight of the earth, which they found covered with buffalo and rich with every kind of fruits; returning with the grapes they had gathered, their countrymen were so pleased with the taste of them that the whole nation resolved to leave their dull residence for the charms

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of the upper region; men, women and children ascended by means of the vine; but when about half the nation had reached the surface of the earth, a corpulent woman, who was clambering up the vine, broke it with her weight, and closed upon herself and the rest of the nation the light of the sun. Those who were left on earth made a village below, where we saw the nine villages; and when the Mandans die they expect to return to the original seats of their forefathers; the good reaching the ancient village by means of the lake, which the burdens of the sins of the wicked will not enable them to cross." (id 191.) 775 773

Buffalo Chase. "Friday, December 7th. The wind still continued from the northwest, and the day is very cold. Shahaka, the chief of the lower village, came to apprise us that the buffalo were near, and that his people were waiting for us to join them in the chase. Captain Clarke with fifteen men went out and found the Indians engaged in killing the buffalo, the hunters mounted on horseback and armed with bows and arrows encircled the herd, and gradually drive them into a plain or an open place fit for the movements of horse; they then ride in among them, and singling out a buffalo, a female being preferred, go as close as possible and wound her with arrows till they think they have given the mortal stroke; then they pursue another till the quiver is exhausted. If, which rarely happens, the wounded buffalo attacks the hunter, he evades his blow by the agility of his horse, which is trained for the combat with great dexterity. When they have killed the requisite number they collect their game, and the squaws and attendants come up from the rear and skin and dress the animals. Captain Clarke killed ten buffalo, of which only five were brought to the fort, the rest, which could not be conveyed home, being seized by the Indians, among whom the custom is, that whenever a buffalo is found dead without an arrow, or any particular mark, he is the property of the finder; so that often a hunter secures scarcely any of the game he kills, if the arrow happens to fall off; whatever is left out at night falls to the share of the wolves, who are the constant and numerous attendants of the buffalo." (id 193.) 224

Mandan Games. "Wednesday, 19th. The weather moderated, and the river rose a little, so that we were unable to continue the picketing of the fort. Notwithstanding the extreme cold, we 524

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524 observe the Indians at the village engaged out in the open air, at a game which resembled billiards more than anything we had seen, and which we are inclined to suspect may have been acquired by ancient intercourse with the French of Canada. From the first to the second chief's lodge, a distance of about fifty yards, was covered with timber, smoothed and joined so as to be as level as the floor of one of our houses, with a battery at the end to stop the rings; these rings were of clay-stone, and flat like the chequers for drafts, and the sticks were about four feet long, with two short pieces at one end in the form of a mace, so fixed, that the whole will slide along the board. Two men fix themselves at one end, each provided with a stick, and one of them with a ring; they then run along the board, and about half way slide the sticks after the ring." (id 196.)

437 "Saturday, 22nd. A number of squaws and men dressed like squaws brought corn to trade for small articles with the men. Among other things we procured two horns of the animal called by the French, the Rock mountain sheep, and known to the Mandans by the name of ahsahta. The animal itself is about the size of a small elk or large deer; the horn winding like those of a ram, which they resemble also in texture, though larger and thicker."

Mandan Food. "Sunday, 23rd. The weather was fine and warm like that of yesterday. We were again visited by crowds of Indians of all descriptions, who came either to trade, or from mere curiosity. Among the rest Kogahami, the Little Raven, 252 brought his wife and son loaded with corn, and she then entertained us with a favorite Mandan dish, a mixture of pumpkins, beans, corn and chokecherries with the stones, all boiled together in a kettle, and forming a composition by no means unpalatable." (id 197.)

000 **Christmas.** "Tuesday, 25th. We were awakened before day by a discharge of three platoons from the party. We had told the Indians not to visit us, as it was one of our great medicine days; so that the men remained at home and amused themselves in various ways, particularly with dancing, in which they take great pleasure. The American flag was hoisted for the first time in the fort; the best provisions we had were brought out, and this, with a little brandy, enabled them to pass the day in great festivity." (id 198.)

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"Tuesday, January 1st, 1805. In the morning we permitted sixteen men with their music to go up to the first village, where they delighted the whole tribe with their dances, particularly with the movements of one of the Frenchmen who danced on his head. In return they presented the dancers with several buffalo robes and quantities of corn. We were desirous of showing this attention to the village, because they had received an impression that we had been wanting in regard for them, and because they had in consequence circulated invidious comparisons between us and the northern traders. All of these, however, they declared to Captain Clarke, who visited them in the course of the morning, were made in jest." (id 203.) 000

Buffalo Dance. "Saturday, 5th. We had high and boisterous winds last night and this morning; the Indians continue to purchase repairs with grain of different kinds. In the first village there has been a buffalo dance of the last three nights, which has put them all into commotion, and the description which we received from those of the party who visited the village, and from other sources, is not a little ludicrous. The buffalo dance is an institution originally intended for the benefit of the old men, and practiced at their suggestion. When buffalo becomes scarce, they send a man to harangue the village, declaring that the game is far off and that a feast is necessary to bring it back, and if the village be disposed, a day and a place is named for the celebration of it. At the appointed hour the old men arrive, and seat themselves cross-legged on skins around the fire in the middle of the lodge with a sort of doll or small image, dressed like a female, placed before them. The young men bring with them a platter of provisions, a pipe of tobacco, and their wives, whose dress on this occasion is only a robe or mantle loosely thrown around the body. On their arrival each youth selects the old man whom he means to distinguish by his favour, and spreads before him the provisions, after which he presents the pipe and smokes with him." (id 206.) 796

Hunt. "Sunday, 13th January, 1805. We have a continuation of clear weather, and the cold has increased, the mercury having sunk to 34 degrees below zero. Nearly one-half of the Mandan nation passed down the river to hunt for several days; in these excursions men, women and children, with their dogs, all leave 224

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224 the village together, and after discovering a spot convenient for the game, fix their tents; all the family bear their part in the labor, and the game is equally divided among the families of the tribe. When a single hunter returns from the chase with more than is necessary for his own immediate consumption, the neighbors are entitled by custom to a share of it; they do not however ask for it, but send a squaw, who, without saying anything, sits down by the door of the lodge till the master understands the hint, and gives her gratuitously a part for her family." (id 209.)

000 "Monday, 14th. The Mandans continue to pass down the river on their hunting party, and were joined by six of our men. One of those sent on Thursday returned, with information that one of his companions had his feet so badly frost bitten that he could not walk home." (id 210.)

"Wednesday, 16th. About thirty Mandans, among whom six were chiefs, came to see us; the Minnetarees reproached them with their falsehoods, declaring that they were bad men and ought to hide themselves. They had told the Minnetarees that we would kill them if they came to the fort, yet on the contrary they had spent a night there, and been treated with kindness by the whites, who had smoked with them and danced for their amusement.

721 To the chief Kagahami, who contemplated war against the Snake Indians, this advice was given: "We advised him to reflect seriously before he committed the peace of his nation to the hazards of war; to look back on the numerous nations whom war has destroyed; that if he wished his nation to be happy, he should cultivate peace and intercourse with all his neighbors, by which means they would procure more horses, and increase in numbers; and that if he went to war, he would displease his great father, the president, and forfeit his protection. We added that we had spoken thus to all the tribes whom we had met, that they had all opened their ears, and that the president would compel those who did not voluntarily listen to his advise. Although a young man of only twenty-six years of age, this discourse seemed to strike him. He observed, that if it would be displeasing to us he would not go to war, since he had horses enough and that he would advise all nations to remain at home, until we had

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seen the Snake Indians, and discovered whether their intentions were pacific." (id 212.) 721

"Friday, February 1st. A cold windy day; our hunters returned having killed only deer. One of the Minnetaree war chiefs, a young man named Maubuksheahokeah or Seeing Snake, came to us, and procured a war hatchet; he also requested that we would suffer him to go to war against the Sioux and Ricaras who had killed a Mandan some time ago; this we refused for reasons which we explained to him. He acknowledged that we were right, and promised to open his ears to our counsels." (id 215.)

Battle-Axe. "Tuesday, 5th. A pleasant fair morning with the wind from the northwest; a number of the Indians came with corn for the blacksmith, who being now provided with coal, has become one of our greatest resources for procuring grain. They seem particularly attached to a battle-axe, of a very inconvenient figure; it is made wholly of iron, the blade extremely thin, and from seven to nine inches long. It is sharp at the point and five or six inches on each side, whence they converge towards the eye, which is circular and about an inch in diameter, the blade itself being not more than a inch wide, the handle is straight, and twelve to fifteen inches long; the whole weighing about a pound. By way of ornament, the blade is perforated with several circular holes. The length of the blade compared with the shortness of the handle, renders it a weapon of very little strength, particularly as it is always used on horseback; there is still, however, another form which is even worse, the same sort of handle being fixed to a blade resembling an espontoon."[6] (id 216.) 411

Sheet-Iron Arrow Points. "Wednesday, February 6th. The morning was fair and pleasant, the wind northwest. A number of Indian chiefs visited us, and withdrew after we had smoked with them, contrary to their customs, for after being once introduced into our apartments, they are fond of lounging about during the remainder of the day. One of the men killed three antelopes. Our blacksmith has his time completely occupied, so great is the demand for utensils of different kinds. The Indians are particularly fond of sheet iron, out of which they form points for arrows and instruments for scraping hides, and when the blacksmith cut up an old cambouse[7] of that metal, we obtained for every piece of four inches square, seven or eight gallons of corn from the Indians, who were delighted at the exchange." (id 216.) 437 [411]

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000 from the Indians, who were delighted at the exchange." (id 216.)

262 **Buffalo Meat.** "Friday, 8th. A fair and pleasant morning, with southeast winds. Pocopsahe came down to the fort with a bow, and apologized for his not having finished a shield which he had promised to Captain Lewis, and which the weather had prevented him from completing. This chief possesses more firmness, intelligence and integrity, than any Indian of this country, and he might be rendered highly serviceable in our attempts to civilize the nation. He mentioned that the Mandans are very much in want of meat, and that he himself had not tasted any for several days. To this distress they are often reduced by their own improvidence, or by their unhappy situation. Their principal article of food is buffalo meat, their corn, beans, and other grain being reserved for summer, or as a last resource against what they constantly dread, an attack from the Sioux, who drive off the game and confine them to their villages. The same fear too prevents their going out to hunt in small parties to relieve their occasional wants, so that the buffalo is generally obtained in large quantities, and wasted by carelessness." (id 217.)

231 **Mandan Horses.** "Tuesday, 12th. The morning is fair though cold, the mercury being 14 degrees below zero, the wind from the southeast. About four o'clock the horses were brought in much fatigued. On giving them meal bran moistened with water they would not eat it, but preferred the bark of the cottonwood, which as is already observed, forms their principal food during the winter. The horses of the Mandans are so often stolen by the Sioux, Ricaras and Assiniboines, that the invariable rule now is to put the horses every night in the same lodge with the family. In the summer they ramble in the plains in the vicinity of the camp, and feed on the grass, but during cold weather the squaws cut down the cottonwood trees as they are wanted, and the horses feed on the boughs and bark of the tender branches, which are also brought into the lodges at night and placed near them. These animals are very severely treated; for whole days they are pursuing the buffalo, or burdened with the fruits of the chase, during which time scarcely ever taste food, and at night return to a scanty allowance of wood; yet the spirit of this valuable ani-

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mal sustains him through all these difficulties, and he is rarely deficient either in flesh or vigor." (id 219.) 231

"Wednesday, 13th. The morning was cloudy, the thermometer at two degress below zero, the wind from the southeast. Captain Clarke returned last evening with all his hunting party; during their excursion they had killed forty deer, three buffalo and sixteen elk, but most of the game was too lean for use and the wolves, who regard whatever lies out at night as their own, had appropirated a large part of it. When he left the fort on the 4th instant he descended on the ice twenty-two miles to New Mandan island, near some of their old villages, and encamped, having killed nothing, and therefore without food for the night." (id 220.) 000

Raid On Meat. "Thursday, 14th. Last night the snow fell three inches deep; the day was, however, fine. Four men were despatched with sleds and three horses to bring up the meat which had been collected by the hunters. They returned however, with intelligence that about twenty-one miles below the fort a party of upwards of one hundred men, whom they supposed to be Sioux, rushed on them, cut the traces of the sleds, and carried off two of the horses, the third being given up by intercession of an Indian who seemed to possess some authority over them; they also took away two of the men's knives, and a tomahawk, which last however they returned. We sent up to the Mandans to inform them of it, and to know whether any of them would join a party which intended to pursue the robbers in the morning. About twelve o'clock two of their chiefs came down and said that all their young men were out hunting, and that there were few guns in the village. Several Indians however, armed some with bows and arrows, some with spears and battle-axes and two with fusils, accompanied Captain Lewis, who set out,

"Friday, 15th, at sunrise with twenty-four men. The morning was fine and cool, the thermometer being at 16 below zero. In the course of the day one of the Mandan chiefs returned from Captain Lewis' party, his eyesight having become so bad that he could not proceed. At this season of the year the reflection from the ice and snow is so intense as to occasion almost total blindness. This complaint is very common, and the general remedy is

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800 to sweat the part afflicted, by holding the face over a hot stone, and receiving the fumes from snow thrown on it. A large red fox was killed today." (id 222.)

"Sunday, 17th. The weather continued as yesterday, though in the afternoon it became fair. Shotawoorora and his son came to see us, with about thirty pounds of dried buffalo meat and some tallow." (id 223.)

145 763 **Dying Mandan—Ceremonial.** "Wednesday, 20th. The day was delightfully fine, the mercury being at sunrise two degrees, and in the course of the day twenty-two degrees above zero, the wind southerly. Kagohomi came down to see us early; his village is afflicted by the death of one of their eldest men, who, from his account to us, must have seen one hundred and twenty winters. Just as he was dying, he requested his grandchildren to dress him in his best robe when he was dead, and then carry him to a hill and seat him on a stone, with his face down the river towards their old village, that he might go straight to his brother who had passed before him to the ancient village under ground. We have seen a number of Mandans who have lived to a great age; chiefly however the men, whose robust exercises fortify the body, while the laborious occupations of the women shorten their existence."

778 787 **Medicine Stone.** "Thursday, 21st. We had a continuance of the same pleasant weather. Oheenaw Shahaka came down to see us, and mentioned that several of their countrymen had gone to consult their medicine stone as to the prospects of the following year. The medicine stone is the great oracle of the Mandans, and whatever it announces is believed with implicit confidence. Every spring and on some occasions during the summer, a deputation visits the sacred spot, where there is a thick porous stone twenty feet in circumference, with a smooth surface. Having reached the place, the ceremony of smoking to it is performed by the deputies, who alternately take a whiff themselves, and then present the pipe to the stone; after this they retire to an adjoining wood for the night, during which, it may be safely presumed that all the embassy do not sleep; and in the morning they read the destines of the nation in the white marks on the stone, which those who make them are at no loss to decipher. The Minnetarees have a stone of a similar kind, which has the same qualities,

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and the same influence over the nation. Captain Lewis returned from his excursion in pursuit of the Indians. On reaching the place where the Sioux had stolen our horses, they found only one sled, and several pair of moccasins which were recognized to be those of the Sioux. The party then followed the Indian tracks till they reached two old lodges, where they slept, and the next morning pursued the course of the river, till they reached some Indian camps, where Captain Clarke passed the night some time ago, and which the Sioux had now set on fire, leaving a little corn near the place, in order to induce a belief that they were Ricaras. From this point the Sioux tracks left the river abruptly and crossed into the plains, but perceiving that there was no chance of overtaking them, Captain Lewis went down to the pen where Captain Clarke had left some meat, which he found untouched by the Indians, and then hunted in the low grounds on the river, till he returned with about three hundred pounds of meat, some drawn in a sled by fifteen of the men, and the rest on horseback; having killed thirty-six deer, fourteen elk and one wolf." (id 223.)

"Friday, 22nd. The morning was cloudy and a little snow fell, but in the afternoon the weather became fair. We were visited by a number of Indians, among them was Shotawhorora, a chief of much consideration among the Mandans although by birth a Ricara." (id 225.)

"Monday 25th. We were occupied in drawing up the boats on the bank. The smallest one we carried there with no difficulty, but the barge was too heavy for our elk-skin ropes, which constantly broke. We were visited by Orupsebara or Black Moccasin, and several other chiefs, who brought us presents of meat on the backs of their squaws, and one of the Minnetarees requested and obtained permission for himself and his two wives to remain all night in the fort. The day was exceedingly pleasant. (id 226.)

"Tuesday, 26th. The weather is again fine. By great labor during the day, we got all the boats on the bank by sunset, an operation which attracted a great number of Indians to the fort." (id 226.)

Report from Aricaras. "Thursday. 28th. **Mr. Gravelines with two Frenchmen and two Indians, arrived from the Ricara nation,

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with letters from Mr. Anthony Tabeau. This last gentleman informed us, that the Ricaras express their determination to follow our advice, and to remain at peace with the Mandans and Minnetarees, whom they are desirous of visiting; they also wish to know whether these nations would permit the Ricaras to settle near them, and form a league against their common enemies, the Sioux. On mentioning this to the Mandans, they agree to it, observing that they always desired to cultivate friendship with the Ricaras, and that the Ahanhaways and Minnetarees have the same friendly views." (id 227.)

Rumored Sioux Attack Aricaras. "Mr. Gravelines states that the band of Tetons whom he had seen was well disposed to us, owing to the influence of their chief, the Black Buffalo; but that the three upper bands of Tetons, with the Sisatoons and Yanktons of the north, mean soon to attack the Indians in this quarter, with a resolution to put to death every white man they encounter. Moreover, that Mr. Cameron, of St. Peter's, has armed the Sioux against the Chippeways, who, have lately put to death three of his men. The men who had stolen our horses we found to be all Sioux, who after committing the outrage, went to the Ricara villages, where they said that they had hesitated about killing our men who were with the horses, but that in the future they would put to death any of us they could, as we were bad medicines and deserved to be killed. The Ricaras were displeased at their conduct, and refused to give them any thing to eat, which is deemed the greatest act of hostility short of actual violence." (id 228.)

"Saturday, 2nd. Mr. Laroche, one of the N. W. Company's traders, has just arrived with merchandise from the British establishments on the Assiniboine. The day is fine, and the river begins to break up in some places, the mercury being between twenty-eight and thirty-six degrees below zero, and the wind from the northeast. We were visited by several Indians." (id 228.)

"Sunday, 3rd. We are visited by Poscapsahe and several other Indians with corn. A flock of ducks up the river today."

"Monday, 4th.** We had again some Indian visitors with a small present of meat. The Assiniboines, who a few days since visited the Mandans, returned and attempted to take horses from the

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Minnetarees, who fired on them; a circumstance which may occasion some disturbance between the two nations." (id 229.) 000

Letter to Aricaras. "Tuesday, 5th. About four o'clock in the morning there was a slight fall of snow, but the day became clear and pleasant, with the mercury forty degrees above zero. We sent down an Indian and a Frenchman to the Ricara village with a letter to Mr. Tabeau." (id 229.)

Prairie Fires. "Wednesday, 6th. The day was cloudy and smoky in consequence of the burning of the plains by the Minnetarees; they have set all the neighboring country on fire in order to obtain an early crop of grass, which may answer for the consumption of their horses, and also as an inducement for the buffalo and other game to visit it. The horses stolen two days ago by the Assiniboines have been returned to the Minnetarees. Ohhaw, second chief of the lower Minnetaree village came to see us. The river rose and overran the ice, so as to render the crossing difficult." (id 230.)

LeBorgne. "Saturday, 9th. The morning cloudy and cool, the wind from the north. The grand chief of the Minnetarees, who is called by the French LeBorgne, from his having but one eye, came down for the first time to the fort. He was received with much attention, two guns were fired in honor of his arrival, the curiosities were exhibited to him, and, as he said that he had not received the presents which we had sent him on his arrival, we again gave him a flag, a medal, shirt, arm braces and the usual presents on such occasions, with all which he was much pleased. In the course of the conversation, the chief observed, that some foolish young men of his nation had told him that there was a person among us quite black, and he wished to know if it could be true. We assured him that it was true, and sent for York; the Borgne was very much surprised at his appearance, examining him closely, and spit on his finger and rubbed the skin in order to wash off the paint; nor was it until the negro uncovered his head, and showing his short hair that the Borgne could be persuaded that he was not a painted white man."

Mandan Justice. "Sunday, 10th. A cold windy day. Tetuckopinreha, chief of the Ahnahaway and the Minnetaree chief, Ompschara, passed the day with us, and the former remained during the night. We had occasion to see an instance of the 627 837

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627 summary justice of the Indians. A young Minnetaree had car-
837 ried off the daughter of Cagonomokshe, the Raven Man, second chief of the upper village of the Mandans; the father went to the village and found his daughter, whom he brought home, and took with him a horse belonging to the offender. This reprisal satisfied the vengeance of the father and of the nation, as the young man would not dare to reclaim his horse, which from that time became the property of the injured party. The stealing of young women is one of the most common offenses against the police of the village, and the punishment of it always measured by the power or the passions of the kindred of the female. A voluntary elopement is of course more rigidly chastised. One of the wives of the Borgne deserted him in favor of a man who had been her lover before the marriage, and who after some time left her, and she was obliged to return to her father's house. As soon as he heard it the Borgne walked there and found her sitting near the fire. Without noticing his wife, he began to smoke with the father; when they were joined by the old men of the village, who, knowing his temper, had followed in hopes of appeasing him. He continued to smoke quietly with them, till rising to return, he took his wife by the hair, led her as far as the door, and with a single stroke of his tomahawk put her to death before her father's eyes. Then turning fiercely upon the spectators, he said that if any of her relations wished to avenge her, they might always find him at his lodge; but the fate of the woman had not sufficient interest to excite the vengeance of the family. The caprice or the generosity of the same chief gave a very different result to a similar incident which occurred some time afterwards. Another of his wives eloped with a young man, who not being able to support her as she wished, they both returned to the village, and she presented herself before the husband, supplicating his pardon for her conduct. The Borgne sent for the lover. At the moment when the youth expected that he would be put to death, the chief mildly asked them if they still preserved their affection for each other; and on their declaring that want, and not a change of affection had induced them to return, he gave up his wife to her lover, with the liberal present of three horses, and restored them both to his favor." (id 231.)

000 **Mandan Beads.** "Saturday, 16th. The weather is cloudy, the

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wind from the southeast. A Mr. Garrow, a Frenchman, who has resided a long time among the Ricaras and Mandans, explained to us the mode in which they make their large beads, an art which they are said to have derived from some prisoners of the Snake Indian nation, and the knowledge of which is a secret, even now confined to a few among the Mandans and Ricaras. The process is as follows: Glass of different colors is first pounded fine and washed, till each kind, which is kept separate, ceases to stain the water thrown over it; some well seasoned clay, mixed with a sufficient quantity of sand to prevent its becoming very hard when exposed to heat, and reduced by water to the consistency of dough, is then rolled on the palm of the hand, till it becomes of the thickness wanted for the hole in the bead; these ticks of clay are placed upright, each on a little pedestal or ball of the same material, about an ounce in weight, and distributed over a small earthen platter, which is laid on the fire for a few minutes, when they are taken off to cool; with a little paddle or shovel, three or four inches long and sharpened at the end of the handle, the wet pounded glass is placed in the palm of the hand; the beads are made of an oblong form, wrapped in a cylindrical form round the stick of clay, which is laid cross-wise over it, and gently rolled backwards and forwards till it becomes perfectly smooth. If it be desired to introduce any other color, the surface of the bead is perforated with the pointed end of the paddle, and the cavity filled with pounded glass of that color; the sticks with the string of beads are then replaced on their pedestals, and the platter deposited on burning coals or hot embers; over the platter an earthen pot, containing about three gallons, with a mouth large enough to cover the platter, is reversed, being completely closed, except a small aperture at the top, through which are watched the beads; a quantity of old dried wood, formed into a sort of dough or paste, is placed around the pot, so as almost to cover it, and afterwards set on fire. The manufacturer then looks through the small hole in the pot, till he sees the beads assume a deep red color, to which succeeds a paler or whitish red, or they become pointed at the upper extremity; on which the fire is removed, and the pot suffered to cool gradually; at length it is removed, the beads taken out, the clay in the hollow of them picked out with an awl or needle, and it is then fit for use. The

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301 beads thus formed are in great demand among the Indians, and used as pendants to their ears and hair, and are sometimes worn 'round the neck." (id 233.)

224 **Killing Buffalo On Ice.** "Friday, 29th. The weather clear, and the wind from the northwest. The obstruction above gave way this morning, and the ice came down in great quantities; the river having fallen eleven inches in the course of the last twenty-four hours. We have had few Indians at the fort for the last three or four days, as they are now busy in catching the floating buffalo. Every spring as the river is breaking up, the surrounding plains are set on fire, and the buffalo tempted to cross the river in search of the fresh grass which immediately succeeds to the burning; on their way they are often isolated on a large cake or mass of ice, which floats down the river. The Indians now select the most favorable points for attack; and, as the buffalo approaches, dart with astonishing agility across the trembling ice, sometimes pressing lightly a cake of not more than two feet square; the animal is of course unsteady, and his footsteps insecure on this new element, so that he can make but little resistance, and the hunter, who has given him his death wound, paddles his icy boat to the shore, and secures his prey." (id 239.)

532 **Indian Painting.** "Thursday, 4th. The day is clear and pleasant, though the wind is high from northwest. We now packed in different boxes a variety of articles for the president, which we shall send in the barge. A number of articles of Indian dress, among which was a buffalo robe, representing a battle fought about eight years since between the Sioux and Ricaras against the Mandans and Minnetarees, in which the combatants are represented on horseback. It has of late years excited much discussion to ascertain the period when the art of painting was first discovered, how hopeless all researches of this kind are, is evident from the foregoing fact. It is indebted for its origin to one of the strongest passions of the human heart; a wish to preserve the features of a departed friend, or the memory of some glorious exploit; this inherits equally the bosoms of all men, either civilized or savage. Such sketches, rude and imperfect as they are, delineate the predominant character of the savage nations. If they are peaceable and inoffensive, the drawings usually consist of local scenery and their favorite diversions. If the band are rude

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and ferocious, we observe tomahawks, scalping-knives, bows, arrows, and all the engines of destruction. A Mandan bow and quiver of arrows; also some Ricara tobacco seed, and an ear of Mandan corn. To these are added a box of plants, another of insects, and three cases, containing a burrowing squirrel, a prairie hen, and four magpies, all alive." (id 240) 532

Aricaras Arrive—Expedition Leaves Ft. Mandan. "Saturday, 6th. Another fine day with a gentle breeze from the south. The Mandans continue to come to the fort, and in the course of the day inform us of the arrival of a party of Ricaras on the other side of the river. We send our interpreter to inquire into the reason for coming, and in the morning, Sunday 7th, he returned with a Ricara chief and three of his nation. The chief, whose name is Kagohweto, or Brave Raven, brought a letter from Mr. Tabeau, mentioning the wish of the grand chiefs of the Ricaras to visit the president, and requesting permission for himself and four men to join our boat when it descends, to which we consented, as it will then be manned with fifteen hands, and be able to defend itself against the Sioux. After presenting the letter, he told us that he was sent with ten warriors, by his nation, to arrange their settling near the Mandans and Minnetarees, whom they wished to join; that he considered all the neighboring nations friendly, except the Sioux, whose persecutions they could no longer withstand, and whom they hoped to repel by uniting with the tribes in his quarter. He added, that the Ricaras intended to follow our advice and live in peace with all nations, and requested that we would speak in their favor to the Assiniboine Indians. This we willingly promised to do, and assured them that their great father would protect them, and no longer suffer the Sioux to have good guns, or to injure his dutiful children. We then gave him a small medal, a certificate of his good conduct, and carrot of tobacco, and some wampum, with which he departed for the Mandan village, well satisfied with his reception. Having made all our arrangements, we left the fort about five o'clock in the afternoon." (id 243) 000

"Sunday, April 7th. One of the Mandans likewise embarked with us, in order to go to the Snake Indians, and obtain a peace with them for his countrymen." (id 243)

The Lewis and Clarke expedition, having gone on over the

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000 mountains and to the Pacific coast on their memorable trip of exploration, and having recrossed the Continental Divide on the return trip in 1806, we find the first journal entry which in any way refers to the Mandans, under date of August 8th of that year, recorded in Vol. 3 of London Ed. of their journal, page 348, as follows:

501 **Skin Canoes.** "Friday, 8th. * * They passed over a broken open country, and having reached the Yellowstone, near Pompey's Pillar, they determined to descend the river and for this purpose made two skin canoes,[8] such as they had seen among the Mandans and Ricaras. They are made in the following manner: Two sticks of an inch and a quarter in diameter are tied together so as to form a round hoop, which serves for the brim, while a second hoop, for the bottom of the boat, is made in the same way, and both secured by sticks of the same size from the sides of the hoops, fastened by thongs to the edges of the hoops, and at the interstice of the sticks. Over this frame the skin is drawn closely and tied with thongs, so as to form a perfect basin, seven feet and three inches in diameter, sixteen inches deep, and with sixteen ribs or cross-sticks, and capable of carrying six or eight men with their loads." 'Vol. 3, p. 348)

721 **Mandans at War With Aricaras and Assiniboines.** "Monday, 11th. The next morning Captain Clarke set out early, and landed on a sandbar about ten o'clock, for the purpose of taking breakfast and drying the meat. At noon they proceeded on about two miles, when they observed a canoe near the shore. They immediately landed, and were equally surprised and pleased at discovering two men by the names of Dickson and Hancock, who had come from the Illinois on a hunting excursion up the Yellowstone. They had left the Illinois in the summer of 1804 and had spent the last winter with the Tetons, in company with a Mr. Ceautoin, who had come there as a trader, but whom they had robbed, or rather they had taken all his merchandise and given him a few robes in exchange. These men had met the boat which we had dispatched from Fort Mandan, on board of which they were told there was a Ricara chief on his way to Washington, and also another party of Yankton chiefs, accompanied by Mr. Durion on a visit of the same kind. We were sorry to learn that the Mandans and the Minnetarees were at war with the Ricaras, and had killed two of them.

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The Assiniboines, too, are at war with the Mandans. They have in consequence, prohibited the Northwestern Company from trading to the Missouri, and even killed two of their traders near the Mouse river, and are now lying in wait for Mr. M'Kenzie of the Northwestern Company, who had been for a long time among the Minnetarees. These appearances are rather unfavorable to the project of carrying some of the chiefs to the United States; but we still hope, that by effecting a peace between the Mandans, Minnetarees and Ricaras, the views of our government may be accomplished." (id 350) 721

"Thursday, 14th.[9] We again set out at sunrise, and at length approached the grand village[10] of the Minnetarees, where the natives had collected to view us as we passed. We fired the blunderbuss several times by way of salute, and soon after landed at the bank near the village of the Mahahas, or Shoe Indians and were received by a crowd of people, who came to welcome our return." 000

Re-Arrival at Mandan Villages. "Among these were the principal chief of the Mahahas, and the chief of the Little Minnetaree village, both of whom expressed great pleasure at seeing us again, but the latter wept most bitterly. On inquiry, it appeared that his tears were excited, because the sight of us reminded him of his son who had been lately killed by the Blackfoot Indians. After remaining there a few minutes, we crossed to the Mandan village of the Black Cat, where all the inhabitants seemed very much pleased at seeing us. We immediately sent Chaboneau with an invitation for the Minnetarees to visit us, and dispatched Drewyer to the lower village of the Mandans to bring Jesseaume as an interpreter."

Black Cat. "Captain Clarke in the meantime walked up to the village of the Black Cat, and smoked and ate with the chief. This village has been rebuilt since our departure, and was now much smaller; a quarrel having arisen among the Indians, in consequence of which a number of families had removed to the opposite side of the river. On the arrival of Jesseaume, Captain Clarke addressed the chiefs. We spoke to them now, he said, in the same language we had done before; and then repeated his invitation to accompany him to the United States, to hear in person the counsels of their great father, who can at all times protect those who open their ears to his counsels, and punish his enemies. The 648

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648 Black Cat, in reply, declared that he wished to visit the United States, and see his great father, but was afraid of the Sioux, who had killed several of the Mandans since our departure, and who were now on the river below, and would intercept him if he attempted to go. Captain Clarke endeavored to quiet his apprehensions by assuring him that he would not suffer the Sioux to injure one of our red children who should accompany us, and that they should return loaded with presents, and protected at the expense of the United States. The council was then broken up, after which we crossed and formed our camp on the other side of the river, where we should be sheltered from the rain. Soon after the chief of the Mahahas informed us that if we would send to his village, we should have some corn. Three men were therefore dispatched, and soon after returned loaded with as much as they could carry, and were soon followed by the chief and his wife, to whom we presented a few needles and other articles fit for women. In a short time the Borgne (the great chief of all the Minnetarees) came down, attended by several other chiefs, to whom after smoking a pipe, Captain Clarke now made an harangue, renewing his assurances of friendship and the invitation to go with us to Washington. He was answered by the Borgne, who began by declaring that he much desired to visit his great father, but that the Sioux would certainly kill any of the Mandans who should attempt to go down the river. They were bad people and would not listen to any advice. When he saw us last, we had told him that we had made peace with all the nations below, yet the Sioux had since killed eight of his tribe, and stolen a number of their horses. The Ricaras too had stolen their horses, and in the contest his people had killed two of the Ricaras. Yet in spite of these dispositions, he had always had his ears open to our counsels, and had actually made a peace with the Cheyennes and the Indians of the Rocky Mountains. He concluded by saying that however disposed they were to visit the United States, the fear of the Sioux would prevent them from going with us.[11] The counsel was then finished, and soon afterwards an invitation was received from the Black Cat, who, on Captain Clarke's arrival at his village, presented him with a dozen bushels of corn, which he said was a large proportion of what his people owned, and after smoking a pipe, declared that his people were too apprehensive

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of the Sioux to venture with us. Captain Clarke then spoke to the chiefs and warriors of the village. He told them of his anxiety that some of them should see their great father, and hear his good words and receive his gifts, and requested them to fix on some confidential chief who might accompany us. To this they made the same objections as before, till at length a young man offered to go, and the warriors all assented to it. But the character of his man was known to be bad, and one of the party with Captain Clarke informed him that at that moment he had in his possession a knife which he had stolen. Captain Clarke therefore told the chief of this theft, and ordered the knife to be given up. This was done with a poor apology for having it in his possession, and Captain Clarke then reproached the chiefs for wishing to send such a fellow to see and hear so distinguished a person as their great father. They all hung down their heads for some time, till the Black Cat apologized by saying that the danger was such that they were afraid of sending any of their chiefs, as they considered his loss almost inevitable. Captain Clarke remained some time with them, smoking and relating various particulars of his journey, and then left them to visit the second chief of the Mandans (or the Blackcrow) who had expressed some disposition to accompany us. He seemed well inclined to the journey, but was unwilling to decide till he had called a council of his people, which he intended to do in the afternoon. On returning to the camp, he found the chief of the Mahahas, and also the chief of the Little Minnetaree village, who brought a present of corn on their mules, of which they possess several, and which they procure from the Crow Indians, who either buy or steal them on the frontiers of the Spanish settlements. A great number of the Indians visited us for the purpose of renewing their acquaintance, or of exchanging robes or other articles for the skins brought by the men." (id 354)

Mandan Wars. "In the evening Chaboneau, who has been mingling with the Indians, and had learned what had taken place during their absence, informed us that as soon as we had left the Minnetarees, they sent out a war party against the Shoshonees, whom they attacked and routed, though in the engagement they lost two men, one of whom was the son of the chief of the Little Minnetaree village. Another war party had gone against

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721 the Ricaras, two of whom they killed. A misunderstanding, too, had taken place between the Mandans and the Minnetarees, in consequence of a dispute about a woman, which had nearly occasioned a war, but at length a pipe was presented by the Minnetarees, and a reconciliation took place."

648 **Corn Abundant—Counseled Against Wars.** "Friday, 15th. The Mandans had offered to give us some corn, and on sending
721 this morning, we found a greater quantity collected for our use than all our canoes would contain. We therefore thanked the chief and took only six loads. At ten o'clock the chiefs of the different villages came down to smoke with us. We therefore took this opportunity of endeavoring to engage the Borgne in our interests by a present of the swivel, which is no longer serviceable, as it cannot be discharged from our largest perioque. It was now loaded, and the chiefs being formed in a circle around it, Captain Clarke addressed them with great ceremony. He said that he had listened with much attention to what had yesterday been declared by the Borgne, whom he believed to be sincere, and then reproached them with their disregard of our counsels, and their wars on the Shoshonees and Ricaras. Little Cherry, the old Minnetaree chief, answered that they had long stayed at home and listened to our advice, but at last went to war against the Sioux, because their horses had been stolen, and their companions killed, and in an expedition against those people, they had met the Ricaras, who were on their way to strike them, and a battle ensued. But in future, he said, they would attend to our words and live in peace. But Borgne added that his ears, too, would always be open to the words of his good father, and shut against bad counsel. Captain Clarke then presented to the Borgne the swivel, which we told him had announced the words of his great father to all the nations we had seen, and which, whenever it was fired, should recall those which we had delivered to him. The gun was then discharged, and the Borgne had it conveyed in great pomp to his village. The counsel then adjourned."

000 **Big White Taken Past.** "In the afternoon, Captain Clarke walked up to the village of the Littlecrow, taking a flag, which he intended to present to him, but was surprised on being told by him that he had given over all intentions of accompanying us, and refused the flag. He found that this was occasioned by a

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jealously between him and the principal chief, Big White. On the interference, however, of Jesseaume, the two chiefs were reconciled, and it was agreed that the Big White himself should accompany us with his wife and son." (id 359.)

Final Leavetaking. "Saturday, 16th. The whole village crowded about us, and many of the people wept aloud at the departure of the chief. As Captain Clarke was shaking hands with the principal chiefs of all the villages, they requested that he would set with them one moment longer. Being willing to gratify them, he stopped and ordered a pipe, after smoking which they informed him that when they first saw us, they did not believe all that we then told them, but having now seen that our words were all true they would carefully remember them and follow our advice; that he might tell their great father that the young men should remain at home, and not make war on any people except in defense of themselves. They requested him to tell the Ricaras to come and visit them without fear, as they meant that nation no harm, but were desirous of peace with them. On the Sioux, however, they had no dependence, and must kill them whenever they made war parties against their country. Captain Clarke, in reply, informed them that we had never insisted on their not defending themselves, but requested only that they would not strike those whom we had taken by the hand; that we would apprise the Ricaras of their friendly intentions, and that, although we had not seen those of the Sioux with whom they were at war, we should relate their conduct to their great father, who would take measures for producing a general peace among all his red children.

"The Borgne now requested that we would take good care of this chief, who would report whatever that their great father should say, and the council being then broken up, we took leave with a salute from a gun, and then proceeded. On reaching Fort Mandan, we found a few pickets standing on the riverside, but all the houses except one had been burnt by an accidental fire. At the distance of eighteen miles we reached the old Ricara village, where we encamped on the southwest side, the wind being too violent, and the waves too high to permit us to go any further." (id 362)

"Monday, 18th. Soon after we embarked, an Indian came run-

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000 ning down to the beach, who appeared very anxious to speak to us. We went ashore, and found it was the brother of the Big White, who was encamped at no great distance, and hearing of our departure, came to take leave of the chief.

"The Big White gave him a pair of leggins, and they separated in a most affectionate manner, and we then continued, though the wind and waves were still high. The Indian chief seemed quite satisfied with his treatment, and during the whole of his time was employed in pointing out the ancient monuments of the Mandans, or in relating their traditions. At length, after making forty miles, we encamped on the northeast side, opposite an old Mandan village, and below the mouth of Chesshetah river."[12] (id 364)

"Here follow some entries showing events on the return trip of Lewis & Clarke at and near the Aricara villages and which are found in Part I of this paper in Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Call. pp. 400-1.

648 **At the Aricaras Villages the Mandan Chief Thus Addressed the Rees.** "The Big White, chief of the Mandans, now addressed them at some length, explaining the pacific intentions of his nation; and the Cheyenne observed that both the Ricaras and Mandans seemed to be in fault; but at the end of the council, the Mandan chief treated with great civility, and the greatest harmony prevailed among them." * * *

765 "Captain Clarke returned to the boats where he found the chief of the lower village, who had cut off part of his hair and disfigured himself in such a manner that we did not recognize him at first, until he explained that he was in mourning for his nephew, who had been killed by the Sioux. He proceeded with us to the 648 village on the island, where we were met by all the inhabitants. The second chief, on seeing the Mandan, began to speak to him in a loud and threatening tone, till Captain Clarke declared that the Mandans had listened to our counsels, and that if any injury was done to the chief, we should defend him against every nation. He then invited the Mandans to his lodge, and after a very ceremonious smoking, assured Captain Clarke that the Mandan was as safe as at home, for the Ricaras had opened their ears to our counsels as well as the Mandans. This was repeated by the great chief, and the Mandan and Ricara chiefs now smoked and con-

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versed and great apparent harmony; after which we returned to the boats." (id 370) 648

"Friday, 22nd. While here we had occasion to notice that the Mandans, as well as the Minnetarees and Ricaras, kept their horses in the same lodges with themselves." (id 372)

Patrick Gass' observations on the Mandans, taken from his journal made while a member of the Lewis and Clarke expedition, will now be presented. Gass was a redoubtable Irishman of sound sense and keen observation. While much of what he records is largely a duplication of the Lewis and Clarke entries in substance, yet it will be found upon comparison of the two records that considerable additional information is contained in his journal. Some of his descriptions of Indians, situations and circumstances surrounding the sojourn with the Mandans and at Fort Mandan are striking, and constitute a substantial addition to the main journals. The original edition, published by Ells, Claflin & Co., Dayton (Ohio), in 1847, is here referred to. 114

Journal of Patrick Gass—Lewis and Clarke Expedition. (p. 56, et seq.) 000

"Wednesday, 24th, (October 1804). At twelve we came to a hunting party of the Mandan nation of Indians, and remained with them until 2 and then continued our voyage. There were three lodges of these Indians on an island, which has been cut off the Grand Bend, a short distance below the Mandan village. We encamped on the north side. Five of the Indians came to us, and our Indian went over with them and returned in the morning.

"Thursday, 25th. Passed a beautiful bottom on the south side, and hills on the north. A great many of the natives, some on horseback and some on foot appeared on the hills on the north side, hallooing and singing. At 2, we stopped for dinner, and as we could not get our boat to shore on the north side, the water being shallow, our Indian was sent over to them. In the afternoon we passed a bottom covered with timber on the north side and hills on the south, and encamped on the north side. Here our Indian returned accompanied by one of the Mandans.

"Friday, 26th. Passed a large willow bottom on the south and high land on the north side. The Mandan Indian left us early in the morning. At 10, we came to a hunting party of the Mandans,

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000 consisting of men, women and children. There was an Irishman with them, who had come from the Northwest Company of traders. We remained here an hour, and then proceeded. A number of the Indians kept along the shore opposite the boat all day, on the south side, on which side we encamped. Some of them remained with us to 12 at night and then returned to their village.

361 **Mandan Village.** "Saturday, 27th. At half past seven we arrived at the first village of the Mandans and halted about two hours. This village contains forty or fifty lodges built in the manner of those of the Rickarees. These Indians have better complexions than most other Indians, and some of the children have fair hair. We passed a bluff on the south side with a stratum of black resembling coal. There is a bottom on the north side, where the second Mandan village is situated. We went about a mile above it and encamped on the same bottom, for the purpose of holding a council with the natives. This place is 1,610 miles from the mouth of the river du Bois, where we first embarked to proceed on the expedition. There are about the same number of lodges and people in this village as in the first. These people do not bury their dead, but place the body on a scaffold, wrapped in a buffalo robe, where it lies exposed.

"Sunday, 28th. The day was clear and we remained here, but could not sit in council, the wind blew so violent.

648 **Council.** "Monday, 29th. We had again a clear day and some of the principal men came from each village of the Mandans, from the Watasoons, Sioux, and one from the Gros Ventres, and all sat in council together. At 11 o'clock, when the council met, a shot was fired from our bow piece, and the commanding officers took the chiefs by the hand. Captain Lewis, though an interpreter, delivered a speech, gave a suit of clothes to each of the chiefs and some articles for their villages. He also sent a suit to the chief of the Gros Ventres. At three o'clock another gun was fired at the breaking up of the council, and they all appeared satisfied. Captain Lewis gave an iron mill to the Mandan nation to grind their corn, with which they were highly pleased.

"Tuesday, 30th. We remained here to know the answer of the Indians. At ten Captain Lewis, with a party of our people and an Indian or two, went about six miles up the river to view an island, in order to ascertain whether or not it would suit for

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winter quarters. At five p. m. they returned and were of opinion that it was not an eligible place. 648

"Wednesday, 31st. A pleasant morning. We remained here also today, the Indians having given no answer. At 12, Captain Clarke and some of the men went down to the village, and the chief gave nine or ten bushels of corn, and some buffalo robes.

"Thursday, 1st November, 1804. At three o'clock p. m. we returned down the river to look for a place where we could fix our winter quarters. At dark we had ascended nine miles, and came to a bottom covered with cottonwood, where we encamped.

"Friday, 2nd. Captain Lewis, myself and some of the men went up to the first village of the Mandans, who gave us some corn. Captain Clarke and the rest of our party, having dropped half a mile lower down the river, began to clear a place for a camp and a fort. We pitched our tents and laid the foundation of one line of huts.

Fort Mandan. "Saturday, 3rd. A clear day. We continued building. The following is the manner in which our huts and forts were built. The huts were in two rows, containing four rooms each, and joined at one end forming an angle. When raised about seven feet high a floor of puncheons or split plank were laid, and covered with grass and clay, which made a warm loft. The upper part projected a foot over and the roofs were made shed-fashion, rising from the inner side and making the outer wall about eighteen feet high. The part not inclosed by the huts we intended to picket. In the angle formed by the two rows of huts we built two rooms for holding our provisions and stores. 000

"From the 20th to the 27th, we had fine pleasant weather, and on the evening of the latter finished the roofs of our huts. These were made of puncheons split out of cottonwood and then hewed. The cottonwood resembles the lombardy poplar, and is a light soft wood. The largest trees are in thickness about eighteen inches diameter.

The Sioux. "Thursday, 29th. Early in the morning of this day we saw an Indian on the opposite side of the river, and brought him over. He informed us that a few days ago eight of his nation were out hunting and were attacked by a party of the Sioux tribe, who killed one and wounded two more, and also

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000 carried off their horses. Captain Clarke and twenty-three men immediately set out with an intention of pursuing the murderers. They went up to the first village of the Mandans, but their warriors did not seem disposed to turn out. They suggested the coldness of the weather; that the Sioux were too far gone to be overtaken; and put off the expedition to the spring of the year. Captain Clarke and his party returned the same evening to the fort. We have been daily visited by the Indians since we came here. Our fort is called Fort Mandan, and by observation is in N. latitude 47.21 33.8.

"Saturday, 1st, December 1804. The day was pleasant, and we began to cut and carry pickets to complete our fort. One of the traders from the Northwest Company came to the fort and related that the Indians had been troublesome in his way through. An Indian came down from the first Mandan village, and told us that a great number of the Chien or Dog nation had arrived near the village.

Cheyennes Arrive. "Sunday, 2nd. A party of the Chien Indians with some of the Mandans came to the fort. They appeared civil and good natured.

"The 3rd, 4th, and 5th, were moderate and we carried on the work, but the sixth was so cold and stormy we could do nothing. In the night the river froze over and in the morning was covered with solid ice an inch and a half thick.

Buffalo. "Friday, 7th. At 9 o'clock the Big White head chief of the first village of the Mandans came to our garrison and told us that the buffalo were in the prairie coming into the bottom. Captain Lewis and eleven more of us went out immediately and saw the prairie covered with buffalo and the Indians on horseback killing them. * * * They shoot them with bows and arrows, and have their horses so trained that they will advance very near and suddenly wheel and fly off in case the wounded buffalo attempt an attack.

"Saturday, 15th. Some of the natives paid us a visit and brought presents of meat to the commanding officers.

British Traders. "Sunday, 16th. I went up with some of the men to the first and second village of the Mandans and we were treated with much kindness. Three of the traders from the Northwest company came to our fort and brought a letter to

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our commanding officers. They remained with us all night. 000 The object of the visits we received from the Northwest Company was to ascertain our motives for visiting that country and to gain information with respect to the change of government.

"Monday, 17th. A sled was fitted up for one of the northwest traders to return in. In the evening one of the natives came down and told us the buffaloes were again come to the river.

"Saturday, 22nd. The weather continued clear, pleasant and warm. A great number of the natives came with corn, beans and moccasins to trade for which they would take anything—old shirts, buttons, awls, knives and the like articles.

"Monday, 24th. Some snow fell this morning. About ten it cleared up and the weather became pleasant. This evening we finished our fortification. Flour, dried apples, pepper and other articles were distributed in the different messes to enable them to celebrate Christmas in a proper and social manner.

Christmas. "Tuesday, 25th. The morning was ushered in by two discharges of a swivel and a round of small arms by the whole corps. Captain Clarke then presented to each man a glass of brandy, and we hoisted the American flag in the garrison, and its first waiving in Fort Mandan was celebrated with another glass. The men then cleared out one of the rooms and commenced dancing. At ten o'clock we had another glass of brandy and at one a gun was fired as a signal for dinner. At half past two another gun was fired as a notice to assemble at the dance, which was continued in a jovial manner till eight at night, and without the presence of any females, except three squaws, wives to our interpreter, who took no other part than the amusement of looking on. None of the natives came to the garrison this day, the commanding officers having requested they should not, which was strictly attended to. During the remainder of the month we lived in peace and tranquility in the garrison and were daily visited by the natives. (p. 65.)

"Tuesday, January 1st, 1805. About eleven o'clock one of the interpreters and half of the people went up, at the request of the natives to the village to begin the dance, and were followed some time after by Captain Clarke and three more men. The day was warm and pleasant. Captain Lewis in the afternoon issued

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000 another glass of whiskey and at night Captain Clarke and part of the men returned from the village, the rest remained all night.

"Wednesday, 2nd. This day I discovered how the Indians keep their horses during the winter. In the day time they are permitted to run out and gather what they can, and at night are brought into the lodges, with the natives themselves, and fed upon cottonwood branches, and in this way are kept in tolerable ease. (p. 66.)

789 "Sunday, 20th. I went up with one of the men to the villages. They treated us friendly and gave us victuals. After we were done eating they presented a bowlful to a buffalo head, saying "**eat that.**" Their superstitious credulity is so great that they believe by using the head well the living buffalo will come and that they will get a supply of meat. (p. 68)

Sioux Hostilities. "Thursday, 28th. Sixteen of us went up
724 the river about six miles, where we found and cut down trees for four canoes. While we were absent an express arrived from the Rickarees village with news that the Sioux had declared war against us, and also the Mandans and Gros Ventres. They had boasted of the robbery of the 14th, at the Rickarees village in their way home, and that they intended to massacre the whole of us in the spring. By this express we therefore found out that it was the Sioux who had taken the horses from our men. (p. 70)

000 "Saturday, 6th. The day was clear and pleasant. This day we heard that some of the Rickarees had come up to the Mandan villages. Our interpreter and some of the men were sent over to ascertain the truth of the report and we were detained all day waiting their return. (p. 72)

Ricara Delegation. "Sunday, 7th. The men returned and four of the Rickarees with them. The commanding officers held a conversation with these Indians and they concluded that some of them would go down in the boat from their village to St. Louis. About five o'clock in the afternoon we left Fort Mandan in good spirits. Thirty-one men and a woman went up the river and thirteen returned down it in the boat. We had two perioques and six canoes and proceeded about four miles and encamped opposite the first Mandan village on the north side.

Departure From Mandan Villages. "Monday, 8th. At 12 the word was passed from a canoe in the rear that it was sinking,

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when we halted in front and Captain Clarke went back to see 000 what was the matter. This forenoon we passed two villages of the Gros Ventres, or Big Belly's nation of Indians on the south side and a small river on the same side called Cutteau or Knife river." (p. 73.)

It is seen from the foregoing entry, that Gass estimated the distance up stream from Fort Mandan to a point opposite the lower Mandan village at "about four miles." All of what precedes, from Gass, pertains to the westward trip. We now quote from his journal some observations made on the return trip, on which, August 14th, 1806, the expedition reached the Mandan villages: * * * *

"Thursday, 14th, August, 1806. The morning of this day was pleasant, and we embarked early. In a short time we arrived near to our old friends, the Gros Ventres and Mandans; and fixed our encampment in a central position, so as to be most convenient to the different villages. The inhabitants of all the villages appeared very glad to see us, and sent us presents of corn, beans and squashes.

"Friday, 15th. We had a fine clear pleasant morning, and continued here all day, to ascertain whether any of the chiefs would go down with us or not. They had to hold councils among themselves, and we had to wait for their answers. The two hunters we left up the river came down, staid with us here, and got one of our party to join in partnership with them, and to return up the rivers Missouri and Jaune to hunt.

"Saturday, 16th. There was a fine cool day; and we yet remained here, waiting an answer from the natives. Some of these Indians are very kind and obliging; furnishing us with corn, beans and squashes; but there are others very troublesome, and steal whenever they have an opportunity. Yesterday and today they stole several knives and spoons, and three powder horns, and two pouches, filled with ammunition.

Big White. "In the afternoon the chief, called the Big White, concluded to go down with us, and we agreed to stay until 12 o'clock tomorrow; that he might have an opportunity to get ready for his voyage and mission. The commanding officers gave discharges to the man who agreed to return with the hunters up the river, and the interpreter; who intends settling among these

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Indians, and to whom they gave the blacksmith's tools supposing they might be useful to the nation. They also gave a small piece of ordnance to the Gros Ventres, which they appeared very fond of. (p. 229.)

"Sunday, 17th. The two strange hunters, with the man who had received his discharge and was to go up the river with them, went on early. We lashed our small canoes together, two and two, as we expect they will be more steady this way and carry larger loads. At noon we dropped down to the village of the Big White; and he, his wife and a child, with Geesem the interpreter for the Big White, his wife and two children, embarked in two of our canoes to go to the United States. We proceeded on at 2 o'clock; the wind was high, and river rough; and in the evening we encamped, having descended about twenty miles." (p. 230.)

Next in order of time is the journal of Alexander Henry. This was published by Francis P. Harper in 1897, under the editorial supervision of Dr. Elliot Cous, and is entitled "New Light on the History of the Northwest." From it we summarize the following:

Henry reached the Mandans from the Assiniboines July 19th, 1806, having passed Snake Hill at about the mouth of the Miry Creek, of Lewis and Clarke, and about six miles, by road, from Ft. Stevenson. He found the Mandans at a winter village two and a half miles below Miry Creek and close to the mouth of Wolf creek. It was really a village of the Gros Ventres and not of Mandans at all. At that date the river was so high that the huts appeared almost overflowed; he found large quantities of fruit growing in the vicinity; ripe pears, choke cherries, red cherries, raspberries and gooseberries and the prickly pear in large quantities. At four o'clock that afternoon he reached a point on the river opposite the upper Gros Ventres village situated on Knife river, a mile back from the Missouri. After waiting some time, a party of the natives came over and ferried him across, and he went down on the west side five miles to a Mandan village. The Gros Ventres village referred to on Knife river was the larger of two villages of that tribe, and the Mandan village was the second of Lewis and Clarke on their up river trip. Dr. Cous says it was about four miles by river above the site of Ft. Mandan. In going down the stream to this river Henry passed two villages,

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which he describes as the Little Big Belly village and the Saulteur village, which were respectively, the third and fourth of the villages of Lewis and Clarke, and were called by them Metaharta, Mahawaha or Ahnahaways, or Wettersoons. Henry miscalls this latter village Saulteurs; they were really the Gens de Souliers. Their village was one mile north of the village of Black Cat and kept up a separate tribal organization until about 1836 and then became merged with the Gros Ventres. The locality of both is the present site of Stanton, Mercer county, North Dakota. Before reaching the Mandan village on the west side, Henry passed through two miles of timber and came near being swamped in a miry road. Below the woods he found several patches of corn, beans, squashes and sunflowers, and notes a reason why the Mandans so frequently changed their village sites. The soil in the neighborhood of one of these villages becoming exhausted by cultivation, they move to a more fertile location. He notes that about these villages they buried their dead upon stages eight feet above the ground, and he found the bodies and the wrappings in all stages of decay. He found large numbers of women and children hoeing corn while a warrior, armed with a gun, stood by to guard them. The chief of the village, the Black Cat, came out to meet him and he was heartily welcomed by everyone. The Black Cat conducted him to a hut which he maintained for the accommodation of strangers while the old chief and his numerous family resided in a hut nearby. The people exhibited a great curiosity but did not meddle with the wares which he brought with him. The chief took his horses and turned them over to the care of a young man and in the hut Henry found buffalo hides spread on the ground before the fire and the women at once brought him a great feast of corn, beans and dried beef, the latter being so tainted that he could not eat it. He notes that the Mandans, however, do not care for beef until it commences to taste badly. Henry's visit was purely one of exploration and the Mandans were greatly disappointed when they discovered that he had not come to trade. When night came the young man brought the horses back from the pasture and put them in the hut with their guests. This was a precaution to keep the horses from being stolen by the Assiniboines, but Henry says the practice gives the habitation an offensive smell to the nose of a stranger.

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000 He describes at length the custom of bathing in the Missouri in which both men and women engaged making use of a white clay as a substitute for soap. This is a regular process every evening and morning. He found both men and women absolutely devoid of all sense of modesty from the standpoint of civilization. Much of this portion of the journal is unquotable, as he describes in great detail the lascivious practices of the natives. As is usual among the natives, the labor is all performed by the women, the men, when not upon hunting or war-like expeditions, passing their time in sports and idleness.

He describes the wooden mortar set up in the corners of the huts in which they break up corn also the earthen pots of their own manufacture in which they cook it. These vessels range in size from a quart to five gallons. The Mandans declared that anything in the shape of flesh or grease cooked in these pottery vessels would instantly destroy them and every family was provided with a brass or iron kettle in which to cook flesh, but their vegetables are cooked in the vessels of clay, which having round bottoms, kept them constantly subject to being overturned. He found a Frenchman there, whom he calls Jean Baptiste, and who had come over the previous May from the Brandon House on the Mouse river to trade. He was located on the opposite side of the river from Black Cat's village but he came over to visit with Henry and when Black Cat learned who his guest was, he got out his American flag, which Lewis and Clarke had given him and hoisted it above the hut in which Henry slept. He noticed, lying in the village, the wreck of the corn mill which Lewis and Clarke had given them; the rascals had stripped it of all the iron parts they could use to make arrows from. Other portions were made into mauls to break up bones. He found a good deal of jealousy existing between the several villages, and they were particularly solicitous to secure arms and ammunition which, of course, was good policy, as it was a good protection against their enemies, the Sioux and the Rees. The village at which Henry was visiting was Rooptahee of Lewis and Clarke and the village across the river where the Frenchman was trading was their Matootonaha, or "The Lower village of the Mandans."

Henry is understood by some, who have visited the Mandans, and by others, who have compared his observations concerning

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them, with those of others similarly circumstanced, to have given a rather unfair account of some of the characteristics of these Indians. What he thought of them as pilferers, while acknowledging their honorable protection of property in the hands of a host while actually housed, is shown by what follows. He says he packed up his goods and gave them into the care of Black Cat and though the people are given to stealing anything that is left about out of doors, they are honorable about property particularly committed to them.

Determining to cross over to the other side of the river, Henry paid his reckoning to Black Cat, giving him sixty rounds of ammunition, four large knives, two awls, one fathom of tobacco, one steel, five flints, a dozen hawk bills, two wormers for guns, and a dozen brass rings. A party of eight young men came over from the other village and ferried them across. In getting the horses over, the young fellows fastened a cord to the lower jaw of the horse and taking the cord in his own teeth, swam the river, a full half mile wide, leading the horse after him. The boats in which Henry and his own party were crossed over, were the ordinary bull boats, consisting of a buffalo hide drawn over a frame of willows. One of the boats[15] is capable of carrying a surprisingly large load; Henry, Mr. Chaboillez, and a lusty Indian, together with two hundred pounds of baggage crossed in a single boat. To propel the boat they used a pole five feet long, split at one end to admit a piece of board two feet long and six inches wide which is lashed to the pole, forming a cross. Every stroke of the paddle turns the vessel almost entirely around, consequently the ferryman strikes on one side, then on the other, keeping his vessel rotating back and forth. Though every effort was made to get directly across the stream they drifted nearly a mile down before reaching the other bank. This was the village of the chief known as the Grand and upon invitation Henry went to his hut to lodge while the rest of the party went to the lodge of the Hairy Horn and they were shown every consideration there. This town seemed also to be the home of Big White, the man who later that year, went to Washington with Lewis and Clarke; he was much offended that Henry lodged with the Grand instead of going to his hut, but Henry made it all right with him by paying him for the accommodation which he did not use. He also

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found Rene Jaussume residing there. He had lived with the Mandans for more than fifteen years and that fall accompanied Lewis and Clarke to Washington as their interpreter for Big White.

While he was there, six Arickara came up from their villages on Grand river, South Dakota, to treat for peace, there having been some bad feeling between the two bands during the preceeding year, notwithstanding the peace treaties cemented by Lewis and Clarke before they left for the coast, during which unpleasantness five Mandans and two Rees had been killed. They were given a big feast and an agreement to be good was entered into. Henry relates that not many years before the Rees and Mandans had lived in friendship together about ninety miles further down the river but a misunderstanding had arisen between them and they had parted, the Rees going down the river to the mouth of Grand river and the Mandans had gone up stream until they had come upon the villages of the Gros Ventres who would not permit any one to build higher up the river than they were. The Mandans were then inclined to retire further down stream but the Gros Ventres rather insisted on their remaining near them, and as the latter were much the more powerful, the Mandans had deemed discretion the better part of valor and had accepted the invitation.

So it was that at this time they were living as very near neighbors, and none too neighborly.

The Mandans, at this time, had about nine hundred lodges. He notes that in the peace conference they, the Rees and Mandans, did not speak the same language but carried on the conference entirely by gestures and had no difficulty whatever in understanding each other.

That evening, a party of about a hundred buffalo hunters returned, each bearing a half a buffalo; they had been gone but twenty-four hours and had found buffalo in great abundance. They were compelled to hunt in large parties to protect themselves from prowling enemies and also to protect the buffalo and keep them from being scared away, as a large party could surround a herd and destroy all of the cattle without communicating fear to other herds. When a hunting expedition was contemplated, all the villages were notified, but the Mandan and Gros Ven-

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tres did not hunt together, but started off in different directions. When the party reached the village the meat was unloaded and carried into the huts of those who secured it. After it had been exposed there for some time, "the ladies of the household" went in and cut it up and shared it with those families who had not sent out hunters or who had been unsuccessful in securing meat. In some instances it happened that so many acquaintances dropped in to be helped that when the distribution was completed not a mouthful remained for the hunter, but the wife good naturedly went out to some hut where they had meat, secured her share and lugged it back home.

The old men and women who had no sons or particular friends to assist them, crept out on the prairie a mile or so to meet the hunters, each of whom cut off a piece of meat for them as they passed by.

He describes their cabins as being circular in form and from a distance looking like a lot of mole hills. They were placed irregularly and so close together that there was only a foot path between them, but they clustered around an open space in the middle of the village which is kept for a sort of public park. He found a constant movement among them from one village to another as some jealousy or unpleasantness grew up or some family dissolved its allegiance to one chief and took up with the protection of another.

He found the Mandans better and more extensive farmers than the Gros Ventres. One of the Mandan chief's huts he found to be ninety feet in diameter, and he describes in great detail the form and manner of construction of the hut and of the enclosed doorway or approach thereto. Of the interior arrangement of the hut he says:

"On entering the first thing that strikes the view is a kind of triangular apartment, always on the left hand and fronting the fire, leaving an open space on the right; this is to hold fire wood in winter. This partition is constructed of square planks about twelve feet high, well calked to keep off the fire; between this partition and the fire is commonly a distance of about five feet, which the master of the hut occupies during the day, seated on a mat made of small willows of equal size, fastened together by threads of their own manufacture, passed through each stick

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about a foot apart. These mats are about ten feet long and four broad, the two ends for about two and one-third feet are raised slanting upon the ground, supported by a kind of sofa, over the mat is spread a kind of buffalo skin; some of these couches are raised a foot off of the ground. Upon this, a Mandan sits all day, receives his friends, smokes, and chats the time away with the greatest dignity. On the left side of the host, begins their range of beds; the master and his favorite wife always occupy the first bed, and his other wives each take a separate one in succession. Next to them comes the young people. All are constructed in the same manner and join each other lengthwise. At the bottom of the hut, fronting the master's seat, stands his medicine stage, which may be called his chief treasure, as it contains everything he values most. The article of most consequence is a pair of bulls heads, which seem to be a great manitou and protection. They are well daubed over with earth, and particular care is taken of them. There are also laid up or rather hung up, his arms, shields, ammunition, scalps, and everything else he most values. Next this stage stand the mortar and pestle fixed firmly in the ground. The rest of the hut from this to the door are vacant during the day, but at night is occupied by the horses. There still remains a large clear space in the center round about the fire for the use of the family. This is generally swept once a day. Fronting the porch, stands a stage eight feet high, twenty feet long and ten feet broad for the purpose of hanging up corn to dry in the fall and to dry meat. These stages have a tolerably good flooring, which in the fall is covered with beans to dry."

He found several children whose hair was perfectly gray, resembling aged people. Their hair was much softer and finer than that of other Indians. He found Gros Ventres with yellow hair, and was of the opinion that it could not have resulted from any connection with the whites as the man was more than forty years old and he states that it was not more than thirty years since the first whites visited the Mandans. Evidently, he had forgotten, or was ignorant of the explorations of the Verendreys sixty years earlier. The eyes of the Indians were not a jet black, but generally a dark brown. The men wore their hair in small "quaittes" hanging down their backs, and upon some it was of enormous

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length, trailing upon the ground. They always daub it with white and red earth but the women wore their hair short.

Their method of roasting their meat was unique. Cutting it in flat pieces, they suspended it by a cord from the roof over the fire and the cook, sitting near by, with a long stick, kept it constantly in motion, whirling about. When one side was done he turned it over and exposed the other to the heat. He found the tribe afflicted with whooping cough, from which many of the children were dying.

On the 21st of July, he with his party, set off for the upper villages and notes passing many plantations, where the women were at work cultivating the gardens with hoes made from the shoulder blades of buffalo, to which a crooked stick was fastened for a handle. He made a short visit at the Saulier village which contained forty huts.

Going up to the Gros Ventres, he found them to be a war-like people, in strong contrast to the pacific character of the Mandans. They were an inquisitive and forward people, crowding about Henry and his party and making all sorts of sport of them and they were particularly amused at the high sounding language the American captains had applied to themselves. They had hordes of rapacious dogs, making it dangerous to stir without a good stout cudgel to keep them off.

He found that the Gros Ventres had a belief that at first the world was entirely covered with water, inhabited by no living creature but a swan, which in some unaccountable way produced a crow, a wolf and a water hen. One day the crow dressed itself out very fine, having daubed herself with red and white earth, particularly her face which was painted in equal portions of these two colors; having thus made her person more agreeable, she visited the wolf and reminded him of their forlorn and pitable condition, surrounded as they were by water, adding how much happier they would be had they but a certain proportion of earth to obtain which she proposed to send the water hen to the bottom to fetch some up. This was accordingly done, and after some time, the water hen returned with a small quantity in her bill. The crow took the earth in her hand, then directed the wolf to sing a certain song; while he was performing with melodious voice and graceful manner, beating time, the crow sprinkled the

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earth around her and instantly the globe was formed and it remains the same to this day. In this state they lived very happily for some time but the crow was restless and wished to better their condition; for this purpose she one day dressed herself, as upon the former occasion, and went to visit the wolf who as usual received her very kindly. She again reminded the wolf of their still deplorable condition, there being no living creature upon the earth but themselves. So she proposed to make Indians, to which end she directed him to sing a particular song, while she beat time with a rattle. After many songs had been sung, the crow by many degress lost her natural form, and assumed that of an Indian.

He found they had no idea of a Supreme Being and denied the existence of such a thing as immortality. Dr. Cous, however, thinks Henry was mistaken in this view.

He accompanied them upon a war expedition against the Sioux in which they claim to have killed three hundred of the enemy. Henry walked out on the battle field and expressed great doubt of the extent of the carnage, believing that no more than thirty were killed.

He mentions that all of their villages were surrounded by stockades, badly kept up and of very little value. Daily he found the young men engaging in foot races for very long distances in order to be prepared for any emergency, particularly if dismounted in war. These daily races were about six miles long. They also were entertained with a horse race, in which practically all of the horsemen of the village engaged, riding pell mell and without any apparent goal in view. He found them much addicted to shooting at a mark with guns, and bows and arrows and observed among the Mandans the young men continually playing a game in which "two persons are each provided with a stick six feet long on which are cut a certain number of *notches an* inch long; in the intervals of which are fixed the same number of small bunches of feathers of divers colors, with three pieces of wood, sixteen inches square, one near each end and one in the middle. These are perforated in the center, and through them is passed the rod, painted of divers colors. Each notch has a particular mark, the nature of which, they, themselves, only understand. Indeed the same may be said of the whole game.

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The ground on which they play is a smooth level place about forty paces long and five broad; the players stand side by side, start from one end of the ground and trot on until they are half way through, then one of them throws the ball gently ahead in such a manner that it will not roll further than the space allowed for the game. At the same time, both players push their rods forward to overtake and keep pace with the ball, but not to check its course. Then then examine the particular notch or bunch of feathers at which the ball stops and count accordingly."

He learned a good deal about their self-mutilation and torture to which they subject themselves, and from which most of the men have lost a joint of each of their several fingers, the amputation being performed as a memorial to some relative. Before a young man can become a brave, he is required to do a penance. He strips entirely naked and repairs to a high hill, a day's journey from the village, in the depth of winter and must remain there as many days as his strength will permit, dancing, bawling, howling. Some of them have been known to remain out seven days in the severest weather. He is then to return to the village at full speed where he is met by a particular friend and for every day he is absent is given a bull's head, to which is fastened one and a half fathoms of cord and this is fastened to an incision in the penitent's back or shoulders made by pinching up a fold of the skin through which is thrust the barb of an arrow. A separate incision must be made for each bull's head. He must then walk through the village, dragging these weights after him. He found that most of the women had their faces tatooed in a most disgusting manner.

Bradbury's Observations. John Bradbury, F. R. S., who with the noted naturalist, Nuttal, Brackenridge, and others, accompanied the Hunt-Astoria Expedition in 1811, tells of his experiences among the Mandans in his book entitled "Travels In the Interior of America," (printed in Liverpool and published in London, 1817).

In the following quotations therefrom, it will be noted that he remarks upon the "brown hair" of a Minnetaree squaw and her child. Also concerning She-he-ke (Shahaska or Big White), the taking of whom through to the states and back in connection with the Lewis and Clarke expedition involved so much trouble.

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114 The observations of Bradbury concerning the Rees may be found in Part I of this paper, (Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., p. 432, et. seq.) Extracts from his book, relative to the Mandans follow:

142 **Brown Hair. Big White.** "28th. (June, 1811.) Having selected some silver ornaments which I proposed to present to She-he-ke, Mr. Brackenridge agreed to accompany me to the Mandan village. We obtained horses from Mr. Lewis for the journey, and about ten o'clock set off. We crossed Knife river at the lower of the Minnetaree villages, and paid the accustomed price to the squaw who ferried us over; for each of us three balls and three charges of powder. Before we left the village, we were invited into the lodge belonging to the White Wolf, one of the chiefs of this village, with whom we smoked. I was surprised to observe that his squaw and one of his children had brown hair, although their skins did not appear to be lighter colored than the rest of the tribe. As the woman appeared to be above forty years of age, it is almost certain that no intercourse had taken place between these people and the whites at the time she was born. I should have been less surprised at the circumstance had they been one of those tribes who change their places of residence; but they have not even a tradition of having resided in any other place than where the present village stands. The White Wolf appeared to be much pleased with our visit, and by signs invited us to call at his lodge whenever we came that way. He shook hands very cordially with us at parting. In our way to the Mandans we passed through the small village belonging to the Ahwahhaways, consisting of not more than eighteen or twenty lodges. This nation can scarcely muster fifty warriors and yet they carry on an offensive war against the Snake and Flathead Indians. On our arrival at the Mandans, She-he-ke, as before, came to the door of his lodge and said, 'Come in house.' We had scarcely entered when he looked earnestly at us, and said, 'whisky.' In this we could not gratify him, as we had not thought of bringing any. I presented the silver ornaments to him, with which he seemed much pleased, and after smoking we were feasted with a dish consisting of jerked buffalo meat, corn and beans boiled together. I mentioned to him my wish to purchase some moccasins, and he sent out into the village to inform the squaws, who flocked into the lodge in such numbers, and with so plentiful a supply, that I could not buy a tenth part. I furnished myself

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with a dozen pairs at a cheap rate, for which I gave a little vermillion, or rather red lead, and a few strings of blue beads. During our stay, She-he-ke, pointing to a little boy in the lodge whom we had not noticed before, gave us to understand that his father was one of the party that accompanied Mr. Lewis, and also indicated the individual. On our return we crossed the Knifé river at the upper village of the Minnetarees. The old squaw who brought the canoe to the opposite side of the river, to fetch us over, was accompanied by three young squaws, apparently about fourteen or fifteen years of age, who came over in the canoe, and were followed by an Indian, who swam over to take care of our horses. When our saddles were taken off, and put into the canoe, Mr. Brackenridge and myself stepped in, and were followed by the old squaw, when the three young squaws instantly stripped, threw their clothes into the canoe, and jumped into the river. We had scarcely embarked before they began to practice on us every mischievous trick they could think of. The slow progress which the canoe made enabled them to swim around us frequently, sometimes splashing us; then seizing hold of the old squaw's paddle, who tried in vain to strike them with it; at other times they would pull the canoe in such a manner as to change the direction of its course; at length they all seized hold of the hind part, and hung to it. The old squaw called to the Indian who was following our horses. He immediately swam down to our assistance, and soon relieved us from our frolicsome tormentors, by plunging them successively over head, and holding them for a considerable time under water. After some time they all made their escape from him, by diving and swimming in different directions. On landing, by way of retaliation, we seized their clothes, which caused much laughing betwixt the squaw and the Indian. We had many invitations to have staid to smoke, but as it was near sunset, and we had seven miles to ride, they excused us." (p. 150-153.)

Brackenridge's Journal. H. M. Brackenridge, who came up the Missouri river with the Hunt-Astoria Expedition in 1811, and whose views on the Aricaras were presented in Part I of this paper, (Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., p. 408, et. seq.), also briefly visited the Mandans, and some of his observations concerning them will now be presented. His travels on that occasion are published in his "Journal of a Voyage up the River Missouri,"

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114 (Coale & Maxwell, Baltimore, 1816), and he also mentions briefly the tribe in his "Views of Louisiana," (Schaeffer & Maund, Balto., 1817.) He was a lawyer of keen observation, given somewhat to philosophical reflections upon the red man. The party reached the Mandan villages July 26, 1811. We quote as follows from his "Voyage," etc.:

Villages. "Wednesday, 26th, (July, 1811.) Continued our
361 voyage through a beautiful country, on both sides of the river. In the afternoon passed by all five of the Mandan villages, which are situated upon high open plains, the village of She-he-ke, divided from the others by a handsome stream. The inhabitants had gathered to the bank to see us, several waded into the water, but returned when we beckoned to them not to approach. The
241 men were generally naked, the women dressed according to their age or quality, from the course elk skin, to the elegant agalia. It was late at night before we reached the fort of the Missouri Company, which is situated above all the villages, and sixteen hundred and forty miles from the mouth of the Missouri, and in latitude 47 degrees, 13 minutes N."

Brackenridge describes the grim spectacle of the aerial sepulcher of the Mandans:

764 **Burial Scaffolds.** "We made several excursions to the villages below, the nearest about six miles off; but as they differ but little from those of the Arikara, I will give no particular description of them. I noticed but one thing as remarkable.

"About two miles on this side of the first village, my attention was attracted by a number of small scaffolds, distributed over several acres of ground on the slope of a hill. I soon discovered that this was a depository of the dead. The scaffolds were raised on forks about ten feet, and were sufficiently wide to contain two bodies; they were in general covered with blue and scarlet cloth, or wrapt in blankets and buffalo robes; we did not approach near enough to examine closely, this frightful Golgotha, or place of human skeletons, but we could see a great number of valuable articles which had been left as offerings to the manes of the deceased. Several crows and magpies were perched upon them; we could not but experience a sensation of horror, when we thought of the attraction which brought these birds to this dismal place. Some of the scaffolds had nearly fallen down, perhaps overturned by the wind, or the effect of decay, and a great num-

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ber of bones were scattered on the ground underneath. This mode of exposing the dead has something peculiarly horrible in it. The wolves of the prairie, the birds of the air, and even the Indian dogs, are attracted to the place, and taught to feed on human flesh. 764

"This custom prevails amongst all the wandering tribes; but amongst the Arikara, the dead are deposited in a grave as with us, which I think clearly proves their origin to be different from that of their neighbors; for there is nothing, in which men in all ages and countries, have manifested more solicitude, than in the treatment of the remains of their deceased friends." 764 171

Le Borgne. Brackenridge's vivid description of the Gros Ventre chief, Le Borgne or the One Eyed, is found below. The two chiefs were present at a celebration had by the whites at the Mandan villages on July 4th. He says: 000

"The two principal chiefs happened to be with us; the One Eyed, and the Black Shoe. The former is a giant in stature, and if his one eye had been placed in the middle of his forehead, he might have passed for a cyclop. His huge limbs and gigantic frame, his bushy hair shading his coarse visage and savage features, with his one eye flashing fire, constituted him a fearful demon. He sways, with unlimited control, all these villages, and is feared by all the neighboring nations. I remarked that on one or two occasions he treated She-he-ke, with great contempt. Lisa having referred to something said by that chief, 'What,' said this monster, 'What. Does that bag of lies pretend to have any authority here?' He is sometimes a cruel and abominable tyrant."

Brackenridge then relates how the ruthless old outlaw murdered a young warrior who came to him to reclaim his wife who had been forcibly taken by that chief in her husband's absence, the mother of the slain warrior having lost her mind in grief over the dastardly act.

Brackenridge adds in a note: "She-he-ke is a fat man, extremely talkative, and no great warrior."

In his "Views of Louisiana," Brackenridge thus summarizes as to the tribes at the Mandan villages: 361

"Mandans, or Gros Ventres—The remnants of a number of villages, according to their account, seventeen. They claim only

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361 the small portion of country which they actually occupy; in this, resembling the Arikaras. They still consist of seven villages, five of Gros Ventres, and two of Mandans, in the distance of about fifteen miles. They are generally on good terms with each other, but at present there exist considerable dissensions and even open [191] rupture. There is not the least affinity in their languages but the Gros Ventres is spoken by all the Mandans. According to the tradition of these last, who were originally of the Crow nation, owing to a quarrel between two chiefs, over the carcass of a buffalo which they had slain, a separation took place of the followers of each."

His estimate of the space comprised in the general group of those villages, as above, is too large, as it was probably not more that about nine miles between their extremes. He was also probably in error in regarding the Gros Ventres as originally Crows—it would perhaps be nearer historical fact to say that part of them had, about the time of their arrival from eastward, joined the Crows. This point is not entirely clear, however.

000 **Catlin's Account of Mandans.** George Catlin, whose observations upon the Aricaras were brought out in Part I of this paper (S. D. Hist. Coll., Vol. 3, pp. 490-3), now comes in for consideration in order of time, in his more detailed treatment of the Mandans in many phases of their character. The space herein allotted to his very interesting description and deductions relative to that tribe, is believed to be justified, in view of the generally admitted fact that of all the visitors among and students of this most interesting tribe of Indians, none have written of them in strains so attractive as did he; while we believe that his exhaustive descriptions of their customs and their traditions concerning their religious ceremonies, including also their Flood legends, constituting undoubted classics, are instructive in a high degree, so much so that there seems to be but one way of presenting his impressions and conclusions in order to do him and the subject in hand justice, viz., by quoting his own language at every step, with but few deviations from that course. No attempt to summarize his views could result otherwise than in a garbling process which must be nothing short of unfair and sadly ineffectual in bringing before the reader or student what Catlin saw and

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learned of that tribe while among them under very favorable circumstances for gaining close knowledge of them. 000

He visited them in 1833; and we quote from his exceedingly valuable and well-known work upon "North American Indians," (Vol. I), in the third edition, published by Tilt and Bogue, London, 1842. His narratives follow:

Peculiar Race. "The Mandans, (or See-pohs-kah-nu-mah-kah-kee, 'people of the pheasants,' as they call themselves), are perhaps one of the most ancient tribes of Indians in our country. Their origin, like that of all the other tribes is from necessity, involved in mystery and obscurity. Their traditions and peculiarities I shall casually recite in this or future epistles, which, when understood, will at once, I think, denominate them a peculiar and distinct race. They take great pride in relating their traditions, with regard to their origin, contending that they were the first people created on earth. Their existence in these regions has been from a very ancient period; and, from what I could learn from other traditions, they have, at a former period, been a very numerous and powerful nation; but by the continual wars which have existed between them and their neighbors, they have been reduced to their present numbers." (Vol. 1, p. 80.)

As seen below, Catlin states that the two Mandan villages were, in 1833, both on the west side of the Missouri. This is accounted for by the fact that after Lewis and Clarke and others who were there early in the nineteenth century had visited them, the upper of the two villages had been flanked on the east side by the changed course of the river, which had formerly passed close to it on the west side. A map published by Wheeler in his "Trail of Lewis and Clarke," (opposite page 270), shows this change in the course of the river, and while Catlin says the two villages were 'about two miles distant from each other,' we have seen that they were really about three miles apart, which is the distance given on Wheeler's map. The river turns from south to east in its course between the two villages, so that the upper village is a little north of due west from the lower one. He also says that these were formerly ten, instead of nine villages, and that they were located fifteen or twenty, instead of eighty miles down the river.

Mandan Villages. "This tribe is at present located on the west

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000 bank of the Missouri, about 1800 miles above St. Louis, and 200 below the mouth of Yellowstone river. They have two villages only, which are about two miles distant from each other; and number in all (as near as I can learn), about 2000 souls. Their present villages are beautifully located, and judiciously also, for defense against the assaults of their enemies. The site of the lower (or principal) town, in particular, is one of the most beautiful and pleasing that can be seen in the world, and even more beautiful than imagination could ever create. In the very midst of an extensive valley (embraced within a thousand graceful swells and parapets or mounds of interminable green changing to blue, as they vanish in the distance), is built the city, or principal town of the Mandans. On an extensive plain (which is covered with a green turf, as well as the hills and dales, as far as the eye can possibly range, without tree or brush to be seen) are to be seen rising from the ground, and towards the heavens, domes, (not 'of gold,') but of dirt, and the thousand spears (not 'spires') and scalp-poles, etc., etc., of the semi-subterraneous village of the hospitable and gentlemanly Mandans.

"These people formerly (and within the recollection of many of their oldest men) lived fifteen or twenty miles further down the river, in ten contiguous villages; the marks or ruins of which are yet plainly to be seen. At that period, it is evident, as well as from the number of lodges which their villages contain, as from their traditions, that their numbers were much greater than at the present day."

Mound Builders. "There are other, and very interesting, traditions and historical facts relative to a still prior location and condition of these people, of which I shall speak more fully on a future occasion. From these, when they are promulged, I think there may be a pretty fair deduction drawn, that they formerly occupied the lower part of the Missouri, and even the Ohio and Muskingum, and have gradually made their way up the Missouri to where they now are. There are many remains on the river below this place (and, in fact, to be seen nearly as low down as St. Louis), which show clearly the peculiar construction of Mandan lodges, and consequently carry strong proof of the above position. While descending the river, however, which I shall

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commence in a few weeks, in a canoe, this will be a subject of interest; and I shall give it close examination." 000

Ditch—Palisade. "The ground on which the Mandan village is at present built, was admirably selected for defense; being on a bank forty or fifty feet above the bed of the river. The greater part of this bank is nearly perpendicular, and of solid rock. The river, suddenly changing its course to a right-angle, protects two sides of the village, which is built upon this promontory or angle; they have therefore but one side to protect, which is effectually done by a strong piquet, and a ditch inside it, of three or four feet in depth. The piquet is composed of timbers of a foot or more in diameter, and eighteen feet in height, set firmly in the ground at sufficient distances from each other to admit of guns and other missiles to be fired between them. The ditch (unlike that of civilized modes or fortifications) is inside of the piquet, in which their warriors screen their bodies from the view and weapons of their enemies, whilst they are re-loading and discharging their weapons through the piquet."

Lodges. "The Mandans are undoubtedly secure in their villages, from the attacks of any Indian nation, and have nothing to fear, except when they meet their enemy on the prairie. Their village has a most novel appearance to the eye of a stranger; their lodges are closely grouped together, having but just room enough for walking and riding between them; and appear from without, to be entirely built of dirt; but one is surprised when he enters them, to see the neatness, comfort, and spacious dimensions of these earth-covered dwellings. They all have a circular form, and are from forty to sixty feet in diameter. Their foundations are prepared by digging some two feet in the ground, and forming the floor of earth, by levelling the requisite size for the lodge. These floors or foundations are all perfectly circular, and varying in size in proportion to the number of inmates, or of the quality or standing of the families which are to occupy them. The superstructure is then produced, by arranging, inside of this circular excavation, firmly fixed in the ground and resting against the bank, a barrier or wall of timbers, some eight or nine inches in diameter, of equal height (about six feet) placed on end, and resting against each other, supported by a formidable embankment of earth raised against them outside; then, resting upon the

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ood tops of these timbers or piles, are others of equal size and equal in numbers, of twenty or twenty-five feet in length, resting firmly against each other, and sending their upper or smaller ends towards the center and top of the lodge; rising at an angle of forty-five degrees to the apex or sky-light, which is about three or four feet in diameter, answering as a chimney and a sky-light at the same time. The roof of the lodge being thus formed, is supported by beams passing around the inner part of the lodge about the middle of these poles or timbers, and themselves upheld by four or five large posts passing down to the floor of the lodge. On the top of, and over the poles forming the roof, is placed a complete mat of willow boughs, of half a foot or more in thickness, which protects the timbers from the dampness of the earth with which the lodge is covered from bottom to top, to the depth of two or three feet; and then with a hard or tough clay, which is impervious to water, and which with long use becomes quite hard, and a lounging place for the whole family in pleasant weather—for sage—for wooing lovers—for dogs and all; an airing place—a lookout—a place for gossip and mirth—a seat for the solitary gaze and meditations of the stern warrior, who sits and contemplates the peaceful mirth and happiness that is breathed beneath him, fruits of his hard fought battles, on fields of desperate combat with bristling red men.

"The floors of these dwellings are of earth, but so hardened by use, and swept so clean, and tracked by bare and moccassined feet, that they have almost a polish, and would scarcely soil the whitest linen. In the center, and immediately under the sky-light is the fireplace—a hole of four or five feet in diameter, of a circular form, sunk a foot or more below the surface, and curbed around with stone. Over the fireplace, and suspended from the apex of diverging props or poles, is generally seen the pot or kettle, filled with buffalo meat; and around it are the family, reclining in the most picturesque attitudes and groups, resting on their buffalo robes and beautiful mats of rushes. These cabins are so spacious, that they hold from twenty to forty persons—a family and all their connections. They all sleep on bedsteads similar in form to ours, but generally not quite so high; made of round poles rudely lashed together with thongs. A buffalo skin, fresh stripped from the animal, is stretched across

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the bottom poles, and about two feet from the floor; which when it dries, becomes much contracted, and forms a perfect sacking bottom. The fur side of this skin is placed uppermost, on which they lie with great comfort, with a buffalo robe folded up for a pillow, and others drawn over them instead of blankets. These beds, as far as I have seen them (and I have visited almost every lodge in the village), are uniformly screened with a covering of buffalo or elk skins, oftentimes beautifully dressed and placed over the upright poles or frame, like a suit of curtains; leaving a hole in front, sufficiently spacious for the occupant to pass in and out, to and from his or her bed. Some of these coverings or curtains are exceedingly beautiful, being cut tastefully into fringe, and handsomely ornamented with porcupine's quills and picture writings on hieroglyphics."

Arms and Armor. "From the great number of inmates in these lodges, they are necessarily very spacious, and the number of beds considerable. It is no uncommon thing to see these lodges fifty feet in diameter inside (which is an immense room), with a row of these curtained beds extending quite around their sides, being some ten or twelve of them, placed four or five feet apart, and the space between them occupied by a large post, fixed quite firm in the ground, and six or seven feet high, with large wooden pegs or bolts in it, on which are hung and grouped, with a wild and startling taste, the arms and armor of the respective proprietor; consisting of his whitened shield, embossed and emblazoned with the figure of his protecting medicine (or mystery), his bow and quiver, his war club or battle-axe, his dart or javelin, his tobacco pouch and pipe, his medicine bag, and his eagle, ermine or raven head-dress; and over all, and on top of the post (as if placed by some conjuror or Indian magician, to guard and protect the spell of wildness that reigns in this strange place), stands forth in full relief the head and horns of a buffalo, which is by a village regulation, owned and possessed by every man in the nation, and hung at the head of his bed, which he uses as a mask when called upon by the chiefs, to join in the buffalo dance, of which I shall say more in a future epistle.

"This arrangement of beds, of arms, etc., combining the most vivid display and arrangement of colors, of furs, of trinkets, of barbed and glistening points and steel, of mysteries and hocus

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pocus, together with the somber and smoked color of the roof and sides of the lodge; and the wild and rude and red—the graceful (though uncivil) conversational, garrulous, story-telling, and happy, though ignorant and untutored groups, that are smoking their pipes—wooing ther sweethearts, and embracing their little ones about their peaceful and endeared firesides; together with their pots and spoons and other culinary articles of their own manufacture, around them; present altogether one of the most picturesque scenes to the eye of a stranger, that can be possibly seen; and far more wild and vivid than could ever be imagined."

Garrulous and Happy. "Reader, I say these people were garrulous, story-telling and happy; this is true, and literally so; and it belongs to me to establish the fact, and correct the error which seems to have gone forth to the world on this subject. As I have before observed, there is no subject that I know of, within the scope and reach of human wisdom, on which the civilized world in this enlightened age are more incorrectly informed, than upon that of the true manners and customs, and moral condition, rights and abuses, of the North American Indians; and that, as I have also before remarked, chiefly on account of the difficulty of our cultivating a fair and honorable acquaintance with them, and doing them the justice, and ourselves the credit, of a fair and impartial investigation of their true character. The present age of refinement and research has brought every thing else that I know of (and a vast deal more than the most enthusiastic mind ever dreamed of), within the scope and fair estimation of refined intellect and of science; while the wild and timid savage, with his interesting customs and modes has vanished, or his character has become changed, at the approach of the enlightened and intellectual world; who follow him like a phantom for a while, and in ignorance of his true character at last turn back to the common business and social transactions of life.

"Owing to the above difficulties, which have stood in the way, the world has fallen into many egregious errors with regard to the true modes and meaning of the savage, which I am striving to set forth and correct in the course to these epistles. And amongst them all, there is none more common nor more entirely erroneous, nor more easily refuted, than the current one, that 'the Indian is a sour, morose, reserved and taciturn man.' I have

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heard this opinion advanced a thousand times, and I believed it; but such certainly, is not uniformly nor generally the case.

"I have observed in all my travels amongst the Indian tribes, and more particularly amongst these unassuming people, that they are far more talkative and conversational race than can easily be seen in the civilized world. This assertion, like many others I shall occasionally make, will somewhat startle the folks of the east, yet it is true. No one can look into the wigwams of these people, or into any little momentary group of them, without being at once struck with the conviction that small-talk, gossip, garrulity, and story-telling are the leading passions with them, who have little else to do in the world, but to while away their lives in the innocent amusement of the exercise of those talents with which nature has liberally endowed them, for their mirth and enjoyment.

"One has but to walk or ride about this little town and its environs for a few hours in a pleasant day, and overlook the numerous games and gambols, where their notes and yelps of exultation are unceasingly vibrating in the atmosphere; or peep in to the wigwams (and watch the glistening fun that's beaming from the noses, cheeks and chins, of the crouching, cross-legged, and prostrate groups around the fire; where the pipe is passed, and jokes and anecdote, and laughter are excessive) to become convinced that it is natural to laugh and be merry. Indeed it would be strange if a race of people like these, who have little else to do or relish in life, should be curtailed in that source of pleasure and amusement; and it would be also strange, if a lifetime of indulgence and practice in so innocent and productive a mode of amusement, free from the cares and anxieties of business or professions, should not advance them in their modes, and enable them to draw far greater pleasure from such sources, than we in the civilized and business world can possibly feel. If the uncultured condition of their minds curtails the number of their enjoyments, yet they are free from, and independent of, a thousand cares and jealousies, which arise from mercenary motives in the civilized world; and are yet far ahead of us (in my opinion) in the real and uninterrupted enjoyment of their simple natural faculties.

"They live in a country and in communities, where it is not

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ooo customary to look forward into the future with concern, for they live without incurring the expenses of life, which are absolutely necessary and unavoidable in the enlightened world; and of course their inclinations and faculties are solely directed to the enjoyment of the present day, without the sober reflections on the past or apprehensions of the future.

"With minds thus unexpanded and uninfluenced by the thousand passions and ambitions of civilized life, it is easy and natural to concentrate their thoughts and conversation upon the little and trifling occurrences of their lives. They are fond of fun and good cheer, and can laugh easily and heartily at a slight joke, of which their peculiar modes of life furnish them an inexhaustible fund, and enable them to cheer their little circle about the wigwam fireside with endless laughter and garrulity.

"It may be thought, that I am taking a great deal of pains to establish this fact, and I am dwelling longer upon it than I otherwise should, inasmuch as I am opposing an error that seems to have become current through the world; and which, if it be once corrected, removes a material difficulty, which has always stood in the way of a fair and just estimation of the Indian character. For the purpose of placing the Indian in a proper light before the world, as I hope to do in many respects, it is of importance to me—it is but justice to the savage—and justice to my readers also, that such points should be cleared up as I proceed; and for the world who inquire for correct and just information, they must take my words for the truth, or else come to this country and look for themselves, into these protesque circles of never-ending laughter and fun, instead of going to Washington city to gaze on the poor embarrassed Indian who is called there by his 'Great Father,' to contend with the sophistry of the learned and inquisitive world, in bartering away his lands with the graves and the hunting grounds of his ancestors. There is not the proper place to study the Indian character; yet it is the place where the sycophant and the scribbler go to gaze and frown upon him—to learn his character, and write his history, and because he does not speak, and quaffs the delicious beverage which he receives from white men's hand, 'he is a speechless brute and drunkard.' An Indian is a begger in Washington city, and a white man is almost equally so in the Mandan village. An Indian in Washington is mute, is

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dumb and embarrassed; and so is a white man (and for the very same reasons) in this place—he has nobody to talk to.

"A wild Indian, to reach the civilized world, must needs travel some thousands of miles in vehicles of conveyance, to which he is unaccustomed—through latitudes and longitudes which are new to him—living on food that he is unused to—stared and gazed at by the thousands and tens of thousands whom he cannot talk to—his heart grieving and his body sickening at the exhibition of white men's wealth and luxuries, which are enjoyed on the laud, and over the bones of his ancestors. And at the end of his journey he stands (like a caged animal) to be scanned—to be criticised—to be pitied—and heralded to the world as a mute—as a brute, and a beggar."

White Men Liars. "A white man, to reach this village, must travel by steam boat—by canoes—on horseback and on foot—swim rivers—wade quagmires—fight mosquitoes—patch his moccasins, and patch them again and again, and his breeches; live on meat alone—sleep on the ground the whole way, and think and dream of his friends he has left behind; and when he gets here, half-starved, and half-naked, and more than half sick, he finds himself a beggar for a place to sleep, and for something to eat; a mute amongst thousands who flock about him, to look and to criticise, and to laugh at him for his jaded appearance, and speak of him as they do of all white men (without distinction) as liars. These people are in the habit of seeing no white men in their country but traders, and know of no other; deeming us all alike, and receiving us all under the presumption that we come to trade or barter; applying to us all, indiscriminately, the epithet of 'liar' or traders.

"The reader will therefore see, that we mutually suffer in each other's estimation from the unfortunate ignorance, which distance has chained us in; and (as I can vouch, and the Indian also, who has visited the civilized world) that the historian who would record justly and correctly the character and customs of a people, must go and live among them. (Vol. 1, p. 86.)

(From Caltin's second letter on the Mandans, p. 87.)

"In my last, I gave some account of the village, and the customs, and appearances of this strange people—and I will now proceed to give further details on that subject:"

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000 **Lodge Roofs.** "I have this morning, perched myself upon the top of one of the earth-covered lodges, which I have before described, and having the whole village beneath and about me, with its sachems—its warriors—its dogs—and its horses in motion—its medicines (or mysteries) and scalp poles waiving over my head—its piquets—its green fields and prairies, and rivers in full view, with the din and bustle of the thrilling panorama that is about me. I shall be able, I hope, to give some sketches more to the life than I could have done from any effort of recollection.

"I said that the lodges or wigwams were covered with earth—were forty or sixty feet in diameter, and so closely grouped that there was but just room enough to walk and ride between them— that they had a door by which to enter them, and a hole in the top for the admission of light, and for the smoke to escape—that the inmates were at times grouped upon their tops in conversations and other amusements, etc., and yet you know not exactly how they look, nor what is the precise appearance of the strange world that is about me. There is really a newness and rudeness in every thing that is to be seen. There are several hundred houses or dwellings about me, and they are purely unique—they are all covered with dirt—the people are all red, and yet distinct from all other red folks I have seen. The horses are wild—every dog is a wolf—the whole moving mass are strangers to me; the living, in everything, carry an air of intractable wildness about them, and the dead are not buried but dried upon scaffolds.

"The groups of lodges around me present a very curious and pleasing appearance, resembling in shape (more nearly than anything else I can compare them) to so many potash-kettles inverted. On the tops of these are to be seen groups standing and reclining, whose wild and picturesque appearance would be difficult to describe. Stern warriors, like statues, standing in dignified groups, wrapped in their painted robes, with their heads decked and plumed with quills of the war-eagle; extending their long arms to the east or west, the scenes of their battles, which they are recounting over to each other. In another direction, the wooing lover softening the heart of his fair taih-nah-tai-a with the notes of his simple lute. On other lodges, and beyond these, groups are engaged in games of the 'moccasin' or the 'platter.'

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Some are to be seen manufacturing robes and dresses, and others, fatigued with amusements or occupations, have stretched their limbs to enjoy the luxury of sleep, whilst basking in the sun. With all this wild and varied medley of living beings are mixed their dogs, which seem to be so near an Indian's heart, as almost to constitute a material link of his existence." 000

Village Common—"Big Canoe." "In the center of the village is an open space, or public area, of 150 feet in diameter, and circular in form, which is used for all public games and festivals, shows and exhibitions; and also for their 'annual religious ceremonies,' which are soon to take place, and of which I shall hereafter give some account. The lodges around this open space front in, with their doors towards the center; and in the middle of this circle stands an object of great religious veneration, as I am told, on account of the importance it has in the conduction of those annual religious rites.

"This object is in the form of a large hogshead, some eight or ten feet high, made of planks and hoops, containing within it some of their choicest medicines or mysteries, and religiously preserved unbacked or scratched, as a symbol of the 'Big Canoe,' as they call it."

Medicine Lodge—The Flood. "One of the lodges fronting on this circular area, and facing this strange object of their superstition, is called the 'Medicine Lodge,' or council house. It is in this sacred building that these wonderful ceremonies, in commemoration of the flood, take place. I am told by the traders that the cruelties of these scenes are frightful and abhorent in the extreme; and that this huge wigwam, which is now closed, has been built exclusively for this grand celebration. I am every day reminded of the near approach of the season for this grand affair, and as I have not yet seen anything of it, I cannot describe it; I know it only from the relations of the traders who have witnessed parts of it; and their descriptions are of so extraordinary a character, that I would not be willing to describe until I can see for myself—which will, in all probability, be in a few days.

"In ranging the eye over the village from where I am writing, there is presented to the view the strangest mixture and medley of unintelligible trash (independent of the living beings that are in motion), that can possibly be imagined. On the roofs of the

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000 lodges, besides the groups of living, are buffalos' skins, skin canoes, pots and pottery; sleds and sledges—and suspended on poles, erected some twenty feet above the doors of their wigwams, are displayed on a pleasant day, the scalps of warriors preserved as trophies; and thus proudly exposed as evidence of their warlike deeds. In other parts are raised on poles the warriors pure and whitened shields and quivers, with medicine bags attached; and here and there a sacrifice of red cloth, or other costly stuff, offered up to the Great Spirit, over the door of some benignant chief, in humble gratitude for the blessings which he is enjoying. Such is a part of the strange medley that is before and around me; and amidst them and the blue streams of smoke that are rising from the tops of these hundred 'coal-pits,' can be seen in distance, the green and boundless, treeless, bushless prairie; and on it and contiguous to the piquet which encloses the village, a hundred scaffolds, on which their 'dead live,' as they term it."

Burial Scaffolds. "These people never bury the dead, but place the bodies on slight scaffolds just above the reach of human hands, and out of the way of wolves and dogs; and they are there left to moulder and decay. This cemetery, or place of deposit for the dead, is just back of the village, on a level prairie; and with all its appearances, history, forms, ceremonies, etc., is one of the strangest and most interesting objects to be described in the vicinity of this peculiar race.

"Whenever a person dies in the Mandan village, and the customary honors and condolence are paid to his remains, and the body dressed in its best attire, painted, oiled, feasted, and supplied with bow and quiver, shield, pipe and tobacco—knife, flint and steel, and provisions enough to last him a few days on the journey which he is to perform; a fresh buffalo's skin, just taken from the animal's back, is wrapped around the body, and tightly bound and wound with thongs of rawhide from head to foot. Then other robes are soaked in water, till they are quite soft and elastic, which are also bandaged around the body in the same manner, and tied fast with thongs, which are wound with great care and exactness, so as to exclude the action of the air from all parts of the body.

"There is then a separate scaffold erected for it, constructed of four up-right poles, a little higher than human hands can

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reach; and the tops of these, are small poles passing around from one post to the other ; across which a number of willow rods just strong enough to support the body, which is laid upon them on its back, with its feet carefully presented towards the rising sun.

"There are a great number of these bodies resting exactly in a similar way; excepting in some instances where a chief, or medicine man, may be seen with a few yards of scarlet or blue cloth spread over his remains, as a mark of public respect and esteem. Some hundreds of these bodies may be seen reposing in this manner in this curious place, which the Indians call, 'the village of the dead;' and the traveler, who visits this country to study and learn, will not only be struck with the novel appearance of the scene, but if he will give attention to the respect and devotions that are paid to this sacred place, he will draw many a moral deduction that will last him through life; he will learn, at least, that filial, conjugal, and paternal affection are not necessarily the results of civilization, but that the Great Spirit had given them to man in his native state; and that the spices and improvements of the enlightened world have never refined upon them."

Grief for the Dead. "There is not a day in the year in which one may not see in this place evidences of this fact, that will wring tears from his eyes, and kindle in his bosom a spark of respect and sympathy for the poor Indian, if he never felt it before. Fathers, mothers, wives and children, may be seen lying under these scaffolds, prostrated upon the ground, with their faces in the dirt, howling forth incessantly the most piteous and heart-broken cries and lamentations for the misfortunes of their kindred; tearing their hair—cutting their flesh with their knives, and doing other penance to appease the spirits of the dead, whose misfortunes they attribute to some sin or omission of their own, for which they sometimes inflict the most excruciating self-torture."

"Golgatha" Circles. "When the scaffolds on which the bodies rest, decay and fall to the ground, the nearest relations having buried the rest of the bones, take the skulls, which are perfectly bleached and purified, and place them in circles of a hundred or more on the prairie—placed at equal distances apart (some eight or nine inches from each other), with the faces all looking to

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the center; where they are religiously protected and preserved in their precise positions from year to year, as objects of religious and affectionate veneration.*

"There are several of these 'Golgothas' or circles of twenty or thirty feet in diameter, and in the center of each ring or circle is a little mound of three feet high, on which uniformly rest two buffalo skulls (a male and female); in the center of the little mound is erected a 'medicine pole,' about twenty feet high, supporting many curious articles of mystery and superstition, which they suppose have the power of guarding and protecting this sacred arrangement. Here then, to this strange place do these people again resort, to evince their further affections for the dead—not in groans and lamentations however, for several years have cured the anguish; but fond affections and endearments are here renewed, and conversations are here held and cherished with the dead.

"Each one of these skulls is placed upon a bunch of wild sage, which has been pulled and placed under it. The wife knows (by some mark or resemblance) the skull of her husband or her child, which lies in this group; and there seldom passes a day that she does not visit it, with a dish of the best cooked food that her wigwam affords, which she sets before the skull at night, and returns for the dish in the morning. As soon as it is discovered that the sage on which the skull rests is beginning to decay, the woman cuts a fresh bunch, and places the skull carefully upon it, removing that which was under it.

"Independent of the above named duties, which draw the women to this spot, they visit it from inclination, and linger upon it to hold converse and company with the dead. There is scarcely an hour in a pleasant day, but more or less of these women may be seen sitting or lying by the skull of their child or husband—talking to it in the most pleasant and endearing language that they can use (as they were wont to do in former days) and seemingly getting an answer back. It is not infrequently the case, that the woman brings her needle-work with her, spending the greater part of the day, sitting by the side of the skull of her child, chatting incessantly with it, while she is embroidering or garnishing a pair of moccasins; and perhaps overcome with fatigue, falls asleep, with her arms encircled around it, forgetting

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herself for hours; after which she gathers up her things and returns to the village.

"There is something exceedingly interesting and impressive in these scenes, which are so strikingly dissimilar, and yet within a few rods of each other; the one is the place where they pour forth the frantic anguish of their souls—and afterwards pay their visits to the other, to jest and gossip with the dead.

"The great variety of shapes and characters exhibited in these groups or crania, render them a very interesting study for the craniologist and phrenologist; but I apprehend that it would be a matter of great difficulty (if not of impossibility) to procure them at this time, for the use and benefit of the scientific world." (Vol. 1, pp. 87-91.)

In his next letter or chapter Catlin gives some interesting pen pictures of individual Mandan chiefs. Referring to the subject of their customs as having already been dwelt upon to some extent to be taken up in other phases later on, he says:

Mandan Chiefs. "I drop them and introduce a few of the wild and gentlemanly Mandans themselves; and first, Ha-na-tah-nu-mauh, the wolf chief. This man is head chief of the nation, and familiarly known by the name of 'Chief de Loup,' as the French traders call him; a haughty, austere and overbearing man, respected and feared by his people rather than loved. The tenure by which this man holds his office, is that by which the head chiefs of most of the tribes claim, that of inheritance. It is a general, though not an infallible rule amongst the numerous tribes of North American Indians, that the office of chief belongs to the eldest son of a chief; provided he shows himself, by his conduct, to be equally worthy of it as any other in the nation; making it hereditary on a very proper condition—in default of which requisites, or others which may happen, the office is elective.

"The dress of this chief is one of great extravagance, and some beauty; manufactured of skins, and a great number of quills of the raven, forming his stylish head-dress.

"The next and second chief of the tribe, is Mah-to-toh-pa (the four bears.) This extraordinary man, though second in office, is undoubtedly the first and most popular man in the nation. Free, generous, elegant and gentlemanly in his deportment—

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000 handsome, brave and valiant; wearing a robe on his back, with the history of his battles emblazoned on it; which would fill a book of themselves, if properly translated. This, readers, is the most extraordinary man, perhaps, who lives at this day, in the atmosphere of nature's noblemen; and I shall certainly tell you more of him anon.

"After him, there are Mah-tahp-ta-ha, he who rushes through the middle; Seehk-hee-da, the mouse colored feather; Sam-ja-ka-ko-kah, (the deceiving wolf); Mah-to-he-ha, (the old bear), and others, distinguished as chiefs and warriors—and there are belles also; such as Mi-neek-e-sunk-te-ca, the mink; and the little gray-haired Sha-ko-ka, mint; and fifty others who are famous for their conquests, not with the bow or the javelin, but with their small black eyes, which shoot out from under their unfledged brows, and pierce the boldest, fiercest chieftian to the heart."

Peaceable—Prosperous—Polite. "The Mandans are certainly a very interesting and pleasing people in their personal appearance and manners; differing in many respects, both in looks and customs, from all other tribes which I have seen. They are not a war-like people; for they seldom, if ever, carry war into their enemies' country; but when invaded, show their valor and courage to be equal to that of any people on earth. Being a small tribe, and unable to contend on the wide prairies with the Sioux and other roaming tribes, who are ten times more numerous; they have very judiciously located themselves in a permanent village which is strongly fortified, and insures their preservation. By this means they have advanced further in the arts of manufacture; have supplied their lodges more abundantly with the comforts, and even luxuries of life, than any Indian nation I know of. The consequence of this is, that this tribe have taken many steps ahead of other tribes in manners and refinements (if I may be allowed to apply the word refinement to Indian life); and are therefore familiarly (and correctly) denominated, by the traders and others, who have been amongst them, 'the polite and friendly Mandans.'

"There is certainly great justice in the remark; and so forcibly have I been struck with the peculiar ease and elegance of these people, together with the diversity of complexions, the various colors of their hair and eyes; the singularity of their language,

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and their peculiar and unaccountable customs, that I am fully convinced that they have sprung from some other origin than that of the other North American tribes, or that they are an amalgam of natives with some civilized race." 000

Are They "Savages?" "Here arises a question of very great interest and importance for discussion and, after further familiarity with their character, customs, and traditions, if I forget it not, I will eventually give it further consideration. Suffice it then, for the present, that their personal appearance alone, independent to their modes and customs, pronounces them at once as more or less, than savage."

Light Complexion. "A stranger in the Mandan village is first struck with the different shades of complexions, and various colors of hair which he sees in a crowd about him; and is at once almost disposed to exclaim 'that these are not Indians.'

"There are a great many of these people whose complexions appear as light as half breeds; and amongst the women particularly, there are many whose skins are almost white, with the most pleasing symmetry and proportion of features; with hazel, with gray, and with blue eyes, with mildness and sweetness of expression, and excessive modesty of demeanor, which render them excedingly pleasing and beautiful."

"Half White." "Why this diversity of complexion I cannot tell, nor can they themselves account for it. Their traditions, as far as I have yet learned them, afford us no information of their having had any knowledge of white men before the visit of Lewis and Clarke, made to their village thirty-three years ago. Since that time there have but very few visits from white men to this place, and surely not enough to have changed the complexions and the customs of a nation. And I recollect perfectly well that Governor Clarke told me, before I started for this place, that I would find the Mandans a strange people and half white."

Hair. "The diversity in color of the hair is also equally as great as that in complexion; for in a numerous group of these people (and more particularly amongst the females, who never take pains to change its natural color, as the men often do,) there may be seen every shade and color of hair that can be seen in our own country, with the exception of red or auburn, which is not to be found.

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000 "And there is yet one more strange and unaccountable peculiarity, which can probably be seen no where else on earth; nor on any rational grounds accounted for, other than that it is a freak or order of nature, for which she has not seen fit to assign a reason. There are very many, of both sexes, and of every age, from infancy and to manhood and old age, with hair of a bright silvery grey; and in most instances almost perfectly white.

"This singular and eccentric appearance is much oftener seen among the women than it is with the men; for many of the latter who have it, seem ashamed of it, and artfully conceal it, by filling their hair with glue and black and red earth. The women, on the other hand, seem proud of it and display it often in an almost incredible profusion, which spreads over their shoulders and falls as low as the knee. I have ascertained, on a careful inquiry, that about one in ten or twelve of the whole tribe are what the French call 'cheveux gris,' or greyhairs; and that this strange and unaccountable phenomenon is not the result of disease or habit; but that it is unquestionably a hereditary character which runs in families, and indicates unequality in disposition or intellect. And by passing this hair through my hands, as I often have, I have found it uniformly to be as course and harsh as a horse's mane; differing materially from the hair of other colors, which amongst the Mandans, is generally as fine and soft as silk. The reader will at once see, by the above facts, that there is enough upon the faces and heads of these people to stamp them peculiar, when he meets them in the heart of this almost boundless wilderness, presenting such diversities of color in the complexion and hair; when he knows from what he has seen, and what he had read, that all other primitive tribes known in America, are dark copper-colored, with jet black hair.

"From these few facts alone, the reader will see that I am amongst a strange and interesting people, and know how to pardon me, if I lead him through a maze of novelty and mysteries to the knowledge of a strange, yet kind and hospitable people, whose fate, like that of all their race is sealed; whose doom is fixed, to live just long enough to be imperfectly known, and then to fall before the fell disease or sword of civilizing devastation."

Stature—Plaited Hair. "The stature of the Mandans is rather below the ordinary size of man, with beautiful symmetry of form

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and proportion, and wonderful suppleness and elasticity. They are pleasingly erect and graceful, both in their walk and their attitudes; and the hair of the men, which generally spreads over their backs, falling down to the hams, and sometimes to the ground, is divided into plaits or slabs of two inches in width, and filled with a profusion of glue and red earth or vermillion, at intervals of an inch or two, which becoming very hard, remains in an unchanged state from year to year.

"This mode of dressing the hair is curious, and gives to the Mandans the most singular appearance. The hair of the men is uniformly all laid over from the forehead backwards; carefully kept above and resting on the ear, and thence falling down over the back, in these flattened bunches, and painted red, extending oftimes quite on to the calf of the leg, and sometimes in such profusion as almost to conceal the whole figure from the person walking behind them. In the portrait of San-jaka-ko-kah (the deceiving wolf), where he is represented at full length, with several others of his family around him in a group, there will be seen a fair illustration of these and other customs of these people.

"The hair of the women is also worn as long as they can possibly cultivate it, oiled very often, which preserves on it a beautiful gloss and shows its natural color. They often braid it in two large plaits, one falling down just back of the ear, on each side of the head; and on any occasion which requires them to 'put on their best looks,' they pass their fingers through it, drawing it out of braid, and spreading it over their shoulders.

"The Mandan women observe strictly the same custom which I observed amongst the Crows and Blackfeet (and, in fact, all other tribes I have seen, without a single exception) of parting the hair on the forehead, and always keep the crease or separation filled with vermillion or other red paint. This is one of the very few little, and apparently trivial, customs which I have found amongst the Indians, without being able to assign any cause for it other than that 'they are Indians' and that this is an Indian fashion.

"In mourning, like the Crows and most other tribes, the women are obliged to crop their hair all off, and the usual term of that condolence is until the hair has grown again to its former length.

"When a man mourns for the death of a near relation the case

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000 is quite different. His long, valued tresses are of much greater importance, and only a lock or two can be spared. Just enough to tell of his grief to his friends, without destroying his most valued ornament, is doing just reverence and respect to the dead.

"To repeat what I have said before, the Mandans are a pleasing and friendly race of people, of whom it is proverbial among the traders and all who ever have known them, that their treatment of white men in their country has been friendly and kind ever since their first acquaintance with them. They have ever met and received them, on the prairies and in their villages, with hospitality and honor.

"They are handsome and straight and elegant in their forms, not tall, but quick and graceful; easy and polite in their manners, neat in their persons and beautifully clad. When I say 'neat in person and beautifully clad,' however, I do not intend my readers to understand that such is the case with them all, for among them and most other tribes, as with the enlightened world, there are different grades of society—those who care but little for their personal appearance, and those who take great pains to please themselves and their friends. Amongst this class of personages, such as the chiefs and braves, or warriors of distinction, and their families, and dandies or exquisites (a class of beings whom I shall take due time to speak in a future letter) the strictest regard to decency, and cleanliness and elegance of dress is observed; and there are few people, perhaps, who take more pains to keep their persons neat and cleanly than they do.

"Catlin's version of the circumstances attending the habits of the Mandans regarding bathing will be seen in what he says below, to be quite different from that of Henry, who ascribes to them an abandon which he condemns:

Bathing Place. "At the distance of half a mile or so above the village, is the customary place where the women and girls resort every morning in the summer months to bathe in the river. To this spot they repair by the hundreds every morning at sunrise, where, on the beautiful beach, they can be seen running and glistening in the sun, whilst they are playing their innocent gambols and leaping into the stream. They all learn to swim well, and the poorest swimmer among them will dash fearlessly into the boiling and eddying current of the Missouri and cross it with

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perfect ease. At the distance of a quarter of a mile back from the river, extends a terrace or elevated prairie, running north from the village, and forming a kind of semi-circle around this bathing place, and on this terrace, which is some twenty or thirty feet higher than the meadow between it and the river, are stationed every morning several sentinels with their bows and arrows in hand to guard and protect this sacred ground from the approach of boys and men from any directions.

"At a little distance below the village, also, is the place where the men and boys go to bathe and learn to swim. After this morning ablution, they return to their village, wipe their limbs dry and use a profusion of bear's grease through their hair and over their bodies.

Swimming. "The art of swimming is known to all the American Indians; and perhaps no people on earth have taken more pains to learn it, nor any who turn it to better account. There certainly are no people whose avocations of life more often call for the use of their limbs in this way, as many of the tribes spend their lives on the shores of our vast lakes and rivers, paddling about from their childhood in their fragile bark canoes, which are liable to continual accidents, which often throw the Indian upon his natural resources for the preservation of his life.

"There are many times also, when out upon their long marches in the prosecution of their almost continual warfare, when it becomes necessary to plunge into and swim across the wildest streams and rivers, at times when they have no canoes or crafts in which to cross them. I have as yet seen no tribe where this art is neglected. It is learned at a very early age by both sexes, and enables the strong and hardy muscles of the squaws to take their child upon the back, and successfully to pass any river that lies in their way.

"The mode of swimming amongst the Mandans, as well as amongst most of the other tribes, is quite different from that practiced in those parts of the civilized world, which I have had the pleasure to visit. The Indian instead of parting his hands simultaneously under the chin, and making the stroke outward, in a horizontal direction, causing thereby a serious strain upon the chest, throws his body alternately upon the left and right side, raising one arm entirely above the water and reaching as far

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forward as he can, to dip it, whilst his whole weight and force are spent upon the one that is passing under him, and like a paddle propelling him along; whilst this arm is making a half circle, and is being raised out of the water behind him, the opposite arm is describing a similar arch in the air above his head, to be dipped in the water as far as he can reach before him, with the hand turned under, forming a sort of bucket, to act more effectively as it passes in its turn underneath him.

"By this bold and powerful mode of swimming, which may want the grace that many would wish to see, I am quite sure, from the experience I have had, that much of the fatigue and strain upon the breast and spine are avoided, and that a man will preserve his strength and his breath much longer in this alternate and rolling motion, than he can in the usual mode of swimming, in the polished world.

Vapor Baths. "In addition to the modes of bathing which I have above described, the Mandans have another, which is a much greater luxury, and often resorted to by the sick, but far more often by the well and sound, as a matter of luxury only, or perhaps for the purpose of hardening their limbs and preparing them for the thousands of exposures and vicissitudes of life to which they are continually liable. I allude to their vapor baths, or sudatories, of which each village had several, and which seem to be a kind of public property—accessible to all, and resorted to by all, male and female, old and young, sick and well.

"In every Mandan lodge is to be seen a crib or basket, much in the shape of a bathing tub, curiously woven with willow boughs, and sufficiently large to receive any person of the family in a reclining or recumbent posture; which when any one is to take a bath, is carried by the squaw to the sudatory for the purpose, and brought back to the wigwam again after it has been used.

These sudatories are always near the village, above or below it on the bank of the river. They are generally built of skins (in the form of a Crow or Sioux lodge which I have before described), covered with buffalo skins sewed tight together, with a kind of furnace in the center; or in other words in the center of the lodge are two walls of stone about six feet long and about two and a half feet apart, and about three feet high; across and over this

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space, between the two walls, are laid a number of round sticks, on which the bathing crib is placed. Contiguous to the lodge, and outside of it, is a little furnace something similar, in the side of the bank, where the women kindle a hot fire, and heat to a red heat a number of large stones, which are kept at these places for this particular purpose; and having them all in readiness, she goes home or sends word to inform her husband or other one who is waiting, that all is ready; then he makes his appearance entirely naked, though with a large buffalo robe wrapped around him. He then enters the lodge and places himself in the crib or basket, either on his back or in a sitting posture (the latter of which is generally preferred), with his back to the door of the lodge; then the squaw brings in a large stone red hot, between two sticks (lashed together somewhat in the form of a pair of tongs) and, placing it under him, throws cold water upon it, which raises a profusion of vapor about him. He is at once enveloped in a cloud of steam, and a woman or child will sit at a little distance and continue to dash water upon the stone, whilst the matron of the lodge is out, and preparing to make her appearance with another heated stone; or he will sit and dip from a wooden bowl, with a ladle made of the Mountain sheep's horn, and throw upon the heated stones with his own hands, the water which he is drawing through his lungs and pores, in the next moment, in the most delectable and exhilerating vapors, as it distills through the mat of wild sage and other medicinal and aromatic herbs, which he has strewed over the bottom of his basket, and on which he reclines.

"During all this time the lodge is shut perfectly tight, and he quaffs this delicious and renovating draught to his lungs with deep drawn sighs, and with extended nostrils, until he is drenched in the most profound degree of perspiration that can be produced; when he makes a kind of strangling signal, at which the lodge is opened, and he darts forth with the speed of a frightened deer, and plunges headlong into the river, from which he instantly escapes again, wraps his robe around him and 'leans' as fast as possible for home. Here his limbs are wiped dry, and wrapped close and tight within the fur of the buffalo robes, in which he takes his nap, with his feet to the fire; then oils his limbs and hair with bear's grease, dresses and plumes himself for a visit—

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000 a feast—a parade, or a council; or slicks down his long hair, and rubs his oiled limbs to a polish, with a piece of soft buckskin, prepared to join in games of ball or Tchung-kee.

"Such is the sudatory or the vapor bath of the Mandans, and, as I before observed, it is resorted to both as an every day luxury by those who have the time and energy or industry to indulge in it; and also used by the sick as a remedy for nearly all the diseases which are known amongst them."

Fever Diseases. "Fevers are very rare, and in fact almost unknown amongst these people; but in the few cases of fever which have been known, this treatment has been applied, and without the fatal consequences which we would naturally predict. The greater part of their diseases are inflammatory rheumatism, and other chronic diseases; and for these, this mode of treatment, with their modes of life, does admirably well. This custom is similar amongst nearly all of these Missouri Indians and amongst the Pawees, Omahas and Punchas and other tribes, who have suffered with the small pox (the dread destroyer of the Indian race) this mode was practiced by the poor creatures, who fled by hundreds to the river's edge, and by hundreds died before they could escape from the waves, into which they had plunged in the heat and rage of a burning fever. Such will yet be the scourge, and such the misery of these poor unthinking people, and each tribe to the Rocky Mountains, as it has been with every tribe between here and the Atlantic Ocean. White men-whiskey-tomahawks-scalping knives, guns, powder and ball-small-pox-debauchery extermination." (pp. 92-99)

In the following letter or chapter of Catlin, he enlarges upon the head-dresses, tunics, etc., of the Mandans; and then philosophizes upon the mutual misunderstandings existing between the whites and the Indians concerning the habits and customs of the other, and enters into refinements of reasoning and observation which seem to indicate a somewhat profound study by him of the Indian character, and which leads him to the conclusion that the Indian had the best of the Caucasian on the score of reasons for the "state of things." The originality of Catlin's treatment of these phases may excuse us in inserting his narrative on that head at large.

Head-Dresses, etc. "The Mandans in many instances dress very

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neatly, and some of them splendidly. As they are in their native state, their dresses are all of their own manufacture, and of course, altogether made of skins of different animals belonging to those regions. There is, certainly, a reigning and striking similarity of costume amongst most of the Northwestern tribes; and I cannot say that the dress of the Mandans is decidedly distinct from that of the Crows or the Blackfeet, and Assiniboines or the Sioux; yet there are modes of stitching or embroidering in every tribe, which may at once enable the traveler, who is familiar with their modes, to detect or distinguish the dress of any tribe. These differences consist generally in the fashions of constructing the head-dress, or of garnishing their dresses with the porcupine quills, which they use in great profusion.

"Amongst so many different and distinct nations, always at war with each other, and knowing nothing at all of each others languages; and amongst whom fashions in dress seldom if ever change; it may seem somewhat strange that we should find these people so nearly following, or imitating each other, in the forms and modes of their dress and ornaments. This must, however, be admitted, and I think may be accounted for in a manner, without raising the least argument in favor of the theory of their having all sprung from one stock or family; for in their continual warfare, when chiefs or warriors fall, their clothes and weapons usually fall into the possession of the victors, who wear them; and the rest of the tribe would naturally more or less often copy from or imitate them; and so also in their repeated councils or treaties of peace, such articles of dress and other manufactures are customarily exchanged, which are equally adopted by the other tribes, and consequently, eventually lead to the similarity which we find amongst the modes of dress, etc., of the different tribes.

Tunics-Moccasins. "The tunic or shirt of the Mandan men is very similar in shape to that of the Blackfeet—made of two skins of deer or mountain sheep, strung with scalp-locks, beads and ermine. The leggins, like those of the other tribes of whom I have spoken, are made of deer skins and shaped to fit the leg, embroidered with porcupine quills, and fringed with scalps from their enemies' heads. Their moccasins are made of buckskin and neatly ornamented with porcupine quills. Over their shoulders (or in

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other words, over one shoulder and passing under the other) they very gracefully wear a robe from the young buffalo's back, oftentimes cut down to about half its original size, to make it handy and easy for use. Many of these are also fringed on one side with scalp-locks, and the flesh side of the skin curiously ornamented with pictured representations of the creditable events and battles of their lives.

"Their head-dresses are of various sorts, and many of them exceedingly picturesque and handsome; generally made of war eagles or ravens quills and ermine. These are the most costly part of an Indian's dress in all this country, owing to the difficulty of procuring the quills and fur. The war eagle being the 'rara avis' and the ermine the rarest animal that is found in the country. The tail of the war eagle in this village, provided it is a perfect one, containing some six or eight quills, which are denominated first-rate plumes, and suitable to arrange in a head-dress, will purchase a tolerable good horse (horses, however, are much cheaper here than they are in most other countries.) I have had abundant opportunities of learning the great value which these people sometimes attach to such articles of dress and ornament, as I have been purchasing a great many, which I intend to exhibit in my gallery of Indian paintings, that the world may examine them for themselves, and thereby be enabled to judge of the fidelity of my works, and the ingenuity of Indian manufactures.

"In these purchases I have often been surprised at the prices demanded by them, and perhaps I could not recite a better instance of the kind, than one which occurred here a few days since. One of the chiefs, whom I had painted at full length, in a beautiful costume, with head dress of war eagle quills and ermine, extending quite down to his feet, and whom I was soliciting for the purchase of his dress complete, was willing to sell to me all but the head dress, saying that he could not part with that, as he would never be able to get quills and ermine of so good a quality to make another like it. I agreed with him, however, for the rest of the dress ,and importuned him from day to day for the head dress until he at length replied that if I must have it, he must have two horses for it; the bargain was instantly struck—

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the horses were procured from the traders at $25 each, and the head dress secured for my collection."

Horned Crest. "There is occasionally, a chief or a warrior of so extraordinary renown, that he is allowed to wear horns on his head dress, which give to his aspect a strange and majestic effect. These are made of about a third part of the horn of a buffalo bull; the horn having been split from end to end, and a third part of it taken and shaved thin and light, and highly polished. These are attached to the top of the head dress on each side, in the same place that they rise and stand on the head of the buffalo; rising out of the mat of ermine skins and tails, which hang over the top of the head dress somewhat in the form that the large and profuse locks of hair hang and fall over the head of a buffalo bull."

Catlin then explains why, in his view, the Indians are misjudged by the whites as to their supposed frivolities in dress, etc., as follows:

"The same custom I have found observed among the Sioux, the Crows, the Blackfeet and Assiniboines, and it is one of so striking a character as needs a few more words of observation. There is a peculiar meaning or importance (in their estimation), to this and many other curious and unaccountable appearances in the habits of Indians, upon which the world generally looks as things that are absurd and ridiculous, merely because they are beyond the world's comprehension, or because we do not stop to inquire or learn their uses or meaning."

Indian Character Misunderstood. "I find that the principal cause why we so underrate and despise the savage, is generally because we do not understand him; and the reason why we are ignorant of him and his modes, is that we do not stop to investigate—the world have been too much in the habit of looking upon him as altogether inferior—as a beast, a brute; and unworthy of more than a passing notice. If they stop long enough to form an acquaintance, it is but to take advantage of his ignorance and credulities—to rob him of the wealth and resources of his country—to make him drunk with whiskey, and visit him with abuses which in his ignorance he never thought of. By this method his first visitors entirely overlook and never understand the meaning of his thousand interesting and characteristic customs; and at the

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same time, by changing his native modes and habits of life, blot them out from the view of the inquiring world forever.

"It is from the observance of a thousand little and apparently trivial modes and tricks of Indian life, that the Indian character must be learned; and, in fact, it is just the same with us if the subject were reversed; excepting that the system of civilized life would furnish ten apparently useless and ridiculous trifles to one which is found in Indian life; and at least twenty to one which are purely nonsensical and unmeaning.

"The civilized world look upon a group of Indians, in their classic dress, with their few and simple oddities, all of which have their moral meaning, and laugh at them excessively, because they are not like ourselves—we ask, 'why do the silly creatures wear such great bunches of quills on their heads? Such loads and streaks of paint upon their bodies—and bear's grease? Abominable!' And a thousand other equally silly questions, without ever stopping to think that nature taught them to do so—and that they all have some definite importance or meaning which an Indian could explain to us at once, if he were asked and felt disposed to do so—that each quill in his head stood in the eyes of his whole tribe, as the symbol of an enemy who had fallen by his hand—that every streak of red paint covered a wound which he had got in honorable combat—and that the bear's grease, with which he carefully anoints his body every morning, from head to foot, cleanses and purifies the body, and protects his skin from the bite of mosquitoes, and at the same time preserves him from colds and coughs which are usually taken through the pores of the skin.

"At the same time, an Indian looks among the civilized world, no doubt, with equal, if not much greater astonishment, at our apparently, as well as really, ridiculous customs and fashions, but he laughs not, nor ridicules, nor questions, for his good natural sense and good manners forbid him, until he is reclining about the fireside of his wigwam companions, when he vents forth his just criticism upon the learned world, who are a rich and just theme for Indian criticism and Indian gossip.

"An Indian will not ask a white man the reason why he does not oil his skin with bear's grease, or why he does not paint his body, or why he wears a hat on his head, or why he has buttons

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on the back part of his coat, where they can never be used—or why he wears whiskers and a shirt collar up to his eyes—or why he sleeps with his head towards the fire instead of his feet—why he walks with his toes out instead of turning them in—or why it is that hundreds of white folks will flock and crowd around a table to see an Indian eat—but he will go home to his wigwam fireside, and 'make the welkin ring' with jokes and fun upon the ignorance and folly of the knowing world.

"A wild Indian thrown into civilized atmosphere will see a man occasionally moving in society, wearing a cocked hat; and another with a laced coat and gold or silver epaulettes upon his shoulders, without knowing or inquiring the meaning of them, or the objects for which they are worn. Just so a white man travels amongst a wild and untaught tribe of Indians, and sees occasionally one of them parading about their village, with a head dress of eagles' quills and ermine, and elevated above it a pair of beautifully polished buffalo horns; and just as ignorant is he also, of their meaning or importance; and more so, for the first will admit the presumption that epaulettes and cocked hats amongst the civilized world, are made for some important purpose, but the latter will presume that horns of an Indian's head are nothing more or less (nor can they be in their estimation), than Indian nonsense and stupidity."

Horns Mean Authority. "This custom then, which I have before observed belongs to all the northwestern tribes, is one no doubt of very ancient origin, having a purely classic meaning. No one wears the head dress surmounted with horns except the dignitaries who are very high in authority, and whose exceeding valor, worth and power is admitted by all the nation.

"He may wear them, however, who is not a chief; but a brave, or warrior of such remarkable character, that he is esteemed universally in the tribe, as a man whose 'voice is as loud in council' as that of a chief of the first grade, and consequently his power as great.

"This head dress with horns is used only on certain occasions, and they are very seldom. When foreign chiefs, Indian agents, or other important personages visit a tribe; or at war parades, at the celebration of a victory, at public festivals, etc., they are worn; but on no other occasion—unless, sometimes, when a chief

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sees fit to lead a war party to battle, he decorates his head with this symbol of power, to stimulate his men, and throws himself into the foremost of the battle, inviting his enemy to concentrate their shafts upon him.

"The horns on these head dresses are but loosely attached at the bottom, so that they easily fall back or forward, according as the head is inclined forward or backward; and by an ingenious motion of the head, which is so slight as to be almost imperceptible, they are made to balance to and fro, and sometimes, one backward and the other forward like a horse's ears, giving a vast deal of expression and force of character, to the appearance of the chief who is wearing them. This, reader, is a remarkable instance, (like hundreds of others), for its striking similarity to Jewish customs, to the kerns (or keren, in Hebrew), the horns worn by the Abysinian chiefs and Hebrews, as a symbol of power and command; worn at great parades and celebrations of victories.

" 'The false prophet Ze-dekiah, made him horns of iron' (Kings XXII. 11) 'Lift not your horns on high; speak not with a stiff neck' (Ps. LXXV. 5.)

"This last citation seems so exactly to convey to my mind the mode of raising and changing the position of the horns by a motion of the head, as I have above described, that I am irresistibly led to believe that the custom is now practiced amongst these tribes very nearly as it was amongst the Jews; and that it has been, like many other customs of which I shall speak more in the future epistles, handed down and preserved with very little innovation or change from that ancient people.

"The reader will see this custom exemplified in the portrait of Mah-to-toh-pa. This man, although the second chief, was the only man in the nation who was allowed to wear horns; and all, I found, looked upon him as the leader, who had the power to lead all the warriors in time of war; and that, in consequence of the extrordinary battles which he had fought." (p. 104.)

In his "Letter No. 15" Catlin, who is awaiting the arrival of the day of celebration of the "Mandan Religious Ceremony," which he is told by the chiefs occurs when the willow tree is "in full leaf," and which event he connects with the flood because the Indians say, "the twig which the bird brought in was a willow

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bough, and had full-grown leaves on it"—tells of his paintings of the Indians and their intense interest in the process, etc.

Portrait Painting—Mandan Astonishment. "I have been continually at work with my brush, with fine and picturesque subjects before me; and from the strange, whimsical, and superstitious notions which they have of an art so novel and unaccountable to them, I have been initiated into many of their mysteries—have witnessed many very curious incidents, and preserved several anecdotes, some of which I must relate.

"Perhaps nothing ever more completely astonished these people than the operations of my brush. The art of portrait painting was a subject entirely new to them, and of course, unthought of; and my appearance here has commenced a new era in the arcana of medicine or mystery. Soon after arriving here, I commenced and finished portraits of the two principal chiefs. This was done without having awakened the curiosity of the villagers, as they had heard nothing of what was going on, and even the chiefs themselves seemed to be ignorant of my designs, until the pictures were completed. No one else was admitted into my lodge during the operation; and when finished, it was exceedingly amusing to see them mutually recognizing each other's likeness, and assuring each other of the striking resemblance which they bore to the originals. Both of these pressed their hands over their mouths a while in dead silence (a custom amongst most tribes, when anything surprises them very much); looking attentively upon the portraits and myself, and upon the palette and colors with which these unaccountable effects had been produced. Then then walked up to me in the most gentle manner, taking me in turn by the hand, with a firm grip, with head and eyes inclined downwards, and in a tone a little above a whisper, pronounced the words 'te-ho-pe-noc wash-ee' and walked off."

Catlin here explains that the above ejaculation meant that he was thereby invested with the degree of a "**great medicine white man,**" since which time he had been "regularly installed medicine or mystery;" that he is now being "called upon and feasted by the doctors, who are all mystery men;" under the weight of which responsibility he "assumes all the gravity and circumspection due from so high a dignitary" and "considerable more"—that

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by "performing now and then some art or trick that is unfathomable" he hopes to hold out until the "religious ceremony" begins when he may win a seat in the medicine-lodge "by the doctors." He then proceeds:

"After I had finished the portraits of the two chiefs, and they had returned to their wigwams, and deliberately seated themselves by their respective firesides, and silently smoked a pipe or two, (according to a universal custom), they gradually began to tell what had taken place; and at length crowds of gaping listeners, with mouths wide open, thronged their lodges; and a throng of women and girls were about my house, and through every crack and crevice I could see their glistening eyes, which were piercing my hut in a hundred places, from a natural and restless propensity, a curiosity to see what was going on within. An hour or more passed in this way, and the soft and silken throng continually increased, until some hundreds of them were clung and piled about my wigwam like a swarm of bees hanging on the front and sides of their hive.

"During this time, not a man made his appearance about the premises. After a while, however, they could be seen, folded in their robes, gradually siding up towards the lodge, with a silly look upon their faces, which confessed at once that curiosity was leading them reluctantly, where their pride checked and forbade them to go. The rush soon after became general, and the chiefs and medicine men took possession of my room, placing soldiers (braves with spears in their hands), at the door, admitting no one, but such as were allowed by the chiefs to come in."

Paintings Explained. "Monsr. Kipp (the agent of the fur company, who has lived here eight years and to whom, for his politeness and hospitality, I am much indebted), at this time took a seat with the chiefs, and, speaking their language fluently, he explained to them my views and the objects for which I was painting these portraits; and also expounded to them the manner in which they were made—at which they seemed all to be very much pleased. The necessity at this time of exposing the portraits to the view of the crowds who were assembled around the house, became imperative, and they were held up together over the door, so that the whole village had a chance to see and recognize their chiefs. The effect upon so mixed a multitude, who

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as yet had heard no way of accounting for them, was novel, and really laughable. The likenesses were instantly recognized, and many of the gaping multitude commenced yelping; some were stamping off in the jarring dance—others were singing, and others again were crying—hundreds covered their mouths with their hands and were mute; others indignant, drove their spears frightfully into the ground, and some threw a reddened arrow at the sun, and went home to their wigwams.

Catlin the Great. "The pictures seen, the next curiosity was to see the man who had made them, and I was called forth. Readers, if you have any imagination, save me the trouble of painting this scene. * * * I stepped forth and was instantly hemmed in in the throng. Women were gaping and gazing—and warriors and braves were offering me their hands—whilst little boys and girls, by dozens were struggling through the crowd to touch me with the ends of their fingers; and whilst I was engaged from the waist upwards, in fending off the throng—and shaking hands, my legs were assailed (not unlike the nibbling little fish, when I have been standing in deep water) by children, who were creeping between the legs of the bystanders for the curiosity or honor of touching me with the ends of their fingers. The eager curiosity and expression of astonishment with which they gazed upon me, plainly showed that they looked upon me as some strange and unaccountable being. They pronounced me the greatest medicine man in the world; for they said I had made living beings—they said they could see their chiefs alive, in two places—those that I had made were a little alive—they could see their eyes move—could see them smile and laugh, and that if they could laugh they could certainly speak, if they should try, and they must therefore have some life in them.

"The squaws generally agreed, that they had discovered life enough in them to render my medicine too great for the Mandans; saying that such an operation could not be performed without taking away from the original something of his existence, which I put in the picture, and they could see it move, could see it stir.

"This curtailing of the natural existence, for the purpose of instilling life into the secondary one, they decided to be a useless and destructive operation, and one which was calculated to do great mischief in their happy community; and they com-

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menced a mournful and doleful chant against me crying and weeping bitterly through the village, proclaiming me a most 'dangerous man, one who could make living persons by looking at them; and at the same time could, as a matter of course, destroy life in the same way, if I chose. That my medicine was dangerous to their lives, and that I must leave the village immediately. That bad luck would happen to those whom I painted—that I was to take a part of the existence of those whom I had painted, and carry it home with me amongst the white people, and that when they died they would never sleep quiet in their graves.' "

Oppose His "Medicine." "In this way the women and some old quack-medicine-men together, had succeeded in raising an opposition against me; and the reasons they assigned were so plausible and so exactly suited for their superstitious feelings, that they completely succeeded in exciting fears and a general panic in the minds of a number of chiefs who had agreed to sit for their portraits, and my operations were, of course, for several days completely at a stand still. A grave council was held on the subject from day to day, and there seemed great difficulty in deciding what was to be done with me and the dangerous art which I was practicing; and which had far exceeded their original expectations. I finally got admittance to their sacred conclave, and assured them that I was but a man like themselves—that my art had no **medicine** or mystery about it, but could be learned by them if they would practice it as long as I had—that my intentions towards them were of the most friendly kind, and that in the country where I live, brave men never allowed their squaws to frighten them with their foolish whims and stories. They all immediately arose, shook me by the hand, and dressed themselves for their pictures. After this there was no further difficulty about sitting; all were ready to be painted. The squaws were silent, and my painting room a continual resort for the chiefs, and braves, and medicine-men; where they waited with impatience for the completion of each other's pictures—that they could decide as to the likeness as it came from under the brush; that they could laugh, and yell, and sing a new song, and smoke a fresh pipe to the health and success of him who had just been safely delivered from the hands and the mystic operation of the 'white medicine.' "

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Smoking Him Safe. "In each of these operations, as they successfully took place, I observed that a pipe or two were well filled, and as soon as I commenced painting the chiefs and braves, who sat around the sides of the lodge, commenced smoking for the success of the picture (and probably as much or more so for the safe deliverance of the sitter from harm while under the operation;) and so they continued to pass the pipe around until the portrait was completed."

That Catlin could assume the role of the actor with success even when driven to it as an expedient before an Indian audience, is duly attested in his actions while painting these portraits, "stopping occasionally very suddenly as if something was wrong, and taking a tremendous puff or two at the pipe, and streaming the smoke through my nostrils, exhibiting in my looks and actions an evident relief; enabling me to proceed with more facility and success," and by flattery of the respective subjects as they succeeded each other, "and taking them according to rank, or standing, making it a matter of honor with them, which pleased them exceedingly;" in this way proving himself "not guilty" under the indictment of the "women and old quacks;" after which he was elegantly feasted and presented with "a doctor's rattle, and also a magical wand, or a doctor's staff, strung with claws of the grizzly bear, with hoofs of the antelope—with ermine—with wild sage and bat's wings—and perfumed withal with the choice and savory odor of the pole-cat—a dog was sacrificed and hung by the legs over my wigwam, and I was therefore and thereby initiated into (and countenanced in the practice of) the arcana of medicine or mystery, and considered a fellow of extraordinary society of conjurati." It seems evident that in this counter-process of administering of medicine the Indians came off victors, as the italics are Catlin's own.

Trouble—"The Eyes Move." "Since this signal success and good fortune in my operations, things have gone on very pleasantly, and I have had a great deal of amusement. Some altercation has taken place, however, amongst the chiefs and braves, with regard to standing or rank, of which they are exceedingly jealous; and they must sit (if at all) in regular order, according to that rank; the trouble is all settled at last, however, and I have no want of subjects, though a great many have become again

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alarmed, and are unwilling to sit, for fear, as some say, that they will die prematurely if painted; and as others say, that if they are painted, the picture will live after they are dead, and they cannot sleep quiet in their graves.

"I have had several most remarkable occurrences in my painting room, of this kind, which have made me some everlasting enemies here; though the minds and feelings of the chiefs and medicine-men have not been affected by them. There had been three or four instances where proud and aspiring young men have been in my lodge, and after gazing at the portraits of the head chiefs across the room (which sits looking them in the eyes,) have raised their hands before their faces and walked around to the side of the lodge, on the right or left, from whence to take a long and fair side-look at the chief, instead of staring him full in the face (which is a most unpardonable offense in all Indian tribes;) and after having got in that position, and cast their eyes again upon the portrait which was yet looking them full in the face, have thrown their robes over their heads and bolted out of the wigwam, filled equally with astonishment and indignation; avering, as they always will in a sullen mood, that 'they saw the eyes move'—that as they walked around the room 'the eyes of the portrait followed them.' With these unfortunate gentleman, repeated efforts have been made by the traders, and also by the chiefs and doctors, who understand the illusion, to convince them of their error, by explaining the mystery; but they will not hear to any explanation whatever, saying, that 'what they see with their eyes is always evidence enough for them,' that they always believe their own eyes sooner than a hundred tongues,' and all efforts to get them a second time to my room, or into my company in any place, has proved entirely unsuccessful."

Trouble with a medicine man, who, not having been given a sitting before Catlin's palette and brush, tried to stampede the assembly, who thronged his studio, by declaring that all who were painted "were fools and would soon die," led to a conference in which Catlin, by playing upon the vanity of the disaffected Indian and convincing him that a revelation from the whole tribe had proven him so extraordinary a character that he (Catlin) would soon paint his portrait, converted him into his confidence and caused him to pronounce Catlin a "good man" whose "medicine

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is great," and to resolve that he would submit and be "made alive with paints." Catlin then says:

Much-painted Vanity. "At that hour then, bedaubed and streaked with paints of various colors, with bear's grease and charcoal, with medicine pipes in his hands and foxes tails attached to his heels, entered Mah-to-he-hah (the old bear,) with a train of his own profession, who seated themselves around him; and also a number of boys, whom it was requested should remain with him, and whom I supposed it possible might have been pupils, whom he was instructing in the mysteries of **materia medica** and **hoco poca.** He took his position in the middle of the room, waving his eagle calumets in each hand, and singing his medicine song which he sings over his dying patient, looking me full in the face while I completed his picture, which I painted at full length. His vanity has been completely gratified in the operation; he lies for hours together, day after day, in my room, in front of his picture, gazing intently upon it, lights my pipe for me while I am painting—shakes hands with me a dozen times on each day, and talks of me, and enlarges upon my medicine virtues and my talents, wherever he goes; so that this new difficulty is now removed, and instead of preaching against me, he is one of my strongest and most enthusiastic friends and aids in the country." (p. 111.)

Catlin next enlarges upon the elements of Indian dandies among the Mandans; relates how he was preparing to paint a picture of one of them, which met with protests among the more respectable Indians. He then narrates a feast given to him by Four Bears, "the second chief of the nation, and the most popular man of the Mandans," served in three courses and embracing "pemican and marrow-fat;" mentioning incidentally the pottery dishes used at the feast and which he declares are such as are made by the Mandan women in large quantities. We recur to his text:

Indian Dandies. "Besides chiefs, and braves and doctors, of whom I have heretofore spoken, there is yet another character of whom I must say a few words before I proceed on other topics. The person I allude to, is the one mentioned at the close of my last letter, and familiarly known and countenanced in every tribe as an Indian beaux or dandy. Such personages may be seen on

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every pleasant day, strutting and parading around the village in the most beautiful and unsoiled dresses, without the honorable trophies however of scalp locks and claws of the grizzly bear, attached to their costumes, for with such things they deal not. They are not peculiarly anxious to hazard their lives in equal and honorable combat with the one, or disposed to cross the path of the other; but generally remain about the village, to take care of the women, and attire themselves in the skins of such animals as they can easily kill, without seeking the rugged cliffs for the war eagle, or visiting the haunts of the grizzly bear. They plume themselves with swan's-down and quills of ducks, with braids and plaits of sweet scented grass and other harmless and unmeaning ornaments, which have no other merit than they themselves have, that of looking pretty and ornamental.

"These clean and elegant gentlemen, who are very few in each tribe, are held in very little estimation by the chiefs and braves; inasmuch as it is known by all, that they have a most horrible aversion to arms, and are denominated "faint hearts" or "old women" by the whole tribe, and are therefore little respected. They seem, however, to be tolerably well contented with the appellation, together with the celebrity they have acquired amongst the women and children for the beauty and elegance of their personal appearance; and most of them seem to take and enjoy their share of the world's pleasures, although they are looked upon as drones in society.

"These gay and tinseled bucks may be seen on a pleasant day in all their plumes, astride of their pied or dappled ponies, with a fan in the right hand, made of a turkey's tail—with whip and fly-brush attached to the wrist of the same hand, and underneath them a white and beautiful and soft pleasure saddle, ornamented with porcupine quills and ermine, parading through and lounging about the village for an hour or so, when they will cautiously bend their course to the suburbs of the town, where they will sit or recline upon their horses for an hour or two, overlooking the beautiful games where the braves and young aspirants are contending the manly and athletic amusements. When they are fatigued with this severe effort, they wend their way back again, lift off their fine white saddles of doe skin, which is wadded with buffalo's hair, turn out their ponies, take a little refreshment,

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smoke a pipe, fan themselves to sleep, and doze away the rest of the day.

"Whilst I have been painting, from day to day, there have been two or three of these fops continually strutting and taking their attitudes in front of my door; decked out in all their finery, without receiving other benefit or other information, than such as they could discover through the cracks and seams of my cabin. The chiefs, I observed, passed them by without notice and of course without inviting them in; and they seemed to figure about my door from day to day in their best dresses and best attitudes, as if in hopes that I would select them as models, for my canvas. It was natural that I should do so, for their costumes and personal appearance was entirely more beautiful than anything else to be seen in the village. My plans were laid, and one day when I had got through with all the head men, who were willing to sit to be painted, and there were two or three chiefs lounging in my room, I stepped to the door and tapped one of these fellows on the shoulder, who took the hint and stepped in, well pleased and delighted with the signal and honorable notice I had at length taken of him and his beautiful dress. Readers, you cannot imagine what was the expression of gratitude which beamed forth on this poor fellow's face, and how high his heart beat with joy and pride at the idea of my selecting him to be immortal, alongside of the chiefs and worthies whose portraits he saw arranged around the room; and by which honor he, undoubtedly, considered himself well paid for two or three weeks of regular painting, and greasing, and dressing, and standing alternately on one leg and the other at the door of my premises.

"Well, I placed him before me, and a canvas on my easel, and 'chalked him out' at full length. He was truly a beautiful subject for the brush, and I was filled with enthusiasm—his dress from head to foot was of the skins of the mountain goat, and dressed so neatly, that they were almost as soft and as white as Canton crape—around the bottom and sides it was trimmed with ermine and porcupine quills of beautiful dyes garnished it in a hundred parts; his hair, which was long, and spread over his back and shoulders, extending nearly to the ground, was all combed back and parted on his forehead like that of a woman. He was a tall and fine figure, with ease and grace in his movements, which were

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000 well worthy of a man of better caste. In his left hand he held a beautiful pipe, and in his right hand he plied his fan, and on his wrist was still attached his whip of elk's horn, and his fly-brush made of the buffalo's tail. There was nought about him of the terrible, and naught to shock the finest, chastest intellect.

"I had thus far progressed, with high-wrought feelings of pleasure, when the two or three chiefs, who had been seated around the lodge, and whose portraits I had before painted, arose suddenly, and wrapping themselves tightly in their robes, crossed my room with a quick and heavy step, and took an informal leave of my cabin. I was apprehensive of their displeasure, though I continued my work; and in a few minutes the interpreter came furiously into my room, addressing me thus: 'My God, sir, this never will do; you have given great offense to the chiefs—they have made complaint of your conduct to me—they tell me this is a worthless fellow—a man of no account in the nation, and if you paint his picture, you must instantly destroy theirs; you have no alternative, my dear sir, and the quicker this chap is put out of your lodge the better.'

"The same matter was explained to my sitter by the interpreter, when he picked up his robe, wrapped himself in it, plied his fan nimbly about his face, and walked out of the lodge in silence, but with quite a consequental smile, taking his old position in front of the door a while, after which he drew himself quietly off without further exhibition. So highly do Mandan braves and worthies value the honor of being painted; and so little do they value man, however lavishly nature may have bestowed her master touches upon him, who has not the pride and noble bearing of a warrior.

Four Bears Again. "I spoke in a former letter, of Mah-to-toh-pa (the four bears), the second chief of the nation, and the most popular man of the Mandans—a high minded and gallant warrior, as well as a polite and polished gentleman. Since I painted his portrait, as I before described, I have received at his hands many marked and signal attentions, some of which I must name to you, as the very relation of them will put you in possession of many little forms and modes of Indian life, which otherwise might not have been noted.

"About a week since, this noble fellow stepped into my painting room about twelve o'clock in the day in full and splendid dress,

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and passing his arm through mine, pointed the way, and lead me in the most gentlemanly manner, through the village and into his own lodge, where a feast was prepared in a careful manner and awaited our arrival. The lodge in which he dwelt was a room of immense size, some forty or fifty feet in diameter in a circular form, and about twenty feet high—with a sunken curb of stone in the center, of five or six feet in diameter and one foot deep, which contained the fire over which the pot was boiling. I was led near the edge of this curb and seated on a very handsome robe, most ingeniously garnished and painted with hieroglyphics, and he seated himself gracefully on another one at a little distance from me; with the feast prepared in several dishes, resting on a beautiful rush mat, which was placed between us.

"The simple feast which was spread before us consisted of three dishes only, two of which were served in wooden bowls, and the third in an earthen vessel of their own manufacture, somewhat in the shape of a bread tray in our own country. This last contained a quantity of pem-i-can and marrow fat; and one of the former held a fine brace of buffalo ribs, delightfully roasted, and the other was filled with a kind of paste or pudding, made of the flour of the 'pomme blanche,' as the French call it, a delicious turnip of the prairie, finely flavored with the buffalo berries, which are collected in great quantities in this country, and used with divers dishes in cooking, as we in civilized countries use dried currents, which they very much resemble.

"A handsome pipe and a tobacco pouch made of the otter skin, filled with k'nick-k'nick (Indian tobacco), laid by the side of the feast; and when we were seated, mine host took up his pipe, and deliberately filled it, and instead of lighting it by the fire, which he could easily have done, he drew from his pouch his flint and steel, and raised a spark with which he kindled it. He drew a few strong whiffs through it, and presented the stem of it to my mouth, through which I drew a whiff or two while he held the stem in his hands. This done, he laid down the pipe, and drawing his knife from his belt, cut off a very small piece of meat from the ribs, and pronouncing the words 'ho-pe-ne-chee wa-pa-shee' (meaning a medicine sacrifice), threw it into the fire.

"He then (by signals) requested me to eat, and I commenced, after drawing out from my belt my knife (which it is supposed

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that every man in this country carries about him, for at an Indian feast a knife is never offered to a guest.) Reader be not astonished that I sat and ate my dinner alone, for such is the custom of this strange land. In all tribes in these western regions it is an invariable rule that a chief never eats with his guests invited to a feast; but while they eat, he sits by, at their service, and ready to wait upon them; deliberately charging and lighting the pipe which is to be passed around after the feast is over. Such was the case in the present instance, and while I was eating, Mah-to-toh-pa sat cross-legged before me, cleaning his pipe and preparing it for a cheerful smoke when I had finished my meal. For this ceremony I observed he was making unusual preparations, and I observed as I ate, that after he had taken enough of the k'nick-k'nick, or bark of the red willow, from his pouch, he rolled out of it also a piece of the 'castor,' which it is customary amongst these folks to carry in their tobacco sack to give it a flavor; and, shaving off a small quantity of it, mixed it with the bark, with which he charged his pipe. This done he drew also from his sack a small parcel containing a fine powder, which was made of dried buffalo dung, a little of which he spread over the top, (according also to custom) which was like tinder; having no other effect than that of lighting the pipe with ease and satisfaction. My appetite satiated, I straightened up, and with a whiff the pipe was lit, we enjoyed together for a quarter of an hour the most delightful exchange of good feelings, amid clouds of smoke and pantomimic signs and gesticulations.

Clay Dishes, etc. "I spoke also of the earthen dishes or bowls in which these viands were served out. They are a familiar part of the culinary furniture of every Mandan lodge, and are manufactured by the women of this tribe in great quantities, and modeled into a thousand forms and tastes. They are made by the hands of the women from a tough black clay, and baked in kilns which are made for the purpose, and are nearly equal in hardness to our own manufacture of pottery; though they have not yet got the art of glazing, which would be to them a valuable secret. They make them so strong and serviceable, however, that they hang them over the fire as we do our iron pots, and boil their meat in them with perfect success. I have seen some few specimens of such manufacture, which have been dug up in Indian mounds

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and tombs in the southern and middle states, placed in our eastern museums and looked upon as a great wonder, when here this novelty is at once done away with, and the whole mystery; where women can be seen handling them and using them by hundreds, and they can be seen every day in the summer also, moulding them into many fanciful forms, and passing them through the kiln where they are hardened." (p. 116.)

Mandan Polygamists. "In the succeeding chapter Catlin refers to the practice of polygamy among the Mandans—a practice "countenanced amongst all of the North American Indians" visited by him. This practice, he says, arose in part from the necessity of a chief's having a sufficiency of menial servants "to perform the numerous duties and drudgeries' of an establishment in which liberal entertainment was an incident, in part in order to procure through their services the luxuries of wealth; another prominent ascribed reason being the necessity of replenishing the stock which was from time to time depleted among the warriors in the vicissitudes of warfare. The wives, he declares, were purchased, mostly from the father. On this head he says:

"There are other instances to be sure, where the parties approach each other, and from the expression of a mutual fondness, make their own arrangements, and pass their own mutual vows, which are quite as sacred and inviolable as similar assurances when made in the civilized world. Yet even in such cases, the marriage is never consummated without the necessary form of making presents to the father of the girl." (p. 120.)

Catlin then remarks upon the practice of the fur traders who come among the Indians and who, "from policy and almost of absolute necessity," connect themselves by marriage with "the most influential families in the tribe"; adding: "The young women of the best families only can aspire to such an elevation; and the most of them are exceedingly ambitious for such a connection." He regards this character of connection, however, as one which "can scarcely be called marriages," and as generally entered into "without the form of solemnizing ceremony of a marriage." He then moralizes upon the condition of the Indian woman, as follows:

"From the enslaved and degraded condition in which the women are held in the Indian country, the world would naturally

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000 think that theirs must be a community formed of incongruous and unharmonizing materials; and consequently destitute of the fine, reciprocal feelings and attachments which flow from the domestic relations in the civilized world; yet it would be untrue, and doing injustice to the Indians, to say that they were in the least behind us in conjugal, in filial, and in paternal affection. There is no trait in the human character which is more universal than the attachments which flow from these relations, and there is no part of the human species who have a stronger affection and a higher regard for them than the North American Indians." He thus summarizes upon the Mandan women preparatory to giving a specific account of their numerous burdensome duties, etc.:

"Such, then, are the Mandans—their women are beautiful and modest, and amongst the respectable families, virtue is as highly cherished and as inapproachable, as in any society whatever; yet at the same time a chief may marry a dozen wives if he pleases, and so may a white man; and if either wishes to marry the most beautiful and modest girl in the tribe, she is valued only equal, perhaps, to two horses, a gun with powder and ball for a year, five or six pounds of beads, a couple of gallons of whiskey, and a handful of awls." The girls, he affirms, "like those of most of these northwestern tribes, marry at the age of twelve or fourteen, and some at the age of eleven years." (pp. 120-21.) He proceeds:

Women Agriculturalists—Utensils. "The principal occupation of the women in this village, consists in procuring wood and water, in cooking, dressing robes and other skins, in drying meat and wild fruit, and raising corn (maize.) The Mandans are somewhat of agriculturalists, as they raise a great deal of corn and some pumpkins and squashes. This is all done by the women, who make their hoes of the shoulder blade of the buffalo or the elk, and dig the ground over instead of plowing it, which is consequently done with a vast deal of labor. They raise a very small sort of corn, the ears of which are no larger than a man's thumb. This variety is very well adapted to their climate, as it ripens sooner than other varieties, which would not mature in so cold a latitude. The green corn season is one of great festivity with them, and one of much importance. The greater part of

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their crop is eaten during these festivals, and the remainder is gathered and dried on the cob, before it has ripened, and packed away in 'caches' (as the French call them), holes dug in the ground, some six or seven feet deep, the insides of which are somewhat in the form of a jug, and tightly closed at the top. The corn, and even dried meat and pemican, are placed in these caches, being packed tight around the sides, with prairie grass, and effectually preserved through the severest winters.

Corn and Meat. "Corn and dried meat are generally laid in in the fall, in sufficient quantities to support them through the winter. These are the principal articles of food during the long and inclement season; and in addition to them, they oftentimes have in store great quantities of dried squashes and dried 'pommes blanches,' a kind of turnip which grows in great abundance in these regions, and of which I have spoken before. These are dried in great quantities, and pounded into a sort of meal, and cooked with the dried meat and corn. Great quantities also of wild fruit of different kinds are dried and laid away in store for the winter season, such as buffalo berries, strawberries, and wild plums."

Hospitality—Meals. "The buffalo meat however is the great staple or 'staff of life' in this country, and seldom (if ever) fails to afford them an abundant and wholesome means of subsistence. There are, from a fair computation, something like 250,000 Indians in these western regions, who live almost exclusively on the flesh of these animals, through every part of the year. During the summer and fall months they use the meat fresh, and cook it in a great variety of ways, by roasting, broiling, boiling, stewing, smoking, etc.; and by boiling the ribs and joints with the marrow in them, make a delicious soup, which is universally used, and in vast quantities. The Mandans, I find, have no regular stated times for their meals, but generally eat about twice in the twenty-four hours. The pot is always boiling over the fire, and any one who is hungry (either of the household or from any other part of the village) has a right to order it taken off, and to fall to eating as he pleases. Such is an unvarying custom amongst the North American Indians, and I very much doubt, whether the civilized world have in their institutions any system which can be properly called more humane or charitable. Every man, woman

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or child in Indian communities is allowed to enter any one's lodge, and even that of the chief of the nation, and eat when they are hungry, provided misfortune or necessity has driven them to it. Even so can the poorest and most worthless drone of the nation; if he is too lazy to hunt or supply himself, he can walk into any lodge and everyone will share with him as long as there is anything to eat. He, however, who thus begs when is able to hunt, pays dear for his meat, for he is stigmatized with the disgraceful epithet of a poltroon and a beggar.

"The Mandans, like all other tribes, sit at their meals cross-legged, or rather with their ankles crossed in front of them, and both feet drawn close under their bodies; or, which is very often the case also, take their meals in a reclining posture, with the legs thrown out, and the body resting on one elbow and forearm, which are under them. The dishes from which they eat are invariably on the ground or floor of the lodge, and the group resting on buffalo robes or mats of various structure and manufacture.

"The position in which the women sit at their meals and on other occasions is different from that of the men, and one which they take and rise from again, with great ease and much grace, by merely bending the knees both together, inclining the body back and the head and shoulders quite forward, they squat entirely down to the ground, inclining both feet either to the right or left. In this position they always rest while eating, and it is both modest and graceful, for they seem, with apparent ease, to assume the position, and rise out of it, without using their hands in any way to assist them.

"These women, however, although graceful and civil, and ever so graceful and beautiful or ever so hungry, are not allowed to sit in the same group with the men while at their meals. So far as I have yet traveled in the Indian country, I never have seen an Indian woman eating with her husband. Men form the first group at the banquet, and women and children and dogs all come together at the next, and these gormandize and glut themselves to an enormous extent, though the men very seldom do.

Moderate Eaters. "It is time that an error on this subject, which has gone generally abroad in the world, was corrected. It is everywhere asserted, and almost universally believed, that the

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Indians are 'enormous eaters;' but comparatively speaking, I assure my readers that this is an error. I venture to say that there are no persons on earth who practice greater prudence and self-denial, than the men do (amongst the wild Indians,) who are constantly in war and in the chase, or in their athletic sports and exercises; for all of which they are excited by the highest ideas of pride and honor, and every kind of excess is studiously avoided; and for a very great part of their lives, the most painful abstinence is enforced upon themselves, for the purpose of preparing their bodies and their limbs for these extravagant exertions. Many a man who has been a few weeks along the frontier, amongst the drunken, naked and beggered part of the Indian race, and run home and written a book on Indians, has, no doubt, often seen them eat to beastly excess; and he has seen them also guzzle whiskey (and perhaps sold it to them) till he has seen them glutted and besotted, without will or energy to move; and many and thousands of such things can always be seen, where white people have made beggars of them, and they have nothing to do but lie under a fence and beg a whole week to get meat and whiskey enough for one feast and one carouse; but amongst the wild Indians in this country there are no beggars—no drunkards—and every man, from a beautiful natural precept, studies to keep his body and mind in such a healthy shape and condition as will at all times enable him to use his weapons in self-defense, or struggle for the prize in their manly games.

"As I before observed, these men generally eat but twice a day, and many times not more than once, and those meals are light and simple compared with the meals that are swallowed in the civilized world; and by the very people also, who sit at the festive board three times a day, making a jest of the Indian for his eating, when they actually guzzle more liquids, besides their eating, than would fill the stomach of an Indian.

"There are, however, many seasons and occasions in the year with all Indians, when they fast for several days in succession; and others where they can get nothing to eat and at such times (their habits are such) they may be seen to commence with an enormous meal, and because they do so, it is an insufficient reason why we should forever remain under so egregious an error with regard to a single custom of these people.

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000 "I have seen so many of these, and lived with them, and traveled with them, and oftentimes felt as if I should starve to death on an equal allowance, that I am fully convinced I am correct in saying that the North American Indians, taking them in the aggregate, even where they have an abundance to subsist on, eat less than any civilized population of equal numbers, that I have ever traveled amongst.

Curing Meat. "Their mode of curing and preserving the buffalo meat is somewhat curious, and in fact it is almost incredible also; for it is all cured or dried in the sun, without the aid of salt or smoke. The method of doing this is the same amongst all the tribes, from this to the Mexican provinces, and this is as follows: The choicest part of the flesh from the buffalo are cut out by the squaws, and carried home on their backs or on horses, and there 'cut across the grain,' in such a manner as will take alternately the layers of lean and fat; and having prepared it all in this way, in strips about half an inch in thickness, it is hung up by hundreds and thousands of pounds on poles resting on crotches, out of the reach of dogs or wolves, and exposed to the rays of the sun for several days, when it becomes so effectually dried, that it can be carried to any part of the world without damage. This seems almost an unaccountable thing, and the more so, as it is done in the hottest months of the year, and also in all the different latitudes of an Indian country.

"So singular a fact as this can only be accounted for, I consider, on the ground of the extraordinary rarity and purity of the air which we meet with in these vast tracts of country, which are now properly denominated 'the great buffalo plains', a series of exceedingly elevated plateaus or steppes or prairies, lying at and near the base of the Rocky mountains.

"It is a fact then, which I presume will be new to most of the world, that meat can be cured in the sun without the aid of smoke or salt; and it is a fact equally true and equally surprising also, that none of these tribes use salt in any way, although their country abounds in salt springs; and in many places, in the frequent walks of the Indian, the prairie may be seen, for miles together, covered with an incrustation of salt as white as the drifted snow.

"I have, in traveling with the Indians, encamped by such

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places, where they have cooked and eaten their meat, when I have been unable to prevail on them to use salt in any quantity whatever. The Indians cook their meat more than the civilized people do, and I have long since learned, from necessity, that meat thus cooked can easily be eaten and relished too, without salt or other condiment.

"The fact above asserted applies exclusively to those tribes of Indians which I have found in their primitive state, living entirely on meat; but everywhere along our frontier, where the game of the country has long since been destroyed, and these people have become semi-civilized, raising and eating as we do, a variety of vegetable food, they use (and no doubt require) a great deal of salt; and in many instances use it even to destructive excess." (p. 125.)

*This is a well known fact, as proven by common experience among the Indians in the farther prairie west and northwest. (De. L.)

Catlin's next chapter enters into the subject of Mandan dances and songs; in which he gives the results of close observation and some study into the genius of the Indian instinct and purpose regarding such practices, which, as shown, sometimes become duties in emergencies. He relates as incidental to one of their "dances for buffalo" a shrewd and successful stratagem of the Sioux by which the Mandans were misled to suppose they had discovered buffalo, only to find themselves surrounded by Sioux who had posed at a distance as those animals:

Dances and Songs. "The Mandans, like all the other tribes, lead lives of idleness and leisure; and of course, devote a great deal of time to their sports and amusements, of which they have a great variety. Of these, dancing is one of the principal, and may be seen in a variety of forms; such as the buffalo dance, the boasting dance, the begging dance, the scalp dance, and a dozen other kinds of dances, all of which have their peculiar characters and meanings or objects.

"These exercises are exceedingly grotesque in their appearance, and to the eye of a traveler who knows not their meaning or importance, they are an uncouth and frightful display of starts, and jumps, and yelps, and jarring gutturals, which are sometimes truly terrifying. But when one gives them a little

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attention, and has been lucky enough to be initiated into their mysterious meaning, they become a subject of the most intense and exciting interest. Every dance has its peculiar step, and every step has its meaning; every dance also has its peculiar song, and that is so intricate and mysterious oftentimes, that not one in ten of the young men who are dancing and singing it, know the meaning of the song which they are chanting over. None but the medicine-men are allowed to understand them; and even they are generally only initiated into these secret arcana, on the payment of a liberal stipend for their tuition, which requires much application and study. There is evidently a set song and sentiment for every dance, for the songs are perfectly measured, and sung in exact time with the beat of the drum; and always with a uniform and invariable set of sounds and expressions, which clearly indicate certain sentiments, which are expressed by the voice, though sometimes not given in any known language whatever.

"They have other dances and songs which are not so mystified, but which are sung and understood by every person in the tribe, being sung in their own language, with much poetry in them, and perfectly metered, but without rhyme. On these subjects I shall take another occasion to say more; and will for the present turn your attention to the style and modes in which some of these curious transactions are conducted.

"My ears have been almost continually ringing since I came here, with the din of yelping, and beating of the drums; but I have for several days past been peculiarly engrossed, and my senses almost confounded with the stamping, and grunting, and bellowing of the buffalo dance, which closed a few days since at sun rise (thank Heaven), and which I must needs describe to you.

Dance for Buffalo. "Buffalo, as is known, are a sort of roaming creatures, congregating occasionally in huge masses, and strolling away about the country, from east to west, or from north to south, or just where their whims or strange fancies may lead them; and the Mandans are sometimes, by this means, most unceremoniously left without anything to eat; and being a small tribe, and unwilling to risk their lives by going far from home in the face of their more powerful enemies, are oftentimes left in almost a state of starvation. In any emergency of this kind, every man

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musters and brings out of his lodge his mask (the skin of a buffalo's head with the horns on), which he is obliged to keep in readiness for this occasion; and then commences the buffalo dance, of which I have above spoken, which is held for the purpose of making the 'buffalo come' (as they term it), of inducing the buffalo herds to change the direction of their wanderings, and bend their course towards the Mandan village, and graze about on the beautiful hills and bluffs in its vicinity, where the Mandans can shoot them down and cook them as they want them for food.

"For the most part of the year, the young warriors and hunters, by riding out a mile or two from the village can kill meat in abundance; and sometimes large herds of these animals may be seen grazing in full view of the village. There are other seasons also when the young men have ranged about the country as far as they are willing to risk their lives, on account of their enemies, without finding meat. This sad intelligence is brought back to the chiefs and doctors, who sit in solemn council, and consult on the most expedient measures to be taken, until they are sure to decide upon the old and only expedient which 'never has failed.'

"The chief issues his orders to his runners or cryers, who proclaim it through the village—and in a few minutes the dance begins. The place where this strange operation is carried on is in the public arena in the center of the village, and in front of the great medicine or mystery lodge. About ten or fifteen Mandans at a time join in the dance, each one with the skin of the buffalo's head (or mask) with the horns on, placed over his head, and in his hand his favorite bow or lance, with which he is used to slay the buffalo.

"I mentioned that this dance always had the desired effect, that it never fails, nor can it, for it cannot be stopped (but is going incessantly day and night) until 'buffalo come.' Drums are beating and rattles are shaken, and songs and yells incessantly are shouted, and lookers-on stand ready with masks on their heads, and weapons in hand, to take the place of each one as he becomes fatigued, and jumps out of the ring.

"During this time of general excitement, spies or 'lookers' are kept on the hills in the neighborhood of the village, who when they discover buffalos in sight, give the appropriate signal, by 'throwing their robes,' which is instantly seen in the village, and

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000 understood by the whole tribe. At this joyful intelligence there is a shout of thanks to the Great Spirit, and more especially to the mystery man, and the dancers, who have been the immediate cause of their success. There is then a brisk preparation for the chase—a grand hunt takes place. The choicest pieces of the victims are sacrificed to the Great Spirit, and then a surfeit and a carouse. These dances have sometimes been continued in this village two and three weeks without stopping an instant, until the joyful moment when buffalos make their appearance. So they never fail; and they think they have been the means of bringing them in.

"Every man in the Mandan village (as I have before said) is obliged by a village regulation, to keep the mask of the buffalo, hanging on a post at the head of his bed, which he can use on his head whenever he is called upon by the chiefs, to dance for the coming of buffalos. The mask is put over the head, and generally has a strip of the skin hanging to it, of the whole length of the animal, with the tail attached to it, which passing down over the back of the dancer, is dragging on the ground. When one becomes fatigued of the exercise, he signifies it by bending quite forward, and sinking his body towards the ground; then another draws a bow upon him and hits him with a blunt arrow, and he falls like a buffalo—is seized by the by-standers, who drag him out of the ring by the heels, brandishing their knives about him; and having gone through the motions of skinning and cutting him up, they let him off, and his place is at once supplied by another, who dances into the ring with his mask on; and by this taking of places the scene is easily kept up night and day, until the desired effect has been produced, that of 'making the buffalo come.'"

Entrapped by Sioux. "The day before yesterday however, readers, which though it commenced in joy and thanksgiving to the Great Spirit for the signal success which had attended their several days of dancing and supplication, ended in a calamity which threw the Mandans into mourning and repentant tears, and that at a time of scarcity and great distress. The signal was given into the village on that morning from the top of a distant bluff, that a band of buffalos were in sight, though at a considerable distance

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off, and every heart beat with joy, and every eye watered and glistened with gladness.

"The dance had lasted some three or four days, and now instead of the doleful tap of the drum and the begging chants of the dancers, the stamping of horses was heard as they were led and galloped through the village—young men were throwing off their robes and their shirts—were seen snatching a handful of arrows from their quivers, and stringing their sinewy bows, glancing their eyes and their smiles at their sweathearts, and mounting their ponies.

"A few minutes there had been of bustle and boasting, whilst bows were twanging and spears were polishing by running their blades into the ground—every face and every eye was filled with joy and gladness—horses were pawing and snuffing in fury for the outset, when Louison Frenier, an interpreter of the fur company, galloped through the village with his rifle in his hand and his powder horn at his side; his head and waist were bandaged with handkerchiefs, and his short sleeves rolled up to his shoulders—the hunter's yell issued from his lips and was repeated through the village; he flew to the bluffs, and behind him and over the graceful swells of the prairie, galloped the emulous youths, whose hearts were beating high and quick for the onset.

"In the village, where hunger had reigned, and starvation was almost ready to look them in the face, all was instantly turned to joy and gladness. The chiefs and doctors who had been for several days dealing out minimum rations to the community from the public crib, now spread before their subjects the contents of their own private caches, and the last of everything that could be mustered, that they might eat a thanksgiving to the Great Spirit for his goodness in sending them a supply of buffalo meat. A general carouse of banqueting ensued, which occupied the greater part of the day; and their hidden stores which might have fed an emergency for several weeks, were pretty nearly used up on the occasion—bones were half picked, and dishes half emptied and then handed to the dogs. I was not forgotten neither, in the general surfeit; several large and generous wooden bowls of pemican and other palatable food were sent to my painting room, and I received them in this time of scarcity with great pleasure.

"After this general indulgence was over, and the dogs had

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licked the dishes, their usual games and amusements ensued—and hilarity and mirth, and joy took possession of, and reigned in every nook and corner of the village; and in the midst of this, screams and shrieks were heard, and echoed everywhere. Women and children scrambled to the tops of their wigwams, with their eyes and their hands stretched in agonizing earnestness to the prairie, whilst blackened warriors ran furiously through every winding maze of the village, and issuing their jarring gutturals of vengeance, as they snatched their deadly weapons from their lodges, and struck the reddened post as they furiously passed it by!

"Two of their hunters were bending their course down the sides of the bluff towards the village, and another broke suddenly out of a deep ravine, and yet another was seen dashing over and down the green hills, and all were goading on their horses at full speed. And then came another, and another, and all entered the village amid shouts and groans of the villagers who crowded around them; the story was told in their looks, for one was bleeding, and the blood that flowed from his naked breast had crimsoned his milk white steed as it had dripped over him; another grasped in his left hand a scalp that was reeking in blood—and in the other his whip—another grasped nothing, save the reins in one hand and the mane of his horse in the other, having thrown his bow and arrows away, and trusted to the fleetness of his horse for his safety; yet the story was audibly told, and the fatal tragedy recited in irregular and almost suffocating ejaculations—the names of the dead were in turns pronounced and screams and shrieks burst forth at their recital—murmurs and groans ran through the village, and this happy little community were in a moment smitten with sorrow and distraction.

"Their proud band of hunters who had started out full of glee and mirth in the morning, had been surrounded by their enemy, the Sioux, and eight of them killed. The Sioux, who had probably reconnoitered their village during the night, and ascertained that they were dancing for buffalos, laid a stratagem to entrap them in the following manner: Some six or eight of them appeared the next morning (on a distant bluff, in the sight of the sentinel) under the skins of buffalos, imitating the movements of these animals while grazing; and being discovered by the sen-

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tinel, the intelligence was telegraphed to the village, which brought out their hunters as I have described. The masked buffalos were seen grazing on the top of a high bluff, and when the hunters had approached within half a mile or so of them, they suddenly disappeared over the hill. Louison Frenier, who was leading a little band of hunters, became at that moment suspicious of so strange a movement, and came to a halt. * * *

"'Look,' said a Mandan, pointing to a little ravine to the right, and at the foot of the hill, from which suddenly broke some forty or fifty furious Sioux, on fleet horses and under full whip, who were rushing upon them; they wheeled, and in front of them came another band more furious from the other side of the hill. They started for home (poor fellows), and strained every nerve; but the Sioux were too fleet for them; and every now and then the whizzing arrows and the lance were heard to rip the flesh of their naked backs, and a grunt and a groan, as they tumbled from their horses. Several miles were run in this desperate race; and Frenier got home, and several of the Mandans, though eight of them were killed and scalped by the way.

"So ended that day and the hunt; but many a day and sad, will last the grief of those whose hearts were broken on that unlucky occasion.

"This day, though, my readers, has been one of a more joyful kind, for the Great Spirit, who was indignant at so flagrant an injustice, has sent the Mandans an abundance of buffalos; and all hearts have joined in a general thanksgiving to Him for his goodness and justice." (p. 130.)

Boys' Sham-fight, Etc. "In my last letter I gave an account of the buffalo dance, and in future epistles may give some description of a dozen other kinds of dance, which these people have in common with other tribes; but in the present letter I shall make an endeavor to confine my observations to several other customs and forms, which are very curious and peculiar to the Mandans.

"Of these, one of the most pleasing is the sham-fight and sham scalp-dance of the Mandan boys, which is part of their regular exercise, and constitutes a material branch of their education. During the pleasant mornings of the summer, the little boys between the ages of seven and fifteen are called out, to the number of several hundred, and being divided into two companies, each

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000 of which is headed by some experienced warrior, who leads them on, in the character of a teacher; they are led out into the prairie at sunrise, where this curious discipline is regularly taught them. Their bodies are naked, and each one has a little bow in his left hand and a number of arrows made of large spears of grass, which are harmless in their effects. Each one also has a little belt or girdle around his waist, in which he carries a knife made of a piece of wood and equally harmless—on the tops of their heads are slightly attached small tufts of grass, which answer as scalps, and in this plight, they follow the dictates of their experienced leaders, who lead them through the judicious evolutions of Indian warfare—of feints—of retreats—of attacks—and at last to a general fight. Many maneuvers are gone through, and eventually they are brought up face to face within fifteen or twenty feet of each other, with their leaders at their head stimulating them on. Their bows are bent upon each other and their missiles flying, whilst they are dodging and fending them off.

"If any one is struck with an arrow in any vital part of his body, he is obliged to fall, and his adversary rushes up to him, places his foot upon him, and snatching from his belt his wooden knife, grasps hold of his victim's scalp-lock of grass, and making a feint at it with his wooden knife, twitches it off and puts it into his belt and enters again into the ranks and front of battle.

"This mode of training generally lasts an hour or more in the morning and is performed on an empty stomach, affording them a rigid and wholesome exercise, whilst they are instructed in the importance science of war. Some five or six miles of ground are run over during these evolutions, giving suppleness to their limbs and strength to their muscles, which last and benefit them through life.

"After this exciting exhibition is ended, they all return to their village where the chiefs and braves pay profound attention to their vaunting and applaud them for their artifice and valour.

"Those who have taken scalps then step forward, brandishing them and making their boast as they enter into the scalp dance (in which they are also instructed by their leaders or teachers) jumping and yelling, brandishing their scalps and reciting their sanguinary deeds to the great astonishment of their tender aged sweethearts, who are gazing with wonder upon them.

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Games and Tchug-kee. "The games and amusements of these people are in most respects like those of other tribes, consisting of ball plays, game of the moccasin, of the platter feats, of archery, horse racing, etc., and they have yet another which may be said to be their favorite amusement, and unknown to the other tribes about them—the game of Tchug-kee, a beautiful and athletic exercise, which they seem to be almost unceasingly practicing whilst the weather is fair, and they have nothing else of moment to demand their attention. This game is decidedly their favorite amusement, and is played near to the village on a pavement of clay, which has been used for that purpose until it has become as smooth and hard as a floor. For this game two champions form their respective parties by choosing alternately the most famous players, until their requisite numbers are made up. Their bettings are then made, and their stakes are held by some of the chiefs or others present. The play commences with two (one from each party) who start off on a trot, abreast of each other, and one of them rolls in advance of them on the pavement a little ring of two or three inches in diameter, cut out of a stone; and each one follows it up with his 'tchug-kee' a stick of six feet in length with little bits of leather projecting from its sides of an inch or more in length, which he throws before him as he runs, sliding it along upon the ground after the ring, endeavoring to place it in such a position when it stops that the ring may fall upon it, and receive one of the little projections of leather through it, which counts for game, one, or two, or four, according to the position of the leather on which the ring is lodged. The last winner always has the rolling of the ring, and both start and throw the tchug-kee together. If either fails to receive the ring or to lie in a certain position, it is a forfeiture of the amount of the number he was nearest to and he loses his throw, when another steps into his place. This game is a very difficult one to describe so as to give an exact idea of it, unless one can see it played. It is a game of great beauty and fine bodily exercise, and these people become excessively fascinated with it, often gambling away everything they possess, and even sometimes when everything else was gone, have been known to stake their liberty upon the issues of these games, offering themselves as slaves to their opponents in case they get beaten.

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000 "**Feasting** and **fasting** are important customs observed by the Mandans, as well as by most other tribes, at stated times and for particular purposes. These observations are strictly religious and rigidly observed. There are many of these forms practiced amongst the Mandans, some of which are exceedingly interesting and important also, in forming a correct estimate of the Indian character, and I shall at a future period take particular pains to lay them before my readers.

"**Sacrificing** is also a religious custom with these people and is performed in many different modes and numerous occasions. Of this custom I shall also speak more fully hereafter, merely noticing at present some few of the hundred modes in which these offerings are made to the good and evil spirits. Human sacrifices have never been made by the Mandans, nor by any of the Northwestern tribes (so far as I can learn) excepting the Pawnees of the Platte, who have, undoubtedly, observed such an inhuman practice in the former times, though they have relinquished it of late. The Mandans sacrificed their fingers to the Great Spirit, and of their wordly goods, the best and most costly. If a horse or a dog it must be the favorite one; if it is an arrow from their quiver they will select the most perfect one as the most effective gift; if it is meat it is the choicest piece cut from the buffalo or other animal; if it is anything from the stores of the traders, it is the most costly—it is blue or scarlet cloth, which costs them in this country an enormous price, and is chiefly used for the purpose of hanging over their wigwams to decay, or to cover the scaffolds where rest the bones of their departed relations.

"Of these kinds of sacrifices there are three of an interesting nature, erected over the great medicine lodge in the center of the village—they consist of ten or fifteen yards of blue and black cloth each, purchased from the fur company at fifteen or twenty dollars per yard, which are folded up so as to resemble human figures, with quills in their heads and masks on their faces. These singular looking figures, like scare crows are erected on poles about thirty feet high, over the door of the mystery lodge, and there are left to decay. There hangs now by the side of them another, which was added to the number a few days since, of the skin of the white buffalo, which will remain there until it decays and falls to pieces.

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White Robe. "This beautiful and costly skin, when its history is known, will furnish a striking proof of the importance which they attach to these propitiatory offerings. But a few weeks since a party of Mandans returned from the mouth of the Yellowstone, two hundred miles above, with information that a party of Blackfeet were visiting that place on business with the American Fur Company; and that they had with them a white buffalo robe for sale. This was looked upon as a subject of great importance by the chiefs, and one worthy of public consideration. A white buffalo robe is a great curiosity, even in the country of buffalos, and will always command an almost incredible price, from its extreme scarcity; and then, from its being the most costly article of traffic in these regions, it is usually converted into a sacrifice, being offered to the Great Spirit, as the most acceptable gift that can be procured. Amongst the vast herds of buffalo which graze in these boundless prairies, there is not one in a hundred thousand, perhaps, that is white, and when such a one is obtained, it is considered great medicine or mystery.

"On the receipt of the intelligence above mentioned, the chiefs convened in council, and deliberated on the expediency of procuring the white robe from the Blackfeet; and also of appropriating the requisite means, and devising the proper mode of procedure for effecting the purchase. At the close of their deliberations, eight men were fitted out on eight of their best horses, who took from the fur company's store, on the credit of the chiefs, goods exceeding even the value of their eight horses; and they started for the mouth of the Yellowstone, where they arrived in due time, and made the purchase, by leaving the eight horses and all the goods which they carried; returning on foot to their own village, bringing home with them the white robe, which was looked upon by all eyes of the villagers as a thing that was vastly curious, and containing (as they expressed it) something of the Great Spirit. This wonderful anomaly laid for several days in the chief's lodge, until public curiosity was gratified; and then it was taken by the doctors or high priests, and with a great deal of form and mystery consecrated, and raised on the top of a long pole over the medicine lodge; where it now stands in a group with the others, and will stand as an offering to the Great Spirit, until it decays and falls to the ground."

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Here Catlin ends a chapter by relating the exploits of another professional among the Mandans.

The "Rain Maker." "Readers, did you ever hear of 'Rain Makers?' If not, sit still, and read on; but laugh not—keep cool and sober, or else you may laugh in the beginning and cry at the end of my story. Well, I introduce you to a new character—not a doctor or a high priest, yet a medicine-man, and one of the highest and most respectable order, a 'Rain Maker.' Such dignitaries live in the Mandan nation, aye, and 'Rain Stoppers,' too; and even those also amongst their conjurati, who, like Joshua of old, have even essayed to stop the sun in his course; but from the inefficiency of their medicine or mystery, have long since descended into insignificance.

"Well the story begins thus: The Mandans, as I have said in a former letter, raise a great deal of corn; and sometimes a most disastrous drought will be visited on the land, destructive to their promised harvest. Such was the case when I arrived at the Mandan village on the steamboat, Yellowstone. Rain had not fallen for many a day, and the dear little girls and the ugly old squaws, together (all of whom had fields of corn), were groaning and crying to their lords, and imploring them to intercede for rain, that their little respective patches, which were now turning pale and yellow, might not be withered, and they be deprived of the pleasure of their customary annual festivity, and the joyful occasion of the 'roasting ears', and the 'green corn dance.'

"The chiefs and doctors sympathized with the plaints of the women, and recommended patience. Great deilberation,' they said, was necessary in these cases; and though they resolved on making the attempt to produce rain for the benefit of the corn; yet they very wisely resolved that to begin too soon might insure their entire defeat in the endeavor; and that the longer they put it off, the more certain they would feel of ultimate success. So, after a few days of further delay, when the importunities of the women had become clamorous, and even mournful, and almost insupportable, the medicine-men assembled in the council house, with all their mystery apparatus about them—with an abundance of wild sage, and other aromatic herbs, with a fire prepared to burn them—that their savory odors might be sent forth to the Great Spirit. The lodge was closed to all the villagers, except some ten or fifteen young men, who were willing to hazard the

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dreadful alternative of making it rain, or suffer the everlasting disgrace of having made a fruitless essay.

"They, only, were allowed as witnesses to the **hocus pocus** and **conjuration** devised by the doctors inside of the medicine lodge; and they were called up by lot, each one in his turn, to spend a day upon the top of the lodge, to test the potency of his medicine; or, in other words, to see how far his voice might be heard and obeyed amongst the clouds of the heavens; whilst the doctors were burning incense in the wigwam below, and with their songs and prayers to the Great Spirit for success, were sending forth grateful fumes and odors to Him 'who lives in the sun and commands the thunders of Heaven.' Wah-kee (the shield) was the first who ascended the wigwam at sunrise; and he stood all day and looked foolish, as he was counting over and over his string of mystery beads—the whole village were assembled around him and praying for his success. Not a cloud appeared, the day was calm and hot; and at the setting of the sun, he dedescended from the lodge and went home—'his **medicine** was not good,' nor can he ever be a **medicine man.**

"Om-pah (the elk) was the next; he ascended the lodge at sunrise the next morning. His body was entirely naked, being covered with a yellow clay. On his left arm he carried a beautiful shield, and a long lance in his right, and on his head the skin of a raven, the bird that soars amidst the clouds, and above the lightning's glare—he flourished his shield and brandished his lance, and raised his voice, but in vain; for at sunset the ground was dry and the sky was clear; the squaws were crying, and their corn was withering at its roots.

"War-rah-pa (the beaver) was the next; he also spent his breath in vain upon the empty air, and came down at night—and Wak-a-dah-ha-hee (the white buffalo's hair) took the stand the next morning. He is a small, but beautifully proportioned young man. He was dressed in a tunic and leggins of the skins of the Mountain sheep, splendily garnished with quills of the porcupine, and fringed with locks of hair taken by his own hand from the heads of his enemies. On his arm he carried his shield, made of the buffalo's hide—its boss was the head of the war eagle—and its front was ornamented with 'red chains of lightning.' In his left hand he clenched his sinewy bow and one single arrow. The villagers were all gathered about him when he threw up a feather

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000 to decide on the course of the wind, and he commenced thus: 'My friends! People of the pheasants! You see me here a sacrifice—I shall this day relieve you from great distress, and bring joy amongst you; or I shall descend from this lodge when the sun goes down, and live amongst the dogs and old women all my days. My friends! You see which way the feather blew, and I hold my shield this day in the direction where the wind comes—the lightning on my shield will draw a great cloud, and this arrow which is selected from my quiver, and which is feathered with the quill of the white swan, will make a hole in it. My friends! This hole in the lodge at my feet, shows me the medicine-men, who are seated in the lodge below me and crying to the Great Spirit, and through it comes and passes into my nose delightful odors, which you see rising in the smoke to the Great Spirit above, who rides in the clouds and commands the winds. Three days they have sat here, my friends, and nothing has been done to relieve your distress. On the first day was Wah-kee (the shield), he could do nothing; he counted his beads and came down—his medicine was not good—his name was bad, and it kept off the rain. The next was Om-pah (the elk); on his head the raven was seen, who flies above the storm, and he failed. War-rah-pa (the beaver) was the next, my friends; the beaver lives under the water, and he never wants it to rain. My friends I see you are in great distress, and nothing has yet been done; this shield belonged to my father, the White Buffalo; and the lightning you see on it is red; it was taken from a black cloud, and that cloud will come over us today. I am the White Buffalo's hair—and I am the son of my father.'

"In this manner flourished and maneuvered Wak-a-dah-ha-hee (the white buffalo's hair), alternately addressing the audience and the Heavens—and holding converse with the winds and the 'je-bi' (spirits) that are floating about in them—stamping his foot over the heads of the Magi, who were envolved in mysteries beneath him, and invoking the spirits of darkness and light to send rain, to gladden the hearts of the Mandans.

Steam Spook. "It happened on this memorable day about noon, that the steamboat Yellowstone, on her first trip up the Missouri river, approached and landed at the Mandan village, as I have described in a former epistle. I was lucky enough to be a passenger on this boat, and helped to fire a salute of twenty

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guns of twelve pounds calibre, when we first came in sight of the village, some three or four miles below. These guns introduced a new sound into this strange country, which the Mandans at first supposed to be thunder; and the young man upon the lodge, who turned it to good account, was gathering fame in rounds of applause, which were repeated and echoed through the whole village; all eyes were centered upon him—chiefs envied him—mother's hearts were beating high whilst they were decorating and leading up their fair daughters to offer him in marriage, on his signal success. The medicine-men had left the lodge, and come up to bestow upon him the envied title of 'medicine-man,' or 'doctor,' which he had so deservedly won—wreaths were prepared to decorate his brows, and eagles plumes and calumets were in readiness for him; his friends were all rejoiced—his enemies wore on their faces a silent gloom and hatred; and his old sweethearts, who had formely cast him off, gazed intently upon him, as they glowed with the burning fever of repentance.

"During all this excitement, Wak-a-dah-ha-kee kept his position, assuming the most commanding and threatening attitude; brandishing his shield in the direction of the thunder, although there was not a cloud to be seen, until he (poor fellow), being elevated above the rest of the village, espied, to his inexpressible amazement, the steamboat ploughing its way up the windings of the river below; puffing her steam from her pipes, and sending forth the thunder from a twelve-pounder on her deck. * * *

"The White Buffalo's Hair stood motionless and turned pale, he looked a while and turned to the chiefs and to the multitude, and addressed them with a trembling lip—'My friends we will get no rain! There are, you see, no clouds; but my medicine is great, I have brought a thunder-boat! Look and see it! The thunder you hear is out of her mouth, and the lightning which you see is on the water!'

"At this intelligence, the whole village flew to the tops of their wigwams, or to the bank of the river, from whence the steamer was in full view, and ploughing along, to their utter dismay and confusion.

"In this promiscuous throng of chiefs, doctors, women, children and dogs, was mingled Wak-a-dah-ha-hee (the white buffalo's hair), having descended from his high place to mingle with the frightened throng.

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000 "Dismayed at the approach of so strange and unaccountable an object, the Mandans stood their ground but a few minutes; when, by an order of the chiefs, all hands were ensconced within the piquets of their village, and all the warriors armed for desperate defense. A few moments brought the boat in front of the village, and all was still and quiet as death; not a Mandan was to be seen upon the banks. The steamer was moored, and three or four of the chiefs soon after, walked boldly down the bank and on to her deck, with a spear in one hand and the calumet or pipe of peace in the other. The moment they stepped on board they met (to their great surprise and joy) their old friend, Major Sanford, their agent, which circumstance put an instant end to all their fears. The villagers were soon apprised of the fact, and the whole race of the beautiful and friendly Mandans was paraded on the bank of the river, in front of the steamer.

"The 'Rain Maker,' whose apprehensions of a public calamity brought upon the nation by his extraordinary medicine, had for the better security of his person from apprehended vengeance, secreted himself in some secure place, and was the last to come forward, and the last to be convinced that this visitation was a friendly one from the white people; and that his medicine had not in the least been instrumental in bringing it about. This information, though received by him with much caution and suspicion, at length gave him great relief, and quieted his mind as to his danger. Yet still in his breast there was a rankling thorn, though he escaped the dreaded vengeance which he had a few minutes before apprehended as at hand; as he had the mortification and disgrace of having failed in his mysterious operations. He set up however, (during the day, in his conversation about the strange arrival), his medicines, as the cause of its approach; asserting everywhere and to everybody, that he knew of its coming and that he had by his magic brought the occurrence about. This plea, however, did not get him much audience; and in fact, everything else was pretty much swallowed up in the guttural talk, and bustle, and gossip about the mysteries of the 'thunder-boat;' and so passed the day, until just at the approach of evening, when the 'White Buffalo's Hair' (more watchful of such matters on this occasion than most others) observed that a black cloud had been jutting up in the horizon, and was almost directly over the village! In an instant his shield was on his arm, and his bow in his hand, and he

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again upon the lodge. Stiffened and braced to the last sinew, he stood, with his face and his shield presented to the cloud, and his bow drawn. He drew the eyes of the whole village upon him as he vaunted forth his super-human powers, and at the same time commanded the cloud to come nearer, that he might draw its contents upon the heads and the corn fields of the Mandans. In this wise he stood, waiving his shield over his head, stamping his foot and frowning as he drew his bow and threatened the Heavens, his bow was bent and the arrow drawn to its head, was sent to the cloud, and he exclaimed, 'My friends, it is done! Wak-a-dah-ha-hee's arrow has entered that black cloud, and the Mandans will be wet with the waters of the skies!' His predictions were true; in a few moments the cloud was over the village, and the rain fell in torrents. He stood for some time wielding his weapons and presenting his shield to the sky, while he boasted of his power and the efficacy of his medicine, to those who had been about him, but were now driven to the shelter of their wigwams. He at length, finished his vaunts and his threats, and descended from his high place (in which he had been perfectly drenched), prepared to receive the honors and the homage that were due to one so potent in his mysteries; and to receive the style and title of 'medicine-man.' This is one of the hundred different modes in which a man in Indian countries acquires the honorable appellation.

"This man had 'made it rain,' and of course was to receive more than the usual honors, as he had done much more than ordinary men could do. All eyes were upon him, and all were ready to admit that he was skilled in the magic art; and must be so nearly allied to the Great or Evil Spirt, that he must needs be a man of great and powerful influence in the nation, and well entitled to the style of doctor or medicine-man.

"Readers, there are two facts relative to these strange transactions, which are infallibly true, and should needs be made known. The first is, that when the Mandans undertake to make it rain, they never fail to succeed, for their cememonies never stop until rain begins to fall. The second is equally true, and is this: That he who has once 'made it rain,' never attempts it again; his medicine is undoubted—and on future occasions of the kind, he stands aloof, who has once done it in the presence of the whole

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000 village, giving an opportunity to other young men who are ambitious to signalize themselves in the same way."

Lightning's Bolt. "During the memorable night which I have just spoken, the steamboat remained by the side of the Mandan village, and the rain that had commenced falling continued to pour down its torrents until midnight; black thunder roared, and livid lightning flashed until the heavens appeared to be lit up with one unceasing and appalling glare. In this frightful moment of consternation, a flash of lightning buried itself in one of the earth covered lodges of the Mandans, and killed a beautiful girl. Here was food and fuel fresh for their superstitions, and a night of vast tumult and excitement ensued. The dreams of the new made medicine-man were troubled, and he had dreadful apprehensions for the coming day—for he knew that he was subject to the irrevocable decree of the chiefs and doctors, who canvass every strange and unaccountable event, with close and superstitious scrutiny, and let their vengeance fall without mercy upon its immediate cause.

"He looked upon his well earned fame as likely to be withheld from him; and also considered that his life might perhaps be demanded as the forfeit for this girl's death, which would certainly be charged upon him. He looked upon himself as culpable, and supposed the incident to have been occasioned by his criminal desertion of his post, when the steamboat was approaching the village. Morning came, and he soon learned from some of his friends, the opinions of the wise men; and also the nature of the tribunal that was preparing for him; he sent to the prairie for his three horses, which were brought in, and he mounted the medicine lodge, around which, in a few moments the villagers were all assembled. 'My friends! (said he) I see you all around me, and I am before you; my medicine, you see, is great—it is too great—I am young, and I was too fast—I knew not when to stop. The wigwam of Mah-sish is laid low, and many are the eyes that weep for Ko-ka (the antelope); Wak-a-dah-ha-hee gives three horses to gladden the hearts of those who weep for Ko-ka; his medicine was great—his arrow pierced the black cloud, and the lightning came, and the **thunder-boat** also! Who says the medicine of Wak-a-dah-ha-hee is not strong?'

"At the end of this sentence an unanimous shout of approbation ran through the crowd, and the 'Hair of the White Buffalo' de-

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scended amongst them, where he was greeted by shakes of the hand; and amongst whom he now lives and thrives under the familiar and honorable appellation of the 'Big Double Medicine.'"

Catlin now explains the dexterity of the Mandans in the use of the bow and arrow; shows why they shoot at short instead of long range, how the combination of rider and handler of that formidable weapon results in wonderful execution; that the Mandan horses were of Mexican stock; and mentions the "game of the arrow" and horse-racing as among the games and recreations of that tribe:

"This day has been one of unusual mirth and amusement amongst the Mandans, and whether on account of some annual celebration or not, I am as yet unable to say, though I think such is the case; for these people have many days which, like this, are devoted to festivities and amusements.

"Their lives, however, are lives of idleness and ease, and almost all their days and hours are spent in innocent amusements. Amongst a people who have no office hours to attend to—no professions to study, and of whom but very little time is required in the chase, to supply their families with food, it would be strange if they did not practice many games and amusements, and also become exceedingly expert in them.

"I have this day been a spectator of games and plays until I am fatigued with looking on; and also by lending a hand, which I have done; but with so little success as only to attract general observation and as generally to excite the criticisms and laughter of the squaws and little children."

Arrow Game. "I have seen a fair exhibition of their archery this day, in a favorite amusement which they call the 'game of the arrow,' where the young men who are the most distinguished in this exercise, assemble on the prairie at a little distance from the village, and having paid, each one, his 'entrance fee,' such as a shield, a robe, a pipe, or other article. step forward in turn, shooting their arrows into the air, endeavoring to see who can get the greatest number flying in the air at one time, thrown from the same bow. For this, the number of eight or ten arrows are clenched in the left hand with the bow, and the first one which is thrown is elevated to such a degree as will enable it to remain the longest time possible in the air, and while it is flying, the

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others are discharged as rapidly as possible; and he who succeeds in getting the greatest number up at once, is 'best,' and takes the goods staked.

"In looking on at this amusement, the spectator is surprised; not at the great distance to which the arrows are actually sent; but at the quickness of fixing them on the string, and discharging them in succession; which is no doubt, the result of great practice, and enables the most expert of them to get as many as eight arrows up before the first one reaches the ground."

Short-Range Shooting. "For the successful use of the bow, as it is used through all this region of country on horseback, and that invariably at full speed, the great object of practice is to enable the bowman to draw the bow with suddenness and instant effect; and also to repeat the shots in the most rapid manner. As their game is killed from their horses' back while at the swiftest rate and their enemies fought in the same manner; and as the horse is the swiftest animal of the prairie, and always able to bring his rider along side, within a few paces of his victim; it will easily be seen that the Indian has little use in throwing his arrow more than a few paces; when he leans quite low on his horse's side, and drives it with astonishing force, capable of producing instant death to the buffalo, or any other animal in the country. The bows which are generally in use in the regions I have described in a former letter, and the effects produced by them at the distance of a few paces is almost beyond belief, considering their length, which is not often over three—and sometimes not exceeding two and a half feet. It can easily be seen, from what has been said, that the Indian has little use or object in throwing the arrow to any great distance. And as it is very seldom that they can be seen shooting at a target, I doubt very much whether their skill in such practice would compare with that attained to in many parts of the civilized world; but with the same weapon, and dashing forward at the fullest speed on the wild horse, without the use of the rein, when the shot is required to be made with the most instantaneous effect, I scarcely think it possible that any people can be found more skilled, and capable of producing more deadly effects with the bow.

Use Mexican Horses. "The horses which the Indians ride in this country are invariably the wild horses, which are found in great numbers on the prairies; and have, unquestionably, strayed

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from the Mexican borders, into which they were introduced by the Spanish invaders of that country; and now range and subsist themselves, in winter and summer, over the vast plains of prairie that stretch from the Mexican frontiers, to lake Winnipeg on the north, a distance of 3,000 miles. These horses are all of small stature, of the pony order; but very hardy and tough animals being able to perform for the Indians a continual and essential service. They are taken with the lasso, which is a long halter or thong, made of rawhide, of some fifteen or twenty yards in length, and which the Indians throw with great dexterity; with a noose at one end of it, which drops over the head of the animal they wish to catch, whilst running at full speed—when the Indian dismounts from his own horse, and holding to the end of the lasso, chokes the animal down, and afterwards tames and converts him to his own use.

"Scarcely a man is to be found in these regions, who is not the owner of one or more of these horses; and in many instances of eight, ten, or even twenty, which he values as his own personal property."

Horse Racing. "The Indians are hard and cruel masters; and, added to their cruelties is the sin that is familiar in the Christian world, of sporting with the limbs and lives of these noble animals. Horse racing here, as in all more enlightened communities, is one of the most exciting amusements, and one of the most extravagant modes of gambling.

"I have been this day a spectator to scenes of this kind, which have been enacted in abundance, on a course which they have, just back of their village; and although I never had the least taste for this cruel amusement in my own country, yet I must say, I have been not little amused and pleased with the thrilling effect which these exciting scenes have produced amongst so wild and picturesque a group.

"I have made a sketch of the ground and the group, as near as I could; showing the manner of 'starting' and 'coming out,' which vary little from the customs of the knowing world; but in other respects, I believe, a horse race is the same all the world over."

War Party. "Besides these, many have been the amusements of this day, to which I have been an eye witness; and since writing the above, I have learned the cause of this unusual expression

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000 of hilarity and mirth; which was no more or less than the safe return of a small war party, who had been so long out without any tidings having been received of them, that they had long since been looked upon as sacrificed to the fates of war and lost. This party was made up of the most distinguished and desperate young men of the tribe, who had sallied against the Riccarees, and taken the most solemn oath amongst themselves never to return without achieving a victory. They had wandered long and faithfully about the country, following the trails of their enemies, when they were attacked by a numerous party, and lost several of their men and all their horses. In this condition, to evade the scrutiny of their enemy, who were closely investing the natural route to their village; they took a circuitous range of the country, to enable them to return with their lives, to their village.

"In this plight, it seems, I had dropped my little canoe along side of them, while descending from the mouth of Yellowstone to this place, not many weeks since; where they had bivouacked or halted, to smoke and consult on the best and safest mode of procedure. At the time of meeting them, not knowing anything of their language, they were unable to communicate their condition to me, and more probably were afraid to do so even if they could have done so, from apprehension that we might have given some account of them to their enemies. I rested my canoe an hour or so with them, during which time they treated us with an indifferent reserve, yet respectfully; and we passed on our way, without further information of them or their plans than the sketch that I there made, and which I shall preserve and value as one of the most pleasing groups I ever have had the pleasure to see. Seated on their buffalo robes, which were spread upon the grass, with their respective weapons laying about them, and lighting their pipes at a little fire which was kindled in the center—the chief or leader of the party, with his arms stacked behind him, and his long head-dress of war eagles' quills and ermine falling down over his back, whilst he sat in a contemplative and almost desponding mood, was surely one of the most striking and beautiful illustrations of a natural hero that I ever looked upon.

"These gallant fellows got safely home to their village, and the numerous expressions of joy for their return, which I have this day witnessed, have so much fatigued me, that I write brief, and close my letter here." (p. 144.)

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Now follows a return by Catlin to the subject of the noted chief, Four Bears, whom he describes with great particularity as to his garb and personal ornaments in connection with the painting of his picture. This and many other paintings made by Catlin in the Indian country form, as is well known, part of the famous "Catlin's Museum" in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D. C. If the fine drawing of Four Bears thus "tricked out," published in connection in his "North American Indians," could be here reproduced, the reader would be immensely assisted and further entertained in the following narrative.

"In a former letter I gave some account of Mah-to-toh-pa (the four bears), second chief of the Mandans, whom I said I had painted at full length, in a splendid costume. I therein said, also, that 'this extraordinary man, though second in office, is undoubtedly the first and most popular man in the nation. Free, generous, elegant, and gentlemanly his deportment—handsome, brave, and valiant; wearing a robe on his back, with the history of all his battles painted on it, which would fill a book of themselves if they were properly enlarged and translated."

Four Bears' Costume. "I gave you also, in another epistle, an account of the manner in which he invited me to feast in his hospitable wigwam, at the same time presenting me with a beautifully garnished robe; and I promised to say more of him on a future occasion. My readers will therefore pardon me for devoting a letter or two at this time, to a sketch of this extraordinary man, which I will give in as brief a manner as possible, by describing the costume in which I painted his portrait; and afterwards reciting the most remarkable incidents of his life, as I had them from the traders and the Indian agents, and afterwards corroborated by his own words, translated to me as he spoke, whilst I was writing them down.

"The dress of Mah-to-toh-pa then, the greater part of which I have represented in his full length portrait, and which I shall now describe, was purchased of him after I had painted his picture; and every article of it can be seen in my Indian gallery by the side of the portrait, provided I succeed in getting them home to the civilized world without injury.

"Mah-to-toh-pa had agreed to stand before me for his portrait at an early hour of the next morning, and on that day I sat with my palette of colors prepared, and waited till twelve o'clock, be-

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fore he could leave his toilette with feelings of satisfaction as to the propriety of his looks and the arrangement of his equipments; and at that it was announced that 'Mah-to-toh-pa was coming in full dress.' I looked out of the door of the wigwam, and saw him approaching with a firm and elastic step, accompanied by a great crowd of women and children, who were gazing on him with admiration, and escorting him to my room. No tragedian ever trod the stage, nor gladiator ever entered the Roman Forum, with more grace and manly dignity than did Mah-to-toh-pa enter the wigwam, where I was in readiness to receive him.

"He took his attitude before me, and with the sternness of a Brutus and the stillness of a statue, he stood until the darkness of night broke upon the solitary stillness. His dress which was a very splendid one, was complete in all its parts, and consisted of a shirt or tunic, leggins, moccasins, head-dress, necklace, shield, bow and quiver, lance, tobacco sack, and pipe; robe, belt, and knife; medicine-bag, tomahawk, and war-club, or Po-ko-mo-kon.

"The shirt of which I have spoken, was made of two skins of the mountain sheep, beautifully dressed, and sewed together by seams which rested upon the arms; one skin hanging in front, upon the breast, and the other falling down upon the back; the head being passed between them, and they falling over and resting on the shoulders. Across each shoulder, and somewhat in the form of an epaulette, was a beautiful band; and down each arm from the neck to the hand was a similar one, of two inches in width (and crossing the other at right angles on the shoulder), beautifully embroidered with porcupine quills worked on the dress, and covering the seams. To the lower edge of these bands the whole way, at intervals of half an inch, were attached long locks of black hair, which he had taken with his own hand from the heads of his enemies whom he had slain in battle, and which he thus wore as a trophy, and also as an ornament to his dress. The front and back of the shirt were curiously garnished, in several parts with porcupine quills and paintings of the battles he had fought, and also with representations of the victims that had fallen by his hand. The bottom of the dress was bound or hemmed with ermine skins, and tassels of ermines' tails were suspended from the arms and shoulders.

"The leggins, which were made of deer skins, beautifully

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dressed, and fitting tight to the leg, extended from the feet to the hips, and were fastened to a belt which was passed around the waist. These, like the shirt, had a similar band, worked with porcupine quills of richest dyes, passing down the seam on the outer part of the leg, and fringed also the whole length of the leg, with the scalp locks taken from his enemies' heads.

"The **moccasins** were of buckskin, and covered in almost every part with the beautiful embroidery of porcupines' quills.

"The **head-dress**, which was superb and truly magnificent, consisted of a crest of war eagles' quills, gracefully falling back from the forehead over the back part of the head, and extending quite down to his feet; set the whole way in a profusion of ermine, and surmounted on the top of the head, with the horns of the buffalo, shaved thin and highly polished.

"The **necklace** was made of fifty huge claws or nail of the grizzly bear, ingeniously arranged on the skin of an otter, and worn, like the scalp-locks, as a trophy—as an evidence unquestionable, that he had contended with and overcome that desperate enemy in open combat.

"His **shield** was made of the hide of the buffalo's neck, and hardened with glue that was taken from its hoofs; its boss was the skin of a pole-cat, and its edges were fringed with rows of eagles' quills and hoofs of the antelope.

"His **bow** was of bone, and as white and beautiful as ivory; over its back was laid, and firmly attached to it, a coating of deer's sinews, which gave it its elasticity, and of course death to all that stood inimically before it. Its string was three stranded and twisted of sinews, which many a time had twanged and sent the whizzing death to animal and to human victims.

"The **quiver** was made of a panther's skin and hung upon his back, charged with its deadly arrows; some were poisoned and some were not; they were feathered with hawks' and eagles' quills; some were clean and innocent, and pure, and others were stained all over, with animal and human blood that was dried upon them. Their blades or points were of flints, and some of steel; and altogether were a deadly magazine.

"The **lance** or spear was held in his left hand; its blade was two-edged and of polished steel, and the blood of several human victims was seen dried upon it, one over the other; its shaft was

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of the toughest ash, and ornamented at intervals with tufts of war eagles' quills.

"His **tobacco sack** was made of the skin of an otter, and tastefully garnished with quills of the porcupine; in it was carried his k'nick-k'nick (the bark of the red willow, which is smoked as a substitute for tobacco), it contained also his flint and steel, and punk for lighting.

"His **pipe**, which was ingeniously carved out of the red steatite (or pipe stone), the stem of which was three feet long and two inches wide, made from the stalk of the young ash; about half its length was wound with delicate braids of the porcupine's quills, so ingeniously wrought as to represent figures of men and animals upon it. It was also ornamented with the skins and beaks of wood-peckers' heads, and the hair of the white buffalo's tail. The lower half of the stem was painted red, and on its edges it bore the notches he had recorded for the snows (or years) of his life.

"His **robe** was made of the skin of a young buffalo bull, with the fur on one side, and the other finely and delicately dressed; with all the battles of his life emblazoned on it with his own hand.

"His **belt**, which was of a substantial piece of buckskin, was firmly girded around his waist; and in it were worn his tomahawk and scalping knife.

"His **medicine bag** was the skin of a beaver, curiously ornamented with hawks' bills and ermine. It was held in his right hand, and his po-ko-mo-kon or (war club) which was made of a round stone, tied up in a piece of rawhide, and attached to the end of a stick, somewhat in the form of a sling, was laid with the others of his weapons at his feet.

"Such was the dress of Mah-to-toh-pa when he entered my wigwam to stand for his picture; but such I have not entirely represented it in his portrait; having rejected such trappings and ornaments as interfered with the grace and simplicity of the figure. He was beautifully and extravagantly dressed; and in this he was not alone, for hundreds of others are equally elegant. In plumes, and arms, and ornaments, he is not singular; but in laurels and wreaths he stands unparalleled. His breast has been bared and scarred in defense of his county, and his brows

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crowned with honors that elevate him conspicuous above all of his nation. There is no man amongst the Mandans so generally loved, nor any one who wears a robe so justly famed and honorable as that of Mah-to-toh-pa.

His History Robe. "I said his robe was of the skin of a young buffalo bull, and that the battles of his life were emblazoned upon it; and on a former occasion, that he presented me a beautiful robe, containing all the battles of his life, which he had spent two weeks' time in copying from his original one, which he wore on his shoulders.

"This robe with his tracings on it, is the chart of his military life; and when explained, will tell more of Mah-to-toh-pa.

"Some days after this robe was presented, he called upon me with Mr. Kipp, the trader and interpreter for the Mandans, and gave me of each battle there portrayed the following history, which was interpreted by Mr. Kipp, from his own lips, and written down by me, as we three sat upon the robe.

"Mr. Kipp, who is a gentleman of respectability and truth, and who has lived with these people ten years, assured me, that nearly every one of these narrations were of events that had happened whilst he had lived with them, and had been familiarly known to him; and that every word that he asserted was true.

"And again, reader, in this country where, of all countries I ever was in men are the most jealous of rank and of standing; and in a community so small also, that every man's deeds of honor and chivalry are familiarly known to all; it would not be reputable, or even safe to life, for a warrior to wear upon his back the representations of battles he never had fought; professing to have done what every child in the village would know he never had done.

"So then I take the records of battles on the robe of Mah-to-toh-pa to be matter of historical fact; and I proceed to give them as I wrote them down from his own lips. Twelve battle scenes are there represented, where he has contended with his enemy, and in which he has taken fourteen of their scalps. The groups are drawn according to his own rude ideas of the arts; and I proceed to describe them in turn, as they were explained to me.

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ROBE OF MAH-TO-TOH-PA.

000 "1. Mah-to-toh-pa kills a Sioux chief—the three heads represent the three Riccarees, whom the Sioux chief had previously killed. The Sioux chief is seen with war paint black on his face. Mah-to-toh-pa is seen with the scalp of the Sioux in one hand, and his knife in the other, with his bow and quiver lying behind him.

"2. A Shienne chief, who sent word to Mah-to-toh-pa that he wished to fight him—was killed by Mah-to-toh-pa with a lance, in the presence of a large party of Mandans and Shiennes. Mah-to-toh-pa is here known by his lance with eagles' quills on it.

"3. A Shienne killed by Mah-to-toh-pa after Mah-to-toh-pa had been left by his party, badly wounded and bleeding; the twenty-five or thirty foot tracks around, represent the number of Shiennes, who were present when the battle took place; and the bullets from their guns represented as flying all around the head of Mah-to-toh-pa.

"4. Shienne chief with war eagle head-dress, and a beautiful shield, ornamented with war eagles' quills, killed by Mah-to-toh-pa. In this battle the wife of the Shienne rushed forward in a desperate manner to his assistance; but arriving too late fell a victim. In this battle Mah-to-toh-pa obtained two scalps.

"5. Mah-to-toh-pa, with a party of Riccarees, fired at by a party of Sioux; the Riccarees fled—Mah-to-toh-pa dismounted and drove his horse back, facing the enemy alone and killing one of them. Mah-to-toh-pa is here represented with a beautiful head-dress of war-eagles' quills, and one on his horse's head of equal beauty; his shield is on his arm, and the party of Sioux is represented in front of him by the number of horse's tracks.

"6. The brother of Mah-to-toh-pa killed by a Riccaree, who shot him with an arrow, and then running a lance through his body, left it there. Mah-to-toh-pa was the first to find his brother's body with the lance in it; he drew the lance from the body, kept it four years with the blood dried on its blade, and then, according to his oath, killed the same Riccaree with the same lance; the dead body of his brother is here seen with the arrow and lance remaining in it, and the tracks of the Riccaree's horses in front."

His Exploits. "The following was, perhaps, one of the most extraordinary exploits of this remarkable man's life, and is well

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attested by Mr. Kipp, and several white men, who were living in the Mandan village at the time of its occurrence. In a skirmish, near the Mandan village, when they were set upon by their enemies, the Riccarees, the brother of Mah-to-toh-pa was missing for several days, when Mah-to-toh-pa found the body shockingly mangled, and a handsome spear left piercing the body through the heart. The spear was brought by him into the Mandan village, where it was recognized by many as a famous weapon belonging to a noted brave of the Riccarees, by the name of Won-ga-tap. This spear was brandished through the Mandan village by Mah-to-toh-pa (with the blood of his brother dried on its blade), crying most piteously, and swearing that he would some day revenge the death of his brother with the same weapon.

"It is almost an incredible fact, that he kept this spear with great care in his wigwam for the space of four years, in the fruitless expectation of an opportunity to use it upon the breast of its owner; when his indignant soul, impatient of further delay, burst forth in the most uncontrolable frenzy and fury; he again brandished it through the village, and said, that the blood of his brother's heart which was seen on its blade was yet fresh, and called loudly for revenge. 'Let every Mandan (said he) be silent, and let no one sound the name of Mah-to-toh-pa—let no one ask for him, nor where he has gone, until you hear him sound the war-cry in front of the village, when he will enter it and show you the blood of Won-go-tap. The blade of this lance shall drink the heart's blood of Won-go-tap, or Mah-to-toh-pa mingles his shadow with that of his brother.'

"With this he sallied forth from the village, and over the plains, with the lance in his hands; his direction was towards the Riccaree village, and all eyes were upon him, though none dared to speak till he disappeared over the distant grassy bluffs. He traveled the distance of two hundred miles entirely alone, with a little parched corn in his pouch, making his marches by night, and lying secreted by days, until he reached the Riccaree village; where (being acquainted with its shapes and its habits, and knowing the position of the wigwam of his doomed enemy) he loitered about in disguise, mingling himself in the obscure throng; and, at last, silently and alone, observed through the rents of the wigwam, the last motions and movements of his victim, as he

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000 retired to bed with his wife; saw him light his last pipe and smoke it 'to its end'—he saw the last whiff, and saw the last curl of blue smoke that faintly steeped from its bowl—he saw the village a while in darkness and silence, and the embers that were covered in the middle of the wigwam gone nearly out, and the last flickering light which had been gently playing over them; when he walked softly but not slyly, into the wigwam and seated himself by the fire, over which was hanging a large pot, with a quantity of cooked meat remaining in it; and by the side of the fire, the pipe and tobacco pouch which had just been used; and knowing that the twilight of the wigwam was not sufficient to disclose the features of his face to his enemy, he very deliberately turned to the pot and completely satiated the desperate appetite, which he had got in a journey of six or seven days, with little or nothing to eat; and then, as deliberately, charged and lighted the pipe, and sent (no doubt, in every whiff that he drew through its stem) a prayer to the Great Spirit for a moment longer for the consummation of his design. Whilst eating and smoking, the wife of his victim, while laying in bed, several times inquired of her husband, what man it was who was eating in their lodge? To which, he as many times replied, 'its no matter; let him eat for he is probably hungry.'

"Mah-to-toh-pa knew full well that his appearance would cause no other reply than this, from the dignitary of the nation; for, from an invariable custom amongst these northern Indians, any one who is hungry is allowed to walk into any man's lodge and eat. Whilst smoking his last gentle and tremulous whiffs on the pipe, Mah-to-toh-pa (leaning back, and turning gradually on his side, to get a better view of the position of his enemy, and to see a little more distinctly the shapes of things) stirred the embers with his toes (readers, I had every word of this from his own lips, and every attitude and gesture acted out with his own limbs), until he saw his way was clear; at which moment, with his lance in his hands, he arose and drove it through the body of his enemy, and snatching the scalp from his head, he darted from the lodge—and quick as lightning, with the lance in one hand, and the scalp in the other, made his way to the prairie. The village was in an uproar, but he was off, and no one knew the enemy who had struck the blow. Mah-to-toh-pa ran all night, and

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lay close during the days; thanking the Great Spirit for strengthing his heart and his arm to this noble revenge; and praying fervently for a continuance of his aid and protection till he should get back to his own village. His prayers were heard; and on the sixth morning at sun-rise, Mah-to-toh-pa descended the bluffs, and entered the village amidst deafening shouts of applause, while he brandished and showed to his people the blade of his lance, with the blood of his victim dried upon it, over that of his brother; and the scalp of Won-go-tap suspended from its handle.

"Such was the feat represented by Mah-to-toh-pa on his robe—and the lance, of which I have just spoken, is seen in the hand of his portrait, which will stand in my gallery, and of which I have thus formerly spoken. 'The lance or spear of Mah-to-toh-pa, when he stood for his portrait, was held in his left hand; its blade was two-edged, and of polished steel, and the blood of several human victims was seen dried upon its surface, one over the other; its shaft was of the toughest ash, and ornamented at intervals with tufts of war eagles' quills.'

"In the portrait of which I am speaking, there will be seen an eagle's quill balanced on the hilt of the lance, severed from its original position and loose from the weapon. When I painted his portrait, he brought that quill to my wigwam in his left hand, and carefully balancing it on the lance, as seen in the painting; he desired me to be very exact with it, to have it appear as separate from, and unconnected with the lance; and to represent a spot of blood which was visible upon it. I indulged him in his request, and then got from him the following explanation: 'That quill (said he) is great medicine. It belongs to the Great Spirit, and not to me—when I was running out of the lodge of Won-ga-tap, I looked back and saw that quill hanging to the wound in his side; I ran back, and pulling it out, brought it home in my left hand, and I have kept it for the Great Spirit to this day.'

"'Why do you not then tie it on to the lance again, where it came off?'

"'Hush-sh (said he), if the Great Spirit had wished it to be tied on in that place, it never would have come off; he has been kind to me, and I will not offend him.'

"7. A Riccaree killed by Mah-to-toh-pa in revenge of the

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000 death of a white man killed by a Riccaree in the fur traders' fort, a short time previous.

"8. Mah-to-toh-pa, or Four Bears, kills a Shienne chief, who challenged him to a single combat, in presence of the two war parties; they fought on horseback with guns, until Mah-to-toh-pa's powder horn was shot away; they then fought with bows and arrows, until their quivers were emptied, when they dismounted and fought single-handed. The Shienne drew his knife, and Mah-to-toh-pa had left his; they struggled for the knife, which Mah-to-toh-pa wrested from the Shienne, and killed him with it; in the struggle the blade of the knife was several times drawn through the hand of Mah-to-toh-pa, and the blood is seen running from the wound.

"This extraordinary occurrence also, was one which admits of, and deserves a more elaborate description,, which I will here give as it was translated from his own lips, while he sat upon the robe, pointing to his painting of it; and at the same time brandishing the identical knife which he drew from his belt, as he was showing how the fatal blow was given; and exhibiting the wounds inflicted in his hand, as the blade of the knife was several times drawn through it before he wrested it from his antagonist.

"A party of about 150 Shienne warriors had made an assault upon the Mandan village at an early hour in the morning, and driven off a considerable number of horses, and taken one scalp. Mah-to-toh-pa, who was then a young man, but famed as one of the most valiant of the Mandans, took the lead of a party of fifty warriors, all he could at that time muster, and went in pursuit of the enemy; about noon of the second day, they came in sight of the Shiennes; and the Mandans seeing their enemy much more numerous than they had expected, were generally disposed to turn about and return without attacking them. They started to go back, when Mah-to-toh-pa galloped out in front upon the prairie, and plunged his lance into the ground; the blade was driven into the earth to its hilt—he made another circuit around, and in that circuit tore from his breast a reddened sash, which he hung upon its handle as a flag, calling out to the Mandans. 'What! Have we come to this? We have dogged our enemy two days, and now that we have found them, are we to turn about

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and go back like cowards? Mah-to-toh-pa's lance, which is red with the blood of brave men, has led you to the sight of your enemy, and you have followed it; it now stands firm in the ground, where the earth will drink the blood of Mah-to-toh-pa. You may go back, and Mah-to-toh-pa will fight them alone.'

"During this maneuver, the Shiennes, who had discovered the Mandans behind them, had turned about and were gradually approaching, in order to give them battle; the chief of the Shienne war party seeing and understanding the difficulty, and admiring the gallant conduct of Mah-to-toh-pa, galloped his horse forward within hailing distance, in front of the Mandans, and called out to know 'who he was who had stuck down his lance and defied the whole enemy alone?'

"'I am Mah-to-toh-pa, second in command of the brave and valiant Mandans.'

"'I have heard often of Mah-to-toh-pa, he is a great warrior—dares Mah-to-toh-pa to come forward and fight this battle with me alone, and our warriors will look on?'

"'Is he a chief who speaks to Mah-to-toh-pa?'

"'My scalps you see hanging to my horse's bits, and here is my lance with the ermine skins and the war eagle's tail.'

"'You have said enough.'

"The Shienne chief made a circuit or two at full gallop on a beautiful white horse, when he struck his lance into the ground, and left it standing by the side of the lance of Mah-to-toh-pa, both of which were waiving together their little red flags, tokens of blood and defiance.

"The two parties then drew nearer, on a beautiful prairie, and the two full-plumed chiefs, at full speed, drove furiously upon each other. Both firing their guns at the same moment. They passed each other a little distance and wheeled, when Mah-to-toh-pa threw off his powder horn, and by holding it up, showed his adversary that the bullet had shattered it to pieces and destroyed his ammunition; he then threw it from him, and his gun also—drew his bow from his quiver, and an arrow, and his shield upon his left arm! The Shienne instantly did the same; his horn was thrown off, and his gun was thrown into the air—his shield was balanced on his arm—his bow drawn, and quick as lightning, they were both on the wing for a deadly combat! Like two soaring

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eagles in the open air, they made their circuits around, and the twangs of their sinewy bows were heard, and the war-whoop, as they dashed by each other, parrying off the whizzing arrows with their shields! Some lodged in their legs and some others in their arms; but both protected their bodies with their bucklers of bull's hide. Deadly and many were the shafts that fled from their murderous bows. At length the horse of Mah-to-toh-pa fell to the ground with an arrow in his heart! His rider sprang upon his feet prepared to renew the combat; but the Shienne seeing his adversary dismounted, sprang from his horse, and driving him back, presented the face of his shield towards his enemy, inviting him to come on! A few shots were exchanged thus, when the Shienne, having discharged all his arrows, held up his empty quiver and dashing it furiously to the ground, with his bow and his shield, drew and brandished his naked knife.

"'Yes,' said Mah-to-toh-pa, as he threw his shield and quiver to the earth, and was rushing up—he grasped for his knife, but his belt had it not; he had left it at home! His bow was in his hand, with which he parried his antagonist's blow and felled him to the ground! A desperate struggle now ensued for the knife—the blade of which was several times drawn through the right hand of Mah-to-toh-pa, inflicting the most frightful wounds, while he was severely wounded in several parts of the body. He at length succeeded however, in wresting it from his adversary's hand, and plunged it to his heart.

"By this time the two parties had drawn up in close view of each other, and at the close of the battle, Mah-to-toh-pa held up, and claimed in deadly silence, the knife and scalp of the noble Shienne chief.

"9. Several hundred Minnetarees and Mandans attacked by a party of Assiniboines—all fled but Mah-to-toh-pa, who stood his ground, fired and killed one of the enemy, putting the rest of them to flight, and driving off sixty horses. He is here seen with his lance and shield—foot tracks of his enemy in front, and his own party's horse tracks behind him, and a shower of bullets flying around his head; here he got the name of 'the four bears,' as the Assinibones said he rushed on like four bears.

"10. Mah-to-toh-pa gets from his horse and kills two Ojibbeway women, and takes their scalps; done by the side of an Ojibbe-

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way village, where they went to the river for water. He is here seen with his lance in one hand and his knife in the other—an eagle's plume head-dress on his horse, and his shield left on his horse's back. I incurred his ill-will for a while by asking him, whether it was manly to boast of taking the scalps of women? And his pride prevented him from giving me any explanation or apology. The interpreter, however, explained to me that he had secreted himself in the most daring manner, in full sight of the Ojibbeway village, seeking to revenge a murder, where he remained six days without sustenance, and then killed the two women in full view of the tribe, and made his escape, which entitled him to the credit of a victory, though his victims were women.

"11. A large party of Assiniboines entrenched near the Mandan village attacked by the Mandans and Minnetarees, who were driven back—Mah-to-toh-pa rushes into the entrenchment alone—an Indian fires at him and burns his face with the muzzle of his gun, which bursts—the Indian retreats, leaving his exploded gun, and Mah-to-toh-pa shoots him through the shoulders as he runs, and kills him with his tomahawk; the gun of the Assiniboine is seen falling to the ground, and in front of him the heads of the Assiniboines in the entrenchment; the horse of Mah-to-toh-pa is seen behind him.

"12. Mah-to-toh-pa between his enemy the Sioux, and his own people, with an arrow shot through him, after standing the fire of the Sioux for a long time alone. In this battle he took no scalps, yet his valor was so extraordinary that the chiefs and braves awarded him the honor of a victory.

"This feat is seen in the center of the robe—head-dress of war eagles' quills on his own and his horse's head—the tracks of his enemies' horses are seen in front of him, and bullets flying both ways all around him. With his whip in his hand he is seen urging his horse forward, and an arrow is seen flying, and bloody, as it has passed through his body. For this wound, and several others mentioned above, he bears the honorable scars on his body, which he generally keeps covered with red paint.

"Such are the battles traced upon the robe of Mah-to-toh-pa, or Four Bears, interpreted by J. Kipp, from the words of the hero

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whilst sitting upon the robe, explaining each battle as represented." (p. 155.)

The note below quoted is found written by Catlin as a foot-note upon the knife in question, referred to under heading "8" in his explanation of Four Bears' robe: "This celebrated weapon with the blood of several victims dried upon its blade, now hangs in the Indian gallery, with satisfactory certificates of its identity and its remarkable history, and an exact drawing of it and its scabbard can be seen in Plate 99, a."

The "Annual Religious Ceremony," so long looked for by Catlin at the Mandan villages, is now described by him at length, in which narration he refers to the "Great (or Good) Spirit" and the "Evil Spirit" as the two distinguishing deities of the Mandans, and in connection with the ceremony in question, brings out the mysterious coming into the village of the "First Man" as being commemorative of the subsidence of the flood, which event he declares is accountable for the ceremony itself; the successive dances, the varied and strange incidents in the celebration; the hideous or grotesque postures, etc., symbolic of the occasion, and the terrible sufferings and feats of endurance through self-imposed tests as the climax to the whole performance—all are related in detail in the graphic mode of that fortunate student of Indian life whose opportunities, large and fateful, were utilized through the species of inspired narration so characteristic of Catlin. It is a long chapter, but no abridgement of it could be other than an effacement of its realities:

Annual Religious Ceremony. "Oh! 'horrible Visu et Mirabile Dictu.' Thank God, it is over, that I have seen it, and am able to tell it to the world.

"The annual religious ceremony, of four days, of which I have so often spoken, and which I have so long been wishing to see, has at last been enacted in this village; and I have, fortunately, been able to see and to understand it in most of its bearings, which was more than I had reason to expect; for no white man, in all probability, has ever been before admitted to the medicine-lodge during these most remarkable and appalling scenes.

"Well and truly has it been said, that the Mandans are a strange and peculiar people; and most correctly had I been informed, that this was an important and interesting scene, by

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those who had, on former occasions, witnessed such parts of it as are transacted out of doors, and in front of the medicine-lodge. 000

"Since the date of my last letter I was lucky enough to have painted the medicine-man, who was high-priest on this grand occasion, or conductor of the ceremonies, who had me regularly installed as doctor or 'medicine;' and who on the morning when the grand refinements in mysteries commenced, took me by the arm, and led me into the medicine-lodge, where the fur trader, Mr. Kipp, and his two clerks accompanied me in close attendance for four days; all of us going to our own quarters at sun-down, and returning at sun-rise the next morning.

"I took my sketch book with me, and have made many and faithful drawings of what we saw, and full notes of everything as translated to me by the interpreter; and since the close of that horrid and frightful scene, which was a week ago or more, I have been closely ensconced in an earth covered wigwam, with a fine sky-light over my head, with my palette and brushes, endeavoring faithfully to put the whole of what we saw upon canvass, which my companions all agree to be critically correct, and of the fidelity of which they have attached their certificates to the backs of the paintings.

"I have made four paintings of these strange scenes, containing several hundred figures, representing the transactions of each day; and if I live to get them home, they will be found to be exceedingly curious and interesting.

"I shudder at the relation, or even at the thought of these barbarous and cruel scenes, and am almost ready to shrink from the task of reciting them after I have so long promised some account of them. I entered the medicine-house of these scenes, as I would have entered a church, and expected to see something extraordinary and strange, but yet in the form of worship or devotion; but alas! Little did I expect to see the interior of their holy temple turned into a slaughter-house, and its floors strewed with the blood of its fanatic devotees. Little did I think that I was entering a house of God, where his blinded worshippers were to pollute its sacred interior with their blood, and propitiatory suffering and tortures—surpassing, if possible, the cruelty of the rack or the inquisition; but such the scene has been, and as such I will endeavor to describe it.

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"The 'Mandan religious ceremony' then, as I believed it is very justly denominated, is an annual transaction, held in their medicine-lodge once a year, as a great religious anniversary, and for several distinct objects, as I shall in a few minutes describe; during and after which, they look with implicit reliance for the justification and approval of the Great Spirit."

Indians Religious. "All of the Indian tribes, as I have before observed, are religious—are worshipful—and many of them go to almost incredible lengths (as will be seen in the present instance, and many others I may recite) in worshipping the Great Spirit; denying and humbling themselves before Him for the same purpose, and in the same hope as we do, perhaps in a more rational and acceptable way.

"The tribes, so far as I have visited them, all distinctly believe in the existence of a Great (or Good) Spirit, and Evil (or Bad) Spirit, and also in a future existence and future accountability, according to their virtues and vices in this world. So far the North American Indians would seem to be one family, and such an unbroken theory among them; yet with regard to the manner and form, and time and place of that accountability—to the construction of virtues and vices, and the modes of appeasing and propitiating the Good and Evil Spirits, they are found with all the changes and variety which fortuitous circumstances, and fictions, and fables have wrought upon them.

"If from their superstitions and their ignorance, there are oftentimes obscurities and mysteries thrown over and around their system, yet these affect not the theory itself, which is everywhere essentially the same—and which, if it be not correct, has this much to commend the admiration of the enlightened world, that they worship with great sincerity, and all according, to one creed.

"The Mandans believe in the existence of a Great (or Good) Spirit, and also of an Evil Spirit, who they say existed long before the Good Spirit, and is far superior in power. They all believe also in a future state of existence, and a future administration of rewards and punishments, and (so do all other tribes that I have yet visited) they believe those punishments are not eternal, but commensurate with their sins.

Heaven and Hell. "These people living in a climate where they

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suffer from cold in the severity of their winters, have very naturally reversed our ideas of Heaven and Hell. The latter they describe to be a country very far to the north, of barren and hideous aspect, and covered with eternal snows and ice. The torments of this freezing place they describe as most excruciating; whilst Heaven they suppose to be in a warmer and delightful latitude, where nothing is felt but the keenest enjoyment, and where the country abounds in buffalos and other luxuries of life. The Great or Good Spirit they believe dwells in the former place for the purpose of there meeting those who have offended him; increasing the agony of their sufferings, by being himself present, administrating the penalties. The Bad or Evil Spirit they at the same time suppose to reside in Paradise, still tempting the happy; and those who have gone to the regions of punishment they believe to be tortured for a time proportioned to the amount of their transgressions, and that they are then to be transferred to the land of the happy, where they are again liable to the temptation—of the Evil Spirit, and answerable again at a future period for their new offenses.

"Such is the religious creed of the Mandans, and for the purpose of appeasing the Good and Evil Spirits, and to secure their entrance into those 'fields Elysian,' or beautiful hunting grounds, do the young men subject themselves to the horrid and sickening cruelties to be described in the following pages.

"There are other three distinct objects (yet to be named) for which these religious ceremonies are held, which are as follows:

The Flood. "First, they are held annually as a celebration of the event of the subsiding of the flood, which they call Mee-nee-ka-ha-sha, (sinking down or settling of the waters).

"**Secondly,** for the purpose of dancing what they call, Bel-lohck-na-pie (the bull dance); to the strict observance of which they attribute the coming of buffalos to supply them with food during the season, and

"**Thirdly,** and lastly, for the purpose of conducting all the young men of the tribe, as they annually arrive at the age of manhood, through an ordeal of privation and torture, which, while it is supposed to harden their muscles and prepare them for extreme endurance, enables the chiefs who are spectators to the scene, to decide upon their comparative bodily strength and

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ability to endure the extreme privations and sufferings which often fall to the lot of Indian warriors; and that they may decide who is the most hardy and best able to lead a war party in case of extreme exigency.

"This part of the ceremony, as I have just witnessed it, is truly shocking to behold, and will almost stagger the belief of the world when they read of it. The scene is too terrible and too revolting to be seen or to be told, were it not an essential part of the whole, which will be new to the civilized world, and therefore worth their knowing.

"The bull-dance, and many other parts of these ceremonies are exceedingly grotesque and amusing, and that part of them which has a relation to the Deluge is harmless and full of interest.

"In the center of the Mandan village is an open, circular arena of 150 feet in diameter, kept always clear, as a public ground, for the display of all their public feasts, parades, etc., and around it are their wigwams placed as near to each other as they can well stand, their doors facing the center of this public arena."

"Big Canoe." "In the middle of this ground, which is trodden like a hard pavement, is a curb (somewhat like a large hogshead standing on its end) made of planks (and bound with hoops) some eight or nine feet high, which they religiously preserve and protect from year to year, free from mark or scratch, and which they call the 'big canoe'—it is undoubtedly a symbolic representation of a part of their traditional history of the flood; which it is very evident, from this and numerous other features of this grand ceremony, they have in some way or other received, and are here endeavoring to perpetuate by vividly impressing it on the minds of the whole nation. This object of superstition, from its position, as the very center of the village is the rallying point of the whole nation. To it their devotions are paid on various occasions of feasts and religious exercises during the year; and in this extraordinary scene it was often the nucleus of their mystery and cruelties, as I shall shortly describe them, and becomes an object worth bearing in mind, and worthy of being understood."

The Returning Bird. "This exciting and appalling scene, then, which is familiarly (and no doubt correctly) called the 'Mandan religious ceremony, commences, not on a particular day of the year, (for these people keep no record of the days or weeks), but

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at a particular season, which is designated by the full expansion of the willow leaves under the bank of the river; for, according to their tradition, 'the twig that the bird brought home was a willow bough, and had full grown leaves on it,' and the bird to which they allude is the mourning or turtle-dove, which they took great pains to point out to me, as it is often to be seen feeding on the sides of their earth covered lodges, and which, being as they call it, a medicine-bird, it is not to be destroyed or harmed by any one, and even their dogs are instructed not to do it injury.

"On the morning on which this strange transaction commenced, I was sitting at breakfast in the house of the trader, Mr. Kipp, when at sun-rise, we were suddenly startled by the shrieking and screaming of the women, and barking and howling of dogs, as if an enemy were actually storming their village.

" 'Now we have it!' (exclaimed mine host, as he sprang from the table), 'the grand ceremony has commenced! Drop your knife and fork, Monsr, and get your sketch book as soon as possible, that you may lose nothing, for the very moment of commencing is as curious as anything else of this strange affair.' I seized my sketch book, and all hands of us were in an instant in front of the medicine-lodge, ready to see and to hear all that was to take place. Groups of women and children were gathered on the tops of their earth covered wigwams, and all were screaming, and dogs were howling, and all eyes directed to the prairies in the west, where was beheld at a mile distant, a solitary individual descending a prairie bluff, and making his way in a direct line towards the village!

"The whole community joined in the general expression of great alarm, as if they were in danger of instant destruction; bows were strung and thrumbed to test their elasticity—their horses were caught upon the prairie and run into the village—warriors were blackening their faces, and dogs were muzzled, and every preparation made, as if for instant combat.

"First Man" Arrives. "During this deafening din and confusion within the piquets of the village of the Mandans, the figure discovered on the prairie continued to approach with a dignified step and in a right line towards the village; all eyes were upon him, and he at length made his appearance (without opposition) within the piquets, and proceeded towards the center of the vil-

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lage, where all the chiefs and braves stood ready to receive him, which they did in a cordial manner, by shaking hands with him, recognizing him as an old acquaintance, and pronouncing his name Nu-mohk-muck-nah (the first or only man). The body of this strange personage, which was chiefly naked, was painted with white clay, so as to resemble at a little distance, a white man; he wore a robe of four white wolf skins falling back over his shoulders; on his head he had a splendid head-dress made of two ravens' skins, and in his left hand he cautiously carried a large pipe, which he seemed to watch and guard as something of great importance. After passing the chiefs and braves as described, he approached the medicine or mystery lodge which he had the means of opening, and which had been religiously closed during the year except for the performance of these religious rites.

"Having opened and entered it, he called in four men whom he appointed to clean it out, and put it in readiness for the ceremonies, by sweeping and strewing a profusion of green willow boughs over its floor, and with them decorating its sides. Wild sage also, and many other aromatic herbs they gathered from the prairies, and scattered over its floor; and over these were arranged a curious group of buffalo and human skulls, and other articles, which were to be used during this strange and unaccountable transaction.

"During the whole of this day, and while these preparations were making in the medicine-lodge, Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (the first or only man) traveled through the village, stopping in front of every man's lodge, and crying until the owner of the lodge came out, and asked who he was, and what was the matter? To which he replied by relating the sad catastrophe which had happened on the earth's surface by the overflowing of the waters, saying that 'he was the only person saved from the universal calamity; that he landed his big canoe on a high mountain in the west, where he now resides; that he had come to open the medicine-lodge, which must needs receive a present of some edged-tool from the owner of every wigwam, that it may be sacrificed to the water;' for he says, 'if this is not done, there will be another flood, and no one will be saved, as it is with such tools that the big canoe was made.'

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"Having visited every lodge or wigwam in the village, during the day, and having received such a present at each, as a hatchet, a knife, etc., (which is undoubtedly always prepared and ready for the occasion), he returned at evening and deposited them in the medicine-lodge, where they remained until the afternoon of the last day of the ceremony, when, as the final or closing scene, they were thrown into the river in a deep place, from a bank thirty feet high, and in presence of the whole village; from whence they can never be recovered, and where they were, undoubtedly, sacrificed to the Spirt of the Water.

"During the first night of this strange character in the village, no one could tell where he slept; and every person, both old and young, and dogs and all living things were kept within doors, and dead silence reigned everywhere. On the next morning at sunrise, however, he made his appearance again, and entered the medicine-lodge; and at his heels (in 'Indian file,' i. e. single file, one following in another's tracks) all the young men who were candidates for the self-tortures which were to be inflicted, and for the honors that were to be bestowed by the chiefs on those who could the most manfully endure them. There were on this occasion about fifty young men who entered the lists, and as they went into the sacred lodge, each one's body was chiefly naked, and covered with clay of different colors; some were red, others were yellow, and some were covered with white clay, giving them the appearance of white men. Each one of them carried in his right hand his medicine-bag—on his left arm, his shield of the bull's hide—in his left hand, his bow and arrow, with his quiver slung on his back.

"When all had entered the lodge, they placed themselves in reclining posture around its sides, and each one had suspended over his head his respective weapons and medicine, presenting altogether one of the most wild and picturesque scenes imaginable.

"Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (the first or only man) was in the midst of them, and having lit and smoked his medicine-pipe for their success and having addressed them in a short speech, stimulating and encouraging them to trust to the Great Spirit for his protection during the severe ordeal they were about to pass through, he called into the lodge an old medicine or mystery man, whose

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000 body was painted yellow and whom he appointed master of ceremonies during this occasion, whom they denominate in their language O-kee-pah Ka-se-kah (keeper or conductor of the ceremonies.) He was appointed and the authority passed by the presentation of the medicine-pipe, on which they consider hangs all the power of holding and conducting all these rites.

"After this delegated authority had thus passed over to the medicine-man, Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah shook hands with him and bade him good-bye, saying 'that he was going back to the mountains in the west, from which he should assuredly return in just a year from that time to open the lodge again.' He then went out of the lodge, and passing through the village, took formal leave of the chiefs in the same manner, and soon disappeared over the bluffs from whence he came. No more was seen of this surprising character during the occasion, but I shall have something yet to say of him and his strange office before I get through the letter.

Mystery Man. "To return to the lodge, the medicine or mystery man just appointed, and who had received his injunctions from Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah, was left sole conductor and keeper, and according to these injunctions it was his duty to lie by a small fire in the center of the lodge with his medicine pipe in his hand, crying to the Great Spirit incessantly. watching the young men and preventing entirely their escape from the lodge, and all communication whatever with people outside, for the space of four days and nights, during which time they were not allowed to eat, to drink, or to sleep, preparatory to the excruciating self-tortures which they were to endure on the fourth day.

"I mentioned that I had made four paintings of these strange scenes and the first one exhibits the interior of the medicine-lodge at this moment, with the young men all reclining around its sides, and the conductor or mystery man lying by the fire, crying to the Great Spirit. It was just at this juncture that I was ushered into this sacred temple of their worship, with my companions, which was undoubtedly the first time that their devotions had ever been trespassed upon by the presence of pale faces,and in this instance it had been brought about in the following strange and unexpected manner.

Catlin as "White Medicine." "I had most luckily for myself

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painted a full-length portrait of this great magician or high-priest, but a day previous to the commencement of the ceremonies (in which I had represented him in the performance of some of his mysteries) with which he had been so exceedingly pleased as well as astonished (as 'he could see its eyes move'), that I must needs be, in his opinion, deeply skilled in magic and mysteries, and well entitled to a respectable rank in the craft, to which I had been at once elevated by the unanimous voice of the doctors, and regularly initiated and styled Te-ho-pee-nee-wash-ee-waska-pooska, the white medicine or Spirit painted.

"With this honorable degree which had just been conferred upon me, I was standing in front of the medicine lodge early in the morning with my companions by my side, endeavoring to get a peep if possible into its sacred interior, when this master of ceremonies, guarding and conducting its secrets, as I before described, came out of the door and taking me with a firm professional affection by the arm, led me into this sanctum sanctorum, which was strictly guarded from even a peep or a gaze of the vulgar, by a vestibule of eight or ten feet in length, guarded with a double screen or door, and two or three dark and frowning sentinels with spears or war-clubs in their hands. I gave the wink to my companions as I was passing in, and the potency of my medicine was such as to gain them a quiet admission, and all of us were comfortably placed on elevated seats, which our conductor soon prepared for us.

"We were then in full view of everything that transpired in the lodge, having before us the scene exactly, which is represented in the first of the four pictures. To this seat we returned every morning at sunrise and remained until sundown for four days, the whole time which these strange scenes occupied."

Mysterious "Medicine." "In addition to the preparation and arrangements of the interior of this sactuary, as above described, there was a curious, though a very strict arrangement of buffalo and human skulls placed on the floor of the lodge, and between them (which were divided into two parcels), and in front of the reclining group of young candidates, was a small and very delicate scaffold, elevated about five feet from the ground, made of four posts or crotches, not larger than a gun-rod, and placed some four or five feet apart, supporting four equally delicate rods,

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000 resting in the crotches; thus forming the frame of the scaffold, which was completed by a number of still smaller and more delicate sticks, transversely resting upon them. On the center of this little frame rested some small object, which I could not exactly understand from the distance of twenty or thirty feet which intervened between it and my eye. I started several times from my seat to approach it, but all eyes were instantly upon me, and every mouth in the assembly sent forth a hush-sh—which brought me back to my seat again; and I at length quieted my stifled curiosity as well as I could, upon learning the fact, that so sacred was that object, and so important its secrets or mysteries, that not I alone, but even the young men, who were passing the ordeal, and all the village, save the conductor of the mysteries, were stoppd from approaching it, or knowing what it was.

"This little mystery-thing, whatever it was, had the appearance from where I sat, of a small tortoise or frog lying on its back, with its head and legs quite extended, and wound and tasselled off with exceedingly delicate red and blue, and yellow ribbons or tassels, and other bright colored ornaments; and seemed, from the devotion paid it, to be the very nucleus of their mysteries—the sanctissimus sanctorum, from which seemed to eminate all the sanctity of their proceedings, and to which, all seemed to be paying the highest devotional respect.

"This strange, yet important essence of their mysteries, I made every inquiry about; but got no further information of, than what I could learn by my eyes, at the distance at which I saw it, and from the silent respect which I saw paid it. I tried with the doctors, and all the fraternity answered me, that that was 'great medicine,' assuring me that it 'could not be told.' So I quieted my curiosity as well as I could, by the full conviction that I had a degree or two yet to take before I could fathom all the arcana of Indian superstitions; and that this little, seemingly wonderful, relic of antiquity, symbol of some grand event, or 'secret too valuable to be told,' might have been at last nothing but a silly bunch of strings and toys, to which, they pay some great peculiar regard; giving thereby to some favorite Spirit or essence an ideal existence, and which, when called upon to describe, they refuse to do so, calling it, 'Great Medicine', for the very reason that there is nothing in it to reveal or describe.

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"Immediately under the little frame or scaffold described, and on the floor of the lodge was placed a knife, and by the side of it a bundle of splints or skewers, which were kept in readiness for the infliction of the cruelties directly to be explained. There were seen also, in this stage of the affair, a number of cords of rawhide hanging down from the top of the lodge, and passing through its roof, with which the young men were to be suspended by the splints passed through their flesh, and drawn up by men placed on top of the lodge for the purpose, as will be described in a few moments."

Residium of the Flood. "There were also four articles of great veneration and importance lying on the floor of the lodge, which were sacks, containing in each some three or four gallons of water. These also were objects of superstitious regard, and made with great labor and much ingenuity; each one of them being constructed of the skin of the buffalo's neck, and most elaborately sewed together in the form of a large tortoise lying on its back, with a bunch of eagle's quills appended to it as a tail; and each of them having a stick, shaped like a drum stick, lying on them, with which, in a subsequent stage of these ceremonies, as will be seen, they are beaten upon by several of their mystery men, as a part of the music for their strange dances and mysteries. By the side of these sacks which they call Eeh-teeh-ka are two other articles of equal importance, which they call Eeh-na-dee (rattles), in the form of a gourd—shell made also of dried skins, and used at the same time as the others, in the music (or rather noise and din) for their dances, etc.

"These four sacks of water have the appearance of very great antiquity; and by inquiring of my very ingenious friend and patron, the medicine-man, after the ceremonies were over, he very gravely told me, that 'those four tortoises contained the water from the four quarters of the world—that these waters had been contained therein ever since the settling down of the waters.' I did not think it best to advance any argument against so ridiculous a theory, and therefore could not even inquire or learn, at what period they had been instituted, or how often, or on what occasions, the water in them had been changed or replenished.

"I made several propositions, through my friend Mr. Kipp, the

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000 trader and interpreter, to purchase one of these strange things by offering them a very liberal price; to which I received in answer that these, and all the very numerous articles used in these ceremonies, being a society property and were medicine, and could not be sold for any consideration; so I abandoned all thoughts of obtaining anything, except what I have done by the medicine operation of my pencil, which was applied to everything, and even upon that they looked with decided distrust and apprehension, as a sort of theft or sacrilege.

"Such then was the group, and such the appearance of the interior of the medicine-lodge during the three first, and part of the fourth day also, of the Mandan religious ceremonies. The medicine-man, with a group about him of the young aspirants who were under his sole control, as was every article and implement to be used, and the sanctity of this solitary and gloomy looking place, which could not be trespassed upon by any man's presence without his most sovereign permission."

Bull Dance. "During the three first days of this solemn conclave, there were many very curious forms and amusements enacted in the open area in the middle of the village, and in front of the medicine lodge, by other members of the community, one of which formed a material part or link of these strange ceremonials. This very curious and exceedingly grotesque part of their performance which they denominated Bel-lohek-nah-pick (the bull dance) of which I have before spoken, as one of the avowed objects for which they held this annual fete; and to the strictest observance of which they attribute the coming of the buffalos to supply them with food during the season—is repeated four times during the first day, eight times on the second day, twelve times on the third day, and sixteen times on the fourth day; and always around the curb, or 'big canoe,' of which I have before spoken.

"This subject I have selected for my second picture, and the principal actors in it were eight men, with the entire skins of buffalos thrown over their backs, with the horns and hoofs and tails remaining on; their bodies in a horizontal position, enabling them to imitate the actions of the buffalo, whilst they were looking out of its eyes as through a mask. The bodies of these men were chiefly naked and all painted in the most extraordinary

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manner, with the nicest adherence to exact similarity; their limbs, bodies and faces, being in every party covered, either with black, red or white paint. Each one of these strange characters had also a lock of buffalo's hair tied around his ankles—in his right hand a rattle, and a slender white rod or staff, six feet long, in the other; and carried on his back, a bunch of green willow boughs about the usual size of a bundle of straw. These eight men, being divided into four pairs, took their positions on the four different sides of the curb or big canoe, representing thereby the four cardinal points; and between each group of them, with the back turned to the big canoe, was another figure, engaged in the same dance, keeping step with them, with similar staff or wand in one hand and a rattle in the other, and (being four in number) answering again to the four cardinal points. The bodies of these four young men were chiefly naked, with no other dress upon them than a beautiful kelt (or quartz quaw), around the waist, made of eagles' quills and ermine, and very splendid head-dresses made of the same materials. Two of these figures were painted entirely black with pounded charcoal and grease, whom they called the 'firmament or night,' and the numerous white spots which were dotted all over their bodies, they called 'stars.' The other two were painted from head to foot as red as vermillion could make them; these they said represented the day, and the white streaks which were painted up and down over their bodies, were 'ghosts which the morning rays were chasing away.'

"These twelve are the only persons actually engaged in this strange dance, which is each time repeated in the same form, without the slightest variation. There are, however, a great number of characters engaged in giving the whole effect and wildness to this strange and laughable scene, each one acting well his part, and whose offices, strange and inexplicable as they are, I will endeavor to point out and explain as well as I can, from what I saw, elucidated by their own descriptions.

"This most remarkable scene, then, which is witnessed more or less often on each day, takes place in the presence of the whole nation, who are generally gathered around, on the tops of the wigwams or otherwise, as spectators, whilst the young men are reclining and fasting in the lodge as above described. On the first day, this 'bull dance' is given once to each of the cardinal

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000 points, and the medicine-man smokes his pipe in those directions. On the second day, twice to each; three times to each on the third day, and four times to each on the fourth. As a signal for the dancers and other characters (as well as the public) to assemble, the old man, master of ceremonies, with the medicine-pipe in hand, dances out of the lodge, singing (or rather crying) forth a most pitiful lament, until he approaches the big canoe, against which he leans, with the pipe in his hand, and continues to cry. At this instant, four very aged and patriarchal looking men, whose bodies are painted red, and who have been guarding the four sides of the lodge, enter and bring out the four sacks of water, which they place near the big canoe, where they seat themselves by the side of them and commence thrumping on them with the mallets or drumsticks which have been lying on them; and another brandishes and shakes the eeh-na-dees or rattles, and all unite to them their voices, raised to the highest pitch possible, as the music for the bull dance, which is then commenced and continued for fifteen minutes or more in perfect time, and without cessation or intermission. When the music and dancing stop, which are always perfectly simultaneous, the whole nation raise the huzza, and a deafening shout of approbation; the master of ceremonies dances back to the medicine-lodge, and the old men return to their former place; the sacks of water, and all rest as before, until by the same method, they are again called into a similar action.

"The supernumeraries or other characters who play their parts in this grand spectacle are numerous and well worth description. By the side of the big canoe are seen two men with the skins of grizzly bears thrown over them, using the skins as a mask over their heads. These ravenous animals are continually growling and threatening to devour everything before them and interfering with the forms of their religious ceremony. To appease them the women are continually bringing and placing before them dishes of meat, which are as often snatched up and carried to the prairie, by two men whose bodies and painted black and their heads white, whom they call bald eagles, who are darting by them and grasping their food from before them as they pass. These are again chased upon the plains by a hundred or more small boys, who are naked, with their bodies painted

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yellow and their heads white, whom they call Cabris or antelopes; who at length get the food away from them and devour it; thereby inculcating (perhaps) the beautiful moral, that by the dispensations of providence, his bountiful gifts will fall at last to the hands of the innocent. 000

"During the intervals between these dances, all these characters, except those from the medicine-lodge, retire to a wigwam close by, which they use on the occasion also as a sacred place, being occupied exclusively by them while they are at rest, and also for the purpose of painting and ornamenting their bodies for the occasion.

"During each and every one of these dances, the old men who beat upon the sacks and sing, are earnestly chanting forth their supplications to the Great Spirit, for the continuation of his influence in sending them buffalos to supply them with food during the year; they are administrating courage and fortitude to the young men in the lodge, by telling them, that 'the Great Spirit has opened his ears in their behalf—that the very atmosphere all about them is peace—that their women and children can hold the mouth of the grizzly bear—that they have invoked from day to day O-kee-hee-de (the Evil Spirit)—that they are still challenging him to come, and yet he has not dared to make his appearance.'

The "Evil Spirit." "But alas! In the last of these dances, on the fourth day, in the midst of all their mirth and joy, and about noon, in the height of all these exaltations, an instant scream burst forth from the top of these lodges. Men, women, dogs and all, seemed actually to howl and shudder with alarm, as they fixed their glaring eyeballs upon the prairie bluff, about a mile in the west, down the side of which a man was seen descending at full speed towards the village. This strange character darted about in a zig-zag course in all directions on the prairie, like a boy in pursuit of a butterfly, until he approached the piquets of the village, when it was discovered that his body was entirely naked, and painted as black as a negro, with pounded charcoal and bear's grease; his body was therefore every where of a shining black, except occasionally white rings of an inch or more in diameter, which were marked here and there all over him; and frightful indentures of white around his mouth, resembling canine teeth. Added to his hideous appearance he gave the most fright-

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000 ful shrieks and screams as he dashed through the village and entered the terrified group, which was composed (in that quarter) chiefly of females, who had assembled to witness the amusements which were transpiring around the 'big canoe.'

"The unearthly looking creature carried in his two hands a wand or staff of eight or nine feet in length, with a red ball at the end of it, which he continually slid on the ground ahead of him as he ran. All eyes in the village, save those of the persons engaged in the dance, were centered about him, and he made a desperate rush toward the women, who screamed for protection as they were endeavoring to retreat; and falling in groups upon each other as they were struggling to get out of his reach. In this moment of general terror and alarm there was an instant check! And all for a few moments were as silent as death."

Satan Overcame. "The old master of ceremonies, who had run from his position at the big canoe, had met this monster of fiends, and having thrust the medicine-pipe before him, held him still and immoveable under its charm. This check gave the females an opportunity to get out of his reach, and when they were free from their danger, though all hearts beat yet with the instant excitement, their alarm soon cooled down into the most exorbitant laughter and shouts of applause at his sudden defeat, and the awkward and ridiculous posture in which he was stopped and held. The old man was braced stiff by his side, with his eyeballs glaring him in the face, whilst the medicine-pipe held in its mystic chains his Satanic Majesty, annulling all the powers of his magical wand, and also depriving him of the powers of locomotion. Surely no two human beings ever presented a more striking group than these two individuals did for a few moments, with their eyeballs set in direst mutual hatred upon each other; both struggling for the supremacy, relying on the potency of their medicine or mystery. The one held in check, with his body painted black, representing (or rather assuming to be) his sable majesty, O-kee-hee-he (the Evil Spirit), frowning everlasting vengeance on the other, who sternly gazed him back with a look of exultation and contempt, as he held him in check and disarmed under the charm of his sacred mystery-pipe.

"When the superior powers of the medicine-pipe (on which hang all these annual mysteries) had been thus fully tested and

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acknowledged, and the women had had requisite time to withdraw from the reach of this fiendish monster, the pipe was very gradually withdrawn from before him, and he seemed delighted to recover the use of his limbs again, and power of changing his position from the exceedingly unpleasant and really ridiculous one he appeared in, and was compelled to maintain, a few minutes before; rendered more superlatively ridiculous and laughable, from the further information, which I am constrained to give, of the plight in which this demon of terror and vulgarity made his entree into the midst of the Mandan village, and to the center and nucleus of their first and greatest religious ceremony.

"Then to proceed. I said that this strange personage's body was naked—was painted jet black with charcoal and bear's grease, with a wand in his hands of eight feet in length with a red ball at the end of it, which was rubbing about on the ground in front of him as he ran."

Here follows an explanation of certain acts by the "Evil Spirit" which partake of vulgarity and which will not be quoted, consisting of further efforts to impose upon and break up the general ceremony but which are laughed at by the Indians, and under the spell of the "Medicine-pipe" his Satanic Majesty is rendered impotent. The narrative continues:

"After this he paid his visits to three others of the eight, in succession, receiving as before the deafening shouts of approbation which pealed from every mouth in the multitude, who were all praying to the Great Spirit to send them buffalos to supply them with food during the season, and who attributed the coming of buffalos for this purpose entirely to the strict and critical observance of this ridiculous and disgusting part of the ceremonies.

During the half hour or so that he had been jostled about amongst man and beasts, to the great amusement and satisfaction of the lookers-on, he seemed to have become exceedingly exhausted, and anxiously looking out for some feasible mode of escape.

"In this awkward predicament he became the laughing stock and butt for the women, who, being no longer afraid of him, were gathering in groups around to tease and tantalize him; and in the midst of this dilema, which soon became a very sad one—one of the women, who stole up behind him with both hands full of

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000 yellow dirt—dashed it into his face and eyes, and all over him, and his body being covered with grease, took instantly a different hue.

"He seemed heart-broken at this signal disgrace, and commenced crying most vehemently, when, at an instant, another caught his wand from his hand, and broke it across her knee. It was snatched by others, who broke it still into bits, and then threw them at him. His power was now gone—his bodily strength was exhausted, and he made a bolt for the prairie—he dashed through the crowd, and made his way through the picquets on the back part of the village, where were placed for the purpose a hundred or more women and girls, who escorted him as he ran on the prairie for half a mile or more, beating him with sticks, and stones, and dirt, and kicks, and cuffs, until he was at length seen escaping from their clutches, and making the best of his retreat over the prairie bluffs, from whence he had first appeared.

At the moment of this signal victory, and when all eyes lost sight of him as he disappeared over the bluffs, the whole village united their voices in shouts of satisfaction. The bull-dance then stopped, and preparations were instantly made for the commencement of the cruelties which were to take place within the lodge, leaving us to draw, from what had just transpired, the following beautiful moral:

"That in the midst of their religious ceremonies, the Evil Spirit (O-kee-hee-de) made his entree for the purpose of doing mischief, and of disturbing their worship—that he was held in check, and defeated by the superior influence and virtue of the medicine pipe, and at last, driven in disgrace out of the village, by the very part of the community whom he came to abuse."

Ceremonial Tortures. "At the close of this exciting scene, preparations were made, as above stated, by the return of the master of ceremonies and musicians to the medicine-lodge, where also were admitted at the same time a number of men, who were to be instruments of the cruelties to be inflicted; and also the chief and doctors of the tribe, who were to look on, and bear witness to, and decide upon, the comparative degree of fortitude, with which the young men sustained themselves in this most extreme and excruciating ordeal. The chiefs having seated them-

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selves on one side of the lodge, dressed out in their robes and splendid head-dresses—the band of music seated and arranged themselves in another part; and the old master of ceremonies having placed himself in front of a small fire in the center of the lodge, with his 'big pipe' in his hands, and having commenced smoking to the Great Spirit, with all possible vehemence for the success of these aspirants, presented the subjects for the third picture, which they call 'pohk-hong,' the cutting scene. Around the sides of the lodge are seen still reclining, as I have before mentioned, a part of the group, whilst others of them have passed the ordeal of self-tortures, and have been removed out of the lodge; and others still are seen in the very act of submitting to them which were inflicted in the following manner: After having removed the **Sanctissimus Sanctorum**, or little scaffold, of which I before spoke, and having removed also the buffalo and human skulls from the floor, and attached them to the posts of the lodge; and two men having taken their positions near the middle of the lodge, for the purpose of inflicting the tortures—the one with the scalping knife, and the other with a bunch of splints (which I have before mentioned) in his hand; one at a time of the young fellows, already emaciated with fasting, and thirsting, and waking, for nearly four days and nights, advanced from the side of the lodge, and placed himself on his hands and feet, or otherwise, as best suited for the performance of the operation, where he submitted to the cruelties in the following manner: An inch or more of the flesh on each shoulder or each breast was taken up between the thumb and finger by the man who held the knife in his right hand; and the knife which had been ground sharp on both edges, and then hacked and notched with the blade of another, to make it produce as much pain as possible, was forced through the flesh below the fingers, and being withdrawn, was followed with a splint or skewer, from the other, who held a bunch of such in his left hand, and was ready to force them through the wound. There were then two cords lowered down from the top of the lodge (by men who were placed on the lodge outside, for the purpose), which were fastened to these splints or skewers, and they instantly began to haul him up; he was thus raised until his body was suspended from the ground where he rested, until the knife and a splint were passed through the

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000 flesh or integuments in a similar manner on each arm below the shoulder (over the **brachialis externus**), below the elbow (over the **extensor carpi radialis**), on the thighs (over the **vastus externus**), and below the knees (over the **peroneus**).

"In some instances they remained in a reclining position on the ground until this painful operation was finished, which was performed, in all instances, exactly on the same parts of the body and limbs; and which in its progress, occupied some five or six minutes.

"Each one was then instantly raised with the cords, until the weight of his body was suspended by them, and then while the blood was streaming down their limbs, the bystanders hung upon the splints of each man's appropriate shield, bow and quiver, etc., and in many instances, the skull of a buffalo with the horns on it, was attached to each lower arm and each lower leg, for the purpose, probably, of preventing by their great weight, the struggling which might otherwise have taken place to their disadvantage whilst they were hung up.

"When these things were all adjusted, each one was raised higher by the cords, until these weights all swung clear from the ground, leaving his feet in most cases, some six or eight feet above the ground. In this plight they at once became appalling and frightful to look at—the flesh, to support the weight of their bodies, with the additional weights which were attached to them, was raised six or eight inches by the skewers; and their heads sank forward on their breasts, or thrown backwards, in a much more frightful condition, according to the way in which they were hung up.

"The unflinching fortitude, with which every one of them bore this part of the torture surpassed credulity; each one as the knife was passed through his flesh sustained an unchangable countenance; and several of them, seeing me making sketches, beckoned me to look at their faces, which I watched through all this horrid operation, without being able to detect anything but the pleasentest smiles as they looked me in the eye, while I could hear the knife rip through the flesh, and feel enough of it myself, to start involuntary and uncontrolable tears over my cheeks.

"When raised in the condition above described, and completely

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suspended by the cords the sanguinary hands, through which he had just passed, turned back to perform a similar operation on another who was ready, and each one in his turn passed into the charge of others, who instantly introduced him to a new and improved stage of their refinements in cruelty. 000

"Surrounded by imps and demons as they appear, a dozen or more who seemed to be concerting and devising means for his exquisite agony, gather around him, when one of the number advances towards him in a sneering manner, and commences turning him around with a pole which he brings in his hand for the purpose. This is done in a gentle manner at first; but gradually increased, when the brave fellow, whose proud spirit can control its agony no longer, burst out in the most lamentable and heart-rendering cries that the human voice is capable of producing, crying forth to the Great Spirit to support and protect him in this dreadful trial; and continually repeating his confidence in his protection. In this condition he is continued to be turned, faster and faster—and there is no hope of escape from it, nor chance for the slightest relief, until by fainting, his voice falters, and his struggling ceases, and he hangs apparently, a still and lifeless corpse! When he is by turning, gradually brought to this condition, which is generally done within ten or fifteen minutes, there is a close scrutiny passed upon him, among his tormentors, who are checking and holding each other back as long as the least struggling or tremor can be discovered, lest he should be removed before he is (as they term it) 'entirely dead.'

"When brought to this alarming and most frightful condition, and the turning has gradually ceased, as his voice and his strength have given out, leaving him hanging entirely still, and apparently lifeless; when his tongue is distended from his mouth, and his medicine-bag, which he has affectionately and superstitiously clung to with his left hand, has dropped to the ground; the signal is given to the men on top of the lodge, by gently striking the cord with the pole below, when they very gradually and carefully lower him to the ground.

"In this helpless condition he lies, like a loathsome corpse to look at, though in keeping (as they call it) of the Great Spirit, whom he trusts will protect him, and enable him to get up and walk away. As soon as he is lowered to the ground thus, one of

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the bystanders advances, and pulls out the two splints, or pins, from the breasts and shoulders, thereby disengaging him from the cords by which he has been hung up; but leaving all the others with their weights, etc., hanging to his flesh.

"In this condition he lies for six or eight minutes, until he gets strength to rise and move himself, for no one is allowed to assist or offer him aid, as he is here enjoying the most valued privilege which a Mandan can boast of, that of trusting his life to the keeping of the Great Sprit, in this time of extreme peril."

Great Spirit Revives Victim. "As soon as he is seen to get strength enough to rise on his hands and feet, and drag his body around the lodge, he crawls with the weights still hanging to his body, to another part of the lodge, where there is another Indian sitting with a hatchet in his hands, and a dried buffalo skull before him; and here in the most earnest and humble manner, by holding up the little finger of his left hand to the Great Spirit, he expresses to him, in a speech of a few words, his willingness to give it as a sacrifice; when he lays it on the dried buffalo skull, where the other chops it off near the hand, with a blow of the hatchet.

"Nearly all the young men whom I saw passing this horrid ordeal, gave in the above manner, the little finger of the left hand; and I saw also several, who immediately afterwards (and apparently with very little concern or emotion), with a similar speech, extended in the same way, the forefinger of the same hand, and that too was struck off; leaving on the left hand only the two middle fingers and the thumb; all of which they deem absolutely essential for holding the bow, the only weapon for the left hand.

"One would think that this mutilation had thus been carried quite far enough; but I have since examined several of the head chiefs and dignitaries of the tribe, who have also given, in this manner, the little finger of the right hand, which is considered by them to be a much greater sacrifice than both of the others; and I have found also a number of their most famous men, who furnish me incontestable proof, by five or six corresponding scars on each arm, and each breast, and each leg, that they had so many times in their lives submitted to this almost incredible operation, which seems to have been optional with them; and the

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oftener they volunteer to go through it, the more famous they become in the estimation of their tribe. 000

"No bandages are applied to the fingers which have been amputated, nor any arteries taken up; nor is any attention whatever, paid to them or the other wounds; but they are left (as they say) 'for the Great Spirit to cure,' who will surely take good care of them. It is a remarkable fact (which I learned from a close inspection of their wounds from day to day) that the bleeding is but very slight and soon ceases, probably from the fact of their extreme exhaustion and debility, caused by want of sustenance and sleep, which checks the natural circulation, and admirably at the same time prepares them to meet the severity of these tortures without the same degree of sensibility and pain, which, under other circumstances, might result in inflammation and death.

"During the whole of the time of this cruel part of these most extraordinary inflictions, the chiefs and dignitaries of the tribe are looking on to decide who are the hardiest and "stoutest hearted'—who can hang the longest by his flesh before he faints, and who will be soonest up ,after he has been down; that they may know whom to appoint to lead a war party, or to place at the most honorable and desperate post. The four old men are incessantly beating upon the sacks of water and singing the whole time, with their voices strained to the highest key, vaunting forth for the encouragement of the young men, the power and efficacy of the medicine-pipe, which has disarmed the monster O-keó-heede (or Evil Spirit), and driven him from the village, and will be sure to protect them and watch over them through their present severe trial.

"As soon as six or eight had passed the ordeal as above described, they were led out of the lodge, with their weights hanging to their flesh, and dragging on the ground, to undergo another, and still more appalling mode of suffering in the center of the village, and in the presence of the whole nation, in the manner as follows:

Last Race. "The signal for the commencement of this part of the cruelties was given by the old master of ceremonies, who again ran out as in the buffalo dance, and leaning against the big canoe, with his medicine-pipe in his hand, began to cry. This was done several times in the afternoon, as often as there were six

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000 or eight who had passed the ordeal just described within the lodge, who were then taken out in the open area in the presence of the whole village, with the buffalo skulls and other weights attached to their flesh and dragging on the ground. There were then in readiness, and prepared for the purpose, about twenty young men, selected of equal height and equal age; with their bodies chiefly naked, with beautiful (and similar) head-dresses of war-eagles' quills, on their heads, and a wreath made of willow boughs held in the hands between them, connecting them in a chain or circle in which they run around the big canoe, with all possible speed, raising their voices in screams and yelps to the highest pitch that was possible, and keeping the curb or big canoe in the center, as their nucleus.

"Then were led forward the young men who were further to suffer, and being placed at equal distances apart, and outside of the ring just described, each one was taken in charge of two athletic young men, fresh and strong, who stepped up to him, one on each side, and by wrapping a broad leather strap around his wrists, without tying it, grasped it firm underneath the hand, and stood prepared for what they call Eh-ke-nah-ka-nah-pick (the last race). This the spectator looking on would suppose was most correctly named, for he would think it was the last race he could possibly run in this world.

"In this condition they stand, pale and ghastly, from abstainence and loss of blood, until all are prepared, and the word is given, then all start and run around, outside of the other ring; and each poor fellow with his weights dragging on the ground, and his furious conductors by his side, who hurry him forward by the wrists, struggles in the desperate emulation to run longer without 'dying' (as they call it) than his comrades, who are fainting around him and sinking down, like himself, where their bodies are dragged with all possible speed, and often with their faces in the dirt. In the commencement of this dance or race they all start at a moderate pace, and their speed being gradually increased, the pain becomes so excruciating that their languid and exhausted frames give out, and they are dragged by their wrists, until they are disengaged from the weights that were attached to their flesh, and this must be done by such violent force as to tear the flesh out with the splint, which (as they say) can never

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be pulled out end-ways, without greatly offending the Great Spirit and defeating the object for which they have thus far suffered. The splints or skewers which are put through the breast and shoulders, take up a part of the pectoral or trapezius muscle, which is necessary for the support of the great weight of their bodies, and which, as I have before mentioned, are withdrawn as soon as he is lowered down—but all the others, on the legs and arms, seem to be very ingeniously placed through the flesh and integuments without taking up the muscle, and even these to be broken out, require so strong and so violent a force that most of the poor fellows fainted under the operation, and when they were freed from the last of the buffalo skulls and other weights, (which was often done by some of the bystanders throwing the weight of their bodies on them as they were dragging on the ground) they were in every instance dropped by the persons who dragged them, and their bodies were left, appearing like nothing but a mangled and loathsome corpse. At this strange and frightful juncture, the two men who had dragged them, fled through the crowd and away upon the prairie, as if they were guilty of some enormous crime, and were fleeing from summary vengeance.

"Each poor fellow having thus patiently and manfully endured the privations and tortures devised for him, and (in this last struggle with the most appalling effort) tore himself loose from them and his tormentors, he lies the second time, in the 'keeping (as he terms it) of the Great Spirit,' to whom he issues his repeated prayers, and entrusts his life; and in whom he reposes the most implicit confidence for his preservation and recovery. As an evidence of this, and of the high value which these youths set upon this privilege, there is no person, not a relation or a chief of the tribe, who is allowed, or who would dare, to step forward to offer an aiding hand, even to save his life; for not only the rigid customs of the nation, and the pride of the individual who has intrusted his life to the keeping of the Great Spirit, would sternly reject such a tender; but their superstitions, which is the strongest of all arguments in an Indian community, would alone, hold all the tribe in fear and dread of interfering, when they consider they have so good a reason to believe that

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000 the Great Spirit has undertaken the special care and protection of his devoted worshippers.

"In this 'last race,' which was the struggle which finally closed their sufferings, each one was dragged until he fainted, and was thus left, looking more like the dead than the living; and thus each one laid, until, by the aid of the Great Spirit, he was in a few minutes seen gradually rising, and at last reeling and staggering, like a drunken man, through the crowd (which made way for him) to his wigwam, where his friends and relatives stood ready to take him in hand and restore him.

"In this frightful scene, as in the buffalo dance, the whole nation was assembled as spectators, and all raised the most piercing and violent yells and screams they could possibly produce, to drown the cries of the suffering ones, that no heart could even be touched with sympathy for them. I have mentioned before, that six or eight of the young men were brought from the medicine-lodge at a time, and when they were thus passed through this shocking ordeal, the medicine-man and the chiefs returned to the interior, where as many more were soon prepared, and underwent a similar treatment, and after that another batch, and another, and so on, until the whole number, some forty-five or fifty had run in this sickening circle, and by leaving their weights, had opened the flesh for honorable scars. I said all, but there was one poor fellow though (and I shudder to tell it), who was dragged around and around the circle, with the skull of an elk hanging to the flesh on one of his legs—several had jumped upon it, but to no effect, for the splint was under the sinew, which could not be broken. The dragging became every instant more and more furious, and the apprehensions for the poor fellow's life, apparent by the piteous howl which was set up for him by the multitude around; and at last the medicine-man ran, with his medicine-pipe in his hand, and held them in check, when the body was dropped, and left upon the ground, with the skull yet hanging to it. The boy, who was an extremely interesting and fine looking youth, soon recovered his senses and his strength, looking deliberately at his torn and bleeding limbs; and also with the most pleasant smile of defiance, upon the misfortune which had now fallen to his peculiar lot, crawled through the crowd (instead of walking, which they are

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never again at liberty to do until the flesh is torn out, and the article is left) to the prairie, and over which, for the distance of half a mile, to a sequested spot, without any attendant, where he lay three days and three nights, yet longer, without food, and praying to the Great Spirit, until suppuration took place in the wound, and by the decaying of the flesh the weight was dropped, and the splint also, which he dare not extricate in another way. At the end of this, he crawled back to the village on his hands and knees, being too much emaciated to walk, and begged for something to eat, which was at once given him, and he was soon restored to health.

"These extreme and difficult cases often occur, and I learn that in such instances the youth has it at his option to get rid of the weight that is thus left upon him, in such way as he may choose, and some of these modes are far more extraordinary than the one which I have just named. Several of the traders, who have been for a number of years in the habit of seeing this part of the ceremony, have told me that two years since, when they were looking on, there was one whose flesh on the arms was so strong that the weights could not be left, and he dragged them with his body to the river by the side of the village, where he set a stake fast in the ground on the top of the bank, and fastening cords to it, he let himself half way down a perpendicular wall of rock, of twenty-five or thirty feet, where the weight of his body was suspended by the two cords attached to the flesh of his arms. In this awful condition he hung for several days, equidistant from the top of the rock and the deep water below, into which he at last dropped and saved himself by swimming ashore."

Superior Stoicism. "I need record no more of these shocking and disgusting instances, of which I have already given enough to convince the world of the correctness of the established fact of the Indian's superior stoicism and power of endurance, although some recent writers have, from motives of envy, from ignorance, or something else, taken great pains to cut the poor Indian short in everything, and in this, even as if it were a virtue.

"I am ready to accord to them in this particular, the palm; the credit of out-doing anything and everybody, and of enduring more

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000 than civilized man ever aspired to or ever thought of. My heart has sickened also with disgust for so abominable and ignorant a custom, and still I stand ready with all my heart, to excuse and forgive them for adhering so strictly to an ancient celebration, founded in superstitions and mysteries, of which they knew not the origin, and constituting a material part and feature in the code and forms of their religion.

"Reader, I will return with you a moment to the medicine-lodge, which is just to be closed, and then we will indulge in some general reflections upon what has passed, and in what, and for what purposes this strange batch of mysteries has been instituted and perpetuated.

"After these young men, who had for the last four days occupied the medicine-lodge, had been operated on, in the manner above described, and taken out of it, the old medicine-man, master of ceremonies, returned, (still crying to the Great Spirit) sole tenant of that sacred place, and brought out the 'edged tools,' which I have before said had been collected at the door of every man's wigwam, to be given as a sacrifice to the water, and leaving the lodge securely fastened, he approached the bank of the river, when all the medicine-men attended him, and all the nation were spectators; and in their presence he threw them from a high bank into very deep water, from which they cannot be recovered, and where they are, correctly speaking, made a sacrifice to the water. This part of the affair took place just exactly at sun-down, and closed the scene, being the end or the finale of the Mandan **Religious Ceremony.**"

Catlin appends this certificate to his text relative to the Mandan ceremonies:

Catlin's Certificate. "The reader will forgive me for here inserting the certificate which I have just received from Mr. Kipp, of the city of New York, and two others, who were with me; which I offer for the satisfaction of the world, who read the above account.

" 'We hereby certify, that we witnessed, in company with Mr. Catlin, in the Mandan village, the ceremonies represented in the four paintings, and described in his notes, to which this certificate refers; and that he has therein faithfully represented those scenes

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as we saw them transacted, without any addition or exaggeration.

'J. KIPP, Agent Amer. Fur Company.
L. CRAWFORD, Clerk.
ABRAHAM BOGARD.'

" 'Mandan village, July 20, 1833.' "

Mandan Flood Traditions. "The strange country that I am in—its excitements—its accidents and wild incidents which startle me at almost every moment, prevent me from any very elaborate disquisition upon the above remarkable events at present; and even had I all the time and leisure of a country gentleman, and all the additional information which I am daily procuring and daily expect to procure hereafter in explanation of these unaccountable mysteries, yet do I fear that there would be that inexplicable difficulty that hangs over most of the customs and traditions of these simple people, who have no history to save facts and systems from falling into the most absurd and disjointed fable and ignorant fiction.

"What few plausible inferences I have as yet been able to draw from the above strange and peculiar transactions I will set forth, but with some diffidence, hoping and trusting that by further intimacy and familiarity with these people I may yet arrive at more satisfactory and important results.

"That these people should have a tradition of the flood is by no means surprising; as I have learned from every tribe I have visited, that they all have some high mountain in their vicinity, where they insist upon it the big canoe landed; but that these people should hold an annual celebration of the event, and the season of that decided by such circumstances as the full leaf of the willow, and the medicine-lodge opened by such a man as Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (who appears to be a white man), and making his appearance from the high mountains in the west; and some other circumstances, is surely a very remarkable thing, and requires some extraordinary attention.

"This Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (first or only man) is undoubtedly some mystery or medicine-man of the tribe, who has gone out on the prairie on the evening previous, and having dressed and painted himself for the occasion, comes into the village in the morning, endeavoring to keep up the semblance of reality; for

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their tradition says, that at a very ancient period such a man did actually come from the west—that his body was of a white color. as this man's body is represented—that he wore a robe of four white wolf skins—his head-dress was made of two raven's skins—and in his left hand was a hugh pipe. He said 'he was at one time the only man—he told them of the destruction of everything on the earth's surface by water—that he stopped in his big canoe on a high mountain in the west, where he landed and was saved.' "

Annual Sacrifices. " 'That the Mandans, and all other people were bound to make yearly sacrifices of some edged-tools to the water, for of such things the big canoe was made. Then he instructed the Mandans how to build their medicine-lodge, and taught them also the forms of these annual ceremonies; and told them that as long as they made these sacrifices, and performed their rites to the full letter, they might be assured of the fact, that they would be the favorite people of the Almighty, and would always have enough to eat and drink; and that so soon as they should depart in one tittle from these forms, they might be assured, that their race would decrease, and finally run out; and that they might date their nation's calamity to that omission or neglect.'

"These people, have no doubt, been long living under the dread of such an injunction, and in the fear of departing from it; and while they are living in total ignorance of its origin, the world must remain equally ignorant of much of its meaning, as they needs must be of all Indian customs resting on ancient traditions, which soon run into fables, having lost all their system by which they might have been construed.

"This strange and unaccountable custom is undoubtedly peculiar to the Mandans; although, amongst the Minatarees, and some others of the neighboring tribes, they have seasons of abstinence and self-torture, somewhat similar. but bearing no other resemblance to this than a mere feeble effort or form of imitation."

The Willow Branch. "It would seem from their traditions of the willow branch, and the dove, that these people must have had some proximity to some parts of the civilized world; or that missionaries or others have been formerly among them, inculcating

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the Christian religion and the Mosaic account of the flood; which is in this and some other respects, decidedly different from the theory which most natural people have distinctly established of that event.

"There are other strong and almost decisive proofs in my opinion in support of the assertion, which are to be drawn from the diversity of colour in their hair and complexions, as I have before described, as well as from their traditions just related, of the 'first and only man,' whose body was white, and who came from the west, telling them of the destruction of the earth by water, and instructing them in the forms of these mysteries; and, in addition to the above, I will add the two following very curious stories, which I had from several of their old and dignified chiefs, and which are, no doubt, standing and credited traditions of the tribe."

Vine Legend. "'The Mandans (people of the pheasants) were the first people created in the world, and they originally lived inside of the earth; they raised many vines, and one of them had grown up through a hole in the earth overhead, and one of their young men climbed up it until he came out on top of the ground, on the bank of the river, where the Mandan village stands. He looked around, and admired the beautiful country and prairies about him—saw many buffaloes—killed one with his bow and arrows, and found that its meat was good to eat. He returned and related what he had seen, when a number of others went up the vine with him, and witnesseth the same things. Amongst those who went up, were two very pretty young women, who were favorites with the chiefs, because they were virgins, and amongst those who were trying to get up, was a very large and fat woman, who was ordered by the chiefs not to go up, but whose curiosity led her to try it as soon as she got a secret opportunity, when there was no one present. When she got part of the way up, the vine broke under the great weight of her body and let her down. She was very much hurt by the fall, but did not die. The Mandans were very sorry about this, and she was disgraced for being the cause of a very great calamity, which she had brought upon them, and which could never be averted, for no more could ever ascend, nor could those descend who had got up; but they build the Mandan village, where it formerly stood, a great ways

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below on the river; and the remainder of the people live under ground to this day.'

"The above tradition is told with great gravity by their chiefs and doctors or mystery-men; and the latter profess to hear their friends talk through the earth at certain times and places, and even consult them for their opinions and advice on many important occasions.

"The next tradition runs thus:

The Evil Spirit. " 'At a very ancient period, O-kee-hee-de (the Evil Spirit, the black fellow mentioned in the religious ceremonies) came to the Mandan village with Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (the first or only man) from the west, and sat down by a woman who had but one eye and was hoeing corn. Her daughter, who was very pretty, came up to her and the evil spirit desired her to go and bring some water, but wished before she started, she would come to him and eat some buffalo meat. He told her to take a piece out of his side, which she did, and ate it, which proved to be buffalo fat. She then went for the water, which she brought, and met them in the village where they had walked, and they both drank of it—nothing more was done.

" 'The friends of the girl soon after endeavored to disgrace her, by telling her that she was **enciente,** which she did not deny. She declared her innocence at the same time, and boldly defied any man in the village to come forward and accuse her. This raised a great excitement in the village, and as no one could stand forth to accuse her, she was looked upon as great medicine.

"She soon after went off secretely to the upper Mandan village, where the child was born.

" 'Great search was made for her before she was found; as it was expected that the child would also be great medicine or mystery, and of great importance to the existence and welfare of the tribe. They were induced to this belief from the very strange manner of its conception and birth, and were soon confirmed in it from the wonderful things which it did at an early age. They say that amongst other miracles which he performed, when the Mandans were like to starve, he gave them four buffalo bulls, which filled the whole village, leaving as much meat as there was before they had eaten, saying that these four bulls would supply them forever. Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (the first or only man) was

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bent on the destruction of the child, and after making many fruitless searches for it, found it hidden in a dark place, and put it to death by throwing it into the river.

"'When O-kee-hee-de (the Evil Spirit) heard of the death of this child, he sought for Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah with intent to kill him. He traced him for a long distance, and at length found him at Heart River, about seventy miles below the village, with the big medicine pipe in his hand, the charm or mystery of which protects him from all his enemies. They soon agreed, however, to become friends, smoked the big pipe together and returned to the Mandan village.

"The Evil Spirit was satisfied, and Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah told the Mandans never to pass the Heart River to live, for it was the center of the world, and to live beyond it would be destruction to them, and he named it Nat-com-pa-sa-hah (heart or center of the world.)'

"Such are a few of the principal traditions of these people, which I have thought proper to give in this place, and I have given them in their own way, with all the imperfections and absurd inconsistencies which should be expected to characterize the history of all ignorant and superstitious people who live in a state of simple and untaught nature, with no other means of perpetuating historical events, than by oral traditions.

"I advance these vague stories then, as I have done, and shall do in other instances, not in support of any theory, but merely as I have heard them related by the Indians; and preserved them, as I have everything else that I could meet in the Indian habits and character, for the information of the world, who may get more time to theorize than I have at present; and who may consider better than I can, how far such traditions should be taken as evidence of the facts, that these people have for a long period preserved and perpetuated an imperfect knowledge of the deluge—of the appearance and death of a Saviour—and of the trangressions of mother Eve."

Earth a Tortoise. "I am not yet able to learn from these people whether they have any distinct theory of the creation; as they seem to date nothing further back than their own existence as a people; saying (as I have before mentioned) that they were the first people created; involving the glaring absurdities that

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000 they were the only people on earth before the flood, and the only one saved was a white man; or that they were created inside of the earth as their tradition says; and that they did not make their appearance on its outer surface until after the deluge. When an Indian story is told, it is like all other giffs, 'to be taken for what it is worth,' and for any seeming inconsistency in their traditions there is no remedy; for as far as I have tried to reconcile them by reasoning with, or questioning them, I have been entirely defeated; and more than that have generally incurred their distrust and ill-will. One of the Mandan doctors told me very gravely a few days since, that the earth was a large tortoise, that it carried the dirt on its back; that a tribe of people, who are now dead, and whose faces were white, used to dig down very deep in this ground to catch badgers; and that one day they stuck a knife through the tortoise shell, and it sank down so that the water ran over its back, and drowned all but one man. On the next day, while I was painting his portrait, he told me there were four tortoises—one in the north, one in the east, one in the south, and one in the west; that each one of these rained ten days, and the water covered over the earth.

"These ignorant and conflicting accounts, and both from the same man, give as good a demonstration, perhaps, of what I have above mentioned, as to the inefficiency of Indian traditions as anything I could at present mention. They might, perhaps, have been in this instance, however, the creeds of different sects, or of different priests amongst them, who often advanced diametrically opposite theories and traditions relative to history and mythology.

"And however ignorant and ridiculous they may seem, they are yet worthy of a little further consideration, as relating to a number of curious circumstances connected with the unaccountable religious ceremonies which I have just described."

Four Cardinal Points, Etc. "The Mandan chiefs and doctors, in all their feasts, where the pipe is lit and about to be passed around, deliberately propitiate the good will and favor of the Great Spirit, by extending the stem of the pipe upwards before they smoke it themselves; and also as deliberately and as strictly offer the stem to the four cardinal points in succession, and then drawing a whiff through it, pasing it around amongst the group.

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"The annual religious ceremony invariably lasts four days, and the other following circumstances attending these strange forms, and seeming to have some allusion to the four cardinal points, or the 'four tortoises,' seem to me to be worthy of further notice. Four men are selected by Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (as I have before said) to cleanse out and prepare the medicine lodge for the occasion—one he calls from the north part of the village, one from the east, one from the south and one from the west. The four sacks of water, in form of large tortoises, resting on the floor of the lodge and before described, would seem to be typical of the same thing; and also the four buffalo, and the four human skulls resting on the floor of the same lodge—the four couples of dancers in the bull-dance, as before described; and also the four intervening dancers in the same dance, and also described.

"The bull-dance in front of the medicine-lodge, repeated on the four days, is danced four times on the first day, eight times on the second, twelve times on the third, and sixteen times on the fourth (adding four dances on each of the four days) which added together makes forty, the exact number of days that it rained upon the earth, according to the Mosaic account, to produce the deluge. There are four sacrifices of black and blue cloths erected over the door of the medicine-lodge, the visits of O-kee-hee-de (or Evil Spirit) were paid to four of the buffaloes in the buffalo dance, as above described; and in every instance, the young men who underwent the tortures before explained, had four splints or skewers run through the flesh on their legs, four through the arms and four through the body.

"Such is a brief account of these strange scenes which I have just been witnessing, and such my brief history of the Mandans. I might write much more of them, giving yet a volume on their stories and traditions; but it would be a volume of fables, and scarce worth recording. A nation of Indians in their primitive condition, where there are no historians, have but a temporary historical existence, for the reason above advanced, and their history, what can be certainly learned of it, may be written in a very small compass.

"I have dwelt longer on the history and customs of these people than I have or shall on any other tribe, in all probability, and that

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000 from the fact that I have found them a very peculiar people, as will be seen by my notes."

Different Origin. "From these very numerous and striking peculiarities in their personal appearance, their customs, traditions and language, I have been led conclusively to believe that they are a people of decidedly a different origin from that of any other tribe in these regions.

"From these reasons, as well as from the fact that they are a small and feeble tribe, against whom the powerful tribe of Sioux are waging a deadly war with the prospect of their extermination, and who with their limited numbers, are not likely to hold out long in their struggle for existence, I have taken more pains to portray their whole character, than my limited means will allow me to bestow upon other tribes."

Not Inhuman. "From the ignorant and barbarous and disgusting customs just recited, the world would naturally infer that these people must be the most cruel and inhuman beings in the world, yet, such is not the case, and it becomes my duty to say it, a better, more honest, hospitable and kind people, as a community, are not to be found in the world. No set of men that ever I associated with had better hearts than the Mandans, and none are quicker to embrace and welcome the white man than they are. None will press him closer to his bosom, that the pulsations of his heart may be felt, than a Mandan; and no man in any country will keep his word and guard his honour more closely."

What Catlin declares below as to the susceptibility of the Mandans to evilizing influences which would eradicate their savage religious ceremonials, etc., has been conclusively proven through contact of the missionaries with them and governmental oversight and teaching inculcated among them; since those customs long since disappeared, save as to some few of the less objectionable practices which, in a modified form, may yet remain.

Can be Civilized. "The shocking and disgusting custom that I have just described, sickens the heart and even the stomach of a traveler in the country, and he weeps for their ignorance, he pities them with all his heart for their blindness and laments that the light of civilization, of agriculture and religion cannot be extended to them, and that their hearts which are good enough,

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could not be turned to embrace something more rational and conducive to their true happiness. 010

"Many would doubtless ask, whether such a barbarous custom could be eradicated from these people, and whether their thoughts and tastes, being turned to agriculture and religion, could be made to abandon the dark and random channel in which they are drudging, and made to flow in the light and life of civilization?

"To this query, I answer yes. Although this is a custom of long standing, being a part of their religion, and probably valued as one of their dearest rights; and notwithstanding the difficulty of making inroads upon the religion of a people in whose country there is no severance of opinions, and consequently no division into different sects, with different creeds to shake their faith; I still believe, and I know, that by judicious and persevering effort, this abominable custom, and others, might be extinguished, and the beautiful green fields about the Mandan village might be turned into productive gardens, and the waving green bluffs that are spread in the surrounding distance, might be spotted with lowing kine, instead of the sneaking wolves and the hobbled war horses that are now stalking about them.

"All ignorant and superstitious people, it is a well known fact, are the most fixed and stubborn in their religious opinions, and perhaps the most difficult to divert from their established belief, from the very fact that they are the most difficult to reason with. Here is an ignorant race of human beings, who have from time immemorial, been in the habit of worshipping in their own way, and of enjoying their religious opinions without ever having heard any one to question their correctness; and in those opinions they are quiet and satisfied, and it requires a patient, gradual and untiring effort to convince such a people that they are wrong, and to work the desired change in their belief, and consequently in their actions.

"It is decidely my opinion, however, that such a thing can be done, and I do not believe there is a race of wild people on earth where the experiment could be more successfully made than amongst the kind and hospitable Mandans, nor any place where the missionary labors of pious and industrious men would be more

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000 sure to succeed, or more certain to be rewarded in the world to come.

"I deem such a trial of patience and perseverance with these people of great importance, and well worth the experiment. One which I shall hope soon to see accomplished, and which, if properly conducted, I am sure will result in success. Severed as they are from the contaminating and counteracting vices which oppose and thwart most of the best efforts of the missionaries along the frontier, and free from the almost fatal prejudices which they have there to contend with, they present a better field for the labors of such benevolent teachers than they have yet worked in, and a far better chance than they have yet had that the poor Indian is not a brute, that he is a human and humane being, that he is capable of improvement, and that his mind is a beautiful blank on which anything can be written if the proper means be taken.

"The Mandans being but a small tribe, of two thousand only, and living in two villages, in sight of each other, and occupying these permanently, without roaming about like other neighboring tribes, offer undoubtedly, the best opportunity for such an experiment of any tribe in the country. The land about their villages is of the best quality for plowing and grazing, and the water just such as would be desired. Their villages are fortified with piquets or stockades, which protect them from the assaults of their enemies at home, and the introduction of agriculture (which would supply them with the necessities and luxuries of life, without the necessity of continually exposing their lives to their more numerous enemies on the plains when they are seeking in the chase the means of their subsistence) would save them from the continual wastes of life, to which, in their wars and the chase they are continually exposed, and which are calculated soon to result in their extinction.

"I deem it not folly nor idle to say that these people can be saved, nor officious to suggest to some of the very many excellent and pious men, who are almost throwing away the best energies of their lives along the debased frontier, that if they would introduce the ploughshare and their prayers amongst these people, who are so far separated from the taints and contaminating vices of the frontier, they would soon see their most ardent desires accomplished and be able to solve to the world the perplexing

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enigma, by presenting a nation of savages, civilized and christianized (and consequently saved), in the heart of the American wilderness." (p. 184.) 000

We will next present portions of the accounts given by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, who visited and remained with the Mandans at their villages below Knife river in 1833. His journey up the Missouri river in general was made in the interest of science, and his keen insight into every subject of his observations and study is evidenced upon every page of his elaborate and exhaustive journal. His narratives were originally published in the German language; and in 1843 were translated into English by H. Evans Lloyd, and were thus published under the title "Travels in the Interior of North America by Maximilian, Prince of Wied," in 1843 by Ackermann & Company, London. Said English edition has now become very rare. It is to be greatly regretted that the plates from which the admirable illustrations from the drawings of Bodner, who accompanied Maximilian on his said journey, were published, are not at the disposal of the society under whose auspices this paper is written; as the subject of the Mandan Indians as treated by that renowned explorer in said journal is greatly enlivened by the numerous illustrations published therewith. Those illustrations are reprinted in connection with a reprint of Maximilian's journal by The Arthur H. Clark Company in 1906, as edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL. D., in the work whose title is given below. Some of the valuable notes, by Dr. Thwaites, to Maximilian's narrative on the Mandans, are herein, in the appendix, extracted or reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, Ohio, from their publication entitled "Early Western Travels, 1748-1846," for which permission and courtesy this society wishes to acknowledge its deep obligations.

Maximilian arrived at the Mandan villages on November 8, 1833. Some of his extended observations will now be given:

Maximilian on the Mandans. "The Mandans (called by the Canadians, les Mandals),[11] by which name these Indians are generally known, though it was originally given them by the Sioux, were formerly a numerous people, who, according to the narrative of an aged man, lately deceased, inhabited thirteen, and perhaps more villages. They called themselves Numangkake (i. e.

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man), and if they wish to particularize their descent, they add the name of the village whence they came originally. Some for instance, call themselves Sipuske-Numangkake, the men of the pheasant or prairie hens from the village Sipuska-Mihte, pheasant village; others, Mato-Numangkake, the man of the bear, from the village Mato-Mihte, bear village, etc., etc. Another general name of this people is Mahna-Narra, the sulky, because they separated from the rest of their nation, and went higher up the Missouri.

Their Origin. "The early history of the Mandans is involved in obscurity; their own traditions and legends will be discussed in the sequel, when treating on their religious ideas. They affirm that they descended originally from the more eastern nations, near the sea coast.[12] Though the above named villages did not all exist at this time, these Indians still call themselves by their several names. They formerly dwelt near the Heart river; when Charbonneau arrived here at the end of the last century, the two Mandan villages, which are still standing, were about six or eight miles further down the Missouri. The smallpox and the assaults of their enemies have so reduced these people, that the whole number now reside in two villages, in the vicinity of Fort Clarke. These two villages are Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush (the southern village), about 300 paces above Fort Clarke, and on the same side of the river, and Ruhptare,[13] about three miles higher up, likewise on the same bank. The first had at the time of our visit, sixty-five huts, and contained about 150 warriors; the other, thirty-eight huts, and eighty-three warriors. According to this, the tribe had not more than 230 or 240 warriors; and on the whole, scarcely 900 or 1,000 souls."***

Characteristics—Complexion. "The Mandans are a vigorous, well-made race of people, rather above the middling stature, and very few of the men could be called short. The tallest man now living was Mahchsi-Karehde (the flying war-eagle), who was five feet ten inches two lines, Paris measure (above six feet English). In the general, however, they are not so tall as the Minnetarees. Many of them are robust, broad-shouldered, and muscular, while others are slender and small limbed. Their physiognomy, in general, the same as that of most of the Missouri Indians, but their noses are not so long and arched as those of the Sioux, nor have

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they such high cheek bones. The nose of the Mandans and Minnetarees is not broad—sometimes aquiline, or slightly curved, and often quite straight. Their eyes are, in general, long and narrow, of a dark brown color; the inner angle is often rather lower in childhood, but it is rarely so in mature age. The mouth is broad, large, rather prominent, and the lower jaw broad and angular. No great difference occurs in the form of the skull; in general I did not find the facial angle smaller than in Europeans, yet there are some exceptions. Their hair is long, thick, lank, and black, but seldom as jet and glossy as that of the Brazilians; that of the children is often only dark brown, especially at the tips; and Bradbury speaks of brown hair among the Mandans. There are whole families among them, as well as among the Blackfeet, whose hair is grey, or black mixed with white, so that the whole head appears grey. The families of Sih-Chida and Mato-Chiha are instances of this peculiarity. The latter chief was particularly remarkable in this respect; his hair grew in distinct locks of brown, black, silver grey, but mostly white, and his eyebrows perfectly white, which had a strange effect in a tall otherwise handsome man, between twenty and thirty years of age. They encourage the growth of their hair, and often lengthen it by artificial means. Their teeth like those of all the Missouri Indians, are particularly fine, strong, firm, even, and white as ivory. It is very seldom that you see a defect or a tooth wanting even in old people, though in the latter, they are often worn very short, which is chiefly to be attributed to their chewing hard, dry meat. The women are pretty, robust and sometimes tall, but, for the most part, they are short and broad shouldered. They are but few who can be called handsome as Indians, but there are many tolerable and some pretty faces among them. It is usually said of the Mandan women that they in some respects, have a natural conformation, such as Le Vaillant and Peron ascribe to the Hottentot women; but it seems to be owing in the Mandan women, less to nature than to artificial means. The children have frequently slender limbs, and very prominent bellies. Deformed persons are very rare among the Mandans. I, however, saw a very little dwarf with a long narrow face, and one man who squinted. Persons who had lost the sight of one eye, or with a cataract, are by no means uncommon. There are several deaf and

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dumb, among whom two brothers and a sister were all born with this defect. Some goiters, or rather, thick necks among the women, are doubtless caused by too great exertions in carrying burdens on their backs. Instances where joints of the fingers are wanting are frequent, but these come under the head of voluntary mutilations."

Color of Skin. "The color of these Indians is a fine brown, sometimes a reddish, more or less dark, which might, sometimes, come under the denomination of copper color. In some it is more of a greyish-brown, in others yellowish; after a thorough ablution the skin of some of them appears almost white, and even some color in their cheeks. They do not disfigure their bodies, only they make some apertures in the outer rim of the ear, in which they hang strings of beads, brass or iron rings of different sizes, or shells, the last of which they obtain from other Indian tribes. If they are questioned respecting these shells, they answer that they were brought from the sea."

Ornaments. "These Indians are vain, and in this respect childish, like all savage nations. They are very fond of ornament, and the young men have always a little looking-glass suspended from their wrists. The traders sell these looking-glasses in a pasteboard case, which, however, is immediately changed for a solid wooden frame, and attached to the wrist by a red ribbon or a leather strap. The looking-glasses are framed in various ways; the rude frame is often painted red, or with stripes of different colors, with footsteps of bears or buffalos carved upon it. Nay, sometimes these frames are of a considerable size, divided at one end like a boot-jack, and ornamented with brass nails, ribbons, pieces of skin and feathers. Some had very ingeniously fastened this important appendage to their fan made of an eagle's wing. The Indian dandy is constantly consulting his mirror, and, if he has been traveling, especially in the high winds so prevalent here, he immediately has recourse to his looking-glass, and his disordered dress is most carefully arranged.

"It is remarkable that the men are far more vain than the women, and the latter are obliged to be greatly inferior to the lords of the creation in their attire and adornments. The costume of the Mandans is rather simple; by far the greatest attention is paid to the head-dress. Their hair is parted transversely

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across the middle of the head, the front hair combed smoothly down, and generally divided into three flat bands, two of which hang down on the temples and are generally plaited. To these plaits they attach the ornaments already mentioned, which consisted of two strips of leather or cloth closely embroidered with white or azure glass beads, and intertwined with brass wire, as represented in the portrait of Pehriska-Ruhpa. If the ground of this ornament is red or blue, it is studded with white beads, and if the ground is white the beads are blue. They put this ornament in their hair and pull it over the temples; a long string is fastened to the underpart, which reaches to the waist, and is adorned with alternate rows of blue beads and white dentalium shells. Between these two singular decorated plaits there is, in the center of the forehead, a smooth flat lock, reaching to the nose, which is not ornamented, but only tied with a red ribbon. The back hair falls smoothly from the crown of the head to the waist, and is divided into many tails, an inch and a half or two inches broad, which are smeared with brownish or red clay. When the hair is not naturally long enough it is frequently lengthened with other human hair, often that of enemies whom they have killed, which is fastened on with rosin. At the back of the head they sometimes wear a long stiff ornament in the shape of a ruler, three or four fingers broad, made of small sticks intwined with wire, which is fastened to the hair, and reaches down to the shoulders. It is covered with porcupine quills, dyed of various colors, in very neat patterns. At the upper end of this ornament, an eagle's feather is affixed horizontally, the quill end of which is covered with red cloth, and the tip is ornamented with a bunch of horse hair dyed yellow. The lower white half of the feather is frequently dyed red with vermillion, and the quill covered with dyed porcupine quills. When the Indians are not in their best dresses, when they are traveling or going to the chase, they fasten their long hair in a thick bunch. When, however, they are full dressed, they put a variety of feathers in their hair, frequently a semi-circle of feathers of birds of prey, like radii, or sunbeams, or a bunch of tail feathers of the raven placed in a similar manner. Sometimes they have a thick tuft of owl's feathers, or small rosettes made of broad raven's feathers, cut short, in the center of which is the tail of a bird of prey spread out like a fan. These feather orna-

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000 ments are frequently determined according to the several bands or unions, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They likewise wear the large horned feather cap; this is a cap consisting of strips of white ermine, with pieces of red cloth hanging down behind as far as the calves of the legs, to which is attached an upright row of black and white eagle's feathers, beginning at the head and reaching to the whole length. Only distinguished warriors, who have performed many exploits, may wear this head-dress.

"If they give away one or more of these head-dresses, which they estimate very highly, they are immediately considered men of great importance; the regular price of such a cap is a good horse; for a single eagle's feather is always valued at one or two dollars. On their buffalo robes they often represent this feather cap, under the image of a sun. Very celebrated and eminent warriors, when most highly decorated, wear in their hair various pieces of wood, as signals of their wounds and heroic deeds. Thus Mato-Tope had fastened transversely in his hair a wooden knife, painted red, and about the length of a hand, because he had killed a Cheyenne chief with his knife; then six wooden sticks, painted red, blue, and yellow, with a brass nail at one end, indicating so many musket wounds which he had received. For an arrow wound he fastened in his hair the wing feather of a wild turkey; at the back of his head he wore a large bunch of owl's feathers, dyed yellow with red tips, as the badge of the Meniss-Ochata (the dog band). The half of his face was painted red, and the other yellow; his body was painted reddish-brown, with narrow stripes, which were produced by taking off the color with the tip of the finger wetted. On his arms, from the shoulder downwards, he had seventeen yellow stripes, which indicated his war-like deeds, and on his breast the figure of a hand, of a yellow color, as a sign that he had captured some prisoners. A warrior so adorned takes more time for his toilet than the most elegant Parisian belle. The color with which they paint their bodies is mixed with grease. When in mourning they color the face and hands white. The women and children paint only their faces red, leaving the hair its natural color. The Mandans and Minnetarees, and all the Indians of the upper Missouri, often wear the handsome necklace made of the claws of the grizzly bear. These claws are very large

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in the spring, frequently three inches long, and the points are tinged of a white color, which is much esteemed; only the claws of the fore feet are used for necklaces, which are fastened to a strip of otter skin, lined with red cloth, and embroidered with glass beads, which hangs down the back like a long tail. Such a necklace is seldom to be had for less than twelve dollars; and very often the owners of them will not part with them on any terms. The Mandans adorn themselves with many other kinds of necklaces such as strings of glass beads, scented roots, or fungi, elks' tooth, for a 100 or 150 of which they will, in exchange give a horse, or something equivalent. These Indians generally wear no covering on the upper part of the body; the leather shirt of the Assiniboines, Sioux, Crows, Blackfeet, and other nations that live more to the north and northwest, are seldom used among them; yet a few individuals have obtained them from those Indians, either as presents, or by barter. Even in the midst of winter, the Mandans wear nothing on the upper part of the body, under their buffalo robes. They paint their bodies of a reddish-brown color, on some occasions with white clay; and frequently draw red or black figures on their arms. The face is, for the most part, painted all over with vermillion, or yellow, in which latter case the circumference of the eyes and the chin are red. There are, however, no set rules for painting, and it depends on the taste of the Indian dandy; yet, still, a general similarity is observed. The bands, in their dances, and also after battles, and when they have performed some exploit, follow the established rule. In ordinary festivals, and dances, and whenever they wish to look particularly fine the young men paint themselves in every variety of way, and each endeavors to find out some new mode. Should he find another dandy painted just like himself, he immediately retires and makes a change in the pattern, which may happen three or four times during the festival. If they have performed an exploit, the entire face is painted jet black. Sometimes, though seldom, the Mandans adorn the wrist and upper arm with polished steel bracelets, which they obtain from the merchants; often they wear many brass rings, on their fingers, and are, on the whole, excessively fond of ornaments and finery."

Buffalo Robes—Painting. "The chief article of their dress is

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000 the ample buffalo robe, called mahita, or mih-sha, which is often very elaborate and valuable. In dry weather these buffalo robes are worn with the hair inwards, and in rainy weather with the hairy side outwards. They are tanned on the fleshy side, and painted either white or reddish-brown, and ornamented with a transverse band of blue or white glass beads, and three large rosettes of the same beads, often of very tasteful patterns, at regular intervals. The center is frequently red, surrounded with sky blue, embroidered with white figures, or sometimes the reverse. The transverse band is worked with various dyed porcupine quills, and is then narrower. This, however, is now old-fashioned, and was worn before the colored glass beads were obtained in such numbers from the whites. Other robes are painted with a reddish-brown ground, and black figures, especially of animals; others have a white ground, with representations of their heroic deeds in black, or in gay colors, with the wounds they received, the loss of blood, the killed, the prisoners, the arms they have taken, the horses stolen (the number of which is indicated by the number of horse shoes), in black, red, green, or yellow figures, executed in their yet rude style of painting. The nations on the Missouri are all in the habit of painting such robes, but the Pawnees, Mandans, Minnetarees and Crows, are the most skillful in this art. Another mode of painting their robes is, to represent the number of valuable presents they have made. By these presents, which are often of great value, they acquire great reputation and respect among their countrymen. On such robes we observed long red figures, with a black circle at the termination, placed close to each other in transverse rows; they represent whips, indicating the number of horses given, because the whip belonging to the horse is always bestowed with the animal. Red or dark blue transverse figures indicate cloth or blankets given; paralled transverse stripes represent fire arms, the outlines of which are pretty correctly drawn. The robe is frequently cut, at the bottom, into narrow strips, like fringe, and ornamented on the sides with tufts of human hair, and horse hair dyed yellow and green, and with glass beads. Formerly the Indians painted these robes more carefully than they now do, and it was possible to obtain one for five musket balls and some powder; now they are far inferior, and eight or ten dollars is not infrequently paid for

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them. A robe handsomely painted is equal in value to two not painted." 000

Leggins—Breachcloths, Etc. "Their leggins are fastened with straps to their leather girdles, and are embroidered at the outer seam with stripes, one or two inches in breadth, of porcupine quills, of beautiful various colors, and often with blue and white beads, and long leathern fringes, which form at the ankles a thick bunch, which trails on the ground. The leather of which leggins are made is, for the most part, stained of a reddish-brown, or pale red, usually of clay, sometimes white, and often marked below the knee with black transverse stripes.

"They, as well as all other tribes of North America, use what the English call a breachcloth (Nokka), which is a narrow strip of woolen cloth, striped black and white, which passes between the thighs under the girdle, before and behind, where it hangs down. Their shoes, which are made of buck-skin, or buffalo leather, are generally plain, or very slightly ornamented; but in full dress, they are embroidered with colored rosettes, or strips of dyed porcupine quills or beads. Those men who have performed exploits wear, round the ankles, wolf's tail, or pieces of otter skin, which are lined with red cloth, and trail on the ground. In the summer, when the men are at home, and go about in state, they carry the fan of eagles' feathers in their hands, which we have before described. What the Anglo-Americans call 'the crow,' which is worn by the warriors of the nations of the Mississippi, and the lower Missouri, is wholly unknown among the tribes of the upper Missouri, the Sioux, Assiniboines, Crows, Mandans, Arikkaras, Minnetarees and Blackfeet."

Apparel. "The boys are generally naked, and in winter merely have a robe thrown over them; the girls are dressed in leather in summer as well as winter. The women wear a long leather garment, with open sleeves, and a girdle round the waist; the hem of this dress is often scolloped and fringed; they ornament the wrists with iron rings, and tie strings of glass beads round their necks, and sometimes in their ears. Their leggins, called by the Canadians, mitasse, are short, reaching only from the ankle to the knee. Their shoes are simple, and without any ornament."

Tattooing. "Tattooing is in use among these people, but by no means general. Most commonly only the left half of the breast

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000 and the corresponding arm are marked with black parallel stripes, and few other figures. The lower arm and some of the fingers are occasionally marked; the men do not tattoo their faces, and they are far inferior in this art to the New Zealanders, and other nations of the South Seas. Among the women such designs are sometimes seen, but not frequently, and they are chiefly among the women's band of the white buffalo cow. The point of the needle is dyed a dark blue with the bark of the willow soaked in water.

"In Major Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains it is stated that the Crows rub their bodies with castoreum, on account of its pleasant scent. I must observe, however, that the custom is not confined to one nation, but is practiced by the Mandans, Minnetarees, Crows and Blackfeet, and most of the other tribes of the upper Missouri. They mix the castoreum with red color, and with it rub their faces and frequently their hair."

Lodges—Palisades. "Having obtained a clear idea of the outward appearance of these Indians, we will next consider their habitations, villages, and domestic life. Their villages are assemblages of clay huts, of greater or less extent, placed close to each other, without regard to order. Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, the largest of the Mandan villages, was about 150 or 200 paces in diameter, the second was much smaller. The circumference forms an irregular circle, and was anciently surrounded with strong posts, or palisades, which have, however, gradually disappeared as the natives used them for fuel in the cold winters. At four places, to nearly equal distances from each other, is a bastion built of clay, furnished with loop holes, and lined both within and without with basket-work of willow branches. They form an angle, and are open towards the village; the earth is filled in between the basket-work; and it is said that these bulwarks, which are now in a state of decay, were erected for the Indians by the whites. There is nothing of the kind at Ruhptare. The huts, as I have before remarked, stand close to each other, leaving, in the center, an open circular space, about sixty paces in diameter, in the center of which (among the Mandans) the ark of the first man is set up, of which we shall speak in the sequel. It is a small cylinder, open above, made of planks, about four or five feet high,

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fixed in the ground, and bound with climbing plants, or pliable boughs, to hold them together." 000

Medicine-Lodge. "At the north end of this circular space is the medicine-lodge, in which festivals are celebrated, and certain customs practiced, which are connected with the religious notions of this people, which we shall treat of in the sequel. At the top of a high pole, a figure is here placed, made of skins, with a wooden head, the face painted black, and wearing a fur cap and feathers, which is intended to represent the Evil Spirit, Ochkih-Hadda (corresponding with the devil), or a wicked man as they affirm, who once appeared among them, had neither wife nor child, and vanished, and whom they now stand greatly in dread of. Other grotesque figures, made of skins and bundles of twigs, we saw hanging on high poles, most of them being offerings to the deity. Among the huts are many stages of several stories, supported by poles, on which they dry the maize. The huts themselves are of a circular form, slightly vaulted, having a sort of portico entrance. When the inmates are absent the entrance is shut up with twigs and thorns; and if they wish merely to close the door they put up a skin stretched out on a frame, which is shoved aside on entering. In the center of the roof is a square opening for the smoke to find vent, over which is a circular sort of screen made of twigs, as a protection against the wind and rain, and which, when necessary, is covered with skins."[14]

Interior of Lodge. "The interior of the hut is spacious, tolerably light, and cleanly. Four strong pillars towards the middle, with several cross-beams, support the roof. The inner circumference of the hut is formed by eleven or fifteen thick posts four or five feet in height, between which other rather shorter ones are placed close to each other. On these shorter posts, which are all of an equal height are long rafters, inclining to the center; they are placed near each other, and bear the roof. On the outside the huts are covered with a kind of mat, made of osiers, joined together with bark, and now the skeleton of the hut is finished. Over this hay is spread, and the outer covering is of earth. The men and women work together in erecting these huts, and the relations, neighbors, and friends, assist them in the work. The building of the huts, manufacturing of their arms, hunting, and wars, and part of the labors of the harvest, are the occupations of

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the men; every other kind of work is left to the women, who, though in general well treated, are obliged to perform all the really laborous work. The women fetch fuel, in heavy loads, frequently from great distances, carry water, and, in winter, blocks of ice into the huts, cook, tan the skins, make all the clothing, lay out the plantations, perform field labor, etc., etc.

"In the center of the hut a circular place is dug for the fire, over which the kettle is suspended. This fire-place, or hearth, is often enclosed with a ledge of stones. The fuel is laid, in moderately thick pieces, on the external edge of the hearth, crossing each other in the middle, when it is kindled, and the pieces gradually pushed in as they burn away. The Indians are not fond of large fires. The inmates sit around it, on low seats, made of peeled osiers, covered with buffalo or bear's skin. Round the inner circumference of the hut lie or hang the baggage, the furniture, and other property, in leather bags, the painted parchment traveling bags, and the harness of the horses; and on separate stages there are arms, sledges, and snow-shoes, while meat and maize piled up, complete this motely assemblage. The beds stand against the wall of the hut; they consist of a large square case, made of parchment or skins, with a square entrance, and are large enough to hold several persons, who lie very conveniently and warm on skins and blankets.

"In the winter huts they place, at the inside of the door, a high screen of willow boughs, covered with hides, which keep off the draught of air from without, and especially protect the fire.

"The summer huts are very cool, and, generally speaking, have no unpleasant smell. Mr. Say gives a very good description, and a tolerably accurate print, of a Konza lodge, or hut, and with some slight differences, the mode of building resembles, in the main, those of the Mandans, Minnetarees and the Arikkaras. Among these differences are the mats which are fastened all around in the first hut, and which I did not observe among the tribes that I visited. The beds, too, are arranged in a different manner. The Mandans and Minnetarees are seen in their huts, sitting around the fire, employed in all kinds of domestic labor. The man has, generally, no clothing except the nokka, and is often merely smoking, but the women are never idle. In winter, that is, at the beginning or middle of November, these Indians remove,

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with the greater part of their effects, to the neighboring forest, where their winter huts are situated. These consist of precisely similar huts, of rather smaller dimensions. Their departure from the summer huts is determined by the weather, but, as before said, is generally about the middle of November; and their return, in the spring, is usually about the latter end of February, or the beginning of March, so that we may reckon that they may pass above eight months in their summer quarters."

Horses. "Inside of the winter huts is a particular compartment, where the horses are put in the evening, and fed with maize. In the daytime they are driven into the prairie and feed in the bushes, on the bark of poplars. There are, probably, above 300 horses in the two Mandan villages; some of the people indeed, do not possess any, while others, again, have several. The Mandans and Minnetarees, like all the other Indians of this country, sometimes make what are here called caches, or hiding places in the vicinity of their villages. These caches are holes, or magazines, underground, often so artfully contrived that it is very difficult to discover them. The Indians frequently go from their winter to their summer village, to fetch any articles they may happen to want, as they invariably leave part of their property behind."

Dogs. "When they quit their huts for a longer period than usual, they load their dogs with the baggage, which is drawn in small sledges, made of a couple of thin, narrow boards, nine or ten feet in length, fastened together with leather straps, and with four cross pieces, by way of giving them firmness. Leather straps are attached in front, and drawn either by men or dogs. The load is fastened to the sledge by straps. When the snow is deep they use snow-shoes, which are described by Captain Franklin, only those of the Mandans are much smaller, about two feet and a half long; whereas in the north their length is from four to six feet. The Mandans and Minnetarees have not, by any means, so many dogs as the Assiniboines, Crows and Blackfeet. They are rarely of the true wolf's color, but generally black, or white, or else spotted with black and white. Among the nations further to the northwest they more nearly resemble the wolf, but here they are more like the prairie wolf. We likewise found among these animals, a brown race, descended from European pointers, hence the genuine bark of the dog is more frequently heard here, whereas among the

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western nations they only howl. The Indian dogs are worked very hard, have hard blows, and hard fare; in fact, they are treated just as this fine animal is treated among the Esquimaux."

Hospitality. "The Mandans are hospitable, and often invite their acquaintances to come and see them. Their pipes are made of the red stone, or of black clay. They obtain the red-pipe heads chiefly from the Sioux; sometimes they have wooden heads lined with stone; the tube is plain, long, round, or flat, on the whole, of the same shape as among the Sioux, but they are not so fastidious about ornamenting their pipes as other tribes. They smoke the leaves of the tobacco plant, which is cultivated by them; the bark of the red willow, which they obtain from the traders, is sometimes mixed with the tobacco, or the latter with the leaves of the bearberry. The tobacco of the whites, unmixed, is too strong for the Indians, because they draw the smoke into their lungs; hence they do not willingly smoke cigars."

Meals. "The meals of the Mandans are served in wooden dishes, the spoons are generally large and deep; they are made of the horn of the bighorn; and sometimes they are yellow, or else they are shallow, made of black buffalo's horn. They have a considerable variety of dishes. The Indians residing in permanent villages have the advantage of the roving hunting tribes, in that they not only hunt, but derive their chief substance from their plantations, which afford them a degree of security against distress. It is true, these Indians sometimes suffer hunger when the buffalo herds keep at a great distance, and their crops fail; but the distress can never be so great among the Missouri Indians, as in the tribes that live further northwards. The plants which they cultivate are maize, beans, French beans, gourds, sunflowers and tobacco, of which I brought home some seeds, which have flowered in several botanic gardens."

Corn, Etc. "Of maize there are several varieties of color, to which they give different names. The several varieties are: 1. White maize. 2. Yellow maize. 3. Red maize. 4. Spotted maize. 5. Black maize. 6. Sweet maize. 7. Very hard yellow maize. 8. White, or red-striped maize. 9. Very tender yellow maize.[25]

"The beans are likewise of various sorts—small white beans,

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black, red, and spotted beans. The gourds are yellow, black, striped, blue, long, and thick-shelled gourds.

"The sunflower is a large helianthus, which seems perfectly to resemble that cultivated in our gardens. It is planted in rows between the maize. There are two or three varieties, with red and black, and one with smaller seeds. Very nice cakes are made of these seeds.

"The tobacco cultivated by the Mandans, Minnetarees and Arikkaras, attains a great height, and is suffered to grow up from the seeds, without having any care whatever bestowed upon it. It is not transplanted. When it is ripe the stalks are cut, dried, and powdered; or the leaves, with the small branches, are cut into little pieces. The taste and smell are disagreeable to an European, resembling camomile rather than tobacco. The plant is not now so much cultivated as formerly, being superseded by the more pleasant tobacco of the whites; but the species is still preserved. It is only on solemn occasions, for instance, in negotiations for peace, that this tobacco is still smoked; the seed, is therefore, preserved in the medicine bag of the nation, that the plant may never be lost. When they mean to smoke this tobacco, a small quantity of fat is rubbed on it."

Cultivation. "The cultivation of the maize and other fields, of which each family prepares three, four, or five acres, takes place in the month of May. Rows of small furrows are made, into which the grains of maize are thrown singly, and covered with earth. Three times in the summer the plants are hoed, and the earth heaped up against them, that the moisture may have better access to them. The harvest takes place in October, when men, women, and children each lend a helping hand. At present the women use in their field labor, a broad iron hoe, with a crooked wooden handle, which they obtain from the merchants. Charbonneau recollected the time when they used the shoulder blade of the buffalo for this purpose. The fields are never fenced, but lie quite open and exposed."

Wild Plants. "The wild plants of the prairie are used by the Mandans, and other people of the upper Missouri; and to those before mentioned, I can only add the feverolles, a fruit resembling the bean, which is said to grow in the ground, but which I did not see; there are many other roots in the prairie, which are

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000 used for food. The gourds are eaten fresh as well as dry. The beans are seldom eaten of one kind, but many sorts are mixed together. The maize is boiled or roasted, then pounded, mixed with fat and made into small cakes and baked. There are, of course, many other ways of dressing it. The sweet maize has a very pleasant taste, especially when it is in what is called the milky state; it is then boiled, dried, and laid by for use."

Animal Food. "All kinds of animals serve the Mandans for food; the bear, when it is young and fat, the wolf, the fox, in short everything except the horse; the ermine is not eaten by many; and of birds they dislike the turkey-buzzard, and the raven, because they feed on the dead bodies deposited on the stages. They have a great aversion from serpents, but eat the turtle; the buffalo is the chief object of their chase, as it supplies them with skins, meat, tallow, marrowbones, sinews and many other necessaries. Next to the buffalo the beaver is the most indispensible to them, since it not only furnished them with valuable skins, but supplies them with delicate food, the fat tail especially, being considered quite a dainty morsel by the Indians.

"Pemmican, which is so favorite a dish among the northern Indians, it not much in use among the Mandans. Their only drink is water, for they are unacquainted with the method of preparing fermented liquors. They do not obtain any spirits, either from the American Fur Company, or the agents of Messrs. Soublette and Campbell; hence an intoxicated person is scarcely ever seen. They are extremely fond of sugar, and likewise of salt, which they procure from their lakes, and if the supply is insufficient, purchase from the whites. They are likewise fond of coffee and tea, well sweetened. It has been affirmed, that several North American nations, especially those which speak the Algonquin language, are cannibals, and more particularly the Chippeways and the Pottawatomis; but I found no trace of this unnatural custom among the Missouri nations."

Families. "Two, and sometimes three, families usually live together in an Indian hut, commonly the father, with his married sons or sons-in-law. Polygamy is everywhere practiced, and the number of wives differ; however, they have very seldom more than four, and, in general, only one. The women are very skillful in various kinds of work, particularly in dying and painting

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the buffalo robes. They extract a red color from the roots of the savoyenne, or from buffalo berries; yellow from a lichen from the Rocky mountains; black from helianthus, as well as from a black stone or clay; blue and green they extract from European substances."

Beads—Pottery. "Among the Mandans, Minnetarees, and Arikkaras, the women, as Lewis and Clarke relate, manufacture beads from colored glass. They powder those which they obtain from the traders and mould them into different shapes.[16] This custom is, however, no longer common. The dyeing of the skins, of which many travelers have spoken, employs a great portion of the women's time. These three nations understand the manufacture of earthern pots and vessels, of various forms and sizes. The clay is of a dark slate color, and burns a yellowish-red, very similar to what is seen in the burnt tops of the Missouri hills. This clay is mixed with flint or granite, reduced to powder by the action of fire. The work-woman forms the hollow inside of the vessel by means of a round stone which she holds in her hand, while she works and smooths the outside with a piece of poplar bark. When the pot is made, it is filled and surrounded with dry shavings,and then burnt, when it is ready for use. They know nothing of glazing."[17]

Boats. "With respect to their boats, the North Americans are far more expert than the Brazilians, Patagonians, and other South Americans, who live on the banks of rivers, and yet have contrived no means to pass them. The Chippeways and other northern nations have handsome vessels of birch bark; the Esquimaux makes his Kiack, which is curiously covered with sealskin; and on the Missouri, especially among the Mandans, there are boats of buffalo skin, which are represented in the plates accompanying this work. They are very light, of a circular form, stretched on a frame of several pieces of wood crossing each other, and may be carried on the shoulder of a single individual."

Courtship—Marriage. "If a young Indian desires to marry, and has obtained the consent of the girl, he endeavors to procure that of her father; when he is certain of this, he brings two, three, nay, even eight or ten horses, and fastens them to the hut of the young woman, who gives them to her father. The latter then takes other horses, and if he has them not himself, his relations

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assist him, and these horses are fastened, in return, to the hut of the intended son-in-law. In such a case an estimate is previously made of the number of horses possessed by the woman's relations, for all presents are returned in equal number.

"The bride next boils some maize, and daily carries a kettle or dish filled with it to the hut of the bridegroom. After sometime has elapsed, the young man repairs to the hut of his bride, where he passes the night with her, and the marriage is considered as complete. The young couple often continue to reside in the hut of the father-in-law, but they more frequently build a new hut for themselves; sometimes however, they afterwards separate. The father-in-law is, subsequently, the principal person in the hut; everything depends on him, and is done on his account, and for him; if game is killed, the flesh is first presented to him, etc. There are often many children in these Indian families; some had as many as ten; yet on the whole, the Indians have not so many children as the Whites, doubtless because they keep them longer at the breast. They are extremely fond of them; but the children are often weak and sickly, in consequence, it is supposed, of the hard labor which the women have to perform. I was universally assured that the new-born children are of a reddish color. The births are, in general, extremely easy, and the mother bathes in the river immediately afterwards, even if it is frozen; in ten days the child is considered as safe, having got over the most dangerous period. A person is paid to give it the name chosen by the parents and relations. The child is held up, then turned to all sides of the heavens, in the direction of the course of the sun, and its name proclaimed. They have cradles for their infants, consisting of a leather bag, which is suspended by a strap to a cross beam in the hut. These cradles of the Mandans are not so elegant and beautifully worked as those which we saw among the Sioux and Assiniboines."

Discipline. "The children of these Indians are subject to no kind of discipline whatever; they may do and say whatever they please, and nobody finds fault with them. Everything is done to excite a spirit of independence and self-will in the boys; if the mother speaks to one of them, he will very likely slap her face, or kick her, nay, sometimes he will do the same to his father, who

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says, cooly, bowing his head, 'This boy will some day become a great warrior.' " 000

Wives—Sisters. "The men sometimes treat their wives very brutally; and it has not infrequently happened, that a woman, after such treatment, has left the hut and hanged herself on a tree. This lately happened in the case of an aged woman, whose grown-up son had ill-treated her. She was missed, and was afterwards found suspended from a tree. The women have nothing to indemnify them for their incessant and laborious work, not even good clothing, for this right of the fair sex in Europe is claimed among the Indians by the men. It is singular that these women, who are condemned constantly to work like slaves, refuse to do any work whatever if they marry a white man, and, the whites being entirely in the power of the Indians, and the relations of their wives, they are obliged to submit to this. Sisters have great privileges among the Indians. All the horses which a young man steals, or captures in war, belong to them. If an Indian returns from an expedition on horseback, and meets his sister, he will immediately alight, and give her the horse, on the other hand, if he wishes to possess some object of value belonging to his sister, for instance, a dress, he goes and abruptly demands it, and immediately receives it; even should it be the very dress she is wearing, she will take it off at once, and give it to her brother."

Prudery. "Prudery is not a virtue of the Indian woman; they have often two, three, or more lovers; infidelity is not often punished. There was only one woman among the Mandans, a piece of whose nose was cut off a circumstance which is very common among the Blackfeet. If an Indian elopes with a married woman, the husband whom she had abandoned avenges himself by seizing the seducer's property, his horses and other things of value, to which the latter must quietly submit. Such a woman is never taken back. If a man had the eldest daughter of a family for his wife, he had a right to all her sisters. A chief business of the young men among these Indian tribes is to try their fortunes with the young maidens and the women, and this together with their toilet fill up the greater part of their time. They do not meet with any coy beauties. In the evening, and generally till late at night, they roam about the village or in the vicinity, or from one village to another. They have a singular mode of displaying their

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000 achievements in this field, especially when they visit the women in their best dresses. On these occasions they endeavor to gain credit by the variety of their triumphs, and mark the number of conquered beauties by bundles of pealed osier twigs, painted red at the tips. These sticks are of two kinds. Most of them are from two to three feet in length, others five to six feet. The latter, being carried singly, are painted with white and red rings alternately, which indicate the number of conquests.

"The shorter sticks are only painted red at the tips, and every stick indicates an exploit, the number of which is often bound up into a pretty large bundle. Thick fasces of this kind are carried about by the dandies in their gallant excursions. Among the Mandans these sticks are generally quite plain; among the Minnetarees, on the contrary, there is, usually, in the middle of the bundle, one larger stick, at the end of which there is a tuft of black feathers. These feathers indicate the favorite, and the dandies tell everybody that she is the person for whom his honor is intended.

"If these people have had familiar intercourse with a person who wore the white buffalo robe, a piece of skin of that color is fastened to the stick; if she wore a red blanket, or buffalo robe, a piece of red cloth is fastened to the stick. This custom, which is well known to the Mandans and Minnetarees, has not, to my knowledge, been mentioned by any traveler."

Relationship. "They have distinct names for the several degrees of relationship. The father's brother is called father, and the mother's sister, mother; cousins are called brothers and sisters. The mother-in-law never speaks to her son-in-law; but if he comes home, and brings her the scalp of a slain enemy, and his gun, she is at liberty, from that moment, to converse with him. This custom is found among the Minnetarees, who have doubtless, borrowed it from the Mandans, but not among the Crows and Arikkaras. Among the Chippeways, and the Algonquins in general, the name must not be changed; and persons with the same name must not marry, but consider each other as brothers and sisters. Among all the North American Indian nations there are men dressed and treated like women, called by the Canadians, Bardaches, of whom McKenzies, Tanner, Longsdorff, and others

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have spoken; but there was only one such among the Mandans, and two or three among the Minnetarees."

Morality—High Intelligence. "Volney, and some other writers, have spoken rather too unfavorably of the moral character of the aboriginies of North America, and their domestic habits. According to them, distrust and hostile feeling prevails among them, for which reason they never leave their huts unarmed; but I can bear witness that they are frequently seen in their villages, as well as in the environs, without arms, and that is only at greater distances, and when they appear in state, that they carry their weapons in their hands. I have never observed any disputes among them, but, on the contrary, much more unity and tranquility than in civilized Europe. It has often been asserted that the Indians are inferior in intellectual capacity to the whites; but this has now been sufficiently refuted; and Harlan is not wrong in saying that, among the races of men, of which Blumenbach reckons five,[18] the American should be reckoned immediately after the Caucasian. If man, in all his varieties, has not received from the Creator equally perfect faculties, I am, at least convinced that, in this respect, the Americans are not inferior to the whites. Many of the Mandans manifest a great thirst for knowledge, and many desire to hear something of objects of a higher order, and if they were not so much attached to the prejudices inherited from their ancestors, many of them might be very easily instructed. The bad examples which they so often observe in the white men, who roam about their country in quest of gain, are not calculated to inspire them with much respect for our race, or to improve their morality. And if they have not been found inclined to the Christian religion, this is, certainly, in some measure, the consequence of the bad conduct of the whites, who call themselves Christians, and are often worse, and more immoral, than the most uncivilized of the Indians. Many American and foreign works have taken notice of the striking good sense and wit, the correct judgment of the Indians, in all the occurrences of daily life, and it would be mere repetition here to quote examples. One is often at a loss to answer their questions, founded on correct and natural judgment. The inactive mode of life natural to the Indians, which disdains all laborious exertion, is a great obstacle to their adopting a different system. But they are not deficient

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000 in talent for drawing, music, etc., and this is quite manifest at first sight. Several Mandans not only took much pleasure in drawing, but had a decided talent for it. The hieroglyphics are well known, which the Indians employ instead of writing; for instance, the figures on their robes, the drawings of Mato-Tope, and the subjoined Indian letter from a Mandan to a fur trader."

Drawings. "The following is the explanation of the hieroglyphic figures contained in it:

"The cross signifies, 'I will barter, or trade.' Three animals are drawn on the right side of the cross; one is a buffalo; the two others a weasel and an otter. The writer offers, in exchange for the skins of these animals (probably meaning that of a white buffalo), the articles which he has drawn on the left side of the cross.

"He has, in the first place, depicted a beaver very plainly, behind which there is a gun; to the left of the beaver are thirty strokes, each ten separated by a longer line; this means, I will give thirty beaver skins and a gun for the skins of the three animals on the right hand side of the cross.

"Many of them dispute, with great earnestness, on more elevated subjects; thus, they inquired our ideas of the various heavenly bodies, and of the origin of the universe, as they, themselves, declare their own silly traditions to be insufficient. Some, indeed, thought our ideas on these subjects much more silly than their own. They laughed outright, when we affirmed that the earth was round, and revolved about the sun. Others, however, would not reject our views, and were of the opinion that, as the whites could do so much which was incomprehensible to them, it was possible they might be right on this point also."

Oratory. "In all works that treat of these remarkable people, we find recorded very energetic and well digested speeches of their chiefs. They frequently use very appropriate figures, and often said bitter truths to their white oppressors. Dr. Morse quotes some such phrases, used at the conclusion of treaties of peace, or declarations of war, which express much in a few words. Thus, in declarations of war: 'The blood of our wives and children smokes on the ground! The bones of our warriors and old men are uncovered, and whiten the earth! The tomahawk is raised!' And on the conclusion of peace: 'The bones

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of our warriors are buried! The tomahawk is buried! The blood of our women and children is covered! The path which leads to them must be kept clean; no weeds may grow there. The chain which binds us together must not become rusty.' Or, on the contrary: 'The chain begins to rust,' etc., etc. Though these people often manifest great energy of character, many have committed suicide on account of disappointments in love, or of wounded honor, of which Dr. Morse relates a remarkable instance, where an Indian killed himself because he was reproached with cowardice, after his mother had suffered death for him. Many travelers speak of the extraordinary memory of the Indians; several of them relate the entire history of their people in a continuous narrative."

Pride. "The Mandans and Minnetarces are proud, and have a high sense of honor. If a person expresses a wish to possess some article belonging to them, he generally receives it as a present, but a present of equal, or greater value, is always looked for in return. They estimate all their effects at a very high rate, ascribing to them an imaginary and far too great value; a trifling thing is often paid for with one or two horses. Among the articles of great value is the skin of a white buffalo cow. Fifteen florins was paid for a small ermine skin; whereas a wolf's skin may be purchased for a small quantity of tobacco and one or two horses are frequently given for a feather cap,; a horse for 100 or 150 elk's teeth, or for a handful of dentalium shells.[19] The men are much given to indolence, when they cannot pursue their chief avocations, hunting and war. In general, the Mandans and Minnetarees are not dangerous, and, though, there are many rude and savage men among them, they are, on the whole, well-disposed towards the whites; the former especially, manifest this, and have many good and trustworthy men among them. Some of them are addicted to thieving, especially the women and children; and it is said, that many of the Minnetarees, when they meet the whites in the prairie, though they do not kill them, as they used to do, generally plunder them."

At Fort Clarke. "They have always free access to the forts of the trading companies; and, as to Fort Clarke, there was no separate apartment for the Indians, we were molested by them, during the whole day, in every room; nay, they often took the

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place of the owners, which during the severe cold of the winter time, was quite intolerable, as they stood in front of the fire, with their large buffalo robes, and kept the warmth from coming into the apartment. They require to be always regaled, which is generally done, and it was estimated that in one year they smoked 200 pounds of tobacco at the expense of the company. A few among them, indeed, manifest a much greater delicacy of feeling than the mass of them, and left the dining room when the dinner hour approached; but only a very small proportion possessed this correct sense of propriety, for the others generally came just at our dinner time; it is true they had but little meat in the winter season, and fared badly. Disputes and quarrels are very rare among them; but duels are frequent: and revenge for blood is still exercised."

Hardiness. "Many of them are particularly cleanly in their persons, bathe daily, both in winter and summer; their hands, however, are often smeared with colors and fat, nay, sometimes the whole body is bedaubed. The women are in general less cleanly, particularly their hands, which arises from their continual and severe labor. They generally let their nails grow long.

"The rude inhabitants of the prairies are extremely agile and hardy; they bathe in the depth of winter, in the half frozen rivers, and wear no covering on the upper part of their body under the buffalo robe; they are very expert swimmers, even when quite young. I have already observed that all these nations swim in the same manner as the Brazilian Tapuyas, which is confirmed by other writers. They often practice riding horseback without a saddle, and very swift horse racing. They are capital marksmen with the bow; all their senses are remarkable acute."

Indian Orders—Badges. "Among the Mandans, and all the nations of the upper Missouri, as well as among most of the North American tribes, there are certain bands or unions or companies, which are distinguished from the others, and kept together by certain external badges and laws.[20] They have three kinds of war or signal pipes, which are hung around the neck, and are among the badges of the unions which divide the men into six classes, according to their age. The first band or union is composed of 'the foolish dogs,' or 'the dogs whose name is not known.' They are young people from ten to fifteen years of age,

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and wear a pipe made of the wing bone of the wild goose, which is but small. When they dance, three of them have a long broad piece of red cloth hanging from the back of the neck to the ground. Like every distinct class they have a particular song to accompany their dance. Formerly old people likewise belonged to this band, but then they never dared to retreat before the enemy; this has since been changed to the present limited rule. If a boy desires to enter the first band in order to become a man, he goes to a member of it, addresses him by the appellation of father, and endeavors to purchase the rank, the dance, the song, and the war pipe belonging to it, for certain articles of value, such as blankets, cloth, horses, powder, ball, and the like, which the father pays for him. If this place is sold to him he has a right to all the distinctions and privileges of the band, and he who sold it thereby renounces all claim to it, and endeavors to purchase admission to a higher band. The dances of the several classes are in the main very similar, but there is a particular song belonging to each, and sometimes even a different step. The drum and schischikue must likewise be purchased at the same time, the latter, among this band, is spherical, with a handle, and is made of leather.

"The second class or band is that of the crow or ravens; it consists of young men from twenty to twenty-five years of age. Frequently young people are in none of the bands for half a year or more. They then go to the band of the crows, and say, 'Father, I am poor, but I wish to purchase from you.' If the possessor agrees, they then receive the raven's feathers, which the band wear on their heads, a double war-pipe, consisting of two wing bones of a goose joined together, a drum, schischikue, the song and the dance. Each of these bands has a leader, called, by the Americans, head-man, who decides on the sale of its rights and attributes. This head-man is chiefly applied to when one wishes for admission; a festival then takes place in the medicine-lodge, which is continued for forty successive nights, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They dance, eat, and smoke there; the purchasers defray the expenses, till the fathers, as they are called, are satisfied, and transfer their rights to the purchasers, with which the festival concludes.

"The third class, or band, is that of the soldiers, the most

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eminent and esteemed warriors. In their dances they paint the upper part of the face red, and the lower part black. Their war pipe is large, and made of the wing bone of a crane. Their badges are two long straight sticks bound with otter skin to which owls' feathers are appended. When they go to war, they plant these sticks in the ground in front of the enemy, and, this done, they dare not leave them, not unlike the colors in a European army. They have a similar stick ornamented with raven's feathers. They likewise have a dance and song peculiar to their band, and must purchase their admission into higher classes. Their schischikue, or rattle, is made of iron plate, in the form of a small kettle, with a handle. They likewise possess two tobacco pipes, which are used for smoking on special occasions. Two men keep and carry with them these pipes. All the higher classes may at the same time, belong to the band of the soldiers, who act as police officers; it is, however, understood that all the members must be satisfied with the purchase. If but one object to the sale, the bargain cannot be concluded. It often happens that some individuals do not immediately give their consent, in order to raise the price and sell to more advantage afterwards. These soldiers, as they are called, form a kind of committee, which decides all the principal affairs, particularly general undertakings, such as changes of their places of abode, buffalo hunting and the like. If the buffalo herds are in the vicinity, they watch them, and do not suffer them to be disturbed by individuals, till a general chase can be undertaken.

"If, during this time, anyone fires at a wolf or other animal, the soldiers take away his gun, ill-use, and sometimes beat him, to which he must submit; even the chiefs are not spared on these occasions. The whites living in the neighborhood are subject, during such a time, to the same laws, and the soldiers have often taken their hatchets from the wood-cutters of the fort, or forbidden them to cut wood, that the buffalos might not be disturbed by the noise.

"The fourth band, that of the dogs, wear in their dance, a large cap of colored cloth, to which a great number of raven's, magpie's and owls' feathers is fastened, adorned with dyed horse hair and strips of ermine; they have a large war pipe of the wing bone of a swan. Three of them have the same strips of red cloth hanging

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down the back, as have been mentioned, when speaking of the first band. The head is generally adorned with a thick tuft of owl's, magpie's and raven's feathers hanging down behind, and often all three kinds of feathers are mixed together. The three men before mentioned, who wear the strips of red cloth, (the dogs, properly so called), are obliged, if anyone throws a piece of meat into the ashes, or on the ground, saying, 'there dog, eat,' to fall upon it, and devour it raw, like dogs or beasts of prey. The schischikue of this band is a stick, a foot or a foot and a half long, to which a number of animals' hoofs are fastened. The costume of these three dogs is shown in the portrait of Pehriska-Rupe.

"The fifth band is that of the buffalos. In their dance they wear the skin of the upper part of the head, the mane of the buffalo, with its horns, on their heads; but two select individuals, the bravest of all, who henceforward never dare to fly from the enemy, wear a perfect imitation of the buffalo's head, with horns, which they set on their heads, and in which there are holes left for the eyes, which are surrounded with an iron or tin ring. This band alone has a wooden war pipe, and in their union they have a woman, who, during the dance, goes 'round with a dish of water, to refresh the dancers, but she must give this water only to the bravest, who wear the whole buffalo's head. She is dressed, on these occasions, in a handsome new robe of big-horn leather, and colors here face with vermillion. The men have a piece of red cloth fastened behind, and a figure representing a buffalo's tail; they also carry their arms in their hands. The men with the buffalo heads always keen in the dance at the outside of the group. imitating the motions and the voice of this animal, as it timidly and cautiously retreats, looking around in all directions, etc.

"The sixth band is that of the black-tailed deer. It consists of all the men above fifty years of age, who, however, likewise dance. Two women belong to the band, who wait on them at the dance, cook, carry water around to refresh them, and the like. All the men of this band wear a garland of the claws of the grizzly bear around their heads, and all insignia of their warlike exploits about their bodies, such as feathers on their heads, tufts of hair on their arms and legs, scalps, painting, etc.

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"All these bands, as well as the following dances, are bought and sold, and, as has been already observed, on these occasions, the buyer must give up his wife to the seller during the festivity. But if a young man is still unmarried, he will sometimes travel to a great distance to another village, to ask a friend or a companion for his wife, who accordingly goes with him, and, on the evening of the dance, gives up his wife for him. A man often brings three or four, and even more, wives, and gives them to his father, as he is called, as soon as the dancing, eating, smoking, and the relating of their exploits are concluded. Thus one woman after the other comes, as will be described in the account of the buffalo medicines of the Minnetarees, strikes, with her hand, the arm of the man whom she will favor, and goes to the entrance of the tent, where she waits till he follows her. The man so invited often keeps his seat, and bows down his head; the woman then goes home, bringing articles of value, such as guns, robes, blankets, etc., which she lays piece by piece before him, till he is satisfied, stands up, and follows her.

"There are other dances which are bought and sold, among which are a second dance of the third band, and the dance of the half-shorn heads, which the lower class may buy before they are old enough to belong to the third band.

"The medicine feast, the insignia, and the dance belonging to the half-shorn heads, will be described in the sequel. Another dance is that of the old dogs. The band of the dogs can buy it of the buffalos before they can become buffalos, or purchase their admission to the fifth band. In the dance of the old dogs, they paint themselves white, the hands red and black, and wear a girdle of the skin of the grizzly bear, and a bunch of feathers hanging down at the back of the head.

"What is called the hot dance is now danced at Ruhptare, and by the Minnetarees, who bought it of the Arikkaras. It is executed by the little dogs whose name is not known. A large fire is kindled on the occasion, and a quantity of live coals is scattered on the ground, about which the young men dance quite naked and barefooted. The hands, with the lower part of the arms, and the feet and ankles, are painted red. A kettle, with meat cut in small pieces, is hung over the fire; and when the meat is done they plunge their hands into the boiling water, take

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out the meat, and eat it, at the risk of scalding themselves. The last comers are the worst off, having to dip their hands the deepest into the boiling water. During the dance they have in their hands their weapons and the schischikue.

"There is another dance which will be described in one of the following chapters. The dance is accompanied with the schischikue and drum, and is generally performed in a circle; the dancers carry in their hands the bow-lance,[21] which is adorned with feathers and bear's entrails."

Women Bands. "The Mandan women are divided precisely in the same manner as the men, into four classes, according to their age. The youngest band is called 'the band of the gun.' They wear in their hair some down feathers of the eagle, and have their peculiar dance.

"The next class into which they obtain admission, by purchase is 'the river class.' When they dance they wear an eagle's feather, fastened to the fore part of the head with a piece of white ribbon, which projects on the left side, and is entwined 'round the quill with grass.

"The third class consists of the women of the hay, who, when they dance, put on their best clothes, and sing the scalp song.

"The fourth, and last class, is the band of the white cow. They paint one eye with some color according to their taste, generally sky-blue. On the chin, this class, mostly consisting of aged women, tattoo themselves with black lines; 'round their heads they wear a broad piece of the skin of a white buffalo cow, something like a hussar's cap, with a tuft of feathers in it. A more particular discription of the dress of this band is given in the sequel.

"These unions, or bands, give occasion to many festivities, with singing, music, and dancing. But they have likewise other dances and diversions.

Scalp Dance. "One of these is the scalp dance, which may be more appropriately described among the usages of war. Their musical instruments are very simple. The mode of singing varies but little among all the American Indians; it consists of broken, deep exclamations, often intercepted by loud shouts, and is accompanied by a violent beating of time on the drum, and the rattling of the schischikue. Besides these two instruments, the

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000 Mandans have long wooden pipes, at the lower end of which there is generally an eagle's feather hanging by a string. Other pipes are thicker, about twenty inches long, and are perforated with holes; in this respect they differ from the war pipe. They are sometimes ornamented with pieces of skin, etc. These are the only musical instruments of the Indians besides the war pipes."

Games. "The Indians have also many games; the game called billiards, by the French Canadians, is played by two young men, with long poles, which are often bound with leather, and have various ornaments attached to them. On a long, straight, level course, or a level path in or near the village they roll a hoop, three or four inches in diameter, covered with leather, and throw the pole at it; and the success of the game depends upon the pole passing through it. This game is also practiced among the Minnetarees, and is described, in Major Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains, as being played by the Pawnees, who, however, have hooked sticks, which is not the case with the tribes mentioned.

"The women are expert at playing with a large leather ball, which they let fall alternately on their foot and knee, again throwing it up and catching it, and thus keeping it in motion for a length of time without letting it fall to the ground. Prizes are given, and they often play high. The ball is often very neat and curiously covered with dyed porcupine quills. Card playing has not yet reached these Indians, though it is in use among the Osages and other tribes. The children of the Mandans and Minnetarees play with a piece of stag's horn, in which a couple of feathers are inserted; this is thrown forward, the piece of horn being foremost. About the middle of March, when the weather is fine, the children and young men play with the hoop, in the interior of which strips of leather are interwoven; its diameter is about a foot. This hoop is either rolled or thrown, and they thrust at it with a pointed stick; he who approaches the center most nearly is the winner. As soon as the ice in the river breaks up, they run to the banks and throw this interlaced hoop into the water. In the summer time the Mandans and Minnetarees often amuse themselves with races in the prairie, for which they have the best opportunity in the vicinity of their villages; twenty young men, or more, often run at once. and on these occasions

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there is always high betting. Some of them are very swift runners, and can hold out for a long time." 000

Superstitious—The Deluge. "The Mandans and Minnetarees are extremely superstitious, and all their important actions are guided by such motives. They have most strange ideas of surrounding nature, believe in a multitude of different beings in the heavenly bodies; offer sacrifices to them; invoke their assistance on every occasion; howl, lament, fast, inflict on themselves cruel acts of penance to propitiate these spirits; and, above all, lay very great stress upon dreams.[22] Some of their traditions have a resemblance to the revelations of the Bible; for instance, Noah's Ark and the Deluge, the history of Samson, etc. The question here arises whether these particulars have not been gradually introduced among them, from their intercourse with Christians, and this seems highly probable. If they have not yet embraced the Christian religion, it would, however, appear that they have adopted some portions which strike them as being either remarkable or interesting. The belief in a future life, or a better state of things after death, exists among all the American nations; this is confirmed by D'Orbugny (Voyages, tom. 111. p. 90), who justly blames Azara for denying all religious ideas to the people of Paraguay. In order to obtain correct information respecting all their traditions and ideas, we persuaded Dipauch[23] to enliven our long winter evenings by his narratives, which he readily agreed to do. He spoke with much seriousness and gravity, and I had a most excellent interpreter in Mr. Kipp. I give these narratives, which are often extremely silly, as they were written down from his communications, though I must beg my reader's patience and indulgence. It was not possible to curtail them or to choose only the most interesting parts, since all their traditions and legends have a certain connection, and really possess some influence on the actual mode of life of this people."

Deities. "According to Dipauch, these Indians believe in several superior beings, of whom the lord of life, Ohmahank-Numakshi, is the first, the most exalted and the most powerful; who created the earth, man and every existing object.[24] They believe that he had a tail, and appears sometimes in the form of an aged man, and, at others, in that of a young man. The first man, Numank-Machana, holds the second rank; he was created by the lord of

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600 life, but is likewise of a divine nature. The lord of life gave him great power, and they, therefore, worship and offer sacrifices to him. He is nearly identical with Nanabush among the Chippeways, or the people of the Algonquin language, who, according to the notion of these tribes, acts as mediator between the creator and the human race. Nanabush and the creator frequently had disputes, and the Mandans have similar legends. Omahank-Chika, the evil one of the earth, is a malignant spirit, who has, likewise, much influence over man, but who, is not as powerful as the lord of life and the first man. The fourth being is Rohanka-Tauihanka, who lives in the planet Venus, and it is he who protects mankind on the earth; for without his care the race would have been long since extinct. A fifth being, who, however, has no power, is something like the wandering Jew, ever in motion, and walking on the face of the earth in human form. They call him the lying prairie wolf. Besides these there is a sixth being, Ochkih-Hadda, whom it is difficult to class, and of whom they have a tradition, that whoever dreams of him is doomed soon to die. He appears to figure in their traditions as a kind of devil, is said to have once come to their villages, and taught them many things, but has not since appeared. They are afraid to offer sacrifices to him, and have in their villages a hideous figure representing him. They worship the sun, because they believe it to be the residence of the lord of life. All their medicines or sacrifices are offered chiefly to the sun, or rather to the lord of life, as inhabitating it. In the moon, say they, lives the old woman who never dies, and who wears a white band from the front to the back of the head; sacrifices and offerings are likewise made to her. They do not know who she is, but her power is great. She has six children, three sons and three daughters, who all live in certain stars. The eldest son is the day (the first day of creation), the second, is the sun, in which the lord of life has his abode. The third son is the night. The eldest daughter is the star that rises in the east, the morning star; and they call her, 'the woman who wears a plume.' The second daughter, called 'the striped gourd,' is a high star which revolves around the polar star; and, lastly, the third daughter is the evening star which is near to the setting sun.

"The old woman in the moon desired to find a wife for her

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son, and brought a girl, whom she desired to wait outside the door. When the old woman sent out to fetch her, they found in her place a toad; indignant at the exchange, the toad was boiled in a vessel, that it might be destroyed. But this could not be done, nor could it be eaten, and it was, therefore, cursed, on which it remained always visible as a spot on the moon. The narrator could not say whether the sun was large or small, but, at all events, it was glowing hot. The son married a woman whom they call 'the narrow-leaved wormwood.' They had a son of great promise, who appeared destined to act an important part. He was very skillful in making arrows, and versed in all kinds of hunting and catching of animals. He shot birds for his mother, though she had forbidden him to kill the prairie-larks, yet he shot all his arrows at these birds, but he was unable to kill any. Upon this one of the birds said to him, 'Why will you kill me, since I am related to you?' He dug up in the moon the pomme blanche for which his mother reproved him, because, through the hole which he had dug, they could see the Manitari villages in the earth beneath. And his mother said, 'See all those men are our relations; I did not intend to descend to the earth yet, but now we must go thither.' The father once ordered the son to shoot a buffalo for him, and to bring him all the sinews of the animal; but the son twisted a rope with part of those sinews, in order thereby to let himself down to the earth. Accordingly he descended to the earth in the vicinity of the Little Missouri, but his rope reached only to the top of the trees. If he had had all the sinews, of the buffalo, his rope would have reached the ground, but now remained suspended, and swung backwards and forwards. A large stone was thrown at him from the moon, which stone was in existence not very long since. The stone, however, could not kill him, he being medicine, that is charmed."

Thunder-Bird. "The Mandans believe that the thunder is produced by the motion of the wings of a gigantic bird. When this bird flies softly, as is usually the case, he is not heard, but when he flaps his wings violently, he occasions a roaring noise. This huge bird is said to have only two toes on each foot, one behind and the other before. It lives in the mountains, where it builds an immense nest, as big as Fort Clarke. Its food consists of deer and other large animals, the horns of which are heaped up 'round

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the nest. The glance of its eyes produces lightning; it breaks through the clouds, the canopy of heaven, and makes a way for the rain. The isloated and peculiarly loud claps of thunder are produced by a gigantic tortoise, which lives in the clouds. When the lightning strikes it is a sign of anger. They believe the stars to be deceased men. When a child is born, a star descends and appears on the earth in human form; after its death it reascends and appears again as a star in the heavens.

"The rainbow is a spirit accompanying the sun, and is especially visible at its setting. Many affirm that the northern lights are occasioned by a large assembly of the medicine men and distiguished warriors of several nations in the north, who boil their prisoners and slain enemies in immense cauldrons. The Chippeways are said to call this phenomenon 'the dancing spirit,' and the milky way, 'the path of the ghosts.'

"The following account of the Mandan tradition of creation will be found to be substantially identical in its essential features with their current narratives on that head, though the latter as told to the writer is much briefer; as will be seen later on in this paper.

"Dipauch related a history of the creation and the origin of the Mandan tribe, in the following manner. Though this narrative is equally silly and tiresome, I subjoin it, as giving an idea of the intellectual condition of this people, and the nature of their conversations."

Mandan "Creation." "Before the existence of the earth, the lord of life created the first man, Numank-Machana, who moved on the waters, and met with a diver or duck, which was alternately diving and rising again. The man said to the bird, 'You dive so well, now dive deep and bring up some earth.' The bird obeyed, and soon brought up some earth, which the first man scattered upon the face of the waters, using some incantations, commanding the earth to appear, and it appeared. The land was naked; not a blade of grass growing on it; he wandered about and thought that he was alone, when he suddenly met with a toad. 'I thought I was here alone,' said he, 'but you are here, and who are you?' It did not answer. 'I do not know you, but I must give you a name. You are older than I am, for your skin is rough and scaly; I must call you my grandmother, for you are

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so very old.' He went further and found a piece of an earthern pot. 'I thought I was here alone, but men must have lived here before me.' Thereupon he took the potsherd and said, 'I will give you also a name, and, as you were here before me, I must, likewise, call you my grandmother.' A little further he met with a mouse. 'It is clear,' said he to himself, 'that I am not the first being; I call you also my grandmother.' A little further on he and the lord of life met. 'Oh, there is a man like myself,' exclaimed he, and went up to him. 'How do you do, my son?' said the man to Omahank-Numakshi; but he answered, 'I am not your son, but you are mine.' The first man answered, 'I dispute this.' But the lord of life answered, 'You are my son, and I will prove it; if you will not believe me, we will sit down and plant our medicine sticks which we have in our hands in the ground; he who first rises is the youngest, and the son of the other.' They sat down and looked at each other for a long time, till, at length, the lord of life became pale, his flesh dropped from his bones, on which the first man exclaimed, 'Now you are surely dead.' Thus they looked at each other for ten years, at the end of which time, when the bare bones of the lord of life were in a decomposed state, the first man rose, exclaiming, 'Now he is surely dead.' He seized Omahank-Numakshi's stick, and pulled it out of the ground; but at the same moment the lord of life stood up, saying, 'See here, I am your father, and you are my son,' and the first man called him his father. As they were going on together the lord of life said, 'this land is not well formed, we will make it better.' At that time the buffalo were all ready on the earth. The lord of life called to the weasel, and ordered him to dive and bring up grass, which was done. He then sent him again to fetch wood, which he brought in like manner. He divided the grass and the wood, giving one-half to the first man. This took place at the mouth of Heart river. The lord of life then desired the first man to make the north bank of the Missouri, while he himself made the southwest bank, which is beautifully diversified with hills, valleys, forests, and thickets. The man, on the contrary, made the whole country flat, with a good deal of wood in the distance. They then met again, and, when the lord of life had seen the work of the first man, he shook his head and said, 'You have not done this well; all is too level, so that it will be

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000 impossible to surprise buffalos or deer, and approach them unperceived. Men will not be able to live there. They will see each other in the plains at too great a distance, and will be unable to avoid each other, consequently they will destroy each other.'

"He then took the first man to the other side of the river, and said, 'See here, I have made springs and streams in sufficient abundance, and hills and valleys, and added all kinds of animals and fine wood; here men will be able to live by the chase, and feed on the flesh of those animals.' They then both proceeded to the mouth of the Natke-Passaha (Heart river), in order, according to the directions of the lord of life, to make medicine pipes. He himself made them of ash, lined with stone. The man on the contrary made his pipes of box-elder, a soft wood. They placed these pipes together, and the lord of life said. 'This shall be the heart, the center of the world; and this river shall be the Heart river.' Each of them had now his pipe in his hand, and when they met any creature, the lord of life laid the pipe down before it; on doing this to a buffalo, it said, 'This is not enough; there must be something to smoke in the pipe,' and the lord of life said, 'Then do you get something to smoke.' On which the buffalo cleared a spot on the ground with his forefoot, and said, 'When the rutting time of the buffalos approaches, come here and you will find something to smoke.' The lord of life, according, sent at the time appointed, to fetch tobacco, but it was not yet dry and prepared; he therefore ordered the buffalo to be called, which at once spread out the leaves and dried them; and the lord of life smoked, and found the tobacco very good. The bull then taught him to pull off and smoke the flowers and the buds, for these are the very best parts of the plant.

"The lord of life and the first man were now resolved to create the human race. They began their operations near the bank of the Missouri; but the frog came up out of the water and said, 'How foolish you are.' 'What business have you to speak?' said the lord of life, and struck the frog upon the back with his stick, and since that time the frog has had a humped back. God had made man told him he should increase and multiply, but not live longer than a hundred years; since, otherwise, there would not be room enough for all. The first man now said to his father,

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'When buffalos are hunted, the skins of the animals killed must be immediately taken off to wear as robes, the stomach must be emptied, and pemican made of the flesh.' The lord of life, however, answered, 'This would not be advisable. Men would then quarrel and destroy each other. Let them rather take the animals home, and tan the hides, then they will have robes for their own use, and for sale.' And it appeared that the lord of life was always right."***

What next follows in this tradition of the "creation" may be compared with the reference to the "boats with wings" (sails?) referred to by a Mandan Indian in 1906 when interviewed by the writer; both accounts indicating a crossing of the sea or ocean. See the later account, further on in this paper.

"A saying was then current among these people, that on the other side of the great water, or the sea, there lived white men, who possessed wampum shells. Bodies of fifteen or twenty men were frequently sent thither, but they were all killed. Hereupon the chief said, 'I will send my boat thither, with eight men; this is the right number.' And the boat went, arrived at the right place, and brought to the white men the red mouse hair (beaver hair), which they highly value. They were well received, feasted in the dwellings, and materials for smoking were given them. Each received buffalo skins filled with wampum shells, and the boat returned quickly. The boat then went, for the second time, with eleven men, and the lord of life accompanied it. He had dressed himself in mean apparel, and took with him a large hollow cane. On their arrival they went into a village, but the first man remained sitting near the boat, and dug a deep hole, over which he seated himself. The inhabitants of the village agreed to kill the strangers by overfeeding them, and, with this view, gave them abundance of food. The first man to whom the overplus of the provisions was brought, let them drop through his cane into the hole, and the white men were astonished at the quantity of provisions consumed. They then agreed to kill them by smoke; but the first man made the smoke pass through his cane, and their plan was again defeated. As they could not kill the strangers either by eating or smoking they gave them as many wampum shells as they could take in their boat, and sent them away. When the children learned that the boat understood what

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was said to it, they ordered it to go down the river to the white people; it obeyed, and was never afterwards seen.

"The first man now said to the Numangkake that he should leave them, and never return; that he was going to the west; but that in case of need, they might apply to him, and he would assist them. They were living in a small village, on the Heart river, when their enemies surrounded them, and threatened to destroy them. In this great distress they resolved to apply to their protector; but how were they to get to the first man? One man proposed to send a bird to him; but birds could not fly so far. Another thought that the eyesight might be able to reach him; but the prairie hills were in the way. At last, a third said that thought would undoubtedly be the best means of reaching the first man. He wrapped himself in his robe and fell to the ground. Soon afterwards he said, 'I think—I have thought—I return.' He threw off his robe, and was in a profuse perspiration all over. 'The first man will quickly come,' he exclaimed; and he was soon there, fell furiously on the enemy, drove them away, and immediately vanished. Since that time he has not been again seen.

"The lord of life once told the first man, that if the Numangkake should go over the river they would be devoured by the wolves; on which they both crossed the river, and killed all the old wolves. They ordered the young wolves not to devour men in the future, but to confine themselves to buffalos, deer, and other wild animals. They threw the old wolves into the north ocean where they became putrid, and their hair swam on the surface of the water, from which the white man originated. The lord of life also told the Numangkake, that when they had boiled their maize they should keep up only a small fire for the rest of the day; and this they still do. When the fire would not burn, they were to take the larger brands from below, and lay them on the top. When the lord of life was a little below Heart river, in the spring when the first wild geese flew past, he told them to wait, because he would fly with them, and assume the form of a goose. The Indians are accustomed to shout and halloo when they see the flocks of geese, by which they are frightened and thrown into confusion. So it happened on this occasion to the lord of life, and he fell to the ground. He was carried into the hut of the chief, who sent for the youngest woman to pluck the

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goose, but it bit her, and she gave it to the oldest, who was likewise bitten; so that the lord of life escaped. He then flew to the Minnetarees. A young woman, who refused to marry, was here whipped and beaten by him. She went to the lower village, and complained that God had punished her, because she would not marry. A young man who wished to have her for his wife, took the dress of the lord of life, as she was resolved to marry none but him. She now desired to know whether her lover was really what he pretended to be, and with this view placed some pointed sticks in the ground, on which he must wound himself in the night, if he were not of a superior nature. He came and wounded himself, on which she fell on him, took away all his clothes and hid them, so that he looked for a long time both for them and his weapons. When day came, two long lines, like fishing lines, were hanging down from the sun to the earth, and near to the place where the girl was. A voice called to her, from above, to climb up by the lines; that the clothes were no longer in the place where she had hidden them; it was, therefore, the lord of life who had appeared to her under the form of the young man. The girl took hold of the lines, and the sun seemed to come down. Several of her relations, and other men, pulled the lines, but could not draw the sun down, while the lord of life lay quietly in it. A very strong man, who was able to pull up the largest trees by the roots, and cast them from him, was not able to do anything on this occasion; the line turned around his shoulders. 'I can pull up the largest trees,' said he, 'and my strength is greater than that of all other men united, and yet I cannot break this small line.' To which the lord of life answered, 'If you reach and kill me, the human race will be destroyed from the face of the earth.'"

The Ark. "At the time that the first man had incensed the whites by his voracity, the latter made the water rise so high that all the land was overflowed. On this, the first man advised the ancestors of the Numangkake to build a wooden tower or fort, upon an emminence, assuring them that the water would not rise higher than that point. They followed his advise, and built the ark, on the lower side of the Heart river, on a large scale, and a part of the nation was preserved in this building, while the remainder perished in the waves. In remembrance of the kind care

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of the first man, they placed in each of their villages a miniature model of this ark, one of which still exists in the village of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush. The waters afterwards subsided, and they still celebrate the festival of Okippe in honor of this ark, of which we shall have to speak in the sequel.[25]

"Before the first great deluge, the Numangkake lived below ground, but a band of them (the same of which we have been speaking) took up their abode above ground at an earlier period. They believe that there are four stories below ground and as many above, and they now inhabit the fourth from below. The band which first came from above ground is called by them Histoppa (those of the tattooed countenance), and these for the most part, perished in the great deluge. Those who lived under ground one day perceived a light over their heads, which made them desire to ascertain what was above. They accordingly sent up a mouse, which looked about, returned, and reported that the land above was similar as that which they inhabited. Then sent up a certain animal, called by them, Nahsi, about the size of a pole cat, and distinguished by black stripes on its face and legs, Perhaps this was the racoon, which is not now to be found in this part of the country. This animal, when he came back, said that it was much more pleasant above than below. They, therefore, ordered the badger to dig a larger opening, as the present issue was too small. After the badger had performed his task, the black-tailed deer was ordered to go and enlarge the opening by means of his horns. He ran about the whole day, ate service berries, and returned in the evening. His tail was at that time white, but as this deer returned at sunset, and the sun went down at the very moment when his tail only was above ground, that was ever afterwards black."

It will be noted in the following paragraph, that the coming up "above ground" occurred near "the sea shore," and that those who came up "went on" and reached the Missouri at the mouth of White river—being that river in South Dakota; that they then "proceeded up the Missouri to Moreau's river;" that they then had "no enemies," and that the first attack was by Cheyennes. It is worthy of notice in this connection that the Cheyennes probably reached the Missouri river in the neighborhood of the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is still more

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significant, in connection with the question of the former habitat of the Mandans, that this definite statement that they came up the Missouri to the Moreau river, shows that their traditions clearly placed them at one time as residents on the Missouri at least sixty miles south of the North Dakota line.

Climb the Grapevine. "The Numangkake now resolved to go up. The great chief with his medicine and his schischikue in his hand, went first. They climbed up, one after another by the aid of a branch of a vine; and when exactly half their number had ascended, and a corpulent woman was half way up the vine, it broke, and the remainder of the nation fell to the ground. This happened in the neighborhood of the sea shore. Those who had reached the surface went on till they came to the Missouri, which they reached at White Earth river.[26] They then proceeded up the Missouri to Moreau's river. At that time they knew nothing of enemies. Once, when a Mandan woman was scraping a hide, a Cheyenne Indian came and killed her. The Mandans followed the traces of this new enemy till they came to a certain river, where they all turned back with the exception of two, the husband and the brother of the woman who was killed. These two men went on till they discovered the enemy, killed one of them and took his scalp with them. Before they got back to their village they found some white clay which they had never seen before, and took a portion of it with them. When they came to their great chief, the first man who had climbed up the vine, and whose skull and schischikue they still preserve, as a relic, in the medicine bag of the nation, they gave him the white clay, with which he marked some lines on his schischikue. The name of this chief was, at first, Mihti-Pihka (the smoke of the village), but when he ascended to the surface of the earth he called himself the Mihti-Shi (the robe with the beautiful hair). When he had received the clay and the scalp, he commanded all his people to shoot buffalos, but only bulls, and to make shields of the thickest part of the hide, which they did. When this was done, they asked the chief what were his next commandments. To which he replied, 'Paint a drooping sunflower on this shield' (as a sort of medicine or amulet), on which the sister of the chief said, 'You are fools; paint a bean on it; for what is smoother than a bean to ward off the arrows.'

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"The chief now introduced the establishment of the bands or unions, and founded first that of 'the foolish dogs.' He made four caps of crows' feathers, and commissioned the Mandans to make a number of similar ones. He then gave them the war pipe and song, and exhorted them to be always valiant and cheerful, and never to retreat before the point of the arrow. He also gave them the strips of red cloth which hang down behind, and added that, if they would follow his directions, they would always be esteemed as brave and worthy men. The chief then made two of the bent sticks covered with otter skins, and gave them the kana-kara-kachka, and then two others adorned with raven's feathers, which he also presented to them. The first represent the sun-flower, and the latter the maize. 'These badges,' said he, 'you are to carry before you when you go against the enemy; plant them in the ground, and fight to the last man, that is to say, never abandon them.' He next founded the band of 'the little foolish dogs,' and assembled many young men, whom he ordered to paint their faces of a black color, and gave them a song of their own, with the war whoop at the end, and said he would call them the 'black-birds.' He afterwards went to war with his people against the Cheyennes. They reached the enemy and laid all their robes in a heap together. The chief wore a cap of lynx skin, and had his medicine pipe on his arm. He did not join in the action, but sat apart on the ground during the whole time that it lasted. They fought almost the whole day, drove the enemy into their village, and were then repulsed, which happened three or four times, and one of the Numangkake was killed. When the chief was informed of this, he ordered them to go to the river and bring a young poplar with large leaves, which he planted in the ground near to the enemy, and challenged the Cheyennes to attack him; but they answered, they would wait for his attack. As he would not commence the combat, the enemy shot at him, but their arrows only grazed his arm and robe. He then held up the poplar, which suddenly shot up to a colossal size, was thrown, by a violent storm which arose, among the enemies, crushed many of them, and obliged the Cheyennes to retreat across the Missouri."

The tradition of the "creation" now merges into something more modern, as it is seen that what next occurs in the narrative

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pertains to the coming of the Minnetarees—supposedly from the Devil's Lake region.

"The Numangkake now went up the Missouri to beyond the Heart river, where a Mandan village had long stood. An old man of their tribe was fishing at this place, when four men appeared on the opposite bank. On his inquiring who they were, they told him their names, and put the same question to him, which he answered; and, having an ear of maize with him, he fastened it to an arrow and shot it over to the strangers. Finding the maize very agreeable to the taste, they called to him, and said that within four nights, a great many men would come, for whom he would do well to prepare plenty of food. They then returned to their camp, and gave their countrymen an account of the maize. They had likewise tasted the pomme blanche, and several other vegetables, but considered the maize as the best of all. The camp was accordingly broken up, and they proceeded slowly onwards. The Numangkake expected the strangers for four nights; they cooked and made everything ready for their reception, but, as their visitors did not make their appearance at the end of the fourth night, they ate the provisions themselves. A year passed by and the strangers did not come; the second and the third year likewise; at length, in the spring of the fourth year, all the surrounding hills were covered with red men. Thus instead of four days four years had elapsed. The new comers crossed the river, and built a village near the Numangkake, and the name of Minnetarees was given, i. e., those who came over the waters.[27]

"The principal chief of each nation met, and had a conference together. The Minnetaree chief asked the other whence they procured so much red maize? To which he replied, 'When we fought with our enemies, and they killed our wives and children in the maize fields, the maize grew up, and for the most part red.' To which the Minnetaree chief replied, 'That he would assist them with his people against their enemies.' Already on the following day many Cheyennes came and killed a number of women in the plantations; the united nations attacked them, killed many during the whole day, and drove them back to a small river which falls into the Missouri. The two allied nations now remained united, but, being so numerous that the country did not afford

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them sufficient subsistence, the Mandans said to the Minnetarees, 'Remove higher up the Missouri; this whole country belongs to us. There are the rivers Little Missouri, Yellowstone and Knife river, on the banks of which you can settle, but do not go beyond the latter river, for it is only in this case that we shall remain good friends. If you go too far we shall have disputes, make peace and again disagree; but if you remain on this side there will be constant friendship between us.' The Minnetarees removed as proposed, but built one of their villages on the other side of Knife river, which frequently occasioned dissension between them, and it is only within these fourteen years that permanent peace and concord have existed between the two people.'

It thus appears that the Minnetarees were allies of the Mandans; and it next appears that not very many years before Maximilian was at the Mandan villages (1833-4) and when Dipauch "was a young man," the Rees and Cheyennes and not the Sioux who were too far away, were their enemies; also that when this alliance occurred the Mandans were scattered on both sides of the Missouri, and **not** (as Lewis and Clarke **declare** but which their detailed narrative disproves) mostly on the east side.

"At the time when our narrator was a young man, the Arikkaras were near and dangerous enemies to the Mandans. They often fought with them as well as with the Sioux. When one of the two allied nations fought alone, it was almost always defeated, but when they were combined they generally triumphed. The preceding long narrative throws, as I have said, much light on the actual condition of this people, and of their prevalent superstitious customs.

"At the time of their first alliance with the Minnetarees, the Mandans are said to have inhabited eight or nine villages on the two banks of the Missouri on the Heart river, and higher upwards. Subsequently a great number of the Mandans were carried off by the smallpox, and their enemies, the Sioux, entirely destroyed their largest village, and massacred the inhabitants. The remaining population then collected in the two villages that still exist—Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush and Ruhptare. Previously to the devastations of the smallpox, the Sioux were not very dangerous enemies to the Mandans, because they lived at too great a distance from them, but the Cheyennes and the Arikkaras were

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their natural adversaries. I shall now proceed to treat of the religious and superstitious practices which still prevail among them." 000

Religion—Guardian Spirit—Medicine-Pipes. "These Indians are full of prejudice and superstitions, and connect all the natural phenomena with the before mentioned silly creations of their own imaginations. They undertake nothing without first invoking their guardian spirit, or medicine, who mostly appears to them in a dream. When they wish to choose their medicine or guardian spirit, they fast for three or four days and even longer, retire to a solitary spot, do penance, and even sacrifice joints of their fingers; howl and cry to the lord of life, or to the first man, beseeching him to point out their guardian spirit. They continue in this excited state till they dream, and the first animal or other object which appears to them is chosen for their guardian spirit or medicine.

"Every man has his guardian spirit. There is, in the prairie, a large hill where they remain motionless many days, lamenting and fasting; not far from this hill is a cave, into which they creep at night. The choice and adoration of their medicine is said to have been taught them by the strange man or spirit who appeared in their villages many years ago, and has not since been seen, and of whom mention has already been made by the name of Ochkih-Hadda. He is said also to have taught them the art of tattooing, and to have instituted their medicine feasts. In all natural phenomena, which are not of daily occurrence, they see wonders, and indications of favorable or unfavorable events. If the falling stars are numerous, or in a certain direction, it is to them an indication of war, or of a great mortality in the human race. They were not willing to have their portraits painted, because they alleged that they should soon die if their portraits came into other hands; at least they endeavored to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote. One of their chiefs never smoked out of a stone pipe, but always used a wooden one. Mato-Tope never partook of other people's tobacco but always smoked by himself, with the doors shut. They do not willingly show their medicine or amulets, which are usually kept wrapped up in a bundle or bag, and never opened except on important occasions. They have particular medicine-pipes, or, as the English call them, medicine

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stems, which are uncovered and used for smoking only on solemn occasions. Many make such pipes according to their own taste; such, for instance, was the pipe of Dipauch. The bowl was nearly in the form of a Turkish pipe, and it was made of brownish red clay; the tube, which was rather short and thick, represented the lord of life in human form, but which it required some stretch of imagination to discover. The nation preserves a celebrated pipe of this kind as a sacred relic, which no stranger is permitted to see. It has been in their possession since remote ages, and they offer to show it to me for the value of 100 dollars. The Indians cannot obtain such pipes but at a considerable expense; many of the necessary ornaments are not to be procured among them, such as the upper bill and the red crown of a species of woodpecker, a bird which is not found so high up the Missouri. For the head of one of these woodpeckers, which was brought from St. Louis, they gave a large handsome buffalo robe, worth six or eight dollars. If a man possesses such a pipe he sometimes conceives the idea of adopting a medicine son. The young man whom he is to choose appears to him in a dream; it is, however, requisite that he should be of a good family, or have performed some exploit. He acquaints him of his intention, and after having provided two similar medicine-pipes, he asks his newly adopted son, whether he is ready to undergo the ceremony of the pipes. The latter frequently answers in the affirmative, and the time for the ceremony is fixed; but if he has not yet made up his mind it is deferred. The adoptive father then chooses two young men, who practice the medicine dance together, with the two pipes in their hands. The father often dances, in the morning, on the roof of his hut, and instructs these two young men. When the time arrives and the adopted son is ready for the ceremony, the father, with all his relations, and the two young dancers, repairs to the hut of his newly-chosen son, and brings him a present of maize, cloth, blankets, kettles, and other valuable articles. The father takes his son by the hand and makes him sit down, after which the company dance around him, with the two pipes; they sing accompanied by the drum and schischikue, the two young dancers keeping time to the music with their pipes. When the ceremony is over, and the presents laid in one or two heaps, the relations of the medicine son bring horses, cloth, blankets, and other things of

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value, which the two parties reciprocally divide between them. The father then again takes his son by the hand, makes him rise from his seat, and dresses him in new clothes from head to foot, and likewise paints his face according to his fancy. The dress and pipe are henceforth his property, and he is considered as a real son, who must support and defend his father. This custom exists among most of the nations on the Missouri, and even among the Esquimaux there is a somewhat similar usage. If the adopted son and father have not happened to meet for a long time, they make presents to each other; the father gives the son a new dress, and the latter presents him with a good horse. Among all the Indian nations of North America, there is a particular class of men, who are specially engaged in all the above mentioned ceremonies—and medicines. They are, also, the physicians, and are called, among the Mandans, Numak-Choppenih, (which signifies medicine-man)."

White Buffalo Skin. "The skin of a white buffalo cow is an important article and an eminent medicine in the opinion of the Mandans and Minnetarees. He who has never possessed one of them is not respected. Suppose two men to be disputing about their exploits, the one an old veteran warrior, who has slain many enemies, the other, a young lad without experience; the latter reproaches the other with never having possessed a white buffalo cow hide, on which the old man droops his head and covers his face for shame. He who possesses such a hide generally offers it to the lord of life, to whom he dedicates it, or which is equivalent to the sun, or to the first man. He collects, perhaps, in the course of a whole twelve month, various articles of value, and then hangs them up all together on a high pole in the open prairie, generally in the neighborhood of the burying place, or in the village before his hut. Distinguished men and chiefs of eminence are for the most part poor, because in order to gain reputation and influence, they give away every thing of value which they possess. A large number of relatives is one of the chief means of acquiring riches, for a young man who wishes to distinguish himself and to be liberal, does honor to the whole family, who assist him to the utmost of their power. When one of his relations has anything of value, the young man goes to the owner to demand it, and not infrequently takes it away without ceremony. Sometimes he

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hangs his head in silence and then something of value is given him, a handsome dress, a horse, etc. If he wishes to gain reputation and a claim to distinction, it is necessary that he should make presents. All the people in the village notice very accurately what presents are made, and the donor has a right to display all such presents painted on his robes, and in this manner to hand down his reputation to posterity, as has been already related. This and military glory are, in the eyes of these men, the greatest virtues. They dare not draw a stroke too much on their robes for their horses, guns, etc., which they have given away, for the young men keep a most strict account against each other, and universal ridicule would be the immediate consequence of violating this rule. Among the distinctions of any man, the white buffalo hide is the greatest. He who has not been so fortunate as to kill a white buffalo himself, which is generally the case, as these animals are very rare, purchases a hide, often at a great distance from home, and other nations bring them thither, being well aware of the great value attached to them by the Mandans. The hide must be that of a young cow, not above two years old, and be taken off complete and tanned, with the horns, nose, hoofs and tail. The value of ten or fifteen horses is given for it. A certain Mandan gave ten horses, a gun, some kettles, and other articles for such a hide. The white hide of a bull or of an old cow is by no means so valuable. The white hide of a young cow suffices for all the daughters of a family. They do not wear it as a robe, like the Minnetarees, or, at the utmost, the wife, or one of the daughters of the family, wears it once at some great festival, but never a second time. The Mandans have particular ceremonies at the dedication of the hide. As soon as they have obtained it they engage an eminent medicine-man, who must throw it over him; he then walks around the village in the apparent direction of the sun's course, and sings a medicine song. When the owner, after collecting articles of value for three or four years, desires to offer his treasure to the lord of life, or to the first man, he rolls it up, after adding some wormwood or a head of maize, and the skin then remains suspended on a high pole till it rots away. At the time of my visit there was such an offering at Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, near the stages for the dead without the village. Sometimes, when the ceremony of dedication is finished, the hide

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is cut into small strips, and the members of the family wear parts of it tied over the head, or across the forehead, when they are in full dress. If a Mandan kills a young white buffalo cow, it is accounted to him as more than an exploit, or having killed an enemy, he does not cut up the animal himself, but employs another man, to whom he gives a horse for his trouble. He alone who has killed such an animal is allowed to wear a narrow strip of the skin in his ears. The whole robe is not ornamented, being esteemed superior to any other dress, however fine. The traders have sometimes sold such hides to the Indians, who gave them as many as sixty other robes in exchange. Buffalo skins with white spots are likewise highly valued by the Mandans; but there is a race of these animals with very soft silky hair, which has a beautiful gold luster when in the sunshine; these are likewise, highly prized, and sold for ten or fifteen dollars, and sometimes for the value of a horse. Besides the white buffalo skins which are offered in sacrifice and hung on poles, there are, in the vicinity of the villages of the Mandans and Minnetarees, other strange figures on high poles. These figures are composed of skin, grass, and twigs, which, it seems, represent the sun and moon, perhaps also, the lord of life, and the first man. The Indians resort to them when they wish to petition for anything, and sometimes howl and lament for days and weeks together."

Medicine Festivals—The Ark. "The Mandans have several medicine festivals, of which the Okippe, or the penitential ceremony of the ark, is by far the most remarkable. It is celebrated in the spring or summer, and I regret to say that I cannot describe it as an eye witness. I am, however, enabled to give a circumstantial description of it, word for word, as it was communicated to me by men initiated in the mysteries of the nation.[28]

"Numank-Machana, the first man, ordered the Numangkake to celebrate this medicine feast every year.[29] When the village has fixed the time for this festivity, they choose a man of distinction, in whom confidence can be placed, who must put himself at the head, and direct the solemnities. In the year 1834 Mato-Tope was chosen. He is called Kani-Sachka. This man then causes the medicine-lodge to be prepared and cleaned before the appointed time, and wood and other necessaries to be provided.

"First day of the Okippe: At sunset the Kani-Sachka goes

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into the lodge, and begins the fast, which continues four days. With him are six men, who are to strike what is called the tortoise, a vessel or sack made of parchment, and filled with water. Three of the men must strike in the direction of the river downwards, and three in the direction upwards. They strike the tortoise during the whole night. Before sun-rise a man representing the Numank-Machana, or the first man, arrives. He dresses himself in the medicine-lodge in the following manner: 'Round his body he fastens a wolf's skin, on his head, raven's feathers, in his arms he carries the medicine-pipe, and in his robe a portion of pemmican. His face is painted red, and on the small of the back he binds a piece of wood, to which the tail of a buffalo cow is fastened. Dressed in this manner, he goes early in the morning of the first day of the festival, and sings on the open space in the center. All kinds of valuable articles, such as guns, robes, blankets, etc., are thrown towards him, of which he afterwards takes possession, while on his part he distributes pemmican among the people. He then returns to the medicine-lodge, but is not at that time permitted to speak a word. The most eminent men of the nation now come to the lodge, address the first man as their uncle, and say, 'Well, uncle, how did you fare in the villages? How did you find them? Were you well received?' To which he replies, 'Very well nephew. I have not once lowered my pipe to the ground.' By which he means to say that he has received ample presents, and offerings of all kinds have been hung upon his pipe. He then says, 'I have seen a great many buffalos feeding in the prairie and drinking at the river; they are very abundant everywhere.' These were the horses; but he means to intimate that, by the medicine of this day, the buffalos will be attracted in great numbers. All those who intend to submit their bodies to a penance of certain tortures, in order to render themselves acceptable to the lord of life and the first man, come to the medicine-lodge early in the morning. Their number is, of course, uncertain; sometimes many present themselves, at other times only a few. They are smeared all over with white clay, with no other covering besides their robes, with the hair side outwards, and drawn over their heads, so that the head is covered, and they are quite wrapped up in them. In the medicine-lodge they lay aside their robes. On the first day of the feast they go

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four times, wrapped up as before described, and dance around the ark, which stands in the center of the open space. The Kani-Sachka remains during all this time moaning and leaning against the ark. All this is done in the forenoon. In the afternoon all is silent, and neither dance nor procession takes place.

"Second day of the Okippe: On the second day, early in the morning, eight men appear, who represent buffalo bulls. They are naked, wearing only an apron of blue and white striped woolen cloth. Their body is painted black in front, with two red perpendicular stripes like the facings of a military uniform, and with several white transverse stripes looking like lace or bands. The forearm and ankles are alternately striped white and red. In their hands they carry a fan of green willow twigs, and on their back a buffalo robe, the head of which, with the long hair on the forehead hangs over the face. To the middle of the robe a single buffalo horn is fastened, while at the head and loins green willow branches are appended. The eight buffalo bulls put on this fantastic dress in the lodge, and, when this is done, march out two abreast in an inclined posture, and extending their robes with outspread hands, and holding the willow fans upright. In this manner they dance up to the ark, where they divide, four going to the left and four to the right 'round the space. They again join opposite the medicine-lodge, and then return as before to the ark, where they continue to dance. When they are opposite to each other they stand upright and imitate the roaring of the buffalo. As soon as this dance begins, the six tortoise strikers bring their instrument from the center of the lodge, and place it near the ark in an easterly direction, striking it, and singing a certain song which is said to be a prayer. The Kani-Sachka stands, with his head bowed, leaning on the ark, directly opposite the tortoise, and moans without ceasing. He is quite naked except an apron of buffalo skin. His whole body is bedaubed with yellow, and on his forehead he has a wreath of bleached buffalo hair or wool hanging over his eyes. The eight buffalo bulls form a ring and dance around him, covering him with their robes; they dance in like manner to the tortoise, and next go to the door of the medicine-lodge, where they make a kind of covered way with their robes, beneath which the tortoise is conveyed into the lodge. The whole ceremony is repeated eight times on this

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000 day, four times in the morning and four times in the afternoon.[30]

"Third day of the Okippe: The same masks as yesterday dance on this day twelve times, and are prohibited from either eating or drinking. A number of other masks join them. 1. Two men, dressed like women, who dance in this costume, keeping by the side of the eight buffalo bulls. They wear clothes of bighorn leather, women's leggins (mitasses), the robes having the hair outwards. Their cheeks are painted red, their chins tattooed, and their heads adorned with glass beads, as is the custom among the women. 2. Two other men represent a couple of swans; they are naked, carry a swan's tail in their hand, are painted all over white, only the nose, mouth (representing the bill), and the lower part of the legs and feet, black. 3. A couple of rattlesnakes; the back is painted with black transverse stripes, in imitation of those animals, the front of the body yellowish; a black line is drawn from each eye down the cheeks and in each hand they carry a bunch of wormwood. 4. One man represents the evil spirit; he is conducted by two men of the village to the river, where he is dressed and painted; his entire body is painted black, and, as soon as this is done, he is not permitted to speak a word. They put on his head a cap, with a black cock's comb; he likewise wears a mask, with white woolen rings left for the opening 'round the eyes. They then make for him large teeth of cotton yarn, paint the sun upon his stomach, the crescent upon his back, and on each joint of the arms and legs, a white circle; they then put on a buffalo's tail, and place a small stick in his hand, with a ball, made of skin, at the end, to which a scalp, painted red on the under side, is fastened. The ball represents the head of an enemy. When this monster is completed, they let him loose, and he runs, like one possessed, about the prairie, comes into the village, gets upon the huts, one after the other, and prys into every corner, while the inhabitants throw out to him all kinds of valuable articles as presents. As soon as he perceives this he turns towards the sun, and intimates to it, by signs, how well he is treated, and that it is foolish of it, (the sun) to keep at so great a distance. The Indians are very much afraid of the devil, for which reason this part cannot be assigned to anybody; but he who wishes to perform it must offer himself. My informant added that this medicine feast was once celebrated on the banks of Heart river,

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where the Mandans then resided, and the man who had undertaken this part was conducted into the river. When his clothes were taken off, in order to paint and dress him, he appeared very uneasy, and required to be let loose; and when this was done he seemed as one possessed by the evil spirit, and ran, with the velocity of an arrow, on the hills and about the plain. His two attendants were alarmed, and pursued him to the village, but the new demon darted past them, leaped over the high fence of the village, jumped down into the huts, and again made his egress, and then ran to the river; this now convinced them that he was possessed. It cost the inhabitants much trouble to catch and wash him, but he trembled like an aspen leaf, wrapped himself in his robe, and continued in this condition for the remainder of his life without ever speaking a word.[21] While the devil is walking about, the other masks continue dancing, and act in conformity with their parts, endeavoring to imitate the natural attitudes of the animals they represent. 5. Two men, representing white-headed eagles, are painted of a dark brown color; the head, neck, forearm and hands, and the lower part of the legs, are white; they carry a stick in their hands, and their business is to pursue the antelopes. 6. Are two beavers; they wear the robe with the hairy side outwards, have a piece of parchment resembling a beaver's tail, fastened to their girdle, and are painted brown. 7. Are two birds of prey; their shoulders are blue, the breast yellowish and spotted; they have feathers on their heads, and the feet of birds of prey in their hands. 8. Are two or four bears (mato), wrapped in bear's skins, with the head and claws, which cover the head and their whole body; they generally walk in a stooping attitude about the dancers, and growl like those animals. 9. Two men represent the dried meat which is cut in small strips. They wear a cap of white hare skin; their body is painted with zig-zag stripes; 'round the waist they have a girdle of green boughs, and they dance with the others. 10. Forty or fifty Indians of different ages perform the part of antelopes; they are painted red on the backs, the rest of the body and limbs are white, the nose and mouth black; they carry small sticks, and run about very swiftly. 11. Two men personate the night; they are naked, painted quite black, with white stars; on their backs they have the setting moon, and on their breast the rising sun;

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they are not allowed to sit, during the whole day, till the sun has set; they then sit down and must not rise till the next morning. 12. Are one or two wolves; they are painted white, wear a wolf's skin, and pursue the antelopes, which fly before them; if they catch one the bears come and take it from them and devour it. All these animals imitate the originals to the best of their power. 13. Two prairie wolves; the tops of their heads are painted white, their faces yellowish-brown; they wear dry herbs in their hair, and carry in their hands a stick, painted with reddish-brown stripes, and run in the prairie before the other animals when they leave the village. Almost all these animals are said to have different songs, with words, which the uninitiated do not understand; they sometimes practice these songs for a whole summer, and are frequently obliged to pay a high price for instruction. Originally there were only ten masks at this festival. The white-headed eagles, the beavers, and the prairie wolves, are a modern addition, and no part of the true ancient observance of it. When all these animals come together they fight with each other, and perform all sorts of antics. Every animal acts according to its natural character; the beavers strike with their tails, making a loud clapping noise; the buffalos roll and wallow in the sand; the bears strike with their paws, etc.

"During all of these masquerade dances, the penitents have remained three entire days in the medicine-lodge, where they have fasted and thirsted, sitting perfectly still and quiet. On the afternoon of that day, the persons of the ten masks also meet in the medicine-lodge, and all together then leave the place. The penitents lie down on their bellies, in a circle 'round the ark, at some distance from it; the masks dance among them and over them, to the sound of the schischikue. Some already begin to suffer the tortures; they give a gun, a blanket, or some other article of value, to an eminent person, to inflict the tortures on them. During this time the Kani-Sachka has been moaning, and leaning on the ark. The tortures of the penitents now begin. In many of them strips of skin and flesh are cut from the breast, or the arms and on the back, but in such a manner that they remain fast at both ends. A strap is then passed under them, and the sufferers are thrown over the declivity of the bank, where they remain suspended in the air; others have a strap drawn

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through the wound, to which the head of a buffalo is fastened, and they are obliged to drag this heavy weight about; others have themselves suspended by the muscles of the back; others have joints of their fingers cut off; others again, are lifted up by the flesh, which is cut across the stomach, or have some heavy body suspended to the muscles, which have been cut and loosened, and other similar tortures. Those who have been tortured on this day return directly to their huts; but those who can bear to fast longer do not submit themselves to the torture till the fourth day.

"Fourth day of the Okippe: All those who have endured fasting for four days are now assembled in the medicine-lodge. Such as feel themselves faint beg that the dancing may begin early. Accordingly the masquerade, and the dances performed yesterday, begin at day-break. They dance on this day sixteen times—eight times in the morning, and eight times in the afternoon. The candidates for the torture are out about two o'clock in the afternoon; and when they have suffered to the utmost of their power, a large circle is formed; two men who have no part in the festival, take one of the penitents between them, hold him by the hand, and the whole circle moves around with the greatest rapidity. The Kani-Sachka is likewise treated in this manner. The famished and tortured penitents, for the most part, soon fall down, and many faint away, but no regard is paid to this; they are dragged and pulled about as long as they can possibly bear it; they are then let loose, and remain stretched on the ground as if dead. The eight buffalo bulls now come forward to execute their last dance. Meantime, Numank-Machana (the first man) stands on one side of the place, and invites the inhabitants to assemble. The men come on foot and on horseback, with their bows and arrows; the arrows are adorned with green leaves at the wooden points; and when the eight buffalos have approached, dancing, the first man, and been repulsed by him, they are shot at from all sides, fall, roll on the ground, and then lie still as if dead. The first man then invites the inhabitants to take the flesh of the buffalos. The latter whose robes have already fallen off, rise, and retire into the medicine-lodge. Then the dancers divide into two parties, extend their arms and legs, strike themselves on the stomach, exclaiming that they feel themselves strong; some that

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000 they will kill enemies; others that they will slay many buffalos, etc. They then retire, take food, and rest themselves, and the festival is concluded.

"The wounds that have been inflicted on this occasion are now healed, but they remain visible during the whole life, like thick swollen weals. This is to be observed in a much higher degree among the Minnetarees than among the Mandans; the former seem to submit to much more severe tortures. The buffalo skulls, which these Indians have dragged about with much pain, are preserved in their huts, where they are everywhere to be seen, to be handed down from the father to the children. Many such heads are looked upon by them as medicine; they are kept in the huts, and sometimes the Indians stroke them over the nose, and set food before them. In general, the buffalo is a medicine animal, and more or less sacred."

Buffalo Festival. "Another very remarkable medicine festival is that for attracting the heads of buffalos, which is usually celebrated in the autumn or winter. I shall describe this festival, as an eye witness among the Minnetarees, where it is observed precisely in the same manner as among the Mandans. At this festival they leave their wives to the older men, and individual Indians do the same on certain occasions, when they desire to ask good wishes for the attainment of some object they have in view. A man in this case, goes, with his pipe, and accompanied by his wife, who wears no clothes except her buffalo robe, to another hut. The wife carries a dish of boiled maize, which she sets down before a third person, and the man does the same with his pipe. The woman then passes the palm of her hand down the whole arm of the person favored in this manner, takes him by the hand, and he must follow her to a retired spot, generally to the forest surrounding the huts in the winter time; after which she returns and repeats the same process, often with eight or ten men. As soon as the man so favored has resumed his seat, the person who asks his good wishes presents his pipe to him that he may smoke; whereupon he expresses his best wishes for the success of the undertaking or project in hand. By way of returning thanks his arm is again stroked."

In connection with the "Corn Dance" next described by Maximilian, the idea of symbolizing corn as representative of the

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fruits of the earth, in the simile of the immortal old woman, is borne out by the tradition of today as seen in the Mandan accounts given to the writer, wherein the term "Corn Mother" is used—as shown in a later stage of this paper.

Corn Dance. "A third medicine feast is that described by Say, by name of the corn dance of the Minnetarees. He is pretty correct in his account of it, and it is used as well among the Mandans as the Minnetarees. It is a consecration of the grain to be sown, and is called the corn dance feast of the women. The old woman who never dies sends in the spring, the water-fowl, swans, geese, and ducks, as symbols of the kinds of grain cultivated by the Indians. The wild goose signifies maize; the swan, the gourd; and the duck, beans. It is the old woman that causes these plants to grow, and, therefore she sends these birds as her signs and representatives. It is very seldom that eleven wild geese are found together in the spring; but, if it happens, this is a sign that the crop of maize will be remarkably fine. The Indians keep a large quantity of dried flesh in readiness for the time in the spring when the birds arrive, that they may immediately celebrate the corn feast of the women. They hang the meat before the village, on long stages made of poles, three or four rows, one above another, and this with various articles of value, is considered as an offering to the old women. The elderly females, as representatives of the old woman who never dies, assemble on a certain day about the stages, carrying a stick in their hands, to one end of which a head of maize is fastened. Sitting down in a circle, they plant their sticks in the ground before them, and then dance 'round the stages. Some old men beat the drum, and rattle the schischisikue. The maize is not wetted or sprinkled, as many believe, but, on the contrary, it is supposed that such a practice would be injurious. While the old women are performing these ceremonies, the younger ones come and put some dry pulverized meat into their mouths, for which each of them received in return, a grain of the consecrated maize, which she eats. Three or four grains are put into their dishes, and are afterwards carefully mixed with the seed to be sown, in order to make it thrive and yield an abundant crop. The dried flesh on the stages is the perquisite of the aged females, as the representative of the old woman who never dies. During the ceremony,

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000 it is not unusual for some men of the band of the dogs to come and pull a large piece of flesh from the poles and carry it off. As members of this band, and being men of distinction, no opposition can be offered.

"A similar corn feast is repeated in the autumn, but at that season it is held for the purpose of attracting the herds of buffalos, and of obtaining a large supply of meat. Each woman then has not a stick with a head of maize, as in the former instance, but a whole plant of that grain, pulled up by the roots. They designate the maize as well as the birds, which are the symbols of the fruits of the earth, by the name of the old woman who never dies, and call upon them in the autumn, saying, 'Mother, have pity on us; do not send the severe cold too soon, so that we may have a sufficient supply of meat; do not permit all the game to go away, so that we may have something for the winter.'

"In autumn when the birds emigrate to the south, or as the Indians express it, return to the old woman, they believe that they take with them the presents—especially the dried flesh—that were hung up at the entrance of the village, for the giver and protectress of the crop. They further imagine that the old woman partakes of the flesh. Some poor females among these Indians, who are not able to offer flesh or any valuable gift, take a piece of parchment, in which they wrap the foot of a buffalo, and suspend it to one of the poles as their offering. The birds on their return, go to the old woman, each bringing something from the Indians; but towards the end, one approaches, and says, 'I have very little to give you, for I have received only a very mean gift.' To this, the old woman, on receiving the buffalo's foot from the poor women, or widows, says, 'This is just what I love; this poor offering is more dear to me than all the other presents, however costly.' Upon this she boils a piece of the foot with some maize, and eats it with much satisfaction. The old woman who never dies has very extensive plantations of maize, the keepers of which are the great stag and the white-tailed stag. She has likewise, many blackbirds, which help to guard her property. When she intends to feed these keepers, she summons them, and they fall with avidity upon the maize fields. As these plantations are very large, she requires many

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laborers, and the mouse, the mole, and the before-mentioned stags, perform the work. The birds which fly from the sea shore in the spring, represent the old woman, who then travels to the north to visit 'the old man who never dies,' and who always resides in that quarter. She does not, however, stop there long, but generally returns in three or four days. In former times the old woman's hut was near the Little Missouri, where the Indians often went to visit her. One day twelve Minnetarees came to her, and she set before them a pot of maize, which was so small, that it was not sufficient to satisfy even one; but she invited them to eat, as soon as the pot was empty it was instantly refilled, and all the twelve men had enough. This occurred several times while the old woman resided on that spot."

Medicine Serpents. "Serpents, especially the rattlesnake, are in a greater or less degree, 'medicine' for these people, who kill them, and cut off the rattles, which they regard as an effectual remedy in many diseases. They chew one of the joints, and wet various parts of the body of the patient with the saliva. They likewise believe in the existence of a colossal medicine serpent, which lives in a lake three or four days' journey from this place, and to which they make offerings. The following is their tradition of this monster: Two young men were strolling along the bank of the river, and observed a cavern, through which curiosity led them to go. On reaching the further end, they were surprised at beholding a picturesque country, wholly unknown to them, where numerous herds of buffalo were grazing. Suddenly, however, an immense giant stood before them, who demanded, 'Who are you, you little people? I am afraid if I were to lay hold of you I should crush you.' He then lifted them in his hands very carefully, and carried them into the village, which was inhabited by giants like himself. Accompanied by the two Mandans they went out to hunt buffalos. The giants killed the buffalo by throwing stones, but the Mandans destroyed many with their arrows, which greatly delighted the giants. At that time the giants were at war with the eagles, which were very numerous, and which they slew by flinging stones. The Mandans, however, shot them with arrows, so that they speedily procured a large quantity of eagles' feathers. They then took leave of the giants, and were permitted to depart with all their valuable feathers.

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On their return they found the cave blocked by a colossal serpent. First they were at a loss how to make a passage, but they soon collected a large pile of wood and burnt the monster. One of them tasted the roasted flesh of the serpent, and, finding it palatable, partook of more. They proceeded on their way, when the head of the Mandan who had tasted the serpent's flesh began to swell prodigiously, and an intolerable itching came to his face. He begged his friend not to leave him, but to take him home. On the second day he continued to swell, increased in length, felt an irritation all over, and was soon afterwards transformed into a serpent, upon which he begged his companion to take him to the Missouri, which the latter accomplished in three days. As soon as the serpent reached the water, he dived, but speedily rose to the surface, and said, 'There are many like me below, but they hate me, therefore carry me to the long water, three days' journey from the Missouri.' This, too, was done, but the serpent not liking his new abode, his comrade was obliged to carry him to a second lake, called Histoppa-Numangka (the place of the tattooed countenance), when the serpent was satisfied, and resolved to remain. He commissioned the young man to bring him four things, viz: A white wolf, a polecat, some pounded maize, and eagles' tails; after this he was to go to war four times, and kill an enemy in each combat. All this accordingly took place. The serpent then added that he would always remain in this lake, never die, be medicine, and, when the Mandans desired anything, they might come hither, do penance, or make offerings, that is to say, hang robes, eagles' tails, and other articles of value, on poles on the banks of the lake, which the Indians sometimes do even to this day."

Medicine Stone. "Another curiosity of a similar nature is the Medicine Stone, which is mentioned by Lewis and Clarke, and which the Minnetarees likewise reverence. This stone is between two and three days' journey from the villages on Cannonball river, and about 100 paces from its banks. I was assured that it was on a tolerably high hill, and in the form of a flat slab, probably of sandstone. The stone is described as being marked with impressions of the footsteps of men, and animals of various descriptions, also sledges with dogs. The Indians use this stone as an oracle, and make offerings of value to it, such as kettles,

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blankets, cloth, guns, knives, hatchets, medicine-pipes, etc., which are found deposited close to it. The war parties of both nations, when they take the field, generally go to this place, and consult the oracle as to the issue of their enterprise. Lamenting and howling, they approach the hill, smoke their medicine-pipes, and pass the night near the spot. On the following morning they copy the figures on the stone upon a piece of parchment or skin, which they take to the village, where the old men give the interpretation. New figures are undoubtedly drawn from time to time on this stone, near to which the celebrated ark, in which part of the nation was saved in the great deluge, formerly stood."

Other Medicine. "The Mandans have many other medicine establishments in the vicinity of their villages, all of which are dedicated to the superior powers. Mr. Bodmer has made very accurate drawings of those near Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, one of which consists of four poles placed in the form of a square; the two foremost have a heap of earth and green turf thrown up around them, and four buffalo skulls laid in a line between them, while twenty-six human skulls are placed in a row from one of the stakes at the back to the other; some of these skulls are painted with a red stripe. Behind the whole a couple of knives are stuck into the ground, and a bundle of twigs is fastened at the top of the poles with a kind of comb, or the teeth of a rake painted red. The Indians repair to such places when they desire to make offerings, or put up petitions; they howl, lament, and make loud entreaties, often for many days together, to the lord of life, which the French Canadians call weeping, though no tears are shed. A similar medicine establishment is represented, where a couple of human figures, very clumsily made of skins, were fixed upon poles, representing as we are told, the sun and moon, probably the lord of life and the old woman who never dies. Wormwood, of which they generally fasten a bunch to the poles, is a sacred medicine herb, to which they ascribe various effects.

"Dreams, as I have before said, afford the usual motives for such actions, and for the penances which they impose upon themselves, and they believe all that appears in their dreams to be true. They were not yet acquainted with firearms, when one of the Indians dreamed of a weapon with which they could kill their enemies at a great distance, and soon afterwards the white

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000 men brought them the first gun. In the same manner they dreamed of horses before they obtained any. Even the whites who live among them are infected with this belief in dreams, and other superstitions. They frequently promise, on undertaking anything, the joint of a finger, which they cut off at once, and keep in a handful of wormwood; this I myself saw among the Blackfeet, where, at that time, it was a sign of mourning. It is also done at the time of the Okippe in May and June. Almost all the Mandans and Minnetarees have lost one or two joints of the fingers and several of them more. There are numerous superstitious ideas and prejudices among these Indians. Thus they believe that a person to whom they wish ill must die, if they make a figure of wood or clay, substituting for the heart, a needle, an awl, or a porcupine quill, and bury the image at the foot of one of their medicine poles. When a child is born, the father must not bridle a horse, that is to say, he is not to fasten the halter to the lower jaw, otherwise the child will die in convulsions. Many consider it a bad omen when a woman, while several Mandans are smoking together, passes between them. If a woman is lying on the ground between the men who are smoking, a piece of wood is laid across her, to serve as a communication between the men. The strongest man now living among the Mandans, who has been the victor in several wrestling matches with the whites, always takes hold of his pipe by the head, for, were he to touch it in another part, the blood would suddenly rush from his nostrils. As soon as he bleeds in this manner, he instantly empties his pipe, and throws the contents into the fire, where it explodes like gunpowder, and the bleeding immediately stops. Nobody, they say, can touch this man's face, without at once bleeding at the nose and mouth. A certain Indian affirms that, whenever another offers him a pipe to smoke, out of civility, he immediately has his mouth full of worms, handfuls of which he throws into the fire. The medicine of another man consists in making a snow-ball, which he rolls a long time between his hands, so that it at length becomes hard, and is converted into a white stone, which, when struck, emits fire. Many persons, even whites, pretend they had seen this, and it is utterly useless to attempt convincing them to the contrary. The same man pretends that, during a dance, he plucked white feathers from a certain small bird, which he rolled

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between his hands, and formed of them, in a short time, a similar white stone. Sometimes an Indian takes it into his head to make his gun medicine, or to consecrate it, which he does not dare afterwards to part with. With this view he generally makes a yearly feast in the spring. The crier (kettle-tender, or marmiton) must invite a certain number of guests, and receive an equal number of small sticks, which he delivers to them, as a sign of their being invited; nay, now, European playing cards are actually sent around for this purpose. The guests appear, lay their guns aside, and take their places, on which the drum and schischikue go 'round, and every guest sings, and plays the drum and rattle. While this music is going on, they eat the food which has been dressed, nor are they allowed to leave any of it. The host then takes his gun, cuts a piece of flesh, and with it rubs the barrel, and flings the meat into the fire; this is repeated thrice. He then takes up some of the water in which the meat was boiled, rubs the whole length of the barrel with it, pours the rest of the broth into the fire; and, lastly, takes fat, with which he rubs the whole gun, and then throws the remainder into the fire.

"A great many Mandans and Minnetarees believe that they have wild animals in their body; one for instance, affirmed he had a buffalo calf, the kicking of which he often felt; others said they had tortoises, frogs, lizards, birds, and so forth.***

"The people consider owls as medicine birds, and pretend to hold conversations with them, and understand their attitudes and voices; often, indeed, they keep these animals alive in their huts, and look upon them as soothsayers. I shall, subsequently, have occasion to speak of the manner in which they catch all kinds of birds of prey, which feed on the flesh of dead animals, particularly eagles, which they sometimes preserve alive. They frequently look upon them as medicine.

"Many instruments used by the whites, especially mathematical are a great medicine, or charm, in their eyes, because they do not comprehend the use of them. Thus the Indian women are frequently embarrassed when we look at them through a telescope, because they believed that we had the power to penetrate their inmost thoughts, and of discovering their past and future actions."

Time—Months. "The divison of time, especially that of the

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year into months, is pretty conformable to nature; they count the years by winters, and say so many winters have passed since such an event. They are able to reckon the winters by numbers, or on their fingers, for their numerals are very complete.

"1. The month of the seven cold days, answering to our January.

"2. The pairing month—February.

"3. The month of weak eyes—March.

"4. The month of game. Some call it the month of wild geese. It is likewise often called the month of the breaking up of the ice.

"5. The month in which maize is sown, or the month of flowers—May.

"6. The month of ripe service berries.

"7. The month of ripe cherries.

"8. The month of ripe plumbs.

"9. The month of ripe maize.

"10. The month of the falling leaves.

"11. The month in which the rivers freeze.

"12. The month of slight frost.[32]

"Here and there other names are given to the months, but the above are the most common."

Buffalo Hunts. "The chief occupations of the Indians, besides adorning and painting their persons, looking in the glass, smoking, eating, and sleeping, are the chase and war, and these fill up a great part of their time. The principal beast of chase is the buffalo, or, rather, the buffalo cow. The men generally go hunting in a body, on horseback, in order to be the more secure against the superior force of their enemies. The equipments of their horses are much like those of the Blackfeet, and their saddles resemble the Hungarian; though, now, they sometimes obtain saddles from the whites, which they line and ornament with red and blue cloth. In riding, they never leave hold of their whip, the handle of which is made of wood, and not of elk's horn, as among the more western nations. They never wear spurs. In the summer time, if the herds of buffalos are dispersed to great distance in the prairie, the chase, of course, requires more time and exertion; but in the winter, when they approach the Missouri, and seek shelter in the woods, a great number are often

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killed in a short time. On these hunting excursions the Indians often spend eight or ten days; generally they return on foot, while the horses are laden with the spoils. The buffalos are usually shot with arrows, the hunters riding within ten or twelve paces of them. If it is very cold, and the buffalos keep at a distance in the prairie (which happened in the winter of 1833-34), they hunt but little, and would rather suffer hunger, or live only on maize and beans, than use any exertion; and when towards spring, many drowned buffalos float down the river with the ice, the Indians swim or leap with great dexterity over the flakes of ice, draw the animals to land, and eat the half putrid flesh without manifesting any signs of disgust. It is remarkable how instantly their famished dogs know and take advantage of the hunting excursions of their masters. When the horses return laden with the spoils of the chase, the children in the village utter a cry of joy, of which the dogs seem perfectly to understand the import, for they simultaneously set up a loud howl, run towards the prairie, the scene of the chase, and partake with their relations, the wolves, of what the hunters have left behind. When a hunter has killed an animal, he generally eats the liver, the kidneys, and the marrow of the large thigh bones, raw. If an Indian has procured some game he usually shares it with others. The entrails and skin always belong to the person who shot the animal. If an eminent man, who has performed some exploit, comes up when the animal has been just killed, and demands the tongue, or some other good part, it cannot be refused him. Dogs are not employed in hunting by the Mandans and Minnetarees. They shoot deer and elks in the forests, antelopes and bighorns in the prairies, the Black Hills, and the neighboring mountains. They make parks, as they are called, to catch antelopes, but not buffalos."

Antelope Hunt. "Brackenridge says, that the Indians drive the antelopes into the water and kill them with clubs, but this can only have happened in isolated places when some accident gave them the opportunity. The Minnetarees make these cabri parks more frequently than the Mandans. They choose a valley, between two hills, which ends in a steep declivity. On the summit of the hills, two converging lines, one or two miles in length, are marked out with brushwood. Below the declivity they erect

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a kind of fence fifteen or twenty paces in length, composed of poles, covered and filled up with hay and brushwood. A number of horsemen then drive the cabris between the ends of the lines marked out by the brushwood, which are very distant from each other, and ride rapidly towards them. The terrified animals hasten down the hollow, and at length leap into the enclosure, where they are killed with clubs or taken alive. There are not many bears in this country; and the Indians are not fond of hunting them, because it is often dangerous, and the flesh, when roasted, is not very good.

"Brackenridge is mistaken when he says, that these Indians always shout before they enter the forest, in order to frighten the bears. If they did so they would, at the same time, frighten all other kinds of animals, and we see at once, from this statement, that that traveler was no sportsman."

Wolf, Fox and Eagle Traps. "The wolf and the fox are sometimes shot with a gun, as well as the white hare, in the winter time, or they are caught in traps. They set for the wolves very strong traps. The prairie wolf is not easily caught, being very cautious. Foxes are caught in small traps, which are covered with brushwood and buffalos skulls, to conceal them. Many such traps are seen everywhere in the prairies, which are surrounded with small stakes, that the animals may not enter them sideways. Beavers are now caught, in great numbers, in iron traps, which they procure from the whites. Small animals, such as the ermine, are caught with horse-hair springs, set before their burrows. The manner in which birds of prey are caught is said to be very remarkable. The bird-catcher lies down at full length in a narrow pit made on purpose, and exactly large enough to hold him. As soon as he has lain down, the pit is covered with brushwood and hay, pieces of meat are laid upon it, and a crow or some such bird, fastened to it. The eagle, or other bird of prey, is said to descend, and to sit down, in order to eat, on which the bird-catcher seizes it by the legs. I would not believe this had not men worthy of credit given me their word for it. In this manner they catch the eagle, called, by the English, the war-eagle, and the golden eagle, the Quilion, or oiseau de medicine, of the Canadians, which I was not so fortunate as to meet with, and which they highly value, as I have already stated."[33]

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School of War—The Chiefs. "Next to the chase, war is the chief employment of the Indians, and military glory the highest object of their ambition. It is well known that Indian bravery is very different from that of the whites; for wilfully to expose themselves to the enemy's fire would, in their eyes, not be bravery, but folly. Cunning and stratagem give them the advantage over the enemy; their strength lies in concealing their march, and surprises at daybreak. He who kills many enemies without sustaining any loss is the best warrior.

"When a young man desires to establish his reputation in the field, he fasts for four or seven days, as long as his strength permits him, goes alone to the hills, complains and cries to the lord of life, calls incessantly to the higher powers for their aid, and only goes home, sometimes in the evening, to sleep. A dream suggests his medicine to him. If the lord of life makes him dream of a piece of cherry tree wood, or of an animal, it is a good omen. The young men who take the field with him have then confidence in his medicine. If he can perform an exploit his reputation is established. But whatever exploits he may perform, he acquires no respect if he does not make valuable presents; and they say of him, 'He has indeed performed many exploits, but yet he is as much to be pitied as those whom he has killed.' A man may have performed many exploits, and yet not be allowed to wear tufts of hair on his clothes, unless he carries a medicine pipe, and has been the leader of a war party. When a young man who has never performed an exploit, is the first to kill an enemy on a warlike expedition, he paints a spiral line 'round his arm, of whatever color he pleases, and he may then wear a whole wolf's tail at the ankle or heel of one foot. If he has first killed and touched the enemy he paints a line running obliquely 'round the arms and another crossing it in the opposite direction, with three transverse stripes. On killing the second enemy he paints his left leg (that is the leggin) of a reddish-brown. If he kills the second enemy before another is killed by his comrades, he may wear two entire wolves' tails at his heels. On his third exploit he paints two longitudinal stripes on his arms and three transverse stripes. This is the exploit that is esteemed the highest; after the third exploit no more marks are made. If he kills an enemy after others of the party have done the same, he may wear on this heel,

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one wolf's tail, the tip of which is cut off. In every numerous war party there are four leaders (partisans, karokkanakah), sometimes seven, but only four are reckoned as the real partisans; the others are called bad partisans (karokkanakah-chakohosch, literally, partisans galeux). All partisans carry on their backs a medicine-pipe in a case, which other warriors dare not have. To become a chief (Numakaschi) a man must have been a partisan and then kill an enemy when he is not a partisan. If he follows another partisan for the second time, he must have first discovered the enemy, have killed one, and then possessed the hide of a white buffalo cow complete, with the horns, to pretend to the title of chief (Numakschi). Dipauch, who related these particulars, had himself done all these, and was an eminent man among his people, but had never assumed that title. He had given five horses for his white buffalo hide. All the warriors wear small war pipes 'round their necks, which are often very elegantly ornamented with porcupine quills.

"As soon as they advance to attack the enemy every one sounds his pipe, and all together utter the war whoop, a shrill cry, which they render tremendous by repeatedly and suddenly striking the mouth with the hand. Those who fast and dream, in order to perform an exploit, are entitled to wear a wolf's skin. A warrior has a right to wear as many eagles' feathers as he has performed exploits. All Indians, on their military expeditions, erect, in the evening, a sort of fort, in which they are, in some measure, secure against a sudden attack. In Major Long's expedition to the Rocky mountains, it is stated, that they often make caches (hiding places) in these forts; but we did not observe any such on the Missouri. The Indians, on their expeditions, always set a watch by night as soon as they are near the enemy, and often send out scouts to considerable distances. At such a post the Indians are very vigilant and active; after an engagement they do not bury the dead, but, if they have not time to carry them away, leave them on the spot where they fell. The scalps, called by the Canadians, les chevelures, are often preserved for a long time stretched upon small hoops, and the hair is afterwards used as an ornament to the dress of the men. The skin of the scalp is generally painted red. The Mandans, Minnetarees, and Crows, never torture their prisoners like the Pawnees, and the eastern nations. When a

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prisoner has arrived at the village, and eaten maize, he is considered as one of their own nation, and no person ever thinks of molesting him. Often, however, the women hasten out to meet the prisoners ere they reach the village, and kill them; this is especially an act of revenge for their husbands or sons who may have fallen in the battle.

"When a young man desires to become a leader, or partisan, he first gains, by gifts, the favor of the other young men, and then dedicates a medicine pipe, which is a plain unornamented tube. This ceremony is accomplished by a four days' fast; and supplications for assistance to the lord of life, the first man, etc., and other supernatural beings. He then addresses the young men, and calls upon them to give him their support in his undertakings. If a sufficient number testify their readiness to accompany him in a warlike expedition, and such an expedition be determined upon, they dance and feast in the medicine-lodge for several successive nights, from whence, too, they generally march off by night. The women never accompany these expeditions. On setting out the men are badly clothed, and not painted. They do not depart in a body, but, for the most part, singly, or in small detached parties. At a certain distance from the village they halt upon an isolated hill, open their medicine bags, and, after the men have sat down in a circle, the partisan produces his medicine-pipe, which all present smoke; the person who smokes last, then spreads his medicines on the ground, or hangs them up, and from them foretells the fate of the expedition. The Indians manifest much gravity and decorum on solemn occasions like these."

Scalp Dance. "When the warriors return from their expedition, the scalps are carried on in advance, on high poles; if they have performed any exploits, they paint their faces black; very frequently the whole body is thus disfigured. The women and children go out to meet them and they enter the village performing the scalp dance. This dance is then repeated four successive nights in the medicine-lodge, and is subsequently danced in the open space, in the center of the village. If the campaign took place in the spring, it is danced, at intervals till the fall of the leaf in autumn; if in the autumn, it is danced till spring, but should any of the nation be killed in the interim all festivities immediately cease. In the scalp dance the Indians paint them-

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selves in various ways, form a semi-circle, advance, and retreat amid the din of singing, the beating of the drum and schischikue. The wives of those men who have obtained the scalps carry them on long rods.

"All the distinguished deeds performed by a war party are placed to the account of the partisan. All the scalps that are taken belong to him, and also the horses that they have captured. He who has killed an enemy is a brave man, and reckons one exploit; but the partisan rises the highest on that account, even though he has not seen any of the enemies who have been slain. When he returns home, the old men and women meet, and sing the scalp song, on which he must make them all presents of value. He gives away all the captured horses, and valuable articles, and is afterwards a poor man, but his reputation is great. Successful partisans afterwards become chiefs, and are highly respected by their nation. The Indian youths go to war when they are only fourteen or fifteen years of age. Sometimes they make excursions on horseback in the winter." (p. 389.)

It is not unworthy of comment that in recording the tradition of wars between the Mandans and the Chippeways "to the country of Pembina," Maximilian conduces to the support of the theory that the Mandans went into the Winnipeg Basin, with their allies the Minnetarees (the latter of whom were supposed to have once lived in that direction), **from their base on the Missouri river**, thus furnishing, inferentially at least, proof inconsistent with the idea that the contests between the Mandans and Crees, Chippeways, etc., were occasioned in a process of driving the Mandans from a supposed original habitat in those regions. See below:

Mandan Wars. "The Mandans and Minnetarees make excursions as far as the Rocky mountains, against their enemies, the Blackfeet, and against the Chippeways, to the country of Pembina. Their other enemies are the Sioux, the Arikkaras, the Assiniboines, and the Cheyennes (spelt by the English Shiennes). They are at peace with the Crows."

Mandan Weapons. "The weapons of the Mandans and Minnetarees are, first, the bow and arrow. The bows are made of elm or ash, there being no other suitable kinds of wood in their country. In form and size they resemble those of the other nations;

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the string is made of the sinews of animals twisted. They are frequently ornamented. A piece of red cloth, four or five inches long, is wound around each end of the bow, and adorned with glass beads, dyed porcupine quills, and strips of white ermine. A tuft of horse hair, dyed yellow, is usually fastened to one end of the bow. Pehriska-Ruhpa has such a weapon in his hand. The quiver, to which the bow-case is fastened, is made of panther or buffalo skin; in the first case, with the hair outwards the long tail hanging down, and, as among the Blackfeet, lined with red cloth, and embroidered in various figures with white beads. Their handsome quivers are made of otter skin, which are much esteemed. A very beautifully ornamented one, belonging to the Crows, is represented. Narrow strips of skin hang down at both ends of the quiver. The arrows of the Mandans and the Minnetarees are neatly made; the best wood is said to be that of the service berry (amelanchier sanguinea). The arrows of all the Missouri nations are much alike,[24] with long, triangular, very sharp, iron heads, which they themselves make out of old iron; it is but slightly glued to the shaft of the arrow, which is rather short, and generally remains in the body of the wounded animal. They know nothing of poisoning their arrows. The arrow-heads were formerly made of sharp stones; when Charbonneau first came to the Missouri, some made of flint were in use, and in the villages they are still met with, and in all those parts of the United States where the expelled or extirpated aborigines formerly dwelt. We are told that, in the prairie, near the Minnetaree villages, there is a sand hill, where the wind has uncovered a great number of such stone arrow-heads. Almost all the Mandans and Minnetarees now have guns, which they ornament with bits of red cloth, on the brass rings of the ramrod, and at the butt-end with brass nails. Besides the ramrod belonging to the gun, the Indians always carry another long ramrod in their hands, which they generally use. The pouch is made of leather, or cloth, often beautifully ornamented with beads, or porcupine quills, and is hung on the back by a piece of skin, or a broad strip of cloth of some lively color. Their clubs and tomahawks are of various kinds. Many have a thick egg-shaped stone fastened to a handle, covered with leather, or without leather. Others have small iron tomahawks, but not tomahawks with pipes

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fixed to them. The large club with the broad iron point is called manha-okatanha, or mauna-schicha. A simple, knotty, wooden club is called mauna-panischa."

Lance and Shield—Knife. "Many Mandans likewise carry lances, and I was told that they had a remarkably handsome one, of which, however, I did not obtain a sight. These Indians have shields, which do not differ from those of the tribes already mentioned. They all wear in their girdles, behind, a large knife, which is indispensible to them in hunting and in war. Some use, for the handle of the knife, the lower jaw of a bear, with the hair and teeth remaining. The bow and arrows, are, even now, much esteemed by all the nations living on the Missouri, while those that have been entirely driven from that river (the Osages) greatly prefer the gun; the former, therefore, are capital archers, which cannot be affirmed of the Osages. The Mandans and Minnetarees are said to fight well in their manner, and there have been frequent instances of individual bravery. One of their most distinguished warriors, at this time, is Mato-Tope, of whom we shall often have to speak in the sequel. He has killed more than five chiefs of other nations. The father of Mato-Tope, whose name was Suck-Schih (the handsome child), behaved exactly in the same manner as the Minnetaree chief, Kokoahkis, mentioned by Say. He went, one evening, wrapped up in his robe, into a hut of the hostile Arikkaras, as the young men of the village often do, ate with his face covered, so that he was taken for a young Arikkara; then laid himself down by the side of a woman, and afterwards cut off a lock of her hair, with which he retired. He might have killed the woman, as Kokoahkis did, but refrained from doing so."

In connection with what follows below concerning healing by Indians, the writer can not withhold mention of a very serious case of a shotgun wound caused by discharge of the gun's contents through the hand of Edward Narcelle a few years ago, which tore away nearly half of the hand between the base of the thumb and the forefingers while he held the end of the gun in his hand; and which was entirely cured by a "medicine-man" of the Sioux on the Cheyenne river, so that the use of all the members of the hand was restored. The patient would not go to Pierre to have the wound dressed, but remained under the treat-

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ment of the Indian physician. What seemed remarkable to the writer (who saw the wound a few days after the accident) was the fact that, although the hand itself was in a frightful condition of laceration, yet the wrist was not at all swollen, nor did the patient suffer considerable pain. All that the "treatment" consisted of was an assortment of a few herbs and their extracts, in connection with which certain incantations involving the mystery of Indian "medicine" were gone through with. This instance of a really remarkable cure went far to disabuse the writer's mind of a previous strong tendency to disbelieve in the efficacy of Indian "medicine."

Healing of Wounds—Steam Baths. "Wounds appear to be healed with remarkable ease. In cases of arrow wounds, they like to force the arrow quite through, that the iron head may not remain in a wound. Men and women are often scalped, in battle, who afterwards came to themselves, and are cured. Such a large wound on the head is rubbed with fat; the medicine-man fumigates it, singing at the same time. Disorders are not uncommon among the Indians. The Mandans and Minnetarees often suffer from diseases in the eyes; many are one-eyed, or have a tunicle over one eye. In inflammation of the eye they have a custom of scratching the inner eye with the leaf of a kind of grass, resembling a saw, which caused them to bleed very much, and this may often occasion the loss of the eye. Rheumatism, coughs, and the like, are frequent, because they go half naked in the severest cold, and plunge into ice-cold water. Much benefit is often derived from their steam baths, in a well closed hut, where a thick steam is produced by pouring water on hot stones. They then immediately go into the cold, roll themselves in the snow, or plunge into a river covered with drifting ice, but do not return to a warm hut as the Russians do Many Indians are said to have died on the spot by trying this remedy. Some suffer from gout; but all who survive these violent remedies are stronger and more hardy. Another remedy is trampling on the whole body, especially the stomach, as is practiced also among the Brazilians. This operation is performed with such violence, as often to occasion hard swellings in the intestines, or ulcers, especially in the liver. The steam bath is used as a remedy in all kinds of disorders. Vaccination, the application of which met with no

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difficulties among several nations on the great lakes, especially the Chippeways, is not yet practiced among the Mandans and Minnetarees. Spitting blood is said to be frequent, but not pulmonary consumption. Gonorrahoea is very common; they affirm that all venereal disorders came to them from the Crows beyond the Rocky mountains. For such disorders they often seat themselves over a heated pot, but very frequently burn themselves. They cut open buboes, lengthwise, with a knife, and then run for a couple of miles as fast as they can. The jaundice is said not to occur among them. It appears that they are not acquainted with emetics, but, if they feel anything wrong in the stomach, they thrust a feather down the throat. Their purgatives are obtained from the vegetable kingdom. The poison vine often produces swellings, especially in children.

"As rattlesnakes are rare in the vicinity of the villages, it is, of course, seldom that any one is bitten by them; these Indians are said, however, to have very good remedies against the bite. Frozen limbs are rubbed with snow. When blindness arises from the dazzling brightness of the snow, which it very frequently does in March, they bathe the eyes with a solution of gun powder and water. They often have recourse to bleeding, which they perform with a sharp flint or a knife. They often apply to the whites for medicine, and willingly follow their prescriptions. These Indians have also various remedies for their horses; thus when a horse has the strangury, they give it a piece of wasp's nest."

Mandan Burials. "When a Mandan or a Minnetaree dies, they do not let the corpse remain long in the village, but convey it to the distance of 200 paces, and lay it on a narrow stage, about six feet long, resting on four stakes about ten feet high, the body being first laced up in buffalo robes and a blanket. The face, painted red, is turned towards the east. A number of such stages are seen about their villages, and, although they themselves say that this custom is injurious to the health of the villages, they do not renounce it. On many of these stages there are small boxes, containing the bodies of children, wrapped in cloth or skins. Ravens are usually seen sitting on these stages, and the Indians dislike that bird, because it feeds on the flesh of their relations. If you ask a Mandan why they do not deposit their dead in the ground, he answers, 'The lord of life has, indeed, told

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us that we came from the ground, and should return to it again; yet we have lately begun to lay the bodies of the dead on stages, because we love them, and would weep at the sight of them.' They believe that every person has several spirits dwelling in him; one of these spirits is black, another brown, and another light-colored, the latter of which alone returns to the lord of life. They think that after death they go to the south, to several villages which are often visited by the gods; that the brave and most eminent go to the village of the good, but the wicked into a different one; that they there live in the same manner as they do here, carry on occupations, eat the same food, have wives, and enjoy the pleasures of the chase and war. Those who are kind-hearted are supposed to make many presents and do good, find everything in abundance, and their existence there is dependent on their course of life while in the world. Some of the inhabitants of the Mandan villages are said not to believe all these particulars, and suppose that after death they will live in the sun or in a certain star."

Mourning. "They mourn for the dead a whole year; cut off their hair, cover their body and head with white or grey clay, and after with a knife or sharp flint, make incisions in their arms and legs in parallel lines, in their whole length, so that they are covered with blood. For some days after the death the relations make a loud lament and bewailing. Often a relative, or some other friend, covers the dead, as they express it; he brings one or two woolen cloths, of a red, blue, white or green color, and, as soon as the body is laid upon the stage, mounts upon the scaffolding, and conceals the body beneath the covering. A friend who will do this is, in token of respect, presented, by the family of the deceased, with a horse. If it is known beforehand that a person intends doing this honor to the dead, a horse is at once tied near the stage, and the friend, having performed this last office, unties the animal and leads it away. If a Mandan or a Minnetaree falls in battle, and the news of his death reaches the family, who are unable to recover the body, a buffalo skin is rolled up and carried to the village. All those who desire to lament the deceased assemble, and many articles of value are distributed among them. The mourners cut off their hair, wound themselves with knives, and make loud lamentations. Joints of the fingers are not cut

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off here, as among the Blackfeet, as a token of mourning, but as a sign of penance and offering to the lord of life and the first man."

Mandan Language—Dialects. "The English and French find the pronunciation of the Mandan language extremely difficult; while to a German, or to a Dutchman, it is considerably easier because it contains very many gutterals, like ach, och, uch, in German. The nasal sounds, on the contrary, are few, but they frequently speak in a very indistinct way, having the mouth scarcely opened. The vowels are often softened, and much depends on the way in which the accent falls. The vowels a and u are often only half pronounced, but occur very frequently. I collected many words, as specimens of the language, and wrote down phrases, and made an attempt to compile a grammar of the Mandan language, but the completion of it was, unfortunately, hindered by unfavorable circumstances. Several old persons assured me that they perfectly remembered that, in their youth, many resemblances between the Mandan and Minnetaree languages did not then exist, which have since gradually crept in; the two languages being then quite different, which, indeed, they are still, in the main."

"As nations and allies, however, they have reciprocally adopted many words and expressions, and hence there is a better understanding among them now than heretofore, and their intercourse is greatly facilitated. Time will, undoubtedly, produce a still closer approximation. It is a remarkable fact, and proves how easily the separation of single tribes, and even villages, of one and the same nation, leads to changes in the language, and transitions into other dialects. An example of this kind was presented in the two Mandan villages, where many diversities of language had already taken place. I collected many specimens of this kind, and, to me, it was highly interesting. The Mandans are more apt in learning foreign languages than many other nations. Thus the majority of them speak the Minnetaree language, whereas but few of the latter understand the Mandan language. Most of the American nations, at least, those on the Missouri, are said to have no maledictory words or terms of abuse; the Mandans have nothing of the kind but the expression—'bad people.' The article is wanting in the Mandan language, and there is no distinction of

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gender, except in addressing a man or woman. For my observation on the Mandan language, I am chiefly indebted to the kindness and patience of Mr. Kipp, who has lived eleven years among that people, had married an Indian wife, and had attained a perfect knowledge of the language. The Mandan names always have a signification, and are often equivalent to the whole sentences; all surrounding objects are made use of in giving names. I subjoin a few singular specimens: 'The bear which is a spirit'; 'The bull which is a spirit,' 'I hear somebody coming'; 'There are seven of them married to the old woman,' etc." 800

As seen from Maximilian's concluding words on the Mandans, he failed to find that the Mandans spoke the Gaelic language. But what he affirms in opposition to the claim that their complexion was fairer than that of other Indians in general seems in some contrast to his opening observations relative to their complexion. He thus concludes:

"In conclusion, I would say, that some have affirmed that they have found, in North America, Indians who spoke the Gaelic language; this has been said of the Mandans; but it has been long ascertained that this notion is unfounded, as well as the assertion that the Mandans had a fairer complexion than the other Indians."

Dr. Matthews' Views. "From a work entitled "Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians," prepared by Dr. Washington Matthews, assistant surgeon United States army, published by the federal government in connection with and as a part of Hayden's Survey (1877), we quote the following extracts from the elaborate and authoratative observations of Dr. Matthews found therein; he having been stationed near the Fort Berthold village of the confederated tribes in the sixties and seventies of the last century, and for several years while there made close study of the Mandan, Ariccaree and Hidatsa (or Minnetaree) Indians and of their language, particularly as to the Hidatsa language. His entire work in that behalf was published, composed of "Ethnography of the Hidatsa Indians," his "Hidatsa Grammar," his "Hidatsa Dictionary," and his "English-Hidatsa Vocabulary," in one volume. The entire work is of a very high order of excellence, and is in fact one of the leading authorities of its kind in existence. All that appears below is from his "Ethnography." 114

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114 The Mandans and Ariccaras come in for some separate treatment, but most of what is extracted herein is said by him as pertaining to the "Three Tribes" at Fort Berthold, above mentioned. Those extracts now follow:

Location of Confederated Village of Mandans, Etc. "An arid
131 prairie- terrace, some four miles wide, stretching southward to the Missouri from the base of bluffs which form the edge of a higher plain, becomes gradually narrower as it approaches the river, and terminates in a steep bluff of soft rock and lignite which overhangs the river. On the southern extremity of this terrace, near the brow of the bluff, stand the Indian village, and what remains, since a recent fire, of the old trading post of Fort Berthold. This is on the left bank of the Missouri, in latitude 47 degrees, 34 minutes north, and longitude 101 degrees, 48 minutes west nearly. About five years ago, a large reservation was declared for them in Dakota and Montana, along the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. Fort Berthold is in the northeast corner of this reservation."

000 See, for further description of this site and surroundings, Part I of this paper, Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., pp. 574-7.

Matthews' reference to the lodge-groupings in that village is as follows:

361 **Dwellings.** "The village consists of a number of houses built very closely together, without any attempt at regularity of position. The doors face in every possible direction; and there is great uniformity in the appearance of the lodges; so it is a very difficult matter to find one's way among them."

342 And of the type of lodges as originally constructed, he gives the following description, with some features not noted by the earlier visitors:

Old-Style Lodges of Mandans, Etc. "Most of the houses of the village were in 1865 peculiar, large, earth-covered lodges, such as were built by various tribes of Indians of the plains, in the valley of the Missouri, and so often, with varying accuracy, described by travelers. Each one of these lodges consists of a wooden frame, covered with willows, hay, and earth. A hole in the top, which lets in the light and lets out the smoke, and a doorway on one side, are the only apertures in the building. The door is made of rawhide stretched on a frame, or of puncheons.

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and it is protected by a narrow shed or entry from six to ten feet long. Over the smoke-holes of many of the lodges are placed frames of wicker-work, on which skins are spread to the windward in stormy weather to keep the lodges from getting smoky. Sometimes bull-boats are used for this purpose. On the site of a proposed lodge, they often dig down a foot or more, in order to find earth compact enough to form a good floor; so, in some lodges, the floors are lower than the general surfaces of the ground on which the village stands. The floor is of earth, and has in its center a circular depression, for a fire-place, about a foot deep, and three or four feet wide, with a edging of flat rocks. These dwellings, being from thirty to forty feet in diameter, from ten to fifteen feet high in the center, and from five to seven feet high at the eaves, are quite commodious." 342

Women Construct Them. "The labor of constructing them is performed mostly by the women; but in lifting and setting the heavier beams, the men assist. If, with the aid of steel axes obtained from the whites, the task of building such a house is no easy one at this day, how difficult it must have been a century ago, when the stone axe was their best implement, and when the larger logs had to be burned through in order that pieces of suitable length might be obtained." 342 462 412 322

Frame of Lodge. "The frame of the lodge is thus made: A number of stout posts, from ten to fifteen, according to the size of the lodge, and raising to the height of about five feet above the surface of the earth, are set about ten feet apart in a circle. On the tops of these posts, solid beams are laid, extending from one to another. Then, towards the center of the lodge, four posts are erected, of much greater diameter than the outer posts, and rising to the height of ten or more feet about the ground. These four posts stand in the corners of a square about fifteen feet, and their tops are connected with four heavy logs or beams laid horizontally. From the four center beams to the smaller external beams, long poles, or rafters, are stretched at an angle of about 30 degrees with the horizon; and from the outer beams to the earth a number of shorter poles are laid at an angle of about 45 degrees. Finally, a number of saplings or rails are laid horizontally to cover the space between the four central beams, leaving only a hole for the combined skylight and chimney. This frame 342

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342 is then covered with willows, hay and earth, as before mentioned; the covering being of equal depth over all parts of the frame.

"Earlier writers speak of the supporting-posts of the lodge as being forked. Nowadays, they seldom take the trouble to obtain forked sticks for this purpose."

Catlin's Incorrect Representations. "From the above description, it will be seen that the outline of a vertical section, or of the elevation of such a lodge, is necessarily an irregular hexagon, while that of its ground plan is polygonal, the angles being equal in number to the shorter uprights. Prince Maximilian's artist usually sketches the lodge very correctly; but Mr. Catlin invariably gives an incorrect representation of its exterior. Wherever he dipicts a Mandan, Aricaree, or Minnetaree lodge, he makes it appear as an almost exact hemisphere, and always omits the entry. It would seem that, in filling in his sketches, he adopted the hemisphere as a convenient symbol for a lodge. The authors referred to by name in the foot-note on another page speak of the entry passage."

The winter quarters of the Mandans and their confederates are thus described by Matthews:

342 **Winter Log-Houses.** "Every winter, until 1866, the Indians
361 left their permanent village, and, moving some distance up the
221 Missouri valley, built temporary quarters, usually in the center of heavy forests and in the neighborhood of buffalo. The chief objects of this movement were that they might have fuel convenient, and not exhaust the supply of wood in the neighborhood of the permanent village. It was also advisable that, during a portion of the year at least, they should not harass the game near home. The houses of the winter village resembled much the log-cabins of our own western pioneers. They were neatly built, very warm, had regular fire-places and chimneys built of sticks and mud, and square holes in the roofs for the admission of light. Ten years ago, there were some cabins of this description in the permanent village at Fort Berthold; every year since they are becoming gradually more numerous and threaten to gradually supplant the original earth-covered lodges. By reference to the note on page 4, it will be seen that, in 1872, the former outnumbered the latter by about nineteen."

odd Of the caches or circular pits of the confederated village Mat-

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of the caches or circular pits of the confederated village Mat-
thews speaks below. The writer found some of the remains of 251
those caches on said site in 1905:

Caches, or Pits. "The numerous caches, or pits, for storing grain, are noteworthy objects in the village. In summer, when they are not in use, they are often left open, or are carelessly covered, and may entrap the unwary stroller. When these Indians have harvested their crops, and before they start on their winter's hunt, they dig their caches, or clear out those dug in previous years. A cache is a cellar, usually round, with a small opening above, barely large enough to allow a person to descend; when finished, it looks like an ordinary round cistern. Reserving a small portion of corn, dried squash, etc., for winter use, they deposit the remainder in these subterranean store houses, along with household utensils and other articles of value which they wish to leave behind. They then fill up the orifices with earth, which they trample down and rake over, thus obliterating every trace of excavation.

"Some caches are made under the floors of the houses, others outside, in various parts of the village grounds; in each case, the distance and direction from some door, post, bedstead, fire-place, or other object is noted, so that the stores may be found on the return of the owners in the spring. Should an enemy enter the village while it is temporarily deserted, the goods are safe from fire and theft. This method of secreting property has long been used among many tribes, has been adopted by whites living on the plains, and is referred to in the works of many travelers."

It is seen from the following account of the "medicine-lodge" 346
of the Mandans, as observed by Matthews, that he ascribes to it 361
a religious character, as did Catlin and others:

Mandan and Arricara "Medicine-Lodges." "There are, in the village, two open spaces, which, although of irregular shape, may be called squares; one of these is in the Mandan, the other in the Aricaree quarter. Besides each square stands a large round 'medicine-lodge,' or temple, built as described in the second paragraph of section three, which is used for purposes that, in a general way, are called religious."

The Ark—Ceremony of Okeepa. "In the center of the Mandan 778
square is a small circular palisade, about six feet high and four feet in diameter, made of neatly hewn puncheons set closely to-

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778 gether. It has somewhat the appearance of a large barrel, and is emblematic of the ark in which, according to Mandan mythology, the sole survivor of the deluge was saved. The square, the medicine-lodge, with its four poles in front, surmounted by sacrificial effigies, and the ark, as they may be seen at Fort Berthold today, seem to be the almost exact counterparts of those which were seen in the old Mandan village at Fort Clarke, in 1832 and 1833, by George Catlin and the Prince of New-Wied, if we are to judge by the drawings they have given us. Within the temple and around the ark, the Mandans still perform the ceremony of the Okeepa, which Catlin so accurately describes. The awful severities of the rites have, however, been somewhat mitigated since his day."

000 **Aricaree Medicine-Lodge.** "The medicine-lodges of the Aricarees is larger than that of the Mandans, and is used for a greater variety of ceremonies. Some of these performances, consisting of ingenious tricks of jugglery and dances, representative of various hunts, we might be inclined to call theatrical rather than religious. Probably these Indians consider them both worshipful and entertaining.

"It is often hard to tell how much of a religious ceremony is intended to propitiate the unknown powers, and how much to please the spectators."

712 **Fortifications—Stockades.** "Many travelers have described their towns as being fortified, sometimes with walls, but usually with ditches and stockades, or with stockades alone. The latter system of defense was in use at the village of Fort Berthold until the winter of 1865, when they cut down the palisades for firewood; and they have never since restored them. The presence of United States troops in their neighborhood, and the growing weakness of the Dakotas, were probably the causes which led them to discontinue their fortifications."

773 Matthews virtually bears out Catlin concerning the mythical veneration of the Mandans for the corn symbol:

243 **Agriculturalists—"Corn Mother."** "The Aricarees and Man-
174 dans have doubtlessly tilled the soil for many centuries. Their accounts of the origin of corn are mingled with their earliest myths and traditions. There are some reasons for believing that the Aricarees represent an older race of farmers than the Man-

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dans; for their religious ceremonies connected with planting are the more numerous, and they honor the corn with a species of worship. In every Aricaree lodge, there is a large ear of corn, which has lasted for generations, sticking out of the mouth of a medicine-bag. At their feasts, they make offerings to the corn by rubbing a piece of meat on it, while they pray to it for plentiful harvests, and address it by the name of 'mother.' The Hidatsas claim to have had no knowledge of corn until they first ate it from the trenchers of the Mandans; and they have no important ceremonies connected with the harvesting, yet they cultivated it long before the advent of the white man." (p. 12.) 773 243 174

"Three Tribes" at Berthold—From South Dakota. "When Lewis and Clarke ascended the Missouri, in 1804, they found four tribes of agricultural Indians, numerous and prosperous, inhabiting the upper Missouri valley, west of the Dakota nation. They had eight permanently inhabited towns, others which they lived in only temporarily, and a number more which they had abandoned and allowed to go to ruin. They are spoken of in Lewis and Clarke's journal as the 'Ricaras,' 'Mandans,' 'Minnetarees,' and 'Ahnahaways.' All that are left of the four tribes are now gathered together in this one village, at Fort Berthold, which does not probably number 2,500 souls. The remains, now nearly obliterated, of their old towns, may be traced on nearly every prairie terrace adjacent to the Missouri, along six hundred miles of its course, from the mouth of the Lower White-Earth to the mouth of the Little Missouri. The Indians at Fort Berthold are, however, now generally referred to as the 'three tribes'; for one of the nations spoken of by Captain Lewis—that which he calls Ahnahaways—is no longer an organized tribe, but has been merged into the Minnetarees." (p. 12.) 361 177

"Mandan"—Previous History. "The Mandans, about a hundred years ago, lived in several villages near the mouth of Heart river. From this neighborhood, they moved up the Missouri, stopping and building villages at different localities. In 1804, they were found dwelling in two towns about four miles below the mouth of Knife river. One of these towns was named Metutahanke, Metutahankish, or, as Maximilian writes it, 'Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kusch,' meaning lower village. The other was called Ruptari or Nuptadi. They were almost exterminated by the 167

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167 smallpox in 1837, after which, for a time, they occupied only one village. In 1845, when the Hidatsa moved away from Knife river, some of the Mandans went with them, and others followed at different times afterwards. For a short time, it appears that a few Mandan families occupied the old Amahami village. We have an account of some moving up to the village at Fort Berthold as late as 1858, and of others still remaining at the mouth of Knife river at the same time.

"The word Mandan seems to be a corruption of the Dakota 101 name Matani or Mawatani. Previous to 1837, they called themselves simply Numakaki, i. e., People, Men. They sometimes spoke of themselves and the Minnetarees together as Nuweta, **Ourselves.** A large band of their tribe was called Siposka-Numakaki, **Prairie-Hen People,** or Grouse Men. This name, Mr. Catlin, in his first work, renders, 'People of the Pheasants,' and in his last work, presents in the shape of 'Nu-mah-ka-kee (pheasants),' and then, from this translation, leaves us to draw the 'important inference' that the Mandans once lived in the Ohio valley. They now often call themselves Metutahanke, after their old village below Knife river." (p. 13-14.)

114 Matthews, in mentioning the earlier visitors of the Mandans, speaks in high commendation of the accounts of Maximilian:

Tribute to Maximilian. "Captains Lewis and Clarke, Mr. Catline, the Prince of Neuwied, and Dr. Hayden have written very full accounts of this tribe, and all but the first named explorers present vocabularies of their language. The work of Prince Maximilian contains the most accurate and extensive information regarding their customs and manners. Notwithstanding the great changes in the tribe since 1834, the majority of his notes might be used without alteration in describing the Mandans of today. In a few cases, however, I believe that the deductions which he drew from his observations were incorrect." (p. 14-15.)

Population—Official Reports—Errors. "The population of the 161 village is not known. It is said that the inhabitants of some of the old villages allowed a census to be taken immediately before the epidemic which proved so fatal to them. They believed that their calamity resulted from the census, and have since resisted all efforts to ascertain their numbers. Many ingenious plans have been devised for counting them without their knowledge, but

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they have suspected and thwarted them all. In the reports of the commissioners of Indian affairs, various estimates of their strength may be found, but they are all conjectural. In the report of 1862, it is stated that the Gros Ventres and Mandans, in that year, numbered 1,120, and the Aricarees (then in a separate but neighboring village) 1,000, total 2,120. In the report of 1866 are the following 'approximate numbers': Aricarees, 1,500; Mandans, 400; Gros Ventres, 400; total 2,300. In the report of 1871, the population is thus given: Aricarees, 1,500; Mandans, 400; Gros Ventres, 400; total, 'about' 2,300. In these estimates, which vary greatly, the first gives the population of the Gros Ventres and Mandans together as more than the Rees; while, in the second and third estimates, the Rees are represented as about twice as numerous as the other two tribes together. In this respect, believe the first quoted estimate to be nearest the truth; for the houses occupied by the Gros Ventres and Mandans number more than those occupied by the Rees. In the estimate of 1866, it will be seen that the Gros Ventres and Mandans are represented as equal to one another. I have many reasons for believing this representation to be incorrect. The conjecture of the writer, based upon all ascertainable data, is that, within the past ten years, the proper population of the village has never been more than 2,500, and that, at present, it is much less. It is pretty certain, too, that of the three tribes, the Aricarees stand first in numerical strength, the Hidatsa second, and the Mandans third.

"However, if a perfect census of the village was taken any day, when no hunting parties were out, it would not show the strength of these tribes; for the scouts who are enlisted at distant posts, their families, and the Minnetarees, who, of late years, have gone to live with the Crows, constituting in all a large proportion of this people, could not be included." (p. 16-17.)

We quote the following valuable extract from Mathews' regarding various languages of the Fort Berthold confederates:

Conversation—Distinct Languages. "To the philologist, it is an interesting fact that this trio of savage clans, although now living in the same village, and having been next door neighbors to each other for more than a hundred years, on terms of peace and intimacy, and to a great extent intermarried, speak, nevertheless, totally distinct languages, which show no perceptible inclination to coalesce.

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000 clination to coalesce. The Mandan and Gros Ventre (or Minne-
197 taree) languages are somewhat alike, and probably of a very distinct common origin; but no resemblance has yet been discovered
191 between either of these and the Aricaree ('Ricaras'). Almost every member of each trib understands the languages of the other tribes, yet he speaks his own most fluently; so it is not an uncommon thing to hear a dialogue carried on in two languages, one person, for instance, questioning in Mandan, and the other answering back in Gros Ventre, and vice versa.

"Many of them understand the Dakota tongue, and use it as a means of intercommunication, and all understand the sign language. So, after all, they have no trouble in making themselves understood by one another. These Indians must have excellent memories and 'good capacity for study;' for it is not uncommon to find persons among them, some even under twenty years of age, who can speak fluently four or five different languages." (p. 17-18.)

As showing the aptness of the Rees and Mandans in working in glass or absidian, Matthews says:

323 **Glass-Work—Beads.** "The articles of glass spoken of above
301 are chiefly of two kinds. First, large, globular, or ellipsoidal beads; and, second, flat, irregularly triangular plates or pendants, which are glazed only on one side, and have a hole at the apex. The art of making these deserves more than a mere mention, since it is commonly believed that the aboriginal Americans, even the more civilized races, knew nothing of the manufacture of glass at the time of the Columbian discovery. The very earliest ethnographical account we have of the Aricarees and Mandans shows that they knew how to make glass beads; and there is no doubt that the process employed in 1804 was essentially the same as that employed today." (Here follows the account given by Lewis and Clarke, already set forth herein and quoted by Matthews; after which he resumes:)

Not Glass Product. "This art is now only occasionally practiced in the village, and is mostly confined to the making of the flat triangular pendants. I have heard the process described in much the same way as in the above quotation. From this quotation, however, which is in part ambiguous, the inference might be drawn that the ornaments, when completed consist entirely of

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glass. Such is not the case in those I have seen; on the contrary, they consist of a core of baked earth covered with a thin shell of glass; and they have the appearance of having been perforated before heat was applied. But in the matter of making the holes, the process may have been changed, or there may have been two ways of doing it." (p. 20-21.) 323 301

Rees and Mandans—Glazed Ornaments? "The art of making these ornaments would appear to be old; yet the process as it existed in 1804 was evidently in part recent, since the Indians obtained the glass which they used from the whites. I have been informed by the Indians that in old days the art flourished among the Aricarees as well as among the Mandans; and certainly at the present day the Aricaree women understand it. I had two of the triangular pendants made to order in 1870, by an Aricaree woman, to whom I furished the blue glass necessary. When I gave instructions to have the articles made, I was invited to witness the process, but circumstances prevented me from doing so. One of these pendants was sent to the Smithsonian Institution. It is strange, if true, that these Indians should have obtained their knowledge of this art from the Snake Indians, a ruder and equally remote tribe. It is also strange, and undoubtedly true, that in 1804, as well as now, they did not make their glass, but obtained it ready-made, and merely fused it for their purposes, obtaining it, doubtlessly, from the whites. It is strange that within a few years after glass beads of European manufacture were first introduced among them, and when such beads must have commanded a high price, they should pulverize them and use the powder in making ruder and more unsightly articles after their own design. But it is not probable that they should have learned such an art from civilized people prior to 1804, when they had as yet seen but few whites, and when the whites they had seen were mostly rude Canadian frontiersmen, among whom it is not reasonable to suppose there were any persons versed in glass-making. I have heard Indians say, with uncertainty, that in former times they found glass in the hills, and pounded it for their beads; meaning perhaps that they used natural glass, which may be found where lignite beds have taken fire, and elsewhere on the upper Missouri. In view of all these facts, I have conjectured that they had the art of making glazed earthern ornaments before

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323 the whites came among them; and that when they saw the bril-
301 liantly colored beads of the traders, they conceived the idea of improving their art by using these beads. If they ever possessed the art of making glass de novo, there is no record, tradition, or other evidence of it, that I have been able to find."

Was It Ancient Art. "One of many reasons, though perhaps an insufficient reason, for believing the art to be of no recent origin among them, is that they used the triangular pendants, not as ornaments only, but as evidences of betrothal, as long ago as the oldest men can remember. When a girl was promised in mar-
[584] riage in her infancy by her parents, as was not infrequently done, one of these pendants was tied to her forelock so as to hang down over her forehead. When the promise was fulfilled, the husband removed the pendant and threw it away." (p. 22-23.)

439 **Inter-Tribal Trade.** "With the nomadic tribes around, they exchanged their agricultural produce for horses, and, recently, for robes. When the Dakotas saw a certain flower (Liatris punc-
[824] tata) blooming on the prairie, they knew that the corn was ripe, and went to the villages of the farming Indians to trade. From
721 the time they came in sight of the village to the time they disappeared there was a truce. When they had passed beyond the bluffs, they might steal an unguarded pony or lift a scalp, and were in turn liable to be attacked." (p. 27.)

439 **Trade With Pacific Coast—Shells.** "It appears probable that they once carried on trade indirectly with the tribes of the Pacific coast, for they had Dentalium shells similar to those obtained on the Pacific and they prized them so highly that the white traders found it advisable to obtain them for the trade. As late as 1866, ten of these shells, of inferior size, costing the traders only a cent a piece, would buy a superior buffalo robe, and formerly only two or three of the same quality were paid for a robe. Modern traders, with whom the writer had conversed, obtained their shells from eastern importers, and know nothing of the original source of supply. They supposed them to come from the Atlantic coast or the Great Lakes, and called them 'Iroquois shells,' which is probably their corruption of the Chinook 'hyakwa;' but it is possible the reverse is the case.

439 "They also used, and still use, as ornaments, fragments of the
301 **Abalone** shells (one or more species of **Haliotis**) of the Pacific.

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These are now supplied to the trade under the name of California shells. Ten years ago, one of these shells, unpolished, sold for a good robe. There is little doubt that they used Abalone, Dentalium, and other sea shells before the traders brought them. Old traders and old Indians say so. Even as late as 1833, it would seem that they had not yet become a regular part of a trader's outfit; for Maximilian says of the Mandans: 'They do not disfigure the bodies; only they make some apertures in the outer rim of the ear, in which they hang strings of beads, brass, or iron rings of different sizes, or shells, the last of which they obtain from other Indian tribes. If they are questioned respecting these shells, they answer that they were brought from the sea." (p. 28.)

Matthews quotes the following expressions from D. D. Mitchell, found in Schoolcraft's work, concerning visitors to the Mandans in the eighteenth century:

McIntosh's Early Visit. "In a letter published in Schoolcraft's **Information Respecting the Indian Tribes,** the writer, D. D. Mitchell, says, speaking of the Mandans: 'The early portion of their history I gather from the narration of Mr. McIntosh, who, it seems, belonged to, or was in some way connected with, the French trading company as far back as 1772. According to his narration, he set out from Montreal in the summer of 1773, crossing over the country to the Missouri river, and arrived at one of the Mandan villages on Christmas day.' I have never seen McIntosh's account, nor have I seen any more extensive notice of it than the one given by Mr. Mitchell; and from this, it does not appear that McIntosh visited any of these agricultural Indians except the Mandans." (p. 29.)

And Matthews expresses the view that British and French traders and interpreters were among the Mandans prior to 1804, all of which appears in evidence hereinbefore submitted. He believes the earliest Europeans to reach them were from Hudson Bay territory, but he was, as he admits (p. 29), unaware of Verendrye's expedition referred to by Catlin, who is criticised by Matthews for failing to "tell us where the account of the expedition of 1738 is to be found," adding: "No other mention of the journey has ever been seen by me."

Matthews thus refers to the peaceable relations nearly always existing between the Mandans and Rees and the Americans:

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648 **Peaceable With Americans—Government Neglect.** "During a short period of their history, the Aricarees were at war with the Americans; but for many years they have strictly maintained peace, and have fought with us and against our enemies. The Mandans and Minnetarees claim never to have shed a white man's blood, although some of their number have been killed by whites. For their fidelity they have been repaid in starvation and neglect. [165] Many of these friendly Indians, particularly among the Aricarees, have during the past ten years, died of actual hunger or the diseases incident to a state of famine. Within the past three years there seem to be some evidences of increased legislative interest in them, but the benefits arising therefrom are by no means equal to their needs or their deserts." (p. 31-32.)

142 **Complexion—Hidatsa and Mandan.** "The majority of the Hidatsa have the ordinary dusky Indian complexion, which is, however, not of a uniform shade, as far as I have seen in any tribe. There are none of this nation that would be considered dark for Indians. Among various tribes of western Indians may be found individuals, claiming pure aboriginal blood, who possess complexions much fairer than the average Indian, with light-colored hair and eyes. Such individuals are more common among the Mandans and Minnetarees than they are among most of the neighboring tribes. A natural or inherited clearness of complexion, too, is more easily discernable among members of the village tribes than among members of roving bands who are more exposed to the weather. The presence of pale Indians in these tribes was noted by travelers in early days, before intermarriages with whites were common enough to have accounted for it."

Mandans' Fair Skin. "Lewis and Clarke and Gass notice this fairness when speaking of the Mandans only, but their remarks are general. Catlin speaks of the fairness of the Mandans only, and supposes this peculiarity to arise from some pre-Columbian infusion of European blood. The Prince of Neuwied, who visited these tribes but one year later than Mr. Catlin, denies that the Mandans are of fairer complexion than their neighbors, while he asserts, at the same time, that, 'after a thorough ablution, the skin of some of them appears almost white.' I have heard old Mandans say that when the Minnetarees, including the Crows, first came among them, the strangers were a fairer race than they.

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"Of the Crows, who, as before shown, once formed one nation with the Hidatsa, Colonel Reynolds, in his Report of the Exploration of the Yellowstone (1859), p. 48, says: 'The Crows are fairer than the Sioux, many of the mountain band being sallow and hardly a shade darker than whites who undergo similar exposure. This fact was so marked that the first seen were supposed to be half breeds, but we were assured that they were of pure Indian descent.'" 000

European Blood Not Essential. "It is not necessary to suppose that an intermixture of European blood in order to account for lightness of color in an Indian. There is no reason why marked varieties of color should not arise in the red race as it has done in other races of men, and as it has so often done, under cultivation, within specific limits in the lower animals. I have seen full-blooded Indians who were whiter than some half-breeds and whiter than the darkest representatives of the Aryan race. An increase of hairiness is a more reliable sign of Caucasian blood in an Indian than a diminution of color in the skin; and I never could discover that those fair Indians, claiming pure blood, were more hairy than others. The fairness of which I speak is not albinism, for the eyesight of the fair Indians is as perfect as that of the dark; they have no unusual appearance of the pupil, and exposure to sunlight darkens their skins. I have never seen an Albino Indian."

Gray Hair—Minnetarees and Mandans. "Among various western tribes, individuals may be found who are characterized, even in childhood, by having coarse gray hair. From all I could see and learn, I should think that such persons are more numerous among the Minnetarees and Mandans than in any other tribe; and they are perhaps the most numerous among the Mandans." (pp. 43 and 44.) 142

Language Sonants—Mandans Different. "If a party of Indians should be seated in an adjoining room, or at a short distance from the listener, conversing, where the voices can be heard, but not a syllable distinguished, the accustomed ear has little difficulty in discerning which one of the many languages of the plains the Indians are speaking. Each language has its own peculiar sonant character. It is more difficult to distinguish by this character the Hidatsa from the Crow than from the Dakota 000

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000 or Mandan, and more difficult to distinguish it from the latter than from the former of these two. The tones of these four languages belonging to the Dakota group are somewhat alike; so much alike that a person possessing but limited acquaintance with them might mistake one for another, hearing it at a distance as I have described. But the contrast in tone between these tongues and the neighboring, but alien, Aricaree is well marked, and any quick-eared person might learn at once to distinguish it from them."

Matthews declares that the tendency to coalescence in the languages of the tribes confederated at Ft. Berthold has been slight since they were known to the whites. He says:

Changes in Course of Time. Coalescence Slight. "I have 177 said that the three languages spoken in the village at Fort 197 Berthold show no perceptible inclination to coalesce (Ethnography, Sec. 13.) I have said this, well knowing that the statement was somewhat at variance with the opinions of earlier observers. The few Mandan and Minnetaree words given by Lewis and Clarke in proper names show, as far as they go, that the languages have not materially changed since 1804. There are now, and doubtless there were in 1804, many points of correspondence between the Mandan and Hidatsa languages; but there are none which may not be more easily explained by supposing the two languages to have sprung from a common source than by supposing them to have been reciprocally changed by contact. I never could discover that the Hidatsa and Mandan spoken by the rising generation resembled one another more than did those languages spoken by the old men. I do not claim that the long and intimate intercourse which has existed between these two tribes has produced no approximation or coalescence of their languages. It is but reasonable to suppose that the contrary is the case; but I could never get an Indian to point out to me, nor could I ever otherwise discover, a satisfactory instance of such coalescence." (p. 84-85.)

197 He further claims that the Mandan and Aricaree languages are totally different:

Mandan and Ree Languages—No Resemblance. "Throughout the past hundred years, the Mandans have had as much intercourse with the Aricarees as with the Minnetarees; yet I never

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could trace any resemblance between the modern Mandan and Aricaree tongues. As far as I have observed them, there is not a single word alike in both. It is not likely that intercourse has produced a noteworthy approximation of languages in one case and none whatever in the other. There is no doubt that the Hidatsa language has changed in the course of time; but the change has resulted chiefly from causes other than the influence of the Mandan tongue. Some of the old men occasionally converse among themselves in terms which younger members of the tribe do not understand, and, when asked what they mean, they say they are trying to speak the old language." (p. 84.) 197

Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, D. D., LL. D., who was for so long a missionary of the Congregational church among the Dakota and other Indians, and who is author of the "Dakota Grammar and Dictionary" and "Gospel Among the Dakotas," has, in his book entitled "Mary and I. Forty Years With the Sioux" (W. C. Holmes, Chicago, 1880), given some account of the Mandans, whom he visited at Fort Berthold in 1874. We quote from said work, pages 271, et seq., the following: 114

Riggs' Observations On Mandans. "Here (at Fort Berthold, N. D.) were gathered the remnant of the Mandans, only a few hundred persons, and the Rees, or Aricarees, a part of the Pawnee tribe, and the Gros Ventres, or Minnetaree, properly the Hidatsa. Altogether they numbered about two thousand souls. We had before this entertained the desire that we might be able to establish a mission among these people, and this thought or hope gave interest to my visit. The Mandan and the Hidatsa languages were both pretty closely connected with the Dakota; but what seemed to bring these nearer to us was the fact that many of all these people could understand and talk the Dakota, that forming a kind of common language for them. 161 197 191

"**Howard Mandan,** or 'The-man-with-a-sacred-face,' as his Indian name is interpreted, was the son of **Red Cow,** the principal chief of the Mandans, and had been taken down by Gen. C. H. Howard, a year before, and placed in A. L. Riggs' school at Santee. Howard had returned home before my visit, and also Henry Eaton, a Hidatsa young man, who had been east a good many years and talked English well. 000

"George Catlin had, many years ago, interested us in the Man-

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dans, by his effort to prove, from their red hair in some cases—perhaps only redded hair—and, in some instances, blue eyes, and the resemblances which he claims to have found in their languages —that they were the descendants of a Welsh colony that had dropped out of history a thousand years ago. And Dr. Washington Matthews, of the United States army, had created in us a desire to do something for the spiritual enlightment of the Hidatsa, by his admirable grammar and dictionary of their language. In his introduction to this book he gives us much valuable information about the people."

"Minnetaree." "Hidatsa, he tells us, is the name by which they call themselves. They are better known to us by the names Minnetaree and Gros Ventre. This last is a name given them by the Canadian French, and without any special reason. It is a fact that Indians can eat large quantities of food, but it is very rarely indeed that you will find one whose appearance would justify the epithet Gros Ventre. The other term, Minnetaree, is the name given them by the Mandans, and means **to cross the water.** The story is, that when the Hidatsa people came to the Missouri river from the northeast, the Mandan village was on the west side of the river. They called over, and the Mandans answered back in their own language, 'Who are you?' The Hidatsa not understanding it, supposed they had asked, 'What do you want?' And so replied, **'Minnetaree, to cross over the water.'** "

The "Underground" Myths. "Whence came the Hidatsa? Their legend says they originally lived under a great body of water which lies far to the northeast of where they now live. From this under-water residence some persons found their way out, and discovering a country much better than the one in which they lived, returned and gave to their people such glowing accounts of their discoveries that the whole nation determined to come out. But owing to the breaking of a tree on which they were climbing out of the lake, a great part of the tribe had to remain behind in the water, and they are there yet.

"This is very much like the myth of another tribe, who lived under the ground by a lake. A large grape-vine sent its tap root through the crust of the earth, and by that they commenced to climb out. But a very fat woman taking hold of the vine, it

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broke, and the remainder were doomed to stay where they were. Do such legends contain any reference to the great deluge? 000

"After the Hidatsa came up they commenced a series of wanderings over the prairie. During their migrations they were often ready to die of hunger, but were always rescued by the interference of their deity. It was not manna rained down around their camp, but the stones of the prairie were miraculously changed into buffalo, which they killed and ate. After some time they sent couriers to the south, who came back with the news that they had found a great river and a fertile valley, wherein dwelt a people who lived in houses and tilled the ground. They brought back corn and other products of the country. To this beautiful and good land the tribe now directed their march, and, guided by their messengers, they reached the Mandan villages on the Missouri river. With them they camped and learned their peaceful arts.

"Dr. Matthews says they have a tradition that, during these years of wandering, the Genius of the Sun took up one of the Hidatsa maidens, and their offspring came back, and, under the name of Grand-Child, was the great prophet and teacher of his mother's people. Can that have any reference to the 'Son of Man?'"

Confederates' Languages. "These Indians, the Mandans, the Hidatsa, and the Rees, live in one village at Berthold, in all numbering over two thousand; and they have lived together, as we know, more than a hundred years, and yet the languages are kept perfectly distinct and separate. Many of them learn each other's language; and many of them talk Dakota also. 'Many years ago they were considered ripe for the experiments of civilization; they stand today just as fit subjects as ever for the experiment, which never has been, and possibly never will be, tried.' This is Dr. Matthews' statement. Let us hope that the latter part may not be prophetic."

Brower's Views. "Hon. Jacob V. Brower, a deep student and investigator into the Indians of the Missouri valley as well as of the archeology and other phases of that region, published, at St. Paul, Minn., in 1897, one of his works entitled, 'The Missouri River and Its Utmost Sources.' Indian ethnology is treated of therein, and of the Mandans and their recent allies he speaks, as

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000 shown in part by extracts found below. He claims to have found in the upper Missouri regions and near the sources of the Mississippi, evidences of prehistoric Mound Builders' work. The Yellowstone Park region is also referred to in connection with the theory concerning alleged evidences there of prehistoric implements of obsidian materials, etc. Mr. Brower investigated southerly as far as the Indian Territory, into the archeology of the Pawnees, and declared that he had traced the Aricarees from the upper Missouri to that region through finding the pink chert arrowheads, etc., which were discovered throughout the entire length of that valley; some of his statements being found herein in connection with his correspondence with Mr. Steinbreuck, of Mandan, N. D. The extracts follow:

The Mound Builders On Upper Mississippi and Missouri. "Now comes the necessity of briefly referring to the prehistoric Mound Builders, for their remnants, remains, tumuli, pottery, stone and copper implements, arrow points, spears, village sites and effigies are everywhere found in the upper portion of the basin of the Mississippi, and far up toward the mountain sources of the Missouri and its branches."

Crossed Continental Divide. "They were a courageous people, industrious, possessed of ability, were geographers of no limited ideas, penetrating to the utmost limits of the central and western portions of the United States and across the continental divide into Canadian territory, maintained mines in the copper regions of Superior, and discovered portages leading to and from all the principal water courses in the territory occupied."

Unsolved Mystery—Controversy Vindictive. "No individual member of the present generation of the Anglo-Saxon race can truthfully state who the Mound Builders were, where they came from, or whence they departed. There seems to be an unfathomable mystery surrounding their former existence, and it is not probable that it will ever be solved satisfactorily. Opinions differ, and the controversy, which has continued for nearly a century in contemporaneous archaeological history, has been so unfortunate and vindictive that misleading and deceptive assertions, based only upon set opinions that may be entirely erroneous, have been forced upon unwilling readers, who are cheerfully searching for accurate information, until the point has been reached where

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the record made is almost draped in the folds of acrimony and distortion.

"Standing aside from these acrimonious controversies, which deteriorate the value and reliability of conclusions drawn and opinions formulated, the unbiased course is left open for all these who seek for the most reliable information concerning an extinct race of men, of whom we know so little. Builders of mounds have existed from time to time for many centuries, in various parts of the world, but none more systematic and uniquely interesting than prehistoric man in the upper basin of the Mississippi."

Minnesota Effigies. "In 1894 in company with Dr. Shanafelt and Rev. S. Hall Young, the editor of these notes had the pleasure of exploring the remarkable Tascodiac effigies, situated in northern Minnesota at the most northerly course of the Mississippi, approximately, latitude 47 degrees, 30 minutes; longitude 94 degrees, 45 minutes, west of Greenwich."

Prehistoric Mound Near Bismarck—Not Mandan? "On the west bank of Apple creek, at the Sibley rifle-pits, near Bismarck, N. D., in July, 1895, a genuine prehistoric mound was discovered by the writer, upon section 27, township 138, range 80, west of the fifth principal meridian. The attention of Mr. Walter F. Cushing, secretary of the State Historical Society at Bismarck, was called toward this discovery. On the 12th of September last Mr. Cushing caused this mound to be excavated and explored, and the evidences were sufficient to determine that the mound was not of Mandan origin but prehistoric in all its surroundings, 1,436 miles above the mouth of the Missouri. This class of mounds are found in many parts of the two Dakota states, but systematic exploration has not yet been extended sufficiently toward the upper branches of the Missouri to certainly ascertain how far up those streams the Mound Builders extended their occupancy previous to the advent of the North American Indian."

At Head-Waters of Mississippi Branches. "It is now known as a certainty that they penetrated northward to Itasca lake and every branch of the Mississippi in its upper or head-water basin. As the Yellowstone National Park is situated immediately east of the most remote branch of the Missouri, numerous explorations near the Obsidian quarries of that wonderful locality are perti-

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000 nent, and Capt. Hiram M. Chittenden, United States army, has considerately furnished for these pages the following condensed account of the researches of Colonel Norris, formerly superintendent of the park, and who divided the honor of the discovery of the Obsidian cliff with Mr. W. H. Holmes."

(Here Brower quotes sundry statements and conclusions from Col. Norris' reports as superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park, in which the latter refers to alleged steatite vessels, and which he believed differed from other specimens east or west, found by him in that park, and then quotes from Chittenden as follows in part:)

Norris' Conclusions Criticized. "In attempting to draw conclusions from evidence like the foregoing, it is necessary to take into consideration the personal characteristics of its author. Colonel Norris had a large admixture of quixotism in his nature, and the park was just the place to draw it all out. He saw everything there through a magnifying glass; and, like Don Quixote, beheld in what he saw the embodyment of all his overwrought fancy had led him to expect. It was an impossibility for him to talk or write of that region without exaggeration—not intentional, but the natural overflow of his exuberant imagination. All his distances, descriptions of scenery, personal achievements, are grossly overstated."

Further on Chittenden's observations furnished to Brower he says:

Vessels Not by Civilized Races. "It is wholly impossible to accept Norris' discoveries as affording the least support to the conclusions which he draws from them. Even admitting that he did find remnants of hand-wrought vessels, it is to be observed that they were found in the valleys of the Madison or the Yellowstone and its principal eastern tributary—in both cases along routes of travel. They were evidently dropped by migrating parties and were brought from points outside the park. Considering the nature of the park climate, which can hardly be supposed to have been less rigid than now since the advent of man upon earth, it is clearly impossible that this region could ever have been occupied by races pursuing the arts of civilized life."

And Chittenden concludes that those implements were furnished by older generations of the Indians:

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Indians' Ancestors Worked Obsidian. "But while there is nothing on which to base a conclusion that a more civilized race once dwelt in the park, there is conclusive evidence that the ancestors of the present Indian races resorted to that region for the manufacture of implements or war and of the chase. Since the time when Obsidias discovered the volcanic glass which now bears his name, that material has been wrought into innumerable devices for ornament and use. Obsidian is an opaque, black, glassy substance, breaking with a conchoidal fracture and yielding sharp-edged fragments which have long been used in the manufacture of primitive weapons of destruction. Perhaps no better or more abundant quarry for this material is to be found in the world, than in the now celebrated Obsidian cliffs in the Yellowstone National Park."

And after referring to Prof. W. H. Holmes' report in the Hayden report of 1883, in which the former expresses the belief that these implements were made by visiting Indians from "neighboring valleys," and who refers to certain trails passing that vicinity—Chittenden quotes from Norris' vivid description of the famous Obsidian cliffs in the Yellowstone Park, and concludes:

"The facts set forth in these extracts have since been abundantly verified. Arrow and spear heads and similar instruments, generally composed of obsidian, have been found throughout the park in considerable numbers. Their discovery does not in any way establish an early occupancy of this region by Indians. Being generally found on the lines of trails, they may have been, and probably were for the most part, dropped by wandering bands who were crossing the park or visiting this quarry."

We will quote at some length from Hon. Olin D. Wheeler's interesting and valuable work, "The Trail of Lewis and Clarke" (Putman's Sons, 1904), wherein he publishes his views upon various characteristics of the Mandans; and concerning the visits of early explorers; extracts from which publication we are, through the courtesy and deep interest of that able and attractive writer, permitted to make in this paper, and for which this society wishes to express its appreciations:

Wheeler's Observations. "The first mention made of the Mandans was by Verendrye, the father, who, with two of his sons saw them in the Missouri in 1738. The sons again saw them in

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1742, on what is now assumed to have been the first expedition to attempt to explore the Rocky mountains." (Wheeler.)

Stationary—Agriculturists. "The Mandans were not like the other plains' Indians—hostile, nomadic, improvident, etc. It has been their boast—I am not sure how true it may be—that, like the Flatheads, the blood of the white man has never been spilled by them. They lived, as our story reveals, in stockaded villages of earthern huts, made war on other tribes defensively only, cultivated the ground, raising corn, pumpkins, squashes, beans, etc., and were, all in all, deserving in most ways of the high opinions formed of them by Lewis and Clarke. In a rough way these Mandans were, probably, more nearly comparable to the peaceful, town-living Pueblos of the southwest than any other tribes." (p. 211.)

Verendrye's Visits. "In pursuance of his plan to discover the Western Sea, Verendrye the elder, with his two sons, some Frenchmen, and Indians, thirty-four persons in all, left Fort la Reine—now Portage la Prairie—in Manitoba, in the fall of 1738, and reached the Mandans after a trip of much toil and hardship. Here he purposed remaining during the winter, but his interpreter deserted him and, after prevailing upon two Frenchmen to remain and learn the Mandan language, Verendrye, utterly disgusted and broken-hearted, returned with the rest to Fort la Reine, reaching there Febbruary 11, 1739. The state of his feelings may be discerned from his cry that, 'death alone can deliver us from such miseries.'

"Going to Montreal, in 1739, Verendrye returned to Fort la Reine in 1741, and found that his eldest son, the Chevalier, had just reached there from another trip to the Mandans, where he had obtained a cotton blanket said to have come from white men (Spaniards?) near the Western Sea.

"Another expedition was planned and, led by the Chevalier Verendrye and his brother, it left Fort la Reine April 29, 1742, and arrived at the Mandan towns on May 18th. There they remained until late in July waiting for the 'Gens des Chevaux'—People of the Horses—Indians who were to act as their guides. But these not appearing, they obtained two Mandan guides and started for the Western Sea." (p. 213.)

Wheeler thus criticises the accounts which ascribe to Mandan

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lodges a circular form; and Catlin's alleged failure to truly depict those habitations as to appearance, etc.: 000

"Mrs. Baker, a daughter of Two Chiefs an old Mandan who has seen seventy-two snows, and a graduate of the Indian school at Santee, Neb., and who converses and writes well in English, stated that there were not more than five or six earth lodges to be found on the reservation today. 342

"The word 'circular' used by the writers quoted in describing these huts must be taken in its larger, general meaning. The huts were really irregularly polygonal in shape. Those I saw were forty feet in diameter, perhaps, and the first had nine sides and second eleven. In one case one of the sides was double the length of the others."

Catlin Criticised. "Catlin's pictorial representations of these huts are not true to nature. The lodges were of a much more squatty appearance than he depicts them and without any such high arched, dome-like, hemispherical roof as he places upon them. He evidently adopted a conventional and largely imaginary figure for his huts, and pushed artistic license to the extreme. At a little distance the general effect was sufficiently that of a 'circular' structure to justify the use of the word when not used in a restrictive sense.

"When at Fort Berthold, I was informed that the very aged Mandan chief, Rushing Eagle, or more commonly, Bad Gun, descended from the great chief Four Bears, whom, I regret, I was not able to see, had kept standing until recently a very old lodge in which he kept some ancient relics, and that among these were some of the identical articles that Catlin had painted into his pictures in 1832. I was not able to verify this. The lodge had but lately been destroyed because of its age and decaying condition." (p. 221.)

Of the Mandan lodges Wheeler observes:

Lodges. "In my visit to the reservation in the fall of 1902 I saw two of these lodges and obtained photographs of them. If there were any differences between these and those of one hundred years ago, except the substitution of wooden for skin doors, they were so slight as not to be noticeable off-hand.

"At one of them, the owner being absent, I was unable to enter it, but through a wide crack in the door I obtained a good view

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342 of the interior and it fitted well with the descriptions here given of the old lodges. It was evidently used at the present time for a storage house, at least to some extent, and was not a regular residence, for the log cabin home of the owner stood along side of it.

"At the other hut, across the Missouri river and several miles distant from the first one, the owner refused me permission to invade it, stating that it was used for ceremonial purposes." (p. 220.)

Prototype of Sod Houses. "After my inspection of the two earthern houses mentioned, I could not but be impressed with the fact that these old Mandan and Aricaree lodges were practically the prototypes of the settler's sod house of the prairies of recent time. The sides and roofs of these huts were covered with sod chunks of regular shapes and sizes, just such as we would cut out of the prairie for the same purpose. The porch, covered entrance, or passage-way mentioned was and is a characteristic, standing feature of these earthern lodges, and one which Catlin persistently ignored both in his paintings and text. Maximilian brought out this peculiarity of the Mandan hut in his work."

417 **Ancient Ladder.** "In one of the illustrations of an earth hut there can be seen a notched pole leaning against a scaffold, the latter used now, as in old days, for drying corn, etc. This pole is one of the primitive ladders anciently used by these Indians, and, evidently, not yet entirely discarded."

Says Wheeler relative to the causes of migration of the Mandans on the upper Missouri:

Mandan Deserted Villages—Migrations. "The monuments of 172 these tribes, in the shape of abandoned and ruined huts and 174 towns, are to be found, as has been stated, on the banks of the upper Missouri from about Heart or Cannon-Ball river, below Mandan and Bismarck, to Knife river or beyond. The Indians seem, notwithstanding the great labor involved in so doing, to have moved quite frequently, not necessarily, however, for long distances. As the Sioux harrassed them continually, these removals were due in part to a desire to protect themselves more effectually, and another reason was the scarcity of fuel and timber which in time was felt in each neighborhood. In making these removals, it was quite common, as Lewis and Clarke mention,

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for two small villages to combine in one at the new location. Owing to the immense difficulty of cutting timbers with their crude stone axes, in making these changes of residence they undoubtedly carried with them the timbers of the abandoned huts and used them in rebuilding, wherever possible. The Indians left Knife river because of the scarcity of timber and the attacks of the Sioux. When the trading post of Fort Berthold—so called in honor of Bartholomew Berthold, a fur trader of St. Louis—was established, about 1844 or 1845, the Indians 'drew the logs (of which it was built) with lariats of rawhide over their shoulders.'" (p. 223.)

Lodge Ruins. "The dirt mounds, ruins of their former homes, have often been mistaken for the ancient burial grounds of these tribes, which is not surprising unless one has studied the history of this interesting people. About ten miles above Bismarck one of the best of these collections of mounds is found, on a bluff overlooking one of the most beautiful stretches of the Missouri, just below Square Butte. There are eighteen or twenty of the mounds, most of them well-defined, and generally more or less circular in their form. They form a semi-circle arc, with the river as a chord, and are now more or less merged together into an irregular ridge. These mounds have been dug over and over, yet I was able to find among them many shards and arrow-points and knives when I visted them." (pp. 5-6.)

Lower Village. "The Mandans call themselves Metutahanke, **the Lower Village,** as Dr. Matthews gives it, or Miti-Untanhanke, **the Village on the East,** as it was given to, and partially written for me by Mrs. Baker, both referring to the same village, the one called Ma-too-ton-ha by Lewis and Clarke. Maximilian calls this village Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, and these different readings of the same word well indicate the difficulties experienced in obtaining correct Indian vocabularies."

Farmers. "These people have always been farmers, and both men and women have for years, now, shared the labors of the field. In early days they raised corn, tobacco, squashes, beans, the wild sunflower, etc., and now they grow, in addition, potatoes, turnips, and various vegetables. The Aricaree seem to be the best farmers. Each tribe now raises cattle and horses, but they do not seem to grasp the idea that cattle raising, if attended to

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231 properly, will enrich them, a scrub lean steer being as valuable in their eyes as a fat, blooded one. These Indians are virtually self-supporting, as they receive very little from the government." (Wheeler, p. 224.)

361 Wheeler here notes the reason why the upper of the two Mandan villages proper near Knife river, which stood on the northeast bank of the Missouri in 1804, was found on the southwest bank in 1833:

Apparently Crossed River. "The five villages mentioned by Lewis and Clarke in 1804, were still in existence in 1833, when Maximilian visited these Indians. One important change had, he states, occurred. The Missouri river had characteristically changed its channel and in Maximilian's day flowed on the eastern side of Rooptahee, or Ruhptare, the second Mandan town of our narrative, so that both the Mandan villages were then on the western south bank."

773 **Mandans and Hidatsas.** "The tradition relating to the origin of the Mandans given by Lewis and Clarke, according to Dr. Matthews, relates, not only to the Mandans, but to the Hidatsa as well. This tradition, I find, is current at the present day and the lake from which the tribe emerged is said to be Minnewakan, or Devil's Lake in North Dakota, the Hidatsa name for this lake—Midihopa—meaning sacred or mysterious water. Dr. Matthews thinks that 'one nation borrowed its legend from the other,' so that both have a common source." (Wheeler, p. 228.)

771 **Polytheism.** "These people had a belief in a 'Great Spirit,' or 'Old Man Immortal,' or 'Great Mystery,' and Dr. Matthews discusses it quite fully in his paper. Their ancient belief appears to have been, on the whole, a species of Polytheism. Religious missionary work on the Fort Berthold reservation began in 1876, and since then there has been a marked change in their religious ideas. The leaven acted but slowly at first, but when its results were apparent it seemed to work with cumulative effect. 'Only a small minority of the people now hold to the wreck of their old paganism.' Carlisle, Santee, and other schools have had their influence in producing this uplift. The younger generations see things with a new and broader vision and their moral and religious notions are cast in a new mold." (Wheeler, p. 229.)

797 Wheeler quotes as follows from Rev. C. L. Hall, the Congrega-

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tional Indian missionary who has been among the Mandans at Fort Berthold for some thirty years: 797

The Missionaries. "Mr. Hall, the missionary among these people, in discussing their general condition, past and present, says:

"'Twenty-five years ago the old Indian community was like Sodom; now the Indians live decently on the allotments, with their wives, and none of them have more than one. There is vice to fight; but only as in every white community. Religiously the phenomena of growth are seen here as elsewhere. Form and ritual are in sight, and are adopted before the inner power is felt. The old beliefs have largely passed away from the younger generation. The Christian teaching answering to all that was of higher aspiration and better living in the old religion, has saved them from infidelity and won their intellectual faith. The church is more a social centre to them than a spiritual.'

"Both the Congregationalists and Catholics now have religious organizations on the reservation. The former have three churches, and the latter a church and school combined, but this was unused at the time of the writer's visit. One of the Congregational chapels is largely the work of the Aricaree Indians. It cost nine hundred dollars, and of this the Indians contributed more than one-third. They hewed the logs and hauled the stone and lumber, the latter from a distance of sixty miles. There are also a few Episcopalians among these people." (p. 229.)

Says Wheeler of the allowances to be made in judging of the morals of the Mandans: 000

Morals. "In considering the moral excellencies and delinquinces of the old Mandans and allied tribes, we must necessarily, I take it, consider in connection therewith their ideas of entertainment and hospitality. And we must remember that we are reviewing the ethical acts and beliefs of an uncivilized, uncultivated people, touched with the frost of savagery and barbarism, and a hundred years removed, as well, from the canons of moral conduct at present taught them." (p. 230.)

Welsh Theory—Indian Supervision. "In the early days the Mandans were noted for their long light hair and fair complexions. This caused Catlin to exploit a notion that these people were descended from a colony of Welshmen who were supposed to have landed on the Florida coast or thereabouts in very early 142

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142 days and then mysteriously to have disappeared. The hair of the men often trailed on the ground, and Henry, Catlin, and others refer to this in much detail. Now they wear their hair cut short, [302] of their own volition, and in my brief visit I noticed no peculiarities of complexion or in color or hair. All of them, Mandans, Aricarees, and Minnetarees, seem to be a sturdy, manly set of fellows, with frank and intelligent countenances. I am inclined to think they have not had the best of supervision in the past, nor been treated with sufficient liberality and consideration by the government."

000 **Noted Chiefs—Patriarchs.** "Catlin was effusive in his praise of these Indians, and both he and Maximilian appear to have found some individuals who savored strongly of the Chingachgook type of Indian, and whose memories and virtues are venerated today. Such a man, for one, was the old Mah-to-toh-papa, or Four Bears, of Catlin, the Meto-Tope of Maximilian. and I can easily believe that Lean, or Poor Wolf, a Gros Ventre of today, now blind and infirm with the weight of his eighty-three years, has been a man that one could trust and respect. De Smet says that Four Bears was 'the most civil and affable Indian' that he ever met on the Missouri. Two-Chiefs, and Leggings, Mandans, and now old like Poor Wolf, a Gros Ventre. or Hidatsa, must also have been men of dignity and character." (Wheeler, p. 240.)

144 **Race Declining.** "As a pure race 'the polite and friendly Mandans,' as they were known to the traders. are slowly but surely declining, and it will not be long before the last one will have departed for the happy hunting grounds. The reservation rolls call for two hundred and fifty Mandans. In talking with Two-Chiefs, I asked him how many full-blood, pure Mandans he thought still remained. The old man, seventy-two years of age, stood in deep thought for several moments, and then replied, 'Not more than ten families; all the others are mixed blood.' Numerically, the tribe as a whole seems to be holding its own." (Wheeler, p. 242.)

731 **Fort Mandan.** "Not a vestige of Fort Mandan remains. On the return of the expedition in 1806, under date of August 17th, the Lewis and Clarke itinerary says: 'In reaching Fort Mandan we found a few pickets standing on the riverside, but all the houses except one, had been burnt by an accidental fire.'

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"What the 'accidental fire' left, the remorseless river took long ago. The character of the Missouri along here for the rapid cutting of its banks has been abundantly shown. A century has given ample opportunity for that one hut and those few pickets to have been insidiously undermined and carried away by the stream, and we know from Maximilian that this had been done in 1833." (Wheeler, p. 271.) 731

Wheeler thus expresses his profound impressions upon looking up and down the Missouri from the location of Fort Mandan: 000

Knife River and "Coal Bluff." "As I stood on the high bluffs of the river at this point in 1899, and overlooked the scene, I was profoundly impressed. To the north the distant valley of Knife river, deep green with heavy foliage, leads down to the Missouri; to the south the rough, bluffy ground near me grows rougher and bluffier as it reaches a big bend, and the irregular, grayish, ash-colored cut bank seems like that of a prodigious railway cut; the great river, in a wide, swollen flood, rolls on as it did a hundred years ago, and in broad, massive curve sweeps around a low point on the opposite shore, when, in a mood of inconstancy, it whirls back again in the other direction, and, at the beginning of the curve, is that 'bluff of coal' mentioned by the explorers, standing out strong and plain as a guide to us. Those were the limits—the 'bluff of coal' to the south, the Knife river to the north, and between them were the old Mandan villages, now gone forever.

"There extends for one and one-half or two miles a flat, heavily timbered bottom—Elm Point it is now called, and down near the lower end of it was where old Fort Mandan stood, and with our glasses we can make out, on the opposite shore, all that is left of Fort Clarke, the trading post named after Captain Clarke, and of which but a trace remains." (p. 272.)

Wheeler thus refers to the ravages of the smallpox among the Mandans: 164

Smallpox. "The worst affliction of this sort was subsequent to the visits of Catlin and Maximilian, and it almost completely annihilated the Mandans, if the old accounts are fairly trustworthy.

"In 1837 the smallpox was carried among them from the Missouri river steamboat **St. Peter's**, owned by the American Fur Company, and out of 1600 Mandans, only about 31 or 32 families-

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164 were left; 500 Minnetarees out of 1000 fell victims to the pestilence, and 1500 of the 3000 Aricarees also died. The epidemic spread to the other tribes of the north, and Schoolcraft estimates that before its ravages had ceased it claimed at least 10,000 victims; Catlin and Maximilian make the number very much larger. Kenneth McKenzie, of the American Fur Company, in a letter to Catlin, written in June, 1839, states that there were 7,000 Crees and 15,000 Blackfeet wiped out by the disease. In some instances the losses were undoubtedly much exaggerated." (p. 226.)

Wheeler, quoting from Schoolcraft under this head, inserts the following:

"An eye-witness of this scene, writing from Fort Union on the 27th of November, 1837, says: 'Language, however forcible, can convey but a faint idea of the scene of desolation which the country now presents. In whatever direction you turn, nothing but sad wrecks of mortality meet the eye; lodges standing on every hill, but not a streak of smoke rising from them. Not a sound can be heard to break the awful stillness, save the ominous croak of ravens and the mournful howl of wolves fattening on the human carcasses that lie strewed around.'"

Another writer says:

"Many of the handsome Aricarees, who had recovered, seeing the disfiguration of their features, committed suicide; some by throwing themselves from rocks, others by stabbing and shooting. The prairie has become a grave-yard; its wild flowers bloom over the sepulchres of Indians."

Wheeler then resumes, thus:

"There can be no question, from all the reports, that this visitation was one of the most awful, wide-spread, decimating scourges that ever afflicted any people, not excepting the Egyptians who were made to suffer for Pharaoh's hardness of heart. In telling me about this scourge, Two-Chiefs, an old Mandan who shows marks of the disease, stated that the Gros Ventres ran away when the disease appeared—they didn't run fast enough nor far enough to escape it, however—and that when the pestilence had run its course the Aricarees moved into the Mandan villages and boldly appropriated the huts and all their belongings. The Mandans were gone, wiped out, and there were none to use the dwellings or to object to such forced occupancy. Some accounts state that

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even the few surviving Mandans were driven from their own huts. 164
Subsequently these tribes were again thus afflicted, and from one who was then stationed at Fort Clarke and an eye-witness of the fact, I am informed that suicide was committed by the victims [762] throwing themselves over the bluffs of the river to the rocks below. De Smet states that both the smallpox and cholera created havoc among the northern Indians in 1851." (p. 227.)

The making of glass beads by the Mandans and Aricarees is 323
alluded to by Wheeler, who says: 301

Glass Beads, Etc. "The Lewis and Clarke narrative for March 16th describes a process for making glass beads known to the Mandans.

"The Indians did not make the glass itself. This they obtained from the whites, but there is evidence that, prior to the appearance of the traders, they used obsidian, or natural glass, for this purpose. Dr. Matthews, as late as 1870, had flat triangular blue glass pendants made to order by an Aricaree woman, he furnishing the glass.

"These people also made unglazed pottery, mats, and baskets, 285
ladles and spoons, from the horns of the Rocky mountain sheep 323
(Ovius Montana) and the buffalo, and from the shoulder-blades 321
of the bison they fashioned the hoes with which they hoed the 178
ground in very early time. Since the whites came, the crude implements of the old days have been mostly supplanted by our household, garden, etc., utensils; but, in 1902, I purchased a fine sheep-horn ladle apparently in daily use still." (p. 228.)

Steinbreuck's Observations. Hon. E. R. Steinbreuck, field 000
officer of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, makes the further statement to the writer, in a letter dated May 24th, 1908, concerning the Mandan deserted villages, and their former habitat, as follows:

Unsolved Problems. "I think it is a difficult and as yet unsolved problem, to write the history of the Mandans, as aborigines of South Dakota. We have the end of the trail, not so the beginning. We don't know for certain where the Mandans came from. The end is in North Dakota and that is also the beginning of the traditions of the present Mandans. Their entire knowledge of their origin is limited to the Heart river region in North Da-

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000 kota. It is for us to find traces of the Mandans in South Dakota and farther southeast."

361 To further inquiries by the writer concerning the precise locations of various deserted Mandan and Aricaree villages explored
172 by him, Mr. Steinbreuck responded with the following valuable details:

Mandan and Aricaree Village Sites. "I will answer your questions to the best of my knowledge. The seven villages are strung along the Missouri from about two miles below Apple creek on the east side to about three miles above Burnt creek on the same side. There are remains of Mandan villages on (SW 4, Sec. 14 T. 137 R. 80 NW 4, Sec. 2, T. 139, R. 81, NE 4, Sec. 21, T. 140, R. 81), on the east side, and on (Sec. 13, T. 138, R. 81, Sec. 35, T. 139, R. 81, Sec. 27, T. 139, R. 81, Sec. 33, T. 140, R. 81), on the west side.

"All those villages were found abandoned by Lewis and Clarke.
361 Lewis and Clarke found the Mandans at the bend of the Missouri
172 near Fort Clarke (built later during 1831-33, started by James
167 Kipp and finished by Mitchell) a little above that fort in two villages (1804). Catlin found the Mandans there also. The Mandans and the Aricarees lived together. The smallpox epidemic was in 1837, after which the Indians moved to the Fort Berthold reservation, where the Hidatsa had gone several years prior. That is all I can tell you about the Mandans. The story goes that the Mandans and Aricarees lived together near Heart river before Lewis and Clarke's time, about twenty years before Lewis and Clarke. That is, some lived in separate villages, some lived with the Mandans. They had a quarrel and separated. Some went up the Missouri with the Mandans, to Fort Clarke, others moved down the river again to that region below the Cannon-Ball. Later, between 1804 and 1834 the balance of the Aricarees below the Cannon-Ball, became too weak, by wars and disease, to withstand the attacks of the Sioux, moved gradually up the Missouri to join their former allies, the Mandans and their own
172 countrymen with the Mandans. This point was near Fort Clarke.
361 There are many Aricaree villages along the Missouri, more in number, than all the Mandan village sites together. All show short time of occupation. This information is obtained by my own investigation and compared with the reports of early travelers, and especially by the study of specimens found at the differ-

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ent villages, and it is no illusion to call one village a Mandan, and the other an Aricaree village of old. 172 361

"Such particulars have slipped the observation of early travelers, as they were looking more for the very goods, the Indians and for their places of habitation, and have overlooked abandoned places. Lewis and Clarke also do not mention any such abandoned village as there is the site on Sec. 30 and 31, 143, 81.

" As far as I have got in the location of villages, camps and cemeteries I have forty-five in number marked on the map, a few more to be added."

*(A map which he is preparing for the State Historical Society of North Dakota, see L.)

Under date of March 19th, 1907, Mr. Steinbreuck further states: 361 167

"I do not believe the Aricarees moved down the Missouri very far, since their quarrel with the Mandans. They put one river between them and the Mandans, the Cannon-Ball. Lewis and Clarke found them above Grand river. Some of the Aricarees stayed with their allies, the Mandans, and moved up stream with them from their villages near the Heart. The larger part moved up later between 1804 and 1833. I have found now forty-three villages from five miles below. Standing Rock agency, up to above Knife river, including three Hidatsa villages. Some of the villages are later than 1804, and are determinedly of Aricaree origin. Further no mention is made of those later villages by Lewis and Clarke."

Writer's Visit to Fort Berthold and Mandans. "On September 5th-7th, 1905, he who presents this paper went to Old Fort Berthold and beyond, to Elbowoods, N. D., for the purpose of gaining, if possible, some further impressions of the Mandans and of interviewing some of the leading men of the tribe on the reservation within whose limits they were living. An account of that trip, as regards the Aricarees—who were also the objective of the visit—is found in Vol. III, of the South Dakota History Collections, pages 572-583. 000

"Rev. C. L. Hall, who had been for about thirty years and still is Missionary of the Congregational Missionary Society among the Indians at that reservation, very kindly entertained and materially assisted the writer while there. That point, some twenty 621 124

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621 miles west of the site of Old Fort Berthold, is yet known as the
Fort Berthold Indian agency, and all of the instrumentalities of
124 the agency, including an Indian school, were centered there, although the agency had been officially discontinued June 30, 1904. But, as stated in Part I of this paper in the account of the Aricarees, the Indians themselves were so completely separated from each other as forming tribal communities as to have erased all semblance of their former tribal relations, and had in fact taken lands in severalty and become citizens. The writer was able to interview but two Mandans in the brief time covered by his visit to that quarter, and was obliged to cross the Missouri and seek them on the southwesterly side of that stream at a point some seven miles below the mouth of the Little Missouri. Through the solicitude of Rev. Hall, and of Hon. Anzi W. Thomas, late Indian agent, an interpreter, who was assistant farmer at the agency, was furnished the writer in connection with the interviews of the Indians Bear's Ghost and Little Owl—two Mandans who were pointed out by Rev. Hall and others as likely to be able to impart information concerning the traditions of their tribe, though neither was an old man; nor was it possible to find an aged member of the tribe near the agency headquarters. Furthermore, there seemed to be no very old member of the former band or tribe within the reservation who was conspicuous as the possessor of the tribal history and traditions in an eminent degree. However, those who were interviewed were evidently equipped to intelligently communicate the seemingly common story of the creation, the flood, etc., as it was understood by the Mandans.

TB "It will be seen that these Indians had no definite information in the nature of tradition as to their origin; but there runs through the narrative an unmistakable thread of marine experience in passing from somewhere beyond the sea or the Mississippi into the interior; as found in the account of the boat 'without the oars'—(indicating, it is believed, sailing vessels)—the 'other Mandans' who came from 'down under the earth,' the first or 'lone man' who while wandering met the 'Coyote' from the south and together they fashioned the whole landscape, made the inhabitants of earth and air; while the 'Corn Mother' who was revered as the symbol of germination and growth, the buffalos representing the four seasons, the ducks which brought earth from under

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MISSION HOUSE, ELBOWOODS, N. D.

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MANDAN WOMAN SCRAPING HIDE.

[facing p. 640]

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773 the water, etc., these and kindred phases of the mythology which is the sole back-ground of their tribal past, make up the substance of the strange narratives unfolded, through the moderate abilities of the interpreter, Joseph Packineau, son of Charles Pactineaude or Pattineaux of the fur-trading days, to the writer.

142 "While there was nothing specially marked about the appearance of Little Owl, we can not refrain from remarking that Bear's Ghost made a distinct impression by his bearing and the manner of his speech. He was one of the most perfect specimens of the commanding physical man we ever observed. His figure was tall and lithe, his eye exceptionally bright, intelligent and winning, his voice soft yet animating; his speech was accompanied by such grace of attitude and fitting gestures as to captivate the listener. His complexion was much lighter than that of the Sioux Indian of the Dakotas, yet not as fair as to relieve his countenance from the general impress of Indian lineage. There was, however, less than usual of the more salient Indian features in high or prominent cheek-bones and roughness of contour. He appeared, in a word, the perfect gentleman and master of expression, and it was difficult to realize that an Indian was discoursing or narrating. His entire attitude was that of intelligent handling of his subject and of utter absence of any sense of inferiority. Sincerity, and a desire to emphasize the point that what he said was truth itself—these elements gave character to his narrative. And while much that he recounted seemed trival and fantastic, yet the air in which it was told gave his story the cast of respect if not of persuasion. We here repeat what has been said before in this paper—that it is believed it is not improbable that the reference to the vine and the under-world was derived from the tradition of the Gros Ventres or Minnetarees who probably came to the Missouri from the Devil's Lake region.

"Little Owl's account will be first given, as it was obtained first. It is seen that if his narrative and that of Bear's Ghost is given credence the Mandans came up the Missouri and from the lower Mississippi."

773 **Little Owl's Account—The Creation, Etc.** "The five villages
539 below the Knife river. Bear-on-the-Water and he is the oldest man, he says they came from the—where the Mississippi empties in the sea; after that I can't give you an account of it. They

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had a long boat and they didn't have any oars, and the only thing they did was to get in and told the boat to go—they named it 'The Go.' The boat carried any number except seven; they wouldn't let seven ride, because the boat didn't go right, and gets wicked. They could go across the sea without the oars, they just told the boat to go. That is when they lived at the mouth of the river and the boat was in the sea. The boat would go anywhere on the water, up-stream or anywhere. There was some Indians on the other side of the sea, when the Mandans—and they go with the boat there and bring the sea shells from the other side of the sea, and the Mandans were there and part of them on this side. This boat travels without oars. So that one day Bad Boy went along and the boat was standing there on the river bank, and Bad Boy told the boat to go, and the boat went and they have never seen the boat since. Then they moved up this way; of course they called the Mississippi the Big River, and this is called the Missouri river; and they came along and in villages that you see at places, at the Mandans, from the mouth of the sea up here. The Rees have villages too; they had villages down by the Cannon-Ball and maybe further. These Mandans came all the way up to Heart river. They came up the Mississippi and up the Missouri to Heart river. Back of the Heart river they called it the Middle Hole, that is where they came from, the other Mandans. They was down in the earth and the Mandans were there; and one young man, he goes by the name of Magpie, he is a spirit, and he finds the light upon the hill up there, and he saw where the vine went up clear up to this earth here, top of the earth, so he climbed up there till he came out this way, and he see the country and the timbers and springs and grass and the games (game), and he killed some game and he took the sinews and some meat and some other part of the hide of the animal and took them down below where the others were and showed them what a nice country there was up here, and they would all go up there; and then he says 'All right, that is the place to go,' and this man took him and showed him, and then the chief says 'All right, we'll go;' and he sent all the Holy Spirit, they got the Holy Spirit, they sent them up first, and they took it up by following this vine, and each friend goes up—climbs up by himself, they go up there night and day right along, till they were about

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half of them went up, and then the woman came along, she was big, and the people forbid her, and said she better come last, and the woman says 'No, I have a right to go just as well as anybody,' and she got hold of the vine and get up a little ways towards the top and broke the vine, so they—part of them are down in the earth yet; and it is a good many is here, and some of them we grow; some of my father's ancestors away back came from the earth. The vine was below here, at the Middle Hole."

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The First Man. "There is a man—when this earth was no grass, no wood, nothing at all on top, just bare earth—and a man was walking along, and when he walked along and after a while he woke up, and he says 'I wonder where I come from,' all at once; then he turned around and looked at his track, the track was a buffalo track; so the man thought he must know where he come from and he followed his trail back, and then the grass was grown up and had some large white flowers on them, then another nice little fly was sitting on the flower, and the man thought this must be 'I come from here,' his tracks come from where that grass and flower is, and he looked around and he couldn't see any tracks, and the grass spoke and says 'I am the person that sent you up, the Lone Man,' that is the name they gave him, Lone Man. The little fly says to him 'We are the ones that sent you.' At the time that this man went away he had a lance block and he had his pipe when this beginning, to fix the country with, and rules with those things in the country he makes, that is, his commandments. So the Lone Man went off traveling and he met Mr. Coyote Chief, and the Lone Man thought 'I wonder where this man come from. I thought I was the only man in this world in here,' and he met this man and shook hands with him and he says 'Where you come from?' and he told him where he come from, and he says 'Where you come from too?' and Lone Man says 'I am the oldest, you will be my brother but I am the oldest, I will be the one to rule the country,' and the Coyote says 'No, I am the oldest, I will be the one to rule this country, you follow me.' So he says 'We'll go'—Coyote says 'You fix the country, you fix the north and I'll fix the south.' So they went on to fix the coulies and springs and rivers and timber and everything, and the bad lands; Coyote he made the mountains, the narrow places and more bad lands and more springs and more coulies and every-

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thing so the Indians could get their arrows, and short distance for shooting, and Lone Man he makes the north, makes so many lakes, there is no timber, a flat country, nothing but a prairie, and he couldn't be seen anywheres for long distances, and no guiding place and no nothing; and he made some springs in the country, and made timber up away back, and when he makes it timber he makes a big body of timber, and then he goes along the prairie again for miles and miles and makes timber the same way. Then he makes game, buffalo all colors, like tame cattle, with white horns. Then the Coyote he made these buffalos; and after they got through they counted the head (or meat); and he says, the first thing he asked—Coyote asked of the Lone Man 'What kind of buffalo you make?' he says 'I make some gray, some white, some red and black and white horns, and all colors and long tails.' Coyote says 'You make them long, what buffalo I make it is the kind of buffalo you won't make.' So Coyote says 'I made only one white buffalo, makes them once in a while, they'll be pretty hard to get,' so it would be of more value to the Indians for their robe. So he says—Lone Man says 'All right, I'll drive back what I made into the sea, and some of these days when the rule comes to an end when our buffalo are all gone, what I make people will live on it forever.' So this Lone Man afterwards, after he got through he knew the Mandans was in the Middle Hole and he knew those on the other side of the sea, and he knew those on this side of the mouth of the river that empties into the sea; and then he looked all over the tribes and he thought that the Mandans were the quietest and best characters, and he joined in with them and staid with them. So he advised everything that is good."

The Holy Man. "He was the Holy Man, sent on with the Holy Spirit, and a man, something like the whites that believe in Christ, he was a good character, and he didn't have anything to do with women or no wife of any kind; so the other Coyote and Rees—he makes a good country and good things, but on the other hand he was not as good as Lone Man; so they didn't take his advice but they took Lone Man's advice. He has a pipe, they got his pipe today, and they got his lance block, and they believe in him. So the Mandans they lived on Heart river. That name is by reason that right there where the Mandans is they called the

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river the Heart river, that is in the middle, from where you go 773
from there to the south to the sea, and east the same distance, and 539
north and west the same distance—right in the middle there, and so they called it the Heart."

The Middle Hole. "The first man (named above as being on the water), his ancestors came from the mouth of the river, and my ancestors and all other Mandans came from the Middle Hole."

Went to Winnipeg. "My father was Hit-him-in-the-Back; I was born in Ft. Berthold; am forty years old. My father was born in the Five Villages away down the river. The Five Villages was about ninety years ago. They lived there right after the smallpox was there. The villages down the Missouri river through South Dakota and to the Mississippi, that had ditches around them, were Mandan villages. The Rees have villages down here this side (north) of the Cheyenne river, just about there. They had five villages too. I don't know how far south of the Cheyenne they had villages. The Mandans grow as a people, and there are so many people and each one has a head man and chief; and they have taken their places all over, and one of the villages has gone at that time to the north to Winnipeg, and during that time one of the villages has gone again—one of the villages which the chief controls has gone; and the chief is called Tattooed Face and he has great control over the people and the largest village; and no one could tell where he went to those people. So this Winnipeg went over there, and five brothers, four of them goes in this spirit in the buffalo bulls—they were buffalo, and the youngest brother, the fifth one was a magpie, and their mother was Corn. So they went away to the north here where the Winnipegs were, and in the large timber there. they had their village there. They started from her, this side of Bismarck; and so Magpie goes out and roams around the country, and he comes back, and all his brothers were sitting and eating and laughing and enjoying themselves and plenty to eat and everything, and he sat down and he says 'My brothers, there's hard times coming;' so the August Buffalo Bull and the Fall Bull and the March Bull and the June Bull—so the August Bull said 'There's no hard times here' before he asked any questions—each one of the chiefs represents three months—so he says 'I call any of the buffalo, at the call buffalo they come in all the houses here, the children

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have plenty to eat, when the fall comes the Fall Chief calls the buffalo, and when winter comes the Winter Bull calls them,' etc. He says 'Our mother Corn Woman will plant corn on the rocks and it will grow anywheres;' so the boy Magpie he showed up. Then Magpie he has power too, he says 'I want to move to the Missouri river, I don't want to stay here in the north.' Then he got the old crier out to say that those men were going to move and that these people must go; so he brings back about half of the people—half of a village. Then he came over here to Bird's Bill at Fort Rice. And then it came to the winter, and then the buffalos and the north wind laps them, blow and storm, and they are starving; and they sent Jack Rabbit over there to Magpie's village to see how he was getting along, and they gave him two sunflower seed, so he had some of them take it back. 'They aint starving,' he said, 'They are all right;' and they took their buffalo robes and painted it right and left to hang up, so it looks like flesh, and they were kind of starving too, so he deceived them; all these buffalo robes kept all the buffalos away from him, so he deceived him. So Jack Rabbit told them 'You had better burn up the old wooden pans, etc., and call Lone Man, you are in hard shape.' So he did hallo for Lone Man, and Lone Man didn't come but sent Chinook Wind and drove all the cold away, and it kept going to the north and they are all right. So about one year from that time a flood came there and wiped out all of the houses on the north to Winnipeg, and there was a great big lodge of four of the Bulls—his brother on top of the lodge—and he came in there and says 'You said there was no hard time,' the one that spoke before he spoke first again, he says 'Why, you must have your heart just like a bone, you never told us this,' and Magpie says 'I tried to tell you about the hard times but you never gave me any show, no person could explain it to you, all you depend on you call buffalo, you don't look to other things.' 'Where's my mother?' he says. 'Your mother is right down straight here in the ground, she can't come, but she will if you want her.' And she says 'My son, are you here?' 'Yes, mother, but wait a while till I call you.' Then he went to work and pulled the bull's hair up on the top of his head to make a string to tie them like a loup, and when he got through—'Now,' he says 'I am ready, now you come, mother.' And she came up on

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the ear of yellow corn, she shot up like that—"(indicating)," and he got hold of her and put that string loup around her. When he comes up he got her around the neck and hung it down cross-ways, and they started to swim to the river. They had an awful long swim and got overe here back half way to Winnipeg, and he drowned first, and the August Bull drowned and the Winter Bull he drowned, two of them. The second Bull says 'There will be plenty of buffalo here when I am gone.' So the Fall Buffalo drowned, the third. And the Spring Buffalo he landed in Bird's Bill, he was the strongest and saved his mother that he was carrying on his neck—and she was turned to be an ear of corn.

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"My grandfather was Yellow Tail. He was born on the Heart river I suppose. My grandfather, they knew him in the Five Villages when he was a real old man.

"This story that I tell you came from my father and grandfather and the old people of my tribe. I am a full-blooded Mandan."

Below is the account of the Mandans given by Bear's Ghost:

Bear's Ghost's Narrative. "I am a full blooded Mandan. Age 47; born this side of Knife river, what they call Manhanen, on the Point. The village is there. My father was Foolish Chief. My grandfather's name was Ghost Heart. My father was born at the Five Villages, my grandfather was born at the same place.

"There is two ways that we came from the Mandan. It would take about four days to tell it all." (Here we indicated to the interpreter—after being told that the writer could not remain so many days—that he would narrate the main part of the tradition, etc.)

"Where the Mandans came from, there's two ways, and the generals talk and talk about it all the time. Those Mandans here, there is Rushing Eagle, Standing Bear, all the three lodges once here; they could tell the story. We are younger men and we don't know, but we hear them talk about it. I will tell you the best I can. The man that walks on the water, he always wants to remember where he came from. There was no earth, it was all water in this country when he walked on it. He went back, and they called the weeds Big Medicine, and the leaves were about so big (indicating); and he followed the trail back to the weeds called Big Medicine. So the leaves were about so big (indicat-

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ing); and the flood came out of one of the leaves, on the edge of the stalk where the joints come to, and he thought 'This is my mother.' This weed says 'Yes, I am your mother, I sent you out and I want you to do something, make up your mind to have to do something.' This man was going around on top of the water, he was naked, he went on top of the water, and he walked along, and finally he run across a track, and he went on, and the other fellow—he didn't know who he was at this time—he crossed his track and hunted around for a time three or four times, and they came across one another's tracks, and finally they met one another; and he told him—Lone Man told the other fellow, where he arrived from and where he started. The other fellow says 'I don't know where I come from but I walked along this way,' and the other fellow his hair was kind of kinky, and he was short and heavy joints and muscles were quite large on him, and the other fellow was kind of small and his body was nice built and his nose was small and his hair was kinky, and he had yellow eyes—he was Man Chief. So they walked along together and they come onto two divers, ducks, and asked them 'What are you doing here?' 'We don't know where we came from. we're here'—no other birds but them. So they asked them 'What are you eating, how far do you go down there?' 'We go down to the bottom of the mud in the water, pretty hard.' He says 'Go down there and bring me some earth.' They dived down there and didn't come up for some time, and after a while they came back without it, and took a rest. They go down again and bring some up; and they hold their hands, each one on their right hand—hold their right hand out and the ducks put the mud in there. So they dried it and grind it. And they go and they named it west and north and east and south. And so he told them—Man Chief told Lone Man to go to work and make the land on the east and north side, and I'll make the south side. and we will make this river—this Missouri river. So they went on and worked on them quite a while. and they made everything come together again. And Lone Man, what earth he got he ground it so fine, make the country more prairie. and the other fellow didn't grind it so fine and makes more bad lands. They went to work, and they come together, and Man Chief asked Lone Man what kind of buffalo he made, he told him he made spotted

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ones and all kinds, and he made the same, and he (meaning, probably, Lone Man) says 'You done wrong making those kind of buffalos;' and they had a dispute. He says 'I made the game so you could kill them or catch them,' he says 'You make the game, you can't catch them soon enough, they are pretty wild, some of these days your buffalo will be gone and mine will walk around amongst the people.' He told him he made the moose and all that kind of game, white bear and all kinds in the north; and birds blue and red and yellow and all color, east. Then the other fellow he made the eagles and hawks and the other kind of birds around west and south. That is the way they did. So they make the people, and they come into the Mandans, and started on the Mandans, the first language they made was the Mandan language, he made it himself."

First Men Meet at the Sea. "In the mouth of the sea, where this river empties into the sea, right below, there is where the two men met each other, and he make the earth. Then when they got through Lone Man staid with them, he staid right there; and the people moved to the west and he moved along with them—Lone Man did. Then down in the south here the Corn Man came up from under the earth and followed the vine up, and he killed the game and took the sinews and paunch and some other things, the fat, and took it down there, and he says 'What a fine country, and here's plenty to eat,' and so on; and they started to moving and coming up the vine, they caught hold of the vine and came from under the earth up, and about half way over, and this large woman came, and they all told her not to go, not to start. 'No,' she says, 'I'll go,' and she started up, and she broke the vine, and under the earth down there they cried; and they quit and halloed up and says to the people that was up (half of them were up)—they says 'You can go, it is all right.' Some of the grandfathers or mothers or fathers were down in the earth and some of them were up. So they traveled towards the Missouri, and this Lone Man traveled up to the west side of the river, and they met the Mandans and the other Mandans, and they came together.

"It is just the same as we—they started to meet her—this Corn Woman, and she married one of the Bulls, he took her over there to Winnipeg and started a village there; and this woman—and

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773 539 they had five children, the Fall Bull, Winter Bull, Spring Bull, and Summer Bull, and Magpie." (The rest of his story on this head is, as the interpreter states, the same as that of Little Owl.)

"The people that came from below the earth and followed the vine met the tobacco—(here a sample of the upper Missouri tobacco is shown). The Magpie went over to where they were—the four Bulls sat up on top of the lodge, etc. (continuance of the story of the other Indian, Little Owl). They had a long swim, and one died over at Mouse river by Minot, and the other was half way down the Missouri and the fellow came down to Coal Harbor (in McLean Co., N. D.) and died, and the other fellow swam down to Bird's Bill (Fort Rice) and died."

Four Bull and the Flood. "You whites have a flood. This flood where the four Bulls swam down is the same flood. There was a general that they kept an account of the years until—they kept it at the time of the smallpox, I can't explain very well, but the villages down the river, but Lone Man says 'You must not go to some other country, follow this river all the time;' and the time that those corn people all came up under the earth to meet the Lone Man people, that is the time they plant corn, squash, tobacco, beans, etc., and they have been raising it ever since. And now our seeds are going amongst the whites and amongst the Sioux, and everywhere our seed is growing.

"I want you to put this down just as I tell it; and you people knew God and His making the world. Maybe it is the same, but we have seen, our people have seen with their naked eyes that they made the world too. We have the same flood, only we couldn't keep the date, we lost the track.

"I was three years old when I left the village to come up to Berthold." (Meaning when he came to the old Confederated Village.)

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THE CLAIMS OF WELSH, OR MADOCIAN DISCOVERY OF AMERICA AND WERE THE MANDANS OF WELSH ORIGIN?

In this concluding phase of our treatment of the Mandans, the question indicated by the above headings assumes, in the judgment of the writer, a relevancy and an importance which warrant, if they do not demand, a descent to the proofs and some expression of views, if not of conclusions, based thereon; which warrant seems to be justified by a pre-consideration of the evidences within reach and which have been considered by the writer with a view to an attempt to determine whether their publication in this paper would be sufficiently germane to the subject of the Mandans to bring the latter, to use the lawyer's phrase, within "the case made" by those evidences. It is of course left for the reader and student to determine for himself how far the mass of narrative, discussion, and discrimination found in the voluminous extracts hereinafter set forth serve to establish that Prince Madoc, in A. D. 1170 or very soon thereafter, reached the shores of America and, with one or two, or all, if there were three of his expeditions, found a lodgment there, and if so, how far the Welsh mariners and colonists thus headed by him became amalgamated with the native Americans, and where, on this continent, or in Central America, or South America, they settled and evolved generations of descendants; and lastly, if they did so anywhere in those confines, whether the Mandans were part of that development. The subject itself is nothing less than profound, and we may perhaps add without probable violence to the truth profoundly mysterious.

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But having come to the conclusion that we can, by exhibiting the evidences at hand, justify the use of the space needed for that purpose in this paper, either as a means to an end of ethnology at large, or as pertinent to the pursuit of the origin of the Mandan Indians, or for both purposes, we shall proceed to bring forward the array of matter in hand, asking the indulgence of the public by way of excuse for the informal and all inadequate presentation of those materials in point of form and orderly treatment.

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000 No attempt will be made to comment upon, criticise or otherwise deal in detail with the various narratives or with the views of the respective writers and informants who originally published or caused them to be published in the first instance—in the process of bringing them into this monograph. We may have occasion to indulge in some observations and expressions of views thereon after such presentation of material is made.

Before proceeding to present the evidential materials above referred to, however, we will refer briefly to some phases of the history of Wales immediately preceding the initial voyage of Madoc, in order to make clearer the internal troubles among the Welsh princes, and between them at large and the British government at that time; the immediate purpose being to show the motives which impelled Madoc to leave his native land, and why he, according to the chronicles, did so finally with the intention of never again returning thereto.

Welsh History in Madoc's Time. Henry II of England, having been carrying on military campaigns in Normandy in 1163, invaded South Wales where Rhys ap Gryffydd, one of the princes, still held out against him, the others having been already reduced; and after succeeding in overpowering that prince, the latter and the other princes and chieftans in Wales did homage to King Henry and his son. But in 1164 Rhys again revolted because of the outrages, weaknesses and partialities of the English king, and "having recovered the ancient demesnes of his family," he succeeded in reducing the province of Caerdigan and in making further incursions into the enemy's territory; all of which inspired a spirit of revolt among the other Welsh princes, which was assiduously fanned by their leader, he pointing out to them the prospects of asserting their freedom 'from the dissensions which had arisen in England between Henry and the Archbishop of Canterbury' and from the supposed probability of a war between England and France; in view of which prospects the Prince of North Wales, Owen Gwynedd, his sons and brother Cadwalader and others joined Rhys.

These circumstances we gather from the narrative of Rev. William Warrington in his "History of Wales" (Brecon: Printed and sold by W. Williams; 1823).

Says Warrington (p. 489): "At no period, had the Welsh na-

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tion united into a confederacy like this; concentrating with so much energy and force, the various policies and interests, the different tempers and abilities of the Princes of Wales." David, the son of Owen Gwynedd, devastated Flintshire; but the Welsh forces were driven back by Henry, and after reinforcing his armies from France and elsewhere he marched into Powys, the chieftains of which were 'the usual adherents of his family;' but notwithstanding the formidable array of forces thus presented the Welsh princes, 'determined to rescue their country from a foreign domination, or to perish in the attempt, remained firm and intrepid.' Warrington thus states the various forces arrayed under the standard of the Welsh princes at this time:

Confederation of Welsh Princes. "The power of North Wales was collected under the command of Owen Gwynedd and his brother Cadwalader; the forces of South Wales were led by the gallant Rhys ap Gryffydd; those of Powys by Owen Cyveilioc and the sons of Madoc ap Meredydd. With these troops were joined the inhabitants of the country situated between the Wye and the Severn, under the leading of their chieftains, the two sons of Madoc ap Ednerth." (p. 492.)

English Reverses—Welsh Dissensions. "Henry, after a spirited contest, crossed the Cierniog river, and the two armies faced each other on the mountains of Berwyn; and being cut off from provisions and harried by the elements Henry was obliged to retire. His spirit was so wounded by this reverse that he cruelly put out the eyes of his hostages, among whom were the sons of several leading Welsh princes. Henry then prepared to attack the Welsh by sea, but after assembling his armaments he suddenly dismissed 'both his fleet and his army,' presumably because he feared attacks upon his foreign dominions. The Welshmen thereupon attacked several strongholds of the enemy, some of which were demolished. Here, instead of standing together against England, the Welsh princes began a series of incursions against some of their own chieftains, much distress and devastation ensuing. Warrington says: 'A spirit of dissension, inherent in their genius, contracting their views, and governing their conduct, precluded any system of general policy.' However, these acts were followed by more united action during which several strongholds on the English frontier were taken and demolished,

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giving 'Owen Gwynedd the entire possession of the maratime of Flintshire.' But says Warrington:"

Welsh Embassy to France. "A concern of greater importance than the revolt of the Welsh, had of late employed the attention of Henry. He was at this time in Normandy, engaged in war with Lewis, King of France. The confederate Welsh princes, desirous of entangling the English monarch more deeply in foreign disputes, sent, in conjunction with William the Lion, King of Scotland, ambassadors to the French court, with an offer of aid to carry on the war against Henry. It does not appear that this proposal was accepted; though it was the first attempt we have seen of the kind, which marked the growing importance of the Welsh princes; and the influence of which, they were desirous of extending to the continent." (p. 500-501.))

Then came the event which precipitated the Welsh princes into deadly struggles and unnatural butcheries over the vital issue of the succession to the throne of North Wales. We again quote Warrington:

Welsh Succession—North Wales. "The rising prosperity of the Welsh was checked, on a sudden, by the death of Owen Gwynedd, the Prince of North Wales. He reigned thirty-two years, and was buried in the cathedral church of Bangor. This prince married, for his first wife, Gwladys, daughter to Llywarch ap Trahaearn lord of Pembroke, by whom he had only Iorwerth Drwynewn, or Edward of the broken nose; by his second wife Christian, daughter of Gronw the son of Owen ap Edwin lord of Englefield, he had David, Roderic lord of Anglesey, Cadwallon was abbott of Bardsey, and Angharad married to Gryffydd Maelor. He had likewise twelve other children by different women." (Note to Warrington): "Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 3. According to the Welsh Chron. p. 226, this prince had by his first wife, besides his eldest son, Iorwerth; Cynan, Maelgon, and Gwenllian; and by different women, Cynan, Meredydd, Rhun, Llewalyn, Edwal, Howel, Cadell, Madoc, Einion, Cynwric, Philip, Ririd." Southey, in his famed poem on Madoc, refers to many of these descendants of Owen Gwynedd. (pp. 501-502.)

Warring Contestants—David Gwynedd Succeeds. "So whimsical and indecisive was the mode of succession, that as many sons of the late prince laid claim to the crown, as were under the

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influence of ambition, or of a fiery and turbulent spirit. Iorwerth his eldest son, was unanimously set aside on account of a blemish which he had in his face; and he appears to have resigned himself quietly to the public judgment. Howel, a natural son of the late prince, born of an Irish woman, being the first who started for the prize, gained for a time a precarious possession of the throne. David, the eldest son of Owen Gwynedd by his second wife, regarded his own right, in this contest, as indisputable; and disdaining to hold under the sovereignty of a brother, illegitimate and born of a foreign woman, raised an army, fought a battle with his rival, and slew him in the action. By this victory, David obtained the quiet possession of the throne of North Wales." (p. 502-505.)

Warrington then recounts the substance of the relation in the Welsh Chronicles of Prince Madoc's voyage to "the coast of America," the notes subjoined to which indicate the sources of the account in the Welsh Bards of the fifteenth century, as follows:

Madoc's Voyage to America. "Madoc, another son of the late prince, seeing the contention which agitated the fiery spirits of his brothers, with a courage equal to theirs, but far more liberally directed, gave himself up to the danger and uncertainty of seas, which had been hitherto unexplored. He is said to have embarked with a few ships; sailing to the west, and leaving Ireland to the north, he traversed the ocean, until he arrived by accident upon the coast of America. Pleased with its appearance, he left in that country a great part of his people; and returning for a fresh supply, was joined by many adventurers, both men and women; who encouraged by flattering descriptions of advantage, and sick of the disorders which reigned in their native kingdom,* were desirous of seeking an asylum in the wilds of America." (Humphrey Lhuyd. Welsh Chron. p. 228.)

"It seems, as if the death of the late Prince of North Wales, had suddenly dissolved the confederacy, and as if the motives for union no longer subsisted. Rhys ap Gryffydd, having lately reduced that part of Powys, which had been the territory of Owen Cyveilioc, gave King Henry the meeting; while he pursued his journey into Ireland. At this conference, he was received into the king's peace, and was confirmed in all the possessions, which

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he, at that time enjoyed; and in consideration of which, he offered that monarch a considerable supply of oxen and horses towards the conquest he was meditating; and as a further pledge of his future fidelity, offered him likewise fourteen hostages." (p. 505-506.)

*(Warrington's note.) "We know nothing of the reality of this discovery, but what is gathered from the poems of Meredydd ap Rhys who flourished in the year 1470; of Gutwin Owen in 1480; and Cynfrig ap Gronw near the same period. These bards preceded the expedition of Columbus; and relate or allude to that of Madoc, as an event well known, and universally received, to have happened three hundred years before. See Jones' Musical Relics of the Welsh bards, p. 19.

"The supposed existence of Welsh Indians in America has, for many years, elicited much discussion; and various but ineffectual attempts have been made to discover them. A very intelligent gentleman informed me at New York, in the year 1819, that he corresponded on the subject with Mr. Evan Evans, who is well known to have gone over to America in search of them, and to have traversed that continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. His enterprising endeavors, however, were unavailing; he could find no trace whatever of any such people. Captains Lewis and Clarke, were strictly directed, by the American government, to similar inquiries, but they were equally unsuccessful. W. Williams."

The single chapter of those harrowing times in Wales which seems to constitute a temporary cessation of hostilities between the English king and the Welsh princes after the events just narrated occurred, is found in what is next hereinafter cited from Warrington, (and with which we conclude the process of quotations from his text); only to be followed by a resumption of the policy of cruelty and perfidy which seems to have characterized at least a considerable period in Henry's reign; and by ever recurring internal contests between the Welshmen themselves. The whole picture is one which portrays in colors too plain to be mistaken the lamentable condition into which the savage hostilities, the ambitions and vascillations of lords, princes and king had brought the land of Cambria. The seductive policy by which

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Henry temporarily pacified the principal Welsh princes is seen below: 000

King Henry ejected Iorwerth, a lord in South Wales, who recovered in part his possessions; in Pembroke he extended the territory of Rhys, and delivered up to that prince his son, Howell, who had been held a hostage, and otherwise exercised his clemency. Says Warrington:

"The patriotism of the Welsh prince sunk under the influence of these mutual civilities. The gallant and independent spirit inherited from a long line of ancestors, and which had so eminently distinguished his own conduct; all that the terror of Henry's arms and a series of hostilities could not shake, was done away by a few acts of a well directed courtesy. Forsaking the dignity and importance of his character, except in a single instance, we shall see him in future only as a satrap to the English monarch. Mingling in the common mass, and losing forever the ancient honors of his family, neither this prince nor his descendants, from this period will retain any marks of sovereignty." Page 509. (Note by Warrington: From this period the heads of this family were only distinguished by the titles of Arglwyddi, or lords. Humphrey Llwyd's Brev. p. 73.)

Having presented the foregoing phases of Welsh history, we now bring forward the evidences, so far as gathered, bearing upon the Madocian theory and the reputed Welsh or White Indians in America, involving the Mandans, Pawnees, etc.

The most comprehensive, and perhaps the most important contribution to the literature involving the claims of a Welsh discovery of America, with which we have come in contact, is embraced in the somewhat celebrated work by John Williams, LLD., entitled, "An Enquiry into the Truth of the Tradition, Concerning the Discovery of America, by Prince Madoc ab Owen Gwynedd, About the Year, 1170." (London. Printed by J. Brown, 1791.)

In that production the author brings in substantially full and complete quotations from many of the most prominent and convincing narratives, expressed views, and deductions taken from the great body of literature extant upon this intensely interesting and fateful theme. We are obliged, for want of space, to condense his text into summary form, presenting but few extended quotations. The material in question follows:

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000 **John Williams, on Welsh Discovery of America.** "The first account that I can find of the discovery of America by the Britons is in a History of Wales, written by Caradoc of Llancarvan, Glamorganshire, in the British language, translated into English by Humphrey Llwyd, and published by Dr. David Powel, in the year 1584. It was reprinted in 1697, under the inspection of W. Wynne, A. M. Fellow, of Jesus College, Oxford. There was another edition lately published."

Madog. "This narrative bears the strongest semblance of truth, for it is plain, natural, and simple. It says, that on the death of Owen Gwyneed, prince of North Wales, about the year 1169, several of his children contended for his dominions; that Madog, one of his sons, perceiving his native country engaged, or on the eve of being engaged, in a civil war, thought it best to try his fortune in some foreign climes. Leaving North Wales in a very unsettled state, he sailed with a few ships which he had fitted up and manned for that purpose to the westward, leaving Ireland to the north. He came at length to an unknown country where most things appeared to him new and uncustomary, and the manners of the natives far different from what he had seen in Europe. Madog having viewed the fertility and pleasantness of the country, left the most part of those he had taken with him behind, (**Sir Thomas Herbert** says that the number he left behind was 120) and returned to North Wales. Upon his arrival he described to his friends what a fair and extensive land he had met with, void of any inhabitants, whilst they employed themselves, and all their skill to supplant one another, for only a ragged portion of rocks and mountains. Accordingly, having prevailed with considerable numbers to accompany him to that country, he sailed back with ten ships and bid adieu to his native land. (pp. 6-7.)

"It is very certain that this account of Madog's emigration was not written by Caradoc, for his history comes no lower than the year 1157; and he seems to have died about the time when this event took place. However, it is said by Humphrey Llwyd, the translator of Caradoc into English, that this part of the history was compiled from collections made from time to time, and kept in the Abbies of Conway in Carnarvonshire, North Wales, and Strat Flur, (Strata Florida, Cardiganshire, South Wales). The

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most remarkable occurrences in the principality, being registered in these Abbies, were generally compared together every third year, when the Beirdd of Bards, belonging to these two Houses, went their ordinary visitations, which were called Clera. This custom prevailed 'till the year 1270, a little before the death of Llewelyn, the last Prince of Wales, and who was killed near Built in Brecknockshire."

The Welsh Bards. "The best copy of these registers was taken by Guttun Owen, a Bard, in the reign of Edward the Fourth. King of England, about the year 1480, before the first voyage of Columbus, but that the continuation, though not Caradoc's, is a true history, we have no just reason to question.

"Cynfrig ab Gronow, about the same time with Guttun Owen, mentioned this event. These Bards lived between two and three hundred years after Madog's emigration; and before them it is alluded to by Sir Meredyth ab Rhy's about the year 1477. Humphry Llwyd, the translator of Caradoc, flourished in the reign of Henry the Eighth, King of England, about fifty or sixty years after Guttun Owen, and Dr. Powel published Llwyd's translation, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, about forty years after the death of Humphry Llwyd, whose death prevented its earlier publication.

"There can be little doubt, but that the writings of Guttun Owen, Cynfrig ab Gronow, and of Sir Meredyth ab Rhys, were extant in the days of Llwyd and Powel, and known to many persons who lived in the principality, as Powel did."

Hakluyt. "The next account I have met with of this event is in Hakluyt.

"After the death of Owen Gwynedd, his Sonnes fell at debate who should inherit after him, for the eldest Sonne born in matrimony, Edward, or Jorwerth Drwidion (Drwyndwn) was counted unmeet to govern because of the maime upon his face, and Howel that took upon him the rule, was a base Sonne, begotten upon an Irish woman. Therefore David, another Sonne, gathered all the power he could, and came against Howel, and fighting with him, slew him, and afterwards enjoyed quietly the whole land of North Wales, until his brother, Jorwerth's Sonne, came of age.

"Madoc, another of Owen Gwyneth's Sonnes, left the land in contentions betwixt his brethern, and prepared certain ships with men and ammunition and sought adventures by seas, sailing west

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000 and leaving the coast of Ireland so farre north, that he came to a land unknown, where he saw many strange things.

"This land must needs be some parts of the countrey of which the Spanyards affirm themselves to be the first finders since Hauno's time, whereupon it is manifest that that countrey was by Britons discovered long before Columbus led any Spanyards thither.

"Of the voyage and return of this Madoc, there be many fables framed, as the common people do use in distance of place and length of time, rather to augment than to diminish, but sure it is, there he was. And after he had returned home, and declared the pleasant and fruitful countries that he had seen, without inhabitants; and upon the contrary for what barren and wild ground his brethern and nephews did murther one another, he prepared a number of ships, and got with him such men and women as were desirous to live in quietness, and taking leave of his friends, took his journey thitherwards again.

"Therefore, it is supposed that he and his people inhabited part of those countries; for it appeareth by Francis Lopez de Gormara that in Acuzamil, and other places, the people honored the Crofs. Whereby it may be gathered that Christians had been there before the coming of the Spanyards; but because this people were not many, they followed the manner of the land which they came to, and the language they found there.

"This Madoc arriving in that Western Countrey, unto the which he came in the year 1170, left most of his people there, and returning back for more of his own nation, acquaintance and friends to inhabit that fair and large countrye, went thither again with ten sailes, as I find noted by Guttun Owen. I am of opinion that the land whereunto he came was some part of the West Indies." (p. 12.) ***

Britons in America. "Another writer who alludes to Madog's voyage is the author of a book entitled 'A Brief Description of the Whole World.' Edit. 5th. London printed, for John Marriott, 1620."

Williams refers to Hornius in his "De Originibus Americanis. Hagae Comitas, 1652," as presenting Madoc's adventures, as containing little more than "extracts from Llwyd, Hakluyt, and

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Powel;" quotes Hornius as believing that Madoc "must have landed" on the American continent.

Hornius Adds. "The traditions prevailing among the natives strongly confirm me in this opinion; for the Virginians and Guahutemallians, from ancient times, worshipped one Madog as an hero."

Tuscoraras. Welsh? Williams refers to a narrative of Morgan Jones, of Newport, County of Monmouth, published in 1740 in Gentleman's Magazine, from Morgan's letter of 1685, "sent to Dr. Thomas Lloyd of Pennsylvania" and by him sent to Charles Llwyd, Esq., of Doly fran in Montgomeryshire, thence to Dr. Robert Plott by Edward Lloyd, A. M. Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, in which Morgan declares that as chaplain to Maj. Gen. Bennet, he went from Virginia in 1660 in a ship to Port Royal, S. C., where they waited for a time, he sailing up the river to Oyster Point, where they remained months until nearly starved, when he "and five more traveled through the wilderness to the Tuscorara country," were taken prisoners "because we told them we were bound to Roanoke;" were shut up at night; a consultation resulted in their being told next day by the interpreter that they must prepare to die. "Whereupon being very much dejected and speaking to this effect in the British tongue, 'Have I escaped so many dangers, and must I now be knocked on the head like a dog'; then presently an Indian came to me, which afterwards appeared to be a war captain belonging to the Sachem of the Doegs, (whose Original I find must be from the Old Britons) and took me up by the middle, and told me in the British tongue, I should not die, and thereupon went to the Emperor of the Tuscaroras, and agreed for my ransom, and the men that were with me;" were entertained very civily four months "during which time I had the opportunity of conversing with them familiarly in the British language, and did preach to them three times a week in the same language; and they would confer with me about any thing that was difficult therein;" supplied them with provisions on their departure, etc. Williams adds that Theophilus Evans, a Welsh clergyman, who communicated the Jones letter to Gentleman's Magazine and who was well acquainted with the history of the principality" of St. David's in Brecon, observes that circumstances establish the fact of Madoc's voyage.

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000 **Welsh Words Among Indians.** "That several British words were used by the Mexicans when their country was discovered by the Spaniards; such as Pangwyn, 'White Head,' the name, not only of a bird, but also given to high and bare rocks. Groeso, 'wellcome.' Gwenddwr, 'white or limpid water.' Bara, 'bread. Tad, 'father.' Mam, 'mother.' Buch of buwch, 'cow.' Clug-Jar, 'a partridge, or heath cock.' (Clugar is now the American name of a partridge.) Llwynog, 'a fox.' Coch y dwr, 'a red water bird.' Many others are mentioned by sir **Thomas Herbert** in his travels." Williams observes concerning Madoc's having remained undiscovered:

Madoc Undiscovered, Why? "That so extraordinary an event should not excite either the English or the Welsh to attempt a discovery of their hardy countrymen, and their new settlement, can only be accounted for by the ignorance and poverty of the times. It is most natural to suppose that the English knew nothing of this expedition from a province which acknowledged not their authority, and with which they were almost continually at war, and whose inhabitants they would have been exceedingly glad to hear were all gone away; and the poverty of the Welsh, robbed of their inheritance by the usurping Saxons, Normans and Flemings, would effectually prevent their making any attempts." Williams then refers to Lloyd's letter:

Lloyd's Letter. "A letter written by Charles Lloyd, Esq., of Dol Y Fran, in Montgomeryshire, already mentioned, published in 1777, by the Revd. N. Owen, Junr. A. M. in a pamphlet entitled, 'British Remains,' strongly confirms Mr. Jones' narrative, and of consequence, the truth of Madog's voyages. Mr. Lloyd says * * that he had been informed by a friend, that one Stedman of Breconshire, about thirty years before the date of his letter, was on the coast of America in a Dutch Bottom, and being about to land for refreshment, the natives kept them off by force, till at last this Stedman told his fellow Dutch seamen that he understood what the natives spoke. The Dutch bade him speak to them, and they were thereupon very courteous; they supplied them with the best things they had, and told Stedman, that they came from a country called Gwynedd, (North Wales) in Prydam, (Prydain) fawr, Great Britain. It is supposed by Mr. Lloyd that this place was situated between Virginia and Florida. It is

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further said by this gentleman, that one Oliver Humphreys, a merchant, who died, not long before the date of this letter, told him, that when he lived at Surinam, he spoke with an English privateer or pirate, who being near Florida a careening his vessel, had learnt, as he thought the Indian language, which his friend said was perfect Welsh." Williams proceeds: 000

"To these evidences (the foregoing and same we have omitted), must be added what the authors of the universal history, and Dr. Campbell, in his Naval History of Great Britain, have said."

Powell's Version. "That the Welsh contributed towards the peopling of America is intimated by some good authors, and ought to be considered as a notion supported by something more than bare conjectures."

The Welsh "LL." "In the British tongue, the double L (LL) hath a peculiar sound, different from any in other tongues. It hath been said that in the Spanish it has the same sound. But a gentleman who understands the Spanish language informed me that it is not like the Welsh double LL, though it hath a peculiar sound." Williams proceeds:

"**Dr. Campbell** ** agreed with the above writers, (Hakluyt, Martyr, etc.) in his general account, and concludes with these observations:"

Madoc Tradition Before Columbus. "It must be confessed that there is nothing which absolutely fixes this discovery of America, though it must likewise be owned that the course before set down might very possibly carry him thither. The great point is to know how far the fact may be depended upon, and in relation to this, I will venture to assert that there are **Authentic Records**, in the British tongue, as to this expedition of Madog's wherever he went, prior to the discovery of America by Columbus, and that many probable arguments may be offered in support of this notion."

"I now proceed (continues Williams) to modern travelers, who prove, that at present, there are tribes in North America descended from the ancient Britons."

American Indians Descendants of Welsh. "Mr. Charles Beatty, a missionary from New York, accompanied by a Mr. Duffield, visited some inland parts of North America in the year 1766. If I rightly understand the journal, he traveled about 400 or 500

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300 miles, to the southwest of New York. During his tour he met with several persons who had been among the Indians from their youth, or who had been taken captives by them, and lived with them several years. Among others, one Benjamin Sutton, who had visited different nations, and had lived many years with them. His account, in Mr. Beatty's words, was as follows:"

Welsh Bible. "He, (Benjamin Sutton) informed us, when he was with the Chactaw nation, or tribes of Indians at the Mississippi, he went to an Indian town a very considerable distance from New Orleans, whose inhabitants were of different complexions; not so tawny as those of the other Indians, and who spoke Welsh. He said he saw a book among them, which he supposed was a Welsh Bible, which they carefully kept wrapped up in a skin, but they could not read it; and that he heard some of these Indians afterwards in the lower Shawanaugh town speak Welsh with one Lewis, a Welshman, captive there. This Welsh tribe now live on the west side of the Mississippi river, a great way above New Orleans.

"Levi Hicks, as being among the Indians from his youth, told us he had been, when attending an embassy in a town of Indians, on the west side of the Mississippi river, who talked Welsh, (as he was told, for he did not understand them) and our interpreter, Joseph, saw some Indians whom he supposed to be of the same tribe, who talked Welsh, for he told us some of the words they said, which he knew to be Welsh, as he had been acquainted with some Welsh people."

Sutton-Stewart Accounts.. Parchment. Williams further quotes Sutton concerning the Delawares, "that from some old men among them he had heard that of old time their people were divided by a river, and one party tarrying behind; that they knew not for certainty how they first came to this continent, but account thus for their coming into these parts near where they are now." That a king of their nation left his kingdom to two sons, that one of them, being warred upon, sought a new habitation, and at length came with some of his people to the Delaware. Williams also quotes Capt. Stewart's account from the "Public Advertiser" of Oct. 8, 1785—who was imprisoned by Indians about 1764 west of Fort Pitt and taken to the Wabash "with many more white men who were executed with circumstances of

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horrid barbarity," he himself having by good fortune enlisted the sympathy of "what is called the Good Woman of the town, who was permitted to redeem me from the flames by giving as my ransom a horse;" being in bondage for two years, Stewart was redeemed (with one David) by a Frenchman visiting from Mexico "on discoveries;" went with the Frenchman 700 miles west of the Mississippi up Red river, finding "a nation of Indians remarkably white, and whose hair was of a reddish color, at least, mostly so; John Davey (David), the redeemed Welshman with them "informed me that he was determined to remain with them, that he understood their language, it being very little different from the Welsh; Stewart went with David "to the chief men of the town, who informed him (in language that I had no knowledge of, and which had no affinity to that of other Indian tongues that I ever heard), that their forefathers of this nation came from a foreign country, and landed on the east side of the Mississippi, describing particularly the country now called Florida, and that on the Spaniards taking possession of Mexico they fled to their then abode. And as proof of the truth of what he advanced, he brought forth rolls of parchment, which were carefully tied up in otters' skins, on which were large characters written with blue ink. The characters I did not understand, and the Welshman being unacquainted with letters, even, of his own language, I was not able to know the meaning of the writing."

Three Welsh Tribes. Williams observes that these informants, being uninterested "in propagating such a report among persons who were not Welsh," are entitled to confidence, etc.; and he concludes that these proofs seem to show three Welsh tribes, viz.: Tuscoraras south of Lake Erie between the Ohio and Mississippi; Delawares, "whom I take to be the same as with the Doegs, lower down the Ohio, and Delaware rivers;" "the other tribe west of the Mississippi." He contends also that the language used by the Indians in question was Welsh, and that the books referred to were Welsh Bibles, having been found with Indians speaking the language. That as Greek characters were used by the Welsh the scriptures, translated into Welsh, might be in Greek characters, though Roman characters were used in the 12th century. "Or, perhaps, the book was written in the ancient Greek characters, of the same form as those of the Alexandria manu-

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ood script in the British museum. In that case, it is not at all surprising that neither the captain, nor the Welshman could read them." He adds: "Though the art of printing was not discovered in the days of Madog, yet there can be no doubt, but that the Britons had copies of the scriptures in their own language many centuries before that period.** Madog was of a princely family; it may therefore be reasonably thought that he and his companions had one or more copies among them." (p. 53.)

Superior to Columbus. Williams quotes Lord Lyttleton (who was skeptical regarding theMadocian theory), as stating "that if Madog did really discover any part of America, or any islands lying to the southwest of Ireland, in the Atlantic ocean, without the help of the compass, at a time when navigation was ill understood, and with mariners less expert than any other in Europe, he performed an achievement incomparably more extraordinary than Columbus."

Madoc's Alleged Return. Williams discusses the alleged return of Madoc's to Wales "and back to his colony" as not impossible, as "the space of time in which these voyages of Madog's were performed is no where mentioned. They might have taken up twenty years or more; "that he might have sailed "northward by the American coast, till he came to a situation where the light of the sun at noon was the same, at that season, as it was in his native country, and then sailing eastward (the Polar Star, long before observed would prevent his sailing on a wrong point) he might safely return to Britain."

That as to Robertson's special objections that America's discovery by the Welsh rests upon no stronger foundation "than the discovery of it by Behaim" because Powell's history was written centuries from the event—Williams cites as commonly believed, the works of Ossian and Fingal, "which were not known to the world till very lately."

Christian Customs. Williams refers to Christian customs, the cross, baptism, Lord's supper, thirty-five fast days, and the Trinity, and inclines to think these were of the Britons; that while, as Hornius observes, those customs may have been introduced by orientals, yet "as no nation in Europe, but the ancient Britons, hath ever pretended, or does pretend to have discovered America before the Spaniards," he inclines, etc.; and he con-

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cludes on this head by observing that neither Lyttleton nor Robertson took notice of Jones' narrative or of Lloyd's letter. 000

Madoc Revered. Williams supposes Madoc to have acted in an amicable and affectionate manner towards the natives; "for his memory was held in high esteem by the Mexicans when Cortez arrived there. He was the hero whose praises they celebrated."

Welsh Tribes, Why Unknown? Williams assigns as reasons why the alleged Welsh Indians were not better known to Europeans—that they dwelt far west of the English provinces in America, where they may have been driven by more powerful tribes or by Europeans, and may be reduced to comparatively inconsiderable numbers by intestine quarrels or foreign enemies.

Other Welsh Authorities. Williams, as quoted below, refers to other Welsh Bards as authority for the Madocian accounts:

"Taliessyn, a Welsh Bard, who, as already observed, flourished about the middle of the sixth century, and who by way of eminence was called Pan Beirdd y Gorllewin, 'Head of the Western Bards;' some of whose works are come down to us; particularly, an Ode, in Welsh, translated into Latin sapphic verse, by David Jones, Vicar of Llanfair Duffryn Clwyd, Denbighshire, in 1580. Owen Cyfeiliog, and Gwalchmai, in the twelfth century; and many others, at different periods, of distinguished merit, have appeared in Wales. Some of whom have plainly alluded to Madog's adventures. For the names, times and the works of these Bards, I refer to Mr. Evan's specimens of the ancient Welsh Bards, 1764. To Sir **Thomas Herbert's** travels and to Mr. **Warrington's** History of Wales, p. 307. Edit. 1788." (p. 80.)

Only Two Voyages. Williams, in his "Book Appendix," discusses a passage from the "Universal History" assuming, upon the supposed authority of Hakluyt, that Madoc made three voyages; and after comparing the accounts of Hakluyt and Lloyd—both relating but two voyages—he concludes that the authors of Universal History misapprehended Hakluyt on that head.

Welsh Used Greek. Williams therein also—after citing Cesar as to the use of Greek characters by the Welsh at the Roman invasion—declares that the Welsh tongue bears strong resemblance "in words and letters to the Hebrew and Greek," and that the gutterals in the three languages "are sounded much alike."

Bowles' Account—Books. Williams refers to an interview by William Owen of Gen. Bowles, published in Gentleman's Maga-

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zine, Mr. Bowles' statement being that he knew the Welsh Indians as "Padoucas, or White Indians" on account of their complexions; that they were in a country marked "Padoucas" on a map (shown him); those in the northern part of that country were "Black Padoucas," being a mixture of "White Padoucas and other Indians;" the White Padoucas having sandy, or red, or black hair; he had traveled their southern boundaries but not through their country; was of opinion they first came "to the Floridas, or about the mouths of the Mississippi;" he thought them Welsh because a Welshman who was "with me at home for some time, who had been a prisoner among the Spaniards ** and contrived to escape, ** made his way across the continent, and eventually passed through the midst of the Padoucas, and at once found himself with a people with whom he could converse, and he staid there some time;" that he told Bowles "that they had several books, which were most religiously preserved in skins, and were considered by them as mysterious. These they believed gave an account from whence they came;" they "told the Welshman that they had not seen a white man like themselves, who was a stranger, for a long time."

Here Williams refers to some criticisms on Gen. Bowles (who came to London as a Cherokee chief) in the Gentleman's Magazine for September, 1791—that he was an Irishman "and a relation of a respectable tradesman in London;" Williams averring that if Bowles was "in 'a humble station,'" it was to his credit that he had attained to distinguished rank.

Other Witnesses. Williams mentions a Mr. Price, another Cherokee chief "who was born among the Creeks," as having stated in London that his father, a Welshman, "had frequent interviews and conversed with the Padoucas, in his native language," and refers to John Filson in whose tract on Kentucky that writer declares "the western settlers have received frequent accounts of a nation at a great distance up the Missouri ** in manners and appearance resembling other Indians, but speaking Welsh, and retaining **some ceremonies of the Christian worship;**" which accounts were current "of late years," his tract having been published in 1784.

Welsh Language—Manuscript. Williams further quotes from Morgan Jones, who met in Pennsylvania in about 1750 a Welshman whom he had known in Wales and who had lived for years

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in North Carolina; this friend was "very sure there were Welsh Indians," his house in North Carolina being "on the great Indian road to Charlestown, where he often lodged parties of them. In one of these parties, an Indian hearing the family speak Welsh began to jump and caper as if he had been out of his senses. Being asked what was the matter with him, he replied, 'I know an Indian nation who speak that language, and have learnt a little of it myself, by living among them;' and when examined he was found to have some knowledge of it;" that he said they lived 'a great way beyond the Mississippi.' Dr. Williams also refers to a statement by Edward Williams in the Gentleman's Magazine, concerning "a Mr. Binnon of County Coyty" in Glamorgan County who had been an Indian trader from Philadelphia for several years; that about 1750 he and other men went "much farther than usual to the westward of the Mississippi, and found a nation of Indians who spoke the Welsh tongue. They had iron among them, lived in stone built villages," etc.; ruined buildings were among them, one was "like an old Welsh castle," another "a ruined church, etc. They showed Mr. Binnon a book, in manuscript, which they carefully kept, believing it to contain the mysteries of religion;" they said that not long ago a man was among them who understood it, who told them that "a people would some time visit them and explain to them" the book; they conducted Binnon and his men to a place "they well knew," weeping when he left them, and entreating him to send them a person "who could interpret their book." Binnon told this in Philadelphia and was informed that the Welsh Track people had heard of them "and that some Welshmen had been among them." The gentleman who wrote of this account to Williams stated that Binnon declared "that these Indians worshipped their book as God, but could not read it. They also said that thirty or forty of them sometimes visited the ancient Britons settled on the Welsh Track in Penn. *** When Mr. Binnon said that he came from Wales, they replied, 'it was from thence that our ancestors came, but we do not know in what part of the world Wales is." He also says Edward Williams interviewed Richard Burnell who was in America before the revolution, near Philadelphia, and knew "many ancient Britons, who informed him that the Welsh Indians were well known" in Pennsylvania, and who knew "the Mr. Lewis who saw these Welsh Indians at a congress

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000 among the Chickasaws;" that Burnell said a Mr. Willain who had a land grant in the Natches country and among his settlers were some Welshmen "who understand the Indians," that two Welshmen in his colony "perfectly understood the Indians and would converse with them for hours together," the Welshmen assuring him that "the Indians spoke" Welsh; that some were there, some west of the Mississippi, "some in very remote parts." Said Edward Williams also interviewed Sir John Caldwell, Bart., who was stationed east of the Mississippi during the revolution, who after long living among the Indians was adopted, and married a chief's daughter, "had a perfect knowledge" of the Indians' language; they informed him that some Welshmen in his company understood the language of the Panis or Pawnees, who were "considerably civilized, cultivated the ground, and built houses" and "will work," and so were not killed when captured but sold into slavery. One Rimington, an Englisman who "had long been among the Indians" was reported by Edward Williams as having been at the Forks of the Ohio with Jack Hughes, a Welshman, where he saw "some strange Indians" from "west of the Mississippi; Rimington could not interpret them, and upon reporting accordingly, a Welshman exclaimed, "Oh they are the Welsh Indians," and Hughes, who well understood them, interpreted for them. Rimington said they "are **tolerably** white in complexion, and their dress like that of the Europeans; a kind of trousers, coats with sleeves, hats or caps made of small and very beautiful feathers," they might be met "at the Indian Marts, on the Mississippi, at the Natches, Forks of the Ohio, Kaskaskia, etc." That Rimington knew there were "civilized Indians far west of the Mississippi" called by those on the eastern side "Ka Anjon, which, in their language signifies, **first of men,** or **first** men," and was inclined to think them the "Welsh Indians." That "Panis, or Pawnees" means with Indians east of that river, "a slave." Dr. Williams mentions "Another Gentleman" who was stationed at the Illinois declared that "an Indian nation came down the Missouri," whose language "some Welshmen in his regiment" said was Welsh, "and that they had among them a **Manuscript Welsh Bible.** They never came down but when there were floods in the Missouri" and brought hides, furs, buffalo tongues, etc." He avers that Binnon seemed, to Edward Williams, "perfectly ignorant of Madog's emigration;" thought the Padou-

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cas "original inhabitants of the spot where he found them. He said they showed him a stone on which there was an inscription, which they kept in memory of one Madog." 002

Variously Named. "Mr. Williams refers to several writers who say that there now is such a tribe, (more civilized, etc.) Cox's Description of Louisiana, p. 16 and 36. Charlevoix, vol. 2, p. 225. Bossu's account of Louisiana, vol. 1, p. 182. He adds that these Welsh Indians seem to go by various names; such as Panes, or Panis. The Padoucas, the Panis, and the Cansez, are intermixed with one another. Charlevoix, vol. 2, p. 224, says that the Panis tribe is very numerous and is divided into several Cantons, which have names very different from one another. Among them he reckons the Canez, and Mactotatas."

Gov. Dinwiddie Interested. "In the Gentleman's Magazine for June, 1791, there is a letter inserted from a Mr. Cochran, to the late Governor Dinwiddie, on this subject, stating that the French governor of Canada sent three young priests to some Indians settled at the back of New Spain, who found them to be Welsh, for they had Welsh Bibles among them. They had a great aversion to the French, because that when they first settled at the mouth of the Mississippi, they had been almost cut off by the French; a small remnant, however, escaped to the place where they now live, who are now become a numerous people. When the French governor heard this, he determined to send an army to destroy them; but the French being then in a state of war with nations nearer home, the project was laid aside. Mr. Cochran then says, that the man who furnished him with this account informed him, that the messengers who went to make this discovery, were gone sixteen months, before they returned to Canada, so that this poeple must live at a great distance from Canada, due west.

"We are also told that Governor Dinwiddie agreed with three or four of the back traders to go in quest of the Welsh Indians, and promised to give them £500 for that purpose, but that he was recalled before they could set out on that expedition. This letter is dated Winchester, August 24th, 1753."

Williams then refers to "Col. Cochran" having afterwards expressed disbelief in the story as being "founded in delusion;" that one Maurice Morgan, in whose hands a copy of that letter was placed by Dr. Morgan of the British Museum "for inspec-

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000 tion by Lord Shelburne," had written to Williams that he (Morgan) had "thought its contents not deserving of regard" and had so told Shelburne; but that Morgan's reason for thinking "slightly" of this narrative was "that Welsh bibles were found among this people;" which objection Williams thinks devoid of weight, as "many Welsh people" who had gone into that country and, 'finding some people there who understood the Welsh language, might leave printed Welsh Bibles behind them;" that a tradition so general "as to obtain from Mexico to high northern latitudes, there must be some foundation for it;" and cites Gentleman's Magazine, May, 1791, p. 206, and for August, 1791, p. 693.

Peru—Madoc's Discovery? Williams here cites "Mr. John Williams" in "Natural History of the Mineral Kingdom," Vol. 2, as favoring the belief of Madoc's having discovered Peru, some of the "few fair and white persons found there by the Spaniards" being his colony's descendants, that Madoc first landed in the gulf of Mexico, and on his second voyage was shipwrecked at the Amazon, up which he went and on to Peru, etc.; that Manco Capac and Mamma Ocelle were "Madog and his wife;" that another reason assigned by said author for so thinking is that the Mexicans and Peruvians "were deeply impressed with the notion that a people from the east would visit them. Madog's promise of returning again was handed down from father to son." which tradition was dimned by time, etc.; that Montezuma was the eleventh emperor since conquering the country, etc. But the "John Williams, LLD," from whose "Enquiry," etc., we have taken all the foregoing, expresses disbelief in the theory of Madoc's having discovered Peru, thinking it more likely that his descendants "dwelling on the sea coast, west of Mexico, might, when at sea, be overtaken by a storm, and carried to Peru, and not knowing how to return, settle there." That if twenty years be allowed each emperor, Montezuma as the eleventh in Mexico and Atabalipa the twelfth in Peru would account, as to time, for the erection of those two empires as coeval with Madoc, etc. He then refers to Drummond's theory:

Drummond's Theory. "Captain John Drummond, who resided in Mexico for many years, in a military capacity, as an engineer, geographer and naturalist, 'is fully persuaded and convinced, that Madog was one of the confederate chiefs who went

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upon an expedition westward from Britain, about the year 1170; and that he hath heard of colonies, or tribes of Welsh people now existing, who he thinks are descendants of Madog's people.' And he is of opinion also that the emigrants were a mixture of Welsh, North Britons and Irish, and that Madog was the naval commander." **

Irish Accompanied Madoc. "It is said by Jean Brechsa, a Bard, who flourished about the year 1480, that Rhiryd, an illegitimate son of Owen Gwynedd, who, Dr. Powell says was Lord of Clochran in Ireland, 'accompanied Madog across the Atlantic (Morwerydd) to some lands they had found there, and there dwelt.' There can be no doubt, therefore, but that some Irish went with Madog to America. **

Warrior Celts of Mexico. "The captain observes, that Don Juan de Grijalva, a Spaniard, says that 'He found the Celts of Mexico, some having little or no arms, but clothed in hides; and that the fierceness of their manners, and their undaunted courage, resembled the old Britons, as described by Henry the Second, to the Emperor Emanuel Commens. He says also that there were others with short skirted vests, of different colors, with targets and short black spears, and that these new men in Mexico were adored by the natives, for their courage and dexterity, for that they had never seen ships 'till they came among them, from afar.'

"It is the opinion of the captain, that Madog and his company first landed at Vera Cruz, in the gulf of Mexico."

Montezuma's Forefathers. "The captain informed me, that he and his servant, who was a Highlander, paid a visit to the only descendant of Montezuma then living, who was a venerable old man, and who told him that his forefathers came from a distant country, which this gentleman thinks was Britain."

Scotch Mexicans. "The captain also said that on a journey through the country, he came to a hut of the Mexicans, where he heard a woman singing to her child. His servant, with great surprise, told his master that he understood what she said, for it was Erse, the language of the Highlanders in Scotland; whence it seems clear that Madog's company had Scots among them."

Celtic Discoveries. "By the same gentleman I have been informed that Sir George Mackenzie, in a letter to James the Fourth, Earl of Perth, his grandfather, on the subject of the Celtic, as some call them, as others, the British, Discoveries in Europe and

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000 America, says, that they are mentioned by Baronius, Scaliger, Salmasius, Lipsius, etc., as having taken place long before any other nation in Europe thought of visiting America.

"In a letter to the Right Hon. William Pitt, signed Columbus, inserted in the Public Advertiser, September 23rd, 1790." ***

Cabot Discovers Welshmen. "We are there told that Sebastian Cabot, about the year 1495, two years after the first voyage of Columbus, discovered Florida and Mexico; and that he found on the different parts of the coast, the descendants of the first British discoveries, who settled at Mexico about the year 1170. In the records of the Mexican emperors, are set down the arrival and settlement of their first great Progenitors, whom the unfortunate Montezuma describes in 1520, in a speech made to his subjects, after he had been taken prisoner by that monster of cruelty, 'Cortez.' "

Montezuma's Declaration of Foreign Ancestry. " 'Kinsmen, Friends, Countrymen, and Subjects: You know I have been eighteen years your sovereign and your natural king, as my illustrious predecessors and fathers were before me, and all the descendants of my race, since we came from a far distant northern nation whose tongue and manners we yet have partly preserved. I have been to you a father, guardian, and a loving prince, while you have been to me faithful subjects, and ardent servants.

" 'Let it be held in your remembrance that you have a claim to a noble descent, because you are sprung from a race of free men and heros, who scorned to deprive the native Mexicans of their ancient liberties, but added to their national freedom, principals which do honor to human nature. Our divines have instructed you of our natural descent from a people the most renowned upon earth for liberty and valor; because of all nations they were, as our first parents told us, the only unsubdued people upon earth, by that warlike nation, whose tyranny and ambition assumed the conquest of the world; but nevertheless, our great forefathers checked their ambition, and fixed limits to their conquests, although but the inhabitants of a small island, and but few in number, compared to the ravagers of the earth, who attempted in vain to conquer our great, glorious, and free forefathers, etc.' The author of the above account told me, that he had seen Montezuma's speech in a Spanish manuscript, in

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the year 1784, when he arrived at Mexico, and that, most probably, it is still extant. *** 000

"The above description remarkably and exactly answers to the characters, manners and principles of the ancient Britons.

Mexicans Descendants of Britons. "It also appears from the negotiations of Sir John Hawkins, an English admiral, in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign; and from the speeches of various Mexican chiefs, to Sir John Hawkins' officers, who were sent from Vera Cruz to Mexico, to negotiate with the Spanish Viceroy, that these chiefs looked upon themselves as descended from the ancient Britons." **

"Antonio Goluaso, a Portugese author of great repute, mentions the expedition of a Captain Machan, or Mackman, a British adventurer, in 1344, who had been in Mexico, and had got store of wealth and silver from the British sovereign of that day; but who was cast away on his return to Europe, with all his treasure, near Maderia.

Columbus' Knowledge of Previous Voyages. "It is highly probable that Columbus derived his notion of a western continent, from the reports of former voyagers; especially from the papers of a British captain, who in sailing from Mexico, or from some part of America, was forced by a gale of wind, through the straits of Gibraltar, up to Genoa, where his vessel was lost; and who after the wreck, lived in the house of Columbus, where he died, and left his papers, books, charts, and journals in the hands of Columbus."

Williams Summarizes Witnesses. "We have now a crowd of witnesses to present existence of a tribe, if not numerous tribes of Welsh Indians on the continent of North America. In this sequel I have enumerated several fresh evidences to the fact."

Mentioning the names given above, he adds the following passages in Captain Carver's "Travels in interior parts of North America."

Carver's Reference to White Indians. "In page 118, the captain says, 'a little to the northwest of the Messorie (Missouri) and St. Pierre, the Indians farther told me that there was a nation, rather smaller and whiter than the neighboring tribes, who cultivate the ground, and (as far as I could gather from their expressions), in some measure, the arts.'

"In the following page, speaking of the same Indians, he says,

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000 'They are supposed to be some of the different tribes that were tributary to the Mexican kings; and who fled from their native country, to seek an asylum in these parts, about the time of the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, about two centuries ago.' "

Mexicans of the Del Norte. "The following account is given by Hakluyt, Vol. 3d., page 311, from Antonio de Epejo, written in 1583. The same accounts are given by others, mentioned by Hakluyt.

"The Spaniards along the Rio del Norte, Lat. 37 upwards, found the Indians far more civilized and having a better form of government than any others in Mexico. They had a great number of large and very populous towns, well built of stone and lime, three or four stories high; their country is very large and extensive. The chief town, called Cia, has not less than eight markets. The inhabitants are very warlike, have great plenty of cows and sheep, dress neats leather very fine, and make of it shoes and boots which no other Americans do. ** They have large fields of corn, and make curious things of feathers of various colors. They manufacture cotton, of which they make fine mantles striped with blue and white. ** And the inhabitants seem to have some knowledge of the Christian religion. They have many chapels, and erect crosses, and they live in general security and peace."

The following summary, with some extracts from the work of Rev. Benj. F. Bowen, entitled "America Discovered by the Welsh in 1170, A. D." (Phila., 1876. J. B. Lippincott & Co.), upon the subject of alleged Welsh-speaking American Indians, including the Mandans, and in which he enters at large into the defense of the Madocian theory of American discovery, are, we believe, well worthy of perusal. The merits of Bowen's discourse and his very large repository of evidences as narrations and otherwise, cannot be duly appreciated without reading his book.

Bowen's Claims—Tuscoraras Were Welsh. Bowen refers to the Tuscorara Indians, as Doegs, Chowans, Meherrins, and Nottoways; were Southern Iroquois, and when defeated in 1712 by the Carolinians the remnant fled north and became the sixth nation of the Iroquois confederacy; Mingoes was the Algonquin name of it.

Iroquois Expelled "Alligewi." He says the Five Nations or Konoskoni or "Cabin-Builders," "from all that can be ascertained," came from the west and warred against the Alligewi or

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Alleghanians and drove them into the interior; that they were so expelled and moved westward is certain, and were supposed to be whites; that as shown by McCulloch in his "Researches on America" the barbarous Iroquois nearly destroyed "their more refined and civilized neighbors;" their march westward evidenced by their fortifications, the red men ascribing these works "to white men;" that the westward movement is distinctly marked, showing a European civilization and influence in erecting defenses onto the Ohio, where they made a vigorous stand, shown by greater number of earthworks; when defeated on the lower Ohio "after a residence of many years, the remnants of those tribes which survived ** fled up the Missouri." But "Who were these Alligewi? The word is strikingly familiar to the Welsh ear, with its double L, and corresponds with the Welsh words **alli**, mighty, and **geni**, born, or 'Mighty born.'" That although the Tuscaroras were supposed to be akin to the Iroquois in language, he deems it "altogether probable that they were more anciently a branch of the Alligewi;" that the Tuscoraras were lighter colored than other tribes, being generally mentioned as **White Indians**, as were other tribes in the west and south "emanating from this source;" and adds:

"They stated that their ancestors were Welsh. If the objection is made, how they could have lost traces of European civilization so soon, it may be recollected that the buccaneers of St. Domingo had in thirty years forgotten all knowledge of Christianity. Such radical differences as exist between the white and red races could not have been lost without the lapse of centuries; while their languages would undergo, more or less, some marked modifications."

Welsh Terms—Round Tower. Bowen declares the word "Pontigo"—a river where Morgan Jones found Welsh-speaking Indians—seems derived from Pont y Go, "The Smith's Bridge," a smith dwelling beside a bridge, which name might be given such place by Indians ignorant of metals; that "Doeg Indians might be a corruption of Madog's Indians;" that those who were convinced on the subject believed that Madoc's colony landed in New England and moved down the coast and inhabited country between Virginia and Florida; that the Round Tower at Newport, R. I., indicates "vestiges of European civilization ** before the Pilgrim Fathers landed," and "is certainly constructed on the

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000 same principle as Stonehenge, Eng., and many other Cambrian memorials;" conforms exactly to the Druidic circle, rests on eight round columns twenty-three feet in diameter and twenty-four high, that it is Cambrian, not Scandinavian archeology; speaks of Stedman "of Breconshire" as relating that Oliver Humphreys narrated that "an English privateer, or pirate" being near Florida careening his vessel, "had learned, as he thought, the Indian language, which his friend said was perfect Welsh." That "our American mounds agree in the minutest particulars with those described by Pennant as found during his 'Tour in Wales;'-" that this "is the opinion of De Laet, Hornius, Mitchel, and others." Bowen proceeds:

"**Welegeens.**" "A writer in the 'Mount Joy Herald,' makes this statement: 'In the year 1854 I had a conversation with an old Indian prophet, who styled himself the fifteenth in the line of succession. He told me, in broken English, that long ago a race of white people had lived at the mouth of Conestoga creek, who had red hair and blue eyes, who cleared the land, fenced, plowed, raised grain, etc., that they introduced the honey bee, unknown to them. He said the Indians called them the Welegeens, and that in the time of the fifth prophet the Conestoga Indians made war with them, and, after great slaughter on both sides, the white settlers were driven away. Our fathers and grandfathers used to tell us what a hatred and prejudice the Conestoga Indians had against red haired and blue eyed people—in all their wars in eastern Pennsylvania. When taking white prisoners, they would discriminate between the black haired and the red, showing mercy to the former, and reserving the latter for torture and death. This would seem to indicate that they knew from tradition of Prince Madoc and his followers, and of the fearful fight they had made.'

"In Onondaga, New York, there are vestiges of ancient settlements dating back beyond the time when the council fires of the six nations burned there. These are protected by three circular forts."

Wyoming and Susquehanna Valley Remains. Bowen then refers to Isaac Chapman's "History of Wyoming," Penn., in which that author states that remains of ancient fortifications exist in the Wyoming valley apparently constructed by "a race of people very different in their habits from those who occupied the place

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when first discovered by the whites;" one of the best preserved of which he examined in 1817, and carefully ascertained its dimensions, it being in Kingston township on the north side of Toby's Creek, about half a mile from its confluence with the Susquehanna; "it consisted probably of only one mound" of equal height on all sides, made of earth, "the plain on which it stands not abounding in stone. On the outside of the ramparts an intrenchment, or ditch." The plain when first known was covered with a forest, "and the trees which grew in the rampart and the intrenchment are said to have been as large as those in any other part of the valley;" one oak among which was found "to be seven hundred years old. The Indians had no tradition concerning these fortifications" nor, apparently, of the purposes for which they were constructed." Bowen adds: That on the Susquehanna, a little above Wilkesbarre is another fortification "of precisely the same size and dimensions as that described by Chapman." That in these works and up that river to Towanda human skeletons have been found, "as many as six at one time having been washed out of the old fireplaces by the freshets—large earthen vessels, and relics of various kinds. One of these earthen vessels was twelve feet in diameter, thirty-six feet in circumference, and three inches thick," found on a Mr. Kinney's farm; relics of iron instruments had also been found, "which agrees with a remarkable tradition of the Shawanese Indians who emigrated from Pennsylvania to Ohio, 'that the coasts were inhabited by white men who used iron instruments.'"

Welsh Coat of Arms. Says Bowen: "Six buttons were also discovered bearing on their faces the **mermaid**, the coat of arms of the Principality of Wales." Bowen proceeds:

"Ring-Forts" Like Celts—Skeletons—Metals. "The statements of these early writers have been abundantly confirmed, respecting the existence of monumental remains and traces of civilized life, by the patient explorations of such workers as Schoolcraft, Squier, Davis, Pidgeon, and others, who have opened up many of these half-concealed monuments and disclosed their contents. Squier, in speaking of those found along the Ohio valley, says, 'The British Islands only afford works with which any comparison can safely be instituted. The 'ring-forts' of the ancient Celts are nearly identical in form and structure with a large class of remains in our own country."

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000 Bowen then refers to human skeletons found by Squier, as related in his "Aboriginal Monuments," together with ornaments and metals worked by skilled artificers, and remarks:

"It must be borne in mind that these mounds bear no resemblance to Indian burying grounds. They are the sepulchres of a superior people." He proceeds:

Silver Cross. "In 1844 a gentleman in Ohio sent to the librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Manssachusetts, a cross, the emblem of the Christian faith. It was made of silver, and was about two and a half inches long. It was found on the breast of a female skeleton which was dug from a mound at Columbus, over which a forest of trees had grown. On this cross the capital letters I. S. are perfectly visible. These initials are interpreted to mean the sacred name, Iesus Salvator."

Celtic Hieroglyphics. " A relic which obtained great celebrity some years ago, and which is now in the possession of some person in Richmond, Virginia, was found at Grave Creek, Virginia, near the Ohio, in the upper vault of the celebrated mound there. The attention of the learned world was brought to it by Mr. Schoolcraft, who made a correct drawing and published it. The mound went by the suggestive name of '**The Grave.**' **The relic was found, with other things, by the side of some skeletons. It is nearly circular in form, and composed of a compact sandstone of a light color. The inscription upon it runs in three parallel lines, and comprises twenty-four distinct characters, having at the bottom a hieroglyphic or ideographic sign. It has been subjected to the studious scrutiny of many learned men, with various results. The most of the characters have been decided to be Celtic or old British."

Broadsword. "Some years ago a circular plate, made of copper and overlaid with a thick plate of silver on one side, was found near the city of Marietta, Ohio. The copper was nearly reduced to an oxide, or rust. The silver was black, but could be brightened by being rubbed. A small piece of leather was inserted between the two plates of silver and copper, and both held together with a central rivet. This relic exactly resembled the bosses or ornaments appended to the belt of the broadsword of the ancient Briton or Welshman. It lay on the face of the skeleton, preserving the bone, as it did the leather and the lint or flax around the rivet. Near the body was found a plate of silver, six

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inches long and two in breadth, and weighing one ounce. There were also several pieces of a copper tube, filled with rust. These are supposed to have belonged to the equipage of a sword."

Engineering Implements. Bowen declares that the Ohio earthworks and those of the Mississippi show great proficiency in engineering with "all parts of a systematic defense ** and even the lookout, corresponding to the **barbican** in the British system of the middle ages." He contends that the many relics in various metals curiously wrought, found in those earthworks, must, in view of the ignorance of the red man of those arts, be regarded as of other origin—the ancient genius for work and trade in metals indicating probability of Welsh origin.

Mines. He declares the Upper Lake copper mines were worked by Welsh in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries; trees found standing among the debris showing about 400 years' growth; huge chunks of copper "lifted out of their beds by finished tools," etc; "wooden frame-works and skids have been found made with sharp-edged instruments." He thinks, however, that too great age has been by some ascribed to the defenses and mounds of our country, citing various earthworks made during and prior to the revolutionary period as being less ancient than they appear.

Fortifications Less Ancient Westward. Bowen states that trees in the Wyoming valley showed, by annular rings, from 600 to 700 years' age; that according to President Harrison's observation, 500 years would be required for growth of trees on those ruins to mature to middle of eighteenth century; that the age of trees standing on those earthworks diminish "with striking regularity in the ratio of their distance from the eastern coast." The first found reach 700; in the Ohio from four to 500; in the Lake Superior region 350 to 400; that by comparing these figures with A. D. 1170 at Madoc's alleged landing, etc., little doubt can linger as to the origin, etc.

Dispersion From Ohio. Bowen asserts that abundant evidence existed that dispersions went on to south, west and north from mouth of the Ohio after the "Welsh Indians" were driven there, shown by similar remains indicating skill, etc. Such a dispersion offers the best solution for ** numerous accounts given of them into an intelligible and consistent whole."

Semi-Civilized Western Indians—Names. Bowen cites from a

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800 letter from a resident of New Orleans, to Griffith Williams of London: "That the natives of America have, for many years past, emigrated from the east to the west is a known fact; ** that a people called the Welsh or White Indians now reside at or near the banks of the Missouri, I have not the least doubt of," traders, etc., having so asserted; that an Illinois merchant assured him that "White Bearded Indians" existed west of the Mississippi in thirty-two villages, have religious ceremonies, etc.; and cites Cox's "Description of Louisiana" (1782) showing that La Hontan found Indians "much more civilized than any other Indians," designated Metocantes, 800 miles up the Missouri on "an east lake;" and from Charlevoix (Vol. 2, p. 225) that far west of the Mississippi were "people resembling the French, with buttons on their clothes," etc., called Mactotatas; from Bossu's "Louisiana" who had information "by the Indians of a nation of clothed people" far west of the Mississippi in villages of "white stone, navigated in great piraguas on the great salt water lakes," and who cites Peter Martyr as declaring that "the nations of Virginia and Guatemala celebrate the memory of their ancient heroes, whom they call Madoc," and that Bishop Nicholson "believes that the Welsh language has formed a considerable part of the languages of the American nations. There are antiquarians who pretend that the Spaniards got their double or guttural L (LL) from the American, who, according to the English, must have got it from the Welsh;" and that Bossu adds "that these Welsh Indians seem to go by various names, such as Panes, Panis (Pawnees)." And after quoting from Williams the Caldwell narrative and referring to Rimington's statement, Bowen declares that "the Welsh Indians went by different names," as Padoucas, Panis (Pawnees), Ka Anzou (Kansas), Matocantes, Mactotatas, and Madawgwys, Madogians or Madogiant, etc.; and that if 'm' were substituted for 'p' in "Padouca," making it "Madouca," it would "more nearly approach the general name," and the "p" might be a corruption from difficulty of pronunciation; that the "White Padoucas" lived in detached communities from 37 north and 97 west to 43 north and 110 west; that the Padoucas, Pawnees and Kansans were mixed; that from documents in Jefferson's Congressional Message "the Pania Pique in Arkansas were formerly the White Panias, and are of the same family as the Panias" of the Platte; that in Du Pratz's Louisiana the "White Panis" in the map are

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at the head of the Arkansas, "Panis Mahas, or White Panis" at the head of the Platte, the Padoucas between, etc.

Madoc is "Matoc." Bowen asserts that "Matocantes" resembles "Madoc," that "a Welshwoman in South Wales calling her son by that name would say Matoc, which is pure Silurian Welsh, the 'd' being changed into 't'; hence there might follow such names as Matociait, Matociant, Matocantes, as applied to the followers of Madoc."

Griffith's Account. Bowen quotes from Judge Toulman, of Mississippi in "Kentucky Palladium" of 1804, to the effect that no circumstance relative to the west has excited "more general attention and anxious curiosity than the opinion that a nation of white men speaking the Welsh language reside high up the Missouri"—an idea regarded variously as "suggestion of bold imposture" or "as a fact fully authenticated by Indian testimony, and the report of various travelers worthy of credit;" that the Ohio fortifications "were evidently never made by the Indians," that their structure indicates an agricultural people of military genius; that he himself entertains "considerable doubt about the fact;" but that what John Childs veraciously related to him merited "serious attention," concerning Maurice Griffith's experience; who a native of Wales forty years before was imprisoned in Virginia by the Shawnees and taken to their nation, where, after remaining several years, he was allowed to go with five Indians "to explore the sources of the Missouri;" that in ascending from the Missouri's mouth they "frequently came in sight of" the river, finding salt springs, etc.; found lead and copper mines, and later "white mountains" which, though in summer time, "appeared to be covered with snow," but which proved to be "immense bodies of white sand;" had passed through "about ten nations of Indians;" thence up a "shallow river" to the top of a mountain, beyond which they went "for several days," when they "accidently **met with three white men in the Indian dress.** Griffith immediately understood their language, as it was pure Welsh" except an occasional word; that (the Shawnees had taken turns as spokesmen, etc.) it being the turn of a Shawnee to interpret, Griffith "preserved a profound silence, and never gave them any intimation that he understood," etc.

European Indians. That after four or five days' journey they reached those white men's village, "where they found that the

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000 whole nation was of the same color, having all the European complexion;" for some fifteen miles "the three men" took them through their villages, where a council over the conduct to be observed towards "the strangers" was held for three days in their presence, "as the strangers were not supposed to be acquainted with their language;" the conclusion being that the visitors were warlike and should be put to death, as invasion might follow their return. "Griffith then thought it was time for him to speak. He addressed the council in the Welsh language;" informed them that no nation, but curiosity had sent them, they wished to trace up the Missouri, etc. "An instant astonishment glowed in the countenances, not only of the council, but of his Shawanese companions, who clearly saw that he was understood by the people;" he was believed, they were then treated with utmost friendship; the Griffith party remained eight months, "but were deterred from prosecuting their researches up the Missouri by the advice of the people" who declared that after a twelve months' journey up the river it did not decrease, etc.

Forefathers From Abroad. "As to the history of this people he could learn nothing satisfactory. The only account they could give was, that their forefathers had come up the river from a very distant country. They had no books, no records, no writings. They intermixed with no other people by marriage; there was not a dark skinned man in the nation. Their numbers were very considerable. There was a continued range of settlements on the river for fifty miles, and there were within this space three large water courses which fell into the Missouri, on the banks of which they were likewise settled.** Their clothing was skins well dressed. Their houses were made of upright posts and barks of trees.** They had no iron. ** They had some silver which had been hammered with stones into coarse ornaments, but it did not appear to be pure. ** He said nothing about their religion."

Griffith, after preparing a canoe and promising to again visit those Indians, descended the river with the Shawnees and returned to that nation, having been gone "about two years and a half;" and a few months later found it possible to leave a hunting party and reach "the settlements on the Roanoke." Childs "knew him before he was taken prisoner, and saw him a few days after his return;" he was "universally regarded as a steady, honest man of strict veracity;" Childs "has no more doubt of the

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truth of his relations than if he had seen the whole himself." 000 Bowen shows the lead mines to have been in Missouri, the salt springs in Nebraska, and the "white mountains," as proven by his own observations, were "bold projections of limestone which in the distance appeared like banks of snow" on the Missouri banks; says Griffith's speaking of Indians "all white" presents difficulties but is partially explained by stating that they were unmixed "by marriage" with other people and were not "dark skinned," that they were white enough to be called by Griffith and numerous reliable witnesses "White Padoucas," "White Panis," "White Indians;" that his statement that they had "no records and no horses" differs somewhat from those of others but does not contradict them, as "different branches" of Indians were visited, etc.; that his reference to their language "meant no more than that the radical structure of the (Welsh) language was still preserved and could be readily distinguished, though some of the words had undergone modification."

Morgan Lewis' Account. Bowen cites Gen. Morgan Lewis, a revolutionary army officer and aide-de-camp to Gen. Gates, once governor of New York, etc.; a native of Wales, his father was Francis Lewis, a signer of the Declaration of Independence; and the latter was captured at Oswego in the French war and assigned over by Montcalm "to certain Indians, as their share of prisoners" among which Indians "was a chief whose language resembled the Gaelic (a dialect of the Celtic with which Mr. Lewis was thoroughly acquainted)." Mr. Lewis understood him "sufficiently to discover that his language was of that ancient dialect;" he then "addressed the chief in Welsh, and was understood" and Lewis was "selected from the rest of the prisoners, and accompanied and guarded," etc.; and Lewis "was sent to England in a cartel for exchange of prisoners."

Bowen, after referring to the Roman characters as in use in Wales after Cesar's invasion, thus alludes to the Greek characters in use in their sacred literature, and to the various books found among the American Indians as shown:

Were They Madoc's Books? "Yet so sacred was the Greek character held by monastic schools, because the gospel was written in it, that many transcribers—and they were the bookmakers—clung with a religious enthusiasm to it. Christianity

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was certainly introduced into the island in the second century, the Greek forms in the Welsh language had not become lost, and it is likely that many parchment manuscripts were extant, Madoc's position as a member of the royal house of Wales, notwithstanding the scarcity and great cost of books in those times, would enable him to possess some of the most valuable, even those illuminated in rich, fixed colors, and which required many years of patient toil to manufacture. It is far more within the order of reason to believe that Madoc and his emigrants, upon leaving their own native shores, would take with them copies of the great book of books—the king of books on the throne of letters, than that they would leave them behind. Some of his followers, perhaps the most of them, were not able to read them, but knew somewhat their contents. Under their new conditions of life, relapsing gradually from a civilized state, these manuscripts came at length to be invested with a certain sacred mystery, as the depository of their ancestors' religious faith. No wonder that they should be so carefully preserved."

Bowen, p. 120, Ch. XI, thus refers to the Mandans, and to Catlin's visit to and concerning them:

Bowen On the Mandans. "During the present century various travelers have called the attention of the civilized world to a small body of Indians inhabiting the banks of the upper Missouri, called Mandans. They, with the Minnetarees and Crows, are classed with the Dacotahs or Sioux, although it is known that their language bears no affinity whatever with the latter people. The Mandans are very light colored."

And after making a biographical reference to Geo. Catlin, and stating that he was the most intimate with the Mandans of all who visited them, he adds:

Bowen On Catlin. "When Mr. Catlin made his first entrance into this nation, numbering several thousands, he was struck with their appearance, and at once concluded that they belonged to an amalgam of native and white. He was at a loss for some time how to account for this; and it was only after the most careful study that he reached the conviction that the Mandans were a branch of the descendants of Madoc's colony. He believed that the ten ships of Madoc, or at least part of them, either entered the Balize at the mouth of the Mississippi, or the colonists landed

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on the Florida coast and made their way inward. They began agriculture, but were attacked and driven to erect those immense earthen fortifications and subsequently were driven still farther and farther inward. Mandans was a corruption of Madawgwys, a name applied by Cambrians to the followers of Madoc." He says of their pottery:

Mandan Pottery. "They exhibit great skill in the manufacture of pottery, and the specimens found in the earthen remains of the Ohio valley, many of them at present in the museum at Cincinnati, correspond with many of the products of the Mandans. The Mandan women mould vases, cups, pitchers, and pots out of the black clay, and bake them in little kilns in the sides of the hill, or under the bank of the river."

Mandan Language—It Is Welsh. "The most convincing proof, probably, to the mind of Mr. Catlin, and all others who have studied the possible identification of the Mandans with Madoc's colony, is found in their language. The resemblance in form and sound is so very marked that it cannot escape the eye and ear of any individual, much less those of a Welshman. It is expected that he would catch the soonest any similarity in the two languages, the Mandan and the Welsh. And fortunately there are too many instances of this similarity to admit for a moment, the idea of chance or coincidence."

Bowen here exhibits a table of "words selected from the English, Mandan, and Welsh, and their pronunciations," adding that many others might be given:

English.	Mandan.	Welsh.	Pronounced.
I	Me	Mi	Me
You	Ne	Chwi	Chwe
He	E	A	A
She	Ea	E	A
It	Ount	Hwynt	Hooynt
We	Eonah	Huna, masc.	Hoona
		Hona, fem.	Hona
Those ones	.....	.....	Yrhai Hyna
No, or there is not	Megosh	Nagoes	Nagosh
No	Meg	Nage	

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English.	Mandan.	Welsh.	Pronounced.
		Nag	
		Na	
Head	Pan	Pen	Pen
The Great Spirit	Maho peneta	Mawr penaethir	Yaoon penaethir
		Ysprid mawr	Usprid maoor
Father	Tautah	Tadwys	Tadoos
Foh! Ugh!	Paeechah	Pah	Pah
Hammock	Caupan	Gaban	GaGban
To call	Eenah	Enwi	Enwah

Deep Guttural Sounds. He remarks: "The Welsh is noted for its deep gutturals, and, to the ear unaccustomed to hear it, it seems very harsh. Travelers have observed this guttural pronunciation very extensively among the American Indians."

Natches Indians Talked Welsh. "Mr. Baldwin, in his recent work on 'Ancient America,' in his endeavors to determine the origin of the Natches Indians, says, 'they differed in language, customs, and condition from all other Indians in the country.' He then attempts to affix their traditions with the people of Mexico." And after referring to the Willain colony in the Natches country (hereinbefore related), Bowen asks: "Is it not altogether likely, then, that the Uchees and Natches, being known to be so very different from the surrounding nations in language, spoke the same as the Mandans, and that the language of the three did not differ much from the Welsh?" And after mentioning the Dr. Morse report concerning the "Welsh Indians" in 1820, and to Catlin's researches, Bowen remarks: "But time is making things more equal, and the sturdy defenders of Madoc's voyages and American colony are having his claims ratified in a most astonishing manner. It is very fortunate that more recent researches have brought to light the language of a people so rapidly melting away, and thus supplied an answer to the question as to how the many Welshmen who came in contact with them could understand and converse with these Welsh Bearded Indians." (p. 130, Ch. 12.)

(Bowen, p. 130, Ch. 12.)

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Mexico and Peru—Taltecs to Aztecs. "Mexico and Peru were the most civilized parts of the continent when the **Spaniards** arrived. If it had not been for the bigoted zeal of the Spanish priests, and most signally that of **Zumarraga**, the abundant and astonishing national picture-writings which were the historical records of the Aztecs might still be in existence, and serve to reveal the successive links in the mighty chain of migrations of the early peoples so that much of the mystery that still lingers in regard to their settlement and civilization could be removed ** The historian is consequently forced to rely upon whatever fugitive pieces escaped the hands of those infamous ravagers, the study of the monumental remains, and the broken and scattered remnants of this people, scarcely recognizable, found on the Mexican plateau and in the various parts of the American territories."

Aztecs From North. "According to the most authentic records which remain, the Aztecs came from the regions of the north, 'the populous hive of nations in the new world, as it has been in the old.'

"**Claviegro**, the patient and voluminous historian of New Spain, assigns the following dates to some of the most important events in the early history of Mexico:

	A. D.
The Toltecs arrived in Anahuac	648
They abandoned their country	1051
The Chichemecs arrived	1170
The Acolhuans arrived about	1200
The Aztecs or Mexicans reached Tula	1196
They founded the Mexican Empire	1325
Conquest by Cortez	1521

Aztecs Not Barbarians. "Zurita, a celebrated jurist, whose personal experience and observation among the Aztecs extended over a period of nineteen years, and who returned to Spain in 1560, was indignant at the epithet **barbarian** as applied to the Aztecs, an epithet, he says, 'which could come from no one who had personal knowledge of the capacity of the people or their institutions, and which in some respects is quite as well merited by the European nations.'" Then, quoting Zurita on the civilization, arts and sciences of the Aztecs, their light complexion and European dress, he quotes further: Throughout the different

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000 cities were barber shops, where the men assembled to have their beards shaved. No such thing was known among the American Indians." Bowen quotes from Prescott:

"God of the Air"—His Return Expected. " 'Quetzalcoatl, God of the air,' says Prescott, 'instructed them in the use of the metals, in agriculture, and the arts of government. It was the golden age. For some cause he was compelled to abandon the country. On his way he stopped at the city of Cholula, where a temple was dedicated to his worship, the massy ruins of which still form one of the most interesting relics of antiquity in Mexico. When he reached the shores of the Mexican gulf, **he took leave of his followers, promising that he and his descendants would revisit them hereafter,** and then, entering his wizard skiff made of serpents' skins, embarked on the great ocean for the fabled land of **Tlapallan** (are there not here the Welsh words **lla,** place, softened into **tla** and **pell,** distant, meaning 'distant place?') He was said to have been tall in stature, with a white skin, long dark hair, and a flowing beard." Bowen proceeds:

Aztec Religion—Two Sources. "Their religion was a compound of Christianity and mythology, of spiritual refinement and ferocity. Indeed, so much was this the case that the most intelligent and judicious historians of the Aztecs could not resist the conviction that one part of their religion emanated from a comparatively refined people, while the other sprang from barbarians. Everything pointed to the doctrine that their religion had **two distinct sources.**

"Some historians have erred in supposing that they indiscriminately sacrificed human beings. Their sacrifices were criminals collected from all parts of the country, kept in cages, and slain upon the same day to make a religious exhibition."

One God—Prayers. "They recognized the existence of one God, Supreme Creator and Lord of the Universe. In their prayers they addressed Him as their God, 'by whom they lived, omnipresent, who knoweth all thoughts and giveth all gifts, without whom man is nothing, the incorporeal, invisible, one God, of perfect perfection and purity, under whose wings we find repose and a sure defense.'**

"The ceremony of naming children shows a wonderful coincidence with what are called Christian rites. The lips and bosom

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of the infant were sprinkled with water, and 'the Lord was implored to permit the holy drops to wash away the sin that was given to it before the foundation of the world, so that the child might be born anew.' "**

Aztec Bards—Welsh Minstrelsy? "The Aztec nobles had Bards in their houses, who composed ballads suited to the times, and sang and played on instruments in honor of the achievements of their lord. In this is discovered a resemblance to the customs of Welsh ministrelsy."

Musical Councils—Welsh Trials? Badges. "They had also musical councils, held on special days in the presence of large public assembles, for the trials of historians, poets, and musicians, in their respective compositions, before the monarchs of Mexico. Tuzcuco, and Tlacopan. These were exactly identical with the Welsh Eisteddfods—bardic and musical contests, which have long been and are still held in Wales. ** They had also a complete system of orders and badges resembling those in Europe. By a study of their stone calendars, they are known to have had regular divisions of time; and their years consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days."

Montezuma's People Conquerors. "Historians relate that in the first interview of Cortez and Montezuma in his palace, the latter said that his ancestors were not the original proprietors of the land. They had occupied it but a few ages, and had been led there by a great Being, **who, after giving them laws and ruling over the nation for a time, had withdrawn to the region where the sun rises.** He had declared upon his departure that he or his descendants would again visit them and resume his empire. The wonderful deeds of the Spaniards, their fair complexion, and the quarter whence they came, led him to believe that they were his descendants.

"It was this tradition, inflexibly maintained by all the natives, which enabled Cortez and his followers to secure such a complete conquest throughout the Aztec empire."

South American White Civilization. "Three South American nations ascribe their civilization and religion to three white men who appeared among them.

"Abbe Molina in his 'History of Chili,' Vol. II. book I,

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chap. I, says, that 'there is a tribe of Indians in Baroa, Chili, whose complexions are a clear white and red.'

"Baron Humboldt, in his 'Political Essays,' remarks that 'in the forests of Guiana, especially near the sources of the river Oronoco, are several tribes of a whitish complexion.'

"Captain John Drummond, who resided in Mexico for many years in a military capacity, as an engineer, geographer, and naturalist, favored Dr. Williams, the author of the 'Enquiry,' with his opinion on the subject." (p. 140.)

Bowen then quotes, as hereinbefore taken from Williams' 'Enquiry;' and proceeds:**

Tlascalan and Aztec Fortifications. "The Tlascalans belonged to the same great family with the Aztecs. They came on the grand Mexican plateau about the same time with the kindred races, at the close of the **twelfth** century. Their immense fortifications and walls, which extended for many miles, show the same methods of construction, in semi-circular lines and overlapping one another, as those in the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi."

Pyramid Builders From Atlantic. "Most of the historians say that the two great pyramids—teocalli—just northeast of the city of Mexico were constructed by an ancient people that came to Mexico from some country east situated on the Atlantic ocean."

Aztecs Coeval With Madoc. "What, then, is the conclusion? That the Aztecs were the Alligewi, who were found in Virginia and the Carolinas by Madoc's colony, and with whom the latter became amalgamated and moved westward. Being more and more pressed by the powerful Indian nations which subsequently gained control of the middle and eastern countries, they were at length obliged to abandon the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. Some portions of these people had reached, as a sort of advance guard, the Mexican plateau before those who were left behind entirely surrendered the country. The date of founding the Aztec empire—1325—necessitates this view." **

Migration Up Missouri. "When this mighty migration took place, a portion, from necessity, convenience, or inclination, ascended the Missouri; and of these the Mandans are the descendants; while the main body moved in a southwest direction, leaving unmistakable traces of their progress from the Mississippi to Mexico."

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Aztec-Welshmen Controlled Continent. "The Aztec empire became a controlling power on this continent, and exacted tribute for the Mexican kings from all the Indian tribes. ** The ships which are represented on Mexican monuments as crossing an ocean are Madoc's vessels, floating on the Atlantic from Wales to America. 000

"Abbe Brasseur de Bourbourg, the most profound investigator in Mexican and Peruvian antiquities, says, 'The native traditions generally tribute their civilization to bearded white men, who came across the ocean from the east.'" Bowen proceeds:

"Sebastian Cabot, in 1495, ** discovered Florida and Mexico, and found along the coast the descendants of the Welsh discoverers who eventually settled in Mexico."

Bowen, (page 147) cites the following from Carver:

Carver—Mexican Subjects. "Captain Carver, in his 'Travels in North America,' says that 'northwest of the Missouri and St. Pierre, the Indian fathers told me that there was a nation rather smaller and whiter than the neighboring tribes, who cultivated the ground, and (as far as I could gather from their expressions) in some measure the arts. They are supposed to be some of the different tribes that were tributary to the Mexican kings, and who fled from their native country to seek an asylum in these parts about the time of the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, about two centuries ago.'" and cites him further regarding the missionary idea of the Indians having "some notion of the Christian institutions, for they were greatly agitated at the sight of the cross, which made such impressions on them that they showed that they were not unacquainted with the sacred mysteries of Christianity." Bowen adds:

Civilized Montezumans. "Very little has been known until late years of the Rio del Norte and its source or sources, which flows in a southerly direction through New Mexico and empties into the gulf. ** Military and scientific expeditions have been sent into these countries, which have returned with reports of having discovered new nations about whom nothing has been hitherto known.

"In the campaign of General Crook against the Apaches, a large tract of country, rich with the relics of the past, was opened. It contains a chain of cities in ruins and ancient towns

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still inhabited by a race which holds itself aloof from Mexicans, Indians, and Americans, and prides itself on its descent from the ancient inhabitants of the country, and maintains a religion and government peculiar to itself. ** A strong wall surrounds the largest settlement.

"Montezuma is their deity, and his coming is looked for at sunrise each day. Their priests wore heavily embroidered robes, while their religious ceremonies are very formal and pompous. They have a high order of morality. The chief powers of government are vested in thirteen caciques, six of whom are elected for life. They are quite advanced in civilization. Their women are not treated as beasts of burden, but are respected, and permitted to confine themselves to housekeeping. From all that can be gleaned, it appears that these people have maintained their traditions unbroken for at least three centuries and a half." Bowen proceeds:

Civilized Moquis in Arizona. "Dr. Oscar Leow, chemist to Wheeler's surveying expedition, has contributed a brief ** intensely interesting article to the 'Popular Science Monthly' for July, 1874, on 'The Moquis Indians of Arizona,' " who observes:** Their seven cities stand upon very high precipitous cliffs of sandstone, which, when seen in the distance, present such bold fronts that it appears out of the question for any one to think of climbing them. As the traveler approaches, however, he discovers narrow and circuitous paths, which must be passed over single file up and up,till the summit is reached. On this giddy height is the home of the Moquis. Dr. Leow terms it the 'Gibraltar of the West,' which the Navajoes and Apaches have never been able to conquer. **

"Here the habitations are not built of adobe, like Indian and Mexican huts, but of stones firmly held in place by a cement of clay and sand. The stories are about seven feet high, divided into rooms, and each provided with a fire-place. Windows are cut into the walls about a foot square."

Welsh Architecture—Cookery. "The architecture of these stone houses bears a marked conformity with that of the ruder ages among the Welsh.

"The physical appearance of the Moquis is a nearer approach to that of the Caucasian than to that of the Mongolian race. The

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complexion is a light red-brown, and the countenance unusually intelligent.

"Mr. Cozzens, (of the Wheeler expedition) says that 'their faces were so bright and intelligent that I fancied they only required to be clothed in American dress, and shorn of their long locks of coarse black hair, to enable them to easily pass for people of our own race who had become brown from exposure to the sun. Their clothing is neat, and they have an abundance of it. They knit, spin, and weave blankets, cloaks, etc. They also manufacture certain kinds of pottery." Their reservoirs are mentioned—utilized for live stock, and corn, the "principal crop." "The corn is ground, and then mixed with water, so as to form a paste. The woman who makes it dips her hand in the paste and rapidly passes some of it over hot stones, where it is soon baked. The cakes resemble the Welsh **bara llechan**, noted in their cookery. They have a kind of food called **panoche**, and still another called **tomales**—by mixing flour and meat in a powdered state. ** The vice of drunkenness and crime of murder are not known among this people. They are kind, warm-hearted, and hospitable. They believe that their great father, Montezuma, lives where the sun rises."

Aztecs of Welsh Blood. "Mr. Cozzens studied their manners and customs, and endeavored to learn something of the history of this singular race. He says that it is asserted by the people of the other pueblos 'that they are descendants of the Aztecs, though with Welsh blood in their viens.'" **

Mohave—Welsh Words. "The Mohaves, who are on the Colorado reservation, Arizona, are a small, isolated tribe, not more than perhaps a thousand all told. They are different from all other Indians. The women are tall, cleanly, and less servile than most Indian women. Their language is peculiar, and has Welsh words in it." **

Modocs—Madocs? "The perfidious and barbarous massacre of General Canby, Rev. Eleazer Thomas, and others, by that savage band called the Modocs, brought them into an unenviable notoriety; but, while passing, it is worthy of query how they came by a name so much like that of Madoc." (pp. to 155.)

Indian Freemasons. Bowen then refers to the beginning of

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Freemasonry in America, as stated by Benjamin Franklin, and proceeds:

"But, if the testimony of the intelligent travelers can be accepted, it seems quite evident that lodges of Freemasons were in existence among the American Indians centuries prior to this time, all of which point to a Welsh origin. They certainly had private societies, which met at certain times, and the proceedings of which were kept inviolably secret under an oath." He then cites Governor DeWitt Clinton as believing that the signs of Freemasonry were found among the Indians. ** "In an interview that he had with an Indian preacher, the latter unmistakably made revelations which convinced the former that he was familiar with the order." The Iroquois are referred to as having Masonic orders, whose procedure was "same as among the whites." He asks:

Freemasonry in Wales. "Whence did they originate? There was a long period in Europe when the knowledge of Freemasonry was mostly confined to the Druids, and in Wales this order was the most generally found. It was their home. There they had their colleges and schools of learning. They were, indeed, priests, legislators, and historians. Through their order the principles of the mystic craft were preserved throughout Europe. It was associated with the later system of Bardism; ** it was known that its deepest roots were struck in the soil of Wales. Madoc, the son of a king and surrounded by a heroic band of eminent men, could not be ignorant of the principles of Freemasonry, and when they landed in America they brought those principles with them. ** There are not wanting instances where the lives of many whites have been spared by the Indians because the understood certain secret signs communicated to them."

Again, speaking of the Welsh language among the American Indians, Bowen says:

The Language Test. "An eminent modern linguist has said 'that the genealogy and antiquities of nations can be learned only from the sure testimony of their languages.'"

He then declares that "discovery of portions of a language" among nations separated by ocean, "surely indicates that some who spoke that language must have brought it there." And, adverting to instances of "imagined similarities" by the philolo-

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gists, he says: "But when it is found that an identity exists in (1) the form, (2) the sound, and (3) the signification, and that, too, in multiplied instances, there is reason to believe that this identity does not rest on accident or coincidence. The student of language seaches for some more satisfactory solution of the question, by ascertaining, if possible, how those portions were introduced." 800

Celtic Words Among Indians. "Now, this is just the case with the Celtic language found among the Indian dialects. From New England to South America, Celtic words have been found whose structure, pronunciation, and signification were the same as those in use by the Gaels, Erse or Irish, and Welsh. Names of tribes, persons, places, rivers, and of many living and inanimate objects on the American continent, have been applied, and are now used, which can find their right place only by assigning to them a Celtic origin. ** Some said that was not to be wondered at—the finding of Celtic words among Americans—for undoubtedly the Celts have been very widely spread over the globe. This, however, was too general an affirmation to satisfy others. The celebrated Bishop Nicholson believed that the Welsh language formed a considerable part of the languages of the American nations. Sir Thomas Herbert, who published his travels in London in 1683." (Here follows what has been heretofore set forth from John Williams' book concerning Welsh words in this connection; and he adds:) **

"Appomattox" Is "Madoc's Name?" "Appomattox, now well known to the world, signifies **Appwy,** 'appoint' or 'name,' and **Mattox,** 'Madoc' or 'Mattoc,' the latter having the soft Silurian sound; hence, 'Madoc's name.'

"Madoc's creek is known by most Virginians, and by others."[68]

"Aztlan" a Welsh Word. "Aztlan seems clearly to have been derived from Welsh words having become mingled with Indian dialects, as **as,** 'plane surface' or 'area,' and **lan,** 'up,' an elevated land or table-land.' What better definition could be found to describe the Aztec plateau, beginning in Aztlan proper and continuing to widen into the Mexican plateau? The termination **lan** is very common in the Aztec language. It is found in the names of tribes, their cities, and a multitude of other objects, Tlascalans, Cholulans, and other peoples who dwelt in and around the upper

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countries of the Aztec Empire. The terminations **an** and **pan**, the latter indicating locality, as prefix or suffix, are very noticeable. So frequent also is the use of **ch, th, and ll,** that the Welsh student who speaks or reads aloud Aztec words is simply astonished by their perfect consonance with those of his native tongue."

After recounting the long list of witnesses cited by him, and after referring to Catlin's "Years of Patient Investigation into the Language of the Mandans and of Other Indians," and to his table of Mandan and Welsh words, Bowen observes concerning the Moquis and Mojaves (page 163):

Celtic Inscriptions. "Those who have any acquaintance with the Moquis and Mohave tongues declare that they contain Welsh words. Relics with Celtic inscriptions have been unearthed. Aztec and Spanish chroniclers confirm more recent researches respecting the presence of Celtic words in the old Aztec language." ** And concludes:

Bowen's Conclusion. "What then? Why, that such a mass of testimony under such a variety of circumstances, precluding the idea of preconcert, interest, prejudice, or down-right ignorance, establishes the fact that the Welsh were on this continent prior to its discovery by Columbus and that those Welsh were led thither by Prince Madoc in 1170, A. D. Many historical facts to which the world has given implicit credence are far less supported than the above. Hereafter let not American historians pass over these facts in contemptuous silence."

Welsh Immortals In America. And in a parting word Bowen, with pardonable pride of race and of nation-building, refers to the great part taken by the "Welsh mind and heart" in founding Christian civilization in America; to the fact that the Mayflower was captained by a Welshman and contained, beside, five prominent Welshmen; to Roger Williams and the "pure democracy" established by him at Providence—rewarded them by banishment, later by his ennoblement in bronze; and lastly, to the eighteen Welsh immortals who signed the Declaration of Independence, beginning with John Adams and ending with Francis Henry Lightfoot Lee.

Morse Report. As showing the currency of the accounts of the "Welsh Indians" early in last century, we cite the following from the Morse report to war department in 1822:

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"MANDANS."

"The Mandans, numbering 1,250 souls, live on the Missouri, a few miles on this side Mandan Fort. It has been suggested (see page 145 of this App.) that these Indians are descendants of the Welsh colony, who are said to have early immigrated to this country." (Report of Jedidiah Morse to Secretary of War, page 252, in year 1822.) 000

"WELSH INDIANS."

"Father Reichard, of Detroit, from whom I received the facts just stated, informed me at the same time, that in 1793, he was told at Fort Chartres that twelve years before Capt. Lord commanded this post who heard some of the old people observe, that **Mandan Indians** visited this post, and could converse intelligibly with some **Welsh** soldiers in the British army. This hint is here given, that any person who may have the opportunity, may ascertain whether there is any affinity between the Mandan and Welsh language." (Id, page 145.)

Maj. Amos Stoddard, who was the first acting governor of the upper half of the Louisiana Territory after its acquisition by the United States, in his very interesting and competent work entitled "Sketches Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana," published in 1812 (Mathew Carey, Phila.) has entered into a discussion of the claims in favor of the discovery of America by Prince Madoc, under the title, "A Welsh Nation In America," and has collated many evidences tending to sustain the theory, some of which have already been brought in review herein, and some of which refer to as found in his text.

The fact that an officer of the federal government, holding an official relation to the country whose history brought out this portion of his observations and discussions, saw fit to descend to a detailed treatment of the question in the manner in which he presents it, seems to lend more than mere plausibility to his views and conclusions.

Stoddard regards it "morally impossible" that the "chain of testimony" he presents in favor of Welsh discovery of America "should be fabricated;" refers to the Welsh historians and bards as "recording their migration," and scouts the idea of any motive to deceive by "so many different persons at such distant periods

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of time from each other;" thinks it as likely that Wales "furnished a population for America" as that Asia, Africa, or the North of Europe did; that it is "likely" that Romans imparted to Britons "some confused notions" they had of discoveries in the Atlantic by the Phonicians or Carthaginians from Africa; that the Welsh had no adequate means of handing down history in Roman times, "but this furnishes no argument in favor of a contrary doctrine;" that the Welsh, attacked for ages by Romans, Saxons and Danes, "had as powerful motives for colonization as any other people;" they were likewise internally convulsed, had small hope of maintaining liberty and so had "strong motives to abandon their country;" that the difficulties of crossing the ocean from Wales were "not much greater than those from Africa, and much less than those usually experienced from the north of Europe;" mentions the general Welsh authorities hereinbefore treated of, quoting largely from Caradoc derived from Hakluyt; criticises Dr. Belknap wherein he imputes to Hakluyt a seeming paradox of finding a country "without inhabitants" and one where the Welsh "used the language found there," etc., by declaring that "unknown land" was first found, then a land "without inhabitants," and then one the character of which (on the alleged third voyage) "no one knowns;" that the language from Caradoc that "the Welsh followed the manners of the land, and used the language found there" "were the mere suggestions of" those writers centuries after the migration, in an attempt to show "that the Mexicans derived their origin from the Welsh," in which attempt it was necessary "to infer the loss of their own" language, while "the accounts given by Madoc himself on his return from his two first voyages, are perfectly natural and consistent;" that Belknap's partiality for Columbus doubtless made him "less disposed to admit the possibility of a competitor;" that while navigation was then little known, "yet it pretty plainly appears" that Madoc united his two first colonies at the point of destination. Of the fate of the third, which sailed in ten ships, we have no account; that if through unknown occurrence it landed far from the other two colonies, "probably they remained disunited and unknown to each other; and this accounts in part, for the apparent confusion in some of the subsequent proofs of their dispersed situation on this continent;" cites the

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account of "a knight of Wales, who, with shipping, and some pretty company, did go and discover these parts, (America) whereof, as there is some **record of reasonable credit** amongst the monuments of Wales"—as giving countenance to the storied "supposed voyages and discoveries of King Arthur;" the Morgan Jones account; Stedman's adventure; Charlevoix's account, of Carver and ending with Griffith's adventure; after which Stoddard publishes the following statement, made to him personally.

Red-Haired Indians In Far Northwest. "The subsequent narrative, corroborative of the one just mentioned, was given to the author of these sketches in May, 1805, by a Frenchman in upper Louisiana. This man had been several years employed in the northwest by the English traders. His usual station was at the factory or trading house on the Assiniboine, a few days travel only from the Mandans on the Missouri. The conductor of that establishment aimed to extend the trade, and for this purpose selected a party, of which the informant was one, to explore the Missouri. In ascending that river they were obliged to pass one or two cataracts or falls in the shining mountains, as also several rapids, and much **hard water.** On the summit of these mountains they entered a large lake, from which the Missouri flows; and from the opposite extremity another river issued towards the west, down which the informant descended for some distance, and spent eleven days on it. The publication of the narrative of Griffith suggested the propriety of some enquiry relative to the Indians about the head of the Missouri. The informant declared, (and he sustains the character of a man of truth) 'that there was a numerous and singular nation of Indians about the lake, who were not in the least tawny, but rather of a yellowish complexion; that they wear their beards, and that great numbers of them had red hair on their heads.' This is almost literally the statement furnished by the Frenchman."

Stoddard then refers to Beatty, to Sutton and Hicks, to Isaac Stewart; and then goes into consideration of criticisms of the Welsh theory, in substance as follows:

Criticisms Discussed. That plausible objections are made to the foregoing authorities as proving too much, in that Welsh tribes found in so many localities must have been more numerous than the colonies of Madoc would produce; but as the "only data

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we have for calculation" show three voyages, with ten ships in the last one, the number of passengers (supposing, what is reasonable, 55 per ship), would in 500 years produce a population of over a million; while sanguinary wars have thinned their ranks, wiping out entirely many Indian nations; perhaps the third never joined the other colonies, but Madoc's superiority in ensuing wars with natives would probably result in rapid increase of Welsh population, with survival for long time of their arts; that the Tuscaroras of Welsh extraction probably built the subterraneous wall in North Carolina then lately discovered—a wall of well cemented stone of whose length 160 feet and about thirty in depth had been uncovered.

European Heraldry. That in Mexico the arms of Montezuma, "suspended in a broad shield over the front gate of his palace (a griffin with expanded wings, holding a tiger in his talons) appear to be derived from the heraldry of Europe;" yet, "we must not yield lightly" to the idea of their being of Welsh origin, since able historians "have rendered it pretty certain that some of the most polished nations of Anahuac were of Asiatic origin" coming from the northwest coast. And Stoddard urges that dispersion probably followed Madoc's death, from growth of population, and from internal wars which their "temper and disposition"' would render probable.

Welsh On Atlantic Coast—Bibles. Stoddard believes the related discoveries were "actually made"—proven by coincidences and agreements; that Welsh bibles are shown by at least three persons (already mentioned) to have been found "among at least two tribes"— the witnesses living in different eras and unknown to each other.

On the Missouri. That "a white people" recently inhabited country near the Missouri's head, that they were Welsh, is "rendered almost certain" by the witnesses cited by him. He quotes the Gov. Sevier letter (hereinbefore alluded to) at length.

It seems very probable, from the Sevier letter and other evidences already considered, and from what is found below as observed by Maj. Stoddard, that the locality in which the alleged Welsh Indians were seen is much higher up the Missouri than the Mandan villages. Stoddard answers the question, why Lewis and Clarke did not find them, by stating that the Missouri over

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200 miles from its source was divided into three branches, the most northerly being traversed by that expedition, while the travelers cited as witness probably "ascended one of the other branches;" while in fact Lewis and Clarke did discover "some straggling Indians near the mouth of the Columbia similar in appearance to those mentioned by Vancouver" and resembling those "said to reside" on a branch of the Missouri. He declares too that it is "difficult to doubt" that Welsh Indians were found on the Red river by other witnesses cited herein; he referring to them as Ietans or Alitans on the sources of the Red, Arkansas and "some of the westerly branches of the Missouri," some of whom "were discovered by" Lewis and Clarke near the "shining (Rocky) mountains." "They uniformly live in tents of a conical figure, fabricated from skins. ** Their language widely differs from all others in the country, and few are disposed to encounter the difficulty of acquiring it." That the "confused notion of an universal deluge, entertained by several tribes" of apparently different origin should be in some measure ascribed to the Welsh immigrants, "and the many other tokens of Christianity" discovered in America, in case it is "satisfactorily ascertained" that the Welsh established themselves here through Madoc. Stoddard also declares his confidence in the claims supporting Indian Freemasonry, as hereinbefore referred to.

Southey's "Madoc." The poet, Robert Southey, has immortalized the story of Madoc's voyages and alleged adventures in America. The renowned production is prefaced by a brief statement of the generally understood account, which the author states as "The historical facts on which this poem is founded." The poem embraces eighteen cantos on "Madoc in Wales" and twenty-seven on "Madoc in Aztlan;" exploiting the historical facts of Welsh contemporary history; the alleged voyages, with romancing upon his supposed contact with Indians, and carrying the narrative into the Mexican civilization of the era of Spanish discoveries. Southey supposes three voyages. We quote very briefly a few fragments:

"Twice have the sons of Britain left her shores,
As the fledged eaglets quit their native nest;
Twice over ocean have her fearless sons
Forever sail'd away. Again they launch

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Their vessels to the deep, *** Who mounts the bark?"

And upon his landing in America:

"Madoc had paused awhile; but every eye
Still watched his lips, and every voice was hushed.
Soon as I leaped ashore, pursues the Lord
Of ocean, prostrate on my face I fell,
Kiss'd the dear earth, and pray'd with thankful tears."
* * * * "To the shore
The natives throng'd; astonish'd, they beheld
Our winged barks, and gazed with wonderment
On the strange garb, the bearded countenance
And the white skin, in all unlike themselves."

Some writers have asserted, we believe, that Southey published a statement to the effect that investigation, subsequently to the composition of this poem, had shown that the claims that Welsh Indians existed in America were unfounded. He does not seem to have gone so far. He does publish, under date of 1815 (in his complete works, London; Longman, Brown, Green & Longman, 1847, page 313) this statement: "That country has now been fully explored, and wherever Madoc may have settled, it is now certain that no Welsh Indians are to be found upon any branches of the Missouri." This is a note to his said preface, in which latter he declares: "Strong evidence has been adduced that he reached America, and that his posterity exist there to this day, on the southern branches of the Missouri retaining their complexion, their language, and, in some degree, their arts." The preface was written in 1805. Therefore, whatever of disproof of the then recent accounts of those "Welsh Indians" was known to him must have been educed between 1805 and 1815—only eight years after Lewis and Clarke returned. The reader of history will judge for himself as to whether the "branches of the Missouri" could have been "fully explored" and this Madocian account wherein it involved those territories, discredited in that short space of time.

Geo. Catlin's specific reference to the subject of Madoc's supposed voyages to and settlement in America, and to the Mandan Indians in that connection, is found in Vol. 2 of his "North American Indians" (from which we have hereinbefore made ex-

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tracts at large on the Mandans) on pages 260-261. We insert below the substance of what he there published on the subject: 000

Catlin On "Welsh Colony." That said colony, "which I barely spoke of in page 206, of Vol. 1," which "sailed under the direction" of Prince Madoc, or Madawc, ** according to numerous and accredited authors, and never returned to their own country," supposedly landed somewhere on the coast of North or South America, and "I believe it has been pretty clearly proved that they landed either on the coast of Florida or about the mouth of the Mississippi," and settled, according to "history and poetry of their country" somewhere in the interior of North America, where they are yet remaining, intermixed with some of the savage tribes."

Mandans On Lower Missouri. Catlin, after mentioning his references to his account of the Mandans, avers that since those notes were written (particularly shown at page 9 of said Vol. 1), he descended the Missouri from the Mandan village to St. Louis, "and have taken pains to examine its shores; and from the repeated remains of the ancient locations of the Mandans, which I met with on the banks of that river, I am fully convinced that I have traced them down nearly to the mouth of the Ohio river; and from exactly similar appearances, which I recollect to have seen several years since in several places in the interior of the state of Ohio, I am fully convinced that they have formerly occupied that part of the country, and have, from some cause or other, been put in motion, and continued to make their repeated moves until they arrived at the place of their residence at the time of their extinction, on the upper Missouri." Catlin here refers to his "annexed chart of the Missouri and Ohio rivers," where he had "laid down the different positions of the ancient marks of their towns which I have examined," and various fortifications on the Ohio and Muskingum rivers "in the vicinity of which I believe the Mandans once lived." His map shows locations of "Mandan remains" in South Dakota opposite the mouth of the Grand river, and at the mouth of the Cheyenne, also both sides of the James east of the Big Bend of the Missouri, and as far down the Missouri as the region below the mouth of the Platte in Nebraska and Iowa; then substantially opposite to Leavenworth in Missouri, also opposite St. Louis, and about two-thirds of the

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000 way down from that point to the mouth of the Ohio, near Grand Tower, in Jackson and Union counties, Ill.; and north and east of Cincinnati, Ohio, on the Ohio and interiorly; all of which works, he contends, show marks of high civilization; were not built by savages; and refers to fortifications in Ohio "with covered ways to the water." (See in this connection, Part I of this paper, Vol. 3, Hist. Coll., S. D., page 555, concerning a supposed Aricara (Ree) stronghold a few miles below Pierre, showing similar passage-ways to water. They may, however, have been works of Mandans.)

Madoc On Mississippi? Catlin inclines to believe the "ten ships" of Madoc, or some of them "entered the Mississippi river at the Balize, and made their way up the Mississippi," or landed on the Florida coast, thence inland to the Ohio, where they flourished, but were overpowered at length by savages, when they built the great fortifications, etc., and were ultimately reduced, all but a few perishing—"that portion of them who might have formed alliances by marriage with the Indians," etc., and at length as despised half-breeds they gathered into "a band, and severing from their parent tribe, have moved off, and increased in numbers and strength, as they have advanced up the Missouri river to the place where they have been known for many years past by the name of the Mandans, a corruption or abbreviation, perhaps, of 'Madawgys,' the name applied by the Welsh to the followers of Madawc."

Mandan Villages Down to Ohio. Catlin, after again outlining the known mode of excavating for Mandan lodges, "which leave a decided remain for centuries," relates as follows his discoveries on the Missouri:

"After leaving the Mandan village, I found the marks of their former residence about sixty miles below where they were then living, and from which they removed (from their own account) about sixty or eighty years since; and from the appearance of the number of their lodges, I should think, that at that recent date there must have been three times the number that were living when I was amongst them. Near the mouth of the Big Shienne river, 200 miles below their last location, I found still more ancient remains, and in as many as six or seven other places between that and the mouth of the Ohio, as I have designated

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on the chart, and each one, as I visited them, appearing more and more ancient, convincing me that these people, wherever they might have come from, have gradually made their moves up the banks of the Missouri, to the place where I visited them." He proceeds: 000

Rees Occupied Mandan Villages. "The Riccarees have been a very small tribe, far inferior to the Mandans; and by the traditions of the Mandans, as well as from the evidence of the first explorers, Lewis and Clarke, and others, have lived, until quite lately, on terms of intimacy with the Mandans, whose villages they have successively occupied as the Mandans have moved and vacated them, as they now are doing, since disease has swept the whole of the Mandans away." Catlin adds:

"People of the Pheasants," From Ohio? Catlin then treats the name "People of the Pheasants," claimed by the Mandans, as that of the "primitive stock," and as indicating their former locality either some 700 miles "west of the Mandans, or the forests of Indiana and Ohio," since "pheasants cannot be found short of reaching the timbered country at the base of the Rocky mountains" or in the forests mentioned to eastward.

Lived Near Pipestone, Minn.—Pottery Like Ohio. Catlin declares that: "The above facts, together with the other one which they repeatedly related to me, ** that they had often been to the hill of red pipe stone, and that they once lived near it, carry conclusive evidence, I think, that they have formerly occupied a country much farther to the south, and that they have repeatedly changed their locations, until they reached the spot of their last residence." He cites as evidence that they came from the Ohio and brought with them some civilized customs, numerous specimens of pottery taken from graves and tumuli in Ohio—some of which he had donated to the Cincinnati museum—"were to be seen in great numbers in the use of the Mandans; and scarcely a day in the summer, when the visitor to their village would not see the women at work with their hands and fingers, moulding them from black clay, into vases, cups, pitchers, and pots, and baking them in their little kilns, in the sides of the hill, or under the bank of the river." He felt sure this art "belongs to no other tribe on the continent"—in which he was evidently in error. And he dwells upon their art of making glass beads, as a secret

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"that the traders did not introduce amongst them" and as "one that they cannot learn from them," and which he thinks "has been introduced among them by some civilized people, as it is as yet unknown to other Indian tribes in that vicinity, or elsewhere."

Mandan Canoe Is Welsh Coracle. Catlin declares: "The Mandan canoes which are altogether different from those of all other tribes, are exactly the Welsh Coracle, made of raw-hides, the skins of buffalos, stretched underneath a frame of willow or other boughs, and shaped nearly round, like a tub; which the woman carries on her head from her wigwam to the water's edge, and having stepped into it, stands in front, and propels it by dipping her paddle forward, and drawing it toward her, instead of paddling by the side. In referring to plate 240, letter C, page 138, the reader will see several drawings of these seemingly awkward crafts, which, nevertheless, the Mandan women will pull through the water at a rapid rate."

Catlin's Conclusion. He declares of the Mandans, that "from what I have seen of them, and from the remains on the Missouri and Ohio rivers, I feel fully convinced that these people have emigrated from the latter stream; and that they have, in the manner that I have already stated, with many of their customs, been preserved from the almost total destruction of the bold colonists of Madawc, who, I believe, settled upon and occupied for a century or so, the rich and fertile banks of the Ohio." He ends his remarks upon the subject by an allusion to his "brief vocabulary of the Mandan language" to which he refers the reader, "where he may compare it with that of the Welsh; and better, perhaps, than I can, decide whether there is any affinity existing between the two." That vocabulary is appended to this paper.

William Pidgeon, in his "Traditions of De-Coo-Dah, and Antiquarian Researches," published in 1853 (Thayer, Bridgman & Fanning, N. Y.; Sampson Low, Son & Co., London), relates in much detail his discoveries of earthworks in the upper Mississippi valley, and also in the region west of Prairie du Chein, in Iowa, as far west as the Missouri river and some distance up the latter stream, he having made various expeditions on such mission from 1840 to 1842, after having, in 1829, investigated many, if not most, of the famed monuments and earthworks in Ohio.

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Pidgeon's belief, founded on his examinations of the mound-builders' works and the traditions conveyed to him by De-Coo-Dah, that they evidenced civilizations more ancient than is generally supposed by most other students and investigators, was sincerely entertained. What he actually says of those earthworks, told of in much detail and forcefulness of narrative, fortified by a certain probity and candor of statement cannot fail to impress the reader. His reseaches, evidenced further by many illustrations, are, we believe, worthy of a higher place in the annals of ethnology and archeology than has generally been ascribed to them. He imputes none of the monumental remains in question to Welsh immigrants. But in what he states concerning the earthworks found by him in Iowa and along some eighty miles of the upper Missouri, embracing, it is believed, some territory in southeastern South Dakota, he furnishes further proofs of the existence in that locality of the work of prehistoric peoples who were not improbably of the Mound Builders. We therefore present the substance of what appears in his book on that head: (pp. 201-5.)

Pidgeon traversed the space between the Mississippi and the Missouri, in a systematic search for and examination of mounds, some truncated, some surrounded by or accompanied by effigies—mentioning also "serpentine ranges," "lineal ranges" and "intersectional ranges"—these indicating boundaries, international or otherwise, are seats of tribes, in his belief; starting near the Turkey river in the neighborhood of Prairie du Chien on the Mississippi, and proceeding in a general western direction, and describing local landmarks and physical characteristics identifiable by others, reaching finally a grove "about three miles east of the Missouri river, and I discovered no other works between it and the river." He then proceeds:

Mounds On Upper Missouri. "Then I proceeded up the Missouri for four successive days, traveling about twenty miles a day, passing many truncated mounds of various dimensions. Among these I noticed one constructed in a serpentine form (Cut H, Fig. 2*) about a central effigy resembling a tortoise. In this I made three excavations. The central work presented, near the surface summit, coal and ashes; but the serpentine work contained no deposit. I found no other work in the immediate vicinity; but, about twelve miles northwest, I discovered a group, the

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000 arrangement of which is shown in cut V, Fig. 4.* I have frequently discovered this arrangement in Indiana and Illinois, destitute, however, of the elongated mound which is here appended. There are many serpentine effigies of small dimensions in those regions; their common order or arrangement is represented in cut H, Figs. 1 and 3.‡ Figure 1 represents the range of truncated mounds west of the Mississippi river, in an arrangement which I have found nothing exactly resembling on the east side of that river, although the serpentine effigy is found far east, in Ohio in the intermediate space east of Illinois. They are, however, exceedingly rare."

Different Customs. "In my excavations west of the Mississippi, I discovered no deposits indicating any greater advancement in the arts than is common among savage nations, notwithstanding the exactness of outline, correctness of proportion and symmetrical arrangement of many works. This leads me to the belief that the Mound Builders of the north were not in the habit of making deposits such as are found in Ohio, and the regions south, to Mexico, and indicates the prevailence of differing customs, if it does not attest distinct nationality. Many deposits found at the south presenting the known forms of the symbols of ancient idolatry, favors the conclusion that a change of religious belief, or the forms of idolatrous worship occurred among the Mound Builders of the south which those at the north did not experience."

Northern Earthworks Symbolical—Deposits. "That many of the forms of earthworks of the north are symbolical that they were connected with or related to the prevailing religion of the country, and that they were designed as symbols analogous to those exhibited in sculpture at the south, I entertain no doubt. This belief finds confirmation in the fact, that in those regions where effigies occur, sculptured deposits nowhere abound; and the deposit even of pottery, is very rare."

*A spiral, the inner end being smallest, the outer largest, representing two circuits around the effigy.

‡A central effigy surrounded by an earthwork circle, around which are arrayed eight much smaller mounds equi-distant from the center and about six times as far away as the circle; along one side of which general group is a straight bank of earth.

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[1]Representing, respectively, a serpent with tail wound up, and effigy mounds near tail and head, the body indicated by detached mounds; and a snake formed of a continuous bank-head detached. 000

Ignatius Donnelly, in "Atlantis," (Harper & Brothers, 1882, Edi. of 1902) in treating of the "Deluge Legends of America," refers to the Mandan Indians and their ceremonies of the flood, as affording evidence in support of his theory that the flood itself was not universal over the earth in its visitation, but was local, and that its manifestations marked the gradual subsidence of the alleged island of Atlantis in the eastern Atlantic region. He expressed the view that the "Big Canoe" of the Mandan ceremonies was commemorative of the Ark; that the Mandans were colonists from Atlantis; that the "Last Man" who appeared at the beginning of those ceremonies represented the white race; that the tradition of the Mandans regarding the emergence from "underground" refers to a land in the sea, viz., Atlantis, the sea being the "subterranean lake;" and that similar traditions among the Dakotas, Iroquois, etc., had like significance.

Samuel G. Drake, in his "Indians of North America" (published by John P. Alden, N. Y., 1880), and in his work entitled "Drake's Aboriginal Races of America," has given some attention to the Madocian theory and the alleged Welsh Indians, bible, etc.; and while he does not go at length into the discussion of the authorities and evidences—save in one or two instances—he cites many of the writers and travelers who have rendered accounts and given in their conclusions upon this subject; practically all of whom have already been referred to and quoted from in this paper. We will briefly refer to his treatment of the subject.

Samuel G. Drake's Views. In his "Indians of North America" Drake thus refers to an eastern Indian chief known as Madock:

"Some have endeavored to ground an argument upon the similarity of the name of this chief to that of Madock the Welshman, that the eastern Indians were descended from a Welsh colony, who, in 1170, left that country, and were never heard of after. The story of some white Indians speaking Welsh on the Missouri river has gained supporters in former and later periods." (p. 294.)

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000 On page 54 of the same work Drake says, concerning how these Indians came by books, as follows:

How Welsh Came by Books? "It is very natural to inquire how these Indians, though descended from the Welsh, came by books; for it is well known that the period at which the Welsh must have come to America, was long before printing was discovered, or that any writing assumed the form of books as we now have them. It should be here noted that Mr. Beatty traveled in the autumn of 1766.

"Major Rogers, in his 'Concise Account of North America,' published in 1765, notices the white Indians; but the geography of their country he leaves anywhere west of the Mississippi; probably never having visited them himself, although he tells us he had traveled very extensively in the interior."

Drake then refers to and quotes somewhat from Rogers, among other statements the following: "They ("White Indians" west of Mississippi) "have, however, Indian eyes, and a certain guilty Jewish cast with them," and later quoting him further to the effect that they had "between twenty and thirty thousand fighting men"—a gross exaggeration no doubt, he quotes further: "They have no weapons but bows and arrows, tomahawks, and a kind of wooden pikes," and thus suffer from eastern Indians who have firearms, "and frequently visit the white Indians on the banks of the easterly branch, (of Muddy river?) and kill or captivate them in great numbers," live in large towns, are agriculturists, "tame the wild cows, and use both their milk and flesh," keep numerous dogs "and are very dexterous in hunting; they have little or no commerce with any nation that we are at present acquainted with." Drake then cites Filson; and Ker, of whom he says:

"Henry Ker, who traveled among thirteen tribes of Indians, in 1810, etc., names one near a great mountain which he calls Mnacedeus. He said Dr. Sibley had told him, when at Natchitoches, that a number of travelers had assured him, that there was a strong similarity between the Indian language and many words of the Welsh. Mr. Ker found nothing among any of the Indians to indicate a Welsh origin until he arrived among the Mnacedeus. Here he found many customs which were Welsh, or common to that people, and he adds: 'I did not understand the

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Welsh language, or I should have been enabled to have thrown more light upon so interesting a subject,' as they had, 'printed books among them which were preserved with great care, they have a tradition that they were brought there by their forefathers.' Upon this in another place he observes, 'The books appeared very old, and were evidently printed at a time when there had been very little improvement made in the casting of types. I obtained a few leaves from one of the chiefs, sufficient to have thrown light on the subject, but in my subsequent disputes with the Indians, I lost them, and all my endeavors to obtain more were ineffectual.' "

From some accounts of Ker's character as to credibility, we are led to doubt somewhat his strict veracity concerning what he actually saw of these Indians. He seems not to have made an attempt to locate with any precision where he found the "Mnacedeus." Little credibility would seem to be warranted as to his particulars regarding "printed books" which "were brought there by their forefathers," if we were to take him literally.

Drake, in his "Aboriginal Races of North America," pp. 52-55, quotes under the head of "Welsh or White Indians," the "Narrative of Capt. Isaac Stuart," already brought out herein. Drake then refers to the Beatty account of Sutton Hicks, the Virginia clergyman, and Filson, and after asserting that Ker gives no opinion as to "how or at what time these Indians obtained 'printed books,' " he thus summarizes his deductions in the premises—using identical language in both of his said works:

"There are a great number of others who have noticed these Indians; but after an examination of them all, I am unable to add much to the above stock of information concerning them. Upon the whole, we think it may be pretty safely said, that the existence of a race of Welsh about the regions of the Missouri does not rest on so good authority as that which has been adduced to establish the existence of the sea-serpent. Should any one, however, choose to investigate the subject further, he will find pretty ample references to authors in which the subject had been noticed, in a note to the life of Madok-wando, in our third book. In addition to which, he may consult the authorities of Moulton, as pointed out in his history of New York."

It is seen that Drake draws no conclusions upon this subject;

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000 unless, indeed, his reference to the sea-serpent can be regarded as indicating a distinct dissent.

Chamber's Encyclopedia On Madoc. In the American revised edition of that work (Lippincott, 1880), it is stated that it "is believed by his countrymen" that Prince Madoc "discovered America about 300 years before Columbus." And after stating the traditional account, that he sailed westward "with a small fleet, and after a voyage of several weeks, reached a country whose productions and inhabitants were quite unlike those of Europe. Here he lived for a long time; then returning to Wales, he gave an account of the new land that he had discovered, equipped another fleet, set sail again, and was never more heard of;" citing Caradoc, translated by Lloyd; "corrected, augmented, and continued by David Powell (London, 1584).—It is added: "There is considerable reason for suspecting the genuineness of this Welsh tradition."

Dr. Davies' Statement. In response to a letter from Mr. DeLand to Dr. E. Gomer Davies, of Letcher, S. D., early in 1906, the latter replied as follows, in regard to a suggestion that he (Dr. D.) was supposed to have some information concerning some alleged Welsh Indians with whom an acquaintance of his had come in contact in the west during the civil war:

Welsh Indians In West—Coracles—Jaru. "All I know about the matter of the Welsh Indians is this, a man of the name of John Owen, a native of Llanidloes, and who had worked for my father for many years came to this country during the civil war and joined the army and while out at one of the posts in the west found what he called white Indians that could speak Welsh, that is as he explained it, they used a large number of words and called things by the same name as John Owen, he wrote a full account of the matter and sent it home and my father had it published in the home paper and sent me a copy of the paper, and he said in connection that an old chief stood by his side as he wrote the account and that they felt very friendly towards him as he could understand them and they could understand him. He said among the large number of words that he wrote about the following are a few that I remember: Tan-Fire, Dant-Teeth, Egwgnt-wind, Dwr-water, Hayl-sun; and he mentioned, if I remember aright between seventy-five and 100 words which cor-

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respond in sound to our Welsh words, and another interesting statement he made was that the white Indians (they were whiter than other Indians, so he said), made and used a corracle such as we used in Wales. It is composed of a tough wooden frame covered over with hides and round, not oblong or very slightly oblong, and also that they spun woolen yarn similar to Welsh yarn, this is about the recollection of what John Owen (stated) and my father's comments to me after he talked with him when he returned home to North Wales."

Published In Wales. "N. B. Nearly forty years has passed since my father wrote about it and sent me a paper containing the words and statements. To the best of my recollection he did not state the name of the tribe, and yet I cannot now speak positively on that point. D."

Dr. Davies gave the writer the following additional information:

"The paper was one that was published in my native town of Llanidloes, Montgomeryshire, North Wales, by John H. Mills, but it has been discontinued for some years now. ** John Owen must be over 80 or 85 years of age by this time if he is alive, he worked for my father for many years, he was a man of 35 to 40 when I was a little boy. I believe the name of the paper in which John Owen's narrative was printed was called the Llanidloes and Montgomeryshire Times, but quite sure I have not seen a copy for many years."

Chambers Encyclopedia. In the American revision of that work (1880, Vol. 6, p. 250) we find the following account of Madoc:

Madoc's Countrymen Believe. "Madoc, son of Owen Gwynnedd, a Welsh prince, is believed by his countrymen to have discovered America about 300 years before Columbus. Compelled, it is said, by civil strife to abandon his native land, he sailed westward in 1170, with a small fleet, and after a voyage of several weeks, reached a country whose productions and inhabitants were quite unlike those of Europe. Here he lived for a long time, then returning to Wales, he gave an account of the new land that he had discovered, equipped another fleet, set sail again, and was never more heard of. The story of Madoc will be found in the Historie of Cambria, now called Wales, a part of the

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000 famous Yland of Brytaine, written in the Brytish language 200 years past by Caradoc; translated into English by H. Lloyd, gent.; corrected, augmented, and continued by David Powell (London, 1584). See also Owen's British Remains (1777). There is considerable reason for suspecting the genuineness of this Welsh tradition. ** Southey has chosen the story of Madoc as the subject of one of his so-called 'epics.' "

Bonhomme Island Earthworks. Lewis and Clarke give the following account of some noted earthworks on that island, located some nine miles above Yankton, S. D., on the Missouri:

"This interesting object is on the south side of the Missouri, opposite the upper extremity of Bonhomme island, and in a low level plain, the hills being three miles from the river. It begins by a wall composed of earth, rising immediately from the bank of the river and running in a direct course S. 76 degrees, W. 96 yards; the base of this wall or mound is seventy-five feet, and its height about eight. It then diverges in a course S. 84 degrees W. and continues at the same height and depth to the distance of fifty-three yards, the angle being formed by a sloping descent; at the junction of these two is an appearance of a hornwork, of the same height with the first angle; the same wall then pursues a course N. 69 degrees W. for three hundred yards; near its western extremity is an opening or gateway at right angles to the wall, and projecting inwards; this gateway is defended by two nearly semi-circular walls placed before it, lower than the large walls; and from the gateway there seems to have been a covered way communicating with the interval between these two walls; westward of the gate, the wall becomes much larger, being about one hundred and five feet at its base, and twelve feet high; at the end of this high ground wall extends for fifty-six yards on a course N. 32 degrees W.; it then turn N. 23 degrees W. for seventy-three yards; these two walls seem to have had a double or covered way; they are from ten to fifteen feet eight inches in height, and from seventy-five to one hundred and five feet in width at the base; the descent inwards being steep, whilst outwards it forms a sort of glacis. At the distance of seventy-three yards, the wall ends abruptly at a large hollow place much lower than the general level of the plain, and from which is some indication of a covered way to the water.

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"The space between them is occupied by several mounds scattered promiscuously through the gorge, in the center of which is a deep round hole. From the extremity of the last wall, in a course N. 32 degrees W. is a distance of ninety-six yards over the low ground, where the wall recommences and crosses the plain in a course N. 81 degrees W. for eighteen hundred and thirty yards to the bank of the Missouri. In this course its height is about eight feet, 'till it enters at the distance of five hundred and thirty-three yards, a deep circular pond of seventy-three yards diameter; after which it is gradually lower, towards the river; it touches the river at a muddy bar, which bears every mark of being an encroachment of the water, for a considerable distance; and a little above the junction ,is a small circular redoubt. Along the bank of the river, and at eleven hundred yards distance, in a straight line from this wall, is a second, about six feet high, and of considerable width; it rises abruptly from the bank of the Missouri, at a point where the river bends, and goes straight forward, forming an acute angle with the last wall, 'till it enters the river again, not far from the mounds just described, towards which it is obviously tending. ** During the whole course of this wall or glasis, it is covered with trees, among which are many large cotton trees two or three feet in diameter. Immediately opposite the citadel, or the part most strongly fortified, on Bonhomme island, is a small work in a circular form, with a wall surrounding it, about six feet in height. ** The citadel contains about twenty acres, but the parts between the long walls must embrace nearly five hundred acres.

"These are the first remains of the kind which we have had an opportunity of examining; but our French interpreters assure us, that there are great numbers of them on the Platte, the Kanzas, the Jacques, etc.; and some of our party say, that they observed two of these fortresses on the upper side of the Petit Arc creek,* not far from its mouth; that the wall was about six feet high, and the sides of the angles one hundred yards in length." (The Travels of Lewis and Clarke, London, 1815, Vol. 1, pp. 85 to 89.)

*Some ten or twelve miles below Yankton, S. D.; and about twenty miles below the Bonhomme island earthworks, on the northerly side of the Missouri.

Fowke Opposes Madocian Account. Gerard Fowke, in "Archaeological History of Ohio" (O. St. Hist. Soc., Columbus, O., 1902).

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who has gathered a large amount of materials bearing upon the Mound Builders of Ohio and, incidentally and somewhat casually, upon the Madocian theory ,and who cites among others some witnesses in favor of those accounts, not mentioned herein, concludes that the theory that the Mandans migrated from east of the Mississippi, "though it may never be disproved, is not to be accepted;" that no articles have been found in "one of the larger mounds of Ohio, under circumstances that put beyond question the fact of its being deposited by the original builders, ** of such pattern or material as to prove incontestably that it was obtained from Europeans;" yet that "how much earlier" than 1492 some of those mounds may have been erected "it is impossible to ascertain."

We had prepared, partly by condensation, partly by quotations therefrom, a detailed tratment of Fowke's valuable work on this subject; but the dimensions of the present paper became such that it is necessary to dispense with that prepared material, no more than a mere summary which can not but be lamentably madequate can be inserted. Fowke being the latest commentator we have examined, his attitnde was regarded by the writer of this paper as representative of the negative in the Madocian discussion; with the expectation of criticising some of his views and conclusions. For we believe his evidences fail to warrant them in some vital respects. It is, however, impossible to do so in any satisfactory manner within the space left to us.

Fowke's theory seems to be that the Mound Builders' works in Ohio are not very ancient; were constructed by American aborigines of different tribes and characteristics; and on an assumed and arbitrary basis of 1,000 men working 300 days in a year he concludes that all the Ohio earthworks could be constructed in a century, proving nothing. Again he asserts, to show they are not so ancient that buffalo bones have been found in them in but few instances, and those further west, yet he quotes as a factual premise Shaler's statement that "about a thousand years or so ago" buffalo "first appeared in the Ohio valley," and that "their mounds and forts were abandoned as far as this epoch—making beast extended his march;" again, that there is proof "that the buffalo was known to builders of mounds from Dakota, ** to the Blue Ridge." Further on he theoretically extends the period to

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the modern era, declaring: "It is now well known that many tribes were builders of mounds in quite recent times; but none of their remains are to be compared with those of Ohio." We are not sure where his reasoning on his evidences leaves his theory as to the antiquity of the Ohio earthworks. They are surely ancient enough to satisfy the Madocian theory if their builders might have been driven out by buffalo "a thousand years or so ago." Again: While unsatisfied that the Mound Builders of Ohio had any connection with those further northwest, he yet declares of the mounds explored by Henderson on the Illinois river that his description "of their situation, construction and contents would apply equally to many of the tumuli in southern Ohio," but he is unwilling to "affirm or deny" a connection "merely because of the resemblance of the works;" while "it is easier to believe them related in some way or at least having some knowledge of each other, than to suppose the striking similarities are entirely accidental." Thinks some effigy pipes found in mounds a mile below Davenport, Iowa, "quite similar to those found in Ohio mounds," "may have been obtained in trade. But it is quite probable that a number of Ohio Mound Builders wandered into the region of the Mississippi and remained there." (Pidgeon, we found, traced mounds from thence west to and up the Missouri.) And while Fowke declares the Bonhomme island earthworks have "nothing whatever to do with Ohio archeology," yet he copies Lewis and Clarke's entire text on that subject, then goes into lengthy discussion of their details, and concludes: "There is nothing in Ohio approaching these remains in magnitude, except, perhaps, the works at Newark." In another connection he declares that, as to effigy mounds in Ohio, save "Serpent Mound," "the few effigies are inferior in size and interest to those of the northwest; the same is true of the flat-topped mounds." As to Madoc's alleged voyages, Fowke seems to speak lightly and somewhat flippantly regarding "various stories concerning red-haired Indians who speak Welsh" and of Madoc "or Medoc who sailed west from Wales about 1170 and was never afterwards heard of;" and dismisses the book phase by observing, as to "printed books," that printing had not then been invented, etc., thus omitting, in stating the case itself, that all accounts tell of Madoc's returning after his

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000 first voyage, and that various accounts refer to what may have been other than "printed" books. Finally, Fowke says: "When possible descendants of the Mound Builders are sought among known tribes, search seems narrowed to Cherokees and Mandans; *** the later because they differ much in appearance and customs from other Indians, constructed heavy walls, and made houses whose ruins resemble small enclosures in Ohio." He then adds: "Catlin's theory of their migration from the east of the Mississippi, though it may never be disproved, is not to be accepted; tor it is based solely on the occurrence of mounds and enclosures which may as well be due to other, and unknown people." But if their "ruins resemble small enclosures in Ohio," why deny a connection here which he (Fowke) acknowledges as naturally inferable in other instances?

Fowke would have proof "beyond question"—would demand of narrator to "prove incontestibly" that many articles found in the mounds, bearing on inspection strong probabilities of, and many of which by common consent were of foreign make, were "obtained from Europeans." As well ask him to prove in the same degree that they were made in America, or that they were placed there by whites after the Cabotian discovery of America—for John Cabot, not Columbus, "discovered" North America if not previously discovered. And as to Cabot, the founder of England's claims in America, "even the reality of his voyage has been denied," says Bancroft. How would Marco Polo's fame stand in such an exacting forum? For two centuries people, until aroused through the Renaissance to faith in enterprise and its products, "inclined to deem an impudent imposter" that hero. If we were to demand comparison of evidences as betwen Cabot and Madoc as discoverers of America mainland, wherein would consist the great preponderance in favor of Cabot? Would future verification, on independent evidence, vindicate the one and reject the other? Where would stand the comparison upon evidences found on this continent tending to support the claims of each? But Cabot returned to England and reported discovery of a continent. Good. Madoc went west and to south of Ireland, and reported finding a "country," went again the same way. Where is the "proof incontestible" that Cabot did and that Madoc did not find America?

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Fowke declares that any seafaring race, "in any part of the world, may have reached America from either direction, under * * * "favorable winds, of sufficient duration; vessels strong enough to resist any storm they were destined to encounter; and a food supply adequate to support the crews until they could reach the land." Then adds: "It remains to be proven whether there was ever such a concurrence of conditions prior to the tenth century." Were the Madocians "destined to encounter" extreme storms? What proof "beyond question" here? And, presumptively, are those unfavorable winds which are encountered journeying from Europe to America? And why doubt Welsh marines' or Eric's forethought to provision for a long trip? And does he regard it possible that "such a concurrence of conditions" can ever be "proven?" We mean no disrespect to Fowke's views on this head. But where does he stand upon his own hypotheses?

Blue Eyes. The author of this paper has it from entirely credible sources that the Sioux of the upper Missouri country have a tradition that the Mandans "have blue eyes."

We cannot for want of space revert, however briefly, to the Aricaras, as indicated at the beginning of this part of our treatment of the Aborigines of South Dakota; although some new light has been shed upon those tribes since 1906.

Author's Conclusions. The evidences of earliest and later observers, brought herein, show the Mandans more civilized than, and possessing a marked and peculiar gentility and polish not found among other western Indians. Their light complexion and the decided variation in many individual instances, from other Indians in general in the color of their eyes and hair, all attracting immediate attention; their peculiar modes of dressing their hair and caring for their health; their unquestioned and immemorial agricultural proclivities; their entrenched, palisaded villages and elaborate, semi-civilized lodges; their peacefulness and their friendliness towards the whites; their language, resembling in so many words the Welsh; their religious ceremonies, embodying also the "Ark," flood legends and (as believed by some keen observers) the Crucifixion; all seem to proclaim them Indians into whose composition white blood entered long before known colonization found them in America.

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000 That they are of Siouan origin has not been satisfactorily shown.

We believe it is proven beyond rational doubt that they came to the upper Missouri from below, and not from the northeast. Bands of them were doubtless met and fought with the Christenaux, Assiniboines and other tribes in the southwestern Winnipeg basin at or about the dawn of the historic age; but no substantial evidence is at hand making it probable that they as a nation or principal tribe ever had a territorial seat there. Other bands of them may have ascended the Missouri to near its head-waters—this point is perhaps debatable; but no substantial evidence is produced tending to show that they came as a body from the west to the upper Missouri. What are, with little doubt, Mandan village remains, some of which at least were later occupied by the Aricaras, have been traced into South Dakota, and we think it very probable that Catlin's claim that he found them down the Missouri to near the Ohio river is well founded. The vast, seemingly overwhelming preponderance favors the view that they ascended the Missouri from as far south at least as the Big Sioux river. That they once inhabited South Dakota we regard as certain. They may, and we think probably did ascend the Missouri from as far down as the mouth of the Ohio; but this claim takes us upon infirm ground if the Missouri is regarded as necessarily the beginning of their pathway northward. For, while we are strongly inclined to believe their ancestors once lived as far south as Ohio and upon or near that stream, they may, in that event have gone westward from a point above the Ohio's mouth. If they ascended the upper Mississippi before they migrated farther west, such evidence as is extant on that head indicates that they descended that stream some distance from its head-waters before going thence westward. Their traditions, while as generally understood confining their locus to the upper Missouri and the immediate vicinity of Heart river, yet contain decided sugestions that the seacoast at the Mississippi's mouth, or on the Atlantic seaboard, or (much less likely we think) some large lake, was the point of the original movement inland. The theory of their extreme southern origin is, in our view, borne out in a substantial degree by what is known of the Pawnees and their one-time tribesmen, the Aricaras, and of the relations of

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the latter to the movement northward of the Mandans, the trend of tradition and of historic evidence being that the Rees followed them from far down the Missouri; and we have seen the collateral statements and claims which tend to show the Pawnees (Panis), Kansans, and other southern tribes, in connection with the Mandans, to have been woven into the warp and woof of the Madocian theory.

When we enter the specific field of Welsh origin of the Mandans, we confess to a tendency to credulity which is expressed with much temerity and considerable diffidence. We are in substantial degree short of being convinced. But the evidences gathered into or referred to in this paper, touching directly and as indicated at the beginning of this summary, indirectly, the Madocian theory, have impressed us to the extent of making it clear that there is enough of probability in the claim to warrant its treatment historically, and to demand further and systematic investigation by historical societies in particular and the public in general. The writer feels that his duty—following an earnest study of this question, as time permitted, for many years—would be left undone were he to withhold here an urgent request for co-operative effort along the lines indicated. It may seem to students of history and others who may be specially interested, that the lapse of a century and a half of investigation and discussion of this very interesting and fateful question must have substantially exhausted the materials and the exchange of views thereon tending to enforce conviction. Far from it. There has been next to no co-operative work done by either historical or other responsible or authoritative bodies looking to a reduction of known and the discovery of unknown but probable further evidential materials on this subject, in a thorough process calculated to make out a complete case, for or against the claims of Welsh settlement and inhabitancy in America resulting from Madoc's voyages. The discrediting of that theory in the first quarter of the nineteenth century can not be regarded as at all conclusive. Where did the Welshman Evans, who supposedly went west of the Mississippi about the beginning of the last century and who is said to have concluded that those claims were without foundation—go, what Indian tribes supposed to be "Welsh" or "white Indians," did he visit, and where? And as

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000 to language, who that was master of the Welsh tongue and of the language and dialect of any Indian tribe supposed to be in some degree of Welsh origin ever visited such tribe, or even attempted to do any comprehensive work in comparing their language with the ancient or the modern Welsh, in pursuit of a responsible study of the subject? We have learned of no one. What united work has been done, under any definite scheme of investigation into the mounds and tumuli referred to in this paper, in connection with the Madocian question?

We emphasize the point that such manifold, widely separated and independent instances of facility of conversation by Welshmen in their own language with certain tribes of American Indians, as has been shown in the foregoing evidences to have occurred from the earliest contact with them, are not to be dismissed as explainable on the theory of fortuitous concurrence of substantially identical words in the various tongues involved. We regard them as strongly tending to establish a common language and blood origin between the Welsh and a once civilized element which became identified with certain aboriginal tribes. This power of word-interchange with Welshmen was not common to all or nearly all American Indians. It was subject of wonderment and wide remark and discussion among both whites and Indians. It was universally regarded by both participants, and by very many non-participants of high intelligence who discussed the fact, as indicative of a common origin.

It seems not improbable that Madoc reached and settled, with some part of his expeditions, in North America. That some of his followers landed on the South American coast, or emigrated into South America from northward, seems, from the evidences regarding early civilizations there, to be more than merely possible; that there is evidence of probative character that Mexico may have been the theatre of growth and dominance of a civilization derived from a Welsh origin, and that the mounds of Ohio and of Mexico are not unrelated in origin or development. The fact that Madoc was never heard of in Europe after sailing on his second (perhaps third) voyage would, if explainable on the theory of his settlement on the American mainland, reduce very materially the improbabilities of his alleged discovery. We incline strongly to believe it explainable; that in substantial de-

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gree it is explained by evidences showing the extreme difficulties of Welsh existence and defense among the aborigines who, finding the discoverers east of the Alleghanies—either working westward or having come from the southwest, up the Mississippi and Ohio into the head-waters of the latter—drove them westward and down the Ohio, at or near the mouth of which they dispersed to southward, northward and southwestward; that in that process the immigrants found themselves powerless to do more than preserve mere existence and were unable to again return to Wales—or the hopelessness of Madoc's ascendency in fatherland, owing to dire internal quarrels and butcheries prevailing there, may have determined him to refrain for years from making known to his countrymen his further discoveries in a new world wherein he might expect to become dominant and to gain vast territorial estates, and that later on, whether he willed or not, circumstances made it impossible for him to report to Europe; that those immigrants were forced, as a condition to their continued existence, to intermarry with the Indians, thereby losing measurably the racial Welsh element, which dwindled in succeeding centuries and became subservient to the Indian instinct and trend. In this connection consider that near four and a half centuries later the Virginia colonists of 1607, although succored for a time by the promoting company, were in 1610 so reduced that "the horrors of famine ensued," piracy was being resorted to to sustain existence, and "if relief had been delayed but ten days longer, they must have perished." Might not a few redoubtable hearts among them—failing such relief—have survived as members of an Indian tribe, when, in Bancroft's words, "parties, which begged food in the Indian cabins, were murdered?" And had they so survived, and no European aid had come for generations, what but such an amalgamation as Catlin ascribes to the Mandans could have been their fate?

We here bid farewell to the Mandans as related to this study—the most enticing among all Indian annals that we have met. Their ascribed relation to the claims that European blood mingled with American aborigines as the result of twelfth century immigration, holds first place among historians. Their station among Indians in all the great west is supreme, if innate graces of character reflecting Christian civilization is the dominant note.

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000 Their place among the aborigines of the northwest, in the process of its settlement and development by pioneers, is so large that to eliminate the "Mandan villages" from the records of those processes would leave a void indeed. They constitute the mystery of ages in North American Indian lore as to locus of origin. If the future shall reveal that that mystery can be solved through the medium of further light on the Mound Builders, or of Madocians as collateral to them, the resultant must become deeply significant and intensely interesting. And if in A. D. 2170 no national celebration of Madoc's credited discovery shall occur, nor the song of Southey be revived; still the mystery itself will continue to grow in wonderment and splendor until its contemplation will have become a spirit of the Epics.

APPENDITORY NOTES.

[1] Nameless in the codices, and shown on neither map; Burnt island of Warren's; Sibley's island of the G. L. O. map, 1879; very large, in the river between Bismarck (Burleigh) and Morton Cos. (Coues, 173.)

[2] Nameless, and uncharted. Little Heart or Sturgis river of various maps, in Morton Co. Little Heart and Sugar-loaf buttes just south of it.

[3] Very plain on Clarke's map, 1814, immediately underneath the word "and" of the sentence there inscribed. There is now nothing of the sort; instead of which is a considerable lake, indicating the change in the course of the Missouri. This is in McLean Co., above Sanger (Oliver Co.), and below Washburn (McLean Co.), in the vicinity of which later town today's camp is pitched, after passing Deer creek, left, and Painted Wood and Turtle creek, right. (Coues.)

[4] At this, the eighth mile made today, Clarke C 63 inserts: "Fort Mandan stard" in a bold hand, over an erasure made for this latter entry, i. e., noting the exact spot where the fort was presently built, just above the bluff of coal. (Coues.)

[5] This is a vague term, due or at least traceable to the trader, Edward Umfreville, who was on the Saskatchewan in 1784-87, and who mentions these Indians as living about the falls of the south branch of that river. He says (p. 197) that the French "call them Gros Ventres, or Big Bellies; and without any reason, as they are as comely and as well made as any tribe whatever, and are very far from being remarkable for their corpulency." On which Matthews, from which I borrow this quote, remarks (p. 33): "The tribe to which he refers is doubtless that which is now known as the Atsinas or Gros Ventres of the Prairie. The similarity of the Canadian misnomers led Captain Lewis in 1804, to speak of the Minnetaries on the Missouri 'as part of the great nation called Fall Indians.' Comparing our Hidatsa words with their synonymes in Umfreville's Fall Vocabulary, or Dr. Hayden's later Atsinas Vocabulary, we can discover no affinity between the Fall and Hidatsa tongues." It is necessary for the reader to bear always in mind, that when Lewis and Clarke speak of Minnetarees "of the Prairie" and "of the Missouri," they actually designate two entirely different tribes of Indians, the former being Atsinas, or the "Fall" Indians, and the later being the Hidatsas, with whom we are now wintering. Their loose use of "Gros Ventres" is exactly parallel. For example, see beyond, Jan. 1st, 1805, and note there. These "Fall"

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Indians are separately treated by Lewis in the Statistical View. He adopts this name there, and gives the native name A.lan-sar- as synonymous. He estimates their total number at 2,500, with 660 warriors and 260 lodges, and locates them "on the head of the south fork of the Saskashawan (sic) river, and some streams supposed to be branches of the Missouri," (perhaps of Milk river). (Coues.) 000

[6] Espontoon, or esponton, is a rare and practically obsolete form of spontoon, a word itself now little used. The implement meant is the half-like ax sort of halberd formerly used by certain officers of the British army. Lewis and Clarke, 165, gives a neat figure of the Mandan implement, which is fortunate, as the text is not clear. The blade is 12 or 15 inches long, set at right angles in a handle of the same length; the shape of the blade, viewed flat, is a narrow lozenge (like the diamond at cards), sharp at the point, the other end eyed to receive the handle; it is pierced with four holes set in the same diamond figure, and the slant of the two sides of the diamond next to the eyed end results in part from nicking off from each edge a strip of the metal and curling this strip backward. (Coues.)

[7] "Sheet iron callaboos," interlined "camboose, stove," Lewis and Clarke, 166. Camboose and cambouse are rare forms of caboose, and this from the Dutch name of a ship's gally, or cook's room aboard a vessel; but it is not related to calaboose, which latter word is supposed to be of Arabic derivation, and means a slave-pen. The article which proved so valuable a resource was simply an old sheet-iron cooking stove, which had been burnt out in ascending the Missouri. (Coues.)

[8] Such "skin canoes" are commonly called bull-boats, from being made of buffalo hide; they are well known for the ease and security with which they may be used. (Coues.)

[9] Codex M. ends with the account of August 14th, page 146, though a few pages of meteorological register continue. The last remark is "see next book." This next book is Clark N., beginning with August 15th, and thus directly continues. On reaching the Mandans, Lewis and Clarke just missed the Mr. Henry with whom they so much desired to communicate that they had intended to send Sargeant Pryor to his post on the Assiniboine. This gentleman had left Le Borgne's village July 29th, 1806, and camped next day on Miry river, as I see by his MS., now in my possession. (Coues.)

[10] The Henry M. S. has, page 76: We entered the great village of the Big Bellies, which consists of about 130 huts. Here we found Messrs. Charles McKenzie and James Cadwell, who had left Reviere La Souris (Mouse river) with a small assortment of goods in May last; both the young men in the service of the Northwest Co." Here is doubtless intended the Mr. McKenzie of note page 203, pages 226, 232, etc. (Coues.)

[11] Le Borgne feared nobody. The wily savage had not the slightest intention of going to Washington, and was simply amusing himself by talking "for buncombe." See pages 242-244. But better than the portrait drawn of him there is the account given by Mr. Henry, who was his guest, and was treated with every consideration. One-eye was a moral monster, but he had other Napoleonic qualities which might have made him an almost equally great soldier, had his sphere of action been equally extensive. Mr. Henry calls him "His Excellency LeBorgne," with unconcealed sarcasm, and says that he breathed more freely after bidding him good-by. I have heard that his real name was Kakoakis—which would be middling good Greek for Wicked Point—and that he was finally killed by a chief named Etamingehisha, or Red Shield; but I have mislaid the reference, and cannot now verify the statement. (Coues.)

[12] "Chis-che-tor river, Clark N., 13; now Heart river." (Coues.)

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ADDENDA.

Since the completion of the foregoing article, the author has been afforded an opportunity of an examination of the work by Will and Spinden on the Mandans; and deeming it well worthy of mention herein, we have prepared a brief reference to some of the salient points brought out therein, which will be found below: 114

G. H. Will and H. J. Spinden. These gentlemen, being Harvard University students of the class of 1906, explored in part an old Mandan village site fourteen miles above Bismarck on the east bank of the Missouri in 1905, on behalf of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology; which labor is in part the subject of their "Papers," etc., published by that museum (Cambridge, Mass.) in 1906, under the title "The Mandans: A Study of Their Culture, Archaeology and Language." The work, which shows considerable study and research and is a highly interesting and instructive study of the subject treated of, deals, in three parts, of the "History, Life and Customs;" the "Archaeology;" and the "Language" of the Mandans. The illustrations are very faithful, and comprise the various specimens of pottery, implements, etc., found in said village site, and several illustrations of Mandan village sites visited by them in that locality. Part III ends with a valuable vocabulary of Mandan words compiled from Catlin, Maximilian, Hayden, Morgan and Schoolcraft; all of which vocabularies, they assert, came from James Kipp. The authorities relied on by them in regard to the general characteristics of the Mandans are the well known travelers and others among the classics, brought out in this paper. As pertains to the original habitat of the Mandans, these authors assert that previous to living upon the Missouri "they probably occupied some portion of the Ohio valley;" that that valley "would seem to have served as a point of dispersal whence the Plains members of the Siouan stock are supposed to have moved in four successive migrations"—the language of the Mandans being regarded by them as "unquestionably of Siouan stock, but does not appear to show very much closer affiliation with one than with another branch of that stock;" that "information upon the Mandan language is exceeding scarce and no very accurate or full gram-

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114 matical sketch exists." They dwell upon the lightness and other peculiarities of complexion of the Mandans, stating: "There can be little question that there was a tendency toward light complexion among the Mandans, and all of the authorities, even Maximilian, express the opinion that this was not from contact with the whites;" and while declaring it "difficult to decide" as to the cause of these peculiarities, they add: "It is almost needless to say that there is absolutely no trace either in language or in physical characteristics of any European origin or admixture." No professed study of this latter question seems to have been made by those worthy authors, so far as we are able to judge from said publication. We regret that we did not have access to a copy of said work in time to have dealt with it in the proper place in the foregoing paper.

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By

ALFRED W. BOWERS

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To My
Esteemed Teacher
GEORGE LUCIUS COLLIE

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PREFACE

185 THE Mandan Indians are one of the famous agricultural tribes of the Missouri Valley region. When first visited by white traders during the early part of the eighteenth century, they lived in large fortified villages of permanent lodges overlooking the wooded bottomlands of the Missouri River where they planted their gardens. Evidence of their traditional southeastern origin is indicated by the many ancient village sites downstream from the mouth of Heart River in North Dakota. This evidence of downstream origin is further strengthened by cultural features of unquestionable early southeastern origin which survived in this northern region dominated by the buffalo-hunting economy.

And though the specialist will recognize numerous traits in the Mandan culture—peace and war chiefs, clans and moiety divisions, village squares and ceremonial centers, high villages dominating ceremonial activities, confederacies of the Mandan with other co-operating tribal and village groups, agricultural complexes of rites and practices, and many material culture traits—to be characteristic of the southeastern Mississippian cultures, these survivals were heavily overlain by recently borrowed traits more characteristically either Woodlands or Plains. These survivals of an earlier downstream culture, Woodlands traits reflected in certain ceremonial practices and pottery traits, and Plains traits reflected in the importance of the vision quest, buffalo-hunting and eagle-trapping economies, and large summer tribal ceremonials, combine to give the Mandan distinctive cultural characteristics.

Here on the banks of the Missouri River the aboriginal Mandan Indians lived in a rude but productive harmony with nature. Their villages were important trading centers where all the nomadic tribes of the Northern Plains met annually to trade for corn and other agricultural products. And the fur-trader found their villages strategically situated for bartering his goods

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105 for furs. But Mandan sedentary life proved ill adapted to cope with the epidemics of smallpox and other contagious diseases that soon swept through their villages in successive waves until the tribe narrowly escaped extinction in 1837. During this period of rapidly reducing population, increased pressure from newly arrived and well-armed Siouan nomadic tribes hastened the downfall of the Mandan and all other agricultural village Indians living along the Missouri River.

105 121 The Mandan were a conservative people; behavior was traditional and stemmed from institutional sources, the sacred rites, and ceremonies. If you ask an old Mandan to describe a commonplace custom or even a tool used in his daily activities, he will invariably first introduce data on its origin to explain its adoption and use by his people. Those possessing vast knowledge of these "origin myths" occupy high status positions in the village and tribe. Early in this study it became evident that no adequate understanding of Mandan cultural and social values was possible except in terms of these origin myths, most of which were inseparable parts of the various sacred-bundle complexes. In recording the data contained in this report, I encouraged informants to express in their own way meanings which customs had for them; and this report is an attempt to describe Mandan culture in terms of its meaning to the Mandan Indians.

121 So far as possible, considering overlapping of myths and bundle rites, I have attempted to bring the related sacred myth and descriptions of the rituals together in the same chapter. Though these sacred myths provide the student of Indian folklore with a new body of materials not heretofore available, I believe that their greatest value will be to provide a better understanding of Mandan habits, customs, ideologies, institutions, social values, and human controls. In describing Mandan culture, I have endeavored (1) to penetrate the veneer of European culture and to describe life as it was in aboriginal times and (2) to indicate recent cultural changes which have occurred under the impact of the fur trade and closer associations with the Hidatsa.

000 It is a privilege to express my thanks to the many persons who have helped me in the preparation of this book—all of

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them far more than they know. The late Dr. Frank G. Logan provided funds through the Logan Museum of Beloit College for the field work, which was conducted according to plans outlined by Dr. George L. Collie, professor of anthropology at Beloit College. When the original field notes were transferred to the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole supervised the preparation of the manuscript. Dr. Karl Schmidt assisted with the Bibliography and footnotes. Mr. George F. Will and Mr. Russell Reid gave me access to their Mandan collections at the North Dakota Historical Society Museum, assisted me in interpreting historic accounts in terms of village sites, and provided the photographs of the fish traps reproduced in chapter viii. Dr. William Duncan Strong and Dr. Fred Eggan reviewed the manuscript and suggested several changes and additions, a number of which have been incorporated in this book. While making the field studies, Mr. and Mrs. Hal O. Simons, Sr., took me into their home at Elbowoods. Finally, I must express my great indebtedness to my wife—Gladys Monson Bowers—who worked with me in preparing the manuscript, typing the notes and the final report, and toning down the accounts of the buffalo-calling rites with their sex licenses to make them readable without embarrassment to mixed audiences.

ALFRED W. BOWERS

UNIVERSITY OF IDAHO
MAY 1950

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INTRODUCTION

THE Mandan are a small Siouan-speaking tribe who in 1910 numbered 197, according to the government census. In 1929 the writer collected data on lodge groups at Fishhook Village for the period 1870–72 from the information of a number of older Mandan and found that they considered forty-three households with a population of three hundred and nineteen as Mandan. Of this number, some of the individuals were Arikara, Hidatsa, and even Crow. Nevertheless, the household was considered to be Mandan because of the participation of the individuals of the household in the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan.

This study of the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan was made during a six-month visit to the Fort Berthold Reservation in 1930 and 1931. The census of lodge groups at the last village of Fishhook for both the Mandan and the Hidatsa was prepared from the data supplied by several of the older informants. Pertinent information on sacred bundles owned and offices filled by the various individuals was recorded. Genealogies were prepared from the data obtained from the census and the inheritance of bundle and other ceremonial rights. This preliminary study, made by the writer in 1929 for Beloit College and under the immediate supervision of Dr. George L. Collie, indicated that much of the aboriginal culture could be reconstructed. The Logan Museum of Beloit College conducted archeological studies of documented Mandan village sites during the period when this study was made, and native informants were especially helpful in identifying numerous traditional sites and interpreting archeological data.

While preparing the census and genealogies of the Mandan, no especial effort was made to record sacred rites. Informants offered little resistance to the recording of data on the possession of these bundles or the order of their inheritance. When the recording of the sacred myths and rites was undertaken, the writer was acquainted with all his informants. Tom Smith, who

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FIG. 1.—Sitting Crow and Crows Heart, Goose Society Singers.

[p.2]

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FIG. 2.—Scattercorn (*left*) and Mrs. Sitting Crow

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124 served as interpreter, was exceedingly helpful in planning the study of the ceremonies. Resistance to the divulging of sacred 126 lore was anticipated. He indicated those who would be least likely to co-operate. Work was begun with Christianized informants. Before recording a ceremony, additional information on the household not brought out in recording the census was obtained. Employing genealogies based on household groups, it

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FIG. 3.—Dance of the Goose Society

was possible in nearly every instance to determine both the former villages at Fort Clark and the older villages near Heart River of which the older people of the households were descendants. This information was important in determining cultural differences between the old villages.

115 The writer used fourteen informants for this study; eleven of these were Mandan and three were Hidatsa of the Awaxawi band. The six Mandan male informants were White Calf, Crows Heart, Ben Benson, Bear on the Flat, Foolish Woman, and Little Owl. The female informants were Scattercorn, Mrs. Good Bear, Calf Woman, Mrs. Owen Baker, and Front Woman. Wolf Chief and Mrs. White Duck supplied information on the Okipa and Corn ceremonies that had reached them through intermar-

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FIG. 4.—Mrs. Good Bear

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115 riage with the Mandan. Bears Arm supplied information on Eagle-trapping Rites.

115 As the study progressed, less resistance to divulging sacred
124 lore was encountered except in the recording of the People
114 Above rites. The omission or incompleteness of data for some of the rites is due to the shortness of the period of study and the failure of the writer to recognize the significance of some of the rites in interpreting the ceremonial life until the study was nearly completed or while analyzing the data after leaving the field. By that time those who could have supplied the information had died. Additional information on the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan, particularly eagle-trapping, was obtained while making a study of the Hidatsa for the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago under the supervision of Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole in 1932 and 1933. Beloit College transferred the field notes on the Mandan to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago in 1940, and the section on Mandan ceremonial organization was prepared at that time. The writer worked with Crows Heart, now ninety-two years of age and the only survivor of the original group of informants, during the summer of 1947 recording his autobiography. At that time the section dealing with the social organization was checked with him.

128 In the preparation of this manuscript, the writer has attempted to record as fully as possible the myths relating to the ceremony. At times these myths, because of their exceeding length, make reading difficult. However, were the myths removed from their proper context, the meaning of the various rites and practices of the ceremony would be lost. The introductory chapter is a brief summary taken from two other manuscripts recently prepared by the writer. These are: "Archeology of the Upper Missouri" and "A History of the Mandan and Hidatsa." These manuscripts may be examined at the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago. I have purposely avoided reference to cultural similarities to neighboring tribal groups other than to indicate broad cultural similarities with the Hidatsa.

194 In the brief recording of native terms the writer has employed the symbols used by Kennard in his report on "Mandan Gram-

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mar," except in those instances where native terms have been in long use in the literature.[1] 194

The spirants *s* and *c* are the equivalents of English *s* and *sh*, while velar *x* approximates *ch* in German *machen*. Mandan has

PHONOLOGY

	Voiceless Stop	Voiceless Fricative	Voiced	Nasal Voiced	Trills Voiced
Labial.....	*p*	....	*w*	*m*	....
Dental....	*t*	*s*	....	*d*	....
Alveolar...	....	*c*	....	*n*	*r*
Palatal....	*k*	....	....	....	....
Velar.....	....	*x*	....	....	....
Glottal....	ɔ	...	....	....	....
		h			

seven pure oral and three nasalized vowels which vary in length. The qualities approximate these English words: *a* as in "father"; *ρ* as in "over"; *u* as in "rule"; *i* as in "deep"; *e* as in "plate"; *E* as in "set"; ə as in unaccented *a* in "a dog." *ą*, *i̧*, and *u̧* may be nasalized. Diphthongs are absent; vowels brought together either retain their individual qualities or are contracted to produce a long vowel. The flapped *r* occurs only in intervocalic position. Nasals do not appear in final position.

1. Edward Kennard, "Mandan Grammar," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, IX, No. 1, 1–43.

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HISTORIC BACKGROUND

105 175 177 UNLIKE most tribes of the Northern Plains, the Mandan have moved little since first mentioned in the accounts of travelers, and their basic culture has changed little except for minor adjustments in their economy resulting from the introduction of the horse and European trade goods. The prominent part played by agriculture and the size and concentration of their villages at and above the mouth of the Heart River in early historic times, the semisedentary nature of their population, and their comparatively richer material wealth distinguished them from the nomadic buffalo hunters when European explorers first reached the Northern Plains. During late prehistoric times the Mandan were in intimate contacts with the Awatixa and Awaxawi bands of semisedentary Hidatsa, whose villages were situated below the Knife River at this time. So far as the writer was able to determine, the Mandan have always remained on friendly terms with the various Hidatsa and Crow groups.

175 361 Their first contacts were with the French coming overland from the Lake Winnipeg region to trade shortly after A.D. 1700, for La Harpe in A.D. 1719 gave the location of the Arikara on the Missouri as one hundred and twenty leagues southeast from "seven famous villages," which would, from the location of the Arikara in the La Harpe map, place the Mandan near the mouth of the Heart River.[1] We cannot be certain that the "seven famous villages" referred to by La Harpe do not include both the Mandan and at least part of the Hidatsa villages, since the Hidatsa are not mentioned in the literature until 1797, when they were identified by David Thompson as a separate linguistic group.[2] La Verendrye, who visited the earth-lodge vil-

1. Bernard de la Harpe, "Relation du voyage de Bernard de la Harpe," in Pierre Margry (ed.), *Découvertes et établissements des Française dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique septentrionale, 1614–1754*, Sixième partie (Paris, 1886), pp. 292–93.

2. *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1916), pp. 209–42.

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lages on the Upper Missouri River in 1738, was the first known explorer to leave a written account of his observations.[3] In company with a large party of Assiniboine, he followed an old Indian trail that had been in long use by the Assiniboine when visiting the agricultural villages to barter for corn and other agricultural products. He set out from the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers on September 26, 1738, to visit a people known as the Montannes, who lived on a river believed to flow into the Pacific Ocean. Contacts with the earth-lodge groups must have been numerous, since the "Montannes" spoke Assiniboine well. Concerning the village where he headquartered, he wrote:

> I gave orders to count the cabins, and we found that there were one hundred and thirty. All the streets, squares and cabins are uniform in appearance; often our Frenchmen would lose their way in going about. They kept the streets and open places very clean, the ramparts are smooth and wide; the palisade is supported on cross pieces morticed into posts fifteen feet apart with a lining. For this purpose they use green hides fastened only at the top in places where they are needed. As to the bastians, there are four of them at each curtain well flanked. The fort is built on an elevation in mid-prairie with a ditch fifteen feet deep and from fifteen to eighteen wide.[4]

He believed that these fortified villages were impregnable to attack. The younger La Verendrye went to another fort situated on the bank of the river and declared that it was twice as large. La Verendrye was told that there were six large villages on both banks of the river and that a day's march from the last of these were the Pananas, who had several forts, and then the Pananis. This would indicate that part of the Arikara had already moved northward to the neighborhood of the Grand River, a region which at that time had not been entered by the French traders.

M. Bellen's map of 1755 was the first to show the location of the Mandan villages.[5] This map shows the "Riv. des Mantons" flowing southeastward but fails to connect it with any of the streams in that direction. He wrote: "On ne connoit pas les sources du Missouri," and, of the "Riv. des Mantons," he added: "on ne scait si cette Riviere n'est pas la source du

3. *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultin de Varennes de La Verendrye and His Sons*, ed. Lawrence J. Burpee (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1927), pp. 290–360.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 339–40.

5. N. H. Winchell, *The Aborigines of Minnesota* (St. Paul: Pioneer Press, 1911), p. 47.

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Missouri." This map shows the Mandan and Arikara to be living about three hundred miles apart. Recent archeological studies of Arikara sites on the Missouri above Pierre, South Dakota, by the writer have shown that Arikara groups were also occupying the unexplored sections of the Missouri below the Mandan villages at this time.

Mackintosh (1773) reported that the Mandans were living in the Heart River region with from nine to thirteen villages on both banks of the Missouri River, with many thousands of warriors.[6] Since the Mandan have never claimed as many as thirteen villages and, in view of the fact that no reference is made to the agricultural Hidatsa groups who were living on the Missouri near by at that time, according to traditional and archeological evidence, it is to be presumed that Mackintosh's account included both Mandan and Hidatsa earth-lodge groups. Laurie and Whittle's map (1782) enumerates and locates a number of tribes heretofore not reported.[7] It resembled Bellen's map of 1755 in that the "Mantons River" still was not recognized to be a section of the Missouri. The Mandan lived along the "Mantons River," which flowed to the southeast. Their nearest neighbors were the Nadouasis, who had left the headwaters of the Mississippi, crossed the Red River, and were living below the Mandan villages. Immediately to the west of the Mandan villages were the Snake Indians, while the Assiniboine were to the north. The Arikara were to the southeast along the Missouri, while the Tetons occupied the prairie regions between Lake Traverse and the Missouri.

David Thompson in 1797 recognized that the Hidatsa, although living in earth-lodge villages adjacent to the Mandan, were a separate tribal group.[8] Prior to 1797, no references to the Hidatsa appear in the literature, and it is to be presumed that at least part of the tribe consisting of the Awaxawi group, who have a tradition of intimate relations with the Mandan, with whom they were intermarried in 1797, must be included in all

6. H. R. Schoolcraft, *History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States: Collected and Prepared under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs* (Philadelphia, 1854), III, 253.

7. Winchell, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

8. *Op. cit.*, pp. 225–37.

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previous references to the Mandan. He also recognized both agricultural and nomadic Hidatsa groups. 175 131

The Lewis and Clark journals written at Fort Mandan, where they spent the winter of 1804–5, furnish much data on both the culture and the history of the two tribes. To quote from their journal for November 21, 1804:

The villages near which we are established are five in number, and are the residence of three distinct nations: the Mandans, the Ahnahaways (Awaxawi), and the Minitarees (Hidatsa and Awatixa). The history of the Mandans, as we received it from our interpreters and from the chiefs themselves, and as it is attested by existing monuments, illustrates more than that of any other nation the unsteady movements and the tottering fortunes of the American nations. Within the recollections of living witnesses, the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about eighty miles below, and situated seven on the west and two on the east side of the river. The two, finding themselves wasting away before the smallpox and the Sioux, united into one village and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras. The same causes reduced the remaining seven to five villages, till at length they emigrated in a body to the Ricara nation, where they formed themselves into two villages and joined those of their countrymen who had gone before them. In their new residence they were still insecure, and at length the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present position. The two who had emigrated together still settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri, while the single village took a position on the southeast side. In this position they were found by those who visited them in 1796, since which the two villages have united into one. They are now in two villages, one on the southeast of the Missouri, the other on the opposite side and at the distance of three miles across. The first, in an open plain, contains about forty or fifty lodges, built in the same way as those of the Ricaras; the second, the same number; and both may raise about three hundred and fifty men.

On the same side of the River, and at a distance of four miles from the lower Mandan village, is another called Mahaha (Awaxawi). It is situated in a high plain at the mouth of Knife river, and is the residence of the Ahnahaways who formerly resided on the Missouri about thirty miles below where they now live. The Assiniboin and Sioux forced them to a spot five miles higher, where the greater part of them were put to death, and the rest emigrated to their present situation in order to obtain an asylum near the Minnetarees. . . . Their whole force is about fifty men.

On the south side of the same Knife River, half a mile above the Mahaha and in the same open plain with it, is a village of Minnetarees (Awatixa) surnamed Metaharta, who are about one hundred and fifty men in number. On the opposite side of Knife River, one and a half mile above this village, is a second village of Minnetarees (Hidatsa), who may be considered as the proper Minetaree nation. It is situated in a beautiful low plain, and contains four hundred and fifty warriors. . . . The Mandans say that these people came out of the water to the east and settled near them in their former establishment in nine villages. The Minnetarees proper assert, on the contrary, that they grew where they now live. . . . They also say that . . . the Minnetarees of the vil-

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175 lows (Hidatsa), whose language with very little variation is their own, came
131 many years ago from the plains and settled near them, and perhaps the two traditions may be reconciled by the natural presumption that these Minnetarees were the tribe known to the Mandans below, and that they ascended the river for the purpose of rejoining the Minnetaree proper. . . . The inhabitants of these five villages, all of which are within the distance of six miles, live in harmony with each other. The Ahnahaways understand in part the language of the Minnetarees; the dialect of the Mandans differs widely from both, but their long residence together has insensibly blended their manners and occasioned some approximation in language, particularly as to objects of daily occurrence and obvious to the senses.[9]

131 Alexander Henry visited the Mandan and Hidatsa in 1806 as
175 a representative of the Northwest Fur Company. He found the three Hidatsa village groups occupying the same villages as in
167 Lewis and Clark's time. The east-side Mandan, however, had moved to the opposite bank, where they had built a new village near the present town of Deapolis. Concerning the reorganization of the Mandan villages after the smallpox epidemic of 1782 and their migration upstream from the mouth of the Heart River to Painted Woods, where one band of Arikara had moved to join the Awaxawi and one band of Mandan who had formerly lived there, he wrote:

Not many years ago the Pawnees (Arikara) and Mandanes were allied to each other and lived together in the same villages on the Missourie, about 30 leagues below this place. A misunderstanding happening, they separated; the Pawnees retired down the river and built their village where it now stands, and the Mandanes proceeded with an intention of settling themselves somewhere about the confluence of the Little Missouri, or on the upper part of Riviere la Souris. But on their arrival at this place the Big Bellies (Hidatsa) barred the road and put a stop to their westward progress telling them they would not permit anyone to build higher up the river than themselves, and desiring the Mandanes to build where they are at present.[10]

Bradbury and Brackenridge in 1811 found the Mandan and Hidatsa occupying the same sites reported by Henry in 1806.[11] The period 1811–32 is not covered by reports of travelers. The writer learned while studying the ethnology of the Mandan and Hidatsa that one group of Mandan, representing the survivors of the west-side Heart River villages, returned south in 1820 and

9. Elliot Coues (ed.), *History of the Expedition under the Command of Lewis and Clark* (New York: Frances P. Harper, 1893), I, 196–200.

10. *The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson, 1799–1814*, ed. Elliot Coues (New York: Frances P. Harper, 1897), XII, 334.

11. John Bradbury, "Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811," in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1904), Vol. V; *Brackenridge's Journal of a Voyage Up the River Missouri*, in *ibid.*, Vol. VI.

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built a village on Eagle Nose Butte, where they remained until 1823, one year after James Kipp established a trading post at the Mandan villages.

Various aspects of Mandan culture were recorded by visitors to the region after 1832. Catlin and Maximilian described the village life in 1832 and 1833 from observations made of their daily activities.[12] Chardon's journals, written at Fort Clark between 1834 and 1839, carries a day-by-day account of the tribe during the second major smallpox epidemic of 1837 and of the reorganization of the population at that time.[13] Kurz, Boller, and Matthews have described various aspects of their culture as observed between 1851 and 1870.[14]

After 1870, the Mandan received little attention until 1908, when Libby used native informants to identify village sites of the Mandan and other tribes on the Upper Missouri.[15] He showed that Mandan sites could be distinguished from those of other tribes by the peculiar arrangement of lodges around a central plaza or open circle. A year later Curtis published a report of the Mandan covering various aspects of their culture.[16] Between 1912 and 1919, Lowie published reports on the social organization, societies, and ethnological problems of the Mandan based on field work with the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow.[17]

12. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (Philadelphia, 1857), and *O-Kee-Pa* (Philadelphia, 1867); Maximilian's *Travels in the Interior of North America*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Thwaites, Vols. XXII–XXIV (Cleveland, 1906).

13. *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark, 1834–1839*, ed. Annie Heloise Abel (Pierre, S.D., 1932).

14. *Journal of Rudolph Friederick Kurz*, ed. J. N. B. Hewitt (Bulletin 115 of the Bureau of American Ethnology [Washington, 1937]); Henry A. Boller, *Among the Indians: Eight Years in the Far West, 1858–1866* (Philadelphia: Elwood Zell, 1868); Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* ("U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey, Miscellaneous Publications," Vol. VII [Washington, 1877]).

15. O. G. Libby, "La Verendrye's Visit to the Mandans in 1738–39" and "Typical Villages of the Mandan, Arikara and Hidatsa in the Missouri Valley, North Dakota," *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, Vol. II (1908).

16. Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indians*, Vol. V: *The Mandan*, ed. Ferderick Webb Hodge (Cambridge, Mass.: University Press, 1909).

17. Robert H. Lowie, "Some Problems in the Ethnology of the Crow and Village Indians," *American Anthropology*, Vol. XIV (new ser., 1912); *Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XI [1913]); *Social Life of the Mandan and Hidatsa* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXI [1917]); *The Hidatsa Sun Dance* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVI [1919]).

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175 Will and Hyde studied the agriculture of a number of Plains tribes which included the Mandan.[18] Their report indicated that 114 much of the aboriginal Mandan culture could still be preserved from the knowledge of a number of the older Mandan. Densmore's study of Mandan and Hidatsa music indicated something of the rich ceremonialism shared by these two tribes.[19] Beckwith studied and recorded the folklore of the Mandan during the 1930's.[20] Although her reports by no means cover all the secular and sacred myths of this tribe, a considerable body of traditional lore was preserved and recorded during several brief visits to the tribe. Kennard studied the Mandan language in 1933 and published a report on Mandan grammar in 1936.[21]

172 Archeological studies have not kept pace with the ethnological studies of this important Plains tribe. The first intensive 114 archeological study of a Mandan earth-lodge village site was made by Will and Spinden in 1905 at the Double Ditch site, the residence of the Nuptadi Mandan on the east bank of the Missouri north of Bismarck, North Dakota.[22] Subsequent studies by Strong[23] and by the writer in other documented Mandan sites of the same region show that minor cultural differences existed between Mandan sites of the same period. In 1908 Libby employed native informants to assist in the interpretation of archeological phenomena.[24] He found that lodge arrangement around an open circle was characteristic of the Mandan and Arikara villages, the latter group placing a large circular ceremonial lodge in the center of the open circle, whereas the Hidatsa practiced no particular lodge arrangement, and that the leaders of the Mandan villages lived adjacent to the village plaza. He in-

18. George F. Will and George E. Hyde, *Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri* (St. Louis: William Harvey Miner Co., Inc., 1917).

19. Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* ("Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology," Bull. 80 [Washington, 1923]).

20. Martha W. Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-lore Society," Vol. XXXII [Boston, 1938]).

21. Edward Kennard, "Mandan Grammar," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. IX, No. 1.

22. George F. Will and H. J. Spinden, *The Mandans: A Study of Their Culture, Archaeology and Ethnology* ("Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University," Vol. III, No. 4 [Cambridge, Mass., 1906]).

23. William Duncan Strong, *From History to Prehistory in the Northern Great Plains: Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America* ("Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," Vol. C [Washington, 1940]).

24. *Op. cit.*

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dicated that La Verendrye had actually reached the Hidatsa and not the Mandan when making a winter trip to the Missouri in 1738. He based his conclusions largely on the journals of the course followed after leaving the Souris River. He believed that La Verendrye reached the Missouri River near the present town of Sanish, North Dakota. Because of the absence of large earth-lodge village ruins near Sanish, this opinion has been largely rejected by subsequent students of Mandan-Hidatsa history. 172 114

The first reference to observed temporal differences in cultures of earth-lodge sites in the area was made by Will, who wrote:

> In pursuing the above-described work an impression gradually grew that there were two rather distinct types of sites in the region, distinct enough in fact so that nearly every site could be referred readily to one or the other group. The center for one type seems to be below the Heart River, with the Huff site as perhaps the best representative. The second type is found at and above the mouth of the Heart River altogether, although the lower sites seem to overlap. . . . A reasonable conclusion therefore seems to be that the two types must represent a difference in time and culture between two periods of occupation by the same tribe. This agrees well with the historical traditions of the Mandan, and seems a fair hypothesis although much longer and more detailed work would be required to demonstrate it fully.[25]

The relative age of sites near the Heart River suggested by Will has been demonstrated to be correct by archeological explorations in the sites by Strong,[26] by Will and Hecker,[27] and by the writer. In another report the writer enumerated pottery traits and frequencies that could be used to distinguish Hidatsa sites from those of the Mandan and indicated that the sites showing pottery traits characteristic of the Hidatsa village groups were traditionally Hidatsa sites according to the information of both Mandan and Hidatsa informants.[28] Having established the frequency of pottery types characteristic of the documented Mandan sites of the early historic period, it was shown that differences in frequencies occurred between different levels within each village site and that the same changes in 172 174

25. George F. Will, *Archaeology of the Missouri Valley* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXII, Part 6 [1924]), p. 341.

26. *Op. cit.*

27. George F. Will and Thad C. Hecker, *Upper Missouri River Valley Aboriginal Culture in North Dakota* ("North Dakota Historical Quarterly," Vol. XI [1944]).

28. Alfred W. Bowers, "A History of the Mandan and Hidatsa" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago).

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172 174 popularity of pottery types were occurring simultaneously in all of the Mandan villages near the Heart River. Relative dating of sites was made on the basis of the frequency of these types. It was found that the oldest agricultural population in the area lived in a large number of small settlements situated adjacent to the wooded bottoms where agriculture could be practiced. Lodges were rectangular in outline and were frequently as large as seventy-five by thirty-five feet; floors were excavated to a depth of from three to four feet; lodges were widely scattered, and the villages were unfortified. The close similarity of pottery over a wide area extending from the mouth of Knife River to the Oahe Bend in South Dakota indicated that the first agricultural groups occupied the area over a short period of time and probably with little resistance from groups already in the area. It is hard to calculate the period of time during which the native agricultural groups occupied these early sites which in another report have been placed in the Cannonball focus. Nowhere is the refuse very deep, although the sites are generally covered with two or more feet of wind-blown sand carried out of the river bottoms. Probably not more than one hundred and fifty years would be required to account for the building and abandonment of these numerous small village sites. Shortly before A.D. 1500 the native population above the Grand reassembled into large fortified sites of the Huff focus.[29] Rectangular lodges were still being built, and we find archeological evidence, for the first time, of village plazas. Villages of this cultural horizon were rectangular in outline and were surrounded with fortifications consisting of a ditch, palisades, and bastions.

The evidence of a second agricultural population farther downstream, which has been classified as belonging to the Lower Grand focus or culture, indicates that the Mandan were in A.D. 1500 divided into two regional groups. The division of the Mandan into two groups is consistent with native traditions that, when the southern group moved northward to the vicinity of Heart River, they found other Mandan already living there. The archeological evidence indicates that the southern group were first to adopt the circular earth lodge and that the north-

29. George F. Will, *Tree Ring Studies in North Dakota* (Agricultural Experiment Station Bull. 338 [Fargo, 1946]).

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ern group adopted it between 1550 and 1600, retaining a modified rectangular lodge for ceremonial purposes thereafter until the native population moved onto the Reservation. Whereas emphasis was on cord-impressed pottery at the Heart River, the southern group emphasized incised pottery. As contacts between the two groups increased when the southern group moved northward, the frequency of cord wares increased. According to tradition, the Awigaxa Mandan were last to abandon the Grand River region and move onto the Missouri at Painted Woods. There they adopted the Okipa with the prescribed lodge arrangement around an open circle, but we find that in these traditional sites the frequency of cord wares never equaled that of the northern Mandan. 172 174

The earlier earth-lodge sites occupied by the various Hidatsa village groups, though generally showing close similarity in traits to those of the Mandan, have a few diagnostic differences. These are an abundance of check stamped pottery, considerable cord-roughened wares, absence of fortifications with ditch and bastions, and lack of lodge orientation within the village. The sites on the Missouri River that can be identified as having been occupied by the Hidatsa groups from native traditions, and these diagnostic traits, are neither numerous nor of long occupation. With two exceptions, the sites are situated north of the Heart River. Downstream from the mouth of the Knife River, the villages consisted of clusters of earth lodges occupied during the summer months while practicing agriculture. Earth-lodge villages are generally absent along the Missouri upstream from the mouth of Knife River; in that region cultural manifestations are found in thin lens-shaped deposits, suggesting that temporary shelters, probably hide tepees, were used. These sites, both earth lodge and temporary, which can be identified with the historic Hidatsa and Crow groups, have been classified as belonging to the Painted Woods focus. Similar sites are also found on the Sheyenne River to the east from which these groups traditionally moved to the Missouri. Studies of pottery at Awatixa, the longest occupied site of the Hidatsa, indicate that, whereas the lower levels show close ties with the Shultz site on the Sheyenne, the late prehistoric and early historic levels show closest ties to that of the Mandan. None of the sites 172 171 174

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other than the Awatixa site at the mouth of Knife River show long occupation; this substantiates native traditions that the Awatixa lived longest on the Missouri and that the Hidatsa and Awaxawi were last to arrive.

The archeological evidence collaborates traditions of both the Mandan and the Hidatsa groups relative to migrations and period of residence on the Missouri. The Mandan were first to move onto the Missouri and establish villages. On this earliest cultural horizon, those farthest north had rectangular semi-subterranean lodges and pottery that was decorated with impressed cord. The southern groups built small circular earth lodges; their pottery was lighter in color and was decorated predominantly with incised bodies and rims. As the southern groups moved northward to join the northern groups, each group borrowed from the other. The northern groups adopted the circular earth lodge and incised pottery, while the southern groups adopted the open circle, rectangular lodge for ceremonial purposes, and pottery with cord-impressed decorations and grooved-paddle impressed bodies. By A.D. 1600 the entire Mandan population was living at or above the Heart River, having abandoned the Missouri to the south to the nomadic groups.

During the century 1600–1700, group after group of Hidatsa and Crow moved westward and occupied sections of the Missouri and its tributaries. According to native traditions, which can be verified by the depth of refuse accumulation at Awatixa village site at the mouth of Knife River, this village group was first to reach the Missouri. At this time the Awatixa were united with the Crow, who separated at the Missouri, those who remained agricultural and settled at the mouth of Knife River being known as the Awatixa and the nomadic group who moved westward onto the Little Missouri being known as Crow. This migration was followed by the Awaxawi a short time later. They came as agriculturalists and settled below the mouth of Knife River at Painted Woods, where the southern Mandan had built after leaving the Grand River. The last migration of Hidatsa and Crow followed a number of years later. According to the traditions of both the Mandan and the Hidatsa groups, this last migration was of a nomadic peoples who had lived northeastward of Devils Lake. This group occupied the territory up-

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stream from the Knife River, where they separated after quarreling over the division of a buffalo. Those who moved farther upstream along the Missouri and Yellowstone became the "Paunch" Indians, while those who remained near the other Hidatsa villages were known as the Hidatsa. 174 101

By 1700 the entire section of the Missouri from the Cannonball to the mouth of the Yellowstone was occupied by groups of Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow of the "Paunch" band. The greatest concentration of villages was near the mouth of Heart River. These large earth-lodge villages were occupied by Mandan of the Nuptadi and Nuitadi bands and were situated on both banks of the Missouri. Agriculture was intensively practiced by these groups. Farther upstream at the Painted Woods, the Awigaxa band of Mandan and the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa had villages. The Awatixa band of Hidatsa were on the south bank of Knife River. Agriculture was practiced by all these groups. North of Knife River were the less agricultural Hidatsa, who sometimes came to the north bank of Knife River to occupy their large earth-lodge village and to plant corn. Generally they were farther upstream, on the Mouse River, or in the Turtle Mountains, living as nomadic hunters. Immediately to the west of the more nomadic Hidatsa were the nomadic Crow. These groups had prescribed territories and lived peacefully together so long as one group did not infringe on the territorial rights of the others. These groups moved little until the close of the eighteenth century, when the aboriginal population was sharply reduced by smallpox and other epidemics. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the region below the Cannonball was occupied by nomadic groups who were in part replaced by the Arikara after 1725 when they began their northward migration which did not terminate until 1862, at which time they united with the survivors of the Mandan and Hidatsa villages at Fishhook Village. 174 101 131

In another report the writer has analyzed the ceremonial organizations of the various village groups of Mandan and Hidatsa, using genealogies, historic accounts of travelers, and native traditions and has shown that two distinct inheritance patterns existed: (1) the Mandan pattern of inheritance of principal bundles and rites within the clan and (2) the Hidatsa and 171 196 428

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Awaxawi pattern, which provided for the inheritance of bundles and rites from the father or a member of the father's clan.[30] In this respect, the Awatixa, who have the longest traditional history of residence near the Mandan, were intermediate, having features of both systems.

TABLE 1

INTERTRIBAL AND INTERVILLAGE CULTURAL BORROWING

Ceremony	Mandan	Hidatsa	Awatixa	Awaxawi
Okipa	x			
Corn and Fertility	x			
Old Woman Never Dies	x	x	x	x
Small Hawk	x			
Snow Owl	x			
Robe bundles	x			
Shell Robe	x		x	
Knife clan bundle			x	
Water-buster clan bundle			x	
Earth-naming		x		x
Hide-beating (Sun Dance)		x	x	x
Bear	x	x	x	x
Imitating Buffalo		x	x	x
Painted Red Stick	x	x		x
Buffalo Corral	x	x	x	x
Buffalo Neckbone	x	x	x	x
Sunset Wolf		x	x	x
Sunrise Wolf*		x	x	x
Thunder	x	x	x	x
Missouri River		x	x	x
Creek	x		x	
Earth-lodge-making	x		x	
Sacred Pot	x			x
Woman Above	x	x	x	x
Holy Woman	x	x	x	x
Eagle-trapping	x	x	x	x
Fish-trapping	x	x	x	x

* The Mandan had a Wolf rite inherited through the Prairie Chicken clan, but the features of the rites are only remotely similar to the Hidatsa Wolf ceremonies.

Table 1 indicates the extent of intertribal and intervillage cultural borrowing which had occurred between the Mandan and Hidatsa village groups with respect to ceremonies performed.

30. Bowers, *op. cit.*

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Chapter I

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

182 THE Mandan social organization was complex and highly integrated. There is an abundance of archeological evidence that at a very early time the population was more widely dispersed along the Missouri River. La Verendrye, the first known visitor to this tribe, reported that they were residing in six villages which were fortified with closely grouped lodges. Considering the depth of refuse of the protohistoric village sites of the Heart River region, all which have closely grouped lodges within a fortification, it is evident that the Mandan village groups had lived in intimate contacts with each other for two or more centuries.

621 361 Each village was an economic unit. It acted as a unit when leaving on the summer buffalo hunt, although there was a certain amount of co-operation among villages in the matter of protecting the old people left behind and in keeping enemy raiding parties from burning the lodges during their absence. Each village had its garden section which was separate from other village garden areas, although my informants claimed that at one time just preceding the first smallpox epidemic, when the Boley, Scattered, Motsiff, and Slant villages of the west side and Round Lodges and Yellow Earth villages of the east side were occupied, all the available corn grounds were planted and that it was necessary for the villages to meet in council to define the garden limits of each village. At that time the most distant villages of the Heart River region were only a few miles from each other, and some families had gardens on opposite sides of [311] the river. A village was frequently abandoned by a part of the people whenever wood was depleted or the corn ground was no longer productive, which in large measure accounts for the presence of so many village sites showing short occupation. At the mouth of the Heart River where the wooded bottoms were most extensive, the villages show longest continuous occupation.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

361 Aboriginal Mandan village sites had the following distinctive characteristics.

174 1. The circular four-post earth lodge was the most common type used for summer residence, although semirectangular lodges did occasionally occur. These lodges were closely grouped within a limited area.

2. A central open space approximately one hundred and fifty feet in diameter was reserved for the dances and ceremonies. A [778] cedar was set into the ground at the center of the open circle and surrounded by an inclosure of wood to represent the culture hero's (NumakmaxEna) body. The inclosure was a symbol of the wall which NumakmaxEna erected to protect the people [344] from the flood. The ceremonial lodge was on the north side of the open area and in line with the other lodges which formed the circumference of the open area. Lodge entrances of this inner circle faced to the center. The ceremonial lodge was distinguished from other lodges by its flat front and greater length than width.

3. Villages were usually either protected by a surrounding wall and ditch or so situated as to employ as defenses such natural features of the terrain as cliffs, ravines, or riverbanks.

4. Villages were, with one or two exceptions, built near the Missouri River or its tributaries and adjacent to the wooded river bottoms which were cleared for gardens.

[764] 5. Although scaffolds for the dead were erected near the villages, isolated human bones, cache burials, and secondary bundle burials occur so frequently within the older villages that we are justified in assuming that these practices were characteristic of the older culture and that scaffold disposal was of late adoption.

6. There was a marked uniformity between villages of the same age with respect to material culture.

7. The clustering of a considerable number of village sites of a single archeological focus and the absence of all other foci within the region adjacent to the Heart River indicate Mandan domination of an extensive area along the Upper Missouri.

174 The Mandan claim to have been divided into bands which, in large part, were broken down while living at the Heart River. 619 These were: (1) Is'topə ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves");

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

(2) Nup'tadi (no meaning); (3) Ma'nana'rE ("Those Who Quarreled"); (4) Awi'-ka-xa (no meaning); and (5) Nu'itadi ("Our People"). 174 619

While living in the Heart River region, dialectic differences also existed between bands. Three major dialectic groups existed then, according to Crows Heart and Scattercorn: Nuptadi, Nuitadi, and Awigaxa. The latter group was small and was assimilated into the Nuitadi after the first smallpox epidemic. Linguistic differences between the Nuptadi and Nuitadi were recognized by Maximilian, who prepared a partial list of Mandan words of the two dialects.[1] These differences are still recognized by Mandan informants. The Nuitadi was the largest linguistic group and comprised the Nuitadi proper, the Is'topa, and the Ma'nana'rE. The latter two bands separated from the Nuptadi proper for economic reasons when the village population became too large for the further exploitation of the corn grounds. 174 619 197

In historic times and before coming to Fort Clark, according to Crows Heart, the Istopa and MananarE had separate villages. In addition, there were several villages of Nuitadi. The Istopa were believed to occupy the territory north of the Heart River and had as their nearest neighbors the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa, who moved there from below the Cannonball River. Their principal village was at the Motsiff site. Crows Heart's grandmother was of the Istopa band, and she was born in their village near the present town of Sanger, North Dakota. 619 361 131 174

The Mandan have been a relatively small tribe since the first smallpox epidemic which reached them before leaving the Heart River villages. Lewis and Clark reported ruins of their villages in that region in 1804, and the natives informed him that in their time nine villages were occupied simultaneously. The east-side villages united into one village and moved northward, while the west-side group united first into two villages and later into one village and moved northward along the west bank of the Missouri and settled at Fort Clark Village. 619 174

There is some inconsistency in the Mandan migration myths, 174 773

1. Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. R. G. Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906), XXIV, 259.

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174 since some accounts tell of being created at the Heart River
773 while others tell of a migration along the Missouri from the southeast. This same inconsistency was recognized by Maximilian.[2] My informants did not consider this to be an inconsistency at all. Their explanation was that, when Lone Man made the land around the Heart River, he also made the land to the south as far as the ocean. He made fish people, eagle people, bear people, corn people, buffalo people, and others whose history was inaugurated into myths of the sacred bundles. These various people were born into the Mandan tribe by magical means, thus populating the lands.

174 The large number of village sites belonging to a single archeological focus adjacent to the Missouri River both below and
161 above the junction with the Heart River indicates that the tribe at one time numbered several thousand, possibly as much as seven or eight thousand, while the depth of refuse establishes continuous residence there of several centuries.

THE MANDAN HOUSEHOLD

592 The household was the smallest economic unit and was composed of one or more biological families related through the fe-
[611] males. Theoretically, the household was held together by females so long as their lineage was unbroken and the lodge belonged to the clan of which the females were members. When a
351 village was first built on a new site, each household selected a
425 site for its lodge, corn scaffolds, and caches. There was a tend-
592 ency for related families to select adjacent quarters, while those intimately connected with the Okipa ceremony selected lodge sites adjacent to the open circle. These lodge sites within the village were held permanently within the female line, and, when returning to rebuild after a temporary abandonment of the village, female descendants of the original builders were entitled to
425 their former sites. When a family died out, the lodge belonged
592 to the clan of the females and could be occupied by another group of the same clan or could be sold to females of a different clan. My informants emphatically denied that abandoned lodges could be occupied until they had received permission

2. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 307–8. There is some inconsistency present, since other myths imply that the Mandan have been on or near the Heart River since the creation of man by Lone Man.

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either of the nearest relatives or of the clan to which the lodge belonged. They believed that the lodge had a spirit which would have sent bad luck to one taking possession illegally.

The females of the lodge owned in common the domestic goods consisting of bedding, pots, household and gardening tools, the dogs, gardens, the wooden mortar and pestle, and the mares and colts. Clothing and personal effects were held individually. The men owned their weapons used in warfare and hunting as well as their own clothing and pipes. Men also owned the stallions and geldings. Sacred tribal bundles were held collectively by the man and his wives.

Lodges were built with little ceremony; the only rites were performed at the cutting of the notches for the four center posts when an old woman having the right to cut the posts was called in to sing one song and pray for the family's success. She received one robe for her services. It was the duty of the clan to assist in the erection of a member's lodge. Since these lodges were large, a considerable amount of work was entailed in erecting one and covering it with poles, willows, grass, and earth.[3] As a rule, the clan prepared a feast and invited the opposite moiety to assist, in which case the clans assisted according to the seating arrangement of the men in the Okipa or in council.

Mandan informants state that in earlier times each household had one or more game pits. These pits were dug by all the members of the household and were owned collectively. While the men would bring the poles for the cover and kill the game caught in them, the women frequently did most of the work of excavating and removing earth from the area of the pit. In recent times many households had fishtraps which are believed to have been used since introduced by Black Wolf. Fish bones, particularly catfish bones, are very abundant in the Heart River villages. The ceremonies associated with the trapping of fish, particularly the catfish, were performed by the older men, but the women assisted in weaving the walls for the trap and in sorting and cleaning the fish.

There was considerable variability in the status of household

3. For a report of the amount of materials used in the completion of an earth lodge see George F. Will, "The Mandan Lodge at Bismarck," *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 1 (October, 1930).

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There was considerable variability in the status of house-hold
621 groups. Those groups possessing important tribal bundles and
554 participating frequently in the ceremonies occupied high status
571 in the village and endeavored to preserve their eminence by selective marriage of their children. The importance of the lodge group was also expressed by offerings placed on poles erected before the lodge. These offerings were distinctive and proclaimed the existing status of the household bundle. One's loyalty remained with the lodge group one was born into, while subsequent marriages united groups of households.

621 A lodge group could leave one village and join another at will.
Usually a number of related households moved at one time, but
166 there are numerous references to groups transferring from one
578 village to another. Informants thought that the three Mandan groups or bands were endogamous. When a group left one village, it endeavored to affiliate with its own band in one of the villages. Mandan informants had been told of at least four reasons why a household group would change villages. When a certain cermony had been allowed to die out or become inactive, a household having rights in that ceremony could enhance its social status by moving out of a village in which there were a number having rights in the ceremony, to take up residence in another where there were few having those particular ceremonial rights. Other household groups moved into another village over the recognition of chiefs. When a small group was dissatisfied with the leadership of the village, rather than have trouble, they moved into another village. Scattercorn remembered that there was often dissatisfaction among the women over the selection of a village site. She recalled that one of their villages was so sandy that the caches caved in, and some of the women wanted to move to another site. When the leaders refused, they were invited to affiliate with another village, which they did. The Missouri River frequently changed its course and sometimes cut through the gardens, destroying the garden sites belonging to some households. When no potential corn ground was available near at hand, household groups were obliged to move to a village with an abundance of suitable corn ground in preference to walking great distances to their gardens.

361 The protohistoric Mandan sites of the Heart River region
have ruins of one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and

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fifty lodges, while the later villages of historic times were much smaller, owing to the smaller population. Maximilian reported sixty-five lodges at Mitutanka and thirty-eight at Nuptadi. My informants listed forty-three lodges at Like-a-Fishhook. After 1870, the Mandan began abandoning the circular four-post earth lodge for small rectangular log cabins, two of them housing the population formerly living in a single earth lodge. Frequently a log cabin was built with two rooms, one room being occupied by the older people, who preserved the sacred bundles in their quarters, and the other room being occupied by the younger married family.

THE CLAN AND MOIETY SYSTEM

At the present time there are four Mandan clans, and they are divided into nameless moieties according to their position in the Okipa lodge. The Okipa or ceremonial lodge occupied a position on the north side of the village open circle, with the entrance facing the sacred cedar. According to the traditions of the Okipa, there were formerly thirteen clans which were divided into moieties known as an east-side moiety, comprising these clans: Prairie Chicken; Speckled Eagle; Bear; Red Hill; Crow; Badger; Bunch of Wood; and a west-side moiety consisting of six clans: Waxi'kEna; Tami'sik; Tami'xixiks; and three extinct clans. In the construction of the ceremonial lodge all clans participated. The east-side clans erected their side of the lodge and placed yellow corn in each posthole. The west-side clans erected the west side of the ceremonial lodge and placed small mats of buffalo hair in the central postholes of their side.

According to tradition, the clans were not all established simultaneously. It is said that Lone Man announced while living in the tribe that he belonged to the WaxikEna clan. It was the custom for this clan to sit near the door on the left, or west, side in council and during the ceremonies. The other five clans which were believed to be closest in relationship to the WaxikEna clan occupied the west side of the lodge also. It was believed that those who were of no clan occupied the entire east section of the lodge in no particular order until Clay on the Face, when returning from a successful war expedition, announced an arbitrary division of the young men then sitting in council. It is said that

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614 he divided those sitting on the east side into seven groups and
773 gave each group a name, informing them that their sisters and mothers would belong to the same group. Since men of all villages were present at the time, clans were taken back to all villages of the tribe.

Of the thirteen clans, nine have become extinct. Bites in Nose
614 was said to be the last to remember the thirteen clans which he
616 would call in turn during the Okipa ceremony. The WaxikEna and Tamisik constitute one moiety and the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle make up the other moiety today. When the last performance of the Okipa ceremony was held after going onto the Reservation, the WaxikEna and Tamisik occupied the west side of the lodge, and the other two clans took the opposite side. At that time Hidatsa fasters participated in the ceremony, and the members of their three-clan moiety sat with the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while the four-clan moiety sat on the opposite side.

614 The Mandan consider the WaxikEna to be the highest clan,
since it held the rights in the Okipa ceremony. The word
[424] *waxikEna* means "to tell bad stories about." The word *tamisik* has no meaning, but the people of that clan were said to be stingy and were frequently teased for serving small portions on wooden platters placed before visitors. *Tamixixiks* refers to poor leather used in making harnesses for carrying wood.

According to tradition, when the Mandan were first created by the culture hero, Lone Man, young men married their own sisters until the tribe became numerous, when clans were established to prevent marriage between relatives. The clan names had no sacred significance, and in the cases of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle there was no prohibition against killing these birds by members of the two clans.

The clans were organized groups and elected a leader who
[554] acted in an advisory capacity. He was an older person who had been successful in warfare or in hunting and had shown considerable interest in the members of the clan, particularly the old men and women. There were frequent clan feasts by some mem-
614 ber of the clan, at which time they would discuss the success of
431 individual members. When a young man contemplated buying an important ceremonial bundle or performing a ceremony, it

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was customary for the clan to meet in the clan leader's lodge and make provisions for the accumulation of goods to be used in the rites. It was believed that a successful ceremony with an abundance of gifts to be given away brought credit to the entire clan. 614 431

Moieties were in theory exogamous, but they had ceased to regulate marriage after 1837. Scattercorn explained that, while the Mandan considered those who sat on the same side in the Okipa or in council as brothers, it was considered better to marry into a clan of the same moiety than to marry outside the tribe. Marriages within the clan were disapproved. 616 582

The clan was a property-holding group. The major bundles of the Okipa ceremony were held in the WaxikEna clan, which also owned the sacred cedar and controlled the Okipa lodge and sacred turtles. Traditionally, the Shell Robe bundle belonged in the Prairie Chicken clan. Eagle-trapping lodges belonged to the clan of the member building it and remained in the clan when the original owner died. There were two bundles for the Big Bird ceremonies which were known as Black Medicine bundle and Sweet Medicine bundle. The former was inherited in the Prairie Chicken clan and the latter in the Speckled Eagle clan of the same moiety. Each clan was the theoretical custodian of one variety of corn. The WaxikEna clan was custodian of the bluish-green flint corn; the Tamisik had the red corn; the Prairie Chicken had the yellow flint and dent; the Speckled Eagle had the rainbow corn. Crows Heart stated that Hides-and-Eats, an old woman who lived in his lodge, told him that, when she was young, people of one clan were not permitted to raise corn belonging to the other clans without first securing the rights and that each clan claimed to be the preserver of its own corn. 614 421

It was the duty of the clan to assist its own members. It was the clan's duty to care for its old people having no blood children. During the smallpox epidemic of 1837, women went through the villages and gathered the orphans of their clan, who were taken into their lodges to be reared. Old people were invited in to be fed and clothed by younger members of their own clan. When returning from a successful hunt, young men would offer meat to the old people who met them at the outskirts of the village. One was expected to offer meat to old people of the same clan without being asked for it. 614 736 888

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614 421 The clan was the medium for the transfer of property when a family died out without leaving descendants. When an individual died, leaving no relatives, the clan took possession of the property. The lodge was occupied by females of the same clan or could be sold to women of a different clan. It was the duty of the clan to assist a female member in repairing or building her lodge and to put up property for one of its number who was inviting [424] the opposite moiety to assist in building a new lodge. The clan owned certain names which belonged within the clan and were not sold outside the clan.

614 621 171 The clans extended through all the villages of the tribe and were in part equated with Hidatsa clans. Both tribes had a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna was the equivalent of the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik was the equivalent of the Hidatsa Metsiroka. The Hidatsa also had a few people of the Speckled Eagle clan who were said to be of Mandan origin.[4]

614 578 It was the duty of the clan to revenge the killing of one of its members. In the event of the murder of one of its number, the murderer would attempt to escape to the Crow, since the Hidatsa would not protect a murderer from the Mandan villages for fear of war between the two tribes.

614 The clan assisted at the death of a son. They prepared the body for the scaffold and sent the spirit away. It was also the duty of the father's clan to bring the skull of one dying away from the village back for disposal. Feasts were given to the members of the father's clan, and help was asked of individual members by those contemplating war expeditions. Men of the father's clan inserted the thongs for a faster. The permanent

4. The Hidatsa give a different account of the origin of this clan. Mrs. Bears Arm, a member of the clan, stated that there was a Mandan woman of the Prairie Chicken clan who was childless. She was a hard worker and had large gardens. One morning when she went to her gardens she noticed that someone had been hoeing the corn. She inquired in the village if someone had been working in her garden and could find none who had been working there. She went out before daylight to see who it was. Several whitetail deer were working in the garden. They ran away when they saw the woman. As they disappeared, she heard one say, "I left my baby there." The baby was a speckled eagle. She took the baby home to rear as her own and wanted the child to belong to the Prairie Chicken clan, but the others would not agree to it, since the child came of a different source. The child grew up and had children who were known as speckled eagles. While living below the Knife River, men of the Awaxawi village married a few girls of that clan and brought them to their own village to live. The group is treated as a lineage of the Hidatsa Prairie Chicken clan.

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The permanent name one received when returning from the first successful war expedition was received from the father's clan.

The moiety had both ceremonial and economic functions. When dividing the buffalo captured in the corral, the inclosure was symbolic of the ceremonial lodge. A line was drawn through the center of the corral extending from the midpoint of the entrance to the opposite side. Those animals falling to the left of the entrance belonged to the WaxikÊna and Tamisik, while those of the opposite side belonged to the other moiety. Women of a moiety butchered on their side without regard to clan. Each moiety constructed its half of the ceremonial lodge and would also erect an earth lodge used as a residence when the clan of the owner of the new lodge assisted in putting up goods for the assistance rendered by the opposite moiety. It was believed that the moiety regulated marriage prior to the last smallpox epidemic, but a study of lineages indicated that it had little influence over marriages after 1837. There was a feeling that in former times traditional eagle-trapping sites were divided into moieties, each moiety trapping on its side of the Missouri River. If such division existed, all evidences had disappeared before 1870. There was considerable competition between moieties. When one moiety had more successful war leaders than the other, its members would tease the others and question their bravery. Sons of men of the same moiety teased each other a great deal. Each moiety had a leader who assisted in the division of the buffalo taken in a corral.

VILLAGE AND TRIBAL LEADERSHIP

Mandan village and tribal leadership was vested in the hierarchy of bundle-owners or priests who constituted a group of head men whose number varied from time to time depending on the status of the various bundles. From this group two leaders were selected whose war or peacemaking record exceeded that of all others or who, because of other practices, had acquired considerable popularity with the people. The one whose record in warfare was greatest was selected in council to be war chief. A second chief selected was one who had important ceremonial bundles, had given many feasts, and had performed many rites for the general welfare of the village. These were considered the

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leaders of the hierarchy of older men; they were expected to co-operate for the general welfare of the village. They were entitled to wear a headdress of buffalo horns and ermine during council meetings, on various social occasions, and during peace-making discussions with neighboring tribes.

The Mandan informants thought that sons of chiefs were usually selected, since they were better trained and were exposed to sacred bundles which had proved their potency. From a study of Mandan lineages it was not possible to establish the accuracy of this opinion, since all lineages having chiefs except that of Four Bears were broken by the smallpox. In this lineage there was the following inheritance of chiefs: Good Boy was chief at Slant Village after the first smallpox epidemic and lived at Fort Clark for nine years as first chief, where he died; Four Bears, son of Good Boy, was chief for a number of years prior to 1837, when he died of smallpox; Bad Gun, son of Four Bears, was selected after he had sold his rights in the Black Mouth Society. The Mandan claim that Bad Gun was not a strong chief and attribute his selection to the fact that he was the son of Four Bears. Because he had acquired his father's sacred bundle[5] which had brought Four Bears unique success in many war expeditions, the people thought he would be lucky.

The Mandan endeavored to select two men for chiefs whose interests were complementary. They felt that one chief should be an individual gifted in warfare and capable of repelling the enemy from the immediate environment of the village. The other, it was felt, should be one who had at heart the interest of the people in their daily activities around the village. He should be one who was thoughtful of others, gave frequent feasts, was popular with the tribes coming to the village to trade, and was able to settle little quarrels within the village or with visiting tribes. It was also felt that the two head chiefs should be of opposite moieties.

A chief had little or no authority apart from the council of which he was a member. His principal authority was derived from his ability as an orator to persuade the council of older men to sanction his opinions. A chief was, first of all, an orator who in council, after enumerating his various accomplishments

5. A sacred robe decorated with the rainbow and used in rainmaking rites.

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to demonstrate the extent to which he had worked for the welfare of the entire village, then offered an opinion as to the wisdom of a certain act or policy. He was never demoted, the Mandan claimed; others younger who had been distinguishing themselves merely replaced the older man in public esteem. A chief's greatness was based on the length of time that his opinions were accepted to the exclusion of all others' opinions. A chief was expected to conform strictly to village and tribal custom.

The day-by-day and calendar round of economic, social, and ceremonial activities were rigidly regulated by tradition. In matters relative to gardening, the Corn Bundle leaders, Goose Society, and females of the various households set their own rules. When public sanction was given a young man by one or more members of the council of older men to perform a certain ceremony and he had made public announcement from a rooftop that he would perform the ceremony, a time was reserved for the ceremony, and the Black Mouths would have prevented any interference. The Mandan believed that quarrels should not arise over schedules for performance of the various ceremonies. The fact is that the Mandan liked to attend ceremonies and believed that bad luck would come to anyone who deviated from the normal pattern of behavior.

The responsibilities for leadership in various Mandan social and ceremonial activities were profusely scattered through the entire population. A person who would be the leader in one activity became a subordinate member of another activity in which he was expected to follow the leader's directions. For instance, when the time arrived for the performance of the Okipa ceremony, the entire population was organized around the officers for that ceremony, while the Black Mouth Society enforced the rules. It is highly improbable that the Black Mouths received any formal instruction. Custom defined the rules of behavior during the Okipa which were known by all except very young children. It was also customary when the enemy were not especially troublesome for the greater part of a village group to leave for a short time to trap eagles. The village would break up into a dozen or more camps, each of which was under the leadership of a male having an eagle-trapping bundle. Regardless of a man's status during other activities, he was subordinate to the

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leader.[6] Even the most distinguished war leader, who was one of the two head chiefs of the village, frequently joined an expedition under another for the purpose of capturing horses, although in this instance recognition was often shown an outstanding leader by naming him a co-leader.

An essential function of a chief was to mold public opinion so that a village could act in unison. A chief was considered eminent if for a long time under his leadership there had been a minimum of dissension in the village. Mandan informants still speak of Good Boy, who was chief of Slant Village below the Heart River after the first smallpox epidemic. He was able to unite the remnants of several villages into a single village and to co-ordinate elements with a minimum of friction. He was essentially a village leader who devoted himself, according to tradition, to the rebuilding of the tribe to its former prominence. It is significant to note that, a few years after his death, one group of Mandan separated from the parent-village and were not reunited until Good Boy's son, Four Bears, was elevated to second chief.

A chief could prevent intervillage or intravillage warfare only to the extent to which he could inculcate a concept of tribal unity. Neither a chief nor the council has authority to prevent a portion of a village from separating and establishing a separate village. Such separations as have occurred have usually been of short duration, largely because of the integration of the ceremonial structure through the entire tribal population. Although each permanent Mandan village was in a large measure a separate economic, social, and ceremonial unit, the villages were not entirely independent. The turtle drums, which were considered the most sacred objects of the tribe, were held within the Nuptadi band of east-side Mandan, and the other villages were obliged to borrow them for ceremonial purposes. Whereas the sacred cedar in the center of each village was a symbol of village unity, the Mandan considered the turtle drums a symbol of tribal unity.

6. Cf. chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping."

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Chapter II

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

TERMINOLOGY[1]

THE Mandan have a Crow type of kinship system. Their terminology is illustrated in Figures 5–8 and in Table 2. By means of the extension of kinship terms employed for members of the biological family to clan and moiety affiliates, the entire tribal population was classified as relatives and was treated as such. In former times each village was politically independent except that the Nuptadi held certain tribal paraphernalia used during the Okipa, and the other villages looked to them for ceremonial assistance. Dialectic differences offered no handicap. The villages acted collectively when war threatened. Each village was divided into a series of matrilineal, exogamous, nontotemic clans grouped into moieties. Each clan was composed of one or more lineages which were closely associated with the lodge groups. In Mandan theory the lodge group was based on matrilinear descent and matrilocal residence and consisted of several families held together by females. Lodges, in theory, belonged to the females occupying the lodge and were a part of a property-holding complex consisting of the lodge, corn scaffold, storage pits, cooking utensils, bedding, dogs and harnesses, mares and colts (geldings and stallions belonged to the men), gardens, and gardening equipment.

The structure, function, interdependence, and interrelations of the various groups will be analyzed after the kinship has been analyzed. Where significant changes in the social structure occurred due to a change in population, both the older and the more recent system will be indicated.

1. An elaboration of the genealogical and schedule method was used after taking a census of the tribe by lodge units as of 1870. An attempt was made to get pertinent data about as many individuals and lodge groups as possible, and this was added to as the study of the ceremonial organization progressed. With the use of genealogical charts, attempt was made to determine the actual inheritance of bundles and rites as against native theory of inheritance.

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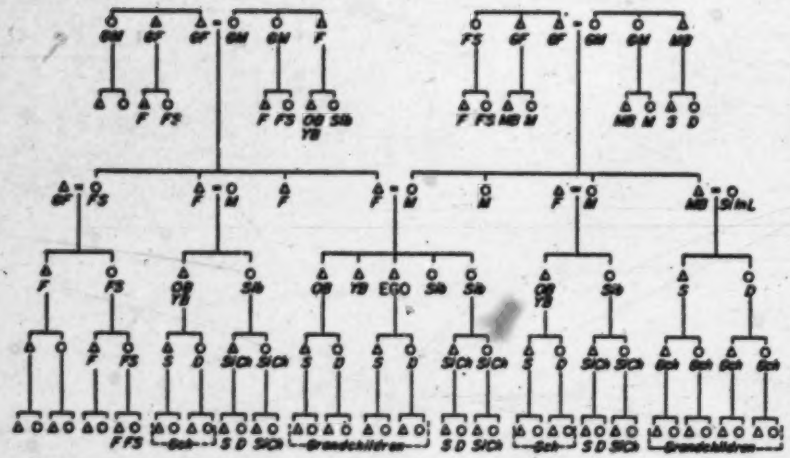

FIG. 5.—Chart of the Mandan kinship system. Ego = male. For the native terms used see Table 2 and the text.

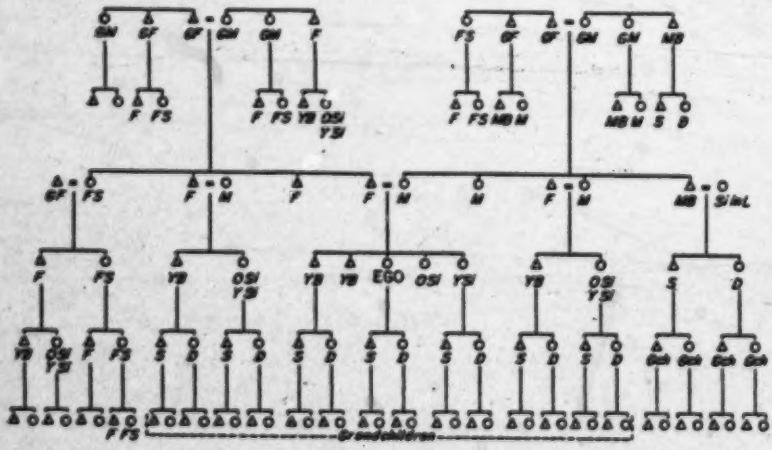

FIG. 6.—Chart of the Mandan kinship system. Ego = female. For the native terms used see Table 2 and the text.

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The classification of blood relatives is illustrated in Figures 5 and 6 (for the Mandan kinship terms refer to Table 2). The Mandan kinship system is of the "classificatory" type, since the father's brothers are classed with the father and the mother's sisters with the mother. In the grandparent's generation separate terms are used to designate grandfather and grandmother. 601

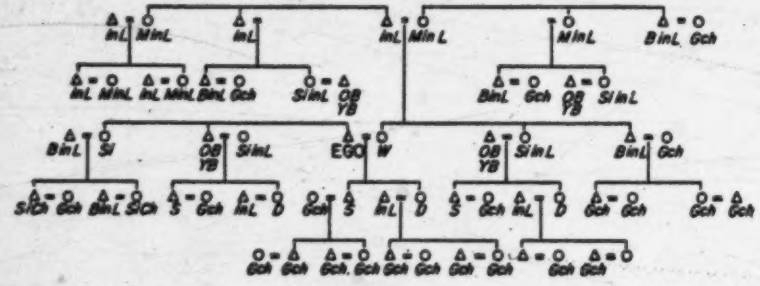

FIG. 7.—Chart of Mandan affinal relations. Ego = male. For native terms and abbreviations used see Table 2 and the text.

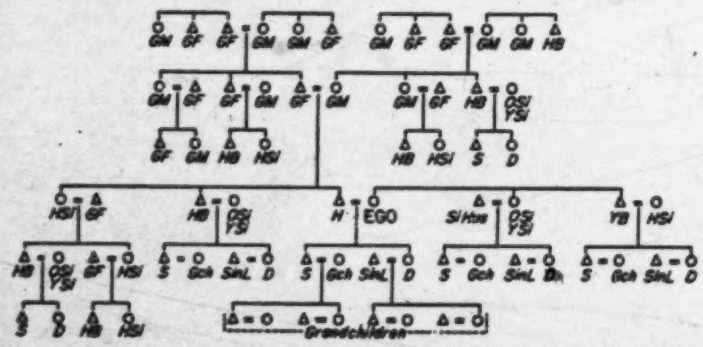

FIG. 8.—Chart of Mandan affinal relations. Ego = female. For native terms and abbreviations used see Table 2 and the text.

Sisters of grandmothers are grandmothers and brothers of grandfathers are grandfathers. The paternal grandmother's brother is a "father," while the brother of the maternal grandmother is a "mother's brother." In the parental generation, the father's sister is designated by a special term *ptumініks*, which is extended to include all her female descendants and all other females of her clan regardless of age if not occupying a position closer to the speaker; the husband of a father's sister is classified

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601 as a grandfather. There is a separate term for "mother's brother," and his wife is a sister-in-law. In ego's own generation siblings are distinguished according to age and sex. A male classifies his male siblings according to age and uses a single term for female siblings regardless of age. A female uses the same term for all male siblings that a male uses for younger male siblings. A female classifies her sisters according to age. Parallel

TABLE 2

MANDAN KINSHIP TERMS

na'E'	mother (M); voc.; m.s., w.s. (*mihu'rus* = my mother; *kohus'* = his mother; *koku'nE* = her mother)
tatE'	father (F); voc.; m.s., w.s. (*tatE'Enɔ* = non-voc.)
mɥ'kas	older brother (OB); m.s.
mi'cɥ'ka	younger brother (YB); m.s.; all male siblings, w.s.
mirukE'	older sister (OSi) w.s. *konuk's* = her older sister
ptɑ'ka	younger sister (YSi) w.s. *kotɑ'ka* = her younger sister
ptami'hE	female sibling (Sib) m.s. *kotomi'hE* = his sister
naxis'	grandmother (GM) m.s., w.s.; voc.; *konu'xis* = his or her grandmother
tata'xis	grandfather (GF) m.s., w.s., voc.; *kota'xis* = his or her grandfather
miniks'	son (S) m.s., w.s., voc.; *minikE'* = my son; *koni'kE* = his or her son
mi'nuhɑ'kE	daughter (D) m.s., w.s.
ptawi'hɑkE	grandchild (Gch) m.s., w.s.
ptu'hakE	sister's child; also sister's daughter's child (SiCh) m.s.
mɨ'hE	wife (W). *kɨ'hE* = his wife
mi'woro	husband (H)
misikE'	husband's brother (HB)
mo'waki	wife's brother or sister's husband (B in L) m.s.
ptɥti'	son-in-law or father-in-law; m.s.; (in Law) m.s. *no'hɑka* = son-in-law. w.s. m.s. non-voc.
ptus	husband's sister or brother's wife (HSi) w.s.
no'hɑkamis'	brother's wife (Si in L) m.s.
pta'warato'dE	mother's brother (MB); m.s., w.s.
ptu'miniks	father's sister (FS); m.s., w.s.
ptu'hiniks	mother-in-law (M in L) non-voc. m.s.

cousins are treated as siblings; children of a "father's sister" are "fathers" and "father's sisters," while the children of a mother's brother are sons and daughters. In the children's generation a woman classifies her own sons with her sisters' and brothers' sons, and their daughters with her own daughters. A man classifies only his brothers' sons with his own sons and his daughters with his brothers' daughters, while classifying his sisters' children, both male and female, as "children of clan." In the grandchild generation, children of "sons" and "daughters" are "grandchildren"; sons of male "child of clan" are "sons"; daughters of

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a male "child of clan" are "daughters"; sons and daughters of female "child of clan" are "children of the clan." 601

The kinship system as noted above for the blood relatives is classified largely on a generation basis. The classification of the father's sister and her descendants completely disregards the generation principle, while the mother's mother's brother's children and the mother's brother's children who are classified as "sons" and "daughters" disregard the generation principle on the mother's side. The naming of these lineages relates them to lineages in other family lines and becomes the basis of an integration into clans.

Figures 9–12 illustrate the Mandan system by means of lineage charts whereby a vertical grouping of kin based on matrilineal descent occurs rather than a "horizonal" one based on bilateral descent. In ego's own lineage some differences occur; a female occupies a somewhat different position from a male, and the terms vary for a male ego and a female ego. Since the mother's mother's brother is considered by both a male and female as a "male of the clan," ego (male) classifies his sister's sons and daughters as well as his sister's daughter's sons and daughters as "children of the clan." 601 613

In ego's father's lineage all the women are "father's sisters" or "grandmothers," the latter term being used only for one's own known direct ascendants. All husbands of women of the father's lineage are grandfathers; all sons of "father's sisters" are fathers and their children are siblings. An examination of Figures 9–12 for the father's and the mother's father's lineage will show that they are of the same lineage.

For a male ego, his male relatives in the mother's lineage are differentiated as mother's brother, older or younger brother, and "child of the clan"; for a female they are mother's brother, younger brother, son, and grandchild. Since both male and female call the mother's brother and mother's mother's brother "brother of the mother's clan," a man calls his sister's children and his sister's daughter's children "children of the clan."

Men marrying females of male ego's generation or younger are brothers-in-law (male relatives-in-law), while a female marrying a man of male ego's age or older is "brother's wife," those younger being "grandchild." For a female ego, men

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marrying into the lineage are "grandfather," "father," and "brother-in-law," while one marrying into the mother's lineage younger than female ego is treated as "young man," since the mother-in-law taboo becomes operative with this class of male

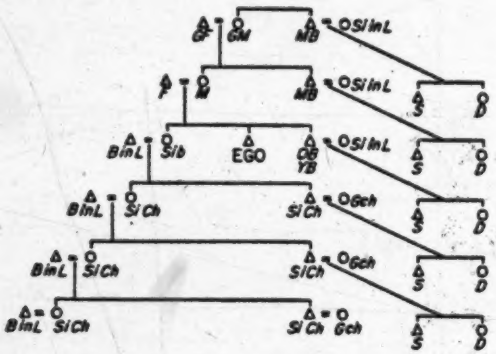

FIG. 9.—Mother's lineage. Ego = male

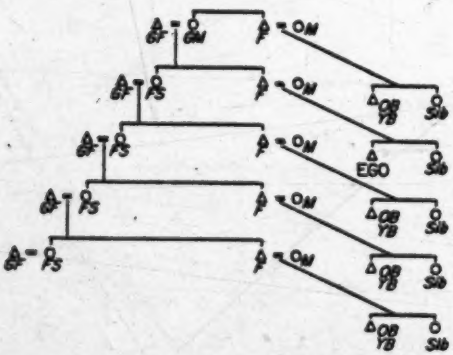

FIG. 10.—Father's lineage. Ego = male

relatives by marriage, and there is no direct term of address. In female ego's mother's lineage, women marrying into the lineage who are of the same generation or above are "sisters-in-law," a term also used by a female to designate her "husband's sister." A man's wife's brother is placed in the same class as his sister's husband. Men of the father's father's clan are called "grandfather," and all the women of the clan are called "grandmother" by both men and women. The latter lineage is not es-

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pecially important in Mandan social and ceremonial life, since individuals in the father's father's lineage usually occupy a closer relationship through marriage. 601 613

These lineages are the basis of the Mandan kinship structure; they extend kinship relations beyond the elementary family to the limits of the tribe; they regulate the behavior and social 613

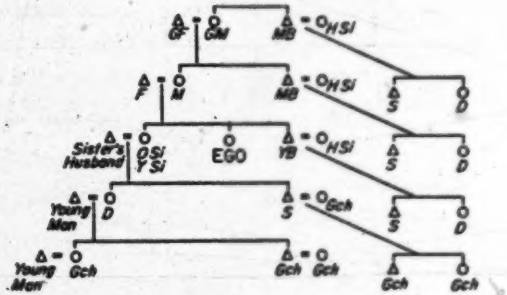

FIG. 11.—Mother's lineage. Ego = female

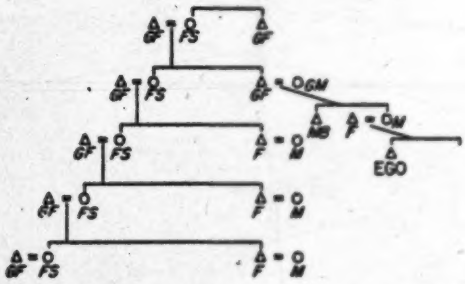

FIG. 12.—Mother's father's lineage. Ego = male

relations of the entire village. The extension of this lineage principle united the various villages into a tribal unit.

The Mandan had numerous methods of extending the range of kinship, and the character of the pattern resulting from this extension is important for an understanding of social integration. The Mandan treat everyone as a relative and recognize varying degrees of nearness of relationship. A person is considered to be related to everyone of his own clan and is a "son" to all males and females of his father's clan. Marriage introduces another set of relatives, and the custom of adopting a "son" 602 608 597 614

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602 brings together still another set of relatives between whom there
608 is frequently established a "father-son" bond extending to the
597 "father-son" relatives which was often more intimate than with
614 the "son's" own father who may be separated from the son's mother. This relationship to persons outside the biological family may be further altered by ceremonial participation. Adoption of a child from outside the clan, though uncommon, did occur, and the one adopted, by changing his or her clan status,
[616] affected the relationship of both groups. When no other relationship was applicable, the moiety functioned as a clan. There was a further extension of the kinship to embrace the supernatural. Details of this classification appear in the chapters on ceremonialism contained in this report. The kinship pattern was also extended to include persons of neighboring tribes, even unfriendly tribes, when a friendship developed between individuals of different tribes; formal adoption established relationships that played an important role in restricting warfare and promoting trade. The numerous devices for extending kinship between the villages frequently brought about a situation in which a Mandan had a choice of two or more terms of relationship for the same person. The situation determined the term to be employed. Obviously those who are most closely associated in daily and ceremonial activities were considered closest in making a decision. When the writer was collecting the materials for this report, he was very anxious to use Tom Smith as interpreter for Scattercorn, since he was familiar with the specific problem being developed at that time. She refused to work with him on the grounds that she considered him a "son-in-law." The relationship between the two was this: Scattercorn's (Tamisik clan) sister's daughter's daughter married Edgar Crows Heart, who was Tom Smith's sister's son (Water-buster clan). She was, of course, Edgar Crows Heart's mother-in-law, but she extended the taboo to Tom Smith because he visited a great deal at Crows Heart's home. She did not consider Drags Wolf a son-in-law, although of Edgar Crows Heart's clan, because he rarely called at Crows Heart's lodge.

601 The importance of the clan in regard to the kinship has been
614 brought out in the foregoing discussions, but this should not be interpreted to mean that the kinship system is a clan system.

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In most instances, the unit of extension is the clan, but these relationships are based on individual relations and groups. This point will be further developed in the analysis of the ceremonial structure. 601 614

The following behavioristic pattern prevailing between relatives will illustrate this point. For any individual the total number of relationships into which he entered largely determines his "social personality." The most basic of these are between the members of the elementary family, the parents and the children, but in Mandan society this is frequently modified by the presence of old women of the lodge who occupy a virtual second-mother position. An elementary family consisting of parents and children rarely occupied a lodge to the exclusion of all other relatives. There are eight possible combinations of relatives within an elementary family with a general pattern of behavior existing between each pair. They are: 592 593

Mother–daughter (*na'E'–mi'nuhą'kE*).—An intimate bond of love and affection existed between a mother and her daughter. Not a single instance of quarreling or serious difference was remembered by the Mandan informants, nor were there disputes over property held in common. They worked together in the gardens or performed domestic tasks in the lodge and were very intimate in their daily relations. She taught the child to grind corn and cure meat, to make baskets and clay pots, to dress hides, to color porcupine quills for decorating clothing, and to care for her own personal effects. She taught her daughter to make a small payment, a small colored bead or a few kernels of corn, for each little skill taught her, thus establishing at an early age a significant behavioristic pattern of paying those who taught her a new skill, a myth or song, or who received her into a rite or dance. Usually there were other women in the lodge whom she addressed as "Mother," and, if one of these had no daughter of her own, she would take over or adopt a daughter from the lodge unit for especial affection and care. Frequently the father's older sister, if she had no one to care for her, would come to the lodge to live when the lodge was one that had been erected or owned in the father's line and the mother had come here to live when marrying because the father was needed to care for his relatives who were old. She was called "daughter" 593 868 592 437 592 593 604

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592 593 [604] by the father's sister and treated as a daughter. She, on the other hand, thought of the father's sister as a special relative, one who was between the mother and the grandmother and was taught to speak of her as "my little grandmother." She was considered a special "holy woman" who on certain occasions, particularly when a brother or sister died, performed the rites of sending the spirit away.

All the women of the lodge addressed as "mothers" were treated with respect, and all contributed to the daughters' training.

Mother–son (*na'E'–miniks'*).—The same bonds of love and affection existed between the mother and son as was shared between the mother and daughter. It was based on a close kinship bond, though partially modified by sex dichotomy. As a small child he received the same affection as his sisters. The mother would make toys for his amusement, and, when he was three or four years old, she taught him to give her small items such as a few beads or other trinkets in payment for an especially well-decorated robe, moccasins, or leggings. His mother's brother or an older sibling would assist him in securing presents for the mother. His first knowledge about the clan would come [867] from the mother; she would tell him of men of the clan who had been brave in battle, had brought rain for the crops, had been especially kind to the old people of the clan, or had distinguished themselves in other ways. She taught him not to play in front of the platform at the head of the lodge where the ceremonial paraphernalia was kept and explained that, if he obeyed the older men and was industrious and brave, he would some day be custodian of the bundle. His mother encouraged him to join a Boys Society. The son, as a young single man, assisted in the buffalo hunt and helped his parents with the butchering. If the sister married, she was expected to bring her husband to the lodge. Then, when he married, he would live with his wife in another lodge. As a married man this deep affection for his mother and her sisters continued. When returning with meat, knowing she was without fresh meat, he would go to her lodge first and give her the choicest portions before returning to his wife's family. She received the most valuable mare taken on his first horse-stealing raid if his sisters were small. This bond of

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affection continued while his mother lived. Although it was considered improper for a man to be alone in the lodge with his daughter, nothing was thought of a son being alone with his mother. 592 593

Father–daughter (*tatE'–mi'nuhą'kE*).—The father was a respect relative providing he remained married to the daughter's mother, otherwise he was generally disregarded, since children of divorced mates were reared by the mother. He was expected to provide for the daughter and, in those families where the father and mother were successfully mated, co-operated with his wife in the training of the children. He avoided being alone with his daughter in the lodge.

Father–son (*tatE'–miniks'*).—A son treated his father with a respect which was sacred in character as he was informed at an early age of his father's fasting and war record and was taught to believe that the family's possession of property and good health was attributable to the father's fasting, respect for sacred objects, and kindness to the old people. The father was expected to provide meat for the family, but he took little part in the care of the son until he was old enough to understand the sacred character of certain objects in the lodge. When the son was old enough to play in the group games, he was encouraged to participate and was given game objects. He was encouraged to fast during the Okipa, if for only a day, and his father would loan him a small item from his personal bundle to wear while fasting. The father was an adviser but not a punishing member of the family. The mother or her brother would teach him to seek advice regularly of the father and present him with a small article of value each time the father offered him significant information. The father would explain that the members of his own clan were the son's "fathers" and that he should seek their advice also. By the time a young man was sixteen or seventeen years of age, the advice of distinguished males of the father's clan was frequently sought, and it was their duty, in the event that the son was killed while away from the village, to see that his skull was returned to the village and placed at one of the shrines. 593 867

Husband–wife (*mi'woro–mu'hE*).—The Mandan have several terms for a husband and wife. A man addresses his wife as 593 601

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593 [60] *mu'he* and others speak of her as *ku'hE*. An old man addresses an old wife as *mo'kaka*, meaning "old woman," and she addresses him as "old man." The husband usually lived with his wife's people, and the strength of bond between husband and wife was in a large measure determined by the circumstances of marriage. If parents of a lineage possessing an important tribal bundle secured a white buffalo robe and had a daughter or daughters of marriageable age, they would invite in a young man of another family distinguished for its important tribal bundle and complete a marriage. Such marriages were likely to be permanent, since both the husband and the wife were partners in an important ceremony. When children were born, the bond between husband and wife was further strengthened.

593 462 There was a marked sex dichotomy between husband and wife. The woman did the housework, cared for the gardens, repaired the lodge, and, when on tribal hunts, did much of the butchering, while the man did the hunting, cared for the horses, and protected the village in case of attack. The woman was expected to prepare food for ceremonies in which the husband was participating, and, in the buffalo-calling ceremonies, she was expected to "walk with the buffaloes." She was also expected to "walk" with her husband's "fathers" in ceremonial transfers of age-grade societies.

586 A woman could divorce her husband by the simple expediency of telling him to leave if they were living in the wife's parents' lodge; if living in her husband's parents' lodge, she collected her personal belongings and the children and returned to her parents' lodge. A woman divorced because of cruelty or adultery on the part of her husband, while a man would leave his wife because of trouble with her family or infatuation for another woman.

581 584 596 Few marriages were consummated by mutual selection of the prospective mates; rather the two households made the selection, and children were expected to obey their parents even to the extent of approving mates selected for them. The ties which held husband and wife together were first the respect for their parents, but, when children were born, this parental respect was replaced by mutual affection for the children. Since divorce was easy and common, the household organization was strong,

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and the extended household preserved the structure in spite of numerous separations of individual families.

When marriage was by exchange of gifts and a feast, and the husband lived with his wife's people, he held prior claim to the wife's sisters as they became of marriageable age, and such marriages were encouraged.

Older brother–younger brother (*mṷ'kas–mi'cṷ'ka*).—The bond between brothers was very strong. It was based on common blood and residence and included all in the household who stood in an older brother–younger brother relationship. There was no distinction between siblings and children of the mother's sister if all had a common residence. Older brothers cared for their younger brothers, taught them games and the care of the horses, and teased each other mildly. Quarrels were rare and soon forgotten. The older brother who had participated in the ceremonies would urge the younger brother to follow his example and would assist his younger brother in collecting materials to be presented to the father's clan. If the younger brother showed little interest in fasting or ceremonial participation, the older brother could and frequently did severely criticize him. If a brother were killed in battle, his brother was expected to inflict self-torture and to revenge his death. He also had first claim to his brother's widow, and she could not marry until he made known his intentions.

When grown up and married, brothers co-operated in providing for their mother's household. Brothers co-operated in the purchase of ceremonial bundles and rites. This intimate bond continued for life and was extended to include mother's sister's son's and father's brother's sons, the feeling of nearness being determined by residence and participation in joint activities.

Older sister–younger sister (*mirukE'–pta'ka*).—The bond between sisters was very strong and was based largely on common blood, mutual activities, and lifelong residence together. No distinction was made between sisters with different fathers, even when the fathers were of different clans. Neither was distinction made between one's own sisters and daughters of the mother's sister if all grew up together in the same household. There was not, however, the same close bond of affection with "sisters" of the father's second wife when his second wife occu-

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592 pied a separate lodge. In fact, there was likely to be mild re-
593 sistance when the girl's own household disapproved of the other marriage which they were obliged to tolerate because of the absence of mature males in their own household. The older sister acted as a "little mother" to her younger sisters, looking out for them while the mother was in the garden or at work
[595] tanning hides. When the older sister married, each of the younger sisters became an eligible mate, and frequently sisters remained together through life, possessing a common husband. They inherited the mother's household and gardens, and the oldest sister became the head of the household. When there were several sisters, the younger ones who did not wish to marry the older sister's husband would move into a lodge where the females were of their clan and closely related, helping the house-
[584] hold with their work in the gardens. Her brother would select a husband for her and provide for the exchange of goods so that, when the older women died, she would have exclusive possession of a lodge of her own. In the late historic villages, it was often impossible to find space for additional lodges, since all were closely grouped within a fortification.

593 Quarrels between sisters were generally unknown, and younger sisters who moved to another lodge did so out of respect to the
592 married sisters, believing that a man having too many wives
611 would not be able to provide for all of them. A sister would raise children of a deceased sister, and, the tribe being matrilinear, there was no change of clans. The relations of sisters to each other and to the mother was the foundation of the Mandan household and was based on the inheritance of the lodge, lodge property, and the gardens. A daughter was expected to help the mother and to take over her mother's property when she died.

593 *Brother–sister* (*mi'cu'ka–ptami'hE*).—Brothers and sisters played together when young, and there was a close bond of affection between them. As they grew older, they avoided being alone together, and the prevailing games and economic activities separated them. Even after marriage, a man considered his mother's household his own. After his mother's death, his interest in his sister and her household continued. He would bring her portions of fresh meat from animals he had killed. If she had no horses, when returning from a raiding expedition, he would

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give her the best mare taken. She would not refuse him anything he asked of her, and, if he were killed while fighting with the enemy, she was expected to inflict self-torture and dress in mourning. She would assist her brothers in acquiring property needed for the ceremonies. This bond of mutual assistance was not affected by his subsequent marriage. Brothers and sisters were supposed to share in the perpetuation of their parents' ceremonial bundles. In old age, when their respective families were broken up by deaths, brothers would frequently return to the parental lodge. The smallpox epidemic of 1837 left many orphans, and these were taken into households where the females were of the same clan.

Grandfather–grandchild (*tata'xis–ptawi'hąkE*).—The grandfather–grandchild relation was, in general, one of affection. The grandfather would make toys for his grandsons, teach them stories, and watch after them when on summer buffalo hunts, especially when moving camp or while the men and women of middle age were busy butchering and drying meat. Of the large number of persons addressed as "grandfather," his closest relations were those associated with him in the daily life of the household. The lodge grandfather was usually the one to take a grandson to the river early each morning to bathe. He teased his grandson mildly for falling off a horse or for small infractions of tribal custom, but the grandson would not reciprocate, since the grandfather was respected for his knowledge of tribal lore, the enemies he had struck, or the horses he had captured. A young man was expected to respect older people as holy, since in their lifetime they had had experiences with sacred things in the ceremonies.

The grandfather would play with a granddaughter when she was young and teach her stories. When she attained the age of ten years, he would avoid her lest people gossip. Should he come into the lodge and find a granddaughter alone, he would leave immediately.

A grandfather never punished grandchildren, but he would scold them. A grandfather living in the lodge was highly respected and was very helpful in preparing a grandson for ceremonies and war expeditions. If he became cross as he grew old, the grandson generally avoided him. If the grandfather was of

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603 the same clan as the boy's father, on occasions he received presents from his grandson during the ceremonies. A man addressed
[601] as "grandchild" the wives of all those men he addressed as "son" and the spouses of all he addressed as "grandchild."

603 *Grandmother–grandchild* (*maxis'–ptawi'hąkE*).—The mater-
844 nal grandmother was always present and assisted in the birth and care of her daughter's child and the paternal grandmother was expected to carry out the other's instructions. In case the paternal grandmother had a superior ceremonial bundle and a good reputation for successful deliveries, she was asked to take charge. The child's closest affection was for the grandmother belonging to the lodge group. The grandmother would make clothing for her grandchildren and teach them stories. The paternal grandmother delighted in preparing nice robes and other clothing for son's children and would invite them to her lodge to eat, when she would dress them in the pretty clothes. Informants thought that the father's mother showed more affection for a grandchild than a maternal grandmother, since the former did not have them under foot every day. They thought that grandmothers had a tendency to get cross as they grew old and that the maternal grandmother, while scolding children for jumping on her bed, would scold her own daughter if she thought the children were not treated right.

603 A grandmother was more closely associated with her grand-
868 daughter than her grandson. She would teach the granddaugh-
601 ter the arts of dressing hides and making pottery, and she expected payment for this instruction. The grandson was expected to give her meat if she met him at the outskirts of the village without having to ask him for it. This obligation to give meat to a grandmother was extended to include all females addressed as "grandmother." A woman addressed as "grandchild" the wives of all those men she addressed as "son" and the spouses of all she addressed as "grandchild."

604 *Mother's brother–sister's child* (*pta'warato'dE–ptu'hakE*).—The
592 mother's brother was a very important relative in the Mandan matrilinear system, as he had considerable authority over his
613 sister's household even when living in another household. As an occupant of his wife's lodge, he was a subordinate member, but in his sister's lodge, by virtue of his position as the oldest male

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clan member, he was titular head of the lineage. This authority was nominally vested in the oldest male clan member of the household, and the mother's brother assumed this authority when his own mother's brother died or was too feeble to get around. A clan chief was the most distinguished of the mother's brothers of the households comprising the clan. He had considerable authority over his sister's children. He would scold them and frequently ducked a sister's son in the river. At the same time he assumed the responsibility for their final education and participation in the ceremonies and assisted them in the accumulation of robes and horses for ceremonial purchases. He would urge his sister's sons to fast during the ceremonies and would see that they came out. He would tell his sister's sons that the people of the other clans would tease them if his clan was not well represented. He would take his sister's son with him on war expeditions to teach him success in that enterprise.

The mother's brother began early the training of his sister's sons and daughters in the rites of certain tribal bundles and was assisted by the children's mother. It was believed that some young people would not live to maturity; therefore, it was necessary to begin the instruction early in life so that several would know the rites to prevent the bundles from getting out of the household. Since many tribal bundles, particularly those of the Okipa, descended through the closest related male members of the clan, the mother's brother was an important relative for the perpetuation of the ceremonial office within the household. The rule of inheritance for tribal bundles belonging to the clan was: mother's mother's brother; mother's brother; older brother; sister's male child; sister's daughter's male child. Failure to have a qualified male of the household prepared to perform a specific role in the tribal ceremonies would provoke criticism and lead to eventual relinquishment of the bundle.

Father's sister–brother's child (*ptu'minikE-minuha'kE; ptu'-minikE-koni'kE*).—The Mandan speak of the father's sister as a "little grandmother." She was a respect relative by virtue of her possession of certain rights in her brother's bundles. She helped her mother when a brother's child was born and was invariably the one called upon to name a female child, supplying a name associated with a bundle owned in common with her brother.

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604 brother. The Mandan divide a child's kin into two groups and give each a part in the rearing of the child. It was the mother's relatives' duty to provide for the child's physical needs and give instruction in household and tribal lore. While this was being done, the father's sister in the performance of her part in the child's father's ceremonies protected him from misfortune. If the child died or was killed in warfare, it became her [764] duty to see that his spirit returned to the spirit home. She supervised washing and painting the deceased and with the assistance of her brothers removed the body to the scaffold, where she recited the rite which returned the spirit to the "home of the dead."

604 601 The father's sister was eligible to receive gifts during ceremonies and to pray for the success of her "son" or "daughter." The father's sister's household was a possible home for her brother's children if their mother died, leaving no female relatives to care for them. There is no "teasing" relation with the father's sister. While a person has many "father's sisters," since all females of the father's clan were called "father's sisters," the closest ones were the actual sisters of the father who were brought up in the father's household. Her position in terminology and behavior was intermediate to the grandmother and mother, since she addressed her brother's children as "sons" and "daughters," while they, in turn, addressed her husband as "grandfather."

606 603 *Father-in-law–daughter-in-law* (*tata'xis–ptawi'hąkE*).—This was a "grandfather–grandchild" relationship. He treated her with all the tenderness shown his own blood grandchildren when other people were present. She respected him as the father of her husband and the owner of important ceremonial rites which would eventually become her husband's. If they were of different clans, her husband might ask her to "walk" with the "grandfather" during one of the buffalo-calling ceremonies. Ceremonial "sexual intercourse" was permitted at that time providing she was not living in her husband's household.

Mother-in-law–daughter-in-law (*maxis'–ptawi'hąkE*).—This was a "grandmother-grandchild" relationship. A household having no daughters paid a daughter-in-law to live in the husband's lodge, and, upon the death of the mother-in-law, she in-

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herited the lodge property and gardens belonging to the household through a grandmother–granddaughter relationship. This was considered proper when no females of the mother-in-law's clan signified an intention of living in the lodge and caring for the old people. A daughter-in-law was treated kindly by her mother-in-law, who instructed her as her own mother would. 606 603

Father-in-law–son-in-law (*kota'waratox'kas–no'hąka; ptuts'–ptuts'*).—*Kota'waratox'kas* is morphologically related to the word for mother's brother and means "his old mother's brother." When a young man married into the household and came to his wife's lodge to live, he frequently was in a dual relationship to the father-in-law; he was the husband of his father-in-law's daughter; also his father-in-law was a mother's brother by the clan extension of kinship, and was treated as a mother's brother.[2] The son-in-law was expected to be brave and industrious. He was at first addressed as a young person (*no'haka*). When the marriage had lasted a few years, during which time children had come, and the father-in-law and the son-in-law got along well together, a mutual interest led to familiarity and each addressed the other *ptutE*. In the Mandan system of preferred marriages with the daughter's parents selecting her mate and desiring to keep certain clan bundles in the household, the prospective father-in-law selected a young man of his own clan for his daughter's husband. It was not proper for a son-in-law to tease his father-in-law; he was expected to treat his father-in-law with the same respect as he showed his own mother's brother and to take over the hunting activities when the father-in-law became feeble. 606 601 [583]

Mother-in-law–son-in-law (*ptu'hinikE–nohąka or ptuts'*).—The word *ptuhiniks* for mother-in-law is morphologically related to the word *ptumininiks* ("father's sister"), and informants explained that the mother-in-law was a special "father's sister." When the son-in-law first came to the lodge to live, he was avoided by the mother-in-law and never addressed her directly. When speaking of him, the mother-in-law would use the term *nohaka*, meaning a "young person" or "young one." When a young man's ties were weak with his own household, because he

2. Scattercorn thought *kota'waratox'kas* was never used when the father-in-law was of a different clan.

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606 had no sisters, and his own household was run by his brother's
601 wives, he would often establish a new bond with the people of his wife's household by bringing his mother-in-law a scalp. When returning from a successful war expedition, he would go directly to his wife's lodge instead of to his sister's, which was the usual practice, and give the scalp to the oldest mother-in-law in the lodge. Usually there were a number of females in the lodge who were treated as "mother-in-law." In this group would be those whom the wife addressed as "mother," "grandmother," or "father's sister." The oldest mother-in-law took the scalp, sang the victory songs, and danced toward each woman who was treated as a mother-in-law. When the scalp dance was performed on the succeeding day, she danced while carrying the scalp and singing her new "son's" praises. She then treated him as a son but usually addressed him as *ptutE*, which was the same term as employed by her husband, while the son-in-law treated her as he would his own mother but addressed her as *ptuhinikE*. He could also break the taboo by bringing her a horse instead of taking it to his parental lodge. Then the mother-in-law would lead it through the village during the scalp dance. He could then interfere in a quarrel between a group of women which included his mothers-in-law.

607 *Sibling-in-law–sibling-in-law* (*mo'waki–mo'waki*).—Ego addressed his wife's brother and his own sister's husband as brothers-in-law, and they in turn called ego brother-in-law when addressing him. When the mother's lineage is arranged in a chart (see Fig. 5), it will be seen that a "brother-in-law" is one married to females of ego's lineage who are of the same generation or younger. This relationship is extended to include male ego's mother's sister's daughter's, and the father's brother's daughter's, husband, and husbands of their female descendants. There was a good deal of rivalry between brothers-in-law, and they were expected to joke with each other in public. However, if an older sister was rearing and caring for a young brother whose parents had died and was herself the titular head of the lineage in the lodge, her husband would treat his brother-in-law as a "son," and the same bonds of affection ex-
607 isted between them as between father and son.
601 *Sibling-in-law–sibling-in-law* (*ptus-ptus*).—A woman ad-

1 [See p. 38, Category 116 -- Analyst]

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dressed as sister-in-law all her husband's sisters and those he called female "child of the clan" as well as the wives of all those she addressed as "brothers." 607 601

Brother-in-law–sister-in-law (*misikE'–no'hąkamis'*).—A woman addressed as brother-in-law all those males whom her husband addressed as "mother's brother," "older brother," "younger brother," or "son of the clan."

A man addressed as sister-in-law all those females married to one whom he addressed as "mother's brother," "older brother," "younger brother," or "male child of the clan."

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Chapter III

THE MANDAN LIFE-CYCLE

000 THERE are many occasions during the lifetime of a Mandan when the relatives have important duties and obligations. Since the behavior between various pairs and groups of relatives has been outlined, the writer proposes to follow an individual from birth to death in an attempt to indicate some of the more important events when relatives play a significant role. In Mandan society, living as they did in earth-lodge villages of closely assembled lodges, there were daily contacts between all the individuals of the village, but the closest contacts were between groups of close relatives. A complete account of a person's relationship with all the people of the village would be an account of Mandan culture to the extent that one village was independent of the other villages of the tribe. This study is designed merely as an introduction to such an account.

BIRTH AND NAMING

844 A woman preferred to give birth to a child in her mother's lodge. When the woman began her first labor, everyone was sent out of the lodge except the old women of the lodge. The lodge was darkened by closing the door and shutting off part of the smokehole. A robe was laid out on the floor near the bedposts where the woman could reach up and hold them. If labors were prolonged, the father's sister came and prepared a drink from one of the ceremonial plants contained in her brother's bundle in which she held rights. In extreme cases, a medicine man or woman of considerable eminence was called in.[1] The most popular bundles were those with the snake, bear, or mink; sacred rites were employed, but the older women supervised turning the child or straightening a leg if delivery was not normal.

1. For a firsthand account see Mrs. Good Bear's narrative in chap. v below.

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The old women attended to the child, disposing of the placenta and seeing that the child was properly greased and painted with red ocher under the arms, around the neck, between the legs, and on the top of the head to prevent chafing. It was wrapped in a piece of tanned hide taken from a tepee smokehole, since such leather did not harden when wet. The child was placed in the leather cradle shortly after birth. In the wintertime it was wrapped in a tanned buffalo calf hide from which the hair had not been removed. At night the child was taken from the cradle to sleep with the mother. Twice a day the child was taken from the cradle to be cleaned and greased.

On the tenth day a feast was given in the lodge, at which time the child was named. The parents selected the person who was to officiate at the naming ceremony. If the father had already acquired eminence and owned a major tribal bundle, he or his sister named the child; otherwise he called in people of his clan to give the name. The child's brothers and sisters and persons of the child's clan brought robes, and the father would frequently contribute a horse. The naming of a child was one of many occasions during one's lifetime when he would be expected to give goods to others ceremonially. The parents used the medium of the feast and the naming of the child, with an abundant display and disposal of goods, to enhance their social status in the tribe.

Until the child received a name, it was not considered a part of the social unit of the village but of the "baby home" from whence it had come. The child received a name relating to the ceremonial bundle of the person giving the name. Thus such names as Scattercorn, Stands Yellow, Pumpkin Blossom, Corn Piles Up, and Corn Silk belonged to Corn ceremony bundles. Others like Lone Woman, Calf Woman, Game Stone, Sage Woman, Big Feather on Head, and Berdache were taken from the Woman Above bundles. The person giving the name received a horse. Both men and women belonging to the child's father's clan were entitled to attend and were expected to receive some article and to pray for the child's success. Upon receiving a name, the child acquired status in the household and clan. Children dying before the naming ceremony were wrapped in hides and placed in a tree used for that purpose, and there were no rites of "sending the spirits away." Those dying after getting a

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766 name were taken to the usual place, where they were placed on a scaffold or interred, according to the parents' preference.

775 The Mandan believed that there was a Baby Hill near Fort Clark, another near the Heart River, and a third near Dickinson which had interiors like an earth lodge, in which an old man cared for them. If a child died before being named, it returned to the Baby Hill. People claimed to have seen baby tracks on the tops and sides of these hills. It was believed that the spirits in the hill near the Heart River came north when the Mandan [842] came north. If a woman had been married a number of years and was childless, desiring a child, she would go to one of these hills to pray for one. Those wanting a daughter brought girl's clothing and a ball; for a son she brought a small bow and arrow. The Mandan believed in rebirth. Calf Woman's grandfather said he was one who had been reborn. One of her grandchildren had a spot on her hip, and it was thought she was one who had lived before. It was believed that children choose the mother they want and that a child resembling a sibling who had died was the reincarnation of the other child. The Mandan cite numerous instances of culture heroes who selected a mother when desiring to be born into the tribe.

553 A girl usually keeps her first name as long as she lives. If she was sick or unlucky, her parents frequently put up a feast to get a new name for her. If she had grown up, her brothers and sisters helped her prepare a renaming feast.

853 A nursing child frequently developed a sore mouth which in-
755 terfered with its feeding. In such cases, the parents selected a man of the child's father's clan to cure it by piercing the skin of the ceremonial father's leg and permitting the child to suck of his blood. A payment was made to the man selected by the child's clan brothers and sisters.

TRAINING

861 The child's training was both economic and ritualistic and
868 differed according to the sex of the child. A girl was trained in lodge management, household arts, gardening, curing of meat,
562 and certain ritualistic practices, receiving her instruction primarily from the women of the lodge. A boy was taught hunting and fishing and went out while still a boy to help bring meat

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back to the village. Economic training came largely from his father and the older men of the lodge. If he were inclined to be lazy, his mother would talk to him, while her brother would shame him and accuse him of bringing disgrace to the clan. 861 868 562

A boy was taught to begin fasting when he was eight or nine years of age. The parents would tell him of the benefits he would receive and cite the various eminent men of the village who had attained their position from this practice. The mother's brother and his older brothers would give him goods to take into the Okipa to present to some man of his father's clan and designate the person entitled to the gift. An older brother planning to fast would bring a younger brother to the Okipa ceremony and instruct him, sending him home when he thought he had been there long enough, while the father would give him some small article from his ceremonial bundle to wear, thinking it would help to get a "vision." 861 869 785

A lodge "grandfather" contributed a great deal to a boy's education. He would make toy bows and arrows and teach him to use them. If he had a fish trap, his grandsons did much of the work of carrying willows to the bank for weaving into sections for the walls, and he would permit them to bail the fish out of the trap. He would teach them games, especially techniques and skills which would be useful in warfare, and tell them stories. Using rivalry between the moieties, these old men who were too old to hunt would arrange the boys ten years and younger on sides and teach them to use shields for their protection, shooting at each other with arrows on the blunt ends of which a ball of mud or wrapped hide had been attached. 868 616

Not to be discounted in the training of a young Mandan boy or girl was the informal education they received by living in intimate contact with the entire village population, observing the conduct of others, and being kept informed of contemplated group action by the village "criers" who announced each decision of the village leaders. He learned that he must treat different relatives in various ways and that they would laugh at him if he did not. Learning that he was expected to treat different relatives the same way his brothers did, he imitated his older brothers unconsciously and followed their advice. 861 867

A girl's education was essentially the same as a boy's except 861 562 602

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861 that a different set of relatives instructed her for a different set
562 of economic pursuits. The women of the lodge were responsible
602 for her training. They gave her toys, related stories and traditions, and taught her to care for her younger siblings. Her mother taught her to harness the dogs and took her to the forest for firewood. Some of my informants' most tender memories were of the times when as young girls, their mothers had given them dogs with harnesses, and had taken them along in gathering brush for the fires. The mother-daughter bonds were of deep affection. When the women of the lodge dressed hides, the daughter would help, and she had her own sewing kit containing awls, sinew thread, paints, beads, and porcupine quills, and she was taught the techniques of hide dressing and decoration, giving those who helped her little presents to express her affection. As a little girl, she made crude pots when the women of the lodge were making pottery, and, when old enough, she bought her mother's rights in the techniques and designs of pottery-making.

861 Parents owning rights in age-grade societies encouraged their
561 children to join an age-grade society. Those too young to be-
602 long to a society would see older ones dancing. A girl's older sisters and women of the lodge would explain the procedure of buying as a group and helped collect goods for the transfer of the society to the younger girls. Membership in a society introduced a series of new obligations. Heretofore her obligations were with the persons of her parental household. As a member of an organized female group, composed largely of persons of her own age and outside her own household, she was called on to prepare robes and other clothing for the brother or husband of a society member who was buying a ceremonial bundle or was having rites performed for the renewal of a bundle. As a member of an organized group she likewise received assistance when her own family was buying rights in a sacred bundle. Collectively she treated those in the next older group as mothers and those in the group younger than her own as daughters.

Preadolescent boys also joined an age-grade society, buying as a group from the older boys on the advice of their parents. All boys of the age eligible to buy would organize to join. Some boys were not interested; some households were temporarily broken

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up by death or divorce; some fathers were in disrepute, having conducted an unsuccessful war expedition. An old man of a boy's lodge, one who had belonged to many societies, learning in the village that there was talk of buying the youngest society, would encourage his grandson to join and would help him accumulate the goods used for the purchase.

Joining an age-grade society for the first time as a boy, he encountered a "father-son" relationship which had heretofore applied only to his own household. He was selected by a member who was of his father's clan, and the initiate addressed him as "father" during all the proceedings preliminary to the formal purchase; he learned that the other two or three boys his ceremonial "father" had selected were likewise based on a "father-son" relationship. This "father-son" relationship, extending outside his own household, formally instituted when making his first purchase into a society, became the basis of his behavior in buying and selling societies and ceremonies for the rest of his life.

FASTING AND FIRST WAR EXPEDITIONS

Fasting during the Okipa ceremony marked the introduction of the boy to status in the tribe as a whole and was first instituted at the age of eight or nine, when the people of all the villages were assembled for this annual event. The first fasting was of short duration. The fasting periods increased until a boy reached the age of seventeen or eighteen, when he was expected to fast for the entire duration of the Okipa ceremony and to drag buffalo skulls or be suspended by means of thongs inserted under the skin. Visions were not induced each time one fasted; neither were they expected.

It was believed that one's social personality was determined by sacred beings before the birth of the individual and that fasting was a means of renewing these former instructions that were temporarily forgotten while being born and cared for in the village. It was also believed that in the universe there were many sacred people who would adopt as a "son" those who fasted frequently and made offerings to them or who gave feasts to the sacred bundles of the village. A young man was taught to consult not only his own father but all men of his father's clan on matters of a sacred character. If one's sister's son seemed neg-

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785 881 869 lectful and took little interest in securing a "guardian spirit," the mother's brother would tease him and tell him he was bringing dishonor to his clan and suggest that, to be rich and honored, he must begin fasting. He would collect goods for his sister's son and instruct him that he should go out on the hills and fast, using the goods on his return to pay his "clan father" for interpreting the dream. The mother's brother also supervised the fasting of the young boys of ten to fourteen years of age, selecting an isolated place at a short distance from the village where the boys were sheltered in a temporary brush lodge and instructed in the proper procedures for inducing visions.

869 778 Children acquired an attitude of respect for the sacred objects of the lodge while young, first by being scolded for playing near the platform on which the bundles were kept, and later by observation of a fixed ritualistic behavior by the parents when the bundles were opened. They were taught that the bundles "protected" them until they were old enough to own "gods" of their own and were informed that their success was in direct proportion to the number and potency of "gods" owned. Children who would inherit or assist in the performance of certain tribal bundle rites received special training beginning when they were ten or twelve years of age. They were also expected to fast often and establish personal bundles based on heir supernatural experiences.

[785] 701 726 Fasting was a prerequisite to participation in the organized war expeditions. One would conclude from an examination of the mythology that a young man, after his first experience with the supernatural, organized a war expedition immediately and served as leader. In examining the war records of a number of Mandan, it was found that none would have followed a young man receiving his first vision experience and that, even as a member of a recognized war leader's party, he would be "camp tender," bringing wood and water to the camp, preparing the food, and waiting on the leader during the performance of the rites appertaining to warfare. When he was alert and anticipated the needs of the leader and was not lazy, he was promoted to scout and in company with others of that rank was sent out ahead of the main party each morning to look for the enemy or horses. It was while serving as scout that a young man received

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his fundamental training in warfare. In company with other 785
young men, and frequently afoot, whereas the main party was on 701
horseback, they were required to travel ahead, watching from 726
high buttes, and by means of signals to report the presence of an enemy or horses. It was necessary for the scouts to keep in touch with their leader, who, in turn, was intrusted with the duty of relaying information to the main body. New scouts were taught the proper posture when running to prevent premature exhaustion, and there were contests between scouts to determine their relative durability in reaching distant lookout points. The leader of the scouts reported the winners to the leader, who praised them publicly when the party returned to the village. The old women then sang their victory songs while the old men encouraged more fasting.

A sister was taught that fasting while her brother was away 785
on war expeditions would bring him success in "striking the 593
enemy" or capturing horses. She would take quill work with 765
her at daybreak and leave the village for a low hill or mound or recline on a platform in the garden where she would cry for his success, addressing her prayers to all the holy things. If the expedition was long overdue, she would go to the scaffolds of deceased relatives or skull circles to weep, returning to her lodge each evening. Successful war parties returned to the village at daybreak, and she would leave her lodge immediately to meet her brother. If he had captured horses, the best animal was presented to her. This was equivalent to presenting the horse to all the females of his mother's lodge. These females, on the other hand, were the principal mourners if he were killed, and the married sisters were expected to undergo extreme self-inflicted torture by gashing their bodies, cutting off the ends of fingers, cutting their hair, and shortening their dresses.

Their brothers fasted four, seven, or nine days without food 785
or water, remaining outside the village in some secluded spot 787
for the full period of the fast. From time to time, the father would send a clan brother to observe whether his son was endangering his life, and he could stop the fast if in his opinion the young man's self-torture was excessive. A young man returning from fasting which had not induced a vision was given an object from his father's bundle to carry on war expeditions and

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785 was permitted to sleep near the sacred bundle until he recovered, believing that the bundle would induce visions. In the
787 case of supervised fasting directed by the mother's brother, he defined the rules and terminated the fasting. He also prepared the first food taken by those completing their fast and watched that none ate or drank excessively for a few days.

701 A young man distinguishing himself as a scout and desiring to advance to warrior status, when learning another war leader was organizing an expedition, would go to his lodge, hoping that he would be invited to join the party. As a warrior there was greater likelihood of capturing horses or striking an enemy. The leader was responsible for the welfare of all those serving under him and selected the members of his party. When the party was large, the leader selected those with the best war records to serve as co-leaders.

Mandan warfare was highly formalized, and there was a strict
701 division of labor. At the top, the leader or Old Wolf directed the
554 party, selecting the scouts and their leader, the Young Wolves or warriors, and the Camp Tenders, and he was responsible to the village but more particularly to the families represented in the party for their welfare. He determined the territory where the enemy would be sought, places to camp, the time to make or break camp, and whether an attack would be made when the enemy was found. A great leader was a successful teacher who instructed his party in methods of "striking the enemy" without loss to his own party. A leader who lost a man was said to have "kicked the stone," which reduced his status until he had "refasted" and led a successful war party.

727 Returning from an unsuccessful war expedition, the leader
554 would cry as he approached the village, while the other members
785 would walk quietly to their lodges. For many leaders, this would be the last expedition as leader. He would be condemned by the
614 brothers, sisters, and parents of the one killed and would be op-
431 posed by them every time he sought advancement in status. He could and frequently did overcome their opposition by going into mourning for the one he was held responsible for. He would gash his legs and cut off a finger which was offered to the Sun. He would set up a tent or build a simple shelter at a distance from the village where he would remain. In the meanwhile, his

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brothers and sisters, assisted by their clan and his age-grade society, would accumulate robes and other property which were given to the lodge group that had lost a member. They were expected to accept the goods which was at first refused "because they loved their relative so much." The unsuccessful war leader's representatives then sought the "village chief," a man who by virtue of his tact in settling quarrels and his generosity in caring for the old was highest in village esteem, and paid him to take his pipe to the grieved relatives, lay it before them, and inform them that they, as relatives and associates of the unsuccessful war leader, begged them to accept it. Since none could refuse a request when a sacred pipe was placed before them, the aggrieved people, both men and women, smoked and accepted the goods to which in the meanwhile had been added horses and other articles of value.

727 554 785 614 431

The aggrieved family, feeling compassion for the unsuccessful war leader who had shown, by his act of fasting and his family's lavish display of goods, respect for their lost relative, sent a representative with new clothing to the fasting place, dressed and painted him, and conducted him to their lodge, where he was given the choicest foods to eat. While he was eating, the brothers of the boy who had been killed, brought their best horse and riding equipment to the lodge. When the feast was ended, the unsuccessful warrior, now in good graces with the family, was told to mount. He was led through the village, while the oldest female of the lodge sang the "Praise Songs." If an enemy had been killed at the time one of the party was lost, the "Victory Songs" were then sung and the Scalp Dance rites were performed. The unsuccessful warrior, by his acts of mourning and the payment of goods to the aggrieved family, regained his former status. If he were successful the next time he led a war party, the people said that bad luck will sometimes come even to those most careful to conform to tribal custom, and "never hold it against him." However, a second unsuccessful war expedition was his last as leader. He would not fast again, and having paid for his bad luck once, his relatives and clan advised him to forsake leadership of war parties as he had "kicked the stone." People would say he had not fasted right and would have been afraid to follow him. By giving many

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727 554 788 431 feasts, he would be respected as an average person, but he would never be able to rise to eminence.

727 554 431 A young man's first participation in a successful war expedition in which he captured horses and "struck" an enemy was an important occasion in his life and involved practically everyone in the village as well the other villages of the tribe. In the division of his horses, he expressed his respect for those who assisted him during the expedition as well as his affection for his friends and relatives in the village. If he captured a number of horses, among which was an animal of peculiar markings which the leader dreamed of and described before it was found, that animal belonged to the leader. The leader would also receive the first horse captured. Strays went to the first one seeing them regardless of the person capturing them. He would give the camp tender one if he had not already received one. Returning to the village, he would give one horse to his oldest married sister, who would, in turn, give it to her husband to use. This was a means of expressing rivalry between brothers-in-law of the same age. If his sisters were not married, the horse would go to his mother. His sisters would not ordinarily get horses on subsequent occasions unless they came out to meet him. He would give one horse to his father and, if there were any additional animals, would keep them for himself. However, if he had also been successful in striking the enemy while capturing these horses, he would not succeed in keeping any of the horses, for, on the succeeding day while the Scalp Dance was celebrated, an old woman of his father's clan would announce that he was to receive a new name to supplant the one he had received as a baby. He was presented with new moccasins, leggings, and shirt, and he paid her as representative of his father's moiety in horses and other property.

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554 616 553 431 A young man's reputation was based on his relatives' generosity which was contingent on the wealth and status of his relatives. Learning that he had struck the enemy and knowing one always received a new name that had belonged to a man of the father's moiety, the brothers and sisters accumulated goods for the occasion. They were assisted by members of their clan and young men of his age-grade society. During the Scalp Dance, singing was interrupted while the mother and her

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daughters called the names of old men and women of the opposite moiety who were to receive presents. After the breakdown of the moiety system, the method of naming varied slightly. Formerly, when the father and mother were of different moieties, the name selected was that of a deceased male of distinction who was of the father's moiety, and the presents were given to men and women of the father's moiety. After the breakdown of the moiety system following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, the clan became the exogamous unit. When the father and mother belonged to clans within the same moiety, the name given was that of a distinguished deceased person of the father's clan, but gifts were given to persons of all the clans except the mother's, which was the assisting group.

Within a few days after returning from a successful war expedition, a young man would usually receive an offer of marriage from the parents of some eligible young woman who had not been married before. He could refuse, but few did. An ambitious young man wishing to establish a good reputation both as a war leader and as a person of distinction in the village needed several wives to assist him in the performance of ceremonies and the purchase of important sacred bundles. Those not eligible to inherit important tribal bundles could purchase the right to participate in important ceremonies, or they could pledge to perform the Okipa and, in recognition of their contribution to these tribal rites, received some sacred object associated with the ceremony to carry when on war expeditions. Social recognition of a man's right to be a war leader was given during these ceremonies when some older man of high status in the village announced while receiving goods that the young man would be lucky in "all that he undertook." Without this sanction by the older men, young warriors would have been unwilling to follow him on war expeditions.

The attainment of the rank of war leader marked an important point in a man's training and altered his relations materially with the people of the village. His opinions were solicited relative to problems of village welfare, and he received presents during ceremonial and social occasions in recognition of his position. He was now responsible for those fighting under his leadership and became the teacher of the skills he had acquired under

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885 others' directions. As the leader of his first war expedition, he
554 was expected to name others with a distinguished war record
701 to serve with him as co-leaders. They would share his rewards and assume their share of the responsibilities. His word was authority in all matters relating to his war expeditions, and, whereas in the past he had accepted the decisions of his leader in disputes appertaining to rewards for striking the enemy or capturing and dividing the spoils, he demanded similar obedience from his group.

554 The Mandan had a highly formalized method of recording
721 war honors, and it was the duty of the war leader to verify their authenticity. He would relate the exploits of his men during social occasions and ceremonies. Those holding war honors were entitled to express them by means of particular decorations. Of
[177] these decorations, the Mandan claim that the practice of wearing eagle feathers was of recent origin and was borrowed from the Sioux.

554 The highest honor was accorded to a man who went out alone
703 and found an enemy whom he killed and scalped. He was authorized to paint one legging black and the other either
628 yellow or white and to paint each half of his shirt in the same
721 manner. He was also permitted to wear a coyote tail at each ankle signifying that he saw an enemy first and afterward "struck" him. He could also wear one eagle feather in his hair and was the recipient of much honor during the scalp dances as long as he lived. The most common motive for going out alone was to revenge a relative, particularly a sibling, when the slayer was known. In such cases, announcement was made in advance that he was leaving on a particular day to find his relative's slayer. Catlin records such an expedition by Four Bears, who went into the Arikara villages near the Grand River at night to avenge the death of his brother.[2] The old Mandan still related this incident in 1930, when the information for this report was collected. The only instance of one man going far
554 from the village and killing one or more persons remembered as
578 occurring during the lifetime of my informants was for revenge.
721 A distinguished war leader's wife ran away with another dis-

837 2. George Catlin, *The Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (London, 1841), pp. 239-40.

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tinguished man between whom there had been considerable rivalry, and he was very angry because he had pledged to give certain ceremonies and needed his wife's help to prepare the robes and food. He knew that his rival's relatives were laughing about it, for the wife's people were said to be selfish and wanted their daughter to marry a more distinguished man. If he took his wife back, he would lose face and would be laughed at during the dances when the men related their deeds of bravery. On the other hand, he could not go through the ceremony without a wife's assistance. He could have called her back to his lodge to have her painted and dressed beautifully and returned to her new husband on the best horse he could find. This would have been considered an honorable act. Instead he disappeared during the night when none would see him leaving and walked toward the Mouse River to get horses and scalps to be used in shaming his rival.

He left in the middle of the winter during the coldest part of the year and suffered a great deal from the cold while crossing the divide which separates the Missouri and Mouse rivers. Looking down from the high hills into the valley, he found a camp of Assiniboine and observed that the lodges were not closely assembled, since war parties rarely went out during the coldest part of the winter. He singled out an isolated lodge having only two occupants, a young man and his wife, and observed where their horses were taken for the night. After dark he went into the camp and selected a horse to ride back to his winter village and hid it in a suitable spot where he could reach it quickly when it was needed. When the camp was quiet, he went into the lodge, killing and scalping the young man. He did not kill the woman out of respect to his own motherless children, which fact he intended to mention when insulting his own wife after he returned.

Taking the scalp as proof of his success and riding the horse, he reached his home in two days. He rested one day during which time preparations were made for the Scalp Dance. On the second day he sent for his wife, who was obliged to come. He washed her face, dressed her in the best clothing he could find, and placed her on the horse. She cried from shame. During the Scalp Dance she was sent on horseback from the lodge to

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554 578 701 837 return to her new husband's lodge. A family having two eligible daughters invited him in to marry them. He then had help to perform the ceremonies he had pledged. Having killed an enemy when out alone far from home, he became a man of unusual distinction and was respected in council.

554 703 When several went out and found one enemy who was killed far from home, the first to strike him painted one side of his shirt and legging black and wore one coyote tail; the second painted the shirt and leggings in the same manner and wore the coyote tail but added a red stripe to the eagle feather. The third and fourth painted only the legging black, the third one painting two stripes on the eagle feather, and the fourth painting three stripes.

There were also distinctive markings to indicate those who had struck a single enemy on different expeditions. A person striking a lone enemy could paint or decorate two X's on the legging, one above the knee and the other below the knee, or he could put them on the sleeve of the shirt. For the second enemy found alone and struck, he added two X's to either the other legging or the shirt. Crosses on both sleeves of the shirt and both leggings indicated that he had struck a lone enemy on four different war expeditions when far from the village. The Mandan interpreted "far from the village" as meaning beyond the usual hunting territory.

A coyote tail worn on the ankle signified that the wearer had struck one enemy far from home; two coyote tails signified that he had struck an enemy on two occasions or had killed and struck one enemy when out alone and far from home. When feathers of the crow or raven were attached to the coyote tail, it signified that he was also first to see the enemy.

The leader or Old Wolf was entitled to carry a scalp stick to which was attached a portion of a scalp for each scalp taken while serving as leader. He was also authorized to wear scalps on his shirt; for the first scalp, he would wear one piece on one sleeve; for the second scalp he would wear pieces on both sleeves. He wore a piece of scalp on each sleeve of the shirt and each leg of the leggings for four enemies killed on four different expeditions. He did not, however, wear feathers in his hair, paint his leggings, or wear the coyote tails unless he struck an enemy while serving as leader.

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A person striking three or more enemies was entitled to paint the entire left legging red; ordinarily, they preferred to paint the legging from the knee down, thinking it looked better. The second person striking three or more enemies painted the left legging red above the knee; the third person painted three stripes on the left legging; the fourth person painted four stripes.

It was considered a high honor to be the first person to strike an enemy in a battle during which several enemies were killed. A person winning this distinction painted three black stripes on one legging. The next three to strike the first enemy killed wore three red stripes.

It was considered even a greater honor to strike the last enemy killed. Crows Heart remarked that there was usually a good deal of confusion around the last one to fall and that it was frequently difficult to determine the order of striking. In these disputes, the leader was judge, and his men were expected to accept his decision. Anyone defying him and wearing badges of unauthorized honors was ridiculed. The first to strike wore a black double stripe the full length of one legging and four pairs of horizontal stripes. Those striking second, third, and fourth wore the four pairs of stripes only.

The four warriors striking a slain enemy woman were entitled to wear a short carved stick decorated with porcupine work and feathers in the hair but could not employ the legging or shirt decorations. The leader was entitled to wear a scalp. Striking a girl counted the same as for a woman, while a male, regardless of age, was treated the same as when striking a man.

Striking or seizing a live enemy was considered a higher honor than striking one who had been killed. If, during battle, a warrior was able to seize an enemy, he was entitled to paint or tatoo two hands on the breast. Crows Heart remembered a Mandan who wore eight hands to signify that he had seized an enemy on four occasions and held him until either he or his party could kill him. A man riding a horse over an enemy, knocking him down, could paint a hand on each side of the horse's chest. A man shot in battle could wear a stick with a knot carved in it and painted red. A man first reporting an enemy tepee was entitled to wear the white wing feathers of the swan in his hair, and the first to see smoke from an enemy's tepee wore a section

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554 703 of the cattail plant in his hair. Those stabbed by a knife or spear could wear a stick carved to resemble a knife. One who had been shot in battle painted red spots on his shirts, leggings, or robes with red stripes below to indicate bullet holes and blood dripping from the wounds. Men painted horse tracks on their blankets to indicate the horses they had stolen. These tracks were bunched to indicate the number taken on each expedition.

727 597 581 Small children too young to remember their parents were frequently taken prisoners and adopted into the village. They were "struck" by the warriors who were given credit toward their war record but such records were not related during ceremonies once the children were adopted into the households. Girls approaching marriageable age were frequently returned alive to the village and sold to those needing an extra wife.

554 562 703 Women also qualified for war honors and were eligible to wear the same decorations as men. Informants remembered a number of women who had struck an enemy and had displayed their war honors during the Scalp Dance. One woman concealed herself at the entrance to her lodge and hit an Assiniboine on the head with a stone hammer. She scalped him and, during the dances, received a hearty applause whenever she was leader of the line of dancers, carrying her scalp on a stick.

554 703 The war records enumerated above constitute the principal awards having social recognition and fall into two general groups: awards limited solely to war leaders and consisting of scalps which were worn on their clothing or carried on scalp sticks and awards to warriors consisting of peculiar painting of the clothing, wearing of coyote tails, and certain feathers. Only those who had led many war parties and had been successful attained the highest ranks as chiefs unless their lack of significant successes in warfare was compensated with a record of many feasts during which time much property was given away or the possession of important tribal bundles. There was a series of designs painted or woven on robes which proclaimed the amount of goods so disposed of.

MARRIAGE AND THE HOUSEHOLD

581 584 Marriage was an exceedingly important event among the leading families of a Mandan village, but for the average family

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not possessing wealth or important sacred bundles it was largely 581
a social event involving the two households. Although young 584
men would court their girls, marriages were arranged by the relatives, who disapproved of elopements. The mother would watch her daughters, and, when she saw that they were seeing the young men often, she would discuss the matter with her husband. She would advise her daughters not to marry without a considerable exchange of goods, as to do so would be grounds for criticism. Mothers would explain the importance of ceremonial bundles and advise their daughters of the importance of keeping them in the lodge. People would say that a daughter was no good if little was received at her wedding.

There were in each of the Mandan villages a large number of 581
families owning or controlling important tribal bundles. These 778
families were considered the authorities on tribal lore and cus- 425
tom. They received, in addition to the produce of their gardens and their share of meat and hides from animals taken on the group hunts, a great deal of property and honors for officiating at the ceremonies. To preserve their status, they endeavored [556]
to have a considerable display of goods at the marriage of one of their children. Families with important related bundles 581
endeavored to marry their children into families also having 778
important bundles, the feeling being that those reared in a 796
lodge where important bundles were kept were better trained in learning the complicated rites associated with tribal bundles. A household that held an important tribal bundle inherited within a clan endeavored and generally succeeded in selecting a son-in-law who was of the same clan as the daughter's father. It was also believed that a man and his son-in-law got along better when they were of the same clan. In a large measure, the Mandan were successful in preserving most of their rich ceremonialism through the smallpox epidemic of 1837 because of the character of the formal training of those who were to inherit the traditional rights and responsibilities for the ceremonies and because of a system of preferred marriage in which the parents of both households selected their children's mates. It can be definitely said that the bulk of Mandan tribal lore was preserved by a small number of families, that their status was high in the

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581 village, and that they endeavored by selective marriages to keep
778 the bundles and the associated ceremonies within their group.
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The Mandan taught their children that they should marry
584 by the same method as their parents married. An analysis of the various methods of marrying will illustrate the significance of this Mandan rule.

The method used by the most distinguished families was
584 known as "choosing a son-in-law and buying him a sacred bun-
437 dle." The parents of a young woman who had reached the age
778 when she should marry selected a young man who had a good
583 reputation as a warrior and hunter and whose family owned an important ceremonial bundle. They would buy a white buffalo robe from some of the hunters or trade corn and horses for it with one of the many tribes that came to the village each fall. These robes were highly valued and would cost a family a high price in horses, garden products, and robes. Having secured one of these robes, they discussed the proposed marriage with the eldest daughter and secured her consent. It was important to get the daughter's consent, since, should she refuse after the marriage arrangements were instituted and run away, the village would learn of it and speculate as to the causes for her action. A daughter was expected to obey her parents and forget any other young men she had been seeing.

584 The young man was invited in by the girl's father, and an
431 offer of marriage to the daughter was suggested. A robe was
778 put down, and he was asked to sit on it with the young woman. The white buffalo robe was put over their shoulders, and they were given food prepared by the girl's mother. If the girl had younger sisters, they sat with him and became his wives when they were grown. The girl's brothers brought their new brother-in-law horses. As soon as the food had been eaten, he walked out and onto the top of his father-in-law's lodge, where he addressed his father's sacred bundle, announcing that the white robe was offered to his father's gods. His father's sister would come to the lodge when hearing him make this announcement and take the robe down to care for it until he performed the ceremony.

585 Having made the vow to perform the rites, he began collect-
431, ing robes and other property and was assisted by his wife and
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potential wives, his brothers-in-law, members of his own age-grade society, members of his wives's age-grade society, and the younger people of his clan. He paid the people occupying the Okipa lodge to vacate for the duration of the ceremony and selected berdaches to sweep the lodge, remove the ashes from the firepit, and repair the sweat lodge. On the date announced for the ceremony, the goods to be given away were taken into the lodge and hung on a line in full view of the spectators. Among them he hung the white buffalo robe where all could admire it. All the men and women having rights in his father's bundle and related bundles were expected to attend and to receive goods. The wives passed around food from time to time. 585 431 778

Those with singer rights directed the singing of the sacred songs. At the end of each song the young man and his wife would present a robe or other article of value to one of the older participants, who would pray to the white robe, asking it to give the young man and his wife or wives success in all their undertakings. He would then give the young man and his wife a small article from his sacred bundle. While the ceremony was in progress, the father's sister remained seated on two buffalo robes with two robes wrapped around her and one held in her hands, these constituting her payment for taking the white robe down from the lodge roof and protecting it until the ceremony was performed.

When the people who were invited had rights in the Corn ceremonies, they were paid to paint the white robe with a design of a corn plant. The one painting the stalk received a horse; for each ear a robe was paid; he paid five robes for the tassel; for each root, a robe was paid. The elaborateness of the design was in a large measure determined by the amount of property acquired for the ceremony. The robe became a part of his ceremonial bundle and was opened during the Corn ceremonies. 585 778

If the ceremony was given to the sacred cedar, which was believed to represent Lone Man's body, the robe was draped over the sacred cedar at the termination of the ceremony and became the property of the WaxikEna clan. If the ceremony was to Bird bundles, after the painting was completed, it was carried out onto the prairie where it was draped over a post and

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585 778 left there to disintegrate. If the ceremony was to the various Holy Women, it was wrapped around a figure representing an old woman and placed on a pole erected at the side of the wife's lodge.

585 778 431 The ceremony completed the marriage, and it was believed that the wife or wives were married to the husband's ceremonial bundles. A marriage in this manner brought together all the people of the village and usually a large number of people from the other villages; those having rights in the ceremony came to receive presents, and the others came to see the presents but more particularly the painted white robe.

584 583 A second class of marriages was known as "marriage by exchange of presents." The young man's parents selected a young woman who was acceptable to their son or who had received some attention by the son. The young man's parents went to the girl's parents and offered them a specified number of horses for their consent to the marriage. If the marriage was approved, the horses were taken to the girl's lodge and tied to the door. The girl gave the horses to her brothers, who were expected to give her an equal or greater number, which she took to the young man's lodge and presented to his father.

585 The marriage ceremony was held four or five days later to allow time for the preparation of the feast. The food was prepared by her mother and brothers' wives, who, on the designated day, carried the food to the young man's lodge and left immediately without waiting for the completion of the ceremony. When the women returned, the girl left for her prospective husband's lodge, leading the horses. The young man's relatives were gathered in the lodge, and a woman who had been married in this manner was selected to pass the food. Each of the young man's female relatives brought presents which were stacked in a pile. The act of eating together completed the ceremony. Word was then sent to the girl's parents, and the females of the lodge came for the empty vessels and took the presents as their own.

591 The husband's mothers and sisters presented her with presents which consisted chiefly of clothing, and she remained with her husband in his parents' lodge. She assisted with the work but was not considered a co-owner of the lodge property. In the

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meanwhile her parents frequently made arrangements to bring them to the daughter's parental lodge to live. They constructed a side passage from the door so that the son-in-law could enter his section of the lodge without meeting his mother-in-law, and he was expected to remain in his quarters when she was in the lodge. When the lodge was ready, the girl's father presented her husband with a horse or other goods and invited them to live with them. 591

When a man married the oldest sister, he was entitled to marry the younger ones as they became of age by giving them horses. Her parents built additional beds in the son-in-law's section. There was no wedding feast or exchange of goods. 587

A third method of marrying was known as "marriage by mutual agreement." Two people attracted to each other decided to marry without consulting their parents. Sometimes a girl did not approve of her sisters' husband and decided not to marry him. She encouraged a young man so that she could get away from her mother's household. She received two or three horses from her husband and left her parents to live in her husband's lodge. If she had a number of sisters and did not like their husband, she would remain in her husband's lodge and help the women of the household. Whether or not this residence became permanent depended on a number of factors. When the lodge was already occupied by her husband's sisters and their husband, she would attempt to move out with her husband to a household of old women of her clan, especially one where there were no men to provide for the household. Eventually she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens when the old people died. On the other hand, should her husband have no sisters, she would prefer to care for her parents-in-law, whom she treated as "grandparents" and addressed as such, and they would treat her as a woman of the lodge. When they died, she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens. 583 591 428

As a resident of the husband's lodge, a woman's position was subordinate to the other female members of the household group. In case of a quarrel, she was obliged to leave. Should her husband be killed or die, leaving small children and his brother was unable to marry her because of an unco-operative wife, she was sent out of the lodge and was permitted to take 592 768 421

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592 only her clothing and children. Even the bedding belonged with
768 the lodge and could not be taken whether she had assisted in
421 tanning and preparing them or not. Responsibility for the children's care rested with her sisters and the female members of her clan.

586 Divorce was easy and common. The elopement of a married
837 woman having children with a married man also having chil-
578 dren was the cause of much trouble, since it involved so many
431 people. Learning that their brother had eloped with another
583 man's wife, the brothers and sisters would take horses and other property to the injured man to prevent him from causing them injury, since they were accountable for a sibling's conduct. Learning that his wife had run away with another man, he was entitled to retaliate against the man's brothers and sisters and *would start killing their horses. My Mandan informants* enjoyed relating instances when the brothers and sisters, learning that a brother had eloped with another man's wife, had reached the lodge before the wife was missed. They would come to his lodge in a group leading the horses. Seeing the people with horses, he would hurry into his lodge or go through the village calling for his wife. People considered it very humorous to surprise a man in that way, and it was the subject of gossip for quite a while. He was expected to accept the horses and forget his wife. The elopers usually visited the Crow Indians until
586 the husband was reconciled to his loss. When a prominent man
837 lost his wife, he would usually organize a war party or go out
578 alone against the enemy. He could disregard his former wife,
583 and those most concerned with public opinion usually did. However, a man of position usually called her into his lodge when she returned from her elopement, painted and dressed her, mounted her on a good horse, and took her back to her new husband. Those who cried because a wife eloped or who attempted to take her back or agreed to let her return if she requested it were considered weaklings and not worthy of respect. Bear on the Water, a Mandan, stole the young Arikara wife of Four Bears, the principal war chief of the Hidatsa. While they were away, Four Bears made so many threats that the Mandan were obliged to leave the village for fear of war. He refused to accept horses or to smoke the pipe with Bear on

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the Water's relatives. He demanded that his younger wife be returned on the grounds that she had a small child who was ill. The people all knew that this one was his favorite wife and that there were enough other wives and females in the lodge to care for the child. The Mandan were quite angry at Four Bears for his actions, which they did not consider worthy of a chief. A year before, Poor Wolf, the second chief of the Hidatsa, stole the wife of Flying Eagle, a Mandan, and the latter man had said, "Let him have her" and thought nothing more of it. Mandan informants were in general agreement that the Hidatsa more commonly demanded that the wife be returned.

Even when the husband accepted his wife's elopement with good grace, the couple usually encountered plenty of trouble when they returned to the village. A woman would frequently permit her husband to bring his stolen wife into the lodge when the women were close relatives of the same clan. In a few instances, the stolen wife was a younger sister of the first wife and had not been getting along well with her husband. The family had actually conspired with the man to get her back and were prepared to make payment as soon as the elopement occurred. When the elopement did not have the approval of a man's wife and her brothers, there were usually complications. She would be driven out of the first wife's lodge, and the husband was obliged to live between two lodges. The women would be jealous and carry knives, watching for an opportunity to slash each other's faces and clothing. If the first wife had many brothers, she was likely to be pretty saucy, particularly if the other woman had none. On the other hand, when the first wife had no brother while the second one had several, she would be inclined to accept the situation and get along as best she could until she had an opportunity of separating from her husband and getting another.

Marrying a brother's widow was considered the honorable way of providing for his children, in which case the man lived between two lodges. A woman having several brothers rarely married her deceased husband's brother, as it frequently meant sharing a husband with women of a different clan and household. In the event of separation or death the children were pro-

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736 In the event of separation or death the children were provided for by the mother's household, with the father's household generally disregarding them.

581 556 These various accounts of types of marriage might be analyzed at length; it is sufficient here to note some significant situations which can be explained as accounting for the variations that occur as well as the number of different relatives participating in one way or another. We have noted the great emphasis placed on wealth and the part it played at the naming of a child. There was a comparable display of wealth when a young man returned from his first successful war expedition. Mandan informants speak of advancement in the tribe as steps in a ladder. As one took a new step, he made certain payments. For those of eminence, marriage was treated in the same way. Except for those marriages which involved bundle purchase, marriage was secular in character and involved only a few people.

162 Plains warfare greatly unbalanced the proportion of women to men. My census of the Mandan as of 1870–72 showed that males constituted only 38 per cent of the total population. A similar proportion was found for Hidatsa men. If we disregard all children under fifteen years of age, the proportion of men would be even smaller. The women of the household played an exclusive role in gardening unless one considers the use of young men as watchmen during the day to prevent a surprise attack by their enemies. The women built the earth lodges except for the raising of the heavier rafters and repaired them from time to time. They dressed the hides and made all the household goods. They did most of the butchering, except when animals were killed at a distance from the village. And they found time to participate in many of the men's ceremonies besides having ceremonies of their own. They were acquainted with ceremonies in which tribal custom did not permit their participation and on some occasions were intrusted with important ritualism ultimately to be transferred to their children. They reared their families and trained them without a great deal of help from their husbands. Some lodge groups in 1870–72 had had no male old enough to hunt for ten years or more. Informants thought that the physical needs of such households were pretty well taken care of by the tribal system of mutual

562 462

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assistance and the fact that the game run into yards was divided on a moiety basis.

Households having no males suffered most in their ceremonial life. When an important tribal bundle got out of the lodge, it was usually difficult to get it back.

Marriage within the clan was not permitted. There was no punishment other than tribal criticism, and in the census taken as of 1870–72 only one instance was reported by informants, and all the informants questioned on this point mentioned the case. The one instance of marriage within the clan was between Standing Bear and Beaver Woman; though the tribe did not approve of the marriage, they thought that in a way it was justified, since Beaver Woman's mother suggested the marriage after both parties were over fifty-five years of age. The women were brought to Standing Bear's lodge, and the marriage was entered into after the women lost their lodge.

Certain Mandan clans had Hidatsa equivalents. Both had a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna clan was considered equivalent to the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik clan was equivalent to the Hidatsa Knife clan. The Mandan were not in agreement as to the wisdom of marriage between Mandan-Hidatsa equated clans. Some treated them as separate lineages and considered marriage permissible. Bad Gun's wife's younger sister, however, refused to marry him, believing that the Tamisik and Knife were divisions of a single clan.

The Mandan claim that moieties were exogamous until after 1837 and that it was more convenient to go through the ceremonies with the wives when they were of opposite moieties, giving as the basis for the breakdown of the moieties the shortage of men. People preferred to marry into the moiety to marrying outside the tribe.

Both the levirate and the sororate were permissible. When a man married to the older sister died, a younger brother had first chance to marry the widow, which he could do with only a token payment. Such marriages were highly regarded. This was rarely done, since, with a shortage of men, the younger brother was usually already married to several women. When a wife died, the husband could claim one of her younger sisters as wife, and she seldom refused, especially if her sister had small children.

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MATURITY AND MIDDLE AGE

885 A man was considered to have reached maturity when, several years after his first marriage, he had assumed most of the responsibility of providing meat for the household and had taken over important ceremonial duties. Marriage introduced him to a new set of relatives with a new pattern of behavior in his daily associations with them. Marriage also introduced his wife to new sets of relations as well as new ceremonial relatives.

561 By the time a young man had reached maturity, he would normally have advanced through at least three age-grade societies. Except for the first society which was owned by the young preadolescent boys, the buyer was expected to bring his wife to the transfer ceremonies. She was expected to give assistance in the preparation of the food and goods used during the society transfer. A man's ceremonial "father" from whom he received paraphernalia and instructions in the lore and rites of the society was a ceremonial "grandfather" to the wife and was entitled to have "intercourse" with her during the transfer ceremonies. The men's societies all followed a common pattern when being transferred. The sellers individually selected young men, not more than four in number and whose fathers were of the seller's clan, to sponsor during the transfer ceremonies. He had the necessary clothing and equipment prepared for his "sons" and gave them individual instructions prior to the meeting of the two groups representing the sellers and buyers.

561 554 The sellers addressed the buyers collectively as "sons," who in turn addressed the sellers as "fathers." All the wives of the buyers were addressed by the sellers as "granddaughters." A man's social status grew in proportion to the number of societies he had owned at one time or another and was especially enhanced if he had kept the same wives who assisted him in all his society purchases. Those who had enjoyed the loyalty of their wives while making many society purchases were especially regarded because they continued the same "father-son" relationship independent of the societies afterward. Crows Heart frequently referred to occasions in later years when he had invited in the men who acted as his sponsors when buying into a society and had given them a meal and little presents.

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A man's social status at any one period varied greatly between individuals. It was in part determined by birth, those being born in households having important bundles and a well-balanced household economy and, particularly if there were many brothers and sisters, had a great advantage over those whose households had been broken up by death or divorce. Children of eminent parents were presumed to be better informed than those who had lived from lodge to lodge. 554

Upon reaching maturity, a man's role in the total ceremonial life of the village and tribe was largely determined by his previous participations in ceremonies. This role followed a generalized tribal pattern which varied little from generation to generation unless unusual situations occurred such as epidemics or severe losses in warfare. A man would usually fast less when he reached maturity, but he would fast if he considered the situation warranted it until he reached old age. If he had bad luck while leading a war expedition, his fasting would often be long. He would even lash his legs with a knife and cut off portions of fingers. When a man was poor or received few presents during the ceremonies or secular dances, he would often fast to draw the attention of the village to his poverty. The people would say that he is fasting to bring good luck to the village and that he was entitled to rewards for his generosity. There was considerable rivalry between individuals, and this was expressed in a number of ways. For instance, when the winter buffalo herds were late in arriving at their grazing grounds along the streams near the villages, the people would suffer considerably from a meat shortage. One who had felt that he had been neglected and had not been receiving appropriate recognition would announce that, when the weather became severe, he would go out and fast on the hills to bring the buffaloes. The village would recognize that fasting under such conditions was a distinct sacrifice. Since the cold weather and storms would cause the buffaloes to seek the sheltered sections along the Missouri River bottoms, one announcing that he would fast during the coldest days when the wind was from the north would time his fasting to coincide with the normal first arrival of the winter herds. Such a person was said to place the welfare of the village above consideration for his personal comfort and 554 785

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554 785 received goods in abundance from people of the village, particularly persons of his children's clan.

Since the Mandan lived in a territory of uncertain rainfall, the crops were frequently endangered by drought. There were 554 formal rainmaking ceremonies, but these frequently failed to 785 bring rain. A man would frequently announce that he was fasting on a certain day to bring the rains. If rains came before the 789 fasting began, he received credit for them and was paid generously for his services. When the rains had not come on the day when fasting was to begin, he would go to some designated spot to fast, singing his holy songs while watching the sky for the approaching clouds, which he would endeavor to direct toward the gardens. Anyone could fast to bring rains to the gardens or buffaloes near the village, but in general these extra rites were performed by persons lacking formal tribal bundles and were people who felt that they had not received proper recognition for their successes in warfare, horse-stealing, or in finding the buffalo herds. They had little to lose; failing to bring buffaloes or rain, they were thought none the less of for their failure and were praised if they succeeded.

785 There was a certain amount of fasting when bad luck persisted. When on eagle-trapping expeditions, some men would catch eagles while others did not. One who had been especially lucky would volunteer the use of his pit to one who had failed to catch birds. If the latter's bad luck persisted, he would fast and even have thongs inserted through his skin for dragging buffalo skulls.

224 There was a certain degree of specialization of males in a Mandan village. Those who had acquired an aptitude of finding 554 the buffalo herds were relied upon for their good judgment in 788 supervising the summer buffalo-hunting expeditions. Even those who eventually attained the status of leader were expected to attain that position by degrees. He was first taken out as scout to assist in locating the herds and later as leader of the hunters when he was expected to perform simple rites immediately before the attack was made on the herd. He would pray to the buffaloes not to send the party bad luck, and, when the surround had been made, he would make an offering of sage and feathers from the speckled eagle to the buffaloes by tying

the offerings to the horns of some weathered buffalo skull found 224
conveniently near by. If a horse fell into a washout, stepped 554
into a badger hole and injured its rider, or was gored by a 788
buffalo, the leader was said to have "kicked the stone" and was usually never selected again unless he fasted sufficiently to receive the forgiveness of the aggrieved parties.

As leader of the hunters, he was expected to make successful surrounds without losing his men from accident. Having been successful on many surrounds, it was believed that he was lucky and had sacred objects that were protecting him and his party. He was then eligible to become the leader of a future summer buffalo-hunting party.

A man's responsibilities increased greatly as the leader of the summer buffalo-hunting party. His selection was made in council held a month before the village was to leave for the summer hunt. The principal men of the village met to consider the matter of a leader. Crows Heart claimed that all who had been lucky in warfare or in leading the hunters aspired to be the summer buffalo-hunt leader at least once in their lifetime. The leader was selected from those who had buffalo skulls as a part of their sacred bundles. These skulls became a part of bundles either through purchase of a hereditary bundle or, more rarely, were introduced into a bundle when vision instructed. It was necessary to have unanimous consent of the head men to become leader, and the appointment was for only one expedition away from the village. A change was usually made for subsequent hunts on the former leader's recommendation, as it was believed that one would have bad luck if he led too many hunts. When a selection had been made, the crier for the Black Mouth Society[1] went through the village announcing the [203] decision.

The leader consulted the village chief in matters relative to 224
preparation of the equipment and the leaders of war parties relative to the protection of the party which would comprise the entire population except a few feeble people who preferred to visit in a neighboring village while the party was away. The [462] women first weeded and hilled their garden crops while the men prepared the dog and horse equipment. While preparations for the summer hunt were being completed, scouts were sent

[1] [The men's society intrusted with the organization and protection of the village. See pp. 94-95, Cat. 116.—Analyst]

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224 out daily to travel as much as one hundred and fifty miles from the village to observe the numbers and movements of the buffalo. Returning war leaders were called in to report the number and size of the herds they had observed. The leader planned the hunt on the basis of the knowledge he had acquired from several sources and designated the spots where the party would camp each night. This information together with the time of departure from the village was given to the Black Mouth Society, which sent its announcer through the village to notify the people.

221 241 796 The summer buffalo hunt was scheduled as a permanent part of the summer's activities and did not interfere with the normal village routine. The gardens were prepared and planted in May, and the first performance of the Okipa was celebrated just prior to leaving for the summer hunt. Since one of the purposes of the Okipa was to have the Buffalo Dance performed, it was believed that it should be held prior to the summer hunt. Ceremonies to the buffalo were believed to insure a good hunt and the replenishment of their numbers by the escape of the buffalo spirits from the spirit homes in which they lived before being born into the herds. The leader was not authorized to call an unscheduled hunt.

224 561 Crows Heart believed that all the leaders selected in his time belonged to the Black Mouth or Bull men's societies, since these were the two oldest active societies, but felt that membership was not obligatory, since in former times there were so many people that all did not belong, especially those who were too busy with other ceremonial matters. The leader never undertook to direct the hunt unassisted. He invited in all those with the right to pray to the buffalo to meet at his lodge and assist him. These would be the officers of the Okipa and Red Stick ceremonies, Okipa Makers, and all those who had buffalo skulls in their bundles whether acquired by vision or purchase. He discussed his plans with them and changed them if any offered a reasonable objection. The hunt was frequently canceled when war leaders reported unusual numbers of enemies about.

224 In early times dogs were used, but, after horses were acquired, the summer hunts of later times were out much farther. The leader was always to the front, and the party followed behind

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in a line. Household groups kept together, since they would stop from time to time to dig wild turnips. Whenever the leader saw these plants in great numbers, he would ask his assistant, the announcer of the Black Mouths, to stop the party. All would dig except the scouts, who were ahead guarding the party against surprise by the enemy or hunting for fresh meat, and the Black Mouths, who were mounted and armed to protect the party against attack. The latter watched for stragglers and helped them to join the main party.

The leader selected the camping place which had been agreed upon in advance, and the Black Mouths enforced the regulations that the lodges be arranged in a circle at a certain distance from each other and compelled those whose lodges were out of place to take them down and set them up in such a way that the circle was complete except for a larger entrance at the side of the leader's lodge where the horses could be brought through to be corraled within the open circle. The leader's household was at the front of the line when traveling and was the first to set up a tepee; the back end of the line which was assembled by household groups swung around in a wide circle so that the last in the line set up their tepee at the side of the leader's tepee, thus completing the circle. Ropes were tied between the tepees forming a corral into which the horses were driven for the night.

The leader's tepee was used as a meeting place for the people assisting him in planning the hunt. They selected the scouts each day and relieved others who had ridden far; when the party had reached its destination, they also selected the leader of the hunters who was changed from day to day if the work of killing animals was tedious as was often the case when the buffaloes were in small bands. The leader was responsible for the success of the entire party and was expected to call in the hunters if scouts reported an enemy encampment until it was decided whether to move to another place or make provisions for the defense of the party. The Black Mouths drove all the women and children into the camp and enforced rigid rules against leaving.

The men butchered the animals and brought the meat to the camp, while the women cut it into strips and dried it on scaffolds. All were expected to get equal amounts, and a woman

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224 462 could go to the pile brought in by anyone if her husband was slow in returning with his meat. There was no moiety division of the animals as was employed with the corral. Everyone was expected to work curing the meat, men and women alike. Older men would haul poles for scaffolds and set them up. Some husbands would be out as scouts and could not butcher. Crows Heart had been on a number of summer hunts and said that he never made a special effort to help his lodge group. As soon as he unloaded his meat, it was taken by anyone who was ready to cure it. Scattercorn said that one did not ask permission to take a hunter's meat and that one was more likely to be criticized for not working hard enough than for appearing selfish. All my informants were in agreement that quarrels over division of the meat and hides were unknown.

224 The leader and the leader of the hunters were entitled to the tongues, but these were shared with others having the buffalo as a god, while some tongues were given to old people. The evenings were spent in dancing and singing.

785 789 224 796 There was a marked increase of fasting during the summer hunts. Many thought that they secured better visions when fasting away from the village. Others thought that it would be highly desirable to fast far from the village to get visions from supernatural beings that might not come to the villages to "adopt a son." The older men taught that the young buffaloes lived in certain buttes and that fasting while out on the summer buffalo range would increase the next year's calf crop. To perpetuate the buffalo supply, they made offerings of speckled eagle feathers and calicoes to these buttes and encouraged the young men to fast near them. The leader would receive many valuable presents from young men seeking visions at that time while praying for their success when the thongs were being inserted through the skin. Dragging heads of recently killed buffaloes through the camp was a customary practice. Crows Heart thought that most young men who had recently fasted in the Okipa ceremony and had not received visions would repeat their vision quest at that time. The hunt would be terminated in time to reach the village before the corn was in the milk stage. Usually a second performance of the Okipa was held a short time after returning.

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This account of a summer buffalo hunt illustrates the position of an individual in his relations to the remainder of the village. As a young man first assisting in a summer buffalo hunt he received his training from those older and more experienced; he advanced by degrees, and his responsibilities increased until, as leader of the village when on the hunt, he was responsible for the well-being of the entire village group of which he was a part. It will be shown in the pages that follow that whereas an individual would, in one situation be the leader over his entire village, in other situations he would be a follower and others would be responsible for the group's success. 554

Men specialized in certain activities. Whereas some were leaders of buffalo hunts, fish-trapping, war expeditions, or various ceremonies, others specialized as singers, painters, arrowmakers, or storytellers. In Mandan society, a man or woman seeking information, however trivial, was expected to make a payment for the information acquired. Persons possessing unique information and techniques were highly regarded, and it would have been considered ill mannered to adopt another's skills without at first paying for that right, however well the individual may have been able to perform without this paid training. One was also said to be inviting bad luck by practicing arts for which payment had not been made. 463 437 555

Payment for training was so highly developed in Mandan society that a young woman assisting her mother in the making of clay pots would prepare a simple feast to which the females of the household were invited in order to receive the right to assist in the making of pots and to make vessels of her own after her mother had died. Within the family group the payments were usually insignificant so far as the value of the goods was concerned. It was felt that the small payment in goods expressed the young woman's respect for her mother. The Mandan also believed that payments expressed societal values. The mother would explain each step in pottery-making, the selection of the clay and grit, the molding of the mass, the introduction of decorations, and the drying and baking of the vessels. Mandan vessels had a variety of decorations, and the person buying the right to make pottery acquired only the right to employ such decorations as the mother had a right to use. If she wished to 437 421 425

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437 utilize other decorations, she was obliged to seek another
421 woman entitled to make the particular decoration and buy the
425 right of her.

There was a similar specialization for men. When a young
437 man was found to have an especially good voice which was
heard above the others in the songs of the society dances, he
425 was encouraged to buy singer rights in dances of both a sacred
535 and a secular character. Although they were obliged to make
555 payments either to existing singers or to the owners of bundles, their rewards far exceeded the initial costs. Their training included information relative to the ceremonies that were being performed, and they received recognition comparable to that shown those who had directed a number of successful war expeditions. In council, their authority was as great as those who had directed war parties, summer buffalo hunts, or eagle-trapping expeditions.

555 Those who could tattoo or pa[illegible]gns appreciated by the
people of the village were highly [illegible]rded and received a con-
616 siderable amount of goods for their services. There were usually
531 at least two skilled painters in each village, and they were
789 expected to belong to opposite moieties. A man of one moiety would go to a man of the other moiety to have a robe, shield, or clothing painted either according to his particular inclination or with specific designs of things dreamed of. Each warrior had one or more shields made of buffalo hide taken from around the neck, and these were used universally by the Mandan for protection against arrows and spears until guns became more universal. The designs were believed to offer supernatural protection, and their potency was considered to be enhanced when the design was painted by a man of the opposite moiety, since there would be a payment to the "father" who would pray for the "son's" success. These painters were held responsible for the proper painting of the characters represented in the Okipa and received much property for their services. If they were otherwise sensible men, they enjoyed the same status as those who had been successful in other pursuits.

555 The arrowmakers were highly regarded. Although all males
887 usually made arrows, some were employed specially for arrow-making. These were the older men of the lodge who had passed

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the prime of life and others who, having been crippled either in warfare, hunting, or other active pursuits, were unable to carry out the work normally performed by men. The older men of the lodge usually made the arrows used by the men of the household, and ten arrows complete with heads and feathers had the value of one unpainted robe. Young men of the lodge paid the older men for the right to learn the techniques of arrowmaking. The Mandan in 1929 remembered two men who had been crippled, one when his leg was broken by a wounded buffalo, the other who had had a femur bone shattered by a bullet and who had spent much of their time preparing arrows which they sold. 555 887

Another class of people who were highly regarded were the storytellers. The art of storytelling was highly developed; the stories had a variety of themes and were highly formalized. One paying for the right to have a story told was expected to repeat the story after the informer until it was learned in complete detail. The customary way of buying the story was to have a feast and a supply of tobacco mixed with red willow bark prepared before calling the informer in to relate his stories. The stories were of a semisacred character, and many dealt with the exploits of distinguished persons who had once lived in the village or tribe. It was considered improper to relate sacred myths belonging to others unless the informer was an owner in the particular rites, in which instance the buyer was expected to have enough robes and other goods so that each person having rights in the story would receive pay even when only one of their member was relating the story. The actual storytelling was then held at a later time when the informant could be alone with his pupil. 555 538 424 421

There was considerable traditional lore not actually associated with any ceremony at the time this study was being made. Informants were of the opinion that these myths once were associated with bundle rites now extinct and that the stories had continued as common property of the tribe. These stories have to do with such mythological characters as Corn Silk, Buffalo, First Creator, and the Snakes. Both men and women were storytellers, and they were highly respected as possessors of important tribal lore. They enjoyed intimate con- 773 538 554 571

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

773 tacts with most families, since a person was not considered
538 important who could not argue in council for a certain point of
554 view based on traditional action of the group. Group action was
571 in a large measure regulated by custom. These patterns of behavior were in a large measure perpetuated by the storyteller. Anyone seeking the position of chief would need a considerable knowledge of tribal history to attain that status. No amount of success in warfare or performance of ceremonies would in themselves have been sufficient. It was this extra knowledge of tribal lore that distinguished them as leaders. Actually, whenever one was the recipient of goods and honors from another, a new and intimate relationship was established between them. Those who had provided many feasts and acquired a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were ultimately selected to become the leaders of the various groups.

571 Men who had reached middle age were called on to insert the
785 thongs for a "son" who was preparing to fast and to pray for
554 his success. They were expected to supervise the fasting and have it terminated when there was a possibility that the "son" was carrying his fasting to excess. Those who had good war records or had made significant contributions toward village welfare in other ways offered many feasts to the older men hoping that, by so doing, they would be named village leaders. A man would announce renewal feasts to his ceremonial bundle from time to time and call in those who had similar bundles. Some would assist in removing arrows and opening wounds or doctor in other ways when the occasion warranted.

561 Men of middle age belonged to the Black Mouth Society,
701 which was intrusted with the organization and protection of the village. This was the most highly organized men's society. It met every two or three days and received its instructions from the older men meeting in council. It was their duty, whenever the village was in danger of attack, to see that none left the village without permission. Each member carried a club carved according to his own individual preference, and he was expected to use it if anyone was found violating the rules. If the announcer called through the village that the people were not to leave the village and anyone was seen leaving, the Black Mouths would drive him back. Crows Heart remembered a

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man who drew his gun when being driven back and was killed by the Black Mouths. Usually it was the duty of one's brothers to revenge a sibling's death, but in this instance siblings took no action. The Black Mouths were believed to be the bravest men of the village. Before making an attack on the enemy, their leaders would stick their lances into the ground which meant that they would not retreat. When on the summer buffalo hunts they received their orders from the leader and were instructed to prevent premature hunting and to see that the party did not break up. Although they endeavored to prevent war parties from leaving the village when there was danger of attack, they inflicted no punishment when an unauthorized war party returned.

It was believed that an individual's influence with sacred things advanced in age. They were consulted on sacred matters and were offered their "sons'" wives frequently during the buffalo ceremonies. Men and women assisted in the disposal of the dead. It was a man's duty to assist a clan sister in the construction of the scaffold for one whose father was of their clan, to superintend the painting and wrapping of the body.

OLD AGE AND DEATH

The old people were respected members of the household. The grandfather would assist the youngsters of the lodge in making toys and in playing their simple games, but he was always held in high regard as the one from whom the child's father had acquired much of his training in sacred matters. Having more time to give to the instruction of the children of the lodge, he would assist them in learning stories if the children were interested in hearing them. The older women assisted the younger women about the lodge and in the gardens but were not expected to do much work.

The older women were organized into two age-grade societies which were sacred in character. Women of advanced middle age joined the Goose Society and, when they had reached the menopause, sold to younger women and bought into the White Buffalo Cow Society.[3] As members of these societies they were respected for their supernatural powers over agriculture and

3. See the chapters on ceremonialism for an account of their origin.

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888 561 562 hunting. Women holding rights in the various Holy Women bundles also met whenever a medicine feast was given. Their rights were individually acquired by assisting their husbands or brothers in the bundle purchase. Some of their number were members of the Goose or the White Buffalo Cow societies.

888 562 The older people performed an important role in the ceremonies so long as they were not too feeble to get around. Women who had assisted others at childbirth became doctors after the menopause and could substitute for a man in a great many of the societies. In many ceremonies they were the medium through which the traditions and bundles were transmitted to a legitimate male heir.

888 785 755 Fasting was generally completed by the time one reached fifty years of age. In case of repeated bad luck or failure to attain a definite goal, fasting for short periods was practiced during a ceremony. When an epidemic of sore eyes broke out at Fishhook Village, one old woman fasted to seek relief from her affliction. Since her eye trouble was cleared up shortly afterward, quite a number of middle-aged and old people fasted to cure the ailment. Calf Woman said that more than half of them got relief.

888 431 787 People who were past middle age and who had been relatively successful all their lives would frequently have bad dreams in which they were being killed and cut up by the enemy or were drowning. It was believed that one could forestall this misfortune by giving away all his property. He would call in those who had been successful and were owners of important tribal bundles to give away his property, consisting of robes and bedding, household utensils, dogs, and horses, until the family was utterly destitute. One doing this would walk through the village repeating the dream. When the bad dream failed to materialize within the designated time, such people were said to be holy and as such were called the "protectors of the village." In appreciation of their sacrifices, each household group was expected to contribute something toward their comfort.

888 421 224 The old people had privately owned game pits and were entitled to the animals found in them. According to tradition, before horses were acquired, pits were widely used and owned by households. Ruins of game pits are still to be seen in consider-

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able numbers along the Heart River and in the vicinity of Square Butte Creek. With the introduction of the horse they were less commonly used, although the practice was not entirely abandoned until after 1870. Buffalo, deer, elk, and wolves were captured in them. Older men also managed the fish traps, of which there were a number for each village. An account of fish-trapping is given in chapter viii, "Catfish-trapping Ceremony," which appears in this account of ceremonialism. 888 421 224

The old people were generally well cared for by the Mandan. They were held in high respect, and my informants frequently condemned neighboring tribes for abandoning their old people. On the other hand, Mandan old people frequently were left back when the village went on a buffalo hunt and refused to have others remain with them, claiming that they would get along and that, if the enemy came and killed them, it was all right, as one could not live forever. Usually a few families remained in the village to care for the old people who were too feeble to travel. 888

The Mandan traditions state that, when people were first created and placed on the earth, Lone Man decreed that they should not live to be older than one hundred years and that some would die at various ages from birth to old age. It was believed that people died from improper fasting, violation of tribal custom, disrespect of holy things, quarreling, foreign objects in the body, and loss of "power." It was also believed that those who neglected the unfortunate would not live long, since the sacred things frequently sent destitute people into the tribe to detect the selfish families. The sun was believed to be a cannibal who would adopt a "son" in an enemy tribe, subsequently giving a Mandan a dream instruction to go out on the warfare where he would be killed. 773 761

The Mandan believed that a person had four souls. One was the white spirit, which was often seen traveling through the air as a shooting star. It was regarded as the principal spirit and was represented by the white upland sage. The second spirit was light brown and scarcely visible and was represented by the meadow lark. These two spirits united in the spirit world and became the individual of the hereafter. The third spirit was known as the lodge spirit and remained near the lodge of which 774

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774 it was a member during the life of the individual. It was the earth spirit and was believed to hover around the lodge so long as any visible evidence of the lodge ruins remained. People would see dim lights around the abandoned villages and attributed these lights to the third spirit. The fourth spirit was black and remained outside the lodge and traveled away from the village at times but would return frequently. It was represented by a shadow and was the spirit that frightened people. It was this spirit that Calf Woman believed frightened her the evening before government rations were issued so that she was unable to walk out for her share. It was also the spirit that came [787] to a person in his dreams. When moccasins were burned at the doorway of the lodge where a person had died, it no longer frightened people.

775 The Mandan concept of the hereafter was based largely on vision experiences. They have a number of accounts of persons who "died" and then returned. All informants were in agreement that the first two spirits returned downstream. Some of the very old people who were remembered by my informants claimed that they would go to the Heart River, where their old people had lived and died. At that place there was a spirit village for each of the villages of the Heart River area, and a spirit-house stood over the body of each person either buried or placed on the prairie there. Some claimed that they would return to Baby Hill and be reincarnated into the tribe. At the present time the older Mandan think that they will return to Like-a-Fishhook Village, where they will be reunited with their relatives who lived and died there. They believe that the spirit people live in earth-lodge villages, plant gardens, hunt, and perform ceremonies much the same as during their lifetime. One's status in the hereafter is essentially the same as when one died.

775 Children who died before being named were wrapped in robes and placed in trees or interred apart from the rest of the dead.
766 There were no rites, since they were not considered a part of the village until they had been named. They were believed to return immediately to the Home of the Babies to be reborn later.

000 When a person believed he was about to die, the relatives

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When a person believed he was about to die, the relatives were called and the dying person was dressed and painted before death, if possible. It was the duty of the father's clan to attend to the disposal of the body, and the dying person's request determined whether the body would be buried or placed on a scaffold. The Mandan claim that in earlier times earth burials were more common, and this belief is corroborated by the large number of both primary and secondary bundle burials found at their older villages near the Heart River. In some instances, they requested hilltop burials with only a covering of robes and stones. Most people were placed on scaffolds which were erected by members of the father's clan, and the "sending-away of the spirit" rites on the fourth day were performed by a woman of the father's clan. The body was placed on the scaffold with the head to the northwest and the feet to the southeast, the direction the spirits were believed to take to reach the Heart River. People never slept with their feet pointed to the southeast, believing that to do so would be to invite death. The relatives would come to the scaffold to mourn for four days. Whenever an eminent person died, all fires in the village were extinguished for one day while all the village mourned. It is said that even the dogs wept.

763 764 602 765 [513]

The deceased person's personal property was taken by the brothers and sisters, and, when there were none living, the people of the clan took possession of the goods and divided it among themselves. In return for this property, they were required to go to the scaffold to mourn and to pay the mourners of the father's clan. When the deceased was an old woman of a couple occupying a lodge by themselves, the man left the lodge to live with people of his own clan, and the lodge was either abandoned or taken over by a group of females belonging to the deceased person's clan. When an old woman having no children or younger females in the lodge became feeble, she usually moved into another lodge where the females were of her clan.

768 765 602

When a woman died leaving small children, her unmarried sisters were expected to provide for them and to marry the widower if he asked them. When the deceased mother had no sisters, the children were cared for by the maternal grandmother and her sisters. The clan provided for those who had no close blood relatives. Many families were broken up by the

768 602 614

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768 smallpox epidemic of 1837. The orphans were taken in by the
602 females according to clan affiliation and reared as their own
614 children.

Suicide was rare among the Mandan. The only instances
762 remembered by Mandan informants were immediately follow-
775 ing the last smallpox epidemic. When a household had been nearly exterminated, the remaining females frequently took their lives. Crows Heart thought that suicides were buried and that their spirits did not reach the spirit world. Scattercorn remembered hearing of two girls who hanged themselves in 1837 in the village where her father lived and said that they were placed on the scaffold which was built by her father whose sister sent the spirits away at the end of four days.

The last murder of a male occurred among the Mandan in
682 1820, part of the Mandan separating from the village group to
627 live on Eagle Nose Butte until 1823, when the relatives of the murdered man invited them to return to Fort Clark Village. One who had been murdered was treated as though he had been killed in battle or had died a natural death. There was the usual preparation of the body by the relatives of the father's clan. The murderer, if caught, was killed by the murdered man's male siblings or clansmen, and his body was buried at a distance
[766] from the village. No rites were performed to send his spirit away. The murder of a woman by another woman was treated lightly and settled by a payment of goods.

The Mandan, and in later years the Hidatsa also, were accus-
765 tomed to collect the bones of their relatives after the scaffolds
614 on which they were placed had rotted and fallen to the ground.
778 The skulls were taken to a place adjacent to the scaffolds and there arranged in circles of which there were a number near each village. Scattercorn claimed that the skulls of each circle were of closely related people who had belonged to the same clan and that these shrines enhanced the "sacred powers" of the Woman Above bundles which were a part of the shrine.[4] If these were clan shrines, the practice of arranging the circles according to clans must have been abandoned after moving to Like-a-Fishhook Village, as there were only two or three circles at most, and the Hidatsa made simultaneous use of these shrines

4. See Catlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–52, for an eyewitness description of these circles.

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for the disposal of the skulls of their dead. The other bones were gathered and wrapped in a hide before being buried in the village refuse or along the river and creek banks. 765 614 778

The custom of bringing back the skulls of those who died or were killed while away from the village was continued until the Mandan were placed on individual land allotments. When one died while away from the village, the body was wrapped in robes and either placed in a tree, a crevice among the rocks, or a shallow grave covered with rocks. The body was left there for one year, when it became the duty of the father's sister to make provision for its return. If the summer buffalo-hunting camp was in the vicinity of the grave, she would pay some man to obtain the skull, or she secured it herself if the party passed near by. The skull was wrapped in white sage and carried in a soft leather bag. It was considered sacred and was prayed to. Young men who addressed it as father would request permission to fast near it. When the party reached the village, the skull became a part of one of the skull circles. 765 778

After the Mandan were placed on individual allotments on the Fort Berthold Reservation, it was customary to place the dead in boxes and trunks or to wrap them in robes and blankets which were placed in crevices in rocks or on high hills. Those who were closely affiliated with one of the churches were prevailed upon to have their dead buried in the church cemetery. Some bodies were unburied as late as 1928. For a number of years after moving onto individual allotments, a skull circle was maintained on a hill a short distance east of the Tom Smith farm, but in later years the skulls were not removed. 764 177

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PART II

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INTRODUCTION TO MANDAN CEREMONIALISM

796 FEW Mandan bundle transfer ceremonies had been performed
177 during the thirty years preceding this study, and the information secured on the former ceremonial activities was based on observations and participation of informants or the informal instructions received of former bundle-holders. Medicine feasts to the bundles were held at irregular intervals, but the forced change from village to rural life when the tribe was placed on family allotments scattered throughout the Reservation, the extinction of the buffalo, and the termination of intertribal warfare in large measure led to the abandonment of the ceremonies. The first of the major ceremonies to be dropped was the annual summer Okipa, which was last performed about 1890. At the time this study was being made, the old women of the Goose Society were accustomed to meet annually during the summer, and some of the old men were using the fish traps for which the ancient rites were still employed. A few men still maintained eagle-trapping lodges along the Little Missouri River, where they were accustomed to go during the fall months to trap eagles and hunt deer.

796 Most of the principal tribal bundles were preserved by the
778 children of former custodians. White Calf had the Lone Man bundle; Calf Woman had the buffalo masks for the Okipa and a Woman Above bundle; Ben Benson had two of the turtle drums, and Scattercorn had the other; Scattercorn also had Moves Slowly's Hoita and Corn ceremony bundles except the portions that had been accidentally burned; Foolish Woman had his father's Star bundle; Little Owl had Hits on Back's Sigaraga bundle; Mrs. White Duck had the Skull bundle. Feasts were sometimes made to these bundles by relatives largely out of respect to the old people, but lavish disposal of goods was no longer practiced. Crows Heart and his sister, Front Woman, were still making offerings to the eagles and hawks in the spring

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796 778 at the time of the first thunder. The Eagle-trapping bundle rites were still being performed, and a few old people doctored those who were ill or had suffered an accident.

796 778 124 The secret character of Mandan ceremonialism contributed to the difficulty of the study. Each Mandan ceremony was secret, and rules providing for the performance of and acquaintance with the secret rites differed somewhat between bundles. In general, it was not possible to complete the study of a ceremony with a single informant, owing to overlapping rights in the bundle, one informant being unwilling to divulge information belonging to another.

This study doubtlessly does not cover all ceremonies performed by the Mandan after 1837. Informants claim that all tribal rites were preserved through the smallpox epidemics of 1782 and 1837. It was possible to obtain intelligible accounts of all rites mentioned by early travelers to the Mandan villages. There was, however, a reduction in the number of duplicate bundles for the same ceremony. When reductions occurred, the [784] original bundle was preserved. The individual rites introduced from time to time by the medium of vision instruction were usually of short duration in the tribe and died out before becoming inaugurated into the tribal ceremonial structure. A few instances of vision bundle experiences are cited in chapter v, "Personal Bundles and Vision Experiences." Had time permitted, several hundred vision experiences could have been recorded, since they were related on many social and ceremonial occasions. Informants never volunteered to relate the sacred myths or to supply data on a ceremony, nor did they volunteer information to the effect that they owned certain rights. They would, however, divulge the names of others having knowledge of tribal bundles. The writer found that better co-operation was received from an informant when a simple feast was made to the bundle. It removed the fear informants felt when relating the rites.

The writer was impressed with the extreme conservatism of the Mandan. Informants frequently requested a retranslation of a significant portion of a rite to make certain that it had been properly recorded. They recognized variations in myths be-

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tween bundle lines. Some informants thought that these bundles must have originated in different villages because their older people who were living when the tribe occupied two villages had spoken of ceremonial differences between the villages. They believed that these ceremonial differences went back to mythological times when the ceremonies were first taught to the people. 796 778 124

Mandan tribal sacred bundles had these elements in common: each contained objects representing the characters and incidents of the myth; the rites were dramatizations of the sacred myths; there were prescribed rules of behavior when in the presence of the bundle or while it was open; an incense was always burned while the bundle rites were being performed or when the rites were terminated; there were songs and a sacred myth which belonged to the bundle; each bundle included a buffalo skull; the ritualistic lore was secret, and payment must be made to the bundle-owner for a knowledge of the rites; there were fixed rules of inheritance for the sale and transfer of the bundle; tribal sanction of a bundle transfer was at a public feast to which those owning related bundles were invited; feasts were made to the bundle by nonowners as a social obligation; and bundle-owners on occasion would give Bundle Renewal feasts to their own bundles to which were invited those owning important tribal bundles. 796 778 773 424

The Mandan recognize four seasons which were associated with the spring, summer, autumn, and winter buffalo. Since informants could not agree on any other division of the year, it is highly unlikely that they recognized any other uniform divisions. The year count was important in relating events. Ceremonies were, in general, evenly divided over the year. Ceremonies for success in warfare or doctoring were held at any time. On the other hand, rites relating to agriculture were begun in late winter when the first water birds appeared and were held throughout the summer until the southern flight of these birds had passed. The Okipa was always held during the warmest months, while the Snow Owl, Red Stick, and White Buffalo Cow ceremonies to bring the winter buffalo herds were always held 796 805 221

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221 796 805 during the coldest months. Table 3 gives the approximate time of the principal tribal ceremonies.

778 773 The Mandan attach great significance to the sacred myths associated with the sacred bundles, and informants constantly explained the relationship of one bundle to another in terms of in-

TABLE 3

APPROXIMATE TIME AND PURPOSE OF PRINCIPAL TRIBAL CEREMONIES

796 221

Approximate Month	Ceremony	Purpose of Ceremony
June to August	Okipa	General tribal welfare Buffalo fertility rites
May	Corn Fertility	To insure good gardens
March to October	Goose Society	Rains and good growing conditions for crops
August to October	Harvest festival	Thanksgiving rites for crops
March to October	Old Woman Who Never Dies	Rain and good growing conditions to insure good gardens
January to January	Old Woman Who Never Dies	Doctoring and warfare
March to October	Corn Pipe	Fertility
September to November	Eagle-trapping rites	To capture eagles
July to September	Eagle-trapping rites	To trap fish
January to January	Eagle-trapping rites	To corral buffaloes
April	Eagle-trapping rites	Success in hunting or warfare
April and November	Big Bird	Warfare Rain
January to January	Small Hawk	Warfare
June to August	Small Hawk	To call buffaloes
December to March	Snow Owl	To call winter buffaloes
January to January	Snow Owl	Warfare
March to October	Snow Owl	Rain
January to January	People Above	Warfare Doctoring
January to January	Shell Robe	Warfare Doctoring
December to March	Red Stick	To call winter buffaloes
December to March	White Buffalo Cow	To call winter buffaloes
January to January	Bear	Doctoring and warfare
March to November	Snake	Rain Doctoring Warfare

778 773 cidents mentioned in these myths. For that reason, the sacred myths belonging to the various bundle rites were recorded as completely as possible and appear in this study in much the same form and detail as they were recorded. It was a customary practice for a Mandan to invite to his lodge one having important tribal bundles and pay him to have the myths related privately. Those having a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were held in high esteem. The sacred myths were considered

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secret and were never related publicly. One paying to have the myths related did not receive rights in the ceremony. Instructions in the rites and songs were divulged only to those purchasing the bundle rites.

So far as the writer was able to determine, the ceremonial pattern had been established prior to A.D. 1800 and underwent little change in subsequent years. There was, however, a greater display of goods after the introduction of the horse and the establishment of trading posts.

Matthews wrote: "The work of Prince Maximilian contains the most accurate and extensive information regarding their customs and manners. Notwithstanding the great changes in the tribe since 1834, the majority of his notes might be used without alteration in describing the Mandan of to-day."[1]

The Mandan preserved their rich ceremonialism after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, according to Matthews, who added:

> The square, the medicine-lodge, with its four poles in front, surmounted by sacrificial effigies, and the ark, as they may be seen to-day, seem to be the almost exact counterparts of those which were seen in the old Mandan village at Ft. Clark, in 1832 and 1833, by George Catlin and the Prince of New-Wied, if we are to judge by the drawings they have given us. Within the temple and around the ark, the Mandans still perform the ceremony of the Okeepa, which Catlin so accurately describes. The awful severities of the rite, have however, been somewhat mitigated since his day.[2]

In addition to the sacred myths associated with the bundles, there were numerous stories of a magical character which were bought and sold. A few of these myths were recorded in the field but are omitted from this book, since a number of them have already appeared in print.[3] The most popular of these were: (1) the exploits of Spring Buffalo and Corn Silk; (2) Stiff Robe and the Buffaloes of the Four Seasons; (3) Four Wings; (4) Snake Village and Buffalo Village; (5) Sun as a Gambler and Cannibal; and (6) the Pet Magpie.[4]

The First Creator myths also belong in this category. Since this mythological character had a dual personality, in organizing

1. Washington Matthews, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Language of the Hidatsa* (New York, 1873–74), p. 14.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
3. See Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [Boston, 1938]).
4. See also the myths recorded below in chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping Ceremony."

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773 the material for this volume, myths of a less sacred character
128 were excluded.

Mandan-Hidatsa eagle-trapping rites were treated collectively in this study, since tribal differences were no greater than differences appearing in separate bundle lines. This is due possibly to recent borrowing by the Hidatsa, because the territory eastward of their historic range, from which they moved in late prehistoric times, was unsuited to eagle-trapping.

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Chapter IV

THE OKIPA CEREMONY

796 198 THE Okipa[1] ceremony was an elaborate and complicated affair. It was a dramatization of the creation of the earth, its people, plants, and animals, together with the struggles the Mandan endured to attain their present position. The history of the tribe was a part of the secret lore held by the officers of the ceremony. The uninformed could pay to have the creation myths told but could not repeat them. The songs, chants, and rituals were conducted by men who by virtue of inheritance and purchase had acquired that right, but the words were unintelligible to the population at large, being, according to tradition, in an ancient Nuptadi dialect. Only the legitimate officers understood their meaning, and that information was never divulged to another except when purchase was being made into the ceremony. The few phrases recognized, such as "Corn Mother" and "Thunder Father," were insufficient to understand the substance of the rites.

796 361 Certain arrangement of lodges within the village was necessary for the performance of the ceremony. Each village had an open circle some one hundred and fifty feet in diameter reserved for this ceremony, and lodges were not permitted in that section. A cedar post, surrounded by a plank wall, occupied the center of this open circle, and lodges were arranged around the circle with their entrances toward the cedar.

361 346 The ceremonial lodge was to the north of the cedar and was a part of the row of lodges facing toward the open circle. It was distinguishable from the other lodges by its flat side at the entrance (see Fig. 13), which was to the south. It was so oriented that the entrance faced in the direction Lone Man[4] went when he left the tribe.

Since lodges were not permitted within the open circle, nor were ashes and refuse deposited there, through normal accumu-

1. The word *okipE'* means "to look alike" and refers to the Bull Dancers, who were of the same stature and were painted and dressed alike for the dances.

4 [culture hero; impersonated in the Okipa ceremony - Analyst]

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361 lation of refuse in the remainder of the village this open circle
346 took on the character of a sunken area within the village. This open area appears as frequently near the edges of the abandoned village sites as in the approximate centers. These sunken areas
[172] within the ruins of ancient sites downstream from the last Mandan villages distinguish ancient Mandan villages from those of other tribes. In ruins such as occur at the Larson or Motsiff sites, where there was a considerable accumulation of refuse within the village, the sunken area was very pronounced. At the Deapolis Site, where the interlodge refuse was thin, the open circle appeared as a slight depression with a low mound where the cedar stood.

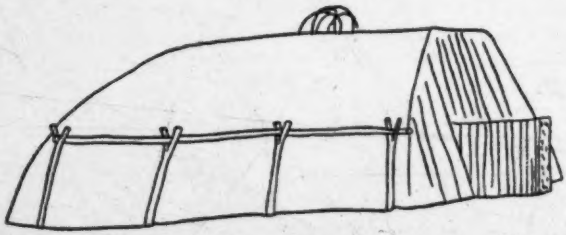

FIG. 13.—Plan of Okipa ceremonial lodge. (Drawn by White Calf.)

361 The three Hidatsa village groups in general lacked the open
171 circle arrangement of lodges, although the Hidatsa proper in later years marked off a section within the village where dancing was done and where lodges were not permitted. There was neither a cedar, special ceremonial lodge, nor inner circle of lodges facing a common center. The Awatixa and Awaxawi villages lacked all semblance of lodge orientation, leaving only sufficient space between for corn scaffolds and passageways.

The Arikara plan shows considerable variation as to age. The protohistoric and early historic sites frequently had a special ceremonial lodge in the approximate center of the village, but all villages did not have ceremonial lodges. A limited area adjacent to the ceremonial lodge was used for the dances, but the neighboring lodges were not arranged in a circle, and there was no orientation of lodge entrances toward the center. More recent historic Arikara villages had definite open circles with orientation of lodges toward the center, where the ceremonial lodge

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stood. This lodge was circular in outline and differed from the regular earth lodges only by its greater size. 361 171

The open-circle concept was definitely established among the Mandan at a very early date according to the archeological evidence from the Heart River region.[2] There is some evidence in the Grand River region of the Mandan-type open-circle village arrangement, but the situation there is in most instances obscured by subsequent Arikara occupations.

Lone Man, according to tradition, established the custom of leaving an open area within each village for dancing. Later, when he was leaving the tribe, he erected a Red-painted cedar, as a symbol of his body and of all the Mandans who had lived before. The cedar was surrounded by a wall of cottonwood planks as a symbol of the wall he erected to protect the people from the flood. A water willow surrounding the planks marked the highest advance of the flood waters. He also established the custom of maintaining a special ceremonial lodge in each village and taught the ceremonies associated with its construction. The lodge was a symbol of Dog Den Butte where Hoita (the speckled eagle) imprisoned all living things. Six central posts were used making it oblong in form, with a flat side facing the open circle.[3] Lone Man also established the WəxikEna and Tamisik clans and indicated their seating arrangement in the ceremonial lodge. He divided the lodge into two halves, the left half or east side belonging to the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, and five other clans of that moiety. The right side belonged to the WaxikEna, Tamisik, Tamixixiks and three other clans of that moiety. 773 776 346

According to the sacred myths the moiety and clan system was as follows prior to the smallpox epidemics: 773 614 616

West-Side Moiety (Buffalo)	East-Side Moiety (Corn)
Waxi'kEna (Tell Bad News)	Sipuska'numak (Prairie Chicken People)
Tami'sik (no meaning)	Ipoka'numak (Speckled Eagle People)
Tami'xixiks (Bad Strap)	Mato'domak (Bear People)
[Three extinct clans whose names are not now remembered]	MasE'domak (Red Hill People)
	Amaka'domak (Badger People)
	HoxExaka'numak (Crow People)
	Manakasa'numak (People in Grove)

2. By 1500 in sites of the Huff focus in villages of rectangular lodges.

3. This was the habitation lodge which was retained for ceremonial purposes when the circular earth lodge was adopted shortly before 1600.

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614 Prior to the first smallpox epidemic there were thirteen named clans, six clans dying out as a result of that epidemic. The three 616 above clans of the west-side moiety survived together with the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, Crow, and Bear clans of the opposite moiety. The Bad Straps were assimilated into the Tamisik clan, while the Crow and Bear clans either died out or were assimilated with the Prairie Chickens after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

The west-side moiety was established by Lone Man, who 776 represented the village activities and peace functions of the 616 tribe. The other moiety was divided into clans by Clay on the 614 Face, who promised to give the people sitting opposite Lone Man's moiety names if he returned from a successful war ex- 773 pedition. As he returned from this expedition singing, he saw prairie chickens which were making a loud noise as they ate, the speckled eagles flying in the air, the bears in the timber, the snake people living in the red buttes near Old Woman Who Never Dies' lodge, the badger near his burrow on the prairie, the crows which were cawing, and mysterious people living in the small brush thickets. These were the names he gave to the people of his moiety.

Of the ten clans listed above, four survived the smallpox epi- 614 demic of 1837. They were WaxikEna, Tamisik, Prairie Chicken, and Speckled Eagle. Scattercorn's father, Moves Slowly, an officer in the Okipa, would call the name of each Nuptadi clan on the last day, and those impersonating the bulls would bellow as each was named. He had heard that the officers from the other village would formerly call the names of thirteen clans, but while at Fort Clark they dropped six extinct clans from the rites.

346 Each moiety owned its side of the ceremonial lodge. When erecting a new lodge or repairing the old one, the clans forming 616 a moiety worked as a unit on their own side. Those fasting dur- 614 ing the Okipa occupied places inside the lodge at the wall according to clan. Those of the WaxikEna were next to the door on the right side. The Tamisik occupied the balance of that side. On the left side the Prairie Chicken clan sat near to the door, and the Speckled Eagle clan occupied the remaining space on that side.

050 The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of

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The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of the WaxikEna clan who was known as the custodian of the Okipa lodge.[4] His family lived with him in the lodge. The WaxikEna clan, to which Lone Man, traditional founder of the ceremony, belonged, met and selected one of their number to occupy the lodge and protect the ceremonial equipment left there by the various officers of the ceremony. The Mandan, upon joining the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, built a ceremonial lodge and selected Arrowhead Earrings as custodian. His family lived in the lodge except when it was needed for a ceremony, at which time they removed their lodge property. The family was paid for the use of the lodge or, as Calf Woman explained, for the trouble they had been put to in preparing the lodge for the ceremony. When Arrowhead Earrings died, the lodge should have been taken over by another member of the WaxikEna clan. His son-in-law, Never Eats Marrow, although of the Hidatsa Knife clan, was held in such high respect by the Mandan that he was intrusted with the lodge, and his daughter, Calf Woman, who supplied much of the information about this ceremony, was born in this lodge. She ultimately acquired the buffalo masks used in the ceremony through purchase from the WaxikEna clan after the buffaloes became extinct and the ceremony was no longer being performed.[5]

The repair of the cedar[6] and the wall inclosing it was also in-

4. Catlin is possibly in error when he says: "The 'Medicine Lodge,' the largest in the village and seventy-five feet in diameter, with four images (sacrifices of different-coloured and costly cloths) suspended on poles above it, was considered by these people as a sort of temple, held as strictly sacred, being built and used solely for these four days' ceremonies, and closed during the rest of the year" (George Catlin, *O-Kee-Pa* [Philadelphia, 1867], p. 81).

5. This is an instance of shifting from clan inheritance commonly occurring since 1845.

6. Scattercorn in recent years was considered custodian of the sacred cedar, which was placed west of Crows Heart's home. Members of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans were expected to attend and assist in the repair. Others would come to make offerings to the cedar at that time, which in recent years consisted chiefly of calicoes. She used one song during the ceremonial repairing of the cedar and inclosure, and it was directed to the four directions.

At the east side of the cedar she would sing:

o-ta'-nu-mą-kE (east people)	masa'numąkE (north people)
mikaxo' (big herd. Buffalo cows.)	maxEnu (one)
EhE'nakahoc (I am saying)	

At the west side she sang:

ota'numąkE	masa'numąkE
mikaxo'	nupa (two)
EhE'nakahoc	

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778 trusted to the WaxikEna clan, who could take any articles left
793 at the cedar as an offering for their own use. The amount of
614 goods placed at the cedar during a year was considerable, since
796 sometime during the performance of every ceremony and age-grade society dance a visit was made to the cedar to ask the blessings of Lone Man, and some article of value was placed there. In the case of strictly winter ceremonies held in the winter camp where a cedar was never erected, offerings frequently were not made to the cedar. The cedar together with the surrounding wall and willow band was called Minimi'tahEdE, meaning "the retreat of the waters."

778 In theory, goods deposited at the cedar became the property
614 of any member of the WaxikEna clan who happened to be passing by. In practice, however, the goods finally reached the
421 old men and women of that clan. Those appropriating too much goods for personal use lost status in the village. Those living near the cedar had an advantage over those more distantly removed in reaching the goods first. Apparently there was no tendency to take the offerings away at once. Scattercorn told how a very beautiful robe hung on the wall several days before a man removed it and then not until a number of people had gathered there and to whom he announced that he had observed that a feeble clan brother was in need of a new robe since the one he was then wearing was shabby.

621 Each fixed village unit had its own complete set of officers.
619 Crows Heart explained that the tribe was formerly divided into a number of fixed bands, each one occupying one or more vil-
778 lages. His mother belonged to the Is'topa ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves"). There were also the Nuptadi, Ma'nana'-rE[7] ("Those Who Quarreled"), Awigaxa,[8] and Nuitadi. Each of

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At the north side she sang:

o-ta'-nu-mą-kE	masa'numąkE
mi-ka-xo'	na'mini (three)
EhE'nakahoc	

At the south side she sang:

ota'numąkE	masa'numąkE
mikaxo'	to'pa (four)
EhE'nakahoc.	

7. Other informants thought that the Mananada was not a fixed band but any small group who separated from a principal village when quarrels occurred.

8. According to tradition, this group lived near the Grand River until late prehistoric times and did not practice the Okipa until they moved to the Painted Woods

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these groups set up a cedar whenever a new village was built. 621
Each had its own set of officers, but the turtles originally be- 619
longed to the Nuptadi band into which the original Lone Man
was once born, and it was necessary to borrow them whenever 778
the Okipa was being performed in one of the other villages. They
were the common property of the WaxikEna clan. Crows Heart
explained that quarrels sometimes occurred in a village, with
part of the population breaking away, but that in such in-
stances no cedar would be erected or ceremonial lodge built
until it was decided to make the village a permanent one. Scat-
tercorn thought that the groups were stable, although a few
families were always leaving one group and joining another. She
thought that fission of villages was a difficult thing, as new
Okipa officers would be needed.

The Mandan have a number of creation stories which were a 773
part of the sacred myths of the bundles and their associated
ceremonies. The sacred myth of the Corn ceremony relates the
exploits of the Corn People, who formerly lived below the sur-
face of the earth beside a lake before coming to the surface under
the chieftainship of Good Furred Robe. The Buffalo People,
who were the performers of the Okipa, were created on the
earth near Heart River by Lone Man after the lands were made.
In mythological times there was an earth-lodge village of hawks
to the east, bears to the north, eagles and other large birds in-
cluding the Sun and Moon in the sky, to mention but a few of
them. The Heart River region became a meeting place of
peoples of all these groups. The Corn People migrated north-
ward and united with the Buffalo People. Other peoples were
added from time to time through intermarriage and were identi-
fied according to their respective bundles. It was believed that [787]
the visions one had were dependent on the mythological group
to which he belonged.

The Animal rites of the Okipa ceremony are reported to have 796
originally belonged to the Buffalo People, who were created in 773
the vicinity of Heart River by Lone Man and are a dramatization
of the freeing of the animals from Dog Den Butte. As new groups
united with them, modifications were instituted in the cere-

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region shortly before the first smallpox epidemic. Their emphasis was on corn rites instituted by Good Furred Robe while living far to the south.

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796 mony. In the beginning, the people lived an extremely simple
773 life without tools and weapons. At that time there were no societies and only a few simple rites, one of which was a Buffalo Dance in which one man danced. It is believed that, as time passed, the people acquired skills along many lines; there was a corresponding development of mutual obligations; new societies and ceremonies were adopted which grew in complexity. It is also believed that there was a parallel development of the Okipa ceremony from the simple Buffalo Dance to its complex form as performed until seventy-five years ago, and that the cultural growth of the tribe was divided into four periods which were represented by the four days of the ceremony.

The principal characters in the ceremony were Lone Man (NumakmaxEna), Speckled Eagle (Hoita), Giver of Ceremony (Koni'saka), and the singers.

796 Lone Man was without question the tribe's most important
776 deity. The original Lone Man belonged to the WaxikEna clan,
614 and a bundle was founded which contained all the articles used by the Lone Man impersonator during the ceremony. Inheri-
778 tance was through the WaxikEna clan. Before the smallpox epidemics, there were at least two similar and graded bundles in each village, and the men holding rights in the Okipa met to select from their number those who would officiate during the next ceremony.

796 According to tradition the original Lone Man established the
778 rule that the bundle should belong to the WaxikEna clan. However, before he left the tribe, he desired a white buffalo
424 robe owned by his brother's son. The young man offered to exchange his robe for Lone Man's bundle, and this transaction was made, the bundle and office passing temporarily from the WaxikEna clan. The principal bundle was kept, after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, at Nuptadi Village, and a secondary
[562] bundle was kept by the other village group. Women could inherit and buy the bundle but could not officiate in the rites. Beaver's brother owned a bundle originally at Nuptadi Village prior to 1837. When he died, his sister transferred the bundle to her daughters, Shells and Grows First, who were both of the WaxikEna clan. Little Eagle, who had married the two sisters, paid them for the right to officiate in the ceremony. He then

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paid Big Turtle, Hoita in the same ceremony, for instructions. Little Eagle, who was of the Speckled Eagle clan, was killed in warfare, and Cuts His Horn (WaxikEna clan) bought the right to officiate from the two sisters, and, not being a close relative, a new bundle was established by Big Turtle and the other men having Okipa rights. He officiated once or twice until there was a male in the main bundle line qualified to officiate. Two Chiefs (Prairie Chicken clan) married the two sisters and assumed the office of Lone Man after paying to receive instructions from Big Turtle and the other officers of the Okipa. White Calf, son of Shells (corn) and Little Eagle, bought the rights in the bundle from his mother and received his instructions from Two Chiefs. He never officiated as Lone Man in the ceremony after acquiring the bundle, since the ceremony was prohibited by the army officer in charge of the Reservation. White Calf was asked who would be the legitimate successor after him, and he gave this explanation:

> I could sell my rights to men of my clan, the WaxikEna, three times while still retaining my original rights. Usually only one or two sales were made. Those sales would be to men who had dreamed of Lone Man. People had a great respect for original bundles which had passed through many hands, so possession of new bundles did not give one much prestige unless he had given many feasts to the bundle, and that was hard to do.
>
> Who would receive my original bundle depended on many things. If my wife who helped me put on the feast when I got the bundle were living and had remarried to one of my clan, her husband would have first chance to take the bundle. If she were not alive, then my brothers would have first chance. If none were living, my sister could take the bundle, and her husband could get instructions from the other Okipa officers before officiating in the ceremony. Then the bundle would pass to her son when he was mature.

Before a bundle was transferred or sold, there was a period of private instruction by either one holding Lone Man rights or one of the other officers of the ceremony. The transfer was made final at a medicine feast attended by all persons holding Okipa rights. Goods and food were accumulated beforehand. Eminent men of the tribe offered their prayers for the giver's success and received some articles for their part in the ceremony. This public feast was a means of notifying the village of the legitimacy of the bundle transfer.

The bundles were identical as to content. They contained the following items:

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778 1. A buffalo-skin apron with buffalo-hair strands attached
2. Flat staff with the moon and thunderbird carved on one side, a star and the sun on the other
3. A stuffed raven
4. Two-piece wooden pipe inlaid with a dark-colored stone
5. Jackrabbit-skin collar and anklets
6. Headdress of porcupine trimmed with jackrabbit skin
7. A set of buffalo teeth
8. A war-bonnet trailer of alternating raven and swan feathers
9. A buffalo-hair headdress with a stuffed owl attached
10. Four buffalo tails with white buffalo hair attached
11. A staff decoration consisting of a buffalo tail trimmed with weasel fur

Bundle-owners were custodians of the turtle drums, the sacred cedar, and the ceremonial lodge.

796 776 773 The office of Hoita ranked equal in importance with that of the Lone Man during the performance of the Okipa but otherwise was unimportant. Hoita or Speckled Eagle represented the People Above but had had no part in the creation of the earth according to the mythology. He was born into the tribe where he was recognized for his supernatural powers. Because of jealousy over a white buffalo robe, he imprisoned the animals in Dog Den Butte. When he learned that another who claimed to be his "son" through the medium of the "walking" ceremony was holding the Okipa, he freed the animals and agreed to co-operate with Lone Man in performing the Okipa.

796 614 The rule was that the Hoita should belong to either the WaxikEna or Tamisik clan, and there is no evidence that this rule was ever broken, at least in the memory of my informants. During the period of readjustment following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, Big Turtle (Tamisik clan) held the office. He sold rights in the office to Moves Slowly (WaxikEna clan), who impersonated Hoita, while Big Turtle served as director of the singers. Moves Slowly sold his rights to Iron Eyes (WaxikEna), who officiated, while Moves Slowly assisted the singers. The right to officiate in the Okipa ceremony was given at a public feast.

796 The Hoita directed the ceremonies performed inside the ceremonial lodge. He supervised the fasters and saw that none who had interrupted their fasting returned to the lodge. He directed the selection of characters represented in the dances and supervised the painting, indicating the time when each rite was to be

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796 performed so that the day and night were properly divided. Lone Man directed the re-enactment of the flood, ceremonies at the cedar, and the use of the turtles as drums. The Hoita could not leave the lodge during the ceremony but sat in his place without speaking while the rites were being performed. This was symbolic of the time he sat in Dog Den Butte holding all the animals prisoners.

Eight singers were required; six used the rolled hides or the turtles, three beating toward the "upstream" and three toward [424] the "downstream" direction. The other two singers carried rattles. Singers bought the right to officiate, and a checkup of [614] clan affiliation of singers reveals an absence of clan restrictions. Likewise anyone having Lone Man or Hoita rights could be a singer providing he was not officiating in another capacity. There were usually many with singer rights so that turns were taken.

One man was selected by the other officers to impersonate the blue heron when none owned that right. He sat at the head of the lodge throughout the ceremony without speaking. The ceremonial paraphernalia which he wore were returned to the officers at the close of the ceremony.

The above-mentioned officers formed the nucleus of the ceremony and constituted, together with those who had previously given the ceremony, the Okipa Religious Society. To these men, meeting in council, was intrusted the duty of selecting qualified young men to give the ceremony. It is doubtful that any man could rise to the position of head or second chief who had not at one time given the ceremony. My informants were in agreement that the two highest chiefs would belong to the Okipa Religious Society by virtue, not of being officers of the Okipa, but because they had given the ceremony.

The desire to give the ceremony was the result of a vision ex- 796 perience wherein one had seen buffaloes singing the Okipa 787 songs. The vision recipient would then have a feast prepared in his lodge, to which he invited the Okipa Religious Society. After the feast he would relate his vision experience and ask for an interpretation. Not all men dreaming of the buffalo bulls singing Okipa songs were permitted to give the ceremony. A young man having such a dream would tell his parents of his supernatural

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796 experience. They would know the qualities one must possess to go through the ordeals of the ceremony. They would appraise
787 their son's ability to meet these requirements. If he were too young or his wives were not industrious or loyal, they would advise him instead to give a feast to the men having Okipa rights, and they would, in turn, pray for his success, giving him some article to wear when out to war. It was necessary to eliminate some candidates. Even then, there were two or three performances in each village every summer as a rule. Sons of former Okipa makers received preference, as young men were expected to maintain their fathers' record.

When the young man having a suitable vision had invited the Okipa Religious Society in and had described his vision, the members would discuss the matter among themselves. They would either compliment him on his good fortune in receiving supernatural instruction to perform the ceremony if they considered him worthy or, if in doubt, they would tell him that it appeared that he was to give the ceremony some time and advise him to fast much, offer feasts to the older men, be helpful to the old people, and go out to war. He was then on probation. If successful, some member of the society would inform him that his former dream was genuine and that he should begin preparations to give the ceremony the following year when the willows were in full leaf. Since there was little inclination to dis-
796 pense with the village summer buffalo hunt, it was necessary to set a time for Okipa performances so as to avoid confliction. When one Okipa performance was planned, it was usually held after the village had returned from the hunt. If there were to be two performances, the first was given before the hunt and the second one upon their return.

As soon as a candidate received permission to give the ceremony, the chiefs' criers announced the news through the village that "a certain man will have the Bulls dance when the next water willows are in full leaf."

According to tradition, the Okipa must be given every summer to insure an abundance of buffaloes and general good fortune. Occasions arose when none had pledged the ceremony for a particular summer. Anyone could then volunteer to give the ceremony and not be required to accumulate goods as payments

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to the performers, or one who had given the ceremony could volunteer. Men giving the ceremony more than once were highly respected. Four Bears gave the ceremony a second time even after he had already become second chief. 796 [554]

Though the ceremony was long, candidates offering to perform the Okipa were acquainted with most of the songs, dances, and prayers beforehand, so the task of instructing the candidate did not require a great deal of time. Since most young men hoped that sometime they would be selected to be a Bull Dancer, they noted carefully the role performed by the Bulls.

It took a great deal of courage to become an Okipa Maker, and the tribe spoke of those who had done so as the bravest men and looked to them for leadership. It required a considerable amount of property to give the Okipa, for the giver was expected to prepare feasts for the officers of the Okipa during the time he received instructions. He was expected to have at least one hundred articles consisting of robes, elkskin dresses, dress goods, shirts with porcupine work, knives, and men's leggings. Usually one family could not acquire so much personal property. 796 431

The Okipa Maker's wives began to gather clothing as soon as permission was granted their husband to direct the ceremony, which was usually a year in advance. The women called in their female relatives, and sometimes their women's societies helped them. The man asked help of his mothers and sisters as well as the members of his own and his father's clan. As a last resort, he gave a clan feast which all the members of his clan attended. There would be speeches about clan loyalty, and the old men would tell of the great men of the tribe who belonged to their clan and how "this young man has brought honor to us by offering to give the Okipa." Each speech would end with an appeal for goods of some sort to be used in the coming summer ceremony "which was, after all, given for our benefit." People gave freely for the benefit of a clan brother. 796 431 614

Each family of the tribe felt itself to be benefited by the summer Okipa ceremony and expected to give something. The Okipa Maker took his pipe to each lodge where people of his clan lived, placing it before the door, and the women brought out their contributions. Okipa Makers able to produce a large 796 431 554

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796 431 554 number of robes and other clothing to be given away were especially highly respected by the tribe.

The Okipa Maker was not permitted to kill any buffaloes or 796 to do any butchering during the period he was under pledge to 784 give the Okipa, nor was he permitted to eat any of the entrails from the buffalo. It was believed to have done so would have angered the buffaloes.

796 One of the oldest men of the WaxhikEna clan lived in the Okipa lodge with his family. He was custodian of such ceremonial objects as might be kept there to be used in succeeding Okipa ceremonies. When the time came to prepare for the ceremony, the NumakmaxEna gave instructions that the lodge be cleared of all the family's personal effects. Four men with Holy Women bundle rights swept the floor, carried out the ashes, and sprinkled the floor to settle the dust, after which sage was scattered about on the floor. Each received a robe from the Okipa Maker for his services. No women were permitted to go [562] inside the lodge after it was cleaned until the ceremony had ended.

The one who was to represent Lone Man asked four men owning ceremonial bundles of The Woman Above (Sun ceremony) to paint the interior of the lodge.[9] At the last performance of the Okipa, the entire interior of the earth lodge was painted, the west half being black and the east half red. Formerly, only a narrow band about four inches wide was painted on each post, black on the west posts and red on the east ones. Woman Above bundle-owners each received a robe for painting the posts.

Opening the Okipa lodge.—When all was ready, the crier (the *old man of WaxikEna clan living in the medicine lodge) went* through the village before daylight announcing that the Lone Man would open the Okipa lodge the next morning at sunrise in order that the ceremony could be given. The head chief,[10] second chief,[11] council of old men, and all the owners of important tribal bundles painted their faces black and went to the head

9. There were only three Woman Above bundle-owners when the last performance was held, and one of these belonged to a woman, Calf Woman. The two other owners, Ears and Clam Necklace, painted the lodge with the assistance of two Hidatsa men owning similar bundles.

10. Red Buffalo Corn was head chief at Like-a-Fishhook Village.

11. Bad Gun was second chief at Like-a-Fishhook Village.

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chief's lodge, where they waited for Lone Man. Dressed in his ceremonial paraphernalia, he came directly toward the village from the prairies to the south.[12] When he reached the village, he was met by the Black Mouth Society men (the police), who questioned him as to whether he was a friend or enemy until he had made known his identity and explained that he had come from his home on a high hill, generally associated with Buffalo Home Butte, in the south to open their Okipa lodge door for the buffalo dance. He was taken directly to the lodge by the custodian of the Okipa lodge, where the head men were assembled. There he told of the time when he lived with the Mandan. He told of the conflict with Hoita concerning a white buffalo robe and that he had once freed the animals from the Dog Den Butte so the Mandan would not starve. He told how he had saved them from the flood and that he had given them the turtles, sacred cedar, Okipa lodge, and the ceremony itself. He told them that he returned every year when the willow leaves were full grown to open their Okipa lodge. He was dressed in a wolf robe, and his body and face were painted white; he wore a headdress of porcupine hair fringed with jackrabbit fur, and on the top of this he had tied a stuffed raven. His collar and anklets were of jackrabbit skin. He carried a wooden pipe in the left hand and in the right hand a flattened ash club with the moon and thunderbird on one side, the morning star and the sun on the other.

The head chief sent the announcer through the village to order all the women and small children to stay in their lodges and to keep their dogs tied up inside while the Lone Man made the rounds of the village relating the origin of the people[13] and their struggles against starvation and floods. At lodges in which resided young men who were to be tortured during the ceremony, he secured knives which he took to the Okipa lodge to be used later in cutting the flesh of the ones undergoing the torture feature. He carried a bag of pemmican from which he gave each man a handful. Much of the day was spent in relating the history of the people and the manner of acquiring all the things he had given the people to make them happy.

12. At Like-a-Fishhook Village he approached from downstream, which was from an easterly direction.

13. Witnesses to this portion of the ceremony say that a very old language was used, the words being largely unintelligible.

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796 *The first evening.*—The ceremony began in the evening. The Okipa Maker carried in all the goods he had succeeded in collecting during the year and heaped them at the back of the lodge. Then he carried in a bag of specially prepared cornballs known as "four in one" because they contained ground corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers. He also brought in a sack of pemmican. A singer brought in a dry buffalo hide rolled up like [534] a cylinder to serve as a drum.[14]

796 For weeks previous to the performance of the Okipa, the clan leaders, old men, and the tribal medicine bundle-owners talked 787 to the young men, telling them of the importance of seeking visions during the Okipa. Older clan brothers advised specific 785 young men to fast. Men who had been successful warriors, hunters, or doctors attributed much of their good luck to the powers that they had acquired while fasting or hanging from the roof of the Okipa lodge by means of leather thongs fastened through their skin. The result was that a larger number of young men came to the Okipa lodge to fast through the four days of the ceremony. After uniting with the Hidatsa, many young Mandans preferred to fast and go through the torture feature while on eagle-trapping or buffalo-hunting expeditions as the women of the Hidatsa and Arikara tribes did not observe the same rules. The fasters came in directly after the Okipa Maker had completed carrying in the robes, cornballs, and pemmican, and ranged in age from boys of eight years to middle-aged men of thirty-five years. Each was naked and painted according to his own inclination and carried a shield and bow in one hand and the father's medicine bundle in the other.[15] The quiver with the bow and arrows in it was hung back of the faster, and the medicine bundle was attached to a small twig stuck into the ground in front of him. Each carried in a buffalo skull for a pillow and sage brush for a bed. All the fasters arranged themselves around the wall, the Tamisik-WaxikEna division being on the west side, and the other half on the east

14. This dry hide was symbolic of the first Okipa in the Dog Dens when only a dry hide served as a drum through the whole ceremony performed by Hoita. For the west-side Mandans it represented one of the periods of tribal history before the turtle drums were acquired.

15. Many had no medicine bundles but brought one belonging to the father, thinking that they might have good luck thereafter.

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side. The lodge would be full of fasters the first night. Men who had had good dreams came in only to fast a short time.

The hide drum was to the west side of the southwest post 796

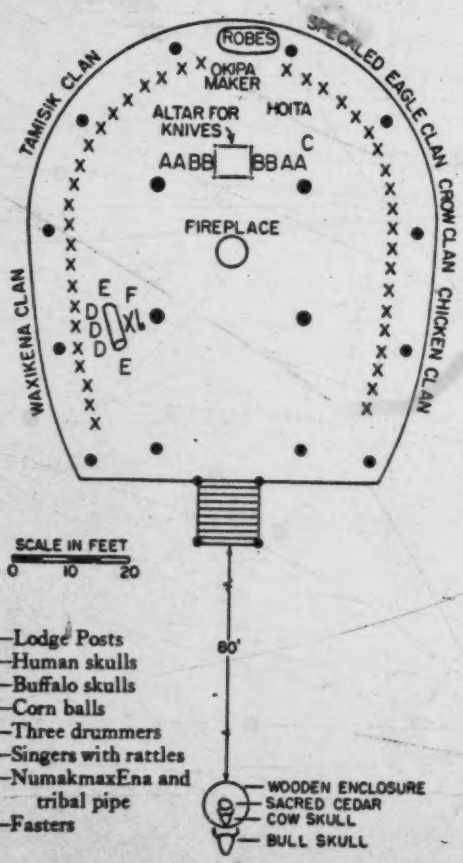

FIG. 14.—Seating arrangement for first night of Okipa

near where the fasters of the WaxikEna clan sat, and the three drummers, called the Blue Herons (Hox'ka), sat just back of it.[16] The three drummers were painted red with eagle feathers in their hair and had objects from their own medicine bundles worn around their ankles. Two men serving as rattlers sat at

16. They were called Blue Heron because during the mythological period these birds were called in to pick up the worms beaten from the hide.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 each end of the drum. Lone Man sat in front of the drum dressed in his full ceremonial outfit, smoking his pipe, and eating of the pemmican placed before him. The altar was set up between the northeast and northwest posts of the lodge and so arranged that half was on each half of the lodge; that is, there would be two human skulls and two buffalo skulls, and two posts of the small four-post structure symbolic of the four posts of the universe, on each half of the lodge. The Bull Dancers' paraphernalia were on the four-post altar, and beneath it were the sharp-edged tools and splints to be used later in the torture feature of the ceremony (see Fig. 14).

The first act was the ceremonial transfer of Lone Man's pipe to the Okipa Maker to be used by him for the duration of the ceremony. Lone Man then called Hoita from his place to supervise the performance and to see that every detail of the dance, as given in the Dog Den Butte when he was in charge, was carried out.[17] The dance began within the Okipa lodge at once. At definite places in the dance, the drummers picked up the hide serving as a drum and moved it to the east by four stages. At midnight, when the dancing stopped, the drums were on the east side of the lodge. The fasters were expected to cry all night.

796 782 *First day.*—At daybreak the fasters turned their buffalo robes around so that the hair was on the outside and the head side of the robe was over their heads, imitating buffaloes. The three drummers[18] (Hoxka) came out of the Okipa lodge at sunrise, placed their rolled-up hide serving as a drum to the east side of the sacred cedar, and sat down back of the drum facing toward the entrance to the Okipa lodge. The two men with rattles next came out and sat down behind the drummers. When the drummers and rattlers were in their places, the Okipa Maker came out of the lodge dressed in an antelope hide with the head on,

17. Catlin says that Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (Lone Man) left the ceremony and village after the transfer of the pipe (George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* [Philadelphia, 1857], p. 253). Maximilian says that Numank-Machana (Lone Man) officiates again on the fourth day of the ceremony (*Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites [Cleveland, 1906], XXIII, 333).

18. Maximilian reports six drummers: "Three of the men must strike in the direction of the river downwards, and three in the direction upwards" (*ibid.*, p. 325). Six drummers was the correct number according to tradition. The number was reduced after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

worn like an apron. He wore the hair shed from a buffalo over his head and carried Lone Man's pipe and pemmican balls, which he placed on the ground in front of the drummers. Then he walked to the south side of the sacred cedar and stood on the buffalo skull he had previously placed there. Grasping the wooden planks inclosing the cedar with both hands and pressing his forehead against the wood, he asked Lone Man to hear him and send the people all they asked for, to bring the buffaloes near the villages, and to keep all bad luck away. 796 782

At the completion of the Okipa Maker's prayer and while he stood grasping the wooden inclosure, the drummers and rattlers began singing; this was the signal for the fasters to come out. They were dressed in their robes with the hair side out and hooked at each other in imitation of a herd of buffaloes as they danced toward the sacred cedar in a double line,[19] one line going to the east of the sacred cedar, the other to the west side. There they formed a straight line on the south side and danced forward and backward in front of the Okipa Maker, who continued his weeping, addressing the first Lone Man to help the people. When the drummers changed the song to one with a rapid tempo, the fasters and the Okipa Maker returned to the Okipa lodge, imitating a herd of buffaloes as they entered the lodge following the Okipa Maker. 796 535

The drummers, Okipa Maker, and fasters came out to dance four times the first day, and the procedure was the same on each occasion. They came out at sunrise, before noon, at mid-afternoon, and just before sunset.

Just before dark, after dancing outside had finished for the day, women brought willow firewood to the Okipa lodge, where it was placed in two piles on each side of the door. Women of the WaxikEna-Tamisik moiety placed theirs on the west side, while the other clans placed theirs on the east side. Male representatives of the two divisions of the tribe carried in the wood for the fire, since women were not permitted inside the lodge. The small boys and many of the young men left the Okipa lodge at the end of the first day, usually leaving from thirty to fifty fasters who intended to remain the entire four days without 796 562 796 785

19. Each half represented one of the moieties. The fasters were also symbolic of the animals held captive in Dog Den.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 food or water and to participate in the torture features. After the
785 Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, there were usually as many Hidatsas as Mandans fasting, but the moiety arrangement of fasters was observed. In fact, Hidatsas gave the ceremony as often as Mandans at this time.

796 The turtle drums remained in the lodges of their custodians during the first day of the ceremony. These turtles were con-
421 sidered tribal property in the larger sense, and the WaxikEna clan were their custodians. WaxikEna clansmen paid to hold
614 custodianship which could be revoked by clan action. Individuals of the WaxikEna clan were willing to buy the right to keep them when the Okipa was not being performed, otherwise they remained in the Okipa lodge under the charge of the old man living there. Keepers of the turtles treated them like other medicine bundles, making feasts for them and praying to them on various occasions.

796 At sunset the Lone Man impersonator dressed up in his cere-
787 monial outfit and went for the turtles. While the Mandan were living in two villages near Fort Clark, the turtles were kept at Nuptadi Village. He went to the owner of the big turtle, the leader of the turtles, and asked him for this turtle first. It was believed that he could predict the abundance of buffaloes through the year by the weight of the turtle drums for, it was said, that the turtles were heavy when the buffalo herds were going to be near the village. People were not allowed to cross his trail when he carried the turtles to the Okipa lodge. The three turtles replaced the rolled-up hide as drums that evening. Everyone awaited word from inside the Okipa lodge concerning the weight of the turtle drums. Soon after the turtles were in their places, the old man of the WaxikEna clan who was custodian of the Okipa lodge called through the village that "the turtles are very heavy and the buffaloes will be near the village so all the people can have enough to eat."

Each of the drummers continued through the ceremony, using the turtle drums. These drums were moved four times in the evening and reached the east side of the lodge at midnight, where they remained until sunrise.

796 *Second day.*—Before sunrise, young men not having an active part in the ceremony brought in green willow branches to be

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The sixth group was that of the "Black-tail Deer" and consisted of men over fifty years of age. There were two women in this band who served food and distributed fresh water during the dances. The men wore a crown of bears' claws. 561

There were a few other dances which were bought and sold, but which hardly deserve a place in the regular system. One of these was the dance of the "Half Shaven Head Band" which the lowest band could buy before reaching the proper age to buy into the "Soldier Band." Another was the "Old Dog Dance." The "Dog Band" could buy this of the "Buffalo Band" before becoming Buffalos themselves or being able to. The "Hot Dance" was danced at Rouhptare by the youngest band, and also at the Hidatsa village where it was purchased from the Arikara. The dancers danced barefoot over live coals and plunged their hands into boiling water. 561 424 535

The women, too, were divided into bands. There were four of these of which the first was "The Band of the Gun" which consisted of the younger girls. Next was the "River Band." The third band was the "Hay Women" who sang only the scalp dance. The fourth and last band was that of the "Women of the White Cow," most of them were old, and they were all tattooed with black lines from the mouth to the base of the chin. 561 [304]

The marriage customs of the Mandan Indians differed little from those of their neighbors. Polygamy was common, although a large part of the men had but one wife. Descent was probably along the male line, though there may have been remains of an older custom of descent along the female line, for all the horses captured by a young man belonged to his sister. The women worked hard and were sometimes badly treated though not as a general rule. Lewis and Clarke says that infidelity was punishable by death. Maximilian says it was punishable by cutting off the woman's nose. When a man's wife was stolen he had a right to demand a horse from the abductor. Separations occurred among them quite frequently. Virtue among the women was held in high esteem but was rather scarce. There are accounts of a celebration where prizes were given to the virtuous maids — these celebrations also took place 595 611 562 684 [586] 831 171

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

used in decorating the Bull Dancers. Eight men selected beforehand danced eight times before the sacred cedar during the second day. These men were the largest individuals to be found in the village, and they were trained carefully to take the parts assigned them by the Hoita. 796

While the Okipa ceremony was going through its first day's performance, the owners of bundles representing creatures which were to appear in the ceremony met according to bundles and selected those who were to dance and receive offerings of goods on the "Everything Comes Back Day." Legitimate bundle-owners could officiate or they could select a young man who, according to custom, would probably inherit one of their bundles. When no selection was made, the Hoita could choose some good dancer to assume the part. Some characters were selected by the Hoita, particularly those representing buffalo bulls who danced during the second day.

The following is a list of characters participating in the ceremony on the third day.

1. Eight men representing buffalo bulls: These men were selected by the Hoita, who chose large men of uniform size. Fasters were often selected, in which instance their fasting was terminated.

2. Two men representing bald eagles: Big Bird bundle-owners selected these.

3. Two men impersonating women: Holy Women, Old Woman Who Never Dies, Holy Robe, and Woman Above bundle-owners met to select their representatives. One was to impersonate a foolish woman, the other a wise one.

4. Two men representing swans: Men having Lone Man rights were selected, since the swan feathers were alternated with raven feathers on the Lone Man's war-bonnet trailer.

5. Two men representing snakes: Snake bundle-owners, of which there were a large number, selected their representatives.

6. Two men, one representing a calumet eagle, and the other a hawk: Selected by the Bird bundle-owners.

7. Two men representing the black bears of the Eagle-trapping bundles.

8. Two men representing grizzly bears: Selected by Grizzly Bear bundle-owners.

9. Two men representing beavers: Those individuals with Creek or River bundles selected them.

10. Two men representing strips of dried meat: They were selected by the Hoita.

11. Two men representing night: They were selected by those people having bundles relating to the stars or moon. Many mythological characters were believed to be living in the sky as stars, and men whose bundle rites included these would meet and select representatives. Many of these mythological characters were believed to have lived on the earth in early days. [773]

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12. Two men representing day: These men symbolize the "first day of creation"[20] and were selected by Woman Above bundle-owners.

13. Two men representing wolves: They were selected by the war-party leaders who were known as Old Wolves.

14. One man representing First Creator (the coyote): The Hoita selected the First Creator impersonator, who was usually a mature man with considerable ceremonial knowledge and a record of assisting in many ceremonies.

15. One man representing the meadow lark: He was selected by the Hoita. The meadow lark was represented in the ceremony because it was said to warn war parties of enemies and because, in very early times, the men exchanged the crescents from its breast for seashells with Maniga's people.

16. Young men representing a band of antelopes: There was no selection of impersonators. As many as wished could volunteer.

17. One man representing the Foolish One (OxinhEdE): There were a number of OxinhEdE bundle-owners. Their bundles were graded. They selected one of their number or a man who would ultimately inherit the principal bundle.

All those who were to perform on the third day were selected beforehand, but final authorization was received from the Hoita on the morning of the third day in a manner to be described in the account of the third day's performance.

Those impersonating buffalo bulls were painted red, white, and black. When the walking ceremony was to be performed at the close of the Okipa, the face of a small child[21] was painted in black on the abdomen of each bull. While the dancers were being painted, fasters from opposite sides of the Okipa lodge imitated bulls fighting.

After the Bull Dancers were painted, buffalo heads of tanned hide, cut so that they extended to the dancers' hips, were put on. There was a single buffalo horn on the middle of the back of each Bull Dancer's costume to which were tied bundles of willows symbolic of the flood. Each Bull Dancer wore a breechcloth of buffalo skin and wristlets and anklets of buffalo hair. The eight Bulls were all dressed alike and were of equal size.

Early on the second morning, while the Bull Dancers were being painted and dressed, Lone Man walked through the village carrying his pipe in one hand and the carved wood stick in

20. Cf. Wolf Chief's version of the Creation Myth to follow.

21. The face was that of First Pretty Woman. For an account of this mythological character refer to chap. xiv, "Red Stick Ceremony." If the walking ceremony, called by Catlin "Feast to the Buffaloes" (*O-Kee-Pa*, p. 32), was not to be performed, the Bull Dancers' chests and abdomen were painted with alternate horizontal white and red stripes about two inches wide. The "walking" ceremony was performed at the close of the Okipa whenever the age-grade society assisted the Okipa Maker in collecting the necessary property for payment to the officers of the Okipa.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the other. The people gave him robes, for he symbolized the first Lone Man who went through the village each morning at sunrise attending to the needs of all his people. 796

Those painting the Bull Dancers worked all morning and did not finish until noon.[22] The two men with buffalo-hide rattles came out and took their places. The Okipa Maker came out

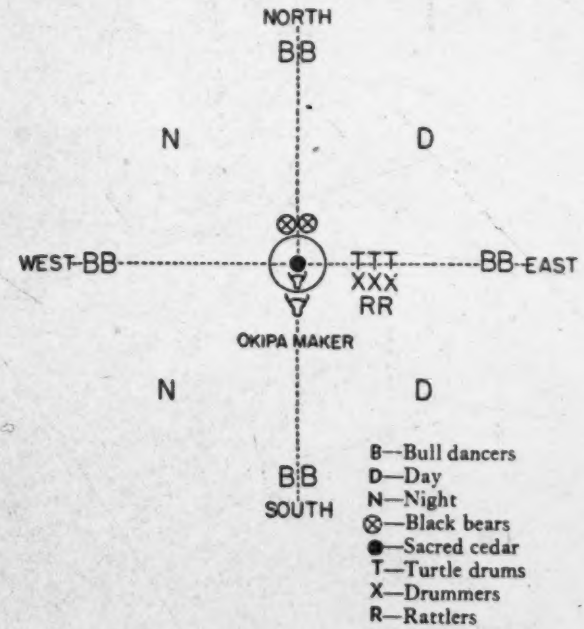

FIG. 15.—Direction symbolism for the bull dances

dressed as on the previous day and placed the pipe and pemmican ball in front of the turtles. He proceeded to the south side of the sacred cedar, where he again wept as he prayed to Lone Man to bring the buffaloes near and keep bad luck away from the village. While he was praying, the drummers began to beat the drums and sing, which was the signal for the Bull Dancers to come out. The people would congregate on lodges and around the open circle to observe these elaborately painted actors who performed the dances which were the most colorful of 796 535

22. Men bought the right and privilege to paint the characters of the ceremony. The Okipa Maker paid the painters for their services.

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796 the whole ceremony. The Bulls danced directly toward the
535 sacred cedar and formed a circle around it, then formed in pairs to mark out the four cardinal points, and, finally separated to mark the eight directions (see Fig. 15). A change in rhythm was a signal for the Bulls to return to the Okipa lodge.

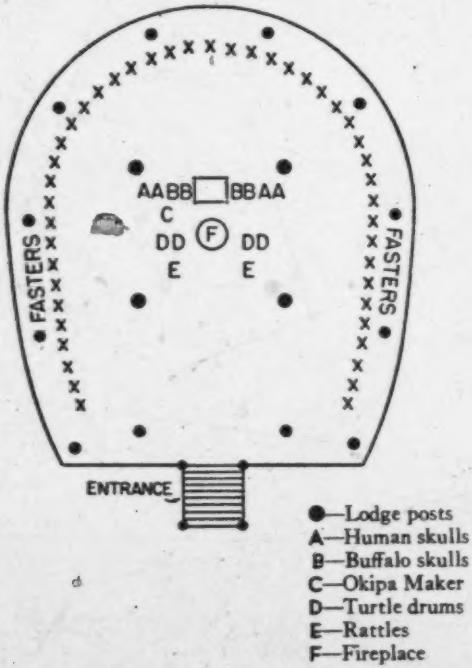

FIG. 16.—Lodge plan prior to torture feature. (After Catlin.)

The drummers, rattlers, Okipa Maker, and the eight Bull Dancers came out eight times the second day and repeated the same performance. The fasters came out only once the second day, following the first appearance of the Bulls. They formed a row at the south side of the sacred cedar and were dressed in buffalo robes with the hair side out. They returned into the lodge last and did not come out again that day (see Fig. 16).

796 Fasters began to present themselves for the torture feature[23]
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23. Cutting off the fingers in the Okipa gradually died out and was uncommon after 1837, though it continued to be a practice when mourning a death or when fasting on a hill or in a remote place. It was said that a man in a dream was instructed that the fingers were needed to handle firearms.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

on the second day. Each candidate selected a man of his father's clan to cut the holes through the skin and insert the skewers. These men were selected by each candidate before the ceremony, and the knife to be used was given to the Lone Man the evening of the "Going In" ceremony. As each candidate stepped forward and presented himself, the clan "father" picked up a knife from the altar and cut the holes for the skewers. Two skewers were inserted through the skin on the back or on the breast by which the candidate was suspended in midair by a lariat fastened over a pole of the Okipa lodge. Other skewers were inserted through the skin of the legs to which buffalo skulls were hung. When there were enough candidates, one was hung up while the Bulls were outside dancing in order that each Bull in returning to his place in the lodge could hook the sufferer (see Fig. 17). During the later years at Like-a-Fishhook Village, a corn scaffold was erected at the entrance to the Okipa lodge, and those tortured were often suspended from its beams where they were hooked about by the Bull Dancers when leaving or entering the lodge.[24] When the candidate became unconscious, he was lowered to the ground and left to regain consciousness without being molested by any of the observers. It was believed that experiences with the supernatural when acquired at that time were the most genuine and the richest ones.[25]

A midday meal was prepared for the Bull Dancers. The women preparing the meal wore their robes with the hair side out to resemble buffaloes. They motioned to the lodge where the food was cooked, and the Bulls ran there instead of going into the Okipa lodge. After finishing their meal, the Bulls carried food to the Hoita, Lone Man, Blue Heron, and the Rattlers. The Okipa Maker and fasters were not permitted to eat food or drink water, although they could smoke whenever they wished.

Preparations were made during the evening for the third day,

24. At the last performances of the Okipa, a tall pole was set in the ground between the ceremonial lodge and cedar with a rope hanging down. Those going through the torture feature were tied to the rope by means of thongs in their flesh but were not suspended.

25. After uniting with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, the torture elements and associated vision quests of the Okipa declined in importance. Those seeking visions preferred to suffer in isolated places, since the necessary rules of conduct were being broken, particularly by women, in the consolidated village.

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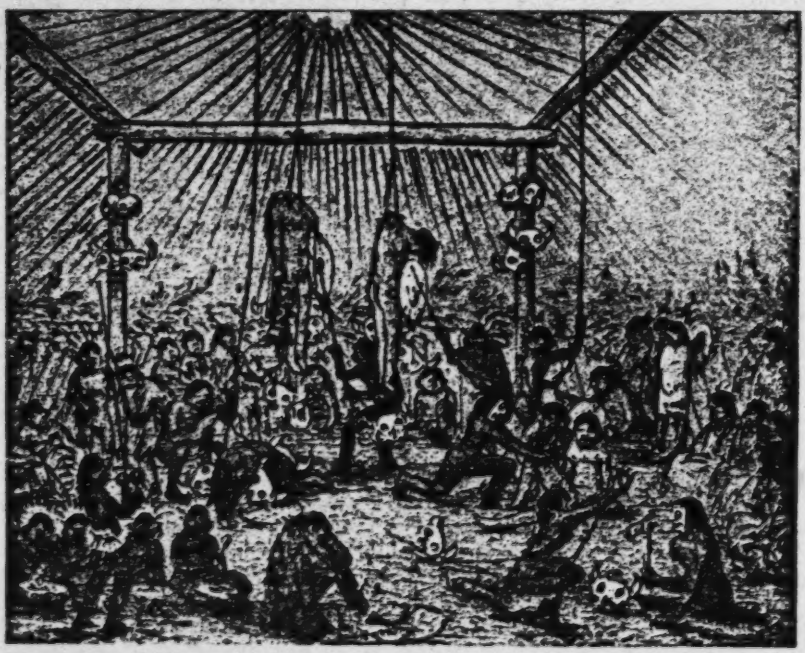

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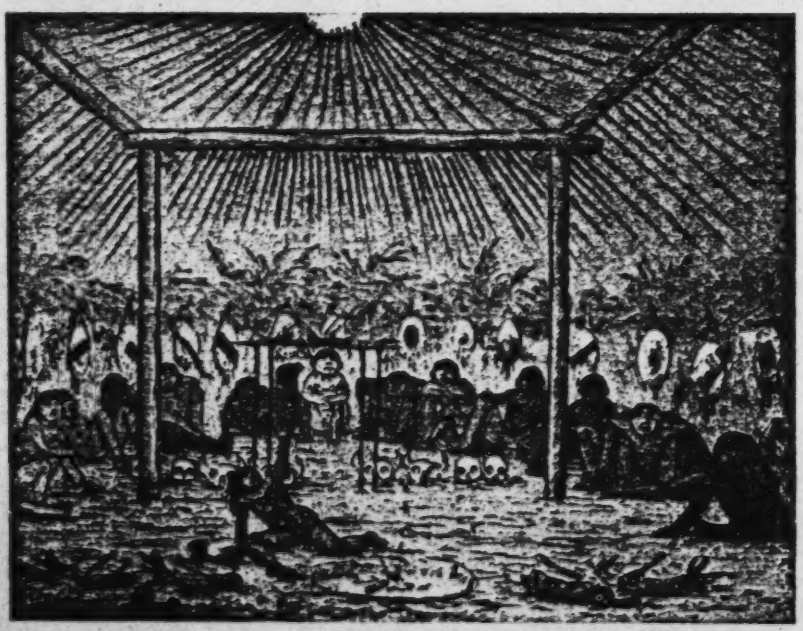

FIG. 17.—Altar arrangement and torture feature. (After Catlin.)

[p. 136]

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796 which was known as "Everything Comes Back Day." This was the day when all the mythological beings that were on the earth when the first Lone Man and Hoita lived among the Mandan came back. The participants were nominated as stated above

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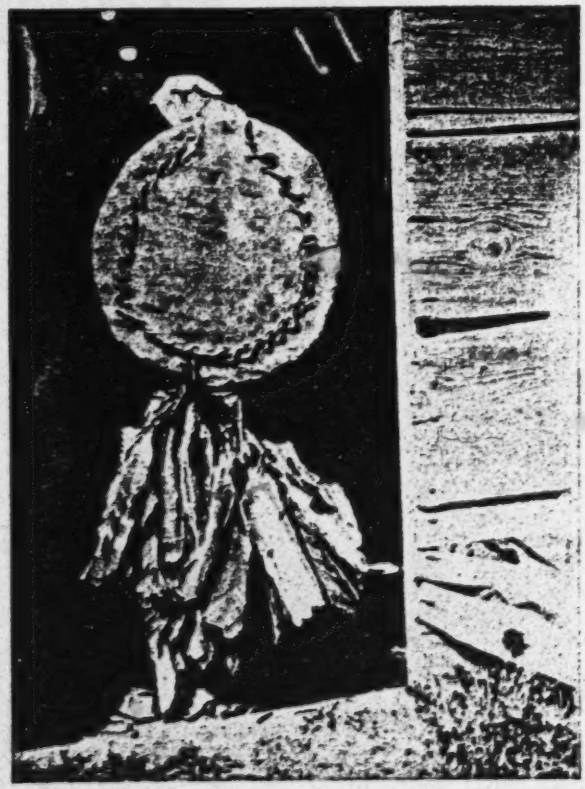

FIG. 18.—Back view of turtle drum with feather collar

and met at the ceremonial lodge to receive their sticks, which was their authority to officiate. (See Figs. 18 and 19.)

Wolf Chief supplied the following firsthand information on the calling-out of those who had previously been selected by the respective bundle-owners to enact their parts in the third day's performance:

The masks were at the head of the lodge when I entered. They began to name the men who were to imitate the different animals belonging in the dance. The officers first chose First Creator to sit beside the door. He had

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 some willow sticks. He said, "I would like to have a foolish person who looks like a human to paint his body black with white spots and carry a stick representing his penis." That was OxinhEdE, the foolish one. The one selected to assume that part came forward and received one of the sticks.

Then he would ask for a star to join in, and another would take a stick. Then he said, "I would like to have this dry meat represented. I want to have a Black Bear in it," and another took a stick. "I would like to have a grizzly bear."

Then he said, "I want to have a woman in it. I want someone to be the bald eagle. I want a hawk in this ceremony. I want a meadowlark." Men would come and take the sticks.

[718]

FIG. 15.—Present condition of the sacred cedar

He would say, "I want to select the good buffaloes. I want four of them to be the real buffaloes." Four came and took sticks. "We must have a First Creator here too. I want an antelope." When he came to the antelope, more than one came and took the remainder of the sticks. There would be many antelopes. That ended the naming of the characters so far as I remember, but I know I forgot some of them.

The antelopes would go out and cover their bodies with mud and have sticks for horns. The hawk would have long braided grass and a ball at the end for a club. The bald-headed eagle would have the braided grass for his club. Black Bear would be dressed in a black bearskin.

Third day: "Everything Comes Back Day."—The painting of the Bull Dancers and all the characters represented during this day began at daybreak and continued until nearly noon. The special painters prepared the eight Bull Dancers and the one

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Mangy Buffalo, while the other characters were painted by bundle-owners of their own respective groups. Fresh willows were brought in from the river bottoms to decorate the sides of the Okipa lodge and to be worn by the Bull Dancers. A long pole with a rawhide lariat was erected south of the sacred cedar in later years. Here some of the fasters were to "suffer for the Buffaloes" during the day. 796

The "coming-out" ceremony on the third day was the same as on the second day. The two men with rattles led, followed by the three drummers carrying the turtle drums. The Okipa Maker came out, carrying the pipe and pemmican ball, which he placed in front of the drummers, and took his place on the south side of the sacred cedar, as before, where he prayed to the first Lone Man. The fasters followed close behind him and lay down in a straight line on the south side of the sacred cedar. The drummers began one of the songs, and the animals came out, dancing in pairs. The Bull Dancers formed at the four cardinal points and then at the eight directions. The two characters representing day danced on the east side and the two representing night were on the west side (see Fig. 15). The Bears danced on the north side because the Old Black Bears, whom the Mandan believe taught them the art of trapping eagles and catching fish, lived in the north. The Bear impersonators were dressed in bearhides. Those impersonating the eagles were painted black with white heads. The Antelopes were young boys painted with yellow bodies and white heads. Two men were painted with spots on the back to represent the Snakes, and two wore close-fitting buffalo hides and beaver tails to represent the Beavers (see Figs. 20–23).

Wolf Chief, who had danced the Bull Dance on the "Everything Comes Back Day," had these comments to make on that day's performance:[26]

All this time Lone Man was at the head of the lodge with another representing the First Creator. Lone Man carried a staff with black raven feathers and white swan feathers alternating in rows between each other on the stick.

26. For other descriptions of the Okipa ceremony see Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I, 244–76, and *O-Kee-Pa;* Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Thwaites, XXIII, 324–34; and Henry A. Boller, *Among the Indians: Eight Years in the Far West* (Philadelphia, 1868), pp. 100–111.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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He had a jackrabbit hide on his ankles; his cap was of raven feathers; he was painted with red paint.

First Creator had a coyote hide covering his shoulders. He had his forehead painted black. He wore a coyote hide around his head.

FIG. 20.—Okipa ceremony impersonator: Oxinhede (Foolish One). (After Catlin.)

Big Turtle was the leader (Hoita) in the Okipa I saw. He selected the Buffaloes; they were Bears Ghost (Mandan), Chicken Bear (Hidatsa), Wolf Chief (Hidatsa), and Red Leaves (Mandan). He asked us to stand at the four directions inside the lodge. I saw the buffalo masks and the young sand-bar willows they were bringing in. They stuck the willows into the wall both upside down and right side up.

Big Turtle said, "It is nearly midday. You should paint these Buffaloes now." During this time the Antelopes were going down to the river to paint, climbing up onto the lodges, or running around in every direction. Bad Buf-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

falo, a Mandan, painted me. They had black, white, and red paint. The Bulls had to be tall to use the heads, so that is why they picked us. They asked me to spread out my legs and arms and rest on two sticks in order to stretch. While he was painting me, calicoes were offered to him. I tried to get my share. Later, when dancing, someone would motion to us that an offering was to be

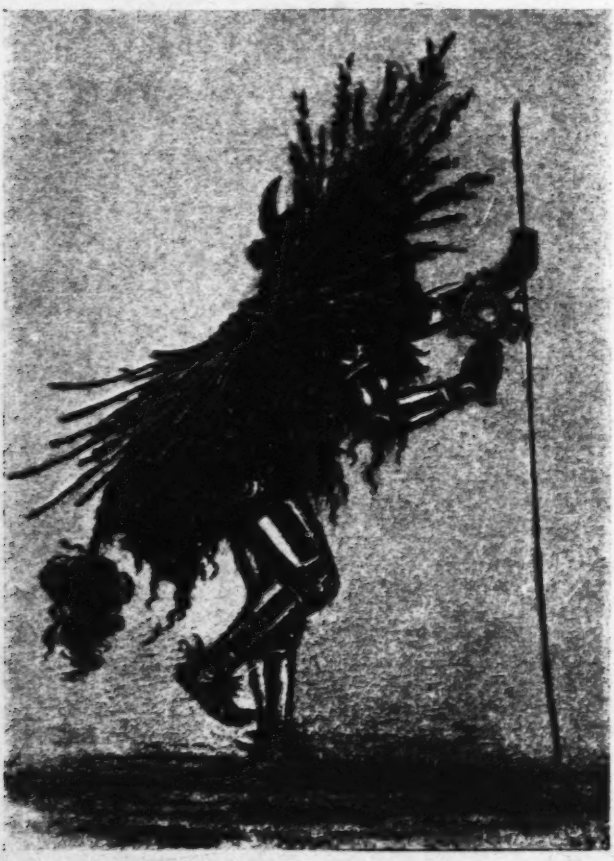

FIG. 21.—Okipa ceremony impersonator: Bull Dancer. (After Catlin.)

made. The first ones there would get the best, and they shared with the others.

In painting us they left a space open on the chest which the masks would cover, otherwise our body was painted red and white stripes crosswise over the abdomen. We had black noses and foreheads. The mask over our heads nearly covered our faces. I held the hair from the mask with my mouth. They painted red and white stripes on our legs and arms. We wore buffalo long hair around our ankles. Each of us wore a belt cut from an old robe. Painting was slow, for it was fancy work. I stood there so long I became tired. Big Turtle brought

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the sacred pipe for me to smoke, but he would not let me touch it with my hands while smoking.

When the painting was finished, Big Turtle told the singers to get ready to go outside. Short Bull, Bites the Nose, and Cedar were the singers. Those with rattles were Little Shield and Clamshell Necklace. They went to the cedar

FIG. 22.—Okika ceremony impersonators: Night and First Day of Creation (After Catlin.)

and took their places. About that time men dressed as women (one was White Belly and the other Crazy Raven) appeared. Their faces looked like women's as they had their hair combed like women do. They were short in stature. They wore beautiful dresses made of elk hide decorated with good quillwork. They wore women's leggings and carried sticks with scalps attached. At that time the Foolish One came in from the prairie and jumped around. He jumped over everything, even the holy things, while now and then he would make a motion toward the sun and say that everything was good below. Inside the

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lodge again, Lone Man would get up and ask the Black Bears and Grizzly Bears to go out and see if there were any offerings to them. They would go outside. At the same time the Birds would be walking around watching the Antelopes. The Stars were painted in red with white spots all over. There was one man dressed as Dry Meat, and he would have red marks in different places over his body. 796

FIG. 23.—Okipa ceremony impersonators: Snake and Beaver. (After Catlin.)

The singers told us to stand in front of them. Lone Man would say something I could not understand, for he used an old Mandan dialect, but afterward I learned that he was saying something which had to do with a cleaning act to make us light and active in dancing. [198]

Then Lone Man said that the singers should begin again. The men with the rattles began and the other singers joined in beating the turtles. It seemed that the earth was shaking. At that time First Creator was gone, but I saw him afterward on the south side of the cedar. All that time, two Women, four Buf-

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796 faloes, two Stars, Dry Meat, and the other impersonators divided in two rows as they came out and stood on each side of the cedar. The Blue Heron was sitting by the Lone Man in the lodge. He was still there when we returned, for he was not supposed to move until the ceremony was over.

When the singers took the turtles out, they went to the cedar and faced the door with the turtles in front of them. We came out bellowing like the Buffalo Bulls. They all sang at the turtles, and then we went by pairs to each side. One woman impersonator went one way, the other went the other way. I saw the Antelopes being chased by the Birds and running onto the lodges, while the Bears stood by the cedar. First Creator had a coyote hide over his shoulder and was running in circles all the time without stopping. Every time they sang we danced until we met behind the cedar. Those who pretended to be stars said they had to travel slowly like stars. The singers would beat the drums rapidly and the Bulls would dance so violently they were almost exhausted. Still the Stars hardly moved. At times people would make offerings to the Bears, and the Antelopes would try to take the goods away from them. Then the Hawks and Big Birds would come to take the goods away from the Antelopes, hitting them with their clubs. While all this was going on, the Stars hardly moved. If anyone owned the star medicine, he would invite the Stars to come and eat. We always looked around while dancing, but it happened that I did not see it because I was dancing the east direction facing the cedar when someone waved. When I looked around, I saw who it was, but the other Buffaloes got there first and took the food and drygoods. While we ate, we gave the goods to the men who painted us. Our protectors, the Birds, would try to take it away from us. After we finished, the singers took their turtles inside, went around in a circle inside the lodge, and came right back out again. They placed their turtles on the ground again.

Sometimes they would invite us to eat several times. The Stars walked slowly, and we tired, they were so slow. When we went out again, the men impersonating women were in front of us. I rubbed them on both sides, and some of the men said that a Buffalo was after those women, even though I did it only for fun. I saw a man with a sack drawn over his body and painted with blue mud. He had a fork tine in front of him, and every time he came near the Bulls, he would stick it into them, and they would run away. Whenever the people dressed as different characters came out, men with that same medicine would call them and give them a feast. It would not take long after we began to dance until all the paint would be run off.

The dancers came out twelve times the third day.

Throughout the ceremony there had been challenges sent to the Foolish One to come and match his powers with the Lone Man and his pipe. Foolish One symbolized those who did not respect sacred things, and the drama illustrated the unhappy lot of those who failed to fast or seek supernatural protection through purchase or fasting. Just after the performers had completed their first dance on the third day, he appeared on the prairie following a zigzag course to the village. He was scantily clothed, wearing a breechcloth of buffalo hair, a buffalo tail be-

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hind, anklets of buffalo hair, and a small close-fitting cap of buffalo hair with a raven feather in it. He was painted black with white teeth painted around his mouth; a red disk on his chest represented the sun; a red crescent on his back represented the moon; dozens of white circles on the body, limbs, and head represented the stars. He wore a rod and two small pumpkins representing male genitals. His limbs appeared to have holes through them at the joints due to the peculiar manner of painting a red spot with a white circle around it at the desired points. He wore a cornhusk necklace and carried a staff about eight feet long on the end of which hung a ball of buffalo hair which was symbolic of a human head.

As he approached the village, he leaped about in imitation of the Foolish One of the mythology, jumping over any person in his way. Small children had been told that this terrible creature ate people,[27] since he came from the sun, so they hid back of their mothers. Women threw robes toward him, and other men with the right to take the part of the Foolish One followed behind collecting them.

While the Foolish One approached the open circle of the village, the Okipa Maker continued praying at the sacred cedar and did not move from his place until he heard him near by, within the open circle. The Okipa Maker grasped Lone Man's pipe in both hands and, carrying it before him, advanced toward the Foolish One, challenging that one's right to come among the people to frighten them and bring misfortune or death at the hands of their enemies by breaking up the dances for the buffaloes. As he advanced, the singing and dancing stopped, while all looked on attentively at the drama. No person was to utter a sound, and any dog that barked was killed by the Black Mouths. It was believed the tribe's welfare was dependent on the powers of Lone Man's pipe to overcome the power of the Foolish One's staff. The Foolish One retreated before the Okipa Maker, and the people sang the victory songs. It was believed that Lone Man's pipe had saved the people from this evil one who brought death and ill fortune to those who dreamed of him. Foolish One then behaved like a clown and entertained the onlookers by imitating bulls during the breeding season. He ap-

27. See chap. xii, "People Above Ceremony," where he is described as a cannibal.

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796 proached the young women first. Then he advanced toward the Bulls, dancing around the sacred cedar as though smelling them. Each time the performers came out of the Okipa lodge, Foolish One approached the two men dressed like women, one being sensible, the other foolish. First he approached the sensible girl[28] and by signs told her that he loved her and offered her his corn-husk necklace, but she would refuse to have anything to do with him. Then he directed his attention to the other girl,[29] who gladly accepted his offers. The spectators laughed at this comical performance. He performed during four of the twelve times the dancers came out. At the end of the fourth dance, his staff was broken in entering the Okipa lodge by trying to enter with the rod crosswise of the door. The women, then losing all fear of him, rushed at him, broke his staff into little pieces, and drove him out of the village, pelting him with rocks, dirt, and pieces of wood. He ran to the river, where he washed off his paint while two men, also having Foolish One rights, who had followed him, gathered up the presents and tied up his cap and necklace in a buffalo-calf hide to resemble a doll. This doll was then lashed to a pole before the Okipa lodge to be an offering to the Foolish One who lived in the Sun.

The women brought food for the animals at midday and threw it to them while they danced. The food for the Bull Dancers was kept in an earth lodge near by. When the Bulls saw a woman approaching with the hair side of her robe out, they knew their food was ready. All the animal impersonators rushed toward the lodge where the Bulls were to eat, and there was general disorder. The Antelopes, being faster runners than the Buffaloes, who were burdened with the masks and willows, reached the door first. Two men, one painted to represent a large hawk, the other a bald eagle, were stationed on each side of the doorway with stone hammers to keep the Antelopes out, but some usually got in.

796 Fasters began presenting themselves to be tortured when the
785 dancers had come out the fifth time. A long pole had been rigged up south of the sacred cedar, and a faster was fastened to the

28. She represented Corn Silk, who went above to marry the Moon, as well as all the other kindly female deities.

29. She represented Cheyenne Woman, who married the Sun.

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lariat hanging down from the top of the pole by means of skewers through his chest. He ran around this pole for the duration of one appearance of the dancers and was then cut loose.[30] A different faster was attached to the pole each time that the Bull Dancers were outside dancing. 796 785

The two men representing the night or stars led the dancers on their last appearance on the third day, taking very short steps so that they scarcely moved along, and timed the dance to finish just as the first evening star (*no'hąka tawi'hąka*, or "grandson") appeared after sunset. The two men at dusk returned to the Okipa lodge and spent the night in places just back of the Okipa Maker.

There were usually a number of women fasting on top of the entrance to the Okipa lodge. They came there the first night and left at sunset of the third day. These women sought various benefits; some sought relief for illness; others sought success for relatives about to leave or then away from home on the warpath.

Fourth day: "The Hunting Day."—All those who had gone through the torture feature on the second and third days left the Okipa lodge the night before the fourth day. There were only four Bull Dancers on this day who were men selected because of their great size and bravery in battle. The Bulls were painted and dressed as on the preceding days. Young men brought fresh willows from the sand bars to decorate the Okipa lodge. Those who were to impersonate the hunters prepared willow hoops with rawhide lacing across them and poles, such as were used in the Hoop and Pole game, which they took into the Okipa lodge to use in the hunting rites. 796

The fasters did not come out for the first dance on the fourth day; only the Okipa Maker, the drummers, the rattlers, and the four Bull Dancers appeared to dance four times before returning to the Okipa lodge. The Bulls came out once for each of the

30. This account of the Okipa was supplied in part by Scattercorn, to whom her father, Moves Slowly, described the ceremony as held in his boyhood. She tells me that when her father was young the torturing was done in the medicine lodge and no pole was set up outside. The use of a pole suggests Hidatsa NaxpikE influence. Maximilian, as reported in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Thwaites, XXIII, 332, says that some hung over a bank. Boller (*op. cit.*, p. 104) reports a pole was put up south of the sacred cedar.

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796 clans on the last day, and the clan names were recited in the ritual.[31]

796 The Okipa Maker and the remaining fasters underwent vari-
785 ous tortures on the last day just before the Bull Dancers came out the final time. Often there were not more than two fasters remaining with the Okipa Maker, and at times the Okipa Maker was the only one left to be tortured. Two men of the father's clan pierced the flesh for the skewers and suspended the candidates above the ground. Buffalo skulls were hung from their legs. A man who had killed an enemy could wear an enemy's skull around his neck. When a faster became unconscious, he was taken down.

796 After the sixteenth dance, one of the drummers came out with rattles made of buffalo hide, followed by the four Bulls, who danced in a weaving course around the sacred cedar. The Hoita came last with two gourd rattles. The dancers, when on the east side of the cedar, addressed the song to Mother Corn as mother, then went to the west side to address the song to Thunderbird as father,[32] after which all retired to the Okipa lodge.

Inside the lodge four songs were sung. These were the songs used when repairing the sacred cedar. After each song the turtles were lifted to determine how heavy they were, and each time the turtles were moved all the young men in the lodge stamped their feet in imitation of the buffalo herds which had also stamped on being released from the Dog Den Butte.

After the turtles had been moved four times, with the stamping of feet accompanying each move, the time for the "freeing of the animals" and the "animal hunt" had come.[33] The Hoita led the way from the Okipa lodge, carrying Lone Man's pipe. The drummers followed, carrying the three turtles which they placed in their customary place east of the sacred cedar. The Four Bulls followed Hoita, who in turn led the hunters with

31. Six extinct clans were dropped from these rites while performing the ceremony at the Fort Clark villages.

32. Many of the songs have words that are not understood. In this song only the words "Thunderbird Father" and "Mother Corn Mother" were recognized by the uninformed.

33. In the mythology, when Hoita came from Dog Den Butte, where he had the animals imprisoned, and found his son officiating in Lone Man's village, he agreed to free the animals so that the people could hunt them and resolved that in the future he would work with Lone Man for the benefit of the tribe. Thereafter the two men assisted each other in directing the Okipa ceremony.

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their poles and hoops. Hoita took the Okipa Maker's place south of the cedar, and the Bulls stood in a row south of him. All the hunters formed in a line south of the Bulls, and Lone Man stood alone south of the hunters. The participants faced the entrance of the Okipa lodge. The Bulls danced toward Hoita, who sent them back four times, symbolizing the four times scouts were sent from Dog Den Butte to report on the condition of the Mandan whom Hoita believed to be starving. Each time the hunters, using the poles as spears, charged the Bulls, who were bleeding from many wounds. Wolf Chief explained that it was a very painful performance, as his legs were pierced in many places. 796

After the hunt, the Four Bulls stood at the entrance to the Okipa lodge and formed at the four cardinal points. Each bellowed in imitation of a bull in the following order, east, west, north, and south. Then the Hoita directed them to the sacred cedar, where each of the Bulls stood at the cardinal points and again bellowed, in the same order.[34] The Four Bulls represented the buffaloes from every direction as well as the buffaloes for the four seasons. The north buffalo called for the winter buffalo, the east buffalo for the spring buffalo, the south buffalo for the summer buffalo, and the west buffalo for the autumn buffalo.

After the calling of the buffaloes from the four directions was completed, the remaining portion of the ceremony progressed rapidly. The drummers began beating rapidly, and the hunters formed a circle about the sacred cedar, holding to the willow hoops. The Four Bulls threw off their masks and danced around the circle as rapidly as possible. Each remaining faster was led out of the Okipa lodge by two of his father's clansmen[35] who had the right half of their bodies painted blue and the left side red. They held straps wrapped around the faster's arms. Each faster had one or more buffalo skulls dragging from skewers fastened through the skin; those who had struck an enemy were permitted to wear a skull as a necklace. The father's clansmen led or 796 785

34. The sacred cedar represented Lone Man's body, and this act symbolized the eternal friendship of Lone Man and Hoita.

35. Only men of good war records, who were entitled to paint as indicated above, could participate. The painting of the body in two colors, blue on the right side and red on the left side or comparable painting of leggings and shirt, indicated that one had killed an enemy far from home or had been the first or second to strike a lone enemy far from home.

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796 dragged the young man around the sacred cedar in a clock-
785 wise direction as fast as they could travel until the victim fell unconscious. When the last faster fell to the ground, the drumming ceased, and the hunters threw their hoops into the air. All the fasters returned to the Okipa lodge, where those on the west-side moiety rubbed their wounds with buffalo marrow while those of the opposite moiety rubbed theirs with ground yellow corn.

The Lone Man carried all the knives and sharp-edged tools to
796 the bank of the Missouri River, where they were thrown into the water as an offering to the Grandfather Snake. A few robes and seven corn balls were offered to the river at the same time.

A sweat ceremony, in which all the officers with their paraphernalia took part, completed the ceremony.

The goods collected by the Okipa Maker were given to the Lone Man, Hoita, Bulls, Drummers, Rattlers, to the characters represented during the "Everything Comes Back Day," and to the father's clansmen who prepared the Okipa Maker for the last ordeal. The Okipa Maker and the fasters made medicine bundles according to instructions received from the supernatural beings which had appeared to them during the ceremony, and each faster received a section of a sand-bar willow as an article for his personal medicine bundle.

The following description of the Okipa ceremony by Maximilian in 1834 will illustrate the character of the ceremony as performed at that time. Three years later smallpox killed roughly 80 per cent of the tribe, but the ceremony as described by eyewitnesses underwent only a few minor changes. The number of singers was reduced to three; a torture pole was erected south of the sacred cedar; the Bull Dancers were painted differently, the abdomen being painted with alternate stripes; there were fewer animal representatives on the third day due to the extinction of certain bundle lines. Except for these minor changes, the ceremony was essentially the same as performed in 1834. When the Mandan joined the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, men of the latter tribe sometimes gave the ceremony and bought minor offices, but the principal officers were Mandans. The supernatural beings enumerated by Maximilan are also readily identified from my informant's accounts.

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Of the Mandan ceremonies, Maximilan wrote:[1] 000

The Mandans have several medicine festivals, of which the Okippe, or the penitential ceremony of the ark, is by far the most remarkable. It is celebrated in the spring or summer, and I regret to say that I cannot describe it as an eye-witness. I am, however, enabled to give a circumstantial description of it, word for word, as it was communicated to me by men initiated in the mysteries of the nation.

Numank-Machana, the first man, ordered the Numangkake to celebrate this medicine feast every year. When the village has fixed the time for this festivity, they choose a man of distinction, in whom confidence can be placed, who must put himself at the head, and direct the solemnities. In the year 1834 Mato-topé was chosen. He is called Kani-Sachka. This man then causes the medicine lodge to be prepared and cleaned before the appointed time, and wood and other necessaries to be provided.

First day of the Okippe.—At sunset the Kani-Sachka goes into the lodge, and begins the fast, which continues four days. With him are six men, who are to strike what is called the tortoise, a vessel or sack made of parchment, and filled with water.[36] Three of the men must strike in the direction of the river downwards, and three in the direction upwards. They strike the tortoise during the whole night. Before sunrise a man representing the Numank-Machana, or the first man, arrives. He dresses himself in the medicine lodge in the following manner: round his body he fastens a wolf's skin, on his head, raven's feathers, in his arms he carries the medicine pipe, and in his robe a portion of pemmican. His face is painted red, and on the small of the back he binds a piece of wood, to which the tail of a buffalo cow is fastened. Dressed in this manner, he goes early in the morning of the first day of the festival, and sings on the open space in the centre. All kinds of valuable articles, such as guns, robes, blankets, &c., are thrown towards him, of which he afterwards takes possession, while on his part he distributes pemmican among the people. He then returns to the medicine lodge, but is not at that time permitted to speak a word. The most eminent men of the nation now come to the lodge, address the first man as their uncle, and say, "Well, uncle, how did you fare in the villages? How did you find them? Were you well received?" To which he replies, "Very well, nephew. I have not once lowered my pipe to the ground." By which he means to say that he has received ample presents, and offerings of all kinds have been hung upon his pipe. He then says, "I have seen a great many buffaloes feeding in the prairie and drinking at the river; they are very abundant everywhere." These were the horses; but he means to intimate that, by the medicine of this day, the buffaloes will be attracted in great numbers. All those who intend to submit their bodies to a penance or certain tortures, in order to render themselves acceptable to the lord of life and the first man, come to the medicine lodge early in the morning. Their number is, of course, uncertain; sometimes many present themselves, at other times only a few. They are smeared all over with white clay, with no other covering besides their robes, with the hairy side outwards, and drawn over their heads, so that the face is covered, and they are quite wrapped up in them. In the medicine lodge they lay aside their robes. On the first day of the feast they go four times,

36. Maximilian is in error. The turtle drums are oak frames over which buffalo hide is sewn to resemble turtles. Small balls of buffalo hair were placed inside the drums and represented the spirits of unborn buffaloes.

[1] [Maximilan's report has been processed for this file. See 6: Wied-Neuwied, cat. 111 x 116 — Analyst.]

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000 wrapped up as before described, and dance around the ark, which stands in the centre of the open space. The Kani-Sachka remains during all this time moaning and leaning against the ark. All this is done in the forenoon. In the afternoon all is silent, and neither dance or procession takes place.

Second day of the Okippe.—On the second day, early in the morning, eight men appear, who represent buffalo bulls. They are naked, wearing only an apron of blue and white striped woolen cloth. Their body is painted black in front, with two red perpendicular stripes like the facings of a military uniform, and with several white transverse stripes looking like lace or bands. The fore arm and ankles are alternately striped white and red. In their hands they carry a fan of green willow twigs, and on their back a buffalo robe, the head of which, with the long hair on the forehead, hangs over the face. To the middle of the robe a single buffalo horn is fastened, while at the head and loins green willow branches are appended. The eight buffalo bulls put on this fantastic dress in the lodge, and, when this is done, arch out two abreast in an inclined posture, extending their robes with outspread hands, and holding the willow fans upright. In this manner they dance up to the ark, where they divide, four going to the left and four to the right round the space. They again join opposite the medicine lodge, and then return as before to the ark, where they continue to dance. When they are opposite to each other they stand upright and imitate the roaring of the buffalo. As soon as this dance begins, the six tortoise strikers bring their instrument from the centre of the lodge, and place it near the ark in an easterly direction, striking it, and singing a certain song which is said to be a prayer. The Kani-Sachka stands, with his head bowed, leaning on the ark, directly opposite the tortoise, and moans without ceasing. He is quite naked except for an apron of buffalo skin. His whole body is bedaubed with yellow, and on his forehead he has a wreath of bleached buffalo hair or wool hanging over the eyes. The eight buffalo bulls form a ring and dance round him, covering him with their robes; they dance in like manner to the tortoise, and next go to the door of the medicine lodge, where they make a kind of covered way with their robes, beneath which the tortoise is conveyed into the lodge. The whole ceremony is repeated eight times on this day, four times in the morning and four times in the afternoon.

Third day of the Okippe.—The same masks as yesterday dance on this day twelve times, and are prohibited from either eating or drinking. A number of other masks join them. 1. Two men, dressed like women, who dance in this costume, keeping by the side of the eight buffalo bulls. They wear clothes of bighorn leather, women's leggings (mitasses), the robes having the hair outwards. Their cheeks are painted red, their chins tattooed, and their heads adorned with glass beads, as is the custom among the women. 2. Two other men represent a couple of swans; they are naked, carry a swan's tail in their hand, are painted all over white, only the nosê, mouth (representing the bill), and the lower part of the legs and feet, black. 3. A couple of rattlesnakes; the back is painted with black transverse stripes, in imitation of those animals, the front of the body yellowish; a black line is drawn from each eye down the cheeks, and in each hand they carry a bunch of wormwood. 4. One man represents the evil spirit; he is conducted by two men of the village to the river, where he is dressed and painted; his entire body is painted black, and, as soon as this is done, he is not permitted to speak a word. They put on his head a cap, with a black cock's-comb; he likewise wears a mask, with white wooden rings left for the opening round the eyes. They then make for him large teeth of cotton

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yarn, paint the sun upon his stomach, the crescent upon his back, and on each joint of the arms and legs, a white circle; they then put on a buffalo's tail, and place a small stick in his hand, with a ball, made of skin, at the end, to which a scalp, painted red on the under side, is fastened. The ball represents the head of an enemy. When this monster is completed, they let him loose, and he runs, like one possessed, about the prairie, comes into the village, gets upon the huts, one after the other, and prys into every corner, while the inhabitants throw out to him all kinds of valuable articles as presents. As soon as he perceives this he turns towards the sun, and intimates to it, by signs, how well he is treated, and that it is foolish of it (the sun) to keep at so great a distance. He goes about and looks on the people's heads for vermin, and, if he finds any, he pretends to be very happy, and runs about with great rapidity. The Indians are very much afraid of the devil, for which reason this part cannot be assigned to anybody; but he who wishes to perform it must offer himself. My informant added that this medicine feast was once celebrated on the banks of Heart River, where the Mandans then resided, and the man who had undertaken this part was conducted into the river. When his clothes were taken off, in order to paint and dress him, he appeared very uneasy, and required to be let loose; and when this was done he seemed as one possessed by the evil spirit, and ran, with the velocity of an arrow, on the hills and about the plain. His two attendants were alarmed, and pursued him to the village, but the new demon darted past them, leaped over the high fence of the village, jumped down into the huts, and again made his egress, and then ran to the river; this now convinced them that he was possessed. It cost the inhabitants much trouble to catch and wash him, but he trembled like an aspen leaf, wrapped himself in his robe, and continued in this condition for the remainder of his life without ever speaking a word.

While the devil is walking about, the other masks continue dancing, and act in conformity with their parts, endeavouring to imitate the natural attitudes of the animals they represent. 5. Two men, representing white-headed eagles, are painted of a dark brown colour; the head, neck, fore arm and hands, and the lower part of the legs, are white; they carry a stick in their hands, and their business is to pursue the antelopes. 6. Are two beavers; they wear the robe with the hairy side outwards, have a piece of parchment, resembling a beaver's tail, fastened to their girdle, and are painted brown. 7. Are two birds of prey; their shoulders are blue, the breast yellowish and spotted; they have feathers on their heads, and the feet of birds of prey in their hands. 8. Are two or four bears (mato), wrapped in bears' skins, with the head and claws, which cover their head and their whole body; they generally walk in a stooping attitude about the dancers, and growl like those animals. 9. Two men represent the dried meat, which is cut in small strips. They wear a cap of white hare skin; their body is painted with zigzag stripes; round the waist they have a girdle of green boughs, and they dance with the others. 10. Forty or fifty Indians of different ages perform the part of antelopes; they are painted red on the back, the rest of the body and limbs are white, the nose and mouth black; they carry small sticks, and run about very swiftly. 11. Two men personate the night; they are naked, painted quite black, with white stars; on their backs they have the setting moon, and on their breast the rising sun; they are not allowed to sit, during the whole day, till the sun has set; they then sit down and must not rise till the next morning. 12. Are one or two wolves; they are painted white, wear a wolf's skin, and pursue the antelopes,

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which fly before them: if they catch one, the bears come and take it from them and devour it. All these animals imitate the originals to the best of their power.

13. Two prairie wolves; the tops of their heads are painted white, their faces yellowish-brown; they wear dry herbs in their hair, and carry in their hands a stick, painted with reddish-brown stripes, and run in the prairie before the other animals when they leave the village. Almost all these animals are said to have different songs, with words, which the uninitiated do not understand; they sometimes practise these songs for a whole summer, and are frequently obliged to pay a high price for instruction. Originally there were only ten masks at this festival. The white-headed eagles, the beavers, and the prairie wolves, are a modern addition, and no part of the true ancient observances of it. When all these animals come together they fight with each other, and perform all sorts of antics. Every animal acts according to its natural character; the beavers strike with their tails, making a loud clapping noise; the buffaloes roll and wallow in the sand; the bears strike with their paws, &c.

During all these masquerade dances, the penitents have remained three entire days in the medicine lodge, where they have fasted and thirsted, sitting perfectly still and quiet. On the afternoon of that day, the persons of the ten masks also meet in the medicine lodge, and all together then leave this place. The penitents lie down on their bellies, in a circle round the ark, at some distance from it; the masks dance among them and over them, to the sound of the schischikue. Some already begin to suffer the tortures; they give a gun, a blanket, or some other article of value, to an eminent person, to inflict the tortures on them. During this time the Kani-Sachka has been moaning, and leaning on the ark. The tortures of the penitents now begin. In many of them strips of skin and flesh are cut from the breast, or the arms, and on the back, but in such a manner that they remain fast at both ends. A strap is then passed under them, and the sufferers are thrown over the declivity of the bank, where they remain suspended in the air; others have a strap drawn through the wound, to which the head of a buffalo is fastened, and they are obliged to drag this heavy weight about; others have themselves suspended by the muscles of the back; others have joints of their fingers cut off; others, again, are lifted up by the flesh, which is cut across the stomach, or have some heavy body suspended to the muscles, which have been cut and loosened, and other similar tortures. Those who have been tortured on this day return directly to their huts; but those who can bear to fast longer do not submit themselves to the torture till the fourth day.

Fourth day of the Okippe.—All those who have endured fasting for four days are now assembled in the medicine lodge. Such as feel themselves faint beg that the dancing may begin early. Accordingly, the masquerade, and the dances performed yesterday, begin at daybreak. They dance on this day sixteen times—eight times in the morning, and eight times in the afternoon. The candidates for the torture are out about two o'clock in the afternoon; and when they have suffered to the utmost of their power, a large circle is formed; two men, who have no part in the festival, take one of the penitents between them, hold him by the hand, and the whole circle moves round with the greatest rapidity. The Kani-Sachka is likewise treated in this manner. The famished and tortured penitents, for the most part, soon fall down, and many faint away, but no regard is paid to this; they are dragged and pulled about as long as they can possibly bear it; they are then let loose, and remain stretched on the ground as if dead. The eight buffalo bulls now come forward

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to execute their last dance. Meantime, Numank-Machana (the first man) stands on one side of the place, and invites the inhabitants to assemble. The men come on foot and on horseback, with their bows and arrows: the arrows are adorned with green leaves at the wooden points; and, when the eight buffaloes have approached, dancing, the first man, and been repulsed by him, they are shot at from all sides, fall, roll on the ground, and then lie still as if dead. The first man then invites the inhabitants to take the flesh of the buffaloes. The latter, whose robes have already fallen off, rise, and retire into the medicine lodge. Then the dancers divide into two parties, extend their arms and legs, strike themselves on the stomach, exclaiming that they feel themselves strong; some, that they will kill enemies; others, that they will slay many buffaloes, &c. They then retire, take food, and rest themselves, and the festival is concluded.[37]

Maximilian goes on to report:

According to Dipauch, these Indians believe in several superior beings, of whom the lord of life, Ohmahank-Numakshi, is the first, the most exalted and the most powerful; who created the earth, man, and every existing object. They believe that he has a tail, and appears sometimes in the form of an aged man, and, at others, in that of a young man. The first man, Numank-Machana, holds the second rank; he was created by the lord of life, but is likewise of a divine nature. The lord of life gave him great power, and they, therefore worship and offer sacrifices to him. He is nearly identical with Nanabush among the Chippeways, or the people of the Algonquin language, who, according to the notion of those tribes, acts as mediator between the creator and the human race. Nanabush and the creator frequently had disputes, and the Mandans have similar legends. Omahank-Chika, the evil one of the earth, is a malignant spirit, who has, likewise, much influence over men, but who is not as powerful as the lord of life and the first man. The fourth being is Rohanka-Tauihanka, who lives in the planet Venus, and it is he who protects mankind on the earth; for without his care the race would have been long since extinct. A fifth being, who, however, has no power, is something like the wandering Jew, ever in motion, and walking on the face of the earth in human form. They call him the lying prairie wolf.[38] Besides these there is a sixth being, Ochkih-Hadda, whom it is difficult to class, and of whom they have a tradition, that whoever dreams of him is doomed soon to die. He appears to figure in their traditions as a kind of devil, is said to have once come to their villages, and taught them many things, but has not since appeared. They are afraid of him, offer sacrifices to him, and have in their villages a hideous figure representing him. They worship the sun, because they believe it to be the residence of the lord of life. All their medicines or sacrifices are offered chiefly to the sun, or rather to the lord of life, as inhabiting it. In the moon, say they, lives the old woman who never dies, and who wears a white band from the front to the back of the head; sacrifices and offerings are likewise made to her. They do not know who she is, but her power is great. She has six children, three sons and three daughters, who all live in certain stars. The eldest son is the day (the first day of the creation), the second is the sun, in which the lord

37. *Op. cit.*, pp. 324–33.

38. He is the First Creator identified by Maximilian as the Omahank-Numakshi stated above. He has a dual personality.

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000 of life has his abode. The third son is the night. The eldest daughter is the star that rises in the east, the morning star; and they call her, "the woman who wears a plume." The second daughter, called "the striped gourd," is a high star which revolves around the polar star; and, lastly, the third daughter is the evening star which is near to the setting sun.[39]

ORIGIN MYTH RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[40]

773 539 A long time ago the Missouri River flowed into the Mississippi River and thence into the ocean. On the right bank there was a high point on the ocean shore that the Mandan came from. They were said to have come from under the ground at that place and brought corn up. Their chief was named Good Furred Robe. He had one brother named Cornhusk Earrings and another younger brother called No Hair on Him or Head for Rattle after the gourds. They had a sister named Corn Stalk.

In this early time when they came out of the ground, Good Furred Robe was Corn Medicine, and he had the right to teach the other people how to raise corn. The people of Awigaxa asked him to teach them his songs so as to keep the corn and be successful in growing their corn. Good Furred Robe also had a robe which, if sprinkled with water, would cause rain to come.

When they came out of the ground, there were many people but they had no clothing on. They said, "We have found Ma'tahara." That was what they called the river as it was like a stranger. It is also the word for "stranger." They went a short distance and planted corn, even though they were naked. They were located there for a few years, and all that time they planted corn. Then they moved north, and no one knows the number of years they stopped at the different places. At last they came to the place where the river flowed into the ocean. When they came to the mouth of this river, they saw people on the other side who could understand their language and they thought they were Mandan too. The village on the other side had a chief whose name was Maniga. It was a very large village.

While they were stopping there, they found that the people on the other side owned bowls made of shells. At Good Furred Robe's village they would kill the rabbits for the hides. They also killed the meadowlarks for the yellow crescents. They took them to the people of the other village to trade for shell bowls. They would also take the rabbit hides painted red and trade for the shells.

Good Furred Robe also owned a boat that was holy. It could carry twelve men. Each time they wanted to trade in the other village, they would take the red rabbit hides and the yellow meadowlark breasts and float over. There was a rough place in the middle, and they would drop some of these objects into the water, and then the water would calm.

All during this time they had enough corn to live on, but nothing is told

39. *Op. cit.*, pp. 301–3.

40. Wolf Chief secured this information from Chief, his Mandan father-in-law, whose wife was formerly married to Bobtail Bull, a Corn ceremony bundle-owner. For other versions of this myth see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 10–11; Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels*, ed. Thwaites, XXIII, 312–17; and Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I, 279–80.

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in the traditions about their clothing. They continued moving up the river until they came to the mouth of the Missouri River. They saw many trees on the Mississippi River and decided to go across and live on the Mississippi. They stayed in that country for three or four years, all the time planting corn along the river. They said, "We have discovered a better river and it will be a good place to plant the corn." They discovered fine evergreen trees, and we have called them medicine trees since that time.

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There were no bows and arrows in those days, and one of the men made a bow and arrows, practicing with them and picking out sharp bones with which to tip the arrows. He also found the sinews that would stretch the bow. We do not know if they were eating meat or not at that time. There were many elk, deer, and beaver on this river, and that is why they called it Good River. At that time they found a dead buffalo in a mud hole, and one of them said that they ought to take the hide off and cut it into a long string to catch deer with. When they took the hide off, they cut the strings and twisted them to dry. Then they made a loop on the end. They would go out and find deer trails to hang it in to catch the deer. They made many of these snares and set them out in many places. They would find some dead deer and even some elk hanging there.

After they learned how to do this, they had plenty of meat to eat with their corn. They stayed at that place for over ten years. It was at this time that they learned how to use the bow and arrows tipped with bone, to kill smaller game.

Again they moved from there farther up the Mississippi River until they found a place where there was much timber but the surrounding land was flat. They found a flat place where the timber was not so thick, and there they lived for six years. At that time they called themselves Nu'itadi, meaning "from us." Some of them were called Nup'tadi (no meaning); another group was called Awi'gaxa (no meaning). One of the latter two bands moved from the others under a chief named Four Bulls and came to a place where there was much timber. The village after the split must have been in the western part of Minnesota not far from Pipestone.

They traveled southward then until they came to heavy timber and had a big village[41] there. While there they learned more about bows and arrows and could shoot even beavers and other game. Then they had plenty of food. Again they traveled on through the deep timber and had another village, staying there for four years. The earth lodges at that time were of the eagle-trapping type with grass and dirt covering the sides.

When they stopped there, a man went out looking for game and followed a creek. He saw some mud sticking out of a hill, and there was a spring at that place. The mud was sticky; he took some of it out and carried it away a short distance. He left some of it flat on the ground to dry. When he went back where he had left the mud, it was hard except that there was one crack. He thought that there should be some use for that mud. He thought, "I will get some sand and mix it with this mud and leave it again. It might be of some use." Then he went home again. When he returned, the mud was still cracked. He thought, "If I crack some stones and crush them fine to mix with the clay,

41. These villages were named in the Okipa ceremony, but the language used was unintelligible to the listener, as it was an old dialect. The translation was a part of the secret lore which passed with bundle sales.

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it might be better." He found some hard stones and put them in the fire to burn four days. Then he crushed the stones and took the material to the place where the clay had been left. He mixed the clay with the crushed stone, shaped it into a pot, and left it in the sun to dry. Next day when he went back, he found that it was hard and could be used. He made many more; some he made into the shape of spoons.[42] From that time they had pots. After that they made large ones and baked them to cook in. The Mandan were the first to discover pottery; the Hidatsa and other people learned the art from them. The mud was a special kind, and it was hard to find. Later they found this clay around the flint they took out of the tops of hills west of the Missouri River.

They stayed there for more than ten years, for there were many animals suitable for food as well as good corn grounds. During this time some of the young men were looking for game, and they came out of the timber. They could see the flatland for a great distance, so they thought that they would move. At first they did not come completely out of the woods but stayed on the edge.

When they came out of the timber, they had another large village again. They stayed there a long time, for there was much game and they had their gardens in the timber.

When they had the village there, it happened that they had a dry year. The people who called themselves Awigaxa made a feast, and they had some of the women paint their faces and wear geese[43] on their heads. First Creator and Lone Man came at that time. They asked these people where they came from, and they replied that they had come up from under the ground and that they had traveled around much since then. The two men said, "You seem to be getting along well here. We came from the west bank of the Missouri River. We discovered some prairie dogs in a village there, but we changed them into humans. We showed them how to put on the Buffalo Dance, but we see now that we would rather have you people here put on that ceremony, for you would be more careful about giving the dance."

Then the two men walked off and returned to the prairie-dog village they had changed into humans. First Creator and Lone Man had made the dance for the prairie dogs, and, when they came back, they saw that these people were not fit to give the dance, for they had left the drum in the ashpile. They thought, "These people don't appreciate the dance, for they are not the right kind of people to begin with. It would be much better to take the Buffalo Dance from them." The two men took the Buffalo Dance away from the prairie dogs and gave it to the Mandan. They gave the prairie dogs a curing ceremony instead. The Arikara were the prairie-dog people. They have the Prairie Dog Curing Medicine yet.

First Creator and Lone Man came back to the Mandan village and said, "We are going to show you the Buffalo Dance."

They said "What is it?"

They replied, "It is a good thing for you, and any time you have a shortage of food, you will pray for food. This way it will increase your people and bring you plenty of food." They showed these people how to give the ceremony, paint, and dress.

42. Spoons have never been found in Mandan archaeological sites, whereas pots are abundant.

43. The Goose Women's Society. It was founded by Good Furred Robe, and the Corn bundle-owner was singer for this society.

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They thought, "How will we paint to make them good-looking? We might use some of the color of the snakes; they look nice. It is not a real snake but the worm on the chokecherry bushes. Between the shoulders they grow a hook. We will have that represent the mask and take that color for the buffaloes. The hook behind will be the buffalo horn and the branches will be the branches of the worm nest."

The people inquired how they would fix up that way and Lone Man said, "Go out and kill a buffalo; take all the flesh off of the skin and bring the hide to me." The people went out and killed a buffalo and brought the hide to the two men. They called one of the young men to stand before them. They took the horn off with the horn core removed. The young man had long hair hanging down. They put the horn on his back with the brush over it, reaching over his head and hanging down nearly to the ground. They painted him on the chest, legs, and arms with red, black, and white. All this was representative of this bug in color. When he was painted, he was very beautiful.

At this time they had a hide for a drum. They wanted to practice the songs that belonged to this drum, but the drum was not very solid. It would sink into the ground and soon wear out. Lone Man was doing the drumming, and he said to First Creator, "You show them how the dancing is done, and I will do the drumming." Lone Man sang the song, and First Creator danced, stretching his arms out. He danced and showed the painted man how to dance.

Lone Man said to the people, "You must not touch this drum, for it is very holy. We are going out to look for another drum and will be back after a while."

They went out, and after a while they came back with the badger. Even before they had the Buffalo Dance, Lone Man had a flat stick. Before he touched the badger, he held the stick up, but the badger pleaded that he was not strong enough. When he held the stick up, the badger sank into the ground.

They said, "The badger has no strength and is not suitable." They went to the beaver, but, before he ever hit the beaver, the animal sank into the ground. Each time he held his stick up, the earth shook. They went out again and came to a turtle. They asked him but the turtle replied, "I have no strength or power. I would rather that you went to the big turtle who is in the ocean. He would be a better drum, for his life will be so long that he will last forever. He will be better for the drum."

When they came to the shore, they found a large turtle; it was brown. They talked to the turtle saying, "We are looking for a drum to use in the dance, and now we need you for the drum."

The Turtle said, "That is all right. I do not think I can go myself, but you can look me over and then make one yourself out of a buffalo hide. When you fix it that way I will be there just the same, for you will be taking the shape of my body. If you do that, I will last forever."

When they returned, they killed a buffalo, took the hide off of the bull, and made a turtle. They made the legs out of oak and covered it with a hide from which the hair had been removed. Then they painted the outside with red paint. They finished the turtle, and in two days the hide was all dried up. First Creator said, "We must pick out a young man to dance in the costume; you show him how to dance." Lone Man made a motion as of striking the turtle. At the same time there was a noise as if the earth were cracking and

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dust came up, but the turtle was not driven into the earth like the other animals had been. Then Lone Man said, "That is the kind of drum we want; it will last forever. After this if any of you people dream of this dance or have a dream in which it is a part, then you must put up this dance. We are not going off right away but will be around near by."

He said, "When a young man is dancing, he may want to smoke the pipe. If they feel like smoking it, fill it up. I made it out of a green buffalo tail, bent it on one end to hold the tobacco, and filled it with sand until it was dry. The men with the buffalo heads must not touch the pipe. If he wants to smoke, you hold the pipe while he smokes."

About this time, Good Furred Robe, who was always traveling, found a red spot and wondered what it was. Going there, he saw that it was a stone. He thought that it might be a good thing to make a pipe from. Up to this time the people had used black stone pipes for smoking. He brought the red stone back. He thought how in the Buffalo Dance they used the buffalo tail and how it would be a good thing to fix up the red stone pipe and let them use that. He made a pipe with no elbow; the hole was in the end.

They had another Buffalo Dance, and one young man danced. At that time Lone Man came back. Good Furred Robe took the pipe to him and said, "I saw you using the buffalo tail, and I think this is better." Lone Man said, "It looks pretty, but I am afraid of it, for it is the color of human blood."

The Goose Women had put up a feast because the fields were drying up. Good Furred Robe took the pipe to them and said, "I have a good pipe here; it is a nice color. You should use it instead of the one you have that is not pretty." They said, "We are afraid of it because it is the color of human blood." The people were wondering where he had found the the red stone, and he took some of them to the place and showed them where he had found it. They saw some of the pretty stones and made a few pipes for their personal use. (I tried to claim the pipe stone quarries by this story, but some people did not believe it. Mrs. White Duck has Good Furred Robe's skull, but some of the younger men do not claim it because they are not familiar with this old story.)

Later three men were traveling around a great deal, and each time they would get out farther and farther. One time they came to the Missouri River and saw timber on each side. They reported this to the people, who thought that it must be a branch of the river they passed farther to the south. They decided to move from their village toward the river. They came to the Missouri River at what they called White Clay Creek.[44] It is below the Cheyenne River today. The camp was just opposite that river on the east side.

They built a camp there, and after three years the Awigaxa disappeared. They thought that the Awigaxa must have gone up the Cheyenne or White Clay River to the west. Two years afterward, about twelve families of the Awigaxa came back.

When they came back, they said, "They sent us back because the people out there do not think you know the Corn Medicine rites. They asked us to teach them to you."

The Awigaxa already talked a little differently from the others. Three years after they came back, the Buffalo Dance had increased so that four danced.

44. This is White River, which enters the Missouri River below Chamberlain, South Dakota.

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It is not known how many times they had villages along the river. At that time a man dreamed of the Buffalo Dance. He told his people afterward, "I saw more than one bull and many different birds and animals. There was a human being with a long penis. I saw four turtles instead of one."

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Lone Man came back. He related his dream to Lone Man, who said, "That is all right. You should try to put up the ceremony."

In the dream he had seen the four turtles. They had eagle feathers on their heads, but Lone Man said, "It would be hard for you to save that many feathers. You will have time to save some. Take your time saving all those feathers. If you think there are enough for four turtles, call me, and I will hear even though I am far away."

He saved all the feathers, knowing that it would take him a long time. In three or four years he had the necessary feathers, and then he called Lone Man. They made three more turtles just like the other one they had fixed before on the pattern of the ocean turtle.

When the two finished the turtles, they arranged them in a row, first the small one, then the two medium-sized ones, and then the large one which had been made first. Lone Man said, "You should give them what you can." It was the speckled eagle feathers that he was giving them. When he came to the last one, thinking it would like the calumet eagle's feathers best, he decorated it with those feathers. The one at the head said to the man, "You did not give me the right kind. That feather I do not like. For that reason, I am going back to the water."

They tried to hold him but could not. He walked away and went into the water. They called to Lone Man to help them. He came back and walked toward the turtle in the water. He took his lance up, sang his song, motioning with it at the water which ran apart. He could see the turtle in the water. He said, "They gave you the best of all. What is the matter?"

The turtle said, "That is all right." Then the water covered over the turtle again. I was never at the place[45] where it went into the water, but it was about opposite where Fort Yates now stands. The place or village is called "Where Turtle Went Back."

When Lone Man saw that the turtle was in the water, he turned around and walked back. Then they started the ceremony, and Lone Man said, "It is all right, for there are three left." They selected a big lodge and by that time the buffalo masks were taken inside. Lone Man was in there and the Ho'-kaha, a tall blue-gray bird with a long bill and a short tail [probably the heron], was in its place.

There were forty families that went out to White High Butte, now called Sheep Butte. These people separated from the others over in the woods before the Mandan reached the Missouri River. There is a river which runs north at Minot, North Dakota. There is a high butte up there called White High Butte. It is to the north of the Turtle Mountains. Their chief was Four Bulls, as you recall earlier in the story. Four Bulls and all his people had moved up there, building villages along the way until they reached this spot. Sometime in the spring they were living there. The Indians would make a trap of brush

45. Crows Heart has seen the spot and says that it is upstream from the mouth of the Cannonball River at an old village near Butte without Hair on the east bank. This is probably the Shermer Site. There is another Butte without Hair directly opposite on the west side of the Missouri River.

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and woven hair and put bait inside it. The birds going inside were taken. The birds were fat and good to eat. In the spring a young man, not knowing any better, pulled all the feathers off one of the birds and stuck one of the feathers through the bird's bill and nostrils. There were four medicine men there named Spring Buffalo, Winter Buffalo, Middle of the Summer Buffalo, and Autumn Buffalo.

At the time some of the young men in the village went out and caught young buffalo calves and brought them into the village. It was customary to blow up the entrails to dry. The young men blew up some, dried them, putting them over the calves' heads and telling them to go. When the Lone Man created these birds, he had them represent the water by the little spots under their wings. The four medicine men were angry at the way the calves were treated. The birds were angry also. They caused rain to fall for a long time. The water kept rising, getting nearer and nearer to the villages. The people called for Lone Man, saying that the water was coming and covering them. He fixed up the sticks in a circle with a water willow around them. When he finished, he took all the people of the village into the corral around the village. The four medicine men changed into buffaloes. They had a younger brother who was the magpie.

When the water began to cover the village, they started to swim to the Missouri. Magpie had a string around his neck which held the corn. One of the buffaloes was exhausted and said, "In the future there will be plenty of buffalo here and people can come here and hunt them." Then there were three. After a while one more of them was exhausted, and, before sinking, he said, "In the future there will be plenty of buffaloes if the people come here," and he sank.

A third one became exhausted, and he said, "In the future if people come here they will find plenty of buffaloes," and then he sank. There was one buffalo left, and he was swimming along. He saw a high butte in front of him. It was Birds Bill Butte,[46] and he swam toward it. He was completely exhausted when he reached the butte.

Back where Lone Man had the people in the corral, they were saved by the power of his corral. He said, "This cedar and corral is my protector. From this time on, you will always have it." The Mandan under Good Furred Robe traveled northward along the Missouri River until they reached the Heart River, where they joined the others whom Lone Man and First Creator had created at that place. At this time the flood was coming. These people built a large corral south of the Heart River on Eagle Nose Butte where they also were safe from the flood.

The Awigaxa did not have the turtles and cedar to protect them, for they had the Corn to worship. While living on the White Clay Creek and Cheyenne River, the Awigaxa became separated, and the group not having the Corn ceremonies was lost while making sinews near the Black Hills. Before the flood, the others came back to the Missouri River, for the river bottoms were not so large where they had been and not much corn could be grown. They built large villages at the mouth of the Cheyenne, Moreau, and other streams until they reached the mouth of the Grand River. At this time they had corn rites, but there is no mention of the Okipa or the sacred cedar.

When word reached the people who were living at the Grand River that a great flood was coming, they must not have had a sacred cedar since those who

46. Also known as Eagle Nose Butte.

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remained in their villages were drowned while those who escaped to the Rocky Mountains were saved. After the waters had retreated, those in the mountains planted corn out there, but the seasons were too short and the yields were small. The people wanted to return to the Grand River, but other people were living there. Scouts sent out reported that the other Mandan who had lived on the west bank of the Missouri near Painted Woods had left their village, the ruins of which were still standing, to seek shelter in a large corral built by Lone Man near the Heart River. The people decided to move from the mountains and built a village near Painted Woods at a spot where there was much wood.

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While living in this village called Awigaxa, Lone Man and First Creator came along and found them. They came along when the water was high during the spring floods and told the people that higher floods might come and that they should have something to protect them. Some of the people thought it would be easier to escape to the mountains, since it took so much goods to perform the Okipa and the rites at the sacred cedar. Others thought that it was more costly to travel so far. Still others thought that the cedar would be useful for other purposes. Lone Man sent a young man a dream in which he saw the buffaloes dancing at the sacred cedar, and the old men interpreted the dream to mean that they should give the Okipa. Some thought that goods should be paid in large quantities equal to the inconvenience of moving to the mountains, and from this time the Awigaxa were the most liberal of the villages in supplying goods for the ceremonies. Lone Man and First Creator came and taught young men who were brave and intelligent how to impersonate the different characters. There were more people in the ceremony than when the other Mandan were taught the ceremony while living far to the southeast.

Even the Awaxawi and Awatixa who were living on the Missouri at that time came to make offerings and to fast. The Hidatsa must not have come south yet from the place where they had gone to escape the flood, for nothing is said of them in this old story. After the Okipa ceremony was given, the people were very lucky because there were so many more gods to protect them. Because the people were so lucky, when the wood was exhausted at one place, they built another village near by. No bad luck came to them until smallpox was brought in by the white men.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter V

PERSONAL BUNDLES AND VISION EXPERIENCES

POSSESSION of tribal bundles inherited from the preceding generation was not the good fortune of all men and women. Some were unable to acquire hereditary tribal bundles because they were not eligible either through birth or through marriage. Since the oldest son usually inherited his parents' bundle or bundles through the mother's lineage, younger sons and the daughters could, at most, hold partial rights through assistance in the transfer ceremonies and later became the titular bundle-owner should the older brother die. There are numerous instances of bundle transfers to a daughter and son-in-law in cases where there were no sons, providing the daughter and family were occupying her parents' lodge and especially when tribal custom prescribed clan inheritance of the bundle.

All males and females, regardless of bundles then owned or expected to be inherited at a later date, sought personal powers of the supernatural during their younger years. In exceptional instances the quest of supernatural power was continued until forty-five or fifty years of age. Fasting began at eight or nine, the parents recommending fasting and pointing out distinguished men who had been successful because of visions acquired through that practice. Parents never scolded or urged a son to fast. It was felt that a child's reputation was predetermined by the supernatural and that he would learn his destiny through the desire to fast. Parents would repeat their own experiences with the supernatural, either vision-inspired or through purchase. Small boys would be advised to fast a day or two during the Okipa ceremony to begin with and extend the length of their fasting at subsequent performances of that ceremony. Only four occasions provided formalized fasting. These were: during the Okipa ceremony, while trapping eagles, while

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

on war expeditions, and during the summer buffalo hunt. Of these four, only during one, the Okipa ceremony, was fasting done within the village. This is in sharp contrast with the Hidatsa custom of fasting during many bundle-transfer ceremonies. Crows Heart preferred to fast away from the village, thinking that women were less inclined to conform to tribal custom, which made dreams hard to get. 787 869 785

A man who advised and instructed his own sons in the benefits to be attained from fasting would be abusive with his sister's sons whom he did not believe were making enough effort to secure supernatural guardians. He would use the argument that it would enhance the prestige of the clan. He would talk of an occasion when other young men would be fasting in the Okipa and state that he would expect the "younger brother" to be there, and he would give him goods to pay the officers for that privilege. The older male members of the various clans were especially watchful to see that the sections reserved for the clans were well filled. The other clans laughed at those who had only a few fasting during the ceremony. 785 869 796 614

Not all who fasted either alone beyond the village limits or during the Okipa did so with the expectation of having a vision. Nor were visions received each time. Self-privation was believed to please the supernatural, and both individual and general well-being was the natural consequence. Although boys began to fast at the age of eight or nine because they were advised to, the serious seeking of guardian spirits or vision experiences was not made until the property-owning age was reached and shortly after marriage. 785 787

Three methods were employed in gaining supernatural experiences. Some would fast in various ways; others would inflict torture; and still others would make presents of valued property. Of the three, offering of valued goods was considered the hardest to do, since it required much work to amass the goods. 785 787 431

Self-torture administered during the Okipa ceremony was more severe than that practiced in any of the Hidatsa ceremonies; otherwise the customs of the two tribes differed little as to severity of the measures employed. The father's clansmen prepared the young man for the torture feature by securing and inserting the thongs. Suspension of the one tortured was not em- 785 171

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

785 171 ployed by the Hidatsa in the NaxpikE ceremony, the Sun Dance equivalent of that tribe, as was the case with the Mandans in their Okipa ceremony, where the one tortured was suspended until he became unconscious. This practice was modified in later years to conform with the Hidatsa custom.

785 562 304 765 The custom of cutting off fingers in mourning was universally practiced by the women but rarely by the men. The sacrifice of fingers as a means of self-torture was practiced by men and in only a few instances by women who, upon the death of a relative through warfare, sought by self-torture to revenge the relative's slaying at a time when her brothers contemplated a retaliatory raid on the enemy's camp during which time she would be fasting. Those seeking visions used a buffalo skull to cut the fingers on when a vision was sought.

787 785 Four Bears' fasting record at the base of a large oak tree in which a raven had its young, to learn the name of the Arikara who had killed his brother, is still related as an example of the power which the supernatural had to clarify past deeds and bring success to the one adopted.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF FOUR BEARS[1]

787 785 539 A Mandan named Four Bears sent his younger brother out with the horses to a spot farther from the village where there was more grass. The Arikara came and killed the boy. The men found him with a spear stuck through his body, which was a challenge to Four Bears to come and fight if he thought he was lucky. Four Bears went out and brought the boy back to the village and saved the spear. He had already fasted in the Okipa and had many gods, but he began fasting again. He would fast and cry for seven days and nights without food and then come back to the village to rest. Then he would go out fasting again. He fasted near a high tree in which the ravens had a nest. He cut the flesh on his chest and inserted sticks with which he hung from the tree until he fell exhausted. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. One time he cut off a finger and offered it to the People Above and the raven that had its nest there.

The bird said, "It is an easy thing. You will find the man who killed your brother." The raven promised him that he could also bring rain. The bird added, "The one who killed your brother is named Bear Necklace, and he is the one you should kill."

In those days the dogs had names, so a clan father of Four Bears brought a dog to Four Bears to name, and he gave it the name Bear Necklace even before he killed the man. When Four Bears killed the Arikara without losing a man, and everything happened just as he had said the raven had predicted, he was highly respected.

1. This incident is mentioned in George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 238–41.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

When he returned to the village, people of his father's clan took away his gun, bow and arrows, and knife. He was required to pay in robes to get them back. The more one paid on these occasions, the higher he was regarded. 787 785 539

Scattercorn used the story of Big Coat to illustrate the severity of self-torture:

When Big Coat was eight years old, the Nuptadi Village was destroyed by the Sioux, and he was taken prisoner. When he was older, he escaped with his mother and came back to the Mandan. Thinking of the treatment of his people, he vowed that he would get a guardian spirit that was real strong so that he could kill many Sioux. He first went out to fast when he was seventeen years old. At first he only fasted four days at a time, and many animals offered him help. Then he began to fast seven days to get still greater gods. All the people began to recognize his ambitions and say that he would surely be lucky and become a great leader who would do much good some day. He began to cut off his fingers and offer them to the Sun, Moon, and big birds of the sky. He cut off three fingers of each hand, leaving only the thumb and middle finger of each hand which he needed to use the bow and arrow. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. He even cut off his flesh and offered it to the Holy Women.[2] Before he stopped fasting, he had nearly everything as a guardian. He was always successful when leading war parties. [304]

Offerings of fingers and flesh were made chiefly to the Sun, but included the other characters represented in the Sun bundles, which were the Moon, Old Woman Above, Woman Above (sister of the Sun), and the Holy Women. Sun was a cannibal and was believed to eat the human flesh offered to him. 785 304

Fasting and self-torture were practiced when on eagle-trapping expeditions.[3] The leader expected the younger men to volunteer. Dragging buffalo skulls by means of thongs through the skin of the back or suspension from trees or banks were the usual methods employed. Others drew wood to camp by means of these thongs. Fasting was not employed regularly at these camps except for short periods, since, to be successful, more time was consumed than in self-torture. When trapping was poor, many advanced middle-aged men would fast and cry to bring success. Self-torture was employed regularly when on war expeditions, but fasting was not practiced, since there was not time for the party to wait several days in one spot. Generally they were hung over a bank or from a tree. The thongs were inserted by one of the father's clan. 785

Dragging of buffalo skulls was done when in the summer vil-

2. These were his father's gods.
3. See chap. vii below.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

785 lage, during marches in summer buffalo hunting, in eagle-trapping camps, or at the winter camp. This was the most common type of self-torture, since it was easier to induce a dream from the buffaloes. Human-skull circles were considered desirable places to fast for those who were making offerings of flesh or fingers to the Sun. Skull circles which had been prepared by owners of People Above bundles (the Sun, Moon, and their mother being the principal supernatural beings represented in those bundles) were considered particularly desirable.

785 The number of times one had fasted or inflicted self-torture was as much a part of one's record as the number of enemy 554 killed or struck in battle, and both were related during ceremonial 431 feasts. Those who had given the Okipa were especially respected, since the torturing of the Okipa Maker was even more severe than for the other fasters. There was the added fact that the Okipa Maker had sacrificed so much property that at the termination of the ceremony his family was entirely destitute and remained so until those who felt obligated to lend assistance sent help. Every normal male inflicted self-torture several times during early manhood. Everyone was expected to fast and be tortured at least once during the Okipa ceremony, although some were tortured annually for a number of years. Broken Ax, a Mandan, gave the Okipa eight times, and not once did he have a dream. He gave the ceremony, not from vision instruction, but because no others had dreamed of the Okipa.

785 Crows Heart told of instances when men fasted outside at night during the coldest weather. They would tie a lariat to a stake driven into the bank and call men of the father's clan to insert the thongs. They would hang over the bank until their clan fathers feared for their lives and brought them into camp. Others would remove all their clothing and walk around camp until nearly frozen.

Calf Woman told of an instance of a man dying as a result of fasting. She said, "People don't get visions every time they fast and don't expect to. Even though the gods send no instructions, they show their appreciation by sending good luck. Black Body, the husband of Turtle Woman who is still living, started for Saddle Butte to fast but decided to fast at the river instead. He fixed himself a place to fast and rolled up in his blanket. During

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the night something pulled his blanket off, and he was frightened. He ran back to the village and died shortly afterward of pneumonia." 785

CROWS HEART'S REMINISCENCES AND PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

When a man has a real dream, everything that is going to happen comes to him in his dream. Hairy Coat [owner of a People Above bundle], fasted nine days and everything he did came to him in his dreams. An animal came to him in his dream and said, "You have suffered long enough, and I am going to send you home now. I will give you one enemy, and you can go out and bring in his scalp." The Mandan did all this fasting to get scalps just as you white men are always working to get money. 785 787 159 223

I was twenty-three years old when I first went out to trap eagles. When the lodge was ready, the men went in. That night I knew the leader would suggest that someone should suffer for the birds. That day I looked around and found a sharp bank. On top of the bank I drove a sharp stake and tied a long lariat to it as securely as I could. I knew that the Old Male Black Bear [leader of eagle-trapping party] would suggest that I go out on the top of the hills to cry as long as I could, so I did this to be ready. When I finished driving the stake, I came back and got two men of my father's clan, one being the Good Shot, to go out with me to cut holes through the skin of my chest with an arrow and insert two sticks each two inches long through the holes. After they did it, they said the bank was too high to get down alone and that they would put the rope around my breast to let me down. I told them to leave me alone and go back to camp. 785 159 223

When they left, the lariat [30–35 feet long] was coiled up by the stake. I crawled over the edge and fell to the end of the rope. I got such a jerk that I lost my senses. When I came to, I found myself still hanging down. I cried and ran until I made a trail along the sharp edge. Then the weight became less painful.

That night there was a heavy frost. I cried all the time. I kept running, and it was very cold. I began at dark and suffered until about ten o'clock, when two of the hunters came after me. When they got there, they caught the rope and pulled me up to the top. They tried to take the sticks out, but the swellings were so great that they could not get them loose. I had to carry the rope and sticks in my arms to camp.

When we got there, the head man laid me up where the buffalo skull was. He used a big bunch of buffalo hair to thaw out the swelling, and then the sticks came out. After the sticks were out, I went back to bed, but the swelling extended from my navel to my chin. I rolled without sleeping until nearly daybreak. I could not sleep, so I got up early to see the flag on the hill. I wanted to see if we had the right kind of wind to go to the pits.

I found that we had the right kind of wind, came back to camp, wakened the others, and told them the wind was in the west, the right direction for trapping. My breast was so swollen I had to put the rope for carrying the bait around my forehead when walking to the pit. I put my bait where it was supposed to be and sat there in the pit looking up through the covering. Soon I heard a noise and looked up. There was a large eagle coming down. He sat on

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785 top of my bait, and I stuck my right hand out and caught him. He was a big
159 beautiful eagle, and that was the result I got for my suffering the night before.
Before I finished killing him, another big one came down on top of my pit and
walked over to the bait. I caught him as I had the other one and pulled him
223 into the pit where I killed him, and there was never a happier person than I.
I forgot all about my pains. I was happy as I thought of what I had done the
night before. I did not have to go very far to get results for the suffering I did
the night before. After that the leader said, since I was lucky, I should get up
mornings and look at the flag to see if the winds were right.

787 If a man goes out on the hills to fast and suffer and some holy person or
animal comes to him and tells him that he will be lucky and kill an enemy,
785 but when he goes out as leader, the enemy kills one of his party instead, he
will come home crying because the people will think that he didn't fast right
159 or that his dream wasn't real. Brave men will start fasting again and seek an
even stronger god by fasting longer and offering their flesh to the Sun. The
older men watch one who has lost a warrior when he fasts. If the suffering is
too severe, men of his father's clan pay him to stop for fear that he will kill
himself. After he has suffered a while, the parents of the warrior who was
killed in battle will give a feast to the man and ask him to stop. When a leader
goes out to war as a result of the promise of a certain animal and loses one of
his men, he will reject that animal's vision instructions if sent to him again in
a dream. He will keep on fasting until another god comes to him. It is often
hard to get men to follow an unlucky leader. If he goes out a second time and
kills or strikes an enemy, the people will say, "You have a real protector now,
one that is going to be a great help to you."

My god is the horse. When I was a young man, I led a horse around the sacred cedar standing in the center of Like-a-Fishhook Village by means of thongs in my flesh until I fell down unconscious. As I lay there, a horse came to me and promised me success in hunting and warfare. I killed two enemies a long ways from home because of this dream. The horse sang me his sacred songs, but I am not allowed to sing them for you. I have done all the things the horse asked of me, and the horse has done everything he promised me he would. The doctoring you saw me do did not come from the instructions the horse gave me. The sharp stick I used for letting out matter came from my rights in the Big Bird ceremony my sisters and I bought of Big Black, my father's brother.

726 I can illustrate by a story how a man organizes a war party to go out for
the enemy that his god has promised him. The leader is careful to do just as
159 he was instructed.

The party was to leave from Fishhook Village. The leaders were Old Bear (Tamisik clan), Crows Breast (Tamisik clan), and Porcupine Head (Speckled Eagle clan). I joined the party because of a suggestion by Afraid To Be Chief [his mother's brother and head of the lodge at that time] that he had no horses. If we got horses, we would be pretty well fixed. When a party of this kind is made up, they do not announce it but act quietly in preparation for the trip. A night was set to leave. Those planning to join got together a supply of moccasins and food. A lodge was designated as our meeting place. The party met this time in Two Chief's lodge. Others came to look on and wish us luck so that the lodge was packed full of people.

In addition to the leaders mentioned already, there were these warriors in the party: Big Steal (Tamisik clan), Long Tail (Prairie Chicken clan), Afraid

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To Be Chief (Prairie Chicken clan), Raven Turns (WaxikEna clan), Bear Chief (Prairie Chicken clan), Short Bears Teeth (Tamisik clan), Crows Heart (Prairie Chicken clan), Tree Bark (Tamisik clan), and Crow (Prairie Chicken clan). 726 159

We met at Two Chief's lodge, since he was a brother-in-law of Crows Breast, one of the Old Wolves. We had enough bullboats in readiness to carry the party down the river. It was planned that the party should sing the songs belonging to the whole group[4] before leaving. All of us wore a white piece of cloth for a headgear and a white cloak reaching to the knees. While singing the songs, we made a noise by "hitting the mouth"; this brought a great crowd of onlookers. While we were singing, a heavy shower of rain fell, and water ran everywhere in small torrents. The leaders decided not to go that night; they would wait until the next evening just at sunset.

When the schedule was changed, each of us took up his medicine bundle and equipment and left the lodge. Upon reaching our earth lodge, I lay aside my medicine bag and moccasins and went out of the village to attend to my horses. While there I met an Hidatsa named Puts Away His Hair, who said he was organizing a war party of his own and wanted me to go along as a Young Wolf [scout].

He said, "When I was making the ceremony, my gods gave me one tepee at a place called Cedars Facing Each Other [southwest of the present town of Dickinson, North Dakota]."

When he said that, I was undecided what to do. I thought it over for a long time and finally decided to go with him as a Young Wolf. I had already left a bullboat with the other party. I prepared to leave immediately with the newly organized party. It did not take me long to get ready, since I had only to fetch my horse. My medicine bundle and moccasins were already packed for the other expedition I had planned accompanying. In a short time I plunged my horse into the muddy waters of the Missouri at a point just below the village and swam him to the opposite shore where we were to meet. It was late spring, and the river was quite high. Big Steal also changed over to this party.

We went to a sand bar to wait for the party. We were told that we would wait for him there, but we did not know who he meant. We later learned that they meant Four Bears, whom you are named after.

The leaders of Old Wolves were: Puts Away His Hair (Water-buster clan, Hidatsa), Sitting Elk (Water-buster clan, Hidatsa), Four Bears (Prairie Chicken clan, Hidatsa), and Shaved Forehead (Water-buster clan, Hidatsa). The others of the party were: Yellow Robe (Prairie Chicken clan, Hidatsa), Foolish Man (Tamisik clan, Louie Baker's brother, Mandan), Rattlesnake (Tamisik clan, Mandan), No Arm (Tamisik clan, Mandan), and Crows Heart (Prairie Chicken clan, nineteen years old, Mandan).

The route we took was a little east of the present post office of Defiance by Lake Gap [Mandan name]. There were plenty of antelope, and we had enough meat. Our route took us by Red Bank, where we made our first camp. From there we went directly toward the present site of the town of Dickinson and on the second night stopped on the river bottoms there. Next day we went on to Rose Bud Ground to the southwest. From our camp there, we climbed the grass-covered buttes from which we saw the hill called Home-of-the-Buffalo,

4. I.e., society songs.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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the place where the animals were believed to come out. Some of the party decided to go there to look at the place. On reaching Home-of-Buffalo Hill some of us looked around for the blue clay used for painting our faces and known to be plentiful there. On top of the hill there was a deep crack in the ground, and we could see the buffalo spirits' tracks in there, for it was well packed down. On the west side we came to a great cavity half-full of bones. There were so many bones there I think the animals must have been killed by lightning.

This was the same summer that Custer's party went through the country [1876]. Their army went just a little to the west of the hill and made a regular road. We went there to see their trail. When we came to where it went down to the Little Missouri River, we found skeletons of mules, wrecked and abandoned wagons, and much other material discarded by the army. Their trail was plain, so we followed it all the way to the Little Missouri. Just before crossing the Little Missouri, we went through rough country. There we found oats, clothing, and harness; it looked as though the men had spent a long time there making the road. We found good bridles, reins, and tents which we took. All of us were well supplied. From there we rode to Like-a-Chicken-Tail Butte. This was one of the places where we usually got red paint. All in the party said they would need it when they captured the one lodge. From there we followed the west bank of the Little Missouri River a ways, then crossed and camped on the bank, all the time going up the river. The country abounded with elk, antelope, and blacktail deer. We were never short of meat.

Soon we could see Cedars Facing Each Other Buttes. There we killed two elk, for we were afraid we might not find the tepee at once and might need meat while we were scouting around for it. There we built a sweat lodge and dried our meat in it with heated stones, for we did not dare shoot game when in the vicinity of the enemy. The scouts constantly traveled ahead of us, headed by Yellow Robe and assisted by Foolish Man and Rattlesnake. On the third day after drying the elk meat, they came back running to inform us that they had found where a tepee had been and that the coals were still hot. They said they could still see the place where the horses had been picketed.

When Puts Away His Hair reached the site of the tepee, he went to the west side of the tepee ring to fast and cry. He cried until the next noon.

Then he pointed to the Sun and said, "Old Man, what you have given me, you have also taken away." Then he turned to the Young Wolves and said, "Now, my Young Wolves, this is the place designated by my medicine. It would not be good policy to follow this enemy. We could catch him at his next stop but that would be beyond the authority given me by my medicine. I might be harmed and some of you Young Wolves might be killed. Young Wolves, I am going to turn back, but you may go on if you wish. Old Man gave me this lodge (one family), but now he has taken it back again."

When he made that decision, Sitting Elk[5] decided to go on as leader and took with him Yellow Robe, Foolish Man, and No Arm. They went on for one day when they found the camp fire again burning. Sitting Elk was leader, but he decided that in view of the fact that another had been given the lodge, it would be dangerous to them.

He said, "By the looks of things, the enemy is wise to us. I don't want to

5. Hidatsa Hide-beating bundle-owner.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

lose any Young Wolves. It would be a blur to my record to 'kick the stone' so I am going back." The others returned with him. 726 159

When we came back, there was nothing of importance until we reached the Killdeer Mountains, where a Sioux war party saw us. We took the middle of the flat east of the Killdeer Mountains, and one of the party killed an antelope. We wasted no time pulling the hide off, and went right on to Red Paint Creek. I laid the hide out to dry to use on my horse that had a sore back. While we were roasting the meat, a whirlwind took the hide up into the air and whirled it, all the time with the flat side down.

When it happened, we said as a joke, "The enemy is upon us," but each of us jumped onto his horse and followed the creek down to the Little Missouri. We did not stop until we reached Cedar Butte, four miles above Hans Creek, when we went into an elm thicket to rest the horses. While there, an owl came and hooted. The enemy had outnumbered us ten to one and had been watching us from the Killdeer Mountains. They thought they had us, but it was the whirlwind that saved us. It was almost a miracle that we escaped the enemy. [The enemy was never seen but was merely suspected by the signs.] From our camp in Hans Creek we left at dawn without food and rode until we reached Manure Creek, where we grazed our horses in a clearing in the woods and cooked meat. We reached Like-a-Fishhook Village at sunset.

Puts Away His Hair got no credit for the lodge even though he found it just where his medicine said it would be.

The Mandan distinguished two kinds of supernatural experiences, those which were received through dreams and those actually seen, the latter being considered the more reliable. Crows Heart thought that what one actually saw could be depended on, whereas all dreams were not real. Scattercorn told of a Mandan who was visiting the Crow Indians. She said: "A friend took him to the top of a high mountain. While there a storm came up so they sought shelter under a cliff. During the night Thunderbird came by with his wings straight out. The lightning came out of his neck, and, when he moved his wings ever so little, it thundered. This Mandan really saw this bird, and it was his guardian after that." 787

All women fasted at least once during their lifetime. Self-torture was rarely practiced except in unusual instances. Scattercorn recalled an instance when three brothers were killed by the Cheyennes, who had been in the village exchanging robes for corn. When they left, they met men coming back loaded with meat. No precautions were taken when they saw the Cheyennes, since they knew what their mission had been. The brothers of the slain men fasted and practiced self-torture to get supernatural aid. When the war party left, one sister cut off two fingers 785 562

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785 and offered them to the sky-gods. She slashed her legs and arms
562 where they had just healed after the mourning cuts she had inflicted. She fasted four days. Although she did not receive a vision, she attributed the unusual success of the war party to her sacrifices.

Men and women never fasted at the same places. Women usually fasted in their gardens or on the corn scaffolds. Women could pledge to give the Okipa, in which case they were permitted to fast on the roof, while a brother assumed the responsibilities of Okipa Maker. They rarely fasted more than one day and night at a time. The supernatural powers which one received were believed to be in direct proportion to one's suffering. Front Woman did not think women needed as powerful guardians as men, so she fasted only one day and night until she contracted sore eyes which would not heal. She and her mother's sister who also had eye trouble paid for the right to fast on the Okipa lodge while the ceremony was being held. Her eyes improved, but her mother's sister's eyes did not. Both fasted during the four days of the ceremony but returned to their lodge at evening.

787 Doctoring rights were included with most tribal hereditary
756 bundles, and the rights to doctor were sold with the bundle.
428 Such rights could also be acquired through supernatural instructions or purchased from one who had secured the right through visions. The latter practice, though common, did not continue for more than two or three generations. Only tribal bundles continued the hereditary character of doctoring rights generation after generation and with little change. Both men and women doctored. Women rarely doctored outside their own family until after the menopause.

The following account is typical of doctoring beliefs and practices.

MRS. GOOD BEAR'S NARRATIVE OF DOCTORING

787 My mother, Stays Yellow, fasted in the woods in quest of a god. Just be-
756 fore daylight she fell asleep. In her dream she saw two old people doctoring
159 a woman who was having difficulty bearing a child. She saw that they were using black roots [Black Medicine] which they dug up in the forest. The old people, a man and a woman, had a hide rattle decorated with white feathers. She listened to the song they were singing. At the same time they administered to the woman giving birth to the child, they were doctoring to a number of dead watersnakes. The old woman chewed the roots and blew the chewed-up mass over the snakes; each time she blew on a snake, it came alive and

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squirmed away. The last of the snakes had young in her body and was slow to come to life. The woman blew the black root on the snake several times, and each time the snake gave birth to a young snake until all were born. The old man and woman then instructed Stays Yellow that she could doctor women when they had difficulty bearing children. My mother never killed snakes after that; she always blew some of the medicine root on any snake near our lodge and then carried it away. 787 756 159

My mother's mother, Coyote Woman, lived with her husband between the Knife and the Heart rivers.[6] He was very mean to her and beat her a great deal. He sent her out every morning at daylight to see if there were any animals in their pits. One day there was a large wolf in one of the pits. 754 159

The wolf said, "Take me out, and I will give you power to do anything you ask."

Coyote Woman did not know what to do because she was afraid of her husband. The wolf knew her thoughts. He coughed up a blue stone.

"Take that stone and use it among your people," he said. "If you use it, you will stay awake all night just like the wolves do." She took the stone and let the wolf out.

From fear of her husband, she told him what had happened. The old man was very cross and inquired how much power the wolf gave her. She showed him the blue stone, and the old man took it away from her.

When the wolf gave her the stone he had said, "If anybody in your tribe is mean to you and you want to get rid of him, cut out an image of him in leather, put the stone beside the image, and cover both with hot ashes. Then the person will die."

She told all this to her husband. She had had another husband when she was young, and the old man immediately put a piece of hide cut out in the shape of the other man together with the blue stone into the ashes, calling the other man's name. That night the old man and his wife could not sleep. The next morning the woman's first husband died. She knew that she would have to get the stone away from her husband or he would kill half the tribe, so she stole the stone. When he missed the stone, he beat her; then he took her to the prairie where he drove down four posts, tying her arms and legs each to a post. In the night the wolf came and chewed off all the straps, thus setting her free.[7]

The Wolf said, "Any time you want to know anything, come out on the hills and I will tell you." 787

She went home and slept during the day. A large bear came to her and said, "You are having a hard time. From now on, you must go among your people doctoring. People will give you white buffalo robes, leggings, dresses, and moccasins, for you will cure all who ask your help." 756 159

Then the wolf came to her in her dream and said, "Tell your husband to go on the warpath. The first time the wolves will send him good luck and all the people will praise him; the second time he won't come back, for the wolves will eat him."

He did as she said. The second time he did not come back. After ten days,

6. This was the village of the Awigaxa and Istopa bands.

7. This suggests Hidatsa beliefs concerning wolves. See "Wolf Ceremonies" in Bowers, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, MS).

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787 Coyote Woman went onto a hill. The wolf said, "Your husband who was like
756 an enemy to you has been eaten up. Don't feel sorry for him, or I will never
159 help you."

Before she went home, she cut deep gashes in her arms and legs with a flint knife and cut the sleeves from her dress. As she approached the village, she began to cry, and all the people ran out to learn the cause of her mourning. She said that her husband and all his party were dead.

She began doctoring the sick people the way she had formerly been instructed by the bear.[8] She examined her patients first to learn what caused the
[753] illness. Some were made ill by the snakes or bugs in their bodies; others from the influence of evil spirits; others from the loss of a god. She had a medicine song and a medicine root. If she found the pain was in one spot, she sucked with her mouth or a hollow horn, sometimes drawing out long slim worms or maggots of different colors. She pressed the stomach for pains located in the stomach or bowels and blew chewed-up cedar bark over the patient; when a person had a headache, she let out blood from the forehead.

756 The stone was burned so our people lost that. When Coyote Woman was
159 old, she did not sell my mother the right to doctor, but my mother often heard her tell how she cured her patients. We have always believed since then that the bear was the greatest of all doctors.

844 Certain doctors were called upon to help women laboring in childbirth.
159 Some of the women of the house would fill a pipe and place it before the woman they wished to act as midwife or doctor. The doctor gave instructions which must be carried out and set the price which was for the number of days she would serve. If she failed to help the patient in that time, she left to give another a chance to cure the patient. If the doctor failed to cure the patient in the time designated, the relatives might again place the pipe before her, and she was obliged to remain longer. Extra goods were then paid for the additional time. When the doctor entered the lodge where the woman in labor
[841] lived, she ordered all the men and small children out, and women then in their menstrual period were asked to stay away from the lodge. Should any woman during her menstrual period come into the lodge, sage was immediately burned in four places in the lodge, two fires being made of sage painted red and two of white sage.[9] If this was not done, it was believed that the patient might die. A special song was sung during the burning of the sage, for which the doctor received an additional fee. The doctor called in two young girls while the four fires were burning and asked them to doctor the patient in her stead by singing the medicine songs and dancing around the sick person. At the end of the songs, the two girls walked to the sick person and said, "You are well now," and left the lodge. The doctor then continued to administer to the sick woman.

The doctor selected an old woman to take the child as soon as it came. Women gave birth to children usually in bed or on a robe laid on the floor. The lodge was darkened, and only the doctor and the sick woman's mother were allowed inside. As soon as the child was born, a wide belt was bound tightly around the mother's abdomen. Because of the cost, many women did not engage a doctor unless difficulty was experienced.

8. Bear bundle rites were inherited in the Bear clan until the clan died out after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

9. Apparently this practice was a part of each doctoring rite. Red sage represented the sun and white sage represented the moon.

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My mother received the right to doctor women having trouble in childbirth, but she never practiced until she was quite an old woman. She learned of a woman that other doctors had given up to die and went to help her. The woman was scarcely alive but still conscious and could talk a little. 844 159

My mother said to her, "I have no great powers, but I am going to do just as I saw in my dream when a young woman." She chewed the black root and blew it over the sick woman and sang the medicine song she heard the old man and woman singing. She asked one of the old women standing near by to bring a stiff feather. Then she lifted the sick woman's head up and opened her mouth. She pressed one knee on the patient's stomach and at the same time pushed the feather down her throat, causing her to strain as in vomiting. This contracted the abdominal muscles, and, the fourth time the feather was pushed down her throat, the child came. My mother did not dream that she should use the feather. It was her own idea. She boiled some of the black root and gave the sick woman the water off of it to drink. She got a good horse, ten blankets, and much calico for doctoring this woman.

My mother turned her doctoring bundle over to me when she was old. The bundle consisted of black root, sage, and the song. She did not have the hide rattle, as it was the man in her dream who held that. I only doctored one woman who was having pains before her child was born. I did just as my mother instructed me to. I went to her lodge, sent everyone out except one woman, the sick one's mother, and made the room dark. I sang the song and blew chewed black root over her. I boiled black root and gave her the water to drink. The child was born before I had time to use the feather. I was paid a fat steer for helping her.

Crows Heart thought that a person rarely called in another to doctor except when the case was serious. People usually depended on their own bundles for protection and recovery from illness or accident. In the case of imbedded arrows, anyone might be asked to help remove them. Arrowheads or bullets imbedded in the flesh of the limbs were usually pressed on through the limb. He cited examples, one when a man doctored his own injuries and one where help was asked of others. 755 752

CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF CHERRY NECKLACE

Once the Mandan went toward Dickinson on their summer buffalo hunt. Nearly one thousand Sioux attacked them, and Poor Bear was shot through the chest so that the bullet come out through his shoulder blade. He bled through his nose and mouth when he was carried into his tepee. He said that when he got his medicine spirit, the Bear, he was promised protection. Although bullets might hit him they could not kill him if he carried out the instructions received in his dream. He asked his wives to bring him wild plums to eat, but there were none because it was early in the summer. Instead they brought him plum leaves and said they were plums. He chewed the leaves and sang his sacred songs. His wives helped him to his feet, and he danced while he sang with the blood flowing from the two wounds. In four days he was able to walk through camp again.

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Another time there was a battle at Like-a-Fishhook Village with the Sioux, and one of the warriors was shot in the abdomen with an arrow. The arrowhead hit a bone so that the shaft came out, leaving the arrow in his body. The man was very sick from the pain. His family called that anyone taking out the metal arrowhead would be paid a buffalo horse, two pack horses, a large tepee of twenty hides, a mule, a dress made of mountain-sheep hide and decorated with five hundred elk teeth, one war bonnet, and a pile of robes and blankets. Nobody came to remove the arrowhead so his wife put a pipe before Cherry Necklace[10] and Rattles Stone Like a Bell, holy men, and asked them to help. Both came to the wounded man's lodge.

Cherry Necklace got his powers years before when away eagle-trapping. He waded into a pond one evening to fast in quest of a god. There he cried all night until nearly morning when a bear came out of the water and led him into his den under the water. The bear showed him how to use medicine roots, gave him a song, and took him to a snake den where the snakes showed him how to poison people. Cherry Necklace always smoked alone, and it was said that anyone coming into his lodge while he smoked was poisoned. Sometimes he smoked with others, but there must be seven in the party. He poisoned through habit, not meanness, and everyone respected and feared him.

Rattles Stone Like a Bell fasted on Eagles Nest Hill[11] southeast of Washburn, and the eagles instructed him to make a holy pipe, and the Crane gave him the power to remove arrowheads and bullets.

Cherry Necklace[12] tried to get the arrowhead first. He thought he ought to put him to sleep, so he smoked his medicine roots, but the injured man was in too great pain to sleep. He thought he would try another way; he would put hot coals on his pipe stem. The bull-snake came out, and he asked the snake to go into the wound, but the snake's jaws were too weak to extract the point, so Cherry Necklace gave up.

Rattles Stone Like a Bell tried. He had two dried crane heads with the lower jaws attached and a stuffed crane. He tied one of the dry heads around the patient's neck and painted his face red. He put the other crane head around his own neck and painted his own face red also. He sang his medicine song which put the wounded man to sleep. While he was singing, the crane came alive and walked around the wounded man. As he was going to sleep, he heard the crane calling "Konix," and the medicine man answering "Konix" from the other side of the room. When he was asleep, the crane walked up to him, stuck his bill in the wound, using his bill as pinchers. After pulling several times, he succeeded in extracting the arrowhead. Matter and blood came out of the wound. Rattles Stone Like a Bell sent word through the village for the people to come to the river's edge and see the wounded man bathe. He led the sick man to the water, all the time singing the crane's song. They washed off the red paint and went back to the lodge. Rattles Stone Like a Bell took all the goods he had been promised, but he gave some to Cherry Necklace, who was the older man.

10. For other stories concerning this man see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 264–66.

11. Another Eagle Nest Hill was south of Mandan, North Dakota.

12. Cherry Necklace was a Hidatsa.

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Mrs. Good Bear remembered an old man with the medicine of the otter. The otter was said to extract arrowheads and bullets by sticking his head into the wound.

The Mandan had one doctoring practice not employed by the Hidatsa. Sometimes a baby got a sore mouth and could not nurse its mother. The child's father would call one of his own brothers saying, "I want to drink of your blood."

The father would use an awl to prick a hole in his brother's leg and the child's mouth was put over the wound. When a man had no brothers, he called a man of his own clan. The rule was that the blood one drank must come from a man of the father's clan. Crows Heart showed several scars where he had given blood to cure sore mouths.

Breaking rules was believed to be the cause of bad luck. This could be either intentional or unintentional. Sometimes the guardian spirit was said to abandon one who violated some rule. Crows Heart said that it was impossible to explain why some men who were so particular about obeying all the rules should lose power. Edgar Crows Heart took his mother's brother's mink hide[13] to use in a dance without getting permission. Shortly afterward, he was thrown from a horse and suffered a broken nose, a result, Crows Heart, the father, said of taking a medicine bundle without the right.

Scattercorn was the only informant to give an example of sleight-of-hand practices performed as the result of a dream. In the hereditary bundle rites people claimed to have corn, buffalo, and other spirits in their body which came up into the mouth during the ceremonies.[14] Her account is of one not informed in the actual rites.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF POWER OF MEDICINE

My father's father ran away from the village when the smallpox came and lived with the Crow Indians out west. He was one who fasted much. One time he fasted on a high mountain. He became so weak that he could not get down the mountain and fell unconscious in the snow. A bear, porcupine, and otter came to him and said, "Son, we heard you cry and are going to help you." Those spirits carried him down the mountain, and he was so weak that he could not help himself. He became unusually holy because so many animals

13. Hidatsa Creek medicine.

14. Also reported by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIV (Cleveland, 1906), 33.

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787 came to him and promised him many things, taught him medicine songs and told him how to make a bundle.

159 He came back to the village where there were just a few Mandan living. The Ree were living in the village too and were mistreating the Mandan, but 176 when they heard he was a holy man, they gave him robes and blankets to keep him from doing them harm.

When my father was grown, my grandfather said, "I am going to fix you up with the gods I have and teach you everything the bear, porcupine, and otter taught me. I will give you the songs, but you will have to pay me for them. I will teach you all the things I have been taught in my dreams."

He made a hole through two bullets; one he tied around my father's neck and the other round the wrist. He made a shield and painted a picture of a bear, porcupine, and otter on it, but the bear had two heads. He tied a soft eagle feather to the shield.

"If they shoot this little feather, they will kill you. Otherwise they can't kill you or hurt you in battle,"[15] he said.

He told my father, Moves Slowly, how to fix up the medicine for battle. Twice my father struck an enemy. This power was given him to be lucky, and his exploits brought him a high place in the tribe.

He once said to my father, "If the spirits agree, I will know it." He taught my father's sister the songs.[16] One time he asked the women to bring much firewood into the earth lodge and get out his three drums because he was going to bring all the gods in that night. He stood a long pole with a rattle tied on the end up through the smokehole. There was another rattle near the kettle beside the fireplace. There was a small sweat lodge in one corner of the earth lodge. Many people came in to look on. Two men tied him up hand and foot and put him in the sweat lodge. He was to bring in the spirits while the girl sang his medicine songs. The people were told that the spirits would hit them if they were not quiet. Soon the rattles began to shake, and the spirits came down and untied him and tied the lariat up in a knot. Then he ordered the fire built up, and everything was bright again.

He was able to name the person stealing things and locate lost storage pits. The spirits on the mountains showed him how to detect thieves or find things. One time some friends made a robe, but before it was finished someone stole it. They called my father in to sing his medicine songs. While he was singing, a dog barked out in the village and two men going by told him they passed a man wearing a robe that had not been trimmed around the edge. It was a Ree who had stolen it.

Another time he had just finished ten arrows. He had given a horse for the heads on the arrows and was proud of them. He missed them so that night he sang the medicine songs and asked the gods to help him find them. When he finished, he just wandered aimlessly through the village and went into a lodge, not knowing why he did. He told about his arrows and one of the men in the lodge said there was a young man sleeping there who had nice ones. They were the arrows he lost. So my father believed the promise made by his father that "the spirits would send powers" was true.

15. The feather represented the source of his power, and the only way to harm him was by breaking or destroying his connection with the supernatural.

[428] 16. This form of inheritance from parents to children was characteristic of personal bundles which should not be confused with tribal bundles which were theoretically clan owned.

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Calf Woman told of an old Mandan with ten sons who instructed them each to take one of his teeth to be carried in battle. After he died, he was placed on a scaffold for one year, when the teeth were taken by the sons and kept as sacred objects. The skull was placed at one of the skull circles near a People Above shrine, and the other bones were buried. He had been very successful in warfare but died of a boil. 766 778

The skulls of those who died away from the village were usually brought back a year later, if requested by the relatives, by either a man or woman of the father's clan. It was customary to have a woman bring back the skull if summer village hunting expeditions were in the vicinity; otherwise a man leaving on a war expedition was delegated to secure the skull. Skulls brought back were placed at one of the shrines, of which there were a number adjacent to each village.

All men and women fasted, and most people had vision experiences. All were medicine men just as all were warriors or hunters. Some acquired reputations as medicine men just as some had good reputations as warriors or hunters. There was no grouping into cults according to vision; such division as did occur was based on ownership of related hereditary tribal bundles, a system much like the Pawnee except for a greater flexibility deriving from the four-sale right. It cannot be said that inherited bundle-owners were higher in tribal regard than those who practiced doctoring or led successful war parties. Each stood on his own record. Such advantage as hereditary bundle-owners had over others came from their possession of tribal lore belonging to the bundle. Since each hereditary bundle-owner was instructed in the traditional history of the bundle, he became an authority on the early history of the tribe. Four Bears rose to eminence and became second chief without inheriting any bundles of his parents other than a sacred shield and rain-calling robe. He had a successful war record and did much fasting. That would never have elevated him to more than a war leader, but the many feasts he made to which the older hereditary bundle-owners were invited gave him the necessary prestige. He gave the Okipa twice. Crows Heart had a good war record but never rose to eminence. His home being near a river crossing, people were always stopping there for meals. Nevertheless, he gave few for- 787 554 785 795

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787 554 785 795 mal feasts to which the older people were invited and was considered selfish, in spite of the fact that he probably fed more people than those who offered feasts from time to time.

778 428 171 432 It was the duty of all to fast, but few could inherit tribal bundles. After the smallpox of 1837, there was probably a much higher percentage of the population owning these hereditary tribal bundles. Visions could be bought and sold like hereditary bundles, but their existence was usually short-lived unless they became incorporated into hereditary bundle rites. A man ordinarily did not boast of the bundles he owned. Instead, he would boast of the potency of the bundles. The Hidatsa custom of buying the father's bundle because he dreamed of it was not the Mandan way. A Mandan bought because he was expected to, and people would condemn him for failing to buy. The man would ask his son to buy. If he had no son, but a son-in-law was living in the lodge, he would ask him to buy. Instruction was direct between seller and buyer, whereas the Hidatsa used a member of the father's clan as intermediary. Moves Slowly did not dream of the Corn Medicine before buying. He was hereditarily entitled to it. When one of the Mandan Corn bundles reached the Awaxawi,[17] Poor Wolf bought because he dreamed of it. The Hidatsa performed a ceremony because they had a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Little Eagle, the NumakmaxEna bundle-owner, was killed in war, and his wives automatically became the bundle-owners. When they remarried, their second husband received permission from them to officiate in the Okipa until White Calf, their son, was of proper age to assume the office. He had not dreamed of the bundle. The NaxpikE or Hide-beating ceremony of the Hidatsa was never given except when one who was a son of a man having this bundle received a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Such was not the custom in giving the Okipa. Permission must be given by the Okipa Society because an eligible candidate either had received vision instruction or had a feeling of responsibility to give it. So we see that even between these two groups, the Mandan and Hidatsa, who have lived in close contacts for a few centuries, some fundamental differences in ceremonial organization persisted.

17. A Hidatsa band.

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Chapter VI

THE CORN CEREMONIES

THE Corn ceremonies were of two general groups based on their mythological backgrounds. Either because of purchase or other factors, possibly village union, the two separate ceremonies were consolidated during the memory of the older Mandan. One ceremony which was represented by two bundles was believed to have been performed when the tribe resided under the ground near the mouth of the Mississippi. In this land beneath the earth, the people lived a simple life, depending on corn for their sustenance. They were naked and had neither pottery nor bows and arrows. Their spiritual leader was Corn Father, who, by performing certain rites, caused the seed to germinate and grow, producing the mature plants and ripe corn. The whole tribe relied on him for supernatural guidance. The growing plant was a symbol of his power, and it was believed that the seed would not grow without his rites.

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When the people began to come to the surface of the earth by means of a grape vine, the leader of the Corn ceremonies was at the back of the line and was separated from his three sons, Good Furred Robe, Cornhusk Earrings, and Uses His Head for Rattle, and a daughter named Waving Corn Stalk, when the vine was broken by the weight of a woman heavy with child. Calling to his children who had reached the earth, he instructed them to continue the rites as they had seen him perform them. The ceremonial myth from that point traces out the traditional migrations of the tribe, the acquisition of new tools and skills, and the founding of the Black Mouth and Goose societies. In the myth, Good Furred Robe, being the oldest brother, took the leading part. This myth was closely interwoven with the Okipa myth.[1]

After the tribe had completed its migrations and had reached

1. See Creation Myth narrated by Chief to his son-in-law, Wolf Chief (chap. iv).

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796 773 778 After the tribe had completed its migration and had reached the Heart River region, the three brothers died. Good Furred Robe never married, but, before he died, he sold his sacred robe and pipe to his brother's son, who preserved it as a sacred bundle belonging to the Corn ceremonies. The three brothers' skulls were taken from the scaffolds and kept in a leather bag as a second Corn ceremony bundle.

778 The Sacred Robe bundle contained the following articles: (1) a robe said to have belonged to Good Furred Robe, on which was painted a map of the world showing the Missouri River as a large snake and the hole through which the Corn People reached the earth; (2) Good Furred Robe's pipe, carved from wood, the stem being carved to represent a goose's head and neck, the mouthpiece being the goose's bill; (3) a headdress of foxskins; (4) a bundle of young white sage; (5) moccasins made of buffalo hide with the hair on the inside; (6) a clay pot; (7) a strip of elkhide; (8) a dried gourd for a rattle; (9) a substance resembling and representing corn silk; (10) one ear of white flint corn, one ear of yellow corn, and one ear of white soft corn; (11) a narrow strip of badger skin; (12) blackbird heads and the head of one green-headed duck; (13) a whitetail deer skull with antlers attached to place the bundle on; (14) three dried squash; (15) one sunflower head; (16) a robe made of kit-fox hides; and (17) a braid of cornhusks.

796 773 778 The ceremonial significance of many of the articles in the bundle are self-evident, particularly Items 8, 9, 10, 14, and 15, since these are products from the gardens. The robe was made from a buffalo heifer's hide. Scattercorn explained that such hides, especially those killed in the late fall, had beautiful hair. The paintings on the hide depicted the traditional migration of the tribe from the mouth of the Mississippi and expressed the close association of the tribe with the Missouri River section of the Plains. The Missouri River was depicted as a huge snake. The robe was believed to have supernatural powers over the weather, and those who wished to have rain for their crops paid the robe-owner to open the bundle and sprinkle water on the robe. He would sing the "Song of the Robe" while sprinkling the robe with water shaken from a bundle of white sage (Item 4 of the bundle). The robe was considered the most important ar-

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ticle in the bundle and was believed to have once belonged to Good Furred Robe, who wore it during the various Corn rites. 796 778

The pipe differed little from other ceremonial pipes. The bowl and part of the stem were carved from wood. There appeared to be a stone or clay lining to the bowl. A second piece of wood was carved to resemble a goose's head and neck. This pipe was owned by Good Furred Robe and, according to tradition, used by him in the ceremonies. 773

The headdress of foxskins (Item 3), badger fur (Item 11), kit-fox robe (Item 16), and strip of elkhide (Item 7) were represented in the bundle because these animals assisted in bringing the people out of the ground.

The sage belonging to the bundle was the kind kept in all earth lodges and used by the women at the close of a day's work in the gardens to cleanse themselves by rubbing their body and clothing with it. It was said that, in ancient times, worms and diseases were removed by this simple household cleansing rite. [515]

The dried gourd, used as a rattle, was symbolic of Good Furred Robe's brother, Uses His Head for a Rattle, who had assisted in the early Corn ceremonies. The braided cornhusks represented the other brother, Cornhusk Earrings, while all the other articles representing products from the garden were symbolic of Waving Corn Stalk, their sister, who repelled the Sun by walking through the gardens waving her robe, thus protecting her gardens from the heat.

The blackbird heads, duck head, and deer skull have a dual symbolic significance. They represent the birds that come north in the spring and the deer that inhabit the woodlands, but they are also the helpers of Old Woman Who Never Dies. In that sense the bundle ritualism is psychologically related to the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles and rites.

The second traditionally related Corn ceremony bundle is known as the Skull bundle (see Fig. 24). The contents of this bundle are: (1) Good Furred Robe's skull; (2) Cornhusk Earring's skull; (3) Uses Head for Rattle's skull; (4) a bundle of young white sage; (5) a substance resembling and representing corn silk; (6) a headdress of foxskins; and (7) a wooden pipe.

At the time this study was being made, Scattercorn was owner of the Robe bundle and Mrs. White Duck (Rattles Medicine) 778 796

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owned the Skull bundle. The former was a Mandan woman of the Nuptadi band, and the latter was a descendant of the small Awaxawi band of Hidatsa. Scattercorn had been told by her father that a long time ago the two bundles belonged to one man and were kept together. They were inherited together, generation after generation, until one owner had two sons who wanted the Corn ceremony rights when the bundle was divided,

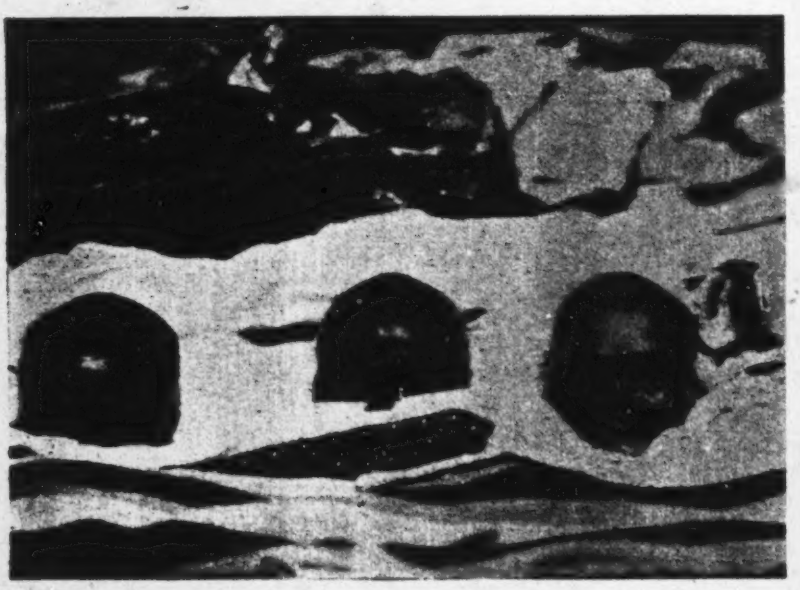

FIG. 24.—Skull bundle of the Corn ceremonies. Characters: Good Furred Robe Cornhusk Earring, and Uses Head for Rattle.

one taking the robe and the other the skulls. Eventually the Skull bundle was taken to a west-side village of the Heart River group, where it remained until the smallpox epidemic of about 1782, when it was brought northward by the Mandan, finally becoming the principal Corn ceremony bundle of Mi'tutanka Village, where it was owned by a Mandan named Red Bird at the time of the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

The Robe bundle belonged to the east-side Mandan who migrated from the Round Lodge and Yellow Earth villages and established a village between Mi'tutanka and the Knife River Hidatsa villages. The bundle became associated with the Nup-

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tadi band of Mandan. Immediately after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, both bundles were kept at Nuptadi but had different owners. Crows Belt owned the Robe bundle and Red Bird owned the Skull bundle. A year after the smallpox epidemic, Red Bird lost a son from smallpox and contemplated putting the bundle away on the hills, the customary method of relinquishing an unsold bundle, when his son-in-law, Bear Looks Around, an Awaxawi, indicated a desire to purchase the bundle.[2] 796 778

The Mandan who owned rights in all the Corn ceremonies met and approved the transfer, since at that time there was considerable intertribal marriage and the principal Mandan Corn bundle containing Good Furred Robe's robe was not involved in the sale. Bear Looks Around bought the bundle, which he later transferred to his "younger brother" (sister's son), Poor Wolf, who transferred it to Mrs. White Duck, his daughter, the present owner.

The Robe bundle was transferred from Crows Belt to Moves Slowly, last head of the Corn ceremonies at Like-a-Fishhook Village. Having no "younger brother," and since no male of his clan indicated a desire to purchase the bundle, he sold his rights to his daughter, Scattercorn.[3] She lost the robe and most of the bundle when their earth lodge burned but saved the pipe. She replaced part of the bundle but not the robe.

A second group of somewhat more complicated Corn ceremonies was associated with Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles. Four groups of bundles belonged to these rites. They were:

1. *Principal bundles.*—These consisted of a large number of articles symbolic of characters and objects referred to in the Old Woman Who Never Dies myth. There was no full bundle in existence at the time of this study. Information was supplied largely by Scattercorn and supplemented by isolated bits of information from a number of informants whose families owned secondary bundles associated with the principal bundles and containing varying numbers of articles similar to those in the principal bundles. From this scattered information, the inform-

2. Father-in-law to son-in-law or older brother to younger brother constitute moiety inheritance when moieties are exogamous. [616 428]

3. Scattercorn died in 1940. Her rights in the Corn ceremony were transferred to Mrs. Little Owl, a clan daughter.

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796 778 ants were in full agreement on some points. They stated that those with singer rights in the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles were singers for the Women's Goose Society and that greater emphasis was placed on warfare rites. There was no reference in the Robe and Skull myths or rites to warfare except in the incident when Good Furred Robe founded the Black Mouth or Brave Warrior Society and gave a sunflower plant to each of the two bravest men, who were to carry them on war expeditions. The following articles were contained in a principal bundle: corn basket, elkskin robe, clay pot, wooden pipe, deer skull and antlers, corn, beans, squash, sunflowers, blackbird heads, bull-snake skin, bundle of young white sage, duck heads, swan feathers, goose heads, strip of grizzly-bear skin, gourd rattles, and a scalp. Owners of principal bundles held singer status. Bobtail Bull, so far as it was possible to determine, was the only Mandan with this status surviving the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

778 425 432 2. *Secondary bundles.*—Those holding secondary bundle rights were exceedingly numerous. Such bundles were hereditary in character but followed two distinct patterns. For instance, a qualified individual wishing to buy the Snake rites from Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles could either purchase rights from a Snake bundle-owner or could go to a principal bundle-owner and make the purchase. The purchase pattern was the same in both instances. White Calf purchased his Snake bundle from his parents, although his father was dead at the time of the transfer, and Bears Ghost bought from his father, Foolish Chief. On the other hand, Bobtail Bull sold the Snake rites to his son-in-law from a principal bundle.[4] He could do that without subdividing the bundle, since four sales were permissible. Bear bundles could be transferred or made up in the same manner. Men or women either could buy individually or could purchase jointly. There was a difference between group purchases instituted by a man from that of a female purchase. When a man bought, his wives, sisters, and brothers could purchase jointly. However, when a woman initiated the purchase, her sisters, brothers, and their wives could purchase jointly, but the husband could

4. There was a tendency to sell secondary bundles to sons, whereas clan inheritance by transfer to a sister's son or a son-in-law was generally practiced for original or principal tribal bundles.

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not participate in the transfer or hold rights in the bundle. The desire to own one of these secondary bundles could come either from vision instruction or from a sense of responsibility to perpetuate the parents' bundles. When vision instructed, sale was made by an owner of the father's clan having rights in a bundle; otherwise the vision recipient could make up a bundle according to the instructions received in the dream. In the latter case, although having as a personal god one of the characters represented in the Old Woman Who Never Dies rites, he was not considered qualified to attend Corn ceremonies and receive gifts.

3. *Composite bundles.*—This was the result of incorporation of Old Woman Who Never Dies rites into the ceremonialism associated with the Robe bundles. Scattercorn had heard her father say that in former times these were separate ceremonies. Crows Belt did not have rights in the Old Woman Who Never Dies ceremony. After the death of Bobtail Bull, Moves Slowly bought Crows Belt's Robe bundle and proceeded to purchase rights in additional ceremonies pertaining to garden crops, thereby building up a reputation as leader in all of the Corn ceremonies. Whereas some men acquired status in warfare, others rose to prominence by purchasing ceremonial bundles. Crows Heart thought that one was about as hard to do as the other. Buying into the ceremonies required a great deal of material wealth which had either to be prepared or bought. It is interesting to observe a parallelism between the records of Moves Slowly and of Poor Wolf, who purchased the Skull bundle at about the same time as Moves Slowly acquired the Robe bundle. There was always rivalry between the two men, who were at that time living at Like-a-Fishhook Village. Moves Slowly was eligible to inherit the Skull bundle, since his grandfather through the male line had owned rights in the bundle. Bear Looks Around bought the bundle before Moves Slowly was old enough to make the purchase. Crows Belt, who had no legitimate heir, sold the Robe bundle to Moves Slowly shortly after Poor Wolf secured the Skull bundle from Bear Looks Around. Both undertook the purchase of rights in related ceremonies, and the rivalry became keen in their efforts to build up the reputation of their bundles. Moves Slowly bought Hoita rights in the Okipa, assisted his brother, Bear on the Water, in

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796 buying their father's Holy Woman bundle, learned to bring
778 down the spirits in a sleight-of-hand act, learned how to find lost
554 articles, and had every god pertaining to corn as his personal guardian. Poor Wolf (Awaxawi) acquired Earthmaking, River, Old Woman Who Never Dies, Imitating Buffalo, Painted Red Stick, and Eagle-trapping bundles. Both were singers in the Women's Goose societies. For twenty years these two men were rivals because Poor Wolf acquired the Skull bundle which legitimately should have gone to Moves Slowly. When this rivalry ended, no other men owned rights in so many ceremonies as these men. Poor Wolf consolidated the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundle and River bundle with the Skull bundle for the Corn ceremonies, but the others were kept separate. Moves Slowly did likewise. Moves Slowly had the right to give out seed in the Spring Fertility ceremony, but Poor Wolf could not do this, since Bear Looks Around had failed to buy that right of Red Bird, and there were none to purchase from except Moves Slowly, whose price no doubt would have been high to a rival. Moves Slowly enjoyed exclusive authority in the Spring Fertility rites of distributing sacred seed corn, two kernels being given to each women, who paid him for thus assuring her that the seed she planted would germinate.

During middle age these two men worked hard and were poor in material wealth, since it took all they could acquire to perform the bundle transfers, but their wealth measured in social status and ceremonial lore grew until each became an authority on the traditional history of his respective group. Both were selected as village or peace chiefs of their respective tribes.

796 4. *Sacred pot ceremonies.*[5]—Two large clay pots were a part of
778 the Old Woman Who Never Dies ceremony at Nuptadi Village when that group lived above Burnt Creek on the east side of the Missouri River. The information that reached Scattercorn through her father indicated that the ceremony was one of rainmaking. People would pay to have the ceremony given, at which time the pots were taken out. These pots were said to have been given to the Nuptadi by Old Woman Who Never Dies with the understanding that, whenever they were used, her image would

5. See my "Hidatsa Ceremonial Life" for an account of the Hidatsa version of this ceremony.

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be erected before the Okipa lodge, where the ceremony was held. One pot was symbolic of the Old Woman and the other represented her husband, a large snake. The owner kept them in a storage chamber near the head of his lodge covered with a hide when not in use. Unlike the Awaxawi pots, which were used as drums, the Nuptadi pots were used to prepare food for the feast. When the Sioux destroyed Nuptadi Village after the first smallpox epidemic, the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundle-owner was killed defending his lodge and his bundles which were burned. The other similar bundles did not have these large pots, so these special Mandan rain-making feasts ceased, and they went to Awaxawi Village, where a somewhat similar ceremony was performed, except that the pots were used as drums.

Whenever one paid to have the sacred pots brought out for the rain-making feast, the bundle-owner erected an image of the Old Woman Who Never Dies. This was composed of a pole to which was tied a robe with white sage at the top, leggings, moccasins, a corn-stirring paddle, and a corn basket so arranged as to resemble a person.

The following account indicates the native theory of the function of the corn bundles in Mandan religious life.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF CORN BUNDLES

The Robe bundle-owner[6] prays each year for good crops, but people lately have not followed the rules of the tribe, so the crops are unusually poor. Only wooden pipes can be used in these ceremonies. A few years ago at Mandan, Crows Heart was asked to officiate in the pageant representing the first meeting of the Mandans with the whites. Someone at Mandan, not knowing our ways, gave him a red pipe to use. He offered smoke to the four directions, and that night all our gardens froze.

I bought my rights in this bundle from my father, Moves Slowly, when he grew old and his eyes were poor. I was the first woman to own one of these bundles, for the bundle usually went to the oldest son.[7] People dreaming of the things grown in the garden or of the animals and birds associated with corn asked my father to officiate when a feast was given to their medicine. At such

6. The Robe bundle is possibly the best of all the tribal bundles known to students of Mandan culture. George F. Will and George E. Hyde in *Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri* (St. Louis, Mo., 1917), pp. 244, 262–68, relate in considerable detail the function of the Mandan Corn Priest. O. G. Libby, secretary of the North Dakota Historical Society, has prepared a painting of the thirty-three owners of the bundle, of which Moves Slowly is the last, and secured much information on the history of the bundle.

7. Informant has, no doubt, been influenced by Hidatsa customs. See above where actual inheritance is given as taken from genealogies.

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796 times he painted a picture of the plant or animal dreamed of on a robe for the person giving the feast; for this service he was paid robes, horses, or blankets.

778 He was the head singer in the Goose Women's ceremony and was the owner of the songs addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies, but he bought 159 those extra. In the spring, the Goose Women's Society danced under his direction, and he supervised the sale of the society to the younger women; he officiated in the ceremonial transfer of the holy objects belonging to the society.

[787] Someone during the winter always dreamed that the corn crop would be large if he or she put on a feast to the corn. The one having the vision then 796 sent word by someone of his father's clan to ask the Corn bundle-owner to take charge. The giver prepared robes and food. At the appointed time, which 778 was when the waterbirds came north, all those with rights met. Participating were the Corn bundle-owner, all those with the medicine of garden products 241 or associated animals and birds, the Black Mouth Men's Society, and Goose Women's Society. The Corn bundle was carried into the earth lodge and opened at the entrance to the sweat lodge, where it was laid out on a deer skull and elkskin. Songs were addressed to the Corn Bundle People who came out of the ground; additional songs were addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies. Only four stones were used in the sweat, each one representing one of the Sun's visits to Waving Corn Stalk. The stones were our enemies just as the Sun had been. The giver of the ceremony named four enemies he wished to conquer while the stones were taken into the sweat lodge. Those entering the sweat lodge imitated the geese and waterbirds while the Corn bundle-owner sang his four songs. Those not entering the sweat lodge were sprinkled with water dipped from the clay vessel belonging to the bundle. Corn and beans often came up into peoples throats while the ceremony was in progress; those people danced and rubbed their throats with sage to put the objects back down. Food was served to the Corn bundle and then to the guests.

The giver of the ceremony gave each person attending a robe or present and received in return a prayer for the giver's success. When the ceremony was completed, an image of the Old Woman Who Never Dies was made from an elk robe and lashed to a pole in front of the giver's lodge.

The Corn bundle-owner was expected to ask the help of the spirits who sent good crops. In the spring before seeding time, he held the ceremony of cleansing the seeds so that they would germinate. Early on the appointed day he went to the top of his earth lodge where he faced to the south singing the Corn bundle songs to call the spirits of the corn back from the south. He held a vessel containing shelled corn. Each woman making a garden came to him and received two seeds of each kind of corn, beans, sunflowers, and squash, paying for them and the prayers he addressed to his gods. Payment was made in elk robes, blankets, and other clothing.

778 The Corn bundle-owner underwent numerous taboos while the crops were growing. Owners of minor Corn bundles prepared his food beginning four days 241 before the cleansing of the seed. When the previous year's crop was poor, he lived apart from all women until the crop was ripe and the seed corn for the 784 next season had been gathered. He painted his body red and wore moccasins of buffalo hide with the hair on the inside. He wore a robe all summer long. He was not permitted to eat plums, berries, or corn. All the people of the tribe knew that after the cleansing ceremony the restrictions went into effect and were careful not to violate any of the rules lest the crop fail. Each woman kept

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a bunch of sage in her lodge and rubbed her body after returning from the fields to cleanse herself from the spirits in the gardens. Years ago, it is said that, when this was done, worms came out of the women's bodies. The Corn bundle-owner walked through the gardens several times during the summer, carrying the pipe and singing the Corn songs. 778 241 784

When the weather was too hot, too cold, or too dry, all those with Corn medicine rights met, and the Goose Women's Society joined them to dance and pray. While the ceremony was in progress, people of each household brought presents and offered them for relief from the adverse weather. 796 782 778

Many women pledged a ceremony to the Corn if good crops were sent by the gods. A person making such a vow, first prepared an elkhide robe and paid the Corn Priest to officiate. When the time appointed for the offering came and after the crop was harvested, she carried the robe to her field, where she tied it to a cottonwood pole and covered the pole with corn on the ear until the pile reached nearly to the robe. The young men of the tribe were invited to come and charge the robe, the first one there taking it. At a signal, the young men searched for the meat under the pile of corn. The Corn bundle-owner received four things for his part in the ceremony. Many different women gave this ceremony each fall when the crops were abundant. 241

The Corn bundle-owner officiated whenever corn was sold to people of other tribes. It was thought that it must be done or the spirits in the corn might leave the Mandan and help the people who took the corn away. He dressed in his ceremonial outfit and "called back" the Corn Spirits. 778 [439]

Whenever a cache of stored corn was opened, four ears of corn were taken to the Corn bundle-owner as payment for his part in protecting the stored corn. [251]

The order of Corn Priests is as follows:

1. Uses Head for Rattle
2. Brown
3. Pot
4. Bull Leg
5. Acting Foolish (OxinhEdE)
6. Foolish Man
7. Strong Arm
8. Raises Tail
9. Forearm Bone
10. Hunts His Enemy
11. Bull Standing on Land
12. WErukirihEri
13. Enemy
14. Sacred Cedar
15. Cedar Feather
16. Star
17. Head Comes Out
18. Water Bag
19. Coyote
20. Crow
21. WErukirihEri
22. Bloody Knife
23. Garden
24. Tree in Garden
25. Uses His Head for Rattle
26. HoxdEkE
27. Corn Grinder
28. Lying Down
29. Left-Hand Bull
30. Scabby
31. WErukirihEri
32. Crows Belt
33. Moves Slowly
34. Scattercorn
35. Mrs. Little Owl (present owner)

The many references to corn in the mythology express the significance of agriculture to this tribe. Archeological work in their prehistoric sites indicates that economically agriculture has played an important role in shaping the habits of these people. The primary factor in establishing villages at certain 241 361 796

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241 361 796 points was the accessibility to desirable corn grounds. With the prominent place of agriculture in the economic life of these people, it was a logical consequence that leaders of the Corn ceremonies should determine sites for new villages. Although the actual site was selected by the Corn bundle-owners, the laying-out of the open circle and location of the sacred cedar and ceremonial lodge was the responsibility of the individuals impersonating Lone Man and Hoita in the Okipa ceremony.

796 From an analysis of traditions and rites retained after the smallpox epidemics something of the nature of the old corn ceremonies could be determined.

1. There was only one Robe bundle, which came from the Nuptadi Village of the east side of the Missouri.

2. The Skull bundle was of west-side origin and came originally from the Awigaxa band, who were last to reach the Upper Missouri.

3. Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles and secondary bundles belonging to this ceremony were found in all Mandan villages and, in fact, in Hidatsa, Awatixa, and Awaxawi villages. The ceremonies and beliefs with few exceptions were identical between villages and tribes. This seems to be an older, widely diffused Mandan-Hidatsa ceremony to which new practices, particularly the fertility or consecration of the seed rites, were added, based mythologically on a dramatization of corn as people coming from the ground.

CORN MYTH OF THE ROBE BUNDLE RELATED BY SCATTERCORN[8]

773 539 The Corn People were living under the ground by a lake. One day some of the people saw an opening reaching up to the land above, and there was a vine growing in this hole. They asked the Fox to climb up and see this land. He climbed up, but, when he stuck his nose out, he got only a brief look at the beautiful land above because Sun burned his nose.

Then they asked Elk to go up and dig the hole larger with his horns. He made the hole large so the people could get through. The people started up, following the vine. They came up continuously for four days, but on the last day a woman heavy with child broke the vine and ended the migration forever. All these people had been raising the corn on this land beneath the earth.

8. For another version of the same myth, apparently also related by Scattercorn, see Will and Hyde, *op. cit.*, pp. 218–23. Also see Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 35–48, for data on Good Furred Robe, including data on Corn Priest, Goose Women Society, and Black Mouth Society.

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There were four leaders in the group that reached the earth. They were three brothers and a sister. Their names were Good Furred Robe, Cornhusk Earrings, Uses His Head for Rattle, and a sister named Waving Corn Stalk. Good Furred Robe began to lay out the villages and fields. He laid out the lodges in rows like the rows of corn, and he assigned the garden plots to each family. Then he distributed corn, beans, squash, and sunflower seeds to each family.

In those days the sister would be out in the fields all day overseeing the work. One day a stranger came to the gardens and wanted to talk to her, but she would not see him. He came four times to see her, but each time she refused. That man was Sun. On his fourth visit he said, "What you plant you will not harvest."

The next day when the sun came up, the air was so hot that the corn wilted. After the sun had set, she went through the gardens with her robe singing the holy songs, and the corn plants revived. Sun scorched the gardens four times, and each time she revived them with her robe and songs.

The people were living there when men appeared on the opposite bank and said that they wanted to cross, and the Mandans called them Miditadi after that time. After the Hidatsa crossed the Missouri they camped near the Mandan villages. Some of their young men were foolish, and the customs at that time were quite different, so the older men were afraid that there would be trouble.

Good Furred Robe said, "Our ways are a little different, so I think it would be better if you had villages of your own. If you stay too near us, there will be trouble. If you go too far away, we will be strangers and there will be trouble. The best plan will be for you to travel north until, when you camp, you cannot see our fires. That will be the best place to settle. If you will send your chiefs over in the morning, I will give them all the different seeds we have."

That morning when the men arrived, Good Furred Robe broke an ear in two and said, "My friend, you can take the tip or the butt." The Hidatsa took the tip because he thought that it was the best part. The Hidatsa left that day. The Mandan built fires on the hills, and, when the Hidatsa had traveled until they could no longer see these fires, they stopped and built their village, which was at Knife River.

Good Furred Robe told the people that in the spring they should have certain songs sung when the ducks and other waterbirds came north so that there would be plenty of rain and good crops. He also told them that each family should bring out two kernels of each crop they grew and he would cleanse them so that they would germinate. All that spring and summer, he was painted with red paint and wore moccasins with the fur side on the inside. He wore his sacred robe all that time and could not eat early plums, berries, or garden products until the fall when the corn was ripe and the people announced that they had their seed for the next year. Men brought his meals to him while the crops were growing. He could not sleep with or go near his wives or other women. At the close of these restrictions, those with Corn medicines met, and there was a cleansing feast, after which these restrictions were removed.

Good Furred Robe also told the people that, when working in the gardens, they should burn sage and rub themselves with it to remove the bad spirits of the fields. In those days when he instructed them in that manner, worms and bugs fell from their robes, so the Mandan women set the rule of always burning sage at the close of the day's work in the fields.

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Then he organized two societies, one for the men and the other for the women. He called the society for the men "Brave Warrior Society" or "Black Mouths." He brought in the men to dance. Two were given cornstalks, for only the bravest were to carry them, and he told them that these plants represented the bravest men. In war these two men could get a stick and attach raven feathers to represent the corn. If this staff was stuck into the ground, they could hold the enemy back, and, if the Mandan wanted to retreat, they could pull up the staffs and retreat without being killed. The men were between thirty and forty years old.

He organized a women's society and called it the Goose Society. The older ones would be around thirty years of age and would keep the society for five years. He selected two little girls about eight years old and stood them in the middle of the group. One girl's mouth was painted blue, the other's was black, and both represented geese. Each member wore a gooseskin and head for a headdress. Whenever anyone made an offering to the waterbirds when they came north in the spring or in the fall when they returned to the south, this society met and danced. All others with rights in the Corn ceremonies came out at those times also. The leader of the Goose Society and the last woman in the line both carried small clay pots. People could come to these dances and make offerings of horses, guns, or robes which entitled them to dance in the line, going around the Corn Priest four times, which was a sign that the giver would live to be old.

When Good Furred Robe grew old, he told the people to keep his skull and that praying to it would be like praying to him when he was living. There was a little difference in the way that offerings were made to him. I told you today that, when anyone puts on a feast to Old Woman Who Never Dies, an image of her is put up before the giver's lodge so that all will know that the household has made a feast to her. When feasts to the Sacred Robe or the Sacred Skulls are made, the offering is placed on a post on the prairies near the village.

The inheritance of the Sacred Robe bundle was from Good Furred Robe's brother, Uses His Head for Rattle.

SKULL BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY MRS. WHITE DUCK

Long ago the Mandan lived together under the ground near the ocean. Some hunters found a hole reaching up to the surface of the land we are now living on and climbed up to investigate. Before they reached the top they heard the bellowing of the buffalo herds. On reaching the top, they found buffalo herds everywhere. Elk, deer, and antelope were in great numbers also. They killed some buffaloes and dried the meat to take back to the people. Then they returned to the hole and went back down to the land below. When the people below learned that game was plentiful up above, they wished to come up at once, but the second chief of the people warned them that fat women heavy with child must not go up at that time.

The people started coming up to the top, but, when about half of them were up, a large woman heavy with child started up. The people said she should not go up but should wait until her child was born. She insisted, but her weight broke the grapevine, and she fell down. This separated the people, half being below and half above.

Before coming out of the ground, Corn was a man. Everyone looked to him to give them success in raising their garden products. When the vine broke, he was still below, but his daughter, Waving Corn Stalk, succeeded in reaching the

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top. She looked back into the hole and cried when she learned that her father was separated from her. She cried, "What shall I do? I am up here all alone."

Her father replied, "You are old enough to understand all my ways of doing things. I give you the right to plant the corn anywhere you wish. Plant the corn anywhere up there, and it will grow, even though you plant it on top of rocks. You have your three brothers with you up there."

After the Mandan had been on the earth a long time, word came that because of angering Manika a big flood was coming. The people separated then, most of the west-side people went to the Rocky Mountains, but the others stopped at Birds Bill Butte south of Mandan, building their village on the highest banks out of reach of the waters. It took a long time for the ones who went west to reach the mountains because there were only dogs to draw the travois. While there they said they would make some holy things to bring the rain when they wanted it, so they killed an elk to get a robe on which they drew a picture of the mountains with the clouds, lightning, and the thunderbird on it. They lived there many years but turned back because it was not a good place to raise corn. The people found plenty of buffalo, but they were disappointed because they could not raise corn. Others did not like the climate with its frequent rains and snowstorms.

While they were in the high mountains, the flood came to the people along the Missouri River, but, when they reached the old villages, the water had gone down. They came to the camp opposite Yellow Earth Village on the west side and there found the old people they had left building a new village, for they had moved up the river fom Birds Bill Butte. There was another Mandan village just a short distance up the river from Yellow Earth Village on the same side of the river. We called those east-side people Nuptadi in late years, but they came from one of the two east-side villages, I think it was Yellow Earth Village.

During the time they were up to the mountains the three men whose skulls I have were with them. Many years after they came back the three brothers and the sister died. Since Waving Corn Stalk was a woman, her brother had helped her in the ceremonies to the corn, and, since he could not live forever, he taught others the ritual for corn-growing and asked that the people keep his skull when he died, for praying to it would be the same as praying to him. All three brothers were placed on a scaffold when they died. A year later the flesh had all decayed so their skulls were put in the same bundle which became a part of the Corn Medicine. The sister, Waving Corn Stalk, being one of the Spirit Women, became associated with the bundle for the Old Grandmothers.

OLD WOMAN WHO NEVER DIES MYTH RELATED BY MRS. GOOD BEAR[9]

The Old Woman Who Never Dies formerly lived below the Cannonball River on an island in the ocean, and no one knew there was such a person living there until two young men, Black Medicine and Sweet Medicine, were out hunting. In their wandering, they came to an object on the ground resembling a large baloon. There was a spot on the ground where the ground was bubbling

9. For a closely related myth see Hidatsa myth concerning visit of two men to Old Woman Who Never Dies in my MS, "Hidatsa Ceremonial Life" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago). Also see Densmore, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–84, for a portion of this myth related by Ben Benson.

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up. These two hunters shot into it with their arrows, and a strong wind came out of it and blew them far out into the water onto an island. When the wind went down, the two brothers looked about and saw an earth lodge and many whitetail deer near by. The two men went to the earth lodge where they found the Old Woman Who Never Dies, and she was glad to see them. She asked how they got there, and the two brothers told of the big wind that had brought them there.

When they arrived at her lodge, she was making some corn mush, and her spoons were made of clam shells. She had no dishes, so she gave them the pot to eat from. They ate in turn. At first they thought the portion was too small and that there would not be enough, but they ate all they wanted and the pot still remained as full as before they began their meal.

After finishing their meal, they told the Old Woman that they were going out to kill some of the deer, and the Old Woman nodded her consent. They soon saw whitetail deer jumping up everywhere about them, killed two of them, and butchered them for her with their flint knives. They returned with the animals, and the Old Woman expressed her pleasure at their success. She asked them to leave the deer at the door, for she wanted to cut them up for drying and they did. As soon as the boys were inside she told the deer to jump up and run away and to tell all the other deer to stay away from the lodge for a while because the two brothers were good shots.

One day the grandmother told the young men to stay out of sight as it was getting late in the fall, and she was expecting visitors for the winter. The next morning when the waterbirds flew by, the boys saw the Corn Spirits flying to the door of the lodge in groups of two. The young men noticed that all were beautiful women. All were well mannered and timid. Each carried dried meat which was piled in a heap near the center of the lodge saying, "I have come from the northland with your messengers who have shown me the way. Take good care of me or I will die."

Grandmother said, "I will take good care of you and keep you until spring when my messengers go back to the northland for the summer. I will awaken you then and send you back to my people at the Heart River." Then each turned into an ear of seed corn; some were white, others yellow, red, blue, pink, black, or mixed color. She put them away according to their group. The young men saw what had happened and knew that this was the winter home of the Corn Spirits.

The boys stayed around for a while and became homesick; they knew of no way to get home, for they were on an island and everywhere they looked there was water. They thought of fastening logs together for a raft, but the Old Woman said that her grandfather (husband's father) would take them to land. They looked about, but they saw no man. She said, "That is all right; go to the shore this evening and say to the waters 'Grandfather,[10] we want to go home in the morning.' "

The next morning the Old Woman arose early and made four large four-in-one corn balls. They were made of corn, sunflowers, squash, and beans ground together. She gave the two boys the corn balls for their journey would be tiring, since the distance was so great. When the two boys reached the lake shore, they saw a large snake on the water. This serpent had but one eye,

10. One's grandmother's grandfather, man or woman speaking, is also addressed as "Grandfather."

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which was in the middle of his head. This eye resembled a sunflower very closely except that at times lightning would flash forth. The snake was about thirty feet long and had two large horns resembling deer horns. The Old Woman told the boys to hang onto the horns, sitting on the head while traveling and their grandfather would take them across safely. When ready, the snake started and swam for a long time. When he grew fatigued, the boys gave him one of the corn balls, which refreshed him again. He became fatigued a second and a third time, and each time the two brothers fed him one of the corn balls. Just after giving him the fourth corn ball, the brothers saw land ahead, but the snake did not have strength to complete the journey. One of the brothers thought of some dried meat he had in his pockets and fed this to the snake so he was able to get them safely to the shore. They landed, and the snake disappeared. They thought he went back to the island, swimming under the water.

The two men traveled all day and failed to reach home. The second day they traveled until nearly evening when they saw something before them. Coming nearer, they saw that it was a large snake. It was so large they could not climb over and so long that they could not walk around it. They thought the best way would be to burn a hole through it, so they began to gather buffalo chips which they heaped against the snake. When the pile was as high as their heads, they lit the fire. Soon the snake was thoroughly cooked. One of the young men was foolish and suggested to the other that they eat some of the meat, but the wiser one said that it was wrong to do so. Nevertheless, the foolish one ate his fill, remarking to the other that the snake tasted like fish. Still the other would not be tempted.

After finishing his meal, they went through the opening burned in the snake and traveled until dark. They lay down on the prairie to sleep. In the morning the one who ate the snake said something was wrong with his feet. When he removed his moccasins he found that his feet were the same color as the snake's body. He was happy and said, "Now my girl will like me with my pretty feet." The wiser boy thought that something bad would surely come out of it all.

The third night they killed a deer, ate its ribs roasted before the fire, and went to sleep as soon as they had eaten. On awakening the next morning, he found the spots had extended until they were above his knees. The sensible brother was afraid, but the man with the spots thought nothing bad would come of it. The fourth night they camped as before and retired shortly after eating. In the morning the young man's entire body had turned into a snake with one eye just like the snake he had eaten of. His brother was very sad and did not know what to do. He cried aloud, and in a little while the snake spoke to him and said, "Take me down to the river." The other man could not carry him, so he was obliged to crawl. As they traveled toward the river, lightning from the snake's eye set the prairies afire. Finally, they reached the river opposite Birds Bill Butte which were just west of the Missouri River. In parting, the snake said, "My head will be up toward the mouth of the Yellowstone and my tail will be at the Birds Bill Butte. You can tell my people whenever they think about me, to make four corn balls, throw them into the waters, and then pray to me." (I have done this often. People who crossed the river often made these offerings so that the snake would protect them.)

The snake said, "I want you to get me a skunk cap. Make it look pretty.

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When you bring it to the river, tie it to one of the red willows and throw it into the water. I'll be there to receive it."

The young man made a cap as instructed and threw it into the river together with four corn balls. Afterward the young man became prominent in the tribe. He was successful in war and brought back many scalps. When he first came home, he told his friend's father and mother about their son so they would not grieve. The wise young man became the leader of the tribe and had more power than any of them. Every summer he would go down to the river and offer corn balls to his friend. He also told the tribe about his meeting with the Old Woman who was one of the Holy Women.

Years after this all happened, the Old Woman Who Never Dies moved up the river to Holding Eagles just across the river from Elbowoods, where she would spend the summers. The men on the warpath or out hunting found her there, but none seemed to know how she got there. They thought that she came north in spring with the summer birds. She liked buffalo paunch which she dried before preparing it as food. While she lived there, she had a large garden on the river bottoms just below her lodge. There she raised corn, squash, sunflowers, and beans in great quantities.

While she lived there, Sun and Moon, who lived above in the sky, came down to the earth. These two men, Sun and Moon, had a mother who was getting old and feeble.

Moon said to Sun, "Our mother is getting quite old. I think we should marry."

Sun said, "What kind of girl do you want to marry?"

Moon said, "I want to marry a girl from one of those Corn-sheller villages."

Sun said, "Do you like those women?"

"Yes," replied Moon, "they are good-looking women."

Sun said, "You are mistaken. The women have only one eye with wrinkles all over their faces whenever they look at me."

"Well," replied Moon, "what kind of woman do you want to marry?"

Sun said, "A Toad Woman. When they look at me they have such pretty blue eyes."

"Then," said Moon, "you marry a Toad Woman, and I'll get a Mandan girl for my wife."

It was time to marry. Moon came down to get his wife. There was a large summer village on a flat near the woods. Moon transformed himself into a porcupine and climbed up into a young cottonwood tree. Two Mandan girls came into the woods looking for firewood. They saw the porcupine and one said, "Let's get this porcupine." The younger one climbed into the tree. When she came to the porcupine, he went higher. This continued with the tree growing higher until they could see her no longer. Moon changed himself back to a human being and took the girl into his lodge. Juneberries were growing at the door. At the door of Sun's lodge red willows were growing.

Moon said to his mother, "Go out and get my wife." The old woman found the girl and brought her into the lodge.

Then Sun said to his mother, "Go out and get my wife."

The Old Woman went out and could not find anyone. Sun said, "Look under the brush." She looked under the brush and there she found a large toad. The toad hopped up to the door but could not quite jump over the step. She passed water at each jump. At last she got in the lodge.

The mother brought in the two girls and asked them what they wanted to

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eat. The Mandan girl wanted the thin part of the paunch, and the toad wanted the thick part. She cooked the paunch and some dried meat. She gave the thin part to the Mandan girl and the thick part to Toad Woman.

The Old Woman wanted to know which could eat the better and make the loudest crackling noise with her teeth. The Mandan girl had sharp teeth and could eat like a wolf. The toad had no teeth, so she tried to chew charcoal so as to make a noise. Everyone laughed at her. Moon laughed at her, and she became very angry. She jumped from the corner up onto Moon's breast and stuck there. Moon cut her away with his knife and threw her into the fire. Then she jumped on his back between his shoulder blades where he couldn't reach her. The Toad Woman said, "I shall stay here as long as I live." When we see the moon up in the sky, the black spot in the middle is that Toad Woman there still.

Moon had a son by the Mandan girl. The girl did not have much to do, so she went out digging wild turnips. One day she pulled up a large male turnip that has no bloom. In taking it out, she punched a hole through the ground and saw the earth down below where she had come from. Everything looked beautiful there, and then she knew where she belonged. She set about to find some means of getting down. She thought that if she had a long string she could get down to the earth. She told her son to ask his father to get all the sinews of a buffalo when on the hunt. The father wanted to know why his son wanted sinews. The Mandan girl said that they were to be used in her work. Moon went out hunting and brought back all the sinews of the buffalo except a little piece from the hip. Then she had a mouse fashion them into a long rope. However, she could only get to the top of the trees because the sinews from the hip had been left out. Moon came back from hunting and could not find his wife. He looked about for a long time. He finally remembered where his wife had been digging turnips. He found the turnip hole and saw his wife hanging down there on the end of the rope.

When Moon saw this, he looked down at her and said, "I will kill that woman."

He picked up a stone from above and sent it down, instructing it to kill the woman but to spare her son. The stone is still to be found near where Holding Eagles live. The stone hit the girl on the head, killed her, and knocked her down near the edge of Old Woman Who Never Dies' garden.

The Old Woman went out to her garden one day and saw the tracks of a little child. She wondered whether it was a boy or girl, so she made a ball of buffalo skin with a stick to hit it with and also a bow and arrows. She lay in the brush near by and watched. While she was there, a little child came walking that way. He picked up the bow and arrow. He shot at the ball.

After the Old Woman saw this, she knew it was a boy and caught him.She put his face against her breast and coddled him. Then she took him to her lodge and fed him corn mush. Her pot was full of mush which never could be completely consumed. The Old Woman told him that he should have a bow and arrows so that he could kill birds. She told him to take the juneberry branch down to the Short Missouri and say, "Grandfather, make me a bow and arrows."

Then she told him to leave it there and come back, adding, "You can scatter red corn around the fireplace so the blackbirds will come in and eat but don't kill any." The boy did as he was told. Many birds came into the lodge

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to eat, but he covered up the smokehole and, taking up a stick, killed many of them.

After he killed the blackbirds, the Old Woman came home. Grandson said, "Grandmother, see; I have killed all these blackbirds so they won't trouble your garden."

The Old Woman said, "All right," and shooed out the live birds before piling up the dead ones. Then the little boy was told to go down to the Short Missouri and get his arrows and bow. He ran down to the edge of the water and found his bow and arrows, which made him very happy.

Meanwhile, the Old Woman went off for a day. The boy learned that the Old Woman traveled up in the air even though she had no wings and could go anywhere she wanted to. After he got his bow and arrows, he was out hunting every day. He always went to the places where his grandmother told him not to go.

One day she said to him, "You keep away from those hills. Something there will get you."

The boy was very anxious to find out what was there, so he went to the hills. A large elk came out of the hills and ran toward the boy, intending to kill him, but the boy didn't run away. When the elk was near, the boy shot and killed him. Another elk came, and it was the doe.

The boy said, "Stop! I don't want to kill you because you are a doe."

She stopped, and he went up to her and pulled out her front teeth which then were very sharp. He threw away the sharp teeth so that the elk could not bite people. He replaced them with big beans so we have the blunt elk teeth of today. He then butchered the bull and brought the paunch in for his grandmother.

The next day he went out hunting again and went quite a long distance from his grandmother's lodge to the edge of the woods. A large bear came out after him. The little boy said, "Stop or I will kill you," so the bear stopped. In those days bears had very sharp teeth, but the little boy thought that they shouldn't have such teeth. He set to work with a stone and filed down the bear's teeth. He said to the bear, "Take me to my grandmother's lodge," and the bear did.

He called his grandmother and she came. "See here," he said, "I have a servant for you who is strong and can pack heavy loads."

The boy had also taken up some dirt and put in the bear's eyes. Since then the bears haven't been able to see as well as they used to. The grandmother was very surprised to see the boy on the bear's back. She said that she was very glad to have a big dog. After the little boy went into the house she told the bear to leave and turned him loose. The bear went back into the woods again.

The Old Woman had a bed surrounded by curtains of buffalo hide. It was made as they used to in those times. Once a day she would take corn mush in a wooden bowl and put it in the bed. After a while she would take out the plate and it would be empty. The boy noticed this and wondered who was in her bed. One day after the grandmother went away the boy opened the bed and found a snake which was the Old Woman's husband. He took his bow and arrow down and shot the snake. He took him down to the Short Missouri River and threw him into the water.

When the Old Woman came home, the boy told her about killing the snake and told her where he had put it. The Old Woman became afraid of him and suspected that he had greater power than ordinary people.

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In the morning she told him not to go into the bunch of box elders some distance from the lodge. When the grandmother went away, he went over there. He found two men there butchering a buffalo cow with a calf in it. The boy thought his grandmother would like the calf, so the men pulled out the buffalo calf and threw it toward the boy. He backed off and climbed into a tree to the very top. The men left the calf at the foot of the tree. They then picked up the rest of the buffalo meat and left.

After the men had been away some time they thought of the boy in the tree, and they went back. They took the boy down; he was thin. The calf was still under the tree. The two men told the boy that the old grandmother was their sweetheart but that she would not have them. They wanted her so they asked the boy to hurry and have the ceremonies so they could "walk" with the grandmother.

In the meanwhile she was looking for the boy because she thought that someone had killed him, but she went by the place without seeing him. The boy came home and told his grandmother what the men had said. She thought that she would find a way to get revenge for the way they had made the boy suffer those four days. She told the boy in advance that at the ceremonies there would be both good and poor bows.

She said, "Take the poorest one they have for that will be the oldest one. It will be the best one, for it can even shoot over a hill and kill things."

When the time came for the medicine doings, she prepared corn balls. They sent for the two men, who came also. Bows and arrows were brought. When the boy selected the old bow, the men said that the boy would be lucky. During the ceremonies, the two men "walked with the grandmother."[11]

The two men were about to return when the Old Woman said, "You caused my grandson to suffer for four days. Now, I am going to make you suffer, too." The men did not pay any attention to her and went away.

The winter set in hard and cold. The men made a good living hunting buffalo and elk until toward spring. The Old Woman said, "Now is the time."

Using her whistle, she caused a severe snowstorm to come. It snowed for four days. The men built a temporary shelter to protect their fire. Soon their wood was gone, and they had no more meat. They thought they would surely die. The grandson came and cried. Then the storm stopped.

Some time later the Old Woman said to her grandchild, "Don't go to that red hill over there."

The boy said he wouldn't, but still he had a desire to go there. Finally he went to the hill. The hill was covered with snakes. He reached their large circular den and went in. He sat on a flat rock in the middle of the den which was like the interior of an eagle-trapping lodge. They talked to him, and he told them stories until nearly daylight. He told them about his life. They went to sleep one at a time. Some of them tried to go under him but the flat rock prevented them. Finally, he said he would tell them a story, for all the snakes were drowsy by that time.

The snakes had poles for pillows. He got up after all were asleep. He took his knife out and cut their heads off. One small snake escaped. The boy chased the snake but could not get him as the snake went into his hole.

After he killed the snakes,[12] he remembered what his grandmother had told

11. This rite was to bring buffaloes near the villages.

12. See chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping" for ritualistic observances relating to this snake den.

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him about his family. Then he made up his mind to go home. He started home from the big den and did not return to his grandmother.

Finally he reached his mother's village at Heart River. He saw that his people were lean and starving. He said, "What is the matter?" At the same time a party was coming back with the meat. He saw white crows in the air crying, "Pas," causing the meat to turn bitter. The boy said, "I'll fix that."

As soon as the crows said the word, the meat became bitter and could not be eaten. The men then threw the meat away, and the crows ate it. The boy caught two birds, a male and a female. He painted them black and made them change their cry to "Ka." Since then the crows don't cry "Pas" any more.

After that no more meat spoiled. The people of the village did not know who the boy was, but they had heard that he was the grandchild of the Old Woman Who Never Dies.[13]

After he changed the crows' color, the people told him about another bad thing. It was about the dogs. The dogs could talk. They would tell stories to the men about their wives running out at night. They thought that it would be better for the dogs not to be able to talk.

In those days the dogs had mouths like humans. The boy took his knife out and slit their mouths from ear to ear. From then on the dogs could not talk.

After that he left the village and went to another one. When he got there, he found that the people had no mouths, although they had teeth. He walked among them and wondered how they ate enough to live. He saw that the people made very rich corn balls and smelled of them. That was how they lived. He asked them why they had no mouths. They replied that they did not know, for they had been that way all their lives, so he cut all their mouths open so they could eat.

When he was returning to the first village, it rained very hard, and he was wet. He sat on the ground. The little snake had always watched for his chance. He was sitting down when the little snake entered Grandson's body and went up into his entrails. He broke the boy's body in two and then went up into his head. He broke the head from the body and went into the skull. The head rolled down the hill and stopped upside down. There came a heavy rain and filled the skull with water. Then the sun shone very bright, and it became warm. The water warmed and almost came to a boil. This is how hot it was. The snake kept going in and out of the hole [foramen magnum]. Finally the skull caught the snake in the hole and squeezed him. The body came together, and the boy was as before.

In those days the snakes had long noses. The boy took up a rock and filed the nose until it was nearly all worn off. The snake said, "Stop! Otherwise, I'll have no nose."

The boy said, "You must never bite the people or bother them."

The snake agreed, saying, "There will be people with medicine to make the snakes harmless from now on."[14]

Then he went over to a little hole and said to the boy, "I won't do any harm to anyone unless he hurts me or tries to catch me." Then he went down his hole. Since then the rattlesnakes haven't bitten people unless disturbed.

The boy came back to the first village and became a great man and leader. He was able to make the buffaloes come close to the village whenever he

13. He is No'hąka Tawi'hąka of the Okipa ceremony.
14. This was the mythological basis for Snake-curing bundles.

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wanted to, so that the people always had meat. He had good luck on the battlefield and could bring rains for the crops. 773

Then he was married. Two sisters were brought to him by their father and mother. (This was the custom in olden times. The parents of children of marriageable age would bring them to some eligible man.) 539

The boy's grandmother is still living. The people downstream from the Knife River used to follow the river up to her place when on the warpath and eat corn with her. She would tell them now many people they would kill.

She became tired of this because they came too often, so she moved down the river about four miles, then up into the hills to the west where she disappeared. Since then she has been one of the Holy Women connected with corn. She must come back to Short Missouri, as people fasting there during the summer dream of her. Grandson went back to the sky and became one of the large stars.

CORN PIPE CEREMONY

This ceremony became extinct after 1837 and is remembered only from tradition. The principal article in its bundle was a sacred wooden pipe. The pipe was kept by Blue Snake Woman when her husband and children died during the smallpox epidemic. She surrendered the bundle to a daughter, who sold the pipe to Black Bear, who died a few years ago. The full bundle ritual was not performed after the smallpox epidemic, since those holding rights or acquainted with the ceremony had died. 796 778

The pipe was noted for its supernatural powers in producing winds. It was brought out when the days were warm and sultry to drive away the mosquitoes, so that women would not suffer from their bites while in the gardens. People were not permitted to climb on the lodge in which it was kept. If it was dropped or touched, the wind would blow. 778 821

According to tradition, a woman went to the Missouri River for water when the river was at flood stage. Driftwood was floating down. When she dipped up the water, she saw the pipe and an ear of yellow flint corn together in the water. She took the pipe and corn home and gave them to her husband, who called all the holy men to tell them of her discovery. They were afraid of the pipe because a high wind came up when one dropped it and did not want to keep it. They put it back in the water, thinking it would float on wherever it was going to. The woman found the pipe and corn four times at four different places where they camped. The holy men concluded that, since they had tried to get rid of it but it kept following them, it should be kept. They thought the corn should be divided among the families. In that way yellow flint corn was introduced in the tribe. 778 773

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Chapter VII

EAGLE-TRAPPING CEREMONY[1]

796 223 171 CAPTURING eagles from concealed pits[2] was practiced by all tribes of the Northern Plains. So far as our meager information indicates, the technique was essentially the same for a large number of tribes occupying territory adjacent to the Mandan and Hidatsa. Less is known of the ceremonial aspect of the practice, organization of expeditions, values of feathers for decoration, number of leaders, inheritance of rites and skills, or the socioreligious position of its shaman.

Shooting young developed eagles was uncommon, but both Mandan and Hidatsa informants claimed that the Crows made less use of pits, since they lived near the Rocky Mountains, where most of the birds nested and were able to shoot them in trees or near decoys. Such information as the literature gives indicates that all the tribes of the Upper Missouri River Region adjacent to the Mandan and Hidatsa used the pit method of trapping.

In this discussion of eagle-trapping it is proposed to indicate the territory claimed by the Mandan and Hidatsa, the technique of securing birds, mythological background, inheritance of rights to trap, as well as the economic and religious position of leaders in the tribal life.[3]

796 223 346 Eagle-trapping by the Mandan and Hidatsa was confined to the rough lands adjacent to wooded streams. The ceremonial lodge for the men and the wood or hide tepees for the women and children were always erected in sheltered spots among the high trees along streams, while the pits were dug on the top or

1. For a detailed account of practices associated with eagle-trapping see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX [1929]), pp. 99–245.

2. For Maximilian's short account of eagle-trapping see Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, XXIII (Cleveland, 1906), 346.

3. Eagle-trapping rites and beliefs for both the Mandan and the Hidatsa are treated together in this chapter, since tribal differences were insignificant.

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near the top of hills or on benchlands adjacent to the streams (see Figs. 25–27). Of the total area claimed by these two tribes, only a small part of the entire territory was suitable for trapping, and that was confined to narrow sections of river country (see Fig. 28).

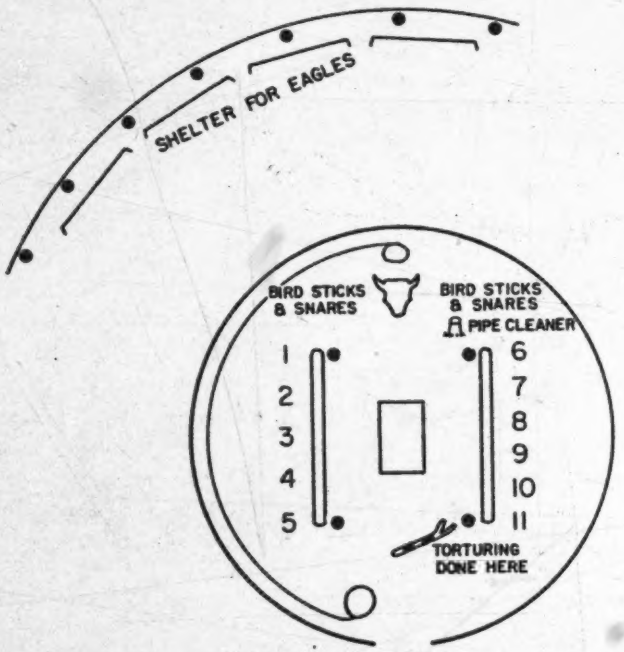

FIG. 25.—Plan of eagle-trapping lodge. *1*, Wolf Eyes—leader (Maxoxati-H); *2*, Big Walker—assistant leader (Tamisik-M); *3*, Little Crow (Low Hat); *4*, Lance-owner (3 clan); *5*, White Body (Maxoxati); *6*, Holding Eagle—Crack Shot (Prairie Chicken); *7*, Little Bull (Knife); *8*, Black Bear (Knife); *9*, Sitting Woman (Prairie Chicken); *10*, Bears Arm (Knife); *11*, Louie Wolf—waiter (Water-buster).

Historic accounts of these two tribes give little information on eagle-trapping, but there are frequent references to their value in trade. The standard price of a good horse was three war bonnets containing a total of one hundred and eight black-tipped feathers, which would be the feathers from nine birds.

Archeological evidence verifies native tradition of the great antiquity of eagle-trapping. In the rough country west of the Missouri River there are thousands of depressions marking the sites of former pits. These pits vary from sharply rectangular

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796 forms with rotted sections of the cover still protruding to gently
223 rounded depressions now nearly filled by erosional activity. The
172 number of pits, together with their wide distribution, points to a universal practice of considerable antiquity.

796 During the century 1770–1870 there was a general northward
223 movement of the Mandan and Hidatsa which was accompanied
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648 [346]

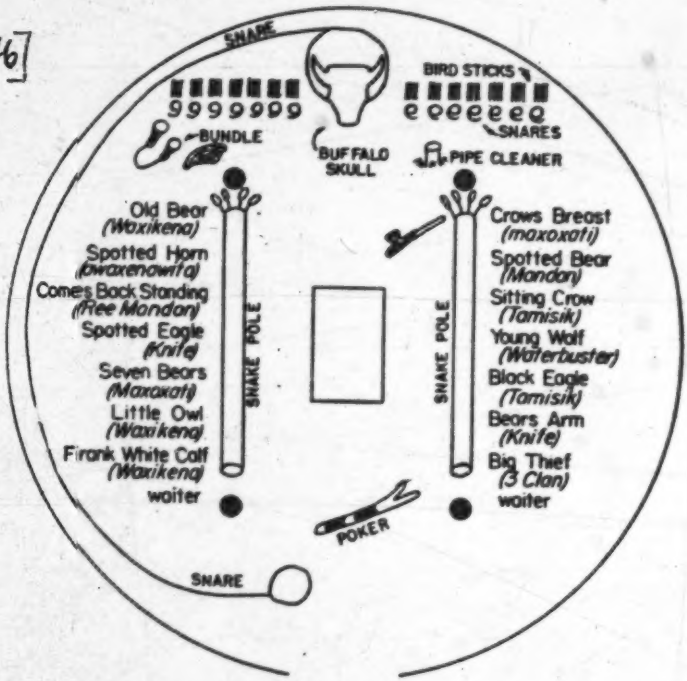

FIG. 26.—Floor plan of eagle-trapping lodge, Old Bear, leader. Bird sticks: *1*, "Both Ends White"; *2*, "Speckled"; *3*, "Four Stripes"; *4*, "The Young One."

by a shift in eagle-trapping territory. Crows Heart (Mandan), who had been on many trapping expeditions with both Mandan and Hidatsa leaders, stated that the Mandan claimed eagle-trapping rights to the territory on both sides of the Missouri River from Like-a-Fishhook Village to the Yellowstone and along the Little Missouri River to its headwaters. While living in the Heart River region, the Mandan claimed trapping rights to all the rough lands between the Little and Big Missouri rivers as far west as Powder River in Montana. To the south

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FIG. 27.—Eagle-trapping camp and pits, Old Bear, leader. (Drawn by Bears Arm to show himself fasting when seventeen years of age.)

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they trapped along the Cannonball River and in the Black Hill region, especially along the north side, which was jointly occupied with the Cheyenne, whom he believed used the same methods and followed the same rituals. He had heard the old men say that it was understood that the eagle-trapping season should not be marked by bloodshed between the two tribes, or the trappers would have bad luck, and that their camps were often only a short distance apart. There would be visiting between camps and good-natured joking about the potency of their respective bundles. He further added that, through misfortune, the Mandan died off in such large numbers that they were obliged to relinquish most of their territory and establish a new territory which Hidatsa leaders had relinquished through simultaneous misfortunes. He had also heard the old men say that before abandoning the Cannonball region the Arikara, who then lived as far north as the Grand River to the south, had a similar treaty with the Sioux not to fight during the eagle-trapping season and at that time began to come into Mandan territory to make trouble. Since one was not permitted to carry his weapons to the pit,[4] a practice observed until trapping was abandoned a few years ago, the Mandan decided that it would be best to abandon their Cannonball River sites. New sites were established in Hidatsa trapping territory after the Mandan moved from the Heart River region to join the Hidatsa. Crows Heart had often visited the Crows and had heard them say they preferred to shoot the young birds, while still near their nesting places, to sitting in pits. There was also a period when the Snake Indians bothered the trappers, but he thought that it was not so long ago, as the Indians had horses by that time.[5]

A few leaders went to the east side of the Missouri River while occupying the Heart River region. Pits were dug as far east as Dog Den Butte and around Devils Lake. This was a limited territory since, in general, the country was too flat on the east side of the Missouri for successful trapping.

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Ownership of a site was vested in the leader who had either purchased the lodge and adjacent pits from a man of his own

4. This practice suggests that a truce between tribes was quite universal before the introduction of the horse.

5. No doubt he referred to a recent eastward movement of Shoshonean-speaking groups after the appearance of the horse on the Northern Plains.

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clan or who had occupied unclaimed territory, erected his own lodge, and marked the outlines of pits. Inheritance of trapping sites was through the clan, and one could not secure permanent ownership of a trapping site owned by a man of a different clan. The nearest clan relative took possession of the site upon the death of the owner if it had not been sold. One could pay for permission to use a particular site for a season from one of a different clan when the owner did not intend to make use of it himself, but he was obliged to use the pits already dug and could not prepare new ones. In other words, a man could rent a site from an owner of a different clan, but he could not buy. When a site had been abandoned so long that its owner was not known, another could claim the site. Evidently little trouble was experienced over claims to sites, since a violator would have been severely criticized. There was, in addition, a religious taboo, since both the eagles and the bears belonging to the ritual occupied major bundle status in each tribe, and a trespasser could never have attained a position of prominence in either tribe.

The ritualistic differences between the Mandan and Hidatsa were no greater than those between separate bundle lines within the same village. Wolf Chief's narrative (to be quoted later) illustrates the extent to which one tribe borrowed from the other in purchasing an eagle-trapping bundle. His father, Small Ankles, purchased his rights from Big Cloud, who advised him to receive his instructions from Arrowhead Earrings, a Mandan, who was better informed. A study of individual bundle lines reveals that borrowing back and forth has been going on regularly since the smallpox epidemic of 1837, and from traditional information from informants this also applied to all their neighboring tribes as well. In native theory the particular ritual practiced at any time depended on these three factors: (1) the instructions received when the bundle was transferred; (2) elements of other eagle-trapping bundle rituals purchased; and (3) vision instructions.

A bundle-owner could sell his rights four times, and it was only when the fourth sale was made that the original bundle was transferred, new bundles being made up for the first three sales. The amount of instruction received depended on the desires of

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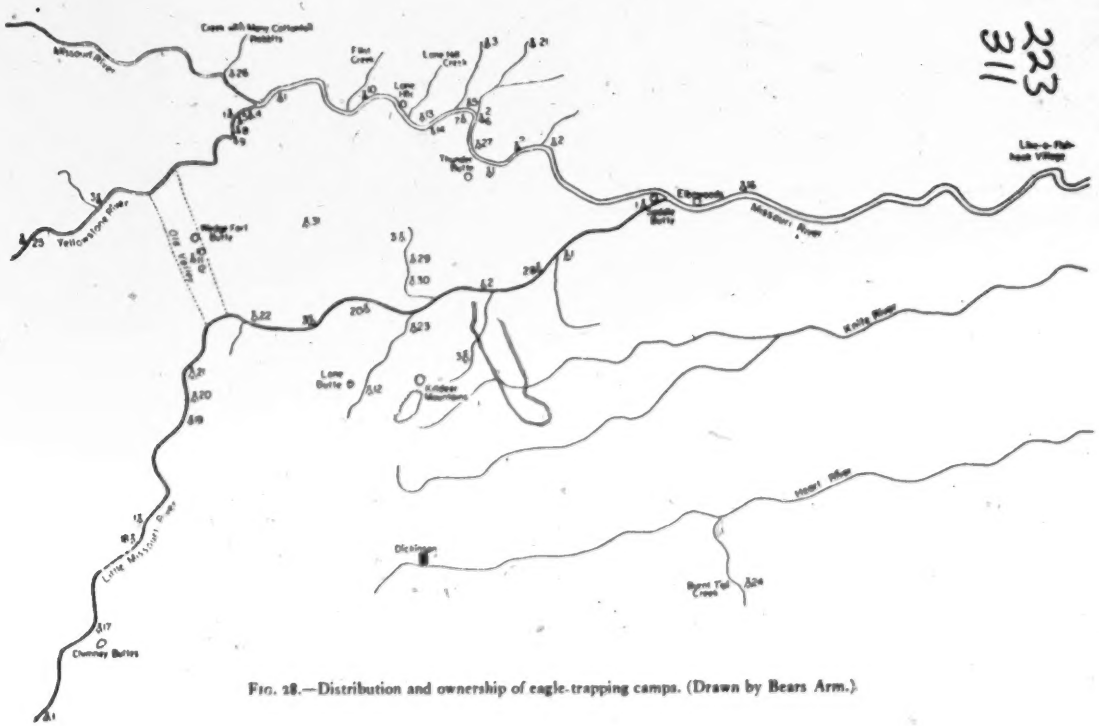

FIG. 28.—Distribution and ownership of eagle-trapping camps. (Drawn by Bears Arm.)

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KEY TO FIGURE 28

OWNERS OF EAGLE-TRAPPING CAMPS, THEIR TRIBE AND CLAN

1, Iron Eyes, Mandan, WaxikEna; *2*, Small Ankles, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *3*, Belly Up, Hidatsa, AwaxEnawita; *4*, Little Shield, Mandan, WaxikEna; *5*, Brave, Hidatsa, AwaxEnawita; *6*, Four Bears, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *7*, Guts, Hidatsa, Maxoxati; *8*, Bad Buffalo, Mandan, Prairie Chicken; *9*, Old Black Bear, Hidatsa, AwaxEnawita; *10*, Poor Wolf, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *11*, Good Bear, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *12*, Good Walker, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *13*, Crows Paunch, Hidatsa, Prairie Chicken; *14*, Enemy Dog, Mandan, WaxikEna; *15*, Cedar, Mandan, WaxikEna; *16*, Road Maker, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *17*, Hairy Coat, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *18*, Raven Wing, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *19*, Plain Tail (Big Coat), Hidatsa, Low Hat; *20*, Bad Coat, Hidatsa, Maxoxati; *21*, Old Bear, Mandan, WaxikEna; *22*, Wolf Eyes, Hidatsa, Maxoxati; *23*, His Horse Smells Him, Hidatsa, Maxoxati; *24*, Red Basket, Mandan, Prairie Chicken; *25*, Runs, Hidatsa (clan not known); *26*, Coyote, Hidatsa, Prairie Chicken; *27*, Bears Tail, Hidatsa, Prairie Chicken; *28*, Little Coyote (he would come up from Awaxawi Village at Knife River to trap here; this is probably a mythological camp); *29*, Bad Robe, Mandan, Tamisik; *30*, Bears Foot, Mandan (clan not known); *31*, Makes Everything Good, Hidatsa, Prairie Chicken.

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796 778 223 the purchaser. He could receive instructions and rights in a limited number of fundamental rites to trap eagles without going into the entire lore belonging to the ceremony. He could then lead trapping expeditions to established trapping grounds, open the lodge, receive the birds brought in by the trappers, and send the spirits away. He could not, however, dig new pits, make offerings to the holy women, or perform the many other simple rites associated with these expeditions. He would not attract the best trappers on his expeditions, as informants stated that successful trappers preferred to go out with leaders who had special rites for all situations likely to arise.

796 778 424 Some bundle-owners took particular interest in the mythology and rites belonging to eagle-trapping to the extent that supplementary purchases were made. In time, these leaders became authorities on eagle-trapping and received popular recognition comparable to specialists in any other pursuit such as warfare or hunting. Whenever such an owner discovered that another had a sacred song or simple rite used in connection with eagle-trapping, a purchase could be made, regardless of the clan of the seller. In this manner new elements modified or supplemented the original bundle rites.

The rites were further modified by vision instructions. When Bear on the Flat received his bundle from his father, Belly Up, he was instructed not to permit anyone to touch the snake poles. Subsequently, Bear on the Flat received a vision from the snakes in which he was advised to permit his trappers to wipe their hands on the poles as the snakes' portion of the meal.

796 773 223 Every major ceremony, whether Mandan or Hidatsa, had a mythological origin, and, in this respect, eagle-trapping ceremonies occupied major bundle status. In theory, eagle-trapping was first employed by two classes of small bears, the small black bears that had their pits on the east side of the Missouri River and the small brown bears that trapped on the west bank. There were seven mythological eagle-trapping camps at which these small bears were accustomed to meet in autumn to catch the young black-tipped eagles (see Fig. 29).

The brown-bear camps were at: (1) Thunder Butte; (2) Knife River, near the present town of Golden Valley; and (3) Heart River Ravine, near the town of New Salem. The black-bear

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camps were at: (1) One Cottonwood Camp, at the mouth of the Yellowstone; (2) First Trapping Camp, the high ridge south of Sanish; (3) Buckbrush Trapping Camp, south of Shell Creek; and (4) High Butte Trapping Camp, southeast of Like-a-Fish-hook Village.

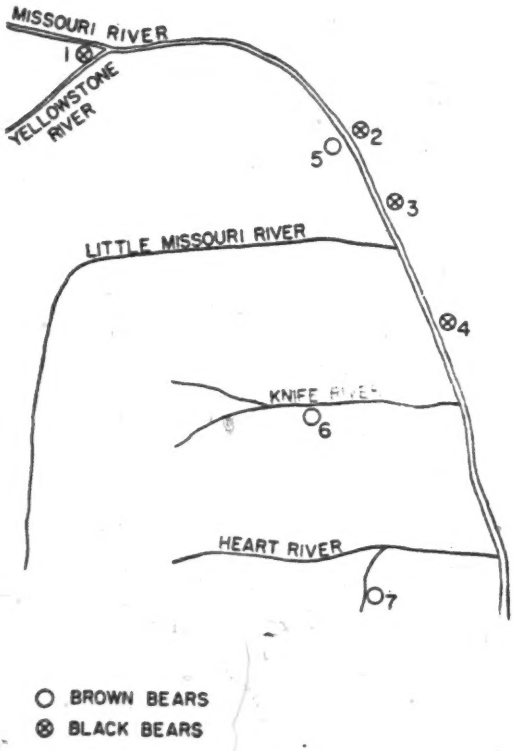

FIG. 29.—Mythological trapping camps of the Bears. *1*, One Cottonwood Camp; *2*, First Trapping Camp; *3*, Buckbrush Trapping Camp; *4*, High Butte Trapping Camp; *5*, Thunder Butte Trapping Camp; *6*, Sand Lodge Camp; *7*, Heart River Ravine Camp.

According to native belief, the small bears had trapped for a long time before the Indians received instruction in trapping. The theory of acquiring this supernatural knowledge conforms to the tribal pattern by which the world of the sacred is brought to the secular world through the medium of a hero. In this case, the hero was Black Wolf, who had been separated from a hunting party and was saved from starvation by a party of small black bears, then engaged in trapping eagles to the north of the

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796 villages on the east bank of the Missouri River. The method of
773 acquiring this sacred lore is characteristic of most Mandan-
776 Hidatsa bundles, but the particular spirits participating and the contributions made by each is characteristic solely of eagle-trapping. The chief spirit contributors were Old Black Bear, Coyote, Snake, Buffalo, Young Eagle, and Little Black Bear.

796 Old Black Bear taught Black Wolf these songs: (1) song to the
773 lodge (sung when building the lodge); (2) song to the sweat
776 lodge (sung when the sweat lodge was being built and when it was being used); (3) song to the bait; (4) song to the pit;
533 (5) song to the snare; (6) song to the goose; (7) song to the swan; (8) song to the little bear; and (9) song to the bear.

Coyote taught the following song:

My old one in autumn
here I go (come to) Your power is strong.

The snakes contributed a song to be used when making offerings to the snake poles, since they belonged in the ceremony because Grandson once visited the bears while the ceremony was in progress.[6]

Buffalo[7] asked to come along and he contributed this song:

Lodge we have come lodge they have come

The *ma-si* eagle taught this song:

Earth above I am walking
Earth on I am walking

773 Several versions of the origin of eagle-trapping were recorded
539 during this study, and they were all essentially alike. Ben Benson, who had secured his rights from Iron Eyes, his father, supplied the following origin myth of eagle-trapping.

EAGLE-TRAPPING MYTH (BLACK WOLF) RELATED BY BEN BENSON[8]

A long time ago the Mandan did not know how to catch eagles or how to do many of the things they learned to do in later years. In one of the villages

6. Cf. my manuscript on "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Life" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago), for myth of Grandson visiting the Snakes, which slept with their heads on two poles and on opposite sides of the fire in Red Butte; cf. also above for the myth of Grandson, son of the Moon, in chap. vi, on "The Corn Ceremonies."

7. A bundle containing a buffalo bull skull occupied major bundle status.

8. For other relations of this myth by Ben Benson see Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 64–69, and Martha

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there was a young man by the name of Black Wolf who never went far from home. He preferred to stay around camp where he could dress up in fine clothes and call on all the girls. The active young men who were always out away fom the village hunting and fighting the tribe's enemies did not like the way he spent his time with the girls of the village. One night he was sitting under the corn scaffold in front of a young girl's lodge when an old man, one of the announcers of the village, went from house to house calling the names of the best runners of the tribe. He asked that these young men go out in search of the buffalo herds.

When this man came near where Black Wolf was sitting, he arose and went to the man and said, "I want to go. Won't you call my name so I can go?"

The announcer replied, "We have only selected good runners who have a good reputation in the tribe." Black Wolf only asked that his girl might hear him and not because he really wanted to go out in search of the herds. The announcer said, "Young man, come to the lodge where we meet and tell when you want to go."

Black Wolf went to the lodge, and the young men decided to go out at once. Their village was Yellow Earth Village,[9] and they set out in a northerly direction. It was dark when they left. The others saw that Black Wolf was with them and did not like it, for he was always with their girls, and, besides, he did not know the country they were traveling through. One of the hunters said, "We'll give him a good run," so they ran two or three miles, then walked a short distance, after which they ran again. Since they were afoot, Black Wolf soon became tired and lagged far behind. A little before daybreak the leader of the hunters halted the party to sleep for a short time. Black Wolf went sound asleep, and, when he awoke, the others had gone on. "Let him sleep," they had said as they started out. The day was foggy, and Black Wolf did not know where to go, for he had never been so far from home before. He called to the others, but nobody replied. The fog lifted in the middle of the day, and he found that he was far to the north. He walked along and each time he came to a buffalo skull, he took off some of the fine clothes he had been wearing when he went to see the girls until he was naked. Each article of clothing he offered to the buffaloes. He came to some buckbrush and lay down in it looking up into the sky. While there a beautiful calumet eagle[10] came above him, and the boy thought of his father who often shot them. While he was watching the eagle, he saw it come down to the ground and light. Suddenly the eagle disappeared from sight and something black came out of the ground and walked away. He wanted to know what all this meant, so he walked over to the spot where the eagle was seen to disappear. He found an eagle pit with a dim trail leading away from it. He followed the trail leading away from the ravine to a spring of clear water, near which he saw a round grass lodge. The

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Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 206–14. The latter work also includes a version of the myth related by Bears Arm (below, Appendix IV). Another version of the myth by Wolf Chief is reported by George H. Pepper and Gilbert L. Wilson, *An Hidsata Shrine and the Beliefs Respecting It* ("Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association," Vol. II [1907–15]), pp. 306–18.

9. One of the east-side villages north of Bismarck known today as the Bourgeois or Double Ditch site.

10. The eagle with white tail feathers and black tips.

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lodge had been made by sticking green poles in the ground in the form of a circle and bending them over at the top so that the lodge was like half a ball. Each pole was less than half the length of a man's foot apart, and the spaces between were filled with grass so that from the outside only the grass could be seen.[11]

On reaching the grass lodge, he saw eagle tail feathers hanging everywhere about the outside of the lodge. Inside he heard someone moving, and then a voice said, "You should bring the firewood."

Someone came out and saw Black Wolf standing there. He went inside and said, "Black Wolf is out there."

Another voice said, "Tell him to come in."

Someone came to the door and said, "Come in."

There was a little fellow in there, and he said, "Sit beside your younger brother." They cooked tender fat meat, and there was plenty of fresh water and dried meat, so that all had enough to eat. There were many people there, and they lived chiefly on young eagles. These people were the little bears. The black ones belonged on the left side and the brown ones on the right.[12]

Next morning someone called, "There is a good wind; the wind is from the right direction."

The little boy dressed and said, "I must go out catching eagles." All the others in the house left, leaving Black Wolf alone all day. When evening came, the little boy returned with an eagle.

Black Wolf said, "Younger brother, I want to go with you next time; it is too lonesome here alone."

The little boy said he would ask his father. The father said, "You may go with him, but you should be very careful."

Next morning they went out, and Black Wolf went with them. The little boy and Black Wolf both climbed into the pit. Black Wolf said, "Younger brother, when the eagles come, let me catch one."

He replied, "That is what father meant when he said for you to be careful. You must be very quick."

The little boy had been catching them by sticking his hand out as bait, and, when the eagle came down, he had been seizing it with the other hand. "This time you better be quick," the little boy warned, "for my hand is out." A bald-headed eagle was coming down; they are hard to catch. Before Black Wolf caught the eagle, it had stuck its claws through the little boy's wrists. Black Wolf pulled the eagle into the pit and took the claws out of the little boy's hand, but the pain was so severe that he cried and went home. Black Wolf walked right behind him, crying too, he felt so sorry for his little brother.

As they walked, Black Wolf saw a pretty leaf and dug to the roots of the plant to get the black sweet roots to chew and put on the wounds, thinking it might help the boy's hand. This root was Black Medicine.[13] He put the root which he chewed up onto the boy's hand, and it felt better immediately. The

11. This type lodge appears frequently in Mandan mythology, but there is no record of its use in any of the recorded expeditions.

12. This represents the mythological distribution of trapping sites with the Black Bears on the east bank of the Missouri River and the Brown Bears on the right bank.

13. The introduction of Black Medicine to the ceremony illustrates native belief of the development of a ceremony. Even ceremonial founders draw elements from other sources.

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little boy was happy to be relieved of the pain, and the father inquired of Black Wolf where he found the material, for he wanted to gather some to keep near in case eagles should seize anyone again.

In a few days the little boy's hand was well again. Black Wolf was sitting on top of a hill when the little boy came to him and asked why he was sitting there alone. Black Wolf said, "I am lonesome for my people. At this time of day we had such good times at Yellow Earth Village. I am homesick."

The little boy promised to speak to his father about it. The father said he could go any time he wished, and the boy came back with the news to Black Wolf.

"If father asks you when you want to go, say 'Now,' for 'Tomorrow' means one year from now." The father said he could go in the morning.

Early in the morning the three awakened and dressed. After eating, the father said, "You two boys go out to the side of the lodge and pick the best feathers you can find there." The boys found many good eagle feathers and soon had a bag full of them. The father asked that two bunches of sage he brought and divided into two equal piles and he gave each pile to Black Wolf. He said, "Go south until you come to the highest place. Go up there and put one bunch of sage on the ground and step on it; put the other bunch one step ahead, and step on that, reaching back for the bunch behind you. Step that way four times, and the fourth time you will look ahead of you and see your village."

Black Wolf went south toward the highest hill, where he put the sage down as he had been directed and stepped ahead four times. When he looked up, he was near home, and the sun was just going down. He thought he would stay outside the village until it was dark and then go in.

The old man eagle-trapper had told Black Wolf that, when he arrived home, the chief would bring his two daughters to him to take as his wives. "When you are married to them, come over and see us. Bring one wife.[14] Go a little ways from camp and step on the sage just as I told you, and you will be here at once."

The little brother had said to him after they went to bed the last night, "My father says you will come back. When you come here cry, 'My father, I want a stuffed animal' and keep saying that over and over." The father had heard them talking and asked them to be quiet and go to sleep, but the little boy said that they were only talking about the brother's trip home the next day.

After dark Black Wolf went into the village and walked to his father's lodge, which he found closed. He called, "Father, I am home."

The man said, "Who can that be talking?" The boy had been away so long that he had been nearly forgotten. The father opened the door, saw Black Wolf, put his arms around his boy's neck and fainted. The mother come to the door, saw her son, and fainted also. Soon the parents regained their senses. A bright fire was built up and the boy put the package down. In the meanwhile, the father went through the village calling, "My son whom we thought dead is home." They opened the package and found many fine eagle tail feathers in it. The chief's son was there and saw all the fine feathers. He went home at once and told his father about it, for the young man had longed for a fan made of eagle feathers.

14. This would be the older wife, as she was first to partake in the ceremonies.

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The chief said, "If you want a fan, it is best that you let your sisters marry the man."

The young son replied, "You can attend to that better yourself."

The chief ordered his wives to cook some of the best dried meat and corn before inviting Black Wolf in. The two daughters had a bed decorated with porcupine quill flaps.

The chief said, "Sit down there beside your wives. Now get out one of those robes for him to wear." The girls brought out a beautiful white buffalo robe decorated on the skin side with purcupine quills.

Black Wolf thanked them and said, "I am going to take this robe to my other father," and they knew then that he had some other spirits, holy people, somewhere.

Black Wolf walked out on top of the lodge and called, "My fathers, the Northern Black Bears, I have a beautiful white robe here for your bedding." His own father heard all about it and went to his own lodge where he inquired of his wife the number of tanned buffalo robes on hand. The wife thought there were thirty-five or forty. The husband said that he wished to use them. He also asked his parents[15] to furnish robes until, in all, he had a pile of nearly one hundred robes. He invited his son to eat with him and invited all the important men of the village to be there. Then he presented all the robes to the young son, who went onto the roof and offered them to his "spirit" father.

Before leaving Black Bear's lodge, the little boy had said, "When you come back, bring a large corn ball and a wooden medicine pipe filled with tobacco. When you get to the door keep crying, 'I want a stuffed animal.' Keep crying until he lets you in. Let your wife go in first and stand before him. If he says you get a stuffed animal, that is all there is to it."

Black Wolf said to his oldest wife, "We go to the north in four days." When the four days were up, they started. The wife had a corn ball made of four-in-one [corn, beans, sunflowers, and squash]. She carried the corn ball, and he had the pipe. When they reached the highest hill, he gathered four bunches of sage, giving two to his wife and keeping two for himself. He told her the way she should step from one to the other four times. Soon they were before the grass lodge, but the sun was setting so they had traveled all day.

He began to cry, "I want a stuffed animal," repeating it over and over until the old man inside said, "You shall have it." Black Wolf sent his wife in ahead, telling her to stand before the old man. He carried in the corn ball and pipe and put them before the old man.

The old man said, "Sit down. We will fix this up some time later." Black Wolf sat beside the one he called younger brother. The old man took the corn ball and pipe. The pipe was passed around three times before it was lit. Then the little boy said he would light it and eat the corn ball. He broke the corn ball in two, kept half and gave the other half to the others.

They smoked and food was cooked for them to eat. At last the old man said, "You will go home in the morning. After four days at home you must make a sweat lodge of sticks with a pit in the center. Have rocks and water at hand and find an old tepee cover to go over the framework of sticks. All those you see in this lodge will be there. I will tell you what you have to do in the future. Have plenty of food ready. The robes you have prepared must be hung beside the sweat lodge. Before you go home, take your little brother over the

15. Parents also included all men of the father's clan and their wives.

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hills and tickle him; he will go to sleep at once. You want a stuffed animal. After the boy has gone to sleep, skin out his hind legs and pull the skin over his head but do not cut any of the bones. Stuff the skin and bring it here and put it before me where I am sitting." 773 539

He did as he was told. Then he returned to his own village with his wife and the little boy.

Black Wolf began to prepare for Old Black Bear's visit. Everything was in readiness just as directed by the Bears. Just before the Bears started, Coyote, the First Creator, came to the Bears and said, "My friends, you aren't going to leave me, are you? You can't leave without me. I will be the one to teach the people how to kill the enemy and strike the coups."

"All right, we'll take you and you can walk with our son's [Black Wolf's] wives.

A large grizzly bear came and said, "Why can't I go along? I can do a lot of work in those ceremonies. I will be the waiter."

Then the buffalo bull came and he said, "I will let buffaloes out around the village. I must go because I will be useful to the people over there."

The snakes, the eagles, and the coyotes wanted to go, and Old Black Bear agreed to take them all.

Just before starting, Old Black Bear said, "We will fix up something for our son, Black Wolf." All were ready to go and just outside the grass lodge Old Black Bear sang a song, and all the others knew it and sang it with him. While they were singing the song, Black Wolf far away heard it and knew that the Old Black Bears were coming.

It didn't take them long to get there. They stopped once and sang the song, went a ways farther and sang again, then still farther and sang. The fourth time they were at the village. Black Wolf saw them and came out with his wife, carrying a large corn ball and the wooden pipe filled with tobacco. He put the corn ball and pipe before the Old Black Bear. Old Black Bear picked up the corn ball and pipe, and returned it to Black Wolf. The party presented Black Wolf with a buffalo skull, and his wife walked[16] with it toward their lodge, the others walking behind. She also had the stuffed animal which represented the little brother, and Old Black Bear gave them two green poles representing the Snakes which always went with the birds.

Meanwhile the sweat lodge was ready and the rocks heated. Old Black Bear said, "My son, watch everything we do. We are tired so we must go in the sweat." The animals put the rocks in and went inside. Black Wolf, from the outside, listened to the song the animals sang in the sweat, which was the sweat-lodge song.

Those are medicine	take of them	a part (portion)
take of them	they are holy	

All this meant that Black Wolf and Little Boy had trapped for eagles, and the little boy had hurt his hand. Black Wolf had taken the medicine of the Black Medicine to cure the wounds. It was of this root that the animals were singing.

When they finished the song, they prayed to the animals, and, after pouring water on themselves, came out and said to Black Wolf, "You see how we

16. This act made the woman daughter-in-law to the buffaloes.

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fixed the sweat lodge; when we come out, we are not tired. You can doctor[17] and cure people with the sweat-lodge baths." This was the first sweat lodge, and this story tells how the first sweat lodges came to the Mandan.

After the animals came out of the sweat lodge, they sat down in a circle while Old Black Bear instructed Black Wolf in the technique of catching eagles. Old Black Bear said, "My son can catch eagles from the top of his lodge or he can go out on the prairies. It is better to go out on the prairies; there dig a hole on the side or top of the hill. The hole should be so deep that when you sit up your head will just reach the top of the pit. The pit must be long enough to allow you to stretch out in, and you must face to the west, where the eagles come from in the fall of the year." Then Old Black Bear gave Black Wolf the ritual to follow and the restrictions necessary to catch the birds. First Creator was there and taught Black Wolf how to use the Little Black Bear when on the hunt or warpath.

Old Black Bear gave Black Wolf instructions in the use of fish traps, how the corral of willows should be tied, which baits to use, and the depth in the water to set the trap. When making the trap, Little Black Bear [stuffed animal] should be kept at home in a bed of robes and calicoes with his face to the fireplace. He taught the use of the snare for corraling buffaloes.

When Old Black Bear was giving the instructions to Black Wolf, he had said, "Take good care of your little brother; give him corn balls and corn mush every day."

One day Black Wolf's mother-in-law, while making mush for Little Black Bear, burned her hands and was very angry. She said, "Every day I cook for that sharp-nosed bear, and what good does it do?" Little Black Bear heard and cried because the remarks hurt his feelings. She brought the mush to Little Black Bear and set it before him. In the evening Black Wolf came in and walked right up to his little brother. He saw the tears in his younger brother's eyes and noticed that the little fellow had not eaten the food set before him. Black Wolf inquired why he had not eaten the food, and Little Black Bear replied, "I am angry. Mother-in-law is cross with me and she called me 'sharp-nose.' I am going back to my people, the Black Bear people."

Black Wolf sat down beside him and begged him to stay. "I don't say bad things about you, neither do my wives, so why be angry."

Little Black Bear said, "I will stay if you stay all night with me without sleeping." Black Wolf agreed to the proposition and asked his wives to make up a big feast, for he was inviting all the old men to spend the night with him and Little Black Bear. The old people were glad to sit up all night with him. They sat up all night until nearly morning, when Little Black Bear extended the night another night's length. Still they stayed until it was nearly morning, when Little Black Bear extended the night another night's length. He did this three times. The fourth time the old people all lay sleeping except Black Wolf, who was sitting up sleeping by that time. Seeing that his brother was sleeping, Little Black Bear got up, and quietly returned home to the Black Bears in the north. Black Wolf woke up and saw his brother in his usual place and spoke to him. Little Black Bear did not answer, for his soul or spirit had gone back even though the body remained there.

When Little Black Bear reached home, his father asked why he had returned, and Little Black Bear replied, "She called me names. I left my body,

17. The bears were believed to be the greatest doctors.

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and the power is still there with it. They can still use me in catching the eagles, but I will not have to live where I am insulted." 539

The following narrative by Wolf Chief was a part of both his father's and his father-in-law's bundles and comes from the Mandan. The division of the bears into two groups representing two sides of the Missouri River is symbolic of the moiety division of the tribe into an east-side and a west-side seating arrangement for council meetings and the Okipa ceremony. The myth expresses the potency of the snare and gives the traditional origin of a number of songs and rites. 778 773 539

EAGLE-TRAPPING MYTH (BLACK AND BROWN BEARS) RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[18] 773 539

In the beginning all the Black Bears were said to be living on the north side of the earth, while on the south side were the small Brown Bears. All the bears on the left side of the river, from the Yellowstone and beyond, even down to Knife River, belonged to the Black Bears. The Brown Bears on the right side of the river would know ahead of time the main trails of the eagles and get there ahead of the others from the left bank. There was a place called One Cottonwood Camp, where the Yellowstone runs into the Missouri River. When the birds traveled, they always came through that country. At that time the Black Bears were catching young eagles there and would eat them, for they were tender. They caught only that kind, for they liked to eat them.

Brown Bear called himself the real spirit. He had so much power that he did not have to use bait but could use his own hands to catch them. He selected his place called Thunder Butte where he went to catch the birds by hand. One of the Brown Bears had selected his place, at the Knife River south of the town of Golden Valley where the brush runs to the east, to catch only black tips. He called it Sand Lodge from the sand stones around there. There was another place at Heart River called Heart River Ravine.

On the north side the Black Bears had a trapping place called First Trapping Camp, the highest butte just below Sanish. (The Hidatsa Four Bears used to trap there.) Another place was at Buckbrush Trapping Camp, the flat west of the Mormon church just below Shell Creek. They put up a trap there, for they saw many eagles. The pits were in the hills at The Slides and to the north; another trapping place was below Fishhook to the east on the high banks, and they called it High Butte Trapping Camp. We do not know if it was Sandy Lodge, Thunder Butte, or One Cottonwood that he had his lodge close to.

Brown Bear had a lodge in one of these places. He lost his little boy from one of these lodges. When he disappeared, they looked all over. It was foggy, and they could not see a long distance or find his tracks. After a while they learned that the eagles had hidden the boy. They went far away looking, but it was foggy all the time until they came to the Heart River east of Dickinson. There they thought they had discovered his tracks along the edge of the

18. For portions of this myth, also related by Wolf Chief, see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX, Part IV [1929]), pp. 156 and 214–16.

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creek. They thought according to the tracks that he was going to Rainy Buttes; sometimes the tracks were plain, other times dim. The father thought when he came near the butte that they were hiding his son inside the butte. Before reaching the Rainy Buttes, the tracks disappeared. They looked all the way around the butte, and his father said, "I am sure that they must have taken him inside of this butte; I am going to cut this butte down and destroy it. I am going to use my snare to put around it and pull the butte to pieces to see if we can find him inside." Before putting the snare around the butte, he sang a holy song:

Acira Acira goes toward the butte.

Then he put the snare (calls it medicine robe) around the butte and pulled. He caved off about half of the butte, but he did not have the power to tear it all down. Still he did not find him in there. He went all over the earth looking around, but still the boy could not be found. At last the boy had been gone for a year, and the parents were very sad. They came back to their camp, and the fog still covered the sky, sometimes clearing slightly and then darkening. All this time Brown Bear's boy was trying to clear the fog, but he was not powerful enough. At this time the young one was alone. The fog was beginning to break, and he could see far. The leaves were taking on color; he remembered his father and mother and knew that it was at this time of the year that his father and mother had a good time. He remembered himself and could tell where he came from, and he knew the location of the camp. As soon as he recognized the place, he sang his holy song while walking toward his home.

I will come to that hill.

Then he came to the hill. He saw timber ahead. He sang:

I will reach that big timber.

He was there at once. He saw the Missouri River.

I will reach that river.

He was there. Then he saw a road and he sang:

I will reach that road.

He was there. Then he saw the door and he sang:

I will reach that door.

He was there at once.

The father was feeling sad about it and was going to do something to the birds for punishment. He went to Eagle Butte and went into a pit. He would spit on his hand and hold it out. The eagles would come down, and he would seize them. Sometimes the eagles would fly up nearly to the sky, and then he would hold up his holy snare. Then the eagles would come right down. After that all these places were good ones to catch eagles. The Brown Bears would have a lodge. One with a son had more power than the others. He would take out his snare, and that would draw the birds down. They would say that he was the most powerful one in the lodge.

They were supposed to leave for the traps when the leaves began to change color. The Brown Bears had one lodge. The youngest one wanted to go trapping, but the father said that he was too young. Still he insisted that he knew the holy songs and their order, so he went out without the father's permission. He was in a hole watching the eagles, and while there he went to sleep. The

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eagles picked him up and took him away. All that time on the eagles' side there was a leader who said when he picked up the little bear, "He is sleeping down there; this is a good chance to take him away." This bird was a large one, the largest of the birds. The little brown bear's father wondered what had become of him and went out the second day to see. When he came to the pit, he saw from the signs that the birds had picked him up and carried him into the sky. When he learned this, he came back and was very sad. He thought that he would catch the leader among the birds, the one who caused his son to be caught. He made plans at once to catch the bird. At his lodge there were five of these small brown bears, but one was the leader.

The old one said, "I will try to catch that big bird, for that is the one who took the boy above. I think that bird will come along about tomorrow or the next day." The leader of the Brown Bears stood up and said, "That big bird has started already," and when he went outside he sang:

Where I have my trap it is already; catch the one I want to.[19]

He said to the older bears, "I will go out, repeating that song on the way to the pit. When I bring that bird in, you repeat that song, take the bird, and throw it to the head of the lodge as hard as you can."[20] He went into the hole, and soon the big bird was in the air above him. He pretended to be asleep, and the bird came down. He picked up his snare and sang the holy songs. When the bird was near, he threw his snare up, caught the bird by the legs, and pulled him down. When he caught the bird, it began to beg saying, "Save my life."

Brown Bear said, "No, I am going to sit on you," meaning that he was going to eat the bird. He tied the bird up and carried him home. When he was near the lodge he cried:

I am trapping. I am holy. I know I am
I am trapping. I have caught him
I am trapping. Now I know I am going to eat.

He came back to the lodge and gave the bird to the others to seize and throw as hard as they could to the head of the lodge. All that time the bird was begging them not to kill him, but the bear who caught the bird said, "Do not listen to him but get that clay pot ready to put in the fire for we will eat him."

The bears were singing while they were getting ready. They sang:

Put that pot in the fire. We will eat.
Take your knife out and get ready. We will eat.

The bird said, "I will be with you and be a great help in the future. I know that you have much power, for I can see that. If you have my help, you will have still more power."

They sang:

Acira [Small Brown Bear] your pot moves toward the fire.
Your pot is already in the fire.
Acira your pot is boiling.
Acira your pot is nearly red hot.
Acira your pot is boiling.

19. Song of the pit.
20. This explains the practice of throwing the birds violently to the head of the lodge.

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At this time they decided to sing their holy song which was the Knife Song to be used when butchering the bird. The bird jumped up again and promised that he would be among them forever and that he would help them along, too, and give them success in the future in whatever they should do. They asked of the bird, "How would you help us?"

The bird said, "You will call me Acira's sister; you will pick up any kind of stick and tie a small offering of leather to it, and that will be myself. When you want to get more eagles, you can say a prayer to me, and you will succeed, for I am the leader of these birds. This will go on forever, but, if you kill me, you will eat me up, and then you will have nothing to show. It may be in the future that some woman will have monthlies. The eagles are afraid of them then. There is a holy song[21] that I will teach you, and, if there is such a woman, you will have it to protect you. Then you will not have bad luck but get good luck from the eagles."

They said to the bird, "We will take your word for it, but we will give you orders that in the future you must not claw the humans, for if you do, we will get rid of you and kill all of you."

They said among themselves, "We will let the bird go, but we will put the snare around its neck with black medicine. If he disobeys what we say, having the snare around his neck, we have a chance to sit on him [eat him] again."

The leader said to the bird, "Remember what we said and do not scratch any of the people, for we are going to trap for a long time in the future. We do not want any trouble from you."

This was kept up for a long time until a few years ago.

Even in my time if some woman with monthlies did not report it, the tail feathers were poor.

On the east side at The Slides, in the brush, there were about thirty black bears who had trapping places on the high hills from Lucky Mound to Joe Black Bear's home today. They had another pit in the buckbrush west of where the church is, for they saw many eagle feathers around there and thought it would be a good thing to have a trap. This pit near the buckbrush was the best of all, and they decided that, instead of using them all, they would take turns at that pit; the first man caught five eagles and the others stayed on the butte to watch. Eagles would fly over there and then disappear in the ground. Five birds would be caught there nearly every day. They used the pit for two years and hardly used the others at all, for so few birds were caught in them. They came back to try the trap again and did not succeed, so they thought that someone had spoiled it. All the time they were cleansing themselves, and then they went to the pit to see what was the matter. They cleaned out the pit and found a flint knife in it and knew at once that the bad luck was caused by the knife. The leader cleaned the pit, but still they did not succeed. They watched the sky and saw that the birds would go into the air and fly around, then go away. Even the others were having bad luck. After catching only two eagles, they decided to give up. They do not know who spoiled the pit. After all the acira had gone away the people had pits there, and they never learned why the pit was not as good as formerly.

I never heard what became of the little boy.

21. Song for menstruating woman. See the account of Bears Arm, below, Appendix IV.

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Big Cloud's bundle was not complete; Iron Eyes had a main one.[22] Small Ankles would put up the lodge and put the snake pole in with the buffalo skull. He tied it into place with dark sage. I heard that once Old Woman's Grandson came in so they had the two poles brought in at that time to represent the snake.[23] 539

With respect to inheritance of trapping rights, rather marked differences exist between the Hidatsa and the Mandan. The former employed exclusively transfer from father to son or from individuals standing in the father-son relationship. Not a single instance of variation from the rule was observed except in the instance of Big Cloud's two sales to Wolf Eyes and Small Ankles. No doubt that exception can be traced to the circumstance that, though belonging to the Hidatsa Water-buster clan, Big Cloud lived in one of the Mandan villages with his Mandan father and Hidatsa mother. Hidatsa sales of trapping rights followed the normal pattern of bundle transfer from father to son, with a clan brother of the seller acting as sponsor to give instruction and prepare the bundle. Frequently a purchaser's brothers assisted in a joint purchase, taking possession upon death of the brother, but the next transfer would be to the son of original purchaser or his brother's son. 778 223 171 425

The small village of Awaxawi apparently had been strongly influenced by the Mandan, and clan inheritance was followed if the two bundles purchased just after the smallpox of 1837 were characteristic of all bundles formerly in the village prior to that epidemic.

Mandan inheritance of eagle-trapping bundles was affected by numerous factors. Except for the last generation in which it was from father to son, or other individuals standing in that relationship, inheritance was generally from one standing in the relationship of *pta'wadato'dE*, a special kinship term for the mother's brother and the mother's mother's brother. In tracing back inheritance of Mandan eagle-trapping bundles, one is impressed by a sudden change within a single generation to the Hidatsa pattern of purchasing from the father. 778 425 171

Iron Eyes' bundle had belonged in the WaxikEna clan for several generations. He purchased from his mother's brother before the Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook 423 223 778 425

22. He means the principal bundle.

23. See the myth of Old Woman Who Never Dies, chap. vi, above.

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423 Village, but he sold to his son after living one generation with
223 the Hidatsa. He inherited the eagle-trapping sites of his moth-
778 er's brother, but his son, Ben Benson, did not inherit his father's
425 trapping lodges, since they were of different clans. Trapping territory and lodges continued to be clan-inherited and were not affected by this change to father-son inheritance of bundles.

778 Residence also was a factor in determining Mandan bundle transfers. When marriage was arranged on the initiative of the
425 girl's parents, who selected the husband, the girl and her husband lived with her parents. As soon as it was evident that the marriage would become permanent, the girl's parents undertook what was known as "building up the son-in-law's reputation." First they would secure a white buffalo robe, which they presented to their son-in-law, who in turn would offer it to his own father's bundle.

If the young man came to regard the parents-in-law highly, he would, when successful in warfare, present his mother-in-law with a scalp, after which he could speak to her at will. Small Ankles lived in the same lodge with his wife and her parents, and he received his eagle-trapping rights from his father-in-law, Big Cloud, who also sold to his younger brother, Wolf Eyes. Wolf Chief, son of Small Ankles, was eligible to buy from his father. He also was invited to own his father-in-law's (Chief, a Mandan) eagle-trapping rights. This was an instance where a man (Hidatsa) was eligible to purchase his father's rights but through marriage to a Mandan and living in his parents-in-law's lodge could, according to Mandan custom, have inherited his father-in-law's bundle and rights.

Wolf Chief gave an account of a bundle transfer as told to him by his father, Small Ankles. The account illustrates quite definitely a considerable interchange of elements between the Mandan and Hidatsa, resulting in an enriched ceremonial life for both groups. The Hidatsa think of Small Ankles' rites as Hidatsa, but this account will show that the chief body of lore connected with the bundle was drawn from the Mandan.

223 WOLF CHIEF'S NARRATIVE OF A BUNDLE TRANSFER

778 I do not own the trapping rights, and by custom I should not tell; but,
425 since I have changed my ways, I will. My father, Small Ankles, did not get
159 the rights from his father but from Big Cloud, his father-in-law. Before Big

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Cloud[24] died, he told my father that it would be better for him to put up a sweat and thus receive the Small Bear, for he might get some use out of it. When people in the future would make offerings to the bears, he would receive presents.

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Small Ankles told me that he got this Small Bear shortly after the smallpox. He said to me, "I treated my father-in-law well; he was like an older brother to me; that was the reason why he asked me to buy the medicines. I had to put up the sweat and some articles before I received it. At that time there were few trade goods, so I went out for buffaloes and saved about twenty-five hides. I had them tanned by the women. I prepared a sweat bath and called Big Cloud. He showed me two feet belonging to the little bear; one was without hide and was called Bone Foot. It was difficult to find a man who knew all the songs, but we remembered that there was a man named White Finger Nails. He had a son who knew the holy songs, so he was selected to come in and sing the songs. That man was a Mandan, Calf Woman's mother's father, named Arrowhead Earrings.[25] Big Cloud did not own a complete bundle but had only part of the rites and songs, so they selected this man since he knew them all. The man selected I called "father" because he and my father were in some way distantly related. Also I said that it would be best to have my father-in-law there too, for he knew some of the songs and knew how to put up the trap with the songs for the baits and pits. They met together to have the ceremony." Small Ankles was there. Big Cloud gave his medicines to Small Ankles and taught him how to trap, sing the songs, and set the baits. Then the other man gave him a small piece of bear hide and foot, telling him that when out trapping, if bad luck came, he could call him "father" and say what he wished to say, and Arrowhead Earrings would remember.

Big Cloud received the ten hides and said, "It will be all the better to let this other man have fifteen hides and a horse, for he is the one who did most to give you a complete ceremony."

When they covered the sweat lodge with the robes, there was a buffalo skull and the medicines that were to go to Small Ankles inside. Then they sang the holy songs. Big Cloud gave Small Ankles the bear foot, three snares, and eagle down, saying, "I give these to use when trapping; keep them in good order." Then they went in and sang a holy song and called some of the people to come in front of the sweat to be cleansed of the evil spirits.

There were not many people there, for most of the eagle-trapping bundles had died out during the smallpox; all who did own such bundles came there. Arrowhead Earrings said to Small Ankles, "When you go out eagle-trapping, remember this medicine is connected with trapping fish too, so you must not trap both in the same year. If you do, you will surely get into trouble, for this is holy. It is best to change off and go out after eagles one year and catch fish the next. If you use both the same year, trouble will come, for the fish have the stronger spirit."

There was a holy man with eagle medicine named Medicine Eagle [Mandan]. Small Ankles heard that he was holy and learned that, when any of the

24. Big Cloud had no sons and was living with his daughter, who had married Small Ankles.

25. Arrowhead Earrings was a Mandan of the WaxikEna clan and custodian of the Okipa lodge, where he lived with his family when the lodge was not needed for the ceremonies. His eagle-trapping rights were secured from White Finger Nails.

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people wanted to make offerings to the eagles, Medicine Eagle would draw the picture of the things that they offered.

Small Ankles said, "I was trying to call him to come to my place and inquired what he did about making the signs for the eagle, thinking that it would help me in eagle-trapping. I called him in and told him I would like to own 'how he drew the picture,' and the man said he was willing to let me have it. He said it was not necessary to put up a big sweat and ceremony but to give enough articles, and he would show me how. He also owned a holy song for eagle-trapping which I could use. He gave them both to me to use.

" 'I will save enough hides to buy it from you,' and the man said that he would be ready any time. I looked up eight hides and my wife tanned them. A mare and colt were included. I put up a feast besides and told the medicine man that I was ready to own the medicine. The man came painted. His face was red; his hair was over his forehead; he wore the longest wing feathers. He came in, and I said, 'Here is the material I have put up to own your medicine song; here are two sticks which represent the mare and colt; this food also goes along with it.'

"When the man saw that, he said, 'I am satisfied with it, my son. You have put up all these things, and I am happy.' I had a pipe ready and handed it to him. He called for a little fire and I carried him a coal, but before he began to smoke he held up his pipe to the sky and prayed, then to the ground, and then to the birds of the four directions. When he finished smoking, he said that he would sing the holy song which belonged to the bait and show me how to draw the picture, for, when any man makes an offering to the eagles, then that man will have the right to draw a picture on his robe.[26] Medicine Eagle said, 'I will show you how to make the picture, for one who makes an offering to his own medicines, the eagles. I have a holy song for that.' I [Small Ankles] was taught the song, and the man said that he had already heard that I had bought the right to trap and now with my holy song it would be all the easier to trap an eagle. He taught how to sing the holy song, but one was not supposed to sing it aloud, just loud enough so that the people could hear it. The song had some words.

Female eagles come back first.

"Then he taught me how to draw the picture and said, 'Some day the people may make an offering to the eagles, and then you can draw the picture. Have some mud on a stick. When you draw the picture, make first a crooked line for lightning and then one straight line alternating until you have made six or eight figures representing lightning. Pull out one of the wing feathers and put it on one corner of whatever they offer when you finish drawing the pictures. When you have finished, cut an ash stick and put the robe around it with sage fastened on the top of it. Have a belt around the middle. Put it beside the door of his lodge so that it will stand there. When you go out eagle-trapping, remember the holy song and think whether you are getting enough birds. If you think you are not getting enough, use that song, singing it on the way to the pit or while smoking the bait. When you go into the pit, sing it. When you are at the pit, lift the bait in the air to the west and sing. If an eagle shows up while you are singing, it means that you will be successful. Do not sing this song often, only when you need it very badly.' "

26. The practice of painting robes to depict bundle rights was universal with the Mandan but uncommon with the Hidatsa.

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Small Ankles did not go out often, for there were many enemies. He did not like to go because of that. I went out along the Little Missouri River to Shoot-in-Nose Creek, and Small Ankles said I was four years old then. Then, Old Woman Crawling, Flying Above, and Big Cloud were along. There were old pits, but no one knew whose, so they fixed them in the same places. That is all right if one did not know whose they were. Many eagles were flying. One man stayed at home to protect the women. Big Cloud told of birds destroying the bait when the enemy appeared on the hill. The men freed the birds and ran away from the place. They traveled all night coming back. 223 778 425 159

The actual transfer of the bundle was a public event in both tribes. When a Hidatsa transfer was to be made, a clan brother of the seller occupied an important place, giving the instructions beforehand and directing the ceremonial transfer. He was recipient of most of the goods offered in payment. Attending the transfer ceremony and feast were all persons, male or female, owning a bundle containing a buffalo skull. These participants were considered the major bundle-owners of the tribe. 778 425

Mandan public transfer of this bundle was direct from seller to purchaser, and the only persons entitled to attend were legitimate owners of Eagle-trapping, Big Bird (this includes eagles, hawks, owls, thunder), Snake, and Bear bundles. Instruction in the techniques and rites of eagle-trapping was received directly from the seller without the assistance of a clan father. Each legitimate participant at the transfer received payment for his attendance and prayed for the success of the purchaser. Instruction was received from the seller privately, and appropriate payments were made from time to time during the period of apprenticeship. For instance, the buyer would be told that he should have so much goods ready at a stated time, and he would be taught how to erect the lodge; at another time how to dig the pits; etc. Each song would require its appropriate payment. When the feast was given, all knew that the buyer had received at least the minimum information necessary for leading eagle-trapping expeditions. Both tribes employed public transfers as an instrument for informing the population at large of the buyer's legitimate right to perform the ceremony. Transfer was always made in the village and never while on the trapping grounds.

There were two methods of organizing an eagle-trapping party depending on the inclination of the leader or bundle-owner. Some leaders selected their trappers, while others announced 223

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223 their intentions of trapping at certain localities and called for volunteers. The bundle-owner was leader, and his authority began as soon as the party left the village. Announcement that they would be trapping at a specified site was made in the village as soon as a party was organized, in order that hunting parties or other eagle-trapping parties would know their whereabouts.

Trapping parties left for the trapping sites when the leaves began to change color in the fall. In the party would be the leadder and his trappers, together with their wives and children. It [224] being customary to hunt game for the winter's needs when the winds were not from a westerly direction, the women were taken along to cure the meat and prepare the hides.

223 346 Two types of lodges were used in connection with eagle-trapping. According to tradition, when Black Wolf visited the bears, he found them using a grass lodge consisting of a sweat-lodge frame covered with grass mats. When this lodge was used, the rigid rules associated with eagle-trapping were dispensed with. The bears had said, "When you use the grass lodge, there will be no rules." Any suitable location for the lodge could be agreed upon where it would be centrally located in relation to the pits. Neither were there rules governing the excavation of pits nor the appropriation of old ones. Each trapped where he chose, killed the birds, and secured the feathers. This type lodge was rarely used except when trapping in new territory under circumstances such that it was considered unlikely that the party would ever return there again to trap.

223 346 778 The second type lodge was known as the wood lodge. There were two variants of this type. When it was planned to return to the locality again, it was constructed on a four-post standard, each post having a fork at the top on which poles were suspended forming a square. The sides of the lodge were built by leaning poles against this standard to form a roughly conical structure. Bark and earth were banked around the outer edge of the lodge to a height of three feet for warmth and protection from attack. This was the preferred type lodge. With it went ownership of the adjacent pits and hunting territory. It was the residence of the males and was owned by the leader who had directed its construction. When used in connection with eagle-trap-

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ping, the full ritual belonging to the bundle was used. These were permanent sites and were used from year to year. (The camps indicated in Fig. 28 used this lodge.) Transfer of ownership was through the clan, although a leader of a different clan could pay for the right to use a lodge and pits for a season when neither the owner nor a member of the owner's clan intended to use it. 223 346 778

A variant of the pole lodge was generally used when a new territory was being explored for the first time. In exterior form it resembled the four-post lodge but lacked the standard on which the poles were leaned. The structure was begun by lashing four poles together in the manner of the four-pole tepee of the Plains, after which poles were leaned together at the top forming a circular base and conical exterior. The base had the same exterior covering of bark and earth for protection from the weather as well as defense from enemies. 223 346

Many of these pole lodges are still to be found, even though eagle-trapping was generally discontinued fifty years ago. In the autumn of 1932 the writer accompanied Bear on the Flat, Crows Heart, and Mark Mato on an eagle-trapping expedition and use was made of a lodge and pits owned by Iron Eyes (born into the WaxikEna clan but raised in the Prairie Chicken clan), a member of Bear on the Flat's clan.

When a trapping party returned to an old site, the first duty was to repair the trapping lodge. Broken poles were taken out of the wall and replaced by new ones, after which the sides were banked with bark and earth. When six or eight men were in the party, the lodge was the size of the regular hide tepee. When parties of fourteen to twenty men went out, the lodge was enlarged to twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter. Hide tepees were never used for the men when on eagle-trapping expeditions. The lodge was always concealed in a thicket of timber near running water. The head of the lodge was in a westerly direction, usually more north than west so that the entrance was in a general direction of the Missouri River's course. The head of the lodge and adjacent area on that side of the lodge were considered holy. One could not cut wood, perform tasks not related to the ceremonies, or loiter there. The sweat lodge was south of the trapping lodge. The women erected their hide tepees or pole lodges without the four-post standard, and their drying scaffolds were 223 346 778

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223 346 778 in line with the entrance of the ceremonial lodge to the east. Before the introduction of horses, women lived in pole lodges, but these lodges were replaced with hide tepees as soon as possession of horses became general.

223 796 When returning to a site that had been used the former year, the two poles representing the snakes were brought from their place on the west side of the lodge and placed at the door; otherwise new ones were cut and brought to the lodge. Before the leader carried in the sacred bundle, he would sing the Song to the Lodge, with the trappers seated around him. After this he addressed the bundle, announced that trapping was about to commence, and asked for good luck from the Bears, the Buffalo, and the Snare. He then entered the lodge, invited the Buffalo and the trappers to come in, and placed the Buffalo skull and bundle at the head of the lodge.

When all were inside, the leader sang the Song of the Snakes and called for the two snake poles, which were brought in and placed one on the left side and the other on the right side of the lodge with the large ends representing the heads pointed toward the head of the lodge and the altar. The leader then produced a short sharp stick, usually decorated with porcupine quills, and marked off the limits of the fireplace, after which a rectangular pit was excavated. The rectangular shape of the fireplace was symbolic of the eagle-trapping pit, while the fire was addressed as "Grandfather," meaning that "it goes back in time to the beginning of things." The two ash poles were then placed on opposite sides of the fireplace. The pole on the left side represented the male snake and the one on the right side represented the female.[27] According to Mandan-Hidatsa tradition, Two Men[28] once came along and stopped with a party trapping eagles and informed the leader that the eagles ate snakes while the snakes preferred to eat eagle down. In that way snake poles were used in the ceremonial lodge for the men to place their heads on while sleeping.

The leader placed a juneberry branch tied up with white sage, representing the moon and also identified with the black-tipped

27. The arrangement of these two poles was symbolic of the lodge in Red Butte, visited by Grandson, where the snakes slept with their heads on poles at opposite sides of the fire.

28. Lodge Boy and Spring Boy of Hidatsa mythology.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

eagle, and a fiber snare over the entrance. The sun, also identified with the speckled eagle, was represented by a chokecherry branch and a fiber snare tied over the front standard above the altar. 223 796

Then followed the assignment of places for the duration of the trapping season and the selection of officers. Until the assignment of places was made, the leader gave no indication of the selections he contemplated making. The leader's place was at the head of the lodge on the right side. For the place next to him he would select an assistant, whenever possible one who also had eagle-trapping rights. At the end of the row next to the door he would place the waiter. For the left side opposite the leader he would select the "Chief of the Hunters" or "Crack Shot." Next he would select an assistant to the Chief of the Hunters. In mythological times these last two positions were occupied by a single officer, Bear Cub, until Two Men stole his earthen pot. When they found that they could not escape from the Cub, they agreed to do the hunting for the bears, as they were arrows in spirit. When the party was quite large, a second waiter was selected to sit at the end of the line.

The assignment of "bird sticks" varied with different leaders. Bear on the Flat used twelve bird sticks cut from chokecherry branches, to which he tied pieces of calico. These sticks were stuck into the ground in a row in front of the buffalo skull. They represented the twelve tail feathers of the eagle and also the birds that belong in the eagle family according to native belief. Iron Eyes and Ben Benson placed one bird stick on the altar for each member of the party. Each stick was decorated with a piece of flint,[29] a strip of rabbit skin, and some white sage. Old Bear, a Mandan, placed four bird sticks at the altar for each trapper, representing four types of eagles—the bald-headed, speckled, four stripes (on tail feathers), and calumet (white tail feathers with black tips) varieties. Small Ankles gave each of his trappers two bird sticks decorated with calico. One was offered to the calumet and the other to all the other eagles.

After the lodge was entered, assignment of pits was in order. When returning to habitual trapping grounds, it was rarely necessary to dig new pits. The right to dig new pits was by a sepa- 223 425 423

29. See chap. ix for origin of flint knives.

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223 425 423 rate purchase, and all leaders did not possess this. Purchasers received a short ash digging stick for laying out the corners of the pit and the right to sing the Song to the Pit. Lacking this right, it was necessary for a leader to select an established camp of a clan brother or a site which he had formerly purchased or borrowed, as he could not lay claim to a new site without the right to dig new pits. It was customary for a leader to return to the same site year after year, except that he could not lead eagle-trapping expeditions and put out a fish trap the same year.

When new pits were to be dug, the trapper made his own selection of the site and then called for the leader to mark the corners, which was done with the small ash stick while singing the Song to the Pit at each of the corners. He received payment for this service.

223 In order to avoid disputes when selecting pits, the leader would name two men to select their pits until each trapper had a pit. It was believed that the birds would not come down if disputes occurred. The first day in camp was usually spent in preparing the trapping lodge and assigning the pits. In the evening when the lodge was completed and the altar had been set up, the leader went out and called the birds, told them that the lodge was ready, informed the trappers of the rules, and sang the trapping songs.

796 223 When the writer was on one of these trapping expeditions in 1932, Bear on the Flat gave us the following instructions in this order. Mark Mato served as interpreter. The main points stressed by Bear on the Flat were of necessity recorded in brief outline.

BEAR ON THE FLAT'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR EAGLE-TRAPPING

When the four-post eagle-trapping lodges are put up, the eagle-trapping owner should come out to that site each fall. When a person comes to a region for one season and knows that he will not return to the same site next season, he puts up the simple tepee-shaped lodge without the four central posts.

When lodges were used formerly, twelve to twenty trappers went out; the lodges were approximately twenty-five feet in diameter, and the snake poles were relatively larger. No one was allowed to touch the snake poles. If someone did, Old Black Bear punched him severely with one of the bird poles used as a poker for the fire. Children were pinched severely by anyone near at hand.

It is customary to wipe the hands on the snake poles after eating, as the snakes' share of the meal. Men sleep at night with their heads on the snake

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poles. Now, Bear on the Flat has asked the snakes to let them touch the poles, and the snakes came in a dream and gave him permission.

In mythological times Black Bear was alive and sat at the left side of the entrance, but in later years they put a bear skull and hide down. Now, they merely imagine that he is there, and in place of him put a skin on the altar.

The sun was represented on the back standard or crosspiece by a hoop of twisted wheat grass and a chokecherry twig to hang it on. The cherry represents the speckled eagle. At the front on a crosspiece was a twisted grass hoop on a juneberry twig, the hoop representing the moon and the twig the black-tipped eagle.

When an eagle is caught, it is to be brought in on the left side of the door. Short gray sage will be used to smoke the bird. Then the bird is thrown toward the buffalo skull, whether the bird is dead or alive.

When the first eagle is caught, it is put next to Post 1,[30] and a ball of parched corn is given to the bird and its blessing asked. Afterward each member of the party partakes of the corn.

Koicita is the name of the head man or Old Male Black Bear. If the party is large, he does not trap but keeps the lodge fire burning. Then he is not expected to go into the pits. In case the hunters are out after game because of adverse winds and the winds change to the west, he can go into any of their pits. Crows Heart is the Map'si or Chief of the Hunters and gets his orders from the Koicita. He should stay at Post 2[31] and receive eagles when brought in; also he should supply the camp with meat.

Evenings the party is expected to go into the sweat lodge, and each has his own place there. When in the sweat lodge, anyone can put in the rocks, but the same order of naming the rocks is carried out; when putting in the first rock, he says, "This is the mother of birds." He says for the second stone, "This is the child of the mother of birds." For the third he says, "This is the oldest bird." For the fourth he says, "This is the genuine speckled eagle." The rest of the stones are thrown in without ceremony.

It is believed that when the birds are ready to come southeast, they send a scout ahead to see if there is a lodge. If there is one, it peeps into the lodge. If it sees the offering on the twelve bird poles, it goes back to the land of the birds and tells what it saw. Then the birds know that the people of that lodge are showing respect for them, while the people know that all the sky-gods will be gathering around that lodge. That is the reason only those who know the proper ceremonies to the gods gathering there can be at the head of eagle-trapping.

During the mythological period, Buffalo said to Black Bear, "I am always lucky. Place me at the head of the lodge, and you will be the owner of some fine eagle down." Since that time, whenever a bird is caught, some of its down is given to the Black Bear hide near the buffalo skull.

A buffalo-bull horn is used to throw water on the rocks of the sweat lodge. Only those who buy the rights can make a sweat. Bear on the Flat bought his rights from his father. The bird poles are used to poke the fire as well as for pulling coals from the fire for the pipe. The gods are like humans; some are jealous, while others are good to the people and work for their welfare.

A rock is put into the trapping pit. If you get sleepy, put it under your

30. The post next to which the leader sits (see plan of lodge, Fig. 26).
31. Opposite the leader.

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head. If you drowse, you will roll off of it, and in that way the rock won't let you go to sleep.

When earth is taken from the four corners of the pit, a prayer is spoken assuring you that everything harmful to the human body or spirit has been removed. Persons going into pits can't scratch themselves or the birds will have poor feathers. They will be old birds and covered with insects.

When Black Bear was on the earth, he ate birds and everything else he could catch. One day he was in the pits when he heard a thundering noise. This noise recurred for three days. On the fourth day a large rock fell on him. While he was unconscious, Buffalo packed him off to the north where the old bears lived. Father of Black Bear was there after the boy was taken north. Buffalo was at the head of the lodge alive. The father of the Black Bear set fire to the lodge. As Buffalo was coming out, Old Black Bear caught Buffalo long enough to singe him from the chest down; that is why the hair is long on the buffalo's back but short on the chest; that is also why the buffalo skull is placed at the head of the lodge, for he is lucky and will bring good luck.

Crows Heart represents the Black Bear Cub who once packed an earthenware vessel on his back and wandered aimlessly about in the neighborhood of the Heart River. There he was met by two Mandans, called the Two Men, on the high ridge six miles south of Bismarck and nearly opposite the Huff site. One of the Two Men was foolish; the other was wise. The foolish one asked of Black Bear Cub, "What do you eat? You carry that pot on your back for nothing."

Cub said, "I have plenty of food, and I can cook my meal any time I want to."

Saying that, he spit on his left arm and sang a sacred song. They heard a sound in the skies, the noise made by an eagle coming down to perch on Cub's uplifted arm. When it lit, Cub strangled it with the hemp rope which he put over the bird's head. Then he began to pull out the feathers. After that he packed the meat into the kettle. Although the kettle was small, he was able to pack it all in. When the meat was ready, he placed four bunches of sage in the form of a square around the pot, singing this song:

Water flow into the kettle.
Fire burn round the kettle.
Kettle boil.

Everything took place simultaneously with the uttering of the words. The fourth song said:

This kettle is sacred.

And his meal was cooked. In this manner he got a meal from little effort.

The Two Men thought they should live leisurely also, so they stole the kettle and ran away to hide in all the prominent hills with names. Every time they went into one of the hills, Cub would come with his rope and pull the hill down. Then the occupants of the hill would drive the Two Men out. So they went from hill to hill, the Killdeer Mountains, Thunder Buttes [south of Sanish], Eagle Buttes, Birds Bill Butte, and then to Dog Den Butte where the hills now lean. Dog Den Butte was the home of many gods and was considered very holy. The Two Men fortified themselves there. Cub came with his rope, which he threw around the hill, and pulled on the hill.

The Two Men, having no other place to go, gave themselves up. Cub was going to kill them, but they said they would be his servants and do his hunt-

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ing. On the eagle-trapping expeditions these two men supplied the meat for the camp. This party being small, only Crows Heart has that office. He should sleep opposite the Old Black Bear. 223 773

You should be tortured and cry for the birds to have good luck.

KINDS OF BIRDS

1. Bald-headed Eagle. White head and white tail. Parent to speckled eagle. 223
2. Speckled Eagle. 825
3. Spotted-barred tail. Body is black.
4. White tail with black tip. Known as the calumet eagle.
5. "Half of each feather good, half bad."
6. "Black but has white tails"; head is white; is a hawk.
7. I'pamasina.
8. Chicken hawk. Tails barred black and light brown.
9. Goose.
10. One of the smaller geese.

The twelve sticks on the altar represent the twelve tail feathers but also represent the ten birds listed above. 223

When in the pit one must not smoke. When you get in, even up the grass and while you are away from the pit hide the poles put on top to keep grass from blowing.

When tying the bait, be sure to put it close enough so that you can reach the bird. You will get a wooden pin from the leader to stick into the wall for the snare to hang onto. When catching an eagle, grab one foot first; then the bird will pull away from the pit; get a hold of the other foot and hold both feet with one hand; then fold its wings over and choke it with the snare.

The second day in camp was usually spent digging new pits or cleaning out those previously used. The walls of old pits were often broken in. Care was taken to remove all the earth in baskets or robes to a place where the birds would not see it or the people walk on it.[32] The pits should be deep enough for the trapper to sit upright in but not quite long enough to stretch out full length in. Most trappers had their pits on the tops of hills near the northwest edge, but it was believed that the best pits were those on the northwest slope, about three rods from the top of the hill, so situated that there was an open view for many miles westward. Birds approaching from that direction while still flying high in the air could see the bait.

In alighting, they would fly beyond the summit of the hill and turn back to light, facing into the west wind. It was difficult to find a good natural location. Should the pit be too near the rim, the birds lit too far back and were likely to sense danger while walking up to the bait. On the other hand, pits located too far

32. This was done because the pit was sacred.

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223 from the rim were undesirable because birds flew past the bait before seeing it and frequently did not come down. Certain pits were known to be better than others because of their proper location in respect to the contour of the hill and because of an unobstructed view westward for many miles.

223 Even in localities visited annually, ancient pits were discover-
425 ed from time to time. Anyone finding an old pit, if within reason-
829 able distance of a trapping camp, could appropriate it for his use, in which case it became the property of the leader under whom the trapper served. It was not necessary to perform the rites at the pit when reopening the pit, as it was assumed that such rites had been performed originally when the pit was dug. It was both Mandan and Hidatsa belief that all tribes trapping eagles had similar rites. During this study, in an effort to learn the extent of knowledge concerning eagle-trapping by neighboring tribes with whom these two tribes were in constant contacts, Crows Heart was asked if he knew whether the Assiniboine, Cheyenne, and Sioux had ceremonies associated with eagle-trapping. His reply was that he was positive that they did and that both the rites and songs were the same as for his people. When inquiry was made relative to the source of his information whether from attending their trapping expeditions or from information supplied by Indians of these various tribes, his reply was that he had never been out with Indians of any tribe other than the Mandan and Hidatsa, neither had he discussed the matter with Indians of neighboring tribes, but that "it was common sense that they used the same ceremonies, as all eagle-trapping came from the Black Bears, otherwise these neighboring tribes would never have caught eagles." He then added, "If the ceremonies had been omitted, or improperly conducted, the Indians not only would never have caught eagles but other bad luck would have befallen them." This example illustrates the unreliability of information secured from an informant relative to a society of which he is not a part.

223 Whenever advice was needed, the trapper consulted the leader and paid him for his services. The leader usually supervised construction of the cover for the pit. Six poles were crossed and tied as illustrated in Figure 30. This framework was called the "buffalo's backbone." To these poles were tied buckbrush and

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long grass, while short grass such as grew around the pit was 223
scattered over the cover so as to destroy all evidence of the pit[33] (Fig. 36).

Various baits were used. The most popular bait was a stuffed jackrabbit skin. The animal was skinned with the head left on,

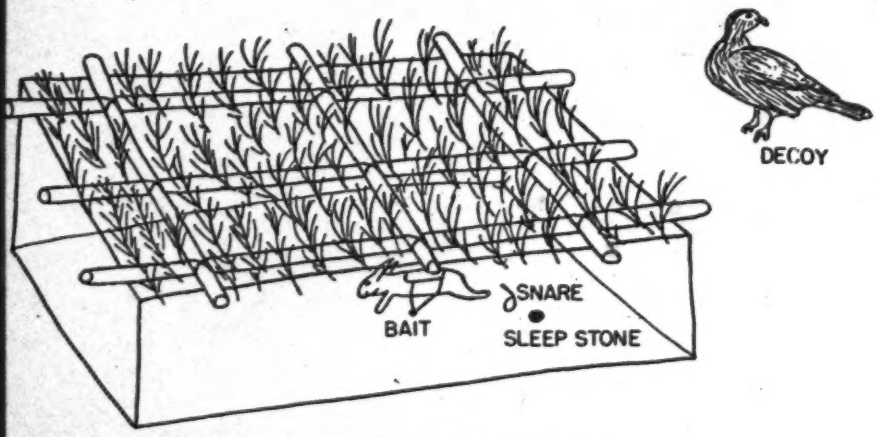

FIG. 30.—Plan of eagle-trapping pit

and the hide was stuffed with grass, sage leaves, or buffalo hair so as to resemble a live rabbit. Some hunters used a coyote skin

33. From my observations when on one of these expeditions, unusual precautions were taken, when preparing the pits, that none of the rules was violated. Bear on the Flat often referred to instances when the trapper had been carried away to find himself in a strange country. Snakes were known to come into the pits, and there was always the possibility that wild animals would come that way and fall onto the trapper. When preparing my pit, Bear on the Flat sang the song to the pit and asked the pit not to send me bad luck. The earth was carried to the east and scattered so that birds flying in from the west would not see it. Bear on the Flat asked the Holy Women for wood for the cover which was ash. Before cutting the buckbrush, he approached the brush with a sage, making motions of driving away the spirits. The buckbrush was tied to the framework. I was treated with a very unpleasant surprise when the frame was ready for the grass covering. I was directed to a low plain about five hundred feet below to secure the grass, although there was an abundance of the same plants on the hill where the pit was located. Putting the grass into place on the covering to conceal the pit without destroying the trapper's view of the sky was the finest piece of camouflaging I have ever observed. First he placed a fine carpet of grass over the buckbrush. Then he would take a few grass stems at a time and cast them like darts into the mat so that they stood up like uncut grass until the entire mat was covered. When he had finished, I observed that the grass on the cover waved with the grass surrounding the pit. The pit was so well concealed that a stake was driven into the ground to mark the northwest corner. One entered the pit by lifting a corner and sliding in feet first. Except for the obstruction by the ash poles, the sky was plainly visible as well as any birds within the angle of vision.

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FIG. 31.—Vacated lodge[1] with closed door

FIG. 32.—Lodge when repaired and ready for occupation.

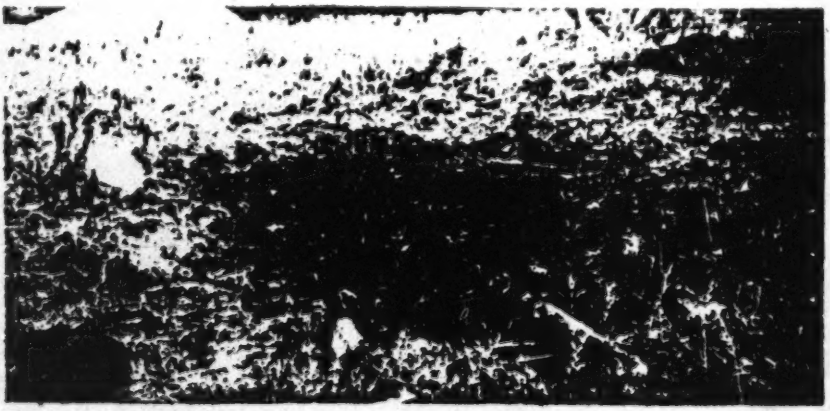

FIG. 33.—Pit with framework and buckbrush covering completed

[1] [Ceremonial lodge used during eagle trapping expedition — Analyst.]

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223 or a foxskin. When trapping in the lake region east of the Missouri either a stuffed duck or goose was used. When a suitable bait was difficult to secure, the head and neck of an antelope were used. Usually the bait was secured while the party was traveling to the trapping grounds. When a stuffed skin was used, a piece of raw meat was tied to it. Some picketed a live eagle near the pit when one was available, if luck was unusually bad. There was a song to the bait which the leader used when "tying the bait," as well as a prescribed method of carrying it to and from the pit.

796 223 785 [787] Torture of the trappers, by one of several techniques, occurred regularly, and there was a prescribed ritual for the person offering himself. It was believed that someone should "suffer for the birds" if the expedition were to be successful. The Mandan felt, after uniting with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, that visions were difficult to secure in the village ceremonies because there were too many ill-informed people, particularly women, who violated the customs. Crows Heart frequently stated that torture in the Okipa ceremony was less frequently practiced and that he preferred to seek a vision away from the village. Usually a young man would decide beforehand to seek a vision while away from the village trapping eagles, the type of torture being recommended by an older clan brother. The Chief of the Hunter's duty was to pierce the flesh and insert the thongs, except that, when he stood in a joking relationship with the vision-seeker, he could not serve, and another was selected, usually his assistant. Some trappers pulled buffalo skulls through camp by means of thongs fastened through the skin of the back. Crows Heart once hung over a cliff by means of thongs through the skin of the chest. Bears Arm hung from a tree. Sometimes the vision-seeker had no preference, and the leader suggested that he bring wood into camp. In such instances, wood was tied up into twelve bundles,[34] to which lariats were fastened, and dragged to camp by means of thongs through the flesh to which the lariats were tied. All the wood was dragged into camp without help from others, the sufferer even removing his moccasins to make the pain more severe. Tortur-

34. Each bundle represented one of the eagle's tail feathers.

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FIG. 34.—Pit when covered and Bear on Flat

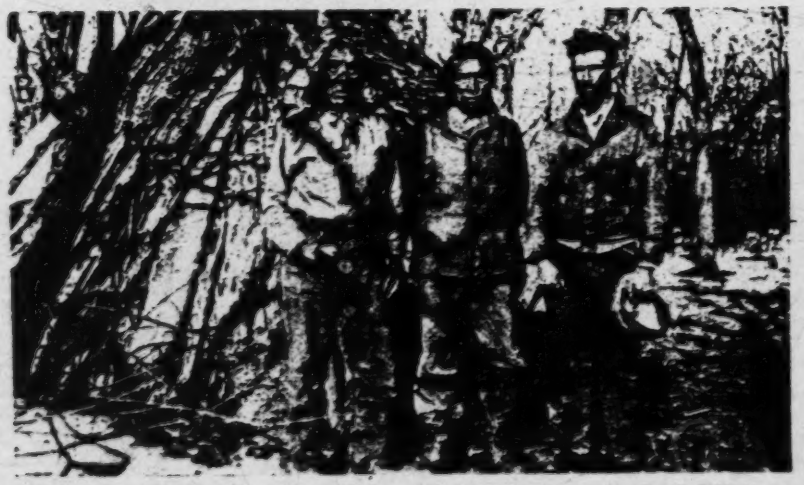

FIG. 35.—Bear on Flat, Crows Heart, and the writer at eagle-trapping site

FIG. 36.—View of territory where eagle-trapping sites were situated

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ing of trappers was performed the evening that the pits were completed. 796 223

Ordinarily when a party was composed of advanced middle-aged men, none were tortured, except on occasions when the birds would not stop, or when the winds continued from the wrong direction, there would be fasters on the hills crying during the night. If bad luck continued, then some would offer their bodies for torture and even cut off a piece of finger as an offering to the birds. In historic times there seems to have been somewhat more emphasis of the torture feature when eagle-trapping by the Mandan than the Hidatsa. Since we know from historic accounts[35] that the torture feature was highly developed with the Mandan, it appears that there occurred a transfer from village to nonvillage rites, the latter taking place when on hunting, eagle-trapping, and war expeditions. 785

Someone was selected, generally one of the waiters, to go out before daylight to determine the direction of the wind. The wind must be from a westerly direction, or it was believed that the birds were not traveling. Crows Heart explained that the calumet eagles nested in the Rocky Mountains and that the pits were located along the migration route to their wintering grounds to the southeast.[36] A piece of soft hide tied to the top of a pole placed on a high hill within view of the camp was employed to indicate the direction of the wind. If favorable winds were blowing, the leader was notified. He ordered all the trappers to prepare for trapping. None was allowed to eat before going out to the pits, as trapping was considered a form of ceremonial "suffering for the birds." Each trapper left shortly after daybreak for his pit, carrying his bait, a ceremonial fiber snare painted red with a piece of Black Medicine attached to it, and several leather snares. The bait was tied to two stakes driven into the ground four inches from the west edge of the pit. A shallow 223 [825]

35. See Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIII (Cleveland, 1906), 331–33, 377–78; cf. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 265–75.

36. Benson explained that the southland was the meeting place in winter of many creatures considered holy. Among these he included the thunderbirds, eagles, hawks, ducks, geese, cranes, herons, as well as the spirits of the corn and other garden products. This meeting place was an island where Old Woman Who Never Dies lived in her large earth lodge with four large snakes living in the water surrounding her island as her helpers. 825 773

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223 ditch wide enough to permit the trapper to reach out his right hand was then dug to the bait. A short stick was kept in the pit to punch away hawks and magpies. The trapper sat down in the pit and fitted the cover into place. The fiber snare was hung on a peg pressed into the west wall, and the "sleep stone," a small stone about three inches in diameter, was set on the east wall.[37]

When eagles flying by saw the bait, they usually circled around the hill a few times before coming down to light a short distance from the bait and walk up to it. Rarely did birds light directly on the bait. As soon as the bird reached the bait, the trapper thrust out his right hand, seized the leg, and pulled the bird down toward the ground. Ben Benson, who owned full trapping rights, said that he always gave his trappers this instruction:

> When the eagle comes to the bait, it will be so close that you can see it through the grass covering over the pit. Use your right hand and catch the leg closest to you. Pull the bird down toward the ground, not toward you. Put out the left hand and get the other leg. Hold both legs with the left hand and put the right hand out and swing one wing over against the other. Hold both wings together at the tips, and the bird can't hurt you. Tie the feet together then. Eagles are strong and fierce. They can stick their claws through your hand, pick your face, or cut your face with their wings. Don't catch bald-headed eagles; they are fierce and will fight.

Live eagles, when used as decoys, were staked down at the southeast corner of the pit. Benson never allowed more to be kept alive than the number of trappers. Some leaders required the trappers to kill their birds as soon as they were caught. Decoys were carried to the pits while trapping; other times they were kept in the bird shelter on the west side of the ceremonial lodge. Whenever an eagle flew by the pit, the decoys whistled, attracting the other bird's attention to the bait and warning the man in the pit.

796 Ceremonial crying when approaching the lodge with an eagle
223 was practiced by all leaders. If the bird caught was a young black-tipped bird, crying continued all the way to the door of the lodge. Crying stopped when about one hundred and fifty paces from the lodges if a spotted golden eagle, the parent of a black tip, was being brought to camp. For a white-headed

37. When excavating an old pit for Crows Heart in 1932, we found a stone near the south wall, and a perforated clam shell used for paint was on a shelf dug in the east wall.

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eagle, crying stopped at a considerable distance from camp. The bird was taken in at the left side of the lodge. Women around camp went into their lodges and covered their heads while birds were being brought into camp.

The leader did not have a trap but stayed around camp while the trappers were out in order to be ready to receive the birds as they were brought in by the men at sunset. When crying continued until the lodge was reached, the leader knew that a young calumet eagle had been caught. Coals were placed near the front right post, and sage was burned there as incense for the snare and other sacred objects.

A song was addressed to the snare, announcing to it that it had caught something. A second song[38] addressed to the people by Black Bear referred to the sacredness of the birds in the opinion of the people, a belief not shared by the bears. A third song referred to the coming feast when the bird was to be eaten.

The trapper announced the kind of bird, after which it was pushed violently through the left side of the doorway, moving the hide-door covering sufficiently to get the bird through. The twelve tail feathers which had been removed beforehand were tied together and placed on the bird's back as it was taken in the lodge, part way to the altar, and thrown violently at the snare on the altar. The leader produced a corn ball from which a small piece was broken and rubbed on the bird's beak saying, "Acira[39] feeds you." The ceremonial pipe was produced, and the bird's beak was touched with the pipe as an offering to the bird.

When the first eagle was brought in, Iron Eyes extracted five white down feathers from his bundle; two were offered to the snake poles, one to the sun snare, one to the moon snare, and one to the buffalo skull. The leader directed the successful trapper to carry his bird to the back of the lodge, as the lodge was too sacred even for so sacred a creature as an eagle.

The trappers returned to the ceremonial lodge at sunset carrying their baits on their back. As soon as a trapper came into the lodge, the waiter gave him food which had been brought

38. When the bears instructed Black Wolf in the art of eagle-trapping, they explained that the people considered the eagles sacred, but not so with the bears, who considered them their favorite food.

39. Some bundles had a bear's foot, in which case the leader said, "Footbone feeds you."

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 over from the women's camp. Afterward the trapper smoked. Each trapper, after eating, discussed happenings at the pit, and, 223 from the information thus supplied, the leader offered suggestions for increasing the catch. When birds circled the bait but would not come down, it was suggested that raw meat be used. Sometimes the birds flew by without appearing to see the bait, and decoys were recommended.

223 The leader did not have a pit for his own use but remained in camp. However, if the wind was from the wrong direction in the morning and the men were out hunting game, he could go into any of the pits should the wind change to the west.

223 Evenings were spent in storytelling. The leader would ac-
773 quaint the trappers with the myths associated with eagle-trap-
538 ping. There were many of these myths, and a good leader would be able to consume every evening for the usual four weeks in camp without exhausting his stock. Each was related in great detail with endless repetitions. Some of the longer myths consumed four nights in telling; others were short and could be related in one night. All were expected to listen attentively while seated on a buffalo robe. Those who nodded were pinched with the bird stick. An example of the stories told is given in the Appendix.

223 The position of women in eagle-trapping ceremonies varied
562 among bundle-owners. (1) Most bundle-owners prohibited women from entering the ceremonial lodge or looking inside. (2) Several bundle-owners had special rites to which women were invited when birds had been caught. (3) A few bundle-
[841] owners required a menstruating woman to come into the lodge and breathe the smoke from sage burned at the four corners of the fire pit.

223 Unless special rites relative to the women were purchased,
562 they were required to stay away from the ceremonial lodge and
841 its vicinity. The right to bring women into the lodge was a sepa-
171 rate purchase not essential to trapping eagles. There were separate songs and a myth, giving the right to call in a menstruating woman, which could be purchased. It referred to the capture of the leader of the eagles who, in return for having her life spared, promised unusual success if her song was sung when a menstruating woman was brought into the lodge. The consensus of both

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Mandan and Hidatsa informants was that women took a more prominent place in Mandan than in Hidatsa ceremonies and that bringing women into the lodges was a Mandan rite that some Hidatsa bought. This native belief is borne out by a woman's right to perform the Okipa ceremony with her brother's assistance and to own bundles of deceased relatives until a successor had qualified.

In the selection of eagle-trapping territory, consideration was given to the suitability of the region for hunting. Some informants thought that not more than one-third of the days were suitable for catching eagles. When the winds were not from a westerly direction, the party went out hunting and received their orders from the Chief of the Hunters, whose place in the ceremonial lodge was near the head of the lodge on the left side and opposite the leader.

The office of Chief of the Hunters was filled by the leader when selecting the places for the men when first entering the lodge. In mythological times, Two Men[40] discovered Black Bear's cub carrying a clay pot in which he cooked his food mysteriously, and, resolving to live leisurely thereafter, they stole the vessel. The cub chased them into Dog Den Butte and captured them with his snare. Cub contemplated killing them, but they agreed to do the hunting[41] for the eagle-trappers if their lives were spared. In time they acquired the position of leaders of the hunters.

The eagle-trapping territory was distantly removed from the summer villages in a region not occupied permanently by any tribe.[42] Except for sites on the east side of the Missouri River, the territory was deeply eroded with isolated wooded areas along, and adjacent to, the principal streams. The badlands region along the Little Missouri River and its tributaries was a favorite habitat of the elk, black-tail deer, and mountain sheep. White-tail deer remained more or less in the wooded bottom lands of streams, while buffalo and antelope ranged in herds and bands on the high grass plains a few miles from the principal streams.

40. See my manuscript on "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization" for an account of the exploits of these two characters.

41. Their medicine was the arrow.

42. See map of eagle-trapping camps (Fig. 28).

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223 224 Eagle-trapping expeditions were organized for a dual purpose, namely, the securing of feathers and of a winter's supply of meat and hides. Crows Heart thought that, taken year after year, the meat and hides secured had greater worth than the feathers. As he explained, it was not unusual to return without feathers, but game was always abundant once one reached territory not ordinarily hunted in. He remarked, on many occasions, that a village as a unit would never go to rough country on a summer hunt, as there would be few buffaloes there, and it would be difficult to surround them because of the uneven topography. There was the further danger of ambush. The rough lands were hunted over by small bands, chiefly eagle-trappers and war parties.

223 224 505 The appearance of ice on the edges of streams was the signal for the eagle-trapping expedition to return to the village. Before horses became numerous in the villages, it was customary to travel overland to the trapping sites, where bullboats were made of buffalo and elk hides for floating back the meat and hides to the village. In order not to be caught along the way by a sudden freezing of the river, it was imperative that trapping cease immediately with the first appearance of cold weather.

224 251 281 While in the trapping camp, the women received the meat and hides brought in by the men. The meat was cured on scaffolds, and the hides were dried or made into bullboats. Special effort was made to secure mountain sheep, as the badlands were the habitat of these prized animals, used for men's shirts and women's dresses, since their skins tanned softer than any other hide. Bears Arm, in explaining the importance of the meat and hides secured on these expeditions, stated that single women [581] tried to marry young men so they could go along to help cure the meat and hides, knowing they might marry one so lucky as to kill a white buffalo.

223 361 171 221 621 Mandan tradition appears devoid of reference to recent division of a village population into small eagle-trapping bands during the winter. Such is not the case with the Hidatsa, however. In the Earthnaming ceremony of the Hidatsa there is reference in the myth to the division of the village into small bands camped along the Little Missouri River in eagle-trapping lodges during the winter. At least two of the clans, the Maxoxati and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

AwaxEnawita, trace their origin to these small winter camps. 223
Bears Arm explained that, in former times, the women's lodges 361
were the same as the men's and that, on termination of the 171
trapping season, the altar was removed and the bundle closed, 221
after which the lodge was no longer considered sacred. The 621
leader's wife and family came to his lodge, and the other trappers returned to their wives' lodges for the winter. Before the spring thaw, the various bands returned to the summer village to prepare for the planting of gardens. If this fall and winter division of the Hidatsa villages into bands was customary, as mentioned in tradition and mythology, the custom had been superseded by the winter village system by the opening of the historic period on the Upper Missouri River. By this time each summer village, which we have come to call the permanent village, had its corresponding winter village. The summer village was situated on one of the upper, grassy terraces adjacent to the Missouri River, with the winter village situated in heavy timber on the river bottom. The entire population of a summer village would move to its selected site, and there would be a winter chief selected each year.

There is no reference in the mythology to the breaking-up of 221
the Mandan summer village into winter bands, but each village 361
might build a winter camp to avoid the tedious task of bringing 314
wood a considerable distance to the village. After a few years, 621
all available wood near a summer village would be exhausted, except for driftwood in the river. From all available data, there is no evidence that the Mandan selected new chiefs for the winter period.

We may conclude that the Hidatsa practice of naming a win- 171
ter chief grew out of the custom of breaking up into eagle-trap- 621
ping bands under a leader in the fall, his authority continuing after the closing of trapping until the return of the party to the summer village. Wolf Chief explained that this could be done formerly, as there were fewer enemies, but that it was inexpedient in later years, as it was necessary to defend the villages the year round. It is possible, however, that the Mandan abandoned this custom somewhat earlier because of greater pressure from enemies.

A brief ritual closed the eagle-trapping period. It was essen- 000

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 a brief ritual closed the eagle-trapping period. It was essen-
796 tially the same for all bundle-owners. Ben Benson's ritual, which he received of Iron Eyes, was explained as follows.

BEN BENSON'S NARRATIVE OF CLOSING RITES

When ice began to form along the edges of small creeks, the men knew that it was time to stop trapping eagles. Usually three to eight weeks were spent trapping. The leader was in full charge of the expedition, and no one knew when he would order the trapping stopped. Early on the day trapping was to stop, the leader would kindle the fire and say, "Get up. There is a big flood coming." This meant that they must stop trapping, for when the flood comes there is no changing its course. Those who had never been out before did not know the meaning, but the old trappers knew that the time had come to return home.

After eating, the leader would say, "It is time now to kill all your live eagles. Kill them with Rope-in-Wood Snare. Carry all your eagles over the hill [he then designated the place] and put them in a row. Then you should make an offering of calico[43] to them."

By the time this had been done and the trappers had returned to camp, the leader had his eagle-trapping bundle closed and the women had their tepees down, ready to break camp.

One of the party, usually the man with the best war record, was sent out by the leader "to see if there are any enemies in the neighborhood." He went to the place where the dead eagles were lined up and returned in a hurry to report that there were a certain number of enemies just beyond the hill. [The number reported corresponded with the dead birds counted.] The trappers prepared for battle, painted their faces, dressed lightly, and put their hair up in a ball on top of their heads where it would not cover their eyes. Each trapper sang his personal sacred song and wore some article from his sacred bundle. At a signal from the leader, all charged the "enemies," shooting and calling as they ran. Each seized a bird and cut off the wings and five body feathers, running back to camp as quickly as possible.

The party moved away from camp immediately and stopped to make camp again after traveling a mile or more. The young men built a sweat lodge under the leader's direction, while the women prepared food. The sweat-lodge entrance was to the south. The trappers placed the wing and tail feathers they had secured on the west side of the fireplace, while the leader stood at the entrance to the sweat lodge with his eagle-trapping bundle on one side and a bundle of sage on the other.

223 The leader began by chanting four wordless songs and then, half-singing,
796 half-talking, he addressed the eagles in these words:
533

> Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
> Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
> Go; walk; go in the right direction;
> Go; walk; go in the right direction;
> Go to Birds Bill Butte;[44] there you will find antelope meat;
> Go to Birds Bill Butte; there you will find antelope meat.

43. In early times a strip of soft tanned elkhide was used.

44. Birds Bill Butte, better known today as Eagle Nose Butte, is a high promontory south of Mandan, North Dakota.

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Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go across the divide;[45] there you will find blacktail deer meat;
Go across the divide; there you will find blacktail deer meat.

Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go to Grape River;[46] there you will find elk meat;
Go to Grape River; there you will find elk meat.

Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go to the Big Bend;[47] there you will find buffalo meat;
Go to the Big Bend; there you will find buffalo meat.
Now you are home.[48]

When this song was ended, the spirits of the eagles left to join their people in the meeting place of the spirits near a large body of water. Only the leaders could send the spirits away. Men without eagle-trapping rights were afraid to catch eagles for fear that the spirits, being unsent, might bring bad luck to the trappers. All who caught eagles gave the leader pay in feathers, calicoes, robes, or knives for singing these songs and sending the birds' spirits away.

Then the leader sang the cleansing song, rubbing all the feathers with the sage. He rubbed each person in the party to cleanse him and bring him back to a human being again. While trapping, the men were impersonating the small bears. My father gave each trapper a new name connected with the bears for the duration of trapping. Mandan generally had this change of names. If a trapper stumbled when out trapping, he would report it and get another name, otherwise he would have bad luck. Each man paid the leader for his name, but it was relinquished when the cleansing ceremony ended.

The leader and as many as wished went into the sweat lodge, where the trappers hung the feathers on the sides in imitation of the bear's lodge far to the north. The sweat-lodge rites completed the ceremonies, after which the families united again either to return home at once or to hunt along the way according to their inclinations.

Benson claimed to be the fourteenth owner of the bundle which he used. In order of succession from Black Wolf, the owners were reported as follows: (1) Black Wolf; (2) Bull Leg;

45. The Mandan called that section of the country between the Cannonball and Grand rivers "The Divide." The blacktail deer meat was believed to be on a high hill at the mouth of the Grand River and on the north bank.

46. The Little Bend of the Missouri River is at the mouth of the Cheyenne River, called by the Mandan Grape River.

47. The Big Bend of the Missouri is below Pierre, South Dakota.

48. The Mandan believed that the Missouri River entered the ocean not far below the Big Bend. This was believed to be the winter home of migratory waterfowl, corn, and the large birds of the eagle family (see chap. ix).

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(3) Round Clouds; (4) White around the Arms; (5) Fills His Lodge; (6) White Finger Nails; (7) Blind; (8) Berdache; (9–10) not able to recall their names; (11) White Finger Nails, WaxikEna clan; (12) Arrowhead Earrings, WaxikEna clan; (13) Iron Eyes, WaxikEna clan; and (14) Ben Benson, Tamisik clan.

Two accounts of eagle-trapping by Bears Arm were recorded in their entirety, without interruption by the writer, in order to determine what the informant considered the essentials of trapping. These are to be found in the Appendix. It was evident after this study had continued some time that special emphasis was given to certain aspects of a ceremony while other sections of the ritual received little attention. In the two eagle-trapping accounts it will be noted that Bears Arm emphasized these points: (1) the leader and persons attending; (2) the preparation of the ceremonial lodge, pits, and baits; (3) the seating arrangement and officers; (4) the differences in ritual between bundle-owners; (5) the number of birds caught and the names of the successful trappers; (6) the torturing of the trappers; and (7) the final cleansing rites.

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Chapter VIII

CATFISH-TRAPPING CEREMONY

THIS ceremony was associated with the eagle-trapping bundle, and both possessed a common mythological origin from Black Wolf. There was no direct reference to the fish trap in the Black Wolf myth, but in theory the sacred snare could catch anything. Crows Heart explained that even a buffalo corral was in reality a large snare, so a man owning a sacred snare was selected to stand on a high hill and by means of motions, as of snaring the buffaloes, pulled the animals by its magical powers into the corral.[1] War leaders took their sacred snares along when looking for enemies for supernatural aid in ensnaring and destroying their foes.

Purchase of catfish- and eagle-trapping rites could be made simultaneously, or the fish-trapping rights could be bought at a later date. Some men bought rights in only one of the ceremonies. A seller possessing rights in both ceremonies could sell each ceremony four times. Associated closely with these two ceremonies were the sweat lodge and the snare rites for doctoring and officiating at the buffalo and antelope pounds.

Although the Missouri River carries considerable sediment, catfish are very abundant. The presence of catfish bones in ancient Mandan and Hidatsa villages indicates that considerable use was made of these fish as food.

When a fish trap was in use, the black-bear hide was kept in the owner's lodge, laid out on calicoes on a four-post standard with its head pointing toward the fireplace. Food was offered to the bundle each day while the fish trap was being used.

Ben Benson remembered these Mandan who had catfish-trapping rights about 1880:

1. Black Tongue (Big Turtle). He was also custodian of the Okipa turtle drums, Hoita in the Okipa, owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a singer in the Corn ceremonies.

1. Refer to my manuscript, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization," for an account of the ceremonies associated with the buffalo corral.

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2. Hits on Back. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, a Holy Woman Robe bundle, and a Bird bundle of Sikaraxa.

3. Iron Eyes. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, a Wolf ceremony bundle, and custodian of an Okipa turtle drum.

4. Old (Black) Bear. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle.

5. Little Shield. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a Big Bird (Thunderbird) bundle.

6. Big Walker. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle.

It will be noted that each of these men also had eagle-trapping rights. In addition to these six bundle-owners, there were a number of men possessing fish-trap rights without securing a bundle. Such rights were acquired by payment of goods to a bundle-owner, who authorized the construction of a trap with instruction that the purchaser address his prayers to the seller's bundle. The following account by Crows Heart illustrates purchase by this method. His maternal grandfather had owned fish-trapping rites which had not been passed on. To receive instruction, his mother's sister directed him to the nearest relative of the opposite moiety.

CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF FISH-TRAPPING

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When I was a young man, I often fished with a line and metal hooks bought at the trading post. I never had very good luck catching fish that way. I only caught small catfish, bullheads, and white shiners which were full of bones. I often went down to the river in the fall when the water was low and helped the old men bail the fish out. They were catching the fish at night. Their fish were large ones, mostly catfish. Many of the very old people, especially the old women whose husbands were dead, came to the traps, and the men would give them fish. This made the old women very happy, and they would sing songs of praise to the old men. When I saw how happy it made them, I decided to trap fish when I grew up and make the old people happy.

One day I asked my "mother" how I could get the right to make a fish trap, and she said, "Go to Old Black Bear;[2] he is the man you must see."

When she said that, I asked, "Must I pay him?"

She replied, "You will have to pay him a horse and some blankets."

When I was nearly thirty years old, I invited Old Black Bear to my earth lodge. My wife prepared a feast of meat, bread, and coffee. I spread out a new robe on the floor, and he sat down on it. I had an overcoat I had paid $30.00 for; I put that over his shoulders. I also gave him a good gun, a fair horse, a redstone pipe, a good butcher knife, and three or four pieces of calico. Then he said, "What's up? What's all this for?"

I replied, "I want you to do me a favor. I want you to give me the right to make a fish trap."

He said, "I will give you the right to make and set out a fish trap. There's not much time today. I will teach you how to make the trap. If you think it

2. Crows Heart's father's moiety.

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is too far to come to my place, go to Benson, who lives near you; he will teach you all the songs, for he knows them. He paid me to sing them for him. You do not need to sing the songs each time you set the trap; you can pray to me instead, for I have the right to them." 226 424 425

Old Black Bear taught me how to make the trap. The willows used should be about six feet long. Each pole should be sharpened on the end; the diameter of the pole would be that of a man's little finger. The willows were tied together in four bunches of one hundred poles each, like mats. Traps could be 226

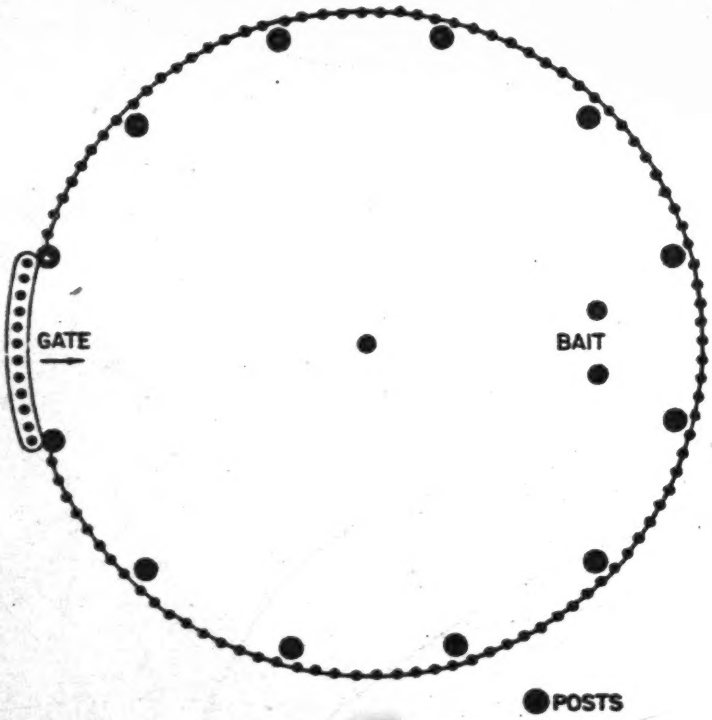

FIG. 37.—Plan of catfish trap

set out in the water or built against a bank. When the trap was set out in the water, twelve posts were set into the ground. Two on the downstream side were set the length of a man's foot apart, for the door was fastened there. The willows were fastened to the large posts and driven into the ground, making a circular inclosure [see Fig. 37]. Sometimes suitable banks were found to attach the trap onto. When a sharp bank could be found, the side toward the bank was usually left open [see Figs. 38 and 39].

Care must be taken in selecting a place to put the trap into the water. The

3. This was the usual practice when one did not wish to learn all the ritual and become a singer in the ceremony. In cases of purchase, the new owner prayed to the animals, etc., represented in the bundle, as well as to the person from whom the bundle was acquired.

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FIG. 38.—Black Bear inside the catfish trap with one of the fish baskets. (Courtesy of the North Dakota Historical Society.)

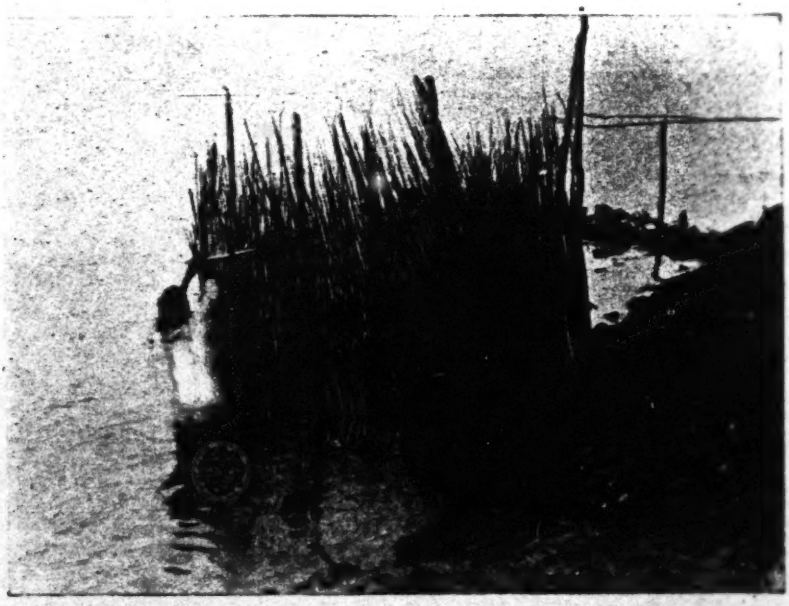

FIG. 39.—Black Bear closing the diamond willow gate. (Courtesy of the North Dakota Historical Society.)

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best place to locate a trap is downstream from a point of projecting land or driftwood where the water is not too swift. The fish stop in the deep quiet water. The water must come up to one's armpits, for the traps must be set in deep water to catch the large fish. 226

We tie willow stems with the leaves on all the way round the trap at the level of the water so that any loose bait will not float away. The door was made of willows tied together, and the entrance was downstream. When the river bottom was sloping or there were branches imbedded in the sand, we smoothed the bottom and carried out all the wood before setting the trap down.

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Chapter IX

BIG BIRD CEREMONY

796 773 THE birds belonging to this ceremony were classed in four groups: (1) hawks, ravens, and crows; (2) young calumet eagles; (3) old calumet eagles; and (4) bald eagles. According to the myth, the thunderbird was considered a relative of these birds, while in other myths the thunderbird was referred to as any one of the four groups of birds listed above.

796 821 The various rites were frequently referred to as the Thunderbird ceremony. However, birds other than those included in these rites, as well as the Sun and Moon and the snakes, were believed to possess the supernatural power of producing thunder and lightning.

796 778 773 There were two principal bundles appertaining to the ceremony. The Black Medicine bundle owned by Red Buffalo Cow (Prairie Chicken clan) was traditionally founded by Black Medicine, while the Sweet Medicine bundle was believed to have been founded by Grows in Lee Places, his twin brother. The latter bundle was last owned by Sand (Speckled Eagle clan). These two bundles came from Nuptadi Village. A second Black Medicine bundle owned by Little Shield (Prairie Chicken clan) came from Fort Clark Village. The linked character of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle clans was expressed by the inheritance through the clan of two closely related bundles from two "brothers" of different clans. [614]

The two bundles had a common mythological origin based on the exploits of two brothers. The myth was supplied by Ben Benson, while much of the data on rites relating to the bundle were secured from White Calf.

BIG BIRD CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEN BENSON[1]

773 539 This account goes back to the time when the villages were near the mouth of Heart River. Chief Bird was the head man of one of the villages. His sons

1. For another relation of this myth by the same informant see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," XXXII [1938]), pp. 53–62.

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by different mothers were named Black Medicine, after a root used to cure scratches from eagle claws or bites from rattlesnakes, because he was made of black medicine, and Grows in Lee Places, after a brown plant. The older boy, Black Medicine, was sensible; the other one was a little foolish and did not respect people or think anything was holy. Both were good hunters and went out often.[2]

One day Black Medicine said, "Let's go out hunting; we have not been out for a long time. If we kill a fat elk or buffalo, we can have a fine meal." The other agreed, so they went out and soon killed a deer. They cooked the meat and enjoyed themselves eating it. They went on and killed another, which they carried along until it was all eaten. They were surprised to find no more game, however far they traveled. Soon they came to a timbered coulee and saw smoke. They knew someone lived there, so they went in the direction of the smoke. They found the smoke coming out of a grass lodge, but, when they reached the door, a man walked out with something on his back without paying any attention to the two hunters. The two brothers could not understand that but walked into the lodge. The entire interior of the lodge was fixed up with fresh grass to lie on, while ribs, tongues, and legs were roasting beside the fire. The two sat down and waited for someone to appear. They waited a long time, and nobody came.

The foolish one said, "What is the use of sitting here? Let's eat this."

Black Medicine replied, "No, the owner will come back."

The foolish one was very hungry and, never respecting others anyway, said, "I am too hungry; I am going to eat."

When he had eaten nearly all the meat, Black Medicine ate what remained. They found water in a bag and drank of it.

They slept comfortably in the grass lodge until morning. Before leaving, they picked the bones from any meat they could find and left. As they were leaving, the foolish one asked, "Who can that fellow be who paid no attention to us? He went to the southeast. We should go that way and see who he is."

They went in that direction and hunted a little but could see no game of any kind. They traveled until the sun was low. They were on a high bluff overlooking a deep ravine when they saw the smoke again. They went in the direction of the smoke, and, when they reached the grass lodge, the same man with something on his back passed them without looking at them or speaking.

The foolish one said, "This is just the same as yesterday, and he isn't going to come back." The foolish one took his meat and turned it over once to brown it a little, but left some for the morning. They slept in the lodge and next morning ate all that was left. One of the young men said, "We will go after this man, for it looks like something will happen to us."

This day they looked only for the man who behaved so queerly. When the sun was low, they came to a deep ravine and saw smoke below them; then the grass lodge came into sight. One of the young men said, "That man smells us before we get to his place. That is why he leaves." So they studied the winds and came up against the wind until they were close. One brother said, "We must go up quietly and try to get as close as possible. When he comes out, we can seize him."

2. The two brothers, one wise and the other foolish, suggest the Two Men of Hidatsa mythology and the First Man and Foolish One exploits of the Mandan Okipa ceremony.

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They crept up quietly, one on each side of the door, and, when he came out with the bundle on his back, they seized him. The bundle was thrown to the ground, making such a noise that people a long distance away could hear it. The bundle burst, and deer, buffalo, elk, antelope, and all the big animals ran all over the earth. The two men knew then that he was the one who had been holding the game in his power. The man ran away, and nobody knew who he was. The two brothers said there would be plenty of game the next morning.

In the grass lodge that the mysterious man had deserted so quickly they found plenty of meat to eat, so they remained there overnight and went on in the morning. They saw all the big animals that had been freed, and the hunting was good. All at once they saw something white on the ground. It was bubbling up, and the foolish one shot into it with his arrows; then they went on. Soon they saw a big white cloud coming [a tornado]. It was making a loud noise and with it was a strong wind. Black Medicine said to his brother, "Come to me." He tied the two of them together with the sinews of their bows. The winds took them into the air, and they did not know where they were until they passed the river where the Arikara grow corn [Grand River, South Dakota]. The foolish one did not think it a bad place to be, for up in the air, at least, they did not have to walk. Evening came, and Black Medicine sang his medicine song. Then the wind went down, letting them descend to earth again. They found themselves on an island among many islands with water as far as they could see.

They looked about and one said, "What can we do now? Here we are on a small island with water everywhere, but there seems to be plenty of game to eat." They did not hunt that night but went to sleep at once, for they were tired from their ride through the air.

The next morning they did not know what to do. Black Medicine said, "Let's go along the edge of the water and see what this island is like." Soon they came to a well-used path and knew that someone lived on the island. The path led to a large earth lodge, and they saw the cornfields and gardens on all sides of them. They came to the earth lodge and walked in, where they found only an old woman [Old Woman Who NeverDies] who was glad to see them. She said, "Here are my two grandchildren, sons of Chief Bird. Have you come to see me?"

They told her of the wind, and she said, "You boys can stay here, for I think you are hungry. Help yourselves to that mush." The boys did not think there would be enough, and she read their thoughts, saying, "Stir it up." The vessel was full again. They ate most of the mush and stirred the balance up again.

After they had been on the island two days they thought they should do some hunting. They did not go far until they saw a white-tail buck and shot it. The animal was butchered where it fell and then they presented it to Old Woman. She said, "You boys did well; eat it. I don't eat that kind of food myself; I eat only antelope and buffalo. I will take the deer outside and make dried meat of it."

When she got the deer outside, she said to the animal, "Get up now and run away. Don't come near, for those boys are good hunters."

When she returned to the earth lodge, she said to the boys, "If you kill white-tail deer, don't bring the meat here; cook it out in the woods and eat what you want, for the white-tail deer look after my gardens for me." After

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that they ate the meat in the woods. Sometimes they would stay out in the woods as long as three days at a time. 773

One day Old Woman told them not to go out hunting that day but to hide near the wall of the lodge and be quiet. Soon they heard the noise of two people coming in; then some more people came in. Looking out from under their robes, the two boys saw that the visitors were all women. Each woman had brought in dried meat which was heaped in a pile. As the meat was put on the pile, each woman would say, "My leader, take good care of me and give me this." 539

One woman had something in her robe and wouldn't show it. The others asked her what she had, and she said, "I have something here but it isn't very good. That is why I don't like to show it." She took it out and it was an earthen pot full of cooked corn and buffalo-foot cords. The others said, "That is good food." The boys observed everything carefully, learning that these women were the corn who had turned themselves into humans.

After the women finished talking, the Old Woman Who Never Dies said, "I am so glad each of you brought me something. I am going to keep you until spring,[3] and I will take good care of you." When she said that, each woman turned into an ear of seed corn, and Old Woman put them away in different places according to the kind of corn they were. She took the meat to use during the winter.

One day the boys were sitting quietly gazing out across the water when their grandmother asked them why they were so quiet. They told her that they were lonesome and could see that they had no way of going home. She said, "I am glad you have come to visit me. You get ready to go home tomorrow. I will fix you up a meal of four-in-one corn balls. [Four-in-one corn balls were made of ground corn, beans, and sunflowers, to which boiled squash was added.] I will make you four of these corn balls."

The next morning after breakfast she gave the corn balls to the boys and instructed them to go to the shore and call, "Grandfather, come out and take us across the water." She explained, "You will see the waves moving, and a large snake with a single horn will come out of the deep water. When he reaches the shore, tell him he is not the one you want. Call again, and there will be another snake with two forked horns but send him back, also, for he is not the one either. A third one will come out, and you will see a growth of young willows and small cottonwoods between his two horns. Tell him he is not the one you want either. Call 'Grandfather' again, and there will be large waves along the shore. The last snake will have long horns with cottonwood, willows, grass, and sage growing all over his head. Tell him you want him to take you across the water. Ask him to put his head close to the shore. You must jump onto the snake. You will find many deer tracks on his head. Be careful not to do anything foolish while you are on your way."

The boys did everything as instructed, and everything happened just as the Old Woman Who Never Dies said it would. They jumped on the snake's head, and he swam with them for a long time until he said he was tired. The boys broke up one of the corn balls and fed the snake. Refreshed, the snake swam on until he was tired again, when the boys again fed him a corn ball. Again they went forward. After feeding the snake the fourth corn ball, land came in

3. This island was the winter meeting place of many creatures (see chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping Ceremony").

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sight. The snake came to the shore, and the boys asked him to put his head up on dry land, but the snake could not put his head out on the dry land. Black Medicine jumped, but the snake almost swallowed him. He was afraid that his brother would be swallowed, so he called back to him to be careful, but the other brother said he would jump from the snake's nose. Black Medicine warned him not to jump from the snake's nose, but the brother did, and the snake swallowed him.

Black Medicine was left alone. He cried all day as he walked back and forth along the shore. Next morning as he walked along the shore, the big snake came up and opened his mouth. He saw his brother in the snake's mouth standing there and making motions to Black Medicine that it was nice in the snake's mouth and urging him to come in, but Black Medicine would not. He cried all that night, he missed his brother so. The next morning he again saw the snake and his brother, who invited him to come in, but again he refused. The third day the same thing happened. That night just when the wind was going down, while the water was calm, he saw a man standing beside the shore wearing a robe with the hair side out. He noted that there were pieces of white jackrabbit fur along the edges of the robe, and he wondered what the meaning of that could be. He heard a noise above him, and, looking up, he saw the man whose reflection he had seen in the water. This man had a flat stick two feet long in his arms. He asked the cause of all the crying each night, and Black Medicine told of the trouble with the serpent and how his brother had been swallowed and taken into the water. The stranger asked if he had seen his brother since, and Black Medicine told of seeing the snake come up to the surface of the water, and how he was able to see his brother in the snake's mouth motioning for him to come in.

The man in the air said, "Good! That snake comes close to shore because he likes corn balls."

"But I have no more corn balls," Black Medicine replied.

The man in the air brought forth a corn ball, made of only a little corn and mostly of ground sunflower seeds and rabbit manure which he gave to Black Medicine. He took the corn ball and cried all night. On the morning of the fourth day, the big snake came close to the shore and Black Medicine said, "Grandfather, I have a nice corn ball for you. Will you come close so I can put it in your mouth? Come closer." When he had the snake close to land, he gave the corn ball to the snake who ate it. Black Medicine said to the snake, "I want to see my brother once more to shake hands with him and then I will go home." The big snake came up and opened his mouth. There was the brother standing in the snake's mouth, but Black Medicine complained that he was too far away and asked the snake to come closer. The snake came closer but refused to put his head on the shore. Black Medicine walked toward the corner of the snake's mouth, but the brother refused to come toward him until he had begged four times.

The snake asked, "Do you see any black clouds?" Though there were a number in the sky, Black Medicine said that there were none. Suddenly Black Medicine seized his brother by the wrist and pulled him out. They hit the shore and bounced up at once, jumping farther up the bank. That moment a long flash of lightning shot out of a cloud above, and the snake sent out lightning at the same time. Thunder above had the stronger lightning and killed the big snake, which was thrown up onto the dry land.

The young men were knocked unconscious and lay on the ground as though

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dead. Thunderbird noted the condition they were in and brought them back to their senses. He took the two boys with him and went to his earth lodge. Thunderbird had a wife and two daughters. He said to his daughters, "Hurry! These young men killed a large snake. We must go there and butcher it." 773 539

The wife never moved but remained in her bed all day long. Thunderbird, his daughters, and the two young men went to the place where the snake lay dead. Thunderbird cut the snake up into small pieces and carried it home. Thunderbird and his family ate the snake, but the two boys would not touch the meat. Thunderbird noticed that these young men were active, with more powers than ordinary Indians. He said to them one evening, "You know that every man should have a wife. You should have a wife, and you will sometime. I am here alone; my wife is sick in bed all the time. I have two daughters, and they are good-looking girls. I want you boys to marry my daughters. The older boy should take the older girl and the younger boy should marry the younger girl."

Black Medicine was sensible, but the other was foolish. Black Medicine hung his head and studied for a long time, but the foolish one kept saying, "Why don't you tell him that we will take the wives."

At last Black Medicine said, "We will take the girls for our wives."

After that the young men were out hunting a great deal and brought in the meat from the animals they had killed. The father-in-law praised them for their skill. Thunderbird said, "You must not go to the other side of that hill, for there is long grass there and the ground is wet and boggy." They agreed not to go there.

One day while out hunting the foolish one said, "Let's see what it is like over back of that hill where our father-in-law says for us not to go." They went there and found a dangerous lake with a white beaver on the shore next to them in the grass. The beaver heard them coming. His tail was covered with flint tools arranged like the shingles on a roof. The beaver slapped his tail, and small pieces of flint stones struck them with such force that they were obliged to run for their lives. They studied from the top of the hill how they could get the beaver. Black Medicine went to the pocket gopher for help. The pocket gopher agreed to dig a hole under the ground until he came to the beaver's bed. When the hole was big enough for the men to get through, he came back and told them that the hole was ready.

Next morning the boys went to the hill overlooking the lake and saw the beaver in his usual bed beside the lake. They crawled along in the tunnel that the pocket gopher had made until under the beaver. They could see the beaver's heart moving, they were so near to him. Black Medicine shot his best arrow through the beaver's heart and killed him. The two brothers went home at once, and the father-in-law knew something had happened.

They said, "Yes, we went to that big spring and lake you spoke about. We saw a white beaver and killed him."

The father-in-law could hardly believe their words. Thunderbird went back with them and butchered the beaver and carried it home on his back. They ate the meat and shelled the arrowheads off the tail like a woman shells corn from the cob until there was a large pile of arrowheads. The arrowheads were just what the father-in-law wanted.

One day the father-in-law said, "There is an animal over in those red hills. It is a red jackrabbit. I would like to get his hide, but something keeps warning him every time I go after him."

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The young men agreed to go after the rabbit, and the father-in-law told them where they would find the rabbit. One day they went out, but just as they were nearing the red hills the rabbit ran over the hill and was gone. They said they would get him the next time.

All this time their mother-in-law was in bed ill. The young men asked their wives what was the matter with their mother and were told of a long porcupine quill in her foot. Black Medicine[4] told his wife that he could doctor. The boys built a sweat lodge first. They found the quill in her foot, squeezed the pus out, pulled out the quill, and put her in the sweat. When they carried her out, Black Medicine took a piece of black medicine from his pocket, chewed it, and blew it over her foot. Then he put her to bed, and she had a good rest. Soon she was able to walk around again.

One day there was no breeze, and they decided that the right time had come to get the rabbit, for, without the wind to help him, he would not be able to smell the two brothers as they approached thehill. They reached Red Hill, and Black Medicine sent his brother to the other side of the hill. Black Medicine walked through the peaks, and the red rabbit saw him and ran over the hill. When he saw the other hunter, he turned about and was shot in the side and killed. They left the rabbit for the old man to get. When they reached home, the father-in-law knew that something had happened. They told him where he would find the rabbit. The old man skinned the rabbit and saved the fur; the meat he cooked and ate.

For a long time after this, the young men did not find hunting very good. One day when hunting was poor, they wondered how far they could shoot. Each shot two arrows, and they walked along, picking up the arrows. They found that one of the arrows had gone through a snake with a head on each end, killing it.

When they reached home, the old man said, "I smell something." The young men insisted that they had not killed anything, but he still insisted that he smelled something. They told how they had not killed anything except that, while practicing for distance, one arrow went through a small double-headed snake.

When they reached the spot where the snake had been killed, they found that the snake had grown large. The father-in-law cut the snake up and all carried the meat to the earth lodge. The father-in-law said, "It is good that you killed this snake, for my relatives will be here soon. I must get ready for them." He went outside and cut some chokecherry sticks the size of a pencil and about two feet long. Some of these he peeled the bark from and fastened to them the arrowheads he got from the beaver's tail. He fastened a piece of red rabbit skin to the side and sage to the other, until he had enough of these sticks to make a large bundle.[5]

Thunderbird sat on his lodge for a long time, and at last he said to his wife, "Cook the snake, for my relatives are coming." He asked the boys to hide themselves in the earth lodge. The first arrival walked right in; he was a man, but just before he entered he was a raven. He was pleased with the abundance

4. In the myth of the origin of Eagle-trapping, Black Wolf also doctored the bear cub with black medicine.

5. These were known as bird sticks and were a part of most Eagle-trapping bundles. When trapping, these sticks were arranged at the altar.

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of food, and the old man gave him one of the sticks he had prepared. The raven finished eating and said that he would go back to spread the news that the old man had much to eat. The old man went on top of the lodge but came right down again, for another person was coming. He came right in and was given food and one of the sticks, and he said, "I came ahead to find out how things are here. The main party will arive here tomorrow." This man was the chicken hawk.

Thunderbird said, "You tell them to stop a little ways from my place before coming in. Tell them when they stop over by my house to divide up into their own groups."

The sisters told their husbands when they doctored their mother-in-law for a sore foot that she was one of a large party of birds going west in the spring. She could not go on because of her bad foot.

The next day birds began to come, and each arrival sought his own group near the lodge. The groups were: (1) hawks, ravens, and crows; (2) young calumet eagles; (3) old calumet eagles; and (4) bald eagles.

The old man went out with the snake meat, which he divided into four piles, and he divided the sticks into four piles also. The birds began to eat, and soon all the food was eaten. Each took a stick with the flint stone attached. When the feast was finished, the old man said, "I have done all these things you like, but I didn't get it all myself. I have two sons-in-law. They are Mandan. They did all this." Then he called the two young men out, and all were surprised to see them. Some were afraid and would have run away had the old man not spoken to them.

When they finished eating, the old man said, "You can go to your homes now [autumn], but, when spring comes, I would like to have you come to me. We will move somewhere else then."

The birds all went to their old nests and stayed away all winter until spring came. Then the old man said to his wife, "Spring is here, and our friends will be coming soon. We are expected to move up the rivers. What are we to do with our sons-in-law? They have no wings, and it would not be right to take our daughters without them. When the four groups are here, we will discuss the matter with them and see what they think about it."

Soon the four groups of birds came, and he said to them, "What are we going to do with my sons-in-law? They have no wings and they are humans. My daughters like them. What shall we do?"

The birds replied, "I think it is best that we hatch the young men into birds." They decided that the bald-headed eagles should lay them, for they were the oldest birds. The young men were brought out of the earth lodge and went up on top of it. The birds asked the boys to roll up into a ball, and the bald-headed eagle put her wings over them. When she flew away to the other birds, there were two eggs where she had been sitting.

On each of the two eggs there was a straight line and a zigzagged line representing the lightning, for sometimes the flashes are straight, other times zigzagged. The bird went back and set on the eggs. The eggs hatched on the second day, and she flew away. Soon she came back and set on them again, and, when she flew away, their wings were nearly grown. When she flew away the fourth time, the young birds had grown into full-sized, bald-headed eagles. All the birds watched them while they flew up into the air. Everything

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was ready for the birds to travel; their course was up the Missouri River. Two birds were selected to be the scouts and go ahead of the main body of travelers. The scouts were the chicken hawk with the white feathers at the base of the tail feathers and the raven. All the other birds traveled along behind the scouts. They traveled along until the chicken hawk came back to report something strange in a ravine ahead.

The birds said, "We will have the two Mandan men investigate and get whatever it is." They called the two brothers and told them about it. Each of the big eagles had a sword[6] shaped like a knife; some were white; others were black. All of them were very beautiful.

The young men were given their pick, but before they made a selection the wives said, "If they tell you to take certain ones, be sure to take the old one; it is a little cracked, but it has much power and is very sacred. If you swing that, you will never miss."

The young men did as they were told and selected a very old sword. The wives said, "When they let you go to kill what is in the ravine, be sure to go high in the air and sing this song we always use when we kill something. Then come down, both of you at the same time and turn sidewise when you are nearly there, one going to the right and the other to the left. Do this three times. The last time swoop down together until you are close to the ground, and the one who has the sword hit at it easy and very slowly. Then go straight up into the air again, for you will kill what you want to kill."

The big party of birds did not tell the boys to sing the bird song, but the wives taught them the song. The two went high into the air but could see nothing and came back. The other birds said, "That was all our fault; we should have told you to look sidewise."

They went out again and soon saw a serpent. Just then, the other birds remembered that they had not taught the boys the song and were surprised to hear the "eagle-killing song."[7] The boys dived out of the sky three times and the fourth time made a motion with their sword. A flash of lightning shot forth. At the same time the snake sent up lightning. They killed the snake and returned to the other birds, who praised them for their skill in killing the snake. In a short time the birds had eaten up the snake and had begun to fly northwest along the Missouri River.

The chicken hawk and raven returned a second time and said that they were nearing a Mandan village where a man by the name of Chief Bird was giving a feast for all the big birds just as he always did at this time of the year. The boys heard the name of their father and knew that they were near home. They talked to their wives about it. They told their wives that this was their home and that Chief Bird was their father. They asked their wives to go to their home with them. The boys went to their father and told him of their adventures. The wives were invited to come and live in the village, but next morning they were afraid to go in since they looked so unlike the Mandan.

The sisters said, "We are afraid to go there; we would feel out of place. It is best that we give you something that represents us." They pulled out a wing feather the birds put their heads under when they go to sleep. The Mandan call this feather "sleep feather." Each pulled out the sleep feather from the underside of the left wing and gave it to her husband. After the feast was

6. The sword is a part of the sacred bundle for this ceremony.
7. One of the sacred songs of the Big Bird ceremony.

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over, the boys decided to give a feast for the big birds every fall when the birds went south. They gathered robes all summer, for it took a large amount of goods, besides the meat, in order to put on the ceremony. Twelve stones were used in the sweat lodge representing the twelve tail feathers each of the big birds has. Seven robes were needed to cover the sweat lodge. All the people belonging to this group met together, and the two young men brought out the two "sleep feathers" representing the two wives. The rights in the ceremony were sold to their "Children of the Clan" and have continued down to this day.

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Chapter X

THE SMALL HAWK CEREMONY

796 778 ONLY the principal bundle belonging to this ceremony[1] remained in existence following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, although Scattercorn had heard that there had been a number of them formerly. The surviving bundle came from Mitutanka. The rites occupied a high place in the tribe's ceremonial life, and the small hawk, belonging to the bundle, was impersonated by one of the performers in the Okipa ceremony. The other bundle lines, of which there were said to have been several, were broken by the death of all eligible inheritors.

The single surviving bundle was owned by Berdache and her sister of the Tamisik clan and their husband of the WaxikEna clan. The latter two died after their daughters Calf Woman and Stands Yellow had married Hits on Back who had come to his wives' lodge to live. Hits on Back of the WaxikEna clan and his two wives bought the bundle from Berdache.[2] The bundle consisted of a sacred buffalo robe which traditionally came from Toad Earrings, mother of Buffalo Woman, a hide rattle representing Buffalo Woman, a gourd rattle representing Corn Silk, sage and magpie tail feathers representing membership in the Holy Woman Society, a stuffed hawk with blue shoulders and yellow spotted breast representing Split Wing Feathers and Looks Down To Hunt, a small ash digging stick, a wooden pipe, and a buffalo skull.

778 421 425 The bundle could be divided into two sections. One section consisted of the hawk, sage, hide rattle, pipe, and a buffalo skull and was transferable to a man of the WaxikEna clan, while the other section, the sacred robe, gourd rattle, sage, magpie and tail feathers, could be bought by the wife. Subdivided bundles seem to have soon lost their hereditary character. Each section

1. The bundle is known as the Sikaraxa bundle, referring to the small hawk or kite mentioned in the sacred myth.

2. This purchase illustrates the character of bundle purchase through the female line.

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could be sold four times. The usual transfer was to sisters married to one man, in which instances the women acquired rights in the sacred robe and other paraphernalia of that section, and the husband took over the balance of the bundle. Such purchases were made only after several years of married life, as it was considered a sign of bad luck for common bundle-owners to quarrel. Crows Heart explained that having a common interest in a bundle was a powerful factor in making marriages permanent. Sale was not made until the parent-in-law taboo had been removed.

The prominence of these bundles is demonstrated by their representation in the Okipa ceremony. During the early summer all men owning primary and secondary rights in a Small Hawk ceremony met in one of their earth lodges to select two young men to represent their bundles in that summer's Okipa ceremony. Either young men of this group or men who were eligible to inherit a bundle were selected to dance in the ceremony and to receive goods offered to Small Hawk bundle-owners.

Women owning rights in the bundle were entitled to dress in the sacred robe, place sage and magpie tail feathers in the hair, and carry the ash digging stick at the close of the Okipa ceremony, when separate offerings were made to them by the Okipa Maker and his fellow-fasters and on other occasions when a feast was made to the bundle as a Buffalo-calling ceremony.

The rites are based on the exploits of Corn Silk, who visited the small hawk at his lodge on the eastern horizon where he lived with his mother. This small hawk, being a good hunter, taught the Buffalo-calling rites. Because he could produce thunder, he also introduced a rain-calling rite. His son, Looks Down To Hunt, inherited all his father's powers.

The holy robe and its rites have as their mythological origin Looks Down To Hunt's experiences on the northern horizon where he encountered his wife's mother who lived in a large earth lodge. After avoiding many hazards which she had set up to protect her people, the buffaloes, she was obliged to free these animals. The Mandan had many sacred robes, but each had its separate origin myth.

The myth throws light on the native theories of the universe. In one place Looks Down To Hunt asked the spider for his body

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773 in order that he could retreat to the lowest level in the universe.
772 It was believed that the earth comprised four horizontal levels and that the surface of the earth was the top level. The sky was likewise made up of four semicircular hemispheres shaped like an earth-lodge roof and supported by four posts. This belief was associated with rites performed by a female robe-owner whenever a new lodge was erected or an old one repaired.

796 There was no spring or autumn bird feast, as in the case of the Big Bird bundles. When the bundle-owners were paid to per-
778 form the Buffalo-calling ceremony, the man officiated as the singer, carried the rattles, and wore the hawk on his head; his wife was dressed in the robe, wore the sage and magpie tail feathers, used the ash stick to dig a small hole near the head of the lodge, and "called up the buffaloes," as had been done by Frog Earrings in the mythology. A young man, about to go to war, asked the help of a bundle-owner belonging to his father's clan and promised to make an offering to the bundle upon his return. For this, he received a feather to wear on his head when in battle.

778 The sacred robe was held in high regard as a means of warding off misfortune. Because of the wicked disposition and power
773 of Frog Earrings, whom the robe represented, it was believed that men took to wearing women's clothing and followed female
[828] avocations. She was also believed to be the cause of insanity,
[826] feeble-mindedness, malformations, twisted jaws, and premature
[845] births.

SMALL HAWK MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[3]

773 It was the fall of the year. Corn Silk and her nine brothers were living to-
539 gether. Whenever any young man would ask her to marry him, she would refuse. One of the brothers always spoke for the young man, but there was one of them who never paid any attention to her or urged her to marry. A young man, an unusually fine hunter, asked her to marry, and the brother who had been silent was disappointed, for he thought she would surely marry this one. He said to her, "I have never spoken before, so I think you should heed my words. At other times, our other brothers acted as spokesmen. This man is such a good provider you should marry him. You will have a comfortable home and everything you need. I think you should listen to me."

Corn Silk did not obey the request, and the mother was angry and said, "One of your brothers never spoke, but this man was a good provider, and he

3. Another version of this myth is reported in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 63–76.

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had confidence you would obey him. It looks like you are going to have Sikaraxa [Split Wing Feathers] for a husband." 773

Sikaraxa lived in the direction of the sunrise. Corn Silk invited in four old women of the village, and they asked the purpose of the invitation. She said, "My mother wants me to marry Sikaraxa, and I want to know where he lives." 539

The old women said, "We heard it is in a far-away country. It is almost impossible for any human being to go that far. The best way for you to get there is to make a ball."

Corn Silk made a ball as directed. She invited the four old women in again, and they said, "When you start out in the morning, go out onto the ridge and kick the ball. Then you will be at the next ridge [horizon]. If you can't get there today, you will be sure to get there tomorrow. Take as much food as you can carry."

They instructed her to kick the ball four times toward the horizon. She was to kick it three times, and, on the fourth kick, there would be a forest running crosswise to her course. There she would find some of her grandmothers.

She followed their instructions. At the end of the fourth kick she reached the timber and there found a lodge. Inside were the mice [grandmothers]. Corn Silk could hear them talk of the day's work digging roots. One of the mice came out for wood and saw Corn Silk. At first they were frightened, but, when they learned that it was Corn Silk, they invited her in and asked, "What has brought you here so far from home?"

Corn Silk said, "My brothers have sent me here because I refused to marry a great hunter. They sent me to Sikaraxa, and I am on the way to the place where this bird dwells."

She stayed with the long-nosed field mice the first night, traveled all the next day, and reached the home of the mice with white breasts and red backs the second night. The third night she spent with the black mice, and the fourth night with the moles. At each stop she explained her mission. The mice all followed her and met at the moles' lodge. From there, all were to go together to the cliff and lake where Sikaraxa lived.

The mice warned her, "You are in danger and must follow our instructions carefully. When you get there, you will find yourself on a buffalo skull. He will come and ask you to take a bath with him, and you must say, 'I don't think it is necessary for me to stand on this skull and meet my death. I have heard about you and don't intend to go through all these rites.' Then kick the buffalo skull out from under you and see what happens."

Corn Silk went to the village on the island and there found an enormous earth lodge. Sikaraxa lived in it. He said at once, "Let's take a bath."

The man's mother said, "You must not take her to the lake so soon. You always do that and put an end to them. I don't want to see Corn Silk's life ended so soon. We may like her when we know her better."

Sikaraxa would not listen to his mother. The two walked out together. Mole whispered to Corn Silk, "Today we are all going to die together. The only way we can save you is by putting strong wristlets, anklets, and a necklace on you. Make the strings strong. The strings to your moccasins must be strong with long extensions so that we can hold onto them. Have your belt extensions to the back."

When the people in the village saw Sikaraxa taking Corn Silk to the lake to bathe, they were sorry that so beautiful a young woman was to die so soon. All admired her because of her long hair. No other woman who had come to

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him had been nearly so beautiful. He commanded her to stand on the buffalo skull, and she refused saying, "It is not necessary for me to die on a buffalo skull."

She kicked it into the lake. A large fish[4] with long teeth leaped from the lake, took the buffalo skull, and ate it. Then Sikaraxa ordered Corn Silk to remove her clothing and lie on her back with her head toward the lake. She refused, saying, "I came here to marry you, and I refuse to go through these rites. I won't undress."

Sikaraxa said, "I will come toward you four times, and the ceremony will be over," so she lay down as ordered. The moles dug holes to her wrists, ankles, neck, and waist, holding onto the straps. They also dug a trench so her body was level with the ground. Sikaraxa went out of sight in the air and came down as the Thunderbird, making much noise, and bringing the wind with him. He thought she would surely be blown into the lake, but she was not, since the mice were holding her firmly. The second time, he came lower, and the wind was stronger, but he saw that she did not move. The third time he was down to the height of the trees, and the fourth time he came within a few feet of her. During one of the intervals between the winds, the mice said, "The fourth time he will be only a few feet above you. Seize the white thing he has around his neck," but he went by before she could get it. Then he circled a few feet above her, wondering what held her. One of the moles punched Corn Silk who had gone to sleep and woke her up. She reached up and grabbed the object he had round his neck. At the moment he lost the object, he changed from a bird to a human being and stood beside her.

They walked back to the village, but she kept the object which was his heart. He stayed close to his wife during the daytime, following her everywhere she went. The people laughed at him and said, "He has taken a strange turn of life."

His powers were almost all taken from him because of the loss of his heart. The mother-in-law was glad to have a young woman in the lodge who had returned unharmed, and all the village was happy. Sikaraxa had been a great traveler, being a bird, but, after this, he never went out. Instead he would be found tagging after his wife wherever she went.

They were together until she gave birth to a child, a small boy. They continued to live together until the boy was three or four years old and able to talk. He was inquisitive and was always asking questions. Corn Silk wore the heart sewed on the inside of her buckskin dress and kept a belt over it so that Sikaraxa did not know where it was. One day the boy asked her if this was her native village, and she said, "No, we came from the Missouri River. You have uncles [mother's brothers] and a grandmother there."

The boy said, "Let's go home."

She said to Sikaraxa, "Our son has learned that he has relatives at the Missouri River, and he wants to see them. We are planning to go back for that purpose." Sikaraxa was willing to go along as protection for them. The boy was very happy, but the mother said, "It will take a long time to get to your relatives this way." The father made a nest and placed the boy in it, asking his wife to sit on the boy. He performed rites that changed the boy into an egg which shortly afterward hatched into a bird.

Sikaraxa was to follow later. They were transformed into two white swans

4. The pike called by the Mandan "Wolf Fish."

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swimming near the edge of the lake. They stopped there a while to feed. When Sikaraxa thought it was time, he started after them to see how far they had gone. He was changed into Thunderbird. He could not find them, but he saw two swans feeding along the shore of a lake. The two were afraid, and the mother said, "If your father does not know we changed into swans, he may kill us. Shout to him, 'Here we are.' " The father sent them on their journey, all the time flying toward their village, but Sikaraxa was far above them in the skies.

When they reached the village, they changed back to their former selves again. They entered the home village again. Corn Silk, being a holy person, was recognized by all, who cried, "Corn Silk is back from her search for a husband." They were curious to see the man she brought back.

There had been a famine after she left, so Sikaraxa made medicine to bring back the buffalo herds. He also brought rain for the crops. Since Corn Silk's father was chief, their family had plenty to eat. Sikaraxa lived with them a long time. During the course of his visit, Sikaraxa and his wife took a bath in a pond near the village while the little boy played on the bank. While playing there, he saw the heart sewed into his mother's dress and, lifting it, called to the mother, "Mother, look what I found."

Both the man and his wife ran for it, but the man got there first. All the while, the mother was pleading for the boy not to let his father have it, but he gave it to his father. Immediately, the man transformed himself into a large bird and flew into the air. He soared over them. Corn Silk was on the point of scolding the boy when Sikaraxa said, "Don't scold him. It is all for the best. When he grows up, he will be successful; he will be a great hunter and bring the herds near the village."

Corn Silk scolded the man for making promises that could not be fulfilled. She added, "You better fly away. We don't need you any more. The boy has enough uncles [mother's brothers] to provide for him."

Now Corn Silk was a widow. The boy was unusually intelligent and came to be considered a great hunter. He resembled his father closely, and people all remarked of their close resemblance. Time passed fast, and soon the boy had grown to manhood. It was late summer, and the families were thinking of a suitable winter village site. Half of the people had left.

The boy said, "I hate to go to the winter camp where we have to shovel snow and haul in wood. We have enough corn here, and I can hunt a little."

His family decided not to go to the winter village. Half of the people stayed in the summer village with them. Soon he was renowned as a hunter, and his lodge became the central meeting place where most people got their meals. They were getting along better than they had expected. His father had given him the name "Looks Down To Hunt." He kept his mother well supplied with meat, and, during his leisure, he would sit on a pile of rocks on the hill back of the village. One day as he looked down from his rock pile, he noticed that his mother was dressed up in fine clothing and prettily painted. She was playing kickball. As he watched, he heard a sound resembling a song, but the words were not distinct.

He went back the next day, for he was curious to learn what the song was. It was more distinct, so he knew it was someone far away singing. When he saw his mother dressed up in her fine clothes again, he was so angry that he went to bed without eating. The third day, the singers were closer and the words were something about his name, but his name was all that he could dis-

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tinguish. When he saw his mother playing the third day, he was disgusted, and, when she spoke to him as a woman does to her husband, he was all the angrier. When he was on the hill the fourth day, the sound was just back of the hill from where he sat. There were two singers, and the words were:

> We have Looks Down To Hunt in our heart,
> But his mother is silly about her son.
> Our feet are blistered from walking so far.

The boy was facing the east, looking down onto the village. When he recognized the words, he was so angry he would not go down the hill. The two singers approached. The one from the north was of dark complexion and had long black hair; the singer from the south was of light complexion with yellow hair. The one from the north carried a yellow wooden bowl full of pemmican, and the one from the south carried a woven bowl full of four-in-one corn balls. Each carried a pair of moccasins. When they came to him, he was at a loss concerning the order in which to eat the food, for he thought, "If I take one's food first, the other will be jealous." So he took from each bowl at the same time and put both portions into his mouth at the same time.

Then the woman from the south said, "I have never been jealous, so eat from my friend's first, for my friend from the north often gets jealous." When it came to the moccasins, he thought of the same thing and took one from each pair, but his hands were awkward. The woman from the south said, "You should put on the pair the woman from the north brought. She gets jealous."

He took both women to his lodge. His mother was out again dressed up in her finest clothing playing the kickball game. When she returned, he said, "You foolish old woman! I have brought you two daughters-in-law."

When she heard that, she ran into her lodge, pulled off the elkskin dress and robe, rubbed charcoal over her paint, and came out looking like an old woman again. When it was time to go to bed, the three went together into the same bed, he in the middle with one of his arms under each wife's head. They slept that way all night.

Next day, the woman from the south said, "I am not jealous; tonight you should sleep with the woman from the north." The woman from the south was Corn Silk and the woman from the north was Buffalo Woman.

Buffalo Woman was first to give birth to a child, a little boy. Next night a child, also a boy, was born to Corn Silk. Nothing of importance happened until the boys were old enough to talk. One day they were playing together and enjoying themselves. The women were busy at their quill work. Buffalo Woman's boy cried and bothered his mother until she gave him a hoop laced with rawhide to play with. He enjoyed himself with it for some time. Corn Silk's boy wanted to play with it, but the other would not let him. He kept crying until finally Corn Silk brought him a small pumpkin the size of a ball and gave it to him to play with. The pumpkin made a rumbling sound as the boy rolled it on the ground. The buffalo boy threw his hoop away and cried for the pumpkin. Buffalo Woman said to Corn Silk, "Why can't you tell your boy to let mine play with the pumpkin? You have given many people chapped hands; you have caused many people to grow old from work; you have cut many people about the face with your dry husks. You always want to eat the best part of my body, especially the fat on my bowels."

Corn Silk replied, "You, too, always want to eat some part of my body. In the winter you go south where I came from to eat cornhusks; you eat the

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bodies of human beings." [She meant that when on the buffalo hunt there were instances of death of Indians from enemies or from injuries inflicted by the buffaloes.] 773 539

They scolded each other until Buffalo Woman said, "Get up, Calf!" They started for their home in the north.

When the husband came in, his wife said, "I told you the other wife was jealous. If you want to, you can follow them." He decided to follow and see how his son was getting along and then return to the village.

When he was ready to start, Corn Silk said, "When you get to the place where Buffalo Woman lives, you will get into trouble, but I will help you." He waited two or three days and then went to the place where he was accustomed to sit. He changed himself into a bird and flew in the direction his wife had taken. He changed into one of the small hawks known as the kite. When he got near the place where she lived, he came to large cactus plants as high as the cottonwood trees. Their needles were a foot long. Buffalo Woman and Calf did not stop but went straight into the cactus thicket. The father saw them from above and thought of striking her on the head with his lightning, but the calf was too near her. They were all day going through the cactus brush. That evening they came out and set up their skin tepee, which was almost white in color. The husband changed himself into a human being and went up to the door. His son came out and saw him. He was happy and ran inside to tell his mother. She only said, "Your father is not a very good man. Besides, he couldn't travel through that thick brush."

Calf asked if he could let his father in, but the Buffalo Woman said nothing. The boy ran to the door and said, "Mother wants you to come in." He went in. That night they slept in the tepee. Next morning he awoke to find himself sleeping in a buffalo wallow. His family and the tepee were gone. He could not find any tracks to tell him which way they had gone. He flew up, transformed into a bird, and shortly afterward he jumped a jackrabbit which he killed for his morning meal. He flew high into the air and found his wife and son approaching a large lake. First they would gallop, then they would run. When they reached the lake, the cow jumped into the water and the calf followed. They swam nearly all day and reached the other shore just as the sun was setting. Then they became human beings again and pitched their tepee. The husband came up, was invited in by the little boy, and slept in the tepee just as he had done the night before. Next morning he found the tepee gone as before. He changed into a bird, flew into the air, and again killed a jackrabbit for his morning meal. He found his wife and their son at the foot of a rocky ridge. He could see that she was working hard to get over the high rocks with the calf. It was sunset when they crossed the last ridge. They pitched their tent for the night. The husband stood at the door, but the wife did not think he would come that far, but the son found him and brought him in. The boy gave his share of the roasted buffalo ribs to his father. The boy slept with his father, but he was so noisy that his mother called him back to her bed.

Next morning the husband again found himself sleeping in a wallow with the tepee gone. He killed a jackrabbit for his morning meal and flew into the sky. He found them going through thorn-apple brush with the cow pushing her way ahead with difficulty. When the cow and calf came out of it, the sun was just setting. They pitched their tepee for the night.

She was roasting ribs for the meal when the husband came up. The boy asked his mother if he could give his father some. He took two of them to him

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to eat. (That is why a man today has ribs shaped like a buffalo's.) He slept with his father that night.

He said to his father, "Tomorrow is the day that we are to get home. I have much to tell you. My grandmother is mean. There are ten of us grandchildren. We all look alike and are boys. The first obstacle you will have to overcome is the door. It is one solid rock. If you are a little too fast or too slow, it will fall on you. You will have to find me. If you watch closely, you will see one run against the bed two or three times. That bed is my mother's. If you get in without being killed, grandmother will tell you to hang up your quiver against my mother's bed. If you watch closely, I will rub against it."

The husband changed into the down from his feather. The rock fell to crush him but instead it sucked him into the lodge. Once inside, he changed back to a human being again. He found the mother-in-law to be large, with earrings of live toads. He saw the boy bump into the bed three times, so he hung his quiver up over the bed the boy had bumped into. Then the calves were lined up, and he was asked to find his son, but he recognized him when Calf wiggled his left ear once. Then his son changed into a child again.

The fourth obstacle he was to encounter was that of the sweat lodge. The old woman said, "Calf, your father has traveled far and must be very tired. I am going into the sweat lodge with him."

She put the stakes of the lodge deep into the ground, and the covering was so thick that it was almost impossible to get out. She placed large boulders the size of an earth lodge but reduced, though holding the same amount of heat, in the pit. She hung three buffalo paunches full of water on the side of the door. As he went into the sweat lodge, he picked up a spider and said to him, "I will be burned to death if you do not help me."

He took the spider's body and went with it to the fourth layer under the ground. It was dark in the large earth lodge along the walls. Ten buffaloes were there in the lodge, unseen. They held the sides of the sweat lodge down so none could escape. When she put water on the stones, it was so hot that none could stand it, so she was surprised that her son-in-law should call for so much more water. The spider, speaking for the man said, "Bring more water for your mother-in-law." The toads she wore for earrings were nearly dead from the heat.

She came out of the lodge and the son-in-law came up from the fourth layer of the universe. He said, "That sweat was not warm enough to limber me up. Son,[5] can't your grandmother build another sweat tonight?"

She refused saying, "There is something I am afraid of which has come among us." He conquered death and then lived among them for some time.

One day the old woman came back from visiting a friend. She was crying, and they asked her what was the matter. She said, "They have been burning some dry cottonwood. I asked for some, but they said I had an Indian for a son-in-law. They said, 'Get him to bring some.' "

When she said that, her son-in-law agreed to get it. She said that in a certain ravine there was a dry cottonwood, the only tree of its kind there. All the time, the old woman knew that there was a family of bald eagles living there. He started for the tree; just before he reached it, the eagle saw him and began to send out lightning. He ordered them to stop sending the lightning, and the eagle said, "I thought you was an Indian." The eagle split the wood with his

5. He speaks to his mother-in-law indirectly.

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lightning and the man took it back to his mother-in-law. She took some of it to the people who had refused to give her any, so she said. 773

Some time later, she again came back crying and said her friend had some wolf pups a son-in-law had brought her. The pups were red from the chest up. She said that they had refused to give her any, since she had a son-in-law of her own. Again he volunteered to go out for her, this time for the wolf pups, if he only knew where they were to be found. 539

The mother-in-law said, "One will have to go north until he reaches some Red Buttes; one is higher than the other. The wolf pups are at the foot of the highest butte."

He started on the trip for the wolf pups. When he came to the place, the wolf and its mate came out to eat him, flames shooting out of their eyes. Before they could harm him, he told them who he was. He took two of the pups back alive, and the old woman was amazed that he was not eaten up. She said she was so proud she was going to give one of them to her friend, but actually she turned them loose, for these were some of the servants she had employed to devour her son-in-law.

Her friend, she said, had snow-white beaver cubs, and she wanted one of them, but the friend said she had an Indian for a son-in-law. He went after them for her. She said they were found in a certain lake. When he came near, the beavers switched their tails, and flints flew off chipping pieces of wood and even breaking stones. The man said, "Beavers! Stop that or I will kill you," and they stopped. He took two of the cubs back to the old woman.

Again she came back crying. This time she wanted juneberry sticks for arrows. Buffalo Woman scolded her for asking for so many things. Again she told how her friend's son-in-law had some he was cleaning the bark from with his teeth, but that they wouldn't give her any, telling her she had a son-in-law who was an Indian. Again he went out; this time it was for the sticks to make arrows from. While he was away, she said aloud, "I have put off long enough this matter of destroying him. I am not going to depend on my servants any longer. I am going to kill him myself now."

Before he left, he had inquired where they were, and she had said that they were on the other side of the hill just back of the camp. This was a high hill with a ravine beyond it. The sticks were at the bottom of the ravine. When he began to cut, he remembered that the best sticks were always at the bottoms of ravines. Actually the ravine was the old mother-in-law's rectum, and, when he began to cut, he found himself inside the old woman. She thought he would surely be killed by suffocation so she let up on her hold and then he was free to move about, but he could not get out. He looked through her stomach and saw a corn basket attached to a rope coming from above. He remembered then that his wife, Corn Silk, had said that when he was in trouble she would help him. The old woman thought she had disposed of him and had made a laughingstock of him as well. But he flew up as a swallow and gave the old woman the juneberry sticks, both the straight and crooked ones.

She had been using the other gods to kill her son-in-law. Again she thought she would try it herself. She said to Calf, "Your father has good vision. I am going to see which of us can recognize the island in the lake to the northeast.

He said, "My medicines, I am in trouble. I want you birds of the air to do the seeing for me," and the slender raven said, "I am the only bird with a long vision." (When a man is in trouble, he does not say "my friend" but "my medicines.")

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Raven took his eyeballs out and put them into the man's eye sockets. When he was ready, the woman said, "Let's go up on the lodge and see if you can sight the island."[6] He looked in the direction of the island and proceeded to describe the curves of the shore line and everything else on the island. She said he had described everything correctly.

When making a bet like this, the loser can have a second chance. She said, "Now, give me a second chance by seeing which of us has the better voice." The man went to his medicines again, and Land Gull said, "I am the bird with the clearest voice; use me for your voice."

During the breeding season, the buffalo bulls can be heard for over twenty miles. The woman used the voice of the bull. The old woman and her son-in-law were to be the sole judges of the contest. They separated and were far apart. When the bull bellowed, no sound came to the man. When the bird sounded, its voice could be heard as though it had come from just back of her ears.

Then she thought she could defeat the man in the foot race and thus kill him. Though this old woman lived in an earth lodge, actually the whole world was inside it. The four uprights were the four posts of the universe[7] which held up the sky. The four uprights were to be blackened, and the first to make the rounds of them was to be the winner. He called on his medicines to help him. The lodge was considered to be the earth; the wall was the horizon; the posts were the four uprights which held up the sky. He asked the killdeer bird to make the land between the first two posts boggy, and he called on the small gray fox to run the first stretch for him. The old woman employed four buffaloes, one for each stretch. He called on the red fox to run the second stretch; that land was undermined by the moles, who left just enough soil to hold the fox up but the old woman's buffalo floundered about helplessly. He called on the coyote to make the third run, but nothing was done to the land. He made the last run himself.

The race began. When the buffalo got to the first post, he was far behind. Each time when the buffalo reached the post, he would find it blackened. The man finished the race, transformed into a bird. After he won the race, the man said to the mother-in-law, "I want that prize to take home."

She said, "That is right," and, going to the head of the lodge and taking her wooden digging stick with her, she pried a rock out of its place and spoke down into the hole saying, "All of you come out." The buffaloes came out, but they were hairless and covered with grease. They had no meat, only fat on them.

He thought, "If I take them, my son will not get out." He refused them.

A second herd was called out, but they had long legs, long horns, long manes, and turned-up noses; they ate human beings. He refused them, and they returned into the earth. The third herd called up had long horns, manes that reached the ground, and bushy tails like horses, but they were larger than the others. He refused that herd, so she sent them back. The fourth herd was like the buffaloes we know.

He thought, "Here is a chance to take my wife and child back," so he accepted them.

6. She uses direct address. In extreme circumstances the mother-in-law will address the son-in-law directly.

7. So far as it was possible to determine, this was the only myth referring to the earth as a huge earth lodge. The mouth of Heart River was the fireplace.

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The old woman said, "This is the herd I tried to keep from you, but I am going to make a ruling that, when a white one appears, or a calf is born in the winter, it will be of great value." 773 539

That custom persisted until the buffalo were exterminated. He took the herd home, but let his wife and children [all the cow's sister's children were classified as children] go with the herd. He parted from them, for they were now considered food. This was also the beginning of the custom of a man parting with his wife and child and thinking little about it. This man taught the people that the world was an earth lodge supported by four posts. Thus, in building an earth lodge of the four-post standard, either an eagle lodge or earth lodge, calicoes were given to the posts in commemoration of this event.

When he reached home, the corn was short, for the season was dry; the buffalo herds were far away. He caused it to rain and brought the herds close to the village. All the people prospered and were happy, for the man by his adventures had brought good luck to all the people. By his suffering, he gained powers, and it was for the good of all his people.

Chapter XI

THE SNOW OWL CEREMONY

796 THERE were four separate rituals belonging to this bundle.
778 They were: (1) medicine feast to the owls; (2) arrowmaking rites; (3) buffalo-calling rites; and (4) Holy Woman rites.

Each of these rites relates to a specific section of the sacred myth wherein Black Wolf was taken prisoner by the snow owl. The experiences of Black Wolf in his excursion into the sacred world formed the basis for the performance of the various rites. Although it was not possible to secure a detailed account of a bundle transfer, a number of informants had participated sufficiently in the various rites to secure an adequate picture of the mythological background and pattern of the ceremony in relation to the larger tribal ceremonial pattern.

The medicine feast to the two owls in the bundle followed the regular tribal pattern. Young men going to war would pledge a feast to the owls for success and would receive an article from the bundle to wear into battle. Several times during the bundle-owner's active years, he and those owning rights in the bundle would prepare a "renewal"[1] feast to the bundle. There was the usual period of preparation. To the feast would be invited all leading bundle-owners, who would pray for the success of the giver and receive goods for their part in the ceremony. At the close of the ceremony the bundle-owner and his family would be virtually destitute. Those dreaming of the snow owl and being otherwise eligible by the inheritance rules could buy rights in the owls and have new bundles made up. Sales could be made
796 four times. These subdivisions of main bundles seem to have
778 lost their hereditary character in a few generations.

The arrowmaking rites were associated with the two owls of
411 the bundle, and the arrowmaker's tools were given to Black

1. Renewal feasts were not unique to this bundle alone. All major tribal bundle-owners were expected to give renewal feasts from time to time to enhance the status of the bundles.

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Wolf as payment for his services to these birds in the sacred myth. According to tradition, only those who had purchased the right made arrows. Arrowmaking techniques were taught by certain bundle-owners. It is highly improbable that any living informant at the time this study was made was able to enumerate all bundles with arrowmaking rights. At least the following, which is no doubt only a partial list, had arrowmaking rights: Eagle-trapping; Big Bird; Snow Owl; and Woman Above bundles. All of these bundles were associated with birds of prey. 796 778 411

The belief was that certain men were arrowmakers in early times and that those in need of arrows bought their supply. People without the rights were not allowed to stand around when arrows were being made. Incidentally, pottery-making was also a secret art, and the women bought the rights and knowledge in the techniques of their mothers or clanswomen, using only such designs as they were instructed to make. There was a song to the arrows and another when approaching the thicket where the shafts were secured. The stone tips were believed to have been first secured from the beavers. 796 424 463

The buffalo-calling rites were performed during the winter and were initiated by a young man dreaming of the buffaloes. Woman Living in Dog Den Butte (Buffalo Woman) had said in the myth, "In the future, when any Indian thinks of me, he must make offerings to me and give his wife to the one who is head of this medicine." 796 224

The three officers in the ceremony were (1) the bundle-owner and his wives, who sat to the left side near the head of the lodge and were the singers; (2) a woman impersonating Woman Living in Dog Den Butte, who wore a buffalo robe with hair side out and had sage and magpie tail feathers in her hair, her place being at the head of the lodge; and (3) a man impersonating the brothers who lived in Dog Den Butte; he had red marks painted on his skin indicating the kinds of wounds a man could receive in battle, and his place was on the right side of the lodge near the door. 796

The Okipa lodge was used for the ceremony. After a young man had made the vow, robes and other goods were accumulated for the ceremony. A man received help from his wife, brothers, sisters, clan brothers and sisters, and the people of both his

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796 own and his wife's age-grade societies. During the period of preparation the bundle-owner came to the giver's lodge to instruct in the ceremony and to burn incense near the goods to be given away.

The ceremony was performed during four nights. The approach to the ceremonial lodge was made by four stages. At each stop the giver's wife came over to the group of performers led by the bundle-owner and placed on the ground a buffalo hide with a corn ball and a black stone pipe on it. The robe was taken by one of the party. The party advanced in single file, led by the bundle-owner, with the woman impersonating Woman Living in Dog Den Butte following just behind him. The third in line was the impersonator of the men in Dog Den Butte.

The fourth and last stop was at the door of the Okipa lodge. Men owning bundles containing buffalo skulls were eligible to attend and to sit on the right side of the lodge.

Usually a large number of clan brothers availed themselves of this opportunity to bring their wives and to receive the blessings of the older men. Each such participant brought additional goods for the occasion. The young men's wives were dressed only in their robes, while the woman impersonating Woman Living in Dog Den Butte wore a short buffalo robe with the hair side out. A small turtle shell was tied in place over her pudendal region.

The bundle-owner officiated as singer. The older men, representing buffalo bulls, and the woman, representing Buffalo Woman, were the only ones to dance. At the close of each [837] dance, a young woman would approach a man of her husband' father's clan selected by her husband and ask him to walk with her. He could buy himself off by praying for the success of the young woman and her husband and receive goods or go outside the village for intercourse. Food was passed around from time to time until late in the night when all returned to their respective lodges. The second and third nights' performance was the same as on the first. On the fourth night, the Woman Living in Dog Den Butte presented the giver with a bow and lance before termination of the dances and the man[2] near the door promised the group that all the bad luck to warriors fighting near Dog

2. Big Turtle (also called Black Panther), who represented the Hoita in the Okipa ceremony, held this office by virtue of his position in that ceremony.

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Den Butte would be with the enemy. The performers were then cleansed with sage by the leader and left the lodge. The giver and his wife remained to assist in the division of the goods. Then a man with rights in one of the Holy Woman bundles entered to announce that there were a great many holy women who were always working for the benefit of the Mandan.[3] These women came in dancing and received a part of the goods. 796

The officers of the ceremony, the giver, and his wife went to the bundle-owner's lodge where a sweat lodge was ready. After the cleansing ceremony, all received food prepared by the bundle-owner's wives.

Persons giving the ceremony within the memory of living informants were Standing Bear, Belly Up, Foolish Bear, and Bear on the Flat.

Women could buy the right to wear the buffalo robe, representing Woman Living in Dog Den Butte, and to dance in the Buffalo-calling ceremony. She was also entitled to wear the magpie tail feathers and sage on her head, as well as to carry an ash digging stick when other women representing various Holy Women met to dance. 796 778

A complete bundle contained the following articles: (1) arrow-straightener of buffalo rib with perforations; (2) wooden groover; (3) rawhide with sand glued to it as polisher; (4) grapevine; (5) tanned fawnskin; (6) two feet of white owl; (7) two feet of the small owl; (8) yellow and black clay for painting; (9) one large white-owl wing feather; (10) gray sage; (11) bow and lance; (12) buffalo robe; (13) magpie tail feathers; and (14) plain black elbow pipe. 778

Hits on Back was the only owner of a complete bundle which had come from Nuptadi Village. Inheritance was in the WaxikEna clan, since the ceremony was related to the Okipa. Related items in the bundle could be sold four times, but the last sale was of the entire original bundle. 778 425 614

When sales were made of portions of the bundle, transfer was from father to son or individuals in that relationship.[4] Partial

3. Actually, after the smallpox epidemic, there were few women holding rights in the Holy Women bundles.

4. The practice of transmitting principal bundles within the clan and secondary or partial bundles from father to son is not unique to this ceremony along. See Old Woman Who Never Dies myth (chap. vi) and the Okipa ceremony (chap. iv) for additional data.

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778 425 614 sales were as follows: (1) arrowmaking rights (Items 1, 2, 3, 4, 10); (2) owl rights (Items 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10); and (3) Holy Woman rights (Items 10, 11, 12, 13). The buffalo-calling rights were reserved for the main bundle-owner. There is no evidence of a bundle coming from Mitutanka Village.

SNOW OWL CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[5]

773 539 A long time ago the Mandan were divided up into groups trapping eagles along the creeks west of the Missouri River. They were living in the usual eagle-trapping lodges made on the four-post standard. Black Wolf was one of the party. Being a good hunter, Old Black Bear was glad to have him along. He would go out into the pit whenever the winds were from the west and he was catching many birds. One warm afternoon, when in his pit, he became sleepy and was dozing off when he heard a rumbling sound. He awoke instantly. This same sound occurred on three consecutive days, but each time he woke up. On the fourth day, he was asleep when it occurred.

When he finally woke up, his pit was so dark that he thought night had come. When he touched the roof of his pit, he found that a large rock covered it, holding him prisoner beneath. When he could not get out, he cried. He lost all track of time. At last he saw daylight and was glad to get out of the pit. He found himself in a strange country. He saw a high hill and went there to get his directions again. From there he saw timber farther on, and at the edge of it there was a very small man motioning with his robe for him to come over. He went to the stranger and found him to be a small man, almost a dwarf, with a fair complexion, yellow hair, and a slightly hooked nose. This little man spoke in Mandan, and Black Wolf was glad to hear a voice again. He was invited to a lodge which was a four-post eagle-trapping lodge. There he saw a middle-aged man sitting at the head of the lodge making arrows. The arrowmaker did not speak, but the little man asked him to sit down.

After a while the arrowmaker said to the little man, "My helper, you have brought in a stranger. Prepare food for him."

The little man brought in dried meat and fat which he cooked over the coals. When it was crisp, he placed it on a wooden platter and set it before Black Wolf. Being very hungry, he ate it all up. Then the little man brought him water in a buffalo horn.

When Black Wolf had eaten, the arrowmaker said to the little man again, "It is time for us to eat now." The meat Little Man brought in was from around the sinews of the back. This he pounded up with a stone hammer and made into pemmican. Then he brought out an earthen kettle full of water and set it onto the fire. When the water was hot, he brought out a white substance and put it into the kettle. Then he said, "The meal is ready."

The arrowmaker said, "Bring my paint," and the Little Man ran to obey him. The paint was yellow, and the arrowmaker daubed spots of it all over his body. He tied a scalp on his left wrist, then stood up and danced around the fire to the rhythm of his own breathing. Each time he came to the kettle, he

5. Another version of this myth is recorded in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 149–54.

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sifted a little of the pemmican into it and then ate a little out of the kettle each time around until he had his fill. Little Man did just as the larger man had done.

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At the evening meal, everything happened just as at the previous one.

At the morning meal, the food was prepared as formerly. Black Wolf ate first; the arrowmaker went through the dance as he ate, as before, but added the words, "If you don't bring in the elk, you are a coward."

It was customary for Black Wolf and Little Man to bring the firewood from the timber. While in the woods, Black Wolf asked Little Man what the arrowmaker meant by calling him a coward if he did not bring the elk. Little Man replied, "A large elk lives in a lake far to the north. It comes out of the lake in the middle of the day to take a nap. By my cunning, I always approach him and shave off a small piece of his horns to bring home to cook in the earthen pot we keep by the fire."

Black Wolf said, "I will bring in that elk."

Little Man said, "There are two cranes watching the elk. They cry out, and their voices echo over the whole country whenever anyone approaches."

Black Wolf left immediately in quest of the elk. Toward evening he came to a forest. He thought he would spend the night there and soon found a four-post lodge near the edge of the trees. He went to the lodge and stopped at the door. Inside he heard women talking of digging roots and wild potatoes in the forest. Some said their work was easy; others said it was difficult. They said they were hungry and that one should go outside for the firewood. The one who went out was short, with a long nose, but she was very good-looking. She saw Black Wolf outside and invited him in, but the other women, on seeing him, became so frightened that they ran to the head of the lodge and fell in a pile on the floor. The woman at the bottom of the pile said, "I am smothering. There is nothing to be afraid of. It is only Black Wolf. It is our grandchild who frightened us."

Black Wolf took out a piece of tallow for the grandmothers to grease their hands with and to eat. Some ate theirs; others greased their hands.

When the excitement died down, one of the women asked, "Grandchild, what made you come so far?"

Black Wolf replied, "That is right. I am far from home." Then he related the strange things he had experienced. He told how the rock fell over his pit, how the two men danced as they ate, and how they had called him a coward if he did not bring Elk-with-Antlers. The women listened carefully to all he related.

Then one of the grandmothers said, "Grandchild, this is a dangerous undertaking. If you keep traveling north, you will meet more of your grandmothers [long-nosed mice living in the timber]. When you go, we will follow after you, and you can tell the next grandmothers you meet we are coming to them."

He gave the women a small piece of fat before leaving in the morning. He traveled all day, and toward evening he came to a lodge in the forest. As he came nearer, he saw the smoke coming from the lodge and heard voices inside. Their conversation was also about digging roots and wild potatoes. One of their number was sent out for firewood, and she cried back saying, "An Indian has come to our lodge." All the mice ran to the side of the lodge opposite the door where they formed a huge pile.

One of the number said, "It has been a long time if it was an Indian. She must have been fooling us."

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A second mouse went out to see what was the matter. She called back, "It is Black Wolf. Our grandchild must be on an important errand to be so far from home," so they opened the door, and Black Wolf went in.

One of the women said, "How is it you are up north so far from home? We never expected to see you here." Black Wolf thought of the reception and of the fat in his pockets. One of the mice said, "My lips and hands are chapped." He gave each grandmother a piece of fat. Some used it on chapped hands; others ate theirs. Then he related all that had happened since the rock rolled over his pit, making him a prisoner. When he told them that the grandmothers one camp back were coming, they said that there were more mice farther north and that another day's travel would bring him to them. They asked him to spend the night there. These mice were red-backed with white breasts. Before he left, they said that they would follow him to where the elk lived.

Next morning he went on, and at evening he came to the timber again. There he found a lodge and stood beside the door. Inside he could hear the usual conversation about chapped hands. Soon one of the mice was sent out for firewood and saw Black Wolf. Again they were all frightened and rushed to the back of the lodge to form a pile. The one spoke saying, "It is time the Indian was coming in. She may be fooling us."

Saying this, she went out and saw Black Wolf standing at the door. They were no longer frightened when they saw that Black Wolf had come to their lodge. They told of their chapped lips and hands. He thought of his fat and gave them larger pieces than he had done at the other lodges. These mice were nearly black. They asked the same questions concerning his business in the far north, and he told the same story as before. They said, "One day's journey from here will take you to the other grandmothers. Tell them we are following you to their lodge. We have nothing to say about your errand. It is those at the first lodge whose word is authority."

Black Wolf spent the night there and started on his journey next day at sunrise. That evening at sunset he came to a timber that lay crosswise to the course of his journey and saw a lodge just inside the timber. He heard those inside telling of digging roots and wild potatoes. One of their number was sent out to gather firewood and saw Black Wolf. She called to the others, "There is an Indian at our door." All the mice ran to the back of the lodge. One said, "She must be fooling us. It is time he came in." She went out to find Black Wolf standing there. She invited him in. They questioned him about the reason for being so far from home, and he told them everything.

They said, "That big man who took you after you were held prisoner in the pit is one nobody can do anything with. He captured Little Man to be his slave. There is no way to capture the elk, but, when your other grandmothers arrive, we will talk the matter over and see what can be done. That elk sleeps at noon." These were the moles.

The other mice arrived that evening. First they told him that the elk was white. When the mice were ready, they told him to remain in the lodge. All of them went outside without telling him why. The mice of the first night began a tunnel underground and dug until they were tired; the mice of the second lodge dug on; the mice of the third lodge dug as far as they could; the mice of the fourth lodge finished the tunnel up to the sleeping elk. Then they called Black Wolf to follow the tunnel and kill the elk. Its heart beat was so strong that Black Wolf could hear it. He went up to the sleeping elk and shot four arrows tipped with flint into the heart, and the animal died. When the mice

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dug the tunnel, the cranes set to guarding the elk knew nothing of it so did not let out a cry until it was too late.

The grandmothers advised him to return at once with the elk. Being holy, he made the trip in one day. As soon as he reached the lodge of the two men, he informed the large man that he had killed the elk. He only replied, "Good! We will bring it in." Being birds, they made the trip there and brought in all the meat in one day.

When all the elk was taken into the lodge, the large bird danced around the food before eating. The small portion they used to put into the kettle was the fat from the horns. Now they had all the horns so they were well supplied. At first the large man was satisfied with the meat, but he got tired of it after three meals. They he danced and chanted "If you don't bring the four stripes, you are not a man." He referred to a man who had four stripes painted in his hair.

Little Man was one of the small gray-colored owls about the size of a blackbird found in the timber. Black Wolf continued to gather wood with Little Man. That day he asked what Big Man meant about the four stripes, and Little Man said, "He means that you should go after a man with hair striped white, red, blue, and bright red. This man lives near the ocean. There is no way of reaching him. That is the person Big Man was speaking of."

Black Wolf said, "I will go for him."

When Big Man heard of this, he was very happy, for he had no way of getting the man. Black Wolf changed into a bird and made the flight to the seashore. Then he changed back into a human being again. He walked along the edge of the forest where he saw many tracks of animals. Soon he saw an earth lodge with smoke coming from the smokehole and knew that it was occupied. Without awaiting an invitation, he walked in. There was only one occupant, a woman (the white-tail deer). She said, "What brings you so far from home?" She gave him corn-meal porridge, cooked dried meat, and water. Being hungry, he ate it all up and drank the soup. Again she asked him what brought him to the lodge. He told her of Big Man who took him in; how he sang a song telling of Black Wolf's cowardice if he did not bring in the white elk; and how Big Man now wanted him to bring in the man with the striped scalp.

When he finished, the woman said, "It is a good time to go now, for that man is in love with me."

She wore a dress of buckskin. This she took off and stood naked before him. Then she asked Black Wolf to do the same. Then she rubbed his body until he had her physique. When she came to the calves of his legs where one of the veins looks like lightning, she said, "If I change that vein, you will not run so fast. Now you look just like me except your lower legs. Now you must go to the shore and say, 'Grandfather, my grandmother has ordered you to cross me.' If a snake comes out, tell him he is not the right one, and he will disappear."

He did as she directed. When the first snake came out, there were only red willows on the bank, so he knew it was not the right one. He called again, and the growth on the shore was the small cottonwoods. He said, "Grandfather, you are not the right one."

The snake said, "I am sorry. I came for nothing."

The grandmother had said, "The third one to come out will lay its head on the shore. If the cottonwoods show smooth bark, tell him he is not the one you want, and he will disappear. The fourth time you call, the shore line will be changed to rocky sides and the cottonwoods will be large in circumference

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but not tall, with red willows growing at their feet." She gave Black Wolf eight large corn balls and said, "That snake will say, 'Grandchild, put one of those corn balls into my mouth,' but instead of doing it, put it into the water and let the snake get it himself. All these growths will be on the serpent's head."

When the last snake came to the shore, Black Wolf said, "Come a little closer," and it obeyed. Four times he asked the snake to come closer, and each time the large snake drew its head farther up on the bank. Then Black Wolf jumped and grabbed some red willows to hold onto. He missed the draft that nearly sucked him into the snake's mouth. The snake swam on, since he could not get Black Wolf at the shore. He hoped to swallow the man when he put corn balls into his mouth but, instead, Black Wolf threw them into the water for the snake to get as best he could. Corn balls were thrown into the water four times on the trip, and then they reached shore. There the snake placed his head even with the water, but Black Wolf did not dare to get off and asked him to move farther up the bank. This way, he moved the snake four times so that he was far up on the bank. Black Wolf jumped safely to shore.

At once he dressed in the woman's costume and started for the earth-lodge village. The grandmother had instructed him to look for a lodge facing south, which he had no difficulty in finding, once he reached the village. The young men of the village, playing the hoop-and-stick game, stopped to admire the pretty young woman passing by. One of them said, "She is the prettiest girl to come to this island. No doubt she is going to visit Four Stripes."

He went to the lodge and said, "Here is a woman who wants to come in."

When Four Stripes' mother heard, she went out to the girl and said, "Pretty woman, did you come to see my son?"

Black Wolf said, "Yes." The old woman showed her to a seat. Black Wolf was dressed in an elk robe, mountain-sheep dress, and leggings. He was very beautiful in women's clothing.

The grandmother, in giving instructions, had said, "Four Stripes' mother has the reputation of being a very mean woman."

Black Wolf was given food, and about that time Four Stripes returned. He was very handsome with light complexion and long hair. He was dressed in a beautiful costume. He had just returned from courting the chief's daughter. He carried a long lance in his hand. This he hung up at the head of his bed while he changed his robe. The mother said, "This young woman has come to you, and you better sit beside her and become her husband." He agreed, and they were married.

The mother-in-law sent Black Wolf for water. At the edge of the spring, he found a mountain-sheep horn that was always in motion. It had peppermint growing on its edges. He took the horn, filled it with water, and gave it to Four Stripes. The mother-in-law instructed Black Wolf to return the horn where he found it. He was given food, and, when the two had eaten, they heard a loud noise above. A woman came down through the smokehole. She was a bird with a long neck and on her back carried a sharpened ash pole with which she killed anything she attacked. She was a holy woman. She traveled like a bird and devoured humans as food. Her hair was dark with gray stripes. She was sister to Four Stripes. Also in the lodge was Four Stripes' mother's

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sister (called mother). When the holy woman[6] flew in from the skies, she was surprised to see the woman beside Four Stripes.

The mother said, "Don't you do anything to my daughter-in-law," for this woman was in the habit of eating anyone who came to marry Four Stripes.

Holy Woman said, "If she is a woman, let her stand up like a woman." She meant that she should strip naked. The holy woman asked her to let her arms hang. As it was dark in the lodge, she lit willows to examine Black Wolf. Then she commanded Black Wolf to turn his face from the fire, and then she admitted that there was a resemblance to a woman. She noticed the veins on Black Wolf's legs, and she flew up through the smokehole, saying, "The calves of her legs are not those of a woman."

It was not long until it was time to retire. Black Wolf wanted intercourse with Four Stripes and set the night back four times. Near the end of the fourth night, Four Stripes went to sleep. Black Wolf got up and shook Four Stripes, but he was sound asleep. Then he began to cut the head off with a flint knife. When he came to the fat around the spinal cord, he found that it was a chokecherry branch. He finished cutting the head off and put it inside his dress. He said to the mother-in-law, "I have my periods. I should go outside to sleep while I have them."

The mother-in-law said, "You should go on a scaffold."

"No, I will sleep on the earth-lodge entrance," Black Wolf replied.

The mother-in-law made a covering of robes for Black Wolf. As he walked, blood dripped from the head, and she thought it was from the sickness. He left one of his lice in the bed to impersonate him. He ran to the shore and found the monster still waiting for him.

He said, "Grandfather, I am back." He was nearly sucked into the snake's mouth as he jumped onto its head. He gave out the four corn balls on the way, but they had not reached the shore. The snake asked for flesh from the thigh of Black Wolf's leg. That gave him strength to reach the shore. Black Wolf landed safely and ran to meet the grandmother. She said, "Hurry, take off your clothing." By the same rubbing process, he was returned to his old self again. She forgot to rub under his arm, so that to this day, a man's skin there resembles a woman's.

When the excitement was over, the grandmother said, "Hurry, and try to reach the lodge at Fat Hill (north of Little Missouri River). Don't stop at the entrance but run inside as fast as you can."

He left the grandmother and ran toward the lodge as fast as he could. Just before reaching the lodge, the holy woman in the air said, "The head is drying up. There is no chance for you to get out alive." He ran into the lodge and threw himself out of reach of the large bird. The only person in the lodge was a small boy with a dirty nose; he was playing in the ashes. The holy woman landed a little behind Black Wolf but did not go into the lodge. The little boy was named Bad Bone, the Mandan term for the sternum bone.

The holy woman called into the lodge, "Send Black Wolf out. If any harm comes to him, I will make you suffer." Bad Bone went to the left side of the lodge and rubbed it with his hand, and the lodge immediately changed into

6. Four Stripes' sister. One of holy women entitled to dress up and dance at the close of the Okipa ceremony and to receive gifts whenever a major bundle rite was being performed.

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a solid rock, holding the two inside. The holy woman flew up into the sky and came down with the pointed stick, attempting to chip the stone. Bad Bone caused a crack to appear in the stone, large enough for her to stick her pointed rod into, and then he caused the lodge to go back together, holding the stick and woman prisoner. When the bird was fast, he returned to his playing and did not say a word to Black Wolf. Bad Bone then caused it to rain, and the holy woman became wet and cold. She called to the boy, but he paid no attention to her. Then he caused it to snow, and there was a blizzard from the northwest. She called that she was freezing, and they could hear her shiver. At last she died. Black Wolf went outside, cut her head off, and told Bad Bone that he could eat the body.

He left the lodge immediately, carrying the two heads. He reached Big Man's lodge without further difficulty and presented them to him. Big Man was glad to get the two heads, which he skinned and dried. Before this time, it had been customary for Black Wolf to eat first but Big Man said, "My helper, get something to eat. We will eat together." He tied Four Stripes' scalp on Big Man's wrist and gave the woman's scalp to Little Man to wear on his wrist. When Black Wolf first came, Big Man had a scalp on his left wrist; this he gave to Black Wolf to wear on his left wrist. The three danced around the food before eating.

For several days they danced in this manner before each meal. Each time they ate, part of the elk's horn fat went into the kettle with the pounded meat. Black Wolf and Little Man went for wood each day. One day Black Wolf told of his desire to go home.

When he made his wishes known, Little Man said, "When you get to the lodge, bow your head and make it known that you are homesick. He will ask me what is wrong and you address him Igij'tahE." IgiitahE was the owl that lived in the north. It always faced the wind, no matter how cold and stormy it might be. This owl was almost pure white in color.

When Big Man asked him what was the matter, Black Wolf told him he was lonesome. IgiitahE asked when he wanted to return, and Black Wolf said, "I have brought you all the things you desired, and now I think I have earned my freedom. I want to start for home today."

IgiitahE said, "That is true; you brought me everything I asked for. My last wish is that you stay with us tonight. Your home is not far, and you can reach it in one day."

That evening they ate together and then retired. Early next morning, IgiitahE woke up and asked Little Man to get a meal together, as it would be their last one with Black Wolf. Then IgiitahE asked Little Man to bring the medicine bundle, and the boy gave him the bundle. From the bundle Big Man took a rib with a hole through it. It was one such as is used for straightening arrow shafts and making the grooves. He said to Black Wolf, "See how I make them." He took out a wooden object with a hollow in it to polish the shaft. He put pulverized stone in the groove. The third object was a piece of rawhide tanned in such a way that pulverized stone stuck to it, serving like a sandpaper for smoothing arrows. The pulverized stone clung to the hide by a glue made of boiled sinew. The fourth object was a grapevine the length of the arm and the diameter of the thumb. He also gave Black Wolf a tanned fawnskin, both his spur claws, yellow clay for paint, black clay also for paint, and one of his largest feathers pulled from his wing.

Then he instructed Black Wolf that on the way home he would meet a very

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pretty woman who would say that she heard he was returning. "You should shun her and not even smile at her. She is pretty, but farther on there is a prettier one. The second one will try to attract you and even make advances toward you. Don't smile or talk to her, or she will use her powers over you and take you to her lodge. You will meet four pretty women.[7] You are privileged to talk to the fourth woman, if you are not strong-hearted, for man is not strong that way."

Black Wolf met the three women just as IgiitahE had said he would but passed them all up. Coming to the fourth woman, he saw that she was the most beautiful of them all. He thought of the privilege he had been given, so when she got in his path, he smiled and spoke to her. She invited him to her lodge, saying, "Come, my lodge is over there," and she prepared a meal. Then she asked him to marry her. Looking around, he saw that there were eight beds. He had been warned to be on the lookout all the time, for there were many dangers. He remembered that he had been warned that, in the course of intercourse, he would need the articles give him by IgiitahE. As they lay there, something tried to bite him. He used the rib employed in manufacturing arrows and the vaginal teeth chewed it to pieces. Next time the teeth tried to bite him, he used the two wooden tools for smoothening arrows; the third time he used the rawhide sandpaper which it took a long time to chew up; the fourth time he used the grapevine, which it chewed on for a long time. Then he had normal intercourse.

Shortly afterward, one of the men returned to the lodge. This lodge was the Dog Den Butte. The other six men came back soon afterward. Each time one of the men came in, he noticed an outsider in the lodge and would say, "Hurry and make us a meal of that animal you have just devoured."

The sister would say, "You can't eat this one; he is your brother-in-law." It had been customary, when killing a man, for the sister to bite off the penis, and then the brothers would eat the corpse. It was the custom of these brothers to lead the Mandan into the vicinity of Dog Den Butte, where, when a battle took place with the enemy, one of the warriors would be killed. These seven brothers would then take the corpse into Dog Den Butte and eat it. When the seven brothers could not induce their sister to give up Black Wolf, they said, "We are going to have a dance. Let Black Wolf dance with us."

She warned Black Wolf, "Do not dance with them, or they will eat you."

He only replied, "Since my brothers-in-law want me to join their dance, I will."

"But they will kill you," his wife replied. Black Wolf insisted that he could dance like them and thus be safe from harm. He put on a costume like Big Man had given him and braided his hair into a knot on the top of his head. He used the wing feather, yellow clay and black clay, tying the spurs of the white owl to each wrist; he slung the fawnskin over his shoulders. He made a pretty sight with his body painted yellow and spotted with the black clay. When the dance began, some of the dancers threw off their heads, others their stomachs, hearts, and even legs.

Black Wolf dressed in his bed. When ready for the dance, his wife said, "Your brother-in-law is coming out." They stood beside his bed ready to seize him when he appeared. Instead, he threw the fawnskin out, which, coming to life, frightened the brothers. Black Wolf impersonated the white owl and

7. In order these women were: White-Tail Deer. Black-Tail Deer, Elk, and Buffalo.

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screeched. The seven brothers ran away, leaving portions of their bodies they had been holding in their hands.

Black Wolf said, "I am very sorry they wanted me to take part in this, for they are all afraid of me."

The brothers begged the sister to get Black Wolf to give them back the pieces of their bodies deserted in the wild scramble for the door. One by one the dancers overcame their fright and ran into the lodge, seizing the lost parts. Black Wolf told them he had taken off his costume so they were safe in returning to the lodge. The brothers gathered around the fire, but they still feared Black Wolf. Each time he moved they would rush out of the lodge.

Black Wolf said, "I was on my way home when you brought me in. Now I must go home." At this time Black Wolf noticed an old bow with a knotted string, also a lance with a warped handle, and a quiver full of holes hanging over the door. He thought there must be some reason for the things hanging there. The brothers gave him his choice of the three, and he saw that his wife wanted to speak to him so he listened to her before making a choice. She whispered, "The important articles are at the farther end. If you take one of the two, you are making a good selection."

Black Wolf said to the brothers-in-law, "You have been good to me, but I am not worthy of taking your best, so I will take the bow and lance."

He left immediately, but the wife said, "Wait."

The brother-in-law said, "You did not take the best."

Another said, "You have given him his choice, and you should let it go at that."

Another said, "It is the custom for a married woman to go with her husband."

Another said, "No, she is the one who gets us food when we fail to bring in meat."

The brothers all agreed that she should say something to her husband before he left. She said, "You must go home and marry any kind of woman, even if she is not honorable. Then leave her for another. Do this four times, for I want to be jealous four times. When you go home, I will stay here and perform ceremonies. When you prepare for the ceremony, my brothers and I will be there. The chief will ask you to his lodge and offer you his daughter. Your answer will be 'I have important work to perform, and, when I get it done, I will take her.' "

When they were ready to let him go, she took four bundles apart and asked him to walk on them with his eyes shut and to open his eyes when he stepped on the last one. Then he would be home. He did as directed, and on the fourth step he reached home.

Word went around the village that Black Wolf was back. The chief heard of it and invited him to his lodge, saying, "During your absence, we have had hard times. I want you to marry my daughter so times will be better."

Black Wolf said, "I have come home to perform some very important business. I must complete that task. After that, I will consider marrying your daughter." That same night he married a girl from a poor family and word went around that he was foolish to marry the poor girl when the chief had offered him his daughter. Next morning the wife was found dead, and Black Wolf married a second wife the same day. She, too, died the next morning, and he married a third wife, who died on the morning following her marriage. He married four wives, and all of them died.

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Then he was free to marry the chief's daughter, for he knew that the woman in Dog Den Butte had had her jealousy satisfied. (To this day, it is believed that when a man loses many wives, it is due to the jealousy of the woman living in the Dog Den Butte.) He was married and lived in the chief's lodge. Black Wolf had promised that, when he returned to the village, he would perform the ceremony. The property necessary for the ceremony included over one hundred buffalo robes and one white buffalo robe. When he left the Dog Den Butte, he did not take the old bow and lance, for his wife in the Dog Den Butte had said, "When you give the ceremony, I will deliver the things to you."

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When he made the sacrifice of robes to the people in the Dog Den Butte, they knew that the time had come. The chief's daughter removed her clothing and carried a plain black pipe. The people from the Dog Den Butte made four stops coming to the village so the girl was sent with the pipe, corn balls, and a robe to meet them at each stop. The robe was given them at the first stop, but they also received one at the door of the chief's lodge. When they made their last stop, they were at the door of the lodge, and all entered. Someone laid the robe on the floor, and the people from the Dog Den Butte laid Black Wolf's bow and lance on it. The sacred dances then commenced. The woman from Dog Den Butte was naked with a small robe over her shoulders, and a turtle shell over her pudendal region. The dance was very suggestive. They danced continually through the ceremony. Then the woman took up the bow and lance, which she gave to Black Wolf. The woman and each of her brothers took turns promising Black Wolf success in warfare and in taking scalps.

The brothers said, "You will be chief of this village and never have any bad luck."

The woman said, "In the future, when any Indian thinks of me, he must make offerings to me and give his wife to the one who is head of this medicine."

That was the way the custom of "giving the wives" began, and it has continued down to its present keeper, Little Owl. All the sacred objects are kept. The ones making the ceremony within memory of those living are Standing Bear, Belly Up, Foolish Bear, and Bear on the Flat. The last person to impersonate the woman of Dog Den Butte was Flat Bear's grandmother, Brave Woman. She is called Woman Living in Dog Den Butte. In the last dance a man by the name of Big Turtle was on one side of the door. He had marks painted in red clay showing the kinds of wounds an enemy might inflict on the Mandan. A young man wanting to be lucky would go to him and ask for the privilege of striking an enemy. Then, when he was successful, he paid the man for sending him good luck.

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Chapter XII

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY

796 THE ceremony is called HapminakE, meaning "Day Boat"
778 or "Day Traveler." At least five distinct Mandan bundle lines were in existence in 1837, represented by Arrowhead Earrings (custodian of the Okipa lodge), who sold to his daughter, Spring Woman, and her husband, who sold to Calf Woman, principal contributor of data on this ceremony; Bull Otter, who sold to his son, Clam Necklace, who sold to his son Ole Bull (still living); Short Bull, whose bundle was bought by his daughter, Diamond Snake, who sold to her son, Percy Baker (still living); Red Buffalo Cow, who sold to his daughter, Antelope Woman; Four Bears, who died during the smallpox epidemic of 1837 without making a sale, although one son dreamed of the Old Woman Above and dressed as a woman thereafter. This is a greater number of bundle lines than it was possible to identify for the Hidatsa villages. The Arrowhead Earrings bundle was inherited in the clan and was considered the principal or original bundle. The other bundles were sold from father to son.

796 The ceremony was performed to the Sun, Moon, and Old
782 Woman Above, their mother. Some bundle lines included rites
776 to Old Woman Above's daughter,[1] an evil spirit who was blamed for much of the tribe's misfortunes. The ceremony differs in function from most ceremonies in that it was performed to ward off misfortunes sent by these evil mythological gods. Other sacred beings are either neutral or helpful, but not so with the Sun or his sister. They were cannibals and brought miscarriages, insanity, twisted faces, droughts, death, and misfortunes to the people. Ceremonies were rites of appeasement. The Sun was a cannibal who brought death to members of war parties and carried their bodies to his mother's lodge above, where she prepared them for his meals. He would not, however, knowingly

1. Called Omahank-Chika by Maximilian (see *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIII [Cleveland, 1906], 302).

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eat those he had sent dreams to or those who had his bundles 796
and gave feasts or offerings of goods to him regularly. The pres- 782
ence of so many bundle lines, both original and secondary, sur- 776
viving the smallpox of 1837, indicates the popularity of such bundles.

This was a very difficult bundle ceremony to secure informa- 778
tion about. All tribal ceremonies were secret. The difficulty in
securing information on this ceremony was based on fear of 124
death. Calf Woman explained that, since she had joined the church and was not likely to sell rights in her other bundles four times, she was always willing to explain things in her other bundles. She had described everything Wilson and Lowie asked of her and never felt fear of the loss of good fortune.[2] She added:

> I showed you the masks yesterday that belonged in the Okipa ceremony. 778
> Of course, I smoked pine branches before I opened the bundle, but I always
> do that. I don't feel the same way about the Peope Above bundle. The Moon 776
> in the bundle doesn't worry me, but Sun is an evil spirit. He brought death to our warriors. My first husband was killed on the warpath even though his father and mother had a People Above bundle which together with my husband's sisters we would have had rights had he lived. So, you see, sometimes the Sun will even kill his own. It may be that the Sun had already blessed the enemy and adopted him as a son was why my husband was killed. This Old Woman Above is mean, but she is fair. Her daughter is evil; she causes men to leave their wives and little children; she causes insanity, fits, and feeblemindedness. People are always careful to follow the rules belonging to these bundles, or their neighbors blame them when someone breaks a leg or has a tree fall on him. I worried last night because I had promised to tell you the myth.

Wolf Chief expressed the same fears when asked to explain 124
the Hidatsa ceremony to Woman Above. That there was a rich 776
ritualism connected with these bundles is evident from isolated data appearing in other sacred myths. There are a number of qualified informants, but to date it has been impossible to secure complete information from them. Variations no doubt existed between villages and even in bundle lines within the same village, but this could not be determined, since such information was not obtainable from Calf Woman.

Bundle purchase followed the normal tribal pattern. The in- 778
struction was directly between seller and buyer, which, when
completed, was followed by a medicine feast at the time the 425
transfer was made. Attendance was limited to persons with

2. Gilbert L. Wilson and Robert H. Lowie.

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778 bundles containing articles representing sacred beings believed
425 to be living in the world above, which would include People Above bundles, Star, and Holy Women bundles.

778 Bundle-owners doctored for insanity, feeble-mindedness, spasms and fits, premature births, and paralysis. Payment was
755 made if the patient recovered, or, when the case was given up as hopeless, the relatives requested that the doctor continue his efforts. Pine needles were burned as incense, and the Black Medicine root was chewed and blown over the victim. The songs were sung while using a large gourd rattle.

778 Calf Woman believed that the bundles were primarily war bundles because the Sun was a cannibal who brought war parties together and had some killed so he could eat them. Men having the Sun as their god believed that it would be the enemy who would be killed.

778 One could sell rights in the bundle four times but usually reserved singer rights and the rattle for the oldest daughter and
425 her husband. Women buying with the husband held Holy Woman rights to Old Woman Above and were entitled to wear magpie feathers and a braid of sweet grass and to carry an ash digging stick when attending a medicine feast.

772 Calf Woman added this general information about the beliefs associated with the ritual of the ceremony:

The world is in three layers: above world; the land we live on; and the lower land. First Creator and Lone Man created the land we live on. These lands and the sky are held apart by four large posts, for the universe is a large earth lodge. The earth is floating on water which separates it from the lower land because water comes out of the ground. There are people living on these three lands.

821 Sun dies during an eclipse. When there is a total eclipse of Sun, those with People Above bundles, which always includes Sun, burn pine spills that come from the Rocky Mountains, while all the people cry. Even the dogs cry. If the people are on the march when Sun dies, they stop to cry until Sun comes back to life. Sometimes Sun is sick, and then only part of the sun is dark.

Comets and constellations are people who once lived on the earth as holy people. The people were getting careless and broke the rules and did not treat these holy people right, so they went back to the sky and are making their home there now. When one sees a star going across the sky, it is because it is changing places, traveling as an arrow.

838 I saw three men who dressed like women; one was a Mandan, a brother to Four Bears;[3] the other two were Hidatsa. If a man dreams of the Holy Women and later finds a rope or porcupine quills in the forest, that is a sign that these

3. Four Bears also had a son who dressed in women's clothing.

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women want the man to pick it up. If he picks it up, but few do, he dresses like a woman. 838

There are three women, one in each of the three places where Sun stops to smoke. They are his sisters. Their names are Sunrise Woman, Above Woman, and Sunset Woman. They are all evil women. Because Sun is my god, I have the right to give children such names as Lone Woman from Sun's mother, Buffalo Woman from the buffalo skull, Digs Turnips or Chokecherry Tree from the Bear. 776 553

Although the woman represented in the Shell bundle is one of the Holy Women, rights in the People Above ceremony did not carry rights in the Shell bundle. 778 776

These Holy Women cause twisted faces and insanity, and people with rights in the bundle can cure them. I have the right also to doctor those thrown from horses or hit with an ash stick. This right comes from the People Above bundle. [753] [828]

The myth Calf Woman had been taught when buying the bundle was as follows: 773 539

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY CALF WOMAN

Three people go together in this story; they are Sun, Moon, and Old Woman Above. A long time ago a young woman named Corn Silk wanted to marry Sun. She went to a very old woman, who was a Holy Woman, to get instructions as to where Sun lived and how she might reach him. This Holy Woman said, "Your grandmothers, the mice, are living on the prairies. You can stop at their earth lodges each night on the way."

She started on her journey and came to the home of the lodge mice about sundown. She walked up to the lodge and stood outside. One of the children who came outside saw her and ran inside to tell the mice about it. The old women told the little mouse to invite her in. She asked the woman who was doing the cooking to prepare Corn Silk some ground beans for her supper. The young woman had buffalo fat along; she gave some of it to the mice to use, for their hands were chapped from digging beans. She also had some blue stone beads along, and she gave some of them to the old women. She slept there and the next morning went on.

The lodge mice told her that there was another family of mice a little farther on. She reached them at sunset. They were the white-breasted mice. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads as before. She also gave them fat for their chapped hands. One of the old women asked her where she was going, and she replied that she was on her way to marry Sun. They told her she would find another family of mice a little farther on.

She traveled all day and reached the lodge of the mosquito mice at sunset. One came out and saw her, and she was invited in as before. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads and buffalo fat.

They inquired, "Where are you going, my beautiful grandchild?"

She answered, "I am on my way to marry Sun."

She slept until morning and ate her breakfast with the mice. She traveled all day and reached the home of the pocket gophers at sunset. They saw her,

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and she was invited in. Each of the pocket gophers had a little clay pot cooking in the fire.

The head woman said, "The first cooked beans must be given to our grandchild."

Corn Silk had some corn balls with her, and she gave each old woman one of them with the buffalo fat. They asked where she was going, and she told of her trip to marry Sun.

Next day she traveled on until she reached the lodge where Sun lived. She stood at the door. Sun's mother, Old Woman Above, came out and saw the beautiful girl. Sun and Moon each owned a side of the lodge. Old Woman Above called her in and sent her to Moon's side of the lodge instead of Sun's.

About this time a Cheyenne woman came up from below, and Old Woman Above took her to Sun's side. Sun was on the inside of the lodge and knew all that was going on outside of the lodge. He saw that his mother was cheating him. He told his mother about it, but she said that not many women came to be the wife of Moon. Old Woman Above brought in the Cheyenne woman and said to Sun, "Here is your wife."

Moon said, "Mother, cook something for your daughters-in-law."

Sun was a cannibal, so Old Woman Above cooked human hands, ears, and skin which the Cheyenne woman helped Sun eat.

They had been married some time when the women knew that they were to have children. Moon told his wife he had a nest in a tree and asked Corn Silk to give birth to her child there, for Sun was fierce and would otherwise eat the baby. She had only to make the motion of jumping up to the nest, and she was there. Moon's wife gave birth to a boy. She and her baby were safe in a tree.

Shortly afterward, Sun's wife gave birth to a boy also. Sun picked it up and licked it like a buffalo licks her calf. Both parents were proud of their baby boys. Moon would go out in the evening and come back in the morning just when Sun was leaving. Sun said that he did not want the children to be babies all the time, and Moon agreed with him. Moon was afraid of Sun, since Sun would play with the children while Moon was away during the night. Moon knew that Sun had done something to his son, so he looked in the baby's mouth, where he found pieces of skin from humans Sun had been feeding him.

Sun said the babies should sit up, and they sat up; that they should walk, and they walked; that they should run around, and they ran around. That way they were full grown in a short time, and Sun gave the boys names. Moon's child was named Prairie Dog Owl. Sun's child was named Game Piece Stone.

Sun said, "Our boys are grown up, so I am anxious to have some people to eat."

When Moon went out that night, Sun had the boys play the gambling game. Old Woman Above watched closely every moment of the time. Moon's boy won the game but Sun said to play it over again; again Moon's boy won, and a second time Sun said to play it over. They played the game over four times, and each time Moon's boy won, but each time Sun said, "My boy has won the game."

Old Woman Above said, "Moon's son won every time."

They quarreled, and Sun said, "You always help Moon."

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Old Woman Above replied, "Moon's boy won every time, and you always want to take it away from him." 773

In every game there was something bet. Once Moon's boy bet a Mandan household and Sun's boy bet his Cheyenne mother's ten brothers. When Moon came back, Old Woman Above told of the affair. 539

Moon said to his wife, "I will lengthen the night four times. You put a flea on the bed and tell it to talk to Sun, who will think it is you. Try to get to the village you came from with the boy. There you will be safe. The flea will tell the story over and over taking your place for four entire nights."

Moon's wife started back toward her village, and, while she traveled on through a night four nights long, the flea began the story. He told how Corn Silk went to the holy old woman to learn how she could get to Sun; how she visited and spent the nights with the mice for one night on the way; how she inquired the way to Sun's lodge and eventually found it.

About that time Sun became nervous because morning did not come. Then Moon added another night, and the flea told of the second night Corn Silk had spent with the mice.

Sun wondered why morning did not come again and said, "Something must have happened; it ought to be morning."

Moon set the night back a third time, and the flea told of the third night Corn Silk spent with the mice. The fourth night Corn Silk spent with the pocket gophers, the flea explained to Sun. Then the flea told how Corn Silk came to the lodge and Old Woman Above put her on Moon's side even though she came to marry Sun. The flea told of her marriage with Moon and Sun's marriage with the Cheyenne woman. By that time it was daylight.

Moon, who was also a large bird, one of the Thunderbirds, came back but not to the lodge. Instead he sat on a high cliff. He painted and prepared for war and flew around looking for the Cheyenne woman's ten brothers who were on their way to attack the village where Corn Silk's people lived. He found them and killed them with one flash of lightning. Just as soon as the ten men were killed, the Holy Women (magpies) who were evil spirits came and ate the meat from the bodies. Sun's child was among the ten. Moon's child cut the head off of Sun's child, but he had to put fire on him to kill the body completely. Moon had said that it was the only way Sun's child could be completely killed. He saved the head from Sun's boy. When Corn Silk and her son reached Prairie Chicken River, Moon's son ordered the Prairie Chickens to come together so that they formed a bridge with their beaks for the two to cross over on. The birds did as he ordered, and, when the boy was in the middle of the river, he dropped the head into the water and said, "Grandfather [Snake], I am making an offering of Sun's boy's head to you."

The two reached their village, and the people were proud of them and sang songs of praise because the boy's father had killed their enemies, the Cheyennes. They put him above all the others in the tribe and eventually made him their war chief.

By that time, Sun awoke and knew something had happened. He went to the spot where the bodies lay. There he found his son's ashes and put them together. The little boy jumped up without a head and fell down again. Sun then went to the spot where the Cheyenne had been killed, but only one skinny skeleton remained uneaten by the evil spirits

Moon's wife had a lodge of her own where she lived with her son. He had

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773 539 a pile of stones on a high hill, and he went there to sit nearly every day. Since his father was a Thunderbird, he liked to sit on high places and sing his sacred songs.

778 Calf Woman's bundle contained these articles (see Fig. 40): (1) copper ring representing Old Woman Above; (2) copper ring representing Sun; (3) copper crescent representing Moon;[4] (4) one large gourd rattle; (5) six magpie tail feathers (the Holy Women were identified by these magpie feathers); (6) twelve owl tail feathers (the owl was associated with the moon and the

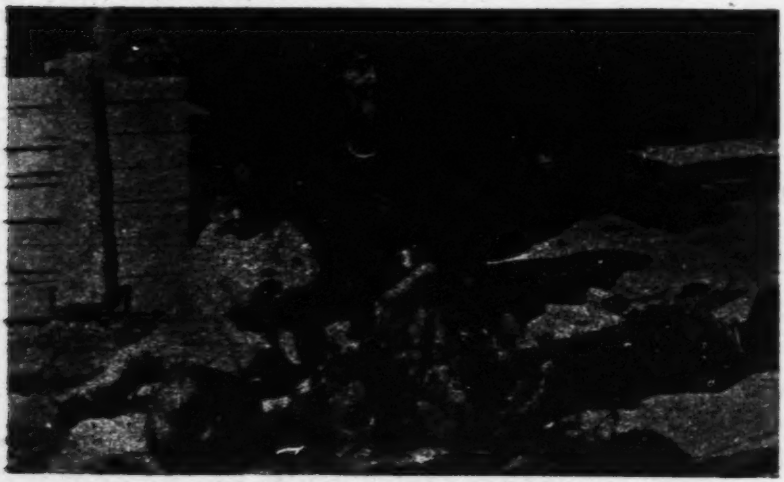

FIG. 40.—People Above bundle with owner, Calf Woman, and her grandson

night); (7) human scalp, said to be one that was taken from a Cheyenne Indian, killed by Moon when his son escaped; (8) left arm of a grizzly bear, used in the ceremony, since Corn Silk and her son did not have time to get a forearm of one of the Cheyenne; (9) grizzly bear's skull;[5] (10) tuft of long hair from a buffalo bull's lower jaw; (11) a strip of hide from a buffalo calf's head; (12) long hair from a buffalo's foreleg; (13) buffalo left horn; (14) a buffalo skull.[6] (The buffalo was represented in the

4. The three copper objects were obtained from white traders.

776 5. Scattercorn explained that the Holy Women were the only ones who could master a grizzly bear and compel it to work for them carrying wood from the forests. The significance of this skull was not clear to the informant. She thought that it had been added by a former owner and was not a true part of the bundle.

6. The rites were of major bundle status.

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bundle because Corn Silk also married a buffalo); and (15) one stuffed jackrabbit, which served as a scout for Sun. 778

Bundle-owners had shrines on the prairies near the village which they were expected to maintain. Whenever these shrines became weathered and the images of Sun, Moon, and Woman Above had fallen down, the bundle-owner, someone who had either dreamed of the bundle, or one planning to lead a war expedition, pledged a feast to the People Above bundle (see Fig. 41). Bundle-owners also put on renewal feasts to their bundles several times during middle age.

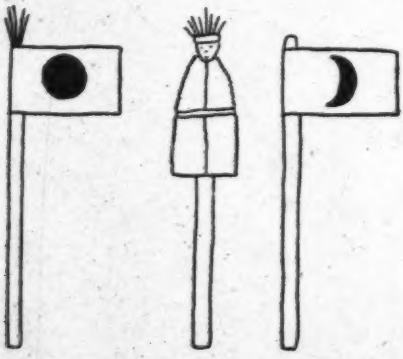

FIG. 41.—Images of People Above characters: Sun, Old Woman Above, and Moon

Calf Woman, who lived in the Okipa lodge with her parents and Arrowhead Earring (her mother's father), who was custodian of the lodge, observed a bundle renewal ceremony in which Clam Necklace and his wives gave a feast for his bundle. 796 431

CALF WOMAN'S NARRATIVE OF A BUNDLE RENEWAL CEREMONY

Bears Ghost was asking my mother for the lodge [Okipa lodge]. He wanted to give the Snake ceremony [secondary bundle belonging with the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles] for his parents, Foolish Chief and Dressed Up, from whom he was buying, when Clam Necklace came to ask for the lodge to give the People Above ceremony to his own bundle. He gave my mother several fine robes for the use of the lodge. He needed it for one day and night. She was glad that he was giving a feast to his own bundle, since he was a young man just building up his reputation. She had one of those bundles, and feasts like that gave her credit. He hung the robes on a line around the six central posts [see Fig. 42].

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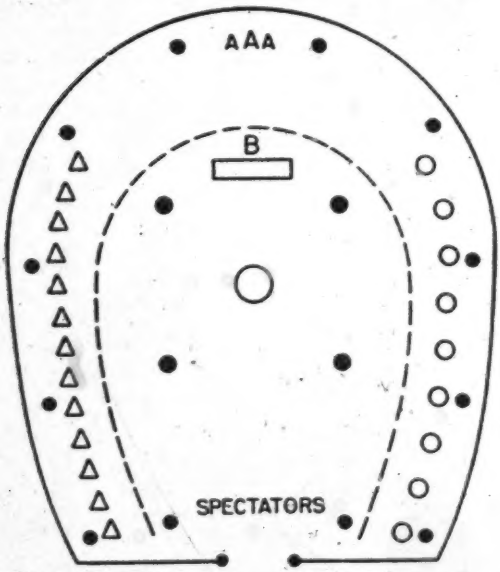
The older men and women of the tribe arrived shortly after dark. When it was time for the ceremony to begin, Clam Necklace came into the Okipa lodge with his face painted white except for a red half-circle extending from the cheeks across the forehead. In his hair he wore two bunches of sage, one white and representing the sun, the other black and representing the moon. He carried a robe and the ceremonial bundle, which he laid out on a bench at the back of the lodge. On his way to the back of the lodge, he gave his bundle to Stands Yellow to pray to, and she took one of the robes as payment. His two wives followed him to the back of the lodge.



△—Male participants
○—Female participants
●—Lodge posts
A—Giver and his wives
B—The sacred bundle
——Robes suspended on line

FIG. 42.—Lodge arrangement for People Above ceremony

First he chewed Black Medicine and blew it over himself and his wives; then he opened the bundle and spread the contents out on the robe laid on the bench. Although he took charge of the ceremony, his wives helped him in the singing. He burned pine needles brought from the Rocky Mountains. He sang the medicine songs through as he opened the bundle. As soon as the bundle was opened, the singing stopped. He placed food on the end of a stick and offered it to things in the bundle, after which all the visitors ate food passed around by his wives.

When the food was all eaten, Clam Necklace took a robe down from the roof, placed some object from the bundle on it, and called the name of the person to whom he presented the robe. The receiver of the gift prayed to his personal medicine objects to send good luck to the giver, then returned the medicine object, retaining the gift. When the robes were all given away, horses, dogs, calicoes, knives, moccasins, and dresses were given away. Each person receiving a gift prayed for the success of the giver. Clam Necklace gave presents to twenty-six people, fifteen of whom were women.

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People receiving goods were:

Women	Men
Big Chief Woman	Wolf Ghost
Spring Woman	Crows Breast
Lone Woman	Big Foot Bull
Hides and Eats	Afraid To Be Chief
Stays Yellow	Red Buffalo Cow
Unborn Calf Woman	Bull against Wind
Penned Up	Red Shield
Goes Out	Small Ankles
Owl Woman	Awaxniax (?)
Beaver Woman	Belly Up
Different Corn Silk	Broken Ax
Feather on Head Woman	
Otter Woman	
Eagle Woman	
Cedar Woman	

After the gifts were all presented, the people went home. Clam Necklace and his two wives went outside the village near the scaffolds for the dead and put up three new images, one of the Sun, one of the Moon, and another of the Old Woman Above. 796 778

The image of the Sun consisted of a round red disk painted on white calico or hide. Chokecherry brush was lashed to the top of the pole. The Old Woman Above image was made of a robe, hair side out, wrapped around an ash pole, with a piece of black hide for the face and white sage for the hair. It was tied to the pole with a belt which held the image in place. Moon's image was a red crescent painted on a white calico or hide lashed to an ash post [see above, Fig. 41]. The images were set up before sunrise.

Bundles having Old Woman Above's daughter represented added a fourth image. Instead of placing the images in a row with mounds in front of Sun's and Moon's images, the four images were placed at four corners of a square with the mounds in the center. White sage was set into the ground at the apex of the mound representing the Sun and black sage on the other mound representing the Moon. When two buffalo skulls were placed at the shrine, one was a bull's and the other a cow's skull. When four skulls were used, they were bull's skulls and represented buffaloes of the four seasons. These shrines became fasting places to which were brought skulls of relatives taken from the scaffolds. Enemies whose skulls lay on the prairies were brought to these shrines by those fasting there. Children's skulls were not placed in these circles. 778 764 [727]

The presence of enemy skulls in these circles was not unusual. Men fasting on the hills often collected the skulls of their enemies or went to the spot where the body lay to seek visions. 778 727 778

Maximilian referred to these shrines when he wrote:

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778 The Mandans have many other medicine establishments in the vicinity of their villages, all of which are dedicated to the superior powers. Mr. Bodmer has made very accurate drawings of those near Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, one of which consists of four poles placed in the form of a square; the two foremost have a heap of earth and green turf thrown up round them, and four buffalo skulls laid in a line between them, while twenty-six human skulls are placed in a row from one of the stakes at the back to the other; some of these skulls are painted with a white stripe. Behind the whole a couple of knives are stuck into the ground, and a bundle of twigs is fastened at the top of the poles with a kind of comb, or the teeth of a rake, painted red. The Indians repair to such places when they desire to make offerings or put up petitions; they howl, lament, and make loud entreaties, often for many days together, to the lord of life, which the French Canadians call weeping, though no tears are shed. A similar medicine establishment is represented where a couple of figures, very clumsily made of skins, were fixed upon poles, representing, as we were told, the sun and moon, probably the lord of life and the old woman who never dies.[7]

Catlin, who describes similar skull circles and mounds, writes:

When the scaffolds on which the bodies rest, decay and fall to the ground, the nearest relatives having buried the rest of the bones, take the skulls, which are perfectly bleached and purified, and place them in circles. . . . There are several of these "Golgothas" or circles of twenty or thirty feet in diameter, and in the centre of each ring or circle is a little mound of three feet high, on which uniformly rests two buffalo skulls (a male and female); and in the centre of the little mound is erected a "medicine pole," about twenty feet high, supporting many curious articles of mystery and superstition, which they suppose have the power of guarding and protecting this sacred arrangement. Here then, to this strange place do these people again resort, to evince their further affections for the dead—not in groans and lamentations however, for several years have cured the anguish; but fond affections and endearments are here renewed, and conversations are here held and cherished with the dead.[8]

778 172 Catlin refers to the frequent visits to these shrines by the women, which was verified by Calf Woman. She added that the single mound and offering was to Sun's sister, one of the evil Holy Women. People sometimes placed skulls around her shrine also. This practice of assembling fasting shrines composed of images, mounds, and skulls was employed by the Hidatsa after moving to Like-a-Fishhook Village and was reported by both Wolf Chief and Bears Arm. Whether this practice was employed at the Knife River villages has not as yet been determined by actual archeological investigations. The Heart River Mandan sites have an abundance of disarticulated human bones, other

7. Maximilian, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

8. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 151–53.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

than skulls, which usually appear singly in refuse heaps, pits, or shallow graves.

Women took an active part in these ceremonies. Calf Woman thought that it was because they did not want their gardens burned by Sun, who she said once tried to marry Waving Corn. (People never prayed to the sun to bring warm weather. When the winter was severe, they prayed to Lone Man of the Okipa to come as the south wind.) When he was refused, he came four times, and each time the plants withered. Women would fast at these shrines to save their crops and ask help for their men away on the warpath.

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Chapter XIII

THE SHELL ROBE BUNDLE

778 THIS bundle was spoken of as the Shell Robe of the Holy Women to distinguish it from other Holy Women bundles. Traditionally, the robe originated in Yellow Dog's village of Awatixa and reached the Mandan by intermarriage a long time ago, while the Mandan were still living in the Heart River region. The bundle consisted of a tanned piece of elkhide approximately two feet square to which were attached pieces of human scalps and clam shells set in rows. The hair had been removed from the hide, and a piece of scalp and a clam shell were fastened together in some manner not clear to informants, before being attached to the robe. A star representing the morning star was painted on the center of the robe. The bundle also contained magpie tail feathers, a braid of sweet grass, an ash digging stick, a buffalo-bull skull, and a plain wooden pipe. These, except the buffalo skull, were kept in a buffalo-hide sack. The bundle was one of a number having its mythological origin from the Holy Women, being so identified by the presence of magpie tail feathers, braids of sweet grass, and the ash digging stick.

778 This was the most widely known of the Holy Women myths. Those having other Holy Women bundle rights could sell the
773 story independently of the Shell Robe bundle. Bear on the Flat,
726 whose mother had rights in the Woman in Dog Den bundle, claimed rights in this bundle by virtue of rights in a Holy Woman bundle. This was primarily a war bundle, and feasts given by men leading war parties were of frequent occurrence. The feasts entitled them to have an image erected before the giver's lodge and to have given them some article from the bundle by the Shell Robe owner. The article was carried on war expeditions and prayed to during the performance of the war rituals when away from the village. The number of feasts that could be given or the number of times articles associated with the bundle could be given out was unlimited. The blessings of the Holy Women

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

were sought, since these women went out at night, according to the myths, to fight and to incite fights between the Mandan and their own people or the enemy in order to have people to eat. They were described as cannibals in all the myths. 778 726 773

The peculiar ceremonial pattern and traditional history of the bundle, in a large measure, explained the general knowledge of the myths belonging to the ritual. The bundle-owner and his wives could sell the story. Owners of all bundles in which were represented Holy Women, consisting of Buffalo Woman, Old Woman Above (Sun's mother), Woman in Dog Den Buttes, Old Woman Who Never Dies, and Striped Scalp (Sun's sister), were included in this group. Traditionally, the myth survived when the Hidatsa sold the bundle. Those who had bought the right to hear the story could in turn retell when payment was made. Those who had made offerings to the robe could learn the story and retell it upon payment of goods. The bundle was normally transferred from parents to sons and daughters if they were living and wanted it; otherwise to a daughter and her husband, inheritance being in the Prairie Chicken clan. Transfer was made at a public feast, but the preliminary instructions were direct between buyer and seller and in secret. The people of the Prairie Chicken clan of Awatixa and the Mandan villages claimed rights to the bundle. 778 773 425

When doing ethnological work with Mandan informants, it was evident that there was no hesitation in giving information on this ceremony, as was the case with the People Above ceremony. There was no reference to punishing people with insanity, paralysis, and other afflictions, as was the case with the People Above mythology, in spite of the fact that the female characters represented were believed to be members of the Holy Women band. These women, although cannibals and evil in character, were often represented in the mythology as kind, sending fog to conceal their movements while they brought meat into the Mandan villages and loaded down the corn scaffolds during times of famine. People were not permitted to speak in a loud voice in the lodge where the bundle was kept, and mice that ran over it were said to have died. 776 124

During the last century the bundle and its owners have occupied an important place in the traditional history of the Man- 778

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 dan and Awatixa. The bundle was at Mitutanka before the smallpox epidemic of 1837 and was brought to Like-a-Fishhook Village by the lower group of Mandan when the village was built. Bobtail Bull and his wife were owners. He was killed July 13, 1850.[1]

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF THE SHELL ROBE BUNDLE

778 173 The bundle went from Bobtail Bull to his daughter, Good Ways, and to her husband named Big Foot Bull; thence to Wolf Ghost, Good Ways' brother. When Wolf Ghost was dying, he sent word to Montclair to come for the Holy Woman Robe to take home and keep. Montclair sent word back that he did not want to keep it in his lodge and to leave it in its place. It was left there after Wolf Ghost's death.[2]

The robe had its beginning in Yellow Dog's village and got over into the Mandan tribe by sale. The Mandan took the robe and passed it from generation to generation by father and mother to son or daughter and husband. Bobtail Bull passed it to Montclair through his daughters to their son, Montclair. In Montclair's early days he did not belong to the church and kept the robe as a protector. Later he turned it over to Wolf Ghost, his mother's brother, and joined the Congregational church.

After Wolf Ghost died, people would continue to go there and make offerings to the robe until it disappeared.

I learned the story from Poor Wolf, who got it from the old men. Poor Wolf said, "Whenever I want to learn a story, I make a feast and pay a man of my father's clan[3] to go to the old man and ask to hear the story. The old man would take the things and tell just how it all happened. I would sometimes forget something and have to go over it again, so I would go back to the old man and have him repeat it. By the third time I would have it thoroughly learned."

I would feed Poor Wolf and give him presents and have him come over to tell me the stories. I would always go to the man with the rights. Poor Wolf did not learn the story from the Mandan but from an Awaxawi who had bought the story from older people in his tribe, so the story is a little different from the way the Mandan tell it.

Poor Wolf said: "I made a feast and gave gifts to buy the right to know the stories, and, when I thought I forgot, I had them repeated three or four times. Even Ree have ceremonies of the same kind. I was adopted by the Ree and wanted to know the rites, so I told the man I wanted to know the meaning. The Ree sent all out, and then told me all about the Ceremony of Adoption."

At Like-a-Fishhook Village the people were few after the smallpox. The village was well fortified with hewn timber, and a bell had been put up. At certain times each morning the Black Mouth Society would ring the bell and open the gate to let the people out to the cornfields or for wood. They would work all day, and, when the bell rang, the people would come through the

1. *Journal of Rudolph Friedrich Kurz*, trans. Myrtis Jarrell; ed J. N. B. Hewitt (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 115 [Washington, 1937]), pp. 74–75.

2. Calf Woman said that the bundle belonged to the Prairie Chicken clan and that men married into this family line merely helped in the ceremonies.

3. This was the Hidatsa method.

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gate, and it would be tied up for the night. If any were left out and they came to the gate and were recognized, the gate would be opened for them. If an enemy came, he could not get in.

Some Mandans named Bobtail Bull, Bad Gun, Standing Bear, Lean Bear, Sand, Dancing Flag, and a few others belonging to the Buffalo Society went to the southeast on a war expedition. They stopped at the small Mandan village, Nuptadi, where a few Mandan were still living. This was eighty-two or eighty-three years ago [from 1933]. A woman had a horse tied to a corn scaffold and was on top slicing squash. The war party went inside and sat down. An enemy Sioux came in, and they received him and gave him leggings, but, when he sat down, Bobtail Bull jumped up and killed the Sioux, who was named Bull Boy. Then the war party left. The Sioux came to the small Mandan village, but those people said that they had nothing to do with it; that it was done by the other Mandan living at Fishhook. The lower Mandan were the ones who had fought with the other Mandan and had not then united.[4]

The Sioux chased Bobtail Bull's party, and they ran into the woods near Mannhaven or Yellow Water. A Sioux called, "My friend; I am here," but the Mandan would not come out. In the night they made a raft and swam the woman's horse across and came back to Like-a-Fishhook Village. Since the village was fortified, they could not get in until morning when the bell was rung. They painted their faces black and ran through the village with their scalp.

Sometime afterward, Bobtail Bull had a dream from this Holy Woman Robe. The robe said to him, "I am bringing you a warning. You will not be permitted to go out anywhere during the summer. You must stay in the village and not go out hunting or on the warpath until the first snow comes. Then you will be out of danger."

Bobtail Bull called in his war party and some of the old men and told them this. He said, "My robe has told me to stay in the village during the summer season. There is danger ahead for me, and I am not allowed to go outside of the fortification."

The men said, "That is all right. It is good that your robe has warned you."

During the summer he stayed inside of the village and out of sight in his lodge. The people coming back from their travels reported many wild turnips and thought the people should go out to dig them. After Bull Boy was killed, whenever the Sioux made a fire, they would put a stone in the fire and name it Bobtail Bull so that it would mean he was to die if the stone snapped. All this time the Holy Woman tried to keep it from cracking, but she said to Bobtail Bull in a dream, "Do not go out today. I have worked for you, but the Sioux will have luck if you leave the village, for now I am getting tired and feel weak."

He told his wives this, but one was part Sioux, and she must have been helping her people. He dressed up, and his friends asked him why he was dressed up to dig turnips. He related what his medicine had told him. Since his wife wanted him to go so badly, he was going to try it. His wife had insisted that they would be near the village. They went three miles east of the village. The women said, "You ride around and find them, and we will dig them."

While he was looking for the wild turnips, they came near the Badlands

4. This division referred to by Bears Arm occurred in 1820. He explained that the group moved to Birds Bill Butte south of Mandan and did not return until 1823, when they settled near Mitutarka Village.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

where the Sioux were hiding. The Sioux rushed out, and a shot broke Bobtail Bull's leg above the ankle, and he said, "I am Bobtail Bull." He shot several with his arrows but in turn was hit in the chest with a bullet and died. The Sioux who killed him named himself Bobtail Bull.

Because Bobtail Bull killed the enemy at the small Mandan village, these people were obliged to come to Like-a-Fishhook Village for protection.

There is a slight variation in the myth between villages. This was determined by ascertaining the villages the various family lines had resided in. There were two distinct Mandan versions and one Hidatsa version. Several accounts were recorded of which three representative versions are given. They are: (1) Mitutanka version, supplied by Mrs. Owen Baker, granddaughter of Bobtail Bull; (2) Nuptadi version, narrated by Ben Benson; and (3) Hidatsa version, related by Bears Arm.[5]

MITUTANKA SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY MRS. OWEN BAKER[6]

She was a Mandan. The people went to a winter camp, coming from the Heart River. They were at the place where they dig paint near the Little Missouri. It was east of where the road crosses north of Killdeer. This place was called "Where they dig paint." They were traveling along slowly, for they had dogs. The girl and her brother got lost. Though the children were missing, the people could find no trace of them. The two children built a lodge shaped like the eagle-trapping lodge. When they had finished, they were hungry, so they looked around. They found rose berries and wild turnips. They dug a cellar and put them away for the winter.

In a short time, the sister found a friend who stayed at home all the time, but the sister rarely stayed at home. She brought in elk, deer, and many kinds of meat. One day the boy brought in an elkhide. The women tanned the hide and made a robe of it. When they finished, they pasted clam shells to it. They painted the morning star on the middle of the robe.

She said, "Leave a space where I can put something on the left side for Corn Tassel." (The Awatixa call her Red Feather.)

Her brother did not know what it all meant, so he worried about it. After he had eaten, he would lie down to worry.

The two women tanned hides for their robes and dresses. The sister did not like the place and thought it was not a good place to live, so she left the place and went to Big Timber. There she built a large lodge and had all the mysterious holy women help her. They lived there a few years. When she was away, the brother would hear a strange noise while hunting and wondered what it was, but he was never able to get the answer. One day when she was gone, his other sister told him that his sister (Feather on Head) was after him.

She said, "Did you hear a noise? That is your sister. She flies into the skies and fights there. She is trying to take your life. I will try to help you out so you will be safe. When you go hunting, if you kill an elk or buffalo, cut the meat and hide up into small pieces and throw it around where you butchered."

5. This version was from Awatixa Village of the Hidatsa tribe.
6. For the Nuptadi and Awatixa versions see Appendix II.

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He came home, and it was then that he told the other sister that he had cut the elk up and thrown it around. 773

She said, "When your sister gets back, tell her that you killed an elk and that, when you got it, you were tired. Tell her to get it in the morning. Be sure to hide your tracks. Cover them and walk in the water. When you have escaped, go toward the Fire Man, for she is afraid of that man." 539

She came home, and he told her that he had killed the elk and that she should get it for him. As soon as they had eaten in the morning, she started out. She saw where he had butchered. There were many small pieces, and she wondered what it was all about. It was hard to gather them, but she collected them in her robe and ran home with them.

He traveled along, hiding his tracks. He came into the lodge backward and put his arrow into the ashes to jump. The arrow carried him along. He ran fast. The meadowlark told him to try to reach the butte, "for the only person that your sister is afraid of is Fire Man."

She came back and found wood piled before the door, so she called for him to open the door.

He had left an arrow to talk to her, and Arrow said, "I am busy; open it yourself."

She broke open the door and found no one at home. She looked for the tracks and followed them but could not find how he went out. At last she saw where he had gone up through the smokehole. She got her digging stick, put her magpie feathers on her head, and flew out. The meadowlark told him to hurry, for she was near. He threw arrows out, and the best ones went farthest. He gathered those and put them in his mouth, where he would have them ready to use.

She said, "There is no place that you can go to and be safe."

The boy turned back with an arrow pointed and shot. The sister used a bunch of black sage, but both missed each other. He shot three times but missed; then he was close to the lodge where Fire Man lived.

He fell through the lodge and said, "Grandfather, I am done."

A very old man lived in there. A hot kettle was on the fire, and the boy was puffing.

The sister looked in and said, "Give him back to me."

The old man said, "Get him yourself."

"Give him back to me, or I will include you," she said.

"Are you crazy? That is your own brother," he replied. He picked up the kettle and chased her away.

The grandfather said, "Your sister has turned into a spirit now. She will never die. No one can do anything to her. She is the head of all the Holy Women, but she is afraid of me, for she is afraid of this fire. You go home this evening, and I will warn her. I will fix you so you can go home."

He put cottonwood limbs in the fire, for they bend as they burn. He put the bracelets of curved, charred cottonwood on the boy's wrists.

"You will hear her crying as you come near the lodge. She will be waiting to kill you. You put your arm through the door, and she will see the fire and be afraid. Then she will sit down and cry," the grandfather explained.

He did just as the old man told him. She gave him his supper, and he ate.

He stayed a few days and his sister said, "You can go home to our people now. They are not far from us. When you get home, they will give you the chief's two daughters. Then you can make your medicine and keep me, for I will never go back again, and I will never die."

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773 When he was ready to go, she said, "Wait a while," and she went out and brought in a large buffalo. She said, "I want you to fix up my brother as he should be dressed."

539 She showed him where the village was, so he went back. He went back to the Mandan and not to the Hidatsa.

When he got back, the people were told of his experiences. A chief gave him his two daughters. He told his wives about his experiences and how he had been sent back to perform the ceremony. His father-in-law was happy and prepared everything for him, since it took a great deal of goods. He took one of his wives and went back to his sister. When he reached the door, he was crying.

She said, "My son [not a brother now], come in."

His wife had corn balls of four-in-one and she took them to the holy woman. The other wife stayed home and cooked sweet corn, corn balls, and meatballs to have everything ready. He took the pipe and corn balls and put them in front of him. She went out and called the buffalo in again.

She said, "Bless the corn ball. You smoke first, for you are the one to supply meat for my 'son.'"

Buffalo smoked first and then broke the corn balls. She went out and invited in all her friends who were the Holy Women, the magpies and the buffalo cows. When they had finished eating, they said, "You can go home now, and we will be there in four days."

When he had been home four days, the morning was foggy and still. When the fog lifted, the people could see them coming. Buffalo was first; then the sister came, carrying a live Assiniboine Indian on her back. She wanted her "son" to strike a live enemy there in the lodge during the medicine feast. They went into the lodge which belonged to his father-in-law.

She said, "I have brought you an enemy. I want you to strike him so that you will be successful against the enemy." His sister passed the medicine to his wife to press against her breast. Then she gave the robe to him.

She said, "This is my body. It will protect you through life until you are old. When you are old, you must pass it on to another to protect him." She gave the scalp from the Assiniboine to her "son" to put on the robe. When the ceremony was over, she went back, and he never saw her after that. These had been Hidatsa, but he went back to the Mandan at Heart River, so the medicine got to the Mandan.

He killed many Assiniboines. Because he killed more enemies then the other men, he was made chief. He died of old age. The sister is called Feather on Head Woman, the same name as my mother had. The boy's name was In the Corn Tassel.

If mice ran in front of the robe, they died. People could not talk out loud in front of it. It belonged to Big Coat; then it went to Bobtail Bull; Big Foot Bull got it through his wives.

Big Coat was on the warpath during the June raise. He had thirty Mandan who were all afoot. They came to a large Sioux camp and did not know which way to run except toward the river. It was high, and he did not know which way to go. He was responsible for his men, so he called to cross the river.

He said, "My old mother, I saw you tall as a cottonwood tree. Now I want to wade this river."

He pointed his pipe at the river. They waded in, and the river did not seem high. He crossed safely, and in that way he saved his men.

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Chapter XIV

RED STICK CEREMONY

THE Red Stick ceremony was a winter buffalo-calling rite of four nights' duration and was held during the coldest part of the winter to bring the winter herds near the village. The ceremony was given by some young man who in his dream witnessed the ceremony given, heard the buffaloes singing the sacred song, or saw the ceremonial objects arranged in their proper place in his lodge. 796

Standing Bear, last bundle-owner before the disappearance of the buffaloes, purchased the bundle from his father and mother but, having no children, sold the bundle to Iron Eyes, who was not a relative.[1] The bundle consisted of a buffalo robe representing First Pretty Woman[2] and twelve flat boards painted red, with vestigial buffalo hoofs attached. One end was tapered to provide a handhold. There were a large wooden pipe, an owl, two hide rattles, a painted robe, and sage in the bundle. 796 778

There was only one song belonging to the ceremony, and it referred to the information given by the twelve winter buffalo bulls who appeared during a blizzard and sang: 796

the one	first woman	pretty
has eaten	most of you	

The ceremony was based on a dramatization of the exploits of Corn Silk, who brought back a little girl to the Mandan Village. Each night the occupants of one earth lodge would disappear until the village became alarmed. The old men met to seek a solution to the mysterious disappearance of their people. One young man volunteered to fast in an effort to get advice from the spirits as to the cause of the misfortune to these households. A blizzard came in from the north, and twelve buffalo bulls, each carrying a red stick to which buffalo vestigial hoofs, 796 773

1. It was not possible to determine the rule of inheritance, since Standing Bear and his wives were of the same clan.

2. Refer to the Okipa ceremony (chap. iv) for her part in those rites.

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796 lungs, heart, and windpipe were tied, drifted along with the wind until they reached the foot of the hill where the young man 773 was fasting. They sang a song which mentioned the name of the young girl who was the cause of the disappearance of these families. She was destroyed by burning, which freed the people she had consumed. A sacred bundle was established by the young man. A buffalo robe represented the young girl, and twelve red sticks were carved to represent the twelve buffalo bulls.

778 Bundle transfer was traditionally from father to son,[3] but the information on actual transfers is so limited that it was not pos- 425 sible to check this belief with actual transfers. The ceremony was not given after the buffalo herds disappeared.

796 The pledge to give the ceremony could be made either by an individual or by an age-grade society. In the case of the former, 778 clan brothers of about the same age assisted by bringing their wives with food and goods. The owner of the sacred bundle 561 would select twelve older men who had given the ceremony or who had sacred buffalo skulls, acquired through vision or purchase with bundles, to carry the red sticks. When an age-grade society gave the ceremony, the bundle-owner distributed the red sticks among the members of the next highest age-grade society who impersonated the buffalo bulls.

796 The ceremony was held in the giver's lodge. He paid those who carried the red sticks and the bundle-owner who set up the robe 778 of First Pretty Woman on an ash stake to represent a young girl. These carriers of the red sticks met at the bundle-owner's lodge in the evening to receive their ceremonial paraphernalia, after which by four stages they approached the lodge where the ceremony was being held. At each stop the giver's wife would put down a robe and a corn ball.

Upon entering the lodge where the ceremonies were to be held, the carriers placed the red sticks in a row extending from the fireplace to the head of the lodge, and the image of First Pretty Woman was placed to the right of them.

During the afternoon the Black Mouths sent their criers through the village announcing the buffalo dances were to be

3. We cannot be certain that this is true. Owing to influences of the Hidatsa pattern, 177 Mandan bundles were in the process of shifting from clan to father-son inheritance during the eighteenth century. In numerous instances where informants stated inheritance was from father to son, genealogies showed inheritance to be within the clan.

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held that evening. Any of the old men could go and sit on the right side nearer the door than the red-stick carriers. The young men came in with their wives, who wore only buffalo robes, and sat on the left side of the lodge (see Fig. 43). There was only one ceremonial song; it was sung four times. The young women brought by their husbands formed a single line, where each sat 796 778

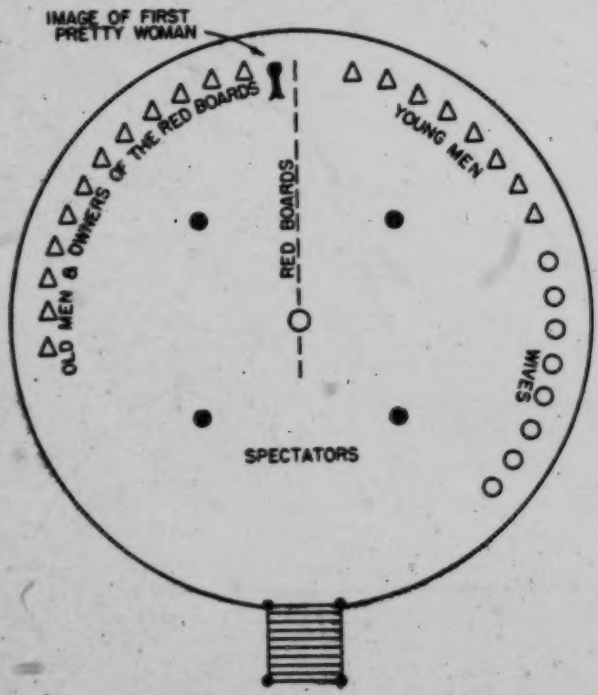

FIG. 43.—Arrangement of the lodge for the Buffalo Dance

down on her heels and walked the length of the red boards. The woman in the lead must be one who had never had intercourse with anyone other than her present husband. The head of the line was a coveted position, and an attempt was sometimes made by an unqualified woman to lead the others over the red sticks. Then some man with whom she had had intercourse would laugh to make his presence known, whereupon she would drop out of line and take up the last place in the procession. The act of walking along the red sticks was known as "Walking with the Buffalo Bulls" or "Having Intercourse with the Buffalo [834]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 Bulls." The women then returned to their places, put on their
778 buffalo robes, and passed around the food to the old men representing the buffalo bulls and to the spectators.

796 The next performance was the "Giving the Wives" to the
837 buffalo bulls.[4] One of the young men, addressing his wife, would
614 say, "Wife, I want you to help me to become a lucky man. I want you to walk with my father."[5] The rule was for a young man always to select an old man of his father's clan. If the man selected did not choose to have intercourse with his "son's" wife, he would stop her before she reached the door.

One time when Red Coyote was selected, he said: "Stop right there, my 'granddaughter.' I want you to hold my medicine bundle now. Once I fasted four days in a ravine. While I slept, an owl came to me and said that I would be a lucky man and live to be old. I have killed an enemy, captured six horses, and struck three enemies. I pray that you will live a long time, be healthy, raise many children, and keep free of diseases."[6] Both returned to their places and sat down.

Each young man selected an old man to "walk with his wife."[7] Some men stopped the women at the door and did not care to go outside with them; others went outside. In either case, the woman was given the old man's medicine bundle (vision bundle), which she clasped to her breast, believing that, by doing so, some of its powers would enter her body.

An unmarried man could participate by bringing his brother's or clan brother's wife. Men never brought women of other

4. This portion of the ceremony appears to have been rather famous among the early visitors to the Mandan and Hidatsa (see *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition 1804–1806*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, I [New York, 1905], 245; *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri*, ed. and trans. Annie Heloise Abel [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939], pp. 196–97; Maximilian in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites [Cleveland, 1906], XXIII, 334; XXIV, 27–31). In addition, Thompson and Henry saw portions of a similar ceremony but apparently misinterpreted the actions (see *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell [Toronto, 1916], pp. 225–38, and "Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson," in *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, ed. Elliot Coues, I [New York, 1897], 326–27).

5. This is what Good Bear said when he sent his wife to one of the old men, according to Mrs. Good Bear. "Father" refers to a male member of Good Bear's father's clan.

6. Red Coyote was frozen in a late-spring blizzard near Rainy Buttes shortly after this.

7. Mrs. Good Bear related that her ceremonial grandfather went out with her, all the while bellowing in imitation of a buffalo bull.

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tribes who had recently married into the tribe, believing that 796
the spirits of the red sticks would then help the other tribe. 837
However, when such women had joined a Mandan clan, they 614
could participate.

Sometimes, when a man refused to walk with his "granddaughter," her husband placed a filled pipe before him. This left the old man one of two choices: (1) he could walk with her, or (2) he could invoke the spirits of the north that sent storms driving the buffaloes to the Missouri River to help her and her husband. A woman was not offered to a man of her own clan or to immediate blood relatives.

Mrs. Good Bear recognized this as a separate ceremony at the 796
lower village, Mitutanka, and did not believe that it was performed at Nuptadi in this form, as they had the Buffalo-calling rites of the Snow Owl ceremony, which was similar in some respects to the Red Stick ceremony. Scattercorn verified this information by stating that Standing Bear, who owned the Red Stick ceremony, came up early to Like-a-Fishhook Village (about 1845) together with the survivors of the lower village and that, after the Nuptadi survivors joined the other Mandans, both ceremonies were given but never at the same time.

The sacred myth belonging to the ceremony was related by Mrs. Good Bear.

RED STICK CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY MRS. GOOD BEAR

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A long time ago there was a respectable young woman named Corn Silk who had then been single for several years. Many men wanted to marry her, but she always refused. One day her parents said, "Why don't you get married?" They scolded her, and she felt bad because they had quarreled. When night came, she went outside and lay on top of the doorway to the earth lodge to sleep and would not go into the lodge that night. She went to sleep.

When she awoke, someone was carrying her on his shoulders, and she knew that someone had her in his power. She couldn't get away. They went along until they came to his lodge. He put her in a bed, thinking that she was asleep, but she knew everything that happened. Then there was another woman, an owl, and a large grizzly bear in the lodge. The man asked Owl Woman to cook something for Corn Silk, and she began to prepare food. Then she said, "Corn Silk, you should get up and eat." Owl Woman brought water for her to wash with, and then she ate.

The man came in again and said to Owl Woman, "Send her into the woods to get fuel. Tell her to take the bear with her."

He walked out and then Owl Woman said, "You are a good and beautiful

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773 539 young woman, I am going to tell you what will happen to you. That man plans to eat you. That is why he brought you here. You must try hard to save your life. He will kill you when you get back from the woods, so be on your guard."

Corn Silk took the bear and the travois to bring the wood in with. The bear lay down while she gathered dry sticks, figuring all the time how she could get away. Owl Woman had said, "If you get to that sharp hill before he gets you, you will be safe." She picked up one of her lice while she was in the woods and thought that she would get away while the louse answered anyone who came along. She ran as fast as she could.

At that time the man came along and inquired where the girl was, and the louse replied, "In the woods." He waited. Corn Silk was nearly to the hill. The man went in to see where she was. He asked the bear where she had gone, and he replied that she asked him to lie down, so he did not know. He asked where she was, and the louse replied, "Here I am."

The man said, "I know where she is," and he ran toward the sharp hill to get her.

He came close and kept saying, "I will get you!" She had some waterbird feathers stripped down to work, like in quill work. She threw one of the feather sticks back, and thousands of these white birds [a bird on the lakes of the north, the land gull] flew up and beat him in the face, slowing him up.

When he got out of the flock, she threw back an elk-horn scraper which was used to flatten quills, asking help of the elk bulls, who appeared and hooked him. This slowed him up, but he passed them. He said, "I'll get you this time."

She had a pumice stone to smoothen the feathers with, and she threw that back. Sharp hills of pumice stone came up, and they caused him to fall often. About this time she reached the hill and found the door open. She ran in. A little boy named Breast was inside playing with a bow and arrow, but he did not pay any attention to the young woman who had come in. Soon Spirit Man was outside, and he called, "Send her out, or I will get you, too." The boy was shooting into the fireplace. Each time the man said, "I'll get you, too," the boy repeated it.

The man said, "This will be the last time that I will warn you."

The boy took up a pipe called "Tail Pipe" [a buffalo tail hide stuffed with sand until dry, when a hole was made in the end, leaving the tip hair on]. The boy picked up the pipe and filled it with tobacco, lighting it. The man was standing a short distance away. Breast took a deep suck on the pipe and blew the smoke toward the man, who fell down and died. He called to his sister to come outside and burn the body. They covered it with buffalo chips and burned the body until it was reduced to ashes.

When evening came, the little boy said, "Sister, I have quite a few brothers; some are foolish, and they are out hunting now, so you must go behind their beds and hide before they get here." She hid and they came in; they were all young men; they cooked a meal and talked of the hunt for a long while.

The little boy sat there and suddenly said, "I found something," but they paid no attention to him. He repeated it, but they paid no attention to him.

At last one said, "Our little brother said that he found something."

The others said, "Show us what you found."

After a long time he said, "I found a sister." They all agreed that they

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would have her for a sister, so the little boy said, "Sister, come out." She came out from hiding as a beautiful young woman.

All the young men called her sister, and one of them said, "It is a good thing that you reached here because that man kills people and eats them. It is a lucky thing that Breast was here. It won't do to keep you here all the time, so in a few days we will take you home again. You can stay two days and rest and then go home again."

The next day they told her that they were going hunting and that she was to stay with Breast through the day. They said to Breast, "Stay with our sister, and you must not go out anywhere at all." They said to the young woman, "Sister, we are saying this because there are many evil spirits who would take you away."

While they were gone, an old woman came along packing an old man like they carried babies. His face was ugly; his nose was dirty; he cried like a baby. All this was to try to get Corn Silk to look at him. She hung her head and would not look at him. The old woman was angry because Corn Silk would not look, but they went out.

Toward evening the brothers came home and inquired whether anyone had been there, and Corn Silk told of the old man and woman whom she would not look at. The brothers said, "We thought so; everyone will be after you. It is best for you to go home. We will let you take something along with you so that you will be safe. Then nobody will bother you." One of them pulled out a beautiful otter skin with the skull still in it. She wrapped it up to carry on her back. At the same time she pounded dry meat for her trip home. Her brothers said, "If anyone stops you or tries to give you anything to eat, you must refuse it. Do not eat with them."

She walked along until evening came, when she met a beautiful young girl who said, "My friend, I have a lodge. You should come and stay with me overnight." They went into a ravine. The woman had a wood-and-brush tepee. They went in, and she said, "My friend, I will give you something to eat." So she dished out a portion of a man's brain with a mountain-sheep spoon. Corn Silk took out the brain and gave it to the otter skull, which ate it all up. She slept there. While she slept, the other woman went away, for in the morning she was alone. She set the tepee afire and traveled along.

She walked all day until afternoon, when a small child came to her crying for its mother. She looked at it and knew that it was not a real human and passed it up. Soon she saw another and passed it up; still another cried, and she thought of taking it because it looked so pretty. She went on. It cried louder and louder. Toward evening she met another woman, who addressed her as "my friend" and asked her to her house in a ravine. It was another brush tepee. She said that she was cooking dried squash, but they were people's ears. Corn Silk said, "I have something here for you to eat," and she gave the dried meat to the woman. Corn Silk gave the ears to the otter skull. The skull ate all the ears. The other woman said she was glad Corn Silk ate all the squash. When Corn Silk awoke, she was alone. She set the tepee afire as before.

She traveled until nearly evening, when she met another baby; she passed a second one also. The third one was a very beautiful girl who was just learning to walk. The baby touched Corn Silk's dress, and she looked at it. She took it even though she had been told not to take anything. She packed the baby on her back. She came home with the baby girl the same evening. Everyone

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773 called that Corn Silk was back, and all admired the very pretty baby she had
539 with her. Everyone heard about the baby and came to admire it. This went on for three days. One morning when the village awoke, an entire family[8] was gone. The people wondered about it. The next morning another family had disappeared, and still a third family on the third morning. Some of the older people met and debated the cause of this and what could be done. It was something very mysterious, and they told the young men to stay up all night and keep watch. One young man said, "I will fast on the hills and see if I can find out what it is all about."

He cried all day, and a snowstorm and blizzard came up toward evening. In the night during the storm twelve buffalo bulls came along under the hill walking in the snow. They were walking toward the village. Each had a flat board about two feet long with hoofs, lungs, and a heart tied to the handle. They stopped at the foot of the hill near the young man, circled around, and sang their song.

First Pretty Woman was the name of the child which had been brought into the village, and the bulls gave the name. They said, "First Pretty Woman nearly ate up your village," and then they bellowed, pushing each other with their bodies. They were carrying the red sticks all this time. When they finished singing the song, the bulls went away and the young man returned to his village.

He said to the older men, "You wanted some young man to learn what has become of the people. I fasted on the hill to find out. While I was there, a storm came. I stood up against the wind and cried, and at the foot of the hill there appeared twelve buffalo bulls. They stood in a circle and sang a beautiful song. Each carried boards painted red. On the handles of each were hung heads, lungs, heart, and windpipe. They sang a song, and these words were in the song: 'First Pretty Woman ate up most of your people.'

"You must learn whether there is any child in the village named First Pretty Woman."

An old man said, "Corn Silk brought in a baby named First Pretty Woman, and that must be the one."

The older men called the Black Mouth Society, ordering them to go from lodge to lodge and find out who she was. They inquired the names of all the children in each family until they came to Corn Silk. They asked her if that was her own baby, and she said that it was. Then they asked the name and she replied, "First Pretty Woman."

Then the Black Mouths said, "That is the child we are looking for. We lost our families and something got them. We heard one of the young men say that First Pretty Woman was the name of the child who ate them. That must be the one, and we are going to take the baby from you."

Corn Silk replied, "She isn't mine because I picked her up on the prairie one morning at daybreak.[9] Once the child flew down through the smokehole and came to me. I tickled her, and she laughed. I saw a piece of meat between her teeth and pulled it out. It was the fingernail of a human."

The Black Mouths took the baby along, called through the village that they had found the child, and directed the people to bring wood to burn her.

8. "Family" here is used to designate all residents of an earth lodge.

9. This is one of the holy women and was identified by the magpie tail feather she wore and the ash digging stick she carried.

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They built a large fire and threw the child into the fire. She jumped out three times. The fourth time the baby burned, and its stomach swelled up and burst. All the people she had eaten came out and walked back to their lodges. 773 539

After that was done, this young man made up the ceremony. He made the sticks just like the ones he saw the buffaloes carrying. It was not in the dream but instead of the lungs he put on hoofs. It was the custom to put on this dance whenever the buffaloes were scarce, and then they came near the village. When the young man came back, he was the first to make these sticks. The old men met and came to his lodge to sing the song that went with the sticks. The young man's friends brought their wives, and the old men walked with them.

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Chapter XV

THE WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY[1]

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THE two highest of the four women's age-grade societies, the White Buffalo Cow and Goose societies, were religious in character. The Goose Society[2] was organized, according to tradition, by Good Furred Robe to dance during the Corn ceremonies. During the time women were performing the ceremony, they would dream of corn or the supernatural beings associated with corn so that, when the time came to sell the society to younger women and buy into the next age-grade society, most women had minor rights in the Corn ceremonies and were invited to come to the corn feasts.

When Calf Woman was two years old, she was taken into the White Buffalo Cow Society to represent the buffalo calf. As a young woman she bought into the Goose Society. After selling out to younger women, she always attended and danced with the society. There was not the entire relinquishment of rights in the two highest Mandan women's societies so characteristic of the men's societies and the lower women's societies. Both Scattercorn and Calf Woman were in agreement that this was due to their religious character. The Goose Society was associated with the spring and fall migration of the birds and the summer Corn ceremonies. The White Buffalo Cow Society was associated with the winter migration of the buffalo herds from the flats to the river bottoms. The ceremony was held during the shortest days to bring the winter buffaloes. While the ceremony was in progress, the Black Mouth Society policed the winter village to see that none chopped wood, left the village to hunt, or had their dogs running loose. Announcement was given in advance that

1. See Maximilian in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, 1906), XXIII, 297; XXIV, 48–49; Henry A. Boller, *Among the Indians* (Philadelphia, 1868), pp. 216–22; Robert H. Lowie, *Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XI [1916]), pp. 346–54.

2. See Boller, *op. cit.*, pp. 147–49 and 283.

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the ceremonies would begin at such a time, and the people were expected to have a wood supply on hand. The people were expected to be quiet, and stray dogs were either tied up or killed. Both Calf Woman and Scattercorn (her father, Moves Slowly, was singer for the Mandan women) believed that the society was founded by the Mandan and bought by the Hidatsa. 561 796

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY RELATED BY SCATTERCORN 773 539

The White Buffalo Women's Society began from a dream a man once had when he was fasting out on the hills. He dreamed that he heard a man calling from far away. He continued to fast. The fourth night the voice was so clear that he could heard the words. The voice kept saying, "Put a child with them." Soon he saw a man coming with two small children in his arms. 561

The man said, "I am going to give you these two children. Prepare a feast, and I will return to you. I am the buffalo. When you have the feast ready, I will come; you will have plenty of buffaloes all the time."

The man who had been fasting came back to the village and told how a buffalo man had promised him that his people were coming to the village to give him two buffalo children. He asked that the people put up a feast of all the different varieties of corn. He asked two women to come and receive the two buffalo children.

Soon a party of strange women came to eat the food and showed them how to give the dance. When the women left, the two children struggled to free themselves because they wanted to follow the women. One got away, but the other one was kept in the village. The child was reared in the tribe, and it was from this feast that the White Buffalo Society began.

Each winter the women came back to see the child. They were the buffalo cows, so the society danced to give the buffaloes a chance to see their child. The buffalo women would bring the winter buffalo herds with them.

The rule was that a woman should not belong to this society until she was beyond the childbearing age. This was the highest and last society to which women could belong. Women could not be members while they still had menstruation periods, as it was believed that the blood would drive the buffaloes away. 561

The society kept four men as singers. They bought their rights and could sell out whenever they wanted to. Before the ceremony of selling was held, the women put up a sweat-lodge frame which resembled an inverted bullboat frame. The ones buying must supply five or six robes for the cover. Each one buying gave a wooden dish and robes to one of the older women, whom she called "mother," to get her rights in the society. One person was selected to buy the leader's robe, which was white. As soon as the sale was concluded, the new society women lined up. The leader would be on the end of the line wearing the white buffalo robe with the hair outside. The child, a little girl between the years of two and nine, stood in the center of the line wearing a robe with the hair side out. A woman at the end of the line wore the robe of a summer buffalo and was called the summer buffalo. All the other women wore their robes with the hair side in. A woman standing next to the child burned the 561 796

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561 incense and smoked the clothing they wore. The child represented the small buffalo calf left in the tribe by the buffalo women.

796 The dance was symbolic of the return of the buffaloes. All wore a band of buffalo hide around the arms and forehead, in which were tied owl and magpie feathers. The head woman wore a headband of white buffalo hide.

The dance was performed in the winter during the shortest days. Its purpose was to bring the buffalo herds back to the villages. It also was believed to bring cold weather, causing the herds to desert the flats for the sheltered river bottoms. Failure to have given the dances would have resulted in small herds or none at all. Someone always paid to have the dances.

CALF WOMAN'S NARRATIVE OF THE WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY

561 I was two years old when I went into the Hidatsa White Buffalo Society, and the women would carry me on their backs in the dance. The singers were
159 Crows Paunch, Bear Looks Out, Poor Wolf, and Red Wing (a Mandan).

The Goose Society was first, and the women selling out the Goose Society bought in. The society also came from the Mandan, but it passed over to the Hidatsa long before the Goose Society was passed over. Women were forty-five to fifty years old when joining. Bear Looks Out and Poor Wolf liked the ways of the society, and they went to the Mandan and bought singer rights.

The members of the society were: Calf Woman (a child), Otter, Dances Along, Different Sage, Root, Lone Woman, Good Paint, Long Hair, both of the Sioux Women, All Blossoms, Flying, Spring Woman, Cherry Women, and all those who had belonged to the Goose Society except Juneberries. I am today the only Mandan or Hidatsa with rights in the society.

After a group of women sell their rights in the Goose Society, they still have the right to attend their meetings and dance. [Scattercorn verified this.]

Everything in buying is the same as with the Goose Society, and the sale is made in the late fall. They meet each night for sixty nights; during that time those who are buying the society bring in food for the society they are buying out. At the end of the sixty nights, the older people give the clothing needed in the ceremony to the ones who are buying in.

Otter wore the white robe; I was the middle person wearing the little calf robe. Flying was the third person to wear one of the special robes of a calf and was well into the forties at that time.

561 We would meet in the wintertime when the days were the coldest, also in early winter when the days were shortest. The leader wore the white robe;
796 they called her "white robe." The middle one wore a calf robe; she was called "good calf robe." *MitE'atu'ki* means "white robe." The third officer is
159 "keeper of the incense." They make incense of a fine, pulpy, yellow material such as is used in the Bear ceremony. It comes from the Crow Indians. Lead or Lone Woman [mother's sister of Calf Woman] was "keeper of the incense." The last woman in the line holds the robes over the smoke before they put them on. They dance in a circle just like in the Goose Society. The singers in the Goose Society kept their rights even when the women sold out. Two women sit back of the woman with the white robe, wearing skunk headdresses, and it is their job to look after the spectators. Lone Woman attended to the incense, taking incense to the first three officers, then to the buffalo skull and finally around to all the women and the singers. They dance in the winter when they want the buffaloes to come and any other time, except when warm

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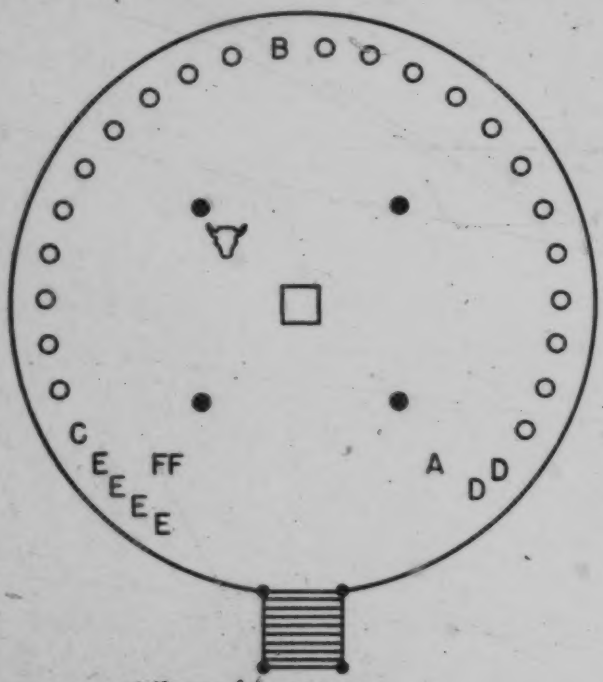
enough for the crops, upon invitation. When they sing the songs in the spring after the crops are in, the frost will kill all the plants, so they are afraid to sing or dance then. They would not meet often in the wintertime if someone did not offer them a feast. They feel that they must dance once in the year, anyway, even though no one puts it on. Then they smoke the robes and skull before dancing. All the dancers wear a headband of white buffalo hair, two magpie tail feathers, and white down feathers of the eagle together with owl



A, Keeper of the ceremony
B, Child representing Buffalo Calf
C, Woman representing Summer Buffalo
D, Women acting as waiters
E, Singers
F, Giver of ceremony and wife

FIG. 44.—Lodge plan of the White Buffalo Cow Women's Society

feathers. They dance four times beginning in the evening, and it takes them until late into the night. The fourth time they dance, Lone Woman stands up and takes all their robes off so they dance in their buckskin dresses. The person giving the ceremony would sit with his wife next to the singers and toward the door (see Fig. 44).

They always meet in the leading woman's lodge, in this case Otter's lodge. Otter had three daughters, three sisters, and a mother living in that lodge, and that way there were eight of them; they would hitch up their dogs and bring in wood and water for the ceremony. She had three sons and a son-in-law, and they brought the buffalo meat. That was what they had when they danced.

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She was "Keeper of the Ceremony," and, when they danced, she fed the whole society. If another was putting on the ceremony, it would still be best to hold it in Otter's lodge. Old Packineau used to invite them in often. Otter made corn balls for the ceremony, and after the first dance she passed small pieces to each of the women.

The Mandan White Buffalo Society singers were Moves Slowly, Red Buffalo Cow, Short Bull, and Iron Eyes; Brown Nose, wife of Bear on Water, was the leader.

One time they danced in winter camp north and opposite to Independence. While they danced, a buffalo came and walked up to the door, and they killed it there.[3] They would take my little robe and all the headdresses to tie to a stick. They put them outside of the lodge in the morning after dancing all night; then in the evening they would take them back, doing that every day and taking them down for the four nights of dancing. During the four days of the ceremony, they stayed at the lodge, sleeping there when the ceremony was not in session. After the dance, each woman made corn balls. One of the singers with his rattle, in this case it was Red Wing, would sprinkle water on them. When he did that, the people would come in. They passed the corn balls around four times to the people who came to look on. They would place their headdresses and robes in a row with corn balls in front of each one. Then the owners would come and take the corn balls that were placed in front of their robes. They gave Red Wing many things for doing this for the women and singers, and he was the one who got the principal reward for it all.

There were four old women in the group who sold out, Corn Woman, Brave Woman, Spring Woman, and All Blossom. Each had from four to six younger women whom they had to claim as "daughters." They had to give the younger ones robes and clothing to be used in the ceremony. Corn Women had no daughters of her own. Spring Woman had one daughter (myself) and took as her daughters, Cherries, Long Hair, Many Yellow, Root, Different Sage, Flying Woman—seven in all, but not all were of the Chicken clan. Brave Woman took in Calf Woman, Cherries, and Peppermint. Corn Woman took in Lone Woman, the two Sioux Women, and another Cherry Woman. All Blossom took in all the rest of the women who were left. Red Wing had Crow Paunch, Bear Looks Out, and Poor Wolf. Red Wing was the only one of the old singers who had belonged with the four old women. Before dancing, the women painted the left side of their faces red and the right side blue with clay. They wore buckskin dresses and robes, but three had special robes and headdresses and painted their temples. The singers dressed in any manner they wished and also used any face paints they wanted.

After the ceremony was over, Red Wing cleansed the articles and each put her things away carefully, ready for the next ceremony. After that, different ones would invite us to their lodges immediately to feast, and then we would go back to our own lodges, having been away for four nights. I was the only girl in my family, and they thought so much of me that they urged and helped me to join different societies.

At Like-a-Fishhook Village the Mandan and Hidatsa kept their ceremonies separate. The Mandan met in Moves Slowly's lodge. He was head singer, getting his rights from Corn Woman's father, Enemy Face.

The ceremony in the two tribes was identical. The songs were alike also.

3. See *ibid.*, p. 305, for a reference to a similar incident.

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Chapter XVI

ADOPTION PIPE CEREMONY

THERE were many people, both men and women, owning rights in this ceremony. Although Crows Heart believed that the ceremony was bought from the Arikaras a long time ago, Maximilian[1] recognized two types of sacred pipes, one[2] of which had been in the tribe for a long time and which he could have seen for one hundred dollars. He describes in detail the adoption ceremony, which is in every sense identical to Crows Heart's account. The two pipes carried in the ceremony are one belonging to the seller and one the purchaser was to receive. This ceremony performed an important social and religious role. The Hidatsa and Mandan adoption were identical as to ritual and songs.

In reality it was the pipe stem that was sacred, since the red stone bowls could be removed for daily use, whereas the stems were kept in bundles and were not taken out, except preliminary to an Adoption Pipe ceremony. Crows Heart is probably correct in his statement that the ceremony was bought of the Arikara, since this is the only instance when red stone pipes were used for ceremonial purposes. Objection to red stone is based on the myth wherein Good Furred Robe, in early times, was unable to introduce redstone pipes because they were the color of human blood.[3]

Crows Heart, who had been adopted twice, supplied the information on the adoption ceremony.

CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF THE ADOPTION CEREMONY[4]

The old Mandans told me that the sacred pipes were bought from the Arikara quite a long while ago. The stand represents the cornstalks; the horse

1. See Maximilian in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, 1906), XXIII, 319–21.

2. This was known as the Corn Pipe and was in no way connected with the adoption ceremony.

3. See Okipa ceremony origin myth (chap. iv).

4. Lewis and Clark witnessed an adoption ceremony, but furnish few details (see *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites [New York, 1905], I, 222).

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796 tail hairs represent the corn silks; the stem represents an ear of corn; the birds'
597 heads are connected with the Old Woman who tends the crops. I heard that
the red heads on the pipe are from a bird that lived a long ways below Fort
778 Yates.[5] The Indians down there brought them up here and traded them for horses and corn.

796 If I want to adopt, I go to a young man who is son of a man who belongs to my clan, which is the Prairie Chicken clan. We never adopt a person who
597 has no horses but select a man who has the finest buffalo horses. If I want to get his horses, I go out and kill a deer or possibly a buffalo, and my wife prepares a feast. Then I invite him to come with his family and visit us. My wife cleans the earth lodge up and puts down a good robe for him to sit on. When he gets through eating, and they cannot eat it all, his wife takes what is left over from the meal and goes home. Then we sit together and smoke, and I say to him, "I want to adopt you as a son, and I want to fix up my medicine pipe for you." He will always accept. If he refused, others would hear about it and say bad things about him.

When he agrees, I inquire, "How many of you will be in the family?" He will include the wife, the children, and may even include his small brothers and sisters, until there are probably six of them in all. When all is agreed upon, I tell him that I will give him the pipe many days, usually about a month, later. In the meanwhile I look around for presents and usually get together some good moccasins and leggings for the man, his wife, and their children. Sometimes we have elks' teeth, and we decorate a dress for his wife. If one is not able to get all the things he needs, he goes to his brothers and sisters for help.

796 Four days before I am to give the pipe, I invite all the old men who have
these medicine pipes to come to my lodge, and we work together repairing
778 a pipe stem. There is a song that goes with the pipes, and we sing that and
597 burn sweet grass before we open the bundle that contains the stem. Eagle tail feathers of the young eagle [black tips] are then put on the stem, and a red pipe is fitted onto it. The pipe is repaired each time a man is adopted.

796 On the day that the adoption is to take place, all the men having medicine pipes go to the lodge of the man who is adopting the son and dress up in the
597 fine clothes that are to go to the young man. Then all the men go out onto the prairie and make a hole in the ground representing a duck's nest. These men form a circle around the nest, holding their own medicine pipes and singing the songs that go with the pipes. By the time the men return to the village, the young man will be ready with his horses tied to the lodge, one horse for each person going into the adoption ceremonies with him. The pipe medicine people, coming in from the prairie, go directly to the young man's lodge, singing and beating drums all the while. The man doing the adopting goes ahead, carrying the pipe.

When they reach the door of the young man's lodge, all stop singing. One of the men who killed an enemy and destroyed his tepee or had other good luck in war counts his coups; how he charged a tepee, killed all, took the blankets, or whatever his record is. This man goes in first, and all the others follow. They sing and walk around the fireplace once while the man doing the adopting goes to the young man and asks him to stand up and go with him. Other Medicine Pipe men each take a boy or girl of the young man's family

5. See Maximilian, *op. cit.*, pp. 319–21.

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and all go to the place where the dance is to be held. They sing the medicine song as they go. 796

The lodge selected for the dance is the large Okipa lodge, which can be prepared easily for the occasion. There will be at least twelve singers with drums and two dancers, one with a pipe and the other with a rattle. Nearly all the people in the village will come in for at least a few minutes, for everyone is curious to see the clothes the old man will give the young man, and the buffalo horses that he will receive. People must give good clothing and horses, or these people will speak unkindly of them. When the dance is over, the boy's clan and society come in to help him out and bring with them shirts, blankets, and leggings which are piled up before the young man. 597

It is then announced that the person adopted is going to be bathed and dressed by the head of the medicine pipe people. The young man is led to the center of the room, and four bunches of rushes are brought in and placed before him in the form of a square. A dish made of rushes is brought in filled with water, and one of the Medicine Pipe men steps up, counts his coups, and punches a hole through it so that the water runs onto the young man's body. A wildcat's hide is used to dry his body. None of the others in his family are bathed.

Then the young man returns to his seat, and men with blankets held out hide those who are being adopted while they are fitted out in the new clothes. Each is painted with red paint over the mouth, one streak over the nose, and two streaks over the eyes. A fine black-tipped eagle feather is put in the hair of each person adopted; then all are paraded around so that each person there can see them.

Then the horses are led into the lodge. There will be as many horses given as there are people in the family being adopted. The pile of goods brought in by the young man's friends and clan brothers is given out to the men of the Medicine Pipe Society as their pay for helping in the ceremony. When all the things have been passed out, the dancing continues for a while. [431]

After a while the young man says to the adopted father, "Father, come over to my house and rub off my paint."

All the Medicine Pipe men go to the young man's lodge, where there is a feast. The young man is then given the pipe, and his wife is given one ear of yellow corn. The head man of the Medicine Pipe Society makes a motion as though to wash the young man, after which the young man rubs the paint off.

The old man says, "Son, I have given you my pipe. You can adopt four times. After that you can't adopt any more."

We respect these pipes highly, take them with us to war, and pray to them often at such times. We call them medicine pipes because of the powers they have. All the people who have such pipes belong to a society and meet at times to open their bundles and smoke the pipes. We never use them for everyday smoking. 778 597

A man sometimes adopts a daughter, and she, in turn, can adopt a young man and give him a pipe, or she may adopt another woman, whichever she wishes to do. Only the men go out on the prairies to build the nest and sing the Medicine Pipe songs, however. 597

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SUMMARY

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Chapter XVII

SUMMARY

796 THE ceremonies were highly formalized and were in part
773 organized on an annual basis. The Mandan attributed
776 their creation and appearance on the earth to certain magical acts of the sacred beings who preceded them to prepare the world before creating all the living things. It was believed that the sacred beings protected the people so long as the ceremonies were performed. The Mandan also believed that other peoples created by the same sacred beings in mythological times performed similar ceremonies and that the sacred beings favored those tribes making the most lavish ceremonial display of goods. It was believed that good relations must exist with all the sacred beings. To accomplish this, segments of the total ceremonialism were intrusted to certain individuals or groups of individuals, and the novice was informed that failure to perform the rites in the prescribed manner would bring bad luck.

778 Sacred objects were believed to have *xo'pini*, which informants translated as meaning "power." An individual's "power"
785 was said to increase if he fasted frequently, assisted others in the purchase of sacred bundles, or bought tribal bundles. This "power" was consumed when leading war parties, being largely gone at the end of the fourth expedition, when a man was expected to terminate his war expeditions. This "power" was believed to be lost a little at a time in the daily life of crossing rivers, hunting buffaloes, training horses, or performing other hazardous avocations. A man was believed to acquire a great
[837] deal of *xo'pini* from the buffaloes when he invited older men to have ceremonial sexual intercourse with a wife, and, by the same token, men frequently refused intercourse when they had partaken in a number of the "walking" ceremonies. Very old people were believed to have less *xopini*, having given most of it away to the younger people, particularly the men, who re-

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quired much "power" to pursue successful war and hunting activities.

A Mandan would say, "I claim no power for myself. I have no power except what my sacred objects have promised me." Children were protected by the parents' bundles until they were old enough to fast.

A young man on his first war expedition usually carried a sacred object from his father's bundle. This practice was repeated until the potency of the son's sacred bundle was established.

Supernatural power was acquired by the purchase of tribal bundles, feasts to tribal bundles, ceremonial sexual license, self-torture, and by showing kindness to the old people. The Mandan also believed that some people were "adopted" by a supernatural being without the novice's knowledge, since some people possessing no important tribal or individual bundles were unusually successful.

Women participating in sexual ceremonialism during the buffalo-calling rites contributed to the husband's supernatural "powers." The writer interviewed a number of women who had "walked with the buffaloes," as the practice is called. All agreed that they sought a good home, a loyal husband who was successful in hunting and warfare, good health, and plenty of food and clothing. They believed that the sexual act was tantamount to intercourse with the buffaloes, who, when placated, sent the herds to the prairies near the villages and promised the warriors success in warfare. Ceremonial sexual intercourse strengthened the marital bonds. It was believed that the buffaloes did all that they promised in dreams. Dreams were easy to get from the buffaloes.

The concept of "power" as a substance was further demonstrated by the manner of handling sacred objects. During the buffalo-calling ceremonies, the men impersonating buffaloes held out their sacred bundles for the women to press to their naked breasts. A woman placed her arms on the "holy man," dragging her arms downward toward the hand holding the bundle as though drawing the sacred powers possessed from the body into the sacred bundle, which was then taken from the buffalo impersonator and held to her breast. By this act it was

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believed that the supernatural powers were transferred to her own body. These supernatural powers were in turn transmitted to her husband in the daily activities of living and working together. Men receiving sacred objects either to own or to hold took them in the same manner but did not hold them to the breast. 778 789

The faith of the Mandan in their sacred objects was unshaken by two severe smallpox epidemics. They speak of these epidemics as unfortunate and explain the impotency of their rites to protect the tribe on the grounds that, when the original ceremonies were introduced into the tribe, the sacred beings made no promise of tribal immunity to the white man's diseases. They believe that the tribe would have been exterminated by their enemies subsequent to the last smallpox epidemic had the ceremonies been abandoned. 778 731

The Mandan sacred bundles fall into two general categories. They are (1) the hereditary tribal bundles and (2) the personal bundles. Of these two groups of bundles, the former played a more significant role in the total ceremonial life and in a large measure set the background for the supernatural experiences which instituted the personal bundles. 778

At this point it would be well to indicate some of the general characteristics of these bundles not indicated in the main body of the report. The Mandan place greatest values on those bundles and ceremonies which traditionally were instituted in very early times. Foremost of these are the Okipa, founded by Lone Man and Hoita, and those Corn ceremonies which were founded by Good Furred Robe. Not only are these two ceremonies considered oldest, but they also involve the greatest number of participants. 778 796

The Okipa was without question the most complicated and colorful ceremony performed in the Northern Plains. According to tradition, the principal officers of the ceremony belonged to the WaxikEna clan. This clan was intrusted with the care and repair of the sacred cedar and other sacred objects appertaining to the ceremony. A male member of that clan occupied the sacred lodge and acted as announcer whenever tribal ceremonies were performed. A man selected one of his own clan to become his son-in-law to perpetuate the lineage in the sacred 778 796 614 428

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778 lodge. The principal officer of the Okipa was the Lone Man,
796 who, traditionally, belonged to the WaxikEna clan. The rights
614 to impersonate Lone Man were inherited through the Waxi-
428 kEna clan. A buyer was assisted by his brothers and sisters, who
became secondary owners in the bundle. Should the buyer die,
a brother was entitled to officiate until a new owner was qualified. When the bundle-owner had no brothers, the sisters' husband was authorized to officiate by performing a ceremonial feast to the bundle until a qualified successor in the clan was se-
[604] lected. The bundle and office passed from a man to his sister's son. A man could sell his rights in the office four times, but few sales were made in later years, since there were two separate bundle lineages representing the two villages built near Fort Clark which were adequate to meet ceremonial needs. In fact, one of these lineages died out shortly after 1837 and was never re-established. The Hoita lineage, though theoretically in the WaxikEna clan, was, in historic times, held temporarily by a member of the Tamisik clan.

778 Although villages were reported to be largely independent
ceremonially, they were not entirely so. The three sacred turtle
621 drums were kept by individual members of the WaxikEna clan
at Nuptadi Village, one of the east-side villages of the Heart River group, and were borrowed by the other villages when the Okipa was to be performed. In later years when the tribe moved to Fort Clark, these drums were kept at the Upper Village situated near Deapolis. Each village was believed to possess its own complement of officers. There was, however, a certain amount of collaboration between villages when new officers were receiving training.

778 The sacred cedar was erected in each village if the village
621 group had a complete complement of Okipa officers. It was the
361 rule that, whenever a ceremony or organized social event was
performed in the summer village, out of respect to Lone Man, whose body was represented by this inclosed post, the group
[431] should dance once at this sacred shrine. On these occasions,
[782] gifts of robes or other clothing were placed over the cedar as an offering to the Lone Man and became the property of the WaxikEna clan. The Mandan considered the entire open-circle area inclosing the sacred cedar sacred also. Even as late as

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1929, informants unwilling to divulge sacred lore were equally 778
unwilling to divulge the arrangement of lodges around this 621
circle. Their explanation was that the area was sacred because 361
they had suffered there during the Okipa, standing at this point in the village when thongs were inserted in their flesh for dragging buffalo skulls, or because so many ceremonies had been performed there. When ceremonies were performed at the winter camps, it was customary to leave goods at the sacred cedar when returning later to the summer village.

Mandan informants disagree relative to the purpose of performing the Okipa ceremony. All give a number of reasons; they are: to bring buffaloes to the village; to acquaint young people with the history of the tribe; to give the young men an opportunity to fast. White Calf thought that the principal reason for performing the ceremony was to bring all the gods back so that all the holy beings would be working for the Mandan and not their enemies. He remarked that summer was the season when the gods, particularly the big birds, returned. At this point it is interesting to note that, although a restricted number of officers were intrusted with the direction and performance of this ceremony, on the third day, known as "Everything Comes Back Day," characters represented in the ceremony comprised most of the major bundle-owners of the village. 796

The person pledging the ceremony was known as the Okipa 796
Maker. The ceremony was considered a "sacred feast to tribal
bundles," and the benefits accruing to the Okipa Maker were 554
comparable to those received when offering a feast to any other sacred bundles. He received a section of a sand-bar willow for his sacred bundle and was entitled to participate in important tribal discussions. There was no clan restriction as to performance. However, only those who had demonstrated bravery and industry were permitted to give the ceremony.

The principal officers of the Okipa were Lone Man and 796
Hoita impersonators and the singers. They received their
rights after undergoing formal training. For new officers, tribal 793
recognition of their authority was given at a ceremonial feast held prior to the performance of the Okipa. Actually, one desiring to participate in the Okipa and being eligible according to the rules of inheritance underwent instruction at an early age,

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796 buying subsidiary rights until, when reaching maturity, he had
793 full knowledge of the ceremony. The teaching of a ceremony by sections characterized the entire ceremonial pattern of the Mandan and constitutes one of the major differences between Mandan and Hidatsa ceremonial training, the latter tribe giving the instruction in its entirety at the time of bundle sale.

796 The Mandan believed that the Okipa began as a simple buf-
173 falo dance at a time when the tribe was small and life was simple and that the ceremony grew in complexity as the tribe increased in numbers and complexity. Crows Heart explained that, as new tribal bundles were added, additional impersonators were added for the "Everything Comes Back Day." The changes instituted since the ceremony was described by Catlin and Maximilian were insignificant. The number of singers was reduced to three, and the torture feature was performed outside the ceremonial lodge.

796 It is significant to note that, in spite of the prominent place of
241 agriculture in the Mandan economic life, little recognition was given to agriculture in the "Everything Comes Back Day" of this important ceremony. The Old Woman Who Never Dies was represented together with other holy women by two men dressed as women, and those of one moiety rubbed their wounds with corn meal. Otherwise, little recognition was given to agriculture.

796 The importance of mythology in Mandan ceremonialism
should not be minimized.[1] Left to his own resources in describ-
773 ing a ceremony, a Mandan informant invariably introduced the subject by first relating the myth. These myths explain the peculiar topography of the Mandan country with lakes and sloughs to the east, badlands and streams to the west, and the Missouri River dividing the two. These sacred myths even explain the creation of the white men and their cattle on the east bank of the Missouri River, where, in mythological times, they were found to be too weak to survive and were sent back across the ocean. When the writer showed Bear on the Flat fossilized clam shells and wood in coal-bearing beds, he immediately explained their presence in terms of the flood sent by Maniga to

1. Lowie writes: "Several Plains tribes—notably the Hidatsa, Blackfoot, and Arapaho—utilize widespread tales to account for the origin of rituals" (Robert H. Lowie, *Myths and Traditions of the Crow Indians* ["Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXV], p. 8).

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destroy the Mandans. Sacred myths played an important role in the interpretation of situations arising from time to time. First of all, these myths constituted the traditional history of the tribe, and the Mandan were accustomed until a few years ago to return from time to time to these sacred places at and near the Heart River to examine these shrines. My informants often remarked that they would have forgotten many of these stories had they not been able to see for themselves what the older people had explained.[2] 796 773

The sacred myths expressed a fundamental pattern of conduct which regulated and to a certain degree regimented the population. The fear of accident or misfortune being ever present, those possessing a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were consulted frequently by those not so well informed. A young man accustomed to consult his elders on important matters was considered wise, and the older people would say, "He will become eminent because he endeavors to regulate his behavior along the line laid down by the sacred things long ago." 773 626

The sacred myths established psychological relationships between bundles which to the student of Mandan ceremonialism are otherwise not understandable. In the natives' minds certain bundles are related, and, when a ceremony for one of the bundles of the complex was held, those having bundles believed to be related were expected to attend. The Old Woman Who Never Dies rites will illustrate this point. Since this culture hero formerly cared for her gardens along the Missouri River, the psychological relationship with the Corn Skull bundles is evident. The association of the Bear bundles with this rite become intelligible only when examining the sacred myth in which it is said that she used the grizzly bear for a dog because she was so powerful that all animals were her slaves. Additional information on this point appears in the accounts of the various ceremonies which appear above. 796 778 773

Ceremonies were native dramatizations of the sacred myths. In native theory, the details of the ceremony continued un- 796 773

2. Differences in myths and rites now recognized by the older Mandan probably represent cultural differences between villages which become apparent only when the survivors of the Heart River villages united to occupy a single village.

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796 773 changed from generation to generation. When no sacred myth belonged to the ceremony or there were no sacred instructions at the time of the inception of the ceremony, the Mandan believed these ceremonies were borrowed of neighboring tribes. The Adoption Pipe ceremony belonged in this category. The sacred myth enumerated the benefits which would accrue to the tribe and the giver of the ceremony when the rites were performed.

773 602 776 The sacred myths were the basis for an extension of the kinship system to include the world of the supernatural. First Creator was addressed as "very old one," while Lone Man, who assisted him in the creation of the earth, was addressed by persons of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans as "ptawadatodE" or "mother's brother." Those of the opposite moiety addressed him as "father." Sun and Moon were "father" and their sister was "father's sister." Their mother was addressed as "grandmother," a term also used for the various holy women of the ash groves, the field mice, the corn mill, and all female beings present on the earth on the "first day of creation." An individual addressed a sacred being appearing in a dream and not belonging to the category of tribal gods as "father" if a male and "father's sister" if a female.

778 425 428 614 The Mandan system of bundle inheritance shows evidence of change within the last century. Certain bundles and ceremonial rights traditionally inherited through the clan and more specifically from the mother's brother, such as the Okipa belonging to the WaxikEna clan and the Shell Robe bundle of the Prairie Chicken clan, showed a tendency to change to a father-son inheritance of the Hidatsa pattern. The eagle-trapping lodges were still inherited through the clan as late as 1929, but the associated bundles had changed from clan inheritance to father-son inheritance after 1875. The system of inheritance was more flexible than for the Hidatsa, with whom they were intimately associated. At first I was inclined to believe that this greater flexibility was due, in part at least, to the breakdown of the older system, an opinion which I have now abandoned. The Mandan parents often selected their daughters' husbands and gave them preliminary assistance in ceremonial matters. The sons and daughters of a household usually purchased the par-

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ents' bundle collectively and designated one of their number, generally the oldest son, to be the custodian. A family having only daughters sold to the son-in-law providing he had been successful in warfare and had removed the mother-in-law taboo. 778 425 428 614

Unlike the Hidatsa, where bundle transfers were vision inspired, the Mandan seem to have placed greater emphasis on the personality and interests of the one to receive a tribal bundle. One owning an important bundle and getting along in years would frequently suggest to a younger person that he should buy into the bundle rites. The period of preparation was prolonged and frequently extended over several years. Since bundle rights could be sold four times, there were usually a number of people receiving instructions simultaneously. New bundles were made up for those buying part of the rites, while the original bundle was retained for the nearest relatives. When feasts were given to the bundle, all those having any rights in the bundle or related bundle rites were entitled to attend. This practice extended the ritualistic lore to many persons outside the immediate bundle-owner's family and probably explains why so much of the traditional lore was preserved through the smallpox epidemic of 1837. So far as it was possible to determine, the number of tribal bundle rites was not materially reduced during the nineteenth century. 778 425 869

The personal bundles constitute another important group of sacred objects. These were individually owned and were rarely inherited. The bundle was assembled after receiving a vision from some supernatural being, instructing him to assemble a bundle which would bring certain benefits to the individual. Unlike the tribal bundles, a buffalo skull was not a part of the bundle, and there were no sacred myths. There was a sacred song and a prescribed rule of behavior to be followed when the bundle was open. An unusually successful individual would sometimes sell his bundle to a son about to leave on a war expedition. These bundles, however, were rarely sold and were usually put away when the original owner died. 778 787

Both men and women had personal bundles. Women usually fasted less frequently and had only one bundle; usually the guardian spirit promised her a long life and the right to cure. Men fasted frequently and were recognized for the number of 778 554

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778 sacred bundles they had acquired, providing, of course, they
554 had been successful in life and had not "kicked the stone." One having repeated bad luck usually put his bundles away and sought new vision experiences. This could not be done with tribal bundles. The only instance on record of an attempt to dispose
425 of a tribal bundle was made by Red Bird in 1838, a year after
778 the smallpox epidemic when he lost a son of smallpox. A son-in-law offered to buy the bundle and received tribal approval of the transfer. Personal bundles were normally taken to the scaffold and hung with the pipe and firearms when the owner died.

796 In summary, the above report covers the main features of the Mandan ceremonial life so far as it was possible to ascertain. In
178 evaluating the data supplied by informants, the writer gave especial emphasis to the information of those informants whose
114 parents lived in the Nuptadi village which was occupied at Deapolis as a separate Mandan village after the Fort Clark village group had united with the Hidatsa. It was found that the Mandan preserved their ceremonial structure with minor variations after the smallpox epidemic. The clan system and age-grade organization were simplified to meet the new conditions of a reduced population. I have not attempted to indicate cultural borrowing, since a companion report covering details of the Hidatsa social and ceremonial organization is in the process of preparation. So far as the Mandan were concerned, there is little evidence of ceremonial borrowing since 1837, owing in large part, no doubt, to the heavy ceremonial burden inherited from earlier times when the population was materially larger. That the Mandan have played an important role in the growth of Plains culture must be inferred from their central position in the Low Plains, the high development in trade for agricultural products with their nomadic neighbors, and the admitted borrowing by the Hidatsa of many significant elements of their culture.

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APPENDIXES

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Appendix I

MYTHS OF THE OKIPA CEREMONY

ORIGIN MYTH RELATED BY WHITE CALF[1]

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My father was named Little Eagle. He was killed sixty-three years ago when out to war along the Mouse River [1867]. My mother's name was Shell Corn, and she died thirty-two years ago. I was born just after my father was killed.

My information comes from Big Turtle. He told the stories to One Side of Feather, Short Bull, Bear on Water, Big Foot Bull, and Two Chiefs when they were buying offices in the Okipa, and I bought my Lone Man's bundle from Two Chiefs, who married my mother after my father was killed."

In the beginning the earth was covered with water. Lone Man was walking along on top of the waves. He turned back to follow his tracks, all the time wondering where he came from. He came to a flower and saw that there was blood in it. The Flower said, "My son, you were born from me. I gave birth to you in order that you could go around in the world and do much work."

He went on, for he now knew who his mother was. He thought that there should be something at the bottom of the water, so he went on until he came to two ducks. He thought that there must be something in the water that his mother came from.

The Ducks said, "There is a bottom to the water."

Lone Man said, "Go down to the bottom and bring me up some earth," and they went down four times, so that he had four pieces of earth from the bottom of the water. He scattered the earth as he went along. When he looked back, he saw that the land had come up from the four pieces that he had scattered. He saw that the land he had made was good; there were trees in places, and some of them had fruit on them.

He secured wood from the trees and made a wooden pipe. He carried it on his arm as he walked along. He came to a buffalo bull, but the bull did not know where he had come from. There was some grass around the spot where the bull stood, and Lone Man decided to scatter that so that the hills would have grass. The bull saw that Lone Man had nothing in his pipe, so he passed water in spots that Lone Man had loosened in the earth.

The Bull said, "You can go on now but come back when you hear a sound like thunder." Lone Man wondered about it as he traveled along. He came to a small mouse with a long nose called Mosquito Mouse, and after that he came to a cornmill, and, because these were found in early times, we still call them "grandmother."

1. For other versions of this myth see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 1–21, and also Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, 1906), XXIII, 304–12.

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He went on with his pipe until he came to First Man (Coyote) and said to him, "You are younger than I am," and there was an argument, each betting that he was the older. Lone Man had a lance representing the two birds that brought up the earth from the bottom of the water. Lone Man stuck his lance in the ground and First Man lay down beside it.

Lone Man walked away and after a while he heard a noise like thunder. He went back to his garden and saw healthy tobacco plants growing there. There were many bees around the blooms, and they were making a sound like thunder. The Bull came back and made a tobacco sack from a buffalo's bladder. He filled his pipe, and the smoke was of fine flavor.

He thought of the bet he had made with First Man, so he went to the place where he had left his lance. He found it warped and said, "I told you I was the older man," so he left the lance and went on. After a number of years he came back and the stick was still there, but First Man's bones were scattered. The fourth time he came back, the stick of his lance was bent nearly to the ground, and he thought that Coyote was surely dead, so he took the lance out of the ground, and, by rubbing it with his hands, it was like new. When he was about to walk away, First Man jumped up, proving that he was the older. First Man said, "We will go around the world, and I will help you in everything that you undertake."

They made over the country. Because the pipe was in two parts which did not come entirely together, water was left between so that the land did not entirely come together, leaving the Missouri River between. Lone Man made the north or east side, and First Man made the other side of the Missouri River. They finished and came back to the Heart River.

Lone Man said, "I made my side flat with lakes, small hills, many rocks, waterbirds, and spotted buffaloes."

First Man said, "I made my land rough with springs and trees so that the people could come close to the buffaloes. I made the buffaloes, and they are fat and dark."

Lone Man said, "I made my buffaloes spotted and tame so that they would be easy for the people to hunt, but yours will be wild and hard to get."

They went around and examined the lands they had made. Lone Man secured a wolf hide for a robe. He killed rabbits to get the hide to put around his ankles as white stockings.

By that time there were quite a few Indians on this land they had made. He was among them, but they never noticed him. He wondered how he could get into one of the women so that he could be born into the tribe. He found a girl eating dry corn, but he thought that she would crack him with her teeth, so he gave that up. One day an old woman and her daughter were in the woods for firewood. The girl went to the river as she was thirsty. She saw a dead buffalo floating along in the current and drew it to shore. Seeing the kidney fat sticking out of a hole in its back, she ate some of it. She told her mother about the buffalo, but when they returned to the river, the animal had broken away from shore.

A month afterward, the girl learned that she was in a family way, and they wondered how it had happened. When it was nearly time for the baby to be born, it heard every word that the people said and thought that it was then time to come out into the world again. The girl was sick, and her mother put her in the lodge where the baby was born. They observed that the baby was painted black on the forehead, and the people knew that it was more than an

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average baby. They wrapped the baby in a hide smoked in the smokehole, and that was not good for him because it caused him to forget himself. 773

Nevertheless, the baby grew rapidly and soon he was a young man. He knew many things. Hoita[2] was living there at that time and was receiving many fine presents, especially white robes with the hoofs and horns attached. Lone Man wanted one of these robes and wondered how he could get one of them. He hired Thunder, Rain, Whirlwind, and Sun to help him. He did all this to get Hoita's white buffalo robe. The thunder came, followed by rain. The people went inside, but the lodges leaked and everything was wet. Hoita took his fine robe out after the rain and left it in the sun to dry. A whirlwind came along and carried the robe into the air, and it came down far to the north. A party of Indians found it and brought it back to the village. They said that it was even better than the one that had been given to Hoita. Everyone thought that they would surely give it to Hoita, but instead they gave it to Lone Man (Na'-to-re).[3] 539

Hoita was angry and went to Dog Den Butte,[4] taking all the animals with him. He held the animals there.[5] One day Lone Man went up onto a mound on a hill and noticed that there were no animals around. Soon a raven came along and disappeared to the north, and he thought that there must be something over there. Three white swans flew over, going in the same direction. Then three jackrabbits went by, and shortly afterward a wolf with the front part of his shoulders painted red went by. Lone Man saw seven buffaloes grazing on a hill to the north, and he thought that he would go there and inquire where they came from. He went to the spot where they had been grazing but could not find them, but he found a sharp-nosed mosquito mouse with her six young ones.

Mosquito Mouse said to Lone Man, "You are slowly losing your mind. I have been trying to make you understand what is happening. When you see a raven fly by, that represents your cap; the white swans represent your lance; the three jackrabbits represent your anklets; the wolf represents the robe you are wearing. Hoita has every living thing captive inside of Dog Den Butte. You should go there to see what you can do to protect your people. Then you can have your own ceremony just like Hoita is performing. You should have some young man dress up like Hoita, and, if he comes around, have the young man say 'I am your son because you walked with my mother,' but if he says he never walked with her, say 'She put your medicine bundle against her heart and that is why I was born.' "

After the talk with the mouse Lone Man went on to Dog Den Butte.[6] He saw nothing outside except a few rabbits running around. He changed himself

2. The speckled eagle.

3. He is addressed here as "the old one."

4. These are buttes of Northeast McLean County, N.D.

5. For a similar Hidatsa myth concerning Dog Den Butte see Beckwith, *op. cit.*, pp. 144–48.

6. Note that in the other origin myth of the Okipa, recorded above (chap. iv), the ceremony was believed to have originated downstream near the White River in South Dakota. According to native accounts, differences in myths explaining the origin and significance of the same ceremony were common. Informants would say, "the people of the other villages would tell somewhat different stories, but the ceremony was performed in the same way in all the villages."

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into a rabbit from the roughlands, but they were afraid of him. He ate the cactus, too, and toward morning they all went into the den.

Hoita said, "You are Lone Man; you are not a rabbit."

That evening they were having a dance, and they used a dried buffalo hide rolled up for the drum. There were two blue herons standing beside the drummers, picking up the bugs that were beaten from the hide. He saw everything that went on inside Dog Den Butte, and then he went back to his village toward morning. They were having a famine in the village. He decided to do just as the mouse had advised. He found an intelligent young man whose mother had walked with the Hoita and told him that a famine was coming and that they should perform the ceremony to free the animals. He called the old people together and told them of his plans. He instructed the young man who was to impersonate the real Hoita.

He secured a dry buffalo hide for the drum and selected two young men with long legs to stand by the drum and impersonate the herons picking up the bugs. Instead of worms they had corn balls to pick up. Lone Man didn't like the hide for a drum and brought in a beaver, but after the beaver was hit a few times, it was broken. He then brought out a badger, but that animal could not stand the blows either. The third time he brought a common turtle, but it could not stand the blows. He could see that it would take something very strong to stand the blows, so he went south to the ocean, and there he found the ocean turtle in the water near a sand bar. He put his pipe before the large ocean turtles, and they smoked. The leader of the turtles asked, "What is it that you want of me?"

Lone Man replied, "I want something strong enough for a drum in the Buffalo Dance."

The turtle said, "The world is supported on our backs, so we four turtles cannot leave here. You can look us over and made drums like us but of the strongest and thickest buffalo-bull hide."

Lone Man went back to the village and secured the hides. He used the thickest part of the neck and sewed it up with the heaviest of hide lace. He sewed an extra piece of hide on the turtles' backs so that, when a hole wore into the back, he could take the piece off and sew a new one in place. The framework was of oak which were the trees that the turtles were supporting on their backs. He put a little buffalo of buffalo sheddings inside of each and instructed the people that the turtles should be repaired secretly in a bullboat anchored in the Missouri River. Young men made offerings of speckled eagle feathers to fashion a collar for each turtle.[7]

Hoita was using a hide rolled up for the drum in his ceremony inside of Dog Den Butte, but Lone Man used the turtles, and the sound was so loud that it could be heard far away in Dog Den Butte. Hoita wanted to know what was going on, so he sent Swift Fox out. The fox went to the village to learn how the people were getting along. Lone Man knew what was being done, so he sent the men out to make a fox trap and bait it with a buffalo rib. The fox came near the village and was caught in the trap. The men tied the rib around the fox's neck and sent him back to Dog Den Butte.

The next day Hoita sent Red Fox out to see what was going on. He was also caught in the trap, and again the men tied a buffalo rib around the fox's neck and sent him home.

7. This is the correct description of the turtle drums. Maximilian errs in describing them as sacks filled with water.

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The third day First Creator went out and ran over to Lone Man's village He saw that the people were doing well and stayed there. 773

Red Fox said, "Hoita, you are there yourself," and Hoita went over to see for himself. 539

Lone Man knew that Hoita was coming and announced it to the people. The people thought that they would fool Hoita so they made four corn balls and placed them in a row so that he would pass them as he approached the ceremonial lodge. Hoita came in and saw a young man in his place and inquired what right he had to impersonate the real Hoita.

The young man said, "You are my father."

Hoita said, "I never walked with your mother."

The boy replied, "I got into my mother's body the time she put the sage which you gave her next to her breast."

Hoita was suspicious and said, "Get up. I want to look at you. I didn't know that I had a son. Look at me." Every time he looked toward Hoita, lightning came from his eyes. The light came from the fireflies that Lone Man had put in the young man's eyes. Hoita decided that the boy was his son. This was the first time that the turtles were used.

There are many words in the ceremony which are not understood today because the meanings have changed. We understand enough of the words in the songs and ritual to know that they refer to pieces of buffalo meat and the dust raised by the herds when they are running.

Hoita went back to Dog Den Butte and told the animals that they could leave. He sent the black-tail deer to the badlands, the white-tail deer to the timber, the bears to the points in the river, the buffaloes to the flat, and the antelopes to the hills. "The Mandan can go out now and find plenty of meat. All the people will be happy. Lone Man and I will work together, for I have a son in that village." All these people were Nuptadi, and I am one of them myself.

The people were accustomed to cross the water to trade for shells in Maniga's village. They had a boat that would carry twelve men, and it would cross merely by saying, "Go." These shells were on an island. Lone Man wanted to go also, so thirteen were in the boat that time. It was rough in the middle of the water. They landed and went to Maniga's village. The people in that village were accustomed to kill off the Mandan by having them eat, drink, and smoke too much. Then the women of the tribe were offered to the Mandan. The Mandan had brought a sunflower which they had hollowed and through which they passed the food and water. A man with the medicine of the tobacco bee came along, so they were not taken sick from smoking. They used a buffalo tail from which the hair had been removed to overcome the last barrier. Then Maniga's people brought out the shells in large sacks for the Mandan to take back to their village.

Maniga announced that he would return the visit in four days, which meant four years. He came as the flood.[8] Lone Man built a wall around the village, and all went inside. The water came as high as the band on the outside of the wall and could not come higher. This band was of the water willow, but in recent years young cottonwoods are being used.

Maniga liked skunkskins. When the water was at its highest point, he threw the shells over the wall. The sacred cedar is a symbol of the flood in

8. Catlin records a variant of this flood story (George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I [Philadelphia, 1857], 277–78).

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miniature. The cedar represents Lone Man and all the people; the enclosure is the wall he built around the people to protect them from the flood; the band of water willow surrounding the wall represents the highest point reached by the water. After the flood, the water went down in a few days, and there was dry land again.

Lone Man was well built and very good-looking. He never married while he was in the tribe. Whenever there were hard times, he helped the people.

There was a good, young woman in one of the villages who never went out with any of the young men. Burrs got into her dress, and she went into her mother's lodge to search for them. She had taken off her dress and was standing just under the smokehole when a shadow passed over like when the sun is shaded by a cloud. She thought that there was someone on the roof so she hid herself. Not long after that she heard someone singing inside her. Her family could not understand it. In a short time the pain inside nearly killed her. That night a child was born to her, but it disappeared immediately in the darkness. She called her family, and they built up the fire. The child was black in color with white spots. He was jumping up and down, and the family could not do anything with him. He grew very fast. He was always jumping or running about, and they could not do anything with him.

One day his grandfather was making arrows and tipping them with speckled eagle feathers. The boy liked them and wanted to wear some of the feathers in his hair. His grandfather fixed him up a bunch of these feathers. He asked his grandfather for a cane. and he tied a ball on one end of it. One day he wanted to go outside, but they were afraid to let him go outside for fear that he would run away. He begged, and they let him go out. He made great leaps, running up the sides of the lodges. It was great entertainment for the people. His name was OxinhEdE,[9] or Foolish One. He went out among the high hills, jumping from one hill to the other. He killed the sacred snakes and many other things that the people worshiped. He even killed the Holy Women who lived in the ash thickets. All the gods met to decide what should be done with him. Since these gods were working for the benefit of the Mandan, they decided to kill the little black boy.

Foolish One asked the people to make four warbonnets. While they were working on the warbonnets, a heavy fog came up. He went out and returned several times, but at last he did not return. When the fog raised, his father came down from the sun and found his son lying dead on the prairie. He met Lone Man and inquired who had killed the boy. All the spirits that had been present when the boy was killed fled and hid in the Killdeer Mountains. At that time they were in one block, but the black man hit the mountains with his club and broke them into two pieces, leaving them as we see them today, one being the head and the other the body.

The elder Foolish One was painted black all the time. He asked Lone Man what should be done with the body. They came to a large rock. Lone Man hit it with his staff, and it split open. They put the boy inside and squeezed the rock together again. This rock is near one of the old villages at Heart River. Foolish One went back to the sun.

At that time there were four turtles. The people thought a great deal of them. These turtles liked the tail feathers of the speckled eagles and the bald

9. For another version of the incident centering around this character see *ibid.*, pp. 280–81.

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eagles. One was the leader of the turtles. The people gave him a feather of the yearling calumet eagle, and he became angry. This happened on the east side of the Missouri River, opposite and a little above Standing Rock. They could not hold the turtle, and Lone Man was away. A man who was good at thinking said, "I will do that," for Lone Man had said that he would return in spirit if the people would only think of him. Lone Man returned this time. He split the water with his lance, and the turtle lay on the bottom of the river. Lone Man said, "What is the matter?"

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The turtle replied, "I am angry. I guess they can get along without me."

Lone Man went to the southwest. Before leaving he said, "When people think of me, I will answer as the south wind."

ORIGIN MYTH RELATED BY SCATTERCORN

The world was sandy and watery in the beginning. When the Lone Man whom we call NumakmaxEna came to himself, he had been walking for a long time.

He said, "Who am I? Where did I come from?"

He turned back and saw his tracks in the sand and decided to follow them and learn where he had come from. At the end of his trail he found a large plant [I'data'ki] about a foot high. It was green with white stripes on the leaves and had a red flower. It was growing in a spring. He wondered if the plant or the bug was his mother. He turned away from the plant and went his way.

He traveled to many different places and met another man, the First Creator[10] [Ki'numakci or Coyote], who said, "How did you happen to be here?"

"I just found myself walking in the world. I know where I walked, but I don't know whether my mother is the red flower or the bug in the flower. I am older than you are."

First Creator said, "I am the older."

They argued for a long while about it. They decided to lie down where they stood and die there for a long time. There they decayed and were covered with dirt until there were hardly any bones left. First Creator was afraid to get up, while Lone Man thought he was the only man alive. At last Lone Man arose, and Coyote jumped up. Lone Man admitted the other was the older. They decided to call each other the older brothers of the tribe.

Then they decided to fix up the land, for it was too boggy. First Creator took the right side of the Missouri River and Lone Man the left side. They laid out the land to suit themselves, and, when they had finished, they met again. Lone Man said, "I laid out my land flat. I made lakes and only a little timber here and there so that people on the warpath can see a long ways." First Creator said, "I made many ravines, hills, and rocks; I made plenty of springs. I think I made the best land."

They decided to separate, each going his own way. Lone Man came to the Heart River, where there was a hill near by shaped like a heart and he named it Heart Butte. This he decided was to be the "Heart of the World," and this hill is still holy to our people.

He saw a buffalo in a ravine and said, "I haven't seen anything like you since I came here. How did you come here?"

10. Also known as Omahank-Numakshi (see Maximilian, *op. cit.*, pp. 301–3).

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"I just came to myself here. What do you have in your pipe?" asked the Buffalo.

"I am just carrying it around."

The Buffalo said, "You should have something to put in it. I am going to make something for it."

The buffalo dug in the sod and passed water all through the rows of the small garden. Then the Buffalo said, "Go on your way. When you hear loud thunder, you will find your tobacco in this place." When Lone Man heard the noise of the thunder, he returned. He found the tobacco all in blossom. The Buffalo said, "This is your tobacco."

He looked at it. There were many tobacco flies on it. They were the ones who were making the noise. Even today we have them, and they make a loud noise.

The Buffalo picked off the ends of the blossoms and said, "I will get you something to dry your tobacco on." The whole side of his coat came off. "You put your tobacco on this, and, when you think it is dry, come back again." Lone Man left the place and went on his way again.

When he returned, he found his tobacco dry. The buffalo was there, and he gave Lone Man a sack for it. The sack was made of a buffalo bladder.

Buffalo said, "Try your tobacco and see if it is good. Then put the rest of it in your bag." Lone Man tried it and liked it and was glad he got it.

The Buffalo said, "Whenever you are out of it, come back here again, and I will get you some more."

Lone Man left and again traveled all through the land he had made. He thought there should be some people living in the world, and he decided to make some. He took two ends off of his ribs,[11] one on each side and made one into a man and the other a woman. He directed them to stay there and build themselves a lodge. Some time after he had made this man and woman he thought of them again. When he returned, he found that they had children, and he was pleased. He married the boys and girls together and did this several times. That is how they increased. Each time he came back, he united new groups.

He was pleased with the manner in which the tribe grew. In this early time, the men called their wives by the name "sister," but, after the tribe was larger, they called them "wife" instead.

The village grew to be very large, and Lone Man said, "Sometimes I am gone a long time. If anything happens, and you need me, you can call me. I will hear and come back."

Every time the village was in need, they called him. When he came back, he traveled through the air like a shooting star, only not quite so fast, a little more like the lights on a car at night. Whenever any little thing came up, they would call, and he became impatient. He instructed them that if anything happened he would not come back but would look back and that the south wind was the sign that they were being answered. This proved more conven-

11. The other informants stated that a mudhen brought up clay after the world was made and that this earth was shaped into a man and a woman. The notion of shaping a figure and producing life from it is also expressed in the making of a clay doll by a barren woman desiring children. Curtis also secured similar information of Iron Eyes, his Mandan informant. Another myth speaks of coming from underground, bringing corn up with them.

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ient, and, when the south wind blew, they knew that he was thinking of them and answering their prayers. 773

After the people increased, and the Corn People had come from below, and the Sky People from above, the village was so large that they had to divide it. The number of villages grew until there were five. Lone Man often came back at night and saw how happy they were. This pleased him. 539

When the villages had grown in number until there were five, he thought he ought to be born in the tribe again so that he could be one of the people. He went to the village and climbed upon the earth lodges to look about, but he had difficulty in finding a suitable young woman to be his mother. In the first four villages he found the girls all foolish about the young men. In the fifth village he found a young woman that he was satisfied with, so he decided he would have her for his mother and be born from her. She had no lovers but went about her business when out in the village. He didn't know just how to get into her body. He thought he would get into her food, but the kernel of corn he hid in fell out of the bowl onto the ground, so he failed in that attempt. He tried other schemes, but in each he failed.

One day the girl and her mother went out into the garden to hoe the corn. While working there, the sun was hot and the girl became thirsty. She ran down to the river to get a drink. The water was up to the willows, and a dead buffalo came floating by near the edge of the river. Its back was cut open, so that the kidney fat was sticking out. She pulled the animal to the bank and ate some of the fat. Then she tied the animal fast to a willow while she ran to tell her mother what she had found. When they returned, the buffalo was gone. They never found it, but the willows were still there. This was the way Lone Man got into her body.

The two women went back home, and there the girl described a peculiar feeling inside of her. The mother told her that she was in a family way. Her mother wanted to know how she got in such a condition, unless she knew some young man. She asked her to name him, but the girl insisted that she had never been intimate with any of the young men. The mother said it was impossible to be in such a condition otherwise. So this was the way that our chief god came to be one of us.

At the time the pains came on, the girl told her mother about them. Her father was one of the chiefs of the fifth village (Nuptadi) of the Mandan. When he learned about this he said, "Whoever you are in there, come out and stop your mother's pains," and Lone Man came right out.

He knew everything they did from the beginning. They had only buffalo robes to wrap him in, but they took good care of him. He grew up in the tribe and became a child of the village. The mother was ashamed to be out in the village and seldom was seen in the company of others. This young boy lived with his grandfather. Every time the grandfather painted himself, Lone Man painted his own forehead red with the paint the grandfather had given him in a little paint bag.

He played with the other small boys, and the other chief of the village often watched them from his seat on the earth lodge. He saw the small boys with robes over them imitating buffaloes running into a small cave they had dug. He noticed that every time they ran in, one of them was a real buffalo calf. He watched the next day, and there was a real calf again. He watched them for four days and concluded that this young buffalo must be the poor fatherless boy. He was much concerned about this; everything was so strange and

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unlike anything he had ever heard of before. If this could be true, he must make friends with this boy, and possibly the boy would give him some of his powers to enable him to rise to the place of first chief of the village. He asked his wife to invite the boy over and give him the finest foods.

Lone Man told the people he had a name, Muska' Ko'oma, meaning "Wild Animal Foating." Each day the second chief's wife called to Muska' Ko'oma to come and eat. The food set before him was made from sunflowers, beans, corn, and pumpkins boiled together. When the boy finished eating, the second chief gave him a spotted eagle feather to play with. The boy liked it so much that he took it home with him. When he returned, he gave the feather to his grandfather. After this he was invited to eat with the second chief frequently, because the boy's powers were plainly seen by that time. He would tell the chief that at a certain time so many buffaloes would come near the village, and the men would go out and always find them. Everyone knew he was a spirit, or he could not predict these things.

In another village, a spirit also grew up by being born into a woman who had never had intercourse with any man. This man was the Spotted Eagle, but the Mandan called him Hoita. Both of these spirits grew up in their own villages; Hoita was the eagle spirit; Lone Man was the buffalo. The people came to recognize the two spirits and made offerings to them. White buffalo robes were considered valuable, and both of these spirits liked them. But one time a man possessing one of these robes got up on the earth lodge and offered it to Hoita. Lone Man became jealous because the people had been giving so many things to the other man.

He thought, "You won't have that robe, Hoita." He went to Thunder and said, "I want you to work for me."

"All right," Thunder said.

"You rain and wet Hoita's robe; soak through the roof and wet it well." Thunder did as directed, and then Lone Man went to Whirlwind and asked him to work for him.

He said, "When Hoita takes his robe out to dry, carry it far away from the village where people will find it."

The rain came and soaked the robe, and then the sun came out. Hoita took the robe out of the lodge and hung it on a scaffold to dry. Whirlwind came and carried it away. Thus Hoita lost his fine white buffalo robe. It was carried far away to the southeast. There were other people living in that direction, and some men looking for buffaloes found the robe. They said, "We will fix this robe up and take it to the Missouri River, for the Mandan place great value on these hides."

This robe was brought to Lone Man's village and bought by the chief. One day the chief climbed onto his earth lodge and offered the robe to Lone Man. When Hoita heard of this, he said, "Let him have it; they have been giving me many things lately." But one day Lone Man took his beautiful white robe out in the sun to air. Hoita saw that it resembled his, and he realized that a trick had been played on him.

Hoita vowed revenge for losing his white robe, so he put on the Buffalo Dance in Dog Den Butte. This was the first time it was ever given. He called all the buffaloes away from around the villages and herded them together in the Dog Den Butte. Every form of living thing was brought into this hill, which resembled a large earth lodge on the inside. The people on the outside were starving, and there was hardly any game to be found. Lone Man would

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go out in search of game, but he could not find any either, but he did find the bones of dead animals on the prairies. These he ordered taken to the village and broken open for the marrow. He would touch these bones with his sacred headdress and sing his sacred songs. There came a time when there was no longer any marrow in the bones. 773 539

All this time he knew Hoita was the one who was doing this, but he did not know just how to get around it and bring the animals back. One day he was on a hill wandering about, wondering what he should do, when he saw a raven flying northward followed by a swan, then a wolf, and finally seven buffaloes. He thought how good it was to see them, but when he ran over where they had been, he discovered that they had disappeared.

Finally he heard a feeble voice in the grass say, "We are here, but you can't see us."

He looked into the grass and saw seven tiny mosquito mice with long pointed noses. One said, "This Hoita has got everything in Dog Den Butte, and we are the last to go in. He has all the animals in there. Just a little while ago you saw a raven go by. That raven was your headdress. The swan was part of your headdress too. That wolf was your robe. We are the last ones, and we are going too. Before you know it, if you don't look out, your sacred pipe will roll down the hill into the Dog Den Butte."

The mosquito mice told Lone Man everything and added in leaving as a warning, "If you don't look out, you will be trapped. We are the last ones. You ought to change into a jackrabbit. There are three kinds of jackrabbits, so you tell Hoita that you are a fourth kind and come from the Rocky Mountains. Tell him your legs are longer than the other rabbits and that you jump over the sage brush, hills, trees, and coulees. Tell him that out in the Rocky Mountains you heard of the things going on down here because his medicine was so strong. You must practice passing your manure so that you always pass seven at each leap. He will ask what you eat. Tell him your favorite food is the cactus plant. You must practice eating from the cactus, since he will ask you to eat some. The jackrabbits are turned out of the Dog Den Butte when evening comes, and you must run among them. Tell them you are the fourth kind and that you come from the Rocky Mountains. Tell Hoita that everything must be done by fours, and he will believe you."

He changed himself into a rabbit, and, when he reached the Dog Den Butte, the other three rabbits ran away from him until he told them that he was from the Rocky Mountains. They believed him, and he went into the butte with them.

When they got inside, Hoita asked, "There are only three kinds of rabbits. What is that other fellow doing here? There is no fourth rabbit."

"I am the rabbit from the Rocky Mountains and that is why I am larger than the others. I heard about your taking all the animals in here," he replied.

"All right, if you are a rabbit, pass manure as a rabbit," Hoita demanded. He passed seven each time he leaped just as the mosquito mice had directed.

The mosquito mice had instructed that he should watch everything that happened in the hill and picture everything in his mind. He should observe the arrangement of the lodge, the steps of the dances, and learn the songs sung. When he got back to his own village, he should find a young man who looked like Hoita and have him impersonate Hoita in a big animal ceremony like that taking place in the Dog Den Butte, and have him do all the things that they

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773 were doing in the hill. When everything was done just like in the hill, the Mandan would overcome their starvation.

539 Before he entered the hill, he changed himself into a spider. He crawled down from a rafter until he was near where the singers were. From his hiding place overhead, he looked down and observed everything. After he learned all the steps of this animal ceremony, he returned to his own village but left the fourth rabbit in Dog Den Butte. He told the people that the only way to get away from starvation was to put on the Buffalo Dance (Okipa), for that would make Hoita open the hill and free the animals.

He selected for the leader the man in the village who looked the most like Hoita and gave him instructions for the ceremony. One of the largest lodges was cleaned out for the purpose, since in those days the Mandan did not have a special ceremonial lodge. He informed the leader that he should claim to be the son of Hoita, since Hoita would come over from Dog Den Butte when the new ceremony was given and inquire concerning their right to give the ceremony.

Lone Man said, "Tell him that he once 'walked' with your mother and that you came from that relation. He will remember that and call you his son." The young man agreed. He looked just like Hoita, only younger, and the people were pleased to have such a near-likeness. It is said that when the real Hoita opened his eyes at night, light flashed out of them. Knowing that Hoita would ask the young man to open his eyes, fireflies were put into his eyes. Hoita would ask to see his eyes, and would know the young man was his son when he saw the eyes flash.

The Buffalo ceremony began then. To begin with, a long dry buffalo hide was used for the drum, but, when the people struck the hide, worms came out. So only the Hoxa, ones who had the blue herons as gods, were allowed to beat the hide.

After the ceremony got under way, the real Hoita said, "We have kept all these animals from the Mandan so they probably are all dead by this time."

He sent Red Fox out. He found the Mandan all dancing and having a good time, and the ceremony was just the same as the one going on in the Dog Den Butte. Then Hoita sent out Gray Fox, and he reported the same thing, but Hoita did not believe that it could be true. He sent the magpie out, and the magpie returned complaining, "They are all having a good time, and here you have kept us all shut up here while they are doing all the things we are."

Hoita said, "I will go myself and see," just as the mosquito mouse had said he would when the fourth time came.

Lone Man had corn balls prepared for Hoita. The mice had told him that he should search for corn, sunflowers, beans, and squash to make into balls and to have them ready so that when the real Hoita came there will be some on the outside where he will step on them. Hoita would then wonder about this because he would expect to find all the people starved.

Hoita came just as the mice said he would. He stepped on the two corn balls and turned to the boy who resembled the real Hoita and inquired, "What right have you to be in my place?"

The boy answered, "I am your son."

Hoita replied, "I have no son. You have insulted me by claiming me as your father. How does it come that you are my son?"

The young Hoita said, "I know you are my father because my mother was given to you once to walk with. My mother took the bundle of sage you had in your hand. That sage conceived me."

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"If you are my son, open your eyes and look at me," Hoita demanded. 773
When he opened them, something like lightning came out and flashed to the top of the earth lodge. Hoita was convinced and said, "All right, you are 539
my son. I remember the time your mother was given to me. It is good that they put you in my place.[12] Now all these people will be free because you are my son." He turned to Lone Man and said, "You are very smart. You have put my son in place of me, and now we shall not work against each other any more."

He set the animals free as well and told them that the people had not starved. It was the Okipa that the buffaloes had been dancing in Dog Den Butte. From that time on, Hoita and Lone Man co-operated for the good of the people, but Lone Man continued to be the more powerful.

In the Okipa the Mandan first used a drum made of a dried buffalo hide with the hair off and rolled up. When they beat the hide, worms came out of it, and the blue heron was kept near by to eat them. Lone Man did not like the worms and looked around for a substitute.

First he went to the beaver and asked if he would be a drum for the Okipa and let himself be hit on the back, but the beaver said, "I am just a weak thing even though I can cut down big trees. If you hit me once, I would be smashed to the ground."

Lone Man went to the badger, but the badger said he was not strong enough. Then he went to the otter, but the otter claimed to be too weak. He roamed all over the world until he came to the ocean which is southeast of us a few days' march below the Cannonball River. At the ocean, as far out on the water as he could see there were a few very large trees. There were the largest oak trees he had ever seen. He wanted to learn why they were there, so he went out skimming along on the water. He was curious to know if there was land underneath them or whether they just grew out of the water. He carried a sacred staff called *dawo'dokidi* in his hand, and he pointed it down at what was the bottom of the water, and the way opened up so that he could see everything beneath him. There was a large turtle at the bottom of the ocean, and it was holding the trees up.

He said, "I have been looking for something to use for my drum, and I believe you are just what I am looking for."

Turtle replied, "You can't use me because the whole world is attached to me."

Lone Man stuck his sacred lance under the turtle, and everything moved but the turtle. It would not come loose.

Turtle said, "You can look me over and make your drums just like me."

Lone Man looked the turtle over, first on one side and then the other until he had every part of him in mind. He went back to the villages and made turtles just like he had seen. He secured the thickest buffalo-bull hide, and he sewed it up so that it was exactly like a turtle. The wood he used for the legs was of the oak that the turtle in the ocean was holding up. He made four of these turtles, three were of the same size and one a smaller one, and he named the last one "the lean turtle."

When he finished his job, he had the people put the feathers on. Feathers of the speckled eagle were put all over the head, for the buffaloes like speckled

12. For details of the "walking" rites of the Buffalo-calling ceremony see chap. xiv, "Red Stick Ceremony."

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eagle feathers. Whenever offerings are made to the buffaloes, the speckled feathers are used even today.

One of the turtles was called the leader. In addition to the speckled feathers, calumet-eagle down was put on his head, but he became angry because he thought it was a snowbird's feather.

He said, "I am going back to the ocean," and he started toward the river. The people tied ropes to him and lashed him to the corn scaffolds to keep him from escaping. Nothing could hold him back when he started. He pulled all the people into the river. There is a place still to be seen where he dragged them into the river. It is marked by a little gully. This place is below the Heart River on the east side of the Missouri.

The escaped turtle said, "You will have three turtles for the dance, but I am going back to the ocean." We have kept the other three since that time, but several times we came near losing them, and it is because they are so holy that they never went away.

When Nuptadi Village was burned by the Sioux, the lodge they were in was burned, but the turtles produced water which protected them, although their feather collars were burned off.[13] Lone Man told the people that sometimes the turtles would need mending. The last man to mend them was Moves Slowly, my father. The turtles were taken to the river and put in a buffalo bullboat and floated out into the river. The boat was fastened to a snag, and the turtles were repaired in the boat, out there in the water. Lone Man told the people that there was a little buffalo in each turtle. While repairing one a long time ago, a man stuck in his entire finger and felt the sheddings of the tiny buffalo. He could hear the breathing. So we are told that a little buffalo was put in. When there were going to be many buffaloes, the turtles became very heavy, but now they are very light. The turtles were used to bring the buffaloes near the villages.

Once our people lived beside a large lake. They had a large boat in those times that was able to carry twelve people. On the other side of the lake was a large tribe of people whose chief was named Maniga. This boat would go by its own power; all the people needed to do was to point it and say, "Go." In the middle of this lake there was a rough place, and sometimes it seemed that the boat would surely tip over. When the people neared the shore, the red willows would turn into warriors and wrestle with them. Beyond the willows was the village of which Maniga was chief. The Mandan crossed this lake for shells which were very numerous on that shore, but they could not get them without being seen by these people. Maniga always called his people together whenever the Mandan came across. He would supply so much food, water, tobacco, and women that many of the Mandan died of excessive indulgence. If they did as they were ordered, Maniga gave them great quantities of shells. They crossed every summer, and the hardships encountered always killed several of the party.

Lone Man said he would go over. He took along a man named Bull Spirit who had the medicine of the water plants and could drink forever. Another man had the medicine of the buffalo that eats all the time. The third man had the medicine of the tobacco bee that lives on the tobacco plant but never gets sick. Lone Man went to protect his people and free themselves from the Maniga. He quieted the rough water and weakened the young men who were the red

13. This village was destroyed about 1785.

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willows of the bank. They went directly to Maniga's village and ordered the women to bring out the food, water, and tobacco which was already prepared for them. The man with the spirit of the water plants complained of not having enough to drink; the man with the spirit of the buffalo complained of not having enough to eat; the man with the spirit of the tobacco bee complained of the weak tobacco; Lone Man complained that not enough women had been supplied him. Maniga observed that none of the Mandan died and that this party was not like the others. He realized that Lone Man had outwitted him.

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Maniga said, "You people have gone too far."

Lone Man replied, "It is you who have gone too far, doing all these things before giving my people the shells they need so much."

Maniga gave a large bag of shells to each of the Mandans. Someone put a dead dog in their path, and one of the men kicked it out of the way. Maniga accused the Mandan of being murderers, one of the worst insults the Mandan knew.

Maniga said, "I will visit your village within the next four days," but that meant within the next four years.

When the party returned to the Mandan village on the other side of the lake, Lone Man began preparations for the flood. A cedar post was put up in the center of the village which was to represent Lone Man. Before that time the villages did not have the large open center like they did after the cedar post was put up. A wooden fence around the cedar was to represent the fortifications, and the wood used to tie around the wall was of water willow. We notice that, when the river rises in the spring, it never gets about the bank where the water willows grow, so they must have the power of keeping the waters down.

When the floods came that summer, the waters reached to the willows tied around the wall of the cedar. This cedar protected the people against the flood when Maniga came over. The boat was lost because a foolish boy said, in fun, "Go on your way," and it never returned. This boat was called I'dEHE or "to go with."

We have had the sacred cedar ever since we lived beside the lake a long time ago. Some people think this lake was under the ground and that we left it when we came up out of the ground. Others think it is on top of the ground. The young men who went to the world war thirteen years ago say that the lake is still there and that it is still rough in the center but that it is on top of the ground. I am sure that we once lived beside a lake a long time ago because I have heard so many stories about them. Our old people must have got some of their stories mixed because they tell of coming out of the ground as a tribe and also of the making of the world on top at the Heart River. Others say they came from the sky.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE SACRED PIPE RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[14]

Long ago there was a man running on the water. He was thinking. He wondered where he came from, so he turned around and came to a big flower that grows in water around springs. This flower has a blossom reddish in color. One of the branches was broken down, so he decided that this was where he came from. They called this flower "Great Medicine" after that.

14. This is one of the origin myths of the Okipa ceremony.

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When he learned that he came from the plant, he wondered who his father was. Someone said, "I am your father," and he thought that it was the day, "the First Day of Creation." All this time he was walking along on the water. Soon he saw another man walking on the water, too, and he went up to the other. He saw that the other man was painted and had feathers on his head. He inquired of the other man where he came from, and the other said he came from far to the south. The two went off together on the water, and at a distance they saw a black spot. They wondered what it was and went there and discovered that it was a little black diving duck.

They questioned the bird saying, "Where did you come from and what are you doing here?"

The bird replied, "I just came to myself here."

"What do you eat to build up your body and live?" they inquired.

The bird said, "When I get hungry, I dive down a long distance. Sometimes I am almost exhausted, but I find dirt and sand there. You can see that I have been down there so many times that my eyes are red."

The two men talked about it and wanted the bird to go for some dirt to make the earth from.

The bird went down and brought up some dirt and handed it to them. It was only a little bit. As they handled it, it grew to the size of a ball. Lone Man divided up the earth into two pieces and gave half to First Creator. He told First Creator to build the west side while he built the east side. We say that the west side is the woman and the other side is the man. They worked on the land, and then they came together. They decided that the center of the earth would be at Heart River and that the river would be the "Heart of the World." On the south side of the Heart River they made the Heart Butte with the dirt First Creator had left over. The Missouri River was in the center between the two sides. On the east side there is a small butte which was made up of the earth that was left over and was called "Big Hill."

After they finished making the land there was nothing growing on it. It was sandy and bare. When they looked over their earth, they saw a little track on it. Upon looking around, they came to the end of the tracks and found a little black mouse. She said, "I was born myself."

They said, "She is going to be our grandmother."

Again they went along and came to another track. When they came to the end, there was a large turtle. They asked him where he came from, and he said that he was born by himself right there.

They traveled along and found a few grass plants here and there. Then they came to a larger track, so they followed the track until they came to a buffalo standing there. They asked him where he came from, and he said, "I came from myself without any parents."

They asked him what he ate and he said, "I am eating these few plants of the grass that are growing on the land here." Then he added, "While you are traveling along you will hear a loud noise; come toward it, for I will be there doing much good. I will fix you some tobacco."

The two men did not know what the tobacco was, and Buffalo said, "You will see what the tobacco is when you come."

They asked him to fix the tobacco at once, and the buffalo agreed. He passed water in spots and then walked off. In places there was something growing.

In less than a year the two men who had been traveling around began to

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come back in that direction. They decided that Lone Man wanted the east or left side and that First Creator could work on the west side. They decided to separate and go to work. They began to work on the two sides, making the hills, creeks, and trees. They made the different animals and birds also. No one knows how long it took to make the earth. After they finished the land, the hills, lakes, and living things, they met to discuss what each had done.

Lone Man said, "I made almost flat land, with lakes and timber far to the east."

First Creator said, "I have made deep ravines with many springs and much shelter for the game."

Lone Man said, "I made all the different kinds of stock with long horns and mixed colors of red, white, and black. How did you make your animals?"

He replied, "I have made the animals with short horns and hump backs. Since the side I made was the woman, I made much rough land with plenty of shelter. After a while we should go out and look over the land we have made. We will see first how you did."

They went out together to see how Lone Man had made it. They saw all the flat land and the living things and how they were made.

First Creator said, "You made a mistake; the animals are too mixed. Because the land is so flat storms will kill off some of the animals, for there are no shelters or windbreaks. These animals that you made do not have enough hair. With such level land I do not think they will live. I tell you what we will do; we will send all the animals across the ocean to that other land that we made. It may be that in the future they can be used again."

Then they decided to come back to the west side that First Creator had made and examine that. They saw the buffaloes with plenty of hair to live through the winter; there were plenty of springs, hills, and good shelters. Both agreed then that it would be best that they should have it that way.

All this time they kept hearing a noise far away. They remembered that they had met something a long time before, so they went back to the place where they heard the loud noise. They arrived at the place where they had met the buffalo, and they found the tobacco in blossom. There were insects flying around the plants. They saw that these insects were making the roaring sound.

Buffalo said again, "That is the tobacco that I was going to make; you go back again; I am going to fix you a pipe. When you hear someone bellowing, hurry back again."

They traveled on until they heard the bellowing, and then they started back again. While they were running toward the tobacco, they heard a voice saying, "It has almost come together again."

While the voice was calling, "It has almost come together" a second time, they came to the buffalo. They saw that the stem and the bowl of the pipe had almost come together. The stem of the pipe was the east side and represented man. The part where they put in the tobacco was the west side and represented the woman. If the voice had got to the place where it had all come together, there would have been no Missouri River.

When they came to where the tobacco was, they saw that it looked good. They asked Buffalo how they could fix it up, and he said, "I will fix it." He rolled and some of his hair came out. He fixed it up for them to lay the tobacco on.

They asked how to prepare the tobacco, and Buffalo said they would have

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to grease it. They asked how to grease it, and Buffalo said, "You will have to open up my body and get some of the kidney fat to grease it with."

"How are we going to dry up the tobacco?" they inquired. Buffalo made a fire and showed them how to dry the tobacco and break it up. They asked how they should smoke it, and he showed them how it was done.

After they finished smoking, they went out and traveled along, but nobody knows how long. They were talking among themselves and wondered who was the older. Lone Man said, "We will find out. We will lie on the ground; the one who lies on the ground longest will be the older." Lone Man when traveling had a stick on which were alternating black and white feathers. It was painted red and had a feather on the end. He would often say, "This is my body." He stuck this staff into the ground.

First Creator said, "I am going to lie down as the coyote." Lone Man stuck his staff into the ground to act as his body while he traveled on alone. After two years he came back to the place where First Creator lay on the ground. He found the bones scattered around, but the staff was still standing up straight. After four years were up he went back again and found the staff bent so that the top nearly touched the ground. The feathers were gone. He looked over at First Creator and saw only a few bones then nearly covered with dirt.

He thought, "Poor fellow. He wanted to be older than I."

He pulled out the staff, rubbing his hands over it, and it was new again. The First Creator jumped up, and he was a coyote again. First Creator said, "That is what I said; I was the older, and now I have proved it." They agreed that he was the older, and the people believed it after that incident.

(Nowadays we have cattle of all different colors, but they were mentioned a long time ago. That is why we have them today. They all came from the east.)

After the people appeared on this earth, they learned of the origin of the pipe.

Lone Man said to the Mandan, "I am going to leave you some day and go back home. When there is a change in the world, I will be back again. The sign will be when the Missouri River changes its course and flows in the other direction. Then the big trees will grow in the opposite direction with the roots sticking up at the top. Then the antelopes will have no flesh on the lower part of their breasts. All that will be a sign that I will come back again. At that time the people asked him where he belonged, and he said, "I am the wind from the far south. My home is down there. When it is spring, I will send the warm winds from my home in the warm southland. I belong to the WaxikEna clan. If you run out of wood toward spring, you should say, 'My older brother, I am out of wood.' "

They asked First Creator where he was going to go, and he said, "I am going to be among you people forever." It is pretty hard to get rid of these coyotes. Sometimes those of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans used to talk to Lone Man, saying, "My older brother, I am out of wood, and I want you to send us warm winds to melt all the snow." While they were among these peoples, they did many things.

Since the pipe did not come entirely together, we use two pieces of wood, and so there is a Missouri River. Now they are irrigating up the river and making the waters flow north.

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Lone Man said, "We made land to the south where the ocean is. We made the Fish People, and they will come up this way. You will be all mixed up, eagle people, bear people, corn people, buffalo people, and others." And that is the way it was.

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ORIGIN MYTH OF OXINHEDE, OR FOOLISH ONE RELATED BY CROWS HEART[15]

One time there was a woman in the village who had never been around with young men. While returning from her field with the other women she brushed into some burrs, and they fastened to her dress. She went into the lodge to take off the dress and remove the burrs. It was dark in the lodge, so she stood under the opening where the smoke went out. Suddenly she saw a shadow at the smokehole, and she hid herself. In a short time she heard someone inside her singing, and it nearly killed her. In the night a child was born to her, and it disappeared as soon as it was born. She called all the family, and they built a bright fire. He was black. He kept jumping up and down, and they could not do anything with him.

He grew very fast and was never still. He was always running and jumping about. One day his grandfather was making up arrows and tipping them with wing feathers of the speckled eagle. The boy liked them and wanted them over his shoulder in a sheath. The boy took the arrows and went out. This was the first time he had ever been out of the earth lodge, for the people were afraid that he would run away. When he got outside the earth lodge, he ran about, making great leaps, running up the earth lodges, and flitting around to the entertainment of the people.

But this little black boy ran out onto the hills where he killed the sacred snakes and many other holy things. He even killed the wicked women who lived in the earth and crept out at dark to entice men away from their wives. He would not stay away from the sacred things. Finally, all the spirits of the sacred things got together and vowed that he must be killed.

One day there was a heavy fog sent by the spirits of the holy things. When it cleared up, Foolish One was not to be found. In a short time his father came looking for him. His father must have been the Sun or lived in the Sun. He found the boy dead and was very angry. All the people of the village had liked him even though he had been so foolish. The father was very angry and demanded of Lone Man who killed his son. All the spirits that had helped kill little Foolish One became frightened of the Sun spirit and hid in a hole on the top of the Killdeer Mountains. At that time the mountains were solid. The spirit from the Sun hit the mountain with his club and broke it in two parts, so that today there are two parts, the head and the body.

Big Foolish One asked Lone Man what should be done with the little fellow. They came to a big rock, and Lone Man split it with his lance. They put the boy in the rock and fitted the rock back. This rock is near one of our camps on the Heart River. Big Foolish One went back to the Sun, and he never came back again. Many still worship him as a great spirit, and we put him in the Okipa on one of the days of dancing because he was here on earth when Lone Man was here.

15. This is a brief summary of the Foolish One, who is represented in the Okipa ceremony. George Catlin (*Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* [Philadelphia, 1857], I, 280–81) records another version of this myth.

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Appendix II

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NUPTADI SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY BEN BENSON[1]

A long time ago the Mandan had no horses. They used dogs to pack their bedding, tepees, and things they took when moving. Each family had quite a few dogs. The camp I am telling of was somewhere south of Mandan. They moved north a little ways to winter in the bottoms around Square Butte Creek. A dog was hitched to a travois with a little boy on it. The dog ran away over the hills chasing a coyote (Kinumakci, the First Creator). This dog came to a ravine and was caught in the brush. He backed up and freed himself, returning to camp without the boy. The boy stood up and cried. He wandered through the ravine until he became very hungry.

While he was walking along, he found a little bow with arrows. Some spirit probably had left it there to save someone's life. He took the bow and arrows and walked along until he saw a buffalo bull. He crept close but not near enough for the arrow to be effective. However, the little fellow hit the bull in the side and pierced its heart. The buffalo fell down dead.

He had no way of butchering the bull. He found a flint knife and opened the buffalo's side near the kidneys. He pulled out the kidneys and part of the liver. He wanted some fat also, so he put a stone under one of the legs and kept hitting the end of the bone to make it break, so he could get the marrow out. Finally, he broke the bone. A piece flew away whistling.

As soon as the fragment struck the ground, he could hear a little baby crying. He went over to see what it was, and, when he got there, he saw that a little newborn baby girl was lying there. He took the baby in his arms. He didn't know what to do with her but finally decided to pull out some of the buffalo head hair to lay the baby on.

About that time, a magpie[2] came and built a fire to cook the food. They cooked and ate. Then Coyote came. He was Kinumakci, the First Creator. He said that he was going to cook some meat and eat it. After he ate he said, "Little brother, bring me some gray sage."

The boy brought in a little bunch of gray sage. The man then took some charcoal and burned the sage to produce smoke. He said to the boy, "Bring the baby here; she is our sister."

The man took the little baby and put her over the smoke, raising her up and down. He said, "I want her to grow." When he put the baby on the ground, she started to walk.

"Bring her back again," he commanded.

1. For another relation of this same myth by the same informant see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 96–102.

2. The magpie is always associated with the Holy Women.

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The child was put over the smoke again, and this time the baby could run about. The third time the little girl was put on the fire he talked to her. He said, "Grow little girl, grow!"

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This time she could walk, jump around, and talk. But this wasn't enough. So he made more smoke by adding more sage to the fire and raised the girl up and down in the smoke. Then she was large enough to work at tanning hides and cooking meals.

The man said, "This is enough. You have a girl big enough to cook and care for you. I must leave and travel around."

By this time the boy had become a young man. After First Creator left, the boy set to work building a bark tepee[3] or lodge with four posts on the inside. When the girl was a little older, she was a great worker. She could cut up meat and tan the hides as good as any old woman.

She said to her brother, "This lodge of ours is too small; we must make a larger one."

They went out into the woods and burned trees with crotches (the fire was blown around the base by means of a hollow reed) to use for the four posts. They built an earth lodge with plenty of room to live in comfortably.

The girl said, "Brother, it doesn't look right for you to be single; you should get married."

The boy said, "Where am I going to find a wife?"

The girl replied, "Do you want to get married?"

The brother said, "Yes, if you can get me a good wife."

The girl went off and came back. She said, "I have found some girls, but they do not want to marry you on account of your quick temper."

The boy said, "All right, I'll stay single. I have been able to get along all these years. I guess I can get along for the rest of my life."

The sister answered, "Well, don't give up so soon; I will try again."

She went off again. The second time she came back and said that two girls were coming to see him. Then she set to work cooking up dry meat in preparation for a big feast. That night two very pretty girls came. She gave them plenty to eat. While they were eating, she said that she had to go out for firewood so she left them alone with her brother.

The girls said to the young man, "Is it true that you would like us for wives?"

He said, "Yes, but my sister tells me that you do not like me on account of my temper. If you girls think me too mean, leave me alone."

The sisters answered, "No. It is the other way. It is your sister who is mean. She is going to kill you some day. In the night when you sleep, she gets up and goes out to kill people. She puts their scalps on her robe. Her elkhide robe is covered with scalps except in one place on the shoulder. She wants to fill that space with your scalp and intends to do that."

After these two sisters had spoken they went home.

The boy said to his sister, "I am going to kill a young female elk, and I want you to make a robe for me."

All this time she had an elkhide robe of her own hanging up in a bundle. The boy had never seen her wear it. He always wondered why she didn't use that robe. One day he took it down to open it, but, before he did, he smoked sweet grass which grew in low places in the timber. Inside of the robe bundle

3. Eagle-trapping lodge type.

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there were many clam shells. He wrapped it up carefully again and hung it up as before. He suspected then that she was more than a common woman. Many nights she was away; many times when he awoke near daybreak she was cooking something, the nature of which he did not recognize. Once he asked her what she was cooking and eating. She wouldn't tell, saying, "I thought you were sound asleep."

One day the boy went away hunting, and the sister was home alone. She said, "I am going to fix up my robe now." She burned sweet grass for the robe, and then she took it down and opened the bundle. When she opened it, the shells were as she had left them. She laid the robe out; it wasn't very large, only two feet square. She had a number of little round scalps and clam shells. She put the scalps on the robe and then placed a clam shell over each. Then the scalps stuck to the robe. She put them in rows. One place was left in front of the shoulder.

She said, "I thought I had enough, but I haven't. I will need one more scalp. I think I will have to get his scalp and put it there. He worked hard to raise me, but I think I will get his scalp for that place nevertheless."

The time when the boy was supposed to be out hunting, he really did not go but stayed near by and hid. He heard everything that she said and then set out for the hunt. When the sister was looking at her own robe, she took down her brother's robe and a blaze of fire came forth.

"Ah," she said, "he has power, too!"

He came back from hunting and told his sister that he had killed some game near by and that she should go out with her hide basket and bring in the meat. Her basket was shaped like a corn basket, but it was covered with hide. She went after the meat.

The girls had told him that, when he escaped from the lodge, he should hide in White Clay Tepee where they lived, or his sister would kill him. While she was out gathering the meat, the boy thought that he would escape. He pondered a plan for getting out. He thought he would go through the smokehole so that she would not see his tracks. He stuck an arrow in the center of the fireplace.

He picked a louse from his head and said to it, "When my sister comes and calls, put her off. Tell her to wait a little while."

He put the louse on the ground. Then he stepped on the arrow and went out through the smokehole, taking his elkskin robe with him. In a little while she came back. She found the door blocked with poles.

She said, "Open it. What are you doing?"

The louse said, "Wait a while; I am busy here."

This continued until the sister became angry and broke open the door.

She called, "Where are you? I don't see you."

The louse, still pretending to be her brother answered, "Over here."

She went to the spot where the sound came from and could not find anything because the louse was hidden in the dirt. The sister knew then that the brother had escaped.

She said, "I know where you are." Then she burned sweet grass before her robe, opened it, and put it on her back. She picked up her digging stick and went away, flying into the air, although she didn't have any wings. She soon saw that the boy was almost to the lodge where the other women were living.

She said, "I'll get you before you get there." Just as she was about to

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catch up with the boy, the door opened, and he ran in. The women were inside.

They were angry and said to his sister, "We are the ones who told your brother to come in here in order that he might save his life."

The boy's name was One Feather on the Head (Wo'kide), and the girl's name was Feather on the Head Woman (O'kimi'hE). The girls and the boy had digging sticks, too. Each time they hit at the sister, she would go up in the air, so they could only hit her legs.

The boy said, "I'll get her." He came out with his bow and arrows. While the sister was fighting, she had two magpie feathers stuck in the back of her head. The brother took his bow and arrows out and shot at her. The first shot hit the center of the tail supporting the feathers and split one feather. He had been told by a meadowlark when he came out of the lodge that he should aim for the feathers in her hair. She fell down and was dying. After she was on the ground, he walked up to her before she died.

She spoke to him saying, "Brother, I am all finished now. Take my robe and go home. Take good care of it because it is the same as my body. You can go back to your people where you will have power over them because of this robe."

He went back to his people and did as he was told. His father and mother were living yet, and they were so glad to see him that they cried. He had the medicine robe with him and told them what it was and all about it. Since then the Mandan people have called that robe "Young Grandmother." The boy became a great man and kept that robe until he died. Then another man took it.

The descent of the robe went from father to son or father to daughter and her husband. Each had to pay for the robe when he got it.

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AWATIXA SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY BEARS ARM

The people came from Knife River after corn-planting time. They followed the Missouri River and went over toward the Little Missouri, crossed it, and were between the Little and Big Missouries. The camp was of Hidatsa. They were traveling along. It was at the time when the young meadowlarks were old enough to fly. There was a young woman who had a small brother in the party.

The little brother said, "Sister, I wish to have a young bird," so the sister took her little brother away while the main camp traveled westward. They went off to look for a young bird. Somehow the two got separated from the main party and lost their way.

The main party sent out scouts looking for the girl and her brother, but they failed to find them. The camp went on and turned to the southwest and traveled far. The girl and brother went to the Little Missouri River and came to a place suitable to camp. She put up a little lodge like the men use when eagle-trapping. Near by there was a high cliff and just below it was a level place. He became a hunter; she put out snares and caught rabbits. In that way they made a living. Near the lodge was a spring of clear water. They stayed there for some time. Soon the boy grew up and was big enough to use a bow and arrows. Before that time he would use stones to kill young prairie chickens.

He said to his sister, "It is about time for me to have a bow and arrows."

She replied, "Go out and get ten young cherry branches and flints. Take them to this high cliff and lay them down at the foot of the cliff and say, 'Make me arrows.' Lay them down and come home."

The boy got the sticks and flint and took them to the cliff. He spoke as she had instructed him to. He came home, and his sister said, "In four nights you can go back and see about your arrows." He left his arrows there.

Meantime his sister, being mysterious, would go out to find game and bring the meat back.

After four days, the sister said, "You should go over and see about your arrows," so he left for the cliff. When he came to the place where he left the sticks, there were ten arrows with feathers and flint arrowheads. Beside them lay a good bow and string.

The boy said, "You have done me a fine turn by making these arrows for me. I will shoot with these and stop throwing stones." He took the bow and arrows to his camp. He was now able to kill bigger game.

The two lived there for a long time by themselves. One day the boy was home alone while his sister was away as usual, for she had begun to leave each day. She would go far out. She would cause the people to have wars between themselves so she could come home with scalps. She had a robe of her own,

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and she made one also for her brother. She had one in particular that had scalps fastened to it. Every time she came home, she would spread her robe out on the floor and put a new scalp on the robe. She would use a small clam shell to fasten the scalp to, and some way the scalp and shell would cling to the robe.

One day she went off in the morning. A meadowlark flew by and said, "Your sister is planning to kill you. You must do something to save yourself." Meantime the sister, being able to go all over, found White Lodge Butte called Where the White Lodge Stands. [This butte is between the Little and Big Missouri rivers near the western border of the Fort Berthold Reservation.] In this lodge lived two women who each had a daughter. The sister went to the lodge, saw the two women, and said, "I have a brother who wishes to take your daughters as his wives."

The two women said, "Our girls are young, and they are good girls. We will think about the matter." The sister left the lodge and, being holy, heard everything. She heard the two women discussing the proposal. They said, "No doubt the boy is a good boy, but we know the kind of person his sister is."

The sister went home. When she got back to her camp, she told her brother of the proposal she made for him. One day the sister went away as usual. He, too, was going out on a hunt that day. He picked a louse from his hair and left it in the lodge, saying to it, "You take my place and, if she comes back, don't answer her. See what she does."

He left, and soon she came back. She said, "I know my brother, Feather on Head, that you were out, and I know that you are here." No answer came. She went in and took her robe down. She said, "Right here is where I am going to put you," meaning the brother's scalp. During that time he ran over to where the White Lodge stood. He arrived, and the women came out.

He said, "I have come to you people to see if you could give me some help. My sister is planning to kill me."

The girls went in and told their mothers what Feather on Head had come for. The women said, "Yes, we will help him when the proper time comes."

The girls came back to Feather on Head and told him what their mothers said. He said to the girls, "From this time on watch for me, for I will run away from my sister and come here."

He returned to his lodge and stayed there for some time. Meadowlark came and said to Feather on Head, "You must hurry and get away from here. Go a long ways off and kill a large buffalo bull. When you have it skinned, take the hide and spread it on the ground and cut your meat up in small pieces. Pile the pieces up on top of the hide. Then you must go back and tell your sister that you have the meat cut up and piled ready for her to come after."

He did as the meadowlark directed. He killed the bull, skinned it, spread the hide, piled the meat on the hide, and cut the meat up in small pieces. Then he returned to the lodge and told his sister that he had killed a buffalo bull and had the meat piled on the hide.

She said, "All right, I will go after it, and I will find the meat no matter where it is."

She always had a piece of buffalo hide that she wore over her back so she would not get her dresses bloody. She started out and went over the hill. Feather on Head followed her for a ways, and he saw her going over a ridge. He came back to the camp and picked up what few things belonged to him and ran as fast as he could for the White Lodge. When he was near the lodge,

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he saw his sister coming after him. She was wearing a light feather painted red on her head. She overtook him, and he shot her with an arrow. She lifted her arm to shield her face, and he shot her in the chest. She reached over and pulled the arrow out. When she was nearer, he shot again, and she turned, raising her right arm to shield her face. He shot her in the right side of the chest. At that moment Meadowlark came along and flew over Feather on Head's head. She said, "Shoot the feather on her head." He took an arrow out and shot at the feather on her head. He cut the feather in two. She bled, for the feather on her head was her heart.

Before she fell over and died she staggered around, saying, "This is my mistake. I came to kill you, and now you have killed me."

She was wearing the robe that had so many scalps on it. She said, "Brother, you may take this robe. If you wear it in the battles, you will always come out victorious. The songs that go with the robe you will learn in a dream."

The young man took the robe. She died with her head toward the east and her feet toward the west.

Just then the girls and their mothers came. They helped take the robe off of the dead woman. The young man went back to his camp. When he got back there, he wept. The woman and the girls at White Tepee carried out a buffalo robe from which the hair had been removed. They dug a grave and put the body on the hide. They wrapped it around her and buried her there. They did this because there were so many coyotes and wolves. They knew that if they left the dead body on top of the ground, the wolves would come and eat her flesh.

The young man came back to White Lodge and married the two girls. He stayed there for a long time. He hunted and killed many kinds of game. The time came when he grew homesick. He would get up on the lodge with his head bowed.

His mothers-in-law said, "We know where his home is, and we know that he is lonesome. You girls are his wives, and you will have to go with him if he decides to go home."

The wives inquired whether he was lonesome, and he said, "Yes, I am getting lonesome; I want to see my people, and I feel sad because I killed my own sister. In a way, it is all right that I killed my own sister; if I had not killed her, she would have killed me."

The wives said, "If you want to go back to your people, we will be obliged to go back with you."

He said, "I am glad that you are going with me. You prepare for the journey, and in a few days we will go back to my people."

As soon as his wives were ready, they started back to the village at Knife River. It took them several days to make the trip from White Lodge to the mouth of Knife River. They arrived home, and he was glad to see his people. They were glad to see him back safely.

His wives said, "Now, we want you to leave other women alone; do not have anything to do with them. Do not let any woman touch you. If you touch any woman, we will leave you and go back to our home."

One day he went to the river and bathed. He came toward his lodge. When he reached a narrow place where the lodges were grouped closely, he met one of his sisters-in-law, and she said, "You had it announced that no one would be allowed to touch you. I am going to touch you."

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"You must not lay hand on me," he replied and tried to run around her. She seized the corner of his robe and cut it off. She threw it onto the lodge.

He went home. As soon as he went in, his wives said, "You have been touched. You know that we told you not to be touched by any other woman. We must leave you."

He begged his wives to stay, but they said, "No. We will have to go."

The corn was high by that time, and the sunflowers stood even higher. They walked through the fields to the edge of the gardens. They stopped there. He kept begging his wives to return to the village with him. While he stood there looking at his wives, they changed into two tall, wild sunflowers.

He could do nothing more, so he returned to the village. He told the people what had happened. He said, "Do not pull up wild sunflowers or urinate close to them."

In the meantime he learned all the songs that went with this Sacred Robe. That robe was handed down to the proper ones, and Wolfs Ghost was the last one to keep it. People used to go into his lodge to worship this sacred robe and offer sacrifices to it. When Wolfs Ghost died, a few years ago, that robe was still in his lodge, and nobody knows what became of it.

Feather on Head had the robe, and he would wear it whenever the enemy came to attack the village. It was very hard for the enemy to do anything to him, for the robe protected him. He married again and raised a family. He went up to White Lodge, but there was no entrance. He became famous as a great warrior and died of old age. When the smallpox of 1837 came, Bobtail Bull was the owner. He came from the Mi-tu-tan-ka Village of the Mandan.

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Appendix IV

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON EAGLE-TRAPPING

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Evenings were spent in storytelling. The leader would acquaint the trappers with the myths associated with eagle-trapping. There were many of these myths, and a good leader would be able to consume every evening for the usual four weeks in camp without exhausting his stock. Each was related in great detail with endless repetitions. Some of the longer myths consumed four nights in telling; others were short and could be related in one night. All were expected to listen attentively while seated on a buffalo robe. Those who nodded were pinched with the bird stick. An example of the stories told is given below.

MYTH OF BROWN OLD MAN RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[1]

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There are two ways of telling this story; one is that he came from the heavens and the other that he came from the earth through being born of a woman. I heard many stories, when nineteen years of age from Small Ankles, my father, and Chief,[2] my father-in-law, in the winter village at Blue Buttes above here. Even the older people would have them come out and tell the story to them and put on a feast to them.

Brown Old Man came to the village and always knew himself that he was not a real human, but he would stay with them. When they needed meat, he would call the buffaloes. If they needed rain, he would call it. The people did not know, and he never told them, who he was. After he had been with the people a while, he thought that he would marry. In the spring the buffalo hides get brown, and he had one of those brown hides for a robe until they came to call him Brown Old Man. Sometimes the people would invite him in and feed him well. Then he would say that this man will strike an enemy; sometimes he would say two or more, and it would always come true. Still the people of the village did not know who he was at heart. At last the people began to realize that he was trying to be a holy man, and they would say, "If he were a real medicine man, he would have a good living with more to show for his powers." He felt bad when he heard it but would say, "I am a man who saves the people here." At last he was getting old and white, and his wife was old and white too.

There was one man in the village who invited in Brown Old Man often, and, when he went out to fast, he dreamed of Brown Old Man. He saw in his dream this Brown Old Man painted all over so that he looked more like a

1. For another relation of this myth by Wolf Chief see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX, Part IV [1929]), pp. 187–94. There is also a very brief version in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 204–5.

2. Chief was a Mandan of the Prairie Chicken clan.

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bird. When the young man was with the war parties, he would be the first to strike, and he thought that this was being caused by Brown Old Man. Brown Old Man's lodge was small, and he had only a few articles in it, but he was a medicine man, nevertheless. One day this young man called Brown Old Man and gave him and his wife some pieces of meat.

Brown Old Man said, "My son, I am the one who gave you the dream and spirit; you are my "son." I am the man who gave you the power to strike the enemy and made you chief."

The young man began to tell his dream, saying, "In my dream I saw you painted all over, and you looked like a bird and had bird claws, but I never told you or anyone else."

The old man said, "That is right; I am not really human. When I gave you that dream, you were not supposed to tell it to your own people. You dreamed that you saw me painted all over. I had a father who was a red bird. That is why you saw me painted with red paint."

The young man was happy and took off his leggings, moccasins, and robe, which he gave to the old man. Brown Old Man said to the young man, "You have already seen me in your dream, and I think you will be successful."

Even when the young man went out eagle-trapping he would succeed in bringing back many eagle tails. The old man would smoke some days, and then he would take on new life again. In the fall the people in that village would go out eagle-trapping in all directions; some went to the Little Missouri River; others went along the Missouri and Yellowstone, so that the people were scattered out in camps all over the roughland. The old man said to his wife, "I am going out to the west and see all my different sons."[3]

At this time not even the old woman knew that he was a bird, and she said, "I do not think you can find your way. You are too old." His "son" who had dreamed of Brown Old Man had already left and was at the mouth of Yellowstone River in a camp called One Cottonwood Camp.

He replied, "I am going to One Cottonwood Camp."

She said, "You can't find that place; you are just childish and think you are young again."

He said, "I know all the earth; of course you do not know me; that is why you say that. When I am ready to go, you will go with me a little ways until we come to a hill. Then you can come back. I am not really human; I am different altogether from humans. That is why we did not have any children."

They walked out of the village to a hill, and he said, "Cover up your head and you will see a god."

She covered herself and did not see him, but she heard a noise like a big bird. Then she was sure that he was something else besides a human. Before she took the robe off, her husband was flying through the air just above her, singing a holy song. When he told her to take the robe off, she looked up and saw her husband had turned into a spotted eagle.[4] When she saw the big bird, she cried and lay on the ground while the bird flew around. He said, "You can go home; I will come back some day."

He flew up the Missouri River and came to the hills, south of the present Fishhook site, called High Butte Trapping Place. There were some people in the hills trapping eagles. Before he reached the village he changed into Brown

3. Sons of clan brothers.
4. The Hoita of the Mandan Okipa ceremony represented the spotted eagle.

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Old Man again. He carried a cane and made them believe that he was an old man. He walked toward one of the little lodges, and they said, "There is Brown Old Man; we should take him in and feed him."

Others said, "We don't want to bother with him."

Some treated him well, while others let him go without food. He went into one lodge and was fed; then the young man said that he would give him water and asked the old man to open his mouth so that he could put the water into it. When it was dark, the old man was still sitting near the door. Some thought that, being old, he might have some stories to tell, but others thought that, since he did not have much wealth at the old village, he would not know very much. Some were good to him and said, "Brown Old Man, we would like to hear a story." But others did not care to hear it.

Brown Old Man said, "I may not be able to tell a good story, but I will tell a story. One of you go out and bring a block of wood and set it before that buffalo skull for me to sit on."

One of them found a block of wood and left it before the skull. Brown Old Man folded his brown robe, put it on the wood, and sat on it.

He said: "A long time ago there was a red bird, and he had a son. The son thought that he would go among the people and turn himself into a human and be born among the people to lead them. (When he mentioned these words, some said that he was crazy, and they wanted to drag him outside, while others wanted to hear it all, thinking it was a good story.) There was a man there who thought that he would take some of the young people as 'sons,' and then they would strike the enemy, bring buffalo or rain; and everything happened as he had predicted. Sometimes in the fall the people would go out eagle-trapping, and he thought, since he knew all the places, he would tell them where to go to have good luck, and it was always so. Even then the people would not believe it. (Some wanted to throw him out; others wanted to give him a feast.) This bird they would call Brown Old Man. When he was old, he would smoke himself and get new life. He was always leading his people even though they did not realize it. In the fall they were all out eagle-trapping. Brown Old Man was getting very old at that time; his wife was old too. The old man told his wife that he was going out to see all his sons, but she did not believe that he knew the way and thought that he would get lost. Brown Old Man told his wife that he knew all the places and would not get lost. He asked his wife to go out a short distance, and they went out a short distance together. He told her to cover up herself, for he was not a true human; she heard a noise like a bird. He flew up into the air and sang a holy song and told her to uncover herself. She saw a large spotted eagle flying above her. She cried and rolled herself on the ground all the time the large bird was flying around in the air. He told the old woman to go back and that he would return to her some day. The bird flew up the river to the place where the people were trapping eagles, and there he alighted and turned into an old man with a cane. He walked into the camp. Some of them treated him well; others did not. Some fed him, and others wanted to throw him out. When the old man finished eating, the good young man took his mountain-sheep horn spoon and gave him water. The old man thought, 'I know that the rest of the men here do not like me. Those who treat me well will get birds, for I am a big bird; but those who treat me badly will get none. Those who treat me well will get six or seven eagles.' "

By that time all the men were looking at Brown Old Man. He said, "To

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the one who treated me best and gave me water, I will give the power to catch twelve eagles. I am that Brown Old Man." Then he changed himself into a spotted eagle and flew out, saying, "You people see that I am holy," and was gone.

The next night he reached a place called Buckbrush Trapping Camp (the hills around Slide Coulee). When they saw the old man, they said that they were crowded and that he might pass his water inside the lodges. He sat outside until it was getting dark, and some said that they should take him in or he might freeze. They called him in and fed him and wanted him to tell a story.

He said, "I came, and the people would not take me in; they will not get any birds, for I am a bird."

He flew away. When he left, all the people there worried about him. They did not get any eagles at all that year, and not even deer or buffaloes. At last they were starving and went back to the village.

He came to a camp called "First Trapping Place" (below Sanish). When he stopped there, he saw many people. They had much dried meat hanging in the trees and were having a good time. As soon as it was evening, he changed himself into an old man with a cane. He walked toward the village.

The people there said, "I wonder how he got here; he is such an old man."

They said to the younger people, "You should take care of him, for the young should always treat the old kindly."

Even his moccasins were worn out, and they gave him new ones, showing him every kindness. They wanted him to tell them a story, and he called for a block of wood which they brought and put beside the buffalo skull. When he told the story, he told how he came to the first trapping place. Some treated him well. He promised twelve eagles, to the man who gave him the water, but those who were not kind to him would get none. At the second place they did not like him because he was old, and they were afraid that he would wet in the lodge. They would not get any birds or food but would starve because they did not know that he was a bird. He changed into a bird and flew out the smokehole. He came to the third place, and they treated him well, and, when he was near, the young men ran to tell the camp that the Brown Old Man was coming. They fed him, gave him moccasins, and treated him well. All those would get twelve or more birds each and have plenty to eat.

He thought, "They have treated me well, and I will sing my medicine song to show them that I am holy." As he was changing into a bird, he said, "You see me as a bird. I am your father," and he sang as he flew off:

Hiu ho ho ho Hiu ho ho ho

They were lucky in getting eagles and found plenty of game near the camp.

He went on and came to the mouth of the Yellowstone River. It was here that the young man who had a dream from Brown Old Man was living with his younger, unmarried brother. When he came to the village, there were no men there, but the son's wife was there; also another man's wife was there. The latter treated the old man well and gave him food and water, but the former did not treat him well even though she was the wife of the old man's "son." The good woman took him in and talked to him.

In the evening the men came back, and Brown Old Man's son said to his wife, "What did you do to my father? Did you feed him?"

She said, "I didn't do anything to him, and I did not feed him."

The other man asked, "What did you do to the old man?"

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His wife said, "I brought him in and gave him meat seasoned with peppermint and fresh water. I noticed that his moccasins were worn through, and I gave him new ones."

The other man was angry because his wife had not treated him well. When he went out trapping, he was unlucky, but the other man whose wife had treated Brown Old Man well got many birds. The Brown Old Man wanted to give his "son" eagles but thought he would not, since the woman had not treated him right. The lucky man got many eagles, and at last he found a white buffalo near the village and killed it. After they had been there some time, the weather began to get cold, so Brown Old Man decided he would leave soon. He wanted to tell a story before he left, so one night he told the men that he was going to tell a story.

He said: "There was a spotted eagle who came to the people changed into a human. They called him Brown Old Man. He gave a dream to a young man and took him as his son. This old man would say that certain things would happen, and they did. Brown Old Man thought that he would go out to see the people at their traps and that he would call on his son. He took his wife out on a hill and she saw him in the air. He came to different camps along the river. At some of the places he was treated well; at others he was not. He thought that those who had treated him well would get many eagles, but those who did not would not have good luck. He came to the second place and was very badly treated. They would not take him in for fear he would dirty the lodge. The old man knew everything they said. He thought that, since these people treated him so badly, he would not give them any birds. He came to the third camp, and most of the people treated him well, and he was glad. They would catch many eagles and have plenty of food. When he left that place, he thought again of his son, a young man whom he loved very much, and decided to go to that camp and see his son. When he came to the fourth place at One Cottonwood Camp, he changed himself back into a human. When he was near, he found two women outside. His "granddaughter," he could tell at once, did not like him; the other one liked him and called him in to feed him. He thought that even though this woman's husband was not his son, he would bring him good luck. Since the other one's wife did not like him, he would not get any birds. Instead he would get dirty and covered with grass in the pit. He thought that this man who was not his son would catch five eagles and also kill a white buffalo. That Brown Old Man is myself."

He went back to Knife River again.

The man whose wife treated him well caught twelve eagles and killed a white buffalo. The "son" and his wife quarreled after that and could not get along together. Before leaving the place, he killed a white buffalo also. The other man was lucky though and killed much game. He had a white buffalo hide, and he and his wife were happy. He said, "We should go home, for it will soon be cold weather."

They broke camp and came back along the Missouri River. They reached the hilly country below the Yellowstone River. All that time the son was angry, and, as they walked along, he said, "We should stop here, my wife, and let the others go ahead." The man's brother liked the wife and wanted to stay back with them, but his brother sent him ahead. He set up two sticks in the ground, and then he tied his wife to the sticks and built a fire under her. He let her burn to death. The others were ahead waiting for them to catch up.

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After a while he came alone, and they asked him where his wife was, and he said, "She will come up."

Then the boy said, "I think I will go back and see my sister-in-law."

The husband said, "You can go back if you want to." When the boy came back to the place where they had stopped, he saw something but at first could not tell what it was. He walked toward the place and saw an owl, a wolf, and a black bear there. When he saw the three animals, he began to cry. His sister-in-law was there and said, "Do not cry. I always loved you. This wolf, owl, and little bear brought me to life again." When he looked at her, he saw that her eyes looked bright while her hair was light-colored and long.

She said, "Do not cry; I am your medicine now. I am holy, and you will be holy too. Your brother fastened me to stakes and burned me, but this black bear came and cleaned out the bad spirits. The owl fixed my eyes and hair, and now I am holy. The wolf fixed up my body."

Black Bear said to the woman, "I know that you have suffered; Brown Old Man was responsible for that. We know Brown Old Man's father, the Red Bird, and I think I will get rid of him."

She said to the boy, "You are old enough; we could go back to the lodge and trap eagles." They went back to the lodge. Beside the door was a snare singing a holy song:[5]

> Young woman, she is crying, but she will be holy.
> Young man was crying, but he will become holy.

(This song is used just before going into the holes and means that everything will be caught.)

Then the snare said that everything would be caught or held tight. (They used this song when putting up the snare in the trapping lodge. I fasted while eagle-trapping and heard a song, but it had different words:

> The young man was crying, and for that he became different.

That time I held an elkhorn on one side of my chest and a mountain-sheep head on the left. They had cut a hole through the skin of my shoulders, and I had a buck head fastened there to thongs through my flesh. I was running around the lodge when I heard the song.)

They moved into the lodge and cleaned out the pits to trap in. After a while they each caught a bird. They did not have much meat in the camp, and after a while the woman said to the boy, "You should go out to hunt," but the boy thought he was still too young.

She said, "I think you can. If you find a buffalo, you will be able to kill it. While you are gone, I will go into the pit." She brought in two eagles,[6] and he killed two buffaloes. After that they had plenty to eat and got along well.

The woman said, "You remember the time we were here; your brother was angry at me for not taking in Brown Old Man. He nearly killed me, but Little Black Bear said that he was going to catch Brown Old Man's father. I think if we got thirty eagles, it would be enough to satisfy your brother for the trouble I made him by failing to feed Brown Old Man. You go out and you will see some buffaloes. There will be a white one; you get the hide to give to your brother."

5. "Song of the Snare."
6. Mandan and Hidatsa women were not permitted to trap eagles.

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The boy came back with the white buffalo, and, it being just at the beginning of cold weather, it was of good quality. He said, "You should tan it and keep it for yourself." Just then he noticed that she had caught some eagles and had carried them to the camp.

She smiled and said, "You treat me very well. In my dream I saw the snare that hangs on the wall, and it was singing a song. It was the same thing I dreamed of. I also dreamed of the small black bear and the Bear said, 'When I use this snare to trap with I never miss, no matter what animal I go after.' You know when we came into the lodge at first we heard that snare singing. It sang two songs for us, and I want you to own those songs because I was killed by your brother. You came to see me and were crying. All those things you did for me I have not forgotten; now you have given me this white buffalo hide, so you can own those two songs, and, any time when you are having bad luck, you can use those songs. When you want anything, sing these songs, and your wish will come true. Keep them for the future, for it will be better for you to have them, since you are a young man. It is a rule that we are to stop trapping now, for the river is beginning to freeze up along the edges. Even the Black Bears quit at that time. The eagles might take some human lives or take away our spirits. As soon as I finish this tanning, we should go home."

They put all the feathers, thirty sets in all, together. She packed up the meat, and then they went back toward Knife River. They stopped several times on the way before they reached home.

Before going into the village, she said to the boy, "I know that your brother was angry, but it was my mistake; he was angry about not getting enough eagles and the white robe, so we will go back to your brother's lodge. You give him the thirty tails and robe and say, 'I want you to take back my sister-in-law again.' "

The woman looked changed now with different eyes and hair that was combed down. When they went into the lodge, they found that her husband was making arrows. He did not recognize the woman with his brother and wondered who she was. Even the younger brother looked different, for he had been among the gods.

The younger brother said, "I know that you are angry about those eagle tails and white robe, but you can have these, and I want you to live with her again." He put the robe over his brother's shoulders. Then his brother began to cry.

The older brother said, "What you said, is all true. The Brown Old Man was my god and loved me and that is where the trouble began, for your sister-in-law did not treat him right. I burned her, but now I can see that she has turned into a holy person, so she can stay here and be my holy spirit and look after me. She can look after the village too."

The woman said to the boy, "I have taught you the two holy songs that were sung by the snare, and you know them already. You keep them and then you will be chief and look after the village. I am not going to stay here forever. Once I nearly died, and those three gods brought me back to life. Some day I am going back to the owls."

This woman lived with her husband again, but he was always afraid of her, since her actions were different and she did not talk very much. They did not get along like they had formerly. Before they were aware of it, the woman disappeared.

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In the same village there was a man who was always changing himself into a black bear. He was good at trapping eagles, for he was the head of the trappers. He grew to be a very old man. He planned to go out trapping and selected six men. They came to the high buttes just below Fort Stevenson. He had experience in trapping, but the other six did not know anything about it. He went out with them fixing the pits, and then he sent them out after bait. He would sing a holy song for them.

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He said, "I have my trap prepared; my trap is between those trees. You young men ought to make offerings. If you have any colored birds at home promise them to the eagles. If you have any meadowlarks with bright yellow breasts, offer them to the eagles if you catch any eagles."

He asked each of the young men where his pit was. There was one boy who was poor and had no parents. When he came to the poor boy, that one answered, "I have mine close to a spring, for I thought the eagles might get thirsty and come there to drink. I might get them there."

The old man said, "You did right. You should ask your grandmother. She might have something that you could give to the eagles as offerings."

Then he would talk to each young man, telling him to make an offering. The last time they were making an offering, the poor one peeped into the lodge and said, "Now small Black Bear, I want to make an offering to you that some day you will make my grandmother[7] your mother-in-law," and the Black Bear said, "That is a good thing."

Black Bear said to the young men, "After it has snowed, I want all of you to hunt a deer. If you have a chance to shoot it, do not follow it, or you might drop dead."

After a while it began to snow. When it had cleared, they went out, shot a buck, and saw it run into the trees. It fell down between the trees. When they saw the animal fall down, they said, "We must not follow it, for we are not supposed to go up to it."

They came back, and the old man said, "I do not think that deer fell close to my trap so it will be hard to catch that red bird. If I drag the deer to the bait, the bird will know it. I think the only way I can catch that red bird is to dig a hole under the ground to the deer." He dug into the ground and went up to the deer and tied himself tightly under the deer. He noticed that Red Bird was coming his way.

Old Black Bear stayed there, and other birds flew around above. They said, "This looks like a trap, so we better stay here until Red Bird comes." They sat in the trees and waited for Red Bird to come. After a while Red Bird came, and the others said, "This deer looks fat, and we wanted you to get your share. We have waited for you to get yours first."

Then Red Bird said to the other birds, "I am afraid, for I know that that Old Black Bear is the real trapper and never misses anything; he has great power for tying things up. Look around and see if there are any tracks."

"We have looked around carefully, and there are no tracks. That deer must have run a long ways before falling."

Red Bird said, "If you could catch hold of that deer and move it to the side, I would take my share. I will pick one of you to move it to one side. I will select the baldheaded eagle to move it to the side, for you are strong."

The baldheaded eagle went to the deer and tried to lift it but could not

7. Black Bear would be taking the poor boy as his son.

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773 move it, only pulling out the hair. He said, "I can't lift it; I do not think there is anything under the deer."

539 Then Red Bird slowly flew down toward the deer, circling, and then went down to the deer. Old Black Bear seized him and said to the bird, "You are not the one who is holy; I am the holy man and have much more power than you have. I am going to get rid of you."

The bird cried, "Save my life; if you get rid of me, there will be no birds."

The Bear said, "You have made the people suffer, so I am going to kill you and get rid of you."

He pulled all the feathers out of the bird, saying, "I do not want to see any red birds like you, and I do not want you to treat people again as you did in the past. If you treat the people like you have in the past, I am going to get rid of you by cutting your head off." He turned the red bird loose, but after that they did not see any red birds like this one again.

About this time Brown Old Man in the village knew what was happening to his father, Red Bird, and he was sad. After they caught his father and pulled all the feathers out, Brown Old Man did not have his former strength. Still he had one holy song.

At the village they were playing the pole-and-stone game, and one fellow would win the game all the time. His medicine was the Snake. He was playing the game with another who had a father who was a chief. The boy always bet the things that belonged to his father. He would put in the lodge or all the things in the lodge. He even bet his parents' bedding. After a while they were sleeping in hay for bedding and did not have much left.

At this time the man said to his son, "You ought to see that we do not have much left and that we are very uncomfortable. What you should do now is call in Brown Old Man and give him a little roasted corn and moccasins. Tell him that you will give him your wife for a daughter-in-law. Do this after sundown."

The young man secured roast corn, fat, and moccasins. He went to Brown Old Man's lodge and invited him over. He said to Brown Old Man. "I was playing a game with the young man who has the Snake Medicine and he has beaten me. We do not have very much left. I know that you are a holy man, and I want you to help me. I will give you these things and, if I ever marry, I will have my wife for your daughter-in-law."

The old man said, "It is pretty hard to win a game from him. That stick he plays with is a snake too. That is why he wins the game all the time. You will never win the game so long as he has that snake for a stick. You can't tell the difference, but it is a snake just the same even though you cannot recognize it. I heard some stories about that snake; I am a bird and snakes are my food; that is the reason why that fellow is against me all the time. If you do not win the game, I will not take your wife as my daughter-in-law. If you win, I will call her that. You go out and see what you can find over there where Snake Man is; you will see much earth and various things scattered around. That is not real earth but eagle tails and other things he has won. You take some of them."

The young man went and came back. He brought back a robe full of articles, and he put them in the lodge on the ground but there was nothing visible except the dirt floor.

Brown Old Man sent him out a third time, a little after midnight saying, "Do not let him see you. There will be two sticks standing there. Go slowly

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and get those sticks for me. The first thing in the morning call to him, 'Let us play the game again.' When he comes, tell him that you want to use a bigger stick. If he says it is all right and then takes the smaller stick, it will mean that he is going to lose his mind. This earth you piled here, I will change like before into many valuable things that he has won from your father." 773 539

Brown Old Man stood up and took hold of the largest stick and said, "I am going to sing a holy song." He bent the stick, rubbing it, and started it moving like a snake. When he had finished singing, it had changed into a real stick with no sign of a snake. He threw the stick onto the ground. He threw it from one place to another like a bird throws a snake and said, "There is no snake left to it." He took the smaller stick and bent it, and it seemed like a snake too. Then he sang his holy song and threw it onto the ground several times, and it was a stick again.

He said, "When you are ready to play the game, put one of these bird's claws on each end of the stick. If there are any snakes, these claws will catch them. When you want to start the game, take the largest stick and say that you are going to say your prayer, and he will say that you are not a real medicine man. Say that you always pray before the game and then take some dirt and rub it on the stick. Be sure that you have a hoop of your own. After a while he will let you use it and that, too, is a sign that he will lose his mind. Play this game with him for four days, and by that time he will be about exhausted, with water coming out of his mouth."

Brown Old Man went to the earth pile and sang his holy song, saying, "Pick what you want for your bidding from this pile," and the earth changed to eagle tails.

When he changed the earth there were four eagle tails. "The Snake Man will say, 'Where did you get those eagle tails?' and you say, 'I have been around begging from my friends.' Then he will not be afraid and put his four tails on, too. When you play the game, go as fast as you can. While you are running remember the holy song I taught you and sing it in your mind. Have some young men run with you when you play the game. On the last day I may be there, for I know that that snake hates me."

After he finished talking, he smoked the two sticks and told the young man to take them back and put them where they belonged, for Snake Man, who was sleeping, would not hear him. Brown Old Man said, "The first thing in the morning, go to the river and take a bath. Put mud on your head. I will be praying to the birds all the time, and you will not get exhausted but light while you run. Call the first thing in the morning that you are ready to play, and he will ask why you don't use white clay instead of that dirt, and you say, 'I am in such a hurry that I am going to use this kind of paint.' "

Snake Man came and asked where he got the tails, and he replied that they were given him by different people who scolded him because he was using up all his father's things. He sent for his eagle tails to bet against the young man. The young man said to Snake Man, "I want a bigger stick this time, for you are always using your small ones. I don't know how to win the game anyhow and you will win."

The other one agreed to use the larger stick. Brown Old Man had said that he would go easy with Snake Man at first. There were many young fellows around, and he begged some of them to follow him while he ran even though he couldn't win the game. They ran, letting the loop go first. Snake Man threw his stick first and then the other threw. The stick went where it should go, so

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he won the first game and had two sticks. They threw the sticks out again. Before the stick stopped, he saw that he was nearer and then he had four of the sticks. After a while the young man won the eagle tails, so he had eight tails. He thought he would fool the opponent by saying, "Now that I have the eight tails I will be able to play all the longer before you win them back from me as you will eventually."

Snake Man sent for eight more eagle tails, and they began to run again. Each time they threw, the young man would hit the right place; then he began to lag so the other would not be suspicious, until late in the evening when he won the game outright. Then he had sixteen eagle tails.

Snake Man said, "I am tired now so we will stop." The other said, "When I was losing, you always wanted to go until sundown," but Snake Man thought that he would stop so he could fix his sticks.

The young man said to his helpers, "I will pay you after I have finished the game."

Next day they had another game and Snake Man brought out all the eagle tails left and said, "If you win all the tails, I suppose I can put in robes and other things?" The young man agreed to do so. The third day he won the game again and had robes and everything that Snake Man had.

The third night, Brown Old Man came and said, "Tomorrow will be your last day for the game. After he has lost everything, he will bet his wife, for she is his real power, so you must do your best to win her."

The boy's father was at the lodge when they brought in all the things that the father had lost before. On the last day Snake Man did not have very much property to bet, bringing only pots, bedding, spoons, and such things as he could get hold of. The young man put up eagle tails against them. The game went on, and Snake Man said, "Now I have nothing left. I will bet my earth lodge." When he lost that, Snake Man said, "I will bet my wife now. That is all that I have left."

Brown Old Man had said formerly, "During the last game when he bets his wife, I will be sitting ahead of you, for if you do not win right away, she may throw you off in your throw. She has great power."

When the other people saw that he was winning the game back, they would run beside him and make much noise in victory. By that time Snake Man was nearly exhausted with water running from his mouth. When the last game was played, they began to run with Brown Old Man in the lead. When Snake Man threw his stick, he saw the old man and thought that he would throw the stick past Brown Old Man. After the game was over Snake Man said, "Brown Old Man, I think you were the one who did this, making me throw my stick in the wrong direction."

The young man said to the people, "You may carry all the things over to the lodge I have won and put them inside. I know that Snake Man once won all these valuables from you, and I am going to return them to you again."

He called Snake Man's wife in and said, "You belong to me, but I do not think I will keep you. I will give you some clothing to put on and you can go anywhere you please."

She dressed and went out. When he had everything collected that he had won from Snake Man, he called in his "father," Brown Old Man. Snake Man came in with nothing on but a breechcloth. The young man inquired what he had come for, to smoke or what? Snake Man said, "I went down to the river to take a bath, and I vomited out only earth."

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The other said, "I had that happen, too, when you were winning, so I don't think it is anything serious. If you find anything more to bet on, I am ready. I always give a person a chance to get back what he lost." 773 539

After a while Snake Man stepped out. Late that night Brown Old Man came and ate with the young man, and they were happy. He told Brown Old Man what Snake Man had said and then Brown Old Man laughed.

He said, "I made one mistake here; at the time you fellows ran I was angry, and I thought that every time Snake Man breathed the dirt would go into his mouth. That is why he threw all that dirt up. That was a mistake, for I am afraid that he will not have a long life."

While the gambling was going on, the young man had married. He told his wife to go out and take a bath, for he had promised Brown Old Man that if he won the game and had a wife he should take her as a daughter-in-law. Brown Old Man had said, "I will sleep beside her and take her as my daughter-in-law, but I will not touch her. What you have done, giving her to me for my daughter-in-law, makes me happy." They slept together until the next day. The young man and his "father," Brown Old Man, ate together and were happy. Brown Old Man said to his "son," "I sang a holy song while you were playing the game, and it is yours. In the future when you go out to attack your enemy, use that song, and you will win that game too."

Meanwhile Snake Man was vomiting up the dirt; it was not long after that until he died.

Brown Old Man died in that village, but, when they tell the story, the old people do not say whether he went back to the birds or not, but it seems from the earlier part of the story that he must have.

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF EAGLE-TRAPPING. I

The people were living out on the Reservation by this time [1888]. I was about twenty-four years old then. By that time we had wagons so we went with teams. We went across from Independence and set out west toward Heart Singer Butte, near which we camped that night. The next time we moved, we camped at Eagle Nest Butte. Bad Coat had his wife, True Woman (Water-buster clan); Iron Eyes had his wife, Brown Chest (AwaxEnawita clan); Charging had his wife, Robe (Knife clan); Little Crow had his wife, Otter (Water-buster clan); Packs Wolf had his wife, Comes Along Pink (AwaxEnawita clan); Spotted Weasel had his wife, Cedar (AwaxEnawita clan); Raven Knows Nothing had his wife, Bear Woman (Knife clan); Sitting Owl had his wife, Pink Blossom (AwaxEnawita clan); Sitting Owl had an adopted son along called Standing Bull. 223

The next time we camped just the other side of where the White Lodge stands, where there are large springs. The next day we came opposite Buffalo Manure Butte, called Lone Butte today, and camped on the banks of the Little Missouri River. We crossed the Little Missouri there and followed Buffalo Manure Creek, called Crosby Creek today, and crossed the divide to the west and camped. The camp was on the Little Missouri River in the timber.

We set to work, for we had wagons then, cutting the timbers and posts. They were mostly ash, and we hauled them on the wagons. We set up the four posts with the rails at the top and then carried the timbers around the sides of the place where the lodge was to stand. All the men worked on this, and we finally finished it. It took us one day to cut the timbers while others were scraping the ground down, taking the roots out. The next day we commenced 223 346

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223 346 putting the lodge up, finishing the actual building in one day. The next day the leader put the wood pillows on the ground, dug out the fireplace, and placed the stakes at the head of the lodge where the buffalo head belonged. He finished everything up just as in the other drawings I made. After the skull was brought in by the leader, it was placed at the head of the lodge. Then we went out and cut soft grass for bedding. Iron Eyes was the man to stay in the lodge and burn incense, for he was an old man and did not go into any of the pits.

223 Each one of us went out and selected a spot where our pits should be; sometimes two would go together and make one pit. When finished, they would go to another site and make another pit for the other one. That took us two days. Where one had a pit close to a washout or bank, he would carry the dirt and throw it in there. Those on the level would carry the dirt far off and put it in a low pile to make it look as though a ground mole or pocket gopher had dug it up. After a pit was dug, we took the measurements of it for the cover and cut the six sticks for the frame. Buckbrush was tied between the pole frames to make a shield for the grass which was to come next.

The bait's place was at the west side. There were two stakes to hold it down with a crotch on the end of each. Stakes were driven into the ground, and the bait was tied to the two stakes to keep it from being moved by the birds. There was a stake on the inside of the pit in the wall also. The third stake had a crotch, and a strong cord was tied to it and to the bait so that the eagle could not move the bait.

As soon as all the stakes were tied together, to get into the pit, we would take the cover up and drop our things in under it and crawl in feet first. Before going in, the bait was fixed from the outside and the cord dropped down into the pit to be tied to the stake. Then we smoothed the grass covering. We always used six poles for the cover; that way it made the covering strong enough to hold a bird's weight. Some trappers often reported that birds came and fought the decoy if it was too close to the bait, so I always had mine farther off. That was why I never had any trouble catching birds.

223 796 When we had the lodge completed, the leader told us we could go in. We took our firearms up and stood in front of the lodge. The Leader said, "Sitting Owl, you will go in and be the Crack Shot (*mariisakihE*)."[8] He did not know that he would be selected. In fact, none of us knew who would be selected for the different places. Then Charging was told to go in, then Raven Knows Nothing, Bears Arm, and Spotted Weasel, who was selected as the waiter on that side. Then, on the other side Packs Wolf was selected waiter (*ix'-ta-ki*). Blue Stone, Little Crow, Iron Eyes, and Bad Coat went in last.

Each man beginning with the Crack Shot had four sticks, each one representing one of the four eagles, making in all twenty sticks on one side and twenty sticks on the other side. There were no markings on them; they were cut from chokecherry branches. When Wolfs Eyes went out, he had no sticks in front at all. Old Bear also gave each man four sticks which were placed in a row at the altar.

I never knew of offering strips of beaver hides to the stakes, as Crows Heart says, but it may have been in some of the other men's rites. I was out with Old Black Bear, and he was doing a little differently, but White Eagle came and asked me to go home as my folks wanted me. The leader thought

8. Hidatsa language.

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I ought to go back, so I came away. In that trapping, I understood that there were some rules that were somewhat different. If a trapper coming home from his pit stumbles and falls, when he comes back into the lodge, he has to tell it; when he does so, a new name was given him for the time of the trapping. He also changed all their names during the time of trapping and gave them names about bears or eagles. He sold his rights to Stephen Bird, who is still living. 223 796

When everything was completed, the leader burned incense and offered smoke to the buffalo skull and offered sacrifices of calicoes to the skull. That is what we called "Blessing the Lodge." Then we went to our pits. Sitting Owl caught two white tails with black tips. In the evening we went into the lodge. The leader produced a piece of corn ball and called the Crack Shot, who, instead of crawling on his elbow and knees, stooped over and walked to the leader. He received the corn ball, and the leader said, "The Footbone is giving you this corn ball."

The Crack Shot took it and tasted it, saying "Footbone, the bottom of your foot is delicious and sweet." Each one when he came up to the leader in turn said the same thing. Each person had a piece of corn ball in front of him, and the tail feathers of the eagles were given to Crack Shot. He received them and touched the corn ball with them and passed them around until the feathers reached the leader again.

When the leader received the feathers, he again got up and went over to the buffalo skull, saying, "Old Man with Ears Backwards,[9] here are your tail feathers, but they are not yours. Your children wish you to keep these feathers."

Then the waiter went out and called, asking the women to come over to the lodge. All the women came over and sat down close to the entrance. The leader painted himself with red paint on his forehead, cheeks, hands, wrists, and the top of his head. He had a feather back of his head. He represented the Old Black Bear. His rattles were the bear's feet tied together with a long string. When the women came in, the leader and those who were sitting with him sang. The women sang with the men, and Iron Eyes'[10] wife had a little bear's skin on her lap. It was the bear that had been at the altar. When the women came in, the leader gave it to her to lay on her lap and make it dance. Each one of us took our snares from the little sticks on the altar, opened up the loops, and swung them up and down in time with the leader, who was singing a special song. The women sang, and the woman with the bear's skin made it dance in time with the music. We all enjoyed ourselves singing. At the end of each song, we would hold our cords up and pretend to be roping something.

Then this practice was also different from the others I was out with. Any one of the men could make a game trap by setting up posts with braces as a deadfall. The one who finds a red fox or coyote in the trap takes it out, throwing it to one side, and then takes the skin off for the altar. In case there is a boy old enough in camp, he can go out, take the animal, and bring it in. We had one boy along, but he was too young, so they did not have the trap set. They just sang the song that went with it. When the ceremony was going on, there was one song that we danced to when it came up. There was also a spe- 224 223 796

9. Ceremonial name for the buffalo.
10. He owned a complete Mandan Eagle-trapping bundle.

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224 223 796 cial song for the waiter in which he danced alone. The leader's waiter on his side was the main waiter, and the other was an assistant. If the main waiter was absent, the assistant did the work. In the evening the women would bring wood into the camp for the sweathouse.

223 796 When the wind was in the right direction, we went into the pits. That is what we called the good wind. When the wind is from the southwest or northwest, it was considered good to fair wind, but the west was considered the best. The waiter was the first one to be up and around. He would go out and look at the flag. When he saw that the wind was from the right direction, he would say, "The wind is in the right direction." The men would all get out of bed and go to their pits.

The leader would say, "I will help the waiter if he wants to go into his pit. I will stay and do his work."

When the waiter went out to see the flag and the wind was blowing from the other directions, he would come back and report it to the leader by saying, "Leader, the wind is in the wrong direction."

The leader would say to the men, "When you are through eating, go out and hunt." There was a term that they used. Instead of saying morning meal, he would say, "After you are through sitting on it," meaning that the eagle sits on the bait. That was why he used that term. He would use the words, "Go out and throw stones at animals," meaning to hunt game. When the wind was right, we went to our pits. Raven Knows Nothing caught three good eagles with black tips; then we had another meeting the same as before. The women would come, and we would have a good time. The leader would have the men come to him for their corn balls again.

Another time we went to our pits and Packs Wolf caught two with black tips, and then the leader, himself, caught two! They were black tipped also. Those were all the birds caught.

785 796 The night after the catch was made, I asked the Crack Shot (Sitting Owl, Maxoxati clan) to fill up the pipe; he did so and gave it to me. I took the pipe and gave it to the leader, saying, "My leader, take this pipe, for I wish to suffer." He was glad. Beforehand, I had prepared my sticks. I made three of them. The Crack Shot and his helper took me outside close to the lodge by a tree and there they cut my breast on both sides and on the top of my right arm. They fastened the rawhide rope to the sticks, and then I ran around the tree while the ceremony and singing was going on inside the lodge. After all the songs were sung, the same men who tortured me came out and took the rawhide rope off and pulled the sticks out. The sticks were taken in and placed on the altar. Several days after that, Charging was tortured. When I suffered, I had my medicine bundle, the Bear Medicine, that I got from my father, hanging on my right arm. When I suffered, it was like a prayer asking the great spirits to help me to live long in the world, be fortunate in everything I undertook, and have property. I prayed to Black Medicine because Spring Boy and Lodge Boy said that they would turn into that root[11] but that their spirits would go back into the skies and help the people. That was why I prayed to them. The idea of fasting and offering myself this way was so that I might be blessed by the spirits. Then in war I would come out victorious and defeat the enemy.

11. A piece of this root is tied to each snare.

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I told you of the case where a man fasted in a bear's den, and the bear took a hold of him and threw him to one side. This man dreamed that night that the bear came and blessed him and told him that he would be a successful warrior and a brave man. Afterward a son was born to him; the son was Seven Bears. The Assiniboine came with the intention of destroying our village, but Seven Bears was brave. They shot him with arrows and bullets, but they had no effect on him. His horse was shot, but he got on another and came back. He fought the enemy and ran over them; he struck them so that the enemy turned and ran back. Torturing was a part of our prayers, for, whenever one prays, he should fast. In torturing, one will have a dream of a spirit, and that way he is blessed. By doing these things, some of the men got great power from the spirits. Crows Heart once saw that Old White Man's back was full of scars, and Crows Heart asked him how many times he had suffered. Old White Man could not remember; his skin had been pierced so many times. 785 796

The next one to be tortured was Packs Wolf. His suffering was inside of the lodge, where he was fastened to the roof. His feet were off of the ground, and a stick was given to him with which to swing himself. While he was hanging there, the leader sang his songs.

Then several days after that Spotted Weasel whittled four sticks, came back, and made a sweathouse. They ran sticks through his wrist and up to the braces of the sweat lodge, and he was also tortured on the breast. When one is tortured in the sweathouse, the women are not permitted to go into it at any time. The Crack Shot was Sitting Owl, and Spotted Weasel was his son-in-law, so he got another man to act in his place. He asked Raven Knows Nothing to do the torturing. When we went in there, the leader began to pour water on the stones, and we got down low near the ground, but Spotted Weasel could not, being tied up there near the roof. He cried to the spirits; it was a hardship for him to go through, but he did. After that, we went into our pits, but no one caught any more birds, even though we were there over one month.

Now that the sweathouse was made, each one of us got some good dried meat and a whole meat [the large piece stripped off of the length of the animal's back]. We paid the leader, and he took us into the sweat lodge to cleanse all of us. We broke camp and started for home. Bluestone and I, being single, left the others and came ahead.

On the other trips with other men, they would not let the women come into the lodge. I thought that the reason for being unlucky was because they had let the women in. 223 796

I heard that Blue Stone's father, Wood Mouth or Medicine Bird, whipped his wife one day when he was a leader and his men did not have any luck in catching the eagles. By doing that their luck changed from bad to good. They caught many eagles. I do not know if some great spirit told him to do that or not, but I do know that they ordinarily did not do that, for men, women, and children were expected to be kindhearted and not have any ill-feeling toward each other. 562

We did not change pipes but used both red and black stone, depending on the kind the leader had. In early days they did not have the red stone pipes. Then the stone was black, and the pipe was straight without the elbow. The hole was in the end, and the stone fitted in on the inside was called I-go-xE'. 276 796

In the ceremony they used a special medicine pipe taken from the bundles.

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BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF EAGLE-TRAPPING. II

223 Early in fall the leader, Wolfs Eyes, said, "I am going out eagle-trapping." There are two ways of getting up a group; some leaders accept volunteers, or the leader may select his men. We went to him and said. "We wish to go with you," and he said that it would be all right. He told us to take certain products from the garden such as roast corn, dried yellow corn, white flour corn, and dried squash. Some prepared their own baits at home. Most of the baits were stuffed jackrabbit skins. Those who did not have any baits made them after we were located at the eagle-trapping lodge and the tepees had been put up. Some would use a piece of deer hide cut up with ears on and two legs on the side.

In the party were the leader, Wolfs Eyes; Big Walk; Little Crow; Lance Owner; Little Bull; Holding Eagle; Black Bear; SittingWoman; White Body; Bears Arm; Louie Wolf or Red Horse; Many Birds; a boy, Spotted Weasel; Little Crow's wife, Otter Woman, and their daughter, Comes Out; Big Walk's wife, Plain Blossom, and their grandson, Jim Foot or Foot Prints; Plain Blossom's daughter, Too Costly; Woman in Water, wife of Charging Eagle, and her son, Richard Burr; Lance Owner's wife, Yellow Stalk; Holding Eagle's wife, Bobcat Woman. Charging Eagle being a policeman, he could not get away, but his wife, being Bears Arm's mother's sister, went along to help with the work in the camp. Also my mother's mother and Woman in Water were [462] sisters. There were several women along because there was much to do, since in bad weather we would go out and kill mountain sheep, elk, and deer, so the women came along to care for the meet and hides.

484 When everything was ready, the young women took their bullboats to the river and crossed our stuff consisting of tepees, poles, provisions, bedding, 492 and cooking utensils. It took nearly all day to cross the stuff. The first camp was at Beaver Creek. We used tepee poles tied together as travois. The horses pulled poles with the tepees and bedding, while several additional pack horses were loaded down with bedding. We were all on horseback and traveled very slowly. When traveling, the leader was at the head of the party, while the hunters were to the side or in advance of the others.

487 The second day we traveled to End of World Buttes and stopped northeast of Killdeer the third night. After camping on the east side of Killdeer, we went around the north side of the Killdeer Mountains and camped on the north side. From there we went north because that was the best route to cross the Little Missouri River. After we left the Little Missouri, we went to the place called Wolf Pit. When we reached our destination, we commenced to put up our lodge, for there was no lodge there before.

223 The place was selected by the leader because of the presence of a prairie-dog town there in a valley extending from the Yellowstone River eastward to the Little Missouri. All along that valley there were prairie dogs, and the eagles traveled along this valley in order to catch these animals. Then the Indians would come to this site, and our leader thought that it would be a good place to catch the birds.

346 As soon as the camp was selected, all set to work erecting the lodge, even the women helped by cutting the grass to pack between the poles and digging 784 dirt to put over the lodge. There was an opening at the top for the sparks and 223 smoke. There were four posts and railing on top, while the rest of the poles

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leaned against them. We were not allowed to shoot or throw stones at any kind of birds. Nor were we allowed to sing other than the songs that went with the trapping. The leader tied pieces of calico to ash trees as offering to the Holy Women and told the new members that the region back of the lodge or west was holy ground as the birds came from that direction.

Then we did the "Tied" ceremony, meaning marking the corners of the new pits so that they were square and deep enough to be over one's head when sitting up in them. On the side wall a hole was dug like a small shelf and a stone was put in it. The stone is called Baby Stone, for the eagles were considered sacred. The stone was used as a shield, and, when one catches an eagle and wishes to kill it in the pit, instead of using the words "kill it" we said "put it to sleep" and took the stone down and placed it between the eagles wings, took the cord tied around its neck, and pulled the cord back, and that way broke the neck.

The bears were the first ones to trap eagles; there are two different stories about eagle-trapping. The leader goes in and blesses the lodge and prays to the spirits. When they first learned of eagle-trapping, the bear was doing this. He had a cord and spread it out, opening it, and said, "All are caught." It was because the bears prayed that prayers had to be offered to the spirits to whom the bears prayed.

There must have been a great difference in the ceremonies once, since the stone is called "Tied" and also "Sleep Stone."

When our leader saw that all was ready, he said, "We must go in." He named Little Bull to be the Crack Shot and go in first; then he named Holding Eagle to sit next to the Crack Shot; then Wolfs Eyes went in and took his place at the head of the lodge; then the helper, Big Walk, went in. Whatever the leader does in singing and praying, the man sitting next to him is expected to give him assistance. The leader and his helper are the ones to offer prayers and do the singing, while the Crack Shot and the man next to him work together too. Their duty is to torture the men. Then the other men came in on both sides and took their places. Then there were two waiters selected by the leader. They were not named, nor is anyone named until the lodge is completed and ready to move in.

No excuses are allowed. When the leader says, "I select you as a waiter," one has no right to refuse. After this, we went in and took our places. The leader said, "Waiter, burn some incense," and, while the waiter burned it, the leader took his sacred articles out and held them in the smoke. He held up the cord, and while he was singing the song to the snares he made a motion as of throwing the loop to catch something. He did that three times, and the fourth time the Crack Shot jumped up and took the snare, saying, "Leader, you have snared everything; you have roped everything north, south, west, and east," meaning that then he had everything in the world caught in his snare.

There are many songs[12] to be sung by the leader and his helper. After he sings these songs, there is a special song for the waiter, who gets up and dances with the cord, making the sign of throwing the loop to catch something. Then, one of the men who is not married would say, "Waiter, I feel someone at my back."

Then the waiter looked and said, "There is a very handsome woman back

12. See Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 69–80.

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223 796 of you; it is an A-ci-ra'-wi'-a," meaning really a bear woman, for the origin was from the bears.

224 462 In early days when young men went out this way, the single girls would marry some of them before they left and then go out there. The women would prepare the meat from the mountain sheep and work on the hides while the men trapped. To secure these fine hides, women would marry a single man in order to get a chance to go out there.

223 796 The pits being dug, early the next morning we got up without having any breakfast and went to our pits. Some of the pits were old ones, but several new ones were made. Sometimes there would be two pits together, and then they would fix the last pit up and go into it. For their baits some had blood stored away while others had jackrabbits. Others had a hide fixed up so that it looked like some animal. Water was mixed with the dry blood and put on the bait. In the evening each man came out, and those who did not catch anything came home quietly, while those who had caught eagles would come in crying. When they heard someone come crying, the waiter would burn incense as the man with the eagle came into camp.

Eagle-trapping is called "Tied," when persons catching eagles are to kill them in the pit before bringing them to the lodge. The first man who came in that day was Little Bull. He had two birds with black tips. White Body was burning the incense. In case both the waiters were away, the leader would burn the incense himself. The next man who came in was Holding Eagle, and he had two birds with black tips. Black Bear caught two also. The saying is that, where you catch two eagles, they are a brother and a sister, for they travel together. These birds were all killed in the pit. The birds were brought in and placed at the head of the lodge in a row. The tails were brought in and placed on the buffalo head, each man keeping track of his own feathers.

223 777 The next day my brother, Little Bull, took me along, and we went into his pit. He caught four that day, and, when the fifth had landed on the bait, he told me to catch it by the feet, which I did. He helped me pull the bird down into the pit. He took me along to show me how to catch the birds. The next time he went out he caught three more, which made ten in all that he had caught. Three warbonnets could be made of them, and he had one tail extra. The leader said to him, "That is enough; you must not go out any more, or you will have bad luck." After that Little Bull did not go out any more.

223 The second time Holding Eagle went out he caught three, and the third time he caught two, so that he had seven. Black Bear caught two the first time, three the second time, and two the third time, making seven for him. Lance Owner did not have any luck in his pit, so he was advised to go into Little Bull's pit, where he caught two. Little Crow did not catch anything in his pit, so he was also told to go into Little Bull's pit, and he caught two there. Sitting Woman caught three; White Body did not catch any. Wolfs Eyes and his helper did not trap.

223 796 All these birds were killed in the pit, each trapper having a Baby Stone in his hole. While facing east, they broke the birds' necks, and in that way the spirits of the birds would return to their spirit home down the river.

There are two ways of trapping eagles. This time we followed the ceremony called "Tied" which originated with the black bear. The other way was the real eagle-trapping and in that ceremony they had ways that were different from the ceremony Wolfs Eyes used. In the other ceremony if a trapper fell down and tells the leader about it, his named is changed. This time we did

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not even get names when we began trapping. One morning the leader woke us and said, "There is water coming down," so we had to stop trapping. The bodies of the eagles were taken to the east side of the lodge and put on the ground. Then we all went back and ran toward the dead eagles and shot over them and then struck them. The eagles represented our enemies. That was why we had to do that. Then we broke camp and started for home. The birds had been put about two hundred yards from the medicine lodge. We cut the wings off, pulled the light feathers out, and left the bodies there. When we got back to the village the leader collected all the tails and went through a little ceremony to send the spirits of the eagles away. Sometimes they did that in the camp, but when we had to hurry, as in this case, for slush ice was forming in the river, we did it at the village. Sending the spirits away was done by making a feast and paying the leader to put on the sweat-lodge ceremony. He offered prayers to the birds and bears, asking the spirits of the birds to go away. Then he beat on a hide, and each one in the village, especially men, stood by their doors making much noise and pounding on the hide covering of the door. Then he took all those who were out trapping with him into the sweat lodge where they were cleansed by having water sprinkled on them.

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PAPERS

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THE MANDANS

A STUDY OF THEIR CULTURE, ARCHAEOLOGY AND LANGUAGE

BY

G. F. WILL
AND
H. J. SPINDEN

WITH FOUR MAPS, FIFTEEN PLATES AND SIXTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

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3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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EDITORIAL NOTE.

dOO

During the summer of 1905 the authors of this paper, two Harvard students of the class of 1906, carried on the exploration of an ancient Indian site in North Dakota. Dr. R. B. Dixon accompanied the party to North Dakota and remained with them for several days to direct the beginning of the field work. The exploration was a successful one and secured for the Museum an important archaeological collection. On their return to college these students made a study of the Mandan culture and language under the guidance of Dr. Dixon. The following paper embodies the results of their researches— archaeological, historical and linguistic. From a comparative study of the archaeological material and the historical data, they draw the conclusion that the site explored is one of the ancient Mandan sites of which there is traditional and historical evidence.

The four heliotype plates are from photographs taken by Mr. Will and Mr. Spinden. The other plates, maps and illustrations in the text are from drawings by Mr. Spinden.

The exploration was under the auspices of the Peabody Museum and was made possible by the generous gift of Mr. Clarence B. Moore (H. U. 1873).

F. W. Putnam,
Curator of the Peabody Museum.

Harvard University,
June 16, 1906.

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PREFACE.

121 In 1904 one of the authors became interested in the history and culture of the Mandans, and later prepared an historical and descriptive sketch of this interesting people. In 1905 an opportunity for archaeological field work led to the formation of a small party of students, who carried on investigations over a period of six weeks in the region formerly occupied by this tribe. The party consisted of Mr. R. R. Hellmann (H. U. '06) and Mr. H. A. Nye (H. U. '06), in addition to the authors of this paper. While working over the archaeological and historical material collected, it was deemed advisable to add the consideration of available linguistic data. The result of these several investigations is embodied in the following paper.

000 Thanks are due to Mr. Martin Burgois for his courteous permission to conduct exploration on his land; and also to Dr. Rawlings, Mr. L. Sperry and Mr. T. Griffin, all of Bismarck, N. D., and to Mr. E. R. Steinbrueck of Mandan, N. D., for various favors.

In the preparation of the paper, thanks are due to Professor F. W. Putnam for his kindly advice and criticism, and to Dr. W. C. Farabee for valuable service rendered in the identification of the animal remains and the measurements of the human bones. Above all, the authors desire to thank Dr. R. B. Dixon for his untiring aid and thorough supervision.

G. F. W. & H. J. S.

Harvard University,
June 15, 1906.

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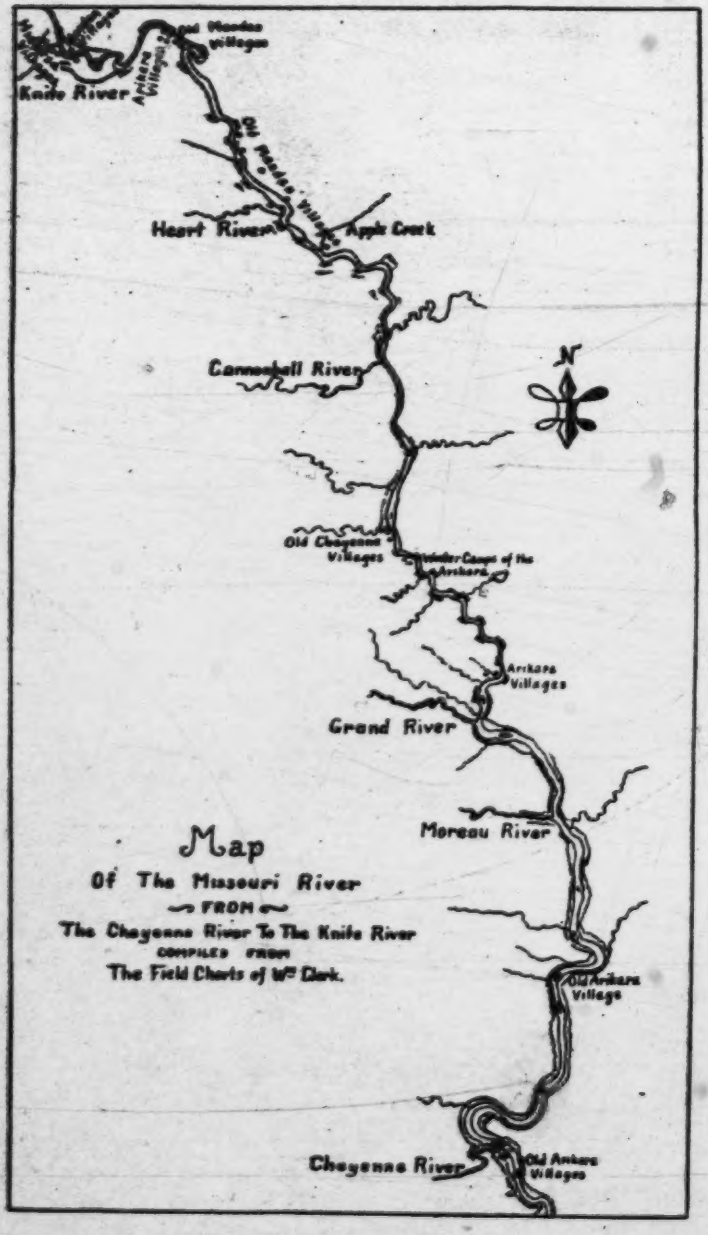

MAP. I. THE MIDDLE MISSOURI.

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THE MANDANS.

A Study of their Culture, Archaeology and Language.

114 As yet very little archaeological work has been done on the old sites of the Mandan villages in North Dakota, although they are numerous, interesting, and rich in material relating to the past life of the people. The sites in some places have been injured by plowing and farming, but most of them are in good condition, though in a precarious situation owing to the rapid settlement and increasing cultivation of the land about them. Many of the sites have been marred by relic hunters and inexperienced collectors, but none are seriously damaged.

Besides the collection in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge which forms the basis of the archaeological section of this paper, collections from this region are also in the possession of: the American Museum of Natural History in New York, the Minnesota State Historical Society, the North Dakota State Historical Society and the National Museum in Washington. The Minnesota and North Dakota collections, while large and interesting, were not the result of careful, systematic work on any one site.

No single site has yet been fully investigated, and the work last summer was the first attempt at a thorough exploration. A complete excavation of the entire site was beyond the resources of the expedition, which confined itself to a detailed examination of certain selected areas. There still remains a wide field for additional investigation.

On the ethnological side little further research is possible owing to the practical extinction of the tribe. All that can be done is to assemble and sift the considerable mass of information to be gathered from the accounts of early travellers.

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114 The position of the Mandans on the main travelled road up the Missouri to the fur country, the fact that their villages were one of the recognized stops on this journey, and their difference from the average Plains Indians which surrounded them, caused travellers to take especial note of them. Moreover, there were many wonderful tales concerning them scattered abroad over the country, started probably by their own less cultured neighbors. Hence there are a number of historical accounts running from the early part of the 18th century, to the middle of the 19th. Only a few of these make any mention of the old village sites.

The first known account of the Mandans is that of the Sieur de la Verendrye.[1] As agent of a Canadian fur company, he made the trip across country from the Portage du Prairie to the Mandan villages in the fall of the year 1738. His account is some fifteen pages long, and is very interesting as giving the only picture of the Mandan period of prosperity which can be obtained. He was led to make this trip to extend the fur trade and because of the wonderful stories related to him by the Assiniboines. Verendrye in his visit to the Mandans was disappointed because they did not come up to these tales.

There is a long jump between Verendrye's account and that of Lewis and Clarke, and this gap is bridged only by an account which cannot be found and is only known to exist by mention of it in a letter.[2] It is said to be the story of a certain McKenzie, who in the employ of a Canadian fur company visited the Mandans in 1772 and brought back a glowing account of them.

Lewis and Clarke,[3] however, are the next certain chroniclers. They arrived among the Mandans in the fall of 1804, and spent the winter at Fort Mandan in the neighborhood of the Mandan villages. Their account is good, but the details are scattered and must be collected from a mass of other material. They furnish practically the only information concerning the

[1] Brymner: Report on the Canadian Archives, 1889, pp. 3-29. Margry, P.: Decouvertes et Etablissements des Francois dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amerique septentrionale, vol. VI, pp. 503 et seq. Paris, 1886.

[2] Quoted in Schoolcraft: History, Condition and Prospects, vol. III, p. 253.

[3] All the important editions of the Journals have been examined; for convenience, reference will usually be made to date of entry only.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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location and early condition of the archaeological remains both of the Mandans and Arikara, and their account is thus doubly valuable. 114

Next in point of time comes the journal of Alexander Henry, who visited the Mandans during the year 1806. He was a trader for the Northwest Company and came to the Mandans in connection with the fur trade. He kept a fairly full journal, which was edited and published by Dr. Elliot Coues.[1] In this he gives the details of several weeks residence among the Mandans and Hidatsa with reasonably full descriptions of many interesting details of their life.

After Henry, came two men of lesser importance, but who give some additional facts, although devoting most of their space to the Arikara. These are Brackenridge[2] and Bradbury,[3] who came together, in 1810, and each of whom later printed an account of their journey. The former was an American, the latter an Englishman of scientific interests.

The next authority, chronologically, is the artist and Indian lover, George Catlin.[4] He visited the Mandans in the spring of 1833, and has devoted almost two hundred pages in his "North American Indians" to an extended account of that tribe. All his work is colored by his romantic imagination and deep love for the Indians, nevertheless in matters of actual fact he seems to be as reliable as any other authority, judging from comparison with Maximilian and others. Catlin became a great supporter of the wild theory that the Mandans were of Welsh origin, little of this appears, however, in his main work, and his facts have not been interfered with by his theories. His drawings are probably a little idealized, but they, too, afford a reasonably accurate source of information.[5] Withal it may be said that while Catlin's theories are to be questioned, his facts are of value.

[1] New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest; the Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson. 1799-1814, 3 vols. New York, 1897.

[2] Journal of a Voyage up the River Missouri. Baltimore, 1816.

[3] Travels in Interior America. Liverpool, 1817.

[4] North American Indians. New York, 1841.

[5] Matthews: The Earth Lodge in Art. Amer. Anth. (N. S.), vol. IV, pp. 1 et seq.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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114 After Catlin comes Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied.[1] During the winter of 1833–4 he passed several months among the Mandans, and has given us a minute and accurate account of the manners and customs of the people in so far as he observed them. In addition he has given one of the best vocabularies of Mandan and almost the only grammatical sketch of that language. This, though incomplete, is of great value. There is nothing romantic and imaginative in Maximilian's style and treatment of the Mandans, and he may be justly recognized as the best of the various authorities.

Besides these more important chroniclers of the Mandans there is a group of minor authorities to whom something is due for an occasional fact. Most of these men have taken their accounts almost wholly from the above first-hand narratives, making in some cases small additions of their own. First in this group is Patrick Gass,[2] a member of the Lewis and Clarke expedition. With the exception of McKenzie and Larocque,[3] two Northwest Company men who tell us scarcely anything, he is the only one of the minor authorities who writes from personal observation. The others are men who have only condensed what has been gathered by reading, such are Schoolcraft,[4] Hayden,[5] and Matthews.[6]

172 361 The remains which form a basis for the archaeological section of the present paper are part of a single village site. There are numerous other sites of a similar type scattered from the Grand River in South Dakota, to the north side of the Knife River in North Dakota. These sites are attributed to two different tribes, the Mandans and the Arikara. We may first consider the remains which seem to be of Mandan origin.

The field in which these sites are found is restricted to an area along the Missouri River from a few miles south of Apple

[1] Voyage en l'Amerique du Nord. Paris, 1843.

[2] Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a corps of Discovery under the command of Captain Lewis and Captain Clarke. Philadelphia, 1812.

[3] Journals in Masson, Les Bourgeois de la Campagnie du Nord-Ouest, vol. II. Quebec, 1889.

[4] Op. cit., vol. III, pp. 248 et seq.

[5] Contributions to the Ethnography and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley. Trans. Am. Philos. Soc. (N. S.), vol. XII, pp. 425 et seq.

[6] Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians. Washington, 1877.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Creek in Burleigh Co., North Dakota, to a point some fifteen miles south of the Knife River in Mercer Co., North Dakota, and this field is again subdivided into the historical and the more or less traditional sites. Of the former little will be said. They are the remains of villages which Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian, Catlin, and other early travellers visited, and are situated on the Missouri about fifteen miles below the Knife River. There is another small set of remains intermediate between the traditional and the historical, the stopping place between the former and the latter. These intermediate sites are on the south side of the Missouri on the bluffs southwest of Washburn, and are rather closely connected with several Arikara sites. 172 361

We are concerned here, however, with the oldest villages which were visited by only two white men who have left accounts, the Sieur de Verendrye, and McKenzie, whose account is mentioned by D. D. Mitchell in a letter to Schoolcraft. The question might be raised as to how it is known that the sites visited by Verendrye and McKenzie were the oldest ones. The statement of McKenzie that on his visit the Mandans lived in nine villages should suffice to establish this. According to all accounts, after the removal from the early sites the Mandans did not have at any time over five villages, and these soon shrank to even fewer. If McKenzie found nine villages in 1773 the Mandans must have been occupying the earlier sites, and certainly if they were there in 1773, they were very probably there in 1738. The further fact that Verendrye describes the Mandans as being in full power and prosperity shows also that they had as yet suffered none of the losses by disease and war which caused their removal to the later villages. 172 175 361

The location of these oldest Mandan sites comes up next for consideration. They were situated on the Missouri River near the Heart River, some above, some below, on both sides of the former, but the number of villages is uncertain. The location near the Heart is affirmed by all. Lewis and Clarke's Journal,[1] March 10, 1805, says, "The Mandans formerly lived in six (nine) large villages at and above the mouth of the Heart River." Maximilian[2] says, "After the first alliance with the 172 361 175

[1] Thwaites Edition, vol. I, p. 271. [2] Op. cit., p. 436.

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172 Hidatsa, the Mandans lived in eight or nine villages at and
175 above the Heart River."
361 The number of these ancient villages is a problem which it is impossible to settle definitely. Even an exact and thorough canvas of the ground cannot settle this, as changes of the river may have caused the entire disappearance of some sites. Historical and archaeological evidence alike leave one in doubt. Verendrye, who visited but one Mandan village, says, "I was answered that there were five forts on the two banks of the river . . . . . much larger than the one we are in."[1] But further on he makes this additional statement, "We noticed that in the plain were several small forts of forty to fifty huts . . . . . but no one was there. . . . . The forts in the plains were occupied during the summer to work their fields . . . . . there was a large store of reserve grain there."[2] Next in point of time comes Lewis and Clarke's account, from which may be given three extracts. "These villages, nine in number are scattered . . . . . for twenty miles, ... almost all that remains of them is the wall surrounding them and the fallen heaps of earth which covered the houses."[3] Again, "Within the recollection of living witnesses, the Mandans were settled . . . . in nine villages . . . . . about eighty miles below . . . . . seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri. The two . . . . . wasting before the smallpox and the Sioux united into one village and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras. The same causes reduced the seven to five . . . . . they immigrated . . . . . to the Ricara Nation . . . . ." Also,[4] "The Mandans formerly lived in six (nine) villages . . . four (six) on the west side, two (three) on the east. One of those on the east and the largest was entirely cut off by Sioux and smallpox."[5] Here is disagreement of the same authority both in the total number of villages and in the relative distribution on the two sides of the river.

Catlin is the next writer who gives a version of the tradition, and in his North American Indians[6] is the statement that the Mandans formerly lived down river in ten villages. Maximilian,

[1] Brymner: op. cit., p. 19. [2] Ibid., p. 23. [3] Oct. 22, 1804.
[4] Nov. 21, 1804. [5] Mar. 10, 1805. Thwaites Edition, I, p. 271. [6] p. 81.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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who next claims attention, gives at least two different versions of the story. In one place[1] he makes the statement that the Mandans formerly lived in thirteen or more villages, each had a name and they distinguished themselves thus: 1. Pheasant Village, 2. Village of (the people of) the West, 3. Bear Village, 4. Badger Village, 5. Prickly Pear Village, 6. Village of the Sulky Ones, because they separated from part of their nation to come up the Missouri. Here is a notable discrepancy between the stated number of villages and the number of names given. In another place he states[2] that after the first alliance with the Hidatsa the Mandans lived in eight or nine villages: 1. The South Village, 2. The Greatest Village, 3. The Scattered Village, 4. The Littlest Village, 5. The Village of Those Who Turn Back, 6. The Village on the Hill, 7. The Village of Those Who Separate their Legs, 8. The Village of Those Who Tattoo Themselves.

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Thus the authorities not only disagree with each other, but even vary their own statements. Verendrye says six and a number of smaller ones; McKenzie, nine; Lewis and Clarke, from six to thirteen, at various times. Through all of these accounts, nine seems to be the favorite number, but it might hardly be safe to fix it at that. Perhaps the discrepancy can best be accounted for by remembering Verendrye's story of the summer villages, and the fact that Maximilian speaks of villages in the woods occupied for a short time during the worst of the winter. Another factor which may have a bearing on the matter is the old tradition mentioned by Maximilian[3] that the Hidatsa lived near the Mandans for a few years after their arrival, and before moving up to the Knife River. Considering these facts together with the prevailing traditional number of nine, it might be concluded that at the time of residence on the Heart River there were nine actual fixed villages, and an uncertain number of smaller and less fixed camps. This can be only regarded as a hypothesis.

Archaeological evidence is also conflicting on this subject. Lewis and Clarke noted a number of the remains in passing, and probably a series of quotations from them will best bring out

[1] Op. cit., p. 370. [2] Ibid., p. 436. [3] Ibid., p. 435.

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172 the points of location which should be emphasized. In Allen's
175 Lewis and Clarke are the following entries:
361 "Oct. 19. 1804. We camped on the north opposite to the uppermost of a number of round hills. . . . . Near to one of these moles on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain are the remains of an old village. . . . . "

"Oct. 20. After . . . . . twelve miles we encamped on the south at the upper part of a bluff . . . . . immediately below . . . . . are the remains of a village formerly occupied by the Mandans."

"Oct. 21. At two miles from our encampment . . . . . ruins of a second Mandan village . . . . . on the north at the foot of a hill in a beautiful . . . . . plain . . . . . nearly opposite are remains of a third village on the south . . . . . another . . . . . two miles further on the north. At a distance of seven miles we encamped. . . . . "

"Oct. 22. We passed an old Mandan village on the south . . . . . at four miles another on the same side . . . . . at six we reached an island about one mile in length, at the head of which is a Mandan village on the north in ruins . . . . . at eight miles are remains of another Mandan village on the south."

Here is an actual description and more or less definite location of nine seemingly very noticeable village sites.

Maximilian's[1] notes on the subject come next with the following extracts: " . . . . a chain of hills called the mountains of the old Mandan village, for one of their villages had been where the river cuts the chain. . . . . It was at the foot of a chain of hills on a fine plain not far from the river. . . . . Here began the Mandan territory . . . . . [Later on same day] We cut wood near the mouth of Apple Creek."

"Next day we came in sight of Square Buttes. . . . . After eight hours we came to an old Mandan village on the right in the prairie."

The archaeological information collected by this party increases the uncertainty. No complete archaeological survey was attempted and the location of sites other than those personally visited will not be discussed. The accompanying map

[1] Op. cit., pp. 19 to 23.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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(Map I)[1] marks roughly the sites as judged from the above extracts from Lewis and Clarke, and more accurately the sites which have been actually seen in the course of this investigation. The first site encountered in the above extracts is approximately on the south bank of Apple Creek above some round, clay buttes. This one was not visited. The second site is on the west side of the river at the base of the hill on which the infantry post of Fort Abraham Lincoln was formerly located. This site was examined, and it is accurately marked on the map. Of the next two sites one on the east and one on the west, but little can be said. The first certainly is on the outskirts of the present town of Mandan. The other one possibly has disappeared in the river. At all events, the only corroboration found, after having been over the country, is a small site on the point of a bluff about one mile above the Northern Pacific Railroad bridge over the Missouri. It is not so plain as the others, nevertheless on a cursory investigation and excavation by our party it showed signs of lengthy occupation. The next site mentioned by Lewis and Clarke is stated to be "two miles further on the north and a little off the river." Of this no trace has been found, unless it be that at the Sperry farm. This one is about five miles above the other site; it is on a bluff, bordering what was formerly a creek, and is about two miles from the river. In some respects this fills the requirements, in point of distance, however, it hardly fits with the account.

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Of the locations of the three other villages on the west side of the river Lewis and Clarke's account does not furnish sufficiently accurate details, although a careful examination of the ground might make them clear. Only one more site is mentioned by Lewis and Clarke on the east, and this, it is believed, is the one where the excavations hereinafter described were made. This last site was by their reckoning about thirteen miles above their Fort Abraham Lincoln camp, at the head of an island. The site at which the excavation was carried on is probably fourteen miles north of their camp. It is at the head of a broad place in the river where there is a small island now. Mr. Burgois, who has lived in the neighborhood for a number of years, says that formerly the island was much

[1] [See facing p. 85, cat. 116 — Analyst]

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larger. This is the only widening of the river where an island could form within the distance stated, and lastly the site is in a very conspicuous situation on the top of a hill. The earthworks are larger than is usual around the other sites, and in every respect the place is apt to attract the attention of any one passing up river.

At a distance of some three miles further up on the same side is another village site not quite as large. It is hidden now from the river by cottonwoods which have grown up in front of it; the site lies on the very edge of the first bench in a level plain. The finds there agree with those in the other places and it is very evidently a remnant of the same people. This gives four known sites on the east side.

On every hand thus it is evident that there is great uncertainty. The number of sites is far from certain. The sites cannot be absolutely identified even when historically described — neither locations nor distribution according with descriptions given. The fact that the Mandans have a tradition of the Hidatsa living near them for a while also adds to the confusion. But the tradition as given by Maximilian[1] states also that the Hidatsa were a roving people, and non-agricultural on their arrival. Consequently there would probably be little difficulty in distinguishing their sites. Moreover, the Hidatsa are supposed to have stayed there only four or five years, and then to have proceeded up to the Knife River.

One more phase of the location question remains to be discussed. The last disturbing feature in identifying the sites is the wandering of the Arikara who, as has been said, also left a number of village sites. It is probable, however, that the Heart River area was never occupied by them for any actual settlement. For this belief a number of reasons may be given. The Arikara are a branch of the Skidi Pawnee which split off through some quarrel and started off independently, reaching in the course of time the Missouri River and ascending it by stages. Their villages were stationary and much like the Mandans but none of them seem to have been as permanent as those of the latter. This fact offers one reason for supposing that such

[1] Op. cit., p. 435.

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Heart River sites as were seen were not of Arikara origin, for the deposits in each place show a very long period of occupation. If the Arikara had just separated from the Pawnees at the time of Verendrye's visit, they certainly did not have time to accumulate such deposits before Lewis and Clarke came. 172 175 361

However, a brief consideration of what is known of their movements is still worth something though the evidence is negative. Verendrye[1] gives the following account of the Arikara: —

"At a day's journey from the last of these were the Panana . . . . . then the Panani. These two nations . . . were now at war for four years, had always . . . . been closely united . . . "

This extract seems to place the time of the separation at about 1734. The Arikara were seen in 1804 when Lewis and Clarke visited them, and at that time lived in three villages at the mouth of the Grand River. On the way up, both on the Cheyenne and Moreau rivers old Arikara villages were noted and placed on the map. Later in 1812 Bradbury in the description of his journey says that they still occupied the Grand River site. However, during the period before Lewis and Clarke's arrival other moves had been made. Lewis and Clarke[2] state that after smallpox destroyed most of the Mandan nation, reducing them to one large and some small villages they moved up into the Arikara country where they lived many years in peace.

Alexander Henry[3] says that the Arikara and Mandans lived together in the same village thirty leagues down; they separated and the Arikara went down, the Mandans up till stopped by the Hidatsa.

Maximilian[4] states that thirty-seven years before, when Charboneau came, the Arikara lived on a point just above the largest Mandan village. After that they moved back down stream and the Mandans plundered their village.

The only point in all the above which seems to connect the Arikara with the Heart River sites is the statement by Henry that the two nations lived together at thirty leagues south. The circumstances of this seem to point to the site opposite Washburn, and it may be safe to consider his estimate of the

[1] Op. cit., 19.
[2] Nov. 12, 1804.
[3] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 234.
[4] Op. cit., p. 338.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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172 distance as an error in stating the story. The more so since
175 details coincide with accounts of the Washburn site.

Reviewing the whole question of the Arikara's locations,
361 there are:—a site on the Cheyenne River, one on the Moreau River, one on the Grand River, and one some fifty miles above the Heart River, near Washburn. In 1738 they were on or near the Grand, and there again in 1804. Maximilian says that before the smallpox the Mandans feared no one, but that the Arikara and the Cheyennes were their natural enemies. Taking into account the last statement and also the fact that during the period of sixty-six years the Arikara established such a number of villages, and, moreover, that the Mandan alliance with the Arikara is placed in all the traditions as after the fall of the Mandans. it may be safely stated that the Arikara are not responsible for any of the Heart River sites.

In the discussion the location and number of the sites has now been treated and there are points which should be emphasized. The only facts which are certain are that the Mandans formerly had at least six large villages in the neighborhood of the Heart River which were abandoned between 1772 and 1804, and that there are at least six old village sites which can still be located in that region. In addition there are the following which while not definitely proved, may be regarded as highly probable: that the Heart River sites are identical with the Mandan ones; that they cannot be attributed to the Hidatsa with any reason; and lastly that there is no proof for, and much circumstantial evidence against the belief that any of this group of sites is due to the Arikara. Details of culture, historical evidence, and archaeological finds, will reënforce belief in the mutual identity, and from now on all sites of the Heart River area will be considered as of Mandan origin.

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SECTION I.

HISTORY, LIFE AND CUSTOMS.

ORIGIN:— From the previously mentioned historical sources 173
an attempt will now be made to give a brief account of the
Mandans as they were seen by travellers. First, however, comes 167
the discussion of their origin and migration, for the most part 174
theoretical, but supported to some extent by evidence. The Mandans had a tradition of coming out of the earth, nothing unusual in itself, but in relating this story they also told Maximilian that they came from the east out of the earth and struck the Missouri at the White Earth River in South Dakota. The eastern origin corresponds with that of the rest of the Siouan stock to which the Mandans, both linguistically and to a considerable extent in their culture, belong. The Ohio valley would seem to have served as a point of dispersal whence the Plains members of the Siouan stock are supposed to have moved in four successive migrations. The earliest group to leave consisted apparently of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow, and of these the Mandan were probably a number of years ahead of the other tribes. The Mandans have fairly vivid traditions of the coming of the Hidatsa many years after the former had established fixed villages on the Heart River.

They describe[1] the Hidatsa as a wild wandering people whom they taught to build stationary villages and to raise corn, pumpkins and other vegetables, and who soon moved up to the Knife River. If this tradition has any truth in it, it seems to establish the Mandans as the first nation in the successive Siouan migrations. The order of migration is placed as follows:—

1. Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow.
2. Iowa, Otoe, Missouri, Winnebago.
3. Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansas, Kwapa.
4. Dakota, Assiniboine.

[1] Maximilian: p. 435.

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In the seventeenth century, the Dakotas, the last migrants, were already in Wisconsin and Minnesota. Part of group three was already on the plains when De Soto made his journey in 1542. If some of the members of group three were already established on the plains in the sixteenth century, the establishment of the Mandans on the Missouri presumably occurred at least as early and probably earlier. Thus the beginning of the westward movement of the tribe may be carried back into the fifteenth century. That the separation occurred thus early is not difficult to believe when one considers the wide divergence of language which has taken place between the different groups. To this evidence of an early establishment on the Missouri River must be added the fact that in the traditions and religion all episodes and beliefs are localized about the region of the Heart River. The gods created the Heart River region first, and there they soon placed the Mandans. Few of the traditions go further back than the Heart River period, and little of the mythology has reference to any other region. Archaeological evidence certainly corroborates this tradition of long occupation, for at the Lincoln site the refuse forms a talus deposit at least three feet in thickness and extending thirty feet from top to bottom. At the site at which investigations were carried on the ground at every point showed potsherds and refuse to a depth of two and one half to three feet. The whole area of the village shows this accumulation, sometimes even deeper, a condition of affairs which only years of occupancy could produce.

It has been shown that the Mandans lived on the Missouri for many years and that previous to this they probably occupied some portion of the Ohio valley. The next question is how did they make the journey between the new and the old home. Did they cut across direct to the Missouri, as the second group probably did, or did they lead the way for the third group down the Ohio to the Missouri, and thence upward along the river? This question cannot as yet be satisfactorily answered. Catlin claims to have seen remains, similar to those on the Heart River, scattered all along the Missouri from St. Louis up. Clarke describes an ancient fortification near Bon Homme

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Island in South Dakota and was told by traders that there were 174
a number of others about that country. Maximilian was told
that the Mandans first touched the Missouri at White Earth 167
River in South Dakota, with which might be connected the reported existence of the remains of circular earth lodges in southern Wisconsin. Here are arguments for both theories; up to the present, however, the matter must remain unsettled until some careful investigation decides it.

HISTORY: — In the earliest historical accounts the Mandans 175
were firmly established in stationary villages in the neighbor-
hood of the Heart River. Verendrye says that they lived in 361
six large villages along the Mandan River, were a large and powerful nation and feared none of their neighbors, all of whom they dominated by their superior culture. Their manufactures [139]
were almost necessities among the other tribes, and in trade they were able to dictate their own terms. The forts he said were impregnable to Indians, being very well fortified. Verendrye visited the smallest village in which he said that there were one hundred and thirty houses by actual count. His son, who visited one of the larger villages, declared that it was twice as large, judging from which it can safely be assumed that there were at least one thousand houses in the several villages. Lewis
and Clarke declared that in the two villages of one hundred huts [161]
there were three hundred and fifty warriors; figuring at this rate there should have been at least fifteen thousand Mandans in 1738 dwelling prosperously in large and well-fortified towns.

For the next sixty-six years there is little information but 175
their own tradition. Judging from McKenzie's narrative they continued prosperous and powerful up to 1772 at least. He declared that at that time they lived in nine villages, large and near to each other, and could muster fifteen thousand warriors. The latter estimate is probably large, but the whole statement seems to show that no misfortune had come to them at that date. Their remaining history is summed up in their own tradition as related to Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian and others.

This tradition runs as follows: — Formerly they lived hap- 175
pily and prosperously in nine large villages on the Missouri 173
near the mouth of the Heart River. Six or seven of these vil-

175 lages were on the west side and two or three were on the east
173 side of the river. Maximilian gives names for fourteen villages which have been already quoted. For a great many years
[164] they lived there when one day the smallpox came to those on the east side of the river. While this smallpox was still rife, the Sioux attacked and destroyed the east villages. The survivors then proceeded up the river some forty miles where they all settled in one large village. Soon after the smallpox reduced the villages on the west to five, and still later the five went up to where the others were in the neighborhood of some Arikara, and settled in two villages. A great many people had been destroyed and they were now no longer strong and fearless. They made an alliance with the Arikara against the Sioux. So far the tradition is our only authority, and all this had happened before the year 1796.

175 In Henry and Schoolcraft is the statement that in 1796 the two villages on the south united, and both the one on the south and the one on the north moved up river some distance. From this time on there is a nearly continuous chronicle. Lewis and Clarke found the two villages one on each side and about fifteen miles below the Knife River. At that time both villages consisted of forty to fifty lodges and, united, could raise about three hundred and fifty men. Lewis and Clarke describe them as engaging in continual warfare with the Arikara and Sioux against whom they united with the Hidatsa. The description given by Lewis and Clarke agrees with the conditions some two years later when Henry visited them.

Thereafter no particular event marks the history of the Mandans for some years. The Arikara went up and lived near them again for a time, but soon went back to the Grand River. Catlin found them in practically the condition in which Lewis and Clarke saw them, and so did Maximilian. Maximilian says they still lived in the two villages; the largest on the south side was Mih-toutta-Hangkouche and consisted of about sixty lodges. The smaller one, Rouhptare, was on the north and consisted of thirty-eight lodges. The villages were still fortified, though poorly, and there had been little change in the condition of the people.

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In 1837, however, another great calamity came upon the Mandans. Again smallpox attacked them, raged for many weeks and finally left but one hundred and twenty-five souls.[1] These were taken in by the Arikara with whom they intermarried; finally they separated, again forming a small village of their own at Ft. Berthold. In 1850 there were three hundred and eighty-five living, but these were very largely of mixed blood. To-day there are only a few of the full-blood Mandans left, although the latest official returns give a total of two hundred and forty-nine. The culture has changed, the language has changed, and as a nation the Mandans are practically extinct. 175 [164]

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS:—A discussion of the physical characteristics of the Mandans is rather interesting in view of the fact that so many tales of their being a white race were circulated. Verendrye was told by the Assiniboine that he was on the way to visit people white like himself. The Assiniboine word for the Mandans, *ouachipanne*, was the close relative of the Mandan word for white man, *ouachi*. Catlin became convinced of the white origin of the Mandans and Verendrye and Henry both commented on their light complexions. 142

Verendrye said he expected to see a different sort of people but they differed little from the Assiniboine. Then later: "This nation is mixed white and black. The women are fairly good looking especially the white, and many have blond hair. . . . . The men are stout and tall . . . . . with a good physiognomy. The women have not the Indian physiognomy. . . . . "[2]

Lewis and Clarke did not mention any particular difference between the Mandans and other Indians of the region, although Catlin relates that when he left St. Louis to ascend the Missouri, Governor Clarke told him that he was going among a strange people, half white. Henry, however, did notice some peculiarities in the Mandan physique. He says[3] that in general the Mandans had not the coarse hair of Indians, it was finer, rather inclining to dark brown, and some had fair hair. The eyes of the Mandans were not as black as usual, but brown and some

[1] Schoolcraft: vol. III, p. 254. [2] Op. cit., p. 21. [3] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 341.

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142 grey. He also says there were several children whose hair was perfectly grey, these were mostly girls.

Catlin[1] possibly exaggerates the physical differences. His account states that their personal appearance at once showed them as more than savages; there were many shades of complexion and hair; many women had white skin with hazel, blue, and grey eyes; they showed every shade of hair except red; some had hair perfectly white or a silvery grey, women more than men; the grey hair was very coarse, while the other hair was fine and soft.

Maximilian took particular pains to ridicule the theory of white origin and especially that of Welsh origin. But even he admits the peculiarity of complexion seen at times. On this subject he said that they were usually brown or copper colored, some were yellow or whitish. When clean there were a number who were nearly white with red cheeks; they had long coarse hair usually black, but many children had brown hair; there were families with grey hair; one family contained members with brown, black, grey, and white hair and eye-lashes.[2] So much for color. There can be little question that there was a tendency toward light complexion among the Mandans, and all of the authorities, even Maximilian, express the opinion that this was not from contact with the whites. Among the Hidatsa and Crow as well is found the phenomenon of grey and white haired women and children, but there is no account of the brown, soft hair, and light skin further described by the earliest visitors to the Mandans. As to the cause of this light skin [143] which appeared now and then it is difficult to decide. It seems, however, to place the Mandans among the tribes where partial albinism was of frequent occurrence. It is almost needless to say that there is absolutely no trace either in language or in physical characteristics of any European origin or admixture.

141 Next is the question of size and general physique. Verendrye[3] says:—"The men are stout and tall, generally very active, fairly good looking. . . . " In a note appended to the location of an old Mandan village, on one of Lewis and Clarke's maps are the following words, "here human bones of large size."

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 93. [2] Op. cit., pp. 374-5. [3] Op. cit., p. 21.

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Henry says,[1] the men were tall, stout and well built. Maximilian also testifies along the same line: "Most of the Mandans are vigorous men, strong and large."[2] And adds later that they were a strong race, a little above medium height, possibly not as large as the Minnetarees, robust, with broad shoulders.[3] Judging from the information so far, the Mandans should be considered a large race, but on the other side there is the statement from Catlin[4] that the stature of the Mandans was below the ordinary, but they were well proportioned. All of these observers but Catlin thus speak of the Mandans as above average height. 141

For a further description of the Mandan physique there are only a few words from Maximilian,[5] who says that they had a less aquiline nose than their neighbors, less prominent cheek bones than the Dakotas; thin noses and straight; long, narrow eyes of a deep brown, a little raised and contracted at the inner corner; large mouth, large angular jaws, various shaped heads, but foreheads no lower on the average than among Europeans. 142

VILLAGES:—The Mandans, as has been said, were a sedentary tribe and lived in fixed villages for long periods of time. In these villages they built lasting lodges of a type similar to those of the Arikara, Omaha, and other tribes lower down the Missouri, though with small differences in the details of construction. The villages were usually well fortified, neat and orderly in the early days, but a considerable change seems to have come upon the people after their misfortunes, for there was much less care taken in the arrangement and fortification of the villages in their later locations. The first description of the Mandan village is from Verendrye, who makes it appear almost a model town. As this is the only description of the Mandan villages during the prosperity of the nation,[1] a summary of his account is here given:[6] 361 [171]

"Many people came to meet us but nothing in comparison with what appeared on the ramparts and along the trenches. . . . . Their fort can only be gained by steps or posts which can be removed when the enemy threatens. . . . . If all the forts are

[1] Op. cit., p. 341. [2] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 29. [3] Ibid., p. 372.
[4] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 95. [5] Op. cit., p. 87. [6] Op. cit., pp. 17-22.

1 [i.e., about 1738. See p. 86.-- Analyst]

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alike, they may be called impregnable to Indians. . . . . Their 36 / fortifications are not Indian . . . . . Their fort is full of caves in which are stored such articles as grain, food. . . . . I walked about . . . . . their fort . . . . . there were one hundred and thirty of them [huts]. All the streets, squares and huts resembled each other . . . . . The streets and squares very clean, the ramparts very level and broad; the palisades supported on cross-pieces mortised into posts of fifteen feet. At fifteen points doubled are green skins which are put for sheathing when required, fastened only above and in places where needed. As in the bastions . . . . . at each curtain well flanked . . . . The fort is built on a height in the open prairie with a ditch upward of fifteen feet deep and fifteen to eighteen feet wide . . . . . The Sieur Nolant and my son arrived [from the other village] . . . . . The fort is on the bank of the river, as large again as this. The squares and streets were very fine and clean. Their palisade is in the best order and strength . . . . . built in the same fashion as the one in which we were. . . . . All their forts were alike . . . . . some much larger than others."

There is a little note from Schoolcraft[1] to add, who says that about 1750 the Mandans lived on the Heart River in nine villages surrounded by circular walls of earth, with no ditches. For this information, however, he cites no authority.

For the later Mandan villages there is something of a description from most of their visitors. Lewis and Clarke have very little to say on this subject, but Henry, Maximilian, and Catlin, all give good descriptions. Verendrye mentions squares and streets as though the early villages were arranged in some regular manner, while the very opposite seems to be true in the later visited places.

A composite description drawn from the various sources will perhaps give the best possible picture of the larger village below the Knife River. The whole town, according to Maximilian, had a very small diameter. It was situated in an extensive plain on a bluff about forty or fifty feet high on the south bank of the Missouri. From a distance it looked like a mass of mole hills, with numbers of grass blades growing be-

[1] Op. cit., vol. III, p. 248.

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tween, these were the scalp poles and effigies of the gods. The 361
ground on which the village was located was chosen for defence, the bluff on the river side went down perpendicularly, and the village was on a point jutting out into the river so that only one side needed protection. Across this point was a palisade 361
and inside this was a ditch, three to four feet deep according to 712
Catlin. The palisade, he says, was of timbers eighteen feet high and one or more feet in diameter, set far enough apart to allow of shooting between. The warriors stayed in the ditch in defending the palisade. Concerning this palisade Henry and Maximilian both mention that it was in very poor repair indeed, but Henry adds that he was told it could be put in good condition very soon, every person in the village lending a hand. There is yet no mention of bastions and ramparts such as Verendrye refers to, but Maximilian[1] describes something similar. He says that at the corners of the palisade in four places were arcs or bastions, which formed an angle open toward the village, and said to have been built by the whites. These were intrenchments in the form of an arc, covered with a matting of willow and having loop holes.

On entering the village it seemed to be a mass of circular 342
houses from forty to ninety feet in diameter, set down haphazard closely crowded together. The houses were of earth with a smooth coating of pounded clay on the top, where most of the inhabitants were usually stationed. Before each house 343
was a scaffold, fronting the covered entrance. These scaffolds were six feet high, twenty feet long and ten broad[2] and were used for hanging up corn and meat to dry. They had a good floor, also, which was covered in the fall with drying beans. The staging for drying corn and meat was made as follows:[3] posts were set up on the scaffolds themselves, across these rafters were laid, and upon these cross rafters or poles the corn, meat and sliced squashes were hung. Before almost every 778
house were one or more poles about twenty feet high, to which images of the gods, or sacrifices to them were attached.

In the center of the village was a large open space of about 000

[1] Op. cit., p. 31. [2] Henry: vol. I, p. 340. [3] Ibid.

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In the center of the village was a large open space of about four acres[1] and in the center of this was the "Ark of the First Man." This was in the shape of a hogshead, of planks and hoops.[2] It was open above, the planks were embedded in the ground, and the hoops were branches tied around to hold these together. The Mandans called this the Big Canoe[3] and in it were some of their greatest medicines. This open space was the seat of all their festivals, dances and ceremonies, and here also they played their games of Chungkee or Skohpe. The space was closely surrounded by houses placed at equal distances apart and all facing the center. The largest of these lodges on the south side of the area was the medicine lodge, and on a pole above this was a figure of skin, with a carved wooden head, which represented the Evil Spirit. 361 778 [346]

About one quarter of a mile or less to the south of the village was a race-course; a hundred or more scaffolds on which the dead were deposited; slides for their games were also made outside the palisades. The ground about the houses was honeycombed with pits and caches in which most of the food and many of the valuables of the inhabitants were stored. The house roofs formed a general repository where bull boats, buffalo skulls, pottery, sledges and people were scattered promiscuously over the rounded surface, around the edge of which Bradbury says they built a sort of low railing. 361 [764] [351]

HOUSES:—The houses themselves were many times described, sometimes with considerable variation, and it is highly probable that there was more or less variation of construction in the minor details. They were distinguished from those of the Arikara in that the ground was first excavated, and that they were rather hemispherical, whereas the houses of the latter were more conical, like those of the Pawnee. Catlin[4] places the average size of the houses at from forty to sixty feet in diameter, depending on the size and importance of the family, and Henry[5] tells us that the one in which he himself stayed was ninety feet in diameter. 342 [171]

[1] Henry: vol. I, p. 338. "Sixty feet across," Maximilian: p. 386; "One hundred and fifty feet," Catlin: vol. I, p. 88.

[2] Catlin gives this as eight to ten feet high, Maximilian as four or five.

[3] Catlin: vol. I, p. 88. [4] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 81.

[5] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 338.

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The first step in the building of houses was the excavation of the ground where the floor was to be, to a depth of about one and a half to two feet, the earth being thrown out in a bank all around the rim of the excavation. Around this circle, against the edges were placed eleven to fifteen great posts, four to six feet high. Logs were laid across from one to another of these, and on the outside were slabs slanting in and resting against these cross logs. This arrangement is shown in Morgan's diagram reproduced in Figure 1. Also on these cross-beams rested the rafters. These were long poles[1] six to ten inches thick, the small end pointing in, placed very close together. Four or five[2] great posts, five feet in circumference, fifteen feet high, and fifteen feet apart formed an inner circle. The rafters rested on 342

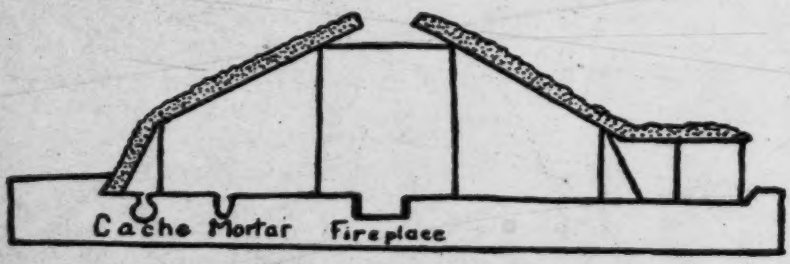

FIG. 1. MANDAN HOUSE. (After Morgan.)

large squared beams which were laid horizontally on this inner circle of large posts. Catlin says that this inner circle of large posts supported the rafters at about their center. Henry says that these posts supported the end of the rafters, and the remaining space was filled by placing timbers criss-cross over the cross-beams leaving a smoke hole in the center. On top of the rafters was placed a matting of willows, six inches thick, fastened together compactly and secured to the rafters. Over the surface then one to three feet of earth was placed, and the sides were banked with earth three or four feet high, and four feet or more thick. Catlin says that the whole surface was then covered with clay, hard and tough, which was impervious to water.

[1] Henry gives their length as twelve to fifteen feet.
[2] According to Catlin, Maximilian and Henry both give four.

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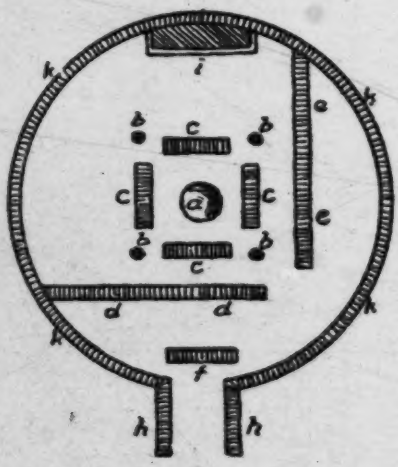
342 The doorway was five feet broad and six feet high, with a covered way of the same height, but seven feet broad and about ten feet long. The door itself was a raw buffalo hide dried on a frame which was hung from above on a cord, at night this was barricaded, and when the family was away the porch was closed with branches and sticks. This porch was covered with earth like the house itself and led downward to the lower level of the floor. It is not shown in any of Catlin's drawings and he does not mention one except in the medicine lodge, there he says it was eight to ten feet long, was hidden with a double screen, and guarded by armed sentinels.

342 353 Verendrye speaks of the division of the house into compartments and we find that the same thing existed when Henry was there. Lewis and Clarke, and Gass also mention that one part of the interior was cut off and used as a stable for the horses. Catlin, however, mentions no such cutting up of the interior, nor do his pictures show anything of the sort, but Maximilian, who visited them in the winter, gives a diagram of the winter house showing several compartments; this diagram and its key is reproduced in Figure 2. The main interior arrangements of the house in spite of the discrepancy on these latter points are agreed on by all. In the center under the smoke hole was the fireplace, a round hole five feet in diameter and a foot or more deep. This was curbed with stones placed upright about the edge.[1] Around the walls was a series of beds and about the fire



353 FIG. 2. MANDAN HOUSE.
(After Maximilian.)

a, Fireplace; *b b b b*, Central posts supporting roof; *c c c c*, Seats; *d d*, Screen or wind break; *e e*, Partition behind which horses were kept; *f*, Door of skin; *g*, Entrance; *h h*, Covered porch; *i*, Bed; *k k k k*, House walls.

[1] Maximilian, p. 387.

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over which a pot hung, were low seats of flexible willow boughs. 353

Henry's description[1] of the interior is probably the best, and is substantially as follows: on entering you first saw a kind of triangular apartment on the left fronting the fire, and leaving an open space on the right; this was to hold firewood. The partition was of squared planks twelve feet high, well calked to keep off the cold from the door. Between this and the fire was a space where the master sat on a mat of small willows supported as a sort of sofa and covered with a buffalo robe. On this the man sat all day and received his friends. To the left of the host began a range of beds. The master occupied the first bed with his favorite wife, then a wife occupied each of the next few beds, then came the young people. These beds were all built alike[2] and adjoined each other lengthwise. At the bottom of the hut facing the master stood his medicine stage containing everything he valued, and most important among them was a pair of bulls' heads daubed with earth. Here also hung his arms, ammunition, scalps and the like. Next to the stage was the mortar, fixed in the ground, and a pestle. The rest of the hut from there to the door was separated off for the horses at night.

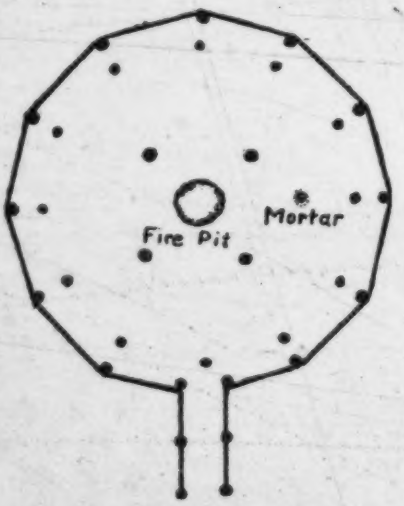

FIG. 3. MANDAN HOUSE.
(After Morgan.)

To this description might be added a few details from Catlin. He says that the cabins usually held a family and all its connections, from twenty to forty people. The beds were raised about two feet from the floor, were usually ten or twelve in number, four or five feet apart, and went all the way around. [592]

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, pp. 239-40.

[2] See for description, p. 113.

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353 Between every pair was a large post. An elevation showing some of the details is reproduced from Morgan in Figure 1, and a ground plan, in Figure 3.

251 171 The sedentary character of the Mandans and the fact that they practiced agriculture led to the development among them of several cultural features not found among the purely hunting tribes. In common with most sedentary tribes they made use of caches or storage pits. Henry[1] gives a description of them saying that, in the fall after harvest, the corn was dried, shelled and put in deep pits. These were about eight feet deep, with a mouth just wide enough for a person to get in, but the inside was hollowed out larger and the sides and bottom were lined with straw. The cache contained twenty to thirty bushels of beans or corn where it kept for several years. The caches were scattered everywhere about the village. Catlin mentions caches, saying that they placed corn in pits six or seven feet deep, jug shaped, and tightly closed at the top.

291 Dress:—The dress of the Mandans in general was much like that of their neighbors, at the later period of their history at least. There were however some minor differences. Verendrye says that at his visit the men went naked, except for a carelessly worn buffalo robe—not even wearing a breech cloth. The women wore very little as a rule, their only article of attire being an apron about the waist, a hand's breadth wide and a foot long. But he adds later that some of them wore a gown of very soft deerskin. It is probable that other articles of dress were borrowed from their neighbors as time went on.

515 302 The men and women both began the day with a bath, after which the body was carefully oiled with castoreum. For any ceremonial or feast the body was also painted in colors, these being mixed with grease. After the bath the face and hair were nearly always whitened. The men in Maximilian's time usu-
291 ally wore a breech cloth, of black and white cloth, and moccasins with little or no ornamentation. The upper part of the body was usually naked as they seldom wore the leather shirt used in many other tribes. Even in the winter, Maximilian says they wore only the buffalo robe over the upper half of the

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 360.

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body. The small boys went naked but the girls wore a leather 291
dress similar to those of the older women. The woman's dress was the buck-skin tunic which went just below the knee, a girdle held it at the waist, the sleeves were open and the base of the skirt was often fringed. Bead necklaces and earrings [301]
were worn, and leggings which did not reach to the knee. The [171]
men also wore leggings which were the counterpart of those found among the other plains tribes.

Although the Mandans ordinarily dressed very plainly, yet 292
for the feasts and ceremonies they arrayed themselves as gor- 171
geously as did any of their neighbors, and in practically the same way. Then they wore richly embroidered leather shirts, moccasins covered with quill work, necklaces of elk teeth, bears' claws, odorous roots and large glass beads, with fine painted and embroidered robes, tobacco pouches, quivers, medicine bags, and all the paraphernalia of the plains ceremonial dress. Scalps were used as among the Dakotas, ceremonial pipes and bows were carried. The head-dresses of war eagle, hawk, crow, and raven feathers were worn by members of different societies and occasionally the head-dress of two small polished pieces of buffalo horn was worn. This last was found frequently among the Dakotas. Antelope and deer hoofs were used often as a fringe of bangles along the shirt hem or the sides of the leggings.

The Mandans had a peculiar method of dressing the hair, 302
unlike other Siouan tribes but very much like the Arikara. [171]
The hair of the men was allowed to hang down to the thighs, or even to the knees, it was separated into a number of strands, each of which was stuck along its whole length, two or three inches apart, with lumps of mixed glue and colored clay, making nearly solid plaits one and a half inches thick. Oftentimes these plaits were pieced out with beaver skin strips or hair from scalps. One lock of hair hung down forward over the nose, and this was unornamented except for a red ribbon tied about it. There were two copper strips covered with blue and white glass beads woven with the hair on the sides. These hung by one end and were also decorated with dentalia. On the back of the head was an ornament, flat, three or four inches thick, of wood or twisted metal wire. It was fastened to the hair and

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302 hung down to the shoulders. It was covered with quill work in different colors. On its top was placed horizontally an eagle [171] feather the base of which was covered with red cloth. The usual Siouan head-dresses were also worn. In every day life, however, Maximilian says the hair was knotted up in a 304 tuft. The Mandan men tattooed, but never on more than one half of the body. Usually the right breast and upper arm was tattooed with black parallel lines, accompanied by a few other figures. Occasionally the fore-arm and some of the fingers were tattooed. Occasionally also the women tattooed, but to only a small extent. Ermine was used in nearly all of their finest dresses, and tails of other animals as well as different sorts of bird feathers had especial signification in ceremonial or war [171] costumes. Altogether, as Catlin says, the dress of the Blackfeet, Sioux, and Mandans was practically alike. The great noticeable difference seems to be that the Mandans had much less regard for clothing than did most of their neighbors, they had a tendency toward simple apparel, and the buffalo robe was their original and only absolutely necessary garment.

411 WEAPONS:— The arms of the Mandans as well as their other culture features were much like those of their neighbors. They used the customary things — bows and arrows, lances, shields, knives, and tomahawks, and had in addition a peculiar weapon of their own called a bow-lance. The knives and arrow points were at first of stone as were the axes and tomahawks, but stone implements soon fell into disuse when steel ones were obtained. The Mandan bows were usually of elm or ash wood, and rather short, with cords of twisted sinews. Occasionally, [321] however, a bow of bone or horn was seen. Catlin describes such a one. It was short and had a sinew backing, while the cord was made of three twisted sinews. With the bow was usually a quiver of mountain lion, wild-cat, or wolf skin, the whole hide being used. The arrows of the Mandans were much better made than those of their neighbors. They were feathered with hawk and eagle feathers which were attached in a short spiral, a red line wound round the arrow in a spiral from barb to base. There were hunting points and war points: the for-

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mer unbarbed and securely fastened to the shaft, the latter 411
barbed and loosely attached.

The lances were two-edged points fastened to a shaft of ash wood, some six or eight feet long, ornamented with tufts of eagle plumes. The knives were at first of stone, but were soon replaced by the European steel ones. The tomahawks were of several sorts and are all duplicated among those of the other Sioux tribes. The shield was an important part of a man's equipment, it was of buffalo hide whitened with white clay and with a large painting of the owner's medicine on the front. The bow-lance [428]
was a purely ceremonial weapon and was passed down from father to son to be used in the dances. Maximilian describes it as a long bow with a spear point on one end, the whole decorated elaborately with eagle plumes and other ornaments.

MANUFACTURES:—The beds of the Mandans were built up 352
from four posts sunk in the earth to form a rectangle of suitable size, with poles lashed across from one to the other, about one foot above the ground. Over the cross poles a green buffalo hide was stretched and allowed to dry, thus forming a springy foundation; around the sides and across the top hides were also stretched, giving the whole bed the appearance of a large box. A small opening was left in one of the sides through which to enter, and the whole interior was piled with buffalo robes. These beds held several persons.

The Mandan boats, bull-boats they were called, also merit 501
a description. They were circular, made over a frame of bent willows, which consisted of two hoops held in position by cross pieces; over the whole a raw buffalo hide was stretched, hair in, and sewed to the upper rim. They were about six feet in diameter and could carry very heavy loads. For a paddle a pole some five feet long was used. It was split up the end where a flat board about two and a half feet long was inserted and bound on. The boat was paddled from a standing position, and made half a revolution at every stroke. This same sort of boat was 171
used by the Arikara and Hidatsa.

For the rest their material culture did not differ greatly from that of the surrounding nomadic tribes, only a brief enumeration therefore of the manufactures and utensils is necessary.

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281 Verendrye mentions their skill in making such things as
237 painted ox-robes, deer skin, dressed buckskin, and ornamented fur and feathers, painted feathers, peltry, wrought garters, circlets for the head, and girdles. They certainly understood the art of dressing skins, though perhaps other nations equalled them. All their visitors speak of the ornamented robes for the decoration of which porcupine quills dyed various colors, or the pigments themselves, as paints, were used at first, though beads
[532] came gradually to take their places. The ornamentation consisted usually of representations of animals, and pictographic records. When leather got wet, it was beaten and rubbed with white clay which they always carried with them. This kept the robes soft. Then there were medicine bags, tobacco pouches, sheathes for knives and bows, all of skin, painted or embroidered with quills, such as are seen over the whole plains
[231] area. They had leather bridles for their horses, sometimes embroidered, and used a saddle, similar to that of the Dakotas. The horses were caught by means of long raw hide lariats which the Indians made themselves.

534 Whistles were also necessary articles to those belonging to the societies. Maximilian[1] describes them as "long wooden whistles at whose lower end an eagle feather on a string dangles." He says they also had large flute whistles, twenty inches long, with holes to vary the notes by application of the fingers. Besides these were the war whistles, usually made from the wing
412 bone of some large bird. Other articles of bone, necessitated
321 by the great use of skins, were the bone scrapers, needles and awls with which each house was profusely supplied.

241 Almost the only agricultural implements which they used were hoes. These were the shoulder blades of buffalo or occasionally of elk, which were cut down and to which a crooked stick was fastened as a handle.[2]

415 Among their cooking utensils, which were used in every hut, were spoons and ladles of bighorn and buffalo horns. Verendrye says some of these ladles held as much as three pints.

286 So far as the accounts go the Mandans did not make any textile fabric, though the Arikara are known to have made

[1] Op. cit., p. 416. [2] Henry: vol. I, p. 343.

garters and belts of buffalo hair.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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garters and belts of buffalo hair. But they did make string 000
and willow matting. There is an account of a mat used on the 284
seat before the fire. Henry[1] says that the mat was of small 285
willows of equal size, fastened together by thread of native make passed through each stick about one foot apart. The mats were ten feet long, four feet broad, and the two ends for two and a half feet were raised slanting from the ground and supported by a kind of sofa. Verendrye says they made wicker work very neatly, flat, and in baskets.

The Mandans used snow-shoes which were only about two 481
and a half feet long.[2] For their dyes and paints they made use 386
of the following: red obtained from buffalo-berries, black from sunflowers, and yellow from a kind of moss which came from the Rocky Mountains. Blue, red, black, yellow and white clays were also used.

An indispensable article of the full dress was the fan. These 293
were made from the large plumes of the eagle, hawk, crow, and 237
a number of other birds, depending on the rank of the owner.

The Mandan pipes differed a trifle from those of their neigh- 276
bors, being less ornate.[3] They were either of stone, black clay, or yellow clay painted black. The stone pipes were obtained [439]
mostly from the Dakotas. Pipes with wooden bowls, lined with stone, were also used. The stem was long and round or flat. Catlin describes one pipe as of red steatite (catlinite) with a stem three feet long, half its length wound with braids of porcupine quills. They also had the calumet pipe which will be considered in connection with the ceremonies.

The Mandans and their neighbors the Arikara and Hidatsa 323
made glass beads, an art which they claimed was taught to them by the Snake Indians. They did not make the glass but used glass obtained through the whites. Lewis and Clarke[4] give a short account of the manufacture of beads which is exceedingly interesting. It may be thus summarized. The secret is known only to a few. Glass of several colors is pounded fine, each color separate; this is washed in several waters until the glass stops staining the water. They then take an

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 340.
[2] Ibid., p. 301.
[3] Maximilian: p. 390.
[4] March 16, 1805.

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323 earthen pot of some three gallons, put a platter in the mouth of the pot which has a nitch on its edge through which to watch the beads. Then some well seasoned clay, mixed with sand and tempered with water till of the consistency of dough, is taken, and from it are made a number of little sticks of the size of the hole desired in the bead. These are heated to a red heat and cooled again. The pot is also heated to clean it. Then small balls of the clay are made to serve as pedestals for the beads. The powdered glass, enough for one bead, is dipped into the palm of the hand with a little wooden paddle, where it is paddled into an oblong form, the clay stick is then laid across it and the glass is wound around the clay. The whole is then rolled in the hand till regular. To put in other colors the other end of the paddle stick, which is sharp, is used to make a hole which is then filled with another colored glass. A hole is then made in the center of each pedestal and a bead stuck in it. Then the platter is put in the coals and the pot is inverted over [illegible] wood is placed about the whole and burnt; the beads are watched through the hole in the bottom of the pot, as overheating is harmful. When the beads are whitish red and grow pointed, they are taken off. The clay center is picked out with an awl.

415 323 Wooden bowls were used to some extent by the Mandans.[1] They also made very excellent pottery which was mentioned by nearly all their visitors. Verendrye says they had earthen pots which they used for cooking their food. Catlin speaks of earthenware dishes made in great quantities by the women and modelled into a thousand forms. He says they were of a tough, black clay, very hard, and were baked in prepared kilns. Henry[2] says they used large earthen pots of clay which was plentiful near the village. The pots held from one quart to five gallons. Nothing greasy was cooked in them as they claimed it cracked them. The bottoms of the pots were convex and they were set in the fire in a hole in the ashes. Coils of bois blanc fibres with a hole in the center, and of different sizes, were used to stand the pots on when off the fire. Some pots had two ears or handles.

[1] Catlin: vol. I, p. 114. [2] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 338.

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Maximilian[1] also gives a description of the pottery;—"They make pots of different shapes and sizes. The clay is slate-colored and turns a yellowish red in the fire. It is mixed with powdered granite which has been burnt. A large round stone is stuck into the clay which is prevented from spreading sideways. It is polished with a piece of poplar bark. When shaped, it is filled with dry chips, and also surrounded by them on the outside, then burned. They use no enamel on the pots." This pottery has not been made for a number of years, and there are only a few whole samples of the cruder sort in collections. 323

AGRICULTURE:—The Mandans were, above all, an agricultural people, far more so than any of their neighbors. They have a tradition of having taught the Hidatsa how to cultivate the soil, and even the Arikara, who are said by some to have taught the Mandans, were somewhat inferior to the latter in the pursuit of agriculture. The Mandans were dependent on the soil for nearly all of their food, according to Verendrye, in 1738. By the time Lewis and Clarke came, however, they were about on the dividing line between being a hunting and an agricultural nation. They were not the hunters that their neighbors the Hidatsa were, because they were too weak in numbers to venture on long hunting trips. The agricultural ceremonies and dances shared honor with those of hunting, and the Old Woman Who Never Dies, or the Corn Mother, was an important personage in the ceremonial life of the people. 241 [177] [224] [776]

The land about the Mandan villages, smooth river bottoms and very fertile, was always extremely easy to work, and required but the crudest implements. Consequently the cultivation was fairly extensive. Maximilian says that each family cultivated three fields of four or five acres each, which were never fenced. The farms were shifted to a new place when the old area began to yield smaller crops. There seems to have been no attempt at fertilization, and it was hardly necessary in view of the great abundance of good land. Henry[2] gives an animated picture of the Mandan farming operations:

"We passed extensive fields of corn, beans, squashes and

[1] Op. cit., p. 388. [2] Op. cit., vol. I, pp. 343 et seq.

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sunflowers. Many women and children were already employed 241
in clearing and hoeing their plantations . . . . On each side were pleasant cultivated spots some of which stretched up the rising ground on our left, whilst on our right they ran nearly to the Missouri."

The Mandans used to raise enormous quantities of produce 251
from these crudely tilled plots, and the most of it was stored 433
away in the caches. Each of these caches would hold from twenty to forty bushels of corn and beans, and the number of them was very large. Maximilian says that there was often from five hundred to eight hundred bushels of corn, alone, in the village. In view of his other statements this seems a very moderate estimate. The supply was large enough so that it was not only eaten by the people, but in the winter was sometimes fed to the horses.[1] Lewis and Clarke speak several times of buying corn of the Indians in lots of thirty bushels or more.

The methods of cultivation among the Mandans, though 241
crude, were still above the most primitive types of tilling. The 221
work in the fields was begun in May. Little trenches were made in rows, the grain was put in these and covered. During the summer the soil about the plants was dug up from three to four times. The harvest usually came in October and for that work every member of the village lent a hand, this being one of the few times when the men took any part in the domestic work. Between the rows of corn, rows of sunflowers were usually planted. The only noticeable feature in this description is the fact that the garden plots were cultivated and cared for during the summer, when most of the semi-agricultural tribes lower down the Missouri were absent on long hunting excursions.

The latitude of the Mandan villages required very hardy and 241
quick-ripening vegetables; and we find that the Mandans had perfected a number of plants suited to the cold and dry climate of the region. The crops were often poor because of drought or early frost, but they never failed entirely.[2] The main products were corn, beans, squashes, sunflowers and tobacco. These were all grown when Verendrye visited them, and were

[1] Op. cit., p. 389. [2] Ibid., p. 347.

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still grown at the time of Maximilian's visit. Corn, however, 241
surpassed all the rest in importance. It was a small variety, five or six feet high, but was not the common, mottled "Squaw corn" found in the region later. Maximilian enumerates seven distinct sorts, as follows: — white, yellow, red, spotted, black, sugar, yellow flint, and red and white striped. The sweet corn 251
was cut in the milk, then dried on the scaffolds in the sun and kept in the caches. The other corn was not gathered till it was ripe; it was then shelled and also put in the caches. Corn was 252
eaten as succotash with beans, boiled as hominy, ground up into coarse flour and made into cakes, and also as a sort of gruel and in several mixtures with wild fruit.

The beans, as to the cultivation of which there is little information were, nevertheless, of considerable importance. Maximilian[1] gives a number of varieties of these also; there were 241 251 252
white, black, red, and speckled beans. These were not gathered until ripe, and were then spread out on the flooring of the scaffolds to dry, after which they, too, were stored in the caches. The beans were used in about the same way as the corn, both of them being mixed in many dishes. There were five varieties of squash or pumpkin, yellow, black, striped, long, and thick skinned. These were usually cut up into thin slices, hung by cords from the scaffold rafters and dried in the sun. They, too, were then stored away for future use, to be boiled with beans and corn or separately, or eaten with some of the wild plums or choke-cherries.

The sunflowers, Maximilian says, seemed to differ little from those ordinarily cultivated in civilization. There were three kinds, red seed, black seed, and a small seeded sort. There is no account of the method of preparation, but Maximilian tells us that very good cakes were made from them. The Man- 249
dan tobacco, which was used also by the Hidatsa and Arikara, 276
while belonging to the Nicotiana, was a small species. Verendrye says that the tobacco was put up in rolls, that they cut it green and used it, stalks and all; he said it was not good. Later authorities do not agree on its preparation, however, as both Maximilian and Henry say that it was cut ripe and ground up

[1] Op. cit., p. 392.

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249 fine. It was usually smoked mixed with the bark of the so-called
276 red-willow or Cornus. Henry says that the blossoms were used, and were dried on a piece of pottery before the fire. Lewis and Clarke and Gass both mention this tobacco and agree with Verendrye that it was not good to those who were accustomed to European tobacco. The Mandans themselves soon discarded their own variety, raising only a little each year to use in ceremonials.

222 Although hardly coming under agriculture, still as a related matter, it might be well to mention the wild vegetables and fruits which were so much used by the Indians of the region. These were june-berries, choke-cherries, wild plums, the feverole, and especially the pomme blanche or Indian turnip. The latter were something like artichokes, white, ovate, one to three inches long, and about the size of a man's finger. They were collected in large quantities and formed a very common food.

224 HUNTING AND FISHING: — The Mandans derived a living from agriculture and the hunt in about equal proportions. Their methods of hunting differed little from those of their neighbors. Game was in abundance and many animals besides the buffalo contributed to their sustenance. Among these were antelope, elk, deer, bighorn, and an occasional bear, besides beaver, rabbits, ducks and geese. Other animals were killed for their hides alone, as wolves, foxes, ermine and panther. Eagles and other birds of prey were hunted for their plumes.

Buffalo were hunted all the year round whenever they were in the neighborhood of the village, for the Mandans did not go away on long hunting trips as did most of their neighbors. The buffalo hunt was directed by the Soldier Band. A small detached body of buffalo would be surrounded by the horsemen and then every animal killed in order to prevent the alarming of the whole herd. Any animal which did not contain an arrow by which the slayer could be identified, belonged to whoever found it. The beasts were cut up, and each man's horse was laden down with meat. Certain choice parts were eaten immediately by the hunter, and the heart and tongue could be demanded from anyone of a lower grade than he who asked for them. The childless old men and women usually

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met the returning hunters at a short distance from the village, 224
and the hunters dropped portions of the meat for them.

When the Missouri broke up in the spring large numbers of 252
buffalo were drowned and floated down the river. The Mandans usually caught large quantities of these as they floated by, and esteemed them as better than the fresh meat. Henry says that meat was nearly always hung up till partially decayed, after which it was better liked. The intestines of the buffalo were considered a good food and were always eaten. The Mandans made pemmican, as did all of the plains tribes, grinding up the dried meat and packing it in parfleches, after which buffalo fat was poured in.

Probably the antelope were next in importance to the 224
buffalo. These were caught in large bands by means of what were called parks. At the head of a coulée an enclosure of branches was made with a narrow opening from which two fences of branches led away in the shape of a funnel, extending for a mile or often more. The Indians, on horseback, by surrounding a band of antelopes could gradually work them towards this enclosure, through the gate of which they were at last forced to go. The entrance was then guarded and the hunters knocked the animals on the head with the stone war clubs; a hundred or more at a time were often killed in this fashion.

Wolves and foxes were trapped in pitfalls which were dug to a depth of eight or ten feet, covered with branches and baited with pieces of buffalo meat. Beaver and other small fur-bearing animals were caught in traps. Bears were killed only occasionally as the Indians did not like to attack them. Cat-fish and 226
sturgeon, as well as smaller fish and turtles were caught along the river, where unios and snails were also gathered.

The larger birds were caught in a rather peculiar fashion. 223
The hunters usually went to the Bad Lands to hunt them. 171
There a pit was dug in some likely place. Bait of small pieces of meat was scattered about, after which the hunter concealed himself in the pit, dragging over the top a covering of branches with bait upon them. Then he waited patiently, often for a day or more till a bird should alight on the branches; as soon as this happened the bird was grasped and pulled down into

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223 the pit where it was dispatched and the hunter waited for an-
171 other. This method was also used by the Hidatsa, and so in fact nearly all the Mandan hunting methods and customs were duplicated among their neighbors. The only important exception was the Mandan custom of giving a share of the meat to anyone who might come to the home of a successful hunter and ask for it. Henry tells us that the Hidatsa and Amahami did not have this charitable custom.

WAR:— Among most of the Indians, war was the chief occu-
721 pation of the men, and the Mandans in this respect differed little from the other tribes. They were constantly in danger from their more numerous enemies, the Dakotas, and in addition frequently had disputes with other smaller bands. The Mandans were not a warlike people, and fought only when necessary; but when the time came they were among the bravest and most fearless warriors of the region. Maximilian says that they had been known to send war parties as far as the Rocky Mountains against the Blackfeet and as far east as the Red River against the Ojibwa. Their chief enemies were, however, the Dakota, the Cheyenne, and at times the Arikara. The custom of sending out war parties was not as usual here as among
721 their neighbors, the Hidatsa. The system of rank in the village
554 was to a considerable extent based upon military prowess;
301 the wearing of different insignia which indicated each man's
302 deeds was a common device. Those who had made a coup wore a wolf's tail at the heel of their moccasin. If a man was the first of a party to touch and kill an enemy, he painted a spiral line about his arm, with another winding in the opposite direction with three cross stripes. For the second enemy he painted his left legging a reddish brown. If he killed an enemy in equal fight before any other enemy was slain, he could put a wolf's tail around each foot. For the third coup two lengthwise stripes with three cross stripes were painted on the arm, this was the most honorable coup and no other distinctive marks were in use, except that another eagle feather might be worn in the hair for each additional coup. If a man made his coup after others were made, the end of the wolf's tail was cut off. Six little wooden sticks worn in the hair showed that a man

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had been shot six times; some wore a wooden knife, a sign they 721
had killed an enemy with a knife. Maximilian describes one 554
man, a chief, whose face was painted half yellow and half 301
red, with stripes made by rubbing the color off; his arms had 302
seventeen lines showing the number of his deeds, and on his breast, in yellow, was a hand showing that he had made prisoners.

When a youth first wished to lead a war party he at once 701
acquired a medicine. Then he solicited his young men friends 554
by presents and assurances of the efficacy of his medicine and 778
after feasts and dances he departed with as many followers as he could get. In the large war parties there were four real leaders and sometimes three others called bad leaders. Each real leader carried a medicine pipe in a case on his back. To become a chief it was necessary to begin as a war party leader, then to kill a man while in a party where the candidate was not a leader. Again, while following another leader, he must be the first to discover the enemy and kill one of them, and lastly he must have owned at some time a white buffalo hide. Each 726
warrior carried about his neck the whistle of his band, and at the moment of falling upon the enemy these were blown and the war-cry was sounded.

The Mandans seldom took male prisoners but even when 727
taken they were never tortured. As soon as a prisoner had entered the village and eaten corn he was considered as one of the nation; the women, however, could go out and meet the returning party and kill the prisoners then. Scalps were dried and used in decoration. When a successful war party returned they were met by the women and children who entered the village with them dancing the scalp dance. The warriors painted the face, and often the whole body, black, and the scalp dance was danced in the medicine lodge four nights, then later in the middle of the village. If no Mandan was killed in the campaign, the dance was kept up for six months.

In all these war customs we find nothing more than the [171]
general plains ideas such as were found in all the Sioux tribes and among most of their neighbors.

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164 DISEASE AND THE CURE OF DISEASE:—The Mandans were as a rule a very healthy people and their catalogue of diseases was small, being mostly those which of necessity accompany a life of considerable hardship. Catarrhal troubles, snow blindness, rheumatism and hemoptisis were most common. They had no fevers and no consumption; venereal diseases were found, but the Mandans always claimed that these were got from the Crows. Their other troubles were wounds, snake bites and freezing. Maximilian said that he also found cases of the gout among them.

757 Colds and catarrhal troubles and rheumatism were treated in the vapor bath which is found in one form or another among most Indian tribes. The patient was steamed well and then immediately plunged into icy water or snow, from there he went into the house where he was kept wrapped up for some time. The snow blindness was treated by gentle sweating. Cataracts and inflammation of the eyes resulted from snow blindness at times, and the inflammation was treated by rubbing with some herb which had a rough surface. With this the eyeball was rubbed till blood flowed. Bleeding was practiced, and rattle-snake rattles were considered to be a remedy for almost anything. The rattles were powdered fine, mixed with water or saliva and either swallowed or rubbed on the parts affected. The Mandans used no emetics but had a number of vegetable purgatives. Lewis and Clarke described a root which was chewed and placed on a snake bite, they called it Sackacomah but it has not been identified botanically. Freezing was treated by rubbing with snow. Horses were sometimes given a piece of wasp's nest as a diuretic.

752 Wounds healed with remarkable rapidity and had very little care. Severe cuts were rubbed with fat and sometimes bound up. A number of cases were known where persons who had been scalped recovered. In arrow wounds the point was always forced entirely through the flesh if possible because it came out more easily so.

524 GAMES:— The Mandans had games for men, women and children, and in most of these betting was an important part of the sport. Probably the best known of these games was

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Skohpe, Tchung-kee or Billiards as some have called it. Henry[1] gives a good account of the method of play: 524

"Two persons are each provided with a stick six feet long on which are cut a certain number of notches an inch long; in the intervals of which are fixed the same number of small bunches of feathers of diverse colors, with three pieces of wood sixteen inches square one near each end and one in the middle; these are perforated in the center and through them is passed the rod .... Each notch has a particular mark..... The ground is a smooth level place forty paces long by five broad. The players stand side by side and start from one end .... and trot .... half way through, when one of them throws a ball .... and both players push their rods forward to overtake, and keep pace with the ball. They then examine the bunch at which the ball stops."

Catlin[2] also describes it, saying that Tchung-kee was played on a smooth clay pavement. Two champions chose sides. One rolled a stone ring, the other slid a stick alongside, this stick had leather projections on which the ring should catch. The points were game, one, two, and four, depending on which projection the ring caught upon. The last winner always rolled the ring. If either failed he forfeited the amount of the number nearest to which his stick stopped and lost his throw, another taking his place.

There seems to have been two forms of the game. The Hidatsa and Arikara played it, the latter considering it to some extent as a religious ceremony. Maximilian[3] tells us that the Pawnees also played it, but differently. Similar games were found throughout the southeast. 524 171

In addition to Skohpe the men had horse races, foot races, and, according to Maximilian, sham battles. Catlin speaks of the games of moccasin and platter. Verendrye says the men played a game of ball on the ramparts, but this was probably Skohpe. The horse race was run in a circle about the village. Maximilian tells us that as many as twenty men ran in the foot races, and the races are mentioned by other writers. The men raced usually over a course about seven miles long. They had 526

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 363. [2] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 132. [3] Op. cit., p. 417.

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526 regular archery contests in which each competitor paid an entrance fee; the object was to see which man could get the most arrows into the air at once.[1]

The women played a game with a large leather ball, ornamented and well made, which they caused to fall alternately on the foot and knee by bouncing. There was also a children's game, called Assé, played with the tip of an antler to the base of which two feathers were attached. The children also played a game with a hoop covered with a number of leather bands, and about a foot in diameter. This hoop was rolled along and they hit it and knocked it down by throwing a pointed stick; the one that struck nearest the center won. In the spring after the break-up, the children used to run along the bank and throw this ring into the water.[2] Catlin also gives an account of sham battles under the leadership of older men in which the boys engaged.

533 MISCELLANEOUS:—As to the other features of their culture perhaps a few words from Maximilian[3] will give some idea.

He says:—"Many of them take a real pleasure in music and painting and are very skillful in both. . . . Their musical instruments are simple. The songs consist of cries uttered from time to time, and broken by louder bursts of joy. These are accompanied by heavy drum blows and the sound of rattles. . . . They 521 discussed with pleasure subjects of the highest order, the universe and its cause together with kindred topics, saying that their own explanation was far from satisfactory. . . . They are 537 very fine orators, and use very impressive figurative language. They like to talk. . . . By nature they are proud and full of ambition. . . . They often are highly sensitive, and some have 156 been known to die of love or from wounded personal pride due to an insult to their honor."

538 Maximilian also says that they were good story tellers and took great pleasure in relating their myths and legends. They had a sort of literature in the shape of rituals for their elaborate dances, and these were handed down through the medicine men. 805 They paid considerable attention to the stars in their ceremonies but were not students of the heavens, and their calendar was a

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 141. [2] Maximilian: p. 417. [3] Ibid., pp. 404 et seq.

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purely lunar one. Some record was kept of the years, a certain symbol of some distinctive event standing for each year on the record robe, the same system used by the Dakotas. The year was divided as follows: 805 [211]

January	Moon of	seven cold days.
February	" "	the rut of wolves.
March	" "	sore eyes.
April	" "	game; or of the river break-up.
May	" "	sowing; or of flowers.
June	" "	ripe june-berries.
July	" "	ripe choke-cherries.
August	" "	ripe wild plums.
September	" "	ripe corn.
October	" "	the fall of leaves.
November	" "	the freezing rivers.
December	" "	the little cold.

The Mandans were a very liberal and hospitable people, more so than any of their neighbors according to Henry. Food was practically common property in the village. No man could become a chief without much giving of presents, and giving was considered a great honor, the gifts which a man had made being painted on his robe along with his deeds in war. If one expressed a desire for anything it was immediately given to him but a present of equal value was expected in return. In connection with this might be mentioned the custom of taking back a sale; by a return of the purchase price a man might regain anything which he had sold, whenever he wished to. 574 554 431 437

The hospitality of the Mandans is mentioned by every visitor. Verendrye speaks particularly of his kind reception and says, "Their custom being to feed liberally all who came among them, selling only what was to be taken away."[1] Even their worst enemy when once in their village had nothing to fear and was treated with all kindness. Henry remarked that the Mandans were thieves but never touched any property of a stranger who was a guest in a lodge. They were bound to protect any stranger, even an enemy who might seek refuge in the village. 574

[1] Op. cit., p. 15.

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648 Among a number of other customs, was treaty making with other tribes. This was well described by Henry who accompanied the Mandans and Hidatsa when they went to make a treaty with the Cheyennes. Most of the people went on these treaty visits; the band marched in a procession of fixed order and a number of ceremonial objects were carried exposed throughout the march. The party was met with great ceremony by the new allies and its members were taken into their houses. Several days of ceremonial feasting occurred and finally the head chief of each party adopted a son from the other tribe. After this there was more feasting and several days of trade between the two bands, when both returned home.

[597] [439]

597 The adoption of sons occurred also among the different families. Maximilian describes the adoption of a "medicine son" to whom a sacred pipe was given. The man chose his adopted son through a dream. The new pipe was consecrated and gifts were showered upon the son's family by the adopted father and his relatives. A dance and feast was then held. This custom was prevalent over all the Missouri region.

838 There were a number of men who dressed and acted like women and were treated in every way as such. These men claimed to follow this life by an order from the spirits given to them in a dream.

567 Catlin says that the Mandans did not have slaves and there is no mention of them elsewhere. The Arikara, however, had a regular slavery system, and the Crows made slaves and sold them on the Missouri. The Mandans were very good at the sign language so Maximilian tells us. They were expert swimmers, and collected their whole supply of wood by swimming out and towing in the drift wood at the time of the spring break-ups.

201 481 313

511 In point of general culture the Mandans were superior to any of their immediate neighbors, surpassing even the other sedentary people, the Hidatsa and Arikara. Catlin says that they had advanced far in the arts of manufacture and had more comforts and luxuries than other tribes. When Verendrye saw them he, too, was struck by their superior skill. He said that the Mandans dressed leather and worked in feathers better

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than any other nation; also that they sold grain, tobacco, peltry, 571
and painted plumes to the Assiniboine for arms, kettles, and
other things of European manufacture. As is seen from this 177
account of Verendrye, European culture touched them very
early by means of trade with nations farther east, and they
were quick to take up the better articles so acquired. For
this reason it is difficult to get any description of the use of
earlier crude bone and stone implements, most of which had
almost gone out of use when Lewis and Clarke visited the
villages.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: — As regards the social organization, 621
the Mandans were divided into two sorts of bands. By the
first method, like the Pawnee, they were known accord-
ing to the old village from which they had originally come.
Maximilian names at one time eight villages in describing the
old habitations; in another place he says they had thirteen
and gives the names for six more, this gives fourteen distinct
village names. He says that the people were known by the [614]
names of the villages whence they originally came, and Morgan
mentions eight of the names given, as the gens names. This is
the only trace of a gens organization found. The second method 561
of grouping into bands followed the lines of the general plains
division according to age. The First Chief who led them from
underground was the originator of these divisions. This chief
gave to each band its own songs and whistles and directions as
to conducting its dances. Each of these bands was distin-
guished by a number of songs, by a certain sort of war whistle,
by its head-dress and a number of other details of attire and
ceremony. For the men there were six recognized bands. As
men grew older they went from one band to the next. Each
band or society had a limited membership, and a place in the
band above was only obtained by purchase from a member
who was ready to resign his place, and try to purchase a place
in a band still higher up. New members must be received by
all the old members of the band or the sale could not be made.
Each society had a chief who was in charge of all important
affairs. After a sale the new member gave a feast to the whole
band, and following this the purchase property was returned to

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561 the buyers. The first band was that of "The Dogs Whose Names Are Not Known." To this band boys from ten to fifteen years of age could belong. Maximilian was told that at first older men might belong to this band but that this was afterwards changed. Admission to this society and the learning of the dance was bought from a member by the boy's father. Maximilian says that the dances of all the bands were about the same, the differences being in the songs. Each band had a particular drum and rattle.

The second band was the "Band of the Crows" composed of men from twenty to twenty-six years of age.[1] There was usually an interval between the first and the second band when the man belonged to no group. Crow plumes were the distinguishing feature of this division.

561 625 623 [578] The third society was the "Soldier Band" and was composed of the most distinguished warriors of the tribe. The members of this band could never retreat before an enemy. Another feature was its possession of two sacred pipes. All members of the higher bands belonged at the same time to this one. This group had charge of policing and regulating the [571] village, a well-known feature of the Soldier Band among the Sioux and other plains tribes. They formed a committee which regulated all the important affairs of the nation, fixed the time for hunts and applied all the laws.[2]

561 The fourth division was the "Dog Band." Three members from this wore a red cloth down the back such as all the first band wore. These three were known as the Dogs, and anyone could throw a piece of meat on the floor or in the fire, saying "There, Dog, eat," and any of these three must obey.

The fifth band was that of the "Buffalos" or "Wolves." These in dancing wore the skin of a buffalo head with the horns. The two bravest, chosen by all, who never under any conditions could flee from an enemy, wore the whole head and horns and [534] looked through artificial eyes. This was the only band which had a wooden drum. In this society there was also one woman who offered the two head dancers a basin of water as they danced.

[1] Op. cit., p. 409.

[2] Ibid., p. 411.

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831 among the Arikara and Hidatsa. The men boasted their love
171 exploits, and carried often about the village small bundles of sticks each representing a conquest, or one large stick with stripes indicating the number; this was also a Hidatsa custom.

585 When a man wished to marry, after obtaining the girl's and the father's consent, he led horses to the door of the father's house and tied them there. Then the father took the same number of his own horses and tied them to the young man's door. After this the girl cooked corn each day and carried it to the young man's house for a certain number of days. Then the young man went to the father's house and claimed his wife. The young people either built a new home or lived with one of their parents, in which case the father remained master of the
587 house. On marrying an eldest sister, a man acquired the right of marriage over all the other sisters. Catlin tells us that the girls usually married at from twelve to fourteen years of age.

858 Children were never disciplined and were always humored
601 by their parents who seemed to be very fond of them. The
606 father's brother and sister were called father and mother. The
551 mother's sister was called mother and her brother uncle. Cousins called each other brother and sister. The mother-in-law was not permitted to address her son-in-law till he had come back with the scalp and gun of an enemy. Someone was usually paid to give the child his name, which was chosen by the parent.

776 RELIGION:—The religious ideas of the Mandans resemble in a number of respects both those of the Sioux and the Arikara. While there are a number of deities, there was one among them to whom special veneration was paid. This one, the creator of the earth and everything in it, and of men, was called the Lord of Life.[1] Next after him came the First Man to whom the Lord of Life gave great power and who acted as a sort of mediator for men. Catlin says he was the only person saved from the great deluge, and he played an important part in the Okeepa. He was worshipped and sacrifices were made to him. Next was an evil spirit who, though powerful, ranks far below the First Man. Fourth on the list was Rokanka-Tauihanka

[1] Maximilian: p. 419.

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who lives on the planet Venus and protects men. Fifth was one called the Lying Prairie Wolf, a sort of wandering Jew and evil spirit, but without power. Lastly was Ochkih-Hedde; he came once to the village and taught them many things, then disappeared. When anyone saw him in a dream it was a sign of death. Sacrifices were offered to him and images of him were exposed in the village. 776

The sun was worshipped as the place where the Lord of Life lived. In the moon lived the Old Woman Who Never Dies, who had a white line around her head. She corresponded to the Corn Mother of the Arikara and was supposed to be very powerful. Many sacrifices were offered to her. She had six children, three sons and three daughters. The first son was day (the first of creation), the second was the sun, the third was night. The eldest daughter was the morning star (the woman who carries a bunch of feathers), the second was the striped pumpkin (a star revolving about the polar star), the third was the evening star. Besides these there was a group of supernatural beings of less prominence, among whom were the first chief, certain animal people, the thunder-bird and similar beings. 776 772

They seemed to have two distinct theories as to the hereafter, according to Maximilian part of the people adhered to each view. Both beliefs agreed that each man had four souls, one black, one brown, one clear, and the other not described. The first sect believed that the clear soul returned to the Lord of Life; another one went to the villages to the south which are often visited by the gods, and one of the souls of the brave and great men went to the villages of the gods. There was a separate village for the wicked. Life in all these villages was a continuance of that on earth, they had food, women, went hunting and on war parties, and had an abundance of everything. To this might be added Catlin's story,[1] somewhat less credible, that they believed in a warm heaven and a cold hell; that all went to hell for a while where the Good Spirit punished them, after which they went to heaven where they were again tempted by the Evil Spirit. The other sect described by Maximilian believed that after death they went to live in the sun or stars.[2] 775

[1] Op. cit., vol. 2, p. 157. [2] Op. cit., p. 480.

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775 In this description of an after life, there was a marked mixture of ideas. The idea of multiple souls is Siouan, the rest is more or less common over most of the region.

776 821 As usual in the plains area every natural phenomenon and unaccountable event was mystery or medicine, and the medicine idea played the usual important part in all their religious customs. Thunder was ascribed to the familiar thunder-bird, the glitter of whose eyes dug a path through the clouds for the rain and caused the lightning.[1] Solitary claps of thunder were ascribed to a huge turtle which lived in the clouds. The rainbow was said to be a spirit which accompanies the sun and which shows itself when the sun retires for the night. The aurora borealis was said to be the fire kindled at an assembly of the great medicine men and warriors of the northern nations, over which they cooked their dead enemies in huge pots.[2] They had several beliefs about the stars—that of the Sioux, that each star is a man, and when a child is born the star comes down and when he dies it returns; also that a multitude of supernatural beings existed in the stars to which sacrifices and prayers [787] were offered. Dreams were of very great importance and governed nearly all their acts.

789 843 There were many small personal superstitions or mysteries. One man told Maximilian that he could turn a snowball into a white stone, another claimed that his nose always bled if he picked up his pipe by the bowl. There were many signs of good and bad luck. A pregnant woman was considered to bring luck at the game of Skohpe. The medicine men told them that if a clay image of an enemy were made with a needle or quill in it for a heart, and were placed at the foot of some medicine structure, that enemy would die. A pregnant woman brings bad luck to her husband in hunting. Many of the Mandans believed that they had some animal, as a buffalo, turtle or frog in them; the women had a dance when they thought an ear of corn was in them, which the dance caused to come out.[3] There were a number of other superstitions of this sort, mostly common to all the plains tribes. One more notable might be mentioned, how- 372 ever, that of building the fire with two sticks crossed in the center,

[1] Ibid., p. 422. [2] Ibid., p. 423. [3] Ibid., p. 463.

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which were pushed in as they burnt. This was done because the First Man told them they must never have a big fire after the day's cooking was done and showed them how it should be built. It recalls the sacred fire of the Muskogi and other tribes of the lower Mississippi. They declared that many of the every day customs were taught them thus and consequently they always did them a certain way,—thus Ochkih-Hedde taught them to tattoo themselves, and their first chief taught them to kill buffalo and to make shields. 372 [773]

The Mandans practiced penances and sacrifices, especially self-torture which they carried to great extremes. Their medicine or personal guardian spirit was acquired by three or four days fasting and self injury, after which the medicine, often an animal, appeared to the candidate in a dream. This ceremony was also taught to them by Ochkih-Hedde. No expedition or enterprise was undertaken without a liberal sacrifice to some supernatural being, either by offering valuable goods or by physical self-torture. Finger joints were frequently cut off as an offering to the gods and fasting was common as a propitiation. Often a day or more would be spent near one of the medicine scaffolds in groaning, praying and weeping. Lewis and Clarke relate that finger joints were also cut off as a sign of mourning, which Maximilian denies, and Catlin tells how such a sacrifice was a part of the catalogue of tortures in the great Okeepa dance. The custom of consecrating personal property is found here as among the neighboring tribes. A man could make his gun, his horse, his pipe and other similar articles medicine by going through certain ceremonies, most important of which was the giving of a feast. The feast[1] was announced by a public crier, a certain number of guests were invited, the invitations being originally little rods and later playing cards. The drum and rattle made the round of the company. Then the article was consecrated; if a gun, it was rubbed with meal several times, with soup, and lastly with fat, after which the feast took place. 782 304 776 785 [765] 782 574

There were many shrines and sacred articles among the Mandans, but judging from the accounts, the sacred bundles or 778

[1] Maximilian: p. 463.

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778 medicine bags as Maximilian calls them, seem to have been much less important than among the Arikara. Nevertheless these bundles were by no means absent. Maximilian relates that each man had his own medicine bag, the contents of which no one else might see. In addition to this there was a large medicine bag in the medicine lodge within which, Maximilian tells us, were preserved three sacred skulls, those of the chief who had led them out from underground, of his sister, and of his brother — also this chief's rattle. In the medicine lodge were also the sacred rattle and the four drums of hide, filled with water, which were made to resemble turtles and which they claimed, according to Catlin, they had always had. They had a sacred pipe or calumet also, which Maximilian was not allowed to see, the price of looking at it alone being placed at one hundred dollars. He says[1] that it was very hard for the Mandans to get these sacred pipes and much more trouble to consecrate them. Certain things must be hung upon them and among these was the skull of an animal which at that time was not found in the vicinity, and for which an enormous price had to be given. There were many other pipes called medicine pipes belonging to private owners, these however were merely ordinary pipes which had been consecrated by the ceremony already described. Each Mandan regarded his own medicine as a sacred animal, and in addition there were several animals which were regarded as sacred throughout the whole tribe. Owls and screech owls were kept in the lodges to predict the future. The war-eagle was considered as having great medicine power and they kept all sorts of birds of prey alive in the huts for their plumes. Geese were considered to be very sacred also, first because in one of their tales the Lord of Life turned into a goose and flew away with a flock of them, and also as they are the messengers of the Old Woman Who Never Dies or the Corn Mother. Of greatest importance among these sacred animals, however, was the white buffalo, whose hide was the most valuable article that a Mandan could possess. The hides were bought mostly from other nations, they were tanned with horns and hoofs on, and were not valuable unless of heifers

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[1] Op. cit., p. 439.

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under two years old. These hides were worth ten to fifteen horses or sixty ordinary robes. No man could be of great importance in the tribe unless he had at one time owned one of them. Immediately on its acquisition the hide was hung up on a pole before the owner's lodge and consecrated to the Lord of Life, the sun, or the First Man. The ceremony of consecration was rather elaborate and was conducted by the shaman. A great mass of valuables, the collection of three or four years, was also offered or given away at the same time. The robe was either left suspended until it rotted away, or was taken down and cut into strips, one of which was worn by each member of the owner's family.

The Mandans seem to have had something in the nature of shrines and sacred images both natural and artificial. First among the artificial ones might be mentioned the Ark or Big Canoe which has already been described. This formed the central figure for most of the Mandan ceremonial dances. There was also the image of Ochkih-Hedde which hung before the medicine lodge; and there were similar images hanging before nearly every one of the other lodges, these were made of skin, branches and earth[1] and were intended to represent the Lord of Life and the First Man. Other shrine-like structures were built on the prairie. One of these is described by Maximilian.[2] "... Four poles are placed in a square, the two front ones garnished at the base with a pile of earth and sod. Between them are four buffalo skulls in a row, between the two back poles are twenty-six human skulls painted partly with red stripes, behind the whole are two knives fixed in the ground. The poles are surmounted by bundles of branches; on these again is a crest of pieces of sharp wood, the ends painted red. ... Sometimes on two of the poles are tied stuffed figures to represent the sun and moon, or the Lord of Life and the Old Woman Who Never Dies. Wild absinthe (wormwood) is attached by handfuls to the poles." These are probably the same things which Catlin mentions in connection with the burial customs.

Chief among the natural shrines was the medicine rock of

[1] Maximilian: p. 444.

[2] Ibid., p. 460.

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778 which Lewis and Clarke, Henry, Catlin, and Maximilian all give
accounts. The Mandans told Lewis and Clarke that this rock,
787 which was at three days march to the southwest, informed them of every thing to happen during the year and that they visited it every spring and sometimes in the summers.[1] The description which Maximilian gives of this rock seems worth repetition: "It is situated at two or three days from the village on the edge of the Cannonball River from which it is about one hundred paces. They say it is on the summit of a rather high hill, the top of which is level. It is marked by the footprints of men and other animals, dogs and travois. It is a sort of oracle. They offer it all sorts of valuable articles — knives, pipes, cloth. . . . When going to war they pass near and consult the stone. They approach it, weep, groan, smoke, and retire to a distance where they pass the night. Next day they take down on parchment what the stone shows. This painted parchment is carried to the village where the old men interpret it. Undoubtedly new figures are seen on the stone from time to time. Not far from this place was the ark where part of the nation was saved." The Minnetarees also had one of these medicine stones which was consulted in practically the same way. One more of their natural sacred objects deserves
778 mention; this was a lake some distance from their villages
782 where a great serpent, formerly a Mandan warrior, was said to reside. This serpent was a good genius and offerings of all sorts were thrown into the lake to procure his aid.

791 The shaman although mentioned occasionally is not described, nor are his powers well defined by any of the authorities. Maximilian remarked that there were shamans who gathered herbs and pretended to cure diseases and others who did tricks and conducted preparations for the ceremonies.

773 MYTHOLOGY:—Practically all material on Mandan mythology
comes from Maximilian who wrote down a large number of
539 stories directly as they were told to him by a Mandan chief, Dipeuch. Catlin and Lewis and Clarke reinforce these with a few details. It is found by analysis of the myths given by Maximilian that two distinct, parallel, mythological stories of

[1] Lewis and Clarke: Feb. 21, 1805.

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the origin of the people existed, both were told by the same man, each of these accounts being made up of a number of separate myths. Perhaps a short synopsis of these two cycles will best show the condition of the mythology and the relationship with that of other nations. According to one of these, the Lord of Life created the First Man, who in turn created the earth. It was made of mud brought up from the bottom of the sea by a duck. The First Man walked about on it, meeting some animals and then finally the Lord of Life; a dispute arose between the two as to which should be called father, and they sat down, agreeing that the first one to rise should be the son. Many years they sat and when the Lord of Life was only a pile of whitened bones, the First Man arose. At once the Lord of Life jumped up and was acknowledged as father. The two of them went about together, the Lord of Life said the earth must be remade and called the buffalo, who was commanded to fetch grass and wood. Then the two gods each took half the land to shape—they were at the mouth of the Heart River and the Lord of Life took the south side of the Missouri, the First Man took the north. The Lord of Life made hills and coulées, but First Man made his section flat and wooded so people could not live there. Then each made himself a wooden pipe, the Lord of Life making his of ash wood inlaid with stone, the First Man making his of soft wood. They placed the two together and the Lord of Life said, "This will be the center, the heart of the world." They walked along and met a buffalo from whom they got tobacco. Then they made men, but limited their life to one hundred years lest the world be over-populated, and these men were taught by the Lord of Life to use buffalo. After this the Lord of Life and the First Man killed all the old wolves and taught the young ones not to eat men, the skins of the old ones floating down the river, turned into white men. A little later the First Man saw a girl ineffectually attempting to bring ashore a dead buffalo cow, he supernaturally guided it to her and she ate some of the flesh and in consequence became pregnant. A boy was born to her who became the first chief. This chief made a canoe which understood him when he spoke to it. In it he sent some men down to a white nation

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to get shells and beads. The men were killed, so finally he went himself and came back safely. Then the First Man went down with another party and all were killed but he. He saved himself by strategy. The white men became angry because they could not kill him and they made the waters rise so that the whole earth was submerged. Related to this is a statement by a Mandan to Catlin that the earth was a huge turtle, the white men stuck a knife through its shell and it sank so the water flooded its back. The First Man made them build a tower on a height on the lower bank of the Heart River and the whole nation was saved there. Soon after the flood, the First Man went away to the west and said he would come back when they needed him. One day they wanted him and could not discover how to reach him, till at last a man said that thought would do it. He sat down and thought and cried, "I think, I have thought, I return," and rose bathed in sweat, and the First Man came, and helped them. Just after this the Lord of Life turned into a goose and being hurt fell into a Mandan village where he escaped plucking by cursing the women. Thence he flew to the Hidatsa village, where he clawed and beat a woman who said she would have no one but the Lord of Life for her husband. The next day, however, he returned to the sun and caused her to ascend to him by means of a rope which he let down, the story continuing the Siouan myth of the boy and the mother coming down a sinew cord to the earth again.

The second cycle of stories does not begin with a creation myth, but merely with a brief account of the earliest existence. The Mandans said that there were four stories under the earth and four stories above; before the flood they lived in a village under the earth near a lake, and a grape-vine grew down through, letting the light into the underworld. They wanted to come up and sent the mouse, badger, a strange, mythical animal and a deer to dig out a hole. Then they climbed out by the grape-vine till half were on earth and a very corpulent woman broke the vine. A flood came when they were first coming out and the first tribe (Tattooed Faces) perished almost wholly. All this happened near a lake to the east. If they are good the Mandans go back to this old village under ground when they die.

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They now found themselves on the surface of the earth. The people were led by a chief and they kept walking till they reached the Missouri at the mouth of the White River. They ascended it to the Moreau, here they found enemies in the Cheyenne, and they went to war and killed and scalped for the first time. The great chief who led them out of the earth together with his sister and brother taught them to make shields, and then he divided them into bands and led them against the Cheyenne. After a long struggle he performed a miracle by which the enemy were nearly all slain. Then the Mandans moved up to the Heart River. Here one day, four Hidatsa came to them for a time and on leaving promised to return in four days. Four years later they returned with a numerous band. The Hidatsa crossed the river and built villages, and the Mandans taught them to raise corn. Then after a few years they moved up to the Knife River where they settled. This was during the period at which the Mandans lived in a village on the Heart River.

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Besides these two myth cycles there are also a number of tales as yet unconnected with either group. First among these should be considered the tales about the Old Woman Who Never Dies. The Old Woman Who Never Dies owns a very large plantation in the south where her two deer and many blackbirds guard her crops, and the mouse and mole help work the soil. The water birds she sends north as her representatives in the spring, and at the same time goes north to visit the Old Man Who Never Dies, but she stays with him only a short time. She is the goddess of corn, and the ceremonies in her honor are to bring good crops. Formerly she lived on the Little Missouri where the Indians visited her. She gave the Hidatsa once a little corn in a dish and it fed twelve men. Finally she went south to live.

The story of the great serpent forms an important tale for comparative purposes. The great serpent was supposed to have been one of two Mandan braves who crawled through a hole in the bluff and came out in a land of giants. On returning, the two killed a monstrous snake of which one of them ate. He himself soon turned into a great snake and became a sort of minor deity for the people.

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As has been said there are in the Mandan myths two distinct cycles of tales; there seems to be two sources for the detached stories as well. The first cycle seems to be along the lines of the Siouan and Algonquin stories. The creation myth is much like that of the Chippewa: the naming of the animals, the story of the Sun Boy, and the tale of reaching the First Man by thought, seem to be Siouan in their origin for we find them most important in that stock. The creation myth exists likewise among the Crows, and it is told by the Arikara,—the latter, however, have a more popular creation tale. The Mandan myth is not found among the Skidi Pawnee. The story of the making of the Heart River region is naturally found among the Arikara as are some tales about Lucky Man and the Wolf who seem to correspond to the Lord of Life and the First Man, but none of these characters are found among the Skidi tales where Tirawa, the Creator, has no companion in his work. The tale of the struggle between the Lord of Life and the First Man as to which should be father is distinguishable in the Arikara, but not in the Skidi. The tale of the Sun Boy is, however, found in the Pawnee, but is known also in practically every plains tribe. The story of the child born to the girl from eating cow fat, is in the Crow but not in the Arikara or Skidi. In general so far as comparable material is at hand these tales do not appear to be of Caddo origin, and are in most cases connected with the tales of some other Siouan tribe.

As to the other cycle of tales there is little in the Siouan stories with which it may be compared. The story of an underground origin is developed characteristically in the southwest,—it appears in numerous forms among the Arikara and with even more detail among the Skidi. The first chief in the Mandan migration, the man who led them from underground, is very closely allied with the Corn Mother leader of the Arikara, and the preservation of his skull in a sacred bundle is again suggestive of the southern plains.

The Corn Mother tale seems most clearly related to Caddoan. The tale of the Great Serpent as well as that of the Sun Boy is spread over the whole plains region,—the Crow, the Arikara, the Pawnee, and the Dakota all possess more or less close ver-

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sions of this story. None of the Caddoan Poor Boy stories have been found in the Mandan, but this may be due to the limited extent of Maximilian's collection. It can only be said that the Mandan myths so far as known seem to be about an equal mixture of north and south plains types. 773 171

CEREMONIALS:—The Mandan dance system seems to have been rather complicated, and in it are found again the two conflicting influences. In one case the origin of the dances is said to have been due to Ochkih-Hedde, the evil spirit. Again the First Chief who led them out of the ground is said to have arranged all their dances, and the Okeepa, according to Catlin, was instituted by the First Man. There were two sorts of dances; first those in which it appears that anyone could take part, and secondly those belonging to the different societies previously referred to.* Of the first kind there were four principal ones, and of these the Buffalo dance and the Scalp dance, although not the most important, were most frequently danced and were practically identical with the same dances of other plains tribes; the Scalp dance was performed by those related to persons with newly acquired coups. The Buffalo dances were of two types. One was for the purpose of getting the good will of influential men and is described by Henry and Catlin. This dance had several obscene features. The other Buffalo dance was danced by the men in relays wearing a buffalo head and its purpose was to bring the buffalo in time of need. 535 796

The other two dances deserve more particular mention. Catlin says of all these dances,[1] "Every dance has its peculiar step and song." The songs were understood only by the medicine men and required much application and study. Candidates paid to learn them. This applies particularly to the Okeepa which is the best-known dance of the Mandans. No description is necessary as Catlin has given two very full ones and Maximilian has also given a good account of it. The Okeepa was performed once a year as a rule and nearly every inhabitant of the village had some part to play in it. It lasted four days, and in all the dances, dance groups and ceremonial

[1] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 126.

* [Cf pp. 129-561, cat. 116 —Analyst]

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535 796 objects, they kept a careful observance of the number four and its multiples. The Okeepa appears to have been quite different from the usual sun-dance ceremonies, although the sun-dance observance formed a part of it. Catlin says that no other nation had such a dance, although many had features of it in 535 their own dances. In some respects it seems to show a rather 796 remarkable similarity to some of the dances of the Pueblo re- 171 gion and very possibly some of these features were transmitted from there through the southern plains tribes. The resemblance is in small details such as the decorating of the ark with willow branches which is much like the preparation of the kisi. Communication with old villages underground was supposed to be established by pounding on the ark, as it was among the southwestern dancers by stepping on the sipapu. From the description of the sacred object in the center of the Mandan altar, it seems to have been something like the Pueblo squash blossoms. Lastly the story of the visit of the First Man to the whites and his institution of the Okeepa, after having escaped them, is much like the origin story of the Pueblo Snake and Antelope Dance. The most peculiar feature of the ceremony was the connection which it had with the flood myth; the ark was supposed to be a copy of the tower in which the Mandans were saved from the flood. It formed the center in all the different parts of the ceremony. The Okeepa had features which have been ascribed by Maximilian to the influence of early missionaries.

535 The second of these dances was the Corn Dance and this 796 was doubtless of Caddo origin. This dance was danced to the 241 Old Woman Who Never Dies by the old women of the village for whom a number of old men furnished the music. Each old woman carried an ear of corn on the end of a stick and the ceremony was intended to consecrate this corn. After the consecration the corn was distributed, a few grains to each family, by whom it was mixed with the seed corn for spring planting. The ceremony took place when the representatives of The Old Woman Who Never Dies — the water birds — returned north, and a quantity of dried meat was hung up on the scaffolds as a sacrifice. After the dance this dried meat

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became the property of the dancers. Another corn dance was held in the fall, but Maximilian tells us that the purpose of this one was to bring the buffalo. In this dance each woman carried a whole stalk of corn—the corn was called by the name of the water bird which represented it, and a prayer was made to the Old Woman Who Never Dies through these birds. The birds going south were supposed to carry these prayers to their mistress, and in this dance each old woman made a sacrifice of some valuable article. The elements of the corn dance agree in most particulars with those of the Pawnee and southern plains tribes.

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BURIAL:—In their burial customs the Mandans show close analogy with the Sioux. Their cemeteries were usually only two hundred to three hundred paces from the palisade and consisted of a number of scaffolds on which the dead were placed. These scaffolds were made on four posts about twelve feet high, the length of the rectangle being about six feet. Across the posts willow rods, just strong enough to support the body, were placed.[1] When a person died he was left in the village but a very short time; the face was painted red, the body was oiled, dressed in the finest clothes and wrapped in a green buffalo skin or at a later period in a piece of cloth. The whole was then tightly wrapped with thongs of rawhide from head to foot. Then other robes were soaked in water and tightly wrapped and tied around the body. After this the corpse was immediately carried out and placed on the scaffold together with a bow and quiver, shield, pipe and tobacco, knife, flint and steel and provisions for several days. In case of a child, it was wrapped up in a small bundle which was tied to the scaffold by a cloth or hide. Catlin says the bodies were placed with their feet to the rising sun. Maximilian says the face was turned to the east.[2] Lewis and Clarke[3] give an account of a different sort of burial which must have been of rare occurrence for we find no mention of anything of the sort elsewhere. It is as follows: "An old man . . . . . one hundred and twenty winters old, he requested his grand Children to Dress him after Death, & Set him on a Stone on a hill, with his

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[1] Catlin; vol. I, p. 89. [2] Op. cit., p. 479. [3] Feb. 20, 1805.

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764 face towards his old Village Down the river, that he might go Streight to his brother at their old village under ground." When a warrior was killed in battle he was never buried. If the body could not be carried back to the village, it was left as it lay.[1] In such a case the family would roll up a buffalo skin and carry it out, placing it on the scaffold where it was treated just as if it held the body of the dead man.

Catlin says that when the rods supporting the body broke and the body fell, the family interred all of the bones except the skull. Such skulls were placed eight or nine feet apart, in circles; one hundred or more in a circle; in the center of each circle was a small mound about three feet high. On this mound were two buffalo skulls, a male and a female, and in the center was a medicine pole twenty feet high supporting many medicine articles. Each skull was on a bunch of wild sage.

764 304 The Mandan period of mourning was one year, during which they dressed poorly and kept the hair cut short. Immediately upon the death, the relatives cut their hair, rubbed their bodies with white and gray clay, and gashed their arms and legs with a knife or a stone so that they were covered with blood. In the first few days groans and weeping were continuous. According to Maximilian there was a very solemn ceremony concluding the burial, which he called covering the body. This act might be done either by a relative or an outsider. The person who intended to cover the body came with one or two cloth coverings, red, blue, white or green. He mounted the scaffold as soon as the body was placed upon it and covered the remains with his covering. He then received a present of a horse from the immediate relatives. When it was learned that someone intended to cover the dead, a horse was at once tied to the scaffold and as soon as the body had been covered the horse was untied and led away by the man who had performed that office.[2] Gifts of value were hung all about the scaffold and these gifts were presented to those who had assisted in preparing and placing the body upon it.

[1] Maximilian: p. 472.

[2] Ibid., p. 481.

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The Mandan method of burial was used likewise by their neighbors the Hidatsa and in a modified form by the Dakota and nearly all the Siouan tribes. The Arikara, however, used the opposite form, that of interment. With them the dead were buried in a flexed position in graves (lined with stone) and the scaffold system was never used.

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SECTION II.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

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As has been stated, the villages of the earliest known period centered about the mouth of Heart River, with Square Butte Creek for the northern and Apple Creek for the southern limit. Several sites in this area were examined, and one site, in almost all respects the best, was somewhat extensively explored.

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Of the village sites which were only incidentally studied, the most southern was that on the west bank of the Missouri near old Fort Abraham Lincoln. This village, roughly triangular in shape, occupied a bench bounded on one side by an old wash bank of the river, on another side by a deep narrow coulée, and on the remaining side by a high, steep hill. The mounds are low and indefinite in outline and evidently much disturbed. On the river side there is an extensive talus composed largely of refuse. Here there has also been a considerable landslide. On the side nearest the hill there are traces of a ditch, this side being the only one not protected by nature.

Another site, possessing natural defenses of the highest order, is located about three miles northwest of Bismarck, on the east bank of the river. Here, a promontory with a level, circular summit is almost entirely cut off from the high bench by deep precipitous ravines. The narrow neck, as shown in Map II,[1] was protected by a ditch and wall. The ditch and wall show two ox-bow like protuberances which may be the remains of a well-flanked gate. A ditch is also seen at a point on the river side where the hill-slope is less steep than usual. On the northern side, is a sort of platform along the hillside, about ten feet below the crest. This may be the remains of a ditch and wall, so placed that the higher level of the village would be a vantage point in defense of the palisades. This will be referred to as the Ward site.

[1] [facing p. 198]

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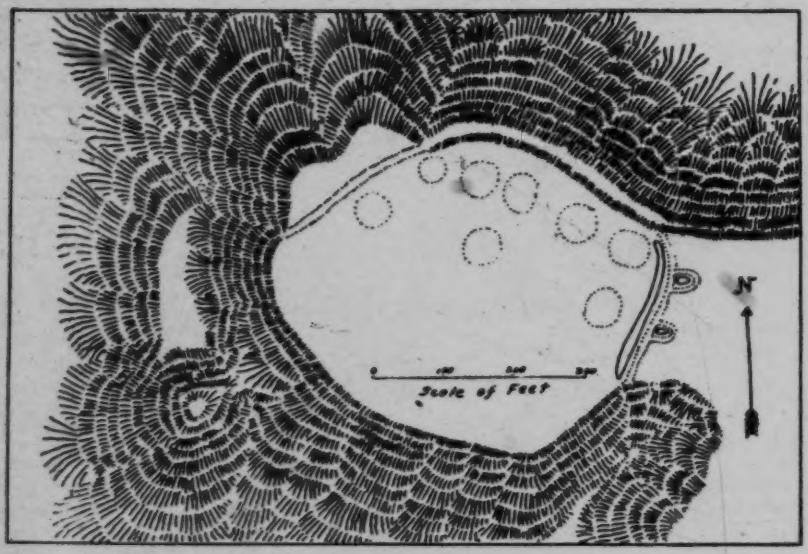
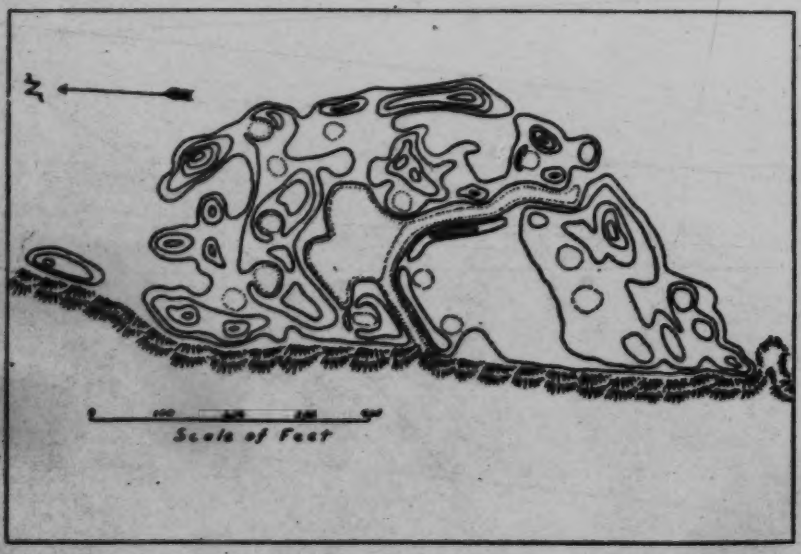


MAP II. THE WARD SITE.
Dotted lines surround sunken areas.



MAP III. LARSON SITE.
Dotted lines surround sunken areas. Contour interval is two feet.

[Facing p. 148]

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A third village location, the Larson site, is almost devoid of any natural defenses. It is situated on the east bank of the river, about seventeen miles above Bismarck. This village was built upon the edge of a wide, level bench which ranges only about thirty feet above the flood plain of the Missouri. As may be seen by Map III,[1] the remains consist of a well-marked ditch which traverses the central portion of the site, a sunken area near one end of the ditch, and a series of mounds, the largest of which are on the margin of the site. Unfortunately, the plow has disturbed the original contours of the mounds. Moreover, there is some evidence that the river may have cut away the bank and destroyed part of the site. The position of the larger mounds on the outer edge is in accordance with the theory that they were fortifications. But the position of the ditch is something of a mystery. Instead of surrounding the site, it seems to cut across it and divide it into two nearly equal parts. Adjoining the ditch, and near the wash bank, is a large sunken area which may have been the town square.

The Burgois site (Plates XXVIII, XXIX), which furnished the principal material for this paper, is about fourteen miles northwest of Bismarck, on the east bank of the river. It is conspicuously placed on the summit of a high bluff which commands a fine view up and down stream. Above the site, the Missouri swings in a wide curve known as Mountaineer Bend, at the upper end of which is situated the Larson site previously described. Below, the river spreads into a maze of islands and sand bars. It seems reasonable that this village may be identified with the one described by Lewis and Clark as being at the head of a large island, the island having since disintegrated.

On the south, about one hundred yards from the outer limits of the village remains, is a deep ravine; to the north and east there is a gentle slope towards the level prairie land. Below the bluff, stretch the bottom lands, partly meadow-land and partly timbered with cotton-wood, ash and diamond willow.

The remains extend for thirteen hundred feet along the edge of the bluff and eight hundred feet back. They comprise, first, mounds from one to ten feet in height; second, continuous ditches; third, circular, slightly sunken house rings; fourth,

[1] [facing p. 148.]

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small sunken areas marking old cache pits. Map IV[1] gives a general survey of the village. In this map the natural configuration of the land is represented in hachures, while the artificial mounds and depressions are represented, as well as the simple means at hand would permit, by contour lines with an interval of two feet.

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The large mounds are on the outside of the village site. They form a more or less continuous chain of earthworks, outside of, and between the two encircling ditches. If Verendrye spoke the truth in regard to the neatness and cleanness of the Mandan villages, these large mounds could not well have been dump heaps as some investigators appear to think. A more natural dump heap is located along the bluff front. It is more reasonable to identify them with the earth ramparts and bastions which, he says, were wide enough to allow the game of Skohpe to be played upon them. Moreover, there is a strategic fitness in many of them in regard to shape and location. Thus Mound *a* guards admirably the approach from the ravine south of the village. Two crescent mounds, *g* and *j*, would be strongholds in defense of the village. Many of the mounds, for instance *a* and *c*, have wall-like protuberances, which may have been extended breastworks.

The mounds, as may be seen by the map, are of various shapes and sizes. Mound *a*, the largest, is nearly a perfect rectangle, except for the irregular line of small mounds attached to one corner. It measures about one hundred and twenty feet in length, and is about eight feet high. Most of the larger mounds are of approximately the same height. Two mounds, *g* and *j*, before mentioned, are distinctly crescent-shaped. The other large mounds are either oval in shape or are irregular with two or more summits.

The smaller mounds are, for the most part, between the two ditches. They are irregular in shape, and range from a few inches in height to three or four feet. A few low mounds are found outside the circle of large mounds.

There are two ditches. The inner ditch, *y*, *y*, *y*, can be traced throughout its course, but the outer ditch, *z*, *z*, *z*, appears broken. The inner ditch encircles an area about five hundred

[1] [Facing p. 151.]

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feet in diameter which is devoid of any large mounds, and is marked by house rings and cache pits. Between the inner and outer ditches there are, in addition to the mounds, a few house rings. The ditches, in their deepest portions, are not more than three feet deep, though they were originally much deeper. A cross-section of the ditch, at the point marked *u*, shows it to have been nine feet deep and twenty feet wide.

The house sites were mostly in the interior of the village. They are marked by rings each with a slight depression in the center. After the prairie grass becomes brown, these depressions are marked by green patches. The house rings vary somewhat in size, averaging about forty feet in diameter. They are close together, but are sometimes arranged in more or less regular rows leaving what may roughly be termed streets.

Small depressions mark the location of old caches. These depressions are scattered over the entire area both inside and outside the ditches. Some have dropped in to a depth of two or three feet, but most of them show only a slight hollow. Frequently they occur in groups of three or four. Investigation disclosed the presence of these cache pits under the mounds and in the house sites.

Before entering upon an account of the work carried on at the Burgois site an attempt will be made to correlate the features of this site with the descriptions of the villages as they were actually seen. Verendrye tells us of the village surrounded by a piquet eighteen feet high and a ditch fifteen feet deep by eighteen feet across. This was protected by bastions and ramparts covering the piquet. We have the ditch, two in this case, as if the village had outgrown its original bounds; and on making a cross section of the ditch it was found to be nearly as large as described. Digging on the inner side of the ditch showed no sign of the piquet. Catlin tells us, however, that the piquet was only outside. The large surrounding mounds agree with the description of bastions and ramparts. The circles mark the sites of the round earth-houses, and the small depressions show where the caches described by every visitor were located. The greatest difficulty was identifying the large village square or ceremonial place. Inside the first ditch, in

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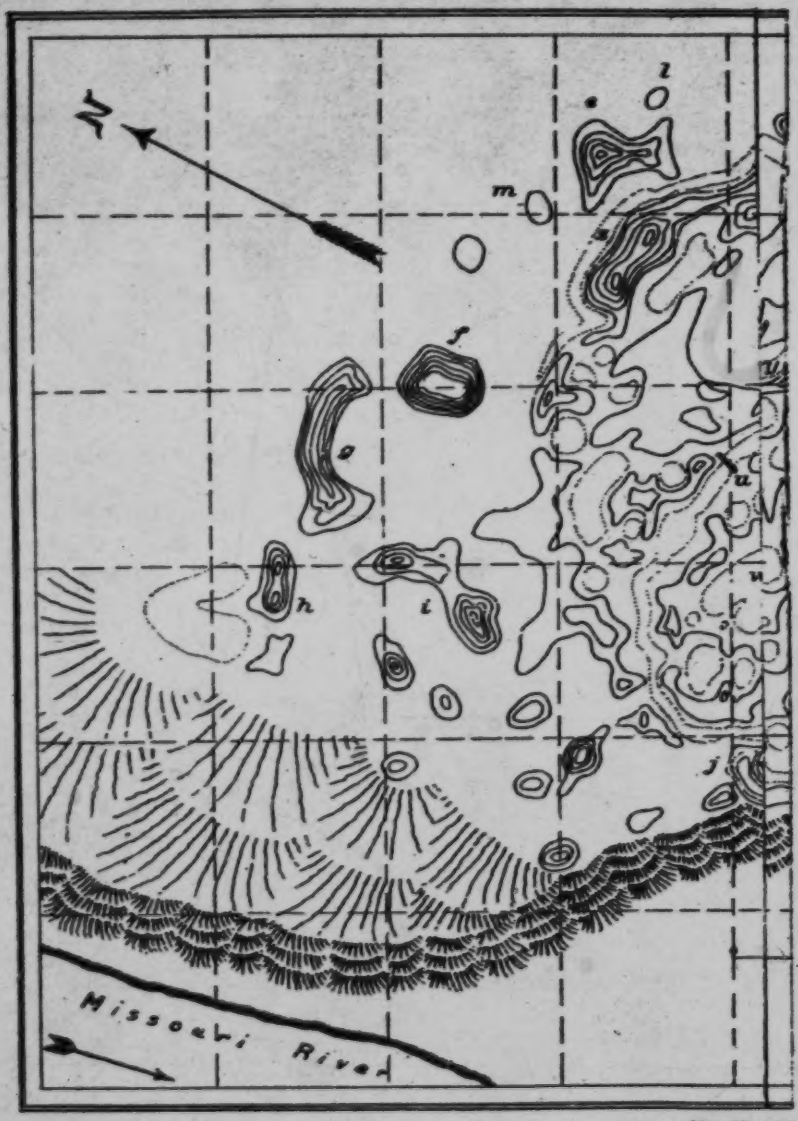

MAP IV. [illegible]
Contour interval is two feet. Dotted lines [illegible]

[Folded map facing p. 151 (A)]

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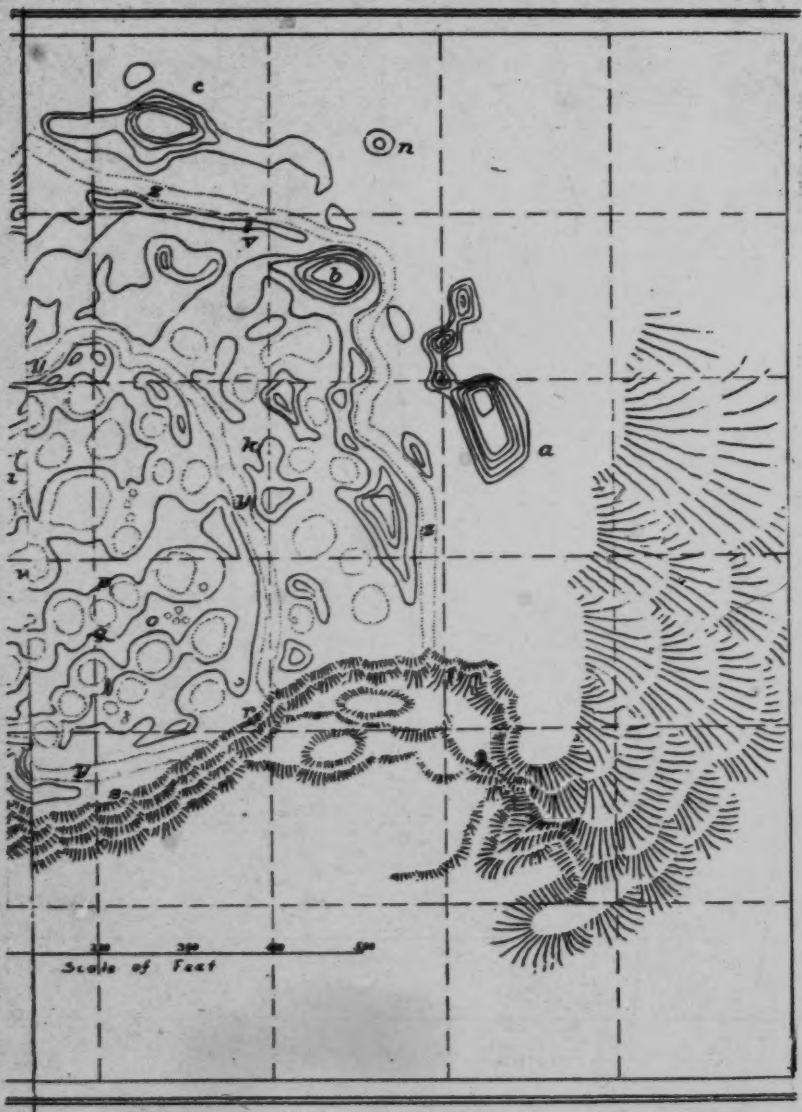

V. EGOIS SITE.
sunken areas. Hatchures show natural configuration

[Folded map facing p. 151 (B)]

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X172 361 the very center of the village is an area of about the right size, but it is broken by three rings which appear to be house rings, one larger than any of the others. Between the first ditch and the second, however, there is a large open space of the proper dimensions and unmarred by any rings or mounds (*x*). It answers the description except that it is not located in the center of the village. It might be possible that the first place was originally the public square, but as the village grew beyond the first ditch the square was moved to a better site and the old one was built over. Of the cemetery, of course no trace is now discoverable, although one of the bundles of bones was found buried. It is not related how or where bones taken from the scaffold were buried, and so the find can not be connected with what is historically described.

X172 MOUNDS:—The first work (Work 1) was done on the largest of the out-lying mounds (Map IV, Plates XXVIII, XXIX, XXX). This mound is about a hundred and twenty feet long by sixty or seventy wide. It slopes up gently from the west end for about thirty feet, then runs along almost flat until within ten feet of the other end, where it suddenly drops off. It is almost rectangular in shape. The west end of the mound was divided off into squares of five feet, and excavation was then begun along the entire end, and carried into the mound, preserving at all times a vertical face. This mound rested on a solid clay hardpan, from which the sod seemed to have been cleared before building the mound. The excavation was always carried a little below this hardpan level. The mound seemed to be built of refuse spread on in layers. Very little in the way of valuable remains was found on the edge of the mound, small fragments of pottery, a pocket of rocks, a pocket of bone, charcoal and pottery and two or three pockets of large bones, charcoal and pottery chips being the only things noted. These pockets all began about one foot below the surface of the mound. At the beginning of the excavation, from the surface to hardpan the depth was eight to twelve inches; by the time the work had been carried in fifteen feet the face of the excavation was from one and a half to two and a half feet high. At about the six-foot line the first of a

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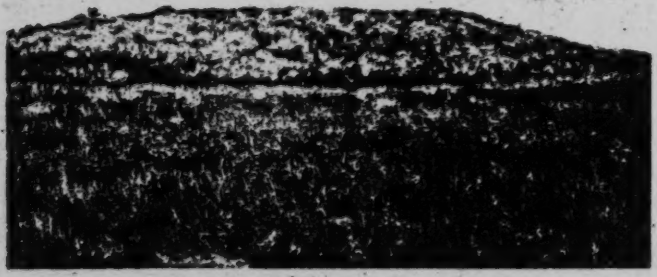
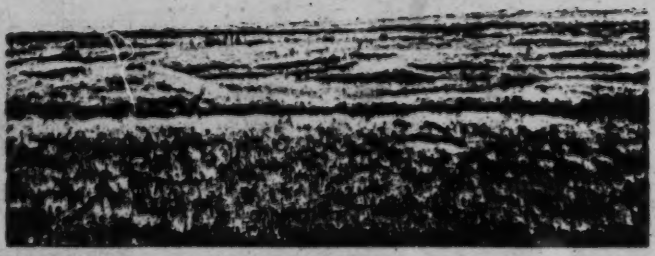
1. GENERAL VIEW OF BURGOIS VILLAGE SITE.



2. MOUND A, BURGOIS VILLAGE SITE.



3. DITCH AND HOUSE RINGS, BURGOIS VILLAGE SITE.

[facing page 152]

HELIOTYPE CO., BOSTON.

x 172 number of pits was found (Plate xxx, *b* on ground plan). This one was about four feet four inches deep from the surface of the mound. It was hollowed out in a bottle-like shape and contained a quantity of broken pottery and bones; some of the pottery fragments fitted together. Over its top was a small layer of decayed wood with some charcoal and a few kernels of burnt corn, the first found. Traces of decayed grass appeared on the sides. Next to this pit was a shallow basin (Plate xxx, *c* on ground plan) eight to twelve inches deep, in the center of which was a buffalo skull facing to the north and surrounded by considerable pottery and bone chips; over the basin was an ash layer. A few bone implements were found scattered in the pit and basin. Nearly half a bushel of broken stones came from the bottom of the pit. On the north of the pit (*b*) was another (*a*), about the same size, which almost joined it. In the upper part of this second pit was much broken pottery and bones, charcoal and occasionally ashes. At the very bottom of it was a human skeleton in a flexed position. There was no pottery and no remains of ornaments about the body, but a bone hoe lay above it and another was below it. The skeleton lay on a brown layer which may originally have been a robe. This pit was four feet six inches deep from the surface of the mound and four feet two inches in diameter. It was of the usual bottle shape. A cross section of these three pits is shown in Plate xxx, section III. This also shows the ash layer which extended over the pits. Another ash layer (Plate xxx, section II) began just over these pits about six inches below the surface of the mound and contained a considerable quantity of broken pottery and bones. As the face of the excavation was moved back this layer sank to a depth of one foot from the surface and became continuous over the whole of the mound. Other smaller ash layers appeared lower down and a little further in.

Another pit (Plate xxx, *j* on ground plan) began at twelve feet in, and differed considerably from the rest. It did not have the usual shape and continued back into the mound, covering a much greater area than any of the others. It was filled with refuse in which were easily distinguishable layers of burnt corn, bone chips, and charcoal. Another basin (*g* on ground plan)

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also occurred in this part of the digging but presented no distinctive feature, being filled with the usual refuse. Most of the best pottery at this point came from the blanket ash layer. At the twenty-foot line another pit occurred (*h*). It contained ashes, bones, charcoal, burnt wood and a number of flint and bone implements, both broken and whole. Near the bottom was a deposit of very fine bone chips, and a number of irregular layers half an inch thick of soft black clay, resembling the clay of the pottery. This pit was shaped much like the others. The ash layer here was about one foot below the top of the mound. At this point there was also a light layer of soft earth about four inches thick. Below this for some two inches was a layer of tightly packed earth, and the pit was filled with a conglomerate mass of rubbish, across which ran thin layers of crumbly red earth, burnt grass and ashes. The dimensions of this pit were: diameter six feet, depth five feet. At the twenty-five-foot line three connected pits were discovered (*l*, *m*, *n*) over the tops of two of which stretched a layer of burnt grass and sticks. Over all three pits the blanket ash layer dipped to about two feet below the surface of the mound, and the soft soil above contained a considerable quantity of pottery fragments and bone implements. Just before reaching these pits a series of four post-holes (*p*, *q*, *r*, *s*), running for about fifteen feet, was found. These contained the remnants of rotten wood and of sticks about two inches in diameter. Traces of these post-holes began a short distance from the surface and extended down to a little below hardpan. On this line were also found two small cylindrical pits. One (*i*) about one foot in diameter, went down some eighteen inches below the clay hardpan and contained hard-packed, black earth with a few bones and pottery chips. The other was somewhat more shallow and opened through a small hole into one of the large pits (*n*).

Near the thirty-foot line the front of a human skull was found in a layer of loose earth and rubbish. Just beyond this line began an extremely irregular pit (*o*) containing very few pottery fragments but a great many large bones, some of them broken. Among these was an antelope skull. At the same point and for twenty feet across the center of the mound

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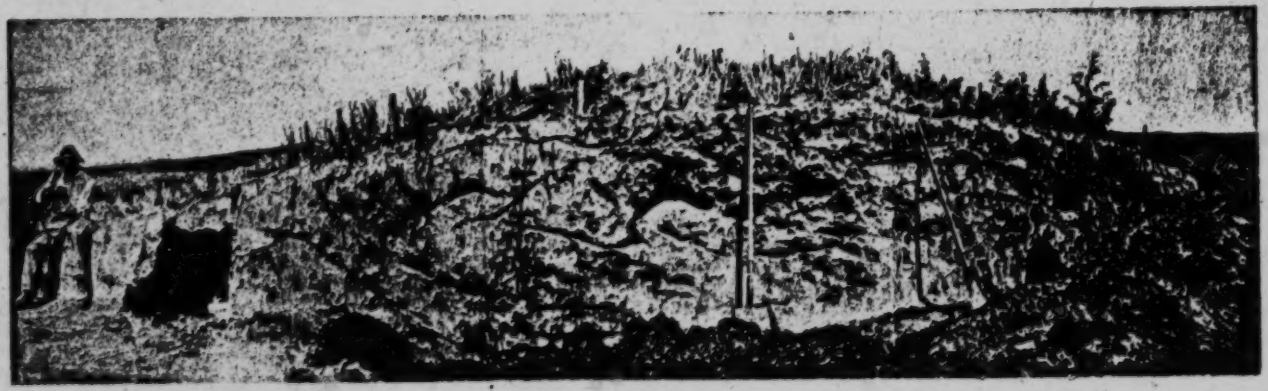

CROSS-SECTION OF MOUND A, BURGOIS VILLAGE SITE.

[facing p. 154]

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X172 was a heavy layer of soft ashy earth from one and a half to two and a half feet thick. At the bottom of this was a well-marked clay layer; below this again came some loose earth, then another ash layer and lastly the clay hardpan. Thin layers of burnt material, marked *y, y*, on Plate XXX, sect. II, were also found. In the light ash layer most of the finds were made within two and a half feet of the surface. Near this point the valuable material began to decrease in quantity. Pit *o* proved to be very large. It went down to a depth of about eight feet from the surface of the mound and was some six to seven feet in diameter. Another pit (*k*) was found upon this line which contained very little, and opened into the large pit (*j*) at the south end.

Owing to the fact that the purpose of the exploration was to get a general idea of the site, it was thought best to leave the first mound, after the excavation had been carried in some thirty-five feet, and to try other mounds of different appearance. The first examined was a small oval mound (Map IV, *k*) measuring sixteen by twenty-five feet, and not over one and a half feet high at its highest point in the center. Half of this mound was removed down to the clay foundation, but practically nothing, except occasional pottery chips and one stump of a wooden post, was discovered.

The next work (Work 2) was on one of the large mounds (Map IV, *b*) abutting on the ditch on the inner side. It is rather more circular than the former one, about eighty feet long, sixty-five feet across, and eight to ten feet high, being somewhat higher and more rounded on the top than the other (*a*). Through this mound at about the center a trench ten feet wide was cut entirely across from east to west, the trench was divided into rows and squares, there being thirteen rows of five feet each across the mound. The earth was soft and full of bones, pottery chips, and burnt vegetables. This mound was likewise built on the yellow clay hardpan from which, however, the sod seems not to have been removed except over parts of the bottom where there were pockets or pits.

The excavation was commenced at the same time from each end. The earth of the mound was easily removed and was full of refuse. At the east end there was located, in the

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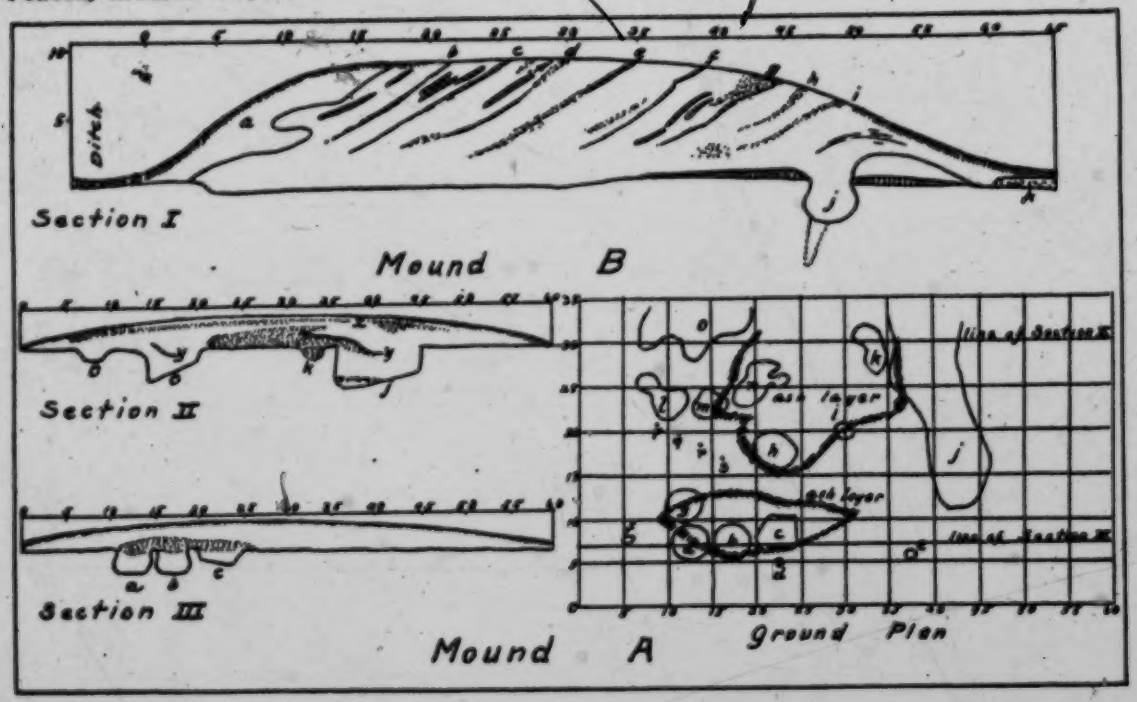
X 172 first ten feet, a large depression extending over the whole bottom of the cut and going below hardpan from a few inches to a foot. The bottom of this depression was covered with small boulders, and most of the finds in that section were made just above these boulders, the first good hammer-head being discovered there. In this part of the trench, just below the surface of the mound, was found a thick layer of burnt corn cobs and other burnt material. As further progress was made, from ten to fifteen feet in, the earth was full of bones and flint chips with a number of bone implements. As the twenty-foot line was approached, however, the bones became scarcer and nearly all of the finds consisted of pottery. The earth from the surface to the bottom contained layers (Plate XXX, sect. 1, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, etc.) of crushed bone or burnt materials and ashes, usually not over three inches thick. These layers persisted through the whole mound keeping at a fairly equal distance apart, sloping off to the north and south as the mound itself sloped off, and dipping rather steeply to the east. From the twenty-foot to the thirty-foot line nothing unusual was seen, though the best pottery was taken out there, as well as some bone implements and some charred beans. From the twenty-five-foot to the thirty-foot line a considerable quantity of good pottery fragments came to light, a number of which fitted together. The pottery fragments seemed to be more and more numerous as the center of the mound was approached. An interesting find, in this section, was a small pocket some three feet from the surface which contained squash and sunflower seeds and some small Chenopodium seeds, all somewhat charred. The section from the thirty-foot to the thirty-five-foot line contained nothing notable, the pottery and bone pieces continuing as before, but in somewhat smaller quantities.

From the thirty-five-foot to the forty-foot line, the finds consisted of bone implements, awls and hoes. In this section, about two and a half feet from the surface, was a mass of very white ashes, about one foot in diameter and four inches thick. At about the forty-foot line a pit was found (*j*), about seven feet in diameter and running down two to three feet below the old sod level. From the bottom of this pit again a small pocket went



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down into the yellow clay; this smaller pocket was of rather irregular shape and contained nothing of value, nor did the larger pit itself. In this section, above the pit and some three to four feet from the surface, was found the first copper, a crudely made copper bead.

The section from forty to forty-five feet showed nothing of particular interest except a pocket containing about a quart of flint chips. A number of bone implements also came from this section. Here, also, was found a small ring of what appeared to be twisted bark. The surface of the mound for the remaining fifteen feet was sodded over; below this and above the old sod was a heap of hard clay, such as might have been excavated from pit *j*. Before leaving this mound a word or two more should be said about the stratification of the material used in its construction. The mound has a very steep slope down to the ditch on the east side, and slopes off much more gently on the west. The layers already mentioned run upwards from east to west, beginning near hardpan, and occurring at almost equal distances apart. Five of these layers were of burnt material with an ash layer just above them in several cases. In two places just above the ash layer was a thick layer of broken bones. These layers were all approximately parallel and between them was the light earth previously mentioned. No human bones whatever were found in this mound, but all sorts of animal bones occurred in profusion.

Cache Pits:—The next work done was the clearing out of three caches which were marked by three small sunken places rather close together, Works 4, 5, and 6 (marked *o* on Map IV, and shown in more detail in Plate XXXI.) One of these, Work 6, proved of very little interest. It went down to a depth of five feet nine inches where a hard, undisturbed clay was encountered. The pit itself was filled with soft earth containing small bits of bone, stone and pottery. In the hard clay bottom were several small pockets, one of which contained a ball of black clay evidently the sort used for making pottery.

Work 4 was more interesting. At a depth of three feet, two large pockets filled with ashes, charcoal and earth mixed, were found branching off from the main pit which was lined with a

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172 light yellow clay. From this excavation came many bones and stones, a good deal of chipped flint and some large pottery fragments and broken implements, and a fragment of a catlinite pipe. The two large pockets were excavated and finally resolved themselves into two pits, giving a series of three pits, each joined with the other. The general depth of the three was about six feet. In these pits there were many boulders and much ashes and burnt grass. Work 5 was another pit of the same sort, and it, too, had a connecting passage with a side pit, somewhat shallower than the main one. These two pits resembled the others in every way except that they were slightly smaller. In this Work, however, there was found a number of rather important articles. Among these were some excellently made awls of bone, some well-made flint implements, a number of large pieces of pottery many of which fitted together, and the best piece of worked bone found during the exploration. This is a highly polished implement with a crane's head carved on one end (Fig. 11).

House Sites:—The next work (Work 7) was the partial excavation of one of the large circular depressions, (Map IV, *p*) presumably house sites. A trench was made across the hollow, a little to one side of the center. From the middle of this trench the excavation was carried in towards the center of the circle, as shown in Plate XXXI. The original trench went down to a depth of about two feet where a solid clay hardpan was struck. A few ash layers crossed the trench, and in two places posts and a series of small sticks were found. The excavation toward the center uncovered a large bed of white ashes, under which was a bed of red ashes. At about the center of the circle was a mass of rounded stones. One of these, almost a perfect oval, was about one foot long by seven inches in diameter, and had been pecked into shape. It is possible that this was one of the stones used in shaping pottery. The average depth of the clay hardpan was about two feet, over the area excavated. A number of smaller separated ash layers were noted a little beyond the center, and still further on, near the other side, was a depression which proved to be a cache or pit. This was cleared out and showed the

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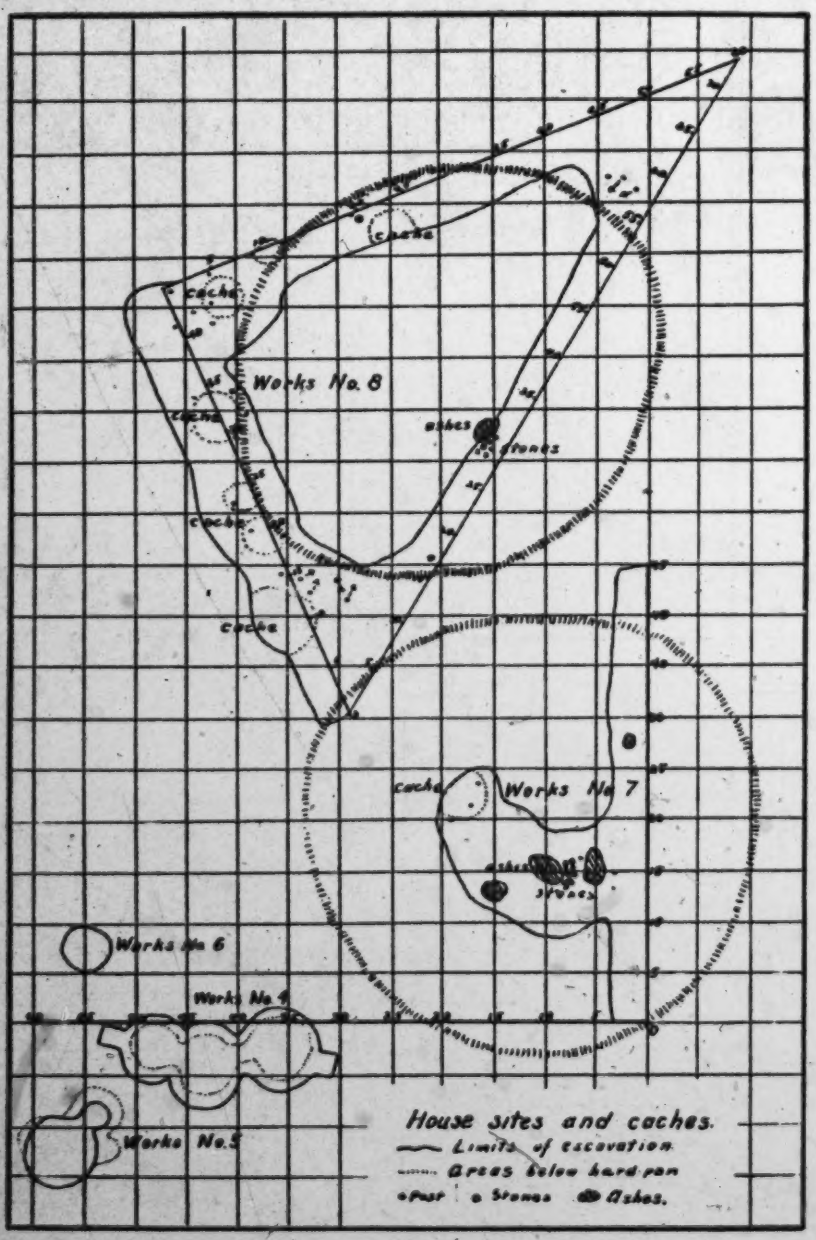

HOUSE SITES AND CACHES.

[Facing p. 158]

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usual bottle-like shape. The remnants of posts of considerable size were found, and their location is noted on Plate XXXI. The pit contained a good deal of broken pottery, worked stone and bone, and the remains of corn, beans and squash seeds. The best piece of pottery was found here. It was in fragments, which formed, when put together, about one quarter of a large pot (Plate XXXVII, fig. *b*).

The next work (Work 8) was the partial excavation of another and better-marked house site, shown in detail in Plate XXXI. A trench was first laid out along the outside bank on the west side for a distance of forty-five feet. This was divided into nine squares of five feet each from the south to the north. For the first seven feet a hardpan of clay was found at a depth of two feet. The next five feet contained a rather irregular pit which was filled with soft earth cut by several ash layers. One of these layers occurred at a depth of two feet, another at four feet and a third at six feet. The soft earth contained a great many animal bones, but very few that had been worked. This pit went down to a depth of seven feet, but showed nothing unusual either in its construction or contents. For some three feet beyond this the solid clay continued and then the base of a large post was found. Immediately beyond the post another pit occurred. This pit was shallow and contained nothing except a fairly thick layer of decayed grass. At the upper edge of this pit was another post, and immediately adjoining came another pit. This one was about four feet four inches deep and five feet across. It contained a large quantity of small bones and many large ones. Two ash layers cut this pit diagonally, one at about three feet down and another at four feet. Just above one of these ash layers was a layer of small broken bones. For the next four feet of the trench the clay hardpan continued, but over the first two feet of this clay was a layer of flat stones. After the clay section came another pit of larger size than the others. This pit contained the usual soft earth, through which ran two layers of burnt material containing charred seed, corn, beans, and squashes, mostly too much burnt to preserve, though the stem end of a squash was found in fairly good condition. The whole pit held considerable quantities of charred matter

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X172 and a few pieces of chipped stone, some burnt clay, and a few burnt bones. The depth of this pit was about six feet, five inches, and the diameter was nearly seven feet. Just above it, on hardpan level, the second piece of copper, a small flat fragment apparently cut from a larger one, was found. On the east side of this pit three large posts occurred. For the next five feet the clay continued unbroken. Then another post was found, and at five feet beyond this still another post was discovered.

From the end of this trench another was started at right angles running east, still along the ridge about the depression. In the first five feet of this trench were found four posts (Plate XXXI). On the inner side of the ridge here, almost in the depression, was found another pit. This had probably been filled up by the falling roof, for the contents had settled away from the sides leaving a large hollow space and showing well the bottle-like appearance of the pit itself. This pit went down to a depth of over eight feet, and was the most symmetrical one found. The contents consisted of earth with small bits of rubbish scattered through it, just such material as might have fallen into it from the roof and sides. At eighteen feet further on a post was found, and in the near neighborhood was another pit which presented no unusual features.

Another trench was dug, connecting the ends of the other two and running across near the center of the depression. No pits were found in this trench, but at about the fifteen-foot line was found the base of a large post, one foot in diameter, which was hewn square. At the thirty-foot line was found the remains of a fireplace. It was depressed below the clay hardpan and was surrounded by a wall of stones, which was rather irregular, perhaps due to later disturbances. The diameter was about six feet and the area within the stones was filled with a thick layer of ashes. Near the stones were found portions of two broken stone implements, one the half of a large maul, the other the half of a stone axe.

Besides the posts mentioned, a number of smaller ones were found, some lying diagonally in the ground (shown in Plate XXXI, with arrows pointing in the direction in which they lay)

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as if broken off. A number of small flat pieces of wood were found near the outer edge of the excavation, possibly pieces of the slabs, and through most of the earth removed small bits of sticks one half to one inch thick were scattered. These may have been part of the willow matting with which the roof was usually covered. The pits, in all cases but one, were solidly filled in and had a clay layer over them, and it is probable that they had been filled up before the house was built. Henry tells us that houses were constantly being torn down and built again in new places. The one pit which, when found, was not completely filled, probably existed at the same time as the house. Morgan[1] in his description of the house site mentions the existence of such caches within the house, and shows it in the diagram reproduced on page 107.

The dump heap along the bluff side was investigated at the points *r*, *s*, and *t*, as marked on Map IV. Excavations were made in four places and it was found that the deposit of rubbish and ashes went down to an average depth of about three and a half feet. Nothing unusual was found here, the finds being mostly broken pottery, and broken stone and bone implements.

After this a cross-section was made of the ditch in the deepest place at the point *u*, on Map IV. The original ditch was about nine feet deep with a flat bottom. The distance from side to side was about twenty feet. The depth from the bottom of the present ditch, at the center, to the original bottom was six feet. For about two feet above the bottom of the original ditch there was a layer of sand and just above this was a black layer about six inches thick which contained considerable charred matter. Above this layer was a considerable deposit of animal bones, mostly of buffalo. The remainder of the distance to the surface was filled in with ordinary earth containing occasional bits of broken bone and pottery.

A cross-section of the ridge on the inner side of the ditch was next made at the point *v*. The depth to the original surface was a trifle over three and a half feet, and the earth was full of refuse, but no trace of palisades was found here.

[1] L. H. Morgan: Stone and Bone Implements of the Arickarees, 21st Ann. Rep. of the Univ. of State of N. Y., on the State Cabinet of Nat. Hist.

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The last work was done on one of the low mounds beyond the outside ditch (Map IV, *l*). The height of this one was not over one foot at the center and its diameter was about thirty feet. A trench was run across the mound from south to north cutting it at the center. The earth of which the mound was constructed was soft and full of bone fragments below the sod. For the first ten feet of the trench this soft earth went down to a depth of from eight inches to one foot where the line of old sod was reached. Fifteen feet from the south end of the trench there was a pile of human bones indicating a burial according to the Mandan method. This was only about ten or twelve inches below the surface of the mound. The bones were in a compact bundle, several of them had ends broken off, and some of the small ones, as well as the skull, were missing. Under one corner of this skeleton was part of a child's skeleton, in very poor condition, the skull being in pieces, and many of the bones missing. Over the two skeletons there was a thin layer of brown material resembling decayed wood. In the earth about these human remains was a considerable amount of animal bones, and immediately below was a very large pit.

This pit was not of the usual shape. At its edge twelve feet from the beginning of the trench it was eight feet deep; under the skeleton the depth decreased to five feet three inches, and at the eighteen foot line it was four feet six inches deep. The trench was not excavated beyond this point, but from the angle of the slope the pit would seem to have been from fourteen to eighteen feet in diameter. The earth in the pit contained a large quantity of refuse, bones and bone implements and ashes. There was a distinct ash layer at about two feet below the surface. A large quantity of pottery fragments occurred in the pit and a number of large and very well-made pieces were found.

Two other low mounds (*m* and *n*) were investigated but nothing of any value was found in them.

Time prevented any further work on the site and much was left which should have been done. However, a fairly accurate idea was obtained of the whole site. Two of the larger mounds were excavated sufficiently to show their con-

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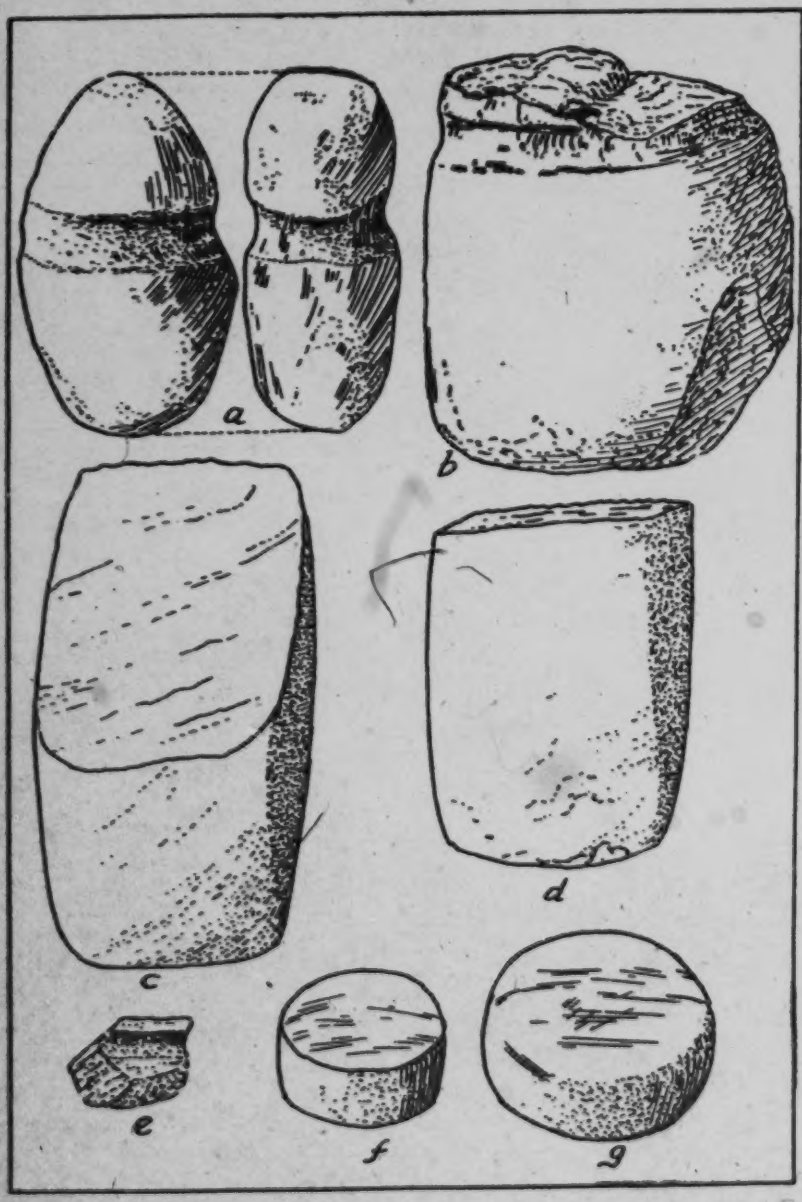

LARGE STONE OBJECTS. ½

[Facing p. 162]

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172 struction, and two of the large depressions were partly explored and established as house sites. A number of cache pits were cleared. The size of the ditch was ascertained and work was done on all the types of remains within the ditch. The smaller type of mound was also investigated, as well as the dump heap along the bluff. The only thing which was not located was the palisade described as on the outer side of the ditch.

172 324 412 STONE:—Stone was used by the inhabitants of this old village as material for many articles, large and small. The larger stone objects comprised hammers, axes, celts, discoidal mullers, and large elliptical chipped blades. The smaller specimens may be classed under knives, arrowheads and spearheads, scrapers, chippers, and decorated stones of uncertain use. Some of the implements probably had other uses than those suggested by this list.

Although few large stone pieces were found, the variety was considerable. Plate XXXII, fig. *b*, represents the lower portion of a heavy granite maul. It is in a crumbly state owing to the action of fire. The groove is narrow but well marked, and is without any protruding rim or flange. The striking surface is flat and somewhat elliptical in shape, measuring four inches in its longest diameter.

Plate XXXII, fig. *a*, shows a hammer of red quartzite. This implement, made from a stream-worn stone which did not require much shaping, is divided into two nearly equal parts by a well-made pecked groove. This hammer was found in a boulder layer on hardpan at the east end of Work 2.

One crudely made grooved axe was found, the material being a hard greenstone, probably diorite. The two edges were roughly chipped into shape and the wide, shallow groove about the middle was made by grinding or pecking.

Two axes, showing much finer workmanship, are without grooves, and belong to the class known as celts. These are shown in Plate XXXII, figs. *c* and *d*. They are made of pecked and polished diorite and are bilaterally symmetrical.

Four discoidal stones were unearthed. Two of these were in perfect condition and are shown in Plate XXXII, figs. *f* and *g*, the other two were broken. These discoidal stones are of granite

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X172 324 412 or quartzite, well shaped, and measuring from an inch to an inch and a half in thickness, and from an inch and a half to three inches in diameter. Most of the signs of grinding and wear are shown on the circumference. One shows discoloration on both of the faces. The use of these stones is problematical. They may have been used as mullers to grind paint, as the discoloration on one of them suggests, or they may have been used in some game. They resemble the Chungkee stone of the Southern tribes. In the Mandan game of Skohpe, stones described as "rings" were used.

X172 324 411 The large chipped blade forms were probably put to a variety of uses. Some may have been used for lanceheads and some for spikes to be inset in war clubs. The largest of these blades is shown in Plate XXXIII, fig. *e*. It measures about six inches in length and is made of a gray chert or fine grained argillite. Shorter blades of the same material are shown in Plate XXXIII, figs. *a*, *b*, *d*, *f*. These are all roughly chipped, and do not present much of a cutting edge. Figs. *g* to *k* illustrate various forms of other large blades.

X172 324 412 The characteristic forms of the smaller implements are shown in Plate XXXIV. The knives (Figs. *a*, *g* to *k*) show a variety of shapes. They average about three and a half inches in length and about five eights of an inch in width. Some are double pointed, and some are squared off at one end. Some are symmetrical in outline and others are not. The material commonly used is a fine grained gray quartzite, but sometimes specimens made from dark colored flints are met with. Many knives were found in the mounds and in the cache pits.

X172 324 411 It is impossible to draw any definite line between the different classes of small implements. Thus, what are termed spearheads may have been used for knives, and vice versa. Arrowheads differ from spearheads only in size, the former seldom being over one and a half inches in length. A fine leaf-shaped spearhead is shown in Plate XXXIV, fig. *d*. It is made of brownish flint. A wide-stemmed, elliptical one of the same material is shown in Fig. *r*, while Fig. *o* shows a perforator.

Arrowheads of most of the common shapes were found, although they were not very abundant. The material used

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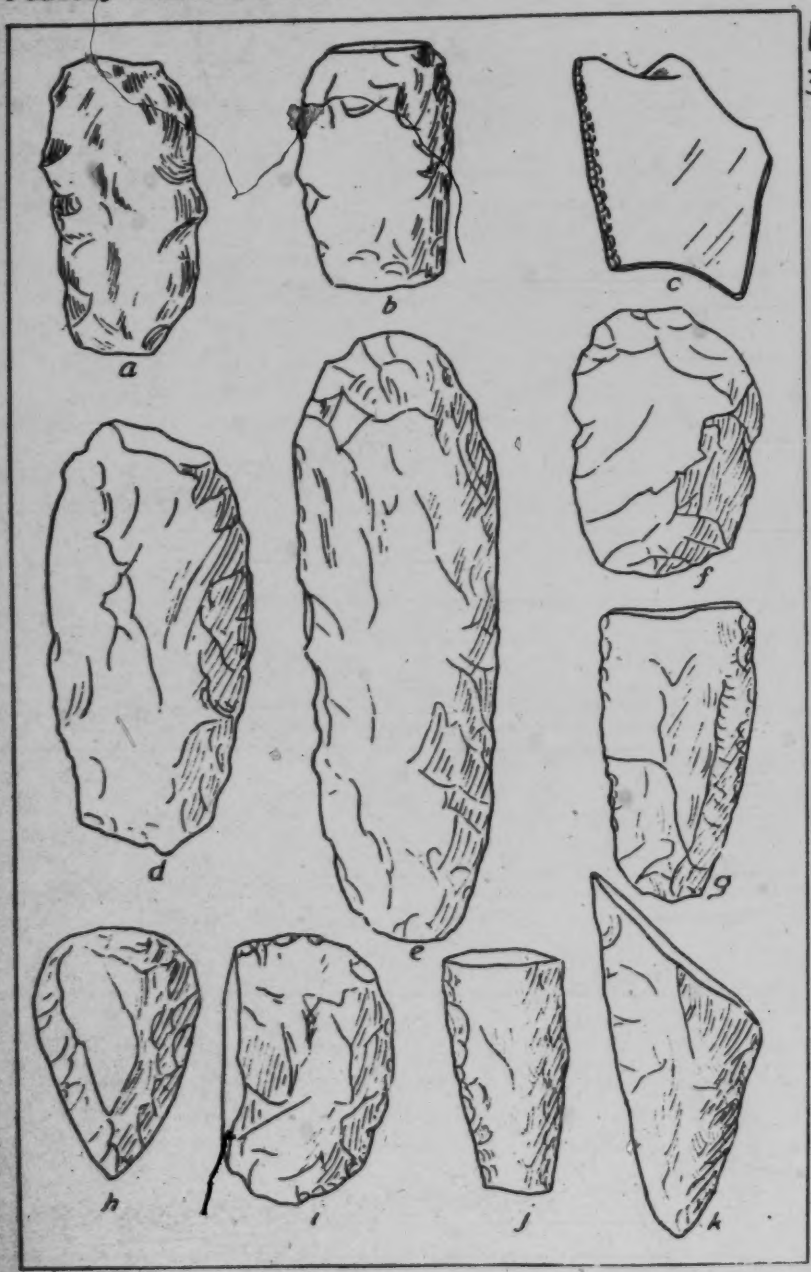

LARGE CHIPPED BLADES. ½

[P. 164 (A)]

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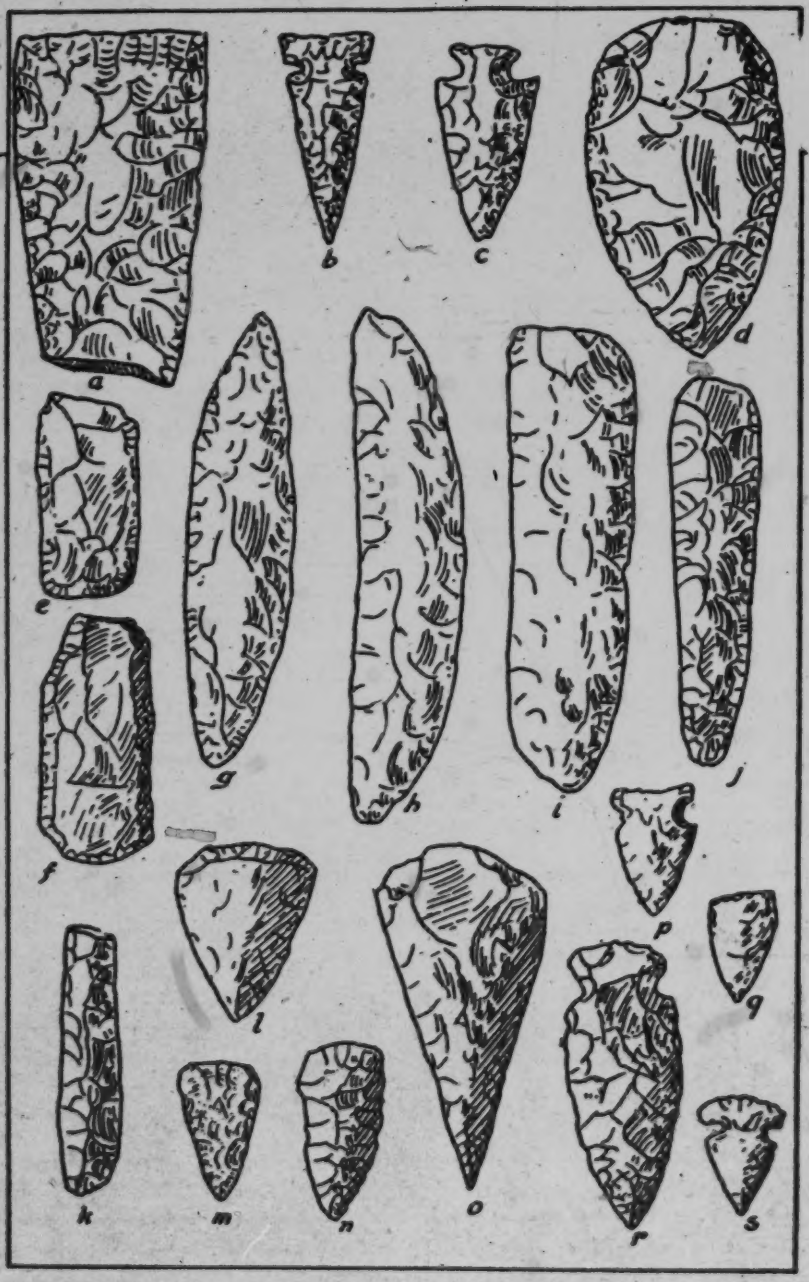

SMALL STONE OBJECTS: KNIVES, PERFORATORS, SCRAPERS, SPEARHEADS, AND ARROWHEADS. ⅓

[P. 164 (B)]

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X 172 for arrowheads was largely flint. A selection of the different
324 types is shown in Plate XXXIV, figs. *b*, *c*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *q* and *s*.

[411] Flint, chert, and quartzite scrapers were in great abundance.
Some were of the "turtle back" form (Plate XXXIV, fig. *l*), flat
X 172 on one side and convex on the other. Some were irregular flakes
324 with one chipped edge (Plate XXXIII, fig. *c*). Some were roughly
412 rectangular in shape (Plate XXXIV, figs. *e* and *f*), while others were leaf-shaped (Plate XXXIII, fig. *h*).

Flint chips were often found in layers and pockets. Near the bottom of the central cache pit in Work 5, an extensive layer of red and yellow flint chips was encountered. Double handfuls of flint and chert chips were found in various places in the mounds.

Pieces of pumice-stone were often met with in the different village sites. They were used, apparently, as whetstones to sharpen bone awls, and are sometimes deeply grooved as a result of such grinding. Other stones were also used for this purpose.

[171] Plate XXXII, fig. *e*, shows a rasp for smoothing arrowshafts. It is made of a coarse yellow sandstone. It is very similar to rasps found among the Omaha.

Pebbles showing at the ends an abraded surface were common objects in the mounds and cache pits. These were chipping stones and were used in working flint and chert. They were of various kinds of stone, red jasper, diorite, quartzite and sandstone being noted.

X 172 Water-worn boulders, seldom over six inches in diameter,
324 were common in all parts of the site. They were such as could be picked up on the prairie or buttes. Layers of boulders were found around the fireplaces in the two house sites explored. An extensive layer was found on hardpan in the eastern end of Work 2.

Some of these boulders gave evidence of having been broken. One showed signs of pecking. This one was oval in shape, and may have been used in shaping the bottoms of pots.

There still remains for consideration a class of ornamented stone objects of uncertain use. Three rectangular flat stones come under this head. All of these stones have diagonal cross

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markings on one side. The largest is shown in Fig. 4, *a*. It is about two inches in width by two and a half in length, and a quarter of an inch in thickness. One face is smooth, and the other is marked by double diagonal lines which pass through

FIG. 4. RECTANGULAR STONE OBJECTS. ¼

an indentation in the center. Each edge has three notches. Fig. 4, *b*, shows a similar stone object, smaller, and somewhat longer in proportion. It is made of catlinite. This has also three notches on each edge, but the diagonal lines are triple, though not so definite, nor so deeply incised. Fig. 4, *c*, shows a cruder stone object of the same general character as the two above described. The material is a yellow clay-stone. The stone is rudely shaped and marked. It has no notches on the edge. On one face is a diagonal marking, and on the other a series of lines, some of which cross a line running lengthwise of the stone.

The stones may have been used as counters in some sort of game. Somewhat similar articles of bone were found, one of which is shown in Plate XXXVI, fig. *r*.

A small piece of the tubular base of a pipe of catlinite was uncovered in the refuse, near the bottom of the central cache-pit in Work 5.

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Besides the worked stone and boulders, various mineral paints and colored earths were found. Lumps of fine yellow clay, which may well have been used for paint, were collected in the mounds. Small quantities of red paint were found in loose lumps and adhering to fragments of pottery. Pieces of mica-schist, deeply tinged with iron, may have been ground up into brown paint.

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Potter's clay was commonly met with in small quantities. It was almost black, and very fine grained. Sometimes the clay was found pure, and sometimes it had already been mixed with coarse sand, made by burning and pulverizing granite. 172x 323

SHELL:—The shell remains in this village site were scanty. No layers or heaps of shells were found in any of the excavations, and none were in evidence in the dump. Thus it is to be presumed that shell-fish were comparatively little used for food. A 172x 321

FIG. 5. SHELL OBJECTS. ½

few snail shells were found in the mounds, and a few shells of the fresh water mussel, or Unio, were found scattered widely among the refuse in the mounds, caches and house rings. Some of the latter were also found in a house ring at the Ward site.

The Unio shells furnished easily worked material for useful and ornamental objects, and it is somewhat strange that more of these were not found. Fig. 5, *a*, shows an implement made by pointing one end of a unio shell. An implement very similar to this is said[1] to have been used in smoothing and shaping pottery.

[1] Notes on Canadian Pottery by F. W. Waugh: 19th Archaeological Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario.

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X 172 321 In excavating the house site, Work 9, a disc-shaped shell gorget (Fig. 5, *c*), perforated in the center and incised around the rim with radiating lines, was found. A smaller piece of unio shell (Fig. 5, *e*), cut in the shape of a rectangle and polished, may have been used as an ornament. Only two shell beads were found. One was made from a Unio shell and was disc-shaped and about half an inch in diameter (Fig. *b*). The second was a pierced shell of the Oliva literata (Fig. *d*), This latter shell is an Atlantic seaboard variety, found south of Cape Hatteras. It was probably brought up the Mississippi in the course of trade, being commonly found in the mounds of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys.

X 172 COPPER:—Only two pieces of copper were found, one a bead about a half inch in length, and the other an irregular piece of sheet copper with a surface of less than a square inch.

X 172 321 412 BONE:—Bone implements were found in quantity, distributed through all the remains that were examined. The bone articles found may be grouped under two heads, utilitarian and ornamental. The first comprises hoes, edged implements, grainers, arrow-straighteners, scrapers, digging sticks, awls, needles and fish-hooks, besides other articles of uncertain use. The second group contains gorgets, beads, buckles, bracelets, and certain finely made bone objects, which may have had a ceremonial use.

Hoes, broken and entire, were often met with. For these the shoulder blade of the buffalo and elk was used, the spine being cut away and the lower edge of the blade trimmed. The socket end of the blade shows no signs of wear in any of the specimens. This may be because it was protected by the thongs which bound it to the handle.

Smaller implements, made from part of a buffalo horn, were found here and there. Most of these were polished by much use, the base of the horn being worn down to a cutting edge. Fig. 6 represents one which has acquired a high polish from use. One of these implements was found in the middle stage of manufacture; in it the horn is roughly trimmed, as with

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an axe, and part of the frontal bone of the skull is still attached to the base of the horn. These horn tools may have been used for scrapers, trowels, or for general purposes in the kitchen.

FIG. 6. IMPLEMENT OF BUFFALO HORN. ½

Several gouges or grainers were uncovered. They were made from the metapodial bones of the buffalo, and show good

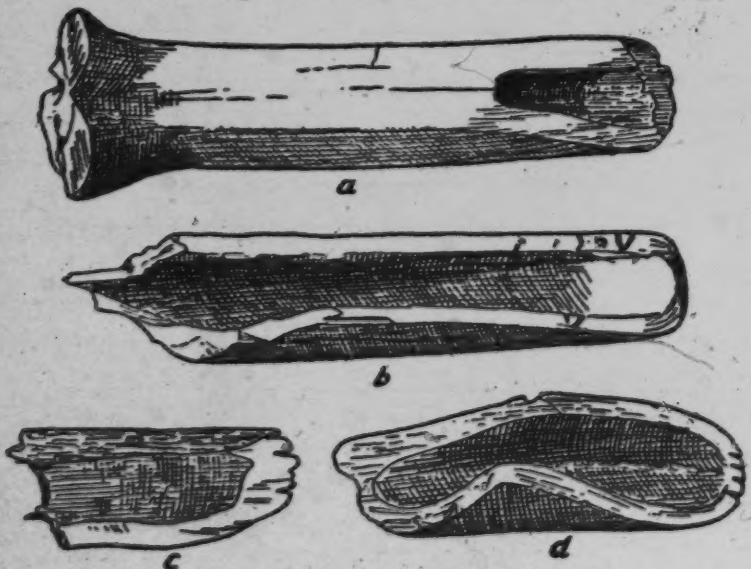

FIG. 7. GOUGES OR GRAINERS. ½

workmanship. Some of them (Fig. 7, *a* and *b*) have a smooth scraping edge, while others (Fig. 7, *c* and *d*) have a notched edge.

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The socket end of Fig. 7, *a*, the only perfect specimen, was probably covered with a pad, as the bone is rough, untrimmed, and shows no signs of wear. These gouge-like tools were probably used to scrape down skins in the process of graining.

So-called "arrow-straighteners" were found in considerable numbers in the mounds. These are of buffalo rib bones through which from one to three holes have been bored. The holes are sometimes almost round, but, more usually, are elongated along the axis of the bone. The bore is doubly funnel-shaped expanding toward both surfaces of the bone (Fig. 8). The use of these objects is problematical. It seems illogical to consider them

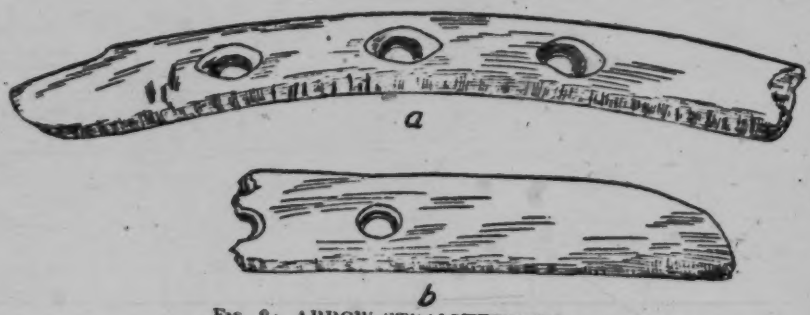

FIG. 8. ARROW-STRAIGHTENERS. ½

wrenches to straighten arrowshafts, because in this operation only one hole could be used at a time, and additional holes would only weaken the instrument. Since the holes in each piece are all the same size, they could not have been intended for arrowshafts of different sizes. However, beyond the possible use as arrow-straighteners, no use has been suggested for them.

Certain crude bone tools, worn on one or more edges, may be grouped as scrapers. Most of these are made of broken bones of the buffalo, in particular the shoulder blades and the larger leg bones. They evidently had only a temporary use.

"Digging sticks," as they have been called for want of a better name, were found in great numbers. These are made of the rib bones of the buffalo and elk, which have been worn off round at one or both ends (Plate XXXV, fig. *a*).

By far the most common of worked bone objects found, fall under the head of awls. These were found in all the exca-

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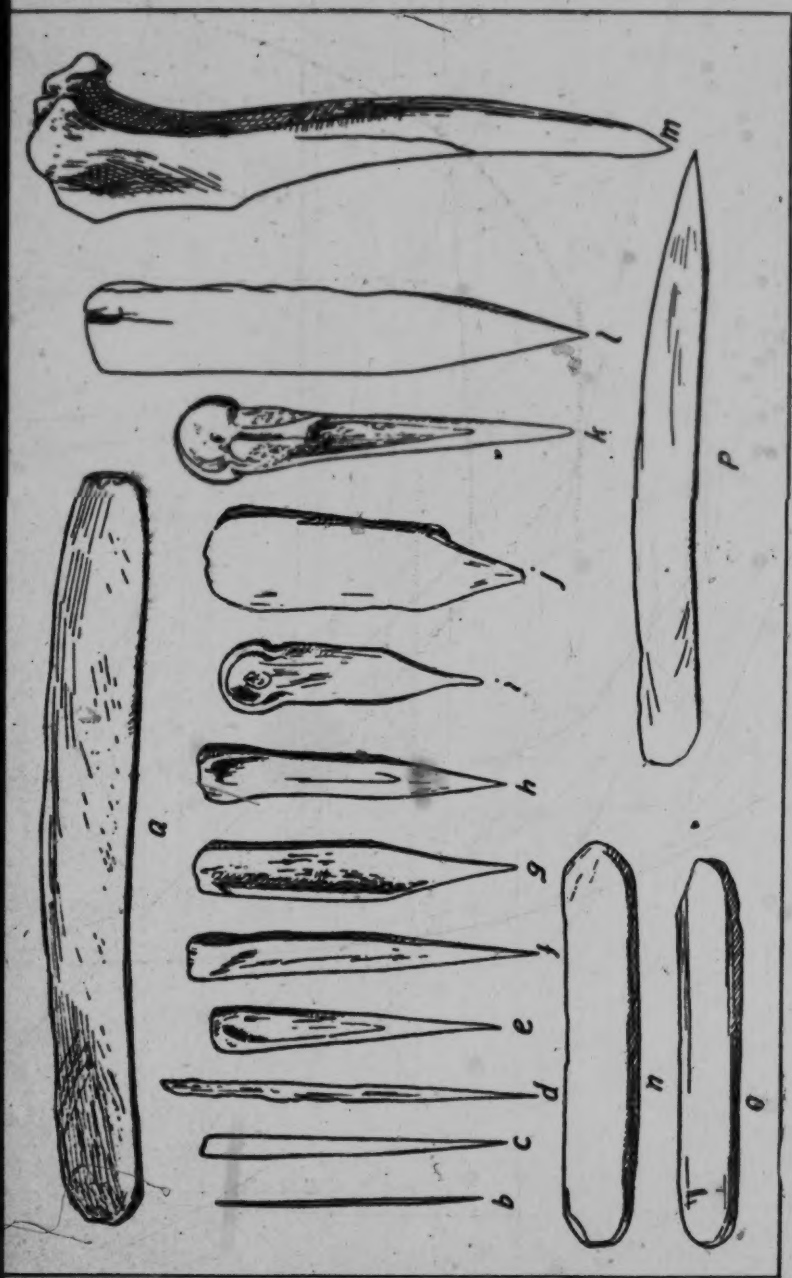

SMALL BONE IMPLEMENTS. 1

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172 vations and in all the village sites visited. They have a wide range in size and shape; a series of typical examples is given in 321 Plate XXXV. The needles are represented in this plate by Figs. *b*, *c*, 412 and *d*. The first of these is round and very sharp, the other two are flat pieces of slivered bird bone. The larger awls are made in various shapes from various bones. Figs. *e*, *f*, and *h* are of bird bones. Figs. *g*, *j*, *l*, *n*, *o* and *p* are made from rib bones of buffalo and deer. Figs. *i* and *k* are made from the metapodial bones of the deer. Besides the awls which are more or less regular in shape, many were found which were very irregular. These were evidently intended for a temporary use and were made of anything that came to hand. Fig. *m* represents one of these cruder implements. The awls were ground to a point on whet stones of pumice stone.

A paint brush similar to those used of late years was found. It is triangular in shape and is made from the interior portion of a large bone.

FIG. 9. OBJECT MADE FROM BUFFALO SHOULDER BLADE. ¼

Certain objects of doubtful use are made of the shoulder blades of large animals. Fig. 9 shows such an implement. It is thin, highly polished and has one edge sharpened. They may have been used for knives and scrapers.

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Plate XXXVI, figs. *s* and *t*, shows two bone fish-hooks which were unearthed. Figs. *u* and *v*, on the same plate, figure two pieces of worked bone which may be fish-hooks in the process of manufacture. 172X 321 227

Bone was made into a great number of ornamental objects. Of these, beads were the more numerous in the remains. Bone beads were usually made from the leg and wing bones of birds. Plate XXXVI, figs. *l* to *o*, are bones from which beads have been wholly or partially cut off. Plate XXXVI, figs. *a* to *k*, are beads of different sizes, ranging from an inch and a half to a quarter of an inch in length, and of varying diameters. 172X 321 301

"Bracelets" made from the rib bones of small animals are shown in Plate XXXVI, figs. *w* to *z*. These are usually grooved on one side and rounded on the other, and perforated at one end. While calling these bracelets it is difficult to understand just how they were used as such and they may have been simply pendants.

Plate XXXVI, fig. *r*, represents a bone object, with notches on the four sides much like the rectangular stones previously described. This object is flat on one side and curved on the other and has a high polish.

Plate XXXVI, figs. *p* and *q*, are fragments of buffalo shoulder blades which have perforations, their use being uncertain.

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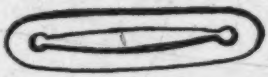

FIG. 10. A BONE BUCKLE. ½

Fig. 10 shows a curious piece of bone which probably served as a buckle. It is made of the outside portion of a buffalo rib.

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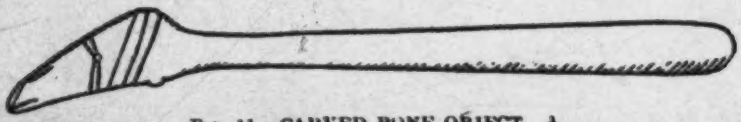

FIG. 11. CARVED BONE OBJECT. ½

The only piece of realistic art found is shown in Fig. 11. This bone is beautifully carved and polished. One end is incised to represent a crane's head, while the rest is rounded off to

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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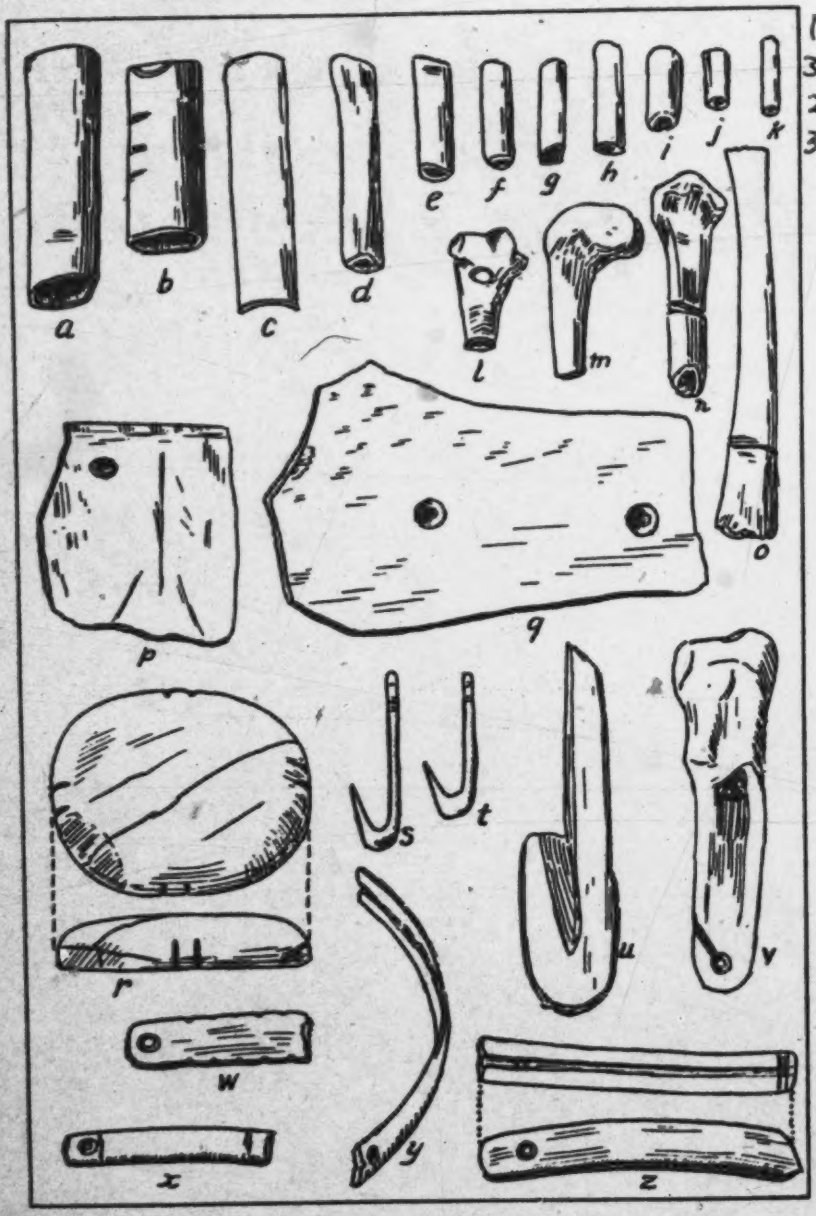

SMALL BONE OBJECTS. ¼

[Facing p. 172]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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X 172 321 form the handle. The only sign of wear is on the beak of the bird's head. The use of this object is uncertain, but it is possible that it was part of the paraphernalia of a medicine man.

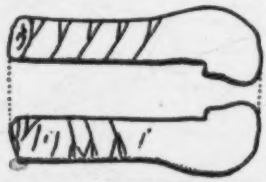

FIG. 12. BONE OBJECT WITH INCISED DECORATION. ½

Fig. 12 represents a portion of a well-made bone instrument which may have had a use similar to the above. This object is decorated with incised markings.

Several pieces of carved bones, representing various animal and bird heads, are reported to have been found in the various village sites, but no opportunity was given to inspect them.

X 172 323 171 POTTERY:—The pottery of the Mandans, judging by the fragments found at the different village sites, is one of the most interesting features of their culture. It is an excellent ware, thin, well-made, and with a characteristic development of form and ornament. The excellence of the pottery is the more remarkable when it is called to mind that the Mandans were at the northwestern limits of the pottery area. North of them, indeed, on the Mouse River, some crude pottery of uncertain origin is found. South of them, the Arikara and Omaha practised the ceramic art, being influenced in it by the pottery makers of the Mississippi valley. East of them, for several hundred miles, lived nomadic tribes who were apparently unacquainted with pottery, while the pottery of Wisconsin was too remote to exert an influence.

X 172 323 Mandan pottery is mentioned by almost all the early explorers, but no one gives an extended description of it, or a sufficiently detailed account of the method of manufacture. None of this pottery has been made for many years by the survivors of the tribe, but a knowledge of it can be gathered from a study of the fragments which have been preserved.

The pottery is, for the most part, a black ware, although sometimes it turned dull orange or red from firing. The un-

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baked clay, small quantities of which were found in the mounds is bluish black in color, fine grained, and tough. It was tempered with coarse sand made by burning and pulverizing granite bowlders. Occasionally, the pots seem to have been painted with red pigment on the inside, but the use of a clay size is extremely doubtful.

The method employed in making pottery is not disclosed very fully by the fragments. Still something can be added to Maximilian's account given on page 117 of this paper.

Comparatively few of the pottery fragments show much of this evidence of the method of manufacture. The pots appear to have been smoothed and often slightly polished with a stone or other implement. The surface of some of the potsherds is scratched as if a handful of dry grass had been used to smooth them.

The vessels had a considerable range in size and shape; the largest had a capacity of four or five gallons, while toy pots,

FIG. 13. TYPICAL SHAPES OF POTS.

two inches in diameter, were sometimes made. Fig. 13 illustrates some of the more common shapes, as reconstructed from fragments. There seems to have been no attempt to maintain a series of types. No two pots are exactly alike in form or ornament, and all intermediate shapes between the ones given are found. This variation did not lead to unusual or grotesque forms. Fig. 13, *d*, shows about the extreme of individual development. The bottoms of the pots were rounded, the

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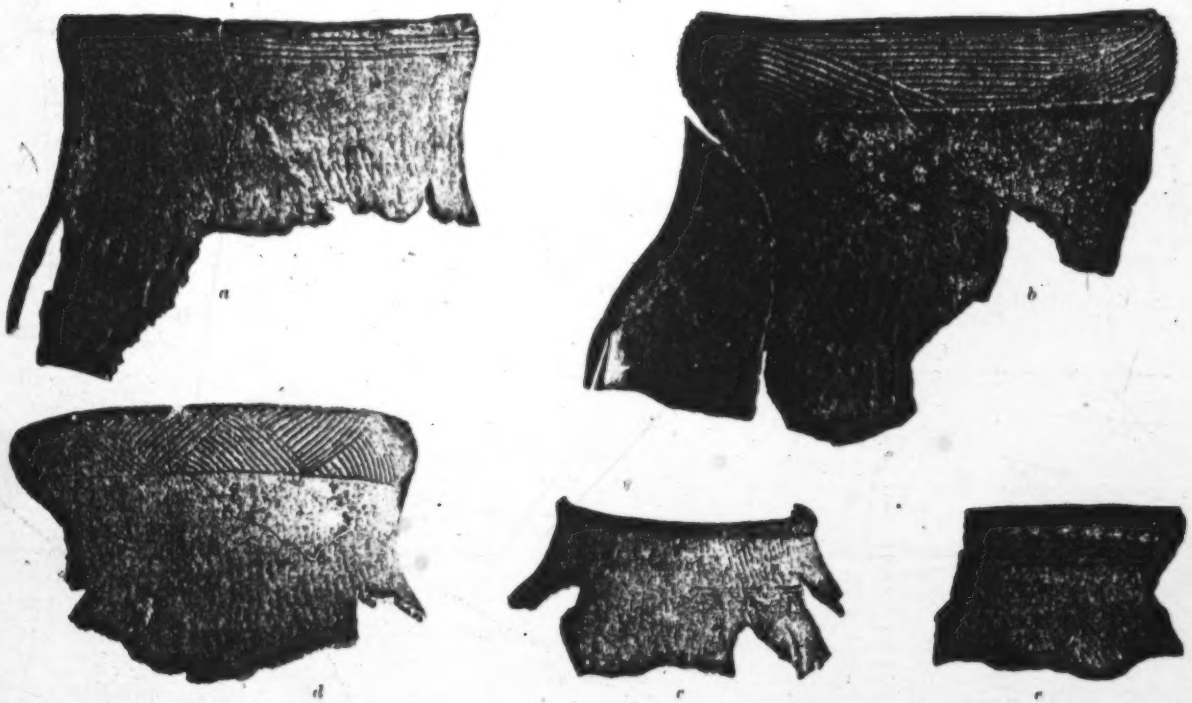

LARGE FRAGMENTS OF MANDAN POTS.

[P. 174 (A)]

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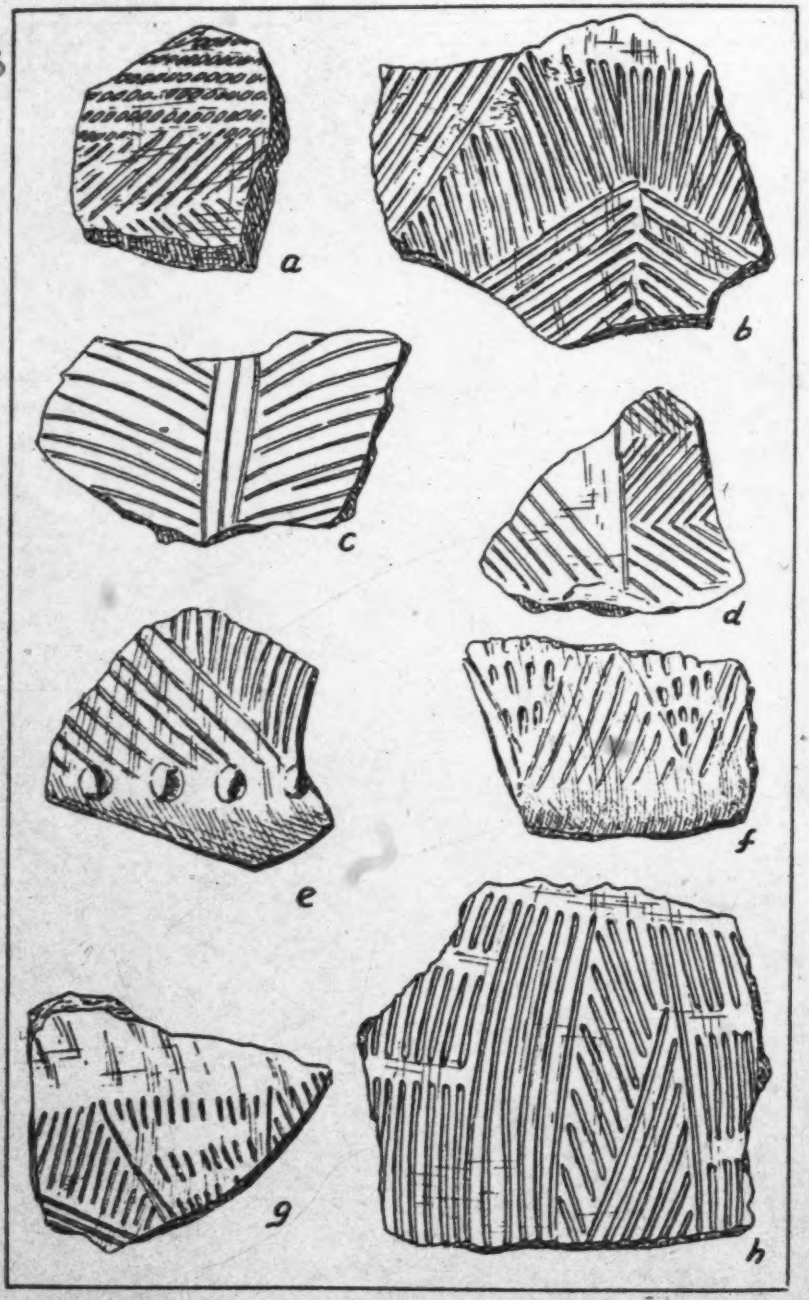

INCISED POTTERY FRAGMENTS.

[P. 174 (B)]

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mouths wide, and the short neck more or less constricted. The profile of the rim is characterized by a reverse curve. Often these profiles have very fine lines and present much diversity.

Fig. 13, *a*, shows the most common and crudest form of pots, such as were used for the coarsest work. Sometimes these rude pots were entirely undecorated, but usually they had three or four encirling cord marks around the rims or shoulders. Fig. 13, *b*, *c*, *d*, and *f*, present more finely shaped pots which show the short neck and the reverse curve profile. In Fig. 13, *h*, the form approaches that of a bottle. Fig. 13, *e*, shows a form of pot in which the neck is absent. The mouth is smaller than usual, in comparison with the largest diameter of the pot. Fig. 13, *g*, represents the bowl form, which was rather common. No pottery of the platter form was found, although it may have existed.

The ornamentation of Mandan pottery is interesting and characteristic. It may be roughly divided under two heads incised, and cord-marked. Incised design is neither so uniformly nor so characteristically developed as cord-mark design. In few cases can a unit of incised design be extracted. Cord-mark design is applied to the rim and to the neck of the pot, while incised design is applied almost entirely to the shoulder. For this reason incised design is usually found in combination with cord marking.

In incised design the incising consists of long and short lines such as could be made by a shell moulding tool like that shown in Fig. 5, *a*, or by some other pointed implement. These lines are often very evenly made, and seem to be comb markings. But examination shows that the lines are not exactly parallel as they would be if made by a toothed instrument (Plate XXXVIII, fig. *h*). The most common pattern of incised design is that in which the lines are arranged to form a zigzag around the shoulder of the pot. A fine example of this is seen in Fig. 16, and a freer use of the same pattern is shown in Plate XXXVII, fig. *e*. Often parallel lines are drawn, as a sort of cross-hatching, in irregular areas (Plate XXXVIII, figs. *b*, *g*, *h*). In the first of these, the suggestion of an elaborate design is destroyed by the evidence of other fragments from the same

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pot. The herring-bone pattern is found in several fragments (Plate XXXVIII, figs. *a*, *d*, and in text, Fig. 14). The pattern shown in Plate XXXVIII, fig. *c*, is one in which the circumference of the pot was divided into several sections by a series of vertical lines, and the areas thus formed were decorated by curved cross lines. Perhaps the most regular of incised line

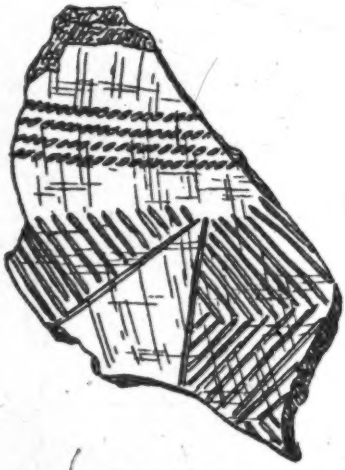

FIG. 14. INCISED POTTERY FRAGMENT SHOWING HERRING-BONE PATTERN.

patterns is that shown in Plate XXXVIII, fig. *f*. Here a band around the shoulder of the pot is divided into triangular areas by a zigzag line, then all the triangles pointing down are filled with short dashes, while the alternate ones, pointing up, are marked with oblique lines. Plate XXXVIII, fig. *g*, shows a less orderly form of the triangular area decorated with short lines. Figs. 14 and 15 show undecorated areas in the midst of decorated ones. In Fig. 15 the middle zone of the pot seems to have been divided into rectangles which were further divided by diagonals. The upper and lower quarters, thus made, were decorated by diagonal lines, the side areas remaining untouched. From the rest of the design, given on the fragment, it is evident that this idea was not carried out in an orderly fashion. Fig. 16 shows a fragment having a row of indentations round the body of the vessel.

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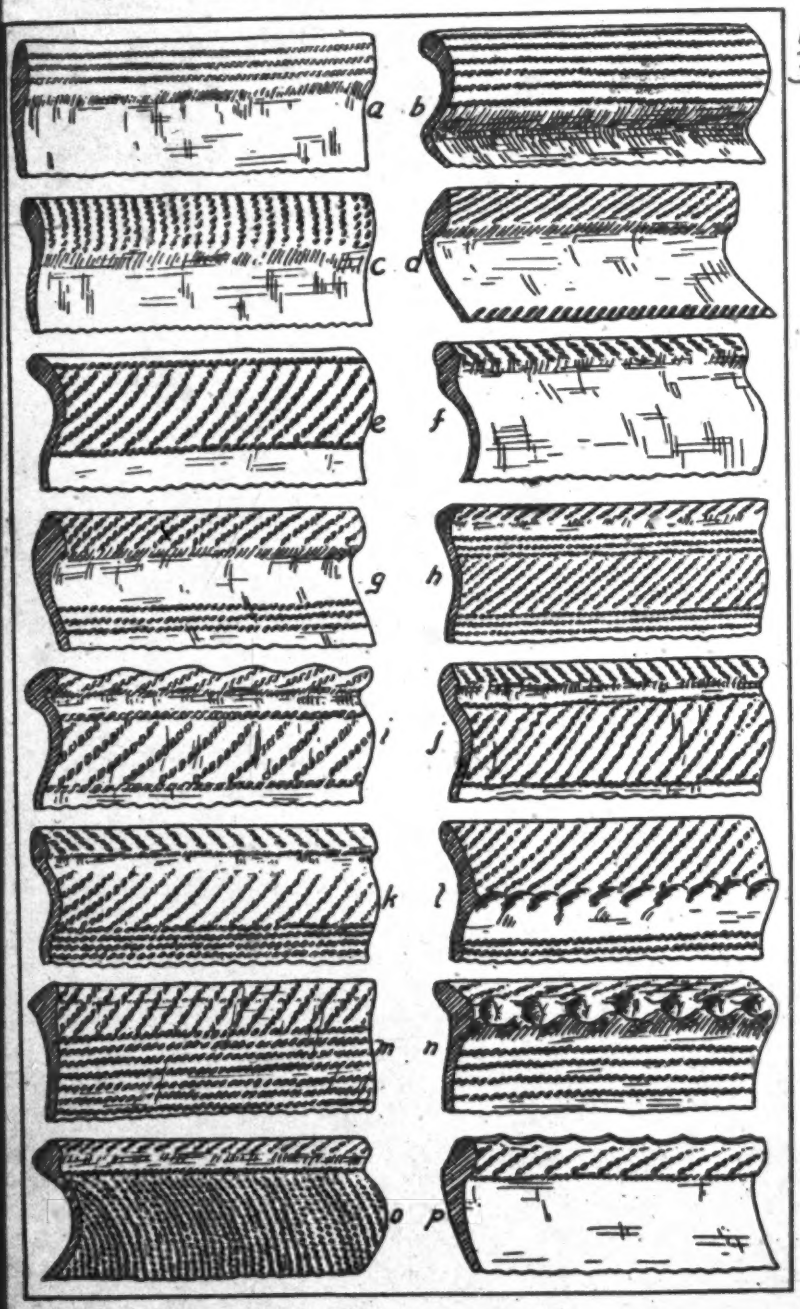

POTTERY ORNAMENTATION.

[P. 176 (A)]

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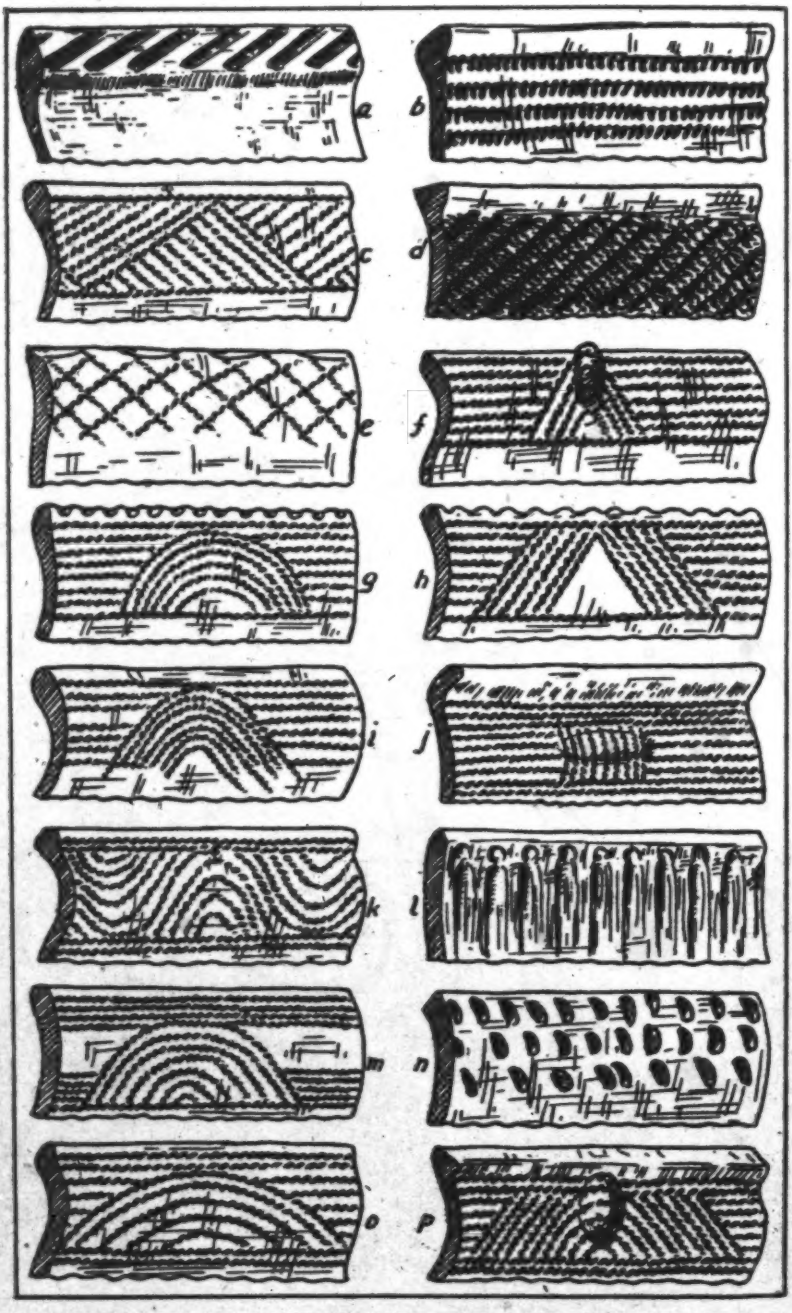

POTTERY ORNAMENTATION.

[P. 176 (B)]

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Thus it is seen, that while there is considerable variety in incised design, it is not developed in an orderly manner. It is put on freely and at haphazard.

Cord-mark design, on the other hand, shows much neatness, order and precision. It also shows amazing variety within certain

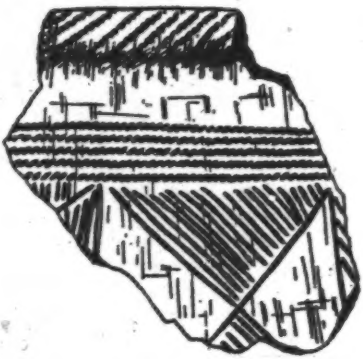

FIG. 15.

FIG. 16.

POTTERY FRAGMENTS SHOWING THE COMBINATION OF CORD MARKED AND INCISED DESIGN.

narrow limits. Rectilinear designs preponderate and curvilinear forms occur only in conjunction with them. Sinuous lines were not found, except in one pattern (Plate XL, fig. *k*) where the semicircular arcs reverse.

Plates XXXIX and XL show the principal variations of cord-marked patterns. The cord-marked designs extend in bands around the rim of the pot. The bands are made up either of simple encircling lines (Plate XXXIX, figs. *a* and *b*) or of short, diagonal lines, often bounded by the encircling lines. Some of these patterns show much neatness in covering up the ends of the diagonal lines by the horizontal lines, (Plate XXXIX, figs. *e*, *h*, *i*, etc.) All the combinations of direction of the diagonal lines are shown in the different potsherds. No two patterns are found to be exactly alike, the number of the cord marks varying greatly, as also the form of the profile to which the design is fitted. Some of the designs are very neatly put on, while others are carelessly done. The size of the cord marks vary,—some of the string was evidently very fine, while some was quite coarse.

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x 172 323 The designs in which triangles, rectangles and arcs are inserted are so arranged that these insertions come at regular points on the circumference. Usually there are four of these points (Plate XL, figs. *f, g, h, i, j, m, o, p*).

Besides the cord marks, the ornamentation is often enhanced by scalloping the rim as in Plate XXXIX, fig. *p*, or by rendering it wavy as in Plate XXXIX, fig. *i* and Plate XL, figs. *e, g, h*. Sometimes a sharp angle is decorated with indentations, as in Plate XXXIX, fig. *n*. Sometimes the underside of a band of cord markings is bounded by a series of finger impressions, as in Plate XXXIX, fig. *l*. Knobs are frequently used in the center of the triangular or arc-like insertions, as in Plate XL, figs. *f, j, p*.

In Plate XL, fig. *a*, is a design made by impressing a small stem into the soft clay in the same manner as the cord impressions were made. Plate XL, fig. *b*, shows a design apparently made by impressing a small stick wound with a skin thong. It may, however, have been made by a string of shell beads. Plate XL, fig. *l*, shows a rough pattern made by a series of small holes, directly under which is an imprint, perhaps that of the paddle stick used in toughening the clay. Plate XL, fig. *n*, is a crude ornamentation made by the prints of the the thumb nail.

Only one example of textile impression is found, that shown in Plate XL, fig. *d*. The piece of pottery which shows this was picked up near the town of Mandan. The fabric from the imprint, seems to have been made of cords which are woven around a series of heavy cords or withes.

As before mentioned, an oval stone, which was evidently pecked into shape, was found in one of the house sites. This was probably one of the kind on which the bottoms were moulded. The pot was apparently beaten with paddle sticks, of various kinds, to toughen the clay. Plate XLI reproduces several potsherds which show markings. Sometimes the fragments show crisscross markings, as if a paddle covered with matting were used (figs. *f, g, i, m, n* and *o*). Sometimes fine check markings (figs. *c, d* and *e*) suggest that an incised paddle was used. More frequently, however, the markings are such as to suggest the use of a small spatulate stick (figs. *h, j, k, l, p* and *q*). The

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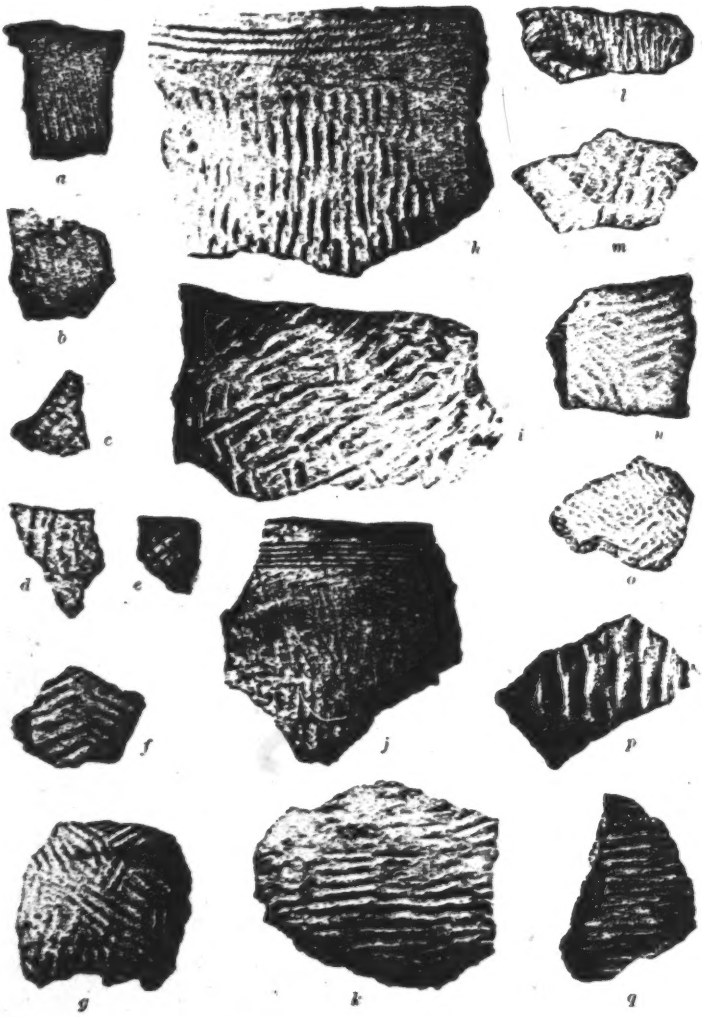

POTSHERDS SHOWING PADDLE AND OTHER MARKINGS.

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[P. 178 (A)]

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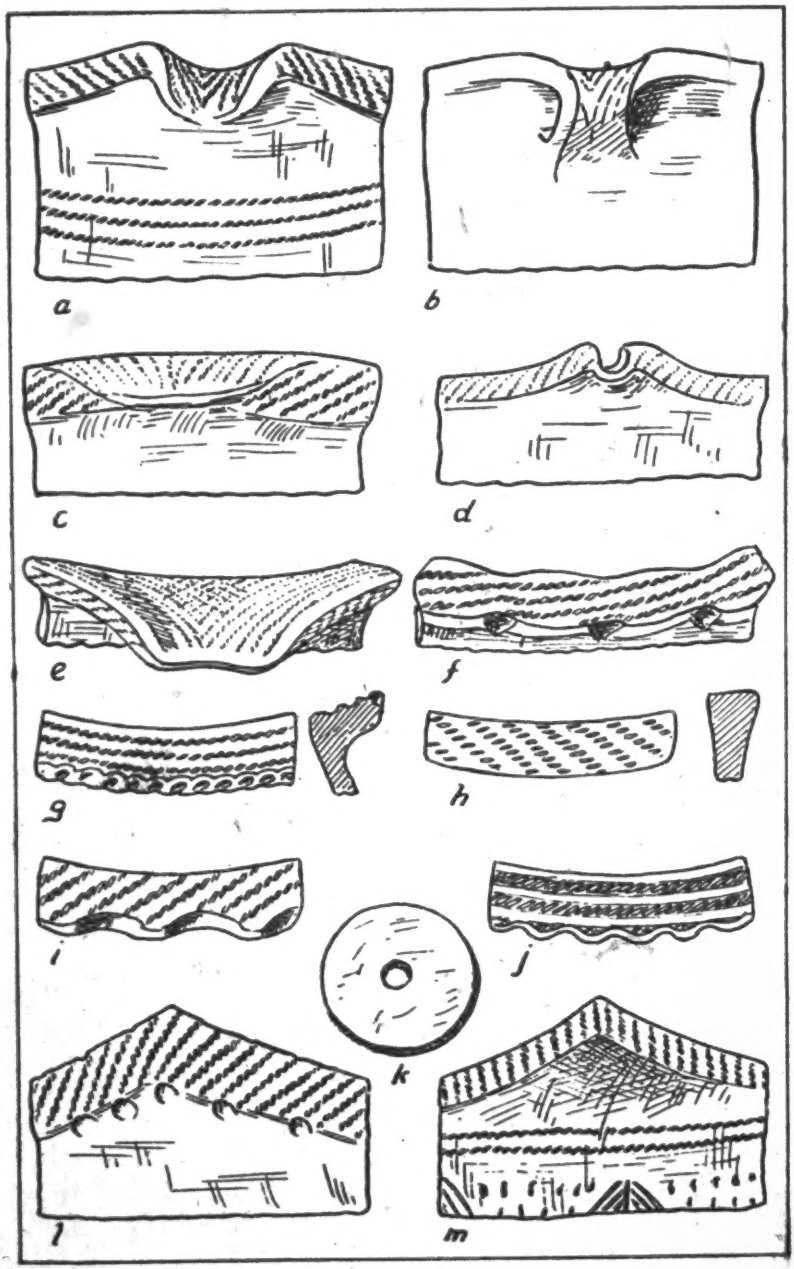

POTTERY RIMS AND POTTERY DISC.

[P. 178 (B)]

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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x 172 323 markings, when roughly parallel, are either horizontal or vertical. Usually the markings around the necks of the pots are vertical.

Sometimes the upper surface of the rim was impressed with cords or otherwise ornamented. Plate XLII, figs. *f* to *j*, gives representations of the different modes. Another kind of ornamentation, which was only slightly employed, was to form the edge of the pot into a series of broad serrations or crescent-shaped depressions. Apparently there were four or more cusps to the circumference. Examples of the cusps are shown in Plate XLII, figs. *l* and *m*. In this feature the Mandan pottery closely resembles the pottery around the Great Lakes. [171]

Many of the Mandan pots were provided with ears, lugs or spouts, the last evidently used to assist in pouring (Plate XLII, figs. *a* and *e*). A lug is shown in Plate XLII, fig. *b*. Sometimes the ear or lug may have been used only as a detail of ornamentation. Plate XLII, fig. *c*, gives a case in which the presence of the lug is disclosed by the cord marks. Plate XLII, fig. *d*, shows a peculiar spout-like opening which seems too small to have served any useful purpose.

Two or three fragments of pottery showing a perforation were found. The perforation was probably to enable some break to be mended.

No pipes made of pottery were found. The only other article of pottery, besides the potsherds, was the perforated disc shown in Plate XLII, fig. *k*. This object is about an inch in diameter.

x 172 241 VEGETABLE REMAINS: — The materials of vegetable origin in the excavations were nearly all charred and consequently many points about them cannot be considered. However, there are a number of interesting details which coincide as far as they go with historical information concerning the Mandan agriculture. The actual remains of vegetables found were those of corn, beans, squash or pumpkins. The seeds of sunflowers and small black seeds of a sort of pig-weed (*Chenopodium sp.*) were also found.

The corn remains were mostly of cobs, from which the grain had been cut off, leaving only an occasional kernel. One or two pieces of ears with the kernels and part of the husk intact

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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were found. The cobs were all charred and occurred in layers in the mounds and at times in the caches, being often mixed with the remains of burnt sunflower and other seeds. The cobs were seldom over six inches long and many were smaller. They seemed to be of two types, a long and thin cob, and a shorter, rather thick cob. The kernels themselves were also of two types; a small kernel, rather long, and a considerably larger one, almost round. All of the cobs showed regular rows, with the exception of the nubbins, which are very irregular in nearly every variety of corn. The number of rows on an ear varied somewhat, but no ear was found with any other numbers than eight, ten or twelve. The slim cobs usually had ten rows with occasionally eight. The thicker cobs always had twelve rows. The kernels were in too imperfect a state to permit of discovering whether they were flint, dent, or sweet corn. The cobs with the smaller kernels had very much the appearance of pop-corn. The ears seemed to be of fairly uniform length, and in this respect, as well as in their regularity of rows, differed noticeably from the later "Ree" or "Squaw" corn of the Indians in this region.

Beans were of rare occurrence in the excavation, usually being found mixed with the other burnt vegetables and often split in halves. No sign of the pods was found. The beans were very obviously of two sorts. The first was a rather long bean, averaging about one half an inch in length, and shaped much like the kidney bean. The second was a small bean, usually about one quarter of an inch in length and almost round, resembling very much the navy bean.

Charred sunflower seed and portions of the heads were found thickly in all the burnt layers. The seeds of these also can be divided into at least two sorts. The most common appeared to be a long seed, averaging from one half to five eighths of an inch in length, appearing much like that of the ordinary sunflower of civilized cultivation. The other type of seed was a shorter and thicker one, usually little over one quarter of an inch in length. The charred pieces of the heads were much broken up.

The squash or pumpkin seeds were the only ones not in a charred condition, and these usually occurred in small pockets

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probably where a handful had been thrown. One of the stem ends of a squash was found and showed by its shape that the vegetable had not been of the flat, summer squash variety. The seeds were of two or perhaps three sorts. First there was a long, narrow seed resembling some of the large gourd seeds. The other type was much thicker through, and apparently represented two varieties, judging from the difference in size. One of these was as long as the first mentioned, but as has been said, was thicker. The second, of the same shape, averaged very little over half as large. 172x 241

The small black seeds above referred to were found intermixed with the other vegetable remains in the layers. They had a hard shiny shell and thus even when not charred had lasted well. The charred ones, however, were in much the best state. Seeds of this genus of plants are eaten in South America, and are decidedly valuable for food, and, although there is no mention of their use as food by the Mandans, they may have been so used.

In addition to the vegetables themselves there were other finds of vegetable origin. Among these were objects of bark, wood and grass. The most notable of the bark finds were two large pieces of birch bark, found together in one of the pits. These have perforations where they had been sewed and probably formed a part of a basket or box. The birch is not found within one hundred miles or more of this region, and the bark receptacle must have come through trade with some more eastern nation. Other finds were three or four flat disc-like coils, about four to five inches in diameter, with a hole in the center. These were made of the very thin inner bark, probably of the cottonwood, in the shape of a mat and bound around the outside with another strand of the same bark. It is very likely that these are identical with the stands upon which the pots were set, as described by Henry. In one place a small quantity of bark flakes was found, and it is barely possible that these may be remnants of smoking materials of *Cornus*. 172x 285

The only article made of grass was a small charred piece of cord, although burnt grass occurred frequently in the black layers, and decayed grass or hay was found as a lining in the 172x 283

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X 172 283 pits. The cord mentioned consisted of three strands, each of six or seven prairie grass stems; these three strands were not braided, but twisted.

X 172 313 The remains of posts and sticks were often in such a condition that the wood could be identified. One of the largest posts found in the house site was of ash, but most of the large ones were clearly cut out of cottonwood. For the smaller posts, however, the diamond willow seems to have been most frequently used, and it is unquestionably the best wood. A few specimens of worked wood were found but none of great importance. There was a post, hewed square; a number of pieces of planks or slabs, fairly well cut; remnants of willow thatch from the roof; and a small piece of wood which had been whittled down with a blade of some sort.

The ashes showed the use of at least two sorts of fire wood, one giving a white ash and the other a red one. The red was probably diamond willow in most cases, as that is the only common wood in the region which leaves a reddish residue.

X 172 ANIMAL BONES:—Animal bones were numerous in all parts of the village site, not only in the form of implements, which have already been discussed, but also as refuse. Many of the bones were broken up into small fragments, but a number of whole ones were discovered and most of them have been identified. There were fish, bird and mammal bones belonging for the most part to the following species: Deer (*Cariacus virginianus*), Buffalo (*Bison americanus*), Elk (*Cervus canadensis*), Antelope (*Antilocapra americana*), Gray Wolf (*Canis lupus*), Coyote (*Canis latrans*), Raccoon (*Procyon lotor*), owl (*Strigidae sp.*), and Bald Eagle (*Haliaëtus leucocephalus*), besides bones of smaller birds, some that seemed to be from a crane but could not be accurately identified; bones of mice and gophers; some few fish bones, and quite a number of unio and small snail shells. It is a significant fact that no remains whatever of either horse or dog skeletons were found, thus apparently showing that the horse had not yet got to the Mandans when they lived on the Heart, and also corroborating Henry's statement that the Mandans at first had no dogs. [231]

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The bison bones predominated in the finds, parts of almost every portion of the skeleton being found. One whole skull was uncovered, besides a number of horns and a considerable quantity of teeth. Portions of the vertebral column were also taken out, including the long vertebrae of the hump; ribs, hoofs, and leg bones, the latter much broken, were present, as well as a number of the large scapulae which were used in making the hoes. 172 x

Of the deer not many bones were identified. There were, however, a number of antler tips, as well as teeth and broken portions of the jaw.

Two antelope skulls were found, one that of an adult, and the other that of a very young animal with horns just sprouting. Antelope teeth were also found as well as some portions of the smaller leg bones, a piece of the sternum, and one or two scapulae.

A number of the large front teeth of the elk or wapiti were found, but none of the valuable "tushes." Part of an elk horn as well as several tips came to light in the excavation.

Wolf remains occurred frequently, four whole skulls being found, as well as a number of leg and foot bones, and several of the last phalanges to which the claws were attached. Three of these skulls were broken in on one side, as if the animal had been knocked on the head with a club. Two cayote skulls were also found, as well as some of the leg bones. From one of these skulls the nose had been smoothly cut off.

Among the smaller animals, the teeth and jaws of a raccoon, gopher jaws, and several skulls of mice were found.

A large number of bird bones were not identified but some of the wing bones of a species of owl as well as the leg bones from a bald headed eagle were found. The bill of some sort of crane also came to light.

The fish bones were so fragmentary that the species were not accurately identified, but it is probable that most of them were from cat-fish.

BURIAL AND HUMAN REMAINS:—The human remains discovered during the excavation were few and unsatisfactory. Only one skull was found and but two adult skeletons were 172 x 764

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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764

secured, one in poor condition. Parts of a child's skeleton were found and broken bits of skulls occurred occasionally in mounds or pits. The two skeletons, besides being apparently of two different types, exemplified two very different methods of burial.

The first skeleton, which was complete, was found under the largest mound at the bottom of a small circular pit. The skeleton was in a flexed position, hands about the neck, and knees drawn up nearly to the chin. It lay on the right side and faced towards the southwest. No ornaments of any sort were found about the remains, but a bone hoe lay above and another just below them; a brown layer, below, possibly marked the remains of some sort of wrapping. This burial shows nothing whatever in common with that of the Mandans so far as accounts go; and it resembles that of the Arikara only in that it was placed underground, since the Arikara lined the grave with stone and buried many things of value with the dead, often placing more than one body in a grave which was partitioned into compartments.

The second burial differed in every detail from the first, but seemed to correspond to the Mandan custom. The bones had been collected into a bundle and buried without ceremony, and a child's remains in an irregular mass were found associated with the larger bundle of bones. The skull of the adult was missing. According to Catlin after the dead body had dried on the scaffold it was taken down, the head was kept in one of the shrines and the bones were buried in a bundle. The body of a child was tied to the scaffold of an adult, and it is probable that the bones were buried along with those of the older person. Hence this burial may be confidently identified as Mandan. A number of broken fragments of children's skulls were found among the other refuse of the mounds and pits, but none of the other bones of the skeleton were ever present, which corroborates Catlin's story of the separation of the skulls from the remainder of the body.

X172
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As has been said, the two skeletons found seemed to be of different types. The first one was that of a man about fifty years of age, whose height was 1594 cm. The skeleton was

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nearly perfect and showed no deformities or injuries. Measurements of the skeleton itself will be considered in connection with those of the second one. A table of skull measurements is given below, and, for comparison, measurements of three Mandan skulls given in the Army Medical Museum Report[1] are appended.

172 x
141

Skull of Skeleton 1.		Skulls from Army Medical Museum		
Cranial index	71.4	79.4	77.3	74.7
Height-length index	70.8	73.1	70.3	71.
Height-breadth index	90.9	88.4	91.9	97.8
Facial index (total)	89.2			
Facial index (upper)	58.4			
Gnathic index	91.5			
Orbital "	89.4			
Nasal "	47.1			
Palatal "	117.6			
Capacity	1265.	1450.	1370.	1440.

Figures on nine skulls given by Dr. Boas[2] averaged 80.6 for the cephalic index. On measurements of 156 persons of both the Mandan and Hidatsa tribes, an average cephalic index of 79.6 was obtained by him, but from the seriation of the measurements the tendency was marked towards longer heads, six individuals having an index of 70, six more of 71.

The second skeleton was that of a man about forty years old. The height was much greater than that of the first, being about 1738 cm. Some of the bones in this skeleton were broken and a few of the smaller ones were missing. The bones showed signs of severe rheumatic trouble.

[1] G. A. Otis: Check List of the U. S. Army Medical Museum, p. 73, 1878.
[2] Zeitschrift für Ethnology, vol. 27, p. 397.

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The more important figures for each skeleton are:—

Femur.

	No. 1.		No. 2.	
	Right	Left	Right	Left
Length	433	430	471	—
Oblique length	429	425	470	—
Diameter of head	46	46	49	48
Platymeric index	71.4	63.8	65.7	68.5
Transverse diameter of condyles	83	83	85	—
Angle of neck and shaft	118	118	122	122
Anterior posterior diameter at mid-shaft	27	26	29	29
Transverse diameter at mid-shaft	27	27	28	28

Tibia.

	Right	Left	Right	Left
Length	361	362	385	382
Diameter of condyles	76	76	80	82
Anterior posterior diameter at mid-shaft	31	30	39	38
Transverse diameter at mid-shaft	19	20	22	20
Index	62.9	66.6	56.4	52.8

Humerus.

Length	320	317	347	337
Diameter of head	46	46	50	50
Anterior posterior diameter at deltoid eminence	17	17	21	16
Transverse at same	21	21	21	21
Angle of neck and shaft	125	125	120	125
Index at deltoid eminence	80.9	—	100.	—
Torsion of humerus	133	122	115	121

Scapula.

Length	158	162	165	—
Breadth	108	105	110	—
Length at base of spine	124	127	129	—
Scapular index	81.2	82.6	85.2	—
Length of radius	245	244	271	—
Length of clavicle	150	155	157	—

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PELVIS.

Breadth	301	292	172 X
Height	217	216	141
Breadth between ischia tubera	164	143	
Between ischia spines	110	79	
Sub-pubic angle	77.5	43	
Diameter of true pelvis	154	125	
Conjugate diameter	117	100	
Pelvic index	75.9	80	
Oblique diameter	138	118	
Depth of symphysis	42	48	
Depth of pelvic cavity	102	109	

Although no comparative figures were available for anything except the skulls of the Mandans, all of the other Siouan tribes, whose measurements are given by Dr. Boas, show prevailingly a tall stature. On the other hand, the Arikara and Pawnee average much shorter. This marks the only well defined distinction which can here be made between the Arikara and the Mandans, as the cranial index of the former also shows a long-headed type, though probably not quite as long as the Mandan. An average of 174 Arikara individuals[1] gave a cephalic index of 81.5. Still another series of measurements gave 82.[2] The Army Medical Museum Report[3] gives on one Arikara skull, 75.8, and on four others the average was 82. None of the Arikara skulls run as low as 71 and 70, as did some of the Mandan.

Probably the second skeleton can safely be called Mandan. The first one, however, seems to be hard to place, for the method of burial was distinctly not Mandan, and the skeleton was of short stature.

[1] Boas: Op. cit., p. 289.
[2] Ibid., p. 307.
[3] G. A. Otis: Check List of the U. S. Army Medical Museum, p. 72.

SECTION III.

LANGUAGE.

197 The language of the Mandans is unquestionably of the Siouan stock, but does not appear to show very much closer affiliation with one than with another branch of that stock. The Hidatsa is perhaps nearest to the Mandan but even that differs materially both in vocabulary and grammatical construction. It has been said that the Winnebago resembles most closely the Mandan, but from a careful comparison with vocabularies containing over one hundred equivalents from some six or seven Siouan dialects it appears that this resemblance is not as great as that between the Winnebago and the Iowa.

197 The Mandans were excellent linguists and we are told by early travellers that they were accustomed to learn the lan-
191 guages of nearly all their neighbors, while very few of the other tribes ever learned Mandan. Such a condition was apt to bring about considerable change in the language, and very likely it did so. Maximilian was told by the old men that in their youth the Mandan and Hidatsa resembled each other much less than they did in 1834. The songs of the Okeepa and society dances were in an older language which no one but the medicine men and those whom they taught understood. And lastly at this time the Mandans in the two villages spoke different dialects. The ones on the south side of the river, who thus had more intercourse with the Hidatsa, spoke a dialect resembling that language more closely than did the dialect in the northern village. Words in the south village became shortened to resemble the more abrupt speech of the Hidatsa, and sound changes, notably that of *d* for *n*, crept in from the latter.

114 Information upon the Mandan language is exceedingly scarce and no very accurate or full grammatical sketch exists. Small vocabularies are found in many places, but these have

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never before been brought together. Those given by Catlin, Maximilian, Hayden, Morgan and Schoolcraft have been carefully gone over and a composite vocabulary (see following pages) of all the words has been compiled. Several other lists of words were examined and were found to contain only words taken from the above authorities. James Kipp who lived in the Mandan villages for a large part of his life furnished every one of the above mentioned persons with their material, and consequently all vocabularies of the Mandan language come through him. 114

Maximilian and Hayden both left short grammatical sketches, very incomplete, which have, nevertheless, been of considerable assistance in the preparation of this paper.

Mandan texts have been most difficult to obtain, there being only two small publications printed in that language. One is a translation of the Ten Commandments by the Rev. Charles L. Hall.[1] The other is a hymn book containing also the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, prepared by Mr. R. D. Hall, which has been of the greatest assistance in further grammatical study.

PHONETICS: — The question of phonetics in the Mandan is very uncertain. There is no full discussion of the subject and in taking down vocabularies little care seems to have been used to obtain the exact sound, each authority spelling the same word a little differently. Consequently an enumeration of the Mandan sounds can only be an approximation. 194

The vowels were *i*, *e*, *a*, *ŏ*, *o*, *u*, and perhaps *ü*. The *a* seems to be as *a* in "father." The *e* is used as *e* in "met" or as *ä* in German. No distinction can be made between the two as both are used in different vocabularies in the same word.

The *i* is long as in "machine;" *o* is long as in "note;" *ŏ* is short as in "not." A clear distinction between the two *o*'s cannot always be made however. The *u* is long as *oo* in "boot" or as the German *u* in "buch." The German *ü* occurs occasionally in Maximilian but in no other vocabularies.

The vowels seem often to be nasalized (koha^{n}te=corn) as in Dakota, though careless transcription has failed to note this.

[1] See Pilling: Bibliography of the Siouan Languages; Washington 1887, p. 31.

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194 The following consonants appear in Mandan:

	SURD.	SONANT.	SPIRANT.	NASAL
Velar	*q*	–	–	–
Gutteral	*k*	*g*	*x*	–
Alveolar	–	–	*tc*,	*n*
Dental	*t*	*d*, *r*	–	–
Interdental	–	*θ*	–	–
Labial	*p*	*b*	–	*m*
Lateral	*L*	–	–	–
Sibilant	–	–	*c*, *s*	–

Also *h* and *w*.

The *x* is a gutteral like *ch* in German "Bach."

The *w* is perhaps a bilabial, as we find the same word spelled *tewe* and *teve* in different vocabularies.

The *d* and *r* seem to be interchangeable. The *tc* occurs very seldom. Only one case of the lateral *L* is known and Maximilian alone gives it in the case of the word *taxxaL*=what.

The *c* is of very frequent occurrence, and the *k* and *x* sounds are also prominent. The *g* is rarely used and *j*, *l*, *f*, *y*, and *z*, so far as the vocabularies show, do not appear at all. The *m* and *w* sounds often seem to be interchanged. This recalls the Hidatsa where there are two series of three or four interchangeable sounds. Consonants are rarely doubled and are generally separated by vowels, making the language rather smooth.

Of accentuation little can be said as vocabularies either fail to give any accent or differ among themselves. It is probable, however, that the radical syllable usually keeps the main accent.

195 EUPHONIC CHANGES:—Euphonic changes are a prominent feature in many of the Siouan languages, and there is evidence of their occurrence in Mandan, although not with such frequency as in Dakota. In the suffixing of the tense sign certain changes of this sort occur and will be mentioned later. The negative also seems to carry with it alterations for the sake of euphony.

193 THE ROOT:—The root in Mandan seems to be usually monosyllabic and often of but two sounds, a consonant and a

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vowel as *he*, *hu*. But triliteral roots are also found ending in consonants, as *sek* and *xik*. 193

The Mandan is a polysynthetic language and the roots, fixed in a mass of prefixes and suffixes and often joined with other roots, are very difficult to isolate from the material available. Cases of duplication seem to be rare among the roots and no certain example of it can be cited.

Cases of changes in the root vowels are difficult to locate also, as there are only a few examples which seem fairly certain, such as that of *sek* to *sik*.

REDUPLICATION:—Reduplication occurs occasionally, but on the whole seems to play a rather unimportant part in the formation of the language. Probably most of the examples are onomatopoetic in their origin.

Such reduplication is found best in nouns as:—*karasisitka*=ants, *h'kaka*=star, *minihini*=a spring, *raskeke*=summer, *kaka*=raven, *ihika*=owl, *rakanande*=hail, *hokikaka*=crow.

Less frequent cases are seen in the verbs, of which the following are perhaps the best marked:—*katidirotoc*=to shake; *wakikinaruc*=to sing; *kikidacoc*=to laugh.

The use of reduplication to show iteration and frequency does not occur commonly and is probably best seen in the above examples of verbs.

INFLECTION OF THE NOUN:—Inflection for sex is unusual among American languages and its existence among the Mandans seems improbable, though Maximilian gives an example of something of the sort which he says was occasionally used, thus:—one man=*numank maxana*; one woman=*mihhe maxxana*.

As a usual thing different words are used to differentiate the sexes, or the word for female is added to the masculine. In the imperative there is a general distinction in endings, to a man one says: *isekta*=do thou; to a woman: *isekana*=do thou.

For the formation of the plural the suffix *kereze* or *kerre*, meaning many, was usually added to the noun; as *mana* (tree), *mana-kereze* (many trees=a forest). One case of a plural by reduplication is found in *mahna* (year), *manahna* (years). Hayden gives another plural, of which, however, the text shows

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193 no sign. It is formed thus: leaf=*apc*, leaves=*apic*, weed=*mahe*, weeds=*mahoc*. In some cases the plural suffix is omitted as in *ideta*=stars. Maximilian gives one case of a dual as: *ahde*=arm, *ahdenahta*=the two arms. Pluralizing in the verb seems to be effected purely by the use of plural pronominal forms.

It might be of interest to note the fact that the suffix *kerre*, many, is very similar to the adverb *kre*, several, used in the same way in Catawba.

There seems to have been no real inflection of the noun for case. But postpositions were used where necessary, and the position of the noun in the sentence marked its relation to the verb. The verb nearly always ends the sentence, the subject, if not incorporated in the verb, comes first and the object next. The pronominal incorporation in the verb usually served to distinguish subject and object.

It is possible that there is a sort of nominal possessive suffix *ki*, but this cannot be proved as the text does not give sufficient examples for comparison. Maximilian gives in his declension of the noun *numank* (man), an ending *ki*, which is joined to the noun and is supposed to be a sign of the instrumental. This is found occasionally as an ending in the text, and may be a postposition which has gradually become almost an appositional case ending.

Maximilian speaks rather hazily of an article and gives several examples, but this article, which is theoretically a suffix, seems very difficult to pick out, when the postpositions are removed. No trace of an article has been found in the text or vocabularies.

POSTPOSITIONS:—Postpositions are in common use but not very many of them can be definitely pointed out. The following are, however, certain: *ta*=from, *de*=of, *oh*=to, *askac*=near to, *pexti*=by, *kucta*=through, *rokta*=in, *untaha*=out of, *omakake*=upon.

They may be either joined to the word which they govern, or separate, but usually immediately follow it, as:—*mipextinaka*=sit by me. *Egypt maank untaha*=out of the land of Egypt.

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The postposition *ta* also occurs frequently as a verbal suffix, thus *huruc*=to come, and *huta*=come here. In the opposite sense we have *eta* added, which signifies motion in the opposite direction, as:—*Rouhptare eta wahuruc*=I come away from Rouhptare. 193

THE ADJECTIVE:—The Mandan adjective is found with a simple stem form and a longer form. It is possible that the longer form was at first a compound with the verb *kitoc*=to be, but it has been shortened to a simple *c* or to *ic*, *oc*, *uc*, or *ac*. The verbal meaning does not seem to be always in force with the longer form, but it is always permissable to use it verbally. Thus: *cih*=good, *macihc*=I am good, *nicihc*=you are good, *icihc*=he is good. It is used in the same way with the demonstrative as: *eßcihc*=that is good.

The adjective invariably follows the noun whether it has the long ending or not, and examples of the two forms occur side by side with no apparent differentiation of meaning, as:—*meniss cotte*=white horse, *menisswarut psihc*=black dog.

The plural is not as a usual thing indicated in adjectives, but when the longer form is used as a verb the same suffixes may be added for pluralization as are used with the noun.

There is a full system of adjective comparison in the Mandan, attained by the addition of certain adverbs to the end of the adjective. The two adverbs used are *opaxadehc*=more, and *mihkac*=most. So *cihc*=good, *cihopaxadehc*=better, *cihmihkac*=best. Both forms were sometimes added to a word merely for emphasis, as:—*passa"hekociiopaxadehmihkac* =the most beautiful river.

Other examples of adjective comparison are *cirukoc*=wise, *cirukeopaxadehc*=wiser, *cirukemihkac*=wisest; and *hu"c*= much, *hu"opaxadehc*=more, *hu"mihkac*=most.

The use of an adjective with two forms as here, recalls the same feature in Catawba; thus cold is in Mandan *cini* and *cinihac*; in Catawba *tchin* and *tchinhĕre*.

Color adjectives in the Mandan show nothing particularly distinctive and are nearly in accord with those of most of the other Siouan languages.

The adjectives in Mandan appear to be largely verbal in their

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193 character in that they may be regularly inflected with the pronoun.

802 193 NUMERALS:—The numeration in the Mandan appears to be formed on a decimal system, but there are points which seem to go against this. The Mandan numerals themselves show no traces of the quinary system on an ordinary observation, but when it is seen that a number of related dialects show signs of that method and that a little similarity can be traced between these systems and that of the Mandan, a doubt may arise as to whether the Mandan enumeration is purely decimal. It must be remembered, however, that the Catawba has a decimal system and that the Winnebago seems to have it.

The cardinal numbers are:—

1.	*maxana*	6.	*kihma*
2.	*nompah*	7.	*kuhpa*
3.	*nahmeni*	8.	*tettake*
4.	*tohpa*	9.	*maxpe*
5.	*kexu*	10.	*piraq* or *pidaks*

The cardinals from ten to twenty are formed by adding the word *ahga* or *ag* to the cardinal, as:—

11.	*ahga maxana*	16.	*ag kihma*
12.	*ahga nompah*	17.	*ag kuhpa*
13.	*ahga nahmeni*	18.	*ag tettake*
14.	*ahga tohpa*	19.	*ag maxpe*
15.	*ahga* or *ag kexu*		

The decades are formed by prefixing the cardinals to *piraq* (ten) or *ampiraq*

20.	*nompah piraq*	60.	*kihma ampiraq*
30.	*nahmeni ampiraq*	70.	*kuhpa ampiraq*
40.	*tohpe ampiraq*	80.	*tettake ampiraq*
50.	*kexu ampiraq*	90.	*maxpe ampiraq*

The intervening numbers are constructed thus, twenty one= *nompah pirake roh maxana*, twenty two=*nompah pirake roh nompah*, etc.

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According to Maximilian the same ending, *c*, found on the adjective so often, is also usually put at the end of the numerals, e.g. 30=*nahmeni ampirakoc*, 40=*tohpa ampirakoc*, etc. 802 193

For the number one hundred, the Mandan had a regular word, but judging from the text at hand this seems to have been corrupted later into the "big ten" of the Hidatsa and other Siouan languages. In 1834 the original Mandan for one hundred was *ehsuk maxana*. The Hidatsa is *pidaki'tia*.

The hundreds run regularly thus, 200=*ehsuk nompa*, 300=*ehsuk nahmeni*, etc. 101=*ehsuk maxana roh numpoc*, etc., 1000=*isukki kakohi*, 1001=*isukki kakohi roh maxana*, 1100=*isukki ahga maxanac*, 2000=*isukki kakohi numpoc*, 10000=*isukki kakohi pirakoc* (Maximilian).

The cardinal numerals are used like the adjectives and follow the words modified; thus, ten commandments=*toinksa pidaks*. The word for one half is *ihcanhe*.

The ordinal numbers are formed in about the same way that abstract nouns are formed from adjectives, that is the syllable *ko* is prefixed to the cardinal. In addition the numerals seem to add also the syllable *hank* except in the case of first, which moreover is not formed from the cardinal. According to Maximilian, the ordinals run as follows:—

first—*koonti*
second—*konumpehank*
third—*konahmenihank*
fourth—*kotohpahank*
thousandth—*kosukkikakohihank*

The syllable *hank* may be derived from *iohanke*, the word for end. The word for last is formed with the aid of the same prefix, *koihkahce*.

The numeral adverbs as once, twice, etc., are formed as follows; once=*xanahre maxanac*, twice=*xanahre numpoc*, etc.

THE ADVERB:—Of the adverb little need be said; the distinction between them and the postpositions on one side and the adjectives on the other is very difficult to make. In fact adverbs often appear as little more than modifying suffixes. The two adverbs used in comparison have been already 193

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193 mentioned and in addition a few more may be noted; as, *takbaktoc*=perhaps, *horakekusero*=day before yesterday; *tenhac* =afar off; *matxeomasta*=day after tomorrow; *askac*=near to, also used as a postposition; and *domapeha*=below.

CONJUNCTIONS:—The Mandan seems to show nothing noteworthy in the line of conjunctions, and so far only a few have been noted. Among these are *kani* or *qani*=and; *kaktek*=and; and *kacka*=for. Maximilian says that there was no word for "or," indefinite pronouns as *kotewektoc*=one or the other, being used.

THE PRONOUN:—The pronoun in Mandan is perhaps the most important part of the language. It is of the same type as those of other Siouan languages and closer relationship with other Siouan dialects is shown thus than in any other way. Pronouns of all the usual classes are found and separable and inseparable forms of the personal pronouns occur.

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS:—Of the demonstratives but little can be said. They are not fully worked out and cannot be so until more text is procured. Maximilian gives us two, however, which seem fairly certain; these are *ant*=this, and *cθ*=that, and their use is illustrated in the following sentences:—*eθ hackac*=that is great, *antcihc*=this is good. Besides these, there seems to be a trace of the Dakota *tona* and *de* as in the compound *demankahe*=(?), and *taadona*=these.

RELATIVE PRONOUNS:—Of the relative pronouns more is known. There is a fairly long list and the meaning of all is practically certain. The principal relatives are *tewe* or *teve*, who, *kotewe*, which, *ta*, what. These furnish the basis for other relatives as well as for the indefinite pronouns.

Directly based upon them are *teweoca*=whoever, and *taadocka*=whatever.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS:—The interrogative pronoun is also found, closely related to the relative. "What" or "how" is *taxaL*. "What person" is *iinkotewe* and "what thing" is *aankotewe*. "Whose" is the relative *teve*, as *teve ti otic?*=whose house is that? As can be seen these are based upon the relatives *ta* and *tewe*.

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INDEFINITE PRONOUNS:—The indefinite pronouns also bear a close resemblance to the relative from which they are likewise derived. The following are the known examples; *tanhe* or *tahonc* =other, *ikotui*=something, *matewe* or *watewe*=anything, *matewedocka*=anything whatever. Their use is seen in *mipextit matewe zopini tanhe wadakanixinistoc* thou shalt have no other gods before me. 193

PERSONAL PRONOUNS:—The Mandan personal pronoun seems to have two different forms. These two forms are the incorporated and the independent. Of the incorporated pronoun the subjective form is used as subject of a transitive verb; the objective form is used as object of a transitive and as subject of an intransitive verb. The independent pronoun is formed from the stem of the objective pronoun by means of a regular suffix.

Incorporated subject		Incorporated object	
Singular		Singular	
1	*wa*	1	*ma* or *mih*
2	*da* or *θa*	2	*ni* or *ih*
3	*i*	3	*i* or *ih*
Dual	*nunompca*		
Plural		Plural	
1	*nu*	1	*nu*
2	*niaθa*	2	*nia* or *niaθa*
3	*ia*	3	*ia* or *iaθa*

Attention should be called to the presence in the subjective series of the dual, which also occurs in the Dakota, but seldom in Hidatsa or Crow. The above forms probably vary somewhat in pronunciation as Maximilian gives slightly different versions. It is also probable that he confused the objective and subjective as the subjective forms given above from Hayden seem to agree better with the text than do his.

The independent forms are:—

I *miona*
thou *niona*
he *iona*
we *nuona*
you *niaona*
they *iaona*

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193 Maximilian gives a table of so called case inflections as follows:—

I	*mih*	thou	*ih*
of me	*mannan*	thine	*nita*
to me	*mo, rohdeta*	to thee	*nih*
from me	*roheta*	thee (obj.)	*nih*
me (obj.)	*wak*		

The *mih* and *ih* are clearly the incorporated objects, while *mannan* and *mo* though clearly connected with the pronominal stems are irregular, *roheta* and *rohdeta* seem to lack entirely the pronominal roots.

It is probable that the *mih* and *ma* or *wa* are to some extent interchangeable for the first person subject, although only *wa* occurs in such text as is at hand. Maximilian, however, gives one or two examples of its use, as in *mihnihrotke*, I will strike you. Also one with the intransitive verb as *mannan ihnkidicihc*, you are ashamed of me.

The first example above shows the use of the regular objective pronominal incorporation, as does also *wadakanixinixtoc*, thou shalt not make to thyself, in which *da* and *ni* stand respectively for subject and object. In the transitive verb the subjective pronoun invariably precedes the objective.

A table of the pronouns in transitive and intransitive verbs follows.

Subjective pronoun with transitive verb:—

wawarutohc I eat
wadarutohc you eat
ihwarutohc he eats
nunompcarutohc we two eat
wanurutohc we eat
niaθarutohc you eat
iarutohc they eat

Objective pronoun with intransitive verb:—

macihc I am good
nicihc you are good
i"cihc he is good
nucihc we are good
niacihc you are good
iacihc they are good

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POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS:—In the possessive pronoun two forms are also found, the independent and the prefixed. Both are formed from the objective incorporated pronoun. They are as follows:— 193

Independent	Prefixed
mita	*mi*
nita	*ni*
ita or *ta*	*i* or *iko*
nuta or *nuetta*	*nu*
niata	*nia*
iata	*ia* or *iona*

The independent forms always precede the word modified as do also the prefixed forms. An example of the latter follows:

minuha"ke my daughter	*minuha"koc* our daughter
ninuha"ke thy daughter	*nianuha"koc* your daughter
ikonuha"ke his daughter	*ionanuha"koc* their daughter

THE VERB:—The verb "to be" is *kihtoc* and is inflected as other verbs. It is used largely with the meaning of "to exist."

As has been said the adjective ending in *c* seems to take the place of a substantive verb and *kihtoc* is scarcely ever seen. "To be rich" is expressed thus — *wakahdahun*, great riches. "I am good" is merely *macihc*, *cihc* being the adjective good.

In questions likewise, the substantive verb is usually omitted as *teve tamenisketic*? = whose horses are those? and *teve ta otic*? = whose house is that?

It is noticeable that to the nouns also the *c* is suffixed when the substantive verb itself is omitted, and it is possible that this ending is a regular verbalizing ending which takes the place of the substantive verb throughout the language. Further investigation with additional text would be necessary to verify this however.

TENSE:—So far four tenses have been distinguished in the Mandan although it is very possible that there may be more. Those noted are, present, future, an aorist, and a tense of completed action.

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193 The present tense is the ordinary form of the verb and is shown in such words as, *wapusoc*, *rutoc*, *sakoc*, *kta"hoc*, and *rapanaruc*.

The future is formed regularly, but with a modification for verbs with stems ending in *t*. The sign of the future is *t* and it is usually placed immediately before the final *c* with its accompanying vowel, as *sektoc* from *sekoc* and *wapustoc* from *wapusoc*. When the verb stem ends in *t* however as in *rutoc*, a doubling of the *t* would fail to make an audible distinction and an *s* is placed before the *t* giving *rustoc*. In some cases euphony requires other changes which accompany the suffixing of the *t* as in *rapanaruc* to *rapanaktuc*, and *heric* to *herikitoc*. In this case, however, it seems possible that the added syllable may mark a different tense idea. One verb was found which did not have the future sign but which Hayden gave as a future. This too may have been a modified tense; the change as given from present to future occurs in the last syllable, *kapkoc* becoming *kapkekoc*. It is possible that this latter form should be *kapkektoc* which would coincide with the other examples.

What seems to be an aorist is translated at times by Hayden as "to be doing all the while" and at others as a perfect, making the distinction between the completed past and this, by translating the first as "I have done eating," the second as "I have eaten" clearly implying that the latter is hardly a real perfect.

The sign of this tense is the suffixing of *amaka* or *ama"ka* to the verb stem. This causes certain other minor changes in the the word for the sake of euphony. Examples of this appear in the following from *wahenduc* meaning "I drink."

	Present.	Aorist.
1.	*wahenduc*	*wahenamamakahoc*
2.	*θahenduc*	*θahendamakahoc*
3.	*i"henduc*	*i"hendamakahoc*
1.	*nuhenduc*	*nuhendamakahoc*
2.	*niahenduc*	*niahendamakahoc*
3.	*i"ahenduc*	*iahendamakahoc*

It is seen that the inflection is perfectly regular, the extra *ma* in the first person being the first personal pronoun, the

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first *wa* having become a part of the verb itself as in *wakahktoc*, *wasekoc* and similar examples. In addition to the suffix, a consonant is placed before the final syllable to prevent the occurrence of two vowels together. Indeed it almost appears as if the aorist is formed by adding *amankahoc* to the verbal stem. This holds true with the verbs *rutoc* and *kapusoc*, with the stems *rut* and *kapus*, giving *rutama"kahoc* and *kapusama"kahoc*. 193

The tense of completed action seems to be formed by adding *kexeruc* to the verbal stem, the pronoun being at the same time repeated, occurring once before and once immediately after the stem, as, *wadahenθakexerus*, thou hast done drinking, and *wawarutwakexeruc*, I have done eating; from *wahenduc*, to drink and *warutoc*, to eat. Particular attention is called to the position here of the pronominal forms *θa* and *wa* at the beginning of the word and their repetition near the middle. This peculiarity leaves the exact method of forming the tense somewhat doubtful, especially as there are but three or four examples discoverable. However the above gives at least an approximation of the method.

The infinitive in Mandan consists of the verb without the pronominal affixes, as *isekoc* and *warutoc*. The past participle seems to be hard to find. Maximilian gives one example, *kuhruc*, done, from *isekoc*, to do; in this case the participle appears to be formed from another stem. In two other cases the infinitive itself is used as the past participle.

There are two other distinguishable participles, a present and an aorist. The present seems to be little more than the verbal root thus, *ikha"* from *ikha"hoc*, and *ratxe* from *rataruc*.

The aorist participle seems to be the regular aorist form without the pronominal affixes. Examples are *isekama"kahoc* from *isekoc* and *warutama"kahoc* from *warutoc*.

MODE:—*Indicative*—This is the original form of the verb with the ordinary pronominal inflection. There are no peculiarities which require mention.

Subjunctive — There seems to be a sort of subjunctive in the Mandan the use of which cannot be pointed out accurately. It occurs often with the imperative in a command but is also

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193 found frequently in other forms. The sign of this mode is *hada* suffixed to the verb immediately after the root or after the pronoun if that follows the root. Not enough examples have been collected to discover the exact meaning of this form of the verb but the following will give some idea of its use.

huhadata may (it) come.
waxopinidahadazinistoc thou mayest not honor.
hedemahadata save me (let me be saved).
mahadata let me.

This last form gives *hada* as a verb in itself and seems to mark it as a sort of auxiliary.

Imperative — The Mandan imperative has two forms, one used to women, the other to men. The signs of the imperative are the suffixes *ta* and *na* joined to the verb root, at times with a vowel between for the sake of euphony. *Ta* is used in speaking to a man, *na* to a woman. It is likely that the first expresses a request, the latter a command.

From the verb *rutoc* are *ruta* and *rutana*. From the verb *ratahosh* are *rata* and *rahana*.

Maximilian gives one or two other forms also which tend to show a personal inflection: first person, *warusta*, second person, *warutenista*.

This shows the use of the first person *wa* and the second person objective *ni* with the imperative.

Voice:— On the question of voice practically nothing can be said. The text offers us no examples of passives nor do either Hayden or Maximilian mention anything of the sort.

Number:— As has been said the number in the verb is shown entirely by the incorporated pronoun; further than this no distinction is necessary and none exists. We have already seen that singular, dual, and plural pronominal forms are found and these are all incorporated into the verb.

Verbal Inflection with Pronominal Subject:— Examples of verbal inflection with the pronominal subject have occurred through all the previous discussion and need not be further illustrated.

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VERBAL INFLECTION WITH PRONOMINAL OBJECT:—Examples of the incorporation of the objective pronoun into the verb are frequent, a number have already been given in treating the pronouns on page 198 and a few more follow; *wanirotkec*, I strike you; *kieuknihedis*, he led thee; *numank iteruc*, the man kills him. 193

VERBAL INFLECTION WITH NOMINAL OBJECT:—This is merely the regular verbal inflection with an uninflected noun placed before it usually. Such are *koha"te warutoc* = I eat corn, *ptemde ihrotkec* = he hits the buffalo.

NOMINALIZING AFFIXES:—Owing to the lack of text, nominalizing affixes have been very difficult to isolate, and only three can be pointed out with certainty. Two of these are prefixes, one of which, known through Maximilian, was confirmed by the text; and there seem also to be signs of a suffix, but sufficient examples were not found to make sure.

The first prefix mentioned is *wao* or *wado* and seems to be akin to the Hidatsa *maadu*. Examples of this are seen in the following: *wadorute* = food, from *rutoc* = to eat; *waosinhe* = strength, from *sinhuc* = strong; *waotes* = death, from *tehuc* = to kill; *waoxik* = sin, from *xikoc* = bad.

The other prefix seems to make an abstract noun from the adjective. It is *ko*, and its use is shown in the following examples: *kocihc* = the good, from *çihc* = good; *koahxkereh* = the poor, from *ahxkereh* = poor; *kowakahde* = the rich, from *wakahde* = rich.

The apparent example of a suffix seems to indicate the nomen actoris. The only instance of its use is in *wanundexte*, thief, from *wanunduc* = to steal. The ending *xte* occurs elsewhere as an augmentative as in *mini*, water, *minixte*, the ocean, and seems related to the Hidatsa *ic'tia*, big, being used in much the same way.

THE NEGATIVE:—The negative "no" in Mandan is *megoc* and "yes" is *ho"*. These are clearly given in all the vocabularies. The formation of the negative verb, however, is nowhere discussed by previous writers. The sign of the negative seems to be *ni* suffixed to the verb immediately before the common

193 ending in *c* or the tense sign if it is present, and recalls the Dakota negative *cni*. In some cases, however, it seems to be modified by what appears to be reduplication, although this latter on a more extensive study of the verb might prove to perform an entirely different function. Certain sound shifts also occur occasionally as in previous examples of suffixing but do not change the verb noticeably. Examples of the negative *ni* alone are found in the following: *wadarutenihoc* = you do not eat, from *wadarutoc* = you eat; *wawakanixtoc* = I shall not have, from *wawakaxtoc* = I shall have; and *wawahenihoc* = I do not drink, from *wawahenduc* = I drink.

Examples of negatives which seem to show some sort of reduplication are as follows; *wadakanixinistoc* = thou shalt not have, from *wadakaxtoc* = thou shalt have; *waidasikinixinistoc* = thou shalt not make to thyself, from *waidasektoc* = thou shalt make; *waxopinidahadaxinistoc* = thou mayest not hold as sacred for thyself. In all these forms there is also a reflexive of some sort and it may be that the seeming reduplication is merely a reflexive form. Further text might clear up these points and bring to light in addition a reflexive, but at present it can only be said that *ni* is the negative sign but often appears with what seems to be a reduplication.

INTENSIVE PARTICLE:—The intensive particle "very" seems to be expressed by an adverb, *kucoc*. This seems to be used either before or after the modified word with no apparent distinction. In very bad, *xik kucoc*, it is found after the adjective; in *kuce cihc*, very good, it precedes the adjective. When the particle follows the adjective the ending of the latter seems usually to be dropped.

COMPOSITION:—*Derivation*—Among primitive languages 193 derivation is often easy to trace and this is true in the Mandan. 192 The ideas were at first simple and the vocabulary small. As the people developed in experience new names were required and instead of devising new words old ones were modified to fit. A good example of this is *watuc*, copper, from which came *watucseda*, brass, *watuc cotte*, silver, and other forms for metals.

Mana, wood or tree, gives *manasuk*, (*mana*, tree and *suk*,

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child), meaning bush, also *manaroxte*, forest. *Warade*, fire, gives *wararakce*, firebrand, and *warakapidihe*, flame. 193 192

Again from *po*, fish, comes the word for fin, *posi*, literally fish-feather. From the word *waci*, white men, comes the word for flour, *wacita*. *Mini*, water, also gives a number of derivatives among which are the words for flood, *minisukhedic*, and for bank, *miniwakaxta*. From *tohe*, blue comes *wiratohe*, green.

Compound nouns — There is no lack of compound nouns in the Mandan and their formation is the same as in English, the modifying word coming first.

From *ci*, foot, and *psih*, black, comes Blackfeet, *Cipsih*. *Poikinnih*, fish-hook, is a compound similar to the English one. Bird, *mandek*, with the word for young animals, *nixe*, gives egg, *mandenike*. The elm is called bow-wood, *manawaraerup*. For grandfather we get *tatecike*, old father.

The Mandan personal names, which always had a meaning, were often represented by very long compounds as were many of the society names. [551]

Composite verbs:—The compounding of one verbal stem with another is not a very common feature in the Mandan but can be plainly noticed in a number of examples. There are probably other cases which cannot be distinguished among the long verbal forms, as the separate stems are not known. Besides this doubling of verb stems there is also an incorporation of nouns into the verb in order to complete the meaning. 193

Actual double stems occur in the following examples; I shall come and sit down, *wahunawaxkanakoc*, *huruc*, to come, and *kanake*, to sit; I decoy, *wattaxahhuruc*, litterally, I call to come; I fast, *nahnkawawarutenexoc*, literally, sit I eat not; Maximilian gives "to shoot at," as *ohxatakerehuc*, and translates it, "he has gone away wounded;" to sleep is *hanaruc*, to fall asleep, *wahonaedukscituc*.

Examples of compounding with nouns are: to smoke, *monacrinduc*, tobacco to smoke; to scrape, *unkaheric*, fingers to rub; to swim, *miniputxuhuc*, water to push.

In the foregoing an attempt has been made to present a sketch of the grammatical construction of the Mandan language 000

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000 by gathering together all published materials and adding a number of points gained from a study of texts and vocabularies. Many features however remain to be cleared up and with further text material a great deal might be added to our knowledge of the language.

A few tables of comparison with other Siouan dialects are appended in order to give some idea of the position which Mandan occupies within the stock.

I. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS.

	Mandan	Hidatsa	Crow	Dakota	Iowa	Catawba
I	miona	miki	bi	miye	mese	diyi
thou	niona	diki	di	niye	dese	yiye
he	iona	iki	i	iye	aese	owa
we	nuona	midoki	birud	unkiye-pi	hese	hiha
you	niaona	didoki	dirud	niye-pi	dewe	wiwa
they	iaona	hidoki	irud	iye-pi	aese	owa

II. SUBJECTIVE INCORPORATED PRONOUNS.

	Mandan	Hidatsa	Crow	Dakota	Iowa	Omaha	Winnebago	Catawba
I	wa-	ma-	b-	wa-	ha-	wi-	ne-	di- de- or mi-
thou	θa or da-	da-	d-	ya-	ra-	thi-	neninenu	yi- or ye-
he	i-	—	i-	—	ae-	e-	e-	owa- or oa-
we (dual)	nunompca-	—	—	uⁿ	—	—	—	napri
we	nu-	ma-	bu-	un-pi	he-	ungu-	newankerina-	hi- or ha-
you	niaθa-	da-	du-	ya-pi	de	thi-	—	wi-
they	ia-	—	i-	-pi	ae-	e-	—	oa-

III. CONJUGATION OF TO EAT.

	Mandan	Hidatsa	Crow	Dakota	Winnebago
Root	rut	dut	duc	yut	rut
I eat	wawarutoc	muti (ts)	babuce	mata	wahatcona
thou eatest	θawarutoc	duti (ts)	baduce	yata	warątcona
he eats	ihwarutoc	duti (ts)	ibaduce	yuta	ewarutcona
we eat	nuwarutoc	muti (ts)	———	uⁿtapi	hewarutcuwinu
you eat	niawarutoc	duti (ts)	———	yatapi	anatcwaratciwize
they eat	iawarutoc	duti (ts)	———	yutapi	anatcwaratcide

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IV. POSSESSIVE PREFIXED FORMS.

	Mandan	Hidatsa	Crow	Dakota	Iowa	Winnebago	Catawba
my	mi-	ma-	ba-	mi- or ma-	he-	nianinu	di-
thy	ni-	di-	da-	ni-	de-	zeku	yi-
his	i- or iko-	i-	i-	—	e-	—	oa-
ours	nu-	ma-	—	u^n-pi	he-	nianiwida	dowa-
yours	nia-	di-	—	ni-pi	de-	acinina	—
theirs	iona-	i-	—	—	e-	ianideda	owa-

V. NUMERALS.

	Mandan	Hidatsa	Crow	Dakota	Omaha	Winnebago	Osage	Catawba
one—	maxana	duetsa	hamat	wantca	wi	izakida	minehi	dube
two—	nompah	dopa	nop	nonpa	wamba	nomp	nomba	no^nprere
three—	nameni	dami	nam	yamni	thabathi	tan	laubena	nomnere
four—	tohpa	topa	cop	topa	duba	cop	toba	porprere
five—	kexu	kihu	tsixop	zaptan	satan	satc	satta	poktrere
six—	kima	akama	akamak	cakpe	cape	akewe	cappa	dipkrare
seven—	kuhpa	sapua	xapua	cakowi^n	penamba	shagowe	panomba	wassignurere
eight—	tettaka	dopapi	nopape	caxdogan	pethabathi	haniwunk	kelauban	dowesare
nine—	maxpe	duetsapi	amatape	napci^{n}wanka	canka	hizakicanskani	canka	wantcharere
ten—	piraq	pitiki	piraka	wikcemma	y'ethka	kerapunaze	crabra	pitchinere
eleven—	ahga maxana	ahpiduetsa	piraka mata	ake wantca	'ay'thwi	izukida cina	augre minehi	pitchin napere hasare

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VOCABULARY.

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This vocabulary has been compiled from those taken down by Catlin, Maximilian, Hayden, Morgan and Schoolcraft. All the different words were gathered together, and were then transliterated into a uniform, phonetic spelling, corresponding with the alphabet used in the grammatical sketch. Where different forms were given for the same word, the form adopted has been that most in accordance with the phonetic character of the language. This has usually resulted in an agreement with the forms as given by Maximilian.

A.

abode — iwakcuntuc
above — aketa
afar off — te"hac
affection — paxade
aim, to — mitahruc
alive — nankec
all — a"be
alone — ñxa
always — ama"kahuc
ambassador — kasedehc
ampelis (a bird) — ohpakotika
and — kani or qani
animal — wahokcukke
ankle — tauihhankac or asohkeninde
antelope — koka
" buck — kokberoke
ants — karaisitka
anything — itaakacka or itaakacLa
Arapahoe Inds. — Arapahoes or Axixte Numanknke
Ark (of first man) — mahminituxe
arms — ahde
arm bands, of metal — u"kita"he
arrow — mahha
as far as — ohdada
ash — tahas

ashes — waracunte
ask — kümahxec
Assiniboine Inds. — Hosika
aunt — kohtmini-kohe
aurora borealis — wawawacirute
autumn — ptande or manaahpo
axe — ohmanaté

B.

baby — sukxamahe
back — nupxe
backwards — nacita
bad — xikoc
Bad Lands — see land
badger — mahteke
ball (of lead) — wahtocemahe
ball or play ball — mihptohtkir
bake — rokinni
bank — miniwakaxte
bark — manaa
basket (women's, of leather) — xehank
bat — hahxurahde
to be — kihtoc
beak — paxu
beans — ominikekene
bear — mahto
bear, grizzly — mato unknapininde
beard — hikerukis

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104 beaver — warahpa
beautiful — cihc
bed — omunkasekoc
before — untihedic
behind — nacitero
behold — hanista
belly — ahxi
below — mapita
belt — ihparaxe
berdash — mihdeke
besmooch — tkapoaheric
best — kocihc
between — nasta
beyond — kuta
birch — wahxoc
bird — mandek
bite — nacec
bitter — pahruc
black — psihc
blackbird — tuxika
Blackfeet Inds. — Cipsi
bladder — idaxe
blind — istaxedetoc
blond — pahinsihduc
blood — ida
bloody — ihkerrede
bloom, to — hohsedehoc
bloom on fruit — ratakoc
blue — tohe
bluff, a — kucapehekac
body — maandac
bog — manixte
bone — ahude
both — nompca
bottle (of leather) — ihduke
bow or bend, to — kiskoppoheric
bow — waraeruhpa
bow-lance — eruhpahixte
box — widake
box-elder — mihnxkatahmanaka
boy — suknumank
braid, to — kackec
brains — natenu
branch — ohxanxa
brandy — minipahre
brass — watucsede
brave — kakahonc, xarake
bread — wapabci
break — pehruc
breast — taxaraxe
breath — onihe
breechclout — mike
bridge — manaaxkinihnde
bridle — menissikaske
brilliant (splendid) — eduxtukoc
bring forth — ehtuc
broad — pxihruc
brook — passankcuk
broom — i^{n}kagicka
brother — mo^{n}ka
brown — tkop
bud — aci^{n}koc
buffalo — ptemde
" (bull) — beroke
bullet pouch — assohkaxeruke
burn (or roast) — naxuhduc
burn — raptec
bury — omahxedeherec
bush, a — manasuk
buttocks — ihta
buy, to — kauikahka
by — pexti
by and by — isakanacoc

C.

cache — moxe
call — rukeric
calm — ihpatabeckac
Cannonball R. — Passa^{n}xte
canoe — menanka
captive — inishedic
captured — ihnise
carrion — kommahe
catfish — potande
charcoal — behxe
cheat, to — manoxaharuc
chew, to — rapsahkoc
Cheyenne Inds. — Tamaho^{n}ruckape
chicken (prairie) — sipuska
chief — numankci
child — sukxamahe
chin — ihku

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choke, to — niheohwaptec
chop down — manakaseheric, pauicohc
circle, a — ohkamickakuc
claw — unkahe
clean, to — ihkixkanhuc
clear the throat, to — hauikiseckuc
clear — dexe, karacekoc
cloud — haade
coat — imacote
cold — cinihuc
colibri — manacopkoxaxka
colt — u"pamenissinikac
comb — paiwaxu"ke
come, to — huruc, kuhohc
come here — huta
comfort, to — kehapheric
comfortable — ohmanakacic
compel, to — si"hi"kehde
complete — waki"koc
completely — ratakoc
conciliate, to — herohkaheric
cook, to — umpec
copper — watucsekeri
corn — koha"te
" meal — mapexeri
corpse — watehhede
costly — icahehonc
cottonwood — manawaxe
cough — kokeruke
council fire — kaheruka warade
" house — kaheruka kahur
count, to — pakirihduc
cover — ahkupoc
cowardly — wakaraxkahc
crane — tehreke
Cree Inds. — Cahi
crooked — skophoc
Crow Inds. — Hehderuks
crow — xohxixaka
crush — rusi"koc
cry, to — sarahruc, rataxoc
crying all the while — raturcama"—kahoc
cure, to — kinikohc
curly — minimenihc
cut, to — pawecuc
cutting — pohkha"

D.

Dakotas — Hahenumankoc
dance — wahnape
scalp-dance — wikakekenahpic
dark — hampaheriskah
daughter — sukmihuc
" in-law —ptauihhangkac
day — hampah, kacekoc
dead — otehruc
deaf — nakocsidikoc
death — waotec
deceive — kauxac
decoy, to — wattaxakhuhroc
deer —mahmanaku
" (black tail) — cumpsi
delay, to — ohikahunwaheric
destroy, to — kimixerec, tedepohc
Devil (Evil Spirit) — Omahankxike
dew — beddede
die — teruc
dirty — waratkeric
disappear — kcipoc
dish (wooden) — manapaxe
distant — teha"c
divide —ihkapehduc
do, to — isekoc
dog — menisswarut
door — bedehe
doubled — nahtac
draw — inisuc
dream, to — xikhedehc
drink, to — he"duc
drive, to — koxehrutoc
drop — sehuc
drum — berexe
dry, to — sahkoc
dry up, to —rasakoc
duck — patohe
dull — sukohc
dumb — wahronexa
dung (of an animal) — ehde
dust — warate

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E.

eagle, war — mahxsi
" bald — patake
ears — nakoha
early — wamampsita
eat, to — warutoc
egg — mandeksuknike
elbow — akcicenahde
elevation — maaxte
elk — ompa
" female — ompa mihkac
elm — manawareruhp
empty — okikohe
end — onakeoha^{n}kte
enemy — wirata^{n}de
enough — antexkac
err, to — xiqaheric
escape — ptehec
evening — istundehuc
everywhere — ekunheakskewaheric
eyelid — istarapxe
eyes — ista
explain, to — ikikuhntec
express, to — ihkastatuc

F.

face — estah
fade, to — daxihduc
fall, to — dopxec
fan — ihkerehedite
far — ruhxedeta
fasting — nahnkawawarutenexoc
fat — sihnde
" melted — ihkeri
father — tate
fear — wohkaraxka
feather — si
" headdress — wokiruc
feel — packatuc
female (of an animal) — mihkac, mika
fetch — kitahuc, kixkararuc
few — sankac
file, a — watuciwipuci
fight, to — sahnduc
fin — posi
find, to — onopohc
fingers — unkahe
" first — unkamihe
" middle — unknatkakanaxka
" fourth — unknatsemingke
" little — unkniingke
fire — warade
firebrand — wararakce
fish — po
" to — pohrupcikohc
fisher (a bird) — iitikpsi
fish-hook — poikinnih
fist — o^{n}kirasanake
flank (of the body) — dopicanhe
flat — pcihde
flatter, to — ihkiriahkawacuc
flea — pecki
flesh — oro
flint — mahikcuke
flood, to — minisukhedic
flour — wacita
flower — osedehe
fly, a — hamparaka
" to — kikarehduc
foam — puxte
fog — masihc
follow — waxahuc
food — worute
foolish — oxkac
foot — ci
forehead — ithake
forest — manaroxte
forget, to — ikihanxikac
forks (of a tree) — manaokisa^{n}ka
foul — natkaxihpoc
fox — irute
" gray — hirutcote
" red — hirutse
" black — hirutpsih
" prairie — ohxa
free — wainihsinixoc
freeze — ktahohc
friend — manuka
frog — psanka
frost — istunhewahetuhc
full — ohihc

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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G.

gall — waxsihde
gay-colored — puhse
girl — sukmihe
gloves — ogixitike
go, to — dehuc
go forth — huhketa
God — Omahank Numankci
gold — watacisidegocikeric
good — cihc
goose — miha^{n}
" wild — miha^{n}kcuke
grandfather — tatecike
grandmother — nancike
Grand River — Waracunt Ptassahe
grass — xanxe
" dried (hay) — xanxesakoc
" sharp (thistles) — xancixena
gray — xote, cote
grease — ikeri
great — xtec
Great Spirit — Maxopinita
green — wiratohe
groan, to — inihe
ground — manpeteroh
grow, to — inihnduc
growl, to — xanahhahoc
gull — ixtikpsih
gun — eruhpa

H.

hail — rakanande
hail, to — rapanaruc
hair — pahin
hairless — paheserokoc
hair ornament — itahwacungke
half — ihxanhe
hand — onka
handsome — cinacuc
hard — kahsec
hark — ha^{n}ta
hate, to — worattehuc
have, to — wakahktoc
hawk — teta^{n}he
he — i, ih
head — pan
head-ache — panahruc
head-dress (of feathers) — mahxsi akubhacka
head ornament — pa^{n}okatkape
hear, to — waec
heart — natka
heat, to — manasinkoc
heaven — xaretohoc, maxopeni-omanke
heavy — t'kac
heel — cirute
help, to — ohtawasakuc
hereafter — ha^{n}ka
hide, to — axawehc
high — wahkoruc
highlands — mahankwaihkoruc
hill — oparace
hist or hush — ihampta
hoarse — hohxikoc
hole, cavity — opohpuc
hollow — xowokoc
hoof — cahhe
hope, to — iwatehruc
horns — anse
horse — meniss or umpameniss
hot — dsacoc
house — oti
hunger, to — waruhtec
hunt, a — cante
" to — wahnundehuc or can-terehuc
hunter — kacanteka
hurrah — ukahe
hurricane — cextec
husband — ibero

I.

ice — xode
in — rokta
inquire — kimaxec
intoxicate, to — russidihruc
iron — watucemahe
island — witka
it — unt
itch — ciruha

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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J.

jaw — dohhupa
joy — nettkacie

K.

kettle — biruxe
kettle-tender — kapexka
kidneys — piksukeh
kill — teheruc
kindle — rapteheric
kinikineck — manasaxka
Kiowa Inds. — Kaiwa
knee — i^{n}ta or sapaxe
knife — ma^{n}hi
knock — wahuhde
know, to — ihwahekoc

L.

lake — minixte
lame — onindexikoc
lament, to — nahdeiratahue
lance — manahiterukcuke
land — maank
Bad Lands — maxiki
lash, to — karaparacue
last race (in Okeepa) — ehkenah-kanahpik
late — hapetepanic
laugh — kikidacoc
lay, to — makherehc
lead — watucamahe (Cf. iron)
leader (of a war party) — karok-kanakah
leap, to — pedehc
leather (dressed) — wapa^{n}piimac-ote
leaves — manape
left, on the — nususkac
leg — dohka
leggings — wapa^{n}pihu^{n}ci
level — kahosta, opcidecie
lie, to — cehekohc
life — nankec
lift, to — ruhxopkac
light — idehuc
light, to — ihdexewaharic
lightning — xeninde
like, to — watihkidasuc
lips — ihxdopxi
listen to, — minnakocwakerupcec
Little Missouri R. — Mantaktcuka
live, to — inihuc
liver — pi
log — manaite
long — hacka
love, to — paxare
love sticks — mihhirucekehkaruc
lungs — koppehk
lynx — matoxka, cuntepuse

M.

magpie — wihkxakxeke
man — numank
mankind or people — numankahkec
many — hanktec
master of the Okeepa — okipa-kasika
meal (Indian) — koha^{n}te gatiriki
meat — maskape
medicine — xopinic
" lodge — tixopinic
" feast — maxopinicwahedic
medicine-man — numankxopinic
melt, to — racedehc
midnight — istunatoc
mine — wawakahruc
mink — monika suntike
mirror, a — ihmi^{n}kiec
miss, to — kakaho^{n}c
Missouri R. — Mantahe Passahe
moccasins — humpa
mole — maxtopka
money — okihkikidasuc
moon — istamenahke
moose — paxuptaptax
more — opaxedehc
morning — mampsita
" early in — wamampsita
mortar — ipeke
most — mihkac
mother — hu^{n}de
" in-law — ptohinix

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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mountain — maankxtec, oparacxtec
mouse — mihtike
mouth — ihe
much — kerexe, hunc
mud — tuntukoc
Muddy R. (Platte) — Matuhntu Passahe
mule — cumpsimeniss
murder — tehruc
muskrat — cantcuke
Musselshell R. — Tohki Passahe

N

nails — onkahe
name — dase
nape of the neck — nahkute
narrow — keukoc
navel — doptasu
near — askac
neck — itaenu
necklace — warapeni"xe
" of bears' claws — mahto-onknapinihude
needle — mihstuhereohopetuhc
negros — wacipsi
nest — taxande
net, fish — poikuhnde
nettle — xa"higanade
never — mekimikoc
new — nankac
night — estogr
night-jar — pihska
no — megoc
noon — hampenatoc
north — misiahankta
northeast — misihanktaropuc-ahankta
northwest — agahanktarotamisa hankta
nose — pahu
nostril — pahxusuh
nothing — miksks, mikohc
now — naka
nude — ikarasuninakoc

O.

oak — manaitahu
obscure — ihinikoc
of or from — ta
oh! — ca!
old — xihoc
old man — waratohkaxihoc
old woman — rokankaxihen
Omaha Inds. — Ohmaha
once — xanahremaxanac
one or the other — kotewektoc
open — rupcukoc
opened — rupcuk
other — tahonc
otter — pehxtekeh
Ottoe Inds. — Ohto
outside — matinda
oversleep, to — owakinatekahunhuc
owl — ixixe

P.

paddle — ipaxaka
pain — wahuhdenahduc
paint over, to — wakapusoc
pair — nupca
palate — nutiskeokissangka
pale, to — sterukeceh
panther — cuntehacka
parfleche — wakexde
part — okape
pasture — pokanahhuc
path — nanko
Pawnee Inds. — Xaratenumanke
peace — herohkaheric
peas — omeniasamakeri
pelican — nutkuxte
people — wakahde
pepper — waparepsi
perhaps — tuchaktoc
pig — wacitamato
pigeon, wild — warawitkcuke
pinch, to — ruhckapuc
pine — manaxopini
pipe — tcudka, ihkinkosuhe
plain — xahoste
plant, to — wahkihedeic
play, to — menixeni
" a — kehni

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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play, (of women with ball) — mihptotke
play, (Tchungkee) — Skohpe
plover — miniswakahe
pluck, to — paxke
pointed — cihuc
pole-cat — co^{n}kte
pomme blanche — mahe
pond — minixedoc
poor — akarihe
porcupine — pahi
pot, of clay — berexe
potato — omenikatekxteqeri
powder (gun) — waracunte
prairie — okaraxta
precipice — pehuc
pregnant — ehxixte
proud — tahuixtecihkeric
pulse — katinktinkkanaqic
pumpkin — kode
" (uncooked)— kodeseharutoc
pupil (of the eye) — istarupxe
push — putkec
put in the cache, to — moxdarahkoc

Q.

queue — pahinokskec
quiet — hapoeherohnknunihuc
quirt — ihkaparace
quiver — ixtike

R.

rabbit — maxtike
race— ptihi^{n}kikeruc
rain — xehuc
" to — haiduc
rainbow — xehikuhnde
Rampart Creek — Manahmeni Passahe
rat — mihtikxte
rattle — ihnade
raven — kaka
red — sukse, sehc, se
redden, to — stasehereh
reed — wihpuhde
reek — wiha
refuse, to — ruhkahuc
returned — kiride
revenge, to — tauihcahetunc
ribs — duthuhde
rich people — kowakahdehunc
ring, to — nihe
ripe — manabihdukeihkamenihude
river — passahe, passa^{n}he
robe — mahitu, mihihe
robin — mandeka^{n}ka
rock — misanake
" large — misanakextec
" (cliff) — ihcancekeh
Rocky Mts. — Mihnde Manke
roe (fish) — ponika
root — manahisse
rosin — ohruckop
rot, to — terrepoc
round — sanakohc
run — ptehuc

S.

sack (of skin) — ihwatarake
sacrifice — wapaci
saddle, of a horse — menissaganake
saliva — oksohke
salt or sugar, to — skuhoc
salt or sugar — waskucote
sand — mapucakohc
sandstone — wipuci
sash — ixparake
scaffold, for dead—ohmaxe, macote
scale — posi
scalp — pandopxi
scalp-dance — pandopxinapic, wihskekenahpic
scar — oxatuhc
scent, to — ihkamenindue
scrape — onkaberic
scraper, for hides — ihwadipka
sea — minikerre
seat — ita
secretly — axawehc
see — wahec
shadow — ahkunc
shake, to — katidiricuc
shallow — minipsikac

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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sharp — cihuc
shave, to — hikirukes
she — ih
sheep (bighorn) — a^{n}saxte
shield — wahki
shin bone — dopkahge
ship — menankaxte
shirt — imacote
" buckskin—wapanhi imacote
shiver, to — kaxohkaharawahankic
shoot, to (with gun) — eruhpakahte
" " (with bow) — mananah-nihnduc
short — sanakoc
shot pouch — watuceduke
shoulder — akit
show, to — hehmenihedic
shrub — manasuke
shut against, to — ikisanpac
sick — ahxenaduc
siese — wacakoc
silver — watucocote
sinew — hise
sing, to — wakikinaruc
sister — tamixena
" (eldest) — menuke
" (youngest) — ptanka
sit, to — kikanake
skin — dopxi
skin lodge — tihinkoti
sledge — manawiratohe
sleep, to — hanaruc
" to fall to — wahanaeduksan-huc
sleepy — hanaruk
slide, to — pacihuc
small — xamahe
smallpox — xedepe
smoke — hihuc
" to — manachihnduc
smooth — sz^{n}hic
" to — kasz^{n}hic
Snake or Shoshone Inds. — Wah-kiruxkanumanke
snake — wahxkeruxka
" rattle — mataxopini
sneak upon, to — xeruhradehuc
snipe — marexsepaguxa^{n}xska
snow — wahe
snow-shoes — manahumpe
soldier — kawakarakaxe
something — ikotui
son — konike
son-in-law — rohhankoc
sour — haruc
spark — waranihka
speak — rohdec
spear — manaitirutcuke
spirits or ghosts — munoheka
spoon (of horn) — manse
spread, to — pxiheric
spring, to — skec
spring, a — minihini
spring (season) — behinunde
spy out, to — oksohkuc
squash — rode
squint — istakxekohc
stab, to — rapec
stain, to — ahksehuc
stars — xkaka
" shooting — rokankadehuc
steal — wanunduc
step-father — ptutt
step-mother — ptehinx
stick or pole — manakcuke
stingy — cirukoc
stirrup — menissiwaxungke
stomach or belly — taxaraxe
stone — missanake
" large — mindextec
stone (of a fruit) — tsuhnta
stop up, to — patarokoc
storm — hampexikoc (a bad day)
straight — cohruc
stream — minixcakoc
strike, to — rotkec
strong — sinhuc
struggle, to — rahpuc
stump — manahuta
sugar (white) — waskucote
summer — raskeke
surprise — wahetex

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swallow, to — ocaropoc
swan — madexopni
sweat, to — dasi^{n}kohc
sweep, to — ipkukicuc
sweet — skuhoc
swift — katucoc
swim, to — ihwaxahac
swollen — pahoc
sun — menahka

T.

tail — conte
tallow — sinde
tan (or dress), to — ruhintuc
tangle up, to — ihkirumenic
Tattooed Face (village name) — Histoppe
teach, to — ikikuhnta
tears — istaminihuhruc
tear out, to — packe
" down, to — ohsehruc
" up, to — ruxa^{n}koc
testicle — asutka
Teton R. — Minixte Passahe
that — eθ
thaw — racedehuc
there — etta
they — iona or ihetta
thick — xtec
thief — wanundexte
thigh — dokoc
thin — pampihc
think — wapucide, wapusoc
this — ant
throat — nutiske
throat, sore — itaenunahruc
throw out, to — kaxerutoc
thumb — onka
thunder — xeinihe
tickle — ruksiksikuc
tie, to — kaskec
tinder — mihkade
tired — iwahatec
tiresome — xehruc
itmouse — patahpsi
to — oh
toad — hatka
tobacco — manaca
" (mixed with cornus) — manacotkicxe
tobacco pouch — manacedoke
to-day — ehampe
toe — cipa
" (second) — cihapa
toe (smallest) — cinika
tomahawk — axkenkse
" of stone — mihkaske
" of wood — manapauice
to-morrow — mahtke
day after to-morrow — mahtke ohma esta
tongue — desike
tooth — hi
toothache — hinahruc
top — mahakahgitta
tough, sticky — kedehruc
trade, to — wikaruc
trail — onihnde
trap or fall — ahxkataxka
travois, a — menissican
tree — manaininduc
tremble, to — katidericuc
true — tkucoc
turkey — marusi
" cock, wild — mahnsi
" buzzard — ruhahde
turn around, to — kiptahanikusoc
turnip — mahoc
turtle — kipsa^{n}de
twice — xanahrenumpoc
twist — mihnuptakohc
twisted — kaminic

U.

ugly — xikanacoc
uncle — ratode
under — mahpita
unfruitful — ohromikohc
unhealthy — wahcixihc
unripe — canhohc
upon — akia
urine — dexe

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

V.

valley — owakope
vein — iduke
vermilion — wahsap
very — kueoc
village — mihti
vine — hachude

W.

wait, to — kihahnakoc
wake, to — kitahruc
walk — ninduc
war-club — mixaske
war-dance — kiruksahnapic
war-hoop — ceddekohc
warm — dadecuc
warrior — kiraksanxarakac
wash, to — kiruskikue
watch, to — iwakcuntuc
water — mini
water jar — minimihnde
wax — ohkeruceeipkaohdeke
we — nu or nuona
weak — ahikoc
weasel — mahxpax
wedge (of wood) — manakakihhe
weed — mahe
wet — akapoc
what (relative) — ta
" (interrog.) — tackaL
what thing — aankotewe
what person — iinkotewe
which — kotewe
whirlpool (in water) — miniruh-menicka
whiskey — minipahde
whistle — ihkoce
white — cote or cotte
white buffalo — wokada
White Earth R. — minicote passabe 104
white men — waci
who — teve or tewe
wicked (hated) — xikoc
wife — murse or kons
willow — haxsehuhde
wind — ehe
windpipe — inihe
wing — apxac
winter — mahna
wish, to — iteruc
within — kucta
without — akeha
wolf (grey) — harrata
" prairie (coyote) — ceheke
woman — mihe
woodpecker — tocka
work, to — waisekoc
worm — waixirika
wrap up, to — ikikahmenic
wrinkle — sihpoc
write, to — kapusoc
writing — kapuse

Y.

yawn — ixbedehruc
year — mahna
years — manahna
yellow — pside
Yellowstone R. — Mihsi
yes — ho[n]
yesterday — xodake
" day before — horakekusero
yolk (of an egg) — mandeksukniika-kuhctaosiida
you — da or θa
young — xamahoc
" the (of animals) — konika

[220-222 blank.]

3: Will and Spinden NQ 17 Mandan NQ17

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[Additional information, specifically the section on the archaeology of the Burgois site, will be found in category 116, pp. 148-87.]

[For information on "clans" see category 614.]

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS
OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

VOL. XI

—

SOCIETIES OF THE PLAINS INDIANS

—

EDITED BY
CLARK WISSLER

[Title page, a]

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4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS

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SOCIETIES OF THE CROW, HIDATSA AND MANDAN INDIANS.

BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

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[Title page, b]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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MANDAN MEN'S SOCIETIES.

THE MANDAN SYSTEM.

575 Both from Maximilian's account and the statements of my own informants it appears that the Mandan system of men's societies closely resembled
424 that of the Hidatsa. In both cases there was a series of graded organiza-
432 tions, the membership, or rather ownership, of each of which was acquired
171 by collective purchase. The method of buying membership was practically identical, and among the Mandan as well as among the Hidatsa the surrender of the purchasers' wives to the sellers formed a conspicuous feature. Owing to the collective manner of obtaining membership, practically all tribesmen belonged to some one of the societies. If a boy of a certain age
[551] did not yet belong to any organization, he was, according to Water-chief, derided as a "Finger-in-his-eye (istá wátke). After selling their last society the retired members, as among the Hidatsa, were known as "Stinking-ears" (nakóxe xu^{n}pé^{e}).

According to Black-chest and Wounded-face, the institution of "friendly"
573 organizations described for the Hidatsa (p. 229)[1] also occurs among the Mandan, but this is denied by Painted-up for both men's and women's organizations. Unfortunately this important point must remain undecided.

There can be no doubt that within the period known to my informants
575 membership in a society was primarily, on the Hidatsa plan, a matter of purchase, not of age. Because, for example, the group that normally would have purchased the Kit-Fox and Little Dog societies failed to buy either from his own class, Black-chest at 62 considers himself a member of these organizations, which he joined at 20 and 25 respectively.

177 Owing to the very small number of Mandan who survived the epidemic of 1837 and the intimate relations of the survivors with the Hidatsa, the
575 accounts of my Mandan informants may be largely colored by Hidatsa influences, so that Maximilian's data are all the more valuable and will be summarized in the following sections. Of the societies enumerated by my Mandan informants but not given by Maximilian, the Kit-Fox and the Little Dog organizations may be assumed to have been adopted from the Hidatsa in recent times, for both occur in Maximilian's Hidatsa list. In
575 preparing the following comparative table I assume, for reasons already set forth (p. 235), that in Maximilian's day there were distinct Dog and Half-

[1] [i.e., Members of two age groups separated in time by another age group would aid each other in opposition to the demands of the intermediate group. -- Analyst]

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Shaved Head societies. Black-chest's enumeration differs from that by Wounded face merely in the omission of the Old Dog, Coarse Hair, and Black Tail Deer societies and in the reversal of the relative positions of the Buffalo Bull and Dog societies. 575

MANDAN SOCIETIES.

Maximilian (II, 139–144).	Wounded-face.
	1. Cheyenne Society (cō'ta ō'xat'e)
	2. Kit-Fox Society (ō'xox'atoc)
	3. Little Dog Society (mini'sinik ō'xat'e
1. Foolish Dogs (Meni'ss O'chka O'chatā)	4. Crazy Dog Society (mini's'ō'xka ō'xat'e)
2. Crows, or Ravens (Hāhderucha O'chatā)	
3. Half-shaved Heads (I'schohā Kako-schochatā)	
4. Soldiers (Chara'k O'chatā, or Kau'a Karakáchka)	5. Black Mouth Society. (I'he psi'here ō'xate, or numā'k xarāk ō'xat'e)
5. Dogs (Meni'ss O'chátā)	7. Dog Society (mini's ō'xatoc)
6. Old Dogs (Meni'ss-Chāh-Ochatā)	8. Old Dog Society (mini's xixe' ō'xat'e)
7. Buffalo Bulls (Bero'ck-O'chatā)	6. Buffalo Bull Society (mēro'k ō'xat'e)
8. Black-Tail Deers (Schu'mpsi O'chatā)	10. Black-Tail Deer Society (cu'psi ō'xat'e)
	9. Coarse Hair Society (bacā'ca ō'xat'e)

CHEYENNE SOCIETY.

Wounded-face's group bought the Cheyenne society (cō'ta ō'xat'e), 575 at the request of the men owning it, when my informant was about 10 or 12 432 years old. Calicoes and tanned goods were gathered, and with them a pipe was taken to the sellers. One of these smoked the pipe to show that [576] they were willing to dispose of their membership.

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292 575 293 Every member had a head ornament consisting of a round piece of rawhide with a bone feather holder. Two officers wore moderately wide aprons of red cloth edged with eagle feathers hanging down. Each of two other officers had a sacred bow with two arrows, one painted red and the other black. Two officers bore a spiked club (ō'o kahiri' 'ka), the spike being of horn. The sacred bows and arrows were for use against the enemy; they never missed their aim. For some reason no paraphernalia were supplied to Wounded-face's group, and they did not exercise their membership privileges because older men who should have taught them the appropriate songs died. All the members of this society were Mandan, but the organization originated with the Dakota or Cheyenne. Black-chest independently made the statement that the society was not really of Mandan origin. The [608] *cō'ta ō'xaf'e* regarded the Foxes as their fathers, and the Little Dogs as their "friends."

292 575 Water-chief said that members wore two eagle feathers rising from the back of the head. Before his group bought the society, five older Mandan called them together, and said, "We wish to give you a society." Then property was collected and brought to them. The same night they sang songs, to which the young boys danced. After the dance, the sellers addressed their sons, saying, "You are growing up now. You must go against the enemy. Try to be brave and conquer the enemy."

Kit-Fox Society.

575 432 571 The following account of this society (ō'xox'atoe) was given by Black-chest.

When we bought this society, all of us were unmarried. We wished to buy this society. Our fathers said, "These foxes have ten claws on their front legs, so we wish you to give us a ten days' feast." I selected Good-bear, one of my clan fathers, for my individual father. The members of the River Women society were our "friends"; one of these, Black-head, was my individual "friend."

When the River Women had gathered together, we went to them and thus addressed them: "We wish to make friends with you. We desire to buy a society and wish you to help us and give us some blankets. We wish to know whether you are willing to do so." The women debated the request, and each one declared that she would contribute her blanket. Then we said, "Well, now each of you shall say which one of us you are willing to help." Then Black-head designated me. She was no clan aunt of mine.

575 527 432 We borrowed Broken-horn's earth-lodge for our meeting and brought kettles of food there. Black-head also brought a kettle of food there. We boys came in on the left side and sat down in an ellipse. We could hear our fathers singing as they approached our lodge. They entered it on the right side and sat down. Their wives, who were to assist in the singing during the ten nights' entertainment, were grouped behind their husbands.

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When our fathers had sat down, one of our number, Wounded-face, rose and said, "Well, comrades and women friends, listen. We have brought our food here, and we wish to select our fathers tonight. Do each of you rise and set your food before your father." Then each of us rose, picked up his kettle, and walked past the door-side of the fireplace to his father. I picked out one of my clan fathers and gave him my kettle; then I returned to my place. Black-head, who had watched my movements, then came forward and brought her kettle to the man indicated as my father. Those purchasers who had no clan fathers among the sellers selected anyone they pleased for their individual father. The fathers ate of the food, leaving some for their wives, who emptied the kettles and returned them to their husbands. Then Good-bear called me by name and said, "Come, son, and get your kettle." I went towards him and stood before him. Then Good-bear prayed to the supernatural powers: "I have gone through the Oki'pɛ ceremony myself and have undergone great hardships for your sake. In other ceremonies I have also undergone suffering. Before I underwent this suffering, I thought you would help me whenever I could not do something by my own power. I have no power to give honor marks, therefore I ask you to help me by securing honor marks for my son." Then I took both kettles and went back to my place, where I returned to Black-head her own kettle. Each of the boys acted in a similar way.

After all of us had sat down, our fathers began to sing. They beat drums, but did not dance. They sang these words: —

"ma'kltã̄'ni máhuna."
"You, wake up and come."

[These words are supposed to be addressed to one's sweetheart.]

Four times they sang such songs. Then came a second set of songs, during which the fathers danced in their places. When they had done dancing, they addressed us in obsolete Mandan, saying, "Sī! i'karẽ̄xoc!" ("Clan son, daylight is here!") Shot-foot, one of the fathers, rose to address us. He said, "Sī, we wish you to give us a ten nights' feast. This will give us time to prepare clothes for you." [198]

This meeting took place in the evening, each of our female "friends" brought in a bundle of willows carried by means of a tump line and a second line passing around the breast. The bundles were piled up on the left side of the door (for one entering), and from time to time one of the boys would rise to keep up the fire. This purchase took place in midsummer. I was about 20 years old at the time.

On each of the ten nights the fathers came in in the same way as the first time, and the mode of procedure was the same. On the tenth night, the fathers said, "Sons, we have done; tomorrow we shall give you your things." On the following morning we came back to the same lodge and took our seats, but without any kettles. Our women "friends" also came in and sat down. This time, however, we were not ranged in an ellipse as before, but sat in the arc of a circle, with our "friends" in a similar arc from 4½ to 5 feet behind us. Until this day White-bear's house had served as the place of assembly for the fathers prior to their approach to our own meeting-place, but this morning each came from his own lodge, their wives carrying the clothes to be presented to the purchasers of the society. The fathers sat down in a curved line opposite to ours, and their wives took seats behind them. There were about thirty fathers; sometimes two boys had the same father. They planted two sticks into the ground in the rear (mana'ktata) of the lodge. One of the sticks was hooked, and its shaft was wrapped with otterskin; three eagle feathers hung down from the end of the hook. The second stick was straight and also wrapped with otterskin;

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575 to the top of the shaft there was fastened a single eagle feather. The bottom of
432 both staffs was blunt, but in order to secure them in their places a sharp-pointed stick
had been previously driven into the ground there. The fathers had two hand-
527 drums. The father nearest the door took the hooked stick (ma'nanū'akup) which
had been set at the left side of the straight stick (ma'nacū'cuk) for one facing the
533 door, and held it in his hand, while the last father in line took the straight stick. The
535 two fathers standing nearest the staff-holders bore rattles. The drums were beaten,
293 but before the rest of the fathers rose Shot-foot addressed us, saying, "Sons, you will
keep our society, you will dance today." Then the fathers all rose, and the singing
began. The staff-bearers advanced towards the boys, shouting, while the rest danced
in their places. When the staff-bearers had got to the fireplace, the singing ceased.
Each of the two officers then went to his son and led him to a spot between the two
main posts on the right side of the lodge (for one facing the entrance), and gave his
stick to his son. On this occasion Water-chief received the straight stick, and White-
eye the bent stick. Next Shot-fox rose with his rattle and — this time without any
singing or dancing — walked straight towards his son, Long-tail, whom he led to the
place between the two posts used by the staff-bearers and presented with his rattle.
The second rattler went through a corresponding procedure. Then the wives of the
four officers who had just disposed of their emblems came forward to give the newly
prepared clothes to their sons. The spectators, during all this performance, were
restricted to the space between the door and the two front posts. From among
these outsiders there now advanced the relatives of the new officers in order to pile up
property before them or to present small sticks representing the promise to donate a
horse.

The fathers said, "Now, sons, all of you stand up!" All the fathers then walked
575 towards us, followed by their wives, who carried the clothing and laid it down before
432 the sons. All of us put on the new clothes on the spot. The fathers who had
527 surrendered their rattles stood next to their sons, whom they wished to assist in
533 singing. The fathers who had owned the two officers' staffs said to the new incum-
534 bents: "There is an abundance of enemies; try to be brave!" The fathers who had
carried rattles said the same to *their* sons, adding: "You will sing for your society,
and I must teach you now. When you sing outdoors, you shall circle round to the
right, and all will follow you." The first rattler accordingly led the procession in a
circle until he had got near the second rattler, where he stopped and began to sing.
The second rattler then also sang a song, shaking a tin-can rattle. In the procession
outdoors the marchers walked at a very rapid pace.

Four female associates followed the men. These were called "Fox women" and
had been appointed by their own families to assist the Foxes at their feasts and in the
singing. They stood outside the circle formed by the society when dancing outdoors,
but also took part in the dance. These women were unmarried, but later two of
them, Pumpkin-blossom and Otter, married members of the society.

[349] After we had marched out of our lodge, we went to an open space east of the
Round Corral.[1] Four of our fathers stepped inside the circle we formed there,
and sang for us, beating their drums. We danced and then went home. This first
public dance was the only occasion on which our fathers sang for us.

After a few days we came together and danced in Water-chief's lodge. During
indoor performances we sat in an arc round the lodge and did not make use of our

[1] This is the structure described by Catlin and Maximilian as the "ark."

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regalia. After a few days spent in hunting we again gathered in our meeting-house 575
and had an abundance of food prepared. Some time in the spring we went outside
in our regalia and danced publicly, whereupon we would return to the lodge, dance 432
again, and then have a feast. This happened about three or four times a year. 527
Frequently members of the society went out at night in their ordinary costume and
walked from house to house, singing in front of every lodge. This was done to please 533
the young women of the village. The four Fox women did not take part in these 535
nocturnal processions, but other girls accompanied the men and sang with them.

In addition to the rattlers and the staff-bearers, there were two men distinguished
by their regalia from the rank and file. One of these wore a cap (mapa'caci wa'ah-
ku'pe) of kit-fox skin, with the ears sticking up.[1] This officer acted as a sort of [292]

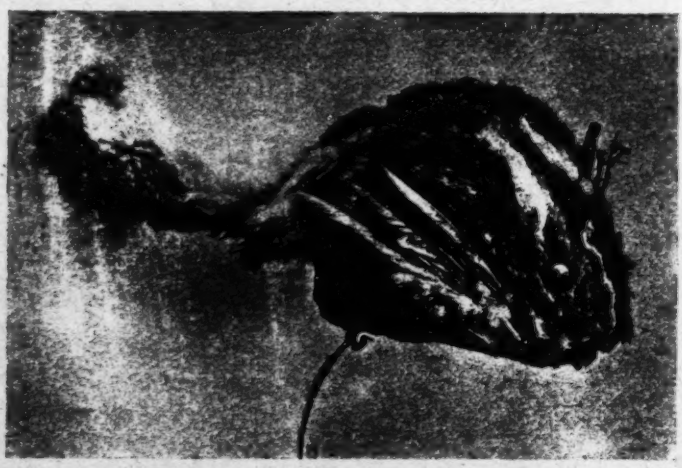

Fig. 10. (50.1–4332). Cap of Mandan Kit-Fox Society. Length, 127 cm.

spokesman for the society, but was not regarded as the chief of the organization. The other officer wore a head band decorated with kit-fox jaws (Fig. 17).

The Black Mouth society was regarded as friendly to our Kit-Fox group. They sat with us when we purchased the society and contributed to the food given to our fathers, though not to the property paid to them. When a new rattler did not at once learn his song and was accordingly afraid to try it, the Black Mouth officer bearing a "dance flag" took his place for a while. After the purchase the Black Mouths participated in our feasts. Sometimes we got together in the house of Two-chiefs, a Black Mouth; if any Black Mouth so desired he might then join us in the dancing.

Sometimes we gathered instead in the house of Foolish-soldier, a Stinking-Ear (see p. 294). Foolish-soldier acted as our herald. He would get up on the roof of a lodge and announce our meeting.

Bear's-ghost, Crow's-heart, Black-eagle, Sitting-crow, White-owl, and their associates should have bought the Kit-Fox society from us. As they did not do so, we still own it."

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[1] Wounded-face's cap is shown in Fig. 10.

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575 Some additional information on this society was furnished by Wounded-face, Water-chief, and Little-crow. Of these, Wounded-face and Water-chief belonged to the same group as Black-chest, while Little-crow was a member of the group from which the other three informants purchased their membership. Black-chest sets his present age at 62, while Little-crow is supposed to be 74. At the time they purchased their membership, the age of Little-crow, Wounded-face and Water-chief was about 14, 20, and 16 respectively.

575 773 Wounded-face regards Good-fur-robe, a mythical hero, as the founder of the society. Good-fur-robe pulled out two sunflower stalks from the ground and presented them to two young men. He instructed them to plant these stalks in the ground during an encounter with the enemy and not to retreat from the spot. The sunflower and the corn, this informant added, were essentially one. A similar account was furnished by Packs-wolf, who further stated that at a later time lances were substituted for the stalks. Though Maximilian does not mention a Mandan Kit-Fox society, the following tradition recorded by him as to the origin of the other Mandan organizations is very suggestive in view of the statements obtained from my own informants. The chief who first ascended to the earth from the subterranean regions formerly inhabited by the Mandan was named Village-smoke, but assumed the name of Good-fur-robe ("die Robe oder das Fell mit schönem Haare, la robe à beau poil") after reaching the upper world. He founded the societies, beginning with the Dogs. For the Soldiers he made two hooked-sticks wrapped with otterskin and two other sticks trimmed with raven feathers. The hooked sticks represented sunflowers; the other sticks, the corn plant. These emblems were to be planted into the ground in fighting an enemy and were never to be abandoned.[1]

575 432 Water-chief mentions the interesting point that his group bought the Kit-Fox organization at the suggestion of the owners. These came to the younger men and said, "We wish to give you this Fox society and make you our sons." It is quite clear from the other accounts that this fact did not affect the initial mode of procedure. A pipe was put before the fathers and [576] had to be accepted and smoked by one of their number in the same way as when Little-crow's group decided to buy the membership on their own initiative. In both cases the fathers seem to have been able to dictate the terms of purchase: at the time when Black-chest and Water-chief became Kit-Foxes, a ten nights' entertainment was demanded, while in Little-crow's day the feasting of the sellers lasted twelve nights.

Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for

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[1] Maximilian, II. 162.

[For bibliography, see Category 113-- Analyst]

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Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for his individual father. Wounded-face did not know that Two-crows owned two kinds of emblems,— the foxskin cap to be used in dancing and in war, and the head band decorated with the lower kit-fox jaws which was to be worn when courting young women.[1] On the morning of the final transference of membership rights, Two-crows gave Wounded-face the cap and the head band, as well as a shirt, armlets and fringed buckskin leggings. In return, Wounded-face paid his father a fast black horse suited for use in the buffalo chase and some property contributed by his relatives. I get the impression that the transfer of special regalia was automatic; that is to say, if the father happened to own certain specific emblems the son buying his membership bought *ipso facto* the regalia owned by the seller. 575 432 292 608

Little-crow states that at the public performance the relatives of the new members brought presents, which were turned over to the fathers, either individually or collectively. In the latter case the fathers proceeded to distribute the gifts among themselves. 575 431 602

In marching outdoors, the first rattler took the lead and was immediately followed by the first hooked-staff officer; Wounded-face — presumably as the owner of the cap — occupied a central position in the line; the second rattler came last, being directly behind the second hooked-staff officer. The first rattler selected a site for the dance and turned in order to begin the formation of a circle there, at the same time raising his rattle and singing very loudly. There was always a special song to be sung prior to the drummers' entrance into the circle. This song was taken up by the second rattler. While the circle was forming, the singers went within the circumference and began to beat their drums. These singers were always the members' fathers, if I understood Wounded-face correctly, but it is probable that this applies only to the first public performance by a new group of members. The songs referred to warlike deeds, and the words were, according to this informant, invariably in the Dakota language. 575 527 535 533 [177]

Little-crow, as already stated, considers the head band decorated with kit-fox jaws as a badge common to all members; he further states that each Kit-Fox had a hair-pipe attached to the left side of the head and that six men had their hair roached. The hair-cutting was done by the men's fathers. Other informants agree that there were two rattlers and two officers with hooked-staffs, wrapped with otterskin and decorated at four points with feathers. Wounded-face says that sometimes the second staff-bearer carried a *straight* stick, in which case an erect eagle feather was secured to the top of the shaft. Little-crow states that rattles were used 575 [292] [302] 293

[1] This seems to conflict with Black-chest's account, which assigns these emblems to distinct officers, but Little-crow regards the kit-fox head band as a badge common to all members.

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575 293 outdoors, and drums within the lodge, but this contradicts the accounts of others. The rattles were originally made of gourds, but in Wounded-face's time baking-powder cans had been substituted.

575 The Fox women, according to Wounded-face, were selected by the fathers' wives. Their robes were decorated with honor marks earned by their male associates. Little-crow mentioned only two Fox women, selected by the members themselves, and placed in the middle of the line of march.

575 703 The military element was obviously prominent in the society. Water-chief relates that on the first public appearance of the new members, each one was called by name by the older men and women of the village and addressed as follows: "We have numerous enemies, you are the one that must fight and try to be a man. You must not forget this when you are in a fight." Later in the season, when Water-chief had struck a coup and received a wound, his people rejoiced, telling him, "That is what you desired to do, you are a brave man." Little-crow declared that the Kit-Foxes [535] did not dance very frequently,—in fact only when the approach of an enemy was reported. Wounded-face, while stating that dances were occasionally performed solely for the sake of amusement and in order to attract the attention of young women, also said that the Foxes danced very often in times of war, beginning as soon as a scout had brought the news of an enemy's approach. The Foxes tried to be brave in battle. Wounded-face recalls an occasion when a very brave enemy, surrounded by the Mandan, was holding his foemen at bay; finally, a Kit-Fox advanced towards him, struck him, and was killed. On another occasion a Kit-Fox together with four companions, set out on a war party. All five were killed by the enemy. This event was commemorated in song: "Once two enemies went into the bush. We surrounded them. One Kit-Fox went forward, and they killed him there."

575 The purely social features of the organization were also conspicuous. Public appearances were followed by feasts after the members had returned to their lodge. There were occasional horse parades by the Kit-Foxes, and the nocturnal processions referred to by Black-chest were of frequent occurrence.

Little Dog Society.

575 424 While Black-chest's and Wounded-face's group owned the Fox society, their fathers were Little Dogs (mini'sinik ō'xat'e) [1]; that is to say, after

[1] The present meaning of the native term seems to be "colt society," but the older informants consider the above rendering correct in the context given and consider the society related to the Hidatsa Little Dog organization. Maximilian also translates *menise* "dog." A corresponding confusion was encountered in the case of the other Mandan societies named for the dog.

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surrendering their ownership of the Fox organization, they had acquired 575
possession of the Little Dog society. On one occasion, after the lapse 424
of about five or six years, the Kit-Foxes were meeting at Woman-ghost's house, when someone asked whether they might not buy the Little Dog society then. Each one expressed his willingness to purchase it. Then 575
they gathered together property for an initial gift, and one man carried 424
a pipe to the Little Dogs' lodge. One of the Little Dogs said, "Well, we will meet and debate the matter." The messenger returned. As it was 432
late, the Kit-Foxes waited for the next day to make their first offerings of 527
goods, and merely went about the village, singing at several earth-lodges. On the next day they gathered and notified their friends, the River Women, who collected some property for them. This was piled up together with some guns contributed by the purchasers themselves, and was then divided among them. They waited until nightfall, then they went outside, crying, and marched towards the Little Dogs' lodge. A leader carried the pipe, and, on entering, laid it down before the fireplace. All the property was deposited near the pipe, then the Kit-Foxes took seats near the door, in the space allotted to outsiders. The Little Dogs were seated in the rear and on the sides of the lodge. Iron-eyes, one of the sellers' company, took the [576]
pipe towards the fire, lit it, and began to smoke. All the Kit-Foxes then cried, "Hahō'! We are going to have some songs." According to Wounded-face, the prospective buyers said to their fathers: "We have bought the Kit-Fox society of you, but we still have the Dog society to buy from you." Thereupon the fathers took the property and bade their sons prepare a lodge for the next evening. Then the Kit-Foxes went back to their lodge.

The next evening the Kit-Foxes gathered in Two-chiefs' house. They 575
had married since their former purchase, and each one had his wife prepare 432
food and bring it to the meeting place. The Little Dogs approached the 527
lodge, singing on the way. The door of the lodge faced north. The buyers had ranged themselves on the right side (for one entering), with their wives behind them. The sellers sat down on the opposite side, with their wives [533]
behind them, and began to sing, using sticks with sleighbells for rattles. "We liked their song better than ours." (Black-chest). Big-thief rose, held up a dried dogskin, laid it toward the fire, faced the fire himself, sat down behind the skin, and thus addressed the group of buyers: "Well, sons, this dog has five claws on each of its front legs, that makes ten. Its hind legs also have ten claws, that makes twenty in all. So we wish you to feast us for twenty nights, then we will let you have our songs." [1]

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[1] Wounded-face says that the entertainment lasted only fifteen nights, while Water-chief spoke of a ten nights' feasting of the fathers. When Little-crow, of the group immediately higher than that of the three informants quoted here and in the text, bought the same society, the entertainment lasted eight nights.

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575 After this speech, Big-thief returned to his place. Then all the Kit-
608 Foxes rose and brought presents of food to their fathers. Black-chest again
432 selected Good-bear for his individual Father, but explains that this was
527 not obligatory. Wounded-face was obliged to select a new father, for the one chosen by him in purchasing the Kit-Fox organization had been killed in battle; otherwise, he says he should have kept the same individual for his father in buying all the higher societies. On this occasion his choice fell on Little-crow, to whom he presented a kettleful of food as a token of his selection. Black-chest states that five of the fathers had been killed since the purchase of the Kit-Fox society.

575 Black-chest says that on this occasion the River Women did not aid the
432 purchasers, as both they and the latter had married. This obviously refers
431 to the period of the fathers' entertainment, as the same informant mentions a contribution by this women's organization to the initial payment (see p. 303). On the other hand, the Black Mouths attended the performance and brought food for the sellers.

575 At a height of about seven feet from the ground the fathers stretched a
778 rawhide rope between the two rear main posts. To each end of the rope
527 they attached a whip, and near its center they folded over it two red cloth
837 sashes. These sashes were considered sacred. The wife of one of the buyers then rose, stripped naked and covering her genitalia with her hands,
533 approached the rear of the fireplace. Rising on tiptoes, she seized one of the sashes, covered her nakedness again, pressed the sash to her breast and hung it up as before. Each one of the buyers' wives went through the same ceremony. During this performance the fathers were all singing. The women returned to their seats and put on their blankets. Each husband then said to his wife: "I will give you to my father, for I want his song. Perhaps he will pray for us, and it will be well for both of us."

575 Then the father and the woman offered to him went out together.
[844] Menstruating women were absolved from this performance, for they were not supposed to come to the lodge at all on such occasions. As a matter
837 of fact, Black-chest says that only very few fathers availed themselves of the right surrendered to them, being generally afraid of ill luck if they did.
432 The form, however, was gone through by each wife on each of the twenty
527 nights. Black-chest's wife told her husband that Good-bear merely took her outside, faced west with her and said, "Daughter-in-law, stop and
[782] stand there." Then he prayed as follows: "My gods, my son has given me his wife. I wish that my daughter-in-law may always enjoy a long and happy life, and I ask you in behalf of my son that he may conquer his enemies." After this prayer he bade the woman go back, and both returned to the lodge.

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On the twentieth night Big-thief again took a seat by the dogskin. He thus addressed the buyers: "Now, sons, tomorrow this dance will be yours, so I wish to ask you for some more pay. Put down one gun to represent the killing of anything." Then one of the Kit-Foxes put down a gun. Big-thief continued: "This dog has a hide, give us a robe." Then one of the Kit-Foxes laid down his robe. "Give us a knife for butchering." Two men then rose and put down two butchering knives. "For this head put down one yellow cooking-kettle." The buyers sent round for such a kettle and finally secured one, which they brought to the fathers. "Put down one thing for the head." Then someone laid down a stick trimmed with tail-feathers. "Put down one thing for the tail." Then, Black-chest thinks, another robe was laid down. "The dog has four legs, put down four articles." The Kit-Foxes again did as bidden. 575 432 527

On the next day there followed the final surrender of membership prerogatives. This time the buyers sat in an arc, without their wives, who remained in the spectators' place (see p. 303). The fathers sat on the opposite side, singing a bravery song, and the two sash-wearing officers danced. The words of the song were in Hidatsa: — 575 432 527

"Māha'hkureci'ruts. tō'cē'ruca, marē'wits." [177]
"No one lives forever. Whatever may happen, I shall go."

At the close of this song the whippers and sash-wearers, as well as all the other fathers, surrendered their regalia to their respective sons. As Little-crow, Wounded-face's father, owned a lance decorated with a string of feathers, Wounded-face assumed the same office (not mentioned by Black-chest), of which there was one other incumbent. In addition to the lance, Wounded-face received a shirt, a new pair of leggings, a switch and pendants for the decoration of both sides of the head; his hair was cut short in front by Little-crow. Wounded-face's relatives piled up presents in front of him, which he turned over to his father, adding a good horse of his own. The other purchasers made corresponding presents to their fathers. While Wounded-face speaks of four sash-wearers, Black-chest limits the number to two, and Water-chief sets it at five. Water-chief, like Wounded-face, received one of the sashes from his father; there was tied to it a small package of root medicine to avert danger. This package has never been opened by Water-chief. The whippers, according to this last authority, lashed members who did not rise to dance at the proper time. Each member of the rank and file received a whistle of owl bone about four inches long, and a bunch of split owl feathers, with an eagle feather in the center, to be hung from the back of the head. These feathers were painted yellow. 575 432 431 [293] [134]

After the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the exception of 000

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after the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the ex-
ception of three men, who remained to instruct the new members in singing. These
575 three fathers stood between the door and the fireplace, but nearer to the
527 latter, while the new group of Little Dogs ranged themselves in a three-
868 quarter circle in the rear of the lodge. While the fathers sang, the members
533 danced, moving both feet at the same time and also raising and lowering their arms. Then the Little Dogs proceeded in single file to an open place, the singers following in the rear. Wounded-face says that as first lancer he took the lead, while his associate brought up the rear, and that the sash-wearers had no special place in the line. All the new members blew their whistles while coming out and formed a circle in the open place. The three fathers stepped inside the circle. At this first public parade, the old people called out the members' names and admonished them to try to die soon. Water-chief actually went on a war party soon after the parade, and put on his sash, thinking, "If I get killed, my old people will call out my name; if I live, I shall strike an enemy." As a matter of fact, he struck two women near the enemy's camp, and his people rejoiced.

575 After several songs and dances the Little Dogs stopped and went back
431 to their lodge, where they sat about and danced. The fathers sent messengers to summon their sons. Each son then went to his father's house, sometimes accompanied by his wife. The father gave his son a present of food, which the wife took home; if the son came alone, he took the food back to the society's lodge.

575 Like other societies, the Little Dogs occasionally went through the camp at night singing and waking up the villagers.

Crazy Dog Society.

575 In Maximilian's account the Crazy Dog (mini's'ōxka ō'xat'e)[1] society
561 figures as that of the youngest age group, embracing boys of from 10 to 15 years of age. In the list of my informants it ranks as the fourth society to be purchased by young men. It was obviously constituted in their day by married men; for they had all married before the purchase of the next lower society (see p. 304). Maximilian was told that in former days old men had also belonged to the organization, but on the understanding that they were never to retreat from the enemy.

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[1] The native name is nowadays at first blush interpreted as "Broncho Society." Maximilian, however, renders it "die thörichten Hunde, oder die Hunde deren Namen man nicht kennt, (les chiens fols, ou les chiens dont on ne connaît pas le nom)," and this translation is confirmed on further inquiry. Cf. footnote, p. 302. Yellow-hair explicitly identified the Mandan *mini's'ōxka ō'xate* with the Hidatsa *macu'ka warā'ⁿxe* (see p. 280).

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The mode of purchase, as described by Maximilian, closely resembles that followed in buying membership in the other organizations. The boys desiring to become members approached the owners, addressed them as "fathers," and secured in exchange for blankets, cloths, horses and powder, the dances, songs, and regalia characteristic of the society. In this connection the Prince does not mention the feasting of the fathers, but the custom is referred to by my informants: Little-crow's group entertained the sellers for thirty, and that of Yellow-hair's husband for twenty nights. 575 432 527

One noteworthy addition to the purchase ceremony had become possible in later times through the change in the age of the members. As the Crazy Dogs were no longer boys as in Maximilian's day, but married men, the surrender of wives as a partial payment was no longer out of the question. As a matter of fact, I have no direct statement to the effect that wives were surrendered in this instance, but Yellow-hair's account strongly suggests that such was the case. According to this authority, all the women attended the purchase of the Crazy Dog membership. A rope was stretched between two poles and from it were suspended three headdresses and three sashes. On each of the twenty nights of entertainment six women removed their insignia, took them outside, pressed them to their breasts, and finally brought them back and hung them up again. Then six other women went through the same performance, and so on. 575 432 527 837

In view of Black-chest's statements as to the purchase of the Little Dog society (p. 304), I am inclined to believe that Yellow-hair's account is incomplete and that the women who took down the regalia and passed outdoors were offered as a part payment for the benefits to be derived from the fathers. This interpretation is confirmed by Maximilian's repeated reference to the wife-offering as a feature common to all the higher societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa. 575 837 432

The badge of all members, according to the Prince, was a whistle made from the wing-bone of a wild goose. Yellow-hair says that this whistle was suspended from the neck by means of a quill-wrapped string. Everyone carried a rattle of globular or ring shape. The rattles were trimmed with raven wing-feathers. To the back of the head members attached an ornament of split raven wing-feathers. Some of the Crazy Dogs wore neither shirt nor leggings, but daubed their bodies with yellow paint. While dancing, members were permitted to bear lances. 575 292 301

From the rank and file there were distinguished, in Maximilian's day, three officers wearing a long, broad strip of red cloth extending down the back, from neck to foot. Yellow-hair also speaks of three sash-wearers; the red cloth was edged with white, and a slit made it possible to slip the sash over the head. At the shoulder, near the white edging, there was attached 575 292

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575 292 the war-medicine given by the father to the son at the time of the membership sale. Wounded-face says that there were four sash-wearers.

Besides the sash-wearers, there were three (Wounded-face again speaks of four) officers wearing headdresses of buffalo-skin, decorated with sections of horns and strips of weasel skins. The headgears were secured by means of neckstrings, which also served to fasten them to the stretched rope at the time of the purchase (see p. 307). To the back of the headdresses there were attached strips of rawhide, about 3½ feet in length and decorated with quillwork. Horsetails, dyed yellow, were fastened to the tops of the horns, and occasionally hawk-wings were used for decorating the headdresses.

Wounded-face is alone in speaking of two additional officers bearing lances, that were decorated at the top and center with a bunch of short raven wing-feathers. The use of a feathered string with these lances was optional.

575 432 Yellow-hair mentions four drummers, each of whom gave his drum to his son at the time of the membership sale.

575 432 527 When the purchase had been consummated after the twenty nights' entertainment, the fathers, according to Yellow-hair, passed out of the lodge, lamenting the loss of their songs,— some of them even pretending to cry. On the other hand, the purchasers began to sing and rejoice. They went outdoors, formed a circle, and sang there. After a while they returned to their lodge, followed by their wives. Supper had been prepared. The new Crazy Dogs and their wives feasted, and then went home. On the next day the fathers invited the purchasers and their wives, gave them breakfast, and presented the men with clothes and regalia and the women with dresses. In return, the sons gave horses to their fathers. After this exchange of gifts, the members frequently assembled to practise the newly acquired [535] dance. The women never danced, but might take part in the singing. In dancing the Crazy Dogs jumped up with both feet and shook their rattles as an accompaniment to the drums. In a parade, the headdress-wearers took the lead, one marching behind the other; the sash-wearers had no fixed place.

575 535 Among the Mandan of Ruhptare Maximilian found that the Crazy[1] Dogs performed the Hot dance. After a large fire had been built, a number of glowing embers were scattered about, and then the boys, stripped of all clothing, danced on them with their bare feet. The hands, forearms, and feet of the performers were colored red. Sliced meat was boiling in a kettle over the fire. When the meat had been well done, the dancers put their

[1] Maximilian writes: "Die kleinen Hunde, deren Namen man nicht kennt, führen ihn auf." The modifying clause makes it clear that he is referring to the first society of his series.

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hands into the boiling water, took out some of the meat, and ate it at the risk of scalding themselves. Those coming last to the kettle had the worst of it, for they were obliged to dig down deeper into the water than their predecessors. During the dance the performers carried weapons and rattles in their hands. 575 535

I did not obtain any Mandan description of the Hot dance. My Hidatsa information is given on p. 253. 000

Crow Society.

Maximilian translates the name of the society Hä'derucha-O'chatä as "Crow, or Raven, band."[1] Its members were from 20 to 25 years old. Sometimes the younger men had not owned a society for half a year or longer. Then one of them went to a Hä'derucha and said to him, "Father, I am poor, but I wish to buy of you." If the father consented, the young men then received the raven feathers worn on the head by the members of the society, a double whistle formed of two goose wing bones fastened together, a drum, rattle, song, and dance. In this case, as in other societies, a head man decided whether the privileges sought by the younger men should be sold and he it was that the prospective buyers approached. Then a feast was prepared in the medicine lodge for forty nights, and the fathers were entertained at their sons' expense. Moreover, the purchasers surrendered their wives to the sellers every evening until the fathers were satisfied and abdicated their membership. 575 432 [837]

Half-shaved Heads.

My Mandan informants did not refer to this society (Ischohä-Kakoscho'chatä), though it was described by my Hidatsa friends (p. 272). According to Maximilian, the *Hä'deruch-O'chatä* bought the Half-Shaved Head dance from the Soldiers before they were old enough to become Soldiers. It is worth while to summarize Maximilian's detailed account of the purchase. 575

The buyers were to entertain the sellers for forty nights. On the first night the drum was beaten to call the negotiating parties to the medicine lodge. A fire was burning in the center, the women sat along the walls, while the white visitors and several noted Soldiers sat in front of the draught- 575 432 527

[1] Compare what is said above about the Hidatsa hä'rerö'ka society (p. 266).

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575 screen. Along the wall to the left sat the remaining Soldiers, about twenty-
432 five in number; while some were clad in fine garments, the majority dressed
527 in ordinary clothes. Some exposed the upper part of the body. In the
center three drummers seated themselves. The purchasers stood on the
right side of the fire. They were expected to give valuable presents to the
[837] Soldiers, to feast them and furnish them with tobacco for forty nights, and
every evening they were to offer them their wives. The sellers approached
the lodge amidst singing and drumming, and entered with their regalia.
These consisted of four lances, from 7 to 8 feet long, with an iron head point-
[293] ing downwards. The shaft was wrapped with broad bands of otterskin,
while pairs of otterskin strips were tied to the head and several other points
on the lance. Two of the lances were hooked, the two others were straight.
A fifth emblem consisted of a war club with iron point, which was colored
red and was decorated with several feathers in the back. Further there
were three lances, decorated alternately with black and white feathers, and a
beautifully ornamented bow and quiver. At first, the Soldiers remained
concealed behind the screen, and were merely holding these insignia so that
they projected into the main space of the lodge. After standing in this
position, singing and drumming violently, for a while, they entered, placed
the lances against the wall, and stuck the war club into the ground, near one
of the main pillars. Then they all took seats along the wall. While the
[576] singing and drumming was alternately renewed, the purchasers prepared
their pipes, and handed them to each of the guests in turn, for which act
they stooped, holding the mouthpiece towards the smokers. When the
guests had taken a few puffs, the purchasers did likewise, and then carried
the pipe in regular order, from right to left, to each of the sellers. This
smoking consumed considerable time; each guest, during this part of the
performance, was also presented with a little cake of sweet-corn. After
[535] about half an hour, two of the Soldiers rose and danced towards each other.
One of them seized the war club, and held it stiffly in his left hand, while the
right hung straight down. Bending the upper part of his body forward,
he jumped stiffly into the air with both feet; keeping time with the music.
The other dancer had fine decorations on his head and legs, and the upper
part of his body was likewise exposed. He seized one of the otterskin lances,
which he held, sloping, between his two hands, and both men then danced
or hopped towards each other. After several minutes the second performer
put the lance away, and took a seat, while all the other members gave the
war whoop and gave vent to exclamations of joy, amidst vigorous beating
of the drum. Then there was silence. The man with the war club ad-
dressed the buyers, calling them his "sons," and recounted several of his
martial exploits, whereupon he handed them the war club. One of the

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Fig. 11. Mandan Half-Shaved Head Dance. (Maximilian's Atlas.)

[p.311]

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575 purchasers then called him his "father," stroked his arm downwards with
432 his hand, took the weapon out of his hand, and again put it in its place.
527 The other dancer followed, recounted some of his deeds, and offered the lance to one of the buyers, who received it in the same manner as his predecessor, and then put it in its place. The periods of intermission were filled with smoking, singing and drumming, but no rattles were used. Two other Soldiers also rose, told of how they had stolen horses, medicine bundles, or other possessions, from the enemy, and gave two more insignia to the purchasers. After this had been done four or five times, the wives of the [837] buyers rose. Four of them divested themselves of their robes, quickly seized the lances, and carried them, one after another, outside the lodge. After a while they brought them in again. This ceremony was repeated twice, the disrobed women stroked the arms of the strangers and fathers, put on their robes, and passed outside. The persons stroked were expected to follow them into the woods. This procedure resembled that of the Hidatsa in their medicine festival.[1]

575 Some time after the purchase Maximilian had occasion to observe the
535 dance of the new Half-Shaved Heads. About twenty of them entered the
302 Fort, threw off their robes so as to expose their gaily colored bodies, and formed a circle. They were elaborately decorated and carried the insignia of the dance, such as the otter-wrapped sticks. One man wore a bonnet with horns and ermine strips; another, mounted on horseback, was decorated with paint symbolizing the blood from wounds. Three Soldiers (= Black Mouths) served as musicians. As soon as the drum was beaten, the dancers protruded the upper part of their bodies, and leaped into the air with both feet, at the same time holding their guns ready for firing. Thus they danced in the circle for about a minute, then hallooed, rested for a while, and resumed their performance. After receiving some tobacco, they dispersed, put on their robes, and went to Ruptare, where they also danced among the Hidatsa.[2] A picture of the dance, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas is shown in Fig. 11.

Black Mouths.

575 The native name of this society is *ĩ'he pei'here õ'xat'e*, or *numã'k xarã'k*
625 *õ'xat'e*. Maximilian calls the members of this society "Soldiers." They form the third society in his list, but he states that all the higher classes

[1] Maximilian, II, 274–277.
[2] Maximilian II, 286–287.

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might belong to the Soldiers' class, as the police functions devolved on this society. However, it was necessary that all members should agree to sell; a single negative voice put a stop to the negotiations. Some individuals did not immediately consent to sell when requested in order to exact a greater amount of property from the buyers. The Prince enumerates the undertakings in which the Soldiers took an important part: changes of village sites, buffalo hunts, and other communal movements. More particularly, they took care lest anyone should prematurely startle buffalo herds. Anyone shooting a wolf or other animal at such a time was maltreated, even if he happened to be a chief, and deprived of his gun. In the 'thirties even white people living in the vicinity were subjected to the same rules. The Soldiers frequently forbade the cutting of trees near the Fort, and took away the woodcutters' axes. 575 625 [432]

Maximilian says that the Soldiers painted the upper part of the face red, and the lower black. Their whistle was made of a crane wing bone. Two pipes, to be smoked on special occasions, remained in the custody of as many pipe-bearers. A rattle was made from a little tin kettle — apparently the baking-powder cans referred to by my own informants — provided with a handle. Among the insignia there were two long, straight poles wrapped with otterskin and decorated with dependent owl feathers. In war these poles were planted in the ground, and must not be abandoned by their bearers. A corresponding regulation applied to one other pole decorated with raven feathers in the manner described and illustrated by Maximilian in connection with a Blackfoot society.[1] 575 302 293

The following origin tradition was given by Wounded-face.[2] Long ago Good-fur-robe assembled the middle-aged men. To the leader he gave one cornstalk, and to the rear man another. "When the enemy chase you," he instructed them, "plant these in the ground and do not run away." Sometimes a cornstalk has five branches at the top. Later, a stick with a spear head was made to represent the cornstalks; owl wing-feathers were tied to its side, as well as crow or raven wing feathers and a raven head. It was wrapped with otterskin, and strips of skin were made to hang down from several points of the staff to represent leaves of the corn. There were two pipe-bearers and two rattlers, the latter taking places next to the spear-carriers, while the pipe men marched in the center. While dancing, the Black Mouths left their circle open at one side. The order in which they marched was: one spear officer, one rattler, the rank and file, the pipe-bearers, the rank and file, the second rattler, the second spear officer. The Black 575 293

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[1] Maximilian, i. 578.
[2] Cf. Maximilian's version, referred to on p. 300.

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575 293 [302] Mouths were also called "Brave Men's society." They painted their faces black. The Goose women used the same paint, because their society was founded by the same man. When the time came for singing, the first rattler walked ahead and began to sing. Then the drummers took up the song. The next time the second rattler acted in the same manner. The raven-lance bearers had a special song and dance, during which they crossed each other's path.

575 726 554 533 535 One summer, when the society wished to give a performance because some Sioux were coming to fight, they stuck two tipi poles into the ground, and tied raven-lances to the top. One of the Soldiers cried, "Kā! Kā! Kā!" This was in imitation of crows. Then some other member went outside the lodge to see which one had cried. Returning, he said, "It is not a living raven, but the raven head on Skunk's lance." Skunk was a very brave man. The people said, "We will find out what this means." Then someone took the lances down, and returned them to their owners. Skunk said, "Hold on, my fellow-members, I wish to know the reason why my lance is singing." He got his associate to accompany him, and both lance officers then went through the village, singing this song: —

"kē'ka, nasarā'rōoca. mī' ō'watē'roc.
"Raven, you sing. I want to die.
"kika're e'henik, ō'ota."
"If you are afraid, go away."

The people hearing Skunk thought him braver than ever. They said to him, "This is your day, do what you wish best." The people encouraged Skunk. When the society started outdoors for a dance, Skunk took the lead, and again sang. A circle was formed. All the people came to watch the performance. Skunk once more sang his song. He danced alone, in a slanting line. These were the words of his song: —

"mīnukarité, nū'tamina'tare hū'miikāc. i'miinahèc."
"My friends, our enemies are numerous. I am used to it" [that is, to fight].

When the time came to fight, Skunk struck many coups. This is what the singing of the raven had indicated.

575 626 In addition to the police functions described by Maximilian, Wounded-face mentions a special duty devolving on the two pipe-bearers. When some villager wished to kill a fellow-tribesman, these officers filled up a pipe, and gave him presents in order to make him desist. Acceptance signified acquiescence in their wishes.

575 Water-chief became a Black Mouth, together with about twenty of his comrades, at thirty; generally, however, the members were older. They

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feasted their fathers for twelve nights. My informant received a tin rattle, as his father had been one of the singers, but, having a bad voice, he gave it to another man who was a better singer. When the new members paraded about, the villagers called them by name, and said, "You Black Mouths, die soon, for you are the bravest of the societies." The members put black paint on the lower part of the face, and black stripes on the body. If a dog came near them during a parade, a Black Mouth who had shot an enemy was permitted symbolically to refer to his deed by shooting the dog. 575 [302] [201]

Bull Society.

During their dance the members of the Bull organization (mēro'k ō'xat'e) wore, according to Maximilian, the upper part of the skin of a buffalo head with the horns and the long hairs of the neck. Two men, the bravest of all and pledged never to retreat from an enemy, wore together with the horns a complete representation of a buffalo head; this mask was provided with artificial eyeslits, surrounded by iron or tin rings. One woman attendant walked about during the dance, offering to the two mask-wearers water from a bowl. This woman was clad in a fine new suit of bighorn skin, and her face was painted with vermilion. The Bulls were the only society to use wooden whistles. They had a piece of red cloth fastened to the back, as well as the representation of a buffalo tail, and carried weapons in their hands. The two mask-wearers kept on the outside of the other dancers, and imitated the voice and actions of bulls, their shy wheeling over towards one side, their manner of looking about in all directions, etc. During the performance of the Bull dance witnessed by the Prince, there were nine dancers, who discharged their guns immediately on entering the Fort. Only one of them wore the complete buffalo head, the rest wore pieces of the skin of the forehead, a pair of cloth sashes, and an appendix decorated with feathers, which represented the tail; they carried shields decorated with red cloth, and long, beautifully ornamented lances.[1] A reproduction of Bodmer's drawing of the Bull dance in Maximilian's Atlas is presented in Fig. 12. 575 292

Wounded-face had heard that long ago a Mandan, who had a buffalo front leg in place of one arm, founded the Bull society. My informant said that only a few wore the piece of buffalo head skin with horns, some others merely dressed their hair in bunches in front. Still others covered their face with a mask, formed by fastening a tanned skin painted yellow over the

[1] Maximilian, II, 315.

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Fig. 12. Mandan Bull Dance. (Maximilian's Atlas.)

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buffalo skin, the hair of which, however, was exposed from the wearer's forehead down to his chin. The spears carried were not very long, and the head pointed downwards. Shields rested on the left arm. Members who had struck enemies, carried guns; if they had used arrows to kill a foe, they carried arrows. Wounds received in battle were symbolized by red body paint. While dancing in the village, the Bulls jumped around. They pointed spears and guns at anyone approaching them, and thereby frightened young people. Those who had slain enemies enacted their martial deeds. For music they used a *large* drum. 575 292 [302] [534]

Calf-woman remembered seeing six women known as "Bull women" at a Bull performance; they sat behind the men singers. A woman brought in water, but only such members as had saved a woman's life were permitted to drink of it. This informant also remembers one of the mask-wearers pretending to spear people, and frightening the children, jumping up with both legs, and stamping one foot at a time. 575

The Bull dance described by Boller was not connected with the Bull society, but formed part of the Okipe as is obvious from comparison with Maximilian's and Catlin's accounts of this ceremony.[1] 535

Dog[1] Society.

Maximilian describes the emblem of the society as a stick a foot or a foot and a half in length, which was ornamented with blue and white beads, and to which a large number of animal hoofs were attached. To the front of the stick there was tied an eagle feather, to the lower extremity a piece of beaded leather. The members wore a large cap of colored cloth, to which were attached a great number of raven, magpie, and owl feathers, and which was further decorated with colored horsehair and weasel skins. Their whistle was large, and made from the wing bone of a swan. Three of them wore in the back sashes of red cloth similar to those of the Crazy Dog society. A bunch of owl, raven, or magpie feathers — and frequently a combination of all three — was attached to the head so as to hang down in the back. The three officers referred to were regarded as Real Dogs. People would throw a piece of meat into the ashes of a fire, or on the ground, and say, "You Dog, eat!" Then they were obliged to fall foul of it and to devour it like dogs or beasts of prey. 575 292 293

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[1] Boller, 109–106; Maximilian, II, 174, 178; Catlin, I, 164 f.

[2] The native name is mini's ô'xatoc. What was said above (p. 306) as to the translation of the word *mioi's* applies in this case also. The equivalence of the Hidatsa Dog society cannot be doubted, and Maximilian's rendering of the Mandan name supports this view.

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575 535 292 302 A dance of the "Dog society" of Ruptare village that was witnessed by Bodmer is described by Maximilian. After a performance in their lodge, the members, twenty-seven or twenty-eight in number, advanced towards the Fort. Some were clad in beautiful robes or bighorn-skin shirts, others in red cloth shirts, or blue and red uniforms. Some exposed the upper part of their body, on which coups were indicated in reddish-brown paint. In this connection the Prince speaks of *four* Real Dogs, all wearing huge bonnets of raven or magpie feathers, tipped with small white plumes, while in the center there was a fan of the tail feathers of a wild turkey or eagle. Round the neck each of these officers wore a long strip of red cloth, which extended down the back as far as the calves and was knotted in the middle of the back. Two additional officers wore similarly colossal bonnets of yellowish owl feathers, with dark oblique stripes, and one had a large, horned war-bonnet with a feathered streamer hanging down in the back. All others were ornamented with a bunch of thickly-set raven, magpie, or owl feathers, which was considered emblematic of the society. All members wore long whistles, and carried in their left arm some weapon, while the hoof rattle was held in the right hand. A circle was formed. In the center [534] there was a large drum, which was beaten by five poorly clad musicians; in addition to these men, who were seated, two drummers stood on the side, beating hand-drums. After whistling in their places in accompaniment to the rapid and violent beats of the drum, the Dogs suddenly began to dance, dropping their robes to the ground. Several of them danced in the middle of the circle, leaning their bodies forward, jumping up some distance with both feet and coming down firmly on the ground. The other Indians danced without any attention to orderly arrangement, crowding one another, turning their faces towards the circle, and occasionally joining in lowering the head and upper part of the body.[1]

575 534 292 301 Wounded-face says that the rattle (wī'o oxerō're) consisted of a stick covered with buckskin, to which the hoofs of young buffalo were attached. There were two men with sashes, which were half green and half yellow, and which were decorated with feathers. The skin cap had magpie feathers tied to it in a large bunch, and a white plume was fastened to every feather. Two eagle feathers, together with owl feathers, were also used for a head ornament. A large whistle was suspended from a wide strip of skin decorated with quillwork. The body was painted red. All the members carried the hoof-rattles, and sometimes they beat a drum or a log with them. All the Dogs were portly old men, slow in their dancing. Wounded-face thinks the society originated with the Hidatsa.

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[1] Maximilian, II, 309–311.

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Old Dog Society.[1]

Maximilian, while not including this society in his list of age-classes, 561
states that the Old Dog dance was one which the Dogs might buy of the 535
Bulls before they were permitted to become Bulls. The Old Dog dancers
painted their bodies white, and their hands red and black. They wore 575
a grizzly skin round the body, and on the head feathers which hung down 292
in the back.

Wounded-face knew nothing of the organization save the name. He had 575
heard that they dressed similarly to the Dogs.

Coarse Hair Society.

Wounded-face had only heard of this society (bacā'ca ō'xat'e) from his 575
grandfather. There was something sacred about it. A young man going 292
on the warpath promised the members to give them a dance provided he
performed some brave deed in battle. When dancing, the members dressed 554
up. On the head they placed a piece of scalp from a buffalo head of the 726
size of a human scalp. Hair was attached to the scalp so as to hang over 714
the members' faces. They put honor marks on their clothes. The left leggings were painted red up to the knee, and black marks were put round the lower legs as a sign that the wearer had struck many enemies. Leaders in war who had killed enemies tied human hair to the leggings. For each enemy struck in war, a member put one feather on his head. If he had been wounded by an arrow, the split feather from an arrow, dyed red, was worn on the head. A gun wound was indicated by a stick about 9 inches in length, and whittled at the lower end so that the shavings remained on the stick. The young warrior providing for the entertainment of the performers filled a pipe for them, and, if possible, presented them with horses or eagle feather bonnets. He asked them to pray for him. All the older men rejoiced in such a feast.

It is possible, but by no means certain, that this society corresponds to 575
Maximilian's As-Cho'h-O'chatā (Ascho'-O'chatä). On the 23rd of December, 1833, a large number of Indians visited the Fort, led by fourteen mem- 292
bers of this society from the village of Ruptare. The entire head was 535
covered with a wig of long, flat braids of hair, which fell over the face, completely hiding it. Feathers of the owl, raven, and of birds of prey,

[1] minis' xixe' ō'xat'e.

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575 each tipped with a thick white plume, adorned the head. One member
292 carried a beautiful fan of white feathers, and wore on the head a complete
535 swan's tail, each feather of which was decorated with dyed horsehair. The
[293] members wrapped themselves completely in their robes, and carried bow-lances trimmed with feathers, colored cloth, glass beads, and the like; most of them had fox skins attached to their heels. Several men beat a drum, while the rest formed a circle and imitated the sound of buffalo bulls. After they had danced for a while, the spectators threw a quantity of tobacco down for them, whereupon they departed for the village in the woods, taking off their wigs on the way. In another place, the Prince mentions rattles as well as drums, and states that the bow-lances were also decorated with bear guts.[1]

Black-Tail Deer Society.

575 All the old men above fifty were, according to Maximilian, members of
561 the Black-Tail Deer organization (cu'psi ō'xat'e). Two female attendants
301 cooked and served fresh water during a dance. All of the men wore a
554 wreath of grizzly claws round the head, and displayed their honor marks in the form of feather head ornaments, braids of hair on arms and legs, scalps, painting, etc.

575 Wounded-face says that the organization originated on the Bad Creek,
773 near the Heart River. One day two young men with arrows stayed on a high wooded hill by the Creek. They dug a deep pit, put sticks across, and covered them with grass. They wanted to snare some animals. One morning one of the men went towards the trap. As he drew close, he heard signs of a trapped animal. He was glad, looked inside, and saw that he had caught a large and very fat black-tail deer. He fitted an arrow to his bow, but the deer said, "Don't shoot me." "Why not?" "You are my son, you must not shoot me. Make a path for me to get out." The young man obeyed, and the buck got out. Then he said, "You are a young man, and I know what you desire: honor marks. I have the power to give them to you, but you have many other fathers, who will instruct you later." He stretched his legs, jumped away, and went some distance. Then he stretched his legs again, and sang a song. When his song was ended, he went towards a wooded hill. The young man knew there was a house there. It belonged to the Deer, and the door closed with a thud. The house was the Black-Tail lodge.

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[1] Maximilian, II, 145f., 281f.

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The young man returned to the village and told the people that he had caught and liberated a deer, but he did not tell them anything else. He waited for the good wishes of the Deer to come true. His father, whom he told about it, bade him fast. Accordingly, he went into the Deer's wood, fasting and crying for two nights. A boy came to him and said, "They are calling you." This boy led him into an earth-lodge, where the young man beheld many men sitting around. In the center were two girls, each carrying a pipe pointed towards the door. The Deer sat by the door of his lodge, and tobacco was heaped up before him. The stranger was asked to sit near his host, who thus addressed him: "Now, my son, I told you that you had a great many fathers. They wish to talk to you now." Then each old man said in turn, "My son, look at me, and see what honor marks I have on my clothes. These marks are yours." When he at last came to the Deer himself, he was addressed thus: "You see what honors we have given you. I will add one thing more. If you get wounded, no matter where, you shall not die from your wounds. You will get all the honors given by your fathers." Then the Deer asked the others, how long their son was to live. They allowed the girls to decide. The girls discussed the matter, and one of them said, "We want him to be very old and to die from old age in his sleep." All the men assented. The host then said, "My son, you see this society, but you must not found it immediately, wait until you are very old." The girls wore eagle plumes above the ears. All the men began to sing, and the young man learned every one of their songs. Finally, the Deer said, "When you wish to fight, paint your body yellow, put black on both arms as far as the elbow and also from the knees to the feet. Here [giving him his own black-tail necklace] is your necklace. If enemies get close, they will miss you, for your fathers were never wounded by arrows."

The young man returned to the village, and became a great warrior. When very old, he sent for men distinguished for martial deeds. They came, and he explained his vision to them. He told them he wished to found the society; all were willing to join, and learned the songs. Then he said, "We will get two girls loved by their fathers." They selected two such girls, and let them sit in the center, carrying pipes and wearing plumes on their heads.

When very young, Wounded-face saw a very old woman who had been one of the Black-Tail Deer girls.

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Badger Society.

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This society was not mentioned by any of my Mandan friends, but was described by Wolf-chief as a Mandan (not an Hidatsa) institution. The members were old and but few in number. They did not dance, but assembled to go into a sweat lodge together, on which occasion they tried to fight like badgers and otherwise imitate these animals. In leaving the sweat lodge they always proceeded backwards. The sweat bath could never get too hot for them. Only those who had sold all other societies took part in these proceedings. Like other groups, however, the Badgers attempted to sell their membership. Some years ago a single Badger remained, and offered to sell his membership rights to my informant, who, however, refused to purchase them.

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MANDAN AND HIDATSA WOMEN'S SOCIETIES.

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According to Maximilian, the Mandan women were grouped in four age-societies, and the Hidatsa women in three. Beginning with the youngest, the Mandan had a Gun society (Eru'hpa-Mih-Ochatä), a River (Passan-Mih-Ochatä), Hay women (Chan-Mih-Ochatä), and White Buffalo (Ptihn-Tack-Ochatä) society. His Hidatsa societies, listed in the reverse order, are the Wild Goose (Bi'hda-Ächke), Enemy (Ma'h-Iha'h-Ächke), and Skunk (Cho'chkäiwi) societies.[1] Of these, the Hay society was not mentioned by any of my informants.[2] On the other hand, a Cheyenne Women society was said to have been introduced among the Mandan in recent times. The River and the Buffalo organizations are generally admitted to be Mandan societies of old standing, while the Enemy society is unanimously considered of Hidatsa origin. In recent times the tribal lines were not strictly drawn, so that Mandan women belonged to the Hidatsa Enemy society, and Hidatsa women bought the Mandan Buffalo membership.[3] The case of the Skunk, Goose, and River societies is rather different, as there is evidence that each of these organizations existed independently in both tribes, though the Skunk society is said to be of Hidatsa, and the River society of Mandan origin, both by Maximilian and by native informants now living. As to the Goose society there is conflict of opinion. Maximilian lists it only among the Hidatsa organizations, while all of my informants are of opinion that it developed among the Mandan and was borrowed by the Hidatsa. Hides-and-eats specified that it originated in the Eastern Mandan village (Maximilian's Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch). Either alternative has interesting implications. If the Goose society originally belonged to the Mandan, then all the women's organizations of a sacred character are distinctive of that tribe. If, on the other hand the Goose women originally formed the highest of the Hidatsa organizations, it is worth noting that they were in later times subordinated to the Mandan White Buffalo women, there being general agreement as to the relative rank of the two organizations.

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Matthews[4] speaks of an Hidatsa Fox Women society of which I did

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[1] Maximilian, II, 145, 219.

[2] Maximilian tells us only that they wore their best clothes when they danced and sang scalp songs.

[3] This has also been noted by Matthews, 47.

[4] Matthews, 155.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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H 561 575 not even obtain the name. As his spelling of the words for "fox" and "skunk" is almost identical, I am sure that this similarity in sound misled him. His statement that members were from fifteen to twenty years old fits the facts of the Skunk society fairly well.

H M 561 575 432 The mode of entrance into at least the majority of the organizations was evidently similar to that in the men's organizations, but though purchase of membership was collective, there are indications that sometimes age-mates of the buyers did not participate in the purchase. The Skunk and Gun societies are said by Hides-and-eats to have had no formal adoption whatsoever.

H M 608 432 575 The ceremonial relationship between buyers and sellers has already been explained (see p. 226). Clan aunts became the buyers' mothers. If an Hidatsa buyer could not find a clan aunt in the sellers' group, the latter would appoint some member of another clan to act as aunt and mother for the occasion of the purchase (Buffalo-bird-woman, Hidatsa). When buying the Goose society, Buffalo-bird-woman had an aunt among the sellers, but as she was the sister of my informant's husband and lived in the same lodge, it did not seem proper to buy the membership from her. Sometimes several girls took food to the same clan aunt, who would thus become the mother of several buyers.

H M 575 432 That membership meant primarily ownership through purchase seems clear from several statements. Thus, Young-beaver still regards herself both a Cheyenne and a Goose woman, and Hides-and-eats holds both the Goose and the White Buffalo membership, because these informants never sold their membership.

H M 575 Three of the women's organizations — the River, Goose, and White Buffalo societies — are rather sharply separated from the others by their clearly sacred character and the cleansing ceremony that concludes their performances. The Goose and White Buffalo societies are associated with securing food through magico-religious means. It should be noted, however that in both cases the women acted under the direction of a male singer. Thus, Calf-woman declared that it was the privilege of the Goose women's singers, Wounded-face and Poor-wolf, to tell the tale of the society's origin. The Skunk, Gun, and Enemy Women societies were obviously associated with war. To what extent any of the women's organizations had developed the social factor, is not clear. Rev. Wilson learned that the Skunks occasionally prepared feasts for themselves and their "friends." If members of the other Hidatsa societies were sick and unable to do their own planting they would prepare a feast for their fellow-members, who would come and plant all the sick woman's garden for her.

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Skunk Women Society.

According to Hides-and-eats, this society (Hidatsa: xu'xke mī'E i'ké) differs from several of the others in not requiring an adoption for entrance. When the Mandan had killed an enemy in war and rejoiced over it, the young girls' parents painted them and bade them dance. The face was painted black with charcoal except for a triangular area tapering from the center of the forehead towards the nose, which was daubed with white clay. An eagle plume was stuck upright in the back of the head. There was a single male singer with a drum. A song referring to the enemy was worded as follows: "The man formed like a wolf that came must get back home. He must be sorry for it. He himself sits bent down." 575 302 [608]

Calf-woman, a younger but equally trustworthy source of information, confirmed Hides-and-eats' statements regarding the painting of the face, which was meant to suggest the appearance of skunks, and also with regard to the occasion for the public dance. On the other hand, she contradicted her as to the absence of adoption proceedings. According to Calf-woman, the privilege of membership in the Skunk society was acquired in the same way as in other women's organizations. For thirty days, or rather nights, the prospective Skunks, while learning the appropriate songs and dances, entertained those who sold their membership to them,— their "mothers." At the close of the thirty nights' feasts, the young girls piled up property as a payment for the acquisition of the society. In this they were assisted by the correlated Stone Hammer organization of the young men. In addition to this collective payment, each novice, on receiving the plume ornament, gave her "mother" a dress or robe, sometimes receiving in return an entire suit of clothes. Further, any one who could afford it presented her mother with horses. After this final gift, the newly adopted Skunks performed a four nights' dance, at the close of which their mothers addressed them as "daughters" and provided them with a good supper. In this society there was a leader and a rear officer; the former was always the oldest woman in the village. The Skunks requited the favor done by the Stone Hammers by helping the young men buy the next higher men's society. The Skunks were in the habit of going to a famous warrior and singing his praise outside the lodge in expectation of some gift from the man thus honored. In this way they would proceed from lodge to lodge. The other societies — with the exception of the Geese — *might* do the same, but with none of them was it an established practice as among the Skunks. 575 608 432 527

Buffalo-bird-woman, an Hidatsa informant, also stated that the Skunk society was bought like those of higher rank. The women of whom her 575 432 608

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575 432 608 own group bought the organization are the group now holding the Goose membership. Her "mother" was Crow-woman, whom, previous to her adoption, she had addressed as *baca'wi*, "my aunt," a term of relationship applied to a father's sister or a father's sister's daughter. From the same woman my informant purchased, in later years, the privileges of the Grass Crown (= River Women) society and the Enemy Women society. Had her "mother" died before Buffalo-bird-woman's purchasing of membership in these organizations, she would have selected for her mother some woman in the sellers' group who happened to have no ceremonial daughter. According to Buffalo-bird-woman, the mothers were entertained for only ten nights and the "friends" of the Skunks participated in the feast. On the tenth night individual presents were given to the mothers. In return Buffalo-bird-woman received an eagle plume tied so as to hang down the back of the head. The mothers also presented their daughters with good clothes. For the fun of the thing two members of the Old Women society, which had aided in the purchase of the organization, joined the newly adopted Skunks in their four nights' dance. This informant limits the use of distinctive paint to the very small girls in the society. These painted [302] their faces black, save for a white streak extending across the nose and the forehead, and occasionally prolonged as a band up the head and down the back of the head. The older girls painted as they pleased, but when an enemy had been killed all the members used black paint. There were one or two male singers, who used drums.

575 432 The difference of opinion between Hides-and-eats and other informants, as to whether the Skunk society was purchased or not, is perhaps explained by statements made by Buffalo-bird-woman to Rev. Wilson. According to her, many girls would not care to join in the purchase of the Skunk membership, but as there was nothing sacred about the society any of them might come and join later without pay if they so chose. She was then regarded as a full-fledged member and was entitled to part of the price paid by the next lower group when the society was sold to them. Even if a girl had not joined in this way, she was not barred from purchasing the next higher society.

Enemy Women Society.

575 [432] 727 In order to join this society (Hidatsa: mā' ihā' mī'ɛ i'ke') Hides-and-eats paid one blanket and two or three buckets of food. The performance of the organization was in commemoration of the warriors who had fallen in a recent engagement, and all the songs, chanted by four singers, were

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victory songs. The dresses worn by members were furnished by their relatives. The hair was worn streaming loose down the back. A crier called all the women together. The members marched two abreast. Two long hooked poles were stuck into the ground by a man, and two such sticks were afterwards carried by the two leaders, and a similar pair by the two women in the rear of the procession. The poles were wrapped with otter-skin and decorated with eagle feathers. All the women wore a head band decorated with crossing eagle feathers and a bunch of feathers dyed red.

Hides-and-eats said that this society ought to be entered before the White Buffalo organization, but she joined after being a member of the latter.

Calf-woman joined this society at the age of 23. She described the dance as a victory dance. The performers went to the house of different warriors of distinction, danced there, and received presents (see p. 325). According to this informant, there were only two hooked sticks, one borne by the leader, and the other by the rear officer. Two little girls who stood in the middle had no badge of office. The members wore ordinary cloth head bands, with eagle feathers stuck in horizontally on the left side, just as in the head band of the River Women's society. The hair was parted in front and dressed like men's, being decorated with hair-pipes, with horn shells above, and still higher with a feather on either side. The dance was performed in four successive nights. Two of the eagle feathers on the pole depended from the end of the hooked section, and a pair of feathers was also attached at each of two points on the shaft. These poles exactly resembled those of the men's Fox society.

Buffalo-bird-woman says that all the members except two were married women, the two being small girls who were always supposed to be in the society. My informant herself was one of these, so that she was an Enemy even before entering the Skunk organization. When the Enemy Women society was sold by her associates, Buffalo-bird-woman was of the proper age to enter the Skunk society, which she did, being adopted by her aunt Red.[1] The Enemy Women society was a very old Hidatsa institution, but was not considered sacred. The dance took place originally as a jubilee over a slain enemy; in later times it was performed whenever some member, or outsider, provided a feast for the society. In dancing the performers approached the fireplace and then moved back again. There was no uniform step; some danced faster, others more slowly. A performance lasted four nights. Two leaders carried hooked sticks, the other members wore head bands. Sometimes the members marched out of their lodge, two

[1] Contradictory statements were made by the same informant in describing the Skunk society. See p. 238.

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575 abreast, and walked through the village, halting at different places. They
535 received gifts at each of the stopping-places. If they so desired, they might enter a men's society lodge and dance there. Five musicians were selected from among the best singers in "friendly" men's societies.

575 Before buying the society, Buffalo-bird-woman's group came in to watch
432 their prospective mothers perform a dance. Thus, the two groups met, collectively, for the first time. The buyers accumulated property, which
[576] was piled up in a heap. Their male "friends" brought a pipe and placed it before the mothers, whose male "friends" smoked the pipe. On the
527 next evening each daughter brought some food for her mother. This offering of food was repeated every evening until the fourth. Then the sellers dressed up a male "friend," who wore one of the head bands emblematic of the society and held the two hooked sticks in his hands. As the singers intoned a song, this man danced without moving from his place. Blankets, and other property, were then piled up by the buyers. The heap was supposed to equal the man's height. Accordingly, the sellers' "friends" repeatedly jumped on the pile to make it as low as possible and cause the surrender of additional property by the purchasers. The man with the hooked sticks continued dancing. When his body and head were no longer visible, the buyers departed and the mothers distributed the property. On the fifth night two little girls, about eight years old, were taken into the lodge, and dressed up in fine leggings and moccasins, skin dresses, and buffalo robes. They also received several belts, beaded necklaces, finger-rings and bracelets. Each of these girls was requested to remain in the center of the rear and told not to run away. Then they were divested of all their new clothes, finger-rings, leggings, other garments and ornaments, to the very skin. The girls were greatly embarrassed and sought to cover their nakedness, to run away and hide themselves, much to the amusement
[43] of the older women. On the tenth and last night, each buyer filled a pipe and carried some present to her mother's lodge. The mother had prepared a feast for her daughter, and also gave her fine clothes for a present. It happened at times that a woman had two or three daughters, each of whom had to be provided with a new suit. In such a case a woman called on one of her male "friends" to provide sufficient clothing, and this man was then entitled to a portion of the property given by the buyers to the sellers.
575 On the same occasion each novice received her head band (itawarū'wixe).
292 Rich "mothers" furnished elaborately decorated head bands. An eagle feather was placed on the left side of this crown, and below it five wing feathers of the *kawi'ka* bird[1] supported on a stretching-stick. The right

[1] The quills of the feathers were used to make quillwork.

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side of the head band was decorated with plumes. The ordinary form of crown was of grass, more rarely of black cloth; two strings of horn shells and bead pendants were attached for decoration. A woman owning a white buffalo skin might wear a crown of this material. 575 292

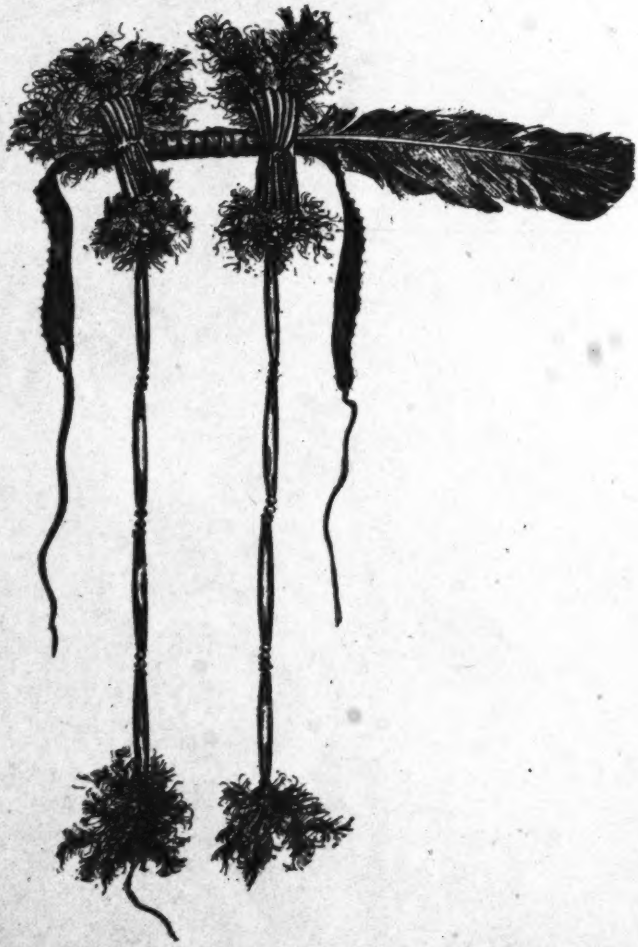

Fig. 13 (50.1–4330). Head Ornament of Enemy Women Society. Length, 57 cm.

Maximilian describes the headdress as consisting of pendent shells and glass beads secured to the forehead, with a feather extending crosswise. A model made by Calf-woman is shown in Fig. 13.

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Hairy-coat said that the Enemy Women society was originated among the Hidatsa by Itsi'kawā'hiric, the mythical hero. This informant also sang the two following songs as belonging to the society:—

(a)

mi'racē'ruc	batsē'	wakī'rits,	hi'ro	hūts.
I myself	a man	I look for,	here	he comes.

(b)

Màkooxpa',	na'kirac	ī'ru	mi	i'katā`ruc,	hiri'ts.
Woman friend,	your husband	fixedly (?)	me	he looks at,	he did it.

na'cirihitō`k?
Will you throw him away?

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Goose Society.

Hides-and-eats joined the Goose society (mi'ra i'ke') when she was about 30 years of age. Calf-woman gives the same for the members' average age, though she herself joined at 13, there being two young girls in the organization. Hides-and-eats said there was always *one* young member; in her day it was Calf-woman. The Goose women would cast about for a girl well beloved by her parents, and when they found one tried to make the parents consent to her adoption into the society; thus Calf-woman was adopted, and her parents paid a large amount of property for the privilege. Calf-

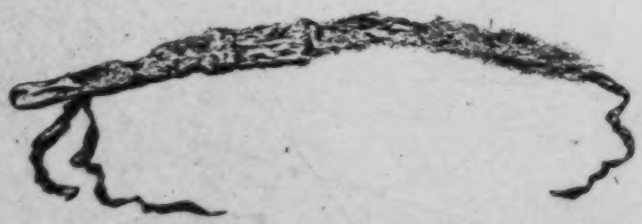

Fig. 14 (50.1–4360). Duckskin Head Band of Goose Society. Length, 54 cm.

woman herself said that she had been selected by Bells-look-round, one of the male singers, who also served as musician for the White Buffalo Women society. Calf-woman's father paid a great deal of calico and other property to the society. As a badge Calf-woman, as well as the other young member, received a head band of a duck skin with the bill (see Fig. 14), while the older members all wore narrow head bands of goose skin. The normal method of entering the society was for the entire River Women society to buy in a body the regalia and other appurtenances of the Goose society.

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A mother who had thus surrendered her regalia no longer belonged to the society, her place being taken by her daughter. Hides-and-eats' group was the last to buy the Goose society, for the next lower group never applied for the purchase of the organization, so that Hides-and-eats still retains her headband. Accordingly, she still considers herself a member of the Goose society; she does not consider herself a member of any of the lower societies because she surrendered the privileges of membership to her adoptive children when these acquired membership in the usual way, by purchase.

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Before the great ceremony of the society could be performed it was necessary that someone should have had a dream to that effect. Then the members prepared dried meat. Calf-woman says that in the winter some woman would always get up, saying, "In the spring, when the snow is off the ground, we are going to have a ceremony, we shall have to hang up offerings on posts." Then the necessary preparations were made. When the geese made their first appearance in the spring, meat was suspended from a tripod meat-rack set up on the borders of the village. When everything had been prepared, the members paraded through the village, halting four times on the way to the meat-rack. Each woman carried on her left arm an armful of sage enclosing an ear of corn. Calf-woman used to carry a pipe, as well as some dried meat and fat impaled on a cottontree branch. This pipe and the stick she afterwards placed before one of the singers, who lit the pipe, seized the dried meat, and returned it to Calf-woman. This was done four times. When the procession had arrived at the place of the meat-racks, the members performed one dance. Then there came from the village two representatives from each of the men's societies in their full regalia. These men were the bravest of their organization; they approached the meat, afoot or mounted (according to the nature of their martial exploits) and appropriated the dried meat, in place of which each warrior left one of his best blankets or a horse for the Goose woman who had prepared the food, i. e., the woman who took the initiative in getting up the ceremony. After the performance of the first dance, this woman distributed a great deal of meat to the spectators, who must remain on the west side of the lodge. After each of four dances this distribution took place. After the last dance those who had been newly adopted gave presents to their mothers. Then each new member took up her sage and corn, and raced at a dead run as fast as possible and back again. The woman who got back first would be instructed by the spirits as to the right way of living. The singer to whom Calf-woman offered the pipe and meat then turned his robe so that the hairy side faced outside, tied a red-fox skin round his head, took the pipe to the east, and touched with it whatever dried meat still remained.

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Then this dried meat was appropriated by the mothers. When the runners had come back, they cleansed themselves by brushing themselves with sage. Then all returned to the village. There a sweat lodge was made. After all the women had entered the sweat house, the chief singer also went in, chanted, dipped some sagebrush into water, and sprinkled all the women with it. Next the mothers prepared food, and gave it to their daughters, whereupon a general feast followed.

M H 575 302

While the two middle officers wore the duck-bill head bands, the leader and rear officer wore no distinctive badge. The members on the left side of the lodge painted their faces black between the mouth and chin, while those on the right side used blue paint. The musicians had drums, but no rattles.

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The object of the ceremony was to make the corn grow. The geese and the corn were supposed to be one and the same thing.

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Owl-woman's social career is well-nigh unique in that she never joined any organization until she was of mature age, when she entered the Goose society. She knew of only one other Mandan woman who had not joined other societies. When the River women collectively bought the Goose society, Owl-woman went along and purchased the membership with them. A candidate had to prepare a large quantity of dried beef for her mother, and also presented her with a horse. When receiving the bundle of sage with the corn, the novice paid her adopter another horse. According to Owl-woman, anyone, man, woman, or child, might volunteer to make an offering to the geese, and would then have to prepare the requisite food for the ceremony. The society marched out in regular order towards this person's lodge, the singers going ahead of the rest. The middle officer nearer to the Leader had her face painted blue from the mouth downwards, while her mate used black paint. The members halted and danced four times on the way. In entering, the rear officer went in first. One of the musicians smoked sage for incense near the central fireplace, and all members approached in order to scent their blankets. When all had taken their places, the person who had pledged the ceremony brought in the calico, or other property, to be presented as an offering, and also paid the incense-burner and his fellow-musicians. Then the singers began to sing for the dance. They sang four sets of four songs each, with an intermission between each set. After the dance, one of the singers took a stick, impaled some of the food on it, and offered it to the four quarters, finally throwing it into the fireplace. Before the commencement of the feast, the pledger went to the singers and induced them to utter a prayer in his behalf, asking for prosperity, victory in war, and the other good things of life. He also went about to the several members, and anyone owning personal medicines gave them to

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the pledger. Then the pledger's property and food were distributed among the members, and a general feast followed in conclusion of the ceremony.

Young Beaver said that when she and her comrades bought the Goose society they assembled outside the village and erected a long meat-rack. Along this each member had a place allotted to her, where she could hang up the dried meat and fat prepared by her. Then they called their mothers, and presented them with the food suspended from the rack. In addition, those who could afford it gave their mothers a horse apiece, while the poorer ones made gifts of calico cloth. On receiving these presents each mother put some "black medicine" (a root) into her daughter's mouth. In the fall the members put up a similar rack. One man, the corn-singer had the power — acquired by purchase — of passing along the rack from end to end, touching each portion of meat and singing mystery songs. In the spring or autumn any man or woman might give a feast to the society and otherwise pay them to perform for the benefit of his or her cornfields. On such occasions the host rose and passed from one member to another, and any one that owned some medicine put a little into his mouth, at the same time praying to the Corn in his behalf:—

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"tawī^{n}'hakehak', tē'ha hā'keharā makū'nista. nimā'mihe
"This is my grandson, long life for me give him. Your blankets
ī'wakise ki'ritkāksō'ore."[1]
I made for you.

The last part of this prayer refers to the custom of piling up all the corn in one place and covering it with calico as an offering to the Corn. Then some boy would run up, strike the calico as though it were an enemy, and snatch it away.

The two or three hand-drums employed by the society were, according to the same informant, painted with representations of goose tracks.

Yellow-hair said that the women who initiated her and her associates into the Goose society were the comrades of the surviving White Buffalo women of today. At the transfer of the membership privileges, which took place, as stated by other informants, close to the meat-rack previously set up, the mothers sang four times. During the intermission between the songs, the food was given to the sellers. The horses to be paid were tied in a near-by coulée. After the fourth time, all the novices rose, and approached their aunts, who were holding sagebrush in their arms. The buyers took the sage and paid calico for it. Then they also received their Goose society head bands. When this performance had been completed, the women went back to the village. On the following day the novices danced from morning

[1] This prayer is in Mandan.

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till evening. The mothers came to the dance ground, and each one called her daughter to her lodge, feasted her, and presented her with a fine tanned robe and a sheepskin dress. Four days were spent in this way, then the new members stopped dancing. According to Yellow-hair, the Goose women were divided into two divisions, the members being distinguished by the use of white and dark head bands respectively, and having seats on opposite sides of the dance lodge. Each of the two young middle officers belonged to one of these divisions. Those wearing white head bands occupied the right-hand side for one entering the lodge, while the women with dark head bands sat on the left. One special officer, Calf-woman, served food to the Corn at every feast. She took a piece of meat and offered it to the Corn, saying, "You, Corn, eat this. I pray to you in order that the members of my society may live long."

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In the winter preceding the attempt to purchase the Goose society made by Buffalo-bird-woman's group, Yellow-woman — possibly on account of a vision — desired to prepare a feast for the members of the Goose society. All the other members of her group assisted her by preparing some meat and fat. In the spring, when the geese came back from the east, the women set up a meat-rack. Then the woman whose prospective mother was leader of the Goose women hung up her meat, followed by the other women about to buy the society. Anyone that desired to give her mother a horse pledged herself to do so by fastening a stick to the meat. When the food had all been suspended, the men's societies were heard approaching. The Dogs came, blowing their whistles, and the Foolhardy Dogs, Foxes, and other organizations likewise appeared. The women cheered them in the manner termed *ĩ'rara`xke,* that is, by repeatedly pronouncing the syllable "la, la, la, la" with a rapid movement of the tongue. Each society appropriated one portion of side-ribs, leaving a blanket in its place. The buyers took pains to hide the best pieces of meat until after the men's societies had departed, in order to reserve them for their mothers. In the meantime the Goose women drummed and danced inside their lodge. The starter of the feast took a pipe and a piece of fat on a cottonwood stick, and ran all alone to the Goose society lodge. Each of the Goose women was holding in her left arm sagebrush about 5 feet long and wrapped round a long stick on which was impaled an ear of corn. The representative of the buyers placed the pipe before the singers. The pipe was smoked and returned, whereupon the delegate returned to the meat-rack. This procedure was repeated several times. All that day the buyers refrained from eating and drinking. The Goose women approached the meat-rack, halting several times and dancing each time. When they arrived at the place where the meat was suspended, they sat down in a circle and placed their sagebrush on the

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ground. The buyers then presented them with portions of cooked meat. Each mother thereupon opened a little bag, took from it one seed of corn or squash, and gave it to her daughter. To distribute these seeds was a privilege of the Goose women. Buffalo-bird-woman and her comrades continued to distribute all the cooked food. In the meantime all the people had come to look at what was going on, but they were obliged to watch from the south and west side, the north and east side of the circle being considered sacred. The spectators also received a seed each. The mothers rose to dance. Only one man in the village, the Corn-singer (kō'xati akupā'+i), was permitted to sing. He wore a foxskin crown, and carried a pipe and a cottonwood stick with fat and leaves on it. He walked off towards the east. Then all the buyers went to their mothers, took the sagebrush out of their hands, and ran, as fast as possible, towards the Corn-singer, went past him, and returned to the Goose women who were performing their dance. This was done four times. The runners kept the sagebrush; for this they made a payment of horses, receiving as a return gift a new suit of clothes. Only Buffalo-bird-woman received a calf robe, with the hair outside, to be worn during the performance and returned after its close. According to my informant, the Hidatsa Goose society, though derived from the Mandan, differed from its prototype in that the members did not wear duck or gooseskin head bands, but merely carried sagebrush in their arms.[1] Towards the close of the ceremony the Corn-singer approached the rack, took off two of the best pieces, ceremonially brushed off all of the portions, and threw down whatever pieces he liked for his female relatives to pick up for him. When he had selected what he wished, the mothers came, appropriated the rest of the meat, and took it home. These proceedings were gone through for three seasons, and the fourth year the Goose society would have been definitely acquired by the buyers under normal conditions, but that year the Government put a stop to all the old dances.

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An account of a Goose ceremony by one of the earlier travelers in the West may be appropriately reproduced here, since it is not generally accessible and confirms the statements of my own informants:

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> After the corn had all been gathered in, the Mandan and Minnetaree squaws made their Goose Medicine on the level prairie behind the village. This dance is to remind the wild geese, now beginning their southward flight, that they have had plenty of good food all summer, and to entreat their return in the spring, when the rains come and the green grass begins to grow.

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[1] Maximilian, who lists the Goose society only as an Hidatsa organization, does not mention birdskin head bands, but merely states that the members wore a feather transversely across the forehead (II, 219).

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The charms of most of the squaws in this "Goose Band" appeared to have faded long ago: they were evidently past the bloom of youth, and their voices and tempers had not improved in consequence. However, on this occasion they endeavored to look their best with the aid of paint and finery, in which respect they are not far behind their white sisters of more civilized climes. A row of poles resting upon forked sticks is put up, over which are hung in profusion pieces of fine, fat, dry meat, which have been carefully saved for this occasion. A band of four or five drummers take their seats close to one end, and a double row of squaws next to them facing each other. Each woman carried a bunch of long seedgrass, the favorite food of the wild goose, and at intervals all get up and dance in a circle with a peculiar shuffling step, singing and keeping time to the taps of the drum.

The spectators keep at a respectful distance and enjoy the fun, which consists in the attempts of some of the young men to steal the meat from the poles, in which however they are often thwarted by the vigilance of a few wise old "geese" who are constantly on the alert to prevent theft. If successful, the meat is carried off in great glee to some lodge, where they cook and eat it at their leisure. These exquisites are elaborately gotten up with bunches of raven plumes fluttering from their scalp-locks, and stripes of white and yellow clay upon their bodies, comprise their only covering.

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Finally, one of the old men (who have been thumping assiduously on the drums all the while) takes his place a few hundred yards off on the prairie, and a grand race by the whole goose band follows. All form in line together, and run around the old gander before returning to the starting point.

The race over, the scaffolds are taken down, a feast prepared, and the meat remaining on hand cooked and eaten. For the rest of the day the band danced around among the different lodges, and of course paid a visit to the fort before concluding. On these occasions a few yards of calico or some trifling gifts are always expected to be thrown to the "Medicine" by the traders.[1]

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It is probable that the Hidatsa and Mandan had several corn ceremonies distinct from one another and from the performances of the Goose society. Catlin describes a green-corn ceremony involving a dance of four men with corn stalks round a kettle with boiling green corn, followed by the ceremonial friction of new fire, but his account has been discredited by Matthews.[2]

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An Hidatsa ceremony performed in honor of the mythical Old-woman-who-never-dies, for the purpose of securing abundant corn crops is described by Mr. Curtis.[3] The corn singer figures prominently in this account but nothing is said of a women's society. However, we are told that those were invited to participate whose medicines consisted of various birds supposed to be children of Old-woman-who-never-dies and therefore peculiarly appropriate to the occasion.[4] Say describes a corn dance in which women play an important part, but does not identify them with any particular society:

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[1] Boller, 147–149.
[2] Catlin, I, 188–190; Matthews, 47.
[3] Curtis, IV, 148–152.
[4] Ibid, 150.

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Amongst the Minnetarees, is a ceremony called the corn dance; which, however, has but little claim to the title of a dance. Notice being given of this ceremony, by the village criers, the squaws repair to the medicine lodge, in which the magi are seated, performing their incantations, carrying with them a portion of each kind of seed which they respectively intend to plant the ensuing season; as an ear of maize, some pumpkin, water-melon, or tobacco-seed. These are attached to the end of small sticks, which are stuck in the ground, so as to form a right line in front of the magi. The squaws then strip themselves entirely of their garments, and take their seats before the spectators. The magi then throw themselves into a violent agitation, singing, leaping about, pointing to the sky, the earth, the sun, and the north star, successively. After these paroxysms have subsided, the squaws arise; and each one taking her respective sticks, holds them up with extended arms.

One of the magi being provided with a large bunch of a species of bitter herb, dips it in a vessel of water, and sprinkles copiously the seeds and persons of the squaws, with much grotesque gesticulation. This concludes the ceremony; when the seeds are supposed to be fertilized, and to be capable of communicating their fertility to any quantity of their kind.

The women then assume their clothing, and return home, being careful to deposit the fertilized seed with their stock; after which they may proceed to planting as soon as they please.[1]

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Finally, Maximilian has described a corn dance common to both Mandan and Hidatsa. Though he mentions the Hidatsa Goose society, he does not connect it with the corn ceremony, which is described in an entirely different connection as one of the principal tribal ceremonies, after the Okipe and the buffalo-calling ceremony. Maximilian distinguishes a spring and an autumn ceremony. The spring festival was a consecration of the plants to be sown, which were symbolized by certain birds sent by Old-woman-who-never-dies, the wild goose representing the corn; the swan, squashes; and the duck, beans. A great deal of dried meat had been prepared and was suspended from racks in from two to four rows as an offering to Old-Woman-who-never-dies. The elderly women of the tribe, as representatives of this deity, assembled near these racks on a specified date all of them carrying a stick on which a corncob was impaled. They sat down in a circle, planted the sticks into the ground, danced round the racks, and again took up the sticks, while some old men were beating drums and shaking their rattles. Contrary to Say's statement, Maximilian holds that the corn was not sprinkled or moistened, for this was regarded as producing a harmful effect on it. While the older women were busy with their performance, the younger ones approached them and put into their mouths some dried and pulverized meat, each receiving in return a seed of the consecrated corn. In addition three or four seeds were placed into each younger woman's bowl, and afterwards these were carefully mixed with the corn

[1] James, II, 58–60.

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sown in order to enhance its fertility. The food on the rack fell to the old women's share because they represented Old-woman-who-never-dies, but frequently some members of the Dog society appeared and appropriated large portions of the meat (see p. 288).

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The autumn ceremony was celebrated in order to attract the buffalo herds. Then the women performers did not carry corncobs on sticks, but entire corn plants. Both the corn and the birds symbolizing the plants were called by the name of the female deity, and addressed in prayer as the women's mother. They were requested to pity the suppliants, to postpone a severe cold, and prevent the game from moving away lest the people should be in want of food. When the birds in question began their migration southward, or, as the Indians believed, returned to Old-woman-who-never-dies, they were supposed to take with them gifts suspended for that deity outside the village, – more particularly the dried meat, which Old-woman was believed to eat herself. Some poor women unable to make other offerings would wrap up and suspend the foot of a buffalo, but these gifts were even more acceptable to the deity than any of the others.[1]

While it is impossible to speak with assurance on this point, we can readily understand how the Goose society might have become secondarily associated with a corn ceremony when we recollect the identification of the wild geese with corn and Old-woman-who-never-dies.

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It is evident that the Goose society is of a distinctly more religious character than either the Skunk or the Enemy society. According to Buffalo-bird-woman, the Goose ceremony shared a feature with the ceremonies of two other sacred women's societies of the Mandan, viz. a final brushing-off of the performers to divest them of their sacred character (see pp. 343, 344). My informant added that there are worms in the corn and that these might have got into the performers' bodies unless they had been brushed off.

Old Women Society.

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The Old Women society (kā'ru parū'wa+ī̀ri) is said to have been an Hidatsa institution, and Buffalo-bird-woman was the only informant that described it in this connection. Though she mentioned it in the same breath with the other women's societies and explained how it helped "friendly" groups, it was clearly one of the totally different unions of people performing sacred bundle ceremonies. It seems that membership was

[1] Maximilian, II, 182–184.

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secured by Buffalo-bird-woman's father, and that she herself and her brothers bought it of their father, whence she derives the right to tell about the society. 575 561 432

There were about twenty women in the organization. All of them painted a red oval on both cheeks, sometimes adding a red oval on the forehead; they also put red paint on the shoulders of their dresses. Each carried in her right arm a stick of ashwood, about 4½ feet in length, to the top of which had been fastened a small bunch of sagebrush. The stick was painted red. The women carried their robes rolled up under the left arm. When dancing, they rested the sticks on the ground, and worked their right arms back and forth. A male singer had braided sweetgrass [1] hanging down from his shoulder; his robe, which he used as a drum, he carried like the women. His drumstick was painted red. When enemies had been killed, the society proceeded to the house of a man who had struck an enemy. The singer called out the hero's name and the nature of his exploit. Then all the women danced. In this way they proceeded from lodge to lodge, receiving valuable presents from the persons eulogized. This dance was only performed when an enemy had been killed. The society also met when Small-ankle, the informant's father, performed a sacred ceremony. In this case the ground was cleansed and consecrated. The women leaned on their sticks, panting, pretending great fatigue, and uttering such sentences as, "I have come from the mountains," or "I come from the north." Buffalo-bird-woman, when small, believed that these women were spirits. They danced in the lodge. Small-ankle gave each performer a tanned robe and some other present, such as a gun. Then they danced back towards the door, and rushed out. One of them, a berdache (mía'ti) jumped up and tore down some meat suspended in the lodge before dashing outside. As soon as the members were outdoors, they acted as though demented, dropping their blankets and straying off in all directions. After a while they regained possession of their senses, and picked up the discarded garments. Once one of the women did not return before the next morning, but wandered off into the mountains, led by a sacred spirit-woman (mā'xupa mi'ɛ).[2]

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[1] This, my informant had heard, once turned into a bull-snake.

[2] A more complete account of the society was secured from Wolf-chief and shows clearly that it must not be classed with the other women's societies. Buffalo-bird-woman's brief statement is presented here simply because of her insistence that the Old Women aided their "friends" among the other societies and in that sense belonged with them.

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Gun Society.

575 Hides-and-eats says that in the Gun society (Mandan: ĭ'rupe ō'xat'e) [608] there was no adoption. Three men who had guns for their personal medi- 535 cine went round the village, selecting young girls for the dance. The girls combed their hair loose, stuck feathers in the back like the Skunks,[1] put on their beaded belts and mountain-sheep dresses, and entered an earth-lodge, where they ranged themselves in the arc of a circle. The three men were seated between the fire and the screen between the two main poles facing the door; they were the singers and drummers. The girls danced up and down in their places, seating themselves when a song ended and rising to [782] dance when a new one was intoned. At the close of each song one of the three men expressed the following prayer: "My sacred gun, I pray to you, I wish to conquer my enemies." One of the men rose, impaled food on a stick, and cast it into the fire as an offering to the guns. After a prayer, food that had been previously prepared was distributed among the members. This food must all be eaten on the spot; it was not permissible to take any of it away. At the close of the performance sweetgrass was placed on a potsherd with some charcoal and burnt for incense. One of the men went round with the sherd, beginning at the right side of the door, and smoked each member in turn.

Sometimes the dance was performed, not in an earth-lodge, but outdoors in the village. The Gun women danced only during one month in the summertime. The next year the three men selected other young girls or young married women for the performance.[2] The object of the ceremony was to prevent the recurrence of losses from the enemy.

From the statements quoted it appears doubtful whether the Gun "society" was really a society, though the same term *ō'xat'e* is applied to it as to the other organizations.

River Women Society.

575 The River Women society (pasa''mĭ'he ō'xat'e) is called "Grass Crown society" (mikā'kikii') by the Hidatsa.

The following origin legend had been heard by Hides-and-eats:

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[1] Maximilian says they wore eagle plumes.

[2] Big-cloud, Bull-horn, and White-young-bear are said to have reorganized this society before the time of the smallpox.

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Once the Mandan lived underground. A small mouse went about and discovered a little hole in the ground, through which he crawled up and thus came to see the surface of the earth. He liked the light and the grass. He returned, and told his people about it. They said to Fox, "You are small enough to get up through the hole." So Fox went up. He got to the ground, looked about, and found everything good there. He liked it, and told the three chiefs[1] and their sister. The hole was still too small, so the Elk was called. "You have wide horns, make a little passage for us to get through." The Elk did as he was bidden, got above ground, and enjoyed the sight. He returned, and told them how good the country above was. Then the youngest of the three brothers went up through the opening, and found plenty of buffalo and elk. He hunted them, killed a buffalo and took the sinew and paunch, which he gave to his brothers on his return. They were very glad to get sinew, for underground they had been obliged to use sunflower threads for cordage. All the people wished to go above ground. They went to the hole, and found a vine passing from their country to the earth. The chiefs climbed up first on the vine. They found an abundance of game, and camped near the hole. The people went up, one after another, until a pregnant woman tried to climb up and broke the vine. It was impossible to readjust the vine, so those behind the woman were obliged to remain below. The chiefs' sister had forgotten to take along her elk robe, and called down for it to her mother, who was still underground at the time when the vine broke. But the woman answered, "You cannot get it now; however, you will find one just like it above. When you die, you will come back, and then you will be able to get your elk robe again." The girl, accordingly, got a new elk robe above ground just like the one left behind. It was tanned soft, without the hair on, and painted black on one side; fleshed bluebirds were attached to it. This robe was passed from heir to heir until the time of the Ft. Berthold settlement, where Moves-slowly, a Corn-singer, kept it by his shrine.

The Mandan ascended the River and built their villages. They came to a big clay hill named Bare-Hill, where no grass grew. Near this hill they built one village. A young man went up the hill in order to get a vision. On a high hill, on the opposite bank of the Missouri, he saw many women dancing. Every time he went up the hill he saw the same vision, but each time the women got closer. The fourth time they came closer still, they came across the Missouri. When they approached the man, he saw how they were dressed. They were all mysterious beings. At the same time, some women just like them rose from the Bare-Hill itself, and began to dance. They wore crowns of live snakes,[2] whose necks were striped with different colors. Their heads were on the left side of the dancers, the tails on the right. The visionary was also able to hear the mysterious women's songs. In accordance with this vision he started the River Women society. In the place of the snake crowns, he took blue-grass about three feet long and from a triple braid of this material he made the head band emblematic of the organization (Fig. 15). Into the left side of the head band he stuck in obliquely the tail feather of an eagle. The ends of the crown were tied in the middle of the forehead. Kinumakci came to the visionary, and was

[1] The skulls of these three chiefs, according to Hides-and-eats, were still kept by Poor-wolf at the time of my visit. Cf. Maximilian (II, 161): "Noch gegenwärtig heben die Mandans in ihrer Medicine-Tasche oder Beutel 3 heilige Schädel auf, von welchen der eine der des genannten Chefs und die anderen die dessen Bruders und Schwester seyn sollen."

[2] Garter-snakes, according to one informant; according to another, brown snakes about 3 feet long, which the Indians call "grass-eaters."

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575 773 539 delighted. He said, "I like this society. I wish to add something to your feather." Then he broke off some (unidentified) grass, and tied it to the feather. In the dance these feathers were meant to shake. Kínumakci said, "I will give you one of my songs." And he gave the man a song quite different from other songs. When Kínumakci had done singing, the visionary told the women whom he had organized

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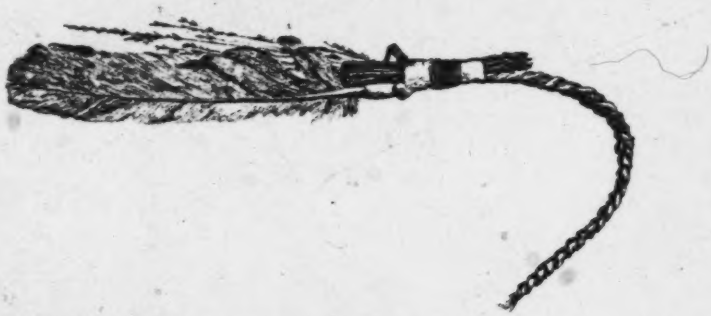

Fig. 15 (50.1–4329). River Society Head Ornament. Length, 61 cm.

to take their head bands, untie them, smooth them out, and put them down on the ground. The women obeyed, and the head bands turned into snakes and crawled away. From that time on the society was kept up.

575 773 301 Two-chiefs adds to the account as just given that several other beings made contributions to the dance regalia. The eagle feathers were distributed among the original dancers by the Eagle. The Bear gave them his claws to be strung for a necklace. The Mink allowed them to use his skin and claws: the two leaders and the two rear officers were to wear mink-claw necklaces, while the four middle officers were to wear a minkskin necklace, to which were attached bluish shells.[1] The organizer of the society selected four male singers and picked out for membership a number of women ranging in age from twenty to thirty. Calf-woman substitutes the mythical character I'tsi'kawa'herec[2] for Ki'numakci, and the Otter for the Mink.

575 432 One day Hides-and-eats was called by her friends to attend a meeting. This was shortly after the time of the smallpox. Very few of the River women had survived the epidemic; all of them had been very old women, about Hides-and-eats' present age. The young women called the survivors, heaped up property before them, and expressed their desire to purchase the [608] society. The older group consented to sell. In this instance the sellers for some obscure reason were not considered the purchasers' mothers. Hides-and-eats and her comrades remained in this society for ten years. Then

[1] Two-chiefs gives twice the number of officers fixed by Hides-and-eats.
[2] This is probably the Hidatsa equivalent for Ki'numakci.

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younger women called them and offered them property. "Then we adopted them and called them our daughters." Sometimes it happened that a single individual wished to join. In such a case she might buy a head band from a father's sister and become an additional member without replacing anyone. This, however, was not the regular way of entering the society. 575 432 [608]

In Hides-and-eats' time, there were two male head-singers, who called in five young men and taught them to sing, for which they received a compensation and were called "fathers" by the young men. From another statement by the same authority it would appear that the five men bought the right of singing and drumming from their predecessors in very much the same way as the young women bought the right to membership. 868 432

The officers of the society included a leader wearing a necklace of bear claws attached to otterskin; a rear officer with the same badge; and two middle officers with a loose-fitting white-shell necklace hanging down a few inches below the neck in front. There was one special member who surrendered to the society her earth-lodge to dance in; in Hides-and-eats' time this member's name was One-corn-seed. Calf-woman, who was one of the officers wearing a shell necklace, kept the dance-lodge, because her parents loved her dearly and never refused her anything. The ceremonial dance lasted four nights, the actual dancing beginning before sunset. The members were expected to remain in the earth-lodge during these four nights.[1] Some women, however, would clandestinely absent themselves and go home. As soon as the other members discovered their absence, they went to the woman's house, and sang outside, "Our friend, get up and come out here again." The drummers beat their drums, and the members, if necessary, seized the truant and brought her back to the dance lodge by force. The close of the performance was marked by a cleansing ceremony. The musicians tied together peppermint (?) stalks, and with these they brushed the members' bodies, from the shoulders down. The object of this was to remove the mysterious (xo'pinic) properties with which the members were endowed while dancing. In Calf-woman's time only one man, Bad-shirt performed this ceremony; he was paid with calico goods and food. Painted-up said the brusher was the singer of the Bird ceremony. The ceremonial cleansing took place only after the performances of the three *sacred* women's societies, that is, the River women, Goose women and White Buffalo women organizations. 575 301 527 535 [783]

Two-chiefs said that during the four nights' performance the head bands were suspended from a rawhide rope passing round the earth-lodge, and 575

[1] That is to say, they were not to sleep with their husbands. But if any member had a little child at home, she might go there to attend to its wants. In this case she was brought back to the lodge before daybreak.

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M 575 [301] members were expected to sleep below these headdresses. During part of the dance the women wearing bearclaw necklaces, (that is, the leaders and rear officers) performed alone, and were then supposed to present gifts to their own aunts or uncles. The middle officers also performed when a special song was sung, and they were expected to make a similar distribution of gifts. At the conclusion of the whole ceremony, the members sat down in a circle and placed their crowns in front of them. A man whose personal medicine was the Eagle or the Thunder was summoned to purge first the headdresses, and then the women themselves. Then, after the removal of the eagle feathers, which were saved for another occasion, the head bands were taken to the outskirts of the village, and abandoned there.

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H 575 432 527 Buffalo-bird-woman gave the following account of the purchase of the River Women, or, as she called it, Grass Crown, society. Her statements, she said, also applied to the Skunk society. A male "friend" led the procession of purchasers, carrying a pipe[1] to the lodge of the sellers. The girls or women pretended to weep in feigned expectation of the possibility that their offer to buy the society might be declined by their mothers. On the first evening they merely stated their request, saying "Mothers, we desire to get this society, we do not know how to get it." As soon as the mothers had consented to give up their society, they pretended to cry, saying, "We have lost our songs." Then there followed ten nights during which the "mothers" were entertained by the purchasers. On the first of these nights the aunts[2] danced four times, whereupon each buyer brought a kettleful of food to her aunt. This was repeated every following night. On the tenth night, each daughter gave a special present to her mother and put a pipe before her, which was smoked, as before, by a male friend, and then returned. On the next evening each mother called her daughter to her own lodge and gave her a new suit of clothes, including head band, dress, and robe. It is not clear whether it was on this or another occasion that the mothers served food for their daughters, the statement being that this took place after the first dance by the new Grass Crown women. If two or three candidates had the same woman for their mother, the latter was not a real aunt of all of them. If the mother, in such a case was an officer, only one of her daughters received the office. When Buffalo-bird-woman bought the society, there were four women having a joint mother, who had considerable difficulty in getting together the requisite amount of clothing for the four novices. The officers were not selected. It depended merely on the novice's mother whether a novice became an officer. If the mother happened to be an officer, her badge and office were simply transferred to the purchaser.

[1] This pipe was smoked by a male "friend" of the sellers.

[2] See p. 227.

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happened to be an officer, her badge and office were simply transferred to the purchaser. 000

The Hidatsa derived this society from the Mandan, but did not consider it so sacred as the Mandan did. Thus, as stated above, the Mandan rule was that women must not sleep with their husbands but must remain in the dance lodge during the four nights of the dance. Among the Hidatsa only the unmarried members regularly stayed in the dance lodge overnight. The married women went home, unless their husbands consented to let them follow the Mandan regulation. M H 575

Although Buffalo-bird-woman denied that the dance was regarded as sacred by her people, two features seem to have a religious character. In the first place, the annual performance took place after someone having had a dream to that effect had given a feast to the organization. Secondly, the performance closed with the ceremonial sweating and cleansing. The women took off their grass head bands, removed the feathers from them, piled up the crowns on the top of the sweat lodge, and went in to sweat, a few at a time. Then a man approached, holding in his hand some sagebrush with which he brushed off the sweat lodge, singing a song. All the women rose and faced him, and he brushed off the women, one by one, singing a song for each member. This power, my informant imagined, had been acquired by purchase. M H 575 783

Cheyenne[1] Women Society.

Young-beaver who had entered the River Women society when not quite 20, bought the Cheyenne Women membership, with some thirty of her comrades, at the age of a little over 30. She still considers herself a member of the Cheyenne Women society. M 575 561

The name of this organization (cō'ota mī ō'xat'e) indicates the source from which it is said to have been derived by the Mandan. Buffalo-bird-woman said that she first heard of the society about 56 years ago (1911), and that she joined as the only Hidatsa woman, her father having been asked for his consent. Any member who chose might assume men's garb. Some dressed like the Dakota, tying their front braids with otterskin, while others affected the long switches of the Crow. From two to four male singers were also chosen. At a dance of the organization a man carrying an eagle feather fan acted as leader, followed by the women in single file. At the intonation of a certain song, the leader held his fan close to his face, M 575 292 535

[1] One interpreter translated the native word "Sioux."

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 and turned about. The women also faced about. Then all advanced with
292 a kind of shuffling movement the right and the left foot alternately, without
535 moving from their places. The musicians, who carried drums, remained in the rear. All the women painted their faces and wore feathers in the back of the head in imitation of men. They formed a circle, and danced forward. A few women cut out strips of rawhide, decorated them with beads, and placed them on their heads as though they were horns. This is said to have been in imitation of the Cheyenne women. Some young men used to watch from the roofs of their lodges. Each member selected one of these men to dance with her. After a while his relatives brought calico and other goods for his partner in order to ransom him and absolve him from the necessity of continuing to dance with her.

575 In purchasing the society, the aunts or mothers presented dresses to
432 their nieces or daughters while they received horses in return.

White Buffalo Cow Society.

575 The White Buffalo Cow society (pti'take ō'xat'e) was the highest of the women's societies known to the Mandan and Hidatsa, the Old Women's organization (p. 338) really belonging to another category.

575 Maximilian says that the members painted one eye any color they pleased
[302] (most generally azure) and had black tattoo marks between lips and chin.
527 Their headdress consisted of a broad strip of white buffalo cowhide worn in
292 hussar-cap fashion and topped with a bunch of feathers.[1] In Maximilian's day each Mandan village had its own White Buffalo organization, and he had occasion to observe the performances of both. In the performance of the Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch society, seventeen, for the most part elderly, women and two men with rattles and drums took part; one of the men was holding a gun in his hand. The leader was an elderly woman wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. In her right arm she carried cornucopia-fashion a bundle of twigs, tipped with plumes, with an eagle wing and a tin drinking vessel secured to the grip. Another woman also carried a bundle of this type. The men wore no headdresses. Of the women, two had skunk-skin head bands, the rest wore headdresses of white buffalo skin decorated
[302] in front with owl or raven feathers, which were partly dyed red. All women had the same face paint,— vermilion on the left cheek and eye, with two blue spots on the opposite temple, close to the right eye. The leader was wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. All the others except two, who

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[1] Maximilian, II, 145–146.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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wore robes with the hairy side out, wore painted women's robes. They formed a circle, the men began to sing, and the women danced, taking up the tune at the same time. They waddled like ducks from side to side, raising each foot alternately higher than the other, but not moving from their position. After a while there was an intermission, which was again followed by a dance. Only the older members had the tattoo marks between mouth and chin that were distinctive of the society. When Maximilian saw the society from Ruptare perform, there were three male musicians, who also wore white buffalo skin headdresses, and none of the women carried bundles of twigs. Otherwise the equipment was the same as in the other dance.[1]

575 527 292 [304]

An illustration of the dance of this society, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas, is shown in Fig. 16.

Boller's account, which is of considerably later date, contributes the important fact that in case of a famine the White Buffalo Cow women were expected to make buffalo herds come nearer to the village. A similar function is attributed by Catlin to *male* Buffalo dancers wearing masks of a type described in this paper in connection with the Bull society (p. 315). Catlin, however, does not connect his Buffalo dance with any organization, for though only about ten or fifteen men are said to have joined in the dance at one time, he states that every Mandan was obliged to keep a buffalo mask for possible use in the buffalo-calling ceremony on the request of the chiefs.[2] Oddly enough, both Catlin and Boller say that their respective Buffalo dancers never failed to bring in the herds for the reason that they continued their performance for weeks if necessary, until buffalo were actually sighted. The dance of the society is thus described by Boller:

575 789 535

> The different members of the White-Cow band began to assemble, and soon the regular taps of the drum notified the camp that the great and important ceremony was in full progress. At one end of the lodge sat the musicians or drummers, three in number, who were untiring in their efforts, and aided their instrumentation by singing in a monotonous chanting strain. The women, comprising some forty or fifty matrons of the village, most of whose charms had unmistakably faded, were all attired in their quaintly garnished deer-skin dresses. Each had a spot of vermilion on either cheek, and their long black hair, which was carefully combed out and dressed with marrow grease, fell full and flowing over their shoulders, confined around the forehead with a fillet of white buffalo cow-skin. One of them had a white robe (which is very scarce, and held in the highest esteem) wrapped around her. This white robe was the common property of the band, and in its great power as a "medicine" were centred their hopes of bringing in the buffalo.[3]

[302] [778]

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[1] Ibid., 283–284, 297.
[2] Catlin, I, 127–128.
[3] Boller, 218–219.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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535
297

Fig. 16. White Buffalo Cow Women. (Maximilian's Atlas.)

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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I will now present my own field notes concerning this society. 575

Calf-woman joined the White Buffalo women when she was only two years old. Two years later she began to take part in the performances. 432 Some old women went round the village looking for a female child whose parents loved her dearly and had given away a great deal of property in her honor. 535 They came to Calf-woman's parents, and these consented to have their daughter adopted. Calf-woman's mother gave Brave-woman one pony and several blankets on this occasion. Whenever there was a dance of the society, a member named Berry carried the newly adopted infant on her back. There were about fifty women members, and five men acted as singers. The most important dance, or ceremony, of the society took place once a year, in the winter, on four successive nights. Sometimes the dance was kept up every other night for a month.

In preparation for the great ceremony the Indians of the village gathered 575 an abundance of food and property for the society. Each member had a red line painted on the right side of her face, from temple to eyebrow, and a 527 corresponding line in blue on the opposite side. All wore the buffalo skin 292 caps emblematic of the organization and put on only on this special occasion, and moreover each member wore a buckskin dress and a robe. Three officers were distinguished by wearing their robes hair side out. The leader of this trio had a *white* buffalo skin robe; Calf-woman, who walked in the center, wore the best *calf* skin robe obtainable; and the third officer dorned a *coarse*-haired robe. In approaching the earth-lodge where the ceremony was to be performed, the members halted four times on the way. At each stopping-place they formed a circle and danced in the same way as they were going to do in the lodge. The leader entered the lodge and made a circuit walking to the right (for one entering). A buffalo cow skull had been [778] placed at the foot of the northwestern main pole in the center of the lodge, and *ółire* was burnt for incense in front of it. A special incense-burner conducted the leader to the skull, letting her stand there so that she might be smoked, and then led her back again to her place. The two other officers mentioned above were similarly treated. North of the door, in a line in front of that joining the two southern center poles, sat the five men singers. As soon as these musicians began to sing, the leader, the middle 575 officer, and the rear officer danced forward to the fireplace, where they 527 met, and then danced in position, facing the fire. After they had returned 535 to their original places, a special song was chanted. This was a signal for the incense-burner to go dancing from member to member and remove their robes. Then the dancing began. Every song and dance was repeated four times. Towards the close of the first night's performance a particular song was intoned, indicating that the paint was to be rubbed off

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 the members' faces. Each performer carried a bunch of peppermint
527 (ca'xkuxke); at the sound of the special song a motion was made with this
535 peppermint as though to remove the paint. Then the paint was actually rubbed off with the end of the robe. When the dance was all over, the women lay down to sleep in the lodge. Some members fasted all night. Before dawn one of the musicians took a long cottonwood pole and attached all the headdresses and the middle officer's robe to it. The staff was then fixed above the doorway. This was a sign for a big wind and snow to drive the buffalo close to the village. At the foot of the pole a buffalo skull was deposited. A branch of a tree was painted red, and numerous offerings were tied to it and laid on the skull. Thereupon all the members rose, went out of the lodge, and passed through the village. They approached the lodge in exactly the same way as on the previous day, making four stops and dancing at each before reëntering the dance-lodge. During the day one of the officers prepared all the food required. In the evening the performance was repeated, the three officers dancing up to the buffalo skull, whereupon the entire society followed suit. In front of the skull they placed a ball of mashed corn and a pipe. The leader took the pipe and the
[576] corn-ball. First she offered the pipe to the musicians, who lit and smoked it. Then she distributed the corn among the members, beginning with the one nearest to herself and appropriating what remained in the end. Next, the rear officer distributed corn twice, and finally the middle officer made two distributions. The entire society represented a buffalo herd; the middle officer represented the best buffalo and was supposed to get all that remained of the corn. The second, third, and fourth nights were all similar so far as the feature just described was concerned. Throughout the performance there were numerous spectators.

For the last night each member had to prepare a basketful of mashed corn; sometimes this was attended to by the members' mothers. Additional food was also brought together. This night was distinguished by the use of gourd rattles. All the baskets of corn, as well as the robes and headdresses were placed round the skull. Next a song was sung four times, and incense was burned to smoke the robes. Then mashed corn was given to the spectators until the supply was exhausted. Some peppermint was tied to a short pole. The incense-burner dipped it into a dish of water, and sprinkled all the members beginning with the leader and stopping with the rear officer. The buffalo skull and the musicians were also sprinkled. A little of the food was attached to the end of a short stick and placed in the nasal cavities of the skull, then pointed to the four quarters, and finally set down on the fireplace. A feast terminated the performance. On this
[608 43] last night newly adopted members made valuable presents to their adoptive mothers.

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Throughout the ceremony two women whose normal position in the circle was on the right side of the rear officer preserved order in the lodge; the distinctive badge of their office consisted of a skunkskin head band (Fig. 17). 575 626

The object of the ceremony was to lure the buffalo near the fireplace. Once, when the performance took place in a clearing in the woods, one buffalo came directly to the doorway, and was killed on the spot. During the same season a great abundance of buffalo were found in the timber. Apparently, anyone who was desirous of making the buffalo come could take the initiative and ask the society to undertake the performance. 575 789

292

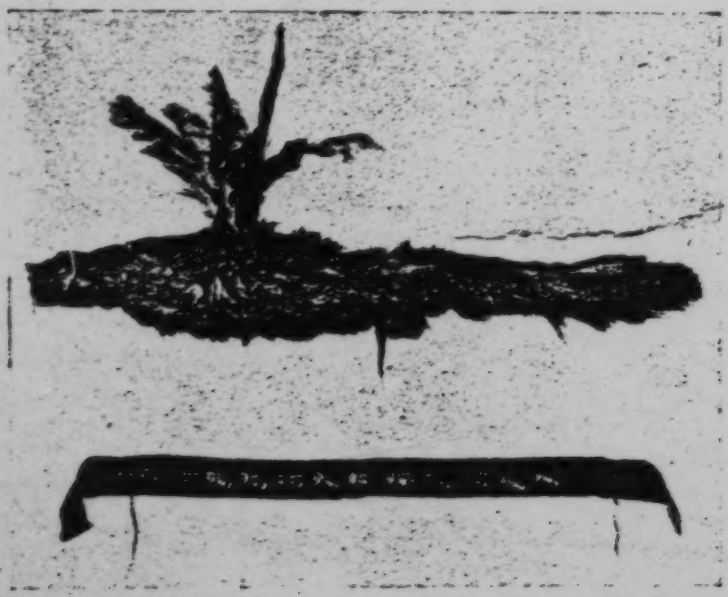

Fig. 17 (30.1–4815, 30.1–4331). Skunkskin Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society and Head Band of Kit-Fox Society. Lengths, 79 cm. and 55 cm.

Any old member could adopt as many new ones as she wished, and was obliged to provide each tyro with a headdress. Calf-woman obtained one of these headdresses at the time of her adoption, though she was only two years of age. She became the middle officer because her adoptive mother gave her the appropriate calfskin robe. The musicians adopted new musicians who were obliged to pay heavily for the songs. Four of them had drums for instruments, while the remaining one used a rattle of buffalo skin. 575 608 432 [534]

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Hidatsa NQ14

MH 575 17 MH

In Calf-woman's day[1] the number of Mandan and of Hidatsa women in the society was about equal. The performances ceased, under Government pressure, when she was about fourteen years of age.

MH 575 561

Hides-and-eats, who had served as rear officer, added a number of details. It was necessary to join in the wintertime because that was the season of the dance. The person who called for the performance of the great ceremony must have dreamt to that effect and was expected to prepare a great deal of food for the society. If, during the dance, a member went outside from necessity and a young man pulled her blanket, she was obliged [788] to say, "A wolf has bitten me." If she failed to say this, she was in danger of actually being bitten by a wolf. The members were middle-aged, while the two women with skunkskin head bands were elderly. Hides-and-eats set the number of singers at four; their age was immaterial, but as a matter of fact they were about fifty or sixty. They were not identical with the musicians of other women's societies.

MH 575 527 [788]

Buffalo-bird-woman says that the White Buffalo women were in the habit of going round the village in the morning, passing every lodge. One member would enter a clan daughter's lodge, and say to her, "So-and-so's daughter, give me light" (that is, fire). The clan daughter sometimes answered, and sometimes remained silent. Once the informant's aunt addressed her as stated above, and she replied, "Yes, I will do so." This signified her willingness to provide a feast. The next day, accordingly, she brought large quantities of food, invited all the White Buffalo women to her lodge, and entertained them. Further, she gave the society a new gun as a present, and a piece of calico to be smoked with incense. The incense-burner, who also had the privilege of taking off all the members' robes and hanging them up, took charcoal, made incense, seized the head of the rear officer's robe, shook it, proceeded to the middle officer's,[2] and repeated the same performance, as she finally did with the leader also. She made incense as she passed along the circle of members. Then the [535] dance began. All wore their crowns of white buffalo skin on this occasion. When the singers commenced to sing, the leader and the rear officer rose and danced forward, crossing each other's path. They returned to their places, and repeated the performance at the next two songs. At the fourth song, the middle officer also rose, and all three danced, facing alternately the fireplace and the door, and finally returning to their places. At the following song everyone rose and danced. After the dance was over, the little girl approached the rear officer with a corn-ball, and put a little of the corn

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[1] This informant is about 56 years old (1910).

[2] This informant, like Hides-and-eats, speaks of but one little girl in the society.

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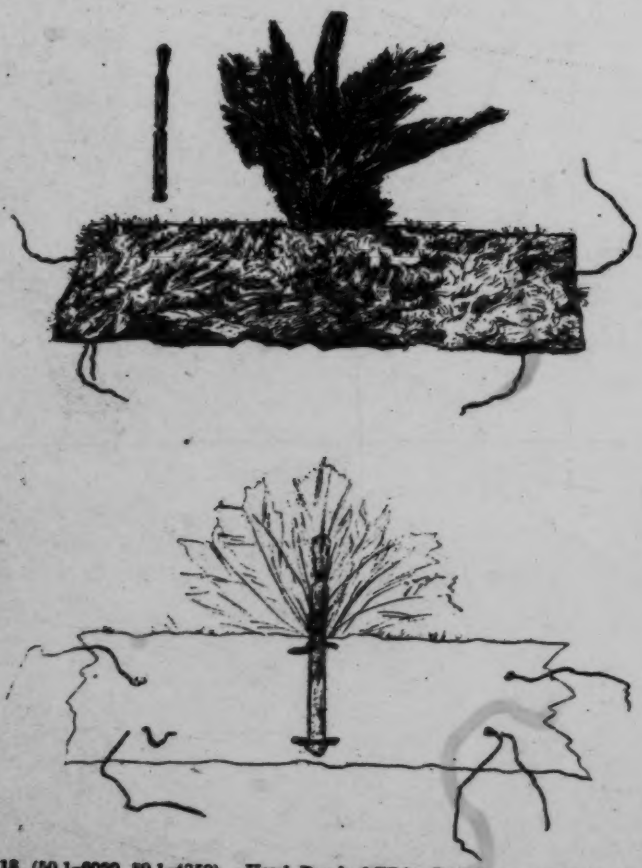
Hidatsa NQ14

on the nose of the rear officer's skin robe. She did the same with the leader's robe, then she walked back to her place and went through the same performance with her own robe. This procedure which was regarded as an offering to the robes was called *ō'xkipati*. It was repeated three times. At the last song the incense-burner went to the rear officer, and untied her

M H 575 [527]



M H [292]

Fig. 18. (50.1-6020, 50.1-4350). Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society, front and back view. Length, 62 cm.

robe, causing it to drop to the ground. She proceeded to the middle officer, and thence to the leader, untying all the robes. This dropping of the robes symbolized the shedding of the buffaloes' hair. [788]

Apparently anyone interested in the success of the buffalo chase might

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Hidatsa NQ14

M H 575 789

Apparently anyone interested in the success of the buffalo chase give a feast to the society and make offerings. Buffalo-bird-woman remembered one instance when a white man made offerings to the buffalo spirits before a hunt. He gave the society a butcher knife and other property and thus addressed them: "You, Buffalo women, I give offerings to you. I will give you a butcher knife when you cross in the dance. I wish to save all these men from getting injured and I desire to get all the meat."

M H 575 292

The Museum owns several White Buffalo headdresses actually used by members and collected by Rev. Wilson and the present writer. One of these is represented in Fig. 18, together with the small notched wooden feather-straightener. In the skunkskin head band (Fig. 17) the feathers are attached in similar fashion.

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MANDAN TEXTS.

I.

mī'ⁿsipàsa ō'wakarax mī'hō`xat mārū'cec. ō'warucèki, icákhiⁿ 539
Yellowstone River mouth Goose society I bought. We got it, then

nū'waxkùpini mī'haⁿ ō'cahe énuka àxkupíni, numā'napekàc. méREX
our crowns goose cut strips that we put on, we danced. Kettle

oki'heranì marátEk ísexki mā'skuhinì, mō'+ipke, éokarèc. ī'wa-
cooked feast making sugar (coffee or tea) dried meat, these (they made). I

kapèkac hiⁿ mā'+íxte nōwā'teki "néwak káana." ī'wakapèkac,
distributed and calico if there is any "This keep it." I distributed,

gawī'wakapékac.
I was the distributor.

II.

mī'xgereki u'uⁿ mā'akci hëra mahī'migak ō'ohèrani sùxgarikā'-
Woman some and pointed hill clay-hill they came

sëeroc. mi'isi u'uⁿ mā'kiruxka ā'xkupkerec, hiⁿ ō'oherenì taka-
out from there. Woman snakes crown put on, and then

wáxgarākc máxana núpxe ī'naⁿkā'aruc. inúp mána meréx kā'kerec.
singer one skin rattle had. Two drum they had.

nū'maaké hera mā'mini hī'rixirì. herō'makōc. hiⁿ ō'oherenì nū'maⁿ-
A man water not drank. He saw it. And then people

kā`kisen nā'akuⁿ ō'xat ísexkèrec. hiaⁿ'ska hū'na nucā'ni érexkòroni.
afterwards society made. And that way coming they wanted to get it.

mā'oka kicō'kēregèc. kō ō'xatkarès utkū'karec. hiⁿ ō'oherenì ā'we
Property they gathered. This society to they give it. And then all

kohū'ne tū'tuhoc nā'askahàna. hiⁿ ō'xat keresō'onik mā'a' sì`na
mothers they got that way. And society when they were(?) Eagle

híromakōc. "ō'minatatinistore," éheni. káni ī'pe okirúskani. ā'ⁿwe
came. "I want to join," he said. Then tail feathers he pulled out, all

máxananā` kehē'reromakōc. Kínumakci hī'romakō`c. káni ícak
one by one he gave to them. Kinumakci came. Then he himself

mō'okire kahéreromakōc. xa'tā'rak éotahìⁿ mā'ⁿsi inúu éota ō'ki
head ornament he gave to them. Grass with them Eagle that with them head
ornament

539 kéreromakōc. mā'kiruxkas u'u^{n} ā'xkupini mō'okī'keres ō'ota nēhe-
he put on. Snakes crown put on feathers with them all

rekère nō'makoc. hí matō'na híremakōc. hi u^{n}káahe kínucāni,
together he did. And Bear came. And claws he took off,

kahére nomakō'c, mī^{n}'keresē`ra nápini íkererowakō`c. hi^{n} péxtakē`na
he gave to them he did. Those women necklaces ?. And Otter

híromakōc. péxtakēnus u^{n}'ut matō'+uks nēherekerèc. hiná^{n}skahere
came to them. That Otter on bear's claws they put on. That way then

kihi^{n}' óxat nucékīhi mató u^{n}káas. nupápirɛk ta+istúhe ā'^{n}tāroc
they did (?). society they got when bear claws. Twenty nights that is all

ō'xatat hi u^{n}'a marátɛk nī'siẋkac, hiā'terōhereni numā`akupenas
that society that number feast we made. And then our crowns

éheni matō'u^{n}ks éheni nukíxkukerē`c, minís nukáherɛk. hi ō'oher enī
bear claws they gave to us, horse we gave. And then

istúhare niẋgā`rɛk nuki'inā`pec, nukíxasúxgerekat matī'ixta dikū'^{n}cta.
in the evening about this time we danced, in a circle we go out outside inside (?)

karúpxari érexkinīki inúnūp néẋkerèki matō'+uk napinís inúp
When they wish to go in two by two as they follow bear claws necklace two of them

kiu^{n}'tōc ná^{n}ska kikō'kikaha^{n} karúpxekirīkāc, dikū'usta
leaders ? two go in, inside

kínaapékerikac. matō'+uk nápini nené itō'opuc mā'ata inák
they dance there. Bear claw necklace those four of them shell

kánapinī tō'opuc. hiyō'^{n}háreni matō'uk napinís itō'pca tawáhe
necklace four. And then bear claw necklace four (each) songs

túkerec. hi^{n} ganā'ktikīhi itō'ps nā'ape kirīkac. mū'u'perī'kerekac,
they had. And when singing four danced. They give presents,

mī'iharacirī, ínuperecirī, mā'+iẋterecirī u^{n}peréẋkerekàc, mā'takara-
blankets, guns, calicoes they give away, shell

pinikas tā'wahe tū'kerec. icakī'raapékikerekàc. hi^{n} nā'apee kixē'k-
necklace some they had. They made them dance. And dance when

teki, hī'inak mū'upèrekerekàc. hi^{n} kixē'ktiki, mā'axkupkères mō'oca
they stop, they give away presents. And they cease, their crowns rope tied

nutíte hèreni mā'a'kups ī'kaskīkerec kakinī'na. mā'peha ā'we
string they did (?) crowns they tied one after another. Under the crowns all

mī'iẋkères hā'nakèrekac. kawáxkanā`kɛs ō'hanakīrekac. itō'pana
women sleep. Singers slept. On the fourth night

ō'maxa hánakīrec, ō'kape ō'tita keréẋkerekàc. kacékarèẋteki ō'keres
together they slept, some of the rest home they went. Near daybreak those that
went home

ā^{n}we óti ecká nupkā'ata, nuréeẋkac. ō'tii nurō'pẋektíki, numā'x- 539
all their homes we woke them up, we go along (to the next house). Her house we enter.
we

kanā̀kac. "ímupā, kitā'ni, mahū'na!" kawáxkanā'kes nō'ota,
sing. "Comrade, wake up, come!" Singers we are with,

hi^{n} ā'we kíiẋkèrekac tíoohìta mā'axkup ónūnisū̀t. hi^{n} tō'pana
and all come back to the lodge crowns where they keep. And four nights

nū'mak nō'hū'ta mā'rahirexkèrekac. tō'panā̀ne ecó kixē'kerec.
man near they do not go to. On that fourth night that they stop.

kixē'kehi kamā'napikEs ā'we marátEk íseẋkèrec. oóhereni mā'axkupe
When they stop those dancers all feast they make. And then crowns

ā'we kawákirihē'rec. mā'akta mā'axkups náciha nū'niẋkèrikac.
all they string up. On the ground crowns behind they stay.

hi^{n} ō'ohereni nū'maake máxana mā'niksùks katanícкerekà énehi
And then man one (with) bird medicine that one

kamī'nepekàs, ā'we íkaraxukōc ō'ohaktō'hereni. kixē'ktihi, mā'axkups
dancers, all he rubs off to the last one. When they cease, crowns

ī'wapsituxs kirúcani, íxahanàs ā'we kirúcanāni, kicū'cukàrani. kāhósta
their feathers he takes out, those grasses all he unloosens, he straightens out.
On the prairie

ā'nahinik, patíkōc. ā'atāroc.
he takes them out, he throws them away. This is all.

III.

cáhakèro nu^{n}tēk, minísinik óxat'e nurū'cec. hiā'atere ò̀oháreni
Across the river we were staying. Cult society we bought. And then

nú^{n}kikìruhèreec ā'we híkerec. ā'taxka' "mā'karuske hárenìsta!"
we invited friends. All got there. Already "Things collect!"

nu^{n}tamáhe túktōc. híre íctuxki manác nā're'toc. nápte hérEkerekì,
Our song we ought to have. Now tonight tobacco we take over. They will light
the pipe (?)

a^{n}'taxkac mā'+usta híre ictúxki nū'tiktōc. "ā'we marácisèke
then already that night we shall all be there. "All mixed-tobacco

hu^{n}'hu^{n} hárenista! marátEke ā'we óna atínitooc kū'^{n}nìsta" hi^{n}hā'-
plenty have! Feast all your father give ye." Now,

askat ictúhe tétuki marátekenūkū'una nū'wiic. nā'aka ictúxki
that way nights eight feast we gave right along. Next night

nūkirúceẋtō'c hináasekehì kō'ots ú^{n}uta hi^{n}áthi^{n} híkereèc hi^{n} kō'otsūt
we shall get it. That way fathers to them they have come. And to his father

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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539 hík̄ihi. "Ptamā'-ipàxtuke makí'kùuta. ptámanisè no ā'watì`c."
he came. "My clothes give me mine. My horse here I have out here."

hi^{n} kō'otsē`na "néwa$^{n}$k márahē`rēc" éheni. marátɛke kū'urōc.
And to (?) his father, "This is your food," he said. Feast he gave them.

"néhak nihū'poō`c, néhak nihú$^{n}$cic, íniwacutō`oc, manā'nihoc marára-
"This is your moccasin, this your leggings, your shirt, your blanket, your

pìninuc, mō'orakeskèc, mō'onakiruc nī'itak ō'racipoc."
necklace your earring, your head ornament, your face-pendants."

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[Although no mention is made of it in the analyzed sections of this source, the Mandan and Hidatsa societies are also age-graded. Therefore, for information concerning category 561 (age stratification) see also category 575 (sodalities). -- Analyst]

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NOTES ON THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND CUSTOMS OF THE MANDAN, HIDATSA, AND CROW INDIANS.

By Robert H. Lowie.

[p. 1]

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PREFACE.

121 The Hidatsa, while most closely related to the Crow, have been in close contact with the Mandan for so long a period that the culture of all three tribes must be considered in conjunction. That is to say, it is impossible to acquire an accurate picture of Hidatsa life without taking into account, on the one hand, the persistence of old elements characteristic of the parent tribe before its division into Crow and Hidatsa and, on the other hand, the influence exerted by the Mandan subsequently to the Crow separation. Our information on the Mandan, for reasons stated below, is tantalizingly meager and suggests rather than solves problems. Fortunately, the Crow data are sufficiently extensive to permit a comparison of their social culture with that of the Hidatsa and to make possible a reconstruction of their pristine organization. In a previous paper of this series issued in 1912 (Vol. IX, part II) I dealt with the "Social Life of the Crow Indians." Since its appearance I have paid several visits to this people and have secured much additional information, which partly confirms and in part supplements and amends my earlier results. I have naturally devoted much more space to the new material but found it necessary to summarize briefly some facts previously described.

124 A few words may be in place regarding the method followed in illustrating the use of Crow kinship terms. It has become clear to students that relationship nomenclature harbors innumerable pitfalls for the field investigator. These can be minimized only by utilizing every possible means of checking the information obtained. We must not content ourselves with abstract statements nor even with the confirmation supplied by a genealogical scheme but should determine the use to which terms are put by the native when not harried by ethnological questioning, when, in other words, he is in a perfectly normal and naïve position with reference to his tribesmen. One way to do this is to keep one's ears open in Indian households when not ostensibly engaged in belaboring the aboriginal consciousness; another equally effective one is to collect systematically the evidence yielded by mythological texts. It is even possible to make use of myths taken down in English provided the recorder insists on noting down in the vernacular every relationship term that occurs.

124 The Hidatsa and Mandan were visited in the summers of 1910, 1911, and 1913, while my acquaintance with the Crow dates back to 1907 and has been frequently renewed since.

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

June 15, 1917.

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SOCIAL LIFE OF THE MANDAN.

Clan System.

The study of ancient Mandan society is rendered unusually difficult through the almost complete extinction of the tribe. There are probably not more than half a dozen full-blood Mandan living on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota. Though the census of 1910 sets their number at 197, this is given on the basis of the native way of tracing descent so as to include all those whose mothers only were Mandan or were according to the matrilineal principle of descent reckoned as Mandan. Living for a long period in close contact with the more numerous Hidatsa, with whom intermarriage has taken place to a considerable extent, the younger Mandan so-called hardly ever speak Mandan as fluently or correctly as Hidatsa.[1]

Under these circumstances the question naturally arises over and over again whether a given feature common to Mandan and Hidatsa culture is not an Hidatsa trait shared by the Mandan only since their practical absorption in the neighboring tribe. This naturally complicates the sufficiently difficult question as to the relative contributions of the two tribes to their common cultural stock. On this subject widely varying views have been held. Thus, Morgan, rather cavalierly assumed that agriculture and the earth-lodge were brought into the region by the Hidatsa and borrowed by the Mandan,[2] while Matthews has expressed the opposite opinion.[3]

Since in culture the Hidatsa differ from the Crow far more than the affinity of the two languages and hence presumable recency of their separation would lead us to expect, it seems natural to refer such divergence as exists to Mandan influence on the Hidatsa. This interpretation would lead to thoroughly satisfactory results if we could be sure that recently collected Mandan data indicating cultural identity with the Hidatsa reflect ancient Mandan conditions. Unfortunately, we are frequently without the means of checking our information on account of the inadequacy of the early accounts.

A point of great importance regarding the Mandan is their local and linguistic differentiation. Whatever may be the fact as to the nine villages they are said to have inhabited about the Heart River confluence in 1750,[4]

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[1] It may be noted in this connection that these languages, though both of the Siouan stock, are only remotely related.

[2] Morgan, (b), part II, chapter 6.

[3] Matthews, 377.

[4] Handbook of American Indians, I, 797.

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197 or the thirteen villages with which Maximilian's informants credited them,[1] in the beginning of the nineteenth century there certainly were two villages, Nū'pta (Ruhptare) and Mị'tutąk (Mihtuttahangkusch), speaking distinct dialects, as is demonstrated by Maximilian's vocabularies.[2] One of my informants added a third village, Istápe, (given by Morgan as a clan name), where she said the Nū'pta dialect was spoken.

621 It is clear from Maximilian's data that between Nū'pta and Mị'tutąk
[184] there was also a minor cultural differentiation in the matter of dances. The question in connection with our immediate problem is how to conceive
614 the relation of the villages to the social divisions. Maximilian tells us that
174 the Mandan called themselves "Nū'mangkā'ke" (*nū'makā'ki*) i. e., people, and were wont to add the name of the village from which they had originally come. Thus, there were Prairie-chicken people, so-called after the Prairie-chicken village; Bear people, Cactus people, Badger people,— all named from corresponding villages.

> Obgleich nun alle die oben genannten Dörfer nicht mehr existiren, so nennen sich dennoch alle diese Indianer ihrer Abstammung zufolge noch nach denselben.[3]

This is a clear-cut statement to the effect that the Mandan clans developed in recent times from formerly distinct local groups. If we assume that the ancient village scheme involved local exogamy and matrilineal descent, or that the latter was grafted on the former, possibly through borrowing, the fusion of people from different settlements would quite naturally lead to the evolution of exogamous clans. The statement of one of my informants that all the clans were found in both Mị'tutąk and Nū'pta is not inconsistent with such a line of development since this condition would be readily brought about by intermarriage. However, all this is pure speculation and the questions involved will only become clearer after considering the social organization of the Mandan as sketched by recent informants and comparing it with that of the Hidatsa and other tribes.

616 The Mandan were divided into non-exogamous moieties corresponding
[171] in name to those of the Hidatsa, viz., Three-clans (nū'makā'ki ō'rebe nā'mini) and Four-clans (nū'makā'ki ō're tōp). According to Black-chest, the names of the moieties and the constituent clans were originated by the legendary warrior Seven-wolf when returning from a victorious expedition against the Arikara. Information is very meager as to the functions of the dual division in tribal life, but here there is again close correspondence to Hidatsa conditions. During a general council of the Mandan the Three-

[1] Maximilian, II, 103.
[2] *ibid.*, 557–561.
[3] *ibid.*, 104.

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clans were ranged on one side, the Four-clans on the other. In building an earth-lodge the Three-clan women would put earth on one side and the Four-clan women on the other. 616

It is altogether improbable that the Hidatsa and Mandan moiety systems should have had an independent origin. The question at once arises, then, which was the borrowing tribe. The complete lack of any trace of the dual division among the Crow suggests that the Hidatsa imitated the Mandan scheme, a conclusion which I was at first tempted to draw. However, there is no satisfactory evidence on behalf of this interpretation. In the first place, the moieties of the Winnebago, the closest linguistic allies of the Mandan, were exogamous, while there is no indication that this applies to the Mandan and Hidatsa divisions; moreover, the Mandan differ from all other Siouans and resemble the Hidatsa and Crow in the rule of matrilineal descent. There is thus no *a priori* reason for assigning the rôle of transmitter to the Mandan rather than to the Hidatsa. Secondly, there is a disparity between the designations of the Mandan moieties and the number of their clans such as does not occur among the Hidatsa. Some informants, to be sure, make the number correspond to the moiety names, and Morgan without speaking of a dual division lists seven clans. But other Mandans give the number as eleven or even sixteen, while nine are reported by Mr. Curtis. The informant who spoke of sixteen clans added that more of them belonged to the Four-clan than to the Three-clan moiety, but this struck me as an obvious afterthought,— as a secondary attempt to harmonise as best he could two sets of contradictory facts. Although the information obtained is hardly sufficient to permit a definite solution, I rather incline to Mr. Curtis's view that the Mandan moiety scheme is derived from the Hidatsa, whose clans conform in number to the moiety names. 616 171 614 174

The following scheme was furnished by Two-chiefs, herself a member of the first-named clan: — 616 614

Three-Clan Moiety.

mazi' 'kina
tami'sik
nũ'pta

Four-Clan Moiety.

si' pucka nũ'mak, Prairie-chicken people
xtaxtám nũ'mak, Young white-headed Eagle[1]
mánakactõk nũ'mak, People all in a bunch[2]
xũ'xinã' ka nũ'mak, Crow people (said to refer to the scalp on a stick)

[1] Mr. Curtis (v. 145), wanderes the word "Spotted Eagle."
[2] Presumably Mr. Curtis's Madhakachtak, "Clump of Wood."

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In this list it will be noted that the third name in the first moiety coincides with that of the Nū'pta village and dialectic division. Black-chest, of the same moiety, substituted the ma'nakactðk for the nū'pta, and Turtle-woman, likewise a Three-clan, gave the tamī'kexik in the same place. This name suspiciously resembles another, tamī'kaxik, Bad Packstrap, which the same authority gave as an ancient designation of the maxi''kina people, who were so named because they used poor string to tie with. Both Black-chest and Turtle-woman regarded the tamī'sik as equivalent to the Hidatsa mɛ'ᵉ tsirō'ke (Knife) clan. There is no suggestion that this was meant to interpret the meaning of the name, and Turtle-woman said that the tamī'sik were Wolf people. This is probably merely a symbolic reference since the words for "wolf" are quite different in Maximilian's vocabularies. As regards the constitution of the Four-clan moiety, Turtle-woman and Two-chiefs are in perfect agreement.

614

Calf-woman said that there were eleven clans grouped in moieties but made no attempt to classify the ten names she actually supplied. Like Maximilian, she regarded all the clans as connected with different villages; accordingly, it is not surprising that she should have included nū'pta in her list. On the other hand, several others are omitted in her enumeration, which follows:—

ni' pucka
xtaxta' nū'ma ᵉkɛ
mī'ti ā'ki, Village above
maxáhe
tamī'sik
ō'rɛᵉ 'kū'pa, Seven-different-kinds
mā'ak ī'xtit mī'ti, Hilltop village
mī'tinā'rɛ, Scattered village
mī'ī'tik ɛ'exicot nū'makā'ki, White-bellied mouse people
nūptare

Three names not recorded by me at all are given by Mr. Curtis,— the masē' (kabuk), Red Butte; the matēk, Badger; and the madhadhacu, Charcoal. Of these the Badger people are also mentioned by Maximilian, but his Bear and Cactus villages seem to have no equivalents in either Mr. Curtis's or my own lists. Morgan's [1] list of seven clans includes the Prairie-chickens, Maximilian's Bear and Calf-woman's Village-above people,— also a Wolf (Horata), Good Knife (Tanatsuka), Eagle (Kitanemake), and Flathead (Estapa) clan.

[1] Morgan, (b), part II, chapter 6.

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According to Calf-woman, the Prairie-chicken clan is the most important on the Reservation. This is consistent with Mr. Curtis's data, according to which the larger moiety bears the name of this clan, corresponding preëminence being assigned to the taml'sik in the Three-clan moiety. It should be noted that the Prairie-chicken clan is the only one common to the Hidatsa and Mandan series. 614 [171]

Calf-woman's ō're' 'kūpa (nits) was given by Turtle-woman not as the designation of a clan but of all the seven clans jointly in addressing the entire tribe. [101]

Mr. Curtis states that the marriage of fellow-clansmen was considered improper and publicly ridiculed, but according to my witnesses this rule has long ceased to be absolute. Thus, Calf-woman declared that sometimes people married within their own clan, though there were some who regarded this as wrong; and Two-chiefs, a maxi' 'kina married to a xtaxta', cited the case of her husband's mother who had married another xtaxta', not related by blood. 582 178 614

Kinship Terms.

A brief but in most respects accurate statement as to Mandan kinship nomenclature is made by Maximilian.[1] Recently Mr. Curtis has summarily characterised the Mandan terminology as largely influenced by the clan factor, the father's brother and his clansmen being classed with the father, the father's clanswomen with the father's sister, all mates in one's clan with brothers and all females as mothers.[2] This statement is undoubtedly in large measure correct, but, the last part is manifestly not to be taken literally since the mother's mother and her generation and the sisters are certainly not called "mother." Morgan already had to contend with the difficulty of finding interpreters fully conversant with Mandan and offers an avowedly imperfect list. So far as essentials are concerned, he correctly characterises the system as of the usual classificatory type. The most important deviation from the norm mentioned in his résumé consists in the classification of the father's sister with the mother in feminine parlance, a distinctive word for paternal aunt being used only by males.[3] My data yield no confirmation of this peculiarity. A remarkable feature found by Morgan among the Hidatsa and Crow but not noted by him among the Mandan, though recorded both by Mr. Curtis and myself, is the confusion of generations in the designation of the father's sister's female descendants 601 601 171 177

[1] Maximilian, II, 132, 842.
[2] Curtis, V, 145.
[3] Morgan, (a), 184.

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601 through females, all these relatives being classed with the father's sister [171] regardless of generation.[1] The question arises whether this trait was 177 borrowed by the Mandan, possibly since their practical absorption in the neighboring tribe. Another peculiarity not indicated by Morgan in his discussion of the Mandan system, though emphasized in his treatment of the Hidatsa and Crow terminologies, is the classification of the maternal uncle with the elder brother. In Mandan this is optional and there is an alternative specific designation for the mother's brother, while Crow and Hidatsa lack any separate word for this relative. From the great rarity of this feature and the simultaneous use of a distinct word for the mother's brother, which moreover is the only designation given by Maximilian and Morgan, I infer that the Mandan borrowed from the Hidatsa the classification of the uncle with the elder brother. This seems to me the more probable because according to the more trustworthy of my informants the sister's son is not addressed as "younger brother" but only by a distinct term correlative with that for mother's brother. But the Hidatsa mode of classifying the maternal uncle is of a piece with the Hidatsa designation of the female descendants of the paternal aunt, i. e., in both cases the same principle of emphasizing clan affiliation to the extent of disregarding generation finds expression. It is, therefore, likely that both features were borrowed by the Mandan.

601 With the aid of two informants, Two-chiefs and Calf-woman, I secured the following imperfect list of kinship terms.

tate' (vocative only). Father, father's brother, father's sister's son.

tate'xihe, tate'xis (voc.). Father's sister's husband, husband's father, grandfather, greatgrandfather.

mā'ats, tate'ena (non-voc.). Father, father's brother, father's sister's son.

mā'txis (non-voc.). Father's sister's husband, grandfather.

tà terité (voc.). My fathers, i. e., my father's fellow-clansmen.

nō'atō'oc (non-voc.). Father's clansman (man speaking).

nō'atōre (non-voc.). Father's clansman (woman speaking).

ptū minike' (voc.). Father's sister, father's sister's daughter, father's sister's daughter's daughter, etc., *ad infinitum*. Non-voc. form: ptū'minikse'ena.

nae' (voc.). Mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.

nā'xic, nā'xihe' (voc.). Grandmother, husband's mother.

mihu'xis (non-voc.). Grandmother.

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[1] Morgan's schedules regarding the descendants of the father's sister are blank for the Mandan, (a), 329–330.

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ō'mihū'ruc (non-voc.). Mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.

tàwaratōre' (voc.). Mother's brother (see p. 12 and below). Non-voc. form: tà waratōse' ena.

ptā'rumaks. Mother's brother (w. sp.).[1]

mū'ukā (voc., m. sp.). My elder brother, mother's brother, father's sister's son's son older than ego, father's brother's son older than ego, mother's sister's son older than ego. Non-voc. form: mū'ukase' ena.

'micu ka'. My younger brother (m. sp.), elder or younger brother (w. sp.); father's sister's son's son, father's brother's son, mother's sister's son.

ptamihe' (m. sp.). Elder or younger sister, father's sister's son's daughter, father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, brother-in-law's wife.

mīruke' (w. sp.). Elder sister, father's sister's son's daughter, father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter.

ptą' ka' (w. sp.). Younger sister, father's sister's son's daughter, father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter.

minike' (voc.). Son (m. sp., w. sp.), brother's son (m. sp., w. sp.), sister's son (w. sp.), mother's brother's son. Non-voc. form: mini'ks.

kunika' (voc.). Son, grandson.

minū'hake' (voc.). Daughter, brother's daughter (m. sp., w. sp.), mother's brother's daughter, sister's daughter (w. sp.). Non-voc. form: minū'haks.

ptū'haxka' (m. sp.). Sister's son, sister's daughter.

ptawi' haka. Grandchild, son's wife, grandson's wife.

màratō ka' (voc.). Husband, wife. Non-voc. form: mà ratōka'se' na.

mī'morus (non-voc.). Husband. kō'worus, her husband.

nokā ka' (voc.). Wife, husband.[2]

mū'us (non-voc.). My wife, k'u'us; k'u'uhe, his wife.

e' ecehak (voc.). Husband's brother.

nisi'ke. Husband's brother, kocu'ka, (probably) her husband's brother. This last may simply mean "his brother."

mō' wa 'kihe'. Wife's brother, sister's husband (m. sp.).

ptune'. Brother's wife (w. sp.), husband's sister.

nō'hakamihe. Brother's wife.

mū' uhō'rake (m. sp.). My brother's wife.

p't' ū'te, p 'tūta. Daughter's husband.

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[1] This word was given only by Calf-woman, who considered mū'uka as the corresponding male term.

[2] One informant gave màratōkā for husband, and nokāhā for wife, the other reversed these interpretations, probably there are two words both designating the spouse regardless of sex.

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601 nō'hakàs. Daughter's husband.
pta +i' maratokās. My wife's father.
ptù hinî ks. My wife's mother, my wife's mother's sister.

601 114 It will be noted that beyond the second ascending and the second descending generations no relatives are designated by special terms, lineal and collateral ancestors being classed with grandparents and descendants with grandchildren, regardless of male or female lines.[1] This fact is borne out in detail by Morgan's schedules. According to these, it would appear that no distinction was drawn between the father's father's and the mother's mother's sister, nor between the father's father's and the mother's mother's brother. On the latter point I unfortunately failed to get data, which would have been of interest in comparison with the Hidatsa usage of classing the maternal grandmother's brother with the elder brother. According to Morgan the word for grandchild was also applied to the sister's grandchild (w. sp.), brother's grandchild (m. or w. sp.), and the sister's son's wife (m. sp.).

With the father Morgan, doubtless correctly, classes the mother's sister's husband and the stepfather. His identification of the father's sister with the mother in female parlance, however, seems doubtful since both my informants were women but gave a single word for the paternal aunt, corresponding to one of Morgan's terms for male usage. A second word given by Morgan for the father's sister (m. sp.) [177] *mā-sā-we*, is not Mandan at all but unmistakably the Hidatsa *bacā'wi*, which is used by both sexes. On the other hand, Morgan has only the equivalent of *tà waratore'* for the maternal uncle, while I also obtained a distinct word for women's use as well as the classification with the elder brother (by men only?).

Except for the applications already mentioned, my connotations for the elder brother term closely coincide with Morgan's, which is also essentially true of the younger brother category. The essential point here is that women have a single term for elder and younger brother coinciding with the men's word for younger brother, the men having an additional term for the elder brother.

[171] In the designation of sisters there is only partial parallelism. To be sure, the women (i. e., members of the sex of the person designated) have two distinct words for elder and younger sister, while the men have only one. The men's generic term, however, does not coincide with either of the women's words so that there are not two words but three to be reckoned with. Here Morgan agrees as regards the men's word, but differs in ascribing a single generic term to the women. Analogy, not only with the brother terms but also with the usage of other Siouan tribes, such as the Winnebago, strongly suggests that Morgan is in error.

My list contains two words for son without clear differentiation. Morgan practically restricts *minika'* to male and *kunika'* entirely to female speech. The latter word is also translated by him to cover the brother's son, sister's son, father's brother's son's son, mother's sister's son's son and mother's sister's daughter's son,—all with a woman speaking. He interprets *minika'* to cover the son, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, mother's son's son and stepson in male speech, and the stepson and father's brother's daughter's son in female speech. The two last-mentioned meanings are not very convincing; more particularly, the father's brother's daughter being classed with the sister, her son would logically be a sister's son, i. e., a "son" for women according to the usual classificatory rules, and it is not at all clear why this particular "son" should be distinguished from others by substituting a word ordinarily confined to male usage. It is further strange that a woman should

[1] [Consult category 115, pp. 12-14 for information on the Kinship terms.—Analyst]

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use a single word for brother's and sister's son. On the other hand, my own list of meanings for *minike'* is rendered somewhat doubtful by extending the word to the brother's son of both men and women. A similar feature of the daughter category, however, viz., the classing of the man's brother's daughter with the woman's, is supported by Morgan's as well as my own informants. 601 114

One of my words for husband, *mĭ' morus*, is approached by Morgan's *me-mer-ul*, while his *moo-hul* and his *moo-ha* for wife and brother's wife are at least of the same stem as my *mĭ' us* and *mu' uhŏ'ake* (m. sp.). I did not get the words by which the wife's and the husband's fathers and mothers address each other, but analogy with other Siouan systems supports Morgan's statement that there are distinct terms, which he gives as *kote'-he-a* for the father-in-law and *me-ho-he-a* for the mother-in-law. My list also lacks a word for wife's sister, which Morgan gives as *noo-ko-ho-mus*.

Instead of *koo-too'-min-ik* I have *ptune'* for brother's wife (w. sp.); Morgan's informants, consistently enough, included under his term the father's brother's son's and the mother's sister's son's wife. In my list the husband's sister is put into this category.

To my *p'i'ĭ'te* for daughter's husband clearly corresponds Morgan's *p'too'-ta*, brother's daughter's husband (m. sp.), which indicates that his *ko-too'-te* is merely a form of the same stem. He gives many connotations for this word, none of which (except son-in-law) is given in my series. Thus, Morgan, translates it also "husband's father" and "husband's mother" and reciprocally "daughter-in-law" (m. sp. and w. sp.), but here judging from analogy, he is almost certainly wrong, the latter relative being classed with the grandchild, the parents-in-law with the grandparents, as my list indicates. Consistently with his classification of the brother's with the sister's daughter (w. sp.) and with the customary classificatory extensions, Morgan further lists under the same caption the brother's son's wife, brother's daughter's husband (w. sp.), sister's son's wife (w. sp.) and sister's daughter's husband (w. sp.). Of these meanings only those applied to men are compatible with my data.

My *mĭ' ua'k i ka'*, wife's brother, sister's husband (m. sp.) is phonetically the equivalent of Morgan's *wo-ud' ke-a* and *wo-ud-ke*. He gives various additional meanings, viz., sister's husband (w. sp.), husband's brother, sister's daughter's husband (m. sp.), father's brother's daughter's and mother's sister's daughter's husband. The two last-mentioned meanings follow of course from the meaning "sister's husband." That a woman should call the sister's husband by the same term applied by a man to his brother-in-law, seems rather improbable, but unfortunately I did not get evidence on this point. On the other hand, I have two distinct terms for the husband's brother, so that in this respect Morgan's data seem inaccurate. Altogether it is regrettable that the terms of affinity are involved in so much doubt.

Social Customs.

On this subject I only collected a few items, some of which, however, are of some comparative interest. 602

As among the Hidatsa and Crow, there was a joking-relationship, which obtained among the sons and daughters of men belonging to the same clan. These relatives, if such they may be styled, were called *i'trusit*,

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582 Regarding cross-cousin marriage, Two-chiefs said that it was permissible for a man to marry the daughter of a mother's clansman but not the daughter of a mother's own brother. On the other hand, Turtle-woman declared that it was proper for a girl to marry her father's sister's son, and my Hidatsa interpreter explained that this was a point in which Mandan and Hidatsa practices diverged.

606 Not only the wife's mother but also the mother-in-law's sisters and mother avoided the husband.

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[For information on the kinship units Lowie calls clans, see category 614.]

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TRAVELS

IN

THE INTERIOR OF NORTH AMERICA.

BY

MAXIMILIAN, PRINCE OF WIED.

WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD,

AND A LARGE MAP.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

BY H. EVANS LLOYD.

TO ACCOMPANY THE ORIGINAL SERIES OF EIGHTY-ONE,
ELABORATELY-COLOURED PLATES.

SIZE, IMPERIAL FOLIO.

LONDON:
ACKERMANN AND CO., 96, STRAND.
MDCCCXLIII.

[p. iii]

[pp. i-ii omitted]

[p. iv contains no textual material]

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

000 Immense additions have been made of late years to our knowledge of the extensive continent of North America. A large portion of that country, which, only a few years ago, was covered with almost uninterrupted primeval forests, and a scanty, scattered population of rude barbarians, has been converted, by the influx of emigrants from the Old World, into a rich and flourishing State, for the most part civilized, and almost as well known and cultivated as Europe itself. Large and flourishing towns, with fine public institutions of every kind, have risen rapidly, and every year adds to their number. Animated commerce, unfettered, unlimited industry, have caused this astonishing advance of civilization in the United States. The tide of emigration is impelled onwards, wave upon wave, and it is only the sterility of the North-west that can check the advancing torrent.

121 We already possess numerous accounts of these daily-increasing States, and there are many good statistical works on the subject. We have even excellent general works on the physical state of this continent, among which Volney's "Tableau du Climat et du Sol des Etats Unis," holds a high rank. Little, however, has yet been done towards a clear and vivid description of the natural scenery of North America: the works of American writers themselves on this subject, with the exception of Cooper's and Washington Irving's animated descriptions, cannot be taken into account, as, in writing for their countrymen, they take it for granted that their readers are well acquainted with the country.

For this reason I have endeavoured, in the following work, to supply this deficiency to the best of my ability, and have aimed rather at giving a clear and faithful description of the country, than at collecting statistical information. Hence these travels are designed for foreign, rather than for American readers, to whom, probably, but few of the details would be new.

There are two distinct points of view in which that remarkable country may be considered. Some travellers are interested by the rude, primitive character of the natural face of North America, and its aboriginal population, the traces of which are now scarcely discernible in most parts of the United States; while the majority are more inclined to contemplate the immigrant population, and the gigantic strides of civilization introduced by it. The account of my tour through a part of these countries, contained in the following pages, is chiefly intended for readers of the first class. I have avoided the repetition of numerous statements which may be found in various statistical publications; but, on the contrary, have aimed at a simple description of nature. As the United States were merely the basis of my more extensive undertaking, the object of which

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121 was the investigation of the upper part of the course of the Missouri, they do not form a prominent feature, and it is impossible to expect, from a few months' residence, an opinion on the social condition and character of that motley population.

The indulgent reader, following the author beyond the frontier of the United States, will have to direct his attention to those extensive plains—those cheerless, desolate prairies, the western boundary of which is formed by the snow-covered chain of the Rocky Mountains, or the Oregon, where many tribes of the aborigines still enjoy a peaceful abode; while their brethren in the eastern part of the continent are supplanted, extirpated, degenerated, in the face of the constantly increasing immigration, or have been forced across the Mississippi, where they have for the most part perished.

122 The vast tracts of the interior of North-western America are, in general, but little known, and the government of the United States may be justly reproached for not having done more to explore them. Some few scientific expeditions, among which the two under Major Long produced the most satisfactory results for natural history, though on a limited scale, were set on foot by the government; and it is only under its protection that a thorough investigation of those extensive wildernesses, especially in the Rocky Mountains, can be undertaken. Even Major Long's expeditions are but poorly furnished with respect to natural history, for a faithful and vivid picture of those countries, and their original inhabitants, can never be placed before the eye without the aid of a fine portfolio of plates by the hand of a skilful artist.

In my description of the voyage up the Missouri, I have endeavoured to avail myself of the assistance of an able draughtsman, the want of which I so sensibly felt in my former travels in South America. On the present occasion I was accompanied by Mr. Bodmer, who has represented the Indian nations with great truth, and correct delineation of their characteristic features. His drawings will prove an important addition to our knowledge of this race of men, to whom so little attention has hitherto been paid.

121 After mature consideration, I have judged it desirable to throw the account of my voyage
128 on the Missouri itself into the form of a journal, as the daily notices were numerous, but the variety very trifling; so that the patience of the reader will unfortunately be tried a little in this part of the narrative. In those uninhabited, desert countries the traveller has nothing but the description of the naked banks of the river, and the little diversity they afford, interrupted at times by the adventures of the chase, and occasional meetings with Indians; the reader will therefore excuse many observations and unimportant descriptions, which would have been omitted if the materials had been richer in variety. I need still more indulgence with respect to many observations on natural history, but for this the loss of the greater part of my collections will be a sufficient excuse. The cases containing them were delivered to the Company, to be put on board the steamer for St. Louis, but not insured; and, when the steamer caught fire, the people thought rather of saving the goods than my cases, the contents of which were, probably, not considered to be of much value, and so they were all burnt. This may be a warning to future travellers not to neglect to insure such collections.

Though the main object of my journey, namely, to pass some time in the chain of the Rocky Mountains, was defeated by unfavourable circumstances, I should have been able, but for the loss of my collections, to communicate many new observations, especially in the department of zoology, which are now more or less deficient. The accounts of the tribes of the aborigines, and

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especially of the Mandans and Manitaries, are more complete, because I spent a whole winter among them, and was able to have daily intercourse with them. Authentic and impartial accounts of the Indians of the Upper Missouri are now especially valuable, if the information that we have since received is well founded, namely, that to the many evils introduced by the Whites among those tribes, a most destructive epidemic—small-pox—has been added, and a great part of them exterminated: according to the newspapers, the Mandans, Manitaries, Assiniboins, and Blackfeet have been swept away except a small remnant. The observation of the manners of the aborigines is undoubtedly that which must chiefly interest the foreign traveller in those countries, especially as the Anglo-Americans look down on them with a certain feeling of hatred. Hence we have hitherto met with little useful information respecting the Indians, except in the recent writings of Edward James, Long, Say, Schoolcraft, M'Kenney, Cass, Duponceau, Irving, and a few others; and as good portraits of this race have hitherto been extremely rare, the faithful delineation contained in the portfolio of plates accompanying this work will be interesting to the friends of anthropology and ethnography.

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Several men, of great eminence in the learned world, have had the kindness to contribute to the publication. President Ness Von Esenbeck has undertaken the determination and description of the plants which I brought home; Professor Goldfuss, of Bonn, that of some fossil shells; Professor Göppert, of Breslau, that of the impression of fossil plants from Mauch Chunk; Professors Valenciennes at Paris, and Wiegmann at Boston, the comparison of some zoological specimens with those in their cities; and Lieut.-Col. W. Thorn, the construction of the map; for which obliging assistance I beg leave to offer to these gentlemen my sincere thanks.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

800 The author, in his Preface, gives so full an account of the objects and results of his travels in the interior of North America, that it would have been unnecessary for me to prefix any observations of my own, were it not for some circumstances, connected with the translation, which seem to require explanation.

The prospectus of the German original announced that the work would consist of two large quarto volumes, accompanied by a portfolio of above eighty beautifully coloured copper-plates, executed by eminent artists at Paris, from the original drawings. Some specimens of the plates having been brought to London, were so much admired by many competent judges, that Messrs. Ackermann were induced to agree with the Paris publisher for a limited number of copies of the plates; and as it might justly be presumed that the English purchasers would be desirous of having the narrative of the travels, it was resolved to publish a translation compressed into a single volume. By selecting, however, a page of a large size, the translator has been able to retain all the most interesting parts, omitting only minute details of the measurements of animals, &c. All the chapters illustrative of the manners, customs, traditions, and superstitions of the Indians are given without abridgment, and these, as the author justly observes, are by far the most attractive and valuable portions of the work. The papers in the Appendix, giving an account of the plants collected, are also inserted entire, and have been kindly revised by my friend Sir William Hooker.

The principal omission is that of the very extensive vocabularies of the languages of the different Indian tribes. They are written so as to represent the pronunciation in German, and have, in numerous instances, special directions, as thus: hostuchee (*oo* as in French, *ochre*, short and quick, *ol*). It appeared to be a hopeless and unprofitable task to rewrite these vocabularies, and to represent the true pronunciation in English. Those who are curious in such matters will find many specimens in Mr. Catlin's interesting work.

128 The numerous Indian proper names are, of course, written in the original as pronounced
194 in German. It has been thought best to leave them unchanged, merely requesting the reader to observe, in general, that the consonants are pronounced as in English; only that *ch* is guttural, as in the Scotch word *loch*; that *sch* is pronounced *sh*, and that the vowels have the same sound as in French, *ah*, *a*, *ee*, *o*, *oo*.

175 The author alludes, in his Preface, to the recent fearful ravages which have been caused
164 among the Indian races by the small-pox. The origin and extent of these ravages will be seen from the following very affecting letter on the subject:

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"NEW ORLEANS, *June* 6, 1838.—The southern parts of the United States, particularly Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana, are so healthy as can be wished; there has been no appearance of the yellow fever, and even at the Havannah only a few isolated cases have occurred. During the autumn, winter, and spring, the small-pox has carried off many victims among the Whites, and thousands of the Indians; but it has now wholly disappeared in the territory of the Union, in consequence of a general vaccination of persons of all ages. On the other hand, we have, from the trading posts on the western frontier of the Missouri, the most frightful accounts of the ravages of the small-pox among the Indians. The destroying angel has visited the unfortunate sons of the wilderness with terrors never before known, and has converted the extensive hunting grounds, as well as the peaceful settlements of those tribes, into desolate and boundless cemeteries. The number of the victims within a few months is estimated at 30,000, and the pestilence is still spreading. The warlike spirit which but lately animated the several Indian tribes, and but a few months ago gave reason to apprehend the breaking-out of a sanguinary war, is broken. The mighty warriors are now the prey of the greedy wolves of the prairie, and the few survivors, in mere despair, throw themselves on the pity of the Whites, who, however, can do but little to help them. The vast preparations for the protection of the western frontier are superfluous: another arm has undertaken the defence of the white inhabitants of the frontier; and the funereal torch, that lights the red man to his dreary grave, has become the auspicious star of the advancing settler, and of the roving trader of the white race.

"The small-pox was communicated to the Indians by a person who was on board the steam-boat which went, last summer, up to the mouth of the Yellow Stone, to convey both the government presents for the Indians, and the goods for the barter trade of the fur dealers. The disorder communicated itself to several of the crew of the steam-boat. The officers gave notice of it to the Indians, and exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent any intercourse between them and the vessel; but this was a vain attempt; for the Indians knew that presents and goods for barter were come for them, and it would have been impossible to drive them away from the fort without having recourse to arms. Two days before the arrival of the steam-boat, an express had been received at the trading fort, 2000 miles west of St. Louis, with the melancholy news of the breaking-out of the small-pox on board; this was immediately communicated to the Indians, with the most urgent entreaties to keep at a distance; but this was as good as preaching to the winds. The survivors now lament their disobedience, and are as submissive as the poor dogs which look in vain in the prairie for the footsteps of their masters. The miserable remnants of the Indians implore us not to abandon them in their misfortune, and promise, if we will take pity on them, never more to disobey our commands.

"The disease first broke out about the 15th of June, 1837, in the village of the Mandans, a few miles below the American fort, Leavenworth, from which it spread, in all directions, with unexampled fury. The character of the disease was as appalling as the rapidity of the propagation. Among the remotest tribes of the Assiniboins from fifty to one hundred died daily. The patient, when first seized, complains of dreadful pains in the head and back, and in a few hours he is dead: the body immediately turns black, and swells to thrice its natural size. In vain were hospitals fitted up in Fort Union, and the whole stock of medicines exhausted. For many weeks together our workmen did nothing but collect the dead bodies and bury them in large pits; but since the ground is frozen we are obliged to throw them into the river. The ravages of the disorder were the most frightful among the Mandans, where it first broke out. That once powerful tribe, which, by accumulated disasters, had already been reduced to 1500 souls, was exterminated, with the exception of thirty persons. Their neighbours, the Bighellied Indians, and the Ricarees, were out on a hunting excursion at the time of the breaking-out of the disorder, so that it did not reach them till a month later; yet half the tribe was already destroyed on the 1st of October, and the disease continued to spread. Very few of those who were attacked recovered their health; but when they saw all their relations buried, and the pestilence still raging with unabated fury among the remainder of their countrymen, life became a burden to them, and they put an end to their wretched existence, either with their knives and muskets, or by precipitating themselves from the summit of the rock near their settlement. The prairie all around is a vast field of death, covered with unburied corpses, and spreading, for miles, pestilence and infection. The Bighellied Indians and the Ricarees, lately amounting to 4000 souls, were reduced to less than the half. The Assiniboins, 9000 in number, roaming over a hunting territory to the north of the Missouri, as far as the trading posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, are, in the literal sense of the expression, nearly exterminated. They, as well as the Crows and Blackfeet, endeavoured to fly in all directions, but the disease everywhere pursued them. At last every feeling of mutual compassion and tenderness seems to have disappeared. Every one avoided the others. Women and children wandered about in the prairie seeking

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for a scanty subsistence. The accounts of the situation of the Blackfeet are awful. The inmates of above 1000 of their tents are already swept away. They are the bravest and the most crafty of all the Indians, dangerous and implacable to their enemies, but faithful and kind to their friends. But very lately we seriously apprehended that a terrible war with them was at hand, and that they would unite the whole of their remaining strength against the Whites. Every day brought accounts of new armaments, and of a loudly expressed spirit of vengeance towards the Whites: but the small-pox cast them down, the brave as well as the feeble; and those who were once seized by this infection never recovered. It is affirmed that several bands of warriors, who were on their march to attack the fort, all perished by the way, so that not one survived to convey the intelligence to their tribe. Thus, in the course of a few weeks, their strength and their courage were broken, and nothing was to be heard but the frightful wailings of death in the camp. Every thought of war was dispelled, and the few that are left are as humble as famished dogs. No language can picture the scene of desolation which the country presents. In whatever direction we go, we see nothing but melancholy wrecks of human life. The tents are still standing on every hill, but no rising smoke announces the presence of human beings, and no sounds but the croaking of the raven and the howling of the wolf interrupt the fearful silence. The above accounts do not complete the terrible intelligence which we receive. There is scarcely a doubt that the pestilence will spread to the tribes in and beyond the Rocky Mountains, as well as to the Indians in the direction of Santa Fé and Mexico. It seems to be irrevocably written in the book of fate, that the race of red men shall be wholly extirpated in the land in which they ruled the undisputed masters, till the rapacity of the Whites brought to their shores the murderous fire-arms, the enervating ardent spirits, and the all-destructive pestilence of the small-pox. According to the most recent accounts, the number of the Indians who have been swept away by the small-pox, on the western frontier of the United States, amounts to more than 60,000."

The general correctness of the melancholy details given in the above letter has been confirmed to me by several travellers who have visited these nations since they were desolated by this awful epidemic. The almost total extinction of these tribes greatly enhances the value and importance of the full and interesting particulars imparted by his Highness.

H. EVANS LLOYD.

CHANTERHOUSE SQUARE,
May 1st, 1843.

[pp. xi-xii, 1-333 omitted]

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CHAPTER XXV.

ACCOUNT OF THE MANDAN INDIANS.

000 In communicating the information contained in the following chapters, in which I mean to treat especially of some tribes of the aborigines of North America, I shall take it for granted that the reader is acquainted with the interesting and important particulars which have been given us by Messrs. Edwin James, T. Say, and Schoolcraft. Dr. E. James speaks especially of the origin of the North American Indians, of their near affinity to each other; of the recently broached hypothesis of their descent from the Israelites, which he proves to be groundless, and which is contradicted by the bodily conformation of the Indians, and also of the injudicious and unjust treatment which they suffer from the Anglo-Americans. According to him many of the Indian nations would long since have been converted to the Christian religion, and have settled in fixed abodes, like the Cherokees, &c., if the earlier missionaries had better understood the work on which they were sent. It is notorious that this subject was treated, in early times, with the most unwarrantable want of discretion, and positive ignorance; that the greatest injustice was exercised towards the Indian population, and that, even now, wrongs untold are heaped on this much to be pitied and oppressed race. A large portion of those nations has entirely disappeared, and the accounts which have been preserved of them are extremely imperfect; others are expelled from their native seats, mixed together in small fragments of various tribes, half degenerated, and consequently now affording but little that can interest the inquirer. Such were the Indians whom Volney saw: only to the west and north-west of the Mississippi may the Indians be yet found in their original state. Before, however, I speak of them in general, I will describe more in detail a small tribe which has hitherto been very imperfectly known.

101 The Mandans (called by the Canadians, les Mandals), by which name these Indians are generally known, though it was originally given them by the Sioux, were formerly a numerous people, who, according to the narrative of an aged man, lately deceased, inhabited thirteen, and

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perhaps more, villages. They call themselves Numangkake (*i. e.*, men), and if they wish to particularise their descent, they add the name of the village whence they came originally. Some, for instance, call themselves Sipuske-Numangkake, the men of the pheasant or prairie hens, from the village Sipuska-Mihte, pheasant village; others, Mato-Numangkake, the men of the bear, from the village Mato-Mihte, bear village, &c. &c. Another general name of this people is Mahna-Narra, the sulky, because they separated from the rest of their nation, and went higher up the Missouri.

The early history of the Mandans is involved in obscurity; their own traditions and legends will be discussed in the sequel, when treating on their religious ideas. They affirm that they descend originally from the more eastern nations, near the sea-coast.* Though the above-named villages do not all exist at this time, these Indians still call themselves by their several names, They formerly dwelt near the Heart River: when Charbonneau arrived here at the end of the last century, the two Mandan villages, which are still standing, were about six or eight miles further down the Missouri. The small-pox and the assaults of their enemies have so reduced this people, that the whole number now reside in two villages, in the vicinity of Fort Clarke. These two villages are Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush (the southern village), about 300 paces above Fort Clarke, and on the same side of the river, and Ruhptare,† about three miles higher up, likewise on the same bank. The first had, at the time of our visit, sixty-five huts, and contained about 150 warriors; the other, thirty-eight huts and eighty-three warriors. According to this, the tribe had not more than 230 or 240 warriors; and, on the whole, scarcely 900 or 1000 souls; Dr.

* Warden is mistaken when he says (Vol. III. p. 559), that the Mandans are descended from the Crows; for this is applicable to the Manitaries, of whom we shall speak afterward.

† Lewis and Clarke write this name Roeptabee, which is incorrect. (See Account of their Journey, Vol. I. p. 120.) These celebrated travellers passed the winter among the Mandans, and give many particulars respecting them, which, on the whole, are correct; but their proper names and words from the Mandan and Manitari languages are, in general, inaccurately understood and written. It is said, they derived their information from a person named Jessaume, who spoke the language very imperfectly, as we were assured everywhere on the Missouri. Of this kind are many of the names mentioned by those travellers, which neither the Indians nor the Whites were able to understand; for instance, Ahnahawaye (Vol. I. p. 115), a people who are said to have formerly dwelt between the Mandans and the Manitaries; likewise Mahwha, where the Arwachwas lived (*ibid.*); the fourth village is said to have been called Menharra, and to have been inhabited by Manitaries (*ibid.*); of all these names, except, perhaps, Mahwha, which ought probably to be Machahn, nobody could give us the slightest information, not even Charbonneau, though he has lived here so many years. It is necessary to be much on your guard against bad interpreters, and I acted in this respect with much caution. All the information given by me, respecting Indian words and names, was carefully written down from the statements of sensible, well-informed men of these nations. I have endeavoured to write down their language exactly, according to its real pronunciation, in doing which, the German guttural sounds were of great assistance to me, as it is that of the Missouri Indians. Mr. Kipp and Charbonneau, with some others who have lived long among these Indians, daily assisted me, during a long winter, with much patience and kindness, in this work.

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161 Morse,* therefore, estimates the number of these people rather too high, when he states it at 1250 souls.

142 The Mandans are a vigorous, well-made race of people, rather above the middling stature, and very few of the men could be called short. The tallest man now living was Mahchsi-Karehde (the flying war eagle), who was five feet ten inches two lines, Paris measure (above six feet English). In general, however, they are not so tall as the Manitaries. Many of them are robust, broad-shouldered, and muscular, while others are slender and small limbed. Their physiognomy is, in general, the same as that of most of the Missouri Indians, but their noses are not so long and arched as those of the Sioux, nor have they such high cheek bones. The nose of the Mandans and Manitaries is not broad—sometimes aquiline, or slightly curved, and often quite straight. Their eyes are, in general, long and narrow, of a dark brown colour; the inner angle is often rather lower in childhood, but it is rarely so in maturer age. The mouth is broad, large, rather prominent, and the lower jaw broad and angular. No great difference occurs in the form of the skull: in general I did not find the facial angle smaller than in Europeans, yet there are some exceptions.† Their hair is long, thick, lank, and black, but seldom as jet and glossy as that of the Brazilians: that of children is often only dark brown, especially at the tips; and Bradbury speaks of brown hair among the Mandans. There are whole families among them, as well as among the Blackfeet, whose hair is grey, or black mixed with white, so that the whole head appears grey. The families of Sih-Chida and Mato-Chiha are instances of this peculiarity. The latter chief was particularly remarkable in this respect: his hair grew in distinct locks of brown, black, silver grey, but mostly white, and his eyebrows perfectly white, which had a strange effect in a tall otherwise handsome man, between [302] twenty and thirty years of age. They encourage the growth of their hair, and often lengthen it by artificial means. Their teeth, like those of all the Missouri Indians, are particularly fine, strong, firm, even, and as white as ivory. It is very seldom that you see a defect or a tooth

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* See Dr. Morse's Report, p. 252. He speaks (p. 249) of the Mandans, Blackfeet, Rapid (Fall) Indians, and Assiniboins. His tables of the Indian population of the United States are in page 342.

† Say, who, in general, gives a very accurate description of the North American Indians (see Major Long's Travels), lays too much stress, as it appears to me, on the character of the receding of the forehead; for, by a comparison of a great many skulls, I have fully convinced myself of the contrary. Say affirmed, also, that the facial angle is not so small as Professor Blumenbach supposes. The Indian features, as far as my experience reaches, cannot be called either Mongol or Malay, the latter of which is more perceptible in the Brazilians, notwithstanding the manifest affinity with the North Americans. The learned traveller, Augustus de St. Hilaire, even attributes to the Brazilians a conformation of the skull, according to which those people are endowed with inferior intellectual faculties. (See Voyages dans les Districts de Diamants). The missionary, Parker, in his Travels to the Columbia River, p. 155, expresses himself, in this respect, entirely in accordance with my views; and D'Orbigny confirms them in respect to the South Americans, in the conformation of whose skulls he found considerable diversities.

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wanting even in old people, though, in the latter, they are often worn very short, which is chiefly 142
to be attributed to their chewing hard, dry meat. The women are pretty robust, and sometimes tall, but, for the most part, they are short and broad shouldered. They are but few who can be called handsome as Indians, but there are many tolerable and some pretty faces among them. It is usually said of the Mandan women that they, in some respects, have a natural conformation, [304]
such as Le Vaillant and Peron ascribe to the Hottentot women; but it seems to be owing, in the Mandan women, less to nature than to artificial means.* The children have frequently slender limbs, and very prominent bellies. Deformed persons are very rare among the Mandans. I, however, saw a very little dwarf with a long, narrow face, and one man who squinted. Persons who had lost the sight of one eye, or with a cataract, are by no means uncommon. There were several deaf and dumb, among whom two brothers and a sister were all born with this defect. Some goitres, or, rather, thick necks among the women, are, doubtless, caused by too great exertions in carrying burdens on their backs. Instances where joints of the fingers are wanting [304]
are frequent, but these come under the head of voluntary mutilations.

The colour of these Indians is a fine brown, sometimes reddish, more or less dark, which 142
might, sometimes, come under the denomination of copper colour. In some it is more of a 301
greyish-brown, in others yellowish; after a thorough ablution the skin of some of them appears almost white, and even some colour in their cheeks.† They do not disfigure their bodies, only they make some apertures in the outer rim of the ear, in which they hang strings of beads, brass [439]
or iron rings of different sizes, or shells, the last of which they obtain from other Indian tribes. If they are questioned respecting these shells, they answer that they were brought from the sea. These Indians are vain, and in this respect childish, like all savage nations. They are very fond 301
of ornament, and the young men have always a little looking-glass suspended from their wrists. The traders sell these looking-glasses in a pasteboard case, which, however, is immediately changed for a solid wooden frame, and attached to the wrist by a red ribbon or a leather strap. The looking-glasses are framed in various ways; the rude frame is often painted red, or with stripes of different colours, with footsteps of bears or buffaloes carved on it. Nay, sometimes these

* Haec deformitas a viris ipsis et dicunt, tractibus saepe repetitis producitur. In nonnullis labia externa in orbem tres ad quatuor digitos transversos prominent; in aliis labia interna valde pendent; immo virorum ars in partibus ipsis figuras artificiose factas fecunt.

Feminae hoc variatio cursus parvi aestimantur, et neglecta est.

Moris est in Mandans, Minnitaris, et in Cowes, magis intens in Minnitaris; in Mandans, a mulieribus dissolutis, magis quam ab matribus hic mos perversus adhibitur.

† Volney has many inaccuracies in what he says of the colour of the Indians. (Vol. II. p. 435.) According to him, the children are born quite white like the Europeans; that the women are white on the thighs, hips, and lower parts of the body, where the skin is covered by the clothing; that it is wholly erroneous to suppose that the copper colour is natural to them, &c. Mr. Von Humboldt has long since refuted all these assertions.

301 frames are of a considerable size, divided at one end like a boot-jack, and ornamented with brass nails, ribbons, pieces of skin and feathers (see the annexed woodcut of a hand looking-glass). Some

had very ingeniously fastened this important appendage to their fan made of an eagle's wing. The Indian dandy is constantly consulting his mirror, and, if he has been travelling, especially in the high winds so prevalent here, he immediately has recourse to his looking-glass, and his disordered dress is most carefully arranged.

302 301 It is remarkable that the men are far more vain than the women, and the latter are obliged to be greatly inferior to the lords of the creation in their attire and adornments. The costume of the Mandans is rather simple: by far the greatest attention is paid to the head-dress. Their hair is parted transversely across the middle of the head, the front hair combed smoothly down, and generally divided into three flat bands, two of which hang down on the temples, and are generally plaited. To these plaits they attach the ornament already mentioned, which consists of two strips of leather or cloth closely embroidered with white or azure glass beads, and intertwined with brass wire, as represented in the portrait of Pehriska-Ruhpa (Plate XVII). If the ground of this ornament is red or blue, it is studded with white beads, and if the ground is white the beads are blue. They put this ornament in their hair and pull it over the temples; a long string is fastened to the under part, which reaches to the waist; and is adorned with alternate rows of blue beads and white dentalium shells. Between these two singularly decorated plaits there is, in the centre of the forehead, a smooth flat lock reaching to the nose, which is not ornamented, but only tied with a red ribbon. The back hair falls smoothly from the crown of the head to the waist, and is divided into many tails, an inch and a half or two inches broad, which are smeared with brownish or red clay. When the hair is not naturally long enough it is frequently lengthened with other human hair, often that of enemies whom they have killed, which is fastened on with rosin. At the back of the head they sometimes wear a long stiff ornament in the shape of a ruler, three or four fingers broad, made of small sticks entwined with wire, which is fastened to the hair, and reaches down to the shoulders. It is covered with porcupine quills, dyed of various colours, in very neat patterns. At the upper end of this ornament an eagle's feather is affixed horizontally, the quill end of which is covered with red cloth, and the tip is ornamented with a bunch of horsehair dyed yellow. The lower white half of the feather is frequently dyed red with vermilion, and the quill covered with dyed porcupine quills. Such feathers are represented in Plate XXI. Figs. 13, 14. When the Indians are not in their best dress, when they are travelling, or going to the chase, they fasten their long hair in a thick bunch.

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When, however, they are full dressed, they put a variety of feathers in their hair, frequently a 302
semicircle of feathers of birds of prey, like radii, or sunbeams, or a bunch of the tail feathers of 301
the raven placed in a similar manner. Sometimes they have a thick tuft of owl's feathers, or small rosettes made of broad raven's feathers, cut short, in the centre of which is the tail of a bird of prey spread out like a fan. These feather ornaments are frequently determined according to the several bands or unions, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They likewise wear the large horned feather cap; this is a cap consisting of strips of white ermine, with pieces of red cloth hanging down behind as far as the calves of the legs, to which is attached an upright row of black and white eagle's feathers, beginning at the head and reaching to the whole length. Only distinguished warriors, who have performed many exploits, may wear this head-dress (See [554]
Plate XIII., which is the best representation hitherto given of it).

If they give away one or more of these head-dresses, which they estimate very highly, they 554
are immediately considered men of great importance; the regular price of such a cap is a good 302
horse; for a single eagle's feather is always valued at one or two dollars. On their buffalo robes 301
they often represent this feather cap, under the image of a sun. Very celebrated and eminent [431]
warriors, when most highly decorated, wear in their hair various pieces of wood, as signals of their [435]
wounds and heroic deeds. Thus Mato-Topé (see his portrait, Plate XIV.) had fastened transversely in his hair a wooden knife, painted red, and about the length of a hand, because he had killed a Chayenne chief with his knife; then six wooden sticks, painted red, blue, and yellow, with a brass nail at one end, indicating so many musket wounds which he had received. For an arrow wound, he fastened in his hair the wing feather of a wild turkey; at the back of his head he wore a large bunch of owl's feathers, dyed yellow, with red tips, as the badge of the Meniss- [561]
Ochata (the dog band).[1] The half of his face was painted red, and the other yellow; his body was painted reddish-brown, with narrow stripes, which were produced by taking off the colour with the tip of the finger wetted. On his arms, from the shoulder downwards, he had seventeen yellow stripes, which indicated his warlike deeds, and on his breast the figure of a hand, of a yellow colour, as a sign that he had captured some prisoners. A warrior so adorned takes more time for his toilette than the most elegant Parisian belle. The colour with which they paint their bodies is mixed with grease. When in mourning they colour the face and hands white. The [765]
women and children paint only their faces red, leaving the hair its natural colour. The Mandans and Manitaries, and all the Indians of the Upper Missouri, often wear the handsome necklace made of the claws of the grizzly bear. These claws are very large in the spring, frequently three inches long, and the points are tinged of a white colour, which is much esteemed; only the claws of the fore feet are used for necklaces, which are fastened to a strip of otter skin, lined with red 301
cloth, and embroidered with glass beads, which hangs down the back like a long tail. Such a 000

1 [This is one of the age-grade societies of the men. See also Cat. 116, pp. 355-56. --Analyst]

Such a
301 necklace is seldom to be had for less than twelve dollars; and very often the owners of them will
[435] not part with them on any terms. The Mandans adorn themselves with many other kinds of necklaces, such as strings of glass beads, scented roots, or fungi, elks' teeth, for 100 or 150 of
291 which they will, in exchange, give a horse, or something equivalent. These Indians generally
302 wear no covering on the upper part of the body; the leather shirt of the Assiniboins, Sioux,
301 Crows, Blackfeet, and other nations that live more to the north and north-west, are seldom used among them; yet a few individuals have obtained them from those Indians, either as presents, or by barter. Even in the midst of winter, the Mandans wear nothing on the upper part of the body, under their buffalo robe. They paint their bodies of a reddish-brown colour, on some occasions with white clay; and frequently draw red or black figures on their arms. The face is, for the most part, painted all over with vermilion, or yellow, in which latter case the circumference of the eyes and the chin are red. There are, however, no set rules for painting, and it depends on the taste of the Indian dandy; yet, still, a general similarity is observed. The bands, in their dances, and also after battles, and when they have performed some exploit, follow the established rule. In ordinary festivals, and dances, and whenever they wish to look particularly fine, the young men paint themselves in every variety of way, and each endeavours to find out some new mode. Should he find another dandy painted just like himself, he immediately retires
[554] and makes a change in the pattern, which may happen three or four times during the festival. If they have performed an exploit, the entire face is painted jet black. Sometimes, though seldom, the Mandans adorn the wrist and upper arm with polished steel bracelets, which they obtain from the merchants; often they wear many brass rings on their fingers, and are, on the whole, excessively fond of ornaments and finery. The chief article of their dress is the ample buffalo robe, called mahita, or mih-eha, which is often very elaborate and valuable. In dry weather these buffalo robes are worn with the hair inwards, and in rainy weather with the hairy side outwards. They are tanned on the fleshy side, and painted either white or reddish-brown, and ornamented with a transverse band of blue or white glass beads, and three large rosettes of the same beads, often of very tasteful patterns, at regular intervals. The centre is frequently red, surrounded with sky blue, embroidered with white figures, or sometimes the reverse. The transverse band is worked with variously dyed porcupine quills, and is then narrower. This, however, is now old-fashioned, and was worn before the coloured glass beads were obtained in such numbers
532 from the Whites. Other robes are painted with a reddish-brown ground, and black figures, especially of animals; others have a white ground, with representations of their heroic deeds in black, or in gay colours, with the wounds they received, the loss of blood, the killed, the prisoners, the arms they have taken, the horses stolen (the number of which is indicated by the number of horse-shoes), in black, red, green, or yellow figures, executed in their yet rude style of painting. The

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nations on the Missouri are all in the habit of painting such robes; but the Pawnees, Mandans, 532
Manitaries, and Crows, are the most skilful in this art.* Another mode of painting their robes 532
is, to represent the number of valuable presents they have made. By these presents, which are 431
often of great value, they acquire reputation and respect among their countrymen. On such 554
robes we observed long red figures, with a black circle at the termination, placed close to each 211
other in transverse rows; they represent whips, indicating the number of horses given, because 435
the whip belonging to the horse is always bestowed with the animal. Red or dark blue transverse figures indicate cloth or blankets given; parallel transverse stripes represent fire-arms, the outlines of which are pretty correctly drawn. The robe is frequently cut, at the bottom, into narrow strips, like fringe, and ornamented on the sides with tufts of human hair, and horse-hair dyed yellow and green, and with glass beads. Formerly the Indians painted these robes more care- 432
fully than they now do, and it was possible to obtain one for five musket balls and some powder; now they are far inferior, and eight or ten dollars is not unfrequently paid for them. A robe handsomely painted is equal in value to two not painted.

Their leggins are fastened with straps to their leathern girdles, and are embroidered at the 291
outer seam with stripes, one or two inches in breadth, of porcupine quills, of beautiful various colours, and often with blue and white beads, and long leathern fringes, which form at the ankle a thick bunch, which trails upon the ground. The leather of which their leggins are made is, for the most part, stained of a reddish-brown, or pale red, usually with clay, sometimes white, and often marked below the knee with black transverse stripes. They, as well as all the tribes of North America, use what the English call a breech-cloth (Nokka), which is a narrow strip of woollen cloth, striped black and white, which passes between the thighs under the girdle, before and behind, where it hangs down. Their shoes, which are made of buck skin, or buffalo leather, are generally plain, or very slightly ornamented; but, in full dress, they are embroidered with coloured rosettes, or strips of dyed porcupine quills or beads. Those men who have performed exploits wear, round the ankles, [554]
wolf's tail, or pieces of otter skin, which are lined with red cloth, and trail on the ground. In the summer, when the men are at home, and go about in state, they carry the fan of eagle's feathers in their hands, which we have before described. What the Anglo-Americans call "the crow," which is worn by the warriors of the nations of the Mississippi, and the Lower Missouri, is wholly unknown among the tribes of the Upper Missouri, the Sioux, Assiniboins, Crows, Mandans, Arikkaras, Manitaries, and Blackfeet.

The boys are generally naked, and in winter merely have a robe thrown over them; the 291
girls are dressed in leather in summer as well as winter. The women wear a long leather

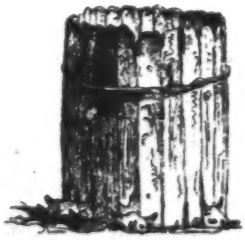
* There is a print of such a robe in Major Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, and another in Plate XXI., Fig. 1., of my Atlas. The original was painted by Mato-Topé himself, and the figures on it represent some of his principal exploits, in which he killed, with his own hand, five chiefs of different nations.

291 garment, with open sleeves, and a girdle round the waist; the hem of this dress is often scolloped and fringed; they ornament the wrists with iron rings, and tie strings of glass beads round their necks, and sometimes in their ears. Their leggins, called, by the Canadians, mitasse, are short, reaching only from the ankle to the knee. Their shoes are simple, and without any ornament.

301 Tattooing is in use among these people, but by no means general. Most commonly only the left half of the breast and the corresponding arm are marked with black parallel stripes, and a few other figures. The lower arm and some of the fingers are occasionally marked; the men do not tattoo their faces, and they are far inferior in this art to the New Zealanders and other nations of the South Seas. Among the women such designs are sometimes seen, but not [56] frequently, and they are chiefly among the women's band of the white buffalo cow.[1] The point of the needle is dyed a dark blue with the bark of the willow soaked in water.

302 171 In Major Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains it is stated that the Crows rub their bodies with castoreum, on account of its pleasant scent. I must observe, however, that the custom is not confined to one nation, but is practised by the Mandans, Manitaries, Crows, and Blackfeet, and most of the other tribes of the Upper Missouri. They mix the castoreum with a red colour, and with it rub their face and frequently their hair.

361 712 Having obtained a clear idea of the outward appearance of these Indians, we will next consider their habitations, villages, and domestic life. Their villages are assemblages of clay huts, of greater or less extent, placed close to each other, without regard to order. Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, the largest of the Mandan villages, was about 150 or 200 paces in diameter, the second was much smaller. The circumference forms an irregular circle, and was anciently surrounded with strong posts, or palisades, which have, however, gradually disappeared as the natives used them for fuel in the cold winters. At four places, at nearly equal distances from each other, is a bastion built of clay, furnished with loop-holes, and lined both within and without with basket-work of willow branches. They form an angle, and are open towards the village; the earth is filled in between the basket-work; and it is said that these bulwarks, which are now in a



1 [This is one of the women's age-grade societies.--Analyst.]

state of decay, were erected for the Indians by the Whites. There is nothing of the kind 361
at Ruhptare. The huts, as I have before remarked, stand close to each other, leaving, in the 712
centre, an open circular space, about sixty paces in diameter, in the centre of which (among the Mandans) the ark of the first man is set up,[1] of which we shall speak in the sequel. It is a small cylinder, open above, made of planks, about four or five feet high, fixed in the ground, and bound with climbing plants, or pliable boughs, to hold them together (see the woodcut, p. 342).

At the north end of this circular space is the medicine lodge, in which festivals are 361
celebrated, and certain customs practised, which are connected with the religious notions of this 346
people, which we shall treat of in the sequel. At the top of a high pole, a figure is here 778
placed, made of skins, with a wooden head, the face painted black, and wearing a fur cap and feathers, which is intended to represent the evil spirit, Ochkih-Hadda (corresponding with the devil), or a wicked man, as they affirm, who once appeared among them, had neither wife nor child, and vanished, and whom they now stand greatly in dread of. Other grotesque figures, made of skins and bundles of twigs, we saw hanging on high poles, most of them being offerings to the deity. Among the huts are many stages of several stories, supported by poles, on which [343]
they dry the maize. The huts themselves are of a circular form, slightly vaulted, having a sort 342
of portico entrance. When the inmates are absent the entrance is shut up with twigs and thorns; and if they wish merely to close the door they put up a skin stretched out on a frame, which is shoved aside on entering. In the centre of the roof is a square opening for the smoke to find vent, over which is a circular sort of screen made of twigs, as a protection against the wind and rain, and which, when necessary, is covered with skins (see woodcut).

The interior of the hut is spacious, tolerably light, and cleanly. Four strong pillars towards the middle, with several cross beams, support the roof. The inner circumference of the hut is formed by eleven or fifteen thick posts, four or five feet in height, between which other rather shorter ones are placed close to each other. On these shorter posts, which are all of an equal

1 [This shrine, the sacred cedar, represents the culture hero's body. See Category 116, Source 2: Bower, pp. 24, 116 for a more up-to-date summary.--Analyst]

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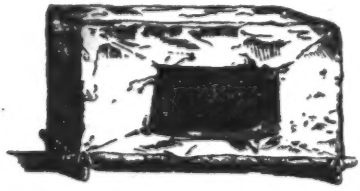
342 height, are long rafters, inclining to the centre; they are placed near each other, and bear the roof. On the outside the huts are covered with a kind of mat, made of osiers, joined together with bark, and now the skeleton of the hut is finished. Over this hay is spread, and the outer covering
462 is of earth. The men and women work together in erecting these huts, and the relations, neighbours, and friends, assist them in the work. The building of the huts, manufacturing of their arms, hunting, and wars, and part of the labours of the harvest, are the occupations of the men; every other kind of work is left to the women, who, though in general well treated, are obliged to perform all the really laborious work. The women fetch fuel, in heavy loads, frequently from great distances, carry water, and, in winter, blocks of ice into the huts, cook, tan the skins, make
354 all the clothing, lay out the plantations, perform field labour, &c. &c. In the centre of the hut a circular place is dug for the fire, over which the kettle is suspended. This fire-place, or hearth, is often enclosed with a ledge of stones. The fuel is laid, in moderately thick pieces, on the external edge of the hearth, crossing each other in the middle, when it is kindled, and the pieces
352 gradually pushed in as they burn away. The Indians are not fond of large fires. The inmates sit round it, on low seats, made of peeled osiers, covered with buffalo or bear skin. Round the inner circumference of the hut lie or hang the baggage, the furniture, and other property, in leather bags, the painted parchment travelling bags, and the harness of the horses; and on separate stages there are arms, sledges, and snow-shoes, while meat and maize, piled up, complete the motley assemblage. (See Mr. Bodmer's drawing of the interior of the hut of Dipauch, Plate XIX.) The beds stand against the wall of the hut; they consist of a large square case, made of parchment or skins, with a square entrance, and are large enough to hold several persons, who lie very conveniently and warm on skins and blankets. (See the woodcut.)



342 In the winter huts they place, at the inside of the door, a high screen of willow boughs,
221 covered with hides, which keeps off the draught of air from without, and especially protects the
171 fire.

The summer huts are very cool, and, generally speaking, have no unpleasant smell. Mr. Say gives a very good description, and a tolerably accurate print, of a Konza lodge, or hut, and, with

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some slight differences, the mode of building resembles, in the main, those of the Mandans, 342
Manitaries, and Arikkaras. Among these differences are the mats which are fastened all round in 221
the first hut, and which I did not observe among the tribes that I visited. The beds, too, are 171
arranged in a different manner. The Mandans and Manitaries are seen in their huts, sitting
round the fire, employed in all kinds of domestic labour. The man has, generally, no clothing
except the nokka, and is often merely smoking, but the women are never idle. In winter, that
is, at the beginning or middle of November, these Indians remove, with the greater part of their
effects, to the neighbouring forest, where their winter huts are situated. These consist of pre-
cisely similar huts, of rather smaller dimensions. Their departure from the summer huts is deter-
mined by the weather, but, as beforesaid, is generally about the middle of November; and their
return, in the spring, is usually about the latter end of February, or the beginning of March, so
that we may reckon that they pass above eight months in their summer quarters. Inside of the 231
winter huts is a particular compartment, where the horses are put in the evening, and fed with
maize. In the daytime they are driven into the prairie, and feed in the bushes, on the bark of
poplars. There are, probably, above 300 horses in the two Mandan villages; some of the
people, indeed, do not possess any, while others, again, have several. The Mandans and Mani- 343
taries, like all the other Indians of this country, sometimes make what are here called caches, or 221
hiding-places, in the vicinity of their villages. These caches are holes, or magazines, under-
ground, often so artfully contrived that it is very difficult to discover them. The Indians fre-
quently go from their winter to their summer village, to fetch any articles they may happen to
want, as they invariably leave part of their property behind. When they quit their huts for a 493
longer period than usual, they load their dogs with the baggage, which is drawn in small sledges, 231
made of a couple of thin, narrow boards, nine or ten feet in length, fastened together with leather
straps, and with four cross-pieces, by way of giving them firmness. Leather straps are attached in
front, and drawn either by men or dogs. The load is fastened to the sledge by straps (for such a
sledge drawn by dogs see Vignette XXIX). When the snow is deep, they use snow shoes (Plate 481
XXI. Fig. 4), which are described by Captain Franklin, only those of the Mandans are much 171
smaller, about two feet and a half long; whereas in the north their length is from four to six feet.
The Mandans and Manitaries have not, by any means, so many dogs as the Assiniboins, Crows, and 231
Blackfeet. They are rarely of the true wolf's colour, but generally black, or white, or else 171
spotted with black and white. Among the nations further to the north-west they more nearly
resemble the wolf, but here they are more like the prairie wolf (*Canis latrans*). We likewise
found, among these animals, a brown race, descended from European pointers, hence the genuine
bark of the dog is more frequently heard here, whereas among the western nations they only
howl. The Indian dogs are worked very hard, have hard blows, and hard fare; in fact, they are
treated just as this fine animal is treated among the Esquimaux.

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574 The Mandans are hospitable, and often invite their acquaintance to come and see them.
276 Their pipes are made of the red-stone, or of black clay. They obtain the red pipe-heads chiefly
241 from the Sioux; sometimes they have wooden heads lined with stone; the tube is plain, long,
824 round or flat, on the whole, of the same shape as among the Sioux, but they are not so fastidious about ornamenting their pipes as other tribes. They smoke the leaves of the tobacco plant, which is cultivated by them; the bark of the red willow *(Cornus sericea)*, which they obtain from the traders, is sometimes mixed with the tobacco, or the latter with the leaves of the bearberry *(Arbutus uva ursi)*. The tobacco of the Whites, unmixed, is too strong for the Indians, because they draw the smoke into their lungs; hence they do not willingly smoke cigars.

415 The meals of the Mandans are served in wooden dishes. The spoons are generally large and deep; they are made of the horn of the bighorn (see woodcut, p. 251); sometimes they are yellow, or else they are shallow, made of black buffalo's horn. They have a considerable variety
224 of dishes. The Indians residing in permanent villages have the advantage of the roving hunting
241 tribes, in that they not only hunt, but derive their chief subsistence from their plantations, which afford them a degree of security against distress. It is true these Indians sometimes suffer hunger when the buffalo herds keep at a great distance, and their crops fail; but the distress can never be so great among the Missouri Indians, as in the tribes that live further northwards. The plants which they cultivate are maize, beans, French beans, gourds, sunflowers, and tobacco *(Nicotiana quadrisalcis)*, of which I brought home some seeds, which have flowered in several botanic gardens.

243 Of maize there are several varieties of colour, to which they give different names. The
241 several varieties are:—1. White maize. 2. Yellow maize. 3. Red maize. 4. Spotted maize. 5. Black maize. 6. Sweet maize. 7. Very hard yellow maize. 8. White, or red-striped maize. 9. Very tender yellow maize.*

The beans are likewise of various sorts—small white beans, black, red, and spotted beans. The gourds are—yellow, black, striped, blue, long, and thick-shelled gourds.

241 The sunflower is a large helianthus, which seems perfectly to resemble that cultivated in our
276 gardens. It is planted in rows between the maize. There are two or three varieties, with red, and black, and one with smaller seeds. Very nice cakes are made of these seeds. The tobacco

* I brought to Europe specimens of the several kinds of maize grown among the Mandans; these have been sown, but only the early species were ripe in September, 1835. The heads have by no means attained the same size, on the Rhine, as in their native country. There the plant attains a height of five or six feet, and the colours of the grains are very various, bright and beautiful: while, on the Rhine, the plant grew to the height of four or four and a half feet. The later sorts grew to the height of ten feet, and were not quite ripe at the end of October. (See Bradbury, page 145, for an account of the maize of the Mandans.)

According to Tanner (page 180), an Ottawa Indian first introduced the cultivation of maize on the Red River, among the Ojibuas, or Chippeways.

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cultivated by the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, attains a great height, and is suffered to 241
grow up from the seeds, without having any care whatever bestowed upon it. It is not trans- 276
planted. When it is ripe the stalks are cut, dried, and powdered; or the leaves, with the small branches, are cut into little pieces. The taste and smell are disagreeable to an European, resembling camomile rather than tobacco. The plant is not now so much cultivated as formerly, being superseded by the more pleasant tobacco of the Whites; but the species is still preserved. It is only on solemn occasions, for instance, in negotiations for peace, that this tobacco is still smoked; the seed is, therefore, preserved in the medicine bag of the nation, that the plant may never be lost. When they mean to smoke this tobacco, a small quantity of fat [278]
is rubbed on it.

The cultivation of the maize and other fields, of which each family prepares three, four, 241
or five acres, takes place in the month of May. Rows of small furrows are made, into which 221
the grains of maize are thrown singly, and covered with earth. Three times in the summer the plants are hoed, and the earth heaped up against them, that the moisture may have better access to them. The harvest takes place in October, when men, women, and children, each lend a helping hand. At present the women use, in their field labour, a broad iron hoe, with a crooked wooden handle, which they obtain from the merchants. Charbonneau recollected the time when they used the shoulder blade of the buffalo for this purpose. The fields are never fenced, but lie quite open and exposed.

The wild plants of the prairie are used by the Mandans, and other people of the Upper 222
Missouri; and to those before-mentioned, I can only add the feverolles *(Faba minor equina)*, 252
a fruit resembling the bean, which is said to grow in the ground, but which I did not see; there 824
are many other roots in the prairie, which are used for food. The gourds are eaten fresh as 262
well as dry. The beans are seldom eaten of one kind, but many sorts are mixed together. The maize is boiled or roasted, then pounded, mixed with fat, and made up into small cakes and baked. There are, of course, many other ways of dressing it. The sweet maize has a very pleasant taste, especially when it is in what is called the milky state; it is then boiled, dried, and laid by for use.

All kinds of animals serve the Mandans for food; the bear, when it is young and fat, the 224
wolf, the fox, in short, everything except the horse; the ermine is not eaten by many; and of 825
birds they dislike the turkey-buzzard, and the raven, because they feed on the dead bodies 262
deposited on the stages. They have a great aversion from serpents, but eat the turtle; the buffalo is the chief object of their chase, as it supplies them with skins, meat, tallow, marrow-bones, sinews, and many other necessaries. Next to the buffalo the beaver is the most indispensable to them, since it not only furnishes them with valuable skins, but supplies them with delicate food, the fat tail, especially, being considered quite a dainty morsel by the Indians. Pemmican, 262

262 which is so favourite a dish among the northern Indians, is not much in use among the Mandans. Their only drink is water, for they are unacquainted with the method of preparing fermented liquors. They did not obtain any spirits, either from the American Fur Company, or the agents [273] of Messrs. Soublette and Campbell; hence an intoxicated person is scarcely ever seen. They are extremely fond of sugar, and likewise of salt, which they procure from their lakes, and, if the supply is insufficient, purchase from the Whites. They are likewise fond of coffee and tea, well sweetened. It has been affirmed, that several North American nations, especially those which speak the Algonquin language, are cannibals, and more particularly the Chippeways and the Potawatomis; but I found no trace of this unnatural custom among the Missouri nations.

592 Two, and sometimes three, families usually live together in an Indian hut, commonly the
595 father, with his married sons or sons-in-law. Polygamy is everywhere practised, and the number
596 of wives differs; however, they have very seldom more than four, and, in general, only one. The women are very skilful in various kinds of work, particularly in dyeing and painting the buffalo
386 robes. They extract a red colour from the roots of the savoyenne, or from buffalo berries; yel-
824 low from a lichen of the Rocky Mountains; black from helianthus, as well as from a black stone
439 or clay; blue and green they extract from European substances. Among the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, the women, as Lewis and Clarke relate, manufacture beads from coloured glass. They powder those which they have obtained from the traders, and mould them into different shapes. This custom is, however, no longer common. The dyeing of the skins, of
323 which many travellers have spoken, employs a great portion of the women's time. These three nations understand the manufacture of earthen pots and vessels, of various forms and sizes. The clay is of a dark slate colour, and burns a yellowish-red, very similar to what is seen in the burnt tops of the Missouri hills. This clay is mixed with flint or granite, reduced to powder by the action of fire. The workwoman forms the hollow inside of the vessel by means of a round stone which she holds in her hand, while she works and smooths the outside with a piece of poplar bark. When the pot is made, it is filled and surrounded with dry shavings, and then burnt,
501 when it is ready for use. They know nothing of glazing. With respect to their boats, the North Americans are far more expert than the Brazilians, Patagonians, and other South Americans, who live on the banks of rivers, and yet have contrived no means to pass them. The Chippeways and other northern nations have handsome vessels of birch bark; the Esquimaux makes his kiack, which is curiously covered with seal skin; and on the Missouri, especially among the Mandans, there are boats of buffalo skin, which are represented in the plates accompanying this work. They are very light, of a circular form, stretched on a frame of several pieces of wood crossing each other, and may be carried on the shoulder of a single individual.

584 If a young Indian desires to marry, and has obtained the consent of the girl, he endeavours to procure that of her father; when he is certain of this, he brings two, three, nay, even eight or

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ten horses, and fastens them to the hut of the young woman, who gives them to her father. The 584
latter then takes other horses, and if he has them not himself, his relations assist him, and these
horses are fastened, in return, to the hut of the intended son-in-law. In such a case an estimate
is previously made of the number of horses possessed by the woman's relations, for all presents
are returned in equal number. The bride next boils some maise, and daily carries a kettle or dish
filled with it to the hut of the bridegroom. After some time has elapsed, the young man repairs [585]
to the hut of his bride, where he passes the night with her, and the marriage is considered as com-
plete. The young couple often continue to reside in the hut of the father-in-law, but they more 591
frequently build a new hut for themselves; sometimes, however, they afterwards separate. The
father-in-law is, subsequently, the principal person in the hut; everything depends on him, and is 596
done on his account, and for him; if game is killed, the flesh is first presented to him, &c. There
are often many children in these Indian families; some had as many as ten; yet, on the whole, [163]
the Indians have not so many children as the Whites, doubtless because they keep them longer at
the breast. They are extremely fond of them, but the children are often weak and sickly, in con- 856
sequence, it is supposed, of the hard labour which the women have to perform. I was universally 844
assured, that the new-born children are of a reddish colour. The births are, in general, ex-
tremely easy, and the mother bathes in the river immediately afterwards, even if it is frozen; in
ten days the child is considered as safe, having got over the most dangerous period. A person is 553
paid to give it the name chosen by the parents and relations. The child is held up, then turned
to all sides of the heavens, in the direction of the course of the sun, and its name proclaimed.
They have cradles for their infants, consisting of a leather bag, which is suspended by a strap to 854
a cross beam in the hut. These cradles of the Mandans are not so elegant and beautifully worked
as those which we saw among the Sioux and Assiniboins. The children of these Indians are sub- 861
ject to no kind of discipline whatever; they may do and say whatever they please, and nobody 865
finds fault with them. Everything is done to excite a spirit of independence and self-will in the
boys; if the mother speaks to one of them, he will very likely slap her face, or kick her, nay,
sometimes he will do the same to his father, who says, coolly, bowing his head, this boy will one
day become a famous warrior. The men sometimes treat their wives very brutally; and it 562
has not unfrequently happened, that a woman, after such treatment, has left the hut and hanged 762
herself on a tree. This lately happened in the case of an aged woman, whose grown-up son
had ill-treated her. She was missed, and was afterwards found suspended from a tree. The
women have nothing to indemnify them for their incessant and laborious work, not even good
clothing, for this right of the fair sex in Europe is claimed among the Indians by the men. It is
singular that these women, who are condemned constantly to work like slaves, refuse to do any
work whatever if they marry a white man, and, the Whites being entirely in the power of the
Indians, and the relations of their wives, they are obliged to submit to this. Sisters have great 000

593 Sisters have great privileges among these Indians. All the horses which a young man steals, or captures in war, belong to them. If an Indian returns from an expedition on horseback, and meets his sister, he will immediately alight, and give her the horse; on the other hand, if he wishes to possess some object of value belonging to his sister, for instance, a dress, he goes and abruptly demands it, and immediately receives it; even should it be the very dress she is wearing, she will take it off at once, and give it to her brother.

837 Prudery is not a virtue of the Indian women; they have often two, three, or more lovers: infidelity is not often punished. There was only one woman among the Mandans, a piece of whose nose was cut off, a circumstance which is very common among the Blackfeet. If an Indian elopes with a married woman, the husband whom she has abandoned avenges himself by seizing the seducer's property, his horses and other things of value, to which the latter must quietly [587] submit. Such a woman is never taken back. If a man has the eldest daughter of a family for his wife, he has a right to all her sisters. A chief business of the young men among these Indian 584 tribes is to try their fortune with the young maidens and the women, and this, together with their 836 toilet, fills up the greater part of their time. They do not meet with many coy beauties. In the evening, and generally till late at night, they roam about the villages, or in the vicinity, or from one village to the other. They have a singular mode of displaying their achievements in this field, especially when they visit the women in their best dresses. On these occasions they endeavour to gain credit by the variety of their triumphs, and mark the number of conquered beauties by bundles of peeled osier twigs, painted red at the tips. These sticks are of two kinds. Most of them are from two to three feet in length, others five or six feet. The latter, being carried singly, are painted with white and red rings alternately, which indicates the number of conquests. The shorter sticks are only painted red at the tips, and every stick indicates an exploit, the number of which is often bound up into a pretty large bundle. Thick fasces of this kind are carried about by the dandies in their gallant excursions. Among the Mandans these sticks are generally quite plain; among the Manitaries, on the contrary, there is, usually, in the middle of the bundle, one larger stick, at the end of which there is a tuft of black feathers. These feathers indicate the favourite, and the dandies tell everybody that she is the person for whom this honour is intended. (See Plate XXI. Fig. 6.)

If these people have had familiar intercourse with a person who wore the white buffalo robe, a piece of skin of that colour is fastened to the stick; if she wore a red blanket, or buffalo robe, a piece of red cloth is fastened to the stick. This custom, which is well known among the Mandans and Manitaries, has not, to my knowledge, been mentioned by any traveller.

601 They have distinct names for the several degrees of relationship. The father's brother is 000 called father, and the mother's sister, mother; cousins are called brothers and sisters. The

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mother-in-law never speaks to her son-in-law; but if he comes home, and brings her the scalp of a slain enemy, and his gun, she is at liberty, from that moment, to converse with him. This custom is found among the Manitaries, who have, doubtless, borrowed it from the Mandans, but not among the Crows and Arikkaras. Among the Chippeways, and the Algonquins in general, the name must not be changed; and persons with the same name must not marry, but consider each other as brothers and sisters. Among all the North American Indian nations there are men dressed and treated like women, called, by the Canadians, Bardaches, of whom Mc Kenzie, Tanner, Langsdorff, and others, have spoken; but there was only one such among the Mandans, and two or three among the Manitaries.

171 [551] [614] 838 171

Volney, and some other writers, have spoken rather too unfavourably of the moral character of the aborigines of North America, and their domestic habits. According to them, distrust and hostile feeling prevail among them, for which reason they never leave their huts unarmed; but I can bear witness that they are frequently seen in their villages, as well as in the environs, without arms, and that it is only at greater distances, and when they appear in state, that they carry their weapons in their hands. I have never observed any disputes among them, but, on the contrary, much more unity and tranquillity than in civilized Europe. It has often been asserted that the Indians are inferior in intellectual capacity to the Whites; but this has been now sufficiently refuted; and Harlan is not wrong in saying that, among the races of men, of which Blumenbach reckons five, the American should be ranked immediately after the Caucasian. If man, in all his varieties, has not received from the Creator equally perfect faculties, I am, at least, convinced that, in this respect, the Americans are not inferior to the Whites. Many of the Mandans manifest a great thirst for knowledge, and much desire to hear something of objects of a higher order; and if they were not so much attached to the prejudices inherited from their ancestors, many of them might be very easily instructed. The bad examples which they so often observe in the white men, who roam about their country in quest of gain, are not calculated to inspire them with much respect for our race, or to improve their morality. And if they have not been found inclined to the Christian religion, this is, certainly, in some measure, the consequence of the bad conduct of the Whites, who call themselves Christians, and are often worse, and more immoral, than the most uncivilized of the Indians. Many American and foreign works have taken notice of the striking good sense and wit, the correct judgment of the Indians, in all the occurrences of daily life, and it would be mere repetition here to quote examples. One is often at a loss to answer their questions, founded on correct and natural judgment. The inactive mode of life natural to the Indians, which disdains all laborious exertion, is a great obstacle to their adopting a different system. But they are not deficient in talent for drawing, music, &c., and this is quite manifest at first sight. Several Mandans not only took much pleasure in drawing, but had a decided talent for it. The hieroglyphics are well known, which the Indians employ

578 000 532 212

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532 212 instead of writing; for instance, the figures on their robes, the drawing of Mato-Topé (Plate XXII.), and the subjoined Indian letter from a Mandan to a fur trader:

212 437 The following is the explanation of the hieroglyphic figures contained in it:

The cross signifies, "I will barter, or trade." Three animals are drawn on the right hand of the cross: one is a buffalo; the two others, a weasel (*Mustela Canadensis*), and an otter. The writer offers, in exchange for the skins of these animals (probably meaning that of a white buffalo), the articles which he has drawn on the left side of the cross.

He has, in the first place, depicted a beaver very plainly, behind which there is a gun; to the left of the beaver are thirty strokes, each ten separated by a longer line; this means, I will give thirty beaver skins and a gun for the skins of the three animals on the right hand of the cross.

821 Many of them dispute, with great earnestness, on more elevated subjects; thus, they inquired our ideas of the various heavenly bodies, and of the origin of the universe, as they, themselves, declare their own silly traditions to be insufficient. Some, indeed, thought our ideas on these subjects much more silly than their own. They laughed outright, when we affirmed that the earth was round, and revolved about the sun. Others, however, would not reject our views, and were of opinion that, as the Whites could do so much which was incomprehensible to them, it was possible they might be right on this point also.

537 In all works that treat of these remarkable people, we find recorded very energetic and well-digested speeches of their chiefs. They frequently use very appropriate figures, and often said bitter truths to their white oppressors. Dr. Morse quotes some such phrases, used at the conclusion of treaties of peace, or declarations of war, which express much in a few words. Thus, in declarations of war: "The blood of our wives and children smokes on the ground! The bones of our warriors and old men are uncovered, and whiten the earth! The tomahawk is raised!" And on the conclusion of peace: "The bones of our warriors are buried! the tomahawk is buried! the blood of our women and children is covered! The path which leads to them must be kept clean; no weeds may grow there. The chain which binds us together must not become rusty."

Or, on the contrary: "The chain begins to rust," &c. &c.

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Or, on the contrary: "The chain begins to rust," &c. &c. Though these people often manifest great energy of character, many have committed suicide on account of disappointments in love, or of wounded honour, of which Dr. Morse relates a remarkable instance, where an Indian killed himself because he was reproached with cowardice, after his mother had suffered death for him. Many travellers speak of the extraordinary memory of the Indians; several of them relate the entire history of their people in a continuous narrative.

The Mandans and Manitaries are proud, and have a high sense of honour. If a person expresses a wish to possess some article belonging to them, he generally receives it as a present, but a present of equal, or greater value, is always looked for in return. They estimate all their effects at a very high rate, ascribing to them an imaginary and far too great value; and a trifling thing is often paid for with one or two horses. Among the articles of great value is the skin of a white buffalo cow. Fifteen florins are paid for a small ermine skin; whereas, a wolf's skin may be purchased for a small quantity of tobacco. One or two horses are frequently given for a feather cap; a horse for 100 or 150 elks' teeth, or for a handful of dentalium shells. The men are much given to indolence, when they cannot pursue their chief avocations, hunting and war. In general, the Mandans and Manitaries are not dangerous, and, though there are many rude and savage men among them, they are, on the whole, well-disposed towards the Whites: the former, especially, manifest this, and have many good and trustworthy men among them. Some of them are addicted to thieving, especially the women and children; and it is said, that many of the Manitaries, when they meet the Whites in the prairie, though they do not kill them, as they used to do, generally plunder them.

They have always free access to the forts of the trading companies; and, as at Fort Clarke, there was no separate apartment for the Indians, we were molested by them, during the whole day, in every room; nay, they often took the place of the owners, which, during the severe cold in the winter time, was quite intolerable, as they stood in front of the fire, with their large buffalo robes, and kept the warmth from coming into the apartment. They require to be always regaled, which is generally done, and it was estimated that in one year they smoked 200 lbs. of tobacco at the expense of the Company. A few among them, indeed, manifested a much greater delicacy of feeling than the mass of them, and left the dining-room when the dinner-hour approached; but only a very small proportion possessed this correct sense of propriety, for the others generally came just at our dinner time; it is true they had but little meat in the winter season, and fared but badly. Disputes and quarrels are very rare among them; but duels are frequent; and revenge for blood is still exercised.

Many of them are particularly cleanly in their persons, and bathe daily, both in winter and summer; their hands, however, are often smeared with colours and fat, nay, sometimes the whole body is bedaubed. The women are, in general, less cleanly, particularly their hands,

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515 which arises from their continual and severe labour. They generally let their nails grow long.

The rude inhabitants of the prairies are extremely agile and hardy; they bathe, in the depth of winter, in the half frozen rivers, and wear no covering on the upper part of their body under the buffalo robe; they are very expert swimmers, even when quite young. I have already 481 observed that all these nations swim in the same manner as the Brazilian Tapuyas, which is confirmed by other writers. They often practise riding on horseback without a saddle, and very swift horse-racing. They are capital marksmen with the bow; all their senses are remarkably acute.

561 Among the Mandans, and all the nations of the Upper Missouri, as well as among most of the North American tribes, there are certain bands or unions or companies, which are dis- 425 tinguished from the others, and kept together by certain external badges and laws. They have three kinds of war or signal pipes, which are hung round the neck, and are among the badges of the unions, which divide the men into six classes, according to their age. The first band or union is composed of "the foolish dogs," or "the dogs whose name is not known." They are young people from ten to fifteen years of age, and wear a pipe made of the wing bone of the wild goose, which is but small. When they dance, three of them have a long broad piece of red cloth hanging from the back of the neck to the ground. Like every distinct class they have a particular song to accompany their dance. Formerly old people likewise belonged to this band, but then they never dared to retreat before the enemy; this has since been changed to the present limited rule. If a boy desires to enter the first band in order to become a man, he goes to a member of it, addresses him by the appellation of father, and endeavours to purchase the rank, the dance, the song, and the war pipe belonging to it, for certain articles of value, such as blankets, cloth, horses, powder, ball, and the like, which the father pays for him. If this place is sold to him he has a right to all the distinctions and privileges of the band, and he who sold it thereby renounces all claim to it, and endeavours to purchase admission to a higher 561 band. The dances of the several classes are in the main very similar, but there is a particular 535 song belonging to each, and sometimes even a different step. The drum and schischikué must 534 likewise be purchased at the same time. The latter, among this band, is spherical, with a handle, and is made of leather.

561 The second class or band is that of the crows or ravens; it consists of young men from twenty to twenty-five years of age. Frequently young people are in none of the bands for half a year or more. They then go to the band of the crows, and say, "Father, I am poor, but I wish [534] to purchase from you." If the possessor agrees, they then receive the raven's feathers, which the band wear on their heads, a double war-pipe, consisting of two wing bones of a goose joined together, a drum, schischikué, the song and the dance. Each of these bands has a leader, called,

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by the Americans, head-man, who decides on the sale of its rights and attributes. This head-man is chiefly applied to when any one wishes for admission; a festival then takes place in the medicine lodge, which is continued for forty successive nights, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They dance, eat, and smoke there; the purchasers defray the expenses, and give up their wives every night to the sellers, till the fathers, as they are called, are satisfied, and transfer their rights to the purchasers, with which the festival concludes. 561 [837]

The third class or band is that of the soldiers, the most eminent and esteemed warriors. In their dances they paint the upper part of the face red, and the lower part black. Their war pipe is large, and made of the wing bone of a crane. Their badges are two long straight sticks bound with otter skin, to which owl's feathers are appended. When they go to war, they plant these sticks in the ground in front of the enemy, and, this done, they dare not leave them, not unlike the colours in a European army. They have a similar stick ornamented with raven's feathers (see second woodcut, page 256). They likewise have a dance and song peculiar to their band, and must purchase their admission into higher classes. Their schischikué or rattle is made of iron plate, in the form of a small kettle, with a handle. They likewise possess two tobacco pipes, which are used for smoking on special occasions. Two men keep and carry with them these pipes. All the higher classes may, at the same time, belong to the band of the soldiers, who act as police officers; it is, however, understood that all the members must be satisfied with the purchase. If but one object to the sale, the bargain cannot be concluded. It often happens that some individuals do not immediately give their consent, in order to raise the price and sell to more advantage afterwards. These soldiers, as they are called, form a kind of committee, which decides all the principal affairs, particularly general undertakings, such as changes of their places of abode, buffalo hunting, and the like. If the buffalo herds are in the vicinity, they watch them, and do not suffer them to be disturbed by individuals, till a general chase can be undertaken. 561 554 623 [534]

If, during this time, any one fires at a wolf or other animal, the soldiers take away his gun, ill-use, and sometimes beat him, to which he must submit; even the chiefs are not spared on these occasions. The Whites living in the neighbourhood are subject, during such a time, to the same laws, and the soldiers have often taken their hatchets from the woodcutters of the fort, or forbidden them to cut wood, that the buffaloes might not be disturbed by the noise.

The fourth band, that of the dogs, wear in their dance a large cap of coloured cloth, to which a great number of raven's, magpie's, and owl's feathers is fastened, adorned with dyed horse-hair and strips of ermine; they have a large war pipe of the wing bone of a swan. Three of them have the same strips of red cloth hanging down the back, as have been mentioned, when speaking of the first band. The head is generally adorned with a thick tuft of owl's, magpie's, and raven's feathers hanging down behind, and often all the three kinds of feathers are mixed together. 561

561 The three men before-mentioned, who wear the strips of red cloth (the dogs, properly so called), are obliged, if any one throws a piece of meat into the ashes, or on the ground, saying, "There, dog, eat," to fall upon it, and devour it raw, like dogs or beasts of prey. The schischikué of this [534] band is a stick, a foot or a foot and a half long, to which a number of animals' hoofs are fastened The costume of these three dogs is shown in the portrait of Pehriska-Rupe. (Plate XXIII.)

The fifth band is that of the buffaloes. In their dance they wear the skin of the upper part 561 of the head, the mane of the buffalo, with its horns, on their heads; but two select individuals, the 564 bravest of all, who thenceforward never dare to fly from the enemy, wear a perfect imitation of the buffalo's head, with the horns, which they set on their heads (Plate XVIII.), and in which there are holes left for the eyes, which are surrounded with an iron or tin ring. This band alone has a wooden war pipe, and in their union they have a woman, who, during the dance, goes round with a dish of water, to refresh the dancers, but she must give this water only to the bravest, who wear the whole buffalo's head. She is dressed, on these occasions, in a handsome new robe of bighorn leather, and colours her face with vermilion. The men have a piece of red cloth fastened behind, and a figure representing a buffalo's tail; they also carry their arms in their hands. The men with the buffaloes' heads always keep in the dance at the outside of the group, imitate all the motions and the voice of this animal, as it timidly and cautiously retreats, looking around in all directions, &c. (Plate XVIII.)

561 The sixth band is that of the black-tailed deer. It consists of all the men above fifty years of age, who, however, likewise dance. Two women belong to the band, who wait on them at the dance, cook, carry water round to refresh them, and the like. All the men of this band wear a garland of the claws of the grizzly bear round their heads, and all insignia of their warlike exploits about their bodies, such as feathers on their heads, tufts of hair on their arms and legs, scalps, painting, &c.

561 All these bands, as well as the following dances, are bought and sold, and, as has been already 425 observed, on these occasions, the buyer must give up his wife to the seller during the festivity. 837 But if a young man is still unmarried, he will sometimes travel to a great distance to another 572 village, to ask a friend or companion for his wife, who accordingly goes with him, and, on the evenings of the dance, gives up his wives for him. A man often brings three or four, and even more, wives, and gives them to his father, as he is called, as soon as the dancing, eating, smoking, and the relating of their exploits, are concluded. Thus one woman after the other comes, as will be described in the account of the buffalo medicines of the Manitaries, strikes, with her hand, the arm of the man whom she will favour, and goes to the entrance of the tent, where she waits till he follows her. The man so invited often keeps his seat, and bows down his head; the woman then goes home, brings articles of value, such as guns, robes, blankets, &c., which she lays, piece by piece, before him, till he is satisfied, stands up, and follows her.

There are other dances[1] which are bought and sold, among which are a second dance of the third band, and the dance of the half-shorn heads, which the lower class may buy before they are old enough to belong to the third band. 424 535

The medicine feast, the insignia, and the dance belonging to the half-shorn heads, will be described in the sequel. Another dance is that of the old dogs. The band of the dogs can buy it of the buffaloes before they can become buffaloes, or purchase their admission to the fifth band. In the dance of the old dogs they paint themselves white, the hands red and black, and wear a girdle of the skin of the grizzly bear, and a bunch of feathers hanging down at the back of the head.

What is called the hot dance is now danced at Ruhptare, and by the Manitaries, who bought it from the Arikkarus. It is executed by the little dogs, whose name is not known. A large fire is kindled on the occasion, and a quantity of live coals is scattered on the ground, about which the young men dance, quite naked and barefooted. The hands, with the lower part of the arms, and the feet and ankles, are painted red. A kettle, with meat cut in small pieces, is hung over the fire; and when the meat is done they plunge their hands into the boiling water, take out the meat, and eat it, at the risk of scalding themselves. The last comers are the worst off, having to dip their hands the deepest into the boiling water. During the dance they have in their hands their weapons and the schischikué.

There is another dance which will be described in one of the following chapters. The dance is accompanied with the schischikué and drum, and is generally performed in a circle: the dancers carry in their hands the bow-lance,* which is adorned with feathers and bears' entrails.

The Mandan women are divided precisely in the same manner as the men, into four classes, according to their age. The youngest band is called "the band of the gun." They wear in their hair some down feathers of the eagle, and have their peculiar dance. 561

The next class into which they obtain admission by purchase is "the river class." When they dance they wear an eagle's feather, fastened to the fore part of the head with a piece of white ribbon, which projects on the left side, and is entwined round the quill with grass.

The third class consists of the women of the hay, who, when they dance, put on their best clothes, and sing the scalp song.

The fourth and last class is the band of the white cow. They paint one eye with some colour according to their taste, generally sky-blue. On the chin, this class, mostly consisting of aged women, tattoo themselves with black lines; round their heads they wear a broad piece of the skin of a white buffalo cow, something like a hussar's cap, with a tuft of feathers in it. A more

* The bow-lance is a large bow, to one end of which the iron point of a lance is fastened. It serves only for show, and is never used in serious combat. It is very handsomely adorned with eagle's feathers, frequently with red cloth also, and, when completely decorated, is worth from 100 to 250 florins. It descends from father to son, and cannot be obtained except at a high price. Sometimes a horse or more must be given for it.

1 [i.e., in addition to the dances the purchase of which acquires membership in an age-grade society. See category 561.--Analyst]

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561 particular description of the dress of this band is given in the sequel, and the representation of it in Vignette XXVIII.

533 534 These unions, or bands, give occasion to many festivities, with singing, music, and dancing. But they have likewise other dances and diversions. One of these is the scalp dance, which may be more appropriately described among the usages of war. Their musical amusements are very simple. The mode of singing varies but little among all the American Indians; it consists of broken, deep exclamations, often intercepted by loud shouts, and is accompanied by a violent beating of time on the drum, and the rattling of the schischikué. Besides these two instruments, the Mandans have long wooden pipes, at the lower end of which there is generally an eagle's feather hanging by a string. (See woodcut, page 180.) Other pipes are thicker, about twenty inches long, and are perforated with holes; in this respect they differ from the war pipe. They are sometimes ornamented with pieces of skin, &c. These are the only musical instruments of the Indians besides the war pipes.

526 The Indians have also many games; the game called billiards, by the French Canadians, is played by two young men, with long poles, which are often bound with leather, and have various ornaments attached to them. On a long, straight, level course, or a level path in or near the village, they roll a hoop, three or four inches in diameter, covered with leather, and throw the pole at it; and the success of the game depends upon the pole passing through it. This game is also practised among the Manitaries, and is described, in Major Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains, as being played by the Pawnees, who, however, have hooked sticks, which is not the case with the tribes here mentioned.

The women are expert at playing with a large leathern ball, which they let fall alternately on their foot and knee, again throwing it up and catching it, and thus keeping it in motion for a length of time without letting it fall to the ground. Prizes are given, and they often play high. The ball is often very neat and curiously covered with dyed porcupine quills. (See Plate XLVIII. Fig. 14.) Card-playing has not yet reached these Indians, though it is in use among the Osages and other tribes. The children of the Mandans and Manitaries play with a piece of stag's horn, in which a couple of feathers are inserted; this is thrown forward, the piece of horn being foremost.

About the middle of March, when the weather is fine, the children and young men play with a hoop, in the interior of which strips of leather are interwoven; its diameter is about a foot. This hoop is either rolled or thrown, and they thrust at it with a pointed stick; he who approaches the centre most nearly is the winner. The hoop and the stick are represented in Plate XLVIII.

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Fig. 15. As soon as the ice in the rivers breaks up, they run to the banks and throw this interlaced hoop into the water. In the summer time the Mandans and Manitaries often amuse themselves with races in the prairie, for which they have the best opportunity in the vicinity of their villages; twenty young men, or more, often run at once, and on these occasions there is always high betting. Some of them are very swift runners, and can hold out a long time. 526

The Mandans and Manitaries are extremely superstitious, and all their important actions are guided by such motives. They have most strange ideas of surrounding nature, believe in a multitude of different beings in the heavenly bodies; offer sacrifices to them; invoke their assistance on every occasion; howl, lament, fast, inflict on themselves cruel acts of penance, to propitiate these spirits; and, above all, lay very great stress upon dreams. Some of their traditions have a resemblance to the revelations of the Bible; for instance, Noah's Ark and the Deluge, the history of Samson, &c. The question here arises whether these particulars have not been gradually introduced among them, from their intercourse with Christians, and this seems highly probable. If they have not yet embraced the Christian religion, it would, however, appear that they have adopted some portions which strike them as being either remarkable or interesting.* The belief in a future life, or a better state of things after death, exists among all the American nations; this is confirmed by D'Orbigny (Voyages, tom. iii. p. 90), who justly blames Azara for denying all religious ideas to the people of Paraguay. In order to obtain correct information respecting all their traditions and ideas, we persuaded Dipauch† to enliven our long winter evenings by his narratives, which he readily agreed to do. He spoke with much seriousness and gravity, and I had a most excellent interpreter in Mr. Kipp. I give these narratives, which are often extremely silly, as they were written down from his communications, though I must beg my reader's patience and indulgence. It was not possible to curtail them or to choose only the more interesting parts, since all their traditions and legends have a certain connexion, and really possess some influence on the actual mode of life of this people. 771 771 124

According to Dipauch, these Indians believe in several superior beings, of whom the lord of life, Ohmahank-Numakshi, is the first, the most exalted and the most powerful; who created the earth, man, and every existing object.‡ They believe that he has a tail, and appears sometimes 776 773

* This conjecture is adopted by Dr. Edwin James, the learned author of Tanner's Life among the Indians, p. 357 of that work. I refer to this interesting book for the remarkable hieroglyphics of the people of the Algonquin tribe.

† Dipauch is a very distinguished man, and might have been a chief long ago if he had planned, as he possesses all the necessary qualifications. His father was shot by the Sioux during Lewis and Clarke's winter residence among these Indians. These travellers offered to assist the Mandans against their enemies, and to take the field with them, to which, however, they would not consent.

‡ Brackenridge, p. 71, is very much mistaken in believing that the Mandans and Manitaries worship only buffalo heads, for, if the latter are medicine, it is incontrovertibly true that they believe in a number of superior beings who make a figure in their mythology.

776 773 in the form of an aged man, and, at others, in that of a young man. The first man, Numank-Machana, holds the second rank; he was created by the lord of life, but is likewise of a divine nature. The lord of life gave him great power, and they, therefore, worship and offer sacrifices 776 171 to him. He is nearly identical with Nanabush among the Chippeways, or the people of the Algonquin language, who, according to the notion of those tribes, acts as mediator between the creator and the human race. Nanabush and the creator frequently had disputes, and the Mandans have similar legends. Omahank-Chika, the evil one of the earth, is a malignant spirit, 776 773 who has, likewise, much influence over men, but who is not as powerful as the lord of life and the first man. The fourth being is Rohanka-Tauihanka, who lives in the planet Venus, and it is he who protects mankind on the earth; for without his care the race would have been long since extinct. A fifth being, who, however, has no power, is something like the wandering Jew, ever in motion, and walking on the face of the earth in human form. They call him the lying prairie wolf. Besides these there is a sixth being, Ochkih-Hadda, whom it is difficult to class, and of whom they have a tradition, that whoever dreams of him is doomed soon to die. He appears to figure in their traditions as a kind of devil, is said to have once come to their villages, and taught them many things, but has not since appeared. They are afraid of him, offer sacrifices to him, and 776 have in their villages a hideous figure representing him. They worship the sun, because they 772 believe it to be the residence of the lord of life. All their medicines or sacrifices are offered chiefly to the sun, or rather to the lord of life, as inhabiting it. In the moon, say they, lives the old woman who never dies, and who wears a white band from the front to the back of the head; sacrifices and offerings are likewise made to her. They do not know who she is, but her power is great. She has six children, three sons and three daughters, who all live in certain stars. The eldest son is the day (the first day of the creation), the second is the sun, in which the lord of life has his abode. The third son is the night. The eldest daughter is the star that rises in the east, the morning star; and they call her, "the woman who wears a plume." The second daughter, called "the striped gourd," is a high star which revolves around the polar star; and, lastly, the third daughter is the evening star which is near to the setting sun.

539 The old woman in the moon desired to find a wife for her son, and brought a girl, whom she desired to wait outside the door. When the old woman sent out to fetch her, they found in her place a toad; indignant at the exchange, the toad was boiled in a vessel, that it might be destroyed. But this could not be done, nor could it be eaten, and it was, therefore, cursed, on which it remained always visible as a spot in the moon. The narrator could not say whether [821] the sun was large or small, but, at all events, it was glowing hot. The son married a woman whom they called "the narrow-leaved wormwood." They had a son, of great promise, who appeared destined to act an important part. He was very skilful in making arrows, and versed in all kinds of hunting and catching of animals. He shot birds for his mother, though she had

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forbidden him to kill the prairie larks, yet he shot all his arrows at these birds, but he was unable to kill any. Upon this, one of the birds said to him, "Why will you kill me, since I am related to you?" He dug up in the moon the pomme blanche (*Psoralea esculenta*), for which his mother reproved him, because, through the hole which he had dug, they could see the Manitari villages in the earth beneath. And his mother said, "See, all those men are our relations; I did not intend to descend to the earth yet, but now we must go thither." The father once ordered the son to shoot a buffalo for him, and to bring him all the sinews of the animal; but the son twisted a rope with part of those sinews, in order thereby to let himself down to the earth. Accordingly he descended to the earth in the vicinity of the Little Missouri, but his rope reached only to the top of the trees. If he had had all the sinews of the buffalo, his rope would have reached the ground, but now remained suspended, and swung backwards and forwards. A large stone was thrown at him from the moon, which stone was in existence not very long since. The stone, however, could not kill him, he being medicine, that is, charmed. 539

The Mandans believe that the thunder is produced by the motion of the wings of a gigantic bird. When this bird flies softly, as is usually the case, he is not heard, but when he flaps his wings violently, he occasions a roaring noise. This huge bird is said to have only two toes on each foot, one behind and the other before. It lives in the mountains, where it builds an immense nest, as big as Fort Clarke. Its food consists of deer and other large animals, the horns of which are heaped up round the nest. The glance of its eyes produces lightning; it breaks through the clouds, the canopy of heaven, and makes a way for the rain. The isolated and peculiarly loud claps of thunder are produced by a gigantic tortoise, which lives in the clouds. When the lightning strikes, it is a sign of anger. They believe the stars to be deceased men. When a child is born, a star descends and appears on the earth in human form; after death it reascends and appears again as a star in the heavens. 821 [775]

The rainbow is a spirit accompanying the sun, and is especially visible at its setting. Many affirm that the northern lights are occasioned by a large assembly of the medicine men and distinguished warriors of several nations in the north, who boil their prisoners and slain enemies in immense cauldrons. The Chippeways are said to call this phenomenon "the dancing spirit," and the milky way, "the path of the ghosts." [171]

Dipauch related a history of the creation and the origin of the Mandan tribe, in the following manner. Though this narrative is equally silly and tiresome, I subjoin it, as giving an idea of the intellectual condition of this people, and the nature of their conversations. 773 539

Before the existence of the earth, the lord of life created the first man, Numank-Machana, who moved on the waters, and met with a diver or duck, which was alternately diving and rising again. The man said to the bird, "You dive so well, now dive deep and bring up some earth."

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The bird obeyed, and soon brought up some earth, which the first man scattered upon the face of the waters, using some incantations, commanding the earth to appear, and it appeared. The land was naked; not a blade of grass was growing on it; he wandered about and thought that he was alone, when he suddenly met with a toad. "I thought I was here alone," said he, "but you are here, and who are you?" It did not answer. "I do not know you, but I must give you a name. You are older than I am, for your skin is rough and scaly; I must call you my grandmother, for you are so very old." He went further and found a piece of an earthen pot. "I thought I was here alone, but men must have lived here before me." Thereupon he took the potsherd and said, "I will give you also a name, and, as you were here before me, I must, likewise, call you my grandmother." On going further he met with a mouse: "It is clear," said he to himself, "that I am not the first being; I call you also my grandmother." A little further on he and the lord of life met. "Oh, there is a man like myself," exclaimed he, and went up to him. "How do you do, my son?" said the man to Omahank-Numakshi; but he answered, "I am not your son, but you are mine." The first man answered, "I dispute this." But the lord of life answered, "You are my son, and I will prove it; if you will not believe me, we will sit down and plant our medicine sticks which we have in our hands in the ground; he who first rises is the youngest, and the son of the other." They sat down and looked at each other for a long time, till, at length, the lord of life became pale, his flesh dropped from his bones, on which the first man exclaimed, "Now you are surely dead." Thus they looked at each other for ten years, at the end of which time, when the bare bones of the lord of life were in a decomposed state, the first man rose, exclaiming, "Now he is surely dead." He seized Omahank-Numakshi's stick, and pulled it out of the ground; but at the same moment the lord of life stood up, saying, "See here, I am your father, and you are my son," and the first man called him his father. As they were going on together, the lord of life said, "This land is not well formed, we will make it better." At that time the buffalo was already on the earth. The lord of life called to the weasel, and ordered him to dive and bring up grass, which was done. He then sent him again to fetch wood, which he brought in like manner. He divided the grass and the wood, giving one half to the first man. This took place at the mouth of Heart River. The lord of life then desired the first man to make the north bank of the Missouri, while he himself made the south-west bank, which is beautifully diversified with hills, valleys, forests, and thickets. The man, on the contrary, made the whole country flat, with a good deal of wood in the distance. They then met again, and, when the lord of life had seen the work of the first man, he shook his head and said, "You have not done this well: all is level, so that it will be impossible to surprise buffaloes or deer, and approach them unperceived. Men will not be able to live there. They will see each other in the plain at too great a distance, and will be unable to avoid each other, consequently they will destroy each other."

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He then took the first man to the other side of the river, and said, "See here, I have made springs and streams in sufficient abundance, and hills and valleys, and added all kinds of animals and fine wood; here men will be able to live by the chase, and feed on the flesh of those animals." They then both proceeded to the mouth of the Natke-Passaha (Heart River), in order, according to the directions of the lord of life, to make medicine pipes. He himself made them of ash, lined with stone. The man, on the contrary, made his pipes of box-alder, a soft wood. They placed these pipes together, and the lord of life said, "This shall be the heart, the centre of the world; and this river shall be the Heart River." Each of them had now his pipe in his hand, and when they met any creature, the lord of life laid the pipe down before it: on doing this to a buffalo, it said, "This is not enough; there must be something to smoke in the pipe." And the lord of life said, "Then do you get something to smoke." On which the buffalo cleared a spot on the ground with his fore foot, and said, "When the rutting time of the buffaloes approaches, come here and you will find something to smoke." The lord of life accordingly sent at the time appointed to fetch tobacco, but it was not yet dry and prepared; he therefore ordered the buffalo to be called, which at once spread out the leaves and dried them; and the lord of life smoked, and found the tobacco very good. The bull then taught him to pull off and smoke the flowers and the buds, for these are the best parts of the plant.

The lord of life and the first man were now resolved to create the human race. They began their operations near the bank of the Missouri; and, in order to promote the increase of the species, they placed the part necessary for that purpose in the forehead; but the frog came up out of the water, and said, "How foolish you are!" and altered the situation of the part. "What business have you to speak?" said the lord of life, and struck the frog upon the back with his stick, and since that time the frog has had a humped back. God had made man, and told him he should increase and multiply, but not live longer than a hundred years; since, otherwise, there would not be room enough for all. The first man now said to his father, "When buffaloes are hunted, the skins of the animals killed must be immediately taken off to wear as robes; the stomach must be emptied, and pemmican made of the flesh." The lord of life, however, answered, "This would not be advisable. Men would then quarrel and destroy each other. Let them rather take the animals home, and tan the hides, then they will have robes for their own use, and for sale." And it appeared that the lord of life was always right.

The first man was once on the banks of the Missouri, when a dead buffalo cow, in the side of which the wolves had eaten a hole, floated down the stream. A woman was on the bank, who called to her daughter, "Make haste, pull off your clothes, and bring the cow on shore." The first man heard this, and brought the cow to the spot. The girl eat some of the flesh, which the first man gave her, and became pregnant. She was ashamed, and said to her mother, that "she could not tell how she came into this state, as she had had no intercourse with any man," and her mother was

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ashamed with her. The daughter was afterwards delivered of a son, who grew with extraordinary rapidity, and soon became a robust young man. He was immediately the first chief of his people—a great leader among men. The first thing he did was to build a boat, which understood whatever he said to it. He filled it with men, ordered it to cross the river and come back, and in this manner he sent it over several times. The new chief was of the nation of the Numakshi (the Mandans). A saying was then current among these people, that on the other side of the great water, or the sea, there lived white men, who possessed wampum shells. Bodies of fifteen or twenty men were frequently sent thither, but they were all killed. Hereupon the chief said, "I will send my boat thither, with eight men; this is the right number." And the boat went, arrived at the right place, and brought to the white men the red mouse hair (beaver hair), which they highly valued. They were well received, feasted in the dwellings, and materials for smoking were given them. Each received buffalo skins filled with wampum shells, and the boat returned quickly. The boat then went, for the second time, with eleven men, and the lord of life accompanied it. He had dressed himself in mean apparel, and took with him a large hollow cane. On their arrival they went into a village, but the first man remained sitting near the boat, and dug a deep hole, over which he seated himself. The inhabitants of the village agreed to kill the strangers by overfeeding them, and, with this view, gave them abundance of food. The first man, to whom the overplus of the provisions was brought, let them drop through his cane into the hole, and the white men were astonished at the quantity of provisions consumed. They then agreed to kill them by smoke; but the first man made the smoke pass through his cane, and their plan was again defeated. They now thought of killing them by means of women, all of whom they left at their disposal.* As they could not kill the strangers either by eating, smoking, or women, they gave them as many wampum shells as they could take in their boat, and sent them away. When the children learnt that the boat understood what was said to it, they ordered it to go down the river to the white people; it obeyed, and was never afterwards seen.

The first man now said to the Numangkake that he should leave them, and never return; that he was going to the west; but that, in case of need, they might apply to him, and he would assist them. They were living in a small village, on Heart River, when their enemies surrounded them, and threatened to destroy them. In this great distress they resolved to apply to their protector; but how were they to get to the first man? One man proposed to send a bird to him; but birds could not fly so far. Another thought that the eyesight must be able to reach him; but the prairie hills were in the way. At last, a third said that thought would undoubtedly be the best means of reaching the first man. He wrapped himself in his robe and fell to the ground. Soon afterwards he said, "I think!—I have thought!—I return!" He threw off his

* Numank-Machana autem, partis naturalis loco cauda vacuna usus erat: incolæ loci, valde stupefacti præstantes et assiduas primi hominis vires admirarunt.

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robe, and was in a profuse perspiration all over. "The first man will quickly come," he exclaimed; and he was soon there, fell furiously on the enemy, drove them away, and immediately vanished. Since that time he has not been again seen.

The lord of life once told the first man, that if the Numangkake should go over the river they would be devoured by the wolves; on which they both crossed the river, and killed all the old wolves. They ordered the young wolves not to devour men in future, but to confine themselves to buffaloes, deer, and other wild animals. They threw the old wolves into the north ocean, where they became putrid, and their hair swam on the surface of the water, from which the white men originated. The lord of life also told the Numangkake, that when they had boiled their maize they should keep up only a small fire for the rest of the day; and this they still do. When the fire would not burn, they were to take the larger brands from below, and lay them on the top. When the lord of life was a little below Heart River, in the spring, when the first wild geese flew past, he told them to wait, because he would fly with them, and assumed the form of a goose. The Indians are accustomed to shout and halloo when the see the flocks of geese, by which they are frightened, and thrown into confusion. So it happened on this occasion to the lord of life, and he fell to the ground. He was carried into the hut of the chief, who sent the youngest woman to pluck the goose, but it bit her, and she gave it to the oldest, who was likewise bitten; so that the lord of life escaped. He then flew to the Manitaries. A young woman, who refused to marry, was here whipped and beaten by him. She went to the lower village, and complained that God had punished her, because she would not marry. A young man, who wished to have her for his wife, took the dress of the lord of life, as she was resolved to marry none but him. She now desired to know whether her lover was really what he pretended to be, and with this view placed some pointed stakes in the ground, on which he must wound himself in the night, if he were not of a superior nature. He came and wounded himself, on which she fell on him, took away all his clothes and hid them, so that he looked for a long time both for them and his weapons. When day came, two long lines, like fishing lines, were hanging down from the sun to the earth, and near to the place where the girl was. A voice called to her, from above, to climb up by the lines; that the clothes were no longer in the place where she had hidden them; it was, therefore, the lord of life who had appeared to her under the form of the young man. The girl took hold of the lines, and the sun seemed to come down. Several of her relations, and other men, pulled the lines, but could not draw the sun down, while the lord of life lay quietly in it. A very strong man, who was able to pull up the largest trees by the roots, and cast them from him, was not able to do anything on this occasion; the line turned round his shoulders. "I can pull up the largest trees," said he, "and my strength is greater than that of all other men united, and yet I cannot break this small line." To which the lord of life answered, "If you reach and kill me, the human race will be destroyed from the face of the earth."

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At the time that the first man had incensed the Whites by his voracity, the latter made the water rise so high that all the land was overflowed. On this, the first man advised the ancestors of the Numangkake to build a wooden tower, or fort, upon an eminence, assuring them that the water would not rise higher than that point. They followed his advice, and built the ark, on the lower side of Heart River, on a large scale, and a part of the nation was preserved in this building, while the remainder perished in the waves. In remembrance of the kind care of the first man, they placed in each of their villages a miniature model of this ark, one of which still exists in the village of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush. The waters afterwards subsided, and they still celebrate the festival of Okippe in honour of this ark, of which we shall have to speak in the sequel.

Before the first great deluge, the Numangkake lived below ground, but a band of them (the same of which we have been speaking) took up their abode above ground at an earlier period. They believe that there are four stories below ground, and as many above, and they now inhabit the fourth from below. The band which first came above ground is called by them Histoppa (those with the tattooed countenance), and these, for the most part, perished in the great deluge. Those who lived under ground one day perceived a light over their heads, which made them desire to ascertain what was above. They accordingly sent up a mouse, which looked about, returned, and reported that the land above was similar to that which they inhabited. They then sent up a certain animal, called by them, Nahsi, about the size of a polecat, and distinguishable by black stripes on its face and legs. Perhaps this was the racoon, which is not now to be found in this part of the country. This animal, when he came back, said that it was much more pleasant above than below. They, therefore, ordered the badger to dig a larger opening, as the present issue was too small. After the badger had performed his task, the black-tailed deer was ordered to go up and enlarge the opening by means of his horns. He ran about the whole day, ate service berries, and returned in the evening. His tail was at that time white, but as this deer returned at sunset, and the sun went down at the very moment when his tail only was above ground, that was ever afterwards black.

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The Numangkake now resolved to go up. The great chief, with his medicine and his schischikué in his hand, went first. They climbed up, one after another, by the aid of a branch of a vine; and when exactly half their number had ascended, and a corpulent woman was half-way up the vine, it broke, and the remainder of the nation fell to the ground. This happened in the neighbourhood of the sea-shore. Those who had reached the surface went on till they came to the Missouri, which they reached at White Earth River. They then proceeded up the Missouri to Moreau's River. At that time they knew nothing of enemies. Once, when a Mandan woman was scraping a hide, a Chayenne Indian came and killed her. The Mandans followed the traces of this new enemy till they came to a certain river, where they all turned

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back with the exception of two, the husband and the brother of the woman who was killed. These two men went on till they discovered the enemy, killed one of them, and took his scalp with them. Before they got back to their village they found some white clay which they had never seen before, and took a portion of it with them. When they came to their great chief, the first who had climbed up the vine, and whose skull and schischikué they still preserve, as a relic, in the medicine bag of the nation, they gave him the white clay, with which he marked some lines on his schischikué. The name of this chief was, at first, Mihti-Pihka (the smoke of the village), but when he ascended to the surface of the earth he called himself the Mihti-Shi (the robe with the beautiful hair). When he had received the clay and the scalp, he commanded all his people to shoot buffaloes, but only bulls, and to make shields of the thickest part of the hide, which they did. When this was done, they asked the chief what were his next commands? To which he replied, "Paint a drooping sunflower on this shield" (as a sort of medicine, or amulet), on which the sister of the chief said, "You are fools! paint a bean on it; for what is smoother than a bean to ward off the arrows?"

The chief now introduced the establishment of the bands or unions, and founded first that of "the foolish dogs." He made four caps of crow's feathers, and commissioned the Mandans to make a number of similar ones. He then gave them the war pipe and song, and exhorted them to be always valiant and cheerful, and never to retreat before the point of the arrow. He also gave them the strips of red cloth which hang down behind, and added that, if they would follow his directions, they would always be esteemed as brave and worthy men. The chief then made two of the bent sticks covered with otter skins, and gave them the kana-karakachka, and then two others adorned with raven's feathers, which he also presented to them. The first represent the sunflower, and the latter the maize. "These badges," said he, "you are to carry before you when you go against the enemy; plant them in the ground, and fight to the last man, that is to say, never abandon them." He next founded the band of "the little foolish dogs," and assembled many young men, whom he ordered to paint their faces of a black colour, and gave them a song of their own, with the war whoop at the end, and said he would call them "the blackbirds." He afterwards went to war with his people against the Chayennes. They reached the enemy and laid all their robes in a heap together. The chief wore a cap of lynx skin, and had his medicine pipe on his arm. He did not join in the action, but sat apart on the ground during the whole time that it lasted. They fought almost the whole day, drove the enemy into their village, and were then repulsed, which happened three or four times, and one of the Numangkake was killed. When the chief was informed of this, he ordered them to go to the river and bring him a young poplar with large leaves, which he planted in the ground near to the enemy, and challenged the Chayennes to attack him; but they answered, they would wait for his attack. As

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he would commence the combat, the enemy shot at him, but their arrows only grazed his arm and robe. He then held up the poplar, which suddenly shot up to a colossal size, was thrown, by a violent storm which arose, among the enemies, crushed many of them, and obliged the Chayennes to retreat across the Missouri.

The Numangkake now went up the Missouri to beyond the Heart River, where a Mandan village had long stood. An old man of their tribe was fishing at this place, when four men appeared on the opposite bank. On his inquiring who they were, they told him their names, and put the same question to him, which he answered; and, having an ear of maize with him, he fastened it to an arrow, and shot it over to the strangers. Finding the maize very agreeable to the taste, they called to him and said that, within four nights, a great many men would come, for whom he would do well to prepare plenty of food. They then returned to their camp, and gave their countrymen an account of the maize. They had likewise tasted the pomme blanche, and several other vegetables, but considered the maize as the best of all. The camp was accordingly broken up, and they proceeded slowly onwards. The Numangkake expected the strangers for four nights; they cooked and made everything ready for their reception, but, as their visitors did not make their appearance at the end of the fourth night, they ate the provisions themselves. A year passed by, and the strangers did not come; the second and the third year likewise; at length, in the spring of the fourth year, all the surrounding hills were covered with red men. Thus, instead of four days, four years had elapsed. The new comers crossed the river, and built a village near the Numangkake, and the name of Manitaries was given, *i. e.*, those who came over the waters.

The principal chief of each nation met, and had a conference together. The Manitari chief asked the other whence they procured so much red maize? To which he replied, "When we fought with our enemies, and they killed our wives and children in the maize fields, the maize grew up, and was for the most part red." To which the Manitari chief replied, "that he would assist them with his people against their enemies." Already on the following day many Chayennes came and killed a number of women in the plantations; the united nations attacked them, killed many during the whole day, and drove them back to a small river which falls into the Missouri. The two allied nations now remained united, but, being so numerous that the country did not afford them sufficient subsistence, the Mandans said to the Manitaries, "Remove higher up the Missouri: this whole country belongs to us. There are the rivers Little Missouri, Yellow Stone, and Knife River, on the banks of which you can settle, but do not go beyond the latter river, for it is only in this case that we shall remain good friends. If you go too far we shall have disputes, make peace and again disagree; but if you remain on this side there will be constant friendship between us." The Manitaries removed as proposed, but built

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one of their villages on the other side of Knife River, which frequently occasioned dissension between them, and it is only within these fourteen years that permanent peace and concord have existed between the two people.

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At the time when our narrator was a young man, the Arikkaras were near and dangerous enemies to the Mandans. They often fought with them as well as with the Sioux. When one of the two allied nations fought alone, it was almost always defeated, but when they were combined they generally triumphed. The preceding long narrative throws, as I have said, much light on the actual condition of this people, and of their prevalent superstitious customs.

At the time of their first alliance with the Manitaries, the Mandans are said to have inhabited eight or nine villages on the two banks of the Missouri, on the Heart River, and higher upwards. Subsequently a great number of the Mandans were carried off by the small-pox, and their enemies, the Sioux, entirely destroyed their largest village, and massacred the inhabitants. The remaining population then collected in the two villages that still exist—Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush and Ruhptare. Plate XVI. is a view of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, of which a ground plan will be found at the end of this chapter. Previously to the devastations of the small-pox, the Sioux were not very dangerous enemies to the Mandans, because they lived at too great a distance from them, but the Chayennes and the Arikkaras were their natural adversaries. I shall now proceed to treat of the religious and superstitious practices which still prevail among them.

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These Indians are full of prejudice and superstition, and connect all the natural phenomena with the before-mentioned silly creations of their own imaginations. They undertake nothing without first invoking their guardian spirit, or medicine, who mostly appears to them in a dream. When they wish to choose their medicine or guardian spirit, they fast for three or four days, and even longer, retire to a solitary spot, do penance, and even sacrifice joints of their fingers; howl and cry to the lord of life, or to the first man, beseeching him to point out their guardian spirit. They continue in this excited state till they dream, and the first animal or other object which appears to them is chosen for their guardian spirit or medicine. Every man has his guardian spirit. There is, in the prairie, a large hill where they remain motionless many days, lamenting and fasting; not far from this hill is a cave, into which they creep at night. The choice and adoration of their medicine are said to have been taught them by the strange man or spirit who appeared in their villages many years ago, and has not since been seen, and of whom mention has already been made by the name of Ochkib-Hadda. He is said also to have taught them the art of tattooing, and to have instituted their medicine feasts. In all natural phenomena, which are not of daily occurrence, they see wonders, and indications of favourable or unfavourable events. If the falling stars are numerous, or in a certain direction, it is to them an indication of war, or of a great mortality in the human race. They were not willing to have their portraits painted, because they alleged that they should soon die if their portraits came into other hands; 774

at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote.

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650 at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote. One of their
771 chiefs never smoked out of a stone pipe, but always used a wooden one. Mato-Topé never
778 partook of other people's tobacco, but always smoked by himself, with the doors shut. They
276 do not willingly show their medicines or amulets, which are usually kept wrapped up in a bundle or bag, and never opened except on important occasions. They have particular medicine pipes, or, as the English call them, medicine stems, which are uncovered and used for smoking only on solemn occasions. Many make such pipes according to their own taste; such, for instance, was the pipe of Dipauch (Plate XXI. fig. 3). The bowl was nearly in the form of a Turkish pipe, and was made of brownish-red clay; the tube, which was rather short and thick, represented the lord of life in human form, but which it required some stretch of the imagination to discover. The nation preserves a celebrated pipe of this kind as a sacred relic, which no stranger is permitted to see. It has been in their possession since remote ages, and they offered to show it to me
435 for the value of 100 dollars. The Indians cannot obtain such pipes but at a considerable expense:
439 many of the necessary ornaments are not to be procured among them, such as the upper bill and the red crown of a species of woodpecker (*Picus pilcatus*, Linn.), a bird which is not found so high up the Missouri. For the head of one of these woodpeckers, which was brought from St. Louis, they gave a large handsome buffalo robe, worth six or eight dollars. If a man pos-
597 sesses such a pipe, he sometimes conceives the idea of adopting a medicine son. The young man
796 whom he is to choose appears to him in a dream; it is, however, requisite that he should be of a
171 good family, or have performed some exploit. He acquaints him with his intention, and, after having provided two similar medicine pipes, he asks his newly-adopted son, whether he is ready to undergo the ceremony of the pipes? The latter frequently answers in the affirmative, and the time for the ceremony is fixed: but, if he has not yet made up his mind, it is deferred. The adoptive father then chooses two young men, who practise the medicine dance together, with the two pipes in their hands. The father often dances, in the morning, on the roof of his hut, and instructs these two young men. When the time arrives, and the adopted son is ready for the ceremony, the father, with all his relations, and the two young dancers, repairs to the hut of his newly-chosen son, and brings him a present of maize, cloth, blankets, kettles, and other valuable articles. The father takes his son by the hand and makes him sit down, after which the company dance round him, with the two pipes; they sing, accompanied by the drum and schischikué, the two young dancers keeping time to the music with their pipes. When the ceremony is over, and the presents laid in one or two heaps, the relations of the medicine son bring horses, cloth, blankets, and other things of value, which the two parties reciprocally divide between them. The father then again takes his son by the hand, makes him rise from his seat, and dresses him in new clothes from head to foot, and likewise paints his face according to his fancy. The dress and pipe are henceforth his property, and he is considered as a real son, who must support and defend his father.

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This custom exists among most of the nations on the Missouri, and even among the Esquimaux there is a somewhat similar usage. If the adopted son and father have not happened to meet for a long time, they make presents to each other; the father gives the son a new dress, and the latter presents him with a good horse. Among all the Indian nations of North America, there is a particular class of men, who are specially engaged in all the above-mentioned ceremonies and medicines. They are, also, the physicians, and are called, among the Mandans, Numak-Choppenih, which signifies medicine man.

The skin of a white buffalo cow is an important article, and an eminent medicine in the opinion of the Mandans and Manitaries. He who has never possessed one of them is not respected. Suppose two men to be disputing about their exploits, the one an old veteran warrior, who has slain many enemies, the other, a young lad without experience; the latter reproaches the other with never having possessed a white buffalo cow hide, on which the old man droops his head, and covers his face for shame. He who possesses such a hide generally offers it to the lord of life, to whom he dedicates it, or, which is equivalent, to the sun, or to the first man. He collects, perhaps, in the course of a whole twelvemonth, various articles of value, and then hangs them up all together on a high pole in the open prairie, generally in the neighbourhood of the burying-place, or in the village before his hut. Distinguished men and chiefs of eminence are for the most part poor, because, in order to gain reputation and influence, they give away everything of value which they possess. A large number of relatives is one of the chief means of acquiring riches, for a young man who wishes to distinguish himself, and to be liberal, does honour to the whole family, who assist him to the utmost of their power. When one of his relations has anything of value, the young man goes to the owner to demand it, and not unfrequently takes it away without ceremony. Sometimes he hangs his head in silence, and then something of value is given him, a handsome dress, a horse, &c. If he wishes to gain reputation and a claim to distinction, it is necessary that he should make presents. All the people in the village notice very accurately what presents are made, and the donor has a right to display all such presents painted on his robes, and in this manner to hand down his reputation to posterity, as has been already related. This and military glory are, in the eyes of these men, the greatest virtues. They dare not draw a stroke too much on their robes for the horses, guns, &c., which they have given away, for the young men keep a most strict account against each other, and universal ridicule would be the immediate consequence of violating this rule. Among the distinctions of any man, the white buffalo hide is the greatest. He who has not been so fortunate as to kill a white buffalo himself, which is generally the case, as these animals are very rare, purchases a hide, often at a great distance from home, and other nations bring them hither, being well aware of the great value attached to them by the Mandans. The hide must be that of a young cow, not above two years old, and be taken off complete and tanned, with the horns,

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778 nose, hoofs, and tail. The value of ten to fifteen horses is given for it. A certain Mandan gave
281 ten horses, a gun, some kettles, and other articles, for such a hide. The white hide of a bull or
[435] of an old cow is by no means so valuable. The white hide of a young cow suffices for all the daughters of a family. They do not wear it as a robe, like the Manitaries, or, at the utmost, the wife, or one of the daughters of the family, wears it once at some great festival, but never a second
796 time. The Mandans have particular ceremonies at the dedication of the hide. As soon as they have obtained it they engage an eminent medicine man, who must throw it over him; he then walks round the village in the apparent direction of the sun's course, and sings a medicine song. When the owner, after collecting articles of value for three or four years, desires to offer his treasure to the lord of life, or to the first man, he rolls it up, after adding some wormwood or a head of maize, and the skin then remains suspended on a high pole till it rots away. At the time of my visit there was such an offering at Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, near the stages for the dead without the village. Sometimes, when the ceremony of dedication is finished, the hide is cut into small strips, and the members of the family wear parts of it tied over the head, or across the
554 forehead, when they are in full dress. If a Mandan kills a young white buffalo cow, it is
224 accounted to him as more than an exploit, or having killed an enemy. He does not cut up the animal himself, but employs another man, to whom he gives a horse for his trouble. He alone who has killed such an animal is allowed to wear a narrow strip of the skin in his ears. The whole robe is not ornamented, being esteemed superior to any other dress, however fine. The
[436] traders have, sometimes, sold such hides to the Indians, who gave them as many as sixty other
[126] robes in exchange. Buffalo skins with white spots are likewise highly valued by the Mandans; but there is a race of these animals with very soft silky hair, which has a beautiful gold lustre when in the sunshine: these are, likewise, highly prized, and sold for ten or fifteen dollars, and,
778 sometimes, for the value of a horse. Besides the white buffalo skins which are offered in sacrifice and hung on poles, there are, in the vicinity of the villages of the Mandans and Manitaries, other strange figures on high poles, as represented in Plate XXV. These figures are composed of skin, grass, and twigs, which, it seems, represent the sun and moon, perhaps, also, the lord of life, and the first man. The Indians resort to them when they wish to petition for anything, and sometimes howl and lament for days and weeks together.

796 The Mandans have several medicine festivals, of which the Okippe, or the penitential ceremony of the ark, is by far the most remarkable. It is celebrated in the spring or summer, and I regret to say that I cannot describe it as an eye-witness. I am, however, enabled to give a circumstantial description of it, word for word, as it was communicated to me by men initiated in the mysteries of the nation.*

* The author refers to a letter on this subject, written by Mr. Catlin, and published in a New York paper; but this is by no means so complete as that given in his valuable work published last year.—*Translator's Note.*

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Numank-Machana, the first man, ordered the Numangkake to celebrate this medicine feast every year. When the village has fixed the time for this festivity, they choose a man of distinction, in whom confidence can be placed, who must put himself at the head, and direct the ceremonies. In the year 1834 Mato-Topé was chosen. He is called Kani-Sachka. This man then causes the medicine lodge to be prepared and cleaned before the appointed time, and wood and other necessaries to be provided. 796

First day of the Okippe.—At sunset the Kani-Sachka goes into the lodge, and begins the fast, which continues four days. With him are six men, who are to strike what is called the tortoise, a vessel or sack made of parchment, and filled with water. Three of the men must strike in the direction of the river downwards, and three in the direction upwards. They strike the tortoise during the whole night. Before sunrise a man representing the Numank-Machana, or the first man, arrives. He dresses himself in the medicine lodge in the following manner: round his body he fastens a wolf's skin, on his head, raven's feathers, in his arms he carries the medicine pipe, and in his robe a portion of pemmican. His face is painted red, and on the small of the back he binds a piece of wood, to which the tail of a buffalo cow is fastened. Dressed in this manner, he goes early in the morning of the first day of the festival, and sings on the open space in the centre. All kinds of valuable articles, such as guns, robes, blankets, &c., are thrown towards him, of which he afterwards takes possession, while on his part he distributes pemmican among the people. He then returns to the medicine lodge, but is not at that time permitted to speak a word. The most eminent men of the nation now come to the lodge, address the first man as their uncle, and say, "Well, uncle, how did you fare in the villages? How did you find them? Were you well received?" To which he replies, "Very well, nephew. I have not once lowered my pipe to the ground." By which he means to say that he has received ample presents, and offerings of all kinds have been hung upon his pipe. He then says, "I have seen a great many buffaloes feeding in the prairie and drinking at the river; they are very abundant everywhere." These were the houses; but he means to intimate that, by the medicine of this day, the buffaloes will be attracted in great numbers. All those who intend to submit their bodies to a penance or certain tortures, in order to render themselves acceptable to the lord of life and the first man, come to the medicine lodge early in the morning. Their number is, of course, uncertain; sometimes many present themselves, at other times only a few. They are smeared all over with white clay, with no other covering besides their robes, with the hairy side outwards, and drawn over their heads, so that the face is covered, and they are quite wrapped up in them. In the medicine lodge they lay aside their robes. On the first day of the feast they go four times, wrapped up as before described, and dance around the ark, which stands in the centre of the open space. The Kani-Sachka remains during all this time moaning and leaning against the ark. All

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796 this is done in the forenoon. In the afternoon all is silent, and neither dance nor procession takes place.

SECOND DAY OF THE OKIPPE.—On the second day, early in the morning, eight men appear, who represent buffalo bulls. They are naked, wearing only an apron of blue and white striped woollen cloth. Their body is painted black in front, with two red perpendicular stripes like the facings of a military uniform, and with several white transverse stripes looking like lace or bands. The fore arm and ankles are alternately striped white and red. In their hands they carry a fan of green willow twigs, and on their back a buffalo robe, the head of which, with the long hair on the forehead, hangs over the face. To the middle of the robe a single buffalo horn is fastened, while at the head and loins green willow branches are appended. The eight buffalo bulls put on this fantastic dress in the lodge, and, when this is done, march out two abreast in an inclined posture, extending their robes with outspread hands, and holding the willow fans upright. In this manner they dance up to the ark, where they divide, four going to the left and four to the right round the space. They again join opposite the medicine lodge, and then return as before to the ark, where they continue to dance. When they are opposite to each other they stand upright and imitate the roaring of the buffalo. As soon as this dance begins, the six tortoise strikers bring their instrument from the centre of the lodge, and place it near the ark in an easterly direction, striking it, and singing a certain song which is said to be a prayer. The Kani-Sachka stands, with his head bowed, leaning on the ark, directly opposite the tortoise, and moans without ceasing. He is quite naked except an apron of buffalo skin. His whole body is bedaubed with yellow, and on his forehead he has a wreath of bleached buffalo hair or wool hanging over the eyes. The eight buffalo bulls form a ring and dance round him, covering him with their robes; they dance in like manner to the tortoise, and next go to the door of the medicine lodge, where they make a kind of covered way with their robes, beneath which the tortoise is conveyed into the lodge. The whole ceremony is repeated eight times on this day, four times in the morning and four times in the afternoon.

THIRD DAY OF THE OKIPPE.—The same masks as yesterday dance on this day twelve times, and are prohibited from either eating or drinking. A number of other masks join them. 1. Two men, dressed like women, who dance in this costume, keeping by the side of the eight buffalo bulls. They wear clothes of bighorn leather, women's leggins (mitasses), the robes having the hair outwards. Their cheeks are painted red, their chins tattooed, and their heads adorned with glass beads, as is the custom among the women. 2. Two other men represent a couple of swans; they are naked, carry a swan's tail in their hand, are painted all over white, only the nose, mouth (representing the bill), and the lower part of the legs and feet, black. 3. A couple of rattlesnakes; the back is painted with black transverse stripes, in imitation of those

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animals, the front of the body yellowish; a black line is drawn from each eye down the cheeks, and in each hand they carry a bunch of wormwood. 4. One man represents the evil spirit; he is conducted by two men of the village to the river, where he is dressed and painted; his entire body is painted black, and, as soon as this is done, he is not permitted to speak a word. They put on his head a cap, with a black cock's-comb; he likewise wears a mask, with white wooden rings left for the opening round the eyes. They then make for him large teeth of cotton yarn, paint the sun upon his stomach, the crescent upon his back, and on each joint of the arms and legs, a white circle; they then put on a buffalo's tail, and place a small stick in his hand, with a ball, made of skin, at the end, to which a scalp, painted red on the under side, is fastened. The ball represents the head of an enemy. When this monster is completed, they let him loose, and he runs, like one possessed, about the prairie, comes into the village, gets upon the huts, one after the other, and prys into every corner, while the inhabitants throw out to him all kinds of valuable articles as presents. As soon as he perceives this he turns towards the sun, and intimates to it, by signs, how well he is treated, and that it is foolish of it (the sun) to keep at so great a distance. He goes about and looks on the people's heads for vermin, and, if he finds any, he pretends to be very happy, and runs about with great rapidity. The Indians are very much afraid of the devil, for which reason this part cannot be assigned to anybody; but he who wishes to perform it must offer himself. My informant added that this medicine feast was once celebrated on the banks of Heart River, where the Mandans then resided, and the man who had undertaken this part was conducted into the river. When his clothes were taken off, in order to paint and dress him, he appeared very uneasy, and required to be let loose; and when this was done he seemed as one possessed by the evil spirit, and ran, with the velocity of an arrow, on the hills and about the plain. His two attendants were alarmed, and pursued him to the village, but the new demon darted past them, leaped over the high fence of the village, jumped down into the huts, and again made his egress, and then ran to the river; this now convinced them that he was possessed. It cost the inhabitants much trouble to catch and wash him, but he trembled like an aspen leaf, wrapped himself in his robe, and continued in this condition for the remainder of his life without ever speaking a word.* While the devil is walking about, the other masks continue dancing, and

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* When these Indians fast for three or four days together, they dream very frequently of the devil, and, in this case, they believe that they have not long to live. The narrator had once fasted for a long time at this festival, and suffered himself to be hung up by the back. During the night he dreamed of the devil, who appeared far more frightful and taller than he could ever be represented. His plume of feathers reached to the clouds, and he ran about as quick as lightning. On several other occasions he dreamed of this devil, but now he is resolved not to fast any more, that he might not die prematurely. He added, that he had often looked without apprehension, and with pleasure, on the mask representing the devil; but he now regarded the matter in a different light, for, the more he thought of him, the taller and the more frightful did he appear to him, and, under these circumstances, the spirit had been very near him, and, if he had but once touched him, he certainly should have been dead already.

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796 act in conformity with their parts, endeavouring to imitate the natural attitudes of the animals they represent. 5. Two men, representing white-headed eagles, are painted of a dark brown colour; the head, neck, fore arm and hands, and the lower part of the legs, are white; they carry a stick in their hands, and their business is to pursue the antelopes. 6. Are two beavers; they wear the robe with the hairy side outwards, have a piece of parchment, resembling a beaver's tail, fastened to their girdle, and are painted brown. 7. Are two birds of prey; their shoulders are blue, the breast yellowish and spotted; they have feathers on their heads, and the feet of birds of prey in their hands. 8. Are two or four bears (mato), wrapped in bears' skins, with the head and claws, which cover their head and their whole body; they generally walk in a stooping attitude about the dancers, and growl like those animals. 9. Two men represent the dried meat, which is cut in small strips. They wear a cap of white hare skin; their body is painted with zig-zag stripes; round the waist they have a girdle of green boughs, and they dance with the others. 10. Forty or fifty Indians of different ages perform the part of antelopes; they are painted red on the back, the rest of the body and limbs are white, the nose and mouth black; they carry small sticks, and run about very swiftly. 11. Two men personate the night; they are naked, painted quite black, with white stars; on their backs they have the setting moon, and on their breast the rising sun; they are not allowed to sit, during the whole day, till the sun has set: they then sit down and must not rise till the next morning. 12. Are one or two wolves; they are painted white, wear a wolf's skin, and pursue the antelopes, which fly before them: if they catch one, the bears come and take it from them and devour it. All these animals imitate the originals to the best of their power. 13. Two prairie wolves; the tops of their heads are painted white, their faces yellowish-brown; they wear dry herbs in their hair, and carry in their hands a stick, painted with reddish-brown stripes, and run in the prairie before the other animals when they leave the village. Almost all these animals are said to have different songs, with words, [424] which the uninitiated do not understand; they sometimes practise these songs for a whole summer, and are frequently obliged to pay a high price for instruction. Originally there were only ten masks at this festival. The white-headed eagles, the beavers, and the prairie wolves, are a modern addition, and no part of the true ancient observances of it. When all these animals come together they fight with each other, and perform all sorts of antics. Every animal acts according to its natural character; the beavers strike with their tails, making a loud clapping noise; the buffaloes roll and wallow in the sand; the bears strike with their paws, &c.

796 785 304 During all these masquerade dances, the penitents have remained three entire days in the medicine lodge, where they have fasted and thirsted, sitting perfectly still and quiet. On the afternoon of that day, the persons of the ten masks also meet in the medicine lodge, and all together then leave this place. The penitents lie down on their bellies, in a circle round the ark, at some distance from it; the masks dance among them and over them, to the sound of

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the schischikué. Some already begin to suffer the tortures: they give a gun, a blanket, or some other article of value, to an eminent person, to inflict the tortures on them. During this time the Kani-Sachka has been moaning, and leaning on the ark. The tortures of the penitents now begin. In many of them strips of skin and flesh are cut from the breast, or the arms, and on the back, but in such a manner that they remain fast at both ends. A strap is then passed under them, and the sufferers are thrown over the declivity of the bank, where they remain suspended in the air; others have a strap drawn through the wound, to which the head of a buffalo is fastened, and they are obliged to drag this heavy weight about; others have themselves suspended by the muscles of the back; others have joints of their fingers cut off; others, again, are lifted up by the flesh, which is cut across the stomach, or have some heavy body suspended to the muscles, which have been cut and loosened, and other similar tortures. Those who have been tortured on this day return directly to their huts; but those who can bear to fast longer do not submit themselves to the torture till the fourth day.

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Fourth day of the Okippe.—All those who have endured fasting for four days are now assembled in the medicine lodge. Such as feel themselves faint beg that the dancing may begin early. Accordingly, the masquerade, and the dances performed yesterday, begin at daybreak. They dance on this day sixteen times—eight times in the morning, and eight times in the afternoon. The candidates for the torture are cut about two o'clock in the afternoon; and when they have suffered to the utmost of their power, a large circle is formed; two men, who have no part in the festival, take one of the penitents between them, hold him by the hand, and the whole circle moves round with the greatest rapidity. The Kani-Sachka is likewise treated in this manner. The famished and tortured penitents, for the most part, soon fall down, and many faint away, but no regard is paid to this; they are dragged and pulled about as long as they can possibly bear it; they are then let loose, and remain stretched on the ground as if dead. The eight buffalo bulls now come forward to execute their last dance. Meantime, Numank-Machana (the first man) stands on one side of the place, and invites the inhabitants to assemble. The men come on foot and on horseback, with their bows and arrows: the arrows are adorned with green leaves at the wooden points; and, when the eight buffaloes have approached, dancing, the first man, and been repulsed by him, they are shot at from all sides, fall, roll on the ground, and then lie still as if dead. The first man then invites the inhabitants to take the flesh of the buffaloes. The latter, whose robes have already fallen off, rise, and retire into the medicine lodge. Then the dancers divide into two parties, extend their arms and legs, strike themselves on the stomach, exclaiming that they feel themselves strong; some, that they will kill enemies; others, that they will slay many buffaloes, &c. They then retire, take food, and rest themselves, and the festival is concluded.

The wounds that have been inflicted on this occasion are now healed, but they remain visible

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796 785 304 during the whole life, like thick swollen weals. This is to be observed in a much higher degree among the Manitaries than among the Mandans; the former seem to submit to much more severe tortures. The buffalo skulls, which these Indians have dragged about with much pain, are preserved in their huts, where they are everywhere to be seen, to be handed down from the father to the children. Many such heads are looked upon by them as medicine; they are kept in the huts, and sometimes the Indians stroke them over the nose, and set food before them. In general, the buffalo is a medicine animal, and more or less sacred.

796 837 Another very remarkable medicine festival is that for attracting the herds of buffaloes, which is usually celebrated in the autumn, or winter. I shall describe this festival, as an eye-witnes s among the Manitaries, where it is observed precisely in the same manner as among the Mandans. At this festival they leave their wives to the older men, and individual Indians do the same on certain occasions, when they desire to ask good wishes for the attainment of some object they have in view. A man, in such a case, goes, with his pipe, and accompanied by his wife, who wears no clothes except her buffalo robe, to another hut. The wife carries a dish of boiled maize, which she sets down before a third person, and the man does the same with his pipe. The woman then passes the palm of her hand down the whole arm of the person favoured in this manner, takes him by the hand, and he must follow her to a retired spot, generally to the forest surrounding the huts in the winter time; after which she returns and repeats the same process, often with eight or ten men. As soon as the man so favoured has resumed his seat, the person who asks his good wishes presents his pipe to him that he may smoke; whereupon he expresses his best wishes for the success of the undertaking or project in hand. By way of returning thanks, his arm is again stroked.

796 773 A third medicine feast is that described by Say, by the name of the corn dance of the Manitaries. He is pretty correct in his account of it, and it is used as well among the Mandans as the Manitaries. It is a consecration of the grain to be sown, and is called the corn dance feast of the women. The old woman who never dies sends, in the spring, the water-fowl, swans, geese, and ducks, as symbols of the kinds of grain cultivated by the Indians. The wild goose signifies maize; the swan, the gourd; and the duck, beans. It is the old woman that causes these plants to grow, and, therefore, she sends these birds as her signs and representatives. It is very seldom that eleven wild geese are found together in the spring; but, if it happens, this is a sign that the crop of maize will be remarkably fine. The Indians keep a large quantity of dried flesh in readiness for the time in the spring when the birds arrive, that they may immediately celebrate the corn feast of the women. They hang the meat, before the village, on long stages made of poles, three or four rows, one above another, and this, with various articles of value, is considered as an offering to the old woman. The elderly females, as representatives of the old woman who never dies, assemble on a certain day about the stages, carrying a stick in their hands, to one

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end of which a head of maize is fastened. Sitting down in a circle, they plant their sticks in the ground before them, and then dance round the stages. Some old men beat the drum, and rattle the schischikué. The maize is not wetted or sprinkled, as many believe, but, on the contrary, it is supposed that such a practice would be injurious. While the old women are performing these ceremonies, the younger ones come and put some dry pulverized meat into their mouths, for which each of them receives, in return, a grain of the consecrated maize, which she eats. Three or four grains are put into their dish, and are afterwards carefully mixed with the seed to be sown, in order to make it thrive and yield an abundant crop. The dried flesh on the stages is the perquisite of the aged females, as the representatives of the old woman who never dies. During the ceremony, it is not unusual for some men of the band of dogs to come and pull a large piece of flesh from the poles, and carry it off. As members of this band, and being men of distinction, no opposition can be offered.

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A similar corn feast is repeated in the autumn, but at that season it is held for the purpose of attracting the herds of buffaloes, and of obtaining a large supply of meat. Each woman then has not a stick with a head of maize, as in the former instance, but a whole plant of that grain, pulled up by the roots. They designate the maize as well as the birds, which are the symbols of the fruits of the earth, by the name of the old woman who never dies, and call upon them in the autumn, saying—"Mother, have pity on us; do not send the severe cold too soon, so that we may have a sufficient supply of meat; do not permit all the game to go away, so that we may have something for the winter."

In autumn, when the birds emigrate to the south, or, as the Indians express it, return to the old woman, they believe that they take with them the presents—especially the dried flesh—that were hung up at the entrance of the village, for the giver and protectress of the crop. They further imagine that the old woman partakes of the flesh. Some poor females among these Indians, who are not able to offer flesh or any valuable gift, take a piece of parchment, in which they wrap the foot of a buffalo, and suspend it to one of the poles as their offering. The birds on their return, go to the old woman, each bringing something from the Indians; but, towards the end, one approaches, and says—"I have very little to give you, for I have received only a very mean gift." To this, the old woman, on receiving the buffalo's foot from the poor women, or widows, says—"This is just what I love; this poor offering is more dear to me than all the other presents, however costly." Upon this she boils a piece of the foot with some maize, and eats it with much satisfaction.

The old woman who never dies has very extensive plantations of maize, the keepers of which are the great stag and the white-tailed stag. She has, likewise, many blackbirds, which help to guard her property. When she intends to feed these keepers, she summons them, and they fall with avidity upon the maize fields. As these plantations are very large, she requires many

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773 labourers, and the mouse, the mole, and the before-mentioned stags, perform the work. The birds, which fly from the sea-shore in the spring, represent the old woman, who then travels to the north to visit "the old man who never dies," and who always resides in that quarter. She does not, however, stop there long, but generally returns in three or four days. In former times, the old woman's hut was near the little Missouri, where the Indians often went to visit her. One day, twelve Manitaries came to her, and she set before them a pot of maize, which was so small, that it was not sufficient to satisfy even one; but she invited them to eat, and, as soon as the pot was empty, it was instantly refilled, and all the twelve men had enough. This occurred several times while the old woman resided in that spot.

773 Serpents, especially the rattlesnakes, are in a greater or less degree "medicine" for these
755 people, who kill them, and cut off the rattles, which they regard as an effectual remedy in many
[825] diseases. They chew one of the joints, and wet various parts of the body of the patient with
778 the saliva. They likewise believe in the existence of a colossal medicine serpent, which lives in a lake three or four days' journey from this place, and to which they make offerings. The following is their tradition of this monster:—Two young men were strolling along the bank of the river, and observed a cavern, through which curiosity led them to go. On reaching the further end, they were surprised at beholding a picturesque country, wholly unknown to them, where numerous herds of buffaloes were grazing. Suddenly, however, an immense giant stood before them, who demanded—"Who are you, you little people? I am afraid, if I were to lay hold of you, I should crush you!" He then lifted them in his hands very carefully, and carried them into the village, which was inhabited by giants like himself. Accompanied by the two Mandans, they went out to hunt buffaloes. The giants killed the buffaloes by throwing stones, but the Mandans destroyed many with their arrows, which greatly delighted the giants. At that time the giants were at war with the eagles, which were very numerous, and which they slew by flinging stones. The Mandans, however, shot them with arrows, so that they speedily procured a large quantity of eagles' feathers. They then took leave of the giants, and were permitted to depart with all their valuable feathers. On their return they found the cave blocked up by a colossal serpent. At first they were at a loss how to make a passage, but they soon collected a large pile of wood and burnt the monster. One of them tasted the roasted flesh of the serpent, and, finding it palatable, partook of more. They proceeded on their way, when the head of the Mandan who had tasted the serpent's flesh began to swell prodigiously, and an intolerable itching came over his face. He begged his friend not to leave him, but to take him home. On the second day he continued to swell, increased in length, felt an irritation all over, and
773 was soon afterwards transformed into a serpent, upon which he begged his companion to take
778 him to the Missouri, which the latter accomplished in three days. As soon as the serpent reached the water, he dived, but speedily rose to the surface, and said, "There are many like me below, but

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they hate me, therefore carry me to the long water, three days' journey from the Missouri." This, too, was done, but the serpent not liking his new abode, his comrade was obliged to carry him to a second lake, called Histoppa-Numangka (the place of the tattooed countenance), when the serpent was satisfied, and resolved to remain. He commissioned the young man to bring him four things, viz. a white wolf, a polecat, some pounded maize, and eagles' tails: after this he was to go to war four times, and kill an enemy in each combat. All this accordingly took place. The serpent then added that he would always remain in this lake, never die, be medicine, and, when the Mandans desired anything, they might come hither, do penance, or make offerings, that is to say, hang robes, eagles' tails, and other articles of value, on poles on the banks of the lake, which the Indians sometimes do even to this day. 773 778

Another curiosity of a similar nature is the Medicine Stone, which is mentioned by Lewis and Clarke, and which the Manitaries likewise reverence. This stone is between two and three days' journey from the villages on Cannon-ball River, and about 100 paces from its banks. I was assured that it was on a tolerably high hill, and in the form of a flat slab, probably of sandstone. The stone is described as being marked with impressions of the footsteps of men, and animals of various descriptions, also of sledges with dogs. The Indians use this stone as an oracle, and make offerings of value to it, such as kettles, blankets, cloth, guns, knives, hatchets, medicine pipes, &c., which are found deposited close to it. The war parties of both nations, when they take the field, generally go to this place, and consult the oracle as to the issue of their enterprise. Lamenting and howling, they approach the hill, smoke their medicine pipes, and pass the night near the spot. On the following morning they copy the figures on the stone upon a piece of parchment or skin, which they take to the village, where the old men give the interpretations. New figures are undoubtedly drawn from time to time on this stone, near to which the celebrated ark, in which part of the nation was saved in the great deluge, formerly stood. 787 778

The Mandans have many other medicine establishments in the vicinity of their villages, all of which are dedicated to the superior powers. Mr. Bodmer has made very accurate drawings of those near Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, one of which consists of four poles placed in the form of a square; the two foremost have a heap of earth and green turf thrown up round them, and four buffalo skulls laid in a line between them, while twenty-six human skulls are placed in a row from one of the stakes at the back to the other; some of these skulls are painted with a red stripe. Behind the whole a couple of knives are stuck into the ground, and a bundle of twigs is fastened at the top of the poles with a kind of comb, or the teeth of a rake, painted red (Vignette XIV). The Indians repair to such places when they desire to make offerings or put up petitions; they howl, lament, and make loud entreaties, often for many days together, to the lord of life, which the French Canadians call weeping, though no tears are shed. A similar medicine establishment is represented in Plate XXV., where a couple of human figures, very clumsily made of skins, 778 782

778 were fixed upon poles, representing, as we were told, the sun and moon, probably the lord of life
782 and the old woman who never dies. Wormwood, of which they generally fasten a bunch to the poles, is a sacred medicine herb, to which they ascribe various effects.

Dreams, as I have before said, afford the usual motives for such actions, and for the
787 penances which they impose upon themselves, and they believe all that appears in their dreams
782 to be true. They were not yet acquainted with fire-arms, when one of the Indians dreamt
789 of a weapon with which they could kill their enemies at a great distance, and soon afterwards the white men brought them the first gun. In the same manner they dreamt of horses
304 before they obtained any. Even the Whites who live among them are infected with this belief in dreams, and other superstitions. They frequently promise, on undertaking anything, the joint of a finger, which they cut off at once, and keep in a handful of wormwood; this I myself saw among the Blackfeet, where, at that time, it was a sign of mourning. It is also done at the time of the Okippe in May and June. Almost all the Mandans and Manitaries have lost one or two joints of the fingers, and several of them more. There are numerous superstitious ideas and prejudices among these Indians. Thus, they believe that a person to whom they wish ill must die, if they make a figure of wood or clay, substituting for the heart, a needle, an awl, or a porcupine quill, and bury the image at the foot of one of their medicine poles. When a child is born, the father must not bridle a horse, that is to say, he is not to fasten the halter to the lower jaw, otherwise the child would die in convulsions. If the wife be pregnant, this circumstance is often the cause of much ill fortune to the husband, and he is frequently unsuccessful in hunting. If an Indian, in such cases, wounds a buffalo, without being able to kill it quickly, he endeavours to carry the heart of a buffalo home, and makes his wife discharge an arrow at
777 it; he then again feels confidence in his weapons, that they will speedily kill. The Indians affirm that a pregnant woman is very lucky at a game called billiards. Many consider it a bad omen when a woman, while several Mandans are smoking together, passes between them. If a woman is lying on the ground between the men who are smoking, a piece of wood is laid across her, to serve as a communication between the men. The strongest man now living among the
789 Mandans, who has been the victor in several wrestling matches with the Whites, always takes
555 hold of his pipe by the head, for, were he to touch it in another part, the blood would suddenly rush from his nostrils. As soon as he bleeds in this manner, he instantly empties his pipe, and throws the contents into the fire, where it explodes like gunpowder, and the bleeding immediately stops. Nobody, they say, can touch this man's face, without at once bleeding at the nose and mouth. A certain Indian affirms that, whenever another offers him a pipe to smoke, out of civility, he immediately has his mouth full of worms, handfuls of which he throws into the fire. The medicine of another man consists in making a snow-ball, which he rolls a long time between his hands, so that it at length becomes hard, and is converted into a white stone, which, when

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struck, emits fire. Many persons, even Whites, pretended they had seen this, and it is utterly useless to attempt convincing them to the contrary. The same man pretends that, during a dance, he plucked white feathers from a certain small bird, which he rolled between his hands, and formed of them, in a short time, a similar white stone. Sometimes an Indian takes it into his head to make his gun medicine, or to consecrate it, which he does not dare afterwards to part with. With this view he generally makes a yearly feast in the spring. The crier (kettle-tender, or marmiton) must invite a certain number of guests, and receive an equal number of small sticks, which he delivers to them, as a sign of their being invited; nay, now, European playing cards are actually sent round for this purpose. The guests appear, lay their guns aside, and take their places, on which the drum and schischikué go round, and every guest sings, and plays the drum and rattle. While this music is going on, they eat the food which has been dressed, nor are they allowed to leave any of it. The host then takes his gun, cuts a piece of flesh, and with it rubs the barrel, and flings the meat into the fire; this is repeated thrice. He then takes up some of the water in which the meat was boiled, rubs the whole length of the barrel with it, pours the rest of the broth into the fire; and, lastly, takes fat, with which he rubs the whole of his gun, and then throws the remainder into the fire. 789 556

A great many Mandans and Manitaries believe that they have wild animals in their body; one, for instance, affirmed he had a buffalo calf, the kicking of which he often felt; others said they had tortoises, frogs, lizards, birds, and so forth. Among the Manitaries we saw medicine dances of the women, where one pretended that she had a head of maize in her body, which she cast out by dancing, and then ate, after it had been mixed with wormwood. Another discharged blood, but of this we shall speak in the sequel. Similar feats are seen among the Mandans also. They likewise relate a number of foolish stories of miraculous and supernatural events. Thus, a girl refused to marry, and had no intercourse with the other sex. One night, while she was asleep, a man lay down by her side, on which she awoke, and saw him go away in a white buffalo robe. As he returned on the two succeeding nights, she resolved to mark him, and stained her hand with red. He appeared, and she gave him a blow, with her hand, on his back, not being able to hold him. On the following day she examined all the robes in the whole village, but could not find the mark of her hand, till at length she discovered it on the back of a large white dog. Some months after, as the Indians are fully persuaded, she was delivered of seven young dogs. The people consider owls as medicine birds, and pretend to hold conversations with them, and to understand their attitudes and voices; often, indeed, they keep these animals alive in their huts, and look upon them as soothsayers. I shall, subsequently, have occasion to speak of the manner in which they catch all kinds of birds of prey, which feed on the flesh of dead animals, particularly eagles, which they sometimes preserve alive. They frequently look upon them as medicine. 787 778

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778 Many instruments used by the Whites, especially mathematical, are a great medicine, or charm, in their eyes, because they do not comprehend the use of them. Thus, the Indian women were frequently embarrassed when we looked at them through a telescope, because they believed that we had the power of penetrating their inmost thoughts, and of discovering their past and future actions.

805 The division of time, especially that of the year into months, is pretty conformable to nature; they count the years by winters, and say so many winters have passed since such an event. They are able to reckon the winters either by numbers, or on their fingers, for their numerals are very complete.

1. The month of the seven cold days, answering to our January.
2. The pairing month—February.
3. The month of weak eyes—March.
4. The month of game. Some call it the month of the wild geese. It is likewise often called the month of the breaking-up of the ice.
5. The month in which maize is sown, or the month of flowers—May.
6. The month of ripe service berries.
7. The month of ripe cherries.
8. The month of ripe plums.
9. The month of ripe maize.
10. The month of the falling leaves.
11. The month in which the rivers freeze.
12. The month of slight frost.

Here and there other names are given to the months, but the above are the most common.

461 The chief occupations of the Indians, besides adorning and painting their persons, looking in
224 the glass, smoking, eating, and sleeping, are the chase and war, and these fill up a great part of their time. The principal beast of chase is the buffalo, or, rather, the buffalo cow. The men generally go hunting in a body, on horseback, in order to be the more secure against a superior
492 force of their enemies. The equipments of their horses are much like those of the Blackfeet, and their saddle resembles the Hungarian; though, now, they sometimes obtain saddles from the Whites, which they line and ornament with red and blue cloth. In riding, they never leave hold of their whip, the handle of which is made of wood, and not of elk's horn, as among the more
224 western nations. They never wear spurs. In the summer time, if the herds of buffaloes are dispersed to great distances in the prairie, the chase, of course, requires more time and exertion; but in winter, when they approach the Missouri, and seek shelter in the woods, a great number are

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often killed in a short time. Plate XXXI. gives a clear idea of this chase. On these hunting excursions the Indians often spend eight or ten days; generally they return on foot, while the horses are laden with the spoil. The buffaloes are usually shot with arrows, the hunters riding within ten or twelve paces of them. If it is very cold, and the buffaloes keep at a distance in the prairie (which happened in the winter of 1833-34), they hunt but little, and would rather suffer hunger, or live only on maize and beans, than use any exertion; and when, towards spring, many drowned buffaloes float down the river with the ice, the Indians swim or leap with great dexterity over the flakes of ice, draw the animals to land, and eat the half putrid flesh, without manifesting any signs of disgust. It is remarkable how instantly their famished dogs know and take advantage of the hunting excursions of their masters. When the horses return laden with the spoils of the chase, the children in the village utter a cry of joy, of which the dogs seem perfectly to understand the import, for they simultaneously set up a loud howl, run towards the prairie, the scene of the chase, and partake, with their relations, the wolves, what the hunters have left behind. When a hunter has killed an animal, he generally eats the liver, the kidneys, and the marrow of the large thigh bones, raw. If an Indian has procured some game he usually shares it with others. The entrails and skin always belong to the person who shot the animal. If an eminent man, who has performed some exploit, comes up when the animal has been just killed, and demands the tongue, or some other good part, it cannot be refused him. Dogs are not employed in hunting by the Mandans and Manitaries. They shoot deer and elks in the forests, antelopes and bighorns in the prairies, the Black Hills, and the neighbouring mountains. They make parks, as they are called, to catch antelopes, but not buffaloes. Brackenridge says, that the Indians drive the antelopes into the water and kill them with clubs; but this can only have happened in isolated cases, when some accident gave them the opportunity. The Manitaries make these cabri parks more frequently than the Mandans. They choose a valley, between two hills, which ends in a steep declivity. On the summit of the hills, two converging lines, one or two miles in length, are marked out with brushwood. Below the declivity they erect a kind of fence, fifteen or twenty paces in length, composed of poles, covered and filled up with hay and brushwood. A number of horsemen then drive the cabris between the ends of the lines marked out by the brushwood, which are very distant from each other, and ride rapidly towards them. The terrified animals hasten down the hollow, and at length leap into the enclosure, where they are killed with clubs, or taken alive. There are not many bears in this country; and the Indians are not fond of hunting them, because it is often dangerous, and the flesh, when roasted, is not very good. Brackenridge is mistaken when he says, that these Indians always shout before they enter the forest, in order to frighten the bears. If they did so they would, at the same time, frighten all other kinds of animals, and we see at once, from this statement, that that traveller was no sportsman.

224 The wolf and the fox are sometimes shot with a gun, as well as the white hare, in the winter time, or they are caught in traps. They set for the wolves very strong traps. The prairie wolf is not easily caught, being very cautious. Foxes are caught in small traps, which are covered with brushwood and buffaloes' skulls, to conceal them. Many such traps are seen everywhere in the prairies, which are surrounded with small stakes, that the animals may not enter them sideways. Beavers are now caught, in great numbers, in iron traps, which they procure from the Whites. Small animals, such as the ermine, are caught with horsehair springes, set before
223 their burrows. The manner in which birds of prey are caught is said to be very remarkable. The birdcatcher lies down at full length in a narrow pit made on purpose, and exactly large enough to hold him. As soon as he has lain down, the pit is covered with brushwood and hay, pieces of meat are laid upon it, and a crow, or some such bird, fastened to it. The eagle, or other bird of prey, is said to descend, and to sit down, in order to eat, on which the birdcatcher seizes it by the legs. I would not believe this had not men worthy of credit given me their word for it. In this manner they catch the eagle, called, by the English, the war-eagle, and the golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*), the Quilion, or *oiseau de medicine*, of the Canadians, which I was not so fortunate as to meet with, and which they highly value, as I have already stated.

721 Next to the chase, war is the chief employment of the Indians, and military glory the highest object of their ambition. It is well known that Indian bravery is very different from that of the Whites; for wilfully to expose themselves to the enemy's fire would, in their eyes, not be bravery, but folly. Cunning and stratagem give them the advantage over the enemy; their strength lies in concealing their march, and surprises at daybreak. He who kills many enemies without sustaining any loss is the best warrior.

721 When a young man desires to establish his reputation in the field, he fasts for four or seven days, as long as his strength permits him, goes alone to the hills, complains and cries to
787 the lord of life, calls incessantly to the higher powers for their aid, and only goes home, some-
555 times, in the evening, to sleep. A dream suggests his medicine to him. If the lord of life makes him dream of a piece of cherry-tree wood, or of an animal, it is a good omen. The young men who take the field with him have then confidence in his medicine. If he can perform an exploit his reputation is established. But whatever exploits he may perform, he acquires no respect if he does not make valuable presents; and they say of him, "He has indeed performed many exploits, but yet he is as much to be pitied as those whom he has killed." A man may have performed many exploits, and yet not be allowed to wear tufts of hair on his clothes, unless he carries a medicine pipe, and has been the leader of a war party. When a young man, who has never performed an exploit, is the first to kill an enemy on a warlike expedition, he
721 paints a spiral line round his arm, of whatever colour he pleases, and he may then wear a
555 whole wolf's tail at the ankle or heel of one foot. If he has first killed and touched the

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enemy he paints a line running obliquely round the arm, and another crossing it in the opposite direction, with three transverse stripes. On killing the second enemy he paints his left leg (that is, the leggin) of a reddish-brown. If he kills the second enemy before another is killed by his comrades, he may wear two entire wolves' tails at his heels. On his third exploit he paints two longitudinal stripes on his arms, and three transverse stripes. This is the exploit that is esteemed the highest; after the third exploit no more marks are made. If he kills an enemy after others of the party have done the same, he may wear on his heel one wolf's tail, the tip of which is cut off. In every numerous war party there are four leaders (partisans, karokkanakah), sometimes seven, but only four are reckoned as the real partisans; the others are called bad partisans (karokkanakah-chakohosch, literally, *partisans galeux*). All partisans carry on their backs a medicine pipe in a case, which other warriors dare not have. To become a chief (Numakschi) a man must have been a partisan, and then kill an enemy when he is not a partisan. If he follows another partisan for the second time, he must have first discovered the enemy, have killed one, and then possessed the hide of a white buffalo cow complete, with the horns, to pretend to the title of chief (Numakschi). Dipauch, who related these particulars, had himself done all these, and was an eminent man among his people, but had never assumed that title. He had given five horses for his white buffalo hide. All the warriors wear small war pipes round their necks, which are often very elegantly ornamented with porcupine quills (Plate XXI. Fig. 9, and Plate XLVIII. Fig. 14).

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As soon as they advance to attack the enemy every one sounds his pipe, and all together utter the war whoop, a shrill cry, which they render tremulous by repeatedly and suddenly striking the mouth with the hand. Those who fast and dream, in order to perform an exploit, are entitled to wear a wolf's skin. A warrior has a right to wear as many eagle's feathers as he has performed exploits. All Indians, on their military expeditions, erect, in the evening, a sort of fort, in which they are, in some measure, secure against a sudden attack. In Major Long's expedition to the Rocky Mountains, it is stated, that they often make *caches* (hiding-places) in these forts; but we did not observe any such on the Missouri. The Indians, on their expeditions, always set a watch by night as soon as they are near the enemy, and often send out scouts to considerable distances. At such a post the Indians are very vigilant and active; after an engagement they do not bury the dead, but, if they have not time to carry them away, leave them on the spot where they fell. The scalps, called, by the Canadians, *les chevelures*, are often preserved for a long time stretched upon small hoops, and the hair is afterwards used as an ornament to the dress of the men. The skin of the scalp is generally painted red. The Mandans, Manitaries, and Crows, never torture their prisoners like the Pawnees and the eastern nations. When a prisoner has arrived at the village, and eaten maize, he is considered as one of their own nation, and no person ever thinks of molesting him. Often, however, the women hasten out to meet

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72) the prisoners ere they can reach the village, and kill them; this is especially an act of revenge for
727 their husbands or sons who may have fallen in the battle.

When a young man desires to become a leader, or partisan, he first gains, by gifts, the favour
721 of the other young men, and then dedicates a medicine pipe, which is a plain, unornamented
555 tube. This ceremony is accomplished by a four days' fast, and supplications for assistance to the lord of life, the first man, &c. &c., and other supernatural beings. He then addresses the young men, and calls upon them to give him their support in his undertakings. If a sufficient number testify their readiness to accompany him in a warlike expedition, and such an expedition is determined upon, they dance and feast in the medicine lodge for several successive nights, from whence, too, they generally march off by night. The women never accompany these expeditions. On setting out the men are badly clothed, and not painted. They do not depart in a body, but, for the most part, singly, or in small detatched parties. At a certain distance from the village they halt upon an isolated hill, open their medicine bags, and, after the men have sat down in a
[787] circle, the partisan produces his medicine pipe, which all present smoke; the person who smokes last, then spreads his medicines on the ground, or hangs them up, and from them foretels the fate of the expedition. The Indians manifest much gravity and decorum on solemn occasions like these.

727 When the warriors return from their expedition, the scalps are carried on in advance, on
535 high poles: if they have performed any exploits, they paint their faces black; very frequently the whole body is thus disfigured. The women and children go out to meet them, and they enter the village performing the scalp dance. This dance is then repeated four successive nights in the medicine lodge, and is subsequently danced in the open space, in the centre of the village. If the campaign took place in the spring, it is danced, at intervals, till the fall of the leaf in autumn; if in the autumn, it is danced till spring, but should any of the nation be killed in the interim all festivities immediately cease. In the scalp dance the Indians paint themselves in various ways, form a semicircle, advance, and retreat amid the din of singing, the beating of the drum and schischikué. The wives of those men who have obtained the scalps carry them on long rods.

555 All the distinguished deeds performed by a war party are placed to the account of the partisan. All the scalps that are taken belong to him, and also the horses that they have captured. He who has killed an enemy is a brave man, and reckons one exploit; but the partisan rises the highest on that account, even though he had not seen any of the enemies who have been slain. When he returns home, the old men and women meet, and sing the scalp song, on which he must make them all presents of value. He gives away all the captured horses, and valuable articles, and is afterwards a poor man, but his reputation is great. Successful partisans afterwards become chiefs, and are highly respected by their nation. The Indian youths go to war when they are only fourteen or fifteen years of age. Sometimes they make excursions on horseback in the winter.

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The Mandans and Manitaries make excursions as far as the Rocky Mountains, against their enemies, the Blackfeet, and against the Chippeways, to the country of Pembina. Their other enemies are the Sioux, the Arikkaras, the Assiniboins, and the Chayennes (spelt, by the English, Shiennes). They are at peace with the Crows. 721

The weapons of the Mandans and Manitaries are, first, the bow and arrow. The bows are made of elm or ash, there being no other suitable kinds of wood in their country. In form and size they resemble those of the other nations; the string is made of the sinews of animals twisted. They are frequently ornamented. A piece of red cloth, four or five inches long, is wound round each end of the bow, and adorned with glass beads, dyed porcupine quills, and strips of white ermine. A tuft of horsehair, dyed yellow, is usually fastened to one end of the bow. Pehriska-Ruhpa, in Plate XXIII., has such a weapon in his hand. The quiver, to which the bow-case is fastened, is made of panther or buffalo skin; in the first case, with the hair outwards, the long tail hanging down, and, as among the Blackfeet, lined with red cloth, and embroidered in various figures with white beads. Their handsome quivers are made of otter skin, which are much esteemed. A very beautifully ornamented one, belonging to the Crows, is represented in Plate XLVIII. Fig. 16. Narrow strips of skin hang down at both ends of the quiver. The arrows of the Mandans and Manitaries are neatly made; the best wood is said to be that of the service berry *(Amelanchier sanguinea)*. The arrows of all the Missouri nations are much alike,* with long, triangular, very sharp, iron heads, which they themselves make out of old iron: it is but slightly glued to the shaft of the arrow, which is rather short, and generally remains in the body of the wounded animal. They know nothing of poisoning their arrows. The arrow-heads were formerly made of sharp stones: when Charbonneau first came to the Missouri, some made of flint were in use, and in the villages they are still met with, and in all those parts of the United States where the expelled or extirpated aborigines formerly dwelt. We were told that, in the prairie, near the Manitari villages, there is a sand hill, where the wind has uncovered a great number of such stone arrow-heads. Almost all the Mandans and Manitaries now have guns, which they ornament with bits of red cloth, on the brass rings of the ramrod, and at the but-end 411 [824]

* Though all their arrows appear, at first sight, to be perfectly alike, there is a great difference in the manner in which they are made. Of all the tribes of the Missouri the Mandans are said to make the neatest and most solid arrows. The iron heads are thick and solid, the feathers glued on, and the part just below the head, and the lower end, are wound round with very even, extremely thin sinews of animals. They all have, in their whole length, a spiral line, either carved or painted red, which is to represent the lightning. The Manitaries make the iron heads thinner, and not so well. They do not glue on the feathers, but only tie them on at both ends, like the Brazilians. The Assiniboins frequently have very thin and indifferent heads to their arrows, made of iron-plate. Mr. Say (Major Long's Expedition) says, that the arrow-wood (viburnum) is used for their arrows by the Indians on the Lower Missouri and the neighbouring prairies. I conjecture that this shrub is the alnier (*Cratægus terminalis*) of the Upper Missouri, which is sometimes used for bows, but very seldom for arrows. [824]

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411 with brass nails. Besides the ramrod belonging to the gun, the Indians always carry another long ramrod in their hand, which they generally use. The pouch is made of leather, or cloth, often beautifully ornamented with beads, or porcupine quills, and is hung on the back by a piece of skin, or a broad strip of cloth of some lively colour. Their clubs and tomahawks are of various kinds. Many have a thick egg-shaped stone fastened to a handle, covered with leather, or without leather. (See the woodcut).

Others have small iron tomahawks (see portrait of Mato-Topé, Plate XIV.), but not tomahawks with pipes fixed to them. The large club with the broad iron point (Plate XLVIII., Fig. 41) is called manha-okatanha, or mauna-schicha. A simple, knotty, wooden club is called mauna-panischa. (See the woodcut).

Many Mandans likewise carry lances, and I was told that they had a remarkably handsome one, of which, however, I did not obtain a sight. These Indians have shields, which do not differ from those of the tribes already mentioned. They all wear, in their girdle, behind, their large knife, which is indispensable to them in hunting and in war. Some use, for the handle of the knife, the lower jaw of a bear, with the hair and teeth remaining. (Woodcut, page 234.) The bow and arrows are, even now, much esteemed by all the nations living on the Missouri, while those that have been entirely driven from that river (the Osages) greatly prefer the gun; the former, therefore, are capital archers, which cannot be affirmed of the Osages. The Mandans and Manitaries are said to fight well in their manner, and there have been frequent instances of
555 individual bravery. One of their most distinguished warriors, at this time, is Mato-Topé, of whom we shall often have to speak in the sequel. He has killed more than five chiefs of other nations. The father of Mato-Topé, whose name was Suck-Schih (the handsome child), behaved exactly

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in the same manner as the Manitari chief, Kokoahkis, mentioned by Say. He went, one evening, wrapped up in his robe, into a hut of the hostile Arikkaras, as the young men of the village often do, ate with his face covered, so that he was taken for a young Arikkara; then laid himself down by the side of a woman, and afterwards cut off a lock of her hair, with which he retired. He might have killed the woman, as Kokoahkis did, but refrained from doing so. 555

Wounds appear to be healed with remarkable ease. In cases of arrow wounds, they like to force the arrow quite through, that the iron head may not remain in the wound. Men and women are often scalped, in battle, who afterwards come to themselves, and are cured. Such a large wound on the head is rubbed with fat; the medicine man fumigates it, singing at the same time. Disorders are not uncommon among the Indians. The Mandans and Manitaries often suffer from diseases in the eyes; many are one-eyed, or have a tunicle over one eye. In inflammation of the eye they have a custom of scratching the inner eye with the leaf of a kind of grass, resembling a saw, which causes them to bleed very much, and this may often occasion the loss of the eye. Rheumatism, coughs, and the like, are frequent, because they go half naked in the severest cold, and plunge into ice water. Much benefit is often derived from their steam-baths, in a well closed hut, where a thick steam is produced by pouring water on hot stones. They then immediately go into the cold, roll themselves in the snow, or plunge into a river covered with drifting ice, but do not return to a warm hut, as the Russians do. Many Indians are said to have died on the spot by trying this remedy. Some suffer from gout; but all who survive these violent remedies are stronger and more hardy. Another remedy is trampling on the whole body, especially the stomach, as is practised also among the Brazilians. This operation is performed with such violence, as often to occasion hard swellings in the intestines, or ulcers, especially in the liver. The steam-bath is used as a remedy in all kinds of disorders. Vaccination, the application of which met with no difficulties among several nations on the great lakes, especially the Chippeways, is not yet practised among the Mandans and Manitaries. Spitting of blood is said to be frequent, but not pulmonary consumption. Gonorrhœa is very common; they affirm that all venereal disorders came to them from the Crows beyond the Rocky Mountains. For such disorders they often seat themselves over a heated pot, but very frequently burn themselves. They cut open buboes, lengthwise, with a knife, and then run for a couple of miles as fast as they can. The jaundice is said not to occur among them. It appears that they are not acquainted with emetics, but, if they feel anything wrong in the stomach, they thrust a feather down the throat, and thus produce vomiting. Their purgatives are obtained from the vegetable kingdom. The poison-vine often produces swellings, especially in children. As rattlesnakes are rare in the vicinity of the villages, it is, of course, seldom that any one is bitten by them; these Indians are said, however, to have very good remedies against the bite. Frozen limbs are rubbed with snow. 752 757 164 757

757 When blindness arises from the dazzling brightness of the snow, which it very frequently does in March, they bathe the eyes with a solution of gunpowder in water. They often have recourse to bleeding, which they perform with a sharp flint, or a knife. They often apply to the Whites for medicine, and willingly follow their prescriptions. These Indians have also various remedies for their horses; thus, when a horse has the strangury, they give it a piece of a wasp's nest.

764 When a Mandan or Manitari dies, they do not let the corpse remain long in the village; but convey it to the distance of 200 paces, and lay it on a narrow stage, about six feet long, resting on four stakes about ten feet high, the body being first laced up in buffalo robes and a blanket. The face, painted red, is turned towards the east. A number of such stages are seen about their villages, and, although they themselves say that this custom is injurious to the health of the villages, they do not renounce it. On many of these stages there are small boxes, containing the bodies of children wrapped in cloth or skins. Ravens are usually seen sitting on these stages, and the Indians dislike that bird, because it feeds on the flesh of their relations. If you ask a Mandan why they do not deposit their dead in the ground, he answers—"The lord of life has, indeed, told us that we came from the ground, and should return to it again;" yet we have lately begun to lay the bodies of the dead on stages, because we love them, and would weep at the sight of them. They believe that every person has several spirits dwelling in him; one of these spirits is black, another brown, and another light-coloured, the latter of which alone returns to the lord of life. They think that after death they go to the south, to several villages which are often visited by the gods; that the brave and most eminent go to the village of the good, but the wicked into a different one: that they there live in the same manner as they do here, carry on the same occupations, eat the same food, have wives, and enjoy the pleasures of the chase and war. Those who are kind-hearted are supposed to make many presents and do good, find everything in abundance, and their existence there is dependant on their course of life while in the world. Some of the inhabitants of the Mandan villages are said not to believe all these particulars, and suppose that after death they will live in the sun or in a certain star.

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765 [304] They mourn for the dead a whole year; cut off their hair, cover their body and head with white or grey clay, and often, with a knife or sharp flint, make incisions in their arms and legs in parallel lines, in their whole length, so that they are covered with blood. For some days after death the relations make a loud lament and bewailing. Often a relative, or some other friend, covers the dead, as they express it: he brings one or two woollen cloths, of a red, blue, white, or green colour, and, as soon as the body is laid on the stage, mounts upon the scaffolding, and conceals the body beneath the covering. A friend who will do this is, in token of respect, presented, by the family of the deceased, with a horse. If it is known beforehand that a person intends doing this honour to the dead, a horse is at once tied near the stage, and the friend, having per-

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formed this last office, unties the animal and leads it away. If a Mandan or Manitari falls in battle, and the news of his death reaches the family, who are unable to recover the body, a buffalo skin is rolled up and carried to the village. All those who desire to lament the deceased assemble, and many articles of value are distributed among them. The mourners cut off their hair, wound themselves with knives, and make loud lamentations. Joints of the fingers are not cut off here, as among the Blackfeet, as a token of mourning, but as signs of penance and offering to the lord of life and the first man. 765

The English and French find the pronunciation of the Mandan language extremely difficult; while to a German, or a Dutchman, it is considerably easier, because it contains very many gutturals, like ach, och, uch, in German. The nasal sounds, on the contrary, are few, but they frequently speak in a very indistinct way, having the mouth scarcely opened. The vowels are often softened, and much depends on the way in which the accent falls. The vowels *e* and *u* are often only half pronounced, but occur very frequently. I collected many words, as specimens of the language, and wrote down phrases, and made an attempt to compile a grammar of the Mandan language, but the completion of it was, unfortunately, hindered by unfavourable circumstances. Several old persons assured me that they perfectly remembered that, in their youth, many resemblances between the Mandan and Manitari languages did not then exist, which have since gradually crept in; the two languages being then quite different, which, indeed, they are still, in the main. As nations and allies, however, they have reciprocally adopted many words and expressions, and hence there is a better understanding among them now than heretofore, and their intercourse is greatly facilitated. Time will, undoubtedly, produce a still closer approximation. It is a remarkable fact, and proves how easily the separation of single tribes, and even villages, of one and the same nation, leads to changes in the language, and transitions into other dialects. An example of this kind was presented in the two Mandan villages, where many diversities of language had already taken place. I collected several specimens of this kind, and, to me, it was highly interesting. The Mandans are more apt in learning foreign languages than many other nations. Thus, the majority of them speak the Manitari language, whereas but few of the latter understand the Mandan language. Most of the American nations, at least, those on the Missouri, are said to have no maledictory words or terms of abuse; the Mandans have nothing of the kind but the expression—"bad people." The article is wanting in the Mandan language, and there is no distinction of gender, except in addressing a man or a woman. For my observations on the Mandan language, I am chiefly indebted to the kindness and patience of Mr. Kipp, who had lived eleven years among that people, had married an Indian wife, and had attained a perfect knowledge of the language. The Mandan names always have a signification, and are often equivalent to whole sentences: all surrounding objects are made use of in giving 197 551

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names. I subjoin a few singular specimens: "The bear which is a spirit;" "The bull which is a spirit;" "I hear somebody coming;" "There are seven of them married to old women," &c.

In conclusion I would say that some have affirmed that they have found, in North America, Indians who spoke the Gaelic language; this has been said of the Mandans; but it has long been ascertained that this notion is unfounded, as well as the assertion that the Mandans had a fairer complexion than the other Indians.

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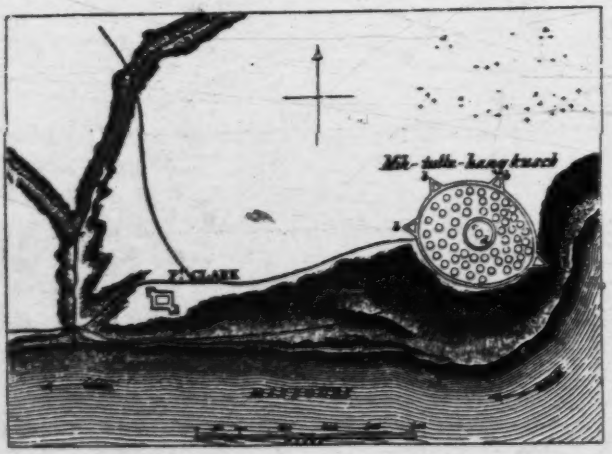

a Scaffolds for the dead, and poles with offerings. Vignette XIV., p. 381. Plate XXV. and p. 389.
b The Mandan village—Mi-tutu-hang-kuch.
c The open space in the centre of the village.
d The ash of the first man, p. 343.
e The stream in which the dishes are washed.

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[spesific tribe pictured, unknown -- Analyst]

[frontispiece, facing p. i]

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ILLUSTRATIONS

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OF THE

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND CONDITION

OF THE

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS:

WITH

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WRITTEN DURING EIGHT YEARS OF TRAVEL AND ADVENTURE AMONG THE WILDEST AND MOST REMARKABLE TRIBES NOW EXISTING.

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LETTERS AND NOTES

ON THE

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

LETTER—No. 1

000 As the following pages have been hastily compiled, at the urgent request of a number of my friends, from a series of Letters and Notes written by myself during several years' residence and travel amongst a number of the wildest and most remote tribes of the North American Indians, I have thought it best to make this page the beginning of my book; dispensing with Preface, and even with Dedication, other than that which I hereby make of it, with all my heart, to those who will take the pains to read it.

If it be necessary to render any apology for beginning thus unceremoniously my readers will understand that I had no space in these, my first volumes, to throw away; nor much time at my disposal, which I could, in justice, use for introducing myself and my works to the world.

Having commenced thus abruptly then, I will venture to take upon myself the sin of calling this one of the series of Letters of which I have spoken; although I am writing it several years later, and placing it at the beginning of my book; by which means I will be enabled briefly to introduce myself to my readers (who, as yet, know little or nothing of me), and also the subjects of the following epistles, with such explanations of the customs described in them, as will serve for a key or glossary to the same, and prepare the reader's mind for the information they contain.

Amidst the multiplicity of books which are, in this enlightened age, flooding the world, I feel it my duty, as early as possible, to beg pardon for making a book at all; and in the next (if my readers should become so much interested in my narrations, as to censure me for the brevity of the work) to take some considerable credit for not having trespassed too long upon their time and patience.

Leaving my readers, therefore, to find out what is in the book, without 14 promising them anything, I proceed to say—of *myself*, that I was born in Wyöming, in North America, some thirty or forty years since, of parents

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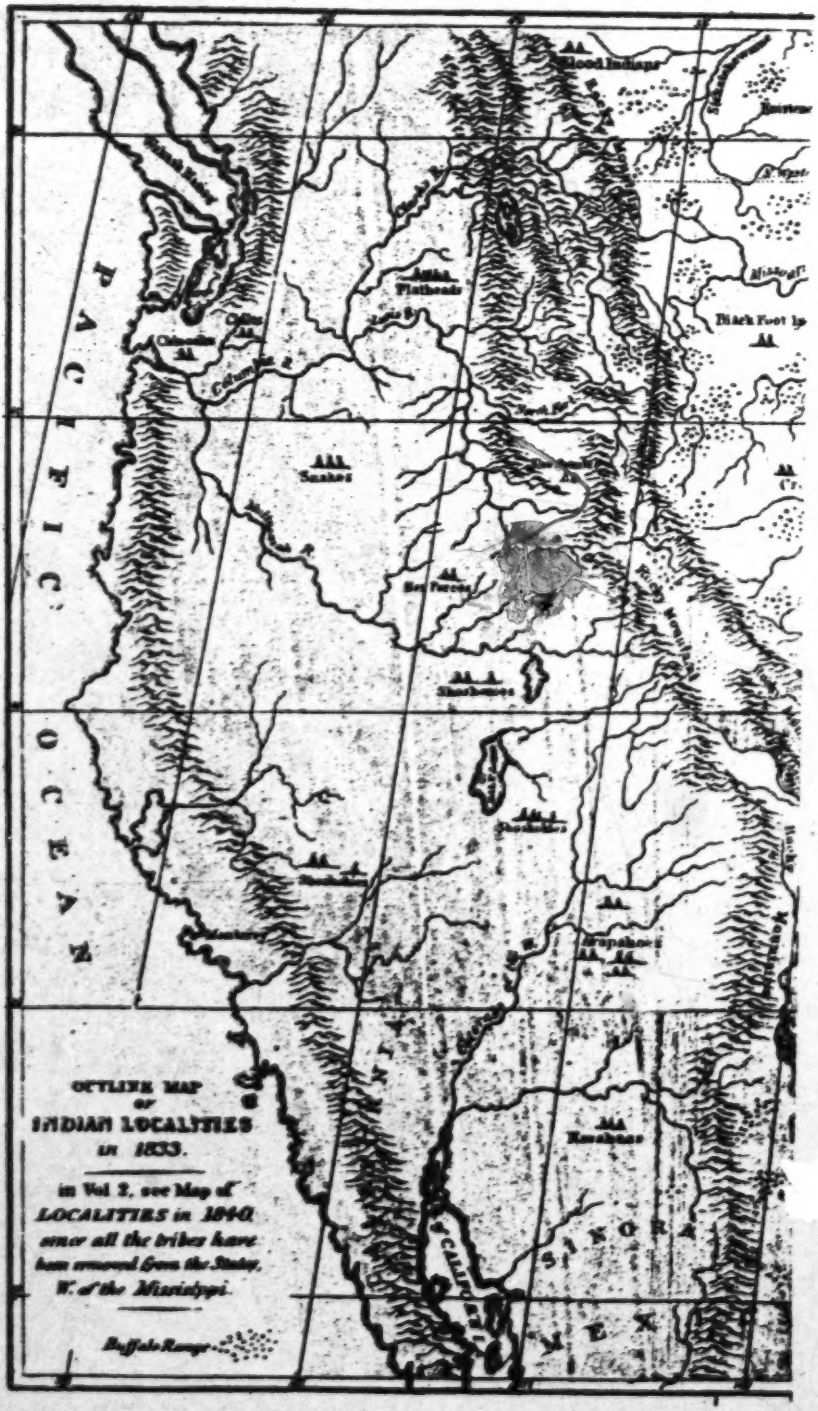

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114 who entered that beautiful and famed valley soon after the close of the revolutionary war, and the disastrous event of the "Indian massacre."

The early part of my life was whiled away, apparently, somewhat in vain, with books reluctantly held in one hand, and a rifle or fishing-pole firmly and affectionately grasped in the other.

At the urgent request of my father, who was a practising lawyer, I was prevailed upon to abandon these favourite themes, and also my occasional dabblings with the brush, which had secured already a corner in my affections; and I commenced reading the law for a profession, under the direction of Reeve and Gould, of Connecticut. I attended the lectures of these learned judges for two years—was admitted to the bar—and practised the law, as a sort of *Nimrodical* lawyer, in my native land, for the term of two or three years; when I very deliberately sold my law library and all (save my rifle and fishing-tackle), and converting their proceeds into brushes and paint pots; I commenced the art of painting in Philadelphia, without teacher or adviser.

I there closely applied my hand to the labours of the art for several years; during which time my mind was continually reaching for some branch or enterprise of the art, on which to devote a whole life-time of enthusiasm; when a delegation of some ten or fifteen noble and dignified-looking Indians, from the wilds of the "Far West," suddenly arrived in the city, arrayed and equipped in all their classic beauty,—with shield and helmet,—with tunic and manteau,—tinted and tasselled off, exactly for the painter's palette!

In silent and stoic dignity, these lords of the forest strutted about the city for a few days, wrapped in their pictured robes, with their brows plumed with the quills of the war-eagle, attracting the gaze and admiration of all who beheld them. After this, they took their leave for Washington City, and I was left to reflect and regret, which I did long and deeply, until I came to the following deductions and conclusions.

121 Black and blue cloth and civilization are destined, not only to veil, but to obliterate the grace and beauty of Nature. Man, in the simplicity and loftiness of his nature, unrestrained and unfettered by the disguises of art, is surely the most beautiful model for the painter,—and the country from which he hails is unquestionably the best study or school of the arts in the world: such I am sure, from the models I have seen, is the wilderness of North America. And the history and customs of such a people, preserved by pictorial illustrations, are themes worthy the life-time of one man, and nothing short of the loss of my life, shall prevent me from visiting their country, and of becoming their historian.

114 There was something inexpressibly delightful in the above resolve, which was to bring me amidst such living models for my brush: and at the same time to place in my hands again, for my living and protection, the objects of my heart above-named; which had long been laid by to rust and decay

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in the city, without the remotest prospect of again contributing to my amusement. 114

I had fully resolved—I opened my views to my friends and relations, but got not one advocate or abettor. I tried fairly and faithfully, but it was in vain to reason with those whose anxieties were ready to fabricate every difficulty and danger that could be imagined, without being able to understand or appreciate the extent or importance of my designs, and I broke from them all,—from my wife and my aged parents,—myself my only adviser and protector.

With these views firmly fixed—armed, equipped, and supplied, I started out in the year 1832, and penetrated the vast and pathless wilds which are familiarly denominated the great "Far West" of the North American Continent, with a light heart, inspired with an enthusiastic hope and reliance that I could meet and overcome all the hazards and privations of a life devoted to the production of a literal and graphic delineation of the living manners, customs, and character of an interesting race of people, who are rapidly passing away from the face of the earth—lending a hand to a dying nation, who have no historians or biographers of their own to pourtray with fidelity their native looks and history; thus snatching from a hasty oblivion what could be saved for the benefit of posterity, and perpetuating it, as a fair and just monument, to the memory of a truly lofty and noble race.

I have spent about eight years already in the pursuit above-named, having been for the most of that time immersed in the Indian country, mingling with red men, and identifying myself with them as much as possible, in their games and amusements; in order the better to familiarize myself with their superstitions and mysteries, which are the keys to Indian life and character.

It was during the several years of my life just mentioned, and whilst I was in familiar participation with them in their sports and amusements, that I penned the following series of epistles; describing only such glowing or curious scenes and events as passed under my immediate observation; leaving their early history, and many of their traditions, language, &c. for a subsequent and much more elaborate work, for which I have procured the materials, and which I may eventually publish.

I set out on my arduous and perilous undertaking with the determination of reaching, ultimately, every tribe of Indians on the Continent of North America, and of bringing home faithful portraits of their principal personages, both men and women, from each tribe; views of their villages, games, &c. and full notes on their character and history. I designed, also, to procure their costumes, and a complete collection of their manufactures and weapons, and to perpetuate them in a *Gallery unique*, for the use and instruction of future ages. 121

I claim whatever merit there may have been in the originality of such a 114

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114 design, as I was undoubtedly the first artist who ever set out upon such a work, designing to carry his canvass to the Rocky Mountains; and a considerable part of the following Letters were written and published in the New York Papers, as early as the years 1832 and 1833; long before the Tours of Washington Irving, and several others, whose interesting narratives are before the world.

I have, as yet, by no means visited *all* the tribes; but I have progressed a very great way with the enterprise, and with far greater and more complete success than I expected.

I have visited forty-eight different tribes, the greater part of which I found speaking different languages, and containing in all 400,000 souls. I have brought home safe, and in good order, 310 portraits in oil, all painted in their native dress, and in their own wigwams; and also 200 other paintings in oil, containing views of their villages—their wigwams—their games and religious ceremonies—their dances—their ball plays—their buffalo hunting, and other amusements (containing in all, over 3000 full-length figures); and the landscapes of the country they live in, as well as a very extensive and curious collection of their costumes, and all their other manufactures, from the size of a wigwam down to the size of a quill or a rattle.

A considerable part of the above-named paintings, and Indian manufactures, will be found amongst the very numerous illustrations in the following pages; having been, in every instance, faithfully copied and reduced by my own hand, for the engraver, from my original paintings; and the reader of this book who will take the pains to step in to "CATLIN'S NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN GALLERY," will find nearly every scene and custom which is described in this work, as well as many others, carefully and correctly delineated, and displayed upon the walls, and every weapon (and every "Sachem" and every "Sagamore" who has wielded them) according to the tenor of the tales herein recited.

So much of *myself* and of my *works*, which is all that I wish to say at present.

Of the INDIANS, I have much more to say, and to the following delineations of them, and their character and customs, I shall make no further apology for requesting the attention of my readers.

121 The Indians (as I shall call them), the savages or red men of the forests and prairies of North America, are at this time a subject of great interest and some importance to the civilized world; rendered more particularly so in this age, from their relative position to, and their rapid declension from, the civilized nations of the earth. A numerous nation of human beings, whose origin is beyond the reach of human investigation,—whose early history is lost—whose term of national existence is nearly expired—three-fourths of whose country has fallen into the possession of civilized man within the short space of 250 years—twelve millions of whose bodies have fattened the soil in the mean time; who have fallen victims to whiskey, the small-pox and the

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bayonet; leaving at this time but a meagre proportion to live a short time longer, in the certain apprehension of soon sharing a similar fate. 121

The writer who would undertake to embody the whole history of such a people, with all their misfortunes and calamities, must needs have much more space than I have allotted to this epitome; and he must needs begin also (as I am doing) with those who are *living*, or he would be very apt to dwell upon the preamble of his work, until the present living remnants of the race should have passed away; and their existence and customs, like those of ages gone bye, become subjects of doubt and incredulity to the world for whom his book was preparing. Such an historian also, to do them justice, must needs correct many theories and opinions which have, either ignorantly or maliciously, gone forth to the world in indelible characters; and gather and arrange a vast deal which has been but imperfectly recorded, or placed to the credit of a people who have not had the means of recording it themselves; but have entrusted it, from necessity, to the honesty and punctuality of their enemies.

In such an history should be embodied, also, a correct account of their treatment, and the causes which have led to their rapid destruction; and a plain and systematical prophecy as to the time and manner of their final extinction, based upon the causes and the ratio of their former and present declension.

So Herculean a task may fall to my lot at a future period, or it may not; but I send forth these volumes at this time, fresh and full of their living deeds and customs, as a familiar and unstudied introduction (at least) to them and their native character; which I confidently hope will repay the readers who read for information and historical facts, as well as those who read but for amusement.

The world know generally, that the Indians of North America are copper-coloured; that their eyes and their hair are black, &c.; that they are mostly uncivilized, and consequently unchristianized; that they are nevertheless human beings, with features, thoughts, reason, and sympathies like our own; but few yet know how they *live*, how they *dress*, how they *worship*, what are their actions, their customs, their religion, their amusements, &c. as they practise them in the uncivilized regions of their uninvaded country, which it is the main object of this work, clearly and distinctly to set forth.

It would be impossible at the same time, in a book of these dimensions, to explain *all* the manners and customs of these people; but as far as they are narrated, they have been described by my pen, upon the spot, as I have seen them transacted; and if some few of my narrations should seem a *little too highly coloured*, I trust the world will be ready to extend to me that pardon which it is customary to yield to all artists whose main faults consist in the vividness of their colouring, rather than in the drawing of their pictures; but there is nothing else in them, I think, that I should ask pardon for, even though some of them should stagger credulity, and incur

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121 for me the censure of those critics, who sometimes, unthinkingly or unmercifully, sit at home at their desks, enjoying the luxury of wine and a good cigar, over the simple narration of the honest and weather-worn traveller (who shortens his half-starved life in catering for the world), to condemn him and his work to oblivion, and his wife and his little children to poverty and starvation; merely because he describes scenes which they have not beheld, and which, consequently, they are unable to believe.

The Indians of North America, as I have before said, are copper-coloured, with long black hair, black eyes, tall, straight, and elastic forms—are less than two millions in number—were originally the undisputed owners of the soil, and got their title to their lands from the Great Spirit who created them on it,—were once a happy and flourishing people, enjoying all the comforts and luxuries of life which they knew of, and consequently cared for:—were sixteen millions in numbers, and sent that number of daily prayers to the Almighty, and thanks for his goodness and protection. Their country was entered by white men, but a few hundred years since; and thirty millions of these are now scuffling for the goods and luxuries of life, over the bones and ashes of twelve millions of red men; six millions of whom have fallen victims to the small-pox, and the remainder to the sword, the bayonet, and whiskey; all of which means of their death and destruction have been introduced and visited upon them by acquisitive white men; and by white men, also, whose forefathers were welcomed and embraced in the land where the poor Indian met and fed them with "ears of green corn and with pemican." Of the two millions remaining alive at this time, about 1,400,000, are already the miserable living victims and dupes of white man's cupidity, degraded, discouraged and lost in the bewildering maze that is produced by the use of whiskey and its concomitant vices; and the remaining number are yet unroused and unenticed from their wild haunts or their primitive modes, by the dread or love of white man and his allurements.

It has been with these, mostly, that I have spent my time, and of these, chiefly, and their customs, that the following Letters treat. Their habits (and their's alone) as we can see them transacted, are native, and such as I have wished to fix and preserve for future ages.

Of the dead, and of those who are dying, of those who have suffered death, and of those who are now trodden and kicked through it, I may speak more fully in some deductions at the close of this book; or at some future time, when I may find more leisure, and may be able to speak of these scenes without giving offence to the world, or to any body in it.

Such a portrait then as I have set forth in the following pages (taken by myself from the free and vivid realities of life, instead of the vague and uncertain imagery of recollection, or from the haggard deformities and distortions of disease and death), I offer to the world for their amusement, as well as for their information; and I trust they will pardon me, if it should be thought

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that I have over-estimated the Indian character, or at other times descended too much into the details and minutiæ of Indian mysteries and absurdities. /21

The reader, then, to understand me rightly, and draw from these Letters the information which they are intended to give, must follow me a vast way from the civilized world; he must needs wend his way from the city of New York, over the Alleghany, and far beyond the mighty Missouri, and even to the base and summit of the Rocky Mountains, some two or three thousand miles from the Atlantic coast. He should forget many theories he has read in the books of Indian barbarities, of wanton butcheries and murders; and divest himself, as far as possible of the deadly prejudices which he has carried from his childhood, against this most unfortunate and most abused part of the race of his fellow-man.

He should consider, that if he has seen the savages of North America without making such a tour, he has fixed his eyes upon and drawn his conclusions (in all probability) only from those who inhabit the frontier; whose habits have been changed—whose pride has been cut down—whose country has been ransacked—whose wives and daughters have been shamefully abused—whose lands have been wrested from them—whose limbs have become enervated and naked by the excessive use of whiskey—whose friends and relations have been prematurely thrown into their graves—whose native pride and dignity have at last given way to the unnatural vices which civilized cupidity has engrafted upon them, to be silently nurtured and magnified by a burning sense of injury and injustice, and ready for that cruel vengeance which often falls from the hand that is palsied by refined abuses, and yet unrestrained by the glorious influences of refined and moral cultivation.—That if he has laid up what he considers well-founded knowledge of these people, from books which he has read, and from newspapers only, he should pause at least, and withhold his sentence before he passes it upon the character of a people, who are dying at the hands of their enemies, without the means of recording their own annals—struggling in their nakedness with their simple weapons, against guns and gunpowder—against whiskey and steel, and disease, and mailed warriors who are continually trampling them to the earth, and at last exultingly promulgating from the very soil which they have wrested from the poor savage, the history of his cruelties and barbarities, whilst his bones are quietly resting under the very furrows which their ploughs are turning.

So great and unfortunate are the disparities between savage and civil, in numbers—in weapons and defences—in enterprise, in craft, and in education, that the former is almost universally the sufferer either in peace or in war; and not less so after his pipe and his tomahawk have retired to the grave with him, and his character is left to be entered upon the pages of history, and that justice done to his memory which from necessity, he has intrusted to his enemy.

Amongst the numerous historians, however, of these strange people, they have had some friends who have done them justice; yet as a part of all sys-

124 tems of justice whenever it is meted to the poor Indian, it comes invariably too late, or is administered at an ineffectual distance; and that too when his enemies are continually about him, and effectually applying the means of his destruction.

Some writers, I have been grieved to see, have written down the character of the North American Indian, as dark, relentless, cruel and murderous in the last degree; with scarce a quality to stamp their existence of a higher order than that of the brutes:—whilst others have given them a high rank, as I feel myself authorized to do, as honourable and highly-intellectual beings; and others, both friends and foes to the red men, have spoken of them as an "anomaly in nature!"

In this place I have no time or inclination to reply to so unaccountable an assertion as this; contenting myself with the belief, that the term would be far more correctly applied to that part of the human family who have strayed farthest from nature, than it could be to those who are simply moving in, and filling the sphere for which they were designed by the Great Spirit who made them.

From what I have seen of these people I feel authorized to say, that there is nothing very strange or unaccountable in their character; but that it is a simple one, and easy to be learned and understood, if the right means be taken to familiarize ourselves with it. Although it has its dark spots, yet there is much in it to be applauded, and much to recommend it to the admiration of the enlightened world. And I trust that the reader, who looks through these volumes with care, will be disposed to join me in the conclusion that the North American Indian in his native state, is an honest, hospitable, faithful, brave, warlike, cruel, revengeful, relentless,—yet honourable, contemplative and religious being.

If such be the case, I am sure there is enough in it to recommend it to the fair perusal of the world, and charity enough in all civilized countries, in this enlightened age, to extend a helping hand to a dying race; provided that prejudice and fear can be removed, which have heretofore constantly held the civilized portions in dread of the savage—and away from that familiar and friendly embrace, in which alone his true native character can be justly appreciated.

I am fully convinced, from a long familiarity with these people, that the Indian's misfortune has consisted chiefly in our ignorance of their true native character and disposition, which has always held us at a distrustful distance from them; inducing us to look upon them in no other light than that of a hostile foe, and worthy only of that system of continued warfare and abuse that has been for ever waged against them.

There is no difficulty in approaching the Indian and getting acquainted with him in his wild and unsophisticated state, and finding him an honest and honourable man; with feelings to meet feelings, if the above prejudice and dread can be laid aside, and any one will take the pains, as I have done, to

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go and see him in the simplicity of his native state, smoking his pipe under his own humble roof, with his wife and children around him, and his faithful dogs and horses hanging about his hospitable tenement.—So the world *may* see him and smoke his friendly pipe, which will be invariably extended to them; and share, with a hearty welcome, the best that his wigwam affords for the appetite, which is always set out to a stranger the next moment after he enters. 121

But so the mass of the world, most assuredly, will *not* see these people; for they are too far off, and approachable to those only whose avarice or cupidity alone lead them to those remote regions, and whose shame prevents them from publishing to the world the virtues which they have thrown down and trampled under foot.

The very use of the word savage, as it is applied in its general sense, I am inclined to believe is an abuse of the word, and the people to whom it is applied. The word, in its true definition, means no more than *wild*, or *wild man*; and a wild man may have been endowed by his Maker with all the humane and noble traits that inhabit the heart of a tame man. Our ignorance and dread or fear of these people, therefore, have given a new definition to the adjective; and nearly the whole civilized world apply the word *savage*, as expressive of the most ferocious, cruel, and murderous character that can be described.

The grizzly bear is called savage, because he is blood-thirsty, ravenous and cruel; and so is the tiger, and they, like the poor red man, have been feared and dreaded (from the distance at which ignorance and prejudice have kept us from them, or from resented abuses which we have practised when we have come in close contact with them), until Van Amburgh shewed the world, that even these ferocious and unreasoning animals wanted only the friendship and close embrace of their master, to respect and to love him.

As evidence of the hospitality of these ignorant and benighted people, and also of their honesty and honour, there will be found recorded many striking instances in the following pages. And also, as an offset to these, many evidences of the dark and cruel, as well as ignorant and disgusting excesses of passions, unrestrained by the salutary influences of laws and Christianity.

I have roamed about from time to time during seven or eight years, visiting and associating with some three or four hundred thousand of these people, under an almost infinite variety of circumstances; and from the very many and decided voluntary acts of their hospitality and kindness, I feel bound to pronounce them, by nature, a kind and hospitable people. I have been welcomed generally in their country, and treated to the best that they could give me, without any charges made for my board; they have often escorted me through their enemies' country at some hazard to their own lives, and aided me in passing mountains and rivers with my awkward bag-

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121 gage; and under all of these circumstances of exposure, no Indian ever betrayed me, struck me a blow, or stole from me a shilling's worth of my property that I am aware of.

This is saying a great deal, (and proving it too, if the reader will believe me) in favour of the virtues of these people; when it is borne in mind, as it should be, that there is no law in their land to punish a man for theft—that locks and keys are not known in their country—that the commandments have never been divulged amongst them; nor can any human retribution fall upon the head of a thief, save the disgrace which attaches as a stigma to his character, in the eyes of his people about him.

And thus in these little communities, strange as it may seem, in the absence of all systems of jurisprudence, I have often beheld peace and happiness, and quiet, reigning supreme, for which even kings and emperors might envy them. I have seen rights and virtue protected, and wrongs redressed; and I have seen conjugal, filial and paternal affection in the simplicity and contentedness of nature. I have unavoidably, formed warm and enduring attachments to some of these men which I do not wish to forget—who have brought me near to their hearts, and in our final separation have embraced me in their arms, and commended me and my affairs to the keeping of the Great Spirit.

For the above reasons, the reader will be disposed to forgive me for dwelling so long and so strong on the justness of the claims of these people; and for my occasional expressions of sadness, when my heart bleeds for the fate that awaits the remainder of their unlucky race; which is long to be outlived by the rocks, by the beasts, and even birds and reptiles of the country they live in;—set upon by their fellow-man, whose cupidity, it is feared, will fix no bounds to the Indian's earthly calamity, short of the grave.

I cannot help but repeat, before I close this Letter, that the tribes of the red men of North America, as a nation of human beings, are on their wane; that (to use their own very beautiful figure) "they are fast travelling to the shades of their fathers, towards the setting sun;" and that the traveller who would see these people in their native simplicity and beauty, must needs be hastily on his way to the prairies and Rocky Mountains, or he will see them only as they are now seen on the frontiers, as a basket of *dead game*,—harassed, chased, bleeding and dead; with their plumage and colours despoiled; to be gazed amongst in vain for some system or moral, or for some scale by which to estimate their true native character, other than that which has too often recorded them but a dark and unintelligible mass of cruelty and barbarity.

000 Without further comments I close this Letter, introducing my readers at once to the heart of the Indian country, only asking their forgiveness for having made it so long, and their patience whilst travelling through the following pages (as I journeyed through those remote realms) in search of information and rational amusement; in tracing out the true character of

that "*strange anomaly*" of man in the simple elements of his nature, undissolved or compounded into the mysteries of enlightened and fashionable life.

[Note, beginning p.11, pp. 12-79 omitted]

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LETTER—No. 11.

MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

000 I SAID that I was here in the midst of a strange people, which is literally true; and I find myself surrounded by subjects and scenes worthy the pens of Irving or Cooper—of the pencils of Raphael or Hogarth; rich in legends and romances, which would require no aid of the imagination for a book or a picture.

101 The Mandans (or See-pohs-kah-nu-mah-kah-kee, "people of the pheasants," as they call themselves), are perhaps one of the most ancient tribes o. Indians in our country. Their origin, like that of all the other tribes is from necessity, involved in mystery and obscurity. Their traditions and peculiarities I shall casually recite in this or future epistles; which when understood, will at once, I think, denominate them a peculiar and distinct race. They take great pride in relating their traditions, with regard to their origin; contending that they were the *first* people created on earth. Their existence in these regions has not been from a very ancient period; and, from what I could learn of their traditions, they have, at a former period, been a very numerous and powerful nation; but by the continual wars which have existed between them and their neighbours, they have been reduced to their present numbers.

This tribe is at present located on the west bank of the Missouri, about 1800 miles above St. Louis, and 200 below the Mouth of Yellow Stone river. They have two villages only, which are about two miles distant from 361 each other; and number in all (as near as I can learn), about 2000 souls. Their present villages are beautifully located, and judiciously also, for defence against the assaults of their enemies. The site of the lower (or principal) town, in particular (PLATE 45), is one of the most beautiful and pleasing that can be seen in the world, and even more beautiful than imagination could ever create. In the very midst of an extensive valley (embraced within a thousand graceful swells and parapets or mounds of interminable green, changing to blue, as they vanish in distance) is built the city, or principal town of the Mandans. On an extensive plain (which is covered with a green turf, as well as the hills and dales, as far as the eye can possibly range, without tree or bush to be seen) are to be seen rising from the ground, and towards the heavens, domes—(not "of gold," but)

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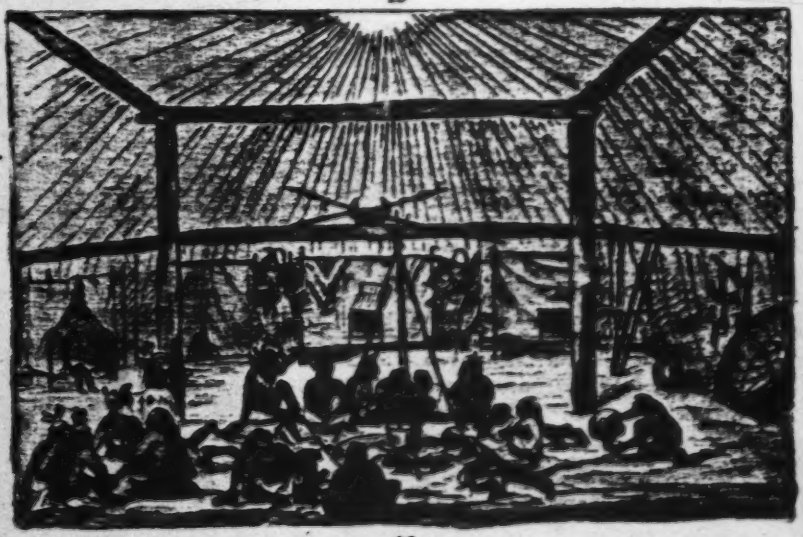

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[facing p. 80]

361 of dirt—and the thousand spears (not "spires") and scalp-poles, &c. &c., of the semi-subterraneous village of the hospitable and gentlemanly Mandans.

174 These people formerly (and within the recollection of many of their oldest men) lived fifteen or twenty miles farther down the river, in ten contiguous villages; the marks or ruins of which are yet plainly to be seen. At that period, it is evident, as well from the number of lodges which their villages contained, as from their traditions, that their numbers were much greater than at the present day.

There are other, and very interesting, traditions and historical facts relative to a still prior location and condition of these people, of which I shall speak more fully on a future occasion. From these, when they are promulged, I think there may be a pretty fair deduction drawn, that they formerly occupied the lower part of the Missouri, and even the Ohio and Muskingum, and have gradually made their way up the Missouri to where they now are.

There are many remains on the river below this place (and, in fact, to be seen nearly as low down as St. Louis), which shew clearly the peculiar construction of Mandan lodges, and consequently carry a strong proof of the above position. While descending the river, however, which I shall commence in a few weeks, in a canoe, this will be a subject of interest; and I shall give it close examination.

361 The ground on which the Mandan village is at present built, was admi-
712 rably selected for defence; being on a bank forty or fifty feet above the bed of the river. The greater part of this bank is nearly perpendicular, and of solid rock. The river, suddenly changing its course to a right-angle, protects two sides of the village, which is built upon this promontory or angle; they have therefore but one side to protect, which is effectually done by a strong piquet, and a ditch inside of it, of three or four feet in depth. The piquet is composed of timbers of a foot or more in diameter, and eighteen feet high, set firmly in the ground at sufficient distances from each other to admit of guns and other missiles to be fired between them. The ditch (unlike that of civilized modes of fortification) is inside of the piquet, in which their warriors screen their bodies from the view and weapons of their enemies, whilst they are reloading and discharging their weapons through the piquets.

361 The Mandans are undoubtedly secure in their villages, from the attacks of any Indian nation, and have nothing to fear, except when they meet their
342 enemy on the prairie. Their village has a most novel appearance to the eye of a stranger; their lodges are closely grouped together, leaving but just room enough for walking and riding between them; and appear from without, to be built entirely of dirt; but one is surprised when he enters them, to see the neatness, comfort, and spacious dimensions of these earth-covered dwellings. They all have a circular form, and are from forty to sixty feet in diameter. Their foundations are prepared by digging some two feet in the ground, and forming the floor of earth, by levelling the requisite size for

361 the lodge. These floors or foundations are all perfectly circular, and varying
342 in size in proportion to the number of inmates, or of the quality or standing of the families which are to occupy them. The superstructure is then produced, by arranging, inside of this circular excavation, firmly fixed in the ground and resting against the bank, a barrier or wall of timbers, some eight or nine inches in diameter, of equal height (about six feet) placed on end, and resting against each other, supported by a formidable embankment of earth raised against them outside; then, resting upon the tops of these timbers or piles, are others of equal size and equal in numbers, of twenty or twenty-five feet in length, resting firmly against each other, and sending their upper or smaller ends towards the centre and top of the lodge; rising at an angle of forty-five degrees to the apex or sky-light, which is about three or four feet in diameter, answering as a chimney and a sky-light at the same time. The roof of the lodge being thus formed, is supported by beams passing around the inner part of the lodge about the middle of these poles or timbers, and themselves upheld by four or five large posts passing down to the floor of the lodge. On the top of, and over the poles forming the roof, is placed a complete mat of willow-boughs, of half a foot or more in thickness, which protects the timbers from the dampness of the earth, with which the lodge is covered from bottom to top, to the depth of two or three feet; and then with a hard or tough clay, which is impervious to water, and which with long use becomes quite hard, and a lounging place for the whole family in pleasant weather—for sage— for wooing lovers—for dogs and all; an airing place—a look-out—a place for gossip and mirth—a seat for the solitary gaze and meditations of the stern warrior, who sits and contemplates the peaceful mirth and happiness that is breathed beneath him, fruits of his hard-fought battles, on fields of desperate combat with bristling Red Men.

342 The floors of these dwellings are of earth, but so hardened by use, and
353 swept so clean, and tracked by bare and moccassined feet, that they have almost a polish, and would scarcely soil the whitest linen. In the centre,
[354] and immediately under the sky-light (PLATE 46) is the fire-place—a hole of four or five feet in diameter, of a circular form, sunk a foot or more below the surface, and curbed around with stone. Over the fire-place, and suspended from the apex of diverging props or poles, is generally seen the pot or kettle, filled with buffalo meat; and around it are the family, reclining in all the most picturesque attitudes and groups, resting on their buffalo-robes
[592] and beautiful mats of rushes. These cabins are so spacious, that they hold from twenty to forty persons—a family and all their connexions. They all
352 sleep on bedsteads similar in form to ours, but generally not quite so high; made of round poles rudely lashed together with thongs. A buffalo skin, fresh stripped from the animal, is stretched across the bottom poles, and about two feet from the floor; which, when it dries, becomes much contracted, and forms a perfect sacking-bottom. The fur side of this skin is placed uppermost, on which they lie with great comfort, with a buffalo-robe

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folded up for a pillow, and others drawn over them instead of blankets. 352
These beds, as far as I have seen them (and I have visited almost every lodge in the village), are uniformly screened with a covering of buffalo or elk skins, oftentimes beautifully dressed and placed over the upright poles or frame, like a suit of curtains; leaving a hole in front, sufficiently spacious for the occupant to pass in and out, to and from his or her bed. Some of these coverings or curtains are exceedingly beautiful, being cut tastefully into fringe, and handsomely ornamented with porcupine's quills and picture writings or hieroglyphics.

From the great number of inmates in these lodges, they are necessarily 352
very spacious, and the number of beds considerable. It is no uncommon 353
thing to see these lodges fifty feet in diameter inside (which is an immense room), with a row of these curtained beds extending quite around their sides, being some ten or twelve of them, placed four or five feet apart, and the space between them occupied by a large post, fixed quite firm in the ground, and six or seven feet high, with large wooden pegs or bolts in it, on which 353
are hung and grouped, with a wild and startling taste, the arms and armour of the respective proprietor; consisting of his whitened shield, embossed and [411]
emblazoned with the figure of his protecting *medicine* (or mystery), his bow and quiver, his war-club or battle-axe, his dart or javelin—his tobacco pouch and pipe—his medicine-bag—and his eagle—ermine or raven head-dress; and over all, and on the top of the post (as if placed by some conjuror or Indian magician, to guard and protect the spell of wildness that reigns in this strange place), stands forth and in full relief the head and horns of a buffalo, which is, by a village regulation, owned and possessed [535]
by every man in the nation, and hung at the head of his bed, which he uses as a mask when called upon by the chiefs, to join in the buffalo-dance, of which I shall say more in a future epistle

This arrangement of beds, of arms, &c., combining the most vivid display and arrangement of colours, of furs, of trinkets—of barbed and glistening points and steel—of mysteries and hocus pocus, together with the sombre and smoked colour of the roof and sides of the lodge; and the wild, and rude and red—the graceful (though uncivil) conversational, garrulous, story-telling and happy, though ignorant and untutored groups, that are smoking their pipes—wooing their sweethearts, and embracing their little ones about their peaceful and endeared fire-sides; together with their pots and kettles, spoons, and other culinary articles of their own manufacture, around them; present altogether, one of the most picturesque scenes to the eye of a stranger, that can be possibly seen; and far more wild and vivid than could ever be imagined.

Reader, I said these people were garrulous, story-telling and happy; this 000
is true, and literally so; and it belongs to me to establish the fact, and correct the error which seems to have gone forth to the world on this subject.

As I have before observed, there is no subject that I know of within the

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000 scope and reach of human wisdom, on which the civilised world in this enlightened age are more incorrectly informed, than upon that of the true manners and customs, and moral condition, rights and abuses, of the North American Indians; and that, as I have also before remarked, chiefly on account of the difficulty of our cultivating a fair and honourable acquaintance with them, and doing them the justice, and ourselves the credit, of a fair and impartial investigation of their true character. The present age of refinement and research has brought every thing else that I know of (and a vast deal more than the most enthusiastic mind ever dreamed of) within the scope and fair estimation of refined intellect and of science; while the wild and timid savage, with his interesting customs and modes has vanished, or his character has become changed, at the approach of the enlightened and intellectual world; who follow him like a phantom for awhile, and in ignorance of his true character at last turn back to the common business and social transactions of life.

181 Owing to the above difficulties, which have stood in the way, the world have fallen into many egregious errors with regard to the true modes and meaning of the savage, which I am striving to set forth and correct in the course of these epistles. And amongst them all, there is none more common, nor more entirely erroneous, nor more easily refuted, than the current one, that "the Indian is a sour, morose, reserved and taciturn man." I have heard this opinion advanced a thousand times and I believed it; but such certainly, is not uniformly nor generally the case.

I have observed in all my travels amongst the Indian tribes, and more particularly amongst these unassuming people, that they are a far more talkative and conversational race than can easily be seen in the civilized world. This assertion, like many others I shall occasionally make, will somewhat startle the folks at the East, yet it is true. No one can look into the wigwams of these people, or into any little momentary group of them, without being at once struck with the conviction that small-talk, gossip, garrulity, and story-telling, are the leading passions with them, who have little else to do in the world, but to while away their lives in the innocent and endless amusement of the exercise of those talents with which Nature has liberally endowed them, for their mirth and enjoyment.

One has but to walk or ride about this little town and its environs for a few hours in a pleasant day, and overlook the numerous games and gambols, where their notes and yelps of exultation are unceasingly vibrating in the atmosphere; or peep into their wigwams (and watch the glistening fun that's beaming from the noses, cheeks, and chins, of the crouching, cross-legged, and prostrate groups around the fire; where the pipe is passed, and jokes and anecdote, and laughter are excessive) to become convinced that it is natural to laugh and be merry. Indeed it would be strange if a race of people like these, who have little else to do or relish in life, should be curtailed in that source of pleasure and amusement; and it

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would be also strange, if a life-time of indulgence and practice in so innocent and productive a mode of amusement, free from the cares and anxieties of business or professions, should not advance them in their modes, and enable them to draw far greater pleasure from such sources, than we in the civilized and business world can possibly feel. If the uncultivated condition of their minds curtails the number of their enjoyments; yet they are free from, and independent of, a thousand cares and jealousies, which arise from mercenary motives in the civilized world; and are yet far a-head of us (in my opinion) in the real and uninterrupted enjoyment of their simple natural faculties. 181

They live in a country and in communities, where it is not customary to look forward into the future with concern, for they live without incurring the expenses of life, which are absolutely necessary and unavoidable in the enlightened world; and of course their inclinations and faculties are solely directed to the enjoyment of the present day, without the sober reflections on the past or apprehensions of the future.

With minds thus unexpanded and uninfluenced by the thousand passions and ambitions of civilized life, it is easy and natural to concentrate their thoughts and their conversation upon the little and trifling occurrences of their lives. They are fond of fun and good cheer, and can laugh easily and heartily at a slight joke, of which their peculiar modes of life furnish them an inexhaustible fund, and enable them to cheer their little circle about the wigwam fire-side with endless laughter and garrulity.

It may be thought, that I am taking a great deal of pains to establish this fact, and I am dwelling longer upon it than I otherwise should, inasmuch as I am opposing an error that seems to have become current through the world; and which, if it be once corrected, removes a material difficulty, which has always stood in the way of a fair and just estimation of the Indian character. For the purpose of placing the Indian in a proper light before the world, as I hope to do in many respects, it is of importance to me—it is but justice to the savage—and justice to my readers also, that such points should be cleared up as I proceed; and for the world who enquire for correct and just information, they must take my words for the truth, or else come to this country and look for themselves, into these grotesque circles of never-ending laughter and fun, instead of going to Washington City to gaze on the poor embarrassed Indian who is called there by his "Great Father," to contend with the sophistry of the learned and acquisitive world, in bartering away his lands with the graves and the hunting grounds of his ancestors. There is not the proper place to study the Indian character; yet it is the place where the sycophant and the scribbler go to gaze and frown upon him—to learn his character, and write his history! and because he does not speak, and quaffs the delicious beverage which he receives from white mens' hands, "he's a speechless brute and a drunkard." An Indian is a beggar in Washington City, and a white man is

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000 almost equally so in the Mandan village. An Indian in Washington is mute, is dumb and embarrassed; and so is a white man (and for the very same reasons) in this place—he has nobody to talk to.

A wild Indian, to reach the civilized world, must needs travel some thousands of miles in vehicles of conveyance, to which he is unaccustomed—through latitudes and longitudes which are new to him—living on food that he is unused to—stared and gazed at by the thousands and tens of thousands whom he cannot talk to—his heart grieving and his body sickening at the exhibition of white men's wealth and luxuries, which are enjoyed on the land, and over the bones of his ancestors. And at the end of his journey he stands (like a caged animal) to be scanned—to be criticised—to be pitied—and heralded to the world as a mute—as a brute, and a beggar.

A white man, to reach this village, must travel by steam-boat—by canoes—on horseback and on foot; swim rivers—wade quagmires—fight mosquitoes—patch his moccasins, and patch them again and again, and his breeches; live on meat alone—sleep on the ground the whole way, and think and dream of his friends he has left behind; and when he gets here, half-starved, and half-naked, and more than half sick, he finds himself a beggar for a place to sleep, and for something to eat; a mute amongst thousands who flock about him, to look and to criticise, and to laugh at him for his jaded appearance, and to speak of him as they do of all white men (without distinction) as liars. These people are in the habit of seeing no white men in their country but Traders, and know of no other; deeming us all alike, and receiving us all under the presumption that we come to trade or barter; applying to us all, indiscriminately, the epithet of "liars" or Traders.

The reader will therefore see, that we mutually suffer in each other's estimation from the unfortunate ignorance, which distance has chained us in; and (as I can vouch, and the Indian also, who has visited the civilized world) that the historian who would record justly and correctly the character and customs of a people, must go and live among them.

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LETTER—No. 12.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

000 In my last, I gave some account of the village, and the customs, and appearances of this strange people,—and I will now proceed to give further details on that subject.

I have this morning, perched myself upon the top of one of the earth-covered lodges, which I have before described, and having the whole village beneath and about me (PLATE 47), with its sachems—its warriors—its dogs—and its horses in motion—its medicines (or mysteries) and scalp-poles waving over my head—its piquets—its green fields and prairies, and river in full view, with the din and bustle of the thrilling panorama that is about me. I shall be able, I hope, to give some sketches more to the life than I could have done from any effort of recollection.

361 I said that [illegible]s or wigwams were covered with earth—were of forty or sixty feet in diameter, and so closely grouped that there was but just room enough to walk and ride between them,—that they had a door by which to enter them, and a hole in the top for the admission of light, and for the smoke to escape,—that the inmates were at times grouped upon their tops in conversations and other amusements, &c.; and yet you know not exactly how they look, nor what is the precise appearance of the strange world that is about me. There is really a newness and rudeness in every thing that is to be seen. There are several hundred houses or dwellings about me, and they are purely unique—they are all covered with dirt—the people are all red, and yet distinct from all other red folks I have seen. The horses are wild—every dog is a wolf—the whole moving mass are strangers to me: the living, in everything, carry an air of intractable wildness about them, and the dead are not buried, but dried upon scaffolds.

The groups of lodges around me present a very curious and pleasing appearance, resembling in shape (more nearly than anything else I can compare them to) so many potash-kettles inverted. On the tops of these are to 461 be seen groups standing and reclining, whose wild and picturesque appearance it would be difficult to describe. Stern warriors, like statues, standing in dignified groups, wrapped in their painted robes, with their heads decked and plumed with quills of the war-eagle; extending their long arms to

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461 the east or the west, the scenes of their battles, which they are recounting over to each other. In another direction, the wooing lover, softening the heart of his fair Taih-nah-tai-a with the notes of his simple lute. On other lodges, and beyond these, groups are engaged in games of the "moccasin," or the "platter." Some are to be seen manufacturing robes and dresses, and others, fatigued with amusements or occupations, have stretched their limbs to enjoy the luxury of sleep, whilst basking in the sun. With all this wild and varied medley of living beings are mixed their dogs, which seem to be so near an Indian's heart, as almost to constitute a material link of his existence.

361 In the centre of the village is an open space, or public area, of 150 feet in diameter, and circular in form, which is used for all public games and 778 festivals, shews and exhibitions; and also for their "annual religious ceremonies," which are soon to take place, and of which I shall hereafter give some account. The lodges around this open space front in, with their doors towards the centre; and in the middle of this circle stands an object of great religious veneration, as I am told, on account of the importance it has in the conduction of those annual religious rites.

778 This object is in form of a large hogshead, some eight or ten feet high, made of planks and hoops, containing within it some of their choicest medicines or mysteries, and religiously preserved unhacked or scratched, as a symbol of the "Big Canoe," as they call it.

One of the lodges fronting on this circular area, and facing this strange object of their superstition, is called the "Medicine Lodge," or council house. It is in this sacred building that these wonderful ceremonies, in commemoration of the flood, take place. I am told by the Traders that the cruelties of these scenes are frightful and abhorrent in the extreme; and that this huge wigwam, which is now closed, has been built exclusively for this grand celebration. I am every day reminded of the near approach of the season for this strange affair, and as I have not yet seen any thing of it, I cannot describe it; I know it only from the relations of the Traders who have witnessed parts of it; and their descriptions are of so extraordinary a character, that I would not be willing to describe until I can see for myself, —which will, in all probability, be in a few days.

351 In ranging the eye over the village from where I am writing, there is 778 presented to the view the strangest mixture and medley of unintelligible trash (independant of the living beings that are in motion), that can possibly be imagined. On the roofs of the lodges, besides the groups of living, are buffaloes' skulls, skin canoes, pots and pottery; sleds and sledges—and suspended on poles, erected some twenty feet above the doors of their wigwams, are displayed in a pleasant day, the scalps of warriors, preserved as trophies; and thus proudly exposed as evidence of their warlike deeds. In other parts are raised on poles the warriors' pure and whitened shields and quivers, with medicine-bags attached; and here and there a sacrifice of red

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cloth, or other costly stuff, offered up to the Great Spirit, over the door of some benignant chief, in humble gratitude for the blessings which he is enjoying. Such is a part of the strange medley that is before and around me; and amidst them and the blue streams of smoke that are rising from the tops of these hundred "coal-pits," can be seen in distance, the green and boundless, treeless, bushless prairie; and on it, and contiguous to the piquet which encloses the village, a hundred scaffolds, on which their "dead live," as they term it. 351 778

These people never bury the dead, but place the bodies on slight scaffolds just above the reach of human hands, and out of the way of wolves and dogs; and they are there left to moulder and decay. This cemetery, or place of deposite for the dead, is just back of the village, on a level prairie (PLATE 48); and with all its appearances, history, forms, ceremonies, &c. is one of the strangest and most interesting objects to be described in the vicinity of this peculiar race. 764

Whenever a person dies in the Mandan village, and the customary honours and condolence are paid to his remains, and the body dressed in its best attire, painted, oiled, feasted, and supplied with bow and quiver, shield, pipe and tobacco—knife, flint and steel, and provisions enough to last him a few days on the journey which he is to perform; a fresh buffalo's skin, just taken from the animal's back, is wrapped around the body, and tightly bound and wound with thongs of raw hide from head to foot. Then other robes are soaked in water, till they are quite soft and elastic, which are also bandaged around the body in the same manner, and tied fast with thongs, which are wound with great care and exactness, so as to exclude the action of the air from all parts of the body.

There is then a separate scaffold erected for it, constructed of four upright posts, a little higher than human hands can reach; and on the tops of these are small poles passing around from one post to the others; across which a number of willow-rods just strong enough to support the body, which is laid upon them on its back, with its feet carefully presented towards the rising sun.

There are a great number of these bodies resting exactly in a similar way; excepting in some instances where a chief, or medicine-man, may be seen with a few yards of scarlet or blue cloth spread over his remains, as a mark of public respect and esteem. Some hundreds of these bodies may be seen reposing in this manner in this curious place, which the Indians call, "the village of the dead;" and the traveller, who visits this country to study and learn, will not only be struck with the novel appearance of the scene; but if he will give attention to the respect and devotions that are paid to this sacred place, he will draw many a moral deduction that will last him through life: he will learn, at least, that filial, conjugal, and paternal affection are not necessarily the results of civilization; but that the Great Spirit has given them to man in his native state; and that the 000

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060 spices and improvements of the enlightened world have never refined upon them.

There is not a day in the year in which one may not see in this place evidences of this fact, that will wring tears from his eyes, and kindle in his bosom a spark of respect and sympathy for the poor Indian, if he never felt
765 it before. Fathers, mothers, wives, and children, may be seen lying under these scaffolds, prostrated upon the ground, with their faces in the dirt, howling forth incessantly the most piteous and heart-broken cries and lamentations for the misfortunes of their kindred; tearing their hair—cutting their flesh with their knives, and doing other penance to appease the spirits of the dead, whose misfortunes they attribute to some sin or omission of their own, for which they sometimes inflict the most excruciating self-torture.

When the scaffolds on which the bodies rest, decay and fall to the ground, the nearest relations having buried the rest of the bones, take the skulls, which are perfectly bleached and purified, and place them in circles of an hundred or more on the prairie—placed at equal distances apart (some eight or nine inches from each other), with the faces all looking to the centre; where they are religiously protected and preserved in their precise positions from year to year, as objects of religious and affectionate veneration (PLATE 48).

765 There are several of these "Golgothas" or circles of twenty or thirty feet in diameter, and in the centre of each ring or circle is a little mound of
769 three feet high, on which uniformly rest two buffalo skulls (a male and female); and in the centre of the little mound is erected a "medicine pole," about twenty feet high, supporting many curious articles of mystery and superstition, which they suppose have the power of guarding and protecting this sacred arrangement. Here then, to this strange place do these people again resort, to evince their further affections for the dead—not in groans and lamentations however, for several years have cured the anguish; but fond affections and endearments are here renewed, and conversations are here held and cherished with the dead.

Each one of these skulls is placed upon a bunch of wild sage, which has been pulled and placed under it. The wife knows (by some mark or resemblance) the skull of her husband or her child, which lies in this group; and there seldom passes a day that she does not visit it, with a dish of the best cooked food that her wigwam affords, which she sets before the skull at night, and returns for the dish in the morning. As soon as it is discovered that the sage on which the skull rests is beginning to decay, the woman cuts a fresh bunch, and places the skull carefully upon it, removing that which was under it.

769 Independent of the above-named duties, which draw the women to this spot, they visit it from inclination, and linger upon it to hold converse and company with the dead There is scarcely an hour in a pleasant day, but

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more or less of these women may be seen sitting or laying by the skull of their child or husband—talking to it in the most pleasant and endearing language that they can use (as they were wont to do in former days) and seemingly getting an answer back. It is not unfrequently the case, that the woman brings her needle-work with her, spending the greater part of the day, sitting by the side of the skull of her child, chatting incessantly with it, while she is embroidering or garnishing a pair of moccasins; and perhaps, overcome with fatigue, falls asleep, with her arms encircled around it, forgetting herself for hours; after which she gathers up her things and returns to the village. 769

There is something exceedingly interesting and impressive in these scenes, which are so strikingly dissimilar, and yet within a few rods of each other; the one is the place where they pour forth the frantic anguish of their souls—and afterwards pay their visits to the other, to jest and gossip with the dead. 000

The great variety of shapes and characters exhibited in these groups of crania, render them a very interesting study for the craniologist and phrenologist; but I apprehend that it would be a matter of great difficulty (if not of impossibility) to procure them at this time, for the use and benefit of the scientific world.

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LETTER—No. 13.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

622 In several of my former Letters I have given sketches of the village, and some few of the customs of these peculiar people; and I have many more yet in store; some of which will induce the readers to laugh, and others almost dispose them to weep. But at present, I drop them, and introduce a few of the wild and gentlemanly Mandans themselves; and first, Ha-na-tah-nu-mauh, the wolf chief (PLATE 49). This man is head-chief of the nation, and familiarly known by the name of "Chef de Loup," as the French Traders call him; a haughty, austere, and overbearing man, respected and feared by his people rather than loved. The tenure by which this man holds his office, is that by which the head-chiefs of most of the tribes claim, that of inheritance. It is a general, though not an infallible rule amongst the numerous tribes of North American Indians, that the office of chief belongs to the eldest son of a chief; provided he shews himself, by his conduct, to be equally worthy of it as any other in the nation: making it hereditary on a very proper condition—in default of which requisites, or others which may happen, the office is elective.

The dress of this chief was one of great extravagance, and some beauty; manufactured of skins, and a great number of quills of the raven, forming his stylish head-dress.

The next and second chief of the tribe, is Mah-to-toh-pa (the four bears). This extraordinary man, though second in office is undoubtedly the first and most popular man in the nation. Free, generous, elegant and gentlemanly in his deportment—handsome, brave and valiant; wearing a robe on his back, with the history of his battles emblazoned on it; which would fill a book of themselves, if properly translated. This, readers, is the most extraordinary man, perhaps, who lives at this day, in the atmosphere of Nature' noblemen; and I shall certainly tell you more of him anon.

After him, there are Mah-tahp-ta-ha, he who rushes through the midd (PLATE 50); Sechk-hee-da, the mouse-coloured feather (PLATE 51); Sun ja-ka-ko-kah (the deceiving wolf); Mah-to-he-ha (the old bear), an others, distinguished as chiefs and warriors—and there are belles also; 000 such as Mi-neek-e-sunk-te-ca, the mink (PLATE 53); and the little gray-haired Sha-ko-ka, mint (PLATE 52); and fifty others, who are famous for

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000 their conquests, not with the bow or the javelin, but with their small black eyes, which shoot out from under their unfledged brows, and pierce the boldest, fiercest chieftain to the heart.

181 The Mandans are certainly a very interesting and pleasing people in their
721 personal appearance and manners; differing in many respects, both in looks and customs, from all other tribes which I have seen. They are not a warlike people; for they seldom, if ever, carry war into their enemies' country; but when invaded, shew their valour and courage to be equal to that of any people on earth. Being a small tribe, and unable to contend on the wide prairies with the Sioux and other roaming tribes, who are ten times more numerous; they have very judiciously located themselves in a permanent village, which is strongly fortified, and ensures their preservation.
181 By this means they have advanced further in the arts of manufacture; have supplied their lodges more abundantly with the comforts, and even luxuries of life, than any Indian nation I know of. The consequence of this is, that this tribe have taken many steps ahead of other tribes in manners and refinements (if I may be allowed to apply the word refinement to Indian life); and are therefore familiarly (and correctly) denominated, by the Traders and others, who have been amongst them, "the polite and friendly Mandans."

There is certainly great justice in the remark; and so forcibly have I been struck with the peculiar ease and elegance of these people, together with the diversity of complexions, the various colours of their hair and eyes; the singularity of their language, and their peculiar and unaccountable customs, that I am fully convinced that they have sprung from some other origin than that of the other North American tribes, or that they are an amalgam of natives with some civilized race.

Here arises a question of very great interest and importance for discussion; and, after further familiarity with their character, customs, and traditions, if I forget it not, I will eventually give it further consideration. Suffice it then, for the present, that their *personal appearance* alone, independant of their modes and customs, pronounces them at once, as more or less, than savage.

142. A stranger in the Mandan village is first struck with the different shades of complexion, and various colours of hair which he sees in a crowd about him; and is at once almost disposed to exclaim that "these are not Indians."

There are a great many of these people whose complexions appear as light as half breeds; and amongst the women particularly, there are many whose skins are almost white, with the most pleasing symmetry and proportion of features; with hazel, with grey, and with blue eyes,—with mildness and sweetness of expression, and excessive modesty of demeanour, which render them exceedingly pleasing and beautiful.

Why this diversity of complexion I cannot tell, nor can they themselves

142 account for it. Their traditions, so far as I have yet learned them, afford us no information of their having had any knowledge of white men before the visit of Lewis and Clarke, made to their village thirty-three years ago Since that time there have been but very few visits from white men to this place, and surely not enough to have changed the complexions and the customs of a nation. And I recollect perfectly well that Governor Clarke told me, before I started for this place, that I would find the Mandans a strange people and half white.

The diversity in the colour of hair is also equally as great as that in the complexion; for in a numerous group of these people (and more particularly amongst the females, who never take pains to change its natural colour, as the men often do), there may be seen every shade and colour of hair that can be seen in our own country, with the exception of red or auburn, which is not to be found.

And there is yet one more strange and unaccountable peculiarity, which can probably be seen nowhere else on earth; nor on any rational grounds accounted for,—other than it is a freak or order of Nature, for which she has not seen fit to assign a reason. There are very many, of both sexes, and of every age, from infancy to manhood and old age, with hair of a bright silvery grey; and in some instances almost perfectly white.

This singular and eccentric appearance is much oftener seen among the women than it is with the men; for many of the latter who have it, seem [302] ashamed of it, and artfully conceal it, by filling their hair with glue and black and red earth. The women, on the other hand, seem proud of it, and display it often in an almost incredible profusion, which spreads over their shoulders and falls as low as the knee. I have ascertained, on a careful enquiry, that about one in ten or twelve of the whole tribe are what the French call "cheveux gris," or greyhairs; and that this strange and unaccountable phenomenon is not the result of disease or habit; but that it is unquestionably a hereditary character which runs in families, and indicates no inequality in disposition or intellect. And by passing this hair through my hands, as I often have, I have found it uniformly to be as coarse and harsh as a horse's mane; differing materially from the hair of other colours, which amongst the Mandans, is generally as fine and as soft as silk.

The reader will at once see, by the above facts, that there is enough upon the faces and heads of these people to stamp them peculiar,—when he meets them in the heart of this almost boundless wilderness, presenting such diversities of colour in the complexion and hair; when he knows from what he has seen, and what he has read, that all other primitive tribes known in America, are dark copper-coloured, with jet black hair.

000 From these few facts alone, the reader will see that I am amongst a strange and interesting people, and know how to pardon me, if I lead him through a maze of novelty and mysteries to the knowledge of a strange, yet kind and hospitable, people, whose fate, like that of all their race is sealed;—

000 whose doom is fixed, to live just long enough to be imperfectly known, and then to fall before the fell disease or sword of civilizing devastation.

141 The stature of the Mandans is rather below the ordinary size of man, with beautiful symmetry of form and proportion, and wonderful suppleness and elasticity; they are pleasingly erect and graceful, both in their walk and their attitudes; and the hair of the men, which generally spreads over their backs, 302 falling down to the hams, and sometimes to the ground, is divided into plaits or slabs of two inches in width, and filled with a profusion of glue and red earth or vermillion, at intervals of an inch or two, which becoming very hard, remains in and unchanged from year to year.

This mode of dressing the hair is curious, and gives to the Mandans the most singular appearance. The hair of the men is uniformly all laid over from the forehead backwards; carefully kept above and resting on the ear, and thence falling down over the back, in these flattened bunches, and painted red, extending oftentimes quite on to the calf of the leg, and sometimes in such profusion as almost to conceal the whole figure from the person walking behind them. In the portrait of San-ja-ka-ko-kah (the deceiving wolf, PLATE 54), where he is represented at full length, with several others of his family around him in a group, there will be seen a fair illustration of these and other customs of these people.

The hair of the women is also worn as long as they can possibly cultivate it, oiled very often, which preserves on it a beautiful gloss and shows its natural colour. They often braid it in two large plaits, one falling down just back of the ear, on each side of the head; and on any occasion which requires them to "put on their best looks," they pass their fingers through it, drawing it out of braid, and spreading it over their shoulders. The Mandan women observe strictly the same custom, which I observed amongst the Crows and Blackfeet (and, in fact, all other tribes I have seen, without a single exception), of parting the hair on the forehead, and always keeping the crease or separation filled with vermilion or other red paint. This is one of the very few little (and apparently trivial) customs which I have found amongst the Indians, without being able to assign any cause for it, other than that "they are Indians," and that this is an Indian fashion.

302 765 In mourning, like the Crows and most other tribes, the women are obliged to crop their hair all off; and the usual term of that condolence is until the hair has grown again to its former length

When a man mourns for the death of a near relation the case is quite different; his long, valued tresses, are of much greater importance, and only a lock or two can be spared. Just enough to tell of his grief to his friends, without destroying his most valued ornament, is doing just reverence and respect to the dead.

000 To repeat what I have said before, the Mandans are a pleasing and friendly race of people, of whom it is proverbial amongst the Traders and all who ever have known them that their treatment of white men in their

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000 country has been friendly and kind ever since their first acquaintance with them—they have ever met and received them, on the prairie or in their villages, with hospitality and honour.

515 They are handsome, straight and elegant in their forms—not tall, but quick and graceful; easy and polite in their manners, neat in their persons and beautifully clad. When I say "neat in person and beautifully clad," however, I do not intend my readers to understand that such is the case with them all, for among them and most other tribes, as with the enlightened world, there are different grades of society—those who care but little for their personal appearance, and those who take great pains to please themselves and their friends. Amongst this class of personages, such as chiefs and braves, or warriors of distinction, and their families, and dandies or exquisites (a class of beings of whom I shall take due time to speak in a future Letter), the strictest regard to decency, and cleanliness and elegance of dress is observed; and there are few people, perhaps, who take more pains to keep their persons neat and cleanly than they do.

At the distance of half a mile or so above the village, is the customary place where the women and girls resort every morning in the summer months, to bathe in the river. To this spot they repair by hundreds, every morning at sunrise, where, on a beautiful beach, they can be seen running and glistening in the sun, whilst they are playing their innocent gambols and leaping into the stream. They all learn to swim well, and the poorest swimmer [487] amongst them will dash fearlessly into the boiling and eddying current of the Missouri, and cross it with perfect ease. At the distance of a quarter of a mile back from the river, extends a terrace or elevated prairie, running north from the village, and forming a kind of semicircle around this bathing-place; and on this terrace, which is some twenty or thirty feet higher than the meadow between it and the river, are stationed every morning several sentinels, with their bows and arrows in hand, to guard and protect this sacred ground from the approach of boys or men from any directions.

At a little distance below the village, also, is the place where the men and boys go to bathe and learn to swim. After this morning ablution, they return to their village, wipe their limbs dry, and use a profusion of bear's grease through their hair and over their bodies.

000 The art of swimming is known to all the American Indians; and perhaps no people on earth have taken more pains to learn it, nor any who turn it to better account. There certainly are no people whose avocations of life more often call for the use of their limbs in this way; as many of the tribes spend their lives on the shores of our vast lakes and rivers, paddling about from their childhood in their fragile bark canoes, which are liable to continual accidents, which often throw the Indian upon his natural resources for the preservation of his life.

There are many times also, when out upon their long marches in the prosecution of their almost continued warfare, when it becomes necessary to

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plunge into and swim across the wildest streams and rivers, at times when 000
they have no canoes or craft in which to cross them. I have as yet seen no tribe where this art is neglected. It is learned at a very early age by both sexes, and enables the strong and hardy muscles of the squaws to take their child upon the back, and successfully to pass any river that lies in their way.

The mode of swimming amongst the Mandans, as well as amongst most 481
of the other tribes, is quite different from that practiced in those parts of the civilized world, which I have had the pleasure yet to visit. The Indian, instead of parting his hands simultaneously under the chin, and making the stroke outward, in a horizontal direction, causing thereby a serious strain upon the chest, throws his body alternately upon the left and the right side, raising one arm entirely above the water and reaching as far forward as he can, to dip it, whilst his whole weight and force are spent upon the one that is passing under him, and like a paddle propelling him along; whilst this arm is making a half circle, and is being raised out of the water behind him, the opposite arm is describing a similar arcl. in the air over his head, to be dipped in the water as far as he can reach before him, with the hand turned under, forming a sort of bucket, to act most effectively as it passes in its turn underneath him.

By this bold and powerful mode of swimming, which may want the grace that many would wish to see, I am quite sure, from the experience I have had, that much of the fatigue and strain upon the breast and spine are avoided, and that a man will preserve his strength and his breath much longer in this alternate and rolling motion, than he can in the usual mode of swimming, in the polished world.

In addition to the modes of bathing which I have above described, the 515
Mandans have another, which is a much greater luxury, and often resorted 343
to by the sick, but far more often by the well and sound, as a matter of 757
luxury only, or perhaps for the purpose of hardening their limbs and preparing them for the thousand exposures and vicissitudes of life to which they are continually liable. I allude to their vapour baths, or *sudatories*, of which each village has several, and which seem to be a kind of public property—accessible to all, and resorted to by all, male and female, old and young, sick and well.

In every Mandan lodge is to be seen a crib or basket, much in the shape 352
of a bathing-tub, curiously woven with willow boughs, and sufficiently large 515
to receive any person of the family in a reclining or recumbent posture; which, when any one is to take a bath, is carried by the squaw to the sudatory for the purpose, and brought back to the wigwam again after it has been used

These sudatories are always near the village, above or below it, on the 515
bank of the river. They are generally built of skins (in form of a Crow 343
or Sioux lodge which I have before described), covered with buffalo skins 757

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515 343 757 sewed tight together, with a kind of furnace in the centre; or in other words, in the centre of the lodge are two walls of stone about six feet long and two and a half apart, and about three feet high; across and over this space, between the two walls, are laid a number of round sticks, on which the bathing crib is placed (vide PLATE 71). Contiguous to the lodge, and outside of it, is a little furnace something similar, in the side of the bank, where the woman kindles a hot fire, and heats to a red heat a number of large stones, which are kept at these places for this particular purpose; and having them all in readiness, she goes home or sends word to inform her husband or other one who is waiting, that all is ready; when he makes his appearance entirely naked, though with a large buffalo robe wrapped around him. He then enters the lodge and places himself in the crib or basket, either on his back or in a sitting posture (the latter of which is generally preferred), with his back towards the door of the lodge; when the squaw brings in a large stone red hot, between two sticks (lashed together somewhat in the form of a pair of tongs) and, placing it under him, throws cold water upon it, which raises a profusion of vapour about him. He is at once enveloped in a cloud of steam, and a woman or child will sit at a little distance and continue to dash water upon the stone, whilst the matron of the lodge is out, and preparing to make her appearance with another heated stone: or he will sit and dip from a wooden bowl, with a ladle made of the mountain-sheep's horn, and throw upon the heated stones, with his own hands, the water which he is drawing through his lungs and pores, in the next moment, in the most delectable and exhilarating vapours, as it distils through the mat of wild sage and other medicinal and aromatic herbs, which he has strewed over the bottom of his basket, and on which he reclines.

515 757 During all this time the lodge is shut perfectly tight, and he quaffs this delicious and renovating draught to his lungs with deep drawn sighs, and with extended nostrils, until he is drenched in the most profuse degree of perspiration that can be produced; when he makes a kind of strangled signal, at which the lodge is opened, and he darts forth with the speed of a frightened deer, and plunges headlong into the river, from which he instantly escapes again, wraps his robe around him and "leans" as fast as possible for home. Here his limbs are wiped dry, and wrapped close and tight within the fur of the buffalo robes, in which he takes his nap, with his feet to the fire; then oils his limbs and hair with bear's grease, dresses and plumes himself for a visit—a feast—a parade, or a council; or slicks down his long hair, and rubs his oiled limbs to a polish, with a piece of soft buckskin, prepared to join in games of ball or Tchung-kee.

757 Such is the sudatory or the vapour bath of the Mandans, and, as I before observed, it is resorted to both as an every-day luxury by those who have the time and energy or industry to indulge in it; and also used by the sick as a remedy for nearly all the diseases which are known amongst them.

Fevers are very rare, and in fact almost unknown amongst these people: but in the few cases of fever which have been known, this treatment has been applied, and without the fatal consequences which we would naturally predict. The greater part of their diseases are inflammatory rheumatisms, and other chronic diseases; and for these, this mode of treatment, with their modes of life, does admirably well. This custom is similar amongst nearly all of these Missouri Indians, and amongst the Pawnees, Omahas, and Punchas and other tribes, who have suffered with the small-pox (the dread destroyer of the Indian race), this mode was practiced by the poor creatures, who fled by hundreds to the river's edge, and by hundreds died before they could escape from the waves, into which they had plunged in the heat and rage of a burning fever. Such will yet be the scourge, and such the misery of these poor unthinking people, and each tribe to the Rocky Mountains, as it has been with every tribe between here and the Atlantic Ocean. White men—whiskey—tomahawks—scalping knives—guns, powder and ball—small-pox—debauchery—extermination.

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LETTER No. 14.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

291 171 The Mandans in many instances dress very neatly, and some of them splendidly. As they are in their native state, their dresses are all of their own manufacture; and of course, altogether made of skins of different animals belonging to those regions. There is, certainly, a reigning and striking similarity of costume amongst most of the North Western tribes; and I cannot say that the dress of the Mandans is decidedly distinct from that of the Crows or the Blackfeet, the Assinneboins or the Sioux; yet there are modes of stitching or embroidering, in every tribe, which may at once enable the traveller, who is familiar with their modes, to detect or distinguish the dress of any tribe. These differences consist generally in the fashions of constructing the head-dress, or of garnishing their dresses with the porcupine quills, which they use in great profusion.

291 171 177 Amongst so many different and distinct nations, always at war with each other, and knowing nothing at all of each other's languages; and amongst whom, fashions in dress seldom if ever change; it may seem somewhat strange that we should find these people so nearly following, or imitating each other, in the forms and modes of their dress and ornaments. This must however, be admitted, and I think may be accounted for in a manner, without raising the least argument in favour of the theory of their having all sprung from one stock or one family; for in their continual warfare, when chiefs or warriors fall, their clothes and weapons usually fall into the possession of the victors, who wear them; and the rest of the tribe would naturally more or less often copy from or imitate them; and so also in their repeated councils or treaties of peace, such articles of dress and other manufactures are customarily exchanged, which are equally adopted by the other tribe; and consequently, eventually lead to the similarity which we find amongst the modes of dress, &c. of the different tribes.

291 The tunic or shirt of the Mandan men is very similar in shape to that of the Blackfeet—made of two skins of deer or mountain-sheep, strung with scalp-locks, beads, and ermine. The leggings, like those of the other tribes, of whom I have spoken, are made of deer skins, and shaped to fit the leg, embroidered with porcupine quills, and fringed with scalps from their enemies heads. Their moccasins are made of buckskin, and neatly ornamented

with porcupine quills—over their shoulders (or in other words, over one shoulder and passing under the other), they very gracefully wear a robe from the young buffalo's back, oftentimes cut down to about half its original size, to make it handy and easy for use. Many of these are also fringed on one side with scalp-locks; and the flesh side of the skin curiously ornamented with pictured representations of the creditable events and battles of their lives. 291

Their head-dresses are of various sorts, and many of them exceedingly picturesque and handsome; generally made of war-eagles' or ravens quills and ermine. These are the most costly part of an Indian's dress in all this country, owing to the difficulty of procuring the quills and the fur. The war-eagle being the "*rara avis*," and the ermine the rarest animal that is found in the country. The tail of a war-eagle in this village, provided it is a perfect one, containing some six or eight quills, which are denominated first-rate plumes, and suitable to arrange in a head-dress, will purchase a tolerable good horse (horses, however, are much cheaper here than they are in most other countries). I have had abundant opportunities of learning the great value which these people sometimes attach to such articles of dress and ornament, as I have been purchasing a great many, which I intend to exhibit in my Gallery of Indian Paintings, that the world may examine them for themselves, and thereby be enabled to judge of the fidelity of my works, and the ingenuity of Indian manufactures. 292 435

In these purchases I have often been surprised at the prices demanded by them; and perhaps I could not recite a better instance of the kind, than one which occurred here a few days since:—One of the chiefs, whom I had painted at full length, in a beautiful costume, with head-dress of war-eagles' quills and ermine, extending quite down to his feet; and whom I was soliciting for the purchase of his dress complete, was willing to sell to me all but the head-dress; saying, that "he could not part with that, as he would never be able to get quills and ermine of so good a quality to make another like it." I agreed with him, however, for the rest of the dress, and importuned him, from day to day, for the head-dress, until he at length replied, that, if I must have it, he must have two horses for it; the bargain was instantly struck—the horses were procured of the Traders at twenty-five dollars each, and the head-dress secured for my Collection.

There is occasionally, a chief or a warrior of so extraordinary renown, that he is allowed to wear horns on his head-dress, which give to his aspect a strange and majestic effect. These are made of about a third part of the horn of a buffalo bull; the horn having been split from end to end, and a third part of it taken and shaved thin and light, and highly polished. These are attached to the top of the head-dress on each side, in the same place that they rise and stand on the head of a buffalo; rising out of a mat 292

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292 of ermine skins and tails, which hang over the top of the head-dress, somewhat in the form that the large and profuse locks of hair hang and fall over the head of a buffalo bull. See head-dress in PLATES 14, 64, and 91, of three different tribes.

300 The same custom I have found observed amongst the Sioux,—the Crows—the Blackfeet and Assinneboins, and it is one of so striking a character as needs a few more words of observation. There is a peculiar meaning or importance (in their estimation) to this and many other curious and unaccountable appearances in the habits of Indians, upon which the world generally look as things that are absurd and ridiculous, merely because they are beyond the world's comprehension, or because we do not stop to enquire or learn their uses or meaning.

I find that the principal cause why we underrate and despise the savage, is generally because we do not understand him; and the reason why we are ignorant of him and his modes, is that we do not stop to investigate—the world have been too much in the habit of looking upon him as altogether inferior—as a beast, a brute; and unworthy of more than a passing notice. If they stop long enough to form an acquaintance, it is but to take advantage of his ignorance and credulities—to rob him of the wealth and resources of his country;—to make him drunk with whiskey, and visit him with abuses which in his ignorance he never thought of. By this method his first visitors entirely overlook and never understand the meaning of his thousand interesting and characteristic customs; and at the same time, by changing his native modes and habits of life, blot them out from the view of the enquiring world for ever.

It is from the observance of a thousand little and apparently trivial modes and tricks of Indian life, that the Indian character must be learned; and, in fact, it is just the same with us if the subject were reversed: excepting that the system of civilized life would furnish ten apparently useless and ridiculous trifles to one which is found in Indian life; and at least twenty to one which are purely nonsensical and unmeaning.

The civilized world look upon a group of Indians, in their classic dress, with their few and simple oddities, all of which have their moral or meaning, and laugh at them excessively, because they are not like ourselves—we ask, "why do the silly creatures wear such great bunches of quills on their heads?—Such loads and streaks of paint upon their bodies—and bear's grease? abominable!" and a thousand other equally silly questions, without ever stopping to think that Nature taught them to do so—and that they all have some definite importance or meaning which an
292 Indian could explain to us at once, if he were asked and felt disposed to do so—that each quill in his head stood, in the eyes of his whole tribe, as the symbol of an enemy who had fallen by his hand—that every streak of red
302 paint covered a wound which he had got in honourable combat—and that the bear's grease with which he carefully anoints his body every morning, from

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head to foot, cleanses and purifies the body, and protects his skin from the bite of musquitoes, and at the same time preserves him from colds and coughs which are usually taken through the pores of the skin. 302

At the same time, an Indian looks among the civilized world, no doubt, with equal, if not much greater, astonishment, at our apparently, as well as *really*, ridiculous customs and fashions; but he laughs not, nor ridicules, nor questions,—for his natural good sense and good manners forbid him,—until he is reclining about the fire-side of his wigwam companions, when he vents forth his just criticisms upon the learned world, who are a rich and just theme for Indian criticism and Indian gossip. 000

An Indian will not ask a white man the reason why he does not oil his skin with bears' grease, or why he does not paint his body—or why he wears a hat on his head, or why he has buttons on the back part of his coat, where they never can be used—or why he wears whiskers, and a shirt collar up to his eyes—or why he sleeps with his head towards the fire instead of his feet —why he walks with his toes out instead of turning them in—or why it is that hundreds of white folks will flock and crowd round a table to see an Indian eat—but he will go home to his wigwam fire-side, and "make the welkin ring" with jokes and fun upon the ignorance and folly of the knowing world.

A wild Indian thrown into the civilized atmosphere will see a man occasionally moving in society, wearing a cocked hat; and another with a laced coat and gold or silver epaulettes upon his shoulders, without knowing or enquiring the meaning of them, or the objects for which they are worn. Just so a white man travels amongst a wild and untaught tribe of Indians, and sees occasionally one of them parading about their village, with a head-dress of eagles' quills and ermine, and elevated above it a pair of beautifully polished buffalo horns; and just as ignorant is he also, of their meaning or importance; and more so, for the first will admit the presumption that epaulettes and cocked hats amongst the civilized world, are made for some important purpose,—but the latter will presume that horns on an Indian's head are nothing more nor less (nor can they be in their estimation), than Indian nonsense and stupidity.

This brings us to the "corned crest" again, and if the poor Indian scans epaulettes and cocked hats, without enquiring their meaning, and explaining them to his tribe, it is no reason why I should have associated with the noble dignitaries of these western regions, with horns and ermine on their heads, and then to have introduced the subject without giving some further clue to their importance and meaning. For me, this negligence would be doubly unpardonable, as I travel, not to *trade* but to *herald* the Indian and his dying customs to posterity. 292

This custom then, which I have before observed belongs to all the north-western tribes, is one no doubt of very ancient origin, having a purely classic meaning. No one wears the head-dress surmounted with horns ex- [171]

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292 cept the dignitaries who are very high in authority, and whose exceeding valour, worth, and power is admitted by all the nation.

He may wear them, however, who is not a *chief*; but a brave, or 292 warrior of such remarkable character, that he is esteemed universally in the 554 tribe, as a man whose "voice is as loud in council" as that of a chief of the first grade, and consequently his *power* as great.

This head-dress with horns is used only on certain occasions, and they are very seldom. When foreign chiefs, Indian agents, or other important personages visit a tribe; or at war parades, at the celebration of a victory, at public festivals, &c. they are worn; but on no other occasions—unless, sometimes, when a chief sees fit to lead a war-party to battle, he decorates his head with this symbol of power, to stimulate his men; and throws himself into the foremost of the battle, inviting his enemy to concentrate their shafts upon him.

The horns on these head-dresses are but loosely attached at the bottom, so that they easily fall back or forward, according as the head is inclined forward or backward; and by an ingenious motion of the head, which is so slight as to be almost imperceptible—they are made to balance to and fro, and sometimes, one backward and the other forward like a horse's ears, giving a vast deal of expression and force of character, to the appearance of the chief who is wearing them. This, reader, is a remarkable instance (like hundreds of others), for its striking similarity to *Jewish customs*, to the kerns (or keren, in Hebrew), the horns worn by the Abysinian chiefs and Hebrews, as a *symbol of power* and command; worn at great parades and celebrations of victories.

000 "The false prophet Zedekiah, made him horns of iron" (1 Kings xxii. 11). "Lift not your horns on high; speak not with a stiff neck" (Ps. lxxv. 5).

This last citation seems so exactly to convey to my mind the mode of raising and changing the position of the horns by a motion of the head, as I have above described, that I am irresistibly led to believe that this custom is now practiced amongst these tribes very nearly as it was amongst the Jews; and that it has been, like many other customs of which I shall speak more in future epistles, handed down and preserved with very little innovation or change from that ancient people.

The reader will see this custom exemplified in the portrait of Mah-to-292 toh-pa (PLATE 64). This man, although the second chief, was the only 554 man in the nation who was allowed to wear the horns; and all, I found, looked upon him as the leader, who had the power to lead all the warriors in time of war; and that, in consequence of the extraordinary battles which he had fought.

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LETTER—No. 15.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

A WEEK or more has elapsed since the date of my last Letter, and nothing as yet of the great and curious event—or the *Mandan religious ceremony*. There is evidently much preparation making for it, however; and from what I can learn, no one in the nation, save the *medicine-men*, have any knowledge of the exact day on which it is to commence. I am informed by the chiefs, that it takes place as soon as the willow-tree is in full leaf; for, say they, "the twig which the bird brought in was a willow bough, and had full-grown leaves on it." So it seems that this celebration has some relation to the Flood. 796

This great occasion is close at hand, and will, undoubtedly, commence in a few days; in the meantime I will give a few notes and memorandums, which I have made since my last. 000

I have been continually at work with my brush, with fine and picturesque subjects before me; and from the strange, whimsical, and superstitious notions which they have of an art so novel and unaccountable to them, I have been initiated into many of their mysteries—have witnessed many very curious incidents, and preserved several anecdotes, some of which I must relate.

Perhaps nothing ever more completely astonished these people than the operations of my *brush*. The art of portrait-painting was a subject entirely new to them, and of course, unthought of; and my appearance here has commenced a new era in the arcana of *medicine* or mystery. Soon after arriving here, I commenced and finished the portraits of the two principal chiefs. This was done without having awakened the curiosity of the villagers, as they had heard nothing of what was going on, and even the chiefs themselves seemed to be ignorant of my designs, until the pictures were completed. No one else was admitted into my lodge during the operation; and when finished, it was exceedingly amusing to see them mutually recognizing each other's likeness, and assuring each other of the striking resemblance which they bore to the originals. Both of these pressed their hand over their mouths awhile in dead silence (a custom amongst most tribes, when anything surprises them very much); looking attentively upon the portraits and myself, and upon the palette and colours with which these unaccountable effects had been produced. 123

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123 They then walked up to me in the most gentle manner, taking me in turn by the hand, with a firm grip; with head and eyes inclined downwards, and in a tone a little above a whisper—pronounced the words "te-ho-pe-nee Wash-ee!" and walked off.

Readers, at that moment I was christened with a new and a great name—one by which I am now familiarly hailed, and talked of in this village; and no doubt will be, as long as traditions last in this strange community.

That moment conferred an honour on me, which you as yet do not understand. I took the degree (not of Doctor of Laws, nor Bachelor of Arts) of Master of Arts—of mysteries—of magic, and of hocus pocus. I was recognized in that short sentence as a "great *medicine white man*;" and since that time, have been regularly installed *medicine* or mystery, which is the most honourable degree that could be conferred upon me here; and I now hold a place amongst the most eminent and envied personages, the doctors and conjurati of this titled community.

Te-ho-pe-nee Wash-ee (or medicine white man) is the name I now go by, and it will prove to me, no doubt, of more value than gold, for I have been called upon and feasted by the doctors, who are all mystery-men; and it has been an easy and successful passport already to many strange and mysterious places; and has put me in possession of a vast deal of curious and interesting information, which I am sure I never should have otherwise learned. I am daily growing in the estimation of the medicine-men and the chiefs; and by assuming all the gravity and circumspection due from so high a dignitary (and even considerably more); and endeavouring to perform now and then some art or trick that is unfathomable, I am in hopes of supporting my standing, until the great annual ceremony commences; on which occasion, I may possibly be allowed a seat in the *medicine-lodge* by the doctors, who are the sole conductors of this great source and fountain of all priestcraft and conjuration in this country.

After I had finished the portraits of the two chiefs, and they had returned to their wigwams, and deliberately seated themselves by their respective fire-sides, and silently smoked a pipe or two (according to an universal custom), they gradually began to tell what had taken place; and at length crowds of gaping listeners, with mouths wide open, thronged their lodges; and a throng of women and girls were about my house, and through every crack and crevice I could see their glistening eyes, which were piercing my hut in a hundred places, from a natural and restless propensity, a curiosity to see what was going on within. An hour or more passed in this way, and the soft and silken throng continually increased, until some hundreds of them were clung, and piled about my wigwam like a swarm of bees hanging on the front and sides of their hive.

During this time, not a man made his appearance about the premises—after awhile, however, they could be seen, folded in their robes, gradually *siding* up towards the lodge, with a silly look upon their faces, which confessed at

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once that curiosity was leading them reluctantly, where their pride checked and forbade them to go. The rush soon after became general, and the chiefs and medicine-men took possession of my room, placing *soldiers* (braves with spears in their hands) at the door, admitting no one, but such as were allowed by the chiefs, to come in. 123

Monsr. Kipp (the agent of the Fur Company, who has lived here eight years, and to whom, for his politeness and hospitality, I am much indebted), at this time took a seat with the chiefs, and, speaking their language fluently, he explained to them my views and the objects for which I was painting these portraits; and also expounded to them the manner in which they were made,—at which they seemed all to be very much pleased. The necessity at this time of exposing the portraits to the view of the crowds who were assembled around the house, became imperative, and they were held up together over the door, so that the whole village had a chance to see and recognise their chiefs. The effect upon so mixed a multitude, who as yet had heard no way of accounting for them, was novel and really laughable. The likenesses were instantly recognized, and many of the gaping multitude commenced yelping; some were stamping off in the jarring dance—others were singing, and others again were crying—hundreds covered their mouths with their hands and were mute; others, indignant, drove their spears frightfully into the ground, and some threw a reddened arrow at the sun, and went home to their wigwams.

The pictures seen,—the next curiosity was to see the man who made them, and I was called forth. Readers! if you have any imagination, save me the trouble of painting this scene. • • • • 123 774

• • • I stepped forth, and was instantly hemmed in in the throng. Women were gaping and gazing—and warriors and braves were offering me their hands,—whilst little boys and girls, by dozens, were struggling through the crowd to touch me with the ends of their fingers; and whilst I was engaged, from the waist upwards, in fending off the throng and shaking hands, my legs were assailed (not unlike the nibbling of little fish, when I have been standing in deep water) by children, who were creeping between the legs of the bystanders for the curiosity or honour of touching me with the end of their finger. The eager curiosity and expression of astonishment with which they gazed upon me, plainly shewed that they looked upon me as some strange and unaccountable being They pronounced me the greatest *medicine-man* in the world; for they said I had made *living beings*,—they said they could see their chiefs alive, in two places—those that I had made were a *little* alive—they could see their eyes move—could see them smile and laugh, and that if they could laugh they could certainly speak, if they should try, and they must therefore have *some life* in them.

The squaws generally agreed, that they had discovered life enough in them to render my *medicine* too great for the Mandans; saying that such an

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123 operation could not be performed without taking away from the original
774 something of his existence, which I put in the picture, and they could see it move, could see it stir.

This curtailing of the natural existence, for the purpose of instilling life into the secondary one, they decided to be an useless and destructive operation, and one which was calculated to do great mischief in their happy community; and they commenced a mournful and doleful chaunt against me, crying and weeping bitterly through the village, proclaiming me a most "dangerous man; one who could make living persons by looking at them; and at the same time, could, as a matter of course, destroy life in the same way, if I chose. That my medicine was dangerous to their lives, and that I must leave the village immediately. That bad luck would happen to those whom I painted—that I was to take a part of the existence of those whom I painted, and carry it home with me amongst the white people, and that when they died they would never sleep quiet in their graves."

123 In this way the women and some old quack medicine-men together, had succeeded in raising an opposition against me; and the reasons they assigned were so plausible and so exactly suited for their superstitious feelings, that they completely succeeded in exciting fears and a general panic in the minds of a number of chiefs who had agreed to sit for their portraits, and my operations were, of course, for several days completely at a stand. A grave council was held on the subject from day to day, and there seemed great difficulty in deciding what was to be done with me and the dangerous art which I was practicing; and which had far exceeded their original expectations. I finally got admittance to their sacred conclave, and assured them that I was but a man like themselves,—that my art had no *medicine* or mystery about it, but could be learned by any of them if they would practice it as long as I had—that my intentions towards them were of the most friendly kind, and that in the country where I lived, brave men never allowed their squaws to frighten them with their foolish whims and stories. They all immediately arose, shook me by the hand, and dressed themselves for their pictures. After this, there was no further difficulty about sitting; all were ready to be painted,—the squaws were silent, and my painting-room a continual resort for the chiefs, and braves, and medicine-men; where they waited with impatience for the completion of each one's picture,—that they could decide as to the likeness as it came from under the brush; that they could laugh, and yell, and sing a new song, and smoke a fresh pipe to the health and success of him who had just been safely delivered from the hands and the mystic operation of the "*white medicine.*"

In each of these operations, as they successfully took place, I observed that a pipe or two were well filled, and as soon as I commenced painting, the chiefs and braves, who sat around the sides of the lodge, commenced smoking for the success of the picture (and probably as much or more so for the safe deliverance of the sitter from harm while under the operation);

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and so they continued to pass the pipe around until the portrait was completed. 123

In this way I progressed with my portraits, stopping occasionally very suddenly as if something was wrong, and taking a tremendous puff or two at the pipe, and streaming the smoke through my nostrils, exhibiting in my looks and actions an evident relief; enabling me to proceed with more facility and success,—by flattering and complimenting each one on his good looks after I had got it done, and taking them according to rank, or standing, making it a matter of honour with them, which pleased them exceedingly, and gave me and my art the stamp of respectability at once.

I was then taken by the arm by the chiefs, and led to their lodges, where feasts were prepared for me in elegant style, *i. e.* in the best manner which this country affords; and being led by the arm, and welcomed to them by *gentlemen* of high and exalted feelings, rendered them in my estimation truly elegant.

I was waited upon in due form and ceremony by the *medicine-men*, who received me upon the old adage, "Similis simili gaudet." I was invited to a feast, and they presented me a *she-shee-quoi*, or a doctor's rattle, and also a magical wand, or a doctor's staff, strung with claws of the grizzly bear, with hoofs of the antelope—with ermine—with wild sage and bat's wings—and perfumed withal with the *choice* and *savoury* odour of the pole-cat—a dog was sacrificed and hung by the legs over my wigwam, and I was therefore and thereby initiated into (and countenanced in the practice of) the arcana of medicine or mystery, and considered a Fellow of the Extraordinary Society of *Conjurati*. 123 791

Since this signal success and good fortune in my operations, things have gone on very pleasantly, and I have had a great deal of amusement. Some altercation has taken place, however, amongst the chiefs and braves, with regard to standing or rank, of which they are exceedingly jealous; and they must sit (if at all) in regular order, according to that rank; the trouble is all settled at last, however, and I have had no want of subjects, though a great many have become again alarmed, and are unwilling to sit, for fear, as some say, that they will die prematurely if painted; and as others say, that if they are painted, the picture will live after they are dead, and they cannot sleep quiet in their graves. 123 774

I have had several most remarkable occurrences in my painting-room, of this kind, which have made me some everlasting enemies here; though the minds and feelings of the chiefs and medicine-men have not been affected by them. There has been three or four instances where proud and aspiring young men have been in my lodge, and after gazing at the portraits of the head chief across the room (which sits looking them in the eyes), have raised their hands before their faces and walked around to the side of the lodge, on the right or left, from whence to take a long and fair side-look at the chief, instead of staring him full in the face (which is a most unpardonable offence

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in all Indian tribes); and after having got in that position, and cast their eyes again upon the portrait which was yet looking them full in the face, have thrown their robes over their heads and bolted out of the wigwam, filled equally with astonishment and indignation; averring, as they always will in a sullen mood, that they "saw the eyes move,"—that as they walked around the room "the eyes of the portrait followed them." With these unfortunate gentlemen, repeated efforts have been made by the Traders, and also by the chiefs and doctors, who understand the illusion, to convince them of their error, by explaining the mystery; but they will not hear to any explanation whatever; saying, that "what they see with their eyes is always evidence enough for them;" that they always "believe their own eyes sooner than a hundred tongues," and all efforts to get them a second time to my room, or into my company in any place, have proved entirely unsuccessful.

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I had trouble brewing also the other day from another source; one of the "*medicines*" commenced howling and haranguing around my domicil, amongst the throng that was outside, proclaiming that all who were inside and being painted were fools and would soon die; and very materially affecting thereby my popularity. I however sent for him and called him in the next morning, when I was alone, having only the interpreter with me; telling him that I had had my eye upon him for several days, and had been so well pleased with his looks, that I had taken great pains to find out his history, which had been explained by all as one of a most extraordinary kind, and his character and standing in his tribe as worthy of my particular notice; and that I had several days since resolved that as soon as I had practiced my hand long enough upon the others, to get the stiffness out of it (after paddling my canoe so far as I had) and make it to work easily and successfully, I would begin on his portrait, which I was then prepared to commence on that day, and that I felt as if I could do him justice. He shook me by the hand, giving me the "Doctor's grip," and beckoned me to sit down, which I did, and we smoked a pipe together. After this was over, he told me, that "he had no inimical feelings towards me, although he had been telling the chiefs that they were all fools, and all would die who had their portraits painted—that although he had set the old women and children all crying, and even made some of the young warriors tremble, yet he had no unfriendly feelings towards me, nor any fear or dread of my art." "I know you are a good man (said he), I know you will do no harm to any one, your medicine is great and you are a great 'medicine-man.' I would like to see myself very well—and so would all of the chiefs; but they have all been many days in this medicine-house, and they all know me well, and they have not asked me to come in and be *made alive* with paints—my friend, I am glad that my people have told you who I am—my heart is glad—I will go to my wigwam and eat, and in a little while I will come, and you may go to work;"—another pipe was lit and smoked, and he got up and went off. I prepared my canvass and pa-

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lette, and whistled away the time until twelve o'clock, before he made his appearance; having used the whole of the fore-part of the day at his toilette, arranging his dress and ornamenting his body for his picture.

At that hour then, bedaubed and streaked with paints of various colours, with bear's grease and charcoal, with medicine-pipes in his hands and foxes tails attached to his heels, entered Mah-to-he-hah (the old bear, PLATE 55), with a train of his own profession, who seated themselves around him; and also a number of boys, whom it was requested should remain with him, and whom I supposed it possible might have been pupils, whom he was instructing in the mysteries of *materia medica* and *hoca poca*. He took his position in the middle of the room, waving his eagle calumets in each hand, and singing his medicine-song which he sings over his dying patient, looking me full in the face until I completed his picture, which I painted at full length. His vanity has been completely gratified in the operation; he lies for hours together, day after day, in my room, in front of his picture, gazing intensely upon it; lights my pipe for me while I am painting—shakes hands with me a dozen times on each day, and talks of me, and enlarges upon my *medicine* virtues and my talents, wherever he goes; so that this new difficulty is now removed, and instead of preaching against me, he is one of my strongest and most enthusiastic friends and aids in the country.

There is yet to be described another sort of personage, that is often seen stalking about in all Indian communities, a kind of nondescript, with whom I have been somewhat annoyed, and still more amused, since I came to this village, of whom (or of *which*) I shall give some account in my next epistle.

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LETTER—No. 16.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

156 Besides chiefs, and braves and doctors, of whom I have heretofore spoken, there is yet another character of whom I must say a few words before I proceed to other topics. The person I allude to, is the one mentioned at the close of my last Letter, and familiarly known and countenanced in every tribe as an Indian *beau* or *dandy*. Such personages may be seen on every pleasant day, strutting and parading around the village in the most beautiful and unsoiled dresses, without the honourable trophies however of scalp locks and claws of the grizzly bear, attached to their costume, for with such things they deal not. They are not peculiarly anxious to hazard their lives in equal and honourable combat with the one, or disposed to cross the path of the other; but generally remain about the village, to take care of the women, and attire themselves in the skins of such animals as they can easily kill, without seeking the rugged cliffs for the war-eagle, or visiting the haunts of
B01 the grizzly bear. They plume themselves with swan's-down and quills of ducks, with braids and plaits of sweet-scented grass and other harmless and unmeaning ornaments, which have no other merit than they themselves have, that of looking pretty and ornamental.

These clean and elegant gentlemen, who are very few in each tribe, are held in very little estimation by the chiefs and braves; inasmuch as it is known by all, that they have a most horrible aversion to arms, and are denominated "faint hearts" or "old women" by the whole tribe, and are therefore but little respected. They seem, however, to be tolerably well contented with the appellation, together with the celebrity they have acquired amongst the women and children for the beauty and elegance of their personal appearance; and most of them seem to take and enjoy their share of the world's pleasures, although they are looked upon as drones in society.

These gay and tinselled bucks may be seen in a pleasant day in all their plumes, astride of their pied or dappled ponies, with a fan in the right hand, made of a turkey's tail—with whip and a fly-brush attached to the wrist of the same hand, and underneath them a white and beautiful and soft pleasure-saddle, ornamented with porcupine quills and ermine, parading through and lounging about the village for an hour or so, when they will cautiously bend their course to the suburbs of the town, where they will sit

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or recline upon their horses for an hour or two, overlooking the beautiful games where the braves and the young aspirants are contending in manly and athletic amusements;—when they are fatigued with this severe effort, they wend their way back again, lift off their fine white saddle of doe's-skin, which is wadded with buffalo's hair, turn out their pony—take a little refreshment, smoke a pipe, fan themselves to sleep, and doze away the rest of the day. 156

Whilst I have been painting, from day to day, there have been two or three of these fops continually strutting and taking their attitudes in front of my door; decked out in all their finery, without receiving other benefit or other information, than such as they could discover through the cracks and seams of my cabin. The chiefs, I observed, passed them by without notice, and of course, without inviting them in; and they seemed to figure about my door from day to day in their best dresses and best attitudes, as if in hopes that I would select them as models, for my canvass. It was natural that I should do so, for their costume and personal appearance was entirely more beautiful than anything else to be seen in the village. My plans were laid, and one day when I had got through with all of the head men, who were willing to sit to be painted, and there were two or three of the chiefs lounging in my room, I stepped to the door and tapped one of these fellows on the shoulder, who took the hint, and stepped in, well-pleased and delighted with the signal and honourable notice I had at length taken of him and his beautiful dress. Readers, you cannot imagine what was the expression of gratitude which beamed forth in this poor fellow's face, and how high his heart beat with joy and pride at the idea of my selecting him to be immortal, alongside of the chiefs and worthies whose portraits he saw arranged around the room; and by which honour he, undoubtedly, considered himself well paid for two or three weeks of regular painting, and greasing, and dressing, and standing alternately on one leg and the other at the door of my premises. 123 156

Well, I placed him before me, and a canvass on my easel, and "chalked him out" at full length. He was truly a beautiful subject for the brush, and I was filled with enthusiasm—his dress from head to foot was of the skins of the mountain-goat, and dressed so neatly, that they were almost as soft and as white as Canton crape—around the bottom and the sides it was trimmed with ermine, and porcupine quills of beautiful dyes garnished it in a hundred parts;—his hair which was long, and spread over his back and shoulders, extending nearly to the ground, was all combed back and parted on his forehead like that of a woman. He was a tall and fine figure, with ease and grace in his movements, that were well worthy of a man of better caste. In his left hand he held a beautiful pipe—and in his right hand he plied his fan, and on his wrist was still attached his whip of elk's horn, and his fly-brush, made of the buffalo's tail. There was nought about him of the terrible, and nought to shock the finest, chastest intellect. [292]

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123 I had thus far progressed, with high-wrought feelings of pleasure, when
156 the two or three chiefs, who had been seated around the lodge, and whose portraits I had before painted, arose suddenly, and wrapping themselves tightly in their robes, crossed my room with a quick and heavy step, and took an informal leave of my cabin. I was apprehensive of their displeasure, though I continued my work; and in a few moments the interpreter came furiously into my room, addressing me thus:—"My God, Sir! this never will do; you have given great offence to the chiefs—they have made complaint of your conduct to me—they tell me this is a worthless fellow—a man of no account in the nation, and if you paint his picture, you must instantly destroy theirs; you have no alternative, my dear Sir—and the quicker this chap is out of your lodge the better."

The same matter was explained to my sitter by the interpreter, when he picked up his robe, wrapped himself in it, plied his fan nimbly about his face, and walked out of the lodge in silence, but with quite a consequential smile, taking his old position in front of the door for awhile, after which he drew himself quietly off without further exhibition. So highly do Mandan braves and worthies value the honour of being painted; and so little do they value a man, however lavishly Nature may have bestowed her master touches upon him, who has not the pride and noble bearing of a warrior.

000 I spoke in a former Letter of Mah-to-toh-pa (the four bears), the second chief of the nation, and the most popular man of the Mandans—a high-minded and gallant warrior, as well as a polite and polished gentleman. Since I painted his portrait, as I before described, I have received at his hands many marked and signal attentions; some of which I must name to you, as the very relation of them will put you in possession of many little forms and modes of Indian life, that otherwise might not have been noted.

574 About a week since, this noble fellow stepped into my painting-room about twelve o'clock in the day, in full and splendid dress, and passing his arm through mine, pointed the way, and led me in the most gentlemanly manner, through the village and into his own lodge, where a feast was prepared in a careful manner and waiting our arrival. The lodge in which he
[342] dwelt was a room of immense size, some forty or fifty feet in diameter, in a circular form, and about twenty feet high—with a sunken curb of stone in the centre, of five or six feet in diameter and one foot deep, which contained the fire over which the pot was boiling. I was led near the edge of this curb, and seated on a very handsome robe, most ingeniously garnished and painted with hieroglyphics; and he seated himself gracefully on another one at a little distance from me; with the feast prepared in several dishes, resting on a beautiful rush mat, which was placed between us (PLATE 62).

262 The simple feast which was spread before us consisted of three dishes
264 only, two of which were served in wooden bowls, and the third in an earthen
415 vessel of their own manufacture, somewhat in shape of a bread-tray in our own country. This last contained a quantity of *pem-i-can* and *marrow-*

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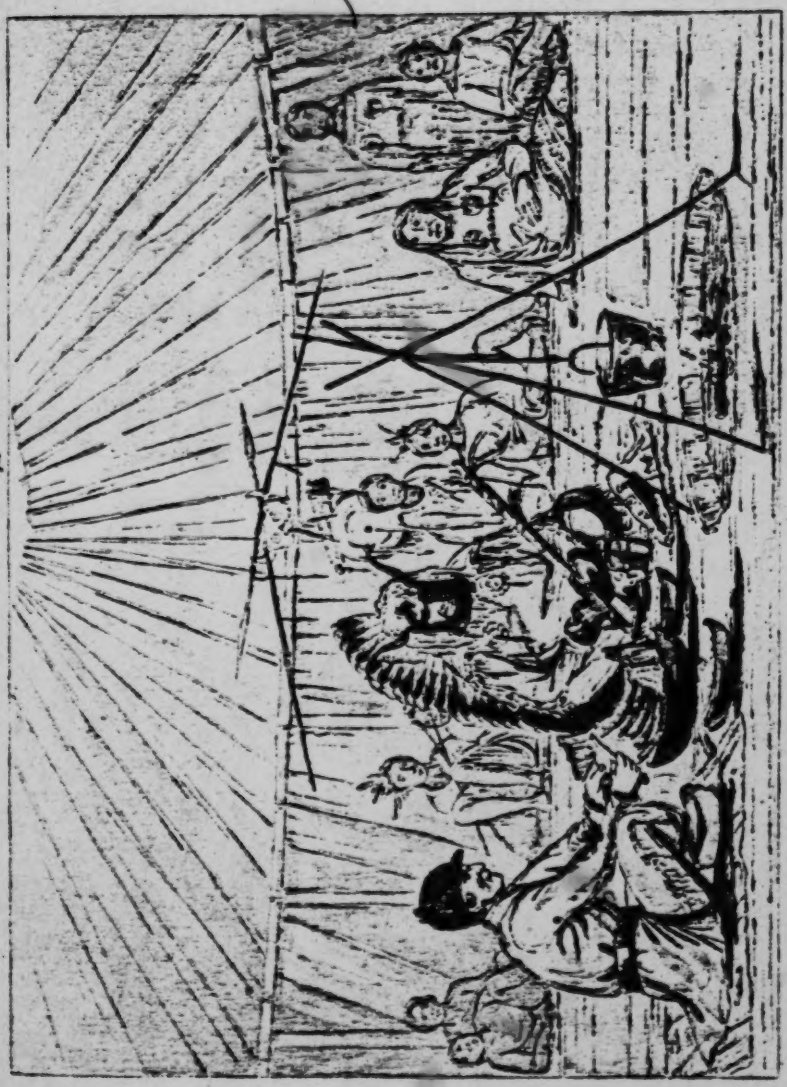

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262 *fat;* and one of the former held a fine brace of buffalo ribs, delightfully
264 roasted; and the other was filled with a kind of paste or pudding, made of
415 the flour of the "*pomme blanche*," as the French call it, a delicious turnip of the prairie, finely flavoured with the buffalo berries, which are collected in great quantities in this country, and used with divers dishes in cooking, as we in civilized countries use dried currants, which they very much resemble.

276 A handsome pipe and a tobacco-pouch made of the otter skin, filled with
264 k'nick-k'neck (Indian tobacco), laid by the side of the feast; and when we were seated, mine host took up his pipe, and deliberately filled it; and instead of lighting it by the fire, which he could easily have done, he drew from his pouch his flint and steel, and raised a spark with which he kindled it. He drew a few strong whiffs through it, and presented the stem of it to my mouth, through which I drew a whiff or two while he held the stem in his hands. This done, he laid down the pipe, and drawing his knife from his belt, cut off a very small piece of the meat from the ribs, and pronouncing the words "Ho-pe-ne-chee wa-pa-shee" (meaning a *medicine* sacrifice), threw it into the fire.

He then (by signals) requested me to eat, and I commenced, after drawing out from my belt my knife (which it is supposed that every man in this country carries about him, for at an Indian feast a knife is never offered to a guest). Reader, be not astonished that I sat and ate my dinner *alone*,
[576] for such is the custom of this strange land. In all tribes in these western regions it is an invariable rule that a chief never eats with his guests invited to a feast; but while they eat, he sits by, at their service, and ready to wait upon them; deliberately charging and lighting the pipe which is to be passed around after the feast is over. Such was the case in the present instance, and while I was eating, Mah-to-toh-pa sat cross-legged before me, cleaning his pipe and preparing it for a cheerful smoke when I had finished my meal. For this ceremony I observed he was making unusual preparation, and I observed as I ate, that after he had taken enough of the k'nick-k'neck or bark of the red willow, from his pouch, he rolled out of it also a piece of the "*castor*," which it is customary amongst these folks to carry in their tobacco-sack to give it a flavour; and, shaving off a small quantity of it, mixed it with the bark, with which he charged his pipe. This done, he drew also from his sack a small parcel containing a fine powder, which was made of dried buffalo dung, a little of which he spread over the top, (according also to custom,) which was like tinder, having no other effect than that of lighting the pipe with ease and satisfaction. My appetite satiated, I straightened up, and with a whiff the pipe was lit, and we enjoyed together for a quarter of an hour the most delightful exchange of good feelings, amid clouds of smoke and pantomimic signs and gesticulations.

251 The dish of "pemican and marrow-fat," of which I spoke, was thus:—The first, an article of food used throughout this country, as familiarly as we use

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251 bread in the civilized world. It is made of buffalo meat dried very hard, and afterwards pounded in a large wooden mortar until it is made nearly as fine as sawdust, then packed in this dry state in bladders or sacks of skin, and is easily carried to any part of the world in good order. "Marrow-fat" is collected by the Indians from the buffalo bones which they break to pieces, yielding a prodigious quantity of marrow, which is boiled out and put into buffalo bladders which have been distended; and after it cools, becomes quite hard like tallow, and has the appearance, and very nearly the flavour, of the richest yellow butter. At a feast, chunks of this marrow-fat are cut off and placed in a tray or bowl, with the pemican, and eaten together; which we civilized folks in these regions consider a very good substitute for (and indeed we generally so denominate it) "bread and
415 butter." In this dish laid a spoon made of the buffalo's horn, which was black as jet, and beautifully polished; in one of the others there was another of still more ingenious and beautiful workmanship, made of the horn of the mountain-sheep, or "Gros corn," as the French trappers call them; it was large enough to hold of itself two or three pints, and was almost entirely transparent.

I spoke also of the earthen dishes or bowls in which these viands were served out; they are a familiar part of the culinary furniture of every Mandan lodge, and are manufactured by the women of this tribe in great quantities, and modelled into a thousand forms and tastes. They are made by the hands of the women, from a tough black clay, and baked in kilns which are made for the purpose, and are nearly equal in hardness to our own manufacture of pottery; though they have not yet got the art of glazing, which would be to them a most valuable secret. They make them so strong and serviceable, however, that they hang them over the fire as we do our iron pots, and boil their meat in them with perfect success. I have seen some few specimens of such manufacture, which have been dug up in Indian mounds and tombs in the southern and middle states, placed in our Eastern Museums and looked upon as a great wonder, when here this novelty is at once done away with, and the whole mystery; where women can be seen handling and using them by hundreds, and they can be seen every day in the summer also, moulding them into many fanciful forms, and passing them through the kiln where they are hardened.

576 Whilst sitting at this feast the wigwam was as silent as death, although we were not alone in it. This chief, like most others, had a plurality of wives,
595 and all of them (some six or seven) were seated around the sides of the lodge, upon robes or mats placed upon the ground, and not allowed to speak, though they were it readiness to obey his orders or commands, which were uniformly given by signs manual, and executed in the neatest and most silent manner.

431 When I arose to return, the pipe through which we had smoked was presented to me; and the robe on which I had sat, he gracefully raised by the corners and tendered it to me, explaining by signs that the paintings

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which were on it were the representations of the battles of his life, where he had fought and killed with his own hand fourteen of his enemies; that he had been two weeks engaged in painting it for me, and that he had invited me here on this occasion to present it to me. The robe, readers, which I shall describe in a future epistle, I took upon my shoulder, and he took me by the arm and led me back to my painting-room. 431

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LETTER—No. 17.

MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

595 171 I MENTIONED in the foregoing epistle, that the chiefs of the Mandans frequently have a plurality of wives. Such is the custom amongst all of these North Western tribes, and a few general remarks on this subject will apply to them all, and save the trouble of repeating them.

Polygamy is countenanced amongst all of the North American Indians, so far as I have visited them; and it is no uncommon thing to find a chief with six, eight, or ten, and some with twelve or fourteen wives in his lodge. Such is an ancient custom, and in their estimation is right as well as necessary. 562 595 Women in a savage state, I believe, are always held in a rank inferior to that of the men, in relation to whom in many respects they stand rather in the light of menials and slaves than otherwise; and as they are the "hewers of wood and drawers of water," it becomes a matter of necessity for a chief (who must be liberal, keep open doors, and entertain, for the support of his popularity) to have in his wigwam a sufficient number of such handmaids or menials to perform the numerous duties and drudgeries of so large and expensive an establishment.

595 556 462 There are two other reasons for this custom which operate with equal, if not with greater force than the one above assigned. In the first place, these people, though far behind the civilized world in acquisitiveness, have still more or less passion for the accumulation of wealth, or, in other words, for the luxuries of life; and a chief, excited by a desire of this kind, together with a wish to be able to furnish his lodge with something more than ordinary for the entertainment of his own people, as well as strangers who fall upon his hospitality, sees fit to marry a number of wives, who are kept at hard labour during most of the year; and the avails of that labour enable him to procure those luxuries, and give to his lodge the appearance of respectability which is not ordinarily seen. Amongst those tribes who trade with the Fur Companies, this system is carried out to a great extent, and the women are kept for the greater part of the year, dressing buffalo robes and other skins for the market; and the brave or chief, who has the greatest number of wives, is considered the most affluent and envied man in the tribe; for his table is most bountifully supplied, and his lodge the most abundantly furnished with the luxuries

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of civilized manufacture, who has at the year's end the greatest number of robes to vend to the Fur Company. 595

The manual labour amongst savages is all done by the women; and as there are no daily labourers or persons who will "*hire out*" to labour for another, it becomes necessary for him who requires more than the labour or services of one, to add to the number by legalizing and compromising by the ceremony of marriage, his stock of labourers; who can thus, and thus alone, be easily enslaved, and the results of their labour turned to good account. 556 462

There is yet the other inducement, which probably is more effective than either; the natural inclination which belongs to man, who stands high in the estimation of his people and wields the sceptre of power—surrounded by temptations which he considers it would be unnatural to resist, where no law or regulation of society stands in the way of his enjoyment. Such a custom amongst savage nations can easily be excused too, and we are bound to excuse it, when we behold man in a state of nature, as he was made, following a natural inclination, which is sanctioned by ancient custom and by their religion, without a law or regulation of their society to discountenance it; and when, at the same time, such an accumulation of a man's household, instead of quadrupling his expenses (as would be the case in the civilized world), actually becomes his wealth, as the results of their labour abundantly secure to him all the necessaries and luxuries of life. 595

There are other and very rational grounds on which the propriety of such a custom may be urged, one of which is as follows:—as all nations of Indians in their natural condition are unceasingly at war with the tribes that are about them, for the adjustment of ancient and never-ending feuds, as well as from a love of glory, to which in Indian life the battle-field is almost the only road, their warriors are killed off to that extent, that in many instances two and sometimes three women to a man are found in a tribe. In such instances I have found that the custom of polygamy has kindly helped the community to an evident relief from a cruel and prodigious calamity.

The instances of which I have above spoken, are generally confined to the chiefs and medicine-men; though there is no regulation prohibiting a poor or obscure individual from marrying several wives, other than the personal difficulties which lie between him and the hand which he wishes in vain to get, for want of sufficient celebrity in society, or from a still more frequent objection, that of his inability (from want of worldly goods) to deal in the customary way with the fathers of the girls whom he would appropriate to his own household.

There are very few instances indeed, to be seen in these regions, where a poor or ordinary citizen has more than one wife; but amongst chiefs and braves of great reputation, and doctors, it is common to see some six or

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595 eight living under one roof, and all apparently quiet and contented; seemingly harmonizing, and enjoying the modes of life and treatment that falls to their lot.

583 Wives in this country are mostly treated for with the father, as in all instances they are regularly bought and sold. In many cases the bargain is made with the father alone, without ever consulting the inclinations of the girl, and seems to be conducted on his part as a mercenary contract entirely, where he stands out for the highest price he can possibly command for her. There are other instances to be sure, where the parties approach each other, and from the expression of a mutual fondness, make their own arrangements, and pass their own mutual vows, which are quite as sacred and inviolable as similar assurances when made in the civilized world. Yet even in such cases, the marriage is never consummated without the necessary form of making presents to the father of the girl.

177 It becomes a matter of policy and almost of absolute necessity, for the white men who are Traders in these regions to connect themselves in this way, to one or more of the most influential families in the tribe, which in a measure identifies their interest with that of the nation, and enables them, with the influence of their new family connexions, to carry on successfully their business transactions with them. The young women of the best families only can aspire to such an elevation; and the most of them are exceedingly ambitious for such a connexion, inasmuch as they are certain of a delightful exemption from the slavish duties that devolve upon them when married under other circumstances; and expect to be, as they generally are, allowed to lead a life of ease and idleness, covered with mantles of blue and scarlet cloth—with beads and trinkets, and ribbons, in which they flounce and flirt about, the envied and tinselled belles of every tribe.

These connexions, however, can scarcely be called marriages, for I believe they are generally entered into without the form or solemnizing ceremony of a marriage, and on the part of the father of the girls, conducted purely as a mercenary or business transaction; in which they are very expert, and practice a deal of shrewdness in exacting an adequate price from a purchaser whom they consider possessed of so large and so rich a stock of the world's goods; and who they deem abundantly able to pay liberally for so delightful a commodity.

Almost every Trader and every clerk who commences in the business of this country, speedily enters into such an arrangement, which is done with as little ceremony as he would bargain for a horse, and just as unceremoniously do they annul and abolish this connexion when they wish to leave the country, or change their positions from one tribe to another; at which time the woman is left, a fair and proper candidate for matrimony or speculation, when another applicant comes along, and her father equally desirous for another horse or gun, &c. which he can easily command at her second espousal.

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From the enslaved and degraded condition in which the women are held in the Indian country, the world would naturally think that theirs must be a community formed of incongruous and unharmonizing materials; and consequently destitute of the fine, reciprocal feelings and attachments which flow from the domestic relations in the civilized world; yet it would be untrue, and doing injustice to the Indians, to say that they were in the least behind us in conjugal, in filial, and in paternal affection. There is no trait in the human character which is more universal than the attachments which flow from these relations, and there is no part of the human species who have a stronger affection and a higher regard for them than the North American Indians. 593

There is no subject in the Indian character of more importance to be rightly understood than this, and none either that has furnished me more numerous instances and more striking proofs, of which I shall make use on a future occasion, when I shall say a vast deal more of marriage—of divorce—of polygamy—and of Indian domestic relations. For the present I am scribbling about the looks and usages of the Indians who are about me and under my eye; and I must not digress too much into general remarks, lest I lose sight of those who are near me, and the first to be heralded. 000

Such, then, are the Mandans—their women are beautiful and modest,—and amongst the respectable families, virtue is as highly cherished and as inapproachable, as in any society whatever; yet at the same time a chief may marry a dozen wives if he pleases, and so may a white man; and if either wishes to marry the most beautiful and modest girl in the tribe, she is valued only equal, perhaps, to two horses, a gun with powder and ball for a year, five or six pounds of beads, a couple of gallons of whiskey, and a handful of awls. 583

The girls of this tribe, like those of most of these north-western tribes, marry at the age of twelve or fourteen, and some at the age of eleven years; and their beauty, from this fact, as well as from the slavish life they lead, soon after marriage vanishes. Their occupations are almost continual, and they seem to go industriously at them, as if from choice or inclination, without a murmur. 582

The principal occupations of the women in this village, consist in procuring wood and water, in cooking, dressing robes and other skins, in drying meat and wild fruit, and raising corn (maize). The Mandans are somewhat of agriculturists, as they raise a great deal of corn and some pumpkins and squashes. This is all done by the women, who make their hoes of the shoulder-blade of the buffalo or the elk, and dig the ground over instead of ploughing it, which is consequently done with a vast deal of labour. They raise a very small sort of corn, the ears of which are not longer than a man's thumb. This variety is well adapted to their climate, as it ripens sooner than other varieties, which would not mature in so cold a latitude. The green corn season is one of great festivity with them, and one of much importance. The greater part of their crop is eaten during these festivals, 462 241 251

251 and the remainder is gathered and dried on the cob, before it has ripened, and packed away in "*caches*" (as the French call them), holes dug in the ground, some six or sever feet deep, the insides of which are somewhat in the form of a jug, and tightly closed at the top. The corn, and even dried meat and pemican, are placed in these *caches*, being packed tight around the sides, with prairie grass, and effectually preserved through the severest winters.

251 Corn and dried meat are generally laid in in the fall, in sufficient quantities
262 to support them through the winter. These are the principal articles of food during that long and inclement season; and in addition to them, they oftentimes have in store great quantities of dried squashes and dried "*pommes blanches*," a kind of turnip which grows in great abundance in these regions, and of which I have before spoken. These are dried in great quantities, and pounded into a sort of meal, and cooked with the dried meat and corn. Great quantities also of wild fruit of different kinds are dried and laid away in store for the winter season, such as buffalo berries, service berries, strawberries, and wild plums.

252 The buffalo meat, however, is the great staple and "staff of life" in this
262 country, and seldom (if ever) fails to afford them an abundant and wholesome means of subsistence. There are, from a fair computation, something like 250,000 Indians in these western regions, who live almost exclusively on the flesh of these animals, through every part of the year. During the summer and fall months they use the meat fresh, and cook it in a great variety of ways, by roasting, broiling, boiling, stewing, smoking, &c.; and by boiling the ribs and joints with the marrow in them, make a delicious soup, which is universally used, and in vast quantities. The Mandans, I
264 find, have no regular or stated times for their meals, but generally eat about twice in the twenty-four hours. The pot is always boiling over the fire, and any one who is hungry (either of the household or from any other part of the village) has a right to order it taken off, and to fall to eating as he pleases. Such is an unvarying custom amongst the North American Indians, and I very much doubt, whether the civilized world have in their institutions any system which can properly be called more humane and charitable. Every
574 man, woman, or child in Indian communities is allowed to enter any one's lodge, and even that of the chief of the nation, and eat when they are hungry, provided misfortune or necessity has driven them to it. Even so can the poorest and most worthless drone of the nation; if he is toc lazy to hunt or to supply himself, he can walk into any lodge and everyone will share with him as long as there is anything to eat. He, however, who thus begs when he is able to hunt, pays dear for his meat, for he is stigmatized with the disgraceful epithet of a poltroon and a beggar.

264 The Mandans, like all other tribes, sit at their meals cross-legged, or rather
516 with their ancles crossed in front of them, and both feet drawn close under their bodies; or, which is very often the case also, take their meals in a re-

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clining posture, with the legs thrown out, and the body resting on one elbow and fore-arm, which are under them. The dishes from which they eat are invariably on the ground or floor of the lodge, and the group resting on buffalo robes or mats of various structure and manufacture. 264 516

The position in which the women sit at their meals and on other occasions is different from that of the men, and one which they take and rise from again, with great ease and much grace, by merely bending the knees both together, inclining the body back and the head and shoulders quite forward, they squat entirely down to the ground, inclining both feet either to the right or the left. In this position they always rest while eating, and it is both modest and graceful, for they seem, with apparent ease, to assume the position and rise out of it, without using their hands in any way to assist them.

These women, however, although graceful and civil, and ever so beautiful or ever so hungry, are not allowed to sit in the same group with the men while at their meals. So far as I have yet travelled in the Indian country, I never have seen an Indian woman eating with her husband. Men form the first group at the banquet, and women, and children and dogs all come together at the next, and these gormandize and glut themselves to an enormous extent, though the men very seldom do. 562 264

It is time that an error on this subject, which has gone generally abroad in the world, was corrected. It is everywhere asserted, and almost universally believed, that the Indians are "enormous eaters;" but comparatively speaking, I assure my readers that this is an error. I venture to say that there are no persons on earth who practice greater prudence and self-denial, than the men do (amongst the wild Indians), who are constantly in war and in the chase, or in their athletic sports and exercises; for all of which they are excited by the highest ideas of pride and honour, and every kind of excess is studiously avoided; and for a very great part of their lives, the most painful abstinence is enforced upon themselves, for the purpose of preparing their bodies and their limbs for these extravagant exertions. Many a man who has been a few weeks along the frontier, amongst the drunken, naked and beggared part of the Indian race, and run home and written a book on Indians, has, no doubt, often seen them eat to beastly excess; and he has seen them also guzzle whiskey (and perhaps *sold* it to them) till he has seen them glutted and besotted, without will or energy to move; and many and thousands of such things can always be seen, where white people have made beggars of them, and they have nothing to do but lie under a fence and beg a whole week to get meat and whiskey enough for one feast and one carouse; but amongst the wild Indians in this country there are no beggars—no drunkards—and every man, from a beautiful natural precept, studies to keep his body and mind in such a healthy shape and condition as will at all times enable him to use his weapons in self-defence, or struggle for the prize in their manly games. 261 177

261 As I before observed, these men generally eat but twice a day, and many times not more than once, and those meals are light and simple compared with the meals that are swallowed in the civilized world; and by the very people also, who sit at the festive board three times a day, making a jest of the Indian for his eating, when they actually guzzle more liquids, besides their eating, than would fill the stomach of an Indian.

There are, however, many seasons and occasions in the year with all Indians, when they fast for several days in succession; and others where they can *get* nothing to eat; and at such times (their habits are such) they may be seen to commence with an enormous meal, and because they do so, it is an insufficient reason why we should for ever remain under so egregious an error with regard to a single custom of these people.

I have seen so many of these, and lived with them, and travelled with them, and oftentimes felt as if I should starve to death on an equal allowance, that I am fully convinced I am correct in saying that the North American Indians, taking them in the aggregate, even where they have an abundance to subsist on, eat less than any civilized population of equal numbers, that I have ever travelled amongst.

251 Their mode of curing and preserving the buffalo meat is somewhat
171 curious, and in fact it is almost incredible also; for it is all cured or dried in the sun, without the aid of salt or smoke! The method of doing this is the same amongst all the tribes, from this to the Mexican Provinces, and is as follows:—The choicest parts of the flesh from the buffalo are cut out by the squaws, and carried home on their backs or on horses, and there cut "*across the grain*," in such a manner as will take alternately the layers of lean and fat; and having prepared it all in this way, in strips about half an inch in thickness, it is hung up by hundreds and thousands of pounds on poles resting on crotches, out of the reach of dogs or wolves, and exposed to the rays of the sun for several days, when it becomes so effectually dried, that it can be carried to any part of the world without damage. This seems almost an unaccountable thing, and the more so, as it is done in the hottest months of the year, and also in all the different latitudes of an Indian country.

So singular a fact as this can only be accounted for, I consider, on the ground of the extraordinary rarity and purity of the air which we meet with in these vast tracts of country, which are now properly denominated "the great buffalo plains," a series of exceedingly elevated plateaus of *steppes* or *prairies*, lying at and near the base of the Rocky Mountains.

It is a fact then, which I presume will be new to most of the world, that
263 meat can be cured in the sun without the aid of smoke or salt; and it is a fact equally true and equally surprising also, that none of these tribes use salt in any way, although their country abounds in salt springs; and in many places, in the frequent walks of the Indian, the prairie may be seen, for miles together, covered with an incrustation of salt as white as the drifted snow.

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I have, in travelling with Indians, encamped by such places, where they have cooked and eaten their meat, when I have been unable to prevail on them to use salt in any quantity whatever. The Indians cook their meat more than the civilized people do, and I have long since learned, from necessity, that meat thus cooked can easily be eaten and relished too, without salt or other condiment. 252 263

The fact above asserted applies exclusively to those tribes of Indians which I have found in their primitive state, living entirely on meat; but everywhere along our Frontier, where the game of the country has long since been chiefly destroyed, and these people have become semi-civilized, raising and eating, as we do, a variety of vegetable food, they use (and no doubt require), a great deal of salt; and in many instances use it even to destructive excess.

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LETTER—No. 18.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

461 The Mandans, like all other tribes, lead lives of idleness and leisure; and of course, devote a great deal of time to their sports and amusements, 535 of which they have a great variety. Of these, dancing is one of the principal, and may be seen in a variety of forms: such as the buffalo dance, the boasting dance, the begging dance, the scalp dance, and a dozen other kinds of dances, all of which have their peculiar characters and meanings or objects.

535 These exercises are exceedingly grotesque in their appearance, and to the 533 eye of a traveller who knows not their meaning or importance, they are an 198 uncouth and frightful display of starts, and jumps, and yelps, and jarring gutturals, which are sometimes truly terrifying. But when one gives them a little attention, and has been lucky enough to be initiated into their mysterious meaning, they become a subject of the most intense and exciting interest. Every dance has its peculiar step, and every step has its meaning; every dance also has its peculiar song, and that is so intricate and mysterious oftentimes, that not one in ten of the young men who are dancing and singing it, know the meaning of the song which they are chanting over. None but the medicine-men are allowed to understand them; and even they are generally only initiated into these secret arcana, on the payment of a liberal stipend for their tuition, which requires much application and study. There is evidently a set song and sentiment for every dance, for the songs are perfectly measured, and sung in exact time with the beat of the drum; and always with an uniform and invariable set of sounds and expressions, which clearly indicate certain sentiments, which are expressed by the voice, though sometimes not given in any known language whatever.

They have other dances and songs which are not so mystified, but which are sung and understood by every person in the tribe, being sung in their own language, with much poetry in them, and perfectly metred, but without rhyme. On these subjects I shall take another occasion to say more; and will for the present turn your attention to the style and modes in which some of these curious transactions are conducted.

535 My ears have been almost continually ringing since I came here, with the din of yelping and beating of the drums; but I have for several days

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past been peculiarly engrossed, and my senses almost confounded with the stamping, and grunting, and bellowing of the *buffalo dance*, which closed a few days since at sunrise (thank Heaven), and which I must needs describe to you. 535

Buffaloes, it is known, are a sort of roaming creatures, congregating occasionally in huge masses, and strolling away about the country from east to west, or from north to south, or just where their whims or strange fancies may lead them; and the Mandans are sometimes, by this means, most unceremoniously left without any thing to eat; and being a small tribe, and unwilling to risk their lives by going far from home in the face of their more powerful enemies, are oftentimes left almost in a state of starvation. In any emergency of this kind, every man musters and brings out of his lodge his mask (the skin of a buffalo's head with the horns on), which he is obliged to keep in readiness for this occasion; and then commences the buffalo dance, of which I have above spoken, which is held for the purpose of making "buffalo come" (as they term it), of inducing the buffalo herds to change the direction of their wanderings, and bend their course towards the Mandan village, and graze about on the beautiful hills and bluffs in its vicinity, where the Mandans can shoot them down and cook them as they want them for food.

For the most part of the year, the young warriors and hunters, by riding out a mile or two from the village, can kill meat in abundance; and sometimes large herds of these animals may be seen grazing in full view of the village. There are other seasons also when the young men have ranged about the country as far as they are willing to risk their lives, on account of their enemies, without finding meat. This sad intelligence is brought back to the chiefs and doctors, who sit in solemn council, and consult on the most expedient measures to be taken, until they are sure to decide upon the old and only expedient which "never has failed." 535 224

The chief issues his order to his runners or criers, who proclaim it through the village—and in a few minutes the dance begins. The place where this strange operation is carried on is in the public area in the centre of the village, and in front of the great medicine or mystery lodge. About ten or fifteen Mandans at a time join in the dance, each one with the skin of the buffalo's head (or mask) with the horns on, placed over his head, and in his hand his favourite bow or lance, with which he is used to slay the buffalo. 535

I mentioned that this dance always had the desired effect, that it never fails, nor can it, for it cannot be stopped (but is going incessantly day and night) until "buffalo come." Drums are beating and rattles are shaken, and songs and yells incessantly are shouted, and lookers-on stand ready with masks on their heads, and weapons in hand, to take the place of each one as he becomes fatigued, and jumps out of the ring.

During this time of general excitement, spies or "*lookers*" are kept on the

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535 hills in the neighbourhood of the village, who, when they discover buffaloes in sight, give the appropriate signal, by "throwing their robes," which is instantly seen in the village, and understood by the whole tribe. At this joyful intelligence there is a shout of thanks to the Great Spirit, and more especially to the mystery-man, and the dancers, who *have been the immediate cause of their success!* There is then a brisk preparation for the chase—a grand hunt takes place. The choicest pieces of the victims are sacrificed to the Great Spirit, and then a surfeit and a carouse.

These dances have sometimes been continued in this village two and three weeks without stopping an instant, until the joyful moment when buffaloes made their appearance. So they *never fail*; and they think they have been the means of bringing them in.

Every man in the Mandan village (as I have before said) is obliged by a village regulation, to keep the mask of the buffalo, hanging on a post at the head of his bed, which he can use on his head whenever he is called upon by the chiefs, to dance for the coming of buffaloes. The mask is put over the head, and generally has a strip of the skin hanging to it, of the whole length of the animal, with the tail attached to it, which, passing down over the back of the dancer, is dragging on the ground (PLATE 56). When one becomes fatigued of the exercise, he signifies it by bending quite forward, and sinking his body towards the ground; when another draws a bow upon him and hits him with a blunt arrow, and he falls like a buffalo—is seized by the bye-standers, who drag him out of the ring by the heels, brandishing their knives about him; and having gone through the motions of skinning and cutting him up, they let him off, and his place is at once supplied by another, who dances into the ring with his mask on; and by this taking of places, the scene is easily kept up night and day, until the desired effect has been produced, that of "making buffalo come."

The day before yesterday however, readers, which, though it commenced in joy and thanksgiving to the Great Spirit for the signal success which had attended their several days of dancing and supplication, ended in a calamity which threw the village of the Mandans into mourning and repentant tears, and that at a time of scarcity and great distress. The signal was given into the village on that morning from the top of a distant bluff, that a band of buffaloes were in sight, though at a considerable distance off, and every heart beat with joy, and every eye watered and glistened with gladness.

224 The dance had lasted some three or four days, and now, instead of the doleful tap of the drum and the begging chaunts of the dancers, the stamping of horses was heard as they were led and galloped through the village—young men were throwing off their robes and their shirts,—were seen snatching a handful of arrows from their quivers, and stringing their sinewy bows, glancing their eyes and their smiles at their sweethearts, and mounting their ponies. * * *

* * A few minutes there had been of bustle and

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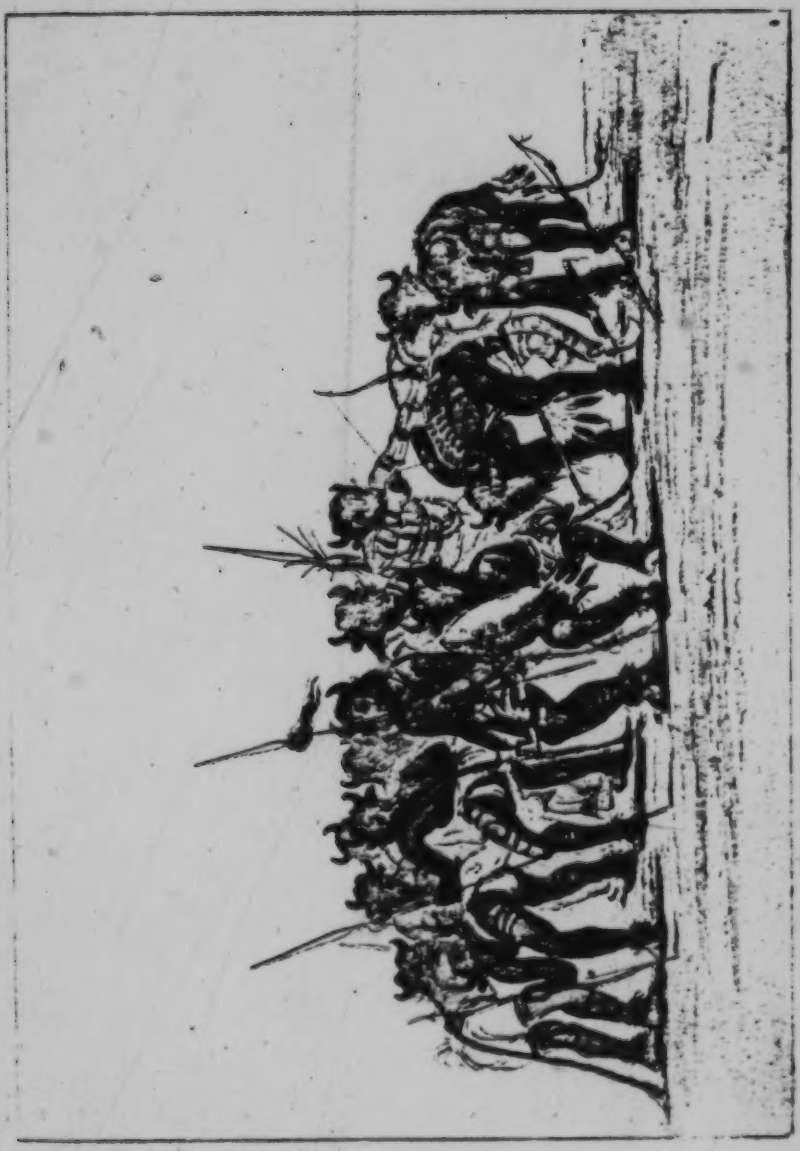

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224 bonting, whilst bows were twanging and spears were polishing by running their blades into the ground—every face and every eye was filled with joy and gladness—horses were pawing and snuffing in fury for the outset, when Louison Frénié, an interpreter of the Fur Company, galloped through the village with his rifle in his hand and his powder-horn at his side; his head and waist were bandaged with handkerchiefs, and his shirt sleeves rolled up to his shoulders—the hunter's yell issued from his lips and was repeated through the village; he flew to the bluffs, and behind him and over the graceful swells of the prairie, galloped the emulous youths, whose hearts were beating high and quick for the onset.

261 In the village, where hunger had reigned, and starvation was almost ready to look them in the face, all was instantly turned to joy and gladness. The chiefs and doctors who had been for some days dealing out minimum rations to the community from the public crib, now spread before their subjects the contents of their own private *caches*, and the last of every thing that could be mustered, that they might eat a thanksgiving to the Great Spirit for his goodness in sending them a supply of buffalo meat. A general carouse of banqueting ensued, which occupied the greater part of the day; and their hidden stores which might have fed an emergency for several weeks, were pretty nearly used up on the occasion—bones were half picked, and dishes half emptied and then handed to the dogs. *I* was not forgotten neither, in the general surfeit; several large and generous wooden bowls of pemican and other palatable food were sent to my painting-room, and I received them in this time of scarcity with great pleasure.

721 After this general indulgence was over, and the dogs had licked the dishes, their usual games and amusements ensued—and hilarity and mirth, and joy took possession of, and reigned in, every nook and corner of the village; and in the midst of this, screams and shrieks were heard! and echoed everywhere. Women and children scrambled to the tops of their wigwams, with their eyes and their hands stretched in agonizing earnestness to the prairie, whilst blackened warriors ran furiously through every winding maze of the village, and issuing their jarring gutturals of vengeance, as they snatched their deadly weapons from their lodges, and struck the reddened post as they furiously passed it by! Two of their hunters were bending their course down the sides of the bluff towards the village, and another broke suddenly out of a deep ravine, and yet another was seen dashing over and down the green hills, and all were goading on their horses at full speed! and then came another, and another, and all entered the village amid shouts and groans of the villagers who crowded around them; the story was told in their looks, for one was bleeding, and the blood that flowed from his naked breast had crimsoned his milk white steed as it had dripped over him; another grasped in his left hand a scalp that was reeking in blood—and in the other his whip—another grasped nothing, save the reins in one hand and the mane of the horse in the other, having thrown his bow and his arrows

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721 away, and trusted to the fleetness of his horse for his safety; yet the story was audibly told, and the fatal tragedy recited in irregular and almost suffocating ejaculations—the names of the dead were in turns pronounced and screams and shrieks burst forth at their recital—murmurs and groans ran through the village, and this happy little community were in a moment smitten with sorrow and distraction.

Their proud band of hunters who had started full of glee and mirth in the morning, had been surrounded by their enemy, the Sioux, and eight of them killed. The Sioux, who had probably reconnoitred their village during the night, and ascertained that they were dancing for buffaloes, laid a stratagem to entrap them in the following manner:—Some six or eight of them appeared the next morning (on a distant bluff, in sight of their sentinel) under the skins of buffaloes, imitating the movements of those animals whilst grazing; and being discovered by the sentinel, the intelligence was telegraphed to the village, which brought out their hunters as I have described. The masked buffaloes were seen grazing on the top of a high bluff, and when the hunters had approached within half a mile or so of them, they suddenly disappeared over the hill. Louison Frénié, who was leading the little band of hunters, became at that moment suspicious of so strange a movement, and came to a halt * * *

* "Look"! (said a Mandan, pointing to a little ravine to the right, and at the foot of the hill, from which suddenly broke some forty or fifty furious Sioux, on fleet horses and under full whip, who were rushing upon them); they wheeled, and in front of them came another band more furious from the other side of the hill! they started for home (poor fellows), and strained every nerve; but the Sioux were too fleet for them; and every now and then, the whizzing arrow and the lance were herd to rip the flesh of their naked backs, and a grunt and a groan, as they tumbled from their horses. Several miles were run in this desperate race; and Frénié got home, and several of the Mandans, though eight of them were killed and scalped by the way.

So ended that day and the hunt; but many a day and sad, will last the grief of those whose hearts were broken on that unlucky occasion.

This day, though, my readers, has been one of a more joyful kind, for the Great Spirit, who was indignant at so flagrant an injustice, has sent the Mandans an abundance of buffaloes; and all hearts have joined in a general thanksgiving to Him for his goodness and justice.

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LETTER—No. 19.

MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

000 In my last Letter I gave an account of the buffalo dance, and in future epistles may give some descriptions of a dozen other kinds of dance, which these people have in common with other tribes; but in the present Letter I shall make an endeavour to confine my observations to several other customs and forms, which are very curious and peculiar to the Mandans.

868 Of these, one of the most pleasing is the *sham-fight* and sham scalp-dance of the Mandan boys, which is a part of their regular exercise, and constitutes a material branch of their education. During the pleasant mornings of the summer, the little boys between the age of seven and fifteen are called out, to the number of several hundred, and being divided into two companies, each of which is headed by some experienced warrior, who leads them on, in the character of a teacher; they are led out into the prairie at sunrise, where this curious discipline is regularly taught them (PLATE 57). Their bodies are naked, and each one has a little bow in his left hand and a number of arrows made of large spears of grass, which are harmless in their effects. Each one has also a little belt or girdle around his waist, in which he carries a knife made of a piece of wood and equally harmless—on the tops of their heads are slightly attached small tufts of grass, which answer as scalps, and in this plight, they follow the dictates of their experienced leaders, who lead them through the judicious evolutions of Indian warfare—of feints—of retreats—of attacks—and at last to a general fight. Many manœuvres are gone through, and eventually they are brought up face to face, within fifteen or twenty feet of each other, with their leaders at their head stimulating them on. Their bows are bent upon each other and their missiles flying, whilst they are dodging and fending them off.

If any one is struck with an arrow on any vital part of his body, he is obliged to fall, and his adversary rushes up to him, places his foot upon him, and snatching from his belt his wooden knife, grasps hold of his victim's scalp-lock of grass, and making a feint at it with his wooden knife, twitches it off and puts it into his belt, and enters again into the ranks and front of battle.

This mode of training generally lasts an hour or more in the morning,

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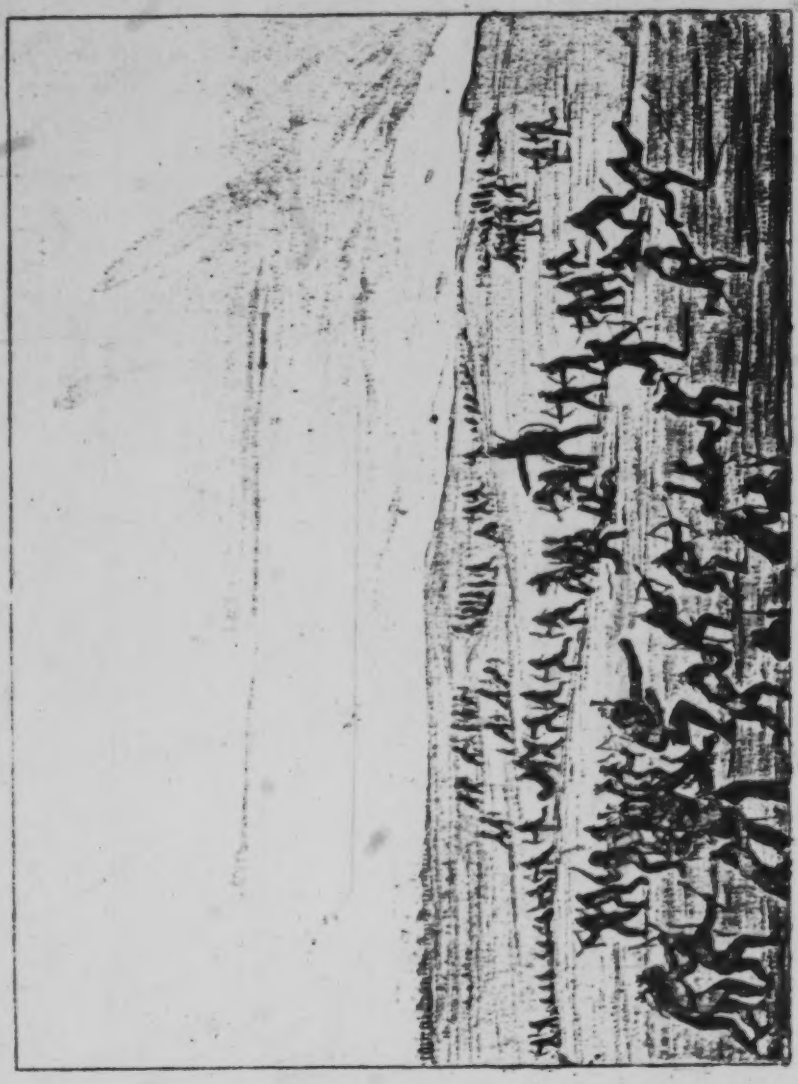

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868 and is performed on an empty stomach, affording them a rigid and wholesome exercise, whilst they are instructed in the important science of war. Some five or six miles of ground are run over during these evolutions, giving suppleness to their limbs and strength to their muscles, which last and benefit them through life.

After this exciting exhibition is ended, they all return to their village, where the chiefs and braves pay profound attention to their vaunting, and applaud them for their artifice and valour.

Those who have taken scalps then step forward, brandishing them and making their boast as they enter into the *scalp-dance* (in which they are also instructed by their leaders or teachers), jumping and yelling—brandishing their scalps, and reciting their *sanguinary deeds*, to the great astonishment of their tender aged sweethearts, who are gazing with wonder upon them.

526 525 The games and amusements of these people are in most respects like those of the other tribes, consisting of ball plays—game of the moccasin, of the platter—feats of archery – horse-racing, &c.; and they have yet another, which may be said to be their favourite amusement, and unknown to the other tribes about them. The game of Tchung-kee, a beautiful athletic exercise, which they seem to be almost unceasingly practicing whilst the weather is fair, and they have nothing else of moment to demand their attention. This game is decidedly their favourite amusement, and is played near to the village on a pavement of clay, which has been used for that purpose until it has become as smooth and hard as a floor. For this game two champions form their respective parties, by choosing alternately the most famous players, until their requisite numbers are made up. Their bettings are then made, and their stakes are held by some of the chiefs or others present The play commences (PLATE 59) with two (one from each party), who start off upon a trot, abreast of each other, and one of them rolls in advance of them, on the pavement, a little ring of two or three inches in diameter, cut out of a stone; and each one follows it up with his "tchung-kee" (a stick of six feet in length, with little bits of leather projecting from its sides of an inch or more in length), which he throws before him as he runs, sliding it along upon the ground after the ring, endeavouring to place it in such a position when it stops, that the ring may fall upon it, and receive one of the little projections of leather through it, which counts for game, one, or two, or four, according to the position of the leather on which the ring is lodged. The last winner always has the rolling of the ring, and both start and throw the tchung-kee together; if either fails to receive the ring or to lie in a certain position, it is a forfeiture of the amount of the number he was nearest to, and he loses his throw; when another steps into his place. This game is a very difficult one to describe, so as to give an exact idea of it, unless one can see it played—it is a game of great beauty and fine bodily exercise, and these people become excessively fascinated with it; often gambling away every thing they possess, and even sometimes, when everything else was gone, have been known to

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526 stake their liberty upon the issue of these games, offering themselves as
525 slaves to their opponents in case they get beaten.

Feasting and *fasting* are important customs observed by the Mandans,
796 as well as by most other tribes, at stated times and for particular purposes. These observances are strictly religious and rigidly observed. There are many of these forms practiced amongst the Mandans, some of which are exceedingly interesting, and important also, in forming a correct estimate of the Indian character; and I shall at a future period take particular pains to lay them before my readers.

Sacrificing is also a religious custom with these people, and is performed
782 in many different modes, and on numerous occasions. Of this custom I shall also speak more fully hereafter, merely noticing at present, some few of the hundred modes in which these offerings are made to the Good and Evil Spirits. Human sacrifices have never been made by the Mandans, nor by any of the north western tribes (so far as I can learn), excepting the Pawnees of the Platte; who have, undoubtedly, observed such an inhuman practice in former times, though they have relinquished it of late. The Mandans sacrifice their fingers to the Great Spirit, and of their worldly goods, the best and the most costly; if a horse or a dog, it must be the favourite one; if it is an arrow from their quiver, they will select the most perfect one as the most effective gift; if it is meat, it is the choicest piece cut from the buffalo or other animal; if it is anything from the stores of the Traders, it is the most costly—it is blue or scarlet cloth, which costs them in this country an enormous price, and is chiefly used for the purpose of hanging over their wigwams to decay, or to cover the scaffolds where rest the bones of their departed relations.

Of these kinds of sacrifices there are three of an interesting nature, erected over the great medicine-lodge in the centre of the village—they consist of ten or fifteen yards of blue and black cloth each, purchased from the Fur Company at fifteen or twenty dollars per yard, which are folded up so as to resemble human figures, with quills in their heads and masks on their faces. These singular-looking figures, like "*scare crows*" (PLATE 47), are erected on poles about thirty feet high, over the door of the mystery-lodge, and there are left to decay. There hangs now by the side of them another, which was added to the number a few days since, of the skin of a white buffalo, which will remain there until it decays and falls to pieces.

This beautiful and costly skin, when its history is known, will furnish a
782 striking proof of the importance which they attach to these propitiatory
439 offerings. But a few weeks since, a party of Mandans returned from the Mouth of the Yellow Stone, two hundred miles above, with information that a party of Blackfeet were visiting that place on business with the American Fur Company; and that they had with them a white buffalo robe for sale. This was looked upon as a subject of great importance by the chiefs, and one worthy of public consideration. A white buffalo robe is a

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782 great curiosity, even in the country of buffaloes, and will always command an almost incredible price, from its extreme scarcity; and then, from its being 439 the most costly article of traffic in these regions, it is usually converted into a *sacrifice*, being offered to the Great Spirit, as the most acceptable gift that can be procured. Amongst the vast herds of buffaloes which graze on these boundless prairies, there is not one in an hundred thousand, perhaps, that is white; and when such an one is obtained, it is considered great *medicine* or mystery.

On the receipt of the intelligence above-mentioned, the chiefs convened in council, and deliberated on the expediency of procuring the white robe from the Blackfeet; and also of appropriating the requisite means, and devising the proper mode of procedure for effecting the purchase. At the close of their deliberations, eight men were fitted out on eight of their best horses, who took from the Fur Company's store, on the credit of the chiefs, goods exceeding even the value of their eight horses; and they started for the Mouth of the Yellow Stone, where they arrived in due time, and made the purchase, by leaving the eight horses and all the goods which they carried; returning on foot to their own village, bringing home with them the white robe, which was looked upon by all eyes of the villagers as a thing that was vastly curious, and containing (as they express it) something of the Great Spirit. This wonderful anomaly laid several days in the chief's lodge, until public curiosity was gratified; and then it was taken by the doctors or high-priests, and with a great deal of form and mystery consecrated, and raised on the top of a long pole over the *medicine-lodge;* where it now stands in a group with the others, and will stand as an offering to the Great Spirit, until it decays and falls to the ground.

000 This Letter, as I promised in its commencement, being devoted to some of the customs peculiar to the Mandans, and all of which will be new to the world, I shall close, after recording in it an account of a laughable farce, which was enacted in this village when I was on my journey up the river, and had stopped on the way to spend a day or two in the Mandan village.

789 Readers, did you ever hear of "*Rain Makers?*" If not, sit still, and read on; but laugh not—keep cool and sober, or else you may laugh in the *beginning*, and cry at the *end* of my story. Well, I introduce to you a new character—not a *doctor* or a *high-priest*, yet a *medicine-man*, and one of the highest and most respectable order, a "*Rain Maker!*" Such dignitaries live in the Mandan nation, aye, and "*rain stoppers*" too; and even those also amongst their *conjurati*, who, like Joshua of old, have even essayed to stop the sun in his course; but from the inefficiency of their medicine or mystery, have long since descended into insignificance.

Well, the story begins thus:—The Mandans, as I have said in a former Letter, raise a great deal of corn; and sometimes a most disastrous drought will be visited on the land, destructive to their promised harvest. Such

was the case when I arrived at the Mandan village on the steam-boat, Yellow-Stone. Rain had not fallen for many a day, and the dear little girls and the ugly old squaws, altogether (all of whom had fields of corn), were groaning and crying to their lords, and imploring them to intercede for rain, that their little respective patches, which were now turning pale and yellow, might not be withered, and they be deprived of the pleasure of their customary annual festivity, and the joyful occasion of the "roasting ears," and the "green corn dance." 789

The chiefs and doctors sympathized with the plaints of the women, and recommended patience. Great deliberation, they said, was necessary in these cases; and though they resolved on making the attempt to produce rain for the benefit of the corn; yet they very wisely resolved that to begin too soon might ensure their entire defeat in the endeavour; and that the longer they put it off, the more certain they would feel of ultimate success. So, after a few days of further delay, when the importunities of the women had become clamorous, and even mournful, and almost insupportable, the *medicine-men* assembled in the council-house, with all their mystery apparatus about them—with an abundance of wild sage, and other aromatic herbs, with a fire prepared to burn them, that their savoury odours might be sent forth to the Great Spirit. The lodge was closed to all the villagers, except some ten or fifteen young men, who were willing to hazard the dreadful alternative of making it rain, or suffer the everlasting disgrace of having made a fruitless essay.

They, only, were allowed as witnesses to the *hocus pocus* and *conjuration* devised by the doctors inside of the medicine-lodge; and they were called up by lot, each one in his turn, to spend a day upon the top of the lodge, to test the potency of his medicine; or, in other words, to see how far his voice might be heard and obeyed amongst the clouds of the heavens; whilst the doctors were burning incense in the wigwam below, and with their songs and prayers to the Great Spirit for success, were sending forth grateful fumes and odours to Him "who lives in the sun and commands the thunders of Heaven." Wah-kee (the shield) was the first who ascended the wigwam at sunrise; and he stood all day, and looked foolish, as he was counting over and over his string of mystery-beads—the whole village were assembled around him, and praying for his success. Not a cloud appeared —the day was calm and hot; and at the setting of the sun, he descended from the lodge and went home—"his *medicine* was not good," nor can he ever be a *medicine-man*.

Om-pah (the elk) was the next; he ascended the lodge at sunrise the next morning. His body was entirely naked, being covered with yellow clay. On his left arm he carried a beautiful shield, and a long lance in his right; and on his head the skin of a raven, the bird that soars amidst the clouds, and above the lightning's glare—he flourished his shield and brandished his lance, and raised his voice, but in vain; for at sunset the ground

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789 was dry and the sky was clear; the squaws were crying, and their corn was withering at its roots.

War-rah-pa (the beaver) was the next; he also spent his breath in vain upon the empty air, and came down at night—and Wak-a-dah-ha-hee (the white buffalo's hair) took the stand the next morning. He is a small, but beautifully proportioned young man. He was dressed in a tunic and leggings of the skins of the mountain-sheep, splendidly garnished with quills of the porcupine, and fringed with locks of hair taken by his own hand from the heads of his enemies. On his arm he carried his shield, made of the buffalo's hide—its boss was the head of the war-eagle—and its front was ornamented with "red chains of lightning." In his left hand he clenched his sinewy bow and one single arrow. The villagers were all gathered about him; when he threw up a feather to decide on the course of the wind, and he commenced thus:—"My friends! people of the pheasants! you see me here a sacrifice—I shall this day relieve you from great distress, and bring joy amongst you; or I shall descend from this lodge when the sun goes down, and live amongs the dogs and old women all my days. My friends! you saw which way the feather flew, and I hold my shield this day in the direction where the wind comes—the lightning on my shield will draw a great cloud, and this arrow, which is selected from my quiver, and which is feathered with the quill of the white swan, will make a hole in it. My friends! this hole in the lodge at my feet, shows me the medicine-men, who are seated in the lodge below me and crying to the Great Spirit; and through it comes and passes into my nose delightful odours, which you see rising in the smoke to the Great Spirit above, who rides in the clouds and commands the winds! Three days they have sat here, my friends, and nothing has been done to relieve your distress. On the first day was Wah-kee (the shield), he could do nothing; he counted his beads and came down—his medicine was not good—his name was bad, and it kept off the rain. The next was Om-pah (the elk); on his head the raven was seen, who flies *above* the storm, and he failed. War-rah-pa (the beaver) was the next, my friends; the beaver lives *under* the *water*, and he never wants it to rain. My friends! I see you are in great distress, and nothing has yet been done; this shield belonged to my father the White Buffalo; and the lightning you see on it is red; it was taken from a black cloud, and that cloud will come over us to-day. I am the white buffalo's hair—and I am the son of my father."

[77b] In this manner flourished and manœuvred Wak-a-dah-ha-hee (the white buffalo's hair), alternately addressing the audience and the heavens—and holding converse with the winds and the "*je-bi*" (spirits) that are floating about in them—stamping his foot over the heads of the *magi*, who were involved in mysteries beneath him, and invoking the spirits of darkness and light to send rain, to gladden the hearts of the Mandans.

It happened on this memorable day about noon, that the steam-boat

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Yellow Stone, on her first trip up the Missouri River, approached and landed at the Mandan Village, as I have described in a former epistle. I was lucky enough to be a passenger on this boat, and helped to fire a salute of twenty guns of twelve pounds calibre, when we first came in sight of the village, some three or four miles below. These guns introduced a *new sound* into this strange country, which the Mandans at first supposed to be thunder; and the young man upon the lodge, who turned it to good account, was gathering fame in rounds of applause, which were repeated and echoed through the whole village; all eyes were centred upon him—chiefs envied him—mothers' hearts were beating high whilst they were decorating and leading up their fair daughters to offer him in marriage, on his signal success. The medicine-men had left the lodge, and came out to bestow upon him the envied title of "*medicine-man*," or "*doctor*," which he had so deservedly won—wreaths were prepared to decorate his brows, and eagle's plumes and calumets were in readiness for him; his friends were all rejoiced—his enemies wore on their faces a silent gloom and hatred; and his old sweethearts, who had formerly cast him off, gazed intensely upon him, as they glowed with the burning fever of repentance.

During all this excitement, Wak-a-dah-ha-hee kept his position, assuming the most commanding and threatening attitudes; brandishing his shield in the direction of the thunder (PLATE 58), although there was not a cloud to be seen, until he (poor fellow), being elevated above the rest of the village, espied, to his inexpressible amazement, the steam-boat ploughing its way up the windings of the river below; puffing her steam from her pipes, and sending forth the thunder from a twelve-pounder on her deck! * * * The White Buffalo's Hair stood motionless and turned pale, he looked awhile, and turned to the chief and to the multitude, and addressed them with a trembling lip—"My friends, we will get no rain!—there are, you see, no clouds; but my medicine is great—I have brought a *thunder boat*! look and see it! the thunder you hear is out of her mouth, and the lightning which you see is on the waters!"

At this intelligence, the whole village flew to the tops of their wigwams, or to the bank of the river, from whence the steamer was in full view, and ploughing along, to their utter dismay and confusion.

In this promiscuous throng of chiefs, doctors, women, children and dogs, was mingled Wak-a-dah-ha-hee (the white buffalo's hair), having descended from his high place to mingle with the frightened throng.

Dismayed at the approach of so strange and unaccountable an object, the Mandans stood their ground but a few moments; when, by an order of the chiefs, all hands were ensconced within the piquets of their village, and all the warriors armed for desperate defence. A few moments brought the boat in front of the village, and all was still and quiet as death; not a Mandan was to be seen upon the banks. The steamer was moored, and three or four of the chiefs soon after, walked boldly down the bank and on to her

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789 deck, with a spear in one hand and the calumet or pipe of peace in the other. The moment they stepped on board they met (to their great surprise and joy) their old friend, Major Sanford, their agent, which circumstance put an instant end to all their fears. The villagers were soon apprized of the fact, and the whole race of the beautiful and friendly Mandans was paraded on the bank of the river, in front of the steamer.

The "rain maker," whose apprehensions of a public calamity brought upon the nation by his extraordinary *medicine*, had, for the better security of his person from apprehended vengeance, secreted himself in some secure place, and was the last to come forward, and the last to be convinced that this visitation was a friendly one from the white people; and that his *medicine* had not in the least been instrumental in bringing it about. This information, though received by him with much caution and suspicion, at length gave him great relief, and quieted his mind as to his danger. Yet still in his breast there was a rankling thorn, though he escaped the dreaded vengeance which he had a few moments before apprehended as at hand; as he had the mortification and disgrace of having failed in his mysterious operations. He set up, however (during the day, in his conversation about the strange arrival), his *medicines*, as the cause of its approach; asserting everywhere and to everybody, that he knew of its coming, and that he had by his magic brought the occurrence about. This plea, however, did not get him much audience; and in fact, everything else was pretty much swallowed up in the guttural talk, and bustle, and gossip about the mysteries of the "thunder-boat;" and so passed the day, until just at the approach of evening, when the "White Buffalo's Hair" (more watchful of such matters on this occasion than most others) observed that a black cloud had been jutting up in the horizon, and was almost directly over the village! In an instant his shield was on his arm, and his bow in his hand, and he again upon the lodge! stiffened and braced to the last sinew, he stood, with his face and his shield presented to the cloud, and his bow drawn. He drew the eyes of the whole village upon him as he vaunted forth his super-human powers, and at the same time commanding the cloud to come nearer, that he might draw down its contents upon the heads and the corn-fields of the Mandans! In this wise he stood, waving his shield over his head, stamping his foot and frowning as he drew his bow and threatened the heavens, commanding it to rain—his bow was bent, and the arrow drawn to its head, was sent to the cloud, and he exclaimed, "My friends, it is done! Wak-a-dah-ha-hee's arrow has entered that black cloud, and the Mandans will be wet with the water of the skies!" His predictions were true;—in a few moments the cloud was over the village, and the rain fell in torrents. He stood for some time wielding his weapons and presenting his shield to the sky, while he boasted of his power and the efficacy of his *medicine*, to those who had been about him, but were now driven to the shelter of their wigwams. He, at length, finished his vaunts and his threats, and descended

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from his high place (in which he had been perfectly drenched), prepared to receive the honours and the homage that were due to one so potent in his mysteries; and to receive the style and title of "*medicine-man*." This is one of a hundred different modes in which a man in Indian countries acquires the honourable appellation.

This man had "made it rain," and of course was to receive more than usual honours, as he had done much more than ordinary men could do. All eyes were upon him, and all were ready to admit that he was skilled in the magic art; and must be so nearly allied to the Great or Evil Spirit, that he must needs be a man of great and powerful influence in the nation, and well entitled to the style of doctor or *medicine-man*.

Readers, there are two facts relative to these strange transactions, which are infallibly true, and should needs be made known. The first is, that when the Mandans undertake to make it rain, *they never fail to succeed*, for their ceremonies never stop until rain begins to fall. The second is equally true, and is this:—that he who has once "*made it rain*," never attempts it again; his medicine is undoubted—and on future occasions of the kind, he stands aloof, who has once done it in presence of the whole village giving an opportunity to other young men who are ambitious to signalize themselves in the same way.

During the memorable night of which I have just spoken, the steam-boat remained by the side of the Mandan village, and the rain that had commenced falling continued to pour down its torrents until midnight; black thunder roared, and livid lightning flashed until the heavens appeared to be lit up with one unceasing and appalling glare. In this frightful moment of consternation, a flash of lightning buried itself in one of the earth-covered lodges of the Mandans, and killed a beautiful girl. Here was food and fuel fresh for their superstitions; and a night of vast tumult and excitement ensued. The dreams of the new-made medicine-man were troubled, and he had dreadful apprehensions for the coming day—for he knew that he was subject to the irrevocable decree of the chiefs and doctors, who canvass every strange and unaccountable event, with close and superstitious scrutiny, and let their vengeance fall without mercy upon its immediate cause.

He looked upon his well-earned fame as likely to be withheld from him; and also considered that his life might perhaps be demanded as the forfeit for this girl's death, which would certainly be charged upon him. He looked upon himself as culpable, and supposed the accident to have been occasioned by his criminal desertion of his post, when the steam-boat was approaching the village. Morning came, and he soon learned from some of his friends, the opinions of the wise men; and also the nature of the tribunal that was preparing for him; he sent to the prairie for his three horses, which were brought in, and he mounted the *medicine-lodge*, around which, in a few moments, the villagers were all assembled. "My friends! (said he) I see you all around me, and I am before you; my medicine, you see, is great—it is

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789 *too great*—I am young, and I was too fast—I knew not when to stop. The wigwam of Mah-sish is laid low, and many are the eyes that weep for Ko-ka (the antelope;) Wak-a-dah-ha-hee gives three horses to gladden the hearts of those who weep for Ko-ka; his medicine was great—his arrow pierced the black cloud, and the lightning came, and the *thunder-boat* also! who says the medicine of Wak-a-dah-ha-hee is not strong?"

At the end of this sentence an unanimous shout of approbation ran through the crowd, and the "Hair of the White Buffalo" descended amongst them, where he was greeted by shakes of the hand; and amongst whom he now lives and thrives under the familiar and honourable appellation of the "BIG DOUBLE MEDICINE."

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LETTER—No. 20.

MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

461 This day has been one of unusual mirth and amusement amongst the Mandans, and whether on account of some annual celebration or not, I am as yet unable to say, though I think such is the case; for these people have many days which, like this, are devoted to festivities and amusements.

Their lives, however, are lives of idleness and ease, and almost all their days and hours are spent in innocent amusements. Amongst a people who have no office hours to attend to—no professions to study, and of whom but very little time is required in the chase, to supply their families with food, it would be strange if they did not practice many games and amusements, and also become exceedingly expert in them.

I have this day been a spectator of games and plays until I am fatigued with looking on; and also by lending a hand, which I have done; but with so little success as only to attract general observation, and as generally to excite the criticisms and laughter of the squaws and little children.

526 I have seen a fair exhibition of their archery this day, in a favourite amusement which they call the "*game of the arrow*" (see PLATE 60), where the young men who are the most distinguished in this exercise, assemble on the prairie at a little distance from the village, and having paid, each one, his "entrance-fee," such as a shield, a robe, a pipe, or other article, step forward in turn, shooting their arrows into the air, endeavouring to see who can get the greatest number flying in the air at one time, thrown from the same bow. For this, the number of eight or ten arrows are clenched in the left hand with the bow, and the first one which is thrown is elevated to such a degree as will enable it to remain the longest time possible in the air, and while it is flying, the others are discharged as rapidly as possible; and he who succeeds in getting the greatest number up at once, is "best," and takes the goods staked.

In looking on at this amusement, the spectator is surprised; not at the great distance to which the arrows are actually sent; but at the quickness of fixing them on the string, and discharging them in succession; which is no doubt, the result of great practice, and enables the most expert

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526 of them to get as many as eight arrows up before the first one reaches the ground.

526 For the successful use of the bow, as it is used through all this region of country on horseback, and that invariably at full speed, the great object of 224 practice is to enable the bowman to draw the bow with suddenness and instant effect; and also to repeat the shots in the most rapid manner. As their game is killed from their horses' backs while at the swiftest rate—and their enemies fought in the same way; and as the horse is the swiftest animal of the prairie, and always able to bring his rider alongside, within a few paces of his victim; it will easily be seen that the Indian has little use in throwing his arrow more than a few paces; when he leans quite low on his horse's side, and drives it with astonishing force, capable of producing instant death to the buffalo, or any other animal in the country. The bows which are generally in use in these regions I have described in a former Letter, and the effects produced by them at the distance of a few paces is almost beyond relief, considering their length, which is not often over three,—and sometimes not exceeding two and a half feet. It can easily be seen, from what has been said, that the Indian has little use or object in throwing the arrow to any great distance. And as it is very seldom that they can be seen shooting at a target, I doubt very much whether their skill in such practice would compare with that attained to in many parts of the civilized world; but with the same weapon, and dashing forward at fullest speed on the wild horse, without the use of the rein, when the shot is required to be made with the most instantaneous effect, I scarcely think it possible that any people can be found more skilled, and capable of producing more deadly effects with the bow.

231 The horses which the Indians ride in this country are invariably the wild horses, which are found in great numbers on the prairies; and have, unquestionably, strayed from the Mexican borders, into which they were introduced by the Spanish invaders of that country; and now range and subsist themselves, in winter and summer, over the vast plains of prairie that stretch from the Mexican frontiers to Lake Winnipeg on the North, a distance of 3000 miles. These horses are all of small stature, of the pony order; but a very hardy and tough animal, being able to perform for the Indians a continual and essential service. They are taken with the *laso*, [4B] which is a long halter or thong, made of raw-hide, of some fifteen or twenty yards in length, and which the Indians throw with great dexterity; with a noose at one end of it, which drops over the head of the animal they wish to catch, whilst running at full speed—when the Indian dismounts from his own horse, and holding to the end of the laso, choaks the animal down, and afterwards tames and converts him to his own use.

422 Scarcely a man in these regions is to be found, who is not the owner of one or more of these horses; and in many instances of eight, ten, or even twenty, which he values as his own personal property.

231 526 The Indians are hard and cruel masters; and, added to their cruelties is the sin that is familiar in the Christian world, of sporting with the limbs and the lives of these noble animals. *Horse-racing* here, as in all more enlightened communities, is one of the most exciting amusements, and one of the most extravagant modes of gambling.

I have been this day a spectator to scenes of this kind, which have been enacted in abundance, on a course which they have, just back of their village; and although I never had the least taste for this cruel amusement in my own country, yet, I must say, I have been not a little amused and pleased with the thrilling effect which these exciting scenes have produced amongst so wild and picturesque a group.

I have made a sketch of the ground and the group, as near as I could (PLATE 61); shewing the manner of "starting" and "coming out," which vary a little from the customs of the *knowing* world; but in other respects, I believe, a horse-race is the same all the world over.

727 Besides these, many have been the amusements of this day, to which I have been an eye-witness; and since writing the above, I have learned the cause of this unusual expression of hilarity and mirth; which was no more nor less than the safe return of a small war-party, who had been so long out without any tidings having been received of them—that they had long since been looked upon as sacrificed to the fates of war and lost. This party was made up of the most distinguished and desperate young men of the tribe, who had sallied out against the Riccarees, and taken the most solemn oath amongst themselves never to return without achieving a victory. They had wandered long and faithfully about the country, following the trails of their enemy; when they were attacked by a numerous party, and lost several of their men and all their horses. In this condition, to evade the scrutiny of their enemy, who were closely investing the natural route to their village; they took a circuitous range of the country, to enable them to return with their lives, to their village.

In this plight, it seems, I had dropped my little canoe alongside of them, while descending from the Mouth of Yellow Stone to this place, not many weeks since; where they had bivouacked or halted, to smoke and consult on the best and safest mode of procedure. At the time of meeting them, not knowing anything of their language, they were unable to communicate their condition to me, and more probably were afraid to do so even if they could have done it, from apprehension that we might have given some account of them to their enemies. I rested my canoe an hour or so with them during which time they treated us with an indifferent reserve, yet respectfully; and we passed on our way, without further information of them or their plans than the sketch that I there made (PLATE 63), and which I shall preserve and value as one of the most pleasing groups I ever have had the pleasure to see. Seated on their buffalo robes, which were spread upon the grass, with their respective weapons laying about them, and lighting their pipes at a

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727 little fire which was kindled in the centre—the chief or leader of the party, with his arms stacked behind him, and his long head-dress of war-eagles' quills and ermine falling down over his back, whilst he sat in a contemplative and almost desponding mood, was surely one of the most striking and beautiful illustrations of a natural hero that I ever looked upon.

These gallant fellows got safely home to their village, and the numerous expressions of joy for their return, which I have this day witnessed, have so much fatigued me that I write brief, and close my Letter here.

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LETTER—No. 21.

MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

159 In a former Letter I gave some account of Mah-to-toh-pa (the four bears), second chief of the Mandans, whom I said I had painted at full length, in a splendid costume. I therein said, also, that "this extraordinary man, though second in office, is undoubtedly the first and most popular man in the nation. Free, generous, elegant, and gentlemanly in his deportment—handsome, brave and valiant; wearing a robe on his back, with the history of all his battles painted on it, which would fill a book of themselves if they were properly enlarged and translated."

I gave you also, in another epistle, an account of the manner in which he invited me to a feast in his hospitable wigwam, at the same time presenting me a beautifully garnished robe; and I promised to say more of him on a future occasion. My readers will therefore pardon me for devoting a Letter or two at this time, to a sketch of this extraordinary man, which I will give in as brief a manner as possible, by describing the costume in which I painted his portrait; and afterwards reciting the most remarkable incidents of his life, as I had them from the Traders and the Indian agents, and afterwards corroborated by his own words, translated to me as he spoke, whilst I was writing them down.

The dress of Mah-to-toh-pa then, the greater part of which I have represented in his full-length portrait, and which I shall now describe, was purchased of him after I had painted his picture; and every article of it can be seen in my Indian Gallery by the side of the portrait, provided I succeed in getting them home to the civilized world without injury.

Mah-to-toh-pa had agreed to stand before me for his portrait at an early hour of the next morning, and on that day I sat with my palette of colours prepared, and waited till twelve o'clock, before he could leave his toilette with feelings of satisfaction as to the propriety of his looks and the arrangement of his equipments; and at that time it was announced, that "Mah-to-toh-pa was coming in full dress!" I looked out of the door of the wigwam, and saw him approaching with a firm and elastic step, accompanied by a great crowd of women and children, who were gazing on him with admiration, and escorting him to my room. No tragedian ever trod the stage, nor gladiator ever entered the Roman Forum, with more grace and manly dignity than did Mah-to-toh-pa enter the wigwam, where I was in readiness to receive him. He took his attitude before me (PLATE 64), and with the sternness of a Brutus and the stillness of a statue, he stood until the dark-

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159 ness of night broke upon the solitary stillness. His dress, which was a very splendid one, was complete in all its parts, and consisted of a shirt or tunic, leggings, moccasins, head-dress, necklace, shield, bow and quiver, lance, tobacco-sack, and pipe; robe, belt, and knife; medicine-bag, tomahawk, and war-club, or *po-ko-mo-kon*.

292 The shirt, of which I have spoken, was made of two skins of the mountain-sheep, beautifully dressed, and sewed together by seams which rested upon the arms; one skin hanging in front, upon the breast, and the other falling down upon the back; the head being passed between them, and they falling over and resting on the shoulders. Across each shoulder, and somewhat in the form of an epaulette, was a beautiful band; and down each arm from the neck to the hand was a similar one, of two inches in width (and crossing the other at right angles on the shoulder) beautifully embroidered with porcupine quills worked on the dress, and covering the seams. To the lower edge of these bands the whole way, at intervals of half an inch, were attached long locks of black hair, which he had taken with his own hand from the heads of his enemies whom he had slain in battle, and which he thus wore as a trophy, and also as an ornament to his dress. The front and back of the shirt were curiously garnished in several parts with porcupine quills and paintings of the battles he had fought, and also with representations of the victims that had fallen by his hand. The bottom of the dress was bound or hemmed with ermine skins, and tassels of ermines' tails were suspended from the arms and the shoulders.

The *Leggings*, which were made of deer skins, beautifully dressed, and fitting tight to the leg, extended from the feet to the hips, and were fastened to a belt which was passed around the waist. These, like the shirt, had a similar band, worked with porcupine quills of richest dyes, passing down the seam on the outer part of the leg, and fringed also the whole length of the leg, with the scalp-locks taken from his enemies' heads.

The *Moccasins* were of buckskin, and covered in almost every part with the beautiful embroidery of porcupines' quills.

The *Head-dress*, which was superb and truly magnificent, consisted of a crest of war-eagles' quills, gracefully falling back from the forehead over the back part of the head, and extending quite down to his feet; set the whole way in a profusion of ermine, and surmounted on the top of the head, with the horns of the buffalo, shaved thin and highly polished.

The *Necklace* was made of fifty huge claws or nails of the grizzly bear, ingeniously arranged on the skin of an otter, and worn, like the scalp-locks, as a trophy—as an evidence unquestionable, that he had contended with and overcome that desperate enemy in open combat.

411 His *Shield* was made of the hide of the buffalo's neck, and hardened with the glue that was taken from its hoofs; its boss was the skin of a pole-cat, and its edges were fringed with rows of eagles' quills and hoofs of the antelope.

His *Bow* was of bone, and as white and beautiful as ivory; over its back

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was laid, and firmly attached to it, a coating of deers' sinews, which gave it its elasticity, and of course death to all that stood inimically before it. Its string was three stranded and twisted of sinews, which many a time had twanged and sent the whizzing death to animal and to human victims. 411

The *Quiver* was made of a panther's skin and hung upon his back, charged with its deadly arrows; some were poisoned and some were not; they were feathered with hawks' and eagles' quills; some were clean and innocent, and pure, and others were stained all over, with animal and human blood that was dried upon them. Their blades or points were of flints, and some of steel; and altogether were a deadly magazine.

The *Lance* or spear was held in his left hand; its blade was two-edged and of polished steel, and the blood of several human victims was seen dried upon it, one over the other; its shaft was of the toughest ash, and ornamented at intervals with tufts of war-eagles' quills.

His *Tobacco-sack* was made of the skin of an otter, and tastefully garnished with quills of the porcupine; in it was carried his *k'nick-k'neck*, (the bark of the red willow, which is smoked as a substitute for tobacco), it contained also his flint and steel, and spunk for lighting——— 276

His *Pipe*, which was ingeniously carved out of the red steatite (or pipe-stone), the stem of which was three feet long and two inches wide, made from the stalk of the young ash; about half its length was wound with delicate braids of the porcupine's quills, so ingeniously wrought as to represent figures of men and animals upon it. It was also ornamented with the skins and beaks of wood-peckers' heads, and the hair of the white buffalo's tail. The lower half of the stem was painted red, and on its edges it bore the notches he had recorded for the snows (or years) of his life.

His *Robe* was made of the skin of a young buffalo bull, with the fur on one side, and the other finely and delicately dressed; with all the battles of his life emblazoned on it by his own hand. 292

His *Belt*, which was of a substantial piece of buckskin, was firmly girded around his waist; and in it were worn his tomahawk and scalping-knife.

His *Medicine-bag* was the skin of a beaver, curiously ornamented with hawks' bills and ermine. It was held in his right hand, and his *po-ko-mo-kon* (or war-club) which was made of a round stone, tied up in a piece of rawhide, and attached to the end of a stick, somewhat in the form of a sling, was laid with others of his weapons at his feet. 415 411

Such was the dress of Mah-to-toh-pa when he entered my wigwam to stand for his picture; but such I have not entirely represented it in his portrait; having rejected such trappings and ornaments as interfered with the grace and simplicity of the figure. He was beautifully and extravagantly dressed; and in this he was not alone, for hundreds of others are equally elegant. In plumes, and arms, and ornaments, he is not singular; but in laurels and wreaths he stands unparalleled. His breast has been bared and scarred in defence of his country, and his brows crowned with honours 159

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159 that elevate him conspicuous above all of his nation. There is no man amongst the Mandans so generally loved, nor any one who wears a robe so justly famed and honourable as that of Mah-to-toh-pa.

I said his robe was of the skin of a young buffalo bull, and that the battles of his life were emblazoned on it; and on a former occasion, that he presented me a beautiful robe, containing all the battles of his life, which he had spent two weeks' time in copying from his original one, which he wore on his shoulders.

This robe, with his tracings on it, is the chart of his military life; and when explained, will tell more of Mah-to-toh-pa.

Some days after this robe was presented, he called upon me with Mr. Kipp, the trader and interpreter for the Mandans, and gave me of each battle there pourtrayed the following history, which was interpreted by Mr. Kipp, from his own lips, and written down by me, as we three sat upon the robe. Mr. Kipp, who is a gentleman of respectability and truth; and who has lived with these people ten years, assured me, that nearly every one of these narrations were of events that had happened whilst he had lived with them, and had been familiarly known to him; and that every word that he asserted was true

And again, reader, in this country where, of all countries I ever was in, men are the most jealous of rank and of standing; and in a community so small also, that every man's deeds of honour and chivalry are familiarly known to all; it would not be reputable, or even safe to life, for a warrior to wear upon his back the representations of battles he never had fought; professing to have done what every child in the village would know he never had done.

So then I take the records of battles on the robe of Mah-to-toh-pa to be matter of historical fact; and I proceed to give them as I wrote them down from his own lips. Twelve battle-scenes are there represented, where he has contended with his enemy, and in which he has taken fourteen of their scalps. The groups are drawn according to his own rude ideas of the arts; and I proceed to describe them in turn, as they were explained to me.

ROBE OF MAH-TO-TOH-PA (Plate 65).

159 TR1 212 1. Mah-to-toh-pa kills a Sioux chief—the three heads represent the three Riccarees, whom the Sioux chief had previously killed. The Sioux chief is seen with war-paint black on his face. Mah-to-toh-pa is seen with the scalp of the Sioux in one hand, and his knife in the other, with his bow and quiver lying behind him.*

2. A Shienne chief, who sent word to Mah-to-toh-pa that he wished to fight him—was killed by Mah-to-toh-pa with a lance, in presence of a large

* The reader will see in Plate 65, an accurate drawing of this curious robe, which now hangs in the Indian Gallery, and on the following pages, each group numbered, and delineated on a larger scale, which are *fac-similes* of the drawings on the robe.

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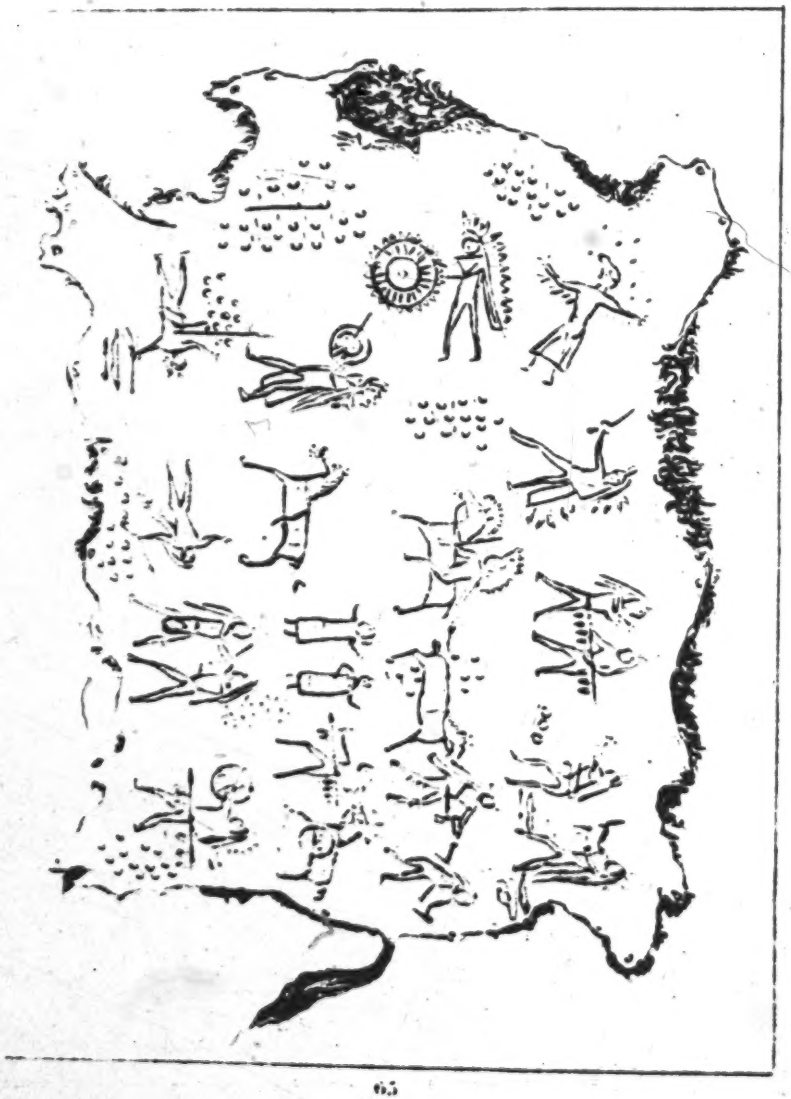

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[p. 148 (A)]

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[p. 148 (B)]

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[p.148(c)]

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[p. 148 (D)]

159 party of Mandans and Shiennes. Mah-to-toh-pa is here known by his lance
721 with eagles' quills on it.

212 3. A Shienne killed by Mah-to-toh-pa after Mah-to-toh-pa had been left by his party, badly wounded and bleeding; the twenty-five or thirty foot-tracks around, represent the number of Shiennes, who were present when the battle took place; and the bullets from their guns represented as flying all around the head of Mah-to-toh-pa.

4. Shienne chief with war-eagle head-dress, and a beautiful shield, ornamented with eagles' quills, killed by Mah-to-toh-pa. In this battle the wife of the Shienne rushed forward in a desperate manner to his assistance; but arriving too late, fell a victim. In this battle Mah-to-toh-pa obtained two scalps.

5. Mah-to-toh-pa, with a party of Riccarees, fired at by a party of Sioux; the Riccarees fled—Mah-to-toh-pa dismounted and drove his horse back, facing the enemy alone and killing one of them. Mah-to-toh-pa is here represented with a beautiful head-dress of war-eagles' quills, and one on his horse's head of equal beauty; his shield is on his arm, and the party of Sioux is represented in front of him by the number of horse tracks.

6. The brother of Mah-to-toh-pa killed by a Riccaree, who shot him with an arrow, and then running a lance through his body, left it there. Mah-to-toh-pa was the first to find his brother's body with the lance in it: he drew the lance from the body, kept it four years with the blood dried on its blade, and then, according to his oath, killed the same Riccaree with the same lance; the dead body of his brother is here seen with the arrow and lance remaining in it, and the tracks of the Riccaree's horses in front.

159 The following was, perhaps, one of the most extraordinary exploits of this
721 remarkable man's life, and is well attested by Mr. Kipp, and several white men, who were living in the Mandan village at the time of its occurrence. In a skirmish, near the Mandan village, when they were set upon by their enemies, the Riccarees, the brother of Mah-to-toh-pa was missing for several days, when Mah-to-toh-pa found the body shockingly mangled, and a handsome spear left piercing the body through the heart. The spear was by him brought into the Mandan village, where it was recognized by many as a famous weapon belonging to a noted brave of the Riccarees, by the name of Won-ga-tap. This spear was brandished through the Mandan village by Mah-to-toh-pa (with the blood of his brother dried on its blade), crying most piteously, and swearing that he would some day revenge the death of his brother with the same weapon.

It is almost an incredible fact, that he kept this spear with great care in his wigwam for the space of four years, in the fruitless expectation of an opportunity to use it upon the breast of its owner; when his indignant soul, impatient of further delay, burst forth in the most uncontroulable frenzy and fury; he again brandished it through the village, and said, that the blood of his brother's heart which was seen on its blade was yet fresh,

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159 721 and called loudly for revenge. "Let every Mandan (said he) be silent, and let no one sound the name of Mah-to-toh-pa—let no one ask for him, nor where he has gone, until you hear him sound the war-cry in front of the village, when he will enter it and shew you the blood of Won-ga-tap. The blade of this lance shall drink the heart's blood of Won-ga-tap, or Mah-to-toh-pa mingles his shadow with that of his brother."

With this he sallied forth from the village, and over the plains, with the lance in his hand; his direction was towards the Riccaree village, and all eyes were upon him, though none dared to speak till he disappeared over the distant grassy bluffs. He travelled the distance of two hundred miles entirely alone, with a little parched corn in his pouch, making his marches by night, and laying secreted by days, until he reached the Riccaree village; where (being acquainted with its shapes and its habits, and knowing the position of the wigwam of his doomed enemy) he loitered about in disguise, mingling himself in the obscure throng; and at last, silently and alone, observed through the rents of the wigwam, the last motions and movements of his victim, as he retired to bed with his wife: he saw him light his last pipe and smoke it "to its end"—he saw the last whiff, and saw the last curl of blue smoke that faintly steeped from its bowl—he saw the village awhile in darkness and silence, and the embers that were covered in the middle of the wigwam gone nearly out, and the last flickering light which had been gently playing over them; when he walked softly, but not slyly, into the wigwam and seated himself by the fire, over which was hanging a large pot, with a quantity of cooked meat remaining in it; and by the side of the fire, the pipe and tobacco-pouch which had just been used; and knowing that the twilight of the wigwam was not sufficient to disclose the features of his face to his enemy, he very deliberately turned to the pot and completely satiated the desperate appetite, which he had got in a journey of six or seven days, with little or nothing to eat; and then, as deliberately, charged and lighted the pipe, and sent (no doubt, in every whiff that he drew through its stem) a prayer to the Great Spirit for a moment longer for the consummation of his design. Whilst eating and smoking, the wife of his victim, while laying in bed, several times enquired of her husband, what man it was who was eating in their lodge? to which, he as many times replied, "It's no matter; let him eat, for he is probably hungry."

[574] Mah-to-toh-pa knew full well that his appearance would cause no other reply than this, from the dignitary of the nation; for, from an invariable custom amongst these Northern Indians, any one who is hungry is allowed to walk into any man's lodge and eat. Whilst smoking his last gentle and tremulous whiffs on the pipe, Mah-to-toh-pa (leaning back, and turning gradually on his side, to get a better view of the position of his enemy, and to see a little more distinctly the shapes of things) stirred the embers with his toes (readers, I had every word of this from his own lips, and every attitude and gesture acted out with his own limbs), until he saw his

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way was clear; at which moment, with his lance in his hands, he rose and drove it through the body of his enemy, and snatching the scalp from his head, he darted from the lodge—and quick as lightning, with the lance in one hand, and the scalp in the other, made his way to the prairie! The village was in an uproar, but he was off, and no one knew the enemy who had struck the blow. Mah-to-toh-pa ran all night, and lay close during the days; thanking the Great Spirit for strengthening his heart and his arm to this noble revenge; and prayed fervently for a continuance of his aid and protection till he should get back to his own village. His prayers were heard; and on the sixth morning, at sunrise, Mah-to-toh-pa descended the bluffs, and entered the village amidst deafening shouts of applause, while he brandished and shewed to his people the blade of his lance, with the blood of his victim dried upon it, over that of his brother; and the scalp of Won-ga-tap suspended from its handle 159 721

Such was the feat represented by Mah-to-toh-pa on his robe—and the lance, of which I have just spoken, is seen in the hand of his portrait, which will stand in my Gallery, and of which I have thus formerly spoken:—"The lance or spear of Mah-to-toh-pa, when he stood for his portrait, was held in his left hand; its blade was two-edged, and of polished steel, and the blood of several human victims was seen dried upon its surface, one over the other; its shaft was of the toughest ash, and ornamented at intervals with tufts of war-eagle's quills."

In the portrait, of which I am speaking, there will be seen an eagle's quill balanced on the hilt of the lance, severed from its original position, and loose from the weapon. When I painted his portrait, he brought that quill to my wigwam in his left hand, and carefully balancing it on the lance, as seen in the painting; he desired me to be very exact with it, to have it appear as separate from, and unconnected with, the lance; and to represent a spot of blood which was visible upon it. I indulged him in his request, and then got from him the following explanation:—"That quill (said he) is great *medicine!* it belongs to the Great Spirit, and not to me—when I was running out of the lodge of Won-ga-tap, I looked back and saw that quill hanging to the wound in his side; I ran back, and pulling it out, brought it home in my left hand, and I have kept it for the Great Spirit to this day!"

"Why do you not then tie it on to the lance again, where it came off?"

"Hush-sh (said he), if the Great Spirit had wished it to be tied on in that place, it never would have come off; he has been kind to me, and I will not offend him."

7. A Riccaree killed by Mah-to-toh-pa in revenge of the death of a white man killed by a Riccaree in the Fur Traders' Fort, a short time previous. 159 721

8. Mah-to-toh-pa, or four bears, kills a Shienne chief, who challenged him to single combat, in presence of the two war-parties; they fought on horse-back with guns, until Mah-to-toh-pa's powder-horn was shot away; they then fought with bows and arrows, until their quivers were emptied, when they 212

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159 721 212 dismounted and fougnt single-handed. The Shienne drew his knife, and Mah-to-toh-pa had left his; they struggled for the knife, which Mah-to-toh-pa wrested from the Shienne, and killed him with it; in the struggle, the blade of the knife was several times drawn through the hand of Mah-to-toh-pa, and the blood is seen running from the wound.

This extraordinary occurrence also, was one which admits of, and deserves a more elaborate description, which I will here give as it was translated from his own lips, while he sat upon the robe, pointing to his painting of it; and at the same time brandishing the identical knife which he drew from his belt, as he was shewing how the fatal blow was given; and exhibiting the wounds inflicted in his hand, as the blade of the knife was several times drawn through it before he wrested it from his antagonist.

159 721 A party of about 150 Shienne warriors had made an assault upon the Mandan village at an early hour in the morning, and driven off a considerable number of horses, and taken one scalp. Mah-to-toh-pa, who was then a young man, but famed as one of the most valiant of the Mandans, took the lead of a party of fifty warriors, all he could at that time muster, and went in pursuit of the enemy; about noon of the second day, they came in sight of the Shiennes; and the Mandans seeing their enemy much more numerous than they had expected, were generally disposed to turn about and return without attacking them. They started to go back, when Mah-to-toh-pa galloped out in front upon the prairie, and plunged his lance into the ground; the blade was driven into the earth to its hilt—he made another circuit around, and in that circuit tore from his breast his reddened sash, which he hung upon its handle as a flag, calling out to the Mandans, "What! have we come to this? we have dogged our enemy two days, and now when we have found them, are we to turn about and go back like cowards? Mah-to-toh-pa's lance, which is red with the blood of brave men, has led you to the sight of your enemy, and you have followed it; it now stands firm in the ground, where the earth will drink the blood of Mah-to-toh-pa! you may all go back, and Mah-to-toh-pa will fight them alone!"

During this manœuvre, the Shiennes, who had discovered the Mandans behind them, had turned about and were gradually approaching, in order to give them battle; the chief of the Shienne war-party seeing and understanding the difficulty, and admiring the gallant conduct of Mah-to-toh-pa, galloped his horse forward within hailing distance, in front of the Mandans, and called out to know "who he was who had stuck down his lance and defied the whole enemy alone?"

"I am Mah-to-toh-pa, second in command of the brave and valiant Mandans."

"I have heard often of Mah-to-toh-pa, he is a great warrior—dares Mah-to-toh-pa to come forward and fight this battle with me alone, and our warriors will look on?"

"Is he a chief who speaks to Mah-to-toh-pa?"

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"My scalps you see hanging to my horse's bits, and here is my lance with the ermine skins and the war-eagle's tail!" 159 721

"You have said enough."

The Shienne chief made a circuit or two at full gallop on a beautiful white horse, when he struck his lance into the ground, and left it standing by the side of the lance of Mah-to-toh-pa, both of which were waving together their little red flags, tokens of blood and defiance.

The two parties then drew nearer, on a beautiful prairie, and the two full-plumed chiefs, at full speed, drove furiously upon each other! both firing their guns at the same moment. They passed each other a little distance and wheeled, when Mah-to-toh-pa drew off his powder-horn, and by holding it up, shewed his adversary that the bullet had shattered it to pieces and destroyed his ammunition; he then threw it from him, and his gun also—drew his bow from his quiver, and an arrow, and his shield upon his left arm! The Shienne instantly did the same; *his* horn was thrown off, and his gun was thrown into the air—his shield was balanced on his arm—his bow drawn, and quick as lightning, they were both on the wing for a deadly combat! Like two soaring eagles in the open air, they made their circuits around, and the twangs of their sinewy bows were heard, and the war-whoop, as they dashed by each other, parrying off the whizzing arrows with their shields! Some lodged in their legs and others in their arms; but both protected their *bodies* with their bucklers of bull's hide. Deadly and many were the shafts that fled from their murderous bows. At length the horse of Mah-to-toh-pa fell to the ground with an arrow in his heart: his rider sprang upon his feet prepared to renew the combat; but the Shienne, seeing his adversary dismounted, sprang from his horse, and driving him back, presented the face of his shield towards his enemy, inviting him to come on!—a few shots more were exchanged thus, when the Shienne, having discharged all his arrows, held up his empty quiver and dashing it furiously to the ground, with his bow and his shield; drew and brandished his naked knife!

"Yes!" said Mah-to-toh-pa, as he threw *his* shield and quiver to the earth, and was rushing up—*he* grasped for his knife, but his belt had it not; he had left it at home! his bow was in his hand, with which he parried his antagonist's blow and felled him to the ground! A desperate struggle now ensued for the knife—the blade of it was several times drawn through the right hand of Mah-to-toh-pa, inflicting the most frightful wounds, while he was severely wounded in several parts of the body. He at length succeeded however, in wresting it from his adversary's hand, and plunged it to his heart.

By this time the two parties had drawn up in close view of each other, and at the close of the battle, Mah-to-toh-pa held up, and claimed in deadly silence, the knife and scalp of the noble Shienne chief.*

* This celebrated weapon with the blood of several victims dried upon its blade, now

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159 721 212 9. Several hundred Minatarrees and Mandans attacked by a party of Assinneboins—all fled but Mah-to-toh-pa, who stood his ground, fired, and killed one of the enemy, putting the rest of them to flight, and driving off sixty horses! He is here seen with his lance and shield—foot-tracks of his enemy in front, and his own party's horse-tracks behind him, and a shower of bullets flying around his head; here he got the name of "*the four bears*," as the Assinneboins said he rushed on like four bears.

10. Mah-to-toh-pa gets from his horse and kills two Ojibbeway women, and takes their scalps; done by the side of an Ojibbeway village, where they went to the river for water. He is here seen with his lance in one hand and his knife in the other—an eagle's plume head-dress on his horse, and his shield left on his horse's back. I incurred his ill-will for awhile by asking him, whether it was manly to boast of taking the scalps of women? and his pride prevented him from giving me any explanation or apology. The interpreter, however, explained to me that he had secreted himself in the most daring manner, in full sight of the Ojibbeway village, seeking to revenge a murder, where he remained six days without sustenance, and then killed the two women in full view of the tribe, and made his escape, which entitled him to the credit of a victory, though his victims were women.

11. A large party of Assinneboins entrenched near the Mandan village attacked by the Mandans and Minatarrees, who were driven back—Mah-to-toh-pa rushes into the entrenchment alone—an Indian fires at him and burns his face with the muzzle of his gun, which burst—the Indian retreats, leaving his exploded gun, and Mah-to-toh-pa shoots him through the shoulders as he runs, and kills him with his tomahawk; the gun of the Assinneboin is seen falling to the ground, and in front of him the heads of the Assinneboins in the entrenchment; the horse of Mah-to-toh-pa is seen behind him.

12. Mah-to-toh-pa between his enemy the Sioux, and his own people, with an arrow shot through him, after standing the fire of the Sioux for a long time alone. In this battle he took no scalps, yet his valour was so extraordinary that the chiefs and braves awarded him the honour of a victory. This feat is seen in the centre of the robe—head-dress of war-eagles' quills on his own and his horse's head—the tracks of his enemies' horses are seen in front of him, and bullets flying both ways all around him. With his whip in his hand, he is seen urging his horse forward, and an arrow is seen flying, and bloody, as it has passed through his body. For this wound, and the several others mentioned above, he bears the honourable scars on his body, which he generally keeps covered with red paint.

Such are the battles traced upon the robe of Mah-to-toh-pa or four bears, interpreted by J. Kipp from the words of the hero while sitting upon the robe, explaining each battle as represented.

hangs in the INDIAN GALLERY, with satisfactory certificates of its identity and its remarkable history, and an exact drawing of it and its scabbard can be seen in PLATE 99, *a*.

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LETTER—No. 22.

MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

Oh! "*horribile visu—et mirabile dictu!*" Thank God, it is over, that I have seen it, and am able to tell it to the world.

The *annual religious ceremony*, of four days, of which I have so often spoken, and which I have so long been wishing to see, has at last been enacted in this village; and I have, fortunately, been able to see and to understand it in most of its bearings, which was more than I had reason to expect; for no white man, in all probability, has ever been before admitted to the *medicine-lodge* during these most remarkable and appalling scenes.

Well and truly has it been said, that the Mandans are a strange and peculiar people; and most correctly had I been informed, that this was an important and interesting scene, by those who had, on former occasions, witnessed such parts of it as are transacted out of doors, and in front of the *medicine-lodge*.

Since the date of my last Letter, I was lucky enough to have painted the *medicine-man*, who was high-priest on this grand occasion, or conductor of the ceremonies, who had me regularly installed doctor or "*medicine*;" and who, on the morning when these grand refinements in mysteries commenced, took me by the arm, and led me into the *medicine-lodge*, where the Fur Trader, Mr. Kipp, and his two clerks accompanied me in close attendance for four days; all of us going to our own quarters at sun-down, and returning again at sun-rise the next morning.

I took my sketch-book with me, and have made many and faithful drawings of what we saw, and full notes of everything as translated to me by the interpreter; and since the close of that horrid and frightful scen which was a week ago or more, I have been closely ensconced in an eart covered wigwam, with a fine sky-light over my head, with my palette a brushes, endeavouring faithfully to put the whole of what we saw up canvass, which my companions all agree to be critically correct, and of t fidelity of which they have attached their certificates to the backs of t paintings. I have made four paintings of these strange scenes, containin several hundred figures, representing the transactions of each day; and if live to get them home, they will be found to be exceedingly curious and interesting.

I shudder at the relation, or even at the thought of these barbarous and

000 cruel scenes, and am almost ready to shrink from the task of reciting them after I have so long promised some account of them. I entered the *medicine-house* of these scenes, as I would have entered a church, and expected to see something extraordinary and strange, but yet in the form of worship or devotion; but alas! little did I expect to see the interior of their holy temple turned into a *slaughter-house*, and its floor strewed with the blood of its fanatic devotees. Little did I think that I was entering a house of God, where His blinded worshippers were to pollute its sacred interior with their blood, and propitiatory suffering and tortures—surpassing, if possible, the cruelty of the rack or the inquisition; but such the scene has been, and as such I will endeavour to describe it.

The "*Mandan religious ceremony*" then, as I believe it is very justly denominated, is an annual transaction, held in their *medicine-lodge* once a year, as a great religious anniversary, and for several distinct objects, as I shall in a few minutes describe; during and after which, they look with implicit reliance for the justification and approval of the Great Spirit.

711 All of the Indian tribes, as I have before observed, are religious—are worshipful—and many of them go to almost incredible lengths (as will be seen in the present instance, and many others I may recite) in worshipping the Great Spirit; denying and humbling themselves before Him for the same purpose, and in the same hope as we do, perhaps in a more rational and acceptable way.

The tribes, so far as I have visited them, all distinctly believe in the existence of a Great (or Good) Spirit, an Evil (or Bad) Spirit, and also in a future existence and future accountability, according to their virtues and vices in this world. So far the North American Indians would seem to be one family, and such an unbroken theory amongst them; yet with regard to the manner and form, and time and place of that accountability—to the constructions of virtues and vices, and the modes of appeasing and propitiating the Good and Evil Spirits, they are found with all the changes and variety which fortuitous circumstances, and fictions, and fables have wrought upon them.

If from their superstitions and their ignorance, there are oftentimes obscurities and mysteries thrown over and around their system, yet these affect not the theory itself, which is everywhere essentially the same—and which, if it be not correct, has this much to command the admiration of the enlightened world, that they worship with great sincerity, and all according to one creed.

The Mandans believe in the existence of a Great (or Good) Spirit, and also of an Evil Spirit, who they say existed long before the Good Spirit, and is far superior in power. They all believe also in a future state of existence, and a future administration of rewards and punishments, and (so do all other tribes that I have yet visited) they believe those punishments are not eternal, but commensurate with their sins.

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These people living in a climate where they suffer from cold in the severity of their winters, have very naturally reversed our ideas of Heaven and Hell. The latter they describe to be a country very far to the north, of barren and hideous aspect, and covered with eternal snows and ice. The torments of this freezing place they describe as most excruciating; whilst Heaven they suppose to be in a warmer and delightful latitude, where nothing is felt but the keenest enjoyment, and where the country abounds in buffaloes and other luxuries of life. The Great or Good Spirit they believe dwells in the former place for the purpose of there meeting those who have offended him; increasing the agony of their sufferings, by being himself present, administering the penalties. The Bad or Evil Spirit they at the same time suppose to reside in Paradise, still tempting the happy; and those who have gone to the regions of punishment they believe to be tortured for a time proportioned to the amount of their transgressions, and that they are then to be transferred to the land of the happy, where they are again liable to the temptations of the Evil Spirit, and answerable again at a future period for their new offences. 771

Such is the religious creed of the Mandans, and for the purpose of appeasing the Good and Evil Spirits, and to secure their entrance into those "fields Elysian," or beautiful hunting grounds, do the young men subject themselves to the horrid and sickening cruelties to be described in the following pages.

There are other three distinct objects (yet to be named) for which these religious ceremonies are held, which are as follow:— 796

First, they are held annually as a celebration of the event of the subsiding of the Flood, which they call *Mee-nee-ro-ka-ha-sha*, (sinking down or settling of the waters.)

Secondly, for the purpose of dancing what they call, *Bel-lokch-na-pic* (the bull-dance); to the strict observance of which they attribute the coming of buffaloes to supply them with food during the season; and

Thirdly and lastly, for the purpose of conducting all the young men of the tribe, as they annually arrive to the age of manhood, through an ordeal of privation and torture, which, while it is supposed to harden their muscles and prepare them for extreme endurance, enables the chiefs who are spectators to the scene, to decide upon their comparative bodily strength and ability to endure the extreme privations and sufferings that often fall to the lots of Indian warriors; and that they may decide who is the most hardy and best able to lead a war-party in case of extreme exigency. 796 881

This part of the ceremony, as I have just witnessed it, is truly shocking to behold, and will almost stagger the belief of the world when they read o it. The scene is too terrible and too revolting to be seen or to be told, were it not an essential part of a whole, which will be new to the civilized world, and therefore worth their knowing. 000

The bull-dance, and many other parts of these ceremonies are exceed-

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000 ingly grotesque and amusing, and that part of them which has a relation to the Deluge is harmless and full of interest.

361 In the centre of the Mandan village is an open, circular area of 150 feet diameter, kept always clear, as a public ground, for the display of all their public feasts, parades, &c. and around it are their wigwams placed as near to each other as they can well stand, their doors facing the centre of this public area.

778 796 In the middle of this ground, which is trodden like a hard pavement, is a curb (somewhat like a large hogshead standing on its end) made of planks (and bound with hoops), some eight or nine feet high, which they religiously preserve and protect from year to year, free from mark or scratch, and which they call the "big canoe"—it is undoubtedly a symbolic representation of a part of their traditional history of the Flood; which it is very evident, from this and numerous other features of this grand ceremony, they have in some way or other received, and are here endeavouring to perpetuate by vividly impressing it on the minds of the whole nation. This object of superstition, from its position, as the very centre of the village is the rallying point of the whole nation. To it their devotions are paid on various occasions of feasts and religious exercises during the year; and in this extraordinary scene it was often the nucleus of their mysteries and cruelties, as I shall shortly describe them, and becomes an object worth bearing in mind, and worthy of being understood.

796 805 773 This exciting and appalling scene, then, which is familiarly (and no doubt correctly) called the "Mandan religious ceremony," commences, not on a particular day of the year, (for these people keep no record of days or weeks), but at a particular season, which is designated by the full expansion of the willow leaves under the bank of the river; for according to their tradition, "the twig that the bird brought home was a willow bough, and had full-grown leaves on it," and the bird to which they allude, is the mourning or turtle-dove, which they took great pains to point out to me, as it is often to be seen feeding on the sides of their earth-covered lodges, and which, being, as they call it, a *medicine-bird*, is not to be destroyed or harmed by any one, and even their dogs are instructed not to do it injury.

796 On the morning on which this strange transaction commenced, I was sitting at breakfast in the house of the Trader, Mr. Kipp, when at sun-rise, we were suddenly startled by the shrieking and screaming of the women, and barking and howling of dogs, as if an enemy were actually storming their village.

"Now we have it!" (exclaimed *mine host*, as he sprang from the table,) the grand ceremony has commenced!—drop your knife and fork, Mons. and get your sketch-book as soon as possible, that you may lose nothing, for the very moment of *commencing* is as curious as anything else of this strange affair." I seized my sketch-book, and all hands of us were in an instant in front of the medicine-lodge, ready to see and to hear all that was to take place. Groups of women and children were gathered on the tops of

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their earth-covered wigwams, and all were screaming, and dogs were howling, and all eyes directed to the prairies in the West, where was beheld at a mile distant, a solitary individual descending a prairie bluff, and making his way in a direct line towards the village!

The whole community joined in the general expression of great alarm, as if they were in danger of instant destruction; bows were strung and thrumed to test their elasticity—their horses were caught upon the prairie and run into the village—warriors were blackening their faces, and dogs were muzzled, and every preparation made, as if for instant combat

During this deafening din and confusion within the piquets of the village of the Mandans, the figure discovered on the prairie continued to approach with a dignified step and in a right line towards the village; all eyes were upon him, and he at length made his appearance (without opposition) within the piquets, and proceeded towards the centre of the village, where all the chiefs and braves stood ready to receive him, which they did in a cordial manner, by shaking hands with him, recognizing him as an old acquaintance, and pronouncing his name *Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah* (the first or only man). The body of this strange personage, which was chiefly naked, was painted with white clay, so as to resemble at a little distance, a white man; he wore a robe of four white wolf skins falling back over his shoulders; on his head he had a splendid head-dress made of two ravens' skins, and in his left hand he cautiously carried a large pipe, which he seemed to watch and guard as something of great importance. After passing the chiefs and braves as described, he approached the *medicine* or mystery lodge, which he had the means of opening, and which had been religiously closed during the year except for the performance of these religious rites.

Having opened and entered it, he called in four men whom he appointed to clean it out, and put it in readiness for the ceremonies, by sweeping it and strewing a profusion of green willow-boughs over its floor, and with them decorating its sides. Wild sage also, and many other aromatic herbs they gathered from the prairies, and scattered over its floor; and over these were arranged a curious group of buffalo and human skulls, and other articles, which were to be used during this strange and unaccountable transaction.

During the whole of this day, and while these preparations were making in the *medicine-lodge*, Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (the first or only man) travelled through the village, stopping in front of every man's lodge, and crying until the owner of the lodge came out, and asked who he was, and what was the matter? to which he replied by relating the sad catastrophe which had happened on the earth's surface by the overflowing of the waters, saying that "he was the only person saved from the universal calamity: that he landed his big canoe on a high mountain in the west, where he now resides; that he had come to open the *medicine-lodge*, which must needs receive a present of some edged-tool from the owner of every wigwam, that

796 it may be sacrificed to the water; for he says, "if this is not done, there will be another flood, and no one will be saved, as it was with such tools that the big canoe was made."

Having visited every lodge or wigwam in the village, during the day, and having received such a present at each, as a hatchet, a knife, &c. (which is undoubtedly always prepared and ready for the occasion), he returned at evening and deposited them in the *medicine-lodge*, where they remained until the afternoon of the last day of the ceremony, when, as the final or closing scene, they were thrown into the river in a deep place, from a bank thirty feet high, and in presence of the whole village; from whence they can never be recovered, and where they were, undoubtedly, *sacrificed* to the Spirit of the Water.

796 881 During the first night of this strange character in the village, no one could tell where he slept; and every person, both old and young, and dogs, and all living things were kept within doors, and dead silence reigned every where. On the next morning at sunrise, however, he made his appearance again, and entered the *medicine-lodge;* and at his heels (in "*Indian file,*" i. *e.* single file, one following in another's tracks) all the young men who were candidates for the self-tortures which were to be inflicted, and for the honours that were to be bestowed by the chiefs on those who could most manfully endure them. There were on this occasion about fifty young men who entered the lists, and as they went into the sacred lodge, each one's body was chiefly naked, and covered with clay of different colours; some were red, others were yellow, and some were covered with white clay, giving them the appearance of white men. Each one of them carried in his right hand his *medicine-bag*—on his left arm, his shield of the bull's hide—in his left hand, his bow and arrows, with his quiver slung on his back.

When all had entered the lodge, they placed themselves in reclining postures around its sides, and each one had suspended over his head his respective weapons and *medicine*, presenting altogether, one of the most wild and picturesque scenes imaginable.

Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (the first or only man) was in the midst of them, and having lit and smoked his medicine-pipe for their success; and having addressed them in a short speech, stimulating and encouraging them to trust to the Great Spirit for His protection during the severe ordeal they were about to pass through; he called into the lodge an old medicine or mystery-man, whose body was painted yellow, and whom he appointed master of ceremonies during this occasion, whom they denominated in their language *O-kee-pah Ka-se-kah* (keeper or conductor of the ceremonies). He was appointed, and the authority passed by the presentation of the medicine-pipe, on which they consider hangs all the power of holding and conducting all these rites.

After this delegated authority had thus passed over to the medicine-man; Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah shook hands with him, and bade him good

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bye, saying "that he was going back to the mountains in the west, from whence he should assuredly return in just a year from that time, to open the lodge again." He then went out of the lodge, and passing through the village, took formal leave of the chiefs in the same manner, and soon disappeared over the bluffs from whence he came. No more was seen of this surprising character during the occasion; but I shall have something yet to say of him and his strange office before I get through the Letter.

To return to the lodge,—the medicine or mystery-man just appointed, and who had received his injunctions from Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah, was left sole conductor and keeper; and according to those injunctions, it was his duty to lie by a small fire in the centre of the lodge, with his medicine-pipe in his hand, crying to the Great Spirit incessantly, watching the young men, and preventing entirely their escape from the lodge, and all communication whatever with people outside, for the space of four days and nights, during which time they were not allowed to *eat*, to *drink*, or to *sleep*, preparatory to the excruciating self-tortures which they were to endure on the fourth day.

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I mentioned that I had made four paintings of these strange scenes, and the first one exhibits the interior of the medicine-lodge at this moment; with the young men all reclining around its sides, and the conductor or mystery-man lying by the fire, crying to the Great Spirit (PLATE 66). It was just at this juncture that I was ushered into this sacred temple of their worship, with my companions, which was, undoubtedly, the first time that their devotions had ever been trespassed upon by the presence of pale faces; and in this instance had been brought about in the following strange and unexpected manner.

I had most luckily for myself, painted a full-length portrait of this great magician or high-priest, but a day previous to the commencement of the ceremonies (in which I had represented him in the performance of some of his mysteries), with which he had been so exceedingly pleased as well as astonished (as "he could see its eyes move"), that I must needs be, in his opinion, deeply skilled in magic and mysteries, and well-entitled to a respectable rank in the craft, to which I had been at once elevated by the unanimous voice of the doctors, and regularly initiated, and styled *Te-ho-pee-nee-wash-ee-waska-pooska*, the *white medicine* (or Spirit) *painter*.

With this very honourable degree which had just been conferred upon me, I was standing in front of the medicine-lodge early in the morning, with my companions by my side, endeavouring to get a peep, if possible, into its sacred interior; when this *master of ceremonies*, guarding and conducting its secrets, as I before described, came out of the door and taking me with a firm *professional* affection by the arm, led me into this *sanctum sanctorum*, which was strictly guarded from, even a peep or a gaze from the vulgar, by a vestibule of eight or ten feet in length, guarded with a double screen or door, and two or three dark and frowning centinels with spears

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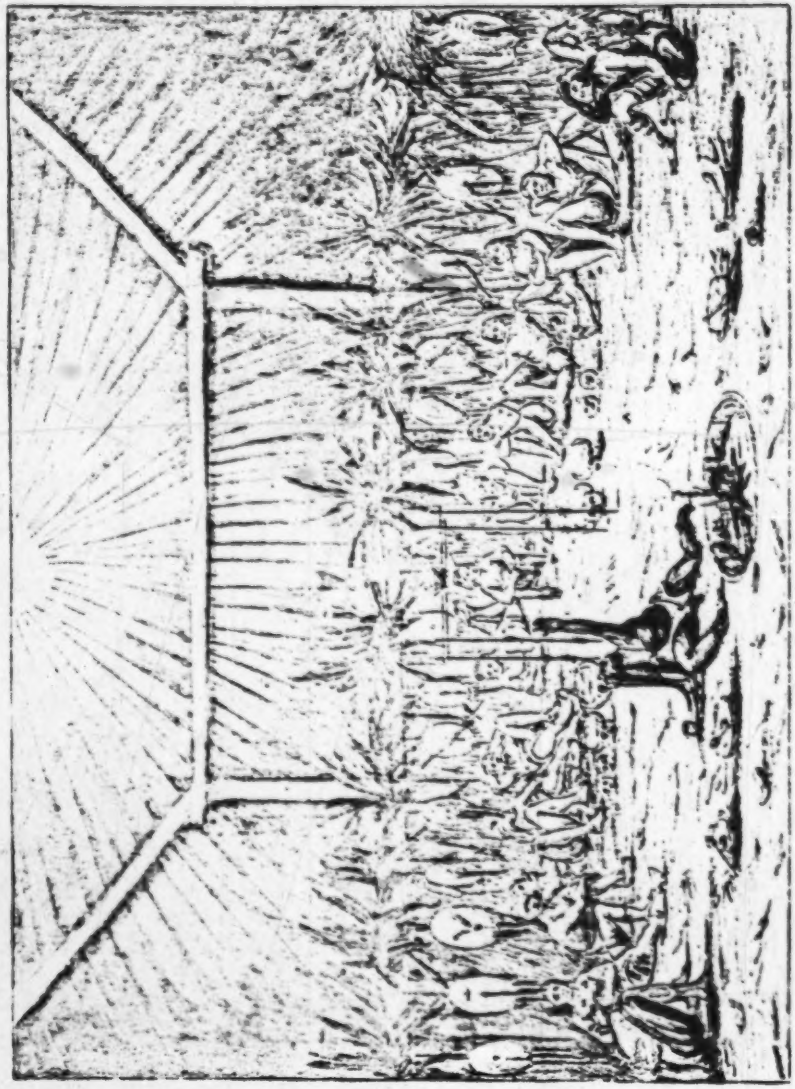

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796 or war-clubs in their hands. I gave the wink to my companions as I was
123 passing in, and the potency of my *medicine* was such as to gain them a quiet admission, and all of us were comfortably placed on elevated seats, which our conductor soon prepared for us.

We were then in full view of everything that transpired in the lodge, having before us the scene exactly, which is represented in the first of the four pictures. To this seat we returned every morning at sunrise, and remained until sun-down for four days, the whole time which these strange scenes occupied.

796 In addition to the preparations and arrangements of the interior of this
778 sanctuary, as above described, there was a curious, though a very strict arrangement of buffalo and human skulls placed on the floor of the lodge, and between them (which were divided into two parcels), and in front of the reclining group of young candidates, was a small and very delicate scaffold, elevated about five feet from the ground, made of four posts or crotches, not larger than a gun-rod, and placed some four or five feet apart, supporting four equally delicate rods, resting in the crotches; thus forming the frame of the scaffold, which was completed by a number of still smaller and more delicate sticks, transversely resting upon them. On the centre of this little frame rested some small object, which I could not exactly understand from the distance of twenty or thirty feet which intervened between it and my eye. I started several times from my seat to approach it, but all eyes were instantly upon me, and every mouth in the assembly sent forth a hush—sh—! which brought me back to my seat again; and I at length quieted my stifled curiosity as well as I could, upon learning the fact, that so sacred was that object, and so important its secrets or mysteries, that not *I* alone, but even the young men, who were passing the ordeal, and all the village, save the conductor of the mysteries, were stopped from approaching it, or knowing what it was.

This little mystery-thing, whatever it was, had the appearance from where I sat, of a small tortoise or frog lying on its back, with its head and legs quite extended, and wound and tasselled off with exceedingly delicate red and blue, and yellow ribbons or tassels, and other bright coloured ornaments; and seemed, from the devotions paid to it, to be the very nucleus of their mysteries—the *sanctissimus sanctorum*, from which seemed to emanate all the sanctity of their proceedings, and to which, all seemed to be paying the highest devotional respect.

This strange, yet important *essence* of their mysteries, I made every enquiry about; but got no further information of, than what I could learn by my eyes, at the distance at which I saw it, and from the silent respect which I saw paid to it. I tried with the doctors, and all of the *fraternity* answered me, that that was "*great medicine*," assuring me that it "could not be told." So I quieted my curiosity as well as I could, by the full conviction that I had a *degree* or two yet to take before I could fathom all

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the arcana of Indian superstitions; and that this little, seemingly wonderful, relic of antiquity, symbol of some grand event, or "secret too valuable to be told," might have been at last nothing but a silly bunch of strings and toys, to which they pay some great peculiar regard; giving thereby to some favourite Spirit or essence an ideal existence, and which, when called upon to describe, they refuse to do so, calling it "*Great Medicine*," for the very reason that there is nothing in it to reveal or describe. 796 778

Immediately under the little frame or scaffold described, and on the floor of the lodge was placed a knife, and by the side of it a bundle of splints or skewers, which were kept in readiness for the infliction of the cruelties directly to be explained. There were seen also, in this stage of the affair, a number of cords of rawhide hanging down from the top of the lodge, and passing through its roof, with which the young men were to be suspended by the splints passed through their flesh, and drawn up by men placed on the top of the lodge for the purpose, as will be described in a few moments.

There were also four articles of great veneration and importance lying on the floor of the lodge, which were sacks, containing in each some three or four gallons of water. These also were objects of superstitious regard, and made with great labour and much ingenuity; each one of them being constructed of the skin of the buffalo's neck, and most elaborately sewed together in the form of a large tortoise lying on its back, with a bunch of eagle's quills appended to it as a tail; and each of them having a stick, shaped like a drum-stick, lying on them, with which, in a subsequent stage of these ceremonies, as will be seen, they are beaten upon by several of their mystery-men, as a part of the music for their strange dances and mysteries. By the side of these sacks which they call *Eeh-teeh-ka*, are two other articles of equal importance, which they call *Eeh-na-dee* (rattles), in the form of a gourd-shell made also of dried skins, and used at the same time as the others, in the music (or rather *noise* and *din*) for their dances, &c.

These four sacks of water have the appearance of very great antiquity; and by enquiring of my very ingenious friend and patron, the *medicine-man*, after the ceremonies were over, he very gravely told me, that "those four tortoises contained the waters from the four quarters of the world—that these waters had been contained therein ever since the settling down of the waters!" I did not think it best to advance any argument against so ridiculous a theory, and therefore could not even enquire or learn, at what period they had been instituted, or how often, or on what occasions, the water in them had been changed or replenished.

I made several propositions, through my friend Mr. Kipp, the trader and interpreter, to purchase one of these strange things by offering them a very liberal price; to which I received in answer that these, and all the very numerous articles used in these ceremonies, being a *society property* were 796 421

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796 421 *medicine*, and could not be sold for any consideration; so I abandoned all thoughts of obtaining anything, except what I have done by the *medicine* operation of my pencil, which was applied to everything, and even upon that they looked with decided distrust and apprehension, as a sort of theft or sacrilege.

796 Such then was the group, and such the appearance of the interior of the medicine-lodge during the three first, and part of the fourth day also, of the Mandan religious ceremonies. The medicine-man with a group about him, of young aspirants who were under his sole controul, as was every article and implement to be used, and the sanctity of this solitary and gloomy looking place, which could not be trespassed upon by any man's presence without his most sovereign permission.

796 535 During the three first days of this solemn conclave, there were many very curious forms and amusements enacted in the open area in the middle of the village, and in front of the medicine-lodge, by other members of the community, one of which formed a material part or link of these strange ceremonials. This very curious and exceedingly grotesque part of their performance, which they denominated *Bel-lohck nah-pick* (the bull-dance) of which I have before spoken, as one of the avowed objects for which they held this annual fête; and to the strictest observance of which they attribute the coming of buffaloes to supply them with food during the season—is repeated four times during the first day, eight times on the second day, twelve times on the third day, and sixteen times on the fourth day; and always around the curb, or "*big canoe*," of which I have before spoken.

This subject I have selected for my second picture, and the principal actors in it were eight men, with the entire skins of buffaloes thrown over their backs, with the horns and hoofs and tails remaining on; their bodies in a horizontal position, enabling them to imitate the actions of the buffalo, whilst they were looking out of its eyes as through a mask (PLATE 67).

The bodies of these men were chiefly naked and all painted in the most extraordinary manner, with the nicest adherence to exact similarity; their limbs, bodies and faces, being in every part covered, either with black, red, or white paint. Each one of these strange characters had also a lock of buffalo's hair tied around his ancles—in his right hand a rattle, and a slender white rod or staff, six feet long, in the other; and carried on his back, a bunch of green willow boughs about the usual size of a bundle of straw. These eight men, being divided into four pairs, took their positions on the four different sides of the curb or big canoe, representing thereby the four cardinal points; and between each group of them, with the back turned to the big canoe, was another figure, engaged in the same dance, keeping step with them, with a similar staff or wand in one hand and a rattle in the other, and (being four in number) answering again to the four cardinal points. The bodies of these four young men were chiefly naked, with no other dress upon them than a beautiful kelt (or quartz-quaw), around the waist, made of eagles

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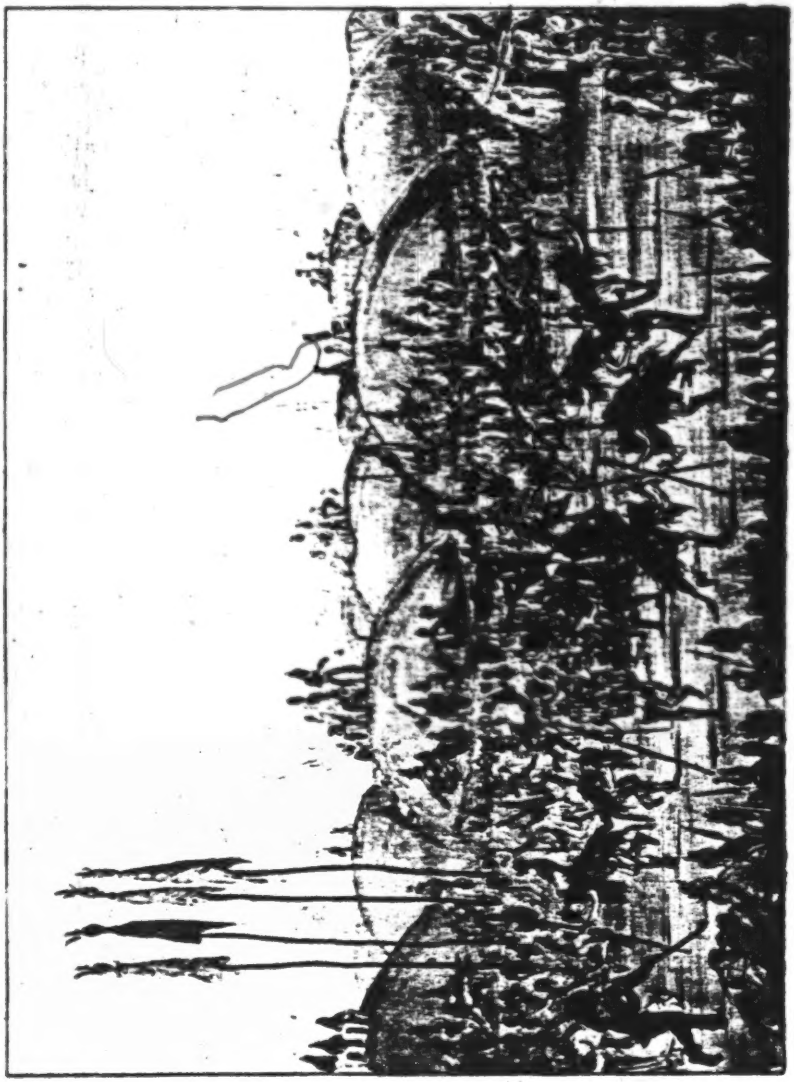

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quills and ermine, and very splendid head-dresses made of the same materials. Two of these figures were painted entirely black with pounded charcoal and grease, whom they called the "firmament or night," and the numerous white spots which were dotted all over their bodies, they called "stars." The other two were painted from head to foot as red as vermilion could make them; these they said represented the day, and the white streaks which were painted up and down over their bodies, were "ghosts which the morning rays were chasing away."

These twelve are the only persons actually engaged in this strange dance, which is each time repeated in the same form, without the slightest variation. There are, however, a great number of characters engaged in giving the whole effect and wildness to this strange and laughable scene, each one acting well his part, and whose offices, strange and inexplicable as they are, I will endeavour to point out and explain as well as I can, from what I saw, elucidated by their own descriptions.

This most remarkable scene, then, which is witnessed more or less often on each day, takes place in presence of the whole nation, who are generally gathered around, on the tops of the wigwams or otherwise, as spectators, whilst the young men are reclining and fasting in the lodge as above described. On the first day, this "*bull-dance*" is given *once* to each of the cardinal points, and the medicine-man smokes his pipe in those directions. On the second day, *twice* to each; *three times* to each on the third day, and *four times* to each on the fourth. As a signal for the dancers and other characters (as well as the public) to assemble, the old man, master of ceremonies, with the medicine-pipe in hand, dances out of the lodge, singing (or rather crying) forth a most pitiful lament, until he approaches the big canoe, against which he leans, with the pipe in his hand, and continues to cry. At this instant, four very aged and patriarchal looking men, whose bodies are painted red, and who have been guarding the four sides of the lodge, enter it and bring out the four sacks of water, which they place near the big canoe, where they seat themselves by the side of them and commence thumping on them with the mallets or drumsticks which have been lying on them; and another brandishes and shakes the *esh-na-dees* or rattles, and all unite to them their voices, raised to the highest pitch possible, as the music for the *bull-dance*, which is then commenced and continued for fifteen minutes or more in perfect time, and without cessation or intermission. When the music and dancing stop, which are always perfectly simultaneous, the whole nation raise the huzza! and a deafening shout of approbation; the master of ceremonies dances back to the medicine-lodge, and the old men return to their former place; the sacks of water, and all rest as before, until by the same method, they are again called into a similar action.

The supernumeraries or other characters who play their parts in this grand spectacle, are numerous and well worth description. By the side of the

796 big canoe are seen two men with the skins of grizzly bears thrown over
535 them, using the skins as a mask, over their heads. These ravenous animals are continually growling and threatening to devour everything before them and interfering with the forms of their religious ceremony. To appease them, the women are continually bringing and placing before them dishes of meat, which are as often snatched up and carried to the prairie, by two men whose bodies are painted black and their heads white, whom they call bald eagles, who are darting by them and grasping their food from before them as they pass. These are again chased upon the plains by a hundred or more small boys, who are naked, with their bodies painted yellow and their heads white, whom they call *Cabris* or antelopes; who at length get the food away from them and devour it; thereby inculcating (perhaps) the beautiful moral, that by the dispensations of Providence, his bountiful gifts will fall at last to the hands of the innocent.

During the intervals between these dances, all these characters, except those from the medicine-lodge, retire to a wigwam close by, which they use on the occasion also as a sacred place, being occupied exclusively by them while they are at rest, and also for the purpose of painting and ornamenting their bodies for the occasion.

During each and every one of these dances, the old men who beat upon the sacks and sing, are earnestly chanting forth their supplications to the Great Spirit, for the continuation of his influence in sending them buffaloes to supply them with food during the year; they are administering courage and fortitude to the young men in the lodge, by telling them, that "the Great Spirit has opened his ears in their behalf—that the very atmosphere all about them is peace—that their women and children can hold the mouth of the grizzly bear—that they have invoked from day to day O-ke-hee-de (the Evil Spirit)—that they are still challenging him to come, and yet he has not dared to make his appearance!"

796 But alas! in the last of these dances, on the fourth day, in the midst of all their mirth and joy, and about noon, and in the height of all these exultations, an instant scream burst forth from the tops of the lodges!—men, women, dogs and all, seemed actually to howl and shudder with alarm, as they fixed their glaring eye-balls upon the prairie bluff, about a mile in the west, down the side of which a man was seen descending at full speed towards the village! This strange character darted about in a zig-zag course in all directions on the prairie, like a boy in pursuit of a butterfly, until he approached the piquets of the village, when it was discovered that his body was entirely naked, and painted as black as a negro, with pounded charcoal and bear's grease; his body was therefore everywhere of a shining black, except occasionally white rings of an inch or more in diameter, which were marked here and there all over him; and frightful indentures of white around his mouth, resembling canine teeth. Added to his hideous appearance, he gave the most frightful shrieks and screams as he dashed through the village

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and entered the terrified group, which was composed (in that quarter) chiefly of females, who had assembled to witness the amusements which were transpiring around the "big canoe." 796

This unearthly looking creature carried in his two hands a wand or staff of eight or nine feet in length, with a red ball at the end of it, which he continually slid on the ground a-head of him as he ran. All eyes in the village, ave those of the persons engaged in the dance, were centred upon him, and he made a desperate rush towards the women, who screamed for protection as they were endeavouring to retreat; and falling in groups upon each other as they were struggling to get out of his reach. In this moment of general terror and alarm there was an instant check! and all for a few moments were as silent as death.

The old master of ceremonies, who had run from his position at the big canoe, had met this monster of fiends, and having thrust the *medicine-pipe* before him, held him still and immoveable under its charm! This check gave the females an opportunity to get out of his reach, and when they were free from their danger, though all hearts beat yet with the instant excitement, their alarm soon cooled down into the most exorbitant laughter and shouts of applause at his sudden defeat, and the awkward and ridiculous posture in which he was stopped and held. The old man was braced stiff by his side, with his eye-balls glaring him in the face, whilst the medicine-pipe held in its mystic chains his *Satanic* Majesty, annulling all the powers of his magical wand, and also depriving him of the powers of locomotion! Surely no two human beings ever presented a more striking group than these two individuals did for a few moments, with their eye-balls set in direst mutual hatred upon each other; both struggling for the supremacy, relying on the potency of their medicine or mystery. The one held in check, with his body painted black, representing (or rather assuming to be) his sable majesty, O-kee-hee-de (the Evil Spirit), frowning everlasting vengeance on the other, who sternly gazed him back with a look of exultation and contempt, as he held him in check and disarmed under the charm of his sacred mystery-pipe.

When the superior powers of the medicine-pipe (on which hang all these annual mysteries) had been thus fully tested and acknowledged, and the women had had requisite time to withdraw from the reach of this fiendish monster, the pipe was very gradually withdrawn from before him, and he seemed delighted to recover the use of his limbs again, and power of changing his position from the exceedingly unpleasant and really ridiculous one he appeared in, and was compelled to maintain, a few moments before; rendered more superlatively ridiculous and laughable, from the further information, which I am constrained to give, of the plight in which this demon of terror and vulgarity made his *entrée* into the midst of the Mandan village, and to the centre and nucleus of their first and greatest religious ceremony.

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796 Then, to proceed: I said that this strange personage's body was naked—was painted jet black with charcoal and bear's grease, with a wand in his hands of eight feet in length with a red ball at the end of it, which he was rubbing about on the ground in front of him as he ran. In addition to this he had—*ung gee ah wakeea notch,t oheks tcha, ung gee an ung hutch tow a tow ah ches menny. Ung gee ah to to wun nee, akkst to wan ee eigh' s ta w.*

In this plight, in which I have not dared fully to represent him in the picture, he pursued the groups of females, spreading dismay and alarm wherever he went, and consequently producing the awkward and exceedingly laughable predicament in which he was placed by the sudden check from the medicine-pipe, as I have above stated, when all eyes were intently fixed upon him, and all joined in rounds of applause for the success of the magic spell that was placed upon him; all voices were raised in shouts of satisfaction at his defeat, and all eyes gazed upon him; of chiefs and of warriors—matrons and even of their tender-aged and timid daughters, whose education had taught them to receive the *moral* of these scenes without the shock of impropriety, that would have startled a more fastidious and consequently sensual-thinking people.

After repeated attempts thus made, and thus defeated in several parts of the crowd, this blackened monster was retreating over the ground where the buffalo-dance was going on, and having (apparently, par accident) swaggered against one of the men placed under the skin of a buffalo and engaged in the "bull dance," he started back, and placing himself in the attitude of a buffalo,—*hi ung ee a wahkstia, chee a nahk s tammee ung s towa; ee ung ee aht gwaht ee o nunghths tcha ho a, tummee oxt no ah, ughstono ah hi en en ah nahxt gwi aht gahtch gun ne. Gwee en on doatcht chee en aht gunne how how en ahxst tchu!*

After this he paid his visits to three others of the eight, in succession, receiving as before the deafening shouts of approbation which pealed from every mouth in the multitude, who were all praying to the Great Spirit to send them buffaloes to supply them with food during the season, and who attribute the coming of buffaloes for this purpose entirely to the strict and critical observance of this ridiculous and disgusting part of the ceremonies.

During the half hour or so that he had been jostled about amongst man and beasts, to the great amusement and satisfaction of the lookers-on, he seemed to have become exceedingly exhausted, and anxiously looking out for some feasible mode of escape.

In this awkward predicament he became the laughing-stock and butt for the women, who being no longer afraid of him, were gathering in groups around, to tease and tantalize him; and in the midst of this dilemma, which soon became a very sad one—one of the women, who stole up behind him with both hands full of yellow dirt—dashed it into his face and eyes, and i ll

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796 over him, and his body being covered with grease, took instantly a different hue. He seemed heart-broken at this signal disgrace, and commenced crying most vehemently, when, *a l'instant*, another caught his *wand* from his hand, and broke it across her knee. It was snatched for by others, who broke it still into bits, and then threw them at him. His power was now gone—his bodily strength was exhausted, and he made a bolt for the prairie—he dashed through the crowd, and made his way through the piquets on the back part of the village, where were placed for the purpose, an hundred or more women and girls, who escorted him as he ran on the prairie for half a mile or more, beating him with sticks, and stones, and dirt, and kicks, and cuffs, until he was at length seen escaping from their clutches, and making the best of his retreat over the prairie bluffs, from whence he first appeared.

At the moment of this signal victory, and when all eyes lost sight of him as he disappeared over the bluffs, the whole village united their voices in shouts of satisfaction. The bull-dance then stopped, and preparations were instantly made for the commencement of the cruelties which were to take place within the lodge, leaving us to draw, from what had just transpired, the following beautiful moral :—

That in the midst of their religious ceremonies, the Evil Spirit (O-kee-hee-de) made his entrée for the purpose of doing mischief, and of disturbing their worship—that he was held in check, and defeated by the superior influence and virtue of the *medicine-pipe*, and at last, driven in disgrace out of the village, by the very part of the community whom he came to abuse.

796 881 At the close of this exciting scene, preparations were made, as above stated, by the return of the master of ceremonies and musicians to the medicine-lodge, where also were admitted at the same time a number of men, who were to be instruments of the cruelties to be inflicted; and also the chief and doctors of the tribe, who were to look on, and bear witness to, and decide upon, the comparative degree of fortitude, with which the young men sustain themselves in this most extreme and excruciating ordeal. The chiefs having seated themselves on one side of the lodge, dressed out in their robes and splendid head-dresses—the band of music seated and arranged themselves in another part; and the old master of ceremonies having placed himself in front of a small fire in the centre of the lodge, with his "big pipe" in his hands, and having commenced smoking to the Great Spirit, with all possible vehemence for the success of these aspirants, presented the subject for the third picture, which they call "*pohk-hong*," the cutting scene (PLATE 68). Around the sides of the lodge are seen, still reclining, as I have before mentioned, a part of the group, whilst others of them have passed the ordeal of self-tortures, and have been removed out of the lodge; and others still are seen in the very act of submitting to them, which were inflicted in the following manner:—After having removed the *sanctissimus sanctorum*, or little scaffold, of which I before spoke, and having

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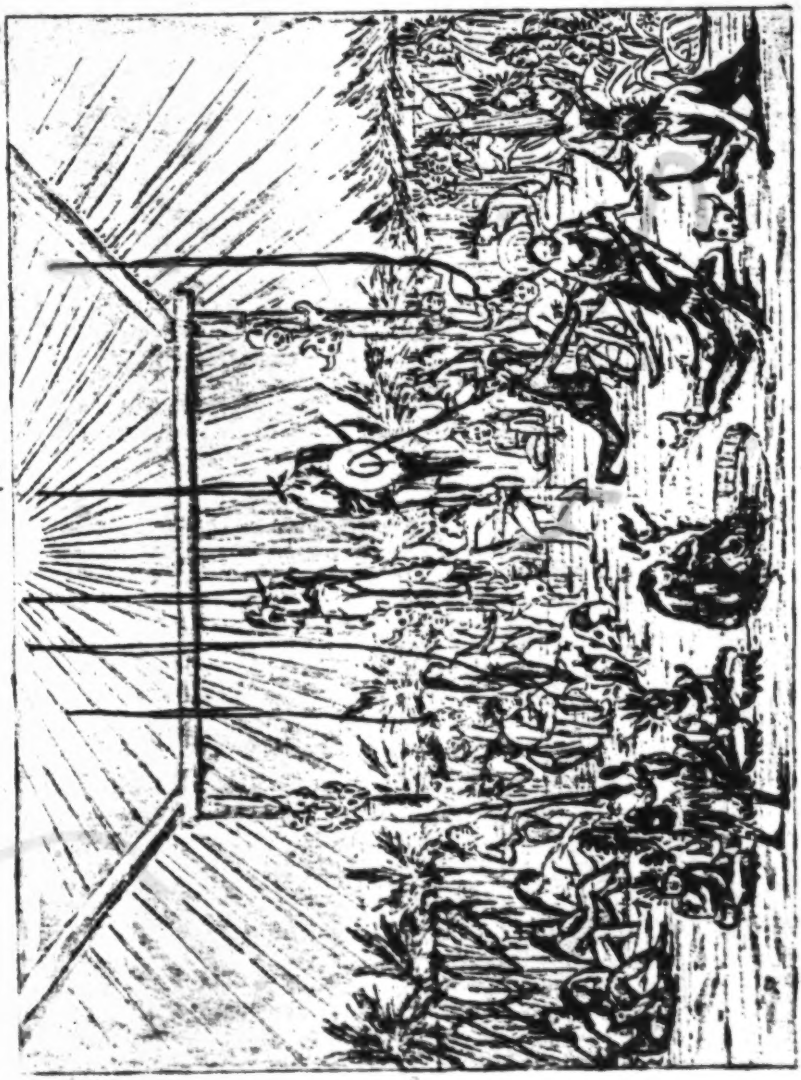

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removed also the buffalo and human skulls from the floor, and attached them to the posts of the lodge; and two men having taken their positions near the middle of the lodge, for the purpose of inflicting the tortures—the one with the scalping-knife, and the other with the bunch of splints (which I have before mentioned) in his hand; one at a time of the young fellows, already emaciated with fasting, and thirsting, and waking, for nearly four days and nights, advanced from the side of the lodge, and placed himself on his hands and feet, or otherwise, as best suited for the performance of the operation, where he submitted to the cruelties in the following manner:—An inch or more of the flesh on each shoulder, or each breast was taken up between the thumb and finger by the man who held the knife in his right hand; and the knife, which had been ground sharp on both edges, and then hacked and notched with the blade of another, to make it produce as much pain as possible, was forced through the flesh below the fingers, and being withdrawn, was followed with a splint or skewer, from the other, who held a bunch of such in his left hand, and was ready to force them through the wound. There were then two cords lowered down from the top of the lodge (by men who were placed on the lodge outside, for the purpose), which were fastened to these splints or skewers, and they instantly began to haul him up; he was thus raised until his body was suspended from the ground where he rested, until the knife and a splint were passed through the flesh or integuments in a similar manner on each arm below the shoulder (over the *brachialis externus*), below the elbow (over the *extensor carpi radialis*), on the thighs (over the *vastus externus*), and below the knees (over the *peroneus*).

In some instances they remained in a reclining position on the ground until this painful operation was finished, which was performed, in all instances, exactly on the same parts of the body and limbs; and which, in its progress, occupied some five or six minutes.

Each one was then instantly raised with the cords, until the weight of his body was suspended by them, and then, while the blood was streaming down their limbs, the bystanders hung upon the splints each man's appropriate shield, bow and quiver, &c.; and in many instances, the skull of a buffalo with the horns on it, was attached to each lower arm and each lower leg, for the purpose, probably, of preventing by their great weight, the struggling, which might otherwise have taken place to their disadvantage whilst they were hung up.

When these things were all adjusted, each one was raised higher by the cords, until these weights all swung clear from the ground, leaving his feet, in most cases, some six or eight feet above the ground. In this plight they at once became appalling and frightful to look at—the flesh, to support the weight of their bodies, with the additional weights which were attached to them, was raised six or eight inches by the skewers; and their heads sunk forward on the breasts, or thrown backwards, in a much more frightful condition, according to the way in which they were hung up.

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The unflinching fortitude, with which every one of them bore this part of the torture surpassed credulity; each one as the knife was passed through his flesh sustained an unchangeable countenance; and several of them, seeing me making sketches, beckoned me to look at their faces, which I watched through all this horrid operation, without being able to detect anything but the pleasantest smiles as they looked me in the eye, while I could hear the knife rip through the flesh, and feel enough of it myself, to start involuntary and uncontroullable tears over my cheeks.

When raised to the condition above described, and completely suspended by the cords, the sanguinary hands, through which he had just passed, turned back to perform a similar operation on another who was ready, and each one in his turn passed into the charge of others, who instantly introduced him to a new and improved stage of their refinements in cruelty.

Surrounded by imps and demons as they appear, a dozen or more, who seem to be concerting and devising means for his exquisite agony, gather around him, when one of the number advances towards him in a sneering manner, and commences turning him around with a pole which he brings in his hand for the purpose. This is done in a gentle manner at first; but gradually increased, when the brave fellow, whose proud spirit can controul its agony no longer, burst out in the most lamentable and heart-rending cries that the human voice is capable of producing, crying forth a prayer to the Great Spirit to support and protect him in this dreadful trial; and continually repeating his confidence in his protection. In this condition he is continued to be turned, faster and faster—and there is no hope of escape from it, nor chance for the slightest relief, until by fainting, his voice falters, and his struggling ceases, and he hangs, apparently, a still and lifeless corpse! When he is, by turning, gradually brought to this condition, which is generally done within ten or fifteen minutes, there is a close scrutiny passed upon him among his tormentors, who are checking and holding each other back as long as the least struggling or tremour can be discovered, lest he should be removed before he is (as they term it) "entirely dead."

When brought to this alarming and most frightful condition, and the turning has gradually ceased, as his voice and his strength have given out, leaving him to hang entirely still, and apparently lifeless; when his tongue is distended from his mouth, and his *medicine-bag*, which he has affectionately and superstitiously clung to with his left hand, has dropped to the ground; the signal is given to the men on top of the lodge, by gently striking the cord with the pole below, when they very gradually and carefully lower him to the ground.

In this helpless condition he lies, like a loathsome corpse to look at, though in the keeping (as they call it) of the Great Spirit, whom he trusts will protect him, and enable him to get up and walk away. As soon as he is lowered to the ground thus, one of the bystanders advances, and pulls out the two splints or pins from the breasts and shoulders, thereby disengaging

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796 him from the cords by which he has been hung up; but leaving all the others with their weights, &c. hanging to his flesh.

881 In this condition he lies for six or eight minutes, until he gets strength to rise and move himself, for no one is allowed to assist or offer him aid, as he is here enjoying the most valued privilege which a Mandan can boast of, that of "trusting his life to the keeping of the Great Spirit," in this time of extreme peril.

796 As soon as he is seen to get strength enough to rise on his hands and
881 feet, and drag his body around the lodge, he crawls with the weights still
304 hanging to his body, to another part of the lodge, where there is another Indian sitting with a hatchet in his hand, and a dried buffalo skull before him; and here, in the most earnest and humble manner, by holding up the little finger of his left hand to the Great Spirit, he expresses to Him, in a speech of a few words, his willingness to give it as a sacrifice; when he lays it on the dried buffalo skull, where the other chops it off near the hand, with a blow of the hatchet!

Nearly all of the young men whom I saw passing this horrid ordeal, gave in the above manner, the little finger of the left hand; and I saw also several, who immediately afterwards (and apparently with very little concern or emotion), with a similar speech, extended in the same way, the *fore-finger* of the same hand, and that too was struck off; leaving on the left hand only the two middle fingers and the thumb; all which they deem absolutely essential for holding the bow, the only weapon for the left hand.

One would think that this mutilation had thus been carried quite far enough; but I have since examined several of the head chiefs and dignitaries of the tribe, who have also given, in this manner, the little finger of the right hand, which is considered by them to be a much greater sacrifice than both of the others; and I have found also a number of their most famous men, who furnish me incontestible proof, by five or six corresponding scars on each arm, and each breast, and each leg, that they had so many times in their lives submitted to this almost incredible operation, which seems to be optional with them; and the oftener they volunteer to go through it, the more famous they become in the estimation of their tribe.

No bandages are applied to the fingers which have been amputated, nor any arteries taken up; nor is any attention whatever, paid to them or the other wounds; but they are left (as they say) "for the Great Spirit to cure, who will surely take good care of them." It is a remarkable fact (which I learned from a close inspection of their wounds from day to day) that the bleeding is but very slight and soon ceases, probably from the fact of their extreme exhaustion and debility, caused by want of sustenance and sleep, which checks the natural circulation, and admirably at the same time prepares them to meet the severity of these tortures without the same degree of sensibility and pain, which, under other circumstances, might result in inflammation and death.

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During the whole of the time of this cruel part of these most extraordinary inflictions, the chiefs and dignitaries of the tribe are looking on, to decide who are the hardiest and "stoutest hearted"—who can hang the longest by his flesh before he faints, and who will be soonest up, after he has been down; that they may know whom to appoint to lead a war-party, or place at the most honourable and desperate post. The four old men are incessantly beating upon the sacks of water and singing the whole time, with their voices strained to the highest key, vaunting forth, for the encouragement of the young men, the power and efficacy of the *medicine-pipe*, which has disarmed the monster O-kee-hee-de (or Evil Spirit), and driven him from the village, and will be sure to protect them and watch over them through their present severe trial.

As soon as six or eight had passed the ordeal as above described, they were led out of the lodge, with their weights hanging to their flesh, and dragging on the ground, to undergo another, and a still more appalling mode of suffering in the centre of the village, and in presence of the whole nation, in the manner as follows:—

The signal for the commencement of this part of the cruelties was given by the old master of ceremonies, who again ran out as in the buffalo-dance, and leaning against the big canoe, with his *medicine-pipe* in his hand, began to cry. This was done several times in the afternoon, as often as there were six or eight who had passed the ordeal just described within the lodge, who were then taken out in the open area, in the presence of the whole village, with the buffalo skulls and other weights attached to their flesh, and dragging on the ground! There were then in readiness, and prepared for the purpose, about twenty young men, selected of equal height and equal age; with their bodies chiefly naked, with beautiful (and similar) head-dresses of war-eagles' quills, on their heads, and a wreath made of willow boughs held in the hands between them, connecting them in a chain or circle in which they ran around the *big canoe*, with all possible speed, raising their voices in screams and yelps to the highest pitch that was possible, and keeping the curb or big canoe in the centre, as their nucleus.

Then were led forward the young men who were further to suffer, and being placed at equal distances apart, and outside of the ring just described, each one was taken in charge of two athletic young men, fresh and strong, who stepped up to him, one on each side, and by wrapping a broad leather strap around his wrists, without tying it, grasped it firm underneath the hand, and stood prepared for what they call *Eh-ke-nah-ka-nah-pick* (the last race, PLATE 69). This, the spectator looking on would suppose was most correctly named, for he would think it was the last race they could possibly run in this world.

In this condition they stand, pale and ghastly, from abstinence and loss of blood, until all are prepared, and the word is given, when all start and run around, outside of the other ring; and each poor fellow, with his weights

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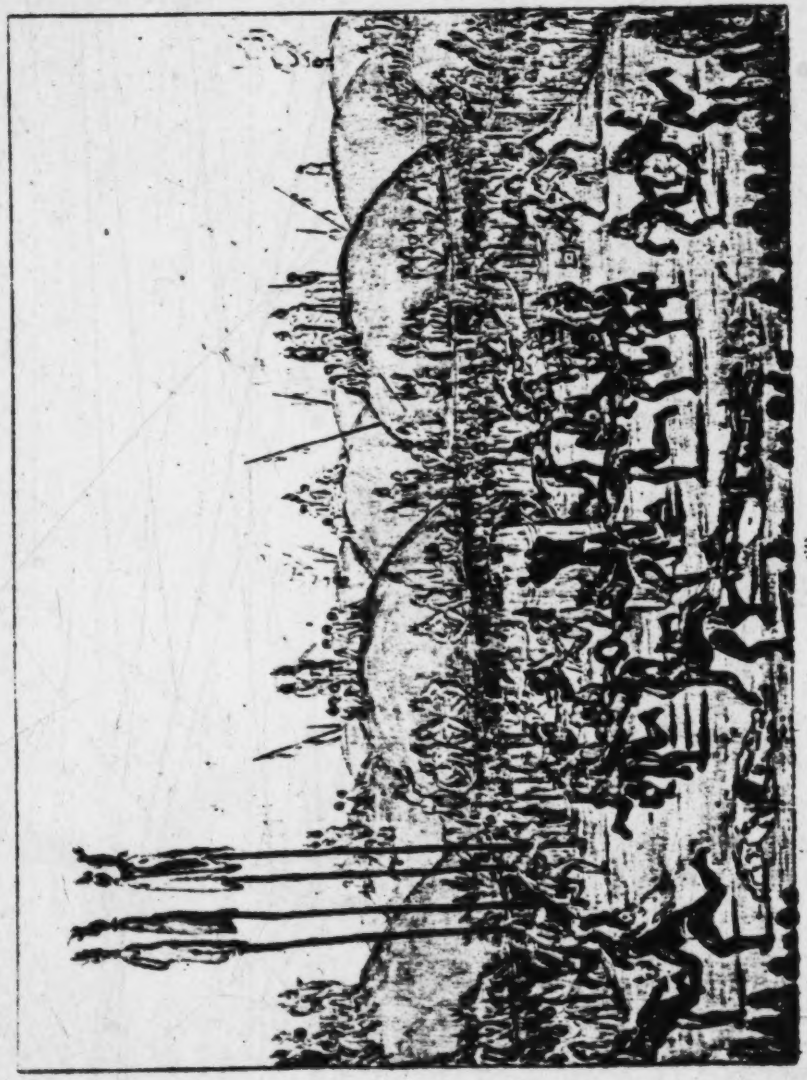

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dragging on the ground, and his furious conductors by his side, who hurry him forward by the wrists, struggles in the desperate emulation to run longer without "dying" (as they call it) than his comrades, who are fainting around him and sinking down, like himself, where their bodies are dragged with all possible speed, and often with their faces in the dirt. In the commencement of this dance or race they all start at a moderate pace, and their speed being gradually increased, the pain becomes so excruciating that their languid and exhausted frames give out, and they are dragged by their wrists until they are disengaged from the weights that were attached to their flesh, and this must be done by such violent force as to tear the flesh out with the splint, which (as they say) can never be pulled out endwise, without greatly offending the Great Spirit and defeating the object for which they have thus far suffered. The splints or skewers which are put through the breast and the shoulders, take up a part of the pectoral or trapezius muscle, which is necessary for the support of the great weight of their bodies, and which, as I have before mentioned, are withdrawn as soon as he is lowered down—but all the others, on the legs and arms, seem to be very ingeniously passed through the flesh and integuments without taking up the muscle, and even these, to be broken out, require so strong and so violent a force that most of the poor fellows fainted under the operation, and when they were freed from the last of the buffalo skulls and other weights, (which was often done by some of the bystanders throwing the weight of their bodies on to them as they were dragging on the ground) they were in every instance dropped by the persons who dragged them, and their bodies were left, appearing like nothing but a mangled and a loathsome corpse! At this strange and frightful juncture, the two men who had dragged them, fled through the crowd and away upon the prairie, as if they were guilty of some enormous crime, and were fleeing from summary vengeance.

Each poor fellow, having thus patiently and manfully endured the privations and tortures devised for him, and (in this last struggle with the most appalling effort) torn himself loose from them and his tormentors, he lies the second time, in the "keeping (as he terms it) of the Great Spirit," to whom he issues his repeated prayers, and entrusts his life: and in whom he reposes the most implicit confidence for his preservation and recovery. As an evidence of this, and of the high value which these youths set upon this privilege, there is no person, not a relation or a chief of the tribe, who is allowed, or who would dare, to step forward to offer an aiding hand, even to save his life; for not only the rigid customs of the nation, and the pride of the individual who has entrusted his life to the keeping of the Great Spirit, would sternly reject such a tender; but their superstition, which is the strongest of all arguments in an Indian community, would alone, hold all the tribe in fear and dread of interfering, when they consider they have so good a reason to believe that the Great Spirit has undertaken the special care and protection of his devoted worshippers.

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In this "last race," which was the struggle that finally closed their sufferings, each one was dragged until he fainted, and was thus left, looking more like the dead than the living: and thus each one laid, until, by the aid of the Great Spirit, he was in a few minutes seen gradually rising, and at last reeling and staggering, like a drunken man, through the crowd (which made way for him) to his wigwam, where his friends and relatives stood ready to take him into hand and restore him.

In this frightful scene, as in the buffalo-dance, the whole nation was assembled as spectators, and all raised the most piercing and violent yells and screams they could possibly produce, to drown the cries of the suffering ones, that no heart could even be touched with sympathy for them. I have mentioned before, that six or eight of the young men were brought from the medicine-lodge at a time, and when they were thus passed through this shocking ordeal, the medicine-men and the chiefs returned to the interior, where as many more were soon prepared, and underwent a similar treatment; and after that another batch, and another, and so on, until the whole number, some forty-five or fifty had run in this sickening circle, and, by leaving their weights, had opened the flesh for honourable scars. I said *all*, but there was one poor fellow though (and I shudder to tell it), who was dragged around and around the circle, with the skull of an elk hanging to the flesh on one of his legs,—several had jumped upon it, but to no effect, for the splint was under the sinew, which could not be broken. The dragging became every instant more and more furious, and the apprehensions for the poor fellow's life, apparent by the piteous howl which was set up for him by the multitude around; and at last the medicine-man ran, with his medicine-pipe in his hand, and held them in check, when the body was dropped, and left upon the ground, with the skull yet hanging to it. The boy, who was an extremely interesting and fine-looking youth, soon recovered his senses and his strength, looking deliberately at his torn and bleeding limbs; and also with the most pleasant smile of defiance, upon the misfortune which had now fallen to his peculiar lot, crawled through the crowd (instead of walking, which they are never again at liberty to do until the flesh is torn out, and the article left) to the prairie, and over which, for the distance of half a mile, to a sequestered spot, without any attendant, where he laid three days and three nights, yet longer, without food, and praying to the Great Spirit, until suppuration took place in the wound, and by the decaying of the flesh the weight was dropped, and the splint also, which he dare not extricate in another way. At the end of this, he crawled back to the village on his hands and knees, being too much emaciated to walk, and begged for something to eat, which was at once given him, and he was soon restored to health.

These extreme and difficult cases often occur, and I learn that in such instances the youth has it at his option to get rid of the weight that is thus left upon him, in such way as he may choose, and some of those modes are

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far more extraordinary than the one which I have just named. Several of the Traders, who have been for a number of years in the habit of seeing this part of the ceremony, have told me that two years since, when they were looking on, there was one whose flesh on the arms was so strong that the weights could not be left, and he dragged them with his body to the river by the side of the village, where he set a stake fast in the ground on the top of the bank, and fastening cords to it, he let himself half-way down a perpendicular wall of rock, of twenty-five or thirty feet, where the weight of his body was suspended by the two cords attached to the flesh of his arms. In this awful condition he hung for several days, equi-distant from the top of the rock and the deep water below, into which he at last dropped and saved himself by swimming ashore!

I need record no more of these shocking and disgusting instances, of which I have already given enough to convince the world of the correctness of the established fact of the Indian's superior stoicism and power of endurance, although some recent writers have, from motives of envy, from ignorance, or something else, taken great pains to cut the poor Indian short in everything, and in *this*, even as if it were a virtue.

I am ready to accord to them in this particular, the palm; the credit of outdoing anything and everybody, and of enduring more than civilized man ever aspired to or ever thought of. My heart has sickened also with disgust for so abominable and ignorant a custom, and still I stand ready with all my heart, to excuse and forgive them for adhering so strictly to an ancient celebration, founded in superstitions and mysteries, of which they know not the origin, and constituting a material part and feature in the code and forms of their religion.

Reader, I will return with you a moment to the medicine-lodge, which is just to be closed, and then we will indulge in some general reflections upon what has passed, and in what, and for what purposes this strange batch of mysteries has been instituted and perpetuated.

After these young men, who had for the last four days occupied the medicine-lodge, had been operated on, in the manner above described, and taken out of it, the old medicine-man, master of ceremonies, returned, (still crying to the Great Spirit) sole tenant of that sacred place, and brought out the "edged tools," which I before said had been collected at the door of every man's wigwam, to be given as a sacrifice to the water, and leaving the lodge securely fastened, he approached the bank of the river, when all the medicine-men attended him, and all the nation were spectators; and in their presence he threw them from a high bank into very deep water, from which they cannot be recovered, and where they are, correctly speaking, made a sacrifice to the water. This part of the affair took place just exactly at sun-down, and closed the scene, being the end or finale of the *Mandan religious ceremony*.

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The reader will forgive me for here inserting the Certificates which I have just received from Mr Kipp, of the city of New York, and two others, who were with me; which I offer for the satisfaction of the world, who read the above account. 000

"We hereby certify, that we witnessed, in company with Mr. Catlin, in the Mandan Village, the ceremonies represented in the four paintings, and described in his Notes, to which this Certificate refers; and that he has therein faithfully represented those scenes as we saw them transacted, without any addition or exaggeration.

"J. KIPP, *Agent Amer. Fur Company.*
L. CRAWFORD, *Clerk.*
"*Mandan Village, July* 20, 1833. ABRAHAM BOGARD."

The strange country that I am in—its excitements—its accidents and wild incidents which startle me at almost every moment, prevent me from any very elaborate disquisition upon the above remarkable events at present; and even had I all the time and leisure of a country gentleman, and all the additional information which I am daily procuring, and daily expect to procure hereafter in explanation of these unaccountable mysteries, yet do I fear that there would be that inexplicable difficulty that hangs over most of the customs and traditions of these simple people, who have no history to save facts and systems from falling into the most absurd and disjointed fable and ignorant fiction.

What few plausible inferences I have as yet been able to draw from the above strange and peculiar transactions I will set forth, but with some diffidence, hoping and trusting that by further intimacy and familiarity with these people I may yet arrive at more satisfactory and important results.

That these people should have a tradition of the Flood is by no means surprising; as I have learned from every tribe I have visited, that they all have some high mountain in their vicinity, where they insist upon it the big canoe landed; but that these people should hold an annual celebration of the event, and the season of that decided by such circumstances as the full leaf of the willow, and the medicine-lodge opened by such a man as Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (who appears to be a white man), and making his appearance "from the high-mountains in the West;" and some other circumstances, is surely a very remarkable thing, and requires some extraordinary attention. 773

This Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (first or only man) is undoubtedly some mystery or medicine-man of the tribe, who has gone out on the prairie on the evening previous, and having dressed and painted himself for the occasion, comes into the village in the morning, endeavouring to keep up the semblance of reality; for their tradition says, that at a very ancient period such a man did actually come from the West—that his body was of the white colour, as

 [See pp. 159-61, cat. 116 — Analyst] AA

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173 this man's body is represented—that he wore a robe of four white wolf skins —his head-dress was made of two raven's skins—and in his left hand was a huge pipe. He said, "he was at one time the only man—he told them of the destruction of every thing on the earth's surface by water—that he stopped in his *big canoe* on a high mountain in the West, where he landed and was saved."

"That the Mandans, and all other people were bound to make yearly sacrifices of some edged-tools to the water, for of such things the big canoe was made. That he instructed the Mandans how to build their medicine-lodge, and taught them also the forms of these annual ceremonies; and told them that as long as they made these sacrifices, and performed their rites to the full letter, they might be assured of the fact, that they would be the favourite people of the Almighty, and would always have enough to eat and drink; and that so soon as they should depart in one tittle from these forms, they might be assured, that their race would decrease, and finally run out; and that they might date their nation's calamity to that omission or neglect."

These people have, no doubt, been long living under the dread of such an injunction, and in the fear of departing from it; and while they are living in total ignorance of its origin, the world must remain equally ignorant of much of its meaning, as they needs must be of all Indian customs resting on ancient traditions, which soon run into fables, having lost all their system, by which they might have been construed.

[171] This strange and unaccountable custom, is undoubtedly peculiar to the Mandans; although, amongst the Minatarees, and some others of the neighbouring tribes, they have seasons of abstinence and self-torture, somewhat similar, but bearing no other resemblance to this than a mere feeble effort or form of imitation.

It would seem from their tradition of the willow branch, and the dove, that these people must have had some proximity to some part of the civilized world; or that missionaries or others have been formerly among them, inculcating the Christian religion and the Mosaic account of the Flood; which is, in this and some other respects, decidedly different from the theory which most natural people have distinctly established of that event.

There are other strong, and almost decisive proofs in my opinion, in support of the assertion, which are to be drawn from the diversity of colour in their hair and complexions, as I have before described, as well as from their tradition just related, of the "*first or only man*," whose body was white, and who came from the West, telling them of the destruction of the earth by water, and instructing them in the forms of these mysteries; and, in addition to the above, I will add the two following very curious stories, which I had from several of their old and dignified chiefs, and which are, no doubt, standing and credited traditions of the tribe.

"The Mandans (people of the pheasants) were the first people created in the world, and they originally lived inside of the earth; they raised many

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vines, and one of them had grown up through a hole in the earth, over head, and one of their young men climbed up it until he came out on the top of the ground, on the bank of the river, where the Mandan village stands. He looked around, and admired the beautiful country and prairies about him—saw many buffaloes—killed one with his bow and arrows, and found that its meat was good to eat. He returned, and related what he had seen; when a number of others went up the vine with him, and witnessed the same things. Amongst those who went up, were two very pretty young women, who were favourites of the chiefs, because they were virgins; and amongst those who were trying to get up, was a very large and fat woman, who was ordered by the chiefs not to go up, but whose curiosity led her to try it as soon as she got a secret opportunity, when there was no one present. When she got part of the way up, the vine broke under the great weight of her body, and let her down. She was very much hurt by the fall, but did not die. The Mandans were very sorry about this; and she was disgraced for being the cause of a very great calamity, which she had brought upon them, and which could never be averted; for no more could ever ascend, nor could those descend who had got up; but they built the Mandan village, where it formerly stood, a great ways below on the river; and the remainder of the people live under ground to this day."

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The above tradition is told with great gravity by their chiefs and doctors or mystery-men; and the latter profess to hear their friends talk through the earth at certain times and places, and even consult them for their opinions and advice on many important occasions.

The next tradition runs thus:—

"At a very ancient period, O-kee-hee-de (the Evil Spirit, the black fellow mentioned in the religious ceremonies) came to the Mandan village with Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (the first or only man) from the West, and sat down by a woman who had but one eye, and was hoeing corn. Her daughter, who was very pretty came up to her, and the Evil Spirit desired her to go and bring some water; but wished that before she started, she would come to him and eat some buffalo meat. He told her to take a piece out of his side, which she did and ate it, which proved to be buffalo-fat. She then went for the water, which she brought, and met them in the village where they had walked, and they both drank of it—nothing more was done.

"The friends of the girl soon after endeavoured to disgrace her, by telling her that she was *enciente*, which she did not deny. She declared her innocence at the same time, and boldly defied any man in the village to come forward and accuse her. This raised a great excitement in the village, and as no one could stand forth to accuse her, she was looked upon as *great medicine*. She soon after went off secretly to the upper Mandan village, where the child was born.

"Great search was made for her before she was found; as it was expected

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that the child would also be great *medicine* or mystery, and of great importance to the existence and welfare of the tribe. They were induced to this belief from the very strange manner of its conception and birth, and were soon confirmed in it from the wonderful things which it did at an early age. They say, that amongst other miracles which he performed, when the Mandans were like to starve, he gave them four buffalo bulls, which filled the whole village—leaving as much meat as there was before they had eaten; saying that these four bulls would supply them for ever. Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (the first or only man) was bent on the destruction of the child, and after making many fruitless searches for it, found it hidden in a dark place, and put it to death by throwing it into the river.

"When O-kee-hee-de (the Evil Spirit) heard of the death of this child, he sought for Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah with intent to kill him. He traced him a long distance, and at length found him at *Heart River*, about seventy miles below the village, with the big medicine-pipe in his hand, the charm or mystery of which protects him from all of his enemies. They soon agreed, however, to become friends, smoked the big pipe together, and returned to the Mandan village. The Evil Spirit was satisfied; and Nu-mohk-muck-a-na told the Mandans never to pass Heart River to live, for it was the centre of the world, and to live beyond it would be destruction to them; and he named it *Nat-com-pa-sa-hah* (heart or centre of the world)."

Such are a few of the principal traditions of these people, which I have thought proper to give in this place, and I have given them in their own way, with all the imperfections and absurd inconsistencies which should be expected to characterize the history of all ignorant and superstitious people who live in a state of simple and untaught nature, with no other means of perpetuating historical events, than by oral traditions.

I advance these vague stories then, as I have done, and shall do in other instances, not in support of any theory, but merely as I have heard them related by the Indians; and preserved them, as I have everything else that I could meet in the Indian habits and character, for the information of the world, who may get more time to theorize than I have at present; and who may consider better than I can, how far such traditions should be taken as evidence of the facts, that these people have for a long period preserved and perpetuated an imperfect knowledge of the Deluge—of the appearance and death of a Saviour—and of the transgressions of mother Eve.

I am not yet able to learn from these people whether they have any distinct theory of the creation; as they seem to date nothing further back than their own existence as a people; saying (as I have before mentioned), that they were the first people created; involving the glaring absurdities that they were the only people on earth before the Flood, and the only one saved was a white man; or that they were created inside of the earth, as their tradition says; and that they did not make their appearance on its

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outer surface until after the Deluge. When an Indian story is told, it is like all other gifts, "to be taken for what it is worth," and for any seeming inconsistency in their traditions there is no remedy; for as far as I have tried to reconcile them by reasoning with, or questioning them, I have been entirely defeated; and more than that, have generally incurred their distrust and ill-will. One of the Mandan doctors told me very gravely a few days since, that the earth was a large tortoise, that it carried the dirt on its back—that a tribe of people, who are now dead, and whose faces were white, used to dig down very deep in this ground to catch *badgers;* and that one day they stuck a knife through the tortoise-shell, and it sunk down so that the water ran over its back, and drowned all but one man. And on the next day while I was painting his portrait, he told me there were *four tortoises,*—one in the North—one in the East—one in the South, and one in the West; that each one of these rained ten days, and the water covered over the earth. 773

These ignorant and conflicting accounts, and both from the same man, give as good a demonstration, perhaps, of what I have above mentioned, as to the inefficiency of Indian traditions as anything I could at present mention. They might, perhaps, have been in this instance however the creeds of different sects, or of different priests amongst them, who often advance diametrically opposite theories and traditions relative to history and mythology.

And however ignorant and ridiculous they may seem, they are yet worthy of a little further consideration, as relating to a number of curious circumstances connected with the unaccountable religious ceremonies which I have just described

The Mandan chiefs and doctors, in all their feasts, where the pipe is lit and about to be passed around, deliberately propitiate the good-will and favour of the Great Spirit, by extending the stem of the pipe *upwards* before they smoke it themselves; and also as deliberately and as strictly offering the stem to the four *cardinal points* in succession, and then drawing a whiff through it, passing it around amongst the group. 782 788

The *annual religious ceremony* invariably lasts *four* days, and the other following circumstances attending these strange forms, and seeming to have some allusion to the *four* cardinal points, or the "four tortoises," seem to me to be worthy of further notice. *Four* men are selected by Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (as I have before said), to cleanse out and prepare the medicine-lodge for the occasion—one he calls from the *north* part of the village—one from the *east*—one from the *south*, and one from the *west*. The *four* sacks of water, in form of large tortoises, resting on the floor of the lodge and before described, would seem to be typical of the same thing; and also the *four* buffalo, and the *four* human skulls resting on the floor of the same lodge—the *four* couples of dancers in the "bull-dance," as before described; and also the *four* intervening dancers in the same dance, and also described. 796 801

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796 The bull-dance in front of the medicine-lodge, repeated on the *four* days,
801 is danced *four* times on the first day, *eight* times on the second, *twelve* times on the third, and *sixteen* times on the *fourth*; (adding *four* dances on each of the *four* days,) which added together make *forty*, the exact number of days that it rained upon the earth, according to the Mosaic account, to produce the Deluge. There are *four* sacrifices of black and blue cloths erected over the door of the medicine-lodge—the visits of Oh-kee-hee-de (or Evil Spirit) were paid to *four* of the buffaloes in the buffalo-dance, as above described; and in every instance, the young men who underwent the tortures before explained, had *four* splints or skewers run through the flesh on their legs—*four* through the arms and *four* through the body.

000 Such is a brief account of these strange scenes which I have just been witnessing, and such my brief history of the Mandans. I might write much more on them, giving yet a volume on their stories and traditions; but it would be a volume of fables, and scarce worth recording. A nation of Indians in their primitive condition, where there are no historians, have but a temporary historical existence, for the reasons above advanced, and their history, what can be certainly learned of it, may be written in a very small compass.

I have dwelt longer on the history and customs of these people than I have or shall on any other tribe, in all probability, and that from the fact that I have found them a very peculiar people, as will have been seen by my notes.

From these very numerous and striking peculiarities in their personal appearance—their customs—traditions and language, I have been led conclusively to believe that they are a people of decidedly a different origin from that of any other tribe in these regions.

From these reasons, as well as from the fact that they are a small and feeble tribe, against whom the powerful tribe of Sioux are waging a deadly war with the prospect of their extermination; and who with their limited numbers, are not likely to hold out long in their struggle for existence, I have taken more pains to pourtray their whole character, than my limited means will allow me to bestow upon other tribes.

From the ignorant and barbarous and disgusting customs just recited, the world would naturally infer, that these people must be the most cruel and inhuman beings in the world—yet, such is not the case, and it becomes my duty to say it; a better, more honest, hospitable and kind people, as a community, are not to be found in the world. No set of men that ever I associated with have better hearts than the Mandans, and none are quicker to embrace and welcome a white man than they are—none will press him closer to his bosom, that the pulsation of his heart may be felt, than a Mandan; and no man in any country will keep his word and guard his honour more closely.

The shocking and disgusting custom that I have just described, sickens

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the heart and even the stomach of a traveller in the country, and he weeps for their ignorance—he pities them with all his heart for their blindness, and laments that the light of civilization, of agriculture and religion cannot be extended to them, and that their hearts which are good enough, could not be turned to embrace something more rational and conducive to their true happiness. 000

Many would doubtless ask, whether such a barbarous custom could be eradicated from these people? and whether their thoughts and tastes, being turned to agriculture and religion, could be made to abandon the dark and random channel in which they are drudging, and made to flow in the light and life of civilization?

To this query I answer *yes*. Although this is a custom of long standing, being a part of their religion; and probably valued as one of their dearest rights; and notwithstanding the difficulty of making inroads upon the religion of a people in whose country there is no severence of opinions, and consequently no division into different sects, with different creeds to shake their faith; I still believe, and I *know*, that by a judicious and persevering effort, this abominable custom, and others, might be extinguished, and the beautiful green fields about the Mandan village might be turned into productive gardens, and the waving green bluffs that are spread in the surrounding distance, might be spotted with lowing kine, instead of the sneaking wolves and the hobbled war-horses that are now stalking about them.

All ignorant and superstitious people, it is a well-known fact, are the most fixed and stubborn in their religious opinions, and perhaps the most difficult to divert from their established belief, from the very fact that they are the most difficult to reason with. Here is an ignorant race of human beings, who have from time immemorial been in the habit of worshipping in their own way, and of enjoying their religious opinions without ever having heard any one to question their correctness; and in those opinions they are quiet and satisfied, and it requires a patient, gradual, and untiring effort to convince such a people that they are wrong, and to work the desired change in their belief, and consequently in their actions.

It is decidedly my opinion, however, that such a thing *can* be done, and I do not believe there is a race of wild people on earth where the experiment could be more successfully made than amongst the kind and hospitable Mandans, nor any place where the Missionary labours of pious and industrious men would be more sure to succeed, or more certain to be rewarded in the world to come.

I deem such a trial of patience and perseverance with these people of great importance, and well worth the experiment. One which I shall hope soon to see accomplished, and which, if properly conducted, I am sure will result in success. Severed as they are from the contaminating and counteracting vices which oppose and thwart most of the best efforts of the Missionaries along the frontier, and free from the almost fatal prejudices which they have

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there to contend with; they present a better field for the labours of such benevolent teachers than they have yet worked in, and a far better chance than they have yet had of proving to the world that the poor Indian is not a brute—that he is a human and humane being, that he is capable of improvement—and that his mind is a beautiful blank on which anything can be written if the proper means be taken.

The Mandans being but a small tribe, of two thousand only, and living all in two villages, in sight of each other, and occupying these permanently, without roaming about like other neighbouring tribes, offer undoubtedly, the best opportunity for such an experiment of any tribe in the country. The land about their villages is of the best quality for ploughing and grazing, and the water just such as would be desired. Their villages are fortified with piquets or stockades, which protect them from the assaults of their enemies at home; and the introduction of agriculture (which would supply them with the necessaries and luxuries of life, without the necessity of continually exposing their lives to their more numerous enemies on the plains, when they are seeking in the chase the means of their subsistence) would save them from the continual wastes of life, to which, in their wars and the chase they are continually exposed, and which are calculated soon to result in their extinction.

I deem it not folly nor idle to say that these people *can be saved*, nor officious to suggest to some of the very many excellent and pious men, who are almost throwing away the best energies of their lives along the debased frontier, that if they would introduce the ploughshare and their prayers amongst these people, who are so far separated from the taints and contaminating vices of the frontier, they would soon see their most ardent desires accomplished and be able to solve to the world the perplexing enigma, by presenting a nation of savages, civilized and christianized (and consequently *saved*), in the heart of the American wilderness.

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*Two Processes of Change in Mandan-Hidatsa Kinship Terminology**

EDWARD M. BRUNER
Yale University

INTRODUCTION

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WE ALREADY have some understanding of the progressive stages in the breakdown of a Crow type kinship system under conditions of social change (Spoehr 1947; Eggan 1950), but we lack sufficient information on the actual processes and interactions involved in the shift from one basic kinship type to another. This paper deals with processes of kinship change in one village of Mandan-Hidatsa Indians living on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

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The Mandan and Hidatsa are both small Siouan-speaking tribes with a long history of residence in the Missouri River Valley. Although the Mandan and Hidatsa had different origins, spoke mutually unintelligible languages, and lived in separate villages, they have been in intimate and peaceful association for over two hundred years, with constant cultural borrowings and intermarriage. For the problem to be dealt with here, we may consider the two tribes as one.

Both groups were part of the Prairie earth lodge complex, which included the Chiwere and Dhegihà Sioux and the Caddoan tribes and covered the area encompassed by the Arkansas and Missouri River valleys. A dual subsistence economy of agriculture and hunting was adjusted to an abundant ecological setting in the fertile creek and river bottom lands. Each tribe was composed of a number of independent villages integrated by social and ceremonial ties. The characteristic dwelling was the earth lodge, occupied by matrilocal extended families. The social structure of the Mandan-Hidatsa included a clan and moiety system, matrilineal lineages, an elaborate set of societies, and a Crow type kinship system.

In the early nineteenth century, the two tribes were severely reduced in population by a series of smallpox epidemics. By 1862, the remnants of the Mandan-Hidatsa had consolidated with the Arikara in one village for mutual defense against hostile nomads. With the Indian Bureau allotment program in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the people of the village were scattered into a number of separate and smaller communities on the Fort Berthold Reservation. A group of Mandan and Hidatsa families established

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* An abbreviated version of this paper was read at the 52nd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association held at Tucson, Arizona, Dec. 28–30, 1953. I am indebted to the Social Science Research Council and the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago for financial support of field work. Fred Eggan and others have kindly read this paper and have made suggestions for its improvement.

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themselves in one of these communities located on an isolated segment of the reservation between the Missouri and the Little Missouri rivers. The village is called Lone Hill by the Indian people. In 1951, Lone Hill had a total Indian population of 267 individuals forming 48 nuclear families. 101 175 [16]

THE PROBLEM

In the summer of 1951 and continuing in 1952–53, I studied social and cultural change in Lone Hill village. Starting with an investigation of kinship using the genealogical method I obtained kinship schedules essentially similar to those reported by Morgan (1871:291–382), Lowie (1917), and Bowers (1950, ms.) as characterizing the traditional Crow lineage system. It became apparent that for some members of Lone Hill, both old and young, the terminological system had not changed. While the majority of the schedules gathered in the village represented the Crow lineage system, this was not so for every case. A number of schedules were obtained with English terms and were directly comparable to the American type of system. Thus, within one community, I obtained two kinds of kinship patterns, the first aboriginal Indian and the second modern near-white. 121 601

This extreme variation is not too surprising if one considers previous work on kinship change in other American Indian tribes which have had a comparable Crow lineage system. Spoehr (1947), comparing related tribes within the Southeastern area, found direct evidence of a complete series from a pure Crow type to a variant of an American generational system with intermediate forms showing a regular pattern of change. The Schmitts (n.d.), within one community of Wichita, found variations in kinship terminology which fitted into the latter part of Spoehr's more complete series. The direction of the Wichita data tends to validate Spoehr's conclusions—when a Crow system changes under modern acculturative influence, there is an increasing patrilineal emphasis, a shift from a lineal to a generational pattern in classification, and a diminishing importance of kinship in regulating social life.

The point to be stressed here is that the terminological systems gathered among the Indian people of Lone Hill village were either pure Crow or white generation types—both extremes without the intermediate variations. While a generational type kinship system is found among the Mandan-Hidatsa and in the cases reported upon by Spoehr and the Schmitts, the absence of intermediate variations in Lone Hill suggests a significant difference in the kind of acculturation taking place. This difference may be clarified by a description of the types of terminological systems found in Lone Hill, followed by an analysis of the mechanisms of kinship change.

THE KINSHIP PATTERNS

Of the two terminological kinship patterns found in Lone Hill, the pure Crow type remains the operating functional system for the majority of the people of the village. Figure 1 is a diagram of the system in the Hidatsa language with English equivalents. The orthography follows Bowers (ms.). 601

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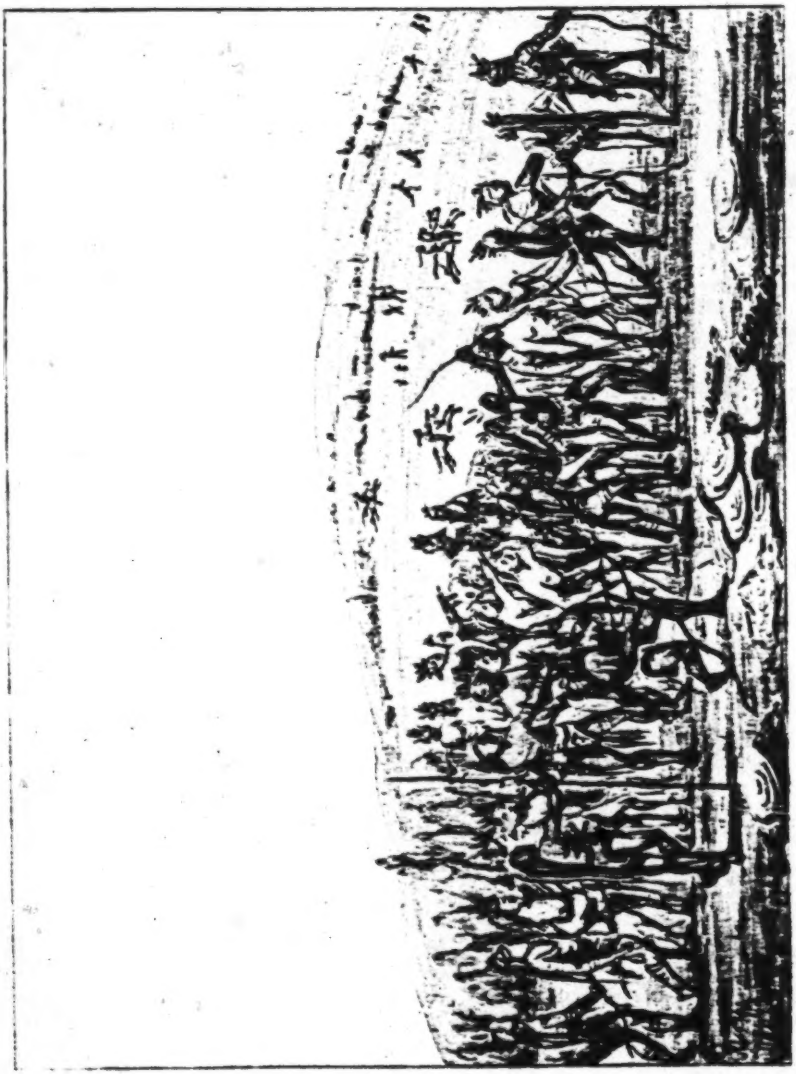

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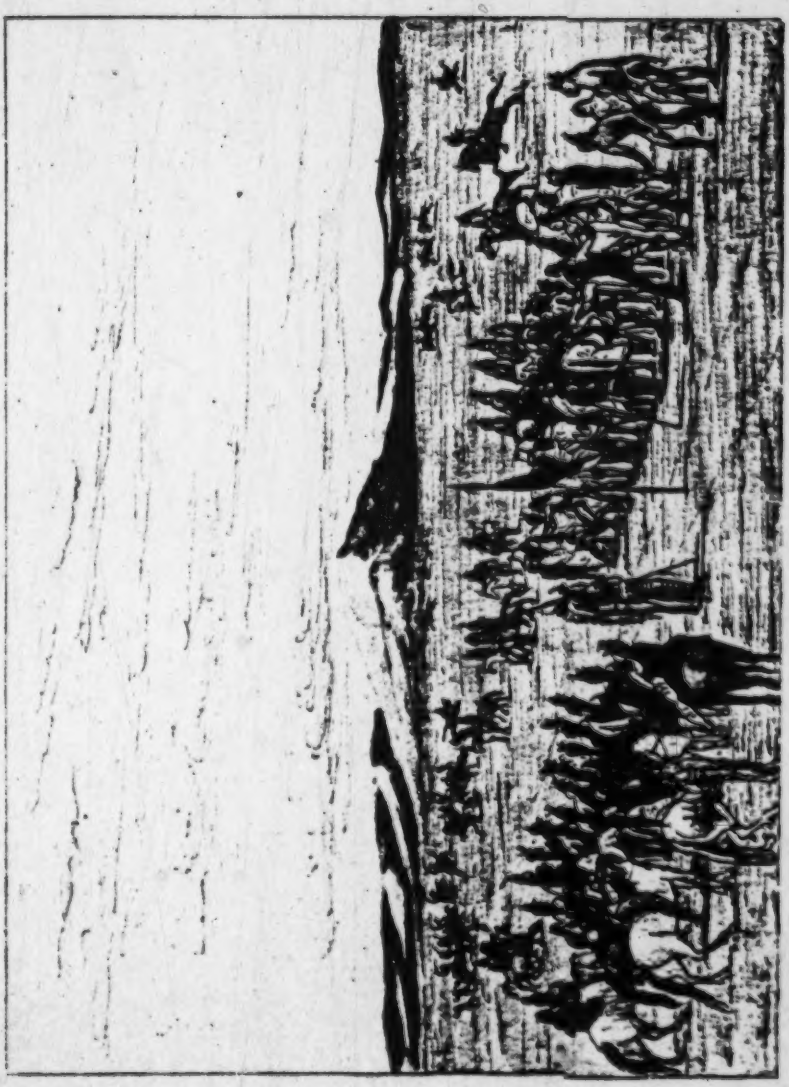

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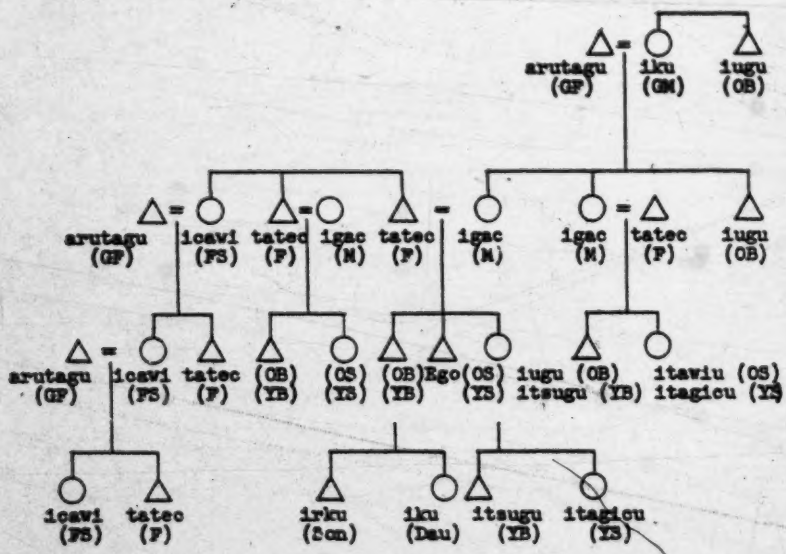
Although Lone Hill is composed of members of the Hidatsa and the Mandan tribes, the Hidatsa language has become standard in the village while the Mandan language is rapidly becoming extinct. This may have been due to the small percentage of Mandan-speaking people in Lone Hill when the community was formed. The Crow terminology is used in the Indian language in daily face-to-face contact among most of the people in the village. The meanings and applications of the terms have not changed. Bowers (1950:1) notes that "the kinship system has been affected little by recent events." Figure 1 is based upon observations of usage throughout the village and was



(Note—For a female ego, sister's children are son and daughter.)

FIG. 1

checked by formal schedules obtained from 14 individuals: 8 males ages 34 to 70, and 6 females ages 23 to 60.

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In certain situations the people of Lone Hill make a direct linguistic translation of the Crow terminology from the Indian language into the English language. Classificatory fathers are called uncle, classificatory mothers and fathers' sisters are called aunt, while niece, nephew, and cousin terms are applied indiscriminately and usually incorrectly from the white point of view. There are no uncle, cousin, niece, or nephew terms in the Indian language. Figure 2 is offered as an illustration—note particularly the descendants from the father's sister. As the diagram shows, the generation principle does not apply.

This use of English is not a variation of the Crow system but is rather the same system with an alternate language. The English kinship terms do not

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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form a reciprocal system and do not conform to expected white usage, for example, an individual whom you address as uncle may call you cousin or brother rather than nephew. It is an egocentric system and is used only when an individual in Lone Hill finds himself in a situation in which he is forced to speak English. All but two of the 137 adults of the village are bilingual, as they speak English in addition to the Indian language. English is most often learned in government schools as a second language and is used by the Indian people to deal with the outside world: in contact with Indian Bureau employees, local white merchants, or when members of alien tribes visit or marry into the village. 601 191

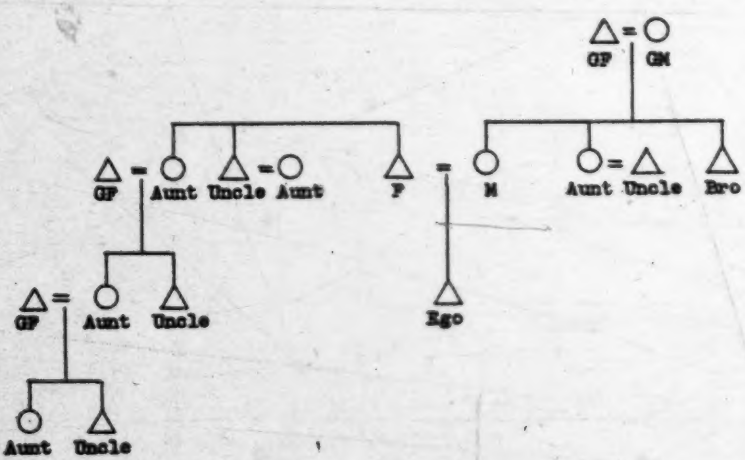

FIG. 2

The second major kinship pattern in Lone Hill consists of cases in which English terms are used in the white generation pattern, as indicated in Figure 3. My observations indicate that the generational system was used only by seven acculturated families. Many of the individuals in these families have spent most of their lives away from the village in off-reservation schools. The system was checked in formal interviews with six people, all between the ages of 20 and 30. In one instance a father's brother was called a cousin rather than an uncle because, as my informant said, "He is too young to be my uncle." The situations in which the generational system is employed tend to be relatively restricted and occur when acculturated individuals relate to one another, their close relatives, and whites in or outside the village. 601 191 177 124

An additional kinship complication arises in those homes in which a member of an alien tribe—usually Crow, Sioux, Blackfoot, or Arikara—marries a Mandan-Hidatsa resident of the village. No schedule can be given here as there is no general pattern, but one case will be briefly described as an illustration. 601 177 191

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As shown in Figure 4, John Bear Leg is the child of a mixed Hidatsa-Arikara marriage. The family lives in Lone Hill and speaks only English at home as Mrs. Bear Leg, an Arikara woman, does not understand Hidatsa. While discussing kinship, John referred to his father's sister's daughter, Mary White Duck, by the term "sister" and told me, "That's the white way." This is incorrect, of course, as in the American way Mary would be a cousin to John, while in the Hidatsa way, she would be an *icawi* or father's sister. I became excited here, as I thought I had found a case of ironing out generation differences which would represent an internal shift in kinship type. Further inquiry revealed that John's Arikara mother had told him to regard Mary as a sister. Mrs. Bear Leg wants her son to take all of his relationships

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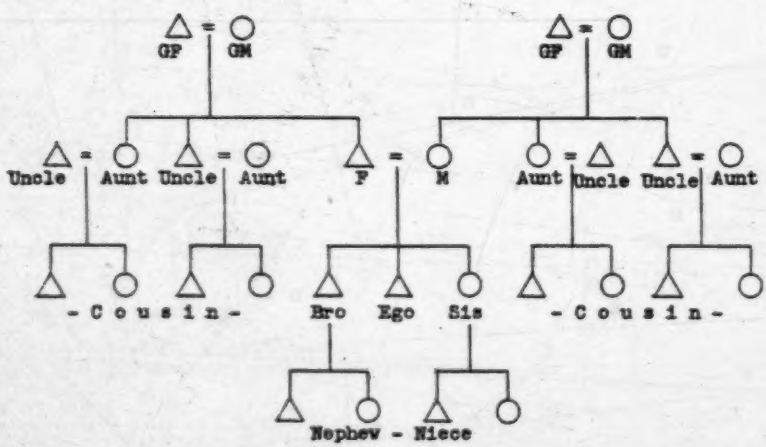

FIG. 3

in the Arikara way, and she attempts to teach him Arikara kinship. I checked with Mary, who informed me, "I know it's not right, but he calls me sister so I call him brother." The use of sibling terms for cross-cousins is one stage in Spoehr's series in the breakdown of a pure Crow system. But in this case it is a borrowed change introduced by an Arikara and not one that arose from the situation in Lone Hill.

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John's total kinship pattern indicates that he follows Hidatsa usage with most of his father's relatives and Arikara usage with all of his mother's relatives, who reside in another village at Fort Berthold. As his mother seems to be the dominant member of the family in these matters, John also refers to some of his father's relatives according to the Arikara way. I pointed out this apparent confusion to John, who replied, "I still don't know about these relationships yet, except what they say to me. The old folks each tell me their way. I'm catching on slow but sure." The net result of this situation is that while John knows how to interact with each specific relative he does not have a consistent total kinship system. John, now 24 years old, understands neither

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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the Hidatsa, Arikara, nor the white kinship pattern. His case illustrates the confusion found among the children of mixed marriages in which the parents have not established a clear-cut identification with any one social system. 601 177 602

To summarize thus far, the two kinship patterns found in Lone Hill are: (1) the traditional Crow terminological system, which remains the basic type for the village and has not changed, at least since 1862 when Morgan first gathered Mandan and Hidatsa kinship terms; and (2) a white generational system employed primarily by the acculturated families. There is also a separate set of English terms used in the Crow pattern for the benefit of outsiders and an inconsistent terminological pattern in some Indian homes in which a member of an alien tribe has come to Lone Hill through marriage. 601 177 191

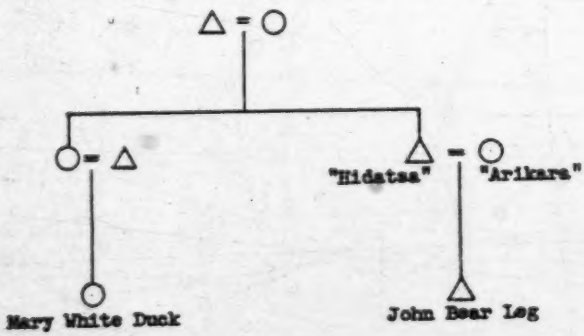

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FIG. 4

TWO PROCESSES

These data, considered in conjunction with the findings of Spoehr and of the Schmitts, indicate that there are two distinct processes involved in kinship change. The first process consists of the slow modification of a kinship system as evidenced by an orderly and progressive shift in type. This process is best illustrated by Spoehr's complete series in the transition from a pure Crow to an American generation type. Although the shift described by Spoehr was an indirect result of acculturative factors, the slow modification of a social structure may be due to internal forces that are not necessarily associated with culture contact (Eggan 1941; Gough 1952). The second process is a more radical change evidenced by an abrupt jump from one type of kinship system to another. In the second case, reported upon in this paper, the Indian and the white systems exist simultaneously without intermediate variations in kinship patterns. 601 177

Both processes of change, slow modification and sudden transformation, occur together in Lone Hill—and they also take place together among the Southeastern tribes. Spoehr emphasized the progressive stages in the breakdown of a Crow lineage system but he also recognized the more rapid type of kinship change (1947:198). The Mandan-Hidatsa seem to differ from the Southeastern tribes in terms of the relative importance of each process.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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601 177 [606] 178 The first process of slow modification has not affected the Crow kinship terminology and associated behavior in Lone Hill, but it has changed other aspects of social life in the village. There are many changes in content. A man recently modified the strict mother-in-law respect relation, not by the aboriginal practice of giving his mother-in-law a scalp, but by presenting her with an imitation war bonnet purchased from a mail order house. Innumerable other examples could be cited in which known changes in cultural content have not precipitated changes in the established social structure (cf. Gough 1952:85). An extreme illustration of this is provided by the previously mentioned case of English kinship terminology being used in the Crow kinship pattern. There are, however, many structural changes: the destruction of the native ceremonial life has decreased the religious importance of the father's lineage, the moieties are almost inoperative, the clans have diminished in importance, there is a general laxity among the youth in meeting certain kinship obligations, village organization has shifted from a close-knit unit to one of widely separated households, the matrilocal extended family is no longer a residence unit, and the lineage has ceased to be a corporate group. The only change in the Crow terminology is that vocative terms are rarely used except on public and community-wide occasions. The important point is that the gradual modification of the social structure has not proceeded far enough in Lone Hill to cause an internal shift in kinship type.

177 601 The significance of the second process of radical change in Lone Hill may be seen in broader perspective by examining the kind of acculturation now taking place among the Mandan-Hidatsa (Bruner 1953). In every acculturated family that uses the American generational system there has been an Indian-white intermarriage within three ascending generations. Individuals in these families make an abrupt and almost total conversion to white ways, while the rest of the people in the village continue to live by more traditional Indian standards. In the families in which there has been a mixed marriage, the entire white system comes across in the socialization process. Among the Southeastern tribes the shifts in kinship terminology were the result of adaptive responses to changing conditions (Spoehr 1947:225). The presence of the white generational system in Lone Hill is due to neither cultural "borrowing," adult learning, nor rearrangements in the social structure precipitated by new conditions. Individuals in Lone Hill learn the American kinship system in the English language within the intimate domestic family situation. Although no single factor is ever sufficient to explain a highly complex acculturation situation, it would seem that these differences in the mechanisms of change may account for the differences in kinship patterns found among the Southeastern tribes and the Mandan-Hidatsa. (In a future paper, I shall document and describe the process of individual conversion to white ways in greater detail.)

177 601 181 The converted Indian embraces a new way of life and comes to internalize a set of goals and values which are incongruent with the Crow lineage system. The kinship ties and obligations of the Crow system incorporate and reaffirm

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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the older societal values. Kinship provides the means for mutual aid and co-operation in the village as well as a mechanism of social control for ridiculing and cajoling the nonconformist. While the Mandan-Hidatsa social system, with its wide range, embodies the primary societal values of sharing, generosity, group co-operation, and village unity, the converted Indian shifts to the more individualistic American values of accumulating goods and wealth as ends in themselves. Any member of Lone Hill who interacts with others in terms of the Crow kinship system and who meets the obligations of that system will remain an "Indian." 177 601 181

The majority of the Indians who have converted to white ways tend to leave the village to seek their fortunes elsewhere (cf. Spicer 1940; Tax 1941). For this reason, there were few cases of American type kinship systems found in Lone Hill—most such people had already left their village. If all the individuals who adopted a new kinship system as part of a more inclusive conversion experience were to remain in Lone Hill, they might well produce radical changes in the existing social structure of the community. Their departure is a major factor making for the retention of traditional Indian ways. However, some of the converted Indians do continue to live in Lone Hill and do become sources of change in the Crow kinship system. 177 601 167

Individuals in Lone Hill who do not fulfil their kinship obligations destroy the solidarity of the group and the unity of the system. The converted Indian will avoid any kinship tie which involves his sharing material wealth or giving of his time or possessions. One man has developed devious means to accomplish this. He deposits all of his money in a bank so that when people ask him for a loan he can honestly reply that he does not have any money around. He avoids any situation in which he might be called upon to make donations, and, as such, he never attends the social "give-away" dances. This man has consciously narrowed the range of his relationships but he has done so selectively. He will not address another by a kinship term if there is any possibility that he may have to help that person. On the other hand, he does not avoid his joking relatives, for through the structured joking he can make critical remarks about Indian ways which would not be permitted in any other context. 177 602 154

SITUATIONAL DETERMINANTS

As converted Indians who use the generational system do interact with their many relatives in the village who use the traditional lineage system, some mechanism of adjustment is necessary. Two relatives who follow different kinship systems may have different conceptions of the proper way of relating to one another. The adjustment is usually made through one of the persons' adopting the other's system for that *particular* relationship. Every acculturated individual in the village who ordinarily uses the generational system will use the Indian lineage system with *some* of his relatives. The converse also occurs, as unacculturated Indians sometimes use the American generational system. Individuals thus adjust to the alternate kinship systems, which tends to minimize the changes in the systems themselves. 177 601 602

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Individual adjustment to alternate ways of structuring relationships is neither alien nor unique to the Mandan-Hidatsa (Firth 1930). Overlapping kinship ties tend to be characteristic of small societies with widely extended kinship systems. In addition to consanguineal and affinal relations, the Mandan-Hidatsa extended kinship to the clan, linked clan, moiety, ceremonial system and the supernatural world. As a result, almost every individual in the village was related to everyone else in more than one way. The closest relationship, as defined by the Mandan-Hidatsa, was usually taken in any given case, but factors unique to the individuals involved were also important (Bowers ms.). Today the people often discuss these dual ways of being related and they tend to regard the white way of reckoning kinship as one more way of being related, comparable to the alternate ways within the Indian system.

The following examples will illustrate how the adjustment takes place.

A young girl teased an unacculturated woman, after which the woman said to her, "You're supposed to be my *icawi* [father's sister] and you are not supposed to tease me, but that's O.K., we can take it the white way."

In referring to an acculturated girl, an older woman remarked, "She don't talk Indian. She is supposed to call me mother but she calls me auntie. I would be glad to hear it if she called me mother but she won't use it anymore. She's my daughter but she won't understand so I call her niece. All of that family acts like white kids."

An old woman of the village called a young converted Indian boy by the term "son." He realized that she could be either a mother or a father's sister to him in the Indian way but he did not know which. He came and asked me to find out from my genealogical charts because, as he said, "I can't figure it out and I want to act right with the old lady."

An acculturated woman refers to her mother's brother as an uncle and addresses him as uncle. He follows the traditional system, continuing to call her younger sister and considering himself as an older brother. Even though the terms are taken from two different systems, neither party seems to be especially disturbed. This is an unusual case and tends to occur only when there is no marked discrepancy in the external behavior.

Frank Bruce, who recently returned to the reservation, was related to William White Duck in two ways—their fathers were in the same clan, which required strong obligatory joking, and Frank was a "father" to William, which called for a father-son respect relationship. William had lived on the reservation all his life, understood both relationships, and quite properly, in terms of the traditional system, took the father-son blood relation rather than the clan tie. He talked politely to Frank and considered him a father, whom one never teased, although he never addressed him as father. Frank did not know that he was related to William either way and on one occasion teased him. William then said in public, "This old man of mine wants to take clans as the rule." Thereafter they teased each other on every possible occasion. All this was explained to Frank after it had taken place, as he had not understood that he had changed an existing relationship.

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Two individuals were related to one another in a dual way: one a joking grandfather-grandchild relationship, and the other a respect father-son relation. These boys were roommates at boarding school, during which time they teased one another and acted more like "roommates" than in accordance with either of the two possible kinship relationships. One said of the Indian way, "We left it home." When they returned to the reservation they continued the teasing relationship which had arisen from the school situation. Eventually they came to use grandfather-grandchild kinship terms as a means of justifying to others their mild joking. In this case, it was fortunate that a kinship bond existed to validate their behavior on the reservation. 177 601 602

Schneider (1953:228) has suggested "that one important function of the use of kinship terms as forms of address is in imposing on the situation a kind of sanction which enforces conformity with the social definition of the relationship." In some situations the people of Lone Hill consciously manipulate kinship terms to serve their personal ends. Interaction between the acculturated and unacculturated is not unstructured or loosely defined, but it does have an element of ambiguity as there are two relatively clear-cut alternate systems. A few individuals take advantage of this in rather subtle ways.

At a political meeting, a converted Indian, who ordinarily uses the generational system, addressed a prominent member of the opposing faction as a "father." He used the Crow system in this situation knowing full well that his political rival would not be so indiscreet as to criticize a "son" in public.

An unacculturated woman of the village came into the house of a wealthy converted Indian and addressed him as "older brother." She sat down and indicated that she had some important business in town but had no means of transportation. The converted Indian, as he was preparing to drive her to town, whispered to me, "The only time she ever calls me 'brother' is when she wants something."

CONCLUSION

In earlier times both the Mandan-Hidatsa and the Southeastern tribes had a pure Crow type lineage system. After acculturative influence an American generational type kinship system is found among the two groups. In the Southeast the orderly and progressive shift in kinship type was characterized as a process of slow modification of the existing system due to adaptive responses to changing conditions. In Lone Hill, the lack of intermediate variations in kinship patterns suggests a rapid process of change caused by early socialization in those families in which there has been white intermarriage.

The comparison of static types and categories at different times will yield only partial information on the processes of change and persistence. If we are satisfied simply with answers to the question of *what* change has taken place, it may be sufficient to study the beginning and the end of a cultural sequence. But only through examination of an ongoing sequence and of the actual contexts in which a choice of alternatives is made can we say *how* the change has happened and thereby gain insight into the process itself. And the deepest understanding of social change may best be achieved by direct study of the actual mechanisms and processes involved. 121

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Primary Group Experience and the Processes of Acculturation[1]

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INTRODUCTION

101 121 THE problem of this paper is to explain why some members of the Mandan-Hidatsa village of Lone Hill[2] become more acculturated than others. Our particular thesis is that the differences in degree of acculturation found among the Indian people are in large measure a product of early experience in the intimate family group, and the cultural orientation of their parents or their surrogates.

177 121 There are striking differences in extent of acculturation in Lone Hill. They are manifest in type of home, education, subsistence, speech, and manner, and would be readily apparent even to the most casual observer. In a previous paper it has been shown that some families in Lone Hill follow the Crow lineage kinship system and Indian values while others have adopted the American kinship and value systems (Bruner 1955). A former superintendent of the Agency, who is also a trained social scientist, has written, " . . . there is at Fort Berthold every degree of acculturation, from the family living on the reservation in the hoe culture age of the original village life to a few well-to-do ranchers with nearly every modern convenience in their homes" (Riefel 1952:125). Our purpose in this paper is not to describe these differences in acculturation in any detail, nor is it to correlate them with a check list of unweighted factors; it is rather to delineate the process by which they arise in the family situation and to analyze the larger social context in which they occur.

HISTORY AND METHOD

Any study of acculturation is facilitated to the extent that a means can be established to control comparisons (Eggan 1954); in this paper the control stems from comparison of group differences within one village (cf. Spindler 1955; Rapoport 1954). The criteria for segmenting the population according to degree of acculturation will be based upon differential participation in contemporary reservation culture and not upon the presence or absence of aboriginal Indian or white traits. The people of Lone Hill live in a culture that has emerged from the aboriginal culture of their ancestors and has borrowed from local white, mass American, and pan-Indian cultures.

177 175 The Upper Missouri River Valley was the scene of turbulent changes during the past 200 years. Within this period the horse was introduced, many white men came and with them trade, numerous manufactured goods, devastating plagues of smallpox, the arrival of white homesteaders, the development of surrounding towns, and deliberate attempts by missionaries and other members of a superordinate majority to change a subordinate Indian minority, including the efforts of the military and of the Indian Bureau. An

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177 indirect effect of contact resulted in the displacement of Eastern tribes, the
175 formation of full Plains equestrian nomadism, and constant raids by hostile groups. These momentous events precipitated radical changes in the cultures of all Plains-Prairie peoples, and the Mandan-Hidatsa were no exception, although they did change less than other earth-lodge tribes (Strong 1940; Jablow 1950; Eggan 1952; Krieger 1953).

105 Indian culture today includes automobiles, farm equipment, washing
177 machines, radios, and other material objects of American culture. Clothing and household goods are generally purchased through Western mail order catalogs. The major sources of cash income are the cattle business, agricultural enterprises, leasing lands to whites, wage work, and relief money. Every adult has attended government or missionary schools, and Catholic and Congregational Churches are established in the village. Thirty-one of the sixty-four males over seventeen years of age have had military experience.

Lone Hill village has never been a closed, self-sufficient society, from the time it was founded in the last decade of the nineteenth century with the allotment program of the Indian Bureau until the present. Today every adult deals with white people who reside outside the community, although contact is limited. The Indian's cash income and the education of his children are controlled in part by the Indian Bureau and by forces in the larger American society. Agency personnel, government employees, missionaries, day school teachers, traveling salesmen and local tradespeople, farmers and ranchers, visit with Indians both on and off the reservation. The resident of Lone Hill village buys goods from white storekeepers, attends schools taught by whites, transacts business with white government people, and often seeks wage work from nearby whites. The Indian must satisfy specialized needs through the services of white doctors, lawyers and professional people.

[191 Despite the many American elements which have been adopted, Hidatsa
601] is the major spoken language in Lone Hill today, secular Indian ceremonial
614] dances are performed, and the social organization includes matrilineal clans and a Crow type kinship system. Sacred bundles are highly respected, Indian doctors utilize native medicine to cure the sick, and distinctively Indian values are manifest on many occasions. The linguistic, religious, and social patterns are not considered here as isolated survivals persisting intact from the aboriginal past, for they too have changed from older times as a consequence of changing conditions of life; and they function in a very different total situation in 1950 as compared with 1850 or 1750.

Viewed historically, contemporary Indian culture is mixed. It consists of automobiles from Detroit, dances from the Cheyenne, medicine bundles from the Mandan, and a language from the Hidatsa. From the perspective of some individuals who share it, this mixed culture is perfectly consistent. No person in Lone Hill today knows how to stalk buffalo, scalp a Sioux, or shape a stone arrowhead. With the exception of a few very old people, no one in Lone Hill has ever lived in a culture in which these activities were performed. Our task is to understand how groups of individuals in Lone Hill come to regard and participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture.

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participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture. 000

CRITERIA OF ACCULTURATION

There are many superficial criteria that could be selected to divide the population of Lone Hill into groups differing in degree of acculturation, but I prefer one that has an essential connection to the Indian value system. One well-known basic value that contrasts sharply with our general American ethic is the Indian value of generosity (Bruner 1953:23–24). This value difference has a readily observable behavioral manifestation—participation in the Indian ceremonial dances. The Indian "give-away" dance is now a secular affair, featuring Indian songs and dances and the giving of war bonnets, horses, cattle, blankets, and money as gifts to prescribed relatives, distinguished visitors, societies, and the needy. It is one of the few remaining public gatherings in Lone Hill where generosity and other Indian values are expressed, reaffirmed and maintained. The following statement by an informant aptly characterizes the emotional overtones of the dance (quoted in Merrill 1951:27): 177 431 535

> After the people get all painted up—this is decoration, like lipstick—and the tom-toms get going and people chanting and singing (demonstrated with a rapid beat of his feet and an ai-ai-ai chant), people get all worked up and excited. Then someone gets up and makes a speech and gives away a horse, or a beef, or two beefs, and everyone gets going and there's a lot of giving-away and many people end up with little or nothing. . . . They say that property doesn't mean anything; what counts is being friendly and generous and all friends of one another. . . . People shout and praise a person (who gives away a lot) and they talk about it long afterwards. [554]

Not every person in Lone Hill attends the dance. Some families come with all their children, stay throughout the night, and donate generously. For them the dance is an impressive and public mechanism of socialization to Indian ways. Others virtually never attend the ceremonials, as they are more concerned with the accumulation than the giving of goods. As a result, they and their children do not participate in the one public ritual that best symbolizes and makes legitimate the traditional Indian values. One acculturated Indian man had this to say about the ceremonials: 431 535 184 [556] 177

> I never go to any dances or pow-wows. These dances are the fellows breeding grounds; they go there to drink, to raise hell, and they are not Christians. A lot of these fellows . . . go there to take some gal out . . . and get her drunk. That's all these dances are for, as far as the younger people are concerned. The older people go there to get these donations; something for nothing. . . . They take their kids there and the kids don't learn much from that. They give things away and that money can be used to educate their children, buy provisions and things. It seems like with an Indian they think they are in the spotlight; it makes them feel good. I never believed in it simply because I know most families and they can't afford to do that.

Participation in the Indian ceremonials was applied to the population of Lone Hill as a criterion of acculturation. In order to define the population, it was first necessary to delimit the community, the sample, and the unit of 621 121 161

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621 analysis. The governmental administrative divisions do not correspond to the
121 community of Lone Hill, which is a smaller but socially more relevant unit
161 and is recognized as such by the people themselves. All the Indian people who had an established home in the village during the latter half of 1951 were included in the sample. Lone Hill as thus defined consists of 267 residents, of whom 137 were adults over seventeen years of age, forming forty-eight nuclear families living in forty-one separate households. The nuclear family was selected as the unit of analysis rather than the isolated individual or the household, as the data suggest that acculturation in Lone Hill is related to family orientation, and the nuclear family is the only unit of socialization common to the entire population. Those nuclear families who do attend the dance regularly were put in one group; those who do not in another. The application of
177 the criterion dichotomized the population. Of the forty-eight Indian nuclear families in Lone Hill, thirty-four families do regularly participate in the dances and fourteen families do not. Although there are some difficulties associated with these rubrics, I refer to the thirty-four families as "unacculturated" and the fourteen as "acculturated." These terms are not meant to imply absolute categories, as if one group were fully acculturated and the other were not, for our concern is with relative differences of degree. Indeed, in a later section of this paper one further subdivision will be made within the acculturated category.

177 If the criterion of acculturation was a good choice, there should be processes
121 which explain how the two groupings arose. To become acculturated means, in part, to learn and internalize white ways and values from a white person. The Indian people all have contact with whites as adults but they do not all become acculturated at the same rate. Our attention is thus directed to differential exposure to and influence by white persons in the important early years of life, in the socialization process. The preliminary notion suggests itself that degree of acculturation, based upon participation in contemporary Indian culture, is associated with degree of influence by white persons in childhood. To examine this notion we should study cultural transmission and socialization over many generations. For practical reasons this is not feasible but we can determine which families in Lone Hill village have had a history of white intermarriage. In those cases in which a white person has married an Indian, there would be a white person in the domestic family situation who would thus provide a model for the children.

For purposes of this study, the presence or absence of a white model was determined for every family in Lone Hill on the basis of census data, Indian Bureau records, village genealogies, informal interviews, and in some cases extensive life history material. Any given nuclear family was said to have had a white model if either a parent, a grandparent, or a great-grandparent, or a substitute for such on either side, was a white person who actually lived with the nuclear family. Taking our point of departure from the present children, this creates a limit of four generations back, which was in part a matter of expediency as it was not possible to trace instances of white intermarriage beyond four generations. However, the limit of four generations corresponds to

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the approximate time at which the Mandan-Hidatsa abandoned their aboriginal villages and thus does represent an important historical turning point. 177 121

The presence of a white model in the nuclear family through intermarriage is a cultural factor, and it should not be confused with degree of blood, a biological factor. The grandfather of one woman in Lone Hill was a white man who came up the Missouri on a steamboat, stayed a few years, and then left for parts unknown. He produced an undetermined number of children by different Indian women, but all his children were raised in Indian homes. The only cultural transmission from this white man is that some of his known descendants suspect that he may have been Irish and they jokingly celebrate St. Patrick's Day in his honor. His descendants have not had a white model, despite their one-fourth degree of white blood. In fact, there is probably not one Mandan-Hidatsa who is a biological full blood, due to the great amount of white intermarriage in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This early intermarriage has not been recorded and took place in very different historical circumstances than more recent intermarriage. 144

It was found that seventeen nuclear families have had a white model and that thirty-one families have not. When we put these data together with our criterion of acculturation, a very striking result emerges. It was previously determined that fourteen *acculturated* families *do not* regularly attend the Indian ceremonials and thirty-four *unacculturated* families *do* attend the dances. Each of the fourteen acculturated families has had a white model. Of the thirty-four unacculturated families, thirty-one have not had a white model and three have had. To state these results another way: the families who do not attend the dances have all had a white model; the families who do attend the ceremonials, with three exceptions have not had a white model. 177 121

This is indeed a striking set of facts. The importance of white intermarriage has been suggested by other students who have worked in the same culture area with related tribes, but this is, as far as I know, the first time the relationship has emerged so boldly. Voget (1952), who has delineated four socio-cultural groups among the Crow, has written of his "native" group, "It is not unreasonable to assume that the membership of this socio-cultural category consists for the most part of those of pure descent" (89), while his most acculturated group, the "American marginal," are " . . . predominantly of mixed descent" (91). Based upon her study of the Dakota Sioux, Useem (1947:375) concludes, "The full bloods, in contrast to the mixed bloods, tend to retain more of the Sioux language, to keep more of the early symbols and patterns of Dakotan life, [to reside in] full blood communities . . . , to be less educated, to prefer on-reservation to off-reservation life, and to be opposed to the Indian Reorganization Act of the Federal Government."

THE FACTOR OF ISOLATION

The explanation of why white intermarriage is a prerequisite for acculturation must be sought in the total situation in which the people of Lone Hill find themselves. Single factor explanations do not cover the available data. It might be thought that the Indian who knows he is, and is known to be part

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177 white, would be favorably predisposed toward white ways. But the descend-
121 ants of the previously mentioned Irishman are biologically part white, yet they remain unacculturated; and there are three families who have had a white model but who have not become acculturated. Another possible explanation is that the lighter skin color per se allows the children of mixed marriages to "pass" in local white society. The data does not confirm this notion either, as an Indian's ability to be accepted by local whites depends upon how he behaves rather than upon his racial characteristics. A series of relevant factors in the total situation, when taken together, do give at least partial understanding of the importance of white intermarriage. They add up to a picture of such extreme psychological and social isolation of the Indian people that a white person married into the family becomes the primary agent by which white ways and values are learned and internalized.

131 Lone Hill is physically isolated between the Missouri and the Little Mis-
177 souri rivers, and contact with white people is thus infrequent and limited. There are no stores, no paved roads, and no post office in the village. The
[36] only whites who reside in Lone Hill itself are the two teachers in the govern-
487 ment grade school, who rarely participate in community affairs. None of the
489 whites currently married to Indians live permanently in the village today, although a few couples occasionally return to Lone Hill, during which time they stay with Indian families. There are two ways to travel to the surrounding towns: either across the Missouri River by boat during the summer and over the ice in winter, or by making a sixty-mile trip over dirt roads through irregular rolling hills and flat-topped buttes. Anyone who has lived in Lone Hill during the late spring comes to realize the meaning of isolation. The ice over the river is too thin for passage, the roads become blocked by mud and melting show, and the one telephone usually breaks down and remains unrepaired. Mail and supplies are often dropped by airplane. The physical isolation works in a double way—few whites come to Lone Hill and few Indians leave.

105 The Mandan-Hidatsa have never experienced a serious ecological read-
177 justment, as they have lived along the Missouri River Valley for at least the two centuries preceding the completion of this study in 1953. The Indian people today are certainly dependent upon the American economic system for their cash income, but almost every family in Lone Hill derives a relatively large noncash income from exploitation of the natural resources of the area. This exploitation is similar in some respects to the adjustment made by the aboriginal earth lodge tribes to the same fertile river bottom lands. Fuel is provided by wood from the timber, and from indigenous lignite outcroppings. Over half the families live in log cabins, which they erect themselves from timber found in the wooded bottoms. The food staples of corn and potatoes are obtained in part from small garden plots, now jointly worked by the men and women of the household. The meat supply depends largely upon the man's ability as a hunter of deer and small game. Abundant wild fruits and berries are gathered during the appropriate seasons and are preserved for use during the winter months. Thus, many of the economic goods which are normally

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purchased with cash income derived from productive employment are obtained by the people of Lone Hill directly from natural sources. 105 177

The paternalistic policy of the Indian Bureau has probably been more effective than the geographical isolation and the ecological setting in limiting direct social relationships between the Indian people and surrounding whites. Most of the necessary economic, educational, and welfare activities are handled by the Agency staff instead of by the Indian people. What is called paternalism arose from the necessities of an earlier historical period, during which it was a humane and just policy to aid those Indian people whose life pattern had been disrupted by American expansion. The people of Lone Hill still expect this protection today, yet they resent the associated dependency. At Fort Berthold and on other Indian reservations, this has come to be one of the most complex and pressing problems of native administration. Given the problems that exist, the current Bureau policy of withdrawal is far from an adequate solution. In a paper of this scope we can do no more than call attention to the importance of the administration as an isolating barrier between the Mandan-Hidatsa and the larger American society. 657

What is possibly the most important isolating factor stems from the sharp discontinuity in the unacculturated Indian life career. From the point of view of the age grading of the learning process, acculturative influences are operative primarily in the adult years. During the early formative period the unacculturated child comes to internalize Indian ways from an intimate group of close relatives in a permissive and secure atmosphere. Before he attends school the child eats Indian food, attends the ceremonial dances, and hears about the daring exploits of the Stone Hammer Society from his old grandfather. The activities of the outside world are dim and vague to the Indian child, for he rarely leaves the village and has few opportunities for direct contact with whites. He does attend an occasional movie and he listens to the radio, but the child has had no context within his own experience with which to relate these impersonal mass media. Those whites who come to Lone Hill on business deal with the adults and rarely see the children. I recorded three life histories of young adults who knew no white people until they were seven or eight years of age. 177 867

From the unacculturated child's point of view, life in Lone Hill revolves around his family, peer, and residential groups. His main satisfactions are obtained from within these groups, and the activities of their members, most of whom are relatives, form the major topics of conversation. That kinship is widely extended among the Mandan-Hidatsa takes on added meaning in this context, as all of an unacculturated Indian's emotionally charged and rewarding experiences occur within, and are shared by, the kinship group. Members of the kinship group are also the agents of cultural transmission, and from them the child learns the approved norms of conduct and patterns of social relations. 177 867 602 571

The unacculturated Indian child soon learns that his emotional security and his very identity are dependent upon his maintaining good relationships with his kinsmen. He does not derive security from acts designed merely to 156 602 431

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156 further his own ends, nor is there any pressure put upon him to realize ab-
602 solute ideals. The value of generosity in this perspective, and as defined by the
431 Indian people, is any act which promotes group welfare. Those persons who do work together on such secular affairs as road projects are said to have donated their time to the group. At a dance for his son serving in Korea, one man in Lone Hill donated "the whitewashing of the school lunch room and the repair of the grade school window sashes." As the kinship system embodies the primary societal values, a man's position in society is assured if he meets the obligations of that system at all public gatherings and in his everyday be-
[606 behavior in the village. If a person behaves in any way that destroys group co-
571] operation he is not threatened or physically punished. His mother or older sister will tell him the right way, and if they are not effective his grandparents or other joking relatives will tease and ridicule him into conformity. The Mandan-Hidatsa have a tremendous elaboration of joking relationships which serve as a very effective mechanism of enforcing conformity to group norms.

177 By the time the unacculturated child becomes an adult, he has been so
867 effectively socialized to Indian ways that white contact has very little influence. But the adult reality is such that he must live in a superordinate white world. This is the sharp discontinuity in his life career. Every Indian must deal with members of white society in order to perform necessary economic and educational activities. The unacculturated Indian does not change himself to become like a white person; instead he learns how to adjust to white people. One informant described the technique as follows: "We Indians are just like those lizards that change their colors. When we are with whites we act one way and when we are with Indians we act another way." I think this kind of compartmentalized behavior is called "situational role specificity"—but possibly the analogy of the chameleon has a virtue of its own. In a sense, the unacculturated people of Lone Hill come to learn two cultures, but it is a
177 case of differential learning with different points of origin. The unacculturated
154 Indian character is incorporated into the child in his formative years, while a
867 superficial knowledge of white culture and of the techniques of adjustment to white people are learned primarily in adulthood. The unacculturated people of Lone Hill are not torn with inner conflict between two worlds; they just internalize the Indian way as children and learn aspects of the white way as a necessary accessory when they become adults. Erikson (1950:115) in his study of the Sioux was intrigued by this point:

> This, it seemed to us, was the most astonishing single fact to be investigated: That Indian children could live for years without open rebellion or any signs of inner conflict between two standards which were incomparably further apart than those of any two generations or two classes in our culture.

177 The unacculturated Indian does not internalize white ways as an adult, not
562 because all learning stops in childhood, but because of the vast cultural differences between members of the two groups, the nature of the situations in which adult Indian-white interaction occurs, and the attitudes of white

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people toward Indians. Indian relationships to whites are made difficult by the many points of incompatibility between their respective value systems. The unacculturated Indian does not work hard and long in order to accumulate land, goods, and status symbols, as this behavior is disapproved in Indian society. The Indian does not receive prestige for persistent efforts to become "successful," and he finds no necessity to establish a good credit rating. Respectable whites often regard unacculturated Indians as lazy and irresponsible; Indian people in turn see much white behavior as stingy.

While a few local whites fanatically reject all Indians, many do make genuine efforts to educate and elevate Indian peoples. Many of these sincere attempts to "help" Indians are done with the implicit belief that the white way is superior to the Indian way, and thus they involve a comparison in which the Indian is deemed unworthy. It is difficult to influence another person if your expressed intention is to change him in a direction which you advertise as being better. These efforts, which usually are directed at social and economic betterment, are based upon the white ethic which most Indians either cannot understand or do not want to accept, and thus they create an insurmountable barrier to learning.

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The Indian people have few opportunities to participate in active social organizations that include members of both cultures. The social roles that Indians can adopt in relation to whites are severely limited and few effective channels of communication exist. Those younger unacculturated Indians who leave Lone Hill to attend high school and off-reservation boarding schools do have the opportunity to increase their interaction with white people, but the vast majority of the adults of the village have not completed grade school. Indians and whites meet at such recreational activities as county fairs, dances, rodeos, and athletic events, but these are temporary affairs and the interaction takes place mainly between younger Indians and the lower-class segment if local white society. Most of the interaction between unacculturated Indians and whites is not only impersonal but it is atomistic in that individuals meet as individuals for specific and unitary purposes. The Indian meets the white man in the role of customer or employee, not as a total human being. In general, the unacculturated Indian finds relationships within the kinship group rewarding; but his impersonal atomistic relationships with outside whites tend to be unrewarding and often are punishing.

The presence of a white model in the nuclear family through the mechanism of white intermarriage is a prerequisite for acculturation in Lone Hill. If the people of the village were not physically isolated but were living in proximity to whites, if the natural resources did not satisfy so many economic needs, if the Indian Bureau had not fostered dependency, if the unacculturated children were not so effectively socialized to a life pattern wherein their emotional security depended upon relationships within the kinship group, if Indians did not utilize techniques of adjustment to whites, if the Indian and white value systems were not so incompatible, if white attitudes toward Indians did not create a barrier to learning, and if Indians had the opportunity to integrate into white social organizations—then white intermarriage might not be so

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177 important. As these conditions do exist, the transmission of white ways in an intimate family group becomes the major mechanism of acculturation.

SOCIAL INTERACTION WITHIN THE VILLAGE

177 The thirty-four unacculturated families are isolated from surrounding whites, but they do have contact with the fourteen acculturated families
571 who reside in the village. The acculturated group are a potential source of rapid culture change, and their influence could lead to the spread of white ways throughout the entire population of Lone Hill. But this does not happen. The cultural innovations initiated by the acculturated families are generally not accepted by the unacculturated majority. Why this is so may be understood by first making an additional distinction among the fourteen acculturated families and then describing the social interaction among the groupings that emerge.

A further differentiation is found when the criterion of acculturation is reapplied to the fourteen families who do not regularly attend the Indian ceremonials. Table 1 presents a final summary of group differences in Mandan-Hidatsa acculturation. Seven families virtually never attend the dances; we continue to refer to them as acculturated. The remaining seven families, henceforth to be called "marginal," do participate in the ceremonials when they are in the village. However, the seven marginal families do not live in Lone Hill for more than six to eight months of the year. For the rest of the year, during their off-reservation periods, they interact with whites and with Indians from other tribes. Marginal families and individuals may leave abruptly by automobile for South Dakota, Montana, or even California, and stay away for months at a time. They are called marginal specifically because their shifting pattern of residence prevents them from regularly attending the Indian ceremonials and from fully participating in village culture. While they are living in Lone Hill, the marginal families interact primarily with unacculturated Indians. They are very active in community affairs, seem to uphold Indian beliefs and values, and at times are among the staunchest defenders of traditional Indian ways. Despite their varied experiences outside Lone Hill, the marginal families do not initiate major cultural change within the village.

Table 1.—Group Differences in Mandan-Hidatsa Acculturation

Degree of Acculturation	White Model in Household	
	Absent	Present
Unacculturated	31	3
Marginal	0	7
Acculturated	0	7

177 Observation indicates that members of the marginal families are restless,
158 unsatisfied, rather unpredictable, and some are psychologically unstable. In every one of these seven families there is a constant pattern of excessive drinking and fighting, and every adult male has a jail record for committing minor offenses. One of these men is a severe alcoholic, while a second has spent almost three years in a state asylum where he was diagnosed as a case of

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dementia praecox. The latter travels all over the United States as a hobo, but always returns to the village. A third marginal male went AWOL from the Army, and was once sentenced to three years in the penitentiary for forgery. Still another individual, although married, has admitted to the paternity of three children by three different off-reservation women, and action has been taken in two of the cases for nonsupport. 177 158

The relationships between the seven acculturated families and the thirty-four unacculturated families are characterized by much hostility and a low frequency of social interaction. The acculturated people rarely visit at unacculturated homes, do not participate in the dances or other community activities, and make special efforts to keep their children isolated from the unacculturated children. White "middle class" values are the criteria by which the acculturated Indian appraises his worth and evaluates himself, even though he is not a member of any white social group. Some acculturated individuals actually over-react to those white standards which form the basis for white disapproval of Indian behavior. One man in the village never touches a drop of liquor, is very active in the Christian Church, is up for breakfast every morning by seven, accumulates land and money to the point of being miserly, and will pay every debt before it is due. The acculturated Indians not only reject traditional Indian ways; they often will openly and severely criticize Indian behavior. They have become spokesmen within Lone Hill for those whites who feel that the solution to the Indian "problem" is to destroy the old culture. For the acculturated individual it is inevitable that the Indian people must live in a white world. They see the unacculturated Indians as holding back the course of progress to the detriment of all. The unacculturated majority feel that the acculturated families have taken for themselves what belongs to everyone, have violated the primary Indian values of generosity and emphasis on group welfare, and are "in cahoots" with the Indian Bureau against the best interests of the Indian people. They see the acculturated Indians as traitors and collaborationists. 177 156 578

Acculturated Indians actively seek to increase their interaction with middle class whites, as they need their approval and support. White people tend to accept the acculturated Indian because he behaves in accordance with the middle class ethic and is docile in his relations to whites. Almost without exception, when whites make their infrequent trips to Lone Hill they visit at the homes of a handful of acculturated families. As a consequence, the unacculturated Indians are further isolated from white contact in the village. During the first two weeks that my wife and I lived in Lone Hill, a nearby acculturated family brought us fresh milk, butter, and rolls, offered to drive us around the area, invited us to supper, and was even ready to discuss how we could best obtain rapport with the older Indian people. The acculturated families sought us out, while we had to take the initiative in meeting the unacculturated families. 177

Many government employees and surrounding whites feel that acculturated Indians are outstanding examples of what any individual Indian could achieve given the requisite ambition. Acculturated Indians have a virtual

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177 monopoly of the numerous benefits and services to be derived from the Indian Bureau and they often seek and obtain employment with the Bureau. They are all economically successful cattlemen compared with the unacculturated Indians who derive their cash income primarily from lease money, relief, and seasonal farm work. According to the Extension Agent's report for the year 1951, the seven acculturated families owned from twenty-nine to 149 head of cattle, a total for all families of 514, and an average of approximately seventy-three. Eighteen of the thirty-four unacculturated families owned no cattle at all. The sixteen unacculturated families with cattle had a range per family of one to fifty-two head, a total for all families of 395, and an average of approximately twenty-five cattle per family.

177 At Fort Berthold, as on many other Indian reservations, there are two political factions which locally are called the "Yes" or progressive group and
621 the "No" or conservative faction. The basis for leadership is different in each faction. In the conservative group, leadership is based upon personal qualities combined with the inheritance of sacred bundles from older chiefs, while for the progressive group it is based upon white standards of achievement. There is no clear-cut correlation between degree of acculturation and affiliation with any one faction, as the membership of each faction varies with the particular issue involved, but the nucleus of the progressive faction is derived from the acculturated families and the nucleus of the conservative faction from the unacculturated and marginal groups. These political differences are one manifestation of the larger processes which lead to different sociocultural groupings, for Lone Hill is a community divided into two conflicting and relatively noninteracting social groups.

Thus the acculturated families do not precipitate rapid change within the
177 village because of the mutual hostility and mistrust generated between them-
167 selves and the remainder of the community. An additional factor is that the membership of the acculturated group is constantly being depleted, as accul-
161 turated individuals tend to leave the village. The children of the acculturated families, who have the greatest potentiality for initiating change, do not remain in Lone Hill, as they have internalized the values of white society and as there are so few opportunities presented to them within the village. Of the seven acculturated families, there are three in which the parents are over fifty years of age and in which the children are all over twenty years old. In every one of these families, all or the majority of the children have left Lone Hill. In the remaining four families the parents are between the ages of twenty-six and forty-two, and the oldest child is fifteen. While these children are not old enough to leave and seek employment elsewhere, each of their parents has either a brother or sister who has left. The parents of the acculturated children, most of whom have built up successful cattle operations, are tied to Lone Hill. Their goal is to see their children become accepted members of white society. Despite the departure of the acculturated people and of others, the population continues to increase because of the fertility of the resident population. Since 1910, the population of enrolled members of the

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Fort Berthold tribes has increased on an average of 3.8 percent per year (Riefel 1952:87–100).

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It is interesting to note that the process of change in which acculturated individuals leave, thereby making for the persistence of traditional ways within the village, had its counterpart in the historical period from 1740 to 1890. As individuals and as family groups, those Mandan and Hidatsa who preferred the Plains warrior-hunting life changed tribal affiliations and left their sedentary villages to join a nomad tribe (Bowers MS). As Holder (1950) has shown, this intertribal exchange of personnel reflected the development of a deep conflict in the earth-lodge social organization based upon the allocation of prestige. Aboriginal Mandan and Hidatsa society was stratified into classes, with the cultural rewards reserved for a select nobility who inherited the sacred tribal bundles (Bowers 1950). Many young men, born into less fortunate matrilineal kin groups who owned no bundles and who had been exposed to nomadic life, tried to achieve recognition through accomplishments in warfare and through vision experiences. These young men, placed in disadvantageous positions in the social structure, tended to leave their villages to become nomads. The Cheyenne and the Crow as cultures, adopted nomadism (Strong 1940); among the Mandan and Hidatsa, individuals became nomads by changing cultures. Thus, both in the past and in the present, those dissatisfied with the traditional Indian ways of the majority group left the village. This mode of change seems to be characteristic of the Mandan-Hidatsa, and is a general process with time depth.

THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION

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White intermarriage may be a necessary condition but it is not in itself a sufficient condition for acculturation in Lone Hill. Of the seventeen families who have had a white model through intermarriage, seven are acculturated, seven marginal and three unacculturated. The presence of a white person in the nuclear family does no more than create the possibility that the children of the mixed marriage will learn white ways. Cultural transmission is not merely an automatic transferal from the past in which parents mechanically stamp their culture into the child. Some of the white men who married Mandan-Hidatsa women may well have preferred to assimilate to Indian ways and may not have passed their understanding of white ways on to their offspring, while others may have desired that their children learn American ways but may not have implemented that desire in the socialization process. As it is no longer possible to study the original family situations in which a white man married an Indian woman, we cannot determine why those original parents have adopted the acculturated, marginal, or unacculturated life pattern. But partial understanding of the process involved may be obtained by an examination of cultural transmission in the contemporary families.

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There are two steps by which an individual in Lone Hill becomes acculturated; first there must be a white model, so that at least one of the parents has a fundamental understanding of American culture, and second, the

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177 parents must consciously, deliberately, and actively train their children to
867 become like whites (Inkeles 1955). Children in Lone Hill and probably elsewhere are prepared for a world conceived by their parents which is in part dependent upon what the parents expect their children to be. Cultural transmission is as much a projection into the future as it is a heritage from the past. This emerges most clearly from an examination of the age-grading of language
191 learning in the village. Lone Hill is a bilingual community in that Hidatsa
861 is spoken in daily contact and at public gatherings, while all but two of the 137 adults also speak English. In part because of a widespread belief in the village that, as one informant expressed it, " . . . it is confusing for a child to learn two languages at once," the majority of the families in this bilingual community decide between Hidatsa and English as a first language for their offspring. Their choice provides one convenient criterion for distinguishing those families who are preparing their children for a life in Lone Hill as opposed to those families who are preparing their children for a life with whites outside the village.

Table 2 shows, for each family in Lone Hill, the language spoken in the home, which is the first language learned by the children of that family.

Table 2.—Language Spoken in the Home

Degree of Acculturation	Hidatsa	Hidatsa & English	English
Unacculturated	25	1	5
Unacculturated (white model)	2	1	—
Marginal	4	1	2
Acculturated	1	1	5

In the majority of the unacculturated homes the children are taught Hidatsa as a first language and learn to speak English when they attend school. In these families, knowledge of English is one acculturative influence that does not arise from early learning in the home but is acquired from agents outside the home after the child has reached the age of seven or eight. In the five unacculturated families in which English is spoken, a Mandan-Hidatsa resident of the village has married a member of an alien tribe, so that one spouse does not understand Hidatsa. English is spoken by necessity rather than by choice. In five of the acculturated houses the parents, although they know Hidatsa, speak only English to their children. Many of these children never learn the Indian language. One acculturated family sent its eldest child to the Lone Hill day school. The boy, who spoke only English, was soon withdrawn and sent to a white school in a nearby town, after the parents discovered that their child was learning to speak Hidatsa in the village school. This story is often repeated among the acculturated families who now send their children to off-reservation schools. Language usage structures much of the life-way usage, for invariably the Indian child who comes to school with a knowledge of English is considered more intelligent by his teachers and finds it easier to interact with whites and thereby learn more white ways.

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It is to be emphasized that individuals in Lone Hill do not become acculturated by chance; their parents consciously and actively prepare them for a life in the white world. To be "white-oriented" is not sufficient. Almost all the adult Indian people in Lone Hill would like the approval of whites, may seek membership in white social groups, may empathize with white authority figures, may consider themselves as a "we" group with most Americans on particular issues such as opposition to communism, have adopted and understood some aspects of white culture, are able to act in white ways as a manipulatory technique in certain situations, desire American material objects, and often compare themselves with whites. After the members of the village understood the kind of information I was seeking, individuals would come and tell me themselves if they were preparing their children for a life in the Indian or the white way. One middle-aged widow came over to our home and announced, "I don't want my kids to lose their language. They speak Hidatsa and I teach them the Indian ways." 177 861 184

The following conversation with Oliver Brown, a twenty-six year old veteran, and his wife, Marie, occurred toward the end of my field trip and clearly indicates that the Brown family are raising their children to emulate whites and to reject Indian ways. I knew the family well enough to take notes during the interview and reproduce them below, almost verbatim. The interview was one of a series in which I asked the parents of all the English-speaking families why they decided to teach English to their children when others in the village were taught and spoke Hidatsa. Oliver has just started in the cattle business and already has sixty-five head. Theirs is the only Indian home in Lone Hill with a bottle gas refrigerator, stove, deep freeze, and oil heater. They now have four children; a boy of three, another of two, and twin girls less than a year old. On this occasion, Oliver was watching the children, I was seated at the kitchen table, while Marie was washing the dinner dishes. I started the conversation by asking what language they had first learned at home. 177 861 181 124

MARIE: My mother used to tell us kids about Indian ways but we learned English first, and I never picked up Hidatsa good.

OLIVER: [directing his remarks to me] When kids are brought up to speak Hidatsa they have a hard time in school. I learned Hidatsa and Mandan first, both together, and then English in school. And I had a tough time of it at Marty [an off-reservation Catholic boarding school]. I felt out of place there. My kids will be brought up to speak English, strictly English.

MARIE: But they are Indians and it's in them and they will learn Indian.

OLIVER: [in an impatient tone to his wife] I don't care if they never learn to speak Indian. The Indian language don't get them no place or anything higher. [Oliver turned to me] I want my kids to get an education and make a good living some day. They'll have to mix among the whites and go to school among the whites outside. For their own good, not for my good, I want them to mix with whites and not be among Indians.

BRUNER: After your boys finish school, do you think they might want to come back here and work in your cattle business?

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177 OLIVER: They could if I build it up. But they would make a better living if they get an education and get out and not stay around here.

861 BRUNER: Why don't you want them to be among Indians?

181 OLIVER: As long as they make a good living it doesn't make any difference if they mix with Indians or whites.

124 MARIE: As long as they mix with the right kind of people!

OLIVER: [to his wife] Education is the whole thing. If they have an education they will mix with the right kind of people, that's understood.

BRUNER: Who are the right kind of people?

OLIVER: The people that try to get somewhere, that want to make an easier living for themselves, that build up and save. Take John and Bill Fast Leg. They're good for nothing. They don't care about anything. They just live; tomorrow is just another day for them.

[At this point we had a long discussion of particular people in Lone Hill to determine exactly who the Browns considered to be the right kind of people—those with whom they would like to see their children associate. The right kind of people were the children of the group that the Browns currently associate with—acculturated people like themselves. When the unacculturated Rainbow family was mentioned, I remarked that their daughter, Flora Rainbow, had never said one word to either my wife or myself, even though we had visited her house many times and were friendly with her parents. To this Oliver made the following comment.]

OLIVER: That's because they're too backward. They don't care to associate except with their own class. Flora won't even talk to Marie! They were brought up that way; it's in their blood, I guess. They were brought up with the Indian language and never heard an English word until they were seven years old. That's what that does!

MARIE: When you visit there you don't feel welcome. I never felt at ease with them.

OLIVER: They're just backward.

MARIE: That's why we want our kids to go out and mix. If they stayed here they would be just like them.

177 The future state envisioned by the Browns, in which they see their children as accepted members of white society, may or may not become an actuality. My data indicate that the total process of acculturation, from the mixed marriage to the time individuals drift off to seek their places in white society, takes three, four, or more generations for completion (cf. Keesing 1954:90; Hallowell 1952:106). In Oliver Brown's case, his grandfather was a white man, a Civil War deserter who married an Indian woman, and his father, Jim Brown, was a successful farmer on the reservation. Oliver's sister, who no longer lives in Lone Hill, had this to say about their father:

177 861 Jim Brown pounded into us kids about working. Saving money and all that. Jim preaches today about white man's ways like get up in the morning like the white man does, and buying things that would get us ahead. He told us to try to finish school and go to college and get jobs outside. He taught us against donating, though he did it himself. But he always said it never got him anywhere. I don't believe in that donating stuff now. I guess it was just pounded into us.

That Jim Brown " . . . taught us against donating, though he did it himself," was found to be a pattern in all of the acculturated families. The parents raised

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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their children to become like whites even though they continued to adhere to many Indian ways and values. As one informant expressed it, "Jim Brown played two parts."

It is probable that many of the unacculturated families have not remained unacculturated by choice, for in some cases they too have aspirations that they and their children may live in the white world. But the total situation in Lone Hill is such that the unacculturated families lack both sufficient understanding of white ways and realistic opportunities by which they may live successfully in middle class white society. As an illustration, selected because it is admittedly extreme, I present the case of Paul Beaver, a middle-aged unacculturated Indian who decided to move to a large city in North Dakota with his wife and eight children. He lived in a hotel where his expenses were far beyond the family's meager earnings, and they existed by borrowing money until they ran up a huge debt. The man was employed as a helper in a paint shop and one winter day he heated the paint to make it smooth. The paint exploded, burned down the shop, and caused damages estimated at $50,000. Paul Beaver was promptly fired from his job. At one time he planned to tour the country with an Indian show, but he had no agent, no conception of where to go, and no advance booking. Another time he had the idea of setting up a wood carving store in a large city. He carves only one item, small Indian heads, which he has never sold, nor did he know if there was a market in the city for Indian heads. Although Paul Beaver has made three or four attempts within the last thirty years to leave Lone Hill, he readily adjusts to life in the village when he returns. Those unacculturated families who live in Lone Hill as a second choice can do so effectively and with ease, without the inner conflict and vacillating identifications of the marginal families. Paul Beaver is an announcer at the Indian dances, an officer in one of the village societies, and he receives recognition and satisfaction in traditional Indian ways. He speaks lightly of his off-reservation experiences, and with considerable humor.

CONCLUSION

The interplay of two factors, the presence or absence of a white model through intermarriage and the conscious preparation of children by their parents for an adult life in the Indian or white world, has led to a preliminary definition of the basis of group differences in Mandan-Hidatsa acculturation.

1. Thirty-one unacculturated families attend the Indian dances, have not had a white model, and train their children to live among the people of Lone Hill village. Although their culture is mixed and continually changing, the unacculturated families have relatively clear-cut identifications with and adjustment to contemporary reservation culture.

2. Seven acculturated families do not attend the dances, have had a white model, and prepare their children for a life among whites outside the village. Members of the acculturated families have not been passive agents adjusting to forces impinging upon them. Individuals within the acculturated group are active and creative agents in the acculturation process, who change them-

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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177 selves, their children, and their culture. The presence of the American generational kinship system and other cultural changes in Lone Hill (Bruner 1955) were the result of conscious efforts by individuals to bring about these changes through their children.

3. The remaining ten families have had a white model; three follow the unacculturated life pattern, and seven marginal families periodically shift their residence from Indian to white society. The marginal families are bicultural; they have a dual model of the universe situationally defined.

Given the total situation as it exists in Lone Hill, early experience in the nuclear family is decisive in the acculturative process. We may even hazard the guess that unless there is a major change in the total milieu, acculturation in Lone Hill will continue to be dependent upon social learning in small family groups.

NOTES

000 [1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 53rd meeting of the American Anthropological Association held in Detroit, December, 1954. The Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago and a Social Science Research Council pre-doctoral fellowship provided financial support for field work. Elaine-Carol Bruner, Donald T. Campbell, Dorothy Eggan, Fred Eggan, Omar K. Moore, George P. Murdock, Robert Redfield, Sol Tax, Sherry Washburn, and especially two fellow fieldworkers, Robert Merrill and Robert Reitz, have generously offered suggestions at various stages of this work. Their cumulative aid has indeed been considerable.

101 [2] Lone Hill is the Indian name for the community. Names of all informants mentioned in this paper are pseudonyms.

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[Title Page]

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LIFE AMONG THE MANDANS AND GROS VENTRES EIGHTY YEARS AGO.

AS DESCRIBED BY A PARTNER OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY.

101 175 The Mandans were unknown to white men, until they were visited by the Sons of Sieur Veranderie, who reached the Missouri, by way of the Mouse river, and, in January, 1743, discovered the Rocky mountains. The Jesuit Coquard, who had accompanied the Veranderies in some of their expeditions, writes that they first met the Mantanes, and next the Brochets. After these, were the Gros Ventres, the Crows, the Flat Heads, the Black Feet and Dog Feet, who were established on the Missouri, even up to the Falls, and about thirty leagues beyond they found a narrow pass in the mountains.

114 After the organization of the North-west Company of Montreal, English traders came from the Assinaboine river, to trade with the tribes of the Missouri. The compiler of this article has in his possession a copy of the unpublished journal of Alexander Henry, a partner of the North-west Company, which contains the following account of what he knows of the condition, position and customs of the Mandans at the beginning of the present century, and extracts from which are worthy of preservation for the use of the antiquarian and ethnologist.

On the 7th of July, 1806, Henry left the post of the North-west Company at the junction of the Pembina with the Red River of the North, and on the 12th he arrived at the establishments of Riviere la Souris (Mouse river), on the south side of the Assinaboine river. A Hudson Bay Company post was on the north side, where a North-west Company post was once situated. He found the Hudson Bay Company's people very busy in making hair lines which are used to fetter horses. He writes: "The hair which they commonly make use of, is that which the buffalo has between the horns, which is sometimes upward of a foot long. They also make use of the horse hair for that purpose, which is much stronger."

The post near the Mouse River of the North West Company was in charge of F. A. LaRocque. On Monday the 14th of July the expedition left for the Missouri, consisting of Henry, Allan McDonald, T. Viandria, Joseph Du Charme, and Hugh McCracken, * the guide an old Irishman who had once been a soldier in the British artillery. McCracken was the per-

* Lewis and Clarke found McCracken in 1804 at the Mandan Village where they wintered. In an account of their expedition published in *Harper's Family Library*, vol. 1, page 125, under date of November 1, 1804, is the following: "Mr. McCracken the trader whom we found here set out to-day on his return to the British fort and factory on the Assiniboin River, about one hundred and fifty miles from this place."

son who Lewis and Clarke found in October, 1804, trading among the Indians. On the 19th Henry and party came in sight of the Missouri. He writes in his Journal: "Descending the high banks we came to the river Bourbeuse [Bourbeux, Moiy.] We had much difficulty in crossing; on both sides nothing but soft clay, into which our horses sunk almost up to their ears. Having got through we washed and cleaned them, and ourselves in the Missouri * * * At 2 o'clock we saddled and proceeded on passing near to the water side. At the foot of the Lodge de Serpent is a bank upon the north side of the Missouri, about three hundred feet high; the side fronting the river is very steep and barren composed of gravel intermixed with a quantity of flat decayed stones of bluish and iron color with some streaks." 114

A short distance from the foot of the hill was a Gros Ventres winter village, and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon they arrived opposite the mouth of the Knife River, on the bank of which a mile from the Missouri, was also a village of Gros Ventres.[2] Riding down on the north bank of the Missouri, a distance of five miles, to a Mandan village, "we passed," writes Henry, "through one of their old villages that was abandoned a few years ago; they have now built about a mile lower down the river. Near this deserted village we saw great numbers of the dead exposed upon stages about eight feet from the ground. The envelopes or coverings are generally of dressed leathe- and parchments, many of which were still good, whilr others were decayed, and nothing but the bones appeared. e * * We now met a Mandan who was well armed, he ac* companied a party of women that were hoeing corn, and he served as their guard. On perceiving us, he instantly came up and shook hands with us and expressed himself by signs that we should put up at his village. We saw numbers of women and children at work in the corn field. 000 574 576

Just before we entered the village we were met by the chief of the place, Chat Noir * [Black Cat] and a number of the natives. Every one of them were shaking hands with us, and bid us welcome. The chief then conducted us to one of his huts, appropriated for the reception of the strangers. He has another, in which the principal friends of his family resides. He keeps one of his wives, in the one we were in, to attend upon his guests, cook, bring water, etc., and to serve as a bed fellow if required. [837]

In a moment, the whole village flocked around us, and all were curious to see what articles we had brought to trade, and they were neither troublesome, nor impertinent. Having unsaddled our horses, and taken our baggage into the hut, the 574 609

* Lewis and Clarke made Poscopseah or Black Cat, the first chief of the village, and the grand chief of the whole Mandan nation.

1 [See category 116, p. 322, for section, missing here, which is in original account. Analyst]

2 [See category 116, p. 323, for missing section. — Analyst]

574 chief gave our horses in charge of a young man, and told us
609 we need not be uneasy as there would be good care taken of them.

574 On going into the hut, we found buffalo hides spread on the
262 ground, before the fire, for us to sit upon, and soon after we were presented with two large dishes of boiled corn and beans, after which they gave us another large dish of boiled dried meat, but very few of us could eat of it, as it had too strong a taste and smell.[1]

231 After some other details which we omit, Harvey writes that
342 when night came: "One young man brought in our horses, and put them in the same hut along with us, upon the right hand, on entering, and ourselves upon the left; a space was enclosed with a railing to keep them within bounds. This custom causes their habitations to have a very disagreeable and offensive smell. This precaution of theirs is to keep the horses from being stolen by the Assiniboines, or other enemies, who are frequently lurking about the village.

515 "Towards evening, having gone down to the river side, I
291 observed the custom of washing themselves in the Missouri. Both men and women make it a rule, every morning and evening, to go down to the river, and wash for some time; the men make use of the clay to wash their hair, which answers the purpose of soap to take out the white and red earth with which they daub it, after having washed. Modesty in the female sex appears to be a virtue they are unacquainted with. They wear a kind of leather shift which reaches down to the calves of their legs. This they slip off some distance from the shore, and walk very deliberately into the water entirely naked, in the presence of old and young who seem not to pay any attention to them. * * * * The men make use of no other covering, in the summer season, than these buffalo robes, and even these are seldom worn within doors, and only thrown on when they go out to visit or walk about the village.
[352] Both sexes sleep naked. Their beds are raised about two feet from the ground, and hung around with dressed skins. In summer they seldom use any coverings at night, but lay like so many brutes."[2] * * * * Mr. Henry gives a description of their lascivious dances which is too indelicate to publish. He writes under date of:

252 "Sunday, July 20th. At daybreak we were all up, and I
262 took a walk down to the river, where I observed the same cer-
352 emony of washing as last evening, with as little reserve as
512 before. Our host on our return presented us with some dried
412 meat, and soon after a dish of corn and beans, but as it is not seasoned with any kind of grease or fat, after the first meal it has a very insipid taste. The corn is generally pounded or bruised in a wooden mortar, which is fixed fast and firm in the ground, in one corner of the hut, and this is the first work performed by the women in the morning.

[1] [Category 116, p. 325.-A] [2] [Category 116, p. 326.-A]

10: Neill H4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

formed by the women in the morning.[2] Their sweet corn and beans are boiled whole; they make use of large earthen pots of their own manufacture, made of black clay, of which they have plenty near their villages. They make them of different sizes, from five gallons to a quart. In these vessels is never anything of a greasy nature.[1] * * * * * The bottoms of the pots are of an oblong shape; it therefore requires much care to keep them from upsetting, for which purpose when they are put to the fire a hole is made in the ashes to secure and prop them erect, and when taken away they are placed upon a sort of mat made of the fibers of the bois blanc; these coils or rugs are made of different sizes, according to the dimensions of the several pots, which keeps them firm and secure. Some of these pots are provided with two cones, or handles.[1] * *

000 252 415 323

Baptiste La France made his appearance here. This man had left the Prairie la Souris [Mouse River] with a small assortment of goods for the purpose of trading, equipped by the Hudson Bay Company. He now resides upon the south side of the river, at the great Mandane village,* and hearing of the arrival of white people, he came over to us. He now informed the chief, Black Cat, who his guests were and the cause of our visit, which was mere curiosity. [The chief] instantly retired to his family hut and brought out his flag, which was given him in 1804–5; they alsogave him a silver medal, and the same articles were also given to the principal chief of each of the other villages, also several very useful utensils were left amongst them.† I saw the remains of an excellent large corn mill, which the foolish fellows had demolished on purpose to barb their arrows; the largest piece of it which they could not break nor work up into any weapon they have now fixed to a wooden handle, and make use of it to pound marrow bones, to make grease."

177 [411 412]

We were now desirous of crossing the river, therefore sent off La France to engage people of the opposite village to come over for us.[2] * * * * * * We were now informed that eight canoes were in waiting for us, from the opposite side, and the same number of young men had come over to assist in crossing our horses.[2] * * * * On our going over to the war side we found the chief of the Great Mandan village, Le Gros Blanc. He was waiting with his own canoe to ferry over Mr. Chaboillez and me. He appeared very

609 622

† To each chief, Lewis and Clarke presented a medal, a flag, and a uniform coat. In the narrative of the expedition is the following sentence: "A variety of other presents were distributed, but none seemed to give them more satisfaction than the iron corn mill, which we gave to the Mandans."

† The Mandans, about 1760, were settled on the banks of the Missouri, eighty miles below, seven villages on the west and two on the east side of the river. The two villages were reduced by small-pox, and moved up the river and settled a village near the Receivers, and afterwards the people of the other village joined them. In 1796 they were in two villages at the points where Henry found them, on opposite sides of Missouri, about three miles apart.

[175]

1 [Category 116, p. 328.-A.] 2 [Category 116, p. 328.-A]

609 attentive and polite in conveying our baggage on board. We
622 now perceived another American flag flying in the village on the south side of the river, while that of the Black Cat was still displayed over the hut we had occupied. Our conductor now informed us the flag we saw in the opposite village was his property, and had been hoisted by his orders over his own hut, where he begged we would take up our lodgings. The young men, I
[481] observed were very prompt in getting our horses over. They
492] fastened a line to the horse's mouth, the end of which one of them takes in his teeth, and swims on ahead, while others swim along on each side, and in the rear, draws the horse on very expeditiously. They swim remarkably swift, and notwithstanding
[481] the Missouri at this place is half a mile wide, and the current very strong, they drift down but a very considerable distance before they land.

501 Their canoes are of very singular construction and a stranger would scarcely dare venture his life in them to cross such a deep and rapid stream. They are of a circular form; the timbers are nothing but a few bent willows of about three inches in circumference, over which is stretched a raw buffalo hide, with the hair inside, and sewed first to the gunwales which are generally of a willow, about two inches in diameter. I was really surprised to see the great weight that one of those slender vessels would carry. We embarked, baggage, saddles, etc., weighing at least 200 pounds, Mr. Chaboillez and myself, and our ferryman, who was a remarkably stout fellow. Our canoe or dish would have supported at least 100 pounds more. What they make use of, in lieu of a paddle, is a pole about five feet long, split at one end so as to admit of a piece of board, about two feet long, and half a foot broad, which is lashed to the pole and forms a kind of cross, and as there is but one made use of for each canoe, and he that paddles pulls directly for the opposite shore, every stroke he gives turns his dish almost entirely around; when, to preserve his position and place him fronting his intended, route he must give a stroke upon the other hand which brings him up again, and so on until he gets over the river, which, however, is not accomplished until they have drifted down nearly a mile.

501 Some of them, I observed, were more expert than others in
482 managing their dishes, and did not drift more than a quarter of a mile. But as these vessels are very light they have the precaution to carry them upon their heads, or slung upon their backs to a considerable distance higher up the river, than where they wish to land. When we were on the water our conductor repeatedly made signs to us to salute the flag, by firing our guns, but we did not think proper to comply with his wishes or pretended we did not comprehend him.

622 We soon after landed at the village, which is situated upon
574 the very edge of the bank. Here we were received by another
609

10: Neill #4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

chief called Le Grand* who insisted upon our taking lodgings in his hut, which stood near the edge of the banks. We accordingly entered it, but soon after we were visited by several other principal men, who requested some of us to take up our abode in their huts during our stay among them. La France advised us to do so, telling us we would be more at our ease by separating than if we remained all in the same hut. Accordingly Mr. Chaboillez and his people, consisting of an Indian who was his brother-in-law, and Mr. Allen McDonnell, took up their lodgings with Hairy Horn, and our guide, Hugh McReacan, (Cracken) Straight Horn, myself and my people, T. Viandrie and Joseph Du Charme, remained with Le Grand, a very civil fellow. This arrangement having been settled and instantly put into execution, we were provided with beds, or buffalo hides to sit upon. * * * * * * We paid a visit to Le Gros Blanc, who thought we had somewhat slighted him in not taking up our residence in his hut, but kept the flag flying in honor of our arrival until sunset. We made amends as far as our circumstances would permit, and presented him with some tobacco, ammunition, etc., as a remuneration for his trouble in assisting us over. He was perfectly satisfied, and appeared highly pleased with the presents.

622 574 609 [431]

We found in this village a Canadian by the name of Jussaume,† who accompanied Captains Lewis and Clarke to Washington on their return from their voyage of discoveries to the Pacific Ocean as interpreter to the Mandan chief, Le Gros Blanc. This man has been a resident among the Indians for upwards of fifteen years. He speaks their language tolerably well, has a wife and family who live and dress in the same manner as the natives. As for himself, he still retains the outward appearance of a Christian, and his principles as far as I could observe, are much worse than those of a Mandane. He is possessed of every superstition natural to these people, nor is he different in performing every mean, dirty trick which they have acquired from their intercourse with a set of worthless scoundrels accustomed to visit these parts, some for the purpose of trade, and others, to save themselves from justice and the laws of their country, that would not fail to punish them for their numerous offenses."

000

EDWARD D. NEILL.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

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*Le Gros Blanc, or Big White, called by the Indians Shahaka was the first chief of this village and was recognized by Lewis and Clark and presented with a medal. Ohheenaw, Le Grant, or Big Man was much esteemed in the tribe. He was a Cheyenne taken prisoner, and then adopted by the Mandans. [597]

† In the narrative of Lewis and Clarke his name is spelled Jesseaume, and on the 27th of October, 1805, was engaged as interpreter, and with the expedition went to the Pacific Ocean, accompanied by his Indian wife and babe. On the 16th of August, 1806, soon after Henry's departure, Lewis and Clarke returned to the Mandan village, and Le Gros Black, Big White, with his wife and son and Jessaume, the next day accompanied the military expedition to St. Louis, and from thence they went to Washington and were presented to President Jefferson.

[Catagory 116, p. 332.-A.]

LIFE AMONG THE MANDANS EIGHTY YEARS AGO.

[Continued from page 253.]

FORMER RELATIONS OF PAWNEES[1] AND MANDANS.

175
648

Not many years ago the Pawnees and Mandans were allied to each other, and lived together in the same villages, which were situated on the banks of the river Missouri, about thirty leagues below. A misunderstanding happening to occur amongst them they separated, the Pawnees retired down the river and built their village where it stands at present (A. D. 1806), and the Mandans proceeded with an intention of settling themselves somewhere about the confluence of the Little Missouri river, or on the upper part of Reviere La Souris (Moose river). But on their arrival at this place the Big Bellies barred the road, and put a stop to their progress to the westward, telling them that they would not permit them, or any one, to build higher up the river, and desiring the Mandans to build where they are at present. The latter, it seems were not much inclined to comply, but dreading the displeasure of the others who were more numerous, comprised, then, of a village of nine hundred huts, necessity obliged them to accept the terms. Since that period the Pawnees and Mandans have frequently been at war, and as often made peace again. They are a stationary people as the Mandans, and cultivate the ground in the same manner;

1 [Henry[2] probably mistakes Pawnee for Arikara-Analyst]

[pp. 254 to 377 have no information on the Mandan]

[p. 377]

10: Neill 114(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

175 648 they are represented as a treacherous, deceitful people, always taking advantage of their neighbors, and favoring the Sioux when they come to war this way, and frequently intermix with them to annoy the Mandans and Big Bellies.

SIGN LANGUAGE.

201 This language is entirely different from the natives of this place, and it is only by signs that they usually communicate with each other, excepting a few among them who understand each other's language. It serves as interpreter upon any affair of importance. It is surprising how dexterous all these natives of the plains are, in the art of communicating their ideas by signs. They will hold conference, for several hours together, upon different subjects, and during the whole time not a single word will be pronounced upon either side, and still they appear to comprehend each other perfectly well. This mode of communication appears to be quite natural to them, other difficult events are performed with the greatest ease and readiness. They never seem to be at loss, or in want of a sign to express their meaning.

COURTESY TO STRANGERS.

648 721 728 Soon after our arrival, there was a great uproar occasioned by the unexpected visit of six Pawnees, from their own village, sixty leagues below this, on the banks of the same (Missouri) river. They were sent upon an embassy to treat for peace. It appears that last spring, some of these people had accompanied a war party of Sioux who came here and killed five Mandans. The latter nation, in company with the Big Bellies (Gros Ventres,) soon after returned the visit, and not finding the Sioux, on their return killed two Pawnees, but this did not satisfy them. They had informed the Pawnees that they might expect a more formal visit the ensuing fall; that both the Mandans and Big Bellies were determined to exterminate every Pawnee they could find, and lay their villages even with the ground.

To avoid this storm, the latter thought prudent to sue for [202] peace. A messenger was instantly dispatched to the upper villages to give information of their arrival. In the meantime the strangers were very hospitably entertained, conducted into a hut, and presented with corn and beans, dried meats, etc. All were now silent for some time, awaiting the determination of the Big Bellies.

ARRIVAL OF GROS VENTRES.

The Big Bellies[1], in a short time, arrived on horse-back; about thirty men came down full speed; they brought down an inter-

1 [Category 116, p. 335.—A.]

10: Neill 44(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

preter with them. They did not appear well pleased, and looked on the Pawnees with an eye of disdain. After some conversation they desired the Pawnees to return immediately to their own villages, and to inform their great war chief, Red Tail, that if he sincerely wished for peace, he must come up and then they would settle matters, as they were determined to have nothing to do with young men. They allowed two moons to consider upon the business, and perform the journey. If, at the end of that time, the Chief did not make his appearance, they would immediately gather up their corn, and in a body, go and find him out, in his own village, and convince him what Big Bellies (or as they call themselves Willow Indians), and Mandans could do when exasperated by the treacherous conduct of the Pawnees. 648 728 721

The six embassies promised to depart early next morning to inform their Chief, who they answer no doubt, would very soon wait upon them. Thus ended an affair, which at the commencement we supposed would conclude with the death of the strangers, by the great bustle and noise their arrival occasioned.

But I was afterwards informed that of such proceedings there was not the least danger; that the natives of this place make it a particular point of honor to protect every stranger who throws himself upon them and begs their clemency. Even their natural and most inveterate enimies, the Sioux, have been known to come into their villages unexpectedly, and were always received with hospitality, and well entertained during thei stay which by the way, they never permit to be more than one night when they are dismissed, and allowed to return to their own homes unmolested. 609 648 728 721

A HUNTING PARTY.

Towards the evening there was a whooping and howling among the young men who were standing upon their huts. This, it seems, was to announce the appearance of a hunting *party of the Mandans, who were just at that moment appear*ing upon the tops of the high bank to the south, and descending by a well-beaten road towards the village. The party consisted of about one hundred men on horseback, and each loaded with half a buffalo; some of them had even more, according to the strength of their horses, and the master will always ride, be his beast ever so loaded. They had been away since yesterday and found buffalo in great abundance near at hand. These people never go out hunting unless in large parties. The continual danger from their enemies obliges them to be very cautious; another reason is, that when the buffalo comes near at hand, they are anxious to prevent them from being driven away. For this purpose, it is customary for them all, in a body, to surround one herd only, which sometimes consists of several hundreds. 224 [492]

224 Not one do they allow to escape, large and small, fat and lean, all must fall to prevent their alarming other herds.

The manner of hunting the buffalo answers another good purpose, which is that the bad and dull horses have an equal share with the best racers.

DIVISION OF THE BUFFALO HUNT.

[441] They never make use of fire arms in hunting the buffalo. The bow and arrow is the only weapon. When a hunting excursion is in agitation among the Mandans, they inform their neighbors on the north shore, and the Saulteurs (Fall Indians.) The Big Bellies have their own parties and seldom interfere with the others. They never go in the same direction, the one goes to the northeast, and the others to the southwest. The [131] Knife River, indeed, seems to be the boundary line. The day is fixed for their departure, when early in the morning as many as are inclined to be of the party assemble upon the rising grounds in the rear of the village, about one and a half miles to the south. When all are ready they proceed in one body to find out the buffalo, and seldom or never return light. I observed that on their arrival, an extraordinary custom prevailed among them — the horses are instantly unloaded and the meat taken into the huts, where it is spread out upon the ground and exposed for some time before the master or mistress of the hut makes use of it. Soon after it is arrived, the women whose 431 husbands or sons have been hunting, enter the huts of those 224 who have meat, when the mistress instantly gives them a share, and they walk away with it, so that it often happens that there remains not a mouthful for her own family. When this is the case, she, in her turn, goes to the huts of some of her friends who have been hunting and comes away with a load. I observed that in several huts of those who had not been hunting, there was more meat than in those who had been out. It is also customary for the old men and the old women, who have no sons, nor particular friends, to march out on the first news of the hunters' approach, to the distance of a mile or more, where they sit by the road, and almost every hunter in passing drops them a piece of meat. By these means every individual has a share of what has been killed.

VILLAGES LIKE MOLE HILLS.

361 These villages at a distance have the appearance of a cluster of mole hills, or musk rat cabins. They are nearly of a circular form. The huts are placed in a very irregular manner, and some so very close to each other, as scarcely to admit of a foot-passenger; others again, at a distance of twenty to thirty feet from each other.

1/4 [Henry says southwest.-A.]

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OPEN SPACE IN VILLAGE.

But I observe, always, that nearly about the centre of each village is a large open space of about four acres in circumference, round which the huts are built very regularly, and at equal distances from each other, the doors fronting the open space. This circle might consist of thirty huts, and I make no manner of doubt were the first that were erected on the spot. 361

VILLAGE EXPANSION.

Others of their friends joined them afterwards, for various causes and built in the rear and erected their huts as they found it convenient, and as this continues to be the case, there are huts continually demolishing in one village, and others building in another. This often proceeds from misunderstandings they have had with either of the chiefs of the village, or their own neighbors, when finding their situation unpleasant and probably subject to frequent quarrels, they shift their quarters, but always take up their own residence among their own tribe. 361 621 578

The Mandans and Saulteurs are a stationary people, and never abandon their villages further than to go out hunting or on a war party. They are much more given to agriculture than the Big Bellies, and raise an immense quantity of corn, beans, squashes, tobacco, and some flowers. 361 241

A MANDAN HUT.

A Mandan hut is large and spacious, of a circular form. I measured the one I lodged in, and found it ninety feet from the door to the opposite side, forming a circumference on the inside of many paces. The whole space is dug out about one and a half feet below the surface of the earth. In the center is the fire place, which is a square space of about five feet, dug out two feet below the surface. The lower part of the hut is constructed by erecting strong posts about six feet out of the ground, at equal distances, upon these are laid logs of the same size, and reach from post to post, and form the circle. On the outer side are erected pieces of split wood of seven feet in length, in a slanting manner, the one end resting on the ground, the other leaning against the crown log or beam. Upon this beam again, are placed rafters about the size of a man's leg, and from twelve to fifteen feet long, in a slanting position, sufficient to drain off the rain; they are laid so close as to touch. The upper end is supported upon very stout pieces of square timber, which last are also supported by four very thick posts, about five feet circumference, and fifteen feet out of the ground, and fifteen feet asunder, forming nearly a square. Over these pieces of square timber, others again of equal size are laid crossing them at right 342 [354]

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342 angles, leaving open only a square space of about four feet on
[354] each side. This serves for chimney and windows, as they have no other opening to admit of light; and when it rains, even this is covered over with a canoe to prevent the rain from impairing their earthen pots. The whole of the roof is then well thatched with willows, to the thickness of six inches or more. Over the whole is laid about one foot of earth, and round the base to the height of three or four feet, and the thickness of three feet, which answers for security in case of an attack by the enemy, and keeps out the cold. The door is five feet broad and six high, provided with a covered way or porch on the outside, of the same height as the door, about seven feet broad and ten feet in length.

342 The doors are made of raw buffalo hide stretched upon a
352 frame and suspended by cords from the beam, which forms the circle. Every night the door is barricaded with a long piece of timber supported by two stout posts down in the ground, inside of the hut, one on each side of the door. As you enter the hut after passing through the porch and door, the first thing that strikes the view is a kind of triangular apartment on the left hand side of the door, and fronting the fire. This is for the purpose of fire-wood in the winter. This partition is constructed of square planks, about twelve feet high, and caulked to keep off the air from the door. Between the partition and the fire, there is commonly a distance of about five feet, which the master of the hut occupies during the day time, seated on a mat, constructed of small willows.[1] * * * These mats are about ten feet long and four broad.[1] The two ends for about two and a half feet are raised from the ground in a slanting position and each supported by a kind of sofa; over the mat is spread buffalo skins.

352 Some of these couches are raised about a foot above the
571 ground. Seated upon this a Mandan sits all day long and receives his friends, smokes and chats the time away, with the greatest dignity. He sometimes passes the night there also, when not inclined to lay with his wives.

INSIDE ARRANGEMENT OF HUTS.

352 On the left side of the host begins their range of beds. The
513 master and his favorite wife always occupy the first, and his other wives each a separate one in succession, next to those of the young people. All are constructed in the same manner, and joining to each other lengthways.

MEDICINE STAGE,

353 At the bottom of the hut fronting the Masters' seat, stands his medicine stage, and indeed it may be called his whole riches

[1] [See Category 116, p. 331-10. A.]

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and treasures, as it contains every thing he values most, viz: 353
two bulls' heads, which seem to be their great Manitou and protection. They are well daubed over with earth, and particular care is taken of them. There is laid on, or rather hung up, his arms, shield, ammunition, scalps of his enemies, and every thing he most values.

MORTAR AND PESTLE.

Next to this stage, stand the mortar and pestle, fixed firm in 342
the ground, and the remainder of the hut from that to the door 412
is vacant during the daytime, but occupied during the night by 231
the horses. Then there still remains a large space in the center, around the fire, for the use of the family, which is generally swept clean once a day. 1/1

CORN STAGE.

Fronting the entrance of each porch stands a stage raised 343
about eight feet from the ground, twenty feet in length, and ten 251
feet in breadth, for the purpose of hanging up their corn to dry, in the fall; these stages have a tolerable good flooring, which in the fall is covered with beans to dry, and posts are erected upon them, on the tops of which are laid poles or rafters, to which the corn and sliced squashes are suspended in tresses to
dry. When their harvest is over, they must have a pretty 313
effect, but at this season of the year they are lumbered up with 372
different kinds of drift-wood, of which they make their fires, and it gives a very ugly appearance to the villages.

DRIFT WOOD.

This wood they collect, in the spring, when the ice breaks up, and when great quantities of this wood floats down, the natives being expert swimmers, and so very active, that there is scarcely a large tree escapes them, until they have a sufficient stock for the year. I observed lying opposite to each village, an immense pile of this wood, and some trees of an amazing size.
Commonly, when they collect the drift wood there come down [222]
numbers of drowned buffalo, that have perished in attempting
to cross above, at a season when the ice was bad. These ani- [268
mals the natives are very careful to haul on shore, as they prefer the flesh in that state.

LIGHT HAIRED CHILDREN.

An extraordinory sight that struck me among these people, 142
was to see several children, of about ten years of age, whose hair was perfectly gray, and bore a strong resemblance to aged persons. Those I saw were all girls. These people in general have not that strong coarse hair, so peculiar to the natives of North America; it is of a much finer nature, rather inclining to
1/1 [See Category 116, p. 310.-M.]

142 a dark brown, some few indeed I observed whose hair was almost fair. A Big Belly, in particular, I saw with yellow hair. This circumstance, I believe, could scarcely proceed from any connection with the whites, as it is now more than thirty years since they first saw us, and this man was at least forty years old. Their eyes are jet black, some few are of a dark grey.

LONG HAIR.

302 The men wear their hair long, twisted into small quaittes hanging down to the rump. Some have it of enormous length, trailing upon the ground. They seldom tie it, but allow their numerous small quaittes to flow in a more graceful manner upon their backs; they always daub it with white and red earth. The women wear their hair short, allowing it to grow no longer than to be of sufficient length to cover the ears and neck. They never tie it, nor make use of any ornament for the head further than sometimes daubing it with red earth.

LASCIVIOUSNESS.

837 609 578 They seem to be a very lascivious people. The men make not the least scruple in offering their wives to lay with strangers, without any solicitation, and are even offended, if their offers are not accepted, unless you can convince them, by some good reason, for refusing to comply, and that it is not out of contempt. They always expect payment for their complaisance, but a mere trifle will satisfy, even a single coat-button. Notwithstanding this courteous behavior to strangers, they are not entirely free from jealousies among themselves, which sometimes cause quarrels and bloodshed. The woman generally falls a sacrifice in an affair of this nature.[1]

MODE OF ROASTING MEAT.

252 They have a very peculiar way of roasting meat; a plecotte, in particular, is suspended from the roof of the hut exactly over the fire, the cord being passed through and fastened to the centre of the piece keeps it in a flat position directly over the flames. A person is seated near it, and with a small stick keeps it continually in motion by pushing it to and fro. When one side is done, it is turned over, and fit for use. This method is much more expeditious than the common way of roasting before the fire, and preferable, as it retains the natural juice and flavor.[2]

EDWARD D. NEILL.

1 [See category 116, p. 342-3. -A.]

2 [For further information in Henry's Journal not mentioned by Neill, see category 116, pp. 343 ff. -Analyst.]

Sections from Henry's Journal Not Printed in Neill's Version (page numbers refer to those in the Coues edition of Henry's Journal (1897):

224 [322] We had now a well-beaten path, but were several times in danger of breaking our necks in deep pits which the natives had dug in the path to catch wolves and foxes in winter. Some of them are 10 feet deep, hollowed out to a space about 30 feet in circumference, whilst the entrance is no wider than the foot-path and about five feet in length. Those holes are covered with dry grass at the season when wolves are good, and every morning are found to contain some of those animals. In summer the grass grows strong and high about the mouths, entirely concealing them, until one arrives upon the very brink and is in danger of tumbling in headlong.

491 [323] Before we reached the (Mandan) village, we passed through
241 a wood about two miles long. The road was bad, deep with mud and mire, the river having overflowed there lately. Having got through this wood, we came to several plantations of corn, beans, squashes, and sunflowers—the latter, indeed, grow in every direction, without cultivation, at some distance from the fields, where the seed has been carried by the wind; but such are never gathered by the natives, as they are not so good as those that have been properly sown and taken care of.

262 [325] This was just to their own palate, as they seldom eat
574 meat until it begins to smell. We were invited into several huts successively and presented with dried meat in a state of corruption, corn and beans, together with parched corn and fresh ears pounded up in a wooden mortar; this last dish we found good.

439 They soon asked us to trade, and brought buffalo robes, corn,
177 beans, dried squashes, etc.; but we informed them that we did not come here for that purpose, merely to visit them and see the country. They could not comprehend why we should have come so far out of mere curiosity, and said that all white people who came there did so with a view to trade. They suspected that we had goods which we wished to take over the river to the other villages, and were anxious to prevent it. They plagued us until dark, when they retired disappointed.

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834 [326] Some few are modest enough to conceal with one hand
515 what should not be exposed to public view, but even this is done so carelessly as seldom to answer the purpose—a flea or a louse, of which they have a good store, will make them raise the hand to the parts attacked, leaving their nudities exposed. The river being very shallow for some distance from shore, they make no scruple of standing only knee deep, and thus wash themselves before going further to swim; and in coming out they pass close by you as unconcernedly as if they had on a petticoat or shift. They sometimes bundle up their leather garment under the arm or in one hand and walk deliberately into the village to their own huts, where they sit by the fire for some time with their families, they go to bed entirely naked.

834 .....This evening we were plagued for some time by young women, who came in and wanted to lie with us; but as we did not care to accept their kind offers, they retired very much displeased, and muttering something we could not understand.

786 About midnight we were awakened by some extraordinary
832 noise in the village. On going to the outer porch door I saw about 25 persons of both sexes, entirely naked, going about the village singing and dancing. At times they withdrew in couples, but soon rejoined their companions in [327] the dance and song. During this short separation from the rest they appeared to be very closely engaged, and notwithstanding the night was dark I could perceive them occupied in enjoying each other with as little ceremony as if it had been only the common calls of nature. This affair continued about two hours, during which they made the tour of the village several times. What was the meaning of this ceremony I could not learn; but certainly there could be no performance more lascivious than the one I witnessed. The young men kept watch
625] during the night, sitting on the tops of the huts or walking round the village, singing amorous songs to their particular favorites. This is done, I am told, to prevent a surprise in case an enemy may be at
832 hand. Love is not made by entering the tent at night and lying
834 down near the woman, as it is among other nations I have seen. The custom here is to barricade the doors of the huts during the night and not admit the young men. The latter therefore employ the night in addressing love songs to their mistresses, who either come out of the huts immediately, or wait until daybreak, when they

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832 repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men,
834 who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young
men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on
461 the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to
526 hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times
they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback,
and performing warlike manoeuvres; they have also a favorite
game which occupies much of their time.

512 [328]...this is the first work performed by the women in the
515 morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed
themselves in the Missourie. ...every family being provided
415 with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh.
177 Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to
771 say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those
574 earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest
kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come
in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the
contents.

231 .....Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed
437 in the meadow but never allowed them to be for a moment out of
648 his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them.
We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles,
for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco.

439 [329] It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail
upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger
has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first
village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many
439 European articles as they can, [330] particularly arms and ammuni-
609 tion. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each
other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have
578 often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death
669 of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also
to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great
distance. The Pawnees, also, with whom the Mandanes formerly
lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies.
Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and every-
one has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

675 We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the
673 landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut
[577] in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect
security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

675 it is gone in an instant, and search would be in vain; everyone
673 would wish to appear innocent, although they are not offended when
accused of stealing, but laugh the matter away. .....We paid
437 our landlord for board and lodging, as well as the care of our horses,
177 and of the articles left under his charge, as we never expect the
least favor from any of these fellows without recompensing them
accordingly. He appeared very well pleased with the following
articles, which we gave him: 60 rounds of ammunition, 4 large
knives, 2 awls, 1 fathom of tobacco, 1 steel, 5 flints, 1 dozen
hawk-bills, 2 worms (wormers for guns), and 1 dozen brass rings....

609 [332] My host was so obliging as to give up to me one of his
574 own best beds, well surrounded with dressed leather. We had a
plentiful supply of corn and beans, and were soon invited to several
huts, where we [333] were treated with a very palatable dish of
[431] pounded peas and parched corn; but it is customary for invited
guests, on leaving, to present the master of the hut with a few
inches of tobacco, for which he always appears very thankful.

728 [335] About 30 Big Bellies soon arrived on horseback, at full
speed; they brought an interpreter with them. This party consisted
of some of the principal war chiefs, and other great men, who did
not appear well pleased, but looked on the Pawnees with disdain.

285 [339] ...seated on a mat made of small willows of equal size,
fastened together [340] by threads of their own manufacture,
passed through each stick about a foot apart.

342 [340] Seldom more than one family occupies the same hut.

437 [342] We paid the young men for taking our horses across the
177 river, and the women for assisting us with the canoes. The total
cost was: 1 fathom of tobacco, 4 knives, 6 flints, 6 awls, 6 worms
[gun wormers—analyst], and 10 balls. I also paid my landlord
for the time we might remain here, which I supposed would be
about ten days for three persons, including board and lodging,
stabling for our horses, and care of our property. They make no
price, leaving that to the generosity of guests, and should the pay-
ment be too little they still appear to accept with gratitude; but
the visitor is afterward left to take care of his own property and
horses in the best manner he can. It is impossible to get the most
trifling service from the natives without immediate payment; not
even an inch of cord will they part with without receiving some-
thing in return. It is true a trifle will please them, and they are

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437 willing and ready to serve you as long as you have any property.
177 But when all is expended you may shift for yourself, as they will pretend they do not understand you any longer. Besides paying our host [343] beforehand, I promised him a tobacco-pipe on my departure, if I were then pleased with his conduct during our stay. His pay consisted of the following articles: 60 balls and powder, 4 large knives, 2 small knives, 1 fathom tobacco, 1 dozen rings, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 6 flints, 3 worms, 3 awls, and 1/4 pound blue beads.

164 [343] The natives at present are mostly affected with a bad cough, which daily takes some of them off. Aged and infirm persons, and young children, are the common victims to this disease. It is a kind of whooping-cough, which has appeared all along the Red and Assiniboine rivers, on the Saskatchewan even to Fort des Prairies, and in several other parts of the North West, carrying off many people

241 July 21st. I set off early on horseback with part of my people
[462 for the upper villages. We passed extensive fields of corn, beans,
561] squashes, and sunflowers. Many women and children were already
412 employed in clearing and hoeing their plantations. Their hoes are the shoulderblade of a buffalo, to which is fastened a crooked stick for a handle; the soil not being stony, this slight implement answers every purpose. The road first led over two hills, after which we came to a smooth and pleasant plain for about two miles to the Saulteur (Soulier) [Amahami—Analyst] village, of about 40 huts.
361 [362]. . These villages are surrounded by a kind of stockade, princi-
417 pally made of driftwood, which has a miserable appearance and is daily falling to pieces; but I am told that upon any emergency it can be put into a tolerably good state of defense at very short notice, as every man, woman, and child lends a hand.

526 We witnessed a diversion which takes place almost every day
481 between the Mandanes and Saulteurs (Souliers). It is the exercise
702 of running long foot races, in order to be prepared for the emergency of being dismounted and obliged to fly from their enemies at war. They assemble upon a beautiful green near the village, where, having remained some time, calling out to their comrades to come and run, they set off in a file on a slow trot, entirely naked, taking the road that leads up the hills to the S., about a mile from the village. Passing near those rising grounds, they disappear, and are not seen till they reappear from the S.E., down a steep hill and over a level plain, to the spot whence they started. Here they do not stop, but rush on to the Missouri, and plunge headlong, all

526 covered with dust and sweat. The race is at least six miles long,
481 and it is surprising to see what a great distance some of them gain
702 upon others. This violent exercise is performed on the hottest summer days, and it is a wonder that some of them do not pay dearly for their temerity.

541 During my absence yesterday [July 21 - Analyst] my people, who remained here, witnessed a horse race. The Mandanes assembled in great numbers on horseback, and rode about three miles below the village, where all mustered. They set out in a body, pell-mell, whipping and kicking their horses, directing their course along the foot of the hills, and made a long circuit at full speed around the village. Some of their horses appeared very swift and spirited, but others were miserable animals. On their arrival, they performed their warlike manoeuvres on horseback, feigning their different attacks upon the enemy, giving their strokes of the battleax and thrusts of the spear, and defending themselves in turn by parrying blows and covering themselves with their shields.

526 ...I observed one particular game among the Mandanes, which the young men were continually playing. Two persons are each provided with a stick six feet long, on which are cut a certain number of notches, an inch long, in the intervals of which are fixed the same number of small bunches of feathers of divers colors, with three pieces of wood, 16 inches square, one near each end, and one in the middle; these are perforated in the center, and through them is passed the rod, painted of divers colors. Each notch has a particular mark, the nature of which they themselves only understand—indeed, the same may be said of the whole game. The ground on which they play is a smooth level space, about 40 paces long and 5 broad. The players stand side by side, start from one end of the ground, and trot on till they are halfway through, when one of them throws a ball gently ahead, in such a manner that it will not roll further than the space allowed for the game; at the same time both players push their rod forward to overtake and keep pace with the ball, but not to check its course. They then examine the particular notch or bunch of feathers at which the ball stops, and count accordingly.

304 The greater part of the men—Big Bellies, Mandanes, and
787 Saulteurs (Souliers)—have lost a joint of several fingers, [364]
785 particularly of the left hand, and it is not uncommon to see only the

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304 two forefingers and thumbs entire. Amputation is performed for
787 the loss of a near relation, and likewise during the days of penance,
785 on which they display their fortitude and courage in the following manner: When a young man has attained the age of 20 years, he generally, in the depth of winter, performs his penance by setting out entirely naked and alone, with only two or three pairs of shoes, the iron barb of an arrow, and no means of making a fire. In this condition he repairs to a certain high hill, a day's journey from the village. On this hill he must remain as many days as his strength will permit, during which time he neither eats, drinks, nor sleeps, but passes the time in dancing, bawling, howling, and lamenting. Here also he amputates a finger with the iron barb brought for that purpose. Some have been known to be absent seven days in the severest weather. This may appear incredible, but I have it from several eye-witnesses of such pilgrimages, and do not doubt it. After several days—more or fewer—the penitent makes his appearance, coming at full speed, and as there is continually somebody upon the huts, information is instantly given of his return. He is met by a particular friend, who has kept account of the number of days he has been absent, and for every day has been prepared a bull's head, to which has been fastened 1 1/2 fathams of cord. The other end of this is affixed to an incision in the penitent's back or shoulders, by pinching up a fold of skin and flesh, through which is thrust the barb of an arrow; as many days as he has been absent, so many must be the incisions, and the number of heads must also tally with them. He must then walk around the village, howling and bawling, with all those bulls' heads trailing on the ground; in some places, where the ground is rough, the poor fellow must pull and tug hard to get through, as the horns continually catch in uneven spots, and often fall into some of the empty corn pits, where they would hold until the skin gave way or the cord broke, were they not [365] attended to by some children who make it their business to disengage the horns. So many days as he has been absent, so many times must he walk round the village, never ceasing to utter lamentations. Some have been known to fall senseless during this painful ordeal; but even then they only allow themselves a few moments to recover, and proceed again. Having finished the necessary rounds, he is disengaged from the bulls' heads by his friend, with a long harangue, applauding his courage and fortitude; he may then retire to his hut and take care of his wounds, as he is in a shocking condition. Some never recover, and others languish for months before they get well.

[p. 364(G)]

304 They have another custom of putting their courage and con-
785 tempt of pain to task by tormenting their flesh in a most atrocious manner. This is done by pinching up a fold of the skin and flesh an inch broad, under which they pass the iron barb of an arrow; they raise stripes in this manner from the back of the hand to the shoulder, and thence to the breast, there joining three or four separate circles of incisions made in the same manner on the lower part of the breast. Some content themselves by raising stripes of different lengths upon their arms and thighs, and forming crescentic cuts on the breast in a very regular manner, one within the other; some with the horns upward, others downward, according to fancy.

304 Most of the women have their faces tattooed in a very savage manner, lines a quarter inch broad passing from the nose to the ear, and down each side of the mouth and chin to the throat. This disfigures them very much; otherwise, some would have tolerably
304 good faces. Some tattooing is done to beautify the face, but at
684 other times it is the disfiguring mark of a fit of jealousy in the husband. [366] When a Mandane's handsome young wife is too lavish of her favors without his consent, he tattoes her face as a punish-
[578] ment. Although it cannot be said that these people are much given
837 to jealousy, still it is absolutely necessary for a woman to have the consent of her husband to cohabit with a stranger, whether he is white or one of their own people. But I observed during my stay that this consent is not so very necessary in regard to the inhabitants of the same village, as every morning early there were examples to be seen in their plantations of their loose way of living. Many
[164] of our servants who frequent these parts to trade in the winter, and who have too intimate connections with the fair sex, are attacked by a painful and loathsome disorder, which commonly appears in the groin, where it forms abscesses and, if neglected, will soon prove dangerous.

574 [401] At three o'clock we were all safely lodged in Black Cat's
609 hut, whom we found as usual very civil and complaisant, although he plainly saw we had nothing to pay him for his trouble. This man is one of the best Indians we met on the Missourie. We found
[432] what articles we had left in his charge all in good order, and carefully hung up to keep them from the mice. He even gave me his best horse upon credit; payment to be sent this fall by any opportunity. This was considered an extraordinary circumstance for a Mandane. He gave us several instances of his good nature and generosity while we were packing; every assistance in his power he gave us, without

[p. 384 (H)]

574 any expectation of payment. Being almost destitute of tobacco
609 for our journey, he gave us some of their own manufacture. As
that herb is not yet arrived at maturity, they use only the blossoms
277 [402] at present. These are collected as required, dried before
the fire on a fragment of an earthen pot, and smoked by all the
natives. But I find the flowers a very poor substitute for our own
tobacco—a nauseous, insipid weed. The ripe leaf is somewhat
better, but even that is mere trash, possessed of neither strength
nor virtue.

648 [403] We soon after took the road, bidding a final adieu to
[491] the Mandanes. The road through the wood was very muddy and bad.
[137] We found amazing quantities of poires, perfectly ripe. The
natives here are so surrounded by their different enemies at all
seasons, and particularly when the fruit is ripe, that the women dare
not leave the villages to gather it, though there is a great plenty
of chokecherries, cerises, etc. Even when they go out to hoe their
corn, young men, well armed, keep on the rounds at short distances from the women to prevent surprise from an enemy. This
is a necessary precaution, as they have frequently been attacked
while working in the fields. The village on the N. side lies under
a double disadvantage, surrounded by thick woods for nearly two
miles upon the land side, and having close by a vast quantity of
young sprouts and brushwood, enabling an enemy to approach very
near without being discovered. A single Sioux has been known to
secrete himself for several days among those bushes until a favorable
opportunity has offered, when he has dispatched a Mandane, and
got away with the scalp.

[p. 384 [I]]

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ABORIGINES OF SOUTH DAKOTA.

PART II.

The Mandan Indians are the subject of this second part of the treatment of the Aborigines of South Dakota, as were the Aricaras or Rees of Part I. In closing the present paper, however, some recurrence will be had to the Rees in connection with their ancient habitat on the Missouri in South Dakota and further south, as indicated by some evidences which have come to light since the first paper was published.

The Mandan Indians, "People of the Pheasants," or "People of the East," as they have termed themselves, or "Bearded Whites," as they were called by some French Canadians who first heard of and came among them, have been regarded by the explorers and chroniclers who have visited and made a study of them, as aborigines possessing some peculiarities and some excellencies which distinguish them from Indians of America in general to a degree which has aroused special curiosity and unusual speculation as to their ancestry and origin.

Any attempt to trace an Indian tribe back to a basic point at which the beginnings of a race in the human families of remote antiquity are discoverable, inevitably results in mystery or confusion, or both. And while this statement is and must be predicated upon the past in research and the philosophies which have grown up with or out of it, the present seems to promise, in definite results, but little hope of rescuing from the realm of myth the farther ends of the threads of history. Yet we believe the future is not wholly devoid of hope in that direction.

Nor are we able to declare that the foregoing observations do not apply with equal force to the Mandans, as to other Indians of America. But we shall bring into this paper toward its end some narratives, affirmations and some conclusions on the part of

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

d21 their authors in connection therewith which it seems should be regarded as tending to support in some degree a tangible theory of the origin of certain elements of character in the Mandans, while not accounting for them in the sense of the original elements of an Indian tribe or nation. Those evidences are claimed, with more or less positiveness, by those who have brought them forward to be such as to lead to the supposition, or the conclusion, that the Mandans are a residium of the Mound Builders; that they, with the latter, were an amalgamation of whites with native Americans; that the alleged white element in their racial composition is of Welsh origin; and that this latter element may be referred to the Madocian theory—that of the alleged immigration into the New World of Prince Madoc and his followers in the Twelfth century. Some remoter consequences are sought to be drawn by some of those theorists, in the direction of identifying as the offshoot of the Mound Builders the race of Montezuma in Mexico, and as derivable from some alleged settlement of the Madocians upon the Atlantic coast of America—the Incas of Peru. And the theory of the Moundbuilders as associated with the Aztecs is sought to be brought into relation to the Mandans upon the hypothesis that the junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi river was the probable point of separation of various tribes of the Mound Builders who, driven from point to point down the Ohio by overpowering numbers of Indians from the neighborhood of the Great Lakes, scattered from each other, some progressing up the Missouri, while others went southward along the Mississippi and, roughly speaking, westward into what is now New Mexico and Arizona, thence southward. These theories, wherein they seek to establish a Welsh origin of the Mandans and some other Indian tribes, have been discarded by the vast majority of commentators, who base their conclusions upon reasoning in the light of the narratives and conclusions of others who were observers and narrators, while some who have assembled what seem to them tangible evidences cling tenaciously to that theory.

The fact that the whole field of historical foundation everywhere is, under the limelight of later investigation and inquiry, yielding up new evidences which in some degree rescue truth from mythology, or from oblivion itself, or according to other estimates are building anew those foundations in tangible form

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

out of material which was once well known for fact, but has been lost in the mist of ages—is by the writer hereof regarded as warrant for bringing into this paper sundry narratives bearing upon the theory in question which in themselves may be of doubtful value, but which, when forming part of a symposium upon the theme of origin, may be legitimate material. 121

But we defer to a later stage of treatment of the general subject this phase of remote origin, only adding that, as regards the Mound Builders, it seems very probable that a rational connection will be found to be shown to exist between them and the Mandans; and that a few quotations from the earliest observers of the Mandans, by way of preliminary to an account of them when first known to civilized man, may not be out of place as indicating what we in the outset remarked as to their singularities.

Their Peculiar Characteristics. The Mandans conveyed to all visitors and observers who came in contact with them in the Eighteenth and the first half of the Nineteenth centuries the impression, in marked degree, that they were emphatically more civilized than other Indian tribes of the west, and that they were of such fair complexion and had hair and eyes of such color as to convey the distinct, profound impression—to some the belief—that they were not Indians in the usual sense of that word. 142 114

La Verendrye, who visited them in 1738 for several weeks, recorded of them that "their fortifications are not Indian. This nation is mixed with white and black." "The women have not the Indian physiognomy." Le Raye, who as a prisoner of the Brule Sioux was taken up the Missouri river in 1803 and into the Mandan villages, observes of them that they are "of the lightest complexion," that their hair "inclines to a chestnut color, and in some instances has a slight curl; it is never so dark and coarse as most other Indians;" that "their eyes are full and lively" and that they are "courteous and sociable." General Clarke (of the Lewis and Clarke expedition), who wintered with them in 1804-5, told Catlin that he would find them "a strange people and half white." Alexander Henry, who in 1806 visited them, says: "What struck me as extraordinary among these people was several children about ten years of age whose hair was perfectly gray, and who thus resembled aged persons; those I saw were all girls. These people in general have not such strong, coarse hair as other nations of North America; they have it much finer,

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

105 for furs. But Mandan sedentary life proved ill adapted to cope with the epidemics of smallpox and other contagious diseases that soon swept through their villages in successive waves until the tribe narrowly escaped extinction in 1837. During this period of rapidly reducing population, increased pressure from newly arrived and well-armed Siouan nomadic tribes hastened the downfall of the Mandan and all other agricultural village Indians living along the Missouri River.

105 The Mandan were a conservative people; behavior was traditional and stemmed from institutional sources, the sacred
● 121 rites, and ceremonies. If you ask an old Mandan to describe a commonplace custom or even a tool used in his daily activities, he will invariably first introduce data on its origin to explain its adoption and use by his people. Those possessing vast knowledge of these "origin myths" occupy high status positions in the village and tribe. Early in this study it became evident that no adequate understanding of Mandan cultural and social values was possible except in terms of these origin myths, most of which were inseparable parts of the various sacred-bundle complexes. In recording the data contained in this report, I encouraged informants to express in their own way meanings which customs had for them; and this report is an attempt to describe Mandan culture in terms of its meaning to the Mandan Indians.

121 So far as possible, considering overlapping of myths and bundle rites, I have attempted to bring the related sacred myth and descriptions of the rituals together in the same chapter. Though these sacred myths provide the student of Indian folklore with a new body of materials not heretofore available, I believe that their greatest value will be to provide a better understanding of Mandan habits, customs, ideologies, institutions, social values, and human controls. In describing Mandan culture, I have endeavored (1) to penetrate the veneer of European culture and to describe life as it was in aboriginal times and (2) to indicate recent cultural changes which have occurred under the impact of the fur trade and closer associations with the Hidatsa.

000 It is a privilege to express my thanks to the many persons who have helped me in the preparation of this book—all of

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

PREFACE.

121 In 1904 one of the authors became interested in the history and culture of the Mandans, and later prepared an historical and descriptive sketch of this interesting people. In 1905 an opportunity for archaeological field work led to the formation of a small party of students, who carried on investigations over a period of six weeks in the region formerly occupied by this tribe. The party consisted of Mr. R. R. Hellmann (H. U. '06) and Mr. H. A. Nye (H. U. '06), in addition to the authors of this paper. While working over the archaeological and historical material collected, it was deemed advisable to add the consideration of available linguistic data. The result of these several investigations is embodied in the following paper.

000 Thanks are due to Mr. Martin Burgois for his courteous permission to conduct exploration on his land; and also to Dr. Rawlings, Mr. L. Sperry and Mr. T. Griffin, all of Bismarck, N. D., and to Mr. E. R. Steinbrueck of Mandan, N. D., for various favors.

In the preparation of the paper, thanks are due to Professor F. W. Putnam for his kindly advice and criticism, and to Dr. W. C. Farabee for valuable service rendered in the identification of the animal remains and the measurements of the human bones. Above all, the authors desire to thank Dr. R. B. Dixon for his untiring aid and thorough supervision.

G. F. W. & H. J. S.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
JUNE 15, 1906.

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5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

PREFACE.

121 The Hidatsa, while most closely related to the Crow, have been in close contact with the Mandan for so long a period that the culture of all three tribes must be considered in conjunction. That is to say, it is impossible to acquire an accurate picture of Hidatsa life without taking into account, on the one hand, the persistence of old elements characteristic of the parent tribe before its division into Crow and Hidatsa and, on the other hand, the influence exerted by the Mandan subsequently to the Crow separation. Our information on the Mandan, for reasons stated below, is tantalizingly meager and suggests rather than solves problems. Fortunately, the Crow data are sufficiently extensive to permit a comparison of their social culture with that of the Hidatsa and to make possible a reconstruction of their pristine organisation. In a previous paper of this series issued in 1912 (Vol. IX, part II) I dealt with the "Social Life of the Crow Indians." Since its appearance I have paid several visits to this people and have secured much additional information, which partly confirms and in part supplements and amends my earlier results. I have naturally devoted much more space to the new material but found it necessary to summarize briefly some facts previously described.

124 A few words may be in place regarding the method followed in illustrating the use of Crow kinship terms. It has become clear to students that relationship nomenclature harbors innumerable pitfalls for the field investigator. These can be minimized only by utilizing every possible means of checking the information obtained. We must not content ourselves with abstract statements nor even with the confirmation supplied by a genealogical scheme but should determine the use to which terms are put by the native when not harried by ethnological questioning, when, in other words, he is in a perfectly normal and naïve position with reference to his tribesmen. One way to do this is to keep one's ears open in Indian households when not ostensibly engaged in belaboring the aboriginal consciousness; another equally effective one is to collect systematically the evidence yielded by mythological texts. It is even possible to make use of myths taken down in English provided the recorder insists on noting down in the vernacular every relationship term that occurs.

114 The Hidatsa and Mandan were visited in the summers of 1910, 1911, and 1913, while my acquaintance with the Crow dates back to 1907 and has been frequently renewed since.

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

June 15, 1917.

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6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandán NQ17

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

000 Immense additions have been made of late years to our knowledge of the extensive continent of North America. A large portion of that country, which, only a few years ago, was covered with almost uninterrupted primeval forests, and a scanty, scattered population of rude barbarians, has been converted, by the influx of emigrants from the Old World, into a rich and flourishing State, for the most part civilized, and almost as well known and cultivated as Europe itself. Large and flourishing towns, with fine public institutions of every kind, have risen rapidly, and every year adds to their number. Animated commerce, unfettered, unlimited industry, have caused this astonishing advance of civilization in the United States. The tide of emigration is impelled onwards, wave upon wave, and it is only the sterility of the North-west that can check the advancing torrent.

121 We already possess numerous accounts of these daily-increasing States, and there are many good statistical works on the subject. We have even excellent general works on the physical state of this continent, among which Volney's "Tableau du Climat et du Sol des Etats Unis," holds a high rank. Little, however, has yet been done towards a clear and vivid description of the natural scenery of North America: the works of American writers themselves on this subject, with the exception of Cooper's and Washington Irving's animated descriptions, cannot be taken into account, as, in writing for their countrymen, they take it for granted that their readers are well acquainted with the country.

For this reason I have endeavoured, in the following work, to supply this deficiency to the best of my ability, and have aimed rather at giving a clear and faithful description of the country, than at collecting statistical information. Hence these travels are designed for foreign, rather than for American readers, to whom, probably, but few of the details would be new.

There are two distinct points of view in which that remarkable country may be considered. Some travellers are interested by the rude, primitive character of the natural face of North America, and its aboriginal population, the traces of which are now scarcely discernible in most parts of the United States; while the majority are more inclined to contemplate the immigrant population, and the gigantic strides of civilization introduced by it. The account of my tour through a part of these countries, contained in the following pages, is chiefly intended for readers of the first class. I have avoided the repetition of numerous statements which may be found in various statistical publications; but, on the contrary, have aimed at a simple description of nature. As the United States were merely the basis of my more extensive undertaking, the object of which

121 was the investigation of the upper part of the course of the Missouri, they do not form a prominent feature, and it is impossible to expect, from a few months' residence, an opinion on the social condition and character of that motley population.

The indulgent reader, following the author beyond the frontier of the United States, will have to direct his attention to those extensive plains—those cheerless, desolate prairies, the western boundary of which is formed by the snow-covered chain of the Rocky Mountains, or the Oregon, where many tribes of the aborigines still enjoy a peaceful abode; while their brethren in the eastern part of the continent are supplanted, extirpated, degenerated, in the face of the constantly increasing immigration, or have been forced across the Mississippi, where they have for the most part perished.

122 The vast tracts of the interior of North-western America are, in general, but little known, and the government of the United States may be justly reproached for not having done more to explore them. Some few scientific expeditions, among which the two under Major Long produced the most satisfactory results for natural history, though on a limited scale, were set on foot by the government; and it is only under its protection that a thorough investigation of those extensive wildernesses, especially in the Rocky Mountains, can be undertaken. Even Major Long's expeditions are but poorly furnished with respect to natural history, for a faithful and vivid picture of those countries, and their original inhabitants, can never be placed before the eye without the aid of a fine portfolio of plates by the hand of a skilful artist.

In my description of the voyage up the Missouri, I have endeavoured to avail myself of the assistance of an able draughtsman, the want of which I so sensibly felt in my former travels in South America. On the present occasion I was accompanied by Mr. Bodmer, who has represented the Indian nations with great truth, and correct delineation of their characteristic features. His drawings will prove an important addition to our knowledge of this race of men, to whom so little attention has hitherto been paid.

121 128 After mature consideration, I have judged it desirable to throw the account of my voyage on the Missouri itself into the form of a journal, as the daily notices were numerous, but the variety very trifling; so that the patience of the reader will unfortunately be tried a little in this part of the narrative. In those uninhabited, desert countries the traveller has nothing but the description of the naked banks of the river, and the little diversity they afford, interrupted at times by the adventures of the chase, and occasional meetings with Indians; the reader will therefore excuse many observations and unimportant descriptions, which would have been omitted if the materials had been richer in variety. I need still more indulgence with respect to many observations on natural history, but for this the loss of the greater part of my collections will be a sufficient excuse. The cases containing these were delivered to the Company, to be put on board the steamer for St. Louis, but not insured; and, when the steamer caught fire, the people thought rather of saving the goods than my cases, the contents of which were, probably, not considered to be of much value, and so they were all burnt. This may be a warning to future travellers not to neglect to insure such collections.

Though the main object of my journey, namely, to pass some time in the chain of the Rocky Mountains, was defeated by unfavourable circumstances, I should have been able, but for the loss of my collections, to communicate many new observations, especially in the department of zoology, which are now more or less deficient. The accounts of the tribes of the aborigines, and

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

121
128

especially of the Mandans and Manitaries, are more complete, because I spent a whole winter among them, and was able to have daily intercourse with them. Authentic and impartial accounts of the Indians of the Upper Missouri are now especially valuable, if the information that we have since received is well founded, namely, that to the many evils introduced by the Whites among those tribes, a most destructive epidemic—small-pox—has been added, and a great part of them exterminated: according to the newspapers, the Mandans, Manitaries, Assiniboins, and Blackfeet have been swept away except a small remnant. The observation of the manners of the aborigines is undoubtedly that which must chiefly interest the foreign traveller in those countries, especially as the Anglo-Americans look down on them with a certain feeling of hatred. Hence we have hitherto met with little useful information respecting the Indians, except in the recent writings of Edward James, Long, Say, Schoolcraft, M'Kenney, Cass, Duponceau, Irving, and a few others; and as good portraits of this race have hitherto been extremely rare, the faithful delineation contained in the portfolio of plates accompanying this work will be interesting to the friends of anthropology and ethnography.

Several men, of great eminence in the learned world, have had the kindness to contribute to the publication. President Nees Von Esenbeck has undertaken the determination and description of the plants which I brought home; Professor Goldfuss, of Bonn, that of some fossil shells; Professor Göppert, of Breslau, that of the impression of fossil plants from Mauch Chunk; Professors Valenciennes at Paris, and Wiegmann at Boston, the comparison of some zoological specimens with those in their cities; and Lieut.-Col. W. Thorn, the construction of the map; for which obliging assistance I beg leave to offer to these gentlemen my sincere thanks.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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114 who entered that beautiful and famed valley soon after the close of the revolutionary war, and the disastrous event of the "Indian massacre."

The early part of my life was whiled away, apparently, somewhat in vain, with books reluctantly held in one hand, and a rifle or fishing-pole firmly and affectionately grasped in the other.

At the urgent request of my father, who was a practising lawyer, I was prevailed upon to abandon these favourite themes, and also my occasional dabblings with the brush, which had secured already a corner in my affections; and I commenced reading the law for a profession, under the direction of Reeve and Gould, of Connecticut. I attended the lectures of these learned judges for two years—was admitted to the bar—and practised the law, as a sort of *Nimrodical* lawyer, in my native land, for the term of two or three years; when I very deliberately sold my law library and all (save my rifle and fishing-tackle), and converting their proceeds into brushes and paint pots; I commenced the art of painting in Philadelphia, without teacher or adviser.

I there closely applied my hand to the labours of the art for several years; during which time my mind was continually reaching for some branch or enterprise of the art, on which to devote a whole life-time of enthusiasm; when a delegation of some ten or fifteen noble and dignified-looking Indians, from the wilds of the "Far West," suddenly arrived in the city, arrayed and equipped in all their classic beauty,—with shield and helmet,—with tunic and manteau,—tinted and tasselled off, exactly for the painter's palette!

In silent and stoic dignity, these lords of the forest strutted about the city for a few days, wrapped in their pictured robes, with their brows plumed with the quills of the war-eagle, attracting the gaze and admiration of all who beheld them. After this, they took their leave for Washington City, and I was left to reflect and regret, which I did long and deeply, until I came to the following deductions and conclusions.

● 121 Black and blue cloth and civilization are destined, not only to veil, but to obliterate the grace and beauty of Nature. Man, in the simplicity and loftiness of his nature, unrestrained and unfettered by the disguises of art, is surely the most beautiful model for the painter,—and the country from which he hails is unquestionably the best study or school of the arts in the world: such I am sure, from the models I have seen, is the wilderness of North America. And the history and customs of such a people, preserved by pictorial illustrations, are themes worthy the life-time of one man, and nothing short of the loss of my life, shall prevent me from visiting their country, and of becoming their historian.

114 There was something inexpressibly delightful in the above resolve, which was to bring me amidst such living models for my brush: and at the same time to place in my hands again, for my living and protection, the objects of my heart above-named; which had long been laid by to rust and decay

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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in the city, without the remotest prospect of again contributing to my amusement. 114

I had fully resolved—I opened my views to my friends and relations, but got not one advocate or abettor. I tried fairly and faithfully, but it was in vain to reason with those whose anxieties were ready to fabricate every difficulty and danger that could be imagined, without being able to understand or appreciate the extent or importance of my designs, and I broke from them all,—from my wife and my aged parents,—myself my only adviser and protector.

With these views firmly fixed—armed, equipped, and supplied, I started out in the year 1832, and penetrated the vast and pathless wilds which are familiarly denominated the great "Far West" of the North American Continent, with a light heart, inspired with an enthusiastic hope and reliance that I could meet and overcome all the hazards and privations of a life devoted to the production of a literal and graphic delineation of the living manners, customs, and character of an interesting race of people, who are rapidly passing away from the face of the earth—lending a hand to a dying nation, who have no historians or biographers of their own to pourtray with fidelity their native looks and history; thus snatching from a hasty oblivion what could be saved for the benefit of posterity, and perpetuating it, as a fair and just monument, to the memory of a truly lofty and noble race.

I have spent about eight years already in the pursuit above-named, having been for the most of that time immersed in the Indian country, mingling with red men, and identifying myself with them as much as possible, in their games and amusements; in order the better to familiarize myself with their superstitions and mysteries, which are the keys to Indian life and character.

It was during the several years of my life just mentioned, and whilst I was in familiar participation with them in their sports and amusements, that I penned the following series of epistles; describing only such glowing or curious scenes and events as passed under my immediate observation; leaving their early history, and many of their traditions, language, &c. for a subsequent and much more elaborate work, for which I have procured the materials, and which I may eventually publish.

I set out on my arduous and perilous undertaking with the determination of reaching, ultimately, every tribe of Indians on the Continent of North America, and of bringing home faithful portraits of their principal personages, both men and women, from each tribe; views of their villages, games, &c. and full notes on their character and history. I designed, also, to procure their costumes, and a complete collection of their manufactures and weapons, and to perpetuate them in a *Gallery unique*, for the use and instruction of future ages. 121

I claim whatever merit there may have been in the originality of such a 114

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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114 design, as I was undoubtedly the first artist who ever set out upon such a work, designing to carry his canvass to the Rocky Mountains; and a considerable part of the following Letters were written and published in the New York Papers, as early as the years 1832 and 1833; long before the Tours of Washington Irving, and several others, whose interesting narratives are before the world.

I have, as yet, by no means visited *all* the tribes; but I have progressed a very great way with the enterprise, and with far greater and more complete success than I expected.

I have visited forty-eight different tribes, the greater part of which I found speaking different languages, and containing in all 400,000 souls. I have brought home safe, and in good order, 310 portraits in oil, all painted in their native dress, and in their own wigwams; and also 200 other paintings in oil, containing views of their villages—their wigwams—their games and religious ceremonies—their dances—their ball plays—their buffalo hunting, and other amusements (containing in all, over 3000 full-length figures); and the landscapes of the country they live in, as well as a very extensive and curious collection of their costumes, and all their other manufactures, from the size of a wigwam down to the size of a quill or a rattle.

A considerable part of the above-named paintings, and Indian manufactures, will be found amongst the very numerous illustrations in the following pages; having been, in every instance, faithfully copied and reduced by my own hand, for the engraver, from my original paintings; and the reader of this book who will take the pains to step in to "CATLIN'S NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN GALLERY," will find nearly every scene and custom which is described in this work, as well as many others, carefully and correctly delineated, and displayed upon the walls, and every weapon (and every "Sachem" and every "Sagamore" who has wielded them) according to the tenor of the tales herein recited.

So much of *myself* and of my *works*, which is all that I wish to say at present.

Of the INDIANS, I have much more to say, and to the following delineations of them, and their character and customs, I shall make no further apology for requesting the attention of my readers.

●121 The Indians (as I shall call them), the savages or red men of the forests and prairies of North America, are at this time a subject of great interest and some importance to the civilized world; rendered more particularly so in this age, from their relative position to, and their rapid declension from, the civilized nations of the earth. A numerous nation of human beings, whose origin is beyond the reach of human investigation,—whose early history is lost—whose term of national existence is nearly expired—three-fourths of whose country has fallen into the possession of civilized man within the short space of 250 years—twelve millions of whose bodies have fattened the soil in the mean time; who have fallen victims to whiskey, the small-pox and the

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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bayonet; leaving at this time but a meagre proportion to live a short time longer, in the certain apprehension of soon sharing a similar fate. 121

The writer who would undertake to embody the whole history of such a people, with all their misfortunes and calamities, must needs have much more space than I have allotted to this epitome; and he must needs begin also (as I am doing) with those who are *living*, or he would be very apt to dwell upon the preamble of his work, until the present living remnants of the race should have passed away; and their existence and customs, like those of ages gone bye, become subjects of doubt and incredulity to the world for whom his book was preparing. Such an historian also, to do them justice, must needs correct many theories and opinions which have, either ignorantly or maliciously, gone forth to the world in indelible characters; and gather and arrange a vast deal which has been but imperfectly recorded, or placed to the credit of a people who have not had the means of recording it themselves; but have entrusted it, from necessity, to the honesty and punctuality of their enemies.

In such an history should be embodied, also, a correct account of their treatment, and the causes which have led to their rapid destruction; and a plain and systematical prophecy as to the time and manner of their final extinction, based upon the causes and the ratio of their former and present declension.

So Herculean a task may fall to my lot at a future period, or it may not; but I send forth these volumes at this time, fresh and full of their living deeds and customs, as a familiar and unstudied introduction (at least) to them and their native character; which I confidently hope will repay the readers who read for information and historical facts, as well as those who read but for amusement.

The world know generally, that the Indians of North America are copper-coloured; that their eyes and their hair are black, &c.; that they are mostly uncivilized, and consequently unchristianized; that they are nevertheless human beings, with features, thoughts, reason, and sympathies like our own; but few yet know how they *live*, how they *dress*, how they *worship*, what are their actions, their customs, their religion, their amusements, &c. as they practise them in the uncivilized regions of their uninvaded country, which it is the main object of this work, clearly and distinctly to set forth.

It would be impossible at the same time, in a book of these dimensions, to explain *all* the manners and customs of these people; but as far as they are narrated, they have been described by my pen, upon the spot, as I have seen them transacted; and if some few of my narrations should seem a *little too highly coloured*, I trust the world will be ready to extend to me that pardon which it is customary to yield to all artists whose main faults exist in the vividness of their colouring, rather than in the drawing of their pictures; but there is nothing else in them, I think, that I should ask pardon for, even though some of them should stagger credulity, and incur

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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●/2/ for me the censure of those critics, who sometimes, unthinkingly or unmercifully, sit at home at their desks, enjoying the luxury of wine and a good cigar, over the simple narration of the honest and weather-worn traveller (who shortens his half-starved life in catering for the world), to condemn him and his work to oblivion, and his wife and his little children to poverty and starvation; merely because he describes scenes which they have not beheld, and which, consequently, they are unable to believe.

The Indians of North America, as I have before said, are copper-coloured, with long black hair, black eyes, tall, straight, and elastic forms—are less than two millions in number—were originally the undisputed owners of the soil, and got their title to their lands from the Great Spirit who created them on it,—were once a happy and flourishing people, enjoying all the comforts and luxuries of life which they knew of, and consequently cared for:—were sixteen millions in numbers, and sent that number of daily prayers to the Almighty, and thanks for his goodness and protection. Their country was entered by white men, but a few hundred years since; and thirty millions of these are now scuffling for the goods and luxuries of life, over the bones and ashes of twelve millions of red men; six millions of whom have fallen victims to the small-pox, and the remainder to the sword, the bayonet, and whiskey; all of which means of their death and destruction have been introduced and visited upon them by acquisitive white men; and by white men, also, whose forefathers were welcomed and embraced in the land where the poor Indian met and fed them with "ears of green corn and with pemican." Of the two millions remaining alive at this time, about 1,400,000, are already the miserable living victims and dupes of white man's cupidity, degraded, discouraged and lost in the bewildering maze that is produced by the use of whiskey and its concomitant vices; and the remaining number are yet unroused and unenticed from their wild haunts or their primitive modes, by the dread or love of white man and his allurements.

It has been with these, mostly, that I have spent my time, and of these, chiefly, and their customs, that the following Letters treat. Their habits (and their's alone) as we can see them transacted, are native, and such as I have wished to fix and preserve for future ages.

Of the dead, and of those who are dying, of those who have suffered death, and of those who are now trodden and kicked through it, I may speak more fully in some deductions at the close of this book; or at some future time, when I may find more leisure, and may be able to speak of these scenes without giving offence to the world, or to any body in it.

Such a portrait then as I have set forth in the following pages (taken by myself from the free and vivid realities of life, instead of the vague and uncertain imagery of recollection, or from the haggard deformities and distortions of disease and death), I offer to the world for their amusement, as well as for their information; and I trust they will pardon me, if it should be thought

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that I have over-estimated the Indian character, or at other times descended too much into the details and minutiæ of Indian mysteries and absurdities. 121

The reader, then, to understand me rightly, and draw from these Letters the information which they are intended to give, must follow me a vast way from the civilized world; he must needs wend his way from the city of New York, over the Alleghany, and far beyond the mighty Missouri, and even to the base and summit of the Rocky Mountains, some two or three thousand miles from the Atlantic coast. He should forget many theories he has read in the books of Indian barbarities, of wanton butcheries and murders; and divest himself, as far as possible of the deadly prejudices which he has carried from his childhood, against this most unfortunate and most abused part of the race of his fellow-man.

He should consider, that if he has seen the savages of North America without making such a tour, he has fixed his eyes upon and drawn his conclusions (in all probability) only from those who inhabit the frontier; whose habits have been changed—whose pride has been cut down—whose country has been ransacked—whose wives and daughters have been shamefully abused—whose lands have been wrested from them—whose limbs have become enervated and naked by the excessive use of whiskey—whose friends and relations have been prematurely thrown into their graves—whose native pride and dignity have at last given way to the unnatural vices which civilized cupidity has engrafted upon them, to be silently nurtured and magnified by a burning sense of injury and injustice, and ready for that cruel vengeance which often falls from the hand that is palsied by refined abuses, and yet unrestrained by the glorious influences of refined and moral cultivation.—That if he has laid up what he considers well-founded knowledge of these people, from books which he has read, and from newspapers only, he should pause at least, and withhold his sentence before he passes it upon the character of a people, who are dying at the hands of their enemies, without the means of recording their own annals—struggling in their nakedness with their simple weapons, against guns and gunpowder—against whiskey and steel, and disease, and mailed warriors who are continually trampling them to the earth, and at last exultingly promulgating from the very soil which they have wrested from the poor savage, the history of his cruelties and barbarities, whilst his bones are quietly resting under the very furrows which their ploughs are turning.

So great and unfortunate are the disparities between savage and civil, in numbers—in weapons and defences—in enterprise, in craft, and in education, that the former is almost universally the sufferer either in peace or in war; and not less so after his pipe and his tomahawk have retired to the grave with him, and his character is left to be entered upon the pages of history, and that justice done to his memory which from necessity, he has intrusted to his enemy.

Amongst the numerous historians, however, of these strange people, they have had some friends who have done them justice; yet as a part of all sys-

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124 tems of justice whenever it is meted to the poor Indian, it comes invariably too late, or is administered at an ineffectual distance; and that too when his enemies are continually about him, and effectually applying the means of his destruction.

Some writers, I have been grieved to see, have written down the character of the North American Indian, as dark, relentless, cruel and murderous in the last degree; with scarce a quality to stamp their existence of a higher order than that of the brutes:—whilst others have given them a high rank, as I feel myself authorized to do, as honourable and highly-intellectual beings; and others, both friends and foes to the red men, have spoken of them as an "anomaly in nature!"

In this place I have no time or inclination to reply to so unaccountable an assertion as this; contenting myself with the belief, that the term would be far more correctly applied to that part of the human family who have strayed farthest from nature, than it could be to those who are simply moving in, and filling the sphere for which they were designed by the Great Spirit who made them.

From what I have seen of these people I feel authorized to say, that there is nothing very strange or unaccountable in their character; but that it is a simple one, and easy to be learned and understood, if the right means be taken to familiarize ourselves with it. Although it has its dark spots, yet there is much in it to be applauded, and much to recommend it to the admiration of the enlightened world. And I trust that the reader, who looks through these volumes with care, will be disposed to join me in the conclusion that the North American Indian in his native state, is an honest, hospitable, faithful, brave, warlike, cruel, revengeful, relentless,—yet honourable, contemplative and religious being.

If such be the case, I am sure there is enough in it to recommend it to the fair perusal of the world, and charity enough in all civilized countries, in this enlightened age, to extend a helping hand to a dying race; provided that prejudice and fear can be removed, which have heretofore constantly held the civilized portions in dread of the savage—and away from that familiar and friendly embrace, in which alone his true native character can be justly appreciated.

I am fully convinced, from a long familiarity with these people, that the Indian's misfortune has consisted chiefly in our ignorance of their true native character and disposition, which has always held us at a distrustful distance from them; inducing us to look upon them in no other light than that of a hostile foe, and worthy only of that system of continued warfare and abuse that has been for ever waged against them.

There is no difficulty in approaching the Indian and getting acquainted with him in his wild and unsophisticated state, and finding him an honest and honourable man; with feelings to meet feelings, if the above prejudice and dread can be laid aside, and any one will take the pains, as I have done, to

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go and see him in the simplicity of his native state, smoking his pipe under his own humble roof, with his wife and children around him, and his faithful dogs and horses hanging about his hospitable tenement.—So the world *may* see him and smoke his friendly pipe, which will be invariably extended to them; and share, with a hearty welcome, the best that his wigwam affords for the appetite, which is always set out to a stranger the next moment after he enters. 121

But so the mass of the world, most assuredly, will *not* see these people; for they are too far off, and approachable to those only whose avarice or cupidity alone lead them to those remote regions, and whose shame prevents them from publishing to the world the virtues which they have thrown down and trampled under foot.

The very use of the word savage, as it is applied in its general sense, I am inclined to believe is an abuse of the word, and the people to whom it is applied. The word, in its true definition, means no more than *wild*, or *wild man*; and a wild man may have been endowed by his Maker with all the humane and noble traits that inhabit the heart of a tame man. Our ignorance and dread or fear of these people, therefore, have given a new definition to the adjective; and nearly the whole civilized world apply the word *savage*, as expressive of the most ferocious, cruel, and murderous character that can be described.

The grizzly bear is called savage, because he is blood-thirsty, ravenous and cruel; and so is the tiger, and they, like the poor red man, have been feared and dreaded (from the distance at which ignorance and prejudice have kept us from them, or from resented abuses which we have practised when we have come in close contact with them), until Van Amburgh shewed the world, that even these ferocious and unreasoning animals wanted only the friendship and close embrace of their master, to respect and to love him.

As evidence of the hospitality of these ignorant and benighted people, and also of their honesty and honour, there will be found recorded many striking instances in the following pages. And also, as an offset to these, many evidences of the dark and cruel, as well as ignorant and disgusting excesses of passions, unrestrained by the salutary influences of laws and Christianity.

I have roamed about from time to time during seven or eight years, visiting and associating with, some three or four hundred thousand of these people, under an almost infinite variety of circumstances; and from the very many and decided voluntary acts of their hospitality and kindness, I feel bound to pronounce them, by nature, a kind and hospitable people. I have been welcomed generally in their country, and treated to the best that they could give me, without any charges made for my board; they have often escorted me through their enemies' country at some hazard to their own lives, and aided me in passing mountains and rivers with my awkward bag-

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121 gage; and under all of these circumstances of exposure, no Indian ever betrayed me, struck me a blow, or stole from me a shilling's worth of my property that I am aware of.

This is saying a great deal, (and proving it too, if the reader will believe me) in favour of the virtues of these people; when it is borne in mind, as it should be, that there is no law in their land to punish a man for theft—that locks and keys are not known in their country—that the commandments have never been divulged amongst them; nor can any human retribution fall upon the head of a thief, save the disgrace which attaches as a stigma to his character, in the eyes of his people about him.

And thus in these little communities, strange as it may seem, in the absence of all systems of jurisprudence, I have often beheld peace and happiness, and quiet, reigning supreme, for which even kings and emperors might envy them. I have seen rights and virtue protected, and wrongs redressed; and I have seen conjugal, filial and paternal affection in the simplicity and contentedness of nature. I have unavoidably, formed warm and enduring attachments to some of these men which I do not wish to forget—who have brought me near to their hearts, and in our final separation have embraced me in their arms, and commended me and my affairs to the keeping of the Great Spirit.

For the above reasons, the reader will be disposed to forgive me for dwelling so long and so strong on the justness of the claims of these people; and for my occasional expressions of sadness, when my heart bleeds for the fate that awaits the remainder of their unlucky race; which is long to be outlived by the rocks, by the beasts, and even birds and reptiles of the country they live in;—set upon by their fellow-man, whose cupidity, it is feared, will fix no bounds to the Indian's earthly calamity, short of the grave.

I cannot help but repeat, before I close this Letter, that the tribes of the red men of North America, as a nation of human beings, are on their wane; that (to use their own very beautiful figure) "they are fast travelling to the shades of their fathers, towards the setting sun;" and that the traveller who would see these people in their native simplicity and beauty, must needs be hastily on his way to the prairies and Rocky Mountains, or he will see them only as they are now seen on the frontiers, as a basket of *dead game*,—harassed, chased, bleeding and dead; with their plumage and colours despoiled; to be gazed amongst in vain for some system or moral, or for some scale by which to estimate their true native character, other than that which has too often recorded them but a dark and unintelligible mass of cruelty and barbarity.

000 Without further comments I close this Letter, introducing my readers at once to the heart of the Indian country, only asking their forgiveness for having made it so long, and their patience whilst travelling through the following pages (as I journeyed through those remote realms) in search of information and rational amusement; in tracing out the true character of

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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*Two Processes of Change in Mandan-Hidatsa Kinship Terminology**

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INTRODUCTION

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WE ALREADY have some understanding of the progressive stages in the breakdown of a Crow type kinship system under conditions of social change (Spoehr 1947; Eggan 1950), but we lack sufficient information on the actual processes and interactions involved in the shift from one basic kinship type to another. This paper deals with processes of kinship change in one village of Mandan-Hidatsa Indians living on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

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The Mandan and Hidatsa are both small Siouan-speaking tribes with a long history of residence in the Missouri River Valley. Although the Mandan and Hidatsa had different origins, spoke mutually unintelligible languages, and lived in separate villages, they have been in intimate and peaceful association for over two hundred years, with constant cultural borrowings and intermarriage. For the problem to be dealt with here, we may consider the two tribes as one.

Both groups were part of the Prairie earth lodge complex, which included the Chiwere and Dhegiha Sioux and the Caddoan tribes and covered the area encompassed by the Arkansas and Missouri River valleys. A dual subsistence economy of agriculture and hunting was adjusted to an abundant ecological setting in the fertile creek and river bottom lands. Each tribe was composed of a number of independent villages integrated by social and ceremonial ties. The characteristic dwelling was the earth lodge, occupied by matrilocal extended families. The social structure of the Mandan-Hidatsa included a clan and moiety system, matrilineal lineages, an elaborate set of societies, and a Crow type kinship system.

In the early nineteenth century, the two tribes were severely reduced in population by a series of smallpox epidemics. By 1862, the remnants of the Mandan-Hidatsa had consolidated with the Arikara in one village for mutual defense against hostile nomads. With the Indian Bureau allotment program in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the people of the village were scattered into a number of separate and smaller communities on the Fort Berthold Reservation. A group of Mandan and Hidatsa families established

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themselves in one of these communities located on an isolated segment of the reservation between the Missouri and the Little Missouri rivers. The village is called Lone Hill by the Indian people. In 1951, Lone Hill had a total Indian population of 267 individuals forming 48 nuclear families. 101 175 [16]

THE PROBLEM

In the summer of 1951 and continuing in 1952–53, I studied social and cultural change in Lone Hill village. Starting with an investigation of kinship using the genealogical method I obtained kinship schedules essentially similar to those reported by Morgan (1871:291–382), Lowie (1917), and Bowers (1950, ms.) as characterizing the traditional Crow lineage system. It became apparent that for some members of Lone Hill, both old and young, the terminological system had not changed. While the majority of the schedules gathered in the village represented the Crow lineage system, this was not so for every case. A number of schedules were obtained with English terms and were directly comparable to the American type of system. Thus, within one community, I obtained two kinds of kinship patterns, the first aboriginal Indian and the second modern near-white. 121 601

This extreme variation is not too surprising if one considers previous work on kinship change in other American Indian tribes which have had a comparable Crow lineage system. Spoehr (1947), comparing related tribes within the Southeastern area, found direct evidence of a complete series from a pure Crow type to a variant of an American generational system with intermediate forms showing a regular pattern of change. The Schmitts (n.d.), within one community of Wichita, found variations in kinship terminology which fitted into the latter part of Spoehr's more complete series. The direction of the Wichita data tends to validate Spoehr's conclusions—when a Crow system changes under modern acculturative influence, there is an increasing patrilineal emphasis, a shift from a lineal to a generational pattern in classification, and a diminishing importance of kinship in regulating social life.

The point to be stressed here is that the terminological systems gathered among the Indian people of Lone Hill village were either pure Crow or white generation types—both extremes without the intermediate variations. While a generational type kinship system is found among the Mandan-Hidatsa and in the cases reported upon by Spoehr and the Schmitts, the absence of intermediate variations in Lone Hill suggests a significant difference in the kind of acculturation taking place. This difference may be clarified by a description of the types of terminological systems found in Lone Hill, followed by an analysis of the mechanisms of kinship change.

THE KINSHIP PATTERNS

Of the two terminological kinship patterns found in Lone Hill, the pure Crow type remains the operating functional system for the majority of the people of the village. Figure 1 is a diagram of the system in the Hidatsa language with English equivalents. The orthography follows Bowers (ms.). 601

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Two individuals were related to one another in a dual way: one a joking grandfather-grandchild relationship, and the other a respect father-son relation. These boys were roommates at boarding school, during which time they teased one another and acted more like "roommates" than in accordance with either of the two possible kinship relationships. One said of the Indian way, "We left it home." When they returned to the reservation they continued the teasing relationship which had arisen from the school situation. Eventually they came to use grandfather-grandchild kinship terms as a means of justifying to others their mild joking. In this case, it was fortunate that a kinship bond existed to validate their behavior on the reservation. 177 601 602

Schneider (1953:228) has suggested "that one important function of the use of kinship terms as forms of address is in imposing on the situation a kind of sanction which enforces conformity with the social definition of the relationship." In some situations the people of Lone Hill consciously manipulate kinship terms to serve their personal ends. Interaction between the acculturated and unacculturated is not unstructured or loosely defined, but it does have an element of ambiguity as there are two relatively clear-cut alternate systems. A few individuals take advantage of this in rather subtle ways.

At a political meeting, a converted Indian, who ordinarily uses the generational system, addressed a prominent member of the opposing faction as a "father." He used the Crow system in this situation knowing full well that his political rival would not be so indiscreet as to criticize a "son" in public.

An unacculturated woman of the village came into the house of a wealthy converted Indian and addressed him as "older brother." She sat down and indicated that she had some important business in town but had no means of transportation. The converted Indian, as he was preparing to drive her to town, whispered to me, "The only time she ever calls me 'brother' is when she wants something."

CONCLUSION

In earlier times both the Mandan-Hidatsa and the Southeastern tribes had a pure Crow type lineage system. After acculturative influence an American generational type kinship system is found among the two groups. In the Southeast the orderly and progressive shift in kinship type was characterized as a process of slow modification of the existing system due to adaptive responses to changing conditions. In Lone Hill, the lack of intermediate variations in kinship patterns suggests a rapid process of change caused by early socialization in those families in which there has been white intermarriage.

The comparison of static types and categories at different times will yield only partial information on the processes of change and persistence. If we are satisfied simply with answers to the question of *what* change has taken place, it may be sufficient to study the beginning and the end of a cultural sequence. But only through examination of an ongoing sequence and of the actual contexts in which a choice of alternatives is made can we say *how* the change has happened and thereby gain insight into the process itself. And the deepest understanding of social change may best be achieved by direct study of the actual mechanisms and processes involved. 121

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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Primary Group Experience and the Processes of Acculturation[1]

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INTRODUCTION

101 121 THE problem of this paper is to explain why some members of the Mandan-Hidatsa village of Lone Hill[2] become more acculturated than others. Our particular thesis is that the differences in degree of acculturation found among the Indian people are in large measure a product of early experience in the intimate family group, and the cultural orientation of their parents or their surrogates.

177 121 There are striking differences in extent of acculturation in Lone Hill. They are manifest in type of home, education, subsistence, speech, and manner, and would be readily apparent even to the most casual observer. In a previous paper it has been shown that some families in Lone Hill follow the Crow lineage kinship system and Indian values while others have adopted the American kinship and value systems (Bruner 1955). A former superintendent of the Agency, who is also a trained social scientist, has written, " . . . there is at Fort Berthold every degree of acculturation, from the family living on the reservation in the hoe culture age of the original village life to a few well-to-do ranchers with nearly every modern convenience in their homes" (Riefel 1952:125). Our purpose in this paper is not to describe these differences in acculturation in any detail, nor is it to correlate them with a check list of unweighted factors; it is rather to delineate the process by which they arise in the family situation and to analyze the larger social context in which they occur.

HISTORY AND METHOD

Any study of acculturation is facilitated to the extent that a means can be established to control comparisons (Eggan 1954); in this paper the control stems from comparison of group differences within one village (cf. Spindler 1955; Rapoport 1954). The criteria for segmenting the population according to degree of acculturation will be based upon differential participation in contemporary reservation culture and not upon the presence or absence of aboriginal Indian or white traits. The people of Lone Hill live in a culture that has emerged from the aboriginal culture of their ancestors and has borrowed from local white, mass American, and pan-Indian cultures.

177 175 The Upper Missouri River Valley was the scene of turbulent changes during the past 200 years. Within this period the horse was introduced, many white men came and with them trade, numerous manufactured goods, devastating plagues of smallpox, the arrival of white homesteaders, the development of surrounding towns, and deliberate attempts by missionaries and other members of a superordinate majority to change a subordinate Indian minority, including the efforts of the military and of the Indian Bureau. An

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participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture. 000

CRITERIA OF ACCULTURATION

There are many superficial criteria that could be selected to divide the population of Lone Hill into groups differing in degree of acculturation, but I prefer one that has an essential connection to the Indian value system. One well-known basic value that contrasts sharply with our general American ethic is the Indian value of generosity (Bruner 1953:23–24). This value difference has a readily observable behavioral manifestation—participation in the Indian ceremonial dances. The Indian "give-away" dance is now a secular affair, featuring Indian songs and dances and the giving of war bonnets, horses, cattle, blankets, and money as gifts to prescribed relatives, distinguished visitors, societies, and the needy. It is one of the few remaining public gatherings in Lone Hill where generosity and other Indian values are expressed, reaffirmed and maintained. The following statement by an informant aptly characterizes the emotional overtones of the dance (quoted in Merrill 1951:27): 177 431 535

> After the people get all painted up—this is decoration, like lipstick—and the tom-toms get going and people chanting and singing (demonstrated with a rapid beat of his feet and an ai-ai-ai chant), people get all worked up and excited. Then someone gets up and makes a speech and gives away a horse, or a beef, or two beefs, and everyone gets going and there's a lot of giving-away and many people end up with little or nothing. . . . They say that property doesn't mean anything; what counts is being friendly and generous and all friends of one another. . . . People shout and praise a person (who gives away a lot) and they talk about it long afterwards. [554]

Not every person in Lone Hill attends the dance. Some families come with all their children, stay throughout the night, and donate generously. For them the dance is an impressive and public mechanism of socialization to Indian ways. Others virtually never attend the ceremonials, as they are more concerned with the accumulation than the giving of goods. As a result, they and their children do not participate in the one public ritual that best symbolizes and makes legitimate the traditional Indian values. One acculturated Indian man had this to say about the ceremonials: 431 535 184 [556] 177

> I never go to any dances or pow-wows. These dances are the fellows breeding grounds; they go there to drink, to raise hell, and they are not Christians. A lot of these fellows . . . go there to take some gal out . . . and get her drunk. That's all these dances are for, as far as the younger people are concerned. The older people go there to get these donations; something for nothing. . . . They take their kids there and the kids don't learn much from that. They give things away and that money can be used to educate their children, buy provisions and things. It seems like with an Indian they think they are in the spotlight; it makes them feel good. I never believed in it simply because I know most families and they can't afford to do that.

Participation in the Indian ceremonials was applied to the population of Lone Hill as a criterion of acculturation. In order to define the population, it was first necessary to delimit the community, the sample, and the unit of 621 121 161

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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62 analysis. The governmental administrative divisions do not correspond to the community of Lone Hill, which is a smaller but socially more relevant unit
121 and is recognized as such by the people themselves. All the Indian people who
161 had an established home in the village during the latter half of 1951 were included in the sample. Lone Hill as thus defined consists of 267 residents, of whom 137 were adults over seventeen years of age, forming forty-eight nuclear families living in forty-one separate households. The nuclear family was selected as the unit of analysis rather than the isolated individual or the household, as the data suggest that acculturation in Lone Hill is related to family orientation, and the nuclear family is the only unit of socialization common to the entire population. Those nuclear families who do attend the dance regularly were put in one group; those who do not in another. The application of
177 the criterion dichotomized the population. Of the forty-eight Indian nuclear families in Lone Hill, thirty-four families do regularly participate in the dances and fourteen families do not. Although there are some difficulties associated with these rubrics, I refer to the thirty-four families as "unacculturated" and the fourteen as "acculturated." These terms are not meant to imply absolute categories, as if one group were fully acculturated and the other were not, for our concern is with relative differences of degree. Indeed, in a later section of this paper one further subdivision will be made within the acculturated category.

177 If the criterion of acculturation was a good choice, there should be processes which explain how the two groupings arose. To become acculturated means,
121 in part, to learn and internalize white ways and values from a white person. The Indian people all have contact with whites as adults but they do not all become acculturated at the same rate. Our attention is thus directed to differential exposure to and influence by white persons in the important early years of life, in the socialization process. The preliminary notion suggests itself that degree of acculturation, based upon participation in contemporary Indian culture, is associated with degree of influence by white persons in childhood. To examine this notion we should study cultural transmission and socialization over many generations. For practical reasons this is not feasible but we can determine which families in Lone Hill village have had a history of white intermarriage. In those cases in which a white person has married an Indian, there would be a white person in the domestic family situation who would thus provide a model for the children.

For purposes of this study, the presence or absence of a white model was determined for every family in Lone Hill on the basis of census data, Indian Bureau records, village genealogies, informal interviews, and in some cases extensive life history material. Any given nuclear family was said to have had a white model if either a parent, a grandparent, or a great-grandparent, or a substitute for such on either side, was a white person who actually lived with the nuclear family. Taking our point of departure from the present children, this creates a limit of four generations back, which was in part a matter of expediency as it was not possible to trace instances of white intermarriage beyond four generations. However, the limit of four generations corresponds to

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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the approximate time at which the Mandan-Hidatsa abandoned their aboriginal villages and thus does represent an important historical turning point. 177 121

The presence of a white model in the nuclear family through intermarriage is a cultural factor, and it should not be confused with degree of blood, a biological factor. The grandfather of one woman in Lone Hill was a white man who came up the Missouri on a steamboat, stayed a few years, and then left for parts unknown. He produced an undetermined number of children by different Indian women, but all his children were raised in Indian homes. The only cultural transmission from this white man is that some of his known descendants suspect that he may have been Irish and they jokingly celebrate St. Patrick's Day in his honor. His descendants have not had a white model despite their one-fourth degree of white blood. In fact, there is probably not one Mandan-Hidatsa who is a biological full blood, due to the great amount of white intermarriage in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This early intermarriage has not been recorded and took place in very different historical circumstances than more recent intermarriage. 144

It was found that seventeen nuclear families have had a white model and that thirty-one families have not. When we put these data together with our criterion of acculturation, a very striking result emerges. It was previously determined that fourteen *acculturated* families *do not* regularly attend the Indian ceremonials and thirty-four *unacculturated* families *do* attend the dances. Each of the fourteen acculturated families has had a white model. Of the thirty-four unacculturated families, thirty-one have not had a white model and three have had. To state these results another way: the families who do not attend the dances have all had a white model; the families who do attend the ceremonials, with three exceptions have not had a white model. 177 121

This is indeed a striking set of facts. The importance of white intermarriage has been suggested by other students who have worked in the same culture area with related tribes, but this is, as far as I know, the first time the relationship has emerged so boldly. Voget (1952), who has delineated four socio-cultural groups among the Crow, has written of his "native" group, "It is not unreasonable to assume that the membership of this socio-cultural category consists for the most part of those of pure descent" (89), while his most acculturated group, the "American marginal," are " . . . predominantly of mixed descent" (91). Based upon her study of the Dakota Sioux, Useem (1947:375) concludes, "The full bloods, in contrast to the mixed bloods, tend to retain more of the Sioux language, to keep more of the early symbols and patterns of Dakotan life, [to reside in] full blood communities . . . , to be less educated, to prefer on-reservation to off-reservation life, and to be opposed to the Indian Reorganization Act of the Federal Government."

THE FACTOR OF ISOLATION

The explanation of why white intermarriage is a prerequisite for acculturation must be sought in the total situation in which the people of Lone Hill find themselves. Single factor explanations do not cover the available data. It might be thought that the Indian who knows he is, and is known to be part

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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177 white, would be favorably predisposed toward white ways. But the descend-
121 ants of the previously mentioned Irishman are biologically part white, yet they remain unacculturated; and there are three families who have had a white model but who have not become acculturated. Another possible explanation is that the lighter skin color per se allows the children of mixed marriages to "pass" in local white society. The data does not confirm this notion either, as an Indian's ability to be accepted by local whites depends upon how he behaves rather than upon his racial characteristics. A series of relevant factors in the total situation, when taken together, do give at least partial understanding of the importance of white intermarriage. They add up to a picture of such extreme psychological and social isolation of the Indian people that a white person married into the family becomes the primary agent by which white ways and values are learned and internalized.

131 Lone Hill is physically isolated between the Missouri and the Little Mis-
177 souri rivers, and contact with white people is thus infrequent and limited. There are no stores, no paved roads, and no post office in the village. The
[361] only whites who reside in Lone Hill itself are the two teachers in the govern-
487 ment grade school, who rarely participate in community affairs. None of the
489 whites currently married to Indians live permanently in the village today, although a few couples occasionally return to Lone Hill, during which time they stay with Indian families. There are two ways to travel to the surrounding towns: either across the Missouri River by boat during the summer and over the ice in winter, or by making a sixty-mile trip over dirt roads through irregular rolling hills and flat-topped buttes. Anyone who has lived in Lone Hill during the late spring comes to realize the meaning of isolation. The ice over the river is too thin for passage, the roads become blocked by mud and melting show, and the one telephone usually breaks down and remains unrepaired. Mail and supplies are often dropped by airplane. The physical isolation works in a double way—few whites come to Lone Hill and few Indians leave.

105 The Mandan-Hidatsa have never experienced a serious ecological read-
177 justment, as they have lived along the Missouri River Valley for at least the two centuries preceding the completion of this study in 1953. The Indian people today are certainly dependent upon the American economic system for their cash income, but almost every family in Lone Hill derives a relatively large noncash income from exploitation of the natural resources of the area. This exploitation is similar in some respects to the adjustment made by the aboriginal earth lodge tribes to the same fertile river bottom lands. Fuel is provided by wood from the timber, and from indigenous lignite outcroppings. Over half the families live in log cabins, which they erect themselves from timber found in the wooded bottoms. The food staples of corn and potatoes are obtained in part from small garden plots, now jointly worked by the men and women of the household. The meat supply depends largely upon the man's ability as a hunter of deer and small game. Abundant wild fruits and berries are gathered during the appropriate seasons and are preserved for use during the winter months. Thus, many of the economic goods which are normally

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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Fort Berthold tribes has increased on an average of 3.8 percent per year (Riefel 1952:87–100).

It is interesting to note that the process of change in which acculturated individuals leave, thereby making for the persistence of traditional ways within the village, had its counterpart in the historical period from 1740 to 1890. As individuals and as family groups, those Mandan and Hidatsa who preferred the Plains warrior-hunting life changed tribal affiliations and left their sedentary villages to join a nomad tribe (Bowers MS). As Holder (1950) has shown, this intertribal exchange of personnel reflected the development of a deep conflict in the earth-lodge social organization based upon the allocation of prestige. Aboriginal Mandan and Hidatsa society was stratified into classes, with the cultural rewards reserved for a select nobility who inherited the sacred tribal bundles (Bowers 1950). Many young men, born into less fortunate matrilineal kin groups who owned no bundles and who had been exposed to nomadic life, tried to achieve recognition through accomplishments in warfare and through vision experiences. These young men, placed in disadvantageous positions in the social structure, tended to leave their villages to become nomads. The Cheyenne and the Crow as cultures, adopted nomadism (Strong 1940); among the Mandan and Hidatsa, individuals became nomads by changing cultures. Thus, both in the past and in the present, those dissatisfied with the traditional Indian ways of the majority group left the village. This mode of change seems to be characteristic of the Mandan-Hidatsa, and is a general process with time depth.

THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION

White intermarriage may be a necessary condition but it is not in itself a sufficient condition for acculturation in Lone Hill. Of the seventeen families who have had a white model through intermarriage, seven are acculturated, seven marginal and three unacculturated. The presence of a white person in the nuclear family does no more than create the possibility that the children of the mixed marriage will learn white ways. Cultural transmission is not merely an automatic transferal from the past in which parents mechanically stamp their culture into the child. Some of the white men who married Mandan-Hidatsa women may well have preferred to assimilate to Indian ways and may not have passed their understanding of white ways on to their offspring, while others may have desired that their children learn American ways but may not have implemented that desire in the socialization process. As it is no longer possible to study the original family situations in which a white man married an Indian woman, we cannot determine why those original parents have adopted the acculturated, marginal, or unacculturated life pattern. But partial understanding of the process involved may be obtained by an examination of cultural transmission in the contemporary families.

There are two steps by which an individual in Lone Hill becomes acculturated; first there must be a white model, so that at least one of the parents has a fundamental understanding of American culture, and second, the

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Man[illegible]n NQ17

121 was the investigation of the upper part of the course of the Missouri, they do not form a prominent feature, and it is impossible to expect, from a few months' residence, an opinion on the social condition and character of that motley population.

The indulgent reader, following the author beyond the frontier of the United States, will have to direct his attention to those extensive plains—those cheerless, desolate prairies, the western boundary of which is formed by the snow-covered chain of the Rocky Mountains, or the Oregon, where many tribes of the aborigines still enjoy a peaceful abode; while their brethren in the eastern part of the continent are supplanted, extirpated, degenerated, in the face of the constantly increasing immigration, or have been forced across the Mississippi, where they have for the most part perished.

122 The vast tracts of the interior of North-western America are, in general, but little known, and the government of the United States may be justly reproached for not having done more to explore them. Some few scientific expeditions, among which the two under Major Long produced the most satisfactory results for natural history, though on a limited scale, were set on foot by the government; and it is only under its protection that a thorough investigation of those extensive wildernesses, especially in the Rocky Mountains, can be undertaken. Even Major Long's expeditions are but poorly furnished with respect to natural history, for a faithful and vivid picture of those countries, and their original inhabitants, can never be placed before the eye without the aid of a fine portfolio of plates by the hand of a skilful artist.

In my description of the voyage up the Missouri, I have endeavoured to avail myself of the assistance of an able draughtsman, the want of which I so sensibly felt in my former travels in South America. On the present occasion I was accompanied by Mr. Bodmer, who has represented the Indian nations with great truth, and correct delineation of their characteristic features. His drawings will prove an important addition to our knowledge of this race of men, to whom so little attention has hitherto been paid.

121 128 After mature consideration, I have judged it desirable to throw the account of my voyage on the Missouri itself into the form of a journal, as the daily notices were numerous, but the variety very trifling; so that the patience of the reader will unfortunately be tried a little in this part of the narrative. In those uninhabited, desert countries the traveller has nothing but the description of the naked banks of the river, and the little diversity they afford, interrupted at times by the adventures of the chase, and occasional meetings with Indians; the reader will therefore excuse many observations and unimportant descriptions, which would have been omitted if the materials had been richer in variety. I need still more indulgence with respect to many observations on natural history, but for this the loss of the greater part of my collections will be a sufficient excuse. The cases containing them were delivered to the Company, to be put on board the steamer for St. Louis, but not insured; and, when the steamer caught fire, the people thought rather of saving the goods than my cases, the contents of which were, probably, not considered to be of much value, and so they were all burnt. This may be a warning to future travellers not to neglect to insure such collections.

Though the main object of my journey, namely, to pass some time in the chain of the Rocky Mountains, was defeated by unfavourable circumstances, I should have been able, but for the loss of my collections, to communicate many new observations, especially in the department of zoology, which are now more or less deficient. The accounts of the tribes of the aborigines, and

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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LETTER—No. 15.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

A WEEK or more has elapsed since the date of my last Letter, and nothing as yet of the great and curious event—or the *Mandan religious ceremony*. There is evidently much preparation making for it, however; and from what I can learn, no one in the nation, save the *medicine-men*, have any knowledge of the exact day on which it is to commence. I am informed by the chiefs, that it takes place as soon as the willow-tree is in full leaf; for, say they, "the twig which the bird brought in was a willow bough, and had full-grown leaves on it." So it seems that this celebration has some relation to the Flood. 796

This great occasion is close at hand, and will, undoubtedly, commence in a few days; in the meantime I will give a few notes and memorandums, which I have made since my last. 000

I have been continually at work with my brush, with fine and picturesque subjects before me; and from the strange, whimsical, and superstitious notions which they have of an art so novel and unaccountable to them, I have been initiated into many of their mysteries—have witnessed many very curious incidents, and preserved several anecdotes, some of which I must relate.

Perhaps nothing ever more completely astonished these people than the operations of my *brush*. The art of portrait-painting was a subject entirely new to them, and of course, unthought of; and my appearance here has commenced a new era in the arcana of *medicine* or mystery. Soon after arriving here, I commenced and finished the portraits of the two principal chiefs. This was done without having awakened the curiosity of the villagers, as they had heard nothing of what was going on, and even the chiefs themselves seemed to be ignorant of my designs, until the pictures were completed. No one else was admitted into my lodge during the operation; and when finished, it was exceedingly amusing to see them mutually recognizing each other's likeness, and assuring each other of the striking resemblance which they bore to the originals. Both of these pressed their hand over their mouths awhile in dead silence (a custom amongst most tribes, when anything surprises them very much); looking attentively upon the portraits and myself, and upon the palette and colours with which these unaccountable effects had been produced. 123

●/23 They then walked up to me in the most gentle manner, taking me in turn by the hand, with a firm grip; with head and eyes inclined downwards, and in a tone alittle above a whisper—pronounced the words "te-ho-pe-nee Wash-ee!" and walked off.

Readers, at that moment I was christened with a new and a great name—one by which I am now familiarly hailed, and talked of in this village; and no doubt will be, as long as traditions last in this strange community.

That moment confered an honour on me, which you as yet do not understand. I took the degree (not of Doctor of Laws, nor Bachelor of Arts) of Master of Arts—of mysteries—of magic, and of hocus pocus. I was recognized in that short senence as a "great *medicine white man*;" and since that time, have been regularly installed *medicine* or mystery, which is the most honourable degree that could be conferred upon me here; and I now hold a place amongst the most eminent and envied personages, the doctors and conjurati of this tiled community.

Te-ho-pe-nee Washee (or medicine white man) is the name I now go by, and it will prove to me, no doubt, of more value than gold, for I have been called upon and feasted by the doctors, who are all mystery-men; and it has been an easy andsuccessful passport already to many strange and mysterious places; and has put me in possession of a vast deal of curious and interesting information, which I am sure I never should have otherwise learned. I am dailygrowing in the estimation of the medicine-men and the chiefs; and by asuming all the gravity and circumspection due from so high a dignitary and even considerably more); and endeavouring to perform now and then some art or trick that is unfathomable, I am in hopes of supporting my standing, until the great annual ceremony commences; on which occasion, I may possibly be allowed a seat in the *medicine-lodge* by the docors, who are the sole conductors of this great source and fountain of all presteraft and conjuration in this country.

After I had finishedthe portraits of the two chiefs, and they had returned to their wigwams, and deliberately seated themselves by their respective fire-sides, and silently smoked a pipe or two (according to an universal custom), they gradualy began to tell what had taken place; and at length crowds of gaping listners, with mouths wide open, thronged their lodges; and a throng of women and girls were about my house, and through every crack and crevice I could see their glistening eyes, which were piercing my hut in a hundred places, from a natural and restless propensity, a curiosity to see what was going on within. An hour or more passed in this way, and the soft and silken throng continually increased, until some hundreds of them were clung, and piled about my wigwam like a swarm of bees hanging on the front and sides of their hive.

During this time, not a man made his appearance about the premises—after awhile, however, they could be seen, folded in their robes, gradually *siding* up towards the lodge with a silly look upon their faces, which confessed at

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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once that curiosity was leading them reluctantly, where their pride checked and forbade them to go. The rush soon after became general, and the chiefs and medicine-men took possession of my room, placing *soldiers* (braves with spears in their hands) at the door, admitting no one, but such as were allowed by the chiefs, to come in. 123

Monsr. Kipp (the agent of the Fur Company, who has lived here eight years, and to whom, for his politeness and hospitality, I am much indebted), at this time took a seat with the chiefs, and, speaking their language fluently, he explained to them my views and the objects for which I was painting these portraits; and also expounded to them the manner in which they were made,—at which they seemed all to be very much pleased. The necessity at this time of exposing the portraits to the view of the crowds who were assembled around the house, became imperative, and they were held up together over the door, so that the whole village had a chance to see and recognise their chiefs. The effect upon so mixed a multitude, who as yet had heard no way of accounting for them, was novel and really laughable. The likenesses were instantly recognized, and many of the gaping multitude commenced yelping; some were stamping off in the jarring dance—others were singing, and others again were crying—hundreds covered their mouths with their hands and were mute; others, indignant, drove their spears frightfully into the ground, and some threw a reddened arrow at the sun, and went home to their wigwams.

The pictures seen,—the next curiosity was to see the man who made them, and I was called forth. Readers! if you have any imagination, save me the trouble of painting this scene. * * * * 123 774

* * * I stepped forth, and was instantly hemmed in in the throng. Women were gaping and gazing—and warriors and braves were offering me their hands,—whilst little boys and girls, by dozens, were struggling through the crowd to touch me with the ends of their fingers; and whilst I was engaged, from the waist upwards, in fending off the throng and shaking hands, my legs were assailed (not unlike the nibbling of little fish, when I have been standing in deep water) by children, who were creeping between the legs of the bystanders for the curiosity or honour of touching me with the end of their finger. The eager curiosity and expression of astonishment with which they gazed upon me, plainly shewed that they looked upon me as some strange and unaccountable being They pronounced me the greatest *medicine-man* in the world; for they said I had made *living beings*,—they said they could see their chiefs alive, in two places—those that I had made were a *little* alive—they could see their eyes move—could see them smile and laugh, and that if they could laugh they could certainly speak, if they should try, and they must therefore have *some life* in them.

The squaws generally agreed, that they had discovered life enough in them to render my *medicine* too great for the Mandans; saying that such an

123 774 operation could not be performed without taking away from the original something of his existence, which I put in the picture, and they could see it move, could see it stir.

This curtailing of the natural existence, for the purpose of instilling life into the secondary one, they decided to be an useless and destructive operation, and one which was calculated to do great mischief in their happy community; and they commenced a mournful and doleful chaunt against me, crying and weeping bitterly through the village, proclaiming me a most "dangerous man; one who could make living persons by looking at them; and at the same time, could, as a matter of course, destroy life in the same way, if I chose. That my medicine was dangerous to their lives, and that I must leave the village immediately. That bad luck would happen to those whom I painted—that I was to take a part of the existence of those whom I painted, and carry it home with me amongst the white people, and that when they died they would never sleep quiet in their graves."

123 In this way the women and some old quack medicine-men together, had succeeded in raising an opposition against me; and the reasons they assigned were so plausible and so exactly suited for their superstitious feelings, that they completely succeeded in exciting fears and a general panic in the minds of a number of chiefs who had agreed to sit for their portraits, and my operations were, of course, for several days completely at a stand. A grave council was held on the subject from day to day, and there seemed great difficulty in deciding what was to be done with me and the dangerous art which I was practicing; and which had far exceeded their original expectations. I finally got admittance to their sacred conclave, and assured them that I was but a man like themselves,—that my art had no *medicine* or mystery about it, but could be learned by any of them if they would practice it as long as I had—that my intentions towards them were of the most friendly kind, and that in the country where I lived, brave men never allowed their squaws to frighten them with their foolish whims and stories. They all immediately arose, shook me by the hand, and dressed themselves for their pictures. After this, there was no further difficulty about sitting; all were ready to be painted,—the squaws were silent, and my painting-room a continual resort for the chiefs, and braves, and medicine-men; where they waited with impatience for the completion of each one's picture,—that they could decide as to the likeness as it came from under the brush; that they could laugh, and yell, and sing a new song, and smoke a fresh pipe to the health and success of him who had just been safely delivered from the hands and the mystic operation of the "*white medicine.*"

In each of these operations, as they successfully took place, I observed that a pipe or two were well filled, and as soon as I commenced painting, the chiefs and braves, who sat around the sides of the lodge, commenced smoking for the success of the picture (and probably as much or more so for the safe deliverance of the sitter from harm while under the operation);

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and so they continued to pass the pipe around until the portrait was completed. 123

In this way I progressed with my portraits, stopping occasionally very suddenly as if something was wrong, and taking a tremendous puff or two at the pipe, and streaming the smoke through my nostrils, exhibiting in my looks and actions an evident relief; enabling me to proceed with more facility and success,—by flattering and complimenting each one on his good looks after I had got it done, and taking them according to rank, or standing, making it a matter of honour with them, which pleased them exceedingly, and gave me and my art the stamp of respectability at once.

I was then taken by the arm by the chiefs, and led to their lodges, where feasts were prepared for me in elegant style, *i. e.* in the best manner which this country affords; and being led by the arm, and welcomed to them by *gentlemen* of high and exalted feelings, rendered them in my estimation truly elegant.

I was waited upon in due form and ceremony by the *medicine-men*, who received me upon the old adage, "Similis simili gaudet." I was invited to a feast, and they presented me a *she-shee-quoi*, or a doctor's rattle, and also a magical wand, or a doctor's staff, strung with claws of the grizzly bear, with hoofs of the antelope—with ermine—with wild sage and bat's wings—and perfumed withal with the *choice* and *savoury* odour of the pole-cat—a dog was sacrificed and hung by the legs over my wigwam, and I was therefore and thereby initiated into (and countenanced in the practice of) the arcana of medicine or mystery, and considered a Fellow of the Extraordinary Society of *Conjurati*. 123 791

Since this signal success and good fortune in my operations, things have gone on very pleasantly, and I have had a great deal of amusement. Some altercation has taken place, however, amongst the chiefs and braves, with regard to standing or rank, of which they are exceedingly jealous; and they must sit (if at all) in regular order, according to that rank; the trouble is all settled at last, however, and I have had no want of subjects, though a great many have become again alarmed, and are unwilling to sit, for fear, as some say, that they will die prematurely if painted; and as others say, that if they are painted, the picture will live after they are dead, and they cannot sleep quiet in their graves. 123 774

I have had several most remarkable occurrences in my painting-room, of this kind, which have made me some everlasting enemies here; though the minds and feelings of the chiefs and medicine-men have not been affected by them. There has been three or four instances where proud and aspiring young men have been in my lodge, and after gazing at the portraits of the head chief across the room (which sits looking them in the eyes), have raised their hands before their faces and walked around to the side of the lodge, on the right or left, from whence to take a long and fair side-look at the chief, instead of staring him full in the face (which is a most unpardonable offence

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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123 774 in all Indian tribes); and after having got in that position, and cast their eyes again upon the portrait which was yet looking them full in the face, have thrown their robes over their heads and bolted out of the wigwam, filled equally with astonishment and indignation; averring, as they always will in a sullen mood, that they "saw the eyes move,"—that as they walked around the room "the eyes of the portrait followed them." With these unfortunate gentlemen, repeated efforts have been made by the Traders, and also by the chiefs and doctors, who understand the illusion, to convince them of their error, by explaining the mystery; but they will not hear to any explanation whatever; saying, that "what they see with their eyes is always evidence enough for them;" that they always "believe their own eyes sooner than a hundred tongues," and all efforts to get them a second time to my room, or into my company in any place, have proved entirely unsuccessful.

123 791 I had trouble brewing also the other day from another source; one of the "*medicines*" commenced howling and haranguing around my domicil, amongst the throng that was outside, proclaiming that all who were inside and being painted were fools and would soon die; and very materially affecting thereby my popularity. I however sent for him and called him in the next morning, when I was alone, having only the interpreter with me; telling him that I had had my eye upon him for several days, and had been so well pleased with his looks, that I had taken great pains to find out his history, which had been explained by all as one of a most extraordinary kind, and his character and standing in his tribe as worthy of my particular notice; and that I had several days since resolved that as soon as I had practiced my hand long enough upon the others, to get the stiffness out of it (after paddling my canoe so far as I had) and make it to work easily and successfully, I would begin on his portrait, which I was then prepared to commence on that day, and that I felt as if I could do him justice. He shook me by the hand, giving me the "Doctor's grip," and beckoned me to sit down, which I did, and we smoked a pipe together. After this was over, he told me, that "he had no inimical feelings towards me, although he had been telling the chiefs that they were all fools, and all would die who had their portraits painted—that although he had set the old women and children all crying, and even made some of the young warriors tremble, yet he had no unfriendly feelings towards me, nor any fear or dread of my art." "I know you are a good man (said he), I know you will do no harm to any one, your medicine is great and you are a great 'medicine-man.' I would like to see myself very well—and so would all of the chiefs; but they have all been many days in this medicine-house, and they all know me well, and they have not asked me to come in and be *made alive* with paints—my friend, I am glad that my people have told you who I am—my heart is glad—I will go to my wigwam and eat, and in a little while I will come, and you may go to work;"—another pipe was lit and smoked, and he got up and went off. I prepared my canvass and pa-

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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lette, and whistled away the time until twelve o'clock, before he made his appearance; having used the whole of the fore-part of the day at his toilette, arranging his dress and ornamenting his body for his picture.

At that hour then, bedaubed and streaked with paints of various colours, with bear's grease and charcoal, with medicine-pipes in his hands and foxes tails attached to his heels, entered Mah-to-he-hah (the old bear, PLATE 55), with a train of his own profession, who seated themselves around him; and also a number of boys, whom it was requested should remain with him, and whom I supposed it possible might have been pupils, whom he was instructing in the mysteries of *materia medica* and *hoca poca*. He took his position in the middle of the room, waving his eagle calumets in each hand, and singing his medicine-song which he sings over his dying patient, looking me full in the face until I completed his picture, which I painted at full length. His vanity has been completely gratified in the operation; he lies for hours together, day after day, in my room, in front of his picture, gazing intensely upon it; lights my pipe for me while I am painting—shakes hands with me a dozen times on each day, and talks of me, and enlarges upon my *medicine* virtues and my talents, wherever he goes; so that this new difficulty is now removed, and instead of preaching against me, he is one of my strongest and most enthusiastic friends and aids in the country.

There is yet to be described another sort of personage, that is often seen stalking about in all Indian communities, a kind of nondescript, with whom I have been somewhat annoyed, and still more amused, since I came to this village, of whom (or of *which*) I shall give some account in my next epistle.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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or recline upon their horses for an hour or two, overlooking the beautiful games where the braves and the young aspirants are contending in manly and athletic amusements;—when they are fatigued with this severe effort, they wend their way back again, lift off their fine white saddle of doe's-skin, which is wadded with buffalo's hair, turn out their pony—take a little refreshment, smoke a pipe, fan themselves to sleep, and doze away the rest of the day. 156

Whilst I have been painting, from day to day, there have been two or three of these fops continually strutting and taking their attitudes in front of my door; decked out in all their finery, without receiving other benefit or other information, than such as they could discover through the cracks and seams of my cabin. The chiefs, I observed, passed them by without notice, and of course, without inviting them in; and they seemed to figure about my door from day to day in their best dresses and best attitudes, as if in hopes that I would select them as models, for my canvass. It was natural that I should do so, for their costume and personal appearance was entirely more beautiful than anything else to be seen in the village. My plans were laid, and one day when I had got through with all of the head men, who were willing to sit to be painted, and there were two or three of the chiefs lounging in my room, I stepped to the door and tapped one of these fellows on the shoulder, who took the hint, and stepped in, well-pleased and delighted with the signal and honourable notice I had at length taken of him and his beautiful dress. Readers, you cannot imagine what was the expression of gratitude which beamed forth in this poor fellow's face, and how high his heart beat with joy and pride at the idea of my selecting him to be immortal, alongside of the chiefs and worthies whose portraits he saw arranged around the room; and by which honour he, undoubtedly, considered himself well paid for two or three weeks of regular painting, and greasing, and dressing, and standing alternately on one leg and the other at the door of my premises. 123 156

Well, I placed him before me, and a canvass on my easel, and "chalked him out" at full length. He was truly a beautiful subject for the brush, and I was filled with enthusiasm—his dress from head to foot was of the skins of the mountain-goat, and dressed so neatly, that they were almost as soft and as white as Canton crape—around the bottom and the sides it was trimmed with ermine, and porcupine quills of beautiful dyes garnished it in a hundred parts;—his hair which was long, and spread over his back and shoulders, extending nearly to the ground, was all combed back and parted on his forehead like that of a woman. He was a tall and fine figure, with ease and grace in his movements, that were well worthy of a man of better caste. In his left hand he held a beautiful pipe—and in his right hand he plied his fan, and on his wrist was still attached his whip of elk's horn, and his fly-brush, made of the buffalo's tail. There was nought about him of the terrible, and nought to shock the finest, chastest intellect. [292]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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123 I had thus far progressed, with high-wrought feelings of pleasure, when
156 the two or three chiefs, who had been seated around the lodge, and whose portraits I had before painted, arose suddenly, and wrapping themselves tightly in their robes, crossed my room with a quick and heavy step, and took an informal leave of my cabin. I was apprehensive of their displeasure, though I continued my work; and in a few moments the interpreter came furiously into my room, addressing me thus:—"My God, Sir! this never will do; you have given great offence to the chiefs—they have made complaint of your conduct to me—they tell me this is a worthless fellow—a man of no account in the nation, and if you paint his picture, you must instantly destroy theirs; you have no alternative, my dear Sir—and the quicker this chap is out of your lodge the better."

The same matter was explained to my sitter by the interpreter, when he picked up his robe, wrapped himself in it, plied his fan nimbly about his face, and walked out of the lodge in silence, but with quite a consequential smile, taking his old position in front of the door for awhile, after which he drew himself quietly off without further exhibition. So highly do Mandan braves and worthies value the honour of being painted; and so little do they value a man, however lavishly Nature may have bestowed her master touches upon him, who has not the pride and noble bearing of a warrior.

000 I spoke in a former Letter of Mah-to-toh-pa (the four bears), the second chief of the nation, and the most popular man of the Mandans—a high-minded and gallant warrior, as well as a polite and polished gentleman. Since I painted his portrait, as I before described, I have received at his hands many marked and signal attentions; some of which I must name to you, as the very relation of them will put you in possession of many little forms and modes of Indian life, that otherwise might not have been noted.

574 About a week since, this noble fellow stepped into my painting-room about twelve o'clock in the day, in full and splendid dress, and passing his arm through mine, pointed the way, and led me in the most gentlemanly manner, through the village and into his own lodge, where a feast was prepared in a careful manner and waiting our arrival. The lodge in which he
[342] dwelt was a room of immense size, some forty or fifty feet in diameter, in a circular form, and about twenty feet high—with a sunken curb of stone in the centre, of five or six feet in diameter and one foot deep, which contained the fire over which the pot was boiling. I was led near the edge of this curb, and seated on a very handsome robe, most ingeniously garnished and painted with hieroglyphics; and he seated himself gracefully on another one at a little distance from me; with the feast prepared in several dishes, resting on a beautiful rush mat, which was placed between us (PLATE 62).

262 The simple feast which was spread before us consisted of three dishes
264 only, two of which were served in wooden bowls, and the third in an earthen
415 vessel of their own manufacture, somewhat in shape of a bread-tray in our own country. This last contained a quantity of *pem-i-can* and *marrow-*

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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bye, saying "that he was going back to the mountains in the west, from whence he should assuredly return in just a year from that time, to open the lodge again." He then went out of the lodge, and passing through the village, took formal leave of the chiefs in the same manner, and soon disappeared over the bluffs from whence he came. No more was seen of this surprising character during the occasion; but I shall have something yet to say of him and his strange office before I get through the Letter.

To return to the lodge,—the medicine or mystery-man just appointed, and who had received his injunctions from Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah, was left sole conductor and keeper; and according to those injunctions, it was his duty to lie by a small fire in the centre of the lodge, with his medicine-pipe in his hand, crying to the Great Spirit incessantly, watching the young men, and preventing entirely their escape from the lodge, and all communication whatever with people outside, for the space of four days and nights, during which time they were not allowed to *eat*, to *drink*, or to *sleep*, preparatory to the excruciating self-tortures which they were to endure on the fourth day.

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I mentioned that I had made four paintings of these strange scenes, and the first one exhibits the interior of the medicine-lodge at this moment; with the young men all reclining around its sides, and the conductor or mystery-man lying by the fire, crying to the Great Spirit (PLATE 66). It was just at this juncture that I was ushered into this sacred temple of their worship, with my companions, which was, undoubtedly, the first time that their devotions had ever been trespassed upon by the presence of pale faces; and in this instance had been brought about in the following strange and unexpected manner.

I had most luckily for myself, painted a full-length portrait of this great magician or high-priest, but a day previous to the commencement of the ceremonies (in which I had represented him in the performance of some of his mysteries), with which he had been so exceedingly pleased as well as astonished (as "he could see its eyes move"), that I must needs be, in his opinion, deeply skilled in magic and mysteries, and well-entitled to a respectable rank in the craft, to which I had been at once elevated by the unanimous voice of the doctors, and regularly initiated, and styled *Te-ho-pee-nee-wash-ee-waska-pooska*, the *white medicine* (or Spirit) *painter*.

With this very honourable degree which had just been conferred upon me, I was standing in front of the medicine-lodge early in the morning, with my companions by my side, endeavouring to get a peep, if possible, into its sacred interior; when this *master of ceremonies*, guarding and conducting its secrets, as I before described, came out of the door and taking me with a firm *professional* affection by the arm, led me into this *sanctum sanctorum*, which was strictly guarded from, even a peep or a gaze from the vulgar, by a vestibule of eight or ten feet in length, guarded with a double screen or door, and two or three dark and frowning centinels with spears

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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796 or war-clubs in their hands. I gave the wink to my companions as I was
●123 passing in, and the potency of my *medicine* was such as to gain them a quiet admission, and all of us were comfortably placed on elevated seats, which our conductor soon prepared for us.

We were then in full view of everything that transpired in the lodge, having before us the scene exactly, which is represented in the first of the four pictures. To this seat we returned every morning at sunrise, and remained until sun-down for four days, the whole time which these strange scenes occupied.

796 In addition to the preparations and arrangements of the interior of this
778 sanctuary, as above described, there was a curious, though a very strict arrangement of buffalo and human skulls placed on the floor of the lodge, and between them (which were divided into two parcels), and in front of the reclining group of young candidates, was a small and very delicate scaffold, elevated about five feet from the ground, made of four posts or crotches, not larger than a gun-rod, and placed some four or five feet apart, supporting four equally delicate rods, resting in the crotches; thus forming the frame of the scaffold, which was completed by a number of still smaller and more delicate sticks, transversely resting upon them. On the centre of this little frame rested some small object, which I could not exactly understand from the distance of twenty or thirty feet which intervened between it and my eye. I started several times from my seat to approach it, but all eyes were instantly upon me, and every mouth in the assembly sent forth a hush—sh—! which brought me back to my seat again; and I at length quieted my stifled curiosity as well as I could, upon learning the fact, that so sacred was that object, and so important its secrets or mysteries, that not *I* alone, but even the young men, who were passing the ordeal, and all the village, save the conductor of the mysteries, were stopped from approaching it, or knowing what it was.

This little mystery-thing, whatever it was, had the appearance from where I sat, of a small tortoise or frog lying on its back, with its head and legs quite extended, and wound and tasselled off with exceedingly delicate red and blue, and yellow ribbons or tassels, and other bright coloured ornaments; and seemed, from the devotions paid to it, to be the very nucleus of their mysteries—the *sanctissimus sanctorum*, from which seemed to emanate all the sanctity of their proceedings, and to which, all seemed to be paying the highest devotional respect.

This strange, yet important *essence* of their mysteries, I made every enquiry about; but got no further information of, than what I could learn by my eyes, at the distance at which I saw it, and from the silent respect which I saw paid to it. I tried with the doctors, and all of the *fraternity* answered me, that that was "*great medicine*," assuring me that it "could not be told." So I quieted my curiosity as well as I could, by the full conviction that I had a *degree* or two yet to take before I could fathom all

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

that the occupants had been practically exterminated by the Sioux "near 140 years ago," that some young squaws and children were saved by the captors and that among their descendants was Medicine Bear, the well known Yanktonais chief of thirty years ago. As the Mandans are known to have been located at and across from Bismarck (at Mandan) some twenty years before Lewis and Clarke visited them, this Sioux tradition imparted to Taylor seems to further tend to show that the Mandans were driven up the Missouri from below Mandan by the Sioux. Dr. Cyrus A. Peterson, president of the Missouri Historical Society, is understood to have entertained the belief that the Mandans were traced by the remains of their habitations, and that they were thought to have lived along the central Missouri. Dr. Eastman, himself a Sioux Indian who was reared among them and who in his boyhood days wandered with members of his tribe over large areas of country, affirms that the Yanktonais Sioux traditions are to the effect that the Mandans inhabited the lower James river and other Missouri river country on the east side, which tradition is regarded as having existed some two hundred years. Little Owl, a Mandan Indian on the Fort Berthold reservation, and living in 1905 on the southeast side of the Missouri about four miles below the mouth of the Little Missouri, was interviewed, through an interpreter, by the writer of this article; and in giving an account of the traditional ancient habitat of his tribe stated that Bear-on-the-Water, who he said is "the oldest man," says they came from where the Mississippi empties into the sea; spoke of a "boat without oars" (sailboat?) in which they could go across the sea, "or anywhere on the water, up-stream or anywhere;" that the Mandans came all the way up the river to Heart river; that the villages down the river to the Mississippi that had ditches around them were Mandan villages; that one of the Mandan villages (bands) went north from the Heart river to Winnipeg, etc. Bear's Ghost, another Indian in the same neighborhood, interviewed the same day, and who claimed to be a full-blood Mandan, but who disclaimed having such information as certain older men whom he named possessed in the premises, entered into the traditional account of the origin of the Mandans, which seems to have involved the creation of things in general; and he declared it was "in the mouth of the sea, where this river (Missouri) empties into the sea" that the two "men" who made the earth, etc., met,

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ent villages, and it is no illusion to call one village a Mandan, and the other an Aricaree village of old. 172 361

"Such particulars have slipped the observation of early travelers, as they were looking more for the very goods, the Indians and for their places of habitation, and have overlooked abandoned places. Lewis and Clarke also do not mention any such abandoned village as there is the site on Sec. 30 and 31, 143, 81.

" As far as I have got in the location of villages, camps and cemeteries I have forty-five in number marked on the map, a few more to be added."

*(A map which he is preparing for the State Historical Society of North Dakota, see L.)

Under date of March 19th, 1907, Mr. Steinbreuck further states: 361 167

"I do not believe the Aricarees moved down the Missouri very far, since their quarrel with the Mandans. They put one river between them and the Mandans, the Cannon-Ball. Lewis and Clarke found them above Grand river. Some of the Aricarees stayed with their allies, the Mandans, and moved up stream with them from their villages near the Heart. The larger part moved up later between 1804 and 1833. I have found now forty-three villages from five miles below. Standing Rock agency, up to above Knife river, including three Hidatsa villages. Some of the villages are later than 1804, and are determinedly of Aricaree origin. Further no mention is made of those later villages by Lewis and Clarke."

Writer's Visit to Fort Berthold and Mandans. "On September 5th-7th, 1905, he who presents this paper went to Old Fort Berthold and beyond, to Elbowoods, N. D., for the purpose of gaining, if possible, some further impressions of the Mandans and of interviewing some of the leading men of the tribe on the reservation within whose limits they were living. An account of that trip, as regards the Aricarees—who were also the objective of the visit—is found in Vol. III, of the South Dakota History Collections, pages 572-583. 000

"Rev. C. L. Hall, who had been for about thirty years and still is Missionary of the Congregational Missionary Society among the Indians at that reservation, very kindly entertained and materially assisted the writer while there. That point, some twenty 621 124

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

621 miles west of the site of Old Fort Berthold, is yet known as the Fort Berthold Indian agency, and all of the instrumentalities of
●124 the agency, including an Indian school, were centered there, although the agency had been officially discontinued June 30, 1904. But, as stated in Part I of this paper in the account of the Aricarees, the Indians themselves were so completely separated from each other as forming tribal communities as to have erased all semblance of their former tribal relations, and had in fact taken lands in severalty and become citizens. The writer was able to interview but two Mandans in the brief time covered by his visit to that quarter, and was obliged to cross the Missouri and seek them on the southwesterly side of that stream at a point some seven miles below the mouth of the Little Missouri. Through the solicitude of Rev. Hall, and of Hon. Anzi W. Thomas, late Indian agent, an interpreter, who was assistant farmer at the agency, was furnished the writer in connection with the interviews of the Indians Bear's Ghost and Little Owl—two Mandans who were pointed out by Rev. Hall and others as likely to be able to impart information concerning the traditions of their tribe, though neither was an old man; nor was it possible to find an aged member of the tribe near the agency headquarters. Furthermore, there seemed to be no very old member of the former band or tribe within the reservation who was conspicuous as the possessor of the tribal history and traditions in an eminent degree. However, those who were interviewed were evidently equipped to intelligently communicate the seemingly common story of the creation, the flood, etc., as it was understood by the Mandans.

773 "It will be seen that these Indians had no definite information in the nature of tradition as to their origin; but there runs through the narrative an unmistakable thread of marine experience in passing from somewhere beyond the sea or the Mississippi into the interior; as found in the account of the boat 'without the oars'—(indicating, it is believed, sailing vessels)—the 'other Mandans' who came from 'down under the earth,' the first or 'lone man' who while wandering met the 'Coyote' from the south and together they fashioned the whole landscape, made the inhabitants of earth and air; while the 'Corn Mother' who was revered as the symbol of germination and growth, the buffalos representing the four seasons, the ducks which brought earth from under

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

INTRODUCTION

THE Mandan are a small Siouan-speaking tribe who in 1910 numbered 197, according to the government census. In 1929 the writer collected data on lodge groups at Fishhook Village for the period 1870–72 from the information of a number of older Mandan and found that they considered forty-three households with a population of three hundred and nineteen as Mandan. Of this number, some of the individuals were Arikara, Hidatsa, and even Crow. Nevertheless, the household was considered to be Mandan because of the participation of the individuals of the household in the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan.

This study of the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan was made during a six-month visit to the Fort Berthold Reservation in 1930 and 1931. The census of lodge groups at the last village of Fishhook for both the Mandan and the Hidatsa was prepared from the data supplied by several of the older informants. Pertinent information on sacred bundles owned and offices filled by the various individuals was recorded. Genealogies were prepared from the data obtained from the census and the inheritance of bundle and other ceremonial rights. This preliminary study, made by the writer in 1929 for Beloit College and under the immediate supervision of Dr. George L. Collie, indicated that much of the aboriginal culture could be reconstructed. The Logan Museum of Beloit College conducted archeological studies of documented Mandan village sites during the period when this study was made, and native informants were especially helpful in identifying numerous traditional sites and interpreting archeological data.

While preparing the census and genealogies of the Mandan, no especial effort was made to record sacred rites. Informants offered little resistance to the recording of data on the possession of these bundles or the order of their inheritance. When the recording of the sacred myths and rites was undertaken, the writer was acquainted with all his informants. Tom Smith, who

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

124 served as interpreter, was exceedingly helpful in planning the study of the ceremonies. Resistance to the divulging of sacred 126 lore was anticipated. He indicated those who would be least likely to co-operate. Work was begun with Christianized informants. Before recording a ceremony, additional information on the household not brought out in recording the census was obtained. Employing genealogies based on household groups, it

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FIG. 3.—Dance of the Goose Society

was possible in nearly every instance to determine both the former villages at Fort Clark and the older villages near Heart River of which the older people of the households were descendants. This information was important in determining cultural differences between the old villages.

115 The writer used fourteen informants for this study; eleven of these were Mandan and three were Hidatsa of the Awaxawi band. The six Mandan male informants were White Calf, Crows Heart, Ben Benson, Bear on the Flat, Foolish Woman, and Little Owl. The female informants were Scattercorn, Mrs. Good Bear, Calf Woman, Mrs. Owen Baker, and Front Woman. Wolf Chief and Mrs. White Duck supplied information on the Okipa and Corn ceremonies that had reached them through intermar-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

115 riage with the Mandan. Bears Arm supplied information on Eagle-trapping Rites.

115 As the study progressed, less resistance to divulging sacred lore was encountered except in the recording of the People •124 Above rites. The omission or incompleteness of data for some 114 of the rites is due to the shortness of the period of study and the failure of the writer to recognize the significance of some of the rites in interpreting the ceremonial life until the study was nearly completed or while analyzing the data after leaving the field. By that time those who could have supplied the information had died. Additional information on the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan, particularly eagle-trapping, was obtained while making a study of the Hidatsa for the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago under the supervision of Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole in 1932 and 1933. Beloit College transferred the field notes on the Mandan to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago in 1940, and the section on Mandan ceremonial organization was prepared at that time. The writer worked with Crows Heart, now ninety-two years of age and the only survivor of the original group of informants, during the summer of 1947 recording his autobiography. At that time the section dealing with the social organization was checked with him.

128 In the preparation of this manuscript, the writer has attempted to record as fully as possible the myths relating to the ceremony. At times these myths, because of their exceeding length, make reading difficult. However, were the myths removed from their proper context, the meaning of the various rites and practices of the ceremony would be lost. The introductory chapter is a brief summary taken from two other manuscripts recently prepared by the writer. These are: "Archeology of the Upper Missouri" and "A History of the Mandan and Hidatsa." These manuscripts may be examined at the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago. I have purposely avoided reference to cultural similarities to neighboring tribal groups other than to indicate broad cultural similarities with the Hidatsa.

194 In the brief recording of native terms the writer has employed the symbols used by Kennard in his report on "Mandan Gram-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 778 at the time of the first thunder. The Eagle-trapping bundle rites were still being performed, and a few old people doctored those who were ill or had suffered an accident.

796 778 •124 The secret character of Mandan ceremonialism contributed to the difficulty of the study. Each Mandan ceremony was secret, and rules providing for the performance of and acquaintance with the secret rites differed somewhat between bundles. In general, it was not possible to complete the study of a ceremony with a single informant, owing to overlapping rights in the bundle, one informant being unwilling to divulge information belonging to another.

This study doubtlessly does not cover all ceremonies performed by the Mandan after 1837. Informants claim that all tribal rites were preserved through the smallpox epidemics of 1782 and 1837. It was possible to obtain intelligible accounts of all rites mentioned by early travelers to the Mandan villages. There was, however, a reduction in the number of duplicate bundles for the same ceremony. When reductions occurred, the [787] original bundle was preserved. The individual rites introduced from time to time by the medium of vision instruction were usually of short duration in the tribe and died out before becoming inaugurated into the tribal ceremonial structure. A few instances of vision bundle experiences are cited in chapter v, "Personal Bundles and Vision Experiences." Had time permitted, several hundred vision experiences could have been recorded, since they were related on many social and ceremonial occasions. Informants never volunteered to relate the sacred myths or to supply data on a ceremony, nor did they volunteer information to the effect that they owned certain rights. They would, however, divulge the names of others having knowledge of tribal bundles. The writer found that better co-operation was received from an informant when a simple feast was made to the bundle. It removed the fear informants felt when relating the rites.

The writer was impressed with the extreme conservatism of the Mandan. Informants frequently requested a retranslation of a significant portion of a rite to make certain that it had been properly recorded. They recognized variations in myths be-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

tween bundle lines. Some informants thought that these bundles must have originated in different villages because their older people who were living when the tribe occupied two villages had spoken of ceremonial differences between the villages. They believed that these ceremonial differences went back to mythological times when the ceremonies were first taught to the people. 796 778 124

Mandan tribal sacred bundles had these elements in common: each contained objects representing the characters and incidents of the myth; the rites were dramatizations of the sacred myths; there were prescribed rules of behavior when in the presence of the bundle or while it was open; an incense was always burned while the bundle rites were being performed or when the rites were terminated; there were songs and a sacred myth which belonged to the bundle; each bundle included a buffalo skull; the ritualistic lore was secret, and payment must be made to the bundle-owner for a knowledge of the rites; there were fixed rules of inheritance for the sale and transfer of the bundle; tribal sanction of a bundle transfer was at a public feast to which those owning related bundles were invited; feasts were made to the bundle by nonowners as a social obligation; and bundle-owners on occasion would give Bundle Renewal feasts to their own bundles to which were invited those owning important tribal bundles. 796 778 773 424

The Mandan recognize four seasons which were associated with the spring, summer, autumn, and winter buffalo. Since informants could not agree on any other division of the year, it is highly unlikely that they recognized any other uniform divisions. The year count was important in relating events. Ceremonies were, in general, evenly divided over the year. Ceremonies for success in warfare or doctoring were held at any time. On the other hand, rites relating to agriculture were begun in late winter when the first water birds appeared and were held throughout the summer until the southern flight of these birds had passed. The Okipa was always held during the warmest months, while the Snow Owl, Red Stick, and White Buffalo Cow ceremonies to bring the winter buffalo herds were always held 796 805 221

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

eat those he had sent dreams to or those who had his bundles and gave feasts or offerings of goods to him regularly. The presence of so many bundle lines, both original and secondary, surviving the smallpox of 1837, indicates the popularity of such bundles.

This was a very difficult bundle ceremony to secure information about. All tribal ceremonies were secret. The difficulty in securing information on this ceremony was based on fear of death. Calf Woman explained that, since she had joined the church and was not likely to sell rights in her other bundles four times, she was always willing to explain things in her other bundles. She had described everything Wilson and Lowie asked of her and never felt fear of the loss of good fortune.[2] She added:

> I showed you the masks yesterday that belonged in the Okipa ceremony. Of course, I smoked pine branches before I opened the bundle, but I always do that. I don't feel the same way about the Peope Above bundle. The Moon in the bundle doesn't worry me, but Sun is an evil spirit. He brought death to our warriors. My first husband was killed on the warpath even though his father and mother had a People Above bundle which together with my husband's sisters we would have had rights had he lived. So, you see, sometimes the Sun will even kill his own. It may be that the Sun had already blessed the enemy and adopted him as a son was why my husband was killed. This Old Woman Above is mean, but she is fair. Her daughter is evil; she causes men to leave their wives and little children; she causes insanity, fits, and feeblemindedness. People are always careful to follow the rules belonging to these bundles, or their neighbors blame them when someone breaks a leg or has a tree fall on him. I worried last night because I had promised to tell you the myth.

Wolf Chief expressed the same fears when asked to explain the Hidatsa ceremony to Woman Above. That there was a rich ritualism connected with these bundles is evident from isolated data appearing in other sacred myths. There are a number of qualified informants, but to date it has been impossible to secure complete information from them. Variations no doubt existed between villages and even in bundle lines within the same village, but this could not be determined, since such information was not obtainable from Calf Woman.

Bundle purchase followed the normal tribal pattern. The instruction was directly between seller and buyer, which, when completed, was followed by a medicine feast at the time the transfer was made. Attendance was limited to persons with

2. Gilbert L. Wilson and Robert H. Lowie.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

were sought, since these women went out at night, according to the myths, to fight and to incite fights between the Mandan and their own people or the enemy in order to have people to eat. They were described as cannibals in all the myths. 778 726 773

The peculiar ceremonial pattern and traditional history of the bundle, in a large measure, explained the general knowledge of the myths belonging to the ritual. The bundle-owner and his wives could sell the story. Owners of all bundles in which were represented Holy Women, consisting of Buffalo Woman, Old Woman Above (Sun's mother), Woman in Dog Den Buttes, Old Woman Who Never Dies, and Striped Scalp (Sun's sister), were included in this group. Traditionally, the myth survived when the Hidatsa sold the bundle. Those who had bought the right to hear the story could in turn retell when payment was made. Those who had made offerings to the robe could learn the story and retell it upon payment of goods. The bundle was normally transferred from parents to sons and daughters if they were living and wanted it; otherwise to a daughter and her husband, inheritance being in the Prairie Chicken clan. Transfer was made at a public feast, but the preliminary instructions were direct between buyer and seller and in secret. The people of the Prairie Chicken clan of Awatixa and the Mandan villages claimed rights to the bundle. 778 773 425

When doing ethnological work with Mandan informants, it was evident that there was no hesitation in giving information on this ceremony, as was the case with the People Above ceremony. There was no reference to punishing people with insanity, paralysis, and other afflictions, as was the case with the People Above mythology, in spite of the fact that the female characters represented were believed to be members of the Holy Women band. These women, although cannibals and evil in character, were often represented in the mythology as kind, sending fog to conceal their movements while they brought meat into the Mandan villages and loaded down the corn scaffolds during times of famine. People were not permitted to speak in a loud voice in the lodge where the bundle was kept, and mice that ran over it were said to have died. 776 124

During the last century the bundle and its owners have occupied an important place in the traditional history of the Man- 778

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

PREFACE.

121 The Hidatsa, while most closely related to the Crow, have been in close contact with the Mandan for so long a period that the culture of all three tribes must be considered in conjunction. That is to say, it is impossible to acquire an accurate picture of Hidatsa life without taking into account, on the one hand, the persistence of old elements characteristic of the parent tribe before its division into Crow and Hidatsa and, on the other hand, the influence exerted by the Mandan subsequently to the Crow separation. Our information on the Mandan, for reasons stated below, is tantalizingly meager and suggests rather than solves problems. Fortunately, the Crow data are sufficiently extensive to permit a comparison of their social culture with that of the Hidatsa and to make possible a reconstruction of their pristine organization. In a previous paper of this series issued in 1912 (Vol. IX, part II) I dealt with the "Social Life of the Crow Indians." Since its appearance I have paid several visits to this people and have secured much additional information, which partly confirms and in part supplements and amends my earlier results. I have naturally devoted much more space to the new material but found it necessary to summarize briefly some facts previously described.

124 A few words may be in place regarding the method followed in illustrating the use of Crow kinship terms. It has become clear to students that relationship nomenclature harbors innumerable pitfalls for the field investigator. These can be minimized only by utilizing every possible means of checking the information obtained. We must not content ourselves with abstract statements nor even with the confirmation supplied by a genealogical scheme but should determine the use to which terms are put by the native when not harried by ethnological questioning, when, in other words, he is in a perfectly normal and naïve position with reference to his tribesmen. One way to do this is to keep one's ears open in Indian households when not ostensibly engaged in belaboring the aboriginal consciousness; another equally effective one is to collect systematically the evidence yielded by mythological texts. It is even possible to make use of myths taken down in English provided the recorder insists on noting down in the vernacular every relationship term that occurs.

114 The Hidatsa and Mandan were visited in the summers of 1910, 1911, and 1913, while my acquaintance with the Crow dates back to 1907 and has been frequently renewed since.

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

June 15, 1917.

[p. 2 is blank]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NO17 Mandan NQ17

perhaps more, villages. They call themselves Numangkake (*i. e.*, men), and if they wish to particularize their descent, they add the name of the village whence they came originally. Some, for instance, call themselves Sipuske-Numangkake, the men of the pheasant or prairie hens, from the village Sipuska-Mihte, pheasant village; others, Mato-Numangkake, the men of the bear, from the village Mato-Mihte, bear village, &c. &c. Another general name of this people is Mahna-Narra, the sulky, because they separated from the rest of their nation, and went higher up the Missouri.

The early history of the Mandans is involved in obscurity; their own traditions and legends will be discussed in the sequel, when treating on their religious ideas. They affirm that they descend originally from the more eastern nations, near the sea-coast.* Though the above-named villages do not all exist at this time, these Indians still call themselves by their several names. They formerly dwelt near the Heart River: when Charbonneau arrived here at the end of the last century, the two Mandan villages, which are still standing, were about six or eight miles further down the Missouri. The small-pox and the assaults of their enemies have so reduced this people, that the whole number now reside in two villages, in the vicinity of Fort Clarke. These two villages are Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush (the southern village), about 300 paces above Fort Clarke, and on the same side of the river, and Rnhptare,† about three miles higher up, likewise on the same bank. The first had, at the time of our visit, sixty-five huts, and contained about 150 warriors; the other, thirty-eight huts and eighty-three warriors. According to this, the tribe had not more than 230 or 240 warriors; and, on the whole, scarcely 900 or 1000 souls; Dr.

* Warden is mistaken when he says (Vol. III. p. 559), that the Mandans are descended from the Crows; for this is applicable to the Manitaries, of whom we shall speak afterward.

† Lewis and Clarke write this name Rooptahee, which is incorrect. (See Account of their Journey, Vol. I. p. 120.) These celebrated travellers passed the winter among the Mandans, and give many particulars respecting them, which, on the whole, are correct; but their proper names and words from the Mandan and Manitari languages are, in general, inaccurately understood and written. It is said, they derived their information from a person named Jessáwne, who spoke the language very imperfectly, as we were assured everywhere on the Missouri. Of this kind are many of the names mentioned by those travellers, which neither the Indians nor the Whites were able to understand; for instance, Ahnahaways (Vol. I. p. 115), a people who are said to have formerly dwelt between the Mandans and the Manitaries; likewise Mahowha, where the Arwacahwas lived (*ibid.*); the fourth village is said to have been called Menharta, and to have been inhabited by Manitaries (*ibid.*); of all these names, except, perhaps, Mahowha, which ought probably to be Machaha, nobody could give us the slightest information, not even Charbonneau, though he has lived here so many years. It is necessary to be much on your guard against bad interpreters, and I acted in this respect with much caution. All the information given by me, respecting Indian words and names, was carefully written down from the statements of sensible, well-informed men of those nations. I have endeavoured to write down their language exactly, according to its real pronunciation, in doing which, the German guttural sounds were of great assistance to me, as it is that of the Missouri Indians. Mr. Kipp and Charbonneau, with some others who have lived long among these Indians, daily assisted me, during a long winter, with much patience and kindness, in this work.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Fig. 15. As soon as the ice in the rivers breaks up, they run to the banks and throw this interlaced hoop into the water. In the summer time the Mandans and Manitaries often amuse themselves with races in the prairie, for which they have the best opportunity in the vicinity of their villages; twenty young men, or more, often run at once, and on these occasions there is always high betting. Some of them are very swift runners, and can hold out a long time. 526

The Mandans and Manitaries are extremely superstitious, and all their important actions are guided by such motives. They have most strange ideas of surrounding nature, believe in a multitude of different beings in the heavenly bodies; offer sacrifices to them; invoke their assistance on every occasion; howl, lament, fast, inflict on themselves cruel acts of penance, to propitiate these spirits; and, above all, lay very great stress upon dreams. Some of their traditions have a resemblance to the revelations of the Bible; for instance, Noah's Ark and the Deluge, the history of Samson, &c. The question here arises whether these particulars have not been gradually introduced among them, from their intercourse with Christians, and this seems highly probable. If they have not yet embraced the Christian religion, it would, however, appear that they have adopted some portions which strike them as being either remarkable or interesting.* The belief in a future life, or a better state of things after death, exists among all the American nations; this is confirmed by D'Orbigny (Voyages, tom. iii. p. 90), who justly blames Azara for denying all religious ideas to the people of Paraguay. In order to obtain correct information respecting all their traditions and ideas, we persuaded Dipauch† to enliven our long winter evenings by his narratives, which he readily agreed to do. He spoke with much seriousness and gravity, and I had a most excellent interpreter in Mr. Kipp. I give these narratives, which are often extremely silly, as they were written down from his communications, though I must beg my reader's patience and indulgence. It was not possible to curtail them or to choose only the more interesting parts, since all their traditions and legends have a certain connexion, and really possess some influence on the actual mode of life of this people. 771 771 124

According to Dipauch, these Indians believe in several superior beings, of whom the lord of life, Ohmahank-Numakshi, is the first, the most exalted and the most powerful; who created the earth, man, and every existing object.‡ They believe that he has a tail, and appears sometimes 776 773

* This conjecture is adopted by Dr. Edwin James, the learned author of Tanner's Life among the Indians, p. 357 of that work. I refer to this interesting book for the remarkable hieroglyphics of the people of the Algonquin tribe.

† Dipauch is a very distinguished man, and might have been a chief long ago if he had pleased, as he possesses all the necessary qualifications. His father was shot by the Sioux during Lewis and Clarke's winter residence among these Indians. These travellers offered to assist the Mandans against their enemies, and to take the field with them, to which, however, they would not consent.

‡ Brackenridge, p. 71, is very much mistaken in believing that the Mandans and Manitaries worship only buffalo heads, for, if the latter are medicine, it is incontrovertibly true that they believe in a number of superior beings who make a figure in their mythology.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

form a reciprocal system and do not conform to expected white usage, for example, an individual whom you address as uncle may call you cousin or brother rather than nephew. It is an egocentric system and is used only when an individual in Lone Hill finds himself in a situation in which he is forced to speak English. All but two of the 137 adults of the village are bilingual, as they speak English in addition to the Indian language. English is most often learned in government schools as a second language and is used by the Indian people to deal with the outside world: in contact with Indian Bureau employees, local white merchants, or when members of alien tribes visit or marry into the village. 601 191

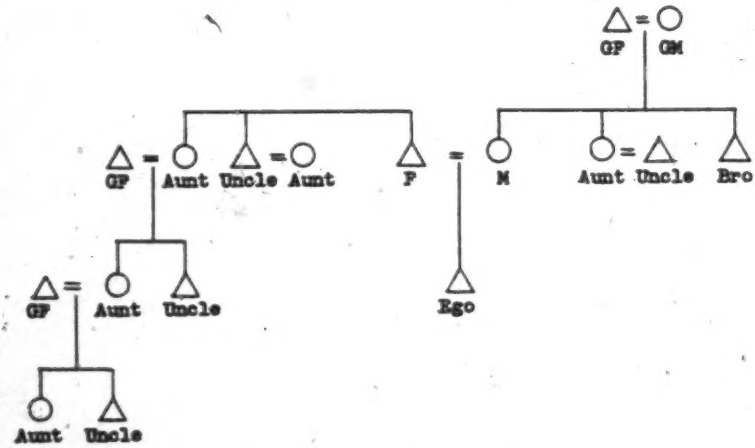

FIG. 2

The second major kinship pattern in Lone Hill consists of cases in which English terms are used in the white generation pattern, as indicated in Figure 3. My observations indicate that the generational system was used only by seven acculturated families. Many of the individuals in these families have spent most of their lives away from the village in off-reservation schools. The system was checked in formal interviews with six people, all between the ages of 20 and 30. In one instance a father's brother was called a cousin rather than an uncle because, as my informant said, "He is too young to be my uncle." The situations in which the generational system is employed tend to be relatively restricted and occur when acculturated individuals relate to one another, their close relatives, and whites in or outside the village. 601 191 177 124

An additional kinship complication arises in those homes in which a member of an alien tribe—usually Crow, Sioux, Blackfoot, or Arikara—marries a Mandan-Hidatsa resident of the village. No schedule can be given here as there is no general pattern, but one case will be briefly described as an illustration. 601 177 191

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

It is to be emphasized that individuals in Lone Hill do not become acculturated by chance; their parents consciously and actively prepare them for a life in the white world. To be "white-oriented" is not sufficient. Almost all the adult Indian people in Lone Hill would like the approval of whites, may seek membership in white social groups, may empathize with white authority figures, may consider themselves as a "we" group with most Americans on particular issues such as opposition to communism, have adopted and understood some aspects of white culture, are able to act in white ways as a manipulatory technique in certain situations, desire American material objects, and often compare themselves with whites. After the members of the village understood the kind of information I was seeking, individuals would come and tell me themselves if they were preparing their children for a life in the Indian or the white way. One middle-aged widow came over to our home and announced, "I don't want my kids to lose their language. They speak Hidatsa and I teach them the Indian ways." 177 861 184

The following conversation with Oliver Brown, a twenty-six year old veteran, and his wife, Marie, occurred toward the end of my field trip and clearly indicates that the Brown family are raising their children to emulate whites and to reject Indian ways. I knew the family well enough to take notes during the interview and reproduce them below, almost verbatim. The interview was one of a series in which I asked the parents of all the English-speaking families why they decided to teach English to their children when others in the village were taught and spoke Hidatsa. Oliver has just started in the cattle business and already has sixty-five head. Theirs is the only Indian home in Lone Hill with a bottle gas refrigerator, stove, deep freeze, and oil heater. They now have four children; a boy of three, another of two, and twin girls less than a year old. On this occasion, Oliver was watching the children, I was seated at the kitchen table, while Marie was washing the dinner dishes. I started the conversation by asking what language they had first learned at home. 177 861 181 124

MARIE: My mother used to tell us kids about Indian ways but we learned English first, and I never picked up Hidatsa good.

OLIVER: [directing his remarks to me] When kids are brought up to speak Hidatsa they have a hard time in school. I learned Hidatsa and Mandan first, both together, and then English in school. And I had a tough time of it at Marty [an off-reservation Catholic boarding school]. I felt out of place there. My kids will be brought up to speak English, strictly English.

MARIE: But they are Indians and it's in them and they will learn Indian.

OLIVER: [in an impatient tone to his wife] I don't care if they never learn to speak Indian. The Indian language don't get them no place or anything higher. [Oliver turned to me] I want my kids to get an education and make a good living some day. They'll have to mix among the whites and go to school among the whites outside. For their own good, not for my good, I want them to mix with whites and not be among Indians.

BRUNER: After your boys finish school, do you think they might want to come back here and work in your cattle business?

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

177 OLIVER: They could if I build it up. But they would make a better living if they get an education and get out and not stay around here.

861 BRUNER: Why don't you want them to be among Indians?

181 OLIVER: As long as they make a good living it doesn't make any difference if they mix with Indians or whites.

124 MARIE: As long as they mix with the right kind of people!

OLIVER: [to his wife] Education is the whole thing. If they have an education they will mix with the right kind of people, that's understood.

BRUNER: Who are the right kind of people?

OLIVER: The people that try to get somewhere, that want to make an easier living for themselves, that build up and save. Take John and Bill Fast Leg. They're good for nothing. They don't care about anything. They just live; tomorrow is just another day for them.

[At this point we had a long discussion of particular people in Lone Hill to determine exactly who the Browns considered to be the right kind of people—those with whom they would like to see their children associate. The right kind of people were the children of the group that the Browns currently associate with—acculturated people like themselves. When the unacculturated Rainbow family was mentioned, I remarked that their daughter, Flora Rainbow, had never said one word to either my wife or myself, even though we had visited her house many times and were friendly with her parents. To this Oliver made the following comment.]

OLIVER: That's because they're too backward. They don't care to associate except with their own class. Flora won't even talk to Marie! They were brought up that way; it's in their blood, I guess. They were brought up with the Indian language and never heard an English word until they were seven years old. That's what that does!

MARIE: When you visit there you don't feel welcome. I never felt at ease with them.

OLIVER: They're just backward.

MARIE: That's why we want our kids to go out and mix. If they stayed here they would be just like them.

177 The future state envisioned by the Browns, in which they see their children as accepted members of white society, may or may not become an actuality. My data indicate that the total process of acculturation, from the mixed marriage to the time individuals drift off to seek their places in white society, takes three, four, or more generations for completion (cf. Keesing 1954:90; Hallowell 1952:106). In Oliver Brown's case, his grandfather was a white man, a Civil War deserter who married an Indian woman, and his father, Jim Brown, was a successful farmer on the reservation. Oliver's sister, who no longer lives in Lone Hill, had this to say about their father:

177 Jim Brown pounded into us kids about working. Saving money and all that. Jim
861 preaches today about white man's ways like get up in the morning like the white man does, and buying things that would get us ahead. He told us to try to finish school and go to college and get jobs outside. He taught us against donating, though he did it himself. But he always said it never got him anywhere. I don't believe in that donating stuff now. I guess it was just pounded into us.

That Jim Brown " . . . taught us against donating, though he did it himself," was found to be a pattern in all of the acculturated families. The parents raised

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

INTRODUCTION

THE Mandan are a small Siouan-speaking tribe who in 1910 numbered 197, according to the government census. In 1929 the writer collected data on lodge groups at Fishhook Village for the period 1870–72 from the information of a number of older Mandan and found that they considered forty-three households with a population of three hundred and nineteen as Mandan. Of this number, some of the individuals were Arikara, Hidatsa, and even Crow. Nevertheless, the household was considered to be Mandan because of the participation of the individuals of the household in the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan.

This study of the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan was made during a six-month visit to the Fort Berthold Reservation in 1930 and 1931. The census of lodge groups at the last village of Fishhook for both the Mandan and the Hidatsa was prepared from the data supplied by several of the older informants. Pertinent information on sacred bundles owned and offices filled by the various individuals was recorded. Genealogies were prepared from the data obtained from the census and the inheritance of bundle and other ceremonial rights. This preliminary study, made by the writer in 1929 for Beloit College and under the immediate supervision of Dr. George L. Collie, indicated that much of the aboriginal culture could be reconstructed. The Logan Museum of Beloit College conducted archeological studies of documented Mandan village sites during the period when this study was made, and native informants were especially helpful in identifying numerous traditional sites and interpreting archeological data.

While preparing the census and genealogies of the Mandan, no especial effort was made to record sacred rites. Informants offered little resistance to the recording of data on the possession of these bundles or the order of their inheritance. When the recording of the sacred myths and rites was undertaken, the writer was acquainted with all his informants. Tom Smith, who

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

served as interpreter, was exceedingly helpful in planning the study of the ceremonies. Resistance to the divulging of sacred lore was anticipated. He indicated those who would be least likely to co-operate. Work was begun with Christianized informants. Before recording a ceremony, additional information on the household not brought out in recording the census was obtained. Employing genealogies based on household groups, it

FIG. 3.—Dance of the Goose Society

was possible in nearly every instance to determine both the former villages at Fort Clark and the older villages near Heart River of which the older people of the households were descendants. This information was important in determining cultural differences between the old villages.

The writer used fourteen informants for this study; eleven of these were Mandan and three were Hidatsa of the Awaxawi band. The six Mandan male informants were White Calf, Crows Heart, Ben Benson, Bear on the Flat, Foolish Woman, and Little Owl. The female informants were Scattercorn, Mrs. Good Bear, Calf Woman, Mrs. Owen Baker, and Front Woman. Wolf Chief and Mrs. White Duck supplied information on the Okipa and Corn ceremonies that had reached them through intermar-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

115 riage with the Mandan. Bears Arm supplied information on Eagle-trapping Rites.

115 As the study progressed, less resistance to divulging sacred lore was encountered except in the recording of the People 124 Above rites. The omission or incompleteness of data for some 114 of the rites is due to the shortness of the period of study and the failure of the writer to recognize the significance of some of the rites in interpreting the ceremonial life until the study was nearly completed or while analyzing the data after leaving the field. By that time those who could have supplied the information had died. Additional information on the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan, particularly eagle-trapping, was obtained while making a study of the Hidatsa for the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago under the supervision of Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole in 1932 and 1933. Beloit College transferred the field notes on the Mandan to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago in 1940, and the section on Mandan ceremonial organization was prepared at that time. The writer worked with Crows Heart, now ninety-two years of age and the only survivor of the original group of informants, during the summer of 1947 recording his autobiography. At that time the section dealing with the social organization was checked with him.

• 128 In the preparation of this manuscript, the writer has attempted to record as fully as possible the myths relating to the ceremony. At times these myths, because of their exceeding length, make reading difficult. However, were the myths removed from their proper context, the meaning of the various rites and practices of the ceremony would be lost. The introductory chapter is a brief summary taken from two other manuscripts recently prepared by the writer. These are: "Archeology of the Upper Missouri" and "A History of the Mandan and Hidatsa." These manuscripts may be examined at the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago. I have purposely avoided reference to cultural similarities to neighboring tribal groups other than to indicate broad cultural similarities with the Hidatsa.

194 In the brief recording of native terms the writer has employed the symbols used by Kennard in his report on "Mandan Gram-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

secret and were never related publicly. One paying to have the myths related did not receive rights in the ceremony. Instructions in the rites and songs were divulged only to those purchasing the bundle rites.

So far as the writer was able to determine, the ceremonial pattern had been established prior to A.D. 1800 and underwent little change in subsequent years. There was, however, a greater display of goods after the introduction of the horse and the establishment of trading posts.

Matthews wrote: "The work of Prince Maximilian contains the most accurate and extensive information regarding their customs and manners. Notwithstanding the great changes in the tribe since 1834, the majority of his notes might be used without alteration in describing the Mandan of to-day."[1]

The Mandan preserved their rich ceremonialism after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, according to Matthews, who added:

> The square, the medicine-lodge, with its four poles in front, surmounted by sacrificial effigies, and the ark, as they may be seen to-day, seem to be the almost exact counterparts of those which were seen in the old Mandan village at Ft. Clark, in 1832 and 1833, by George Catlin and the Prince of New-Wied, if we are to judge by the drawings they have given us. Within the temple and around the ark, the Mandans still perform the ceremony of the Okeepa, which Catlin so accurately describes. The awful severities of the rite, have however, been somewhat mitigated since his day.[2]

In addition to the sacred myths associated with the bundles, there were numerous stories of a magical character which were bought and sold. A few of these myths were recorded in the field but are omitted from this book, since a number of them have already appeared in print.[3] The most popular of these were: (1) the exploits of Spring Buffalo and Corn Silk; (2) Stiff Robe and the Buffaloes of the Four Seasons; (3) Four Wings; (4) Snake Village and Buffalo Village; (5) Sun as a Gambler and Cannibal; and (6) the Pet Magpie.[4]

The First Creator myths also belong in this category. Since this mythological character had a dual personality, in organizing

1. Washington Matthews, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Language of the Hidatsa* (New York, 1873–74), p. 14.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
3. See Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [Boston, 1938]).
4. See also the myths recorded below in chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping Ceremony."

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

773 the material for this volume, myths of a less sacred character
128 were excluded.

Mandan-Hidatsa eagle-trapping rites were treated collectively in this study, since tribal differences were no greater than differences appearing in separate bundle lines. This is due possibly to recent borrowing by the Hidatsa, because the territory eastward of their historic range, from which they moved in late prehistoric times, was unsuited to eagle-trapping.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

121 was the investigation of the upper part of the course of the Missouri, they do not form a prominent feature, and it is impossible to expect, from a few months' residence, an opinion on the social condition and character of that motley population.

The indulgent reader, following the author beyond the frontier of the United States, will have to direct his attention to those extensive plains—those cheerless, desolate prairies, the western boundary of which is formed by the snow-covered chain of the Rocky Mountains, or the Oregon, where many tribes of the aborigines still enjoy a peaceful abode; while their brethren in the eastern part of the continent are supplanted, extirpated, degenerated, in the face of the constantly increasing immigration, or have been forced across the Mississippi, where they have for the most part perished.

122 The vast tracts of the interior of North-western America are, in general, but little known, and the government of the United States may be justly reproached for not having done more to explore them. Some few scientific expeditions, among which the two under Major Long produced the most satisfactory results for natural history, though on a limited scale, were set on foot by the government; and it is only under its protection that a thorough investigation of those extensive wildernesses, especially in the Rocky Mountains, can be undertaken. Even Major Long's expeditions are but poorly furnished with respect to natural history, for a faithful and vivid picture of those countries, and their original inhabitants, can never be placed before the eye without the aid of a fine portfolio of plates by the hand of a skilful artist.

In my description of the voyage up the Missouri, I have endeavoured to avail myself of the assistance of an able draughtsman, the want of which I so sensibly felt in my former travels in South America. On the present occasion I was accompanied by Mr. Bodmer, who has represented the Indian nations with great truth, and correct delineation of their characteristic features. His drawings will prove an important addition to our knowledge of this race of men, to whom so little attention has hitherto been paid.

121 After mature consideration, I have judged it desirable to throw the account of my voyage
128 on the Missouri itself into the form of a journal, as the daily notices were numerous, but the variety very trifling; so that the patience of the reader will unfortunately be tried a little in this part of the narrative. In those uninhabited, desert countries the traveller has nothing but the description of the naked banks of the river, and the little diversity they afford, interrupted at times by the adventures of the chase, and occasional meetings with Indians; the reader will therefore excuse many observations and unimportant descriptions, which would have been omitted if the materials had been richer in variety. I need still more indulgence with respect to many observations on natural history, but for this the loss of the greater part of my collections will be a sufficient excuse. The cases containing them were delivered to the Company, to be put on board the steamer for St. Louis, but not insured; and, when the steamer caught fire, the people thought rather of saving the goods than my cases, the contents of which were, probably, not considered to be of much value, and so they were all burnt. This may be a warning to future travellers not to neglect to insure such collections.

Though the main object of my journey, namely, to pass some time in the chain of the Rocky Mountains, was defeated by unfavourable circumstances, I should have been able, but for the loss of my collections, to communicate many new observations, especially in the department of zoology, which are now more or less deficient. The accounts of the tribes of the aborigines, and

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especially of the Mandans and Manitaries, are more complete, because I spent a whole winter among them, and was able to have daily intercourse with them. Authentic and impartial accounts of the Indians of the Upper Missouri are now especially valuable, if the information that we have since received is well founded, namely, that to the many evils introduced by the Whites among those tribes, a most destructive epidemic—small-pox—has been added, and a great part of them exterminated: according to the newspapers, the Mandans, Manitaries, Assiniboins, and Blackfeet have been swept away except a small remnant. The observation of the manners of the aborigines is undoubtedly that which must chiefly interest the foreign traveller in those countries, especially as the Anglo-Americans look down on them with a certain feeling of hatred. Hence we have hitherto met with little useful information respecting the Indians, except in the recent writings of Edward James, Long, Say, Schoolcraft, M'Kenney, Cass, Duponceau, Irving, and a few others; and as good portraits of this race have hitherto been extremely rare, the faithful delineation contained in the portfolio of plates accompanying this work will be interesting to the friends of anthropology and ethnography.

Several men, of great eminence in the learned world, have had the kindness to contribute to the publication. President Nees Von Esenbeck has undertaken the determination and description of the plants which I brought home; Professor Goldfuss, of Bonn, that of some fossil shells; Professor Göppert, of Breslau, that of the impression of fossil plants from Mauch Chunk; Professors Valenciennes at Paris, and Wiegmann at Boston, the comparison of some zoological specimens with those in their cities; and Lieut.-Col. W. Thorn, the construction of the map; for which obliging assistance I beg leave to offer to these gentlemen my sincere thanks.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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The author, in his Preface, gives so full an account of the objects and results of his travels in the interior of North America, that it would have been unnecessary for me to prefix any observations of my own, were it not for some circumstances, connected with the translation, which seem to require explanation.

The prospectus of the German original announced that the work would consist of two large quarto volumes, accompanied by a portfolio of above eighty beautifully coloured copper-plates, executed by eminent artists at Paris, from the original drawings. Some specimens of the plates having been brought to London, were so much admired by many competent judges, that Messrs. Ackermann were induced to agree with the Paris publisher for a limited number of copies of the plates; and as it might justly be presumed that the English purchasers would be desirous of having the narrative of the travels, it was resolved to publish a translation compressed into a single volume. By selecting, however, a page of a large size, the translator has been able to retain all the most interesting parts, omitting only minute details of the measurements of animals, &c. All the chapters illustrative of the manners, customs, traditions, and superstitions of the Indians are given without abridgment, and these, as the author justly observes, are by far the most attractive and valuable portions of the work. The papers in the Appendix, giving an account of the plants collected, are also inserted entire, and have been kindly revised by my friend Sir William Hooker.

The principal omission is that of the very extensive vocabularies of the languages of the different Indian tribes. They are written so as to represent the pronunciation in German, and have, in numerous instances, special directions, as thus: kontschue (*ou* as in French, *ackue*, short and quick, *ei*). It appeared to be a hopeless and unprofitable task to rewrite these vocabularies, and to represent the true pronunciation in English. Those who are curious in such matters will find many specimens in Mr. Catlin's interesting work.

128 194 The numerous Indian proper names are, of course, written in the original as pronounced in German. It has been thought best to leave them unchanged, merely requesting the reader to observe, in general, that the consonants are pronounced as in English; only that *ch* is guttural, as in the Scotch word *loch*; that *sch* is pronounced *sh*, and that the vowels have the same sound as in French, *ah*, *a*, *ee*, *o*, *oo*.

175 164 The author alludes, in his Preface, to the recent fearful ravages which have been caused among the Indian races by the small-pox. The origin and extent of these ravages will be seen from the following very affecting letter on the subject:

[p. viii]

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131 LOCATION--latitude and longitude; position in relation to land and sea (e.g., insular, coastal, interior); area of territory occupied; accessibility by land and sea routes; boundaries; etc. See also:

Territorial organization . . . . . 63 Maps 102
Location of group in relation to others . . . 101

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142 114 rather inclining to a dark brown, and I observed some whose hair was almost fair;" eyes not jet black, common to other Indians, but "inclined to be a dark brown; some few are dark gray."

Maximilian, who tarried among and critically studied them in 1833, observes that their noses are sometimes "aqualine, or slightly curved, and often quite straight" and "not so long and arched as those of the Sioux"; that their eyes are "in general long and narrow, of a dark brown color;" that the children's hair "is often only dark brown," and that Brackenridge "speaks of brown hair among the Mandans. There are whole families among them, as well as among the Blackfeet, whose hair is gray, or black mixed with white, so that the whole head appears gray." While Catlin, who sojourned among them in 1832, declares that "they are distinct from all other red folks I have seen," as "differing in many respects, both in looks and customs, from all other tribes which I have seen;" that they were "many steps ahead of other tribes in manners and refinement"; that they were called "polite and friendly Mandans" by the traders; that he "was struck with the peculiar ease and elegance" of them; that "the diversity of complexions, the various colors of their hair and eyes, the singularity of their languages and their peculiar and unaccountable customs" made him "fully convinced that they have sprung from some other origin than that of the North American tribes, or that they are an amalgam of natives with some civilized race;" that "their personal appearance alone, independent of their modes and customs, pronounces them at once as more or less than Indians;" that a stranger "is first struck with the different shades of complexions and various colors of their hair which he sees in a crowd about him, and is at once almost disposed to exclaim that 'These are not Indians.'" That there are many women "whose skins are almost white, with the most pleasing symmetry of features, with hazel, with gray and with blue eyes—with mildness and sweetness of expression and excessive modesty of demeanor, which render them exceedingly pleasant and beautiful."

•131 114 174 **Habitat.** The habitat of the Mandans when first seen by white men from the east was, to what may be regarded as a moral certainty, at and in the immediate vicinity, northward, of Mandan and Bismarck in what is now North Dakota, territory then claimed by Spain, and probably by England. We refer to the

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first visit by La Verendrye to the Mandans in November and December, 1738. We have not caused to be examined the Spanish chronicles to ascertain whether it is either certain or probable that subjects of that nation had come in contact with the Mandans prior to Verendrye's said visit; but if we are to credit the positive statement made to him by a Mandan Indian at the most northerly or prairie village of that tribe where he first made a stand among them—to the effect that the narrator and other Mandans had had a conflict with one or more white men to the south, who were on horseback and in armor, and that he had barely escaped with his life. Spaniards had penetrated into the near neighborhood of the Mandans on the upper Missouri before Verendrye visited them. 131● 114 174

Verendrye—Where He Met Them. It is impossible to locate with any certainty the spot where, or even the immediate vicinity in which Verendrye met the delegation of Mandans who left their most northerly village and returned with his messengers (sent on to announce his coming) to a designated meeting place not far from that village and greeted and parleyed with him November 28th, 1738, and where the Mandan chief invited him to "his fort"—the nearest by and "smaller than the others," and informed him that there were "six forts." All that can be gathered clearly from Verendrye's record (being his official letter to the French governor general of New France, etc.) is that, having started from Michilimackinac on this expedition to the Mandans on the Missouri river, and having arrived at the Assiniboine river and built a fort there sixty leagues below the "forks" of that river—(which we believe to have referred to the confluence of the main stream with the Souris or Mouse river, some 150 miles west) southwest from what is now Winnipeg—he left this "fort" October 18th; three days thereafter the Assiniboine Indians joined him; that on October 21st, he reached the "first mountain," which he states was 26 leagues from his fort and south by southwest; that he next reached the "second mountain," traveling a west by northwest course 24 leagues (we are inclined to think this second mountain was Turtle mountain), and that from this mountain to the Mandans "is southwest;" that November 18th he arrived at an Indian village far (some sixty leagues) out of the direct route to the Mandans, to the west-southwest 120 leagues, to which point he was forced to go, being in the hands of Assini- 131 174

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boine guides; that November 20th he left that village to go 17 leagues, where the meeting place of the Mandans had been chosen, at which point he arrived November 28th; that on the evening of November 30th he continued on toward the first Mandan fort, at about seven leagues from which he lost some papers; that the Indian "orator" there said: "We must leave before four o'clock in the morning in order to arrive early at the fort;" that at noon next day at one and one-half leagues, near a small river (the Mouse?) they rested two hours, where a number of Mandans had come to meet them; that Verendrye was carried thence by the Indians to a point "four acres from the fort," where "the old men" were waiting; that after firing a salute to the fort he marched to and entered it December 3rd, 1738, at four p. m. He had thus spent fifty-two days in going from his "fort" on the Assiniboine to what must have been not far from the neighborhood of Washburn, N. D., 43 miles above Bismarck, or from Coal Harbor, some 25 miles northwest of Washburn, during which journey much time was lost on the detour above mentioned, "so that we took forty-six days to go a distance we should have done easily in sixteen or twenty days at the most." The distance from his fort on the Assiniboine to the first Mandan fort can probably be roughly estimated at about 400 miles by a substantially direct route; and on that basis Verendrye's estimate of sixteen days' travel would be 25 miles per day.

In Neill's account of the Verendrye expedition to the Rocky mountains in 1742 he states that the explorer reached the "country of the Mantanes" by "ascending the Assiniboine, and by the present trail to Mouse river." (Contributions to Historical Society of Montana, Vol. 1, p. 307.) From which it would appear that a thoroughfare overland from the Assiniboine to the Missouri existed anciently as the usual mode of passing over the divide between the basin of Lake Winnepeg and the Missouri valley.

In a note by Neill to the above observation he says:

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"The Mandans, or White Beards, of the Dakotah family are noted for being gray-haired. Sometimes children six years of age have this appearance. They were nearly destroyed by small-pox in 1837, and in 1874 they lived near the Aricaras and Gros Ventres, in the vicinity of Fort Berthold, on the Missouri. For-

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merly all dwelt in mud cabins, surrounded by ditches. A few yet live in dirt lodges." This account was published in 1876. 131 101 174

In another note by Neill in connection with his account of Verendrye's expedition to the mountains, and explanatory of the text, it is stated: "Father Coquard, who had been associated with Verendrye, says that they first met the Mantanes, and next the Brochets. After these were the Gros Ventres," etc. His note explains that the Brochets, or Fish tribe, may perhaps be the Assiniboines. That the Gros Ventres "are said to have formerly lived on the Assiniboine and Red rivers." He then quotes from a report made by Governor Ramsey, of Minnesota, made in 1850 to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to this effect: "The chief of the Red Lake Chippewas of Minnesota some years ago met a village of Gros Ventres toward the sources of the Missouri. They learned that the smoke of the Gros Ventres lodges once arose at Sandy Lake, and that they had a large village of earthen houses at mouth of the Savanna river, which empties into the St. Louis." This would indicate that the Gros Ventres once inhabited the country bordering on the west end of Lake Superior, and by comparing what is said in these Neill notes concerning their residence on the Red and Assiniboine, with the reference to their habitat near the St. Louis river, we may find warrant for observing that the traditions about the Mandans having lived northward and eastward of the Missouri river country, where they were first found by white men, may really have become confused with the Gros Ventres traditions—the latter having joined the Mandans prior to white exploration of those regions.

Then Neill in his account of the Verendrye expedition of 1742 thus refers to Bougainville's version of that expedition and the route taken by quoting him as follows: "He went from Fort La Reine to the Missouri. He met, on the banks of this river, the Mandans, or White Beards, who had seven villages, with fine stockades, strengthened by a ditch. Next to these were the Kinongewiniris, or the Brochets (Assiniboines), in three villages; and toward the upper part of the river were three villages of the Mahantas." These Mahantas were by Neill understood as being the Mahas, or Omahas. And Bougainville adds, after referring to the Mahantas: "All along to the north of the Wabiek or Shell river were situated twenty-three villages of the Panis." Neill in his note says this: "Shell" may mean the Musselshell river

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of modern maps. He then says regarding the Panis: "The Pawnees on De L'Isle's map, are marked on the Missouri, and on Panis, now Platte river. Jeffreys on his map marks a tribe west of Lake Winnipeg, called 'Cris Panis Blanc.' Drake speaks of White Pawnees, Freckled Pawnees and Pawnees of the Platte. They now number about eighteen hundred and dwell on a reservation on a branch of the Platte in Nebraska." (They had gone south from that reservation at or about the time of publication of Neill's account—1876).

From Bougainville's account Neill finds him stating: "Opposite the Mandans are the Ospekakaernousques, or Flatheads, four villages; opposite the Panis are the Arcs, or Knisteneaux, and Utasiaoutchactas, or Assiniboel, three villages." (Id., pp. 312-13-14.)

The summary of evidences as to the course pursued by La Verendrye on his expedition to the mountains in 1742-3, as found in the said Historical Society Contributions, is as follows as regards the Mandans:

"Starting from Fort La Reine, on the Assiniboine river, they went up the Mouse river in a southerly direction, and then crossed over to the Missouri a little below where is now Fort Berthold. They then ascended the Missouri," etc. (Id., p. 316.)

From Bougainville's Memoirs on the State of New France, 1757, the following extract is taken and published by Brower in his "Missouri River:"

"Voyage de la Verendrye. The one who most forwarded this discovery is the Sieur de la Verenderie; from the Fort de la Reine he reached the Missouri; he met first of all upon this river the Mandannes or Blancs Barbus (Bearded Whites) to the number of seven villages fortified by terraced stockades with a ditch; next the Kinongewiniris, or the Brochets (Pikes, i. e., fish) to the number of three villages; in the upper part of the river he found the Mahantas making also three villages; and along the Missouri, in descending it to the mouth of the river Wabiek, or Shell (Coquille) twenty-three villages of Panis." (P. 65.) "Opposite the Panis are the Gens de l'Arc (People of the Bow), Atchapeivinioques in Cristinaux and Utasibaoutchactas in Assibinboels, three villages." (Id. p. 65.)

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Where Lewis and Clarke Found Them. Lewis and Clarke, in their expedition of 1804, are the first visitors to the Mandan vil-

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lages who give any definite information of the precise location of those Indians on the Missouri river. And while they do clearly state where a Mandan village on the westerly side of the Missouri was located, their reference to the Mandan village on the easterly side does not show to a certainty whether it was at a point above or below the one which they speak of as being on the opposite side, but they state that the latter is "at the distance of three miles across." They then proceed to substantially fix the location of the village on the westerly side by calling it "the lower Mandan village" and by locating the village called "Mahaha" as being "on the same side of the river, and at a distance of four miles from the lower Mandan village," and which "Mahaha" village is "at the mouth of the Knife river." That river, known as the Big Knife, flows into the Missouri on the westerly side about three miles above Stanton, and about 63 miles above Bismarck, North Dakota.

Lewis and Clarke declare that when they visited and wintered among the Mandans in 1804-5 the Mandan villages were two in number. This statement is so clear that it can not be misunderstood. They erected Fort Mandan about three miles below the first or lower Mandan village reached by their expedition in its up-river progress, but on the opposite or easterly side of the Missouri. (See the narrative from Clarke's journal, farther on.) Nowhere in their journal is it made plain how far above the "Fort" the Mandan village on that side was situated. But it cannot be far from correct to assume that, as the distance between the two villages (as stated by them) is "three miles across," and assuming that the river itself was about one mile in width, the village at the easterly side was about two miles above the other on the Missouri. This would indicate—still basing our conclusion upon the data of Lewis and Clarke—that the Mandan village on the easterly side of the Missouri was about two miles below a point opposite to the mouth of the Big Knife. And the same data would place the fort at about seven and one-half miles below said outlet; and this is in harmony with the generally understood fact. Dr. Coues says that post was "seven or eight miles" below the mouth of the Big Knife. The more exact location of those Mandan villages may perhaps be shown by evidences to be brought into this paper later on.

But a difficulty has arisen in determining whether there were

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or not more than one Mandan village on the westerly side of the Missouri, and also as to how far below the Big Knife they were situated, if there were two.

The writer of this article, in preparing his note (6) on Fort Clarke, the trading post in that vicinity, in editing the reprint of Maj. Wilson's article on "Old Fort Pierre and Her Neighbors" (S. D. Hist. Col., Vol. 1, p. 318) found, from various historical data then at hand, that Fort Clarke, which seemed to be shown by all the authorities to be situated substantially eight miles below the mouth of the Big Knife river on the westerly side of the Missouri, was but a very short distance—less than one-fifth of a mile—below a Mandan village on that side, while other data pointed to another Mandan village on the same side "in the wooded bend some three miles below" Fort Clarke, and which seemed to be known as "the lower Mandan village." That "bend" would thus be about eleven miles below the mouth of the Big Knife. But the Lewis and Clarke account shows, as we have seen, the lower Mandan village to have been, in 1804-5, but four miles below that point. Fort Clarke was established in 1831, and while it is possible that the one Mandan village of 1804 became divided into two at or some time after Fort Clarke was built, so as to account for the data found by the writer as stated, yet it would seem improbable that one of the two which such separation would result in would not be on the same spot where those explorers found a Mandan village on the westerly side. Yet they place the one village they saw at four miles, while the other data referred to shows the upper of two villages about seven and three-fourths miles and the lower one eleven miles below the mouth of Big Knife. And it is at about the latter distance below that stream where the Missouri bends from a southeasterly to an easterly direction, thus furnishing the locality for a "wooded bend" where, at some time between 1831 and the date of migration of the Mandans further up stream, about fourteen years later, one of their two villages on the westerly side of the Missouri was situated. If, therefore, there was in fact but one Mandan village on the westerly side in 1804 it seems probable that the estimate of Lewis and Clarke in placing it but four miles below the mouth of Big Knife is erroneous, as we believe the data of a later period concerning the location of Fort Clarke and its very near proximity to a Mandan village just above it is

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more likely to be exact than the estimate of those early explorers. Opinions upon this point will naturally differ.

Thompson. David Thompson, who in the preface to Coues' edition of the Henry-Thompson Journals (Francis P. Harper, 1897) is referred to as "the celebrated astronomer, geographer, explorer and discoverer—in a word the scientist," and who, in the employ of the Northwest Company, left McDougall's house on the Assiniboine river November 28th, 1797, and arrived at the Missouri river and the Mandan villages December 29th, 1797, and departed on his return trip January 10th, 1798, is thus noted by Dr. Coues, who has summarized from the Thompson Journal: "He notes five villages, altogether of 318 houses and 7 tents, viz: Upper Fall Indians, 31 houses, 7 tents; Lower Fall Indians, 82 houses; third village, 'Mahnon of Mandens and a few Fall Indians,' 52 houses, 37 Mandan and 15 Fall; fourth village, Mandan, 'across the river,' 40 houses; fifth, or principal Mandan village, lowest, 113 houses." (Vol. 1, p. 301-2.) He does not undertake to locate precisely any of these villages. But it is clear that he does find two villages on the westerly side of the Missouri in 1797-8, one of which is exclusively Mandan, the other principally composed of that tribe.

Now, both the Thompson and the Lewis and Clarke accounts declare that there were, in the general group of Indian villages on the Missouri at and just below the mouth of the Big Knife river five of them in all. But in order to harmonize the two accounts as to how many of them were **Mandan** villages we must consider the statement in Lewis and Clarke that the two Mandan villages "who had emigrated together" from below and in the neighborhood of Heart river (opposite to Bismarck, North Dakota), and who "settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri," and who were found there by Thompson in 1797 in two villages, had consolidated between that time and 1804, as Lewis and Clarke say of them (referring to the visitors of "1796"), "since which the two villages have united into one." They also say that the "Mahaha" village, on the south side of the Big Knife and at its very mouth, was half a mile below the so called Minitaree, or "Metaharta" village on that stream, and that "on the opposite side of the Knife river, and one and a half miles above this village, is a second of Minnetarees, who may be considered as the proper Minnetaree nation." (Id., p. 198.) We

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114 must probably, therefore, regard Thompson's account (which
●131 included two Mandan villages below the Knife and on the west-
174 ward side of the Missouri, and doubtless all those on both sides of the Knife) as contemplating the two villages on the south bank of the Knife as but one, since, if he regarded them (as did Lewis and Clarke) as two, his total would be **six** villages in the whole group, including the Mandan village on the easterly side of the Missouri. In this connection the fact that Thompson's journal speaks of "the third village" (evidently counting from the **north** southward) as "Mahnon of the Mandans and a few Fall Indians," is significant as indicating a **second** Mandan village on the westerly side, and also as indicating that he had regarded the **two** villages of Lewis and Clarke on the south bank of the Knife as one. These considerations would, we believe, substantially harmonize Thompson's and Captain Lewis' journals on the basis of **five** villages in the whole group in question. Of these the **three** (of Lewis and Clarke) and the **two** of Thompson's most northerly villages are called "Fall" Indians by the latter, while Captain Lewis says (as shown above) that the lower of those three is the Mahaha, or Ahnahaways village—known to the French as Gens des Souliers, and who were, according to Dr. Coues, Matthews and others, closely related to the Hidatsas, Minnetarees or Gros Ventres, and offshoots of the Crows, and differ but little from the Mandans. While the **two** (of Lewis and Clarke) and (probably) the **one of** Thompson's upper village or villages in the general group are called by Lewis and Clarke Minnetarees, "surnamed Metaharta," and the one north of the Knife is called by them "the proper Minnetaree nation." (Coues' ed., vol. 1, pp. 197-8.) These Minnetarees are said by Captain Lewis to be "part of the great nation called Fall Indians." (Id., p. 199.) And Coues' note at that point declares that the term is "traceable to the trader, Edward Umfreville, who was on the Saskatchawan in 1784-87, and who mentions these Indians as being about the falls of the south branch of that river" (Id., p. 199); that they were called, without reason, by the French Gros Ventres, or Big Bellies; while Matthews says the tribe thus referred to by Umfreville is that known as "the Atsinas, or Gros Ventres of the Prairie;" that there were "Minnetarees of the Prarie" and "of the Missouri"; that as designated by Lewis and Clarke they are "two entirely different tribes of Indians, the former being Atsinas, or the Fall

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Indians, and the latter being the Hidatsas, with whom they (Lewis and Clarke) are now wintering," and that it is necessary, when reading Lewis and Clarke, to bear this in mind. (Id., pp. 199-200.) 114 131 174

We have made this detailed explanation of those of said group of villages which were not properly Mandan, but whose occupants are said to have closely resembled them, in order to make clearer what was meant by all of the early visitors in referring to the general group as "The Mandan Villages."

As indicating the oldest definitely known habitat of the Mandans, on the first deserted Mandan village site found by Lewis and Clarke in proceeding up the Missouri, we find in their journal a reference to their having found at or near their camp, eight miles below the lower end of what is now known as Sibley Island —which latter is some fourteen miles below Bismarck, North Dakota—on the east bank of the Missouri, in Burleigh county, "the remains of an old village which is high and strong, and has been fortified; this our chief" (an Aricara) "tells us is the remains of one of the Mandan villages, and are the first ruins which we have seen of that nation in ascending the Missouri." (Vol. 1, p. 153, London ed.) That this location may be fixed very definitely, that journal may be quoted further as stating that that camp was "opposite to the uppermost of a number of round hills, forming a cone at the top, one being about ninety, another sixty feet in height, and some of less elevation;" that "near to one of these moles, on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain" those "remains" were found. (Id.)

The narratives in Lewis and Clarke, from day to day after this first indication of former occupancy of the Mandans was seen by them, will show (as seen in extracts therefrom inserted hereinafter) that many such deserted villages were found by them in the neighborhood of Mandan and Bismarck, North Dakota. The "chief" referred to by them as having pointed out this first deserted site as that of the Mandans being an Aricara who was guiding the expedition, was beyond doubt possessed of knowledge enabling him to speak to the fact in the premises. Captain Lewis' statement, based upon the observations of the expedition and the declarations of the Aricara guide, by way of summary as to the former abodes and the migration of the Mandans therefrom up-river, is to the effect that "within the recollection of living wit-

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114 nesses the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about 80 miles below (i. e., below ●131 Fort Mandan), seven on the west and two on the east side of 174 the Missouri," which two moved up the river "opposite the Ricaras" after becoming united, the seven (reduced to five) emigrating also "to the Ricara nation" in a body, forming "two villages"—all being driven thence as the result of attacks by Sioux and the ravages of smallpox; that being still insecure "the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present location. The two who had emigrated together settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri, while the single village took a position on the southeast. In this situation they were found by those who visited them in 1796, since which the two villages have united into one. They are now two villages, one on the southeast of the Missouri, the other on the opposite side, at the distance of three miles across. The first, in an open plain, contains about 40 or 50 lodges, built in the same way as those of the Ricaras; the second the same number; and both may raise (i. e., can muster) about 350 men."

E. R. Steinbreuck, of Mandan, N. D., who is connected with the State Historical Society of North Dakota, and who has examined many village ruins of both Mandans and Aricaras between Mandan and the Knife river, states in a letter to the writer hereof in 1908:

"There is one village on the road from Heart river to Fort Clarke, about half way, which I think to have been a Mandan village, while the next below, only about two miles distant, has been decidedly an Aricara village. Some of the Mandans may have stopped there on their move up to Fort Clarke region."

174 **They Came from Whence?** From what direction did the Mandans come to the locality on the Missouri river where were found their deserted villages in 1804? Two theories are, or have been extant upon this subject: One that they emigrated up the Missouri from the region of the mouth of the Ohio, or lower down, on the Mississippi; the other that they at one time lived to the northeast of those portions of the Missouri where those deserted villages and the Mandan villages near the Big Knife were located, and were driven to the Missouri by the Crees, Assiniboines and other tribes inhabiting the region of Lake Winnipeg and west and southwest therefrom.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

114 The Mandans and Ariccaras come in for some separate treatment, but most of what is extracted herein is said by him as pertaining to the "Three Tribes" at Fort Berthold, above mentioned. Those extracts now follow:

Location of Confederated Village of Mandans, Etc. "An arid
•131 prairie- terrace, some four miles wide, stretching southward to the Missouri from the base of bluffs which form the edge of a higher plain, becomes gradually narrower as it approaches the river, and terminates in a steep bluff of soft rock and lignite which overhangs the river. On the southern extremity of this terrace, near the brow of the bluff, stand the Indian village, and what remains, since a recent fire, of the old trading post of Fort Berthold. This is on the left bank of the Missouri, in latitude 47 degrees, 34 minutes north, and longitude 101 degrees, 48 minutes west nearly. About five years ago, a large reservation was declared for them in Dakota and Montana, along the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. Fort Berthold is in the northeast corner of this reservation."

000 See, for further description of this site and surroundings, Part I of this paper, Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., pp. 574-7.

Matthews' reference to the lodge-groupings in that village, is as follows:

361 **Dwellings.** "The village consists of a number of houses built very closely together, without any attempt at regularity of position. The doors face in every possible direction; and there is great uniformity in the appearance of the lodges; so it is a very difficult matter to find one's way among them."

342 And of the type of lodges as originally constructed, he gives the following description, with some features not noted by the earlier visitors:

Old-Style Lodges of Mandans, Etc. "Most of the houses of the village were in 1865 peculiar, large, earth-covered lodges, such as were built by various tribes of Indians of the plains, in the valley of the Missouri, and so often, with varying accuracy, described by travelers. Each one of these lodges consists of a wooden frame, covered with willows, hay, and earth. A hole in the top, which lets in the light and lets out the smoke, and a doorway on one side, are the only apertures in the building. The door is made of rawhide stretched on a frame, or of puncheons.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

lages on the Upper Missouri River in 1738, was the first known explorer to leave a written account of his observations.[3] In company with a large party of Assiniboine, he followed an old Indian trail that had been in long use by the Assiniboine when visiting the agricultural villages to barter for corn and other agricultural products. He set out from the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers on September 26, 1738, to visit a people known as the Montannes, who lived on a river believed to flow into the Pacific Ocean. Contacts with the earth-lodge groups must have been numerous, since the "Montannes" spoke Assiniboine well. Concerning the village where he headquartered, he wrote:

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> I gave orders to count the cabins, and we found that there were one hundred and thirty. All the streets, squares and cabins are uniform in appearance; often our Frenchmen would lose their way in going about. They kept the streets and open places very clean, the ramparts are smooth and wide; the palisade is supported on cross pieces morticed into posts fifteen feet apart with a lining. For this purpose they use green hides fastened only at the top in places where they are needed. As to the bastians, there are four of them at each curtain well flanked. The fort is built on an elevation in mid-prairie with a ditch fifteen feet deep and from fifteen to eighteen wide.[4]

He believed that these fortified villages were impregnable to attack. The younger La Verendrye went to another fort situated on the bank of the river and declared that it was twice as large. La Verendrye was told that there were six large villages on both banks of the river and that a day's march from the last of these were the Pananas, who had several forts, and then the Pananis. This would indicate that part of the Arikara had already moved northward to the neighborhood of the Grand River, a region which at that time had not been entered by the French traders.

M. Bellen's map of 1755 was the first to show the location of the Mandan villages.[5] This map shows the "Riv. des Mantons" flowing southeastward but fails to connect it with any of the streams in that direction. He wrote: "On ne connoit pas les sources du Missouri," and, of the "Riv. des Mantons," he added: "on ne scait si cette Riviere n'est pas la source du

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3. *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultin de Varennes de La Verendrye and His Sons*, ed. Lawrence J. Burpee (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1927), pp. 290–360.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 339–40.

5. N. H. Winchell, *The Aborigines of Minnesota* (St. Paul: Pioneer Press, 1911), p. 47.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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Missouri." This map shows the Mandan and Arikara to be living about three hundred miles apart. Recent archeological studies of Arikara sites on the Missouri above Pierre, South Dakota, by the writer have shown that Arikara groups were also occupying the unexplored sections of the Missouri below the Mandan villages at this time.

Mackintosh (1773) reported that the Mandans were living in the Heart River region with from nine to thirteen villages on both banks of the Missouri River, with many thousands of warriors.[6] Since the Mandan have never claimed as many as thirteen villages and, in view of the fact that no reference is made to the agricultural Hidatsa groups who were living on the Missouri near by at that time, according to traditional and archeological evidence, it is to be presumed that Mackintosh's account included both Mandan and Hidatsa earth-lodge groups. Laurie and Whittle's map (1782) enumerates and locates a number of tribes heretofore not reported.[7] It resembled Bellen's map of 1755 in that the "Mantons River" still was not recognized to be a section of the Missouri. The Mandan lived along the "Mantons River," which flowed to the southeast. Their nearest neighbors were the Nadouasis, who had left the headwaters of the Mississippi, crossed the Red River, and were living below the Mandan villages. Immediately to the west of the Mandan villages were the Snake Indians, while the Assiniboine were to the north. The Arikara were to the southeast along the Missouri, while the Tetons occupied the prairie regions between Lake Traverse and the Missouri.

David Thompson in 1797 recognized that the Hidatsa, although living in earth-lodge villages adjacent to the Mandan, were a separate tribal group.[8] Prior to 1797, no references to the Hidatsa appear in the literature, and it is to be presumed that at least part of the tribe consisting of the Awaxawi group, who have a tradition of intimate relations with the Mandan, with whom they were intermarried in 1797, must be included in all

6. H. R. Schoolcraft, *History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States: Collected and Prepared under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs* (Philadelphia, 1854), III, 253.

7. Winchell, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

8. *Op. cit.*, pp. 225–37.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

previous references to the Mandan. He also recognized both agricultural and nomadic Hidatsa groups. 175 131

The Lewis and Clark journals written at Fort Mandan, where they spent the winter of 1804–5, furnish much data on both the culture and the history of the two tribes. To quote from their journal for November 21, 1804:

The villages near which we are established are five in number, and are the residence of three distinct nations: the Mandans, the Ahnahaways (Awaxawi), and the Minitarees (Hidatsa and Awatixa). The history of the Mandans, as we received it from our interpreters and from the chiefs themselves, and as it is attested by existing monuments, illustrates more than that of any other nation the unsteady movements and the tottering fortunes of the American nations. Within the recollections of living witnesses, the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about eighty miles below, and situated seven on the west and two on the east side of the river. The two, finding themselves wasting away before the smallpox and the Sioux, united into one village and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras. The same causes reduced the remaining seven to five villages, till at length they emigrated in a body to the Ricara nation, where they formed themselves into two villages and joined those of their countrymen who had gone before them. In their new residence they were still insecure, and at length the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present position. The two who had emigrated together still settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri, while the single village took a position on the southeast side. In this position they were found by those who visited them in 1796, since which the two villages have united into one. They are now in two villages, one on the southeast of the Missouri, the other on the opposite side and at the distance of three miles across. The first, in an open plain, contains about forty or fifty lodges, built in the same way as those of the Ricaras; the second, the same number; and both may raise about three hundred and fifty men.

On the same side of the River, and at a distance of four miles from the lower Mandan village, is another called Mahaha (Awaxawi). It is situated in a high plain at the mouth of Knife river, and is the residence of the Ahnahaways who formerly resided on the Missouri about thirty miles below where they now live. The Assiniboin and Sioux forced them to a spot five miles higher, where the greater part of them were put to death, and the rest emigrated to their present situation in order to obtain an asylum near the Minnetarees. . . . Their whole force is about fifty men.

On the south side of the same Knife River, half a mile above the Mahaha and in the same open plain with it, is a village of Minnetarees (Awatixa) surnamed Metaharta, who are about one hundred and fifty men in number. On the opposite side of Knife River, one and a half mile above this village, is a second village of Minnetarees (Hidatsa), who may be considered as the proper Minetaree nation. It is situated in a beautiful low plain, and contains four hundred and fifty warriors. . . . The Mandans say that these people came out of the water to the east and settled near them in their former establishment in nine villages. The Minnetarees proper assert, on the contrary, that they grew where they now live. . . . They also say that . . . the Minnetarees of the wil-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

175 lows (Hidatsa), whose language with very little variation is their own, came many years ago from the plains and settled near them, and perhaps the two
•131 traditions may be reconciled by the natural presumption that these Minnetarees were the tribe known to the Mandans below, and that they ascended the river for the purpose of rejoining the Minnetaree proper. . . . The inhabitants of these five villages, all of which are within the distance of six miles, live in harmony with each other. The Ahnahaways understand in part the language of the Minnetarees; the dialect of the Mandans differs widely from both, but their long residence together has insensibly blended their manners and occasioned some approximation in language, particularly as to objects of daily occurrence and obvious to the senses.[9]

131 Alexander Henry visited the Mandan and Hidatsa in 1806 as
175 a representative of the Northwest Fur Company. He found the three Hidatsa village groups occupying the same villages as in
167 Lewis and Clark's time. The east-side Mandan, however, had moved to the opposite bank, where they had built a new village near the present town of Deapolis. Concerning the reorganization of the Mandan villages after the smallpox epidemic of 1782 and their migration upstream from the mouth of the Heart River to Painted Woods, where one band of Arikara had moved to join the Awaxawi and one band of Mandan who had formerly lived there, he wrote:

Not many years ago the Pawnees (Arikara) and Mandanes were allied to each other and lived together in the same villages on the Missourie, about 30 leagues below this place. A misunderstanding happening, they separated; the Pawnees retired down the river and built their village where it now stands, and the Mandanes proceeded with an intention of settling themselves somewhere about the confluence of the Little Missouri, or on the upper part of Riviere la Souris. But on their arrival at this place the Big Bellies (Hidatsa) barred the road and put a stop to their westward progress telling them they would not permit anyone to build higher up the river than themselves, and desiring the Mandanes to build where they are at present.[10]

Bradbury and Brackenridge in 1811 found the Mandan and Hidatsa occupying the same sites reported by Henry in 1806.[11] The period 1811–32 is not covered by reports of travelers. The writer learned while studying the ethnology of the Mandan and Hidatsa that one group of Mandan, representing the survivors of the west-side Heart River villages, returned south in 1820 and

9. Elliot Coues (ed.), *History of the Expedition under the Command of Lewis and Clark* (New York: Frances P. Harper, 1893), I, 196–200.

10. *The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson, 1799–1814*, ed. Elliot Coues (New York: Frances P. Harper, 1897), XII, 334.

11. John Bradbury, "Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811," in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1904), Vol. V; *Brackenridge's Journal of a Voyage Up the River Missouri*, in *ibid.*, Vol. VI.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

built a village on Eagle Nose Butte, where they remained until 1823, one year after James Kipp established a trading post at the Mandan villages.

Various aspects of Mandan culture were recorded by visitors to the region after 1832. Catlin and Maximilian described the village life in 1832 and 1833 from observations made of their daily activities.[12] Chardon's journals, written at Fort Clark between 1834 and 1839, carries a day-by-day account of the tribe during the second major smallpox epidemic of 1837 and of the reorganization of the population at that time.[13] Kurz, Boller, and Matthews have described various aspects of their culture as observed between 1851 and 1870.[14]

After 1870, the Mandan received little attention until 1908, when Libby used native informants to identify village sites of the Mandan and other tribes on the Upper Missouri.[15] He showed that Mandan sites could be distinguished from those of other tribes by the peculiar arrangement of lodges around a central plaza or open circle. A year later Curtis published a report of the Mandan covering various aspects of their culture.[16] Between 1912 and 1919, Lowie published reports on the social organization, societies, and ethnological problems of the Mandan based on field work with the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow.[17]

12. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (Philadelphia, 1857), and *O-Kee-Pa* (Philadelphia, 1867); Maximilian's *Travels in the Interior of North America*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Thwaites, Vols. XXII–XXIV (Cleveland, 1906).

13. *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark, 1834–1839*, ed. Annie Heloise Abel (Pierre, S.D., 1932).

14. *Journal of Rudolph Friederick Kurz*, ed. J. N. B. Hewitt (Bulletin 115 of the Bureau of American Ethnology [Washington, 1937]); Henry A. Boller, *Among the Indians: Eight Years in the Far West, 1858–1866* (Philadelphia: Elwood Zell, 1868); Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* ("U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey, Miscellaneous Publications," Vol. VII [Washington, 1877]).

15. O. G. Libby, "La Verendrye's Visit to the Mandans in 1738–39" and "Typical Villages of the Mandan, Arikara and Hidatsa in the Missouri Valley, North Dakota," *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, Vol. II (1908).

16. Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indians*, Vol. V: *The Mandan*, ed. Ferderick Webb Hodge (Cambridge, Mass.: University Press, 1909).

17. Robert H. Lowie, "Some Problems in the Ethnology of the Crow and Village Indians," *American Anthropology*, Vol. XIV (new ser., 1912); *Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XI [1913]); *Social Life of the Mandan and Hidatsa* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXI [1917]); *The Hidatsa Sun Dance* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVI [1919]).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

stream from the Knife River, where they separated after quarreling over the division of a buffalo. Those who moved farther upstream along the Missouri and Yellowstone became the "Paunch" Indians, while those who remained near the other Hidatsa villages were known as the Hidatsa.

By 1700 the entire section of the Missouri from the Cannonball to the mouth of the Yellowstone was occupied by groups of Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow of the "Paunch" band. The greatest concentration of villages was near the mouth of Heart River. These large earth-lodge villages were occupied by Mandan of the Nuptadi and Nuitadi bands and were situated on both banks of the Missouri. Agriculture was intensively practiced by these groups. Farther upstream at the Painted Woods, the Awigaxa band of Mandan and the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa had villages. The Awatixa band of Hidatsa were on the south bank of Knife River. Agriculture was practiced by all these groups. North of Knife River were the less agricultural Hidatsa, who sometimes came to the north bank of Knife River to occupy their large earth-lodge village and to plant corn. Generally they were farther upstream, on the Mouse River, or in the Turtle Mountains, living as nomadic hunters. Immediately to the west of the more nomadic Hidatsa were the nomadic Crow. These groups had prescribed territories and lived peacefully together so long as one group did not infringe on the territorial rights of the others. These groups moved little until the close of the eighteenth century, when the aboriginal population was sharply reduced by smallpox and other epidemics. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the region below the Cannonball was occupied by nomadic groups who were in part replaced by the Arikara after 1725 when they began their northward migration which did not terminate until 1862, at which time they united with the survivors of the Mandan and Hidatsa villages at Fishhook Village.

In another report the writer has analyzed the ceremonial organizations of the various village groups of Mandan and Hidatsa, using genealogies, historic accounts of travelers, and native traditions and has shown that two distinct inheritance patterns existed: (1) the Mandan pattern of inheritance of principal bundles and rites within the clan and (2) the Hidatsa and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

(2) Nup'tadi (no meaning); (3) Ma'nana'rE ("Those Who Quarreled"); (4) Awi'-ka-xa (no meaning); and (5) Nu'itadi ("Our People").

While living in the Heart River region, dialectic differences also existed between bands. Three major dialectic groups existed then, according to Crows Heart and Scattercorn: Nuptadi, Nuitadi, and Awigaxa. The latter group was small and was assimilated into the Nuitadi after the first smallpox epidemic. Linguistic differences between the Nuptadi and Nuitadi were recognized by Maximilian, who prepared a partial list of Mandan words of the two dialects.[1] These differences are still recognized by Mandan informants. The Nuitadi was the largest linguistic group and comprised the Nuitadi proper, the Is'topa, and the Ma'nana'rE. The latter two bands separated from the Nuptadi proper for economic reasons when the village population became too large for the further exploitation of the corn grounds.

In historic times and before coming to Fort Clark, according to Crows Heart, the Istopa and MananarE had separate villages. In addition, there were several villages of Nuitadi. The Istopa were believed to occupy the territory north of the Heart River and had as their nearest neighbors the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa, who moved there from below the Cannonball River. Their principal village was at the Motsiff site. Crows Heart's grandmother was of the Istopa band, and she was born in their village near the present town of Sanger, North Dakota.

The Mandan have been a relatively small tribe since the first smallpox epidemic which reached them before leaving the Heart River villages. Lewis and Clark reported ruins of their villages in that region in 1804, and the natives informed him that in their time nine villages were occupied simultaneously. The east-side villages united into one village and moved northward, while the west-side group united first into two villages and later into one village and moved northward along the west bank of the Missouri and settled at Fort Clark Village.

There is some inconsistency in the Mandan migration myths,

1. Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. R. G. Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906), XXIV, 259.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NO17 Mandan NO17

perhaps more, villages. They call themselves Numangkake (*i. e.*, men), and if they wish to particularize their descent, they add the name of the village whence they came originally. Some, for instance, call themselves Sipuske-Numangkake, the men of the pheasant or prairie hens, from the village Sipuska-Mihte, pheasant village; others, Mato-Numangkake, the men of the bear, from the village Mato-Mihte, bear village, &c. &c. Another general name of this people is Mahna-Narra, the sulky, because they separated from the rest of their nation, and went higher up the Missouri.

The early history of the Mandans is involved in obscurity; their own traditions and legends will be discussed in the sequel, when treating on their religious ideas. They affirm that they descend originally from the more eastern nations, near the sea-coast.* Though the above-named villages do not all exist at this time, these Indians still call themselves by their several names, They formerly dwelt near the Heart River: when Charbonneau arrived here at the end of the last century, the two Mandan villages, which are still standing, were about six or eight miles further down the Missouri. The small-pox and the assaults of their enemies have so reduced this people, that the whole number now reside in two villages, in the vicinity of Fort Clarke. These two villages are Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush (the southern village), about 300 paces above Fort Clarke, and on the same side of the river, and Ruhptare,† about three miles higher up, likewise on the same bank. The first had, at the time of our visit, sixty-five huts, and contained about 150 warriors; the other, thirty-eight huts and eighty-three warriors. According to this, the tribe had not more than 230 or 240 warriors; and, on the whole, scarcely 900 or 1000 souls; Dr.

* Warden is mistaken when he says (Vol. III. p. 559), that the Mandans are descended from the Crows; for this is applicable to the Manitaries, of whom we shall speak afterward.

† Lewis and Clarke write this name Rooptahee, which is incorrect. (See Account of their Journey, Vol. I. p. 120.) These celebrated travellers passed the winter among the Mandans, and give many particulars respecting them, which, on the whole, are correct; but their proper names and words from the Mandan and Manitari languages are, in general, inaccurately understood and written. It is said, they derived their information from a person named Jessaume, who spoke the language very imperfectly, as we were assured everywhere on the Missouri. Of this kind are many of the names mentioned by those travellers, which neither the Indians nor the Whites were able to understand; for instance, Ahnahaways (Vol. I. p. 115), a people who are said to have formerly dwelt between the Mandans and the Manitaries; likewise Mahawha, where the Arwacahwas lived (*ibid.*); the fourth village is said to have been called Metaharta, and to have been inhabited by Manitaries (*ibid.*); of all these names, except, perhaps, Mahawha, which ought probably to be Machaha, nobody could give us the slightest information, not even Charbonneau, though he has lived here so many years. It is necessary to be much on your guard against bad interpreters, and I acted in this respect with much caution. All the information given by me, respecting Indian words and names, was carefully written down from the statements of sensible, well-informed men of these nations. I have endeavoured to write down their language exactly, according to its real pronunciation, in doing which, the German guttural sounds were of great assistance to me, as it is that of the Missouri Indians. Mr. Kipp and Charbonneau, with some others who have lived long among these Indians, daily assisted me, during a long winter, with much patience and kindness, in this work.

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

177 white, would be favorably predisposed toward white ways. But the descend-
121 ants of the previously mentioned Irishman are biologically part white, yet they remain unacculturated; and there are three families who have had a white model but who have not become acculturated. Another possible explanation is that the lighter skin color per se allows the children of mixed marriages to "pass" in local white society. The data does not confirm this notion either, as an Indian's ability to be accepted by local whites depends upon how he behaves rather than upon his racial characteristics. A series of relevant factors in the total situation, when taken together, do give at least partial understanding of the importance of white intermarriage. They add up to a picture of such extreme psychological and social isolation of the Indian people that a white person married into the family becomes the primary agent by which white ways and values are learned and internalized.

131 Lone Hill is physically isolated between the Missouri and the Little Mis-
177 souri rivers, and contact with white people is thus infrequent and limited. There are no stores, no paved roads, and no post office in the village. The
[36] only whites who reside in Lone Hill itself are the two teachers in the govern-
487 ment grade school, who rarely participate in community affairs. None of the
489 whites currently married to Indians live permanently in the village today, although a few couples occasionally return to Lone Hill, during which time they stay with Indian families. There are two ways to travel to the surrounding towns: either across the Missouri River by boat during the summer and over the ice in winter, or by making a sixty-mile trip over dirt roads through irregular rolling hills and flat-topped buttes. Anyone who has lived in Lone Hill during the late spring comes to realize the meaning of isolation. The ice over the river is too thin for passage, the roads become blocked by mud and melting show, and the one telephone usually breaks down and remains unrepaired. Mail and supplies are often dropped by airplane. The physical isolation works in a double way—few whites come to Lone Hill and few Indians leave.

105 The Mandan-Hidatsa have never experienced a serious ecological read-
177 justment, as they have lived along the Missouri River Valley for at least the two centuries preceding the completion of this study in 1953. The Indian people today are certainly dependent upon the American economic system for their cash income, but almost every family in Lone Hill derives a relatively large noncash income from exploitation of the natural resources of the area. This exploitation is similar in some respects to the adjustment made by the aboriginal earth lodge tribes to the same fertile river bottom lands. Fuel is provided by wood from the timber, and from indigenous lignite outcroppings. Over half the families live in log cabins, which they erect themselves from timber found in the wooded bottoms. The food staples of corn and potatoes are obtained in part from small garden plots, now jointly worked by the men and women of the household. The meat supply depends largely upon the man's ability as a hunter of deer and small game. Abundant wild fruits and berries are gathered during the appropriate seasons and are preserved for use during the winter months. Thus, many of the economic goods which are normally

10: Neill 44(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

224 Not one do they allow to escape, large and small, fat and lean, all must fall to prevent their alarming other herds.

The manner of hunting the buffalo answers another good purpose, which is that the bad and dull horses have an equal share with the best racers.

DIVISION OF THE BUFFALO HUNT.

[411] They never make use of fire arms in hunting the buffalo. The bow and arrow is the only weapon. When a hunting excursion is in agitation among the Mandans, they inform their neighbors on the north shore, and the Saulteurs (Fall Indians.) The Big Bellies have their own parties and seldom interfere with the others. They never go in the same direction, the one goes to the northeast, and the others to the southwest. The ●[131] Knife River, indeed, seems to be the boundary line. The day is fixed for their departure, when early in the morning as many as are inclined to be of the party assemble upon the rising grounds in the rear of the village, about one and a half miles to the south. When all are ready they proceed in one body to find out the buffalo, and seldom or never return light. I observed that on their arrival, an extraordinary custom prevailed among them — the horses are instantly unloaded and the meat taken into the huts, where it is spread out upon the ground and exposed for some time before the master or mistress of the hut makes use of it. Soon after it is arrived, the women whose 431 husbands or sons have been hunting, enter the huts of those 224 who have meat, when the mistress instantly gives them a share, and they walk away with it, so that it often happens that there remains not a mouthful for her own family. When this is the case, she, in her turn, goes to the huts of some of her friends who have been hunting and comes away with a load. I observed that in several huts of those who had not been hunting, there was more meat than in those who had been out. It is also customary for the old men and the old women, who have no sons, nor particular friends, to march out on the first news of the hunters' approach, to the distance of a mile or more, where they sit by the road, and almost every hunter in passing drops them a piece of meat. By these means every individual has a share of what has been killed.

VILLAGES LIKE MOLE HILLS.

361 These villages at a distance have the appearance of a cluster of mole hills, or musk rat cabins. They are nearly of a circular form. The huts are placed in a very irregular manner, and some so very close to each other, as scarcely to admit of a foot-passenger; others again, at a distance of twenty to thirty feet from each other.

1/1 [Henry says southwest.-A.]

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

SECTION II.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

X172

As has been stated, the villages of the earliest known period centered about the mouth of Heart River, with Square Butte Creek for the northern and Apple Creek for the southern limit. Several sites in this area were examined, and one site, in almost all respects the best, was somewhat extensively explored.

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Of the village sites which were only incidentally studied, the most southern was that on the west bank of the Missouri near old Fort Abraham Lincoln. This village, roughly triangular in shape, occupied a bench bounded on one side by an old wash bank of the river, on another side by a deep narrow coulée, and on the remaining side by a high, steep hill. The mounds are low and indefinite in outline and evidently much disturbed. On the river side there is an extensive talus composed largely of refuse. Here there has also been a considerable landslide. On the side nearest the hill there are traces of a ditch, this side being the only one not protected by nature.

Another site, possessing natural defenses of the highest order, is located about three miles northwest of Bismarck, on the east bank of the river. Here, a promontory with a level, circular summit is almost entirely cut off from the high bench by deep precipitous ravines. The narrow neck, as shown in Map II,[1] was protected by a ditch and wall. The ditch and wall show two ox-bow like protuberances which may be the remains of a well-flanked gate. A ditch is also seen at a point on the river side where the hill-slope is less steep than usual. On the northern side, is a sort of platform along the hillside, about ten feet below the crest. This may be the remains of a ditch and wall, so placed that the higher level of the village would be a vantage point in defense of the palisades. This will be referred to as the Ward site.

[1] [facing p. 148]

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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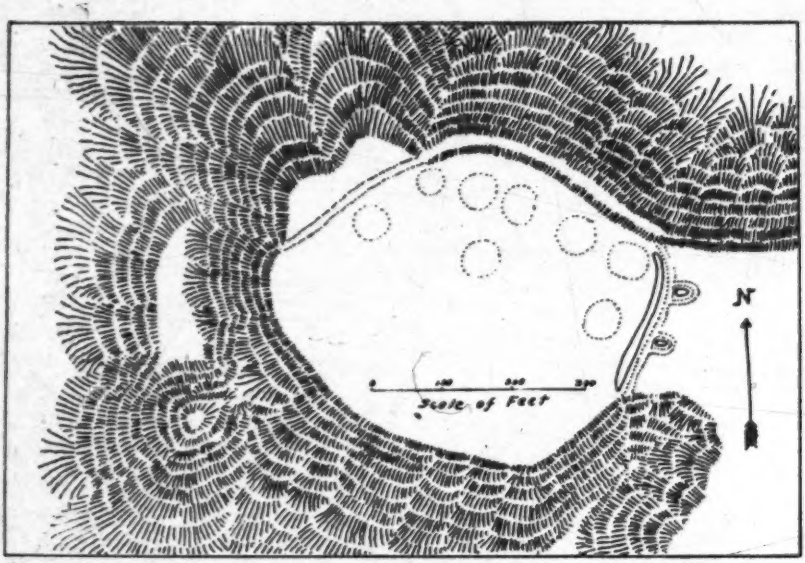
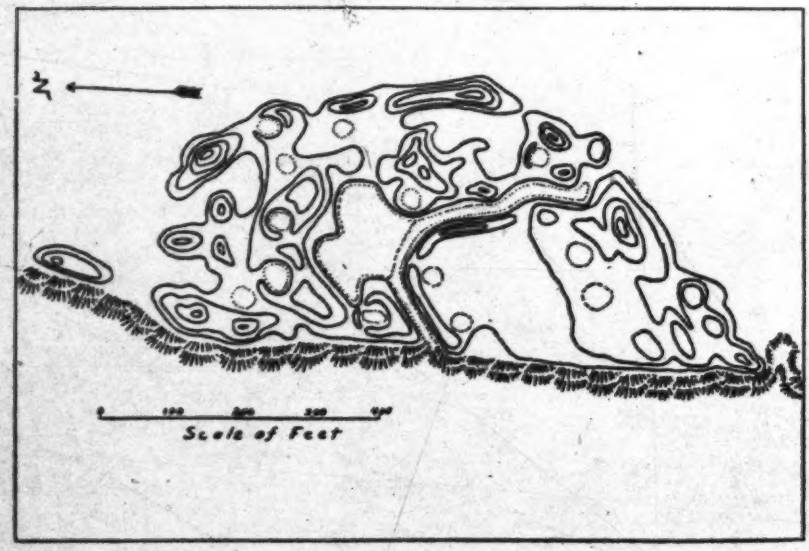


MAP II. THE WARD SITE.
Dotted lines surround sunken areas.



MAP III. LARSON SITE.
Dotted lines surround sunken areas. Contour interval in two feet.

[Facing p. 148]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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A third village location, the Larson site, is almost devoid of any natural defenses. It is situated on the east bank of the river, about seventeen miles above Bismarck. This village was built upon the edge of a wide, level bench which ranges only about thirty feet above the flood plain of the Missouri. As may be seen by Map III,[1] the remains consist of a well-marked ditch which traverses the central portion of the site, a sunken area near one end of the ditch, and a series of mounds, the largest of which are on the margin of the site. Unfortunately, the plow has disturbed the original contours of the mounds. Moreover, there is some evidence that the river may have cut away the bank and destroyed part of the site. The position of the larger mounds on the outer edge is in accordance with the theory that they were fortifications. But the position of the ditch is something of a mystery. Instead of surrounding the site, it seems to cut across it and divide it into two nearly equal parts. Adjoining the ditch, and near the wash bank, is a large sunken area which may have been the town square.

The Burgois site (Plates XXVIII, XXIX), which furnished the principal material for this paper, is about fourteen miles northwest of Bismarck, on the east bank of the river. It is conspicuously placed on the summit of a high bluff which commands a fine view up and down stream. Above the site, the Missouri swings in a wide curve known as Mountaineer Bend, at the upper end of which is situated the Larson site previously described. Below, the river spreads into a maze of islands and sand bars. It seems reasonable that this village may be identified with the one described by Lewis and Clark as being at the head of a large island, the island having since disintegrated.

On the south, about one hundred yards from the outer limits of the village remains, is a deep ravine; to the north and east there is a gentle slope towards the level prairie land. Below the bluff, stretch the bottom lands, partly meadow-land and partly timbered with cotton-wood, ash and diamond willow.

The remains extend for thirteen hundred feet along the edge of the bluff and eight hundred feet back. They comprise, first, mounds from one to ten feet in height; second, continuous ditches; third, circular, slightly sunken house rings; fourth,

[1] [facing p. 148.]

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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small sunken areas marking old cache pits. Map IV[1] gives a general survey of the village. In this map the natural configuration of the land is represented in hachures, while the artificial mounds and depressions are represented, as well as the simple means at hand would permit, by contour lines with an interval of two feet.

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The large mounds are on the outside of the village site. They form a more or less continuous chain of earthworks, outside of, and between the two encircling ditches. If Verendrye spoke the truth in regard to the neatness and cleanness of the Mandan villages, these large mounds could not well have been dump heaps as some investigators appear to think. A more natural dump heap is located along the bluff front. It is more reasonable to identify them with the earth ramparts and bastions which, he says, were wide enough to allow the game of Skohpe to be played upon them. Moreover, there is a strategic fitness in many of them in regard to shape and location. Thus Mound *a* guards admirably the approach from the ravine south of the village. Two crescent mounds, *g* and *j*, would be strongholds in defense of the village. Many of the mounds, for instance *a* and *c*, have wall-like protuberances, which may have been extended breastworks.

The mounds, as may be seen by the map, are of various shapes and sizes. Mound *a*, the largest, is nearly a perfect rectangle, except for the irregular line of small mounds attached to one corner. It measures about one hundred and twenty feet in length, and is about eight feet high. Most of the larger mounds are of approximately the same height. Two mounds, *g* and *j*, before mentioned, are distinctly crescent-shaped. The other large mounds are either oval in shape or are irregular with two or more summits.

The smaller mounds are, for the most part, between the two ditches. They are irregular in shape, and range from a few inches in height to three or four feet. A few low mounds are found outside the circle of large mounds.

There are two ditches. The inner ditch, *y*, *y*, *y*, can be traced throughout its course, but the outer ditch, *z*, *z*, *z*, appears broken. The inner ditch encircles an area about five hundred

[1] [Facing p. 151.]

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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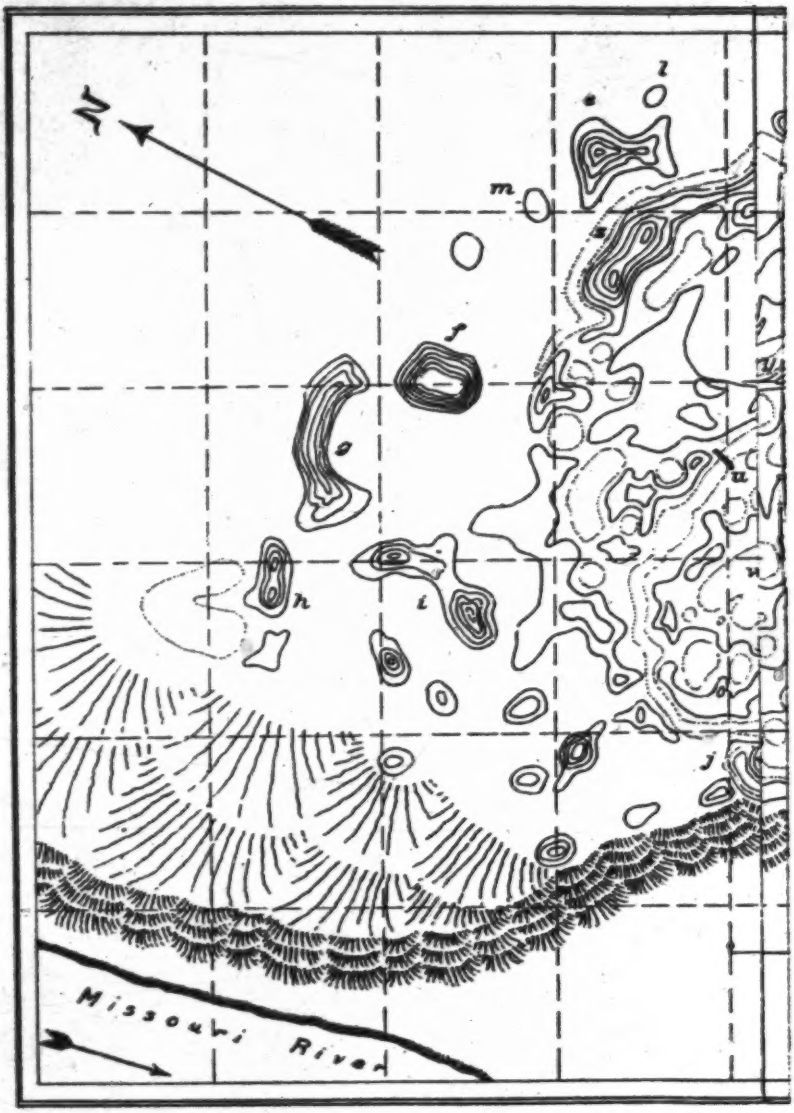

MAP IV. JB6
Contour interval is two feet. Dotted lines sunken

[Folded map facing p. 151 (A)]

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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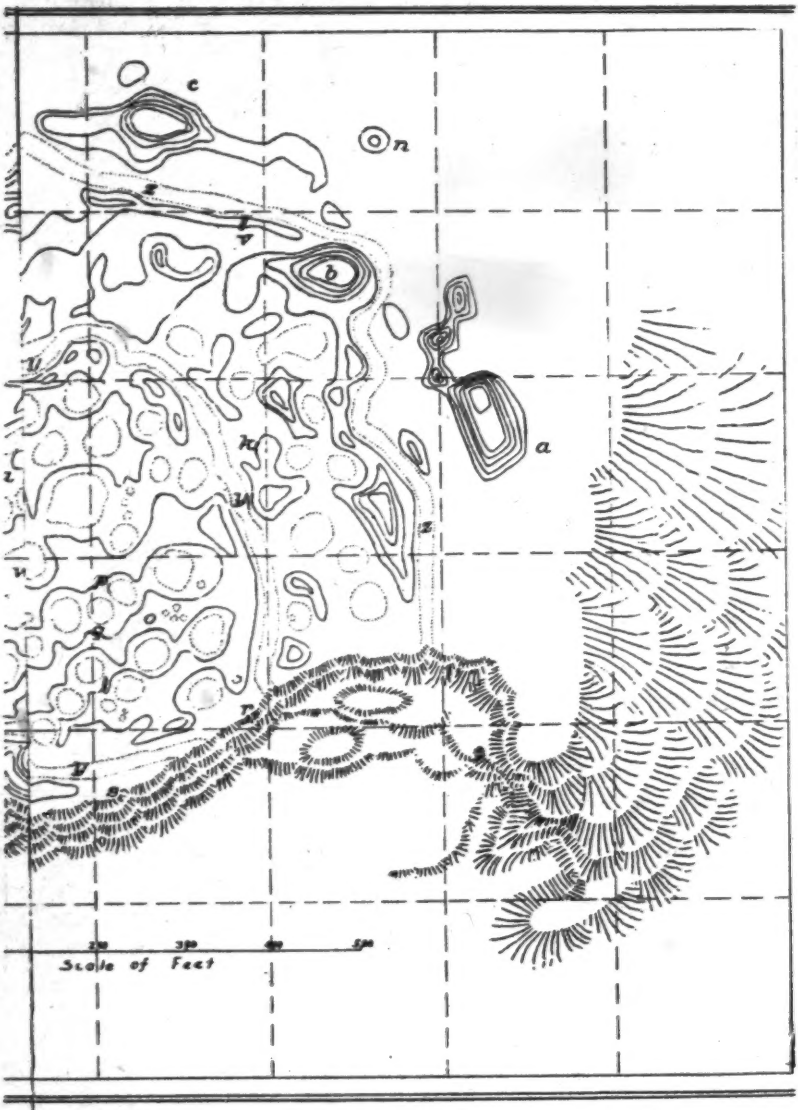

V. ERGOIS SITE.
sunken areas. Hatchures show natural configuration

[Folded map facing p. 151 (B)]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 nose, hoofs, and tail. The value of ten to fifteen horses is given for it. A certain Mandan gave
281 ten horses, a gun, some kettles, and other articles, for such a hide. The white hide of a bull or
[435] of an old cow is by no means so valuable. The white hide of a young cow suffices for all the daughters of a family. They do not wear it as a robe, like the Manitaries, or, at the utmost, the wife, or one of the daughters of the family, wears it once at some great festival, but never a second
796 time. The Mandans have particular ceremonies at the dedication of the hide. As soon as they have obtained it they engage an eminent medicine man, who must throw it over him; he then walks round the village in the apparent direction of the sun's course, and sings a medicine song. When the owner, after collecting articles of value for three or four years, desires to offer his treasure to the lord of life, or to the first man, he rolls it up, after adding some wormwood or a head of maize, and the skin then remains suspended on a high pole till it rots away. At the time of my visit there was such an offering at Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, near the stages for the dead without the village. Sometimes, when the ceremony of dedication is finished, the hide is cut into small strips, and the members of the family wear parts of it tied over the head, or across the
554 forehead, when they are in full dress. If a Mandan kills a young white buffalo cow, it is
224 accounted to him as more than an exploit, or having killed an enemy. He does not cut up the animal himself, but employs another man, to whom he gives a horse for his trouble. He alone who has killed such an animal is allowed to wear a narrow strip of the skin in his ears. The whole robe is not ornamented, being esteemed superior to any other dress, however fine. The
[435] traders have, sometimes, sold such hides to the Indians, who gave them as many as sixty other
[136] robes in exchange. Buffalo skins with white spots are likewise highly valued by the Mandans; but there is a race of these animals with very soft silky hair, which has a beautiful gold lustre when in the sunshine: these are, likewise, highly prized, and sold for ten or fifteen dollars, and,
778 sometimes, for the value of a horse. Besides the white buffalo skins which are offered in sacrifice and hung on poles, there are, in the vicinity of the villages of the Mandans and Manitaries, other strange figures on high poles, as represented in Plate XXV. These figures are composed of skin, grass, and twigs, which, it seems, represent the sun and moon, perhaps, also, the lord of life, and the first man. The Indians resort to them when they wish to petition for anything, and sometimes howl and lament for days and weeks together.

796 The Mandans have several medicine festivals, of which the Okippe, or the penitential ceremony of the ark, is by far the most remarkable. It is celebrated in the spring or summer, and I regret to say that I cannot describe it as an eye-witness. I am, however, enabled to give a circumstantial description of it, word for word, as it was communicated to me by men initiated in the mystéries of the nation.*

* The author refers to a letter on this subject, written by Mr. Catlin, and published in a New York paper; but this is by no means so complete as that given in his valuable work published last year.—*Translator's Note.*

574 any expectation of payment. Being almost destitute of tobacco
609 for our journey, he gave us some of their own manufacture. As
that herb is not yet arrived at maturity, they use only the blossoms
277 [402] at present. These are collected as required, dried before
the fire on a fragment of an earthen pot, and smoked by all the
natives. But I find the flowers a very poor substitute for our own
tobacco—a nauseous, insipid weed. The ripe leaf is somewhat
better, but even that is mere trash, possessed of neither strength
nor virtue.

648 [403] We soon after took the road, bidding a final adieu to
[491] the Mandanes. The road through the wood was very muddy and bad.
[137] We found amazing quantities of poires, perfectly ripe. The
natives here are so surrounded by their different enemies at all
seasons, and particularly when the fruit is ripe, that the women dare
not leave the villages to gather it, though there is a great plenty
of chokecherries, cerises, etc. Even when they go out to hoe their
corn, young men, well armed, keep on the rounds at short dis-
tances from the women to prevent surprise from an enemy. This
is a necessary precaution, as they have frequently been attacked
while working in the fields. The village on the N. side lies under
a double disadvantage, surrounded by thick woods for nearly two
miles upon the land side, and having close by a vast quantity of
young sprouts and brushwood, enabling an enemy to approach very
near without being discovered. A single Sioux has been known to
secrete himself for several days among those bushes until a favorable
opportunity has offered, when he has dispatched a Mandane, and
got away with the scalp.

[p. 384 [I]]

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 513 are made like tombs, surrounded by skins. These men are always naked, covered only with a buffalo robe. * * * * Their fort 251 is full of caves, in which are stored such articles as grain, food, 436 fat, dressed robes and bear skins. They are well supplied with these; it is the money of the country. The more they have of it 304 the richer they believe themselves to be. They are fond of tattooing, but never more than half of the body is tattoed, both of 285 men and women. They make wicker work very neatly, flat and in baskets.

Pottery. "They make use of earthen pots, which they use like 323 many other nations for cooking their food. They are for the most part great eaters; are eager for feasts. They brought me every 261 day more than twenty dishes of wheat, beans and pumpkins, all cooked. Mr. de la Marque, who did not hate feasts, went to them continually with my children. As I did not go to them my share 141 was sent to me. The men are stout and tall, generally very active, fairly good looking, with a good physiognomy. The women have not the Indian physiognomy. The men indulge in a sort of ball 526 play on the squares and ramparts.

000 "On the evening of the 4th the Sieur Nolant and my son arrived, well satisfied with their journey, having been well received and strongly urged to remain longer. The fort is on the bank of the river, as large again as this; the squares and streets are very fine and clean; their palisade is in the best order and strength; the whole built in the same fashion as the one in which we were. From what they could hear all their forts are alike; who saw one saw all, with this difference, that some were much larger than others. The nearest to the Pananas that the river appeared to go was, according to the compass, southwest by south, by signs given to them; the lower part may go to the sea to the southwest by west. They were often amused by broken talk; not being able to answer questions put to them, they answered something else, for want of understanding. The waters of their rivers come down with great rapidity, having many shoals. The water is not good for drinking, being brakish. We have constantly found from the last mountain almost all the marshes and ponds brakish or sulphurous. What they could understand was that on the lower part of the river there were men like us, who made cloth and linen, were very numerous and had wars with a large part of the Indians. We saw that it was useless to question them, as they

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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142 grey. He also says there were several children whose hair was perfectly grey, these were mostly girls.

Catlin[1] possibly exaggerates the physical differences. His account states that their personal appearance at once showed them as more than savages; there were many shades of complexion and hair; many women had white skin with hazel, blue, and grey eyes; they showed every shade of hair except red; some had hair perfectly white or a silvery grey, women more than men; the grey hair was very coarse, while the other hair was fine and soft.

Maximilian took particular pains to ridicule the theory of white origin and especially that of Welsh origin. But even he admits the peculiarity of complexion seen at times. On this subject he said that they were usually brown or copper colored, some were yellow or whitish. When clean there were a number who were nearly white with red cheeks; they had long coarse hair usually black, but many children had brown hair; there were families with grey hair; one family contained members with brown, black, grey, and white hair and eye-lashes.[2] So much for color. There can be little question that there was a tendency toward light complexion among the Mandans, and all of the authorities, even Maximilian, express the opinion that this was not from contact with the whites. Among the Hidatsa and Crow as well is found the phenomenon of grey and white haired women and children, but there is no account of the brown, soft hair, and light skin further described by the earliest visitors to the Mandans. As to the cause of this light skin
[143] which appeared now and then it is difficult to decide. It seems, however, to place the Mandans among the tribes where partial albinism was of frequent occurrence. It is almost needless to say that there is absolutely no trace either in language or in physical characteristics of any European origin or admixture.

• 141 Next is the question of size and general physique. Verendrye[3] says:—"The men are stout and tall, generally very active, fairly good looking. . . . " In a note appended to the location of an old Mandan village, on one of Lewis and Clarke's maps are the following words, "here human bones of large size."

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 93. [2] Op. cit., pp. 374-5. [3] Op. cit., p. 21.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Henry says,[1] the men were tall, stout and well built. Maximilian also testifies along the same line: "Most of the Mandans are vigorous men, strong and large."[2] And adds later that they were a strong race, a little above medium height, possibly not as large as the Minnetarees, robust, with broad shoulders.[3] Judging from the information so far, the Mandans should be considered a large race, but on the other side there is the statement from Catlin[4] that the stature of the Mandans was below the ordinary, but they were well proportioned. All of these observers but Catlin thus speak of the Mandans as above average height. 141

For a further description of the Mandan physique there are only a few words from Maximilian,[5] who says that they had a less aquiline nose than their neighbors, less prominent cheek bones than the Dakotas; thin noses and straight; long, narrow eyes of a deep brown, a little raised and contracted at the inner corner; large mouth, large angular jaws, various shaped heads, but foreheads no lower on the average than among Europeans. 142

VILLAGES:—The Mandans, as has been said, were a sedentary tribe and lived in fixed villages for long periods of time. In these villages they built lasting lodges of a type similar to those of the Arikara, Omaha, and other tribes lower down the Missouri, though with small differences in the details of construction. The villages were usually well fortified, neat and orderly in the early days, but a considerable change seems to have come upon the people after their misfortunes, for there was much less care taken in the arrangement and fortification of the villages in their later locations. The first description of the Mandan village is from Verendrye, who makes it appear almost a model town. As this is the only description of the Mandan villages during the prosperity of the nation,[1] a summary of his account is here given:[6] 361 [171]

"Many people came to meet us but nothing in comparison with what appeared on the ramparts and along the trenches. . . . . Their fort can only be gained by steps or posts which can be removed when the enemy threatens. . . . . If all the forts are

[1] Op. cit., p. 341. [2] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 29. [3] Ibid., p. 372.
[4] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 96. [5] Op. cit., p. 57. [6] Op. cit., pp. 17-23.

1 [i.e., about 1738. See p. 86.-- Analyst]

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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secured, one in poor condition. Parts of a child's skeleton were found and broken bits of skulls occurred occasionally in mounds or pits. The two skeletons, besides being apparently of two different types, exemplified two very different methods of burial.

The first skeleton, which was complete, was found under the largest mound at the bottom of a small circular pit. The skeleton was in a flexed position, hands about the neck, and knees drawn up nearly to the chin. It lay on the right side and faced towards the southwest. No ornaments of any sort were found about the remains, but a bone hoe lay above and another just below them; a brown layer, below, possibly marked the remains of some sort of wrapping. This burial shows nothing whatever in common with that of the Mandans so far as accounts go; and it resembles that of the Arikara only in that it was placed underground, since the Arikara lined the grave with stone and buried many things of value with the dead, often placing more than one body in a grave which was partitioned into compartments.

The second burial differed in every detail from the first, but seemed to correspond to the Mandan custom. The bones had been collected into a bundle and buried without ceremony, and a child's remains in an irregular mass were found associated with the larger bundle of bones. The skull of the adult was missing. According to Catlin after the dead body had dried on the scaffold it was taken down, the head was kept in one of the shrines and the bones were buried in a bundle. The body of a child was tied to the scaffold of an adult, and it is probable that the bones were buried along with those of the older person. Hence this burial may be confidently identified as Mandan. A number of broken fragments of children's skulls were found among the other refuse of the mounds and pits, but none of the other bones of the skeleton were ever present, which corroborates Catlin's story of the separation of the skulls from the remainder of the body.

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As has been said, the two skeletons found seemed to be of different types. The first one was that of a man about fifty years of age, whose height was 1594 cm. The skeleton was

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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nearly perfect and showed no deformities or injuries. Measurements of the skeleton itself will be considered in connection with those of the second one. A table of skull measurements is given below, and, for comparison, measurements of three Mandan skulls given in the Army Medical Museum Report[1] are appended.

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Skull of Skeleton 1.		Skulls from Army Medical Museum		
Cranial index	71.4	79.4	77.3	74.7
Height-length index	70.8	73.1	70.3	71.
Height-breadth index	90.9	88.4	91.9	97.8
Facial index (total)	89.2			
Facial index (upper)	58.4			
Gnathic index	91.5			
Orbital "	89.4			
Nasal "	47.1			
Palatal "	117.6			
Capacity	1265.	1450.	1370.	1440.

Figures on nine skulls given by Dr. Boas[2] averaged 80.6 for the cephalic index. On measurements of 156 persons of both the Mandan and Hidatsa tribes, an average cephalic index of 79.6 was obtained by him, but from the seriation of the measurements the tendency was marked towards longer heads, six individuals having an index of 70, six more of 71.

The second skeleton was that of a man about forty years old. The height was much greater than that of the first, being about 1738 cm. Some of the bones in this skeleton were broken and a few of the smaller ones were missing. The bones showed signs of severe rheumatic trouble.

[1] G. A. Otis: Check List of the U. S. Army Medical Museum, p. 72, 1878.
[2] Zeitschrift für Ethnology, vol. 27, p. 387.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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The more important figures for each skeleton are:—

Femur.

	No. 1.		No. 2.	
	Right	Left	Right	Left
Length	433	430	471	—
Oblique length	429	425	470	—
Diameter of head	46	46	49	48
Platymeric index	71.4	63.8	65.7	68.5
Transverse diameter of condyles	83	83	85	—
Angle of neck and shaft	118	118	122	122
Anterior posterior diameter at mid-shaft	27	26	29	29
Transverse diameter at mid-shaft	27	27	28	28

Tibia.

	Right	Left	Right	Left
Length	361	362	385	382
Diameter of condyles	76	76	80	82
Anterior posterior diameter at mid-shaft	31	30	39	38
Transverse diameter at mid-shaft	19	20	22	20
Index	62.9	66.6	56.4	52.8

Humerus.

Length	320	317	347	337
Diameter of head	46	46	50	50
Anterior posterior diameter at deltoid eminence	17	17	21	16
Transverse at same	21	21	21	21
Angle of neck and shaft	125	125	120	125
Index at deltoid eminence	80.9	—	100.	—
Torsion of humerus	133	122	115	121

Scapula.

Length	158	162	165	—
Breadth	108	105	110	—
Length at base of spine	124	127	129	—
Scapular index	81.2	82.6	85.2	—
Length of radius	245	244	271	—
Length of clavicle	150	155	157	—

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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PELVIS.

Breadth	301	292	172
Height	217	216	
Breadth between ischia tubera	164	143	141
Between ischia spines	110	79	
Sub-pubic angle	77.5	43	
Diameter of true pelvis	154	125	
Conjugate diameter	117	100	
Pelvic index	75.9	80	
Oblique diameter	138	118	
Depth of symphysis	42	48	
Depth of pelvic cavity	102	109	

Although no comparative figures were available for anything except the skulls of the Mandans, all of the other Siouan tribes, whose measurements are given by Dr. Boas, show prevailingly a tall stature. On the other hand, the Arikara and Pawnee average much shorter. This marks the only well defined distinction which can here be made between the Arikara and the Mandans, as the cranial index of the former also shows a long-headed type, though probably not quite as long as the Mandan. An average of 174 Arikara individuals[1] gave a cephalic index of 81.5. Still another series of measurements gave 82.[2] The Army Medical Museum Report[3] gives on one Arikara skull, 75.8, and on four others the average was 82. None of the Arikara skulls run as low as 71 and 70, as did some of the Mandan.

Probably the second skeleton can safely be called Mandan. The first one, however, seems to be hard to place, for the method of burial was distinctly not Mandan, and the skeleton was of short stature.

[1] Boas: Op. cit., p. 322.
[2] Ibid., p. 327.
[3] G. A. Otis: Check List of the U. S. Army Medical Museum, p. 72.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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000 whose doom is fixed, to live just long enough to be imperfectly known, and then to fall before the fell disease or sword of civilizing devastation.

141 The stature of the Mandans is rather below the ordinary size of man, with beautiful symmetry of form and proportion, and wonderful suppleness and elasticity; they are pleasingly erect and graceful, both in their walk and their attitudes; and the hair of the men, which generally spreads over their backs, 302 falling down to the hams, and sometimes to the ground, is divided into plaits or slabs of two inches in width, and filled with a profusion of glue and red earth or vermillion, at intervals of an inch or two, which becoming very hard, remains in and unchanged from year to year.

This mode of dressing the hair is curious, and gives to the Mandans the most singular appearance. The hair of the men is uniformly all laid over from the forehead backwards; carefully kept above and resting on the ear, and thence falling down over the back, in these flattened bunches, and painted red, extending oftentimes quite on to the calf of the leg, and sometimes in such profusion as almost to conceal the whole figure from the person walking behind them. In the portrait of San-ja-ka-ko-kah (the deceiving wolf, PLATE 54), where he is represented at full length, with several others of his family around him in a group, there will be seen a fair illustration of these and other customs of these people.

The hair of the women is also worn as long as they can possibly cultivate it, oiled very often, which preserves on it a beautiful gloss and shows its natural colour. They often braid it in two large plaits, one falling down just back of the ear, on each side of the head; and on any occasion which requires them to "put on their best looks," they pass their fingers through it, drawing it out of braid, and spreading it over their shoulders. The Mandan women observe strictly the same custom, which I observed amongst the Crows and Blackfeet (and, in fact, all other tribes I have seen, without a single exception), of parting the hair on the forehead, and always keeping the crease or separation filled with vermilion or other red paint. This is one of the very few little (and apparently trivial) customs which I have found amongst the Indians, without being able to assign any cause for it, other than that "they are Indians," and that this is an Indian fashion.

302 765 In mourning, like the Crows and most other tribes, the women are obliged to crop their hair all off; and the usual term of that condolence is until the hair has grown again to its former length

When a man mourns for the death of a near relation the case is quite different; his long, valued tresses, are of much greater importance, and only a lock or two can be spared. Just enough to tell of his grief to his friends, without destroying his most valued ornament, is doing just reverence and respect to the dead.

000 To repeat what I have said before, the Mandans are a pleasing and friendly race of people, of whom it is proverbial amongst the Traders and all who ever have known them that their treatment of white men in their

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out of material which was once well known for fact, but has been lost in the mist of ages—is by the writer hereof regarded as warrant for bringing into this paper sundry narratives bearing upon the theory in question which in themselves may be of doubtful value, but which, when forming part of a symposium upon the theme of origin, may be legitimate material. 121

But we defer to a later stage of treatment of the general subject this phase of remote origin, only adding that, as regards the Mound Builders, it seems very probable that a rational connection will be found to be shown to exist between them and the Mandans; and that a few quotations from the earliest observers of the Mandans, by way of preliminary to an account of them when first known to civilized man, may not be out of place as indicating what we in the outset remarked as to their singularities.

Their Peculiar Characteristics. The Mandans conveyed to all visitors and observers who came in contact with them in the Eighteenth and the first half of the Nineteenth centuries the impression, in marked degree, that they were emphatically more civilized than other Indian tribes of the west, and that they were of such fair complexion and had hair and eyes of such color as to convey the distinct, profound impression—to some the belief—that they were not Indians in the usual sense of that word. 142● 114

La Verendrye, who visited them in 1738 for several weeks, recorded of them that "their fortifications are not Indian. This nation is mixed with white and black." "The women have not the Indian physiognomy." Le Raye, who as a prisoner of the Brule Sioux was taken up the Missouri river in 1803 and into the Mandan villages, observes of them that they are "of the lightest complexion," that their hair "inclines to a chestnut color, and in some instances has a slight curl; it is never so dark and coarse as most other Indians;" that "their eyes are full and lively" and that they are "courteous and sociable." General Clarke (of the Lewis and Clarke expedition), who wintered with them in 1804-5, told Catlin that he would find them "a strange people and half white." Alexander Henry, who in 1806 visited them, says: "What struck me as extraordinary among these people was several children about ten years of age whose hair was perfectly gray, and who thus resembled aged persons; those I saw were all girls. These people in general have not such strong, coarse hair as other nations of North America; they have it much finer,

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●142 114 rather inclining to a dark brown, and I observed some whose hair was almost fair;" eyes not jet black, common to other Indians, but "inclined to be a dark brown; some few are dark gray."

Maximilian, who tarried among and critically studied them in 1833, observes that their noses are sometimes "aqualine, or slightly curved, and often quite straight" and "not so long and arched as those of the Sioux"; that their eyes are "in general long and narrow, of a dark brown color;" that the children's hair "is often only dark brown," and that Brackenridge "speaks of brown hair among the Mandans. There are whole families among them, as well as among the Blackfeet, whose hair is gray, or black mixed with white, so that the whole head appears gray." While Catlin, who sojourned among them in 1832, declares that "they are distinct from all other red folks I have seen," as "differing in many respects, both in looks and customs, from all other tribes which I have seen;" that they were "many steps ahead of other tribes in manners and refinement"; that they were called "polite and friendly Mandans" by the traders; that he "was struck with the peculiar ease and elegance" of them; that "the diversity of complexions, the various colors of their hair and eyes, the singularity of their languages and their peculiar and unaccountable customs" made him "fully convinced that they have sprung from some other origin than that of the North American tribes, or that they are an amalgam of natives with some civilized race;" that "their personal appearance alone, independent of their modes and customs, pronounces them at once as more or less than Indians;" that a stranger "is first struck with the different shades of complexions and various colors of their hair which he sees in a crowd about him, and is at once almost disposed to exclaim that 'These are not Indians.'" That there are many women "whose skins are almost white, with the most pleasing symmetry of features, with hazel, with gray and with blue eyes—with mildness and sweetness of expression and excessive modesty of demeanor, which render them exceedingly pleasant and beautiful."

131 114 174 **Habitat.** The habitat of the Mandans when first seen by white men from the east was, to what may be regarded as a moral certainty, at and in the immediate vicinity, northward, of Mandan and Bismarck in what is now North Dakota, territory then claimed by Spain, and probably by England. We refer to the

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tribes, and have on that account often been obliged to change the seat of their villages. 105

"Yet they have often been quarreling with the Ricaras, who like them are agricultural people; and they often make predatory expeditions against the Shoshones, in the eastern valleys of the Rocky mountains. Both the Mandans and the Minnetaries consider themselves as natives of that part of the country.

"The tradition of the Mandans is that they came from under ground by means of a great vine, which, breaking under the weight of some of them, has left behind a part of their nation, whom they expect to join after death. The color of the chief who visited Washington appeared less dark than that of our Indians, and he was the only full-breed Indian ever seen by me, whose eyes were of a bluish cast. It is believed that this is the tribe, often spoken of as White Indians, and which gave rise to the fabulous account of a tribe descended from the Welsh and speaking their language, a tale which the knowledge we have now acquired of the various Indian nations and of their dialects has set at rest. 773 142

"The vocabulary of the stationary Minetaries and the specimen of the Crow of Upsaroka dialect were obtained by Dr. Say. We knew from Lewis and Clarke that the Mandans spoke a kindred dialect, and this has been confirmed by the significant names of their chiefs, subscribed to a treaty with the United States. Lewis and Clarke appear to have considered the Rapid, Fall or Paunch Indians, sometimes also called the "Minetaries of the Prairies," as belonging to the same family. But all the subsequent accounts agree in assigning to them an entirely distinct language." (P. 125.) 197

The above reference to the "chief who visited Washington" (Big White) is from Albert Gallatin.

We will here refer to the note by Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson on the Mandans, found among his notes on "Historical Sketch of North and South Dakota," by Dr. William M. Blackburn, in Hist. Coll., S. D., Vol. I, page 98, being a very concise and creditable summary of the tribe. In that note Dr. Robinson affirms that "their traditions give their former abode as being about the headwaters of Lake Winnipeg. It is probable that they were driven from their homes at Lake Winnipeg about 1680 by the Crees and Assiniboines, both powerful tribes which about this period came into possession of firearms. Their first stopping place, after being driven out by their enemies, was on the Mis- 174

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whites; it would take a whole summer to make the journey, and that since they were at war with the Pananas the men would not undertake to go far, the roads being closed to them. That cattle were abundant on the prairies, far larger and fatter than those we had seen on their prairies; their coat white and of several colors. He showed us horns split in half, of a greenish color, which hold nearly three pints. In all the huts they have them in use as ladles, proving that they have killed many when the road was open. That was all I could learn even by chance, as I had relied on my interpreter, that I would have time to be thoroughly informed at leisure. 000

"Six days after the Assiniboines left I sent my son, the Chevalier, with Sieur Nolant, six Frenchmen and several Mandans, to the nearest fort, which is on the bank of the river. If well received they were to sleep there, to get the best information of the course of the river; who dwell there; if they are acquainted with the lower part, in accordance with what was told us; to learn all that could be ascertained by signs and demonstrations. After their departure Mr. de la Marque walked about to observe the size of their fort and their fortifications.

The Village. "I decided to have the huts counted. It was found that there were a hundred and thirty of them. All the streets, squares and huts resemble each other. Several of our Frenchmen wandered about; they found the streets and squares very clean, the ramparts very level and broad, the palisades supported on cross pieces mortised into posts of fifteen feet. At fifteen points doubled are green skins which are put for sheathing when required, fastened only above when needed, as in the bastion there are four at each curtain, well flanked. The fort is built on a height in the open prairie, with a ditch upwards of fifteen feet deep by fifteen to eighteen feet wide. Their fort can only be gained by steps or posts, which can be removed when threatened by an enemy. If all their forts are alike they may be called impregnable to Indians. Their fortifications are not Indian. This nation is mixed white and black. 361 712

"The women are fairly good looking, especially the white, many with blonde and fair hair. Both men and women of this nation are very laborious; their huts are large and spacious, separated into several compartments by thick planks; nothing is left lying about; all their baggage is in large bags hung on posts; their beds 142 342 513

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764 length was pronounced by his brother, in which he impressed on their minds, the great importance which the deceased man had been to their nation; rehearsed his war exploits, and concluded by urging all to follow his example, and to become of equal usefulness to their tribe. Then they would be sure of following and becoming companions of him, and all the other great warriors, which had died before, in the world of spirits. After this address was closed, provisions were brought out, consisting of boiled dog's flesh, of which the company just tasted, and then a bowl full of it was presented to the dead man. He was then taken up by four men and carried outside of the village, just into the edge of the woods, and placed on a stage which had been previously erected, about ten feet high. The bowl of food was brought and set by his head, and his arms and accoutrements laid by his side. In this manner their dead are deposited, and are never buried. The wife and relations of the deceased made the most violent and dreadful howlings, tearing their hair and appearing to be in the deepest anguish, under the loss they had sustained."

•142 **Complexion, Etc.** "The Mandans and the Gros Ventres are of the lightest complexion, and largest Indians on the Missouri. Their hair inclines to a chestnut color, and in some instances has a slight curl; it is never so lank and course as most other Indians. Their eyes are full and lively, their cheek bones rather high, and their countenances open and agreeable. The Gros Ventres have more of a fierce, savage look, than the Mandans who are courteous
291 and sociable in their behavior. They are neat in their dress, which is similar to that of the Rus, except that they decorate it with white rabbit, and white ermine skins. Many of their lodges, or
353 huts, are decorated in a beatiful manner; having the inside lined with the richest furs, such as the lynx, beaver, otter, white rabbit, martin, fox, mountain cat and white ermine, sewed together like patch-work, which gives them a rich and beautiful appearance. The lodge of the head chief was sixty feet in diameter, elegantly lined with furs, and the seats, which are also used as beds, were covered with the grizzly bear and buffalo skins. These people keep their lodges and buildings in a state of great neatness. They
439 cultivate the same kind of produce with the Rus, and carry on a trade with the roving Indians, who occasionally visit them. The
648 Mandans and Gros Ventres live in great friendship, although

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114 The observations of Bradbury concerning the Rees may be found in Part I of this paper, (Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., p. 432, et. seq.) Extracts from his book, relative to the Mandans follow:

Brown Hair. Big White. "28th. (June, 1811.) Having selected some silver ornaments which I proposed to present to She-he-ke, Mr. Brackenridge agreed to accompany me to the Mandan village. We obtained horses from Mr. Lewis for the journey, and about ten o'clock set off. We crossed Knife river at the lower of the Minnetaree villages, and paid the accustomed price to the squaw who ferried us over; for each of us three balls and three charges of powder. Before we left the village, we were invited into the lodge belonging to the White Wolf, one of the chiefs of this village, with whom we smoked. I was surprised to observe that his squaw and one of his children had brown hair, although their skins did not appear to be lighter colored than the rest of the tribe. As the woman appeared to be above forty years of age, it is almost certain that no intercourse had taken place between these people and the whites at the time she was born. I should have been less surprised at the circumstance had they been one of those tribes who change their places of residence; but they have not even a tradition of having resided in any other place than where the present village stands. The White Wolf appeared to be much pleased with our visit, and by signs invited us to call at his lodge whenever we came that way. He shook hands very cordially with us at parting. In our way to the Mandans we passed through the small village belonging to the Ahwahhaways, consisting of not more than eighteen or twenty lodges. This nation can scarcely muster fifty warriors and yet they carry on an offensive war against the Snake and Flathead Indians. On our arrival at the Mandans, She-he-ke, as before, came to the door of his lodge and said, 'Come in house.' We had scarcely entered when he looked earnestly at us, and said, 'whisky.' In this we could not gratify him, as we had not thought of bringing any. I presented the silver ornaments to him, with which he seemed much pleased, and after smoking we were feasted with a dish consisting of jerked buffalo meat, corn and beans boiled together. I mentioned to him my wish to purchase some moccasins, and he sent out into the village to inform the squaws, who flocked into the lodge in such numbers, and with so plentiful a supply, that I could not buy a tenth part. I furnished myself

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648 **Peaceable With Americans—Government Neglect.** "During a short period of their history, the Aricarees were at war with the Americans; but for many years they have strictly maintained peace, and have fought with us and against our enemies. The Mandans and Minnetarees claim never to have shed a white man's blood, although some of their number have been killed by whites. For their fidelity they have been repaid in starvation and neglect. [165] Many of these friendly Indians, particularly among the Aricarees, have during the past ten years, died of actual hunger or the diseases incident to a state of famine. Within the past three years there seem to be some evidences of increased legislative interest in them, but the benefits arising therefrom are by no means equal to their needs or their deserts." (p. 31-32.)

142 **Complexion—Hidatsa and Mandan.** "The majority of the Hidatsa have the ordinary dusky Indian complexion, which is, however, not of a uniform shade, as far as I have seen in any tribe. There are none of this nation that would be considered dark for Indians. Among various tribes of western Indians may be found individuals, claiming pure aboriginal blood, who possess complexions much fairer than the average Indian, with light-colored hair and eyes. Such individuals are more common among the Mandans and Minnetarees than they are among most of the neighboring tribes. A natural or inherited clearness of complexion, too, is more easily discernable among members of the village tribes than among members of roving bands who are more exposed to the weather. The presence of pale Indians in these tribes was noted by travelers in early days, before intermarriages with whites were common enough to have accounted for it."

Mandans' Fair Skin. "Lewis and Clarke and Gass notice this fairness when speaking of the Mandans only, but their remarks are general. Catlin speaks of the fairness of the Mandans only, and supposes this peculiarity to arise from some pre-Columbian infusion of European blood. The Prince of Neuwied, who visited these tribes but one year later than Mr. Catlin, denies that the Mandans are of fairer complexion than their neighbors, while he asserts, at the same time, that, 'after a thorough ablution, the skin of some of them appears almost white.' I have heard old Mandans say that when the Minnetarees, including the Crows, first came among them, the strangers were a fairer race than they.

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"Of the Crows, who, as before shown, once formed one nation with the Hidatsa, Colonel Reynolds, in his Report of the Exploration of the Yellowstone (1859), p. 48, says: 'The Crows are fairer than the Sioux, many of the mountain band being sallow and hardly a shade darker than whites who undergo similar exposure. This fact was so marked that the first seen were supposed to be half breeds, but we were assured that they were of pure Indian descent.'" 000

European Blood Not Essential. "It is not necessary to suppose that an intermixture of European blood in order to account for lightness of color in an Indian. There is no reason why marked varieties of color should not arise in the red race as it has done in other races of men, and as it has so often done, under cultivation, within specific limits in the lower animals. I have seen full-blooded Indians who were whiter than some half-breeds and whiter than the darkest representatives of the Aryan race. An increase of hairiness is a more reliable sign of Caucasian blood in an Indian than a diminution of color in the skin; and I never could discover that those fair Indians, claiming pure blood, were more hairy than others. The fairness of which I speak is not albinism, for the eyesight of the fair Indians is as perfect as that of the dark; they have no unusual appearance of the pupil, and exposure to sunlight darkens their skins. I have never seen an Albino Indian."

Gray Hair—Minnetarees and Mandans. "Among various western tribes, individuals may be found who are characterized, even in childhood, by having coarse gray hair. From all I could see and learn, I should think that such persons are more numerous among the Minnetarees and Mandans than in any other tribe; and they are perhaps the most numerous among the Mandans." (pp. 43 and 44.) 142

Language Sonants—Mandans Different. "If a party of Indians should be seated in an adjoining room, or at a short distance from the listener, conversing, where the voices can be heard, but not a syllable distinguished, the accustomed ear has little difficulty in discerning which one of the many languages of the plains the Indians are speaking. Each language has its own peculiar sonant character. It is more difficult to distinguish by this character the Hidatsa from the Crow than from the Dakota 000

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tional Indian missionary who has been among the Mandans at Fort Berthold for some thirty years: 797

The Missionaries. "Mr. Hall, the missionary among these people, in discussing their general condition, past and present, says:

"'Twenty-five years ago the old Indian community was like Sodom; now the Indians live decently on the allotments, with their wives, and none of them have more than one. There is vice to fight; but only as in every white community. Religiously the phenomena of growth are seen here as elsewhere. Form and ritual are in sight, and are adopted before the inner power is felt. The old beliefs have largely passed away from the younger generation. The Christian teaching answering to all that was of higher aspiration and better living in the old religion, has saved them from infidelity and won their intellectual faith. The church is more a social centre to them than a spiritual.'

"Both the Congregationalists and Catholics now have religious organizations on the reservation. The former have three churches, and the latter a church and school combined, but this was unused at the time of the writer's visit. One of the Congregational chapels is largely the work of the Aricaree Indians. It cost nine hundred dollars, and of this the Indians contributed more than one-third. They hewed the logs and hauled the stone and lumber, the latter from a distance of sixty miles. There are also a few Episcopalians among these people." (p. 229.)

Says Wheeler of the allowances to be made in judging of the morals of the Mandans: 000

Morals. "In considering the moral excellencies and delinquinces of the old Mandans and allied tribes, we must necessarily, I take it, consider in connection therewith their ideas of entertainment and hospitality. And we must remember that we are reviewing the ethical acts and beliefs of an uncivilized, uncultivated people, touched with the frost of savagery and barbarism, and a hundred years removed, as well, from the canons of moral conduct at present taught them." (p. 230.)

Welsh Theory—Indian Supervision. "In the early days the Mandans were noted for their long light hair and fair complexions. This caused Catlin to exploit a notion that these people were descended from a colony of Welshmen who were supposed to have landed on the Florida coast or thereabouts in very early 142●

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●142 days and then mysteriously to have disappeared. The hair of the men often trailed on the ground, and Henry, Catlin, and others [302] refer to this in much detail. Now they wear their hair cut short, of their own volition, and in my brief visit I noticed no peculiarities of complexion or in color or hair. All of them, Mandans, Aricarees, and Minnetarees, seem to be a sturdy, manly set of fellows, with frank and intelligent countenances. I am inclined to think they have not had the best of supervision in the past, nor been treated with sufficient liberality and consideration by the government."

000 **Noted Chiefs—Patriarchs.** "Catlin was effusive in his praise of these Indians, and both he and Maximilian appear to have found some individuals who savored strongly of the Chingachgook type of Indian, and whose memories and virtues are venerated today. Such a man, for one, was the old Mah-to-toh-papa, or Four Bears, of Catlin, the Meto-Tope of Maximilian. and I can easily believe that Lean, or Poor Wolf, a Gros Ventre of today, now blind and infirm with the weight of his eighty-three years, has been a man that one could trust and respect. De Smet says that Four Bears was 'the most civil and affable Indian' that he ever met on the Missouri. Two-Chiefs, and Leggings, Mandans, and now old like Poor Wolf, a Gros Ventre, or Hidatsa, must also have been men of dignity and character." (Wheeler, p. 240.)

144 **Race Declining.** "As a pure race 'the polite and friendly Mandans,' as they were known to the traders, are slowly but surely declining, and it will not be long before the last one will have departed for the happy hunting grounds. The reservation rolls call for two hundred and fifty Mandans. In talking with Two-Chiefs, I asked him how many full-blood, pure Mandans he thought still remained. The old man, seventy-two years of age, stood in deep thought for several moments, and then replied, 'Not more than ten families; all the others are mixed blood.' Numerically, the tribe as a whole seems to be holding its own." (Wheeler, p. 242.)

731 **Fort Mandan.** "Not a vestige of Fort Mandan remains. On the return of the expedition in 1806, under date of August 17th, the Lewis and Clarke itinerary says: 'In reaching Fort Mandan we found a few pickets standing on the riverside, but all the houses except one, had been burnt by an accidental fire.'

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773 the water, etc., these and kindred phases of the mythology which is the sole back-ground of their tribal past, make up the substance of the strange narratives unfolded, through the moderate abilities of the interpreter, Joseph Packineau, son of Charles Pactineaude or Pattineaux of the fur-trading days, to the writer.

●142 "While there was nothing specially marked about the appearance of Little Owl, we can not refrain from remarking that Bear's Ghost made a distinct impression by his bearing and the manner of his speech. He was one of the most perfect specimens of the commanding physical man we ever observed. His figure was tall and lithe, his eye exceptionally bright, intelligent and winning, his voice soft yet animating; his speech was accompanied by such grace of attitude and fitting gestures as to captivate the listener. His complexion was much lighter than that of the Sioux Indian of the Dakotas, yet not as fair as to relieve his countenance from the general impress of Indian lineage. There was, however, less than usual of the more salient Indian features in high or prominent cheek-bones and roughness of contour. He appeared, in a word, the perfect gentleman and master of expression, and it was difficult to realize that an Indian was discoursing or narrating. His entire attitude was that of intelligent handling of his subject and of utter absence of any sense of inferiority. Sincerity, and a desire to emphasize the point that what he said was truth itself—these elements gave character to his narrative. And while much that he recounted seemed trival and fantastic, yet the air in which it was told gave his story the cast of respect if not of persuasion. We here repeat what has been said before in this paper—that it is believed it is not improbable that the reference to the vine and the under-world was derived from the tradition of the Gros Ventres or Minnetarees who probably came to the Missouri from the Devil's Lake region.

"Little Owl's account will be first given, as it was obtained first. It is seen that if his narrative and that of Bear's Ghost is given credence the Mandans came up the Missouri and from the lower Mississippi."

773 539 **Little Owl's Account—The Creation, Etc.** "The five villages below the Knife river. Bear-on-the-Water and he is the oldest man, he says they came from the—where the Mississippi empties in the sea; after that I can't give you an account of it. They

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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In 1837, however, another great calamity came upon the Mandans. Again smallpox attacked them, raged for many weeks and finally left but one hundred and twenty-five souls.[1] These were taken in by the Arikara with whom they intermarried; finally they separated, again forming a small village of their own at Ft. Berthold. In 1850 there were three hundred and eighty-five living, but these were very largely of mixed blood. To-day there are only a few of the full-blood Mandans left, although the latest official returns give a total of two hundred and forty-nine. The culture has changed, the language has changed, and as a nation the Mandans are practically extinct. 175 [164]

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS: — A discussion of the physical characteristics of the Mandans is rather interesting in view of the fact that so many tales of their being a white race were circulated. Verendrye was told by the Assiniboine that he was on the way to visit people white like himself. The Assiniboine word for the Mandans, *ouachipanne*, was the close relative of the Mandan word for white man, *ouachi*. Catlin became convinced of the white origin of the Mandans and Verendrye and Henry both commented on their light complexions. 142

Verendrye said he expected to see a different sort of people but they differed little from the Assiniboine. Then later: "This nation is mixed white and black. The women are fairly good looking especially the white, and many have blond hair. . . . . The men are stout and tall . . . . . with a good physiognomy. The women have not the Indian physiognomy. . . . . ."[2]

Lewis and Clarke did not mention any particular difference between the Mandans and other Indians of the region, although Catlin relates that when he left St. Louis to ascend the Missouri, Governor Clarke told him that he was going among a strange people, half white. Henry, however, did notice some peculiarities in the Mandan physique. He says[3] that in general the Mandans had not the coarse hair of Indians, it was finer, rather inclining to dark brown, and some had fair hair. The eyes of the Mandans were not as black as usual, but brown and some

[1] Schoolcraft: vol. III, p. 254. [2] Op. cit., p. 21. [3] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 241.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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142 grey. He also says there were several children whose hair was perfectly grey, these were mostly girls.

Catlin[1] possibly exaggerates the physical differences. His account states that their personal appearance at once showed them as more than savages; there were many shades of complexion and hair; many women had white skin with hazel, blue, and grey eyes; they showed every shade of hair except red; some had hair perfectly white or a silvery grey, women more than men; the grey hair was very coarse, while the other hair was fine and soft.

Maximilian took particular pains to ridicule the theory of white origin and especially that of Welsh origin. But even he admits the peculiarity of complexion seen at times. On this subject he said that they were usually brown or copper colored, some were yellow or whitish. When clean there were a number who were nearly white with red cheeks; they had long coarse hair usually black, but many children had brown hair; there were families with grey hair; one family contained members with brown, black, grey, and white hair and eye-lashes.[2] So much for color. There can be little question that there was a tendency toward light complexion among the Mandans, and all of the authorities, even Maximilian, express the opinion that this was not from contact with the whites. Among the Hidatsa and Crow as well is found the phenomenon of grey and white haired women and children, but there is no account of the brown, soft hair, and light skin further described by the earliest visitors to the Mandans. As to the cause of this light skin [143] which appeared now and then it is difficult to decide. It seems, however, to place the Mandans among the tribes where partial albinism was of frequent occurrence. It is almost needless to say that there is absolutely no trace either in language or in physical characteristics of any European origin or admixture.

141 Next is the question of size and general physique. Verendrye[3] says:—"The men are stout and tall, generally very active, fairly good looking. . . . " In a note appended to the location of an old Mandan village, on one of Lewis and Clarke's maps are the following words, "here human bones of large size."

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 93. [2] Op. cit., pp. 374-5. [3] Op. cit., p. 21.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Henry says,[1] the men were tall, stout and well built. Maximilian also testifies along the same line: "Most of the Mandans are vigorous men, strong and large."[2] And adds later that they were a strong race, a little above medium height, possibly not as large as the Minnetarees, robust, with broad shoulders.[3] Judging from the information so far, the Mandans should be considered a large race, but on the other side there is the statement from Catlin[4] that the stature of the Mandans was below the ordinary, but they were well proportioned. All of these observers but Catlin thus speak of the Mandans as above average height. 141

For a further description of the Mandan physique there are only a few words from Maximilian,[5] who says that they had a less aquiline nose than their neighbors, less prominent cheek bones than the Dakotas; thin noses and straight; long, narrow eyes of a deep brown, a little raised and contracted at the inner corner; large mouth, large angular jaws, various shaped heads, but foreheads no lower on the average than among Europeans. 142

VILLAGES:—The Mandans, as has been said, were a sedentary tribe and lived in fixed villages for long periods of time. In these villages they built lasting lodges of a type similar to those of the Arikara, Omaha, and other tribes lower down the Missouri, though with small differences in the details of construction. The villages were usually well fortified, neat and orderly in the early days, but a considerable change seems to have come upon the people after their misfortunes, for there was much less care taken in the arrangement and fortification of the villages in their later locations. The first description of the Mandan village is from Verendrye, who makes it appear almost a model town. As this is the only description of the Mandan villages during the prosperity of the nation,[1] a summary of his account is here given:[6] 361 [171]

"Many people came to meet us but nothing in comparison with what appeared on the ramparts and along the trenches. . . . . Their fort can only be gained by steps or posts which can be removed when the enemy threatens. . . . . If all the forts are

[1] Op. cit., p. 341. [2] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 29. [3] Ibid., p. 372.
[4] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 95. [5] Op. cit., p. 57. [6] Op. cit., pp. 17-23.

1 [i.e., about 1738. See p. 86.-- Analyst]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

161 Morse,* therefore, estimates the number of these people rather too high, when he states it at 1250 souls.

142 The Mandans are a vigorous, well-made race of people, rather above the middling stature, and very few of the men could be called short. The tallest man now living was Mahchsi-Karehde (the flying war eagle), who was five feet ten inches two lines, Paris measure (above six feet English). In general, however, they are not so tall as the Manitaries. Many of them are robust, broad-shouldered, and muscular, while others are slender and small limbed. Their physiognomy is, in general, the same as that of most of the Missouri Indians, but their noses are not so long and arched as those of the Sioux, nor have they such high cheek bones. The nose of the Mandans and Manitaries is not broad—sometimes aquiline, or slightly curved, and often quite straight. Their eyes are, in general, long and narrow, of a dark brown colour; the inner angle is often rather lower in childhood, but it is rarely so in maturer age. The mouth is broad, large, rather prominent, and the lower jaw broad and angular. No great difference occurs in the form of the skull: in general I did not find the facial angle smaller than in Europeans, yet there are some exceptions.† Their hair is long, thick, lank, and black, but seldom as jet and glossy as that of the Brazilians: that of children is often only dark brown, especially at the tips; and Bradbury speaks of brown hair among the Mandans. There are whole families among them, as well as among the Blackfeet, whose hair is grey, or black mixed with white, so that the whole head appears grey. The families of Sih-Chida and Mato-Chiha are instances of this peculiarity. The latter chief was particularly remarkable in this respect: his hair grew in distinct locks of brown, black, silver grey, but mostly white, and his eyebrows perfectly white, which had a strange effect in a tall otherwise handsome man, between [302] twenty and thirty years of age. They encourage the growth of their hair, and often lengthen it by artificial means. Their teeth, like those of all the Missouri Indians, are particularly fine, strong, firm, even, and as white as ivory. It is very seldom that you see a defect or a tooth

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* See Dr. Morse's Report, p. 252. He speaks (p. 349) of the Mandans, Blackfeet, Rapid (Fall) Indians, and Assiniboins. His tables of the Indian population of the United States are in page 362.

† Say, who, in general, gives a very accurate description of the North American Indians (see Major Long's Travels), lays too much stress, as it appears to me, on the character of the receding of the forehead; for, by a comparison of a great many skulls, I have fully convinced myself of the contrary. Say affirmed, also, that the facial angle is not so small as Professor Blumenbach supposes. The Indian features, as far as my experience reaches, cannot be called either Mongol or Malay, the latter of which is more perceptible in the Brazilians, notwithstanding the manifest affinity with the North Americans. The learned traveller, Augustus de St. Hilaire, even attributes to the Brazilians a conformation of the skull, according to which those people are endowed with inferior intellectual faculties. (See Voyages dans les Districts de Diamande). The missionary, Parker, in his Travels to the Columbia River, p. 155, expresses himself, in this respect, entirely in accordance with my views; and D'Orbigny confirms them in respect to the South Americans, in the conformation of whose skulls he found considerable diversities.

6c Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

wanting even in old people, though, in the latter, they are often worn very short, which is chiefly to be attributed to their chewing hard, dry meat. The women are pretty robust, and sometimes tall, but, for the most part, they are short and broad shouldered. They are but few who can be called handsome as Indians, but there are many tolerable and some pretty faces among them. It is usually said of the Mandan women that they, in some respects, have a natural conformation, such as Le Vaillant and Peron ascribe to the Hottentot women; but it seems to be owing, in the Mandan women, less to nature than to artificial means.* The children have frequently slender limbs, and very prominent bellies. Deformed persons are very rare among the Mandans. I, however, saw a very little dwarf with a long, narrow face, and one man who squinted. Persons who had lost the sight of one eye, or with a cataract, are by no means uncommon. There were several deaf and dumb, among whom two brothers and a sister were all born with this defect. Some goitres, or, rather, thick necks among the women, are, doubtless, caused by too great exertions in carrying burdens on their backs. Instances where joints of the fingers are wanting are frequent, but these come under the head of voluntary mutilations.

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The colour of these Indians is a fine brown, sometimes reddish, more or less dark, which might, sometimes, come under the denomination of copper colour. In some it is more of a greyish-brown, in others yellowish; after a thorough ablution the skin of some of them appears almost white, and even some colour in their cheeks.† They do not disfigure their bodies, only they make some apertures in the outer rim of the ear, in which they hang strings of beads, brass or iron rings of different sizes, or shells, the last of which they obtain from other Indian tribes. If they are questioned respecting these shells, they answer that they were brought from the sea. These Indians are vain, and in this respect childish, like all savage nations. They are very fond of ornament, and the young men have always a little looking-glass suspended from their wrists. The traders sell these looking-glasses in a pasteboard case, which, however, is immediately changed for a solid wooden frame, and attached to the wrist by a red ribbon or a leather strap. The looking-glasses are framed in various ways; the rude frame is often painted red, or with stripes of different colours, with footsteps of bears or buffaloes carved on it. Nay, sometimes these

142 301 [439] 301

* Hæc deformitas a viris ipsis et dicunt, tractibus saepe repetitis producitur. In mamillis labia externa in orbem tum ad quatuor digitos transversos prominent; in aliis labia interna valde pendent; immo viraeum ars in partibus ipsis figuras artificiosas fictas fecunt.

Fœminæ hac mutatione carent parvi æstimantur, et neglectæ sunt.

Mutilatur in Mandanis, Minnitaris, et in Crows, magis autem in Minnitaris; in Mandanis, a mulieribus disciplinis, magis quam ab masculis hic mos perversus adhibitur.

† Volney has many inaccuracies in what he says of the colour of the Indians. (Vol. II. p. 435.) According to him, the children are born quite white like the Europeans; that the women are white on the thighs, hips, and lower parts of the body, where the skin is covered by the clothing; that it is wholly erroneous to suppose that the copper colour is natural to them, &c. Mr. Von Humboldt has long since refuted all these assertions.

000 their conquests, not with the bow or the javelin, but with their small black eyes, which shoot out from under their unfledged brows, and pierce the boldest, fiercest chieftain to the heart.

181 The Mandans are certainly a very interesting and pleasing people in their
721 personal appearance and manners; differing in many respects, both in looks and customs, from all other tribes which I have seen. They are not a warlike people; for they seldom, if ever, carry war into their enemies' country; but when invaded, shew their valour and courage to be equal to that of any people on earth. Being a small tribe, and unable to contend on the wide prairies with the Sioux and other roaming tribes, who are ten times more numerous; they have very judiciously located themselves in a permanent village, which is strongly fortified, and ensures their preservation.
181 By this means they have advanced further in the arts of manufacture; have supplied their lodges more abundantly with the comforts, and even luxuries of life, than any Indian nation I know of. The consequence of this is, that this tribe have taken many steps ahead of other tribes in manners and refinements (if I may be allowed to apply the word refinement to Indian life); and are therefore familiarly (and correctly) denominated, by the Traders and others, who have been amongst them, "the polite and friendly Mandans."

There is certainly great justice in the remark; and so forcibly have I been struck with the peculiar ease and elegance of these people, together with the diversity of complexions, the various colours of their hair and eyes; the singularity of their language, and their peculiar and unaccountable customs, that I am fully convinced that they have sprung from some other origin than that of the other North American tribes, or that they are an amalgam of natives with some civilized race.

Here arises a question of very great interest and importance for discussion; and, after further familiarity with their character, customs, and traditions, if I forget it not, I will eventually give it further consideration. Suffice it then, for the present, that their *personal appearance* alone, independant of their modes and customs, pronounces them at once, as more or less, than savage.

● 142 A stranger in the Mandan village is first struck with the different shades of complexion, and various colours of hair which he sees in a crowd about him; and is at once almost disposed to exclaim that "these are not Indians."

There are a great many of these people whose complexions appear as light as half breeds; and amongst the women particularly, there are many whose skins are almost white, with the most pleasing symmetry and proportion of features; with hazel, with grey, and with blue eyes,—with mildness and sweetness of expression, and excessive modesty of demeanour, which render them exceedingly pleasing and beautiful.

Why this diversity of complexion I cannot tell, nor can they themselves

142 account for it. Their traditions, so far as I have yet learned them, afford us no information of their having had any knowledge of white men before the visit of Lewis and Clarke, made to their village thirty-three years ago Since that time there have been but very few visits from white men to this place, and surely not enough to have changed the complexions and the customs of a nation. And I recollect perfectly well that Governor Clarke told me, before I started for this place, that I would find the Mandans a strange people and half white.

The diversity in the colour of hair is also equally as great as that in the complexion; for in a numerous group of these people (and more particularly amongst the females, who never take pains to change its natural colour, as the men often do), there may be seen every shade and colour of hair that can be seen in our own country, with the exception of red or auburn, which is not to be found.

And there is yet one more strange and unaccountable peculiarity, which can probably be seen nowhere else on earth; nor on any rational grounds accounted for,—other than it is a freak or order of Nature, for which she has not seen fit to assign a reason. There are very many, of both sexes, and of every age, from infancy to manhood and old age, with hair of a bright silvery grey; and in some instances almost perfectly white.

This singular and eccentric appearance is much oftener seen among the women than it is with the men; for many of the latter who have it, seem ashamed of it, and artfully conceal it, by filling their hair with glue and black and red earth. The women, on the other hand, seem proud of it, and display it often in an almost incredible profusion, which spreads over their shoulders and falls as low as the knee. I have ascertained, on a careful enquiry, that about one in ten or twelve of the whole tribe are what the French call "cheveux gris," or greyhairs; and that this strange and unaccountable phenomenon is not the result of disease or habit; but that it is unquestionably a hereditary character which runs in families, and indicates no inequality in disposition or intellect. And by passing this hair through my hands, as I often have, I have found it uniformly to be as coarse and harsh as a horse's mane; differing materially from the hair of other colours, which amongst the Mandans, is generally as fine and as soft as silk.

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The reader will at once see, by the above facts, that there is enough upon the faces and heads of these people to stamp them peculiar,—when he meets them in the heart of this almost boundless wilderness, presenting such diversities of colour in the complexion and hair; when he knows from what he has seen, and what he has read, that all other primitive tribes known in America, are dark copper-coloured, with jet black hair.

OOO From these few facts alone, the reader will see that I am amongst a strange and interesting people, and know how to pardon me, if I lead him through a maze of novelty and mysteries to the knowledge of a strange, yet kind and hospitable, people, whose fate, like that of all their race is sealed;—

10: Neill H-4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and treasures, as it contains every thing he values most, viz: 353
two bulls' heads, which seem to be their great Manitou and protection. They are well daubed over with earth, and particular care is taken of them. There is laid on, or rather hung up, his arms, shield, ammunition, scalps of his enemies, and every thing he most values.

MORTAR AND PESTLE.

Next to this stage, stand the mortar and pestle, fixed firm in 342
the ground, and the remainder of the hut from that to the door 412
is vacant during the daytime, but occupied during the night by 231
the horses. Then there still remains a large space in the center, around the fire, for the use of the family, which is generally swept clean once a day. 1/1

CORN STAGE.

Fronting the entrance of each porch stands a stage raised 343
about eight feet from the ground, twenty feet in length, and ten 251
feet in breadth, for the purpose of hanging up their corn to dry, in the fall; these stages have a tolerable good flooring, which in the fall is covered with beans to dry, and posts are erected upon them, on the tops of which are laid poles or rafters, to which the corn and sliced squashes are suspended in tresses to
dry. When their harvest is over, they must have a pretty 313
effect, but at this season of the year they are lumbered up with 372
different kinds of drift-wood, of which they make their fires, and it gives a very ugly appearance to the villages.

DRIFT WOOD.

This wood they collect, in the spring, when the ice breaks up, and when great quantities of this wood floats down, the natives being expert swimmers, and so very active, that there is scarcely a large tree escapes them, until they have a sufficient stock for the year. I observed lying opposite to each village, an immense pile of this wood, and some trees of an amazing size.
Commonly, when they collect the drift wood there come down [222]
numbers of drowned buffalo, that have perished in attempting
to cross above, at a season when the ice was bad. These ani- [268
mals the natives are very careful to haul on shore, as they prefer the flesh in that state.

LIGHT HAIRED CHILDREN.

An extraordinary sight that struck me among these people, 142●
was to see several children, of about ten years of age, whose hair was perfectly gray, and bore a strong resemblance to aged persons. Those I saw were all girls. These people in general have not that strong coarse hair, so peculiar to the natives of North America; it is of a much finer nature, rather inclining to
1/1 [See Category 116, p. 310.-N.]

●142 a dark brown, some few indeed I observed whose hair was almost fair. A Big Belly, in particular, I saw with yellow hair. This circumstance, I believe, could scarcely proceed from any connection with the whites, as it is now more than thirty years since they first saw us, and this man was at least forty years old. Their eyes are jet black, some few are of a dark grey.

LONG HAIR.

302 The men wear their hair long, twisted into small quaittes hanging down to the rump. Some have it of enormous length, trailing upon the ground. They seldom tie it, but allow their numerous small quaittes to flow in a more graceful manner upon their backs; they always daub it with white and red earth. The women wear their hair short, allowing it to grow no longer than to be of sufficient length to cover the ears and neck. They never tie it, nor make use of any ornament for the head further than sometimes daubing it with red earth.

LASCIVIOUSNESS.

837 609 578 They seem to be a very lascivious people. The men make not the least scruple in offering their wives to lay with strangers, without any solicitation, and are even offended, if their offers are not accepted, unless you can convince them, by some good reason, for refusing to comply, and that it is not out of contempt. They always expect payment for their complaisance, but a mere trifle will satisfy, even a single coat-button. Notwithstanding this courteous behavior to strangers, they are not entirely free from jealousies among themselves, which sometimes cause quarrels and bloodshed. The woman generally falls a sacrifice in an affair of this nature.1

MODE OF ROASTING MEAT.

252 They have a very peculiar way of roasting meat; a plecotte, in particular, is suspended from the roof of the hut exactly over the fire, the cord being passed through and fastened to the centre of the piece keeps it in a flat position directly over the flames. A person is seated near it, and with a small stick keeps it continually in motion by pushing it to and fro. When one side is done, it is turned over, and fit for use. This method is much more expeditious than the common way of roasting before the fire, and preferable, as it retains the natural juice and flavor.2

EDWARD D. NEILL.

1 [See category 116, p. 342-3. -A.]

2 [For further information in Henry's Journal not mentioned by Neill, see category 116, pp. 343 ff. -Analyst.]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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142 grey. He also says there were several children whose hair was perfectly grey, these were mostly girls.

Catlin[1] possibly exaggerates the physical differences. His account states that their personal appearance at once showed them as more than savages; there were many shades of complexion and hair; many women had white skin with hazel, blue, and grey eyes; they showed every shade of hair except red; some had hair perfectly white or a silvery grey, women more than men; the grey hair was very coarse, while the other hair was fine and soft.

Maximilian took particular pains to ridicule the theory of white origin and especially that of Welsh origin. But even he admits the peculiarity of complexion seen at times. On this subject he said that they were usually brown or copper colored, some were yellow or whitish. When clean there were a number who were nearly white with red cheeks; they had long coarse hair usually black, but many children had brown hair; there were families with grey hair; one family contained members with brown, black, grey, and white hair and eye-lashes.[2] So much for color. There can be little question that there was a tendency toward light complexion among the Mandans, and all of the authorities, even Maximilian, express the opinion that this was not from contact with the whites. Among the Hidatsa and Crow as well is found the phenomenon of grey and white haired women and children, but there is no account of the brown, soft hair, and light skin further described by the earliest visitors to the Mandans. As to the cause of this light skin [143] which appeared now and then it is difficult to decide. It seems, however, to place the Mandans among the tribes where partial albinism was of frequent occurrence. It is almost needless to say that there is absolutely no trace either in language or in physical characteristics of any European origin or admixture.

141 Next is the question of size and general physique. Verendrye[3] says:—"The men are stout and tall, generally very active, fairly good looking. . . . " In a note appended to the location of an old Mandan village, on one of Lewis and Clarke's maps are the following words, "here human bones of large size."

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 22. [2] Op. cit., pp. 374-5. [3] Op. cit., p. 21.

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Of Siouan Origin. As will be seen from a consideration of the accounts and conclusions set forth hereinafter, the Mandans are regarded by the authorities upon this subject as belonging to the great Siouan family, of which the Dakotas are the head and substantial body. It is believed that a close analysis of the foundations for this conclusion will reveal two main sources thereof, i. e., their locality in the territory generally accredited to the Dakotas, and the analogies supposed to exist between their language and that of the Dakotas. 144

Upon this latter phase it has seemed to the writer that the assumption that those analogies exist to an extent which raises a fair presumption of identity between the Mandans and the Dakota tribes, is not borne out by the evidences at hand. If any one familiar with the languages involved has gone into a study to demonstrate that from a comparison of words or roots entering into the language of the Mandans and of the Dakotas or Sioux, respectively, there are found to be sufficient points of resemblance to bear out the claim of identity, such effort has not come to the attention of the writer. Maximilian assembled in a table sets of words of the Mandans, Aricaras and Sioux, of supposed similar meanings, of which he gained knowledge while among those various tribes, but it is far from clear that a comparison of those words indicates common lingual origin between the Mandans and Dakotas. 197 144

We are unable to quote upon this question any authorities among the people who have been in contact with both the Mandans and the Sioux so as to have become masters of both languages. There are several persons, however, who, having more or less special knowledge of one or the other of them, and who, at the same time have been to some extent in contact with that one of the tribes in question whose language they have not mastered, have expressed their views upon this question of common origin or otherwise. Doane Robinson, Secretary of the State Historical Society of South Dakota, and who met and conversed with Simon J. Kirk, an educated Sioux Indian connected with the Indian school service on the Standing Rock reservation, and who for nearly a year was in contact with the Mandans, thus speaks of his (Kirk's) views upon this question:

"Simon Kirk, Little Eagle, South Dakota, is a full blooded Sisseton, reared with his people and perfectly conversant with

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the Santee and other dialects of the Sioux language. He is educated, a graduate of the Santee Normal Institute of Santee, Nebraska, and has long been in the federal classified service as a teacher among the Indians, and was for a year a teacher among the Mandans. In an interview at Little Eagle on July 8th, 1908, he said:

'I made a careful study of the Mandan language and learned to speak it fluently, and I failed to find anything in it to justify the belief that it originated from the Siouan tongue. There is nothing in the language, or in the history or traditions of the Mandans, to justify the theory exploited by the ethnologists that the Mandans are of Siouan stock. They are utterly foreign to the Sioux in language, blood, customs and traditions.' "

Upon this subject Mr. Kirk replied to a letter of inquiry to the writer as follows:

"I will say that as far as I know personally I don't believe the Mandans are Siouan. Their language is entirely different from the Sioux language. I think it is very easy to learn and talk the Gros Ventre and Ree language, but I never heard or knew a Sioux Indian could talk the Mandan language."

On the other hand, Rev. R. D. Hall, now stationed at the Rosebud Indian Mission in South Dakota, where he has been for about one year, and who is a son of Rev. C. L. Hall, of Elbowoods, N. D., the headquarters of the Fort Berthold Indian Agency and of the Mandan Indians, has kindly and very intelligently responded upon a different trend of thought to a similar inquiry put to him by the writer in August, 1908, upon this subject. This gentleman has, we believe, been among the Mandans during practically his whole life until he came to the Sioux country in this state, since his father has been in constant contact with the Mandans as a missionary for something over thirty years. He states his present views, which as will be seen are but tentative and subject to more mature consideration and study of the Sioux language, as follows:

"The subjects on which you touch in your letter are of much interest to me, as one of the first things I noticed as I began studying the Sioux of this reserve—which is about like all the Sioux language, was the similarity of words in so many cases. I am planning at a later date to tabulate these, but as yet have not had time. I have three theories, or lines, along which this similarity may have come. I hope to work this out later on when I can

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speak the Sioux well enough to get into the history of both people intelligently, according to their traditions. 197

"My first thought is that the Mandans and Sioux were once a common tribe, or branches of a tribe, but some rupture separated them into two bands whose dialects changed as decades passed. These changes can be seen in the different Sioux tribes now--they even have different words now for some things. 144

"My second thought is that the Mandan and Sioux were tribes that for a period were on intimate terms, but not related by blood, and that the stronger language 'infected' the Mandan.

"My third thought is that the Mandans were once a Sioux tribe like the Tetons, Santees, Yanktons, etc., but through isolation for years—maybe centuries—became more widely differentiated.

"The similarity of the languages is striking to me, first as to similarity of words, the pronouncing of syllables, facial expression accompanying the words, etc.

"The order of my theories is my present preference."

The italics in the above quotations are those of Rev. Hall himself.

It will be seen that years of constant contact with and study of the Mandans, and a comparatively brief period of residence among and study of the Sioux, have left this gentleman with a decided inclination to believe the two tribes to have been at some time in the past members of the same racial family or group of tribes, and that but one of his three immature theories supposes them to have been originally strangers in blood; but that he is not yet satisfied to settle down upon any definite conclusion upon the subject.

We will leave this particular phase of the general subject, after quoting Dr. W. H. Holmes, chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, wherein he remarks, in connection with the subject of the Welsh language as possibly involved in the alleged existence of Welsh-speaking Indians and as compared to the language of the American Indians: "It is difficult to find any two languages, howsoever distinct in their origin, that do not contain remarkable correspondences. This must be allowed for in considering the presence of Welsh and other words in the Indian tongue." That eminent authority does not credit the idea of Indians of Welsh extraction. But his observation above quoted

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concerning correspondence between languages, however distinct in origin, if applied to the Mandan and Sioux languages, would seem to tend strongly to suggest caution as to their identity, judging upon the facts set forth in the foregoing quotations from Rev. R. D. Hall.

Peaceably Inclined. The Mandans are unquestionably and justly regarded by substantially all the whites who have been among them from the earliest period of their discovery to have been peaceably inclined, in a sense which distinguished them from most of the warlike tribes who surrounded them on the upper Missouri. Yet they possessed high qualities of valor and actual prowess at arms when invasion of their rights led them to war, in some of which contests they without hesitation took the offensive and proved their ability to cope with their enemies under circumstances placing them at a disadvantage. They also maintained exceptionally friendly relations with the whites.

Highly Civilized. Their habitations in strongly entrenched and palisaded "forts," as they were called by the whites; the indubitable proofs of their having been agriculturalists in an eminent degree; their relatively polished and kindly mannerisms and unstinted hospitality, and their skill as artisans in fashioning pottery and other utensils adequate to their needs as families and communities—all seem to argue conclusively an exceptionally high state of civilization and such as marks them as being in a substantial degree apart from all other Indian tribes of the northwest. There are phases of their religious ceremonies which, coupled with some of their legends, lend strong support to the theory of the high character of their civilization and, taken in connection with all their other attributes, including physiognomy, are undeniably persuasive towards the conclusion that they have white blood in their veins and which must have existed for centuries.

The writer will not descend to a detailed description of the individual lodge, or hut, of the Mandans. It would be useless as mere repetition in substance of the various pen pictures given of them by a number of the early observers whose accounts are set forth hereinafter, and to which the reader or the student is referred. Suffice it to remark here that a substantial error has gone into prominent Indian literature upon the subject of the characteristics of such lodges, in Catlin's account and through

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361 these 'deserted villages' cover they must have been powerful
166 communities, at least as far as numbers could make them powerful.

164 "Whatever may have been their population, there is no doubt that the Mandans suffered more severely from the smallpox than any of the other tribes, and were, in fact, nearly exterminated by it. Mr. Girard says that when he joined them in 1849 the memory of the terrible ravages made by this disease was still fresh in their minds, and they stated that only thirty-five survived the terrible ordeal. He thinks that the disease overtook them in 1832 or 1833, when there were five villages of from sixty to two hundred and fifty lodges each, in all about one thousand lodges, averaging some thirteen persons to a lodge. I am inclined to think he is mistaken in regard to the date, and that they had the smallpox in 1837 instead of 1832-3. Schoolcraft, speaking of this, says: 'Surrounded, as the Mandans were, by active enemies, and doomed, as they appeared to be, to extinction, they might have resisted this course of depopulation a long period had it not been for the reoccurrence of smallpox among them in the summer of 1837. By this fatal calamity their numbers were reduced in a few days to less than one-sixteenth of their whole number. One of the reports of the disease reduced the survivors to thirty-one, another to one hundred and twenty-three.'

168 "They maintained their individuality as a tribe and increased their numbers by stringent marriage laws. They did not allow their women to marry into other bands or tribes unless the man would renounce his tribal relations, join them and agree that the children should talk the Mandan language and be reared in their customs and beliefs." (P. 241.)

●144 Clarke discards without discussion the idea that their physical peculiarities or language indicates Welsh antecedents. He proceeds:

"The physical peculiarities of many of the Mandans, viz., their blue eyes and light hair, have led to the wildest kind of speculation in regard to their origin, some claiming that they were a lost Welsh colony and that their language supported this theory. It is hardly necessary to say that this has no foundation in fact. Some of the children also have gray hair, but this probably 'only denotes a morbid state of it, analogous to that which supervenes in albinoes.' This peculiarity is not limited to the Mandans, the

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Arapahoes having fully as many children who have gray hair, it being seemingly an inherited quality in certain families. I have also seen the same thing in other tribes. In regard to the light hair, one of the old men said to me that when God made them He as a special mark of His pleasure took the silky tassel of the corn with which to make their hair. As a matter of fact this peculiarity is of recent date. Since 1804, when Lewis and Clarke spent their winters with this tribe, their liking for the white men of their party is a matter of record, and particularly of one or two of the men who had red hair and blue eyes." (P. 241.) 144

The above expressed opinion that those peculiarities were of "recent date," and Clarke's evident intention of referring them as to origin to the period of the Lewis and Clarke visit is, we believe, so far fetched as to be without any substantial basis. We have already seen and will hereinafter find further references to evidences which are indisputable to the effect that long before Lewis and Clarke saw the Mandans they had become renowned in the Canadian and eastern American country as "Bearded Whites" and as "Welsh Indians." Even Verendrye, as will be seen later on, knew of those reports and expressed disappointment that the Mandans were not much nearer white men in complexion than he found them to be.

Clarke concludes with the following:

Religious Phases. "They place calico and other cloths round the posts in their lodges as a gift to the god of timber to satisfy him for the spoilation, believing that it hurts a tree to be cut down; i. e., gives it physical pain. The tree is alive and its destruction is the destruction of life, but by giving something to God—making a sacrifice—it pleases Him and gives them good luck. This is a curious peculiarity of their religious belief, which is shared by no other tribe that I have ever met. Near the village and cultivated fields I saw poles fifteen or twenty feet long planted in the ground, with bundles of female clothing tied to these poles near the top. On inquiry they told me that these were gifts to the three Mandan medicine women, who keep the lodges for the sun—one where the sun rises, one at the zenith and one where the sun sets. These women never die, and the sun stops at their lodges to smoke. 'By watching closely,' said the old man, 'you can see that the sun stops for a short time just as he rises, the same at meridian, and he stays with the third at night. 774 778 783

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

142 days and then mysteriously to have disappeared. The hair of the men often trailed on the ground, and Henry, Catlin, and others [302] refer to this in much detail. Now they wear their hair cut short, of their own volition, and in my brief visit I noticed no peculiarities of complexion or in color or hair. All of them, Mandans, Aricarees, and Minnetarees, seem to be a sturdy, manly set of fellows, with frank and intelligent countenances. I am inclined to think they have not had the best of supervision in the past, nor been treated with sufficient liberality and consideration by the government."

000 **Noted Chiefs—Patriarchs.** "Catlin was effusive in his praise of these Indians, and both he and Maximilian appear to have found some individuals who savored strongly of the Chingachgook type of Indian, and whose memories and virtues are venerated today. Such a man, for one, was the old Mah-to-toh-papa, or Four Bears, of Catlin, the Meto-Tope of Maximilian. and I can easily believe that Lean, or Poor Wolf, a Gros Ventre of today, now blind and infirm with the weight of his eighty-three years, has been a man that one could trust and respect. De Smet says that Four Bears was 'the most civil and affable Indian' that he ever met on the Missouri. Two-Chiefs, and Leggings, Mandans, and now old like Poor Wolf, a Gros Ventre, or Hidatsa, must also have been men of dignity and character." (Wheeler, p. 240.)

●144 **Race Declining.** "As a pure race 'the polite and friendly Mandans,' as they were known to the traders. are slowly but surely declining, and it will not be long before the last one will have departed for the happy hunting grounds. The reservation rolls call for two hundred and fifty Mandans. In talking with Two-Chiefs, I asked him how many full-blood, pure Mandans he thought still remained. The old man, seventy-two years of age, stood in deep thought for several moments, and then replied, 'Not more than ten families; all the others are mixed blood.' Numerically, the tribe as a whole seems to be holding its own." (Wheeler, p. 242.)

731 **Fort Mandan.** "Not a vestige of Fort Mandan remains. On the return of the expedition in 1806, under date of August 17th, the Lewis and Clarke itinerary says: 'In reaching Fort Mandan we found a few pickets standing on the riverside, but all the houses except one, had been burnt by an accidental fire.'

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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the approximate time at which the Mandan-Hidatsa abandoned their aboriginal villages and thus does represent an important historical turning point. 177 121

The presence of a white model in the nuclear family through intermarriage is a cultural factor, and it should not be confused with degree of blood, a biological factor. The grandfather of one woman in Lone Hill was a white man who came up the Missouri on a steamboat, stayed a few years, and then left for parts unknown. He produced an undetermined number of children by different Indian women, but all his children were raised in Indian homes. The only cultural transmission from this white man is that some of his known descendants suspect that he may have been Irish and they jokingly celebrate St. Patrick's Day in his honor. His descendants have not had a white model despite their one-fourth degree of white blood. In fact, there is probably not one Mandan-Hidatsa who is a biological full blood, due to the great amount of white intermarriage in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This early intermarriage has not been recorded and took place in very different historical circumstances than more recent intermarriage. 144●

It was found that seventeen nuclear families have had a white model and that thirty-one families have not. When we put these data together with our criterion of acculturation, a very striking result emerges. It was previously determined that fourteen *acculturated* families *do not* regularly attend the Indian ceremonials and thirty-four *unacculturated* families *do* attend the dances. Each of the fourteen acculturated families has had a white model. Of the thirty-four unacculturated families, thirty-one have not had a white model and three have had. To state these results another way: the families who do not attend the dances have all had a white model; the families who do attend the ceremonials, with three exceptions have not had a white model. 177 121

This is indeed a striking set of facts. The importance of white intermarriage has been suggested by other students who have worked in the same culture area with related tribes, but this is, as far as I know, the first time the relationship has emerged so boldly. Voget (1952), who has delineated four socio-cultural groups among the Crow, has written of his "native" group, "It is not unreasonable to assume that the membership of this socio-cultural category consists for the most part of those of pure descent" (89), while his most acculturated group, the "American marginal," are " . . . predominantly of mixed descent" (91). Based upon her study of the Dakota Sioux, Useem (1947:375) concludes, "The full bloods, in contrast to the mixed bloods, tend to retain more of the Sioux language, to keep more of the early symbols and patterns of Dakotan life, [to reside in] full blood communities . . . , to be less educated, to prefer on-reservation to off-reservation life, and to be opposed to the Indian Reorganization Act of the Federal Government."

THE FACTOR OF ISOLATION

The explanation of why white intermarriage is a prerequisite for acculturation must be sought in the total situation in which the people of Lone Hill find themselves. Single factor explanations do not cover the available data. It might be thought that the Indian who knows he is, and is known to be part

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

800 to sweat the part afflicted, by holding the face over a hot stone, and receiving the fumes from snow thrown on it. A large red fox was killed today." (id 222.)

"Sunday, 17th. The weather continued as yesterday, though in the afternoon it became fair. Shotawoorora and his son came to see us, with about thirty pounds of dried buffalo meat and some tallow." (id 223.)

●145 763 **Dying Mandan—Ceremonial.** "Wednesday, 20th. The day was delightfully fine, the mercury being at sunrise two degrees, and in the course of the day twenty-two degrees above zero, the wind southerly. Kagohomi came down to see us early; his village is afflicted by the death of one of their eldest men, who, from his account to us, must have seen one hundred and twenty winters. Just as he was dying, he requested his grandchildren to dress him in his best robe when he was dead, and then carry him to a hill and seat him on a stone, with his face down the river towards their old village, that he might go straight to his brother who had passed before him to the ancient village under ground. We have seen a number of Mandans who have lived to a great age; chiefly however the men, whose robust exercises fortify the body, while the laborious occupations of the women shorten their existence."

778 787 **Medicine Stone.** "Thursday, 21st. We had a continuance of the same pleasant weather. Oheenaw Shahaka came down to see us, and mentioned that several of their countrymen had gone to consult their medicine stone as to the prospects of the following year. The medicine stone is the great oracle of the Mandans, and whatever it announces is believed with implicit confidence. Every spring and on some occasions during the summer, a deputation visits the sacred spot, where there is a thick porous stone twenty feet in circumference, with a smooth surface. Having reached the place, the ceremony of smoking to it is performed by the deputies, who alternately take a whiff themselves, and then present the pipe to the stone; after this they retire to an adjoining wood for the night, during which, it may be safely presumed that all the embassy do not sleep; and in the morning they read the destines of the nation in the white marks on the stone, which those who make them are at no loss to decipher. The Minnetarees have a stone of a similar kind, which has the same qualities,

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Or, on the contrary: "The chain begins to rust," &c. &c. Though these people often manifest great energy of character, many have committed suicide on account of disappointments in love, or of wounded honour, of which Dr. Morse relates a remarkable instance, where an Indian killed himself because he was reproached with cowardice, after his mother had suffered death for him. Many travellers speak of the extraordinary memory of the Indians; several of them relate the entire history of their people in a continuous narrative.

The Mandans and Manitaries are proud, and have a high sense of honour. If a person expresses a wish to possess some article belonging to them, he generally receives it as a present, but a present of equal, or greater value, is always looked for in return. They estimate all their effects at a very high rate, ascribing to them an imaginary and far too great value; and a trifling thing is often paid for with one or two horses. Among the articles of great value is the skin of a white buffalo cow. Fifteen florins are paid for a small ermine skin; whereas, a wolf's skin may be purchased for a small quantity of tobacco. One or two horses are frequently given for a feather cap; a horse for 100 or 150 elks' teeth, or for a handful of dentalium shells. The men are much given to indolence, when they cannot pursue their chief avocations, hunting and war. In general, the Mandans and Manitaries are not dangerous, and, though there are many rude and savage men among them, they are, on the whole, well-disposed towards the Whites: the former, especially, manifest this, and have many good and trustworthy men among them. Some of them are addicted to thieving, especially the women and children; and it is said, that many of the Manitaries, when they meet the Whites in the prairie, though they do not kill them, as they used to do, generally plunder them.

They have always free access to the forts of the trading companies; and, as at Fort Clarke, there was no separate apartment for the Indians, we were molested by them, during the whole day, in every room; nay, they often took the place of the owners, which, during the severe cold in the winter time, was quite intolerable, as they stood in front of the fire, with their large buffalo robes, and kept the warmth from coming into the apartment. They require to be always regaled, which is generally done, and it was estimated that in one year they smoked 200 lbs. of tobacco at the expense of the Company. A few among them, indeed, manifested a much greater delicacy of feeling than the mass of them, and left the dining-room when the dinner-hour approached; but only a very small proportion possessed this correct sense of propriety, for the others generally came just at our dinner time; it is true they had but little meat in the winter season, and fared but badly. Disputes and quarrels are very rare among them; but duels are frequent; and revenge for blood is still exercised.

Many of them are particularly cleanly in their persons, and bathe daily, both in winter and summer; their hands, however, are often smeared with colours and fat, nay, sometimes the whole body is bedaubed. The women are, in general, less cleanly, particularly their hands,

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the older societal values. Kinship provides the means for mutual aid and co-operation in the village as well as a mechanism of social control for ridiculing and cajoling the nonconformist. While the Mandan-Hidatsa social system, with its wide range, embodies the primary societal values of sharing, generosity, group co-operation, and village unity, the converted Indian shifts to the more individualistic American values of accumulating goods and wealth as ends in themselves. Any member of Lone Hill who interacts with others in terms of the Crow kinship system and who meets the obligations of that system will remain an "Indian." 177 601 181

The majority of the Indians who have converted to white ways tend to leave the village to seek their fortunes elsewhere (cf. Spicer 1940; Tax 1941). For this reason, there were few cases of American type kinship systems found in Lone Hill—most such people had already left their village. If all the individuals who adopted a new kinship system as part of a more inclusive conversion experience were to remain in Lone Hill, they might well produce radical changes in the existing social structure of the community. Their departure is a major factor making for the retention of traditional Indian ways. However, some of the converted Indians do continue to live in Lone Hill and do become sources of change in the Crow kinship system. 177 601 167

Individuals in Lone Hill who do not fulfil their kinship obligations destroy the solidarity of the group and the unity of the system. The converted Indian will avoid any kinship tie which involves his sharing material wealth or giving of his time or possessions. One man has developed devious means to accomplish this. He deposits all of his money in a bank so that when people ask him for a loan he can honestly reply that he does not have any money around. He avoids any situation in which he might be called upon to make donations, and, as such, he never attends the social "give-away" dances. This man has consciously narrowed the range of his relationships but he has done so selectively. He will not address another by a kinship term if there is any possibility that he may have to help that person. On the other hand, he does not avoid his joking relatives, for through the structured joking he can make critical remarks about Indian ways which would not be permitted in any other context. 177 602 154

SITUATIONAL DETERMINANTS

As converted Indians who use the generational system do interact with their many relatives in the village who use the traditional lineage system, some mechanism of adjustment is necessary. Two relatives who follow different kinship systems may have different conceptions of the proper way of relating to one another. The adjustment is usually made through one of the persons' adopting the other's system for that *particular* relationship. Every acculturated individual in the village who ordinarily uses the generational system will use the Indian lineage system with *some* of his relatives. The converse also occurs, as unacculturated Indians sometimes use the American generational system. Individuals thus adjust to the alternate kinship systems, which tends to minimize the changes in the systems themselves. 177 601 602

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

156 further his own ends, nor is there any pressure put upon him to realize absolute ideals. The value of generosity in this perspective, and as defined by the
602 Indian people, is any act which promotes group welfare. Those persons who do
431 work together on such secular affairs as road projects are said to have donated their time to the group. At a dance for his son serving in Korea, one man in Lone Hill donated "the whitewashing of the school lunch room and the repair of the grade school window sashes." As the kinship system embodies the primary societal values, a man's position in society is assured if he meets the obligations of that system at all public gatherings and in his everyday be-
[626 havior in the village. If a person behaves in any way that destroys group co-
571] operation he is not threatened or physically punished. His mother or older sister will tell him the right way, and if they are not effective his grandparents or other joking relatives will tease and ridicule him into conformity. The Mandan-Hidatsa have a tremendous elaboration of joking relationships which serve as a very effective mechanism of enforcing conformity to group norms.

177 By the time the unacculturated child becomes an adult, he has been so effectively socialized to Indian ways that white contact has very little in-
867 fluence. But the adult reality is such that he must live in a superordinate white world. This is the sharp discontinuity in his life career. Every Indian must deal with members of white society in order to perform necessary economic and educational activities. The unacculturated Indian does not change himself to become like a white person; instead he learns how to adjust to white people. One informant described the technique as follows: "We Indians are just like those lizards that change their colors. When we are with whites we act one way and when we are with Indians we act another way." I think this kind of compartmentalized behavior is called "situational role specificity"—but possibly the analogy of the chameleon has a virtue of its own. In a sense, the unacculturated people of Lone Hill come to learn two cultures, but it is a
177 case of differential learning with different points of origin. The unacculturated
● 154 Indian character is incorporated into the child in his formative years, while a
867 superficial knowledge of white culture and of the techniques of adjustment to white people are learned primarily in adulthood. The unacculturated people of Lone Hill are not torn with inner conflict between two worlds; they just internalize the Indian way as children and learn aspects of the white way as a necessary accessory when they become adults. Erikson (1950:115) in his study of the Sioux was intrigued by this point:

> This, it seemed to us, was the most astonishing single fact to be investigated: That Indian children could live for years without open rebellion or any signs of inner conflict between two standards which were incomparably further apart than those of any two generations or two classes in our culture.

177 The unacculturated Indian does not internalize white ways as an adult, not because all learning stops in childhood, but because of the vast cultural differ-
563 ences between members of the two groups, the nature of the situations in which adult Indian-white interaction occurs, and the attitudes of white

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

526 regular archery contests in which each competitor paid an entrance fee; the object was to see which man could get the most arrows into the air at once.[1]

The women played a game with a large leather ball, ornamented and well made, which they caused to fall alternately on the foot and knee by bouncing. There was also a children's game, called Assé, played with the tip of an antler to the base of which two feathers were attached. The children also played a game with a hoop covered with a number of leather bands, and about a foot in diameter. This hoop was rolled along and they hit it and knocked it down by throwing a pointed stick; the one that struck nearest the center won. In the spring after the break-up, the children used to run along the bank and throw this ring into the water.[2] Catlin also gives an account of sham battles under the leadership of older men in which the boys engaged.

533 MISCELLANEOUS:—As to the other features of their culture perhaps a few words from Maximilian[3] will give some idea.

He says:—"Many of them take a real pleasure in music and painting and are very skillful in both. . . . Their musical instruments are simple. The songs consist of cries uttered from time to time, and broken by louder bursts of joy. These are accompanied by heavy drum blows and the sound of rattles. . . . They 521 discussed with pleasure subjects of the highest order, the universe and its cause together with kindred topics, saying that their own explanation was far from satisfactory. . . . They are 537 very fine orators, and use very impressive figurative language. They like to talk. . . . By nature they are proud and full of ambition. . . . They often are highly sensitive, and some have ● 156 been known to die of love or from wounded personal pride due to an insult to their honor."

538 Maximilian also says that they were good story tellers and took great pleasure in relating their myths and legends. They had a sort of literature in the shape of rituals for their elaborate dances, and these were handed down through the medicine men. 805 They paid considerable attention to the stars in their ceremonies but were not students of the heavens, and their calendar was a

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 141. [2] Maximilian: p. 417. [3] Ibid., pp. 404 et seq.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LETTER—No. 16.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

156 Besides chiefs, and braves and doctors, of whom I have heretofore spoken, there is yet another character of whom I must say a few words before I proceed to other topics. The person I allude to, is the one mentioned at the close of my last Letter, and familiarly known and countenanced in every tribe as an Indian *beau* or *dandy*. Such personages may be seen on every pleasant day, strutting and parading around the village in the most beautiful and unsoiled dresses, without the honourable trophies however of scalp locks and claws of the grizzly bear, attached to their costume, for with such things they deal not. They are not peculiarly anxious to hazard their lives in equal and honourable combat with the one, or disposed to cross the path of the other; but generally remain about the village, to take care of the women, and attire themselves in the skins of such animals as they can easily kill, without seeking the rugged cliffs for the war-eagle, or visiting the haunts of the grizzly bear. They plume themselves with swan's-down and quills of ducks, with braids and plaits of sweet-scented grass and other harmless and unmeaning ornaments, which have no other merit than they themselves have, that of looking pretty and ornamental.

[B01]

These clean and elegant gentlemen, who are very few in each tribe, are held in very little estimation by the chiefs and braves; inasmuch as it is known by all, that they have a most horrible aversion to arms, and are denominated "faint hearts" or "old women" by the whole tribe, and are therefore but little respected. They seem, however, to be tolerably well contented with the appellation, together with the celebrity they have acquired amongst the women and children for the beauty and elegance of their personal appearance; and most of them seem to take and enjoy their share of the world's pleasures, although they are looked upon as drones in society.

These gay and tinselled bucks may be seen in a pleasant day in all their plumes, astride of their pied or dappled ponies, with a fan in the right hand, made of a turkey's tail—with whip and a fly-brush attached to the wrist of the same hand, and underneath them a white and beautiful and soft pleasure-saddle, ornamented with porcupine quills and ermine, parading through and lounging about the village for an hour or so, when they will cautiously bend their course to the suburbs of the town, where they will sit

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

or recline upon their horses for an hour or two, overlooking the beautiful games where the braves and the young aspirants are contending in manly and athletic amusements;—when they are fatigued with this severe effort, they wend their way back again, lift off their fine white saddle of doe's-skin, which is wadded with buffalo's hair, turn out their pony—take a little refreshment, smoke a pipe, fan themselves to sleep, and doze away the rest of the day. 156

Whilst I have been painting, from day to day, there have been two or three of these fops continually strutting and taking their attitudes in front of my door; decked out in all their finery, without receiving other benefit or other information, than such as they could discover through the cracks and seams of my cabin. The chiefs, I observed, passed them by without notice, and of course, without inviting them in; and they seemed to figure about my door from day to day in their best dresses and best attitudes, as if in hopes that I would select them as models, for my canvass. It was natural that I should do so, for their costume and personal appearance was entirely more beautiful than anything else to be seen in the village. My plans were laid, and one day when I had got through with all of the head men, who were willing to sit to be painted, and there were two or three of the chiefs lounging in my room, I stepped to the door and tapped one of these fellows on the shoulder, who took the hint, and stepped in, well-pleased and delighted with the signal and honourable notice I had at length taken of him and his beautiful dress. Readers, you cannot imagine what was the expression of gratitude which beamed forth in this poor fellow's face, and how high his heart beat with joy and pride at the idea of my selecting him to be immortal, alongside of the chiefs and worthies whose portraits he saw arranged around the room; and by which honour he, undoubtedly, considered himself well paid for two or three weeks of regular painting, and greasing, and dressing, and standing alternately on one leg and the other at the door of my premises. 123 156

Well, I placed him before me, and a canvass on my easel, and "chalked him out" at full length. He was truly a beautiful subject for the brush, and I was filled with enthusiasm—his dress from head to foot was of the skins of the mountain-goat, and dressed so neatly, that they were almost as soft and as white as Canton crape—around the bottom and the sides it was trimmed with ermine, and porcupine quills of beautiful dyes garnished it in a hundred parts;—his hair which was long, and spread over his back and shoulders, extending nearly to the ground, was all combed back and parted on his forehead like that of a woman. He was a tall and fine figure, with ease and grace in his movements, that were well worthy of a man of better caste. In his left hand he held a beautiful pipe—and in his right hand he plied his fan, and on his wrist was still attached his whip of elk's horn, and his fly-brush, made of the buffalo's tail. There was nought about him of the terrible, and nought to shock the finest, chastest intellect. [292]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

123 I had thus far progressed, with high-wrought feelings of pleasure, when the two or three chiefs, who had been seated around the lodge, and whose
• 156 portraits I had before painted, arose suddenly, and wrapping themselves tightly in their robes, crossed my room with a quick and heavy step, and took an informal leave of my cabin. I was apprehensive of their displeasure, though I continued my work; and in a few moments the interpreter came furiously into my room, addressing me thus:—"My God, Sir! this never will do; you have given great offence to the chiefs—they have made complaint of your conduct to me—they tell me this is a worthless fellow—a man of no account in the nation, and if you paint his picture, you must instantly destroy theirs; you have no alternative, my dear Sir—and the quicker this chap is out of your lodge the better."

The same matter was explained to my sitter by the interpreter, when he picked up his robe, wrapped himself in it, plied his fan nimbly about his face, and walked out of the lodge in silence, but with quite a consequential smile, taking his old position in front of the door for awhile, after which he drew himself quietly off without further exhibition. So highly do Mandan braves and worthies value the honour of being painted; and so little do they value a man, however lavishly Nature may have bestowed her master touches upon him, who has not the pride and noble bearing of a warrior.

000 I spoke in a former Letter of Mah-to-toh-pa (the four bears), the second chief of the nation, and the most popular man of the Mandans—a high-minded and gallant warrior, as well as a polite and polished gentleman. Since I painted his portrait, as I before described, I have received at his hands many marked and signal attentions; some of which I must name to you, as the very relation of them will put you in possession of many little forms and modes of Indian life, that otherwise might not have been noted.

574 About a week since, this noble fellow stepped into my painting-room about twelve o'clock in the day, in full and splendid dress, and passing his arm through mine, pointed the way, and led me in the most gentlemanly manner, through the village and into his own lodge, where a feast was prepared in a careful manner and waiting our arrival. The lodge in which he
[342] dwelt was a room of immense size, some forty or fifty feet in diameter, in a circular form, and about twenty feet high—with a sunken curb of stone in the centre, of five or six feet in diameter and one foot deep, which contained the fire over which the pot was boiling. I was led near the edge of this curb, and seated on a very handsome robe, most ingeniously garnished and painted with hieroglyphics; and he seated himself gracefully on another one at a little distance from me; with the feast prepared in several dishes, resting on a beautiful rush mat, which was placed between us (PLATE 62).

262 The simple feast which was spread before us consisted of three dishes
264 only, two of which were served in wooden bowls, and the third in an earthen
415 vessel of their own manufacture, somewhat in shape of a bread-tray in our own country. This last contained a quantity of *pem-i-can* and *marrow-*

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

purchased with cash income derived from productive employment are obtained by the people of Lone Hill directly from natural sources. 105 177

The paternalistic policy of the Indian Bureau has probably been more effective than the geographical isolation and the ecological setting in limiting direct social relationships between the Indian people and surrounding whites. Most of the necessary economic, educational, and welfare activities are handled by the Agency staff instead of by the Indian people. What is called paternalism arose from the necessities of an earlier historical period, during which it was a humane and just policy to aid those Indian people whose life pattern had been disrupted by American expansion. The people of Lone Hill still expect this protection today, yet they resent the associated dependency. At Fort Berthold and on other Indian reservations, this has come to be one of the most complex and pressing problems of native administration. Given the problems that exist, the current Bureau policy of withdrawal is far from an adequate solution. In a paper of this scope we can do no more than call attention to the importance of the administration as an isolating barrier between the Mandan-Hidatsa and the larger American society. 657

What is possibly the most important isolating factor stems from the sharp discontinuity in the unacculturated Indian life career. From the point of view of the age grading of the learning process, acculturative influences are operative primarily in the adult years. During the early formative period the unacculturated child comes to internalize Indian ways from an intimate group of close relatives in a permissive and secure atmosphere. Before he attends school the child eats Indian food, attends the ceremonial dances, and hears about the daring exploits of the Stone Hammer Society from his old grandfather. The activities of the outside world are dim and vague to the Indian child, for he rarely leaves the village and has few opportunities for direct contact with whites. He does attend an occasional movie and he listens to the radio, but the child has had no context within his own experience with which to relate these impersonal mass media. Those whites who come to Lone Hill on business deal with the adults and rarely see the children. I recorded three life histories of young adults who knew no white people until they were seven or eight years of age. 177 867

From the unacculturated child's point of view, life in Lone Hill revolves around his family, peer, and residential groups. His main satisfactions are obtained from within these groups, and the activities of their members, most of whom are relatives, form the major topics of conversation. That kinship is widely extended among the Mandan-Hidatsa takes on added meaning in this context, as all of an unacculturated Indian's emotionally charged and rewarding experiences occur within, and are shared by, the kinship group. Members of the kinship group are also the agents of cultural transmission, and from them the child learns the approved norms of conduct and patterns of social relations. 177 867 602 571

The unacculturated Indian child soon learns that his emotional security and his very identity are dependent upon his maintaining good relationships with his kinsmen. He does not derive security from acts designed merely to 156 602 431

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

156 further his own ends, nor is there any pressure put upon him to realize absolute ideals. The value of generosity in this perspective, and as defined by the
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571] operation he is not threatened or physically punished. His mother or older sister will tell him the right way, and if they are not effective his grandparents or other joking relatives will tease and ridicule him into conformity. The Mandan-Hidatsa have a tremendous elaboration of joking relationships which serve as a very effective mechanism of enforcing conformity to group norms.

177 By the time the unacculturated child becomes an adult, he has been so effectively socialized to Indian ways that white contact has very little in-
867 fluence. But the adult reality is such that he must live in a superordinate white world. This is the sharp discontinuity in his life career. Every Indian must deal with members of white society in order to perform necessary economic and educational activities. The unacculturated Indian does not change himself to become like a white person; instead he learns how to adjust to white people. One informant described the technique as follows: "We Indians are just like those lizards that change their colors. When we are with whites we act one way and when we are with Indians we act another way." I think this kind of compartmentalized behavior is called "situational role specificity"—but possibly the analogy of the chameleon has a virtue of its own. In a sense, the unacculturated people of Lone Hill come to learn two cultures, but it is a
177 case of differential learning with different points of origin. The unacculturated
154 Indian character is incorporated into the child in his formative years, while a
867 superficial knowledge of white culture and of the techniques of adjustment to white people are learned primarily in adulthood. The unacculturated people of Lone Hill are not torn with inner conflict between two worlds; they just internalize the Indian way as children and learn aspects of the white way as a necessary accessory when they become adults. Erikson (1950:115) in his study of the Sioux was intrigued by this point:

> This, it seemed to us, was the most astonishing single fact to be investigated: That Indian children could live for years without open rebellion or any signs of inner conflict between two standards which were incomparably further apart than those of any two generations or two classes in our culture.

177 The unacculturated Indian does not internalize white ways as an adult, not because all learning stops in childhood, but because of the vast cultural differ-
563 ences between members of the two groups, the nature of the situations in which adult Indian-white interaction occurs, and the attitudes of white

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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dementia praecox. The latter travels all over the United States as a hobo, but always returns to the village. A third marginal male went AWOL from the Army, and was once sentenced to three years in the penitentiary for forgery. Still another individual, although married, has admitted to the paternity of three children by three different off-reservation women, and action has been taken in two of the cases for nonsupport. 177 158

The relationships between the seven acculturated families and the thirty-four unacculturated families are characterized by much hostility and a low frequency of social interaction. The acculturated people rarely visit at unacculturated homes, do not participate in the dances or other community activities, and make special efforts to keep their children isolated from the unacculturated children. White "middle class" values are the criteria by which the acculturated Indian appraises his worth and evaluates himself, even though he is not a member of any white social group. Some acculturated individuals actually over-react to those white standards which form the basis for white disapproval of Indian behavior. One man in the village never touches a drop of liquor, is very active in the Christian Church, is up for breakfast every morning by seven, accumulates land and money to the point of being miserly, and will pay every debt before it is due. The acculturated Indians not only reject traditional Indian ways; they often will openly and severely criticize Indian behavior. They have become spokesmen within Lone Hill for those whites who feel that the solution to the Indian "problem" is to destroy the old culture. For the acculturated individual it is inevitable that the Indian people must live in a white world. They see the unacculturated Indians as holding back the course of progress to the detriment of all. The unacculturated majority feel that the acculturated families have taken for themselves what belongs to everyone, have violated the primary Indian values of generosity and emphasis on group welfare, and are "in cahoots" with the Indian Bureau against the best interests of the Indian people. They see the acculturated Indians as traitors and collaborationists. 177 156 578

Acculturated Indians actively seek to increase their interaction with middle class whites, as they need their approval and support. White people tend to accept the acculturated Indian because he behaves in accordance with the middle class ethic and is docile in his relations to whites. Almost without exception, when whites make their infrequent trips to Lone Hill they visit at the homes of a handful of acculturated families. As a consequence, the unacculturated Indians are further isolated from white contact in the village. During the first two weeks that my wife and I lived in Lone Hill, a nearby acculturated family brought us fresh milk, butter, and rolls, offered to drive us around the area, invited us to supper, and was even ready to discuss how we could best obtain rapport with the older Indian people. The acculturated families sought us out, while we had to take the initiative in meeting the unacculturated families. 177

Many government employees and surrounding whites feel that acculturated Indians are outstanding examples of what any individual Indian could achieve given the requisite ambition. Acculturated Indians have a virtual

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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important. As these conditions do exist, the transmission of white ways in an intimate family group becomes the major mechanism of acculturation.

SOCIAL INTERACTION WITHIN THE VILLAGE

The thirty-four unacculturated families are isolated from surrounding whites, but they do have contact with the fourteen acculturated families who reside in the village. The acculturated group are a potential source of rapid culture change, and their influence could lead to the spread of white ways throughout the entire population of Lone Hill. But this does not happen. The cultural innovations initiated by the acculturated families are generally not accepted by the unacculturated majority. Why this is so may be understood by first making an additional distinction among the fourteen acculturated families and then describing the social interaction among the groupings that emerge.

A further differentiation is found when the criterion of acculturation is reapplied to the fourteen families who do not regularly attend the Indian ceremonials. Table 1 presents a final summary of group differences in Mandan-Hidatsa acculturation. Seven families virtually never attend the dances; we continue to refer to them as acculturated. The remaining seven families, henceforth to be called "marginal," do participate in the ceremonials when they are in the village. However, the seven marginal families do not live in Lone Hill for more than six to eight months of the year. For the rest of the year, during their off-reservation periods, they interact with whites and with Indians from other tribes. Marginal families and individuals may leave abruptly by automobile for South Dakota, Montana, or even California, and stay away for months at a time. They are called marginal specifically because their shifting pattern of residence prevents them from regularly attending the Indian ceremonials and from fully participating in village culture. While they are living in Lone Hill, the marginal families interact primarily with unacculturated Indians. They are very active in community affairs, seem to uphold Indian beliefs and values, and at times are among the staunchest defenders of traditional Indian ways. Despite their varied experiences outside Lone Hill, the marginal families do not initiate major cultural change within the village.

Table 1.—Group Differences in Mandan-Hidatsa Acculturation

Degree of Acculturation	White Model in Household	
	Absent	Present
Unacculturated	31	3
Marginal	0	7
Acculturated	0	7

Observation indicates that members of the marginal families are restless, unsatisfied, rather unpredictable, and some are psychologically unstable. In every one of these seven families there is a constant pattern of excessive drinking and fighting, and every adult male has a jail record for committing minor offenses. One of these men is a severe alcoholic, while a second has spent almost three years in a state asylum where he was diagnosed as a case of

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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the night something pulled his blanket off, and he was frightened. He ran back to the village and died shortly afterward of pneumonia." 785

CROWS HEART'S REMINISCENCES AND PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

When a man has a real dream, everything that is going to happen comes to him in his dream. Hairy Coat [owner of a People Above bundle], fasted nine days and everything he did came to him in his dreams. An animal came to him in his dream and said, "You have suffered long enough, and I am going to send you home now. I will give you one enemy, and you can go out and bring in his scalp." The Mandan did all this fasting to get scalps just as you white men are always working to get money. 785 787 159 223

I was twenty-three years old when I first went out to trap eagles. When the lodge was ready, the men went in. That night I knew the leader would suggest that someone should suffer for the birds. That day I looked around and found a sharp bank. On top of the bank I drove a sharp stake and tied a long lariat to it as securely as I could. I knew that the Old Male Black Bear [leader of eagle-trapping party] would suggest that I go out on the top of the hills to cry as long as I could, so I did this to be ready. When I finished driving the stake, I came back and got two men of my father's clan, one being the Good Shot, to go out with me to cut holes through the skin of my chest with an arrow and insert two sticks each two inches long through the holes. After they did it, they said the bank was too high to get down alone and that they would put the rope around my breast to let me down. I told them to leave me alone and go back to camp. 785 159 223

When they left, the lariat [30–35 feet long] was coiled up by the stake. I crawled over the edge and fell to the end of the rope. I got such a jerk that I lost my senses. When I came to, I found myself still hanging down. I cried and ran until I made a trail along the sharp edge. Then the weight became less painful.

That night there was a heavy frost. I cried all the time. I kept running, and it was very cold. I began at dark and suffered until about ten o'clock, when two of the hunters came after me. When they got there, they caught the rope and pulled me up to the top. They tried to take the sticks out, but the swellings were so great that they could not get them loose. I had to carry the rope and sticks in my arms to camp.

When we got there, the head man laid me up where the buffalo skull was. He used a big bunch of buffalo hair to thaw out the swelling, and then the sticks came out. After the sticks were out, I went back to bed, but the swelling extended from my navel to my chin. I rolled without sleeping until nearly daybreak. I could not sleep, so I got up early to see the flag on the hill. I wanted to see if we had the right kind of wind to go to the pits.

I found that we had the right kind of wind, came back to camp, wakened the others, and told them the wind was in the west, the right direction for trapping. My breast was so swollen I had to put the rope for carrying the bait around my forehead when walking to the pit. I put my bait where it was supposed to be and sat there in the pit looking up through the covering. Soon I heard a noise and looked up. There was a large eagle coming down. He sat on

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785 top of my bait, and I stuck my right hand out and caught him. He was a big beautiful eagle, and that was the result I got for my suffering the night before.
159 Before I finished killing him, another big one came down on top of my pit and walked over to the bait. I caught him as I had the other one and pulled him
223 into the pit where I killed him, and there was never a happier person than I. I forgot all about my pains. I was happy as I thought of what I had done the night before. I did not have to go very far to get results for the suffering I did the night before. After that the leader said, since I was lucky, I should get up mornings and look at the flag to see if the winds were right.

787 If a man goes out on the hills to fast and suffer and some holy person or animal comes to him and tells him that he will be lucky and kill an enemy,
785 but when he goes out as leader, the enemy kills one of his party instead, he will come home crying because the people will think that he didn't fast right
159 or that his dream wasn't real. Brave men will start fasting again and seek an even stronger god by fasting longer and offering their flesh to the Sun. The older men watch one who has lost a warrior when he fasts. If the suffering is too severe, men of his father's clan pay him to stop for fear that he will kill himself. After he has suffered a while, the parents of the warrior who was killed in battle will give a feast to the man and ask him to stop. When a leader goes out to war as a result of the promise of a certain animal and loses one of his men, he will reject that animal's vision instructions if sent to him again in a dream. He will keep on fasting until another god comes to him. It is often hard to get men to follow an unlucky leader. If he goes out a second time and kills or strikes an enemy, the people will say, "You have a real protector now, one that is going to be a great help to you."

My god is the horse. When I was a young man, I led a horse around the sacred cedar standing in the center of Like-a-Fishhook Village by means of thongs in my flesh until I fell down unconscious. As I lay there, a horse came to me and promised me success in hunting and warfare. I killed two enemies a long ways from home because of this dream. The horse sang me his sacred songs, but I am not allowed to sing them for you. I have done all the things the horse asked of me, and the horse has done everything he promised me he would. The doctoring you saw me do did not come from the instructions the horse gave me. The sharp stick I used for letting out matter came from my rights in the Big Bird ceremony my sisters and I bought of Big Black, my father's brother.

726 I can illustrate by a story how a man organizes a war party to go out for the enemy that his god has promised him. The leader is careful to do just as
159 he was instructed.

The party was to leave from Fishhook Village. The leaders were Old Bear (Tamisik clan), Crows Breast (Tamisik clan), and Porcupine Head (Speckled Eagle clan). I joined the party because of a suggestion by Afraid To Be Chief [his mother's brother and head of the lodge at that time] that he had no horses. If we got horses, we would be pretty well fixed. When a party of this kind is made up, they do not announce it but act quietly in preparation for the trip. A night was set to leave. Those planning to join got together a supply of moccasins and food. A lodge was designated as our meeting place. The party met this time in Two Chief's lodge. Others came to look on and wish us luck so that the lodge was packed full of people.

In addition to the leaders mentioned already, there were these warriors in the party: Big Steal (Tamisik clan), Long Tail (Prairie Chicken clan), Afraid

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To Be Chief (Prairie Chicken clan), Raven Turns (WaxikEna clan), Bear Chief (Prairie Chicken clan), Short Bears Teeth (Tamisik clan), Crows Heart (Prairie Chicken clan), Tree Bark (Tamisik clan), and Crow (Prairie Chicken clan). 726 159

We met at Two Chief's lodge, since he was a brother-in-law of Crows Breast, one of the Old Wolves. We had enough bullboats in readiness to carry the party down the river. It was planned that the party should sing the songs belonging to the whole group[4] before leaving. All of us wore a white piece of cloth for a headgear and a white cloak reaching to the knees. While singing the songs, we made a noise by "hitting the mouth"; this brought a great crowd of onlookers. While we were singing, a heavy shower of rain fell, and water ran everywhere in small torrents. The leaders decided not to go that night; they would wait until the next evening just at sunset.

When the schedule was changed, each of us took up his medicine bundle and equipment and left the lodge. Upon reaching our earth lodge, I lay aside my medicine bag and moccasins and went out of the village to attend to my horses. While there I met an Hidatsa named Puts Away His Hair, who said he was organizing a war party of his own and wanted me to go along as a Young Wolf [scout].

He said, "When I was making the ceremony, my gods gave me one tepee at a place called Cedars Facing Each Other [southwest of the present town of Dickinson, North Dakota]."

When he said that, I was undecided what to do. I thought it over for a long time and finally decided to go with him as a Young Wolf. I had already left a bullboat with the other party. I prepared to leave immediately with the newly organized party. It did not take me long to get ready, since I had only to fetch my horse. My medicine bundle and moccasins were already packed for the other expedition I had planned accompanying. In a short time I plunged my horse into the muddy waters of the Missouri at a point just below the village and swam him to the opposite shore where we were to meet. It was late spring, and the river was quite high. Big Steal also changed over to this party.

We went to a sand bar to wait for the party. We were told that we would wait for him there, but we did not know who he meant. We later learned that they meant Four Bears, whom you are named after.

The leaders of Old Wolves were: Puts Away His Hair (Water-buster clan, Hidatsa), Sitting Elk (Water-buster clan, Hidatsa), Four Bears (Prairie Chicken clan, Hidatsa), and Shaved Forehead (Water-buster clan, Hidatsa). The others of the party were: Yellow Robe (Prairie Chicken clan, Hidatsa), Foolish Man (Tamisik clan, Louie Baker's brother, Mandan), Rattlesnake (Tamisik clan, Mandan), No Arm (Tamisik clan, Mandan), and Crows Heart (Prairie Chicken clan, nineteen years old, Mandan).

The route we took was a little east of the present post office of Defiance by Lake Gap [Mandan name]. There were plenty of antelope, and we had enough meat. Our route took us by Red Bank, where we made our first camp. From there we went directly toward the present site of the town of Dickinson and on the second night stopped on the river bottoms there. Next day we went on to Rose Bud Ground to the southwest. From our camp there, we climbed the grass-covered buttes from which we saw the hill called Home-of-the-Buffalo,

4. I.e., society songs.

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the place where the animals were believed to come out. Some of the party decided to go there to look at the place. On reaching Home-of-Buffalo Hill some of us looked around for the blue clay used for painting our faces and known to be plentiful there. On top of the hill there was a deep crack in the ground, and we could see the buffalo spirits' tracks in there, for it was well packed down. On the west side we came to a great cavity half-full of bones. There were so many bones there I think the animals must have been killed by lightning.

This was the same summer that Custer's party went through the country [1876]. Their army went just a little to the west of the hill and made a regular road. We went there to see their trail. When we came to where it went down to the Little Missouri River, we found skeletons of mules, wrecked and abandoned wagons, and much other material discarded by the army. Their trail was plain, so we followed it all the way to the Little Missouri. Just before crossing the Little Missouri, we went through rough country. There we found oats, clothing, and harness; it looked as though the men had spent a long time there making the road. We found good bridles, reins, and tents which we took. All of us were well supplied. From there we rode to Like-a-Chicken-Tail Butte. This was one of the places where we usually got red paint. All in the party said they would need it when they captured the one lodge. From there we followed the west bank of the Little Missouri River a ways, then crossed and camped on the bank, all the time going up the river. The country abounded with elk, antelope, and blacktail deer. We were never short of meat.

Soon we could see Cedars Facing Each Other Buttes. There we killed two elk, for we were afraid we might not find the tepee at once and might need meat while we were scouting around for it. There we built a sweat lodge and dried our meat in it with heated stones, for we did not dare shoot game when in the vicinity of the enemy. The scouts constantly traveled ahead of us, headed by Yellow Robe and assisted by Foolish Man and Rattlesnake. On the third day after drying the elk meat, they came back running to inform us that they had found where a tepee had been and that the coals were still hot. They said they could still see the place where the horses had been picketed.

When Puts Away His Hair reached the site of the tepee, he went to the west side of the tepee ring to fast and cry. He cried until the next noon.

Then he pointed to the Sun and said, "Old Man, what you have given me, you have also taken away." Then he turned to the Young Wolves and said, "Now, my Young Wolves, this is the place designated by my medicine. It would not be good policy to follow this enemy. We could catch him at his next stop but that would be beyond the authority given me by my medicine. I might be harmed and some of you Young Wolves might be killed. Young Wolves, I am going to turn back, but you may go on if you wish. Old Man gave me this lodge (one family), but now he has taken it back again."

When he made that decision, Sitting Elk[5] decided to go on as leader and took with him Yellow Robe, Foolish Man, and No Arm. They went on for one day when they found the camp fire again burning. Sitting Elk was leader, but he decided that in view of the fact that another had been given the lodge, it would be dangerous to them.

He said, "By the looks of things, the enemy is wise to us. I don't want to

5. Hidatsa Hide-beating bundle-owner.

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lose any Young Wolves. It would be a blur to my record to 'kick the stone' so I am going back." The others returned with him. 726 159

When we came back, there was nothing of importance until we reached the Killdeer Mountains, where a Sioux war party saw us. We took the middle of the flat east of the Killdeer Mountains, and one of the party killed an antelope. We wasted no time pulling the hide off, and went right on to Red Paint Creek. I laid the hide out to dry to use on my horse that had a sore back. While we were roasting the meat, a whirlwind took the hide up into the air and whirled it, all the time with the flat side down.

When it happened, we said as a joke, "The enemy is upon us," but each of us jumped onto his horse and followed the creek down to the Little Missouri. We did not stop until we reached Cedar Butte, four miles above Hans Creek, when we went into an elm thicket to rest the horses. While there, an owl came and hooted. The enemy had outnumbered us ten to one and had been watching us from the Killdeer Mountains. They thought they had us, but it was the whirlwind that saved us. It was almost a miracle that we escaped the enemy. [The enemy was never seen but was merely suspected by the signs.] From our camp in Hans Creek we left at dawn without food and rode until we reached Manure Creek, where we grazed our horses in a clearing in the woods and cooked meat. We reached Like-a-Fishhook Village at sunset.

Puts Away His Hair got no credit for the lodge even though he found it just where his medicine said it would be.

The Mandan distinguished two kinds of supernatural experiences, those which were received through dreams and those actually seen, the latter being considered the more reliable. Crows Heart thought that what one actually saw could be depended on, whereas all dreams were not real. Scattercorn told of a Mandan who was visiting the Crow Indians. She said: "A friend took him to the top of a high mountain. While there a storm came up so they sought shelter under a cliff. During the night Thunderbird came by with his wings straight out. The lightning came out of his neck, and, when he moved his wings ever so little, it thundered. This Mandan really saw this bird, and it was his guardian after that." 787

All women fasted at least once during their lifetime. Self-torture was rarely practiced except in unusual instances. Scattercorn recalled an instance when three brothers were killed by the Cheyennes, who had been in the village exchanging robes for corn. When they left, they met men coming back loaded with meat. No precautions were taken when they saw the Cheyennes, since they knew what their mission had been. The brothers of the slain men fasted and practiced self-torture to get supernatural aid. When the war party left, one sister cut off two fingers 785 562

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785 and offered them to the sky-gods. She slashed her legs and arms
562 where they had just healed after the mourning cuts she had inflicted. She fasted four days. Although she did not receive a vision, she attributed the unusual success of the war party to her sacrifices.

Men and women never fasted at the same places. Women usually fasted in their gardens or on the corn scaffolds. Women could pledge to give the Okipa, in which case they were permitted to fast on the roof, while a brother assumed the responsibilities of Okipa Maker. They rarely fasted more than one day and night at a time. The supernatural powers which one received were believed to be in direct proportion to one's suffering. Front Woman did not think women needed as powerful guardians as men, so she fasted only one day and night until she contracted sore eyes which would not heal. She and her mother's sister who also had eye trouble paid for the right to fast on the Okipa lodge while the ceremony was being held. Her eyes improved, but her mother's sister's eyes did not. Both fasted during the four days of the ceremony but returned to their lodge at evening.

787 Doctoring rights were included with most tribal hereditary bundles, and the rights to doctor were sold with the bundle.
756 Such rights could also be acquired through supernatural in-
428 structions or purchased from one who had secured the right through visions. The latter practice, though common, did not continue for more than two or three generations. Only tribal bundles continued the hereditary character of doctoring rights generation after generation and with little change. Both men and women doctored. Women rarely doctored outside their own family until after the menopause.

The following account is typical of doctoring beliefs and practices.

MRS. GOOD BEAR'S NARRATIVE OF DOCTORING

787 My mother, Stays Yellow, fasted in the woods in quest of a god. Just be-
756 fore daylight she fell asleep. In her dream she saw two old people doctoring a woman who was having difficulty bearing a child. She saw that they were
• 159 using black roots [Black Medicine] which they dug up in the forest. The old people, a man and a woman, had a hide rattle decorated with white feathers. She listened to the song they were singing. At the same time they administered to the woman giving birth to the child, they were doctoring to a number of dead watersnakes. The old woman chewed the roots and blew the chewed-up mass over the snakes; each time she blew on a snake, it came alive and

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squirmed away. The last of the snakes had young in her body and was slow to come to life. The woman blew the black root on the snake several times, and each time the snake gave birth to a young snake until all were born. The old man and woman then instructed Stays Yellow that she could doctor women when they had difficulty bearing children. My mother never killed snakes after that; she always blew some of the medicine root on any snake near our lodge and then carried it away.

My mother's mother, Coyote Woman, lived with her husband between the Knife and the Heart rivers.[6] He was very mean to her and beat her a great deal. He sent her out every morning at daylight to see if there were any animals in their pits. One day there was a large wolf in one of the pits.

The wolf said, "Take me out, and I will give you power to do anything you ask."

Coyote Woman did not know what to do because she was afraid of her husband. The wolf knew her thoughts. He coughed up a blue stone.

"Take that stone and use it among your people," he said. "If you use it, you will stay awake all night just like the wolves do." She took the stone and let the wolf out.

From fear of her husband, she told him what had happened. The old man was very cross and inquired how much power the wolf gave her. She showed him the blue stone, and the old man took it away from her.

When the wolf gave her the stone he had said, "If anybody in your tribe is mean to you and you want to get rid of him, cut out an image of him in leather, put the stone beside the image, and cover both with hot ashes. Then the person will die."

She told all this to her husband. She had had another husband when she was young, and the old man immediately put a piece of hide cut out in the shape of the other man together with the blue stone into the ashes, calling the other man's name. That night the old man and his wife could not sleep. The next morning the woman's first husband died. She knew that she would have to get the stone away from her husband or he would kill half the tribe, so she stole the stone. When he missed the stone, he beat her; then he took her to the prairie where he drove down four posts, tying her arms and legs each to a post. In the night the wolf came and chewed off all the straps, thus setting her free.[7]

The Wolf said, "Any time you want to know anything, come out on the hills and I will tell you."

She went home and slept during the day. A large bear came to her and said, "You are having a hard time. From now on, you must go among your people doctoring. People will give you white buffalo robes, leggings, dresses, and moccasins, for you will cure all who ask your help."

Then the wolf came to her in her dream and said, "Tell your husband to go on the warpath. The first time the wolves will send him good luck and all the people will praise him; the second time he won't come back, for the wolves will eat him."

He did as she said. The second time he did not come back. After ten days,

6. This was the village of the Awigaxa and Istopa bands.

7. This suggests Hidatsa beliefs concerning wolves. See "Wolf Ceremonies" in Bowers, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, MS).

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787 Coyote Woman went onto a hill. The wolf said, "Your husband who was like
756 an enemy to you has been eaten up. Don't feel sorry for him, or I will never
159 help you."

Before she went home, she cut deep gashes in her arms and legs with a flint knife and cut the sleeves from her dress. As she approached the village, she began to cry, and all the people ran out to learn the cause of her mourning. She said that her husband and all his party were dead.

She began doctoring the sick people the way she had formerly been instructed by the bear.[8] She examined her patients first to learn what caused the
[753] illness. Some were made ill by the snakes or bugs in their bodies; others from the influence of evil spirits; others from the loss of a god. She had a medicine song and a medicine root. If she found the pain was in one spot, she sucked with her mouth or a hollow horn, sometimes drawing out long slim worms or maggots of different colors. She pressed the stomach for pains located in the stomach or bowels and blew chewed-up cedar bark over the patient; when a person had a headache, she let out blood from the forehead.

756 The stone was burned so our people lost that. When Coyote Woman was
159 old, she did not sell my mother the right to doctor, but my mother often heard her tell how she cured her patients. We have always believed since then that the bear was the greatest of all doctors.

844 Certain doctors were called upon to help women laboring in childbirth.
159 Some of the women of the house would fill a pipe and place it before the woman they wished to act as midwife or doctor. The doctor gave instructions which must be carried out and set the price which was for the number of days she would serve. If she failed to help the patient in that time, she left to give another a chance to cure the patient. If the doctor failed to cure the patient in the time designated, the relatives might again place the pipe before her, and she was obliged to remain longer. Extra goods were then paid for the additional time. When the doctor entered the lodge where the woman in labor
[841] lived, she ordered all the men and small children out, and women then in their menstrual period were asked to stay away from the lodge. Should any woman during her menstrual period come into the lodge, sage was immediately burned in four places in the lodge, two fires being made of sage painted red and two of white sage.[9] If this was not done, it was believed that the patient might die. A special song was sung during the burning of the sage, for which the doctor received an additional fee. The doctor called in two young girls while the four fires were burning and asked them to doctor the patient in her stead by singing the medicine songs and dancing around the sick person. At the end of the songs, the two girls walked to the sick person and said, "You are well now," and left the lodge. The doctor then continued to administer to the sick woman.

The doctor selected an old woman to take the child as soon as it came. Women gave birth to children usually in bed or on a robe laid on the floor. The lodge was darkened, and only the doctor and the sick woman's mother were allowed inside. As soon as the child was born, a wide belt was bound tightly around the mother's abdomen. Because of the cost, many women did not engage a doctor unless difficulty was experienced.

8. Bear bundle rites were inherited in the Bear clan until the clan died out after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

9. Apparently this practice was a part of each doctoring rite. Red sage represented the sun and white sage represented the moon.

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My mother received the right to doctor women having trouble in childbirth, but she never practiced until she was quite an old woman. She learned of a woman that other doctors had given up to die and went to help her. The woman was scarcely alive but still conscious and could talk a little. 844 159

My mother said to her, "I have no great powers, but I am going to do just as I saw in my dream when a young woman." She chewed the black root and blew it over the sick woman and sang the medicine song she heard the old man and woman singing. She asked one of the old women standing near by to bring a stiff feather. Then she lifted the sick woman's head up and opened her mouth. She pressed one knee on the patient's stomach and at the same time pushed the feather down her throat, causing her to strain as in vomiting. This contracted the abdominal muscles, and, the fourth time the feather was pushed down her throat, the child came. My mother did not dream that she should use the feather. It was her own idea. She boiled some of the black root and gave the sick woman the water off of it to drink. She got a good horse, ten blankets, and much calico for doctoring this woman.

My mother turned her doctoring bundle over to me when she was old. The bundle consisted of black root, sage, and the song. She did not have the hide rattle, as it was the man in her dream who held that. I only doctored one woman who was having pains before her child was born. I did just as my mother instructed me to. I went to her lodge, sent everyone out except one woman, the sick one's mother, and made the room dark. I sang the song and blew chewed black root over her. I boiled black root and gave her the water to drink. The child was born before I had time to use the feather. I was paid a fat steer for helping her.

Crows Heart thought that a person rarely called in another to doctor except when the case was serious. People usually depended on their own bundles for protection and recovery from illness or accident. In the case of imbedded arrows, anyone might be asked to help remove them. Arrowheads or bullets imbedded in the flesh of the limbs were usually pressed on through the limb. He cited examples, one when a man doctored his own injuries and one where help was asked of others. 755 752

CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF CHERRY NECKLACE

Once the Mandan went toward Dickinson on their summer buffalo hunt. Nearly one thousand Sioux attacked them, and Poor Bear was shot through the chest so that the bullet come out through his shoulder blade. He bled through his nose and mouth when he was carried into his tepee. He said that when he got his medicine spirit, the Bear, he was promised protection. Although bullets might hit him they could not kill him if he carried out the instructions received in his dream. He asked his wives to bring him wild plums to eat, but there were none because it was early in the summer. Instead they brought him plum leaves and said they were plums. He chewed the leaves and sang his sacred songs. His wives helped him to his feet, and he danced while he sang with the blood flowing from the two wounds. In four days he was able to walk through camp again.

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Mrs. Good Bear remembered an old man with the medicine of the otter. The otter was said to extract arrowheads and bullets by sticking his head into the wound.

The Mandan had one doctoring practice not employed by the Hidatsa. Sometimes a baby got a sore mouth and could not nurse its mother. The child's father would call one of his own brothers saying, "I want to drink of your blood."

The father would use an awl to prick a hole in his brother's leg and the child's mouth was put over the wound. When a man had no brothers, he called a man of his own clan. The rule was that the blood one drank must come from a man of the father's clan. Crows Heart showed several scars where he had given blood to cure sore mouths.

Breaking rules was believed to be the cause of bad luck. This could be either intentional or unintentional. Sometimes the guardian spirit was said to abandon one who violated some rule. Crows Heart said that it was impossible to explain why some men who were so particular about obeying all the rules should lose power. Edgar Crows Heart took his mother's brother's mink hide[13] to use in a dance without getting permission. Shortly afterward, he was thrown from a horse and suffered a broken nose, a result, Crows Heart, the father, said of taking a medicine bundle without the right.

Scattercorn was the only informant to give an example of sleight-of-hand practices performed as the result of a dream. In the hereditary bundle rites people claimed to have corn, buffalo, and other spirits in their body which came up into the mouth during the ceremonies.[14] Her account is of one not informed in the actual rites.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF POWER OF MEDICINE

My father's father ran away from the village when the smallpox came and lived with the Crow Indians out west. He was one who fasted much. One time he fasted on a high mountain. He became so weak that he could not get down the mountain and fell unconscious in the snow. A bear, porcupine, and otter came to him and said, "Son, we heard you cry and are going to help you." Those spirits carried him down the mountain, and he was so weak that he could not help himself. He became unusually holy because so many animals

13. Hidatsa Creek medicine.

14. Also reported by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIV (Cleveland, 1906), 33.

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787 came to him and promised him many things, taught him medicine songs and told him how to make a bundle.

• 159 He came back to the village where there were just a few Mandan living. The Ree were living in the village too and were mistreating the Mandan, but 776 when they heard he was a holy man, they gave him robes and blankets to keep him from doing them harm.

When my father was grown, my grandfather said, "I am going to fix you up with the gods I have and teach you everything the bear, porcupine, and otter taught me. I will give you the songs, but you will have to pay me for them. I will teach you all the things I have been taught in my dreams."

He made a hole through two bullets; one he tied around my father's neck and the other round the wrist. He made a shield and painted a picture of a bear, porcupine, and otter on it, but the bear had two heads. He tied a soft eagle feather to the shield.

"If they shoot this little feather, they will kill you. Otherwise they can't kill you or hurt you in battle,"[15] he said.

He told my father, Moves Slowly, how to fix up the medicine for battle. Twice my father struck an enemy. This power was given him to be lucky, and his exploits brought him a high place in the tribe.

He once said to my father, "If the spirits agree, I will know it." He taught my father's sister the songs.[16] One time he asked the women to bring much firewood into the earth lodge and get out his three drums because he was going to bring all the gods in that night. He stood a long pole with a rattle tied on the end up through the smokehole. There was another rattle near the kettle beside the fireplace. There was a small sweat lodge in one corner of the earth lodge. Many people came in to look on. Two men tied him up hand and foot and put him in the sweat lodge. He was to bring in the spirits while the girl sang his medicine songs. The people were told that the spirits would hit them if they were not quiet. Soon the rattles began to shake, and the spirits came down and untied him and tied the lariat up in a knot. Then he ordered the fire built up, and everything was bright again.

He was able to name the person stealing things and locate lost storage pits. The spirits on the mountains showed him how to detect thieves or find things. One time some friends made a robe, but before it was finished someone stole it. They called my father in to sing his medicine songs. While he was singing, a dog barked out in the village and two men going by told him they passed a man wearing a robe that had not been trimmed around the edge. It was a Ree who had stolen it.

Another time he had just finished ten arrows. He had given a horse for the heads on the arrows and was proud of them. He missed them so that night he sang the medicine songs and asked the gods to help him find them. When he finished, he just wandered aimlessly through the village and went into a lodge, not knowing why he did. He told about his arrows and one of the men in the lodge said there was a young man sleeping there who had nice ones. They were the arrows he lost. So my father believed the promise made by his father that "the spirits would send powers" was true.

15. The feather represented the source of his power, and the only way to harm him was by breaking or destroying his connection with the supernatural.

[428] 16. This form of inheritance from parents to children was characteristic of personal bundles which should not be confused with tribal bundles which were theoretically clan owned.

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be erected before the Okipa lodge, where the ceremony was held. One pot was symbolic of the Old Woman and the other represented her husband, a large snake. The owner kept them in a storage chamber near the head of his lodge covered with a hide when not in use. Unlike the Awaxawi pots, which were used as drums, the Nuptadi pots were used to prepare food for the feast. When the Sioux destroyed Nuptadi Village after the first smallpox epidemic, the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundle-owner was killed defending his lodge and his bundles which were burned. The other similar bundles did not have these large pots, so these special Mandan rain-making feasts ceased, and they went to Awaxawi Village, where a somewhat similar ceremony was performed, except that the pots were used as drums. 796 778

Whenever one paid to have the sacred pots brought out for the rain-making feast, the bundle-owner erected an image of the Old Woman Who Never Dies. This was composed of a pole to which was tied a robe with white sage at the top, leggings, moccasins, a corn-stirring paddle, and a corn basket so arranged as to resemble a person.

The following account indicates the native theory of the function of the corn bundles in Mandan religious life. 796 778

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF CORN BUNDLES 159

The Robe bundle-owner[6] prays each year for good crops, but people lately have not followed the rules of the tribe, so the crops are unusually poor. Only wooden pipes can be used in these ceremonies. A few years ago at Mandan, Crows Heart was asked to officiate in the pageant representing the first meeting of the Mandans with the whites. Someone at Mandan, not knowing our ways, gave him a red pipe to use. He offered smoke to the four directions, and that night all our gardens froze.

I bought my rights in this bundle from my father, Moves Slowly, when he grew old and his eyes were poor. I was the first woman to own one of these bundles, for the bundle usually went to the oldest son.[7] People dreaming of the things grown in the garden or of the animals and birds associated with corn asked my father to officiate when a feast was given to their medicine. At such

6. The Robe bundle is possibly the best of all the tribal bundles known to students of Mandan culture. George F. Will and George E. Hyde in *Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri* (St. Louis, Mo., 1917), pp. 244, 262–68, relate in considerable detail the function of the Mandan Corn Priest. O. G. Libby, secretary of the North Dakota Historical Society, has prepared a painting of the thirty-three owners of the bundle, of which Moves Slowly is the last, and secured much information on the history of the bundle.

7. Informant has, no doubt, been influenced by Hidatsa customs. See above where actual inheritance is given as taken from genealogies.

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796 times he painted a picture of the plant or animal dreamed of on a robe for the person giving the feast; for this service he was paid robes, horses, or blankets.
778 He was the head singer in the Goose Women's ceremony and was the own-
159 er of the songs addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies, but he bought those extra. In the spring, the Goose Women's Society danced under his direction, and he supervised the sale of the society to the younger women; he officiated in the ceremonial transfer of the holy objects belonging to the society.

[787] Someone during the winter always dreamed that the corn crop would be large if he or she put on a feast to the corn. The one having the vision then
796 sent word by someone of his father's clan to ask the Corn bundle-owner to take charge. The giver prepared robes and food. At the appointed time, which
778 was when the waterbirds came north, all those with rights met. Participating
241 were the Corn bundle-owner, all those with the medicine of garden products or associated animals and birds, the Black Mouth Men's Society, and Goose Women's Society. The Corn bundle was carried into the earth lodge and opened at the entrance to the sweat lodge, where it was laid out on a deer skull and elkskin. Songs were addressed to the Corn Bundle People who came out of the ground; additional songs were addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies. Only four stones were used in the sweat, each one representing one of the Sun's visits to Waving Corn Stalk. The stones were our enemies just as the Sun had been. The giver of the ceremony named four enemies he wished to conquer while the stones were taken into the sweat lodge. Those entering the sweat lodge imitated the geese and waterbirds while the Corn bundle-owner sang his four songs. Those not entering the sweat lodge were sprinkled with water dipped from the clay vessel belonging to the bundle. Corn and beans often came up into peoples throats while the ceremony was in progress; those people danced and rubbed their throats with sage to put the objects back down. Food was served to the Corn bundle and then to the guests.

The giver of the ceremony gave each person attending a robe or present and received in return a prayer for the giver's success. When the ceremony was completed, an image of the Old Woman Who Never Dies was made from an elk robe and lashed to a pole in front of the giver's lodge.

The Corn bundle-owner was expected to ask the help of the spirits who sent good crops. In the spring before seeding time, he held the ceremony of cleansing the seeds so that they would germinate. Early on the appointed day he went to the top of his earth lodge where he faced to the south singing the Corn bundle songs to call the spirits of the corn back from the south. He held a vessel containing shelled corn. Each woman making a garden came to him and received two seeds of each kind of corn, beans, sunflowers, and squash, paying for them and the prayers he addressed to his gods. Payment was made in elk robes, blankets, and other clothing.

778 The Corn bundle-owner underwent numerous taboos while the crops were growing. Owners of minor Corn bundles prepared his food beginning four days
241 before the cleansing of the seed. When the previous year's crop was poor, he
784 lived apart from all women until the crop was ripe and the seed corn for the next season had been gathered. He painted his body red and wore moccasins of buffalo hide with the hair on the inside. He wore a robe all summer long. He was not permitted to eat plums, berries, or corn. All the people of the tribe knew that after the cleansing ceremony the restrictions went into effect and were careful not to violate any of the rules lest the crop fail. Each woman kept

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423 Village, but he sold to his son after living one generation with
223 the Hidatsa. He inherited the eagle-trapping sites of his moth-
778 er's brother, but his son, Ben Benson, did not inherit his father's
425 trapping lodges, since they were of different clans. Trapping territory and lodges continued to be clan-inherited and were not affected by this change to father-son inheritance of bundles.

778 Residence also was a factor in determining Mandan bundle transfers. When marriage was arranged on the initiative of the
425 girl's parents, who selected the husband, the girl and her husband lived with her parents. As soon as it was evident that the marriage would become permanent, the girl's parents undertook what was known as "building up the son-in-law's reputation." First they would secure a white buffalo robe, which they presented to their son-in-law, who in turn would ~~offer it~~ to his own father's bundle.

If the young man came to regard the parents-in-law highly, he would, when successful in warfare, present his mother-in-law with a scalp, after which he could speak to her at will. Small Ankles lived in the same lodge with his wife and her parents, and he received his eagle-trapping rights from his father-in-law, Big Cloud, who also sold to his younger brother, Wolf Eyes. Wolf Chief, son of Small Ankles, was eligible to buy from his father. He also was invited to own his father-in-law's (Chief, a Mandan) eagle-trapping rights. This was an instance where a man (Hidatsa) was eligible to purchase his father's rights but through marriage to a Mandan and living in his parents-in-law's lodge could, according to Mandan custom, have inherited his father-in-law's bundle and rights.

Wolf Chief gave an account of a bundle transfer as told to him by his father, Small Ankles. The account illustrates quite definitely a considerable interchange of elements between the Mandan and Hidatsa, resulting in an enriched ceremonial life for both groups. The Hidatsa think of Small Ankles' rites as Hidatsa, but this account will show that the chief body of lore connected with the bundle was drawn from the Mandan.

223 WOLF CHIEF'S NARRATIVE OF A BUNDLE TRANSFER

778 I do not own the trapping rights, and by custom I should not tell; but,
425 since I have changed my ways, I will. My father, Small Ankles, did not get
159 the rights from his father but from Big Cloud, his father-in-law. Before Big

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Cloud[24] died, he told my father that it would be better for him to put up a sweat and thus receive the Small Bear, for he might get some use out of it. When people in the future would make offerings to the bears, he would receive presents.

Small Ankles told me that he got this Small Bear shortly after the smallpox. He said to me, "I treated my father-in-law well; he was like an older brother to me; that was the reason why he asked me to buy the medicines. I had to put up the sweat and some articles before I received it. At that time there were few trade goods, so I went out for buffaloes and saved about twenty-five hides. I had them tanned by the women. I prepared a sweat bath and called Big Cloud. He showed me two feet belonging to the little bear; one was without hide and was called Bone Foot. It was difficult to find a man who knew all the songs, but we remembered that there was a man named White Finger Nails. He had a son who knew the holy songs, so he was selected to come in and sing the songs. That man was a Mandan, Calf Woman's mother's father, named Arrowhead Earrings.[25] Big Cloud did not own a complete bundle but had only part of the rites and songs, so they selected this man since he knew them all. The man selected I called "father" because he and my father were in some way distantly related. Also I said that it would be best to have my father-in-law there too, for he knew some of the songs and knew how to put up the trap with the songs for the baits and pits. They met together to have the ceremony." Small Ankles was there. Big Cloud gave his medicines to Small Ankles and taught him how to trap, sing the songs, and set the baits. Then the other man gave him a small piece of bear hide and foot, telling him that when out trapping, if bad luck came, he could call him "father" and say what he wished to say, and Arrowhead Earrings would remember.

Big Cloud received the ten hides and said, "It will be all the better to let this other man have fifteen hides and a horse, for he is the one who did most to give you a complete ceremony."

When they covered the sweat lodge with the robes, there was a buffalo skull and the medicines that were to go to Small Ankles inside. Then they sang the holy songs. Big Cloud gave Small Ankles the bear foot, three snares, and eagle down, saying, "I give these to use when trapping; keep them in good order." Then they went in and sang a holy song and called some of the people to come in front of the sweat to be cleansed of the evil spirits.

There were not many people there, for most of the eagle-trapping bundles had died out during the smallpox; all who did own such bundles came there. Arrowhead Earrings said to Small Ankles, "When you go out eagle-trapping, remember this medicine is connected with trapping fish too, so you must not trap both in the same year. If you do, you will surely get into trouble, for this is holy. It is best to change off and go out after eagles one year and catch fish the next. If you use both the same year, trouble will come, for the fish have the stronger spirit."

There was a holy man with eagle medicine named Medicine Eagle [Mandan]. Small Ankles heard that he was holy and learned that, when any of the

24. Big Cloud had no sons and was living with his daughter, who had married Small Ankles.

25. Arrowhead Earrings was a Mandan of the WaxikEna clan and custodian of the Okipa lodge, where he lived with his family when the lodge was not needed for the ceremonies. His eagle-trapping rights were secured from White Finger Nails.

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people wanted to make offerings to the eagles, Medicine Eagle would draw the picture of the things that they offered.

Small Ankles said, "I was trying to call him to come to my place and inquired what he did about making the signs for the eagle, thinking that it would help me in eagle-trapping. I called him in and told him I would like to own 'how he drew the picture,' and the man said he was willing to let me have it. He said it was not necessary to put up a big sweat and ceremony but to give enough articles, and he would show me how. He also owned a holy song for eagle-trapping which I could use. He gave them both to me to use.

" 'I will save enough hides to buy it from you,' and the man said that he would be ready any time. I looked up eight hides and my wife tanned them. A mare and colt were included. I put up a feast besides and told the medicine man that I was ready to own the medicine. The man came painted. His face was red; his hair was over his forehead; he wore the longest wing feathers. He came in, and I said, 'Here is the material I have put up to own your medicine song; here are two sticks which represent the mare and colt; this food also goes along with it.'

"When the man saw that, he said, 'I am satisfied with it, my son. You have put up all these things, and I am happy.' I had a pipe ready and handed it to him. He called for a little fire and I carried him a coal, but before he began to smoke he held up his pipe to the sky and prayed, then to the ground, and then to the birds of the four directions. When he finished smoking, he said that he would sing the holy song which belonged to the bait and show me how to draw the picture, for, when any man makes an offering to the eagles, then that man will have the right to draw a picture on his robe.* Medicine Eagle said, 'I will show you how to make the picture, for one who makes an offering to his own medicines, the eagles. I have a holy song for that.' I [Small Ankles] was taught the song, and the man said that he had already heard that I had bought the right to trap and now with my holy song it would be all the easier to trap an eagle. He taught how to sing the holy song, but one was not supposed to sing it aloud, just loud enough so that the people could hear it. The song had some words.

Female eagles come back first.

"Then he taught me how to draw the picture and said, 'Some day the people may make an offering to the eagles, and then you can draw the picture. Have some mud on a stick. When you draw the picture, make first a crooked line for lightning and then one straight line alternating until you have made six or eight figures representing lightning. Pull out one of the wing feathers and put it on one corner of whatever they offer when you finish drawing the pictures. When you have finished, cut an ash stick and put the robe around it with sage fastened on the top of it. Have a belt around the middle. Put it beside the door of his lodge so that it will stand there. When you go out eagle-trapping, remember the holy song and think whether you are getting enough birds. If you think you are not getting enough, use that song, singing it on the way to the pit or while smoking the bait. When you go into the pit, sing it. When you are at the pit, lift the bait in the air to the west and sing. If an eagle shows up while you are singing, it means that you will be successful. Do not sing this song often, only when you need it very badly.' "

26. The practice of painting robes to depict bundle rights was universal with the Mandan but uncommon with the Hidatsa.

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Small Ankles did not go out often, for there were many enemies. He did not like to go because of that. I went out along the Little Missouri River to Shoot-in-Nose Creek, and Small Ankles said I was four years old then. Then, Old Woman Crawling, Flying Above, and Big Cloud were along. There were old pits, but no one knew whose, so they fixed them in the same places. That is all right if one did not know whose they were. Many eagles were flying. One man stayed at home to protect the women. Big Cloud told of birds destroying the bait when the enemy appeared on the hill. The men freed the birds and ran away from the place. They traveled all night coming back. 223 778 425 159

The actual transfer of the bundle was a public event in both tribes. When a Hidatsa transfer was to be made, a clan brother of the seller occupied an important place, giving the instructions beforehand and directing the ceremonial transfer. He was recipient of most of the goods offered in payment. Attending the transfer ceremony and feast were all persons, male or female, owning a bundle containing a buffalo skull. These participants were considered the major bundle-owners of the tribe. 778 425

Mandan public transfer of this bundle was direct from seller to purchaser, and the only persons entitled to attend were legitimate owners of Eagle-trapping, Big Bird (this includes eagles, hawks, owls, thunder), Snake, and Bear bundles. Instruction in the techniques and rites of eagle-trapping was received directly from the seller without the assistance of a clan father. Each legitimate participant at the transfer received payment for his attendance and prayed for the success of the purchaser. Instruction was received from the seller privately, and appropriate payments were made from time to time during the period of apprenticeship. For instance, the buyer would be told that he should have so much goods ready at a stated time, and he would be taught how to erect the lodge; at another time how to dig the pits; etc. Each song would require its appropriate payment. When the feast was given, all knew that the buyer had received at least the minimum information necessary for leading eagle-trapping expeditions. Both tribes employed public transfers as an instrument for informing the population at large of the buyer's legitimate right to perform the ceremony. Transfer was always made in the village and never while on the trapping grounds.

There were two methods of organizing an eagle-trapping party depending on the inclination of the leader or bundle-owner. Some leaders selected their trappers, while others announced 223

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561 incense and smoked the clothing they wore. The child represented the small buffalo calf left in the tribe by the buffalo women.

796 The dance was symbolic of the return of the buffaloes. All wore a band of buffalo hide around the arms and forehead, in which were tied owl and magpie feathers. The head woman wore a headband of white buffalo hide.

The dance was performed in the winter during the shortest days. Its purpose was to bring the buffalo herds back to the villages. It also was believed to bring cold weather, causing the herds to desert the flats for the sheltered river bottoms. Failure to have given the dances would have resulted in small herds or none at all. Someone always paid to have the dances.

CALF WOMAN'S NARRATIVE OF THE WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY

561 I was two years old when I went into the Hidatsa White Buffalo Society, and the women would carry me on their backs in the dance. The singers were
●159 Crows Paunch, Bear Looks Out, Poor Wolf, and Red Wing (a Mandan).

The Goose Society was first, and the women selling out the Goose Society bought in. The society also came from the Mandan, but it passed over to the Hidatsa long before the Goose Society was passed over. Women were forty-five to fifty years old when joining. Bear Looks Out and Poor Wolf liked the ways of the society, and they went to the Mandan and bought singer rights.

The members of the society were: Calf Woman (a child), Otter, Dances Along, Different Sage, Root, Lone Woman, Good Paint, Long Hair, both of the Sioux Women, All Blossoms, Flying, Spring Woman, Cherry Women, and all those who had belonged to the Goose Society except Juneberries. I am today the only Mandan or Hidatsa with rights in the society.

After a group of women sell their rights in the Goose Society, they still have the right to attend their meetings and dance. [Scattercorn verified this.]

Everything in buying is the same as with the Goose Society, and the sale is made in the late fall. They meet each night for sixty nights; during that time those who are buying the society bring in food for the society they are buying out. At the end of the sixty nights, the older people give the clothing needed in the ceremony to the ones who are buying in.

Otter wore the white robe; I was the middle person wearing the little calf robe. Flying was the third person to wear one of the special robes of a calf and was well into the forties at that time.

561 We would meet in the wintertime when the days were the coldest, also in early winter when the days were shortest. The leader wore the white robe;
796 they called her "white robe." The middle one wore a calf robe; she was called "good calf robe." *MitE'atu'ki* means "white robe." The third officer is
159 "keeper of the incense." They make incense of a fine, pulpy, yellow material such as is used in the Bear ceremony. It comes from the Crow Indians. Lead or Lone Woman [mother's sister of Calf Woman] was "keeper of the incense." The last woman in the line holds the robes over the smoke before they put them on. They dance in a circle just like in the Goose Society. The singers in the Goose Society kept their rights even when the women sold out. Two women sit back of the woman with the white robe, wearing skunk headdresses, and it is their job to look after the spectators. Lone Woman attended to the incense, taking incense to the first three officers, then to the buffalo skull and finally around to all the women and the singers. They dance in the winter when they want the buffaloes to come and any other time, except when warm

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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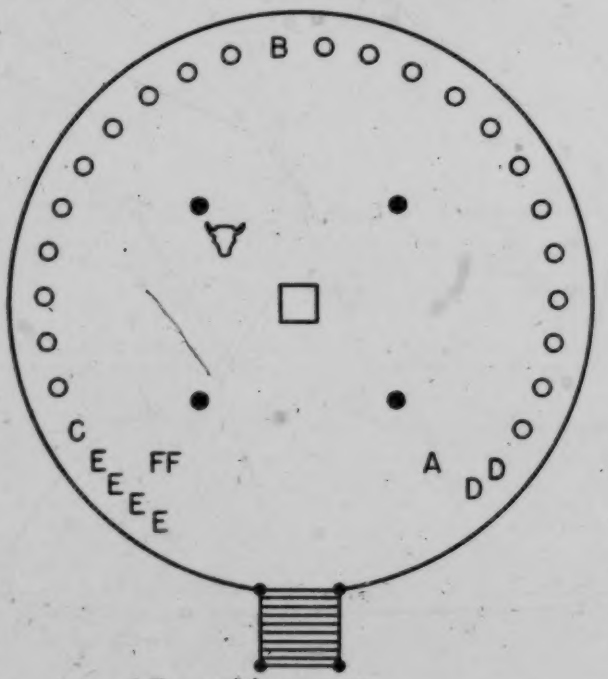
enough for the crops, upon invitation. When they sing the songs in the spring after the crops are in, the frost will kill all the plants, so they are afraid to sing or dance then. They would not meet often in the wintertime if someone did not offer them a feast. They feel that they must dance once in the year, anyway, even though no one puts it on. Then they smoke the robes and skull before dancing. All the dancers wear a headband of white buffalo hair, two magpie tail feathers, and white down feathers of the eagle together with owl



A, Keeper of the ceremony
B, Child representing Buffalo Calf
C, Woman representing Summer Buffalo
D, Women acting as waiters
E, Singers
F, Giver of ceremony and wife

FIG. 44.—Lodge plan of the White Buffalo Cow Women's Society

feathers. They dance four times beginning in the evening, and it takes them until late into the night. The fourth time they dance, Lone Woman stands up and takes all their robes off so they dance in their buckskin dresses. The person giving the ceremony would sit with his wife next to the singers and toward the door (see Fig. 44).

They always meet in the leading woman's lodge, in this case Otter's lodge. Otter had three daughters, three sisters, and a mother living in that lodge, and that way there were eight of them; they would hitch up their dogs and bring in wood and water for the ceremony. She had three sons and a son-in-law, and they brought the buffalo meat. That was what they had when they danced.

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She was "Keeper of the Ceremony," and, when they danced, she fed the whole society. If another was putting on the ceremony, it would still be best to hold it in Otter's lodge. Old Packineau used to invite them in often. Otter made corn balls for the ceremony, and after the first dance she passed small pieces to each of the women.

The Mandan White Buffalo Society singers were Moves Slowly, Red Buffalo Cow, Short Bull, and Iron Eyes; Brown Nose, wife of Bear on Water, was the leader.

One time they danced in winter camp north and opposite to Independence. While they danced, a buffalo came and walked up to the door, and they killed it there.[3] They would take my little robe and all the headdresses to tie to a stick. They put them outside of the lodge in the morning after dancing all night; then in the evening they would take them back, doing that every day and taking them down for the four nights of dancing. During the four days of the ceremony, they stayed at the lodge, sleeping there when the ceremony was not in session. After the dance, each woman made corn balls. One of the singers with his rattle, in this case it was Red Wing, would sprinkle water on them. When he did that, the people would come in. They passed the corn balls around four times to the people who came to look on. They would place their headdresses and robes in a row with corn balls in front of each one. Then the owners would come and take the corn balls that were placed in front of their robes. They gave Red Wing many things for doing this for the women and singers, and he was the one who got the principal reward for it all.

There were four old women in the group who sold out, Corn Woman, Brave Woman, Spring Woman, and All Blossom. Each had from four to six younger women whom they had to claim as "daughters." They had to give the younger ones robes and clothing to be used in the ceremony. Corn Women had no daughters of her own. Spring Woman had one daughter (myself) and took as her daughters, Cherries, Long Hair, Many Yellow, Root, Different Sage, Flying Woman—seven in all, but not all were of the Chicken clan. Brave Woman took in Calf Woman, Cherries, and Peppermint. Corn Woman took in Lone Woman, the two Sioux Women, and another Cherry Woman. All Blossom took in all the rest of the women who were left. Red Wing had Crow Paunch, Bear Looks Out, and Poor Wolf. Red Wing was the only one of the old singers who had belonged with the four old women. Before dancing, the women painted the left side of their faces red and the right side blue with clay. They wore buckskin dresses and robes, but three had special robes and headdresses and painted their temples. The singers dressed in any manner they wished and also used any face paints they wanted.

After the ceremony was over, Red Wing cleansed the articles and each put her things away carefully, ready for the next ceremony. After that, different ones would invite us to their lodges immediately to feast, and then we would go back to our own lodges, having been away for four nights. I was the only girl in my family, and they thought so much of me that they urged and helped me to join different societies.

At Like-a-Fishhook Village the Mandan and Hidatsa kept their ceremonies separate. The Mandan met in Moves Slowly's lodge. He was head singer, getting his rights from Corn Woman's father, Enemy Face.

The ceremony in the two tribes was identical. The songs were alike also.

3. See *ibid.*, p. 305, for a reference to a similar incident.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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LETTER—No. 21.

MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

159 In a former Letter I gave some account of Mah-to-toh-pa (the four bears), second chief of the Mandans, whom I said I had painted at full length, in a splendid costume. I therein said, also, that "this extraordinary man, though second in office, is undoubtedly the first and most popular man in the nation. Free, generous, elegant, and gentlemanly in his deportment—handsome, brave and valiant; wearing a robe on his back, with the history of all his battles painted on it, which would fill a book of themselves if they were properly enlarged and translated."

I gave you also, in another epistle, an account of the manner in which he invited me to a feast in his hospitable wigwam, at the same time presenting me a beautifully garnished robe; and I promised to say more of him on a future occasion. My readers will therefore pardon me for devoting a Letter or two at this time, to a sketch of this extraordinary man, which I will give in as brief a manner as possible, by describing the costume in which I painted his portrait; and afterwards reciting the most remarkable incidents of his life, as I had them from the Traders and the Indian agents, and afterwards corroborated by his own words, translated to me as he spoke, whilst I was writing them down.

The dress of Mah-to-toh-pa then, the greater part of which I have represented in his full-length portrait, and which I shall now describe, was purchased of him after I had painted his picture; and every article of it can be seen in my Indian Gallery by the side of the portrait, provided I succeed in getting them home to the civilized world without injury.

Mah-to-toh-pa had agreed to stand before me for his portrait at an early hour of the next morning, and on that day I sat with my palette of colours prepared, and waited till twelve o'clock, before he could leave his toilette with feelings of satisfaction as to the propriety of his looks and the arrangement of his equipments; and at that time it was announced, that "Mah-to-toh-pa was coming in full dress!" I looked out of the door of the wigwam, and saw him approaching with a firm and elastic step, accompanied by a great crowd of women and children, who were gazing on him with admiration, and escorting him to my room. No tragedian ever trod the stage, nor gladiator ever entered the Roman Forum, with more grace and manly dignity than did Mah-to-toh-pa enter the wigwam, where I was in readiness to receive him. He took his attitude before me (PLATE 64), and with the sternness of a Brutus and the stillness of a statue, he stood until the dark-

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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159 ness of night broke upon the solitary stillness. His dress, which was a very splendid one, was complete in all its parts, and consisted of a shirt or tunic, leggings, moccasins, head-dress, necklace, shield, bow and quiver, lance, tobacco-sack, and pipe; robe, belt, and knife; medicine-bag, tomahawk, and war-club, or *po-ko-mo-kon*.

292 The shirt, of which I have spoken, was made of two skins of the mountain-sheep, beautifully dressed, and sewed together by seams which rested upon the arms; one skin hanging in front, upon the breast, and the other falling down upon the back; the head being passed between them, and they falling over and resting on the shoulders. Across each shoulder, and somewhat in the form of an epaulette, was a beautiful band; and down each arm from the neck to the hand was a similar one, of two inches in width (and crossing the other at right angles on the shoulder) beautifully embroidered with porcupine quills worked on the dress, and covering the seams. To the lower edge of these bands the whole way, at intervals of half an inch, were attached long locks of black hair, which he had taken with his own hand from the heads of his enemies whom he had slain in battle, and which he thus wore as a trophy, and also as an ornament to his dress. The front and back of the shirt were curiously garnished in several parts with porcupine quills and paintings of the battles he had fought, and also with representations of the victims that had fallen by his hand. The bottom of the dress was bound or hemmed with ermine skins, and tassels of ermines' tails were suspended from the arms and the shoulders.

The *Leggings*, which were made of deer skins, beautifully dressed, and fitting tight to the leg, extended from the feet to the hips, and were fastened to a belt which was passed around the waist. These, like the shirt, had a similar band, worked with porcupine quills of richest dyes, passing down the seam on the outer part of the leg, and fringed also the whole length of the leg, with the scalp-locks taken from his enemies' heads.

The *Moccasins* were of buckskin, and covered in almost every part with the beautiful embroidery of porcupines' quills.

The *Head-dress*, which was superb and truly magnificent, consisted of a crest of war-eagles' quills, gracefully falling back from the forehead over the back part of the head, and extending quite down to his feet; set the whole way in a profusion of ermine, and surmounted on the top of the head, with the horns of the buffalo, shaved thin and highly polished.

The *Necklace* was made of fifty huge claws or nails of the grizzly bear, ingeniously arranged on the skin of an otter, and worn, like the scalp-locks, as a trophy—as an evidence unquestionable, that he had contended with and overcome that desperate enemy in open combat.

411 His *Shield* was made of the hide of the buffalo's neck, and hardened with the glue that was taken from its hoofs; its boss was the skin of a pole-cat, and its edges were fringed with rows of eagles' quills and hoofs of the antelope.

His *Bow* was of bone, and as white and beautiful as ivory; over its back

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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was laid, and firmly attached to it, a coating of deers' sinews, which gave it its elasticity, and of course death to all that stood inimically before it. Its string was three stranded and twisted of sinews, which many a time had twanged and sent the whizzing death to animal and to human victims.

The *Quiver* was made of a panther's skin and hung upon his back, charged with its deadly arrows; some were poisoned and some were not; they were feathered with hawks' and eagles' quills; some were clean and innocent, and pure, and others were stained all over, with animal and human blood that was dried upon them. Their blades or points were of flints, and some of steel; and altogether were a deadly magazine.

The *Lance* or spear was held in his left hand; its blade was two-edged and of polished steel, and the blood of several human victims was seen dried upon it, one over the other; its shaft was of the toughest ash, and ornamented at intervals with tufts of war-eagles' quills.

His *Tobacco-sack* was made of the skin of an otter, and tastefully garnished with quills of the porcupine; in it was carried his *k'nick-k'neck*, (the bark of the red willow, which is smoked as a substitute for tobacco), it contained also his flint and steel, and spunk for lighting———

His *Pipe*, which was ingeniously carved out of the red steatite (or pipe-stone), the stem of which was three feet long and two inches wide, made from the stalk of the young ash; about half its length was wound with delicate braids of the porcupine's quills, so ingeniously wrought as to represent figures of men and animals upon it. It was also ornamented with the skins and beaks of wood-peckers' heads, and the hair of the white buffalo's tail. The lower half of the stem was painted red, and on its edges it bore the notches he had recorded for the snows (or years) of his life.

His *Robe* was made of the skin of a young buffalo bull, with the fur on one side, and the other finely and delicately dressed; with all the battles of his life emblazoned on it by his own hand.

His *Belt*, which was of a substantial piece of buckskin, was firmly girded around his waist; and in it were worn his tomahawk and scalping-knife.

His *Medicine-bag* was the skin of a beaver, curiously ornamented with hawks' bills and ermine. It was held in his right hand, and his *po-ko-mo-kon* (or war-club) which was made of a round stone, tied up in a piece of rawhide, and attached to the end of a stick, somewhat in the form of a sling, was laid with others of his weapons at his feet.

Such was the dress of Mah-to-toh-pa when he entered my wigwam to stand for his picture; but such I have not entirely represented it in his portrait; having rejected such trappings and ornaments as interfered with the grace and simplicity of the figure. He was beautifully and extravagantly dressed; and in this he was not alone, for hundreds of others are equally elegant. In plumes, and arms, and ornaments, he is not singular; but in laurels and wreaths he stands unparalleled. His breast has been bared and scarred in defence of his country, and his brows crowned with honours

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159 that elevate him conspicuous above all of his nation. There is no man amongst the Mandans so generally loved, nor any one who wears a robe so justly famed and honourable as that of Mah-to-toh-pa.

I said his robe was of the skin of a young buffalo bull, and that the battles of his life were emblazoned on it; and on a former occasion, that he presented me a beautiful robe, containing all the battles of his life, which he had spent two weeks' time in copying from his original one, which he wore on his shoulders.

This robe, with his tracings on it, is the chart of his military life; and when explained, will tell more of Mah-to-toh-pa.

Some days after this robe was presented, he called upon me with Mr. Kipp, the trader and interpreter for the Mandans, and gave me of each battle there pourtrayed the following history, which was interpreted by Mr. Kipp, from his own lips, and written down by me, as we three sat upon the robe. Mr. Kipp, who is a gentleman of respectability and truth; and who has lived with these people ten years, assured me, that nearly every one of these narrations were of events that had happened whilst he had lived with them, and had been familiarly known to him; and that every word that he asserted was true

And again, reader, in this country where, of all countries I ever was in, men are the most jealous of rank and of standing; and in a community so small also, that every man's deeds of honour and chivalry are familiarly known to all; it would not be reputable, or even safe to life, for a warrior to wear upon his back the representations of battles he never had fought; professing to have done what every child in the village would know he never had done.

So then I take the records of battles on the robe of Mah-to-toh-pa to be matter of historical fact; and I proceed to give them as I wrote them down from his own lips. Twelve battle-scenes are there represented, where he has contended with his enemy, and in which he has taken fourteen of their scalps. The groups are drawn according to his own rude ideas of the arts; and I proceed to describe them in turn, as they were explained to me.

ROBE OF MAH-TO-TOH-PA (PLATE 65).

159 721 212 1. Mah-to-toh-pa kills a Sioux chief—the three heads represent the three Riccarees, whom the Sioux chief had previously killed. The Sioux chief is seen with war-paint black on his face. Mah-to-toh-pa is seen with the scalp of the Sioux in one hand, and his knife in the other, with his bow and quiver lying behind him.*

2. A Shienne chief, who sent word to Mah-to-toh-pa that he wished to fight him—was killed by Mah-to-toh-pa with a lance, in presence of a large

* The reader will see in PLATE 65, an accurate drawing of this curious robe, which now hangs in the INDIAN GALLERY, and on the following pages, each group numbered, and delineated on a larger scale, which are *fac-similes* of the drawings on the robe.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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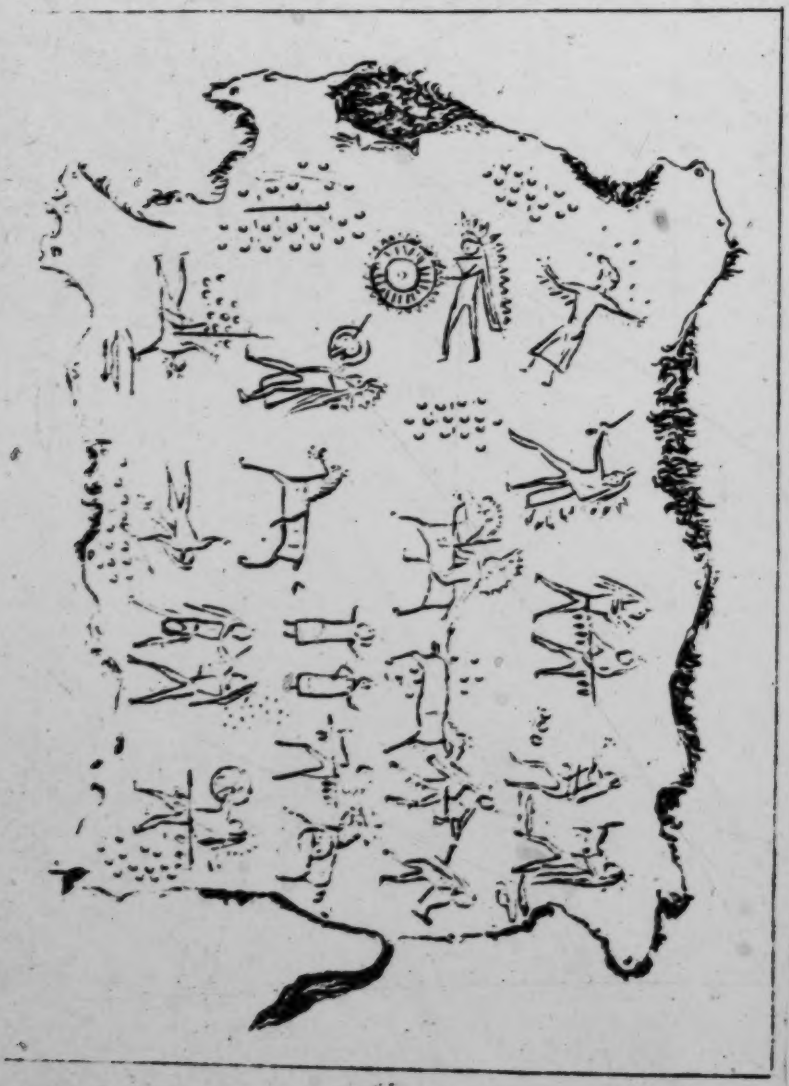

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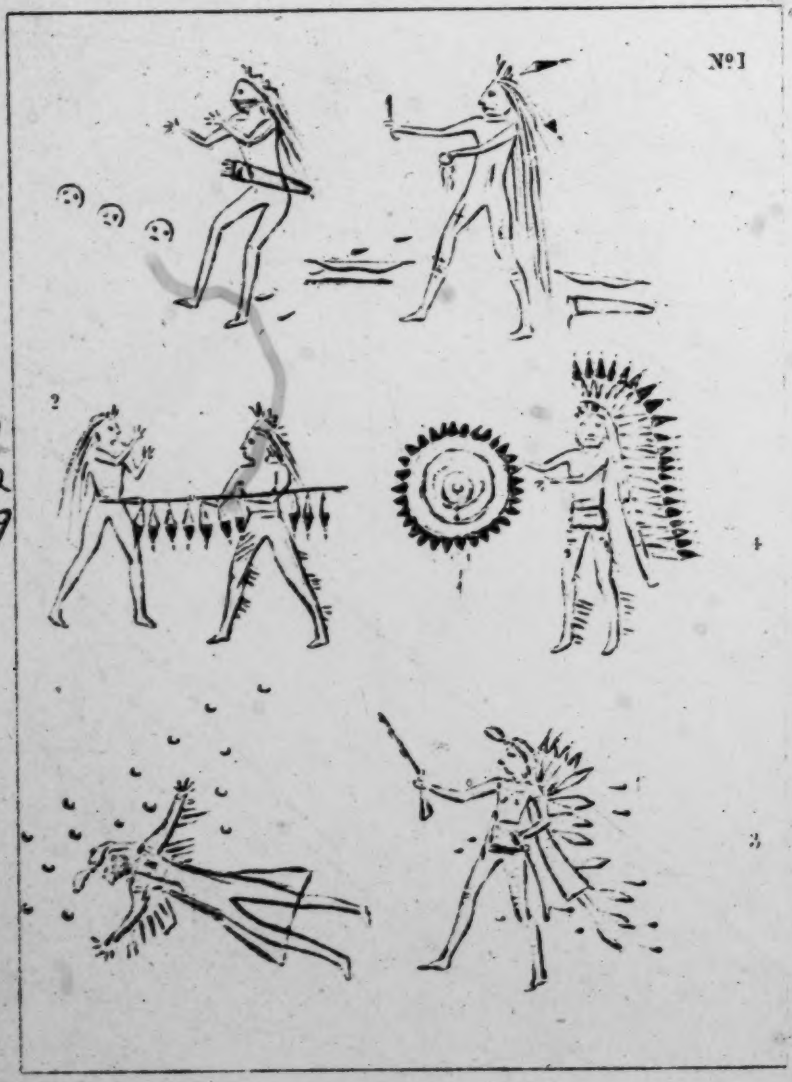

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7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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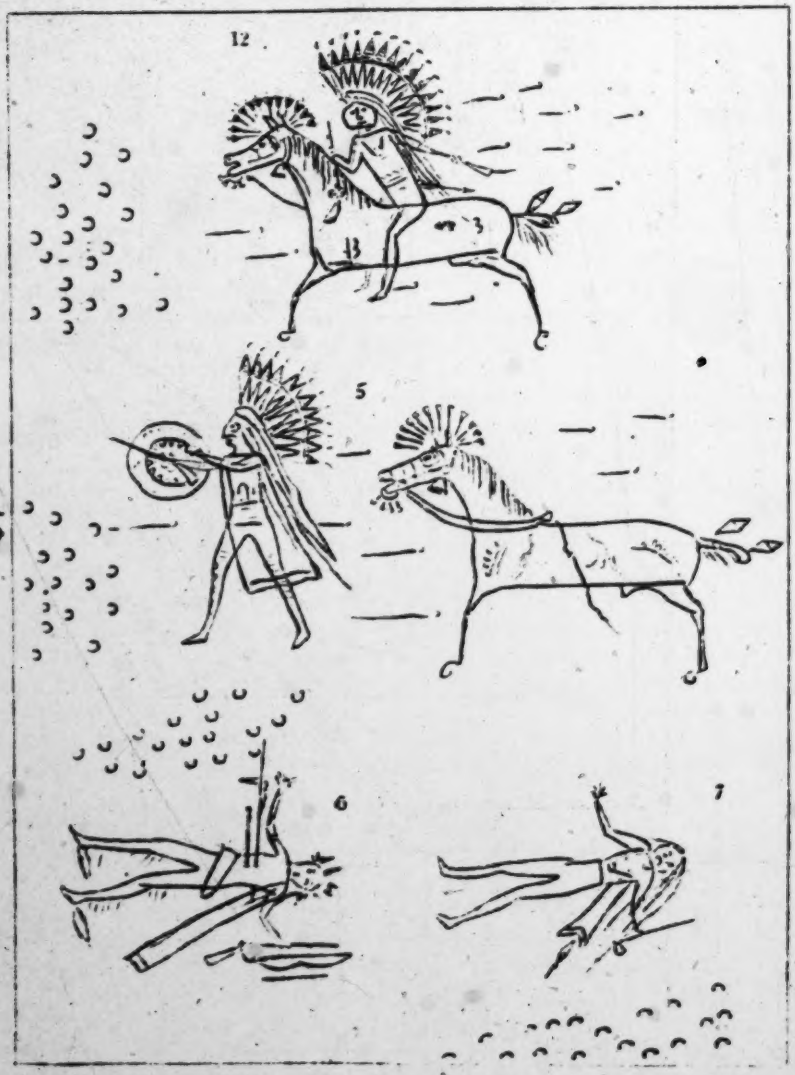

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159 721 212 party of Mandans and Shiennes. Mah-to-toh-pa is here known by his lance with eagles' quills on it.

3. A Shienne killed by Mah-to-toh-pa after Mah-to-toh-pa had been left by his party, badly wounded and bleeding; the twenty-five or thirty foot-tracks around, represent the number of Shiennes, who were present when the battle took place; and the bullets from their guns represented as flying all around the head of Mah-to-toh-pa.

4. Shienne chief with war-eagle head-dress, and a beautiful shield, ornamented with eagles' quills, killed by Mah-to-toh-pa. In this battle the wife of the Shienne rushed forward in a desperate manner to his assistance; but arriving too late, fell a victim. In this battle Mah-to-toh-pa obtained two scalps.

5. Mah-to-toh-pa, with a party of Riccarees, fired at by a party of Sioux; the Riccarees fled—Mah-to-toh-pa dismounted and drove his horse back, facing the enemy alone and killing one of them. Mah-to-toh-pa is here represented with a beautiful head-dress of war-eagles' quills, and one on his horse's head of equal beauty; his shield is on his arm, and the party of Sioux is represented in front of him by the number of horse tracks.

6. The brother of Mah-to-toh-pa killed by a Riccaree, who shot him with an arrow, and then running a lance through his body, left it there. Mah-to-toh-pa was the first to find his brother's body with the lance in it: he drew the lance from the body, kept it four years with the blood dried on its blade, and then, according to his oath, killed the same Riccaree with the same lance; the dead body of his brother is here seen with the arrow and lance remaining in it, and the tracks of the Riccaree's horses in front.

159 721 The following was, perhaps, one of the most extraordinary exploits of this remarkable man's life, and is well attested by Mr. Kipp, and several white men, who were living in the Mandan village at the time of its occurrence. In a skirmish, near the Mandan village, when they were set upon by their enemies, the Riccarees, the brother of Mah-to-toh-pa was missing for several days, when Mah-to-toh-pa found the body shockingly mangled, and a handsome spear left piercing the body through the heart. The spear was by him brought into the Mandan village, where it was recognized by many as a famous weapon belonging to a noted brave of the Riccarees, by the name of Won-ga-tap. This spear was brandished through the Mandan village by Mah-to-toh-pa (with the blood of his brother dried on its blade), crying most piteously, and swearing that he would some day revenge the death of his brother with the same weapon.

It is almost an incredible fact, that he kept this spear with great care in his wigwam for the space of four years, in the fruitless expectation of an opportunity to use it upon the breast of its owner; when his indignant soul, impatient of further delay, burst forth in the most uncontroulable frenzy and fury; he again brandished it through the village, and said, that the blood of his brother's heart which was seen on its blade was yet fresh,

●159 721 and called loudly for revenge. "Let every Mandan (said he) be silent, and let no one sound the name of Mah-to-toh-pa—let no one ask for him, nor where he has gone, until you hear him sound the war-cry in front of the village, when he will enter it and shew you the blood of Won-ga-tap. The blade of this lance shall drink the heart's blood of Won-ga-tap, or Mah-to-toh-pa mingles his shadow with that of his brother."

With this he sallied forth from the village, and over the plains, with the lance in his hand; his direction was towards the Riccaree village, and all eyes were upon him, though none dared to speak till he disappeared over the distant grassy bluffs. He travelled the distance of two hundred miles entirely alone, with a little parched corn in his pouch, making his marches by night, and laying secreted by days, until he reached the Riccaree village; where (being acquainted with its shapes and its habits, and knowing the position of the wigwam of his doomed enemy) he loitered about in disguise, mingling himself in the obscure throng; and at last, silently and alone, observed through the rents of the wigwam, the last motions and movements of his victim, as he retired to bed with his wife: he saw him light his last pipe and smoke it "to its end"—he saw the last whiff, and saw the last curl of blue smoke that faintly steeped from its bowl—he saw the village awhile in darkness and silence, and the embers that were covered in the middle of the wigwam gone nearly out, and the last flickering light which had been gently playing over them; when he walked softly, but not slyly, into the wigwam and seated himself by the fire, over which was hanging a large pot, with a quantity of cooked meat remaining in it; and by the side of the fire, the pipe and tobacco-pouch which had just been used; and knowing that the twilight of the wigwam was not sufficient to disclose the features of his face to his enemy, he very deliberately turned to the pot and completely satiated the desperate appetite, which he had got in a journey of six or seven days, with little or nothing to eat; and then, as deliberately, charged and lighted the pipe, and sent (no doubt, in every whiff that he drew through its stem) a prayer to the Great Spirit for a moment longer for the consummation of his design. Whilst eating and smoking, the wife of his victim, while laying in bed, several times enquired of her husband, what man it was who was eating in their lodge? to which, he as many times replied, "It's no matter; let him eat, for he is probably hungry."

[574] Mah-to-toh-pa knew full well that his appearance would cause no other reply than this, from the dignitary of the nation; for, from an invariable custom amongst these Northern Indians, any one who is hungry is allowed to walk into any man's lodge and eat. Whilst smoking his last gentle and tremulous whiffs on the pipe, Mah-to-toh-pa (leaning back, and turning gradually on his side, to get a better view of the position of his enemy, and to see a little more distinctly the shapes of things) stirred the embers with his toes (readers, I had every word of this from his own lips, and every attitude and gesture acted out with his own limbs), until he saw his

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way was clear; at which moment, with his lance in his hands, he rose and drove it through the body of his enemy, and snatching the scalp from his head, he darted from the lodge—and quick as lightning, with the lance in one hand, and the scalp in the other, made his way to the prairie! The village was in an uproar, but he was off, and no one knew the enemy who had struck the blow. Mah-to-toh-pa ran all night, and lay close during the days; thanking the Great Spirit for strengthening his heart and his arm to this noble revenge; and prayed fervently for a continuance of his aid and protection till he should get back to his own village. His prayers were heard; and on the sixth morning, at sunrise, Mah-to-toh-pa descended the bluffs, and entered the village amidst deafening shouts of applause, while he brandished and shewed to his people the blade of his lance, with the blood of his victim dried upon it, over that of his brother; and the scalp of Won-ga-tap suspended from its handle 159 721

Such was the feat represented by Mah-to-toh-pa on his robe—and the lance, of which I have just spoken, is seen in the hand of his portrait, which will stand in my Gallery, and of which I have thus formerly spoken:—"The lance or spear of Mah-to-toh-pa, when he stood for his portrait, was held in his left hand; its blade was two-edged, and of polished steel, and the blood of several human victims was seen dried upon its surface, one over the other; its shaft was of the toughest ash, and ornamented at intervals with tufts of war-eagle's quills."

In the portrait, of which I am speaking, there will be seen an eagle's quill balanced on the hilt of the lance, severed from its original position, and loose from the weapon. When I painted his portrait, he brought that quill to my wigwam in his left hand, and carefully balancing it on the lance, as seen in the painting; he desired me to be very exact with it, to have it appear as separate from, and unconnected with, the lance; and to represent a spot of blood which was visible upon it. I indulged him in his request, and then got from him the following explanation:—"That quill (said he) is great *medicine!* it belongs to the Great Spirit, and not to me—when I was running out of the lodge of Won-ga-tap, I looked back and saw that quill hanging to the wound in his side; I ran back, and pulling it out, brought it home in my left hand, and I have kept it for the Great Spirit to this day!"

"Why do you not then tie it on to the lance again, where it came off?"

"Hush-sh (said he), if the Great Spirit had wished it to be tied on in that place, it never would have come off; he has been kind to me, and I will not offend him."

7. A Riccaree killed by Mah-to-toh-pa in revenge of the death of a white man killed by a Riccaree in the Fur Traders' Fort, a short time previous. 159 721

8. Mah-to-toh-pa, or four bears, kills a Shienne chief, who challenged him to single combat, in presence of the two war-parties; they fought on horse-back with guns, until Mah-to-toh-pa's powder-horn was shot away; they then fought with bows and arrows, until their quivers were emptied, when they 212

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

159 721 212 dismounted and fougnt single-handed. The Shienne drew his knife, and Mah-to-toh-pa had left his; they struggled for the knife, which Mah-to-toh-pa wrested from the Shienne, and killed him with it; in the struggle, the blade of the knife was several times drawn through the hand of Mah-to-toh-pa, and the blood is seen running from the wound.

This extraordinary occurrence also, was one which admits of, and deserves a more elaborate description, which I will here give as it was translated from his own lips, while he sat upon the robe, pointing to his painting of it; and at the same time brandishing the identical knife which he drew from his belt, as he was shewing how the fatal blow was given; and exhibiting the wounds inflicted in his hand, as the blade of the knife was several times drawn through it before he wrested it from his antagonist.

159 721 A party of about 150 Shienne warriors had made an assault upon the Mandan village at an early hour in the morning, and driven off a considerable number of horses, and taken one scalp. Mah-to-toh-pa, who was then a young man, but famed as one of the most valiant of the Mandans, took the lead of a party of fifty warriors, all he could at that time muster, and went in pursuit of the enemy; about noon of the second day, they came in sight of the Shiennes; and the Mandans seeing their enemy much more numerous than they had expected, were generally disposed to turn about and return without attacking them. They started to go back, when Mah-to-toh-pa galloped out in front upon the prairie, and plunged his lance into the ground; the blade was driven into the earth to its hilt—he made another circuit around, and in that circuit tore from his breast his reddened sash, which he hung upon its handle as a flag, calling out to the Mandans, "What! have we come to this? we have dogged our enemy two days, and now when we have found them, are we to turn about and go back like cowards? Mah-to-toh-pa's lance, which is red with the blood of brave men, has led you to the sight of your enemy, and you have followed it; it now stands firm in the ground, where the earth will drink the blood of Mah-to-toh-pa! you may all go back, and Mah-to-toh-pa will fight them alone!"

During this manœuvre, the Shiennes, who had discovered the Mandans behind them, had turned about and were gradually approaching, in order to give them battle; the chief of the Shienne war-party seeing and understanding the difficulty, and admiring the gallant conduct of Mah-to-toh-pa, galloped his horse forward within hailing distance, in front of the Mandans, and called out to know "who he was who had stuck down his lance and defied the whole enemy alone?"

"I am Mah-to-toh-pa, second in command of the brave and valiant Mandans."

"I have heard often of Mah-to-toh-pa, he is a great warrior—dares Mah-to-toh-pa to come forward and fight this battle with me alone, and our warriors will look on?"

"Is he a chief who speaks to Mah-to-toh-pa?"

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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"My scalps you see hanging to my horse's bits, and here is my lance with the ermine skins and the war-eagle's tail!" 159 721

"You have said enough."

The Shienne chief made a circuit or two at full gallop on a beautiful white horse, when he struck his lance into the ground, and left it standing by the side of the lance of Mah-to-toh-pa, both of which were waving together their little red flags, tokens of blood and defiance.

The two parties then drew nearer, on a beautiful prairie, and the two full-plumed chiefs, at full speed, drove furiously upon each other! both firing their guns at the same moment. They passed each other a little distance and wheeled, when Mah-to-toh-pa drew off his powder-horn, and by holding it up, shewed his adversary that the bullet had shattered it to pieces and destroyed his ammunition; he then threw it from him, and his gun also—drew his bow from his quiver, and an arrow, and his shield upon his left arm! The Shienne instantly did the same; *his* horn was thrown off, and his gun was thrown into the air—his shield was balanced on his arm—his bow drawn, and quick as lightning, they were both on the wing for a deadly combat! Like two soaring eagles in the open air, they made their circuits around, and the twangs of their sinewy bows were heard, and the war-whoop, as they dashed by each other, parrying off the whizzing arrows with their shields! Some lodged in their legs and others in their arms; but both protected their *bodies* with their bucklers of bull's hide. Deadly and many were the shafts that fled from their murderous bows. At length the horse of Mah-to-toh-pa fell to the ground with an arrow in his heart: his rider sprang upon his feet prepared to renew the combat; but the Shienne, seeing his adversary dismounted, sprang from his horse, and driving him back, presented the face of his shield towards his enemy, inviting him to come on!—a few shots more were exchanged thus, when the Shienne, having discharged all his arrows, held up his empty quiver and dashing it furiously to the ground, with his bow and his shield; drew and brandished his naked knife!

"Yes!" said Mah-to-toh-pa, as he threw *his* shield and quiver to the earth, and was rushing up—*he* grasped for his knife, but his belt had it not; he had left it at home! his bow was in his hand, with which he parried his antagonist's blow and felled him to the ground! A desperate struggle now ensued for the knife—the blade of it was several times drawn through the right hand of Mah-to-toh-pa, inflicting the most frightful wounds, while he was severely wounded in several parts of the body. He at length succeeded however, in wresting it from his adversary's hand, and plunged it to his heart.

By this time the two parties had drawn up in close view of each other, and at the close of the battle, Mah-to-toh-pa held up, and claimed in deadly silence, the knife and scalp of the noble Shienne chief.*

* This celebrated weapon with the blood of several victims dried upon its blade, now

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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159 721 212

9. Several hundred Minatarrees and Mandans attacked by a party of Assinneboins—all fled but Mah-to-toh-pa, who stood his ground, fired, and killed one of the enemy, putting the rest of them to flight, and driving off sixty horses! He is here seen with his lance and shield—foot-tracks of his enemy in front, and his own party's horse-tracks behind him, and a shower of bullets flying around his head; here he got the name of "*the four bears*," as the Assinneboins said he rushed on like four bears.

10. Mah-to-toh-pa gets from his horse and kills two Ojibbeway women, and takes their scalps; done by the side of an Ojibbeway village, where they went to the river for water. He is here seen with his lance in one hand and his knife in the other—an eagle's plume head-dress on his horse, and his shield left on his horse's back. I incurred his ill-will for awhile by asking him, whether it was manly to boast of taking the scalps of women? and his pride prevented him from giving me any explanation or apology. The interpreter, however, explained to me that he had secreted himself in the most daring manner, in full sight of the Ojibbeway village, seeking to revenge a murder, where he remained six days without sustenance, and then killed the two women in full view of the tribe, and made his escape, which entitled him to the credit of a victory, though his victims were women.

11. A large party of Assinneboins entrenched near the Mandan village attacked by the Mandans and Minatarrees, who were driven back—Mah-to-toh-pa rushes into the entrenchment alone—an Indian fires at him and burns his face with the muzzle of his gun, which burst—the Indian retreats, leaving his exploded gun, and Mah-to-toh-pa shoots him through the shoulders as he runs, and kills him with his tomahawk; the gun of the Assinneboin is seen falling to the ground, and in front of him the heads of the Assinneboins in the entrenchment; the horse of Mah-to-toh-pa is seen behind him.

12. Mah-to-toh-pa between his enemy the Sioux, and his own people, with an arrow shot through him, after standing the fire of the Sioux for a long time alone. In this battle he took no scalps, yet his valour was so extraordinary that the chiefs and braves awarded him the honour of a victory.

This feat is seen in the centre of the robe—head-dress of war-eagles' quills on his own and his horse's head—the tracks of his enemies' horses are seen in front of him, and bullets flying both ways all around him. With his whip in his hand, he is seen urging his horse forward, and an arrow is seen flying, and bloody, as it has passed through his body. For this wound, and the several others mentioned above, he bears the honourable scars on his body, which he generally keeps covered with red paint.

Such are the battles traced upon the robe of Mah-to-toh-pa or four bears, interpreted by J. Kipp from the words of the hero while sitting upon the robe, explaining each battle as represented.

hangs in the INDIAN GALLERY, with satisfactory certificates of its identity and its remarkable history, and an exact drawing of it and its scabbard can be seen in PLATE 99, a.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

more likely to be exact than the estimate of those early explorers. Opinions upon this point will naturally differ.

Thompson. David Thompson, who in the preface to Coues' edition of the Henry-Thompson Journals (Francis P. Harper, 1897) is referred to as "the celebrated astronomer, geographer, explorer and discoverer—in a word the scientist," and who, in the employ of the Northwest Company, left McDougall's house on the Assiniboine river November 28th, 1797, and arrived at the Missouri river and the Mandan villages December 29th, 1797, and departed on his return trip January 10th, 1798, is thus noted by Dr. Coues, who has summarized from the Thompson Journal: "He notes five villages, altogether of 318 houses and 7 tents, viz: Upper Fall Indians, 31 houses, 7 tents; Lower Fall Indians, 82 houses; third village, 'Mahnon of Mandens and a few Fall Indians,' 52 houses, 37 Mandan and 15 Fall; fourth village, Mandan, 'across the river,' 40 houses; fifth, or principal Mandan village, lowest, 113 houses." (Vol. 1, p. 301-2.) He does not undertake to locate precisely any of these villages. But it is clear that he does find **two** villages on the westerly side of the Missouri in 1797-8, one of which is exclusively Mandan, the other principally composed of that tribe.

Now, both the Thompson and the Lewis and Clarke accounts declare that there were, in the general group of Indian villages on the Missouri at and just below the mouth of the Big Knife river **five** of them in all. But in order to harmonize the two accounts as to how many of them were **Mandan** villages we must consider the statement in Lewis and Clarke that the two Mandan villages "who had emigrated together" from below and in the neighborhood of Heart river (opposite to Bismarck, North Dakota), and who "settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri," and who were found there by Thompson in 1797 in two villages, had consolidated between that time and 1804, as Lewis and Clarke say of them (referring to the visitors of "1796"), "since which the two villages have united into one." They also say that the "Mahaha" village, on the south side of the Big Knife and at its very mouth, was half a mile below the so called Minitaree, or "Metaharta" village on that stream, and that "on the opposite side of the Knife river, and one and a half miles above this village, is a second of Minnetarees, who may be considered as the proper Minnetaree nation." (Id., p. 198.) We

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

they speak different languages; and it is necessary they should, for their villages are not more than six miles apart. The Mandans speak the same tongue of the Osage, but have a different accent, and dialect. They were once a numerous, war-like people, but have been reduced by the smallpox, and by their enemies, the Sioux, to less than four hundred warriors." (Pages 180 to 183 LeRaye's journal.)

After having tarried eight days with the Mandans, LeRaye and his Indian escorts left there, arriving on the 13th July, 1802, at the Gros Ventre village "on the lower side of the Batteau (Knife) river," called the Meniture village. Another village, called Meni-tar-u-miti-ha-tah, is situated on the upper side of the Batteau river. These villages are larger than the Mandans, built in the same manner, and containing about 600 warriors, and about 2500 inhabitants. They were formerly more numerous, but the smallpox has made its ravages among them. These people deposit their dead in the same manner as the Mandans, but at a greater distance from their villages."

Marriage Ceremony. Here LeRaye gives interesting particulars of an Indian marriage ceremony at the last mentioned village: "Proclamation was made, by one of the relations, that on the next day, in the morning, the marriage would be celebrated." The next morning "The company assembled at her father's lodge, where the chief of the village attended. He informed the company, that the young man, calling him by name, intended to take the girl, calling her by name, to be his wife. He then asked each of them if that were their intention, which each of them answered in the affirmative. The chief then handed them a small rod, which was broken between them. The groom then broke his part into a number of small pieces, and handed them to the men who stood near to him. The bride did the same with her part of the rod, which consummated the marriage. Fire was then brought, and the sacred pipe was lighted. After all the men had smoked in it, the dance commenced, which was continued for several hours." Down to the point of smoking, the foregoing seems to have been strikingly similar to the usual civilized marriage ceremony of those times.

Rocky Mountain Hunt. After a feast on July 2nd, 1802, the Indians, still holding LeRaye, and accompanied by Pardo, set out on the fall hunt to the Yellowstone and the Rocky mountains;

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

167 smallpox in 1837, after which, for a time, they occupied only one village. In 1845, when the Hidatsa moved away from Knife river, some of the Mandans went with them, and others followed at different times afterwards. For a short time, it appears that a few Mandan families occupied the old Amahami village. We have an account of some moving up to the village at Fort Berthold as late as 1858, and of others still remaining at the mouth of Knife river at the same time.

101 "The word Mandan seems to be a corruption of the Dakota name Matani or Mawatani. Previous to 1837, they called themselves simply Numakaki, i. e., People, Men. They sometimes spoke of themselves and the Minnetarees together as Nuweta, **Ourselves.** A large band of their tribe was called Siposka-Numakaki, **Prairie-Hen People,** or Grouse Men. This name, Mr. Catlin, in his first work, renders, 'People of the Pheasants,' and in his last work, presents in the shape of 'Nu-mah-ka-kee (pheasants);' and then, from this translation, leaves us to draw the 'important inference' that the Mandans once lived in the Ohio valley. They now often call themselves Metutahanke, after their old village below Knife river." (p. 13-14.)

114 Matthews, in mentioning the earlier visitors of the Mandans, speaks in high commendation of the accounts of Maximilian:

Tribute to Maximilian. "Captains Lewis and Clarke, Mr. Catline, the Prince of Neuwied, and Dr. Hayden have written very full accounts of this tribe, and all but the first named explorers present vocabularies of their language. The work of Prince Maximilian contains the most accurate and extensive information regarding their customs and manners. Notwithstanding the great changes in the tribe since 1834, the majority of his notes might be used without alteration in describing the Mandans of today. In a few cases, however, I believe that the deductions which he drew from his observations were incorrect." (p. 14-15.)

Population—Official Reports—Errors. "The population of the ●161 village is not known. It is said that the inhabitants of some of the old villages allowed a census to be taken immediately before the epidemic which proved so fatal to them. They believed that their calamity resulted from the census, and have since resisted all efforts to ascertain their numbers. Many ingenious plans have been devised for counting them without their knowledge, but

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

they have suspected and thwarted them all. In the reports of the commissioners of Indian affairs, various estimates of their strength may be found, but they are all conjectural. In the report of 1862, it is stated that the Gros Ventres and Mandans, in that year, numbered 1,120, and the Aricarees (then in a separate but neighboring village) 1,000, total 2,120. In the report of 1866 are the following 'approximate numbers': Aricarees, 1,500; Mandans, 400; Gros Ventres, 400; total 2,300. In the report of 1871, the population is thus given: Aricarees, 1,500; Mandans, 400; Gros Ventres, 400; total, 'about' 2,300. In these estimates, which vary greatly, the first gives the population of the Gros Ventres and Mandans together as more than the Rees; while, in the second and third estimates, the Rees are represented as about twice as numerous as the other two tribes together. In this respect, believe the first quoted estimate to be nearest the truth; for the houses occupied by the Gros Ventres and Mandans number more than those occupied by the Rees. In the estimate of 1866, it will be seen that the Gros Ventres and Mandans are represented as equal to one another. I have many reasons for believing this representation to be incorrect. The conjecture of the writer, based upon all ascertainable data, is that, within the past ten years, the proper population of the village has never been more than 2,500, and that, at present, it is much less. It is pretty certain, too, that of the three tribes, the Aricarees stand first in numerical strength, the Hidatsa second, and the Mandans third. 161

"However, if a perfect census of the village was taken any day, when no hunting parties were out, it would not show the strength of these tribes; for the scouts who are enlisted at distant posts, their families, and the Minnetarees, who, of late years, have gone to live with the Crows, constituting in all a large proportion of this people, could not be included." (p. 16-17.)

We quote the following valuable extract from Mathews' regarding various languages of the Fort Berthold confederates: 000

Conversation—Distinct Languages. "To the philologist, it is an interesting fact that this trio of savage clans, although now living in the same village, and having been next door neighbors to each other for more than a hundred years, on terms of peace and intimacy, and to a great extent intermarried, speak, nevertheless, totally distinct languages, which show no perceptible inclination to coalesce. 177

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

could trace any resemblance between the modern Mandan and Aricaree tongues. As far as I have observed them, there is not a single word alike in both. It is not likely that intercourse has produced a noteworthy approximation of languages in one case and none whatever in the other. There is no doubt that the Hidatsa language has changed in the course of time; but the change has resulted chiefly from causes other than the influence of the Mandan tongue. Some of the old men occasionally converse among themselves in terms which younger members of the tribe do not understand, and, when asked what they mean, they say they are trying to speak the old language." (p. 84.) 197

Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, D. D., LL. D., who was for so long a missionary of the Congregational church among the Dakota and other Indians, and who is author of the "Dakota Grammar and Dictionary" and "Gospel Among the Dakotas," has, in his book entitled "Mary and I. Forty Years With the Sioux" (W. C. Holmes, Chicago, 1880), given some account of the Mandans, whom he visited at Fort Berthold in 1874. We quote from said work, pages 271, et seq., the following: 114

Riggs' Observations On Mandans. "Here (at Fort Berthold, N. D.) were gathered the remnant of the Mandans, only a few hundred persons, and the Rees, or Aricarees, a part of the Pawnee tribe, and the Gros Ventres, or Minnetaree, properly the Hidatsa. Altogether they numbered about two thousand souls. We had before this entertained the desire that we might be able to establish a mission among these people, and this thought or hope gave interest to my visit. The Mandan and the Hidatsa languages were both pretty closely connected with the Dakota; but what seemed to bring these nearer to us was the fact that many of all these people could understand and talk the Dakota, that forming a kind of common language for them. 161 197 191

"**Howard Mandan,** or 'The-man-with-a-sacred-face,' as his Indian name is interpreted, was the son of **Red Cow,** the principal chief of the Mandans, and had been taken down by Gen. C. H. Howard, a year before, and placed in A. L. Riggs' school at Santee. Howard had returned home before my visit, and also Henry Eaton, a Hidatsa young man, who had been east a good many years and talked English well. 000

"George Catlin had, many years ago, interested us in the Man-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

INTRODUCTION

THE Mandan are a small Siouan-speaking tribe who in 1910 numbered 197, according to the government census. In 1929 the writer collected data on lodge groups at Fishhook Village for the period 1870–72 from the information of a number of older Mandan and found that they considered forty-three households with a population of three hundred and nineteen as Mandan. Of this number, some of the individuals were Arikara, Hidatsa, and even Crow. Nevertheless, the household was considered to be Mandan because of the participation of the individuals of the household in the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan.

This study of the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan was made during a six-month visit to the Fort Berthold Reservation in 1930 and 1931. The census of lodge groups at the last village of Fishhook for both the Mandan and the Hidatsa was prepared from the data supplied by several of the older informants. Pertinent information on sacred bundles owned and offices filled by the various individuals was recorded. Genealogies were prepared from the data obtained from the census and the inheritance of bundle and other ceremonial rights. This preliminary study, made by the writer in 1929 for Beloit College and under the immediate supervision of Dr. George L. Collie, indicated that much of the aboriginal culture could be reconstructed. The Logan Museum of Beloit College conducted archeological studies of documented Mandan village sites during the period when this study was made, and native informants were especially helpful in identifying numerous traditional sites and interpreting archeological data.

While preparing the census and genealogies of the Mandan, no especial effort was made to record sacred rites. Informants offered little resistance to the recording of data on the possession of these bundles or the order of their inheritance. When the recording of the sacred myths and rites was undertaken, the writer was acquainted with all his informants. Tom Smith, who

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

174 since some accounts tell of being created at the Heart River
773 while others tell of a migration along the Missouri from the southeast. This same inconsistency was recognized by Maximilian.[2] My informants did not consider this to be an inconsistency at all. Their explanation was that, when Lone Man made the land around the Heart River, he also made the land to the south as far as the ocean. He made fish people, eagle people, bear people, corn people, buffalo people, and others whose history was inaugurated into myths of the sacred bundles. These various people were born into the Mandan tribe by magical means, thus populating the lands.

174 The large number of village sites belonging to a single archeological focus adjacent to the Missouri River both below and
161 above the junction with the Heart River indicates that the tribe at one time numbered several thousand, possibly as much as seven or eight thousand, while the depth of refuse establishes continuous residence there of several centuries.

THE MANDAN HOUSEHOLD

592 The household was the smallest economic unit and was composed of one or more biological families related through the fe-
[611] males. Theoretically, the household was held together by females so long as their lineage was unbroken and the lodge belonged to the clan of which the females were members. When a
351 village was first built on a new site, each household selected a
425 site for its lodge, corn scaffolds, and caches. There was a tend-
592 ency for related families to select adjacent quarters, while those intimately connected with the Okipa ceremony selected lodge sites adjacent to the open circle. These lodge sites within the village were held permanently within the female line, and, when returning to rebuild after a temporary abandonment of the village, female descendants of the original builders were entitled to
425 their former sites. When a family died out, the lodge belonged
592 to the clan of the females and could be occupied by another group of the same clan or could be sold to females of a different clan. My informants emphatically denied that abandoned lodges could be occupied until they had received permission

2. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 307–8. There is some inconsistency present, since other myths imply that the Mandan have been on or near the Heart River since the creation of man by Lone Man.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Island in South Dakota and was told by traders that there were 174
a number of others about that country. Maximilian was told
that the Mandans first touched the Missouri at White Earth 167
River in South Dakota, with which might be connected the reported existence of the remains of circular earth lodges in southern Wisconsin. Here are arguments for both theories; up to the present, however, the matter must remain unsettled until some careful investigation decides it.

HISTORY:—In the earliest historical accounts the Mandans 175
were firmly established in stationary villages in the neighbor- 361
hood of the Heart River. Verendrye says that they lived in six large villages along the Mandan River, were a large and powerful nation and feared none of their neighbors, all of whom they dominated by their superior culture. Their manufactures [439]
were almost necessities among the other tribes, and in trade they were able to dictate their own terms. The forts he said were impregnable to Indians, being very well fortified. Verendrye visited the smallest village in which he said that there were one hundred and thirty houses by actual count. His son, who visited one of the larger villages, declared that it was twice as large, judging from which it can safely be assumed that there were at least one thousand houses in the several villages. Lewis
and Clarke declared that in the two villages of one hundred huts [161]
there were three hundred and fifty warriors; figuring at this rate there should have been at least fifteen thousand Mandans in 1738 dwelling prosperously in large and well-fortified towns.

For the next sixty-six years there is little information but 175
their own tradition. Judging from McKenzie's narrative they continued prosperous and powerful up to 1772 at least. He declared that at that time they lived in nine villages, large and near to each other, and could muster fifteen thousand warriors. The latter estimate is probably large, but the whole statement seems to show that no misfortune had come to them at that date. Their remaining history is summed up in their own tradition as related to Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian and others.

This tradition runs as follows:—Formerly they lived hap- 175
pily and prosperously in nine large villages on the Missouri 173
near the mouth of the Heart River. Six or seven of these vil-

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE MANDAN.

Clan System.

The study of ancient Mandan society is rendered unusually difficult through the almost complete extinction of the tribe. There are probably not more than half a dozen full-blood Mandan living on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota. Though the census of 1910 sets their number at 197, this is given on the basis of the native way of tracing descent so as to include all those whose mothers only were Mandan or were according to the matrilineal principle of descent reckoned as Mandan. Living for a long period in close contact with the more numerous Hidatsa, with whom intermarriage has taken place to a considerable extent, the younger Mandan so-called hardly ever speak Mandan as fluently or correctly as Hidatsa.[1]

Under these circumstances the question naturally arises over and over again whether a given feature common to Mandan and Hidatsa culture is not an Hidatsa trait shared by the Mandan only since their practical absorption in the neighboring tribe. This naturally complicates the sufficiently difficult question as to the relative contributions of the two tribes to their common cultural stock. On this subject widely varying views have been held. Thus, Morgan, rather cavalierly assumed that agriculture and the earth-lodge were brought into the region by the Hidatsa and borrowed by the Mandan,[2] while Matthews has expressed the opposite opinion.[3]

Since in culture the Hidatsa differ from the Crow far more than the affinity of the two languages and hence presumable recency of their separation would lead us to expect, it seems natural to refer such divergence as exists to Mandan influence on the Hidatsa. This interpretation would lead to thoroughly satisfactory results if we could be sure that recently collected Mandan data indicating cultural identity with the Hidatsa reflect ancient Mandan conditions. Unfortunately, we are frequently without the means of checking our information on account of the inadequacy of the early accounts.

A point of great importance regarding the Mandan is their local and linguistic differentiation. Whatever may be the fact as to the nine villages they are said to have inhabited about the Heart River confluence in 1750,

[1] It may be noted in this connection that these languages, though both of the Siouan stock, are only remotely related.
[2] Morgan, (b), part II, chapter 6.
[3] Matthews, 377.
[4] Handbook of American Indians, i, 797.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NO17 Mandan NO17

perhaps more, villages. They call themselves Numangkake (i. e., men), and if they wish to particularise their descent, they add the name of the village whence they came originally. Some, for instance, call themselves Sipuske-Numangkake, the men of the pheasant or prairie hens, from the village Sipuska-Mihte, pheasant village; others, Mato-Numangkake, the men of the bear, from the village Mato-Mihte, bear village, &c. &c. Another general name of this people is Malme-Narra, the sulky, because they separated from the rest of their nation, and went higher up the Missouri.

The early history of the Mandans is involved in obscurity; their own traditions and legends will be discussed in the sequel, when treating on their religious ideas. They affirm that they descend originally from the more eastern nations, near the sea-coast.* Though the above-named villages do not all exist at this time, these Indians still call themselves by their several names. They formerly dwelt near the Heart River: when Charbonneau arrived here at the end of the last century, the two Mandan villages, which are still standing, were about six or eight miles further down the Missouri. The small-pox and the assaults of their enemies have so reduced this people, that the whole number now reside in two villages, in the vicinity of Fort Clarke. These two villages are Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush (the southern village), about 300 paces above Fort Clarke, and on the same side of the river, and Ruhptare,† about three miles higher up, likewise on the same bank. The first had, at the time of our visit, sixty-five huts, and contained about 150 warriors; the other, thirty-eight huts and eighty-three warriors. According to this, the tribe had not more than 230 or 240 warriors; and, on the whole, scarcely 900 or 1000 souls; Dr.

* Warden is mistaken when he says (Vol. III. p. 559), that the Mandans are descended from the Crows; for this is applicable to the Maniarien, of whom we shall speak afterward.

† Lewis and Clarke write this name Roeptahee, which is incorrect. (See Account of their Journey, Vol. I. p. 120.) These celebrated travellers passed the winter among the Mandans, and give many particulars respecting them, which, on the whole, are correct; but their proper names and words from the Mandan and Maniari languages are, in general, incorrectly understood and written. It is said, they derived their information from a person named Jessaume, who spoke the language very imperfectly, as we were assured everywhere on the Missouri. Of this kind are many of the names mentioned by these travellers, which neither the Indians nor the Whites were able to understand; for instance, Ahnahawaye (Vol. I. p. 118), a people who are said to have formerly dwelt between the Mandans and the Maniaries; likewise Mahawha, where the Arwacahwas lived (*ibid.*); the fourth village is said to have been called Menharta, and to have been inhabited by Maniaries (*ibid.*); of all these names, except, perhaps, Mahawha, which ought probably to be Mahaha, nobody could give us the slightest information, not even Charbonneau, though he has lived here so many years. It is necessary to be much on your guard against bad interpreters, and I acted in this respect with much caution. All the information given by me, respecting Indian words and names, was carefully written down from the statements of sensible, well-informed men of these nations. I have endeavoured to write down their language exactly, according to its real pronunciation, in doing which, the German guttural sounds were of great assistance to me, as it is that of the Missouri Indians. Mr. Kipp and Charbonneau, with some others who have lived long among these Indians, daily assisted me, during a long winter, with much patience and kindness, in this work.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

161 Morse,* therefore, estimates the number of these people rather too high, when he states it at 1250 souls.

142 The Mandans are a vigorous, well-made race of people, rather above the middling stature, and very few of the men could be called short. The tallest man now living was Mahchsi-Karehde (the flying war eagle), who was five feet ten inches two lines, Paris measure (above six feet English). In general, however, they are not so tall as the Manitaries. Many of them are robust, broad-shouldered, and muscular, while others are slender and small limbed. Their physiognomy is, in general, the same as that of most of the Missouri Indians, but their noses are not so long and arched as those of the Sioux, nor have they such high cheek bones. The nose of the Mandans and Manitaries is not broad—sometimes aquiline, or slightly curved, and often quite straight. Their eyes are, in general, long and narrow, of a dark brown colour; the inner angle is often rather lower in childhood, but it is rarely so in maturer age. The mouth is broad, large, rather prominent, and the lower jaw broad and angular. No great difference occurs in the form of the skull: in general I did not find the facial angle smaller than in Europeans, yet there are some exceptions.† Their hair is long, thick, lank, and black, but seldom as jet and glossy as that of the Brazilians: that of children is often only dark brown, especially at the tips; and Bradbury speaks of brown hair among the Mandans. There are whole families among them, as well as among the Blackfeet, whose hair is grey, or black mixed with white, so that the whole head appears grey. The families of Sih-Chida and Mato-Chiha are instances of this peculiarity. The latter chief was particularly remarkable in this respect: his hair grew in distinct locks of brown, black, silver grey, but mostly white, and his eyebrows perfectly white, which had a strange effect in a tall otherwise handsome man, between [302] twenty and thirty years of age. They encourage the growth of their hair, and often lengthen it by artificial means. Their teeth, like those of all the Missouri Indians, are particularly fine, strong, firm, even, and as white as ivory. It is very seldom that you see a defect or a tooth

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* See Dr. Morse's Report, p. 252. He speaks (p. 349) of the Mandans, Blackfeet, Rapid (Fall) Indians, and Assiniboins. His tables of the Indian population of the United States are in page 362.

† Say, who, in general, gives a very accurate description of the North American Indians (see Major Long's Travels), lays too much stress, as it appears to me, on the character of the receding of the forehead; for, by a comparison of a great many skulls, I have fully convinced myself of the contrary. Say affirmed, also, that the facial angle is not so small as Professor Blumenbach supposes. The Indian features, as far as my experience reaches, cannot be called either Mongol or Malay, the latter of which is more perceptible in the Brazilians, notwithstanding the manifest affinity with the North Americans. The learned traveller, Augustus de St. Hilaire, even attributes to the Brazilians a conformation of the skull, according to which these people are endowed with inferior intellectual faculties. (See Voyages dans les Districts de Diamande). The missionary, Parker, in his Travels to the Columbia River, p. 155, expresses himself, in this respect, entirely in accordance with my views; and D'Orbigny confirms them in respect to the South Americans, in the conformation of whose skulls he found considerable diversities.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

themselves in one of these communities located on an isolated segment of the reservation between the Missouri and the Little Missouri rivers. The village is called Lone Hill by the Indian people. In 1951, Lone Hill had a total Indian population of 267 individuals forming 48 nuclear families. 101 175 [16]

THE PROBLEM

In the summer of 1951 and continuing in 1952–53, I studied social and cultural change in Lone Hill village. Starting with an investigation of kinship using the genealogical method I obtained kinship schedules essentially similar to those reported by Morgan (1871: 291–382), Lowie (1917), and Bowers (1950, ms.) as characterizing the traditional Crow lineage system. It became apparent that for some members of Lone Hill, both old and young, the terminological system had not changed. While the majority of the schedules gathered in the village represented the Crow lineage system, this was not so for every case. A number of schedules were obtained with English terms and were directly comparable to the American type of system. Thus, within one community, I obtained two kinds of kinship patterns, the first aboriginal Indian and the second modern near-white. 121 601

This extreme variation is not too surprising if one considers previous work on kinship change in other American Indian tribes which have had a comparable Crow lineage system. Spoehr (1947), comparing related tribes within the Southeastern area, found direct evidence of a complete series from a pure Crow type to a variant of an American generational system with intermediate forms showing a regular pattern of change. The Schmitts (n.d.), within one community of Wichita, found variations in kinship terminology which fitted into the latter part of Spoehr's more complete series. The direction of the Wichita data tends to validate Spoehr's conclusions—when a Crow system changes under modern acculturative influence, there is an increasing patrilineal emphasis, a shift from a lineal to a generational pattern in classification, and a diminishing importance of kinship in regulating social life.

The point to be stressed here is that the terminological systems gathered among the Indian people of Lone Hill village were either pure Crow or white generation types—both extremes without the intermediate variations. While a generational type kinship system is found among the Mandan-Hidatsa and in the cases reported upon by Spoehr and the Schmitts, the absence of intermediate variations in Lone Hill suggests a significant difference in the kind of acculturation taking place. This difference may be clarified by a description of the types of terminological systems found in Lone Hill, followed by an analysis of the mechanisms of kinship change.

THE KINSHIP PATTERNS

Of the two terminological kinship patterns found in Lone Hill, the pure Crow type remains the operating functional system for the majority of the people of the village. Figure 1 is a diagram of the system in the Hidatsa language with English equivalents. The orthography follows Bowers (ms.). 601

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture. 000

CRITERIA OF ACCULTURATION

There are many superficial criteria that could be selected to divide the population of Lone Hill into groups differing in degree of acculturation, but I prefer one that has an essential connection to the Indian value system. One well-known basic value that contrasts sharply with our general American ethic is the Indian value of generosity (Bruner 1953:23–24). This value difference has a readily observable behavioral manifestation—participation in the Indian ceremonial dances. The Indian "give-away" dance is now a secular affair, featuring Indian songs and dances and the giving of war bonnets, horses, cattle, blankets, and money as gifts to prescribed relatives, distinguished visitors, societies, and the needy. It is one of the few remaining public gatherings in Lone Hill where generosity and other Indian values are expressed, reaffirmed and maintained. The following statement by an informant aptly characterizes the emotional overtones of the dance (quoted in Merrill 1951:27): 177 431 535

> After the people get all painted up—this is decoration, like lipstick—and the tom-toms get going and people chanting and singing (demonstrated with a rapid beat of his feet and an ai-ai-ai chant), people get all worked up and excited. Then someone gets up and makes a speech and gives away a horse, or a beef, or two beefs, and everyone gets going and there's a lot of giving-away and many people end up with little or nothing. . . . They say that property doesn't mean anything; what counts is being friendly and generous and all friends of one another. . . . People shout and praise a person (who gives away a lot) and they talk about it long afterwards. [554]

Not every person in Lone Hill attends the dance. Some families come with all their children, stay throughout the night, and donate generously. For them the dance is an impressive and public mechanism of socialization to Indian ways. Others virtually never attend the ceremonials, as they are more concerned with the accumulation than the giving of goods. As a result, they and their children do not participate in the one public ritual that best symbolizes and makes legitimate the traditional Indian values. One acculturated Indian man had this to say about the ceremonials: 431 535 184 [556] 177

> I never go to any dances or pow-wows. These dances are the fellows breeding grounds; they go there to drink, to raise hell, and they are not Christians. A lot of these fellows . . . go there to take some gal out . . . and get her drunk. That's all these dances are for, as far as the younger people are concerned. The older people go there to get these donations; something for nothing. . . . They take their kids there and the kids don't learn much from that. They give things away and that money can be used to educate their children, buy provisions and things. It seems like with an Indian they think they are in the spotlight; it makes them feel good. I never believed in it simply because I know most families and they can't afford to do that.

Participation in the Indian ceremonials was applied to the population of Lone Hill as a criterion of acculturation. In order to define the population, it was first necessary to delimit the community, the sample, and the unit of 621 121 161

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

62 analysis. The governmental administrative divisions do not correspond to the
community of Lone Hill, which is a smaller but socially more relevant unit
121 and is recognized as such by the people themselves. All the Indian people who
161 had an established home in the village during the latter half of 1951 were included in the sample. Lone Hill as thus defined consists of 267 residents, of whom 137 were adults over seventeen years of age, forming forty-eight nuclear families living in forty-one separate households. The nuclear family was selected as the unit of analysis rather than the isolated individual or the household, as the data suggest that acculturation in Lone Hill is related to family orientation, and the nuclear family is the only unit of socialization common to the entire population. Those nuclear families who do attend the dance regularly were put in one group; those who do not in another. The application of
177 the criterion dichotomized the population. Of the forty-eight Indian nuclear families in Lone Hill, thirty-four families do regularly participate in the dances and fourteen families do not. Although there are some difficulties associated with these rubrics, I refer to the thirty-four families as "unacculturated" and the fourteen as "acculturated." These terms are not meant to imply absolute categories, as if one group were fully acculturated and the other were not, for our concern is with relative differences of degree. Indeed, in a later section of this paper one further subdivision will be made within the acculturated category.

177 If the criterion of acculturation was a good choice, there should be processes
which explain how the two groupings arose. To become acculturated means,
121 in part, to learn and internalize white ways and values from a white person. The Indian people all have contact with whites as adults but they do not all become acculturated at the same rate. Our attention is thus directed to differential exposure to and influence by white persons in the important early years of life, in the socialization process. The preliminary notion suggests itself that degree of acculturation, based upon participation in contemporary Indian culture, is associated with degree of influence by white persons in childhood. To examine this notion we should study cultural transmission and socialization over many generations. For practical reasons this is not feasible but we can determine which families in Lone Hill village have had a history of white intermarriage. In those cases in which a white person has married an Indian, there would be a white person in the domestic family situation who would thus provide a model for the children.

For purposes of this study, the presence or absence of a white model was determined for every family in Lone Hill on the basis of census data, Indian Bureau records, village genealogies, informal interviews, and in some cases extensive life history material. Any given nuclear family was said to have had a white model if either a parent, a grandparent, or a great-grandparent, or a substitute for such on either side, was a white person who actually lived with the nuclear family. Taking our point of departure from the present children, this creates a limit of four generations back, which was in part a matter of expediency as it was not possible to trace instances of white intermarriage beyond four generations. However, the limit of four generations corresponds to

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

177 monopoly of the numerous benefits and services to be derived from the Indian Bureau and they often seek and obtain employment with the Bureau. They are all economically successful cattlemen compared with the unacculturated Indians who derive their cash income primarily from lease money, relief, and seasonal farm work. According to the Extension Agent's report for the year 1951, the seven acculturated families owned from twenty-nine to 149 head of cattle, a total for all families of 514, and an average of approximately seventy-three. Eighteen of the thirty-four unacculturated families owned no cattle at all. The sixteen unacculturated families with cattle had a range per family of one to fifty-two head, a total for all families of 395, and an average of approximately twenty-five cattle per family.

177 At Fort Berthold, as on many other Indian reservations, there are two political factions which locally are called the "Yes" or progressive group and 621 the "No" or conservative faction. The basis for leadership is different in each faction. In the conservative group, leadership is based upon personal qualities combined with the inheritance of sacred bundles from older chiefs, while for the progressive group it is based upon white standards of achievement. There is no clear-cut correlation between degree of acculturation and affiliation with any one faction, as the membership of each faction varies with the particular issue involved, but the nucleus of the progressive faction is derived from the acculturated families and the nucleus of the conservative faction from the unacculturated and marginal groups. These political differences are one manifestation of the larger processes which lead to different sociocultural groupings, for Lone Hill is a community divided into two conflicting and relatively noninteracting social groups.

Thus the acculturated families do not precipitate rapid change within the 177 village because of the mutual hostility and mistrust generated between them- 167 selves and the remainder of the community. An additional factor is that the membership of the acculturated group is constantly being depleted, as accul- ● 161 turated individuals tend to leave the village. The children of the acculturated families, who have the greatest potentiality for initiating change, do not remain in Lone Hill, as they have internalized the values of white society and as there are so few opportunities presented to them within the village. Of the seven acculturated families, there are three in which the parents are over fifty years of age and in which the children are all over twenty years old. In every one of these families, all or the majority of the children have left Lone Hill. In the remaining four families the parents are between the ages of twenty-six and forty-two, and the oldest child is fifteen. While these children are not old enough to leave and seek employment elsewhere, each of their parents has either a brother or sister who has left. The parents of the acculturated children, most of whom have built up successful cattle operations, are tied to Lone Hill. Their goal is to see their children become accepted members of white society. Despite the departure of the acculturated people and of others, the population continues to increase because of the fertility of the resident population. Since 1910, the population of enrolled members of the

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Fort Berthold tribes has increased on an average of 3.8 percent per year (Riefel 1952:87–100).

It is interesting to note that the process of change in which acculturated individuals leave, thereby making for the persistence of traditional ways within the village, had its counterpart in the historical period from 1740 to 1890. As individuals and as family groups, those Mandan and Hidatsa who preferred the Plains warrior-hunting life changed tribal affiliations and left their sedentary villages to join a nomad tribe (Bowers MS). As Holder (1950) has shown, this intertribal exchange of personnel reflected the development of a deep conflict in the earth-lodge social organization based upon the allocation of prestige. Aboriginal Mandan and Hidatsa society was stratified into classes, with the cultural rewards reserved for a select nobility who inherited the sacred tribal bundles (Bowers 1950). Many young men, born into less fortunate matrilineal kin groups who owned no bundles and who had been exposed to nomadic life, tried to achieve recognition through accomplishments in warfare and through vision experiences. These young men, placed in disadvantageous positions in the social structure, tended to leave their villages to become nomads. The Cheyenne and the Crow as cultures, adopted nomadism (Strong 1940); among the Mandan and Hidatsa, individuals became nomads by changing cultures. Thus, both in the past and in the present, those dissatisfied with the traditional Indian ways of the majority group left the village. This mode of change seems to be characteristic of the Mandan-Hidatsa, and is a general process with time depth.

THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION

White intermarriage may be a necessary condition but it is not in itself a sufficient condition for acculturation in Lone Hill. Of the seventeen families who have had a white model through intermarriage, seven are acculturated, seven marginal and three unacculturated. The presence of a white person in the nuclear family does no more than create the possibility that the children of the mixed marriage will learn white ways. Cultural transmission is not merely an automatic transferal from the past in which parents mechanically stamp their culture into the child. Some of the white men who married Mandan-Hidatsa women may well have preferred to assimilate to Indian ways and may not have passed their understanding of white ways on to their offspring, while others may have desired that their children learn American ways but may not have implemented that desire in the socialization process. As it is no longer possible to study the original family situations in which a white man married an Indian woman, we cannot determine why those original parents have adopted the acculturated, marginal, or unacculturated life pattern. But partial understanding of the process involved may be obtained by an examination of cultural transmission in the contemporary families.

There are two steps by which an individual in Lone Hill becomes acculturated; first there must be a white model, so that at least one of the parents has a fundamental understanding of American culture, and second, the

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

736 In the event of separation or death the children were provided for by the mother's household, with the father's household generally disregarding them.

581 556 These various accounts of types of marriage might be analyzed at length; it is sufficient here to note some significant situations which can be explained as accounting for the variations that occur as well as the number of different relatives participating in one way or another. We have noted the great emphasis placed on wealth and the part it played at the naming of a child. There was a comparable display of wealth when a young man returned from his first successful war expedition. Mandan informants speak of advancement in the tribe as steps in a ladder. As one took a new step, he made certain payments. For those of eminence, marriage was treated in the same way. Except for those marriages which involved bundle purchase, marriage was secular in character and involved only a few people.

162 Plains warfare greatly unbalanced the proportion of women to men. My census of the Mandan as of 1870–72 showed that males constituted only 38 per cent of the total population. A similar proportion was found for Hidatsa men. If we disregard all children under fifteen years of age, the proportion of men would be even smaller. The women of the household played an exclusive role in gardening unless one considers the use of young men as watchmen during the day to prevent a surprise attack by their enemies. The women built the earth lodges except for the raising of the heavier rafters and repaired them from time to time. They dressed the hides and made all the household goods. They did most of the butchering, except when animals were killed at a distance from the village. And they found time to participate in many of the men's ceremonies besides having ceremonies of their own. They were acquainted with ceremonies in which tribal custom did not permit their participation and on some occasions were intrusted with important ritualism ultimately to be transferred to their children. They reared their families and trained them without a great deal of help from their husbands. Some lodge groups in 1870–72 had had no male old enough to hunt for ten years or more. Informants thought that the physical needs of such households were pretty well taken care of by the tribal system of mutual

562 462

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ten horses, and fastens them to the hut of the young woman, who gives them to her father. The 584
latter then takes other horses, and if he has them not himself, his relations assist him, and these horses are fastened, in return, to the hut of the intended son-in-law. In such a case an estimate is previously made of the number of horses possessed by the woman's relations, for all presents are returned in equal number. The bride next boils some maize, and daily carries a kettle or dish filled with it to the hut of the bridegroom. After some time has elapsed, the young man repairs [585]
to the hut of his bride, where he passes the night with her, and the marriage is considered as complete. The young couple often continue to reside in the hut of the father-in-law, but they more 591
frequently build a new hut for themselves; sometimes, however, they afterwards separate. The father-in-law is, subsequently, the principal person in the hut; everything depends on him, and is 596
done on his account, and for him; if game is killed, the flesh is first presented to him, &c. There [163]
are often many children in these Indian families; some had as many as ten; yet, on the whole, the Indians have not so many children as the Whites, doubtless because they keep them longer at the breast. They are extremely fond of them, but the children are often weak and sickly, in con- 856
sequence, it is supposed, of the hard labour which the women have to perform. I was universally 844
assured, that the new-born children are of a reddish colour. The births are, in general, extremely easy, and the mother bathes in the river immediately afterwards, even if it is frozen; in ten days the child is considered as safe, having got over the most dangerous period. A person is 553
paid to give it the name chosen by the parents and relations. The child is held up, then turned to all sides of the heavens, in the direction of the course of the sun, and its name proclaimed. They have cradles for their infants, consisting of a leather bag, which is suspended by a strap to 854
a cross beam in the hut. These cradles of the Mandans are not so elegant and beautifully worked as those which we saw among the Sioux and Assiniboins. The children of these Indians are sub- 861
ject to no kind of discipline whatever; they may do and say whatever they please, and nobody 865
finds fault with them. Everything is done to excite a spirit of independence and self-will in the boys; if the mother speaks to one of them, he will very likely slap her face, or kick her, nay, sometimes he will do the same to his father, who says, coolly, bowing his head, this boy will one day become a famous warrior. The men sometimes treat their wives very brutally; and it 562
has not unfrequently happened, that a woman, after such treatment, has left the hut and hanged 762
herself on a tree. This lately happened in the case of an aged woman, whose grown-up son had ill-treated her. She was missed, and was afterwards found suspended from a tree. The women have nothing to indemnify them for their incessant and laborious work, not even good clothing, for this right of the fair sex in Europe is claimed among the Indians by the men. It is singular that these women, who are condemned constantly to work like slaves, refuse to do any work whatever if they marry a white man, and, the Whites being entirely in the power of the Indians, and the relations of their wives, they are obliged to submit to this. Sisters have great 000

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

173 The foregoing is far from historic proof that the Mandans did not at the times mentioned have their real base on the Missouri river. If they had been driven out of the "plains southwest of Lake Winnipeg" southward to the Missouri river about the end of the 17th century, which plains had been their own country, it seems hardly possible that they would not have so informed Verendrye in 1738—less than half a century after such ejection; nor would they have been likely to have forgotten it as a fresh tradition when Lewis and Clarke visited them. But if they had been **hunting** or marauding on those Canadian plains, and had failed to make permanent lodgment there as a home while really living on the Missouri, such rebuffs by the Crees and Assiniboines would be less consequential and might account for silence on the part of the Mandans concerning their Canadian campaigns. We continue the account from "Indian Sign Language:"

"Information given to the late General William Clarke in his expedition up the Missouri denotes that the Mandans have suffered greater vicissitudes of fortune than most of the American tribes."

361 **Walled Villages.** About a century ago they were settled on both banks of the Missouri some fifteen hundred miles above its mouth. They were then living in mire villages, surrounded by circular walls of earth without the adjunct of a ditch. The ruins of one of the old villages, observed in 1804, covered nearly eight acres and denoted a comparatively large population. Two of these villages were on the east and seven on the west side of the Missouri. They were first discovered and made known to us in this position in 1772. (Mitchell's letter herewith.)

721 **Their Wars.** They appear to have been a hated tribe to the Dakotas, or Sioux, and Assiniboines, who from the earliest traditionary times carried on fierce war against them.

361 **Smallpox.** Finding themselves sorely pressed by this war and
166 having experienced the wasting inroads of the smallpox the two
[164] eastern villages united into one and migrated up the river to a
721 point opposite to the Arickaree, fourteen hundred and thirty miles above the mouth. The same causes soon pressed the other seven western villages, reducing them to five; they also afterward migrated in a body and joined their tribesmen in the Arickaree country, and concentrated and settled themselves in two large villages. Here they dwelt for a time, but were still subject to

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

361 these 'deserted villages' cover they must have been powerful
166 communities, at least as far as numbers could make them powerful.

"Whatever may have been their population, there is no doubt
164 that the Mandans suffered more severely from the smallpox than any of the other tribes, and were, in fact, nearly exterminated by it. Mr. Girard says that when he joined them in 1849 the memory of the terrible ravages made by this disease was still fresh in their minds, and they stated that only thirty-five survived the terrible ordeal. He thinks that the disease overtook them in 1832 or 1833, when there were five villages of from sixty to two hundred and fifty lodges each, in all about one thousand lodges, averaging some thirteen persons to a lodge. I am inclined to think he is mistaken in regard to the date, and that they had the smallpox in 1837 instead of 1832-3. Schoolcraft, speaking of this, says: 'Surrounded, as the Mandans were, by active enemies, and doomed, as they appeared to be, to extinction, they might have resisted this course of depopulation a long period had it not been for the reoccurrence of smallpox among them in the summer of 1837. By this fatal calamity their numbers were reduced in a few days to less than one-sixteenth of their whole number. One of the reports of the disease reduced the survivors to thirty-one, another to one hundred and twenty-three.'

168 "They maintained their individuality as a tribe and increased their numbers by stringent marriage laws. They did not allow their women to marry into other bands or tribes unless the man would renounce his tribal relations, join them and agree that the children should talk the Mandan language and be reared in their customs and beliefs." (P. 241.)

144 Clarke discards without discussion the idea that their physical peculiarities or language indicates Welsh antecedents. He proceeds:

"The physical peculiarities of many of the Mandans, viz., their blue eyes and light hair, have led to the wildest kind of speculation in regard to their origin, some claiming that they were a lost Welsh colony and that their language supported this theory. It is hardly necessary to say that this has no foundation in fact. Some of the children also have gray hair, but this probably 'only denotes a morbid state of it, analogous to that which supervenes in albinoes.' This peculiarity is not limited to the Mandans, the

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

"What the 'accidental fire' left, the remorseless river took long ago. The character of the Missouri along here for the rapid cutting of its banks has been abundantly shown. A century has given ample opportunity for that one hut and those few pickets to have been insidiously undermined and carried away by the stream, and we know from Maximilian that this had been done in 1833." (Wheeler, p. 271.) 731

Wheeler thus expresses his profound impressions upon looking up and down the Missouri from the location of Fort Mandan: 000

Knife River and "Coal Bluff." "As I stood on the high bluffs of the river at this point in 1899, and overlooked the scene, I was profoundly impressed. To the north the distant valley of Knife river, deep green with heavy foliage, leads down to the Missouri; to the south the rough, bluffy ground near me grows rougher and bluffier as it reaches a big bend, and the irregular, grayish, ash-colored cut bank seems like that of a prodigious railway cut; the great river, in a wide, swollen flood, rolls on as it did a hundred years ago, and in broad, massive curve sweeps around a low point on the opposite shore, when, in a mood of inconstancy, it whirls back again in the other direction, and, at the beginning of the curve, is that 'bluff of coal' mentioned by the explorers, standing out strong and plain as a guide to us. Those were the limits—the 'bluff of coal' to the south, the Knife river to the north, and between them were the old Mandan villages, now gone forever.

"There extends for one and one-half or two miles a flat, heavily timbered bottom—Elm Point it is now called, and down near the lower end of it was where old Fort Mandan stood, and with our glasses we can make out, on the opposite shore, all that is left of Fort Clarke, the trading post named after Captain Clarke, and of which but a trace remains." (p. 272.)

Wheeler thus refers to the ravages of the smallpox among the Mandans: 164

Smallpox. "The worst affliction of this sort was subsequent to the visits of Catlin and Maximilian, and it almost completely annihilated the Mandans, if the old accounts are fairly trustworthy.

"In 1837 the smallpox was carried among them from the Missouri river steamboat **St. Peter's**, owned by the American Fur Company, and out of 1600 Mandans, only about 31 or 32 families-

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•164 were left; 500 Minnetarees out of 1000 fell victims to the pestilence, and 1500 of the 3000 Aricarees also died. The epidemic spread to the other tribes of the north, and Schoolcraft estimates that before its ravages had ceased it claimed at least 10,000 victims; Catlin and Maximilian make the number very much larger. Kenneth McKenzie, of the American Fur Company, in a letter to Catlin, written in June, 1839, states that there were 7,000 Crees and 15,000 Blackfeet wiped out by the disease. In some instances the losses were undoubtedly much exaggerated." (p. 226.)

Wheeler, quoting from Schoolcraft under this head, inserts the following:

"An eye-witness of this scene, writing from Fort Union on the 27th of November, 1837, says: 'Language, however forcible, can convey but a faint idea of the scene of desolation which the country now presents. In whatever direction you turn, nothing but sad wrecks of mortality meet the eye; lodges standing on every hill, but not a streak of smoke rising from them. Not a sound can be heard to break the awful stillness, save the ominous croak of ravens and the mournful howl of wolves fattening on the human carcasses that lie strewed around.'"

Another writer says:

"Many of the handsome Aricarees, who had recovered, seeing the disfiguration of their features, committed suicide; some by throwing themselves from rocks, others by stabbing and shooting. The prairie has become a grave-yard; its wild flowers bloom over the sepulchres of Indians."

Wheeler then resumes, thus:

"There can be no question, from all the reports, that this visitation was one of the most awful, wide-spread, decimating scourges that ever afflicted any people, not excepting the Egyptians who were made to suffer for Pharaoh's hardness of heart. In telling me about this scourge, Two-Chiefs, an old Mandan who shows marks of the disease, stated that the Gros Ventres ran away when the disease appeared—they didn't run fast enough nor far enough to escape it, however—and that when the pestilence had run its course the Aricarees moved into the Mandan villages and boldly appropriated the huts and all their belongings. The Mandans were gone, wiped out, and there were none to use the dwellings or to object to such forced occupancy. Some accounts state that

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even the few surviving Mandans were driven from their own huts. 164
Subsequently these tribes were again thus afflicted, and from one who was then stationed at Fort Clarke and an eye-witness of the fact, I am informed that suicide was committed by the victims [762] throwing themselves over the bluffs of the river to the rocks below. De Smet states that both the smallpox and cholera created havoc among the northern Indians in 1851." (p. 227.)

The making of glass beads by the Mandans and Aricarees is 323
alluded to by Wheeler, who says: 301

Glass Beads, Etc. "The Lewis and Clarke narrative for March 16th describes a process for making glass beads known to the Mandans.

"The Indians did not make the glass itself. This they obtained from the whites, but there is evidence that prior to the appearance of the traders, they used obsidian, or natural glass, for this purpose. Dr. Matthews, as late as 1870, had flat triangular blue glass pendants made to order by an Aricaree woman, he furnishing the glass.

"These people also made unglazed pottery, mats, and baskets, 285
ladles and spoons, from the horns of the Rocky mountain sheep 323
(Ovius Montana) and the buffalo, and from the shoulder-blades 321
of the bison they fashioned the hoes with which they hoed the 178
ground in very early time. Since the whites came, the crude implements of the old days have been mostly supplanted by our household, garden, etc., utensils; but, in 1902, I purchased a fine sheep-horn ladle apparently in daily use still." (p. 228.)

Steinbreuck's Observations. Hon. E. R. Steinbreuck, field 000
officer of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, makes the further statement to the writer, in a letter dated May 24th, 1908, concerning the Mandan deserted villages, and their former habitat, as follows:

Unsolved Problems. "I think it is a difficult and as yet unsolved problem, to write the history of the Mandans, as aborigines of South Dakota. We have the end of the trail, not so the beginning. We don't know for certain where the Mandans came from. The end is in North Dakota and that is also the beginning of the traditions of the present Mandans. Their entire knowledge of their origin is limited to the Heart river region in North Da-

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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175 lages were on the west side and two or three were on the east
173 side of the river. Maximilian gives names for fourteen villages which have been already quoted. For a great many years
[164] they lived there when one day the smallpox came to those on the east side of the river. While this smallpox was still rife, the Sioux attacked and destroyed the east villages. The survivors then proceeded up the river some forty miles where they all settled in one large village. Soon after the smallpox reduced the villages on the west to five, and still later the five went up to where the others were in the neighborhood of some Arikara, and settled in two villages. A great many people had been destroyed and they were now no longer strong and fearless. They made an alliance with the Arikara against the Sioux. So far the tradition is our only authority, and all this had happened before the year 1796.

175 In Henry and Schoolcraft is the statement that in 1796 the two villages on the south united, and both the one on the south and the one on the north moved up river some distance. From this time on there is a nearly continuous chronicle. Lewis and Clarke found the two villages one on each side and about fifteen miles below the Knife River. At that time both villages consisted of forty to fifty lodges and, united, could raise about three hundred and fifty men. Lewis and Clarke describe them as engaging in continual warfare with the Arikara and Sioux against whom they united with the Hidatsa. The description given by Lewis and Clarke agrees with the conditions some two years later when Henry visited them.

Thereafter no particular event marks the history of the Mandans for some years. The Arikara went up and lived near them again for a time, but soon went back to the Grand River. Catlin found them in practically the condition in which Lewis and Clarke saw them, and so did Maximilian. Maximilian says they still lived in the two villages; the largest on the south side was Mih-toutta-Hangkouche and consisted of about sixty lodges. The smaller one, Rouhptare, was on the north and consisted of thirty-eight lodges. The villages were still fortified, though poorly, and there had been little change in the condition of the people.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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In 1837, however, another great calamity came upon the Mandans. Again smallpox attacked them, raged for many weeks and finally left but one hundred and twenty-five souls.[1] These were taken in by the Arikara with whom they intermarried; finally they separated, again forming a small village of their own at Ft. Berthold. In 1850 there were three hundred and eighty-five living, but these were very largely of mixed blood. To-day there are only a few of the full-blood Mandans left, although the latest official returns give a total of two hundred and forty-nine. The culture has changed, the language has changed, and as a nation the Mandans are practically extinct. 175 [164]

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS: — A discussion of the physical characteristics of the Mandans is rather interesting in view of the fact that so many tales of their being a white race were circulated. Verendrye was told by the Assiniboine that he was on the way to visit people white like himself. The Assiniboine word for the Mandans, *ouachipanne*, was the close relative of the Mandan word for white man, *ouachi*. Catlin became convinced of the white origin of the Mandans and Verendrye and Henry both commented on their light complexions. 142

Verendrye said he expected to see a different sort of people but they differed little from the Assiniboine. Then later: "This nation is mixed white and black. The women are fairly good looking especially the white, and many have blond hair. . . . . The men are stout and tall . . . . . with a good physiognomy. The women have not the Indian physiognomy. . . . . "[2]

Lewis and Clarke did not mention any particular difference between the Mandans and other Indians of the region, although Catlin relates that when he left St. Louis to ascend the Missouri, Governor Clarke told him that he was going among a strange people, half white. Henry, however, did notice some peculiarities in the Mandan physique. He says[3] that in general the Mandans had not the coarse hair of Indians, it was finer, rather inclining to dark brown, and some had fair hair. The eyes of the Mandans were not as black as usual, but brown and some

[1] Schoolcraft: vol. III, p. 254. [2] Op. cit., p. 21. [3] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 341.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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164 DISEASE AND THE CURE OF DISEASE:—The Mandans were as a rule a very healthy people and their catalogue of diseases was small, being mostly those which of necessity accompany a life of considerable hardship. Catarrhal troubles, snow blindness, rheumatism and hemoptisis were most common. They had no fevers and no consumption; venereal diseases were found, but the Mandans always claimed that these were got from the Crows. Their other troubles were wounds, snake bites and freezing. Maximilian said that he also found cases of the gout among them.

757 Colds and catarrhal troubles and rheumatism were treated in the vapor bath which is found in one form or another among most Indian tribes. The patient was steamed well and then immediately plunged into icy water or snow, from there he went into the house where he was kept wrapped up for some time. The snow blindness was treated by gentle sweating. Cataracts and inflammation of the eyes resulted from snow blindness at times, and the inflammation was treated by rubbing with some herb which had a rough surface. With this the eyeball was rubbed till blood flowed. Bleeding was practiced, and rattle-snake rattles were considered to be a remedy for almost anything. The rattles were powdered fine, mixed with water or saliva and either swallowed or rubbed on the parts affected. The Mandans used no emetics but had a number of vegetable purgatives. Lewis and Clarke described a root which was chewed and placed on a snake bite, they called it Sackacomah but it has not been identified botanically. Freezing was treated by rubbing with snow. Horses were sometimes given a piece of wasp's nest as a diuretic.

752 Wounds healed with remarkable rapidity and had very little care. Severe cuts were rubbed with fat and sometimes bound up. A number of cases were known where persons who had been scalped recovered. In arrow wounds the point was always forced entirely through the flesh if possible because it came out more easily so.

524 GAMES:—The Mandans had games for men, women and children, and in most of these betting was an important part of the sport. Probably the best known of these games was

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

000 The author, in his Preface, gives so full an account of the objects and results of his travels in the interior of North America, that it would have been unnecessary for me to prefix any observations of my own, were it not for some circumstances, connected with the translation, which seem to require explanation.

The prospectus of the German original announced that the work would consist of two large quarto volumes, accompanied by a portfolio of above eighty beautifully coloured copper-plates, executed by eminent artists at Paris, from the original drawings. Some specimens of the plates having been brought to London, were so much admired by many competent judges, that Messrs. Ackermann were induced to agree with the Paris publisher for a limited number of copies of the plates; and as it might justly be presumed that the English purchasers would be desirous of having the narrative of the travels, it was resolved to publish a translation compressed into a single volume. By selecting, however, a page of a large size, the translator has been able to retain all the most interesting parts, omitting only minute details of the measurements of animals, &c. All the chapters illustrative of the manners, customs, traditions, and superstitions of the Indians are given without abridgment, and these, as the author justly observes, are by far the most attractive and valuable portions of the work. The papers in the Appendix, giving an account of the plants collected, are also inserted entire, and have been kindly revised by my friend Sir William Hooker.

The principal omission is that of the very extensive vocabularies of the languages of the different Indian tribes. They are written so as to represent the pronunciation in German, and have, in numerous instances, special directions, as thus: kontschue (*oo* as in French, *schuu*, short and quick, *ei*). It appeared to be a hopeless and unprofitable task to rewrite these vocabularies, and to represent the true pronunciation in English. Those who are curious in such matters will find many specimens in Mr. Catlin's interesting work.

128 The numerous Indian proper names are, of course, written in the original as pronounced
194 in German. It has been thought best to leave them unchanged, merely requesting the reader to observe, in general, that the consonants are pronounced as in English; only that *ch* is guttural, as in the Scotch word *loch*; that *sch* is pronounced *sh*, and that the vowels have the same sound as in French, *ah*, *a*, *ee*, *o*, *oo*.

175 The author alludes, in his Preface, to the recent fearful ravages which have been caused
164 among the Indian races by the small-pox. The origin and extent of these ravages will be seen from the following very affecting letter on the subject:

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"NEW ORLEANS, June 6, 1838.—The southern parts of the United States, particularly Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana, are as healthy as can be wished; there has been no appearance of the yellow fever, and even at the Havannah only a few isolated cases have occurred. During the autumn, winter, and spring, the small-pox has carried off many victims among the Whites, and thousands of the Indians; but it has now wholly disappeared in the territory of the Union, in consequence of a general vaccination of persons of all ages. On the other hand, we have, from the trading posts on the western frontier of the Missouri, the most frightful accounts of the ravages of the small-pox among the Indians. The destroying angel has visited the unfortunate sons of the wilderness with terrors never before known, and has converted the extensive hunting grounds, as well as the peaceful settlements of those tribes, into desolate and boundless cemeteries. The number of the victims within a few months is estimated at 30,000, and the pestilence is still spreading. The warlike spirit which but lately animated the several Indian tribes, and but a few months ago gave reason to apprehend the breaking-out of a sanguinary war, is broken. The mighty warriors are now the prey of the greedy wolves of the prairie, and the few survivors, in mere despair, throw themselves on the pity of the Whites, who, however, can do but little to help them. The vast propositions for the protection of the western frontier are superfluous: another arm has undertaken the defence of the white inhabitants of the frontier; and the funeral torch, that lights the red man to his dreary grave, has become the auspicious star of the advancing settler, and of the roving trader of the white race.

"The small-pox was communicated to the Indians by a person who was on board the steam-boat which went, last summer, up to the mouth of the Yellow Stone, to convey both the government presents for the Indians, and the goods for the barter trade of the fur dealers. The disorder communicated itself to several of the crew of the steam-boat. The officers gave notice of it to the Indians, and exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent any intercourse between them and the vessel; but this was a vain attempt; for the Indians knew that presents and goods for barter were come for them, and it would have been impossible to drive them away from the fort without having recourse to arms. Two days before the arrival of the steam-boat, an express had been received at the trading fort, 2000 miles west of St. Louis, with the melancholy news of the breaking-out of the small-pox on board; this was immediately communicated to the Indians, with the most urgent entreaties to keep at a distance; but this was as good as preaching to the winds. The survivors now lament their disobedience, and are as submissive as the poor dogs which look in vain in the prairie for the footsteps of their masters. The miserable remnants of the Indians implore us not to abandon them in their misfortune, and promise, if we will take pity on them, never more to disobey our commands.

"The disease first broke out about the 15th of June, 1837, in the village of the Mandans, a few miles below the American fort, Leavenworth, from which it spread, in all directions, with unexampled fury. The character of the disease was as appalling as the rapidity of the propagation. Among the remotest tribes of the Assiniboins from fifty to one hundred died daily. The patient, when first seized, complains of dreadful pains in the head and back, and in a few hours he is dead: the body immediately turns black, and swells to thrice its natural size. In vain were hospitals fitted up in Fort Union, and the whole stock of medicines exhausted. For many weeks together our workmen did nothing but collect the dead bodies and bury them in large pits; but since the ground is frozen we are obliged to throw them into the river. The ravages of the disorder were the most frightful among the Mandans, where it first broke out. The once powerful tribe, which, by accumulated disasters, had already been reduced to 1500 souls, was exterminated, with the exception of thirty persons. Their neighbours, the Bigbellied Indians, and the Ricarees, were out on a hunting excursion at the time of the breaking-out of the disorder, so that it did not reach them till a month later; yet half the tribe was already destroyed on the 1st of October, and the disease continued to spread. Very few of those who were attacked recovered their health; but when they saw all their relations buried, and the pestilence still raging with unabated fury among the remainder of their countrymen, life became a burden to them, and they put an end to their wretched existence, either with their knives and muskets, or by precipitating themselves from the summit of the rock near their settlement. The prairie all around is a vast field of death, covered with unburied corpses, and spreading, for miles, pestilence and infection. The Bigbellied Indians and the Ricarees, lately amounting to 4000 souls, were reduced to less than the half. The Assiniboins, 9000 in number, roaming over a hunting territory to the north of the Missouri, as far as the trading posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, are, in the literal sense of the expression, nearly exterminated. They, as well as the Crows and Blackfeet, endeavoured to fly in all directions, but the disease everywhere pursued them. At last every feeling of mutual companion and tenderness seems to have disappeared. Every one avoided the others. Women and children wandered about in the prairie seeking

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for a county subsistence. The accounts of the situation of the Blackfeet are awful. The inmates of above 1000 of their tents are already swept away. They are the bravest and the most crafty of all the Indians, dangerous and implacable to their enemies, but faithful and kind to their friends. But very lately we seriously apprehended that a terrible war with them was at hand, and that they would unite the whole of their remaining strength against the Whites. Every day brought accounts of new armaments, and of a loudly expressed spirit of vengeance towards the Whites: but the small-pox cast them down, the brave as well as the feeble; and those who were once seized by this infection never recovered. It is affirmed that several bands of warriors, who were on their march to attack the fort, all perished by the way, so that not one survived to convey the intelligence to their tribe. Thus, in the course of a few weeks, their strength and their courage were broken, and nothing was to be heard but the frightful wailings of death in the camp. Every thought of war was dispelled, and the few that are left are as humble as famished dogs. No language can picture the scene of desolation which the country presents. In whatever direction we go, we see nothing but melancholy wrecks of human life. The tents are still standing on every hill, but no rising smoke announces the presence of human beings, and no sounds but the croaking of the raven and the howling of the wolf interrupt the fearful silence. The above accounts do not complete the terrible intelligence which we receive. There is scarcely a doubt that the pestilence will spread to the tribes in and beyond the Rocky Mountains, as well as to the Indians in the direction of Santa Fé and Mexico. It seems to be irrevocably written in the book of fate, that the race of red men shall be wholly extirpated in the land in which they ruled the undisputed masters, till the rapacity of the Whites brought to their shores the murderous fire-arms, the enervating ardent spirits, and the all-destructive pestilence of the small-pox. According to the most recent accounts, the number of the Indians who have been swept away by the small-pox, on the western frontier of the United States, amounts to more than 60,000."

The general correctness of the melancholy details given in the above letter has been confirmed to me by several travellers who have visited these nations since they were desolated by this awful epidemic. The almost total extinction of these tribes greatly enhances the value and importance of the full and interesting particulars imparted by his Highness.

H. EVANS LLOYD.

CHARTERHOUSE SQUARE,
May 1st, 1843.

[pp. xi-xii, 1-333 omitted]

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in the same manner as the Manitari chief, Kokoahkis, mentioned by Say. He went, one evening, wrapped up in his robe, into a hut of the hostile Arikkaras, as the young men of the village often do, ate with his face covered, so that he was taken for a young Arikkara; then laid himself down by the side of a woman, and afterwards cut off a lock of her hair, with which he retired. He might have killed the woman, as Kokoahkis did, but refrained from doing so. 555

Wounds appear to be healed with remarkable ease. In cases of arrow wounds, they like to force the arrow quite through, that the iron head may not remain in the wound. Men and women are often scalped, in battle, who afterwards come to themselves, and are cured. Such a large wound on the head is rubbed with fat; the medicine man fumigates it, singing at the same time. Disorders are not uncommon among the Indians. The Mandans and Manitaries often suffer from diseases in the eyes; many are one-eyed, or have a tunicle over one eye. In inflammation of the eye they have a custom of scratching the inner eye with the leaf of a kind of grass, resembling a saw, which causes them to bleed very much, and this may often occasion the loss of the eye. Rheumatism, coughs, and the like, are frequent, because they go half naked in the severest cold, and plunge into ice water. Much benefit is often derived from their steam-baths, in a well closed hut, where a thick steam is produced by pouring water on hot stones. They then immediately go into the cold, roll themselves in the snow, or plunge into a river covered with drifting ice, but do not return to a warm hut, as the Russians do. Many Indians are said to have died on the spot by trying this remedy. Some suffer from gout; but all who survive these violent remedies are stronger and more hardy. Another remedy is trampling on the whole body, especially the stomach, as is practised also among the Brazilians. This operation is performed with such violence, as often to occasion hard swellings in the intestines, or ulcers, especially in the liver. The steam-bath is used as a remedy in all kinds of disorders. Vaccination, the application of which met with no difficulties among several nations on the great lakes, especially the Chippeways, is not yet practised among the Mandans and Manitaries. Spitting of blood is said to be frequent, but not pulmonary consumption. Gonorrhœa is very common; they affirm that all venereal disorders came to them from the Crows beyond the Rocky Mountains. For such disorders they often seat themselves over a heated pot, but very frequently burn themselves. They cut open buboes, lengthwise, with a knife, and then run for a couple of miles as fast as they can. The jaundice is said not to occur among them. It appears that they are not acquainted with emetics, but, if they feel anything wrong in the stomach, they thrust a feather down the throat, and thus produce vomiting. Their purgatives are obtained from the vegetable kingdom. The poison-vine often produces swellings, especially in children. As rattlesnakes are rare in the vicinity of the villages, it is, of course, seldom that any one is bitten by them; these Indians are said, however, to have very good remedies against the bite. Frozen limbs are rubbed with snow. 752 757 164 757

437 willing and ready to serve you as long as you have any property.
177 But when all is expended you may shift for yourself, as they will pretend they do not understand you any longer. Besides paying our host [343] beforehand, I promised him a tobacco-pipe on my departure, if I were then pleased with his conduct during our stay. His pay consisted of the following articles: 60 balls and powder, 4 large knives, 2 small knives, 1 fathom tobacco, 1 dozen rings, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 6 flints, 3 worms, 3 awls, and 1/4 pound blue beads.

164 [343] The natives at present are mostly affected with a bad cough, which daily takes some of them off. Aged and infirm persons, and young children, are the common victims to this disease. It is a kind of whooping-cough, which has appeared all along the Red and Assiniboine rivers, on the Saskatchewan even to Fort des Prairies, and in several other parts of the North West, carrying off many people

241 July 21st. I set off early on horseback with part of my people
[462 for the upper villages. We passed extensive fields of corn, beans,
561] squashes, and sunflowers. Many women and children were already
412 employed in clearing and hoeing their plantations. Their hoes are the shoulderblade of a buffalo, to which is fastened a crooked stick for a handle; the soil not being stony, this slight implement answers every purpose. The road first led over two hills, after which we came to a smooth and pleasant plain for about two miles to the Saulteur (Soulier) [Amahami—Analyst] village, of about 40 huts.
361 [362]..These villages are surrounded by a kind of stockade, princi-
417 pally made of driftwood, which has a miserable appearance and is daily falling to pieces; but I am told that upon any emergency it can be put into a tolerably good state of defense at very short notice, as every man, woman, and child lends a hand.

526 We witnessed a diversion which takes place almost every day
481 between the Mandanes and Saulteurs (Souliers). It is the exercise
702 of running long foot races, in order to be prepared for the emergency of being dismounted and obliged to fly from their enemies at war. They assemble upon a beautiful green near the village, where, having remained some time, calling out to their comrades to come and run, they set off in a file on a slow trot, entirely naked, taking the road that leads up the hills to the S., about a mile from the village. Passing near those rising grounds, they disappear, and are not seen till they reappear from the S.E., down a steep hill and over a level plain, to the spot whence they started. Here they do not stop, but rush on to the Missourie, and plunge in headlong, all

304 They have another custom of putting their courage and con-
785 tempt of pain to task by tormenting their flesh in a most atrocious manner. This is done by pinching up a fold of the skin and flesh an inch broad, under which they pass the iron barb of an arrow; they raise stripes in this manner from the back of the hand to the shoulder, and thence to the breast, there joining three or four separate circles of incisions made in the same manner on the lower part of the breast. Some content themselves by raising stripes of different lengths upon their arms and thighs, and forming crescentic cuts on the breast in a very regular manner, one within the other; some with the horns upward, others downward, according to fancy.

304 Most of the women have their faces tattooed in a very savage manner, lines a quarter inch broad passing from the nose to the ear, and down each side of the mouth and chin to the throat. This disfigures them very much; otherwise, some would have tolerably
304 good faces. Some tattooing is done to beautify the face, but at
684 other times it is the disfiguring mark of a fit of jealousy in the husband. [366] When a Mandane's handsome young wife is too lavish of her favors without his consent, he tattoes her face as a punish-
[578] ment. Although it cannot be said that these people are much given
837 to jealousy, still it is absolutely necessary for a woman to have the consent of her husband to cohabit with a stranger, whether he is white or one of their own people. But I observed during my stay that this consent is not so very necessary in regard to the inhabitants of the same village, as every morning early there were examples to be seen in their plantations of their loose way of living. Many
● [164] of our servants who frequent these parts to trade in the winter, and who have too intimate connections with the fair sex, are attacked by a painful and loathsome disorder, which commonly appears in the groin, where it forms abscesses and, if neglected, will soon prove dangerous.

574 [401] At three o'clock we were all safely lodged in Black Cat's
609 hut, whom we found as usual very civil and complaisant, although he plainly saw we had nothing to pay him for his trouble. This man is one of the best Indians we met on the Missourie. We found
[432] what articles we had left in his charge all in good order, and carefully hung up to keep them from the mice. He even gave me his best horse upon credit; payment to be sent this fall by any opportunity. This was considered an extraordinary circumstance for a Mandane. He gave us several instances of his good nature and generosity while we were packing; every assistance in his power he gave us, without

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648 **Peaceable With Americans—Government Neglect.** "During a short period of their history, the Aricarees were at war with the Americans; but for many years they have strictly maintained peace, and have fought with us and against our enemies. The Mandans and Minnetarees claim never to have shed a white man's blood, although some of their number have been killed by whites. For their fidelity they have been repaid in starvation and neglect. [165] Many of these friendly Indians, particularly among the Aricarees, have during the past ten years, died of actual hunger or the diseases incident to a state of famine. Within the past three years there seem to be some evidences of increased legislative interest in them, but the benefits arising therefrom are by no means equal to their needs or their deserts." (p. 31-32.)

142 **Complexion—Hidatsa and Mandan.** "The majority of the Hidatsa have the ordinary dusky Indian complexion, which is, however, not of a uniform shade, as far as I have seen in any tribe. There are none of this nation that would be considered dark for Indians. Among various tribes of western Indians may be found individuals, claiming pure aboriginal blood, who possess complexions much fairer than the average Indian, with light-colored hair and eyes. Such individuals are more common among the Mandans and Minnetarees than they are among most of the neighboring tribes. A natural or inherited clearness of complexion, too, is more easily discernable among members of the village tribes than among members of roving bands who are more exposed to the weather. The presence of pale Indians in these tribes was noted by travelers in early days, before intermarriages with whites were common enough to have accounted for it."

Mandans' Fair Skin. "Lewis and Clarke and Gass notice this fairness when speaking of the Mandans only, but their remarks are general. Catlin speaks of the fairness of the Mandans only, and supposes this peculiarity to arise from some pre-Columbian infusion of European blood. The Prince of Neuwied, who visited these tribes but one year later than Mr. Catlin, denies that the Mandans are of fairer complexion than their neighbors, while he asserts, at the same time, that, 'after a thorough ablution, the skin of some of them appears almost white.' I have heard old Mandans say that when the Minnetarees, including the Crows, first came among them, the strangers were a fairer race than they.

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173 The foregoing is far from historic proof that the Mandans did not at the times mentioned have their real base on the Missouri river. If they had been driven out of the "plains southwest of Lake Winnipeg" southward to the Missouri river about the end of the 17th century, which plains had been their own country, it seems hardly possible that they would not have so informed Verendrye in 1738—less than half a century after such ejection; nor would they have been likely to have forgotten it as a fresh tradition when Lewis and Clarke visited them. But if they had been **hunting** or marauding on those Canadian plains, and had failed to make permanent lodgment there as a home while really living on the Missouri, such rebuffs by the Crees and Assiniboines would be less consequential and might account for silence on the part of the Mandans concerning their Canadian campaigns. We continue the account from "Indian Sign Language:"

"Information given to the late General William Clarke in his expedition up the Missouri denotes that the Mandans have suffered greater vicissitudes of fortune than most of the American tribes."

361 **Walled Villages.** About a century ago they were settled on both banks of the Missouri some fifteen hundred miles above its mouth. They were then living in mire villages, surrounded by circular walls of earth without the adjunct of a ditch. The ruins of one of the old villages, observed in 1804, covered nearly eight acres and denoted a comparatively large population. Two of these villages were on the east and seven on the west side of the Missouri. They were first discovered and made known to us in this position in 1772. (Mitchell's letter herewith.)

721 **Their Wars.** They appear to have been a hated tribe to the Dakotas, or Sioux, and Assiniboines, who from the earliest traditionary times carried on fierce war against them.

361 **Smallpox.** Finding themselves sorely pressed by this war and
•166 having experienced the wasting inroads of the smallpox the two
[164] eastern villages united into one and migrated up the river to a
721 point opposite to the Arickaree, fourteen hundred and thirty miles above the mouth. The same causes soon pressed the other seven western villages, reducing them to five; they also afterward migrated in a body and joined their tribesmen in the Arickaree country, and concentrated and settled themselves in two large villages. Here they dwelt for a time, but were still subject to

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the fierce attacks of their enemies; and deeming the position unfavorable they removed higher up the river and took possession of a precipitous and tenable point of land formed by an involution of the Missouri, where they formed one compact village in 1776. The eastern Mandans had settled in two villages, but finding the attacks of the Sioux hard to be resisted united also in one village. The two divisions of Mandan villages were still separated by the Missouri river, but seated directly opposite each other about three miles apart, including lowlands. 361 166 721

The position is estimated to be sixteen hundred miles from the junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi. There they were visited by Lewis and Clarke on the 27th October, 1804. This was a memorable and an auspicious event in their history, as these intrepid American explorers determined to pass their first winter in this vicinity. They built Fort Mandan, a few miles distant, on a heavily wooded piece of bottom land, which yielded trees of sufficient size for erecting quarters for themselves and the men. They immediately opened an intercourse with the Mandans and established a friendship with them, which was strengthened by the incidents of a winter's residence." (pp. 239-240). 361 166

The following is an extract from Mr. Mitchell's letter above referred to: "The early portion of their history I gather from the narration of Mr. Macintosh, who, it seems, belonged to, or was in some way connected with the French Trading Company as far back as 1772. According to his narration, he set out from Montreal in the summer of 1773, crossed over the country to the Missouri river and arrived at one of the Mandan villages on Christmas day. He gives a long and somewhat romantic description of the manner in which he was received, and dwells at some length upon the greatness of the Mandan population, their superior intelligence and prowess in war. He says at that time the Mandans occupied nine large towns lying contiguous and could at short notice muster fifteen thousand mounted warriors." Clarke continues:

"I am inclined to think that the statistics of the author whom I have quoted are somewhat exaggerated, and at the time he visited the Missouri the Mandans were not so numerous as he represents. There are, however, the ruins of five villages in the neighborhood of the present village, which were evidently at one time occupied by the Mandans; and judging from the space which

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these 'deserted villages' cover they must have been powerful communities, at least as far as numbers could make them powerful.

"Whatever may have been their population, there is no doubt that the Mandans suffered more severely from the smallpox than any of the other tribes, and were, in fact, nearly exterminated by it. Mr. Girard says that when he joined them in 1849 the memory of the terrible ravages made by this disease was still fresh in their minds, and they stated that only thirty-five survived the terrible ordeal. He thinks that the disease overtook them in 1832 or 1833, when there were five villages of from sixty to two hundred and fifty lodges each, in all about one thousand lodges, averaging some thirteen persons to a lodge. I am inclined to think he is mistaken in regard to the date, and that they had the smallpox in 1837 instead of 1832-3. Schoolcraft, speaking of this, says: 'Surrounded, as the Mandans were, by active enemies, and doomed, as they appeared to be, to extinction, they might have resisted this course of depopulation a long period had it not been for the reoccurrence of smallpox among them in the summer of 1837. By this fatal calamity their numbers were reduced in a few days to less than one-sixteenth of their whole number. One of the reports of the disease reduced the survivors to thirty-one, another to one hundred and twenty-three.'

"They maintained their individuality as a tribe and increased their numbers by stringent marriage laws. They did not allow their women to marry into other bands or tribes unless the man would renounce his tribal relations, join them and agree that the children should talk the Mandan language and be reared in their customs and beliefs." (P. 241.)

Clarke discards without discussion the idea that their physical peculiarities or language indicates Welsh antecedents. He proceeds:

"The physical peculiarities of many of the Mandans, viz., their blue eyes and light hair, have led to the wildest kind of speculation in regard to their origin, some claiming that they were a lost Welsh colony and that their language supported this theory. It is hardly necessary to say that this has no foundation in fact. Some of the children also have gray hair, but this probably 'only denotes a morbid state of it, analogous to that which supervenes in albinoes.' This peculiarity is not limited to the Mandans, the

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621 There was considerable variability in the status of household
554 groups. Those groups possessing important tribal bundles and
571 participating frequently in the ceremonies occupied high status in the village and endeavored to preserve their eminence by selective marriage of their children. The importance of the lodge group was also expressed by offerings placed on poles erected before the lodge. These offerings were distinctive and proclaimed the existing status of the household bundle. One's loyalty remained with the lodge group one was born into, while subsequent marriages united groups of households.

621 A lodge group could leave one village and join another at will.
166 Usually a number of related households moved at one time, but
578 there are numerous references to groups transferring from one village to another. Informants thought that the three Mandan groups or bands were endogamous. When a group left one village, it endeavored to affiliate with its own band in one of the villages. Mandan informants had been told of at least four reasons why a household group would change villages. When a certain cermony had been allowed to die out or become inactive, a household having rights in that ceremony could enhance its social status by moving out of a village in which there were a number having rights in the ceremony, to take up residence in another where there were few having those particular ceremonial rights. Other household groups moved into another village over the recognition of chiefs. When a small group was dissatisfied with the leadership of the village, rather than have trouble, they moved into another village. Scattercorn remembered that there was often dissatisfaction among the women over the selection of a village site. She recalled that one of their villages was so sandy that the caches caved in, and some of the women wanted to move to another site. When the leaders refused, they were invited to affiliate with another village, which they did. The Missouri River frequently changed its course and sometimes cut through the gardens, destroying the garden sites belonging to some households. When no potential corn ground was available near at hand, household groups were obliged to move to a village with an abundance of suitable corn ground in preference to walking great distances to their gardens.

361 The protohistoric Mandan sites of the Heart River region have ruins of one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and

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000 where they join each other. Each row contains four rooms, of fourteen feet square, and seven feet high, with plank ceiling, and the roof slanting so as to form a loft above the rooms, the highest part of which is eighteen feet from the ground. The backs of the huts form a wall of that height, and opposite the angle the place of the wall was supplied by picketing. In the area were two rooms for stores and provisions. The latitude by observation is 47 degrees, 21 minutes, 47 seconds, and the computed distance from the mouth of the Missouri, sixteen hundred miles." (id 176)

648 **Sioux Threats.** "In the course of the day several Indians came down to partake of our fresh meat; among the rest, three chiefs of the second Mandan village. They inform us that the Sioux on the Missouri above the Cheyenne river, threaten to attack them this winter; that these Sioux are much irritated at the Ricaras for having made peace through our means with the Mandans, and have lately ill-treated three Ricaras who carried the pipe of peace to them, by beating them and taking away their horses. We gave them assurances that we would protect them from all their enemies." (id 176)

361 **Mandan Villages and Tribe.** "The villages near which we are established are five in number, and are the residence of three
•167 distinct nations—the Mandans, the Ahnahaways and the Minnetarees. The history of the Mandans, as we received it from our interpreters and from the chiefs themselves, and as it is attested by existing monuments, illustrates, more than that of any other nation, the unsteady movements and the tottering fortunes of the American nations. Within the recollection of living witnesses, the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about eighty miles below, and situated seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri. The two finding themselves wasting away before the smallpox and the Sioux, united into one village, and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras. The same causes reduced the remaining seven to five villages, till at length they emigrated in a body to the Ricaras nation, where they formed themselves into two villages, and joined those of their countrymen who had gone before them. In their new residence they were still insecure, and at length the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present position. The two

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who had emigrated together still settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri, while the single village took a position on the southeast side. In this situation they were found by those who visited them in 1796, since which the two villages have united in one. They are now in two villages, one on the southeast of the Missouri, the other on the opposite side, and at the distance of three miles across. The first, in an open plain, contains about forty or fifty lodges, built in the same way as the Ricaras; the second, the same number, and both may raise about three hundred and fifty men.

Mahahas. "On the same side of the river, and at a distance of four miles from the lower Mandan village, is another called Mahaha. It is situated on a high plain at the mouth of the Knife river, and is the residence of the Ahnahaways. This nation, whose name indicates that they were "people whose village is on a hill," formerly resided on the Missouri, about thirty miles below where they now live. The Assiniboines and Sioux forced them to a spot five miles higher, where the greatest part of them were put to death, and the rest emigrated to their present situation, in order to obtain an asylum near the Minnetarees. They are called by the French, Soulier Noir or Shoe Indians; by the Mandans, Wattasoons, and their whole force is about fifty men.

Minnetarees. "On the south side of the same Knife river, half a mile above the Mahaha, and in the same open plain with it, is a village of Minnetarees surnamed Metaharta, who are about one hundred and fifty men in number. On the opposite side of the Knife river, and one and a half mile above this village, is a second of the Minnetarees, who may be considered as the proper Minnetarees' nation. It is situated in a beautiful low plain, and contains four hundred and fifty warriors. The accounts which received of the Minnearees were contradictory. The Mandans say that this people came out of the water to the east, and settled near them in their former establishment, in nine villages; that they were very numerous, and fixed themselves in one village on the southern side of the Missouri. A quarrel about a buffalo divided the nation, of which two bands went into the plains, and were known by the names of the Crow and the Paunch Indians, and the rest moved to their establishment. The Minnetarees proper assert, on the contrary, that they grew where they now

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dans; for their religious ceremonies connected with planting are the more numerous, and they honor the corn with a species of worship. In every Aricaree lodge, there is a large ear of corn, which has lasted for generations, sticking out of the mouth of a medicine-bag. At their feasts, they make offerings to the corn by rubbing a piece of meat on it, while they pray to it for plentiful harvests, and address it by the name of 'mother.' The Hidatsas claim to have had no knowledge of corn until they first ate it from the trenchers of the Mandans; and they have no important ceremonies connected with the harvesting, yet they cultivated it long before the advent of the white man." (p. 12.) 773 243 174

"Three Tribes" at Berthold—From South Dakota. "When Lewis and Clarke ascended the Missouri, in 1804, they found four tribes of agricultural Indians, numerous and prosperous, inhabiting the upper Missouri valley, west of the Dakota nation. They had eight permanently inhabited towns, others which they lived in only temporarily, and a number more which they had abandoned and allowed to go to ruin. They are spoken of in Lewis and Clarke's journal as the 'Ricaras,' 'Mandans,' 'Minnetarees,' and 'Ahnahaways.' All that are left of the four tribes are now gathered together in this one village, at Fort Berthold, which does not probably number 2,500 souls. The remains, now nearly obliterated, of their old towns, may be traced on nearly every prairie terrace adjacent to the Missouri, along six hundred miles of its course, from the mouth of the Lower White-Earth to the mouth of the Little Missouri. The Indians at Fort Berthold are, however, now generally referred to as the 'three tribes'; for one of the nations spoken of by Captain Lewis—that which he calls Ahnahaways—is no longer an organized tribe, but has been merged into the Minnetarees." (p. 12.) 361 177

"Mandan"—Previous History. "The Mandans, about a hundred years ago, lived in several villages near the mouth of Heart river. From this neighborhood, they moved up the Missouri, stopping and building villages at different localities. In 1804, they were found dwelling in two towns about four miles below the mouth of Knife river. One of these towns was named Metutahanke, Metutahankish, or, as Maximilian writes it, 'Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kusch,' meaning lower village. The other was called Ruptari or Nuptadi. They were almost exterminated by the 167

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•167 smallpox in 1837, after which, for a time, they occupied only one village. In 1845, when the Hidatsa moved away from Knife river, some of the Mandans went with them, and others followed at different times afterwards. For a short time, it appears that a few Mandan families occupied the old Amahami village. We have an account of some moving up to the village at Fort Berthold as late as 1858, and of others still remaining at the mouth of Knife river at the same time.

101 "The word Mandan seems to be a corruption of the Dakota name Matani or Mawatani. Previous to 1837, they called themselves simply Numakaki, i. e., People, Men. They sometimes spoke of themselves and the Minnetarees together as Nuweta, **Ourselves.** A large band of their tribe was called Siposka-Numakaki, **Prairie-Hen People,** or Grouse Men. This name, Mr. Catlin, in his first work, renders, 'People of the Pheasants,' and in his last work, presents in the shape of 'Nu-mah-ka-kee (pheasants),' and then, from this translation, leaves us to draw the 'important inference' that the Mandans once lived in the Ohio valley. They now often call themselves Metutahanke, after their old village below Knife river." (p. 13-14.)

114 Matthews, in mentioning the earlier visitors of the Mandans, speaks in high commendation of the accounts of Maximilian:

Tribute to Maximilian. "Captains Lewis and Clarke, Mr. Catline, the Prince of Neuwied, and Dr. Hayden have written very full accounts of this tribe, and all but the first named explorers present vocabularies of their language. The work of Prince Maximilian contains the most accurate and extensive information regarding their customs and manners. Notwithstanding the great changes in the tribe since 1834, the majority of his notes might be used without alteration in describing the Mandans of today. In a few cases, however, I believe that the deductions which he drew from his observations were incorrect." (p. 14-15.)

161 **Population—Official Reports—Errors.** "The population of the village is not known. It is said that the inhabitants of some of the old villages allowed a census to be taken immediately before the epidemic which proved so fatal to them. They believed that their calamity resulted from the census, and have since resisted all efforts to ascertain their numbers. Many ingenious plans have been devised for counting them without their knowledge, but

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000 kota. It is for us to find traces of the Mandans in South Dakota and farther southeast."

361 To further inquiries by the writer concerning the precise loca-
172 tions of various deserted Mandan and Aricaree villages explored by him, Mr. Steinbrenck responded with the following valuable details:

Mandan and Aricaree Village Sites. "I will answer your questions to the best of my knowledge. The seven villages are strung along the Missouri from about two miles below Apple creek on the east side to about three miles above Burnt creek on the same side. There are remains of Mandan villages on (SW 4, Sec. 14 T. 137 R. 80 NW 4, Sec. 2, T. 139, R. 81, NE 4, Sec. 21, T. 140, R. 81), on the east side, and on (Sec. 13, T. 138, R. 81, Sec. 35, T. 139, R. 81, Sec. 27, T. 139, R. 81, Sec. 33, T. 140, R. 81), on the west side.

"All those villages were found abandoned by Lewis and Clarke.
361 Lewis and Clarke found the Mandans at the bend of the Missouri
172 near Fort Clarke (built later during 1831-33, started by James
●167 Kipp and finished by Mitchell) a little above that fort in two villages (1804). Catlin found the Mandans there also. The Mandans and the Aricarees lived together. The smallpox epidemic was in 1837, after which the Indians moved to the Fort Berthold reservation, where the Hidatsa had gone several years prior. That is all I can tell you about the Mandans. The story goes that the Mandans and Aricarees lived together near Heart river before Lewis and Clarke's time, about twenty years before Lewis and Clarke. That is, some lived in separate villages, some lived with the Mandans. They had a quarrel and separated. Some went up the Missouri with the Mandans, to Fort Clarke, others moved down the river again to that region below the Cannon-Ball. Later, between 1804 and 1834 the balance of the Aricarees below the Cannon-Ball, became too weak, by wars and disease, to withstand the attacks of the Sioux, moved gradually up the Missouri to join their former allies, the Mandans and their own
172 countrymen with the Mandans. This point was near Fort Clarke.
361 There are many Aricaree villages along the Missouri, more in number, than all the Mandan village sites together. All show short time of occupation. This information is obtained by my own investigation and compared with the reports of early travelers, and especially by the study of specimens found at the differ-

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ent villages, and it is no illusion to call one village a Mandan, and the other an Aricaree village of old. 172 361

"Such particulars have slipped the observation of early travelers, as they were looking more for the very goods, the Indians and for their places of habitation, and have overlooked abandoned places. Lewis and Clarke also do not mention any such abandoned village as there is the site on Sec. 30 and 31, 143, 81.

" As far as I have got in the location of villages, camps and cemeteries I have forty-five in number marked on the map, a few more to be added."

*(A map which he is preparing for the State Historical Society of North Dakota, see L.)

Under date of March 19th, 1907, Mr. Steinbreuck further states: 361 167

"I do not believe the Aricarees moved down the Missouri very far, since their quarrel with the Mandans. They put one river between them and the Mandans, the Cannon-Ball. Lewis and Clarke found them above Grand river. Some of the Aricarees stayed with their allies, the Mandans, and moved up stream with them from their villages near the Heart. The larger part moved up later between 1804 and 1833. I have found now forty-three villages from five miles below. Standing Rock agency, up to above Knife river, including three Hidatsa villages. Some of the villages are later than 1804, and are determinedly of Aricaree origin. Further no mention is made of those later villages by Lewis and Clarke."

Writer's Visit to Fort Berthold and Mandans. "On September 5th-7th, 1905, he who presents this paper went to Old Fort Berthold and beyond, to Elbowoods, N. D., for the purpose of gaining, if possible, some further impressions of the Mandans and of interviewing some of the leading men of the tribe on the reservation within whose limits they were living. An account of that trip, as regards the Aricarees—who were also the objective of the visit—is found in Vol. III, of the South Dakota History Collections, pages 572-583. 000

"Rev. C. L. Hall, who had been for about thirty years and still is Missionary of the Congregational Missionary Society among the Indians at that reservation, very kindly entertained and materially assisted the writer while there. That point, some twenty 621 124

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175 lows (Hidatsa), whose language with very little variation is their own, came
131 many years ago from the plains and settled near them, and perhaps the two traditions may be reconciled by the natural presumption that these Minnetarees were the tribe known to the Mandans below, and that they ascended the river for the purpose of rejoining the Minnetaree proper. . . . The inhabitants of these five villages, all of which are within the distance of six miles, live in harmony with each other. The Ahnahaways understand in part the language of the Minnetarees; the dialect of the Mandans differs widely from both, but their long residence together has insensibly blended their manners and occasioned some approximation in language, particularly as to objects of daily occurrence and obvious to the senses.[9]

131 Alexander Henry visited the Mandan and Hidatsa in 1806 as
175 a representative of the Northwest Fur Company. He found the three Hidatsa village groups occupying the same villages as in
•167 Lewis and Clark's time. The east-side Mandan, however, had moved to the opposite bank, where they had built a new village near the present town of Deapolis. Concerning the reorganization of the Mandan villages after the smallpox epidemic of 1782 and their migration upstream from the mouth of the Heart River to Painted Woods, where one band of Arikara had moved to join the Awaxawi and one band of Mandan who had formerly lived there, he wrote:

Not many years ago the Pawnees (Arikara) and Mandanes were allied to each other and lived together in the same villages on the Missourie, about 30 leagues below this place. A misunderstanding happening, they separated; the Pawnees retired down the river and built their village where it now stands, and the Mandanes proceeded with an intention of settling themselves somewhere about the confluence of the Little Missouri, or on the upper part of Riviere la Souris. But on their arrival at this place the Big Bellies (Hidatsa) barred the road and put a stop to their westward progress telling them they would not permit anyone to build higher up the river than themselves, and desiring the Mandanes to build where they are at present.[10]

Bradbury and Brackenridge in 1811 found the Mandan and Hidatsa occupying the same sites reported by Henry in 1806.[11] The period 1811–32 is not covered by reports of travelers. The writer learned while studying the ethnology of the Mandan and Hidatsa that one group of Mandan, representing the survivors of the west-side Heart River villages, returned south in 1820 and

9. Elliot Coues (ed.), *History of the Expedition under the Command of Lewis and Clark* (New York: Frances P. Harper, 1893), I, 196–200.

10. *The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson, 1799–1814*, ed. Elliot Coues (New York: Frances P. Harper, 1897), XII, 334.

11. John Bradbury, "Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811," in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1904), Vol. V; *Brackenridge's Journal of a Voyage Up the River Missouri*, in *ibid.*, Vol. VI.

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built a village on Eagle Nose Butte, where they remained until 1823, one year after James Kipp established a trading post at the Mandan villages.

Various aspects of Mandan culture were recorded by visitors to the region after 1832. Catlin and Maximilian described the village life in 1832 and 1833 from observations made of their daily activities.[12] Chardon's journals, written at Fort Clark between 1834 and 1839, carries a day-by-day account of the tribe during the second major smallpox epidemic of 1837 and of the reorganization of the population at that time.[13] Kurz, Boller, and Matthews have described various aspects of their culture as observed between 1851 and 1870.[14]

After 1870, the Mandan received little attention until 1908, when Libby used native informants to identify village sites of the Mandan and other tribes on the Upper Missouri.[15] He showed that Mandan sites could be distinguished from those of other tribes by the peculiar arrangement of lodges around a central plaza or open circle. A year later Curtis published a report of the Mandan covering various aspects of their culture.[16] Between 1912 and 1919, Lowie published reports on the social organization, societies, and ethnological problems of the Mandan based on field work with the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow.[17]

12. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (Philadelphia, 1857), and *O-Kee-Pa* (Philadelphia, 1867); Maximilian's *Travels in the Interior of North America*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Thwaites, Vols. XXII–XXIV (Cleveland, 1906).

13. *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark, 1834–1839*, ed. Annie Heloise Abel (Pierre, S.D., 1932).

14. *Journal of Rudolph Friederick Kurz*, ed. J. N. B. Hewitt (Bulletin 115 of the Bureau of American Ethnology [Washington, 1937]); Henry A. Boller, *Among the Indians: Eight Years in the Far West, 1858–1866* (Philadelphia: Elwood Zell, 1868); Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* ("U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey, Miscellaneous Publications," Vol. VII [Washington, 1877]).

15. O. G. Libby, "La Verendrye's Visit to the Mandans in 1738–39" and "Typical Villages of the Mandan, Arikara and Hidatsa in the Missouri Valley, North Dakota," *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, Vol. II (1908).

16. Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indians*, Vol. V: *The Mandan*, ed. Ferderick Webb Hodge (Cambridge, Mass.: University Press, 1909).

17. Robert H. Lowie, "Some Problems in the Ethnology of the Crow and Village Indians," *American Anthropology*, Vol. XIV (new ser., 1912); *Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XI [1913]); *Social Life of the Mandan and Hidatsa* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXI [1917]); *The Hidatsa Sun Dance* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVI [1919]).

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796 forms with rotted sections of the cover still protruding to gently
223 rounded depressions now nearly filled by erosional activity. The
172 number of pits, together with their wide distribution, points to a universal practice of considerable antiquity.

796 During the century 1770–1870 there was a general northward
223 movement of the Mandan and Hidatsa which was accompanied
●167
648 [346]

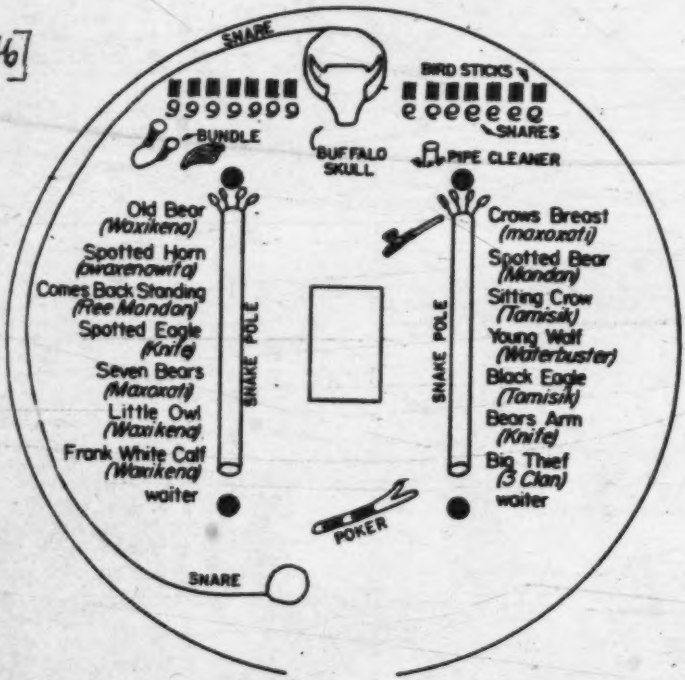

FIG. 26.—Floor plan of eagle-trapping lodge, Old Bear, leader. Bird sticks: *1*, "Both Ends White"; *2*, "Speckled"; *3*, "Four Stripes"; *4*, "The Young One."

by a shift in eagle-trapping territory. Crows Heart (Mandan), who had been on many trapping expeditions with both Mandan and Hidatsa leaders, stated that the Mandan claimed eagle-trapping rights to the territory on both sides of the Missouri River from Like-a-Fishhook Village to the Yellowstone and along the Little Missouri River to its headwaters. While living in the Heart River region, the Mandan claimed trapping rights to all the rough lands between the Little and Big Missouri rivers as far west as Powder River in Montana. To the south

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796 they trapped along the Cannonball River and in the Black Hill region, especially along the north side, which was jointly occu-
223 pied with the Cheyenne, whom he believed used the same meth-
167 ods and followed the same rituals. He had heard the old men say that it was understood that the eagle-trapping season should not
648 be marked by bloodshed between the two tribes, or the trappers would have bad luck, and that their camps were often only a short distance apart. There would be visiting between camps and good-natured joking about the potency of their respective bundles. He further added that, through misfortune, the Mandan died off in such large numbers that they were obliged to relinquish most of their territory and establish a new territory which Hidatsa leaders had relinquished through simultaneous misfortunes. He had also heard the old men say that before abandoning the Cannonball region the Arikara, who then lived as far north as the Grand River to the south, had a similar treaty with the Sioux not to fight during the eagle-trapping season and at that time began to come into Mandan territory to make trouble. Since one was not permitted to carry his weapons to the pit,[4] a practice observed until trapping was abandoned a few years ago, the Mandan decided that it would be best to abandon their Cannonball River sites. New sites were established in Hidatsa trapping territory after the Mandan moved from the Heart River region to join the Hidatsa. Crows Heart had often visited the Crows and had heard them say they preferred to shoot the young birds, while still near their nesting places, to sitting in pits. There was also a period when the Snake Indians bothered the trappers, but he thought that it was not so long ago, as the Indians had horses by that time.[5]

A few leaders went to the east side of the Missouri River while occupying the Heart River region. Pits were dug as far east as Dog Den Butte and around Devils Lake. This was a limited territory since, in general, the country was too flat on the east side of the Missouri for successful trapping.

796 Ownership of a site was vested in the leader who had either
223 purchased the lodge and adjacent pits from a man of his own
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4. This practice suggests that a truce between tribes was quite universal before the introduction of the horse.

5. No doubt he referred to a recent eastward movement of Shoshonean-speaking groups after the appearance of the horse on the Northern Plains.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

SECTION I.

HISTORY, LIFE AND CUSTOMS.

ORIGIN:— From the previously mentioned historical sources an attempt will now be made to give a brief account of the Mandans as they were seen by travellers. First, however, comes the discussion of their origin and migration, for the most part theoretical, but supported to some extent by evidence. The Mandans had a tradition of coming out of the earth, nothing unusual in itself, but in relating this story they also told Maximilian that they came from the east out of the earth and struck the Missouri at the White Earth River in South Dakota. The eastern origin corresponds with that of the rest of the Siouan stock to which the Mandans, both linguistically and to a considerable extent in their culture, belong. The Ohio valley would seem to have served as a point of dispersal whence the Plains members of the Siouan stock are supposed to have moved in four successive migrations. The earliest group to leave consisted apparently of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow, and of these the Mandan were probably a number of years ahead of the other tribes. The Mandans have fairly vivid traditions of the coming of the Hidatsa many years after the former had established fixed villages on the Heart River.

They describe[1] the Hidatsa as a wild wandering people whom they taught to build stationary villages and to raise corn, pumpkins and other vegetables, and who soon moved up to the Knife River. If this tradition has any truth in it, it seems to establish the Mandans as the first nation in the successive Siouan migrations. The order of migration is placed as follows:—

1. Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow.
2. Iowa, Otoe, Missouri, Winnebago.
3. Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansas, Kwapa.
4. Dakota, Assiniboine.

[1] Maximilian: p. 425.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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In the seventeenth century, the Dakotas, the last migrants, were already in Wisconsin and Minnesota. Part of group three was already on the plains when De Soto made his journey in 1542. If some of the members of group three were already established on the plains in the sixteenth century, the establishment of the Mandans on the Missouri presumably occurred at least as early and probably earlier. Thus the beginning of the westward movement of the tribe may be carried back into the fifteenth century. That the separation occurred thus early is not difficult to believe when one considers the wide divergence of language which has taken place between the different groups. To this evidence of an early establishment on the Missouri River must be added the fact that in the traditions and religion all episodes and beliefs are localized about the region of the Heart River. The gods created the Heart River region first, and there they soon placed the Mandans. Few of the traditions go further back than the Heart River period, and little of the mythology has reference to any other region. Archaeological evidence certainly corroborates this tradition of long occupation, for at the Lincoln site the refuse forms a talus deposit at least three feet in thickness and extending thirty feet from top to bottom. At the site at which investigations were carried on the ground at every point showed potsherds and refuse to a depth of two and one half to three feet. The whole area of the village shows this accumulation, sometimes even deeper, a condition of affairs which only years of occupancy could produce.

It has been shown that the Mandans lived on the Missouri for many years and that previous to this they probably occupied some portion of the Ohio valley. The next question is how did they make the journey between the new and the old home. Did they cut across direct to the Missouri, as the second group probably did, or did they lead the way for the third group down the Ohio to the Missouri, and thence upward along the river? This question cannot as yet be satisfactorily answered. Catlin claims to have seen remains, similar to those on the Heart River, scattered all along the Missouri from St. Louis up. Clarke describes an ancient fortification near Bon Homme

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Island in South Dakota and was told by traders that there were 174
a number of others about that country. Maximilian was told
that the Mandans first touched the Missouri at White Earth 167
River in South Dakota, with which might be connected the reported existence of the remains of circular earth lodges in southern Wisconsin. Here are arguments for both theories; up to the present, however, the matter must remain unsettled until some careful investigation decides it.

HISTORY: — In the earliest historical accounts the Mandans 175
were firmly established in stationary villages in the neighbor- 361
hood of the Heart River. Verendrye says that they lived in six large villages along the Mandan River, were a large and powerful nation and feared none of their neighbors, all of whom they dominated by their superior culture. Their manufactures [439]
were almost necessities among the other tribes, and in trade they were able to dictate their own terms. The forts he said were impregnable to Indians, being very well fortified. Verendrye visited the smallest village in which he said that there were one hundred and thirty houses by actual count. His son, who visited one of the larger villages, declared that it was twice as large, judging from which it can safely be assumed that there were at least one thousand houses in the several villages. Lewis
and Clarke declared that in the two villages of one hundred huts [161]
there were three hundred and fifty warriors; figuring at this rate there should have been at least fifteen thousand Mandans in 1738 dwelling prosperously in large and well-fortified towns.

For the next sixty-six years there is little information but 175
their own tradition. Judging from McKenzie's narrative they continued prosperous and powerful up to 1772 at least. He declared that at that time they lived in nine villages, large and near to each other, and could muster fifteen thousand warriors. The latter estimate is probably large, but the whole statement seems to show that no misfortune had come to them at that date. Their remaining history is summed up in their own tradition as related to Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian and others.

This tradition runs as follows: — Formerly they lived hap- 175
pily and prosperously in nine large villages on the Missouri 173
near the mouth of the Heart River. Six or seven of these vil-

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the older societal values. Kinship provides the means for mutual aid and co-operation in the village as well as a mechanism of social control for ridiculing and cajoling the nonconformist. While the Mandan-Hidatsa social system, with its wide range, embodies the primary societal values of sharing, generosity, group co-operation, and village unity, the converted Indian shifts to the more individualistic American values of accumulating goods and wealth as ends in themselves. Any member of Lone Hill who interacts with others in terms of the Crow kinship system and who meets the obligations of that system will remain an "Indian." 177 601 181

The majority of the Indians who have converted to white ways tend to leave the village to seek their fortunes elsewhere (cf. Spicer 1940; Tax 1941). For this reason, there were few cases of American type kinship systems found in Lone Hill—most such people had already left their village. If all the individuals who adopted a new kinship system as part of a more inclusive conversion experience were to remain in Lone Hill, they might well produce radical changes in the existing social structure of the community. Their departure is a major factor making for the retention of traditional Indian ways. However, some of the converted Indians do continue to live in Lone Hill and do become sources of change in the Crow kinship system. 177 601 167

Individuals in Lone Hill who do not fulfil their kinship obligations destroy the solidarity of the group and the unity of the system. The converted Indian will avoid any kinship tie which involves his sharing material wealth or giving of his time or possessions. One man has developed devious means to accomplish this. He deposits all of his money in a bank so that when people ask him for a loan he can honestly reply that he does not have any money around. He avoids any situation in which he might be called upon to make donations, and, as such, he never attends the social "give-away" dances. This man has consciously narrowed the range of his relationships but he has done so selectively. He will not address another by a kinship term if there is any possibility that he may have to help that person. On the other hand, he does not avoid his joking relatives, for through the structured joking he can make critical remarks about Indian ways which would not be permitted in any other context. 177 602 154

SITUATIONAL DETERMINANTS

As converted Indians who use the generational system do interact with their many relatives in the village who use the traditional lineage system, some mechanism of adjustment is necessary. Two relatives who follow different kinship systems may have different conceptions of the proper way of relating to one another. The adjustment is usually made through one of the persons' adopting the other's system for that *particular* relationship. Every acculturated individual in the village who ordinarily uses the generational system will use the Indian lineage system with *some* of his relatives. The converse also occurs, as unacculturated Indians sometimes use the American generational system. Individuals thus adjust to the alternate kinship systems, which tends to minimize the changes in the systems themselves. 177 601 602

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

177 monopoly of the numerous benefits and services to be derived from the Indian Bureau and they often seek and obtain employment with the Bureau. They are all economically successful cattlemen compared with the unacculturated Indians who derive their cash income primarily from lease money, relief, and seasonal farm work. According to the Extension Agent's report for the year 1951, the seven acculturated families owned from twenty-nine to 149 head of cattle, a total for all families of 514, and an average of approximately seventy-three. Eighteen of the thirty-four unacculturated families owned no cattle at all. The sixteen unacculturated families with cattle had a range per family of one to fifty-two head, a total for all families of 395, and an average of approximately twenty-five cattle per family.

177 At Fort Berthold, as on many other Indian reservations, there are two political factions which locally are called the "Yes" or progressive group and 621 the "No" or conservative faction. The basis for leadership is different in each faction. In the conservative group, leadership is based upon personal qualities combined with the inheritance of sacred bundles from older chiefs, while for the progressive group it is based upon white standards of achievement. There is no clear-cut correlation between degree of acculturation and affiliation with any one faction, as the membership of each faction varies with the particular issue involved, but the nucleus of the progressive faction is derived from the acculturated families and the nucleus of the conservative faction from the unacculturated and marginal groups. These political differences are one manifestation of the larger processes which lead to different sociocultural groupings, for Lone Hill is a community divided into two conflicting and relatively noninteracting social groups.

177 Thus the acculturated families do not precipitate rapid change within the village because of the mutual hostility and mistrust generated between them- 167 selves and the remainder of the community. An additional factor is that the membership of the acculturated group is constantly being depleted, as accul- 161 turated individuals tend to leave the village. The children of the acculturated families, who have the greatest potentiality for initiating change, do not remain in Lone Hill, as they have internalized the values of white society and as there are so few opportunities presented to them within the village. Of the seven acculturated families, there are three in which the parents are over fifty years of age and in which the children are all over twenty years old. In every one of these families, all or the majority of the children have left Lone Hill. In the remaining four families the parents are between the ages of twenty-six and forty-two, and the oldest child is fifteen. While these children are not old enough to leave and seek employment elsewhere, each of their parents has either a brother or sister who has left. The parents of the acculturated children, most of whom have built up successful cattle operations, are tied to Lone Hill. Their goal is to see their children become accepted members of white society. Despite the departure of the acculturated people and of others, the population continues to increase because of the fertility of the resident population. Since 1910, the population of enrolled members of the

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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Fort Berthold tribes has increased on an average of 3.8 percent per year (Riefel 1952:87–100).

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It is interesting to note that the process of change in which acculturated individuals leave, thereby making for the persistence of traditional ways within the village, had its counterpart in the historical period from 1740 to 1890. As individuals and as family groups, those Mandan and Hidatsa who preferred the Plains warrior-hunting life changed tribal affiliations and left their sedentary villages to join a nomad tribe (Bowers MS). As Holder (1950) has shown, this intertribal exchange of personnel reflected the development of a deep conflict in the earth-lodge social organization based upon the allocation of prestige. Aboriginal Mandan and Hidatsa society was stratified into classes, with the cultural rewards reserved for a select nobility who inherited the sacred tribal bundles (Bowers 1950). Many young men, born into less fortunate matrilineal kin groups who owned no bundles and who had been exposed to nomadic life, tried to achieve recognition through accomplishments in warfare and through vision experiences. These young men, placed in disadvantageous positions in the social structure, tended to leave their villages to become nomads. The Cheyenne and the Crow as cultures, adopted nomadism (Strong 1940); among the Mandan and Hidatsa, individuals became nomads by changing cultures. Thus, both in the past and in the present, those dissatisfied with the traditional Indian ways of the majority group left the village. This mode of change seems to be characteristic of the Mandan-Hidatsa, and is a general process with time depth.

THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION

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White intermarriage may be a necessary condition but it is not in itself a sufficient condition for acculturation in Lone Hill. Of the seventeen families who have had a white model through intermarriage, seven are acculturated, seven marginal and three unacculturated. The presence of a white person in the nuclear family does no more than create the possibility that the children of the mixed marriage will learn white ways. Cultural transmission is not merely an automatic transferal from the past in which parents mechanically stamp their culture into the child. Some of the white men who married Mandan-Hidatsa women may well have preferred to assimilate to Indian ways and may not have passed their understanding of white ways on to their offspring, while others may have desired that their children learn American ways but may not have implemented that desire in the socialization process. As it is no longer possible to study the original family situations in which a white man married an Indian woman, we cannot determine why those original parents have adopted the acculturated, marginal, or unacculturated life pattern. But partial understanding of the process involved may be obtained by an examination of cultural transmission in the contemporary families.

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There are two steps by which an individual in Lone Hill becomes acculturated; first there must be a white model, so that at least one of the parents has a fundamental understanding of American culture, and second, the

361 these 'deserted villages' cover they must have been powerful
166 communities, at least as far as numbers could make them powerful.

164 "Whatever may have been their population, there is no doubt that the Mandans suffered more severely from the smallpox than any of the other tribes, and were, in fact, nearly exterminated by it. Mr. Girard says that when he joined them in 1849 the memory of the terrible ravages made by this disease was still fresh in their minds, and they stated that only thirty-five survived the terrible ordeal. He thinks that the disease overtook them in 1832 or 1833, when there were five villages of from sixty to two hundred and fifty lodges each, in all about one thousand lodges, averaging some thirteen persons to a lodge. I am inclined to think he is mistaken in regard to the date, and that they had the smallpox in 1837 instead of 1832-3. Schoolcraft, speaking of this, says: 'Surrounded, as the Mandans were, by active enemies, and doomed, as they appeared to be, to extinction, they might have resisted this course of depopulation a long period had it not been for the reoccurrence of smallpox among them in the summer of 1837. By this fatal calamity their numbers were reduced in a few days to less than one-sixteenth of their whole number. One of the reports of the disease reduced the survivors to thirty-one, another to one hundred and twenty-three.'

●168 "They maintained their individuality as a tribe and increased their numbers by stringent marriage laws. They did not allow their women to marry into other bands or tribes unless the man would renounce his tribal relations, join them and agree that the children should talk the Mandan language and be reared in their customs and beliefs." (P. 241.)

144 Clarke discards without discussion the idea that their physical peculiarities or language indicates Welsh antecedents. He proceeds:

"The physical peculiarities of many of the Mandans, viz., their blue eyes and light hair, have led to the wildest kind of speculation in regard to their origin, some claiming that they were a lost Welsh colony and that their language supported this theory. It is hardly necessary to say that this has no foundation in fact. Some of the children also have gray hair, but this probably 'only denotes a morbid state of it, analogous to that which supervenes in albinoes.' This peculiarity is not limited to the Mandans, the

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

they speak different languages; and it is necessary they should, for their villages are not more than six miles apart. The Mandans speak the same tongue of the Osage, but have a different accent, and dialect. They were once a numerous, war-like people, but have been reduced by the smallpox, and by their enemies, the Sioux, to less than four hundred warriors." (Pages 180 to 183 LeRaye's journal.)

After having tarried eight days with the Mandans, LeRaye and his Indian escorts left there, arriving on the 13th July, 1802, at the Gros Ventre village "on the lower side of the Batteau (Knife) river," called the Meniture village. Another village, called Meni-tar-u-miti-ha-tah, is situated on the upper side of the Batteau river. These villages are larger than the Mandans, built in the same manner, and containing about 600 warriors, and about 2500 inhabitants. They were formerly more numerous, but the smallpox has made its ravages among them. These people deposit their dead in the same manner as the Mandans, but at a greater distance from their villages."

Marriage Ceremony. Here LeRaye gives interesting particulars of an Indian marriage ceremony at the last mentioned village: "Proclamation was made, by one of the relations, that on the next day, in the morning, the marriage would be celebrated." The next morning "The company assembled at her father's lodge, where the chief of the village attended. He informed the company, that the young man, calling him by name, intended to take the girl, calling her by name, to be his wife. He then asked each of them if that were their intention, which each of them answered in the affirmative. The chief then handed them a small rod, which was broken between them. The groom then broke his part into a number of small pieces, and handed them to the men who stood near to him. The bride did the same with her part of the rod, which consummated the marriage. Fire was then brought, and the sacred pipe was lighted. After all the men had smoked in it, the dance commenced, which was continued for several hours." Down to the point of smoking, the foregoing seems to have been strikingly similar to the usual civilized marriage ceremony of those times.

Rocky Mountain Hunt. After a feast on July 2nd, 1802, the Indians, still holding LeRaye, and accompanied by Pardo, set out on the fall hunt to the Yellowstone and the Rocky mountains;

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ber of bones were scattered on the ground underneath. This mode of exposing the dead has something peculiarly horrible in it. The wolves of the prairie, the birds of the air, and even the Indian dogs, are attracted to the place, and taught to feed on human flesh. 764

"This custom prevails amongst all the wandering tribes; but amongst the Arikara, the dead are deposited in a grave as with us, which I think clearly proves their origin to be different from that of their neighbors; for there is nothing, in which men in all ages and countries, have manifested more solicitude, than in the treatment of the remains of their deceased friends." 764 171●

Le Borgne. Brackenridge's vivid description of the Gros Ventre chief, Le Borgne or the One Eyed, is found below. The two chiefs were present at a celebration had by the whites at the Mandan villages on July 4th. He says: 000

"The two principal chiefs happened to be with us; the One Eyed, and the Black Shoe. The former is a giant in stature, and if his one eye had been placed in the middle of his forehead, he might have passed for a cyclop. His huge limbs and gigantic frame, his bushy hair shading his coarse visage and savage features, with his one eye flashing fire, constituted him a fearful demon. He sways, with unlimited control, all these villages, and is feared by all the neighboring nations. I remarked that on one or two occasions he treated She-he-ke, with great contempt. Lisa having referred to something said by that chief, 'What,' said this monster, 'What. Does that bag of lies pretend to have any authority here?'. He is sometimes a cruel and abominable tyrant."

Brackenridge then relates how the ruthless old outlaw murdered a young warrior who came to him to reclaim his wife who had been forcibly taken by that chief in her husband's absence, the mother of the slain warrior having lost her mind in grief over the dastardly act.

Brackenridge adds in a note: "She-he-ke is a fat man, extremely talkative, and no great warrior."

In his "Views of Louisiana," Brackenridge thus summarizes as to the tribes at the Mandan villages: 361

"Mandans, or Gros Ventres—The remnants of a number of villages, according to their account, seventeen. They claim only

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ern group adopted it between 1550 and 1600, retaining a modified rectangular lodge for ceremonial purposes thereafter until the native population moved onto the Reservation. Whereas emphasis was on cord-impressed pottery at the Heart River, the southern group emphasized incised pottery. As contacts between the two groups increased when the southern group moved northward, the frequency of cord wares increased. According to tradition, the Awigaxa Mandan were last to abandon the Grand River region and move onto the Missouri at Painted Woods. There they adopted the Okipa with the prescribed lodge arrangement around an open circle, but we find that in these traditional sites the frequency of cord wares never equaled that of the northern Mandan.

The earlier earth-lodge sites occupied by the various Hidatsa village groups, though generally showing close similarity in traits to those of the Mandan, have a few diagnostic differences. These are an abundance of check stamped pottery, considerable cord-roughened wares, absence of fortifications with ditch and bastions, and lack of lodge orientation within the village. The sites on the Missouri River that can be identified as having been occupied by the Hidatsa groups from native traditions, and these diagnostic traits, are neither numerous nor of long occupation. With two exceptions, the sites are situated north of the Heart River. Downstream from the mouth of the Knife River, the villages consisted of clusters of earth lodges occupied during the summer months while practicing agriculture. Earth-lodge villages are generally absent along the Missouri upstream from the mouth of Knife River; in that region cultural manifestations are found in thin lens-shaped deposits, suggesting that temporary shelters, probably hide tepees, were used. These sites, both earth lodge and temporary, which can be identified with the historic Hidatsa and Crow groups, have been classified as belonging to the Painted Woods focus. Similar sites are also found on the Sheyenne River to the east from which these groups traditionally moved to the Missouri. Studies of pottery at Awatixa, the longest occupied site of the Hidatsa, indicate that, whereas the lower levels show close ties with the Shultz site on the Sheyenne, the late prehistoric and early historic levels show closest ties to that of the Mandan. None of the sites

2 Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

172 other than the Awatixa site at the mouth of Knife River show
171 long occupation; this substantiates native traditions that the
174 Awatixa lived longest on the Missouri and that the Hidatsa and Awaxawi were last to arrive.

The archeological evidence collaborates traditions of both the
174 Mandan and the Hidatsa groups relative to migrations and pe-
101 riod of residence on the Missouri. The Mandan were first to move onto the Missouri and establish villages. On this earliest cultural horizon, those farthest north had rectangular semi-subterranean lodges and pottery that was decorated with impressed cord. The southern groups built small circular earth lodges; their pottery was lighter in color and was decorated predominantly with incised bodies and rims. As the southern groups moved northward to join the northern groups, each group borrowed from the other. The northern groups adopted the circular earth lodge and incised pottery, while the southern groups adopted the open circle, rectangular lodge for ceremonial purposes, and pottery with cord-impressed decorations and grooved-paddle impressed bodies. By A.D. 1600 the entire Mandan population was living at or above the Heart River, having abandoned the Missouri to the south to the nomadic groups.

During the century 1600–1700, group after group of Hidatsa and Crow moved westward and occupied sections of the Missouri and its tributaries. According to native traditions, which can be verified by the depth of refuse accumulation at Awatixa village site at the mouth of Knife River, this village group was first to reach the Missouri. At this time the Awatixa were united with the Crow, who separated at the Missouri, those who remained agricultural and settled at the mouth of Knife River being known as the Awatixa and the nomadic group who moved westward onto the Little Missouri being known as Crow. This migration was followed by the Awaxawi a short time later. They came as agriculturalists and settled below the mouth of Knife River at Painted Woods, where the southern Mandan had built after leaving the Grand River. The last migration of Hidatsa and Crow followed a number of years later. According to the traditions of both the Mandan and the Hidatsa groups, this last migration was of a nomadic peoples who had lived northeastward of Devils Lake. This group occupied the territory up-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

stream from the Knife River, where they separated after quarreling over the division of a buffalo. Those who moved farther upstream along the Missouri and Yellowstone became the "Paunch" Indians, while those who remained near the other Hidatsa villages were known as the Hidatsa.

By 1700 the entire section of the Missouri from the Cannonball to the mouth of the Yellowstone was occupied by groups of Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow of the "Paunch" band. The greatest concentration of villages was near the mouth of Heart River. These large earth-lodge villages were occupied by Mandan of the Nuptadi and Nuitadi bands and were situated on both banks of the Missouri. Agriculture was intensively practiced by these groups. Farther upstream at the Painted Woods, the Awigaxa band of Mandan and the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa had villages. The Awatixa band of Hidatsa were on the south bank of Knife River. Agriculture was practiced by all these groups. North of Knife River were the less agricultural Hidatsa, who sometimes came to the north bank of Knife River to occupy their large earth-lodge village and to plant corn. Generally they were farther upstream, on the Mouse River, or in the Turtle Mountains, living as nomadic hunters. Immediately to the west of the more nomadic Hidatsa were the nomadic Crow. These groups had prescribed territories and lived peacefully together so long as one group did not infringe on the territorial rights of the others. These groups moved little until the close of the eighteenth century, when the aboriginal population was sharply reduced by smallpox and other epidemics. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the region below the Cannonball was occupied by nomadic groups who were in part replaced by the Arikara after 1725 when they began their northward migration which did not terminate until 1862, at which time they united with the survivors of the Mandan and Hidatsa villages at Fishhook Village.

In another report the writer has analyzed the ceremonial organizations of the various village groups of Mandan and Hidatsa, using genealogies, historic accounts of travelers, and native traditions and has shown that two distinct inheritance patterns existed: (1) the Mandan pattern of inheritance of principal bundles and rites within the clan and (2) the Hidatsa and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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Awaxawi pattern, which provided for the inheritance of bundles and rites from the father or a member of the father's clan.[30] In this respect, the Awatixa, who have the longest traditional history of residence near the Mandan, were intermediate, having features of both systems.

TABLE 1

INTERTRIBAL AND INTERVILLAGE CULTURAL BORROWING

Ceremony	Mandan	Hidatsa	Awatixa	Awaxawi
Okipa	x			
Corn and Fertility	x			
Old Woman Never Dies	x	x	x	x
Small Hawk	x			
Snow Owl	x			
Robe bundles	x			
Shell Robe	x		x	
Knife clan bundle			x	
Water-buster clan bundle			x	
Earth-naming		x		x
Hide-beating (Sun Dance)		x	x	x
Bear	x	x	x	x
Imitating Buffalo		x	x	x
Painted Red Stick	x	x		x
Buffalo Corral	x	x	x	x
Buffalo Neckbone	x	x	x	x
Sunset Wolf		x	x	x
Sunrise Wolf*		x	x	x
Thunder	x	x	x	x
Missouri River		x	x	x
Creek	x		x	
Earth-lodge-making	x		x	
Sacred Pot	x			x
Woman Above	x	x	x	x
Holy Woman	x	x	x	x
Eagle-trapping	x	x	x	x
Fish-trapping	x	x	x	x

* The Mandan had a Wolf rite inherited through the Prairie Chicken clan, but the features of the rites are only remotely similar to the Hidatsa Wolf ceremonies.

Table 1 indicates the extent of intertribal and intervillage cultural borrowing which had occurred between the Mandan and Hidatsa village groups with respect to ceremonies performed.

30. Bowers, *op. cit.*

614 The clan was the medium for the transfer of property when a
421 family died out without leaving descendants. When an individual died, leaving no relatives, the clan took possession of the property. The lodge was occupied by females of the same clan or could be sold to women of a different clan. It was the duty of the clan to assist a female member in repairing or building her lodge and to put up property for one of its number who was inviting
[424] the opposite moiety to assist in building a new lodge. The clan owned certain names which belonged within the clan and were not sold outside the clan.

614 The clans extended through all the villages of the tribe and
621 were in part equated with Hidatsa clans. Both tribes had a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna was the equiva-
171 lent of the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik was the equivalent of the Hidatsa Metsiroka. The Hidatsa also had a few people of the Speckled Eagle clan who were said to be of Mandan origin.[4]

614 It was the duty of the clan to revenge the killing of one of its
578 members. In the event of the murder of one of its number, the murderer would attempt to escape to the Crow, since the Hidatsa would not protect a murderer from the Mandan villages for fear of war between the two tribes.

614 The clan assisted at the death of a son. They prepared the body for the scaffold and sent the spirit away. It was also the duty of the father's clan to bring the skull of one dying away from the village back for disposal. Feasts were given to the members of the father's clan, and help was asked of individual members by those contemplating war expeditions. Men of the father's clan inserted the thongs for a faster. The permanent

4. The Hidatsa give a different account of the origin of this clan. Mrs. Bears Arm, a member of the clan, stated that there was a Mandan woman of the Prairie Chicken clan who was childless. She was a hard worker and had large gardens. One morning when she went to her gardens she noticed that someone had been hoeing the corn. She inquired in the village if someone had been working in her garden and could find none who had been working there. She went out before daylight to see who it was. Several whitetail deer were working in the garden. They ran away when they saw the woman. As they disappeared, she heard one say, "I left my baby there." The baby was a speckled eagle. She took the baby home to rear as her own and wanted the child to belong to the Prairie Chicken clan, but the others would not agree to it, since the child came of a different source. The child grew up and had children who were known as speckled eagles. While living below the Knife River, men of the Awaxawi village married a few girls of that clan and brought them to their own village to live. The group is treated as a lineage of the Hidatsa Prairie Chicken clan.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

361 lation of refuse in the remainder of the village this open circle
346 took on the character of a sunken area within the village. This open area appears as frequently near the edges of the abandoned village sites as in the approximate centers. These sunken areas
[172] within the ruins of ancient sites downstream from the last Mandan villages distinguish ancient Mandan villages from those of other tribes. In ruins such as occur at the Larson or Motsiff sites, where there was a considerable accumulation of refuse within the village, the sunken area was very pronounced. At the Deapolis Site, where the interlodge refuse was thin, the open circle appeared as a slight depression with a low mound where the cedar stood.

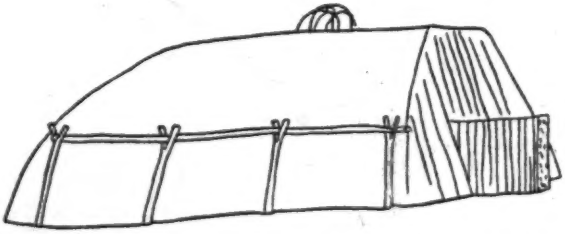

FIG. 13.—Plan of Okipa ceremonial lodge. (Drawn by White Calf.)

361 The three Hidatsa village groups in general lacked the open
171 circle arrangement of lodges, although the Hidatsa proper in later years marked off a section within the village where dancing was done and where lodges were not permitted. There was neither a cedar, special ceremonial lodge, nor inner circle of lodges facing a common center. The Awatixa and Awaxawi villages lacked all semblance of lodge orientation, leaving only sufficient space between for corn scaffolds and passageways.

The Arikara plan shows considerable variation as to age. The protohistoric and early historic sites frequently had a special ceremonial lodge in the approximate center of the village, but all villages did not have ceremonial lodges. A limited area adjacent to the ceremonial lodge was used for the dances, but the neighboring lodges were not arranged in a circle, and there was no orientation of lodge entrances toward the center. More recent historic Arikara villages had definite open circles with orientation of lodges toward the center, where the ceremonial lodge

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

stood. This lodge was circular in outline and differed from the regular earth lodges only by its greater size. 361 171

The open-circle concept was definitely established among the Mandan at a very early date according to the archeological evidence from the Heart River region.[2] There is some evidence in the Grand River region of the Mandan-type open-circle village arrangement, but the situation there is in most instances obscured by subsequent Arikara occupations.

Lone Man, according to tradition, established the custom of leaving an open area within each village for dancing. Later, when he was leaving the tribe, he erected a Red-painted cedar, as a symbol of his body and of all the Mandans who had lived before. The cedar was surrounded by a wall of cottonwood planks as a symbol of the wall he erected to protect the people from the flood. A water willow surrounding the planks marked the highest advance of the flood waters. He also established the custom of maintaining a special ceremonial lodge in each village and taught the ceremonies associated with its construction. The lodge was a symbol of Dog Den Butte where Hoita (the speckled eagle) imprisoned all living things. Six central posts were used making it oblong in form, with a flat side facing the open circle.[3] Lone Man also established the WəxikEna and Tamisik clans and indicated their seating arrangement in the ceremonial lodge. He divided the lodge into two halves, the left half or east side belonging to the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, and five other clans of that moiety. The right side belonged to the WaxikEna, Tamisik, Tamixixiks and three other clans of that moiety. 773 776 346

According to the sacred myths the moiety and clan system was as follows prior to the smallpox epidemics: 773 614 616

West-Side Moiety (Buffalo)	East-Side Moiety (Corn)
Waxi'kEna (Tell Bad News)	Sipuska'numak (Prairie Chicken People)
Tami'sik (no meaning)	Ipoka'numak (Speckled Eagle People)
Tami'xixiks (Bad Strap)	Mato'domak (Bear People)
[Three extinct clans whose names are not now remembered]	MasE'domak (Red Hill People)
	Amaka'domak (Badger People)
	HoxExaka'numak (Crow People)
	Manakasa'numak (People in Grove)

2. By 1500 in sites of the Huff focus in villages of rectangular lodges.

3. This was the habitation lodge which was retained for ceremonial purposes when the circular earth lodge was adopted shortly before 1600.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

on war expeditions, and during the summer buffalo hunt. Of these four, only during one, the Okipa ceremony, was fasting done within the village. This is in sharp contrast with the Hidatsa custom of fasting during many bundle-transfer ceremonies. Crows Heart preferred to fast away from the village, thinking that women were less inclined to conform to tribal custom, which made dreams hard to get. 787 869 785

A man who advised and instructed his own sons in the benefits to be attained from fasting would be abusive with his sister's sons whom he did not believe were making enough effort to secure supernatural guardians. He would use the argument that it would enhance the prestige of the clan. He would talk of an occasion when other young men would be fasting in the Okipa and state that he would expect the "younger brother" to be there, and he would give him goods to pay the officers for that privilege. The older male members of the various clans were especially watchful to see that the sections reserved for the clans were well filled. The other clans laughed at those who had only a few fasting during the ceremony. 785 869 796 614

Not all who fasted either alone beyond the village limits or during the Okipa did so with the expectation of having a vision. Nor were visions received each time. Self-privation was believed to please the supernatural, and both individual and general well-being was the natural consequence. Although boys began to fast at the age of eight or nine because they were advised to, the serious seeking of guardian spirits or vision experiences was not made until the property-owning age was reached and shortly after marriage. 785 787

Three methods were employed in gaining supernatural experiences. Some would fast in various ways; others would inflict torture; and still others would make presents of valued property. Of the three, offering of valued goods was considered the hardest to do, since it required much work to amass the goods. 785 787 431

Self-torture administered during the Okipa ceremony was more severe than that practiced in any of the Hidatsa ceremonies; otherwise the customs of the two tribes differed little as to severity of the measures employed. The father's clansmen prepared the young man for the torture feature by securing and inserting the thongs. Suspension of the one tortured was not em- 785 171

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

785 ployed by the Hidatsa in the NaxpikE ceremony, the Sun
171 Dance equivalent of that tribe, as was the case with the Mandans in their Okipa ceremony, where the one tortured was suspended until he became unconscious. This practice was modified in later years to conform with the Hidatsa custom.

785 The custom of cutting off fingers in mourning was universally practiced by the women but rarely by the men. The sacrifice
562 of fingers as a means of self-torture was practiced by men and
304 in only a few instances by women who, upon the death of a rel-
765 ative through warfare, sought by self-torture to revenge the relative's slaying at a time when her brothers contemplated a retaliatory raid on the enemy's camp during which time she would be fasting. Those seeking visions used a buffalo skull to cut the fingers on when a vision was sought.

787 Four Bears' fasting record at the base of a large oak tree in which a raven had its young, to learn the name of the Arikara
785 who had killed his brother, is still related as an example of the power which the supernatural had to clarify past deeds and bring success to the one adopted.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF FOUR BEARS[1]

787 A Mandan named Four Bears sent his younger brother out with the horses to a spot farther from the village where there was more grass. The Arikara
785 came and killed the boy. The men found him with a spear stuck through his body, which was a challenge to Four Bears to come and fight if he thought he
539 was lucky. Four Bears went out and brought the boy back to the village and saved the spear. He had already fasted in the Okipa and had many gods, but he began fasting again. He would fast and cry for seven days and nights without food and then come back to the village to rest. Then he would go out fasting again. He fasted near a high tree in which the ravens had a nest. He cut the flesh on his chest and inserted sticks with which he hung from the tree until he fell exhausted. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. One time he cut off a finger and offered it to the People Above and the raven that had its nest there.

The bird said, "It is an easy thing. You will find the man who killed your brother." The raven promised him that he could also bring rain. The bird added, "The one who killed your brother is named Bear Necklace, and he is the one you should kill."

In those days the dogs had names, so a clan father of Four Bears brought a dog to Four Bears to name, and he gave it the name Bear Necklace even before he killed the man. When Four Bears killed the Arikara without losing a man, and everything happened just as he had said the raven had predicted, he was highly respected.

1. This incident is mentioned in George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 238–41.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

787 554 785 795 mal feasts to which the older people were invited and was considered selfish, in spite of the fact that he probably fed more people than those who offered feasts from time to time.

778 428 171 432 It was the duty of all to fast, but few could inherit tribal bundles. After the smallpox of 1837, there was probably a much higher percentage of the population owning these hereditary tribal bundles. Visions could be bought and sold like hereditary bundles, but their existence was usually short-lived unless they became incorporated into hereditary bundle rites. A man ordinarily did not boast of the bundles he owned. Instead, he would boast of the potency of the bundles. The Hidatsa custom of buying the father's bundle because he dreamed of it was not the Mandan way. A Mandan bought because he was expected to, and people would condemn him for failing to buy. The man would ask his son to buy. If he had no son, but a son-in-law was living in the lodge, he would ask him to buy. Instruction was direct between seller and buyer, whereas the Hidatsa used a member of the father's clan as intermediary. Moves Slowly did not dream of the Corn Medicine before buying. He was hereditarily entitled to it. When one of the Mandan Corn bundles reached the Awaxawi,[17] Poor Wolf bought because he dreamed of it. The Hidatsa performed a ceremony because they had a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Little Eagle, the NumakmaxEna bundle-owner, was killed in war, and his wives automatically became the bundle-owners. When they remarried, their second husband received permission from them to officiate in the Okipa until White Calf, their son, was of proper age to assume the office. He had not dreamed of the bundle. The NaxpikE or Hide-beating ceremony of the Hidatsa was never given except when one who was a son of a man having this bundle received a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Such was not the custom in giving the Okipa. Permission must be given by the Okipa Society because an eligible candidate either had received vision instruction or had a feeling of responsibility to give it. So we see that even between these two groups, the Mandan and Hidatsa, who have lived in close contacts for a few centuries, some fundamental differences in ceremonial organization persisted.

17. A Hidatsa band.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter VII

EAGLE-TRAPPING CEREMONY[1]

796 223 171

CAPTURING eagles from concealed pits[2] was practiced by all tribes of the Northern Plains. So far as our meager information indicates, the technique was essentially the same for a large number of tribes occupying territory adjacent to the Mandan and Hidatsa. Less is known of the ceremonial aspect of the practice, organization of expeditions, values of feathers for decoration, number of leaders, inheritance of rites and skills, or the socioreligious position of its shaman.

Shooting young developed eagles was uncommon, but both Mandan and Hidatsa informants claimed that the Crows made less use of pits, since they lived near the Rocky Mountains, where most of the birds nested and were able to shoot them in trees or near decoys. Such information as the literature gives indicates that all the tribes of the Upper Missouri River Region adjacent to the Mandan and Hidatsa used the pit method of trapping.

In this discussion of eagle-trapping it is proposed to indicate the territory claimed by the Mandan and Hidatsa, the technique of securing birds, mythological background, inheritance of rights to trap, as well as the economic and religious position of leaders in the tribal life.[3]

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Eagle-trapping by the Mandan and Hidatsa was confined to the rough lands adjacent to wooded streams. The ceremonial lodge for the men and the wood or hide tepees for the women and children were always erected in sheltered spots among the high trees along streams, while the pits were dug on the top or

1. For a detailed account of practices associated with eagle-trapping see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX [1929]), pp. 99–245.

2. For Maximilian's short account of eagle-trapping see Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, XXIII (Cleveland, 1906), 346.

3. Eagle-trapping rites and beliefs for both the Mandan and the Hidatsa are treated together in this chapter, since tribal differences were insignificant.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

clan or who had occupied unclaimed territory, erected his own lodge, and marked the outlines of pits. Inheritance of trapping sites was through the clan, and one could not secure permanent ownership of a trapping site owned by a man of a different clan. The nearest clan relative took possession of the site upon the death of the owner if it had not been sold. One could pay for permission to use a particular site for a season from one of a different clan when the owner did not intend to make use of it himself, but he was obliged to use the pits already dug and could not prepare new ones. In other words, a man could rent a site from an owner of a different clan, but he could not buy. When a site had been abandoned so long that its owner was not known, another could claim the site. Evidently little trouble was experienced over claims to sites, since a violator would have been severely criticized. There was, in addition, a religious taboo, since both the eagles and the bears belonging to the ritual occupied major bundle status in each tribe, and a trespasser could never have attained a position of prominence in either tribe.

796 223 425 614 [427] [284]

The ritualistic differences between the Mandan and Hidatsa were no greater than those between separate bundle lines within the same village. Wolf Chief's narrative (to be quoted later) illustrates the extent to which one tribe borrowed from the other in purchasing an eagle-trapping bundle. His father, Small Ankles, purchased his rights from Big Cloud, who advised him to receive his instructions from Arrowhead Earrings, a Mandan, who was better informed. A study of individual bundle lines reveals that borrowing back and forth has been going on regularly since the smallpox epidemic of 1837, and from traditional information from informants this also applied to all their neighboring tribes as well. In native theory the particular ritual practiced at any time depended on these three factors: (1) the instructions received when the bundle was transferred; (2) elements of other eagle-trapping bundle rituals purchased; and (3) vision instructions.

796 171 778 223

A bundle-owner could sell his rights four times, and it was only when the fourth sale was made that the original bundle was transferred, new bundles being made up for the first three sales. The amount of instruction received depended on the desires of

796 778 223

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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Big Cloud's bundle was not complete; Iron Eyes had a main one.[22] Small Ankles would put up the lodge and put the snake pole in with the buffalo skull. He tied it into place with dark sage. I heard that once Old Woman's Grandson came in so they had the two poles brought in at that time to represent the snake.[23]

539

With respect to inheritance of trapping rights, rather marked differences exist between the Hidatsa and the Mandan. The former employed exclusively transfer from father to son or from individuals standing in the father-son relationship. Not a single instance of variation from the rule was observed except in the instance of Big Cloud's two sales to Wolf Eyes and Small Ankles. No doubt that exception can be traced to the circumstance that, though belonging to the Hidatsa Water-buster clan, Big Cloud lived in one of the Mandan villages with his Mandan father and Hidatsa mother. Hidatsa sales of trapping rights followed the normal pattern of bundle transfer from father to son, with a clan brother of the seller acting as sponsor to give instruction and prepare the bundle. Frequently a purchaser's brothers assisted in a joint purchase, taking possession upon death of the brother, but the next transfer would be to the son of original purchaser or his brother's son.

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The small village of Awaxawi apparently had been strongly influenced by the Mandan, and clan inheritance was followed if the two bundles purchased just after the smallpox of 1837 were characteristic of all bundles formerly in the village prior to that epidemic.

Mandan inheritance of eagle-trapping bundles was affected by numerous factors. Except for the last generation in which it was from father to son, or other individuals standing in that relationship, inheritance was generally from one standing in the relationship of *pta'wadato'dE*, a special kinship term for the mother's brother and the mother's mother's brother. In tracing back inheritance of Mandan eagle-trapping bundles, one is impressed by a sudden change within a single generation to the Hidatsa pattern of purchasing from the father.

778 425 171

Iron Eyes' bundle had belonged in the WaxikEna clan for several generations. He purchased from his mother's brother before the Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook

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22. He means the principal bundle.
23. See the myth of Old Woman Who Never Dies, chap. vi, above.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 over from the women's camp. Afterward the trapper smoked. Each trapper, after eating, discussed happenings at the pit, and,
223 from the information thus supplied, the leader offered suggestions for increasing the catch. When birds circled the bait but would not come down, it was suggested that raw meat be used. Sometimes the birds flew by without appearing to see the bait, and decoys were recommended.

223 The leader did not have a pit for his own use but remained in camp. However, if the wind was from the wrong direction in the morning and the men were out hunting game, he could go into any of the pits should the wind change to the west.

223 Evenings were spent in storytelling. The leader would ac-
773 quaint the trappers with the myths associated with eagle-trap-
538 ping. There were many of these myths, and a good leader would be able to consume every evening for the usual four weeks in camp without exhausting his stock. Each was related in great detail with endless repetitions. Some of the longer myths consumed four nights in telling; others were short and could be related in one night. All were expected to listen attentively while seated on a buffalo robe. Those who nodded were pinched with the bird stick. An example of the stories told is given in the Appendix.

223 The position of women in eagle-trapping ceremonies varied
562 among bundle-owners. (1) Most bundle-owners prohibited women from entering the ceremonial lodge or looking inside. (2) Several bundle-owners had special rites to which women were invited when birds had been caught. (3) A few bundle-
[841] owners required a menstruating woman to come into the lodge and breathe the smoke from sage burned at the four corners of the fire pit.

223 Unless special rites relative to the women were purchased,
562 they were required to stay away from the ceremonial lodge and
841 its vicinity. The right to bring women into the lodge was a separate purchase not essential to trapping eagles. There were sepa-
171 rate songs and a myth, giving the right to call in a menstruating woman, which could be purchased. It referred to the capture of the leader of the eagles who, in return for having her life spared, promised unusual success if her song was sung when a menstruating woman was brought into the lodge. The consensus of both

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Mandan and Hidatsa informants was that women took a more prominent place in Mandan than in Hidatsa ceremonies and that bringing women into the lodges was a Mandan rite that some Hidatsa bought. This native belief is borne out by a woman's right to perform the Okipa ceremony with her brother's assistance and to own bundles of deceased relatives until a successor had qualified.

In the selection of eagle-trapping territory, consideration was given to the suitability of the region for hunting. Some informants thought that not more than one-third of the days were suitable for catching eagles. When the winds were not from a westerly direction, the party went out hunting and received their orders from the Chief of the Hunters, whose place in the ceremonial lodge was near the head of the lodge on the left side and opposite the leader.

The office of Chief of the Hunters was filled by the leader when selecting the places for the men when first entering the lodge. In mythological times, Two Men[40] discovered Black Bear's cub carrying a clay pot in which he cooked his food mysteriously, and, resolving to live leisurely thereafter, they stole the vessel. The cub chased them into Dog Den Butte and captured them with his snare. Cub contemplated killing them, but they agreed to do the hunting[41] for the eagle-trappers if their lives were spared. In time they acquired the position of leaders of the hunters.

The eagle-trapping territory was distantly removed from the summer villages in a region not occupied permanently by any tribe.[42] Except for sites on the east side of the Missouri River, the territory was deeply eroded with isolated wooded areas along, and adjacent to, the principal streams. The badlands region along the Little Missouri River and its tributaries was a favorite habitat of the elk, black-tail deer, and mountain sheep. White-tail deer remained more or less in the wooded bottom lands of streams, while buffalo and antelope ranged in herds and bands on the high grass plains a few miles from the principal streams.

40. See my manuscript on "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization" for an account of the exploits of these two characters.

41. Their medicine was the arrow.

42. See map of eagle-trapping camps (Fig. 28).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 224 Eagle-trapping expeditions were organized for a dual purpose, namely, the securing of feathers and of a winter's supply of meat and hides. Crows Heart thought that, taken year after year, the meat and hides secured had greater worth than the feathers. As he explained, it was not unusual to return without feathers, but game was always abundant once one reached territory not ordinarily hunted in. He remarked, on many occasions, that a village as a unit would never go to rough country on a summer hunt, as there would be few buffaloes there, and it would be difficult to surround them because of the uneven topography. There was the further danger of ambush. The rough lands were hunted over by small bands, chiefly eagle-trappers and war parties.

223 224 505 The appearance of ice on the edges of streams was the signal for the eagle-trapping expedition to return to the village. Before horses became numerous in the villages, it was customary to travel overland to the trapping sites, where bullboats were made of buffalo and elk hides for floating back the meat and hides to the village. In order not to be caught along the way by a sudden freezing of the river, it was imperative that trapping cease immediately with the first appearance of cold weather.

224 251 281 While in the trapping camp, the women received the meat and hides brought in by the men. The meat was cured on scaffolds, and the hides were dried or made into bullboats. Special effort was made to secure mountain sheep, as the badlands were the habitat of these prized animals, used for men's shirts and women's dresses, since their skins tanned softer than any other hide. Bears Arm, in explaining the importance of the meat and hides secured on these expeditions, stated that single women [581] tried to marry young men so they could go along to help cure the meat and hides, knowing they might marry one so lucky as to kill a white buffalo.

223 361 171 221 621 Mandan tradition appears devoid of reference to recent division of a village population into small eagle-trapping bands during the winter. Such is not the case with the Hidatsa, however. In the Earthnaming ceremony of the Hidatsa there is reference in the myth to the division of the village into small bands camped along the Little Missouri River in eagle-trapping lodges during the winter. At least two of the clans, the Maxoxati and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

AwaxEnawita, trace their origin to these small winter camps. Bears Arm explained that, in former times, the women's lodges were the same as the men's and that, on termination of the trapping season, the altar was removed and the bundle closed, after which the lodge was no longer considered sacred. The leader's wife and family came to his lodge, and the other trappers returned to their wives' lodges for the winter. Before the spring thaw, the various bands returned to the summer village to prepare for the planting of gardens. If this fall and winter division of the Hidatsa villages into bands was customary, as mentioned in tradition and mythology, the custom had been superseded by the winter village system by the opening of the historic period on the Upper Missouri River. By this time each summer village, which we have come to call the permanent village, had its corresponding winter village. The summer village was situated on one of the upper, grassy terraces adjacent to the Missouri River, with the winter village situated in heavy timber on the river bottom. The entire population of a summer village would move to its selected site, and there would be a winter chief selected each year.

There is no reference in the mythology to the breaking-up of the Mandan summer village into winter bands, but each village might build a winter camp to avoid the tedious task of bringing wood a considerable distance to the village. After a few years, all available wood near a summer village would be exhausted, except for driftwood in the river. From all available data, there is no evidence that the Mandan selected new chiefs for the winter period.

We may conclude that the Hidatsa practice of naming a winter chief grew out of the custom of breaking up into eagle-trapping bands under a leader in the fall, his authority continuing after the closing of trapping until the return of the party to the summer village. Wolf Chief explained that this could be done formerly, as there were fewer enemies, but that it was inexpedient in later years, as it was necessary to defend the villages the year round. It is possible, however, that the Mandan abandoned this custom somewhat earlier because of greater pressure from enemies.

A brief ritual closed the eagle-trapping period. It was essen-

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Henry says,[1] the men were tall, stout and well built. Maximilian also testifies along the same line: "Most of the Mandans are vigorous men, strong and large."[2] And adds later that they were a strong race, a little above medium height, possibly not as large as the Minnetarees, robust, with broad shoulders.[3] Judging from the information so far, the Mandans should be considered a large race, but on the other side there is the statement from Catlin[4] that the stature of the Mandans was below the ordinary, but they were well proportioned. All of these observers but Catlin thus speak of the Mandans as above average height. 141

For a further description of the Mandan physique there are only a few words from Maximilian,[5] who says that they had a less aquiline nose than their neighbors, less prominent cheek bones than the Dakotas; thin noses and straight; long, narrow eyes of a deep brown, a little raised and contracted at the inner corner; large mouth, large angular jaws, various shaped heads, but foreheads no lower on the average than among Europeans. 142

VILLAGES:—The Mandans, as has been said, were a sedentary tribe and lived in fixed villages for long periods of time. In these villages they built lasting lodges of a type similar to those of the Arikara, Omaha, and other tribes lower down the Missouri, though with small differences in the details of construction. The villages were usually well fortified, neat and orderly in the early days, but a considerable change seems to have come upon the people after their misfortunes, for there was much less care taken in the arrangement and fortification of the villages in their later locations. The first description of the Mandan village is from Verendrye, who makes it appear almost a model town. As this is the only description of the Mandan villages during the prosperity of the nation,[1] a summary of his account is here given:[6] 361 [171]

"Many people came to meet us but nothing in comparison with what appeared on the ramparts and along the trenches. . . . . Their fort can only be gained by steps or posts which can be removed when the enemy threatens. . . . . If all the forts are

[1] Op. cit., p. 341. [2] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 22. [3] Ibid., p. 372.
[4] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 95. [5] Op. cit., p. 87. [6] Op. cit., pp. 17-23.

1 [i.e., about 1738. See p. 86.-- Analyst]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

In the center of the village was a large open space of about four acres[1] and in the center of this was the "Ark of the First Man." This was in the shape of a hogshead, of planks and hoops.[2] It was open above, the planks were embedded in the ground, and the hoops were branches tied around to hold these together. The Mandans called this the Big Canoe[3] and in it were some of their greatest medicines. This open space was the seat of all their festivals, dances and ceremonies, and here also they played their games of Chungkee or Skohpe. The space was closely surrounded by houses placed at equal distances apart and all facing the center. The largest of these lodges on the south side of the area was the medicine lodge, and on a pole above this was a figure of skin, with a carved wooden head, which represented the Evil Spirit. 361 778 [346]

About one quarter of a mile or less to the south of the village was a race-course; a hundred or more scaffolds on which the dead were deposited; slides for their games were also made outside the palisades. The ground about the houses was honeycombed with pits and caches in which most of the food and many of the valuables of the inhabitants were stored. The house roofs formed a general repository where bull boats, buffalo skulls, pottery, sledges and people were scattered promiscuously over the rounded surface, around the edge of which Bradbury says they built a sort of low railing. 361 [764] [351]

HOUSES:—The houses themselves were many times described, sometimes with considerable variation, and it is highly probable that there was more or less variation of construction in the minor details. They were distinguished from those of the Arikara in that the ground was first excavated, and that they were rather hemispherical, whereas the houses of the latter were more conical, like those of the Pawnee. Catlin[4] places the average size of the houses at from forty to sixty feet in diameter, depending on the size and importance of the family, and Henry[5] tells us that the one in which he himself stayed was ninety feet in diameter. 342 [171]

[1] Henry: vol. I, p. 338. "Sixty feet across," Maximilian: p. 386; "One hundred and fifty feet," Catlin: vol. I, p. 68.
[2] Catlin gives this as eight to ten feet high, Maximilian as four or five.
[3] Catlin: vol. I, p. 66. [4] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 61.
[5] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 338.

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353 Between every pair was a large post. An elevation showing some of the details is reproduced from Morgan in Figure 1, and a ground plan, in Figure 3.

251 The sedentary character of the Mandans and the fact that they practiced agriculture led to the development among them
171 of several cultural features not found among the purely hunting tribes. In common with most sedentary tribes they made use of caches or storage pits. Henry[1] gives a description of them saying that, in the fall after harvest, the corn was dried, shelled and put in deep pits. These were about eight feet deep, with a mouth just wide enough for a person to get in, but the inside was hollowed out larger and the sides and bottom were lined with straw. The cache contained twenty to thirty bushels of beans or corn where it kept for several years. The caches were scattered everywhere about the village. Catlin mentions caches, saying that they placed corn in pits six or seven feet deep, jug shaped, and tightly closed at the top.

DRESS:—The dress of the Mandans in general was much like
291 that of their neighbors, at the later period of their history at least. There were however some minor differences. Verendrye says that at his visit the men went naked, except for a carelessly worn buffalo robe—not even wearing a breech cloth. The women wore very little as a rule, their only article of attire being an apron about the waist, a hand's breadth wide and a foot long. But he adds later that some of them wore a gown of very soft deerskin. It is probable that other articles of dress were borrowed from their neighbors as time went on.

515 The men and women both began the day with a bath, after
302 which the body was carefully oiled with castoreum. For any ceremonial or feast the body was also painted in colors, these being mixed with grease. After the bath the face and hair were nearly always whitened. The men in Maximilian's time usu-
291 ally wore a breech cloth, of black and white cloth, and moccasins with little or no ornamentation. The upper part of the body was usually naked as they seldom wore the leather shirt used in many other tribes. Even in the winter, Maximilian says they wore only the buffalo robe over the upper half of the

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 360.

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body. The small boys went naked but the girls wore a leather 291
dress similar to those of the older women. The woman's dress was the buck-skin tunic which went just below the knee, a girdle held it at the waist, the sleeves were open and the base of the skirt was often fringed. Bead necklaces and earrings [301]
were worn, and leggings which did not reach to the knee. The [171]
men also wore leggings which were the counterpart of those found among the other plains tribes.

Although the Mandans ordinarily dressed very plainly, yet 292
for the feasts and ceremonies they arrayed themselves as gor- 171
geously as did any of their neighbors, and in practically the same way. Then they wore richly embroidered leather shirts, moccasins covered with quill work, necklaces of elk teeth, bears' claws, odorous roots and large glass beads, with fine painted and embroidered robes, tobacco pouches, quivers, medicine bags, and all the paraphernalia of the plains ceremonial dress. Scalps were used as among the Dakotas, ceremonial pipes and bows were carried. The head-dresses of war eagle, hawk, crow, and raven feathers were worn by members of different societies and occasionally the head-dress of two small polished pieces of buffalo horn was worn. This last was found frequently among the Dakotas. Antelope and deer hoofs were used often as a fringe of bangles along the shirt hem or the sides of the leggings.

The Mandans had a peculiar method of dressing the hair, 302
unlike other Siouan tribes but very much like the Arikara. [171]
The hair of the men was allowed to hang down to the thighs, or even to the knees, it was separated into a number of strands, each of which was stuck along its whole length, two or three inches apart, with lumps of mixed glue and colored clay, making nearly solid plaits one and a half inches thick. Oftentimes these plaits were pieced out with beaver skin strips or hair from scalps. One lock of hair hung down forward over the nose, and this was unornamented except for a red ribbon tied about it. There were two copper strips covered with blue and white glass beads woven with the hair on the sides. These hung by one end and were also decorated with dentalia. On the back of the head was an ornament, flat, three or four inches thick, of wood or twisted metal wire. It was fastened to the hair and

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302 hung down to the shoulders. It was covered with quill work in different colors. On its top was placed horizontally an eagle feather the base of which was covered with red cloth. The [171] usual Siouan head-dresses were also worn. In every day life, however, Maximilian says the hair was knotted up in a 304 tuft. The Mandan men tattooed, but never on more than one half of the body. Usually the right breast and upper arm was tattooed with black parallel lines, accompanied by a few other figures. Occasionally the fore-arm and some of the fingers were tattooed. Occasionally also the women tattooed, but to only a small extent. Ermine was used in nearly all of their finest dresses, and tails of other animals as well as different sorts of bird feathers had especial signification in ceremonial or war [171] costumes. Altogether, as Catlin says, the dress of the Blackfeet, Sioux, and Mandans was practically alike. The great noticeable difference seems to be that the Mandans had much less regard for clothing than did most of their neighbors, they had a tendency toward simple apparel, and the buffalo robe was their original and only absolutely necessary garment.

411 WEAPONS:— The arms of the Mandans as well as their other culture features were much like those of their neighbors. They used the customary things — bows and arrows, lances, shields, knives, and tomahawks, and had in addition a peculiar weapon of their own called a bow-lance. The knives and arrow points were at first of stone as were the axes and tomahawks, but stone implements soon fell into disuse when steel ones were obtained. The Mandan bows were usually of elm or ash wood, and rather short, with cords of twisted sinews. Occasionally, [321] however, a bow of bone or horn was seen. Catlin describes such a one, It was short and had a sinew backing, while the cord was made of three twisted sinews. With the bow was usually a quiver of mountain lion, wild-cat, or wolf skin, the whole hide being used. The arrows of the Mandans were much better made than those of their neighbors. They were feathered with hawk and eagle feathers which were attached in a short spiral, a red line wound round the arrow in a spiral from barb to base. There were hunting points and war points: the for-

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mer unbarbed and securely fastened to the shaft, the latter 411
barbed and loosely attached.

The lances were two-edged points fastened to a shaft of ash wood, some six or eight feet long, ornamented with tufts of eagle plumes. The knives were at first of stone, but were soon replaced by the European steel ones. The tomahawks were of several sorts and are all duplicated among those of the other Sioux tribes. The shield was an important part of a man's equipment, it was of buffalo hide whitened with white clay and with a large painting of the owner's medicine on the front. The bow-lance was a purely ceremonial weapon and was passed down from [428] father to son to be used in the dances. Maximilian describes it as a long bow with a spear point on one end, the whole decorated elaborately with eagle plumes and other ornaments.

MANUFACTURES: — The beds of the Mandans were built up 352
from four posts sunk in the earth to form a rectangle of suitable size, with poles lashed across from one to the other, about one foot above the ground. Over the cross poles a green buffalo hide was stretched and allowed to dry, thus forming a springy foundation; around the sides and across the top hides were also stretched, giving the whole bed the appearance of a large box. A small opening was left in one of the sides through which to enter, and the whole interior was piled with buffalo robes. These beds held several persons.

The Mandan boats, bull-boats they were called, also merit 501
a description. They were circular, made over a frame of bent willows, which consisted of two hoops held in position by cross pieces; over the whole a raw buffalo hide was stretched, hair in, and sewed to the upper rim. They were about six feet in diameter and could carry very heavy loads. For a paddle a pole some five feet long was used. It was split up the end where a flat board about two and a half feet long was inserted and bound on. The boat was paddled from a standing position, and made half a revolution at every stroke. This same sort of boat was 171
used by the Arikara and Hidatsa.

For the rest their material culture did not differ greatly from that of the surrounding nomadic tribes, only a brief enumeration therefore of the manufactures and utensils is necessary.

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met the returning hunters at a short distance from the village, 224
and the hunters dropped portions of the meat for them.

When the Missouri broke up in the spring large numbers of 252
buffalo were drowned and floated down the river. The Mandans usually caught large quantities of these as they floated by, and esteemed them as better than the fresh meat. Henry says that meat was nearly always hung up till partially decayed, after which it was better liked. The intestines of the buffalo were considered a good food and were always eaten. The Mandans made pemmican, as did all of the plains tribes, grinding up the dried meat and packing it in parfleches, after which buffalo fat was poured in.

Probably the antelope were next in importance to the 224
buffalo. These were caught in large bands by means of what were called parks. At the head of a coulée an enclosure of branches was made with a narrow opening from which two fences of branches led away in the shape of a funnel, extending for a mile or often more. The Indians, on horseback, by surrounding a band of antelopes could gradually work them towards this enclosure, through the gate of which they were at last forced to go. The entrance was then guarded and the hunters knocked the animals on the head with the stone war clubs; a hundred or more at a time were often killed in this fashion.

Wolves and foxes were trapped in pitfalls which were dug to a depth of eight or ten feet, covered with branches and baited with pieces of buffalo meat. Beaver and other small fur-bearing animals were caught in traps. Bears were killed only occasionally as the Indians did not like to attack them. Cat-fish and 226
sturgeon, as well as smaller fish and turtles were caught along the river, where unios and snails were also gathered.

The larger birds were caught in a rather peculiar fashion. 223
The hunters usually went to the Bad Lands to hunt them. 171
There a pit was dug in some likely place. Bait of small pieces of meat was scattered about, after which the hunter concealed himself in the pit, dragging over the top a covering of branches with bait upon them. Then he waited patiently, often for a day or more till a bird should alight on the branches; as soon as this happened the bird was grasped and pulled down into

223 the pit where it was dispatched and the hunter waited for an-
171 other. This method was also used by the Hidatsa, and so in fact nearly all the Mandan hunting methods and customs were duplicated among their neighbors. The only important exception was the Mandan custom of giving a share of the meat to anyone who might come to the home of a successful hunter and ask for it. Henry tells us that the Hidatsa and Amahami did not have this charitable custom.

WAR:— Among most of the Indians, war was the chief occu-
721 pation of the men, and the Mandans in this respect differed little from the other tribes. They were constantly in danger from their more numerous enemies, the Dakotas, and in addition frequently had disputes with other smaller bands. The Mandans were not a warlike people, and fought only when necessary; but when the time came they were among the bravest and most fearless warriors of the region. Maximilian says that they had been known to send war parties as far as the Rocky Mountains against the Blackfeet and as far east as the Red River against the Ojibwa. Their chief enemies were, however, the Dakota, the Cheyenne, and at times the Arikara. The custom of sending out war parties was not as usual here as among
721 their neighbors, the Hidatsa. The system of rank in the village
554 was to a considerable extent based upon military prowess;
301 the wearing of different insignia which indicated each man's
302 deeds was a common device. Those who had made a coup wore a wolf's tail at the heel of their moccasin. If a man was the first of a party to touch and kill an enemy, he painted a spiral line about his arm, with another winding in the opposite direction with three cross stripes. For the second enemy he painted his left legging a reddish brown. If he killed an enemy in equal fight before any other enemy was slain, he could put a wolf's tail around each foot. For the third coup two lengthwise stripes with three cross stripes were painted on the arm, this was the most honorable coup and no other distinctive marks were in use, except that another eagle feather might be worn in the hair for each additional coup. If a man made his coup after others were made, the end of the wolf's tail was cut off. Six little wooden sticks worn in the hair showed that a man

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had been shot six times; some wore a wooden knife, a sign they 721
had killed an enemy with a knife. Maximilian describes one 554
man, a chief, whose face was painted half yellow and half 301
red, with stripes made by rubbing the color off; his arms had 302
seventeen lines showing the number of his deeds, and on his breast, in yellow, was a hand showing that he had made prisoners.

When a youth first wished to lead a war party he at once 701
acquired a medicine. Then he solicited his young men friends 554
by presents and assurances of the efficacy of his medicine and 778
after feasts and dances he departed with as many followers as he could get. In the large war parties there were four real leaders and sometimes three others called bad leaders. Each real leader carried a medicine pipe in a case on his back. To become a chief it was necessary to begin as a war party leader, then to kill a man while in a party where the candidate was not a leader. Again, while following another leader, he must be the first to discover the enemy and kill one of them, and lastly he must have owned at some time a white buffalo hide. Each 726
warrior carried about his neck the whistle of his band, and at the moment of falling upon the enemy these were blown and the war-cry was sounded.

The Mandans seldom took male prisoners but even when 727
taken they were never tortured. As soon as a prisoner had entered the village and eaten corn he was considered as one of the nation; the women, however, could go out and meet the returning party and kill the prisoners then. Scalps were dried and used in decoration. When a successful war party returned they were met by the women and children who entered the village with them dancing the scalp dance. The warriors painted the face, and often the whole body, black, and the scalp dance was danced in the medicine lodge four nights, then later in the middle of the village. If no Mandan was killed in the campaign, the dance was kept up for six months.

In all these war customs we find nothing more than the [171] •
general plains ideas such as were found in all the Sioux tribes and among most of their neighbors.

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Skohpe, Tchung-kee or Billiards as some have called it. Henry[1] gives a good account of the method of play: 524

"Two persons are each provided with a stick six feet long on which are cut a certain number of notches an inch long; in the intervals of which are fixed the same number of small bunches of feathers of diverse colors, with three pieces of wood sixteen inches square one near each end and one in the middle; these are perforated in the center and through them is passed the rod . . . . Each notch has a particular mark. . . . . The ground is a smooth level place forty paces long by five broad. The players stand side by side and start from one end . . . . and trot . . . . half way through, when one of them throws a ball . . . . and both players push their rods forward to overtake, and keep pace with the ball. They then examine the bunch at which the ball stops."

Catlin[2] also describes it, saying that Tchung-kee was played on a smooth clay pavement. Two champions chose sides. One rolled a stone ring, the other slid a stick alongside, this stick had leather projections on which the ring should catch. The points were game, one, two, and four, depending on which projection the ring caught upon. The last winner always rolled the ring. If either failed he forfeited the amount of the number nearest to which his stick stopped and lost his throw, another taking his place.

There seems to have been two forms of the game. The Hidatsa and Arikara played it, the latter considering it to some extent as a religious ceremony. Maximilian[3] tells us that the Pawnees also played it, but differently. Similar games were found throughout the southeast. 524 171

In addition to Skohpe the men had horse races, foot races, and, according to Maximilian, sham battles. Catlin speaks of the games of moccasin and platter. Verendrye says the men played a game of ball on the ramparts, but this was probably Skohpe. The horse race was run in a circle about the village. Maximilian tells us that as many as twenty men ran in the foot races, and the races are mentioned by other writers. The men raced usually over a course about seven miles long. They had 526

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 363. [2] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 132. [3] Op. cit., p. 417.

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561 the buyers. The first band was that of "The Dogs Whose Names Are Not Known." To this band boys from ten to fifteen years of age could belong. Maximilian was told that at first older men might belong to this band but that this was afterwards changed. Admission to this society and the learning of the dance was bought from a member by the boy's father. Maximilian says that the dances of all the bands were about the same, the differences being in the songs. Each band had a particular drum and rattle.

The second band was the "Band of the Crows" composed of men from twenty to twenty-six years of age.[1] There was usually an interval between the first and the second band when the man belonged to no group. Crow plumes were the distinguishing feature of this division.

561 625 623 [578] The third society was the "Soldier Band" and was composed of the most distinguished warriors of the tribe. The members of this band could never retreat before an enemy. Another feature was its possession of two sacred pipes. All members of the higher bands belonged at the same time to this one. This group had charge of policing and regulating the [571] village, a well-known feature of the Soldier Band among the Sioux and other plains tribes. They formed a committee which regulated all the important affairs of the nation, fixed the time for hunts and applied all the laws.[2]

561 The fourth division was the "Dog Band." Three members from this wore a red cloth down the back such as all the first band wore. These three were known as the Dogs, and anyone could throw a piece of meat on the floor or in the fire, saying "There, Dog, eat," and any of these three must obey.

The fifth band was that of the "Buffalos" or "Wolves." These in dancing wore the skin of a buffalo head with the horns. The two bravest, chosen by all, who never under any conditions could flee from an enemy, wore the whole head and horns and [534] looked through artificial eyes. This was the only band which had a wooden drum. In this society there was also one woman who offered the two head dancers a basin of water as they danced.

[1] Op. cit., p. 409. [2] Ibid., p. 411.

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The sixth group was that of the "Black-tail Deer" and consisted of men over fifty years of age. There were two women in this band who served food and distributed fresh water during the dances. The men wore a crown of bears' claws. 561

There were a few other dances which were bought and sold, but which hardly deserve a place in the regular system. One of these was the dance of the "Half Shaven Head Band" which the lowest band could buy before reaching the proper age to buy into the "Soldier Band." Another was the "Old Dog Dance." The "Dog Band" could buy this of the "Buffalo Band" before becoming Buffalos themselves or being able to. The "Hot Dance" was danced at Rouhptare by the youngest band, and also at the Hidatsa village where it was purchased from the Arikara. The dancers danced barefoot over live coals and plunged their hands into boiling water. 561 424 535

The women, too, were divided into bands. There were four of these of which the first was "The Band of the Gun" which consisted of the younger girls. Next was the "River Band." The third band was the "Hay Women" who sang only the scalp dance. The fourth and last band was that of the "Women of the White Cow," most of them were old, and they were all tattooed with black lines from the mouth to the base of the chin. 561 [304]

The marriage customs of the Mandan Indians differed little from those of their neighbors. Polygamy was common, although a large part of the men had but one wife. Descent was probably along the male line, though there may have been remains of an older custom of descent along the female line, for all the horses captured by a young man belonged to his sister. The women worked hard and were sometimes badly treated though not as a general rule. Lewis and Clarke says that infidelity was punishable by death. Maximilian says it was punishable by cutting off the woman's nose. When a man's wife was stolen he had a right to demand a horse from the abductor. Separations occurred among them quite frequently. Virtue among the women was held in high esteem but was rather scarce. There are accounts of a celebration where prizes were given to the virtuous maids — these celebrations also took place 595 611 562 684 [586] 831 171

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831 among the Arikara and Hidatsa. The men boasted their love
171 exploits, and carried often about the village small bundles of sticks each representing a conquest, or one large stick with stripes indicating the number; this was also a Hidatsa custom.

585 When a man wished to marry, after obtaining the girl's and the father's consent, he led horses to the door of the father's house and tied them there. Then the father took the same number of his own horses and tied them to the young man's door. After this the girl cooked corn each day and carried it to the young man's house for a certain number of days. Then the young man went to the father's house and claimed his wife. The young people either built a new home or lived with one of their parents, in which case the father remained master of the
587 house. On marrying an eldest sister, a man acquired the right of marriage over all the other sisters. Catlin tells us that the girls usually married at from twelve to fourteen years of age.

858 Children were never disciplined and were always humored
601 by their parents who seemed to be very fond of them. The
606 father's brother and sister were called father and mother. The
551 mother's sister was called mother and her brother uncle. Cousins called each other brother and sister. The mother-in-law was not permitted to address her son-in-law till he had come back with the scalp and gun of an enemy. Someone was usually paid to give the child his name, which was chosen by the parent.

776 RELIGION:—The religious ideas of the Mandans resemble in a number of respects both those of the Sioux and the Arikara. While there are a number of deities, there was one among them to whom special veneration was paid. This one, the creator of the earth and everything in it, and of men, was called the Lord of Life.[1] Next after him came the First Man to whom the Lord of Life gave great power and who acted as a sort of mediator for men. Catlin says he was the only person saved from the great deluge, and he played an important part in the Okeepa. He was worshipped and sacrifices were made to him. Next was an evil spirit who, though powerful, ranks far below the First Man. Fourth on the list was Rokanka-Tauihanka

[1] Maximilian: p. 419.

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As has been said there are in the Mandan myths two distinct cycles of tales; there seems to be two sources for the detached stories as well. The first cycle seems to be along the lines of the Siouan and Algonquin stories. The creation myth is much like that of the Chippewa: the naming of the animals, the story of the Sun Boy, and the tale of reaching the First Man by thought, seem to be Siouan in their origin for we find them most important in that stock. The creation myth exists likewise among the Crows, and it is told by the Arikara,—the latter, however, have a more popular creation tale. The Mandan myth is not found among the Skidi Pawnee. The story of the making of the Heart River region is naturally found among the Arikara as are some tales about Lucky Man and the Wolf who seem to correspond to the Lord of Life and the First Man, but none of these characters are found among the Skidi tales where Tirawa, the Creator, has no companion in his work. The tale of the struggle between the Lord of Life and the First Man as to which should be father is distinguishable in the Arikara, but not in the Skidi. The tale of the Sun Boy is, however, found in the Pawnee, but is known also in practically every plains tribe. The story of the child born to the girl from eating cow fat, is in the Crow but not in the Arikara or Skidi. In general so far as comparable material is at hand these tales do not appear to be of Caddo origin, and are in most cases connected with the tales of some other Siouan tribe.

As to the other cycle of tales there is little in the Siouan stories with which it may be compared. The story of an underground origin is developed characteristically in the southwest,—it appears in numerous forms among the Arikara and with even more detail among the Skidi. The first chief in the Mandan migration, the man who led them from underground, is very closely allied with the Corn Mother leader of the Arikara, and the preservation of his skull in a sacred bundle is again suggestive of the southern plains.

The Corn Mother tale seems most clearly related to Caddoan. The tale of the Great Serpent as well as that of the Sun Boy is spread over the whole plains region,—the Crow, the Arikara, the Pawnee, and the Dakota all possess more or less close ver-

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sions of this story. None of the Caddoan Poor Boy stories have been found in the Mandan, but this may be due to the limited extent of Maximilian's collection. It can only be said that the Mandan myths so far as known seem to be about an equal mixture of north and south plains types. 773 171

CEREMONIALS: — The Mandan dance system seems to have been rather complicated, and in it are found again the two conflicting influences. In one case the origin of the dances is said to have been due to Ochkih-Hedde, the evil spirit. Again the First Chief who led them out of the ground is said to have arranged all their dances, and the Okeepa, according to Catlin, was instituted by the First Man. There were two sorts of dances; first those in which it appears that anyone could take part, and secondly those belonging to the different societies previously referred to. Of the first kind there were four principal ones, and of these the Buffalo dance and the Scalp dance, although not the most important, were most frequently danced and were practically identical with the same dances of other plains tribes; the Scalp dance was performed by those related to persons with newly acquired coups. The Buffalo dances were of two types. One was for the purpose of getting the good will of influential men and is described by Henry and Catlin. This dance had several obscene features. The other Buffalo dance was danced by the men in relays wearing a buffalo head and its purpose was to bring the buffalo in time of need. 535 796

The other two dances deserve more particular mention. Catlin says of all these dances,[1] "Every dance has its peculiar step and song." The songs were understood only by the medicine men and required much application and study. Candidates paid to learn them. This applies particularly to the Okeepa which is the best-known dance of the Mandans. No description is necessary as Catlin has given two very full ones and Maximilian has also given a good account of it. The Okeepa was performed once a year as a rule and nearly every inhabitant of the village had some part to play in it. It lasted four days, and in all the dances, dance groups and ceremonial

[1] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 126.

[Cf. pp. 129-561, cat. 116 — Analyst]

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535 796 objects, they kept a careful observance of the number four and its multiples. The Okeepa appears to have been quite different from the usual sun-dance ceremonies, although the sun-dance observance formed a part of it. Catlin says that no other nation had such a dance, although many had features of it in 535 their own dances. In some respects it seems to show a rather 796 remarkable similarity to some of the dances of the Pueblo re- 171 gion and very possibly some of these features were transmitted from there through the southern plains tribes. The resemblance is in small details such as the decorating of the ark with willow branches which is much like the preparation of the kisi. Communication with old villages underground was supposed to be established by pounding on the ark, as it was among the southwestern dancers by stepping on the sipapu. From the description of the sacred object in the center of the Mandan altar, it seems to have been something like the Pueblo squash blossoms. Lastly the story of the visit of the First Man to the whites and his institution of the Okeepa, after having escaped them, is much like the origin story of the Pueblo Snake and Antelope Dance. The most peculiar feature of the ceremony was the connection which it had with the flood myth; the ark was supposed to be a copy of the tower in which the Mandans were saved from the flood. It formed the center in all the different parts of the ceremony. The Okeepa had features which have been ascribed by Maximilian to the influence of early missionaries.

535 The second of these dances was the Corn Dance and this 796 was doubtless of Caddo origin. This dance was danced to the 241 Old Woman Who Never Dies by the old women of the village for whom a number of old men furnished the music. Each old woman carried an ear of corn on the end of a stick and the ceremony was intended to consecrate this corn. After the consecration the corn was distributed, a few grains to each family, by whom it was mixed with the seed corn for spring planting. The ceremony took place when the representatives of The Old Woman Who Never Dies — the water birds — returned north, and a quantity of dried meat was hung up on the scaffolds as a sacrifice. After the dance this dried meat

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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became the property of the dancers. Another corn dance was held in the fall, but Maximilian tells us that the purpose of this one was to bring the buffalo. In this dance each woman carried a whole stalk of corn—the corn was called by the name of the water bird which represented it, and a prayer was made to the Old Woman Who Never Dies through these birds. The birds going south were supposed to carry these prayers to their mistress, and in this dance each old woman made a sacrifice of some valuable article. The elements of the corn dance agree in most particulars with those of the Pawnee and southern plains tribes. 535 796 241 [171]

BURIAL:—In their burial customs the Mandans show close analogy with the Sioux. Their cemeteries were usually only two hundred to three hundred paces from the palisade and consisted of a number of scaffolds on which the dead were placed. These scaffolds were made on four posts about twelve feet high, the length of the rectangle being about six feet. Across the posts willow rods, just strong enough to support the body, were placed.[1] When a person died he was left in the village but a very short time; the face was painted red, the body was oiled, dressed in the finest clothes and wrapped in a green buffalo skin or at a later period in a piece of cloth. The whole was then tightly wrapped with thongs of rawhide from head to foot. Then other robes were soaked in water and tightly wrapped and tied around the body. After this the corpse was immediately carried out and placed on the scaffold together with a bow and quiver, shield, pipe and tobacco, knife, flint and steel and provisions for several days. In case of a child, it was wrapped up in a small bundle which was tied to the scaffold by a cloth or hide. Catlin says the bodies were placed with their feet to the rising sun. Maximilian says the face was turned to the east.[2] Lewis and Clarke[3] give an account of a different sort of burial which must have been of rare occurrence for we find no mention of anything of the sort elsewhere. It is as follows: "An old man . . . . . one hundred and twenty winters old, he requested his grand Children to Dress him after Death, & Set him on a Stone on a hill, with his 764

[1] Catlin; vol. 1, p. 89. [2] Op. cit., p. 479. [3] Feb. 20, 1805.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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The Mandan method of burial was used likewise by their neighbors the Hidatsa and in a modified form by the Dakota and nearly all the Siouan tribes. The Arikara, however, used the opposite form, that of interment. With them the dead were buried in a flexed position in graves (lined with stone) and the scaffold system was never used. 764 171

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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X 172 for arrowheads was largely flint. A selection of the different
324 types is shown in Plate XXXIV, figs. *b*, *c*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *q* and *s*.

[411] Flint, chert, and quartzite scrapers were in great abundance.
Some were of the "turtle back" form (Plate XXXIV, fig. *l*), flat
X 172 on one side and convex on the other. Some were irregular flakes
324 with one chipped edge (Plate XXXIII, fig. *c*). Some were roughly
412 rectangular in shape (Plate XXXIV, figs. *e* and *f*), while others were leaf-shaped (Plate XXXIII, fig. *h*).

Flint chips were often found in layers and pockets. Near the bottom of the central cache pit in Work 5, an extensive layer of red and yellow flint chips was encountered. Double handfuls of flint and chert chips were found in various places in the mounds.

Pieces of pumice-stone were often met with in the different village sites. They were used, apparently, as whetstones to sharpen bone awls, and are sometimes deeply grooved as a result of such grinding. Other stones were also used for this purpose.

Plate XXXII, fig. *e*, shows a rasp for smoothing arrowshafts.
•[171] It is made of a coarse yellow sandstone. It is very similar to rasps found among the Omaha.

Pebbles showing at the ends an abraded surface were common objects in the mounds and cache pits. These were chipping stones and were used in working flint and chert. They were of various kinds of stone, red jasper, diorite, quartzite and sandstone being noted.

X 172 Water-worn boulders, seldom over six inches in diameter,
324 were common in all parts of the site. They were such as could be picked up on the prairie or buttes. Layers of boulders were found around the fireplaces in the two house sites explored. An extensive layer was found on hardpan in the eastern end of Work 2.

Some of these boulders gave evidence of having been broken. One showed signs of pecking. This one was oval in shape, and may have been used in shaping the bottoms of pots.

There still remains for consideration a class of ornamented stone objects of uncertain use. Three rectangular flat stones come under this head. All of these stones have diagonal cross

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form the handle. The only sign of wear is on the beak of the bird's head. The use of this object is uncertain, but it is possible that it was part of the paraphernalia of a medicine man.

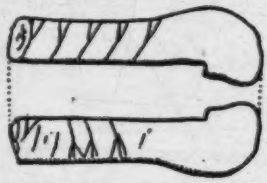

FIG. 12. BONE OBJECT WITH INCISED DECORATION. ½

Fig. 12 represents a portion of a well-made bone instrument which may have had a use similar to the above. This object is decorated with incised markings.

Several pieces of carved bones, representing various animal and bird heads, are reported to have been found in the various village sites, but no opportunity was given to inspect them.

X172
323
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POTTERY:—The pottery of the Mandans, judging by the fragments found at the different village sites, is one of the most interesting features of their culture. It is an excellent ware, thin, well-made, and with a characteristic development of form and ornament. The excellence of the pottery is the more remarkable when it is called to mind that the Mandans were at the northwestern limits of the pottery area. North of them, indeed, on the Mouse River, some crude pottery of uncertain origin is found. South of them, the Arikara and Omaha practised the ceramic art, being influenced in it by the pottery makers of the Mississippi valley. East of them, for several hundred miles, lived nomadic tribes who were apparently unacquainted with pottery, while the pottery of Wisconsin was too remote to exert an influence.

X172
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Mandan pottery is mentioned by almost all the early explorers, but no one gives an extended description of it, or a sufficiently detailed account of the method of manufacture. None of this pottery has been made for many years by the survivors of the tribe, but a knowledge of it can be gathered from a study of the fragments which have been preserved.

The pottery is, for the most part, a black ware, although sometimes it turned dull orange or red from firing. The un-

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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X 172 323 markings, when roughly parallel, are either horizontal or vertical. Usually the markings around the necks of the pots are vertical.

Sometimes the upper surface of the rim was impressed with cords or otherwise ornamented. Plate XLII, figs. *f* to *j*, gives representations of the different modes. Another kind of ornamentation, which was only slightly employed, was to form the edge of the pot into a series of broad serrations or crescent-shaped depressions. Apparently there were four or more cusps to the circumference. Examples of the cusps are shown in Plate XLII, figs. *l* and *m*. In this feature the Mandan pottery closely resembles the pottery around the Great Lakes. [[71]]

Many of the Mandan pots were provided with ears, lugs or spouts, the last evidently used to assist in pouring (Plate XLII, figs. *a* and *e*). A lug is shown in Plate XLII, fig. *b*. Sometimes the ear or lug may have been used only as a detail of ornamentation. Plate XLII, fig. *c*, gives a case in which the presence of the lug is disclosed by the cord marks. Plate XLII, fig. *d*, shows a peculiar spout-like opening which seems too small to have served any useful purpose.

Two or three fragments of pottery showing a perforation were found. The perforation was probably to enable some break to be mended.

No pipes made of pottery were found. The only other article of pottery, besides the potsherds, was the perforated disc shown in Plate XLII, fig. *k*. This object is about an inch in diameter.

X 172 241 VEGETABLE REMAINS: — The materials of vegetable origin in the excavations were nearly all charred and consequently many points about them cannot be considered. However, there are a number of interesting details which coincide as far as they go with historical information concerning the Mandan agriculture. The actual remains of vegetables found were those of corn, beans, squash or pumpkins. The seeds of sunflowers and small black seeds of a sort of pig-weed (*Chenopodium sp.*) were also found.

The corn remains were mostly of cobs, from which the grain had been cut off, leaving only an occasional kernel. One or two pieces of ears with the kernels and part of the husk intact

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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MANDAN MEN'S SOCIETIES.

The Mandan System.

575 Both from Maximilian's account and the statements of my own inform-
424 ants it appears that the Mandan system of men's societies closely resembled
432 that of the Hidatsa. In both cases there was a series of graded organiza-
171 tions, the membership, or rather ownership, of each of which was acquired
by collective purchase. The method of buying membership was practically
identical, and among the Mandan as well as among the Hidatsa the sur-
render of the purchasers' wives to the sellers formed a conspicuous feature.
Owing to the collective manner of obtaining membership, practically all
tribesmen belonged to some one of the societies. If a boy of a certain age
[551] did not yet belong to any organization, he was, according to Water-chief,
derided as a "Finger-in-his-eye (istá wátke). After selling their last society
the retired members, as among the Hidatsa, were known as "Stinking-ears"
(nakóxe xu^{n}pé^{e}).

According to Black-chest and Wounded-face, the institution of "friendly"
573 organizations described for the Hidatsa (p. 229) $\frac{1}{A}$ also occurs among the
Mandan, but this is denied by Painted-up for both men's and women's
organizations. Unfortunately this important point must remain undecided.

575 There can be no doubt that within the period known to my informants
membership in a society was primarily, on the Hidatsa plan, a matter of
purchase, not of age. Because, for example, the group that normally would
have purchased the Kit-Fox and Little Dog societies failed to buy either
from his own class, Black-chest at 62 considers himself a member of these
organizations, which he joined at 20 and 25 respectively.

177 Owing to the very small number of Mandan who survived the epidemic
of 1837 and the intimate relations of the survivors with the Hidatsa, the
575 accounts of my Mandan informants may be largely colored by Hidatsa
influences, so that Maximilian's data are all the more valuable and will be
summarized in the following sections. Of the societies enumerated by my
Mandan informants but not given by Maximilian, the Kit-Fox and the
Little Dog organizations may be assumed to have been adopted from the
Hidatsa in recent times, for both occur in Maximilian's Hidatsa list. In
575 preparing the following comparative table I assume, for reasons already set
forth (p. 235), that in Maximilian's day there were distinct Dog and Half-

$\frac{1}{A}$ [i.e., Members of two age groups separated in time by another age group would aid each other in opposition to the demands of the intermediate group. -- Analyst]

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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197 or the thirteen villages with which Maximilian's informants credited them,[1] in the beginning of the nineteenth century there certainly were two villages, Nū'pta (Ruhptare) and Mị'tutąk (Mihtuttahangkusch), speaking distinct dialects, as is demonstrated by Maximilian's vocabularies.[2] One of my informants added a third village, Istápe, (given by Morgan as a clan name), where she said the Nū'pta dialect was spoken.

621 It is clear from Maximilian's data that between Nū'pta and Mị'tutąk
[184] there was also a minor cultural differentiation in the matter of dances.
The question in connection with our immediate problem is how to conceive
614 the relation of the villages to the social divisions. Maximilian tells us that
174 the Mandan called themselves "Nū'mangkā'ke" (*nū'makā'ki*) i. e., people, and were wont to add the name of the village from which they had originally come. Thus, there were Prairie-chicken people, so-called after the Prairie-chicken village; Bear people, Cactus people, Badger people,— all named from corresponding villages.

> Obgleich nun alle die oben genannten Dörfer nicht mehr existiren, so nennen sich dennoch alle diese Indianer ihrer Abstammung zufolge noch nach denselben.[3]

This is a clear-cut statement to the effect that the Mandan clans developed in recent times from formerly distinct local groups. If we assume that the ancient village scheme involved local exogamy and matrilineal descent, or that the latter was grafted on the former, possibly through borrowing, the fusion of people from different settlements would quite naturally lead to the evolution of exogamous clans. The statement of one of my informants that all the clans were found in both Mị'tutąk and Nū'pta is not inconsistent with such a line of development since this condition would be readily brought about by intermarriage. However, all this is pure speculation and the questions involved will only become clearer after considering the social organization of the Mandan as sketched by recent informants and comparing it with that of the Hidatsa and other tribes.

616 The Mandan were divided into non-exogamous moieties corresponding
[171] in name to those of the Hidatsa, viz., Three-clans (nū'makā'ki ō'rehe
nā'mini) and Four-clans (nū'makā'ki ō're tōp). According to Black-chest, the names of the moieties and the constituent clans were originated by the legendary warrior Seven-wolf when returning from a victorious expedition against the Arikara. Information is very meager as to the functions of the dual division in tribal life, but here there is again close correspondence to Hidatsa conditions. During a general council of the Mandan the Three-

[1] Maximilian, II, 103.
[2] *ibid.*, 557–561.
[3] *ibid.*, 104.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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clans were ranged on one side, the Four-clans on the other. In building an earth-lodge the Three-clan women would put earth on one side and the Four-clan women on the other. 616

It is altogether improbable that the Hidatsa and Mandan moiety systems should have had an independent origin. The question at once arises, then, which was the borrowing tribe. The complete lack of any trace of the dual division among the Crow suggests that the Hidatsa imitated the Mandan scheme, a conclusion which I was at first tempted to draw. However, there is no satisfactory evidence on behalf of this interpretation. In the first place, the moieties of the Winnebago, the closest linguistic allies of the Mandan, were exogamous, while there is no indication that this applies to the Mandan and Hidatsa divisions; moreover, the Mandan differ from all other Siouans and resemble the Hidatsa and Crow in the rule of matrilineal descent. There is thus no *a priori* reason for assigning the rôle of transmitter to the Mandan rather than to the Hidatsa. Secondly, there is a disparity between the designations of the Mandan moieties and the number of their clans such as does not occur among the Hidatsa. Some informants, to be sure, make the number correspond to the moiety names, and Morgan without speaking of a dual division lists seven clans. But other Mandans give the number as eleven or even sixteen, while nine are reported by Mr. Curtis. The informant who spoke of sixteen clans added that more of them belonged to the Four-clan than to the Three-clan moiety, but this struck me as an obvious afterthought,— as a secondary attempt to harmonize as best he could two sets of contradictory facts. Although the information obtained is hardly sufficient to permit a definite solution, I rather incline to Mr. Curtis's view that the Mandan moiety scheme is derived from the Hidatsa, whose clans conform in number to the moiety names. 616 171 614 174

The following scheme was furnished by Two-chiefs, herself a member of the first-named clan: — 616 614

Three-Clan Moiety.

maxi' 'kina
taml'sik
nū'pta

Four-Clan Moiety.

si' pucka nū'mak, Prairie-chicken people
xtaxtám nū'mak, Young white-headed Eagle[1]
mánakactŏk nū'mak, People all in a bunch[2]
xŏ'xixĕ' ka nū'mak, Crow people (said to refer to the scalp on a stick)

[1] Mr. Curtis, (v, 145), translates the word "Spotted Eagle."
[2] Presumably Mr. Curtis's Mádhakashtak, "Clump of Wood."

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913) 1917
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According to Calf-woman, the Prairie-chicken clan is the most important on the Reservation. This is consistent with Mr. Curtis's data, according to which the larger moiety bears the name of this clan, corresponding preëminence being assigned to the tamī'sik in the Three-clan moiety. It should be noted that the Prairie-chicken clan is the only one common to the Hidatsa and Mandan series. 614 [171]

Calf-woman's ō'rē' 'kūpa (nitē) was given by Turtle-woman not as the designation of a clan but of all the seven clans jointly in addressing the entire tribe. [101]

Mr. Curtis states that the marriage of fellow-clansmen was considered improper and publicly ridiculed, but according to my witnesses this rule has long ceased to be absolute. Thus, Calf-woman declared that sometimes people married within their own clan, though there were some who regarded this as wrong; and Two-chiefs, a maxi' 'kina married to a xtaxta', cited the case of her husband's mother who had married another xtaxta', not related by blood. 582 178 614

Kinship Terms.

A brief but in most respects accurate statement as to Mandan kinship nomenclature is made by Maximilian.[1] Recently Mr. Curtis has summarily characterized the Mandan terminology as largely influenced by the clan factor, the father's brother and his clansmen being classed with the father, the father's clanswomen with the father's sister, all mates in one's clan with brothers and all females as mothers.[2] This statement is undoubtedly in large measure correct, but, the last part is manifestly not to be taken literally since the mother's mother and her generation and the sisters are certainly not called "mother." Morgan already had to contend with the difficulty of finding interpreters fully conversant with Mandan and offers an avowedly imperfect list. So far as essentials are concerned, he correctly characterizes the system as of the usual classificatory type. The most important deviation from the norm mentioned in his résumé consists in the classification of the father's sister with the mother in feminine parlance, a distinctive word for paternal aunt being used only by males.[3] My data yield no confirmation of this peculiarity. A remarkable feature found by Morgan among the Hidatsa and Crow but not noted by him among the Mandan, though recorded both by Mr. Curtis and myself, is the confusion of generations in the designation of the father's sister's female descendants 601 601 171 177

[1] Maximilian, II, 132, 543.
[2] Curtis, V, 145.
[3] Morgan, (a), 184.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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601 through females, all these relatives being classed with the father's sister
[171] regardless of generation.[1] The question arises whether this trait was
177 borrowed by the Mandan, possibly since their practical absorption in the neighboring tribe. Another peculiarity not indicated by Morgan in his discussion of the Mandan system, though emphasized in his treatment of the Hidatsa and Crow terminologies, is the classification of the maternal uncle with the elder brother. In Mandan this is optional and there is an alternative specific designation for the mother's brother, while Crow and Hidatsa lack any separate word for this relative. From the great rarity of this feature and the simultaneous use of a distinct word for the mother's brother, which moreover is the only designation given by Maximilian and Morgan, I infer that the Mandan borrowed from the Hidatsa the classification of the uncle with the elder brother. This seems to me the more probable because according to the more trustworthy of my informants the sister's son is not addressed as "younger brother" but only by a distinct term correlative with that for mother's brother. But the Hidatsa mode of classifying the maternal uncle is of a piece with the Hidatsa designation of the female descendants of the paternal aunt, i. e., in both cases the same principle of emphasizing clan affiliation to the extent of disregarding generation finds expression. It is, therefore, likely that both features were borrowed by the Mandan.

601 With the aid of two informants, Two-chiefs and Calf-woman, I secured the following imperfect list of kinship terms.

tatɛ′ (vocative only). Father, father's brother, father's sister's son.

tatɛ′xihe, tatɛ′xis (voc.). Father's sister's husband, husband's father, grandfather, greatgrandfather.

mā′ats, tatɛ′ena (non-voc.). Father, father's brother, father's sister's son.

mā′txis (non-voc.). Father's sister's husband, grandfather.

tà terité (voc.). My fathers, i. e., my father's fellow-clansmen.

nõ′atõ′oc (non-voc.). Father's clansman (man speaking).

nõ′atõre (non-voc.). Father's clansman (woman speaking).

ptũ minikɛ′ (voc.). Father's sister, father's sister's daughter, father's sister's daughter's daughter, etc., *ad infinitum*. Non-voc. form: ptũ′minikse′ena.

naɛ′ (voc.). Mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.

nā′xic, nā′xihɛ′ (voc.). Grandmother, husband's mother.

mihu′xis (non-voc.). Grandmother.

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[1] Morgan's schedules regarding the descendants of the father's sister are blank for the Mandan, (a), 322–330.

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601 nō'hakàs. Daughter's husband.
pta +i' maratokās. My wife's father.
ptù hinî ks. My wife's mother, my wife's mother's sister.

601 114 It will be noted that beyond the second ascending and the second descending generations no relatives are designated by special terms, lineal and collateral ancestors being classed with grandparents and descendants with grandchildren, regardless of male or female lines.[1] This fact is borne out in detail by Morgan's schedules. According to these, it would appear that no distinction was drawn between the father's father's and the mother's mother's sister, nor between the father's father's and the mother's mother's brother. On the latter point I unfortunately failed to get data, which would have been of interest in comparison with the Hidatsa usage of classing the maternal grandmother's brother with the elder brother. According to Morgan the word for grandchild was also applied to the sister's grandchild (w. sp.), brother's grandchild (m. or w. sp.), and the sister's son's wife (m. sp.).

With the father Morgan, doubtless correctly, classes the mother's sister's husband and the stepfather. His identification of the father's sister with the mother in female parlance, however, seems doubtful since both my informants were women but gave a single word for the paternal aunt, corresponding to one of Morgan's terms for male usage. A second word given by Morgan for the father's sister (m. sp.) [177] *mā-sd-we*, is not Mandan at all but unmistakably the Hidatsa *bacā'wi*, which is used by both sexes. On the other hand, Morgan has only the equivalent of *tà waratore'* for the maternal uncle, while I also obtained a distinct word for women's use as well as the classification with the elder brother (by men only?).

Except for the applications already mentioned, my connotations for the elder brother term closely coincide with Morgan's, which is also essentially true of the younger brother category. The essential point here is that women have a single term for elder and younger brother coinciding with the men's word for younger brother, the men having an additional term for the elder brother.

In the designation of sisters there is only partial parallelism. To be sure, the [171] women (i. e., members of the sex of the person designated) have two distinct words for elder and younger sister, while the men have only one. The men's generic term, however, does not coincide with either of the women's words so that there are not two words but three to be reckoned with. Here Morgan agrees as regards the men's word, but differs in ascribing a single generic term to the women. Analogy, not only with the brother terms but also with the usage of other Siouan tribes, such as the Winnebago, strongly suggests that Morgan is in error.

My list contains two words for son without clear differentiation. Morgan practically restricts *minika'* to male and *kunika'* entirely to female speech. The latter word is also translated by him to cover the brother's son, sister's son, father's brother's son's son, mother's sister's son's son and mother's sister's daughter's son,—all with a woman speaking. He interprets *minika'* to cover the son, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, mother's son's son and stepson in male speech, and the stepson and father's brother's daughter's son in female speech. The two last-mentioned meanings are not very convincing; more particularly, the father's brother's daughter being classed with the sister, her son would logically be a sister's son, i. e., a "son" for women according to the usual classificatory rules, and it is not at all clear why this particular "son" should be distinguished from others by substituting a word ordinarily confined to male usage. It is further strange that a woman should

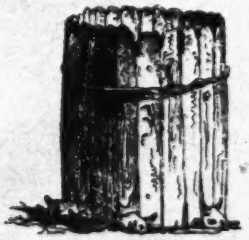
[1] [Consult category 116, pp. 124 for information on the Kinship terms.—Analyst]

291 garment, with open sleeves, and a girdle round the waist; the hem of this dress is often scolloped and fringed; they ornament the wrists with iron rings, and tie strings of glass beads round their necks, and sometimes in their ears. Their leggins, called, by the Canadians, mitasse, are short, reaching only from the ankle to the knee. Their shoes are simple, and without any ornament.

301 Tattooing is in use among these people, but by no means general. Most commonly only the left half of the breast and the corresponding arm are marked with black parallel stripes, and a few other figures. The lower arm and some of the fingers are occasionally marked; the men do not tattoo their faces, and they are far inferior in this art to the New Zealanders and other nations of the South Seas. Among the women such designs are sometimes seen, but not [56 I] frequently, and they are chiefly among the women's band of the white buffalo cow.[1] The point of the needle is dyed a dark blue with the bark of the willow soaked in water.

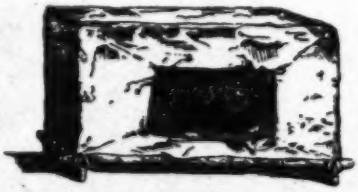
302 In Major Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains it is stated that the Crows rub their bodies 171 with castoreum, on account of its pleasant scent. I must observe, however, that the custom is not confined to one nation, but is practised by the Mandans, Manitaries, Crows, and Blackfeet, and most of the other tribes of the Upper Missouri. They mix the castoreum with a red colour, and with it rub their face and frequently their hair.

361 Having obtained a clear idea of the outward appearance of these Indians, we will next 712 consider their habitations, villages, and domestic life. Their villages are assemblages of clay huts, of greater or less extent, placed close to each other, without regard to order. Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, the largest of the Mandan villages, was about 150 or 200 paces in diameter, the second was much smaller. The circumference forms an irregular circle, and was anciently surrounded with strong posts, or palisades, which have, however, gradually disappeared as the natives used them for fuel in the cold winters. At four places, at nearly equal distances from each other, is a bastion built of clay, furnished with loop-holes, and lined both within and without with basket-work of willow branches. They form an angle, and are open towards the village; the earth is filled in between the basket-work; and it is said that these bulwarks, which are now in a



[1] [This is one of the women's age-grade societies.--Analyst.]

342 height, are long rafters, inclining to the centre; they are placed near each other, and bear the roof. On the outside the huts are covered with a kind of mat, made of osiers, joined together with bark, and now the skeleton of the hut is finished. Over this hay is spread, and the outer covering
462 is of earth. The men and women work together in erecting these huts, and the relations, neighbours, and friends, assist them in the work. The building of the huts, manufacturing of their arms, hunting, and wars, and part of the labours of the harvest, are the occupations of the men; every other kind of work is left to the women, who, though in general well treated, are obliged to perform all the really laborious work. The women fetch fuel, in heavy loads, frequently from great distances, carry water, and, in winter, blocks of ice into the huts, cook, tan the skins, make
354 all the clothing, lay out the plantations, perform field labour, &c. &c. In the centre of the hut a circular place is dug for the fire, over which the kettle is suspended. This fire-place, or hearth, is often enclosed with a ledge of stones. The fuel is laid, in moderately thick pieces, on the external edge of the hearth, crossing each other in the middle, when it is kindled, and the pieces
352 gradually pushed in as they burn away. The Indians are not fond of large fires. The inmates sit round it, on low seats, made of peeled osiers, covered with buffalo or bear skin. Round the inner circumference of the hut lie or hang the baggage, the furniture, and other property, in leather bags, the painted parchment travelling bags, and the harness of the horses; and on separate stages there are arms, sledges, and snow-shoes, while meat and maize, piled up, complete the motley assemblage. (See Mr. Bodmer's drawing of the interior of the hut of Dipauch, Plate XIX.) The beds stand against the wall of the hut; they consist of a large square case, made of parchment or skins, with a square entrance, and are large enough to hold several persons, who lie very conveniently and warm on skins and blankets. (See the woodcut.)



342 In the winter huts they place, at the inside of the door, a high screen of willow boughs,
221 covered with hides, which keeps off the draught of air from without, and especially protects the
171 fire.

The summer huts are very cool, and, generally speaking, have no unpleasant smell. Mr. Say gives a very good description, and a tolerably accurate print, of a Konza lodge, or hut, and, with

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some slight differences, the mode of building resembles, in the main, those of the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras. Among these differences are the mats which are fastened all round in the first hut, and which I did not observe among the tribes that I visited. The beds, too, are arranged in a different manner. The Mandans and Manitaries are seen in their huts, sitting round the fire, employed in all kinds of domestic labour. The man has, generally, no clothing except the nokka, and is often merely smoking, but the women are never idle. In winter, that is, at the beginning or middle of November, these Indians remove, with the greater part of their effects, to the neighbouring forest, where their winter huts are situated. These consist of precisely similar huts, of rather smaller dimensions. Their departure from the summer huts is determined by the weather, but, as beforesaid, is generally about the middle of November; and their return, in the spring, is usually about the latter end of February, or the beginning of March, so that we may reckon that they pass above eight months in their summer quarters. Inside of the winter huts is a particular compartment, where the horses are put in the evening, and fed with maize. In the daytime they are driven into the prairie, and feed in the bushes, on the bark of poplars. There are, probably, above 300 horses in the two Mandan villages; some of the people, indeed, do not possess any, while others, again, have several. The Mandans and Manitaries, like all the other Indians of this country, sometimes make what are here called caches, or hiding-places, in the vicinity of their villages. These caches are holes, or magazines, underground, often so artfully contrived that it is very difficult to discover them. The Indians frequently go from their winter to their summer village, to fetch any articles they may happen to want, as they invariably leave part of their property behind. When they quit their huts for a longer period than usual, they load their dogs with the baggage, which is drawn in small sledges, made of a couple of thin, narrow boards, nine or ten feet in length, fastened together with leather straps, and with four cross-pieces, by way of giving them firmness. Leather straps are attached in front, and drawn either by men or dogs. The load is fastened to the sledge by straps (for such a sledge drawn by dogs see Vignette XXIX). When the snow is deep, they use snow shoes (Plate XXI. Fig. 4), which are described by Captain Franklin, only those of the Mandans are much smaller, about two feet and a half long; whereas in the north their length is from four to six feet. The Mandans and Manitaries have not, by any means, so many dogs as the Assiniboins, Crows, and Blackfeet. They are rarely of the true wolf's colour, but generally black, or white, or else spotted with black and white. Among the nations further to the north-west they more nearly resemble the wolf, but here they are more like the prairie wolf (*Canis latrans*). We likewise found, among these animals, a brown race, descended from European pointers, hence the genuine bark of the dog is more frequently heard here, whereas among the western nations they only howl. The Indian dogs are worked very hard, have hard blows, and hard fare; in fact, they are treated just as this fine animal is treated among the Esquimaux.

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mother-in-law never speaks to her son-in-law; but if he comes home, and brings her the scalp of a slain enemy, and his gun, she is at liberty, from that moment, to converse with him. This custom is found among the Manitaries, who have, doubtless, borrowed it from the Mandans, but not among the Crows and Arikkaras. Among the Chippeways, and the Algonquins in general, the name must not be changed; and persons with the same name must not marry, but consider each other as brothers and sisters. Among all the North American Indian nations there are men dressed and treated like women, called, by the Canadians, Bardaches, of whom Mc Kenzie, Tanner, Langsdorff, and others, have spoken; but there was only one such among the Mandans, and two or three among the Manitaries.

Volney, and some other writers, have spoken rather too unfavourably of the moral character of the aborigines of North America, and their domestic habits. According to them, distrust and hostile feeling prevail among them, for which reason they never leave their huts unarmed; but I can bear witness that they are frequently seen in their villages, as well as in the environs, without arms, and that it is only at greater distances, and when they appear in state, that they carry their weapons in their hands. I have never observed any disputes among them, but, on the contrary, much more unity and tranquillity than in civilized Europe. It has often been asserted that the Indians are inferior in intellectual capacity to the Whites; but this has been now sufficiently refuted; and Harlan is not wrong in saying that, among the races of men, of which Blumenbach reckons five, the American should be ranked immediately after the Caucasian. If man, in all his varieties, has not received from the Creator equally perfect faculties, I am, at least, convinced that, in this respect, the Americans are not inferior to the Whites. Many of the Mandans manifest a great thirst for knowledge, and much desire to hear something of objects of a higher order; and if they were not so much attached to the prejudices inherited from their ancestors, many of them might be very easily instructed. The bad examples which they so often observe in the white men, who roam about their country in quest of gain, are not calculated to inspire them with much respect for our race, or to improve their morality. And if they have not been found inclined to the Christian religion, this is, certainly, in some measure, the consequence of the bad conduct of the Whites, who call themselves Christians, and are often worse, and more immoral, than the most uncivilized of the Indians. Many American and foreign works have taken notice of the striking good sense and wit, the correct judgment of the Indians, in all the occurrences of daily life, and it would be mere repetition here to quote examples. One is often at a loss to answer their questions, founded on correct and natural judgment. The inactive mode of life natural to the Indians, which disdains all laborious exertion, is a great obstacle to their adopting a different system. But they are not deficient in talent for drawing, music, &c., and this is quite manifest at first sight. Several Mandans not only took much pleasure in drawing, but had a decided talent for it. The hieroglyphics are well known, which the Indians employ

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776 in the form of an aged man, and, at others, in that of a young man. The first man, Numank-
773 Machana, holds the second rank; he was created by the lord of life, but is likewise of a divine nature. The lord of life gave him great power, and they, therefore, worship and offer sacrifices
776 to him. He is nearly identical with Nanabush among the Chippeways, or the people of the
171 Algonquin language, who, according to the notion of those tribes, acts as mediator between the creator and the human race. Nanabush and the creator frequently had disputes, and the Mandans have similar legends. Omahank-Chika, the evil one of the earth, is a malignant spirit,
776 who has, likewise, much influence over men, but who is not as powerful as the lord of life and
773 the first man. The fourth being is Rohanka-Tauihanka, who lives in the planet Venus, and it is he who protects mankind on the earth; for without his care the race would have been long since extinct. A fifth being, who, however, has no power, is something like the wandering Jew, ever in motion, and walking on the face of the earth in human form. They call him the lying prairie wolf. Besides these there is a sixth being, Ochkih-Hadda, whom it is difficult to class, and of whom they have a tradition, that whoever dreams of him is doomed soon to die. He appears to figure in their traditions as a kind of devil, is said to have once come to their villages, and taught them many things, but has not since appeared. They are afraid of him, offer sacrifices to him, and have in their villages a hideous figure representing him. They worship the sun, because they
776 believe it to be the residence of the lord of life. All their medicines or sacrifices are offered
772 chiefly to the sun, or rather to the lord of life, as inhabiting it. In the moon, say they, lives the old woman who never dies, and who wears a white band from the front to the back of the head; sacrifices and offerings are likewise made to her. They do not know who she is, but her power is great. She has six children, three sons and three daughters, who all live in certain stars. The eldest son is the day (the first day of the creation), the second is the sun, in which the lord of life has his abode. The third son is the night. The eldest daughter is the star that rises in the east, the morning star; and they call her, "the woman who wears a plume." The second daughter, called "the striped gourd," is a high star which revolves around the polar star; and, lastly, the third daughter is the evening star which is near to the setting sun.

539 The old woman in the moon desired to find a wife for her son, and brought a girl, whom she desired to wait outside the door. When the old woman sent out to fetch her, they found in her place a toad; indignant at the exchange, the toad was boiled in a vessel, that it might be destroyed. But this could not be done, nor could it be eaten, and it was, therefore, cursed, on which it remained always visible as a spot in the moon. The narrator could not say whether
[821] the sun was large or small, but, at all events, it was glowing hot. The son married a woman whom they called "the narrow-leaved wormwood." They had a son, of great promise, who appeared destined to act an important part. He was very skilful in making arrows, and versed in all kinds of hunting and catching of animals. He shot birds for his mother, though she had

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forbidden him to kill the prairie larks, yet he shot all his arrows at these birds, but he was unable to kill any. Upon this, one of the birds said to him, "Why will you kill me, since I am related to you?" He dug up in the moon the pomme blanche (*Psoralea esculenta*), for which his mother reproved him, because, through the hole which he had dug, they could see the Manitari villages in the earth beneath. And his mother said, "See, all those men are our relations; I did not intend to descend to the earth yet, but now we must go thither." The father once ordered the son to shoot a buffalo for him, and to bring him all the sinews of the animal; but the son twisted a rope with part of those sinews, in order thereby to let himself down to the earth. Accordingly he descended to the earth in the vicinity of the Little Missouri, but his rope reached only to the top of the trees. If he had had all the sinews of the buffalo, his rope would have reached the ground, but now remained suspended, and swung backwards and forwards. A large stone was thrown at him from the moon, which stone was in existence not very long since. The stone, however, could not kill him, he being medicine, that is, charmed. 539

The Mandans believe that the thunder is produced by the motion of the wings of a gigantic bird. When this bird flies softly, as is usually the case, he is not heard, but when he flaps his wings violently, he occasions a roaring noise. This huge bird is said to have only two toes on each foot, one behind and the other before. It lives in the mountains, where it builds an immense nest, as big as Fort Clarke. Its food consists of deer and other large animals, the horns of which are heaped up round the nest. The glance of its eyes produces lightning; it breaks through the clouds, the canopy of heaven, and makes a way for the rain. The isolated and peculiarly loud claps of thunder are produced by a gigantic tortoise, which lives in the clouds. When the lightning strikes, it is a sign of anger. They believe the stars to be deceased men. When a child is born, a star descends and appears on the earth in human form; after death it reascends and appears again as a star in the heavens. 821 [775]

The rainbow is a spirit accompanying the sun, and is especially visible at its setting. Many affirm that the northern lights are occasioned by a large assembly of the medicine men and distinguished warriors of several nations in the north, who boil their prisoners and slain enemies in immense cauldrons. The Chippeways are said to call this phenomenon "the dancing spirit," and the milky way, "the path of the ghosts." [171]

Dipauch related a history of the creation and the origin of the Mandan tribe, in the following manner. Though this narrative is equally silly and tiresome, I subjoin it, as giving an idea of the intellectual condition of this people, and the nature of their conversations. 773 539

Before the existence of the earth, the lord of life created the first man, Numank-Machana, who moved on the waters, and met with a diver or duck, which was alternately diving and rising again. The man said to the bird, "You dive so well, now dive deep and bring up some earth."

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600 at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote. One of their
771 chiefs never smoked out of a stone pipe, but always used a wooden one. Mato-Topé never
778 partook of other people's tobacco, but always smoked by himself, with the doors shut. They
276 do not willingly show their medicines or amulets, which are usually kept wrapped up in a bundle or bag, and never opened except on important occasions. They have particular medicine pipes, or, as the English call them, medicine stems, which are uncovered and used for smoking only on solemn occasions. Many make such pipes according to their own taste; such, for instance, was the pipe of Dipauch (Plate XXI. fig. 3). The bowl was nearly in the form of a Turkish pipe, and was made of brownish-red clay; the tube, which was rather short and thick, represented the lord of life in human form, but which it required some stretch of the imagination to discover. The nation preserves a celebrated pipe of this kind as a sacred relic, which no stranger is permitted to see. It has been in their possession since remote ages, and they offered to show it to me
435 for the value of 100 dollars. The Indians cannot obtain such pipes but at a considerable expense:
439 many of the necessary ornaments are not to be procured among them, such as the upper bill and the red crown of a species of woodpecker (*Picus pileatus*, Linn.), a bird which is not found so high up the Missouri. For the head of one of these woodpeckers, which was brought from St. Louis, they gave a large handsome buffalo robe, worth six or eight dollars. If a man pos-
597 sesses such a pipe, he sometimes conceives the idea of adopting a medicine son. The young man
796 whom he is to choose appears to him in a dream; it is, however, requisite that he should be of a
● 171 good family, or have performed some exploit. He acquaints him with his intention, and, after having provided two similar medicine pipes, he asks his newly-adopted son, whether he is ready to undergo the ceremony of the pipes? The latter frequently answers in the affirmative, and the time for the ceremony is fixed: but, if he has not yet made up his mind, it is deferred. The adoptive father then chooses two young men, who practise the medicine dance together, with the two pipes in their hands. The father often dances, in the morning, on the roof of his hut, and instructs these two young men. When the time arrives, and the adopted son is ready for the ceremony, the father, with all his relations, and the two young dancers, repairs to the hut of his newly-chosen son, and brings him a present of maize, cloth, blankets, kettles, and other valuable articles. The father takes his son by the hand and makes him sit down, after which the company dance round him, with the two pipes; they sing, accompanied by the drum and schischikué, the two young dancers keeping time to the music with their pipes. When the ceremony is over, and the presents laid in one or two heaps, the relations of the medicine son bring horses, cloth, blankets, and other things of value, which the two parties reciprocally divide between them. The father then again takes his son by the hand, makes him rise from his seat, and dresses him in new clothes from head to foot, and likewise paints his face according to his fancy. The dress and pipe are henceforth his property, and he is considered as a real son, who must support and defend his father.

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This custom exists among most of the nations on the Missouri, and even among the Esquimaux there is a somewhat similar usage. If the adopted son and father have not happened to meet for a long time, they make presents to each other; the father gives the son a new dress, and the latter presents him with a good horse. Among all the Indian nations of North America, there is a particular class of men, who are specially engaged in all the above-mentioned ceremonies and medicines. They are, also, the physicians, and are called, among the Mandans, Numak-Choppenih, which signifies medicine man.

778 554 782 556 431 602 778 281 [439]

The skin of a white buffalo cow is an important article, and an eminent medicine in the opinion of the Mandans and Manitaries. He who has never possessed one of them is not respected. Suppose two men to be disputing about their exploits, the one an old veteran warrior, who has slain many enemies, the other, a young lad without experience; the latter reproaches the other with never having possessed a white buffalo cow hide, on which the old man droops his head, and covers his face for shame. He who possesses such a hide generally offers it to the lord of life, to whom he dedicates it, or, which is equivalent, to the sun, or to the first man. He collects, perhaps, in the course of a whole twelvemonth, various articles of value, and then hangs them up all together on a high pole in the open prairie, generally in the neighbourhood of the burying-place, or in the village before his hut. Distinguished men and chiefs of eminence are for the most part poor, because, in order to gain reputation and influence, they give away everything of value which they possess. A large number of relatives is one of the chief means of acquiring riches, for a young man who wishes to distinguish himself, and to be liberal, does honour to the whole family, who assist him to the utmost of their power. When one of his relations has anything of value, the young man goes to the owner to demand it, and not unfrequently takes it away without ceremony. Sometimes he hangs his head in silence, and then something of value is given him, a handsome dress, a horse, &c. If he wishes to gain reputation and a claim to distinction, it is necessary that he should make presents. All the people in the village notice very accurately what presents are made, and the donor has a right to display all such presents painted on his robes, and in this manner to hand down his reputation to posterity, as has been already related. This and military glory are, in the eyes of these men, the greatest virtues. They dare not draw a stroke too much on their robes for the horses, guns, &c., which they have given away, for the young men keep a most strict account against each other, and universal ridicule would be the immediate consequence of violating this rule. Among the distinctions of any man, the white buffalo hide is the greatest. He who has not been so fortunate as to kill a white buffalo himself, which is generally the case, as these animals are very rare, purchases a hide, often at a great distance from home, and other nations bring them hither, being well aware of the great value attached to them by the Mandans. The hide must be that of a young cow, not above two years old, and be taken off complete and tanned, with the horns,

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LETTER No. 14.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

291 171 The Mandans in many instances dress very neatly, and some of them splendidly. As they are in their native state, their dresses are all of their own manufacture; and of course, altogether made of skins of different animals belonging to those regions. There is, certainly, a reigning and striking similarity of costume amongst most of the North Western tribes; and I cannot say that the dress of the Mandans is decidedly distinct from that of the Crows or the Blackfeet, the Assinneboins or the Sioux; yet there are modes of stitching or embroidering, in every tribe, which may at once enable the traveller, who is familiar with their modes, to detect or distinguish the dress of any tribe. These differences consist generally in the fashions of constructing the head-dress, or of garnishing their dresses with the porcupine quills, which they use in great profusion.

291 171 177 Amongst so many different and distinct nations, always at war with each other, and knowing nothing at all of each other's languages; and amongst whom, fashions in dress seldom if ever change; it may seem somewhat strange that we should find these people so nearly following, or imitating each other, in the forms and modes of their dress and ornaments. This must however, be admitted, and I think may be accounted for in a manner, without raising the least argument in favour of the theory of their having all sprung from one stock or one family; for in their continual warfare, when chiefs or warriors fall, their clothes and weapons usually fall into the possession of the victors, who wear them; and the rest of the tribe would naturally more or less often copy from or imitate them; and so also in their repeated councils or treaties of peace, such articles of dress and other manufactures are customarily exchanged, which are equally adopted by the other tribe; and consequently, eventually lead to the similarity which we find amongst the modes of dress, &c. of the different tribes.

291 The tunic or shirt of the Mandan men is very similar in shape to that of the Blackfeet—made of two skins of deer or mountain-sheep, strung with scalp-locks, beads, and ermine. The leggings, like those of the other tribes, of whom I have spoken, are made of deer skins, and shaped to fit the leg, embroidered with porcupine quills, and fringed with scalps from their enemies heads. Their moccasins are made of buckskin, and neatly ornamented

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head to foot, cleanses and purifies the body, and protects his skin from the bite of musquitoes, and at the same time preserves him from colds and coughs which are usually taken through the pores of the skin. 302

At the same time, an Indian looks among the civilized world, no doubt, with equal, if not much greater, astonishment, at our apparently, as well as *really*, ridiculous customs and fashions; but he laughs not, nor ridicules, nor questions,—for his natural good sense and good manners forbid him,—until he is reclining about the fire-side of his wigwam companions, when he vents forth his just criticisms upon the learned world, who are a rich and just theme for Indian criticism and Indian gossip. 000

An Indian will not ask a white man the reason why he does not oil his skin with bears' grease, or why he does not paint his body—or why he wears a hat on his head, or why he has buttons on the back part of his coat, where they never can be used—or why he wears whiskers, and a shirt collar up to his eyes—or why he sleeps with his head towards the fire instead of his feet—why he walks with his toes out instead of turning them in—or why it is that hundreds of white folks will flock and crowd round a table to see an Indian eat—but he will go home to his wigwam fire-side, and "make the welkin ring" with jokes and fun upon the ignorance and folly of the knowing world.

A wild Indian thrown into the civilized atmosphere will see a man occasionally moving in society, wearing a cocked hat; and another with a laced coat and gold or silver epaulettes upon his shoulders, without knowing or enquiring the meaning of them, or the objects for which they are worn. Just so a white man travels amongst a wild and untaught tribe of Indians, and sees occasionally one of them parading about their village, with a head-dress of eagles' quills and ermine, and elevated above it a pair of beautifully polished buffalo horns; and just as ignorant is he also, of their meaning or importance; and more so, for the first will admit the presumption that epaulettes and cocked hats amongst the civilized world, are made for some important purpose,—but the latter will presume that horns on an Indian's head are nothing more nor less (nor can they be in their estimation), than Indian nonsense and stupidity.

This brings us to the "corned crest" again, and if the poor Indian scans epaulettes and cocked hats, without enquiring their meaning, and explaining them to his tribe, it is no reason why I should have associated with the noble dignitaries of these western regions, with horns and ermine on their heads, and then to have introduced the subject without giving some further clue to their importance and meaning. For me, this negligence would be doubly unpardonable, as I travel, not to *trade* but to *herald* the Indian and his dying customs to posterity. 292

This custom then, which I have before observed belongs to all the north-western tribes, is one no doubt of very ancient origin, having a purely classic meaning. No one wears the head-dress surmounted with horns ex- [171]

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LETTER—No. 17.

MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

595 171 I MENTIONED in the foregoing epistle, that the chiefs of the Mandans frequently have a plurality of wives. Such is the custom amongst all of these North Western tribes, and a few general remarks on this subject will apply to them all, and save the trouble of repeating them.

Polygamy is countenanced amongst all of the North American Indians, so far as I have visited them; and it is no uncommon thing to find a chief with six, eight, or ten, and some with twelve or fourteen wives in his lodge. Such is an ancient custom, and in their estimation is right as well as necessary. 562 595 Women in a savage state, I believe, are always held in a rank inferior to that of the men, in relation to whom in many respects they stand rather in the light of menials and slaves than otherwise; and as they are the "hewers of wood and drawers of water," it becomes a matter of necessity for a chief (who must be liberal, keep open doors, and entertain, for the support of his popularity) to have in his wigwam a sufficient number of such handmaids or menials to perform the numerous duties and drudgeries of so large and expensive an establishment.

595 556 462 There are two other reasons for this custom which operate with equal, if not with greater force than the one above assigned. In the first place, these people, though far behind the civilized world in acquisitiveness, have still more or less passion for the accumulation of wealth, or, in other words, for the luxuries of life; and a chief, excited by a desire of this kind, together with a wish to be able to furnish his lodge with something more than ordinary for the entertainment of his own people, as well as strangers who fall upon his hospitality, sees fit to marry a number of wives, who are kept at hard labour during most of the year; and the avails of that labour enable him to procure those luxuries, and give to his lodge the appearance of respectability which is not ordinarily seen. Amongst those tribes who trade with the Fur Companies, this system is carried out to a great extent, and the women are kept for the greater part of the year, dressing buffalo robes and other skins for the market; and the brave or chief, who has the greatest number of wives, is considered the most affluent and envied man in the tribe; for his table is most bountifully supplied, and his lodge the most abundantly furnished with the luxuries

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261 As I before observed, these men generally eat but twice a day, and many times not more than once, and those meals are light and simple compared with the meals that are swallowed in the civilized world; and by the very people also, who sit at the festive board three times a day, making a jest of the Indian for his eating, when they actually guzzle more liquids, besides their eating, than would fill the stomach of an Indian.

There are, however, many seasons and occasions in the year with all Indians, when they fast for several days in succession; and others where they can *get* nothing to eat; and at such times (their habits are such) they may be seen to commence with an enormous meal, and because they do so, it is an insufficient reason why we should for ever remain under so egregious an error with regard to a single custom of these people.

I have seen so many of these, and lived with them, and travelled with them, and oftentimes felt as if I should starve to death on an equal allowance, that I am fully convinced I am correct in saying that the North American Indians, taking them in the aggregate, even where they have an abundance to subsist on, eat less than any civilized population of equal numbers, that I have ever travelled amongst.

251 Their mode of curing and preserving the buffalo meat is somewhat
171 curious, and in fact it is almost incredible also; for it is all cured or dried in the sun, without the aid of salt or smoke! The method of doing this is the same amongst all the tribes, from this to the Mexican Provinces, and is as follows:—The choicest parts of the flesh from the buffalo are cut out by the squaws, and carried home on their backs or on horses, and there cut "*across the grain*," in such a manner as will take alternately the layers of lean and fat; and having prepared it all in this way, in strips about half an inch in thickness, it is hung up by hundreds and thousands of pounds on poles resting on crotches, out of the reach of dogs or wolves, and exposed to the rays of the sun for several days, when it becomes so effectually dried, that it can be carried to any part of the world without damage. This seems almost an unaccountable thing, and the more so, as it is done in the hottest months of the year, and also in all the different latitudes of an Indian country.

So singular a fact as this can only be accounted for, I consider, on the ground of the extraordinary rarity and purity of the air which we meet with in these vast tracts of country, which are now properly denominated "the great buffalo plains," a series of exceedingly elevated plateaus of *steppes* or *prairies*, lying at and near the base of the Rocky Mountains.

It is a fact then, which I presume will be new to most of the world, that
263 meat can be cured in the sun without the aid of smoke or salt; and it is a fact equally true and equally surprising also, that none of these tribes use salt in any way, although their country abounds in salt springs; and in many places, in the frequent walks of the Indian, the prairie may be seen, for miles together, covered with an incrustation of salt as white as the drifted snow.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

173 this man's body is represented—that he wore a robe of four white wolf skins —his head-dress was made of two raven's skins—and in his left hand was a huge pipe. He said, "he was at one time the only man—he told them of the destruction of every thing on the earth's surface by water—that he stopped in his *big canoe* on a high mountain in the West, where he landed and was saved."

"That the Mandans, and all other people were bound to make yearly sacrifices of some edged-tools to the water, for of such things the big canoe was made. That he instructed the Mandans how to build their medicine-lodge, and taught them also the forms of these annual ceremonies; and told them that as long as they made these sacrifices, and performed their rites to the full letter, they might be assured of the fact, that they would be the favourite people of the Almighty, and would always have enough to eat and drink; and that so soon as they should depart in one tittle from these forms, they might be assured, that their race would decrease, and finally run out; and that they might date their nation's calamity to that omission or neglect."

These people have, no doubt, been long living under the dread of such an injunction, and in the fear of departing from it; and while they are living in total ignorance of its origin, the world must remain equally ignorant of much of its meaning, as they needs must be of all Indian customs resting on ancient traditions, which soon run into fables, having lost all their system, by which they might have been construed.

●[17] This strange and unaccountable custom, is undoubtedly peculiar to the Mandans; although, amongst the Minatarees, and some others of the neighbouring tribes, they have seasons of abstinence and self-torture, somewhat similar, but bearing no other resemblance to this than a mere feeble effort or form of imitation.

It would seem from their tradition of the willow branch, and the dove, that these people must have had some proximity to some part of the civilized world; or that missionaries or others have been formerly among them, inculcating the Christian religion and the Mosaic account of the Flood; which is, in this and some other respects, decidedly different from the theory which most natural people have distinctly established of that event.

There are other strong, and almost decisive proofs in my opinion, in support of the assertion, which are to be drawn from the diversity of colour in their hair and complexions, as I have before described, as well as from their tradition just related, of the "*first or only man*," whose body was white, and who came from the West, telling them of the destruction of the earth by water, and instructing them in the forms of these mysteries; and, in addition to the above, I will add the two following very curious stories, which I had from several of their old and dignified chiefs, and which are, no doubt, standing and credited traditions of the tribe.

"The Mandans (people of the pheasants) were the first people created in the world, and they originally lived inside of the earth; they raised many

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the record made is almost draped in the folds of acrimony and distortion. 000

"Standing aside from these acrimonious controversies, which deteriorate the value and reliability of conclusions drawn and opinions formulated, the unbiased course is left open for all these who seek for the most reliable information concerning an extinct race of men, of whom we know so little. Builders of mounds have existed from time to time for many centuries, in various parts of the world, but none more systematic and uniquely interesting than prehistoric man in the upper basin of the Mississippi."

Minnesota Effigies. "In 1894 in company with Dr. Shanafelt and Rev. S. Hall Young, the editor of these notes had the pleasure of exploring the remarkable Tascodiac effigies, situated in northern Minnesota at the most northerly course of the Mississippi, approximately, latitude 47 degrees, 30 minutes; longitude 94 degrees, 45 minutes, west of Greenwich."

Prehistoric Mound Near Bismarck—Not Mandan? "On the west bank of Apple creek, at the Sibley rifle-pits, near Bismarck, N. D., in July, 1895, a genuine prehistoric mound was discovered by the writer, upon section 27, township 138, range 80, west of the fifth principal meridian. The attention of Mr. Walter F. Cushing, secretary of the State Historical Society at Bismarck, was called toward this discovery. On the 12th of September last Mr. Cushing caused this mound to be excavated and explored, and the evidences were sufficient to determine that the mound was not of Mandan origin but prehistoric in all its surroundings, 1,436 miles above the mouth of the Missouri. This class of mounds are found in many parts of the two Dakota states, but systematic exploration has not yet been extended sufficiently toward the upper branches of the Missouri to certainly ascertain how far up those streams the Mound Builders extended their occupancy previous to the advent of the North American Indian." 172

At Head-Waters of Mississippi Branches. "It is now known as a certainty that they penetrated northward to Itasca lake and every branch of the Mississippi in its upper or head-water basin. As the Yellowstone National Park is situated immediately east of the most remote branch of the Missouri, numerous explorations near the Obsidian quarries of that wonderful locality are perti- 000

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 of the interior and it fitted well with the descriptions here given of the old lodges. It was evidently used at the present time for a storage house, at least to some extent, and was not a regular residence, for the log cabin home of the owner stood along side of it.

"At the other hut, across the Missouri river and several miles distant from the first one, the owner refused me permission to invade it, stating that it was used for ceremonial purposes." (p. 220.)

Prototype of Sod Houses. "After my inspection of the two earthern houses mentioned, I could not but be impressed with the fact that these old Mandan and Aricaree lodges were practically the prototypes of the settler's sod house of the prairies of recent time. The sides and roofs of these huts were covered with sod chunks of regular shapes and sizes, just such as we would cut out of the prairie for the same purpose. The porch, covered entrance, or passage-way mentioned was and is a characteristic, standing feature of these earthern lodges, and one which Catlin persistently ignored both in his paintings and text. Maximilian brought out this peculiarity of the Mandan hut in his work."

417 **Ancient Ladder.** "In one of the illustrations of an earth hut there can be seen a notched pole leaning against a scaffold, the latter used now, as in old days, for drying corn, etc. This pole is one of the primitive ladders anciently used by these Indians, and, evidently, not yet entirely discarded."

Says Wheeler relative to the causes of migration of the Mandans on the upper Missouri:

Mandan Deserted Villages—Migrations. "The monuments of
●172 these tribes, in the shape of abandoned and ruined huts and
174 towns, are to be found, as has been stated, on the banks of the upper Missouri from about Heart or Cannon-Ball river, below Mandan and Bismarck, to Knife river or beyond. The Indians seem, notwithstanding the great labor involved in so doing, to have moved quite frequently, not necessarily, however, for long distances. As the Sioux harrassed them continually, these removals were due in part to a desire to protect themselves more effectually, and another reason was the scarcity of fuel and timber which in time was felt in each neighborhood. In making these removals, it was quite common, as Lewis and Clarke mention,

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for two small villages to combine in one at the new location. Owing to the immense difficulty of cutting timbers with their crude stone axes, in making these changes of residence they undoubtedly carried with them the timbers of the abandoned huts and used them in rebuilding, wherever possible. The Indians left Knife river because of the scarcity of timber and the attacks of the Sioux. When the trading post of Fort Berthold—so called in honor of Bartholomew Berthold, a fur trader of St. Louis—was established, about 1844 or 1845, the Indians 'drew the logs (of which it was built) with lariats of rawhide over their shoulders.'" (p. 223.)

Lodge Ruins. "The dirt mounds, ruins of their former homes, have often been mistaken for the ancient burial grounds of these tribes, which is not surprising unless one has studied the history of this interesting people. About ten miles above Bismarck one of the best of these collections of mounds is found, on a bluff overlooking one of the most beautiful stretches of the Missouri, just below Square Butte. There are eighteen or twenty of the mounds, most of them well-defined, and generally more or less circular in their form. They form a semi-circle arc, with the river as a chord, and are now more or less merged together into an irregular ridge. These mounds have been dug over and over, yet I was able to find among them many shards and arrow-points and knives when I visted them." (pp. 5-6.)

Lower Village. "The Mandans call themselves Metutahanke, **the Lower Village,** as Dr. Matthews gives it, or Miti-Untanhanke, **the Village on the East,** as it was given to, and partially written for me by Mrs. Baker, both referring to the same village, the one called Ma-too-ton-ha by Lewis and Clarke. Maximilian calls this village Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, and these different readings of the same word well indicate the difficulties experienced in obtaining correct Indian vocabularies."

Farmers. "These people have always been farmers, and both men and women have for years, now, shared the labors of the field. In early days they raised corn, tobacco, squashes, beans, the wild sunflower, etc., and now they grow, in addition, potatoes, turnips, and various vegetables. The Aricaree seem to be the best farmers. Each tribe now raises cattle and horses, but they do not seem to grasp the idea that cattle raising, if attended to

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 kota. It is for us to find traces of the Mandans in South Dakota and farther southeast."

361 To further inquiries by the writer concerning the precise locations of various deserted Mandan and Aricaree villages explored
•172 by him, Mr. Steinbreuck responded with the following valuable details:

Mandan and Aricaree Village Sites. "I will answer your questions to the best of my knowledge. The seven villages are strung along the Missouri from about two miles below Apple creek on the east side to about three miles above Burnt creek on the same side. There are remains of Mandan villages on (SW 4, Sec. 14 T. 137 R. 80 NW 4, Sec. 2, T. 139, R. 81, NE 4, Sec. 21, T. 140, R. 81), on the east side, and on (Sec. 13, T. 138, R. 81, Sec. 35, T. 139, R. 81, Sec. 27, T. 139, R. 81, Sec. 33, T. 140, R. 81), on the west side.

"All those villages were found abandoned by Lewis and Clarke.
361 Lewis and Clarke found the Mandans at the bend of the Missouri
172 near Fort Clarke (built later during 1831-33, started by James
167 Kipp and finished by Mitchell) a little above that fort in two villages (1804). Catlin found the Mandans there also. The Mandans and the Aricarees lived together. The smallpox epidemic was in 1837, after which the Indians moved to the Fort Berthold reservation, where the Hidatsa had gone several years prior. That is all I can tell you about the Mandans. The story goes that the Mandans and Aricarees lived together near Heart river before Lewis and Clarke's time, about twenty years before Lewis and Clarke. That is, some lived in separate villages, some lived with the Mandans. They had a quarrel and separated. Some went up the Missouri with the Mandans, to Fort Clarke, others moved down the river again to that region below the Cannon-Ball. Later, between 1804 and 1834 the balance of the Aricarees below the Cannon-Ball, became too weak, by wars and disease, to withstand the attacks of the Sioux, moved gradually up the Missouri to join their former allies, the Mandans and their own
172 countrymen with the Mandans. This point was near Fort Clarke.
361 There are many Aricaree villages along the Missouri, more in number, than all the Mandan village sites together. All show short time of occupation. This information is obtained by my own investigation and compared with the reports of early travelers, and especially by the study of specimens found at the differ-

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ent villages, and it is no illusion to call one village a Mandan, and the other an Aricaree village of old. 172 361

"Such particulars have slipped the observation of early travelers, as they were looking more for the very goods, the Indians and for their places of habitation, and have overlooked abandoned places. Lewis and Clarke also do not mention any such abandoned village as there is the site on Sec. 30 and 31, 143, 81.

" As far as I have got in the location of villages, camps and cemeteries I have forty-five in number marked on the map, a few more to be added."

*(A map which he is preparing for the State Historical Society of North Dakota, see L.)

Under date of March 19th, 1907, Mr. Steinbreuck further states: 361

"I do not believe the Aricarees moved down the Missouri very far, since their quarrel with the Mandans. They put one river between them and the Mandans, the Cannon-Ball. Lewis and Clarke found them above Grand river. Some of the Aricarees stayed with their allies, the Mandans, and moved up stream with them from their villages near the Heart. The larger part moved up later between 1804 and 1833. I have found now forty-three villages from five miles below. Standing Rock agency, up to above Knife river, including three Hidatsa villages. Some of the villages are later than 1804, and are determinedly of Aricaree origin. Further no mention is made of those later villages by Lewis and Clarke." 167

Writer's Visit to Fort Berthold and Mandans. "On September 5th-7th, 1905, he who presents this paper went to Old Fort Berthold and beyond, to Elbowoods, N. D., for the purpose of gaining, if possible, some further impressions of the Mandans and of interviewing some of the leading men of the tribe on the reservation within whose limits they were living. An account of that trip, as regards the Aricarees—who were also the objective of the visit—is found in Vol. III, of the South Dakota History Collections, pages 572-583. 000

"Rev. C. L. Hall, who had been for about thirty years and still is Missionary of the Congregational Missionary Society among the Indians at that reservation, very kindly entertained and materially assisted the writer while there. That point, some twenty 621 124

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

175 Will and Hyde studied the agriculture of a number of Plains tribes which included the Mandan.[18] Their report indicated that 114 much of the aboriginal Mandan culture could still be preserved from the knowledge of a number of the older Mandan. Densmore's study of Mandan and Hidatsa music indicated something of the rich ceremonialism shared by these two tribes.[19] Beckwith studied and recorded the folklore of the Mandan during the 1930's.[20] Although her reports by no means cover all the secular and sacred myths of this tribe, a considerable body of traditional lore was preserved and recorded during several brief visits to the tribe. Kennard studied the Mandan language in 1933 and published a report on Mandan grammar in 1936.[21]

172 Archeological studies have not kept pace with the ethnological studies of this important Plains tribe. The first intensive 114 archeological study of a Mandan earth-lodge village site was made by Will and Spinden in 1905 at the Double Ditch site, the residence of the Nuptadi Mandan on the east bank of the Missouri north of Bismarck, North Dakota.[22] Subsequent studies by Strong[23] and by the writer in other documented Mandan sites of the same region show that minor cultural differences existed between Mandan sites of the same period. In 1908 Libby employed native informants to assist in the interpretation of archeological phenomena.[24] He found that lodge arrangement around an open circle was characteristic of the Mandan and Arikara villages, the latter group placing a large circular ceremonial lodge in the center of the open circle, whereas the Hidatsa practiced no particular lodge arrangement, and that the leaders of the Mandan villages lived adjacent to the village plaza. He in-

18. George F. Will and George E. Hyde, *Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri* (St. Louis: William Harvey Miner Co., Inc., 1917).

19. Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* ("Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology," Bull. 80 [Washington, 1923]).

20. Martha W. Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-lore Society," Vol. XXXII [Boston, 1938]).

21. Edward Kennard, "Mandan Grammar," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. IX, No. 1.

22. George F. Will and H. J. Spinden, *The Mandans: A Study of Their Culture, Archaeology and Ethnology* ("Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University," Vol. III, No. 4 [Cambridge, Mass., 1906]).

23. William Duncan Strong, *From History to Prehistory in the Northern Great Plains: Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America* ("Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," Vol. C [Washington, 1940]).

24. *Op. cit.*

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dicated that La Verendrye had actually reached the Hidatsa and not the Mandan when making a winter trip to the Missouri in 1738. He based his conclusions largely on the journals of the course followed after leaving the Souris River. He believed that La Verendrye reached the Missouri River near the present town of Sanish, North Dakota. Because of the absence of large earth-lodge village ruins near Sanish, this opinion has been largely rejected by subsequent students of Mandan-Hidatsa history. 172 114

The first reference to observed temporal differences in cultures of earth-lodge sites in the area was made by Will, who wrote:

> In pursuing the above-described work an impression gradually grew that there were two rather distinct types of sites in the region, distinct enough in fact so that nearly every site could be referred readily to one or the other group. The center for one type seems to be below the Heart River, with the Huff site as perhaps the best representative. The second type is found at and above the mouth of the Heart River altogether, although the lower sites seem to overlap. . . . A reasonable conclusion therefore seems to be that the two types must represent a difference in time and culture between two periods of occupation by the same tribe. This agrees well with the historical traditions of the Mandan, and seems a fair hypothesis although much longer and more detailed work would be required to demonstrate it fully.[25]

The relative age of sites near the Heart River suggested by Will has been demonstrated to be correct by archeological explorations in the sites by Strong,[26] by Will and Hecker,[27] and by the writer. In another report the writer enumerated pottery traits and frequencies that could be used to distinguish Hidatsa sites from those of the Mandan and indicated that the sites showing pottery traits characteristic of the Hidatsa village groups were traditionally Hidatsa sites according to the information of both Mandan and Hidatsa informants.[28] Having established the frequency of pottery types characteristic of the documented Mandan sites of the early historic period, it was shown that differences in frequencies occurred between different levels within each village site and that the same changes in 172 174

25. George F. Will, *Archaeology of the Missouri Valley* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXII, Part 6 [1924]), p. 341.

26. *Op. cit.*

27. George F. Will and Thad C. Hecker, *Upper Missouri River Valley Aboriginal Culture in North Dakota* ("North Dakota Historical Quarterly," Vol. XI [1944]).

28. Alfred W. Bowers, "A History of the Mandan and Hidatsa" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago).

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172 174 popularity of pottery types were occurring simultaneously in all of the Mandan villages near the Heart River. Relative dating of sites was made on the basis of the frequency of these types. It was found that the oldest agricultural population in the area lived in a large number of small settlements situated adjacent to the wooded bottoms where agriculture could be practiced. Lodges were rectangular in outline and were frequently as large as seventy-five by thirty-five feet; floors were excavated to a depth of from three to four feet; lodges were widely scattered, and the villages were unfortified. The close similarity of pottery over a wide area extending from the mouth of Knife River to the Oahe Bend in South Dakota indicated that the first agricultural groups occupied the area over a short period of time and probably with little resistance from groups already in the area. It is hard to calculate the period of time during which the native agricultural groups occupied these early sites which in another report have been placed in the Cannonball focus. Nowhere is the refuse very deep, although the sites are generally covered with two or more feet of wind-blown sand carried out of the river bottoms. Probably not more than one hundred and fifty years would be required to account for the building and abandonment of these numerous small village sites. Shortly before A.D. 1500 the native population above the Grand reassembled into large fortified sites of the Huff focus.[29] Rectangular lodges were still being built, and we find archeological evidence, for the first time, of village plazas. Villages of this cultural horizon were rectangular in outline and were surrounded with fortifications consisting of a ditch, palisades, and bastions.

The evidence of a second agricultural population farther downstream, which has been classified as belonging to the Lower Grand focus or culture, indicates that the Mandan were in A.D. 1500 divided into two regional groups. The division of the Mandan into two groups is consistent with native traditions that, when the southern group moved northward to the vicinity of Heart River, they found other Mandan already living there. The archeological evidence indicates that the southern group were first to adopt the circular earth lodge and that the north-

29. George F. Will, *Tree Ring Studies in North Dakota* (Agricultural Experiment Station Bull. 338 [Fargo, 1946]).

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ern group adopted it between 1550 and 1600, retaining a modified rectangular lodge for ceremonial purposes thereafter until the native population moved onto the Reservation. Whereas emphasis was on cord-impressed pottery at the Heart River, the southern group emphasized incised pottery. As contacts between the two groups increased when the southern group moved northward, the frequency of cord wares increased. According to tradition, the Awigaxa Mandan were last to abandon the Grand River region and move onto the Missouri at Painted Woods. There they adopted the Okipa with the prescribed lodge arrangement around an open circle, but we find that in these traditional sites the frequency of cord wares never equaled that of the northern Mandan.

The earlier earth-lodge sites occupied by the various Hidatsa village groups, though generally showing close similarity in traits to those of the Mandan, have a few diagnostic differences. These are an abundance of check stamped pottery, considerable cord-roughened wares, absence of fortifications with ditch and bastions, and lack of lodge orientation within the village. The sites on the Missouri River that can be identified as having been occupied by the Hidatsa groups from native traditions, and these diagnostic traits, are neither numerous nor of long occupation. With two exceptions, the sites are situated north of the Heart River. Downstream from the mouth of the Knife River, the villages consisted of clusters of earth lodges occupied during the summer months while practicing agriculture. Earth-lodge villages are generally absent along the Missouri upstream from the mouth of Knife River; in that region cultural manifestations are found in thin lens-shaped deposits, suggesting that temporary shelters, probably hide tepees, were used. These sites, both earth lodge and temporary, which can be identified with the historic Hidatsa and Crow groups, have been classified as belonging to the Painted Woods focus. Similar sites are also found on the Sheyenne River to the east from which these groups traditionally moved to the Missouri. Studies of pottery at Awatixa, the longest occupied site of the Hidatsa, indicate that, whereas the lower levels show close ties with the Shultz site on the Sheyenné, the late prehistoric and early historic levels show closest ties to that of the Mandan. None of the sites

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172 other than the Awatixa site at the mouth of Knife River show
171 long occupation; this substantiates native traditions that the
174 Awatixa lived longest on the Missouri and that the Hidatsa and Awaxawi were last to arrive.

The archeological evidence collaborates traditions of both the
174 Mandan and the Hidatsa groups relative to migrations and pe-
101 riod of residence on the Missouri. The Mandan were first to move onto the Missouri and establish villages. On this earliest cultural horizon, those farthest north had rectangular semi-subterranean lodges and pottery that was decorated with impressed cord. The southern groups built small circular earth lodges; their pottery was lighter in color and was decorated predominantly with incised bodies and rims. As the southern groups moved northward to join the northern groups, each group borrowed from the other. The northern groups adopted the circular earth lodge and incised pottery, while the southern groups adopted the open circle, rectangular lodge for ceremonial purposes, and pottery with cord-impressed decorations and grooved-paddle impressed bodies. By A.D. 1600 the entire Mandan population was living at or above the Heart River, having abandoned the Missouri to the south to the nomadic groups.

During the century 1600–1700, group after group of Hidatsa and Crow moved westward and occupied sections of the Missouri and its tributaries. According to native traditions, which can be verified by the depth of refuse accumulation at Awatixa village site at the mouth of Knife River, this village group was first to reach the Missouri. At this time the Awatixa were united with the Crow, who separated at the Missouri, those who remained agricultural and settled at the mouth of Knife River being known as the Awatixa and the nomadic group who moved westward onto the Little Missouri being known as Crow. This migration was followed by the Awaxawi a short time later. They came as agriculturalists and settled below the mouth of Knife River at Painted Woods, where the southern Mandan had built after leaving the Grand River. The last migration of Hidatsa and Crow followed a number of years later. According to the traditions of both the Mandan and the Hidatsa groups, this last migration was of a nomadic peoples who had lived northeastward of Devils Lake. This group occupied the territory up-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

361 lation of refuse in the remainder of the village this open circle
346 took on the character of a sunken area within the village. This open area appears as frequently near the edges of the abandoned village sites as in the approximate centers. These sunken areas
•[172] within the ruins of ancient sites downstream from the last Mandan villages distinguish ancient Mandan villages from those of other tribes. In ruins such as occur at the Larson or Motsiff sites, where there was a considerable accumulation of refuse within the village, the sunken area was very pronounced. At the Deapolis Site, where the interlodge refuse was thin, the open circle appeared as a slight depression with a low mound where the cedar stood.

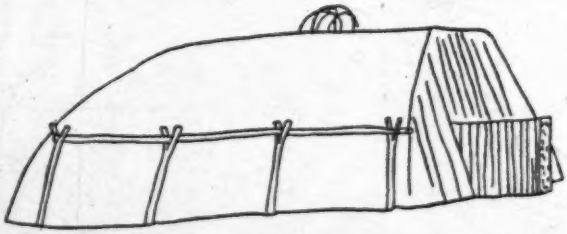

FIG. 13.—Plan of Okipa ceremonial lodge. (Drawn by White Calf.)

361 The three Hidatsa village groups in general lacked the open
171 circle arrangement of lodges, although the Hidatsa proper in later years marked off a section within the village where dancing was done and where lodges were not permitted. There was neither a cedar, special ceremonial lodge, nor inner circle of lodges facing a common center. The Awatixa and Awaxawi villages lacked all semblance of lodge orientation, leaving only sufficient space between for corn scaffolds and passageways.

The Arikara plan shows considerable variation as to age. The protohistoric and early historic sites frequently had a special ceremonial lodge in the approximate center of the village, but all villages did not have ceremonial lodges. A limited area adjacent to the ceremonial lodge was used for the dances, but the neighboring lodges were not arranged in a circle, and there was no orientation of lodge entrances toward the center. More recent historic Arikara villages had definite open circles with orientation of lodges toward the center, where the ceremonial lodge

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near the top of hills or on benchlands adjacent to the streams (see Figs. 25–27). Of the total area claimed by these two tribes, only a small part of the entire territory was suitable for trapping, and that was confined to narrow sections of river country (see Fig. 28).

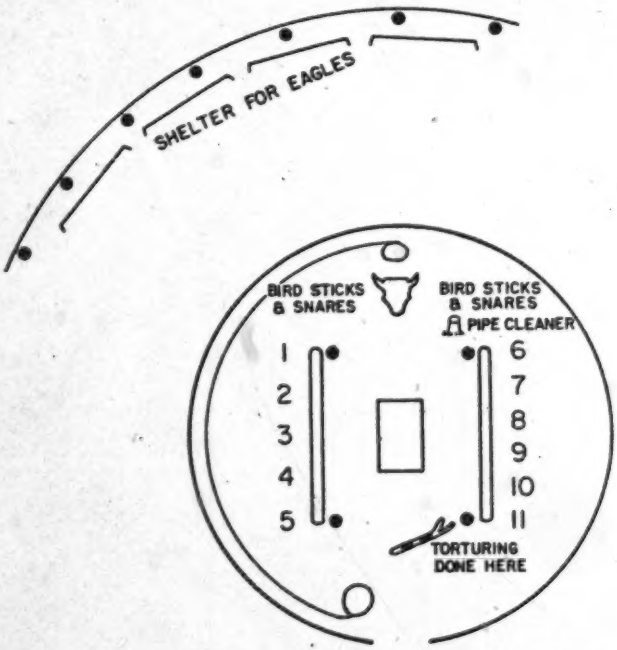

FIG. 25.—Plan of eagle-trapping lodge. *1*, Wolf Eyes—leader (Maxoxati-H); *2*, Big Walker—assistant leader (Tamisik-M); *3*, Little Crow (Low Hat); *4*, Lance-owner (3 clan); *5*, White Body (Maxoxati); *6*, Holding Eagle—Crack Shot (Prairie Chicken); *7*, Little Bull (Knife); *8*, Black Bear (Knife); *9*, Sitting Woman (Prairie Chicken); *10*, Bears Arm (Knife); *11*, Louie Wolf—waiter (Water-buster).

Historic accounts of these two tribes give little information on eagle-trapping, but there are frequent references to their value in trade. The standard price of a good horse was three war bonnets containing a total of one hundred and eight black-tipped feathers, which would be the feathers from nine birds.

Archeological evidence verifies native tradition of the great antiquity of eagle-trapping. In the rough country west of the Missouri River there are thousands of depressions marking the sites of former pits. These pits vary from sharply rectangular

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 forms with rotted sections of the cover still protruding to gently
223 rounded depressions now nearly filled by erosional activity. The
● 172 number of pits, together with their wide distribution, points to a universal practice of considerable antiquity.

796 During the century 1770–1870 there was a general northward
223 movement of the Mandan and Hidatsa which was accompanied
167
648 [346]

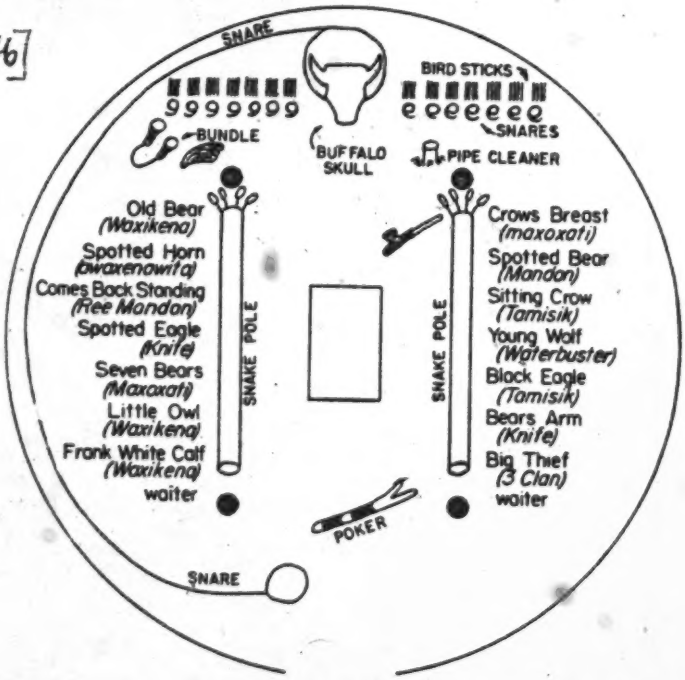

FIG. 26.—Floor plan of eagle-trapping lodge, Old Bear, leader. Bird sticks: *1*, "Both Ends White"; *2*, "Speckled"; *3*, "Four Stripes"; *4*, "The Young One."

by a shift in eagle-trapping territory. Crows Heart (Mandan), who had been on many trapping expeditions with both Mandan and Hidatsa leaders, stated that the Mandan claimed eagle-trapping rights to the territory on both sides of the Missouri River from Like-a-Fishhook Village to the Yellowstone and along the Little Missouri River to its headwaters. While living in the Heart River region, the Mandan claimed trapping rights to all the rough lands beeween the Little and Big Missouri rivers as far west as Powder River in Montana. To the south

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter VIII

CATFISH-TRAPPING CEREMONY

THIS ceremony was associated with the eagle-trapping bundle, and both possessed a common mythological origin from Black Wolf. There was no direct reference to the fish trap in the Black Wolf myth, but in theory the sacred snare could catch anything. Crows Heart explained that even a buffalo corral was in reality a large snare, so a man owning a sacred snare was selected to stand on a high hill and by means of motions, as of snaring the buffaloes, pulled the animals by its magical powers into the corral.[1] War leaders took their sacred snares along when looking for enemies for supernatural aid in ensnaring and destroying their foes.

Purchase of catfish- and eagle-trapping rites could be made simultaneously, or the fish-trapping rights could be bought at a later date. Some men bought rights in only one of the ceremonies. A seller possessing rights in both ceremonies could sell each ceremony four times. Associated closely with these two ceremonies were the sweat lodge and the snare rites for doctoring and officiating at the buffalo and antelope pounds.

Although the Missouri River carries considerable sediment, catfish are very abundant. The presence of catfish bones in ancient Mandan and Hidatsa villages indicates that considerable use was made of these fish as food.

When a fish trap was in use, the black-bear hide was kept in the owner's lodge, laid out on calicoes on a four-post standard with its head pointing toward the fireplace. Food was offered to the bundle each day while the fish trap was being used.

Ben Benson remembered these Mandan who had catfish-trapping rights about 1880:

1. Black Tongue (Big Turtle). He was also custodian of the Okipa turtle drums, Hoita in the Okipa, owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a singer in the Corn ceremonies.

1. Refer to my manuscript, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization," for an account of the ceremonies associated with the buffalo corral.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 The Mandans have many other medicine establishments in the vicinity of their villages, all of which are dedicated to the superior powers. Mr. Bodmer has made very accurate drawings of those near Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, one of which consists of four poles placed in the form of a square; the two foremost have a heap of earth and green turf thrown up round them, and four buffalo skulls laid in a line between them, while twenty-six human skulls are placed in a row from one of the stakes at the back to the other; some of these skulls are painted with a white stripe. Behind the whole a couple of knives are stuck into the ground, and a bundle of twigs is fastened at the top of the poles with a kind of comb, or the teeth of a rake, painted red. The Indians repair to such places when they desire to make offerings or put up petitions; they howl, lament, and make loud entreaties, often for many days together, to the lord of life, which the French Canadians call weeping, though no tears are shed. A similar medicine establishment is represented where a couple of figures, very clumsily made of skins, were fixed upon poles, representing, as we were told, the sun and moon, probably the lord of life and the old woman who never dies.[7]

Catlin, who describes similar skull circles and mounds, writes:

When the scaffolds on which the bodies rest, decay and fall to the ground, the nearest relatives having buried the rest of the bones, take the skulls, which are perfectly bleached and purified, and place them in circles. . . . There are several of these "Golgothas" or circles of twenty or thirty feet in diameter, and in the centre of each ring or circle is a little mound of three feet high, on which uniformly rests two buffalo skulls (a male and female); and in the centre of the little mound is erected a "medicine pole," about twenty feet high, supporting many curious articles of mystery and superstition, which they suppose have the power of guarding and protecting this sacred arrangement. Here then, to this strange place do these people again resort, to evince their further affections for the dead—not in groans and lamentations however, for several years have cured the anguish; but fond affections and endearments are here renewed, and conversations are here held and cherished with the dead.[8]

778 Catlin refers to the frequent visits to these shrines by the women, which was verified by Calf Woman. She added that the •172 single mound and offering was to Sun's sister, one of the evil Holy Women. People sometimes placed skulls around her shrine also. This practice of assembling fasting shrines composed of images, mounds, and skulls was employed by the Hidatsa after moving to Like-a-Fishhook Village and was reported by both Wolf Chief and Bears Arm. Whether this practice was employed at the Knife River villages has not as yet been determined by actual archeological investigations. The Heart River Mandan sites have an abundance of disarticulated human bones, other

7. Maximilian, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

8. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 151–53.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

than skulls, which usually appear singly in refuse heaps, pits, or shallow graves.

Women took an active part in these ceremonies. Calf Woman thought that it was because they did not want their gardens burned by Sun, who she said once tried to marry Waving Corn. (People never prayed to the sun to bring warm weather. When the winter was severe, they prayed to Lone Man of the Okipa to come as the south wind.) When he was refused, he came four times, and each time the plants withered. Women would fast at these shrines to save their crops and ask help for their men away on the warpath.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

114 After Catlin comes Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied.[1] During the winter of 1833–4 he passed several months among the Mandans, and has given us a minute and accurate account of the manners and customs of the people in so far as he observed them. In addition he has given one of the best vocabularies of Mandan and almost the only grammatical sketch of that language. This, though incomplete, is of great value. There is nothing romantic and imaginative in Maximilian's style and treatment of the Mandans, and he may be justly recognized as the best of the various authorities.

Besides these more important chroniclers of the Mandans there is a group of minor authorities to whom something is due for an occasional fact. Most of these men have taken their accounts almost wholly from the above first-hand narratives, making in some cases small additions of their own. First in this group is Patrick Gass,[2] a member of the Lewis and Clarke expedition. With the exception of McKenzie and Larocque,[3] two Northwest Company men who tell us scarcely anything, he is the only one of the minor authorities who writes from personal observation. The others are men who have only condensed what has been gathered by reading, such are Schoolcraft,[4] Hayden,[5] and Matthews.[6]

•172 361 The remains which form a basis for the archaeological section of the present paper are part of a single village site. There are numerous other sites of a similar type scattered from the Grand River in South Dakota, to the north side of the Knife River in North Dakota. These sites are attributed to two different tribes, the Mandans and the Arikara. We may first consider the remains which seem to be of Mandan origin.

The field in which these sites are found is restricted to an area along the Missouri River from a few miles south of Apple

[1] Voyage en l'Amerique du Nord. Paris, 1843.

[2] Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a corps of Discovery under the command of Captain Lewis and Captain Clarke. Philadelphia, 1812.

[3] Journals in Masson, Les Bourgeois de la Campagnie du Nord-Ouest, vol. II. Quebec, 1889.

[4] Op. cit., vol. III, pp. 245 et seq.

[5] Contributions to the Ethnography and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley. Trans. Am. Philos. Soc. (N. S.), vol. XII, pp. 435 et seq.

[6] Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians. Washington, 1877.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Creek in Burleigh Co., North Dakota, to a point some fifteen miles south of the Knife River in Mercer Co., North Dakota, and this field is again subdivided into the historical and the more or less traditional sites. Of the former little will be said. They are the remains of villages which Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian, Catlin, and other early travellers visited, and are situated on the Missouri about fifteen miles below the Knife River. There is another small set of remains intermediate between the traditional and the historical, the stopping place between the former and the latter. These intermediate sites are on the south side of the Missouri on the bluffs southwest of Washburn, and are rather closely connected with several Arikara sites.

We are concerned here, however, with the oldest villages which were visited by only two white men who have left accounts, the Sieur de Verendrye, and McKenzie, whose account is mentioned by D. D. Mitchell in a letter to Schoolcraft. The question might be raised as to how it is known that the sites visited by Verendrye and McKenzie were the oldest ones. The statement of McKenzie that on his visit the Mandans lived in nine villages should suffice to establish this. According to all accounts, after the removal from the early sites the Mandans did not have at any time over five villages, and these soon shrank to even fewer. If McKenzie found nine villages in 1773 the Mandans must have been occupying the earlier sites, and certainly if they were there in 1773, they were very probably there in 1738. The further fact that Verendrye describes the Mandans as being in full power and prosperity shows also that they had as yet suffered none of the losses by disease and war which caused their removal to the later villages.

The location of these oldest Mandan sites comes up next for consideration. They were situated on the Missouri River near the Heart River, some above, some below, on both sides of the former, but the number of villages is uncertain. The location near the Heart is affirmed by all. Lewis and Clarke's Journal,[1] March 10, 1805, says, "The Mandans formerly lived in six (nine) large villages at and above the mouth of the Heart River." Maximilian[2] says, "After the first alliance with the

[1] Thwaites Edition, vol. I, p. 271. [2] Op. cit., p. 436.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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●172 Hidatsa, the Mandans lived in eight or nine villages at and
175 above the Heart River."
361 The number of these ancient villages is a problem which it is impossible to settle definitely. Even an exact and thorough canvas of the ground cannot settle this, as changes of the river may have caused the entire disappearance of some sites. Historical and archaeological evidence alike leave one in doubt. Verendrye, who visited but one Mandan village, says, "I was answered that there were five forts on the two banks of the river . . . . . much larger than the one we are in."[1] But further on he makes this additional statement, "We noticed that in the plain were several small forts of forty to fifty huts . . . . . but no one was there. . . . . The forts in the plains were occupied during the summer to work their fields . . . . . there was a large store of reserve grain there."[2] Next in point of time comes Lewis and Clarke's account, from which may be given three extracts. "These villages, nine in number are scattered . . . . . for twenty miles, ... almost all that remains of them is the wall surrounding them and the fallen heaps of earth which covered the houses."[3] Again, "Within the recollection of living witnesses, the Mandans were settled . . . . in nine villages . . . . . about eighty miles below . . . . . seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri. The two . . . . . wasting before the smallpox and the Sioux united into one village and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras. The same causes reduced the seven to five . . . . . they immigrated . . . . . to the Ricara Nation . . . . ." Also,[4] "The Mandans formerly lived in six (nine) villages . . . four (six) on the west side, two (three) on the east. One of those on the east and the largest was entirely cut off by Sioux and smallpox."[5] Here is disagreement of the same authority both in the total number of villages and in the relative distribution on the two sides of the river.

Catlin is the next writer who gives a version of the tradition, and in his North American Indians[6] is the statement that the Mandans formerly lived down river in ten villages. Maximilian,

[1] Brymner: op. cit., p. 19. [2] Ibid., p. 23. [3] Oct. 22, 1804.
[4] Nov. 21, 1804. [5] Mar. 10, 1805. Thwaites Edition, I, p. 271. [6] p. 51.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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who next claims attention, gives at least two different versions of the story. In one place[1] he makes the statement that the Mandans formerly lived in thirteen or more villages, each had a name and they distinguished themselves thus: 1. Pheasant Village, 2. Village of (the people of) the West, 3. Bear Village, 4. Badger Village, 5. Prickly Pear Village, 6. Village of the Sulky Ones, because they separated from part of their nation to come up the Missouri. Here is a notable discrepancy between the stated number of villages and the number of names given. In another place he states[2] that after the first alliance with the Hidatsa the Mandans lived in eight or nine villages: 1. The South Village, 2. The Greatest Village, 3. The Scattered Village, 4. The Littlest Village, 5. The Village of Those Who Turn Back, 6. The Village on the Hill, 7. The Village of Those Who Separate their Legs, 8. The Village of Those Who Tattoo Themselves.

Thus the authorities not only disagree with each other, but even vary their own statements. Verendrye says six and a number of smaller ones; McKenzie, nine; Lewis and Clarke, from six to thirteen, at various times. Through all of these accounts, nine seems to be the favorite number, but it might hardly be safe to fix it at that. Perhaps the discrepancy can best be accounted for by remembering Verendrye's story of the summer villages, and the fact that Maximilian speaks of villages in the woods occupied for a short time during the worst of the winter. Another factor which may have a bearing on the matter is the old tradition mentioned by Maximilian[3] that the Hidatsa lived near the Mandans for a few years after their arrival, and before moving up to the Knife River. Considering these facts together with the prevailing traditional number of nine, it might be concluded that at the time of residence on the Heart River there were nine actual fixed villages, and an uncertain number of smaller and less fixed camps. This can be only regarded as a hypothesis.

Archaeological evidence is also conflicting on this subject. Lewis and Clarke noted a number of the remains in passing, and probably a series of quotations from them will best bring out

[1] Op. cit., p. 378. [2] Ibid., p. 436. [3] Ibid., p. 435.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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172 the points of location which should be emphasized. In Allen's Lewis and Clarke are the following entries:

175 "Oct. 19. 1804. We camped on the north opposite to the
361 uppermost of a number of round hills. . . . . Near to one of these moles on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain are the remains of an old village. . . . . "

"Oct. 20. After . . . . . twelve miles we encamped on the south at the upper part of a bluff . . . . . immediately below . . . . . are the remains of a village formerly occupied by the Mandans."

"Oct. 21. At two miles from our encampment . . . . . ruins of a second Mandan village . . . . . on the north at the foot of a hill in a beautiful . . . . . plain . . . . . nearly opposite are remains of a third village on the south . . . . . another . . . . . two miles further on the north. At a distance of seven miles we encamped. . . . . "

"Oct. 22. We passed an old Mandan village on the south . . . . . at four miles another on the same side . . . . . at six we reached an island about one mile in length, at the head of which is a Mandan village on the north in ruins . . . . . at eight miles are remains of another Mandan village on the south."

Here is an actual description and more or less definite location of nine seemingly very noticeable village sites.

Maximilian's[1] notes on the subject come next with the following extracts: ". . . . a chain of hills called the mountains of the old Mandan village, for one of their villages had been where the river cuts the chain. . . . . It was at the foot of a chain of hills on a fine plain not far from the river. . . . . Here began the Mandan territory . . . . . [Later on same day] We cut wood near the mouth of Apple Creek."

"Next day we came in sight of Square Buttes. . . . . After eight hours we came to an old Mandan village on the right in the prairie."

The archaeological information collected by this party increases the uncertainty. No complete archaeological survey was attempted and the location of sites other than those personally visited will not be discussed. The accompanying map

[1] Op. cit., pp. 19 to 22.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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(Map I)[1] marks roughly the sites as judged from the above extracts from Lewis and Clarke, and more accurately the sites which have been actually seen in the course of this investigation. The first site encountered in the above extracts is approximately on the south bank of Apple Creek above some round, clay buttes. This one was not visited. The second site is on the west side of the river at the base of the hill on which the infantry post of Fort Abraham Lincoln was formerly located. This site was examined, and it is accurately marked on the map. Of the next two sites one on the east and one on the west, but little can be said. The first certainly is on the outskirts of the present town of Mandan. The other one possibly has disappeared in the river. At all events, the only corroboration found, after having been over the country, is a small site on the point of a bluff about one mile above the Northern Pacific Railroad bridge over the Missouri. It is not so plain as the others, nevertheless on a cursory investigation and excavation by our party it showed signs of lengthy occupation. The next site mentioned by Lewis and Clarke is stated to be "two miles further on the north and a little off the river." Of this no trace has been found, unless it be that at the Sperry farm. This one is about five miles above the other site; it is on a bluff, bordering what was formerly a creek, and is about two miles from the river. In some respects this fills the requirements, in point of distance, however, it hardly fits with the account.

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Of the locations of the three other villages on the west side of the river Lewis and Clarke's account does not furnish sufficiently accurate details, although a careful examination of the ground might make them clear. Only one more site is mentioned by Lewis and Clarke on the east, and this, it is believed, is the one where the excavations hereinafter described were made. This last site was by their reckoning about thirteen miles above their Fort Abraham Lincoln camp, at the head of an island. The site at which the excavation was carried on is probably fourteen miles north of their camp. It is at the head of a broad place in the river where there is a small island now. Mr. Burgois, who has lived in the neighborhood for a number of years, says that formerly the island was much

1 [See facing p. 85, cat. 116 — Analyst]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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larger. This is the only widening of the river where an island could form within the distance stated, and lastly the site is in a very conspicuous situation on the top of a hill. The earthworks are larger than is usual around the other sites, and in every respect the place is apt to attract the attention of any one passing up river.

At a distance of some three miles further up on the same side is another village site not quite as large. It is hidden now from the river by cottonwoods which have grown up in front of it; the site lies on the very edge of the first bench in a level plain. The finds there agree with those in the other places and it is very evidently a remnant of the same people. This gives four known sites on the east side.

On every hand thus it is evident that there is great uncertainty. The number of sites is far from certain. The sites cannot be absolutely identified even when historically described — neither locations nor distribution according with descriptions given. The fact that the Mandans have a tradition of the Hidatsa living near them for a while also adds to the confusion. But the tradition as given by Maximilian[1] states also that the Hidatsa were a roving people, and non-agricultural on their arrival. Consequently there would probably be little difficulty in distinguishing their sites. Moreover, the Hidatsa are supposed to have stayed there only four or five years, and then to have proceeded up to the Knife River.

One more phase of the location question remains to be discussed. The last disturbing feature in identifying the sites is the wandering of the Arikara who, as has been said, also left a number of village sites. It is probable, however, that the Heart River area was never occupied by them for any actual settlement. For this belief a number of reasons may be given. The Arikara are a branch of the Skidi Pawnee which split off through some quarrel and started off independently, reaching in the course of time the Missouri River and ascending it by stages. Their villages were stationary and much like the Mandans but none of them seem to have been as permanent as those of the latter. This fact offers one reason for supposing that such

[1] Op. cit., p. 435.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Heart River sites as were seen were not of Arikara origin, for the deposits in each place show a very long period of occupation. If the Arikara had just separated from the Pawnees at the time of Verendrye's visit, they certainly did not have time to accumulate such deposits before Lewis and Clarke came. 172 175 361

However, a brief consideration of what is known of their movements is still worth something though the evidence is negative. Verendrye[1] gives the following account of the Arikara: —

"At a day's journey from the last of these were the Panana . . . . . then the Panani. These two nations . . . were now at war for four years, had always . . . . been closely united . . . "

This extract seems to place the time of the separation at about 1734. The Arikara were seen in 1804 when Lewis and Clarke visited them, and at that time they lived in three villages at the mouth of the Grand River. On the way up, both on the Cheyenne and Moreau rivers old Arikara villages were noted and placed on the map. Later in 1812 Bradbury in the description of his journey says that they still occupied the Grand River site. However, during the period before Lewis and Clarke's arrival other moves had been made. Lewis and Clarke[2] state that after smallpox destroyed most of the Mandan nation, reducing them to one large and some small villages they moved up into the Arikara country where they lived many years in peace.

Alexander Henry[3] says that the Arikara and Mandans lived together in the same village thirty leagues down; they separated and the Arikara went down, the Mandans up till stopped by the Hidatsa.

Maximilian[4] states that thirty-seven years before, when Charboneau came, the Arikara lived on a point just above the largest Mandan village. After that they moved back down stream and the Mandans plundered their village.

The only point in all the above which seems to connect the Arikara with the Heart River sites is the statement by Henry that the two nations lived together at thirty leagues south. The circumstances of this seem to point to the site opposite Washburn, and it may be safe to consider his estimate of the

[1] Op. cit., 19.
[2] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 334.
[3] Nov. 12, 1804.
[4] Op. cit., p. 358.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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distance as an error in stating the story. The more so since details coincide with accounts of the Washburn site.

Reviewing the whole question of the Arikara's locations, there are:—a site on the Cheyenne River, one on the Moreau River, one on the Grand River, and one some fifty miles above the Heart River, near Washburn. In 1738 they were on or near the Grand, and there again in 1804. Maximilian says that before the smallpox the Mandans feared no one, but that the Arikara and the Cheyennes were their natural enemies. Taking into account the last statement and also the fact that during the period of sixty-six years the Arikara established such a number of villages, and, moreover, that the Mandan alliance with the Arikara is placed in all the traditions as after the fall of the Mandans, it may be safely stated that the Arikara are not responsible for any of the Heart River sites.

In the discussion the location and number of the sites has now been treated and there are points which should be emphasized. The only facts which are certain are that the Mandans formerly had at least six large villages in the neighborhood of the Heart River which were abandoned between 1772 and 1804, and that there are at least six old village sites which can still be located in that region. In addition there are the following which while not definitely proved, may be regarded as highly probable: that the Heart River sites are identical with the Mandan ones; that they cannot be attributed to the Hidatsa with any reason; and lastly that there is no proof for, and much circumstantial evidence against the belief that any of this group of sites is due to the Arikara. Details of culture, historical evidence, and archaeological finds, will reënforce belief in the mutual identity, and from now on all sites of the Heart River area will be considered as of Mandan origin.

3: Will and Spinden NQ 17 Mandan NQ17

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[Additional information, specifically the section on the archaeology of the Burgois site, will be found in category 116, pp. 148-87.]

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

first came among these people in 1849. The women had a line on the chin and a small spot on the forehead tattooed by the medicine man, whom they paid roundly for the work. The chiefs only, of the men, were tattooed, and on one side, or one-half of the breast, or one arm and breast. This was part of the ceremony when they were elected or made chiefs. They call themselves by a word which signifies 'people of the east,' but claim that this refers only to the position they first occupied in the village." 304

Migrations—From North? "Tradition among these Indians gives no definite account of their migrations other than the movements of their villages on the Missouri river; not, of course, considering the myth of their subterranean origin at Devil's Lake, Dakota. The Cheyennes, who are clearer in their traditions than most tribes, claim that the Mandans came from the north. Mr. Donald Gunn, in his 'History of Manitoba,' says: 'The Crees who visited the trading posts on the shores of Hudson's Bay, and the Assiniboines, who traded in 1678 with Duluth at the west end of Lake Superior, were about the same time put in possession of firearms, and within a few years thereafter they seemed as if by mutual consent to have made a simultaneous movement, the former pressing on to the southwest, the latter pursuing their course to the northwest, until they met in the region west of Lake Winnipeg, and on the plains of Red and Assiniboine rivers. Indian tradition informs us that during the first half of the last century the Mandans occupied the country to the southwest of Lake Winnipeg, and that they had been forced by the united efforts of their invaders to leave their hunting grounds and retire to the upper Missouri. How long it took these tribes to drive out those whom they found in possession of the country, and what wars they carried on to accomplish that object, are lost in the mist of years. However, we have had the evidence of a living witness to the fact that the Crees and the Assiniboines lived on the plains southwest of Lake Winnipeg for some years previous to the year 1780, and that they made a preconcerted attack that year on the trading posts on the Assiniboine." 173

"I am inclined to think that this statement is in the main correct, but believe that the Mandans were driven out of this part of the country (adjacent to Lake Winnipeg) at an earlier date, for we find them located on the Missouri in 1772, with evidences of their having been there for many years." (P. 239.)

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

•173 The foregoing is far from historic proof that the Mandans did not at the times mentioned have their real base on the Missouri river. If they had been driven out of the "plains southwest of Lake Winnipeg" southward to the Missouri river about the end of the 17th century, which plains had been their own country, it seems hardly possible that they would not have so informed Verendrye in 1738—less than half a century after such ejection; nor would they have been likely to have forgotten it as a fresh tradition when Lewis and Clarke visited them. But if they had been hunting or marauding on those Canadian plains, and had failed to make permanent lodgment there as a home while really living on the Missouri, such rebuffs by the Crees and Assiniboines would be less consequential and might account for silence on the part of the Mandans concerning their Canadian campaigns. We continue the account from "Indian Sign Language:"

"Information given to the late General William Clarke in his expedition up the Missouri denotes that the Mandans have suffered greater vicissitudes of fortune than most of the American tribes."

361 **Walled Villages.** About a century ago they were settled on both banks of the Missouri some fifteen hundred miles above its mouth. They were then living in mire villages, surrounded by circular walls of earth without the adjunct of a ditch. The ruins of one of the old villages, observed in 1804, covered nearly eight acres and denoted a comparatively large population. Two of these villages were on the east and seven on the west side of the Missouri. They were first discovered and made known to us in this position in 1772. (Mitchell's letter herewith.)

721 **Their Wars.** They appear to have been a hated tribe to the Dakotas, or Sioux, and Assiniboines, who from the earliest traditionary times carried on fierce war against them.

Smallpox. Finding themselves sorely pressed by this war and
361 having experienced the wasting inroads of the smallpox the two
166 eastern villages united into one and migrated up the river to a
[164] point opposite to the Arickaree, fourteen hundred and thirty
721 miles above the mouth. The same causes soon pressed the other seven western villages, reducing them to five; they also afterward migrated in a body and joined their tribesmen in the Arickaree country, and concentrated and settled themselves in two large villages. Here they dwelt for a time, but were still subject to

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 dan and Awatixa. The bundle was at Mitutanka before the smallpox epidemic of 1837 and was brought to Like-a-Fishhook Village by the lower group of Mandan when the village was built. Bobtail Bull and his wife were owners. He was killed July 13, 1850.[1]

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF THE SHELL ROBE BUNDLE

778 The bundle went from Bobtail Bull to his daughter, Good Ways, and to her
773 husband named Big Foot Bull; thence to Wolf Ghost, Good Ways' brother. When Wolf Ghost was dying, he sent word to Montclair to come for the Holy Woman Robe to take home and keep. Montclair sent word back that he did not want to keep it in his lodge and to leave it in its place. It was left there after Wolf Ghost's death.[2]

The robe had its beginning in Yellow Dog's village and got over into the Mandan tribe by sale. The Mandan took the robe and passed it from generation to generation by father and mother to son or daughter and husband. Bobtail Bull passed it to Montclair through his daughters to their son, Montclair. In Montclair's early days he did not belong to the church and kept the robe as a protector. Later he turned it over to Wolf Ghost, his mother's brother, and joined the Congregational church.

After Wolf Ghost died, people would continue to go there and make offerings to the robe until it disappeared.

I learned the story from Poor Wolf, who got it from the old men. Poor Wolf said, "Whenever I want to learn a story, I make a feast and pay a man of my father's clan[3] to go to the old man and ask to hear the story. The old man would take the things and tell just how it all happened. I would sometimes forget something and have to go over it again, so I would go back to the old man and have him repeat it. By the third time I would have it thoroughly learned."

I would feed Poor Wolf and give him presents and have him come over to tell me the stories. I would always go to the man with the rights. Poor Wolf did not learn the story from the Mandan but from an Awaxawi who had bought the story from older people in his tribe, so the story is a little different from the way the Mandan tell it.

Poor Wolf said: "I made a feast and gave gifts to buy the right to know the stories, and, when I thought I forgot, I had them repeated three or four times. Even Ree have ceremonies of the same kind. I was adopted by the Ree and wanted to know the rites, so I told the man I wanted to know the meaning. The Ree sent all out, and then told me all about the Ceremony of Adoption."

At Like-a-Fishhook Village the people were few after the smallpox. The village was well fortified with hewn timber, and a bell had been put up. At certain times each morning the Black Mouth Society would ring the bell and open the gate to let the people out to the cornfields or for wood. They would work all day, and, when the bell rang, the people would come through the

1. *Journal of Rudolph Friedrich Kurz*, trans. Myrtis Jarrell; ed J. N. B. Hewitt (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 115 [Washington, 1937]), pp. 74–75.

2. Calf Woman said that the bundle belonged to the Prairie Chicken clan and that men married into this family line merely helped in the ceremonies.

3. This was the Hidatsa method.

2: Bowers E,5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

gate, and it would be tied up for the night. If any were left out and they came to the gate and were recognized, the gate would be opened for them. If an enemy came, he could not get in. 778 173●

Some Mandans named Bobtail Bull, Bad Gun, Standing Bear, Lean Bear, Sand, Dancing Flag, and a few others belonging to the Buffalo Society went to the southeast on a war expedition. They stopped at the small Mandan village, Nuptadi, where a few Mandan were still living. This was eighty-two or eighty-three years ago [from 1933]. A woman had a horse tied to a corn scaffold and was on top slicing squash. The war party went inside and sat down. An enemy Sioux came in, and they received him and gave him leggings, but, when he sat down, Bobtail Bull jumped up and killed the Sioux, who was named Bull Boy. Then the war party left. The Sioux came to the small Mandan village, but those people said that they had nothing to do with it; that it was done by the other Mandan living at Fishhook. The lower Mandan were the ones who had fought with the other Mandan and had not then united.[4]

The Sioux chased Bobtail Bull's party, and they ran into the woods near Mannhaven or Yellow Water. A Sioux called, "My friend; I am here," but the Mandan would not come out. In the night they made a raft and swam the woman's horse across and came back to Like-a-Fishhook Village. Since the village was fortified, they could not get in until morning when the bell was rung. They painted their faces black and ran through the village with their scalp.

Sometime afterward, Bobtail Bull had a dream from this Holy Woman Robe. The robe said to him, "I am bringing you a warning. You will not be permitted to go out anywhere during the summer. You must stay in the village and not go out hunting or on the warpath until the first snow comes. Then you will be out of danger."

Bobtail Bull called in his war party and some of the old men and told them this. He said, "My robe has told me to stay in the village during the summer season. There is danger ahead for me, and I am not allowed to go outside of the fortification."

The men said, "That is all right. It is good that your robe has warned you."

During the summer he stayed inside of the village and out of sight in his lodge. The people coming back from their travels reported many wild turnips and thought the people should go out to dig them. After Bull Boy was killed, whenever the Sioux made a fire, they would put a stone in the fire and name it Bobtail Bull so that it would mean he was to die if the stone snapped. All this time the Holy Woman tried to keep it from cracking, but she said to Bobtail Bull in a dream, "Do not go out today. I have worked for you, but the Sioux will have luck if you leave the village, for now I am getting tired and feel weak."

He told his wives this, but one was part Sioux, and she must have been helping her people. He dressed up, and his friends asked him why he was dressed up to dig turnips. He related what his medicine had told him. Since his wife wanted him to go so badly, he was going to try it. His wife had insisted that they would be near the village. They went three miles east of the village. The women said, "You ride around and find them, and we will dig them."

While he was looking for the wild turnips, they came near the Badlands

4. This division referred to by Bears Arm occurred in 1820. He explained that the group moved to Birds Bill Butte south of Mandan and did not return until 1823, when they settled near Mitutanka Village.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

where the Sioux were hiding. The Sioux rushed out, and a shot broke Bobtail Bull's leg above the ankle, and he said, "I am Bobtail Bull." He shot several with his arrows but in turn was hit in the chest with a bullet and died. The Sioux who killed him named himself Bobtail Bull.

Because Bobtail Bull killed the enemy at the small Mandan village, these people were obliged to come to Like-a-Fishhook Village for protection.

There is a slight variation in the myth between villages. This was determined by ascertaining the villages the various family lines had resided in. There were two distinct Mandan versions and one Hidatsa version. Several accounts were recorded of which three representative versions are given. They are: (1) Mitutanka version, supplied by Mrs. Owen Baker, granddaughter of Bobtail Bull; (2) Nuptadi version, narrated by Ben Benson; and (3) Hidatsa version, related by Bears Arm.[5]

MITUTANKA SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY MRS. OWEN BAKER[6]

She was a Mandan. The people went to a winter camp, coming from the Heart River. They were at the place where they dig paint near the Little Missouri. It was east of where the road crosses north of Killdeer. This place was called "Where they dig paint." They were traveling along slowly, for they had dogs. The girl and her brother got lost. Though the children were missing, the people could find no trace of them. The two children built a lodge shaped like the eagle-trapping lodge. When they had finished, they were hungry, so they looked around. They found rose berries and wild turnips. They dug a cellar and put them away for the winter.

In a short time, the sister found a friend who stayed at home all the time, but the sister rarely stayed at home. She brought in elk, deer, and many kinds of meat. One day the boy brought in an elkhide. The women tanned the hide and made a robe of it. When they finished, they pasted clam shells to it. They painted the morning star on the middle of the robe.

She said, "Leave a space where I can put something on the left side for Corn Tassel." (The Awatixa call her Red Feather.)

Her brother did not know what it all meant, so he worried about it. After he had eaten, he would lie down to worry.

The two women tanned hides for their robes and dresses. The sister did not like the place and thought it was not a good place to live, so she left the place and went to Big Timber. There she built a large lodge and had all the mysterious holy women help her. They lived there a few years. When she was away, the brother would hear a strange noise while hunting and wondered what it was, but he was never able to get the answer. One day when she was gone, his other sister told him that his sister (Feather on Head) was after him.

She said, "Did you hear a noise? That is your sister. She flies into the skies and fights there. She is trying to take your life. I will try to help you out so you will be safe. When you go hunting, if you kill an elk or buffalo, cut the meat and hide up into small pieces and throw it around where you butchered."

5. This version was from Awatixa Village of the Hidatsa tribe.
6. For the Nuptadi and Awatixa versions see Appendix II.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 buying subsidiary rights until, when reaching maturity, he had
793 full knowledge of the ceremony. The teaching of a ceremony by sections characterized the entire ceremonial pattern of the Mandan and constitutes one of the major differences between Mandan and Hidatsa ceremonial training, the latter tribe giving the instruction in its entirety at the time of bundle sale.

796 The Mandan believed that the Okipa began as a simple buffalo dance at a time when the tribe was small and life was
173 simple and that the ceremony grew in complexity as the tribe increased in numbers and complexity. Crows Heart explained that, as new tribal bundles were added, additional impersonators were added for the "Everything Comes Back Day." The changes instituted since the ceremony was described by Catlin and Maximilian were insignificant. The number of singers was reduced to three, and the torture feature was performed outside the ceremonial lodge.

796 It is significant to note that, in spite of the prominent place of agriculture in the Mandan economic life, little recognition was
241 given to agriculture in the "Everything Comes Back Day" of this important ceremony. The Old Woman Who Never Dies was represented together with other holy women by two men dressed as women, and those of one moiety rubbed their wounds with corn meal. Otherwise, little recognition was given to agriculture.

796 The importance of mythology in Mandan ceremonialism should not be minimized.[1] Left to his own resources in describ-
773 ing a ceremony, a Mandan informant invariably introduced the subject by first relating the myth. These myths explain the peculiar topography of the Mandan country with lakes and sloughs to the east, badlands and streams to the west, and the Missouri River dividing the two. These sacred myths even explain the creation of the white men and their cattle on the east bank of the Missouri River, where, in mythological times, they were found to be too weak to survive and were sent back across the ocean. When the writer showed Bear on the Flat fossilized clam shells and wood in coal-bearing beds, he immediately explained their presence in terms of the flood sent by Maniga to

1. Lowie writes: "Several Plains tribes—notably the Hidatsa, Blackfoot, and Arapaho—utilize widespread tales to account for the origin of rituals" (Robert H. Lowie, *Myths and Traditions of the Crow Indians* ["Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXV], p. 8).

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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SECTION I.

HISTORY, LIFE AND CUSTOMS.

ORIGIN:— From the previously mentioned historical sources an attempt will now be made to give a brief account of the Mandans as they were seen by travellers. First, however, comes the discussion of their origin and migration, for the most part theoretical, but supported to some extent by evidence. The Mandans had a tradition of coming out of the earth, nothing unusual in itself, but in relating this story they also told Maximilian that they came from the east out of the earth and struck the Missouri at the White Earth River in South Dakota. The eastern origin corresponds with that of the rest of the Siouan stock to which the Mandans, both linguistically and to a considerable extent in their culture, belong. The Ohio valley would seem to have served as a point of dispersal whence the Plains members of the Siouan stock are supposed to have moved in four successive migrations. The earliest group to leave consisted apparently of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow, and of these the Mandan were probably a number of years ahead of the other tribes. The Mandans have fairly vivid traditions of the coming of the Hidatsa many years after the former had established fixed villages on the Heart River.

They describe[1] the Hidatsa as a wild wandering people whom they taught to build stationary villages and to raise corn, pumpkins and other vegetables, and who soon moved up to the Knife River. If this tradition has any truth in it, it seems to establish the Mandans as the first nation in the successive Siouan migrations. The order of migration is placed as follows:—

1. Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow.
2. Iowa, Otoe, Missouri, Winnebago.
3. Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansas, Kwapa.
4. Dakota, Assiniboine.

[1] Maximilian: p. 435.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Island in South Dakota and was told by traders that there were 174
a number of others about that country. Maximilian was told
that the Mandans first touched the Missouri at White Earth 167
River in South Dakota, with which might be connected the reported existence of the remains of circular earth lodges in southern Wisconsin. Here are arguments for both theories; up to the present, however, the matter must remain unsettled until some careful investigation decides it.

HISTORY:—In the earliest historical accounts the Mandans 175
were firmly established in stationary villages in the neighbor-
hood of the Heart River. Verendrye says that they lived in 361
six large villages along the Mandan River, were a large and powerful nation and feared none of their neighbors, all of whom they dominated by their superior culture. Their manufactures [439]
were almost necessities among the other tribes, and in trade they were able to dictate their own terms. The forts he said were impregnable to Indians, being very well fortified. Verendrye visited the smallest village in which he said that there were one hundred and thirty houses by actual count. His son, who visited one of the larger villages, declared that it was twice as large, judging from which it can safely be assumed that there were at least one thousand houses in the several villages. Lewis
and Clarke declared that in the two villages of one hundred huts [161]
there were three hundred and fifty warriors; figuring at this rate there should have been at least fifteen thousand Mandans in 1738 dwelling prosperously in large and well-fortified towns.

For the next sixty-six years there is little information but 175
their own tradition. Judging from McKenzie's narrative they continued prosperous and powerful up to 1772 at least. He declared that at that time they lived in nine villages, large and near to each other, and could muster fifteen thousand warriors. The latter estimate is probably large, but the whole statement seems to show that no misfortune had come to them at that date. Their remaining history is summed up in their own tradition as related to Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian and others.

This tradition runs as follows:—Formerly they lived hap- 175
pily and prosperously in nine large villages on the Missouri 173
near the mouth of the Heart River. Six or seven of these vil-

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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175 lages were on the west side and two or three were on the east
173 side of the river. Maximilian gives names for fourteen villages which have been already quoted. For a great many years
[164] they lived there when one day the smallpox came to those on the east side of the river. While this smallpox was still rife, the Sioux attacked and destroyed the east villages. The survivors then proceeded up the river some forty miles where they all settled in one large village. Soon after the smallpox reduced the villages on the west to five, and still later the five went up to where the others were in the neighborhood of some Arikara, and settled in two villages. A great many people had been destroyed and they were now no longer strong and fearless. They made an alliance with the Arikara against the Sioux. So far the tradition is our only authority, and all this had happened before the year 1796.

175 In Henry and Schoolcraft is the statement that in 1796 the two villages on the south united, and both the one on the south and the one on the north moved up river some distance. From this time on there is a nearly continuous chronicle. Lewis and Clarke found the two villages one on each side and about fifteen miles below the Knife River. At that time both villages consisted of forty to fifty lodges and, united, could raise about three hundred and fifty men. Lewis and Clarke describe them as engaging in continual warfare with the Arikara and Sioux against whom they united with the Hidatsa. The description given by Lewis and Clarke agrees with the conditions some two years later when Henry visited them.

Thereafter no particular event marks the history of the Mandans for some years. The Arikara went up and lived near them again for a time, but soon went back to the Grand River. Catlin found them in practically the condition in which Lewis and Clarke saw them, and so did Maximilian. Maximilian says they still lived in the two villages; the largest on the south side was Mih-toutta-Hangkouche and consisted of about sixty lodges. The smaller one, Rouhptare, was on the north and consisted of thirty-eight lodges. The villages were still fortified, though poorly, and there had been little change in the condition of the people.

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At the time that the first man had incensed the Whites by his voracity, the latter made the water rise so high that all the land was overflowed. On this, the first man advised the ancestors of the Numangkake to build a wooden tower, or fort, upon an eminence, assuring them that the water would not rise higher than that point. They followed his advice, and built the ark, on the lower side of Heart River, on a large scale, and a part of the nation was preserved in this building, while the remainder perished in the waves. In remembrance of the kind care of the first man, they placed in each of their villages a miniature model of this ark, one of which still exists in the village of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush. The waters afterwards subsided, and they still celebrate the festival of Okippe in honour of this ark, of which we shall have to speak in the sequel.

Before the first great deluge, the Numangkake lived below ground, but a band of them (the same of which we have been speaking) took up their abode above ground at an earlier period. They believe that there are four stories below ground, and as many above, and they now inhabit the fourth from below. The band which first came above ground is called by them Histoppe (those with the tattooed countenance), and these, for the most part, perished in the great deluge. Those who lived under ground one day perceived a light over their heads, which made them desire to ascertain what was above. They accordingly sent up a mouse, which looked about, returned, and reported that the land above was similar to that which they inhabited. They then sent up a certain animal, called by them, Nahsi, about the size of a polecat, and distinguishable by black stripes on its face and legs. Perhaps this was the racoon, which is not now to be found in this part of the country. This animal, when he came back, said that it was much more pleasant above than below. They, therefore, ordered the badger to dig a larger opening, as the present issue was too small. After the badger had performed his task, the black-tailed deer was ordered to go up and enlarge the opening by means of his horns. He ran about the whole day, ate service berries, and returned in the evening. His tail was at that time white, but as this deer returned at sunset, and the sun went down at the very moment when his tail only was above ground, that was ever afterwards black.

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The Numangkake now resolved to go up. The great chief, with his medicine and his schischikué in his hand, went first. They climbed up, one after another, by the aid of a branch of a vine; and when exactly half their number had ascended, and a corpulent woman was half-way up the vine, it broke, and the remainder of the nation fell to the ground. This happened in the neighbourhood of the sea-shore. Those who had reached the surface went on till they came to the Missouri, which they reached at White Earth River. They then proceeded up the Missouri to Moreau's River. At that time they knew nothing of enemies. Once, when a Mandan woman was scraping a hide, a Chayenne Indian came and killed her. The Mandans followed the traces of this new enemy till they came to a certain river, where they all turned

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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back with the exception of two, the husband and the brother of the woman who was killed. These two men went on till they discovered the enemy, killed one of them, and took his scalp with them. Before they got back to their village they found some white clay which they had never seen before, and took a portion of it with them. When they came to their great chief, the first who had climbed up the vine, and whose skull and schischikué they still preserve, as a relic, in the medicine bag of the nation, they gave him the white clay, with which he marked some lines on his schischikué. The name of this chief was, at first, Mihti-Pihka (the smoke of the village), but when he ascended to the surface of the earth he called himself the Mihti-Shi (the robe with the beautiful hair). When he had received the clay and the scalp, he commanded all his people to shoot buffaloes, but only bulls, and to make shields of the thickest part of the hide, which they did. When this was done, they asked the chief what were his next commands? To which he replied, "Paint a drooping sunflower on this shield" (as a sort of medicine, or amulet), on which the sister of the chief said, "You are fools! paint a bean on it; for what is smoother than a bean to ward off the arrows?"

The chief now introduced the establishment of the bands or unions, and founded first that of "the foolish dogs." He made four caps of crow's feathers, and commissioned the Mandans to make a number of similar ones. He then gave them the war pipe and song, and exhorted them to be always valiant and cheerful, and never to retreat before the point of the arrow. He also gave them the strips of red cloth which hang down behind, and added that, if they would follow his directions, they would always be esteemed as brave and worthy men. The chief then made two of the bent sticks covered with otter skins, and gave them the kana-karakachka, and then two others adorned with raven's feathers, which he also presented to them. The first represent the sunflower, and the latter the maize. "These badges," said he, "you are to carry before you when you go against the enemy; plant them in the ground, and fight to the last man, that is to say, never abandon them." He next founded the band of "the little foolish dogs," and assembled many young men, whom he ordered to paint their faces of a black colour, and gave them a song of their own, with the war whoop at the end, and said he would call them "the blackbirds." He afterwards went to war with his people against the Chayennes. They reached the enemy and laid all their robes in a heap together. The chief wore a cap of lynx skin, and had his medicine pipe on his arm. He did not join in the action, but sat apart on the ground during the whole time that it lasted. They fought almost the whole day, drove the enemy into their village, and were then repulsed, which happened three or four times, and one of the Numangkake was killed. When the chief was informed of this, he ordered them to go to the river and bring him a young poplar with large leaves, which he planted in the ground near to the enemy, and challenged the Chayennes to attack him; but they answered, they would wait for his attack. As

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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he would commence the combat, the enemy shot at him, but their arrows only grazed his arm and robe. He then held up the poplar, which suddenly shot up to a colossal size, was thrown, by a violent storm which arose, among the enemies, crushed many of them, and obliged the Chayennes to retreat across the Missouri.

The Numangkake now went up the Missouri to beyond the Heart River, where a Mandan village had long stood. An old man of their tribe was fishing at this place, when four men appeared on the opposite bank. On his inquiring who they were, they told him their names, and put the same question to him, which he answered; and, having an ear of maize with him, he fastened it to an arrow, and shot it over to the strangers. Finding the maize very agreeable to the taste, they called to him and said that, within four nights, a great many men would come, for whom he would do well to prepare plenty of food. They then returned to their camp, and gave their countrymen an account of the maize. They had likewise tasted the pomme blanche, and several other vegetables, but considered the maize as the best of all. The camp was accordingly broken up, and they proceeded slowly onwards. The Numangkake expected the strangers for four nights; they cooked and made everything ready for their reception, but, as their visitors did not make their appearance at the end of the fourth night, they ate the provisions themselves. A year passed by, and the strangers did not come; the second and the third year likewise; at length, in the spring of the fourth year, all the surrounding hills were covered with red men. Thus, instead of four days, four years had elapsed. The new comers crossed the river, and built a village near the Numangkake, and the name of Manitaries was given, *i. e.*, those who came over the waters.

The principal chief of each nation met, and had a conference together. The Manitari chief asked the other whence they procured so much red maize? To which he replied, "When we fought with our enemies, and they killed our wives and children in the maize fields, the maize grew up, and was for the most part red." To which the Manitari chief replied, "that he would assist them with his people against their enemies." Already on the following day many Chayennes came and killed a number of women in the plantations; the united nations attacked them, killed many during the whole day, and drove them back to a small river which falls into the Missouri. The two allied nations now remained united, but, being so numerous that the country did not afford them sufficient subsistence, the Mandans said to the Manitaries, "Remove higher up the Missouri: this whole country belongs to us. There are the rivers Little Missouri, Yelow Stone, and Knife River, on the banks of which you can settle, but do not go beyond the later river, for it is only in this case that we shall remain good friends. If you go too far we shall have disputes, make peace and again disagree; but if you remain on this side there will be constant friendship between us." The Manitaries removed as proposed, but built

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

773 one of their villages on the other side of Knife River, which frequently occasioned dissension 534 between them, and it is only within these fourteen years that permanent peace and concord have 173 existed between the two people.

At the time when our narrator was a young man, the Arikkaras were near and dangerous 173 enemies to the Mandans. They often fought with them as well as with the Sioux. When one 721 of the two allied nations fought alone, it was almost always defeated, but when they were combined they generally triumphed. The preceding long narrative throws, as I have said, much light on the actual condition of this people, and of their prevalent superstitious customs.

At the time of their first alliance with the Manitaries, the Mandans are said to have inhabited eight or nine villages on the two banks of the Missouri, on the Heart River, and higher upwards. Subsequently a great number of the Mandans were carried off by the small-pox, and their enemies, the Sioux, entirely destroyed their largest village, and massacred the inhabitants. The remaining population then collected in the two villages that still exist—Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush and Ruhptare. Plate XVI. is a view of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, of which a ground plan will be found at the end of this chapter. Previously to the devastations of the small-pox, the Sioux were not very dangerous enemies to the Mandans, because they lived at too great a distance from them, but the Chayennes and the Arikkaras were their natural adversaries. I shall now proceed to treat of the religious and superstitious practices which still prevail among them.

These Indians are full of prejudice and superstition, and connect all the natural phenomena 771 with the before-mentioned silly creations of their own imaginations. They undertake nothing 776 without first invoking their guardian spirit, or medicine, who mostly appears to them in a dream. 782 When they wish to choose their medicine or guardian spirit, they fast for three or four days, and even longer, retire to a solitary spot, do penance, and even sacrifice joints of their fingers; howl and cry to the lord of life, or to the first man, beseeching him to point out their guardian spirit. They continue in this excited state till they dream, and the first animal or other object which appears to them is chosen for their guardian spirit or medicine. Every man has his guardian spirit. There is, in the prairie, a large hill where they remain motionless many days, lamenting and fasting; not far from this hill is a cave, into which they creep at night. The choice and adoration of their medicine are said to have been taught them by the strange man or spirit who appeared in their villages many years ago, and has not since been seen, and of whom mention has already been made by the name of Ochkih-Hadda. He is said also to have taught them the art of tattooing, and to have instituted their medicine feasts. In all natural phenomena, which are not of daily occurrence, they see wonders, and indications of favourable or unfavourable events. If the falling stars are numerous, or in a certain direction, it is to them an indication of war, or of a great mortality in the human race. They were not willing to have their portraits 774 painted, because they alleged that they should soon die if their portraits came into other hands; at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

142 114 rather inclining to a dark brown, and I observed some whose hair was almost fair;" eyes not jet black, common to other Indians, but "inclined to be a dark brown; some few are dark gray."

Maximilian, who tarried among and critically studied them in 1833, observes that their noses are sometimes "aqualine, or slightly curved, and often quite straight" and "not so long and arched as those of the Sioux"; that their eyes are "in general long and narrow, of a dark brown color;" that the children's hair "is often only dark brown," and that Brackenridge "speaks of brown hair among the Mandans. There are whole families among them, as well as among the Blackfeet, whose hair is gray, or black mixed with white, so that the whole head appears gray." While Catlin, who sojourned among them in 1832, declares that "they are distinct from all other red folks I have seen," as "differing in many respects, both in looks and customs, from all other tribes which I have seen;" that they were "many steps ahead of other tribes in manners and refinement"; that they were called "polite and friendly Mandans" by the traders; that he "was struck with the peculiar ease and elegance" of them; that "the diversity of complexions, the various colors of their hair and eyes, the singularity of their languages and their peculiar and unaccountable customs" made him "fully convinced that they have sprung from some other origin than that of the North American tribes, or that they are an amalgam of natives with some civilized race;" that "their personal appearance alone, independent of their modes and customs, pronounces them at once as more or less than Indians;" that a stranger "is first struck with the different shades of complexions and various colors of their hair which he sees in a crowd about him, and is at once almost disposed to exclaim that 'These are not Indians.'" That there are many women "whose skins are almost white, with the most pleasing symmetry of features, with hazel, with gray and with blue eyes—with mildness and sweetness of expression and excessive modesty of demeanor, which render them exceedingly pleasant and beautiful."

131 114 •174 **Habitat.** The habitat of the Mandans when first seen by white men from the east was, to what may be regarded as a moral certainty, at and in the immediate vicinity, northward, of Mandan and Bismarck in what is now North Dakota, territory then claimed by Spain, and probably by England. We refer to the

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first visit by La Verendrye to the Mandans in November and December, 1738. We have not caused to be examined the Spanish chronicles to ascertain whether it is either certain or probable that subjects of that nation had come in contact with the Mandans prior to Verendrye's said visit; but if we are to credit the positive statement made to him by a Mandan Indian at the most northerly or prairie village of that tribe where he first made a stand among them—to the effect that the narrator and other Mandans had had a conflict with one or more white men to the south, who were on horseback and in armor, and that he had barely escaped with his life. Spaniards had penetrated into the near neighborhood of the Mandans on the upper Missouri before Verendrye visited them. 131 114 174

Verendrye—Where He Met Them. It is impossible to locate with any certainty the spot where, or even the immediate vicinity in which Verendrye met the delegation of Mandans who left their most northerly village and returned with his messengers (sent on to announce his coming) to a designated meeting place not far from that village and greeted and parleyed with him November 28th, 1738, and where the Mandan chief invited him to "his fort"—the nearest by and "smaller than the others," and informed him that there were "six forts." All that can be gathered clearly from Verendrye's record (being his official letter to the French governor general of New France, etc.) is that, having started from Michilimackinac on this expedition to the Mandans on the Missouri river, and having arrived at the Assiniboine river and built a fort there sixty leagues below the "forks" of that river—(which we believe to have referred to the confluence of the main stream with the Souris or Mouse river, some 150 miles west) southwest from what is now Winnipeg—he left this "fort" October 18th; three days thereafter the Assiniboine Indians joined him; that on October 21st, he reached the "first mountain," which he states was 26 leagues from his fort and south by southwest; that he next reached the "second mountain," traveling a west by northwest course 24 leagues (we are inclined to think this second mountain was Turtle mountain), and that from this mountain to the Mandans "is southwest;" that November 18th he arrived at an Indian village far (some sixty leagues) out of the direct route to the Mandans, to the west-southwest 120 leagues, to which point he was forced to go, being in the hands of Assini- 131 174

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131 •174 boine guides; that November 20th he left that village to go 17 leagues, where the meeting place of the Mandans had been chosen, at which point he arrived November 28th; that on the evening of November 30th he continued on toward the first Mandan fort, at about seven leagues from which he lost some papers; that the Indian "orator" there said: "We must leave before four o'clock in the morning in order to arrive early at the fort;" that at noon next day at one and one-half leagues, near a small river (the Mouse?) they rested two hours, where a number of Mandans had come to meet them; that Verendrye was carried thence by the Indians to a point "four acres from the fort," where "the old men" were waiting; that after firing a salute to the fort he marched to and entered it December 3rd, 1738, at four p. m. He had thus spent fifty-two days in going from his "fort" on the Assiniboine to what must have been not far from the neighborhood of Washburn, N. D., 43 miles above Bismarck, or from Coal Harbor, some 25 miles northwest of Washburn, during which journey much time was lost on the detour above mentioned, "so that we took forty-six days to go a distance we should have done easily in sixteen or twenty days at the most." The distance from his fort on the Assiniboine to the first Mandan fort can probably be roughly estimated at about 400 miles by a substantially direct route; and on that basis Verendrye's estimate of sixteen days' travel would be 25 miles per day.

In Neill's account of the Verendrye expedition to the Rocky mountains in 1742 he states that the explorer reached the "country of the Mantanes" by "ascending the Assiniboine, and by the present trail to Mouse river." (Contributions to Historical Society of Montana, Vol. 1, p. 307.) From which it would appear that a thoroughfare overland from the Assiniboine to the Missouri existed anciently as the usual mode of passing over the divide between the basin of Lake Winnepeg and the Missouri valley.

In a note by Neill to the above observation he says:

131 101 174 "The Mandans, or White Beards, of the Dakotah family are noted for being gray-haired. Sometimes children six years of age have this appearance. They were nearly destroyed by smallpox in 1837, and in 1874 they lived near the Aricaras and Gros Ventres, in the vicinity of Fort Berthold, on the Missouri. For-

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merly all dwelt in mud cabins, surrounded by ditches. A few yet live in dirt lodges." This account was published in 1876. 131 101 174

In another note by Neill in connection with his account of Verendrye's expedition to the mountains, and explanatory of the text, it is stated: "Father Coquard, who had been associated with Verendrye, says that they first met the Mantanes, and next the Brochets. After these were the Gros Ventres," etc. His note explains that the Brochets, or Fish tribe, may perhaps be the Assiniboines. That the Gros Ventres "are said to have formerly lived on the Assiniboine and Red rivers." He then quotes from a report made by Governor Ramsey, of Minnesota, made in 1850 to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to this effect: "The chief of the Red Lake Chippewas of Minnesota some years ago met a village of Gros Ventres toward the sources of the Missouri. They learned that the smoke of the Gros Ventres lodges once arose at Sandy Lake, and that they had a large village of earthen houses at mouth of the Savanna river, which empties into the St. Louis." This would indicate that the Gros Ventres once inhabited the country bordering on the west end of Lake Superior, and by comparing what is said in these Neill notes concerning their residence on the Red and Assiniboine, with the reference to their habitat near the St. Louis river, we may find warrant for observing that the traditions about the Mandans having lived northward and eastward of the Missouri river country, where they were first found by white men, may really have become confused with the Gros Ventres traditions—the latter having joined the Mandans prior to white exploration of those regions.

Then Neill in his account of the Verendrye expedition of 1742 thus refers to Bougainville's version of that expedition and the route taken by quoting him as follows: "He went from Fort La Reine to the Missouri. He met, on the banks of this river, the Mandans, or White Beards, who had seven villages, with fine stockades, strengthened by a ditch. Next to these were the Kinongewiniris, or the Brochets (Assiniboines), in three villages; and toward the upper part of the river were three villages of the Mahantas." These Mahantas were by Neill understood as being the Mahas, or Omahas. And Bougainville adds, after referring to the Mahantas: "All along to the north of the Wabiek or Shell river were situated twenty-three villages of the Panis." Neill in his note says this: "Shell" may mean the Musselshell river

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131 101 ●174 of modern maps. He then says regarding the Panis: "The Pawnees on De L'Isle's map, are marked on the Missouri, and on Panis, now Platte river. Jeffreys on his map marks a tribe west of Lake Winnipeg, called 'Cris Panis Blanc.' Drake speaks of White Pawnees, Freckled Pawnees and Pawnees of the Platte. They now number about eighteen hundred and dwell on a reservation on a branch of the Platte in Nebraska." (They had gone south from that reservation at or about the time of publication of Neill's account—1876).

From Bougainville's account Neill finds him stating: "Opposite the Mandans are the Ospekakaernousques, or Flatheads, four villages; opposite the Panis are the Arcs, or Knisteneaux, and Utasiaoutchactas, or Assiniboel, three villages." (Id., pp. 312-13-14.)

The summary of evidences as to the course pursued by La Verendrye on his expedition to the mountains in 1742-3, as found in the said Historical Society Contributions, is as follows as regards the Mandans:

"Starting from Fort La Reine, on the Assiniboine river, they went up the Mouse river in a southerly direction, and then crossed over to the Missouri a little below where is now Fort Berthold. They then ascended the Missouri," etc. (Id., p. 316.)

From Bougainville's Memoirs on the State of New France, 1757, the following extract is taken and published by Brower in his "Missouri River:"

"Voyage de la Verendrye. The one who most forwarded this discovery is the Sieur de la Verenderie; from the Fort de la Reine he reached the Missouri; he met first of all upon this river the Mandannes or Blancs Barbus (Bearded Whites) to the number of seven villages fortified by terraced stockades with a ditch; next the Kinongewiniris, or the Brochets (Pikes, i. e., fish) to the number of three villages; in the upper part of the river he found the Mahantas making also three villages; and along the Missouri, in descending it to the mouth of the river Wabiek, or Shell (Coquille) twenty-three villages of Panis." (P. 65.) "Opposite the Panis are the Gens de l'Arc (People of the Bow), Atchapeivinioques in Cristinaux and Utasibaoutchactas in Assibinboels, three villages." (Id. p. 65.)

131 174 **Where Lewis and Clarke Found Them.** Lewis and Clarke, in their expedition of 1804, are the first visitors to the Mandan vil-

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lages who give any definite information of the precise location of those Indians on the Missouri river. And while they do clearly state where a Mandan village on the westerly side of the Missouri was located, their reference to the Mandan village on the easterly side does not show to a certainty whether it was at a point above or below the one which they speak of as being on the opposite side, but they state that the latter is "at the distance of three miles across." They then proceed to substantially fix the location of the village on the westerly side by calling it "the lower Mandan village" and by locating the village called "Mahaha" as being "on the same side of the river, and at a distance of four miles from the lower Mandan village," and which "Mahaha" village is "at the mouth of the Knife river." That river, known as the Big Knife, flows into the Missouri on the westerly side about three miles above Stanton, and about 63 miles above Bismarck, North Dakota.

Lewis and Clarke declare that when they visited and wintered among the Mandans in 1804-5 the Mandan villages were two in number. This statement is so clear that it can not be misunderstood. They erected Fort Mandan about three miles below the first or lower Mandan village reached by their expedition in its up-river progress, but on the opposite or easterly side of the Missouri. (See the narrative from Clarke's journal, farther on.) Nowhere in their journal is it made plain how far above the "Fort" the Mandan village on that side was situated. But it cannot be far from correct to assume that, as the distance between the two villages (as stated by them) is "three miles across," and assuming that the river itself was about one mile in width, the village at the easterly side was about two miles above the other on the Missouri. This would indicate—still basing our conclusion upon the data of Lewis and Clarke—that the Mandan village on the easterly side of the Missouri was about two miles below a point opposite to the mouth of the Big Knife. And the same data would place the fort at about seven and one-half miles below said outlet; and this is in harmony with the generally understood fact. Dr. Coues says that post was "seven or eight miles" below the mouth of the Big Knife. The more exact location of those Mandan villages may perhaps be shown by evidences to be brought into this paper later on.

But a difficulty has arisen in determining whether there were

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or not more than one Mandan village on the westerly side of the Missouri, and also as to how far below the Big Knife they were situated, if there were two.

The writer of this article, in preparing his note (6) on Fort Clarke, the trading post in that vicinity, in editing the reprint of Maj. Wilson's article on "Old Fort Pierre and Her Neighbors" (S. D. Hist. Col., Vol. 1, p. 318) found, from various historical data then at hand, that Fort Clarke, which seemed to be shown by all the authorities to be situated substantially eight miles below the mouth of the Big Knife river on the westerly side of the Missouri, was but a very short distance—less than one-fifth of a mile—below a Mandan village on that side, while other data pointed to another Mandan village on the same side "in the wooded bend some three miles below" Fort Clarke, and which seemed to be known as "the lower Mandan village." That "bend" would thus be about eleven miles below the mouth of the Big Knife. But the Lewis and Clarke account shows, as we have seen, the lower Mandan village to have been, in 1804-5, but four miles below that point. Fort Clarke was established in 1831, and while it is possible that the one Mandan village of 1804 became divided into two at or some time after Fort Clarke was built, so as to account for the data found by the writer as stated, yet it would seem improbable that one of the two which such separation would result in would not be on the same spot where those explorers found a Mandan village on the westerly side. Yet they place the one village they saw at four miles, while the other data referred to shows the upper of two villages about seven and three-fourths miles and the lower one eleven miles below the mouth of Big Knife. And it is at about the latter distance below that stream where the Missouri bends from a southeasterly to an easterly direction, thus furnishing the locality for a "wooded bend" where, at some time between 1831 and the date of migration of the Mandans further up stream, about fourteen years later, one of their two villages on the westerly side of the Missouri was situated. If, therefore, there was in fact but one Mandan village on the westerly side in 1804 it seems probable that the estimate of Lewis and Clarke in placing it but four miles below the mouth of Big Knife is erroneous, as we believe the data of a later period concerning the location of Fort Clarke and its very near proximity to a Mandan village just above it is

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more likely to be exact than the estimate of those early explorers. Opinions upon this point will naturally differ.

Thompson. David Thompson, who in the preface to Coues' edition of the Henry-Thompson Journals (Francis P. Harper, 1897) is referred to as "the celebrated astronomer, geographer, explorer and discoverer—in a word the scientist," and who, in the employ of the Northwest Company, left McDougall's house on the Assiniboine river November 28th, 1797, and arrived at the Missouri river and the Mandan villages December 29th, 1797, and departed on his return trip January 10th, 1798, is thus noted by Dr. Coues, who has summarized from the Thompson Journal: "He notes five villages, altogether of 318 houses and 7 tents, viz: Upper Fall Indians, 31 houses, 7 tents; Lower Fall Indians, 82 houses; third village, 'Mahnon of Mandens and a few Fall Indians,' 52 houses, 37 Mandan and 15 Fall; fourth village, Mandan, 'across the river,' 40 houses; fifth, or principal Mandan village, lowest, 113 houses." (Vol. 1, p. 301-2.) He does not undertake to locate precisely any of these villages. But it is clear that he does find two villages on the westerly side of the Missouri in 1797-8, one of which is exclusively Mandan, the other principally composed of that tribe.

Now, both the Thompson and the Lewis and Clarke accounts declare that there were, in the general group of Indian villages on the Missouri at and just below the mouth of the Big Knife river five of them in all. But in order to harmonize the two accounts as to how many of them were Mandan villages we must consider the statement in Lewis and Clarke that the two Mandan villages "who had emigrated together" from below and in the neighborhood of Heart river (opposite to Bismarck, North Dakota), and who "settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri," and who were found there by Thompson in 1797 in two villages, had consolidated between that time and 1804, as Lewis and Clarke say of them (referring to the visitors of "1796"), "since which the two villages have united into one." They also say that the "Mahaha" village, on the south side of the Big Knife and at its very mouth, was half a mile below the so called Minitaree, or "Metaharta" village on that stream, and that "on the opposite side of the Knife river, and one and a half miles above this village, is a second of Minnetarees, who may be considered as the proper Minnetaree nation." (Id., p. 198.) We

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114 must probably, therefore, regard Thompson's account (which
131 included two Mandan villages below the Knife and on the west-
174 ward side of the Missouri, and doubtless all those on both sides of the Knife) as contemplating the two villages on the south bank of the Knife as but one, since, if he regarded them (as did Lewis and Clarke) as two, his total would be six villages in the whole group, including the Mandan village on the easterly side of the Missouri. In this connection the fact that Thompson's journal speaks of "the third village" (evidently counting from the north southward) as "Mahnon of the Mandans and a few Fall Indians," is significant as indicating a second Mandan village on the westerly side, and also as indicating that he had regarded the two villages of Lewis and Clarke on the south bank of the Knife as one. These considerations would, we believe, substantially harmonize Thompson's and Captain Lewis' journals on the basis of five villages in the whole group in question. Of these the three (of Lewis and Clarke) and the two of Thompson's most northerly villages are called "Fall" Indians by the latter, while Captain Lewis says (as shown above) that the lower of those three is the Mahaha, or Ahnahaways village—known to the French as Gens des Souliers, and who were, according to Dr. Coues, Matthews and others, closely related to the Hidatsas, Minnetarees or Gros Ventres, and offshoots of the Crows, and differ but little from the Mandans. While the two (of Lewis and Clarke) and (probably) the one of Thompson's upper village or villages in the general group are called by Lewis and Clarke Minnetarees, "surnamed Metaharta," and the one north of the Knife is called by them "the proper Minnetaree nation." (Coues' ed., vol. 1, pp. 197-8.) These Minnetarees are said by Captain Lewis to be "part of the great nation called Fall Indians." (Id., p. 199.) And Coues' note at that point declares that the term is "traceable to the trader, Edward Umfreville, who was on the Saskatchawan in 1784-87, and who mentions these Indians as being about the falls of the south branch of that river" (Id., p. 199); that they were called, without reason, by the French Gros Ventres, or Big Bellies; while Matthews says the tribe thus referred to by Umfreville is that known as "the Atsinas, or Gros Ventres of the Prairie;" that there were "Minnetarees of the Prarie" and "of the Missouri"; that as designated by Lewis and Clarke they are "two entirely different tribes of Indians, the former being Atsinas, or the Fall

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Indians, and the latter being the Hidatsas, with whom they (Lewis and Clarke) are now wintering," and that it is necessary, when reading Lewis and Clarke, to bear this in mind. (Id., pp. 199-200.) 114 131 174

We have made this detailed explanation of those of said group of villages which were not properly Mandan, but whose occupants are said to have closely resembled them, in order to make clearer what was meant by all of the early visitors in referring to the general group as "The Mandan Villages."

As indicating the oldest definitely known habitat of the Mandans, on the first deserted Mandan village site found by Lewis and Clarke in proceeding up the Missouri, we find in their journal a reference to their having found at or near their camp, eight miles below the lower end of what is now known as Sibley Island —which latter is some fourteen miles below Bismarck, North Dakota—on the east bank of the Missouri, in Burleigh county, "the remains of an old village which is high and strong, and has been fortified; this our chief" (an Aricara) "tells us is the remains of one of the Mandan villages, and are the first ruins which we have seen of that nation in ascending the Missouri." (Vol. 1, p. 153, London ed.) That this location may be fixed very definitely, that journal may be quoted further as stating that that camp was "opposite to the uppermost of a number of round hills, forming a cone at the top, one being about ninety, another sixty feet in height, and some of less elevation;" that "near to one of these moles, on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain" those "remains" were found. (Id.)

The narratives in Lewis and Clarke, from day to day after this first indication of former occupancy of the Mandans was seen by them, will show (as seen in extracts therefrom inserted hereinafter) that many such deserted villages were found by them in the neighborhood of Mandan and Bismarck, North Dakota. The "chief" referred to by them as having pointed out this first deserted site as that of the Mandans being an Aricara who was guiding the expedition, was beyond doubt possessed of knowledge enabling him to speak to the fact in the premises. Captain Lewis' statement, based upon the observations of the expedition and the declarations of the Aricara guide, by way of summary as to the former abodes and the migration of the Mandans therefrom upriver, is to the effect that "within the recollection of living wit-

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114 nesses the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages,
131 the ruins of which we passed about 80 miles below (i. e., below
Fort Mandan), seven on the west and two on the east side of
174 the Missouri," which two moved up the river "opposite the
Ricaras" after becoming united, the seven (reduced to five)
emigrating also "to the Ricara nation" in a body, forming "two villages"—all being driven thence as the result of attacks by Sioux and the ravages of smallpox; that being still insecure "the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present location. The two who had emigrated together settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri, while the single village took a position on the southeast. In this situation they were found by those who visited them in 1796, since which the two villages have united into one. They are now two villages, one on the southeast of the Missouri, the other on the opposite side, at the distance of three miles across. The first, in an open plain, contains about 40 or 50 lodges, built in the same way as those of the Ricaras; the second the same number; and both may raise (i. e., can muster) about 350 men."

E. R. Steinbreuck, of Mandan, N. D., who is connected with the State Historical Society of North Dakota, and who has examined many village ruins of both Mandans and Aricaras between Mandan and the Knife river, states in a letter to the writer hereof in 1908:

"There is one village on the road from Heart river to Fort Clarke, about half way, which I think to have been a Mandan village, while the next below, only about two miles distant, has been decidedly an Aricara village. Some of the Mandans may have stopped there on their move up to Fort Clarke region."

174 **They Came from Whence?** From what direction did the Mandans come to the locality on the Missouri river where were found their deserted villages in 1804? Two theories are, or have been extant upon this subject: One that they emigrated up the Missouri from the region of the mouth of the Ohio, or lower down, on the Mississippi; the other that they at one time lived to the northeast of those portions of the Missouri where those deserted villages and the Mandan villages near the Big Knife were located, and were driven to the Missouri by the Crees, Assiniboines and other tribes inhabiting the region of Lake Winnipeg and west and southwest therefrom.

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We believe they came up the Missouri from a point at least as far south as southern South Dakota, and probably much farther; that they progressed through what is now South Dakota and preceded the Aricaras here; that the supposition that they were in the Winnipeg country before they settled on the Missouri is not tenable; and that to the extent that their appearance on or in the neighborhood of the Assiniboine and the Saskatchewan rivers is provable they were there seeking game and the extension of their then present domain on and in the vicinity of the upper Missouri, or battling with enemies at some distance from their own home base—a perfectly natural and probably necessary pursuit, as Indians have from time immemorial been wont to view the issues of tribal welfare and protection. 174

We shall not stop here to mass the evidences which, respectively, tend or are regarded as tending to support one or the other of these theories of the territorial origin or more ancient habitat of the Mandans, but will proceed to bring forward, in chronological order, the various accounts and narratives of the explorers and visitors who came in contact with them, and some few of the traditions and legends of those Indians themselves, as composing the body of the evidences at large in this paper, after first presenting in brief some authorities going to support the primary assumption that the Mandans were aborigines of South Dakota, and then citing the conclusions of some authorities as to who and what those Indians were among the American Indians; recurring later on to this point as to whence they came, in the light of all that is presented touching their remote habitat and involving at least some of the collateral evidences as to their origin.

Once Inhabited South Dakota. As supporting the assumption that the Mandans once inhabited some parts of what is now South Dakota and may be regarded as aborigines of this region of the Missouri valley, we will mention the conclusions of some explorers and writers, with some Indian traditions on that head.

Catlin believed it a fair deduction that "they formerly occupied the lower part of the Missouri, and even the Ohio and Muskingum, and have gradually made their way up the Missouri to where they now (1833) are." That "there are many remains on the river below this place" (i. e., the Mandan villages below the Knife river, now North Dakota), "(and in fact to be seen nearly as low down as St. Louis) which show clearly the peculiar construe- 114 174

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tion of Mandan lodges, and consequently carry a strong proof of the above position." That the Aricaras in ascending the Missouri occupied lodge villages which had been abandoned by the Mandans. Hayden, whose exhaustive labors in tracing the origin of some of the tribes of western Indians have justly given him a high place among the authorities, and who gives Miahtanes, "people on the bank," as the name these Indians applied to themselves, infers therefrom that "they must have resided on the banks of the Missouri in a very remote period," while another eminent authority, Morgan (Syst. consang. and Affin., 285), assigns as the native name of the tribe Metootahak, or "South Villagers." The Handbook of American Indians, Vol. 1, p. 796, concludes that "all that can be gathered from them is the tradition that at some time they lived in a more easterly locality in the vicinity of a lake, and that "this tradition, often repeated by subsequent authors, is given by Lewis and Clarke." This reference to a lake is here inserted, since the tradition in connection with it may relate to some one of the inland waters of the northwest, or to the ocean on the Atlantic coast, or to the Gulf of Mexico at the mouth of the Mississippi, as will be shown farther on. E. E. Blackman, state archaeologist of Nebraska, in his report in 1902 refers to the Mandans as part of the Siouan stock, stating: "The Mandans were one of the first bands to break off from the parent stock, and the only excuse we have for counting them in our history is the probability that they crossed our borders in their way up the Missouri river, some time prior to the coming of the Skidi band in 1400." He adds: "The above is legendary and not a proven fact." Practically all of the authorities ascribe to them a Siouan origin, which in itself seems to warrant the probability that they once inhabited the country west of Minnesota and in the Missouri valley. The oldest ruins of Mandan lodge-villages on the upper Missouri, found by Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian and others, were not far from sixty miles north of the South Dakota line. (See S. D. Hist. Coll., Vol. 3, p. 389, where in Part I. of this paper it is said to be about seventy miles.) Joseph H. Taylor, of Washburn, N. D., who with Daniel Williams (now of Painted Woods, N. D.) discovered in 1872 on Apple creek, seven or eight miles southeast from Bismarck, N. D., two old Indian village sites, states that inquiry among the Indians at that time led to information that those villages were Mandan, and

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that the occupants had been practically exterminated by the Sioux "near 140 years ago," that some young squaws and children were saved by the captors and that among their descendants was Medicine Bear, the well known Yanktonais chief of thirty years ago. As the Mandans are known to have been located at and across from Bismarck (at Mandan) some twenty years before Lewis and Clarke visited them, this Sioux tradition imparted to Taylor seems to further tend to show that the Mandans were driven up the Missouri from below Mandan by the Sioux. Dr. Cyrus A. Peterson, president of the Missouri Historical Society, is understood to have entertained the belief that the Mandans were traced by the remains of their habitations, and that they were thought to have lived along the central Missouri. Dr. Eastman, himself a Sioux Indian who was reared among them and who in his boyhood days wandered with members of his tribe over large areas of country, affirms that the Yanktonais Sioux traditions are to the effect that the Mandans inhabited the lower James river and other Missouri river country on the east side, which tradition is regarded as having existed some two hundred years. Little Owl, a Mandan Indian on the Fort Berthold reservation, and living in 1905 on the southeast side of the Missouri about four miles below the mouth of the Little Missouri, was interviewed, through an interpreter, by the writer of this article; and in giving an account of the traditional ancient habitat of his tribe stated that Bear-on-the-Water, who he said is "the oldest man," says they came from where the Mississippi empties into the sea; spoke of a "boat without oars" (sailboat?) in which they could go across the sea, "or anywhere on the water, up-stream or anywhere;" that the Mandans came all the way up the river to Heart river; that the villages down the river to the Mississippi that had ditches around them were Mandan villages; that one of the Mandan villages (bands) went north from the Heart river to Winnipeg, etc. Bear's Ghost, another Indian in the same neighborhood, interviewed the same day, and who claimed to be a full-blood Mandan, but who disclaimed having such information as certain older men whom he named possessed in the premises, entered into the traditional account of the origin of the Mandans, which seems to have involved the creation of things in general; and he declared it was "in the mouth of the sea, where this river (Missouri) empties into the sea" that the two "men" who made the earth, etc., met,

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and that the Mandan language was the first one made, etc. (See these narratives at large further on this paper.)

Mr. E. R. Steinbroeck, of Mandan, N. D., who has spent much time in examining both Aricara and Mandan village sites below and above Mandan, and who has compared the pottery and other utensils used by both, declares: "It seems to me beyond a doubt that the Mandans and the Arickara came in contact long before they crossed the boundaries between North and South Dakota," and doubts not that they came from "somewhere south before they settled at and near Heart River."

Further reference to the Mandans is found in the "Handbook of American Indians," Vol. 1, p. 797, where, after quoting Maximilian as declaring that "They affirm that they descended originally from the more eastern nations, near the seacoast," the account proceeds:

"Their linguistic relation to the Winnebago and the fact that their movements in their historic era have been westward up the Missouri correspond with their tradition of a more easterly origin, and would seemingly locate them in the vicinity of the upper lakes. It is possible that the tradition which has long prevailed in the region of northwestern Wisconsin regarding the so called 'ground-house Indians' who once lived in that section and dwelt in circular earth lodges, partly underground, applies to the people of this tribe, although other tribes of this general region formerly lived in houses of this character. Assuming that the Mandan formerly resided in the vicinity of the upper Mississippi, it is probable that they moved down this stream for some distance before passing to the Missouri. The fact that when first encountered by the whites they relied to some extent on agriculture as a means of subsistence, would seem to justify the conclusion that they were at some time in the past in a section where agriculture was practiced. It is possible, as Morgan contends, that they learned agriculture from the Hidatsa, but the reverse has more often been maintained. Catlin's theory that they formerly lived in Ohio and built mounds, and moved thence to the northwest is without any basis. The traditions regarding their migrations, as given by Maximilian, commence with their arrival at the Missouri. The point where this stream was first reached was at the mouth of White river, South Dakota. From this point they moved up the Missouri to Moreau river, where they came in con-

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tact with the Cheyenne and where also the formation of 'bands or unions' began. Thence they continued up the Missouri to Heart river, North Dakota, where they were residing at the time of the first known visit of the whites, but it is probable that trappers and traders visited them earlier." 114 174

In the foregoing account in the "Handbook"—certainly a very authoritative and recent exposition of the Mandans as to former habitat—it is seen that no reference is made to the supposed expulsion of them from the Winnipeg country by the Crees or Assiniboines, or to their ever having had a home there, while emphasis seems to be laid upon the theory that they once inhabited the upper Mississippi, moved down that stream "for some distance before passing to the Missouri," and that (on Maximilian's authority regarding their traditions) they first came to the Missouri "at the mouth of White river" in South Dakota, proceeding thence up the latter stream, and that they first came in contact with the Cheyennes at the Moreau river—which is some 75 miles south of the northern boundary of South Dakota. Other accounts which we refer to below show that, according to the Cheyenne traditions the latter Indians, when they crossed the Missouri about 225 years ago, crossed it near the mouth of the Cheyenne river, and that they there met the Mandans, still farther south; and that the Gros Ventres (or Minnetarees or Hidatsas) while coming from the north first encountered the Mandans on the upper Missouri and crossed that stream to join them. Whether the eminent editor of the "Handbook" (Hodge) and his able assistants intended, by refraining from referring to the Winnepeg theory in the foregoing account of the Mandans because of lack of confidence in it, or whether such course was taken because that theory is brought out in the "Handbook" in one or two instances in connection with accounts of other northwestern tribes can only be conjectured.

Lieut. Clarke, in "Indian Sign Language," speaking of the Gros Ventres, relates that Poor Wolf, then 61 years of age, and born near the mouth of Knife river, whom he found to be "a venerable, professor-like looking old fellow," dressed in a nondescript patchwork of mis-matches, including "a pair of old-fashioned iron spectacles," informed him that the Gros Ventres "migrated toward the Missouri river from the north, and here" (at or near Fort Berthold on the Missouri) "first met the Mandans. The

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Arickarees were then below Fort Pierre." We italicize. We here refer to Poor Wolf in no sense of disparagement in connection with his apparel, but rather in connection with the well known fact that he has long been regarded, and doubtless with good reason, as a prominent member and chief among his tribesmen and the "Confederated Village" at large, and as one whose knowledge of the tribal traditions is of a high order. We desire to point out the above quotation from that venerable and authoritative chief, by wayof comment upon Lieut. Clarke's statement on the next page of his account of the Gros Ventres (p. 195), wherein he says: "Their **known** migrations are limited to the Missouri River Valley, and from Knife river up to their present village (Fort Berthold), "and I am quite convinced that the Mandans **moved from the north and joined them,** crossing the river **for that purpose.**" We again italicize. Our point is that not only Poor Wolf, but many other authorities to be found in connection with the history of the Gros Ventres in their relation to migration and contact with the Mandans seems to make it very plain and practically indisputable that the Gros Ventres came to the Missouri from the Devil's Lake region, hailed the Mandans across the Missouri, and after being visited by the latter, who crossed in "bull-boats" to parley with them, were allowed to cross **and join them.** And we can not but think that Lieut. Clarke, when making the statement last above quoted, had become somewhat confused amid the maze of traditions of the three Confederated Tribes which had grown up, and that he here imputes to the Mandans what really was done by the Gros Ventres.

The fact, too, that Poor Wolf's tradition to the effect that the Aricaras were below the Fort Pierre country when the Gros Ventres found the Mandans on the upper Missouri was recorded by Lieut. Clarke, indicates his inclination to listen to the suggestion that, as between the Mandans and the Aricaras the former were dominant over a long stretch of the river to the southward and were familiar with the fact that the Aricaras had not yet reached the Cheyenne river northward when the Mandans were joined by the Gros Ventres.

Cheyennes and Mandans. Lieut. Clarke, treating of the Cheyennes in "Indian Sign Language" (pp. 99-100), thus refers to the Mandans as incidental to the migration westward of the Cheyennes:

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"Occupying then the country at the headwaters of the Mississippi several hundred years ago, they were slowly forced westward by the Sioux, perhaps southward by the Mandans, the latter being driven from the north by the same power which pressed upon the Sioux, viz., the great Algonquin family, assisted in later years by French arms. It is more than probable that this migration was due in a measure to and determined by their search for game, as traditional evidence in regard to their relations with the Sioux and Mandans is not clear and conclusive." He then parenthetically refers to information given him by Lieut. Bailey, Fifth Infantry, "obtained from what is considered a reliable source," going to show (among other things) "that the Cheyennes met the Mandans two hundred and two years ago, as they—the Cheyennes—crossed the Missouri river. For several years they were at war with the Mandans, after this made peace and have maintained peaceable relations ever since. Before the whites commenced making war against these tribes they frequently camped together, and many Cheyennes and Mandans intermarried."

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As this statement was made about 1881, the time thus fixed as that of the first contact between the Cheyennes and Mandans would be about 1680, and the same information shows that the Cheyennes, going westward, met the Mandans on the Missouri. This at least indicates clearly that the Mandans were domiciled on and probably west of the Missouri before the Cheyennes were driven there by pressure of other Indians from the east or north, and this situation seems out of harmony with the idea that the Mandans were behind the Cheyennes to northward and were drving them southward or westward, as supposed by Lieut. Clarke, at another point above quoted.

Again: As bearing out the supposition that the Mandans were established on the west side of the Missouri when the Gros Ventres came into that part of the country, we find in "Handbook of American Indians," Vol. I, page 547, this reference to the Gros Ventres (as Hidatsas) and to the Mandans: "By the Mandan they are known as Minitari, signifying 'they crossed the river,' traditionally said to refer to their having crossed Missouri river from the east." Indeed, it is taken for proven that the Mandans were living on the west side of the Missouri at that time, as in the same account (p. 548) we find this reference to the former traditional habitat of the Gros Ventres, their subsequent alliance

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114 with the Mandans west of the river and the fact that they "learned agriculture" from the latter:

174 "According to their own tradition the Hidatsas came from the neighborhood of a lake northeast of their later home and identified by some of their traditionists with Mini-wakan, or Devil's Lake, North Dakota. They had here the circular earth-covered log house, in use also by the Mandan, Arikara and other tribes living close along the upper Missouri, in addition to the skin tipi occupied when on the hunt. Removing from there, perhaps in consequence of attacks by the Sioux, they moved southwest and allied themselves with the Mandans, who then lived on the west side of the Missouri, about the mouth of Heart river. The three tribes, Hidatsa, Mandan and Arikara, were all living in this vicinity about 1765. From the Mandan the Hidatsa learned agriculture. * * * In home life, religious beliefs and customs, house building, agriculture, the use of the skin boat, and general arts, they closely resembled the Mandan with whom they were associated."

Further reference is made in "Handbook of American Indians," Vol. I, p. 251, under the heading "Cheyenne," to the locality on the Missouri where that tribe crossed that stream, viz: "The Cheyenne moved west toward the Missouri river, where their further progress was opposed by the Sutaio—the Staitan of Lewis and Clarke—a people speaking a closely cognate dialect, who had preceded them to the west and were then apparently living between the river and the Black Hills. After a period of hostility the two tribes made an alliance, some time after which the Cheyennes crossed the Missouri below the entrance of the Cannonball and later took refuge in the Black Hills about the heads of Cheyenne river of South Dakota." We have then various references to the point or locality of crossing the Missouri by the Cheyennes and where they came in contact with the Mandans with that event, the general and usual place of their reputed crossing being at or about the mouth of the Cheyenne river; the "Handbook" reciting the Moreau river as the point to which the Mandans had progressed up-river when they "came in contact" with the Cheyennes, and the above reference to the locality "below the entrance of the Canonball." All of these localities save the one last indicated are in South Dakota, while as to the locality "below" the Cannonball it may or may not have been within this state, since

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the mouth of that river is nearly fifty miles north of the line between the Dakotas. 114

Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson, in his note on the Cheyenne Indians (S. Dak. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 146) says concerning the locality in which that tribe crossed the Missouri: "For some time after the Cheyennes reached the valley of the Missouri they lived on its east bank, and finally crossed at or about the mouth of the Big Cheyenne river, South Dakota." He also says: "Alexander Henry says the Salteurs informed him that they severely defeated the Cheyennes in a great battle about 1740, after which the latter tribe abandoned the country, going westward. The Cheyennes of the present day give the time of their crossing the Missouri river at about 1690." 174

Their Upper Missouri Villages. We will briefly trace the localities in which the Mandans have lived on the Missouri river since their most ancient and definite village remains, actually discovered by the whites, were occupied, and so far as information has come to hand. 361

We regard it as almost certain that when La Verendrye visited the Mandans in 1738 and 1742 they were stationed in the neighborhood of and across from what is now Mandan, N. D., and were, according to that explorer, in "five forts on the two banks of the river"—how many were on each side not appearing. Lewis and Clarke's interpreters informed them that forty years prior to 1804 they were settled in nine villages—seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri, about eighty miles below the Fort Mandan built by that expedition. The closest calculation we can make of the actual distances traveled by Lewis and Clarke after they found the first or most southerly Mandan ruin—as shown by the data in their journal—until they had reached the most northerly of what they call the nine deserted villages, shows that the stretch of river covered by those sites was about twenty-eight miles (instead of twenty miles, as their journal states), and taking as true Dr. Coues' statement that the first Mandan ruin found by them was eight miles below the lower end of what he says is Sibley Island, or about twenty-two miles below Bismarck, we find that the northermost deserted Mandan village in that group must have been located about six miles north of Mandan, N. D. But, as will be seen from Lewis and Clarke's journal inserted hereinafter, they actually point out only eight village sites in that group,

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tribes, and have on that account often been obliged to change the seat of their villages. 105

"Yet they have often been quarreling with the Ricaras, who like them are agricultural people; and they often make predatory expeditions against the Shoshones, in the eastern valleys of the Rocky mountains. Both the Mandans and the Minnetaries consider themselves as natives of that part of the country.

"The tradition of the Mandans is that they came from under ground by means of a great vine, which, breaking under the weight of some of them, has left behind a part of their nation, whom they expect to join after death. The color of the chief who visited Washington appeared less dark than that of our Indians, and he was the only full-breed Indian ever seen by me, whose eyes were of a bluish cast. It is believed that this is the tribe, often spoken of as White Indians, and which gave rise to the fabulous account of a tribe descended from the Welsh and speaking their language, a tale which the knowledge we have now acquired of the various Indian nations and of their dialects has set at rest. 173 142

"The vocabulary of the stationary Minetaries and the specimen of the Crow of Upsaroka dialect were obtained by Dr. Say. We knew from Lewis and Clarke that the Mandans spoke a kindred dialect, and this has been confirmed by the significant names of their chiefs, subscribed to a treaty with the United States. Lewis and Clarke appear to have considered the Rapid, Fall or Paunch Indians, sometimes also called the "Minetaries of the Prairies," as belonging to the same family. But all the subsequent accounts agree in assigning to them an entirely distinct language." (P. 125.) 197

The above reference to the "chief who visited Washington" (Big White) is from Albert Gallatin.

We will here refer to the note by Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson on the Mandans, found among his notes on "Historical Sketch of North and South Dakota," by Dr. William M. Blackburn, in Hist. Coll., S. D., Vol. I, page 98, being a very concise and creditable summary of the tribe. In that note Dr. Robinson affirms that "their traditions give their former abode as being about the headwaters of Lake Winnipeg. It is probable that they were driven from their homes at Lake Winnipeg about 1680 by the Crees and Assiniboines, both powerful tribes which about this period came into possession of firearms. Their first stopping place, after being driven out by their enemies, was on the Mis- 174

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•174 souri river, where they were living at the time they were discovered by the fur trader." That one of Dr. Robinson's authorities which he recalls as a basis for the foregoing statement concerning the Mandans having had an abode in the Lake Winnipeg country is, he declares, Clarke in his "Indian Sign Language," under various tribe headings therein, from some of which accounts we have hereinbefore quoted. He expresses with confidence his belief that he came in contact with further information leading to the same conclusion, but is at present without definite information as to the identity of such authorities.

114 We will now set forth the account at large of Sieur Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Verendrye, as published in "Canadian Archieves" (1889 pp. 1-29), concerning his visit to the Mandans in 1738, being, so far as now known, the first formal approach made by white men to those Indians, from which will appear the decided agricultural proclivities of this tribe, a reference also to their formidable barricaded villages or "forts," their exceptional makeup as to complexion, their marked hospitality, their fear of the Sioux, their shrewdness as traders, etc.

000 **Verendrye's Account.** "On the morning of the 28th we arrived at the place selected for the meeting of the Mandans, who arrived toward evening—a chief with thirty men and the four Assiniboines. The chief, after having from the top of a height considered for some time the extent of our village, which appeared of a good size, I had him brought to the hut where I was, where a place had been prepared to receive him on one side of it. He
431 came and placed himself near me; one of his people then, on his
276 part, presented me with a gift of Indian corn in the ear, and of their tobacco in rolls, which is not good, as they do not know how to cure it like us. It is very like ours, with this difference, that it is not cultivated and is cut green, everything being turned to account, the stocks and the leaves together. I gave him some of mine, which he thought very good. I acknowledged that I was surprised, expecting to see different people from the other Indians, especially after the account given me. There is no dif-
291 ference from the Assiniboines; they are naked, covered only with a buffalo robe, worn carelessly without breech clout.

"I knew from that time that we had to make an allowance for
000 all we had been told. The chief spoke to me in Assiniboine, testifying the joy which I had given to all their nation by my arrival

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778 gether. It has somewhat the appearance of a large barrel, and is emblematic of the ark in which, according to Mandan mythology, the sole survivor of the deluge was saved. The square, the medicine-lodge, with its four poles in front, surmounted by sacrificial effigies, and the ark, as they may be seen at Fort Berthold today, seem to be the almost exact counterparts of those which were seen in the old Mandan village at Fort Clarke, in 1832 and 1833, by George Catlin and the Prince of New-Wied, if we are to judge by the drawings they have given us. Within the temple and around the ark, the Mandans still perform the ceremony of the Okeepa, which Catlin so accurately describes. The awful severities of the rites have, however, been somewhat mitigated since his day."

000 **Aricaree Medicine-Lodge.** "The medicine-lodges of the Aricarees is larger than that of the Mandans, and is used for a greater variety of ceremonies. Some of these performances, consisting of ingenious tricks of jugglery and dances, representative of various hunts, we might be inclined to call theatrical rather than religious. Probably these Indians consider them both worshipful and entertaining.

"It is often hard to tell how much of a religious ceremony is intended to propitiate the unknown powers, and how much to please the spectators."

712 **Fortifications—Stockades.** "Many travelers have described their towns as being fortified, sometimes with walls, but usually with ditches and stockades, or with stockades alone. The latter system of defense was in use at the village of Fort Berthold until the winter of 1865, when they cut down the palisades for firewood; and they have never since restored them. The presence of United States troops in their neighborhood, and the growing weakness of the Dakotas, were probably the causes which led them to discontinue their fortifications."

773 Matthews virtually bears out Catlin concerning the mythical veneration of the Mandans for the corn symbol:

243 **Agriculturalists—"Corn Mother."** "The Aricarees and Man-
●174 dans have doubtlessly tilled the soil for many centuries. Their accounts of the origin of corn are mingled with their earliest myths and traditions. There are some reasons for believing that the Aricarees represent an older race of farmers than the Man-

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dans; for their religious ceremonies connected with planting are the more numerous, and they honor the corn with a species of worship. In every Aricaree lodge, there is a large ear of corn, which has lasted for generations, sticking out of the mouth of a medicine-bag. At their feasts, they make offerings to the corn by rubbing a piece of meat on it, while they pray to it for plentiful harvests, and address it by the name of 'mother.' The Hidatsas claim to have had no knowledge of corn until they first ate it from the trenchers of the Mandans; and they have no important ceremonies connected with the harvesting, yet they cultivated it long before the advent of the white man." (p. 12.)

"Three Tribes" at Berthold—From South Dakota. "When Lewis and Clarke ascended the Missouri, in 1804, they found four tribes of agricultural Indians, numerous and prosperous, inhabiting the upper Missouri valley, west of the Dakota nation. They had eight permanently inhabited towns, others which they lived in only temporarily, and a number more which they had abandoned and allowed to go to ruin. They are spoken of in Lewis and Clarke's journal as the 'Ricaras,' 'Mandans,' 'Minnetarees,' and 'Ahnahaways.' All that are left of the four tribes are now gathered together in this one village, at Fort Berthold, which does not probably number 2,500 souls. The remains, now nearly obliterated, of their old towns, may be traced on nearly every prairie terrace adjacent to the Missouri, along six hundred miles of its course, from the mouth of the Lower White-Earth to the mouth of the Little Missouri. The Indians at Fort Berthold are, however, now generally referred to as the 'three tribes'; for one of the nations spoken of by Captain Lewis—that which he calls Ahnahaways—is no longer an organized tribe, but has been merged into the Minnetarees." (p. 12.)

"Mandan"—Previous History. "The Mandans, about a hundred years ago, lived in several villages near the mouth of Heart river. From this neighborhood, they moved up the Missouri, stopping and building villages at different localities. In 1804, they were found dwelling in two towns about four miles below the mouth of Knife river. One of these towns was named Metutahanke, Metutahankish, or, as Maximilian writes it, 'Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kusch,' meaning lower village. The other was called Ruptari or Nuptadi. They were almost exterminated by the

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342 of the interior and it fitted well with the descriptions here given of the old lodges. It was evidently used at the present time for a storage house, at least to some extent, and was not a regular residence, for the log cabin home of the owner stood along side of it.

"At the other hut, across the Missouri river and several miles distant from the first one, the owner refused me permission to invade it, stating that it was used for ceremonial purposes." (p. 220.)

Prototype of Sod Houses. "After my inspection of the two earthern houses mentioned, I could not but be impressed with the fact that these old Mandan and Aricaree lodges were practically the prototypes of the settler's sod house of the prairies of recent time. The sides and roofs of these huts were covered with sod chunks of regular shapes and sizes, just such as we would cut out of the prairie for the same purpose. The porch, covered entrance, or passage-way mentioned was and is a characteristic, standing feature of these earthern lodges, and one which Catlin persistently ignored both in his paintings and text. Maximilian brought out this peculiarity of the Mandan hut in his work."

417 **Ancient Ladder.** "In one of the illustrations of an earth hut there can be seen a notched pole leaning against a scaffold, the latter used now, as in old days, for drying corn, etc. This pole is one of the primitive ladders anciently used by these Indians, and, evidently, not yet entirely discarded."

Says Wheeler relative to the causes of migration of the Mandans on the upper Missouri:

Mandan Deserted Villages—Migrations. "The monuments of 172 these tribes, in the shape of abandoned and ruined huts and ●174 towns, are to be found, as has been stated, on the banks of the upper Missouri from about Heart or Cannon-Ball river, below Mandan and Bismarck, to Knife river or beyond. The Indians seem, notwithstanding the great labor involved in so doing, to have moved quite frequently, not necessarily, however, for long distances. As the Sioux harrassed them continually, these removals were due in part to a desire to protect themselves more effectually, and another reason was the scarcity of fuel and timber which in time was felt in each neighborhood. In making these removals, it was quite common, as Lewis and Clarke mention,

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for two small villages to combine in one at the new location. Owing to the immense difficulty of cutting timbers with their crude stone axes, in making these changes of residence they undoubtedly carried with them the timbers of the abandoned huts and used them in rebuilding, wherever possible. The Indians left Knife river because of the scarcity of timber and the attacks of the Sioux. When the trading post of Fort Berthold—so called in honor of Bartholomew Berthold, a fur trader of St. Louis—was established, about 1844 or 1845, the Indians 'drew the logs (of which it was built) with lariats of rawhide over their shoulders.'" (p. 223.)

Lodge Ruins. "The dirt mounds, ruins of their former homes, have often been mistaken for the ancient burial grounds of these tribes, which is not surprising unless one has studied the history of this interesting people. About ten miles above Bismarck one of the best of these collections of mounds is found, on a bluff overlooking one of the most beautiful stretches of the Missouri, just below Square Butte. There are eighteen or twenty of the mounds, most of them well-defined, and generally more or less circular in their form. They form a semi-circle arc, with the river as a chord, and are now more or less merged together into an irregular ridge. These mounds have been dug over and over, yet I was able to find among them many shards and arrow-points and knives when I visted them." (pp. 5-6.)

Lower Village. "The Mandans call themselves Metutahanke, **the Lower Village,** as Dr. Matthews gives it, or Miti-Untanhanke, **the Village on the East,** as it was given to, and partially written for me by Mrs. Baker, both referring to the same village, the one called Ma-too-ton-ha by Lewis and Clarke. Maximilian calls this village Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, and these different readings of the same word well indicate the difficulties experienced in obtaining correct Indian vocabularies."

Farmers. "These people have always been farmers, and both men and women have for years, now, shared the labors of the field. In early days they raised corn, tobacco, squashes, beans, the wild sunflower, etc., and now they grow, in addition, potatoes, turnips, and various vegetables. The Aricaree seem to be the best farmers. Each tribe now raises cattle and horses, but they do not seem to grasp the idea that cattle raising, if attended to

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dicated that La Verendrye had actually reached the Hidatsa and not the Mandan when making a winter trip to the Missouri in 1738. He based his conclusions largely on the journals of the course followed after leaving the Souris River. He believed that La Verendrye reached the Missouri River near the present town of Sanish, North Dakota. Because of the absence of large earth-lodge village ruins near Sanish, this opinion has been largely rejected by subsequent students of Mandan-Hidatsa history. 172 114

The first reference to observed temporal differences in cultures of earth-lodge sites in the area was made by Will, who wrote:

> In pursuing the above-described work an impression gradually grew that there were two rather distinct types of sites in the region, distinct enough in fact so that nearly every site could be referred readily to one or the other group. The center for one type seems to be below the Heart River, with the Huff site as perhaps the best representative. The second type is found at and above the mouth of the Heart River altogether, although the lower sites seem to overlap. . . . A reasonable conclusion therefore seems to be that the two types must represent a difference in time and culture between two periods of occupation by the same tribe. This agrees well with the historical traditions of the Mandan, and seems a fair hypothesis although much longer and more detailed work would be required to demonstrate it fully.[25]

The relative age of sites near the Heart River suggested by Will has been demonstrated to be correct by archeological explorations in the sites by Strong,[26] by Will and Hecker,[27] and by the writer. In another report the writer enumerated pottery traits and frequencies that could be used to distinguish Hidatsa sites from those of the Mandan and indicated that the sites showing pottery traits characteristic of the Hidatsa village groups were traditionally Hidatsa sites according to the information of both Mandan and Hidatsa informants.[28] Having established the frequency of pottery types characteristic of the documented Mandan sites of the early historic period, it was shown that differences in frequencies occurred between different levels within each village site and that the same changes in 172 174

25. George F. Will, *Archaeology of the Missouri Valley* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXII, Part 6 [1924]), p. 341.

26. *Op. cit.*

27. George F. Will and Thad C. Hecker, *Upper Missouri River Valley Aboriginal Culture in North Dakota* ("North Dakota Historical Quarterly," Vol. XI [1944]).

28. Alfred W. Bowers, "A History of the Mandan and Hidatsa" (unpublished Ph D. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago).

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popularity of pottery types were occurring simultaneously in all of the Mandan villages near the Heart River. Relative dating of sites was made on the basis of the frequency of these types. It was found that the oldest agricultural population in the area lived in a large number of small settlements situated adjacent to the wooded bottoms where agriculture could be practiced. Lodges were rectangular in outline and were frequently as large as seventy-five by thirty-five feet; floors were excavated to a depth of from three to four feet; lodges were widely scattered, and the villages were unfortified. The close similarity of pottery over a wide area extending from the mouth of Knife River to the Oahe Bend in South Dakota indicated that the first agricultural groups occupied the area over a short period of time and probably with little resistance from groups already in the area. It is hard to calculate the period of time during which the native agricultural groups occupied these early sites which in another report have been placed in the Cannonball focus. Nowhere is the refuse very deep, although the sites are generally covered with two or more feet of wind-blown sand carried out of the river bottoms. Probably not more than one hundred and fifty years would be required to account for the building and abandonment of these numerous small village sites. Shortly before A.D. 1500 the native population above the Grand reassembled into large fortified sites of the Huff focus.[29] Rectangular lodges were still being built, and we find archeological evidence, for the first time, of village plazas. Villages of this cultural horizon were rectangular in outline and were surrounded with fortifications consisting of a ditch, palisades, and bastions.

The evidence of a second agricultural population farther downstream, which has been classified as belonging to the Lower Grand focus or culture, indicates that the Mandan were in A.D. 1500 divided into two regional groups. The division of the Mandan into two groups is consistent with native traditions that, when the southern group moved northward to the vicinity of Heart River, they found other Mandan already living there. The archeological evidence indicates that the southern group were first to adopt the circular earth lodge and that the north-

29. George F. Will, *Tree Ring Studies in North Dakota* (Agricultural Experiment Station Bull. 338 [Fargo, 1946]).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ern group adopted it between 1550 and 1600, retaining a modified rectangular lodge for ceremonial purposes thereafter until the native population moved onto the Reservation. Whereas emphasis was on cord-impressed pottery at the Heart River, the southern group emphasized incised pottery. As contacts between the two groups increased when the southern group moved northward, the frequency of cord wares increased. According to tradition, the Awigaxa Mandan were last to abandon the Grand River region and move onto the Missouri at Painted Woods. There they adopted the Okipa with the prescribed lodge arrangement around an open circle, but we find that in these traditional sites the frequency of cord wares never equaled that of the northern Mandan.

The earlier earth-lodge sites occupied by the various Hidatsa village groups, though generally showing close similarity in traits to those of the Mandan, have a few diagnostic differences. These are an abundance of check stamped pottery, considerable cord-roughened wares, absence of fortifications with ditch and bastions, and lack of lodge orientation within the village. The sites on the Missouri River that can be identified as having been occupied by the Hidatsa groups from native traditions, and these diagnostic traits, are neither numerous nor of long occupation. With two exceptions, the sites are situated north of the Heart River. Downstream from the mouth of the Knife River, the villages consisted of clusters of earth lodges occupied during the summer months while practicing agriculture. Earth-lodge villages are generally absent along the Missouri upstream from the mouth of Knife River; in that region cultural manifestations are found in thin lens-shaped deposits, suggesting that temporary shelters, probably hide tepees, were used. These sites, both earth lodge and temporary, which can be identified with the historic Hidatsa and Crow groups, have been classified as belonging to the Painted Woods focus. Similar sites are also found on the Sheyenne River to the east from which these groups traditionally moved to the Missouri. Studies of pottery at Awatixa, the longest occupied site of the Hidatsa, indicate that, whereas the lower levels show close ties with the Shultz site on the Sheyenne, the late prehistoric and early historic levels show closest ties to that of the Mandan. None of the sites

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

172 other than the Awatixa site at the mouth of Knife River show
171 long occupation; this substantiates native traditions that the
174 Awatixa lived longest on the Missouri and that the Hidatsa and Awaxawi were last to arrive.

The archeological evidence collaborates traditions of both the
174 Mandan and the Hidatsa groups relative to migrations and pe-
101 riod of residence on the Missouri. The Mandan were first to move onto the Missouri and establish villages. On this earliest cultural horizon, those farthest north had rectangular semi-subterranean lodges and pottery that was decorated with impressed cord. The southern groups built small circular earth lodges; their pottery was lighter in color and was decorated predominantly with incised bodies and rims. As the southern groups moved northward to join the northern groups, each group borrowed from the other. The northern groups adopted the circular earth lodge and incised pottery, while the southern groups adopted the open circle, rectangular lodge for ceremonial purposes, and pottery with cord-impressed decorations and grooved-paddle impressed bodies. By A.D. 1600 the entire Mandan population was living at or above the Heart River, having abandoned the Missouri to the south to the nomadic groups.

During the century 1600–1700, group after group of Hidatsa and Crow moved westward and occupied sections of the Missouri and its tributaries. According to native traditions, which can be verified by the depth of refuse accumulation at Awatixa village site at the mouth of Knife River, this village group was first to reach the Missouri. At this time the Awatixa were united with the Crow, who separated at the Missouri, those who remained agricultural and settled at the mouth of Knife River being known as the Awatixa and the nomadic group who moved westward onto the Little Missouri being known as Crow. This migration was followed by the Awaxawi a short time later. They came as agriculturalists and settled below the mouth of Knife River at Painted Woods, where the southern Mandan had built after leaving the Grand River. The last migration of Hidatsa and Crow followed a number of years later. According to the traditions of both the Mandan and the Hidatsa groups, this last migration was of a nomadic peoples who had lived northeastward of Devils Lake. This group occupied the territory up-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

stream from the Knife River, where they separated after quarreling over the division of a buffalo. Those who moved farther upstream along the Missouri and Yellowstone became the "Paunch" Indians, while those who remained near the other Hidatsa villages were known as the Hidatsa.

By 1700 the entire section of the Missouri from the Cannonball to the mouth of the Yellowstone was occupied by groups of Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow of the "Paunch" band. The greatest concentration of villages was near the mouth of Heart River. These large earth-lodge villages were occupied by Mandan of the Nuptadi and Nuitadi bands and were situated on both banks of the Missouri. Agriculture was intensively practiced by these groups. Farther upstream at the Painted Woods, the Awigaxa band of Mandan and the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa had villages. The Awatixa band of Hidatsa were on the south bank of Knife River. Agriculture was practiced by all these groups. North of Knife River were the less agricultural Hidatsa, who sometimes came to the north bank of Knife River to occupy their large earth-lodge village and to plant corn. Generally they were farther upstream, on the Mouse River, or in the Turtle Mountains, living as nomadic hunters. Immediately to the west of the more nomadic Hidatsa were the nomadic Crow. These groups had prescribed territories and lived peacefully together so long as one group did not infringe on the territorial rights of the others. These groups moved little until the close of the eighteenth century, when the aboriginal population was sharply reduced by smallpox and other epidemics. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the region below the Cannonball was occupied by nomadic groups who were in part replaced by the Arikara after 1725 when they began their northward migration which did not terminate until 1862, at which time they united with the survivors of the Mandan and Hidatsa villages at Fishhook Village.

In another report the writer has analyzed the ceremonial organizations of the various village groups of Mandan and Hidatsa, using genealogies, historic accounts of travelers, and native traditions and has shown that two distinct inheritance patterns existed: (1) the Mandan pattern of inheritance of principal bundles and rites within the clan and (2) the Hidatsa and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

361 Aboriginal Mandan village sites had the following distinctive characteristics.

174 1. The circular four-post earth lodge was the most common type used for summer residence, although semirectangular lodges did occasionally occur. These lodges were closely grouped within a limited area.

2. A central open space approximately one hundred and fifty feet in diameter was reserved for the dances and ceremonies. A [778] cedar was set into the ground at the center of the open circle and surrounded by an inclosure of wood to represent the culture hero's (NumakmaxEna) body. The inclosure was a symbol of the wall which NumakmaxEna erected to protect the people [344] from the flood. The ceremonial lodge was on the north side of the open area and in line with the other lodges which formed the circumference of the open area. Lodge entrances of this inner circle faced to the center. The ceremonial lodge was distinguished from other lodges by its flat front and greater length than width.

3. Villages were usually either protected by a surrounding wall and ditch or so situated as to employ as defenses such natural features of the terrain as cliffs, ravines, or riverbanks.

4. Villages were, with one or two exceptions, built near the Missouri River or its tributaries and adjacent to the wooded river bottoms which were cleared for gardens.

[764] 5. Although scaffolds for the dead were erected near the villages, isolated human bones, cache burials, and secondary bundle burials occur so frequently within the older villages that we are justified in assuming that these practices were characteristic of the older culture and that scaffold disposal was of late adoption.

6. There was a marked uniformity between villages of the same age with respect to material culture.

7. The clustering of a considerable number of village sites of a single archeological focus and the absence of all other foci within the region adjacent to the Heart River indicate Mandan domination of an extensive area along the Upper Missouri.

174 The Mandan claim to have been divided into bands which, in large part, were broken down while living at the Heart River. 619 These were: (1) Is'topə ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves");

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

(2) Nup'tadi (no meaning); (3) Ma'nana'rE ("Those Who Quarreled"); (4) Awi'-ka-xa (no meaning); and (5) Nu'itadi ("Our People").

While living in the Heart River region, dialectic differences also existed between bands. Three major dialectic groups existed then, according to Crows Heart and Scattercorn: Nuptadi, Nuitadi, and Awigaxa. The latter group was small and was assimilated into the Nuitadi after the first smallpox epidemic. Linguistic differences between the Nuptadi and Nuitadi were recognized by Maximilian, who prepared a partial list of Mandan words of the two dialects.[1] These differences are still recognized by Mandan informants. The Nuitadi was the largest linguistic group and comprised the Nuitadi proper, the Is'topa, and the Ma'nana'rE. The latter two bands separated from the Nuptadi proper for economic reasons when the village population became too large for the further exploitation of the corn grounds.

In historic times and before coming to Fort Clark, according to Crows Heart, the Istopa and MananarE had separate villages. In addition, there were several villages of Nuitadi. The Istopa were believed to occupy the territory north of the Heart River and had as their nearest neighbors the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa, who moved there from below the Cannonball River. Their principal village was at the Motsiff site. Crows Heart's grandmother was of the Istopa band, and she was born in their village near the present town of Sanger, North Dakota.

The Mandan have been a relatively small tribe since the first smallpox epidemic which reached them before leaving the Heart River villages. Lewis and Clark reported ruins of their villages in that region in 1804, and the natives informed him that in their time nine villages were occupied simultaneously. The east-side villages united into one village and moved northward, while the west-side group united first into two villages and later into one village and moved northward along the west bank of the Missouri and settled at Fort Clark Village.

There is some inconsistency in the Mandan migration myths,

1. Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. R. G. Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906), XXIV, 259.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

174 since some accounts tell of being created at the Heart River
773 while others tell of a migration along the Missouri from the southeast. This same inconsistency was recognized by Maximilian.[2] My informants did not consider this to be an inconsistency at all. Their explanation was that, when Lone Man made the land around the Heart River, he also made the land to the south as far as the ocean. He made fish people, eagle people, bear people, corn people, buffalo people, and others whose history was inaugurated into myths of the sacred bundles. These various people were born into the Mandan tribe by magical means, thus populating the lands.

174 The large number of village sites belonging to a single archeological focus adjacent to the Missouri River both below and
161 above the junction with the Heart River indicates that the tribe at one time numbered several thousand, possibly as much as seven or eight thousand, while the depth of refuse establishes continuous residence there of several centuries.

THE MANDAN HOUSEHOLD

592 The household was the smallest economic unit and was composed of one or more biological families related through the fe-
[611] males. Theoretically, the household was held together by females so long as their lineage was unbroken and the lodge belonged to the clan of which the females were members. When a
351 village was first built on a new site, each household selected a
425 site for its lodge, corn scaffolds, and caches. There was a tend-
592 ency for related families to select adjacent quarters, while those intimately connected with the Okipa ceremony selected lodge sites adjacent to the open circle. These lodge sites within the village were held permanently within the female line, and, when returning to rebuild after a temporary abandonment of the village, female descendants of the original builders were entitled to
425 their former sites. When a family died out, the lodge belonged
592 to the clan of the females and could be occupied by another group of the same clan or could be sold to females of a different clan. My informants emphatically denied that abandoned lodges could be occupied until they had received permission

2. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 307–8. There is some inconsistency present, since other myths imply that the Mandan have been on or near the Heart River since the creation of man by Lone Man.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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SECTION I.

HISTORY, LIFE AND CUSTOMS.

ORIGIN:— From the previously mentioned historical sources an attempt will now be made to give a brief account of the Mandans as they were seen by travellers. First, however, comes the discussion of their origin and migration, for the most part theoretical, but supported to some extent by evidence. The Mandans had a tradition of coming out of the earth, nothing unusual in itself, but in relating this story they also told Maximilian that they came from the east out of the earth and struck the Missouri at the White Earth River in South Dakota. The eastern origin corresponds with that of the rest of the Siouan stock to which the Mandans, both linguistically and to a considerable extent in their culture, belong. The Ohio valley would seem to have served as a point of dispersal whence the Plains members of the Siouan stock are supposed to have moved in four successive migrations. The earliest group to leave consisted apparently of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow, and of these the Mandan were probably a number of years ahead of the other tribes. The Mandans have fairly vivid traditions of the coming of the Hidatsa many years after the former had established fixed villages on the Heart River.

They describe[1] the Hidatsa as a wild wandering people whom they taught to build stationary villages and to raise corn, pumpkins and other vegetables, and who soon moved up to the Knife River. If this tradition has any truth in it, it seems to establish the Mandans as the first nation in the successive Siouan migrations. The order of migration is placed as follows:—

1. Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow.
2. Iowa, Otoe, Missouri, Winnebago.
3. Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansas, Kwapa.
4. Dakota, Assiniboine.

[1] Maximilian: p. 433.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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In the seventeenth century, the Dakotas, the last migrants, were already in Wisconsin and Minnesota. Part of group three was already on the plains when De Soto made his journey in 1542. If some of the members of group three were already established on the plains in the sixteenth century, the establishment of the Mandans on the Missouri presumably occurred at least as early and probably earlier. Thus the beginning of the westward movement of the tribe may be carried back into the fifteenth century. That the separation occurred thus early is not difficult to believe when one considers the wide divergence of language which has taken place between the different groups. To this evidence of an early establishment on the Missouri River must be added the fact that in the traditions and religion all episodes and beliefs are localized about the region of the Heart River. The gods created the Heart River region first, and there they soon placed the Mandans. Few of the traditions go further back than the Heart River period, and little of the mythology has reference to any other region. Archaeological evidence certainly corroborates this tradition of long occupation, for at the Lincoln site the refuse forms a talus deposit at least three feet in thickness and extending thirty feet from top to bottom. At the site at which investigations were carried on the ground at every point showed potsherds and refuse to a depth of two and one half to three feet. The whole area of the village shows this accumulation, sometimes even deeper, a condition of affairs which only years of occupancy could produce.

It has been shown that the Mandans lived on the Missouri for many years and that previous to this they probably occupied some portion of the Ohio valley. The next question is how did they make the journey between the new and the old home. Did they cut across direct to the Missouri, as the second group probably did, or did they lead the way for the third group down the Ohio to the Missouri, and thence upward along the river? This question cannot as yet be satisfactorily answered. Catlin claims to have seen remains, similar to those on the Heart River, scattered all along the Missouri from St. Louis up. Clarke describes an ancient fortification near Bon Homme

3: Will and Spinden (1905) 1906
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Island in South Dakota and was told by traders that there were a number of others about that country. Maximilian was told that the Mandans first touched the Missouri at White Earth River in South Dakota, with which might be connected the reported existence of the remains of circular earth lodges in southern Wisconsin. Here are arguments for both theories; up to the present, however, the matter must remain unsettled until some careful investigation decides it.

HISTORY: — In the earliest historical accounts the Mandans were firmly established in stationary villages in the neighborhood of the Heart River. Verendrye says that they lived in six large villages along the Mandan River, were a large and powerful nation and feared none of their neighbors, all of whom they dominated by their superior culture. Their manufactures were almost necessities among the other tribes, and in trade they were able to dictate their own terms. The forts he said were impregnable to Indians, being very well fortified. Verendrye visited the smallest village in which he said that there were one hundred and thirty houses by actual count. His son, who visited one of the larger villages, declared that it was twice as large, judging from which it can safely be assumed that there were at least one thousand houses in the several villages. Lewis and Clarke declared that in the two villages of one hundred huts there were three hundred and fifty warriors; figuring at this rate there should have been at least fifteen thousand Mandans in 1738 dwelling prosperously in large and well-fortified towns.

For the next sixty-six years there is little information but their own tradition. Judging from McKenzie's narrative they continued prosperous and powerful up to 1772 at least. He declared that at that time they lived in nine villages, large and near to each other, and could muster fifteen thousand warriors. The latter estimate is probably large, but the whole statement seems to show that no misfortune had come to them at that date. Their remaining history is summed up in their own tradition as related to Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian and others.

This tradition runs as follows: — Formerly they lived happily and prosperously in nine large villages on the Missouri near the mouth of the Heart River. Six or seven of these vil-

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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197 or the thirteen villages with which Maximilian's informants credited them,[1] in the beginning of the nineteenth century there certainly were two villages, Nū'pta (Ruhptare) and Mị'tutąk (Mihtuttahangkusch), speaking distinct dialects, as is demonstrated by Maximilian's vocabularies.[2] One of my informants added a third village, Istápe, (given by Morgan as a clan name), where she said the Nū'pta dialect was spoken.

621 It is clear from Maximilian's data that between Nū'pta and Mị'tutąk [184] there was also a minor cultural differentiation in the matter of dances. The question in connection with our immediate problem is how to conceive 614 the relation of the villages to the social divisions. Maximilian tells us that 174 the Mandan called themselves "Nū'mangkā'ke" (*nū'makā'ki*) i. e., people, and were wont to add the name of the village from which they had originally come. Thus, there were Prairie-chicken people, so-called after the Prairie-chicken village; Bear people, Cactus people, Badger people,— all named from corresponding villages.

> Obgleich nun alle die oben genannten Dörfer nicht mehr existiren, so nennen sich dennoch alle diese Indianer ihrer Abstammung zufolge noch nach denselben.[3]

This is a clear-cut statement to the effect that the Mandan clans developed in recent times from formerly distinct local groups. If we assume that the ancient village scheme involved local exogamy and matrilineal descent, or that the latter was grafted on the former, possibly through borrowing, the fusion of people from different settlements would quite naturally lead to the evolution of exogamous clans. The statement of one of my informants that all the clans were found in both Mị'tutąk and Nū'pta is not inconsistent with such a line of development since this condition would be readily brought about by intermarriage. However, all this is pure speculation and the questions involved will only become clearer after considering the social organization of the Mandan as sketched by recent informants and comparing it with that of the Hidatsa and other tribes.

616 The Mandan were divided into non-exogamous moieties corresponding [171] in name to those of the Hidatsa, viz., Three-clans (nū'makā'ki ō'rehe nā'mini) and Four-clans (nū'makā'ki ō're tōp). According to Black-chest, the names of the moieties and the constituent clans were originated by the legendary warrior Seven-wolf when returning from a victorious expedition against the Arikara. Information is very meager as to the functions of the dual division in tribal life, but here there is again close correspondence to Hidatsa conditions. During a general council of the Mandan the Three-

[1] Maximilian, II, 103.
[2] *Ibid.*, 557–561.
[3] *Ibid.*, 104.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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clans were ranged on one side, the Four-clans on the other. In building an earth-lodge the Three-clan women would put earth on one side and the Four-clan women on the other. 616

It is altogether improbable that the Hidatsa and Mandan moiety systems should have had an independent origin. The question at once arises, then, which was the borrowing tribe. The complete lack of any trace of the dual division among the Crow suggests that the Hidatsa imitated the Mandan scheme, a conclusion which I was at first tempted to draw. However, there is no satisfactory evidence on behalf of this interpretation. In the first place, the moieties of the Winnebago, the closest linguistic allies of the Mandan, were exogamous, while there is no indication that this applies to the Mandan and Hidatsa divisions; moreover, the Mandan differ from all other Siouans and resemble the Hidatsa and Crow in the rule of matrilineal descent. There is thus no *a priori* reason for assigning the rôle of transmitter to the Mandan rather than to the Hidatsa. Secondly, there is a disparity between the designations of the Mandan moieties and the number of their clans such as does not occur among the Hidatsa. Some informants, to be sure, make the number correspond to the moiety names, and Morgan without speaking of a dual division lists seven clans. But other Mandans give the number as eleven or even sixteen, while nine are reported by Mr. Curtis. The informant who spoke of sixteen clans added that more of them belonged to the Four-clan than to the Three-clan moiety, but this struck me as an obvious afterthought,— as a secondary attempt to harmonize as best he could two sets of contradictory facts. Although the information obtained is hardly sufficient to permit a definite solution, I rather incline to Mr. Curtis's view that the Mandan moiety scheme is derived from the Hidatsa, whose clans conform in number to the moiety names. 616 171 614 174

The following scheme was furnished by Two-chiefs, herself a member of the first-named clan: — 616 614

Three-Clan Moiety.

maxi' 'kina
tamī'sik
nū'pta

Four-Clan Moiety.

si' pucka nū'mak, Prairie-chicken people
xtaxtám nū'mak, Young white-headed Eagle[1]
mánakaetðk nū'mak, People all in a bunch[2]
xō'xixā' ka nū'mak, Crow people (said to refer to the scalp on a stick)

[1] Mr. Curtis, (v. 145), translates the word "Spotted Eagle."
[2] Presumably Mr. Curtis's Madhakashtak, "Clump of Wood."

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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361 of dirt—and the thousand spears (not "spires") and scalp-poles, &c. &c., of the semi-subterraneous village of the hospitable and gentlemanly Mandans.

● 174 These people formerly (and within the recollection of many of their oldest men) lived fifteen or twenty miles farther down the river, in ten contiguous villages; the marks or ruins of which are yet plainly to be seen. At that period, it is evident, as well from the number of lodges which their villages contained, as from their traditions, that their numbers were much greater than at the present day.

There are other, and very interesting, traditions and historical facts relative to a still prior location and condition of these people, of which I shall speak more fully on a future occasion. From these, when they are promulged, I think there may be a pretty fair deduction drawn, that they formerly occupied the lower part of the Missouri, and even the Ohio and Muskingum, and have gradually made their way up the Missouri to where they now are.

There are many remains on the river below this place (and, in fact, to be seen nearly as low down as St. Louis), which shew clearly the peculiar construction of Mandan lodges, and consequently carry a strong proof of the above position. While descending the river, however, which I shall commence in a few weeks, in a canoe, this will be a subject of interest; and I shall give it close examination.

The ground on which the Mandan village is at present built, was admi-
361 rably selected for defence; being on a bank forty or fifty feet above the
712 bed of the river. The greater part of this bank is nearly perpendicular, and of solid rock. The river, suddenly changing its course to a right-angle, protects two sides of the village, which is built upon this promontory or angle; they have therefore but one side to protect, which is effectually done by a strong piquet, and a ditch inside of it, of three or four feet in depth. The piquet is composed of timbers of a foot or more in diameter, and eighteen feet high, set firmly in the ground at sufficient distances from each other to admit of guns and other missiles to be fired between them. The ditch (unlike that of civilized modes of fortification) is inside of the piquet, in which their warriors screen their bodies from the view and weapons of their enemies, whilst they are reloading and discharging their weapons through the piquets.

The Mandans are undoubtedly secure in their villages, from the attacks of
361 any Indian nation, and have nothing to fear, except when they meet their
342 enemy on the prairie. Their village has a most novel appearance to the eye of a stranger; their lodges are closely grouped together, leaving but just room enough for walking and riding between them; and appear from without, to be built entirely of dirt; but one is surprised when he enters them, to see the neatness, comfort, and spacious dimensions of these earth-covered dwellings. They all have a circular form, and are from forty to sixty feet in diameter. Their foundations are prepared by digging some two feet in the ground, and forming the floor of earth, by levelling the requisite size for

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

HISTORIC BACKGROUND

UNLIKE most tribes of the Northern Plains, the Mandan have moved little since first mentioned in the accounts of travelers, and their basic culture has changed little except for minor adjustments in their economy resulting from the introduction of the horse and European trade goods. The prominent part played by agriculture and the size and concentration of their villages at and above the mouth of the Heart River in early historic times, the semisedentary nature of their population, and their comparatively richer material wealth distinguished them from the nomadic buffalo hunters when European explorers first reached the Northern Plains. During late prehistoric times the Mandan were in intimate contacts with the Awatixa and Awaxawi bands of semisedentary Hidatsa, whose villages were situated below the Knife River at this time. So far as the writer was able to determine, the Mandan have always remained on friendly terms with the various Hidatsa and Crow groups.

Their first contacts were with the French coming overland from the Lake Winnipeg region to trade shortly after A.D. 1700, for La Harpe in A.D. 1719 gave the location of the Arikara on the Missouri as one hundred and twenty leagues southeast from "seven famous villages," which would, from the location of the Arikara in the La Harpe map, place the Mandan near the mouth of the Heart River.[1] We cannot be certain that the "seven famous villages" referred to by La Harpe do not include both the Mandan and at least part of the Hidatsa villages, since the Hidatsa are not mentioned in the literature until 1797, when they were identified by David Thompson as a separate linguistic group.[2] La Verendrye, who visited the earth-lodge vil-

1. Bernard de la Harpe, "Relation du voyage de Bernard de la Harpe," in Pierre Margry (ed.), *Découvertes et établissements des Française dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique septentrionale, 1614-1754*, Sixième partie (Paris, 1886), pp. 292-93.

2. *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1916), pp. 209-42.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

lages on the Upper Missouri River in 1738, was the first known explorer to leave a written account of his observations.[3] In company with a large party of Assiniboine, he followed an old Indian trail that had been in long use by the Assiniboine when visiting the agricultural villages to barter for corn and other agricultural products. He set out from the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers on September 26, 1738, to visit a people known as the Montannes, who lived on a river believed to flow into the Pacific Ocean. Contacts with the earth-lodge groups must have been numerous, since the "Montannes" spoke Assiniboine well. Concerning the village where he headquartered, he wrote:

> I gave orders to count the cabins, and we found that there were one hundred and thirty. All the streets, squares and cabins are uniform in appearance; often our Frenchmen would lose their way in going about. They kept the streets and open places very clean, the ramparts are smooth and wide; the palisade is supported on cross pieces morticed into posts fifteen feet apart with a lining. For this purpose they use green hides fastened only at the top in places where they are needed. As to the bastians, there are four of them at each curtain well flanked. The fort is built on an elevation in mid-prairie with a ditch fifteen feet deep and from fifteen to eighteen wide.[4]

He believed that these fortified villages were impregnable to attack. The younger La Verendrye went to another fort situated on the bank of the river and declared that it was twice as large. La Verendrye was told that there were six large villages on both banks of the river and that a day's march from the last of these were the Pananas, who had several forts, and then the Pananis. This would indicate that part of the Arikara had already moved northward to the neighborhood of the Grand River, a region which at that time had not been entered by the French traders.

M. Bellen's map of 1755 was the first to show the location of the Mandan villages.[5] This map shows the "Riv. des Mantons" flowing southeastward but fails to connect it with any of the streams in that direction. He wrote: "On ne connoit pas les sources du Missouri," and, of the "Riv. des Mantons," he added: "on ne scait si cette Riviere n'est pas la source du

3. *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultin de Varennes de La Verendrye and His Sons*, ed. Lawrence J. Burpee (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1927), pp. 290–360.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 339–40.
5. N. H. Winchell, *The Aborigines of Minnesota* (St. Paul: Pioneer Press, 1911), p. 47.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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Missouri." This map shows the Mandan and Arikara to be living about three hundred miles apart. Recent archeological studies of Arikara sites on the Missouri above Pierre, South Dakota, by the writer have shown that Arikara groups were also occupying the unexplored sections of the Missouri below the Mandan villages at this time.

Mackintosh (1773) reported that the Mandans were living in the Heart River region with from nine to thirteen villages on both banks of the Missouri River, with many thousands of warriors.[6] Since the Mandan have never claimed as many as thirteen villages and, in view of the fact that no reference is made to the agricultural Hidatsa groups who were living on the Missouri near by at that time, according to traditional and archeological evidence, it is to be presumed that Mackintosh's account included both Mandan and Hidatsa earth-lodge groups. Laurie and Whittle's map (1782) enumerates and locates a number of tribes heretofore not reported.[7] It resembled Bellen's map of 1755 in that the "Mantons River" still was not recognized to be a section of the Missouri. The Mandan lived along the "Mantons River," which flowed to the southeast. Their nearest neighbors were the Nadouasis, who had left the headwaters of the Mississippi, crossed the Red River, and were living below the Mandan villages. Immediately to the west of the Mandan villages were the Snake Indians, while the Assiniboine were to the north. The Arikara were to the southeast along the Missouri, while the Tetons occupied the prairie regions between Lake Traverse and the Missouri.

David Thompson in 1797 recognized that the Hidatsa, although living in earth-lodge villages adjacent to the Mandan, were a separate tribal group.[8] Prior to 1797, no references to the Hidatsa appear in the literature, and it is to be presumed that at least part of the tribe consisting of the Awaxawi group, who have a tradition of intimate relations with the Mandan, with whom they were intermarried in 1797, must be included in all

6. H. R. Schoolcraft, *History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States: Collected and Prepared under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs* (Philadelphia, 1854), III, 253.

7. Winchell, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

8. *Op. cit.*, pp. 225–37.

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previous references to the Mandan. He also recognized both agricultural and nomadic Hidatsa groups. 175 131

The Lewis and Clark journals written at Fort Mandan, where they spent the winter of 1804–5, furnish much data on both the culture and the history of the two tribes. To quote from their journal for November 21, 1804:

The villages near which we are established are five in number, and are the residence of three distinct nations: the Mandans, the Ahnahaways (Awaxawi), and the Minitarees (Hidatsa and Awatixa). The history of the Mandans, as we received it from our interpreters and from the chiefs themselves, and as it is attested by existing monuments, illustrates more than that of any other nation the unsteady movements and the tottering fortunes of the American nations. Within the recollections of living witnesses, the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about eighty miles below, and situated seven on the west and two on the east side of the river. The two, finding themselves wasting away before the smallpox and the Sioux, united into one village and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras. The same causes reduced the remaining seven to five villages, till at length they emigrated in a body to the Ricara nation, where they formed themselves into two villages and joined those of their countrymen who had gone before them. In their new residence they were still insecure, and at length the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present position. The two who had emigrated together still settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri, while the single village took a position on the southeast side. In this position they were found by those who visited them in 1796, since which the two villages have united into one. They are now in two villages, one on the southeast of the Missouri, the other on the opposite side and at the distance of three miles across. The first, in an open plain, contains about forty or fifty lodges, built in the same way as those of the Ricaras; the second, the same number; and both may raise about three hundred and fifty men.

On the same side of the River, and at a distance of four miles from the lower Mandan village, is another called Mahaha (Awaxawi). It is situated in a high plain at the mouth of Knife river, and is the residence of the Ahnahaways who formerly resided on the Missouri about thirty miles below where they now live. The Assiniboin and Sioux forced them to a spot five miles higher, where the greater part of them were put to death, and the rest emigrated to their present situation in order to obtain an asylum near the Minnetarees. . . . Their whole force is about fifty men.

On the south side of the same Knife River, half a mile above the Mahaha and in the same open plain with it, is a village of Minnetarees (Awatixa) surnamed Metaharta, who are about one hundred and fifty men in number. On the opposite side of Knife River, one and a half mile above this village, is a second village of Minnetarees (Hidatsa), who may be considered as the proper Minetaree nation. It is situated in a beautiful low plain, and contains four hundred and fifty warriors. . . . The Mandans say that these people came out of the water to the east and settled near them in their former establishment in nine villages. The Minnetarees proper assert, on the contrary, that they grew where they now live. . . . They also say that . . . the Minnetarees of the wil-

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175 131 lows (Hidatsa), whose language with very little variation is their own, came many years ago from the plains and settled near them, and perhaps the two traditions may be reconciled by the natural presumption that these Minnetarees were the tribe known to the Mandans below, and that they ascended the river for the purpose of rejoining the Minnetaree proper. . . . The inhabitants of these five villages, all of which are within the distance of six miles, live in harmony with each other. The Ahnahaways understand in part the language of the Minnetarees; the dialect of the Mandans differs widely from both, but their long residence together has insensibly blended their manners and occasioned some approximation in language, particularly as to objects of daily occurrence and obvious to the senses.[9]

131 175 167 Alexander Henry visited the Mandan and Hidatsa in 1806 as a representative of the Northwest Fur Company. He found the three Hidatsa village groups occupying the same villages as in Lewis and Clark's time. The east-side Mandan, however, had moved to the opposite bank, where they had built a new village near the present town of Deapolis. Concerning the reorganization of the Mandan villages after the smallpox epidemic of 1782 and their migration upstream from the mouth of the Heart River to Painted Woods, where one band of Arikara had moved to join the Awaxawi and one band of Mandan who had formerly lived there, he wrote:

Not many years ago the Pawnees (Arikara) and Mandanes were allied to each other and lived together in the same villages on the Missourie, about 30 leagues below this place. A misunderstanding happening, they separated; the Pawnees retired down the river and built their village where it now stands, and the Mandanes proceeded with an intention of settling themselves somewhere about the confluence of the Little Missouri, or on the upper part of Riviere la Souris. But on their arrival at this place the Big Bellies (Hidatsa) barred the road and put a stop to their westward progress telling them they would not permit anyone to build higher up the river than themselves, and desiring the Mandanes to build where they are at present.[10]

Bradbury and Brackenridge in 1811 found the Mandan and Hidatsa occupying the same sites reported by Henry in 1806.[11] The period 1811–32 is not covered by reports of travelers. The writer learned while studying the ethnology of the Mandan and Hidatsa that one group of Mandan, representing the survivors of the west-side Heart River villages, returned south in 1820 and

9. Elliot Coues (ed.), *History of the Expedition under the Command of Lewis and Clark* (New York: Frances P. Harper, 1893), I, 196–200.

10. *The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson, 1799–1814*, ed. Elliot Coues (New York: Frances P. Harper, 1897), XII, 334.

11. John Bradbury, "Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811," in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1904), Vol. V; *Brackenridge's Journal of a Voyage Up the River Missouri*, in *ibid.*, Vol. VI.

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built a village on Eagle Nose Butte, where they remained until 1823, one year after James Kipp established a trading post at the Mandan villages.

Various aspects of Mandan culture were recorded by visitors to the region after 1832. Catlin and Maximilian described the village life in 1832 and 1833 from observations made of their daily activities.[12] Chardon's journals, written at Fort Clark between 1834 and 1839, carries a day-by-day account of the tribe during the second major smallpox epidemic of 1837 and of the reorganization of the population at that time.[13] Kurz, Boller, and Matthews have described various aspects of their culture as observed between 1851 and 1870.[14]

After 1870, the Mandan received little attention until 1908, when Libby used native informants to identify village sites of the Mandan and other tribes on the Upper Missouri.[15] He showed that Mandan sites could be distinguished from those of other tribes by the peculiar arrangement of lodges around a central plaza or open circle. A year later Curtis published a report of the Mandan covering various aspects of their culture.[16] Between 1912 and 1919, Lowie published reports on the social organization, societies, and ethnological problems of the Mandan based on field work with the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow.[17]

12. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (Philadelphia, 1857), and *O-Kee-Pa* (Philadelphia, 1867); Maximilian's *Travels in the Interior of North America*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Thwaites, Vols. XXII–XXIV (Cleveland, 1906).

13. *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark, 1834–1839*, ed. Annie Heloise Abel (Pierre, S.D., 1932).

14. *Journal of Rudolph Friederick Kurz*, ed. J. N. B. Hewitt (Bulletin 115 of the Bureau of American Ethnology [Washington, 1937]); Henry A. Boller, *Among the Indians: Eight Years in the Far West, 1858–1866* (Philadelphia: Elwood Zell, 1868); Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* ("U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey, Miscellaneous Publications," Vol. VII [Washington, 1877]).

15. O. G. Libby, "La Verendrye's Visit to the Mandans in 1738–39" and "Typical Villages of the Mandan, Arikara and Hidatsa in the Missouri Valley, North Dakota," *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, Vol. II (1908).

16. Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indians*, Vol. V: *The Mandan*, ed. Ferderick Webb Hodge (Cambridge, Mass.: University Press, 1909).

17. Robert H. Lowie, "Some Problems in the Ethnology of the Crow and Village Indians," *American Anthropology*, Vol. XIV (new ser., 1912); *Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XI [1913]); *Social Life of the Mandan and Hidatsa* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXI [1917]); *The Hidatsa Sun Dance* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVI [1919]).

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175 Will and Hyde studied the agriculture of a number of Plains tribes which included the Mandan.[18] Their report indicated that 114 much of the aboriginal Mandan culture could still be preserved from the knowledge of a number of the older Mandan. Densmore's study of Mandan and Hidatsa music indicated something of the rich ceremonialism shared by these two tribes.[19] Beckwith studied and recorded the folklore of the Mandan during the 1930's.[20] Although her reports by no means cover all the secular and sacred myths of this tribe, a considerable body of traditional lore was preserved and recorded during several brief visits to the tribe. Kennard studied the Mandan language in 1933 and published a report on Mandan grammar in 1936.[21]

172 Archeological studies have not kept pace with the ethnological studies of this important Plains tribe. The first intensive 114 archeological study of a Mandan earth-lodge village site was made by Will and Spinden in 1905 at the Double Ditch site, the residence of the Nuptadi Mandan on the east bank of the Missouri north of Bismarck, North Dakota.[22] Subsequent studies by Strong[23] and by the writer in other documented Mandan sites of the same region show that minor cultural differences existed between Mandan sites of the same period. In 1908 Libby employed native informants to assist in the interpretation of archeological phenomena.[24] He found that lodge arrangement around an open circle was characteristic of the Mandan and Arikara villages, the latter group placing a large circular ceremonial lodge in the center of the open circle, whereas the Hidatsa practiced no particular lodge arrangement, and that the leaders of the Mandan villages lived adjacent to the village plaza. He in-

18. George F. Will and George E. Hyde, *Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri* (St. Louis: William Harvey Miner Co., Inc., 1917).

19. Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* ("Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology," Bull. 80 [Washington, 1923]).

20. Martha W. Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-lore Society," Vol. XXXII [Boston, 1938]).

21. Edward Kennard, "Mandan Grammar," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. IX, No. 1.

22. George F. Will and H. J. Spinden, *The Mandans: A Study of Their Culture, Archaeology and Ethnology* ("Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University," Vol. III, No. 4 [Cambridge, Mass., 1906]).

23. William Duncan Strong, *From History to Prehistory in the Northern Great Plains: Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America* ("Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," Vol. C [Washington, 1940]).

24. *Op. cit.*

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Creek in Burleigh Co., North Dakota, to a point some fifteen 172
miles south of the Knife River in Mercer Co., North Dakota, 361
and this field is again subdivided into the historical and the more or less traditional sites. Of the former little will be said. They are the remains of villages which Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian, Catlin, and other early travellers visited, and are situated on the Missouri about fifteen miles below the Knife River. There is another small set of remains intermediate between the traditional and the historical, the stopping place between the former and the latter. These intermediate sites are on the south side of the Missouri on the bluffs southwest of Washburn, and are rather closely connected with several Arikara sites.

We are concerned here, however, with the oldest villages 172
which were visited by only two white men who have left ac- 175
counts, the Sieur de Verendrye, and McKenzie, whose account 361
is mentioned by D. D. Mitchell in a letter to Schoolcraft. The question might be raised as to how it is known that the sites visited by Verendrye and McKenzie were the oldest ones. The statement of McKenzie that on his visit the Mandans lived in nine villages should suffice to establish this. According to all accounts, after the removal from the early sites the Mandans did not have at any time over five villages, and these soon shrank to even fewer. If McKenzie found nine villages in 1773 the Mandans must have been occupying the earlier sites, and certainly if they were there in 1773, they were very probably there in 1738. The further fact that Verendrye describes the Mandans as being in full power and prosperity shows also that they had as yet suffered none of the losses by disease and war which caused their removal to the later villages.

The location of these oldest Mandan sites comes up next for 172
consideration. They were situated on the Missouri River near 361
the Heart River, some above, some below, on both sides of the 175
former, but the number of villages is uncertain. The location near the Heart is affirmed by all. Lewis and Clarke's Journal,[1] March 10, 1805, says, "The Mandans formerly lived in six (nine) large villages at and above the mouth of the Heart River." Maximilian[2] says, "After the first alliance with the

[1] Thwaites Edition, vol. I, p. 271. [2] Op. cit., p. 436.

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172 Hidatsa, the Mandans lived in eight or nine villages at and
175 above the Heart River."
361 The number of these ancient villages is a problem which it is impossible to settle definitely. Even an exact and thorough canvas of the ground cannot settle this, as changes of the river may have caused the entire disappearance of some sites. Historical and archaeological evidence alike leave one in doubt. Verendrye, who visited but one Mandan village, says, "I was answered that there were five forts on the two banks of the river . . . . . much larger than the one we are in."[1] But further on he makes this additional statement, "We noticed that in the plain were several small forts of forty to fifty huts . . . . . but no one was there. . . . . The forts in the plains were occupied during the summer to work their fields . . . . . there was a large store of reserve grain there."[2] Next in point of time comes Lewis and Clarke's account, from which may be given three extracts. "These villages, nine in number are scattered . . . . . for twenty miles, ... almost all that remains of them is the wall surrounding them and the fallen heaps of earth which covered the houses."[3] Again, "Within the recollection of living witnesses, the Mandans were settled . . . . in nine villages . . . . . about eighty miles below . . . . . seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri. The two . . . . . wasting before the smallpox and the Sioux united into one village and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras. The same causes reduced the seven to five . . . . . they immigrated . . . . . to the Ricara Nation . . . . ." Also,[4] "The Mandans formerly lived in six (nine) villages . . . four (six) on the west side, two (three) on the east. One of those on the east and the largest was entirely cut off by Sioux and smallpox."[5] Here is disagreement of the same authority both in the total number of villages and in the relative distribution on the two sides of the river.

Catlin is the next writer who gives a version of the tradition, and in his North American Indians[6] is the statement that the Mandans formerly lived down river in ten villages. Maximilian,

[1] Brymner: op. cit., p. 19. [2] Ibid., p. 23. [3] Oct. 22, 1804.
[4] Nov. 21, 1804. [5] Mar. 10, 1805. Thwaites Edition, I, p. 271. [6] p. 81.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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who next claims attention, gives at least two different versions of the story. In one place[1] he makes the statement that the Mandans formerly lived in thirteen or more villages, each had a name and they distinguished themselves thus: 1. Pheasant Village, 2. Village of (the people of) the West, 3. Bear Village, 4. Badger Village, 5. Prickly Pear Village, 6. Village of the Sulky Ones, because they separated from part of their nation to come up the Missouri. Here is a notable discrepancy between the stated number of villages and the number of names given. In another place he states[2] that after the first alliance with the Hidatsa the Mandans lived in eight or nine villages: 1. The South Village, 2. The Greatest Village, 3. The Scattered Village, 4. The Littlest Village, 5. The Village of Those Who Turn Back, 6. The Village on the Hill, 7. The Village of Those Who Separate their Legs, 8. The Village of Those Who Tattoo Themselves.

Thus the authorities not only disagree with each other, but even vary their own statements. Verendrye says six and a number of smaller ones; McKenzie, nine; Lewis and Clarke, from six to thirteen, at various times. Through all of these accounts, nine seems to be the favorite number, but it might hardly be safe to fix it at that. Perhaps the discrepancy can best be accounted for by remembering Verendrye's story of the summer villages, and the fact that Maximilian speaks of villages in the woods occupied for a short time during the worst of the winter. Another factor which may have a bearing on the matter is the old tradition mentioned by Maximilian[3] that the Hidatsa lived near the Mandans for a few years after their arrival, and before moving up to the Knife River. Considering these facts together with the prevailing traditional number of nine, it might be concluded that at the time of residence on the Heart River there were nine actual fixed villages, and an uncertain number of smaller and less fixed camps. This can be only regarded as a hypothesis.

Archaeological evidence is also conflicting on this subject. Lewis and Clarke noted a number of the remains in passing, and probably a series of quotations from them will best bring out

[1] Op. cit., p. 370. [2] Ibid., p. 436. [3] Ibid., p. 435.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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172 the points of location which should be emphasized. In Allen's Lewis and Clarke are the following entries:

175 "Oct. 19. 1804. We camped on the north opposite to the 361 uppermost of a number of round hills. . . . . Near to one of these moles on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain are the remains of an old village. . . . . "

"Oct. 20. After . . . . . twelve miles we encamped on the south at the upper part of a bluff . . . . . immediately below . . . . . are the remains of a village formerly occupied by the Mandans."

"Oct. 21. At two miles from our encampment . . . . . ruins of a second Mandan village . . . . . on the north at the foot of a hill in a beautiful . . . . . plain . . . . . nearly opposite are remains of a third village on the south . . . . . another . . . . . two miles further on the north. At a distance of seven miles we encamped. . . . . "

"Oct. 22. We passed an old Mandan village on the south . . . . . at four miles another on the same side . . . . . at six we reached an island about one mile in length, at the head of which is a Mandan village on the north in ruins . . . . . at eight miles are remains of another Mandan village on the south."

Here is an actual description and more or less definite location of nine seemingly very noticeable village sites.

Maximilian's[1] notes on the subject come next with the following extracts: " . . . . a chain of hills called the mountains of the old Mandan village, for one of their villages had been where the river cuts the chain. . . . . It was at the foot of a chain of hills on a fine plain not far from the river. . . . . Here began the Mandan territory . . . . . [Later on same day] We cut wood near the mouth of Apple Creek."

"Next day we came in sight of Square Buttes. . . . . After eight hours we came to an old Mandan village on the right in the prairie."

The archaeological information collected by this party increases the uncertainty. No complete archaeological survey was attempted and the location of sites other than those personally visited will not be discussed. The accompanying map

[1] Op. cit., pp. 19 to 22.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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(Map I)[1] marks roughly the sites as judged from the above extracts from Lewis and Clarke, and more accurately the sites which have been actually seen in the course of this investigation. The first site encountered in the above extracts is approximately on the south bank of Apple Creek above some round, clay buttes. This one was not visited. The second site is on the west side of the river at the base of the hill on which the infantry post of Fort Abraham Lincoln was formerly located. This site was examined, and it is accurately marked on the map. Of the next two sites one on the east and one on the west, but little can be said. The first certainly is on the outskirts of the present town of Mandan. The other one possibly has disappeared in the river. At all events, the only corroboration found, after having been over the country, is a small site on the point of a bluff about one mile above the Northern Pacific Railroad bridge over the Missouri. It is not so plain as the others, nevertheless on a cursory investigation and excavation by our party it showed signs of lengthy occupation. The next site mentioned by Lewis and Clarke is stated to be "two miles further on the north and a little off the river." Of this no trace has been found, unless it be that at the Sperry farm. This one is about five miles above the other site; it is on a bluff, bordering what was formerly a creek, and is about two miles from the river. In some respects this fills the requirements, in point of distance, however, it hardly fits with the account. 172 175 361

Of the locations of the three other villages on the west side of the river Lewis and Clarke's account does not furnish sufficiently accurate details, although a careful examination of the ground might make them clear. Only one more site is mentioned by Lewis and Clarke on the east, and this, it is believed, is the one where the excavations hereinafter described were made. This last site was by their reckoning about thirteen miles above their Fort Abraham Lincoln camp, at the head of an island. The site at which the excavation was carried on is probably fourteen miles north of their camp. It is at the head of a broad place in the river where there is a small island now. Mr. Burgois, who has lived in the neighborhood for a number of years, says that formerly the island was much

1 [See facing p. 85, cat. 116 — Analyst]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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975
361

larger. This is the only widening of the river where an island could form within the distance stated, and lastly the site is in a very conspicuous situation on the top of a hill. The earthworks are larger than is usual around the other sites, and in every respect the place is apt to attract the attention of any one passing up river.

At a distance of some three miles further up on the same side is another village site not quite as large. It is hidden now from the river by cottonwoods which have grown up in front of it; the site lies on the very edge of the first bench in a level plain. The finds there agree with those in the other places and it is very evidently a remnant of the same people. This gives four known sites on the east side.

On every hand thus it is evident that there is great uncertainty. The number of sites is far from certain. The sites cannot be absolutely identified even when historically described — neither locations nor distribution according with descriptions given. The fact that the Mandans have a tradition of the Hidatsa living near them for a while also adds to the confusion. But the tradition as given by Maximilian[1] states also that the Hidatsa were a roving people, and non-agricultural on their arrival. Consequently there would probably be little difficulty in distinguishing their sites. Moreover, the Hidatsa are supposed to have stayed there only four or five years, and then to have proceeded up to the Knife River.

One more phase of the location question remains to be discussed. The last disturbing feature in identifying the sites is the wandering of the Arikara who, as has been said, also left a number of village sites. It is probable, however, that the Heart River area was never occupied by them for any actual settlement. For this belief a number of reasons may be given. The Arikara are a branch of the Skidi Pawnee which split off through some quarrel and started off independently, reaching in the course of time the Missouri River and ascending it by stages. Their villages were stationary and much like the Mandans but none of them seem to have been as permanent as those of the latter. This fact offers one reason for supposing that such

[1] Op. cit., p. 435.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Heart River sites as were seen were not of Arikara origin, for the deposits in each place show a very long period of occupation. If the Arikara had just separated from the Pawnees at the time of Verendrye's visit, they certainly did not have time to accumulate such deposits before Lewis and Clarke came. 172 175 361

However, a brief consideration of what is known of their movements is still worth something though the evidence is negative. Verendrye[1] gives the following account of the Arikara: —

"At a day's journey from the last of these were the Panana . . . . . then the Panani. These two nations . . . were now at war for four years, had always . . . . been closely united . . . "

This extract seems to place the time of the separation at about 1734. The Arikara were seen in 1804 when Lewis and Clarke visited them, and at that time they lived in three villages at the mouth of the Grand River. On the way up, both on the Cheyenne and Moreau rivers old Arikara villages were noted and placed on the map. Later in 1812 Bradbury in the description of his journey says that they still occupied the Grand River site. However, during the period before Lewis and Clarke's arrival other moves had been made. Lewis and Clarke[2] state that after smallpox destroyed most of the Mandan nation, reducing them to one large and some small villages they moved up into the Arikara country where they lived many years in peace.

Alexander Henry[3] says that the Arikara and Mandans lived together in the same village thirty leagues down; they separated and the Arikara went down, the Mandans up till stopped by the Hidatsa.

Maximilian[4] states that thirty-seven years before, when Charboneau came, the Arikara lived on a point just above the largest Mandan village. After that they moved back down stream and the Mandans plundered their village.

The only point in all the above which seems to connect the Arikara with the Heart River sites is the statement by Henry that the two nations lived together at thirty leagues south. The circumstances of this seem to point to the site opposite Washburn, and it may be safe to consider his estimate of the

[1] Op. cit., 19.
[2] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 234.
[3] Nov. 12, 1804.
[4] Op. cit., p. 336.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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172 distance as an error in stating the story. The more so since
175 details coincide with accounts of the Washburn site.
361 Reviewing the whole question of the Arikara's locations, there are:—a site on the Cheyenne River, one on the Moreau River, one on the Grand River, and one some fifty miles above the Heart River, near Washburn. In 1738 they were on or near the Grand, and there again in 1804. Maximilian says that before the smallpox the Mandans feared no one, but that the Arikara and the Cheyennes were their natural enemies. Taking into account the last statement and also the fact that during the period of sixty-six years the Arikara established such a number of villages, and, moreover, that the Mandan alliance with the Arikara is placed in all the traditions as after the fall of the Mandans, it may be safely stated that the Arikara are not responsible for any of the Heart River sites.

In the discussion the location and number of the sites has now been treated and there are points which should be emphasized. The only facts which are certain are that the Mandans formerly had at least six large villages in the neighborhood of the Heart River which were abandoned between 1772 and 1804, and that there are at least six old village sites which can still be located in that region. In addition there are the following which while not definitely proved, may be regarded as highly probable: that the Heart River sites are identical with the Mandan ones; that they cannot be attributed to the Hidatsa with any reason; and lastly that there is no proof for, and much circumstantial evidence against the belief that any of this group of sites is due to the Arikara. Details of culture, historical evidence, and archaeological finds, will reënforce belief in the mutual identity, and from now on all sites of the Heart River area will be considered as of Mandan origin.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Island in South Dakota and was told by traders that there were a number of others about that country. Maximilian was told that the Mandans first touched the Missouri at White Earth River in South Dakota, with which might be connected the reported existence of the remains of circular earth lodges in southern Wisconsin. Here are arguments for both theories; up to the present, however, the matter must remain unsettled until some careful investigation decides it. 174 167

HISTORY:—In the earliest historical accounts the Mandans were firmly established in stationary villages in the neighborhood of the Heart River. Verendrye says that they lived in six large villages along the Mandan River, were a large and powerful nation and feared none of their neighbors, all of whom they dominated by their superior culture. Their manufactures were almost necessities among the other tribes, and in trade they were able to dictate their own terms. The forts he said were impregnable to Indians, being very well fortified. Verendrye visited the smallest village in which he said that there were one hundred and thirty houses by actual count. His son, who visited one of the larger villages, declared that it was twice as large, judging from which it can safely be assumed that there were at least one thousand houses in the several villages. Lewis and Clarke declared that in the two villages of one hundred huts there were three hundred and fifty warriors; figuring at this rate there should have been at least fifteen thousand Mandans in 1738 dwelling prosperously in large and well-fortified towns. 175 361 [439] [161]

For the next sixty-six years there is little information but their own tradition. Judging from McKenzie's narrative they continued prosperous and powerful up to 1772 at least. He declared that at that time they lived in nine villages, large and near to each other, and could muster fifteen thousand warriors. The latter estimate is probably large, but the whole statement seems to show that no misfortune had come to them at that date. Their remaining history is summed up in their own tradition as related to Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian and others. 175

This tradition runs as follows:—Formerly they lived happily and prosperously in nine large villages on the Missouri near the mouth of the Heart River. Six or seven of these vil- 175 173

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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175 lages were on the west side and two or three were on the east
173 side of the river. Maximilian gives names for fourteen villages which have been already quoted. For a great many years
[164] they lived there when one day the smallpox came to those on the east side of the river. While this smallpox was still rife, the Sioux attacked and destroyed the east villages. The survivors then proceeded up the river some forty miles where they all settled in one large village. Soon after the smallpox reduced the villages on the west to five, and still later the five went up to where the others were in the neighborhood of some Arikara, and settled in two villages. A great many people had been destroyed and they were now no longer strong and fearless. They made an alliance with the Arikara against the Sioux. So far the tradition is our only authority, and all this had happened before the year 1796.

175 In Henry and Schoolcraft is the statement that in 1796 the two villages on the south united, and both the one on the south and the one on the north moved up river some distance. From this time on there is a nearly continuous chronicle. Lewis and Clarke found the two villages one on each side and about fifteen miles below the Knife River. At that time both villages consisted of forty to fifty lodges and, united, could raise about three hundred and fifty men. Lewis and Clarke describe them as engaging in continual warfare with the Arikara and Sioux against whom they united with the Hidatsa. The description given by Lewis and Clarke agrees with the conditions some two years later when Henry visited them.

Thereafter no particular event marks the history of the Mandans for some years. The Arikara went up and lived near them again for a time, but soon went back to the Grand River. Catlin found them in practically the condition in which Lewis and Clarke saw them, and so did Maximilian. Maximilian says they still lived in the two villages; the largest on the south side was Mih-toutta-Hangkouche and consisted of about sixty lodges. The smaller one, Rouhptare, was on the north and consisted of thirty-eight lodges. The villages were still fortified, though poorly, and there had been little change in the condition of the people.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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In 1837, however, another great calamity came upon the Mandans. Again smallpox attacked them, raged for many weeks and finally left but one hundred and twenty-five souls.[1] These were taken in by the Arikara with whom they intermarried; finally they separated, again forming a small village of their own at Ft. Berthold. In 1850 there were three hundred and eighty-five living, but these were very largely of mixed blood. To-day there are only a few of the full-blood Mandans left, although the latest official returns give a total of two hundred and forty-nine. The culture has changed, the language has changed, and as a nation the Mandans are practically extinct. 175 [164]

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS:—A discussion of the physical characteristics of the Mandans is rather interesting in view of the fact that so many tales of their being a white race were circulated. Verendrye was told by the Assiniboine that he was on the way to visit people white like himself. The Assiniboine word for the Mandans, *ouachipanne*, was the close relative of the Mandan word for white man, *ouachi*. Catlin became convinced of the white origin of the Mandans and Verendrye and Henry both commented on their light complexions. 142

Verendrye said he expected to see a different sort of people but they differed little from the Assiniboine. Then later: "This nation is mixed white and black. The women are fairly good looking especially the white, and many have blond hair. . . . . The men are stout and tall . . . . . with a good physiognomy. The women have not the Indian physiognomy. . . . . ."[2]

Lewis and Clarke did not mention any particular difference between the Mandans and other Indians of the region, although Catlin relates that when he left St. Louis to ascend the Missouri, Governor Clarke told him that he was going among a strange people, half white. Henry, however, did notice some peculiarities in the Mandan physique. He says[3] that in general the Mandans had not the coarse hair of Indians, it was finer, rather inclining to dark brown, and some had fair hair. The eyes of the Mandans were not as black as usual, but brown and some

[1] Schoolcraft: vol. III, p. 254. [2] Op. cit., p. 21. [3] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 341.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

800 The author, in his Preface, gives so full an account of the objects and results of his travels in the interior of North America, that it would have been unnecessary for me to prefix any observations of my own, were it not for some circumstances, connected with the translation, which seem to require explanation.

The prospectus of the German original announced that the work would consist of two large quarto volumes, accompanied by a portfolio of above eighty beautifully coloured copper-plates, executed by eminent artists at Paris, from the original drawings. Some specimens of the plates having been brought to London, were so much admired by many competent judges, that Messrs. Ackermann were induced to agree with the Paris publisher for a limited number of copies of the plates; and as it might justly be presumed that the English purchasers would be desirous of having the narrative of the travels, it was resolved to publish a translation compressed into a single volume. By selecting, however, a page of a large size, the translator has been able to retain all the most interesting parts, omitting only minute details of the measurements of animals, &c. All the chapters illustrative of the manners, customs, traditions, and superstitions of the Indians are given without abridgment, and these, as the author justly observes, are by far the most attractive and valuable portions of the work. The papers in the Appendix, giving an account of the plants collected, are also inserted entire, and have been kindly revised by my friend Sir William Hooker.

The principal omission is that of the very extensive vocabularies of the languages of the different Indian tribes. They are written so as to represent the pronunciation in German, and have, in numerous instances, special directions, as thus: kontschue (*oo* as in French, *schue*, short and quick, *ei*). It appeared to be a hopeless and unprofitable task to rewrite these vocabularies, and to represent the true pronunciation in English. Those who are curious in such matters will find many specimens in Mr. Catlin's interesting work.

128 194 The numerous Indian proper names are, of course, written in the original as pronounced in German. It has been thought best to leave them unchanged, merely requesting the reader to observe, in general, that the consonants are pronounced as in English; only that *ch* is guttural, as in the Scotch word *loch*; that *sch* is pronounced *sh*, and that the vowels have the same sound as in French, *ah*, *a*, *ee*, *o*, *oo*.

175 164 The author alludes, in his Preface, to the recent fearful ravages which have been caused among the Indian races by the small-pox. The origin and extent of these ravages will be seen from the following very affecting letter on the subject:

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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"NEW ORLEANS, June 6, 1838.—The southern parts of the United States, particularly Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana, are as healthy as can be wished; there has been no appearance of the yellow fever, and even at the Havannah only a few isolated cases have occurred. During the autumn, winter, and spring, the small-pox has carried off many victims among the Whites, and thousands of the Indians; but it has now wholly disappeared in the territory of the Union, in consequence of a general vaccination of persons of all ages. On the other hand, we have, from the trading posts on the western frontier of the Missouri, the most frightful accounts of the ravages of the small-pox among the Indians. The destroying angel has visited the unfortunate sons of the wilderness with terrors never before known, and has converted the extensive hunting grounds, as well as the peaceful settlements of those tribes, into desolate and boundless cemeteries. The number of the victims within a few months is estimated at 30,000, and the pestilence is still spreading. The warlike spirit which but lately animated the several Indian tribes, and but a few months ago gave reason to apprehend the breaking-out of a sanguinary war, is broken. The mighty warriors are now the prey of the greedy wolves of the prairie, and the few survivors, in mute despair, throw themselves on the pity of the Whites, who, however, can do but little to help them. The vast preparations for the protection of the western frontier are superfluous: another arm has undertaken the defence of the white inhabitants of the frontier; and the funereal torch, that lights the red man to his dreary grave, has become the auspicious star of the advancing settler, and of the roving trader of the white race.

"The small-pox was communicated to the Indians by a person who was on board the steam-boat which went, last summer, up to the mouth of the Yellow Stone, to convey both the government presents for the Indians, and the goods for the barter trade of the fur dealers. The disorder communicated itself to several of the crew of the steam-boat. The officers gave notice of it to the Indians, and exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent any intercourse between them and the vessel; but this was a vain attempt; for the Indians knew that presents and goods for barter were come for them, and it would have been impossible to drive them away from the fort without having recourse to arms. Two days before the arrival of the steam-boat, an express had been received at the trading fort, 2000 miles west of St. Louis, with the melancholy news of the breaking-out of the small-pox on board; this was immediately communicated to the Indians, with the most urgent entreaties to keep at a distance; but this was as good as preaching to the winds. The survivors now lament their disobedience, and are as submissive as the poor dogs which look in vain in the prairie for the footsteps of their masters. The miserable remnants of the Indians implore us not to abandon them in their misfortune, and promise, if we will take pity on them, never more to disobey our commands.

"The disease first broke out about the 15th of June, 1837, in the village of the Mandans, a few miles below the American fort, Leavenworth, from which it spread, in all directions, with unexampled fury. The character of the disease was as appalling as the rapidity of the propagation. Among the remotest tribes of the Assiniboins from fifty to one hundred died daily. The patient, when first seized, complains of dreadful pains in the head and back, and in a few hours he is dead: the body immediately turns black, and swells to thrice its natural size. In vain were hospitals fitted up in Fort Union, and the whole stock of medicines exhausted. For many weeks together our workmen did nothing but collect the dead bodies and bury them in large pits; but since the ground is frozen we are obliged to throw them into the river. The ravages of the disorder were the most frightful among the Mandans, where it first broke out. That once powerful tribe, which, by accumulated disasters, had already been reduced to 1500 souls, was exterminated, with the exception of thirty persons. Their neighbours, the Bigbellied Indians, and the Ricarees, were out on a hunting excursion at the time of the breaking-out of the disorder, so that it did not reach them till a month later; yet half the tribe was already destroyed on the 1st of October, and the disease continued to spread. Very few of those who were attacked recovered their health; but when they saw all their relations buried, and the pestilence still raging with unabated fury among the remainder of their countrymen, life became a burden to them, and they put an end to their wretched existence, either with their knives and muskets, or by precipitating themselves from the summit of the rock near their settlement. The prairie all around is a vast field of death, covered with unburied corpses, and spreading, for miles, pestilence and infection. The Bigbellied Indians and the Ricarees, lately amounting to 4000 souls, were reduced to less than the half. The Assiniboins, 9000 in number, roaming over a hunting territory to the north of the Missouri, as far as the trading posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, are, in the literal sense of the expression, nearly exterminated. They, as well as the Crows and Blackfeet, endeavoured to fly in all directions, but the disease everywhere pursued them. At last every feeling of mutual compassion and tenderness seems to have disappeared. Every one avoided the others. Women and children wandered about in the prairie seeking

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NO17 Mandan NO17

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for a county subsistence. The accounts of the situation of the Blackfeet are awful. The inmates of above 1000 of their tents are already swept away. They are the bravest and the most crafty of all the Indians, dangerous and implacable to their enemies, but faithful and kind to their friends. But very lately we seriously apprehended that a terrible war with them was at hand, and that they would unite the whole of their remaining strength against the Whites. Every day brought accounts of new armaments, and of a loudly expressed spirit of vengeance towards the Whites: but the small-pox cast them down, the brave as well as the feeble; and those who were once seized by this infection never recovered. It is affirmed that several bands of warriors, who were on their march to attack the fort, all perished by the way, so that not one survived to convey the intelligence to their tribe. Thus, in the course of a few weeks, their strength and their courage were broken, and nothing was to be heard but the frightful wailings of death in the camp. Every thought of war was dispelled, and the few that are left are as humble as famished dogs. No language can picture the scene of desolation which the country presents. In whatever direction we go, we see nothing but melancholy wrecks of human life. The tents are still standing on every hill, but no rising smoke announces the presence of human beings, and no sounds but the croaking of the raven and the howling of the wolf interrupt the fearful silence. The above accounts do not complete the terrible intelligence which we receive. There is scarcely a doubt that the pestilence will spread to the tribes in and beyond the Rocky Mountains, as well as to the Indians in the direction of Santa Fé and Mexico. It seems to be irrevocably written in the book of fate, that the race of red men shall be wholly extirpated in the land in which they ruled the undisputed masters, till the rapacity of the Whites brought to their shores the murderous fire-arms, the enervating ardent spirits, and the all-destructive pestilence of the small-pox. According to the most recent accounts, the number of the Indians who have been swept away by the small-pox, on the western frontier of the United States, amounts to more than 60,000."

The general correctness of the melancholy details given in the above letter has been confirmed to me by several travellers who have visited these nations since they were desolated by this awful epidemic. The almost total extinction of these tribes greatly enhances the value and importance of the full and interesting particulars imparted by his Highness.

H. EVANS LLOYD.

CHARTERHOUSE SQUARE,
May 1st, 1843.

[pp. xi-xii, 1-333 omitted]

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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*Two Processes of Change in Mandan-Hidatsa Kinship Terminology**

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INTRODUCTION

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WE ALREADY have some understanding of the progressive stages in the breakdown of a Crow type kinship system under conditions of social change (Spoehr 1947; Eggan 1950), but we lack sufficient information on the actual processes and interactions involved in the shift from one basic kinship type to another. This paper deals with processes of kinship change in one village of Mandan-Hidatsa Indians living on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

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The Mandan and Hidatsa are both small Siouan-speaking tribes with a long history of residence in the Missouri River Valley. Although the Mandan and Hidatsa had different origins, spoke mutually unintelligible languages, and lived in separate villages, they have been in intimate and peaceful association for over two hundred years, with constant cultural borrowings and intermarriage. For the problem to be dealt with here, we may consider the two tribes as one.

Both groups were part of the Prairie earth lodge complex, which included the Chiwere and Dhegiha Sioux and the Caddoan tribes and covered the area encompassed by the Arkansas and Missouri River valleys. A dual subsistence economy of agriculture and hunting was adjusted to an abundant ecological setting in the fertile creek and river bottom lands. Each tribe was composed of a number of independent villages integrated by social and ceremonial ties. The characteristic dwelling was the earth lodge, occupied by matrilocal extended families. The social structure of the Mandan-Hidatsa included a clan and moiety system, matrilineal lineages, an elaborate set of societies, and a Crow type kinship system.

In the early nineteenth century, the two tribes were severely reduced in population by a series of smallpox epidemics. By 1862, the remnants of the Mandan-Hidatsa had consolidated with the Arikara in one village for mutual defense against hostile nomads. With the Indian Bureau allotment program in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the people of the village were scattered into a number of separate and smaller communities on the Fort Berthold Reservation. A group of Mandan and Hidatsa families established

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* An abbreviated version of this paper was read at the 52nd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association held at Tucson, Arizona, Dec. 28–30, 1953. I am indebted to the Social Science Research Council and the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago for financial support of field work. Fred Eggan and others have kindly read this paper and have made suggestions for its improvement.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

themselves in one of these communities located on an isolated segment of the reservation between the Missouri and the Little Missouri rivers. The village is called Lone Hill by the Indian people. In 1951, Lone Hill had a total Indian population of 267 individuals forming 48 nuclear families. 101 175 ● [16]

THE PROBLEM

In the summer of 1951 and continuing in 1952–53, I studied social and cultural change in Lone Hill village. Starting with an investigation of kinship using the genealogical method I obtained kinship schedules essentially similar to those reported by Morgan (1871:291–382), Lowie (1917), and Bowers (1950, ms.) as characterizing the traditional Crow lineage system. It became apparent that for some members of Lone Hill, both old and young, the terminological system had not changed. While the majority of the schedules gathered in the village represented the Crow lineage system, this was not so for every case. A number of schedules were obtained with English terms and were directly comparable to the American type of system. Thus, within one community, I obtained two kinds of kinship patterns, the first aboriginal Indian and the second modern near-white. 121 601

This extreme variation is not too surprising if one considers previous work on kinship change in other American Indian tribes which have had a comparable Crow lineage system. Spoehr (1947), comparing related tribes within the Southeastern area, found direct evidence of a complete series from a pure Crow type to a variant of an American generational system with intermediate forms showing a regular pattern of change. The Schmitts (n.d.), within one community of Wichita, found variations in kinship terminology which fitted into the latter part of Spoehr's more complete series. The direction of the Wichita data tends to validate Spoehr's conclusions—when a Crow system changes under modern acculturative influence, there is an increasing patrilineal emphasis, a shift from a lineal to a generational pattern in classification, and a diminishing importance of kinship in regulating social life.

The point to be stressed here is that the terminological systems gathered among the Indian people of Lone Hill village were either pure Crow or white generation types—both extremes without the intermediate variations. While a generational type kinship system is found among the Mandan-Hidatsa and in the cases reported upon by Spoehr and the Schmitts, the absence of intermediate variations in Lone Hill suggests a significant difference in the kind of acculturation taking place. This difference may be clarified by a description of the types of terminological systems found in Lone Hill, followed by an analysis of the mechanisms of kinship change.

THE KINSHIP PATTERNS

Of the two terminological kinship patterns found in Lone Hill, the pure Crow type remains the operating functional system for the majority of the people of the village. Figure 1 is a diagram of the system in the Hidatsa language with English equivalents. The orthography follows Bowers (ms.). 601

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Primary Group Experience and the Processes of Acculturation[1]

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INTRODUCTION

101 121 THE problem of this paper is to explain why some members of the Mandan-Hidatsa village of Lone Hill[2] become more acculturated than others. Our particular thesis is that the differences in degree of acculturation found among the Indian people are in large measure a product of early experience in the intimate family group, and the cultural orientation of their parents or their surrogates.

177 121 There are striking differences in extent of acculturation in Lone Hill. They are manifest in type of home, education, subsistence, speech, and manner, and would be readily apparent even to the most casual observer. In a previous paper it has been shown that some families in Lone Hill follow the Crow lineage kinship system and Indian values while others have adopted the American kinship and value systems (Bruner 1955). A former superintendent of the Agency, who is also a trained social scientist, has written, " . . . there is at Fort Berthold every degree of acculturation, from the family living on the reservation in the hoe culture age of the original village life to a few well-to-do ranchers with nearly every modern convenience in their homes" (Riefel 1952:125). Our purpose in this paper is not to describe these differences in acculturation in any detail, nor is it to correlate them with a check list of unweighted factors; it is rather to delineate the process by which they arise in the family situation and to analyze the larger social context in which they occur.

HISTORY AND METHOD

Any study of acculturation is facilitated to the extent that a means can be established to control comparisons (Eggan 1954); in this paper the control stems from comparison of group differences within one village (cf. Spindler 1955; Rapoport 1954). The criteria for segmenting the population according to degree of acculturation will be based upon differential participation in contemporary reservation culture and not upon the presence or absence of aboriginal Indian or white traits. The people of Lone Hill live in a culture that has emerged from the aboriginal culture of their ancestors and has borrowed from local white, mass American, and pan-Indian cultures.

177 175 The Upper Missouri River Valley was the scene of turbulent changes during the past 200 years. Within this period the horse was introduced, many white men came and with them trade, numerous manufactured goods, devastating plagues of smallpox, the arrival of white homesteaders, the development of surrounding towns, and deliberate attempts by missionaries and other members of a superordinate majority to change a subordinate Indian minority, including the efforts of the military and of the Indian Bureau. An

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

177 175 indirect effect of contact resulted in the displacement of Eastern tribes, the formation of full Plains equestrian nomadism, and constant raids by hostile groups. These momentous events precipitated radical changes in the cultures of all Plains-Prairie peoples, and the Mandan-Hidatsa were no exception, although they did change less than other earth-lodge tribes (Strong 1940; Jablow 1950; Eggan 1952; Krieger 1953).

105 177 Indian culture today includes automobiles, farm equipment, washing machines, radios, and other material objects of American culture. Clothing and household goods are generally purchased through Western mail order catalogs. The major sources of cash income are the cattle business, agricultural enterprises, leasing lands to whites, wage work, and relief money. Every adult has attended government or missionary schools, and Catholic and Congregational Churches are established in the village. Thirty-one of the sixty-four males over seventeen years of age have had military experience.

Lone Hill village has never been a closed, self-sufficient society, from the time it was founded in the last decade of the nineteenth century with the allotment program of the Indian Bureau until the present. Today every adult deals with white people who reside outside the community, although contact is limited. The Indian's cash income and the education of his children are controlled in part by the Indian Bureau and by forces in the larger American society. Agency personnel, government employees, missionaries, day school teachers, traveling salesmen and local tradespeople, farmers and ranchers, visit with Indians both on and off the reservation. The resident of Lone Hill village buys goods from white storekeepers, attends schools taught by whites, transacts business with white government people, and often seeks wage work from nearby whites. The Indian must satisfy specialized needs through the services of white doctors, lawyers and professional people.

[191 601 614] Despite the many American elements which have been adopted, Hidatsa is the major spoken language in Lone Hill today, secular Indian ceremonial dances are performed, and the social organization includes matrilineal clans and a Crow type kinship system. Sacred bundles are highly respected, Indian doctors utilize native medicine to cure the sick, and distinctively Indian values are manifest on many occasions. The linguistic, religious, and social patterns are not considered here as isolated survivals persisting intact from the aboriginal past, for they too have changed from older times as a consequence of changing conditions of life; and they function in a very different total situation in 1950 as compared with 1850 or 1750.

Viewed historically, contemporary Indian culture is mixed. It consists of automobiles from Detroit, dances from the Cheyenne, medicine bundles from the Mandan, and a language from the Hidatsa. From the perspective of some individuals who share it, this mixed culture is perfectly consistent. No person in Lone Hill today knows how to stalk buffalo, scalp a Sioux, or shape a stone arrowhead. With the exception of a few very old people, no one in Lone Hill has ever lived in a culture in which these activities were performed. Our task is to understand how groups of individuals in Lone Hill come to regard and participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture.

10: Neill H-4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LIFE AMONG THE MANDANS AND GROS VENTRES EIGHTY YEARS AGO.

AS DESCRIBED BY APARTNER OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY.

101 The Mandans were unknown to white men, until they were
175 visited by the Sons of Sieur Veranderie, who reached the Missouri, by way of the Mouse river, and, in January, 1743, discovered the Rocky mountains. The Jesuit Coquard, who had accompanied the Veranderies in some of their expeditions, writes that they first met the Mantanes, and next the Brochets. After these, were the Gros Ventres, the Crows, the Flat Heads, the Black Feet and Dog Feet, who were established on the Missouri, even up to the Falls, and about thirty leagues beyond they found a narrow pass in the mountains.

114 After the organization of the North-west Company of Montreal, English traders came from the Assinaboine river, to trade with the tribes of the Missouri. The compiler of this article has in his possession a copy of the unpublished journal of Alexander Henry, a partner of the North-west Company, which contains the following account of what he knows of the condition,position and customs of the Mandans at the beginning of the present century, and extracts from which are worthy of preservation for the use of the antiquarian and ethnologist.

On the 7th of July, 1806, Henry left the post of the North-west Company at the junction of the Pembina with the Red River of the North, and on the 12th he arrived at the establishments of Riviere la Souris (Mouse river), on the south side of the Assinaboine river. A Hudson Bay Company post was on the north side, where a North-west Company post was once situated. He found the Hudson Bay Company's people very busy in making hair lines which are used to fetter horses. He writes: "The hair which they commonly make use of, is that which the buffalo has between the horns, which is sometimes upward of a foot long. They also make use of the horse hair for that purpose, which is much stronger."

The post near the Mouse River of the North West Company was in charge of F. A. LaRocque. On Monday the 14th of July the expedition left for the Missouri, consisting of Henry, Allan McDonald, T. Viandria, Joseph Du Charme, and Hugh McCracken, * the guide an old Irishman who had once been a soldier in the British artillery. McCracken was the per-

* Lewis and Clarke found McCracken in 1804 at the Mandan Village where they wintered. In an account of their expedition published in *Harper's Family Library*, vol. 1, page 125, under date of November 1, 1804, is the following: "Mr. McCracken the trader whom we found here set out to-day on his return to the British fort and factory on the Assiniboin River, about one hundred and fifty miles from this place."

10: Neill H4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

formed by the women in the morning.[1] Their sweet corn and beans are boiled whole; they make use of large earthen pots of their own manufacture, made of black clay, of which they have plenty near their villages. They make them of different sizes, from five gallons to a quart. In these vessels is never anything of a greasy nature.[1] * * * * * The bottoms of the pots are of an oblong shape; it therefore requires much care to keep them from upsetting, for which purpose when they are put to the fire a hole is made in the ashes to secure and prop them erect, and when taken away they are placed upon a sort of mat made of the fibers of the bois blanc; these coils or rugs are made of different sizes, according to the dimensions of the several pots, which keeps them firm and secure. Some of these pots are provided with two cones, or handles.[1] * *

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Baptiste La France made his appearance here. This man had left the Prairie la Souris [Mouse River] with a small assortment of goods for the purpose of trading, equipped by the Hudson Bay Company. He now resides upon the south side of the river, at the great Mandane village,* and hearing of the arrival of white people, he came over to us. He now informed the chief, Black Cat, who his guests were and the cause of our visit, which was mere curiosity. [The chief] instantly retired to his family hut and brought out his flag, which was given him in 1804–5; they alsogave him a silver medal, and the same articles were also given to the principal chief of each of the other villages, also several very useful utensils were left amongst them.† I saw the remains of an excellent large corn mill, which the foolish fellows had demolished on purpose to barb their arrows; the largest piece of it which they could not break nor work up into any weapon they have now fixed to a wooden handle, and make use of it to pound marrow bones, to make grease."

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We were now desirous of crossing the river, therefore sent off La France to engage people of the opposite village to come over for us.[2] * * * * * * * We were now informed that eight canoes were in waiting for us, from the opposite side, and the same number of young men had come over to assist in crossing our horses.[2] * * * * On our going over to the war side we found the chief of the Great Mandan village, Le Gros Blanc. He was waiting with his own canoe to ferry over Mr. Chaboillez and me. He appeared very

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† To each chief, Lewis and Clarke presented a medal, a flag, and a uniform coat. In the narrative of the expedition is the following sentence: "A variety of other presents were distributed, but none seemed to give them more satisfaction than the iron corn mill, which we gave to the Mandans."

† The Mandans, about 1760, were settled on the banks of the Missouri, eighty miles below, seven villages on the west and two on the east side of the river. The two villages were reduced by small-pox, and moved up the river and settled a village near the Receivers, and afterwards the people of the other village joined them. In 1796 they were in two villages at the points where Henry found them, on opposite sides of Missouri, about three miles apart.

[175]

[1] [Category 116, p. 328.-A.] [2] [Category 116, p. 328.-A]

LIFE AMONG THE MANDANS EIGHTY YEARS AGO.

[Continued from page 253.]

FORMER RELATIONS OF PAWNEES[1] AND MANDANS.

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648

Not many years ago the Pawnees and Mandans were allied to each other, and lived together in the same villages, which were situated on the banks of the river Missouri, about thirty leagues below. A misunderstanding happening to occur amongst them they separated, the Pawnees retired down the river and built their village where it stands at present (A. D. 1806), and the Mandans proceeded with an intention of settling themselves somewhere about the confluence of the Little Missouri river, or on the upper part of Reviere La Souris (Moose river). But on their arrival at this place the Big Bellies barred the road, and put a stop to their progress to the westward, telling them that they would not permit them, or any one, to build higher up the river, and desiring the Mandans to build where they are at present. The latter, it seems were not much inclined to comply, but dreading the displeasure of the others who were more numerous, comprised, then, of a village of nine hundred huts, necessity obliged them to accept the terms. Since that period the Pawnees and Mandans have frequently been at war, and as often made peace again. They are a stationary people as the Mandans, and cultivate the ground in the same manner;

1 [Henry[2] probably mistakes Pawnee for Arikara--Analyst]

[pp. 254 to 377 have no information on the Mandan]

●175 648 they are represented as a treacherous, deceitful people, always taking advantage of their neighbors, and favoring the Sioux when they come to war this way, and frequently intermix with them to annoy the Mandans and Big Bellies.

SIGN LANGUAGE.

201 This language is entirely different from the natives of this place, and it is only by signs that they usually communicate with each other, excepting a few among them who understand each other's language. It serves as interpreter upon any affair of importance. It is surprising how dexterous all these natives of the plains are, in the art of communicating their ideas by signs. They will hold conference, for several hours together, upon different subjects, and during the whole time not a single word will be pronounced upon either side, and still they appear to comprehend each other perfectly well. This mode of communication appears to be quite natural to them, other difficult events are performed with the greatest ease and readiness. They never seem to be at loss, or in want of a sign to express their meaning.

COURTESY TO STRANGERS.

648 721 728 Soon after our arrival, there was a great uproar occasioned by the unexpected visit of six Pawnees, from their own village, sixty leagues below this, on the banks of the same (Missouri) river. They were sent upon an embassy to treat for peace. It appears that last spring, some of these people had accompanied a war party of Sioux who came here and killed five Mandans. The latter nation, in company with the Big Bellies (Gros Ventres,) soon after returned the visit, and not finding the Sioux, on their return killed two Pawnees, but this did not satisfy them. They had informed the Pawnees that they might expect a more formal visit the ensuing fall; that both the Mandans and Big Bellies were determined to exterminate every Pawnee they could find, and lay their villages even with the ground.

To avoid this storm, the latter thought prudent to sue for [202] peace. A messenger was instantly dispatched to the upper villages to give information of their arrival. In the meantime the strangers were very hospitably entertained, conducted into a hut, and presented with corn and beans, dried meats, etc. All were now silent for some time, awaiting the determination of the Big Bellies.

ARRIVAL OF GROS VENTRES.

The Big Bellies[1], in a short time, arrived on horse-back; about thirty men came down full speed; they brought down an inter-

1 [Category 116, p. 335.—A.]

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

dans; for their religious ceremonies connected with planting are the more numerous, and they honor the corn with a species of worship. In every Aricaree lodge, there is a large ear of corn, which has lasted for generations, sticking out of the mouth of a medicine-bag. At their feasts, they make offerings to the corn by rubbing a piece of meat on it, while they pray to it for plentiful harvests, and address it by the name of 'mother.' The Hidatsas claim to have had no knowledge of corn until they first ate it from the trenchers of the Mandans; and they have no important ceremonies connected with the harvesting, yet they cultivated it long before the advent of the white man." (p. 12.)

"Three Tribes" at Berthold—From South Dakota. "When Lewis and Clarke ascended the Missouri, in 1804, they found four tribes of agricultural Indians, numerous and prosperous, inhabiting the upper Missouri valley, west of the Dakota nation. They had eight permanently inhabited towns, others which they lived in only temporarily, and a number more which they had abandoned and allowed to go to ruin. They are spoken of in Lewis and Clarke's journal as the 'Ricaras,' 'Mandans,' 'Minnetarees,' and 'Ahnahaways.' All that are left of the four tribes are now gathered together in this one village, at Fort Berthold, which does not probably number 2,500 souls. The remains, now nearly obliterated, of their old towns, may be traced on nearly every prairie terrace adjacent to the Missouri, along six hundred miles of its course, from the mouth of the Lower White-Earth to the mouth of the Little Missouri. The Indians at Fort Berthold are, however, now generally referred to as the 'three tribes'; for one of the nations spoken of by Captain Lewis—that which he calls Ahnahaways—is no longer an organized tribe, but has been merged into the Minnetarees." (p. 12.)

"Mandan"—Previous History. "The Mandans, about a hundred years ago, lived in several villages near the mouth of Heart river. From this neighborhood, they moved up the Missouri, stopping and building villages at different localities. In 1804, they were found dwelling in two towns about four miles below the mouth of Knife river. One of these towns was named Metutahanke, Metutahankish, or, as Maximilian writes it, 'Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kusch,' meaning lower village. The other was called Ruptari or Nuptadi. They were almost exterminated by the

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

they have suspected and thwarted them all. In the reports of the commissioners of Indian affairs, various estimates of their strength may be found, but they are all conjectural. In the report of 1862, it is stated that the Gros Ventres and Mandans, in that year, numbered 1,120, and the Aricarees (then in a separate but neighboring village) 1,000, total 2,120. In the report of 1866 are the following 'approximate numbers': Aricarees, 1,500; Mandans, 400; Gros Ventres, 400; total 2,300. In the report of 1871, the population is thus given: Aricarees, 1,500; Mandans, 400; Gros Ventres, 400; total, 'about' 2,300. In these estimates, which vary greatly, the first gives the population of the Gros Ventres and Mandans together as more than the Rees; while, in the second and third estimates, the Rees are represented as about twice as numerous as the other two tribes together. In this respect, believe the first quoted estimate to be nearest the truth; for the houses occupied by the Gros Ventres and Mandans number more than those occupied by the Rees. In the estimate of 1866, it will be seen that the Gros Ventres and Mandans are represented as equal to one another. I have many reasons for believing this representation to be incorrect. The conjecture of the writer, based upon all ascertainable data, is that, within the past ten years, the proper population of the village has never been more than 2,500, and that, at present, it is much less. It is pretty certain, too, that of the three tribes, the Aricarees stand first in numerical strength, the Hidatsa second, and the Mandans third. 161

"However, if a perfect census of the village was taken any day, when no hunting parties were out, it would not show the strength of these tribes; for the scouts who are enlisted at distant posts, their families, and the Minnetarees, who, of late years, have gone to live with the Crows, constituting in all a large proportion of this people, could not be included." (p. 16-17.)

We quote the following valuable extract from Mathews' regarding various languages of the Fort Berthold confederates: 000

Conversation—Distinct Languages. "To the philologist, it is an interesting fact that this trio of savage clans, although now living in the same village, and having been next door neighbors to each other for more than a hundred years, on terms of peace and intimacy, and to a great extent intermarried, speak, nevertheless, totally distinct languages, which show no perceptible inclination to coalesce. 177

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

These are now supplied to the trade under the name of California shells. Ten years ago, one of these shells, unpolished, sold for a good robe. There is little doubt that they used Abalone, Dentalium, and other sea shells before the traders brought them. Old traders and old Indians say so. Even as late as 1833, it would seem that they had not yet become a regular part of a trader's outfit; for Maximilian says of the Mandans: 'They do not disfigure the bodies; only they make some apertures in the outer rim of the ear, in which they hang strings of beads, brass, or iron rings of different sizes, or shells, the last of which they obtain from other Indian tribes. If they are questioned respecting these shells, they answer that they were brought from the sea." (p. 28.)

Matthews quotes the following expressions from D. D. Mitchell, found in Schoolcraft's work, concerning visitors to the Mandans in the eighteenth century:

McIntosh's Early Visit. "In a letter published in Schoolcraft's **Information Respecting the Indian Tribes,** the writer, D. D. Mitchell, says, speaking of the Mandans: 'The early portion of their history I gather from the narration of Mr. McIntosh, who, it seems, belonged to, or was in some way connected with, the French trading company as far back as 1772. According to his narration, he set out from Montreal in the summer of 1773, crossing over the country to the Missouri river, and arrived at one of the Mandan villages on Christmas day.' I have never seen McIntosh's account, nor have I seen any more extensive notice of it than the one given by Mr. Mitchell; and from this, it does not appear that McIntosh visited any of these agricultural Indians except the Mandans." (p. 29.)

And Matthews expresses the view that British and French traders and interpreters were among the Mandans prior to 1804, all of which appears in evidence hereinbefore submitted. He believes the earliest Europeans to reach them were from Hudson Bay territory, but he was, as he admits (p. 29), unaware of Verendrye's expedition referred to by Catlin, who is criticised by Matthews for failing to "tell us where the account of the expedition of 1738 is to be found," adding: "No other mention of the journey has ever been seen by me."

Matthews thus refers to the peaceable relations nearly always existing between the Mandans and Rees and the Americans:

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 or Mandan, and more difficult to distinguish it from the latter than from the former of these two. The tones of these four languages belonging to the Dakota group are somewhat alike; so much alike that a person possessing but limited acquaintance with them might mistake one for another, hearing it at a distance as I have described. But the contrast in tone between these tongues and the neighboring, but alien, Aricaree is well marked, and any quick-eared person might learn at once to distinguish it from them."

Matthews declares that the tendency to coalescence in the languages of the tribes confederated at Ft. Berthold has been slight since they were known to the whites. He says:

Changes in Course of Time. Coalescence Slight. "I have said that the three languages spoken in the village at Fort Berthold show no perceptible inclination to coalesce (Ethnography, Sec. 13.) I have said this, well knowing that the statement was somewhat at variance with the opinions of earlier observers. The few Mandan and Minnetaree words given by Lewis and Clarke in proper names show, as far as they go, that the languages have not materially changed since 1804. There are now, and doubtless there were in 1804, many points of correspondence between the Mandan and Hidatsa languages; but there are none which may not be more easily explained by supposing the two languages to have sprung from a common source than by supposing them to have been reciprocally changed by contact. I never could discover that the Hidatsa and Mandan spoken by the rising generation resembled one another more than did those languages spoken by the old men. I do not claim that the long and intimate intercourse which has existed between these two tribes has produced no approximation or coalescence of their languages. It is but reasonable to suppose that the contrary is the case; but I could never get an Indian to point out to me, nor could I ever otherwise discover, a satisfactory instance of such coalescence." (p. 84-85.)

He further claims that the Mandan and Aricaree languages are totally different:

Mandan and Ree Languages—No Resemblance. "Throughout the past hundred years, the Mandans have had as much intercourse with the Aricarees as with the Minnetarees; yet I never

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

HISTORIC BACKGROUND

105 175 •177 UNLIKE most tribes of the Northern Plains, the Mandan have moved little since first mentioned in the accounts of travelers, and their basic culture has changed little except for minor adjustments in their economy resulting from the introduction of the horse and European trade goods. The prominent part played by agriculture and the size and concentration of their villages at and above the mouth of the Heart River in early historic times, the semisedentary nature of their population, and their comparatively richer material wealth distinguished them from the nomadic buffalo hunters when European explorers first reached the Northern Plains. During late prehistoric times the Mandan were in intimate contacts with the Awatixa and Awaxawi bands of semisedentary Hidatsa, whose villages were situated below the Knife River at this time. So far as the writer was able to determine, the Mandan have always remained on friendly terms with the various Hidatsa and Crow groups.

175 361 Their first contacts were with the French coming overland from the Lake Winnipeg region to trade shortly after A.D. 1700, for La Harpe in A.D. 1719 gave the location of the Arikara on the Missouri as one hundred and twenty leagues southeast from "seven famous villages," which would, from the location of the Arikara in the La Harpe map, place the Mandan near the mouth of the Heart River.[1] We cannot be certain that the "seven famous villages" referred to by La Harpe do not include both the Mandan and at least part of the Hidatsa villages, since the Hidatsa are not mentioned in the literature until 1797, when they were identified by David Thompson as a separate linguistic group.[2] La Verendrye, who visited the earth-lodge vil-

1. Bernard de la Harpe, "Relation du voyage de Bernard de la Harpe," in Pierre Margry (ed.), *Découvertes et établissements des Française dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique septentrionale, 1614–1754*, Sixième partie (Paris, 1886), pp. 292–93.

2. *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1916), pp. 209–42.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

885 554 701 others' directions. As the leader of his first war expedition, he was expected to name others with a distinguished war record to serve with him as co-leaders. They would share his rewards and assume their share of the responsibilities. His word was authority in all matters relating to his war expeditions and, whereas in the past he had accepted the decisions of his leader in disputes appertaining to rewards for striking the enemy or capturing and dividing the spoils, he demanded similar obedience from his group.

554 721 The Mandan had a highly formalized method of recording war honors, and it was the duty of the war leader to verify their authenticity. He would relate the exploits of his men during social occasions and ceremonies. Those holding war honors were entitled to express them by means of particular decorations. Of these decorations, the Mandan claim that the practice of wearing eagle feathers was of recent origin and was borrowed from the Sioux. [177]

554 703 628 721 The highest honor was accorded to a man who went out alone and found an enemy whom he killed and scalped. He was authorized to paint one legging black and the other either yellow or white and to paint each half of his shirt in the same manner. He was also permitted to wear a coyote tail at each ankle signifying that he saw an enemy first and afterward "struck" him. He could also wear one eagle feather in his hair and was the recipient of much honor during the scalp dances as long as he lived. The most common motive for going out alone was to revenge a relative, particularly a sibling, when the slayer was known. In such cases, announcement was made in advance that he was leaving on a particular day to find his relative's slayer. Catlin records such an expedition by Four Bears, who went into the Arikara villages near the Grand River at night to avenge the death of his brother.[2] The old Mandan still related this incident in 1930, when the information for this report was collected. The only instance of one man going far from the village and killing one or more persons remembered as occurring during the lifetime of my informants was for revenge. A distinguished war leader's wife ran away with another dis-

554 578 721 837

2. George Catlin, *The Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (London, 1841), pp. 239-40.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

for the disposal of the skulls of their dead. The other bones were gathered and wrapped in a hide before being buried in the village refuse or along the river and creek banks. 765 614 778

The custom of bringing back the skulls of those who died or were killed while away from the village was continued until the Mandan were placed on individual land allotments. When one died while away from the village, the body was wrapped in robes and either placed in a tree, a crevice among the rocks, or a shallow grave covered with rocks. The body was left there for one year, when it became the duty of the father's sister to make provision for its return. If the summer buffalo-hunting camp was in the vicinity of the grave, she would pay some man to obtain the skull, or she secured it herself if the party passed near by. The skull was wrapped in white sage and carried in a soft leather bag. It was considered sacred and was prayed to. Young men who addressed it as father would request permission to fast near it. When the party reached the village, the skull became a part of one of the skull circles. 765 778

After the Mandan were placed on individual allotments on the Fort Berthold Reservation, it was customary to place the dead in boxes and trunks or to wrap them in robes and blankets which were placed in crevices in rocks or on high hills. Those who were closely affiliated with one of the churches were prevailed upon to have their dead buried in the church cemetery. Some bodies were unburied as late as 1928. For a number of years after moving onto individual allotments, a skull circle was maintained on a hill a short distance east of the Tom Smith farm, but in later years the skulls were not removed. 764 177

[p. 102 is blank]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

INTRODUCTION TO MANDAN CEREMONIALISM

796 FEW Mandan bundle transfer ceremonies had been performed during the thirty years preceding this study, and the infor-
•177 mation secured on the former ceremonial activities was based on observations and participation of informants or the informal instructions received of former bundle-holders. Medicine feasts to the bundles were held at irregular intervals, but the forced change from village to rural life when the tribe was placed on family allotments scattered throughout the Reservation, the extinction of the buffalo, and the termination of intertribal warfare in large measure led to the abandonment of the ceremonies. The first of the major ceremonies to be dropped was the annual summer Okipa, which was last performed about 1890. At the time this study was being made, the old women of the Goose Society were accustomed to meet annually during the summer, and some of the old men were using the fish traps for which the ancient rites were still employed. A few men still maintained eagle-trapping lodges along the Little Missouri River, where they were accustomed to go during the fall months to trap eagles and hunt deer.

796 Most of the principal tribal bundles were preserved by the children of former custodians. White Calf had the Lone Man
778 bundle; Calf Woman had the buffalo masks for the Okipa and a Woman Above bundle; Ben Benson had two of the turtle drums, and Scattercorn had the other; Scattercorn also had Moves Slowly's Hoita and Corn ceremony bundles except the portions that had been accidentally burned; Foolish Woman had his father's Star bundle; Little Owl had Hits on Back's Sigaraga bundle; Mrs. White Duck had the Skull bundle. Feasts were sometimes made to these bundles by relatives largely out of respect to the old people, but lavish disposal of goods was no longer practiced. Crows Heart and his sister, Front Woman, were still making offerings to the eagles and hawks in the spring

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 lungs, heart, and windpipe were tied, drifted along with the wind until they reached the foot of the hill where the young man 713 was fasting. They sang a song which mentioned the name of the young girl who was the cause of the disappearance of these families. She was destroyed by burning, which freed the people she had consumed. A sacred bundle was established by the young man. A buffalo robe represented the young girl, and twelve red sticks were carved to represent the twelve buffalo bulls.

Bundle transfer was traditionally from father to son,[3] but the 778 information on actual transfers is so limited that it was not pos- 425 sible to check this belief with actual transfers. The ceremony was not given after the buffalo herds disappeared.

The pledge to give the ceremony could be made either by an 796 individual or by an age-grade society. In the case of the former, 778 clan brothers of about the same age assisted by bringing their wives with food and goods. The owner of the sacred bundle 561 would select twelve older men who had given the ceremony or who had sacred buffalo skulls, acquired through vision or purchase with bundles, to carry the red sticks. When an age-grade society gave the ceremony, the bundle-owner distributed the red sticks among the members of the next highest age-grade society who impersonated the buffalo bulls.

The ceremony was held in the giver's lodge. He paid those who 796 carried the red sticks and the bundle-owner who set up the robe 778 of First Pretty Woman on an ash stake to represent a young girl. These carriers of the red sticks met at the bundle-owner's lodge in the evening to receive their ceremonial paraphernalia, after which by four stages they approached the lodge where the ceremony was being held. At each stop the giver's wife would put down a robe and a corn ball.

Upon entering the lodge where the ceremonies were to be held, the carriers placed the red sticks in a row extending from the fireplace to the head of the lodge, and the image of First Pretty Woman was placed to the right of them.

During the afternoon the Black Mouths sent their criers through the village announcing the buffalo dances were to be

3. We cannot be certain that this is true. Owing to influences of the Hidatsa pattern, 171 Mandan bundles were in the process of shifting from clan to father-son inheritance during the eighteenth century. In numerous instances where informants stated inheritance was from father to son, genealogies showed inheritance to be within the clan.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Maximilian[1] also gives a description of the pottery;—"They 323
make pots of different shapes and sizes. The clay is slate-colored and turns a yellowish red in the fire. It is mixed with powdered granite which has been burnt. A large round stone is stuck into the clay which is prevented from spreading sideways. It is polished with a piece of poplar bark. When shaped, it is filled with dry chips, and also surrounded by them on the outside, then burned. They use no enamel on the pots." This pottery has not been made for a number of years, and there are only a few whole samples of the cruder sort in collections.

AGRICULTURE: — The Mandans were, above all, an agricul- 241
tural people, far more so than any of their neighbors. They [177]
have a tradition of having taught the Hidatsa how to cultivate the soil, and even the Arikara, who are said by some to have taught the Mandans, were somewhat inferior to the latter in the pursuit of agriculture. The Mandans were dependent on the soil for nearly all of their food, according to Verendrye, in 1738. By the time Lewis and Clarke came, however, they were [224]
about on the dividing line between being a hunting and an agricultural nation. They were not the hunters that their neighbors the Hidatsa were, because they were too weak in numbers to venture on long hunting trips. The agricultural ceremonies and dances shared honor with those of hunting, and the Old [176]
Woman Who Never Dies, or the Corn Mother, was an important personage in the ceremonial life of the people.

The land about the Mandan villages, smooth river bottoms and very fertile, was always extremely easy to work, and required but the crudest implements. Consequently the cultivation was fairly extensive. Maximilian says that each family cultivated three fields of four or five acres each, which were never fenced. The farms were shifted to a new place when the old area began to yield smaller crops. There seems to have been no attempt at fertilization, and it was hardly necessary in view of the great abundance of good land. Henry[2] gives an animated picture of the Mandan farming operations:

"We passed extensive fields of corn, beans, squashes and

[1] Op. cit., p. 386. [2] Op. cit., vol. I, pp. 343 et seq.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

than any other nation; also that they sold grain, tobacco, peltry, 571
and painted plumes to the Assiniboine for arms, kettles, and
other things of European manufacture. As is seen from this 177●
account of Verendrye, European culture touched them very
early by means of trade with nations farther east, and they
were quick to take up the better articles so acquired. For
this reason it is difficult to get any description of the use of
earlier crude bone and stone implements, most of which had
almost gone out of use when Lewis and Clarke visited the
villages.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: — As regards the social organization, 621
the Mandans were divided into two sorts of bands. By the
first method, like the Pawnee, they were known accord-
ing to the old village from which they had originally come.
Maximilian names at one time eight villages in describing the
old habitations; in another place he says they had thirteen
and gives the names for six more, this gives fourteen distinct
village names. He says that the people were known by the [614]
names of the villages whence they originally came, and Morgan
mentions eight of the names given, as the gens names. This is
the only trace of a gens organization found. The second method 561
of grouping into bands followed the lines of the general plains
division according to age. The First Chief who led them from
underground was the originator of these divisions. This chief
gave to each band its own songs and whistles and directions as
to conducting its dances. Each of these bands was distin-
guished by a number of songs, by a certain sort of war whistle,
by its head-dress and a number of other details of attire and
ceremony. For the men there were six recognized bands. As
men grew older they went from one band to the next. Each
band or society had a limited membership, and a place in the
band above was only obtained by purchase from a member
who was ready to resign his place, and try to purchase a place
in a band still higher up. New members must be received by
all the old members of the band or the sale could not be made.
Each society had a chief who was in charge of all important
affairs. After a sale the new member gave a feast to the whole
band, and following this the purchase property was returned to

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

MANDAN MEN'S SOCIETIES.

The Mandan System.

575 Both from Maximilian's account and the statements of my own inform-
424 ants it appears that the Mandan system of men's societies closely resembled
432 that of the Hidatsa. In both cases there was a series of graded organiza-
171 tions, the membership, or rather ownership, of each of which was acquired by collective purchase. The method of buying membership was practically identical, and among the Mandan as well as among the Hidatsa the surrender of the purchasers' wives to the sellers formed a conspicuous feature. Owing to the collective manner of obtaining membership, practically all tribesmen belonged to some one of the societies. If a boy of a certain age
[551] did not yet belong to any organization, he was, according to Water-chief, derided as a "Finger-in-his-eye (istá wátke). After selling their last society the retired members, as among the Hidatsa, were known as "Stinking-ears" (nakóxe xu^{n}pé^{e}).

According to Black-chest and Wounded-face, the institution of "friendly"
573 organizations described for the Hidatsa (p. 229) also occurs among the Mandan, but this is denied by Painted-up for both men's and women's organizations. Unfortunately this important point must remain undecided.

There can be no doubt that within the period known to my informants
575 membership in a society was primarily, on the Hidatsa plan, a matter of purchase, not of age. Because, for example, the group that normally would have purchased the Kit-Fox and Little Dog societies failed to buy either from his own class, Black-chest at 62 considers himself a member of these organizations, which he joined at 20 and 25 respectively.

177 Owing to the very small number of Mandan who survived the epidemic
575 of 1837 and the intimate relations of the survivors with the Hidatsa, the accounts of my Mandan informants may be largely colored by Hidatsa influences, so that Maximilian's data are all the more valuable and will be summarized in the following sections. Of the societies enumerated by my Mandan informants but not given by Maximilian, the Kit-Fox and the Little Dog organizations may be assumed to have been adopted from the Hidatsa in recent times, for both occur in Maximilian's Hidatsa list. In
575 preparing the following comparative table I assume, for reasons already set forth (p. 235), that in Maximilian's day there were distinct Dog and Half-

[i.e., Members of two age groups separated in time by another age group would aid each other in opposition to the demands of the intermediate group. -- Analyst]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for 575 432 292 608

his individual father. Wounded-face did not know that Two-crows owned two kinds of emblems,— the foxskin cap to be used in dancing and in war, and the head band decorated with the lower kit-fox jaws which was to be worn when courting young women.[1] On the morning of the final transference of membership rights, Two-crows gave Wounded-face the cap and the head band, as well as a shirt, armlets and fringed buckskin leggings. In return, Wounded-face paid his father a fast black horse suited for use in the buffalo chase and some property contributed by his relatives. I get the impression that the transfer of special regalia was automatic; that is to say, if the father happened to own certain specific emblems the son buying his membership bought *ipso facto* the regalia owned by the seller.

Little-crow states that at the public performance the relatives of the new 575 431 602
members brought presents, which were turned over to the fathers, either individually or collectively. In the latter case the fathers proceeded to distribute the gifts among themselves.

In marching outdoors, the first rattler took the lead and was immediately 575
followed by the first hooked-staff officer; Wounded-face — presumably as 527
the owner of the cap — occupied a central position in the line; the second 535
rattler came last, being directly behind the second hooked-staff officer. 533
The first rattler selected a site for the dance and turned in order to begin the formation of a circle there, at the same time raising his rattle and singing very loudly. There was always a special song to be sung prior to the drummers' entrance into the circle. This song was taken up by the second rattler. While the circle was forming, the singers went within the circumference and began to beat their drums. These singers were always the members' fathers, if I understood Wounded-face correctly, but it is probable that this applies only to the first public performance by a new group of members. The songs referred to warlike deeds, and the words [171] ●
were, according to this informant, invariably in the Dakota language.

Little-crow, as already stated, considers the head band decorated with 575
kit-fox jaws as a badge common to all members; he further states that [292]
each Kit-Fox had a hair-pipe attached to the left side of the head and that [302]
six men had their hair roached. The hair-cutting was done by the men's 293
fathers. Other informants agree that there were two rattlers and two officers with hooked-staffs, wrapped with otterskin and decorated at four points with feathers. Wounded-face says that sometimes the second staff-bearer carried a *straight* stick, in which case an erect eagle feather was secured to the top of the shaft. Little-crow states that rattles were used

[1] This seems to conflict with Black-chest's account, which assigns these emblems to distinct officers, but Little-crow regards the kit-fox head band as a badge common to all members.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

On the twentieth night Big-thief again took a seat by the dogskin. He 575
hus addressed the buyers: "Now, sons, tomorrow this dance will be yours, 432
o I wish to ask you for some more pay. Put down one gun to represent
he killing of anything." Then one of the Kit-Foxes put down a gun. Big- 527
hief continued: "This dog has a hide, give us a robe." Then one of the
Kit-Foxes laid down his robe. "Give us a knife for butchering." Two
nen then rose and put down two butchering knives. "For this head put
down one yellow cooking-kettle." The buyers sent round for such a kettle
nd finally secured one, which they brought to the fathers. "Put down
ne thing for the head." Then someone laid down a stick trimmed with
ail-feathers. "Put down one thing for the tail." Then, Black-chest
hinks, another robe was laid down. "The dog has four legs, put down
our articles." The Kit-Foxes again did as bidden.

On the next day there followed the final surrender of membership pre- 575
ogatives. This time the buyers sat in an arc, without their wives, who re- 432
nained in the spectators' place (see p. 303). The fathers sat on the opposite 527
ide, singing a bravery song, and the two sash-wearing whippers danced.
The words of the song were in Hidatsa:—

"Māha'hkureci'ruts. tō'cē'ruca, marē'wits." [177]
"No one lives forever. Whatever may happen, I shall go."

At the close of this song the whippers and sash-wearers, as well as all the 575
ther fathers, surrendered their regalia to their respective sons. As Little- 432
row, Wounded-face's father, owned a lance decorated with a string of 431
eathers, Wounded-face assumed the same office (not mentioned by Black- [293]
hest), of which there was one other incumbent. In addition to the lance,
Vounded-face received a shirt, a new pair of leggings, a switch and pendants
or the decoration of both sides of the head; his hair was cut short in front
y Little-crow. Wounded-face's relatives piled up presents in front of him,
vhich he turned over to his father, adding a good horse of his own. The
ther purchasers made corresponding presents to their fathers. While
Vounded-face speaks of four sash-wearers, Black-chest limits the number
o two, and Water-chief sets it at five. Water-chief, like Wounded-face,
eceived one of the sashes from his father; there was tied to it a small
ackage of root medicine to avert danger. This package has never been
pened by Water-chief. The whippers, according to this last authority,
ashed members who did not rise to dance at the proper time. Each member
f the rank and file received a whistle of owl bone about four inches long, [534]
nd a bunch of split owl feathers, with an eagle feather in the center, to be
ung from the back of the head. These feathers were painted yellow.

After the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the exception of 000

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

MANDAN AND HIDATSA WOMEN'S SOCIETIES.

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According to Maximilian, the Mandan women were grouped in four age-societies, and the Hidatsa women in three. Beginning with the youngest, the Mandan had a Gun society (Eru'hpa-Mih-Ochatä), a River (Passan-Mih-Ochatä), Hay women (Chan-Mih-Ochatä), and White Buffalo (Ptihn-Tack-Ochatä) society. His Hidatsa societies, listed in the reverse order, are the Wild Goose (Bi'hda-Ächke), Enemy (Ma'h-Iha'h-Ächke), and Skunk (Cho'chkäiwi) societies.[1] Of these, the Hay society was not mentioned by any of my informants.[2] On the other hand, a Cheyenne Women society was said to have been introduced among the Mandan in recent times. The River and the Buffalo organizations are generally admitted to be Mandan societies of old standing, while the Enemy society is unanimously considered of Hidatsa origin. In recent times the tribal lines were not strictly drawn, so that Mandan women belonged to the Hidatsa Enemy society, and Hidatsa women bought the Mandan Buffalo membership.[3] The case of the Skunk, Goose, and River societies is rather different, as there is evidence that each of these organizations existed independently in both tribes, though the Skunk society is said to be of Hidatsa, and the River society of Mandan origin, both by Maximilian and by native informants now living. As to the Goose society there is conflict of opinion. Maximilian lists it only among the Hidatsa organizations, while all of my informants are of opinion that it developed among the Mandan and was borrowed by the Hidatsa. Hides-and-eats specified that it originated in the Eastern Mandan village (Maximilian's Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch). Either alternative has interesting implications. If the Goose society originally belonged to the Mandan, then all the women's organizations of a sacred character are distinctive of that tribe. If, on the other hand the Goose women originally formed the highest of the Hidatsa organizations, it is worth noting that they were in later times subordinated to the Mandan White Buffalo women, there being general agreement as to the relative rank of the two organizations.

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Matthews[4] speaks of an Hidatsa Fox Women society of which I did

[1] Maximilian, II, 145, 219.
[2] Maximilian tells us only that they wore their best clothes when they danced and sang scalp songs.
[3] This has also been noted by Matthews, 47.
[4] Matthews, 155.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

M H 575 177

In Calf-woman's day[1] the number of Mandan and of Hidatsa women in the society was about equal. The performances ceased, under Government pressure, when she was about fourteen years of age.

M H 575 561

Hides-and-eats, who had served as rear officer, added a number of details. It was necessary to join in the wintertime because that was the season of the dance. The person who called for the performance of the great ceremony must have dreamt to that effect and was expected to prepare a great deal of food for the society. If, during the dance, a member went outside from necessity and a young man pulled her blanket, she was obliged [788] to say, "A wolf has bitten me." If she failed to say this, she was in danger of actually being bitten by a wolf. The members were middle-aged, while the two women with skunkskin head bands were elderly. Hides-and-eats set the number of singers at four; their age was immaterial, but as a matter of fact they were about fifty or sixty. They were not identical with the musicians of other women's societies.

M H 575 527 [788]

Buffalo-bird-woman says that the White Buffalo women were in the habit of going round the village in the morning, passing every lodge. One member would enter a clan daughter's lodge, and say to her, "So-and-so's daughter, give me light." (that is, fire). The clan daughter sometimes answered, and sometimes remained silent. Once the informant's aunt addressed her as stated above, and she replied, "Yes, I will do so." This signified her willingness to provide a feast. The next day, accordingly, she brought large quantities of food, invited all the White Buffalo women to her lodge, and entertained them. Further, she gave the society a new gun as a present, and a piece of calico to be smoked with incense. The incense-burner, who also had the privilege of taking off all the members' robes and hanging them up, took charcoal, made incense, seized the head of the rear officer's robe, shook it, proceeded to the middle officer's,[2] and repeated the same performance, as she finally did with the leader also. She made incense as she passed along the circle of members. Then the [535] dance began. All wore their crowns of white buffalo skin on this occasion. When the singers commenced to sing, the leader and the rear officer rose and danced forward, crossing each other's path. They returned to their places, and repeated the performance at the next two songs. At the fourth song, the middle officer also rose, and all three danced, facing alternately the fireplace and the door, and finally returning to their places. At the following song everyone rose and danced. After the dance was over, the little girl approached the rear officer with a corn-ball, and put a little of the corn

[1] This informant is about 56 years old (1910).
[2] This informant, like Hides-and-eats, speaks of but one little girl in the society.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE MANDAN.

Clan System.

The study of ancient Mandan society is rendered unusually difficult through the almost complete extinction of the tribe. There are probably not more than half a dozen full-blood Mandan living on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota. Though the census of 1910 sets their number at 197, this is given on the basis of the native way of tracing descent so as to include all those whose mothers only were Mandan or were according to the matrilineal principle of descent reckoned as Mandan. Living for a long period in close contact with the more numerous Hidatsa, with whom intermarriage has taken place to a considerable extent, the younger Mandan so-called hardly ever speak Mandan as fluently or correctly as Hidatsa.[1]

Under these circumstances the question naturally arises over and over again whether a given feature common to Mandan and Hidatsa culture is not an Hidatsa trait shared by the Mandan only since their practical absorption in the neighboring tribe. This naturally complicates the sufficiently difficult question as to the relative contributions of the two tribes to their common cultural stock. On this subject widely varying views have been held. Thus, Morgan, rather cavalierly assumed that agriculture and the earth-lodge were brought into the region by the Hidatsa and borrowed by the Mandan,[2] while Matthews has expressed the opposite opinion.[3]

Since in culture the Hidatsa differ from the Crow far more than the affinity of the two languages and hence presumable recency of their separation would lead us to expect, it seems natural to refer such divergence as exists to Mandan influence on the Hidatsa. This interpretation would lead to thoroughly satisfactory results if we could be sure that recently collected Mandan data indicating cultural identity with the Hidatsa reflect ancient Mandan conditions. Unfortunately, we are frequently without the means of checking our information on account of the inadequacy of the early accounts.

A point of great importance regarding the Mandan is their local and linguistic differentiation. Whatever may be the fact as to the nine villages they are said to have inhabited about the Heart River confluence in 1750,[4]

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[1] It may be noted in this connection that these languages, though both of the Siouan stock, are only remotely related.

[2] Morgan, (b), part II, chapter 6.

[3] Matthews, 37f.

[4] Handbook of American Indians, I, 797.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

According to Calf-woman, the Prairie-chicken clan is the most important on the Reservation. This is consistent with Mr. Curtis's data, according to which the larger moiety bears the name of this clan, corresponding preëminence being assigned to the taml'sik in the Three-clan moiety. It should be noted that the Prairie-chicken clan is the only one common to the Hidatsa and Mandan series. 614 [171]

Calf-woman's ō're' 'kūpa (nitc) was given by Turtle-woman not as the designation of a clan but of all the seven clans jointly in addressing the entire tribe. [101]

Mr. Curtis states that the marriage of fellow-clansmen was considered improper and publicly ridiculed, but according to my witnesses this rule has long ceased to be absolute. Thus, Calf-woman declared that sometimes people married within their own clan, though there were some who regarded this as wrong; and Two-chiefs, a maxi' 'kina married to a xtaxta', cited the case of her husband's mother who had married another xtaxta', not related by blood. 582 178 614

Kinship Terms.

A brief but in most respects accurate statement as to Mandan kinship nomenclature is made by Maximilian.[1] Recently Mr. Curtis has summarily characterised the Mandan terminology as largely influenced by the clan factor, the father's brother and his clansmen being classed with the father, the father's clanswomen with the father's sister, all mates in one's clan with brothers and all females as mothers.[2] This statement is undoubtedly in large measure correct, but, the last part is manifestly not to be taken literally since the mother's mother and her generation and the sisters are certainly not called "mother." Morgan already had to contend with the difficulty of finding interpreters fully conversant with Mandan and offers an avowedly imperfect list. So far as essentials are concerned, he correctly characterises the system as of the usual classificatory type. The most important deviation from the norm mentioned in his résumé consists in the classification of the father's sister with the mother in feminine parlance, a distinctive word for paternal aunt being used only by males.[3] My data yield no confirmation of this peculiarity. A remarkable feature found by Morgan among the Hidatsa and Crow but not noted by him among the Mandan, though recorded both by Mr. Curtis and myself, is the confusion of generations in the designation of the father's sister's female descendants 601 601 171 177

[1] Maximilian, II. 132, 543.
[2] Curtis, V. 145.
[3] Morgan, (a), 184.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

601 through females, all these relatives being classed with the father's sister
[171] regardless of generation.[1] The question arises whether this trait was
177 borrowed by the Mandan, possibly since their practical absorption in the neighboring tribe. Another peculiarity not indicated by Morgan in his discussion of the Mandan system, though emphasized in his treatment of the Hidatsa and Crow terminologies, is the classification of the maternal uncle with the elder brother. In Mandan this is optional and there is an alternative specific designation for the mother's brother, while Crow and Hidatsa lack any separate word for this relative. From the great rarity of this feature and the simultaneous use of a distinct word for the mother's brother, which moreover is the only designation given by Maximilian and Morgan, I infer that the Mandan borrowed from the Hidatsa the classification of the uncle with the elder brother. This seems to me the more probable because according to the more trustworthy of my informants the sister's son is not addressed as "younger brother" but only by a distinct term correlative with that for mother's brother. But the Hidatsa mode of classifying the maternal uncle is of a piece with the Hidatsa designation of the female descendants of the paternal aunt, i. e., in both cases the same principle of emphasizing clan affiliation to the extent of disregarding generation finds expression. It is, therefore, likely that both features were borrowed by the Mandan.

601 With the aid of two informants, Two-chiefs and Calf-woman, I secured the following imperfect list of kinship terms.

tate' (vocative only). Father, father's brother, father's sister's son.

tate'xihe, tate'xis (voc.). Father's sister's husband, husband's father, grandfather, greatgrandfather.

mā'ats, tate'ena (non-voc.). Father, father's brother, father's sister's son.

mā'txis (non-voc.). Father's sister's husband, grandfather.

tà terité (voc.). My fathers, i. e., my father's fellow-clansmen.

nō'atō'oc (non-voc.). Father's clansman (man speaking).

nō'atōre (non-voc.). Father's clansman (woman speaking).

ptū minike' (voc.). Father's sister, father's sister's daughter, father's sister's daughter's daughter, etc., *ad infinitum*. Non-voc. form: ptū'minikse'ena.

nae' (voc.). Mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.

nā'xic, nā'xihe' (voc.). Grandmother, husband's mother.

mihu'xis (non-voc.). Grandmother.

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[1] Morgan's schedules regarding the descendants of the father's sister are blank for the Mandan, (a), 322–330.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913) 1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

601 ˈnõˈhakàs. Daughter's husband.
pta +iˈ máratokãs. My wife's father.
ptù hinî ks. My wife's mother, my wife's mother's sister.

601 114 It will be noted that beyond the second ascending and the second descending generations no relatives are designated by special terms, lineal and collateral ancestors being classed with grandparents and descendants with grandchildren, regardless of male or female lines.[1] This fact is borne out in detail by Morgan's schedules. According to these, it would appear that no distinction was drawn between the father's father's and the mother's mother's sister, nor between the father's father's and the mother's mother's brother. On the latter point I unfortunately failed to get data, which would have been of interest in comparison with the Hidatsa usage of classing the maternal grandmother's brother with the elder brother. According to Morgan the word for grandchild was also applied to the sister's grandchild (w. sp.), brother's grandchild (m. or w. sp.), and the sister's son's wife (m. sp.).

With the father Morgan, doubtless correctly, classes the mother's sister's husband and the stepfather. His identification of the father's sister with the mother in female parlance, however, seems doubtful since both my informants were women but gave a single word for the paternal aunt, corresponding to one of Morgan's terms for male usage. A second word given by Morgan for the father's sister (m. sp.) [177] *mã-sã-we*, is not Mandan at all but unmistakably the Hidatsa *bacã'wi*, which is used by both sexes. On the other hand, Morgan has only the equivalent of *tà waratore'* for the maternal uncle, while I also obtained a distinct word for women's use as well as the classification with the elder brother (by men only?).

Except for the applications already mentioned, my connotations for the elder brother term closely coincide with Morgan's, which is also essentially true of the younger brother category. The essential point here is that women have a single term for elder and younger brother coinciding with the men's word for younger brother, the men having an additional term for the elder brother.

[171] In the designation of sisters there is only partial parallelism. To be sure, the women (i. e., members of the sex of the person designated) have two distinct words for elder and younger sister, while the men have only one. The men's generic term, however, does not coincide with either of the women's words so that there are not two words but three to be reckoned with. Here Morgan agrees as regards the men's word, but differs in ascribing a single generic term to the women. Analogy, not only with the brother terms but also with the usage of other Siouan tribes, such as the Winnebago, strongly suggests that Morgan is in error.

My list contains two words for son without clear differentiation. Morgan practically restricts *minike'* to male and *kunika'* entirely to female speech. The latter word is also translated by him to cover the brother's son, sister's son, father's brother's son's son, mother's sister's son's son and mother's sister's daughter's son,—all with a woman speaking. He interprets *minike'* to cover the son, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, mother's son's son and stepson in male speech, and the stepson and father's brother's daughter's son in female speech. The two last-mentioned meanings are not very convincing; more particularly, the father's brother's daughter being classed with the sister, her son would logically be a sister's son, i. e., a "son" for women according to the usual classificatory rules, and it is not at all clear why this particular "son" should be distinguished from others by substituting a word ordinarily confined to male usage. It is further strange that a woman should

[1] [Consult category 116, pp. 124-14 for information on the Kinship terms.—Analyst]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LETTER No. 14.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

291 171 The Mandans in many instances dress very neatly, and some of them splendidly. As they are in their native state, their dresses are all of their own manufacture; and of course, altogether made of skins of different animals belonging to those regions. There is, certainly, a reigning and striking similarity of costume amongst most of the North Western tribes; and I cannot say that the dress of the Mandans is decidedly distinct from that of the Crows or the Blackfeet, the Assinneboins or the Sioux; yet there are modes of stitching or embroidering, in every tribe, which may at once enable the traveller, who is familiar with their modes, to detect or distinguish the dress of any tribe. These differences consist generally in the fashions of constructing the head-dress, or of garnishing their dresses with the porcupine quills, which they use in great profusion.

291 171 177 Amongst so many different and distinct nations, always at war with each other, and knowing nothing at all of each other's languages; and amongst whom, fashions in dress seldom if ever change; it may seem somewhat strange that we should find these people so nearly following, or imitating each other, in the forms and modes of their dress and ornaments. This must however, be admitted, and I think may be accounted for in a manner, without raising the least argument in favour of the theory of their having all sprung from one stock or one family; for in their continual warfare, when chiefs or warriors fall, their clothes and weapons usually fall into the possession of the victors, who wear them; and the rest of the tribe would naturally more or less often copy from or imitate them; and so also in their repeated councils or treaties of peace, such articles of dress and other manufactures are customarily exchanged, which are equally adopted by the other tribe; and consequently, eventually lead to the similarity which we find amongst the modes of dress, &c. of the different tribes.

291 The tunic or shirt of the Mandan men is very similar in shape to that of the Blackfeet—made of two skins of deer or mountain-sheep, strung with scalp-locks, beads, and ermine. The leggings, like those of the other tribes, of whom I have spoken, are made of deer skins, and shaped to fit the leg, embroidered with porcupine quills, and fringed with scalps from their enemies heads. Their moccasins are made of buckskin, and neatly ornamented

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

595 eight living under one roof, and all apparently quiet and contented; seemingly harmonizing, and enjoying the modes of life and treatment that falls to their lot.

583 Wives in this country are mostly treated for with the father, as in all instances they are regularly bought and sold. In many cases the bargain is made with the father alone, without ever consulting the inclinations of the girl, and seems to be conducted on his part as a mercenary contract entirely, where he stands out for the highest price he can possibly command for her. There are other instances to be sure, where the parties approach each other, and from the expression of a mutual fondness, make their own arrangements, and pass their own mutual vows, which are quite as sacred and inviolable as similar assurances when made in the civilized world. Yet even in such cases, the marriage is never consummated without the necessary form of making presents to the father of the girl.

● 177 It becomes a matter of policy and almost of absolute necessity, for the white men who are Traders in these regions to connect themselves in this way, to one or more of the most influential families in the tribe, which in a measure identifies their interest with that of the nation, and enables them, with the influence of their new family connexions, to carry on successfully their business transactions with them. The young women of the best families only can aspire to such an elevation; and the most of them are exceedingly ambitious for such a connexion, inasmuch as they are certain of a delightful exemption from the slavish duties that devolve upon them when married under other circumstances; and expect to be, as they generally are, allowed to lead a life of ease and idleness, covered with mantles of blue and scarlet cloth—with beads and trinkets, and ribbons, in which they flounce and flirt about, the envied and tinselled belles of every tribe.

These connexions, however, can scarcely be called marriages, for I believe they are generally entered into without the form or solemnizing ceremony of a marriage, and on the part of the father of the girls, conducted purely as a mercenary or business transaction; in which they are very expert, and practice a deal of shrewdness in exacting an adequate price from a purchaser whom they consider possessed of so large and so rich a stock of the world's goods; and who they deem abundantly able to pay liberally for so delightful a commodity.

Almost every Trader and every clerk who commences in the business of this country, speedily enters into such an arrangement, which is done with as little ceremony as he would bargain for a horse, and just as unceremoniously do they annul and abolish this connexion when they wish to leave the country, or change their positions from one tribe to another; at which time the woman is left, a fair and proper candidate for matrimony or speculation, when another applicant comes along, and her father equally desirous for another horse or gun, &c. which he can easily command at her second espousal.

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clining posture, with the legs thrown out, and the body resting on one elbow and fore-arm, which are under them. The dishes from which they eat are invariably on the ground or floor of the lodge, and the group resting on buffalo robes or mats of various structure and manufacture. 264 516

The position in which the women sit at their meals and on other occasions is different from that of the men, and one which they take and rise from again, with great ease and much grace, by merely bending the knees both together, inclining the body back and the head and shoulders quite forward, they squat entirely down to the ground, inclining both feet either to the right or the left. In this position they always rest while eating, and it is both modest and graceful, for they seem, with apparent ease, to assume the position and rise out of it, without using their hands in any way to assist them.

These women, however, although graceful and civil, and ever so beautiful or ever so hungry, are not allowed to sit in the same group with the men while at their meals. So far as I have yet travelled in the Indian country, I never have seen an Indian woman eating with her husband. Men form the first group at the banquet, and women, and children and dogs all come together at the next, and these gormandize and glut themselves to an enormous extent, though the men very seldom do. 562 264

It is time that an error on this subject, which has gone generally abroad in the world, was corrected. It is everywhere asserted, and almost universally believed, that the Indians are "enormous eaters;" but comparatively speaking, I assure my readers that this is an error. I venture to say that there are no persons on earth who practice greater prudence and self-denial, than the men do (amongst the wild Indians), who are constantly in war and in the chase, or in their athletic sports and exercises; for all of which they are excited by the highest ideas of pride and honour, and every kind of excess is studiously avoided; and for a very great part of their lives, the most painful abstinence is enforced upon themselves, for the purpose of preparing their bodies and their limbs for these extravagant exertions. Many a man who has been a few weeks along the frontier, amongst the drunken, naked and beggared part of the Indian race, and run home and written a book on Indians, has, no doubt, often seen them eat to beastly excess; and he has seen them also guzzle whiskey (and perhaps *sold* it to them) till he has seen them glutted and besotted, without will or energy to move; and many and thousands of such things can always be seen, where white people have made beggars of them, and they have nothing to do but lie under a fence and beg a whole week to get meat and whiskey enough for one feast and one carouse; but amongst the wild Indians in this country there are no beggars—no drunkards—and every man, from a beautiful natural precept, studies to keep his body and mind in such a healthy shape and condition as will at all times enable him to use his weapons in self-defence, or struggle for the prize in their manly games. 261 177

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

form a reciprocal system and do not conform to expected white usage, for example, an individual whom you address as uncle may call you cousin or brother rather than nephew. It is an egocentric system and is used only when an individual in Lone Hill finds himself in a situation in which he is forced to speak English. All but two of the 137 adults of the village are bilingual, as they speak English in addition to the Indian language. English is most often learned in government schools as a second language and is used by the Indian people to deal with the outside world: in contact with Indian Bureau employees, local white merchants, or when members of alien tribes visit or marry into the village. 601 191

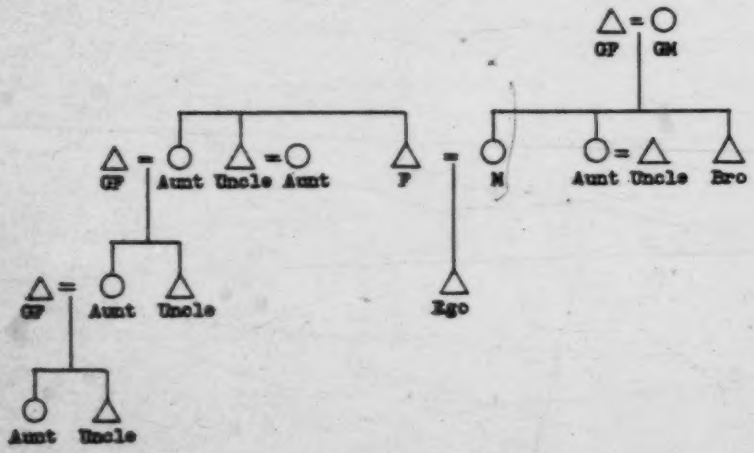

FIG. 2

The second major kinship pattern in Lone Hill consists of cases in which English terms are used in the white generation pattern, as indicated in Figure 3. My observations indicate that the generational system was used only by seven acculturated families. Many of the individuals in these families have spent most of their lives away from the village in off-reservation schools. The system was checked in formal interviews with six people, all between the ages of 20 and 30. In one instance a father's brother was called a cousin rather than an uncle because, as my informant said, "He is too young to be my uncle." The situations in which the generational system is employed tend to be relatively restricted and occur when acculturated individuals relate to one another, their close relatives, and whites in or outside the village. 601 191 177 124

An additional kinship complication arises in those homes in which a member of an alien tribe—usually Crow, Sioux, Blackfoot, or Arikara—marries a Mandan-Hidatsa resident of the village. No schedule can be given here as there is no general pattern, but one case will be briefly described as an illustration. 601 177 191

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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As shown in Figure 4, John Bear Leg is the child of a mixed Hidatsa-Arikara marriage. The family lives in Lone Hill and speaks only English at home as Mrs. Bear Leg, an Arikara woman, does not understand Hidatsa. While discussing kinship, John referred to his father's sister's daughter, Mary White Duck, by the term "sister" and told me, "That's the white way." This is incorrect, of course, as in the American way Mary would be a cousin to John, while in the Hidatsa way, she would be an *icawi* or father's sister. I became excited here, as I thought I had found a case of ironing out generation differences which would represent an internal shift in kinship type. Further inquiry revealed that John's Arikara mother had told him to regard Mary as a sister. Mrs. Bear Leg wants her son to take all of his relationships

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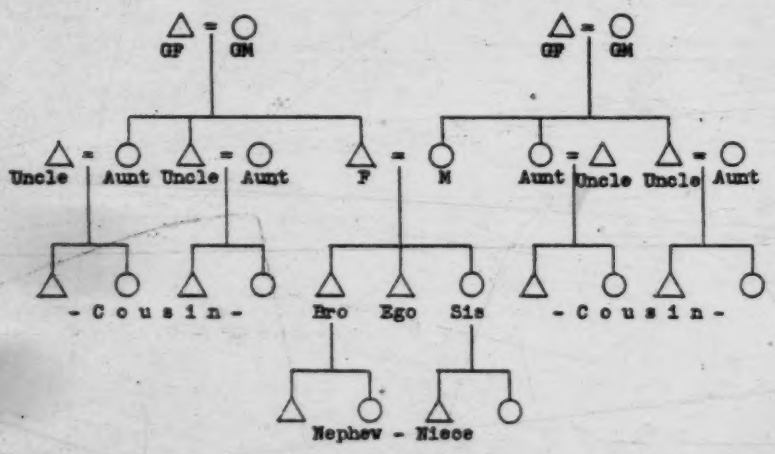

FIG. 3

in the Arikara way, and she attempts to teach him Arikara kinship. I checked with Mary, who informed me, "I know it's not right, but he calls me sister so I call him brother." The use of sibling terms for cross-cousins is one stage in Spoehr's series in the breakdown of a pure Crow system. But in this case it is a borrowed change introduced by an Arikara and not one that arose from the situation in Lone Hill.

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John's total kinship pattern indicates that he follows Hidatsa usage with most of his father's relatives and Arikara usage with all of his mother's relatives, who reside in another village at Fort Berthold. As his mother seems to be the dominant member of the family in these matters, John also refers to some of his father's relatives according to the Arikara way. I pointed out this apparent confusion to John, who replied, "I still don't know about these relationships yet, except what they say to me. The old folks each tell me their way. I'm catching on slow but sure." The net result of this situation is that while John knows how to interact with each specific relative he does not have a consistent total kinship system. John, now 24 years old, understands neither

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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the Hidatsa, Arikara, nor the white kinship pattern. His case illustrates the confusion found among the children of mixed marriages in which the parents have not established a clear-cut identification with any one social system. 601 177 602

To summarize thus far, the two kinship patterns found in Lone Hill are: (1) the traditional Crow terminological system, which remains the basic type for the village and has not changed, at least since 1862 when Morgan first gathered Mandan and Hidatsa kinship terms; and (2) a white generational system employed primarily by the acculturated families. There is also a separate set of English terms used in the Crow pattern for the benefit of outsiders and an inconsistent terminological pattern in some Indian homes in which a member of an alien tribe has come to Lone Hill through marriage. 601 177 191

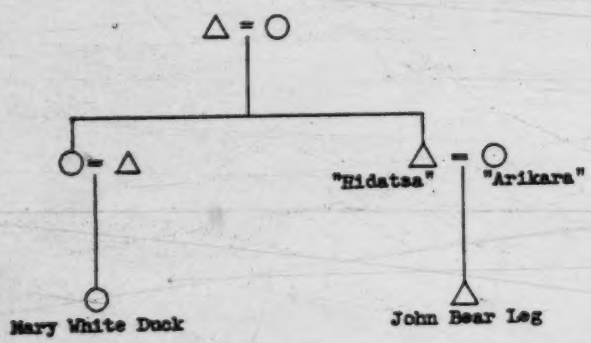

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FIG. 4

TWO PROCESSES

These data, considered in conjunction with the findings of Spoehr and of the Schmitts, indicate that there are two distinct processes involved in kinship change. The first process consists of the slow modification of a kinship system as evidenced by an orderly and progressive shift in type. This process is best illustrated by Spoehr's complete series in the transition from a pure Crow to an American generation type. Although the shift described by Spoehr was an indirect result of acculturative factors, the slow modification of a social structure may be due to internal forces that are not necessarily associated with culture contact (Eggan 1941; Gough 1952). The second process is a more radical change evidenced by an abrupt jump from one type of kinship system to another. In the second case, reported upon in this paper, the Indian and the white systems exist simultaneously without intermediate variations in kinship patterns. 601 177

Both processes of change, slow modification and sudden transformation, occur together in Lone Hill—and they also take place together among the Southeastern tribes. Spoehr emphasized the progressive stages in the breakdown of a Crow lineage system but he also recognized the more rapid type of kinship change (1947:198). The Mandan-Hidatsa seem to differ from the Southeastern tribes in terms of the relative importance of each process.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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The first process of slow modification has not affected the Crow kinship terminology and associated behavior in Lone Hill, but it has changed other aspects of social life in the village. There are many changes in content. A man recently modified the strict mother-in-law respect relation, not by the aboriginal practice of giving his mother-in-law a scalp, but by presenting her with an imitation war bonnet purchased from a mail order house. Innumerable other examples could be cited in which known changes in cultural content have not precipitated changes in the established social structure (cf. Gough 1952:85). An extreme illustration of this is provided by the previously mentioned case of English kinship terminology being used in the Crow kinship pattern. There are, however, many structural changes: the destruction of the native ceremonial life has decreased the religious importance of the father's lineage, the moieties are almost inoperative, the clans have diminished in importance, there is a general laxity among the youth in meeting certain kinship obligations, village organization has shifted from a close-knit unit to one of widely separated households, the matrilocal extended family is no longer a residence unit, and the lineage has ceased to be a corporate group. The only change in the Crow terminology is that vocative terms are rarely used except on public and community-wide occasions. The important point is that the gradual modification of the social structure has not proceeded far enough in Lone Hill to cause an internal shift in kinship type.

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The significance of the second process of radical change in Lone Hill may be seen in broader perspective by examining the kind of acculturation now taking place among the Mandan-Hidatsa (Bruner 1953). In every acculturated family that uses the American generational system there has been an Indian-white intermarriage within three ascending generations. Individuals in these families make an abrupt and almost total conversion to white ways, while the rest of the people in the village continue to live by more traditional Indian standards. In the families in which there has been a mixed marriage, the entire white system comes across in the socialization process. Among the Southeastern tribes the shifts in kinship terminology were the result of adaptive responses to changing conditions (Spoehr 1947:225). The presence of the white generational system in Lone Hill is due to neither cultural "borrowing," adult learning, nor rearrangements in the social structure precipitated by new conditions. Individuals in Lone Hill learn the American kinship system in the English language within the intimate domestic family situation. Although no single factor is ever sufficient to explain a highly complex acculturation situation, it would seem that these differences in the mechanisms of change may account for the differences in kinship patterns found among the Southeastern tribes and the Mandan-Hidatsa. (In a future paper, I shall document and describe the process of individual conversion to white ways in greater detail.)

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The converted Indian embraces a new way of life and comes to internalize a set of goals and values which are incongruent with the Crow lineage system. The kinship ties and obligations of the Crow system incorporate and reaffirm

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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the older societal values. Kinship provides the means for mutual aid and co-operation in the village as well as a mechanism of social control for ridiculing and cajoling the nonconformist. While the Mandan-Hidatsa social system, with its wide range, embodies the primary societal values of sharing, generosity, group co-operation, and village unity, the converted Indian shifts to the more individualistic American values of accumulating goods and wealth as ends in themselves. Any member of Lone Hill who interacts with others in terms of the Crow kinship system and who meets the obligations of that system will remain an "Indian." 177 601 181

The majority of the Indians who have converted to white ways tend to leave the village to seek their fortunes elsewhere (cf. Spicer 1940; Tax 1941). For this reason, there were few cases of American type kinship systems found in Lone Hill—most such people had already left their village. If all the individuals who adopted a new kinship system as part of a more inclusive conversion experience were to remain in Lone Hill, they might well produce radical changes in the existing social structure of the community. Their departure is a major factor making for the retention of traditional Indian ways. However, some of the converted Indians do continue to live in Lone Hill and do become sources of change in the Crow kinship system. 177 601 167

Individuals in Lone Hill who do not fulfil their kinship obligations destroy the solidarity of the group and the unity of the system. The converted Indian will avoid any kinship tie which involves his sharing material wealth or giving of his time or possessions. One man has developed devious means to accomplish this. He deposits all of his money in a bank so that when people ask him for a loan he can honestly reply that he does not have any money around. He avoids any situation in which he might be called upon to make donations, and, as such, he never attends the social "give-away" dances. This man has consciously narrowed the range of his relationships but he has done so selectively. He will not address another by a kinship term if there is any possibility that he may have to help that person. On the other hand, he does not avoid his joking relatives, for through the structured joking he can make critical remarks about Indian ways which would not be permitted in any other context. 177 602 154

SITUATIONAL DETERMINANTS

As converted Indians who use the generational system do interact with their many relatives in the village who use the traditional lineage system, some mechanism of adjustment is necessary. Two relatives who follow different kinship systems may have different conceptions of the proper way of relating to one another. The adjustment is usually made through one of the persons' adopting the other's system for that *particular* relationship. Every acculturated individual in the village who ordinarily uses the generational system will use the Indian lineage system with *some* of his relatives. The converse also occurs, as unacculturated Indians sometimes use the American generational system. Individuals thus adjust to the alternate kinship systems, which tends to minimize the changes in the systems themselves. 177 601 602

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Individual adjustment to alternate ways of structuring relationships is neither alien nor unique to the Mandan-Hidatsa (Firth 1930). Overlapping kinship ties tend to be characteristic of small societies with widely extended kinship systems. In addition to consanguineal and affinal relations, the Mandan-Hidatsa extended kinship to the clan, linked clan, moiety, ceremonial system and the supernatural world. As a result, almost every individual in the village was related to everyone else in more than one way. The closest relationship, as defined by the Mandan-Hidatsa, was usually taken in any given case, but factors unique to the individuals involved were also important (Bowers ms.). Today the people often discuss these dual ways of being related and they tend to regard the white way of reckoning kinship as one more way of being related, comparable to the alternate ways within the Indian system.

The following examples will illustrate how the adjustment takes place.

A young girl teased an unacculturated woman, after which the woman said to her, "You're supposed to be my *icawi* [father's sister] and you are not supposed to tease me, but that's O.K., we can take it the white way."

In referring to an acculturated girl an older woman remarked, "She don't talk Indian. She is supposed to call me mother but she calls me auntie. I would be glad to hear it if she called me mother but she won't use it anymore. She's my daughter but she won't understand so I call her niece. All of that family acts like white kids."

An old woman of the village called a young converted Indian boy by the term "son." He realized that she could be either a mother or a father's sister to him in the Indian way but he did not know which. He came and asked me to find out from my genealogical charts because, as he said, "I can't figure it out and I want to act right with the old lady."

An acculturated woman refers to her mother's brother as an uncle and addresses him as uncle. He follows the traditional system, continuing to call her younger sister and considering himself as an older brother. Even though the terms are taken from two different systems, neither party seems to be especially disturbed. This is an unusual case and tends to occur only when there is no marked discrepancy in the external behavior.

Frank Bruce, who recently returned to the reservation, was related to William White Duck in two ways—their fathers were in the same clan, which required strong obligatory joking, and Frank was a "father" to William, which called for a father-son respect relationship. William had lived on the reservation all his life, understood both relationships, and quite properly, in terms of the traditional system, took the father-son blood relation rather than the clan tie. He talked politely to Frank and considered him a father, whom one never teased, although he never addressed him as father. Frank did not know that he was related to William either way and on one occasion teased him. William then said in public, "This old man of mine wants to take clans as the rule." Thereafter they teased each other on every possible occasion. All this was explained to Frank after it had taken place, as he had not understood that he had changed an existing relationship.

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Two individuals were related to one another in a dual way: one a joking grandfather-grandchild relationship, and the other a respect father-son relation. These boys were roommates at boarding school, during which time they teased one another and acted more like "roommates" than in accordance with either of the two possible kinship relationships. One said of the Indian way, "We left it home." When they returned to the reservation they continued the teasing relationship which had arisen from the school situation. Eventually they came to use grandfather-grandchild kinship terms as a means of justifying to others their mild joking. In this case, it was fortunate that a kinship bond existed to validate their behavior on the reservation.

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Schneider (1953:228) has suggested "that one important function of the use of kinship terms as forms of address is in imposing on the situation a kind of sanction which enforces conformity with the social definition of the relationship." In some situations the people of Lone Hill consciously manipulate kinship terms to serve their personal ends. Interaction between the acculturated and unacculturated is not unstructured or loosely defined, but it does have an element of ambiguity as there are two relatively clear-cut alternate systems. A few individuals take advantage of this in rather subtle ways.

At a political meeting, a converted Indian, who ordinarily uses the generational system, addressed a prominent member of the opposing faction as a "father." He used the Crow system in this situation knowing full well that his political rival would not be so indiscreet as to criticize a "son" in public.

An unacculturated woman of the village came into the house of a wealthy converted Indian and addressed him as "older brother." She sat down and indicated that she had some important business in town but had no means of transportation. The converted Indian, as he was preparing to drive her to town, whispered to me, "The only time she ever calls me 'brother' is when she wants something."

CONCLUSION

In earlier times both the Mandan-Hidatsa and the Southeastern tribes had a pure Crow type lineage system. After acculturative influence an American generational type kinship system is found among the two groups. In the Southeast the orderly and progressive shift in kinship type was characterized as a process of slow modification of the existing system due to adaptive responses to changing conditions. In Lone Hill, the lack of intermediate variations in kinship patterns suggests a rapid process of change caused by early socialization in those families in which there has been white intermarriage.

The comparison of static types and categories at different times will yield only partial information on the processes of change and persistence. If we are satisfied simply with answers to the question of *what* change has taken place, it may be sufficient to study the beginning and the end of a cultural sequence. But only through examination of an ongoing sequence and of the actual contexts in which a choice of alternatives is made can we say *how* the change has happened and thereby gain insight into the process itself. And the deepest understanding of social change may best be achieved by direct study of the actual mechanisms and processes involved.

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Primary Group Experience and the Processes of Acculturation[1]

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INTRODUCTION

101 121 THE problem of this paper is to explain why some members of the Mandan-Hidatsa village of Lone Hill[2] become more acculturated than others. Our particular thesis is that the differences in degree of acculturation found among the Indian people are in large measure a product of early experience in the intimate family group, and the cultural orientation of their parents or their surrogates.

177 121 There are striking differences in extent of acculturation in Lone Hill. They are manifest in type of home, education, subsistence, speech, and manner, and would be readily apparent even to the most casual observer. In a previous paper it has been shown that some families in Lone Hill follow the Crow lineage kinship system and Indian values while others have adopted the American kinship and value systems (Bruner 1955). A former superintendent of the Agency, who is also a trained social scientist, has written, " . . . there is at Fort Berthold every degree of acculturation, from the family living on the reservation in the hoe culture age of the original village life to a few well-to-do ranchers with nearly every modern convenience in their homes" (Riefel 1952:125). Our purpose in this paper is not to describe these differences in acculturation in any detail, nor is it to correlate them with a check list of unweighted factors; it is rather to delineate the process by which they arise in the family situation and to analyze the larger social context in which they occur.

HISTORY AND METHOD

Any study of acculturation is facilitated to the extent that a means can be established to control comparisons (Eggan 1954); in this paper the control stems from comparison of group differences within one village (cf. Spindler 1955; Rapoport 1954). The criteria for segmenting the population according to degree of acculturation will be based upon differential participation in contemporary reservation culture and not upon the presence or absence of aboriginal Indian or white traits. The people of Lone Hill live in a culture that has emerged from the aboriginal culture of their ancestors and has borrowed from local white, mass American, and pan-Indian cultures.

177 175 The Upper Missouri River Valley was the scene of turbulent changes during the past 200 years. Within this period the horse was introduced, many white men came and with them trade, numerous manufactured goods, devastating plagues of smallpox, the arrival of white homesteaders, the development of surrounding towns, and deliberate attempts by missionaries and other members of a superordinate majority to change a subordinate Indian minority, including the efforts of the military and of the Indian Bureau. An

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177 175 indirect effect of contact resulted in the displacement of Eastern tribes, the formation of full Plains equestrian nomadism, and constant raids by hostile groups. These momentous events precipitated radical changes in the cultures of all Plains-Prairie peoples, and the Mandan-Hidatsa were no exception, although they did change less than other earth-lodge tribes (Strong 1940; Jablow 1950; Eggan 1952; Krieger 1953).

105 177 Indian culture today includes automobiles, farm equipment, washing machines, radios, and other material objects of American culture. Clothing and household goods are generally purchased through Western mail order catalogs. The major sources of cash income are the cattle business, agricultural enterprises, leasing lands to whites, wage work, and relief money. Every adult has attended government or missionary schools, and Catholic and Congregational Churches are established in the village. Thirty-one of the sixty-four males over seventeen years of age have had military experience.

Lone Hill village has never been a closed, self-sufficient society, from the time it was founded in the last decade of the nineteenth century with the allotment program of the Indian Bureau until the present. Today every adult deals with white people who reside outside the community, although contact is limited. The Indian's cash income and the education of his children are controlled in part by the Indian Bureau and by forces in the larger American society. Agency personnel, government employees, missionaries, day school teachers, traveling salesmen and local tradespeople, farmers and ranchers, visit with Indians both on and off the reservation. The resident of Lone Hill village buys goods from white storekeepers, attends schools taught by whites, transacts business with white government people, and often seeks wage work from nearby whites. The Indian must satisfy specialized needs through the services of white doctors, lawyers and professional people.

[191 [601] 614] Despite the many American elements which have been adopted, Hidatsa is the major spoken language in Lone Hill today, secular Indian ceremonial dances are performed, and the social organization includes matrilineal clans and a Crow type kinship system. Sacred bundles are highly respected, Indian doctors utilize native medicine to cure the sick, and distinctively Indian values are manifest on many occasions. The linguistic, religious, and social patterns are not considered here as isolated survivals persisting intact from the aboriginal past, for they too have changed from older times as a consequence of changing conditions of life; and they function in a very different total situation in 1950 as compared with 1850 or 1750.

Viewed historically, contemporary Indian culture is mixed. It consists of automobiles from Detroit, dances from the Cheyenne, medicine bundles from the Mandan, and a language from the Hidatsa. From the perspective of some individuals who share it, this mixed culture is perfectly consistent. No person in Lone Hill today knows how to stalk buffalo, scalp a Sioux, or shape a stone arrowhead. With the exception of a few very old people, no one in Lone Hill has ever lived in a culture in which these activities were performed. Our task is to understand how groups of individuals in Lone Hill come to regard and participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture.

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participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture. 000

CRITERIA OF ACCULTURATION

There are many superficial criteria that could be selected to divide the population of Lone Hill into groups differing in degree of acculturation, but I prefer one that has an essential connection to the Indian value system. One well-known basic value that contrasts sharply with our general American ethic is the Indian value of generosity (Bruner 1953:23–24). This value difference has a readily observable behavioral manifestation—participation in the Indian ceremonial dances. The Indian "give-away" dance is now a secular affair, featuring Indian songs and dances and the giving of war bonnets, horses, cattle, blankets, and money as gifts to prescribed relatives, distinguished visitors, societies, and the needy. It is one of the few remaining public gatherings in Lone Hill where generosity and other Indian values are expressed, reaffirmed and maintained. The following statement by an informant aptly characterizes the emotional overtones of the dance (quoted in Merrill 1951:27): 177● 431 535

> After the people get all painted up—this is decoration, like lipstick—and the tom-toms get going and people chanting and singing (demonstrated with a rapid beat of his feet and an ai-ai-ai chant), people get all worked up and excited. Then someone gets up and makes a speech and gives away a horse, or a beef, or two beefs, and everyone gets going and there's a lot of giving-away and many people end up with little or nothing. . . . They say that property doesn't mean anything; what counts is being friendly and generous and all friends of one another. . . . People shout and praise a person (who gives away a lot) and they talk about it long afterwards. [554]

Not every person in Lone Hill attends the dance. Some families come with all their children, stay throughout the night, and donate generously. For them the dance is an impressive and public mechanism of socialization to Indian ways. Others virtually never attend the ceremonials, as they are more concerned with the accumulation than the giving of goods. As a result, they and their children do not participate in the one public ritual that best symbolizes and makes legitimate the traditional Indian values. One acculturated Indian man had this to say about the ceremonials: 431 535 184 [556] 177

> I never go to any dances or pow-wows. These dances are the fellows breeding grounds; they go there to drink, to raise hell, and they are not Christians. A lot of these fellows . . . go there to take some gal out . . . and get her drunk. That's all these dances are for, as far as the younger people are concerned. The older people go there to get these donations; something for nothing. . . . They take their kids there and the kids don't learn much from that. They give things away and that money can be used to educate their children, buy provisions and things. It seems like with an Indian they think they are in the spotlight; it makes them feel good. I never believed in it simply because I know most families and they can't afford to do that.

Participation in the Indian ceremonials was applied to the population of Lone Hill as a criterion of acculturation. In order to define the population, it was first necessary to delimit the community, the sample, and the unit of 621 121 161

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62 analysis. The governmental administrative divisions do not correspond to the
community of Lone Hill, which is a smaller but socially more relevant unit
121 and is recognized as such by the people themselves. All the Indian people who
161 had an established home in the village during the latter half of 1951 were included in the sample. Lone Hill as thus defined consists of 267 residents, of whom 137 were adults over seventeen years of age, forming forty-eight nuclear families living in forty-one separate households. The nuclear family was selected as the unit of analysis rather than the isolated individual or the household, as the data suggest that acculturation in Lone Hill is related to family orientation, and the nuclear family is the only unit of socialization common to the entire population. Those nuclear families who do attend the dance regularly were put in one group; those who do not in another. The application of
177 the criterion dichotomized the population. Of the forty-eight Indian nuclear families in Lone Hill, thirty-four families do regularly participate in the dances and fourteen families do not. Although there are some difficulties associated with these rubrics, I refer to the thirty-four families as "unacculturated" and the fourteen as "acculturated." These terms are not meant to imply absolute categories, as if one group were fully acculturated and the other were not, for our concern is with relative differences of degree. Indeed, in a later section of this paper one further subdivision will be made within the acculturated category.

177 If the criterion of acculturation was a good choice, there should be processes
which explain how the two groupings arose. To become acculturated means,
121 in part, to learn and internalize white ways and values from a white person. The Indian people all have contact with whites as adults but they do not all become acculturated at the same rate. Our attention is thus directed to differential exposure to and influence by white persons in the important early years of life, in the socialization process. The preliminary notion suggests itself that degree of acculturation, based upon participation in contemporary Indian culture, is associated with degree of influence by white persons in childhood. To examine this notion we should study cultural transmission and socialization over many generations. For practical reasons this is not feasible but we can determine which families in Lone Hill village have had a history of white intermarriage. In those cases in which a white person has married an Indian, there would be a white person in the domestic family situation who would thus provide a model for the children.

For purposes of this study, the presence or absence of a white model was determined for every family in Lone Hill on the basis of census data, Indian Bureau records, village genealogies, informal interviews, and in some cases extensive life history material. Any given nuclear family was said to have had a white model if either a parent, a grandparent, or a great-grandparent, or a substitute for such on either side, was a white person who actually lived with the nuclear family. Taking our point of departure from the present children, this creates a limit of four generations back, which was in part a matter of expediency as it was not possible to trace instances of white intermarriage beyond four generations. However, the limit of four generations corresponds to

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the approximate time at which the Mandan-Hidatsa abandoned their aboriginal villages and thus does represent an important historical turning point. 177 121

The presence of a white model in the nuclear family through intermarriage is a cultural factor, and it should not be confused with degree of blood, a biological factor. The grandfather of one woman in Lone Hill was a white man who came up the Missouri on a steamboat, stayed a few years, and then left for parts unknown. He produced an undetermined number of children by different Indian women, but all his children were raised in Indian homes. The only cultural transmission from this white man is that some of his known descendants suspect that he may have been Irish and they jokingly celebrate St. Patrick's Day in his honor. His descendants have not had a white model despite their one-fourth degree of white blood. In fact, there is probably not one Mandan-Hidatsa who is a biological full blood, due to the great amount of white intermarriage in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This early intermarriage has not been recorded and took place in very different historical circumstances than more recent intermarriage. 144

It was found that seventeen nuclear families have had a white model and that thirty-one families have not. When we put these data together with our criterion of acculturation, a very striking result emerges. It was previously determined that fourteen *acculturated* families *do not* regularly attend the Indian ceremonials and thirty-four *unacculturated* families *do* attend the dances. Each of the fourteen acculturated families has had a white model. Of the thirty-four unacculturated families, thirty-one have not had a white model and three have had. To state these results another way: the families who do not attend the dances have all had a white model; the families who do attend the ceremonials, with three exceptions have not had a white model. 177 121

This is indeed a striking set of facts. The importance of white intermarriage has been suggested by other students who have worked in the same culture area with related tribes, but this is, as far as I know, the first time the relationship has emerged so boldly. Voget (1952), who has delineated four socio-cultural groups among the Crow, has written of his "native" group, "It is not unreasonable to assume that the membership of this socio-cultural category consists for the most part of those of pure descent" (89), while his most acculturated group, the "American marginal," are " . . . predominantly of mixed descent" (91). Based upon her study of the Dakota Sioux, Useem (1947:375) concludes, "The full bloods, in contrast to the mixed bloods, tend to retain more of the Sioux language, to keep more of the early symbols and patterns of Dakotan life, [to reside in] full blood communities . . . , to be less educated, to prefer on-reservation to off-reservation life, and to be opposed to the Indian Reorganization Act of the Federal Government."

THE FACTOR OF ISOLATION

The explanation of why white intermarriage is a prerequisite for acculturation must be sought in the total situation in which the people of Lone Hill find themselves. Single factor explanations do not cover the available data. It might be thought that the Indian who knows he is, and is known to be part

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177 white, would be favorably predisposed toward white ways. But the descendants of the previously mentioned Irishman are biologically part white, yet they
121 remain unacculturated; and there are three families who have had a white model but who have not become acculturated. Another possible explanation is that the lighter skin color per se allows the children of mixed marriages to "pass" in local white society. The data does not confirm this notion either, as an Indian's ability to be accepted by local whites depends upon how he behaves rather than upon his racial characteristics. A series of relevant factors in the total situation, when taken together, do give at least partial understanding of the importance of white intermarriage. They add up to a picture of such extreme psychological and social isolation of the Indian people that a white person married into the family becomes the primary agent by which white ways and values are learned and internalized.

Lone Hill is physically isolated between the Missouri and the Little Mis-
131 souri rivers, and contact with white people is thus infrequent and limited.
177 There are no stores, no paved roads, and no post office in the village. The
[361] only whites who reside in Lone Hill itself are the two teachers in the govern-
487 ment grade school, who rarely participate in community affairs. None of the
489 whites currently married to Indians live permanently in the village today, although a few couples occasionally return to Lone Hill, during which time they stay with Indian families. There are two ways to travel to the surrounding towns: either across the Missouri River by boat during the summer and over the ice in winter, or by making a sixty-mile trip over dirt roads through irregular rolling hills and flat-topped buttes. Anyone who has lived in Lone Hill during the late spring comes to realize the meaning of isolation. The ice over the river is too thin for passage, the roads become blocked by mud and melting show, and the one telephone usually breaks down and remains unrepaired. Mail and supplies are often dropped by airplane. The physical isolation works in a double way—few whites come to Lone Hill and few Indians leave.

The Mandan-Hidatsa have never experienced a serious ecological read-
105 justment, as they have lived along the Missouri River Valley for at least the
177 two centuries preceding the completion of this study in 1953. The Indian people today are certainly dependent upon the American economic system for their cash income, but almost every family in Lone Hill derives a relatively large noncash income from exploitation of the natural resources of the area. This exploitation is similar in some respects to the adjustment made by the aboriginal earth lodge tribes to the same fertile river bottom lands. Fuel is provided by wood from the timber, and from indigenous lignite outcroppings. Over half the families live in log cabins, which they erect themselves from timber found in the wooded bottoms. The food staples of corn and potatoes are obtained in part from small garden plots, now jointly worked by the men and women of the household. The meat supply depends largely upon the man's ability as a hunter of deer and small game. Abundant wild fruits and berries are gathered during the appropriate seasons and are preserved for use during the winter months. Thus, many of the economic goods which are normally

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purchased with cash income derived from productive employment are obtained by the people of Lone Hill directly from natural sources. 105 177

The paternalistic policy of the Indian Bureau has probably been more effective than the geographical isolation and the ecological setting in limiting direct social relationships between the Indian people and surrounding whites. Most of the necessary economic, educational, and welfare activities are handled by the Agency staff instead of by the Indian people. What is called paternalism arose from the necessities of an earlier historical period, during which it was a humane and just policy to aid those Indian people whose life pattern had been disrupted by American expansion. The people of Lone Hill still expect this protection today, yet they resent the associated dependency. At Fort Berthold and on other Indian reservations, this has come to be one of the most complex and pressing problems of native administration. Given the problems that exist, the current Bureau policy of withdrawal is far from an adequate solution. In a paper of this scope we can do no more than call attention to the importance of the administration as an isolating barrier between the Mandan-Hidatsa and the larger American society. 657

What is possibly the most important isolating factor stems from the sharp discontinuity in the unacculturated Indian life career. From the point of view of the age grading of the learning process, acculturative influences are operative primarily in the adult years. During the early formative period the unacculturated child comes to internalize Indian ways from an intimate group of close relatives in a permissive and secure atmosphere. Before he attends school the child eats Indian food, attends the ceremonial dances, and hears about the daring exploits of the Stone Hammer Society from his old grandfather. The activities of the outside world are dim and vague to the Indian child, for he rarely leaves the village and has few opportunities for direct contact with whites. He does attend an occasional movie and he listens to the radio, but the child has had no context within his own experience with which to relate these impersonal mass media. Those whites who come to Lone Hill on business deal with the adults and rarely see the children. I recorded three life histories of young adults who knew no white people until they were seven or eight years of age. 177 867

From the unacculturated child's point of view, life in Lone Hill revolves around his family, peer, and residential groups. His main satisfactions are obtained from within these groups, and the activities of their members, most of whom are relatives, form the major topics of conversation. That kinship is widely extended among the Mandan-Hidatsa takes on added meaning in this context, as all of an unacculturated Indian's emotionally charged and rewarding experiences occur within, and are shared by, the kinship group. Members of the kinship group are also the agents of cultural transmission, and from them the child learns the approved norms of conduct and patterns of social relations. 177 867 602 571

The unacculturated Indian child soon learns that his emotional security and his very identity are dependent upon his maintaining good relationships with his kinsmen. He does not derive security from acts designed merely to 156 602 431

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156 further his own ends, nor is there any pressure put upon him to realize ab-
602 solute ideals. The value of generosity in this perspective, and as defined by the
431 Indian people, is any act which promotes group welfare. Those persons who do work together on such secular affairs as road projects are said to have donated their time to the group. At a dance for his son serving in Korea, one man in Lone Hill donated "the whitewashing of the school lunch room and the repair of the grade school window sashes." As the kinship system embodies the primary societal values, a man's position in society is assured if he meets the obligations of that system at all public gatherings and in his everyday be-
[626 havior in the village. If a person behaves in any way that destroys group co-
571] operation he is not threatened or physically punished. His mother or older sister will tell him the right way, and if they are not effective his grandparents or other joking relatives will tease and ridicule him into conformity. The Mandan-Hidatsa have a tremendous elaboration of joking relationships which serve as a very effective mechanism of enforcing conformity to group norms.

●177 By the time the unacculturated child becomes an adult, he has been so
867 effectively socialized to Indian ways that white contact has very little influence. But the adult reality is such that he must live in a superordinate white world. This is the sharp discontinuity in his life career. Every Indian must deal with members of white society in order to perform necessary economic and educational activities. The unacculturated Indian does not change himself to become like a white person; instead he learns how to adjust to white people. One informant described the technique as follows: "We Indians are just like those lizards that change their colors. When we are with whites we act one way and when we are with Indians we act another way." I think this kind of compartmentalized behavior is called "situational role specificity"—but possibly the analogy of the chameleon has a virtue of its own. In a sense, the unacculturated people of Lone Hill come to learn two cultures, but it is a
177 case of differential learning with different points of origin. The unacculturated
154 Indian character is incorporated into the child in his formative years, while a
867 superficial knowledge of white culture and of the techniques of adjustment to white people are learned primarily in adulthood. The unacculturated people of Lone Hill are not torn with inner conflict between two worlds; they just internalize the Indian way as children and learn aspects of the white way as a necessary accessory when they become adults. Erikson (1950:115) in his study of the Sioux was intrigued by this point:

> This, it seemed to us, was the most astonishing single fact to be investigated: That Indian children could live for years without open rebellion or any signs of inner conflict between two standards which were incomparably further apart than those of any two generations or two classes in our culture.

177 The unacculturated Indian does not internalize white ways as an adult, not
563 because all learning stops in childhood, but because of the vast cultural differences between members of the two groups, the nature of the situations in which adult Indian-white interaction occurs, and the attitudes of white

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people toward Indians. Indian relationships to whites are made difficult by the many points of incompatibility between their respective value systems. The unacculturated Indian does not work hard and long in order to accumulate land, goods, and status symbols, as this behavior is disapproved in Indian society. The Indian does not receive prestige for persistent efforts to become "successful," and he finds no necessity to establish a good credit rating. Respectable whites often regard unacculturated Indians as lazy and irresponsible; Indian people in turn see much white behavior as stingy. 177● 563

While a few local whites fanatically reject all Indians, many do make genuine efforts to educate and elevate Indian peoples. Many of these sincere attempts to "help" Indians are done with the implicit belief that the white way is superior to the Indian way, and thus they involve a comparison in which the Indian is deemed unworthy. It is difficult to influence another person if your expressed intention is to change him in a direction which you advertise as being better. These efforts, which usually are directed at social and economic betterment, are based upon the white ethic which most Indians either cannot understand or do not want to accept, and thus they create an insurmountable barrier to learning.

The Indian people have few opportunities to participate in active social organizations that include members of both cultures. The social roles that Indians can adopt in relation to whites are severely limited and few effective channels of communication exist. Those younger unacculturated Indians who leave Lone Hill to attend high school and off-reservation boarding schools do have the opportunity to increase their interaction with white people, but the vast majority of the adults of the village have not completed grade school. Indians and whites meet at such recreational activities as county fairs, dances, rodeos, and athletic events, but these are temporary affairs and the interaction takes place mainly between younger Indians and the lower-class segment if local white society. Most of the interaction between unacculturated Indians and whites is not only impersonal but it is atomistic in that individuals meet as individuals for specific and unitary purposes. The Indian meets the white man in the role of customer or employee, not as a total human being. In general, the unacculturated Indian finds relationships within the kinship group rewarding; but his impersonal atomistic relationships with outside whites tend to be unrewarding and often are punishing. 177

The presence of a white model in the nuclear family through the mechanism of white intermarriage is a prerequisite for acculturation in Lone Hill. If the people of the village were not physically isolated but were living in proximity to whites, if the natural resources did not satisfy so many economic needs, if the Indian Bureau had not fostered dependency, if the unacculturated children were not so effectively socialized to a life pattern wherein their emotional security depended upon relationships within the kinship group, if Indians did not utilize techniques of adjustment to whites, if the Indian and white value systems were not so incompatible, if white attitudes toward Indians did not create a barrier to learning, and if Indians had the opportunity to integrate into white social organizations—then white intermarriage might not be so

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177 important. As these conditions do exist, the transmission of white ways in an intimate family group becomes the major mechanism of acculturation.

SOCIAL INTERACTION WITHIN THE VILLAGE

177 571 The thirty-four unacculturated families are isolated from surrounding whites, but they do have contact with the fourteen acculturated families who reside in the village. The acculturated group are a potential source of rapid culture change, and their influence could lead to the spread of white ways throughout the entire population of Lone Hill. But this does not happen. The cultural innovations initiated by the acculturated families are generally not accepted by the unacculturated majority. Why this is so may be understood by first making an additional distinction among the fourteen acculturated families and then describing the social interaction among the groupings that emerge.

A further differentiation is found when the criterion of acculturation is reapplied to the fourteen families who do not regularly attend the Indian ceremonials. Table 1 presents a final summary of group differences in Mandan-Hidatsa acculturation. Seven families virtually never attend the dances; we continue to refer to them as acculturated. The remaining seven families, henceforth to be called "marginal," do participate in the ceremonials when they are in the village. However, the seven marginal families do not live in Lone Hill for more than six to eight months of the year. For the rest of the year, during their off-reservation periods, they interact with whites and with Indians from other tribes. Marginal families and individuals may leave abruptly by automobile for South Dakota, Montana, or even California, and stay away for months at a time. They are called marginal specifically because their shifting pattern of residence prevents them from regularly attending the Indian ceremonials and from fully participating in village culture. While they are living in Lone Hill, the marginal families interact primarily with unacculturated Indians. They are very active in community affairs, seem to uphold Indian beliefs and values, and at times are among the staunchest defenders of traditional Indian ways. Despite their varied experiences outside Lone Hill, the marginal families do not initiate major cultural change within the village.

Table 1.—Group Differences in Mandan-Hidatsa Acculturation

Degree of Acculturation	White Model in Household	
	Absent	Present
Unacculturated	31	3
Marginal	0	7
Acculturated	0	7

177 158 Observation indicates that members of the marginal families are restless, unsatisfied, rather unpredictable, and some are psychologically unstable. In every one of these seven families there is a constant pattern of excessive drinking and fighting, and every adult male has a jail record for committing minor offenses. One of these men is a severe alcoholic, while a second has spent almost three years in a state asylum where he was diagnosed as a case of

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dementia praecox. The latter travels all over the United States as a hobo, but always returns to the village. A third marginal male went AWOL from the Army, and was once sentenced to three years in the penitentiary for forgery. Still another individual, although married, has admitted to the paternity of three children by three different off-reservation women, and action has been taken in two of the cases for nonsupport. 177 158

The relationships between the seven acculturated families and the thirty-four unacculturated families are characterized by much hostility and a low frequency of social interaction. The acculturated people rarely visit at unacculturated homes, do not participate in the dances or other community activities, and make special efforts to keep their children isolated from the unacculturated children. White "middle class" values are the criteria by which the acculturated Indian appraises his worth and evaluates himself, even though he is not a member of any white social group. Some acculturated individuals actually over-react to those white standards which form the basis for white disapproval of Indian behavior. One man in the village never touches a drop of liquor, is very active in the Christian Church, is up for breakfast every morning by seven, accumulates land and money to the point of being miserly, and will pay every debt before it is due. The acculturated Indians not only reject traditional Indian ways; they often will openly and severely criticize Indian behavior. They have become spokesmen within Lone Hill for those whites who feel that the solution to the Indian "problem" is to destroy the old culture. For the acculturated individual it is inevitable that the Indian people must live in a white world. They see the unacculturated Indians as holding back the course of progress to the detriment of all. The unacculturated majority feel that the acculturated families have taken for themselves what belongs to everyone, have violated the primary Indian values of generosity and emphasis on group welfare, and are "in cahoots" with the Indian Bureau against the best interests of the Indian people. They see the acculturated Indians as traitors and collaborationists. 177 156 578

Acculturated Indians actively seek to increase their interaction with middle class whites, as they need their approval and support. White people tend to accept the acculturated Indian because he behaves in accordance with the middle class ethic and is docile in his relations to whites. Almost without exception, when whites make their infrequent trips to Lone Hill they visit at the homes of a handful of acculturated families. As a consequence, the unacculturated Indians are further isolated from white contact in the village. During the first two weeks that my wife and I lived in Lone Hill, a nearby acculturated family brought us fresh milk, butter, and rolls, offered to drive us around the area, invited us to supper, and was even ready to discuss how we could best obtain rapport with the older Indian people. The acculturated families sought us out, while we had to take the initiative in meeting the unacculturated families. 177

Many government employees and surrounding whites feel that acculturated Indians are outstanding examples of what any individual Indian could achieve given the requisite ambition. Acculturated Indians have a virtual

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177 monopoly of the numerous benefits and services to be derived from the Indian Bureau and they often seek and obtain employment with the Bureau. They are all economically successful cattlemen compared with the unacculturated Indians who derive their cash income primarily from lease money, relief, and seasonal farm work. According to the Extension Agent's report for the year 1951, the seven acculturated families owned from twenty-nine to 149 head of cattle, a total for all families of 514, and an average of approximately seventy-three. Eighteen of the thirty-four unacculturated families owned no cattle at all. The sixteen unacculturated families with cattle had a range per family of one to fifty-two head, a total for all families of 395, and an average of approximately twenty-five cattle per family.

177 At Fort Berthold, as on many other Indian reservations, there are two political factions which locally are called the "Yes" or progressive group and 621 the "No" or conservative faction. The basis for leadership is different in each faction. In the conservative group, leadership is based upon personal qualities combined with the inheritance of sacred bundles from older chiefs, while for the progressive group it is based upon white standards of achievement. There is no clear-cut correlation between degree of acculturation and affiliation with any one faction, as the membership of each faction varies with the particular issue involved, but the nucleus of the progressive faction is derived from the acculturated families and the nucleus of the conservative faction from the unacculturated and marginal groups. These political differences are one manifestation of the larger processes which lead to different sociocultural groupings, for Lone Hill is a community divided into two conflicting and relatively noninteracting social groups.

177 Thus the acculturated families do not precipitate rapid change within the village because of the mutual hostility and mistrust generated between them- 167 selves and the remainder of the community. An additional factor is that the membership of the acculturated group is constantly being depleted, as accul- 161 turated individuals tend to leave the village. The children of the acculturated families, who have the greatest potentiality for initiating change, do not remain in Lone Hill, as they have internalized the values of white society and as there are so few opportunities presented to them within the village. Of the seven acculturated families, there are three in which the parents are over fifty years of age and in which the children are all over twenty years old. In every one of these families, all or the majority of the children have left Lone Hill. In the remaining four families the parents are between the ages of twenty-six and forty-two, and the oldest child is fifteen. While these children are not old enough to leave and seek employment elsewhere, each of their parents has either a brother or sister who has left. The parents of the acculturated children, most of whom have built up successful cattle operations, are tied to Lone Hill. Their goal is to see their children become accepted members of white society. Despite the departure of the acculturated people and of others, the population continues to increase because of the fertility of the resident population. Since 1910, the population of enrolled members of the

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Fort Berthold tribes has increased on an average of 3.8 percent per year (Riefel 1952:87–100). 167 161

It is interesting to note that the process of change in which acculturated individuals leave, thereby making for the persistence of traditional ways within the village, had its counterpart in the historical period from 1740 to 1890. As individuals and as family groups, those Mandan and Hidatsa who preferred the Plains warrior-hunting life changed tribal affiliations and left their sedentary villages to join a nomad tribe (Bowers MS). As Holder (1950) has shown, this intertribal exchange of personnel reflected the development of a deep conflict in the earth-lodge social organization based upon the allocation of prestige. Aboriginal Mandan and Hidatsa society was stratified into classes, with the cultural rewards reserved for a select nobility who inherited the sacred tribal bundles (Bowers 1950). Many young men, born into less fortunate matrilineal kin groups who owned no bundles and who had been exposed to nomadic life, tried to achieve recognition through accomplishments in warfare and through vision experiences. These young men, placed in disadvantageous positions in the social structure, tended to leave their villages to become nomads. The Cheyenne and the Crow as cultures, adopted nomadism (Strong 1940); among the Mandan and Hidatsa, individuals became nomads by changing cultures. Thus, both in the past and in the present, those dissatisfied with the traditional Indian ways of the majority group left the village. This mode of change seems to be characteristic of the Mandan-Hidatsa, and is a general process with time depth. 177

THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION

White intermarriage may be a necessary condition but it is not in itself a sufficient condition for acculturation in Lone Hill. Of the seventeen families who have had a white model through intermarriage, seven are acculturated, seven marginal and three unacculturated. The presence of a white person in the nuclear family does no more than create the possibility that the children of the mixed marriage will learn white ways. Cultural transmission is not merely an automatic transferal from the past in which parents mechanically stamp their culture into the child. Some of the white men who married Mandan-Hidatsa women may well have preferred to assimilate to Indian ways and may not have passed their understanding of white ways on to their offspring, while others may have desired that their children learn American ways but may not have implemented that desire in the socialization process. As it is no longer possible to study the original family situations in which a white man married an Indian woman, we cannot determine why those original parents have adopted the acculturated, marginal, or unacculturated life pattern. But partial understanding of the process involved may be obtained by an examination of cultural transmission in the contemporary families. 177 121

There are two steps by which an individual in Lone Hill becomes acculturated; first there must be a white model, so that at least one of the parents has a fundamental understanding of American culture, and second, the 177 367

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177 parents must consciously, deliberately, and actively train their children to become like whites (Inkeles 1955). Children in Lone Hill and probably elsewhere are prepared for a world conceived by their parents which is in part dependent upon what the parents expect their children to be. Cultural transmission is as much a projection into the future as it is a heritage from the past. This emerges most clearly from an examination of the age-grading of language learning in the village. Lone Hill is a bilingual community in that Hidatsa is spoken in daily contact and at public gatherings, while all but two of the 137 adults also speak English. In part because of a widespread belief in the village that, as one informant expressed it, " . . . it is confusing for a child to learn two languages at once," the majority of the families in this bilingual community decide between Hidatsa and English as a first language for their offspring. Their choice provides one convenient criterion for distinguishing those families who are preparing their children for a life in Lone Hill as opposed to those families who are preparing their children for a life with whites outside the village.

Table 2 shows, for each family in Lone Hill, the language spoken in the home, which is the first language learned by the children of that family.

Table 2.—Language Spoken in the Home

Degree of Acculturation	Hidatsa	Hidatsa & English	English
Unacculturated	25	1	5
Unacculturated (white model)	2	1	—
Marginal	4	1	2
Acculturated	1	1	5

In the majority of the unacculturated homes the children are taught Hidatsa as a first language and learn to speak English when they attend school. In these families, knowledge of English is one acculturative influence that does not arise from early learning in the home but is acquired from agents outside the home after the child has reached the age of seven or eight. In the five unacculturated families in which English is spoken, a Mandan-Hidatsa resident of the village has married a member of an alien tribe, so that one spouse does not understand Hidatsa. English is spoken by necessity rather than by choice. In five of the acculturated houses the parents, although they know Hidatsa, speak only English to their children. Many of these children never learn the Indian language. One acculturated family sent its eldest child to the Lone Hill day school. The boy, who spoke only English, was soon withdrawn and sent to a white school in a nearby town, after the parents discovered that their child was learning to speak Hidatsa in the village school. This story is often repeated among the acculturated families who now send their children to off-reservation schools. Language usage structures much of the life-way usage, for invariably the Indian child who comes to school with a knowledge of English is considered more intelligent by his teachers and finds it easier to interact with whites and thereby learn more white ways.

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It is to be emphasized that individuals in Lone Hill do not become acculturated by chance; their parents consciously and actively prepare them for a life in the white world. To be "white-oriented" is not sufficient. Almost all the adult Indian people in Lone Hill would like the approval of whites, may seek membership in white social groups, may empathize with white authority figures, may consider themselves as a "we" group with most Americans on particular issues such as opposition to communism, have adopted and understood some aspects of white culture, are able to act in white ways as a manipulatory technique in certain situations, desire American material objects, and often compare themselves with whites. After the members of the village understood the kind of information I was seeking, individuals would come and tell me themselves if they were preparing their children for a life in the Indian or the white way. One middle-aged widow came over to our home and announced, "I don't want my kids to lose their language. They speak Hidatsa and I teach them the Indian ways."

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The following conversation with Oliver Brown, a twenty-six year old veteran, and his wife, Marie, occurred toward the end of my field trip and clearly indicates that the Brown family are raising their children to emulate whites and to reject Indian ways. I knew the family well enough to take notes during the interview and reproduce them below, almost verbatim. The interview was one of a series in which I asked the parents of all the English-speaking families why they decided to teach English to their children when others in the village were taught and spoke Hidatsa. Oliver has just started in the cattle business and already has sixty-five head. Theirs is the only Indian home in Lone Hill with a bottle gas refrigerator, stove, deep freeze, and oil heater. They now have four children; a boy of three, another of two, and twin girls less than a year old. On this occasion, Oliver was watching the children, I was seated at the kitchen table, while Marie was washing the dinner dishes. I started the conversation by asking what language they had first learned at home.

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MARIE: My mother used to tell us kids about Indian ways but we learned English first, and I never picked up Hidatsa good.

OLIVER: [directing his remarks to me] When kids are brought up to speak Hidatsa they have a hard time in school. I learned Hidatsa and Mandan first, both together, and then English in school. And I had a tough time of it at Marty [an off-reservation Catholic boarding school]. I felt out of place there. My kids will be brought up to speak English, strictly English.

MARIE: But they are Indians and it's in them and they will learn Indian.

OLIVER: [in an impatient tone to his wife] I don't care if they never learn to speak Indian. The Indian language don't get them no place or anything higher. [Oliver turned to me] I want my kids to get an education and make a good living some day. They'll have to mix among the whites and go to school among the whites outside. For their own good, not for my good, I want them to mix with whites and not be among Indians.

BRUNER: After your boys finish school, do you think they might want to come back here and work in your cattle business?

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177 OLIVER: They could if I build it up. But they would make a better living if they get an education and get out and not stay around here.

861 BRUNER: Why don't you want them to be among Indians?

181 OLIVER: As long as they make a good living it doesn't make any difference if they mix with Indians or whites.

124 MARIE: As long as they mix with the right kind of people!

OLIVER: [to his wife] Education is the whole thing. If they have an education they will mix with the right kind of people, that's understood.

BRUNER: Who are the right kind of people?

OLIVER: The people that try to get somewhere, that want to make an easier living for themselves, that build up and save. Take John and Bill Fast Leg. They're good for nothing. They don't care about anything. They just live; tomorrow is just another day for them.

[At this point we had a long discussion of particular people in Lone Hill to determine exactly who the Browns considered to be the right kind of people—those with whom they would like to see their children associate. The right kind of people were the children of the group that the Browns currently associate with—acculturated people like themselves. When the unacculturated Rainbow family was mentioned, I remarked that their daughter, Flora Rainbow, had never said one word to either my wife or myself, even though we had visited her house many times and were friendly with her parents. To this Oliver made the following comment.]

OLIVER: That's because they're too backward. They don't care to associate except with their own class. Flora won't even talk to Marie! They were brought up that way; it's in their blood, I guess. They were brought up with the Indian language and never heard an English word until they were seven years old. That's what that does!

MARIE: When you visit there you don't feel welcome. I never felt at ease with them.

OLIVER: They're just backward.

MARIE: That's why we want our kids to go out and mix. If they stayed here they would be just like them.

177 The future state envisioned by the Browns, in which they see their children as accepted members of white society, may or may not become an actuality. My data indicate that the total process of acculturation, from the mixed marriage to the time individuals drift off to seek their places in white society, takes three, four, or more generations for completion (cf. Keesing 1954:90; Hallowell 1952:106). In Oliver Brown's case, his grandfather was a white man, a Civil War deserter who married an Indian woman, and his father, Jim Brown, was a successful farmer on the reservation. Oliver's sister, who no longer lives in Lone Hill, had this to say about their father:

177 Jim Brown pounded into us kids about working. Saving money and all that. Jim preaches today about white man's ways like get up in the morning like the white man
861 does, and buying things that would get us ahead. He told us to try to finish school and go to college and get jobs outside. He taught us against donating, though he did it himself. But he always said it never got him anywhere. I don't believe in that donating stuff now. I guess it was just pounded into us.

That Jim Brown " . . . taught us against donating, though he did it himself," was found to be a pattern in all of the acculturated families. The parents raised

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their children to become like whites even though they continued to adhere to many Indian ways and values. As one informant expressed it, "Jim Brown played two parts."

It is probable that many of the unacculturated families have not remained unacculturated by choice, for in some cases they too have aspirations that they and their children may live in the white world. But the total situation in Lone Hill is such that the unacculturated families lack both sufficient understanding of white ways and realistic opportunities by which they may live successfully in middle class white society. As an illustration, selected because it is admittedly extreme, I present the case of Paul Beaver, a middle-aged unacculturated Indian who decided to move to a large city in North Dakota with his wife and eight children. He lived in a hotel where his expenses were far beyond the family's meager earnings, and they existed by borrowing money until they ran up a huge debt. The man was employed as a helper in a paint shop and one winter day he heated the paint to make it smooth. The paint exploded, burned down the shop, and caused damages estimated at $50,000. Paul Beaver was promptly fired from his job. At one time he planned to tour the country with an Indian show, but he had no agent, no conception of where to go, and no advance booking. Another time he had the idea of setting up a wood carving store in a large city. He carves only one item, small Indian heads, which he has never sold, nor did he know if there was a market in the city for Indian heads. Although Paul Beaver has made three or four attempts within the last thirty years to leave Lone Hill, he readily adjusts to life in the village when he returns. Those unacculturated families who live in Lone Hill as a second choice can do so effectively and with ease, without the inner conflict and vacillating identifications of the marginal families. Paul Beaver is an announcer at the Indian dances, an officer in one of the village societies, and he receives recognition and satisfaction in traditional Indian ways. He speaks lightly of his off-reservation experiences, and with considerable humor.

CONCLUSION

The interplay of two factors, the presence or absence of a white model through intermarriage and the conscious preparation of children by their parents for an adult life in the Indian or white world, has led to a preliminary definition of the basis of group differences in Mandan-Hidatsa acculturation.

1. Thirty-one unacculturated families attend the Indian dances, have not had a white model, and train their children to live among the people of Lone Hill village. Although their culture is mixed and continually changing, the unacculturated families have relatively clear-cut identifications with and adjustment to contemporary reservation culture.

2. Seven acculturated families do not attend the dances, have had a white model, and prepare their children for a life among whites outside the village. Members of the acculturated families have not been passive agents adjusting to forces impinging upon them. Individuals within the acculturated group are active and creative agents in the acculturation process, who change them-

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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177 selves, their children, and their culture. The presence of the American generational kinship system and other cultural changes in Lone Hill (Bruner 1955) were the result of conscious efforts by individuals to bring about these changes through their children.

3. The remaining ten families have had a white model; three follow the unacculturated life pattern, and seven marginal families periodically shift their residence from Indian to white society. The marginal families are bicultural; they have a dual model of the universe situationally defined.

Given the total situation as it exists in Lone Hill, early experience in the nuclear family is decisive in the acculturative process. We may even hazard the guess that unless there is a major change in the total milieu, acculturation in Lone Hill will continue to be dependent upon social learning in small family groups.

NOTES

000 [1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 53rd meeting of the American Anthropological Association held in Detroit, December, 1954. The Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago and a Social Science Research Council pre-doctoral fellowship provided financial support for field work. Elaine-Carol Bruner, Donald T. Campbell, Dorothy Eggan, Fred Eggan, Omar K. Moore, George P. Murdock, Robert Redfield, Sol Tax, Sherry Washburn, and especially two fellow fieldworkers, Robert Merrill and Robert Reitz, have generously offered suggestions at various stages of this work. Their cumulative aid has indeed been considerable.

101 [2] Lone Hill is the Indian name for the community. Names of all informants mentioned in this paper are pseudonyms.

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10: Neill #4(no date) 1884 NQ17 ~~Mandan NQ17~~

formed by the women in the morning.[1] Their sweet corn and beans are boiled whole; they make use of large earthen pots of their own manufacture, made of black clay, of which they have plenty near their villages. They make them of different sizes, from five gallons to a quart. In these vessels is never anything of a greasy nature.[1] * * * * * The bottoms of the pots are of an oblong shape; it therefore requires much care to keep them from upsetting, for which purpose when they are put to the fire a hole is made in the ashes to secure and prop them erect, and when taken away they are placed upon a sort of mat made of the fibers of the bois blanc; these coils or rugs are made of different sizes, according to the dimensions of the several pots, which keeps them firm and secure. Some of these pots are provided with two cones, or handles.[1] * *

000 252 415 323

Baptiste La France made his appearance here. This man had left the Prairie la Souris [Mouse River] with a small assortment of goods for the purpose of trading, equipped by the Hudson Bay Company. He now resides upon the south side of the river, at the great Mandane village,* and hearing of the arrival of white people, he came over to us. He now informed the chief, Black Cat, who his guests were and the cause of our visit, which was mere curiosity. [The chief] instantly retired to his family hut and brought out his flag, which was given him in 1804–5; they alsogave him a silver medal, and the same articles were also given to the principal chief of each of the other villages, also several very useful utensils were left amongst them.† I saw the remains of an excellent large corn mill, which the foolish fellows had demolished on purpose to barb their arrows; the largest piece of it which they could not break nor work up into any weapon they have now fixed to a wooden handle, and make use of it to pound marrow bones, to make grease."

177 [411 412]

We were now desirous of crossing the river, therefore sent off La France to engage people of the opposite village to come over for us.[2] * * * * * * * We were now informed that eight canoes were in waiting for us, from the opposite side, and the same number of young men had come over to assist in crossing our horses.[2] * * * * On our going over to the war side we found the chief of the Great Mandan village, Le Gros Blanc. He was waiting with his own canoe to ferry over Mr. Chaboillez and me. He appeared very

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† To each chief, Lewis and Clarke presented a medal, a flag, and a uniform coat. In the narrative of the expedition is the following sentence: "A variety of other presents were distributed, but none seemed to give them more satisfaction than the iron corn mill, which we gave to the Mandans."

† The Mandans, about 1760, were settled on the banks of the Missouri, eighty miles below, seven villages on the west and two on the east side of the river. The two villages were reduced by small-pox, and moved up the river and settled a village near the Receivers, and afterwards the people of the other village joined them. In 1796 they were in two villages at the points where Henry found them, on opposite sides of Missouri, about three miles apart. [175]

[1] [Category 116, p. 328.-A.] [2] [Category 116, p. 328.-A]

Sections from Henry's Journal Not Printed in Neill's Version (page numbers refer to those in the Coues edition of Henry's Journal (1897):

224 [322] We had now a well-beaten path, but were several times in danger of breaking our necks in deep pits which the natives had dug in the path to catch wolves and foxes in winter. Some of them are 10 feet deep, hollowed out to a space about 30 feet in circumference, whilst the entrance is no wider than the foot-path and about five feet in length. Those holes are covered with dry grass at the season when wolves are good, and every morning are found to contain some of those animals. In summer the grass grows strong and high about the mouths, entirely concealing them, until one arrives upon the very brink and is in danger of tumbling in headlong.

491 [323] Before we reached the (Mandan) village, we passed through
241 a wood about two miles long. The road was bad, deep with mud and mire, the river having overflowed there lately. Having got through this wood, we came to several plantations of corn, beans, squashes, and sunflowers—the latter, indeed, grow in every direction, without cultivation, at some distance from the fields, where the seed has been carried by the wind; but such are never gathered by the natives, as they are not so good as those that have been properly sown and taken care of.

262 [325] This was just to their own palate, as they seldom eat
574 meat until it begins to smell. We were invited into several huts successively and presented with dried meat in a state of corruption, corn and beans, together with parched corn and fresh ears pounded up in a wooden mortar; this last dish we found good.

439 They soon asked us to trade, and brought buffalo robes, corn,
●177 beans, dried squashes, etc.; but we informed them that we did not come here for that purpose, merely to visit them and see the country. They could not comprehend why we should have come so far out of mere curiosity, and said that all white people who came there did so with a view to trade. They suspected that we had goods which we wished to take over the river to the other villages, and were anxious to prevent it. They plagued us until dark, when they retired disappointed.

[p. 384(A)]

832 repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men,
834 who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young
men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on
461 the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to
526 hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times
they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback,
and performing warlike manoeuvres; they have also a favorite
game which occupies much of their time.

512 [328]...this is the first work performed by the women in the
515 morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed
themselves in the Missourie. ...every family being provided
415 with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh.
177 Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to
771 say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those
574 earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest
kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come
in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the
contents.

231 .....Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed
437 in the meadow but never allowed them to be for a moment out of
648 his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them.
We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles,
for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco.

439 [329] It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail
upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger
has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first
village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many
439 European articles as they can, [330] particularly arms and ammuni-
609 tion. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each
other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have
578 often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death
569 of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also
to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great
distance. The Pawnees, also, with whom the Mandanes formerly
lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies.
Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and every-
one has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

675 We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the
673 landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut
[577] in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect
security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

[P.384(C)]

675 it is gone in an instant, and search would be in vain; everyone
673 would wish to appear innocent, although they are not offended when
accused of stealing, but laugh the matter away. .....We paid
437 our landlord for board and lodging, as well as the care of our horses,
177 and of the articles left under his charge, as we never expect the
least favor from any of these fellows without recompensing them
accordingly. He appeared very well pleased with the following
articles, which we gave him: 60 rounds of ammunition, 4 large
knives, 2 awls, 1 fathom of tobacco, 1 steel, 5 flints, 1 dozen
hawk-bills, 2 worms (wormers for guns), and 1 dozen brass rings....

609 [332] My host was so obliging as to give up to me one of his
574 own best beds, well surrounded with dressed leather. We had a
plentiful supply of corn and beans, and were soon invited to several
huts, where we [333] were treated with a very palatable dish of
[421] pounded peas and parched corn; but it is customary for invited
guests, on leaving, to present the master of the hut with a few
inches of tobacco, for which he always appears very thankful.

728 [335] About 30 Big Bellies soon arrived on horseback, at full
speed; they brought an interpreter with them. This party consisted
of some of the principal war chiefs, and other great men, who did
not appear well pleased, but looked on the Pawnees with disdain.

285 [339] ...seated on a mat made of small willows of equal size,
fastened together [340] by threads of their own manufacture,
passed through each stick about a foot apart.

342 [340] Seldom more than one family occupies the same hut.

437 [342] We paid the young men for taking our horses across the
177 river, and the women for assisting us with the canoes. The total
cost was: 1 fathom of tobacco, 4 knives, 6 flints, 6 awls, 6 worms
[gun wormers—analyst], and 10 balls. I also paid my landlord
for the time we might remain here, which I supposed would be
about ten days for three persons, including board and lodging,
stabling for our horses, and care of our property. They make no
price, leaving that to the generosity of guests, and should the pay-
ment be too little they still appear to accept with gratitude; but
the visitor is afterward left to take care of his own property and
horses in the best manner he can. It is impossible to get the most
trifling service from the natives without immediate payment; not
even an inch of cord will they part with without receiving some-
thing in return. It is true a trifle will please them, and they are

[p. 384(D)]

437 willing and ready to serve you as long as you have any property.
177 But when all is expended you may shift for yourself, as they will pretend they do not understand you any longer. Besides paying our host [343] beforehand, I promised him a tobacco-pipe on my departure, if I were then pleased with his conduct during our stay. His pay consisted of the following articles: 60 balls and powder, 4 large knives, 2 small knives, 1 fathom tobacco, 1 dozen rings, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 6 flints, 3 worms, 3 awls, and 1/4 pound blue beads.

164 [343] The natives at present are mostly affected with a bad cough, which daily takes some of them off. Aged and infirm persons, and young children, are the common victims to this disease. It is a kind of whooping-cough, which has appeared all along the Red and Assiniboine rivers, on the Saskatchewan even to Fort des Prairies, and in several other parts of the North West, carrying off many people

241 July 21st. I set off early on horseback with part of my people
[462 for the upper villages. We passed extensive fields of corn, beans,
561] squashes, and sunflowers. Many women and children were already
412 employed in clearing and hoeing their plantations. Their hoes are the shoulderblade of a buffalo, to which is fastened a crooked stick for a handle; the soil not being stony, this slight implement answers every purpose. The road first led over two hills, after which we came to a smooth and pleasant plain for about two miles to the Saulteur (Soulier) [Amahami—Analyst] village, of about 40 huts.
361 [362]. . These villages are surrounded by a kind of stockade, princi-
417 pally made of driftwood, which has a miserable appearance and is daily falling to pieces; but I am told that upon any emergency it can be put into a tolerably good state of defense at very short notice, as every man, woman, and child lends a hand.

526 We witnessed a diversion which takes place almost every day
481 between the Mandanes and Saulteurs (Souliers). It is the exercise
702 of running long foot races, in order to be prepared for the emergency of being dismounted and obliged to fly from their enemies at war. They assemble upon a beautiful green near the village, where, having remained some time, calling out to their comrades to come and run, they set off in a file on a slow trot, entirely naked, taking the road that leads up the hills to the S., about a mile from the village. Passing near those rising grounds, they disappear, and are not seen till they reappear from the S.E., down a steep hill and over a level plain, to the spot whence they started. Here they do not stop, but rush on to the Missourie, and plunge in headlong, all

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

even the few surviving Mandans were driven from their own huts. 164
Subsequently these tribes were again thus afflicted, and from one who was then stationed at Fort Clarke and an eye-witness of the fact, I am informed that suicide was committed by the victims [762] throwing themselves over the bluffs of the river to the rocks below. De Smet states that both the smallpox and cholera created havoc among the northern Indians in 1851." (p. 227.)

The making of glass beads by the Mandans and Aricarees is 323
alluded to by Wheeler, who says: 301

Glass Beads, Etc. "The Lewis and Clarke narrative for March 16th describes a process for making glass beads known to the Mandans.

"The Indians did not make the glass itself. This they obtained from the whites, but there is evidence that, prior to the appearance of the traders, they used obsidian, or natural glass, for this purpose. Dr. Matthews, as late as 1870, had flat triangular blue glass pendants made to order by an Aricaree woman, he furnishing the glass.

"These people also made unglazed pottery, mats, and baskets, 285
ladles and spoons, from the horns of the Rocky mountain sheep 323
(Ovius Montana) and the buffalo, and from the shoulder-blades 321
of the bison they fashioned the hoes with which they hoed the 178
ground in very early time. Since the whites came, the crude implements of the old days have been mostly supplanted by our household, garden, etc., utensils; but, in 1902, I purchased a fine sheep-horn ladle apparently in daily use still." (p. 228.)

Steinbreuck's Observations. Hon. E. R. Steinbreuck, field 000
officer of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, makes the further statement to the writer, in a letter dated May 24th, 1908, concerning the Mandan deserted villages, and their former habitat, as follows:

Unsolved Problems. "I think it is a difficult and as yet unsolved problem, to write the history of the Mandans, as aborigines of South Dakota. We have the end of the trail, not so the beginning. We don't know for certain where the Mandans came from. The end is in North Dakota and that is also the beginning of the traditions of the present Mandans. Their entire knowledge of their origin is limited to the Heart river region in North Da-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 sacred bundles they had acquired, providing, of course, they
554 had been successful in life and had not "kicked the stone." One having repeated bad luck usually put his bundles away and sought new vision experiences. This could not be done with tribal bundles. The only instance on record of an attempt to dispose
425 of a tribal bundle was made by Red Bird in 1838, a year after
778 the smallpox epidemic when he lost a son of smallpox. A son-in-law offered to buy the bundle and received tribal approval of the transfer. Personal bundles were normally taken to the scaffold and hung with the pipe and firearms when the owner died.

796 In summary, the above report covers the main features of the Mandan ceremonial life so far as it was possible to ascertain. In
• 178 evaluating the data supplied by informants, the writer gave especial emphasis to the information of those informants whose
114 parents lived in the Nuptadi village which was occupied at Deapolis as a separate Mandan village after the Fort Clark village group had united with the Hidatsa. It was found that the Mandan preserved their ceremonial structure with minor variations after the smallpox epidemic. The clan system and age-grade organization were simplified to meet the new conditions of a reduced population. I have not attempted to indicate cultural borrowing, since a companion report covering details of the Hidatsa social and ceremonial organization is in the process of preparation. So far as the Mandan were concerned, there is little evidence of ceremonial borrowing since 1837, owing in large part, no doubt, to the heavy ceremonial burden inherited from earlier times when the population was materially larger. That the Mandan have played an important role in the growth of Plains culture must be inferred from their central position in the Low Plains, the high development in trade for agricultural products with their nomadic neighbors, and the admitted borrowing by the Hidatsa of many significant elements of their culture.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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According to Calf-woman, the Prairie-chicken clan is the most important on the Reservation. This is consistent with Mr. Curtis's data, according to which the larger moiety bears the name of this clan, corresponding preëminence being assigned to the tamī'sik in the Three-clan moiety. It should be noted that the Prairie-chicken clan is the only one common to the Hidatsa and Mandan series. 614 [171]

Calf-woman's ō'rē' 'kūpa (nite) was given by Turtle-woman not as the designation of a clan but of all the seven clans jointly in addressing the entire tribe. [101]

Mr. Curtis states that the marriage of fellow-clansmen was considered improper and publicly ridiculed, but according to my witnesses this rule has long ceased to be absolute. Thus, Calf-woman declared that sometimes people married within their own clan, though there were some who regarded this as wrong; and Two-chiefs, a maxi' 'kina married to a xtaxta', cited the case of her husband's mother who had married another xtaxta', not related by blood. 582 178 614

Kinship Terms.

A brief but in most respects accurate statement as to Mandan kinship nomenclature is made by Maximilian.[1] Recently Mr. Curtis has summarily characterized the Mandan terminology as largely influenced by the clan factor, the father's brother and his clansmen being classed with the father, the father's clanswomen with the father's sister, all mates in one's clan with brothers and all females as mothers.[2] This statement is undoubtedly in large measure correct, but, the last part is manifestly not to be taken literally since the mother's mother and her generation and the sisters are certainly not called "mother." Morgan already had to contend with the difficulty of finding interpreters fully conversant with Mandan and offers an avowedly imperfect list. So far as essentials are concerned, he correctly characterizes the system as of the usual classificatory type. The most important deviation from the norm mentioned in his résumé consists in the classification of the father's sister with the mother in feminine parlance, a distinctive word for paternal aunt being used only by males.[3] My data yield no confirmation of this peculiarity. A remarkable feature found by Morgan among the Hidatsa and Crow but not noted by him among the Mandan, though recorded both by Mr. Curtis and myself, is the confusion of generations in the designation of the father's sister's female descendants 601 601 171 177

[1] Maximilian, II, 132, 543.
[2] Curtis, V, 145.
[3] Morgan, (a), 184.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

601 177 [606] 178

The first process of slow modification has not affected the Crow kinship terminology and associated behavior in Lone Hill, but it has changed other aspects of social life in the village. There are many changes in content. A man recently modified the strict mother-in-law respect relation, not by the aboriginal practice of giving his mother-in-law a scalp, but by presenting her with an imitation war bonnet purchased from a mail order house. Innumerable other examples could be cited in which known changes in cultural content have not precipitated changes in the established social structure (cf. Gough 1952:85). An extreme illustration of this is provided by the previously mentioned case of English kinship terminology being used in the Crow kinship pattern. There are, however, many structural changes: the destruction of the native ceremonial life has decreased the religious importance of the father's lineage, the moieties are almost inoperative, the clans have diminished in importance, there is a general laxity among the youth in meeting certain kinship obligations, village organization has shifted from a close-knit unit to one of widely separated households, the matrilocal extended family is no longer a residence unit, and the lineage has ceased to be a corporate group. The only change in the Crow terminology is that vocative terms are rarely used except on public and community-wide occasions. The important point is that the gradual modification of the social structure has not proceeded far enough in Lone Hill to cause an internal shift in kinship type.

177 601

The significance of the second process of radical change in Lone Hill may be seen in broader perspective by examining the kind of acculturation now taking place among the Mandan-Hidatsa (Bruner 1953). In every acculturated family that uses the American generational system there has been an Indian-white intermarriage within three ascending generations. Individuals in these families make an abrupt and almost total conversion to white ways, while the rest of the people in the village continue to live by more traditional Indian standards. In the families in which there has been a mixed marriage, the entire white system comes across in the socialization process. Among the Southeastern tribes the shifts in kinship terminology were the result of adaptive responses to changing conditions (Spoehr 1947:225). The presence of the white generational system in Lone Hill is due to neither cultural "borrowing," adult learning, nor rearrangements in the social structure precipitated by new conditions. Individuals in Lone Hill learn the American kinship system in the English language within the intimate domestic family situation. Although no single factor is ever sufficient to explain a highly complex acculturation situation, it would seem that these differences in the mechanisms of change may account for the differences in kinship patterns found among the Southeastern tribes and the Mandan-Hidatsa. (In a future paper, I shall document and describe the process of individual conversion to white ways in greater detail.)

177 601 181

The converted Indian embraces a new way of life and comes to internalize a set of goals and values which are incongruent with the Crow lineage system. The kinship ties and obligations of the Crow system incorporate and reaffirm

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

197 concerning correspondence between languages, however distinct in origin, if applied to the Mandan and Sioux languages, would 144 seem to tend strongly to suggest caution as to their identity, judging upon the facts set forth in the foregoing quotations from Rev. R. D. Hall.

•181 **Peaceably Inclined.** The Mandans are unquestionably and justly regarded by substantially all the whites who have been among them from the earliest period of their discovery to have been peaceably inclined, in a sense which distinguished them from most of the warlike tribes who surrounded them on the upper Missouri. Yet they possessed high qualities of valor and actual prowess at arms when invasion of their rights led them to war, in some of which contests they without hesitation took the offensive and proved their ability to cope with their enemies under circumstances placing them at a disadvantage. They also maintained exceptionally friendly relations with the whites.

000 **Highly Civilized.** Their habitations in strongly entrenched and palisaded "forts," as they were called by the whites; the indubitable proofs of their having been agriculturalists in an eminent degree; their relatively polished and kindly mannerisms and unstinted hospitality, and their skill as artisans in fashioning pottery and other utensils adequate to their needs as families and communities—all seem to argue conclusively an exceptionally high state of civilization and such as marks them as being in a substantial degree apart from all other Indian tribes of the northwest. There are phases of their religious ceremonies which, coupled with some of their legends, lend strong support to the theory of the high character of their civilization and, taken in connection with all their other attributes, including physiognomy, are undeniably persuasive towards the conclusion that they have white blood in their veins and which must have existed for centuries.

342 The writer will not descend to a detailed description of the individual lodge, or hut, of the Mandans. It would be useless as mere repetition in substance of the various pen pictures given of them by a number of the early observers whose accounts are set forth hereinafter, and to which the reader or the student is referred. Suffice it to remark here that a substantial error has gone into prominent Indian literature upon the subject of the characteristics of such lodges, in Catlin's account and through

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Or, on the contrary: "The chain begins to rust," &c. &c. Though these people often manifest great energy of character, many have committed suicide on account of disappointments in love, or of wounded honour, of which Dr. Morse relates a remarkable instance, where an Indian killed himself because he was reproached with cowardice, after his mother had suffered death for him. Many travellers speak of the extraordinary memory of the Indians; several of them relate the entire history of their people in a continuous narrative.

The Mandans and Manitaries are proud, and have a high sense of honour. If a person expresses a wish to possess some article belonging to them, he generally receives it as a present, but a present of equal, or greater value, is always looked for in return. They estimate all their effects at a very high rate, ascribing to them an imaginary and far too great value; and a trifling thing is often paid for with one or two horses. Among the articles of great value is the skin of a white buffalo cow. Fifteen florins are paid for a small ermine skin; whereas, a wolf's skin may be purchased for a small quantity of tobacco. One or two horses are frequently given for a feather cap; a horse for 100 or 150 elks' teeth, or for a handful of dentalium shells. The men are much given to indolence, when they cannot pursue their chief avocations, hunting and war. In general, the Mandans and Manitaries are not dangerous, and, though there are many rude and savage men among them, they are, on the whole, well-disposed towards the Whites: the former, especially, manifest this, and have many good and trustworthy men among them. Some of them are addicted to thieving, especially the women and children; and it is said, that many of the Manitaries, when they meet the Whites in the prairie, though they do not kill them, as they used to do, generally plunder them.

They have always free access to the forts of the trading companies; and, as at Fort Clarke, there was no separate apartment for the Indians, we were molested by them, during the whole day, in every room; nay, they often took the place of the owners, which, during the severe cold in the winter time, was quite intolerable, as they stood in front of the fire, with their large buffalo robes, and kept the warmth from coming into the apartment. They require to be always regaled, which is generally done, and it was estimated that in one year they smoked 200 lbs. of tobacco at the expense of the Company. A few among them, indeed, manifested a much greater delicacy of feeling than the mass of them, and left the dining-room when the dinner-hour approached; but only a very small proportion possessed this correct sense of propriety, for the others generally came just at our dinner time; it is true they had but little meat in the winter season, and fared but badly. Disputes and quarrels are very rare among them; but duels are frequent; and revenge for blood is still exercised.

Many of them are particularly cleanly in their persons, and bathe daily, both in winter and summer; their hands, however, are often smeared with colours and fat, nay, sometimes the whole body is bedaubed. The women are, in general, less cleanly, particularly their hands,

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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000 scope and reach of human wisdom, on which the civilized world in this enlightened age are more incorrectly informed, than upon that of the true manners and customs, and moral condition, rights and abuses, of the North American Indians; and that, as I have also before remarked, chiefly on account of the difficulty of our cultivating a fair and honourable acquaintance with them, and doing them the justice, and ourselves the credit, of a fair and impartial investigation of their true character. The present age of refinement and research has brought every thing else that I know of (and a vast deal more than the most enthusiastic mind ever dreamed of) within the scope and fair estimation of refined intellect and of science; while the wild and timid savage, with his interesting customs and modes has vanished, or his character has become changed, at the approach of the enlightened and intellectual world; who follow him like a phantom for awhile, and in ignorance of his true character at last turn back to the common business and social transactions of life.

181 Owing to the above difficulties, which have stood in the way, the world have fallen into many egregious errors with regard to the true modes and meaning of the savage, which I am striving to set forth and correct in the course of these epistles. And amongst them all, there is none more common, nor more entirely erroneous, nor more easily refuted, than the current one, that "the Indian is a sour, morose, reserved and taciturn man." I have heard this opinion advanced a thousand times and I believed it; but such certainly, is not uniformly nor generally the case.

I have observed in all my travels amongst the Indian tribes, and more particularly amongst these unassuming people, that they are a far more talkative and conversational race than can easily be seen in the civilized world. This assertion, like many others I shall occasionally make, will somewhat startle the folks at the East, yet it is true. No one can look into the wigwams of these people, or into any little momentary group of them, without being at once struck with the conviction that small-talk, gossip, garrulity, and story-telling, are the leading passions with them, who have little else to do in the world, but to while away their lives in the innocent and endless amusement of the exercise of those talents with which Nature has liberally endowed them, for their mirth and enjoyment.

One has but to walk or ride about this little town and its environs for a few hours in a pleasant day, and overlook the numerous games and gambols, where their notes and yelps of exultation are unceasingly vibrating in the atmosphere; or peep into their wigwams (and watch the glistening fun that's beaming from the noses, cheeks, and chins, of the crouching, cross-legged, and prostrate groups around the fire; where the pipe is passed, and jokes and anecdote, and laughter are excessive) to become convinced that it is natural to laugh and be merry. Indeed it would be strange if a race of people like these, who have little else to do or relish in life, should be curtailed in that source of pleasure and amusement; and it

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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would be also strange, if a life-time of indulgence and practice in so innocent and productive a mode of amusement, free from the cares and anxieties of business or professions, should not advance them in their modes, and enable them to draw far greater pleasure from such sources, than we in the civilized and business world can possibly feel. If the uncultivated condition of their minds curtails the number of their enjoyments; yet they are free from, and independent of, a thousand cares and jealousies, which arise from mercenary motives in the civilized world; and are yet far a-head of us (in my opinion) in the real and uninterrupted enjoyment of their simple natural faculties. 181

They live in a country and in communities, where it is not customary to look forward into the future with concern, for they live without incurring the expenses of life, which are absolutely necessary and unavoidable in the enlightened world; and of course their inclinations and faculties are solely directed to the enjoyment of the present day, without the sober reflections on the past or apprehensions of the future.

With minds thus unexpanded and uninfluenced by the thousand passions and ambitions of civilized life, it is easy and natural to concentrate their thoughts and their conversation upon the little and trifling occurrences of their lives. They are fond of fun and good cheer, and can laugh easily and heartily at a slight joke, of which their peculiar modes of life furnish them an inexhaustible fund, and enable them to cheer their little circle about the wigwam fire-side with endless laughter and garrulity.

It may be thought, that I am taking a great deal of pains to establish this fact, and I am dwelling longer upon it than I otherwise should, inasmuch as I am opposing an error that seems to have become current through the world; and which, if it be once corrected, removes a material difficulty, which has always stood in the way of a fair and just estimation of the Indian character. For the purpose of placing the Indian in a proper light before the world, as I hope to do in many respects, it is of importance to me—it is but justice to the savage—and justice to my readers also, that such points should be cleared up as I proceed; and for the world who enquire for correct and just information, they must take my words for the truth, or else come to this country and look for themselves, into these grotesque circles of never-ending laughter and fun, instead of going to Washington City to gaze on the poor embarrassed Indian who is called there by his "Great Father," to contend with the sophistry of the learned and acquisitive world, in bartering away his lands with the graves and the hunting grounds of his ancestors. There is not the proper place to study the Indian character; yet it is the place where the sycophant and the scribbler go to gaze and frown upon him—to learn his character, and write his history! and because he does not speak, and quaffs the delicious beverage which he receives from white mens' hands, "he's a speechless brute and a drunkard." An Indian is a beggar in Washington City, and a white man is

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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000 their conquests, not with the bow or the javelin, but with their small black eyes, which shoot out from under their unfledged brows, and pierce the boldest, fiercest chieftain to the heart.

181 721 The Mandans are certainly a very interesting and pleasing people in their personal appearance and manners; differing in many respects, both in looks and customs, from all other tribes which I have seen. They are not a warlike people; for they seldom, if ever, carry war into their enemies' country; but when invaded, shew their valour and courage to be equal to that of any people on earth. Being a small tribe, and unable to contend on the wide prairies with the Sioux and other roaming tribes, who are ten times more numerous; they have very judiciously located themselves in a permanent village, which is strongly fortified, and ensures their preservation. 181 By this means they have advanced further in the arts of manufacture; have supplied their lodges more abundantly with the comforts, and even luxuries of life, than any Indian nation I know of. The consequence of this is, that this tribe have taken many steps ahead of other tribes in manners and refinements (if I may be allowed to apply the word refinement to Indian life); and are therefore familiarly (and correctly) denominated, by the Traders and others, who have been amongst them, "the polite and friendly Mandans."

There is certainly great justice in the remark; and so forcibly have I been struck with the peculiar ease and elegance of these people, together with the diversity of complexions, the various colours of their hair and eyes; the singularity of their language, and their peculiar and unaccountable customs, that I am fully convinced that they have sprung from some other origin than that of the other North American tribes, or that they are an amalgam of natives with some civilized race.

Here arises a question of very great interest and importance for discussion; and, after further familiarity with their character, customs, and traditions, if I forget it not, I will eventually give it further consideration. Suffice it then, for the present, that their *personal appearance* alone, independant of their modes and customs, pronounces them at once, as more or less, than savage.

142 A stranger in the Mandan village is first struck with the different shades of complexion, and various colours of hair which he sees in a crowd about him; and is at once almost disposed to exclaim that "these are not Indians."

There are a great many of these people whose complexions appear as light as half breeds; and amongst the women particularly, there are many whose skins are almost white, with the most pleasing symmetry and proportion of features; with hazel, with grey, and with blue eyes,—with mildness and sweetness of expression, and excessive modesty of demeanour, which render them exceedingly pleasing and beautiful.

Why this diversity of complexion I cannot tell, nor can they themselves

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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601 177 [606] 178 The first process of slow modification has not affected the Crow kinship terminology and associated behavior in Lone Hill, but it has changed other aspects of social life in the village. There are many changes in content. A man recently modified the strict mother-in-law respect relation, not by the aboriginal practice of giving his mother-in-law a scalp, but by presenting her with an imitation war bonnet purchased from a mail order house. Innumerable other examples could be cited in which known changes in cultural content have not precipitated changes in the established social structure (cf. Gough 1952:85). An extreme illustration of this is provided by the previously mentioned case of English kinship terminology being used in the Crow kinship pattern. There are, however, many structural changes: the destruction of the native ceremonial life has decreased the religious importance of the father's lineage, the moieties are almost inoperative, the clans have diminished in importance, there is a general laxity among the youth in meeting certain kinship obligations, village organization has shifted from a close-knit unit to one of widely separated households, the matrilocal extended family is no longer a residence unit, and the lineage has ceased to be a corporate group. The only change in the Crow terminology is that vocative terms are rarely used except on public and community-wide occasions. The important point is that the gradual modification of the social structure has not proceeded far enough in Lone Hill to cause an internal shift in kinship type.

177 601 The significance of the second process of radical change in Lone Hill may be seen in broader perspective by examining the kind of acculturation now taking place among the Mandan-Hidatsa (Bruner 1953). In every acculturated family that uses the American generational system there has been an Indian-white intermarriage within three ascending generations. Individuals in these families make an abrupt and almost total conversion to white ways, while the rest of the people in the village continue to live by more traditional Indian standards. In the families in which there has been a mixed marriage, the entire white system comes across in the socialization process. Among the Southeastern tribes the shifts in kinship terminology were the result of adaptive responses to changing conditions (Spoehr 1947:225). The presence of the white generational system in Lone Hill is due to neither cultural "borrowing," adult learning, nor rearrangements in the social structure precipitated by new conditions. Individuals in Lone Hill learn the American kinship system in the English language within the intimate domestic family situation. Although no single factor is ever sufficient to explain a highly complex acculturation situation, it would seem that these differences in the mechanisms of change may account for the differences in kinship patterns found among the Southeastern tribes and the Mandan-Hidatsa. (In a future paper, I shall document and describe the process of individual conversion to white ways in greater detail.)

177 601 181 The converted Indian embraces a new way of life and comes to internalize a set of goals and values which are incongruent with the Crow lineage system. The kinship ties and obligations of the Crow system incorporate and reaffirm

8: Bruner E-5. (1951-1953) 1955
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the older societal values. Kinship provides the means for mutual aid and co-operation in the village as well as a mechanism of social control for ridiculing and cajoling the nonconformist. While the Mandan-Hidatsa social system, with its wide range, embodies the primary societal values of sharing, generosity, group co-operation, and village unity, the converted Indian shifts to the more individualistic American values of accumulating goods and wealth as ends in themselves. Any member of Lone Hill who interacts with others in terms of the Crow kinship system and who meets the obligations of that system will remain an "Indian." 177 601 181●

The majority of the Indians who have converted to white ways tend to leave the village to seek their fortunes elsewhere (cf. Spicer 1940; Tax 1941). For this reason, there were few cases of American type kinship systems found in Lone Hill—most such people had already left their village. If all the individuals who adopted a new kinship system as part of a more inclusive conversion experience were to remain in Lone Hill, they might well produce radical changes in the existing social structure of the community. Their departure is a major factor making for the retention of traditional Indian ways. However, some of the converted Indians do continue to live in Lone Hill and do become sources of change in the Crow kinship system. 177 601 167

Individuals in Lone Hill who do not fulfil their kinship obligations destroy the solidarity of the group and the unity of the system. The converted Indian will avoid any kinship tie which involves his sharing material wealth or giving of his time or possessions. One man has developed devious means to accomplish this. He deposits all of his money in a bank so that when people ask him for a loan he can honestly reply that he does not have any money around. He avoids any situation in which he might be called upon to make donations, and, as such, he never attends the social "give-away" dances. This man has consciously narrowed the range of his relationships but he has done so selectively. He will not address another by a kinship term if there is any possibility that he may have to help that person. On the other hand, he does not avoid his joking relatives, for through the structured joking he can make critical remarks about Indian ways which would not be permitted in any other context. 177 602 154

SITUATIONAL DETERMINANTS

As converted Indians who use the generational system do interact with their many relatives in the village who use the traditional lineage system, some mechanism of adjustment is necessary. Two relatives who follow different kinship systems may have different conceptions of the proper way of relating to one another. The adjustment is usually made through one of the persons' adopting the other's system for that *particular* relationship. Every acculturated individual in the village who ordinarily uses the generational system will use the Indian lineage system with *some* of his relatives. The converse also occurs, as unacculturated Indians sometimes use the American generational system. Individuals thus adjust to the alternate kinship systems, which tends to minimize the changes in the systems themselves. 177 601 602

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

It is to be emphasised that individuals in Lone Hill do not become acculturated by chance; their parents consciously and actively prepare them for a life in the white world. To be "white-oriented" is not sufficient. Almost all the adult Indian people in Lone Hill would like the approval of whites, may seek membership in white social groups, may empathize with white authority figures, may consider themselves as a "we" group with most Americans on particular issues such as opposition to communism, have adopted and understood some aspects of white culture, are able to act in white ways as a manipulatory technique in certain situations, desire American material objects, and often compare themselves with whites. After the members of the village understood the kind of information I was seeking, individuals would come and tell me themselves if they were preparing their children for a life in the Indian or the white way. One middle-aged widow came over to our home and announced, "I don't want my kids to lose their language. They speak Hidatsa and I teach them the Indian ways." 177 861 184

The following conversation with Oliver Brown, a twenty-six year old veteran, and his wife, Marie, occurred toward the end of my field trip and clearly indicates that the Brown family are raising their children to emulate whites and to reject Indian ways. I knew the family well enough to take notes during the interview and reproduce them below, almost verbatim. The interview was one of a series in which I asked the parents of all the English-speaking families why they decided to teach English to their children when others in the village were taught and spoke Hidatsa. Oliver has just started in the cattle business and already has sixty-five head. Theirs is the only Indian home in Lone Hill with a bottle gas refrigerator, stove, deep freeze, and oil heater. They now have four children; a boy of three, another of two, and twin girls less than a year old. On this occasion, Oliver was watching the children, I was seated at the kitchen table, while Marie was washing the dinner dishes. I started the conversation by asking what language they had first learned at home. 177 861 181 124

MARIE: My mother used to tell us kids about Indian ways but we learned English first, and I never picked up Hidatsa good.

OLIVER: [directing his remarks to me] When kids are brought up to speak Hidatsa they have a hard time in school. I learned Hidatsa and Mandan first, both together, and then English in school. And I had a tough time of it at Marty [an off-reservation Catholic boarding school]. I felt out of place there. My kids will be brought up to speak English, strictly English.

MARIE: But they are Indians and it's in them and they will learn Indian.

OLIVER: [in an impatient tone to his wife] I don't care if they never learn to speak Indian. The Indian language don't get them no place or anything higher. [Oliver turned to me] I want my kids to get an education and make a good living some day. They'll have to mix among the whites and go to school among the whites outside. For their own good, not for my good, I want them to mix with whites and not be among Indians.

BRUNER: After your boys finish school, do you think they might want to come back here and work in your cattle business?

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

177 OLIVER: They could if I build it up. But they would make a better living if they get an education and get out and not stay around here.

861 BRUNER: Why don't you want them to be among Indians?

●181 OLIVER: As long as they make a good living it doesn't make any difference if they mix with Indians or whites.

124 MARIE: As long as they mix with the right kind of people!

OLIVER: [to his wife] Education is the whole thing. If they have an education they will mix with the right kind of people, that's understood.

BRUNER: Who are the right kind of people?

OLIVER: The people that try to get somewhere, that want to make an easier living for themselves, that build up and save. Take John and Bill Fast Leg. They're good for nothing. They don't care about anything. They just live; tomorrow is just another day for them.

[At this point we had a long discussion of particular people in Lone Hill to determine exactly who the Browns considered to be the right kind of people—those with whom they would like to see their children associate. The right kind of people were the children of the group that the Browns currently associate with—acculturated people like themselves. When the unacculturated Rainbow family was mentioned, I remarked that their daughter, Flora Rainbow, had never said one word to either my wife or myself, even though we had visited her house many times and were friendly with her parents. To this Oliver made the following comment.]

OLIVER: That's because they're too backward. They don't care to associate except with their own class. Flora won't even talk to Marie! They were brought up that way; it's in their blood, I guess. They were brought up with the Indian language and never heard an English word until they were seven years old. That's what that does!

MARIE: When you visit there you don't feel welcome. I never felt at ease with them.

OLIVER: They're just backward.

MARIE: That's why we want our kids to go out and mix. If they stayed here they would be just like them.

177 The future state envisioned by the Browns, in which they see their children as accepted members of white society, may or may not become an actuality. My data indicate that the total process of acculturation, from the mixed marriage to the time individuals drift off to seek their places in white society, takes three, four, or more generations for completion (cf. Keesing 1954:90; Hallowell 1952:106). In Oliver Brown's case, his grandfather was a white man, a Civil War deserter who married an Indian woman, and his father, Jim Brown, was a successful farmer on the reservation. Oliver's sister, who no longer lives in Lone Hill, had this to say about their father:

177 Jim Brown pounded into us kids about working. Saving money and all that. Jim preaches today about white man's ways like get up in the morning like the white man 861 does, and buying things that would get us ahead. He told us to try to finish school and go to college and get jobs outside. He taught us against donating, though he did it himself. But he always said it never got him anywhere. I don't believe in that donating stuff now. I guess it was just pounded into us.

That Jim Brown " . . . taught us against donating, though he did it himself," was found to be a pattern in all of the acculturated families. The parents raised

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter I

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

182 THE Mandan social organization was complex and highly integrated. There is an abundance of archeological evidence that at a very early time the population was more widely dispersed along the Missouri River. La Verendrye, the first known visitor to this tribe, reported that they were residing in six villages which were fortified with closely grouped lodges. Considering the depth of refuse of the protohistoric village sites of the Heart River region, all which have closely grouped lodges within a fortification, it is evident that the Mandan village groups had lived in intimate contacts with each other for two or more centuries.

621 361 Each village was an economic unit. It acted as a unit when leaving on the summer buffalo hunt, although there was a certain amount of co-operation among villages in the matter of protecting the old people left behind and in keeping enemy raiding parties from burning the lodges during their absence. Each village had its garden section which was separate from other village garden areas, although my informants claimed that at one time just preceding the first smallpox epidemic, when the Boley, Scattered, Motsiff, and Slant villages of the west side and Round Lodges and Yellow Earth villages of the east side were occupied, all the available corn grounds were planted and that it was necessary for the villages to meet in council to define the garden limits of each village. At that time the most distant villages of the Heart River region were only a few miles from each other, and some families had gardens on opposite sides of [311] the river. A village was frequently abandoned by a part of the people whenever wood was depleted or the corn ground was no longer productive, which in large measure accounts for the presence of so many village sites showing short occupation. At the mouth of the Heart River where the wooded bottoms were most extensive, the villages show longest continuous occupation.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

554 leader.[6] Even the most distinguished war leader, who was one of
796 the two head chiefs of the village, frequently joined an expedi-
626 tion under another for the purpose of capturing horses, although in this instance recognition was often shown an outstanding leader by naming him a co-leader.

622 An essential function of a chief was to mold public opinion so that a village could act in unison. A chief was considered eminent if for a long time under his leadership there had been a minimum of dissension in the village. Mandan informants still speak of Good Boy, who was chief of Slant Village below the Heart River after the first smallpox epidemic. He was able to unite the remnants of several villages into a single village and to co-ordinate elements with a minimum of friction. He was essentially a village leader who devoted himself, according to tradition, to the rebuilding of the tribe to its former prominence. It is significant to note that, a few years after his death, one group of Mandan separated from the parent-village and were not reunited until Good Boy's son, Four Bears, was elevated to second chief.

622 A chief could prevent intervillage or intravillage warfare only to the extent to which he could inculcate a concept of tribal
182 unity. Neither a chief nor the council has authority to prevent a
778 portion of a village from separating and establishing a separate village. Such separations as have occurred have usually been of short duration, largely because of the integration of the ceremonial structure through the entire tribal population. Although each permanent Mandan village was in a large measure a separate economic, social, and ceremonial unit, the villages were not entirely independent. The turtle drums, which were considered the most sacred objects of the tribe, were held within the Nuptadi band of east-side Mandan, and the other villages were obliged to borrow them for ceremonial purposes. Whereas the sacred cedar in the center of each village was a symbol of village unity, the Mandan considered the turtle drums a symbol of tribal unity.

6. Cf. chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping."

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

197 or the thirteen villages with which Maximilian's informants credited them,[1] in the beginning of the nineteenth century there certainly were two villages, Nū'pta (Ruhptare) and Mị'tutąk (Mihtuttahangkusch), speaking distinct dialects, as is demonstrated by Maximilian's vocabularies.[2] One of my informants added a third village, Istápe, (given by Morgan as a clan name), where she said the Nū'pta dialect was spoken.

621 It is clear from Maximilian's data that between Nū'pta and Mị'tutąk [184] there was also a minor cultural differentiation in the matter of dances. The question in connection with our immediate problem is how to conceive 614 the relation of the villages to the social divisions. Maximilian tells us that 174 the Mandan called themselves "Nū'mangkā'ke" (*nū'makā'ki*) i. e., people, and were wont to add the name of the village from which they had originally come. Thus, there were Prairie-chicken people, so-called after the Prairie-chicken village; Bear people, Cactus people, Badger people,— all named from corresponding villages.

> Obgleich nun alle die oben genannten Dörfer nicht mehr existiren, so nennen sich dennoch alle diese Indianer ihrer Abstammung zufolge noch nach denselben.[3]

This is a clear-cut statement to the effect that the Mandan clans developed in recent times from formerly distinct local groups. If we assume that the ancient village scheme involved local exogamy and matrilineal descent, or that the latter was grafted on the former, possibly through borrowing, the fusion of people from different settlements would quite naturally lead to the evolution of exogamous clans. The statement of one of my informants that all the clans were found in both Mị'tutąk and Nū'pta is not inconsistent with such a line of development since this condition would be readily brought about by intermarriage. However, all this is pure speculation and the questions involved will only become clearer after considering the social organization of the Mandan as sketched by recent informants and comparing it with that of the Hidatsa and other tribes.

616 The Mandan were divided into non-exogamous moieties corresponding [171] in name to those of the Hidatsa, viz., Three-clans (nū'makā'ki ō'rehe nā'mini) and Four-clans (nū'makā'ki ō're tōp). According to Black-chest, the names of the moieties and the constituent clans were originated by the legendary warrior Seven-wolf when returning from a victorious expedition against the Arikara. Information is very meager as to the functions of the dual division in tribal life, but here there is again close correspondence to Hidatsa conditions. During a general council of the Mandan the Three-

[1] Maximilian, II, 103.
[2] *ibid.*, 557–561.
[3] *ibid.*, 104.

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture. 000

CRITERIA OF ACCULTURATION

There are many superficial criteria that could be selected to divide the population of Lone Hill into groups differing in degree of acculturation, but I prefer one that has an essential connection to the Indian value system. One well-known basic value that contrasts sharply with our general American ethic is the Indian value of generosity (Bruner 1953:23–24). This value difference has a readily observable behavioral manifestation—participation in the Indian ceremonial dances. The Indian "give-away" dance is now a secular affair, featuring Indian songs and dances and the giving of war bonnets, horses, cattle, blankets, and money as gifts to prescribed relatives, distinguished visitors, societies, and the needy. It is one of the few remaining public gatherings in Lone Hill where generosity and other Indian values are expressed, reaffirmed and maintained. The following statement by an informant aptly characterizes the emotional overtones of the dance (quoted in Merrill 1951:27): 177 431 535

> After the people get all painted up—this is decoration, like lipstick—and the tom-toms get going and people chanting and singing (demonstrated with a rapid beat of his feet and an ai-ai-ai chant), people get all worked up and excited. Then someone gets up and makes a speech and gives away a horse, or a beef, or two beefs, and everyone gets going and there's a lot of giving-away and many people end up with little or nothing. . . . They say that property doesn't mean anything; what counts is being friendly and generous and all friends of one another. . . . People shout and praise a person (who gives away a lot) and they talk about it long afterwards. [554]

Not every person in Lone Hill attends the dance. Some families come with all their children, stay throughout the night, and donate generously. For them the dance is an impressive and public mechanism of socialization to Indian ways. Others virtually never attend the ceremonials, as they are more concerned with the accumulation than the giving of goods. As a result, they and their children do not participate in the one public ritual that best symbolizes and makes legitimate the traditional Indian values. One acculturated Indian man had this to say about the ceremonials: 431 535 184 [556] 177

> I never go to any dances or pow-wows. These dances are the fellows breeding grounds; they go there to drink, to raise hell, and they are not Christians. A lot of these fellows . . . go there to take some gal out . . . and get her drunk. That's all these dances are for, as far as the younger people are concerned. The older people go there to get these donations; something for nothing. . . . They take their kids there and the kids don't learn much from that. They give things away and that money can be used to educate their children, buy provisions and things. It seems like with an Indian they think they are in the spotlight; it makes them feel good. I never believed in it simply because I know most families and they can't afford to do that.

Participation in the Indian ceremonials was applied to the population of Lone Hill as a criterion of acculturation. In order to define the population, it was first necessary to delimit the community, the sample, and the unit of 621 121 161

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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BRUNER: After your boys finish school, do you think they might want to come back here and work in your cattle business?

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

We were told never to forget these women, and we make these gifts to them so that they will say a kind word for us.' Their oath is made by the moon or sun. After death they believe they go to the east, and claim that a man killed in battle is better treated, better liked, in the hereafter than one who dies of disease. They cling tenaciously to their old beliefs, customs and habits, and though they have adopted some of the manners of the Sioux and their own allies, the Arickarees and Gros Ventres, they are bitterly opposed to the ways of the whites.

Language Different from Sioux. In speaking of their language Mr. Mitchell says: 'I always contended that Mr. Gallatin was in error in supposing the Mandans and Sioux descended from the same stock. Mr. Kipp, who has been well acquainted with both tribes for upward of thirty years, and speaks both languages with great fluency and correctness, fully concurs with me in opinion. There are a few words that are somewhat similar in sound, but this Mr. Kipp accounts for by the fact of the Sioux and Mandans having been neighbors from time immemorable, and during intervals of peace visiting and intermarrying with each other.' Many of them now speak the Sioux language, and though I consider their vocal language as distinct and different from all others, still high authorities at present class it with the Sioux; that is, being with the same stock." (P. 242.)

From the "Collections of the American Antiquarian Society," Vol. II (Cambridge, 1836), we quote the following concerning the Mandans, in which they are spoken of as one of three tribes of the Minnetarees. What is said therein concerning the chief Big White and the Welsh theory will receive consideration later on.

"The Minetares (Minetaree and Minetaries) consist of three tribes, speaking three different languages which belong to a common stock. Its affinities with the Dahcota are but remote, but have appeared sufficient to entitle them to be considered as of the same family.

"Two of those tribes, the Mandans, whose numbers do not exceed fifteen hundred, and the stationary Minetaries, amounting to three thousand souls, including those called Annahwas, cultivate the soil and live in villages situated on or near the Missouri, between the forty-seventh and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude. They are kept in a state of perpetual alarm by the Assiniboines, the Tetons, the Rapid Indians and other erratic

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

361 the small portion of country which they actually occupy; in this, resembling the Arikaras. They still consist of seven villages, five of Gros Ventres, and two of Mandans, in the distance of about fifteen miles. They are generally on good terms with each other, but at present there exist considerable dissensions and even open [191] rupture. There is not the least affinity in their languages but the Gros Ventres is spoken by all the Mandans. According to the tradition of these last, who were originally of the Crow nation, owing to a quarrel between two chiefs, over the carcass of a buffalo which they had slain, a separation took place of the followers of each."

His estimate of the space comprised in the general group of those villages, as above, is too large, as it was probably not more that about nine miles between their extremes. He was also probably in error in regarding the Gros Ventres as originally Crows—it would perhaps be nearer historical fact to say that part of them had, about the time of their arrival from eastward, joined the Crows. This point is not entirely clear, however.

000 **Catlin's Account of Mandans.** George Catlin, whose observations upon the Aricaras were brought out in Part I of this paper (S. D. Hist. Coll., Vol. 3, pp. 490-3), now comes in for consideration in order of time, in his more detailed treatment of the Mandans in many phases of their character. The space herein allotted to his very interesting description and deductions relative to that tribe, is believed to be justified, in view of the generally admitted fact that of all the visitors among and students of this most interesting tribe of Indians, none have written of them in strains so attractive as did he; while we believe that his exhaustive descriptions of their customs and their traditions concerning their religious ceremonies, including also their Flood legends, constituting undoubted classics, are instructive in a high degree, so much so that there seems to be but one way of presenting his impressions and conclusions in order to do him and the subject in hand justice, viz., by quoting his own language at every step, with but few deviations from that course. No attempt to summarize his views could result otherwise than in a garbling process which must be nothing short of unfair and sadly ineffectual in bringing before the reader or student what Catlin saw and

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 clination to coalesce. The Mandan and Gros Ventre (or Minne-
197 taree) languages are somewhat alike, and probably of a very distinct common origin; but no resemblance has yet been discovered
191 between either of these and the Aricaree ('Ricaras'). Almost every member of each trib understands the languages of the other tribes, yet he speaks his own most fluently; so it is not an uncommon thing to hear a dialogue carried on in two languages, one person, for instance, questioning in Mandan, and the other answering back in Gros Ventre, and vice versa.

"Many of them understand the Dakota tongue, and use it as a means of intercommunication, and all understand the sign language. So, after all, they have no trouble in making themselves understood by one another. These Indians must have excellent memories and 'good capacity for study;' for it is not uncommon to find persons among them, some even under twenty years of age, who can speak fluently four or five different languages." (p. 17-18.)

As showing the aptness of the Rees and Mandans in working in glass or absidian, Matthews says:

323 **Glass-Work—Beads.** "The articles of glass spoken of above
301 are chiefly of two kinds. First, large, globular, or ellipsoidal beads; and, second, flat, irregularly triangular plates or pendants, which are glazed only on one side, and have a hole at the apex. The art of making these deserves more than a mere mention, since it is commonly believed that the aboriginal Americans, even the more civilized races, knew nothing of the manufacture of glass at the time of the Columbian discovery. The very earliest ethnographical account we have of the Aricarees and Mandans shows that they knew how to make glass beads; and there is no doubt that the process employed in 1804 was essentially the same as that employed today." (Here follows the account given by Lewis and Clarke, already set forth herein and quoted by Matthews; after which he resumes:)

Not Glass Product. "This art is now only occasionally practiced in the village, and is mostly confined to the making of the flat triangular pendants. I have heard the process described in much the same way as in the above quotation. From this quotation, however, which is in part ambiguous, the inference might be drawn that the ornaments, when completed consist entirely of

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

could trace any resemblance between the modern Mandan and Aricaree tongues. As far as I have observed them, there is not a single word alike in both. It is not likely that intercourse has produced a noteworthy approximation of languages in one case and none whatever in the other. There is no doubt that the Hidatsa language has changed in the course of time; but the change has resulted chiefly from causes other than the influence of the Mandan tongue. Some of the old men occasionally converse among themselves in terms which younger members of the tribe do not understand, and, when asked what they mean, they say they are trying to speak the old language." (p. 84.) 197

Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, D. D., LL. D., who was for so long a missionary of the Congregational church among the Dakota and other Indians, and who is author of the "Dakota Grammar and Dictionary" and "Gospel Among the Dakotas," has, in his book entitled "Mary and I. Forty Years With the Sioux" (W. C. Holmes, Chicago, 1880), given some account of the Mandans, whom he visited at Fort Berthold in 1874. We quote from said work, pages 271, et seq., the following: 114

Riggs' Observations On Mandans. "Here (at Fort Berthold, N. D.) were gathered the remnant of the Mandans, only a few hundred persons, and the Rees, or Aricarees, a part of the Pawnee tribe, and the Gros Ventres, or Minnetaree, properly the Hidatsa. Altogether they numbered about two thousand souls. We had before this entertained the desire that we might be able to establish a mission among these people, and this thought or hope gave interest to my visit. The Mandan and the Hidatsa languages were both pretty closely connected with the Dakota; but what seemed to bring these nearer to us was the fact that many of all these people could understand and talk the Dakota, that forming a kind of common language for them. 161 197 191

"**Howard Mandan,** or 'The-man-with-a-sacred-face,' as his Indian name is interpreted, was the son of **Red Cow,** the principal chief of the Mandans, and had been taken down by Gen. C. H. Howard, a year before, and placed in A. L. Riggs' school at Santee. Howard had returned home before my visit, and also Henry Eaton, a Hidatsa young man, who had been east a good many years and talked English well. 000

"George Catlin had, many years ago, interested us in the Man-

SECTION III.

LANGUAGE.

197 The language of the Mandans is unquestionably of the Siouan stock, but does not appear to show very much closer affiliation with one than with another branch of that stock. The Hidatsa is perhaps nearest to the Mandan but even that differs materially both in vocabulary and grammatical construction. It has been said that the Winnebago resembles most closely the Mandan, but from a careful comparison with vocabularies containing over one hundred equivalents from some six or seven Siouan dialects it appears that this resemblance is not as great as that between the Winnebago and the Iowa.

197 The Mandans were excellent linguists and we are told by early travellers that they were accustomed to learn the lan-
191 guages of nearly all their neighbors, while very few of the other tribes ever learned Mandan. Such a condition was apt to bring about considerable change in the language, and very likely it did so. Maximilian was told by the old men that in their youth the Mandan and Hidatsa resembled each other much less than they did in 1834. The songs of the Okeepa and society dances were in an older language which no one but the medicine men and those whom they taught understood. And lastly at this time the Mandans in the two villages spoke different dialects. The ones on the south side of the river, who thus had more intercourse with the Hidatsa, spoke a dialect resembling that language more closely than did the dialect in the northern village. Words in the south village became shortened to resemble the more abrupt speech of the Hidatsa, and sound changes, notably that of *d* for *n*, crept in from the latter.

114 Information upon the Mandan language is exceedingly scarce and no very accurate or full grammatical sketch exists. Small vocabularies are found in many places, but these have

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE MANDAN.

Clan System.

The study of ancient Mandan society is rendered unusually difficult 161
through the almost complete extinction of the tribe. There are probably
not more than half a dozen full-blood Mandan living on the Fort Berthold 611
Reservation in North Dakota. Though the census of 1910 sets their number at 197, this is given on the basis of the native way of tracing descent so as to include all those whose mothers only were Mandan or were according to the matrilineal principle of descent reckoned as Mandan. Living for a long period in close contact with the more numerous Hidatsa, with whom [191]
intermarriage has taken place to a considerable extent, the younger Mandan so-called hardly ever speak Mandan as fluently or correctly as Hidatsa.[1]

Under these circumstances the question naturally arises over and over 177
again whether a given feature common to Mandan and Hidatsa culture is not an Hidatsa trait shared by the Mandan only since their practical absorption in the neighboring tribe. This naturally complicates the sufficiently difficult question as to the relative contributions of the two tribes to their common cultural stock. On this subject widely varying views have been held. Thus, Morgan, rather cavalierly assumed that agriculture and the earth-lodge were brought into the region by the Hidatsa and borrowed by the Mandan,[2] while Matthews has expressed the opposite opinion.[3]

Since in culture the Hidatsa differ from the Crow far more than the [197]
affinity of the two languages and hence presumable recency of their separation would lead us to expect, it seems natural to refer such divergence as exists to Mandan influence on the Hidatsa. This interpretation would lead to thoroughly satisfactory results if we could be sure that recently collected Mandan data indicating cultural identity with the Hidatsa reflect ancient Mandan conditions. Unfortunately, we are frequently without the means of checking our information on account of the inadequacy of the early accounts.

A point of great importance regarding the Mandan is their local and 197
linguistic differentiation. Whatever may be the fact as to the nine villages they are said to have inhabited about the Heart River confluence in 1750,[4]

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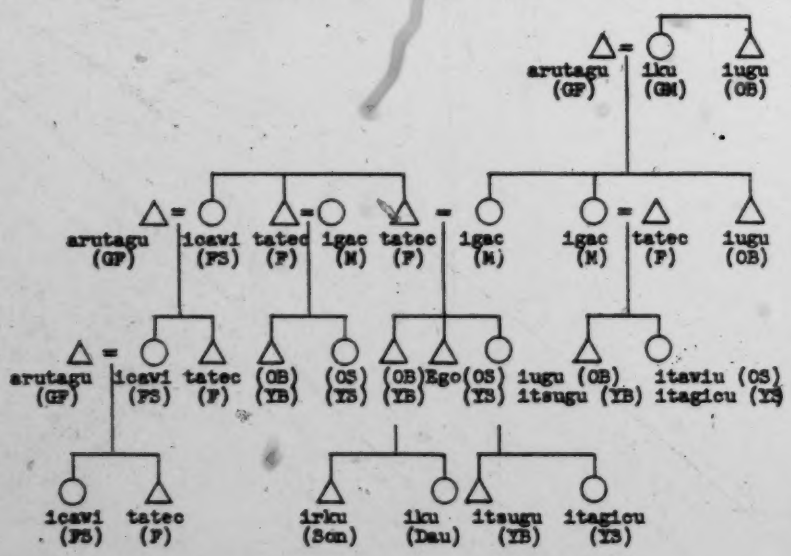
[1] It may be noted in this connection that these languages, though both of the Siouan stock, are only remotely related.
[2] Morgan, (b), part II, chapter 6.
[3] Matthews, 37f.
[4] Handbook of American Indians, I, 797.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

601 [191] Although Lone Hill is composed of members of the Hidatsa and the Mandan tribes, the Hidatsa language has become standard in the village while the Mandan language is rapidly becoming extinct. This may have been due to the small percentage of Mandan-speaking people in Lone Hill when the community was formed. The Crow terminology is used in the Indian language in daily face-to-face contact among most of the people in the village. The meanings and applications of the terms have not changed. Bowers (1950:1) notes that "the kinship system has been affected little by recent events." Figure 1 is based upon observations of usage throughout the village and was



(Note—For a female ego, sister's children are son and daughter.)

FIG. 1

checked by formal schedules obtained from 14 individuals: 8 males ages 34 to 70, and 6 females ages 23 to 60.

601 191 In certain situations the people of Lone Hill make a direct linguistic translation of the Crow terminology from the Indian language into the English language. Classificatory fathers are called uncle, classificatory mothers and fathers' sisters are called aunt, while niece, nephew, and cousin terms are applied indiscriminately and usually incorrectly from the white point of view. There are no uncle, cousin, niece, or nephew terms in the Indian language. Figure 2 is offered as an illustration—note particularly the descendants from the father's sister. As the diagram shows, the generation principle does not apply.

This use of English is not a variation of the Crow system but is rather the same system with an alternate language. The English kinship terms do not

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

form a reciprocal system and do not conform to expected white usage, for example, an individual whom you address as uncle may call you cousin or brother rather than nephew. It is an egocentric system and is used only when an individual in Lone Hill finds himself in a situation in which he is forced to speak English. All but two of the 137 adults of the village are bilingual, as they speak English in addition to the Indian language. English is most often learned in government schools as a second language and is used by the Indian people to deal with the outside world: in contact with Indian Bureau employees, local white merchants, or when members of alien tribes visit or marry into the village. 601 191

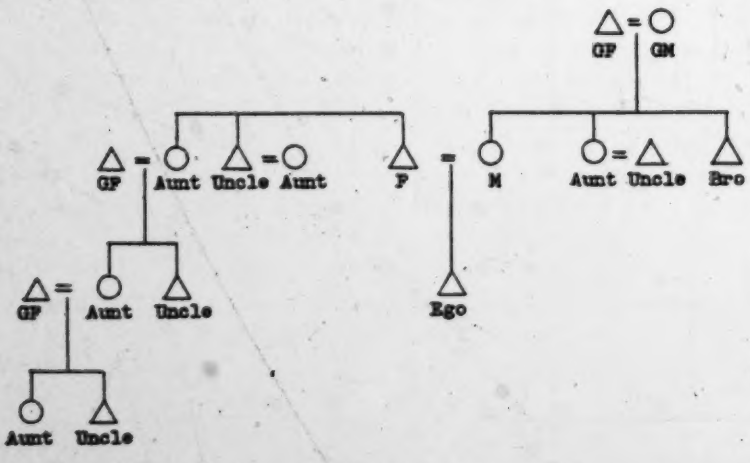


FIG. 2

The second major kinship pattern in Lone Hill consists of cases in which English terms are used in the white generation pattern, as indicated in Figure 3. My observations indicate that the generational system was used only by seven acculturated families. Many of the individuals in these families have spent most of their lives away from the village in off-reservation schools. The system was checked in formal interviews with six people, all between the ages of 20 and 30. In one instance a father's brother was called a cousin rather than an uncle because, as my informant said, "He is too young to be my uncle." The situations in which the generational system is employed tend to be relatively restricted and occur when acculturated individuals relate to one another, their close relatives, and whites in or outside the village. 601 191 177 124

An additional kinship complication arises in those homes in which a member of an alien tribe—usually Crow, Sioux, Blackfoot, or Arikara—marries a Mandan-Hidatsa resident of the village. No schedule can be given here as there is no general pattern, but one case will be briefly described as an illustration. 601 177 191

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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As shown in Figure 4, John Bear Leg is the child of a mixed Hidatsa-Arikara marriage. The family lives in Lone Hill and speaks only English at home as Mrs. Bear Leg, an Arikara woman, does not understand Hidatsa. While discussing kinship, John referred to his father's sister's daughter, Mary White Duck, by the term "sister" and told me, "That's the white way." This is incorrect, of course, as in the American way Mary would be a cousin to John, while in the Hidatsa way, she would be an *icawi* or father's sister. I became excited here, as I thought I had found a case of ironing out generation differences which would represent an internal shift in kinship type. Further inquiry revealed that John's Arikara mother had told him to regard Mary as a sister. Mrs. Bear Leg wants her son to take all of his relationships

[601]

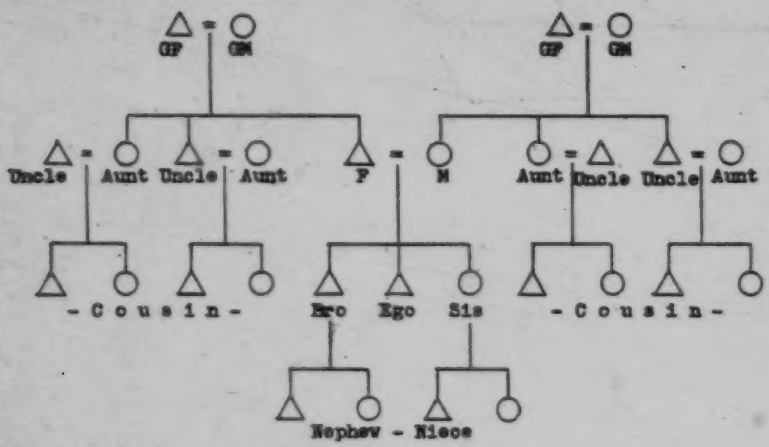

FIG. 3

in the Arikara way, and she attempts to teach him Arikara kinship. I checked with Mary, who informed me, "I know it's not right, but he calls me sister so I call him brother." The use of sibling terms for cross-cousins is one stage in Spoehr's series in the breakdown of a pure Crow system. But in this case it is a borrowed change introduced by an Arikara and not one that arose from the situation in Lone Hill.

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John's total kinship pattern indicates that he follows Hidatsa usage with most of his father's relatives and Arikara usage with all of his mother's relatives, who reside in another village at Fort Berthold. As his mother seems to be the dominant member of the family in these matters, John also refers to some of his father's relatives according to the Arikara way. I pointed out this apparent confusion to John, who replied, "I still don't know about these relationships yet, except what they say to me. The old folks each tell me their way. I'm catching on slow but sure." The net result of this situation is that while John knows how to interact with each specific relative he does not have a consistent total kinship system. John, now 24 years old, understands neither

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the Hidatsa, Arikara, nor the white kinship pattern. His case illustrates the confusion found among the children of mixed marriages in which the parents have not established a clear-cut identification with any one social system. 601 177 602

To summarize thus far, the two kinship patterns found in Lone Hill are: (1) the traditional Crow terminological system, which remains the basic type for the village and has not changed, at least since 1862 when Morgan first gathered Mandan and Hidatsa kinship terms; and (2) a white generational system employed primarily by the acculturated families. There is also a separate set of English terms used in the Crow pattern for the benefit of outsiders and an inconsistent terminological pattern in some Indian homes in which a member of an alien tribe has come to Lone Hill through marriage. 601 177 191

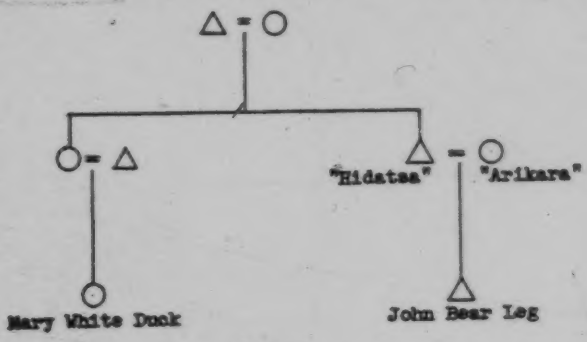

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FIG. 4

TWO PROCESSES

These data, considered in conjunction with the findings of Spoehr and of the Schmitts, indicate that there are two distinct processes involved in kinship change. The first process consists of the slow modification of a kinship system as evidenced by an orderly and progressive shift in type. This process is best illustrated by Spoehr's complete series in the transition from a pure Crow to an American generation type. Although the shift described by Spoehr was an indirect result of acculturative factors, the slow modification of a social structure may be due to internal forces that are not necessarily associated with culture contact (Eggan 1941; Gough 1952). The second process is a more radical change evidenced by an abrupt jump from one type of kinship system to another. In the second case, reported upon in this paper, the Indian and the white systems exist simultaneously without intermediate variations in kinship patterns. 601 177

Both processes of change, slow modification and sudden transformation, occur together in Lone Hill—and they also take place together among the Southeastern tribes. Spoehr emphasized the progressive stages in the breakdown of a Crow lineage system but he also recognized the more rapid type of kinship change (1947:198). The Mandan-Hidatsa seem to differ from the Southeastern tribes in terms of the relative importance of each process.

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

177 indirect effect of contact resulted in the displacement of Eastern tribes, the
175 formation of full Plains equestrian nomadism, and constant raids by hostile groups. These momentous events precipitated radical changes in the cultures of all Plains-Prairie peoples, and the Mandan-Hidatsa were no exception, although they did change less than other earth-lodge tribes (Strong 1940; Jablow 1950; Eggan 1952; Krieger 1953).

105 Indian culture today includes automobiles, farm equipment, washing
177 machines, radios, and other material objects of American culture. Clothing and household goods are generally purchased through Western mail order catalogs. The major sources of cash income are the cattle business, agricultural enterprises, leasing lands to whites, wage work, and relief money. Every adult has attended government or missionary schools, and Catholic and Congregational Churches are established in the village. Thirty-one of the sixty-four males over seventeen years of age have had military experience.

Lone Hill village has never been a closed, self-sufficient society, from the time it was founded in the last decade of the nineteenth century with the allotment program of the Indian Bureau until the present. Today every adult deals with white people who reside outside the community, although contact is limited. The Indian's cash income and the education of his children are controlled in part by the Indian Bureau and by forces in the larger American society. Agency personnel, government employees, missionaries, day school teachers, traveling salesmen and local tradespeople, farmers and ranchers, visit with Indians both on and off the reservation. The resident of Lone Hill village buys goods from white storekeepers, attends schools taught by whites, transacts business with white government people, and often seeks wage work from nearby whites. The Indian must satisfy specialized needs through the services of white doctors, lawyers and professional people.

[191 Despite the many American elements which have been adopted, Hidatsa
[601 is the major spoken language in Lone Hill today, secular Indian ceremonial
614] dances are performed, and the social organization includes matrilineal clans and a Crow type kinship system. Sacred bundles are highly respected, Indian doctors utilize native medicine to cure the sick, and distinctively Indian values are manifest on many occasions. The linguistic, religious, and social patterns are not considered here as isolated survivals persisting intact from the aboriginal past, for they too have changed from older times as a consequence of changing conditions of life; and they function in a very different total situation in 1950 as compared with 1850 or 1750.

Viewed historically, contemporary Indian culture is mixed. It consists of automobiles from Detroit, dances from the Cheyenne, medicine bundles from the Mandan, and a language from the Hidatsa. From the perspective of some individuals who share it, this mixed culture is perfectly consistent. No person in Lone Hill today knows how to stalk buffalo, scalp a Sioux, or shape a stone arrowhead. With the exception of a few very old people, no one in Lone Hill has ever lived in a culture in which these activities were performed. Our task is to understand how groups of individuals in Lone Hill come to regard and participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture.

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

177 367 parents must consciously, deliberately, and actively train their children to become like whites (Inkeles 1955). Children in Lone Hill and probably elsewhere are prepared for a world conceived by their parents which is in part dependent upon what the parents expect their children to be. Cultural transmission is as much a projection into the future as it is a heritage from the past. This emerges most clearly from an examination of the age-grading of language learning in the village. Lone Hill is a bilingual community in that Hidatsa is spoken in daily contact and at public gatherings, while all but two of the 137 adults also speak English. In part because of a widespread belief in the village that, as one informant expressed it, " . . . it is confusing for a child to learn two languages at once," the majority of the families in this bilingual community decide between Hidatsa and English as a first language for their offspring. Their choice provides one convenient criterion for distinguishing those families who are preparing their children for a life in Lone Hill as opposed to those families who are preparing their children for a life with whites outside the village.

Table 2 shows, for each family in Lone Hill, the language spoken in the home, which is the first language learned by the children of that family.

Table 2.—Language Spoken in the Home

Degree of Acculturation	Hidatsa	Hidatsa & English	English
Unacculturated	25	1	5
Unacculturated (white model)	2	1	—
Marginal	4	1	2
Acculturated	1	1	5

In the majority of the unacculturated homes the children are taught Hidatsa as a first language and learn to speak English when they attend school. In these families, knowledge of English is one acculturative influence that does not arise from early learning in the home but is acquired from agents outside the home after the child has reached the age of seven or eight. In the five unacculturated families in which English is spoken, a Mandan-Hidatsa resident of the village has married a member of an alien tribe, so that one spouse does not understand Hidatsa. English is spoken by necessity rather than by choice. In five of the acculturated houses the parents, although they know Hidatsa, speak only English to their children. Many of these children never learn the Indian language. One acculturated family sent its eldest child to the Lone Hill day school. The boy, who spoke only English, was soon withdrawn and sent to a white school in a nearby town, after the parents discovered that their child was learning to speak Hidatsa in the village school. This story is often repeated among the acculturated families who now send their children to off-reservation schools. Language usage structures much of the life-way usage, for invariably the Indian child who comes to school with a knowledge of English is considered more intelligent by his teachers and finds it easier to interact with whites and thereby learn more white ways.

Wednesday, June 11, 120 miles above Fort Union

C 136 This morning we shot two antelope and brought them on the boat. They have no horns at this season and are shedding their hair. In some places the skin is bare and the hair comes off in handfuls. They are a fine looking animal and much larger than I expected. They are nearly as large as the common deer, white bellies and white around and below the tail which is flat and short.

C 124 Had another long talk with Meldrum this morning on several subjects. Obtained the Minnetare tribes [clans] and law of descent, also the Crow method of bestowing and changing names, and also in the changes in language, which are given below.

H 614 *Minnetare Tribes* [*Clans*], *Gros Ventres of Missouri*[128]

1. Mit'-che-ro-ka Knife Tribe
2. Min-ne-pā'-ta Water "
3. Seech'-ka-be-run-pā'-ka Prairie chicken
4. E-tish-sho'-ka People of the Hills
5. Ah-mah'-ha-nā'-me-ta Meaning lost—
6. E-ku'-pā-be-ka Low Hat, or Bonnet
7. Bā-ho-hā'-ta Dirt Lodges

H [582] [611] [428] All the individuals of the tribe are consanguine. No man or woman can marry a person in his own tribe and the children are of the tribe of the mother. They carry out the law of female line succession as to chief and property, the same as the Crow. These

H 115 facts were obtained by Meldrum from the Minnetare chief on board, who talks Crow and with whom and the two Crow young men I made the first attempt at a Crow schedule.

Mandan Tribes [*Clans*]

M 614 611 191 The Mandans he says are divided into tribes and have descent in the female line, the same as the Minnetares, but he could

128 A [MORGAN lists these clans in Ancient Society, p. 159 -- ANALYST]

[169(B)]

M 614 611 191 not talk Mandan.[129] None of the Minnetares talk Mandan, but the latter talk the former.

Crows Change Their Names and Manner of Christening

C 553 [602] A few days after a child is born, usually about six, there is a family council of the relatives on the father's side who give the name, instead of the mother's tribal relatives. The person who is to give the name places roots of some kind upon coals of fire and as the smoke ascends, the child is placed in his hands by the mother. He then holds him in the smoke and at the same time announces the name which he gives the child. He raises him up gently in the rising smoke towards heaven and invokes

C [782]

129 A [About a week later Morgan ascertained and recorded names of MANDAN clans. -- ANALYST]

193 ending in *c* or the tense sign if it is present, and recalls the Dakota negative *cni*. In some cases, however, it seems to be modified by what appears to be reduplication, although this latter on a more extensive study of the verb might prove to perform an entirely different function. Certain sound shifts also occur occasionally as in previous examples of suffixing but do not change the verb noticeably. Examples of the negative *ni* alone are found in the following: *wadarutenihoc* = you do not eat, from *wadarutoc* = you eat; *wawakanixtoc* = I shall not have, from *wawakaxtoc* = I shall have; and *wawahenihoc* = I do not drink, from *wawahenduc* = I drink.

Examples of negatives which seem to show some sort of reduplication are as follows; *wadakanixinistoc* = thou shalt not have, from *wadakaxtoc* = thou shalt have; *waidasikinixinistoc* = thou shalt not make to thyself, from *waidasektoc* = thou shalt make; *waxopinidahadaxinistoc* = thou mayest not hold as sacred for thyself. In all these forms there is also a reflexive of some sort and it may be that the seeming reduplication is merely a reflexive form. Further text might clear up these points and bring to light in addition a reflexive, but at present it can only be said that *ni* is the negative sign but often appears with what seems to be a reduplication.

INTENSIVE PARTICLE:—The intensive particle "very" seems to be expressed by an adverb, *kucoc*. This seems to be used either before or after the modified word with no apparent distinction. In very bad, *xik kucoc*, it is found after the adjective; in *kuce cihc*, very good, it precedes the adjective. When the particle follows the adjective the ending of the latter seems usually to be dropped.

193 COMPOSITION:—*Derivation*—Among primitive languages derivation is often easy to trace and this is true in the Mandan.
●192 The ideas were at first simple and the vocabulary small. As the people developed in experience new names were required and instead of devising new words old ones were modified to fit. A good example of this is *watuc*, copper, from which came *watucseda*, brass, *watuc cotte*, silver, and other forms for metals.

Mana, wood or tree, gives *manasuk*, (*mana*, tree and *suk*,

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child), meaning bush, also *manaroxte*, forest. *Warade*, fire, gives *wararakce*, firebrand, and *warakapidihe*, flame. 193 192

Again from *po*, fish, comes the word for fin, *posi*, literally fish-feather. From the word *waci*, white men, comes the word for flour, *wacita*. *Mini*, water, also gives a number of derivatives among which are the words for flood, *minisukhedic*, and for bank, *miniwakaxta*. From *tohe*, blue comes *wiratohe*, green.

Compound nouns — There is no lack of compound nouns in the Mandan and their formation is the same as in English, the modifying word coming first.

From *ci*, foot, and *psih*, black, comes Blackfeet, *Cipsih*. *Poikinnih*, fish-hook, is a compound similar to the English one. Bird, *mandek*, with the word for young animals, *nixe*, gives egg, *mandenike*. The elm is called bow-wood, *manawaraerup*. For grandfather we get *tatecike*, old father.

The Mandan personal names, which always had a meaning, were often represented by very long compounds as were many of the society names. [551]

Composite verbs:—The compounding of one verbal stem with another is not a very common feature in the Mandan but can be plainly noticed in a number of examples. There are probably other cases which cannot be distinguished among the long verbal forms, as the separate stems are not known. Besides this doubling of verb stems there is also an incorporation of nouns into the verb in order to complete the meaning. 193

Actual double stems occur in the following examples; I shall come and sit down, *wahunawaxkanakoc*, *huruc*, to come, and *kanake*, to sit; I decoy, *wattaxahhuruc*, litterally, I call to come; I fast, *nahnkawawarutenexoc*, literally, sit I eat not; Maximilian gives "to shoot at," as *ohxatakerehuc*, and translates it, "he has gone away wounded;" to sleep is *hanaruc*, to fall asleep, *wahanaedukxahuc*.

Examples of compounding with nouns are: to smoke, *manaczinduc*, tobacco to smoke; to scrape, *unkaheric*, fingers to rub; to swim, *miniputxuhuc*, water to push.

In the foregoing an attempt has been made to present a sketch of the grammatical construction of the Mandan language 000

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194 The following consonants appear in Mandan:

	SURD.	SONANT.	SPIRANT.	NASAL
Velar	*q*	–	–	–
Gutteral	*k*	*g*	*x*	–
Alveolar	–	–	*tc*,	*n*
Dental	*t*	*d*, *r*	–	–
Interdental	–	*θ*	–	–
Labial	*p*	*b*	–	*m*
Lateral	*L*	–	–	–
Sibilant	–	–	*c*, *s*	–

Also *h* and *w*.

The *x* is a gutteral like *ch* in German "Bach."

The *w* is perhaps a bilabial, as we find the same word spelled *tewe* and *teve* in different vocabularies.

The *d* and *r* seem to be interchangeable. The *tc* occurs very seldom. Only one case of the lateral *L* is known and Maximilian alone gives it in the case of the word *taxxaL*=what.

The *c* is of very frequent occurrence, and the *k* and *x* sounds are also prominent. The *g* is rarely used and *j*, *l*, *f*, *y*, and *z*, so far as the vocabularies show, do not appear at all. The *m* and *w* sounds often seem to be interchanged. This recalls the Hidatsa where there are two series of three or four interchangeable sounds. Consonants are rarely doubled and are generally separated by vowels, making the language rather smooth.

Of accentuation little can be said as vocabularies either fail to give any accent or differ among themselves. It is probable, however, that the radical syllable usually keeps the main accent.

195 EUPHONIC CHANGES:—Euphonic changes are a prominent feature in many of the Siouan languages, and there is evidence of their occurrence in Mandan, although not with such frequency as in Dakota. In the suffixing of the tense sign certain changes of this sort occur and will be mentioned later. The negative also seems to carry with it alterations for the sake of euphony.

193 THE ROOT:—The root in Mandan seems to be usually monosyllabic and often of but two sounds, a consonant and a

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vowel as *he*, *ku*. But triliteral roots are also found ending in consonants, as *sek* and *xik*. 173

The Mandan is a polysynthetic language and the roots, fixed in a mass of prefixes and suffixes and often joined with other roots, are very difficult to isolate from the material available. Cases of duplication seem to be rare among the roots and no certain example of it can be cited.

Cases of changes in the root vowels are difficult to locate also, as there are only a few examples which seem fairly certain, such as that of *sek* to *sik*.

REDUPLICATION:—Reduplication occurs occasionally, but on the whole seems to play a rather unimportant part in the formation of the language. Probably most of the examples are onomatopoetic in their origin.

Such reduplication is found best in nouns as:—*karasisitka*=ants, *h'kaka*=star, *minihini*=a spring, *raskeke*=summer, *kaka*=raven, *ihika*=owl, *rakanande*=hail, *hokikaka*=crow.

Less frequent cases are seen in the verbs, of which the following are perhaps the best marked:—*katidirotoc*=to shake; *wakikinaruc*=to sing; *kikidacoc*=to laugh.

The use of reduplication to show iteration and frequency does not occur commonly and is probably best seen in the above examples of verbs.

INFLECTION OF THE NOUN:—Inflection for sex is unusual among American languages and its existence among the Mandans seems improbable, though Maximilian gives an example of something of the sort which he says was occasionally used, thus:—one man=*numank maxana*; one woman=*mikhe maxxana*.

As a usual thing different words are used to differentiate the sexes, or the word for female is added to the masculine. In the imperative there is a general distinction in endings, to a man one says: *isekta*=do thou; to a woman: *isekana*=do thou.

For the formation of the plural the suffix *kerexe* or *kerre*, meaning many, was usually added to the noun; as *mana* (tree), *mana-kerexe* (many trees=a forest). One case of a plural by reduplication is found in *mahna* (year), *manahna* (years). Hayden gives another plural, of which, however, the text shows

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193 no sign. It is formed thus: leaf=*ape*, leaves=*apic*, weed=*mahe*, weeds=*mahoc*. In some cases the plural suffix is omitted as in *ideta*=stars. Maximilian gives one case of a dual as: *ahde*=arm, *ahdenahta*=the two arms. Pluralizing in the verb seems to be effected purely by the use of plural pronominal forms.

It might be of interest to note the fact that the suffix *kerre*, many, is very similar to the adverb *kre*, several, used in the same way in Catawba.

There seems to have been no real inflection of the noun for case. But postpositions were used where necessary, and the position of the noun in the sentence marked its relation to the verb. The verb nearly always ends the sentence, the subject, if not incorporated in the verb, comes first and the object next. The pronominal incorporation in the verb usually served to distinguish subject and object.

It is possible that there is a sort of nominal possessive suffix *ki*, but this cannot be proved as the text does not give sufficient examples for comparison. Maximilian gives in his declension of the noun *numank* (man), an ending *ki*, which is joined to the noun and is supposed to be a sign of the instrumental. This is found occasionally as an ending in the text, and may be a postposition which has gradually become almost an appositional case ending.

Maximilian speaks rather hazily of an article and gives several examples, but this article, which is theoretically a suffix, seems very difficult to pick out, when the postpositions are removed. No trace of an article has been found in the text or vocabularies.

Postpositions :—Postpositions are in common use but not very many of them can be definitely pointed out. The following are, however, certain: *ta*=from, *de*=of, *oh*=to, *askac*=near to, *pexti*=by, *kucta*=through, *rokta*=in, *untaha*=out of, *omakake*=upon.

They may be either joined to the word which they govern, or separate, but usually immediately follow it, as:—*mipextinaka*=sit by me. *Egypt maank untaha*=out of the land of Egypt.

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The postposition *ta* also occurs frequently as a verbal suffix, thus *huruc*=to come, and *huta*=come here. In the opposite sense we have *eta* added, which signifies motion in the opposite direction, as:—*Rouhptare eta wahuruc*=I come away from Rouhptare. 193

THE ADJECTIVE:—The Mandan adjective is found with a simple stem form and a longer form. It is possible that the longer form was at first a compound with the verb *kitoc*=to be, but it has been shortened to a simple *c* or to *ic*, *oc*, *uc*, or *ac*. The verbal meaning does not seem to be always in force with the longer form, but it is always permissable to use it verbally. Thus: *cih*=good, *macihc*=I am good, *nicihc*=you are good, *icihc*=he is good. It is used in the same way with the demonstrative as: *eθcihc*=that is good.

The adjective invariably follows the noun whether it has the long ending or not, and examples of the two forms occur side by side with no apparent differentiation of meaning, as:—*meniss cotte*=white horse, *menisswarut psihc*=black dog.

The plural is not as a usual thing indicated in adjectives, but when the longer form is used as a verb the same suffixes may be added for pluralization as are used with the noun.

There is a full system of adjective comparison in the Mandan, attained by the addition of certain adverbs to the end of the adjective. The two adverbs used are *opaxadehc*=more, and *mihkac*=most. So *cihc*=good, *cihopaxadehc*=better, *cihmihkac*=best. Both forms were sometimes added to a word merely for emphasis, as:—*passa"hekociiopaxadehmihkac* =the most beautiful river.

Other examples of adjective comparison are *cirukoc*=wise, *cirukeopaxadehc*=wiser, *cirukemihkac*=wisest; and *hu"c*= much, *hu"opaxadehc*=more, *hu"mihkac*=most.

The use of an adjective with two forms as here, recalls the same feature in Catawba; thus cold is in Mandan *cini* and *cinihuc*; in Catawba *tchin* and *tchinhĕre*.

Color adjectives in the Mandan show nothing particularly distinctive and are nearly in accord with those of most of the other Siouan languages.

The adjectives in Mandan appear to be largely verbal in their

193 character in that they may be regularly inflected with the pronoun.

802 193 NUMERALS:—The numeration in the Mandan appears to be formed on a decimal system, but there are points which seem to go against this. The Mandan numerals themselves show no traces of the quinary system on an ordinary observation, but when it is seen that a number of related dialects show signs of that method and that a little similarity can be traced between these systems and that of the Mandan, a doubt may arise as to whether the Mandan enumeration is purely decimal. It must be remembered, however, that the Catawba has a decimal system and that the Winnebago seems to have it.

The cardinal numbers are:—

1. *maxana*	6. *kihma*
2. *nompah*	7. *kuhpa*
3. *nahmeni*	8. *tettake*
4. *tohpa*	9. *maxpe*
5. *kexu*	10. *piraq* or *pidaks*

The cardinals from ten to twenty are formed by adding the word *ahga* or *ag* to the cardinal, as:—

11. *ahga maxana*	16. *ag kihma*
12. *ahga nompah*	17. *ag kuhpa*
13. *ahga nahmeni*	18. *ag tettake*
14. *ahga tohpa*	19. *ag maxpe*
15. *ahga* or *ag kexu*	

The decades are formed by prefixing the cardinals to *piraq* (ten) or *ampiraq*

20. *nompah piraq*	60. *kihma ampiraq*
30. *nahmeni ampiraq*	70. *kuhpa ampiraq*
40. *tohpe ampiraq*	80. *tettake ampiraq*
50. *kexu ampiraq*	90. *maxpe ampiraq*

The intervening numbers are constructed thus, twenty one=*nompah pirake roh maxana*, twenty two=*nompah pirake roh nompah*, etc.

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According to Maximilian the same ending, *c*, found on the adjective so often, is also usually put at the end of the numerals, e. g. 30=*nahmeni ampirakoc*, 40=*tohpa ampirakoc*, etc. 802 193

For the number one hundred, the Mandan had a regular word, but judging from the text at hand this seems to have been corrupted later into the "big ten" of the Hidatsa and other Siouan languages. In 1834 the original Mandan for one hundred was *ehsuk maxana*. The Hidatsa is *pidaki'tia*.

The hundreds run regularly thus, 200=*ehsuk nompa*, 300=*ehsuk nahmeni*, etc. 101=*ehsuk maxana roh numpoc*, etc., 1000=*isukki kakohi*, 1001=*isukki kakohi roh maxana*, 1100=*isukki ahga maxanac*, 2000=*isukki kakohi numpoc*, 10000=*isukki kakohi pirakoc* (Maximilian).

The cardinal numerals are used like the adjectives and follow the words modified; thus, ten commandments=*toinksa pidaks*. The word for one half is *ihcanhe*.

The ordinal numbers are formed in about the same way that abstract nouns are formed from adjectives, that is the syllable *ko* is prefixed to the cardinal. In addition the numerals seem to add also the syllable *hank* except in the case of first, which moreover is not formed from the cardinal. According to Maximilian, the ordinals run as follows:—

first—*koonti*
second—*konumpehank*
third—*konahmenihank*
fourth—*kotohpahank*
thousandth—*kosukkikakohihank*

The syllable *hank* may be derived from *iohanke*, the word for end. The word for last is formed with the aid of the same prefix, *koihkahce*.

The numeral adverbs as once, twice, etc., are formed as follows; once=*xanahre maxanac*, twice=*xanahre numpoc*, etc.

THE ADVERB:—Of the adverb little need be said; the distinction between them and the postpositions on one side and the adjectives on the other is very difficult to make. In fact adverbs often appear as little more than modifying suffixes. The two adverbs used in comparison have been already 193

193 mentioned and in addition a few more may be noted; as, *takbaktoc*=perhaps, *horakekusero*=day before yesterday; *tenhac* =afar off; *maixeomasta*=day after tomorrow; *askac*=near to, also used as a postposition; and *domapeha*=below.

CONJUNCTIONS:—The Mandan seems to show nothing noteworthy in the line of conjunctions, and so far only a few have been noted. Among these are *kani* or *qani*=and; *kaktek*=and; and *kacka*=for. Maximilian says that there was no word for "or," indefinite pronouns as *kotewektoc*=one or the other, being used.

THE PRONOUN:—The pronoun in Mandan is perhaps the most important part of the language. It is of the same type as those of other Siouan languages and closer relationship with other Siouan dialects is shown thus than in any other way. Pronouns of all the usual classes are found and separable and inseparable forms of the personal pronouns occur.

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS:—Of the demonstratives but little can be said. They are not fully worked out and cannot be so until more text is procured. Maximilian gives us two, however, which seem fairly certain; these are *ant*=this, and *cθ*=that, and their use is illustrated in the following sentences:— *eθ hackac*=that is great, *anicihc*=this is good. Besides these, there seems to be a trace of the Dakota *tona* and *de* as in the compound *demankahe*=(?), and *taadona*=these.

RELATIVE PRONOUNS:—Of the relative pronouns more is known. There is a fairly long list and the meaning of all is practically certain. The principal relatives are *tewe* or *teve*, who, *kotewe*, which, *ta*, what. These furnish the basis for other relatives as well as for the indefinite pronouns.

Directly based upon them are *teweoca*=whoever, and *taadocka*=whatever.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS:—The interrogative pronoun is also found, closely related to the relative. "What" or "how" is *taxxaL*. "What person" is *iinkotewe* and "what thing" is *aankotewe*. "Whose" is the relative *teve*, as *teve ti otic?*=whose house is that? As can be seen these are based upon the relatives *ta* and *tewe*.

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INDEFINITE PRONOUNS:—The indefinite pronouns also bear a close resemblance to the relative from which they are likewise derived. The following are the known examples; *tanhe* or *tahone* =other, *ikatui*=something, *matewe* or *watewe*=anything, *matewedocka*=anything whatever. Their use is seen in *mipextit matewe zopini tanhe wadakanixinistec* thou shalt have no other gods before me. 193

PERSONAL PRONOUNS:—The Mandan personal pronoun seems to have two different forms. These two forms are the incorporated and the independent. Of the incorporated pronoun the subjective form is used as subject of a transitive verb; the objective form is used as object of a transitive and as subject of an intransitive verb. The independent pronoun is formed from the stem of the objective pronoun by means of a regular suffix.

Incorporated subject		Incorporated object	
Singular		Singular	
1	*wa*	1	*ma* or *mih*
2	*da* or *θa*	2	*ni* or *ih*
3	*i*	3	*i* or *ih*
Dual	*nunompca*		
Plural		Plural	
1	*nu*	1	*nu*
2	*niaθa*	2	*nia* or *niaθa*
3	*ia*	3	*ia* or *iaθa*

Attention should be called to the presence in the subjective series of the dual, which also occurs in the Dakota, but seldom in Hidatsa or Crow. The above forms probably vary somewhat in pronunciation as Maximilian gives slightly different versions. It is also probable that he confused the objective and subjective as the subjective forms given above from Hayden seem to agree better with the text than do his.

The independent forms are:—

I *miona*
thou *niona*
he *iona*
we *nuona*
you *niaona*
they *iaona*

•193 Maximilian gives a table of so called case inflections as follows:—

I	*mih*	thou	*ih*
of me	*mannan*	thine	*nita*
to me	*mo, rohdeta*	to thee	*nih*
from me	*roheta*	thee (obj.)	*nih*
me (obj.)	*wak*		

The *mih* and *ih* are clearly the incorporated objects, while *mannan* and *mo* though clearly connected with the pronominal stems are irregular, *roheta* and *rohdeta* seem to lack entirely the pronominal roots.

It is probable that the *mih* and *ma* or *wa* are to some extent interchangeable for the first person subject, although only *wa* occurs in such text as is at hand. Maximilian, however, gives one or two examples of its use, as in *mihnihrotke*, I will strike you. Also one with the intransitive verb as *mannan ihnkidicihc*, you are ashamed of me.

The first example above shows the use of the regular objective pronominal incorporation, as does also *wadakanixinixtoc*, thou shalt not make to thyself, in which *da* and *ni* stand respectively for subject and object. In the transitive verb the subjective pronoun invariably precedes the objective.

A table of the pronouns in transitive and intransitive verbs follows.

Subjective pronoun with transitive verb:—

wawarutohc I eat
wadarutohc you eat
ihwarutohc he eats
nunompcarutohc we two eat
wanurutohc we eat
niaθarutohc you eat
iarutohc they eat

Objective pronoun with intransitive verb:—

macihc I am good
nicihc you are good
i"cihc he is good
nucihc we are good
niacihc you are good
iacihc they are good

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POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS:—In the possessive pronoun two forms are also found, the independent and the prefixed. Both are formed from the objective incorporated pronoun. They are as follows:—

Independent	Prefixed
mita	*mi*
nita	*ni*
ita or *ta*	*i* or *iko*
nuta or *nuetta*	*nu*
niata	*nia*
iata	*ia* or *iona*

The independent forms always precede the word modified as do also the prefixed forms. An example of the latter follows:

minuha"ke my daughter	*minuha"koc* our daughter
ninuha"ke thy daughter	*nianuha"koc* your daughter
ikonuha"ke his daughter	*ionanuha"koc* their daughter

THE VERB:—The verb "to be" is *kihtoc* and is inflected as other verbs. It is used largely with the meaning of "to exist."

As has been said the adjective ending in *c* seems to take the place of a substantive verb and *kihtoc* is scarcely ever seen. "To be rich" is expressed thus — *wakahdahun*, great riches. "I am good" is merely *macihc*, *cihc* being the adjective good.

In questions likewise, the substantive verb is usually omitted as *teve tamenisikeric?* = whose horses are those? and *teve ta etic?* = whose house is that?

It is noticeable that to the nouns also the *c* is suffixed when the substantive verb itself is omitted, and it is possible that this ending is a regular verbalizing ending which takes the place of the substantive verb throughout the language. Further investigation with additional text would be necessary to verify this however.

TENSE:—So far four tenses have been distinguished in the Mandan although it is very possible that there may be more. Those noted are, present, future, an aorist, and a tense of completed action.

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193 The present tense is the ordinary form of the verb and is shown in such words as, *wapusoc*, *rutoc*, *sakoc*, *kta"hoc*, and *rapanaruc*.

The future is formed regularly, but with a modification for verbs with stems ending in *t*. The sign of the future is *t* and it is usually placed immediately before the final *c* with its accompanying vowel, as *sektoc* from *sekoc* and *wapustoc* from *wapusoc*. When the verb stem ends in *t* however as in *rutoc*, a doubling of the *t* would fail to make an audible distinction and an *s* is placed before the *t* giving *rustoc*. In some cases euphony requires other changes which accompany the suffixing of the *t* as in *rapanaruc* to *rapanaktuc*, and *heric* to *herikitoc*. In this case, however, it seems possible that the added syllable may mark a different tense idea. One verb was found which did not have the future sign but which Hayden gave as a future. This too may have been a modified tense; the change as given from present to future occurs in the last syllable, *kapkec* becoming *kapkekoc*. It is possible that this latter form should be *kapkektoc* which would coincide with the other examples.

What seems to be an aorist is translated at times by Hayden as "to be doing all the while" and at others as a perfect, making the distinction between the completed past and this, by translating the first as "I have done eating," the second as "I have eaten" clearly implying that the latter is hardly a real perfect.

The sign of this tense is the suffixing of *amaka* or *ama"ka* to the verb stem. This causes certain other minor changes in the the word for the sake of euphony. Examples of this appear in the following from *wahenduc* meaning "I drink."

	Present.	Aorist.
1.	*wahenduc*	*wahenamamakahoc*
2.	*θahenduc*	*θahendamakahoc*
3.	*i"henduc*	*i"hendamakahoc*
1.	*nuhenduc*	*nuhendamakahoc*
2.	*niahenduc*	*niahendamakahoc*
3.	*i"ahenduc*	*iahendamakahoc*

It is seen that the inflection is perfectly regular, the extra *ma* in the first person being the first personal pronoun, the

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first *wa* having become a part of the verb itself as in *wakahktoc*, *wasekoc* and similar examples. In addition to the suffix, a consonant is placed before the final syllable to prevent the occurrence of two vowels together. Indeed it almost appears as if the aorist is formed by adding *amankahoc* to the verbal stem. This holds true with the verbs *rutoc* and *kapusoc*, with the stems *rut* and *kapus*, giving *rutama"kahoc* and *kapusama"kahoc*. 193

The tense of completed action seems to be formed by adding *kexeruc* to the verbal stem, the pronoun being at the same time repeated, occurring once before and once immediately after the stem, as, *wadahenθakexerus*, thou hast done drinking, and *wawarutwakexeruc*, I have done eating; from *wahenduc*, to drink and *warutoc*, to eat. Particular attention is called to the position here of the pronominal forms *θa* and *wa* at the beginning of the word and their repetition near the middle. This peculiarity leaves the exact method of forming the tense somewhat doubtful, especially as there are but three or four examples discoverable. However the above gives at least an approximation of the method.

The infinitive in Mandan consists of the verb without the pronominal affixes, as *isekoc* and *warutoc*. The past participle seems to be hard to find. Maximilian gives one example, *kuhruc*, done, from *isekoc*, to do; in this case the participle appears to be formed from another stem. In two other cases the infinitive itself is used as the past participle.

There are two other distinguishable participles, a present and an aorist. The present seems to be little more than the verbal root thus, *ikha"* from *ikha"hoc*, and *ratze* from *rataruc*.

The aorist participle seems to be the regular aorist form without the pronominal affixes. Examples are *isekama"kahoc* from *isekoc* and *warutama"kahoc* from *warutoc*.

MODE:—*Indicative*—This is the original form of the verb with the ordinary pronominal inflection. There are no peculiarities which require mention.

Subjunctive — There seems to be a sort of subjunctive in the Mandan the use of which cannot be pointed out accurately. It occurs often with the imperative in a command but is also

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193 found frequently in other forms. The sign of this mode is *hada* suffixed to the verb immediately after the root or after the pronoun if that follows the root. Not enough examples have been collected to discover the exact meaning of this form of the verb but the following will give some idea of its use.

huhadata may (it) come.
waxopinidahadaxinistoc thou mayest not honor.
hedemahadata save me (let me be saved).
mahadata let me.

This last form gives *hada* as a verb in itself and seems to mark it as a sort of auxiliary.

Imperative — The Mandan imperative has two forms, one used to women, the other to men. The signs of the imperative are the suffixes *ta* and *na* joined to the verb root, at times with a vowel between for the sake of euphony. *Ta* is used in speaking to a man, *na* to a woman. It is likely that the first expresses a request, the latter a command.

From the verb *rutoc* are *ruta* and *rutana*. From the verb *ratahosh* are *rata* and *rahana*.

Maximilian gives one or two other forms also which tend to show a personal inflection: first person, *warusta*, second person, *warutenista*.

This shows the use of the first person *wa* and the second person objective *ni* with the imperative.

VOICE:— On the question of voice practically nothing can be said. The text offers us no examples of passives nor do either Hayden or Maximilian mention anything of the sort.

NUMBER:— As has been said the number in the verb is shown entirely by the incorporated pronoun; further than this no distinction is necessary and none exists. We have already seen that singular, dual, and plural pronominal forms are found and these are all incorporated into the verb.

VERBAL INFLECTION WITH PRONOMINAL SUBJECT:— Examples of verbal inflection with the pronominal subject have occurred through all the previous discussion and need not be further illustrated.

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VERBAL INFLECTION WITH PRONOMINAL OBJECT:—Examples of the incorporation of the objective pronoun into the verb are frequent, a number have already been given in treating the pronouns on page 198 and a few more follow; *wanirotkec*, I strike you; *kisuknihedis*, he led thee; *numank iteruc*, the man kills him. 193

VERBAL INFLECTION WITH NOMINAL OBJECT:—This is merely the regular verbal inflection with an uninflected noun placed before it usually. Such are *koha"te warutoc* = I eat corn, *ptemde ihrotkec* = he hits the buffalo.

NOMINALIZING AFFIXES:—Owing to the lack of text, nominalizing affixes have been very difficult to isolate, and only three can be pointed out with certainty. Two of these are prefixes, one of which, known through Maximilian, was confirmed by the text; and there seem also to be signs of a suffix, but sufficient examples were not found to make sure.

The first prefix mentioned is *wao* or *wado* and seems to be akin to the Hidatsa *maadu*. Examples of this are seen in the following: *wadorute* = food, from *rutoc* = to eat; *waosinhe* = strength, from *sinhuc* = strong; *waotes* = death, from *tehuc* = to kill; *waoxik* = sin, from *xikoc* = bad.

The other prefix seems to make an abstract noun from the adjective. It is *ko*, and its use is shown in the following examples: *kocihc* = the good, from *çihc* = good; *koahxkereh* = the poor, from *ahxkereh* = poor; *kowakahde* = the rich, from *wakahde* = rich.

The apparent example of a suffix seems to indicate the nomen actoris. The only instance of its use is in *wanundexte*, thief, from *wanunduc* = to steal. The ending *xte* occurs elsewhere as an augmentative as in *mini*, water, *minixte*, the ocean, and seems related to the Hidatsa *ic'tia*, big, being used in much the same way.

THE NEGATIVE:—The negative "no" in Mandan is *megoc* and "yes" is *ho"*. These are clearly given in all the vocabularies. The formation of the negative verb, however, is nowhere discussed by previous writers. The sign of the negative seems to be *ni* suffixed to the verb immediately before the common

193 ending in *c* or the tense sign if it is present, and recalls the Dakota negative *cni*. In some cases, however, it seems to be modified by what appears to be reduplication, although this latter on a more extensive study of the verb might prove to perform an entirely different function. Certain sound shifts also occur occasionally as in previous examples of suffixing but do not change the verb noticeably. Examples of the negative *ni* alone are found in the following: *wadarutenihoc* = you do not eat, from *wadarutoc* = you eat; *wawakanixtoc* = I shall not have, from *wawakaxtoc* = I shall have; and *wawahenihoc* = I do not drink, from *wawahenduc* = I drink.

Examples of negatives which seem to show some sort of reduplication are as follows; *wadakanixinistoc* = thou shalt not have, from *wadakaxtoc* = thou shalt have; *waidasikinixinistoc* = thou shalt not make to thyself, from *waidasektoc* = thou shalt make; *waxopinidahadaxinistoc* = thou mayest not hold as sacred for thyself. In all these forms there is also a reflexive of some sort and it may be that the seeming reduplication is merely a reflexive form. Further text might clear up these points and bring to light in addition a reflexive, but at present it can only be said that *ni* is the negative sign but often appears with what seems to be a reduplication.

INTENSIVE PARTICLE:—The intensive particle "very" seems to be expressed by an adverb, *kucoc*. This seems to be used either before or after the modified word with no apparent distinction. In very bad, *xik kucoc*, it is found after the adjective; in *kuce cihc*, very good, it precedes the adjective. When the particle follows the adjective the ending of the latter seems usually to be dropped.

193 COMPOSITION:— *Derivation* — Among primitive languages derivation is often easy to trace and this is true in the Mandan.
192 The ideas were at first simple and the vocabulary small. As the people developed in experience new names were required and instead of devising new words old ones were modified to fit. A good example of this is *watuc*, copper, from which came *watucseda*, brass, *watuc cotte*, silver, and other forms for metals.

Mana, wood or tree, gives *manasuk*, (*mana*, tree and *suk*,

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child), meaning bush, also *manaroxte*, forest. *Warade*, fire, gives *wararakce*, firebrand, and *warakapidihe*, flame. 193 192

Again from *po*, fish, comes the word for fin, *posi*, literally fish-feather. From the word *waci*, white men, comes the word for flour, *wacita*. *Mini*, water, also gives a number of derivatives among which are the words for flood, *minisukhedic*, and for bank, *miniwakaxta*. From *tohe*, blue comes *wiratohe*, green.

Compound nouns — There is no lack of compound nouns in the Mandan and their formation is the same as in English, the modifying word coming first.

From *ci*, foot, and *psih*, black, comes Blackfeet, *Cipsih*. *Poikinnih*, fish-hook, is a compound similar to the English one. Bird, *mandek*, with the word for young animals, *nixe*, gives egg, *mandehike*. The elm is called bow-wood, *manawaraerup*. For grandfather we get *tatecike*, old father.

The Mandan personal names, which always had a meaning, were often represented by very long compounds as were many of the society names. [557]

Composite verbs:—The compounding of one verbal stem with another is not a very common feature in the Mandan but can be plainly noticed in a number of examples. There are probably other cases which cannot be distinguished among the long verbal forms, as the separate stems are not known. Besides this doubling of verb stems there is also an incorporation of nouns into the verb in order to complete the meaning. 193

Actual double stems occur in the following examples; I shall come and sit down, *wahunawaxkanakoc*, *huruc*, to come, and *kanake*, to sit; I decoy, *wattaxahhuruc*, litterally, I call to come; I fast, *nahnkawawarutenexoc*, literally, sit I eat not; Maximilian gives "to shoot at," as *ohxatakerehuc*, and translates it, "he has gone away wounded;" to sleep is *hanaruc*, to fall asleep, *wahanaeduksahuc*.

Examples of compounding with nouns are: to smoke, *manacxinduc*, tobacco to smoke; to scrape, *unkaheric*, fingers to rub; to swim, *miniputxuhuc*, water to push.

In the foregoing an attempt has been made to present a sketch of the grammatical construction of the Mandan language 000

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

115 riage with the Mandan. Bears Arm supplied information on Eagle-trapping Rites.

115 As the study progressed, less resistance to divulging sacred lore was encountered except in the recording of the People 124 Above rites. The omission or incompleteness of data for some 114 of the rites is due to the shortness of the period of study and the failure of the writer to recognize the significance of some of the rites in interpreting the ceremonial life until the study was nearly completed or while analyzing the data after leaving the field. By that time those who could have supplied the information had died. Additional information on the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan, particularly eagle-trapping, was obtained while making a study of the Hidatsa for the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago under the supervision of Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole in 1932 and 1933. Beloit College transferred the field notes on the Mandan to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago in 1940, and the section on Mandan ceremonial organization was prepared at that time. The writer worked with Crows Heart, now ninety-two years of age and the only survivor of the original group of informants, during the summer of 1947 recording his autobiography. At that time the section dealing with the social organization was checked with him.

128 In the preparation of this manuscript, the writer has attempted to record as fully as possible the myths relating to the ceremony. At times these myths, because of their exceeding length, make reading difficult. However, were the myths removed from their proper context, the meaning of the various rites and practices of the ceremony would be lost. The introductory chapter is a brief summary taken from two other manuscripts recently prepared by the writer. These are: "Archeology of the Upper Missouri" and "A History of the Mandan and Hidatsa." These manuscripts may be examined at the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago. I have purposely avoided reference to cultural similarities to neighboring tribal groups other than to indicate broad cultural similarities with the Hidatsa.

194 In the brief recording of native terms the writer has employed the symbols used by Kennard in his report on "Mandan Gram-

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mar," except in those instances where native terms have been in long use in the literature.[1] 194

The spirants *s* and *c* are the equivalents of English *s* and *sh*, while velar *x* approximates *ch* in German *machen*. Mandan has

PHONOLOGY

	Voiceless Stop	Voiceless Fricative	Voiced	Nasal Voiced	Trills Voiced
Labial.....	*p*	....	*w*	*m*	....
Dental....	*t*	*s*	....	*d*	....
Alveolar...	....	*c*	....	*n*	*r*
Palatal....	*k*	....	....	....	....
Velar.....	....	*x*	....	....	....
Glottal....	ɔ	...	....	....	....
		h			

seven pure oral and three nasalized vowels which vary in length. The qualities approximate these English words: *a* as in "father"; *o* as in "over"; *u* as in "rule"; *i* as in "deep"; *e* as in "plate"; *E* as in "set"; ə as in unaccented *a* in "a dog." *ą*, *i*, and *ṵ* may be nasalized. Diphthongs are absent; vowels brought together either retain their individual qualities or are contracted to produce a long vowel. The flapped *r* occurs only in intervocalic position. Nasals do not appear in final position.

1. Edward Kennard, "Mandan Grammar," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, IX, No. 1, 1–43.

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never before been brought together. Those given by Catlin, Maximilian, Hayden, Morgan and Schoolcraft have been carefully gone over and a composite vocabulary (see following pages) of all the words has been compiled. Several other lists of words were examined and were found to contain only words taken from the above authorities. James Kipp who lived in the Mandan villages for a large part of his life furnished every one of the above mentioned persons with their material, and consequently all vocabularies of the Mandan language come through him. 114

Maximilian and Hayden both left short grammatical sketches, very incomplete, which have, nevertheless, been of considerable assistance in the preparation of this paper.

Mandan texts have been most difficult to obtain, there being only two small publications printed in that language. One is a translation of the Ten Commandments by the Rev. Charles L. Hall.[1] The other is a hymn book containing also the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, prepared by Mr. R. D. Hall, which has been of the greatest assistance in further grammatical study.

PHONETICS: — The question of phonetics in the Mandan is very uncertain. There is no full discussion of the subject and in taking down vocabularies little care seems to have been used to obtain the exact sound, each authority spelling the same word a little differently. Consequently an enumeration of the Mandan sounds can only be an approximation. 194

The vowels were *i*, *e*, *a*, *ŏ*, *o*, *u*, and perhaps *ü*. The *a* seems to be as *a* in "father." The *e* is used as *e* in "met" or as *ä* in German. No distinction can be made between the two as both are used in different vocabularies in the same word.

The *i* is long as in "machine;" *o* is long as in "note;" *ŏ* is short as in "not." A clear distinction between the two *o*'s cannot always be made however. The *u* is long as *oo* in "boot" or as the German *u* in "buch." The German *ü* occurs occasionally in Maximilian but in no other vocabularies.

The vowels seem often to be nasalized (koha^{n}te=corn) as in Dakota, though careless transcription has failed to note this.

[1] See Pilling: Bibliography of the Siouan Languages; Washington 1887, p. 31.

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194 The following consonants appear in Mandan:

	SURD.	SONANT.	SPIRANT.	NASAL
Velar	*q*	–	–	–
Gutteral	*k*	*g*	*x*	–
Alveolar	–	–	*tc*,	*n*
Dental	*t*	*d*, *r*	–	–
Interdental	–	*θ*	–	–
Labial	*p*	*b*	–	*m*
Lateral	*L*	–	–	–
Sibilant	–	–	*c*, *s*	–

Also *h* and *w*.

The *x* is a gutteral like *ch* in German "Bach."

The *w* is perhaps a bilabial, as we find the same word spelled *tewe* and *teve* in different vocabularies.

The *d* and *r* seem to be interchangeable. The *tc* occurs very seldom. Only one case of the lateral *L* is known and Maximilian alone gives it in the case of the word *taxxaL*=what.

The *c* is of very frequent occurrence, and the *k* and *x* sounds are also prominent. The *g* is rarely used and *j*, *l*, *f*, *y*, and *z*, so far as the vocabularies show, do not appear at all. The *m* and *w* sounds often seem to be interchanged. This recalls the Hidatsa where there are two series of three or four interchangeable sounds. Consonants are rarely doubled and are generally separated by vowels, making the language rather smooth.

Of accentuation little can be said as vocabularies either fail to give any accent or differ among themselves. It is probable, however, that the radical syllable usually keeps the main accent.

195 EUPHONIC CHANGES:—Euphonic changes are a prominent feature in many of the Siouan languages, and there is evidence of their occurrence in Mandan, although not with such frequency as in Dakota. In the suffixing of the tense sign certain changes of this sort occur and will be mentioned later. The negative also seems to carry with it alterations for the sake of euphony.

193 THE ROOT:—The root in Mandan seems to be usually monosyllabic and often of but two sounds, a consonant and a

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

800 The author, in his Preface, gives so full an account of the objects and results of his travels in the interior of North America, that it would have been unnecessary for me to prefix any observations of my own, were it not for some circumstances, connected with the translation, which seem to require explanation.

The prospectus of the German original announced that the work would consist of two large quarto volumes, accompanied by a portfolio of above eighty beautifully coloured copper-plates, executed by eminent artists at Paris, from the original drawings. Some specimens of the plates having been brought to London, were so much admired by many competent judges, that Messrs. Ackermann were induced to agree with the Paris publisher for a limited number of copies of the plates; and as it might justly be presumed that the English purchasers would be desirous of having the narrative of the travels, it was resolved to publish a translation compressed into a single volume. By selecting, however, a page of a large size, the translator has been able to retain all the most interesting parts, omitting only minute details of the measurements of animals, &c. All the chapters illustrative of the manners, customs, traditions, and superstitions of the Indians are given without abridgment, and these, as the author justly observes, are by far the most attractive and valuable portions of the work. The papers in the Appendix, giving an account of the plants collected, are also inserted entire, and have been kindly revised by my friend Sir William Hooker.

The principal omission is that of the very extensive vocabularies of the languages of the different Indian tribes. They are written so as to represent the pronunciation in German, and have, in numerous instances, special directions, as thus: kontschue (*oe* as in French, *schue*, short and quick, *ei*). It appeared to be a hopeless and unprofitable task to rewrite these vocabularies, and to represent the true pronunciation in English. Those who are curious in such matters will find many specimens in Mr. Catlin's interesting work.

128 194 The numerous Indian proper names are, of course, written in the original as pronounced in German. It has been thought best to leave them unchanged, merely requesting the reader to observe, in general, that the consonants are pronounced as in English; only that *ch* is guttural, as in the Scotch word *loch*; that *sch* is pronounced *sh*, and that the vowels have the same sound as in French, *ah*, *a*, *ee*, *o*, *oo*.

175 164 The author alludes, in his Preface, to the recent fearful ravages which have been caused among the Indian races by the small-pox. The origin and extent of these ravages will be seen from the following very affecting letter on the subject:

[p. viii]

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Dental	*t*	*d*, *r*	–	–
Interdental	–	*θ*	–	–
Labial	*p*	*b*	–	*m*
Lateral	*L*	–	–	–
Sibilant	–	–	*c*, *s*	–

Also *h* and *w*.

The *x* is a gutteral like *ch* in German "Bach."

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193 THE ROOT:—The root in Mandan seems to be usually monosyllabic and often of but two sounds, a consonant and a

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Of Siouan Origin. As will be seen from a consideration of the accounts and conclusions set forth hereinafter, the Mandans are regarded by the authorities upon this subject as belonging to the great Siouan family, of which the Dakotas are the head and substantial body. It is believed that a close analysis of the foundations for this conclusion will reveal two main sources thereof, i. e., their locality in the territory generally accredited to the Dakotas, and the analogies supposed to exist between their language and that of the Dakotas. 144

Upon this latter phase it has seemed to the writer that the assumption that those analogies exist to an extent which raises a fair presumption of identity between the Mandans and the Dakota tribes, is not borne out by the evidences at hand. If any one familiar with the languages involved has gone into a study to demonstrate that from a comparison of words or roots entering into the language of the Mandans and of the Dakotas or Sioux, respectively, there are found to be sufficient points of resemblance to bear out the claim of identity, such effort has not come to the attention of the writer. Maximilian assembled in a table sets of words of the Mandans, Aricaras and Sioux, of supposed similar meanings, of which he gained knowledge while among those various tribes, but it is far from clear that a comparison of those words indicates common lingual origin between the Mandans and Dakotas. 197 144

We are unable to quote upon this question any authorities among the people who have been in contact with both the Mandans and the Sioux so as to have become masters of both languages. There are several persons, however, who, having more or less special knowledge of one or the other of them, and who, at the same time have been to some extent in contact with that one of the tribes in question whose language they have not mastered, have expressed their views upon this question of common origin or otherwise. Doane Robinson, Secretary of the State Historical Society of South Dakota, and who met and conversed with Simon J. Kirk, an educated Sioux Indian connected with the Indian school service on the Standing Rock reservation, and who for nearly a year was in contact with the Mandans, thus speaks of his (Kirk's) views upon this question:

"Simon Kirk. Little Eagle, South Dakota, is a full blooded Sisseton, reared with his people and perfectly conversant with

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the Santee and other dialects of the Sioux language. He is educated, a graduate of the Santee Normal Institute of Santee, Nebraska, and has long been in the federal classified service as a teacher among the Indians, and was for a year a teacher among the Mandans. In an interview at Little Eagle on July 8th, 1908, he said:

'I made a careful study of the Mandan language and learned to speak it fluently, and I failed to find anything in it to justify the belief that it originated from the Siouan tongue. There is nothing in the language, or in the history or traditions of the Mandans, to justify the theory exploited by the ethnologists that the Mandans are of Siouan stock. They are utterly foreign to the Sioux in language, blood, customs and traditions.' "

Upon this subject Mr. Kirk replied to a letter of inquiry to the writer as follows:

"I will say that as far as I know personally I don't believe the Mandans are Siouan. Their language is entirely different from the Sioux language. I think it is very easy to learn and talk the Gros Ventre and Ree language, but I never heard or knew a Sioux Indian could talk the Mandan language."

On the other hand, Rev. R. D. Hall, now stationed at the Rosebud Indian Mission in South Dakota, where he has been for about one year, and who is a son of Rev. C. L. Hall, of Elbowoods, N. D., the headquarters of the Fort Berthold Indian Agency and of the Mandan Indians, has kindly and very intelligently responded upon a different trend of thought to a similar inquiry put to him by the writer in August, 1908, upon this subject. This gentleman has, we believe, been among the Mandans during practically his whole life until he came to the Sioux country in this state, since his father has been in constant contact with the Mandans as a missionary for something over thirty years. He states his present views, which as will be seen are but tentative and subject to more mature consideration and study of the Sioux language, as follows:

"The subjects on which you touch in your letter are of much interest to me, as one of the first things I noticed as I began studying the Sioux of this reserve—which is about like all the Sioux language, was the similarity of words in so many cases. I am planning at a later date to tabulate these, but as yet have not had time. I have three theories, or lines, along which this similarity may have come. I hope to work this out later on when I can

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speak the Sioux well enough to get into the history of both people intelligently, according to their traditions. 197 144

"My first thought is that the Mandans and Sioux were once a common tribe, or branches of a tribe, but some rupture separated them into two bands whose dialects changed as decades passed. These changes can be seen in the different Sioux tribes now—they even have different words now for some things.

"My second thought is that the Mandan and Sioux were tribes that for a period were on intimate terms, but not related by blood, and that the stronger language 'infected' the Mandan.

"My third thought is that the Mandans were once a Sioux tribe like the Tetons, Santees, Yanktons, etc., but through isolation for years—maybe centuries—became more widely differentiated.

"The similarity of the languages is striking to me, first as to similarity of words, the pronouncing of syllables, facial expression accompanying the words, etc.

"The order of my theories is my present preference."

The italics in the above quotations are those of Rev. Hall himself.

It will be seen that years of constant contact with and study of the Mandans, and a comparatively brief period of residence among and study of the Sioux, have left this gentleman with a decided inclination to believe the two tribes to have been at some time in the past members of the same racial family or group of tribes, and that but one of his three immature theories supposes them to have been originally strangers in blood; but that he is not yet satisfied to settle down upon any definite conclusion upon the subject.

We will leave this particular phase of the general subject, after quoting Dr. W. H. Holmes, chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, wherein he remarks, in connection with the subject of the Welsh language as possibly involved in the alleged existence of Welsh-speaking Indians and as compared to the language of the American Indians: "It is difficult to find any two languages, howsoever distinct in their origin, that do not contain remarkable correspondences. This must be allowed for in considering the presence of Welsh and other words in the Indian tongue." That eminent authority does not credit the idea of Indians of Welsh extraction. But his observation above quoted

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concerning correspondence between languages, however distinct in origin, if applied to the Mandan and Sioux languages, would seem to tend strongly to suggest caution as to their identity, judging upon the facts set forth in the foregoing quotations from Rev. R. D. Hall.

Peaceably Inclined. The Mandans are unquestionably and justly regarded by substantially all the whites who have been among them from the earliest period of their discovery to have been peaceably inclined, in a sense which distinguished them from most of the warlike tribes who surrounded them on the upper Missouri. Yet they possessed high qualities of valor and actual prowess at arms when invasion of their rights led them to war, in some of which contests they without hesitation took the offensive and proved their ability to cope with their enemies under circumstances placing them at a disadvantage. They also maintained exceptionally friendly relations with the whites.

Highly Civilized. Their habitations in strongly entrenched and palisaded "forts," as they were called by the whites; the indubitable proofs of their having been agriculturalists in an eminent degree; their relatively polished and kindly mannerisms and unstinted hospitality, and their skill as artisans in fashioning pottery and other utensils adequate to their needs as families and communities—all seem to argue conclusively an exceptionally high state of civilization and such as marks them as being in a substantial degree apart from all other Indian tribes of the northwest. There are phases of their religious ceremonies which, coupled with some of their legends, lend strong support to the theory of the high character of their civilization and, taken in connection with all their other attributes, including physiognomy, are undeniably persuasive towards the conclusion that they have white blood in their veins and which must have existed for centuries.

The writer will not descend to a detailed description of the individual lodge, or hut, of the Mandans. It would be useless as mere repetition in substance of the various pen pictures given of them by a number of the early observers whose accounts are set forth hereinafter, and to which the reader or the student is referred. Suffice it to remark here that a substantial error has gone into prominent Indian literature upon the subject of the characteristics of such lodges, in Catlin's account and through

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783 We were told never to forget these women, and we make these gifts to them so that they will say a kind word for us.' Their oath is made by the moon or sun. After death they believe they 775 go to the east, and claim that a man killed in battle is better treated, better liked, in the hereafter than one who dies of disease. They cling tenaciously to their old beliefs, customs and 186 habits, and though they have adopted some of the manners of the Sioux and their own allies, the Arickarees and Gros Ventres, they are bitterly opposed to the ways of the whites.

Language Different from Sioux. In speaking of their language •197 Mr. Mitchell says: 'I always contended that Mr. Gallatin was in error in supposing the Mandans and Sioux descended from the same stock. Mr. Kipp, who has been well acquainted with both tribes for upward of thirty years, and speaks both languages with great fluency and correctness, fully concurs with me in opinion. There are a few words that are somewhat similar in sound, but this Mr. Kipp accounts for by the fact of the Sioux and Mandans having been neighbors from time immemorable, and during intervals of peace visiting and intermarrying with each other.' Many of them now speak the Sioux language, and though I consider their vocal language as distinct and different from all others, still high authorities at present class it with the Sioux; that is, being with the same stock." (P. 242.)

From the "Collections of the American Antiquarian Society," Vol. II (Cambridge, 1836), we quote the following concerning the Mandans, in which they are spoken of as one of three tribes of the Minnetarees. What is said therein concerning the chief Big White and the Welsh theory will receive consideration later on.

"The Minetares (Minetaree and Minetaries) consist of three tribes, speaking three different languages which belong to a common stock. Its affinities with the Dahcota are but remote, but have appeared sufficient to entitle them to be considered as of the same family.

105 "Two of those tribes, the Mandans, whose numbers do not exceed fifteen hundred, and the stationary Minetaries, amounting to three thousand souls, including those called Annahwas, cultivate the soil and live in villages situated on or near the Missouri, between the forty-seventh and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude. They are kept in a state of perpetual alarm by the Assiniboines, the Tetons, the Rapid Indians and other erratic

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

tribes, and have on that account often been obliged to change the seat of their villages. 105

"Yet they have often been quarreling with the Ricaras, who like them are agricultural people; and they often make predatory expeditions against the Shoshones, in the eastern valleys of the Rocky mountains. Both the Mandans and the Minnetaries consider themselves as natives of that part of the country.

"The tradition of the Mandans is that they came from under ground by means of a great vine, which, breaking under the weight of some of them, has left behind a part of their nation, whom they expect to join after death. The color of the chief who visited Washington appeared less dark than that of our Indians, and he was the only full-breed Indian ever seen by me, whose eyes were of a bluish cast. It is believed that this is the tribe, often spoken of as White Indians, and which gave rise to the fabulous account of a tribe descended from the Welsh and speaking their language, a tale which the knowledge we have now acquired of the various Indian nations and of their dialects has set at rest. 173 142

"The vocabulary of the stationary Minetaries and the specimen of the Crow of Upsaroka dialect were obtained by Dr. Say. We knew from Lewis and Clarke that the Mandans spoke a kindred dialect, and this has been confirmed by the significant names of their chiefs, subscribed to a treaty with the United States. Lewis and Clarke appear to have considered the Rapid, Fall or Paunch Indians, sometimes also called the "Minetaries of the Prairies," as belonging to the same family. But all the subsequent accounts agree in assigning to them an entirely distinct language." (P. 125.) 197

The above reference to the "chief who visited Washington" (Big White) is from Albert Gallatin.

We will here refer to the note by Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson on the Mandans, found among his notes on "Historical Sketch of North and South Dakota," by Dr. William M. Blackburn, in Hist. Coll., S. D., Vol. I, page 98, being a very concise and creditable summary of the tribe. In that note Dr. Robinson affirms that "their traditions give their former abode as being about the headwaters of Lake Winnipeg. It is probable that they were driven from their homes at Lake Winnipeg about 1680 by the Crees and Assiniboines, both powerful tribes which about this period came into possession of firearms. Their first stopping place, after being driven out by their enemies, was on the Mis- 174

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

they speak different languages; and it is necessary they should, for their villages are not more than six miles apart. The Mandans speak the same tongue of the Osage, but have a different accent, and dialect. They were once a numerous, war-like people, but have been reduced by the smallpox, and by their enemies, the Sioux, to less than four hundred warriors." (Pages 180 to 183 LeRaye's journal.)

After having tarried eight days with the Mandans, LeRaye and his Indian escorts left there, arriving on the 13th July, 1802, at the Gros Ventre village "on the lower side of the Batteau (Knife) river," called the Meniture village. Another village, called Meni-tar-u-miti-ha-tah, is situated on the upper side of the Batteau river. These villages are larger than the Mandans, built in the same manner, and containing about 600 warriors, and about 2500 inhabitants. They were formerly more numerous, but the smallpox has made its ravages among them. These people deposit their dead in the same manner as the Mandans, but at a greater distance from their villages."

Marriage Ceremony. Here LeRaye gives interesting particulars of an Indian marriage ceremony at the last mentioned village: "Proclamation was made, by one of the relations, that on the next day, in the morning, the marriage would be celebrated." The next morning "The company assembled at her father's lodge, where the chief of the village attended. He informed the company, that the young man, calling him by name, intended to take the girl, calling her by name, to be his wife. He then asked each of them if that were their intention, which each of them answered in the affirmative. The chief then handed them a small rod, which was broken between them. The groom then broke his part into a number of small pieces, and handed them to the men who stood near to him. The bride did the same with her part of the rod, which consummated the marriage. Fire was then brought, and the sacred pipe was lighted. After all the men had smoked in it, the dance commenced, which was continued for several hours." Down to the point of smoking, the foregoing seems to have been strikingly similar to the usual civilized marriage ceremony of those times.

Rocky Mountain Hunt. After a feast on July 2nd, 1802, the Indians, still holding LeRaye, and accompanied by Pardo, set out on the fall hunt to the Yellowstone and the Rocky mountains;

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

clination to coalesce. The Mandan and Gros Ventre (or Minnetaree) languages are somewhat alike, and probably of a very distinct common origin; but no resemblance has yet been discovered between either of these and the Aricaree ('Ricaras'). Almost every member of each trib understands the languages of the other tribes, yet he speaks his own most fluently; so it is not an uncommon thing to hear a dialogue carried on in two languages, one person, for instance, questioning in Mandan, and the other answering back in Gros Ventre, and vice versa.

"Many of them understand the Dakota tongue, and use it as a means of intercommunication, and all understand the sign language. So, after all, they have no trouble in making themselves understood by one another. These Indians must have excellent memories and 'good capacity for study;' for it is not uncommon to find persons among them, some even under twenty years of age, who can speak fluently four or five different languages." (p. 17-18.)

As showing the aptness of the Rees and Mandans in working in glass or absidian, Matthews says:

Glass-Work—Beads. "The articles of glass spoken of above are chiefly of two kinds. First, large, globular, or ellipsoidal beads; and, second, flat, irregularly triangular plates or pendants, which are glazed only on one side, and have a hole at the apex. The art of making these deserves more than a mere mention, since it is commonly believed that the aboriginal Americans, even the more civilized races, knew nothing of the manufacture of glass at the time of the Columbian discovery. The very earliest ethnographical account we have of the Aricarees and Mandans shows that they knew how to make glass beads; and there is no doubt that the process employed in 1804 was essentially the same as that employed today." (Here follows the account given by Lewis and Clarke, already set forth herein and quoted by Matthews; after which he resumes:)

Not Glass Product. "This art is now only occasionally practiced in the village, and is mostly confined to the making of the flat triangular pendants. I have heard the process described in much the same way as in the above quotation. From this quotation, however, which is in part ambiguous, the inference might be drawn that the ornaments, when completed consist entirely of

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 or Mandan, and more difficult to distinguish it from the latter than from the former of these two. The tones of these four languages belonging to the Dakota group are somewhat alike; so much alike that a person possessing but limited acquaintance with them might mistake one for another, hearing it at a distance as I have described. But the contrast in tone between these tongues and the neighboring, but alien, Aricaree is well marked, and any quick-eared person might learn at once to distinguish it from them."

Matthews declares that the tendency to coalescence in the languages of the tribes confederated at Ft. Berthold has been slight since they were known to the whites. He says:

Changes in Course of Time. Coalescence Slight. "I have said that the three languages spoken in the village at Fort Berthold show no perceptible inclination to coalesce (Ethnography, Sec. 13.) I have said this, well knowing that the statement was somewhat at variance with the opinions of earlier observers. The few Mandan and Minnetaree words given by Lewis and Clarke in proper names show, as far as they go, that the languages have not materially changed since 1804. There are now, and doubtless there were in 1804, many points of correspondence between the Mandan and Hidatsa languages; but there are none which may not be more easily explained by supposing the two languages to have sprung from a common source than by supposing them to have been reciprocally changed by contact. I never could discover that the Hidatsa and Mandan spoken by the rising generation resembled one another more than did those languages spoken by the old men. I do not claim that the long and intimate intercourse which has existed between these two tribes has produced no approximation or coalescence of their languages. It is but reasonable to suppose that the contrary is the case; but I could never get an Indian to point out to me, nor could I ever otherwise discover, a satisfactory instance of such coalescence." (p. 84-85.)

He further claims that the Mandan and Aricaree languages are totally different:

Mandan and Ree Languages—No Resemblance. "Throughout the past hundred years, the Mandans have had as much intercourse with the Aricarees as with the Minnetarees; yet I never

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ould trace any resemblance between the modern Mandan and 197
Aricaree tongues. As far as I have observed them, there is not
single word alike in both. It is not likely that intercourse has
produced a noteworthy approximation of languages in one case
nd none whatever in the other. There is no doubt that the
Hidatsa language has changed in the course of time; but the
hange has resulted chiefly from causes other than the influence
f the Mandan tongue. Some of the old men occasionally con-
verse among themselves in terms which younger members of the
ribe do not understand, and, when asked what they mean, they
ay they are trying to speak the old language." (p. 84.)

Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, D. D., LL. D., who was for so long a 114
nissionary of the Congregational church among the Dakota and
other Indians, and who is author of the "Dakota Grammar and
Dictionary" and "Gospel Among the Dakotas," has, in his book
entitled "Mary and I. Forty Years With the Sioux" (W. C.
Holmes, Chicago, 1880), given some account of the Mandans,
whom he visited at Fort Berthold in 1874. We quote from said
work, pages 271, et seq., the following:

Riggs' Observations On Mandans. "Here (at Fort Berthold, 161
N. D.) were gathered the remnant of the Mandans, only a few
hundred persons, and the Rees, or Aricarees, a part of the Pawnee 197
tribe, and the Gros Ventres, or Minnetaree, properly the Hidatsa. 191
Altogether they numbered about two thousand souls. We had
before this entertained the desire that we might be able to es-
tablish a mission among these people, and this thought or hope
gave interest to my visit. The Mandan and the Hidatsa languages
were both pretty closely connected with the Dakota; but what
seemed to bring these nearer to us was the fact that many of all
these people could understand and talk the Dakota, that forming
a kind of common language for them.

"**Howard Mandan**, or 'The-man-with-a-sacred-face,' as his In- 000
dian name is interpreted, was the son of **Red Cow**, the principal
chief of the Mandans, and had been taken down by Gen. C. H.
Howard, a year before, and placed in A. L. Riggs' school at
Santee. Howard had returned home before my visit, and also
Henry Eaton, a Hidatsa young man, who had been east a good
many years and talked English well.

"George Catlin had, many years ago, interested us in the Man-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

(2) Nup'tadi (no meaning); (3) Ma'nana'rE ("Those Who Quarreled"); (4) Awi'-ka-xa (no meaning); and (5) Nu'itadi ("Our People").

While living in the Heart River region, dialectic differences also existed between bands. Three major dialectic groups existed then, according to Crows Heart and Scattercorn: Nuptadi, Nuitadi, and Awigaxa. The latter group was small and was assimilated into the Nuitadi after the first smallpox epidemic. Linguistic differences between the Nuptadi and Nuitadi were recognized by Maximilian, who prepared a partial list of Mandan words of the two dialects.[1] These differences are still recognized by Mandan informants. The Nuitadi was the largest linguistic group and comprised the Nuitadi proper, the Is'topa, and the Ma'nana'rE. The latter two bands separated from the Nuptadi proper for economic reasons when the village population became too large for the further exploitation of the corn grounds.

In historic times and before coming to Fort Clark, according to Crows Heart, the Istopa and MananarE had separate villages. In addition, there were several villages of Nuitadi. The Istopa were believed to occupy the territory north of the Heart River and had as their nearest neighbors the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa, who moved there from below the Cannonball River. Their principal village was at the Motsiff site. Crows Heart's grandmother was of the Istopa band, and she was born in their village near the present town of Sanger, North Dakota.

The Mandan have been a relatively small tribe since the first smallpox epidemic which reached them before leaving the Heart River villages. Lewis and Clark reported ruins of their villages in that region in 1804, and the natives informed him that in their time nine villages were occupied simultaneously. The east-side villages united into one village and moved northward, while the west-side group united first into two villages and later into one village and moved northward along the west bank of the Missouri and settled at Fort Clark Village.

There is some inconsistency in the Mandan migration myths,

1. Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. R. G. Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906), XXIV, 259.

3: Will and Spind[illegible] (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

SECTION III.

LANGUAGE.

197 The language of the Mandans is unquestionably of the Siouan stock, but does not appear to show very much closer affiliation with one than with another branch of that stock. The Hidatsa is perhaps nearest to the Mandan but even that differs materially both in vocabulary and grammatical construction. It has been said that the Winnebago resembles most closely the Mandan, but from a careful comparison with vocabularies containing over one hundred equivalents from some six or seven Siouan dialects it appears that this resemblance is not as great as that between the Winnebago and the Iowa.

197 The Mandans were excellent linguists and we are told by early travellers that they were accustomed to learn the lan-
191 guages of nearly all their neighbors, while very few of the other tribes ever learned Mandan. Such a condition was apt to bring about considerable change in the language, and very likely it did so. Maximilian was told by the old men that in their youth the Mandan and Hidatsa resembled each other much less than they did in 1834. The songs of the Okeepa and society dances were in an older language which no one but the medicine men and those whom they taught understood. And lastly at this time the Mandans in the two villages spoke different dialects. The ones on the south side of the river, who thus had more intercourse with the Hidatsa, spoke a dialect resembling that language more closely than did the dialect in the northern village. Words in the south village became shortened to resemble the more abrupt speech of the Hidatsa, and sound changes, notably that of *d* for *n*, crept in from the latter.

114 Information upon the Mandan language is exceedingly scarce and no very accurate or full grammatical sketch exists. Small vocabularies are found in many places, but these have

I. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS.

	Mandan	Hidatsa	Crow	Dakota	Iowa	Catawba
I	miona	miki	bi	miye	meae	diyi
thou	niona	diki	di	niye	deae	yiye
he	iona	iki	i	iye	aeae	owa
we	nuona	midoki	birud	unkiye-pi	heae	hiha
you	niaona	didoki	dirud	niye-pi	dewe	wiwa
they	iaona	hidoki	irud	iye-pi	aeae	owa

II. SUBJECTIVE INCORPORATED PRONOUNS.

	Mandan	Hidatsa	Crow	Dakota	Iowa	Omaha	Winnebago	Catawba
I	wa-	ma-	b-	wa-	ha-	wi-	ne-	di- de- or mi-
thou	θa or da-	da-	d-	ya-	ra-	thi-	neninenu	yi- or ye-
he	i-	—	i-	—	ae-	e-	e-	owa- or oa-
we (dual)	nunompca-	—	—	u^n	—	—	—	napri
we	nu-	ma-	bu-	un-pi	he-	ungu-	newankerina-	hi- or ha-
you	niaθa-	da-	du-	ya-pi	de	thi-	—	wi-
they	ia-	—	i-	-pi	ae-	e-	—	oa-

III. CONJUGATION OF TO EAT.

	Mandan	Hidatsa	Crow	Dakota	Winnebago
Root	rut	dut	duc	yut	rut
I eat	wawarutoc	muti (ts)	babuce	mata	wahatcona
thou eatest	θawarutoc	duti (ts)	baduce	yata	waratcona
he eats	ihwarutoc	duti (ts)	ibaduce	yuta	ewarutcona
we eat	nuwarutoc	muti (ts)	———	u^ntapi	hewarutcuwinu
you eat	niawarutoc	duti (ts)	———	yatapi	anatcwaratciwize
they eat	iawarutoc	duti (ts)	———	yutapi	anatcwaratcide

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IV. POSSESSIVE PREFIXED FORMS.

	Mandan	Hidatsa	Crow	Dakota	Iowa	Winnebago	Catawba
my	mi-	ma-	ba-	mi- or ma-	he-	nianinu	di-
thy	ni-	di-	da-	ni-	de-	zeku	yi-
his	i- or iko-	i-	i-	—	e-	—	oa-
ours	nu-	ma-	—	u^n-pi	he-	nianiwida	dowa-
yours	nia-	di-	—	ni-pi	de-	acinina	—
theirs	iona-	i-	—	—	e-	ianideda	owa-

V. NUMERALS.

	Mandan	Hidatsa	Crow	Dakota	Omaha	Winnebago	Osage	Catawba
one—	maxana	duetsa	hamat	wantca	wi	izakida	minehi	dube
two—	nompah	dopa	nop	nonpa	wamba	nomp	nomba	no^nprere
three—	nameni	dami	nam	yamni	thabathi	tan	laubena	nomnere
four—	tohpa	topa	cop	topa	duba	cop	toba	porprere
five—	kexu	kihu	tsixop	zaptan	satan	satc	satta	poktrere
six—	kima	akama	akamak	cakpe	cape	akewe	cappa	dipkrare
seven—	kuhpa	sapua	xapua	cakowi^n	penamba	shagowe	panomba	wassignurere
eight—	tettaka	dopapi	nopape	caxdogan	pethabathi	haniwunk	kelauban	dowesare
nine—	maxpe	duetsapi	amatape	napci^{n}wanka	canka	hizakicanskani	canka	wantcharere
ten—	piraq	pitiki	piraka	wikcemma	y'ethka	kerapunaze	crabra	pitchinere
eleven—	ahga maxana	ahpiduetsa	piraka mata	ake wantca	'ay'thwi	izukida cina	augre minehi	pitchin napere hasare

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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SOCIAL LIFE OF THE MANDAN.

Clan System.

The study of ancient Mandan society is rendered unusually difficult through the almost complete extinction of the tribe. There are probably not more than half a dozen full-blood Mandan living on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota. Though the census of 1910 sets their number at 197, this is given on the basis of the native way of tracing descent so as to include all those whose mothers only were Mandan or were according to the matrilineal principle of descent reckoned as Mandan. Living for a long period in close contact with the more numerous Hidatsa, with whom intermarriage has taken place to a considerable extent, the younger Mandan so-called hardly ever speak Mandan as fluently or correctly as Hidatsa.[1]

Under these circumstances the question naturally arises over and over again whether a given feature common to Mandan and Hidatsa culture is not an Hidatsa trait shared by the Mandan only since their practical absorption in the neighboring tribe. This naturally complicates the sufficiently difficult question as to the relative contributions of the two tribes to their common cultural stock. On this subject widely varying views have been held. Thus, Morgan, rather cavalierly assumed that agriculture and the earth-lodge were brought into the region by the Hidatsa and borrowed by the Mandan,[2] while Matthews has expressed the opposite opinion.[3]

Since in culture the Hidatsa differ from the Crow far more than the affinity of the two languages and hence presumable recency of their separation would lead us to expect, it seems natural to refer such divergence as exists to Mandan influence on the Hidatsa. This interpretation would lead to thoroughly satisfactory results if we could be sure that recently collected Mandan data indicating cultural identity with the Hidatsa reflect ancient Mandan conditions. Unfortunately, we are frequently without the means of checking our information on account of the inadequacy of the early accounts.

A point of great importance regarding the Mandan is their local and linguistic differentiation. Whatever may be the fact as to the nine villages they are said to have inhabited about the Heart River confluence in 1750,[4]

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[1] It may be noted in this connection that these languages, though both of the Siouan stock, are only remotely related.

[2] Morgan, (b), part II, chapter 6.

[3] Matthews, 371.

[4] Handbook of American Indians, 1, 797.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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197 or the thirteen villages with which Maximilian's informants credited them,[1] in the beginning of the nineteenth century there certainly were two villages, Nū'pta (Ruhptare) and Mị'tuṭąk (Mihtuttahangkusch), speaking distinct dialects, as is demonstrated by Maximilian's vocabularies.[2] One of my informants added a third village, Istápe, (given by Morgan as a clan name), where she said the Nū'pta dialect was spoken.

621 It is clear from Maximilian's data that between Nū'pta and Mị'tuṭąk
[184] there was also a minor cultural differentiation in the matter of dances. The question in connection with our immediate problem is how to conceive
614 the relation of the villages to the social divisions. Maximilian tells us that
174 the Mandan called themselves "Nū'mangkā'ke" (*nū'makā'ki*) i. e., people, and were wont to add the name of the village from which they had originally come. Thus, there were Prairie-chicken people, so-called after the Prairie-chicken village; Bear people, Cactus people, Badger people,— all named from corresponding villages.

> Obgleich nun alle die oben genannten Dörfer nicht mehr existiren, so nennen sich dennoch alle diese Indianer ihrer Abstammung zufolge noch nach denselben.[3]

This is a clear-cut statement to the effect that the Mandan clans developed in recent times from formerly distinct local groups. If we assume that the ancient village scheme involved local exogamy and matrilineal descent, or that the latter was grafted on the former, possibly through borrowing, the fusion of people from different settlements would quite naturally lead to the evolution of exogamous clans. The statement of one of my informants that all the clans were found in both Mị'tuṭąk and Nū'pta is not inconsistent with such a line of development since this condition would be readily brought about by intermarriage. However, all this is pure speculation and the questions involved will only become clearer after considering the social organization of the Mandan as sketched by recent informants and comparing it with that of the Hidatsa and other tribes.

616 The Mandan were divided into non-exogamous moieties corresponding
[171] in name to those of the Hidatsa, viz., Three-clans (nū'makā'ki ō'rehe nā'mini) and Four-clans (nū'makā'ki ō're tōp). According to Black-chest, the names of the moieties and the constituent clans were originated by the legendary warrior Seven-wolf when returning from a victorious expedition against the Arikara. Information is very meager as to the functions of the dual division in tribal life, but here there is again close correspondence to Hidatsa conditions. During a general council of the Mandan the Three-

[1] Maximilian, II, 103.
[2] *ibid.*, 557–561.
[3] *ibid.*, 104.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

formed this last office, unties the animal and leads it away. If a Mandan or Manitari falls in battle, and the news of his death reaches the family, who are unable to recover the body, a buffalo skin is rolled up and carried to the village. All those who desire to lament the deceased assemble, and many articles of value are distributed among them. The mourners cut off their hair, wound themselves with knives, and make loud lamentations. Joints of the fingers are not cut off here, as among the Blackfeet, as a token of mourning, but as signs of penance and offering to the lord of life and the first man. 765

The English and French find the pronunciation of the Mandan language extremely difficult; while to a German, or a Dutchman, it is considerably easier, because it contains very many gutturals, like *ach*, *och*, *uch*, in German. The nasal sounds, on the contrary, are few, but they frequently speak in a very indistinct way, having the mouth scarcely opened. The vowels are often softened, and much depends on the way in which the accent falls. The vowels *a* and *u* are often only half pronounced, but occur very frequently. I collected many words, as specimens of the language, and wrote down phrases, and made an attempt to compile a grammar of the Mandan language, but the completion of it was, unfortunately, hindered by unfavourable circumstances. Several old persons assured me that they perfectly remembered that, in their youth, many resemblances between the Mandan and Manitari languages did not then exist, which have since gradually crept in; the two languages being then quite different, which, indeed, they are still, in the main. As nations and allies, however, they have reciprocally adopted many words and expressions, and hence there is a better understanding among them now than heretofore, and their intercourse is greatly facilitated. Time will, undoubtedly, produce a still closer approximation. It is a remarkable fact, and proves how easily the separation of single tribes, and even villages, of one and the same nation, leads to changes in the language, and transitions into other dialects. An example of this kind was presented in the two Mandan villages, where many diversities of language had already taken place. I collected several specimens of this kind, and, to me, it was highly interesting. The Mandans are more apt in learning foreign languages than many other nations. Thus, the majority of them speak the Manitari language, whereas but few of the latter understand the Mandan language. Most of the American nations, at least, those on the Missouri, are said to have no maledictory words or terms of abuse; the Mandans have nothing of the kind but the expression—"bad people." The article is wanting in the Mandan language, and there is no distinction of gender, except in addressing a man or a woman. For my observations on the Mandan language, I am chiefly indebted to the kindness and patience of Mr. Kipp, who had lived eleven years among that people, had married an Indian wife, and had attained a perfect knowledge of the language. The Mandan names always have a signification, and are often equivalent to whole sentences: all surrounding objects are made use of in giving 197 197 551

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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names. I subjoin a few singular specimens: "The bear which is a spirit;" "The bull which is a spirit;" "I hear somebody coming;" "There are seven of them married to old women," &c.

In conclusion I would say that some have affirmed that they have found, in North America, Indians who spoke the Gaelic language; this has been said of the Mandans; but it has long been ascertained that this notion is unfounded, as well as the assertion that the Mandans had a fairer complexion than the other Indians.

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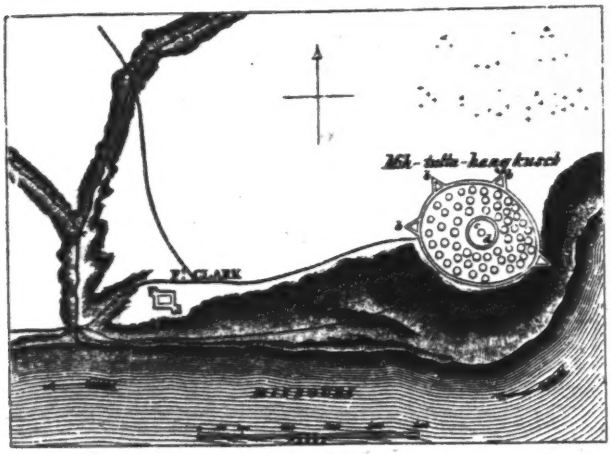

a Scaffolds for the dead, and poles with offerings. Vignette XIV., p. 381. Plate XXV. and p. 389.

b The Mandan village—Mih-tutta-hang-kusch.

c The open space in the centre of the village.

d The ark of the first man, p. 342.

e The stream in which the dishes are washed.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter IV

THE OKIPA CEREMONY

796 THE Okipa[1] ceremony was an elaborate and complicated affair. It was a dramatization of the creation of the earth,
• 198 its people, plants, and animals, together with the struggles the Mandan endured to attain their present position. The history of the tribe was a part of the secret lore held by the officers of the ceremony. The uninformed could pay to have the creation myths told but could not repeat them. The songs, chants, and rituals were conducted by men who by virtue of inheritance and purchase had acquired that right, but the words were unintelligible to the population at large, being, according to tradition, in an ancient Nuptadi dialect. Only the legitimate officers understood their meaning, and that information was never divulged to another except when purchase was being made into the ceremony. The few phrases recognized, such as "Corn Mother" and "Thunder Father," were insufficient to understand the substance of the rites.

796 Certain arrangement of lodges within the village was necessary for the performance of the ceremony. Each village had an
361 open circle some one hundred and fifty feet in diameter reserved for this ceremony, and lodges were not permitted in that section. A cedar post, surrounded by a plank wall, occupied the center of this open circle, and lodges were arranged around the circle with their entrances toward the cedar.

361 The ceremonial lodge was to the north of the cedar and was a
316 part of the row of lodges facing toward the open circle. It was distinguishable from the other lodges by its flat side at the entrance (see Fig. 13), which was to the south. It was so oriented that the entrance faced in the direction Lone Man[4] went when he left the tribe.

Since lodges were not permitted within the open circle, nor were ashes and refuse deposited there, through normal accumu-

1. The word *okipE'* means "to look alike" and refers to the Bull Dancers, who were of the same stature and were painted and dressed alike for the dances.

4 [culture hero; impersonated in the Okipa ceremony - Analyst]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

chief's lodge, where they waited for Lone Man. Dressed in his ceremonial paraphernalia, he came directly toward the village from the prairies to the south.[12] When he reached the village, he was met by the Black Mouth Society men (the police), who questioned him as to whether he was a friend or enemy until he had made known his identity and explained that he had come from his home on a high hill, generally associated with Buffalo Home Butte, in the south to open their Okipa lodge door for the buffalo dance. He was taken directly to the lodge by the custodian of the Okipa lodge, where the head men were assembled. There he told of the time when he lived with the Mandan. He told of the conflict with Hoita concerning a white buffalo robe and that he had once freed the animals from the Dog Den Butte so the Mandan would not starve. He told how he had saved them from the flood and that he had given them the turtles, sacred cedar, Okipa lodge, and the ceremony itself. He told them that he returned every year when the willow leaves were full grown to open their Okipa lodge. He was dressed in a wolf robe, and his body and face were painted white; he wore a headdress of porcupine hair fringed with jackrabbit fur, and on the top of this he had tied a stuffed raven. His collar and anklets were of jackrabbit skin. He carried a wooden pipe in the left hand and in the right hand a flattened ash club with the moon and thunderbird on one side, the morning star and the sun on the other.

The head chief sent the announcer through the village to order all the women and small children to stay in their lodges and to keep their dogs tied up inside while the Lone Man made the rounds of the village relating the origin of the people[13] and their struggles against starvation and floods. At lodges in which resided young men who were to be tortured during the ceremony, he secured knives which he took to the Okipa lodge to be used later in cutting the flesh of the ones undergoing the torture feature. He carried a bag of pemmican from which he gave each man a handful. Much of the day was spent in relating the history of the people and the manner of acquiring all the things he had given the people to make them happy.

12. At Like-a-Fishhook Village he approached from downstream, which was from an easterly direction.

13. Witnesses to this portion of the ceremony say that a very old language was used, the words being largely unintelligible.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

lodge again, Lone Man would get up and ask the Black Bears and Grizzly Bears to go out and see if there were any offerings to them. They would go outside. At the same time the Birds would be walking around watching the Antelopes. The Stars were painted in red with white spots all over. There was one man dressed as Dry Meat, and he would have red marks in different places over his body. 796

FIG. 23.—Okipa ceremony impersonators: Snake and Beaver. (After Catlin.)

The singers told us to stand in front of them. Lone Man would say something I could not understand, for he used an old Mandan dialect, but afterward I learned that he was saying something which had to do with a cleaning act to make us light and active in dancing. [198]

Then Lone Man said that the singers should begin again. The men with the rattles began and the other singers joined in beating the turtles. It seemed that the earth was shaking. At that time First Creator was gone, but I saw him afterward on the south side of the cedar. All that time, two Women, four Buf-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

in the traditions about their clothing. They continued moving up the river until they came to the mouth of the Missouri River. They saw many trees on the Mississippi River and decided to go across and live on the Mississippi. They stayed in that country for three or four years, all the time planting corn along the river. They said, "We have discovered a better river and it will be a good place to plant the corn." They discovered fine evergreen trees, and we have called them medicine trees since that time. 773 539

There were no bows and arrows in those days, and one of the men made a bow and arrows, practicing with them and picking out sharp bones with which to tip the arrows. He also found the sinews that would stretch the bow. We do not know if they were eating meat or not at that time. There were many elk, deer, and beaver on this river, and that is why they called it Good River. At that time they found a dead buffalo in a mud hole, and one of them said that they ought to take the hide off and cut it into a long string to catch deer with. When they took the hide off, they cut the strings and twisted them to dry. Then they made a loop on the end. They would go out and find deer trails to hang it in to catch the deer. They made many of these snares and set them out in many places. They would find some dead deer and even some elk hanging there.

After they learned how to do this, they had plenty of meat to eat with their corn. They stayed at that place for over ten years. It was at this time that they learned how to use the bow and arrows tipped with bone, to kill smaller game.

Again they moved from there farther up the Mississippi River until they found a place where there was much timber but the surrounding land was flat. They found a flat place where the timber was not so thick, and there they lived for six years. At that time they called themselves Nu'itadi, meaning "from us." Some of them were called Nup'tadi (no meaning); another group was called Awi'gaxa (no meaning). One of the latter two bands moved from the others under a chief named Four Bulls and came to a place where there was much timber. The village after the split must have been in the western part of Minnesota not far from Pipestone.

They traveled southward then until they came to heavy timber and had a big village[41] there. While there they learned more about bows and arrows and could shoot even beavers and other game. Then they had plenty of food. Again they traveled on through the deep timber and had another village, staying there for four years. The earth lodges at that time were of the eagle-trapping type with grass and dirt covering the sides.

When they stopped there, a man went out looking for game and followed a creek. He saw some mud sticking out of a hill, and there was a spring at that place. The mud was sticky; he took some of it out and carried it away a short distance. He left some of it flat on the ground to dry. When he went back where he had left the mud, it was hard except that there was one crack. He thought that there should be some use for that mud. He thought, "I will get some sand and mix it with this mud and leave it again. It might be of some use." Then he went home again. When he returned, the mud was still cracked. He thought, "If I crack some stones and crush them fine to mix with the clay,

41. These villages were named in the Okipa ceremony, but the language used was unintelligible to the listener, as it was an old dialect. The translation was a part of the secret lore which passed with bundle sales. [198]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

When our fathers had sat down, one of our number, Wounded-face, rose and said, "Well, comrades and women friends, listen. We have brought our food here, and we wish to select our fathers tonight. Do each of you rise and set your food before your father." Then each of us rose, picked up his kettle, and walked past the door-side of the fireplace to his father. I picked out one of my clan fathers and gave him my kettle; then I returned to my place. Black-head, who had watched my movements, then came forward and brought her kettle to the man indicated as my father. Those purchasers who had no clan fathers among the sellers selected anyone they pleased for their individual father. The fathers ate of the food, leaving some for their wives, who emptied the kettles and returned them to their husbands. Then Good-bear called me by name and said, "Come, son, and get your kettle." I went towards him and stood before him. Then Good-bear prayed to the supernatural powers: "I have gone through the Oki'pɛ ceremony myself and have undergone great hardships for your sake. In other ceremonies I have also undergone suffering. Before I underwent this suffering, I thought you would help me whenever I could not do something by my own power. I have no power to give honor marks, therefore I ask you to help me by securing honor marks for my son." Then I took both kettles and went back to my place, where I returned to Black-head her own kettle. Each of the boys acted in a similar way. 575 527 432 533 535

After all of us had sat down, our fathers began to sing. They beat drums, but did not dance. They sang these words: —

"ma'kitâ'ni máhuna."
"You, wake up and come."

[These words are supposed to be addressed to one's sweetheart.]

Four times they sang such songs. Then came a second set of songs, during which the fathers danced in their places. When they had done dancing, they addressed us in obsolete Mandan, saying, "Sī! i'karẽ'xoc!" ("Clan son, daylight is here!") Shot-foot, one of the fathers, rose to address us. He said, "Sī, we wish you to give us a ten nights' feast. This will give us time to prepare clothes for you." [198]

This meeting took place in the evening, each of our female "friends" brought in a bundle of willows carried by means of a tump line and a second line passing around the breast. The bundles were piled up on the left side of the door (for one entering), and from time to time one of the boys would rise to keep up the fire. This purchase took place in midsummer. I was about 20 years old at the time.

On each of the ten nights the fathers came in in the same way as the first time, and the mode of procedure was the same. On the tenth night, the fathers said, "Sons, we have done; tomorrow we shall give you your things." On the following morning we came back to the same lodge and took our seats, but without any kettles. Our women "friends" also came in and sat down. This time, however, we were not ranged in an ellipse as before, but sat in the arc of a circle, with our "friends" in a similar arc from 4½ to 5 feet behind us. Until this day White-bear's house had served as the place of assembly for the fathers prior to their approach to our own meeting-place, but this morning each came from his own lodge, their wives carrying the clothes to be presented to the purchasers of the society. The fathers sat down in a curved line opposite to ours, and their wives took seats behind them. There were about thirty fathers; sometimes two boys had the same father. They planted two sticks into the ground in the rear (mana'ktata) of the lodge. One of the sticks was hooked, and its shaft was wrapped with otterskin; three eagle feathers hung down from the end of the hook. The second stick was straight and also wrapped with otterskin; 575 432 527 533 535 293

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LETTER—No. 18.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

461 The Mandans, like all other tribes, lead lives of idleness and leisure; and of course, devote a great deal of time to their sports and amusements, 535 of which they have a great variety. Of these, dancing is one of the principal, and may be seen in a variety of forms: such as the buffalo dance, the boasting dance, the begging dance, the scalp dance, and a dozen other kinds of dances, all of which have their peculiar characters and meanings or objects.

535 These exercises are exceedingly grotesque in their appearance, and to the 533 eye of a traveller who knows not their meaning or importance, they are an 198 uncouth and frightful display of starts, and jumps, and yelps, and jarring gutturals, which are sometimes truly terrifying. But when one gives them a little attention, and has been lucky enough to be initiated into their mysterious meaning, they become a subject of the most intense and exciting interest. Every dance has its peculiar step, and every step has its meaning; every dance also has its peculiar song, and that is so intricate and mysterious oftentimes, that not one in ten of the young men who are dancing and singing it, know the meaning of the song which they are chanting over. None but the medicine-men are allowed to understand them; and even they are generally only initiated into these secret arcana, on the payment of a liberal stipend for their tuition, which requires much application and study. There is evidently a set song and sentiment for every dance, for the songs are perfectly measured, and sung in exact time with the beat of the drum; and always with an uniform and invariable set of sounds and expressions, which clearly indicate certain sentiments, which are expressed by the voice, though sometimes not given in any known language whatever.

They have other dances and songs which are not so mystified, but which are sung and understood by every person in the tribe, being sung in their own language, with much poetry in them, and perfectly metred, but without rhyme. On these subjects I shall take another occasion to say more; and will for the present turn your attention to the style and modes in which some of these curious transactions are conducted.

535 My ears have been almost continually ringing since I came here, with the din of yelping and beating of the drums; but I have for several days

648 Among a number of other customs, was treaty making with other tribes. This was well described by Henry who accompanied the Mandans and Hidatsa when they went to make a treaty with the Cheyennes. Most of the people went on these treaty visits; the band marched in a procession of fixed order and a number of ceremonial objects were carried exposed throughout the march. The party was met with great ceremony by the new allies and its members were taken into their [597] houses. Several days of ceremonial feasting occurred and finally the head chief of each party adopted a son from the other [439] tribe. After this there was more feasting and several days of trade between the two bands, when both returned home.

597 The adoption of sons occurred also among the different families. Maximilian describes the adoption of a "medicine son" to whom a sacred pipe was given. The man chose his adopted son through a dream. The new pipe was consecrated and gifts were showered upon the son's family by the adopted father and his relatives. A dance and feast was then held. This custom was prevalent over all the Missouri region.

838 There were a number of men who dressed and acted like women and were treated in every way as such. These men claimed to follow this life by an order from the spirits given to them in a dream.

567 Catlin says that the Mandans did not have slaves and there is no mention of them elsewhere. The Arikara, however, had a regular slavery system, and the Crows made slaves and sold • 201 them on the Missouri. The Mandans were very good at the sign language so Maximilian tells us. They were expert swim- 481 mers, and collected their whole supply of wood by swimming 313 out and towing in the drift wood at the time of the spring break-ups.

511 In point of general culture the Mandans were superior to any of their immediate neighbors, surpassing even the other sedentary people, the Hidatsa and Arikara. Catlin says that they had advanced far in the arts of manufacture and had more comforts and luxuries than other tribes. When Verendrye saw them he, too, was struck by their superior skill. He said that the Mandans dressed leather and worked in feathers better

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

feasted their fathers for twelve nights. My informant received a tin rattle, as his father had been one of the singers, but, having a bad voice, he gave it to another man who was a better singer. When the new members paraded about, the villagers called them by name, and said, "You Black Mouths, die soon, for you are the bravest of the societies." The members put black paint on the lower part of the face, and black stripes on the body. If a dog came near them during a parade, a Black Mouth who had shot an enemy was permitted symbolically to refer to his deed by shooting the dog. 575 [302] [201]

Bull Society.

During their dance the members of the Bull organization (mēro'k ō'xat'e) wore, according to Maximilian, the upper part of the skin of a buffalo head with the horns and the long hairs of the neck. Two men, the bravest of all and pledged never to retreat from an enemy, wore together with the horns a complete representation of a buffalo head; this mask was provided with artificial eyeslits, surrounded by iron or tin rings. One woman attendant walked about during the dance, offering to the two mask-wearers water from a bowl. This woman was clad in a fine new suit of bighorn skin, and her face was painted with vermilion. The Bulls were the only society to use wooden whistles. They had a piece of red cloth fastened to the back, as well as the representation of a buffalo tail, and carried weapons in their hands. The two mask-wearers kept on the outside of the other dancers, and imitated the voice and actions of bulls, their shy wheeling over towards one side, their manner of looking about in all directions, etc. During the performance of the Bull dance witnessed by the Prince, there were nine dancers, who discharged their guns immediately on entering the Fort. Only one of them wore the complete buffalo head, the rest wore pieces of the skin of the forehead, a pair of cloth sashes, and an appendix decorated with feathers, which represented the tail; they carried shields decorated with red cloth, and long, beautifully ornamented lances.[1] A reproduction of Bodmer's drawing of the Bull dance in Maximilian's Atlas is presented in Fig. 12. 575 292

Wounded-face had heard that long ago a Mandan, who had a buffalo front leg in place of one arm, founded the Bull society. My informant said that only a few wore the piece of buffalo head skin with horns, some others merely dressed their hair in bunches in front. Still others covered their face with a mask, formed by fastening a tanned skin painted yellow over the

[1] Maximilian, II, 315.

10: Neill 44(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

175 648 they are represented as a treacherous, deceitful people, always taking advantage of their neighbors, and favoring the Sioux when they come to war this way, and frequently intermix with them to annoy the Mandans and Big Bellies.

SIGN LANGUAGE.

201 This language is entirely different from the natives of this place, and it is only by signs that they usually communicate with each other, excepting a few among them who understand each other's language. It serves as interpreter upon any affair of importance. It is surprising how dexterous all these natives of the plains are, in the art of communicating their ideas by signs. They will hold conference, for several hours together, upon different subjects, and during the whole time not a single word will be pronounced upon either side, and still they appear to comprehend each other perfectly well. This mode of communication appears to be quite natural to them, other difficult events are performed with the greatest ease and readiness. They never seem to be at loss, or in want of a sign to express their meaning.

COURTESY TO STRANGERS.

648 721 728 Soon after our arrival, there was a great uproar occasioned by the unexpected visit of six Pawnees, from their own village, sixty leagues below this, on the banks of the same (Missouri) river. They were sent upon an embassy to treat for peace. It appears that last spring, some of these people had accompanied a war party of Sioux who came here and killed five Mandans. The latter nation, in company with the Big Bellies (Gros Ventres,) soon after returned the visit, and not finding the Sioux, on their return killed two Pawnees, but this did not satisfy them. They had informed the Pawnees that they might expect a more formal visit the ensuing fall; that both the Mandans and Big Bellies were determined to exterminate every Pawnee they could find, and lay their villages even with the ground.

To avoid this storm, the latter thought prudent to sue for [202] peace. A messenger was instantly dispatched to the upper villages to give information of their arrival. In the meantime the strangers were very hospitably entertained, conducted into a hut, and presented with corn and beans, dried meats, etc. All were now silent for some time, awaiting the determination of the Big Bellies.

ARRIVAL OF GROS VENTRES.

The Big Bellies[1], in a short time, arrived on horse-back; about thirty men came down full speed; they brought down an inter-

1 [Category 116, p. 335.—A.]

10: Neill 14(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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[Category 116, p. 335.—A.]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the offerings to the horns of some weathered buffalo skull found 224
conveniently near by. If a horse fell into a washout, stepped 554
into a badger hole and injured its rider, or was gored by a 788
buffalo, the leader was said to have "kicked the stone" and was usually never selected again unless he fasted sufficiently to receive the forgiveness of the aggrieved parties.

As leader of the hunters, he was expected to make successful surrounds without losing his men from accident. Having been successful on many surrounds, it was believed that he was lucky and had sacred objects that were protecting him and his party. He was then eligible to become the leader of a future summer buffalo-hunting party.

A man's responsibilities increased greatly as the leader of the summer buffalo-hunting party. His selection was made in council held a month before the village was to leave for the summer hunt. The principal men of the village met to consider the matter of a leader. Crows Heart claimed that all who had been lucky in warfare or in leading the hunters aspired to be the summer buffalo-hunt leader at least once in their lifetime. The leader was selected from those who had buffalo skulls as a part of their sacred bundles. These skulls became a part of bundles either through purchase of a hereditary bundle or, more rarely, were introduced into a bundle when vision instructed. It was necessary to have unanimous consent of the head men to become leader, and the appointment was for only one expedition away from the village. A change was usually made for subsequent hunts on the former leader's recommendation, as it was believed that one would have bad luck if he led too many hunts. When a selection had been made, the crier for the Black Mouth Society[1] went through the village announcing the [203] decision.

The leader consulted the village chief in matters relative to 224
preparation of the equipment and the leaders of war parties relative to the protection of the party which would comprise the entire population except a few feeble people who preferred to visit in a neighboring village while the party was away. The [462]
women first weeded and hilled their garden crops while the men prepared the dog and horse equipment. While preparations for the summer hunt were being completed, scouts were sent

[1] [The men's society intrusted with the organization and protection of the village. See pp. 94-95, Cat. 116.—Analyst]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

purely lunar one. Some record was kept of the years, a certain symbol of some distinctive event standing for each year on the record robe, the same system used by the Dakotas. The year was divided as follows: 865 [211]

January	Moon of	seven cold days.
February	" "	the rut of wolves.
March	" "	sore eyes.
April	" "	game; or of the river break-up.
May	" "	sowing; or of flowers.
June	" "	ripe june-berries.
July	" "	ripe choke-cherries.
August	" "	ripe wild plums.
September	" "	ripe corn.
October	" "	the fall of leaves.
November	" "	the freezing rivers.
December	" "	the little cold.

The Mandans were a very liberal and hospitable people, more so than any of their neighbors according to Henry. Food was practically common property in the village. No man could become a chief without much giving of presents, and giving was considered a great honor, the gifts which a man had made being painted on his robe along with his deeds in war. If one expressed a desire for anything it was immediately given to him but a present of equal value was expected in return. In connection with this might be mentioned the custom of taking back a sale; by a return of the purchase price a man might regain anything which he had sold, whenever he wished to. 574 554 431 437

The hospitality of the Mandans is mentioned by every visitor. Verendrye speaks particularly of his kind reception and says, "Their custom being to feed liberally all who came among them, selling only what was to be taken away."[1] Even their worst enemy when once in their village had nothing to fear and was treated with all kindness. Henry remarked that the Mandans were thieves but never touched any property of a stranger who was a guest in a lodge. They were bound to protect any stranger, even an enemy who might seek refuge in the village. 574

[1] Op. cit., p. 15.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

nations on the Missouri are all in the habit of painting such robes; but the Pawnees, Mandans, 532
Manitaries, and Crows, are the most skilful in this art.* Another mode of painting their robes 532
is, to represent the number of valuable presents they have made. By these presents, which are 431
often of great value, they acquire reputation and respect among their countrymen. On such 554
robes we observed long red figures, with a black circle at the termination, placed close to each 21
other in transverse rows; they represent whips, indicating the number of horses given, because 435
the whip belonging to the horse is always bestowed with the animal. Red or dark blue transverse figures indicate cloth or blankets given; parallel transverse stripes represent fire-arms, the outlines of which are pretty correctly drawn. The robe is frequently cut, at the bottom, into narrow strips, like fringe, and ornamented on the sides with tufts of human hair, and horse-hair dyed yellow and green, and with glass beads. Formerly the Indians painted these robes more care- 432
fully than they now do, and it was possible to obtain one for five musket balls and some powder; now they are far inferior, and eight or ten dollars is not unfrequently paid for them. A robe handsomely painted is equal in value to two not painted.

Their leggins are fastened with straps to their leathern girdles, and are embroidered at the 291
outer seam with stripes, one or two inches in breadth, of porcupine quills, of beautiful various colours, and often with blue and white beads, and long leathern fringes, which form at the ankle a thick bunch, which trails upon the ground. The leather of which their leggins are made is, for the most part, stained of a reddish-brown, or pale red, usually with clay, sometimes white, and often marked below the knee with black transverse stripes. They, as well as all the tribes of North America, use what the English call a breech-cloth (Nokka), which is a narrow strip of woollen cloth, striped black and white, which passes between the thighs under the girdle, before and behind, where it hangs down. Their shoes, which are made of buck skin, or buffalo leather, are generally plain, or very slightly ornamented; but, in full dress, they are embroidered with coloured rosettes, or strips of dyed porcupine quills or beads. Those men who have performed exploits wear, round the ankles, [554]
wolf's tail, or pieces of otter skin, which are lined with red cloth, and trail on the ground. In the summer, when the men are at home, and go about in state, they carry the fan of eagle's feathers in their hands, which we have before described. What the Anglo-Americans call "the crow," which is worn by the warriors of the nations of the Mississippi, and the Lower Missouri, is wholly unknown among the tribes of the Upper Missouri, the Sioux, Assiniboins, Crows, Mandans, Arikkaras, Manitaries, and Blackfeet.

The boys are generally naked, and in winter merely have a robe thrown over them; the 291
girls are dressed in leather in summer as well as winter. The women wear a long leather

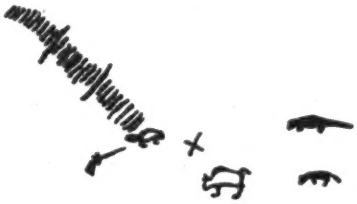
* There is a print of such a robe in Major Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, and another in Plate XXI., Fig. 1., of my Atlas. The original was painted by Mato-Topé himself, and the figures on it represent some of his principal exploits, in which he killed, with his own hand, five chiefs of different nations.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

mother-in-law never speaks to her son-in-law; but if he comes home, and brings her the scalp of a slain enemy, and his gun, she is at liberty, from that moment, to converse with him. This custom is found among the Manitaries, who have, doubtless, borrowed it from the Mandans, but not among the Crows and Arikkaras. Among the Chippeways, and the Algonquins in general, the name must not be changed; and persons with the same name must not marry, but consider each other as brothers and sisters. Among all the North American Indian nations there are men dressed and treated like women, called, by the Canadians, Bardaches, of whom Mc Kenzie, Tanner, Langsdorff, and others, have spoken; but there was only one such among the Mandans, and two or three among the Manitaries.

Volney, and some other writers, have spoken rather too unfavourably of the moral character of the aborigines of North America, and their domestic habits. According to them, distrust and hostile feeling prevail among them, for which reason they never leave their huts unarmed; but I can bear witness that they are frequently seen in their villages, as well as in the environs, without arms, and that it is only at greater distances, and when they appear in state, that they carry their weapons in their hands. I have never observed any disputes among them, but, on the contrary, much more unity and tranquillity than in civilized Europe. It has often been asserted that the Indians are inferior in intellectual capacity to the Whites; but this has been now sufficiently refuted; and Harlan is not wrong in saying that, among the races of men, of which Blumenbach reckons five, the American should be ranked immediately after the Caucasian. If man, in all his varieties, has not received from the Creator equally perfect faculties, I am, at least, convinced that, in this respect, the Americans are not inferior to the Whites. Many of the Mandans manifest a great thirst for knowledge, and much desire to hear something of objects of a higher order; and if they were not so much attached to the prejudices inherited from their ancestors, many of them might be very easily instructed. The bad examples which they so often observe in the white men, who roam about their country in quest of gain, are not calculated to inspire them with much respect for our race, or to improve their morality. And if they have not been found inclined to the Christian religion, this is, certainly, in some measure, the consequence of the bad conduct of the Whites, who call themselves Christians, and are often worse, and more immoral, than the most uncivilized of the Indians. Many American and foreign works have taken notice of the striking good sense and wit, the correct judgment of the Indians, in all the occurrences of daily life, and it would be mere repetition here to quote examples. One is often at a loss to answer their questions, founded on correct and natural judgment. The inactive mode of life natural to the Indians, which disdains all laborious exertion, is a great obstacle to their adopting a different system. But they are not deficient in talent for drawing, music, &c., and this is quite manifest at first sight. Several Mandans not only took much pleasure in drawing, but had a decided talent for it. The hieroglyphics are well known, which the Indians employ

532 instead of writing; for instance, the figures on their robes, the drawing of Mato-Topé (Plate
212 XXII.), and the subjoined Indian letter from a Mandan to a fur trader:



212 The following is the explanation of the hieroglyphic figures contained in it:
437 The cross signifies, "I will barter, or trade." Three animals are drawn on the right hand of the cross: one is a buffalo; the two others, a weasel (*Mustela Canadensis*), and an otter. The writer offers, in exchange for the skins of these animals (probably meaning that of a white buffalo), the articles which he has drawn on the left side of the cross.

He has, in the first place, depicted a beaver very plainly, behind which there is a gun; to the left of the beaver are thirty strokes, each ten separated by a longer line; this means, I will give thirty beaver skins and a gun for the skins of the three animals on the right hand of the cross.

821 Many of them dispute, with great earnestness, on more elevated subjects; thus, they inquired our ideas of the various heavenly bodies, and of the origin of the universe, as they, themselves, declare their own silly traditions to be insufficient. Some, indeed, thought our ideas on these subjects much more silly than their own. They laughed outright, when we affirmed that the earth was round, and revolved about the sun. Others, however, would not reject our views, and were of opinion that, as the Whites could do so much which was incomprehensible to them, it was possible they might be right on this point also.

537 In all works that treat of these remarkable people, we find recorded very energetic and well-digested speeches of their chiefs. They frequently use very appropriate figures, and often said bitter truths to their white oppressors. Dr. Morse quotes some such phrases, used at the conclusion of treaties of peace, or declarations of war, which express much in a few words. Thus, in declarations of war: "The blood of our wives and children smokes on the ground! The bones of our warriors and old men are uncovered, and whiten the earth! The tomahawk is raised!" And on the conclusion of peace: "The bones of our warriors are buried! the tomahawk is buried! the blood of our women and children is covered! The path which leads to them must be kept clean; no weeds may grow there. The chain which binds us together must not become rusty."
Or, on the contrary: "The chain begins to rust," &c. &c..

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

159 that elevate him conspicuous above all of his nation. There is no man amongst the Mandans so generally loved, nor any one who wears a robe so justly famed and honourable as that of Mah-to-toh-pa.

I said his robe was of the skin of a young buffalo bull, and that the battles of his life were emblazoned on it; and on a former occasion, that he presented me a beautiful robe, containing all the battles of his life, which he had spent two weeks' time in copying from his original one, which he wore on his shoulders.

This robe, with his tracings on it, is the chart of his military life; and when explained, will tell more of Mah-to-toh-pa.

Some days after this robe was presented, he called upon me with Mr. Kipp, the trader and interpreter for the Mandans, and gave me of each battle there pourtrayed the following history, which was interpreted by Mr. Kipp, from his own lips, and written down by me, as we three sat upon the robe. Mr. Kipp, who is a gentleman of respectability and truth; and who has lived with these people ten years, assured me, that nearly every one of these narrations were of events that had happened whilst he had lived with them, and had been familiarly known to him; and that every word that he asserted was true

And again, reader, in this country where, of all countries I ever was in, men are the most jealous of rank and of standing; and in a community so small also, that every man's deeds of honour and chivalry are familiarly known to all; it would not be reputable, or even safe to life, for a warrior to wear upon his back the representations of battles he never had fought; professing to have done what every child in the village would know he never had done.

So then I take the records of battles on the robe of Mah-to-toh-pa to be matter of historical fact; and I proceed to give them as I wrote them down from his own lips. Twelve battle-scenes are there represented, where he has contended with his enemy, and in which he has taken fourteen of their scalps. The groups are drawn according to his own rude ideas of the arts; and I proceed to describe them in turn, as they were explained to me.

ROBE OF MAH-TO-TOH-PA (PLATE 65).

159 721 212 1. Mah-to-toh-pa kills a Sioux chief—the three heads represent the three Riccarees, whom the Sioux chief had previously killed. The Sioux chief is seen with war-paint black on his face. Mah-to-toh-pa is seen with the scalp of the Sioux in one hand, and his knife in the other, with his bow and quiver lying behind him.*

2. A Shienne chief, who sent word to Mah-to-toh-pa that he wished to fight him—was killed by Mah-to-toh-pa with a lance, in presence of a large

* The reader will see in PLATE 65, an accurate drawing of this curious robe, which now hangs in the INDIAN GALLERY, and on the following pages, each group numbered, and delineated on a larger scale, which are *fac-similes* of the drawings on the robe.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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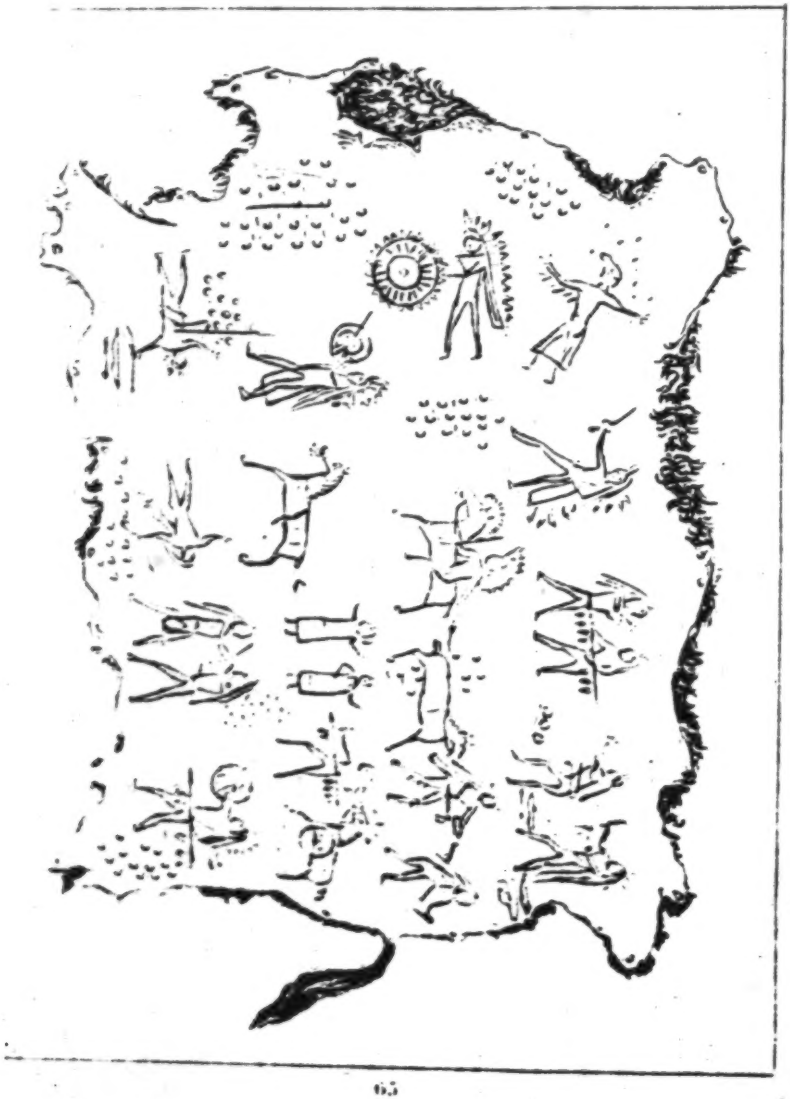

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[p. 148 (A)]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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[p. 148 (B)]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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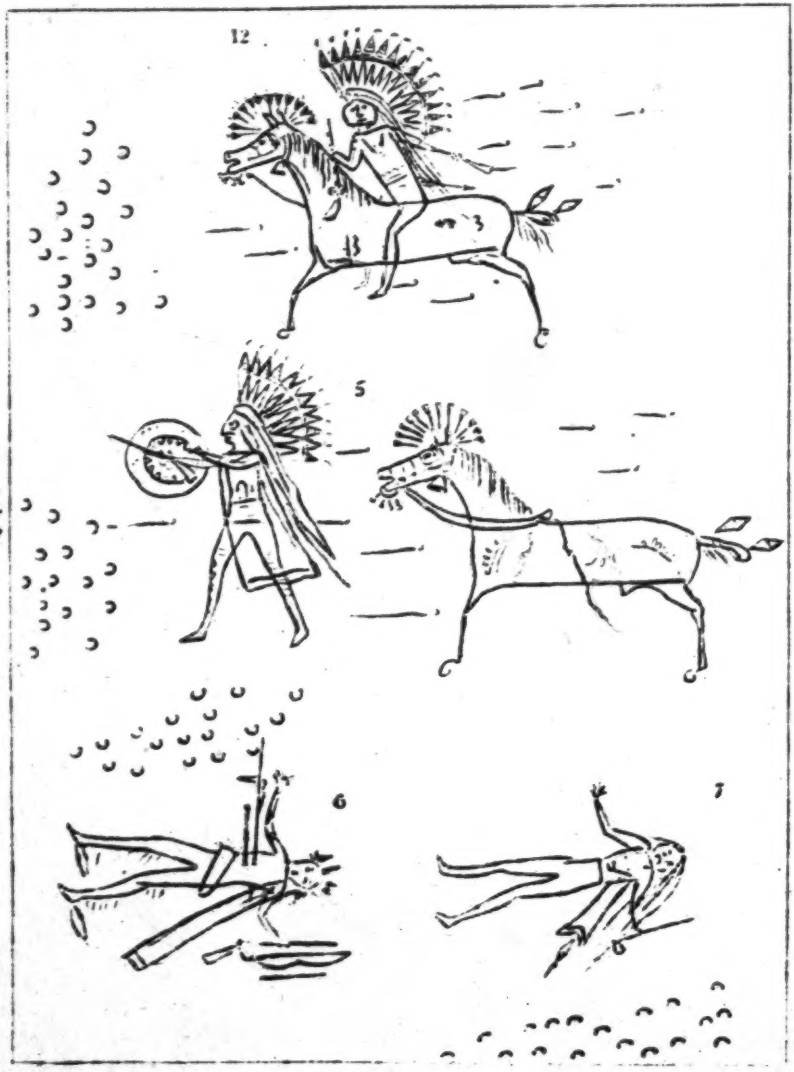

[p.148(c)]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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[p. 148 (D)]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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159 721 212 party of Mandans and Shiennes. Mah-to-toh-pa is here known by his lance with eagles' quills on it.

3. A Shienne killed by Mah-to-toh-pa after Mah-to-toh-pa had been left by his party, badly wounded and bleeding; the twenty-five or thirty foot-tracks around, represent the number of Shiennes, who were present when the battle took place; and the bullets from their guns represented as flying all around the head of Mah-to-toh-pa.

4. Shienne chief with war-eagle head-dress, and a beautiful shield, ornamented with eagles' quills, killed by Mah-to-toh-pa. In this battle the wife of the Shienne rushed forward in a desperate manner to his assistance; but arriving too late, fell a victim. In this battle Mah-to-toh-pa obtained two scalps.

5. Mah-to-toh-pa, with a party of Riccarees, fired at by a party of Sioux; the Riccarees fled—Mah-to-toh-pa dismounted and drove his horse back, facing the enemy alone and killing one of them. Mah-to-toh-pa is here represented with a beautiful head-dress of war-eagles' quills, and one on his horse's head of equal beauty; his shield is on his arm, and the party of Sioux is represented in front of him by the number of horse tracks.

6. The brother of Mah-to-toh-pa killed by a Riccaree, who shot him with an arrow, and then running a lance through his body, left it there. Mah-to-toh-pa was the first to find his brother's body with the lance in it: he drew the lance from the body, kept it four years with the blood dried on its blade, and then, according to his oath, killed the same Riccaree with the same lance; the dead body of his brother is here seen with the arrow and lance remaining in it, and the tracks of the Riccaree's horses in front.

159 721 The following was, perhaps, one of the most extraordinary exploits of this remarkable man's life, and is well attested by Mr. Kipp, and several white men, who were living in the Mandan village at the time of its occurrence. In a skirmish, near the Mandan village, when they were set upon by their enemies, the Riccarees, the brother of Mah-to-toh-pa was missing for several days, when Mah-to-toh-pa found the body shockingly mangled, and a handsome spear left piercing the body through the heart. The spear was by him brought into the Mandan village, where it was recognized by many as a famous weapon belonging to a noted brave of the Riccarees, by the name of Won-ga-tap. This spear was brandished through the Mandan village by Mah-to-toh-pa (with the blood of his brother dried on its blade), crying most piteously, and swearing that he would some day revenge the death of his brother with the same weapon.

It is almost an incredible fact, that he kept this spear with great care in his wigwam for the space of four years, in the fruitless expectation of an opportunity to use it upon the breast of its owner; when his indignant soul, impatient of further delay, burst forth in the most uncontroulable frenzy and fury; he again brandished it through the village, and said, that the blood of his brother's heart which was seen on its blade was yet fresh,

way was clear; at which moment, with his lance in his hands, he rose and drove it through the body of his enemy, and snatching the scalp from his head, he darted from the lodge—and quick as lightning, with the lance in one hand, and the scalp in the other, made his way to the prairie! The village was in an uproar, but he was off, and no one knew the enemy who had struck the blow. Mah-to-toh-pa ran all night, and lay close during the days; thanking the Great Spirit for strengthening his heart and his arm to this noble revenge; and prayed fervently for a continuance of his aid and protection till he should get back to his own village. His prayers were heard; and on the sixth morning, at sunrise, Mah-to-toh-pa descended the bluffs, and entered the village amidst deafening shouts of applause, while he brandished and shewed to his people the blade of his lance, with the blood of his victim dried upon it, over that of his brother; and the scalp of Won-ga-tap suspended from its handle 159 721

Such was the feat represented by Mah-to-toh-pa on his robe—and the lance, of which I have just spoken, is seen in the hand of his portrait, which will stand in my Gallery, and of which I have thus formerly spoken:—"The lance or spear of Mah-to-toh-pa, when he stood for his portrait, was held in his left hand; its blade was two-edged, and of polished steel, and the blood of several human victims was seen dried upon its surface, one over the other; its shaft was of the toughest ash, and ornamented at intervals with tufts of war-eagle's quills."

In the portrait, of which I am speaking, there will be seen an eagle's quill balanced on the hilt of the lance, severed from its original position, and loose from the weapon. When I painted his portrait, he brought that quill to my wigwam in his left hand, and carefully balancing it on the lance, as seen in the painting; he desired me to be very exact with it, to have it appear as separate from, and unconnected with, the lance; and to represent a spot of blood which was visible upon it. I indulged him in his request, and then got from him the following explanation:—"That quill (said he) is great *medicine!* it belongs to the Great Spirit, and not to me—when I was running out of the lodge of Won-ga-tap, I looked back and saw that quill hanging to the wound in his side; I ran back, and pulling it out, brought it home in my left hand, and I have kept it for the Great Spirit to this day!"

"Why do you not then tie it on to the lance again, where it came off?"

"Hush-ah (said he), if the Great Spirit had wished it to be tied on in that place, it never would have come off; he has been kind to me, and I will not offend him."

7. A Riccaree killed by Mah-to-toh-pa in revenge of the death of a white man killed by a Riccaree in the Fur Traders' Fort, a short time previous. 159 721

8. Mah-to-toh-pa, or four bears, kills a Shienne chief, who challenged him to single combat, in presence of the two war-parties; they fought on horseback with guns, until Mah-to-toh-pa's powder-horn was shot away; they then fought with bows and arrows, until their quivers were emptied, when they 212

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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159 721 212 dismounted and fougnt single-handed. The Shienne drew his knife, and Mah-to-toh-pa had left his; they struggled for the knife, which Mah-to-toh-pa wrested from the Shienne, and killed him with it; in the struggle, the blade of the knife was several times drawn through the hand of Mah-to-toh-pa, and the blood is seen running from the wound.

This extraordinary occurrence also, was one which admits of, and deserves a more elaborate description, which I will here give as it was translated from his own lips, while he sat upon the robe, pointing to his painting of it; and at the same time brandishing the identical knife which he drew from his belt, as he was shewing how the fatal blow was given; and exhibiting the wounds inflicted in his hand, as the blade of the knife was several times drawn through it before he wrested it from his antagonist.

159 721 A party of about 150 Shienne warriors had made an assault upon the Mandan village at an early hour in the morning, and driven off a considerable number of horses, and taken one scalp. Mah-to-toh-pa, who was then a young man, but famed as one of the most valiant of the Mandans, took the lead of a party of fifty warriors, all he could at that time muster, and went in pursuit of the enemy; about noon of the second day, they came in sight of the Shiennes; and the Mandans seeing their enemy much more numerous than they had expected, were generally disposed to turn about and return without attacking them. They started to go back, when Mah-to-toh-pa galloped out in front upon the prairie, and plunged his lance into the ground; the blade was driven into the earth to its hilt—he made another circuit around, and in that circuit tore from his breast his reddened sash, which he hung upon its handle as a flag, calling out to the Mandans, "What! have we come to this? we have dogged our enemy two days, and now when we have found them, are we to turn about and go back like cowards? Mah-to-toh-pa's lance, which is red with the blood of brave men, has led you to the sight of your enemy, and you have followed it; it now stands firm in the ground, where the earth will drink the blood of Mah-to-toh-pa! you may all go back, and Mah-to-toh-pa will fight them alone!"

During this manœuvre, the Shiennes, who had discovered the Mandans behind them, had turned about and were gradually approaching, in order to give them battle; the chief of the Shienne war-party seeing and understanding the difficulty, and admiring the gallant conduct of Mah-to-toh-pa, galloped his horse forward within hailing distance, in front of the Mandans, and called out to know "who he was who had stuck down his lance and defied the whole enemy alone?"

"I am Mah-to-toh-pa, second in command of the brave and valiant Mandans."

"I have heard often of Mah-to-toh-pa, he is a great warrior—dares Mah-to-toh-pa to come forward and fight this battle with me alone, and our warriors will look on?"

"Is he a chief who speaks to Mah-to-toh-pa?"

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

159 721 212

9. Several hundred Minatarrees and Mandans attacked by a party of Assinneboins—all fled but Mah-to-toh-pa, who stood his ground, fired, and killed one of the enemy, putting the rest of them to flight, and driving off sixty horses! He is here seen with his lance and shield—foot-tracks of his enemy in front, and his own party's horse-tracks behind him, and a shower of bullets flying around his head; here he got the name of "*the four bears*," as the Assinneboins said he rushed on like four bears.

10. Mah-to-toh-pa gets from his horse and kills two Ojibbeway women, and takes their scalps; done by the side of an Ojibbeway village, where they went to the river for water. He is here seen with his lance in one hand and his knife in the other—an eagle's plume head-dress on his horse, and his shield left on his horse's back. I incurred his ill-will for awhile by asking him, whether it was manly to boast of taking the scalps of women? and his pride prevented him from giving me any explanation or apology. The interpreter, however, explained to me that he had secreted himself in the most daring manner, in full sight of the Ojibbeway village, seeking to revenge a murder, where he remained six days without sustenance, and then killed the two women in full view of the tribe, and made his escape, which entitled him to the credit of a victory, though his victims were women.

11. A large party of Assinneboins entrenched near the Mandan village attacked by the Mandans and Minatarrees, who were driven back—Mah-to-toh-pa rushes into the entrenchment alone—an Indian fires at him and burns his face with the muzzle of his gun, which burst—the Indian retreats, leaving his exploded gun, and Mah-to-toh-pa shoots him through the shoulders as he runs, and kills him with his tomahawk; the gun of the Assinneboin is seen falling to the ground, and in front of him the heads of the Assinneboins in the entrenchment; the horse of Mah-to-toh-pa is seen behind him.

12. Mah-to-toh-pa between his enemy the Sioux, and his own people, with an arrow shot through him, after standing the fire of the Sioux for a long time alone. In this battle he took no scalps, yet his valour was so extraordinary that the chiefs and braves awarded him the honour of a victory.

This feat is seen in the centre of the robe—head-dress of war-eagles' quills on his own and his horse's head—the tracks of his enemies' horses are seen in front of him, and bullets flying both ways all around him. With his whip in his hand, he is seen urging his horse forward, and an arrow is seen flying, and bloody, as it has passed through his body. For this wound, and the several others mentioned above, he bears the honourable scars on his body, which he generally keeps covered with red paint.

Such are the battles traced upon the robe of Mah-to-toh-pa or four bears, interpreted by J. Kipp from the words of the hero while sitting upon the robe, explaining each battle as represented.

hangs in the INDIAN GALLERY, with satisfactory certificates of its identity and its remarkable history, and an exact drawing of it and its scabbard can be seen in PLATE 99, *a*.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 is then covered with willows, hay and earth, as before mentioned; the covering being of equal depth over all parts of the frame.

"Earlier writers speak of the supporting-posts of the lodge as being forked. Nowadays, they seldom take the trouble to obtain forked sticks for this purpose."

Catlin's Incorrect Representations. "From the above description, it will be seen that the outline of a vertical section, or of the elevation of such a lodge, is necessarily an irregular hexagon, while that of its ground plan is polygonal, the angles being equal in number to the shorter uprights. Prince Maximilian's artist usually sketches the lodge very correctly; but Mr. Catlin invariably gives an incorrect representation of its exterior. Wherever he dipicts a Mandan, Aricaree, or Minnetaree lodge, he makes it appear as an almost exact hemisphere, and always omits the entry. It would seem that, in filling in his sketches, he adopted the hemisphere as a convenient symbol for a lodge. The authors referred to by name in the foot-note on another page speak of the entry passage."

The winter quarters of the Mandans and their confederates are thus described by Matthews:

342 **Winter Log-Houses.** "Every winter, until 1866, the Indians
361 left their permanent village, and, moving some distance up the Missouri valley, built temporary quarters, usually in the center of
●221 heavy forests and in the neighborhood of buffalo. The chief objects of this movement were that they might have fuel convenient, and not exhaust the supply of wood in the neighborhood of the permanent village. It was also advisable that, during a portion of the year at least, they should not harass the game near home. The houses of the winter village resembled much the log-cabins of our own western pioneers. They were neatly built, very warm, had regular fire-places and chimneys built of sticks and mud, and square holes in the roofs for the admission of light. Ten years ago, there were some cabins of this description in the permanent village at Fort Berthold; every year since they are becoming gradually more numerous and threaten to gradually supplant the original earth-covered lodges. By reference to the note on page 4, it will be seen that, in 1872, the former outnumbered the latter by about nineteen."

odd Of the caches or circular pits of the confederated village Mat-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

224 out daily to travel as much as one hundred and fifty miles from the village to observe the numbers and movements of the buffalo. Returning war leaders were called in to report the number and size of the herds they had observed. The leader planned the hunt on the basis of the knowledge he had acquired from several sources and designated the spots where the party would camp each night. This information together with the time of departure from the village was given to the Black Mouth Society, which sent its announcer through the village to notify the people.

●221 241 796 The summer buffalo hunt was scheduled as a permanent part of the summer's activities and did not interfere with the normal village routine. The gardens were prepared and planted in May, and the first performance of the Okipa was celebrated just prior to leaving for the summer hunt. Since one of the purposes of the Okipa was to have the Buffalo Dance performed, it was believed that it should be held prior to the summer hunt. Ceremonies to the buffalo were believed to insure a good hunt and the replenishment of their numbers by the escape of the buffalo spirits from the spirit homes in which they lived before being born into the herds. The leader was not authorized to call an unscheduled hunt.

224 561 Crows Heart believed that all the leaders selected in his time belonged to the Black Mouth or Bull men's societies, since these were the two oldest active societies, but felt that membership was not obligatory, since in former times there were so many people that all did not belong, especially those who were too busy with other ceremonial matters. The leader never undertook to direct the hunt unassisted. He invited in all those with the right to pray to the buffalo to meet at his lodge and assist him. These would be the officers of the Okipa and Red Stick ceremonies, Okipa Makers, and all those who had buffalo skulls in their bundles whether acquired by vision or purchase. He discussed his plans with them and changed them if any offered a reasonable objection. The hunt was frequently canceled when war leaders reported unusual numbers of enemies about.

224 In early times dogs were used, but, after horses were acquired, the summer hunts of later times were out much farther. The leader was always to the front, and the party followed behind

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

tween bundle lines. Some informants thought that these bundles must have originated in different villages because their older people who were living when the tribe occupied two villages had spoken of ceremonial differences between the villages. They believed that these ceremonial differences went back to mythological times when the ceremonies were first taught to the people. 796 778 124

Mandan tribal sacred bundles had these elements in common: each contained objects representing the characters and incidents of the myth; the rites were dramatizations of the sacred myths; there were prescribed rules of behavior when in the presence of the bundle or while it was open; an incense was always burned while the bundle rites were being performed or when the rites were terminated; there were songs and a sacred myth which belonged to the bundle; each bundle included a buffalo skull; the ritualistic lore was secret, and payment must be made to the bundle-owner for a knowledge of the rites; there were fixed rules of inheritance for the sale and transfer of the bundle; tribal sanction of a bundle transfer was at a public feast to which those owning related bundles were invited; feasts were made to the bundle by nonowners as a social obligation; and bundle-owners on occasion would give Bundle Renewal feasts to their own bundles to which were invited those owning important tribal bundles. 796 778 773 424

The Mandan recognize four seasons which were associated with the spring, summer, autumn, and winter buffalo. Since informants could not agree on any other division of the year, it is highly unlikely that they recognized any other uniform divisions. The year count was important in relating events. Ceremonies were, in general, evenly divided over the year. Ceremonies for success in warfare or doctoring were held at any time. On the other hand, rites relating to agriculture were begun in late winter when the first water birds appeared and were held throughout the summer until the southern flight of these birds had passed. The Okipa was always held during the warmest months, while the Snow Owl, Red Stick, and White Buffalo Cow ceremonies to bring the winter buffalo herds were always held 796 805 221

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

221 796 805 during the coldest months. Table 3 gives the approximate time of the principal tribal ceremonies.

778 773 The Mandan attach great significance to the sacred myths associated with the sacred bundles, and informants constantly explained the relationship of one bundle to another in terms of in-

TABLE 3

APPROXIMATE TIME AND PURPOSE OF PRINCIPAL TRIBAL CEREMONIES

796 221

Approximate Month	Ceremony	Purpose of Ceremony
June to August	Okipa	General tribal welfare Buffalo fertility rites
May	Corn Fertility	To insure good gardens
March to October	Goose Society	Rains and good growing conditions for crops
August to October	Harvest festival	Thanksgiving rites for crops
March to October	Old Woman Who Never Dies	Rain and good growing conditions to insure good gardens
January to January	Old Woman Who Never Dies	Doctoring and warfare
March to October	Corn Pipe	Fertility
September to November	Eagle-trapping rites	To capture eagles
July to September	Eagle-trapping rites	To trap fish
January to January	Eagle-trapping rites	To corral buffaloes
April	Eagle-trapping rites	Success in hunting or warfare
April and November	Big Bird	Warfare Rain
January to January	Small Hawk	Warfare
June to August	Small Hawk	To call buffaloes
December to March	Snow Owl	To call winter buffaloes
January to January	Snow Owl	Warfare
March to October	Snow Owl	Rain
January to January	People Above	Warfare Doctoring
January to January	Shell Robe	Warfare Doctoring
December to March	Red Stick	To call winter buffaloes
December to March	White Buffalo Cow	To call winter buffaloes
January to January	Bear	Doctoring and warfare
March to November	Snake	Rain Doctoring Warfare

778 773 cidents mentioned in these myths. For that reason, the sacred myths belonging to the various bundle rites were recorded as completely as possible and appear in this study in much the same form and detail as they were recorded. It was a customary practice for a Mandan to invite to his lodge one having important tribal bundles and pay him to have the myths related privately. Those having a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were held in high esteem. The sacred myths were considered

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 Eagle-trapping expeditions were organized for a dual purpose,
224 namely, the securing of feathers and of a winter's supply of meat and hides. Crows Heart thought that, taken year after year, the meat and hides secured had greater worth than the feathers. As he explained, it was not unusual to return without feathers, but game was always abundant once one reached territory not ordinarily hunted in. He remarked, on many occasions, that a village as a unit would never go to rough country on a summer hunt, as there would be few buffaloes there, and it would be difficult to surround them because of the uneven topography. There was the further danger of ambush. The rough lands were hunted over by small bands, chiefly eagle-trappers and war parties.

223 The appearance of ice on the edges of streams was the signal
224 for the eagle-trapping expedition to return to the village. Before
505 horses became numerous in the villages, it was customary to travel overland to the trapping sites, where bullboats were made of buffalo and elk hides for floating back the meat and hides to the village. In order not to be caught along the way by a sudden freezing of the river, it was imperative that trapping cease immediately with the first appearance of cold weather.

224 While in the trapping camp, the women received the meat
257 and hides brought in by the men. The meat was cured on scaf-
281 folds, and the hides were dried or made into bullboats. Special effort was made to secure mountain sheep, as the badlands were the habitat of these prized animals, used for men's shirts and women's dresses, since their skins tanned softer than any other hide. Bears Arm, in explaining the importance of the meat and hides secured on these expeditions, stated that single women
[581] tried to marry young men so they could go along to help cure the meat and hides, knowing they might marry one so lucky as to kill a white buffalo.

223 Mandan tradition appears devoid of reference to recent divi-
361 sion of a village population into small eagle-trapping bands dur-
171 ing the winter. Such is not the case with the Hidatsa, however.
● 221 In the Earthnaming ceremony of the Hidatsa there is reference
621 in the myth to the division of the village into small bands camped along the Little Missouri River in eagle-trapping lodges during the winter. At least two of the clans, the Maxoxati and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

AwaxEnawita, trace their origin to these small winter camps. 223
Bears Arm explained that, in former times, the women's lodges 361
were the same as the men's and that, on termination of the 171
trapping season, the altar was removed and the bundle closed, 221
after which the lodge was no longer considered sacred. The 621
leader's wife and family came to his lodge, and the other trappers returned to their wives' lodges for the winter. Before the spring thaw, the various bands returned to the summer village to prepare for the planting of gardens. If this fall and winter division of the Hidatsa villages into bands was customary, as mentioned in tradition and mythology, the custom had been superseded by the winter village system by the opening of the historic period on the Upper Missouri River. By this time each summer village, which we have come to call the permanent village, had its corresponding winter village. The summer village was situated on one of the upper, grassy terraces adjacent to the Missouri River, with the winter village situated in heavy timber on the river bottom. The entire population of a summer village would move to its selected site, and there would be a winter chief selected each year.

There is no reference in the mythology to the breaking-up of 221
the Mandan summer village into winter bands, but each village 361
might build a winter camp to avoid the tedious task of bringing 314
wood a considerable distance to the village. After a few years, 621
all available wood near a summer village would be exhausted, except for driftwood in the river. From all available data, there is no evidence that the Mandan selected new chiefs for the winter period.

We may conclude that the Hidatsa practice of naming a win- 171
ter chief grew out of the custom of breaking up into eagle-trap- 621
ping bands under a leader in the fall, his authority continuing after the closing of trapping until the return of the party to the summer village. Wolf Chief explained that this could be done formerly, as there were fewer enemies, but that it was inexpedient in later years, as it was necessary to defend the villages the year round. It is possible, however, that the Mandan abandoned this custom somewhat earlier because of greater pressure from enemies.

A brief ritual closed the eagle-trapping period. It was essen- 000

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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sunflowers. Many women and children were already employed 241
in clearing and hoeing their plantations . . . . On each side were pleasant cultivated spots some of which stretched up the rising ground on our left, whilst on our right they ran nearly to the Missouri."

The Mandans used to raise enormous quantities of produce 351
from these crudely tilled plots, and the most of it was stored 433
away in the caches. Each of these caches would hold from twenty to forty bushels of corn and beans, and the number of them was very large. Maximilian says that there was often from five hundred to eight hundred bushels of corn, alone, in the village. In view of his other statements this seems a very moderate estimate. The supply was large enough so that it was not only eaten by the people, but in the winter was sometimes fed to the horses.[1] Lewis and Clarke speak several times of buying corn of the Indians in lots of thirty bushels or more.

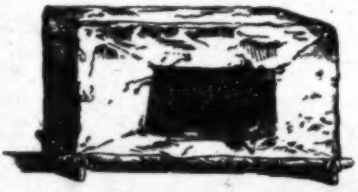
The methods of cultivation among the Mandans, though 241
crude, were still above the most primitive types of tilling. The 221
work in the fields was begun in May. Little trenches were made in rows, the grain was put in these and covered. During the summer the soil about the plants was dug up from three to four times. The harvest usually came in October and for that work every member of the village lent a hand, this being one of the few times when the men took any part in the domestic work. Between the rows of corn, rows of sunflowers were usually planted. The only noticeable feature in this description is the fact that the garden plots were cultivated and cared for during the summer, when most of the semi-agricultural tribes lower down the Missouri were absent on long hunting excursions.

The latitude of the Mandan villages required very hardy and 241
quick-ripening vegetables; and we find that the Mandans had perfected a number of plants suited to the cold and dry climate of the region. The crops were often poor because of drought or early frost, but they never failed entirely.[2] The main products were corn, beans, squashes, sunflowers and tobacco. These were all grown when Verendrye visited them, and were

[1] Op. cit., p. 389. [2] Ibid., p. 347.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 height, are long rafters, inclining to the centre; they are placed near each other, and bear the roof. On the outside the huts are covered with a kind of mat, made of osiers, joined together with bark, and now the skeleton of the hut is finished. Over this hay is spread, and the outer covering
462 is of earth. The men and women work together in erecting these huts, and the relations, neighbours, and friends, assist them in the work. The building of the huts, manufacturing of their arms, hunting, and wars, and part of the labours of the harvest, are the occupations of the men; every other kind of work is left to the women, who, though in general well treated, are obliged to perform all the really laborious work. The women fetch fuel, in heavy loads, frequently from great distances, carry water, and, in winter, blocks of ice into the huts, cook, tan the skins, make
354 all the clothing, lay out the plantations, perform field labour, &c. &c. In the centre of the hut a circular place is dug for the fire, over which the kettle is suspended. This fire-place, or hearth, is often enclosed with a ledge of stones. The fuel is laid, in moderately thick pieces, on the external edge of the hearth, crossing each other in the middle, when it is kindled, and the pieces
352 gradually pushed in as they burn away. The Indians are not fond of large fires. The inmates sit round it, on low seats, made of peeled osiers, covered with buffalo or bear skin. Round the inner circumference of the hut lie or hang the baggage, the furniture, and other property, in leather bags, the painted parchment travelling bags, and the harness of the horses; and on separate stages there are arms, sledges, and snow-shoes, while meat and maize, piled up, complete the motley assemblage. (See Mr. Bodmer's drawing of the interior of the hut of Dipauch, Plate XIX.) The beds stand against the wall of the hut; they consist of a large square case, made of parchment or skins, with a square entrance, and are large enough to hold several persons, who lie very conveniently and warm on skins and blankets. (See the woodcut.)



342 In the winter huts they place, at the inside of the door, a high screen of willow boughs,
221 covered with hides, which keeps off the draught of air from without, and especially protects the
171 fire.

The summer huts are very cool, and, generally speaking, have no unpleasant smell. Mr. Say gives a very good description, and a tolerably accurate print, of a Konza lodge, or hut, and, with

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

some slight differences, the mode of building resembles, in the main, those of the Mandans, 342
Manitaries, and Arikkaras. Among these differences are the mats which are fastened all round in 221
the first hut, and which I did not observe among the tribes that I visited. The beds, too, are 171
arranged in a different manner. The Mandans and Manitaries are seen in their huts, sitting round the fire, employed in all kinds of domestic labour. The man has, generally, no clothing except the nokka, and is often merely smoking, but the women are never idle. In winter, that is, at the beginning or middle of November, these Indians remove, with the greater part of their effects, to the neighbouring forest, where their winter huts are situated. These consist of precisely similar huts, of rather smaller dimensions. Their departure from the summer huts is determined by the weather, but, as beforesaid, is generally about the middle of November; and their return, in the spring, is usually about the latter end of February, or the beginning of March, so that we may reckon that they pass above eight months in their summer quarters. Inside of the 231
winter huts is a particular compartment, where the horses are put in the evening, and fed with maize. In the daytime they are driven into the prairie, and feed in the bushes, on the bark of poplars. There are, probably, above 300 horses in the two Mandan villages; some of the people, indeed, do not possess any, while others, again, have several. The Mandans and Mani- 343
taries, like all the other Indians of this country, sometimes mak[illegible] are here called caches, or 221
hiding-places, in the vicinity of their villages. These caches a[illegible] or magazines, underground, often so artfully contrived that it is very difficult to di[illegible] them. The Indians frequently go from their winter to their summer village, to fetch any articles they may happen to want, as they invariably leave part of their property behind. When they quit their huts for a 493
longer period than usual, they load their dogs with the baggage, which is drawn in small sledges, 231
made of a couple of thin, narrow boards, nine or ten feet in length, fastened together with leather straps, and with four cross-pieces, by way of giving them firmness. Leather straps are attached in front, and drawn either by men or dogs. The load is fastened to the sledge by straps (for such a sledge drawn by dogs see Vignette XXIX). When the snow is deep, they use snow shoes (Plate 481
XXI. Fig. 4), which are described by Captain Franklin, only those of the Mandans are much 171
smaller, about two feet and a half long; whereas in the north their length is from four to six feet. The Mandans and Manitaries have not, by any means, so many dogs as the Assiniboins, Crows, and 231
Blackfeet. They are rarely of the true wolf's colour, but generally black, or white, or else 171
spotted with black and white. Among the nations further to the north-west they more nearly resemble the wolf, but here they are more like the prairie wolf (*Canis latrans*). We likewise found, among these animals, a brown race, descended from European pointers, hence the genuine bark of the dog is more frequently heard here, whereas among the western nations they only howl. The Indian dogs are worked very hard, have hard blows, and hard fare; in fact, they are treated just as this fine animal is treated among the Esquimaux.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

cultivated by the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, attains a great height, and is suffered to 241
grow up from the seeds, without having any care whatever bestowed upon it. It is not trans- 276
planted. When it is ripe the stalks are cut, dried, and powdered; or the leaves, with the small branches, are cut into little pieces. The taste and smell are disagreeable to an European, resembling camomile rather than tobacco. The plant is not now so much cultivated as formerly, being superseded by the more pleasant tobacco of the Whites; but the species is still preserved. It is only on solemn occasions, for instance, in negotiations for peace, that this tobacco is still smoked; the seed is, therefore, preserved in the medicine bag of the nation, that the plant may never be lost. When they mean to smoke this tobacco, a small quantity of fat [278]
is rubbed on it.

The cultivation of the maize and other fields, of which each family prepares three, four, 241
or five acres, takes place in the month of May. Rows of small furrows are made, into which 221
the grains of maize are thrown singly, and covered with earth. Three times in the summer the plants are hoed, and the earth heaped up against them, that the moisture may have better access to them. The harvest takes place in October, when men, women, and children, each lend a helping hand. At present the women use, in their field labour, a broad iron hoe, with a crooked wooden handle, which they obtain from the merchants. Charbonneau recollected the time when they used the shoulder blade of the buffalo for this purpose. The fields are never fenced, but lie quite open and exposed.

The wild plants of the prairie are used by the Mandans, and other people of the Upper 222
Missouri; and to those before-mentioned, I can only add the feverolles *(Faba minor equina)*, 252
a fruit resembling the bean, which is said to grow in the ground, but which I did not see; there 824
are many other roots in the prairie, which are used for food. The gourds are eaten fresh as 262
well as dry. The beans are seldom eaten of one kind, but many sorts are mixed together. The maize is boiled or roasted, then pounded, mixed with fat, and made up into small cakes and baked. There are, of course, many other ways of dressing it. The sweet maize has a very pleasant taste, especially when it is in what is called the milky state; it is then boiled, dried, and laid by for use.

All kinds of animals serve the Mandans for food; the bear, when it is young and fat, the 224
wolf, the fox, in short, everything except the horse; the ermine is not eaten by many; and of 825
birds they dislike the turkey-buzzard, and the raven, because they feed on the dead bodies 262
deposited on the stages. They have a great aversion from serpents, but eat the turtle; the buffalo is the chief object of their chase, as it supplies them with skins, meat, tallow, marrow-bones, sinews, and many other necessaries. Next to the buffalo the beaver is the most indispensable to them, since it not only furnishes them with valuable skins, but supplies them with delicate food, the fat tail, especially, being considered quite a dainty morsel by the Indians. Pemmican, 262

in a line. Household groups kept together, since they would stop from time to time to dig wild turnips. Whenever the leader saw these plants in great numbers, he would ask his assistant, the announcer of the Black Mouths, to stop the party. All would dig except the scouts, who were ahead guarding the party against surprise by the enemy or hunting for fresh meat, and the Black Mouths, who were mounted and armed to protect the party against attack. The latter watched for stragglers and helped them to join the main party.

The leader selected the camping place which had been agreed upon in advance, and the Black Mouths enforced the regulations that the lodges be arranged in a circle at a certain distance from each other and compelled those whose lodges were out of place to take them down and set them up in such a way that the circle was complete except for a larger entrance at the side of the leader's lodge where the horses could be brought through to be corraled within the open circle. The leader's household was at the front of the line when traveling and was the first to set up a tepee; the back end of the line which was assembled by household groups swung around in a wide circle so that the last in the line set up their tepee at the side of the leader's tepee, thus completing the circle. Ropes were tied between the tepees forming a corral into which the horses were driven for the night.

The leader's tepee was used as a meeting place for the people assisting him in planning the hunt. They selected the scouts each day and relieved others who had ridden far; when the party had reached its destination, they also selected the leader of the hunters who was changed from day to day if the work of killing animals was tedious as was often the case when the buffaloes were in small bands. The leader was responsible for the success of the entire party and was expected to call in the hunters if scouts reported an enemy encampment until it was decided whether to move to another place or make provisions for the defense of the party. The Black Mouths drove all the women and children into the camp and enforced rigid rules against leaving.

The men butchered the animals and brought the meat to the camp, while the women cut it into strips and dried it on scaffolds. All were expected to get equal amounts, and a woman

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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249 276 fine. It was usually smoked mixed with the bark of the so-called red-willow or Cornus. Henry says that the blossoms were used, and were dried on a piece of pottery before the fire. Lewis and Clarke and Gass both mention this tobacco and agree with Verendrye that it was not good to those who were accustomed to European tobacco. The Mandans themselves soon discarded their own variety, raising only a little each year to use in ceremonials.

●222 Although hardly coming under agriculture, still as a related matter, it might be well to mention the wild vegetables and fruits which were so much used by the Indians of the region. These were june-berries, choke-cherries, wild plums, the feverole, and especially the pomme blanche or Indian turnip. The latter were something like artichokes, white, ovate, one to three inches long, and about the size of a man's finger. They were collected in large quantities and formed a very common food.

224 HUNTING AND FISHING:—The Mandans derived a living from agriculture and the hunt in about equal proportions. Their methods of hunting differed little from those of their neighbors. Game was in abundance and many animals besides the buffalo contributed to their sustenance. Among these were antelope, elk, deer, bighorn, and an occasional bear, besides beaver, rabbits, ducks and geese. Other animals were killed for their hides alone, as wolves, foxes, ermine and panther. Eagles and other birds of prey were hunted for their plumes.

Buffalo were hunted all the year round whenever they were in the neighborhood of the village, for the Mandans did not go away on long hunting trips as did most of their neighbors. The buffalo hunt was directed by the Soldier Band. A small detached body of buffalo would be surrounded by the horsemen and then every animal killed in order to prevent the alarming of the whole herd. Any animal which did not contain an arrow by which the slayer could be identified, belonged to whoever found it. The beasts were cut up, and each man's horse was laden down with meat. Certain choice parts were eaten immediately by the hunter, and the heart and tongue could be demanded from anyone of a lower grade than he who asked for them. The childless old men and women usually

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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and treasures, as it contains every thing he values most, viz: 353
two bulls' heads, which seem to be their great Manitou and protection. They are well daubed over with earth, and particular care is taken of them. There is laid on, or rather hung up, his arms, shield, ammunition, scalps of his enemies, and every thing he most values.

MORTAR AND PESTLE.

Next to this stage, stand the mortar and pestle, fixed firm in 342
the ground, and the remainder of the hut from that to the door 412
is vacant during the daytime, but occupied during the night by 231
the horses. Then there still remains a large space in the center, around the fire, for the use of the family, which is generally swept clean once a day. 1/1

CORN STAGE.

Fronting the entrance of each porch stands a stage raised 343
about eight feet from the ground, twenty feet in length, and ten 251
feet in breadth, for the purpose of hanging up their corn to dry, in the fall; these stages have a tolerable good flooring, which in the fall is covered with beans to dry, and posts are erected upon them, on the tops of which are laid poles or rafters, to which the corn and sliced squashes are suspended in tresses to
dry. When their harvest is over, they must have a pretty 313
effect, but at this season of the year they are lumbered up with 372
different kinds of drift-wood, of which they make their fires, and it gives a very ugly appearance to the villages.

DRIFT WOOD.

This wood they collect, in the spring, when the ice breaks up, and when great quantities of this wood floats down, the natives being expert swimmers, and so very active, that there is scarcely a large tree escapes them, until they have a sufficient stock for the year. I observed lying opposite to each village, an immense pile of this wood, and some trees of an amazing size.
Commonly, when they collect the drift wood there come down [222]●
numbers of drowned buffalo, that have perished in attempting
to cross above, at a season when the ice was bad. These ani- [268
mals the natives are very careful to haul on shore, as they prefer the flesh in that state.

LIGHT HAIRED CHILDREN.

An extraordinory sight that struck me among these people, 142
was to see several children, of about ten years of age, whose hair was perfectly gray, and bore a strong resemblance to aged persons. Those I saw were all girls. These people in general have not that strong coarse hair, so peculiar to the natives of North America; it is of a much finer nature, rather inclining to

1/1 [See Category 116, p. 310.-A.]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the night something pulled his blanket off, and he was frightened. He ran back to the village and died shortly afterward of pneumonia." 785

CROWS HEART'S REMINISCENCES AND PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

When a man has a real dream, everything that is going to happen comes to him in his dream. Hairy Coat [owner of a People Above bundle], fasted nine days and everything he did came to him in his dreams. An animal came to him in his dream and said, "You have suffered long enough, and I am going to send you home now. I will give you one enemy, and you can go out and bring in his scalp." The Mandan did all this fasting to get scalps just as you white men are always working to get money. 785 787 159 223

I was twenty-three years old when I first went out to trap eagles. When the lodge was ready, the men went in. That night I knew the leader would suggest that someone should suffer for the birds. That day I looked around and found a sharp bank. On top of the bank I drove a sharp stake and tied a long lariat to it as securely as I could. I knew that the Old Male Black Bear [leader of eagle-trapping party] would suggest that I go out on the top of the hills to cry as long as I could, so I did this to be ready. When I finished driving the stake, I came back and got two men of my father's clan, one being the Good Shot, to go out with me to cut holes through the skin of my chest with an arrow and insert two sticks each two inches long through the holes. After they did it, they said the bank was too high to get down alone and that they would put the rope around my breast to let me down. I told them to leave me alone and go back to camp. 785 159 223

When they left, the lariat [30–35 feet long] was coiled up by the stake. I crawled over the edge and fell to the end of the rope. I got such a jerk that I lost my senses. When I came to, I found myself still hanging down. I cried and ran until I made a trail along the sharp edge. Then the weight became less painful.

That night there was a heavy frost. I cried all the time. I kept running, and it was very cold. I began at dark and suffered until about ten o'clock, when two of the hunters came after me. When they got there, they caught the rope and pulled me up to the top. They tried to take the sticks out, but the swellings were so great that they could not get them loose. I had to carry the rope and sticks in my arms to camp.

When we got there, the head man laid me up where the buffalo skull was. He used a big bunch of buffalo hair to thaw out the swelling, and then the sticks came out. After the sticks were out, I went back to bed, but the swelling extended from my navel to my chin. I rolled without sleeping until nearly daybreak. I could not sleep, so I got up early to see the flag on the hill. I wanted to see if we had the right kind of wind to go to the pits.

I found that we had the right kind of wind, came back to camp, wakened the others, and told them the wind was in the west, the right direction for trapping. My breast was so swollen I had to put the rope for carrying the bait around my forehead when walking to the pit. I put my bait where it was supposed to be and sat there in the pit looking up through the covering. Soon I heard a noise and looked up. There was a large eagle coming down. He sat on

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

785 top of my bait, and I stuck my right hand out and caught him. He was a big beautiful eagle, and that was the result I got for my suffering the night before.
159 Before I finished killing him, another big one came down on top of my pit and walked over to the bait. I caught him as I had the other one and pulled him
223 into the pit where I killed him, and there was never a happier person than I. I forgot all about my pains. I was happy as I thought of what I had done the night before. I did not have to go very far to get results for the suffering I did the night before. After that the leader said, since I was lucky, I should get up mornings and look at the flag to see if the winds were right.

787 If a man goes out on the hills to fast and suffer and some holy person or animal comes to him and tells him that he will be lucky and kill an enemy,
785 but when he goes out as leader, the enemy kills one of his party instead, he will come home crying because the people will think that he didn't fast right
159 or that his dream wasn't real. Brave men will start fasting again and seek an even stronger god by fasting longer and offering their flesh to the Sun. The older men watch one who has lost a warrior when he fasts. If the suffering is too severe, men of his father's clan pay him to stop for fear that he will kill himself. After he has suffered a while, the parents of the warrior who was killed in battle will give a feast to the man and ask him to stop. When a leader goes out to war as a result of the promise of a certain animal and loses one of his men, he will reject that animal's vision instructions if sent to him again in a dream. He will keep on fasting until another god comes to him. It is often hard to get men to follow an unlucky leader. If he goes out a second time and kills or strikes an enemy, the people will say, "You have a real protector now, one that is going to be a great help to you."

My god is the horse. When I was a young man, I led a horse around the sacred cedar standing in the center of Like-a-Fishhook Village by means of thongs in my flesh until I fell down unconscious. As I lay there, a horse came to me and promised me success in hunting and warfare. I killed two enemies a long ways from home because of this dream. The horse sang me his sacred songs, but I am not allowed to sing them for you. I have done all the things the horse asked of me, and the horse has done everything he promised me he would. The doctoring you saw me do did not come from the instructions the horse gave me. The sharp stick I used for letting out matter came from my rights in the Big Bird ceremony my sisters and I bought of Big Black, my father's brother.

726 I can illustrate by a story how a man organizes a war party to go out for the enemy that his god has promised him. The leader is careful to do just as
159 he was instructed.

The party was to leave from Fishhook Village. The leaders were Old Bear (Tamisik clan), Crows Breast (Tamisik clan), and Porcupine Head (Speckled Eagle clan). I joined the party because of a suggestion by Afraid To Be Chief [his mother's brother and head of the lodge at that time] that he had no horses. If we got horses, we would be pretty well fixed. When a party of this kind is made up, they do not announce it but act quietly in preparation for the trip. A night was set to leave. Those planning to join got together a supply of moccasins and food. A lodge was designated as our meeting place. The party met this time in Two Chief's lodge. Others came to look on and wish us luck so that the lodge was packed full of people.

In addition to the leaders mentioned already, there were these warriors in the party: Big Steal (Tamisik clan), Long Tail (Prairie Chicken clan), Afraid

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Chapter VII

EAGLE-TRAPPING CEREMONY[1]

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CAPTURING eagles from concealed pits[2] was practiced by all tribes of the Northern Plains. So far as our meager information indicates, the technique was essentially the same for a large number of tribes occupying territory adjacent to the Mandan and Hidatsa. Less is known of the ceremonial aspect of the practice, organization of expeditions, values of feathers for decoration, number of leaders, inheritance of rites and skills, or the socioreligious position of its shaman.

Shooting young developed eagles was uncommon, but both Mandan and Hidatsa informants claimed that the Crows made less use of pits, since they lived near the Rocky Mountains, where most of the birds nested and were able to shoot them in trees or near decoys. Such information as the literature gives indicates that all the tribes of the Upper Missouri River Region adjacent to the Mandan and Hidatsa used the pit method of trapping.

In this discussion of eagle-trapping it is proposed to indicate the territory claimed by the Mandan and Hidatsa, the technique of securing birds, mythological background, inheritance of rights to trap, as well as the economic and religious position of leaders in the tribal life.[3]

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Eagle-trapping by the Mandan and Hidatsa was confined to the rough lands adjacent to wooded streams. The ceremonial lodge for the men and the wood or hide tepees for the women and children were always erected in sheltered spots among the high trees along streams, while the pits were dug on the top or

1. For a detailed account of practices associated with eagle-trapping see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX [1929]), pp. 99–245.

2. For Maximilian's short account of eagle-trapping see Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, XXIII (Cleveland, 1906), 346.

3. Eagle-trapping rites and beliefs for both the Mandan and the Hidatsa are treated together in this chapter, since tribal differences were insignificant.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

near the top of hills or on benchlands adjacent to the streams (see Figs. 25–27). Of the total area claimed by these two tribes, only a small part of the entire territory was suitable for trapping, and that was confined to narrow sections of river country (see Fig. 28).

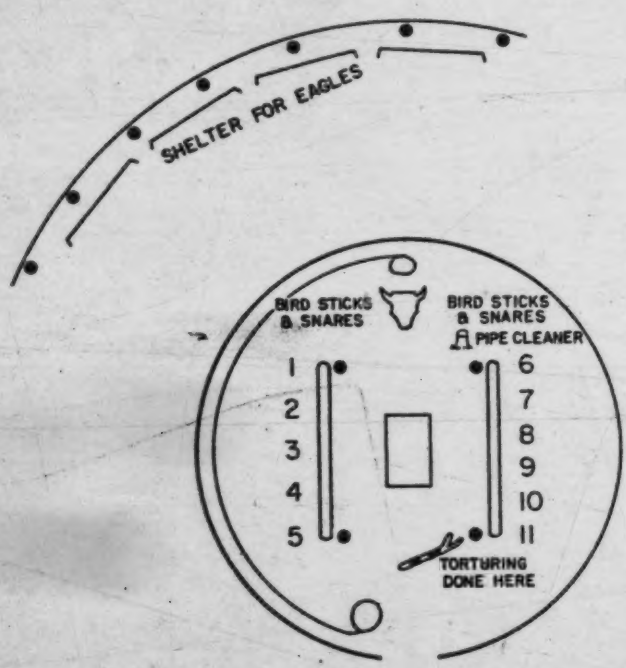

FIG. 25.—Plan of eagle-trapping lodge. *1*, Wolf Eyes—leader (Maxoxati-H); *2*, Big Walker—assistant leader (Tamisik-M); *3*, Little Crow (Low Hat); *4*, Lance-owner (3 clan); *5*, White Body (Maxoxati); *6*, Holding Eagle—Crack Shot (Prairie Chicken); *7*, Little Bull (Knife); *8*, Black Bear (Knife); *9*, Sitting Woman (Prairie Chicken); *10*, Bears Arm (Knife); *11*, Louie Wolf—waiter (Water-buster).

Historic accounts of these two tribes give little information on eagle-trapping, but there are frequent references to their value in trade. The standard price of a good horse was three war bonnets containing a total of one hundred and eight black-tipped feathers, which would be the feathers from nine birds.

Archeological evidence verifies native tradition of the great antiquity of eagle-trapping. In the rough country west of the Missouri River there are thousands of depressions marking the sites of former pits. These pits vary from sharply rectangular

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

forms with rotted sections of the cover still protruding to gently rounded depressions now nearly filled by erosional activity. The number of pits, together with their wide distribution, points to a universal practice of considerable antiquity.

During the century 1770–1870 there was a general northward movement of the Mandan and Hidatsa which was accompanied

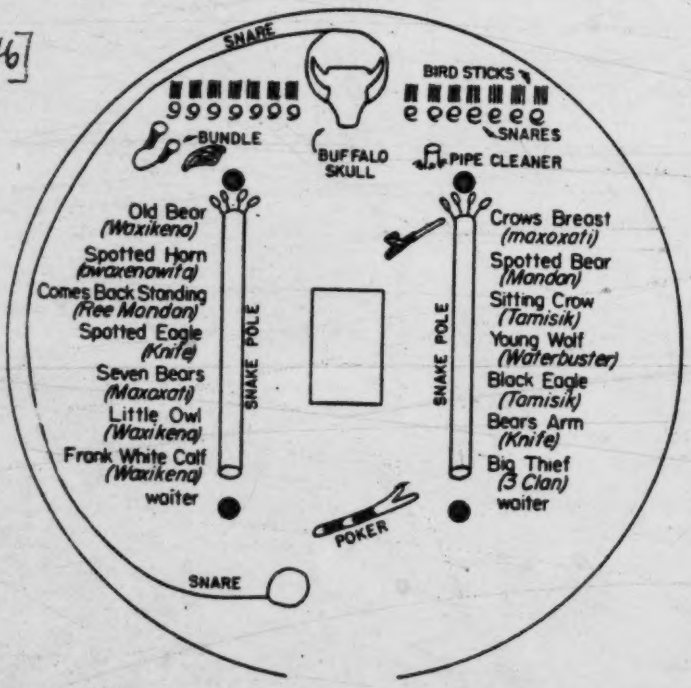

FIG. 26.—Floor plan of eagle-trapping lodge, Old Bear, leader. Bird sticks: *1*, "Both Ends White"; *2*, "Speckled"; *3*, "Four Stripes"; *4*, "The Young One."

by a shift in eagle-trapping territory. Crows Heart (Mandan), who had been on many trapping expeditions with both Mandan and Hidatsa leaders, stated that the Mandan claimed eagle-trapping rights to the territory on both sides of the Missouri River from Like-a-Fishhook Village to the Yellowstone and along the Little Missouri River to its headwaters. While living in the Heart River region, the Mandan claimed trapping rights to all the rough lands between the Little and Big Missouri rivers as far west as Powder River in Montana. To the south

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FIG. 27.—Eagle-trapping camp and pits, Old Bear, leader. (Drawn by Bears Arm to show himself fasting when seventeen years of age.)

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796 they trapped along the Cannonball River and in the Black Hill region, especially along the north side, which was jointly occu-
●223 pied with the Cheyenne, whom he believed used the same meth-
167 ods and followed the same rituals. He had heard the old men say
648 that it was understood that the eagle-trapping season should not be marked by bloodshed between the two tribes, or the trappers would have bad luck, and that their camps were often only a short distance apart. There would be visiting between camps and good-natured joking about the potency of their respective bundles. He further added that, through misfortune, the Mandan died off in such large numbers that they were obliged to relinquish most of their territory and establish a new territory which Hidatsa leaders had relinquished through simultaneous misfortunes. He had also heard the old men say that before abandoning the Cannonball region the Arikara, who then lived as far north as the Grand River to the south, had a similar treaty with the Sioux not to fight during the eagle-trapping season and at that time began to come into Mandan territory to make trouble. Since one was not permitted to carry his weapons to the pit,[4] a practice observed until trapping was abandoned a few years ago, the Mandan decided that it would be best to abandon their Cannonball River sites. New sites were established in Hidatsa trapping territory after the Mandan moved from the Heart River region to join the Hidatsa. Crows Heart had often visited the Crows and had heard them say they preferred to shoot the young birds, while still near their nesting places, to sitting in pits. There was also a period when the Snake Indians bothered the trappers, but he thought that it was not so long ago, as the Indians had horses by that time.[5]

A few leaders went to the east side of the Missouri River while occupying the Heart River region. Pits were dug as far east as Dog Den Butte and around Devils Lake. This was a limited territory since, in general, the country was too flat on the east side of the Missouri for successful trapping.

796 Ownership of a site was vested in the leader who had either
223 purchased the lodge and adjacent pits from a man of his own
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4. This practice suggests that a truce between tribes was quite universal before the introduction of the horse.

5. No doubt he referred to a recent eastward movement of Shoshonean-speaking groups after the appearance of the horse on the Northern Plains.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

clan or who had occupied unclaimed territory, erected his own lodge, and marked the outlines of pits. Inheritance of trapping sites was through the clan, and one could not secure permanent ownership of a trapping site owned by a man of a different clan. The nearest clan relative took possession of the site upon the death of the owner if it had not been sold. One could pay for permission to use a particular site for a season from one of a different clan when the owner did not intend to make use of it himself, but he was obliged to use the pits already dug and could not prepare new ones. In other words, a man could rent a site from an owner of a different clan, but he could not buy. When a site had been abandoned so long that its owner was not known, another could claim the site. Evidently little trouble was experienced over claims to sites, since a violator would have been severely criticized. There was, in addition, a religious taboo, since both the eagles and the bears belonging to the ritual occupied major bundle status in each tribe, and a trespasser could never have attained a position of prominence in either tribe.

The ritualistic differences between the Mandan and Hidatsa were no greater than those between separate bundle lines within the same village. Wolf Chief's narrative (to be quoted later) illustrates the extent to which one tribe borrowed from the other in purchasing an eagle-trapping bundle. His father, Small Ankles, purchased his rights from Big Cloud, who advised him to receive his instructions from Arrowhead Earrings, a Mandan, who was better informed. A study of individual bundle lines reveals that borrowing back and forth has been going on regularly since the smallpox epidemic of 1837, and from traditional information from informants this also applied to all their neighboring tribes as well. In native theory the particular ritual practiced at any time depended on these three factors: (1) the instructions received when the bundle was transferred; (2) elements of other eagle-trapping bundle rituals purchased; and (3) vision instructions.

A bundle-owner could sell his rights four times, and it was only when the fourth sale was made that the original bundle was transferred, new bundles being made up for the first three sales. The amount of instruction received depended on the desires of

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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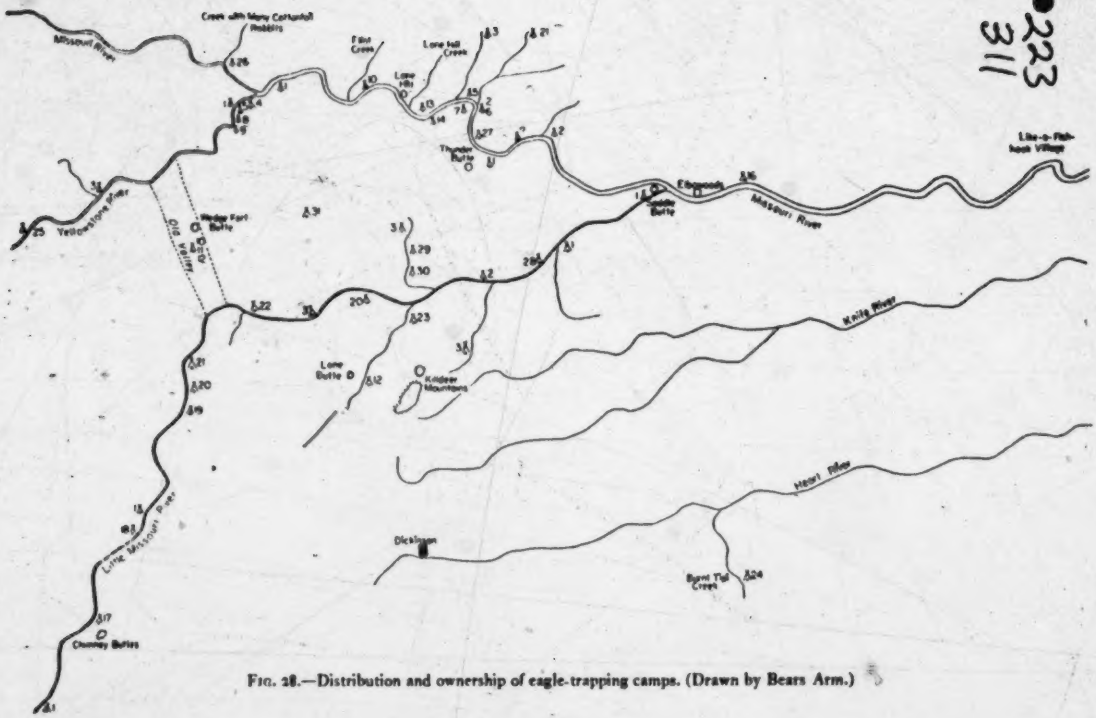

FIG. 28.—Distribution and ownership of eagle-trapping camps. (Drawn by Bears Arm.)

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KEY TO FIGURE 28

OWNERS OF EAGLE-TRAPPING CAMPS, THEIR TRIBE AND CLAN

1, Iron Eyes, Mandan, WaxikEna; *2*, Small Ankles, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *3*, Belly Up, Hidatsa, AwaxEnawita; *4*, Little Shield, Mandan, WaxikEna; *5*, Brave, Hidatsa, AwaxEnawita; *6*, Four Bears, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *7*, Guts, Hidatsa, Maxoxati; *8*, Bad Buffalo, Mandan, Prairie Chicken; *9*, Old Black Bear, Hidatsa, AwaxEnawita; *10*, Poor Wolf, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *11*, Good Bear, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *12*, Good Walker, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *13*, Crows Paunch, Hidatsa, Prairie Chicken; *14*, Enemy Dog, Mandan, WaxikEna; *15*, Cedar, Mandan, WaxikEna; *16*, Road Maker, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *17*, Hairy Coat, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *18*, Raven Wing, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *19*, Plain Tail (Big Coat), Hidatsa, Low Hat; *20*, Bad Coat, Hidatsa, Maxoxati; *21*, Old Bear, Mandan, WaxikEna; *22*, Wolf Eyes, Hidatsa, Maxoxati; *23*, His Horse Smells Him, Hidatsa, Maxoxati; *24*, Red Basket, Mandan, Prairie Chicken; *25*, Runs, Hidatsa (clan not known); *26*, Coyote, Hidatsa, Prairie Chicken; *27*, Bears Tail, Hidatsa, Prairie Chicken; *28*, Little Coyote (he would come up from Awaxawi Village at Knife River to trap here; this is probably a mythological camp); *29*, Bad Robe, Mandan, Tamisik; *30*, Bears Foot, Mandan (clan not known); *31*, Makes Everything Good, Hidatsa, Prairie Chicken.

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the purchaser. He could receive instructions and rights in a limited number of fundamental rites to trap eagles without going into the entire lore belonging to the ceremony. He could then lead trapping expeditions to established trapping grounds, open the lodge, receive the birds brought in by the trappers, and send the spirits away. He could not, however, dig new pits, make offerings to the holy women, or perform the many other simple rites associated with these expeditions. He would not attract the best trappers on his expeditions, as informants stated that successful trappers preferred to go out with leaders who had special rites for all situations likely to arise.

Some bundle-owners took particular interest in the mythology and rites belonging to eagle-trapping to the extent that supplementary purchases were made. In time, these leaders became authorities on eagle-trapping and received popular recognition comparable to specialists in any other pursuit such as warfare or hunting. Whenever such an owner discovered that another had a sacred song or simple rite used in connection with eagle-trapping, a purchase could be made, regardless of the clan of the seller. In this manner new elements modified or supplemented the original bundle rites.

The rites were further modified by vision instructions. When Bear on the Flat received his bundle from his father, Belly Up, he was instructed not to permit anyone to touch the snake poles. Subsequently, Bear on the Flat received a vision from the snakes in which he was advised to permit his trappers to wipe their hands on the poles as the snakes' portion of the meal.

Every major ceremony, whether Mandan or Hidatsa, had a mythological origin, and, in this respect, eagle-trapping ceremonies occupied major bundle status. In theory, eagle-trapping was first employed by two classes of small bears, the small black bears that had their pits on the east side of the Missouri River and the small brown bears that trapped on the west bank. There were seven mythological eagle-trapping camps at which these small bears were accustomed to meet in autumn to catch the young black-tipped eagles (see Fig. 29).

The brown-bear camps were at: (1) Thunder Butte; (2) Knife River, near the present town of Golden Valley; and (3) Heart River Ravine, near the town of New Salem. The black-bear

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

camps were at: (1) One Cottonwood Camp, at the mouth of the Yellowstone; (2) First Trapping Camp, the high ridge south of Sanish; (3) Buckbrush Trapping Camp, south of Shell Creek; and (4) High Butte Trapping Camp, southeast of Like-a-Fish-hook Village.

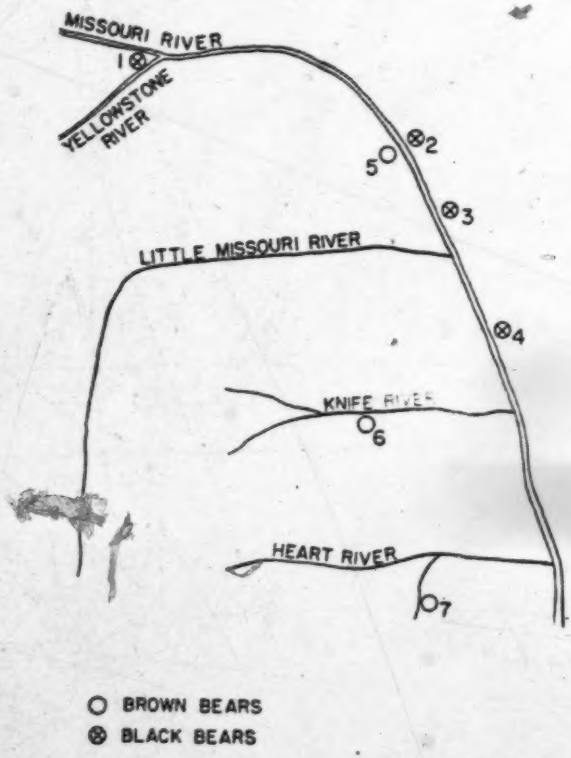

FIG. 29.—Mythological trapping camps of the Bears. *1*, One Cottonwood Camp; *2*, First Trapping Camp; *3*, Buckbrush Trapping Camp; *4*, High Butte Trapping Camp; *5*, Thunder Butte Trapping Camp; *6*, Sand Lodge Camp; *7*, Heart River Ravine Camp.

According to native belief, the small bears had trapped for a long time before the Indians received instruction in trapping. The theory of acquiring this supernatural knowledge conforms to the tribal pattern by which the world of the sacred is brought to the secular world through the medium of a hero. In this case, the hero was Black Wolf, who had been separated from a hunting party and was saved from starvation by a party of small black bears, then engaged in trapping eagles to the north of the

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Big Cloud's bundle was not complete; Iron Eyes had a main one.[22] Small Ankles would put up the lodge and put the snake pole in with the buffalo skull. He tied it into place with dark sage. I heard that once Old Woman's Grandson came in so they had the two poles brought in at that time to represent the snake.[23] 539

With respect to inheritance of trapping rights, rather marked differences exist between the Hidatsa and the Mandan. The former employed exclusively transfer from father to son or from individuals standing in the father-son relationship. Not a single instance of variation from the rule was observed except in the instance of Big Cloud's two sales to Wolf Eyes and Small Ankles. No doubt that exception can be traced to the circumstance that, though belonging to the Hidatsa Water-buster clan, Big Cloud lived in one of the Mandan villages with his Mandan father and Hidatsa mother. Hidatsa sales of trapping rights followed the normal pattern of bundle transfer from father to son, with a clan brother of the seller acting as sponsor to give instruction and prepare the bundle. Frequently a purchaser's brothers assisted in a joint purchase, taking possession upon death of the brother, but the next transfer would be to the son of original purchaser or his brother's son. 778 223 171 425

The small village of Awaxawi apparently had been strongly influenced by the Mandan, and clan inheritance was followed if the two bundles purchased just after the smallpox of 1837 were characteristic of all bundles formerly in the village prior to that epidemic.

Mandan inheritance of eagle-trapping bundles was affected by numerous factors. Except for the last generation in which it was from father to son, or other individuals standing in that relationship, inheritance was generally from one standing in the relationship of *pta'wadato'dE*, a special kinship term for the mother's brother and the mother's mother's brother. In tracing back inheritance of Mandan eagle-trapping bundles, one is impressed by a sudden change within a single generation to the Hidatsa pattern of purchasing from the father. 778 425 171

Iron Eyes' bundle had belonged in the WaxikEna clan for several generations. He purchased from his mother's brother before the Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook 423 223 778 425

22. He means the principal bundle.

23. See the myth of Old Woman Who Never Dies, chap. vi, above.

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423 Village, but he sold to his son after living one generation with
223 the Hidatsa. He inherited the eagle-trapping sites of his moth-
778 er's brother, but his son, Ben Benson, did not inherit his father's
425 trapping lodges, since they were of different clans. Trapping territory and lodges continued to be clan-inherited and were not affected by this change to father-son inheritance of bundles.

778 Residence also was a factor in determining Mandan bundle transfers. When marriage was arranged on the initiative of the
425 girl's parents, who selected the husband, the girl and her husband lived with her parents. As soon as it was evident that the marriage would become permanent, the girl's parents undertook what was known as "building up the son-in-law's reputation." First they would secure a white buffalo robe, which they presented to their son-in-law, who in turn would offer it to his own father's bundle.

If the young man came to regard the parents-in-law highly, he would, when successful in warfare, present his mother-in-law with a scalp, after which he could speak to her at will. Small Ankles lived in the same lodge with his wife and her parents, and he received his eagle-trapping rights from his father-in-law, Big Cloud, who also sold to his younger brother, Wolf Eyes. Wolf Chief, son of Small Ankles, was eligible to buy from his father. He also was invited to own his father-in-law's (Chief, a Mandan) eagle-trapping rights. This was an instance where a man (Hidatsa) was eligible to purchase his father's rights but through marriage to a Mandan and living in his parents-in-law's lodge could, according to Mandan custom, have inherited his father-in-law's bundle and rights.

Wolf Chief gave an account of a bundle transfer as told to him by his father, Small Ankles. The account illustrates quite definitely a considerable interchange of elements between the Mandan and Hidatsa, resulting in an enriched ceremonial life for both groups. The Hidatsa think of Small Ankles' rites as Hidatsa, but this account will show that the chief body of lore connected with the bundle was drawn from the Mandan.

223 WOLF CHIEF'S NARRATIVE OF A BUNDLE TRANSFER

778 I do not own the trapping rights, and by custom I should not tell; but,
425 since I have changed my ways, I will. My father, Small Ankles, did not get
159 the rights from his father but from Big Cloud, his father-in-law. Before Big

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Cloud[24] died, he told my father that it would be better for him to put up a sweat and thus receive the Small Bear, for he might get some use out of it. When people in the future would make offerings to the bears, he would receive presents.

Small Ankles told me that he got this Small Bear shortly after the smallpox. He said to me, "I treated my father-in-law well; he was like an older brother to me; that was the reason why he asked me to buy the medicines. I had to put up the sweat and some articles before I received it. At that time there were few trade goods, so I went out for buffaloes and saved about twenty-five hides. I had them tanned by the women. I prepared a sweat bath and called Big Cloud. He showed me two feet belonging to the little bear; one was without hide and was called Bone Foot. It was difficult to find a man who knew all the songs, but we remembered that there was a man named White Finger Nails. He had a son who knew the holy songs, so he was selected to come in and sing the songs. That man was a Mandan, Calf Woman's mother's father, named Arrowhead Earrings.[25] Big Cloud did not own a complete bundle but had only part of the rites and songs, so they selected this man since he knew them all. The man selected I called "father" because he and my father were in some way distantly related. Also I said that it would be best to have my father-in-law there too, for he knew some of the songs and knew how to put up the trap with the songs for the baits and pits. They met together to have the ceremony." Small Ankles was there. Big Cloud gave his medicines to Small Ankles and taught him how to trap, sing the songs, and set the baits. Then the other man gave him a small piece of bear hide and foot, telling him that when out trapping, if bad luck came, he could call him "father" and say what he wished to say, and Arrowhead Earrings would remember.

Big Cloud received the ten hides and said, "It will be all the better to let this other man have fifteen hides and a horse, for he is the one who did most to give you a complete ceremony."

When they covered the sweat lodge with the robes, there was a buffalo skull and the medicines that were to go to Small Ankles inside. Then they sang the holy songs. Big Cloud gave Small Ankles the bear foot, three snares, and eagle down, saying, "I give these to use when trapping; keep them in good order." Then they went in and sang a holy song and called some of the people to come in front of the sweat to be cleansed of the evil spirits.

There were not many people there, for most of the eagle-trapping bundles had died out during the smallpox; all who did own such bundles came there. Arrowhead Earrings said to Small Ankles, "When you go out eagle-trapping, remember this medicine is connected with trapping fish too, so you must not trap both in the same year. If you do, you will surely get into trouble, for this is holy. It is best to change off and go out after eagles one year and catch fish the next. If you use both the same year, trouble will come, for the fish have the stronger spirit."

There was a holy man with eagle medicine named Medicine Eagle [Mandan]. Small Ankles heard that he was holy and learned that, when any of the

24. Big Cloud had no sons and was living with his daughter, who had married Small Ankles.

25. Arrowhead Earrings was a Mandan of the WaxikEna clan and custodian of the Okipa lodge, where he lived with his family when the lodge was not needed for the ceremonies. His eagle-trapping rights were secured from White Finger Nails.

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people wanted to make offerings to the eagles, Medicine Eagle would draw the picture of the things that they offered.

Small Ankles said, "I was trying to call him to come to my place and inquired what he did about making the signs for the eagle, thinking that it would help me in eagle-trapping. I called him in and told him I would like to own 'how he drew the picture,' and the man said he was willing to let me have it. He said it was not necessary to put up a big sweat and ceremony but to give enough articles, and he would show me how. He also owned a holy song for eagle-trapping which I could use. He gave them both to me to use.

" 'I will save enough hides to buy it from you,' and the man said that he would be ready any time. I looked up eight hides and my wife tanned them. A mare and colt were included. I put up a feast besides and told the medicine man that I was ready to own the medicine. The man came painted. His face was red; his hair was over his forehead; he wore the longest wing feathers. He came in, and I said, 'Here is the material I have put up to own your medicine song; here are two sticks which represent the mare and colt; this food also goes along with it.'

"When the man saw that, he said, 'I am satisfied with it, my son. You have put up all these things, and I am happy.' I had a pipe ready and handed it to him. He called for a little fire and I carried him a coal, but before he began to smoke he held up his pipe to the sky and prayed, then to the ground, and then to the birds of the four directions. When he finished smoking, he said that he would sing the holy song which belonged to the bait and show me how to draw the picture, for, when any man makes an offering to the eagles, then that man will have the right to draw a picture on his robe.[26] Medicine Eagle said, 'I will show you how to make the picture, for one who makes an offering to his own medicines, the eagles. I have a holy song for that.' I [Small Ankles] was taught the song, and the man said that he had already heard that I had bought the right to trap and now with my holy song it would be all the easier to trap an eagle. He taught how to sing the holy song, but one was not supposed to sing it aloud, just loud enough so that the people could hear it. The song had some words.

Female eagles come back first.

"Then he taught me how to draw the picture and said, 'Some day the people may make an offering to the eagles, and then you can draw the picture. Have some mud on a stick. When you draw the picture, make first a crooked line for lightning and then one straight line alternating until you have made six or eight figures representing lightning. Pull out one of the wing feathers and put it on one corner of whatever they offer when you finish drawing the pictures. When you have finished, cut an ash stick and put the robe around it with sage fastened on the top of it. Have a belt around the middle. Put it beside the door of his lodge so that it will stand there. When you go out eagle-trapping, remember the holy song and think whether you are getting enough birds. If you think you are not getting enough, use that song, singing it on the way to the pit or while smoking the bait. When you go into the pit, sing it. When you are at the pit, lift the bait in the air to the west and sing. If an eagle shows up while you are singing, it means that you will be successful. Do not sing this song often, only when you need it very badly.' "

26. The practice of painting robes to depict bundle rights was universal with the Mandan but uncommon with the Hidatsa.

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Small Ankles did not go out often, for there were many enemies. He did not like to go because of that. I went out along the Little Missouri River to Shoot-in-Nose Creek, and Small Ankles said I was four years old then. Then, Old Woman Crawling, Flying Above, and Big Cloud were along. There were old pits, but no one knew whose, so they fixed them in the same places. That is all right if one did not know whose they were. Many eagles were flying. One man stayed at home to protect the women. Big Cloud told of birds destroying the bait when the enemy appeared on the hill. The men freed the birds and ran away from the place. They traveled all night coming back. 223 778 425 159

The actual transfer of the bundle was a public event in both tribes. When a Hidatsa transfer was to be made, a clan brother of the seller occupied an important place, giving the instructions beforehand and directing the ceremonial transfer. He was recipient of most of the goods offered in payment. Attending the transfer ceremony and feast were all persons, male or female, owning a bundle containing a buffalo skull. These participants were considered the major bundle-owners of the tribe. 778 425

Mandan public transfer of this bundle was direct from seller to purchaser, and the only persons entitled to attend were legitimate owners of Eagle-trapping, Big Bird (this includes eagles, hawks, owls, thunder), Snake, and Bear bundles. Instruction in the techniques and rites of eagle-trapping was received directly from the seller without the assistance of a clan father. Each legitimate participant at the transfer received payment for his attendance and prayed for the success of the purchaser. Instruction was received from the seller privately, and appropriate payments were made from time to time during the period of apprenticeship. For instance, the buyer would be told that he should have so much goods ready at a stated time, and he would be taught how to erect the lodge; at another time how to dig the pits; etc. Each song would require its appropriate payment. When the feast was given, all knew that the buyer had received at least the minimum information necessary for leading eagle-trapping expeditions. Both tribes employed public transfers as an instrument for informing the population at large of the buyer's legitimate right to perform the ceremony. Transfer was always made in the village and never while on the trapping grounds.

There were two methods of organizing an eagle-trapping party depending on the inclination of the leader or bundle-owner. Some leaders selected their trappers, while others announced 223

.2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

•223 their intentions of trapping at certain localities and called for volunteers. The bundle-owner was leader, and his authority began as soon as the party left the village. Announcement that they would be trapping at a specified site was made in the village as soon as a party was organized, in order that hunting parties or other eagle-trapping parties would know their whereabouts.

Trapping parties left for the trapping sites when the leaves began to change color in the fall. In the party would be the leadder and his trappers, together with their wives and children. It [224] being customary to hunt game for the winter's needs when the winds were not from a westerly direction, the women were taken along to cure the meat and prepare the hides.

223 346 Two types of lodges were used in connection with eagle-trapping. According to tradition, when Black Wolf visited the bears, he found them using a grass lodge consisting of a sweat-lodge frame covered with grass mats. When this lodge was used, the rigid rules associated with eagle-trapping were dispensed with. The bears had said, "When you use the grass lodge, there will be no rules." Any suitable location for the lodge could be agreed upon where it would be centrally located in relation to the pits. Neither were there rules governing the excavation of pits nor the appropriation of old ones. Each trapped where he chose, killed the birds, and secured the feathers. This type lodge was rarely used except when trapping in new territory under circumstances such that it was considered unlikely that the party would ever return there again to trap.

223 346 778 The second type lodge was known as the wood lodge. There were two variants of this type. When it was planned to return to the locality again, it was constructed on a four-post standard, each post having a fork at the top on which poles were suspended forming a square. The sides of the lodge were built by leaning poles against this standard to form a roughly conical structure. Bark and earth were banked around the outer edge of the lodge to a height of three feet for warmth and protection from attack. This was the preferred type lodge. With it went ownership of the adjacent pits and hunting territory. It was the residence of the males and was owned by the leader who had directed its construction. When used in connection with eagle-trap-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ping, the full ritual belonging to the bundle was used. These were permanent sites and were used from year to year. (The camps indicated in Fig. 28 used this lodge.) Transfer of ownership was through the clan, although a leader of a different clan could pay for the right to use a lodge and pits for a season when neither the owner nor a member of the owner's clan intended to use it. 223 346 778

A variant of the pole lodge was generally used when a new territory was being explored for the first time. In exterior form it resembled the four-post lodge but lacked the standard on which the poles were leaned. The structure was begun by lashing four poles together in the manner of the four-pole tepee of the Plains, after which poles were leaned together at the top forming a circular base and conical exterior. The base had the same exterior covering of bark and earth for protection from the weather as well as defense from enemies. 223 346

Many of these pole lodges are still to be found, even though eagle-trapping was generally discontinued fifty years ago. In the autumn of 1932 the writer accompanied Bear on the Flat, Crows Heart, and Mark Mato on an eagle-trapping expedition and use was made of a lodge and pits owned by Iron Eyes (born into the WaxikEna clan but raised in the Prairie Chicken clan), a member of Bear on the Flat's clan.

When a trapping party returned to an old site, the first duty was to repair the trapping lodge. Broken poles were taken out of the wall and replaced by new ones, after which the sides were banked with bark and earth. When six or eight men were in the party, the lodge was the size of the regular hide tepee. When parties of fourteen to twenty men went out, the lodge was enlarged to twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter. Hide tepees were never used for the men when on eagle-trapping expeditions. The lodge was always concealed in a thicket of timber near running water. The head of the lodge was in a westerly direction, usually more north than west so that the entrance was in a general direction of the Missouri River's course. The head of the lodge and adjacent area on that side of the lodge were considered holy. One could not cut wood, perform tasks not related to the ceremonies, or loiter there. The sweat lodge was south of the trapping lodge. The women erected their hide tepees or pole lodges without the four-post standard, and their drying scaffolds were 223 346 778

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 346 778 in line with the entrance of the ceremonial lodge to the east. Before the introduction of horses, women lived in pole lodges, but these lodges were replaced with hide tepees as soon as possession of horses became general.

223 796 When returning to a site that had been used the former year, the two poles representing the snakes were brought from their place on the west side of the lodge and placed at the door; otherwise new ones were cut and brought to the lodge. Before the leader carried in the sacred bundle, he would sing the Song to the Lodge, with the trappers seated around him. After this he addressed the bundle, announced that trapping was about to commence, and asked for good luck from the Bears, the Buffalo, and the Snare. He then entered the lodge, invited the Buffalo and the trappers to come in, and placed the Buffalo skull and bundle at the head of the lodge.

When all were inside, the leader sang the Song of the Snakes and called for the two snake poles, which were brought in and placed one on the left side and the other on the right side of the lodge with the large ends representing the heads pointed toward the head of the lodge and the altar. The leader then produced a short sharp stick, usually decorated with porcupine quills, and marked off the limits of the fireplace, after which a rectangular pit was excavated. The rectangular shape of the fireplace was symbolic of the eagle-trapping pit, while the fire was addressed as "Grandfather," meaning that "it goes back in time to the beginning of things." The two ash poles were then placed on opposite sides of the fireplace. The pole on the left side represented the male snake and the one on the right side represented the female.[27] According to Mandan-Hidatsa tradition, Two Men[28] once came along and stopped with a party trapping eagles and informed the leader that the eagles ate snakes while the snakes preferred to eat eagle down. In that way snake poles were used in the ceremonial lodge for the men to place their heads on while sleeping.

The leader placed a juneberry branch tied up with white sage, representing the moon and also identified with the black-tipped

27. The arrangement of these two poles was symbolic of the lodge in Red Butte, visited by Grandson, where the snakes slept with their heads on poles at opposite sides of the fire.

28. Lodge Boy and Spring Boy of Hidatsa mythology.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

eagle, and a fiber snare over the entrance. The sun, also identified with the speckled eagle, was represented by a chokecherry branch and a fiber snare tied over the front standard above the altar. 223 796

Then followed the assignment of places for the duration of the trapping season and the selection of officers. Until the assignment of places was made, the leader gave no indication of the selections he contemplated making. The leader's place was at the head of the lodge on the right side. For the place next to him he would select an assistant, whenever possible one who also had eagle-trapping rights. At the end of the row next to the door he would place the waiter. For the left side opposite the leader he would select the "Chief of the Hunters" or "Crack Shot." Next he would select an assistant to the Chief of the Hunters. In mythological times these last two positions were occupied by a single officer, Bear Cub, until Two Men stole his earthen pot. When they found that they could not escape from the Cub, they agreed to do the hunting for the bears, as they were arrows in spirit. When the party was quite large, a second waiter was selected to sit at the end of the line.

The assignment of "bird sticks" varied with different leaders. Bear on the Flat used twelve bird sticks cut from chokecherry branches, to which he tied pieces of calico. These sticks were stuck into the ground in a row in front of the buffalo skull. They represented the twelve tail feathers of the eagle and also the birds that belong in the eagle family according to native belief. Iron Eyes and Ben Benson placed one bird stick on the altar for each member of the party. Each stick was decorated with a piece of flint,[29] a strip of rabbit skin, and some white sage. Old Bear, a Mandan, placed four bird sticks at the altar for each trapper, representing four types of eagles—the bald-headed, speckled, four stripes (on tail feathers), and calumet (white tail feathers with black tips) varieties. Small Ankles gave each of his trappers two bird sticks decorated with calico. One was offered to the calumet and the other to all the other eagles.

After the lodge was entered, assignment of pits was in order. When returning to habitual trapping grounds, it was rarely necessary to dig new pits. The right to dig new pits was by a sepa- 223 425 423

29. See chap. ix for origin of flint knives.

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223 425 423 rate purchase, and all leaders did not possess this. Purchasers received a short ash digging stick for laying out the corners of the pit and the right to sing the Song to the Pit. Lacking this right, it was necessary for a leader to select an established camp of a clan brother or a site which he had formerly purchased or borrowed, as he could not lay claim to a new site without the right to dig new pits. It was customary for a leader to return to the same site year after year, except that he could not lead eagle-trapping expeditions and put out a fish trap the same year.

When new pits were to be dug, the trapper made his own selection of the site and then called for the leader to mark the corners, which was done with the small ash stick while singing the Song to the Pit at each of the corners. He received payment for this service.

223 In order to avoid disputes when selecting pits, the leader would name two men to select their pits until each trapper had a pit. It was believed that the birds would not come down if disputes occurred. The first day in camp was usually spent in preparing the trapping lodge and assigning the pits. In the evening when the lodge was completed and the altar had been set up, the leader went out and called the birds, told them that the lodge was ready, informed the trappers of the rules, and sang the trapping songs.

796 223 When the writer was on one of these trapping expeditions in 1932, Bear on the Flat gave us the following instructions in this order. Mark Mato served as interpreter. The main points stressed by Bear on the Flat were of necessity recorded in brief outline.

BEAR ON THE FLAT'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR EAGLE-TRAPPING

When the four-post eagle-trapping lodges are put up, the eagle-trapping owner should come out to that site each fall. When a person comes to a region for one season and knows that he will not return to the same site next season, he puts up the simple tepee-shaped lodge without the four central posts.

When lodges were used formerly, twelve to twenty trappers went out; the lodges were approximately twenty-five feet in diameter, and the snake poles were relatively larger. No one was allowed to touch the snake poles. If someone did, Old Black Bear punched him severely with one of the bird poles used as a poker for the fire. Children were pinched severely by anyone near at hand.

It is customary to wipe the hands on the snake poles after eating, as the snakes' share of the meal. Men sleep at night with their heads on the snake

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poles. Now, Bear on the Flat has asked the snakes to let them touch the poles, and the snakes came in a dream and gave him permission.

In mythological times Black Bear was alive and sat at the left side of the entrance, but in later years they put a bear skull and hide down. Now, they merely imagine that he is there, and in place of him put a skin on the altar.

The sun was represented on the back standard or crosspiece by a hoop of twisted wheat grass and a chokecherry twig to hang it on. The cherry represents the speckled eagle. At the front on a crosspiece was a twisted grass hoop on a juneberry twig, the hoop representing the moon and the twig the black-tipped eagle.

When an eagle is caught, it is to be brought in on the left side of the door. Short gray sage will be used to smoke the bird. Then the bird is thrown toward the buffalo skull, whether the bird is dead or alive.

When the first eagle is caught, it is put next to Post 1,[30] and a ball of parched corn is given to the bird and its blessing asked. Afterward each member of the party partakes of the corn.

Koicita is the name of the head man or Old Male Black Bear. If the party is large, he does not trap but keeps the lodge fire burning. Then he is not expected to go into the pits. In case the hunters are out after game because of adverse winds and the winds change to the west, he can go into any of their pits. Crows Heart is the Map'si or Chief of the Hunters and gets his orders from the Koicita. He should stay at Post 2[31] and receive eagles when brought in; also he should supply the camp with meat.

Evenings the party is expected to go into the sweat lodge, and each has his own place there. When in the sweat lodge, anyone can put in the rocks, but the same order of naming the rocks is carried out; when putting in the first rock, he says, "This is the mother of birds." He says for the second stone, "This is the child of the mother of birds." For the third he says, "This is the oldest bird." For the fourth he says, "This is the genuine speckled eagle." The rest of the stones are thrown in without ceremony.

It is believed that when the birds are ready to come southeast, they send a scout ahead to see if there is a lodge. If there is one, it peeps into the lodge. If it sees the offering on the twelve bird poles, it goes back to the land of the birds and tells what it saw. Then the birds know that the people of that lodge are showing respect for them, while the people know that all the sky-gods will be gathering around that lodge. That is the reason only those who know the proper ceremonies to the gods gathering there can be at the head of eagle-trapping.

During the mythological period, Buffalo said to Black Bear, "I am always lucky. Place me at the head of the lodge, and you will be the owner of some fine eagle down." Since that time, whenever a bird is caught, some of its down is given to the Black Bear hide near the buffalo skull.

A buffalo-bull horn is used to throw water on the rocks of the sweat lodge. Only those who buy the rights can make a sweat. Bear on the Flat bought his rights from his father. The bird poles are used to poke the fire as well as for pulling coals from the fire for the pipe. The gods are like humans; some are jealous, while others are good to the people and work for their welfare.

A rock is put into the trapping pit. If you get sleepy, put it under your

30. The post next to which the leader sits (see plan of lodge, Fig. 26).
31. Opposite the leader.

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head. If you drowse, you will roll off of it, and in that way the rock won't let you go to sleep.

When earth is taken from the four corners of the pit, a prayer is spoken assuring you that everything harmful to the human body or spirit has been removed. Persons going into pits can't scratch themselves or the birds will have poor feathers. They will be old birds and covered with insects.

When Black Bear was on the earth, he ate birds and everything else he could catch. One day he was in the pits when he heard a thundering noise. This noise recurred for three days. On the fourth day a large rock fell on him. While he was unconscious, Buffalo packed him off to the north where the old bears lived. Father of Black Bear was there after the boy was taken north. Buffalo was at the head of the lodge alive. The father of the Black Bear set fire to the lodge. As Buffalo was coming out, Old Black Bear caught Buffalo long enough to singe him from the chest down; that is why the hair is long on the buffalo's back but short on the chest; that is also why the buffalo skull is placed at the head of the lodge, for he is lucky and will bring good luck.

Crows Heart represents the Black Bear Cub who once packed an earthenware vessel on his back and wandered aimlessly about in the neighborhood of the Heart River. There he was met by two Mandans, called the Two Men, on the high ridge six miles south of Bismarck and nearly opposite the Huff site. One of the Two Men was foolish; the other was wise. The foolish one asked of Black Bear Cub, "What do you eat? You carry that pot on your back for nothing."

Cub said, "I have plenty of food, and I can cook my meal any time I want to."

Saying that, he spit on his left arm and sang a sacred song. They heard a sound in the skies, the noise made by an eagle coming down to perch on Cub's uplifted arm. When it lit, Cub strangled it with the hemp rope which he put over the bird's head. Then he began to pull out the feathers. After that he packed the meat into the kettle. Although the kettle was small, he was able to pack it all in. When the meat was ready, he placed four bunches of sage in the form of a square around the pot, singing this song:

Water flow into the kettle.
Fire burn round the kettle.
Kettle boil.

Everything took place simultaneously with the uttering of the words. The fourth song said:

This kettle is sacred.

And his meal was cooked. In this manner he got a meal from little effort.

The Two Men thought they should live leisurely also, so they stole the kettle and ran away to hide in all the prominent hills with names. Every time they went into one of the hills, Cub would come with his rope and pull the hill down. Then the occupants of the hill would drive the Two Men out. So they went from hill to hill, the Killdeer Mountains, Thunder Buttes [south of Sanish], Eagle Buttes, Birds Bill Butte, and then to Dog Den Butte where the hills now lean. Dog Den Butte was the home of many gods and was considered very holy. The Two Men fortified themselves there. Cub came with his rope, which he threw around the hill, and pulled on the hill.

The Two Men, having no other place to go, gave themselves up. Cub was going to kill them, but they said they would be his servants and do his hunt-

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ing. On the eagle-trapping expeditions these two men supplied the meat for the camp. This party being small, only Crows Heart has that office. He should sleep opposite the Old Black Bear. 223 773

You should be tortured and cry for the birds to have good luck.

KINDS OF BIRDS

1. Bald-headed Eagle. White head and white tail. Parent to speckled eagle. 223
2. Speckled Eagle. 825
3. Spotted-barred tail. Body is black.
4. White tail with black tip. Known as the calumet eagle.
5. "Half of each feather good, half bad."
6. "Black but has white tails"; head is white; is a hawk.
7. I'pamasina.
8. Chicken hawk. Tails barred black and light brown.
9. Goose.
10. One of the smaller geese.

The twelve sticks on the altar represent the twelve tail feathers but also represent the ten birds listed above. 223

When in the pit one must not smoke. When you get in, even up the grass and while you are away from the pit hide the poles put on top to keep grass from blowing.

When tying the bait, be sure to put it close enough so that you can reach the bird. You will get a wooden pin from the leader to stick into the wall for the snare to hang onto. When catching an eagle, grab one foot first; then the bird will pull away from the pit; get a hold of the other foot and hold both feet with one hand; then fold its wings over and choke it with the snare.

The second day in camp was usually spent digging new pits or cleaning out those previously used. The walls of old pits were often broken in. Care was taken to remove all the earth in baskets or robes to a place where the birds would not see it or the people walk on it.[32] The pits should be deep enough for the trapper to sit upright in but not quite long enough to stretch out full length in. Most trappers had their pits on the tops of hills near the northwest edge, but it was believed that the best pits were those on the northwest slope, about three rods from the top of the hill, so situated that there was an open view for many miles westward. Birds approaching from that direction while still flying high in the air could see the bait.

In alighting, they would fly beyond the summit of the hill and turn back to light, facing into the west wind. It was difficult to find a good natural location. Should the pit be too near the rim, the birds lit too far back and were likely to sense danger while walking up to the bait. On the other hand, pits located too far

32. This was done because the pit was sacred.

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223 from the rim were undesirable because birds flew past the bait before seeing it and frequently did not come down. Certain pits were known to be better than others because of their proper location in respect to the contour of the hill and because of an unobstructed view westward for many miles.

223 425 829 Even in localities visited annually, ancient pits were discovered from time to time. Anyone finding an old pit, if within reasonable distance of a trapping camp, could appropriate it for his use, in which case it became the property of the leader under whom the trapper served. It was not necessary to perform the rites at the pit when reopening the pit, as it was assumed that such rites had been performed originally when the pit was dug. It was both Mandan and Hidatsa belief that all tribes trapping eagles had similar rites. During this study, in an effort to learn the extent of knowledge concerning eagle-trapping by neighboring tribes with whom these two tribes were in constant contacts, Crows Heart was asked if he knew whether the Assiniboine, Cheyenne, and Sioux had ceremonies associated with eagle-trapping. His reply was that he was positive that they did and that both the rites and songs were the same as for his people. When inquiry was made relative to the source of his information whether from attending their trapping expeditions or from information supplied by Indians of these various tribes, his reply was that he had never been out with Indians of any tribe other than the Mandan and Hidatsa, neither had he discussed the matter with Indians of neighboring tribes, but that "it was common sense that they used the same ceremonies, as all eagle-trapping came from the Black Bears, otherwise these neighboring tribes would never have caught eagles." He then added, "If the ceremonies had been omitted, or improperly conducted, the Indians not only would never have caught eagles but other bad luck would have befallen them." This example illustrates the unreliability of information secured from an informant relative to a society of which he is not a part.

223 Whenever advice was needed, the trapper consulted the leader and paid him for his services. The leader usually supervised construction of the cover for the pit. Six poles were crossed and tied as illustrated in Figure 30. This framework was called the "buffalo's backbone." To these poles were tied buckbrush and

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long grass, while short grass such as grew around the pit was 223 scattered over the cover so as to destroy all evidence of the pit[33] (Fig. 36).

Various baits were used. The most popular bait was a stuffed jackrabbit skin. The animal was skinned with the head left on,

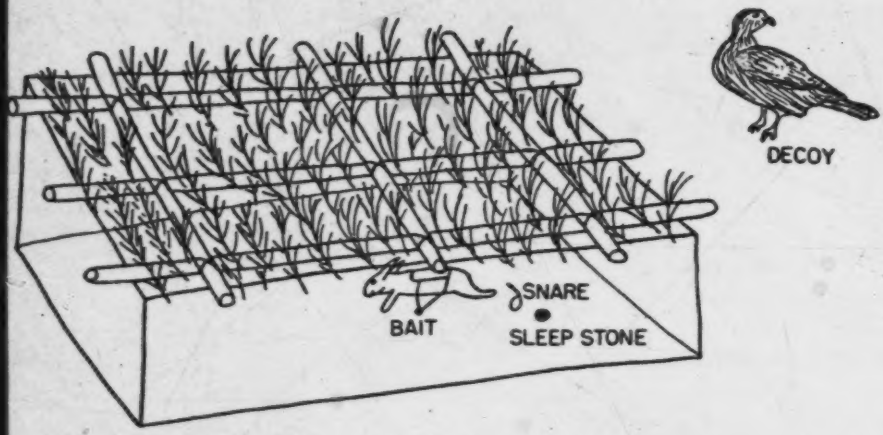

FIG. 30.—Plan of eagle-trapping pit

and the hide was stuffed with grass, sage leaves, or buffalo hair so as to resemble a live rabbit. Some hunters used a coyote skin

33. From my observations when on one of these expeditions, unusual precautions were taken, when preparing the pits, that none of the rules was violated. Bear on the Flat often referred to instances when the trapper had been carried away to find himself in a strange country. Snakes were known to come into the pits, and there was always the possibility that wild animals would come that way and fall onto the trapper. When preparing my pit, Bear on the Flat sang the song to the pit and asked the pit not to send me bad luck. The earth was carried to the east and scattered so that birds flying in from the west would not see it. Bear on the Flat asked the Holy Women for wood for the cover which was ash. Before cutting the buckbrush, he approached the brush with a sage, making motions of driving away the spirits. The buckbrush was tied to the framework. I was treated with a very unpleasant surprise when the frame was ready for the grass covering. I was directed to a low plain about five hundred feet below to secure the grass, although there was an abundance of the same plants on the hill where the pit was located. Putting the grass into place on the covering to conceal the pit without destroying the trapper's view of the sky was the finest piece of camouflaging I have ever observed. First he placed a fine carpet of grass over the buckbrush. Then he would take a few grass stems at a time and cast them like darts into the mat so that they stood up like uncut grass until the entire mat was covered. When he had finished, I observed that the grass on the cover waved with the grass surrounding the pit. The pit was so well concealed that a stake was driven into the ground to mark the northwest corner. One entered the pit by lifting a corner and sliding in feet first. Except for the obstruction by the ash poles, the sky was plainly visible as well as any birds within the angle of vision.

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FIG. 31.—Vacated lodge with closed door

FIG. 32.—Lodge when repaired and ready for occupation.

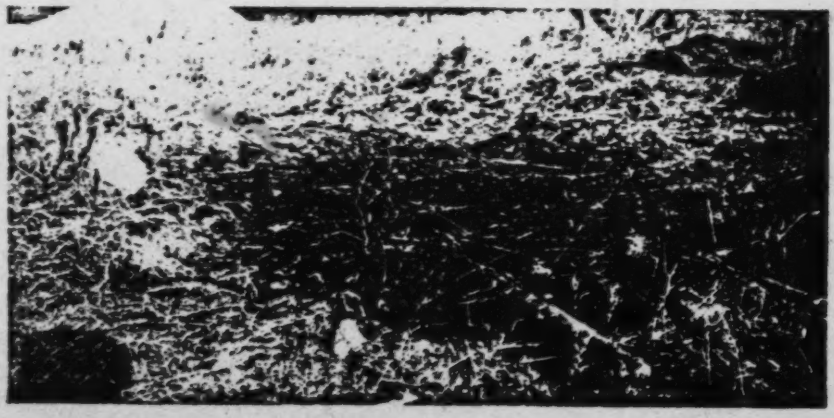

FIG. 33.—Pit with framework and buckbrush covering completed

[Ceremonial lodge used during eagle trapping expedition — Analyst.]

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223 or a foxskin. When trapping in the lake region east of the Missouri either a stuffed duck or goose was used. When a suitable bait was difficult to secure, the head and neck of an antelope were used. Usually the bait was secured while the party was traveling to the trapping grounds. When a stuffed skin was used, a piece of raw meat was tied to it. Some picketed a live eagle near the pit when one was available, if luck was unusually bad. There was a song to the bait which the leader used when "tying the bait," as well as a prescribed method of carrying it to and from the pit.

796 223 785 [787] Torture of the trappers, by one of several techniques, occurred regularly, and there was a prescribed ritual for the person offering himself. It was believed that someone should "suffer for the birds" if the expedition were to be successful. The Mandan felt, after uniting with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, that visions were difficult to secure in the village ceremonies because there were too many ill-informed people, particularly women, who violated the customs. Crows Heart frequently stated that torture in the Okipa ceremony was less frequently practiced and that he preferred to seek a vision away from the village. Usually a young man would decide beforehand to seek a vision while away from the village trapping eagles, the type of torture being recommended by an older clan brother. The Chief of the Hunter's duty was to pierce the flesh and insert the thongs, except that, when he stood in a joking relationship with the vision-seeker, he could not serve, and another was selected, usually his assistant. Some trappers pulled buffalo skulls through camp by means of thongs fastened through the skin of the back. Crows Heart once hung over a cliff by means of thongs through the skin of the chest. Bears Arm hung from a tree. Sometimes the vision-seeker had no preference, and the leader suggested that he bring wood into camp. In such instances, wood was tied up into twelve bundles,[34] to which lariats were fastened, and dragged to camp by means of thongs through the flesh to which the lariats were tied. All the wood was dragged into camp without help from others, the sufferer even removing his moccasins to make the pain more severe. Tortur-

34. Each bundle represented one of the eagle's tail feathers.

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FIG. 34.—Pit when covered and Bear on Flat

FIG. 35.—Bear on Flat, Crows Heart, and the writer at eagle-trapping site

FIG. 36.—View of territory where eagle-trapping sites were situated

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ing of trappers was performed the evening that the pits were completed. 796 223 785

Ordinarily when a party was composed of advanced middle-aged men, none were tortured, except on occasions when the birds would not stop, or when the winds continued from the wrong direction, there would be fasters on the hills crying during the night. If bad luck continued, then some would offer their bodies for torture and even cut off a piece of finger as an offering to the birds. In historic times there seems to have been somewhat more emphasis of the torture feature when eagle-trapping by the Mandan than the Hidatsa. Since we know from historic accounts[35] that the torture feature was highly developed with the Mandan, it appears that there occurred a transfer from village to nonvillage rites, the latter taking place when on hunting, eagle-trapping, and war expeditions.

Someone was selected, generally one of the waiters, to go out before daylight to determine the direction of the wind. The wind must be from a westerly direction, or it was believed that the birds were not traveling. Crows Heart explained that the calumet eagles nested in the Rocky Mountains and that the pits were located along the migration route to their wintering grounds to the southeast.[36] A piece of soft hide tied to the top of a pole placed on a high hill within view of the camp was employed to indicate the direction of the wind. If favorable winds were blowing, the leader was notified. He ordered all the trappers to prepare for trapping. None was allowed to eat before going out to the pits, as trapping was considered a form of ceremonial "suffering for the birds." Each trapper left shortly after daybreak for his pit, carrying his bait, a ceremonial fiber snare painted red with a piece of Black Medicine attached to it, and several leather snares. The bait was tied to two stakes driven into the ground four inches from the west edge of the pit. A shallow 223 [825]

35. See Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIII (Cleveland, 1906), 331–33, 377–78; cf. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 265–75.

36. Benson explained that the southland was the meeting place in winter of many creatures considered holy. Among these he included the thunderbirds, eagles, hawks, ducks, geese, cranes, herons, as well as the spirits of the corn and other garden products. This meeting place was an island where Old Woman Who Never Dies lived in her large earth lodge with four large snakes living in the water surrounding her island as her helpers. 825 773

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223 ditch wide enough to permit the trapper to reach out his right hand was then dug to the bait. A short stick was kept in the pit to punch away hawks and magpies. The trapper sat down in the pit and fitted the cover into place. The fiber snare was hung on a peg pressed into the west wall, and the "sleep stone," a small stone about three inches in diameter, was set on the east wall.[37]

When eagles flying by saw the bait, they usually circled around the hill a few times before coming down to light a short distance from the bait and walk up to it. Rarely did birds light directly on the bait. As soon as the bird reached the bait, the trapper thrust out his right hand, seized the leg, and pulled the bird down toward the ground. Ben Benson, who owned full trapping rights, said that he always gave his trappers this instruction:

> When the eagle comes to the bait, it will be so close that you can see it through the grass covering over the pit. Use your right hand and catch the leg closest to you. Pull the bird down toward the ground, not toward you. Put out the left hand and get the other leg. Hold both legs with the left hand and put the right hand out and swing one wing over against the other. Hold both wings together at the tips, and the bird can't hurt you. Tie the feet together then. Eagles are strong and fierce. They can stick their claws through your hand, pick your face, or cut your face with their wings. Don't catch bald-headed eagles; they are fierce and will fight.

Live eagles, when used as decoys, were staked down at the southeast corner of the pit. Benson never allowed more to be kept alive than the number of trappers. Some leaders required the trappers to kill their birds as soon as they were caught. Decoys were carried to the pits while trapping; other times they were kept in the bird shelter on the west side of the ceremonial lodge. Whenever an eagle flew by the pit, the decoys whistled, attracting the other bird's attention to the bait and warning the man in the pit.

7 796 223 Ceremonial crying when approaching the lodge with an eagle was practiced by all leaders. If the bird caught was a young black-tipped bird, crying continued all the way to the door of the lodge. Crying stopped when about one hundred and fifty paces from the lodges if a spotted golden eagle, the parent of a black tip, was being brought to camp. For a white-headed

37. When excavating an old pit for Crows Heart in 1932, we found a stone near the south wall, and a perforated clam shell used for paint was on a shelf dug in the east wall.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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eagle, crying stopped at a considerable distance from camp. The bird was taken in at the left side of the lodge. Women around camp went into their lodges and covered their heads while birds were being brought into camp.

The leader did not have a trap but stayed around camp while the trappers were out in order to be ready to receive the birds as they were brought in by the men at sunset. When crying continued until the lodge was reached, the leader knew that a young calumet eagle had been caught. Coals were placed near the front right post, and sage was burned there as incense for the snare and other sacred objects.

A song was addressed to the snare, announcing to it that it had caught something. A second song[38] addressed to the people by Black Bear referred to the sacredness of the birds in the opinion of the people, a belief not shared by the bears. A third song referred to the coming feast when the bird was to be eaten.

The trapper announced the kind of bird, after which it was pushed violently through the left side of the doorway, moving the hide-door covering sufficiently to get the bird through. The twelve tail feathers which had been removed beforehand were tied together and placed on the bird's back as it was taken in the lodge, part way to the altar, and thrown violently at the snare on the altar. The leader produced a corn ball from which a small piece was broken and rubbed on the bird's beak saying, "Acira[39] feeds you." The ceremonial pipe was produced, and the bird's beak was touched with the pipe as an offering to the bird.

When the first eagle was brought in, Iron Eyes extracted five white down feathers from his bundle; two were offered to the snake poles, one to the sun snare, one to the moon snare, and one to the buffalo skull. The leader directed the successful trapper to carry his bird to the back of the lodge, as the lodge was too sacred even for so sacred a creature as an eagle.

The trappers returned to the ceremonial lodge at sunset carrying their baits on their back. As soon as a trapper came into the lodge, the waiter gave him food which had been brought

38. When the bears instructed Black Wolf in the art of eagle-trapping, they explained that the people considered the eagles sacred, but not so with the bears, who considered them their favorite food.

39. Some bundles had a bear's foot, in which case the leader said, "Footbone feeds you."

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 over from the women's camp. Afterward the trapper smoked. Each trapper, after eating, discussed happenings at the pit, and, 223 from the information thus supplied, the leader offered suggestions for increasing the catch. When birds circled the bait but would not come down, it was suggested that raw meat be used. Sometimes the birds flew by without appearing to see the bait, and decoys were recommended.

223 The leader did not have a pit for his own use but remained in camp. However, if the wind was from the wrong direction in the morning and the men were out hunting game, he could go into any of the pits should the wind change to the west.

223 Evenings were spent in storytelling. The leader would ac-
773 quaint the trappers with the myths associated with eagle-trap-
538 ping. There were many of these myths, and a good leader would be able to consume every evening for the usual four weeks in camp without exhausting his stock. Each was related in great detail with endless repetitions. Some of the longer myths consumed four nights in telling; others were short and could be related in one night. All were expected to listen attentively while seated on a buffalo robe. Those who nodded were pinched with the bird stick. An example of the stories told is given in the Appendix.

223 The position of women in eagle-trapping ceremonies varied
562 among bundle-owners. (1) Most bundle-owners prohibited women from entering the ceremonial lodge or looking inside. (2) Several bundle-owners had special rites to which women were invited when birds had been caught. (3) A few bundle-
[841] owners required a menstruating woman to come into the lodge and breathe the smoke from sage burned at the four corners of the fire pit.

223 Unless special rites relative to the women were purchased,
562 they were required to stay away from the ceremonial lodge and
841 its vicinity. The right to bring women into the lodge was a sepa-
171 rate purchase not essential to trapping eagles. There were separate songs and a myth, giving the right to call in a menstruating woman, which could be purchased. It referred to the capture of the leader of the eagles who, in return for having her life spared, promised unusual success if her song was sung when a menstruating woman was brought into the lodge. The consensus of both

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Mandan and Hidatsa informants was that women took a more prominent place in Mandan than in Hidatsa ceremonies and that bringing women into the lodges was a Mandan rite that some Hidatsa bought. This native belief is borne out by a woman's right to perform the Okipa ceremony with her brother's assistance and to own bundles of deceased relatives until a successor had qualified.

In the selection of eagle-trapping territory, consideration was given to the suitability of the region for hunting. Some informants thought that not more than one-third of the days were suitable for catching eagles. When the winds were not from a westerly direction, the party went out hunting and received their orders from the Chief of the Hunters, whose place in the ceremonial lodge was near the head of the lodge on the left side and opposite the leader.

The office of Chief of the Hunters was filled by the leader when selecting the places for the men when first entering the lodge. In mythological times, Two Men[40] discovered Black Bear's cub carrying a clay pot in which he cooked his food mysteriously, and, resolving to live leisurely thereafter, they stole the vessel. The cub chased them into Dog Den Butte and captured them with his snare. Cub contemplated killing them, but they agreed to do the hunting[41] for the eagle-trappers if their lives were spared. In time they acquired the position of leaders of the hunters.

The eagle-trapping territory was distantly removed from the summer villages in a region not occupied permanently by any tribe.[42] Except for sites on the east side of the Missouri River, the territory was deeply eroded with isolated wooded areas along, and adjacent to, the principal streams. The badlands region along the Little Missouri River and its tributaries was a favorite habitat of the elk, black-tail deer, and mountain sheep. White-tail deer remained more or less in the wooded bottom lands of streams, while buffalo and antelope ranged in herds and bands on the high grass plains a few miles from the principal streams.

40. See my manuscript on "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization" for an account of the exploits of these two characters.

41. Their medicine was the arrow.

42. See map of eagle-trapping camps (Fig. 28).

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223 224 Eagle-trapping expeditions were organized for a dual purpose, namely, the securing of feathers and of a winter's supply of meat and hides. Crows Heart thought that, taken year after year, the meat and hides secured had greater worth than the feathers. As he explained, it was not unusual to return without feathers, but game was always abundant once one reached territory not ordinarily hunted in. He remarked, on many occasions, that a village as a unit would never go to rough country on a summer hunt, as there would be few buffaloes there, and it would be difficult to surround them because of the uneven topography. There was the further danger of ambush. The rough lands were hunted over by small bands, chiefly eagle-trappers and war parties.

223 224 505 The appearance of ice on the edges of streams was the signal for the eagle-trapping expedition to return to the village. Before horses became numerous in the villages, it was customary to travel overland to the trapping sites, where bullboats were made of buffalo and elk hides for floating back the meat and hides to the village. In order not to be caught along the way by a sudden freezing of the river, it was imperative that trapping cease immediately with the first appearance of cold weather.

224 251 281 While in the trapping camp, the women received the meat and hides brought in by the men. The meat was cured on scaffolds, and the hides were dried or made into bullboats. Special effort was made to secure mountain sheep, as the badlands were the habitat of these prized animals, used for men's shirts and women's dresses, since their skins tanned softer than any other hide. Bears Arm, in explaining the importance of the meat and hides secured on these expeditions, stated that single women tried to marry young men so they could go along to help cure the meat and hides, knowing they might marry one so lucky as to kill a white buffalo. [581]

223 361 171 221 621 Mandan tradition appears devoid of reference to recent division of a village population into small eagle-trapping bands during the winter. Such is not the case with the Hidatsa, however. In the Earthnaming ceremony of the Hidatsa there is reference in the myth to the division of the village into small bands camped along the Little Missouri River in eagle-trapping lodges during the winter. At least two of the clans, the Maxoxati and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

AwaxEnawita, trace their origin to these small winter camps. 223
Bears Arm explained that, in former times, the women's lodges 361
were the same as the men's and that, on termination of the 171
trapping season, the altar was removed and the bundle closed, 221
after which the lodge was no longer considered sacred. The 621
leader's wife and family came to his lodge, and the other trappers returned to their wives' lodges for the winter. Before the spring thaw, the various bands returned to the summer village to prepare for the planting of gardens. If this fall and winter division of the Hidatsa villages into bands was customary, as mentioned in tradition and mythology, the custom had been superseded by the winter village system by the opening of the historic period on the Upper Missouri River. By this time each summer village, which we have come to call the permanent village, had its corresponding winter village. The summer village was situated on one of the upper, grassy terraces adjacent to the Missouri River, with the winter village situated in heavy timber on the river bottom. The entire population of a summer village would move to its selected site, and there would be a winter chief selected each year.

There is no reference in the mythology to the breaking-up of 221
the Mandan summer village into winter bands, but each village 361
might build a winter camp to avoid the tedious task of bringing 314
wood a considerable distance to the village. After a few years, 621
all available wood near a summer village would be exhausted, except for driftwood in the river. From all available data, there is no evidence that the Mandan selected new chiefs for the winter period.

We may conclude that the Hidatsa practice of naming a win- 171
ter chief grew out of the custom of breaking up into eagle-trap- 621
ping bands under a leader in the fall, his authority continuing after the closing of trapping until the return of the party to the summer village. Wolf Chief explained that this could be done formerly, as there were fewer enemies, but that it was inexpedient in later years, as it was necessary to defend the villages the year round. It is possible, however, that the Mandan abandoned this custom somewhat earlier because of greater pressure from enemies.

A brief ritual closed the eagle-trapping period. It was essen- 000

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 796 A brief ritual closed the eagle-trapping period. It was essentially the same for all bundle-owners. Ben Benson's ritual, which he received of Iron Eyes, was explained as follows.

BEN BENSON'S NARRATIVE OF CLOSING RITES

When ice began to form along the edges of small creeks, the men knew that it was time to stop trapping eagles. Usually three to eight weeks were spent trapping. The leader was in full charge of the expedition, and no one knew when he would order the trapping stopped. Early on the day trapping was to stop, the leader would kindle the fire and say, "Get up. There is a big flood coming." This meant that they must stop trapping, for when the flood comes there is no changing its course. Those who had never been out before did not know the meaning, but the old trappers knew that the time had come to return home.

After eating, the leader would say, "It is time now to kill all your live eagles. Kill them with Rope-in-Wood Snare. Carry all your eagles over the hill [he then designated the place] and put them in a row. Then you should make an offering of calico[43] to them."

By the time this had been done and the trappers had returned to camp, the leader had his eagle-trapping bundle closed and the women had their tepees down, ready to break camp.

One of the party, usually the man with the best war record, was sent out by the leader "to see if there are any enemies in the neighborhood." He went to the place where the dead eagles were lined up and returned in a hurry to report that there were a certain number of enemies just beyond the hill. [The number reported corresponded with the dead birds counted.] The trappers prepared for battle, painted their faces, dressed lightly, and put their hair up in a ball on top of their heads where it would not cover their eyes. Each trapper sang his personal sacred song and wore some article from his sacred bundle. At a signal from the leader, all charged the "enemies," shooting and calling as they ran. Each seized a bird and cut off the wings and five body feathers, running back to camp as quickly as possible.

The party moved away from camp immediately and stopped to make camp again after traveling a mile or more. The young men built a sweat lodge under the leader's direction, while the women prepared food. The sweat-lodge entrance was to the south. The trappers placed the wing and tail feathers they had secured on the west side of the fireplace, while the leader stood at the entrance to the sweat lodge with his eagle-trapping bundle on one side and a bundle of sage on the other.

223 796 533 The leader began by chanting four wordless songs and then, half-singing, half-talking, he addressed the eagles in these words:

> Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
> Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
> Go; walk; go in the right direction;
> Go; walk; go in the right direction;
> Go to Birds Bill Butte;[44] there you will find antelope meat;
> Go to Birds Bill Butte; there you will find antelope meat.

43. In early times a strip of soft tanned elkhide was used.

44. Birds Bill Butte, better known today as Eagle Nose Butte, is a high promontory south of Mandan, North Dakota.

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Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go across the divide;[45] there you will find blacktail deer meat;
Go across the divide; there you will find blacktail deer meat.

Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go to Grape River;[46] there you will find elk meat;
Go to Grape River; there you will find elk meat.

Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go to the Big Bend;[47] there you will find buffalo meat;
Go to the Big Bend; there you will find buffalo meat.
Now you are home.[48]

When this song was ended, the spirits of the eagles left to join their people in the meeting place of the spirits near a large body of water. Only the leaders could send the spirits away. Men without eagle-trapping rights were afraid to catch eagles for fear that the spirits, being unsent, might bring bad luck to the trappers. All who caught eagles gave the leader pay in feathers, calicoes, robes, or knives for singing these songs and sending the birds' spirits away.

Then the leader sang the cleansing song, rubbing all the feathers with the sage. He rubbed each person in the party to cleanse him and bring him back to a human being again. While trapping, the men were impersonating the small bears. My father gave each trapper a new name connected with the bears for the duration of trapping. Mandan generally had this change of names. If a trapper stumbled when out trapping, he would report it and get another name, otherwise he would have bad luck. Each man paid the leader for his name, but it was relinquished when the cleansing ceremony ended.

The leader and as many as wished went into the sweat lodge, where the trappers hung the feathers on the sides in imitation of the bear's lodge far to the north. The sweat-lodge rites completed the ceremonies, after which the families united again either to return home at once or to hunt along the way according to their inclinations. 223 796

Benson claimed to be the fourteenth owner of the bundle which he used. In order of succession from Black Wolf, the owners were reported as follows: (1) Black Wolf; (2) Bull Leg; 223 778

45. The Mandan called that section of the country between the Cannonball and Grand rivers "The Divide." The blacktail deer meat was believed to be on a high hill at the mouth of the Grand River and on the north bank.

46. The Little Bend of the Missouri River is at the mouth of the Cheyenne River, called by the Mandan Grape River.

47. The Big Bend of the Missouri is below Pierre, South Dakota.

48. The Mandan believed that the Missouri River entered the ocean not far below the Big Bend. This was believed to be the winter home of migratory waterfowl, corn, and the large birds of the eagle family (see chap. ix). [823]

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(3) Round Clouds; (4) White around the Arms; (5) Fills His Lodge; (6) White Finger Nails; (7) Blind; (8) Berdache; (9–10) not able to recall their names; (11) White Finger Nails, WaxikEna clan; (12) Arrowhead Earrings, WaxikEna clan; (13) Iron Eyes, WaxikEna clan; and (14) Ben Benson, Tamisik clan.

Two accounts of eagle-trapping by Bears Arm were recorded in their entirety, without interruption by the writer, in order to determine what the informant considered the essentials of trapping. These are to be found in the Appendix. It was evident after this study had continued some time that special emphasis was given to certain aspects of a ceremony while other sections of the ritual received little attention. In the two eagle-trapping accounts it will be noted that Bears Arm emphasized these points: (1) the leader and persons attending; (2) the preparation of the ceremonial lodge, pits, and baits; (3) the seating arrangement and officers; (4) the differences in ritual between bundle-owners; (5) the number of birds caught and the names of the successful trappers; (6) the torturing of the trappers; and (7) the final cleansing rites.

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Chapter VIII

CATFISH-TRAPPING CEREMONY

THIS ceremony was associated with the eagle-trapping bundle, and both possessed a common mythological origin from Black Wolf. There was no direct reference to the fish trap in the Black Wolf myth, but in theory the sacred snare could catch anything. Crows Heart explained that even a buffalo corral was in reality a large snare, so a man owning a sacred snare was selected to stand on a high hill and by means of motions, as of snaring the buffaloes, pulled the animals by its magical powers into the corral.[1] War leaders took their sacred snares along when looking for enemies for supernatural aid in ensnaring and destroying their foes.

Purchase of catfish- and eagle-trapping rites could be made simultaneously, or the fish-trapping rights could be bought at a later date. Some men bought rights in only one of the ceremonies. A seller possessing rights in both ceremonies could sell each ceremony four times. Associated closely with these two ceremonies were the sweat lodge and the snare rites for doctoring and officiating at the buffalo and antelope pounds.

Although the Missouri River carries considerable sediment, catfish are very abundant. The presence of catfish bones in ancient Mandan and Hidatsa villages indicates that considerable use was made of these fish as food.

When a fish trap was in use, the black-bear hide was kept in the owner's lodge, laid out on calicoes on a four-post standard with its head pointing toward the fireplace. Food was offered to the bundle each day while the fish trap was being used.

Ben Benson remembered these Mandan who had catfish-trapping rights about 1880:

1. Black Tongue (Big Turtle). He was also custodian of the Okipa turtle drums, Hoita in the Okipa, owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a singer in the Corn ceremonies.

1. Refer to my manuscript, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization," for an account of the ceremonies associated with the buffalo corral.

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Appendix IV

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON EAGLE-TRAPPING

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Evenings were spent in storytelling. The leader would acquaint the trappers with the myths associated with eagle-trapping. There were many of these myths, and a good leader would be able to consume every evening for the usual four weeks in camp without exhausting his stock. Each was related in great detail with endless repetitions. Some of the longer myths consumed four nights in telling; others were short and could be related in one night. All were expected to listen attentively while seated on a buffalo robe. Those who nodded were pinched with the bird stick. An example of the stories told is given below.

MYTH OF BROWN OLD MAN RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[1]

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There are two ways of telling this story; one is that he came from the heavens and the other that he came from the earth through being born of a woman. I heard many stories, when nineteen years of age from Small Ankles, my father, and Chief,[2] my father-in-law, in the winter village at Blue Buttes above here. Even the older people would have them come out and tell the story to them and put on a feast to them.

Brown Old Man came to the village and always knew himself that he was not a real human, but he would stay with them. When they needed meat, he would call the buffaloes. If they needed rain, he would call it. The people did not know, and he never told them, who he was. After he had been with the people a while, he thought that he would marry. In the spring the buffalo hides get brown, and he had one of those brown hides for a robe until they came to call him Brown Old Man. Sometimes the people would invite him in and feed him well. Then he would say that this man will strike an enemy; sometimes he would say two or more, and it would always come true. Still the people of the village did not know who he was at heart. At last the people began to realize that he was trying to be a holy man, and they would say, "If he were a real medicine man, he would have a good living with more to show for his powers." He felt bad when he heard it but would say, "I am a man who saves the people here." At last he was getting old and white, and his wife was old and white too.

There was one man in the village who invited in Brown Old Man often, and, when he went out to fast, he dreamed of Brown Old Man. He saw in his dream this Brown Old Man painted all over so that he looked more like a

1. For another relation of this myth by Wolf Chief see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX, Part IV [1929]), pp. 187–94. There is also a very brief version in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 204–5.

2. Chief was a Mandan of the Prairie Chicken clan.

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The other said, "I had that happen, too, when you were winning, so I don't think it is anything serious. If you find anything more to bet on, I am ready. I always give a person a chance to get back what he lost." 773 539

After a while Snake Man stepped out. Late that night Brown Old Man came and ate with the young man, and they were happy. He told Brown Old Man what Snake Man had said and then Brown Old Man laughed.

He said, "I made one mistake here; at the time you fellows ran I was angry, and I thought that every time Snake Man breathed the dirt would go into his mouth. That is why he threw all that dirt up. That was a mistake, for I am afraid that he will not have a long life."

While the gambling was going on, the young man had married. He told his wife to go out and take a bath, for he had promised Brown Old Man that if he won the game and had a wife he should take her as a daughter-in-law. Brown Old Man had said, "I will sleep beside her and take her as my daughter-in-law, but I will not touch her. What you have done, giving her to me for my daughter-in-law, makes me happy." They slept together until the next day. The young man and his "father," Brown Old Man, ate together and were happy. Brown Old Man said to his "son," "I sang a holy song while you were playing the game, and it is yours. In the future when you go out to attack your enemy, use that song, and you will win that game too."

Meanwhile Snake Man was vomiting up the dirt; it was not long after that until he died.

Brown Old Man died in that village, but, when they tell the story, the old people do not say whether he went back to the birds or not, but it seems from the earlier part of the story that he must have.

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF EAGLE-TRAPPING. I

The people were living out on the Reservation by this time [1888]. I was about twenty-four years old then. By that time we had wagons so we went with teams. We went across from Independence and set out west toward Heart Singer Butte, near which we camped that night. The next time we moved, we camped at Eagle Nest Butte. Bad Coat had his wife, True Woman (Water-buster clan); Iron Eyes had his wife, Brown Chest (AwaxEnawita clan); Charging had his wife, Robe (Knife clan); Little Crow had his wife, Otter (Water-buster clan); Packs Wolf had his wife, Comes Along Pink (AwaxEnawita clan); Spotted Weasel had his wife, Cedar (AwaxEnawita clan); Raven Knows Nothing had his wife, Bear Woman (Knife clan); Sitting Owl had his wife, Pink Blossom (AwaxEnawita clan); Sitting Owl had an adopted son along called Standing Bull. 223 ●

The next time we camped just the other side of where the White Lodge stands, where there are large springs. The next day we came opposite Buffalo Manure Butte, called Lone Butte today, and camped on the banks of the Little Missouri River. We crossed the Little Missouri there and followed Buffalo Manure Creek, called Crosby Creek today, and crossed the divide to the west and camped. The camp was on the Little Missouri River in the timber.

We set to work, for we had wagons then, cutting the timbers and posts. They were mostly ash, and we hauled them on the wagons. We set up the four posts with the rails at the top and then carried the timbers around the sides of the place where the lodge was to stand. All the men worked on this, and we finally finished it. It took us one day to cut the timbers while others were scraping the ground down, taking the roots out. The next day we commenced 223 346

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●223 346 putting the lodge up, finishing the actual building in one day. The next day the leader put the wood pillows on the ground, dug out the fireplace, and placed the stakes at the head of the lodge where the buffalo head belonged. He finished everything up just as in the other drawings I made. After the skull was brought in by the leader, it was placed at the head of the lodge. Then we went out and cut soft grass for bedding. Iron Eyes was the man to stay in the lodge and burn incense, for he was an old man and did not go into any of the pits.

223 Each one of us went out and selected a spot where our pits should be; sometimes two would go together and make one pit. When finished, they would go to another site and make another pit for the other one. That took us two days. Where one had a pit close to a washout or bank, he would carry the dirt and throw it in there. Those on the level would carry the dirt far off and put it in a low pile to make it look as though a ground mole or pocket gopher had dug it up. After a pit was dug, we took the measurements of it for the cover and cut the six sticks for the frame. Buckbrush was tied between the pole frames to make a shield for the grass which was to come next.

The bait's place was at the west side. There were two stakes to hold it down with a crotch on the end of each. Stakes were driven into the ground, and the bait was tied to the two stakes to keep it from being moved by the birds. There was a stake on the inside of the pit in the wall also. The third stake had a crotch, and a strong cord was tied to it and to the bait so that the eagle could not move the bait.

As soon as all the stakes were tied together, to get into the pit, we would take the cover up and drop our things in under it and crawl in feet first. Before going in, the bait was fixed from the outside and the cord dropped down into the pit to be tied to the stake. Then we smoothed the grass covering. We always used six poles for the cover; that way it made the covering strong enough to hold a bird's weight. Some trappers often reported that birds came and fought the decoy if it was too close to the bait, so I always had mine farther off. That was why I never had any trouble catching birds.

223 796 When we had the lodge completed, the leader told us we could go in. We took our firearms up and stood in front of the lodge. The Leader said, "Sitting Owl, you will go in and be the Crack Shot (*mariisakihE*)."[8] He did not know that he would be selected. In fact, none of us knew who would be selected for the different places. Then Charging was told to go in, then Raven Knows Nothing, Bears Arm, and Spotted Weasel, who was selected as the waiter on that side. Then, on the other side Packs Wolf was selected waiter (*ix'-ta-ki*). Blue Stone, Little Crow, Iron Eyes, and Bad Coat went in last.

Each man beginning with the Crack Shot had four sticks, each one representing one of the four eagles, making in all twenty sticks on one side and twenty sticks on the other side. There were no markings on them; they were cut from chokecherry branches. When Wolfs Eyes went out, he had no sticks in front at all. Old Bear also gave each man four sticks which were placed in a row at the altar.

I never knew of offering strips of beaver hides to the stakes, as Crows Heart says, but it may have been in some of the other men's rites. I was out with Old Black Bear, and he was doing a little differently, but White Eagle came and asked me to go home as my folks wanted me. The leader thought

8. Hidatsa language.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

I ought to go back, so I came away. In that trapping, I understood that there were some rules that were somewhat different. If a trapper coming home from his pit stumbles and falls, when he comes back into the lodge, he has to tell it; when he does so, a new name was given him for the time of the trapping. He also changed all their names during the time of trapping and gave them names about bears or eagles. He sold his rights to Stephen Bird, who is still living. 223 796

When everything was completed, the leader burned incense and offered smoke to the buffalo skull and offered sacrifices of calicoes to the skull. That is what we called "Blessing the Lodge." Then we went to our pits. Sitting Owl caught two white tails with black tips. In the evening we went into the lodge. The leader produced a piece of corn ball and called the Crack Shot, who, instead of crawling on his elbow and knees, stooped over and walked to the leader. He received the corn ball, and the leader said, "The Footbone is giving you this corn ball."

The Crack Shot took it and tasted it, saying "Footbone, the bottom of your foot is delicious and sweet." Each one when he came up to the leader in turn said the same thing. Each person had a piece of corn ball in front of him, and the tail feathers of the eagles were given to Crack Shot. He received them and touched the corn ball with them and passed them around until the feathers reached the leader again.

When the leader received the feathers, he again got up and went over to the buffalo skull, saying, "Old Man with Ears Backwards,[9] here are your tail feathers, but they are not yours. Your children wish you to keep these feathers."

Then the waiter went out and called, asking the women to come over to the lodge. All the women came over and sat down close to the entrance. The leader painted himself with red paint on his forehead, cheeks, hands, wrists, and the top of his head. He had a feather back of his head. He represented the Old Black Bear. His rattles were the bear's feet tied together with a long string. When the women came in, the leader and those who were sitting with him sang. The women sang with the men, and Iron Eyes'[10] wife had a little bear's skin on her lap. It was the bear that had been at the altar. When the women came in, the leader gave it to her to lay on her lap and make it dance. Each one of us took our snares from the little sticks on the altar, opened up the loops, and swung them up and down in time with the leader, who was singing a special song. The women sang, and the woman with the bear's skin made it dance in time with the music. We all enjoyed ourselves singing. At the end of each song, we would hold our cords up and pretend to be roping something.

Then this practice was also different from the others I was out with. Any one of the men could make a game trap by setting up posts with braces as a deadfall. The one who finds a red fox or coyote in the trap takes it out, throwing it to one side, and then takes the skin off for the altar. In case there is a boy old enough in camp, he can go out, take the animal, and bring it in. We had one boy along, but he was too young, so they did not have the trap set. They just sang the song that went with it. When the ceremony was going on, there was one song that we danced to when it came up. There was also a spe- 224 223 796

9. Ceremonial name for the buffalo.
10. He owned a complete Mandan Eagle-trapping bundle.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

224 223 796 cial song for the waiter in which he danced alone. The leader's waiter on his side was the main waiter, and the other was an assistant. If the main waiter was absent, the assistant did the work. In the evening the women would bring wood into the camp for the sweathouse.

223 796 When the wind was in the right direction, we went into the pits. That is what we called the good wind. When the wind is from the southwest or northwest, it was considered good to fair wind, but the west was considered the best. The waiter was the first one to be up and around. He would go out and look at the flag. When he saw that the wind was from the right direction, he would say, "The wind is in the right direction." The men would all get out of bed and go to their pits.

The leader would say, "I will help the waiter if he wants to go into his pit. I will stay and do his work."

When the waiter went out to see the flag and the wind was blowing from the other directions, he would come back and report it to the leader by saying, "Leader, the wind is in the wrong direction."

The leader would say to the men, "When you are through eating, go out and hunt." There was a term that they used. Instead of saying morning meal, he would say, "After you are through sitting on it," meaning that the eagle sits on the bait. That was why he used that term. He would use the words, "Go out and throw stones at animals," meaning to hunt game. When the wind was right, we went to our pits. Raven Knows Nothing caught three good eagles with black tips; then we had another meeting the same as before. The women would come, and we would have a good time. The leader would have the men come to him for their corn balls again.

Another time we went to our pits and Packs Wolf caught two with black tips, and then the leader, himself, caught two. They were black tipped also. Those were all the birds caught.

785 796 The night after the catch was made, I asked the Crack Shot (Sitting Owl, Maxoxati clan) to fill up the pipe; he did so and gave it to me. I took the pipe and gave it to the leader, saying, "My leader, take this pipe, for I wish to suffer." He was glad. Beforehand, I had prepared my sticks. I made three of them. The Crack Shot and his helper took me outside close to the lodge by a tree and there they cut my breast on both sides and on the top of my right arm. They fastened the rawhide rope to the sticks, and then I ran around the tree while the ceremony and singing was going on inside the lodge. After all the songs were sung, the same men who tortured me came out and took the rawhide rope off and pulled the sticks out. The sticks were taken in and placed on the altar. Several days after that, Charging was tortured. When I suffered, I had my medicine bundle, the Bear Medicine, that I got from my father, hanging on my right arm. When I suffered, it was like a prayer asking the great spirits to help me to live long in the world, be fortunate in everything I undertook, and have property. I prayed to Black Medicine because Spring Boy and Lodge Boy said that they would turn into that root[11] but that their spirits would go back into the skies and help the people. That was why I prayed to them. The idea of fasting and offering myself this way was so that I might be blessed by the spirits. Then in war I would come out victorious and defeat the enemy.

11. A piece of this root is tied to each snare.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

I told you of the case where a man fasted in a bear's den, and the bear took a hold of him and threw him to one side. This man dreamed that night that the bear came and blessed him and told him that he would be a successful warrior and a brave man. Afterward a son was born to him; the son was Seven Bears. The Assiniboine came with the intention of destroying our village, but Seven Bears was brave. They shot him with arrows and bullets, but they had no effect on him. His horse was shot, but he got on another and came back. He fought the enemy and ran over them; he struck them so that the enemy turned and ran back. Torturing was a part of our prayers, for, whenever one prays, he should fast. In torturing, one will have a dream of a spirit, and that way he is blessed. By doing these things, some of the men got great power from the spirits. Crows Heart once saw that Old White Man's back was full of scars, and Crows Heart asked him how many times he had suffered. Old White Man could not remember; his skin had been pierced so many times. 785 796

The next one to be tortured was Packs Wolf. His suffering was inside of the lodge, where he was fastened to the roof. His feet were off of the ground, and a stick was given to him with which to swing himself. While he was hanging there, the leader sang his songs.

Then several days after that Spotted Weasel whittled four sticks, came back, and made a sweathouse. They ran sticks through his wrist and up to the braces of the sweat lodge, and he was also tortured on the breast. When one is tortured in the sweathouse, the women are not permitted to go into it at any time. The Crack Shot was Sitting Owl, and Spotted Weasel was his son-in-law, so he got another man to act in his place. He asked Raven Knows Nothing to do the torturing. When we went in there, the leader began to pour water on the stones, and we got down low near the ground, but Spotted Weasel could not, being tied up there near the roof. He cried to the spirits; it was a hardship for him to go through, but he did. After that, we went into our pits, but no one caught any more birds, even though we were there over one month.

Now that the sweathouse was made, each one of us got some good dried meat and a whole meat [the large piece stripped off of the length of the animal's back]. We paid the leader, and he took us into the sweat lodge to cleanse all of us. We broke camp and started for home. Bluestone and I, being single, left the others and came ahead.

On the other trips with other men, they would not let the women come into the lodge. I thought that the reason for being unlucky was because they had let the women in. 223 796

I heard that Blue Stone's father, Wood Mouth or Medicine Bird, whipped his wife one day when he was a leader and his men did not have any luck in catching the eagles. By doing that their luck changed from bad to good. They caught many eagles. I do not know if some great spirit told him to do that or not, but I do know that they ordinarily did not do that, for men, women, and children were expected to be kindhearted and not have any ill-feeling toward each other. 562

We did not change pipes but used both red and black stone, depending on the kind the leader had. In early days they did not have the red stone pipes. Then the stone was black, and the pipe was straight without the elbow. The hole was in the end, and the stone fitted in on the inside was called I-go-xE'. 276 796

In the ceremony they used a special medicine pipe taken from the bundles.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF EAGLE-TRAPPING. II

223 Early in fall the leader, Wolfs Eyes, said, "I am going out eagle-trapping." There are two ways of getting up a group; some leaders accept volunteers, or the leader may select his men. We went to him and said. "We wish to go with you," and he said that it would be all right. He told us to take certain products from the garden such as roast corn, dried yellow corn, white flour corn, and dried squash. Some prepared their own baits at home. Most of the baits were stuffed jackrabbit skins. Those who did not have any baits made them after we were located at the eagle-trapping lodge and the tepees had been put up. Some would use a piece of deer hide cut up with ears on and two legs on the side.

In the party were the leader, Wolfs Eyes; Big Walk; Little Crow; Lance Owner; Little Bull; Holding Eagle; Black Bear; SittingWoman; White Body; Bears Arm; Louie Wolf or Red Horse; Many Birds; a boy, Spotted Weasel; Little Crow's wife, Otter Woman, and their daughter, Comes Out; Big Walk's wife, Plain Blossom, and their grandson, Jim Foot or Foot Prints; Plain Blossom's daughter, Too Costly; Woman in Water, wife of Charging Eagle, and her son, Richard Burr; Lance Owner's wife, Yellow Stalk; Holding Eagle's wife, Bobcat Woman. Charging Eagle being a policeman, he could not get away, but his wife, being Bears Arm's mother's sister, went along to help with the work in the camp. Also my mother's mother and Woman in Water were sisters. There were several women along because there was much to do, since [462] in bad weather we would go out and kill mountain sheep, elk, and deer, so the women came along to care for the meet and hides.

484 When everything was ready, the young women took their bullboats to the river and crossed our stuff consisting of tepees, poles, provisions, bedding, 492 and cooking utensils. It took nearly all day to cross the stuff. The first camp was at Beaver Creek. We used tepee poles tied together as travois. The horses pulled poles with the tepees and bedding, while several additional pack horses were loaded down with bedding. We were all on horseback and traveled very slowly. When traveling, the leader was at the head of the party, while the hunters were to the side or in advance of the others.

487 The second day we traveled to End of World Buttes and stopped northeast of Killdeer the third night. After camping on the east side of Killdeer, we went around the north side of the Killdeer Mountains and camped on the north side. From there we went north because that was the best route to cross the Little Missouri River. After we left the Little Missouri, we went to the place called Wolf Pit. When we reached our destination, we commenced to put up our lodge, for there was no lodge there before.

223 The place was selected by the leader because of the presence of a prairie-dog town there in a valley extending from the Yellowstone River eastward to the Little Missouri. All along that valley there were prairie dogs, and the eagles traveled along this valley in order to catch these animals. Then the Indians would come to this site, and our leader thought that it would be a good place to catch the birds.

346 As soon as the camp was selected, all set to work erecting the lodge, even the women helped by cutting the grass to pack between the poles and digging 784 dirt to put over the lodge. There was an opening at the top for the sparks and 223 smoke. There were four posts and railing on top, while the rest of the poles

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

leaned against them. We were not allowed to shoot or throw stones at any 346
kind of birds. Nor were we allowed to sing other than the songs that went with 784
the trapping. The leader tied pieces of calico to ash trees as offering to the 223
Holy Women and told the new members that the region back of the lodge or
west was holy ground as the birds came from that direction.

Then we did the "Tied" ceremony, meaning marking the corners of the 223
new pits so that they were square and deep enough to be over one's head when 796
sitting up in them. On the side wall a hole was dug like a small shelf and a
stone was put in it. The stone is called Baby Stone, for the eagles were considered sacred. The stone was used as a shield, and, when one catches an eagle and wishes to kill it in the pit, instead of using the words "kill it" we said "put it to sleep" and took the stone down and placed it between the eagles wings, took the cord tied around its neck, and pulled the cord back, and that way broke the neck.

The bears were the first ones to trap eagles; there are two different stories about eagle-trapping. The leader goes in and blesses the lodge and prays to the spirits. When they first learned of eagle-trapping, the bear was doing this. He had a cord and spread it out, opening it, and said, "All are caught." It [773]
was because the bears prayed that prayers had to be offered to the spirits to whom the bears prayed.

There must have been a great difference in the ceremonies once, since the stone is called "Tied" and also "Sleep Stone."

When our leader saw that all was ready, he said, "We must go in." He named Little Bull to be the Crack Shot and go in first; then he named Holding Eagle to sit next to the Crack Shot; then Wolfs Eyes went in and took his place at the head of the lodge; then the helper, Big Walk, went in. Whatever the leader does in singing and praying, the man sitting next to him is expected to give him assistance. The leader and his helper are the ones to offer prayers and do the singing, while the Crack Shot and the man next to him work together too. Their duty is to torture the men. Then the other men came in on both sides and took their places. Then there were two waiters selected by the leader. They were not named, nor is anyone named until the lodge is completed and ready to move in.

No excuses are allowed. When the leader says, "I select you as a waiter," one has no right to refuse. After this, we went in and took our places. The leader said, "Waiter, burn some incense," and, while the waiter burned it, the leader took his sacred articles out and held them in the smoke. He held up the cord, and while he was singing the song to the snares he made a motion as of throwing the loop to catch something. He did that three times, and the fourth time the Crack Shot jumped up and took the snare, saying, "Leader, you have snared everything; you have roped everything north, south, west, and east," meaning that then he had everything in the world caught in his snare.

There are many songs[12] to be sung by the leader and his helper. After he sings these songs, there is a special song for the waiter, who gets up and dances with the cord, making the sign of throwing the loop to catch something. Then, one of the men who is not married would say, "Waiter, I feel someone at my back."

Then the waiter looked and said, "There is a very handsome woman back

12. See Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 69–80.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 796 of you; it is an A-ci-rä'-wi'-a," meaning really a bear woman, for the origin was from the bears.

224 462 In early days when young men went out this way, the single girls would marry some of them before they left and then go out there. The women would prepare the meat from the mountain sheep and work on the hides while the men trapped. To secure these fine hides, women would marry a single man in order to get a chance to go out there.

223 796 The pits being dug, early the next morning we got up without having any breakfast and went to our pits. Some of the pits were old ones, but several new ones were made. Sometimes there would be two pits together, and then they would fix the last pit up and go into it. For their baits some had blood stored away while others had jackrabbits. Others had a hide fixed up so that it looked like some animal. Water was mixed with the dry blood and put on the bait. In the evening each man came out, and those who did not catch anything came home quietly, while those who had caught eagles would come in crying. When they heard someone come crying, the waiter would burn incense as the man with the eagle came into camp.

Eagle-trapping is called "Tied," when persons catching eagles are to kill them in the pit before bringing them to the lodge. The first man who came in that day was Little Bull. He had two birds with black tips. White Body was burning the incense. In case both the waiters were away, the leader would burn the incense himself. The next man who came in was Holding Eagle, and he had two birds with black tips. Black Bear caught two also. The saying is that, where you catch two eagles, they are a brother and a sister, for they travel together. These birds were all killed in the pit. The birds were brought in and placed at the head of the lodge in a row. The tails were brought in and placed on the buffalo head, each man keeping track of his own feathers.

223 777 The next day my brother, Little Bull, took me along, and we went into his pit. He caught four that day, and, when the fifth had landed on the bait, he told me to catch it by the feet, which I did. He helped me pull the bird down into the pit. He took me along to show me how to catch the birds. The next time he went out he caught three more, which made ten in all that he had caught. Three warbonnets could be made of them, and he had one tail extra. The leader said to him, "That is enough; you must not go out any more, or you will have bad luck." After that Little Bull did not go out any more.

223 The second time Holding Eagle went out he caught three, and the third time he caught two, so that he had seven. Black Bear caught two the first time, three the second time, and two the third time, making seven for him. Lance Owner did not have any luck in his pit, so he was advised to go into Little Bull's pit, where he caught two. Little Crow did not catch anything in his pit, so he was also told to go into Little Bull's pit, and he caught two there. Sitting Woman caught three; White Body did not catch any. Wolfs Eyes and his helper did not trap.

223 796 All these birds were killed in the pit, each trapper having a Baby Stone in his hole. While facing east, they broke the birds' necks, and in that way the spirits of the birds would return to their spirit home down the river.

There are two ways of trapping eagles. This time we followed the ceremony called "Tied" which originated with the black bear. The other way was the real eagle-trapping and in that ceremony they had ways that were different from the ceremony Wolfs Eyes used. In the other ceremony if a trapper fell down and tells the leader about it, his named is changed. This time we did

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

not even get names when we began trapping. One morning the leader woke us and said, "There is water coming down," so we had to stop trapping. The bodies of the eagles were taken to the east side of the lodge and put on the ground. Then we all went back and ran toward the dead eagles and shot over them and then struck them. The eagles represented our enemies. That was why we had to do that. Then we broke camp and started for home. The birds had been put about two hundred yards from the medicine lodge. We cut the wings off, pulled the light feathers out, and left the bodies there. When we got back to the village the leader collected all the tails and went through a little ceremony to send the spirits of the eagles away. Sometimes they did that in the camp, but when we had to hurry, as in this case, for slush ice was forming in the river, we did it at the village. Sending the spirits away was done by making a feast and paying the leader to put on the sweat-lodge ceremony. He offered prayers to the birds and bears, asking the spirits of the birds to go away. Then he beat on a hide, and each one in the village, especially men, stood by their doors making much noise and pounding on the hide covering of the door. Then he took all those who were out trapping with him into the sweat lodge where they were cleansed by having water sprinkled on them.

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796

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3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

met the returning hunters at a short distance from the village, 224
and the hunters dropped portions of the meat for them.

When the Missouri broke up in the spring large numbers of 252
buffalo were drowned and floated down the river. The Mandans usually caught large quantities of these as they floated by, and esteemed them as better than the fresh meat. Henry says that meat was nearly always hung up till partially decayed, after which it was better liked. The intestines of the buffalo were considered a good food and were always eaten. The Mandans made pemmican, as did all of the plains tribes, grinding up the dried meat and packing it in parfleches, after which buffalo fat was poured in.

Probably the antelope were next in importance to the 224
buffalo. These were caught in large bands by means of what were called parks. At the head of a coulée an enclosure of branches was made with a narrow opening from which two fences of branches led away in the shape of a funnel, extending for a mile or often more. The Indians, on horseback, by surrounding a band of antelopes could gradually work them towards this enclosure, through the gate of which they were at last forced to go. The entrance was then guarded and the hunters knocked the animals on the head with the stone war clubs; a hundred or more at a time were often killed in this fashion.

Wolves and foxes were trapped in pitfalls which were dug to a depth of eight or ten feet, covered with branches and baited with pieces of buffalo meat. Beaver and other small fur-bearing animals were caught in traps. Bears were killed only occasionally as the Indians did not like to attack them. Cat-fish and 226
sturgeon, as well as smaller fish and turtles were caught along the river, where unios and snails were also gathered.

The larger birds were caught in a rather peculiar fashion. 223
The hunters usually went to the Bad Lands to hunt them. 171
There a pit was dug in some likely place. Bait of small pieces of meat was scattered about, after which the hunter concealed himself in the pit, dragging over the top a covering of branches with bait upon them. Then he waited patiently, often for a day or more till a bird should alight on the branches; as soon as this happened the bird was grasped and pulled down into

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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223 the pit where it was dispatched and the hunter waited for an-
171 other. This method was also used by the Hidatsa, and so in fact nearly all the Mandan hunting methods and customs were duplicated among their neighbors. The only important exception was the Mandan custom of giving a share of the meat to anyone who might come to the home of a successful hunter and ask for it. Henry tells us that the Hidatsa and Amahami did not have this charitable custom.

WAR:— Among most of the Indians, war was the chief occu-
721 pation of the men, and the Mandans in this respect differed little from the other tribes. They were constantly in danger from their more numerous enemies, the Dakotas, and in addition frequently had disputes with other smaller bands. The Mandans were not a warlike people, and fought only when necessary; but when the time came they were among the bravest and most fearless warriors of the region. Maximilian says that they had been known to send war parties as far as the Rocky Mountains against the Blackfeet and as far east as the Red River against the Ojibwa. Their chief enemies were, however, the Dakota, the Cheyenne, and at times the Arikara. The custom of sending out war parties was not as usual here as among
721 their neighbors, the Hidatsa. The system of rank in the village
554 was to a considerable extent based upon military prowess;
301 the wearing of different insignia which indicated each man's
302 deeds was a common device. Those who had made a coup wore a wolf's tail at the heel of their moccasin. If a man was the first of a party to touch and kill an enemy, he painted a spiral line about his arm, with another winding in the opposite direction with three cross stripes. For the second enemy he painted his left legging a reddish brown. If he killed an enemy in equal fight before any other enemy was slain, he could put a wolf's tail around each foot. For the third coup two lengthwise stripes with three cross stripes were painted on the arm, this was the most honorable coup and no other distinctive marks were in use, except that another eagle feather might be worn in the hair for each additional coup. If a man made his coup after others were made, the end of the wolf's tail was cut off. Six little wooden sticks worn in the hair showed that a man

224 The wolf and the fox are sometimes shot with a gun, as well as the white hare, in the winter time, or they are caught in traps. They set for the wolves very strong traps. The prairie wolf is not easily caught, being very cautious. Foxes are caught in small traps, which are covered with brushwood and buffaloes' skulls, to conceal them. Many such traps are seen everywhere in the prairies, which are surrounded with small stakes, that the animals may not enter them sideways. Beavers are now caught, in great numbers, in iron traps, which they procure from the Whites. Small animals, such as the ermine, are caught with horsehair springes, set before their burrows. The manner in which birds of prey are caught is said to be very remarkable. ●223 The birdcatcher lies down at full length in a narrow pit made on purpose, and exactly large enough to hold him. As soon as he has lain down, the pit is covered with brushwood and hay, pieces of meat are laid upon it, and a crow, or some such bird, fastened to it. The eagle, or other bird of prey, is said to descend, and to sit down, in order to eat, on which the birdcatcher seizes it by the legs. I would not believe this had not men worthy of credit given me their word for it. In this manner they catch the eagle, called, by the English, the war-eagle, and the golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*), the Quilioa, or *oiseau de medicine*, of the Canadians, which I was not so fortunate as to meet with, and which they highly value, as I have already stated.

721 Next to the chase, war is the chief employment of the Indians, and military glory the highest object of their ambition. It is well known that Indian bravery is very different from that of the Whites; for wilfully to expose themselves to the enemy's fire would, in their eyes, not be bravery, but folly. Cunning and stratagem give them the advantage over the enemy; their strength lies in concealing their march, and surprises at daybreak. He who kills many enemies without sustaining any loss is the best warrior.

721 When a young man desires to establish his reputation in the field, he fasts for four or seven days, as long as his strength permits him, goes alone to the hills, complains and cries to 787 the lord of life, calls incessantly to the higher powers for their aid, and only goes home, sometimes, in the evening, to sleep. 555 A dream suggests his medicine to him. If the lord of life makes him dream of a piece of cherry-tree wood, or of an animal, it is a good omen. The young men who take the field with him have then confidence in his medicine. If he can perform an exploit his reputation is established. But whatever exploits he may perform, he acquires no respect if he does not make valuable presents; and they say of him, "He has indeed performed many exploits, but yet he is as much to be pitied as those whom he has killed." A man may have performed many exploits, and yet not be allowed to wear tufts of hair on his clothes, unless he carries a medicine pipe, and has been the leader of a war party. When a young man, who has never performed an exploit, is the first to kill an enemy on a warlike expedition, he 721 paints a spiral line round his arm, of whatever colour he pleases, and he may then wear a 555 whole wolf's tail at the ankle or heel of one foot. If he has first killed and touched the

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

622 648 his two children, and begged to see the men dance, in which they willingly gratified him."(id 168)

Peace With the Aricaras. "Thursday, November 1st. At ten o'clock the chiefs of the lower village arrived. They requested that we would call at their village for some corn; that they were willing to make peace with the Ricaras; that they had never provoked the war between them, but as the Ricaras killed some of their chiefs, they had retaliated on them; that they had killed them like birds, till they were tired of killing them, so that they would send a chief and some warriors to smoke with them. In the evening we dropped down to the lower village, where Captain Lewis went on shore, and Captain Clarke proceeded to a point of wood on the north side.

"Friday, November 2. He therefore went up to the village, where eleven bushels of corn were presented to him. In the meantime Captain Clarke went down with the boat three miles, and having found a good position where there was plenty of timber, encamped and began to fell trees to build our huts. Our Ricara chief set out with one Mandan chief and several Minnitarees and Mandan warriors; the wind was from the southeast, and the weather being fine, crowds of Indians came down to visit us." (id 169)

224 **Mandan Hunt.** "Monday, 5th. The Indians are all out on their hunting parties. A camp of Mandans caught within two days one hundred goats a short distance below us. Their mode of hunting them is to form a large strong pen or fold, from which a fence made of bushes gradually widens on each side. The animals are surrounded by the hunters and gently driven towards this pen, in which they imperceptibly find themselves inclosed, and are then at the mercy of the hunters." (id 170.)

231 "Thursday, 8. The morning again cloudy; our huts advanced very well, and we are visited by numbers of Indians who come to let their horses graze near us. In the day the horses are let loose in quest of grass, in the night they are collected and receive an armful of small boughs of the cottonwood, which being very juicy, soft and brittle, form nutritious and agreeable food." (id 171.)

000 **Northern Indians.** "Wednesday, 14th. The river rose last night half an inch, and is now filled with floating ice. This morning was

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of the upper region; men, women and children ascended by means of the vine; but when about half the nation had reached the surface of the earth, a corpulent woman, who was clambering up the vine, broke it with her weight, and closed upon herself and the rest of the nation the light of the sun. Those who were left on earth made a village below, where we saw the nine villages; and when the Mandans die they expect to return to the original seats of their forefathers; the good reaching the ancient village by means of the lake, which the burdens of the sins of the wicked will not enable them to cross." (id 191.) 775 773

Buffalo Chase. "Friday, December 7th. The wind still continued from the northwest, and the day is very cold. Shahaka, the chief of the lower village, came to apprise us that the buffalo were near, and that his people were waiting for us to join them in the chase. Captain Clarke with fifteen men went out and found the Indians engaged in killing the buffalo, the hunters mounted on horseback and armed with bows and arrows encircled the herd, and gradually drive them into a plain or an open place fit for the movements of horse; they then ride in among them, and singling out a buffalo, a female being preferred, go as close as possible and wound her with arrows till they think they have given the mortal stroke; then they pursue another till the quiver is exhausted. If, which rarely happens, the wounded buffalo attacks the hunter, he evades his blow by the agility of his horse, which is trained for the combat with great dexterity. When they have killed the requisite number they collect their game, and the squaws and attendants come up from the rear and skin and dress the animals. Captain Clarke killed ten buffalo, of which only five were brought to the fort, the rest, which could not be conveyed home, being seized by the Indians, among whom the custom is, that whenever a buffalo is found dead without an arrow, or any particular mark, he is the property of the finder; so that often a hunter secures scarcely any of the game he kills, if the arrow happens to fall off; whatever is left out at night falls to the share of the wolves, who are the constant and numerous attendants of the buffalo." (id 193.) 224

Mandan Games. "Wednesday, 19th. The weather moderated, and the river rose a little, so that we were unable to continue the picketing of the fort. Notwithstanding the extreme cold, we 524

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"Tuesday, January 1st, 1805. In the morning we permitted sixteen men with their music to go up to the first village, where they delighted the whole tribe with their dances, particularly with the movements of one of the Frenchmen who danced on his head. In return they presented the dancers with several buffalo robes and quantities of corn. We were desirous of showing this attention to the village, because they had received an impression that we had been wanting in regard for them, and because they had in consequence circulated invidious comparisons between us and the northern traders. All of these, however, they declared to Captain Clarke, who visited them in the course of the morning, were made in jest." (id 203.) 000

Buffalo Dance. "Saturday, 5th. We had high and boisterous winds last night and this morning; the Indians continue to purchase repairs with grain of different kinds. In the first village there has been a buffalo dance of the last three nights, which has put them all into commotion, and the description which we received from those of the party who visited the village, and from other sources, is not a little ludicrous. The buffalo dance is an institution originally intended for the benefit of the old men, and practiced at their suggestion. When buffalo becomes scarce, they send a man to harangue the village, declaring that the game is far off and that a feast is necessary to bring it back, and if the village be disposed, a day and a place is named for the celebration of it. At the appointed hour the old men arrive, and seat themselves cross-legged on skins around the fire in the middle of the lodge with a sort of doll or small image, dressed like a female, placed before them. The young men bring with them a platter of provisions, a pipe of tobacco, and their wives, whose dress on this occasion is only a robe or mantle loosely thrown around the body. On their arrival each youth selects the old man whom he means to distinguish by his favour, and spreads before him the provisions, after which he presents the pipe and smokes with him." (id 206.) 796

Hunt. "Sunday, 13th January, 1805. We have a continuation of clear weather, and the cold has increased, the mercury having sunk to 34 degrees below zero. Nearly one-half of the Mandan nation passed down the river to hunt for several days; in these excursions men, women and children, with their dogs, all leave 224

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the village together, and after discovering a spot convenient for the game, fix their tents; all the family bear their part in the labor, and the game is equally divided among the families of the tribe. When a single hunter returns from the chase with more than is necessary for his own immediate consumption, the neighbors are entitled by custom to a share of it; they do not however ask for it, but send a squaw, who, without saying anything, sits down by the door of the lodge till the master understands the hint, and gives her gratuitously a part for her family." (id 209.)

"Monday, 14th. The Mandans continue to pass down the river on their hunting party, and were joined by six of our men. One of those sent on Thursday returned, with information that one of his companions had his feet so badly frost bitten that he could not walk home." (id 210.)

"Wednesday, 16th. About thirty Mandans, among whom six were chiefs, came to see us; the Minnetarees reproached them with their falsehoods, declaring that they were bad men and ought to hide themselves. They had told the Minnetarees that we would kill them if they came to the fort, yet on the contrary they had spent a night there and been treated with kindness by the whites, who had smoked with them and danced for their amusement.

To the chief Kagahami, who contemplated war against the Snake Indians, this advice was given: "We advised him to reflect seriously before he committed the peace of his nation to the hazards of war: to look back on the numerous nations whom war has destroyed: that if he wished his nation to be happy, he should cultivate peace and intercourse with all his neighbors, by which means they would procure more horses, and increase in numbers; and that if he went to war, he would displease his great father, the president, and forfeit his protection. We added that we had spoken thus to all the tribes whom we had met, that they had all opened their ears, and that the president would compel those who did not voluntarily listen to his advise. Although a young man of only twenty-six years of age, this discourse seemed to strike him. He observed, that if it would be displeasing to us he would not go to war, since he had horses enough and that he would advise all nations to remain at home, until we had

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301 beads thus formed are in great demand among the Indians, and used as pendants to their ears and hair, and are sometimes worn 'round the neck." (id 233.)

•224 **Killing Buffalo On Ice.** "Friday, 29th. The weather clear, and the wind from the northwest. The obstruction above gave way this morning, and the ice came down in great quantities; the river having fallen eleven inches in the course of the last twenty-four hours. We have had few Indians at the fort for the last three or four days, as they are now busy in catching the floating buffalo. Every spring as the river is breaking up, the surrounding plains are set on fire, and the buffalo tempted to cross the river in search of the fresh grass which immediately succeeds to the burning; on their way they are often isolated on a large cake or mass of ice, which floats down the river. The Indians now select the most favorable points for attack; and, as the buffalo approaches, dart with astonishing agility across the trembling ice, sometimes pressing lightly a cake of not more than two feet square; the animal is of course unsteady, and his footsteps insecure on this new element, so that he can make but little resistance, and the hunter, who has given him his death wound, paddles his icy boat to the shore, and secures his prey." (id 239.)

532 **Indian Painting.** "Thursday, 4th. The day is clear and pleasant, though the wind is high from northwest. We now packed in different boxes a variety of articles for the president, which we shall send in the barge. A number of articles of Indian dress, among which was a buffalo robe, representing a battle fought about eight years since between the Sioux and Ricaras against the Mandans and Minnetarees, in which the combatants are represented on horseback. It has of late years excited much discussion to ascertain the period when the art of painting was first discovered, how hopeless all researches of this kind are, is evident from the foregoing fact. It is indebted for its origin to one of the strongest passions of the human heart; a wish to preserve the features of a departed friend, or the memory of some glorious exploit; this inherits equally the bosoms of all men, either civilized or savage. Such sketches, rude and imperfect as they are, delineate the predominant character of the savage nations. If they are peaceable and inoffensive, the drawings usually consist of local scenery and their favorite diversions. If the band are rude

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either of the nearest relatives or of the clan to which the lodge belonged. They believed that the lodge had a spirit which would have sent bad luck to one taking possession illegally.

The females of the lodge owned in common the domestic goods consisting of bedding, pots, household and gardening tools, the dogs, gardens, the wooden mortar and pestle, and the mares and colts. Clothing and personal effects were held individually. The men owned their weapons used in warfare and hunting as well as their own clothing and pipes. Men also owned the stallions and geldings. Sacred tribal bundles were held collectively by the man and his wives.

Lodges were built with little ceremony; the only rites were performed at the cutting of the notches for the four center posts when an old woman having the right to cut the posts was called in to sing one song and pray for the family's success. She received one robe for her services. It was the duty of the clan to assist in the erection of a member's lodge. Since these lodges were large, a considerable amount of work was entailed in erecting one and covering it with poles, willows, grass, and earth.[3] As a rule, the clan prepared a feast and invited the opposite moiety to assist, in which case the clans assisted according to the seating arrangement of the men in the Okipa or in council.

Mandan informants state that in earlier times each household had one or more game pits. These pits were dug by all the members of the household and were owned collectively. While the men would bring the poles for the cover and kill the game caught in them, the women frequently did most of the work of excavating and removing earth from the area of the pit. In recent times many households had fishtraps which are believed to have been used since introduced by Black Wolf. Fish bones, particularly catfish bones, are very abundant in the Heart River villages. The ceremonies associated with the trapping of fish, particularly the catfish, were performed by the older men, but the women assisted in weaving the walls for the trap and in sorting and cleaning the fish.

There was considerable variability in the status of household

3. For a report of the amount of materials used in the completion of an earth lodge see George F. Will, "The Mandan Lodge at Bismarck," *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 1 (October, 1930).

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The permanent name one received when returning from the first successful war expedition was received from the father's clan.

The moiety had both ceremonial and economic functions. When dividing the buffalo captured in the corral, the inclosure was symbolic of the ceremonial lodge. A line was drawn through the center of the corral extending from the midpoint of the entrance to the opposite side. Those animals falling to the left of the entrance belonged to the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while those of the opposite side belonged to the other moiety. Women of a moiety butchered on their side without regard to clan. Each moiety constructed its half of the ceremonial lodge and would also erect an earth lodge used as a residence when the clan of the owner of the new lodge assisted in putting up goods for the assistance rendered by the opposite moiety. It was believed that the moiety regulated marriage prior to the last smallpox epidemic, but a study of lineages indicated that it had little influence over marriages after 1837. There was a feeling that in former times traditional eagle-trapping sites were divided into moieties, each moiety trapping on its side of the Missouri River. If such division existed, all evidences had disappeared before 1870. There was considerable competition between moieties. When one moiety had more successful war leaders than the other, its members would tease the others and question their bravery. Sons of men of the same moiety teased each other a great deal. Each moiety had a leader who assisted in the division of the buffalo taken in a corral.

VILLAGE AND TRIBAL LEADERSHIP

Mandan village and tribal leadership was vested in the hierarchy of bundle-owners or priests who constituted a group of head men whose number varied from time to time depending on the status of the various bundles. From this group two leaders were selected whose war or peacemaking record exceeded that of all others or who, because of other practices, had acquired considerable popularity with the people. The one whose record in warfare was greatest was selected in council to be war chief. A second chief selected was one who had important ceremonial bundles, had given many feasts, and had performed many rites for the general welfare of the village. These were considered the

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554 785 received goods in abundance from people of the village, particularly persons of his children's clan.

Since the Mandan lived in a territory of uncertain rainfall, the crops were frequently endangered by drought. There were 554 formal rainmaking ceremonies, but these frequently failed to 785 bring rain. A man would frequently announce that he was fasting on a certain day to bring the rains. If rains came before the 789 fasting began, he received credit for them and was paid generously for his services. When the rains had not come on the day when fasting was to begin, he would go to some designated spot to fast, singing his holy songs while watching the sky for the approaching clouds, which he would endeavor to direct toward the gardens. Anyone could fast to bring rains to the gardens or buffaloes near the village, but in general these extra rites were performed by persons lacking formal tribal bundles and were people who felt that they had not received proper recognition for their successes in warfare, horse-stealing, or in finding the buffalo herds. They had little to lose; failing to bring buffaloes or rain, they were thought none the less of for their failure and were praised if they succeeded.

785 There was a certain amount of fasting when bad luck persisted. When on eagle-trapping expeditions, some men would catch eagles while others did not. One who had been especially lucky would volunteer the use of his pit to one who had failed to catch birds. If the latter's bad luck persisted, he would fast and even have thongs inserted through his skin for dragging buffalo skulls.

224 There was a certain degree of specialization of males in a Mandan village. Those who had acquired an aptitude of finding 554 the buffalo herds were relied upon for their good judgment in 788 supervising the summer buffalo-hunting expeditions. Even those who eventually attained the status of leader were expected to attain that position by degrees. He was first taken out as scout to assist in locating the herds and later as leader of the hunters when he was expected to perform simple rites immediately before the attack was made on the herd. He would pray to the buffaloes not to send the party bad luck, and, when the surround had been made, he would make an offering of sage and feathers from the speckled eagle to the buffaloes by tying

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the offerings to the horns of some weathered buffalo skull found conveniently near by. If a horse fell into a washout, stepped into a badger hole and injured its rider, or was gored by a buffalo, the leader was said to have "kicked the stone" and was usually never selected again unless he fasted sufficiently to receive the forgiveness of the aggrieved parties. 224 554 788

As leader of the hunters, he was expected to make successful surrounds without losing his men from accident. Having been successful on many surrounds, it was believed that he was lucky and had sacred objects that were protecting him and his party. He was then eligible to become the leader of a future summer buffalo-hunting party.

A man's responsibilities increased greatly as the leader of the summer buffalo-hunting party. His selection was made in council held a month before the village was to leave for the summer hunt. The principal men of the village met to consider the matter of a leader. Crows Heart claimed that all who had been lucky in warfare or in leading the hunters aspired to be the summer buffalo-hunt leader at least once in their lifetime. The leader was selected from those who had buffalo skulls as a part of their sacred bundles. These skulls became a part of bundles either through purchase of a hereditary bundle or, more rarely, were introduced into a bundle when vision instructed. It was necessary to have unanimous consent of the head men to become leader, and the appointment was for only one expedition away from the village. A change was usually made for subsequent hunts on the former leader's recommendation, as it was believed that one would have bad luck if he led too many hunts. When a selection had been made, the crier for the Black Mouth Society[1] went through the village announcing the decision. [203]

The leader consulted the village chief in matters relative to preparation of the equipment and the leaders of war parties relative to the protection of the party which would comprise the entire population except a few feeble people who preferred to visit in a neighboring village while the party was away. The women first weeded and hilled their garden crops while the men prepared the dog and horse equipment. While preparations for the summer hunt were being completed, scouts were sent 224 [462]

[1] [The men's society intrusted with the organization and protection of the village. See pp. 94-95, Cat. 116.—Analyst]

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224 out daily to travel as much as one hundred and fifty miles from the village to observe the numbers and movements of the buffalo. Returning war leaders were called in to report the number and size of the herds they had observed. The leader planned the hunt on the basis of the knowledge he had acquired from several sources and designated the spots where the party would camp each night. This information together with the time of departure from the village was given to the Black Mouth Society, which sent its announcer through the village to notify the people.

221 241 796 The summer buffalo hunt was scheduled as a permanent part of the summer's activities and did not interfere with the normal village routine. The gardens were prepared and planted in May, and the first performance of the Okipa was celebrated just prior to leaving for the summer hunt. Since one of the purposes of the Okipa was to have the Buffalo Dance performed, it was believed that it should be held prior to the summer hunt. Ceremonies to the buffalo were believed to insure a good hunt and the replenishment of their numbers by the escape of the buffalo spirits from the spirit homes in which they lived before being born into the herds. The leader was not authorized to call an unscheduled hunt.

224 561 Crows Heart believed that all the leaders selected in his time belonged to the Black Mouth or Bull men's societies, since these were the two oldest active societies, but felt that membership was not obligatory, since in former times there were so many people that all did not belong, especially those who were too busy with other ceremonial matters. The leader never undertook to direct the hunt unassisted. He invited in all those with the right to pray to the buffalo to meet at his lodge and assist him. These would be the officers of the Okipa and Red Stick ceremonies, Okipa Makers, and all those who had buffalo skulls in their bundles whether acquired by vision or purchase. He discussed his plans with them and changed them if any offered a reasonable objection. The hunt was frequently canceled when war leaders reported unusual numbers of enemies about.

224 In early times dogs were used, but, after horses were acquired, the summer hunts of later times were out much farther. The leader was always to the front, and the party followed behind

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in a line. Household groups kept together, since they would stop from time to time to dig wild turnips. Whenever the leader saw these plants in great numbers, he would ask his assistant, the announcer of the Black Mouths, to stop the party. All would dig except the scouts, who were ahead guarding the party against surprise by the enemy or hunting for fresh meat, and the Black Mouths, who were mounted and armed to protect the party against attack. The latter watched for stragglers and helped them to join the main party.

The leader selected the camping place which had been agreed upon in advance, and the Black Mouths enforced the regulations that the lodges be arranged in a circle at a certain distance from each other and compelled those whose lodges were out of place to take them down and set them up in such a way that the circle was complete except for a larger entrance at the side of the leader's lodge where the horses could be brought through to be corraled within the open circle. The leader's household was at the front of the line when traveling and was the first to set up a tepee; the back end of the line which was assembled by household groups swung around in a wide circle so that the last in the line set up their tepee at the side of the leader's tepee, thus completing the circle. Ropes were tied between the tepees forming a corral into which the horses were driven for the night.

The leader's tepee was used as a meeting place for the people assisting him in planning the hunt. They selected the scouts each day and relieved others who had ridden far; when the party had reached its destination, they also selected the leader of the hunters who was changed from day to day if the work of killing animals was tedious as was often the case when the buffaloes were in small bands. The leader was responsible for the success of the entire party and was expected to call in the hunters if scouts reported an enemy encampment until it was decided whether to move to another place or make provisions for the defense of the party. The Black Mouths drove all the women and children into the camp and enforced rigid rules against leaving.

The men butchered the animals and brought the meat to the camp, while the women cut it into strips and dried it on scaffolds. All were expected to get equal amounts, and a woman

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224 462 could go to the pile brought in by anyone if her husband was slow in returning with his meat. There was no moiety division of the animals as was employed with the corral. Everyone was expected to work curing the meat, men and women alike. Older men would haul poles for scaffolds and set them up. Some husbands would be out as scouts and could not butcher. Crows Heart had been on a number of summer hunts and said that he never made a special effort to help his lodge group. As soon as he unloaded his meat, it was taken by anyone who was ready to cure it. Scattercorn said that one did not ask permission to take a hunter's meat and that one was more likely to be criticized for not working hard enough than for appearing selfish. All my informants were in agreement that quarrels over division of the meat and hides were unknown.

224 The leader and the leader of the hunters were entitled to the tongues, but these were shared with others having the buffalo as a god, while some tongues were given to old people. The evenings were spent in dancing and singing.

785 789 224 796 There was a marked increase of fasting during the summer hunts. Many thought that they secured better visions when fasting away from the village. Others thought that it would be highly desirable to fast far from the village to get visions from supernatural beings that might not come to the villages to "adopt a son." The older men taught that the young buffaloes lived in certain buttes and that fasting while out on the summer buffalo range would increase the next year's calf crop. To perpetuate the buffalo supply, they made offerings of speckled eagle feathers and calicoes to these buttes and encouraged the young men to fast near them. The leader would receive many valuable presents from young men seeking visions at that time while praying for their success when the thongs were being inserted through the skin. Dragging heads of recently killed buffaloes through the camp was a customary practice. Crows Heart thought that most young men who had recently fasted in the Okipa ceremony and had not received visions would repeat their vision quest at that time. The hunt would be terminated in time to reach the village before the corn was in the milk stage. Usually a second performance of the Okipa was held a short time after returning.

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man who drew his gun when being driven back and was killed by the Black Mouths. Usually it was the duty of one's brothers to revenge a sibling's death, but in this instance siblings took no action. The Black Mouths were believed to be the bravest men of the village. Before making an attack on the enemy, their leaders would stick their lances into the ground which meant that they would not retreat. When on the summer buffalo hunts they received their orders from the leader and were instructed to prevent premature hunting and to see that the party did not break up. Although they endeavored to prevent war parties from leaving the village when there was danger of attack, they inflicted no punishment when an unauthorized war party returned.

It was believed that an individual's influence with sacred things advanced in age. They were consulted on sacred matters and were offered their "sons'" wives frequently during the buffalo ceremonies. Men and women assisted in the disposal of the dead. It was a man's duty to assist a clan sister in the construction of the scaffold for one whose father was of their clan, to superintend the painting and wrapping of the body.

OLD AGE AND DEATH

The old people were respected members of the household. The grandfather would assist the youngsters of the lodge in making toys and in playing their simple games, but he was always held in high regard as the one from whom the child's father had acquired much of his training in sacred matters. Having more time to give to the instruction of the children of the lodge, he would assist them in learning stories if the children were interested in hearing them. The older women assisted the younger women about the lodge and in the gardens but were not expected to do much work.

The older women were organized into two age-grade societies which were sacred in character. Women of advanced middle age joined the Goose Society and, when they had reached the menopause, sold to younger women and bought into the White Buffalo Cow Society.[3] As members of these societies they were respected for their supernatural powers over agriculture and

3. See the chapters on ceremonialism for an account of their origin.

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888 561 562 hunting. Women holding rights in the various Holy Women bundles also met whenever a medicine feast was given. Their rights were individually acquired by assisting their husbands or brothers in the bundle purchase. Some of their number were members of the Goose or the White Buffalo Cow societies.

888 562 The older people performed an important role in the ceremonies so long as they were not too feeble to get around. Women who had assisted others at childbirth became doctors after the menopause and could substitute for a man in a great many of the societies. In many ceremonies they were the medium through which the traditions and bundles were transmitted to a legitimate male heir.

888 785 755 Fasting was generally completed by the time one reached fifty years of age. In case of repeated bad luck or failure to attain a definite goal, fasting for short periods was practiced during a ceremony. When an epidemic of sore eyes broke out at Fishhook Village, one old woman fasted to seek relief from her affliction. Since her eye trouble was cleared up shortly afterward, quite a number of middle-aged and old people fasted to cure the ailment. Calf Woman said that more than half of them got relief.

888 431 787 People who were past middle age and who had been relatively successful all their lives would frequently have bad dreams in which they were being killed and cut up by the enemy or were drowning. It was believed that one could forestall this misfortune by giving away all his property. He would call in those who had been successful and were owners of important tribal bundles to give away his property, consisting of robes and bedding, household utensils, dogs, and horses, until the family was utterly destitute. One doing this would walk through the village repeating the dream. When the bad dream failed to materialize within the designated time, such people were said to be holy and as such were called the "protectors of the village." In appreciation of their sacrifices, each household group was expected to contribute something toward their comfort.

888 421 224 The old people had privately owned game pits and were entitled to the animals found in them. According to tradition, before horses were acquired, pits were widely used and owned by households. Ruins of game pits are still to be seen in consider-

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able numbers along the Heart River and in the vicinity of Square Butte Creek. With the introduction of the horse they were less commonly used, although the practice was not entirely abandoned until after 1870. Buffalo, deer, elk, and wolves were captured in them. Older men also managed the fish traps, of which there were a number for each village. An account of fish-trapping is given in chapter viii, "Catfish-trapping Ceremony," which appears in this account of ceremonialism. 888 421 224

The old people were generally well cared for by the Mandan. They were held in high respect, and my informants frequently condemned neighboring tribes for abandoning their old people. On the other hand, Mandan old people frequently were left back when the village went on a buffalo hunt and refused to have others remain with them, claiming that they would get along and that, if the enemy came and killed them, it was all right, as one could not live forever. Usually a few families remained in the village to care for the old people who were too feeble to travel. 888

The Mandan traditions state that, when people were first created and placed on the earth, Lone Man decreed that they should not live to be older than one hundred years and that some would die at various ages from birth to old age. It was believed that people died from improper fasting, violation of tribal custom, disrespect of holy things, quarreling, foreign objects in the body, and loss of "power." It was also believed that those who neglected the unfortunate would not live long, since the sacred things frequently sent destitute people into the tribe to detect the selfish families. The sun was believed to be a cannibal who would adopt a "son" in an enemy tribe, subsequently giving a Mandan a dream instruction to go out on the warfare where he would be killed. 773 761

The Mandan believed that a person had four souls. One was the white spirit, which was often seen traveling through the air as a shooting star. It was regarded as the principal spirit and was represented by the white upland sage. The second spirit was light brown and scarcely visible and was represented by the meadow lark. These two spirits united in the spirit world and became the individual of the hereafter. The third spirit was known as the lodge spirit and remained near the lodge of which 774

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223 their intentions of trapping at certain localities and called for volunteers. The bundle-owner was leader, and his authority began as soon as the party left the village. Announcement that they would be trapping at a specified site was made in the village as soon as a party was organized, in order that hunting parties or other eagle-trapping parties would know their whereabouts.

Trapping parties left for the trapping sites when the leaves began to change color in the fall. In the party would be the leadder and his trappers, together with their wives and children. It [224] being customary to hunt game for the winter's needs when the winds were not from a westerly direction, the women were taken along to cure the meat and prepare the hides.

223 346 Two types of lodges were used in connection with eagle-trapping. According to tradition, when Black Wolf visited the bears, he found them using a grass lodge consisting of a sweat-lodge frame covered with grass mats. When this lodge was used, the rigid rules associated with eagle-trapping were dispensed with. The bears had said, "When you use the grass lodge, there will be no rules." Any suitable location for the lodge could be agreed upon where it would be centrally located in relation to the pits. Neither were there rules governing the excavation of pits nor the appropriation of old ones. Each trapped where he chose, killed the birds, and secured the feathers. This type lodge was rarely used except when trapping in new territory under circumstances such that it was considered unlikely that the party would ever return there again to trap.

223 346 778 The second type lodge was known as the wood lodge. There were two variants of this type. When it was planned to return to the locality again, it was constructed on a four-post standard, each post having a fork at the top on which poles were suspended forming a square. The sides of the lodge were built by leaning poles against this standard to form a roughly conical structure. Bark and earth were banked around the outer edge of the lodge to a height of three feet for warmth and protection from attack. This was the preferred type lodge. With it went ownership of the adjacent pits and hunting territory. It was the residence of the males and was owned by the leader who had directed its construction. When used in connection with eagle-trap-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Mandan and Hidatsa informants was that women took a more prominent place in Mandan than in Hidatsa ceremonies and that bringing women into the lodges was a Mandan rite that some Hidatsa bought. This native belief is borne out by a woman's right to perform the Okipa ceremony with her brother's assistance and to own bundles of deceased relatives until a successor had qualified.

In the selection of eagle-trapping territory, consideration was given to the suitability of the region for hunting. Some informants thought that not more than one-third of the days were suitable for catching eagles. When the winds were not from a westerly direction, the party went out hunting and received their orders from the Chief of the Hunters, whose place in the ceremonial lodge was near the head of the lodge on the left side and opposite the leader.

The office of Chief of the Hunters was filled by the leader when selecting the places for the men when first entering the lodge. In mythological times, Two Men[40] discovered Black Bear's cub carrying a clay pot in which he cooked his food mysteriously, and, resolving to live leisurely thereafter, they stole the vessel. The cub chased them into Dog Den Butte and captured them with his snare. Cub contemplated killing them, but they agreed to do the hunting[41] for the eagle-trappers if their lives were spared. In time they acquired the position of leaders of the hunters.

The eagle-trapping territory was distantly removed from the summer villages in a region not occupied permanently by any tribe.[42] Except for sites on the east side of the Missouri River, the territory was deeply eroded with isolated wooded areas along, and adjacent to, the principal streams. The badlands region along the Little Missouri River and its tributaries was a favorite habitat of the elk, black-tail deer, and mountain sheep. White-tail deer remained more or less in the wooded bottom lands of streams, while buffalo and antelope ranged in herds and bands on the high grass plains a few miles from the principal streams.

40. See my manuscript on "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization" for an account of the exploits of these two characters.

41. Their medicine was the arrow.

42. See map of eagle-trapping camps (Fig. 28).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 Eagle-trapping expeditions were organized for a dual purpose,
224 namely, the securing of feathers and of a winter's supply of meat and hides. Crows Heart thought that, taken year after year, the meat and hides secured had greater worth than the feathers. As he explained, it was not unusual to return without feathers, but game was always abundant once one reached territory not ordinarily hunted in. He remarked, on many occasions, that a village as a unit would never go to rough country on a summer hunt, as there would be few buffaloes there, and it would be difficult to surround them because of the uneven topography. There was the further danger of ambush. The rough lands were hunted over by small bands, chiefly eagle-trappers and war parties.

223 The appearance of ice on the edges of streams was the signal
224 for the eagle-trapping expedition to return to the village. Before
505 horses became numerous in the villages, it was customary to travel overland to the trapping sites, where bullboats were made of buffalo and elk hides for floating back the meat and hides to the village. In order not to be caught along the way by a sudden freezing of the river, it was imperative that trapping cease immediately with the first appearance of cold weather.

224 While in the trapping camp, the women received the meat
251 and hides brought in by the men. The meat was cured on scaf-
281 folds, and the hides were dried or made into bullboats. Special effort was made to secure mountain sheep, as the badlands were the habitat of these prized animals, used for men's shirts and women's dresses, since their skins tanned softer than any other hide. Bears Arm, in explaining the importance of the meat and
[581] hides secured on these expeditions, stated that single women tried to marry young men so they could go along to help cure the meat and hides, knowing they might marry one so lucky as to kill a white buffalo.

223 Mandan tradition appears devoid of reference to recent divi-
361 sion of a village population into small eagle-trapping bands dur-
171 ing the winter. Such is not the case with the Hidatsa, however.
221 In the Earthnaming ceremony of the Hidatsa there is reference in the myth to the division of the village into small bands
621 camped along the Little Missouri River in eagle-trapping lodges during the winter. At least two of the clans, the Maxoxati and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Wolf as payment for his services to these birds in the sacred myth. According to tradition, only those who had purchased the right made arrows. Arrowmaking techniques were taught by certain bundle-owners. It is highly improbable that any living informant at the time this study was made was able to enumerate all bundles with arrowmaking rights. At least the following, which is no doubt only a partial list, had arrowmaking rights: Eagle-trapping; Big Bird; Snow Owl; and Woman Above bundles. All of these bundles were associated with birds of prey. 796 778 411

The belief was that certain men were arrowmakers in early times and that those in need of arrows bought their supply. People without the rights were not allowed to stand around when arrows were being made. Incidentally, pottery-making was also a secret art, and the women bought the rights and knowledge in the techniques of their mothers or clanswomen, using only such designs as they were instructed to make. There was a song to the arrows and another when approaching the thicket where the shafts were secured. The stone tips were believed to have been first secured from the beavers. 796 424 463

The buffalo-calling rites were performed during the winter and were initiated by a young man dreaming of the buffaloes. Woman Living in Dog Den Butte (Buffalo Woman) had said in the myth, "In the future, when any Indian thinks of me, he must make offerings to me and give his wife to the one who is head of this medicine." 796 224

The three officers in the ceremony were (1) the bundle-owner and his wives, who sat to the left side near the head of the lodge and were the singers; (2) a woman impersonating Woman Living in Dog Den Butte, who wore a buffalo robe with hair side out and had sage and magpie tail feathers in her hair, her place being at the head of the lodge; and (3) a man impersonating the brothers who lived in Dog Den Butte; he had red marks painted on his skin indicating the kinds of wounds a man could receive in battle, and his place was on the right side of the lodge near the door. 796

The Okipa lodge was used for the ceremony. After a young man had made the vow, robes and other goods were accumulated for the ceremony. A man received help from his wife, brothers, sisters, clan brothers and sisters, and the people of both his

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

I ought to go back, so I came away. In that trapping, I understood that there were some rules that were somewhat different. If a trapper coming home from his pit stumbles and falls, when he comes back into the lodge, he has to tell it; when he does so, a new name was given him for the time of the trapping. He also changed all their names during the time of trapping and gave them names about bears or eagles. He sold his rights to Stephen Bird, who is still living. 223 796

When everything was completed, the leader burned incense and offered smoke to the buffalo skull and offered sacrifices of calicoes to the skull. That is what we called "Blessing the Lodge." Then we went to our pits. Sitting Owl caught two white tails with black tips. In the evening we went into the lodge. The leader produced a piece of corn ball and called the Crack Shot, who, instead of crawling on his elbow and knees, stooped over and walked to the leader. He received the corn ball, and the leader said, "The Footbone is giving you this corn ball."

The Crack Shot took it and tasted it, saying "Footbone, the bottom of your foot is delicious and sweet." Each one when he came up to the leader in turn said the same thing. Each person had a piece of corn ball in front of him, and the tail feathers of the eagles were given to Crack Shot. He received them and touched the corn ball with them and passed them around until the feathers reached the leader again.

When the leader received the feathers, he again got up and went over to the buffalo skull, saying, "Old Man with Ears Backwards,[9] here are your tail feathers, but they are not yours. Your children wish you to keep these feathers."

Then the waiter went out and called, asking the women to come over to the lodge. All the women came over and sat down close to the entrance. The leader painted himself with red paint on his forehead, cheeks, hands, wrists, and the top of his head. He had a feather back of his head. He represented the Old Black Bear. His rattles were the bear's feet tied together with a long string. When the women came in, the leader and those who were sitting with him sang. The women sang with the men, and Iron Eyes'[10] wife had a little bear's skin on her lap. It was the bear that had been at the altar. When the women came in, the leader gave it to her to lay on her lap and make it dance. Each one of us took our snares from the little sticks on the altar, opened up the loops, and swung them up and down in time with the leader, who was singing a special song. The women sang, and the woman with the bear's skin made it dance in time with the music. We all enjoyed ourselves singing. At the end of each song, we would hold our cords up and pretend to be roping something.

Then this practice was also different from the others I was out with. Any one of the men could make a game trap by setting up posts with braces as a deadfall. The one who finds a red fox or coyote in the trap takes it out, throwing it to one side, and then takes the skin off for the altar. In case there is a boy old enough in camp, he can go out, take the animal, and bring it in. We had one boy along, but he was too young, so they did not have the trap set. They just sang the song that went with it. When the ceremony was going on, there was one song that we danced to when it came up. There was also a spe- 224 223 796

9. Ceremonial name for the buffalo.
10. He owned a complete Mandan Eagle-trapping bundle.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

224 223 796 cial song for the waiter in which he danced alone. The leader's waiter on his side was the main waiter, and the other was an assistant. If the main waiter was absent, the assistant did the work. In the evening the women would bring wood into the camp for the sweathouse.

223 796 When the wind was in the right direction, we went into the pits. That is what we called the good wind. When the wind is from the southwest or northwest, it was considered good to fair wind, but the west was considered the best. The waiter was the first one to be up and around. He would go out and look at the flag. When he saw that the wind was from the right direction, he would say, "The wind is in the right direction." The men would all get out of bed and go to their pits.

The leader would say, "I will help the waiter if he wants to go into his pit. I will stay and do his work."

When the waiter went out to see the flag and the wind was blowing from the other directions, he would come back and report it to the leader by saying, "Leader, the wind is in the wrong direction."

The leader would say to the men, "When you are through eating, go out and hunt." There was a term that they used. Instead of saying morning meal, he would say, "After you are through sitting on it," meaning that the eagle sits on the bait. That was why he used that term. He would use the words, "Go out and throw stones at animals," meaning to hunt game. When the wind was right, we went to our pits. Raven Knows Nothing caught three good eagles with black tips; then we had another meeting the same as before. The women would come, and we would have a good time. The leader would have the men come to him for their corn balls again.

Another time we went to our pits and Packs Wolf caught two with black tips, and then the leader, himself, caught two. They were black tipped also. Those were all the birds caught.

785 796 The night after the catch was made, I asked the Crack Shot (Sitting Owl, Maxoxati clan) to fill up the pipe; he did so and gave it to me. I took the pipe and gave it to the leader, saying, "My leader, take this pipe, for I wish to suffer." He was glad. Beforehand, I had prepared my sticks. I made three of them. The Crack Shot and his helper took me outside close to the lodge by a tree and there they cut my breast on both sides and on the top of my right arm. They fastened the rawhide rope to the sticks, and then I ran around the tree while the ceremony and singing was going on inside the lodge. After all the songs were sung, the same men who tortured me came out and took the rawhide rope off and pulled the sticks out. The sticks were taken in and placed on the altar. Several days after that, Charging was tortured. When I suffered, I had my medicine bundle, the Bear Medicine, that I got from my father, hanging on my right arm. When I suffered, it was like a prayer asking the great spirits to help me to live long in the world, be fortunate in everything I undertook, and have property. I prayed to Black Medicine because Spring Boy and Lodge Boy said that they would turn into that root[11] but that their spirits would go back into the skies and help the people. That was why I prayed to them. The idea of fasting and offering myself this way was so that I might be blessed by the spirits. Then in war I would come out victorious and defeat the enemy.

11. A piece of this root is tied to each snare.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 796 of you; it is an A-ci-ra'-wi'-a," meaning really a bear woman, for the origin was from the bears.

224 462 In early days when young men went out this way, the single girls would marry some of them before they left and then go out there. The women would prepare the meat from the mountain sheep and work on the hides while the men trapped. To secure these fine hides, women would marry a single man in order to get a chance to go out there.

223 796 The pits being dug, early the next morning we got up without having any breakfast and went to our pits. Some of the pits were old ones, but several new ones were made. Sometimes there would be two pits together, and then they would fix the last pit up and go into it. For their baits some had blood stored away while others had jackrabbits. Others had a hide fixed up so that it looked like some animal. Water was mixed with the dry blood and put on the bait. In the evening each man came out, and those who did not catch anything came home quietly, while those who had caught eagles would come in crying. When they heard someone come crying, the waiter would burn incense as the man with the eagle came into camp.

Eagle-trapping is called "Tied," when persons catching eagles are to kill them in the pit before bringing them to the lodge. The first man who came in that day was Little Bull. He had two birds with black tips. White Body was burning the incense. In case both the waiters were away, the leader would burn the incense himself. The next man who came in was Holding Eagle, and he had two birds with black tips. Black Bear caught two also. The saying is that, where you catch two eagles, they are a brother and a sister, for they travel together. These birds were all killed in the pit. The birds were brought in and placed at the head of the lodge in a row. The tails were brought in and placed on the buffalo head, each man keeping track of his own feathers.

223 777 The next day my brother, Little Bull, took me along, and we went into his pit. He caught four that day, and, when the fifth had landed on the bait, he told me to catch it by the feet, which I did. He helped me pull the bird down into the pit. He took me along to show me how to catch the birds. The next time he went out he caught three more, which made ten in all that he had caught. Three warbonnets could be made of them, and he had one tail extra. The leader said to him, "That is enough; you must not go out any more, or you will have bad luck." After that Little Bull did not go out any more.

223 The second time Holding Eagle went out he caught three, and the third time he caught two, so that he had seven. Black Bear caught two the first time, three the second time, and two the third time, making seven for him. Lance Owner did not have any luck in his pit, so he was advised to go into Little Bull's pit, where he caught two. Little Crow did not catch anything in his pit, so he was also told to go into Little Bull's pit, and he caught two there. Sitting Woman caught three; White Body did not catch any. Wolfs Eyes and his helper did not trap.

223 796 All these birds were killed in the pit, each trapper having a Baby Stone in his hole. While facing east, they broke the birds' necks, and in that way the spirits of the birds would return to their spirit home down the river.

There are two ways of trapping eagles. This time we followed the ceremony called "Tied" which originated with the black bear. The other way was the real eagle-trapping and in that ceremony they had ways that were different from the ceremony Wolfs Eyes used. In the other ceremony if a trapper fell down and tells the leader about it, his named is changed. This time we did

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Maximilian[1] also gives a description of the pottery;—"They make pots of different shapes and sizes. The clay is slate-colored and turns a yellowish red in the fire. It is mixed with powdered granite which has been burnt. A large round stone is stuck into the clay which is prevented from spreading sideways. It is polished with a piece of poplar bark. When shaped, it is filled with dry chips, and also surrounded by them on the outside, then burned. They use no enamel on the pots." This pottery has not been made for a number of years, and there are only a few whole samples of the cruder sort in collections. 323

AGRICULTURE:—The Mandans were, above all, an agricultural people, far more so than any of their neighbors. They have a tradition of having taught the Hidatsa how to cultivate the soil, and even the Arikara, who are said by some to have taught the Mandans, were somewhat inferior to the latter in the pursuit of agriculture. The Mandans were dependent on the soil for nearly all of their food, according to Verendrye, in 1738. By the time Lewis and Clarke came, however, they were about on the dividing line between being a hunting and an agricultural nation. They were not the hunters that their neighbors the Hidatsa were, because they were too weak in numbers to venture on long hunting trips. The agricultural ceremonies and dances shared honor with those of hunting, and the Old Woman Who Never Dies, or the Corn Mother, was an important personage in the ceremonial life of the people. 241 [177] [224] [176]

The land about the Mandan villages, smooth river bottoms and very fertile, was always extremely easy to work, and required but the crudest implements. Consequently the cultivation was fairly extensive. Maximilian says that each family cultivated three fields of four or five acres each, which were never fenced. The farms were shifted to a new place when the old area began to yield smaller crops. There seems to have been no attempt at fertilization, and it was hardly necessary in view of the great abundance of good land. Henry[2] gives an animated picture of the Mandan farming operations:

"We passed extensive fields of corn, beans, squashes and

[1] Op. cit., p. 386. [2] Op. cit., vol. I, pp. 343 et seq.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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249 276 fine. It was usually smoked mixed with the bark of the so-called red-willow or Cornus. Henry says that the blossoms were used, and were dried on a piece of pottery before the fire. Lewis and Clarke and Gass both mention this tobacco and agree with Verendrye that it was not good to those who were accustomed to European tobacco. The Mandans themselves soon discarded their own variety, raising only a little each year to use in ceremonials.

222 Although hardly coming under agriculture, still as a related matter, it might be well to mention the wild vegetables and fruits which were so much used by the Indians of the region. These were june-berries, choke-cherries, wild plums, the feverole, and especially the pomme blanche or Indian turnip. The latter were something like artichokes, white, ovate, one to three inches long, and about the size of a man's finger. They were collected in large quantities and formed a very common food.

224 HUNTING AND FISHING:—The Mandans derived a living from agriculture and the hunt in about equal proportions. Their methods of hunting differed little from those of their neighbors. Game was in abundance and many animals besides the buffalo contributed to their sustenance. Among these were antelope, elk, deer, bighorn, and an occasional bear, besides beaver, rabbits, ducks and geese. Other animals were killed for their hides alone, as wolves, foxes, ermine and panther. Eagles and other birds of prey were hunted for their plumes.

Buffalo were hunted all the year round whenever they were in the neighborhood of the village, for the Mandans did not go away on long hunting trips as did most of their neighbors. The buffalo hunt was directed by the Soldier Band. A small detached body of buffalo would be surrounded by the horsemen and then every animal killed in order to prevent the alarming of the whole herd. Any animal which did not contain an arrow by which the slayer could be identified, belonged to whoever found it. The beasts were cut up, and each man's horse was laden down with meat. Certain choice parts were eaten immediately by the hunter, and the heart and tongue could be demanded from anyone of a lower grade than he who asked for them. The childless old men and women usually

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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met the returning hunters at a short distance from the village, 224
and the hunters dropped portions of the meat for them.

When the Missouri broke up in the spring large numbers of 252
buffalo were drowned and floated down the river. The Mandans usually caught large quantities of these as they floated by, and esteemed them as better than the fresh meat. Henry says that meat was nearly always hung up till partially decayed, after which it was better liked. The intestines of the buffalo were considered a good food and were always eaten. The Mandans made pemmican, as did all of the plains tribes, grinding up the dried meat and packing it in parfleches, after which buffalo fat was poured in.

Probably the antelope were next in importance to the 224
buffalo. These were caught in large bands by means of what were called parks. At the head of a coulée an enclosure of branches was made with a narrow opening from which two fences of branches led away in the shape of a funnel, extending for a mile or often more. The Indians, on horseback, by surrounding a band of antelopes could gradually work them towards this enclosure, through the gate of which they were at last forced to go. The entrance was then guarded and the hunters knocked the animals on the head with the stone war clubs; a hundred or more at a time were often killed in this fashion.

Wolves and foxes were trapped in pitfalls which were dug to a depth of eight or ten feet, covered with branches and baited with pieces of buffalo meat. Beaver and other small fur-bearing animals were caught in traps. Bears were killed only occasionally as the Indians did not like to attack them. Cat-fish and 226
sturgeon, as well as smaller fish and turtles were caught along the river, where unios and snails were also gathered.

The larger birds were caught in a rather peculiar fashion. 223
The hunters usually went to the Bad Lands to hunt them. 171
There a pit was dug in some likely place. Bait of small pieces of meat was scattered about, after which the hunter concealed himself in the pit, dragging over the top a covering of branches with bait upon them. Then he waited patiently, often for a day or more till a bird should alight on the branches; as soon as this happened the bird was grasped and pulled down into

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

574 The Mandans are hospitable, and often invite their acquaintance to come and see them. Their pipes are made of the red-stone, or of black clay. They obtain the red pipe-heads chiefly
276 from the Sioux; sometimes they have wooden heads lined with stone; the tube is plain, long,
241 round or flat, on the whole, of the same shape as among the Sioux, but they are not so fasti-
824 dious about ornamenting their pipes as other tribes. They smoke the leaves of the tobacco plant, which is cultivated by them; the bark of the red willow *(Cornus sericea)*, which they obtain from the traders, is sometimes mixed with the tobacco, or the latter with the leaves of the bearberry *(Arbutus uva ursi)*. The tobacco of the Whites, unmixed, is too strong for the Indians, because they draw the smoke into their lungs; hence they do not willingly smoke cigars.

415 The meals of the Mandans are served in wooden dishes. The spoons are generally large and deep; they are made of the horn of the bighorn (see woodcut, p. 251); sometimes they are yellow, or else they are shallow, made of black buffalo's horn. They have a considerable variety
224 of dishes. The Indians residing in permanent villages have the advantage of the roving hunting
241 tribes, in that they not only hunt, but derive their chief subsistence from their plantations, which afford them a degree of security against distress. It is true these Indians sometimes suffer hunger when the buffalo herds keep at a great distance, and their crops fail; but the distress can never be so great among the Missouri Indians, as in the tribes that live further northwards. The plants which they cultivate are maize, beans, French beans, gourds, sunflowers, and tobacco *(Nicotiana quadrisalgis)*, of which I brought home some seeds, which have flowered in several botanic gardens.

243 Of maize there are several varieties of colour, to which they give different names. The
241 several varieties are:—1. White maize. 2. Yellow maize. 3. Red maize. 4. Spotted maize. 5. Black maize. 6. Sweet maize. 7. Very hard yellow maize. 8. White, or red-striped maize. 9. Very tender yellow maize.*

The beans are likewise of various sorts—small white beans, black, red, and spotted beans. The gourds are—yellow, black; striped, blue, long, and thick-shelled gourds.

241 The sunflower is a large helianthus, which seems perfectly to resemble that cultivated in our
276 gardens. It is planted in rows between the maize. There are two or three varieties, with red, and black, and one with smaller seeds. Very nice cakes are made of these seeds. The tobacco

* I brought to Europe specimens of the several kinds of maize grown among the Mandans; these have been sown, but only the early species were ripe in September, 1835. The heads have by no means attained the same size, on the Rhine, as in their native country. There the plant attains a height of five or six feet, and the colours of the grains are very various, bright and beautiful: while, on the Rhine, the plant grew to the height of four or four and a half feet. The later sorts grew to the height of ten feet, and were not quite ripe at the end of October. (See Bradbury, page 145, for an account of the maize of the Mandans.)

According to Tanner (page 180), an Ottawa Indian first introduced the cultivation of maize on the Red River, among the Ojibuns, or Chippeways.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

cultivated by the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, attains a great height, and is suffered to 241
grow up from the seeds, without having any care whatever bestowed upon it. It is not trans- 276
planted. When it is ripe the stalks are cut, dried, and powdered; or the leaves, with the small branches, are cut into little pieces. The taste and smell are disagreeable to an European, resembling camomile rather than tobacco. The plant is not now so much cultivated as formerly, being superseded by the more pleasant tobacco of the Whites; but the species is still preserved. It is only on solemn occasions, for instance, in negotiations for peace, that this tobacco is still smoked; the seed is, therefore, preserved in the medicine bag of the nation, that the plant may never be lost. When they mean to smoke this tobacco, a small quantity of fat [278]
is rubbed on it.

The cultivation of the maize and other fields, of which each family prepares three, four, 241
or five acres, takes place in the month of May. Rows of small furrows are made, into which 221
the grains of maize are thrown singly, and covered with earth. Three times in the summer the plants are hoed, and the earth heaped up against them, that the moisture may have better access to them. The harvest takes place in October, when men, women, and children, each lend a helping hand. At present the women use, in their field labour, a broad iron hoe, with a crooked wooden handle, which they obtain from the merchants. Charbonneau recollected the time when they used the shoulder blade of the buffalo for this purpose. The fields are never fenced, but lie quite open and exposed.

The wild plants of the prairie are used by the Mandans, and other people of the Upper 222
Missouri; and to those before-mentioned, I can only add the feverolles *(Faba minor equina)*, 252
a fruit resembling the bean, which is said to grow in the ground, but which I did not see; there 824
are many other roots in the prairie, which are used for food. The gourds are eaten fresh as 262
well as dry. The beans are seldom eaten of one kind, but many sorts are mixed together. The maize is boiled or roasted, then pounded, mixed with fat, and made up into small cakes and baked. There are, of course, many other ways of dressing it. The sweet maize has a very pleasant taste, especially when it is in what is called the milky state; it is then boiled, dried, and laid by for use.

All kinds of animals serve the Mandans for food; the bear, when it is young and fat, the 224
wolf, the fox, in short, everything except the horse; the ermine is not eaten by many; and of 825
birds they dislike the turkey-buzzard, and the raven, because they feed on the dead bodies 262
deposited on the stages. They have a great aversion from serpents, but eat the turtle; the buffalo is the chief object of their chase, as it supplies them with skins, meat, tallow, marrow-bones, sinews, and many other necessaries. Next to the buffalo the beaver is the most indispensable to them, since it not only furnishes them with valuable skins, but supplies them with delicate food, the fat tail, especially, being considered quite a dainty morsel by the Indians. Pemmican, 262

6· Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 nose, hoofs, and tail. The value of ten to fifteen horses is given for it. A certain Mandan gave
281 ten horses, a gun, some kettles, and other articles, for such a hide. The white hide of a bull or
[435] of an old cow is by no means so valuable. The white hide of a young cow suffices for all the daughters of a family. They do not wear it as a robe, like the Manitaries, or, at the utmost, the wife, or one of the daughters of the family, wears it once at some great festival, but never a second time. The Mandans have particular ceremonies at the dedication of the hide. As soon as they
796 have obtained it they engage an eminent medicine man, who must throw it over him; he then walks round the village in the apparent direction of the sun's course, and sings a medicine song. When the owner, after collecting articles of value for three or four years, desires to offer his treasure to the lord of life, or to the first man, he rolls it up, after adding some wormwood or a head of maize, and the skin then remains suspended on a high pole till it rots away. At the time of my visit there was such an offering at Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, near the stages for the dead without the village. Sometimes, when the ceremony of dedication is finished, the hide is cut into small strips, and the members of the family wear parts of it tied over the head, or across the
554 forehead, when they are in full dress. If a Mandan kills a young white buffalo cow, it is
224 accounted to him as more than an exploit, or having killed an enemy. He does not cut up the animal himself, but employs another man, to whom he gives a horse for his trouble. He alone who has killed such an animal is allowed to wear a narrow strip of the skin in his ears. The whole robe is not ornamented, being esteemed superior to any other dress, however fine. The
[435] traders have, sometimes, sold such hides to the Indians, who gave them as many as sixty other
[136] robes in exchange. Buffalo skins with white spots are likewise highly valued by the Mandans; but there is a race of these animals with very soft silky hair, which has a beautiful gold lustre when in the sunshine: these are, likewise, highly prized, and sold for ten or fifteen dollars, and,
778 sometimes, for the value of a horse. Besides the white buffalo skins which are offered in sacrifice and hung on poles, there are, in the vicinity of the villages of the Mandans and Manitaries, other strange figures on high poles, as represented in Plate XXV. These figures are composed of skin, grass, and twigs, which, it seems, represent the sun and moon, perhaps, also, the lord of life, and the first man. The Indians resort to them when they wish to petition for anything, and sometimes howl and lament for days and weeks together.

796 The Mandans have several medicine festivals, of which the Okippe, or the penitential ceremony of the ark, is by far the most remarkable. It is celebrated in the spring or summer, and I regret to say that I cannot describe it as an eye-witness. I am, however, enabled to give a circumstantial description of it, word for word, as it was communicated to me by men initiated in the mysteries of the nation.*

* The author refers to a letter on this subject, written by Mr. Catlin, and published in a New York paper; but this is by no means so complete as that given in his valuable work published last year.—*Translator's Note.*

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 Many instruments used by the Whites, especially mathematical, are a great medicine, or charm, in their eyes, because they do not comprehend the use of them. Thus, the Indian women were frequently embarrassed when we looked at them through a telescope, because they believed that we had the power of penetrating their inmost thoughts, and of discovering their past and future actions.

805 The division of time, especially that of the year into months, is pretty conformable to nature; they count the years by winters, and say so many winters have passed since such an event. They are able to reckon the winters either by numbers, or on their fingers, for their numerals are very complete.

1. The month of the seven cold days, answering to our January.
2. The pairing month—February.
3. The month of weak eyes—March.
4. The month of game. Some call it the month of the wild geese. It is likewise often called the month of the breaking-up of the ice.
5. The month in which maize is sown, or the month of flowers—May.
6. The month of ripe service berries.
7. The month of ripe cherries.
8. The month of ripe plums.
9. The month of ripe maize.
10. The month of the falling leaves.
11. The month in which the rivers freeze.
12. The month of slight frost.

Here and there other names are given to the months, but the above are the most common.

461 The chief occupations of the Indians, besides adorning and painting their persons, looking in
224 the glass, smoking, eating, and sleeping, are the chase and war, and these fill up a great part of their time. The principal beast of chase is the buffalo, or, rather, the buffalo cow. The men generally go hunting in a body, on horseback, in order to be the more secure against a superior
492 force of their enemies. The equipments of their horses are much like those of the Blackfeet, and their saddle resembles the Hungarian; though, now, they sometimes obtain saddles from the Whites, which they line and ornament with red and blue cloth. In riding, they never leave hold of their whip, the handle of which is made of wood, and not of elk's horn, as among the more western nations. They never wear spurs. In the summer time, if the herds of buffaloes are dis-
224 persed to great distances in the prairie, the chase, of course, requires more time and exertion; but in winter, when they approach the Missouri, and seek shelter in the woods, a great number are

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

224

often killed in a short time. Plate XXXI. gives a clear idea of this chase. On these hunting excursions the Indians often spend eight or ten days; generally they return on foot, while the horses are laden with the spoil. The buffaloes are usually shot with arrows, the hunters riding within ten or twelve paces of them. If it is very cold, and the buffaloes keep at a distance in the prairie (which happened in the winter of 1833-34), they hunt but little, and would rather suffer hunger, or live only on maize and beans, than use any exertion; and when, towards spring, many drowned buffaloes float down the river with the ice, the Indians swim or leap with great dexterity over the flakes of ice, draw the animals to land, and eat the half putrid flesh, without manifesting any signs of disgust. It is remarkable how instantly their famished dogs know and take advantage of the hunting excursions of their masters. When the horses return laden with the spoils of the chase, the children in the village utter a cry of joy, of which the dogs seem perfectly to understand the import, for they simultaneously set up a loud howl, run towards the prairie, the scene of the chase, and partake, with their relations, the wolves, what the hunters have left behind. When a hunter has killed an animal, he generally eats the liver, the kidneys, and the marrow of the large thigh bones, raw. If an Indian has procured some game he usually shares it with others. The entrails and skin always belong to the person who shot the animal. If an eminent man, who has performed some exploit, comes up when the animal has been just killed, and demands the tongue, or some other good part, it cannot be refused him. Dogs are not employed in hunting by the Mandans and Manitaries. They shoot deer and elks in the forests, antelopes and bighorns in the prairies, the Black Hills, and the neighbouring mountains. They make parks, as they are called, to catch antelopes, but not buffaloes. Brackenridge says, that the Indians drive the antelopes into the water and kill them with clubs; but this can only have happened in isolated cases, when some accident gave them the opportunity. The Manitaries make these cabri parks more frequently than the Mandans. They choose a valley, between two hills, which ends in a steep declivity. On the summit of the hills, two converging lines, one or two miles in length, are marked out with brushwood. Below the declivity they erect a kind of fence, fifteen or twenty paces in length, composed of poles, covered and filled up with hay and brushwood. A number of horsemen then drive the cabris between the ends of the lines marked out by the brushwood, which are very distant from each other, and ride rapidly towards them. The terrified animals hasten down the hollow, and at length leap into the enclosure, where they are killed with clubs, or taken alive. There are not many bears in this country; and the Indians are not fond of hunting them, because it is often dangerous, and the flesh, when roasted, is not very good. Brackenridge is mistaken when he says, that these Indians always shout before they enter the forest, in order to frighten the bears. If they did so they would, at the same time, frighten all other kinds of animals, and we see at once, from this statement, that that traveller was no sportsman.

224 The wolf and the fox are sometimes shot with a gun, as well as the white hare, in the winter time, or they are caught in traps. They set for the wolves very strong traps. The prairie wolf is not easily caught, being very cautious. Foxes are caught in small traps, which are covered with brushwood and buffaloes' skulls, to conceal them. Many such traps are seen everywhere in the prairies, which are surrounded with small stakes, that the animals may not enter them sideways. Beavers are now caught, in great numbers, in iron traps, which they procure from the Whites. Small animals, such as the ermine, are caught with horsehair springes, set before their burrows. The manner in which birds of prey are caught is said to be very remarkable. 223 The birdcatcher lies down at full length in a narrow pit made on purpose, and exactly large enough to hold him. As soon as he has lain down, the pit is covered with brushwood and hay, pieces of meat are laid upon it, and a crow, or some such bird, fastened to it. The eagle, or other bird of prey, is said to descend, and to sit down, in order to eat, on which the birdcatcher seizes it by the legs. I would not believe this had not men worthy of credit given me their word for it. In this manner they catch the eagle, called, by the English, the war-eagle, and the golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*), the Quilou, or *oiseau de medicine*, of the Canadians, which I was not so fortunate as to meet with, and which they highly value, as I have already stated.

721 Next to the chase, war is the chief employment of the Indians, and military glory the highest object of their ambition. It is well known that Indian bravery is very different from that of the Whites; for wilfully to expose themselves to the enemy's fire would, in their eyes, not be bravery, but folly. Cunning and stratagem give them the advantage over the enemy; their strength lies in concealing their march, and surprises at daybreak. He who kills many enemies without sustaining any loss is the best warrior.

721 When a young man desires to establish his reputation in the field, he fasts for four or seven days, as long as his strength permits him, goes alone to the hills, complains and cries to 787 the lord of life, calls incessantly to the higher powers for their aid, and only goes home, sometimes, in the evening, to sleep. 555 A dream suggests his medicine to him. If the lord of life makes him dream of a piece of cherry-tree wood, or of an animal, it is a good omen. The young men who take the field with him have then confidence in his medicine. If he can perform an exploit his reputation is established. But whatever exploits he may perform, he acquires no respect if he does not make valuable presents; and they say of him, "He has indeed performed many exploits, but yet he is as much to be pitied as those whom he has killed." A man may have performed many exploits, and yet not be allowed to wear tufts of hair on his clothes, unless he carries a medicine pipe, and has been the leader of a war party. When a young man, who has never performed an exploit, is the first to kill an enemy on a warlike expedition, he 721 paints a spiral line round his arm, of whatever colour he pleases, and he may then wear a 555 whole wolf's tail at the ankle or heel of one foot. If he has first killed and touched the

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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past been peculiarly engrossed, and my senses almost confounded with the stamping, and grunting, and bellowing of the *buffalo dance*, which closed a few days since at sunrise (thank Heaven), and which I must needs describe to you. 535

Buffaloes, it is known, are a sort of roaming creatures, congregating occasionally in huge masses, and strolling away about the country from east to west, or from north to south, or just where their whims or strange fancies may lead them; and the Mandans are sometimes, by this means, most unceremoniously left without any thing to eat; and being a small tribe, and unwilling to risk their lives by going far from home in the face of their more powerful enemies, are oftentimes left almost in a state of starvation. In any emergency of this kind, every man musters and brings out of his lodge his mask (the skin of a buffalo's head with the horns on), which he is obliged to keep in readiness for this occasion; and then commences the buffalo dance, of which I have above spoken, which is held for the purpose of making "buffalo come" (as they term it), of inducing the buffalo herds to change the direction of their wanderings, and bend their course towards the Mandan village, and graze about on the beautiful hills and bluffs in its vicinity, where the Mandans can shoot them down and cook them as they want them for food.

For the most part of the year, the young warriors and hunters, by riding out a mile or two from the village, can kill meat in abundance; and sometimes large herds of these animals may be seen grazing in full view of the village. There are other seasons also when the young men have ranged about the country as far as they are willing to risk their lives, on account of their enemies, without finding meat. This sad intelligence is brought back to the chiefs and doctors, who sit in solemn council, and consult on the most expedient measures to be taken, until they are sure to decide upon the old and only expedient which "never has failed." 535 224

The chief issues his order to his runners or criers, who proclaim it through the village—and in a few minutes the dance begins. The place where this strange operation is carried on is in the public area in the centre of the village, and in front of the great medicine or mystery lodge. About ten or fifteen Mandans at a time join in the dance, each one with the skin of the buffalo's head (or mask) with the horns on, placed over his head, and in his hand his favourite bow or lance, with which he is used to slay the buffalo. 535

I mentioned that this dance always had the desired effect, that it never fails, nor can it, for it cannot be stopped (but is going incessantly day and night) until "buffalo come." Drums are beating and rattles are shaken, and songs and yells incessantly are shouted, and lookers-on stand ready with masks on their heads, and weapons in hand, to take the place of each one as he becomes fatigued, and jumps out of the ring.

During this time of general excitement, spies or "*lookers*" are kept on the

535 hills in the neighbourhood of the village, who, when they discover buffaloes in sight, give the appropriate signal, by "throwing their robes," which is instantly seen in the village, and understood by the whole tribe. At this joyful intelligence there is a shout of thanks to the Great Spirit, and more especially to the mystery-man, and the dancers, who *have been the immediate cause of their success!* There is then a brisk preparation for the chase—a grand hunt takes place. The choicest pieces of the victims are sacrificed to the Great Spirit, and then a surfeit and a carouse.

These dances have sometimes been continued in this village two and three weeks without stopping an instant, until the joyful moment when buffaloes made their appearance. So they *never fail*; and they think they have been the means of bringing them in.

Every man in the Mandan village (as I have before said) is obliged by a village regulation, to keep the mask of the buffalo, hanging on a post at the head of his bed, which he can use on his head whenever he is called upon by the chiefs, to dance for the coming of buffaloes. The mask is put over the head, and generally has a strip of the skin hanging to it, of the whole length of the animal, with the tail attached to it, which, passing down over the back of the dancer, is dragging on the ground (PLATE 56). When one becomes fatigued of the exercise, he signifies it by bending quite forward, and sinking his body towards the ground; when another draws a bow upon him and hits him with a blunt arrow, and he falls like a buffalo—is seized by the bye-standers, who drag him out of the ring by the heels, brandishing their knives about him; and having gone through the motions of skinning and cutting him up, they let him off, and his place is at once supplied by another, who dances into the ring with his mask on; and by this taking of places, the scene is easily kept up night and day, until the desired effect has been produced, that of "making buffalo come."

The day before yesterday however, readers, which, though it commenced in joy and thanksgiving to the Great Spirit for the signal success which had attended their several days of dancing and supplication, ended in a calamity which threw the village of the Mandans into mourning and repentant tears, and that at a time of scarcity and great distress. The signal was given into the village on that morning from the top of a distant bluff, that a band of buffaloes were in sight, though at a considerable distance off, and every heart beat with joy, and every eye watered and glistened with gladness.

224 The dance had lasted some three or four days, and now, instead of the doleful tap of the drum and the begging chaunts of the dancers, the stamping of horses was heard as they were led and galloped through the village—young men were throwing off their robes and their shirts,—were seen snatching a handful of arrows from their quivers, and stringing their sinewy bows, glancing their eyes and their smiles at their sweethearts, and mounting their ponies. * * *

* * A few minutes there had been of bustle and

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224 boasting, whilst bows were twanging and spears were polishing by running their blades into the ground—every face and every eye was filled with joy and gladness—horses were pawing and snuffing in fury for the outset, when Louison Frénié, an interpreter of the Fur Company, galloped through the village with his rifle in his hand and his powder-horn at his side; his head and waist were bandaged with handkerchiefs, and his shirt sleeves rolled up to his shoulders—the hunter's yell issued from his lips and was repeated through the village; he flew to the bluffs, and behind him and over the graceful swells of the prairie, galloped the emulous youths, whose hearts were beating high and quick for the onset.

261 In the village, where hunger had reigned, and starvation was almost ready to look them in the face, all was instantly turned to joy and gladness. The chiefs and doctors who had been for some days dealing out minimum rations to the community from the public crib, now spread before their subjects the contents of their own private *caches*, and the last of every thing that could be mustered, that they might eat a thanksgiving to the Great Spirit for his goodness in sending them a supply of buffalo meat. A general carouse of banqueting ensued, which occupied the greater part of the day; and their hidden stores which might have fed an emergency for several weeks, were pretty nearly used up on the occasion—bones were half picked, and dishes half emptied and then handed to the dogs. *I* was not forgotten neither, in the general surfeit; several large and generous wooden bowls of pemican and other palatable food were sent to my painting-room, and I received them in this time of scarcity with great pleasure.

721 After this general indulgence was over, and the dogs had licked the dishes, their usual games and amusements ensued—and hilarity and mirth, and joy took possession of, and reigned in, every nook and corner of the village; and in the midst of this, screams and shrieks were heard! and echoed everywhere. Women and children scrambled to the tops of their wigwams, with their eyes and their hands stretched in agonizing earnestness to the prairie, whilst blackened warriors ran furiously through every winding maze of the village, and issuing their jarring gutturals of vengeance, as they snatched their deadly weapons from their lodges, and struck the reddened post as they furiously passed it by! Two of their hunters were bending their course down the sides of the bluff towards the village, and another broke suddenly out of a deep ravine, and yet another was seen dashing over and down the green hills, and all were goading on their horses at full speed! and then came another, and another, and all entered the village amid shouts and groans of the villagers who crowded around them; the story was told in their looks, for one was bleeding, and the blood that flowed from his naked breast had crimsoned his milk white steed as it had dripped over him; another grasped in his left hand a scalp that was reeking in blood—and in the other his whip—another grasped nothing, save the reins in one hand and the mane of the horse in the other, having thrown his bow and his arrows

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526 of them to get as many as eight arrows up before the first one reaches the ground.

For the successful use of the bow, as it is used through all this region of
526 country on horseback, and that invariably at full speed, the great object of
224 practice is to enable the bowman to draw the bow with suddenness and instant effect; and also to repeat the shots in the most rapid manner. As their game is killed from their horses' backs while at the swiftest rate—and their enemies fought in the same way; and as the horse is the swiftest animal of the prairie, and always able to bring his rider alongside, within a few paces of his victim; it will easily be seen that the Indian has little use in throwing his arrow more than a few paces; when he leans quite low on his horse's side, and drives it with astonishing force, capable of producing instant death to the buffalo, or any other animal in the country. The bows which are generally in use in these regions I have described in a former Letter, and the effects produced by them at the distance of a few paces is almost beyond relief, considering their length, which is not often over three,—and sometimes not exceeding two and a half feet. It can easily be seen, from what has been said, that the Indian has little use or object in throwing the arrow to any great distance. And as it is very seldom that they can be seen shooting at a target, I doubt very much whether their skill in such practice would compare with that attained to in many parts of the civilized world; but with the same weapon, and dashing forward at fullest speed on the wild horse, without the use of the rein, when the shot is required to be made with the most instantaneous effect, I scarcely think it possible that any people can be found more skilled, and capable of producing more deadly effects with the bow.

The horses which the Indians ride in this country are invariably the wild
231 horses, which are found in great numbers on the prairies; and have, unquestionably, strayed from the Mexican borders, into which they were introduced by the Spanish invaders of that country; and now range and subsist themselves, in winter and summer, over the vast plains of prairie that stretch from the Mexican frontiers to Lake Winnipeg on the North, a distance of 3000 miles. These horses are all of small stature, of the pony order; but a very hardy and tough animal, being able to perform for the Indians a continual and essential service. They are taken with the *laso*,
[413] which is a long halter or thong, made of raw-hide, of some fifteen or twenty yards in length, and which the Indians throw with great dexterity; with a noose at one end of it, which drops over the head of the animal they wish to catch, whilst running at full speed—when the Indian dismounts from his own horse, and holding to the end of the laso, choaks the animal down, and afterwards tames and converts him to his own use.

422 Scarcely a man in these regions is to be found, who is not the owner of one or more of these horses; and in many instances of eight, ten, or even twenty, which he values as his own personal property.

10: Neill 44(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

preter with them. They did not appear well pleased, and looked on the Pawnees with an eye of disdain. After some conversation they desired the Pawnees to return immediately to their own villages, and to inform their great war chief, Red Tail, that if he sincerely wished for peace, he must come up and then they would settle matters, as they were determined to have nothing to do with young men. They allowed two moons to consider upon the business, and perform the journey. If, at the end of that time, the Chief did not make his appearance, they would immediately gather up their corn, and in a body, go and find him out, in his own village, and convince him what Big Bellies (or as they call themselves Willow Indians), and Mandans could do when exasperated by the treacherous conduct of the Pawnees. 648 728 721

The six embassies promised to depart early next morning to inform their Chief, who they answer no doubt, would very soon wait upon them. Thus ended an affair, which at the commencement we supposed would conclude with the death of the strangers, by the great bustle and noise their arrival occasioned.

But I was afterwards informed that of such proceedings there was not the least danger; that the natives of this place make it a particular point of honor to protect every stranger who throws himself upon them and begs their clemency. Even their natural and most inveterate enimies, the Sioux, have been known to come into their villages unexpectedly, and were always received with hospitality, and well entertained during thei stay which by the way, they never permit to be more than one night when they are dismissed, and allowed to return to their own homes unmolested. 609 648 728 721

A HUNTING PARTY.

Towards the evening there was a whooping and howling among the young men who were standing upon their huts. This, it seems, was to announce the appearance of a hunting party of the Mandans, who were just at that moment appearing upon the tops of the high bank to the south, and descending by a well-beaten road towards the village. The party consisted of about one hundred men on horseback, and each loaded with half a buffalo; some of them had even more, according to the strength of their horses, and the master will always ride, be his beast ever so loaded. They had been away since yesterday and found buffalo in great abundance near at hand. These people never go out hunting unless in large parties. The continual danger from their enemies obliges them to be very cautious; another reason is, that when the buffalo comes near at hand, they are anxious to prevent them from being driven away. For this purpose, it is customary for them all, in a body, to surround one herd only, which sometimes consists of several hundreds. 224 [492]

224 Not one do they allow to escape, large and small, fat and lean, all must fall to prevent their alarming other herds.

The manner of hunting the buffalo answers another good purpose, which is that the bad and dull horses have an equal share with the best racers.

DIVISION OF THE BUFFALO HUNT.

[411] They never make use of fire arms in hunting the buffalo. The bow and arrow is the only weapon. When a hunting excursion is in agitation among the Mandans, they inform their neighbors on the north shore, and the Saulteurs (Fall Indians.) The Big Bellies have their own parties and seldom interfere with the others. They never go in the same direction, the one goes to the northeast,[1] and the others to the southwest. The [131] Knife River, indeed, seems to be the boundary line. The day is fixed for their departure, when early in the morning as many as are inclined to be of the party assemble upon the rising grounds in the rear of the village, about one and a half miles to the south. When all are ready they proceed in one body to find out the buffalo, and seldom or never return light. I observed that on their arrival, an extraordinary custom prevailed among them — the horses are instantly unloaded and the meat taken into the huts, where it is spread out upon the ground and exposed for some time before the master or mistress of the hut makes use of it. Soon after it is arrived, the women whose 431 husbands or sons have been hunting, enter the huts of those 224 who have meat, when the mistress instantly gives them a share, and they walk away with it, so that it often happens that there remains not a mouthful for her own family. When this is the case, she, in her turn, goes to the huts of some of her friends who have been hunting and comes away with a load. I observed that in several huts of those who had not been hunting, there was more meat than in those who had been out. It is also customary for the old men and the old women, who have no sons, nor particular friends, to march out on the first news of the hunters' approach, to the distance of a mile or more, where they sit by the road, and almost every hunter in passing drops them a piece of meat. By these means every individual has a share of what has been killed.

VILLAGES LIKE MOLE HILLS.

361 These villages at a distance have the appearance of a cluster of mole hills, or musk rat cabins. They are nearly of a circular form. The huts are placed in a very irregular manner, and some so very close to each other, as scarcely to admit of a foot-passenger; others again, at a distance of twenty to thirty feet from each other.

1 [Henry says southeast.-A.]

Sections from Henry's Journal Not Printed in Neill's Version (page numbers refer to those in the Coues edition of Henry's Journal (1897):

224 [322] We had now a well-beaten path, but were several times in danger of breaking our necks in deep pits which the natives had dug in the path to catch wolves and foxes in winter. Some of them are 10 feet deep, hollowed out to a space about 30 feet in circumference, whilst the entrance is no wider than the foot-path and about five feet in length. Those holes are covered with dry grass at the season when wolves are good, and every morning are found to contain some of those animals. In summer the grass grows strong and high about the mouths, entirely concealing them, until one arrives upon the very brink and is in danger of tumbling in headlong.

491 241 [323] Before we reached the (Mandan) village, we passed through a wood about two miles long. The road was bad, deep with mud and mire, the river having overflowed there lately. Having got through this wood, we came to several plantations of corn, beans, squashes, and sunflowers—the latter, indeed, grow in every direction, without cultivation, at some distance from the fields, where the seed has been carried by the wind; but such are never gathered by the natives, as they are not so good as those that have been properly sown and taken care of.

262 574 [325] This was just to their own palate, as they seldom eat meat until it begins to smell. We were invited into several huts successively and presented with dried meat in a state of corruption, corn and beans, together with parched corn and fresh ears pounded up in a wooden mortar; this last dish we found good.

439 177 They soon asked us to trade, and brought buffalo robes, corn, beans, dried squashes, etc.; but we informed them that we did not come here for that purpose, merely to visit them and see the country. They could not comprehend why we should have come so far out of mere curiosity, and said that all white people who came there did so with a view to trade. They suspected that we had goods which we wished to take over the river to the other villages, and were anxious to prevent it. They plagued us until dark, when they retired disappointed.

[p. 384(A)]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

either of the nearest relatives or of the clan to which the lodge belonged. They believed that the lodge had a spirit which would have sent bad luck to one taking possession illegally.

The females of the lodge owned in common the domestic goods consisting of bedding, pots, household and gardening tools, the dogs, gardens, the wooden mortar and pestle, and the mares and colts. Clothing and personal effects were held individually. The men owned their weapons used in warfare and hunting as well as their own clothing and pipes. Men also owned the stallions and geldings. Sacred tribal bundles were held collectively by the man and his wives.

Lodges were built with little ceremony; the only rites were performed at the cutting of the notches for the four center posts when an old woman having the right to cut the posts was called in to sing one song and pray for the family's success. She received one robe for her services. It was the duty of the clan to assist in the erection of a member's lodge. Since these lodges were large, a considerable amount of work was entailed in erecting one and covering it with poles, willows, grass, and earth.[3] As a rule, the clan prepared a feast and invited the opposite moiety to assist, in which case the clans assisted according to the seating arrangement of the men in the Okipa or in council.

Mandan informants state that in earlier times each household had one or more game pits. These pits were dug by all the members of the household and were owned collectively. While the men would bring the poles for the cover and kill the game caught in them, the women frequently did most of the work of excavating and removing earth from the area of the pit. In recent times many households had fishtraps which are believed to have been used since introduced by Black Wolf. Fish bones, particularly catfish bones, are very abundant in the Heart River villages. The ceremonies associated with the trapping of fish, particularly the catfish, were performed by the older men, but the women assisted in weaving the walls for the trap and in sorting and cleaning the fish.

There was considerable variability in the status of household

3. For a report of the amount of materials used in the completion of an earth lodge see George F. Will, "The Mandan Lodge at Bismarck," *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 1 (October, 1930).

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Chapter VIII

CATFISH-TRAPPING CEREMONY

THIS ceremony was associated with the eagle-trapping bundle, and both possessed a common mythological origin from Black Wolf. There was no direct reference to the fish trap in the Black Wolf myth, but in theory the sacred snare could catch anything. Crows Heart explained that even a buffalo corral was in reality a large snare, so a man owning a sacred snare was selected to stand on a high hill and by means of motions, as of snaring the buffaloes, pulled the animals by its magical powers into the corral.[1] War leaders took their sacred snares along when looking for enemies for supernatural aid in ensnaring and destroying their foes.

Purchase of catfish- and eagle-trapping rites could be made simultaneously, or the fish-trapping rights could be bought at a later date. Some men bought rights in only one of the ceremonies. A seller possessing rights in both ceremonies could sell each ceremony four times. Associated closely with these two ceremonies were the sweat lodge and the snare rites for doctoring and officiating at the buffalo and antelope pounds.

Although the Missouri River carries considerable sediment, catfish are very abundant. The presence of catfish bones in ancient Mandan and Hidatsa villages indicates that considerable use was made of these fish as food.

When a fish trap was in use, the black-bear hide was kept in the owner's lodge, laid out on calicoes on a four-post standard with its head pointing toward the fireplace. Food was offered to the bundle each day while the fish trap was being used.

Ben Benson remembered these Mandan who had catfish-trapping rights about 1880:

1. Black Tongue (Big Turtle). He was also custodian of the Okipa turtle drums, Hoita in the Okipa, owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a singer in the Corn ceremonies.

1. Refer to my manuscript, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization," for an account of the ceremonies associated with the buffalo corral.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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2. Hits on Back. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, a Holy Woman Robe bundle, and a Bird bundle of Sikaraxa.

3. Iron Eyes. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, a Wolf ceremony bundle, and custodian of an Okipa turtle drum.

4. Old (Black) Bear. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle.

5. Little Shield. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a Big Bird (Thunderbird) bundle.

6. Big Walker. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle.

It will be noted that each of these men also had eagle-trapping rights. In addition to these six bundle-owners, there were a number of men possessing fish-trap rights without securing a bundle. Such rights were acquired by payment of goods to a bundle-owner, who authorized the construction of a trap with instruction that the purchaser address his prayers to the seller's bundle. The following account by Crows Heart illustrates purchase by this method. His maternal grandfather had owned fish-trapping rites which had not been passed on. To receive instruction, his mother's sister directed him to the nearest relative of the opposite moiety.

CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF FISH-TRAPPING

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When I was a young man, I often fished with a line and metal hooks bought at the trading post. I never had very good luck catching fish that way. I only caught small catfish, bullheads, and white shiners which were full of bones. I often went down to the river in the fall when the water was low and helped the old men bail the fish out. They were catching the fish at night. Their fish were large ones, mostly catfish. Many of the very old people, especially the old women whose husbands were dead, came to the traps, and the men would give them fish. This made the old women very happy, and they would sing songs of praise to the old men. When I saw how happy it made them, I decided to trap fish when I grew up and make the old people happy.

One day I asked my "mother" how I could get the right to make a fish trap, and she said, "Go to Old Black Bear;[2] he is the man you must see."

When she said that, I asked, "Must I pay him?"

She replied, "You will have to pay him a horse and some blankets."

When I was nearly thirty years old, I invited Old Black Bear to my earth lodge. My wife prepared a feast of meat, bread, and coffee. I spread out a new robe on the floor, and he sat down on it. I had an overcoat I had paid $30.00 for; I put that over his shoulders. I also gave him a good gun, a fair horse, a redstone pipe, a good butcher knife, and three or four pieces of calico. Then he said, "What's up? What's all this for?"

I replied, "I want you to do me a favor. I want you to give me the right to make a fish trap."

He said, "I will give you the right to make and set out a fish trap. There's not much time today. I will teach you how to make the trap. If you think it

2. Crows Heart's father's moiety.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

is too far to come to my place, go to Benson, who lives near you; he will teach you all the songs, for he knows them. He paid me to sing them for him. You do not need to sing the songs each time you set the trap; you can pray to me instead, for I have the right to them." 226 424 425

Old Black Bear taught me how to make the trap. The willows used should be about six feet long. Each pole should be sharpened on the end; the diameter of the pole would be that of a man's little finger. The willows were tied together in four bunches of one hundred poles each, like mats. Traps could be 226

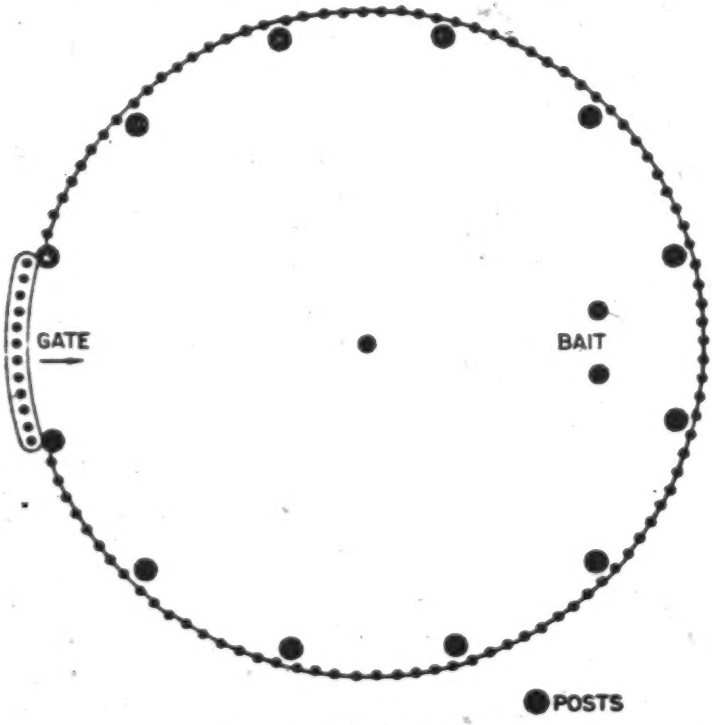

FIG. 37.—Plan of catfish trap

set out in the water or built against a bank. When the trap was set out in the water, twelve posts were set into the ground. Two on the downstream side were set the length of a man's foot apart, for the door was fastened there. The willows were fastened to the large posts and driven into the ground, making a circular inclosure [see Fig. 37]. Sometimes suitable banks were found to attach the trap onto. When a sharp bank could be found, the side toward the bank was usually left open [see Figs. 38 and 39].

Care must be taken in selecting a place to put the trap into the water. The

3. This was the usual practice when one did not wish to learn all the ritual and become a singer in the ceremony. In cases of purchase, the new owner prayed to the animals, etc., represented in the bundle, as well as to the person from whom the bundle was acquired.

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FIG. 38.—Black Bear inside the catfish trap with one of the fish baskets. (Courtesy of the North Dakota Historical Society.)

FIG. 39.—Black Bear closing the diamond willow gate. (Courtesy of the North Dakota Historical Society.)

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best place to locate a trap is downstream from a point of projecting land or driftwood where the water is not too swift. The fish stop in the deep quiet water. The water must come up to one's armpits, for the traps must be set in deep water to catch the large fish.

We tie willow stems with the leaves on all the way round the trap at the level of the water so that any loose bait will not float away. The door was made of willows tied together, and the entrance was downstream. When the river bottom was sloping or there were branches imbedded in the sand, we smoothed the bottom and carried out all the wood before setting the trap down.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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met the returning hunters at a short distance from the village, 224
and the hunters dropped portions of the meat for them.

When the Missouri broke up in the spring large numbers of 252
buffalo were drowned and floated down the river. The Mandans usually caught large quantities of these as they floated by, and esteemed them as better than the fresh meat. Henry says that meat was nearly always hung up till partially decayed, after which it was better liked. The intestines of the buffalo were considered a good food and were always eaten. The Mandans made pemmican, as did all of the plains tribes, grinding up the dried meat and packing it in parfleches, after which buffalo fat was poured in.

Probably the antelope were next in importance to the 224
buffalo. These were caught in large bands by means of what were called parks. At the head of a coulée an enclosure of branches was made with a narrow opening from which two fences of branches led away in the shape of a funnel, extending for a mile or often more. The Indians, on horseback, by surrounding a band of antelopes could gradually work them towards this enclosure, through the gate of which they were at last forced to go. The entrance was then guarded and the hunters knocked the animals on the head with the stone war clubs; a hundred or more at a time were often killed in this fashion.

Wolves and foxes were trapped in pitfalls which were dug to a depth of eight or ten feet, covered with branches and baited with pieces of buffalo meat. Beaver and other small fur-bearing animals were caught in traps. Bears were killed only occasionally as the Indians did not like to attack them. Cat-fish and 226
sturgeon, as well as smaller fish and turtles were caught along the river, where unios and snails were also gathered.

The larger birds were caught in a rather peculiar fashion. 223
The hunters usually went to the Bad Lands to hunt them. 171
There a pit was dug in some likely place. Bait of small pieces of meat was scattered about, after which the hunter concealed himself in the pit, dragging over the top a covering of branches with bait upon them. Then he waited patiently, often for a day or more till a bird should alight on the branches; as soon as this happened the bird was grasped and pulled down into

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Plate XXXVI, figs. *s* and *t*, shows two bone fish-hooks which were unearthed. Figs. *u* and *v*, on the same plate, figure two pieces of worked bone which may be fish-hooks in the process of manufacture. 172X 321 207

Bone was made into a great number of ornamental objects. Of these, beads were the more numerous in the remains. Bone beads were usually made from the leg and wing bones of birds. Plate XXXVI, figs. *l* to *o*, are bones from which beads have been wholly or partially cut off. Plate XXXVI, figs. *a* to *k*, are beads of different sizes, ranging from an inch and a half to a quarter of an inch in length, and of varying diameters. 172X 321 301

"Bracelets" made from the rib bones of small animals are shown in Plate XXXVI, figs. *w* to *z*. These are usually grooved on one side and rounded on the other, and perforated at one end. While calling these bracelets it is difficult to understand just how they were used as such and they may have been simply pendants.

Plate XXXVI, fig. *r*, represents a bone object, with notches on the four sides much like the rectangular stones previously described. This object is flat on one side and curved on the other and has a high polish.

Plate XXXVI, figs. *p* and *q*, are fragments of buffalo shoulder blades which have perforations, their use being uncertain.

172V 321 291

FIG. 10. A BONE BUCKLE. ½

Fig. 10 shows a curious piece of bone which probably served as a buckle. It is made of the outside portion of a buffalo rib.

172V 321

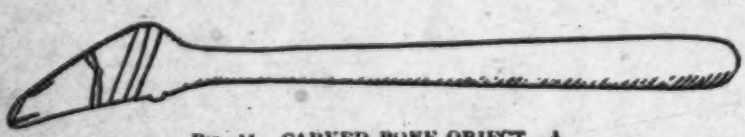

FIG. 11. CARVED BONE OBJECT. ½

The only piece of realistic art found is shown in Fig. 11. This bone is beautifully carved and polished. One end is incised to represent a crane's head, while the rest is rounded off to

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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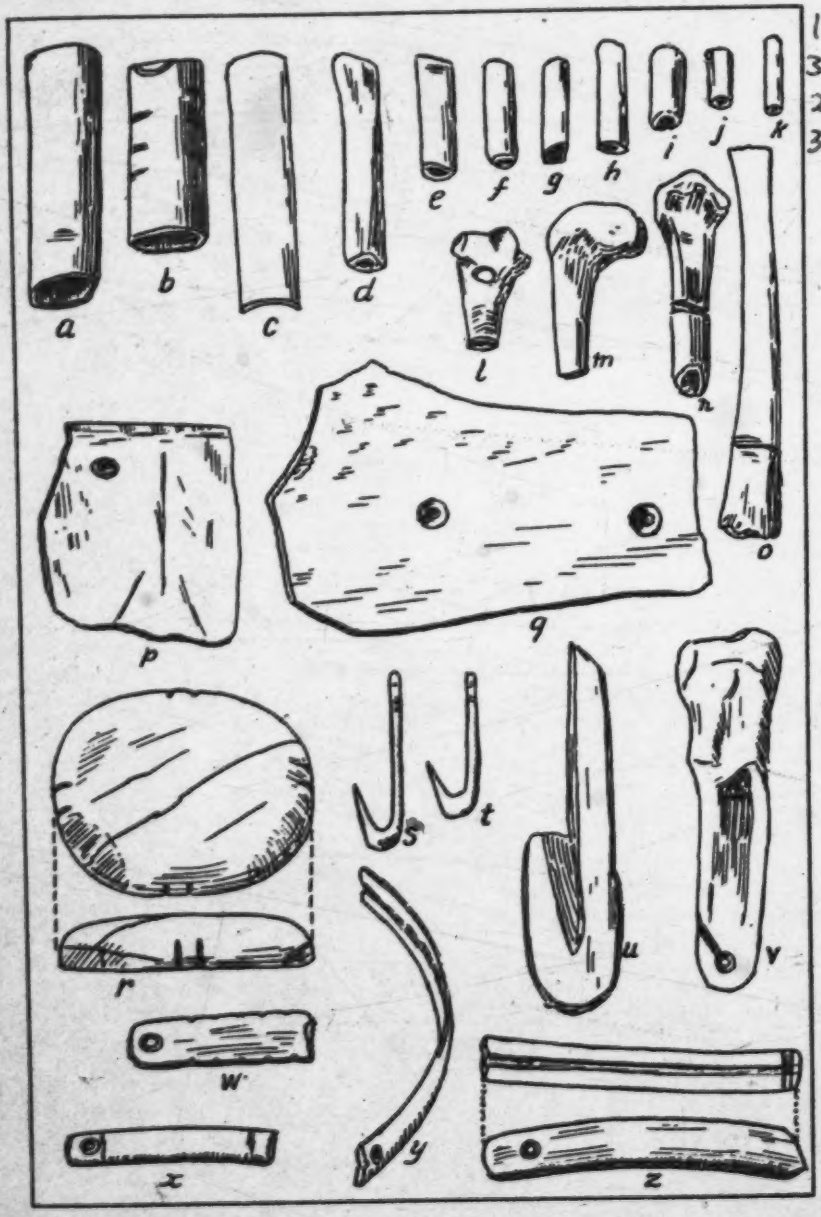

SMALL BONE OBJECTS. ½

[Facing p. 172]

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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648 his two children, and begged to see the men dance, in which they willingly gratified him."(id 168)

Peace With the Aricaras. "Thursday, November 1st. At ten o'clock the chiefs of the lower village arrived. They requested that we would call at their village for some corn; that they were willing to make peace with the Ricaras; that they had never provoked the war between them, but as the Ricaras killed some of their chiefs, they had retaliated on them; that they had killed them like birds, till they were tired of killing them, so that they would send a chief and some warriors to smoke with them. In the evening we dropped down to the lower village, where Captain Lewis went on shore, and Captain Clarke proceeded to a point of wood on the north side.

"Friday, November 2. He therefore went up to the village, where eleven bushels of corn were presented to him. In the meantime Captain Clarke went down with the boat three miles, and having found a good position where there was plenty of timber, encamped and began to fell trees to build our huts. Our Ricara chief set out with one Mandan chief and several Minnitarees and Mandan warriors; the wind was from the southeast, and the weather being fine, crowds of Indians came down to visit us." (id 169)

224 **Mandan Hunt.** "Monday, 5th. The Indians are all out on their hunting parties. A camp of Mandans caught within two days one hundred goats a short distance below us. Their mode of hunting them is to form a large strong pen or fold, from which a fence made of bushes gradually widens on each side. The animals are surrounded by the hunters and gently driven towards this pen, in which they imperceptibly find themselves inclosed, and are then at the mercy of the hunters." (id 170.)

•231 "Thursday, 8. The morning again cloudy; our huts advanced very well, and we are visited by numbers of Indians who come to let their horses graze near us. In the day the horses are let loose in quest of grass, in the night they are collected and receive an armful of small boughs of the cottonwood, which being very juicy, soft and brittle, form nutritious and agreeable food." (id 171.)

000 **Northern Indians.** "Wednesday, 14th. The river rose last night half an inch, and is now filled with floating ice. This morning was

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

00d from the Indians, who were delighted at the exchange." (id 216.)

262 **Buffalo Meat.** "Friday, 8th. A fair and pleasant morning, with southeast winds. Pocopsahe came down to the fort with a bow, and apologized for his not having finished a shield which he had promised to Captain Lewis, and which the weather had prevented him from completing. This chief possesses more firmness, intelligence and integrity, than any Indian of this country, and he might be rendered highly serviceable in our attempts to civilize the nation. He mentioned that the Mandans are very much in want of meat, and that he himself had not tasted any for several days. To this distress they are often reduced by their own improvidence, or by their unhappy situation. Their principal article of food is buffalo meat, their corn, beans, and other grain being reserved for summer, or as a last resource against what they constantly dread, an attack from the Sioux, who drive off the game and confine them to their villages. The same fear too prevents their going out to hunt in small parties to relieve their occasional wants, so that the buffalo is generally obtained in large quantities, and wasted by carelessness." (id 217.)

●231 **Mandan Horses.** "Tuesday, 12th. The morning is fair though cold, the mercury being 14 degrees below zero, the wind from the southeast. About four o'clock the horses were brought in much fatigued. On giving them meal bran moistened with water they would not eat it, but preferred the bark of the cottonwood, which as is already observed, forms their principal food during the winter. The horses of the Mandans are so often stolen by the Sioux, Ricaras and Assiniboines, that the invariable rule now is to put the horses every night in the same lodge with the family. In the summer they ramble in the plains in the vicinity of the camp, and feed on the grass, but during cold weather the squaws cut down the cottonwood trees as they are wanted, and the horses feed on the boughs and bark of the tender branches, which are also brought into the lodges at night and placed near them. These animals are very severely treated; for whole days they are pursuing the buffalo, or burdened with the fruits of the chase, during which time scarcely ever taste food, and at night return to a scanty allowance of wood; yet the spirit of this valuable ani-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

mal sustains him through all these difficulties, and he is rarely deficient either in flesh or vigor." (id 219.)

"Wednesday, 13th. The morning was cloudy, the thermometer at two degress below zero, the wind from the southeast. Captain Clarke returned last evening with all his hunting party; during their excursion they had killed forty deer, three buffalo and sixteen elk, but most of the game was too lean for use and the wolves, who regard whatever lies out at night as their own, had appropirated a large part of it. When he left the fort on the 4th instant he descended on the ice twenty-two miles to New Mandan island, near some of their old villages, and encamped, having killed nothing, and therefore without food for the night." (id 220.)

Raid On Meat. "Thursday, 14th. Last night the snow fell three inches deep; the day was, however, fine. Four men were despatched with sleds and three horses to bring up the meat which had been collected by the hunters. They returned however, with intelligence that about twenty-one miles below the fort a party of upwards of one hundred men, whom they supposed to be Sioux, rushed on them, cut the traces of the sleds, and carried off two of the horses, the third being given up by intercession of an Indian who seemed to possess some authority over them; they also took away two of the men's knives, and a tomahawk, which last however they returned. We sent up to the Mandans to inform them of it, and to know whether any of them would join a party which intended to pursue the robbers in the morning. About twelve o'clock two of their chiefs came down and said that all their young men were out hunting, and that there were few guns in the village. Several Indians however, armed some with bows and arrows, some with spears and battle-axes and two with fusils, accompanied Captain Lewis, who set out,

"Friday, 15th, at sunrise with twenty-four men. The morning was fine and cool, the thermometer being at 16 below zero. In the course of the day one of the Mandan chiefs returned from Captain Lewis' party, his eyesight having become so bad that he could not proceed. At this season of the year the reflection from the ice and snow is so intense as to occasion almost total blindness. This complaint is very common, and the general remedy is

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

for two small villages to combine in one at the new location. Owing to the immense difficulty of cutting timbers with their crude stone axes, in making these changes of residence they undoubtedly carried with them the timbers of the abandoned huts and used them in rebuilding, wherever possible. The Indians left Knife river because of the scarcity of timber and the attacks of the Sioux. When the trading post of Fort Berthold—so called in honor of Bartholomew Berthold, a fur trader of St. Louis—was established, about 1844 or 1845, the Indians 'drew the logs (of which it was built) with lariats of rawhide over their shoulders.'" (p. 223.)

Lodge Ruins. "The dirt mounds, ruins of their former homes, have often been mistaken for the ancient burial grounds of these tribes, which is not surprising unless one has studied the history of this interesting people. About ten miles above Bismarck one of the best of these collections of mounds is found, on a bluff overlooking one of the most beautiful stretches of the Missouri, just below Square Butte. There are eighteen or twenty of the mounds, most of them well-defined, and generally more or less circular in their form. They form a semi-circle arc, with the river as a chord, and are now more or less merged together into an irregular ridge. These mounds have been dug over and over, yet I was able to find among them many shards and arrow-points and knives when I visted them." (pp. 5-6.)

Lower Village. "The Mandans call themselves Metutahanke, **the Lower Village**, as Dr. Matthews gives it, or Miti-Untanhanke, **the Village on the East**, as it was given to, and partially written for me by Mrs. Baker, both referring to the same village, the one called Ma-too-ton-ha by Lewis and Clarke. Maximilian calls this village Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, and these different readings of the same word well indicate the difficulties experienced in obtaining correct Indian vocabularies."

Farmers. "These people have always been farmers, and both men and women have for years, now, shared the labors of the field. In early days they raised corn, tobacco, squashes, beans, the wild sunflower, etc., and now they grow, in addition, potatoes, turnips, and various vegetables. The Aricaree seem to be the best farmers. Each tribe now raises cattle and horses, but they do not seem to grasp the idea that cattle raising, if attended to

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

231 properly, will enrich them, a scrub lean steer being as valuable in their eyes as a fat, blooded one. These Indians are virtually self-supporting, as they receive very little from the government." (Wheeler, p. 224.)

361 Wheeler here notes the reason why the upper of the two Mandan villages proper near Knife river, which stood on the northeast bank of the Missouri in 1804, was found on the southwest bank in 1833:

Apparently Crossed River. "The five villages mentioned by Lewis and Clarke in 1804, were still in existence in 1833, when Maximilian visited these Indians. One important change had, he states, occurred. The Missouri river had characteristically changed its channel and in Maximilian's day flowed on the eastern side of Rooptahee, or Ruhptare, the second Mandan town of our narrative, so that both the Mandan villages were then on the western south bank."

773 **Mandans and Hidatsas.** "The tradition relating to the origin of the Mandans given by Lewis and Clarke, according to Dr. Matthews, relates, not only to the Mandans, but to the Hidatsa as well. This tradition, I find, is current at the present day and the lake from which the tribe emerged is said to be Minnewakan, or Devil's Lake in North Dakota, the Hidatsa name for this lake—Midihopa—meaning sacred or mysterious water. Dr. Matthews thinks that 'one nation borrowed its legend from the other,' so that both have a common source." (Wheeler, p. 228.)

771 **Polytheism.** "These people had a belief in a 'Great Spirit,' or 'Old Man Immortal,' or 'Great Mystery,' and Dr. Matthews dis-
797 cusses it quite fully in his paper. Their ancient belief appears to have been, on the whole, a species of Polytheism. Religious missionary work on the Fort Berthold reservation began in 1876, and since then there has been a marked change in their religious ideas. The leaven acted but slowly at first, but when its results were apparent it seemed to work with cumulative effect. 'Only a small minority of the people now hold to the wreck of their old paganism.' Carlisle, Santee, and other schools have had their influence in producing this uplift. The younger generations see things with a new and broader vision and their moral and religious notions are cast in a new mold." (Wheeler, p. 229.)

797 Wheeler quotes as follows from Rev. C. L. Hall, the Congrega-

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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281 Verendrye mentions their skill in making such things as
237 painted ox-robes, deer skin, dressed buckskin, and ornamented fur and feathers, painted feathers, peltry, wrought garters, circlets for the head, and girdles. They certainly understood the art of dressing skins, though perhaps other nations equalled them. All their visitors speak of the ornamented robes for the decoration of which porcupine quills dyed various colors, or the pigments themselves, as paints, were used at first, though beads
[532] came gradually to take their places. The ornamentation consisted usually of representations of animals, and pictographic records. When leather got wet, it was beaten and rubbed with white clay which they always carried with them. This kept the robes soft. Then there were medicine bags, tobacco pouches, sheathes for knives and bows, all of skin, painted or embroidered with quills, such as are seen over the whole plains
[231] area. They had leather bridles for their horses, sometimes embroidered, and used a saddle, similar to that of the Dakotas. The horses were caught by means of long raw hide lariats which the Indians made themselves.

534 Whistles were also necessary articles to those belonging to the societies. Maximilian[1] describes them as "long wooden whistles at whose lower end an eagle feather on a string dangles." He says they also had large flute whistles, twenty inches long, with holes to vary the notes by application of the fingers. Besides these were the war whistles, usually made from the wing
412 bone of some large bird. Other articles of bone, necessitated
321 by the great use of skins, were the bone scrapers, needles and awls with which each house was profusely supplied.

241 Almost the only agricultural implements which they used were hoes. These were the shoulder blades of buffalo or occasionally of elk, which were cut down and to which a crooked stick was fastened as a handle.[2]

415 Among their cooking utensils, which were used in every hut, were spoons and ladles of bighorn and buffalo horns. Verendrye says some of these ladles held as much as three pints.

286 So far as the accounts go the Mandans did not make any textile fabric, though the Arikara are known to have made

[1] Op. cit., p. 416. [2] Henry: vol. I, p. 343.

garters and belts of buffalo hair.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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X 172 283 pits. The cord mentioned consisted of three strands, each of six or seven prairie grass stems; these three strands were not braided, but twisted.

X 172 313 The remains of posts and sticks were often in such a condition that the wood could be identified. One of the largest posts found in the house site was of ash, but most of the large ones were clearly cut out of cottonwood. For the smaller posts, however, the diamond willow seems to have been most frequently used, and it is unquestionably the best wood. A few specimens of worked wood were found but none of great importance. There was a post, hewed square; a number of pieces of planks or slabs, fairly well cut; remnants of willow thatch from the roof; and a small piece of wood which had been whittled down with a blade of some sort.

The ashes showed the use of at least two sorts of fire wood, one giving a white ash and the other a red one. The red was probably diamond willow in most cases, as that is the only common wood in the region which leaves a reddish residue.

X 172 ANIMAL BONES:—Animal bones were numerous in all parts of the village site, not only in the form of implements, which have already been discussed, but also as refuse. Many of the bones were broken up into small fragments, but a number of whole ones were discovered and most of them have been identified. There were fish, bird and mammal bones belonging for the most part to the following species: Deer (*Cariacus virginianus*), Buffalo (*Bison americanus*), Elk (*Cervus canadensis*), Antelope (*Antilocapra americana*), Gray Wolf (*Canis lupus*), Coyote (*Canis latrans*), Raccoon (*Procyon lotor*), owl (*Strigidae sp.*), and Bald Eagle (*Haliaëtus leucocephalus*), besides bones of smaller birds, some that seemed to be from a crane but could not be accurately identified; bones of mice and gophers; some few fish bones, and quite a number of unio and small snail shells. It is a significant fact that no remains whatever of either horse or dog skeletons were found, thus apparently showing that the horse had not yet got to the Mandans when they lived on the Heart, and also corroborating Henry's statement that the Mandans at first had no dogs.

[231]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

some slight differences, the mode of building resembles, in the main, those of the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras. Among these differences are the mats which are fastened all round in the first hut, and which I did not observe among the tribes that I visited. The beds, too, are arranged in a different manner. The Mandans and Manitaries are seen in their huts, sitting round the fire, employed in all kinds of domestic labour. The man has, generally, no clothing except the nokka, and is often merely smoking, but the women are never idle. In winter, that is, at the beginning or middle of November, these Indians remove, with the greater part of their effects, to the neighbouring forest, where their winter huts are situated. These consist of precisely similar huts, of rather smaller dimensions. Their departure from the summer huts is determined by the weather, but, as beforesaid, is generally about the middle of November; and their return, in the spring, is usually about the latter end of February, or the beginning of March, so that we may reckon that they pass above eight months in their summer quarters. Inside of the winter huts is a particular compartment, where the horses are put in the evening, and fed with maize. In the daytime they are driven into the prairie, and feed in the bushes, on the bark of poplars. There are, probably, above 300 horses in the two Mandan villages; some of the people, indeed, do not possess any, while others, again, have several. The Mandans and Manitaries, like all the other Indians of this country, sometimes make what are here called caches, or hiding-places, in the vicinity of their villages. These caches are holes, or magazines, underground, often so artfully contrived that it is very difficult to discover them. The Indians frequently go from their winter to their summer village, to fetch any articles they may happen to want, as they invariably leave part of their property behind. When they quit their huts for a longer period than usual, they load their dogs with the baggage, which is drawn in small sledges, made of a couple of thin, narrow boards, nine or ten feet in length, fastened together with leather straps, and with four cross-pieces, by way of giving them firmness. Leather straps are attached in front, and drawn either by men or dogs. The load is fastened to the sledge by straps (for such a sledge drawn by dogs see Vignette XXIX). When the snow is deep, they use snow shoes (Plate XXI. Fig. 4), which are described by Captain Franklin, only those of the Mandans are much smaller, about two feet and a half long; whereas in the north their length is from four to six feet. The Mandans and Manitaries have not, by any means, so many dogs as the Assiniboins, Crows, and Blackfeet. They are rarely of the true wolf's colour, but generally black, or white, or else spotted with black and white. Among the nations further to the north-west they more nearly resemble the wolf, but here they are more like the prairie wolf (*Canis latrans*). We likewise found, among these animals, a brown race, descended from European pointers, hence the genuine bark of the dog is more frequently heard here, whereas among the western nations they only howl. The Indian dogs are worked very hard, have hard blows, and hard fare; in fact, they are treated just as this fine animal is treated among the Esquimaux.

342 221 171 231 343 221 493 231 481 171 231 171

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

526 of them to get as many as eight arrows up before the first one reaches the ground.

For the successful use of the bow, as it is used through all this region of 526 country on horseback, and that invariably at full speed, the great object of 224 practice is to enable the bowman to draw the bow with suddenness and instant effect; and also to repeat the shots in the most rapid manner. As their game is killed from their horses' backs while at the swiftest rate—and their enemies fought in the same way; and as the horse is the swiftest animal of the prairie, and always able to bring his rider alongside, within a few paces of his victim; it will easily be seen that the Indian has little use in throwing his arrow more than a few paces; when he leans quite low on his horse's side, and drives it with astonishing force, capable of producing instant death to the buffalo, or any other animal in the country. The bows which are generally in use in these regions I have described in a former Letter, and the effects produced by them at the distance of a few paces is almost beyond relief, considering their length, which is not often over three,—and sometimes not exceeding two and a half feet. It can easily be seen, from what has been said, that the Indian has little use or object in throwing the arrow to any great distance. And as it is very seldom that they can be seen shooting at a target, I doubt very much whether their skill in such practice would compare with that attained to in many parts of the civilized world; but with the same weapon, and dashing forward at fullest speed on the wild horse, without the use of the rein, when the shot is required to be made with the most instantaneous effect, I scarcely think it possible that any people can be found more skilled, and capable of producing more deadly effects with the bow.

231 The horses which the Indians ride in this country are invariably the wild horses, which are found in great numbers on the prairies; and have, unquestionably, strayed from the Mexican borders, into which they were introduced by the Spanish invaders of that country; and now range and subsist themselves, in winter and summer, over the vast plains of prairie that stretch from the Mexican frontiers to Lake Winnipeg on the North, a distance of 3000 miles. These horses are all of small stature, of the pony order; but a very hardy and tough animal, being able to perform for the Indians a continual and essential service. They are taken with the *laso*, [413] which is a long halter or thong, made of raw-hide, of some fifteen or twenty yards in length, and which the Indians throw with great dexterity; with a noose at one end of it, which drops over the head of the animal they wish to catch, whilst running at full speed—when the Indian dismounts from his own horse, and holding to the end of the laso, choaks the animal down, and afterwards tames and converts him to his own use.

422 Scarcely a man in these regions is to be found, who is not the owner of one or more of these horses; and in many instances of eight, ten, or even twenty, which he values as his own personal property.

231 526 The Indians are hard and cruel masters; and, added to their cruelties is the sin that is familiar in the Christian world, of sporting with the limbs and the lives of these noble animals. *Horse-racing* here, as in all more enlightened communities, is one of the most exciting amusements, and one of the most extravagant modes of gambling.

I have been this day a spectator to scenes of this kind, which have been enacted in abundance, on a course which they have, just back of their village; and although I never had the least taste for this cruel amusement in my own country, yet, I must say, I have been not a little amused and pleased with the thrilling effect which these exciting scenes have produced amongst so wild and picturesque a group.

I have made a sketch of the ground and the group, as near as I could (PLATE 61); shewing the manner of "starting" and "coming out," which vary a little from the customs of the *knowing* world; but in other respects, I believe, a horse-race is the same all the world over.

727 Besides these, many have been the amusements of this day, to which I have been an eye-witness; and since writing the above, I have learned the cause of this unusual expression of hilarity and mirth; which was no more nor less than the safe return of a small war-party, who had been so long out without any tidings having been received of them—that they had long since been looked upon as sacrificed to the fates of war and lost. This party was made up of the most distinguished and desperate young men of the tribe, who had sallied out against the Riccarees, and taken the most solemn oath amongst themselves never to return without achieving a victory. They had wandered long and faithfully about the country, following the trails of their enemy; when they were attacked by a numerous party, and lost several of their men and all their horses. In this condition, to evade the scrutiny of their enemy, who were closely investing the natural route to their village; they took a circuitous range of the country, to enable them to return with their lives, to their village.

In this plight, it seems, I had dropped my little canoe alongside of them, while descending from the Mouth of Yellow Stone to this place, not many weeks since; where they had bivouacked or halted, to smoke and consult on the best and safest mode of procedure. At the time of meeting them, not knowing anything of their language, they were unable to communicate their condition to me, and more probably were afraid to do so even if they could have done it, from apprehension that we might have given some account of them to their enemies. I rested my canoe an hour or so with them during which time they treated us with an indifferent reserve, yet respectfully; and we passed on our way, without further information of them or their plans than the sketch that I there made (PLATE 63), and which I shall preserve and value as one of the most pleasing groups I ever have had the pleasure to see. Seated on their buffalo robes, which were spread upon the grass, with their respective weapons laying about them, and lighting their pipes at a

574 609 chief gave our horses in charge of a young man, and told us we need not be uneasy as there would be good care taken of them.

574 262 On going into the hut, we found buffalo hides spread on the ground, before the fire, for us to sit upon, and soon after we were presented with two large dishes of boiled corn and beans, after which they gave us another large dish of boiled dried meat, but very few of us could eat of it, as it had too strong a taste and smell.[1]

231 342 After some other details which we omit, Harvey writes that when night came: "One young man brought in our horses, and put them in the same hut along with us, upon the right hand, on entering, and ourselves upon the left; a space was enclosed with a railing to keep them within bounds. This custom causes their habitations to have a very disagreeable and offensive smell. This precaution of theirs is to keep the horses from being stolen by the Assiniboines, or other enemies, who are frequently lurking about the village.

515 291 "Towards evening, having gone down to the river side, I observed the custom of washing themselves in the Missouri. Both men and women make it a rule, every morning and evening, to go down to the river, and wash for some time; the men make use of the clay to wash their hair, which answers the purpose of soap to take out the white and red earth with which they daub it, after having washed. Modesty in the female sex appears to be a virtue they are unacquainted with. They wear a kind of leather shift which reaches down to the calves of their legs. This they slip off some distance from the shore, and walk very deliberately into the water entirely naked, in the presence of old and young who seem not to pay any attention to them. * * * * The men make use of no other covering, in the summer season, than these buffalo robes, and even these are seldom worn within doors, and only thrown on when they go out to visit or walk about the village. [352] Both sexes sleep naked. Their beds are raised about two feet from the ground, and hung around with dressed skins. In summer they seldom use any coverings at night, but lay like so many brutes." * * * * Mr. Henry gives a description of their lascivious dances which is too indelicate to publish. He writes under date of:

252 262 352 512 412 "Sunday, July 20th. At daybreak we were all up, and I took a walk down to the river, where I observed the same ceremony of washing as last evening, with as little reserve as before. Our host on our return presented us with some dried meat, and soon after a dish of corn and beans, but as it is not seasoned with any kind of grease or fat, after the first meal it has a very insipid taste. The corn is generally pounded or bruised in a wooden mortar, which is fixed fast and firm in the ground, in one corner of the hut, and this is the first work performed by the women in the morning.

[1] [Category 116, p. 325.-A] [2] [Category 116, p. 326.-A]

10: Neill H-4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and treasures, as it contains every thing he values most, viz: two bulls' heads, which seem to be their great Manitou and protection. They are well daubed over with earth, and particular care is taken of them. There is laid on, or rather hung up, his arms, shield, ammunition, scalps of his enemies, and every thing he most values. 353

MORTAR AND PESTLE.

Next to this stage, stand the mortar and pestle, fixed firm in the ground, and the remainder of the hut from that to the door is vacant during the daytime, but occupied during the night by the horses. Then there still remains a large space in the center, around the fire, for the use of the family, which is generally swept clean once a day. 342 412 231

CORN STAGE.

Fronting the entrance of each porch stands a stage raised about eight feet from the ground, twenty feet in length, and ten feet in breadth, for the purpose of hanging up their corn to dry, in the fall; these stages have a tolerable good flooring, which in the fall is covered with beans to dry, and posts are erected upon them, on the tops of which are laid poles or rafters, to which the corn and sliced squashes are suspended in tresses to dry. When their harvest is over, they must have a pretty effect, but at this season of the year they are lumbered up with different kinds of drift-wood, of which they make their fires, and it gives a very ugly appearance to the villages. 343 251 313 372

DRIFT WOOD.

This wood they collect, in the spring, when the ice breaks up, and when great quantities of this wood floats down, the natives being expert swimmers, and so very active, that there is scarcely a large tree escapes them, until they have a sufficient stock for the year. I observed lying opposite to each village, an immense pile of this wood, and some trees of an amazing size. Commonly, when they collect the drift wood there come down numbers of drowned buffalo, that have perished in attempting to cross above, at a season when the ice was bad. These animals the natives are very careful to haul on shore, as they prefer the flesh in that state. [222] [262]

LIGHT HAIRED CHILDREN.

An extraordinary sight that struck me among these people, was to see several children, of about ten years of age, whose hair was perfectly gray, and bore a strong resemblance to aged persons. Those I saw were all girls. These people in general have not that strong coarse hair, so peculiar to the natives of North America; it is of a much finer nature, rather inclining to 142

[See Category 16, p. 340.-N.]

832 repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men,
834 who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young
men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on
461 the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to
526 hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times
they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback,
and performing warlike manoeuvres; they have also a favorite
game which occupies much of their time.

512 [328] . . . this is the first work performed by the women in the
515 morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed
themselves in the Missourie. . . . every family being provided
415 with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh.
177 Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to
771 say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those
574 earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest
kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come
in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the
contents.

●231 . . . . . Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed
437 in the meadow but never allowed them to be for a moment out of
648 his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them.
We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles,
for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco.

439 [329] It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail
upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger
has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first
village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many
439 European articles as they can, [330] particularly arms and ammuni-
609 tion. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each
other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have
578 often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death
669 of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also
to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great
distance. The Pawnees, also, with whom the Mandanes formerly
lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies.
Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and every-
one has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

675 We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the
673 landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut
[577] in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect
security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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281 Verendrye mentions their skill in making such things as
237 painted ox-robes, deer skin, dressed buckskin, and ornamented fur and feathers, painted feathers, peltry, wrought garters, circlets for the head, and girdles. They certainly understood the art of dressing skins, though perhaps other nations equalled them. All their visitors speak of the ornamented robes for the decoration of which porcupine quills dyed various colors, or the pigments themselves, as paints, were used at first, though beads
[532] came gradually to take their places. The ornamentation consisted usually of representations of animals, and pictographic records. When leather got wet, it was beaten and rubbed with white clay which they always carried with them. This kept the robes soft. Then there were medicine bags, tobacco pouches, sheathes for knives and bows, all of skin, painted or embroidered with quills, such as are seen over the whole plains
[231] area. They had leather bridles for their horses, sometimes embroidered, and used a saddle, similar to that of the Dakotas. The horses were caught by means of long raw hide lariats which the Indians made themselves.

534 Whistles were also necessary articles to those belonging to the societies. Maximilian[1] describes them as "long wooden whistles at whose lower end an eagle feather on a string dangles." He says they also had large flute whistles, twenty inches long, with holes to vary the notes by application of the fingers. Besides these were the war whistles, usually made from the wing
412 bone of some large bird. Other articles of bone, necessitated
321 by the great use of skins, were the bone scrapers, needles and awls with which each house was profusely supplied.

241 Almost the only agricultural implements which they used were hoes. These were the shoulder blades of buffalo or occasionally of elk, which were cut down and to which a crooked stick was fastened as a handle.[2]

415 Among their cooking utensils, which were used in every hut, were spoons and ladles of bighorn and buffalo horns. Verendrye says some of these ladles held as much as three pints.

286 So far as the accounts go the Mandans did not make any textile fabric, though the Arikara are known to have made

[1] Op. cit., p. 416. [2] Henry: vol. I, p. 343.

garters and belts of buffalo hair.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

garters and belts of buffalo hair. But they did make string 000
and willow matting. There is an account of a mat used on the 284
seat before the fire. Henry[1] says that the mat was of small 285
willows of equal size, fastened together by thread of native make passed through each stick about one foot apart. The mats were ten feet long, four feet broad, and the two ends for two and a half feet were raised slanting from the ground and supported by a kind of sofa. Verendrye says they made wicker work very neatly, flat, and in baskets.

The Mandans used snow-shoes which were only about two 481
and a half feet long.[2] For their dyes and paints they made use 386
of the following: red obtained from buffalo-berries, black from sunflowers, and yellow from a kind of moss which came from the Rocky Mountains. Blue, red, black, yellow and white clays were also used.

An indispensable article of the full dress was the fan. These 293
were made from the large plumes of the eagle, hawk, crow, and 237
a number of other birds, depending on the rank of the owner.

The Mandan pipes differed a trifle from those of their neigh- 276
bors, being less ornate.[3] They were either of stone, black clay, or yellow clay painted black. The stone pipes were obtained [439]
mostly from the Dakotas. Pipes with wooden bowls, lined with stone, were also used. The stem was long and round or flat. Catlin describes one pipe as of red steatite (catlinite) with a stem three feet long, half its length wound with braids of porcupine quills. They also had the calumet pipe which will be considered in connection with the ceremonies.

The Mandans and their neighbors the Arikara and Hidatsa 323
made glass beads, an art which they claimed was taught to them by the Snake Indians. They did not make the glass but used glass obtained through the whites. Lewis and Clarke[4] give a short account of the manufacture of beads which is exceedingly interesting. It may be thus summarized. The secret is known only to a few. Glass of several colors is pounded fine, each color separate; this is washed in several waters until the glass stops staining the water. They then take an

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 340.
[2] Ibid., p. 301.
[3] Maximilian: p. 390.
[4] March 16, 1805.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

for two small villages to combine in one at the new location. Owing to the immense difficulty of cutting timbers with their crude stone axes, in making these changes of residence they undoubtedly carried with them the timbers of the abandoned huts and used them in rebuilding, wherever possible. The Indians left Knife river because of the scarcity of timber and the attacks of the Sioux. When the trading post of Fort Berthold—so called in honor of Bartholomew Berthold, a fur trader of St. Louis—was established, about 1844 or 1845, the Indians 'drew the logs (of which it was built) with lariats of rawhide over their shoulders.' " (p. 223.)

Lodge Ruins. "The dirt mounds, ruins of their former homes, have often been mistaken for the ancient burial grounds of these tribes, which is not surprising unless one has studied the history of this interesting people. About ten miles above Bismarck one of the best of these collections of mounds is found, on a bluff overlooking one of the most beautiful stretches of the Missouri, just below Square Butte. There are eighteen or twenty of the mounds, most of them well-defined, and generally more or less circular in their form. They form a semi-circle arc, with the river as a chord, and are now more or less merged together into an irregular ridge. These mounds have been dug over and over, yet I was able to find among them many shards and arrow-points and knives when I visted them." (pp. 5-6.)

Lower Village. "The Mandans call themselves Metutahanke, the Lower Village, as Dr. Matthews gives it, or Miti-Untanhanke, the Village on the East, as it was given to, and partially written for me by Mrs. Baker, both referring to the same village, the one called Ma-too-ton-ha by Lewis and Clarke. Maximilian calls this village Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, and these different readings of the same word well indicate the difficulties experienced in obtaining correct Indian vocabularies."

Farmers. "These people have always been farmers, and both men and women have for years, now, shared the labors of the field. In early days they raised corn, tobacco, squashes, beans, the wild sunflower, etc., and now they grow, in addition, potatoes, turnips, and various vegetables. The Aricaree seem to be the best farmers. Each tribe now raises cattle and horses, but they do not seem to grasp the idea that cattle raising, if attended to

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

224 out daily to travel as much as one hundred and fifty miles from the village to observe the numbers and movements of the buffalo. Returning war leaders were called in to report the number and size of the herds they had observed. The leader planned the hunt on the basis of the knowledge he had acquired from several sources and designated the spots where the party would camp each night. This information together with the time of departure from the village was given to the Black Mouth Society, which sent its announcer through the village to notify the people.

221 The summer buffalo hunt was scheduled as a permanent part
241 of the summer's activities and did not interfere with the normal
796 village routine. The gardens were prepared and planted in May, and the first performance of the Okipa was celebrated just prior to leaving for the summer hunt. Since one of the purposes of the Okipa was to have the Buffalo Dance performed, it was believed that it should be held prior to the summer hunt. Ceremonies to the buffalo were believed to insure a good hunt and the replenishment of their numbers by the escape of the buffalo spirits from the spirit homes in which they lived before being born into the herds. The leader was not authorized to call an unscheduled hunt.

224 Crows Heart believed that all the leaders selected in his time
561 belonged to the Black Mouth or Bull men's societies, since these were the two oldest active societies, but felt that membership was not obligatory, since in former times there were so many people that all did not belong, especially those who were too busy with other ceremonial matters. The leader never undertook to direct the hunt unassisted. He invited in all those with the right to pray to the buffalo to meet at his lodge and assist him. These would be the officers of the Okipa and Red Stick ceremonies, Okipa Makers, and all those who had buffalo skulls in their bundles whether acquired by vision or purchase. He discussed his plans with them and changed them if any offered a reasonable objection. The hunt was frequently canceled when war leaders reported unusual numbers of enemies about.

224 In early times dogs were used, but, after horses were acquired, the summer hunts of later times were out much farther. The leader was always to the front, and the party followed behind

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 times he painted a picture of the plant or animal dreamed of on a robe for the
778 person giving the feast; for this service he was paid robes, horses, or blankets.

He was the head singer in the Goose Women's ceremony and was the own-
159 er of the songs addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies, but he bought those extra. In the spring, the Goose Women's Society danced under his direction, and he supervised the sale of the society to the younger women; he officiated in the ceremonial transfer of the holy objects belonging to the society.

[787] Someone during the winter always dreamed that the corn crop would be large if he or she put on a feast to the corn. The one having the vision then
796 sent word by someone of his father's clan to ask the Corn bundle-owner to take charge. The giver prepared robes and food. At the appointed time, which
778 was when the waterbirds came north, all those with rights met. Participating were the Corn bundle-owner, all those with the medicine of garden products
241 or associated animals and birds, the Black Mouth Men's Society, and Goose Women's Society. The Corn bundle was carried into the earth lodge and opened at the entrance to the sweat lodge, where it was laid out on a deer skull and elkskin. Songs were addressed to the Corn Bundle People who came out of the ground; additional songs were addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies. Only four stones were used in the sweat, each one representing one of the Sun's visits to Waving Corn Stalk. The stones were our enemies just as the Sun had been. The giver of the ceremony named four enemies he wished to conquer while the stones were taken into the sweat lodge. Those entering the sweat lodge imitated the geese and waterbirds while the Corn bundle-owner sang his four songs. Those not entering the sweat lodge were sprinkled with water dipped from the clay vessel belonging to the bundle. Corn and beans often came up into peoples throats while the ceremony was in progress; those people danced and rubbed their throats with sage to put the objects back down. Food was served to the Corn bundle and then to the guests.

The giver of the ceremony gave each person attending a robe or present and received in return a prayer for the giver's success. When the ceremony was completed, an image of the Old Woman Who Never Dies was made from an elk robe and lashed to a pole in front of the giver's lodge.

The Corn bundle-owner was expected to ask the help of the spirits who sent good crops. In the spring before seeding time, he held the ceremony of cleansing the seeds so that they would germinate. Early on the appointed day he went to the top of his earth lodge where he faced to the south singing the Corn bundle songs to call the spirits of the corn back from the south. He held a vessel containing shelled corn. Each woman making a garden came to him and received two seeds of each kind of corn, beans, sunflowers, and squash, paying for them and the prayers he addressed to his gods. Payment was made in elk robes, blankets, and other clothing.

The Corn bundle-owner underwent numerous taboos while the crops were
778 growing. Owners of minor Corn bundles prepared his food beginning four days
241 before the cleansing of the seed. When the previous year's crop was poor, he
784 lived apart from all women until the crop was ripe and the seed corn for the next season had been gathered. He painted his body red and wore moccasins of buffalo hide with the hair on the inside. He wore a robe all summer long. He was not permitted to eat plums, berries, or corn. All the people of the tribe knew that after the cleansing ceremony the restrictions went into effect and were careful not to violate any of the rules lest the crop fail. Each woman kept

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

a bunch of sage in her lodge and rubbed her body after returning from the fields to cleanse herself from the spirits in the gardens. Years ago, it is said that, when this was done, worms came out of the women's bodies. The Corn bundle-owner walked through the gardens several times during the summer, carrying the pipe and singing the Corn songs.

When the weather was too hot, too cold, or too dry, all those with Corn medicine rights met, and the Goose Women's Society joined them to dance and pray. While the ceremony was in progress, people of each household brought presents and offered them for relief from the adverse weather.

Many women pledged a ceremony to the Corn if good crops were sent by the gods. A person making such a vow, first prepared an elkhide robe and paid the Corn Priest to officiate. When the time appointed for the offering came and after the crop was harvested, she carried the robe to her field, where she tied it to a cottonwood pole and covered the pole with corn on the ear until the pile reached nearly to the robe. The young men of the tribe were invited to come and charge the robe, the first one there taking it. At a signal, the young men searched for the meat under the pile of corn. The Corn bundle-owner received four things for his part in the ceremony. Many different women gave this ceremony each fall when the crops were abundant.

The Corn bundle-owner officiated whenever corn was sold to people of other tribes. It was thought that it must be done or the spirits in the corn might leave the Mandan and help the people who took the corn away. He dressed in his ceremonial outfit and "called back" the Corn Spirits.

Whenever a cache of stored corn was opened, four ears of corn were taken to the Corn bundle-owner as payment for his part in protecting the stored corn.

The order of Corn Priests is as follows:

1. Uses Head for Rattle
2. Brown
3. Pot
4. Bull Leg
5. Acting Foolish (OxinhEdE)
6. Foolish Man
7. Strong Arm
8. Raises Tail
9. Forearm Bone
10. Hunts His Enemy
11. Bull Standing on Land
12. WErukirihEri
13. Enemy
14. Sacred Cedar
15. Cedar Feather
16. Star
17. Head Comes Out
18. Water Bag
19. Coyote
20. Crow
21. WErukirihEri
22. Bloody Knife
23. Garden
24. Tree in Garden
25. Uses His Head for Rattle
26. HoxdEkE
27. Corn Grinder
28. Lying Down
29. Left-Hand Bull
30. Scabby
31. WErukirihEri
32. Crows Belt
33. Moves Slowly
34. Scattercorn
35. Mrs. Little Owl (present owner)

The many references to corn in the mythology express the significance of agriculture to this tribe. Archeological work in their prehistoric sites indicates that economically agriculture has played an important role in shaping the habits of these people. The primary factor in establishing villages at certain

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

241 361 796 points was the accessibility to desirable corn grounds. With the prominent place of agriculture in the economic life of these people, it was a logical consequence that leaders of the Corn ceremonies should determine sites for new villages. Although the actual site was selected by the Corn bundle-owners, the laying-out of the open circle and location of the sacred cedar and ceremonial lodge was the responsibility of the individuals impersonating Lone Man and Hoita in the Okipa ceremony.

796 From an analysis of traditions and rites retained after the smallpox epidemics something of the nature of the old corn ceremonies could be determined.

1. There was only one Robe bundle, which came from the Nuptadi Village of the east side of the Missouri.

2. The Skull bundle was of west-side origin and came originally from the Awigaxa band, who were last to reach the Upper Missouri.

3. Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles and secondary bundles belonging to this ceremony were found in all Mandan villages and, in fact, in Hidatsa, Awatixa, and Awaxawi villages. The ceremonies and beliefs with few exceptions were identical between villages and tribes. This seems to be an older, widely diffused Mandan-Hidatsa ceremony to which new practices, particularly the fertility or consecration of the seed rites, were added, based mythologically on a dramatization of corn as people coming from the ground.

CORN MYTH OF THE ROBE BUNDLE RELATED BY SCATTERCORN[8]

773 539

The Corn People were living under the ground by a lake. One day some of the people saw an opening reaching up to the land above, and there was a vine growing in this hole. They asked the Fox to climb up and see this land. He climbed up, but, when he stuck his nose out, he got only a brief look at the beautiful land above because Sun burned his nose.

Then they asked Elk to go up and dig the hole larger with his horns. He made the hole large so the people could get through. The people started up, following the vine. They came up continuously for four days, but on the last day a woman heavy with child broke the vine and ended the migration forever. All these people had been raising the corn on this land beneath the earth.

8. For another version of the same myth, apparently also related by Scattercorn, see Will and Hyde, *op. cit.*, pp. 218–23. Also see Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 35–48, for data on Good Furred Robe, including data on Corn Priest, Goose Women Society, and Black Mouth Society.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 buying subsidiary rights until, when reaching maturity, he had full knowledge of the ceremony. The teaching of a ceremony by 793 sections characterized the entire ceremonial pattern of the Mandan and constitutes one of the major differences between Mandan and Hidatsa ceremonial training, the latter tribe giving the instruction in its entirety at the time of bundle sale.

796 The Mandan believed that the Okipa began as a simple buffalo dance at a time when the tribe was small and life was 173 simple and that the ceremony grew in complexity as the tribe increased in numbers and complexity. Crows Heart explained that, as new tribal bundles were added, additional impersonators were added for the "Everything Comes Back Day." The changes instituted since the ceremony was described by Catlin and Maximilian were insignificant. The number of singers was reduced to three, and the torture feature was performed outside the ceremonial lodge.

796 It is significant to note that, in spite of the prominent place of agriculture in the Mandan economic life, little recognition was ●241 given to agriculture in the "Everything Comes Back Day" of this important ceremony. The Old Woman Who Never Dies was represented together with other holy women by two men dressed as women, and those of one moiety rubbed their wounds with corn meal. Otherwise, little recognition was given to agriculture.

796 The importance of mythology in Mandan ceremonialism should not be minimized.[1] Left to his own resources in describing a ceremony, a Mandan informant invariably introduced the 773 subject by first relating the myth. These myths explain the peculiar topography of the Mandan country with lakes and sloughs to the east, badlands and streams to the west, and the Missouri River dividing the two. These sacred myths even explain the creation of the white men and their cattle on the east bank of the Missouri River, where, in mythological times, they were found to be too weak to survive and were sent back across the ocean. When the writer showed Bear on the Flat fossilized clam shells and wood in coal-bearing beds, he immediately explained their presence in terms of the flood sent by Maniga to

1. Lowie writes: "Several Plains tribes—notably the Hidatsa, Blackfoot, and Arapaho—utilize widespread tales to account for the origin of rituals" (Robert H. Lowie, *Myths and Traditions of the Crow Indians* ["Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXV], p. 8).

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

281 Verendrye mentions their skill in making such things as
237 painted ox-robes, deer skin, dressed buckskin, and ornamented fur and feathers, painted feathers, peltry, wrought garters, circlets for the head, and girdles. They certainly understood the art of dressing skins, though perhaps other nations equalled them. All their visitors speak of the ornamented robes for the decoration of which porcupine quills dyed various colors, or the pigments themselves, as paints, were used at first, though beads
[532] came gradually to take their places. The ornamentation consisted usually of representations of animals, and pictographic records. When leather got wet, it was beaten and rubbed with white clay which they always carried with them. This kept the robes soft. Then there were medicine bags, tobacco pouches, sheathes for knives and bows, all of skin, painted or embroidered with quills, such as are seen over the whole plains
[231] area. They had leather bridles for their horses, sometimes embroidered, and used a saddle, similar to that of the Dakotas. The horses were caught by means of long raw hide lariats which the Indians made themselves.

534 Whistles were also necessary articles to those belonging to the societies. Maximilian[1] describes them as "long wooden whistles at whose lower end an eagle feather on a string dangles." He says they also had large flute whistles, twenty inches long, with holes to vary the notes by application of the fingers. Besides these were the war whistles, usually made from the wing
412 bone of some large bird. Other articles of bone, necessitated
321 by the great use of skins, were the bone scrapers, ~~needles~~ and awls with which each house was profusely supplied.

● 241 Almost the only agricultural implements which they used were hoes. These were the shoulder blades of buffalo or occasionally of elk, which were cut down and to which a crooked stick was fastened as a handle.[2]

415 Among their cooking utensils, which were used in every hut, were spoons and ladles of bighorn and buffalo horns. Verendrye says some of these ladles held as much as three pints.

286 So far as the accounts go the Mandans did not make any textile fabric, though the Arikara are known to have made

[1] Op. cit., p. 416. [2] Henry: vol. I, p. 343.

garters and belts of buffalo hair.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Maximilian[1] also gives a description of the pottery;—"They 323
make pots of different shapes and sizes. The clay is slate-colored and turns a yellowish red in the fire. It is mixed with powdered granite which has been burnt. A large round stone is stuck into the clay which is prevented from spreading sideways. It is polished with a piece of poplar bark. When shaped, it is filled with dry chips, and also surrounded by them on the outside, then burned. They use no enamel on the pots." This pottery has not been made for a number of years, and there are only a few whole samples of the cruder sort in collections.

AGRICULTURE:—The Mandans were, above all, an agricul- 241
tural people, far more so than any of their neighbors. They [177]
have a tradition of having taught the Hidatsa how to cultivate the soil, and even the Arikara, who are said by some to have taught the Mandans, were somewhat inferior to the latter in the pursuit of agriculture. The Mandans were dependent on the soil for nearly all of their food, according to Verendrye, in 1738. By the time Lewis and Clarke came, however, they were [224]
about on the dividing line between being a hunting and an agricultural nation. They were not the hunters that their neighbors the Hidatsa were, because they were too weak in numbers to venture on long hunting trips. The agricultural ceremonies and dances shared honor with those of hunting, and the Old [176]
Woman Who Never Dies, or the Corn Mother, was an important personage in the ceremonial life of the people.

The land about the Mandan villages, smooth river bottoms and very fertile, was always extremely easy to work, and required but the crudest implements. Consequently the cultivation was fairly extensive. Maximilian says that each family cultivated three fields of four or five acres each, which were never fenced. The farms were shifted to a new place when the old area began to yield smaller crops. There seems to have been no attempt at fertilization, and it was hardly necessary in view of the great abundance of good land. Henry[2] gives an animated picture of the Mandan farming operations:

"We passed extensive fields of corn, beans, squashes and

[1] Op. cit., p. 386. [2] Op. cit., vol. I, pp. 343 et seq.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

sunflowers. Many women and children were already employed 241 in clearing and hoeing their plantations . . . . On each side were pleasant cultivated spots some of which stretched up the rising ground on our left, whilst on our right they ran nearly to the Missouri."

The Mandans used to raise enormous quantities of produce 351 from these crudely tilled plots, and the most of it was stored 433 away in the caches. Each of these caches would hold from twenty to forty bushels of corn and beans, and the number of them was very large. Maximilian says that there was often from five hundred to eight hundred bushels of corn, alone, in the village. In view of his other statements this seems a very moderate estimate. The supply was large enough so that it was not only eaten by the people, but in the winter was sometimes fed to the horses.[1] Lewis and Clarke speak several times of buying corn of the Indians in lots of thirty bushels or more.

The methods of cultivation among the Mandans, though 241 crude, were still above the most primitive types of tilling. The 221 work in the fields was begun in May. Little trenches were made in rows, the grain was put in these and covered. During the summer the soil about the plants was dug up from three to four times. The harvest usually came in October and for that work every member of the village lent a hand, this being one of the few times when the men took any part in the domestic work. Between the rows of corn, rows of sunflowers were usually planted. The only noticeable feature in this description is the fact that the garden plots were cultivated and cared for during the summer, when most of the semi-agricultural tribes lower down the Missouri were absent on long hunting excursions.

The latitude of the Mandan villages required very hardy and 241 quick-ripening vegetables; and we find that the Mandans had perfected a number of plants suited to the cold and dry climate of the region. The crops were often poor because of drought or early frost, but they never failed entirely.[2] The main products were corn, beans, squashes, sunflowers and tobacco. These were all grown when Verendrye visited them, and were

[1] Op. cit., p. 389.

[2] Ibid., p. 347.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

still grown at the time of Maximilian's visit. Corn, however, 241
surpassed all the rest in importance. It was a small variety, five or six feet high, but was not the common, mottled "Squaw corn" found in the region later. Maximilian enumerates seven distinct sorts, as follows: — white, yellow, red, spotted, black, sugar, yellow flint, and red and white striped. The sweet corn 251
was cut in the milk, then dried on the scaffolds in the sun and kept in the caches. The other corn was not gathered till it was ripe; it was then shelled and also put in the caches. Corn was 252
eaten as succotash with beans, boiled as hominy, ground up into coarse flour and made into cakes, and also as a sort of gruel and in several mixtures with wild fruit.

The beans, as to the cultivation of which there is little infor- 241
mation were, nevertheless, of considerable importance. Maxi- 251
milian[1] gives a number of varieties of these also; there were 252
white, black, red, and speckled beans. These were not gathered until ripe, and were then spread out on the flooring of the scaffolds to dry, after which they, too, were stored in the caches. The beans were used in about the same way as the corn, both of them being mixed in many dishes. There were five varieties of squash or pumpkin, yellow, black, striped, long, and thick skinned. These were usually cut up into thin slices, hung by cords from the scaffold rafters and dried in the sun. They, too, were then stored away for future use, to be boiled with beans and corn or separately, or eaten with some of the wild plums or choke-cherries.

The sunflowers, Maximilian says, seemed to differ little from those ordinarily cultivated in civilization. There were three kinds, red seed, black seed, and a small seeded sort. There is no account of the method of preparation, but Maximilian tells us that very good cakes were made from them. The Man- 249
dan tobacco, which was used also by the Hidatsa and Arikara, 276
while belonging to the Nicotiana, was a small species. Verendrye says that the tobacco was put up in rolls, that they cut it green and used it, stalks and all; he said it was not good. Later authorities do not agree on its preparation, however, as both Maximilian and Henry say that it was cut ripe and ground up

[1] Op. cit., p. 392.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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535 796 objects, they kept a careful observance of the number four and its multiples. The Okeepa appears to have been quite different from the usual sun-dance ceremonies, although the sun-dance observance formed a part of it. Catlin says that no other nation had such a dance, although many had features of it in their own dances. In some respects it seems to show a rather 535 796 171 remarkable similarity to some of the dances of the Pueblo region and very possibly some of these features were transmitted from there through the southern plains tribes. The resemblance is in small details such as the decorating of the ark with willow branches which is much like the preparation of the kisi. Communication with old villages underground was supposed to be established by pounding on the ark, as it was among the southwestern dancers by stepping on the sipapu. From the description of the sacred object in the center of the Mandan altar, it seems to have been something like the Pueblo squash blossoms. Lastly the story of the visit of the First Man to the whites and his institution of the Okeepa, after having escaped them, is much like the origin story of the Pueblo Snake and Antelope Dance. The most peculiar feature of the ceremony was the connection which it had with the flood myth; the ark was supposed to be a copy of the tower in which the Mandans were saved from the flood. It formed the center in all the different parts of the ceremony. The Okeepa had features which have been ascribed by Maximilian to the influence of early missionaries.

535 796 241 The second of these dances was the Corn Dance and this was doubtless of Caddo origin. This dance was danced to the Old Woman Who Never Dies by the old women of the village for whom a number of old men furnished the music. Each old woman carried an ear of corn on the end of a stick and the ceremony was intended to consecrate this corn. After the consecration the corn was distributed, a few grains to each family, by whom it was mixed with the seed corn for spring planting. The ceremony took place when the representatives of The Old Woman Who Never Dies — the water birds — returned north, and a quantity of dried meat was hung up on the scaffolds as a sacrifice. After the dance this dried meat

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

became the property of the dancers. Another corn dance was held in the fall, but Maximilian tells us that the purpose of this one was to bring the buffalo. In this dance each woman carried a whole stalk of corn—the corn was called by the name of the water bird which represented it, and a prayer was made to the Old Woman Who Never Dies through these birds. The birds going south were supposed to carry these prayers to their mistress, and in this dance each old woman made a sacrifice of some valuable article. The elements of the corn dance agree in most particulars with those of the Pawnee and southern plains tribes.

535 796 241 [171]

BURIAL:—In their burial customs the Mandans show close analogy with the Sioux. Their cemeteries were usually only two hundred to three hundred paces from the palisade and consisted of a number of scaffolds on which the dead were placed. These scaffolds were made on four posts about twelve feet high, the length of the rectangle being about six feet. Across the posts willow rods, just strong enough to support the body, were placed.[1] When a person died he was left in the village but a very short time; the face was painted red, the body was oiled, dressed in the finest clothes and wrapped in a green buffalo skin or at a later period in a piece of cloth. The whole was then tightly wrapped with thongs of rawhide from head to foot. Then other robes were soaked in water and tightly wrapped and tied around the body. After this the corpse was immediately carried out and placed on the scaffold together with a bow and quiver, shield, pipe and tobacco, knife, flint and steel and provisions for several days. In case of a child, it was wrapped up in a small bundle which was tied to the scaffold by a cloth or hide. Catlin says the bodies were placed with their feet to the rising sun. Maximilian says the face was turned to the east.[2] Lewis and Clarke[3] give an account of a different sort of burial which must have been of rare occurrence for we find no mention of anything of the sort elsewhere. It is as follows: "An old man . . . . . one hundred and twenty winters old, he requested his grand Children to Dress him after Death, & Set him on a Stone on a hill, with his

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[1] Catlin; vol. 1, p. 98. [2] Op. cit., p. 479. [3] Feb. 20, 1806.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

x 172 323 markings, when roughly parallel, are either horizontal or vertical. Usually the markings around the necks of the pots are vertical.

Sometimes the upper surface of the rim was impressed with cords or otherwise ornamented. Plate XLII, figs. *f* to *j*, gives representations of the different modes. Another kind of ornamentation, which was only slightly employed, was to form the edge of the pot into a series of broad serrations or crescent-shaped depressions. Apparently there were four or more cusps to the circumference. Examples of the cusps are shown in Plate XLII, figs. *l* and *m*. In this feature the Mandan pottery closely resembles the pottery around the Great Lakes. [[71]]

Many of the Mandan pots were provided with ears, lugs or spouts, the last evidently used to assist in pouring (Plate XLII, figs. *a* and *e*). A lug is shown in Plate XLII, fig. *b*. Sometimes the ear or lug may have been used only as a detail of ornamentation. Plate XLII, fig. *c*, gives a case in which the presence of the lug is disclosed by the cord marks. Plate XLII, fig. *d*, shows a peculiar spout-like opening which seems too small to have served any useful purpose.

Two or three fragments of pottery showing a perforation were found. The perforation was probably to enable some break to be mended.

No pipes made of pottery were found. The only other article of pottery, besides the potsherds, was the perforated disc shown in Plate XLII, fig. *k*. This object is about an inch in diameter.

x 172 ●241 VEGETABLE REMAINS: — The materials of vegetable origin in the excavations were nearly all charred and consequently many points about them cannot be considered. However, there are a number of interesting details which coincide as far as they go with historical information concerning the Mandan agriculture. The actual remains of vegetables found were those of corn, beans, squash or pumpkins. The seeds of sunflowers and small black seeds of a sort of pig-weed (*Chenopodium sp.*) were also found.

The corn remains were mostly of cobs, from which the grain had been cut off, leaving only an occasional kernel. One or two pieces of ears with the kernels and part of the husk intact

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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were found. The cobs were all charred and occurred in layers in the mounds and at times in the caches, being often mixed with the remains of burnt sunflower and other seeds. The cobs were seldom over six inches long and many were smaller. They seemed to be of two types, a long and thin cob, and a shorter, rather thick cob. The kernels themselves were also of two types; a small kernel, rather long, and a considerably larger one, almost round. All of the cobs showed regular rows, with the exception of the nubbins, which are very irregular in nearly every variety of corn. The number of rows on an ear varied somewhat, but no ear was found with any other numbers than eight, ten or twelve. The slim cobs usually had ten rows with occasionally eight. The thicker cobs always had twelve rows. The kernels were in too imperfect a state to permit of discovering whether they were flint, dent, or sweet corn. The cobs with the smaller kernels had very much the appearance of pop-corn. The ears seemed to be of fairly uniform length, and in this respect, as well as in their regularity of rows, differed noticeably from the later "Ree" or "Squaw" corn of the Indians in this region.

Beans were of rare occurrence in the excavation, usually being found mixed with the other burnt vegetables and often split in halves. No sign of the pods was found. The beans were very obviously of two sorts. The first was a rather long bean, averaging about one half an inch in length, and shaped much like the kidney bean. The second was a small bean, usually about one quarter of an inch in length and almost round, resembling very much the navy bean.

Charred sunflower seed and portions of the heads were found thickly in all the burnt layers. The seeds of these also can be divided into at least two sorts. The most common appeared to be a long seed, averaging from one half to five eighths of an inch in length, appearing much like that of the ordinary sunflower of civilized cultivation. The other type of seed was a shorter and thicker one, usually little over one quarter of an inch in length. The charred pieces of the heads were much broken up.

The squash or pumpkin seeds were the only ones not in a charred condition, and these usually occurred in small pockets

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

probably where a handful had been thrown. One of the stem ends of a squash was found and showed by its shape that the vegetable had not been of the flat, summer squash variety. The seeds were of two or perhaps three sorts. First there was a long, narrow seed resembling some of the large gourd seeds. The other type was much thicker through, and apparently represented two varieties, judging from the difference in size. One of these was as long as the first mentioned, but as has been said, was thicker. The second, of the same shape, averaged very little over half as large. 172x 241

The small black seeds above referred to were found intermixed with the other vegetable remains in the layers. They had a hard shiny shell and thus even when not charred had lasted well. The charred ones, however, were in much the best state. Seeds of this genus of plants are eaten in South America, and are decidedly valuable for food, and, although there is no mention of their use as food by the Mandans, they may have been so used.

In addition to the vegetables themselves there were other finds of vegetable origin. Among these were objects of bark, wood and grass. The most notable of the bark finds were two large pieces of birch bark, found together in one of the pits. These have perforations where they had been sewed and probably formed a part of a basket or box. The birch is not found within one hundred miles or more of this region, and the bark receptacle must have come through trade with some more eastern nation. Other finds were three or four flat disc-like coils, about four to five inches in diameter, with a hole in the center. These were made of the very thin inner bark, probably of the cottonwood, in the shape of a mat and bound around the outside with another strand of the same bark. It is very likely that these are identical with the stands upon which the pots were set, as described by Henry. In one place a small quantity of bark flakes was found, and it is barely possible that these may be remnants of smoking materials of *Cornus*. 172x 285

The only article made of grass was a small charred piece of cord, although burnt grass occurred frequently in the black layers, and decayed grass or hay was found as a lining in the 172x 283

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mahdan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

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The charms of most of the squaws in this "Goose Band" appeared to have faded long ago: they were evidently past the bloom of youth, and their voices and tempers had not improved in consequence. However, on this occasion they endeavored to look their best with the aid of paint and finery, in which respect they are not far behind their white sisters of more civilized climes. A row of poles resting upon forked sticks is put up, over which are hung in profusion pieces of fine, fat, dry meat, which have been carefully saved for this occasion. A band of four or five drummers take their seats close to one end, and a double row of squaws next to them facing each other. Each woman carried a bunch of long seedgrass, the favorite food of the wild goose, and at intervals all get up and dance in a circle with a peculiar shuffling step, singing and keeping time to the taps of the drum.

The spectators keep at a respectful distance and enjoy the fun, which consists in the attempts of some of the young men to steal the meat from the poles, in which however they are often thwarted by the vigilance of a few wise old "geese" who are constantly on the alert to prevent theft. If successful, the meat is carried off in great glee to some lodge, where they cook and eat it at their leisure. These exquisites are elaborately gotten up with bunches of raven plumes fluttering from their scalp-locks, and stripes of white and yellow clay upon their bodies, comprise their only covering.

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Finally, one of the old men (who have been thumping assiduously on the drums all the while) takes his place a few hundred yards off on the prairie, and a grand race by the whole goose band follows. All form in line together, and run around the old gander before returning to the starting point.

The race over, the scaffolds are taken down, a feast prepared, and the meat remaining on hand cooked and eaten. For the rest of the day the band danced around among the different lodges, and of course paid a visit to the fort before concluding. On these occasions a few yards of calico or some trifling gifts are always expected to be thrown to the "Medicine" by the traders.[1]

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It is probable that the Hidatsa and Mandan had several corn ceremonies distinct from one another and from the performances of the Goose society. Catlin describes a green-corn ceremony involving a dance of four men with corn stalks round a kettle with boiling green corn, followed by the ceremonial friction of new fire, but his account has been discredited by Matthews.[2] An Hidatsa ceremony performed in honor of the mythical Old-woman-who-never-dies, for the purpose of securing abundant corn crops is described by Mr. Curtis.[3] The corn singer figures prominently in this account but nothing is said of a women's society. However, we are told that those were invited to participate whose medicines consisted of various birds supposed to be children of Old-woman-who-never-dies and therefore peculiarly appropriate to the occasion.[4] Say describes a corn dance in which women play an important part, but does not identify them with any particular society:

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[1] Boller, 147–149.
[2] Catlin, I, 188–190; Matthews, 47.
[3] Curtis, IV, 148–152.
[4] Ibid, 150.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913

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Hidatsa NQ 14

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Amongst the Minnetarees, is a ceremony called the corn dance; which, however, has but little claim to the title of a dance. Notice being given of this ceremony, by the village criers, the squaws repair to the medicine lodge, in which the magi are seated, performing their incantations, carrying with them a portion of each kind of seed which they respectively intend to plant the ensuing season; as an ear of maize, some pumpkin, water-melon, or tobacco-seed. These are attached to the end of small sticks, which are stuck in the ground, so as to form a right line in front of the magi. The squaws then strip themselves entirely of their garments, and take their seats before the spectators. The magi then throw themselves into a violent agitation, singing, leaping about, pointing to the sky, the earth, the sun, and the north star, successively. After these paroxysms have subsided, the squaws arise; and each one taking her respective sticks, holds them up with extended arms.

One of the magi being provided with a large bunch of a species of bitter herb, dips it in a vessel of water, and sprinkles copiously the seeds and persons of the squaws, with much grotesque gesticulation. This concludes the ceremony; when the seeds are supposed to be fertilized, and to be capable of communicating their fertility to any quantity of their kind.

The women then assume their clothing, and return home, being careful to deposit the fertilized seed with their stock; after which they may proceed to planting as soon as they please.[1]

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Finally, Maximilian has described a corn dance common to both Mandan and Hidatsa. Though he mentions the Hidatsa Goose society, he does not connect it with the corn ceremony, which is described in an entirely different connection as one of the principal tribal ceremonies, after the Okipe and the buffalo-calling ceremony. Maximilian distinguishes a spring and an autumn ceremony. The spring festival was a consecration of the plants to be sown, which were symbolized by certain birds sent by Old-woman-who-never-dies, the wild goose representing the corn; the swan, squashes; and the duck, beans. A great deal of dried meat had been prepared and was suspended from racks in from two to four rows as an offering to Old-Woman-who-never-dies. The elderly women of the tribe, as representatives of this deity, assembled near these racks on a specified date all of them carrying a stick on which a corncob was impaled. They sat down in a circle, planted the sticks into the ground, danced round the racks, and again took up the sticks, while some old men were beating drums and shaking their rattles. Contrary to Say's statement, Maximilian holds that the corn was not sprinkled or moistened, for this was regarded as producing a harmful effect on it. While the older women were busy with their performance, the younger ones approached them and put into their mouths some dried and pulverized meat, each receiving in return a seed of the consecrated corn. In addition three or four seeds were placed into each younger woman's bowl, and afterwards these were carefully mixed with the corn

[1] James, II, 58–60.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

sown in order to enhance its fertility. The food on the rack fell to the old women's share because they represented Old-woman-who-never-dies, but frequently some members of the Dog society appeared and appropriated large portions of the meat (see p. 288).

The autumn ceremony was celebrated in order to attract the buffalo herds. Then the women performers did not carry corncobs on sticks, but entire corn plants. Both the corn and the birds symbolizing the plants were called by the name of the female deity, and addressed in prayer as the women's mother. They were requested to pity the suppliants, to postpone a severe cold, and prevent the game from moving away lest the people should be in want of food. When the birds in question began their migration southward, or, as the Indians believed, returned to Old-woman-who-never-dies, they were supposed to take with them gifts suspended for that deity outside the village, – more particularly the dried meat, which Old-woman was believed to eat herself. Some poor women unable to make other offerings would wrap up and suspend the foot of a buffalo, but these gifts were even more acceptable to the deity than any of the others.[1]

While it is impossible to speak with assurance on this point, we can readily understand how the Goose society might have become secondarily associated with a corn ceremony when we recollect the identification of the wild geese with corn and Old-woman-who-never-dies.

It is evident that the Goose society is of a distinctly more religious character than either the Skunk or the Enemy society. According to Buffalo-bird-woman, the Goose ceremony shared a feature with the ceremonies of two other sacred women's societies of the Mandan, viz. a final brushing-off of the performers to divest them of their sacred character (see pp. 343, 344). My informant added that there are worms in the corn and that these might have got into the performers' bodies unless they had been brushed off.

Old Women Society.

The Old Women society (kā'ru parū'wa+ì'ri) is said to have been an Hidatsa institution, and Buffalo-bird-woman was the only informant that described it in this connection. Though she mentioned it in the same breath with the other women's societies and explained how it helped "friendly" groups, it was clearly one of the totally different unions of people performing sacred bundle ceremonies. It seems that membership was

[1] Maximilian, II, 182–184.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

574 The Mandans are hospitable, and often invite their acquaintance to come and see them. Their pipes are made of the red-stone, or of black clay. They obtain the red pipe-heads chiefly from the Sioux; sometimes they have wooden heads lined with stone; the tube is plain, long, round or flat, on the whole, of the same shape as among the Sioux, but they are not so fastidious about ornamenting their pipes as other tribes. They smoke the leaves of the tobacco plant, which is cultivated by them; the bark of the red willow *(Cornus sericea)*, which they obtain from the traders, is sometimes mixed with the tobacco, or the latter with the leaves of the bearberry *(Arbutus uva ursi)*. The tobacco of the Whites, unmixed, is too strong for the Indians, because they draw the smoke into their lungs; hence they do not willingly smoke cigars.

276 241 824

415 The meals of the Mandans are served in wooden dishes. The spoons are generally large and deep; they are made of the horn of the bighorn (see woodcut, p. 251); sometimes they are yellow, or else they are shallow, made of black buffalo's horn. They have a considerable variety of dishes. The Indians residing in permanent villages have the advantage of the roving hunting tribes, in that they not only hunt, but derive their chief subsistence from their plantations, which afford them a degree of security against distress. It is true these Indians sometimes suffer hunger when the buffalo herds keep at a great distance, and their crops fail; but the distress can never be so great among the Missouri Indians, as in the tribes that live further northwards. The plants which they cultivate are maize, beans, French beans, gourds, sunflowers, and tobacco *(Nicotiana quadrivalvis)*, of which I brought home some seeds, which have flowered in several botanic gardens.

224 241

243 Of maize there are several varieties of colour, to which they give different names. The several varieties are:—1. White maize. 2. Yellow maize. 3. Red maize. 4. Spotted maize. 5. Black maize. 6. Sweet maize. 7. Very hard yellow maize. 8. White, or red-striped maize. 9. Very tender yellow maize.*

241

The beans are likewise of various sorts—small white beans, black, red, and spotted beans. The gourds are—yellow, black, striped, blue, long, and thick-shelled gourds.

241 The sunflower is a large helianthus, which seems perfectly to resemble that cultivated in our gardens. It is planted in rows between the maize. There are two or three varieties, with red, and black, and one with smaller seeds. Very nice cakes are made of these seeds. The tobacco

276

* I brought to Europe specimens of the several kinds of maize grown among the Mandans; these have been sown, but only the early species were ripe in September, 1835. The heads have by no means attained the same size, on the Rhine, as in their native country. There the plant attains a height of five or six feet, and the colours of the grains are very various, bright and beautiful: while, on the Rhine, the plant grew to the height of four or four and a half feet. The later sorts grew to the height of ten feet, and were not quite ripe at the end of October. (See Bradbury, page 145, for an account of the maize of the Mandans.)

According to Tanner (page 180), an Ottowa Indian first introduced the cultivation of maize on the Red River, among the Ojibuas, or Chippeways.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

cultivated by the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, attains a great height, and is suffered to 241
grow up from the seeds, without having any care whatever bestowed upon it. It is not trans- 276
planted. When it is ripe the stalks are cut, dried, and powdered; or the leaves, with the small branches, are cut into little pieces. The taste and smell are disagreeable to an European, resembling camomile rather than tobacco. The plant is not now so much cultivated as formerly, being superseded by the more pleasant tobacco of the Whites; but the species is still preserved. It is only on solemn occasions, for instance, in negotiations for peace, that this tobacco is still smoked; the seed is, therefore, preserved in the medicine bag of the nation, that the plant may never be lost. When they mean to smoke this tobacco, a small quantity of fat [278]
is rubbed on it.

The cultivation of the maize and other fields, of which each family prepares three, four, 241
or five acres, takes place in the month of May. Rows of small furrows are made, into which 221
the grains of maize are thrown singly, and covered with earth. Three times in the summer the plants are hoed, and the earth heaped up against them, that the moisture may have better access to them. The harvest takes place in October, when men, women, and children, each lend a helping hand. At present the women use, in their field labour, a broad iron hoe, with a crooked wooden handle, which they obtain from the merchants. Charbonneau recollected the time when they used the shoulder blade of the buffalo for this purpose. The fields are never fenced, but lie quite open and exposed.

The wild plants of the prairie are used by the Mandans, and other people of the Upper 222
Missouri; and to those before-mentioned, I can only add the feverolles *(Faba minor equina)*, 252
a fruit resembling the bean, which is said to grow in the ground, but which I did not see; there 824
are many other roots in the prairie, which are used for food. The gourds are eaten fresh as 262
well as dry. The beans are seldom eaten of one kind, but many sorts are mixed together. The maize is boiled or roasted, then pounded, mixed with fat, and made up into small cakes and baked. There are, of course, many other ways of dressing it. The sweet maize has a very pleasant taste, especially when it is in what is called the milky state; it is then boiled, dried, and laid by for use.

All kinds of animals serve the Mandans for food; the bear, when it is young and fat, the 224
wolf, the fox, in short, everything except the horse; the ermine is not eaten by many; and of 825
birds they dislike the turkey-buzzard, and the raven, because they feed on the dead bodies 262
deposited on the stages. They have a great aversion from serpents, but eat the turtle; the buffalo is the chief object of their chase, as it supplies them with skins, meat, tallow, marrow-bones, sinews, and many other necessaries. Next to the buffalo the beaver is the most indispensable to them, since it not only furnishes them with valuable skins, but supplies them with delicate
food, the fat tail, especially, being considered quite a dainty morsel by the Indians. Pemmican, 262

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

From the enslaved and degraded condition in which the women are held in the Indian country, the world would naturally think that theirs must be a community formed of incongruous and unharmonizing materials; and consequently destitute of the fine, reciprocal feelings and attachments which flow from the domestic relations in the civilized world; yet it would be untrue, and doing injustice to the Indians, to say that they were in the least behind us in conjugal, in filial, and in paternal affection. There is no trait in the human character which is more universal than the attachments which flow from these relations, and there is no part of the human species who have a stronger affection and a higher regard for them than the North American Indians. 593

There is no subject in the Indian character of more importance to be rightly understood than this, and none either that has furnished me more numerous instances and more striking proofs, of which I shall make use on a future occasion, when I shall say a vast deal more of marriage—of divorce—of polygamy—and of Indian domestic relations. For the present I am scribbling about the looks and usages of the Indians who are about me and under my eye; and I must not digress too much into general remarks, lest I lose sight of those who are near me, and the first to be heralded. 000

Such, then, are the Mandans—their women are beautiful and modest,—and amongst the respectable families, virtue is as highly cherished and as inapproachable, as in any society whatever; yet at the same time a chief may marry a dozen wives if he pleases, and so may a white man; and if either wishes to marry the most beautiful and modest girl in the tribe, she is valued only equal, perhaps, to two horses, a gun with powder and ball for a year, five or six pounds of beads, a couple of gallons of whiskey, and a handful of awls. 583

The girls of this tribe, like those of most of these north-western tribes, marry at the age of twelve or fourteen, and some at the age of eleven years; and their beauty, from this fact, as well as from the slavish life they lead, soon after marriage vanishes. Their occupations are almost continual, and they seem to go industriously at them, as if from choice or inclination, without a murmur. 582

The principal occupations of the women in this village, consist in procuring wood and water, in cooking, dressing robes and other skins, in drying meat and wild fruit, and raising corn (maize). The Mandans are somewhat of agriculturists, as they raise a great deal of corn and some pumpkins and squashes. This is all done by the women, who make their hoes of the shoulder-blade of the buffalo or the elk, and dig the ground over instead of ploughing it, which is consequently done with a vast deal of labour. They raise a very small sort of corn, the ears of which are not longer than a man's thumb. This variety is well adapted to their climate, as it ripens sooner than other varieties, which would not mature in so cold a latitude. The green corn season is one of great festivity with them, and one of much importance. The greater part of their crop is eaten during these festivals, 462 241 251

10: Neill H-4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

OPEN SPACE IN VILLAGE.

But I observe, always, that nearly about the centre of each village is a large open space of about four acres in circumference, round which the huts are built very regularly, and at equal distances from each other, the doors fronting the open space. This circle might consist of thirty huts, and I make no manner of doubt were the first that were erected on the spot. 361

VILLAGE EXPANSION.

Others of their friends joined them afterwards, for various causes and built in the rear and erected their huts as they found it convenient, and as this continues to be the case, there are huts continually demolishing in one village, and others building in another. This often proceeds from misunderstandings they have had with either of the chiefs of the village, or their own neighbors, when finding their situation unpleasant and probably subject to frequent quarrels, they shift their quarters, but always take up their own residence among their own tribe. 361 621 578

The Mandans and Saulteurs are a stationary people, and never abandon their villages further than to go out hunting or on a war party. They are much more given to agriculture than the Big Bellies, and raise an immense quantity of corn, beans, squashes, tobacco, and some flowers. 361 241

A MANDAN HUT.

A Mandan hut is large and spacious, of a circular form. I measured the one I lodged in, and found it ninety feet from the door to the opposite side, forming a circumference on the inside of many paces. The whole space is dug out about one and a half feet below the surface of the earth. In the center is the fire place, which is a square space of about five feet, dug out two feet below the surface. The lower part of the hut is constructed by erecting strong posts about six feet out of the ground, at equal distances, upon these are laid logs of the same size, and reach from post to post, and form the circle. On the outer side are erected pieces of split wood of seven feet in length, in a slanting manner, the one end resting on the ground, the other leaning against the crown log or beam. Upon this beam again, are placed rafters about the size of a man's leg, and from twelve to fifteen feet long, in a slanting position, sufficient to drain off the rain; they are laid so close as to touch. The upper end is supported upon very stout pieces of square timber, which last are also supported by four very thick posts, about five feet circumference, and fifteen feet out of the ground, and fifteen feet asunder, forming nearly a square. Over these pieces of square timber, others again of equal size are laid crossing them at right 342 [354]

Sections from Henry's Journal Not Printed in Neill's Version (page numbers refer to those in the Coues edition of Henry's Journal (1897):

224 [322] We had now a well-beaten path, but were several times in danger of breaking our necks in deep pits which the natives had dug in the path to catch wolves and foxes in winter. Some of them are 10 feet deep, hollowed out to a space about 30 feet in circumference, whilst the entrance is no wider than the foot-path and about five feet in length. Those holes are covered with dry grass at the season when wolves are good, and every morning are found to contain some of those animals. In summer the grass grows strong and high about the mouths, entirely concealing them, until one arrives upon the very brink and is in danger of tumbling in headlong.

491 [323] Before we reached the (Mandan) village, we passed through
●241 a wood about two miles long. The road was bad, deep with mud and mire, the river having overflowed there lately. Having got through this wood, we came to several plantations of corn, beans, squashes, and sunflowers—the latter, indeed, grow in every direction, without cultivation, at some distance from the fields, where the seed has been carried by the wind; but such are never gathered by the natives, as they are not so good as those that have been properly sown and taken care of.

262 [325] This was just to their own palate, as they seldom eat
574 meat until it begins to smell. We were invited into several huts successively and presented with dried meat in a state of corruption, corn and beans, together with parched corn and fresh ears pounded up in a wooden mortar; this last dish we found good.

439 They soon asked us to trade, and brought buffalo robes, corn,
177 beans, dried squashes, etc.; but we informed them that we did not come here for that purpose, merely to visit them and see the country. They could not comprehend why we should have come so far out of mere curiosity, and said that all white people who came there did so with a view to trade. They suspected that we had goods which we wished to take over the river to the other villages, and were anxious to prevent it. They plagued us until dark, when they retired disappointed.

[p. 384(A)]

437 willing and ready to serve you as long as you have any property.
177 But when all is expended you may shift for yourself, as they will pretend they do not understand you any longer. Besides paying our host [343] beforehand, I promised him a tobacco-pipe on my departure, if I were then pleased with his conduct during our stay. His pay consisted of the following articles: 60 balls and powder, 4 large knives, 2 small knives, 1 fathom tobacco, 1 dozen rings, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 6 flints, 3 worms, 3 awls, and 1/4 pound blue beads.

164 [343] The natives at present are mostly affected with a bad cough, which daily takes some of them off. Aged and infirm persons, and young children, are the common victims to this disease. It is a kind of whooping-cough, which has appeared all along the Red and Assiniboine rivers, on the Saskatchewan even to Fort des Prairies, and in several other parts of the North West, carrying off many people

241 July 21st. I set off early on horseback with part of my people
[462 for the upper villages. We passed extensive fields of corn, beans,
561] squashes, and sunflowers. Many women and children were already
412 employed in clearing and hoeing their plantations. Their hoes are the shoulderblade of a buffalo, to which is fastened a crooked stick for a handle; the soil not being stony, this slight implement answers every purpose. The road first led over two hills, after which we came to a smooth and pleasant plain for about two miles to the Saulteur (Soulier) [Amahami—Analyst] village, of about 40 huts.
361 [362]..These villages are surrounded by a kind of stockade, princi-
417 pally made of driftwood, which has a miserable appearance and is daily falling to pieces; but I am told that upon any emergency it can be put into a tolerably good state of defense at very short notice, as every man, woman, and child lends a hand.

526 We witnessed a diversion which takes place almost every day
481 between the Mandanes and Saulteurs (Souliers). It is the exercise
702 of running long foot races, in order to be prepared for the emergency of being dismounted and obliged to fly from their enemies at war. They assemble upon a beautiful green near the village, where, having remained some time, calling out to their comrades to come and run, they set off in a file on a slow trot, entirely naked, taking the road that leads up the hills to the S., about a mile from the village. Passing near those rising grounds, they disappear, and are not seen till they reappear from the S.E., down a steep hill and over a level plain, to the spot whence they started. Here they do not stop, but rush on to the Missourie, and plunge in headlong, all

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 gether. It has somewhat the appearance of a large barrel, and is emblematic of the ark in which, according to Mandan mythology, the sole survivor of the deluge was saved. The square, the medicine-lodge, with its four poles in front, surmounted by sacrificial effigies, and the ark, as they may be seen at Fort Berthold today, seem to be the almost exact counterparts of those which were seen in the old Mandan village at Fort Clarke, in 1832 and 1833, by George Catlin and the Prince of New-Wied, if we are to judge by the drawings they have given us. Within the temple and around the ark, the Mandans still perform the ceremony of the Okeepa, which Catlin so accurately describes. The awful severities of the rites have, however, been somewhat mitigated since his day."

000 **Aricaree Medicine-Lodge.** "The medicine-lodges of the Aricarees is larger than that of the Mandans, and is used for a greater variety of ceremonies. Some of these performances, consisting of ingenious tricks of jugglery and dances, representative of various hunts, we might be inclined to call theatrical rather than religious. Probably these Indians consider them both worshipful and entertaining.

"It is often hard to tell how much of a religious ceremony is intended to propitiate the unknown powers, and how much to please the spectators."

712 **Fortifications—Stockades.** "Many travelers have described their towns as being fortified, sometimes with walls, but usually with ditches and stockades, or with stockades alone. The latter system of defense was in use at the village of Fort Berthold until the winter of 1865, when they cut down the palisades for firewood; and they have never since restored them. The presence of United States troops in their neighborhood, and the growing weakness of the Dakotas, were probably the causes which led them to discontinue their fortifications."

773 Matthews virtually bears out Catlin concerning the mythical veneration of the Mandans for the corn symbol:

●243 **Agriculturalists—"Corn Mother."** "The Aricarees and Man-
174 dans have doubtlessly tilled the soil for many centuries. Their accounts of the origin of corn are mingled with their earliest myths and traditions. There are some reasons for believing that the Aricarees represent an older race of farmers than the Man-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

dans; for their religious ceremonies connected with planting are the more numerous, and they honor the corn with a species of worship. In every Aricaree lodge, there is a large ear of corn, which has lasted for generations, sticking out of the mouth of a medicine-bag. At their feasts, they make offerings to the corn by rubbing a piece of meat on it, while they pray to it for plentiful harvests, and address it by the name of 'mother.' The Hidatsas claim to have had no knowledge of corn until they first ate it from the trenchers of the Mandans; and they have no important ceremonies connected with the harvesting, yet they cultivated it long before the advent of the white man." (p. 12.)

"Three Tribes" at Berthold—From South Dakota. "When Lewis and Clarke ascended the Missouri, in 1804, they found four tribes of agricultural Indians, numerous and prosperous, inhabiting the upper Missouri valley, west of the Dakota nation. They had eight permanently inhabited towns, others which they lived in only temporarily, and a number more which they had abandoned and allowed to go to ruin. They are spoken of in Lewis and Clarke's journal as the 'Ricaras,' 'Mandans,' 'Minnetarees,' and 'Ahnahaways.' All that are left of the four tribes are now gathered together in this one village, at Fort Berthold, which does not probably number 2,500 souls. The remains, now nearly obliterated, of their old towns, may be traced on nearly every prairie terrace adjacent to the Missouri, along six hundred miles of its course, from the mouth of the Lower White-Earth to the mouth of the Little Missouri. The Indians at Fort Berthold are, however, now generally referred to as the 'three tribes'; for one of the nations spoken of by Captain Lewis—that which he calls Ahnahaways—is no longer an organized tribe, but has been merged into the Minnetarees." (p. 12.)

"Mandan"—Previous History. "The Mandans, about a hundred years ago, lived in several villages near the mouth of Heart river. From this neighborhood, they moved up the Missouri, stopping and building villages at different localities. In 1804, they were found dwelling in two towns about four miles below the mouth of Knife river. One of these towns was named Metutahanke, Metutahankish, or, as Maximilian writes it, 'Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kusch,' meaning lower village. The other was called Ruptari or Nuptadi. They were almost exterminated by the

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3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

still grown at the time of Maximilian's visit. Corn, however, 241
surpassed all the rest in importance. It was a small variety, five or six feet high, but was not the common, mottled "Squaw corn" found in the region later. Maximilian enumerates seven distinct sorts, as follows: — white, yellow, red, spotted, black, sugar, yellow flint, and red and white striped. The sweet corn 251
was cut in the milk, then dried on the scaffolds in the sun and kept in the caches. The other corn was not gathered till it was ripe; it was then shelled and also put in the caches. Corn was 252
eaten as succotash with beans, boiled as hominy, ground up into coarse flour and made into cakes, and also as a sort of gruel and in several mixtures with wild fruit.

The beans, as to the cultivation of which there is little infor- 241
mation were, nevertheless, of considerable importance. Maxi- 251
milian[1] gives a number of varieties of these also; there were 252
white, black, red, and speckled beans. These were not gathered until ripe, and were then spread out on the flooring of the scaffolds to dry, after which they, too, were stored in the caches. The beans were used in about the same way as the corn, both of them being mixed in many dishes. There were five varieties of squash or pumpkin, yellow, black, striped, long, and thick skinned. These were usually cut up into thin slices, hung by cords from the scaffold rafters and dried in the sun. They, too, were then stored away for future use, to be boiled with beans and corn or separately, or eaten with some of the wild plums or choke-cherries.

The sunflowers, Maximilian says, seemed to differ little from those ordinarily cultivated in civilization. There were three kinds, red seed, black seed, and a small seeded sort. There is no account of the method of preparation, but Maximilian tells us that very good cakes were made from them. The Man- 249
dan tobacco, which was used also by the Hidatsa and Arikara, 276
while belonging to the Nicotiana, was a small species. Verendrye says that the tobacco was put up in rolls, that they cut it green and used it, stalks and all; he said it was not good. Later authorities do not agree on its preparation, however, as both Maximilian and Henry say that it was cut ripe and ground up

[1] Op. cit., p. 292.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

249 276 fine. It was usually smoked mixed with the bark of the so-called red-willow or Cornus. Henry says that the blossoms were used, and were dried on a piece of pottery before the fire. Lewis and Clarke and Gass both mention this tobacco and agree with Verendrye that it was not good to those who were accustomed to European tobacco. The Mandans themselves soon discarded their own variety, raising only a little each year to use in ceremonials.

222 Although hardly coming under agriculture, still as a related matter, it might be well to mention the wild vegetables and fruits which were so much used by the Indians of the region. These were june-berries, choke-cherries, wild plums, the feverole, and especially the pomme blanche or Indian turnip. The latter were something like artichokes, white, ovate, one to three inches long, and about the size of a man's finger. They were collected in large quantities and formed a very common food.

224 HUNTING AND FISHING: — The Mandans derived a living from agriculture and the hunt in about equal proportions. Their methods of hunting differed little from those of their neighbors. Game was in abundance and many animals besides the buffalo contributed to their sustenance. Among these were antelope, elk, deer, bighorn, and an occasional bear, besides beaver, rabbits, ducks and geese. Other animals were killed for their hides alone, as wolves, foxes, ermine and panther. Eagles and other birds of prey were hunted for their plumes.

Buffalo were hunted all the year round whenever they were in the neighborhood of the village, for the Mandans did not go away on long hunting trips as did most of their neighbors. The buffalo hunt was directed by the Soldier Band. A small detached body of buffalo would be surrounded by the horsemen and then every animal killed in order to prevent the alarming of the whole herd. Any animal which did not contain an arrow by which the slayer could be identified, belonged to whoever found it. The beasts were cut up, and each man's horse was laden down with meat. Certain choice parts were eaten immediately by the hunter, and the heart and tongue could be demanded from anyone of a lower grade than he who asked for them. The childless old men and women usually

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 513 are made like tombs, surrounded by skins. These men are always naked, covered only with a buffalo robe. * * * * Their fort 251 is full of caves, in which are stored such articles as grain, food, 436 fat, dressed robes and bear skins. They are well supplied with these; it is the money of the country. The more they have of it 304 the richer they believe themselves to be. They are fond of tattooing, but never more than half of the body is tattoed, both of 285 men and women. They make wicker work very neatly, flat and in baskets.

Pottery. "They make use of earthen pots, which they use like 323 many other nations for cooking their food. They are for the most part great eaters; are eager for feasts. They brought me every 261 day more than twenty dishes of wheat, beans and pumpkins, all cooked. Mr. de la Marque, who did not hate feasts, went to them continually with my children. As I did not go to them my share 141 was sent to me. The men are stout and tall, generally very active, fairly good looking, with a good physiognomy. The women have not the Indian physiognomy. The men indulge in a sort of ball 526 play on the squares and ramparts.

000 "On the evening of the 4th the Sieur Nolant and my son arrived, well satisfied with their journey, having been well received and strongly urged to remain longer. The fort is on the bank of the river, as large again as this; the squares and streets are very fine and clean; their palisade is in the best order and strength; the whole built in the same fashion as the one in which we were. From what they could hear all their forts are alike; who saw one saw all, with this difference, that some were much larger than others. The nearest to the Pananas that the river appeared to go was, according to the compass, southwest by south, by signs given to them; the lower part may go to the sea to the southwest by west. They were often amused by broken talk; not being able to answer questions put to them, they answered something else, for want of understanding. The waters of their rivers come down with great rapidity, having many shoals. The water is not good for drinking, being brakish. We have constantly found from the last mountain almost all the marshes and ponds brakish or sulphurous. What they could understand was that on the lower part of the river there were men like us, who made cloth and linen, were very numerous and had wars with a large part of the Indians. We saw that it was useless to question them, as they

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

of the caches or circular pits of the confederated village. Mat- 251
thews speaks below. The writer found some of the remains of those caches on said site in 1905:

Caches, or Pits. "The numerous caches, or pits, for storing grain, are noteworthy objects in the village. In summer, when they are not in use, they are often left open, or are carelessly covered, and may entrap the unwary stroller. When these Indians have harvested their crops, and before they start on their winter's hunt, they dig their caches, or clear out those dug in previous years. A cache is a cellar, usually round, with a small opening above, barely large enough to allow a person to descend; when finished, it looks like an ordinary round cistern. Reserving a small portion of corn, dried squash, etc., for winter use, they deposit the remainder in these subterranean store houses, along with household utensils and other articles of value which they wish to leave behind. They then fill up the orifices with earth, which they trample down and rake over, thus obliterating every trace of excavation.

"Some caches are made under the floors of the houses, others outside, in various parts of the village grounds; in each case, the distance and direction from some door, post, bedstead, fire-place, or other object is noted, so that the stores may be found on the return of the owners in the spring. Should an enemy enter the village while it is temporarily deserted, the goods are safe from fire and theft. This method of secreting property has long been used among many tribes, has been adopted by whites living on the plains, and is referred to in the works of many travelers."

It is seen from the following account of the "medicine-lodge" 346
of the Mandans, as observed by Matthews, that he ascribes to it 361
a religious character, as did Catlin and others:

Mandan and Arricara "Medicine-Lodges." "There are, in the village, two open spaces, which, although of irregular shape, may be called squares; one of these is in the Mandan, the other in the Aricaree quarter. Besides each square stands a large round 'medicine-lodge,' or temple, built as described in the second paragraph of section three, which is used for purposes that, in a general way, are called religious."

The Ark—Ceremony of Okeepa. "In the center of the Mandan 778
square is a small circular palisade, about six feet high and four feet in diameter, made of neatly hewn puncheons set closely to-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

a bunch of sage in her lodge and rubbed her body after returning from the fields to cleanse herself from the spirits in the gardens. Years ago, it is said that, when this was done, worms came out of the women's bodies. The Corn bundle-owner walked through the gardens several times during the summer, carrying the pipe and singing the Corn songs. 778 241 784

When the weather was too hot, too cold, or too dry, all those with Corn medicine rights met, and the Goose Women's Society joined them to dance and pray. While the ceremony was in progress, people of each household brought presents and offered them for relief from the adverse weather. 796 782 778

Many women pledged a ceremony to the Corn if good crops were sent by the gods. A person making such a vow, first prepared an elkhide robe and paid the Corn Priest to officiate. When the time appointed for the offering came and after the crop was harvested, she carried the robe to her field, where she tied it to a cottonwood pole and covered the pole with corn on the ear until the pile reached nearly to the robe. The young men of the tribe were invited to come and charge the robe, the first one there taking it. At a signal, the young men searched for the meat under the pile of corn. The Corn bundle-owner received four things for his part in the ceremony. Many different women gave this ceremony each fall when the crops were abundant. 241

The Corn bundle-owner officiated whenever corn was sold to people of other tribes. It was thought that [illegible] must be done or the spirits in the corn might leave the Mandan and he[illegible] people who took the corn away. He dressed in his ceremonial outfit an[illegible]ed back" the Corn Spirits. 778 [439]

Whenever a cache of stored corn was opened, four ears of corn were taken to the Corn bundle-owner as payment for his part in protecting the stored corn. [251]

The order of Corn Priests is as follows:

1. Uses Head for Rattle
2. Brown
3. Pot
4. Bull Leg
5. Acting Foolish (OxinhEdE)
6. Foolish Man
7. Strong Arm
8. Raises Tail
9. Forearm Bone
10. Hunts His Enemy
11. Bull Standing on Land
12. WErukirihEri
13. Enemy
14. Sacred Cedar
15. Cedar Feather
16. Star
17. Head Comes Out
18. Water Bag
19. Coyote
20. Crow
21. WErukirihEri
22. Bloody Knife
23. Garden
24. Tree in Garden
25. Uses His Head for Rattle
26. HoxdEkE
27. Corn Grinder
28. Lying Down
29. Left-Hand Bull
30. Scabby
31. WErukirihEri
32. Crows Belt
33. Moves Slowly
34. Scattercorn
35. Mrs. Little Owl (present owner)

The many references to corn in the mythology express the significance of agriculture to this tribe. Archeological work in their prehistoric sites indicates that economically agriculture has played an important role in shaping the habits of these people. The primary factor in establishing villages at certain 241 361 796

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 224 Eagle-trapping expeditions were organized for a dual purpose, namely, the securing of feathers and of a winter's supply of meat and hides. Crows Heart thought that, taken year after year, the meat and hides secured had greater worth than the feathers. As he explained, it was not unusual to return without feathers, but game was always abundant once one reached territory not ordinarily hunted in. He remarked, on many occasions, that a village as a unit would never go to rough country on a summer hunt, as there would be few buffaloes there, and it would be difficult to surround them because of the uneven topography. There was the further danger of ambush. The rough lands were hunted over by small bands, chiefly eagle-trappers and war parties.

223 224 505 The appearance of ice on the edges of streams was the signal for the eagle-trapping expedition to return to the village. Before horses became numerous in the villages, it was customary to travel overland to the trapping sites, where bullboats were made of buffalo and elk hides for floating back the meat and hides to the village. In order not to be caught along the way by a sudden freezing of the river, it was imperative that trapping cease immediately with the first appearance of cold weather.

224 257 281 While in the trapping camp, the women received the meat and hides brought in by the men. The meat was cured on scaffolds, and the hides were dried or made into bullboats. Special effort was made to secure mountain sheep, as the badlands were the habitat of these prized animals, used for men's shirts and women's dresses, since their skins tanned softer than any other hide. Bears Arm, in explaining the importance of the meat and hides secured on these expeditions, stated that single women [581] tried to marry young men so they could go along to help cure the meat and hides, knowing they might marry one so lucky as to kill a white buffalo.

223 361 171 221 621 Mandan tradition appears devoid of reference to recent division of a village population into small eagle-trapping bands during the winter. Such is not the case with the Hidatsa, however. In the Earthnaming ceremony of the Hidatsa there is reference in the myth to the division of the village into small bands camped along the Little Missouri River in eagle-trapping lodges during the winter. At least two of the clans, the Maxoxati and

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

353 Between every pair was a large post. An elevation showing some of the details is reproduced from Morgan in Figure 1, and a ground plan, in Figure 3.

251 171 The sedentary character of the Mandans and the fact that they practiced agriculture led to the development among them of several cultural features not found among the purely hunting tribes. In common with most sedentary tribes they made use of caches or storage pits. Henry[1] gives a description of them saying that, in the fall after harvest, the corn was dried, shelled and put in deep pits. These were about eight feet deep, with a mouth just wide enough for a person to get in, but the inside was hollowed out larger and the sides and bottom were lined with straw. The cache contained twenty to thirty bushels of beans or corn where it kept for several years. The caches were scattered everywhere about the village. Catlin mentions caches, saying that they placed corn in pits six or seven feet deep, jug shaped, and tightly closed at the top.

291 DRESS:—The dress of the Mandans in general was much like that of their neighbors, at the later period of their history at least. There were however some minor differences. Verendrye says that at his visit the men went naked, except for a carelessly worn buffalo robe—not even wearing a breech cloth. The women wore very little as a rule, their only article of attire being an apron about the waist, a hand's breadth wide and a foot long. But he adds later that some of them wore a gown of very soft deerskin. It is probable that other articles of dress were borrowed from their neighbors as time went on.

515 302 The men and women both began the day with a bath, after which the body was carefully oiled with castoreum. For any ceremonial or feast the body was also painted in colors, these being mixed with grease. After the bath the face and hair were nearly always whitened. The men in Maximilian's time usu-
291 ally wore a breech cloth, of black and white cloth, and moccasins with little or no ornamentation. The upper part of the body was usually naked as they seldom wore the leather shirt used in many other tribes. Even in the winter, Maximilian says they wore only the buffalo robe over the upper half of the

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 360.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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sunflowers. Many women and children were already employed 241
in clearing and hoeing their plantations . . . . On each side were pleasant cultivated spots some of which stretched up the rising ground on our left, whilst on our right they ran nearly to the Missouri."

The Mandans used to raise enormous quantities of produce 251
from these crudely tilled plots, and the most of it was stored 433
away in the caches. Each of these caches would hold from twenty to forty bushels of corn and beans, and the number of them was very large. Maximilian says that there was often from five hundred to eight hundred bushels of corn, alone, in the village. In view of his other statements this seems a very moderate estimate. The supply was large enough so that it was not only eaten by the people, but in the winter was sometimes fed to the horses.[1] Lewis and Clarke speak several times of buying corn of the Indians in lots of thirty bushels or more.

The methods of cultivation among the Mandans, though 241
crude, were still above the most primitive types of tilling. The 221
work in the fields was begun in May. Little trenches were made in rows, the grain was put in these and covered. During the summer the soil about the plants was dug up from three to four times. The harvest usually came in October and for that work every member of the village lent a hand, this being one of the few times when the men took any part in the domestic work. Between the rows of corn, rows of sunflowers were usually planted. The only noticeable feature in this description is the fact that the garden plots were cultivated and cared for during the summer, when most of the semi-agricultural tribes lower down the Missouri were absent on long hunting excursions.

The latitude of the Mandan villages required very hardy and 241
quick-ripening vegetables; and we find that the Mandans had perfected a number of plants suited to the cold and dry climate of the region. The crops were often poor because of drought or early frost, but they never failed entirely.[2] The main products were corn, beans, squashes, sunflowers and tobacco. These were all grown when Verendrye visited them, and were

[1] Op. cit., p. 389. [2] Ibid., p. 347.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

still grown at the time of Maximilian's visit. Corn, however, 241
surpassed all the rest in importance. It was a small variety, five or six feet high, but was not the common, mottled "Squaw corn" found in the region later. Maximilian enumerates seven distinct sorts, as follows: — white, yellow, red, spotted, black, sugar, yellow flint, and red and white striped. The sweet corn 251
was cut in the milk, then dried on the scaffolds in the sun and kept in the caches. The other corn was not gathered till it was ripe; it was then shelled and also put in the caches. Corn was 252
eaten as succotash with beans, boiled as hominy, ground up into coarse flour and made into cakes, and also as a sort of gruel and in several mixtures with wild fruit.

The beans, as to the cultivation of which there is little information were, nevertheless, of considerable importance. Maximilian[1] gives a number of varieties of these also; there were 241 251 252
white, black, red, and speckled beans. These were not gathered until ripe, and were then spread out on the flooring of the scaffolds to dry, after which they, too, were stored in the caches. The beans were used in about the same way as the corn, both of them being mixed in many dishes. There were five varieties of squash or pumpkin, yellow, black, striped, long, and thick skinned. These were usually cut up into thin slices, hung by cords from the scaffold rafters and dried in the sun. They, too, were then stored away for future use, to be boiled with beans and corn or separately, or eaten with some of the wild plums or choke-cherries.

The sunflowers, Maximilian says, seemed to differ little from those ordinarily cultivated in civilization. There were three kinds, red seed, black seed, and a small seeded sort. There is no account of the method of preparation, but Maximilian tells us that very good cakes were made from them. The Man- 249
dan tobacco, which was used also by the Hidatsa and Arikara, 276
while belonging to the Nicotiana, was a small species. Verendrye says that the tobacco was put up in rolls, that they cut it green and used it, stalks and all; he said it was not good. Later authorities do not agree on its preparation, however, as both Maximilian and Henry say that it was cut ripe and ground up

[1] Op. cit., p. 392.

7: Catlin R. E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

262 *fat;* and one of the former held a fine brace of buffalo ribs, delightfully
264 roasted; and the other was filled with a kind of paste or pudding, made of
415 the flour of the "*pomme blanche,*" as the French call it, a delicious turnip of the prairie, finely flavoured with the buffalo berries, which are collected in great quantities in this country, and used with divers dishes in cooking, as we in civilized countries use dried currants, which they very much resemble.

276 A handsome pipe and a tobacco-pouch made of the otter skin, filled with
264 k'nick-k'neck (Indian tobacco), laid by the side of the feast; and when we were seated, mine host took up his pipe, and deliberately filled it; and instead of lighting it by the fire, which he could easily have done, he drew from his pouch his flint and steel, and raised a spark with which he kindled it. He drew a few strong whiffs through it, and presented the stem of it to my mouth, through which I drew a whiff or two while he held the stem in his hands. This done, he laid down the pipe, and drawing his knife from his belt, cut off a very small piece of the meat from the ribs, and pronouncing the words "Ho-pe-ne-chee wa-pa-shee" (meaning a *medicine* sacrifice), threw it into the fire.

He then (by signals) requested me to eat, and I commenced, after drawing out from my belt my knife (which it is supposed that every man in this country carries about him, for at an Indian feast a knife is never offered
[576] to a guest). Reader, be not astonished that I sat and ate my dinner *alone,* for such is the custom of this strange land. In all tribes in these western regions it is an invariable rule that a chief never eats with his guests invited to a feast; but while they eat, he sits by, at their service, and ready to wait upon them; deliberately charging and lighting the pipe which is to be passed around after the feast is over. Such was the case in the present instance, and while I was eating, Mah-to-toh-pa sat cross-legged before me, cleaning his pipe and preparing it for a cheerful smoke when I had finished my meal. For this ceremony I observed he was making unusual preparation, and I observed as I ate, that after he had taken enough of the k'nick-k'neck or bark of the red willow, from his pouch, he rolled out of it also a piece of the "*castor,*" which it is customary amongst these folks to carry in their tobacco-sack to give it a flavour; and, shaving off a small quantity of it, mixed it with the bark, with which he charged his pipe. This done, he drew also from his sack a small parcel containing a fine powder, which was made of dried buffalo dung, a little of which he spread over the top, (according also to custom,) which was like tinder, having no other effect than that of lighting the pipe with ease and satisfaction. My appetite satiated, I straightened up, and with a whiff the pipe was lit, and we enjoyed together for a quarter of an hour the most delightful exchange of good feelings, amid clouds of smoke and pantomimic signs and gesticulations.

251 The dish of "pemican and marrow-fat," of which I spoke, was thus:—The first, an article of food used throughout this country, as familiarly as we use

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

251 bread in the civilized world. It is made of buffalo meat dried very hard, and afterwards pounded in a large wooden mortar until it is made nearly as fine as sawdust, then packed in this dry state in bladders or sacks of skin, and is easily carried to any part of the world in good order. "Marrow-fat" is collected by the Indians from the buffalo bones which they break to pieces, yielding a prodigious quantity of marrow, which is boiled out and put into buffalo bladders which have been distended; and after it cools, becomes quite hard like tallow, and has the appearance, and very nearly the flavour, of the richest yellow butter. At a feast, chunks of this marrow-fat are cut off and placed in a tray or bowl, with the pemican, and eaten together; which we civilized folks in these regions consider a very good substitute for (and indeed we generally so denominate it) "bread and
415 butter." In this dish laid a spoon made of the buffalo's horn, which was black as jet, and beautifully polished; in one of the others there was another of still more ingenious and beautiful workmanship, made of the horn of the mountain-sheep, or "Gros corn," as the French trappers call them; it was large enough to hold of itself two or three pints, and was almost entirely transparent.

I spoke also of the earthen dishes or bowls in which these viands were served out; they are a familiar part of the culinary furniture of every Mandan lodge, and are manufactured by the women of this tribe in great quantities, and modelled into a thousand forms and tastes. They are made by the hands of the women, from a tough black clay, and baked in kilns which are made for the purpose, and are nearly equal in hardness to our own manufacture of pottery; though they have not yet got the art of glazing, which would be to them a most valuable secret. They make them so strong and serviceable, however, that they hang them over the fire as we do our iron pots, and boil their meat in them with perfect success. I have seen some few specimens of such manufacture, which have been dug up in Indian mounds and tombs in the southern and middle states, placed in our Eastern Museums and looked upon as a great wonder, when here this novelty is at once done away with, and the whole mystery; where women can be seen handling and using them by hundreds, and they can be seen every day in the summer also, moulding them into many fanciful forms, and passing them through the kiln where they are hardened.

576 Whilst sitting at this feast the wigwam was as silent as death, although we
595 were not alone in it. This chief, like most others, had a plurality of wives, and all of them (some six or seven) were seated around the sides of the lodge, upon robes or mats placed upon the ground, and not allowed to speak, though they were it readiness to obey his orders or commands, which were uniformly given by signs manual, and executed in the neatest and most silent manner.

431 When I arose to return, the pipe through which we had smoked was presented to me; and the robe on which I had sat, he gracefully raised by the corners and tendered it to me, explaining by signs that the paintings

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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From the enslaved and degraded condition in which the women are held in the Indian country, the world would naturally think that theirs must be a community formed of incongruous and unharmonizing materials; and consequently destitute of the fine, reciprocal feelings and attachments which flow from the domestic relations in the civilized world; yet it would be untrue, and doing injustice to the Indians, to say that they were in the least behind us in conjugal, in filial, and in paternal affection. There is no trait in the human character which is more universal than the attachments which flow from these relations, and there is no part of the human species who have a stronger affection and a higher regard for them than the North American Indians. 593

There is no subject in the Indian character of more importance to be rightly understood than this, and none either that has furnished me more numerous instances and more striking proofs, of which I shall make use on a future occasion, when I shall say a vast deal more of marriage—of divorce—of polygamy—and of Indian domestic relations. For the present I am scribbling about the looks and usages of the Indians who are about me and under my eye; and I must not digress too much into general remarks, lest I lose sight of those who are near me, and the first to be heralded. 000

Such, then, are the Mandans—their women are beautiful and modest,—and amongst the respectable families, virtue is as highly cherished and as inapproachable, as in any society whatever; yet at the same time a chief may marry a dozen wives if he pleases, and so may a white man; and if either wishes to marry the most beautiful and modest girl in the tribe, she is valued only equal, perhaps, to two horses, a gun with powder and ball for a year, five or six pounds of beads, a couple of gallons of whiskey, and a handful of awls. 583

The girls of this tribe, like those of most of these north-western tribes, marry at the age of twelve or fourteen, and some at the age of eleven years; and their beauty, from this fact, as well as from the slavish life they lead, soon after marriage vanishes. Their occupations are almost continual, and they seem to go industriously at them, as if from choice or inclination, without a murmur. 582

The principal occupations of the women in this village, consist in procuring wood and water, in cooking, dressing robes and other skins, in drying meat and wild fruit, and raising corn (maize). The Mandans are somewhat of agriculturists, as they raise a great deal of corn and some pumpkins and squashes. This is all done by the women, who make their hoes of the shoulder-blade of the buffalo or the elk, and dig the ground over instead of ploughing it, which is consequently done with a vast deal of labour. They raise a very small sort of corn, the ears of which are not longer than a man's thumb. This variety is well adapted to their climate, as it ripens sooner than other varieties, which would not mature in so cold a latitude. The green corn season is one of great festivity with them, and one of much importance. The greater part of their crop is eaten during these festivals, 462 241 251

251 and the remainder is gathered and dried on the cob, before it has ripened, and packed away in "*caches*" (as the French call them), holes dug in the ground, some six or seven feet deep, the insides of which are somewhat in the form of a jug, and tightly closed at the top. The corn, and even dried meat and pemican, are placed in these *caches*, being packed tight around the sides, with prairie grass, and effectually preserved through the severest winters.

251 Corn and dried meat are generally laid in in the fall, in sufficient quantities
262 to support them through the winter. These are the principal articles of food during that long and inclement season; and in addition to them, they oftentimes have in store great quantities of dried squashes and dried "*pommes blanches*," a kind of turnip which grows in great abundance in these regions, and of which I have before spoken. These are dried in great quantities, and pounded into a sort of meal, and cooked with the dried meat and corn. Great quantities also of wild fruit of different kinds are dried and laid away in store for the winter season, such as buffalo berries, service berries, strawberries, and wild plums.

252 The buffalo meat, however, is the great staple and "staff of life" in this
262 country, and seldom (if ever) fails to afford them an abundant and wholesome means of subsistence. There are, from a fair computation, something like 250,000 Indians in these western regions, who live almost exclusively on the flesh of these animals, through every part of the year. During the summer and fall months they use the meat fresh, and cook it in a great variety of ways, by roasting, broiling, boiling, stewing, smoking, &c.; and by boiling the ribs and joints with the marrow in them, make a delicious soup, which is universally used, and in vast quantities. The Mandans, I
264 find, have no regular or stated times for their meals, but generally eat about twice in the twenty-four hours. The pot is always boiling over the fire, and any one who is hungry (either of the household or from any other part of the village) has a right to order it taken off, and to fall to eating as he pleases. Such is an unvarying custom amongst the North American Indians, and I very much doubt, whether the civilized world have in their institutions any system which can properly be called more humane and charitable. Every
574 man, woman, or child in Indian communities is allowed to enter any one's lodge, and even that of the chief of the nation, and eat when they are hungry, provided misfortune or necessity has driven them to it. Even so can the poorest and most worthless drone of the nation; if he is toc lazy to hunt or to supply himself, he can walk into any lodge and everyone will share with him as long as there is anything to eat. He, however, who thus begs when he is able to hunt, pays dear for his meat, for he is stigmatized with the disgraceful epithet of a poltroon and a beggar.

264 The Mandans, like all other tribes, sit at their meals cross-legged, or rather
516 with their ancles crossed in front of them, and both feet drawn close under their bodies; or, which is very often the case also, take their meals in a re-

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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261 As I before observed, these men generally eat but twice a day, and many times not more than once, and those meals are light and simple compared with the meals that are swallowed in the civilized world; and by the very people also, who sit at the festive board three times a day, making a jest of the Indian for his eating, when they actually guzzle more liquids, besides their eating, than would fill the stomach of an Indian.

There are, however, many seasons and occasions in the year with all Indians, when they fast for several days in succession; and others where they can *get* nothing to eat; and at such times (their habits are such) they may be seen to commence with an enormous meal, and because they do so, it is an insufficient reason why we should for ever remain under so egregious an error with regard to a single custom of these people.

I have seen so many of these, and lived with them, and travelled with them, and oftentimes felt as if I should starve to death on an equal allowance, that I am fully convinced I am correct in saying that the North American Indians, taking them in the aggregate, even where they have an abundance to subsist on, eat less than any civilized population of equal numbers, that I have ever travelled amongst.

● 251 171 Their mode of curing and preserving the buffalo meat is somewhat curious, and in fact it is almost incredible also; for it is all cured or dried in the sun, without the aid of salt or smoke! The method of doing this is the same amongst all the tribes, from this to the Mexican Provinces, and is as follows:—The choicest parts of the flesh from the buffalo are cut out by the squaws, and carried home on their backs or on horses, and there cut "*across the grain*," in such a manner as will take alternately the layers of lean and fat; and having prepared it all in this way, in strips about half an inch in thickness, it is hung up by hundreds and thousands of pounds on poles resting on crotches, out of the reach of dogs or wolves, and exposed to the rays of the sun for several days, when it becomes so effectually dried, that it can be carried to any part of the world without damage. This seems almost an unaccountable thing, and the more so, as it is done in the hottest months of the year, and also in all the different latitudes of an Indian country.

So singular a fact as this can only be accounted for, I consider, on the ground of the extraordinary rarity and purity of the air which we meet with in these vast tracts of country, which are now properly denominated "the great buffalo plains," a series of exceedingly elevated plateaus of *steppes* or *prairies*, lying at and near the base of the Rocky Mountains.

263 It is a fact then, which I presume will be new to most of the world, that meat can be cured in the sun without the aid of smoke or salt; and it is a fact equally true and equally surprising also, that none of these tribes use salt in any way, although their country abounds in salt springs; and in many places, in the frequent walks of the Indian, the prairie may be seen, for miles together, covered with an incrustation of salt as white as the drifted snow.

and treasures, as it contains every thing he values most, viz: 353
two bulls' heads, which seem to be their great Manitou and protection. They are well daubed over with earth, and particular care is taken of them. There is laid on, or rather hung up, his arms, shield, ammunition, scalps of his enemies, and every thing he most values.

MORTAR AND PESTLE.

Next to this stage, stand the mortar and pestle, fixed firm in 342
the ground, and the remainder of the hut from that to the door 412
is vacant during the daytime, but occupied during the night by 231
the horses. Then there still remains a large space in the center, around the fire, for the use of the family, which is generally swept clean once a day. 1/1

CORN STAGE.

Fronting the entrance of each porch stands a stage raised 343
about eight feet from the ground, twenty feet in length, and ten 251
feet in breadth, for the purpose of hanging up their corn to dry, in the fall; these stages have a tolerable good flooring, which in the fall is covered with beans to dry, and posts are erected upon them, on the tops of which are laid poles or rafters, to which the corn and sliced squashes are suspended in tresses to dry. When their harvest is over, they must have a pretty 313
effect, but at this season of the year they are lumbered up with 372
different kinds of drift-wood, of which they make their fires, and it gives a very ugly appearance to the villages.

DRIFT WOOD.

This wood they collect, in the spring, when the ice breaks up, and when great quantities of this wood floats down, the natives being expert swimmers, and so very active, that there is scarcely a large tree escapes them, until they have a sufficient stock for the year. I observed lying opposite to each village, an immense pile of this wood, and some trees of an amazing size. Commonly, when they collect the drift wood there come down [222]
numbers of drowned buffalo, that have perished in attempting to cross above, at a season when the ice was bad. These animals the natives are very careful to haul on shore, as they prefer the flesh in that state. [268]

LIGHT HAIRED CHILDREN.

An extraordinory sight that struck me among these people, 142
was to see several children, of about ten years of age, whose hair was perfectly gray, and bore a strong resemblance to aged persons. Those I saw were all girls. These people in general have not that strong coarse hair, so peculiar to the natives of North America; it is of a much finer nature, rather inclining to
1/1 [See Category 16, p. 340.-N.]

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

524 observe the Indians at the village engaged out in the open air, at a game which resembled billiards more than anything we had seen, and which we are inclined to suspect may have been acquired by ancient intercourse with the French of Canada. From the first to the second chief's lodge, a distance of about fifty yards, was covered with timber, smoothed and joined so as to be as level as the floor of one of our houses, with a battery at the end to stop the rings; these rings were of clay-stone, and flat like the chequers for drafts, and the sticks were about four feet long, with two short pieces at one end in the form of a mace, so fixed, that the whole will slide along the board. Two men fix themselves at one end, each provided with a stick, and one of them with a ring; they then run along the board, and about half way slide the sticks after the ring." (id 196.)

437 "Saturday, 22nd. A number of squaws and men dressed like squaws brought corn to trade for small articles with the men. Among other things we procured two horns of the animal called by the French, the Rock mountain sheep, and known to the Mandans by the name of ahsahta. The animal itself is about the size of a small elk or large deer; the horn winding like those of a ram, which they resemble also in texture, though larger and thicker."

Mandan Food. "Sunday, 23rd. The weather was fine and warm like that of yesterday. We were again visited by crowds of Indians of all descriptions, who came either to trade, or from mere curiosity. Among the rest Kogahami, the Little Raven, •252 brought his wife and son loaded with corn, and she then entertained us with a favorite Mandan dish, a mixture of pumpkins, beans, corn and chokecherries with the stones, all boiled together in a kettle, and forming a composition by no means unpalatable." (id 197.)

000 **Christmas.** "Tuesday, 25th. We were awakened before day by a discharge of three platoons from the party. We had told the Indians not to visit us, as it was one of our great medicine days; so that the men remained at home and amused themselves in various ways, particularly with dancing, in which they take great pleasure. The American flag was hoisted for the first time in the fort; the best provisions we had were brought out, and this, with a little brandy, enabled them to pass the day in great festivity." (id 198.)

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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still grown at the time of Maximilian's visit. Corn, however, 241
surpassed all the rest in importance. It was a small variety, five or six feet high, but was not the common, mottled "Squaw corn" found in the region later. Maximilian enumerates seven distinct sorts, as follows: — white, yellow, red, spotted, black, sugar, yellow flint, and red and white striped. The sweet corn 251
was cut in the milk, then dried on the scaffolds in the sun and kept in the caches. The other corn was not gathered till it was ripe; it was then shelled and also put in the caches. Corn was 252
eaten as succotash with beans, boiled as hominy, ground up into coarse flour and made into cakes, and also as a sort of gruel and in several mixtures with wild fruit.

The beans, as to the cultivation of which there is little information were, nevertheless, of considerable importance. Maximilian[1] gives a number of varieties of these also; there were 241 251 252
white, black, red, and speckled beans. These were not gathered until ripe, and were then spread out on the flooring of the scaffolds to dry, after which they, too, were stored in the caches. The beans were used in about the same way as the corn, both of them being mixed in many dishes. There were five varieties of squash or pumpkin, yellow, black, striped, long, and thick skinned. These were usually cut up into thin slices, hung by cords from the scaffold rafters and dried in the sun. They, too, were then stored away for future use, to be boiled with beans and corn or separately, or eaten with some of the wild plums or choke-cherries.

The sunflowers, Maximilian says, seemed to differ little from those ordinarily cultivated in civilization. There were three kinds, red seed, black seed, and a small seeded sort. There is no account of the method of preparation, but Maximilian tells us that very good cakes were made from them. The Man- 249
dan tobacco, which was used also by the Hidatsa and Arikara, 276
while belonging to the Nicotiana, was a small species. Verendrye says that the tobacco was put up in rolls, that they cut it green and used it, stalks and all; he said it was not good. Later authorities do not agree on its preparation, however, as both Maximilian and Henry say that it was cut ripe and ground up

[1] Op. cit., p. 292.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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met the returning hunters at a short distance from the village, 224
and the hunters dropped portions of the meat for them.

When the Missouri broke up in the spring large numbers of 252
buffalo were drowned and floated down the river. The Mandans usually caught large quantities of these as they floated by, and esteemed them as better than the fresh meat. Henry says that meat was nearly always hung up till partially decayed, after which it was better liked. The intestines of the buffalo were considered a good food and were always eaten. The Mandans made pemmican, as did all of the plains tribes, grinding up the dried meat and packing it in parfleches, after which buffalo fat was poured in.

Probably the antelope were next in importance to the 224
buffalo. These were caught in large bands by means of what were called parks. At the head of a coulée an enclosure of branches was made with a narrow opening from which two fences of branches led away in the shape of a funnel, extending for a mile or often more. The Indians, on horseback, by surrounding a band of antelopes could gradually work them towards this enclosure, through the gate of which they were at last forced to go. The entrance was then guarded and the hunters knocked the animals on the head with the stone war clubs; a hundred or more at a time were often killed in this fashion.

Wolves and foxes were trapped in pitfalls which were dug to a depth of eight or ten feet, covered with branches and baited with pieces of buffalo meat. Beaver and other small fur-bearing animals were caught in traps. Bears were killed only occasionally as the Indians did not like to attack them. Cat-fish and 226
sturgeon, as well as smaller fish and turtles were caught along the river, where unios and snails were also gathered.

The larger birds were caught in a rather peculiar fashion. 223
The hunters usually went to the Bad Lands to hunt them. 171
There a pit was dug in some likely place. Bait of small pieces of meat was scattered about, after which the hunter concealed himself in the pit, dragging over the top a covering of branches with bait upon them. Then he waited patiently, often for a day or more till a bird should alight on the branches; as soon as this happened the bird was grasped and pulled down into

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

cultivated by the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, attains a great height, and is suffered to 241
grow up from the seeds, without having any care whatever bestowed upon it. It is not trans- 276
planted. When it is ripe the stalks are cut, dried, and powdered; or the leaves, with the small branches, are cut into little pieces. The taste and smell are disagreeable to an European, resembling camomile rather than tobacco. The plant is not now so much cultivated as formerly, being superseded by the more pleasant tobacco of the Whites; but the species is still preserved. It is only on solemn occasions, for instance, in negotiations for peace, that this tobacco is still smoked; the seed is, therefore, preserved in the medicine bag of the nation, that the plant may never be lost. When they mean to smoke this tobacco, a small quantity of fat [278]
is rubbed on it.

The cultivation of the maize and other fields, of which each family prepares three, four, 241
or five acres, takes place in the month of May. Rows of small furrows are made, into which 221
the grains of maize are thrown singly, and covered with earth. Three times in the summer the plants are hoed, and the earth heaped up against them, that the moisture may have better access to them. The harvest takes place in October, when men, women, and children, each lend a helping hand. At present the women use, in their field labour, a broad iron hoe, with a crooked wooden handle, which they obtain from the merchants. Charbonneau recollected the time when they used the shoulder blade of the buffalo for this purpose. The fields are never fenced, but lie quite open and exposed.

The wild plants of the prairie are used by the Mandans, and other people of the Upper 222
Missouri; and to those before-mentioned, I can only add the feverolles *(Faba minor equina)*, 252
a fruit resembling the bean, which is said to grow in the ground, but which I did not see; there 824
are many other roots in the prairie, which are used for food. The gourds are eaten fresh as 262
well as dry. The beans are seldom eaten of one kind, but many sorts are mixed together. The maize is boiled or roasted, then pounded, mixed with fat, and made up into small cakes and baked. There are, of course, many other ways of dressing it. The sweet maize has a very pleasant taste, especially when it is in what is called the milky state; it is then boiled, dried, and laid by for use.

All kinds of animals serve the Mandans for food; the bear, when it is young and fat, the 224
wolf, the fox, in short, everything except the horse; the ermine is not eaten by many; and of 825
birds they dislike the turkey-buzzard, and the raven, because they feed on the dead bodies 262
deposited on the stages. They have a great aversion from serpents, but eat the turtle; the buffalo is the chief object of their chase, as it supplies them with skins, meat, tallow, marrow-bones, sinews, and many other necessaries. Next to the buffalo the beaver is the most indispensable to them, since it not only furnishes them with valuable skins, but supplies them with delicate food, the fat tail, especially, being considered quite a dainty morsel by the Indians. Pemmican, 262

251 and the remainder is gathered and dried on the cob, before it has ripened, and packed away in "*caches*" (as the French call them), holes dug in the ground, some six or seven feet deep, the insides of which are somewhat in the form of a jug, and tightly closed at the top. The corn, and even dried meat and pemican, are placed in these *caches*, being packed tight around the sides, with prairie grass, and effectually preserved through the severest winters.

251 Corn and dried meat are generally laid in in the fall, in sufficient quantities to support them through the winter. These are the principal articles of food
262 during that long and inclement season; and in addition to them, they oftentimes have in store great quantities of dried squashes and dried "*pommes blanches*," a kind of turnip which grows in great abundance in these regions, and of which I have before spoken. These are dried in great quantities, and pounded into a sort of meal, and cooked with the dried meat and corn. Great quantities also of wild fruit of different kinds are dried and laid away in store for the winter season, such as buffalo berries, service berries, strawberries, and wild plums.

252 The buffalo meat, however, is the great staple and "staff of life" in this country, and seldom (if ever) fails to afford them an abundant and whole-
262 some means of subsistence. There are, from a fair computation, something like 250,000 Indians in these western regions, who live almost exclusively on the flesh of these animals, through every part of the year. During the summer and fall months they use the meat fresh, and cook it in a great variety of ways, by roasting, broiling, boiling, stewing, smoking, &c.; and by boiling the ribs and joints with the marrow in them, make a delicious soup, which is universally used, and in vast quantities. The Mandans, I
264 find, have no regular or stated times for their meals, but generally eat about twice in the twenty-four hours. The pot is always boiling over the fire, and any one who is hungry (either of the household or from any other part of the village) has a right to order it taken off, and to fall to eating as he pleases. Such is an unvarying custom amongst the North American Indians, and I very much doubt, whether the civilized world have in their institutions any system which can properly be called more humane and charitable. Every
574 man, woman, or child in Indian communities is allowed to enter any one's lodge, and even that of the chief of the nation, and eat when they are hungry, provided misfortune or necessity has driven them to it. Even so can the poorest and most worthless drone of the nation; if he is too lazy to hunt or to supply himself, he can walk into any lodge and everyone will share with him as long as there is anything to eat. He, however, who thus begs when he is able to hunt, pays dear for his meat, for he is stigmatized with the disgraceful epithet of a poltroon and a beggar.

264 The Mandans, like all other tribes, sit at their meals cross-legged, or rather with their ancles crossed in front of them, and both feet drawn close under
516 their bodies; or, which is very often the case also, take their meals in a re-

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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I have, in travelling with Indians, encamped by such places, where they have cooked and eaten their meat, when I have been unable to prevail on them to use salt in any quantity whatever. The Indians cook their meat more than the civilized people do, and I have long since learned, from necessity, that meat thus cooked can easily be eaten and relished too, without salt or other condiment. 252 263

The fact above asserted applies exclusively to those tribes of Indians which I have found in their primitive state, living entirely on meat; but everywhere along our Frontier, where the game of the country has long since been chiefly destroyed, and these people have become semi-civilized, raising and eating, as we do, a variety of vegetable food, they use (and no doubt require), a great deal of salt; and in many instances use it even to destructive excess.

10: Neill H-4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

574 chief gave our horses in charge of a young man, and told us
609 we need not be uneasy as there would be good care taken of them.

574 On going into the hut, we found buffalo hides spread on the
262 ground, before the fire, for us to sit upon, and soon after we were presented with two large dishes of boiled corn and beans, after which they gave us another large dish of boiled dried meat, but very few of us could eat of it, as it had too strong a taste and smell.[1]

231 After some other details which we omit, Harvey writes that
342 when night came: "One young man brought in our horses, and put them in the same hut along with us, upon the right hand, on entering, and ourselves upon the left; a space was enclosed with a railing to keep them within bounds. This custom causes their habitations to have a very disagreeable and offensive smell. This precaution of theirs is to keep the horses from being stolen by the Assiniboines, or other enemies, who are frequently lurking about the village.

515 "Towards evening, having gone down to the river side, I
291 observed the custom of washing themselves in the Missouri. Both men and women make it a rule, every morning and evening, to go down to the river, and wash for some time; the men make use of the clay to wash their hair, which answers the purpose of soap to take out the white and red earth with which they daub it, after having washed. Modesty in the female sex appears to be a virtue they are unacquainted with. They wear a kind of leather shift which reaches down to the calves of their legs. This they slip off some distance from the shore, and walk very deliberately into the water entirely naked, in the presence of old and young who seem not to pay any attention to them. [2] * * * * The men make use of no other covering, in the summer season, than these buffalo robes, and even these are seldom worn within doors, and only thrown on when they go out to visit or walk about the village.
[352] Both sexes sleep naked. Their beds are raised about two feet from the ground, and hung around with dressed skins. In summer they seldom use any coverings at night, but lay like so many brutes."[2] * * * * Mr. Henry gives a description of their lascivious dances which is too indelicate to publish. He writes under date of:

252 "Sunday, July 20th. At daybreak we were all up, and I
262 took a walk down to the river, where I observed the same cer-
352 emony of washing as last evening, with as little reserve as
512 before. Our host on our return presented us with some dried
412 meat, and soon after a dish of corn and beans, but as it is not seasoned with any kind of grease or fat, after the first meal it has a very insipid taste. The corn is generally pounded or bruised in a wooden mortar, which is fixed fast and firm in the ground, in one corner of the hut, and this is the first work performed by the women in the morning.

[1] [Category 116, p. 325.-A] [2] [Category 116, p. 326.-A]

10: Neill H4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

formed by the women in the morning.[1] Their sweet corn and beans are boiled whole; they make use of large earthen pots of their own manufacture, made of black clay, of which they have plenty near their villages. They make them of different sizes, from five gallons to a quart. In these vessels is never anything of a greasy nature.[1] * * * * * The bottoms of the pots are of an oblong shape; it therefore requires much care to keep them from upsetting, for which purpose when they are put to the fire a hole is made in the ashes to secure and prop them erect, and when taken away they are placed upon a sort of mat made of the fibers of the bois blanc; these coils or rugs are made of different sizes, according to the dimensions of the several pots, which keeps them firm and secure. Some of these pots are provided with two cones, or handles.[1] * *

Baptiste La France made his appearance here. This man had left the Prairie la Souris [Mouse River] with a small assortment of goods for the purpose of trading, equipped by the Hudson Bay Company. He now resides upon the south side of the river, at the great Mandane village,* and hearing of the arrival of white people, he came over to us. He now informed the chief, Black Cat, who his guests were and the cause of our visit, which was mere curiosity. [The chief] instantly retired to his family hut and brought out his flag, which was given him in 1804–5; they alsogave him a silver medal, and the same articles were also given to the principal chief of each of the other villages, also several very useful utensils were left amongst them.† I saw the remains of an excellent large corn mill, which the foolish fellows had demolished on purpose to barb their arrows; the largest piece of it which they could not break nor work up into any weapon they have now fixed to a wooden handle, and make use of it to pound marrow bones, to make grease."

We were now desirous of crossing the river, therefore sent off La France to engage people of the opposite village to come over for us.[2] * * * * * * We were now informed that eight canoes were in waiting for us, from the opposite side, and the same number of young men had come over to assist in crossing our horses.[2] * * * * On our going over to the war side we found the chief of the Great Mandan village, Le Gros Blanc. He was waiting with his own canoe to ferry over Mr. Chaboillez and me. He appeared very

† To each chief, Lewis and Clarke presented a medal, a flag, and a uniform coat. In the narrative of the expedition is the following sentence: "A variety of other presents were distributed, but none seemed to give them more satisfaction than the iron corn mill, which we gave to the Mandans."

† The Mandans, about 1760, were settled on the banks of the Missouri, eighty miles below, seven villages on the west and two on the east side of the river. The two villages were reduced by small-pox, and moved up the river and settled a village near the Receivers, and afterwards the people of the other village joined them. In 1796 they were in two villages at the points where Henry found them, on opposite sides of Missouri, about three miles apart.

[1] [Category 116, p. 328.-A.] [2] [Category 116, p. 328.-A]

142 a dark brown, some few indeed I observed whose hair was almost fair. A Big Belly, in particular, I saw with yellow hair. This circumstance, I believe, could scarcely proceed from any connection with the whites, as it is now more than thirty years since they first saw us, and this man was at least forty years old. Their eyes are jet black, some few are of a dark grey.

LONG HAIR.

302 The men wear their hair long, twisted into small quaittes hanging down to the rump. Some have it of enormous length, trailing upon the ground. They seldom tie it, but allow their numerous small quaittes to flow in a more graceful manner upon their backs; they always daub it with white and red earth. The women wear their hair short, allowing it to grow no longer than to be of sufficient length to cover the ears and neck. They never tie it, nor make use of any ornament for the head further than sometimes daubing it with red earth.

LASCIVIOUSNESS.

837 609 578 They seem to be a very lascivious people. The men make not the least scruple in offering their wives to lay with strangers, without any solicitation, and are even offended, if their offers are not accepted, unless you can convince them, by some good reason, for refusing to comply, and that it is not out of contempt. They always expect payment for their complaisance, but a mere trifle will satisfy, even a single coat-button. Notwithstanding this courteous behavior to strangers, they are not entirely free from jealousies among themselves, which sometimes cause quarrels and bloodshed. The woman generally falls a sacrifice in an affair of this nature.[1]

MODE OF ROASTING MEAT.

● 252 They have a very peculiar way of roasting meat; a plecotte, in particular, is suspended from the roof of the hut exactly over the fire, the cord being passed through and fastened to the centre of the piece keeps it in a flat position directly over the flames. A person is seated near it, and with a small stick keeps it continually in motion by pushing it to and fro. When one side is done, it is turned over, and fit for use. This method is much more expeditious than the common way of roasting before the fire, and preferable, as it retains the natural juice and flavor.[2]

EDWARD D. NEILL.

1 [See category 116, p. 342-3. -A.]

2 [For further information in Henry's Journal not mentioned by Neill, see category 116, pp. 343 ff. -Analyst.]

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342 513 are made like tombs, surrounded by skins. These men are always naked, covered only with a buffalo robe. * * * * Their fort 251 is full of caves, in which are stored such articles as grain, food, 436 fat, dressed robes and bear skins. They are well supplied with these; it is the money of the country. The more they have of it 304 the richer they believe themselves to be. They are fond of tattooing, but never more than half of the body is tattoed, both of 285 men and women. They make wicker work very neatly, flat and in baskets.

Pottery. "They make use of earthen pots, which they use like 323 many other nations for cooking their food. They are for the most part great eaters; are eager for feasts. They brought me every ●261 day more than twenty dishes of wheat, beans and pumpkins, all cooked. Mr. de la Marque, who did not hate feasts, went to them continually with my children. As I did not go to them my share 141 was sent to me. The men are stout and tall, generally very active, fairly good looking, with a good physiognomy. The women have not the Indian physiognomy. The men indulge in a sort of ball 526 play on the squares and ramparts.

000 "On the evening of the 4th the Sieur Nolant and my son arrived, well satisfied with their journey, having been well received and strongly urged to remain longer. The fort is on the bank of the river, as large again as this; the squares and streets are very fine and clean; their palisade is in the best order and strength; the whole built in the same fashion as the one in which we were. From what they could hear all their forts are alike; who saw one saw all, with this difference, that some were much larger than others. The nearest to the Pananas that the river appeared to go was, according to the compass, southwest by south, by signs given to them; the lower part may go to the sea to the southwest by west. They were often amused by broken talk; not being able to answer questions put to them, they answered something else, for want of understanding. The waters of their rivers come down with great rapidity, having many shoals. The water is not good for drinking, being brakish. We have constantly found from the last mountain almost all the marshes and ponds brakish or sulphurous. What they could understand was that on the lower part of the river there were men like us, who made cloth and linen, were very numerous and had wars with a large part of the Indians. We saw that it was useless to question them, as they

clining posture, with the legs thrown out, and the body resting on one elbow and fore-arm, which are under them. The dishes from which they eat are invariably on the ground or floor of the lodge, and the group resting on buffalo robes or mats of various structure and manufacture. 264 516

The position in which the women sit at their meals and on other occasions is different from that of the men, and one which they take and rise from again, with great ease and much grace, by merely bending the knees both together, inclining the body back and the head and shoulders quite forward, they squat entirely down to the ground, inclining both feet either to the right or the left. In this position they always rest while eating, and it is both modest and graceful, for they seem, with apparent ease, to assume the position and rise out of it, without using their hands in any way to assist them.

These women, however, although graceful and civil, and ever so beautiful or ever so hungry, are not allowed to sit in the same group with the men while at their meals. So far as I have yet travelled in the Indian country, I never have seen an Indian woman eating with her husband. Men form the first group at the banquet, and women, and children and dogs all come together at the next, and these gormandize and glut themselves to an enormous extent, though the men very seldom do. 562 264

It is time that an error on this subject, which has gone generally abroad in the world, was corrected. It is everywhere asserted, and almost universally believed, that the Indians are "enormous eaters;" but comparatively speaking, I assure my readers that this is an error. I venture to say that there are no persons on earth who practice greater prudence and self-denial, than the men do (amongst the wild Indians), who are constantly in war and in the chase, or in their athletic sports and exercises; for all of which they are excited by the highest ideas of pride and honour, and every kind of excess is studiously avoided; and for a very great part of their lives, the most painful abstinence is enforced upon themselves, for the purpose of preparing their bodies and their limbs for these extravagant exertions. Many a man who has been a few weeks along the frontier, amongst the drunken, naked and beggared part of the Indian race, and run home and written a book on Indians, has, no doubt, often seen them eat to beastly excess; and he has seen them also guzzle whiskey (and perhaps *sold* it to them) till he has seen them glutted and besotted, without will or energy to move; and many and thousands of such things can always be seen, where white people have made beggars of them, and they have nothing to do but lie under a fence and beg a whole week to get meat and whiskey enough for one feast and one carouse; but amongst the wild Indians in this country there are no beggars—no drunkards—and every man, from a beautiful natural precept, studies to keep his body and mind in such a healthy shape and condition as will at all times enable him to use his weapons in self-defence, or struggle for the prize in their manly games. 261 177

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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261 As I before observed, these men generally eat but twice a day, and many times not more than once, and those meals are light and simple compared with the meals that are swallowed in the civilized world; and by the very people also, who sit at the festive board three times a day, making a jest of the Indian for his eating, when they actually guzzle more liquids, besides their eating, than would fill the stomach of an Indian.

There are, however, many seasons and occasions in the year with all Indians, when they fast for several days in succession; and others where they can *get* nothing to eat; and at such times (their habits are such) they may be seen to commence with an enormous meal, and because they do so, it is an insufficient reason why we should for ever remain under so egregious an error with regard to a single custom of these people.

I have seen so many of these, and lived with them, and travelled with them, and oftentimes felt as if I should starve to death on an equal allowance, that I am fully convinced I am correct in saying that the North American Indians, taking them in the aggregate, even where they have an abundance to subsist on, eat less than any civilized population of equal numbers, that I have ever travelled amongst.

251 171 Their mode of curing and preserving the buffalo meat is somewhat curious, and in fact it is almost incredible also; for it is all cured or dried in the sun, without the aid of salt or smoke! The method of doing this is the same amongst all the tribes, from this to the Mexican Provinces, and is as follows:—The choicest parts of the flesh from the buffalo are cut out by the squaws, and carried home on their backs or on horses, and there cut "*across the grain*," in such a manner as will take alternately the layers of lean and fat; and having prepared it all in this way, in strips about half an inch in thickness, it is hung up by hundreds and thousands of pounds on poles resting on crotches, out of the reach of dogs or wolves, and exposed to the rays of the sun for several days, when it becomes so effectually dried, that it can be carried to any part of the world without damage. This seems almost an unaccountable thing, and the more so, as it is done in the hottest months of the year, and also in all the different latitudes of an Indian country.

So singular a fact as this can only be accounted for, I consider, on the ground of the extraordinary rarity and purity of the air which we meet with in these vast tracts of country, which are now properly denominated "the great buffalo plains," a series of exceedingly elevated plateaus of *steppes* or *prairies*, lying at and near the base of the Rocky Mountains.

263 It is a fact then, which I presume will be new to most of the world, that meat can be cured in the sun without the aid of smoke or salt; and it is a fact equally true and equally surprising also, that none of these tribes use salt in any way, although their country abounds in salt springs; and in many places, in the frequent walks of the Indian, the prairie may be seen, for miles together, covered with an incrustation of salt as white as the drifted snow.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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224 boasting, whilst bows were twanging and spears were polishing by running their blades into the ground—every face and every eye was filled with joy and gladness—horses were pawing and snuffing in fury for the outset, when Louison Frénié, an interpreter of the Fur Company, galloped through the village with his rifle in his hand and his powder-horn at his side; his head and waist were bandaged with handkerchiefs, and his shirt sleeves rolled up to his shoulders—the hunter's yell issued from his lips and was repeated through the village; he flew to the bluffs, and behind him and over the graceful swells of the prairie, galloped the emulous youths, whose hearts were beating high and quick for the onset.

●261 In the village, where hunger had reigned, and starvation was almost ready to look them in the face, all was instantly turned to joy and gladness. The chiefs and doctors who had been for some days dealing out minimum rations to the community from the public crib, now spread before their subjects the contents of their own private *caches*, and the last of every thing that could be mustered, that they might eat a thanksgiving to the Great Spirit for his goodness in sending them a supply of buffalo meat. A general carouse of banqueting ensued, which occupied the greater part of the day; and their hidden stores which might have fed an emergency for several weeks, were pretty nearly used up on the occasion—bones were half picked, and dishes half emptied and then handed to the dogs. *I* was not forgotten neither, in the general surfeit; several large and generous wooden bowls of pemican and other palatable food were sent to my painting-room, and I received them in this time of scarcity with great pleasure.

721 After this general indulgence was over, and the dogs had licked the dishes, their usual games and amusements ensued—and hilarity and mirth, and joy took possession of, and reigned in, every nook and corner of the village; and in the midst of this, screams and shrieks were heard! and echoed everywhere. Women and children scrambled to the tops of their wigwams, with their eyes and their hands stretched in agonizing earnestness to the prairie, whilst blackened warriors ran furiously through every winding maze of the village, and issuing their jarring gutturals of vengeance, as they snatched their deadly weapons from their lodges, and struck the reddened post as they furiously passed it by! Two of their hunters were bending their course down the sides of the bluff towards the village, and another broke suddenly out of a deep ravine, and yet another was seen dashing over and down the green hills, and all were goading on their horses at full speed! and then came another, and another, and all entered the village amid shouts and groans of the villagers who crowded around them; the story was told in their looks, for one was bleeding, and the blood that flowed from his naked breast had crimsoned his milk white steed as it had dripped over him; another grasped in his left hand a scalp that was reeking in blood—and in the other his whip—another grasped nothing, save the reins in one hand and the mane of the horse in the other, having thrown his bow and his arrows

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 from the Indians, who were delighted at the exchange." (id 216.)

262 **Buffalo Meat.** "Friday, 8th. A fair and pleasant morning, with southeast winds. Pocopsahe came down to the fort with a bow, and apologized for his not having finished a shield which he had promised to Captain Lewis, and which the weather had prevented him from completing. This chief possesses more firmness, intelligence and integrity, than any Indian of this country, and he might be rendered highly serviceable in our attempts to civilize the nation. He mentioned that the Mandans are very much in want of meat, and that he himself had not tasted any for several days. To this distress they are often reduced by their own improvidence, or by their unhappy situation. Their principal article of food is buffalo meat, their corn, beans, and other grain being reserved for summer, or as a last resource against what they constantly dread, an attack from the Sioux, who drive off the game and confine them to their villages. The same fear too prevents their going out to hunt in small parties to relieve their occasional wants, so that the buffalo is generally obtained in large quantities, and wasted by carelessness." (id 217.)

231 **Mandan Horses.** "Tuesday, 12th. The morning is fair though cold, the mercury being 14 degrees below zero, the wind from the southeast. About four o'clock the horses were brought in much fatigued. On giving them meal bran moistened with water they would not eat it, but preferred the bark of the cottonwood, which as is already observed, forms their principal food during the winter. The horses of the Mandans are so often stolen by the Sioux, Ricaras and Assiniboines, that the invariable rule now is to put the horses every night in the same lodge with the family. In the summer they ramble in the plains in the vicinity of the camp, and feed on the grass, but during cold weather the squaws cut down the cottonwood trees as they are wanted, and the horses feed on the boughs and bark of the tender branches, which are also brought into the lodges at night and placed near them. These animals are very severely treated; for whole days they are pursuing the buffalo, or burdened with the fruits of the chase, during which time scarcely ever taste food, and at night return to a scanty allowance of wood; yet the spirit of this valuable ani-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter VIII

CATFISH-TRAPPING CEREMONY

THIS ceremony was associated with the eagle-trapping bundle, and both possessed a common mythological origin from Black Wolf. There was no direct reference to the fish trap in the Black Wolf myth, but in theory the sacred snare could catch anything. Crows Heart explained that even a buffalo corral was in reality a large snare, so a man owning a sacred snare was selected to stand on a high hill and by means of motions, as of snaring the buffaloes, pulled the animals by its magical powers into the corral.[1] War leaders took their sacred snares along when looking for enemies for supernatural aid in ensnaring and destroying their foes.

Purchase of catfish- and eagle-trapping rites could be made simultaneously, or the fish-trapping rights could be bought at a later date. Some men bought rights in only one of the ceremonies. A seller possessing rights in both ceremonies could sell each ceremony four times. Associated closely with these two ceremonies were the sweat lodge and the snare rites for doctoring and officiating at the buffalo and antelope pounds.

Although the Missouri River carries considerable sediment, catfish are very abundant. The presence of catfish bones in ancient Mandan and Hidatsa villages indicates that considerable use was made of these fish as food.

When a fish trap was in use, the black-bear hide was kept in the owner's lodge, laid out on calicoes on a four-post standard with its head pointing toward the fireplace. Food was offered to the bundle each day while the fish trap was being used.

Ben Benson remembered these Mandan who had catfish-trapping rights about 1880:

1. Black Tongue (Big Turtle). He was also custodian of the Okipa turtle drums, Hoita in the Okipa, owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a singer in the Corn ceremonies.

1. Refer to my manuscript, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization," for an account of the ceremonies associated with the buffalo corral.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

cultivated by the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, attains a great height, and is suffered to 241
grow up from the seeds, without having any care whatever bestowed upon it. It is not trans- 276
planted. When it is ripe the stalks are cut, dried, and powdered; or the leaves, with the small branches, are cut into little pieces. The taste and smell are disagreeable to an European, resembling camomile rather than tobacco. The plant is not now so much cultivated as formerly, being superseded by the more pleasant tobacco of the Whites; but the species is still preserved. It is only on solemn occasions, for instance, in negotiations for peace, that this tobacco is still smoked; the seed is, therefore, preserved in the medicine bag of the nation, that the plant may never be lost. When they mean to smoke this tobacco, a small quantity of fat [278]
is rubbed on it.

The cultivation of the maize and other fields, of which each family prepares three, four, 241
or five acres, takes place in the month of May. Rows of small furrows are made, into which 221
the grains of maize are thrown singly, and covered with earth. Three times in the summer the plants are hoed, and the earth heaped up against them, that the moisture may have better access to them. The harvest takes place in October, when men, women, and children, each lend a helping hand. At present the women use, in their field labour, a broad iron hoe, with a crooked wooden handle, which they obtain from the merchants. Charbonneau recollected the time when they used the shoulder blade of the buffalo for this purpose. The fields are never fenced, but lie quite open and exposed.

The wild plants of the prairie are used by the Mandans, and other people of the Upper 222
Missouri; and to those before-mentioned, I can only add the feverolles *(Faba minor equina)*, 252
a fruit resembling the bean, which is said to grow in the ground, but which I did not see; there 824
are many other roots in the prairie, which are used for food. The gourds are eaten fresh as 262
well as dry. The beans are seldom eaten of one kind, but many sorts are mixed together. The maize is boiled or roasted, then pounded, mixed with fat, and made up into small cakes and baked. There are, of course, many other ways of dressing it. The sweet maize has a very pleasant taste, especially when it is in what is called the milky state; it is then boiled, dried, and laid by for use.

All kinds of animals serve the Mandans for food; the bear, when it is young and fat, the 224
wolf, the fox, in short, everything except the horse; the ermine is not eaten by many; and of 825
birds they dislike the turkey-buzzard, and the raven, because they feed on the dead bodies 262
deposited on the stages. They have a great aversion from serpents, but eat the turtle; the buffalo is the chief object of their chase, as it supplies them with skins, meat, tallow, marrow-bones, sinews, and many other necessaries. Next to the buffalo the beaver is the most indispensable to them, since it not only furnishes them with valuable skins, but supplies them with delicate food, the fat tail, especially, being considered quite a dainty morsel by the Indians. Pemmican, 262

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

262 which is so favourite a dish among the northern Indians, is not much in use among the Mandans. Their only drink is water, for they are unacquainted with the method of preparing fermented liquors. They did not obtain any spirits, either from the American Fur Company, or the agents [273] of Messrs. Soublette and Campbell; hence an intoxicated person is scarcely ever seen. They are extremely fond of sugar, and likewise of salt, which they procure from their lakes, and, if the supply is insufficient, purchase from the Whites. They are likewise fond of coffee and tea, well sweetened. It has been affirmed, that several North American nations, especially those which speak the Algonquin language, are cannibals, and more particularly the Chippeways and the Potawatomis; but I found no trace of this unnatural custom among the Missouri nations.

597 Two, and sometimes three, families usually live together in an Indian hut, commonly the
595 father, with his married sons or sons-in-law. Polygamy is everywhere practised, and the number
596 of wives differs; however, they have very seldom more than four, and, in general, only one. The women are very skilful in various kinds of work, particularly in dyeing and painting the buffalo
386 robes. They extract a red colour from the roots of the savoyenne, or from buffalo berries; yel-
824 low from a lichen of the Rocky Mountains; black from bellanthus, as well as from a black stone
439 or clay; blue and green they extract from European substances. Among the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, the women, as Lewis and Clarke relate, manufacture beads from coloured glass. They powder those which they have obtained from the traders, and mould them into different shapes. This custom is, however, no longer common. The dyeing of the skins, of
323 which many travellers have spoken, employs a great portion of the women's time. These three nations understand the manufacture of earthen pots and vessels, of various forms and sizes. The clay is of a dark slate colour, and burns a yellowish-red, very similar to what is seen in the burnt tops of the Missouri hills. This clay is mixed with flint or granite, reduced to powder by the action of fire. The workwoman forms the hollow inside of the vessel by means of a round stone which she holds in her hand, while she works and smooths the outside with a piece of poplar bark. When the pot is made, it is filled and surrounded with dry shavings, and then burnt,
501 when it is ready for use. They know nothing of glazing. With respect to their boats, the North Americans are far more expert than the Brazilians, Patagonians, and other South Americans, who live on the banks of rivers, and yet have contrived no means to pass them. The Chippeways and other northern nations have handsome vessels of birch bark; the Esquimaux makes his kiack, which is curiously covered with seal skin; and on the Missouri, especially among the Mandans, there are boats of buffalo skin, which are represented in the plates accompanying this work. They are very light, of a circular form, stretched on a frame of several pieces of wood crossing each other, and may be carried on the shoulder of a single individual.

584 If a young Indian desires to marry, and has obtained the consent of the girl, he endeavours to procure that of her father; when he is certain of this, he brings two, three, nay, even eight or

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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123 I had thus far progressed, with high-wrought feelings of pleasure, when
156 the two or three chiefs, who had been seated around the lodge, and whose portraits I had before painted, arose suddenly, and wrapping themselves tightly in their robes, crossed my room with a quick and heavy step, and took an informal leave of my cabin. I was apprehensive of their displeasure, though I continued my work; and in a few moments the interpreter came furiously into my room, addressing me thus:—"My God, Sir! this never will do; you have given great offence to the chiefs—they have made complaint of your conduct to me—they tell me this is a worthless fellow—a man of no account in the nation, and if you paint his picture, you must instantly destroy theirs; you have no alternative, my dear Sir—and the quicker this chap is out of your lodge the better."

The same matter was explained to my sitter by the interpreter, when he picked up his robe, wrapped himself in it, plied his fan nimbly about his face, and walked out of the lodge in silence, but with quite a consequential smile, taking his old position in front of the door for awhile, after which he drew himself quietly off without further exhibition. So highly do Mandan braves and worthies value the honour of being painted; and so little do they value a man, however lavishly Nature may have bestowed her master touches upon him, who has not the pride and noble bearing of a warrior.

000 I spoke in a former Letter of Mah-to-toh-pa (the four bears), the second chief of the nation, and the most popular man of the Mandans—a high-minded and gallant warrior, as well as a polite and polished gentleman. Since I painted his portrait, as I before described, I have received at his hands many marked and signal attentions; some of which I must name to you, as the very relation of them will put you in possession of many little forms and modes of Indian life, that otherwise might not have been noted.

574 About a week since, this noble fellow stepped into my painting-room about twelve o'clock in the day, in full and splendid dress, and passing his arm through mine, pointed the way, and led me in the most gentlemanly manner, through the village and into his own lodge, where a feast was prepared in a careful manner and waiting our arrival. The lodge in which he
[342] dwelt was a room of immense size, some forty or fifty feet in diameter, in a circular form, and about twenty feet high—with a sunken curb of stone in the centre, of five or six feet in diameter and one foot deep, which contained the fire over which the pot was boiling. I was led near the edge of this curb, and seated on a very handsome robe, most ingeniously garnished and painted with hieroglyphics; and he seated himself gracefully on another one at a little distance from me; with the feast prepared in several dishes, resting on a beautiful rush mat, which was placed between us (PLATE 62).

262 The simple feast which was spread before us consisted of three dishes
264 only, two of which were served in wooden bowls, and the third in an earthen
415 vessel of their own manufacture, somewhat in shape of a bread-tray in our own country. This last contained a quantity of *pem-i-can* and *marrow-*

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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262 *fat;* and one of the former held a fine brace of buffalo ribs, delightfully
264 roasted; and the other was filled with a kind of paste or pudding, made of
415 the flour of the "*pomme blanche,*" as the French call it, a delicious turnip of the prairie, finely flavoured with the buffalo berries, which are collected in great quantities in this country, and used with divers dishes in cooking, as we in civilized countries use dried currants, which they very much resemble.

276 A handsome pipe and a tobacco-pouch made of the otter skin, filled with
264 k'nick-k'neck (Indian tobacco), laid by the side of the feast; and when we were seated, mine host took up his pipe, and deliberately filled it; and instead of lighting it by the fire, which he could easily have done, he drew from his pouch his flint and steel, and raised a spark with which he kindled it. He drew a few strong whiffs through it, and presented the stem of it to my mouth, through which I drew a whiff or two while he held the stem in his hands. This done, he laid down the pipe, and drawing his knife from his belt, cut off a very small piece of the meat from the ribs, and pronouncing the words "Ho-pe-ne-chee wa-pa-shee" (meaning a *medicine* sacrifice), threw it into the fire.

He then (by signals) requested me to eat, and I commenced, after drawing out from my belt my knife (which it is supposed that every man in this country carries about him, for at an Indian feast a knife is never offered
[576] to a guest). Reader, be not astonished that I sat and ate my dinner *alone,* for such is the custom of this strange land. In all tribes in these western regions it is an invariable rule that a chief never eats with his guests invited to a feast; but while they eat, he sits by, at their service, and ready to wait upon them; deliberately charging and lighting the pipe which is to be passed around after the feast is over. Such was the case in the present instance, and while I was eating, Mah-to-toh-pa sat cross-legged before me, cleaning his pipe and preparing it for a cheerful smoke when I had finished my meal. For this ceremony I observed he was making unusual preparation, and I observed as I ate, that after he had taken enough of the k'nick-k'neck or bark of the red willow, from his pouch, he rolled out of it also a piece of the "*castor,*" which it is customary amongst these folks to carry in their tobacco-sack to give it a flavour; and, shaving off a small quantity of it, mixed it with the bark, with which he charged his pipe. This done, he drew also from his sack a small parcel containing a fine powder, which was made of dried buffalo dung, a little of which he spread over the top, (according also to custom,) which was like tinder, having no other effect than that of lighting the pipe with ease and satisfaction. My appetite satiated, I straightened up, and with a whiff the pipe was lit, and we enjoyed together for a quarter of an hour the most delightful exchange of good feelings, amid clouds of smoke and pantomimic signs and gesticulations.

251 The dish of "pemican and marrow-fat," of which I spoke, was thus:—The first, an article of food used throughout this country, as familiarly as we use

251 and the remainder is gathered and dried on the cob, before it has ripened, and packed away in "*caches*" (as the French call them), holes dug in the ground, some six or seven feet deep, the insides of which are somewhat in the form of a jug, and tightly closed at the top. The corn, and even dried meat and pemican, are placed in these *caches*, being packed tight around the sides, with prairie grass, and effectually preserved through the severest winters.

251 Corn and dried meat are generally laid in in the fall, in sufficient quantities to support them through the winter. These are the principal articles of food
● 262 during that long and inclement season; and in addition to them, they oftentimes have in store great quantities of dried squashes and dried "*pommes blanches*," a kind of turnip which grows in great abundance in these regions, and of which I have before spoken. These are dried in great quantities, and pounded into a sort of meal, and cooked with the dried meat and corn. Great quantities also of wild fruit of different kinds are dried and laid away in store for the winter season, such as buffalo berries, service berries, strawberries, and wild plums.

252 The buffalo meat, however, is the great staple and "staff of life" in this country, and seldom (if ever) fails to afford them an abundant and whole-
262 some means of subsistence. There are, from a fair computation, something like 250,000 Indians in these western regions, who live almost exclusively on the flesh of these animals, through every part of the year. During the summer and fall months they use the meat fresh, and cook it in a great variety of ways, by roasting, broiling, boiling, stewing, smoking, &c.; and by boiling the ribs and joints with the marrow in them, make a delicious soup, which is universally used, and in vast quantities. The Mandans, I
264 find, have no regular or stated times for their meals, but generally eat about twice in the twenty-four hours. The pot is always boiling over the fire, and any one who is hungry (either of the household or from any other part of the village) has a right to order it taken off, and to fall to eating as he pleases. Such is an unvarying custom amongst the North American Indians, and I very much doubt, whether the civilized world have in their institutions any system which can properly be called more humane and charitable. Every
574 man, woman, or child in Indian communities is allowed to enter any one's lodge, and even that of the chief of the nation, and eat when they are hungry, provided misfortune or necessity has driven them to it. Even so can the poorest and most worthless drone of the nation; if he is too lazy to hunt or to supply himself, he can walk into any lodge and everyone will share with him as long as there is anything to eat. He, however, who thus begs when he is able to hunt, pays dear for his meat, for he is stigmatized with the disgraceful epithet of a poltroon and a beggar.

264 The Mandans, like all other tribes, sit at their meals cross-legged, or rather
516 with their ancles crossed in front of them, and both feet drawn close under their bodies; or, which is very often the case also, take their meals in a re-

574 chief gave our horses in charge of a young man, and told us
609 we need not be uneasy as there would be good care taken of them.

574 On going into the hut, we found buffalo hides spread on the
●262 ground, before the fire, for us to sit upon, and soon after we were presented with two large dishes of boiled corn and beans, after which they gave us another large dish of boiled dried meat, but very few of us could eat of it, as it had too strong a taste and smell.[1]

231 After some other details which we omit, Harvey writes that
342 when night came: "One young man brought in our horses, and put them in the same hut along with us, upon the right hand, on entering, and ourselves upon the left; a space was enclosed with a railing to keep them within bounds. This custom causes their habitations to have a very disagreeable and offensive smell. This precaution of theirs is to keep the horses from being stolen by the Assiniboines, or other enemies, who are frequently lurking about the village.

515 "Towards evening, having gone down to the river side, I
291 observed the custom of washing themselves in the Missouri. Both men and women make it a rule, every morning and evening, to go down to the river, and wash for some time; the men make use of the clay to wash their hair, which answers the purpose of soap to take out the white and red earth with which they daub it, after having washed. Modesty in the female sex appears to be a virtue they are unacquainted with. They wear a kind of leather shift which reaches down to the calves of their legs. This they slip off some distance from the shore, and walk very deliberately into the water entirely naked, in the presence of old and young who seem not to pay any attention to them. * * * * The men make use of no other covering, in the summer season, than these buffalo robes, and even these are seldom worn within doors, and only thrown on when they go out to visit or walk about the village.
[352] Both sexes sleep naked. Their beds are raised about two feet from the ground, and hung around with dressed skins. In summer they seldom use any coverings at night, but lay like so many brutes." * * * * Mr. Henry gives a description of their lascivious dances which is too indelicate to publish. He writes under date of:

252 "Sunday, July 20th. At daybreak we were all up, and I
262 took a walk down to the river, where I observed the same cer-
352 emony of washing as last evening, with as little reserve as
512 before. Our host on our return presented us with some dried
412 meat, and soon after a dish of corn and beans, but as it is not seasoned with any kind of grease or fat, after the first meal it has a very insipid taste. The corn is generally pounded or bruised in a wooden mortar, which is fixed fast and firm in the ground, in one corner of the hut, and this is the first work performed by the women in the morning.

[1] [Category 116, p. 325.-A] [2] [Category 116, p. 326.-A]

and treasures, as it contains every thing he values most, viz: 353
two bulls' heads, which seem to be their great Manitou and protection. They are well daubed over with earth, and particular care is taken of them. There is laid on, or rather hung up, his arms, shield, ammunition, scalps of his enemies, and every thing he most values.

MORTAR AND PESTLE.

Next to this stage, stand the mortar and pestle, fixed firm in 342
the ground, and the remainder of the hut from that to the door 412
is vacant during the daytime, but occupied during the night by 231
the horses. Then there still remains a large space in the center, around the fire, for the use of the family, which is generally swept clean once a day. 1/1

CORN STAGE.

Fronting the entrance of each porch stands a stage raised 343
about eight feet from the ground, twenty feet in length, and ten 251
feet in breadth, for the purpose of hanging up their corn to dry, in the fall; these stages have a tolerable good flooring, which in the fall is covered with beans to dry, and posts are erected upon them, on the tops of which are laid poles or rafters, to which the corn and sliced squashes are suspended in tresses to dry. When their harvest is over, they must have a pretty 313
effect, but at this season of the year they are lumbered up with 372
different kinds of drift-wood, of which they make their fires, and it gives a very ugly appearance to the villages.

DRIFT WOOD.

This wood they collect, in the spring, when the ice breaks up, and when great quantities of this wood floats down, the natives being expert swimmers, and so very active, that there is scarcely a large tree escapes them, until they have a sufficient stock for the year. I observed lying opposite to each village, an immense pile of this wood, and some trees of an amazing size. Commonly, when they collect the drift wood there come down [222]
numbers of drowned buffalo, that have perished in attempting to cross above, at a season when the ice was bad. These animals the natives are very careful to haul on shore, as they prefer the flesh in that state. [268]

LIGHT HAIRED CHILDREN.

An extraordinory sight that struck me among these people, 142
was to see several children, of about ten years of age, whose hair was perfectly gray, and bore a strong resemblance to aged persons. Those I saw were all girls. These people in general have not that strong coarse hair, so peculiar to the natives of North America; it is of a much finer nature, rather inclining to

1/1 [See Category 16, p. 390.-N.]

Sections from Henry's Journal Not Printed in Neill's Version (page numbers refer to those in the Coues edition of Henry's Journal (1897):

224 [322] We had now a well-beaten path, but were several times in danger of breaking our necks in deep pits which the natives had dug in the path to catch wolves and foxes in winter. Some of them are 10 feet deep, hollowed out to a space about 30 feet in circumference, whilst the entrance is no wider than the foot-path and about five feet in length. Those holes are covered with dry grass at the season when wolves are good, and every morning are found to contain some of those animals. In summer the grass grows strong and high about the mouths, entirely concealing them, until one arrives upon the very brink and is in danger of tumbling in headlong.

491 [323] Before we reached the (Mandan) village, we passed through
241 a wood about two miles long. The road was bad, deep with mud and mire, the river having overflowed there lately. Having got through this wood, we came to several plantations of corn, beans, squashes, and sunflowers—the latter, indeed, grow in every direction, without cultivation, at some distance from the fields, where the seed has been carried by the wind; but such are never gathered by the natives, as they are not so good as those that have been properly sown and taken care of.

262 [325] This was just to their own palate, as they seldom eat
574 meat until it begins to smell. We were invited into several huts successively and presented with dried meat in a state of corruption, corn and beans, together with parched corn and fresh ears pounded up in a wooden mortar; this last dish we found good.

439 They soon asked us to trade, and brought buffalo robes, corn,
177 beans, dried squashes, etc.; but we informed them that we did not come here for that purpose, merely to visit them and see the country. They could not comprehend why we should have come so far out of mere curiosity, and said that all white people who came there did so with a view to trade. They suspected that we had goods which we wished to take over the river to the other villages, and were anxious to prevent it. They plagued us until dark, when they retired disappointed.

[p. 384(A)]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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261 As I before observed, these men generally eat but twice a day, and many times not more than once, and those meals are light and simple compared with the meals that are swallowed in the civilized world; and by the very people also, who sit at the festive board three times a day, making a jest of the Indian for his eating, when they actually guzzle more liquids, besides their eating, than would fill the stomach of an Indian.

There are, however, many seasons and occasions in the year with all Indians, when they fast for several days in succession; and others where they can *get* nothing to eat; and at such times (their habits are such) they may be seen to commence with an enormous meal, and because they do so, it is an insufficient reason why we should for ever remain under so egregious an error with regard to a single custom of these people.

I have seen so many of these, and lived with them, and travelled with them, and oftentimes felt as if I should starve to death on an equal allowance, that I am fully convinced I am correct in saying that the North American Indians, taking them in the aggregate, even where they have an abundance to subsist on, eat less than any civilized population of equal numbers, that I have ever travelled amongst.

251 171 Their mode of curing and preserving the buffalo meat is somewhat curious, and in fact it is almost incredible also; for it is all cured or dried in the sun, without the aid of salt or smoke! The method of doing this is the same amongst all the tribes, from this to the Mexican Provinces, and is as follows:—The choicest parts of the flesh from the buffalo are cut out by the squaws, and carried home on their backs or on horses, and there cut "*across the grain*," in such a manner as will take alternately the layers of lean and fat; and having prepared it all in this way, in strips about half an inch in thickness, it is hung up by hundreds and thousands of pounds on poles resting on crotches, out of the reach of dogs or wolves, and exposed to the rays of the sun for several days, when it becomes so effectually dried, that it can be carried to any part of the world without damage. This seems almost an unaccountable thing, and the more so, as it is done in the hottest months of the year, and also in all the different latitudes of an Indian country.

So singular a fact as this can only be accounted for, I consider, on the ground of the extraordinary rarity and purity of the air which we meet with in these vast tracts of country, which are now properly denominated "the great buffalo plains," a series of exceedingly elevated plateaus of *steppes* or *prairies*, lying at and near the base of the Rocky Mountains.

263 It is a fact then, which I presume will be new to most of the world, that meat can be cured in the sun without the aid of smoke or salt; and it is a fact equally true and equally surprising also, that none of these tribes use salt in any way, although their country abounds in salt springs; and in many places, in the frequent walks of the Indian, the prairie may be seen, for miles together, covered with an incrustation of salt as white as the drifted snow.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

I have, in travelling with Indians, encamped by such places, where they have cooked and eaten their meat, when I have been unable to prevail on them to use salt in any quantity whatever. The Indians cook their meat more than the civilized people do, and I have long since learned, from necessity, that meat thus cooked can easily be eaten and relished too, without salt or other condiment. 252 263

The fact above asserted applies exclusively to those tribes of Indians which I have found in their primitive state, living entirely on meat; but everywhere along our Frontier, where the game of the country has long since been chiefly destroyed, and these people have become semi-civilized, raising and eating, as we do, a variety of vegetable food, they use (and no doubt require), a great deal of salt; and in many instances use it even to destructive excess.

123 I had thus far progressed, with high-wrought feelings of pleasure, when
156 the two or three chiefs, who had been seated around the lodge, and whose portraits I had before painted, arose suddenly, and wrapping themselves tightly in their robes, crossed my room with a quick and heavy step, and took an informal leave of my cabin. I was apprehensive of their displeasure, though I continued my work; and in a few moments the interpreter came furiously into my room, addressing me thus:—"My God, Sir! this never will do; you have given great offence to the chiefs—they have made complaint of your conduct to me—they tell me this is a worthless fellow—a man of no account in the nation, and if you paint his picture, you must instantly destroy theirs—you have no alternative, my dear Sir—and the quicker this chap is out of your lodge the better."

The same matter was explained to my sitter by the interpreter, when he picked up his robe, wrapped himself in it, plied his fan nimbly about his face, and walked out of the lodge in silence, but with quite a consequential smile, taking his old position in front of the door for awhile, after which he drew himself quietly off without further exhibition. So highly do Mandan braves and worthies value the honour of being painted; and so little do they value a man, however lavishly Nature may have bestowed her master touches upon him, who has not the pride and noble bearing of a warrior.

000 I spoke in a former Letter of Mah-to-toh-pa (the four bears), the second chief of the nation, and the most popular man of the Mandans—a high-minded and gallant warrior, as well as a polite and polished gentleman. Since I painted his portrait, as I before described, I have received at his hands many marked and signal attentions; some of which I must name to you, as the very relation of them will put you in possession of many little forms and modes of Indian life, that otherwise might not have been noted.

574 About a week since, this noble fellow stepped into my painting-room about twelve o'clock in the day, in full and splendid dress, and passing his arm through mine, pointed the way, and led me in the most gentlemanly manner, through the village and into his own lodge, where a feast was prepared in a careful manner and waiting our arrival. The lodge in which he
[342] dwelt was a room of immense size, some forty or fifty feet in diameter, in a circular form, and about twenty feet high—with a sunken curb of stone in the centre, of five or six feet in diameter and one foot deep, which contained the fire over which the pot was boiling. I was led near the edge of this curb, and seated on a very handsome robe, most ingeniously garnished and painted with hieroglyphics; and he seated himself gracefully on another one at a little distance from me; with the feast prepared in several dishes, resting on a beautiful rush mat, which was placed between us (PLATE 62).

262 The simple feast which was spread before us consisted of three dishes
264 only, two of which were served in wooden bowls, and the third in an earthen
415 vessel of their own manufacture, somewhat in shape of a bread-tray in our own country. This last contained a quantity of *pem-i-can* and *marrow-*

7: Catlin R, F 5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

574
264

[pacing p. 114]

262 *fat;* and one of the former held a fine brace of buffalo ribs, delightfully
264 roasted; and the other was filled with a kind of paste or pudding, made of
415 the flour of the "*pomme blanche,*" as the French call it, a delicious turnip of the prairie, finely flavoured with the buffalo berries, which are collected in great quantities in this country, and used with divers dishes in cooking, as we in civilized countries use dried currants, which they very much resemble.

276 A handsome pipe and a tobacco-pouch made of the otter skin, filled with
264 k'nick-k'neck (Indian tobacco), laid by the side of the feast; and when we were seated, mine host took up his pipe, and deliberately filled it; and instead of lighting it by the fire, which he could easily have done, he drew from his pouch his flint and steel, and raised a spark with which he kindled it. He drew a few strong whiffs through it, and presented the stem of it to my mouth, through which I drew a whiff or two while he held the stem in his hands. This done, he laid down the pipe, and drawing his knife from his belt, cut off a very small piece of the meat from the ribs, and pronouncing the words "Ho-pe-ne-chee wa-pa-shee" (meaning a *medicine* sacrifice), threw it into the fire.

He then (by signals) requested me to eat, and I commenced, after drawing out from my belt my knife (which it is supposed that every man in this country carries about him, for at an Indian feast a knife is never offered
[576] to a guest). Reader, be not astonished that I sat and ate my dinner *alone,* for such is the custom of this strange land. In all tribes in these western regions it is an invariable rule that a chief never eats with his guests invited to a feast; but while they eat, he sits by, at their service, and ready to wait upon them; deliberately charging and lighting the pipe which is to be passed around after the feast is over. Such was the case in the present instance, and while I was eating, Mah-to-toh-pa sat cross-legged before me, cleaning his pipe and preparing it for a cheerful smoke when I had finished my meal. For this ceremony I observed he was making unusual preparation, and I observed as I ate, that after he had taken enough of the k'nick-k'neck or bark of the red willow, from his pouch, he rolled out of it also a piece of the "*castor,*" which it is customary amongst these folks to carry in their tobacco-sack to give it a flavour; and, shaving off a small quantity of it, mixed it with the bark, with which he charged his pipe. This done, he drew also from his sack a small parcel containing a fine powder, which was made of dried buffalo dung, a little of which he spread over the top, (according also to custom,) which was like tinder, having no other effect than that of lighting the pipe with ease and satisfaction. My appetite satiated, I straightened up, and with a whiff the pipe was lit, and we enjoyed together for a quarter of an hour the most delightful exchange of good feelings, amid clouds of smoke and pantomimic signs and gesticulations.

251 The dish of "pemican and marrow-fat," of which I spoke, was thus:—The first, an article of food used throughout this country, as familiarly as we use

251 and the remainder is gathered and dried on the cob, before it has ripened, and packed away in "*caches*" (as the French call them), holes dug in the ground, some six or sever feet deep, the insides of which are somewhat in the form of a jug, and tightly closed at the top. The corn, and even dried meat and pemican, are placed in these *caches*, being packed tight around the sides, with prairie grass, and effectually preserved through the severest winters.

251 Corn and dried meat are generally laid in in the fall, in sufficient quantities to support them through the winter. These are the principal articles of food
262 during that long and inclement season; and in addition to them, they oftentimes have in store great quantities of dried squashes and dried "*pommes blanches*," a kind of turnip which grows in great abundance in these regions, and of which I have before spoken. These are dried in great quantities, and pounded into a sort of meal, and cooked with the dried meat and corn. Great quantities also of wild fruit of different kinds are dried and laid away in store for the winter season, such as buffalo berries, service berries, strawberries, and wild plums.

252 The buffalo meat, however, is the great staple and "staff of life" in this country, and seldom (if ever) fails to afford them an abundant and wholo-
262 some means of subsistence. There are, from a fair computation, something like 250,000 Indians in these western regions, who live almost exclusively on the flesh of these animals, through every part of the year. During the summer and fall months they use the meat fresh, and cook it in a great variety of ways, by roasting, broiling, boiling, stewing, smoking, &c.; and by boiling the ribs and joints with the marrow in them, make a delicious soup, which is universally used, and in vast quantities. The Mandans, I
264 find, have no regular or stated times for their meals, but generally eat about twice in the twenty-four hours. The pot is always boiling over the fire, and any one who is hungry (either of the household or from any other part of the village) has a right to order it taken off, and to fall to eating as he pleases. Such is an unvarying custom amongst the North American Indians, and I very much doubt, whether the civilized world have in their institutions any system which can properly be called more humane and charitable. Every
574 man, woman, or child in Indian communities is allowed to enter any one's lodge, and even that of the chief of the nation, and eat when they are hungry, provided misfortune or necessity has driven them to it. Even so can the poorest and most worthless drone of the nation; if he is toc lazy to hunt or to supply himself, he can walk into any lodge and everyone will share with him as long as there is anything to eat. He, however, who thus begs when he is able to hunt, pays dear for his meat, for he is stigmatized with the disgraceful epithet of a poltroon and a beggar.

264 The Mandans, like all other tribes, sit at their meals cross-legged, or rather with their ancles crossed in front of them, and both feet drawn close under
516 their bodies; or, which is very often the case also, take their meals in a re-

clining posture, with the legs thrown out, and the body resting on one elbow and fore-arm, which are under them. The dishes from which they eat are invariably on the ground or floor of the lodge, and the group resting on buffalo robes or mats of various structure and manufacture. 264 516

The position in which the women sit at their meals and on other occasions is different from that of the men, and one which they take and rise from again, with great ease and much grace, by merely bending the knees both together, inclining the body back and the head and shoulders quite forward, they squat entirely down to the ground, inclining both feet either to the right or the left. In this position they always rest while eating, and it is both modest and graceful, for they seem, with apparent ease, to assume the position and rise out of it, without using their hands in any way to assist them.

These women, however, although graceful and civil, and ever so beautiful or ever so hungry, are not allowed to sit in the same group with the men while at their meals. So far as I have yet travelled in the Indian country, I never have seen an Indian woman eating with her husband. Men form the first group at the banquet, and women, and children and dogs all come together at the next, and these gormandize and glut themselves to an enormous extent, though the men very seldom do. 562 264

It is time that an error on this subject, which has gone generally abroad in the world, was corrected. It is everywhere asserted, and almost universally believed, that the Indians are "enormous eaters;" but comparatively speaking, I assure my readers that this is an error. I venture to say that there are no persons on earth who practice greater prudence and self-denial, than the men do (amongst the wild Indians), who are constantly in war and in the chase, or in their athletic sports and exercises; for all of which they are excited by the highest ideas of pride and honour, and every kind of excess is studiously avoided; and for a very great part of their lives, the most painful abstinence is enforced upon themselves, for the purpose of preparing their bodies and their limbs for these extravagant exertions. Many a man who has been a few weeks along the frontier, amongst the drunken, naked and beggared part of the Indian race, and run home and written a book on Indians, has, no doubt, often seen them eat to beastly excess; and he has seen them also guzzle whiskey (and perhaps *sold* it to them) till he has seen them glutted and besotted, without will or energy to move; and many and thousands of such things can always be seen, where white people have made beggars of them, and they have nothing to do but lie under a fence and beg a whole week to get meat and whiskey enough for one feast and one carouse; but amongst the wild Indians in this country there are no beggars—no drunkards—and every man, from a beautiful natural precept, studies to keep his body and mind in such a healthy shape and condition as will at all times enable him to use his weapons in self-defence, or struggle for the prize in their manly games. 261 177

262 which is so favourite a dish among the northern Indians, is not much in use among the Mandans. Their only drink is water, for they are unacquainted with the method of preparing fermented liquors. They did not obtain any spirits, either from the American Fur Company, or the agents [273] of Messrs. Soublette and Campbell; hence an intoxicated person is scarcely ever seen. They are extremely fond of sugar, and likewise of salt, which they procure from their lakes, and, if the supply is insufficient, purchase from the Whites. They are likewise fond of coffee and tea, well sweetened. It has been affirmed, that several North American nations, especially those which speak the Algonquin language, are cannibals, and more particularly the Chippeways and the Potawatomis; but I found no trace of this unnatural custom among the Missouri nations.

592 Two, and sometimes three, families usually live together in an Indian hut, commonly the
595 father, with his married sons or sons-in-law. Polygamy is everywhere practised, and the number
596 of wives differs; however, they have very seldom more than four, and, in general, only one. The women are very skilful in various kinds of work, particularly in dyeing and painting the buffalo
386 robes. They extract a red colour from the roots of the savoyenne, or from buffalo berries; yel-
824 low from a lichen of the Rocky Mountains; black from helianthus, as well as from a black stone
439 or clay; blue and green they extract from European substances. Among the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, the women, as Lewis and Clarke relate, manufacture beads from coloured glass. They powder those which they have obtained from the traders, and mould them into different shapes. This custom is, however, no longer common. The dyeing of the skins, of
323 which many travellers have spoken, employs a great portion of the women's time. These three nations understand the manufacture of earthen pots and vessels, of various forms and sizes. The clay is of a dark slate colour, and burns a yellowish-red, very similar to what is seen in the burnt tops of the Missouri hills. This clay is mixed with flint or granite, reduced to powder by the action of fire. The workwoman forms the hollow inside of the vessel by means of a round stone which she holds in her hand, while she works and smooths the outside with a piece of poplar bark. When the pot is made, it is filled and surrounded with dry shavings, and then burnt,
501 when it is ready for use. They know nothing of glazing. With respect to their boats, the North Americans are far more expert than the Brazilians, Patagonians, and other South Americans, who live on the banks of rivers, and yet have contrived no means to pass them. The Chippeways and other northern nations have handsome vessels of birch bark; the Esquimaux makes his kiack, which is curiously covered with seal skin; and on the Missouri, especially among the Mandans, there are boats of buffalo skin, which are represented in the plates accompanying this work. They are very light, of a circular form, stretched on a frame of several pieces of wood crossing each other, and may be carried on the shoulder of a single individual.

584 If a young Indian desires to marry, and has obtained the consent of the girl, he endeavours to procure that of her father; when he is certain of this, he brings two, three, nay, even eight or

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

174 souri river, where they were living at the time they were discovered by the fur trader." That one of Dr. Robinson's authorities which he recalls as a basis for the foregoing statement concerning the Mandans having had an abode in the Lake Winnipeg country is, he declares, Clarke in his "Indian Sign Language," under various tribe headings therein, from some of which accounts we have hereinbefore quoted. He expresses with confidence his belief that he came in contact with further information leading to the same conclusion, but is at present without definite information as to the identity of such authorities.

114 We will now set forth the account at large of Sieur Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Verendrye, as published in "Canadian Archieves" (1889 pp. 1-29), concerning his visit to the Mandans in 1738, being, so far as now known, the first formal approach made by white men to those Indians, from which will appear the decided agricultural proclivities of this tribe, a reference also to their formidable barricaded villages or "forts," their exceptional makeup as to complexion, their marked hospitality, their fear of the Sioux, their shrewdness as traders, etc.

000 **Verendrye's Account.** "On the morning of the 28th we arrived at the place selected for the meeting of the Mandans, who arrived toward evening—a chief with thirty men and the four Assiniboines. The chief, after having from the top of a height considered for some time the extent of our village, which appeared of a good size, I had him brought to the hut where I was, where a place had been prepared to receive him on one side of it. He
431 came and placed himself near me; one of his people then, on his
•276 part, presented me with a gift of Indian corn in the ear, and of their tobacco in rolls, which is not good, as they do not know how to cure it like us. It is very like ours, with this difference, that it is not cultivated and is cut green, everything being turned to account, the stocks and the leaves together. I gave him some of mine, which he thought very good. I acknowledged that I was surprised, expecting to see different people from the other Indians, especially after the account given me. There is no dif-
291 ference from the Assiniboines; they are naked, covered only with a buffalo robe, worn carelessly without breech clout.

000 "I knew from that time that we had to make an allowance for all we had been told. The chief spoke to me in Assiniboine, testifying the joy which I had given to all their nation by my arrival

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

I told you of the case where a man fasted in a bear's den, and the bear took a hold of him and threw him to one side. This man dreamed that night that the bear came and blessed him and told him that he would be a successful warrior and a brave man. Afterward a son was born to him; the son was Seven Bears. The Assiniboine came with the intention of destroying our village, but Seven Bears was brave. They shot him with arrows and bullets, but they had no effect on him. His horse was shot, but he got on another and came back. He fought the enemy and ran over them; he struck them so that the enemy turned and ran back. Torturing was a part of our prayers, for, whenever one prays, he should fast. In torturing, one will have a dream of a spirit, and that way he is blessed. By doing these things, some of the men got great power from the spirits. Crows Heart once saw that Old White Man's back was full of scars, and Crows Heart asked him how many times he had suffered. Old White Man could not remember; his skin had been pierced so many times. 785 796

The next one to be tortured was Packs Wolf. His suffering was inside of the lodge, where he was fastened to the roof. His feet were off of the ground, and a stick was given to him with which to swing himself. While he was hanging there, the leader sang his songs.

Then several days after that Spotted Weasel whittled four sticks, came back, and made a sweathouse. They ran sticks through his wrist and up to the braces of the sweat lodge, and he was also tortured on the breast. When one is tortured in the sweathouse, the women are not permitted to go into it at any time. The Crack Shot was Sitting Owl, and Spotted Weasel was his son-in-law, so he got another man to act in his place. He asked Raven Knows Nothing to do the torturing. When we went in there, the leader began to pour water on the stones, and we got down low near the ground, but Spotted Weasel could not, being tied up there nerr the roof. He cried to the spirits; it was a hardship for him to go through, but he did. After that, we went into our pits, but no one caught any more birds, even though we were there over one month.

Now that the sweathouse was made, each one of us got some good dried meat and a whole meat [the large piece stripped off of the length of the animal's back]. We paid the leader, and he took us into the sweat lodge to cleanse all of us. We broke camp and started for home. Bluestone and I, being single, left the others and came ahead.

On the other trips with other men, they would not let the women come into the lodge. I thought that the reason for being unlucky was because they had let the women in. 223 796

I heard that Blue Stone's father, Wood Mouth or Medicine Bird, whipped his wife one day when he was a leader and his men did not have any luck in catching the eagles. By doing that their luck changed from bad to good. They caught many eagles. I do not know if some great spirit told him to do that or not, but I do know that they ordinarily did not do that, for men, women, and children were expected to be kindhearted and not have any ill-feeling toward each other. 562

We did not change pipes but used both red and black stone, depending on the kind the leader had. In early days they did not have the red stone pipes. Then the stone was black, and the pipe was straight without the elbow. The hole was in the end, and the stone fitted in on the inside was called I-go-xE'. 276 796

In the ceremony they used a special medicine pipe taken from the bundles.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

garters and belts of buffalo hair. But they did make string 000
and willow matting. There is an account of a mat used on the 284
seat before the fire. Henry[1] says that the mat was of small 285
willows of equal size, fastened together by thread of native make passed through each stick about one foot apart. The mats were ten feet long, four feet broad, and the two ends for two and a half feet were raised slanting from the ground and supported by a kind of sofa. Verendrye says they made wicker work very neatly, flat, and in baskets.

The Mandans used snow-shoes which were only about two 481
and a half feet long.[2] For their dyes and paints they made use 386
of the following: red obtained from buffalo-berries, black from sunflowers, and yellow from a kind of moss which came from the Rocky Mountains. Blue, red, black, yellow and white clays were also used.

An indispensable article of the full dress was the fan. These 293
were made from the large plumes of the eagle, hawk, crow, and 237
a number of other birds, depending on the rank of the owner.

The Mandan pipes differed a trifle from those of their neigh- 276 ●
bors, being less ornate.[3] They were either of stone, black clay, or yellow clay painted black. The stone pipes were obtained [439]
mostly from the Dakotas. Pipes with wooden bowls, lined with stone, were also used. The stem was long and round or flat. Catlin describes one pipe as of red steatite (catlinite) with a stem three feet long, half its length wound with braids of porcupine quills. They also had the calumet pipe which will be considered in connection with the ceremonies.

The Mandans and their neighbors the Arikara and Hidatsa 323
made glass beads, an art which they claimed was taught to them by the Snake Indians. They did not make the glass but used glass obtained through the whites. Lewis and Clarke[4] give a short account of the manufacture of beads which is exceedingly interesting. It may be thus summarized. The secret is known only to a few. Glass of several colors is pounded fine, each color separate; this is washed in several waters until the glass stops staining the water. They then take an

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 349.
[2] Ibid., p. 301.
[3] Maximilian: p. 300.
[4] March 16, 1805.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

still grown at the time of Maximilian's visit. Corn, however, 241
surpassed all the rest in importance. It was a small variety, five or six feet high, but was not the common, mottled "Squaw corn" found in the region later. Maximilian enumerates seven distinct sorts, as follows: — white, yellow, red, spotted, black, sugar, yellow flint, and red and white striped. The sweet corn 251
was cut in the milk, then dried on the scaffolds in the sun and kept in the caches. The other corn was not gathered till it was ripe; it was then shelled and also put in the caches. Corn was 252
eaten as succotash with beans, boiled as hominy, ground up into coarse flour and made into cakes, and also as a sort of gruel and in several mixtures with wild fruit.

The beans, as to the cultivation of which there is little infor- 241
mation were, nevertheless, of considerable importance. Maxi- 251
milian[1] gives a number of varieties of these also; there were 252
white, black, red, and speckled beans. These were not gathered until ripe, and were then spread out on the flooring of the scaffolds to dry, after which they, too, were stored in the caches. The beans were used in about the same way as the corn, both of them being mixed in many dishes. There were five varieties of squash or pumpkin, yellow, black, striped, long, and thick skinned. These were usually cut up into thin slices, hung by cords from the scaffold rafters and dried in the sun. They, too, were then stored away for future use, to be boiled with beans and corn or separately, or eaten with some of the wild plums or choke-cherries.

The sunflowers, Maximilian says, seemed to differ little from those ordinarily cultivated in civilization. There were three kinds, red seed, black seed, and a small seeded sort. There is no account of the method of preparation, but Maximilian tells us that very good cakes were made from them. The Man- 249
dan tobacco, which was used also by the Hidatsa and Arikara, 276
while belonging to the Nicotiana, was a small species. Verendrye says that the tobacco was put up in rolls, that they cut it green and used it, stalks and all; he said it was not good. Later authorities do not agree on its preparation, however, as both Maximilian and Henry say that it was cut ripe and ground up

[1] Op. cit., p. 392.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

249 fine. It was usually smoked mixed with the bark of the so-called
●276 red-willow or Cornus. Henry says that the blossoms were used, and were dried on a piece of pottery before the fire. Lewis and Clarke and Gass both mention this tobacco and agree with Verendrye that it was not good to those who were accustomed to European tobacco. The Mandans themselves soon discarded their own variety, raising only a little each year to use in ceremonials.

222 Although hardly coming under agriculture, still as a related matter, it might be well to mention the wild vegetables and fruits which were so much used by the Indians of the region. These were june-berries, choke-cherries, wild plums, the feverole, and especially the pomme blanche or Indian turnip. The latter were something like artichokes, white, ovate, one to three inches long, and about the size of a man's finger. They were collected in large quantities and formed a very common food.

224 HUNTING AND FISHING:—The Mandans derived a living from agriculture and the hunt in about equal proportions. Their methods of hunting differed little from those of their neighbors. Game was in abundance and many animals besides the buffalo contributed to their sustenance. Among these were antelope, elk, deer, bighorn, and an occasional bear, besides beaver, rabbits, ducks and geese. Other animals were killed for their hides alone, as wolves, foxes, ermine and panther. Eagles and other birds of prey were hunted for their plumes.

Buffalo were hunted all the year round whenever they were in the neighborhood of the village, for the Mandans did not go away on long hunting trips as did most of their neighbors. The buffalo hunt was directed by the Soldier Band. A small detached body of buffalo would be surrounded by the horsemen and then every animal killed in order to prevent the alarming of the whole herd. Any animal which did not contain an arrow by which the slayer could be identified, belonged to whoever found it. The beasts were cut up, and each man's horse was laden down with meat. Certain choice parts were eaten immediately by the hunter, and the heart and tongue could be demanded from anyone of a lower grade than he who asked for them. The childless old men and women usually

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

574 The Mandans are hospitable, and often invite their acquaintance to come and see them. Their pipes are made of the red-stone, or of black clay. They obtain the red pipe-heads chiefly from the Sioux; sometimes they have wooden heads lined with stone; the tube is plain, long, round or flat, on the whole, of the same shape as among the Sioux, but they are not so fastidious about ornamenting their pipes as other tribes. They smoke the leaves of the tobacco plant, which is cultivated by them; the bark of the red willow *(Cornus sericea)*, which they obtain from the traders, is sometimes mixed with the tobacco, or the latter with the leaves of the bearberry *(Arbutus uva ursi)*. The tobacco of the Whites, unmixed, is too strong for the Indians, because they draw the smoke into their lungs; hence they do not willingly smoke cigars.

276 241 824

415 The meals of the Mandans are served in wooden dishes. The spoons are generally large and deep; they are made of the horn of the bighorn (see woodcut, p. 251); sometimes they are yellow, or else they are shallow, made of black buffalo's horn. They have a considerable variety of dishes. The Indians residing in permanent villages have the advantage of the roving hunting tribes, in that they not only hunt, but derive their chief subsistence from their plantations, which afford them a degree of security against distress. It is true these Indians sometimes suffer hunger when the buffalo herds keep at a great distance, and their crops fail; but the distress can never be so great among the Missouri Indians, as in the tribes that live further northwards. The plants which they cultivate are maize, beans, French beans, gourds, sunflowers, and tobacco *(Nicotiana quadrivalvis)*, of which I brought home some seeds, which have flowered in several botanic gardens.

224 241

243 Of maize there are several varieties of colour, to which they give different names. The several varieties are:—1. White maize. 2. Yellow maize. 3. Red maize. 4. Spotted maize. 5. Black maize. 6. Sweet maize. 7. Very hard yellow maize. 8. White, or red-striped maize. 9. Very tender yellow maize.*

241

The beans are likewise of various sorts—small white beans, black, red, and spotted beans. The gourds are—yellow, black, striped, blue, long, and thick-shelled gourds.

241 The sunflower is a large helianthus, which seems perfectly to resemble that cultivated in our gardens. It is planted in rows between the maize. There are two or three varieties, with red, and black, and one with smaller seeds. Very nice cakes are made of these seeds. The tobacco

276

* I brought to Europe specimens of the several kinds of maize grown among the Mandans; these have been sown, but only the early species were ripe in September, 1835. The heads have by no means attained the same size, on the Rhine, as in their native country. There the plant attains a height of five or six feet, and the colours of the grains are very various, bright and beautiful: while, on the Rhine, the plant grew to the height of four or four and a half feet. The later sorts grew to the height of ten feet, and were not quite ripe at the end of October. (See Bradbury, page 145, for an account of the maize of the Mandans.)

According to Tanner (page 180), an Ottowa Indian first introduced the cultivation of maize on the Red River, among the Ojibuns, or Chippeways.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

cultivated by the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, attains a great height, and is suffered to 241
grow up from the seeds, without having any care whatever bestowed upon it. It is not trans- 276
planted. When it is ripe the stalks are cut, dried, and powdered; or the leaves, with the small branches, are cut into little pieces. The taste and smell are disagreeable to an European, resembling camomile rather than tobacco. The plant is not now so much cultivated as formerly, being superseded by the more pleasant tobacco of the Whites; but the species is still preserved. It is only on solemn occasions, for instance, in negotiations for peace, that this tobacco is still smoked; the seed is, therefore, preserved in the medicine bag of the nation, that the plant may never be lost. When they mean to smoke this tobacco, a small quantity of fat [278]
is rubbed on it.

The cultivation of the maize and other fields, of which each family prepares three, four, 241
or five acres, takes place in the month of May. Rows of small furrows are made, into which 221
the grains of maize are thrown singly, and covered with earth. Three times in the summer the plants are hoed, and the earth heaped up against them, that the moisture may have better access to them. The harvest takes place in October, when men, women, and children, each lend a helping hand. At present the women use, in their field labour, a broad iron hoe, with a crooked wooden handle, which they obtain from the merchants. Charbonneau recollected the time when they used the shoulder blade of the buffalo for this purpose. The fields are never fenced, but lie quite open and exposed.

The wild plants of the prairie are used by the Mandans, and other people of the Upper 222
Missouri; and to those before-mentioned, I can only add the feverolles *(Faba minor equina)*, 252
a fruit resembling the bean, which is said to grow in the ground, but which I did not see; there 824
are many other roots in the prairie, which are used for food. The gourds are eaten fresh as 262
well as dry. The beans are seldom eaten of one kind, but many sorts are mixed together. The maize is boiled or roasted, then pounded, mixed with fat, and made up into small cakes and baked. There are, of course, many other ways of dressing it. The sweet maize has a very pleasant taste, especially when it is in what is called the milky state; it is then boiled, dried, and laid by for use.

All kinds of animals serve the Mandans for food; the bear, when it is young and fat, the 224
wolf, the fox, in short, everything except the horse; the ermine is not eaten by many; and of 825
birds they dislike the turkey-buzzard, and the raven, because they feed on the dead bodies 262
deposited on the stages. They have a great aversion from serpents, but eat the turtle; the buffalo is the chief object of their chase, as it supplies them with skins, meat, tallow, marrow-bones, sinews, and many other necessaries. Next to the buffalo the beaver is the most indispensable to them, since it not only furnishes them with valuable skins, but supplies them with delicate food, the fat tail, especially, being considered quite a dainty morsel by the Indians. Pemmican, 262

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

800 at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote. One of their
771 chiefs never smoked out of a stone pipe, but always used a wooden one. Mato-Topé never
778 partook of other people's tobacco, but always smoked by himself, with the doors shut. They
276 do not willingly show their medicines or amulets, which are usually kept wrapped up in a bundle or bag, and never opened except on important occasions. They have particular medicine pipes, or, as the English call them, medicine stems, which are uncovered and used for smoking only on solemn occasions. Many make such pipes according to their own taste; such, for instance, was the pipe of Dipauch (Plate XXI. fig. 3). The bowl was nearly in the form of a Turkish pipe, and was made of brownish-red clay; the tube, which was rather short and thick, represented the lord of life in human form, but which it required some stretch of the imagination to discover. The nation preserves a celebrated pipe of this kind as a sacred relic, which no stranger is permitted to see. It has been in their possession since remote ages, and they offered to show it to me
435 for the value of 100 dollars. The Indians cannot obtain such pipes but at a considerable expense:
439 many of the necessary ornaments are not to be procured among them, such as the upper bill and the red crown of a species of woodpecker (*Picus pileatus*, Linn.), a bird which is not found so high up the Missouri. For the head of one of these woodpeckers, which was brought from
597 St. Louis, they gave a large handsome buffalo robe, worth six or eight dollars. If a man pos-
796 sesses such a pipe, he sometimes conceives the idea of adopting a medicine son. The young man
171 whom he is to choose appears to him in a dream; it is, however, requisite that he should be of a good family, or have performed some exploit. He acquaints him with his intention, and, after having provided two similar medicine pipes, he asks his newly-adopted son, whether he is ready to undergo the ceremony of the pipes? The latter frequently answers in the affirmative, and the time for the ceremony is fixed: but, if he has not yet made up his mind, it is deferred. The adoptive father then chooses two young men, who practise the medicine dance together, with the two pipes in their hands. The father often dances, in the morning, on the roof of his hut, and instructs these two young men. When the time arrives, and the adopted son is ready for the ceremony, the father, with all his relations, and the two young dancers, repairs to the hut of his newly-chosen son, and brings him a present of maize, cloth, blankets, kettles, and other valuable articles. The father takes his son by the hand and makes him sit down, after which the company dance round him, with the two pipes; they sing, accompanied by the drum and schischikué, the two young dancers keeping time to the music with their pipes. When the ceremony is over, and the presents laid in one or two heaps, the relations of the medicine son bring horses, cloth, blankets, and other things of value, which the two parties reciprocally divide between them. The father then again takes his son by the hand, makes him rise from his seat, and dresses him in new clothes from head to foot, and likewise paints his face according to his fancy. The dress and pipe are henceforth his property, and he is considered as a real son, who must support and defend his father.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

262 264 415 *fat;* and one of the former held a fine brace of buffalo ribs, delightfully roasted; and the other was filled with a kind of paste or pudding, made of the flour of the "*pomme blanche,*" as the French call it, a delicious turnip of the prairie, finely flavoured with the buffalo berries, which are collected in great quantities in this country, and used with divers dishes in cooking, as we in civilized countries use dried currants, which they very much resemble.

276 264 A handsome pipe and a tobacco-pouch made of the otter skin, filled with k'nick-k'neck (Indian tobacco), laid by the side of the feast; and when we were seated, mine host took up his pipe, and deliberately filled it; and instead of lighting it by the fire, which he could easily have done, he drew from his pouch his flint and steel, and raised a spark with which he kindled it. He drew a few strong whiffs through it, and presented the stem of it to my mouth, through which I drew a whiff or two while he held the stem in his hands. This done, he laid down the pipe, and drawing his knife from his belt, cut off a very small piece of the meat from the ribs, and pronouncing the words "Ho-pe-ne-chee wa-pa-shee" (meaning a *medicine* sacrifice), threw it into the fire.

He then (by signals) requested me to eat, and I commenced, after drawing out from my belt my knife (which it is supposed that every man in this country carries about him, for at an Indian feast a knife is never offered to a guest). [576] Reader, be not astonished that I sat and ate my dinner *alone*, for such is the custom of this strange land. In all tribes in these western regions it is an invariable rule that a chief never eats with his guests invited to a feast; but while they eat, he sits by, at their service, and ready to wait upon them; deliberately charging and lighting the pipe which is to be passed around after the feast is over. Such was the case in the present instance, and while I was eating, Mah-to-toh-pa sat cross-legged before me, cleaning his pipe and preparing it for a cheerful smoke when I had finished my meal. For this ceremony I observed he was making unusual preparation, and I observed as I ate, that after he had taken enough of the k'nick-k'neck or bark of the red willow, from his pouch, he rolled out of it also a piece of the "*castor,*" which it is customary amongst these folks to carry in their tobacco-sack to give it a flavour; and, shaving off a small quantity of it, mixed it with the bark, with which he charged his pipe. This done, he drew also from his sack a small parcel containing a fine powder, which was made of dried buffalo dung, a little of which he spread over the top, (according also to custom,) which was like tinder, having no other effect than that of lighting the pipe with ease and satisfaction. My appetite satiated, I straightened up, and with a whiff the pipe was lit, and we enjoyed together for a quarter of an hour the most delightful exchange of good feelings, amid clouds of smoke and pantomimic signs and gesticulations.

251 The dish of "pemican and marrow-fat," of which I spoke, was thus:—The first, an article of food used throughout this country, as familiarly as we use

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

was laid, and firmly attached to it, a coating of deers' sinews, which gave it its elasticity, and of course death to all that stood inimically before it. Its string was three stranded and twisted of sinews, which many a time had twanged and sent the whizzing death to animal and to human victims. 411

The *Quiver* was made of a panther's skin and hung upon his back, charged with its deadly arrows; some were poisoned and some were not; they were feathered with hawks' and eagles' quills; some were clean and innocent, and pure, and others were stained all over, with animal and human blood that was dried upon them. Their blades or points were of flints, and some of steel; and altogether were a deadly magazine.

The *Lance* or spear was held in his left hand; its blade was two-edged and of polished steel, and the blood of several human victims was seen dried upon it, one over the other; its shaft was of the toughest ash, and ornamented at intervals with tufts of war-eagles' quills.

His *Tobacco-sack* was made of the skin of an otter, and tastefully garnished with quills of the porcupine; in it was carried his *k'nick-k'neck*, (the bark of the red willow, which is smoked as a substitute for tobacco), it contained also his flint and steel, and spunk for lighting——— 276

His *Pipe*, which was ingeniously carved out of the red steatite (or pipe-stone), the stem of which was three feet long and two inches wide, made from the stalk of the young ash; about half its length was wound with delicate braids of the porcupine's quills, so ingeniously wrought as to represent figures of men and animals upon it. It was also ornamented with the skins and beaks of wood-peckers' heads, and the hair of the white buffalo's tail. The lower half of the stem was painted red, and on its edges it bore the notches he had recorded for the snows (or years) of his life.

His *Robe* was made of the skin of a young buffalo bull, with the fur on one side, and the other finely and delicately dressed; with all the battles of his life emblazoned on it by his own hand. 292

His *Belt*, which was of a substantial piece of buckskin, was firmly girded around his waist; and in it were worn his tomahawk and scalping-knife.

His *Medicine-bag* was the skin of a beaver, curiously ornamented with hawks' bills and ermine. It was held in his right hand, and his *po-ko-mo-hon* (or war-club) which was made of a round stone, tied up in a piece of rawhide, and attached to the end of a stick, somewhat in the form of a sling, was laid with others of his weapons at his feet. 415 411

Such was the dress of Mah-to-toh-pa when he entered my wigwam to stand for his picture; but such I have not entirely represented it in his portrait; having rejected such trappings and ornaments as interfered with the grace and simplicity of the figure. He was beautifully and extravagantly dressed; and in this he was not alone, for hundreds of others are equally elegant. In plumes, and arms, and ornaments, he is not singular; but in laurels and wreaths he stands unparalleled. His breast has been bared and scarred in defence of his country, and his brows crowned with honours 159

574 any expectation of payment. Being almost destitute of tobacco
609 for our journey, he gave us some of their own manufacture. As that herb is not yet arrived at maturity, they use only the blossoms
●277 [402] at present. These are collected as required, dried before the fire on a fragment of an earthen pot, and smoked by all the natives. But I find the flowers a very poor substitute for our own tobacco—a nauseous, insipid weed. The ripe leaf is somewhat better, but even that is mere trash, possessed of neither strength nor virtue.

648 [403] We soon after took the road, bidding a final adieu to
[491] the Mandanes. The road through the wood was very muddy and bad.
[137] We found amazing quantities of poires, perfectly ripe. The natives here are so surrounded by their different enemies at all seasons, and particularly when the fruit is ripe, that the women dare not leave the villages to gather it, though there is a great plenty of chokecherries, cerises, etc. Even when they go out to hoe their corn, young men, well armed, keep on the rounds at short distances from the women to prevent surprise from an enemy. This is a necessary precaution, as they have frequently been attacked while working in the fields. The village on the N. side lies under a double disadvantage, surrounded by thick woods for nearly two miles upon the land side, and having close by a vast quantity of young sprouts and brushwood, enabling an enemy to approach very near without being discovered. A single Sioux has been known to secrete himself for several days among those bushes until a favorable opportunity has offered, when he has dispatched a Mandane, and got away with the scalp.

[p. 384 [I]]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

were at home. We beg him to number us among his children.' This I did at once by putting my hands on the head of each chief, which is the usual ceremony, answered by loud shouts of joy and thanks. I then said to the Assiniboines: 'I am sending four Frenchmen to my fort to give my news there; I recommend you to get them to that place as soon as you can. I have left powder in the village, and all that is necessary to have them brought.' The council ended with loud thanks from both parties. As the Assiniboines did not yet speak of leaving, although they had purchased all they were able to do, such as painted ox robes, deer skin, dressed buckskin and ornamented furs and feathers, painted feathers and peltry, wrought garters, circlets for the head, girdles. These people dress leather better than any of the other nations and work in furs and feathers very tastefully, which the Assiniboines are not capable of doing. They are cunning traders, cheating the Assiniboines of all they may possess, such as muskets, powder, balls, kettles, axes, knives or awls. Seeing the great consumption of food daily by the Assiniboines, and afraid that it would not last long, they set afloat a rumor that the Sioux were near and that several of their hunters had noticed them. The Assiniboines fell into the trap and made up their minds quickly to decamp, not wishing to be obliged to fight. A Mandan chief let me understand by a sign that the rumor about the Sioux was to get rid of the Assiniboines. At six in the morning they all left in great haste, believing that the Sioux were near and fearing that the road might be blocked up. The chief with whom I had lodged brought five men to remain with me, saying: 'My father, I still hope that you will join us for a little; I march peaceably. Here are five of my young men, whom I give thee to remain with thee and to guide thee when thou shall wish to leave.' I made him a small present to thank him, telling him that he knew that I had sense and that I intended shortly to reward him for his attention. He left with great protestations of friendship. I was notified shortly after that an interpreter whom I had paid liberally to secure him had decamped in spite of all the offers which my son, the Chevalier, had made him, as he was going after an Assiniboine woman with whom he had fallen in love, but who would not remain with him. He was a young man of the Cree nation, speaking good Assiniboine. As there were several Mandans who spoke it well enough, I made myself very well under-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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MISSION HOUSE, ELBOWOODS, N. D.

281

MANDAN WOMAN SCRAPING HIDE.

[facing p. 640]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 Eagle-trapping expeditions were organized for a dual purpose,
224 namely, the securing of feathers and of a winter's supply of meat and hides. Crows Heart thought that, taken year after year, the meat and hides secured had greater worth than the feathers. As he explained, it was not unusual to return without feathers, but game was always abundant once one reached territory not ordinarily hunted in. He remarked, on many occasions, that a village as a unit would never go to rough country on a summer hunt, as there would be few buffaloes there, and it would be difficult to surround them because of the uneven topography. There was the further danger of ambush. The rough lands were hunted over by small bands, chiefly eagle-trappers and war parties.

223 The appearance of ice on the edges of streams was the signal
224 for the eagle-trapping expedition to return to the village. Before
505 horses became numerous in the villages, it was customary to travel overland to the trapping sites, where bullboats were made of buffalo and elk hides for floating back the meat and hides to the village. In order not to be caught along the way by a sudden freezing of the river, it was imperative that trapping cease immediately with the first appearance of cold weather.

224 While in the trapping camp, the women received the meat
257 and hides brought in by the men. The meat was cured on scaf-
281 folds, and the hides were dried or made into bullboats. Special effort was made to secure mountain sheep, as the badlands were the habitat of these prized animals, used for men's shirts and women's dresses, since their skins tanned softer than any other hide. Bears Arm, in explaining the importance of the meat and
[581] hides secured on these expeditions, stated that single women tried to marry young men so they could go along to help cure the meat and hides, knowing they might marry one so lucky as to kill a white buffalo.

223 Mandan tradition appears devoid of reference to recent divi-
361 sion of a village population into small eagle-trapping bands dur-
171 ing the winter. Such is not the case with the Hidatsa, however.
221 In the Earthnaming ceremony of the Hidatsa there is reference
621 in the myth to the division of the village into small bands camped along the Little Missouri River in eagle-trapping lodges during the winter. At least two of the clans, the Maxoxati and

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

281 Verendrye mentions their skill in making such things as
237 painted ox-robes, deer skin, dressed buckskin, and ornamented fur and feathers, painted feathers, peltry, wrought garters, circlets for the head, and girdles. They certainly understood the art of dressing skins, though perhaps other nations equalled them. All their visitors speak of the ornamented robes for the decoration of which porcupine quills dyed various colors, or the pigments themselves, as paints, were used at first, though beads
[532] came gradually to take their places. The ornamentation consisted usually of representations of animals, and pictographic records. When leather got wet, it was beaten and rubbed with white clay which they always carried with them. This kept the robes soft. Then there were medicine bags, tobacco pouches, sheathes for knives and bows, all of skin, painted or embroidered with quills, such as are seen over the whole plains
[231] area. They had leather bridles for their horses, sometimes embroidered, and used a saddle, similar to that of the Dakotas. The horses were caught by means of long raw hide lariats which the Indians made themselves.

534 Whistles were also necessary articles to those belonging to the societies. Maximilian[1] describes them as "long wooden whistles at whose lower end an eagle feather on a string dangles." He says they also had large flute whistles, twenty inches long, with holes to vary the notes by application of the fingers. Besides these were the war whistles, usually made from the wing
412 bone of some large bird. Other articles of bone, necessitated
321 by the great use of skins, were the bone scrapers, needles and awls with which each house was profusely supplied.

241 Almost the only agricultural implements which they used were hoes. These were the shoulder blades of buffalo or occasionally of elk, which were cut down and to which a crooked stick was fastened as a handle.[2]

415 Among their cooking utensils, which were used in every hut, were spoons and ladles of bighorn and buffalo horns. Verendrye says some of these ladles held as much as three pints.

286 So far as the accounts go the Mandans did not make any textile fabric, though the Arikara are known to have made

[1] Op. cit., p. 416. [2] Henry: vol. I, p. 343.

garters and belts of buffalo hair.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 597 171

This custom exists among most of the nations on the Missouri, and even among the Esquimaux there is a somewhat similar usage. If the adopted son and father have not happened to meet for a long time, they make presents to each other; the father gives the son a new dress, and the latter presents him with a good horse. Among all the Indian nations of North America, there is a particular class of men, who are specially engaged in all the above-mentioned ceremonies and medicines. They are, also, the physicians, and are called, among the Mandans, Numak-Choppenih, which signifies medicine man.

791 171

778 554

The skin of a white buffalo cow is an important article, and an eminent medicine in the opinion of the Mandans and Manitaries. He who has never possessed one of them is not respected. Suppose two men to be disputing about their exploits, the one an old veteran warrior, who has slain many enemies, the other, a young lad without experience; the latter reproaches the other with never having possessed a white buffalo cow hide, on which the old man droops his head, and covers his face for shame. He who possesses such a hide generally offers it to the lord of life, to whom he dedicates it, or, which is equivalent, to the sun, or to the first man. He collects, perhaps, in the course of a whole twelvemonth, various articles of value, and then hangs them up all together on a high pole in the open prairie, generally in the neighbourhood of the burying-place, or in the village before his hut. Distinguished men and chiefs of eminence are for the most part poor, because, in order to gain reputation and influence, they give away everything of value which they possess. A large number of relatives is one of the chief means of acquiring riches, for a young man who wishes to distinguish himself, and to be liberal, does honour to the whole family, who assist him to the utmost of their power. When one of his relations has anything of value, the young man goes to the owner to demand it, and not unfrequently takes it away without ceremony. Sometimes he hangs his head in silence, and then something of value is given him, a handsome dress, a horse, &c. If he wishes to gain reputation and a claim to distinction, it is necessary that he should make presents. All the people in the village notice very accurately what presents are made, and the donor has a right to display all such presents painted on his robes, and in this manner to hand down his reputation to posterity, as has been already related. This and military glory are, in the eyes of these men, the greatest virtues. They dare not draw a stroke too much on their robes for the horses, guns, &c., which they have given away, for the young men keep a most strict account against each other, and universal ridicule would be the immediate consequence of violating this rule. Among the distinctions of any man, the white buffalo hide is the greatest. He who has not been so fortunate as to kill a white buffalo himself, which is generally the case, as these animals are very rare, purchases a hide, often at a great distance from home, and other nations bring them hither, being well aware of the great value attached to them by the Mandans. The hide must be that of a young cow, not above two years old, and be taken off complete and tanned, with the horns,

782

556 431 602

778 281 [439]

6· Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 nose, hoofs, and tail. The value of ten to fifteen horses is given for it. A certain Mandan gave
281 ten horses, a gun, some kettles, and other articles, for such a hide. The white hide of a bull or
[435] of an old cow is by no means so valuable. The white hide of a young cow suffices for all the daughters of a family. They do not wear it as a robe, like the Manitaries, or, at the utmost, the wife, or one of the daughters of the family, wears it once at some great festival, but never a second
796 time. The Mandans have particular ceremonies at the dedication of the hide. As soon as they have obtained it they engage an eminent medicine man, who must throw it over him; he then walks round the village in the apparent direction of the sun's course, and sings a medicine song. When the owner, after collecting articles of value for three or four years, desires to offer his treasure to the lord of life, or to the first man, he rolls it up, after adding some wormwood or a head of maize, and the skin then remains suspended on a high pole till it rots away. At the time of my visit there was such an offering at Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, near the stages for the dead without the village. Sometimes, when the ceremony of dedication is finished, the hide is cut into small strips, and the members of the family wear parts of it tied over the head, or across the
554 forehead, when they are in full dress. If a Mandan kills a young white buffalo cow, it is
224 accounted to him as more than an exploit, or having killed an enemy. He does not cut up the animal himself, but employs another man, to whom he gives a horse for his trouble. He alone who has killed such an animal is allowed to wear a narrow strip of the skin in his ears. The whole robe is not ornamented, being esteemed superior to any other dress, however fine. The
[435] traders have, sometimes, sold such hides to the Indians, who gave them as many as sixty other
[136] robes in exchange. Buffalo skins with white spots are likewise highly valued by the Mandans; but there is a race of these animals with very soft silky hair, which has a beautiful gold lustre when in the sunshine: these are, likewise, highly prized, and sold for ten or fifteen dollars, and,
778 sometimes, for the value of a horse. Besides the white buffalo skins which are offered in sacrifice and hung on poles, there are, in the vicinity of the villages of the Mandans and Manitaries, other strange figures on high poles, as represented in Plate XXV. These figures are composed of skin, grass, and twigs, which, it seems, represent the sun and moon, perhaps, also, the lord of life, and the first man. The Indians resort to them when they wish to petition for anything, and sometimes howl and lament for days and weeks together.

796 The Mandans have several medicine festivals, of which the Okippe, or the penitential ceremony of the ark, is by far the most remarkable. It is celebrated in the spring or summer, and I regret to say that I cannot describe it as an eye-witness. I am, however, enabled to give a circumstantial description of it, word for word, as it was communicated to me by men initiated in the mysteries of the nation.*

* The author refers to a letter on this subject, written by Mr. Catlin, and published in a New York paper; but this is by no means so complete as that given in his valuable work published last year.—*Translator's Note.*

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

probably where a handful had been thrown. One of the stem ends of a squash was found and showed by its shape that the vegetable had not been of the flat, summer squash variety. The seeds were of two or perhaps three sorts. First there was a long, narrow seed resembling some of the large gourd seeds. The other type was much thicker through, and apparently represented two varieties, judging from the difference in size. One of these was as long as the first mentioned, but as has been said, was thicker. The second, of the same shape, averaged very little over half as large. 172x 241

The small black seeds above referred to were found intermixed with the other vegetable remains in the layers. They had a hard shiny shell and thus even when not charred had lasted well. The charred ones, however, were in much the best state. Seeds of this genus of plants are eaten in South America, and are decidedly valuable for food, and, although there is no mention of their use as food by the Mandans, they may have been so used.

In addition to the vegetables themselves there were other finds of vegetable origin. Among these were objects of bark, wood and grass. The most notable of the bark finds were two large pieces of birch bark, found together in one of the pits. These have perforations where they had been sewed and probably formed a part of a basket or box. The birch is not found within one hundred miles or more of this region, and the bark receptacle must have come through trade with some more eastern nation. Other finds were three or four flat disc-like coils, about four to five inches in diameter, with a hole in the center. These were made of the very thin inner bark, probably of the cottonwood, in the shape of a mat and bound around the outside with another strand of the same bark. It is very likely that these are identical with the stands upon which the pots were set, as described by Henry. In one place a small quantity of bark flakes was found, and it is barely possible that these may be remnants of smoking materials of *Cornus*. 172x 285

The only article made of grass was a small charred piece of cord, although burnt grass occurred frequently in the black layers, and decayed grass or hay was found as a lining in the 172x 283

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

X 172 pits. The cord mentioned consisted of three strands, each of
283 six or seven prairie grass stems; these three strands were not braided, but twisted.

The remains of posts and sticks were often in such a condi-
X 172 tion that the wood could be identified. One of the largest posts
313 found in the house site was of ash, but most of the large ones were clearly cut out of cottonwood. For the smaller posts, however, the diamond willow seems to have been most frequently used, and it is unquestionably the best wood. A few specimens of worked wood were found but none of great importance. There was a post, hewed square; a number of pieces of planks or slabs, fairly well cut; remnants of willow thatch from the roof; and a small piece of wood which had been whittled down with a blade of some sort.

The ashes showed the use of at least two sorts of fire wood, one giving a white ash and the other a red one. The red was probably diamond willow in most cases, as that is the only common wood in the region which leaves a reddish residue.

X 172 ANIMAL BONES:—Animal bones were numerous in all parts of the village site, not only in the form of implements, which have already been discussed, but also as refuse. Many of the bones were broken up into small fragments, but a number of whole ones were discovered and most of them have been identified. There were fish, bird and mammal bones belonging for the most part to the following species: Deer (*Cariacus virginianus*), Buffalo (*Bison americanus*), Elk (*Cervus canadensis*), Antelope (*Antilocapra americana*), Gray Wolf (*Canis lupus*), Coyote (*Canis latrans*), Raccoon (*Procyon lotor*), owl (*Strigidae sp.*), and Bald Eagle (*Haliaëtus leucocephalus*), besides bones of smaller birds, some that seemed to be from a crane but could not be accurately identified; bones of mice and gophers; some few fish bones, and quite a number of unio and small
[231] snail shells. It is a significant fact that no remains whatever of either horse or dog skeletons were found, thus apparently showing that the horse had not yet got to the Mandans when they lived on the Heart, and also corroborating Henry's statement that the Mandans at first had no dogs.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

garters and belts of buffalo hair. But they did make string 000
and willow matting. There is an account of a mat used on the 284
seat before the fire. Henry[1] says that the mat was of small 285
willows of equal size, fastened together by thread of native make passed through each stick about one foot apart. The mats were ten feet long, four feet broad, and the two ends for two and a half feet were raised slanting from the ground and supported by a kind of sofa. Verendrye says they made wicker work very neatly, flat, and in baskets.

The Mandans used snow-shoes which were only about two 481
and a half feet long.[2] For their dyes and paints they made use 386
of the following: red obtained from buffalo-berries, black from sunflowers, and yellow from a kind of moss which came from the Rocky Mountains. Blue, red, black, yellow and white clays were also used.

An indispensable article of the full dress was the fan. These 293
were made from the large plumes of the eagle, hawk, crow, and 237
a number of other birds, depending on the rank of the owner.

The Mandan pipes differed a trifle from those of their neigh- 276
bors, being less ornate.[3] They were either of stone, black clay, or yellow clay painted black. The stone pipes were obtained [439]
mostly from the Dakotas. Pipes with wooden bowls, lined with stone, were also used. The stem was long and round or flat. Catlin describes one pipe as of red steatite (catlinite) with a stem three feet long, half its length wound with braids of porcupine quills. They also had the calumet pipe which will be considered in connection with the ceremonies.

The Mandans and their neighbors the Arikara and Hidatsa 323
made glass beads, an art which they claimed was taught to them by the Snake Indians. They did not make the glass but used glass obtained through the whites. Lewis and Clarke[4] give a short account of the manufacture of beads which is exceedingly interesting. It may be thus summarized. The secret is known only to a few. Glass of several colors is pounded fine, each color separate; this is washed in several waters until the glass stops staining the water. They then take an

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 340.
[2] Maximilian: p. 300.
[3] Ibid., p. 301.
[4] March 16, 1805.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 513 are made like tombs, surrounded by skins. These men are always naked, covered only with a buffalo robe. * * * * Their fort 251 is full of caves, in which are stored such articles as grain, food, fat, dressed robes and bear skins. They are well supplied with 436 these; it is the money of the country. The more they have of it 304 the richer they believe themselves to be. They are fond of tattooing, but never more than half of the body is tattoed, both of ●285 men and women. They make wicker work very neatly, flat and in baskets.

Pottery. "They make use of earthen pots, which they use like 323 many other nations for cooking their food. They are for the most part great eaters; are eager for feasts. They brought me every 261 day more than twenty dishes of wheat, beans and pumpkins, all cooked. Mr. de la Marque, who did not hate feasts, went to them continually with my children. As I did not go to them my share 141 was sent to me. The men are stout and tall, generally very active, fairly good looking, with a good physiognomy. The women have not the Indian physiognomy. The men indulge in a sort of ball 526 play on the squares and ramparts.

000 "On the evening of the 4th the Sieur Nolant and my son arrived, well satisfied with their journey, having been well received and strongly urged to remain longer. The fort is on the bank of the river, as large again as this; the squares and streets are very fine and clean; their palisade is in the best order and strength; the whole built in the same fashion as the one in which we were. From what they could hear all their forts are alike; who saw one saw all, with this difference, that some were much larger than others. The nearest to the Pananas that the river appeared to go was, according to the compass, southwest by south, by signs given to them; the lower part may go to the sea to the southwest by west. They were often amused by broken talk; not being able to answer questions put to them, they answered something else, for want of understanding. The waters of their rivers come down with great rapidity, having many shoals. The water is not good for drinking, being brakish. We have constantly found from the last mountain almost all the marshes and ponds brakish or sulphurous. What they could understand was that on the lower part of the river there were men like us, who made cloth and linen, were very numerous and had wars with a large part of the Indians. We saw that it was useless to question them, as they

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

even the few surviving Mandans were driven from their own huts. 164
Subsequently these tribes were again thus afflicted, and from one who was then stationed at Fort Clarke and an eye-witness of the fact, I am informed that suicide was committed by the victims [762] throwing themselves over the bluffs of the river to the rocks below. De Smet states that both the smallpox and cholera created havoc among the northern Indians in 1851." (p. 227.)

The making of glass beads by the Mandans and Aricarees is 323
alluded to by Wheeler, who says: 301

Glass Beads, Etc. "The Lewis and Clarke narrative for March 16th describes a process for making glass beads known to the Mandans.

"The Indians did not make the glass itself. This they obtained from the whites, but there is evidence that, prior to the appearance of the traders, they used obsidian, or natural glass, for this purpose. Dr. Matthews, as late as 1870, had flat triangular blue glass pendants made to order by an Aricaree woman, he furnishing the glass.

"These people also made unglazed pottery, mats, and baskets, 285
ladles and spoons, from the horns of the Rocky mountain sheep 323
(Ovius Montana) and the buffalo, and from the shoulder-blades 321
of the bison they fashioned the hoes with which they hoed the 178
ground in very early time. Since the whites came, the crude implements of the old days have been mostly supplanted by our household, garden, etc., utensils; but, in 1902, I purchased a fine sheep-horn ladle apparently in daily use still." (p. 228.)

Steinbreuck's Observations. Hon. E. R. Steinbreuck, field 000
officer of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, makes the further statement to the writer, in a letter dated May 24th, 1908, concerning the Mandan deserted villages, and their former habitat, as follows:

Unsolved Problems. "I think it is a difficult and as yet unsolved problem, to write the history of the Mandans, as aborigines of South Dakota. We have the end of the trail, not so the beginning. We don't know for certain where the Mandans came from. The end is in North Dakota and that is also the beginning of the traditions of the present Mandans. Their entire knowledge of their origin is limited to the Heart river region in North Da-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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FIG. 4.—Mrs. Good Bear

[p 5]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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The only article made of grass was a small charred piece of cord, although burnt grass occurred frequently in the black layers, and decayed grass or hay was found as a lining in the 172x 283

675 it is gone in an instant, and search would be in vain; everyone
673 would wish to appear innocent, although they are not offended when accused of stealing, but laugh the matter away. .....We paid
437 our landlord for board and lodging, as well as the care of our horses,
177 and of the articles left under his charge, as we never expect the least favor from any of these fellows without recompensing them accordingly. He appeared very well pleased with the following articles, which we gave him: 60 rounds of ammunition, 4 large knives, 2 awls, 1 fathom of tobacco, 1 steel, 5 flints, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 2 worms (wormers for guns), and 1 dozen brass rings....

609 [332] My host was so obliging as to give up to me one of his
574 own best beds, well surrounded with dressed leather. We had a plentiful supply of corn and beans, and were soon invited to several huts, where we [333] were treated with a very palatable dish of
[431] pounded peas and parched corn; but it is customary for invited guests, on leaving, to present the master of the hut with a few inches of tobacco, for which he always appears very thankful.

728 [335] About 30 Big Bellies soon arrived on horseback, at full speed; they brought an interpreter with them. This party consisted of some of the principal war chiefs, and other great men, who did not appear well pleased, but looked on the Pawnees with disdain.

285 [339] ...seated on a mat made of small willows of equal size, fastened together [340] by threads of their own manufacture, passed through each stick about a foot apart.

342 [340] Seldom more than one family occupies the same hut.

437 [342] We paid the young men for taking our horses across the
177 river, and the women for assisting us with the canoes. The total cost was: 1 fathom of tobacco, 4 knives, 6 flints, 6 awls, 6 worms [gun wormers—analyst], and 10 balls. I also paid my landlord for the time we might remain here, which I supposed would be about ten days for three persons, including board and lodging, stabling for our horses, and care of our property. They make no price, leaving that to the generosity of guests, and should the payment be too little they still appear to accept with gratitude; but the visitor is afterward left to take care of his own property and horses in the best manner he can. It is impossible to get the most trifling service from the natives without immediate payment; not even an inch of cord will they part with without receiving something in return. It is true a trifle will please them, and they are

[p. 384(D)]

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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281 Verendrye mentions their skill in making such things as
237 painted ox-robes, deer skin, dressed buckskin, and ornamented fur and feathers, painted feathers, peltry, wrought garters, circlets for the head, and girdles. They certainly understood the art of dressing skins, though perhaps other nations equalled them. All their visitors speak of the ornamented robes for the decoration of which porcupine quills dyed various colors, or the pigments themselves, as paints, were used at first, though beads
[532] came gradually to take their places. The ornamentation consisted usually of representations of animals, and pictographic records. When leather got wet, it was beaten and rubbed with white clay which they always carried with them. This kept the robes soft. Then there were medicine bags, tobacco pouches, sheathes for knives and bows, all of skin, painted or embroidered with quills, such as are seen over the whole plains
[231] area. They had leather bridles for their horses, sometimes embroidered, and used a saddle, similar to that of the Dakotas. The horses were caught by means of long raw hide lariats which the Indians made themselves.

534 Whistles were also necessary articles to those belonging to the societies. Maximilian[1] describes them as "long wooden whistles at whose lower end an eagle feather on a string dangles." He says they also had large flute whistles, twenty inches long, with holes to vary the notes by application of the fingers. Besides these were the war whistles, usually made from the wing
412 bone of some large bird. Other articles of bone, necessitated
321 by the great use of skins, were the bone scrapers, needles and awls with which each house was profusely supplied.

241 Almost the only agricultural implements which they used were hoes. These were the shoulder blades of buffalo or occasionally of elk, which were cut down and to which a crooked stick was fastened as a handle.[2]

415 Among their cooking utensils, which were used in every hut, were spoons and ladles of bighorn and buffalo horns. Verendrye says some of these ladles held as much as three pints.

●286 So far as the accounts go the Mandans did not make any textile fabric, though the Arikara are known to have made

[1] Op. cit., p. 416. [2] Henry: vol. I, p. 343.

garters and belts of buffalo hair.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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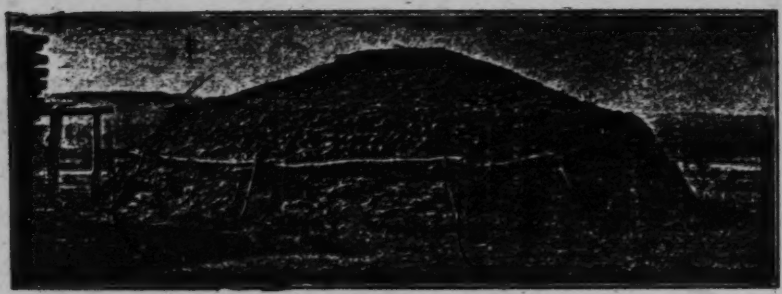

OLD EARTH LODGE.

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A SUMMER COTTAGE.

[face p. 289]

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

souri river, where they were living at the time they were discovered by the fur trader." That one of Dr. Robinson's authorities which he recalls as a basis for the foregoing statement concerning the Mandans having had an abode in the Lake Winnipeg country is, he declares, Clarke in his "Indian Sign Language," under various tribe headings therein, from some of which accounts we have hereinbefore quoted. He expresses with confidence his belief that he came in contact with further information leading to the same conclusion, but is at present without definite information as to the identity of such authorities.

We will now set forth the account at large of Sieur Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Verendrye, as published in "Canadian Archieves" (1889 pp. 1-29), concerning his visit to the Mandans in 1738, being, so far as now known, the first formal approach made by white men to those Indians, from which will appear the decided agricultural proclivities of this tribe, a reference also to their formidable barricaded villages or "forts," their exceptional makeup as to complexion, their marked hospitality, their fear of the Sioux, their shrewdness as traders, etc.

Verendrye's Account. "On the morning of the 28th we arrived at the place selected for the meeting of the Mandans, who arrived toward evening—a chief with thirty men and the four Assiniboines. The chief, after having from the top of a height considered for some time the extent of our village, which appeared of a good size, I had him brought to the hut where I was, where a place had been prepared to receive him on one side of it. He came and placed himself near me; one of his people then, on his part, presented me with a gift of Indian corn in the ear, and of their tobacco in rolls, which is not good, as they do not know how to cure it like us. It is very like ours, with this difference, that it is not cultivated and is cut green, everything being turned to account, the stocks and the leaves together. I gave him some of mine, which he thought very good. I acknowledged that I was surprised, expecting to see different people from the other Indians, especially after the account given me. There is no difference from the Assiniboines; they are naked, covered only with a buffalo robe, worn carelessly without breech clout.

"I knew from that time that we had to make an allowance for all we had been told. The chief spoke to me in Assiniboine, testifying the joy which I had given to all their nation by my arrival

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

764 length was pronounced by his brother, in which he impressed on their minds, the great importance which the deceased man had been to their nation; rehearsed his war exploits, and concluded by urging all to follow his example, and to become of equal usefulness to their tribe. Then they would be sure of following and becoming companions of him, and all the other great warriors, which had died before, in the world of spirits. After this address was closed, provisions were brought out, consisting of boiled dog's flesh, of which the company just tasted, and then a bowl full of it was presented to the dead man. He was then taken up by four men and carried outside of the village, just into the edge of the woods, and placed on a stage which had been previously erected, about ten feet high. The bowl of food was brought and set by his head, and his arms and accoutrements laid by his side. In this manner their dead are deposited, and are never buried. The wife and relations of the deceased made the most violent and dreadful howlings, tearing their hair and appearing to be in the deepest anguish, under the loss they had sustained."

142 **Complexion, Etc.** "The Mandans and the Gros Ventres are of the lightest complexion, and largest Indians on the Missouri. Their hair inclines to a chestnut color, and in some instances has a slight curl; it is never so lank and course as most other Indians. Their eyes are full and lively, their cheek bones rather high, and their countenances open and agreeable. The Gros Ventres have more of a fierce, savage look, than the Mandans who are courteous
• 291 and sociable in their behavior. They are neat in their dress, which is similar to that of the Rus, except that they decorate it with white rabbit, and white ermine skins. Many of their lodges, or
353 huts, are decorated in a beatiful manner; having the inside lined with the richest furs, such as the lynx, beaver, otter, white rabbit, martin, fox, mountain cat and white ermine, sewed together like patch-work, which gives them a rich and beautiful appearance. The lodge of the head chief was sixty feet in diameter, elegantly lined with furs, and the seats, which are also used as beds, were covered with the grizzly bear and buffalo skins. These people keep their lodges and buildings in a state of great neatness. They
439 cultivate the same kind of produce with the Rus, and carry on a trade with the roving Indians, who occasionally visit them. The
648 Mandans and Gros Ventres live in great friendship, although

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

114 (Coale & Maxwell, Baltimore, 1816), and he also mentions briefly the tribe in his "Views of Louisiana," (Schaeffer & Maund, Balto., 1817.) He was a lawyer of keen observation, given somewhat to philosophical reflections upon the red man. The party reached the Mandan villages July 26, 1811. We quote as follows from his "Voyage," etc.:

361 **Villages.** "Wednesday, 26th, (July, 1811.) Continued our voyage through a beautiful country, on both sides of the river. In the afternoon passed by all five of the Mandan villages, which are situated upon high open plains, the village of She-he-ke, divided from the others by a handsome stream. The inhabitants had gathered to the bank to see us, several waded into the water, but returned when we beckoned to them not to approach. The ●271 men were generally naked, the women dressed according to their age or quality, from the course elk skin, to the elegant agalia. It was late at night before we reached the fort of the Missouri Company, which is situated above all the villages, and sixteen hundred and forty miles from the mouth of the Missouri, and in latitude 47 degrees, 13 minutes N."

Brackenridge describes the grim spectacle of the aerial sepulcher of the Mandans:

764 **Burial Scaffolds.** "We made several excursions to the villages below, the nearest about six miles off; but as they differ but little from those of the Arikara, I will give no particular description of them. I noticed but one thing as remarkable.

"About two miles on this side of the first village, my attention was attracted by a number of small scaffolds, distributed over several acres of ground on the slope of a hill. I soon discovered that this was a depository of the dead. The scaffolds were raised on forks about ten feet, and were sufficiently wide to contain two bodies; they were in general covered with blue and scarlet cloth, or wrapt in blankets and buffalo robes; we did not approach near enough to examine closely, this frightful Golgotha, or place of human skeletons, but we could see a great number of valuable articles which had been left as offerings to the manes of the deceased. Several crows and magpies were perched upon them; we could not but experience a sensation of horror, when we thought of the attraction which brought these birds to this dismal place. Some of the scaffolds had nearly fallen down, perhaps overturned by the wind, or the effect of decay, and a great num-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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FIG. 1.—Sitting Crow and Crows Heart, Goose Society Singers.

[p. 2]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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FIG. 2.—Scattercorn (*left*) and Mrs. Sitting Crow

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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FIG. 4.—Mrs. Good Bear

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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353 Between every pair was a large post. An elevation showing some of the details is reproduced from Morgan in Figure 1, and a ground plan, in Figure 3.

251 171 The sedentary character of the Mandans and the fact that they practiced agriculture led to the development among them of several cultural features not found among the purely hunting tribes. In common with most sedentary tribes they made use of caches or storage pits. Henry[1] gives a description of them saying that, in the fall after harvest, the corn was dried, shelled and put in deep pits. These were about eight feet deep, with a mouth just wide enough for a person to get in, but the inside was hollowed out larger and the sides and bottom were lined with straw. The cache contained twenty to thirty bushels of beans or corn where it kept for several years. The caches were scattered everywhere about the village. Catlin mentions caches, saying that they placed corn in pits six or seven feet deep, jug shaped, and tightly closed at the top.

● 291 Dress:—The dress of the Mandans in general was much like that of their neighbors, at the later period of their history at least. There were however some minor differences. Verendrye says that at his visit the men went naked, except for a carelessly worn buffalo robe—not even wearing a breech cloth. The women wore very little as a rule, their only article of attire being an apron about the waist, a hand's breadth wide and a foot long. But he adds later that some of them wore a gown of very soft deerskin. It is probable that other articles of dress were borrowed from their neighbors as time went on.

515 302 The men and women both began the day with a bath, after which the body was carefully oiled with castoreum. For any ceremonial or feast the body was also painted in colors, these being mixed with grease. After the bath the face and hair were nearly always whitened. The men in Maximilian's time usu-
291 ally wore a breech cloth, of black and white cloth, and moccasins with little or no ornamentation. The upper part of the body was usually naked as they seldom wore the leather shirt used in many other tribes. Even in the winter, Maximilian says they wore only the buffalo robe over the upper half of the

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 300.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

body. The small boys went naked but the girls wore a leather dress similar to those of the older women. The woman's dress was the buck-skin tunic which went just below the knee, a girdle held it at the waist, the sleeves were open and the base of the skirt was often fringed. Bead necklaces and earrings were worn, and leggings which did not reach to the knee. The men also wore leggings which were the counterpart of those found among the other plains tribes. 291 [301] [171]

Although the Mandans ordinarily dressed very plainly, yet for the feasts and ceremonies they arrayed themselves as gorgeously as did any of their neighbors, and in practically the same way. Then they wore richly embroidered leather shirts, moccasins covered with quill work, necklaces of elk teeth, bears' claws, odorous roots and large glass beads, with fine painted and embroidered robes, tobacco pouches, quivers, medicine bags, and all the paraphernalia of the plains ceremonial dress. Scalps were used as among the Dakotas, ceremonial pipes and bows were carried. The head-dresses of war eagle, hawk, crow, and raven feathers were worn by members of different societies and occasionally the head-dress of two small polished pieces of buffalo horn was worn. This last was found frequently among the Dakotas. Antelope and deer hoofs were used often as a fringe of bangles along the shirt hem or the sides of the leggings. 292 171

The Mandans had a peculiar method of dressing the hair, unlike other Siouan tribes but very much like the Arikara. The hair of the men was allowed to hang down to the thighs, or even to the knees, it was separated into a number of strands, each of which was stuck along its whole length, two or three inches apart, with lumps of mixed glue and colored clay, making nearly solid plaits one and a half inches thick. Oftentimes these plaits were pieced out with beaver skin strips or hair from scalps. One lock of hair hung down forward over the nose, and this was unornamented except for a red ribbon tied about it. There were two copper strips covered with blue and white glass beads woven with the hair on the sides. These hung by one end and were also decorated with dentalia. On the back of the head was an ornament, flat, three or four inches thick, of wood or twisted metal wire. It was fastened to the hair and 302 [171]

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Plate XXXVI, figs. *s* and *t*, shows two bone fish-hooks which were unearthed. Figs. *u* and *v*, on the same plate, figure two pieces of worked bone which may be fish-hooks in the process of manufacture. 172X 321 287

Bone was made into a great number of ornamental objects. Of these, beads were the more numerous in the remains. Bone beads were usually made from the leg and wing bones of birds. Plate XXXVI, figs. *l* to *o*, are bones from which beads have been wholly or partially cut off. Plate XXXVI, figs. *a* to *k*, are beads of different sizes, ranging from an inch and a half to a quarter of an inch in length, and of varying diameters. 172X 321 301

"Bracelets" made from the rib bones of small animals are shown in Plate XXXVI, figs. *w* to *z*. These are usually grooved on one side and rounded on the other, and perforated at one end. While calling these bracelets it is difficult to understand just how they were used as such and they may have been simply pendants.

Plate XXXVI, fig. *r*, represents a bone object, with notches on the four sides much like the rectangular stones previously described. This object is flat on one side and curved on the other and has a high polish.

Plate XXXVI, figs. *p* and *q*, are fragments of buffalo shoulder blades which have perforations, their use being uncertain.

172X 321 291

FIG. 10. A BONE BUCKLE. ½

Fig. 10 shows a curious piece of bone which probably served as a buckle. It is made of the outside portion of a buffalo rib.

172X 321

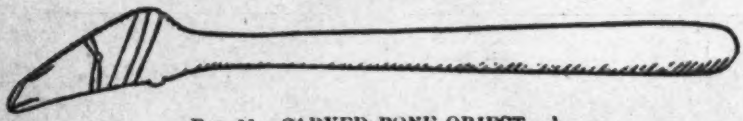

FIG. 11. CARVED BONE OBJECT. ½

The only piece of realistic art found is shown in Fig. 11. This bone is beautifully carved and polished. One end is incised to represent a crane's head, while the rest is rounded off to

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NO17

Such a
301 necklace is seldom to be had for less than twelve dollars; and very often the owners of them will
[435] not part with them on any terms. The Mandans adorn themselves with many other kinds of
necklaces, such as strings of glass beads, scented roots, or fungi, elks' teeth, for 100 or 150 of
291 which they will, in exchange, give a horse, or something equivalent. These Indians generally
302 wear no covering on the upper part of the body; the leather shirt of the Assiniboins, Sioux,
301 Crows, Blackfeet, and other nations that live more to the north and north-west, are seldom used
among them; yet a few individuals have obtained them from those Indians, either as presents,
or by barter. Even in the midst of winter, the Mandans wear nothing on the upper part of the
body, under their buffalo robe. They paint their bodies of a reddish-brown colour, on some
occasions with white clay; and frequently draw red or black figures on their arms. The face is,
for the most part, painted all over with vermilion, or yellow, in which latter case the circum-
ference of the eyes and the chin are red. There are, however, no set rules for painting, and it
depends on the taste of the Indian dandy; yet, still, a general similarity is observed. The bands,
in their dances, and also after battles, and when they have performed some exploit, follow the
established rule. In ordinary festivals, and dances, and whenever they wish to look particularly
fine, the young men paint themselves in every variety of way, and each endeavours to find out
some new mode. Should he find another dandy painted just like himself, he immediately retires
[554] and makes a change in the pattern, which may happen three or four times during the festival. If
they have performed an exploit, the entire face is painted jet black. Sometimes, though seldom,
the Mandans adorn the wrist and upper arm with polished steel bracelets, which they obtain from
the merchants; often they wear many brass rings on their fingers, and are, on the whole, exces-
sively fond of ornaments and finery. The chief article of their dress is the ample buffalo robe,
called mahita, or mih-sha, which is often very elaborate and valuable. In dry weather these
buffalo robes are worn with the hair inwards, and in rainy weather with the hairy side outwards.
They are tanned on the fleshy side, and painted either white or reddish-brown, and ornamented
with a transverse band of blue or white glass beads, and three large rosettes of the same beads,
often of very tasteful patterns, at regular intervals. The centre is frequently red, surrounded
with sky blue, embroidered with white figures, or sometimes the reverse. The transverse band
is worked with variously dyed porcupine quills, and is then narrower. This, however, is
now old-fashioned, and was worn before the coloured glass beads were obtained in such numbers
532 from the Whites. Other robes are painted with a reddish-brown ground, and black figures, espe-
cially of animals; others have a white ground, with representations of their heroic deeds in black,
or in gay colours, with the wounds they received, the loss of blood, the killed, the prisoners, the
arms they have taken, the horses stolen (the number of which is indicated by the number of horse-
shoes), in black, red, green, or yellow figures, executed in their yet rude style of painting. The

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

nations on the Missouri are all in the habit of painting such robes; but the Pawnees, Mandans, 532
Manitaries, and Crows, are the most skilful in this art.* Another mode of painting their robes 532
is, to represent the number of valuable presents they have made. By these presents, which are 431
often of great value, they acquire reputation and respect among their countrymen. On such 554
robes we observed long red figures, with a black circle at the termination, placed close to each 211
other in transverse rows; they represent whips, indicating the number of horses given, because 435
the whip belonging to the horse is always bestowed with the animal. Red or dark blue transverse figures indicate cloth or blankets given; parallel transverse stripes represent fire-arms, the outlines of which are pretty correctly drawn. The robe is frequently cut, at the bottom, into narrow strips, like fringe, and ornamented on the sides with tufts of human hair, and horse-hair dyed yellow and green, and with glass beads. Formerly the Indians painted these robes more care- 432
fully than they now do, and it was possible to obtain one for five musket balls and some powder; now they are far inferior, and eight or ten dollars is not unfrequently paid for them. A robe handsomely painted is equal in value to two not painted.

Their leggins are fastened with straps to their leathern girdles, and are embroidered at the 291
outer seam with stripes, one or two inches in breadth, of porcupine quills, of beautiful various colours, and often with blue and white beads, and long leathern fringes, which form at the ankle a thick bunch, which trails upon the ground. The leather of which their leggins are made is, for the most part, stained of a reddish-brown, or pale red, usually with clay, sometimes white, and often marked below the knee with black transverse stripes. They, as well as all the tribes of North America, use what the English call a breech-cloth (Nokka), which is a narrow strip of woollen cloth, striped black and white, which passes between the thighs under the girdle, before and behind, where it hangs down. Their shoes, which are made of buck skin, or buffalo leather, are generally plain, or very slightly ornamented; but, in full dress, they are embroidered with coloured rosettes, or strips of dyed porcupine quills or beads. Those men who have performed exploits wear, round the ankles, [554]
wolf's tail, or pieces of otter skin, which are lined with red cloth, and trail on the ground. In the summer, when the men are at home, and go about in state, they carry the fan of eagle's feathers in their hands, which we have before described. What the Anglo-Americans call "the crow," which is worn by the warriors of the nations of the Mississippi, and the Lower Missouri, is wholly unknown among the tribes of the Upper Missouri, the Sioux, Assiniboins, Crows, Mandans, Arikkaras, Manitaries, and Blackfeet.

The boys are generally naked, and in winter merely have a robe thrown over them; the 291
girls are dressed in leather in summer as well as winter. The women wear a long leather

* There is a print of such a robe in Major Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, and another in Plate XXI., Fig. 1., of my Atlas. The original was painted by Mato-Topé himself, and the figures on it represent some of his principal exploits, in which he killed, with his own hand, five chiefs of different nations.

291 garment, with open sleeves, and a girdle round the waist; the hem of this dress is often scolloped and fringed; they ornament the wrists with iron rings, and tie strings of glass beads round their necks, and sometimes in their ears. Their leggins, called, by the Canadians, mitasse, are short, reaching only from the ankle to the knee. Their shoes are simple, and without any ornament.

301 Tattooing is in use among these people, but by no means general. Most commonly only the left half of the breast and the corresponding arm are marked with black parallel stripes, and a few other figures. The lower arm and some of the fingers are occasionally marked; the men do not tattoo their faces, and they are far inferior in this art to the New Zealanders and other nations of the South Seas. Among the women such designs are sometimes seen, but not [56] frequently, and they are chiefly among the women's band of the white buffalo cow.[1] The point of the needle is dyed a dark blue with the bark of the willow soaked in water.

302 171 In Major Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains it is stated that the Crows rub their bodies with castoreum, on account of its pleasant scent. I must observe, however, that the custom is not confined to one nation, but is practised by the Mandans, Manitaries, Crows, and Blackfeet, and most of the other tribes of the Upper Missouri. They mix the castoreum with a red colour, and with it rub their face and frequently their hair.

361 712 Having obtained a clear idea of the outward appearance of these Indians, we will next consider their habitations, villages, and domestic life. Their villages are assemblages of clay huts, of greater or less extent, placed close to each other, without regard to order. Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, the largest of the Mandan villages, was about 150 or 200 paces in diameter, the second was much smaller. The circumference forms an irregular circle, and was anciently surrounded with strong posts, or palisades, which have, however, gradually disappeared as the natives used them for fuel in the cold winters. At four places, at nearly equal distances from each other, is a bastion built of clay, furnished with loop-holes, and lined both within and without with basket-work of willow branches. They form an angle, and are open towards the village; the earth is filled in between the basket-work; and it is said that these bulwarks, which are now in a

1 [This is one of the women's age-grade societies.--Analyst.]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LETTER No. 14.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

291 171 The Mandans in many instances dress very neatly, and some of them splendidly. As they are in their native state, their dresses are all of their own manufacture; and of course, altogether made of skins of different animals belonging to those regions. There is, certainly, a reigning and striking similarity of costume amongst most of the North Western tribes; and I cannot say that the dress of the Mandans is decidedly distinct from that of the Crows or the Blackfeet, the Assinneboins or the Sioux; yet there are modes of stitching or embroidering, in every tribe, which may at once enable the traveller, who is familiar with their modes, to detect or distinguish the dress of any tribe. These differences consist generally in the fashions of constructing the head-dress, or of garnishing their dresses with the porcupine quills, which they use in great profusion.

291 171 177 Amongst so many different and distinct nations, always at war with each other, and knowing nothing at all of each other's languages; and amongst whom, fashions in dress seldom if ever change; it may seem somewhat strange that we should find these people so nearly following, or imitating each other, in the forms and modes of their dress and ornaments. This must however, be admitted, and I think may be accounted for in a manner, without raising the least argument in favour of the theory of their having all sprung from one stock or one family; for in their continual warfare, when chiefs or warriors fall, their clothes and weapons usually fall into the possession of the victors, who wear them; and the rest of the tribe would naturally more or less often copy from or imitate them; and so also in their repeated councils or treaties of peace, such articles of dress and other manufactures are customarily exchanged, which are equally adopted by the other tribe; and consequently, eventually lead to the similarity which we find amongst the modes of dress, &c. of the different tribes.

291 The tunic or shirt of the Mandan men is very similar in shape to that of the Blackfeet—made of two skins of deer or mountain-sheep, strung with scalp-locks, beads, and ermine. The leggings, like those of the other tribes, of whom I have spoken, are made of deer skins, and shaped to fit the leg, embroidered with porcupine quills, and fringed with scalps from their enemies heads. Their moccasins are made of buckskin, and neatly ornamented

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

with porcupine quills—over their shoulders (or in other words, over one shoulder and passing under the other), they very gracefully wear a robe from the young buffalo's back, oftentimes cut down to about half its original size, to make it handy and easy for use. Many of these are also fringed on one side with scalp-locks; and the flesh side of the skin curiously ornamented with pictured representations of the creditable events and battles of their lives. 291

Their head-dresses are of various sorts, and many of them exceedingly picturesque and handsome; generally made of war-eagles' or ravens quills and ermine. These are the most costly part of an Indian's dress in all this country, owing to the difficulty of procuring the quills and the fur. The war-eagle being the "*rara avis*," and the ermine the rarest animal that is found in the country. The tail of a war-eagle in this village, provided it is a perfect one, containing some six or eight quills, which are denominated first-rate plumes, and suitable to arrange in a head-dress, will purchase a tolerable good horse (horses, however, are much cheaper here than they are in most other countries). I have had abundant opportunities of learning the great value which these people sometimes attach to such articles of dress and ornament, as I have been purchasing a great many, which I intend to exhibit in my Gallery of Indian Paintings, that the world may examine them for themselves, and thereby be enabled to judge of the fidelity of my works, and the ingenuity of Indian manufactures. 292 435

In these purchases I have often been surprised at the prices demanded by them; and perhaps I could not recite a better instance of the kind, than one which occurred here a few days since:—One of the chiefs, whom I had painted at full length, in a beautiful costume, with head-dress of war-eagles' quills and ermine, extending quite down to his feet; and whom I was soliciting for the purchase of his dress complete, was willing to sell to me all but the head-dress; saying, that "he could not part with that, as he would never be able to get quills and ermine of so good a quality to make another like it." I agreed with him, however, for the rest of the dress, and importuned him, from day to day, for the head-dress, until he at length replied, that, if I must have it, he must have two horses for it; the bargain was instantly struck—the horses were procured of the Traders at twenty-five dollars each, and the head-dress secured for my Collection.

There is occasionally, a chief or a warrior of so extraordinary renown, that he is allowed to wear horns on his head-dress, which give to his aspect a strange and majestic effect. These are made of about a third part of the horn of a buffalo bull; the horn having been split from end to end, and a third part of it taken and shaved thin and light, and highly polished. These are attached to the top of the head-dress on each side, in the same place that they rise and stand on the head of a buffalo; rising out of a mat 292

574 609 chief gave our horses in charge of a young man, and told us we need not be uneasy as there would be good care taken of them.

574 262 On going into the hut, we found buffalo hides spread on the ground, before the fire, for us to sit upon, and soon after we were presented with two large dishes of boiled corn and beans, after which they gave us another large dish of boiled dried meat, but very few of us could eat of it, as it had too strong a taste and smell.[1]

231 342 After some other details which we omit, Harvey writes that when night came: "One young man brought in our horses, and put them in the same hut along with us, upon the right hand, on entering, and ourselves upon the left; a space was enclosed with a railing to keep them within bounds. This custom causes their habitations to have a very disagreeable and offensive smell. This precaution of theirs is to keep the horses from being stolen by the Assiniboines, or other enemies, who are frequently lurking about the village.

515 ●291 "Towards evening, having gone down to the river side, I observed the custom of washing themselves in the Missouri. Both men and women make it a rule, every morning and evening, to go down to the river, and wash for some time; the men make use of the clay to wash their hair, which answers the purpose of soap to take out the white and red earth with which they daub it, after having washed. Modesty in the female sex appears to be a virtue they are unacquainted with. They wear a kind of leather shift which reaches down to the calves of their legs. This they slip off some distance from the shore, and walk very deliberately into the water entirely naked, in the presence of old and young who seem not to pay any attention to them. * * * * [2] The men make use of no other covering, in the summer season, than these buffalo robes, and even these are seldom worn within doors, and only thrown on when they go out to visit or walk about the village. [352] Both sexes sleep naked. Their beds are raised about two feet from the ground, and hung around with dressed skins. In summer they seldom use any coverings at night, but lay like so many brutes."[2] * * * * Mr. Henry gives a description of their lascivious dances which is too indelicate to publish. He writes under date of:

252 262 352 512 412 "Sunday, July 20th. At daybreak we were all up, and I took a walk down to the river, where I observed the same ceremony of washing as last evening, with as little reserve as before. Our host on our return presented us with some dried meat, and soon after a dish of corn and beans, but as it is not seasoned with any kind of grease or fat, after the first meal it has a very insipid taste. The corn is generally pounded or bruised in a wooden mortar, which is fixed fast and firm in the ground, in one corner of the hut, and this is the first work performed by the women in the morning.

[1] [Category 116, p. 325.-A] [2] [Category 116, p. 326.-A]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

could be sold four times. The usual transfer was to sisters married to one man, in which instances the women acquired rights in the sacred robe and other paraphernalia of that section, and the husband took over the balance of the bundle. Such purchases were made only after several years of married life, as it was considered a sign of bad luck for common bundle-owners to quarrel. Crows Heart explained that having a common interest in a bundle was a powerful factor in making marriages permanent. Sale was not made until the parent-in-law taboo had been removed. 778 421 425 [777]

The prominence of these bundles is demonstrated by their representation in the Okipa ceremony. During the early summer all men owning primary and secondary rights in a Small Hawk ceremony met in one of their earth lodges to select two young men to represent their bundles in that summer's Okipa ceremony. Either young men of this group or men who were eligible to inherit a bundle were selected to dance in the ceremony and to receive goods offered to Small Hawk bundle-owners.

Women owning rights in the bundle were entitled to dress in the sacred robe, place sage and magpie tail feathers in the hair, and carry the ash digging stick at the close of the Okipa ceremony, when separate offerings were made to them by the Okipa Maker and his fellow-fasters and on other occasions when a feast was made to the bundle as a Buffalo-calling ceremony. [292]

The rites are based on the exploits of Corn Silk, who visited the small hawk at his lodge on the eastern horizon where he lived with his mother. This small hawk, being a good hunter, taught the Buffalo-calling rites. Because he could produce thunder, he also introduced a rain-calling rite. His son, Looks Down To Hunt, inherited all his father's powers. 796 773

The holy robe and its rites have as their mythological origin Looks Down To Hunt's experiences on the northern horizon where he encountered his wife's mother who lived in a large earth lodge. After avoiding many hazards which she had set up to protect her people, the buffaloes, she was obliged to free these animals. The Mandan had many sacred robes, but each had its separate origin myth. 778 773

The myth throws light on the native theories of the universe. In one place Looks Down To Hunt asked the spider for his body 773 772

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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dress similar to those of the older women. The woman's dress was the buck-skin tunic which went just below the knee, a girdle held it at the waist, the sleeves were open and the base of the skirt was often fringed. Bead necklaces and earrings [301]
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4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

292 575 293 Every member had a head ornament consisting of a round piece of rawhide with a bone feather holder. Two officers wore moderately wide aprons of red cloth edged with eagle feathers hanging down. Each of two other officers had a sacred bow with two arrows, one painted red and the other black. Two officers bore a spiked club (ō'o kahiri' 'ka), the spike being of horn. The sacred bows and arrows were for use against the enemy; they never missed their aim. For some reason no paraphernalia were supplied to Wounded-face's group, and they did not exercise their membership privileges because older men who should have taught them the appropriate songs died. All the members of this society were Mandan, but the organization originated with the Dakota or Cheyenne. Black-chest independently made the statement that the society was not really of Mandan origin. The [608] *cō'ta ō'xaf'e* regarded the Foxes as their fathers, and the Little Dogs as their "friends."

292 575 Water-chief said that members wore two eagle feathers rising from the back of the head. Before his group bought the society, five older Mandan called them together, and said, "We wish to give you a society." Then property was collected and brought to them. The same night they sang songs, to which the young boys danced. After the dance, the sellers addressed their sons, saying, "You are growing up now. You must go against the enemy. Try to be brave and conquer the enemy."

Kit-Fox Society.

575 432 571 The following account of this society (ō'xox'atoc) was given by Black-chest.

When we bought this society, all of us were unmarried. We wished to buy this society. Our fathers said, "These foxes have ten claws on their front legs, so we wish you to give us a ten days' feast." I selected Good-bear, one of my clan fathers, for my individual father. The members of the River Women society were our "friends"; one of these, Black-head, was my individual "friend."

When the River Women had gathered together, we went to them and thus addressed them: "We wish to make friends with you. We desire to buy a society and wish you to help us and give us some blankets. We wish to know whether you are willing to do so." The women debated the request, and each one declared that she would contribute her blanket. Then we said, "Well, now each of you shall say which one of us you are willing to help." Then Black-head designated me. She was no clan aunt of mine.

575 527 432 We borrowed Broken-horn's earth-lodge for our meeting and brought kettles of food there. Black-head also brought a kettle of food there. We boys came in on the left side and sat down in an ellipse. We could hear our fathers singing as they approached our lodge. They entered it on the right side and sat down. Their wives, who were to assist in the singing during the ten nights' entertainment, were grouped behind their husbands.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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regalia. After a few days spent in hunting we again gathered in our meeting-house and had an abundance of food prepared. Some time in the spring we went outside in our regalia and danced publicly, whereupon we would return to the lodge, dance again, and then have a feast. This happened about three or four times a year. Frequently members of the society went out at night in their ordinary costume and walked from house to house, singing in front of every lodge. This was done to please the young women of the village. The four Fox women did not take part in these nocturnal processions, but other girls accompanied the men and sang with them. 575 432 527 533 535

In addition to the rattlers and the staff-bearers, there were two men distinguished by their regalia from the rank and file. One of these wore a cap (mapa'caci wa'ah-ku'pe) of kit-fox skin, with the ears sticking up.[1] This officer acted as a sort of [292]

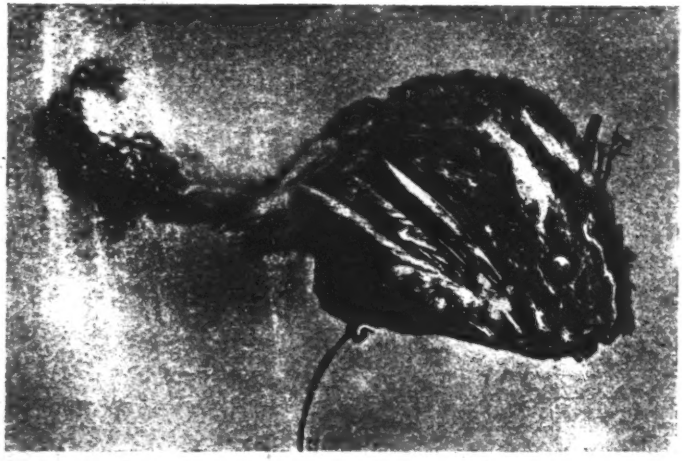

Fig. 10. (50.1–4332). Cap of Mandan Kit-Fox Society. Length, 127 cm.

spokesman for the society, but was not regarded as the chief of the organization. The other officer wore a head band decorated with kit-fox jaws (Fig. 17).

The Black Mouth society was regarded as friendly to our Kit-Fox group. They sat with us when we purchased the society and contributed to the food given to our fathers, though not to the property paid to them. When a new rattler did not at once learn his song and was accordingly afraid to try it, the Black Mouth officer bearing a "dance flag" took his place for a while. After the purchase the Black Mouths participated in our feasts. Sometimes we got together in the house of Two-chiefs, a Black Mouth; if any Black Mouth so desired he might then join us in the dancing.

Sometimes we gathered instead in the house of Foolish-soldier, a Stinking-Ear (see p. 294). Foolish-soldier acted as our herald. He would get up on the roof of a lodge and announce our meeting.

Bear's-ghost, Crow's-heart, Black-eagle, Sitting-crow, White-owl, and their associates should have bought the Kit-Fox society from us. As they did not do so, we still own it."

[1] Wounded-face's cap is shown in Fig. 10.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for his individual father. Wounded-face did not know that Two-crows owned two kinds of emblems,— the foxskin cap to be used in dancing and in war, and the head band decorated with the lower kit-fox jaws which was to be worn when courting young women.[1] On the morning of the final transference of membership rights, Two-crows gave Wounded-face the cap and the head band, as well as a shirt, armlets and fringed buckskin leggings. In return, Wounded-face paid his father a fast black horse suited for use in the buffalo chase and some property contributed by his relatives. I get the impression that the transfer of special regalia was automatic; that is to say, if the father happened to own certain specific emblems the son buying his membership bought *ipso facto* the regalia owned by the seller. 575 432 292 608

Little-crow states that at the public performance the relatives of the new members brought presents, which were turned over to the fathers, either individually or collectively. In the latter case the fathers proceeded to distribute the gifts among themselves. 575 431 602

In marching outdoors, the first rattler took the lead and was immediately followed by the first hooked-staff officer; Wounded-face — presumably as the owner of the cap — occupied a central position in the line; the second rattler came last, being directly behind the second hooked-staff officer. The first rattler selected a site for the dance and turned in order to begin the formation of a circle there, at the same time raising his rattle and singing very loudly. There was always a special song to be sung prior to the drummers' entrance into the circle. This song was taken up by the second rattler. While the circle was forming, the singers went within the circumference and began to beat their drums. These singers were always the members' fathers, if I understood Wounded-face correctly, but it is probable that this applies only to the first public performance by a new group of members. The songs referred to warlike deeds, and the words were, according to this informant, invariably in the Dakota language. 575 527 535 533 [177]

Little-crow, as already stated, considers the head band decorated with kit-fox jaws as a badge common to all members; he further states that each Kit-Fox had a hair-pipe attached to the left side of the head and that six men had their hair roached. The hair-cutting was done by the men's fathers. Other informants agree that there were two rattlers and two officers with hooked-staffs, wrapped with otterskin and decorated at four points with feathers. Wounded-face says that sometimes the second staff-bearer carried a *straight* stick, in which case an erect eagle feather was secured to the top of the shaft. Little-crow states that rattles were used 575 [292] [302] 293

[1] This seems to conflict with Black-chest's account, which assigns these emblems to distinct officers, but Little-crow regards the kit-fox head band as a badge common to all members.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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The mode of purchase, as described by Maximilian, closely resembles that followed in buying membership in the other organizations. The boys desiring to become members approached the owners, addressed them as "fathers," and secured in exchange for blankets, cloths, horses and powder, the dances, songs, and regalia characteristic of the society. In this connection the Prince does not mention the feasting of the fathers, but the custom is referred to by my informants: Little-crow's group entertained the sellers for thirty, and that of Yellow-hair's husband for twenty nights. 575 432 527

One noteworthy addition to the purchase ceremony had become possible in later times through the change in the age of the members. As the Crazy Dogs were no longer boys as in Maximilian's day, but married men, the surrender of wives as a partial payment was no longer out of the question. As a matter of fact, I have no direct statement to the effect that wives were surrendered in this instance, but Yellow-hair's account strongly suggests that such was the case. According to this authority, all the women attended the purchase of the Crazy Dog membership. A rope was stretched between two poles and from it were suspended three headdresses and three sashes. On each of the twenty nights of entertainment six women removed their insignia, took them outside, pressed them to their breasts, and finally brought them back and hung them up again. Then six other women went through the same performance, and so on. 575 432 527 837

In view of Black-chest's statements as to the purchase of the Little Dog society (p. 304), I am inclined to believe that Yellow-hair's account is incomplete and that the women who took down the regalia and passed outdoors were offered as a part payment for the benefits to be derived from the fathers. This interpretation is confirmed by Maximilian's repeated reference to the wife-offering as a feature common to all the higher societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa. 575 837 432

The badge of all members, according to the Prince, was a whistle made from the wing-bone of a wild goose. Yellow-hair says that this whistle was suspended from the neck by means of a quill-wrapped string. Everyone carried a rattle of globular or ring shape. The rattles were trimmed with raven wing-feathers. To the back of the head members attached an ornament of split raven wing-feathers. Some of the Crazy Dogs wore neither shirt nor leggings, but daubed their bodies with yellow paint. While dancing, members were permitted to bear lances. 575 292 301

From the rank and file there were distinguished, in Maximilian's day, three officers wearing a long, broad strip of red cloth extending down the back, from neck to foot. Yellow-hair also speaks of three sash-wearers; the red cloth was edged with white, and a slit made it possible to slip the sash over the head. At the shoulder, near the white edging, there was attached 575 292

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 292 the war-medicine given by the father to the son at the time of the membership sale. Wounded-face says that there were four sash-wearers.

Besides the sash-wearers, there were three (Wounded-face again speaks of four) officers wearing headdresses of buffalo-skin, decorated with sections of horns and strips of weasel skins. The headgears were secured by means of neckstrings, which also served to fasten them to the stretched rope at the time of the purchase (see p. 307). To the back of the headdresses there were attached strips of rawhide, about 3½ feet in length and decorated with quillwork. Horsetails, dyed yellow, were fastened to the tops of the horns, and occasionally hawk-wings were used for decorating the headdresses.

Wounded-face is alone in speaking of two additional officers bearing lances, that were decorated at the top and center with a bunch of short raven wing-feathers. The use of a feathered string with these lances was optional.

575 432 Yellow-hair mentions four drummers, each of whom gave his drum to his son at the time of the membership sale.

575 432 527 When the purchase had been consummated after the twenty nights' entertainment, the fathers, according to Yellow-hair, passed out of the lodge, lamenting the loss of their songs,— some of them even pretending to cry. On the other hand, the purchasers began to sing and rejoice. They went outdoors, formed a circle, and sang there. After a while they returned to their lodge, followed by their wives. Supper had been prepared. The new Crazy Dogs and their wives feasted, and then went home. On the next day the fathers invited the purchasers and their wives, gave them breakfast, and presented the men with clothes and regalia and the women with dresses. In return, the sons gave horses to their fathers. After this exchange of gifts, the members frequently assembled to practise the newly acquired [535] dance. The women never danced, but might take part in the singing. In dancing the Crazy Dogs jumped up with both feet and shook their rattles as an accompaniment to the drums. In a parade, the headdress-wearers took the lead, one marching behind the other; the sash-wearers had no fixed place.

575 535 Among the Mandan of Ruhptare Maximilian found that the Crazy[1] Dogs performed the Hot dance. After a large fire had been built, a number of glowing embers were scattered about, and then the boys, stripped of all clothing, danced on them with their bare feet. The hands, forearms, and feet of the performers were colored red. Sliced meat was boiling in a kettle over the fire. When the meat had been well done, the dancers put their

[1] Maximilian writes: "Die kleinen Hunde, deren Namen man nicht kennt, führen ihn auf." The modifying clause makes it clear that he is referring to the first society of his series.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

feasted their fathers for twelve nights. My informant received a tin rattle, as his father had been one of the singers, but, having a bad voice, he gave it to another man who was a better singer. When the new members paraded about, the villagers called them by name, and said, "You Black Mouths, die soon, for you are the bravest of the societies." The members put black paint on the lower part of the face, and black stripes on the body. If a dog came near them during a parade, a Black Mouth who had shot an enemy was permitted symbolically to refer to his deed by shooting the dog. 575 [302] [201]

Bull Society.

During their dance the members of the Bull organization (mēro'k ō'xat'e) wore, according to Maximilian, the upper part of the skin of a buffalo head with the horns and the long hairs of the neck. Two men, the bravest of all and pledged never to retreat from an enemy, wore together with the horns a complete representation of a buffalo head; this mask was provided with artificial eyeslits, surrounded by iron or tin rings. One woman attendant walked about during the dance, offering to the two mask-wearers water from a bowl. This woman was clad in a fine new suit of bighorn skin, and her face was painted with vermilion. The Bulls were the only society to use wooden whistles. They had a piece of red cloth fastened to the back, as well as the representation of a buffalo tail, and carried weapons in their hands. The two mask-wearers kept on the outside of the other dancers, and imitated the voice and actions of bulls, their shy wheeling over towards one side, their manner of looking about in all directions, etc. During the performance of the Bull dance witnessed by the Prince, there were nine dancers, who discharged their guns immediately on entering the Fort. Only one of them wore the complete buffalo head, the rest wore pieces of the skin of the forehead, a pair of cloth sashes, and an appendix decorated with feathers, which represented the tail; they carried shields decorated with red cloth, and long, beautifully ornamented lances.[1] A reproduction of Bodmer's drawing of the Bull dance in Maximilian's Atlas is presented in Fig. 12. 575 292

Wounded-face had heard that long ago a Mandan, who had a buffalo front leg in place of one arm, founded the Bull society. My informant said that only a few wore the piece of buffalo head skin with horns, some others merely dressed their hair in bunches in front. Still others covered their face with a mask, formed by fastening a tanned skin painted yellow over the

[1] Maximilian, II, 315.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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buffalo skin, the hair of which, however, was exposed from the wearer's forehead down to his chin. The spears carried were not very long, and the head pointed downwards. Shields rested on the left arm. Members who had struck enemies, carried guns; if they had used arrows to kill a foe, they carried arrows. Wounds received in battle were symbolized by red body paint. While dancing in the village, the Bulls jumped around. They pointed spears and guns at anyone approaching them, and thereby frightened young people. Those who had slain enemies enacted their martial deeds. For music they used a *large* drum. 575 292 [302] [534]

Calf-woman remembered seeing six women known as "Bull women" at a Bull performance; they sat behind the men singers. A woman brought in water, but only such members as had saved a woman's life were permitted to drink of it. This informant also remembers one of the mask-wearers pretending to spear people, and frightening the children, jumping up with both legs, and stamping one foot at a time. 575

The Bull dance described by Boller was not connected with the Bull society, but formed part of the Okipe as is obvious from comparison with Maximilian's and Catlin's accounts of this ceremony.[1] 535

Dog[1] Society.

Maximilian describes the emblem of the society as a stick a foot or a foot and a half in length, which was ornamented with blue and white beads, and to which a large number of animal hoofs were attached. To the front of the stick there was tied an eagle feather, to the lower extremity a piece of beaded leather. The members wore a large cap of colored cloth, to which were attached a great number of raven, magpie, and owl feathers, and which was further decorated with colored horsehair and weasel skins. Their whistle was large, and made from the wing bone of a swan. Three of them wore in the back sashes of red cloth similar to those of the Crazy Dog society. A bunch of owl, raven, or magpie feathers — and frequently a combination of all three — was attached to the head so as to hang down in the back. The three officers referred to were regarded as Real Dogs. People would throw a piece of meat into the ashes of a fire, or on the ground, and say, "You Dog, eat!" Then they were obliged to fall foul of it and to devour it like dogs or beasts of prey. 575 292 293

[1] Boller, 102–105; Maximilian, II, 174, 178; Catlin, I, 164 f.

[1] The native name is mini's ō'xatoc. What was said above (p. 306) as to the translation of the word *mini's* applies in this case also. The equivalence of the Hidatsa Dog society cannot be doubted, and Maximilian's rendering of the Mandan name supports this view.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 535 292 302

A dance of the "Dog society" of Ruptare village that was witnessed by Bodmer is described by Maximilian. After a performance in their lodge, the members, twenty-seven or twenty-eight in number, advanced towards the Fort. Some were clad in beautiful robes or bighorn-skin shirts, others in red cloth shirts, or blue and red uniforms. Some exposed the upper part of their body, on which coups were indicated in reddish-brown paint. In this connection the Prince speaks of *four* Real Dogs, all wearing huge bonnets of raven or magpie feathers, tipped with small white plumes, while in the center there was a fan of the tail feathers of a wild turkey or eagle. Round the neck each of these officers wore a long strip of red cloth, which extended down the back as far as the calves and was knotted in the middle of the back. Two additional officers wore similarly colossal bonnets of yellowish owl feathers, with dark oblique stripes, and one had a large, horned war-bonnet with a feathered streamer hanging down in the back. All others were ornamented with a bunch of thickly-set raven, magpie, or owl feathers, which was considered emblematic of the society. All members wore long whistles, and carried in their left arm some weapon, while the hoof rattle was held in the right hand. A circle was formed. In the center [534] there was a large drum, which was beaten by five poorly clad musicians; in addition to these men, who were seated, two drummers stood on the side, beating hand-drums. After whistling in their places in accompaniment to the rapid and violent beats of the drum, the Dogs suddenly began to dance, dropping their robes to the ground. Several of them danced in the middle of the circle, leaning their bodies forward, jumping up some distance with both feet and coming down firmly on the ground. The other Indians danced without any attention to orderly arrangement, crowding one another, turning their faces towards the circle, and occasionally joining in lowering the head and upper part of the body.[1]

575 534 292 301

Wounded-face says that the rattle (wī'o oxerō're) consisted of a stick covered with buckskin, to which the hoofs of young buffalo were attached. There were two men with sashes, which were half green and half yellow, and which were decorated with feathers. The skin cap had magpie feathers tied to it in a large bunch, and a white plume was fastened to every feather. Two eagle feathers, together with owl feathers, were also used for a head ornament. A large whistle was suspended from a wide strip of skin decorated with quillwork. The body was painted red. All the members carried the hoof-rattles, and sometimes they beat a drum or a log with them. All the Dogs were portly old men, slow in their dancing. Wounded-face thinks the society originated with the Hidatsa.

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[1] Maximilian, II. 309–311.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Old Dog Society.[1]

Maximilian, while not including this society in his list of age-classes, 561
states that the Old Dog dance was one which the Dogs might buy of the 535
Bulls before they were permitted to become Bulls. The Old Dog dancers 575
painted their bodies white, and their hands red and black. They wore
a grizzly skin round the body, and on the head feathers which hung down 292
in the back.

Wounded-face knew nothing of the organization save the name. He had 575
heard that they dressed similarly to the Dogs.

Coarse Hair Society.

Wounded-face had only heard of this society (bacā'ca ō'xat'e) from his 575
grandfather. There was something sacred about it. A young man going 292
on the warpath promised the members to give them a dance provided he
performed some brave deed in battle. When dancing, the members dressed 554
up. On the head they placed a piece of scalp from a buffalo head of the 726
size of a human scalp. Hair was attached to the scalp so as to hang over 714
the members' faces. They put honor marks on their clothes. The left leggings were painted red up to the knee, and black marks were put round the lower legs as a sign that the wearer had struck many enemies. Leaders in war who had killed enemies tied human hair to the leggings. For each enemy struck in war, a member put one feather on his head. If he had been wounded by an arrow, the split feather from an arrow, dyed red, was worn on the head. A gun wound was indicated by a stick about 9 inches in length, and whittled at the lower end so that the shavings remained on the stick. The young warrior providing for the entertainment of the performers filled a pipe for them, and, if possible, presented them with horses or eagle feather bonnets. He asked them to pray for him. All the older men rejoiced in such a feast.

It is possible, but by no means certain, that this society corresponds to 575
Maximilian's As-Cho'h-O'chatā (Ascho'-O'chatā). On the 23rd of December, 1833, a large number of Indians visited the Fort, led by fourteen mem- 292
bers of this society from the village of Ruptare. The entire head was 535
covered with a wig of long, flat braids of hair, which fell over the face, completely hiding it. Feathers of the owl, raven, and of birds of prey,

[1] minis' xixe' ō'xat'e.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 each tipped with a thick white plume, adorned the head. One member
292 carried a beautiful fan of white feathers, and wore on the head a complete
535 swan's tail, each feather of which was decorated with dyed horsehair. The
[293] members wrapped themselves completely in their robes, and carried bow-lances trimmed with feathers, colored cloth, glass beads, and the like; most of them had fox skins attached to their heels. Several men beat a drum, while the rest formed a circle and imitated the sound of buffalo bulls. After they had danced for a while, the spectators threw a quantity of tobacco down for them, whereupon they departed for the village in the woods, taking off their wigs on the way. In another place, the Prince mentions rattles as well as drums, and states that the bow-lances were also decorated with bear guts.[1]

Black-Tail Deer Society.

575 All the old men above fifty were, according to Maximilian, members of
561 the Black-Tail Deer organization (cu'psi ō'xat'e). Two female attendants
301 cooked and served fresh water during a dance. All of the men wore a
554 wreath of grizzly claws round the head, and displayed their honor marks in the form of feather head ornaments, braids of hair on arms and legs, scalps, painting, etc.

575 Wounded-face says that the organization originated on the Bad Creek,
773 near the Heart River. One day two young men with arrows stayed on a high wooded hill by the Creek. They dug a deep pit, put sticks across, and covered them with grass. They wanted to snare some animals. One morning one of the men went towards the trap. As he drew close, he heard signs of a trapped animal. He was glad, looked inside, and saw that he had caught a large and very fat black-tail deer. He fitted an arrow to his bow, but the deer said, "Don't shoot me." "Why not?" "You are my son, you must not shoot me. Make a path for me to get out." The young man obeyed, and the buck got out. Then he said, "You are a young man, and I know what you desire: honor marks. I have the power to give them to you, but you have many other fathers, who will instruct you later." He stretched his legs, jumped away, and went some distance. Then he stretched his legs again, and sang a song. When his song was ended, he went towards a wooded hill. The young man knew there was a house there. It belonged to the Deer, and the door closed with a thud. The house was the Black-Tail lodge.

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[1] Maximilian, II, 145f., 281f.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

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Hairy-coat said that the Enemy Women society was originated among the Hidatsa by Itsi'kawā'hiric, the mythical hero. This informant also sang the two following songs as belonging to the society:—

(a)

mi'racē'ruc	batsē'	waki'rits,	hi'ro	hūts.
I myself	a man	I look for,	here	he comes.

(b)

Màkooxpa',	na'kirac	ī'ru	mi	i'katā'ruc,	hiri'ts
Woman friend,	your husband	fixedly (?)	me	he looks at,	he did it.

na'cirihitō'k?
Will you throw him away?

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Goose Society.

Hides-and-eats joined the Goose society (mi'ra i'ke') when she was about 30 years of age. Calf-woman gives the same for the members' average age, though she herself joined at 13, there being two young girls in the organization. Hides-and-eats said there was always *one* young member; in her day it was Calf-woman. The Goose women would cast about for a girl well beloved by her parents, and when they found one tried to make the parents consent to her adoption into the society; thus Calf-woman was adopted, and her parents paid a large amount of property for the privilege. Calf-

Fig. 14 (50.1–4360). Duckskin Head Band of Goose Society. Length, 54 cm.

woman herself said that she had been selected by Bells-look-round, one of the male singers, who also served as musician for the White Buffalo Women society. Calf-woman's father paid a great deal of calico and other property to the society. As a badge Calf-woman, as well as the other young member, received a head band of a duck skin with the bill (see Fig. 14), while the older members all wore narrow head bands of goose skin. The normal method of entering the society was for the entire River Women society to buy in a body the regalia and other appurtenances of the Goose society.

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4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 773 539 delighted. He said, "I like this society. I wish to add something to your feather." Then he broke off some (unidentified) grass, and tied it to the feather. In the dance these feathers were meant to shake. Kínumakci said, "I will give you one of my songs." And he gave the man a song quite different from other songs. When Kínumakci had done singing, the visionary told the women whom he had organized

[292]

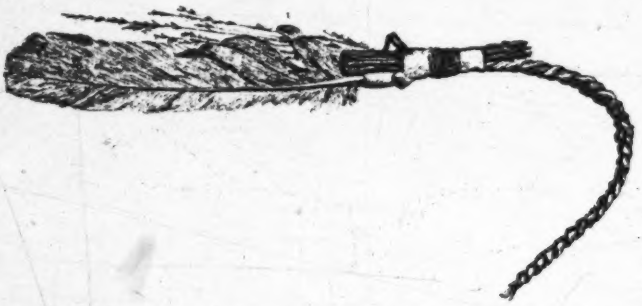

Fig. 15 (50.1–4329). River Society Head Ornament. Length, 61 cm.

to take their head bands, untie them, smooth them out, and put them down on the ground. The women obeyed, and the head bands turned into snakes and crawled away. From that time on the society was kept up.

575 773 301 Two-chiefs adds to the account as just given that several other beings made contributions to the dance regalia. The eagle feathers were distributed among the original dancers by the Eagle. The Bear gave them his claws to be strung for a necklace. The Mink allowed them to use his skin and claws: the two leaders and the two rear officers were to wear mink-claw necklaces, while the four middle officers were to wear a minkskin necklace, to which were attached bluish shells.[1] The organizer of the society selected four male singers and picked out for membership a number of women ranging in age from twenty to thirty. Calf-woman substitutes the mythical character I'tsi'kawa'herec[2] for Ki'numakci, and the Otter for the Mink.

575 432 One day Hides-and-eats was called by her friends to attend a meeting. This was shortly after the time of the smallpox. Very few of the River women had survived the epidemic; all of them had been very old women, about Hides-and-eats' present age. The young women called the survivors, heaped up property before them, and expressed their desire to purchase the [608] society. The older group consented to sell. In this instance the sellers for some obscure reason were not considered the purchasers' mothers. Hides-and-eats and her comrades remained in this society for ten years. Then

[1] Two-chiefs gives twice the number of officers fixed by Hides-and-eats.
[2] This is probably the Hidatsa equivalent for Ki'numakci.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

happened to be an officer, her badge and office were simply transferred to the purchaser. 000

The Hidatsa derived this society from the Mandan, but did not consider it so sacred as the Mandan did. Thus, as stated above, the Mandan rule was that women must not sleep with their husbands but must remain in the dance lodge during the four nights of the dance. Among the Hidatsa only the unmarried members regularly stayed in the dance lodge overnight. The married women went home, unless their husbands consented to let them follow the Mandan regulation. M H 575

Although Buffalo-bird-woman denied that the dance was regarded as sacred by her people, two features seem to have a religious character. In the first place, the annual performance took place after someone having had a dream to that effect had given a feast to the organization. Secondly, the performance closed with the ceremonial sweating and cleansing. The women took off their grass head bands, removed the feathers from them, piled up the crowns on the top of the sweat lodge, and went in to sweat, a few at a time. Then a man approached, holding in his hand some sagebrush with which he brushed off the sweat lodge, singing a song. All the women rose and faced him, and he brushed off the women, one by one, singing a song for each member. This power, my informant imagined, had been acquired by purchase. M H 575 783

Cheyenne[1] Women Society.

Young-beaver who had entered the River Women society when not quite 20, bought the Cheyenne Women membership, with some thirty of her comrades, at the age of a little over 30. She still considers herself a member of the Cheyenne Women society. M 575 561

The name of this organization (cō'ota mī ō'xat'e) indicates the source from which it is said to have been derived by the Mandan. Buffalo-bird-woman said that she first heard of the society about 56 years ago (1911), and that she joined as the only Hidatsa woman, her father having been asked for his consent. Any member who chose might assume men's garb. Some dressed like the Dakota, tying their front braids with otterskin, while others affected the long switches of the Crow. From two to four male singers were also chosen. At a dance of the organization a man carrying an eagle feather fan acted as leader, followed by the women in single file. At the intonation of a certain song, the leader held his fan close to his face, M 575 292 535

[1] One interpreter translated the native word "Sioux."

4: Lowie [illegible] 910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 and turned about. The women also faced about. Then all advanced with
292 a kind of shuffling movement the right and the left foot alternately, without
535 moving from their places. The musicians, who carried drums, remained in the rear. All the women painted their faces and wore feathers in the back of the head in imitation of men. They formed a circle, and danced forward. A few women cut out strips of rawhide, decorated them with beads, and placed them on their heads as though they were horns. This is said to have been in imitation of the Cheyenne women. Some young men used to watch from the roofs of their lodges. Each member selected one of these men to dance with her. After a while his relatives brought calico and other goods for his partner in order to ransom him and absolve him from the necessity of continuing to dance with her.

575 In purchasing the society, the aunts or mothers presented dresses to
432 their nieces or daughters while they received horses in return.

White Buffalo Cow Society.

575 The White Buffalo Cow society (pti'take ō'xat'e) was the highest of the women's societies known to the Mandan and Hidatsa, the Old Women's organization (p. 338) really belonging to another category.

575 Maximilian says that the members painted one eye any color they pleased
[304] (most generally azure) and had black tattoo marks between lips and chin.
527 Their headdress consisted of a broad strip of white buffalo cowhide worn in
292 hussar-cap fashion and topped with a bunch of feathers.[1] In Maximilian's day each Mandan village had its own White Buffalo organization, and he had occasion to observe the performances of both. In the performance of the Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch society, seventeen, for the most part elderly, women and two men with rattles and drums took part; one of the men was holding a gun in his hand. The leader was an elderly woman wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. In her right arm she carried cornucopia-fashion a bundle of twigs, tipped with plumes, with an eagle wing and a tin drinking vessel secured to the grip. Another woman also carried a bundle of this type. The men wore no headdresses. Of the women, two had skunk-skin head bands, the rest wore headdresses of white buffalo skin decorated
[302] in front with owl or raven feathers, which were partly dyed red. All women had the same face paint,— vermilion on the left cheek and eye, with two blue spots on the opposite temple, close to the right eye. The leader was wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. All the others except two, who

[1] Maximilian, II, 145–146.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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wore robes with the hairy side out, wore painted women's robes. They formed a circle, the men began to sing, and the women danced, taking up the tune at the same time. They waddled like ducks from side to side, raising each foot alternately higher than the other, but not moving from their position. After a while there was an intermission, which was again followed by a dance. Only the older members had the tattoo marks between mouth and chin that were distinctive of the society. When Maximilian saw the society from Ruptare perform, there were three male musicians, who also wore white buffalo skin headdresses, and none of the women carried bundles of twigs. Otherwise the equipment was the same as in the other dance.[1]

575 527 292 [304]

An illustration of the dance of this society, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas, is shown in Fig. 16.

Boller's account, which is of considerably later date, contributes the important fact that in case of a famine the White Buffalo Cow women were expected to make buffalo herds come nearer to the village. A similar function is attributed by Catlin to *male* Buffalo dancers wearing masks of a type described in this paper in connection with the Bull society (p. 315). Catlin, however, does not connect his Buffalo dance with any organization, for though only about ten or fifteen men are said to have joined in the dance at one time, he states that every Mandan was obliged to keep a buffalo mask for possible use in the buffalo-calling ceremony on the request of the chiefs.[2] Oddly enough, both Catlin and Boller say that their respective Buffalo dancers never failed to bring in the herds for the reason that they continued their performance for weeks if necessary, until buffalo were actually sighted. The dance of the society is thus described by Boller:

575 789 535

> The different members of the White-Cow band began to assemble, and soon the regular taps of the drum notified the camp that the great and important ceremony was in full progress. At one end of the lodge sat the musicians or drummers, three in number, who were untiring in their efforts, and aided their instrumentation by singing in a monotonous chanting strain. The women, comprising some forty or fifty matrons of the village, most of whose charms had unmistakably faded, were all attired in their quaintly garnished deer-skin dresses. Each had a spot of vermilion on either cheek, and their long black hair, which was carefully combed out and dressed with marrow grease, fell full and flowing over their shoulders, confined around the forehead with a fillet of white buffalo cow-skin. One of them had a white robe (which is very scarce, and held in the highest esteem) wrapped around her. This white robe was the common property of the band, and in its great power as a "medicine" were centred their hopes of bringing in the buffalo.[3]

[302] [778]

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[1] Ibid., 283–284, 297.
[2] Catlin, I, 127–128.
[3] Boller, 218–219.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Fig. 16. White Buffalo Cow Women. (Maximilian's Atlas.)

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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I will now present my own field notes concerning this society. 575

Calf-woman joined the White Buffalo women when she was only two years old. Two years later she began to take part in the performances. 432 Some old women went round the village looking for a female child whose parents loved her dearly and had given away a great deal of property in her honor. They came to Calf-woman's parents, and these consented to have their daughter adopted. Calf-woman's mother gave Brave-woman one pony and several blankets on this occasion. Whenever there was a dance of the society, a member named Berry carried the newly adopted infant on her back. There were about fifty women members, and five men acted as singers. The most important dance, or ceremony, of the society took place once a year, in the winter, on four successive nights. Sometimes the dance was kept up every other night for a month. 535

In preparation for the great ceremony the Indians of the village gathered 575 an abundance of food and property for the society. Each member had a 527 red line painted on the right side of her face, from temple to eyebrow, and a 292 corresponding line in blue on the opposite side. All wore the buffalo skin caps emblematic of the organization and put on only on this special occasion, and moreover each member wore a buckskin dress and a robe. Three officers were distinguished by wearing their robes hair side out. The leader of this trio had a *white* buffalo skin robe; Calf-woman, who walked in the center, wore the best *calf* skin robe obtainable; and the third officer dorned a *coarse*-haired robe. In approaching the earth-lodge where the ceremony was to be performed, the members halted four times on the way. At each stopping-place they formed a circle and danced in the same way as they were going to do in the lodge. The leader entered the lodge and made a circuit walking to the right (for one entering). A buffalo cow skull had been [778] placed at the foot of the northwestern main pole in the center of the lodge, and *átüre* was burnt for incense in front of it. A special incense-burner conducted the leader to the skull, letting her stand there so that she might be smoked, and then led her back again to her place. The two other officers mentioned above were similarly treated. North of the door, in a line in front of that joining the two southern center poles, sat the five men singers. As soon as these musicians began to sing, the leader, the middle 575 officer, and the rear officer danced forward to the fireplace, where they 527 met, and then danced in position, facing the fire. After they had returned 535 to their original places, a special song was chanted. This was a signal for the incense-burner to go dancing from member to member and remove their robes. Then the dancing began. Every song and dance was repeated four times. Towards the close of the first night's performance a particular song was intoned, indicating that the paint was to be rubbed off

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Throughout the ceremony two women whose normal position in the circle was on the right side of the rear officer preserved order in the lodge; the distinctive badge of their office consisted of a skunkskin head band (Fig. 17). 575 626

The object of the ceremony was to lure the buffalo near the fireplace. Once, when the performance took place in a clearing in the woods, one buffalo came directly to the doorway, and was killed on the spot. During the same season a great abundance of buffalo were found in the timber. Apparently, anyone who was desirous of making the buffalo come could take the initiative and ask the society to undertake the performance. 575 789

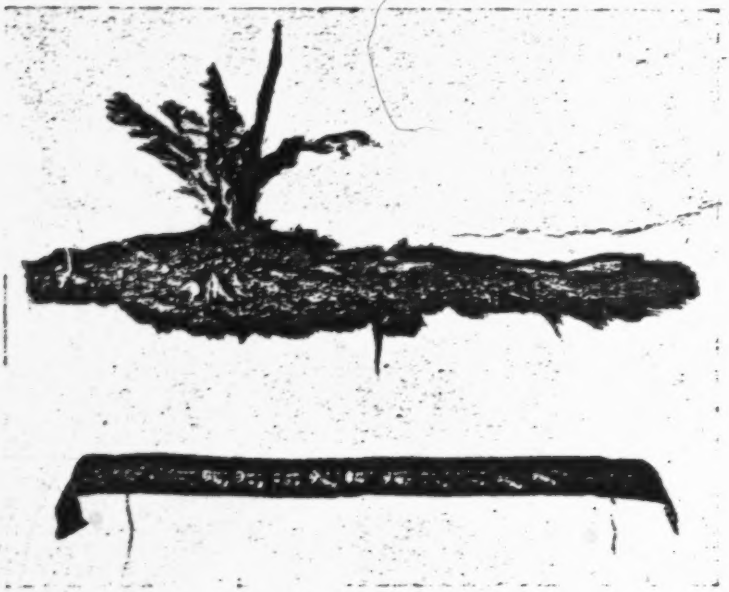

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Fig. 17 (50.1–4815, 50.1–4231). Skunkskin Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society and Head Band of Kit-Fox Society. Lengths, 79 cm. and 85 cm.

Any old member could adopt as many new ones as she wished, and was obliged to provide each tyro with a headdress. Calf-woman obtained one of these headdresses at the time of her adoption, though she was only two years of age. She became the middle officer because her adoptive mother gave her the appropriate calfskin robe. The musicians adopted new musicians who were obliged to pay heavily for the songs. Four of them had drums for instruments, while the remaining one used a rattle of buffalo skin. 575 608 432 [534]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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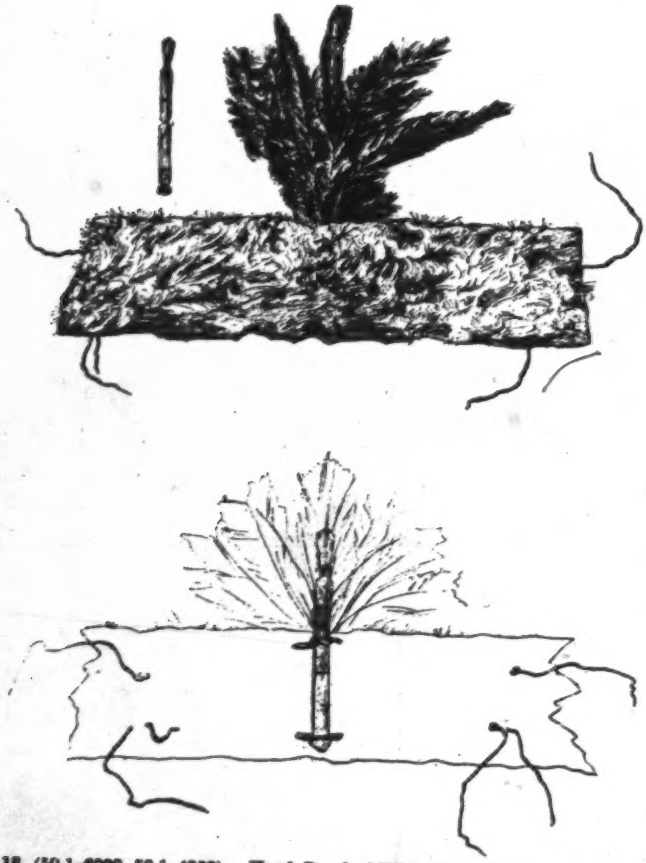
M H 575 527

on the nose of the rear officer's skin robe. She did the same with the leader's robe, then she walked back to her place and went through the same performance with her own robe. This procedure which was regarded as an offering to the robes was called *ō'zkipati*. It was repeated three times. At the last song the incense-burner went to the rear officer, and untied her



M H [294]

Fig. 18. (50.1-6020, 50.1-4350). Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society, front and ack view. Length, 62 cm.

obe, causing it to drop to the ground. She proceeded to the middle officer, nd thence to the leader, untying all the robes. This dropping of the obes symbolized the shedding of the buffaloes' hair.

[788]

Apparently anyone interested in the success of the buffalo chase might

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4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Apparently anyone interested in the success of the buffalo chase give a feast to the society and make offerings. Buffalo-bird-woman remembered one instance when a white man made offerings to the buffalo spirits before a hunt. He gave the society a butcher knife and other property and thus addressed them: "You, Buffalo women, I give offerings to you. I will give you a butcher knife when you cross in the dance. I wish to save all these men from getting injured and I desire to get all the meat."

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The Museum owns several White Buffalo headdresses actually used by members and collected by Rev. Wilson and the present writer. One of these is represented in Fig. 18, together with the small notched wooden feather-straightener. In the skunkskin head band (Fig. 17) the feathers are attached in similar fashion.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Numank-Machana, the first man, ordered the Numangkake to celebrate this medicine feast every year. When the village has fixed the time for this festivity, they choose a man of distinction, in whom confidence can be placed, who must put himself at the head, and direct the solemnities. In the year 1834 Mato-Topé was chosen. He is called Kani-Sachka. This man then causes the medicine lodge to be prepared and cleaned before the appointed time, and wood and other necessaries to be provided. 796

First day of the Okippe.—At sunset the Kani-Sachka goes into the lodge, and begins the fast, which continues four days. With him are six men, who are to strike what is called the tortoise, a vessel or sack made of parchment, and filled with water. Three of the men must strike in the direction of the river downwards, and three in the direction upwards. They strike the tortoise during the whole night. Before sunrise a man representing the Numank-Machana, or the first man, arrives. He dresses himself in the medicine lodge in the following manner: round his body he fastens a wolf's skin, on his head, raven's feathers, in his arms he carries the medicine pipe, and in his robe a portion of pemmican. His face is painted red, and on the small of the back he binds a piece of wood, to which the tail of a buffalo cow is fastened. Dressed in this manner, he goes early in the morning of the first day of the festival, and sings on the open space in the centre. All kinds of valuable articles, such as guns, robes, blankets, &c., are thrown towards him, of which he afterwards takes possession, while on his part he distributes pemmican among the people. He then returns to the medicine lodge, but is not at that time permitted to speak a word. The most eminent men of the nation now come to the lodge, address the first man as their uncle, and say, "Well, uncle, how did you fare in the villages? How did you find them? Were you well received?" To which he replies, "Very well, nephew. I have not once lowered my pipe to the ground." By which he means to say that he has received ample presents, and offerings of all kinds have been hung upon his pipe. He then says, "I have seen a great many buffaloes feeding in the prairie and drinking at the river; they are very abundant everywhere." These were the horses; but he means to intimate that, by the medicine of this day, the buffaloes will be attracted in great numbers. All those who intend to submit their bodies to a penance or certain tortures, in order to render themselves acceptable to the lord of life and the first man, come to the medicine lodge early in the morning. Their number is, of course, uncertain; sometimes many present themselves, at other times only a few. They are smeared all over with white clay, with no other covering besides their robes, with the hairy side outwards, and drawn over their heads, so that the face is covered, and they are quite wrapped up in them. In the medicine lodge they lay aside their robes. On the first day of the feast they go four times, wrapped up as before described, and dance around the ark, which stands in the centre of the open space. The Kani-Sachka remains during all this time moaning and leaning against the ark. All

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7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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[p. 92 (A)]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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[p. 92 (B)]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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[facing p. 95]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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with porcupine quills—over their shoulders (or in other words, over one shoulder and passing under the other), they very gracefully wear a robe from the young buffalo's back, oftentimes cut down to about half its original size, to make it handy and easy for use. Many of these are also fringed on one side with scalp-locks; and the flesh side of the skin curiously ornamented with pictured representations of the creditable events and battles of their lives. 291

Their head-dresses are of various sorts, and many of them exceedingly picturesque and handsome; generally made of war-eagles' or ravens quills and ermine. These are the most costly part of an Indian's dress in all this country, owing to the difficulty of procuring the quills and the fur. The war-eagle being the "*rara avis*," and the ermine the rarest animal that is found in the country. The tail of a war-eagle in this village, provided it is a perfect one, containing some six or eight quills, which are denominated first-rate plumes, and suitable to arrange in a head-dress, will purchase a tolerable good horse (horses, however, are much cheaper here than they are in most other countries). I have had abundant opportunities of learning the great value which these people sometimes attach to such articles of dress and ornament, as I have been purchasing a great many, which I intend to exhibit in my Gallery of Indian Paintings, that the world may examine them for themselves, and thereby be enabled to judge of the fidelity of my works, and the ingenuity of Indian manufactures. 292 435

In these purchases I have often been surprised at the prices demanded by them; and perhaps I could not recite a better instance of the kind, than one which occurred here a few days since:—One of the chiefs, whom I had painted at full length, in a beautiful costume, with head-dress of war-eagles' quills and ermine, extending quite down to his feet; and whom I was soliciting for the purchase of his dress complete, was willing to sell to me all but the head-dress; saying, that "he could not part with that, as he would never be able to get quills and ermine of so good a quality to make another like it." I agreed with him, however, for the rest of the dress, and importuned him, from day to day, for the head-dress, until he at length replied, that, if I must have it, he must have two horses for it; the bargain was instantly struck—the horses were procured of the Traders at twenty-five dollars each, and the head-dress secured for my Collection.

There is occasionally, a chief or a warrior of so extraordinary renown, that he is allowed to wear horns on his head-dress, which give to his aspect a strange and majestic effect. These are made of about a third part of the horn of a buffalo bull; the horn having been split from end to end, and a third part of it taken and shaved thin and light, and highly polished. These are attached to the top of the head-dress on each side, in the same place that they rise and stand on the head of a buffalo; rising out of a mat 292

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

292 of ermine skins and tails, which hang over the top of the head-dress, somewhat in the form that the large and profuse locks of hair hang and fall over the head of a buffalo bull. See head-dress in PLATES 14, 64, and 91, of three different tribes.

600 The same custom I have found observed amongst the Sioux,—the Crows —the Blackfeet and Assinneboins, and it is one of so striking a character as needs a few more words of observation. There is a peculiar meaning or importance (in their estimation) to this and many other curious and unaccountable appearances in the habits of Indians, upon which the world generally look as things that are absurd and ridiculous, merely because they are beyond the world's comprehension, or because we do not stop to enquire or learn their uses or meaning.

I find that the principal cause why we underrate and despise the savage, is generally because we do not understand him; and the reason why we are ignorant of him and his modes, is that we do not stop to investigate—the world have been too much in the habit of looking upon him as altogether inferior—as a beast, a brute; and unworthy of more than a passing notice. If they stop long enough to form an acquaintance, it is but to take advantage of his ignorance and credulities—to rob him of the wealth and resources of his country;—to make him drunk with whiskey, and visit him with abuses which in his ignorance he never thought of. By this method his first visitors entirely overlook and never understand the meaning of his thousand interesting and characteristic customs; and at the same time, by changing his native modes and habits of life, blot them out from the view of the enquiring world for ever.

It is from the observance of a thousand little and apparently trivial modes and tricks of Indian life, that the Indian character must be learned; and, in fact, it is just the same with us if the subject were reversed: excepting that the system of civilized life would furnish ten apparently useless and ridiculous trifles to one which is found in Indian life; and at least twenty to one which are purely nonsensical and unmeaning.

The civilized world look upon a group of Indians, in their classic dress, with their few and simple oddities, all of which have their moral or meaning, and laugh at them excessively, because they are not like ourselves—we ask, "why do the silly creatures wear such great bunches of quills on their heads?—Such loads and streaks of paint upon their bodies—and bear's grease? abominable!" and a thousand other equally silly questions, without ever stopping to think that Nature taught them to do so—and that they all have some definite importance or meaning which an
292 Indian could explain to us at once, if he were asked and felt disposed to do so—that each quill in his head stood, in the eyes of his whole tribe, as the symbol of an enemy who had fallen by his hand—that every streak of red
302 paint covered a wound which he had got in honourable combat—and that the bear's grease with which he carefully anoints his body every morning, from

head to foot, cleanses and purifies the body, and protects his skin from the bite of musquitoes, and at the same time preserves him from colds and coughs which are usually taken through the pores of the skin. 302

At the same time, an Indian looks among the civilized world, no doubt, with equal, if not much greater, astonishment, at our apparently, as well as *really*, ridiculous customs and fashions; but he laughs not, nor ridicules, nor questions,—for his natural good sense and good manners forbid him,—until he is reclining about the fire-side of his wigwam companions, when he vents forth his just criticisms upon the learned world, who are a rich and just theme for Indian criticism and Indian gossip. 000

An Indian will not ask a white man the reason why he does not oil his skin with bears' grease, or why he does not paint his body—or why he wears a hat on his head, or why he has buttons on the back part of his coat, where they never can be used—or why he wears whiskers, and a shirt collar up to his eyes—or why he sleeps with his head towards the fire instead of his feet—why he walks with his toes out instead of turning them in—or why it is that hundreds of white folks will flock and crowd round a table to see an Indian eat—but he will go home to his wigwam fire-side, and "make the welkin ring" with jokes and fun upon the ignorance and folly of the knowing world.

A wild Indian thrown into the civilized atmosphere will see a man occasionally moving in society, wearing a cocked hat; and another with a laced coat and gold or silver epaulettes upon his shoulders, without knowing or enquiring the meaning of them, or the objects for which they are worn. Just so a white man travels amongst a wild and untaught tribe of Indians, and sees occasionally one of them parading about their village, with a head-dress of eagles' quills and ermine, and elevated above it a pair of beautifully polished buffalo horns; and just as ignorant is he also, of their meaning or importance; and more so, for the first will admit the presumption that epaulettes and cocked hats amongst the civilized world, are made for some important purpose,—but the latter will presume that horns on an Indian's head are nothing more nor less (nor can they be in their estimation), than Indian nonsense and stupidity.

This brings us to the "corned crest" again, and if the poor Indian scans epaulettes and cocked hats, without enquiring their meaning, and explaining them to his tribe, it is no reason why I should have associated with the noble dignitaries of these western regions, with horns and ermine on their heads, and then to have introduced the subject without giving some further clue to their importance and meaning. For me, this negligence would be doubly unpardonable, as I travel, not to *trade* but to *herald* the Indian and his dying customs to posterity. 292

This custom then, which I have before observed belongs to all the north-western tribes, is one no doubt of very ancient origin, having a purely classic meaning. No one wears the head-dress surmounted with horns ex- [171]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

292 cept the dignitaries who are very high in authority, and whose exceeding valour, worth, and power is admitted by all the nation.

292 He may wear them, however, who is not a *chief;* but a brave, or warrior of such remarkable character, that he is esteemed universally in the
554 tribe, as a man whose "voice is as loud in council" as that of a chief of the first grade, and consequently his *power* as great.

This head-dress with horns is used only on certain occasions, and they are very seldom. When foreign chiefs, Indian agents, or other important personages visit a tribe; or at war parades, at the celebration of a victory, at public festivals, &c. they are worn; but on no other occasions—unless, sometimes, when a chief sees fit to lead a war-party to battle, he decorates his head with this symbol of power, to stimulate his men; and throws himself into the foremost of the battle, inviting his enemy to concentrate their shafts upon him.

The horns on these head-dresses are but loosely attached at the bottom, so that they easily fall back or forward, according as the head is inclined forward or backward; and by an ingenious motion of the head, which is so slight as to be almost imperceptible—they are made to balance to and fro, and sometimes, one backward and the other forward like a horse's ears, giving a vast deal of expression and force of character, to the appearance of the chief who is wearing them. This, reader, is a remarkable instance (like hundreds of others), for its striking similarity to *Jewish customs*, to the kerns (or keren, in Hebrew), the horns worn by the Abysinian chiefs and Hebrews, as a *symbol of power* and command; worn at great parades and celebrations of victories.

000 "The false prophet Zedekiah, made him horns of iron" (1 Kings xxii. 11). "Lift not your horns on high; speak not with a stiff neck" (Ps. lxxv. 5).

This last citation seems so exactly to convey to my mind the mode of raising and changing the position of the horns by a motion of the head, as I have above described, that I am irresistibly led to believe that this custom is now practiced amongst these tribes very nearly as it was amongst the Jews; and that it has been, like many other customs of which I shall speak more in future epistles, handed down and preserved with very little innovation or change from that ancient people.

The reader will see this custom exemplified in the portrait of Mah-to-
292 toh-pa (PLATE 64). This man, although the second chief, was the only
554 man in the nation who was allowed to wear the horns; and all, I found, looked upon him as the leader, who had the power to lead all the warriors in time of war; and that, in consequence of the extraordinary battles which he had fought.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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[facing p. 111]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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or recline upon their horses for an hour or two, overlooking the beautiful games where the braves and the young aspirants are contending in manly and athletic amusements;—when they are fatigued with this severe effort, they wend their way back again, lift off their fine white saddle of doe's-skin, which is wadded with buffalo's hair, turn out their pony—take a little refreshment, smoke a pipe, fan themselves to sleep, and doze away the rest of the day. 156

Whilst I have been painting, from day to day, there have been two or three of these fops continually strutting and taking their attitudes in front of my door; decked out in all their finery, without receiving other benefit or other information, than such as they could discover through the cracks and seams of my cabin. The chiefs, I observed, passed them by without notice, and of course, without inviting them in; and they seemed to figure about my door from day to day in their best dresses and best attitudes, as if in hopes that I would select them as models, for my canvass. It was natural that I should do so, for their costume and personal appearance was entirely more beautiful than anything else to be seen in the village. My plans were laid, and one day when I had got through with all of the head men, who were willing to sit to be painted, and there were two or three of the chiefs lounging in my room, I stepped to the door and tapped one of these fellows on the shoulder, who took the hint, and stepped in, well-pleased and delighted with the signal and honourable notice I had at length taken of him and his beautiful dress. Readers, you cannot imagine what was the expression of gratitude which beamed forth in this poor fellow's face, and how high his heart beat with joy and pride at the idea of my selecting him to be immortal, alongside of the chiefs and worthies whose portraits he saw arranged around the room; and by which honour he, undoubtedly, considered himself well paid for two or three weeks of regular painting, and greasing, and dressing, and standing alternately on one leg and the other at the door of my premises. 123 156

Well, I placed him before me, and a canvass on my easel, and "chalked him out" at full length. He was truly a beautiful subject for the brush, and I was filled with enthusiasm—his dress from head to foot was of the skins of the mountain-goat, and dressed so neatly, that they were almost as soft and as white as Canton crape—around the bottom and the sides it was trimmed with ermine, and porcupine quills of beautiful dyes garnished it in a hundred parts;—his hair which was long, and spread over his back and shoulders, extending nearly to the ground, was all combed back and parted on his forehead like that of a woman. He was a tall and fine figure, with ease and grace in his movements, that were well worthy of a man of better caste. In his left hand he held a beautiful pipe—and in his right hand he plied his fan, and on his wrist was still attached his whip of elk's horn, and his fly-brush, made of the buffalo's tail. There was nought about him of the terrible, and nought to shock the finest, chastest intellect. [292]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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[facing p. 145]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

159 ness of night broke upon the solitary stillness. His dress, which was a very splendid one, was complete in all its parts, and consisted of a shirt or tunic, leggings, moccasins, head-dress, necklace, shield, bow and quiver, lance, tobacco-sack, and pipe; robe, belt, and knife; medicine-bag, tomahawk, and war-club, or *po-ho-mo-kon*.

292 The shirt, of which I have spoken, was made of two skins of the mountain-sheep, beautifully dressed, and sewed together by seams which rested upon the arms; one skin hanging in front, upon the breast, and the other falling down upon the back; the head being passed between them, and they falling over and resting on the shoulders. Across each shoulder, and somewhat in the form of an epaulette, was a beautiful band; and down each arm from the neck to the hand was a similar one, of two inches in width (and crossing the other at right angles on the shoulder) beautifully embroidered with porcupine quills worked on the dress, and covering the seams. To the lower edge of these bands the whole way, at intervals of half an inch, were attached long locks of black hair, which he had taken with his own hand from the heads of his enemies whom he had slain in battle, and which he thus wore as a trophy, and also as an ornament to his dress. The front and back of the shirt were curiously garnished in several parts with porcupine quills and paintings of the battles he had fought, and also with representations of the victims that had fallen by his hand. The bottom of the dress was bound or hemmed with ermine skins, and tassels of ermines' tails were suspended from the arms and the shoulders.

The *Leggings*, which were made of deer skins, beautifully dressed, and fitting tight to the leg, extended from the feet to the hips, and were fastened to a belt which was passed around the waist. These, like the shirt, had a similar band, worked with porcupine quills of richest dyes, passing down the seam on the outer part of the leg, and fringed also the whole length of the leg, with the scalp-locks taken from his enemies' heads.

The *Moccasins* were of buckskin, and covered in almost every part with the beautiful embroidery of porcupines' quills.

The *Head-dress*, which was superb and truly magnificent, consisted of a crest of war-eagles' quills, gracefully falling back from the forehead over the back part of the head, and extending quite down to his feet; set the whole way in a profusion of ermine, and surmounted on the top of the head, with the horns of the buffalo, shaved thin and highly polished.

The *Necklace* was made of fifty huge claws or nails of the grizzly bear, ingeniously arranged on the skin of an otter, and worn, like the scalp-locks, as a trophy—as an evidence unquestionable, that he had contended with and overcome that desperate enemy in open combat.

411 His *Shield* was made of the hide of the buffalo's neck, and hardened with the glue that was taken from its hoofs; its boss was the skin of a pole-cat, and its edges were fringed with rows of eagles' quills and hoofs of the antelope.

His *Bow* was of bone, and as white and beautiful as ivory; over its back

was laid, and firmly attached to it, a coating of deers' sinews, which gave it its elasticity, and of course death to all that stood inimically before it. Its string was three stranded and twisted of sinews, which many a time had twanged and sent the whizzing death to animal and to human victims. 411

The *Quiver* was made of a panther's skin and hung upon his back, charged with its deadly arrows; some were poisoned and some were not; they were feathered with hawks' and eagles' quills; some were clean and innocent, and pure, and others were stained all over, with animal and human blood that was dried upon them. Their blades or points were of flints, and some of steel; and altogether were a deadly magazine.

The *Lance* or spear was held in his left hand; its blade was two-edged and of polished steel, and the blood of several human victims was seen dried upon it, one over the other; its shaft was of the toughest ash, and ornamented at intervals with tufts of war-eagles' quills.

His *Tobacco-sack* was made of the skin of an otter, and tastefully garnished with quills of the porcupine; in it was carried his *k'nick-k'neck*, (the bark of the red willow, which is smoked as a substitute for tobacco), it contained also his flint and steel, and spunk for lighting——— 276

His *Pipe*, which was ingeniously carved out of the red steatite (or pipe-stone), the stem of which was three feet long and two inches wide, made from the stalk of the young ash; about half its length was wound with delicate braids of the porcupine's quills, so ingeniously wrought as to represent figures of men and animals upon it. It was also ornamented with the skins and beaks of wood-peckers' heads, and the hair of the white buffalo's tail. The lower half of the stem was painted red, and on its edges it bore the notches he had recorded for the snows (or years) of his life.

His *Robe* was made of the skin of a young buffalo bull, with the fur on one side, and the other finely and delicately dressed; with all the battles of his life emblazoned on it by his own hand. 292

His *Belt*, which was of a substantial piece of buckskin, was firmly girded around his waist; and in it were worn his tomahawk and scalping-knife.

His *Medicine-bag* was the skin of a beaver, curiously ornamented with hawks' bills and ermine. It was held in his right hand, and his *po-ko-mo-kon* (or war-club) which was made of a round stone, tied up in a piece of rawhide, and attached to the end of a stick, somewhat in the form of a sling, was laid with others of his weapons at his feet. 415 411

Such was the dress of Mah-to-toh-pa when he entered my wigwam to stand for his picture; but such I have not entirely represented it in his portrait; having rejected such trappings and ornaments as interfered with the grace and simplicity of the figure. He was beautifully and extravagantly dressed; and in this he was not alone, for hundreds of others are equally elegant. In plumes, and arms, and ornaments, he is not singular; but in laurels and wreaths he stands unparalleled. His breast has been bared and scarred in defence of his country, and his brows crowned with honours 159

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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garters and belts of buffalo hair. But they did make string 000
and willow matting. There is an account of a mat used on the 284
seat before the fire. Henry[1] says that the mat was of small 285
willows of equal size, fastened together by thread of native make passed through each stick about one foot apart. The mats were ten feet long, four feet broad, and the two ends for two and a half feet were raised slanting from the ground and supported by a kind of sofa. Verendrye says they made wicker work very neatly, flat, and in baskets.

The Mandans used snow-shoes which were only about two 481
and a half feet long.[2] For their dyes and paints they made use 386
of the following: red obtained from buffalo-berries, black from sunflowers, and yellow from a kind of moss which came from the Rocky Mountains. Blue, red, black, yellow and white clays were also used.

An indispensable article of the full dress was the fan. These 293
were made from the large plumes of the eagle, hawk, crow, and 237
a number of other birds, depending on the rank of the owner.

The Mandan pipes differed a trifle from those of their neigh- 276
bors, being less ornate.[3] They were either of stone, black clay, or yellow clay painted black. The stone pipes were obtained [439]
mostly from the Dakotas. Pipes with wooden bowls, lined with stone, were also used. The stem was long and round or flat. Catlin describes one pipe as of red steatite (catlinite) with a stem three feet long, half its length wound with braids of porcupine quills. They also had the calumet pipe which will be considered in connection with the ceremonies.

The Mandans and their neighbors the Arikara and Hidatsa 323
made glass beads, an art which they claimed was taught to them by the Snake Indians. They did not make the glass but used glass obtained through the whites. Lewis and Clarke[4] give a short account of the manufacture of beads which is exceedingly interesting. It may be thus summarized. The secret is known only to a few. Glass of several colors is pounded fine, each color separate; this is washed in several waters until the glass stops staining the water. They then take an

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 340.
[2] Ibid., p. 391.
[3] Maximilian: p. 390.
[4] March 16, 1805.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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292 575 293 Every member had a head ornament consisting of a round piece of rawhide with a bone feather holder. Two officers wore moderately wide aprons of red cloth edged with eagle feathers hanging down. Each of two other officers had a sacred bow with two arrows, one painted red and the other black. Two officers bore a spiked club (ō'o kahiri' 'ka), the spike being of horn. The sacred bows and arrows were for use against the enemy; they never missed their aim. For some reason no paraphernalia were supplied to Wounded-face's group, and they did not exercise their membership privileges because older men who should have taught them the appropriate songs died. All the members of this society were Mandan, but the organization originated with the Dakota or Cheyenne. Black-chest independently made the statement that the society was not really of Mandan origin. The [608] *cō'ta ō'xat'e* regarded the Foxes as their fathers, and the Little Dogs as their "friends."

292 575 Water-chief said that members wore two eagle feathers rising from the back of the head. Before his group bought the society, five older Mandan called them together, and said, "We wish to give you a society." Then property was collected and brought to them. The same night they sang songs, to which the young boys danced. After the dance, the sellers addressed their sons, saying, "You are growing up now. You must go against the enemy. Try to be brave and conquer the enemy."

Kit-Fox Society.

575 432 571 The following account of this society (ō'xox'atoc) was given by Black-chest.

When we bought this society, all of us were unmarried. We wished to buy this society. Our fathers said, "These foxes have ten claws on their front legs, so we wish you to give us a ten days' feast." I selected Good-bear, one of my clan fathers, for my individual father. The members of the River Women society were our "friends"; one of these, Black-head, was my individual "friend."

When the River Women had gathered together, we went to them and thus addressed them: "We wish to make friends with you. We desire to buy a society and wish you to help us and give us some blankets. We wish to know whether you are willing to do so." The women debated the request, and each one declared that she would contribute her blanket. Then we said, "Well, now each of you shall say which one of us you are willing to help." Then Black-head designated me. She was no clan aunt of mine.

575 527 432 We borrowed Broken-horn's earth-lodge for our meeting and brought kettles of food there. Black-head also brought a kettle of food there. We boys came in on the left side and sat down in an ellipse. We could hear our fathers singing as they approached our lodge. They entered it on the right side and sat down. Their wives, who were to assist in the singing during the ten nights' entertainment, were grouped behind their husbands.

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When our fathers had sat down, one of our number, Wounded-face, rose and said, "Well, comrades and women friends, listen. We have brought our food here, and we wish to select our fathers tonight. Do each of you rise and set your food before your father." Then each of us rose, picked up his kettle, and walked past the door-side of the fireplace to his father. I picked out one of my clan fathers and gave him my kettle; then I returned to my place. Black-head, who had watched my movements, then came forward and brought her kettle to the man indicated as my father. Those purchasers who had no clan fathers among the sellers selected anyone they pleased for their individual father. The fathers ate of the food, leaving some for their wives, who emptied the kettles and returned them to their husbands. Then Good-bear called me by name and said, "Come, son, and get your kettle." I went towards him and stood before him. Then Good-bear prayed to the supernatural powers: "I have gone through the Oki'pɛ ceremony myself and have undergone great hardships for your sake. In other ceremonies I have also undergone suffering. Before I underwent this suffering, I thought you would help me whenever I could not do something by my own power. I have no power to give honor marks, therefore I ask you to help me by securing honor marks for my son." Then I took both kettles and went back to my place, where I returned to Black-head her own kettle. Each of the boys acted in a similar way. 575 527 432 533 535

After all of us had sat down, our fathers began to sing. They beat drums, but did not dance. They sang these words: —

"ma'kltā̀ni máhuna."
"You, wake up and come."

[These words are supposed to be addressed to one's sweetheart.]

Four times they sang such songs. Then came a second set of songs, during which the fathers danced in their places. When they had done dancing, they addressed us in obsolete Mandan, saying, "Sī! i'karẽ̀xoc!" ("Clan son, daylight is here!") Shot-foot, one of the fathers, rose to address us. He said, "Sī, we wish you to give us a ten nights' feast. This will give us time to prepare clothes for you." [198]

This meeting took place in the evening, each of our female "friends" brought in a bundle of willows carried by means of a tump line and a second line passing around the breast. The bundles were piled up on the left side of the door (for one entering), and from time to time one of the boys would rise to keep up the fire. This purchase took place in midsummer. I was about 20 years old at the time.

On each of the ten nights the fathers came in in the same way as the first time, and the mode of procedure was the same. On the tenth night, the fathers said, "Sons, we have done; tomorrow we shall give you your things." On the following morning we came back to the same lodge and took our seats, but without any kettles. Our women "friends" also came in and sat down. This time, however, we were not ranged in an ellipse as before, but sat in the arc of a circle, with our "friends" in a similar arc from 4½ to 5 feet behind us. Until this day White-bear's house had served as the place of assembly for the fathers prior to their approach to our own meeting-place, but this morning each came from his own lodge, their wives carrying the clothes to be presented to the purchasers of the society. The fathers sat down in a curved line opposite to ours, and their wives took seats behind them. There were about thirty fathers; sometimes two boys had the same father. They planted two sticks into the ground in the rear (mana'ktata) of the lodge. One of the sticks was hooked, and its shaft was wrapped with otterskin; three eagle feathers hung down from the end of the hook. The second stick was straight and also wrapped with otterskin; 575 432 527 533 535 293

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575 to the top of the shaft there was fastened a single eagle feather. The bottom of
432 both staffs was blunt, but in order to secure them in their places a sharp-pointed stick
527 had been previously driven into the ground there. The fathers had two hand-
533 drums. The father nearest the door took the hooked stick (ma'nanû'skup) which
535 had been set at the left side of the straight stick (ma'nacû'cuk) for one facing the
293 door, and held it in his hand, while the last father in line took the straight stick. The two fathers standing nearest the staff-holders bore rattles. The drums were beaten, but before the rest of the fathers rose Shot-foot addressed us, saying, "Sons, you will keep our society, you will dance today." Then the fathers all rose, and the singing began. The staff-bearers advanced towards the boys, shouting, while the rest danced in their places. When the staff-bearers had got to the fireplace, the singing ceased. Each of the two officers then went to his son and led him to a spot between the two main posts on the right side of the lodge (for one facing the entrance), and gave his stick to his son. On this occasion Water-chief received the straight stick, and White-eye the bent stick. Next Shot-fox rose with his rattle and — this time without any singing or dancing — walked straight towards his son, Long-tail, whom he led to the place between the two posts used by the staff-bearers and presented with his rattle. The second rattler went through a corresponding procedure. Then the wives of the four officers who had just disposed of their emblems came forward to give the newly prepared clothes to their sons. The spectators, during all this performance, were restricted to the space between the door and the two front posts. From among these outsiders there now advanced the relatives of the new officers in order to pile up property before them or to present small sticks representing the promise to donate a horse.

The fathers said, "Now, sons, all of you stand up!" All the fathers then walked
575 towards us, followed by their wives, who carried the clothing and laid it down before
432 the sons. All of us put on the new clothes on the spot. The fathers who had
527 surrendered their rattles stood next to their sons, whom they wished to assist in
533 singing. The fathers who had owned the two officers' staffs said to the new incum-
534 bents: "There is an abundance of enemies; try to be brave!" The fathers who had carried rattles said the same to *their* sons, adding: "You will sing for your society, and I must teach you now. When you sing outdoors, you shall circle round to the right, and all will follow you." The first rattler accordingly led the procession in a circle until he had got near the second rattler, where he stopped and began to sing. The second rattler then also sang a song, shaking a tin-can rattle. In the procession outdoors the marchers walked at a very rapid pace.

Four female associates followed the men. These were called "Fox women" and had been appointed by their own families to assist the Foxes at their feasts and in the singing. They stood outside the circle formed by the society when dancing outdoors, but also took part in the dance. These women were unmarried, but later two of them, Pumpkin-blossom and Otter, married members of the society.

[349] After we had marched out of our lodge, we went to an open space east of the Round Corral.[1] Four of our fathers stepped inside the circle we formed there, and sang for us, beating their drums. We danced and then went home. This first public dance was the only occasion on which our fathers sang for us.

After a few days we came together and danced in Water-chief's lodge. During indoor performances we sat in an arc round the lodge and did not make use of our

[1] This is the structure described by Catlin and Maximilian as the "ark."

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Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for 575 his individual father. Wounded-face did not know that Two-crows owned 432 two kinds of emblems,— the foxskin cap to be used in dancing and in war, 292 and the head band decorated with the lower kit-fox jaws which was to be 608 worn when courting young women.[1] On the morning of the final transference of membership rights, Two-crows gave Wounded-face the cap and the head band, as well as a shirt, armlets and fringed buckskin leggings. In return, Wounded-face paid his father a fast black horse suited for use in the buffalo chase and some property contributed by his relatives. I get the impression that the transfer of special regalia was automatic; that is to say, if the father happened to own certain specific emblems the son buying his membership bought *ipso facto* the regalia owned by the seller.

Little-crow states that at the public performance the relatives of the new 575 members brought presents, which were turned over to the fathers, either 431 individually or collectively. In the latter case the fathers proceeded to 602 distribute the gifts among themselves.

In marching outdoors, the first rattler took the lead and was immediately 575 followed by the first hooked-staff officer; Wounded-face — presumably as 527 the owner of the cap — occupied a central position in the line; the second 535 rattler came last, being directly behind the second hooked-staff officer. 533 The first rattler selected a site for the dance and turned in order to begin the formation of a circle there, at the same time raising his rattle and singing very loudly. There was always a special song to be sung prior to the drummers' entrance into the circle. This song was taken up by the second rattler. While the circle was forming, the singers went within the circumference and began to beat their drums. These singers were always the members' fathers, if I understood Wounded-face correctly, but it is probable that this applies only to the first public performance by a new group of members. The songs referred to warlike deeds, and the words [177] were, according to this informant, invariably in the Dakota language.

Little-crow, as already stated, considers the head band decorated with 575 kit-fox jaws as a badge common to all members; he further states that [292] each Kit-Fox had a hair-pipe attached to the left side of the head and that [302] six men had their hair roached. The hair-cutting was done by the men's 293 fathers. Other informants agree that there were two rattlers and two officers with hooked-staffs, wrapped with otterskin and decorated at four points with feathers. Wounded-face says that sometimes the second staff-bearer carried a *straight* stick, in which case an erect eagle feather was secured to the top of the shaft. Little-crow states that rattles were used

[1] This seems to conflict with Black-chest's account, which assigns these emblems to distinct officers, but Little-crow regards the kit-fox head band as a badge common to all members.

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575 outdoors, and drums within the lodge, but this contradicts the accounts
293 of others. The rattles were originally made of gourds, but in Wounded-face's time baking-powder cans had been substituted.

575 The Fox women, according to Wounded-face, were selected by the fathers' wives. Their robes were decorated with honor marks earned by their male associates. Little-crow mentioned only two Fox women, selected by the members themselves, and placed in the middle of the line of march.

575 The military element was obviously prominent in the society. Water-
703 chief relates that on the first public appearance of the new members, each one was called by name by the older men and women of the village and addressed as follows: "We have numerous enemies, you are the one that must fight and try to be a man. You must not forget this when you are in a fight." Later in the season, when Water-chief had struck a coup and received a wound, his people rejoiced, telling him, "That is what you desired to do, you are a brave man." Little-crow declared that the Kit-Foxes
[535] did not dance very frequently,— in fact only when the approach of an enemy was reported. Wounded-face, while stating that dances were occasionally performed solely for the sake of amusement and in order to attract the attention of young women, also said that the Foxes danced very often in times of war, beginning as soon as a scout had brought the news of an enemy's approach. The Foxes tried to be brave in battle. Wounded-face recalls an occasion when a very brave enemy, surrounded by the Mandan, was holding his foemen at bay; finally, a Kit-Fox advanced towards him, struck him, and was killed. On another occasion a Kit-Fox together with four companions, set out on a war party. All five were killed by the enemy. This event was commemorated in song: "Once two enemies went into the bush. We surrounded them. One Kit-Fox went forward, and they killed him there."

575 The purely social features of the organization were also conspicuous. Public appearances were followed by feasts after the members had returned to their lodge. There were occasional horse parades by the Kit-Foxes, and the nocturnal processions referred to by Black-chest were of frequent occurrence.

Little Dog Society.

575 While Black-chest's and Wounded-face's group owned the Fox society,
424 their fathers were Little Dogs (mini'sinik ō'xat'e) [1]; that is to say, after

[1] The present meaning of the native term seems to be "colt society," but the older informants consider the above rendering correct in the context given and consider the society related to the Hidatsa Little Dog organization. Maximilian also translates *menise* "dog." A corresponding confusion was encountered in the case of the other Mandan societies named for the dog.

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On the twentieth night Big-thief again took a seat by the dogskin. He thus addressed the buyers: "Now, sons, tomorrow this dance will be yours, so I wish to ask you for some more pay. Put down one gun to represent the killing of anything." Then one of the Kit-Foxes put down a gun. Big-thief continued: "This dog has a hide, give us a robe." Then one of the Kit-Foxes laid down his robe. "Give us a knife for butchering." Two men then rose and put down two butchering knives. "For this head put down one yellow cooking-kettle." The buyers sent round for such a kettle and finally secured one, which they brought to the fathers. "Put down one thing for the head." Then someone laid down a stick trimmed with tail-feathers. "Put down one thing for the tail." Then, Black-chest thinks, another robe was laid down. "The dog has four legs, put down four articles." The Kit-Foxes again did as bidden. 575 432 527

On the next day there followed the final surrender of membership prerogatives. This time the buyers sat in an arc, without their wives, who remained in the spectators' place (see p. 303). The fathers sat on the opposite side, singing a bravery song, and the two sash-wearing officers danced. The words of the song were in Hidatsa: — 575 432 527

"Māha'hkureci'ruts. tō'cē'ruca, marē'wits." [177]
"No one lives forever. Whatever may happen, I shall go."

At the close of this song the whippers and sash-wearers, as well as all the other fathers, surrendered their regalia to their respective sons. As Little-crow, Wounded-face's father, owned a lance decorated with a string of feathers, Wounded-face assumed the same office (not mentioned by Black-chest), of which there was one other incumbent. In addition to the lance, Wounded-face received a shirt, a new pair of leggings, a switch and pendants for the decoration of both sides of the head; his hair was cut short in front by Little-crow. Wounded-face's relatives piled up presents in front of him, which he turned over to his father, adding a good horse of his own. The other purchasers made corresponding presents to their fathers. While Wounded-face speaks of four sash-wearers, Black-chest limits the number to two, and Water-chief sets it at five. Water-chief, like Wounded-face, received one of the sashes from his father; there was tied to it a small package of root medicine to avert danger. This package has never been opened by Water-chief. The whippers, according to this last authority, lashed members who did not rise to dance at the proper time. Each member of the rank and file received a whistle of owl bone about four inches long, and a bunch of split owl feathers, with an eagle feather in the center, to be hung from the back of the head. These feathers were painted yellow. 575 432 431 [243] [134]

After the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the exception of 000

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575 screen. Along the wall to the left sat the remaining Soldiers, about twenty-
432 five in number; while some were clad in fine garments, the majority dressed
527 in ordinary clothes. Some exposed the upper part of the body. In the
center three drummers seated themselves. The purchasers stood on the
right side of the fire. They were expected to give valuable presents to the
[537] Soldiers, to feast them and furnish them with tobacco for forty nights, and
every evening they were to offer them their wives. The sellers approached
the lodge amidst singing and drumming, and entered with their regalia.
These consisted of four lances, from 7 to 8 feet long, with an iron head point-
●[293] ing downwards. The shaft was wrapped with broad bands of otterskin,
while pairs of otterskin strips were tied to the head and several other points
on the lance. Two of the lances were hooked, the two others were straight.
A fifth emblem consisted of a war club with iron point, which was colored
red and was decorated with several feathers in the back. Further there
were three lances, decorated alternately with black and white feathers, and a
beautifully ornamented bow and quiver. At first, the Soldiers remained
concealed behind the screen, and were merely holding these insignia so that
they projected into the main space of the lodge. After standing in this
position, singing and drumming violently, for a while, they entered, placed
the lances against the wall, and stuck the war club into the ground, near one
of the main pillars. Then they all took seats along the wall. While the
[576] singing and drumming was alternately renewed, the purchasers prepared
their pipes, and handed them to each of the guests in turn, for which act
they stooped, holding the mouthpiece towards the smokers. When the
guests had taken a few puffs, the purchasers did likewise, and then carried
the pipe in regular order, from right to left, to each of the sellers. This
smoking consumed considerable time; each guest, during this part of the
[535] performance, was also presented with a little cake of sweet-corn. After
about half an hour, two of the Soldiers rose and danced towards each other.
One of them seized the war club, and held it stiffly in his left hand, while the
right hung straight down. Bending the upper part of his body forward,
he jumped stiffly into the air with both feet; keeping time with the music.
The other dancer had fine decorations on his head and legs, and the upper
part of his body was likewise exposed. He seized one of the otterskin lances,
which he held, sloping, between his two hands, and both men then danced
or hopped towards each other. After several minutes the second performer
put the lance away, and took a seat, while all the other members gave the
war whoop and gave vent to exclamations of joy, amidst vigorous beating
of the drum. Then there was silence. The man with the war club ad-
dressed the buyers, calling them his "sons," and recounted several of his
martial exploits, whereupon he handed them the war club. One of the

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might belong to the Soldiers' class, as the police functions devolved on this 575
society. However, it was necessary that all members should agree to sell; 625
a single negative voice put a stop to the negotiations. Some individuals [432]
did not immediately consent to sell when requested in order to exact a greater amount of property from the buyers. The Prince enumerates the undertakings in which the Soldiers took an important part: changes of village sites, buffalo hunts, and other communal movements. More particularly, they took care lest anyone should prematurely startle buffalo herds. Anyone shooting a wolf or other animal at such a time was maltreated, even if he happened to be a chief, and deprived of his gun. In the 'thirties even white people living in the vicinity were subjected to the same rules. The Soldiers frequently forbade the cutting of trees near the Fort, and took away the woodcutters' axes.

Maximilian says that the Soldiers painted the upper part of the face 575
red, and the lower black. Their whistle was made of a crane wing bone. 302
Two pipes, to be smoked on special occasions, remained in the custody of 293
as many pipe-bearers. A rattle was made from a little tin kettle — apparently the baking-powder cans referred to by my own informants — provided with a handle. Among the insignia there were two long, straight poles wrapped with otterskin and decorated with dependent owl feathers. In war these poles were planted in the ground, and must not be abandoned by their bearers. A corresponding regulation applied to one other pole decorated with raven feathers in the manner described and illustrated by Maximilian in connection with a Blackfoot society.[1]

The following origin tradition was given by Wounded-face.[2] Long ago 575
Good-fur-robe assembled the middle-aged men. To the leader he gave one 293
cornstalk, and to the rear man another. "When the enemy chase you," he instructed them, "plant these in the ground and do not run away." Sometimes a cornstalk has five branches at the top. Later, a stick with a spear head was made to represent the cornstalks; owl wing-feathers were tied to its side, as well as crow or raven wing feathers and a raven head. It was wrapped with otterskin, and strips of skin were made to hang down from several points of the staff to represent leaves of the corn. There were two pipe-bearers and two rattlers, the latter taking places next to the spear-carriers, while the pipe men marched in the center. While dancing, the Black Mouths left their circle open at one side. The order in which they marched was: one spear officer, one rattler, the rank and file, the pipe-bearers, the rank and file, the second rattler, the second spear officer. The Black

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[1] Maximilian, i, 578.
[2] Cf. Maximilian's version, referred to on p. 300.

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575 Mouths were also called "Brave Men's society." They painted their faces
293 black. The Goose women used the same paint, because their society was
[302] founded by the same man. When the time came for singing, the first rattler walked ahead and began to sing. Then the drummers took up the song. The next time the second rattler acted in the same manner. The raven-lance bearers had a special song and dance, during which they crossed each other's path.

575 One summer, when the society wished to give a performance because
726 some Sioux were coming to fight, they stuck two tipi poles into the ground, and tied raven-lances to the top. One of the Soldiers cried, "Kā! Kā! Kā!"
554 This was in imitation of crows. Then some other member went outside the
533 lodge to see which one had cried. Returning, he said, "It is not a living
535 raven, but the raven head on Skunk's lance." Skunk was a very brave man. The people said, "We will find out what this means." Then someone took the lances down, and returned them to their owners. Skunk said, "Hold on, my fellow-members, I wish to know the reason why my lance is singing." He got his associate to accompany him, and both lance officers then went through the village, singing this song: —

"kē'ka, nasarā'rōoca. mī' ō 'watē'roc.
"Raven, you sing. I want to die.
"kika're e'henik, ō'ota."
"If you are afraid, go away."

The people hearing Skunk thought him braver than ever. They said to him, "This is your day, do what you wish best." The people encouraged Skunk. When the society started outdoors for a dance, Skunk took the lead, and again sang. A circle was formed. All the people came to watch the performance. Skunk once more sang his song. He danced alone, in a slanting line. These were the words of his song: —

"mīnukarité, nū'tamina'tare hū'miikāc. ī'miinahèc."
"My friends, our enemies are numerous. I am used to it" [that is, to fight].

When the time came to fight, Skunk struck many coups. This is what the singing of the raven had indicated.

575 In addition to the police functions described by Maximilian, Wounded-
626 face mentions a special duty devolving on the two pipe-bearers. When some villager wished to kill a fellow-tribesman, these officers filled up a pipe, and gave him presents in order to make him desist. Acceptance signified acquiescence in their wishes.

575 Water-chief became a Black Mouth, together with about twenty of his comrades, at thirty; generally, however, the members were older. They

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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buffalo skin, the hair of which, however, was exposed from the wearer's forehead down to his chin. The spears carried were not very long, and the head pointed downwards. Shields rested on the left arm. Members who had struck enemies, carried guns; if they had used arrows to kill a foe, they carried arrows. Wounds received in battle were symbolized by red body paint. While dancing in the village, the Bulls jumped around. They pointed spears and guns at anyone approaching them, and thereby frightened young people. Those who had slain enemies enacted their martial deeds. For music they used a *large* drum. 575 292 [302] [534]

Calf-woman remembered seeing six women known as "Bull women" at a Bull performance; they sat behind the men singers. A woman brought in water, but only such members as had saved a woman's life were permitted to drink of it. This informant also remembers one of the mask-wearers pretending to spear people, and frightening the children, jumping up with both legs, and stamping one foot at a time. 575

The Bull dance described by Boller was not connected with the Bull society, but formed part of the Okipe as is obvious from comparison with Maximilian's and Catlin's accounts of this ceremony.[1] 535

Dog[1] Society.

Maximilian describes the emblem of the society as a stick a foot or a foot and a half in length, which was ornamented with blue and white beads, and to which a large number of animal hoofs were attached. To the front of the stick there was tied an eagle feather, to the lower extremity a piece of beaded leather. The members wore a large cap of colored cloth, to which were attached a great number of raven, magpie, and owl feathers, and which was further decorated with colored horsehair and weasel skins. Their whistle was large, and made from the wing bone of a swan. Three of them wore in the back sashes of red cloth similar to those of the Crazy Dog society. A bunch of owl, raven, or magpie feathers — and frequently a combination of all three — was attached to the head so as to hang down in the back. The three officers referred to were regarded as Real Dogs. People would throw a piece of meat into the ashes of a fire, or on the ground, and say, "You Dog, eat!" Then they were obliged to fall foul of it and to devour it like dogs or beasts of prey. 575 292 293

[1] Boller, 103-105; Maximilian, II, 174, 178; Catlin, I, 164 f.

[1] The native name is mini's ō'xatce. What was said above (p. 306) as to the translation of the word *mini's* applies in this case also. The equivalence of the Hidatsa Dog society cannot be doubted, and Maximilian's rendering of the Mandan name supports this view.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 each tipped with a thick white plume, adorned the head. One member
292 carried a beautiful fan of white feathers, and wore on the head a complete
535 swan's tail, each feather of which was decorated with dyed horsehair. The
[293] members wrapped themselves completely in their robes, and carried bow-lances trimmed with feathers, colored cloth, glass beads, and the like; most of them had fox skins attached to their heels. Several men beat a drum, while the rest formed a circle and imitated the sound of buffalo bulls. After they had danced for a while, the spectators threw a quantity of tobacco down for them, whereupon they departed for the village in the woods, taking off their wigs on the way. In another place, the Prince mentions rattles as well as drums, and states that the bow-lances were also decorated with bear guts.[1]

Black-Tail Deer Society.

575 All the old men above fifty were, according to Maximilian, members of
561 the Black-Tail Deer organization (cu'psi ō'xat'e). Two female attendants
301 cooked and served fresh water during a dance. All of the men wore a
554 wreath of grizzly claws round the head, and displayed their honor marks in the form of feather head ornaments, braids of hair on arms and legs, scalps, painting, etc.

575 Wounded-face says that the organization originated on the Bad Creek,
773 near the Heart River. One day two young men with arrows stayed on a high wooded hill by the Creek. They dug a deep pit, put sticks across, and covered them with grass. They wanted to snare some animals. One morning one of the men went towards the trap. As he drew close, he heard signs of a trapped animal. He was glad, looked inside, and saw that he had caught a large and very fat black-tail deer. He fitted an arrow to his bow, but the deer said, "Don't shoot me." "Why not?" "You are my son, you must not shoot me. Make a path for me to get out." The young man obeyed, and the buck got out. Then he said, "You are a young man, and I know what you desire: honor marks. I have the power to give them to you, but you have many other fathers, who will instruct you later." He stretched his legs, jumped away, and went some distance. Then he stretched his legs again, and sang a song. When his song was ended, he went towards a wooded hill. The young man knew there was a house there. It belonged to the Deer, and the door closed with a thud. The house was the Black-Tail lodge.

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[1] Maximilian, II, 145f., 281f.

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wind from the southeast. A Mr. Garrow, a Frenchman, who has resided a long time among the Ricaras and Mandans, explained to us the mode in which they make their large beads, an art which they are said to have derived from some prisoners of the Snake Indian nation, and the knowledge of which is a secret, even now confined to a few among the Mandans and Ricaras. The process is as follows: Glass of different colors is first pounded fine and washed, till each kind, which is kept separate, ceases to stain the water thrown over it; some well seasoned clay, mixed with a sufficient quantity of sand to prevent its becoming very hard when exposed to heat, and reduced by water to the consistency of dough, is then rolled on the palm of the hand, till it becomes of the thickness wanted for the hole in the bead; these ticks of clay are placed upright, each on a little pedestal or ball of the same material, about an ounce in weight, and distributed over a small earthen platter, which is laid on the fire for a few minutes, when they are taken off to cool; with a little paddle or shovel, three or four inches long and sharpened at the end of the handle, the wet pounded glass is placed in the palm of the hand; the beads are made of an oblong form, wrapped in a cylindrical form round the stick of clay, which is laid cross-wise over it, and gently rolled backwards and forwards till it becomes perfectly smooth. If it be desired to introduce any other color, the surface of the bead is perforated with the pointed end of the paddle, and the cavity filled with pounded glass of that color; the sticks with the string of beads are then replaced on their pedestals, and the platter deposited on burning coals or hot embers; over the platter an earthen pot, containing about three gallons, with a mouth large enough to cover the platter, is reversed, being completely closed, except a small aperture at the top, through which are watched the beads; a quantity of old dried wood, formed into a sort of dough or paste, is placed around the pot, so as almost to cover it, and afterwards set on fire. The manufacturer then looks through the small hole in the pot, till he sees the beads assume a deep red color, to which succeeds a paler or whitish red, or they become pointed at the upper extremity; on which the fire is removed, and the pot suffered to cool gradually; at length it is removed, the beads taken out, the clay in the hollow of them picked out with an awl or needle, and it is then fit for use. The

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•301 beads thus formed are in great demand among the Indians, and used as pendants to their ears and hair, and are sometimes worn 'round the neck." (id 233.)

224 **Killing Buffalo On Ice.** "Friday, 29th. The weather clear, and the wind from the northwest. The obstruction above gave way this morning, and the ice came down in great quantities; the river having fallen eleven inches in the course of the last twenty-four hours. We have had few Indians at the fort for the last three or four days, as they are now busy in catching the floating buffalo. Every spring as the river is breaking up, the surrounding plains are set on fire, and the buffalo tempted to cross the river in search of the fresh grass which immediately succeeds to the burning; on their way they are often isolated on a large cake or mass of ice, which floats down the river. The Indians now select the most favorable points for attack; and, as the buffalo approaches, dart with astonishing agility across the trembling ice, sometimes pressing lightly a cake of not more than two feet square; the animal is of course unsteady, and his footsteps insecure on this new element, so that he can make but little resistance, and the hunter, who has given him his death wound, paddles his icy boat to the shore, and secures his prey." (id 239.)

532 **Indian Painting.** "Thursday, 4th. The day is clear and pleasant, though the wind is high from northwest. We now packed in different boxes a variety of articles for the president, which we shall send in the barge. A number of articles of Indian dress, among which was a buffalo robe, representing a battle fought about eight years since between the Sioux and Ricaras against the Mandans and Minnetarees, in which the combatants are represented on horseback. It has of late years excited much discussion to ascertain the period when the art of painting was first discovered, how hopeless all researches of this kind are, is evident from the foregoing fact. It is indebted for its origin to one of the strongest passions of the human heart; a wish to preserve the features of a departed friend, or the memory of some glorious exploit; this inherits equally the bosoms of all men, either civilized or savage. Such sketches, rude and imperfect as they are, delineate the predominant character of the savage nations. If they are peaceable and inoffensive, the drawings usually consist of local scenery and their favorite diversions. If the band are rude

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000 clination to coalesce. The Mandan and Gros Ventre (or Minne-
197 taree) languages are somewhat alike, and probably of a very distinct common origin; but no resemblance has yet been discovered
191 between either of these and the Aricaree ('Ricaras'). Almost every member of each trib understands the languages of the other tribes, yet he speaks his own most fluently; so it is not an uncommon thing to hear a dialogue carried on in two languages, one person, for instance, questioning in Mandan, and the other answering back in Gros Ventre, and vice versa.

"Many of them understand the Dakota tongue, and use it as a means of intercommunication, and all understand the sign language. So, after all, they have no trouble in making themselves understood by one another. These Indians must have excellent memories and 'good capacity for study;' for it is not uncommon to find persons among them, some even under twenty years of age, who can speak fluently four or five different languages." (p. 17-18.)

As showing the aptness of the Rees and Mandans in working in glass or absidian, Matthews says:

323 **Glass-Work—Beads.** "The articles of glass spoken of above
301 are chiefly of two kinds. First, large, globular, or ellipsoidal beads; and, second, flat, irregularly triangular plates or pendants, which are glazed only on one side, and have a hole at the apex. The art of making these deserves more than a mere mention, since it is commonly believed that the aboriginal Americans, even the more civilized races, knew nothing of the manufacture of glass at the time of the Columbian discovery. The very earliest ethnographical account we have of the Aricarees and Mandans shows that they knew how to make glass beads; and there is no doubt that the process employed in 1804 was essentially the same as that employed today." (Here follows the account given by Lewis and Clarke, already set forth herein and quoted by Matthews; after which he resumes:)

Not Glass Product. "This art is now only occasionally practiced in the village, and is mostly confined to the making of the flat triangular pendants. I have heard the process described in much the same way as in the above quotation. From this quotation, however, which is in part ambiguous, the inference might be drawn that the ornaments, when completed consist entirely of

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glass. Such is not the case in those I have seen; on the contrary, they consist of a core of baked earth covered with a thin shell of glass; and they have the appearance of having been perforated before heat was applied. But in the matter of making the holes, the process may have been changed, or there may have been two ways of doing it." (p. 20-21.) 323 301

Rees and Mandans—Glazed Ornaments? "The art of making these ornaments would appear to be old; yet the process as it existed in 1804 was evidently in part recent, since the Indians obtained the glass which they used from the whites. I have been informed by the Indians that in old days the art flourished among the Aricarees as well as among the Mandans; and certainly at the present day the Aricaree women understand it. I had two of the triangular pendants made to order in 1870, by an Aricaree woman, to whom I furished the blue glass necessary. When I gave instructions to have the articles made, I was invited to witness the process, but circumstances prevented me from doing so. One of these pendants was sent to the Smithsonian Institution. It is strange, if true, that these Indians should have obtained their knowledge of this art from the Snake Indians, a ruder and equally remote tribe. It is also strange, and undoubtedly true, that in 1804, as well as now, they did not make their glass, but obtained it ready-made, and merely fused it for their purposes, obtaining it, doubtlessly, from the whites. It is strange that within a few years after glass beads of European manufacture were first introduced among them, and when such beads must have commanded a high price, they should pulverize them and use the powder in making ruder and more unsightly articles after their own design. But it is not probable that they should have learned such an art from civilized people prior to 1804, when they had as yet seen but few whites, and when the whites they had seen were mostly rude Canadian frontiersmen, among whom it is not reasonable to suppose there were any persons versed in glass-making. I have heard Indians say, with uncertainty, that in former times they found glass in the hills, and pounded it for their beads; meaning perhaps that they used natural glass, which may be found where lignite beds have taken fire, and elsewhere on the upper Missouri. In view of all these facts, I have conjectured that they had the art of making glazed earthern ornaments before

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323 the whites came among them; and that when they saw the bril-
● 301 liantly colored beads of the traders, they conceived the idea of improving their art by using these beads. If they ever possessed the art of making glass de novo, there is no record, tradition, or other evidence of it, that I have been able to find."

Was It Ancient Art. "One of many reasons, though perhaps an insufficient reason, for believing the art to be of no recent origin among them, is that they used the triangular pendants, not as ornaments only, but as evidences of betrothal, as long ago as
[584] the oldest men can remember. When a girl was promised in marriage in her infancy by her parents, as was not infrequently done, one of these pendants was tied to her forelock so as to hang down over her forehead. When the promise was fulfilled, the husband removed the pendant and threw it away." (p. 22-23.)

439 **Inter-Tribal Trade.** "With the nomadic tribes around, they exchanged their agricultural produce for horses, and, recently,
[824] for robes. When the Dakotas saw a certain flower (Liatris punctata) blooming on the prairie, they knew that the corn was ripe, and went to the villages of the farming Indians to trade. From
721 the time they came in sight of the village to the time they disappeared there was a truce. When they had passed beyond the bluffs, they might steal an unguarded pony or lift a scalp, and were in turn liable to be attacked." (p. 27.)

439 **Trade With Pacific Coast—Shells.** "It appears probable that they once carried on trade indirectly with the tribes of the Pacific coast, for they had Dentalium shells similar to those obtained on the Pacific and they prized them so highly that the white traders found it advisable to obtain them for the trade. As late as 1866, ten of these shells, of inferior size, costing the traders only a cent a piece, would buy a superior buffalo robe, and formerly only two or three of the same quality were paid for a robe. Modern traders, with whom the writer had conversed, obtained their shells from eastern importers, and know nothing of the original source of supply. They supposed them to come from the Atlantic coast or the Great Lakes, and called them 'Iroquois shells,' which is probably their corruption of the Chinock 'hyakwa;' but it is possible the reverse is the case.

439 "They also used, and still use, as ornaments, fragments of the
301 **Abalone** shells (one or more species of **Haliotis**) of the Pacific.

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These are now supplied to the trade under the name of California shells. Ten years ago, one of these shells, unpolished, sold for a good robe. There is little doubt that they used Abalone, Dentalium, and other sea shells before the traders brought them. Old traders and old Indians say so. Even as late as 1833, it would seem that they had not yet become a regular part of a trader's outfit; for Maximilian says of the Mandans: 'They do not disfigure the bodies; only they make some apertures in the outer rim of the ear, in which they hang strings of beads, brass, or iron rings of different sizes, or shells, the last of which they obtain from other Indian tribes. If they are questioned respecting these shells, they answer that they were brought from the sea." (p. 28.)

Matthews quotes the following expressions from D. D. Mitchell, found in Schoolcraft's work, concerning visitors to the Mandans in the eighteenth century:

McIntosh's Early Visit. "In a letter published in Schoolcraft's **Information Respecting the Indian Tribes,** the writer, D. D. Mitchell, says, speaking of the Mandans: 'The early portion of their history I gather from the narration of Mr. McIntosh, who, it seems, belonged to, or was in some way connected with, the French trading company as far back as 1772. According to his narration, he set out from Montreal in the summer of 1773, crossing over the country to the Missouri river, and arrived at one of the Mandan villages on Christmas day.' I have never seen McIntosh's account, nor have I seen any more extensive notice of it than the one given by Mr. Mitchell; and from this, it does not appear that McIntosh visited any of these agricultural Indians except the Mandans." (p. 29.)

And Matthews expresses the view that British and French traders and interpreters were among the Mandans prior to 1804, all of which appears in evidence hereinbefore submitted. He believes the earliest Europeans to reach them were from Hudson Bay territory, but he was, as he admits (p. 29), unaware of Verendrye's expedition referred to by Catlin, who is criticised by Matthews for failing to "tell us where the account of the expedition of 1738 is to be found," adding: "No other mention of the journey has ever been seen by me."

Matthews thus refers to the peaceable relations nearly always existing between the Mandans and Rees and the Americans:

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even the few surviving Mandans were driven from their own huts. 164
Subsequently these tribes were again thus afflicted, and from one who was then stationed at Fort Clarke and an eye-witness of the fact, I am informed that suicide was committed by the victims [762] throwing themselves over the bluffs of the river to the rocks below. De Smet states that both the smallpox and cholera created havoc among the northern Indians in 1851." (p. 227.)

The making of glass beads by the Mandans and Aricarees is 323
alluded to by Wheeler, who says: 301

Glass Beads, Etc. "The Lewis and Clarke narrative for March 16th describes a process for making glass beads known to the Mandans.

"The Indians did not make the glass itself. This they obtained from the whites, but there is evidence that, prior to the appearance of the traders, they used obsidian, or natural glass, for this purpose. Dr. Matthews, as late as 1870, had flat triangular blue glass pendants made to order by an Aricaree woman, he furnishing the glass.

"These people also made unglazed pottery, mats, and baskets, 285
ladles and spoons, from the horns of the Rocky mountain sheep 323
(Ovius Montana) and the buffalo, and from the shoulder-blades 321
of the bison they fashioned the hoes with which they hoed the 178
ground in very early time. Since the whites came, the crude implements of the old days have been mostly supplanted by our household, garden, etc., utensils; but, in 1902, I purchased a fine sheep-horn ladle apparently in daily use still." (p. 228.)

Steinbreuck's Observations. Hon. E. R. Steinbreuck, field 000
officer of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, makes the further statement to the writer, in a letter dated May 24th, 1908, concerning the Mandan deserted villages, and their former habitat, as follows:

Unsolved Problems. "I think it is a difficult and as yet unsolved problem, to write the history of the Mandans, as aborigines of South Dakota. We have the end of the trail, not so the beginning. We don't know for certain where the Mandans came from. The end is in North Dakota and that is also the beginning of the traditions of the present Mandans. Their entire knowledge of their origin is limited to the Heart river region in North Da-

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body. The small boys went naked but the girls wore a leather 291
dress similar to those of the older women. The woman's dress was the buck-skin tunic which went just below the knee, a girdle held it at the waist, the sleeves were open and the base of the skirt was often fringed. Bead necklaces and earrings [301]
were worn, and leggings which did not reach to the knee. The [171]
men also wore leggings which were the counterpart of those found among the other plains tribes.

Although the Mandans ordinarily dressed very plainly, yet 292
for the feasts and ceremonies they arrayed themselves as gor- 171
geously as did any of their neighbors, and in practically the same way. Then they wore richly embroidered leather shirts, moccasins covered with quill work, necklaces of elk teeth, bears' claws, odorous roots and large glass beads, with fine painted and embroidered robes, tobacco pouches, quivers, medicine bags, and all the paraphernalia of the plains ceremonial dress. Scalps were used as among the Dakotas, ceremonial pipes and bows were carried. The head-dresses of war eagle, hawk, crow, and raven feathers were worn by members of different societies and occasionally the head-dress of two small polished pieces of buffalo horn was worn. This last was found frequently among the Dakotas. Antelope and deer hoofs were used often as a fringe of bangles along the shirt hem or the sides of the leggings.

The Mandans had a peculiar method of dressing the hair, 302
unlike other Siouan tribes but very much like the Arikara. [171]
The hair of the men was allowed to hang down to the thighs, or even to the knees, it was separated into a number of strands, each of which was stuck along its whole length, two or three inches apart, with lumps of mixed glue and colored clay, making nearly solid plaits one and a half inches thick. Oftentimes these plaits were pieced out with beaver skin strips or hair from scalps. One lock of hair hung down forward over the nose, and this was unornamented except for a red ribbon tied about it. There were two copper strips covered with blue and white glass beads woven with the hair on the sides. These hung by one end and were also decorated with dentalia. On the back of the head was an ornament, flat, three or four inches thick, of wood or twisted metal wire. It was fastened to the hair and

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223 the pit where it was dispatched and the hunter waited for an-
171 other. This method was also used by the Hidatsa, and so in fact nearly all the Mandan hunting methods and customs were duplicated among their neighbors. The only important exception was the Mandan custom of giving a share of the meat to anyone who might come to the home of a successful hunter and ask for it. Henry tells us that the Hidatsa and Amahami did not have this charitable custom.

WAR:— Among most of the Indians, war was the chief occu-
721 pation of the men, and the Mandans in this respect differed little from the other tribes. They were constantly in danger from their more numerous enemies, the Dakotas, and in addition frequently had disputes with other smaller bands. The Mandans were not a warlike people, and fought only when necessary; but when the time came they were among the bravest and most fearless warriors of the region. Maximilian says that they had been known to send war parties as far as the Rocky Mountains against the Blackfeet and as far east as the Red River against the Ojibwa. Their chief enemies were, however, the Dakota, the Cheyenne, and at times the Arikara. The custom of sending out war parties was not as usual here as among
721 their neighbors, the Hidatsa. The system of rank in the village
554 was to a considerable extent based upon military prowess;
301 the wearing of different insignia which indicated each man's
302 deeds was a common device. Those who had made a coup wore a wolf's tail at the heel of their moccasin. If a man was the first of a party to touch and kill an enemy, he painted a spiral line about his arm, with another winding in the opposite direction with three cross stripes. For the second enemy he painted his left legging a reddish brown. If he killed an enemy in equal fight before any other enemy was slain, he could put a wolf's tail around each foot. For the third coup two lengthwise stripes with three cross stripes were painted on the arm, this was the most honorable coup and no other distinctive marks were in use, except that another eagle feather might be worn in the hair for each additional coup. If a man made his coup after others were made, the end of the wolf's tail was cut off. Six little wooden sticks worn in the hair showed that a man

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had been shot six times; some wore a wooden knife, a sign they 721
had killed an enemy with a knife. Maximilian describes one 554
man, a chief, whose face was painted half yellow and half 381
red, with stripes made by rubbing the color off; his arms had 382
seventeen lines showing the number of his deeds, and on his breast, in yellow, was a hand showing that he had made prisoners.

When a youth first wished to lead a war party he at once 701
acquired a medicine. Then he solicited his young men friends 554
by presents and assurances of the efficacy of his medicine and 778
after feasts and dances he departed with as many followers as he could get. In the large war parties there were four real leaders and sometimes three others called bad leaders. Each real leader carried a medicine pipe in a case on his back. To become a chief it was necessary to begin as a war party leader, then to kill a man while in a party where the candidate was not a leader. Again, while following another leader, he must be the first to discover the enemy and kill one of them, and lastly he must have owned at some time a white buffalo hide. Each 726
warrior carried about his neck the whistle of his band, and at the moment of falling upon the enemy these were blown and the war-cry was sounded.

The Mandans seldom took male prisoners but even when 727
taken they were never tortured. As soon as a prisoner had entered the village and eaten corn he was considered as one of the nation; the women, however, could go out and meet the returning party and kill the prisoners then. Scalps were dried and used in decoration. When a successful war party returned they were met by the women and children who entered the village with them dancing the scalp dance. The warriors painted the face, and often the whole body, black, and the scalp dance was danced in the medicine lodge four nights, then later in the middle of the village. If no Mandan was killed in the campaign, the dance was kept up for six months.

In all these war customs we find nothing more than the [171]
general plains ideas such as were found in all the Sioux tribes and among most of their neighbors.

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Plate XXXVI, figs. *s* and *t*, shows two bone fish-hooks which were unearthed. Figs. *u* and *v*, on the same plate, figure two pieces of worked bone which may be fish-hooks in the process of manufacture. 172X 321 227

Bone was made into a great number of ornamental objects. Of these, beads were the more numerous in the remains. Bone beads were usually made from the leg and wing bones of birds. Plate XXXVI, figs. *l* to *o*, are bones from which beads have been wholly or partially cut off. Plate XXXVI, figs. *a* to *k*, are beads of different sizes, ranging from an inch and a half to a quarter of an inch in length, and of varying diameters. 172X 321 301

"Bracelets" made from the rib bones of small animals are shown in Plate XXXVI, figs. *w* to *z*. These are usually grooved on one side and rounded on the other, and perforated at one end. While calling these bracelets it is difficult to understand just how they were used as such and they may have been simply pendants.

Plate XXXVI, fig. *r*, represents a bone object, with notches on the four sides much like the rectangular stones previously described. This object is flat on one side and curved on the other and has a high polish.

Plate XXXVI, figs. *p* and *q*, are fragments of buffalo shoulder blades which have perforations, their use being uncertain.

172V 321 291

FIG. 10. A BONE BUCKLE. ½

Fig. 10 shows a curious piece of bone which probably served as a buckle. It is made of the outside portion of a buffalo rib.

172X 321

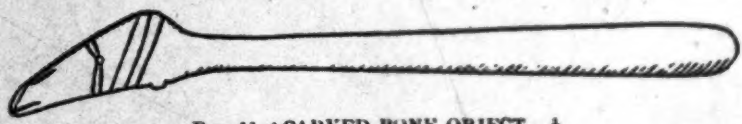
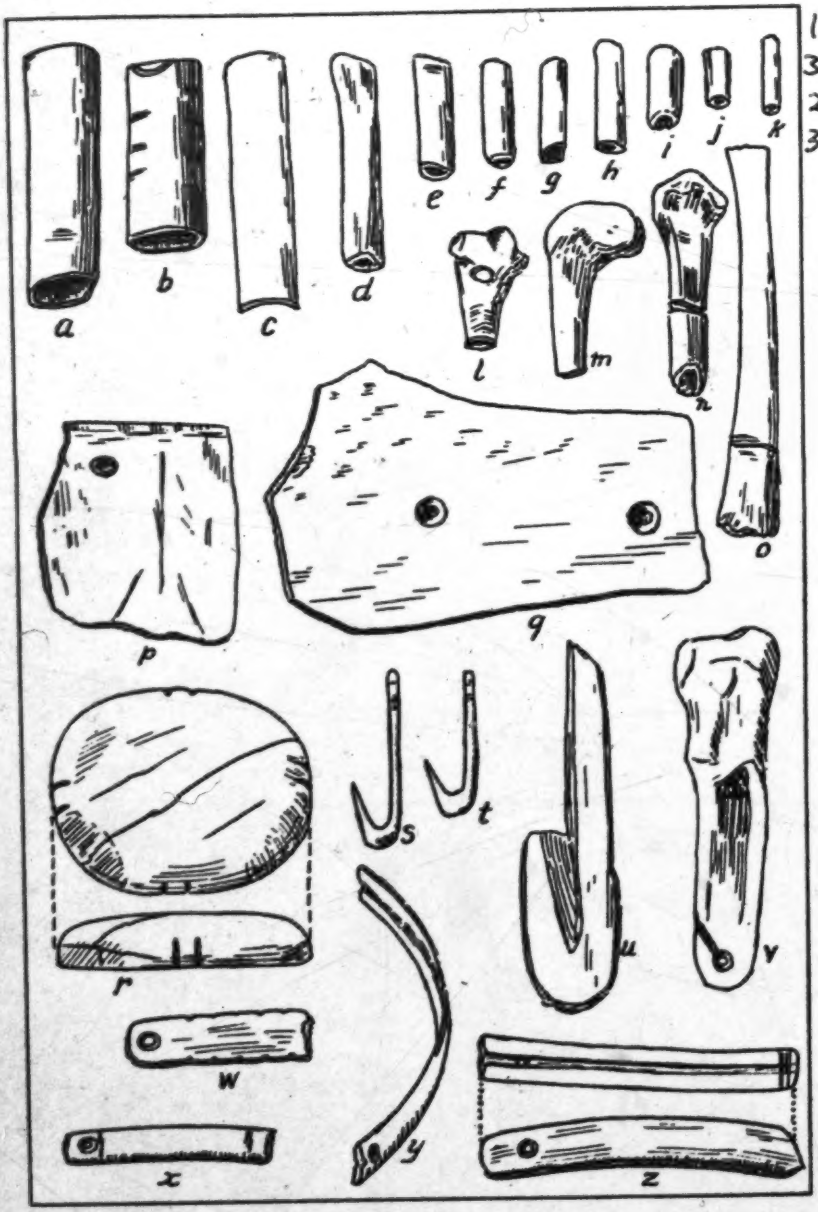


FIG. 11. CARVED BONE OBJECT. ½

The only piece of realistic art found is shown in Fig. 11. This bone is beautifully carved and polished. One end is incised to represent a crane's head, while the rest is rounded off to

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

172 k
321
227
301



SMALL BONE OBJECTS. ¼

[Facing p. 172]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The mode of purchase, as described by Maximilian, closely resembles that followed in buying membership in the other organizations. The boys desiring to become members approached the owners, addressed them as "fathers," and secured in exchange for blankets, cloths, horses and powder, the dances, songs, and regalia characteristic of the society. In this connection the Prince does not mention the feasting of the fathers, but the custom is referred to by my informants: Little-crow's group entertained the sellers for thirty, and that of Yellow-hair's husband for twenty nights. 575 432 527

One noteworthy addition to the purchase ceremony had become possible in later times through the change in the age of the members. As the Crazy Dogs were no longer boys as in Maximilian's day, but married men, the surrender of wives as a partial payment was no longer out of the question. As a matter of fact, I have no direct statement to the effect that wives were surrendered in this instance, but Yellow-hair's account strongly suggests that such was the case. According to this authority, all the women attended the purchase of the Crazy Dog membership. A rope was stretched between two poles and from it were suspended three headdresses and three sashes. On each of the twenty nights of entertainment six women removed their insignia, took them outdoors, pressed them to their breasts, and finally brought them back and hung them up again. Then six other women went through the same performance, and so on. 575 432 527 837

In view of Black-chest's statements as to the purchase of the Little Dog society (p. 304), I am inclined to believe that Yellow-hair's account is incomplete and that the women who took down the regalia and passed outdoors were offered as a part payment for the benefits to be derived from the fathers. This interpretation is confirmed by Maximilian's repeated reference to the wife-offering as a feature common to all the higher societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa. 575 837 432

The badge of all members, according to the Prince, was a whistle made from the wing-bone of a wild goose. Yellow-hair says that this whistle was suspended from the neck by means of a quill-wrapped string. Everyone carried a rattle of globular or ring shape. The rattles were trimmed with raven wing-feathers. To the back of the head members attached an ornament of split raven wing-feathers. Some of the Crazy Dogs wore neither shirt nor leggings, but daubed their bodies with yellow paint. While dancing, members were permitted to bear lances. 575 292 301

From the rank and file there were distinguished, in Maximilian's day, three officers wearing a long, broad strip of red cloth extending down the back, from neck to foot. Yellow-hair also speaks of three sash-wearers; the red cloth was edged with white, and a slit made it possible to slip the sash over the head. At the shoulder, near the white edging, there was attached 575 292

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 535 292 302

A dance of the "Dog society" of Ruptare village that was witnessed by Bodmer is described by Maximilian. After a performance in their lodge, the members, twenty-seven or twenty-eight in number, advanced towards the Fort. Some were clad in beautiful robes or bighorn-skin shirts, others in red cloth shirts, or blue and red uniforms. Some exposed the upper part of their body, on which coups were indicated in reddish-brown paint. In this connection the Prince speaks of *four* Real Dogs, all wearing huge bonnets of raven or magpie feathers, tipped with small white plumes, while in the center there was a fan of the tail feathers of a wild turkey or eagle. Round the neck each of these officers wore a long strip of red cloth, which extended down the back as far as the calves and was knotted in the middle of the back. Two additional officers wore similarly colossal bonnets of yellowish owl feathers, with dark oblique stripes, and one had a large, horned war-bonnet with a feathered streamer hanging down in the back. All others were ornamented with a bunch of thickly-set raven, magpie, or owl feathers, which was considered emblematic of the society. All members wore long whistles, and carried in their left arm some weapon, while the hoof rattle was held in the right hand. A circle was formed. In the center [534] there was a large drum, which was beaten by five poorly clad musicians; in addition to these men, who were seated, two drummers stood on the side, beating hand-drums. After whistling in their places in accompaniment to the rapid and violent beats of the drum, the Dogs suddenly began to dance, dropping their robes to the ground. Several of them danced in the middle of the circle, leaning their bodies forward, jumping up some distance with both feet and coming down firmly on the ground. The other Indians danced without any attention to orderly arrangement, crowding one another, turning their faces towards the circle, and occasionally joining in lowering the head and upper part of the body.[1]

575 534 292 301

Wounded-face says that the rattle (wī'o oxerō're) consisted of a stick covered with buckskin, to which the hoofs of young buffalo were attached. There were two men with sashes, which were half green and half yellow, and which were decorated with feathers. The skin cap had magpie feathers tied to it in a large bunch, and a white plume was fastened to every feather. Two eagle feathers, together with owl feathers, were also used for a head ornament. A large whistle was suspended from a wide strip of skin decorated with quillwork. The body was painted red. All the members carried the hoof-rattles, and sometimes they beat a drum or a log with them. All the Dogs were portly old men, slow in their dancing. Wounded-face thinks the society originated with the Hidatsa.

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[1] Maximilian, II, 309–311.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 each tipped with a thick white plume, adorned the head. One member
292 carried a beautiful fan of white feathers, and wore on the head a complete
535 swan's tail, each feather of which was decorated with dyed horsehair. The
[293] members wrapped themselves completely in their robes, and carried bow-lances trimmed with feathers, colored cloth, glass beads, and the like; most of them had fox skins attached to their heels. Several men beat a drum, while the rest formed a circle and imitated the sound of buffalo bulls. After they had danced for a while, the spectators threw a quantity of tobacco down for them, whereupon they departed for the village in the woods, taking off their wigs on the way. In another place, the Prince mentions rattles as well as drums, and states that the bow-lances were also decorated with bear guts.[1]

Black-Tail Deer Society.

575 All the old men above fifty were, according to Maximilian, members of
561 the Black-Tail Deer organization (cu'psi ō'xat'e). Two female attendants
301 cooked and served fresh water during a dance. All of the men wore a
554 wreath of grizzly claws round the head, and displayed their honor marks in the form of feather head ornaments, braids of hair on arms and legs, scalps, painting, etc.

575 Wounded-face says that the organization originated on the Bad Creek,
773 near the Heart River. One day two young men with arrows stayed on a high wooded hill by the Creek. They dug a deep pit, put sticks across, and covered them with grass. They wanted to snare some animals. One morning one of the men went towards the trap. As he drew close, he heard signs of a trapped animal. He was glad, looked inside, and saw that he had caught a large and very fat black-tail deer. He fitted an arrow to his bow, but the deer said, "Don't shoot me." "Why not?" "You are my son, you must not shoot me. Make a path for me to get out." The young man obeyed, and the buck got out. Then he said, "You are a young man, and I know what you desire: honor marks. I have the power to give them to you, but you have many other fathers, who will instruct you later." He stretched his legs, jumped away, and went some distance. Then he stretched his legs again, and sang a song. When his song was ended, he went towards a wooded hill. The young man knew there was a house there. It belonged to the Deer, and the door closed with a thud. The house was the Black-Tail lodge.

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[1] Maximilian, II, 145f., 281f.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

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The charms of most of the squaws in this "Goose Band" appeared to have faded long ago: they were evidently past the bloom of youth, and their voices and tempers had not improved in consequence. However, on this occasion they endeavored to look their best with the aid of paint and finery, in which respect they are not far behind their white sisters of more civilized climes. A row of poles resting upon forked sticks is put up, over which are hung in profusion pieces of fine, fat, dry meat, which have been carefully saved for this occasion. A band of four or five drummers take their seats close to one end, and a double row of squaws next to them facing each other. Each woman carried a bunch of long seedgrass, the favorite food of the wild goose, and at intervals all get up and dance in a circle with a peculiar shuffling step, singing and keeping time to the taps of the drum.

The spectators keep at a respectful distance and enjoy the fun, which consists in the attempts of some of the young men to steal the meat from the poles, in which however they are often thwarted by the vigilance of a few wise old "geese" who are constantly on the alert to prevent theft. If successful, the meat is carried off in great glee to some lodge, where they cook and eat it at their leisure. These exquisites are elaborately gotten up with bunches of raven plumes fluttering from their scalp-locks, and stripes of white and yellow clay upon their bodies, comprise their only covering.

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Finally, one of the old men (who have been thumping assiduously on the drums all the while) takes his place a few hundred yards off on the prairie, and a grand race by the whole goose band follows. All form in line together, and run around the old gander before returning to the starting point.

The race over, the scaffolds are taken down, a feast prepared, and the meat remaining on hand cooked and eaten. For the rest of the day the band danced around among the different lodges, and of course paid a visit to the fort before concluding. On these occasions a few yards of calico or some trifling gifts are always expected to be thrown to the "Medicine" by the traders.[1]

M
H
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It is probable that the Hidatsa and Mandan had several corn ceremonies distinct from one another and from the performances of the Goose society. Catlin describes a green-corn ceremony involving a dance of four men with corn stalks round a kettle with boiling green corn, followed by the ceremonial friction of new fire, but his account has been discredited by Matthews.[2]

H
241

An Hidatsa ceremony performed in honor of the mythical Old-woman-who-never-dies, for the purpose of securing abundant corn crops is described by Mr. Curtis.[3] The corn singer figures prominently in this account but nothing is said of a women's society. However, we are told that those were invited to participate whose medicines consisted of various birds supposed to be children of Old-woman-who-never-dies and therefore peculiarly appropriate to the occasion.[4] Say describes a corn dance in which women play an important part, but does not identify them with any particular society:

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[1] Boller, 147–149.
[2] Catlin, I, 188–190; Matthews, 47.
[3] Curtis, IV, 148–152.
[4] Ibid, 150.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 delighted. He said, "I like this society. I wish to add something to your feather."
773 Then he broke off some (unidentified) grass, and tied it to the feather. In the dance
539 these feathers were meant to shake. Kinumakci said, "I will give you one of my songs." And he gave the man a song quite different from other songs. When Kinumakci had done singing, the visionary told the women whom he had organized

[292]

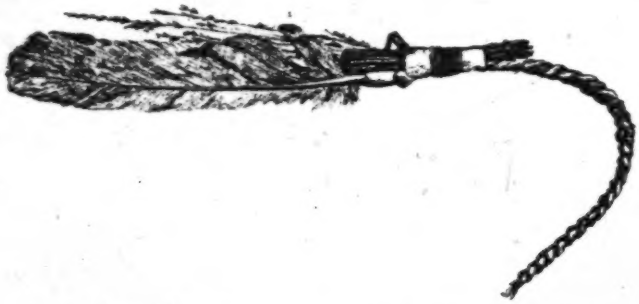

Fig. 15 (50.1–4329). River Society Head Ornament. Length, 61 cm.

to take their head bands, untie them, smooth them out, and put them down on the ground. The women obeyed, and the head bands turned into snakes and crawled away. From that time on the society was kept up.

575 Two-chiefs adds to the account as just given that several other beings
773 made contributions to the dance regalia. The eagle feathers were distributed among the original dancers by the Eagle. The Bear gave them his
•301 claws to be strung for a necklace. The Mink allowed them to use his skin and claws: the two leaders and the two rear officers were to wear mink-claw necklaces, while the four middle officers were to wear a minkskin necklace, to which were attached bluish shells.[1] The organizer of the society selected four male singers and picked out for membership a number of women ranging in age from twenty to thirty. Calf-woman substitutes the mythical character I'tsi'kawa'herec[2] for Ki'numakci, and the Otter for the Mink.

575 One day Hides-and-eats was called by her friends to attend a meeting.
432 This was shortly after the time of the smallpox. Very few of the River women had survived the epidemic; all of them had been very old women, about Hides-and-eats' present age. The young women called the survivors, heaped up property before them, and expressed their desire to purchase the
[608] society. The older group consented to sell. In this instance the sellers for some obscure reason were not considered the purchasers' mothers. Hides-and-eats and her comrades remained in this society for ten years. Then

[1] Two-chiefs gives twice the number of officers fixed by Hides-and-eats.
[2] This is probably the Hidatsa equivalent for Ki'numakci.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

younger women called them and offered them property. "Then we adopted them and called them our daughters." Sometimes it happened that a single individual wished to join. In such a case she might buy a head band from a father's sister and become an additional member without replacing anyone. This, however, was not the regular way of entering the society. 575 432 [608]

In Hides-and-eats' time, there were two male head-singers, who called in five young men and taught them to sing, for which they received a compensation and were called "fathers" by the young men. From another statement by the same authority it would appear that the five men bought the right of singing and drumming from their predecessors in very much the same way as the young women bought the right to membership. 868 432

The officers of the society included a leader wearing a necklace of bear claws attached to otterskin; a rear officer with the same badge; and two middle officers with a loose-fitting white-shell necklace hanging down a few inches below the neck in front. There was one special member who surrendered to the society her earth-lodge to dance in; in Hides-and-eats' time this member's name was One-corn-seed. Calf-woman, who was one of the officers wearing a shell necklace, kept the dance-lodge, because her parents loved her dearly and never refused her anything. The ceremonial dance lasted four nights, the actual dancing beginning before sunset. The members were expected to remain in the earth-lodge during these four nights.[1] Some women, however, would clandestinely absent themselves and go home. As soon as the other members discovered their absence, they went to the woman's house, and sang outside, "Our friend, get up and come out here again." The drummers beat their drums, and the members, if necessary, seized the truant and brought her back to the dance lodge by force. The close of the performance was marked by a cleansing ceremony. The musicians tied together peppermint (?) stalks, and with these they brushed the members' bodies, from the shoulders down. The object of this was to remove the mysterious (xo'pinic) properties with which the members were endowed while dancing. In Calf-woman's time only one man, Bad-shirt performed this ceremony; he was paid with calico goods and food. Painted-up said the brusher was the singer of the Bird ceremony. The ceremonial cleansing took place only after the performances of the three *sacred* women's societies, that is, the River women, Goose women and White Buffalo women organizations. 575 301 527 535 [783]

Two-chiefs said that during the four nights' performance the head bands were suspended from a rawhide rope passing round the earth-lodge, and 575

[1] That is to say, they were not to sleep with their husbands. But if any member had a little child at home, she might go there to attend to its wants. In this case she was brought back to the lodge before daybreak.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

M 575 [301]

members were expected to sleep below these headdresses. During part of the dance the women wearing bearclaw necklaces, (that is, the leaders and rear officers) performed alone, and were then supposed to present gifts to their own aunts or uncles. The middle officers also performed when a special song was sung, and they were expected to make a similar distribution of gifts. At the conclusion of the whole ceremony, the members sat down in a circle and placed their crowns in front of them. A man whose personal medicine was the Eagle or the Thunder was summoned to purge first the headdresses, and then the women themselves. Then, after the removal of the eagle feathers, which were saved for another occasion, the head bands were taken to the outskirts of the village, and abandoned there.

M [183]

H 575 432 527

Buffalo-bird-woman gave the following account of the purchase of the River Women, or, as she called it, Grass Crown, society. Her statements, she said, also applied to the Skunk society. A male "friend" led the procession of purchasers, carrying a pipe[1] to the lodge of the sellers. The girls or women pretended to weep in feigned expectation of the possibility that their offer to buy the society might be declined by their mothers. On the first evening they merely stated their request, saying "Mothers, we desire to get this society, we do not know how to get it." As soon as the mothers had consented to give up their society, they pretended to cry, saying, "We have lost our songs." Then there followed ten nights during which the "mothers" were entertained by the purchasers. On the first of these nights the aunts[2] danced four times, whereupon each buyer brought a kettleful of food to her aunt. This was repeated every following night. On the tenth night, each daughter gave a special present to her mother and put a pipe before her, which was smoked, as before, by a male friend, and then returned. On the next evening each mother called her daughter to her own lodge and gave her a new suit of clothes, including head band, dress, and robe. It is not clear whether it was on this or another occasion that the mothers served food for their daughters, the statement being that this took place after the first dance by the new Grass Crown women. If two or three candidates had the same woman for their mother, the latter was not a real aunt of all of them. If the mother, in such a case was an officer, only one of her daughters received the office. When Buffalo-bird-woman bought the society, there were four women having a joint mother, who had considerable difficulty in getting together the requisite amount of clothing for the four novices. The officers were not selected. It depended merely on the novice's mother whether a novice became an officer. If the mother happened to be an officer, her badge and office were simply transferred to the purchaser.

[1] This pipe was smoked by a male "friend" of the sellers.

[2] See p. 227.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

wanting even in old people, though, in the latter, they are often worn very short, which is chiefly to be attributed to their chewing hard, dry meat. The women are pretty robust, and sometimes tall, but, for the most part, they are short and broad shouldered. They are but few who can be called handsome as Indians, but there are many tolerable and some pretty faces among them. It is usually said of the Mandan women that they, in some respects, have a natural conformation, such as Le Vaillant and Peron ascribe to the Hottentot women; but it seems to be owing, in the Mandan women, less to nature than to artificial means.* The children have frequently slender limbs, and very prominent bellies. Deformed persons are very rare among the Mandans. I, however, saw a very little dwarf with a long, narrow face, and one man who squinted. Persons who had lost the sight of one eye, or with a cataract, are by no means uncommon. There were several deaf and dumb, among whom two brothers and a sister were all born with this defect. Some goitres, or, rather, thick necks among the women, are, doubtless, caused by too great exertions in carrying burdens on their backs. Instances where joints of the fingers are wanting are frequent, but these come under the head of voluntary mutilations.

The colour of these Indians is a fine brown, sometimes reddish, more or less dark, which might, sometimes, come under the denomination of copper colour. In some it is more of a greyish-brown, in others yellowish; after a thorough ablution the skin of some of them appears almost white, and even some colour in their cheeks.† They do not disfigure their bodies, only they make some apertures in the outer rim of the ear, in which they hang strings of beads, brass or iron rings of different sizes, or shells, the last of which they obtain from other Indian tribes. If they are questioned respecting these shells, they answer that they were brought from the sea. These Indians are vain, and in this respect childish, like all savage nations. They are very fond of ornament, and the young men have always a little looking-glass suspended from their wrists. The traders sell these looking-glasses in a pasteboard case, which, however, is immediately changed for a solid wooden frame, and attached to the wrist by a red ribbon or a leather strap. The looking-glasses are framed in various ways; the rude frame is often painted red, or with stripes of different colours, with footsteps of bears or buffaloes carved on it. Nay, sometimes these

* Hanc deformitas a viris ipsis ut dicunt, tractibus saepe repetitis producitur. In nonnullis labia externa in orbem tres ad quatuor digitos transversos prominent; in aliis labia interna valde pendent; immo virorum ars in partibus ipsis figuras artificiose factas format.

Feminae hae rarissime cernuntur parvi statuminis, et neglectae sunt.

Mania est in Mandanis, Mannitaris, et in Crows, magis autem in Mannitaris; in Mandanis, a mulieribus dissolutis, magis quam ab aliis hic mos perversus adhibitur.

† Volney has many inaccuracies in what he says of the colour of the Indians. (Vol. II. p. 435.) According to him, the children are born quite white like the Europeans; that the women are white on the thighs, hips, and lower parts of the body, where the skin is covered by the clothing; that it is wholly erroneous to suppose that the copper colour is natural to them, &c. Mr. Van Hyushalt has long since refuted all these assertions.

301 frames are of a considerable size, divided at one end like a boot-jack, and ornamented with brass nails, ribbons, pieces of skin and feathers (see the annexed woodcut of a hand looking-glass). Some

had very ingeniously fastened this important appendage to their fan made of an eagle's wing. The Indian dandy is constantly consulting his mirror, and, if he has been travelling, especially in the high winds so prevalent here, he immediately has recourse to his looking-glass, and his disordered dress is most carefully arranged.

302 301 It is remarkable that the men are far more vain than the women, and the latter are obliged to be greatly inferior to the lords of the creation in their attire and adornments. The costume of the Mandans is rather simple: by far the greatest attention is paid to the head-dress. Their hair is parted transversely across the middle of the head, the front hair combed smoothly down, and generally divided into three flat bands, two of which hang down on the temples, and are generally plaited. To these plaits they attach the ornament already mentioned, which consists of two strips of leather or cloth closely embroidered with white or azure glass beads, and intertwined with brass wire, as represented in the portrait of Pehriska-Ruhpa (Plate XVII). If the ground of this ornament is red or blue, it is studded with white beads, and if the ground is white the beads are blue. They put this ornament in their hair and pull it over the temples; a long string is fastened to the under part, which reaches to the waist, and is adorned with alternate rows of blue beads and white dentalium shells. Between these two singularly decorated plaits there is, in the centre of the forehead, a smooth flat lock reaching to the nose, which is not ornamented, but only tied with a red ribbon. The back hair falls smoothly from the crown of the head to the waist, and is divided into many tails, an inch and a half or two inches broad, which are smeared with brownish or red clay. When the hair is not naturally long enough it is frequently lengthened with other human hair, often that of enemies whom they have killed, which is fastened on with rosin. At the back of the head they sometimes wear a long stiff ornament in the shape of a ruler, three or four fingers broad, made of small sticks entwined with wire, which is fastened to the hair, and reaches down to the shoulders. It is covered with porcupine quills, dyed of various colours, in very neat patterns. At the upper end of this ornament an eagle's feather is affixed horizontally, the quill end of which is covered with red cloth, and the tip is ornamented with a bunch of horsehair dyed yellow. The lower white half of the feather is frequently dyed red with vermilion, and the quill covered with dyed porcupine quills. Such feathers are represented in Plate XXI. Figs. 13, 14. When the Indians are not in their best dress, when they are travelling, or going to the chase, they fasten their long hair in a thick bunch.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

When, however, they are full dressed, they put a variety of feathers in their hair, frequently a 302
semicircle of feathers of birds of prey, like radii, or sunbeams, or a bunch of the tail feathers of 301
the raven placed in a similar manner. Sometimes they have a thick tuft of owl's feathers, or small rosettes made of broad raven's feathers, cut short, in the centre of which is the tail of a bird of prey spread out like a fan. These feather ornaments are frequently determined according to the several bands or unions, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They likewise wear the large horned feather cap; this is a cap consisting of strips of white ermine, with pieces of red cloth hanging down behind as far as the calves of the legs, to which is attached an upright row of black and white eagle's feathers, beginning at the head and reaching to the whole length. Only distinguished warriors, who have performed many exploits, may wear this head-dress (See [554]
Plate XIII., which is the best representation hitherto given of it).

If they give away one or more of these head-dresses, which they estimate very highly, they 554
are immediately considered men of great importance; the regular price of such a cap is a good 302
horse; for a single eagle's feather is always valued at one or two dollars. On their buffalo robes 301
they often represent this feather cap, under the image of a sun. Very celebrated and eminent [431]
warriors, when most highly decorated, wear in their hair various pieces of wood, as signals of their [485]
wounds and heroic deeds. Thus Mato-Topé (see his portrait, Plate XIV.) had fastened transversely in his hair a wooden knife, painted red, and about the length of a hand, because he had killed a Chayenne chief with his knife; then six wooden sticks, painted red, blue, and yellow, with a brass nail at one end, indicating so many musket wounds which he had received. For an arrow wound, he fastened in his hair the wing feather of a wild turkey; at the back of his head he wore a large bunch of owl's feathers, dyed yellow, with red tips, as the badge of the Meniss- [561]
Ochata (the dog band).[1] The half of his face was painted red, and the other yellow; his body was painted reddish-brown, with narrow stripes, which were produced by taking off the colour with the tip of the finger wetted. On his arms, from the shoulder downwards, he had seventeen yellow stripes, which indicated his warlike deeds, and on his breast the figure of a hand, of a yellow colour, as a sign that he had captured some prisoners. A warrior so adorned takes more time for his toilette than the most elegant Parisian belle. The colour with which they paint their bodies is mixed with grease. When in mourning they colour the face and hands white. The [765]
women and children paint only their faces red, leaving the hair its natural colour. The Mandans and Manitaries, and all the Indians of the Upper Missouri, often wear the handsome necklace made of the claws of the grizzly bear. These claws are very large in the spring, frequently three inches long, and the points are tinged of a white colour, which is much esteemed; only the claws of the fore feet are used for necklaces, which are fastened to a strip of otter skin, lined with red 301
cloth, and embroidered with glass beads, which hangs down the back like a long tail. Such a 000

[1] [This is one of the age-grade societies of the men. See also Cat. 116, pp. 355-56. --Analyst]

Such a
301 necklace is seldom to be had for less than twelve dollars; and very often the owners of them will
[435] not part with them on any terms. The Mandans adorn themselves with many other kinds of necklaces, such as strings of glass beads, scented roots, or fungi, elks' teeth, for 100 or 150 of
291 which they will, in exchange, give a horse, or something equivalent. These Indians generally
302 wear no covering on the upper part of the body; the leather shirt of the Assiniboins, Sioux,
301 Crows, Blackfeet, and other nations that live more to the north and north-west, are seldom used among them; yet a few individuals have obtained them from those Indians, either as presents, or by barter. Even in the midst of winter, the Mandans wear nothing on the upper part of the body, under their buffalo robe. They paint their bodies of a reddish-brown colour, on some occasions with white clay; and frequently draw red or black figures on their arms. The face is, for the most part, painted all over with vermilion, or yellow, in which latter case the circumference of the eyes and the chin are red. There are, however, no set rules for painting, and it depends on the taste of the Indian dandy; yet, still, a general similarity is observed. The bands, in their dances, and also after battles, and when they have performed some exploit, follow the established rule. In ordinary festivals, and dances, and whenever they wish to look particularly fine, the young men paint themselves in every variety of way, and each endeavours to find out some new mode. Should he find another dandy painted just like himself, he immediately retires
[554] and makes a change in the pattern, which may happen three or four times during the festival. If they have performed an exploit, the entire face is painted jet black. Sometimes, though seldom, the Mandans adorn the wrist and upper arm with polished steel bracelets, which they obtain from the merchants; often they wear many brass rings on their fingers, and are, on the whole, excessively fond of ornaments and finery. The chief article of their dress is the ample buffalo robe, called mahita, or mih-sha, which is often very elaborate and valuable. In dry weather these buffalo robes are worn with the hair inwards, and in rainy weather with the hairy side outwards. They are tanned on the fleshy side, and painted either white or reddish-brown, and ornamented with a transverse band of blue or white glass beads, and three large rosettes of the same beads, often of very tasteful patterns, at regular intervals. The centre is frequently red, surrounded with sky blue, embroidered with white figures, or sometimes the reverse. The transverse band is worked with variously dyed porcupine quills, and is then narrower. This, however, is now old-fashioned, and was worn before the coloured glass beads were obtained in such numbers
532 from the Whites. Other robes are painted with a reddish-brown ground, and black figures, especially of animals; others have a white ground, with representations of their heroic deeds in black, or in gay colours, with the wounds they received, the loss of blood, the killed, the prisoners, the arms they have taken, the horses stolen (the number of which is indicated by the number of horseshoes), in black, red, green, or yellow figures, executed in their yet rude style of painting. The

291 garment, with open sleeves, and a girdle round the waist; the hem of this dress is often scolloped and fringed; they ornament the wrists with iron rings, and tie strings of glass beads round their necks, and sometimes in their ears. Their leggins, called, by the Canadians, mitasse, are short, reaching only from the ankle to the knee. Their shoes are simple, and without any ornament.

301 Tattooing is in use among these people, but by no means general. Most commonly only the left half of the breast and the corresponding arm are marked with black parallel stripes, and a few other figures. The lower arm and some of the fingers are occasionally marked; the men do not tattoo their faces, and they are far inferior in this art to the New Zealanders and other nations of the South Seas. Among the women such designs are sometimes seen, but not [56 I] frequently, and they are chiefly among the women's band of the white buffalo cow.[1] The point of the needle is dyed a dark blue with the bark of the willow soaked in water.

302 In Major Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains it is stated that the Crows rub their bodies 171 with castoreum, on account of its pleasant scent. I must observe, however, that the custom is not confined to one nation, but is practised by the Mandans, Manitaries, Crows, and Blackfeet, and most of the other tribes of the Upper Missouri. They mix the castoreum with a red colour, and with it rub their face and frequently their hair.

361 Having obtained a clear idea of the outward appearance of these Indians, we will next 712 consider their habitations, villages, and domestic life. Their villages are assemblages of clay huts, of greater or less extent, placed close to each other, without regard to order. Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, the largest of the Mandan villages, was about 150 or 200 paces in diameter, the second was much smaller. The circumference forms an irregular circle, and was anciently surrounded with strong posts, or palisades, which have, however, gradually disappeared as the natives used them for fuel in the cold winters. At four places, at nearly equal distances from each other, is a bastion built of clay, furnished with loop-holes, and lined both within and without with basket-work of willow branches. They form an angle, and are open towards the village; the earth is filled in between the basket-work; and it is said that these bulwarks, which are now in a

[1] [This is one of the women's age-grade societies.--Analyst.]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LETTER—No. 16.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

156 BESIDES chiefs, and braves and doctors, of whom I have heretofore spoken, there is yet another character of whom I must say a few words before I proceed to other topics. The person I allude to, is the one mentioned at the close of my last Letter, and familiarly known and countenanced in every tribe as an Indian *beau* or *dandy*. Such personages may be seen on every pleasant day, strutting and parading around the village in the most beautiful and unsoiled dresses, without the honourable trophies however of scalp locks and claws of the grizzly bear, attached to their costume, for with such things they deal not. They are not peculiarly anxious to hazard their lives in equal and honourable combat with the one, or disposed to cross the path of the other; but generally remain about the village, to take care of the women, and attire themselves in the skins of such animals as they can easily kill, without seeking the rugged cliffs for the war-eagle, or visiting the haunts of the grizzly bear. They plume themselves with swan's-down and quills of ducks, with braids and plaits of sweet-scented grass and other harmless and unmeaning ornaments, which have no other merit than they themselves have, that of looking pretty and ornamental.

B017

These clean and elegant gentlemen, who are very few in each tribe, are held in very little estimation by the chiefs and braves; inasmuch as it is known by all, that they have a most horrible aversion to arms, and are denominated "faint hearts" or "old women" by the whole tribe, and are therefore but little respected. They seem, however, to be tolerably well contented with the appellation, together with the celebrity they have acquired amongst the women and children for the beauty and elegance of their personal appearance; and most of them seem to take and enjoy their share of the world's pleasures, although they are looked upon as drones in society.

These gay and tinselled bucks may be seen in a pleasant day in all their plumes, astride of their pied or dappled ponies, with a fan in the right hand, made of a turkey's tail—with whip and a fly-brush attached to the wrist of the same hand, and underneath them a white and beautiful and soft pleasure-saddle, ornamented with porcupine quills and ermine, parading through and lounging about the village for an hour or so, when they will cautiously bend their course to the suburbs of the town, where they will sit

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

142 days and then mysteriously to have disappeared. The hair of the men often trailed on the ground, and Henry, Catlin, and others refer to this in much detail. Now they wear their hair cut short, [302] of their own volition, and in my brief visit I noticed no peculiarities of complexion or in color or hair. All of them, Mandans, Aricarees, and Minnetarees, seem to be a sturdy, manly set of fellows, with frank and intelligent countenances. I am inclined to think they have not had the best of supervision in the past, nor been treated with sufficient liberality and consideration by the government."

000 **Noted Chiefs—Patriarchs.** "Catlin was effusive in his praise of these Indians, and both he and Maximilian appear to have found some individuals who savored strongly of the Chingachgook type of Indian, and whose memories and virtues are venerated today. Such a man, for one, was the old Mah-to-toh-papa, or Four Bears, of Catlin, the Meto-Tope of Maximilian. and I can easily believe that Lean, or Poor Wolf, a Gros Ventre of today, now blind and infirm with the weight of his eighty-three years, has been a man that one could trust and respect. De Smet says that Four Bears was 'the most civil and affable Indian' that he ever met on the Missouri. Two-Chiefs, and Leggings, Mandans, and now old like Poor Wolf, a Gros Ventre, or Hidatsa, must also have been men of dignity and character." (Wheeler, p. 240.)

144 **Race Declining.** "As a pure race 'the polite and friendly Mandans,' as they were known to the traders, are slowly but surely declining, and it will not be long before the last one will have departed for the happy hunting grounds. The reservation rolls call for two hundred and fifty Mandans. In talking with Two-Chiefs, I asked him how many full-blood, pure Mandans he thought still remained. The old man, seventy-two years of age, stood in deep thought for several moments, and then replied, 'Not more than ten families; all the others are mixed blood.' Numerically, the tribe as a whole seems to be holding its own." (Wheeler, p. 242.)

731 **Fort Mandan.** "Not a vestige of Fort Mandan remains. On the return of the expedition in 1806, under date of August 17th, the Lewis and Clarke itinerary says: 'In reaching Fort Mandan we found a few pickets standing on the riverside, but all the houses except one, had been burnt by an accidental fire.'

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

353 Between every pair was a large post. An elevation showing some of the details is reproduced from Morgan in Figure 1, and a ground plan, in Figure 3.

251 171 The sedentary character of the Mandans and the fact that they practiced agriculture led to the development among them of several cultural features not found among the purely hunting tribes. In common with most sedentary tribes they made use of caches or storage pits. Henry[1] gives a description of them saying that, in the fall after harvest, the corn was dried, shelled and put in deep pits. These were about eight feet deep, with a mouth just wide enough for a person to get in, but the inside was hollowed out larger and the sides and bottom were lined with straw. The cache contained twenty to thirty bushels of beans or corn where it kept for several years. The caches were scattered everywhere about the village. Catlin mentions caches, saying that they placed corn in pits six or seven feet deep, jug shaped, and tightly closed at the top.

291 Dress:—The dress of the Mandans in general was much like that of their neighbors, at the later period of their history at least. There were however some minor differences. Verendrye says that at his visit the men went naked, except for a carelessly worn buffalo robe—not even wearing a breech cloth. The women wore very little as a rule, their only article of attire being an apron about the waist, a hand's breadth wide and a foot long. But he adds later that some of them wore a gown of very soft deerskin. It is probable that other articles of dress were borrowed from their neighbors as time went on.

515 302 The men and women both began the day with a bath, after which the body was carefully oiled with castoreum. For any ceremonial or feast the body was also painted in colors, these being mixed with grease. After the bath the face and hair were nearly always whitened. The men in Maximilian's time usually wore a breech cloth, of black and white cloth, and moccasins with little or no ornamentation. The upper part of the body was usually naked as they seldom wore the leather shirt used in many other tribes. Even in the winter, Maximilian says they wore only the buffalo robe over the upper half of the

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[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 360.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

body. The small boys went naked but the girls wore a leather 291
dress similar to those of the older women. The woman's dress was the buck-skin tunic which went just below the knee, a girdle held it at the waist, the sleeves were open and the base of the skirt was often fringed. Bead necklaces and earrings [301]
were worn, and leggings which did not reach to the knee. The [171]
men also wore leggings which were the counterpart of those found among the other plains tribes.

Although the Mandans ordinarily dressed very plainly, yet 292
for the feasts and ceremonies they arrayed themselves as gorgeously as did any of their neighbors, and in practically the 171
same way. Then they wore richly embroidered leather shirts, moccasins covered with quill work, necklaces of elk teeth, bears' claws, odorous roots and large glass beads, with fine painted and embroidered robes, tobacco pouches, quivers, medicine bags, and all the paraphernalia of the plains ceremonial dress. Scalps were used as among the Dakotas, ceremonial pipes and bows were carried. The head-dresses of war eagle, hawk, crow, and raven feathers were worn by members of different societies and occasionally the head-dress of two small polished pieces of buffalo horn was worn. This last was found frequently among the Dakotas. Antelope and deer hoofs were used often as a fringe of bangles along the shirt hem or the sides of the leggings.

The Mandans had a peculiar method of dressing the hair, 302
unlike other Siouan tribes but very much like the Arikara. [171]
The hair of the men was allowed to hang down to the thighs, or even to the knees, it was separated into a number of strands, each of which was stuck along its whole length, two or three inches apart, with lumps of mixed glue and colored clay, making nearly solid plaits one and a half inches thick. Oftentimes these plaits were pieced out with beaver skin strips or hair from scalps. One lock of hair hung down forward over the nose, and this was unornamented except for a red ribbon tied about it. There were two copper strips covered with blue and white glass beads woven with the hair on the sides. These hung by one end and were also decorated with dentalia. On the back of the head was an ornament, flat, three or four inches thick, of wood or twisted metal wire. It was fastened to the hair and

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

•302 hung down to the shoulders. It was covered with quill work in different colors. On its top was placed horizontally an eagle [171] feather the base of which was covered with red cloth. The usual Siouan head-dresses were also worn. In every day life, however, Maximilian says the hair was knotted up in a 304 tuft. The Mandan men tattooed, but never on more than one half of the body. Usually the right breast and upper arm was tattooed with black parallel lines, accompanied by a few other figures. Occasionally the fore-arm and some of the fingers were tattooed. Occasionally also the women tattooed, but to only a small extent. Ermine was used in nearly all of their finest dresses, and tails of other animals as well as different sorts of bird feathers had especial signification in ceremonial or war [171] costumes. Altogether, as Catlin says, the dress of the Blackfeet, Sioux, and Mandans was practically alike. The great noticeable difference seems to be that the Mandans had much less regard for clothing than did most of their neighbors, they had a tendency toward simple apparel, and the buffalo robe was their original and only absolutely necessary garment.

411 WEAPONS:— The arms of the Mandans as well as their other culture features were much like those of their neighbors. They used the customary things — bows and arrows, lances, shields, knives, and tomahawks, and had in addition a peculiar weapon of their own called a bow-lance. The knives and arrow points were at first of stone as were the axes and tomahawks, but stone implements soon fell into disuse when steel ones were obtained. The Mandan bows were usually of elm or ash wood, and rather short, with cords of twisted sinews. Occasionally, [321] however, a bow of bone or horn was seen. Catlin describes such a one. It was short and had a sinew backing, while the cord was made of three twisted sinews. With the bow was usually a quiver of mountain lion, wild-cat, or wolf skin, the whole hide being used. The arrows of the Mandans were much better made than those of their neighbors. They were feathered with hawk and eagle feathers which were attached in a short spiral, a red line wound round the arrow in a spiral from barb to base. There were hunting points and war points: the for-

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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223 the pit where it was dispatched and the hunter waited for an-
171 other. This method was also used by the Hidatsa, and so in fact nearly all the Mandan hunting methods and customs were duplicated among their neighbors. The only important exception was the Mandan custom of giving a share of the meat to anyone who might come to the home of a successful hunter and ask for it. Henry tells us that the Hidatsa and Amahami did not have this charitable custom.

WAR:— Among most of the Indians, war was the chief occu-
721 pation of the men, and the Mandans in this respect differed little from the other tribes. They were constantly in danger from their more numerous enemies, the Dakotas, and in addition frequently had disputes with other smaller bands. The Mandans were not a warlike people, and fought only when necessary; but when the time came they were among the bravest and most fearless warriors of the region. Maximilian says that they had been known to send war parties as far as the Rocky Mountains against the Blackfeet and as far east as the Red River against the Ojibwa. Their chief enemies were, however, the Dakota, the Cheyenne, and at times the Arikara. The custom of sending out war parties was not as usual here as among
721 their neighbors, the Hidatsa. The system of rank in the village
554 was to a considerable extent based upon military prowess;
301 the wearing of different insignia which indicated each man's
302 deeds was a common device. Those who had made a coup wore a wolf's tail at the heel of their moccasin. If a man was the first of a party to touch and kill an enemy, he painted a spiral line about his arm, with another winding in the opposite direction with three cross stripes. For the second enemy he painted his left legging a reddish brown. If he killed an enemy in equal fight before any other enemy was slain, he could put a wolf's tail around each foot. For the third coup two lengthwise stripes with three cross stripes were painted on the arm, this was the most honorable coup and no other distinctive marks were in use, except that another eagle feather might be worn in the hair for each additional coup. If a man made his coup after others were made, the end of the wolf's tail was cut off. Six little wooden sticks worn in the hair showed that a man

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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had been shot six times; some wore a wooden knife, a sign they had killed an enemy with a knife. Maximilian describes one man, a chief, whose face was painted half yellow and half red, with stripes made by rubbing the color off; his arms had seventeen lines showing the number of his deeds, and on his breast, in yellow, was a hand showing that he had made prisoners. 721 554 301 302

When a youth first wished to lead a war party he at once acquired a medicine. Then he solicited his young men friends by presents and assurances of the efficacy of his medicine and after feasts and dances he departed with as many followers as he could get. In the large war parties there were four real leaders and sometimes three others called bad leaders. Each real leader carried a medicine pipe in a case on his back. To become a chief it was necessary to begin as a war party leader, then to kill a man while in a party where the candidate was not a leader. Again, while following another leader, he must be the first to discover the enemy and kill one of them, and lastly he must have owned at some time a white buffalo hide. Each warrior carried about his neck the whistle of his band, and at the moment of falling upon the enemy these were blown and the war-cry was sounded. 701 554 778 726

The Mandans seldom took male prisoners but even when taken they were never tortured. As soon as a prisoner had entered the village and eaten corn he was considered as one of the nation; the women, however, could go out and meet the returning party and kill the prisoners then. Scalps were dried and used in decoration. When a successful war party returned they were met by the women and children who entered the village with them dancing the scalp dance. The warriors painted the face, and often the whole body, black, and the scalp dance was danced in the medicine lodge four nights, then later in the middle of the village. If no Mandan was killed in the campaign, the dance was kept up for six months. 727

In all these war customs we find nothing more than the general plains ideas such as were found in all the Sioux tribes and among most of their neighbors. [171]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for his individual father. Wounded-face did not know that Two-crows owned two kinds of emblems,— the foxskin cap to be used in dancing and in war, and the head band decorated with the lower kit-fox jaws which was to be worn when courting young women.[1] On the morning of the final transference of membership rights, Two-crows gave Wounded-face the cap and the head band, as well as a shirt, armlets and fringed buckskin leggings. In return, Wounded-face paid his father a fast black horse suited for use in the buffalo chase and some property contributed by his relatives. I get the impression that the transfer of special regalia was automatic; that is to say, if the father happened to own certain specific emblems the son buying his membership bought *ipso facto* the regalia owned by the seller. 575 432 292 608

Little-crow states that at the public performance the relatives of the new members brought presents, which were turned over to the fathers, either individually or collectively. In the latter case the fathers proceeded to distribute the gifts among themselves. 575 431 602

In marching outdoors, the first rattler took the lead and was immediately followed by the first hooked-staff officer; Wounded-face — presumably as the owner of the cap — occupied a central position in the line; the second rattler came last, being directly behind the second hooked-staff officer. The first rattler selected a site for the dance and turned in order to begin the formation of a circle there, at the same time raising his rattle and singing very loudly. There was always a special song to be sung prior to the drummers' entrance into the circle. This song was taken up by the second rattler. While the circle was forming, the singers went within the circumference and began to beat their drums. These singers were always the members' fathers, if I understood Wounded-face correctly, but it is probable that this applies only to the first public performance by a new group of members. The songs referred to warlike deeds, and the words were, according to this informant, invariably in the Dakota language. 575 527 535 533 [171]

Little-crow, as already stated, considers the head band decorated with kit-fox jaws as a badge common to all members; he further states that each Kit-Fox had a hair-pipe attached to the left side of the head and that six men had their hair roached. The hair-cutting was done by the men's fathers. Other informants agree that there were two rattlers and two officers with hooked-staffs, wrapped with otterskin and decorated at four points with feathers. Wounded-face says that sometimes the second staff-bearer carried a *straight* stick, in which case an erect eagle feather was secured to the top of the shaft. Little-crow states that rattles were used 575 [292] [302] 293

[1] This seems to conflict with Black-chest's account, which assigns these emblems to distinct officers, but Little-crow regards the kit-fox head band as a badge common to all members.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 purchasers then called him his "father," stroked his arm downwards with
432 his hand, took the weapon out of his hand, and again put it in its place.
527 The other dancer followed, recounted some of his deeds, and offered the lance to one of the buyers, who received it in the same manner as his predecessor, and then put it in its place. The periods of intermission were filled with smoking, singing and drumming, but no rattles were used. Two other Soldiers also rose, told of how they had stolen horses, medicine bundles, or other possessions, from the enemy, and gave two more insignia to the purchasers. After this had been done four or five times, the wives of the
[837] buyers rose. Four of them divested themselves of their robes, quickly seized the lances, and carried them, one after another, outside the lodge. After a while they brought them in again. This ceremony was repeated twice, the disrobed women stroked the arms of the strangers and fathers, put on their robes, and passed outside. The persons stroked were expected to follow them into the woods. This procedure resembled that of the Hidatsa in their medicine festival.[1]

575 Some time after the purchase Maximilian had occasion to observe the
535 dance of the new Half-Shaved Heads. About twenty of them entered the
● 302 Fort, threw off their robes so as to expose their gaily colored bodies, and formed a circle. They were elaborately decorated and carried the insignia of the dance, such as the otter-wrapped sticks. One man wore a bonnet with horns and ermine strips; another, mounted on horseback, was decorated with paint symbolizing the blood from wounds. Three Soldiers (= Black Mouths) served as musicians. As soon as the drum was beaten, the dancers protruded the upper part of their bodies, and leaped into the air with both feet, at the same time holding their guns ready for firing. Thus they danced in the circle for about a minute, then hallooed, rested for a while, and resumed their performance. After receiving some tobacco, they dispersed, put on their robes, and went to Ruptare, where they also danced among the Hidatsa.[2] A picture of the dance, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas is shown in Fig. 11.

Black Mouths.

575 The native name of this society is *ī'he pei'here ō'xat'e*, or *numā'k xarā'k*
625 *ō'xat'e*. Maximilian calls the members of this society "Soldiers." They form the third society in his list, but he states that all the higher classes

[1] Maximilian, II, 274–277.
[2] Maximilian II, 286–287.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

might belong to the Soldiers' class, as the police functions devolved on this 575
society. However, it was necessary that all members should agree to sell; 625
a single negative voice put a stop to the negotiations. Some individuals [432]
did not immediately consent to sell when requested in order to exact a greater amount of property from the buyers. The Prince enumerates the undertakings in which the Soldiers took an important part: changes of village sites, buffalo hunts, and other communal movements. More particularly, they took care lest anyone should prematurely startle buffalo herds. Anyone shooting a wolf or other animal at such a time was maltreated, even if he happened to be a chief, and deprived of his gun. In the 'thirties even white people living in the vicinity were subjected to the same rules. The Soldiers frequently forbade the cutting of trees near the Fort, and took away the woodcutters' axes.

Maximilian says that the Soldiers painted the upper part of the face 575
red, and the lower black. Their whistle was made of a crane wing bone. 302
Two pipes, to be smoked on special occasions, remained in the custody of 293
as many pipe-bearers. A rattle was made from a little tin kettle — apparently the baking-powder cans referred to by my own informants — provided with a handle. Among the insignia there were two long, straight poles wrapped with otterskin and decorated with dependent owl feathers. In war these poles were planted in the ground, and must not be abandoned by their bearers. A corresponding regulation applied to one other pole decorated with raven feathers in the manner described and illustrated by Maximilian in connection with a Blackfoot society.[1]

The following origin tradition was given by Wounded-face.[2] Long ago 575
Good-fur-robe assembled the middle-aged men. To the leader he gave one 293
cornstalk, and to the rear man another. "When the enemy chase you," he instructed them, "plant these in the ground and do not run away." Sometimes a cornstalk has five branches at the top. Later, a stick with a spear head was made to represent the cornstalks; owl wing-feathers were tied to its side, as well as crow or raven wing feathers and a raven head. It was wrapped with otterskin, and strips of skin were made to hang down from several points of the staff to represent leaves of the corn. There were two pipe-bearers and two rattlers, the latter taking places next to the spear-carriers, while the pipe men marched in the center. While dancing, the Black Mouths left their circle open at one side. The order in which they marched was: one spear officer, one rattler, the rank and file, the pipe-bearers, the rank and file, the second rattler, the second spear officer. The Black

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1 Maximilian, i. 576.
2 Cf. Maximilian's version, referred to on p. 300.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 Mouths were also called "Brave Men's society." They painted their faces
293 black. The Goose women used the same paint, because their society was
●[302] founded by the same man. When the time came for singing, the first rattler walked ahead and began to sing. Then the drummers took up the song. The next time the second rattler acted in the same manner. The raven-lance bearers had a special song and dance, during which they crossed each other's path.

575 One summer, when the society wished to give a performance because
726 some Sioux were coming to fight, they stuck two tipi poles into the ground, and tied raven-lances to the top. One of the Soldiers cried, "Kā! Kā! Kā!"
554 This was in imitation of crows. Then some other member went outside the
533 lodge to see which one had cried. Returning, he said, "It is not a living
535 raven, but the raven head on Skunk's lance." Skunk was a very brave man. The people said, "We will find out what this means." Then someone took the lances down, and returned them to their owners. Skunk said, "Hold on, my fellow-members, I wish to know the reason why my lance is singing." He got his associate to accompany him, and both lance officers then went through the village, singing this song: —

"kē'ka, nasarā'rōoca. mī' ō`watē'roc.
"Raven, you sing. I want to die.
"kika're e'henik, ō'ota."
"If you are afraid, go away."

The people hearing Skunk thought him braver than ever. They said to him, "This is your day, do what you wish best." The people encouraged Skunk. When the society started outdoors for a dance, Skunk took the lead, and again sang. A circle was formed. All the people came to watch the performance. Skunk once more sang his song. He danced alone, in a slanting line. These were the words of his song: —

"mīnukarité, nū'tamina'tare hū'miikāc. ī'miinahèc."
"My friends, our enemies are numerous. I am used to it" [that is, to fight].

When the time came to fight, Skunk struck many coups. This is what the singing of the raven had indicated.

575 In addition to the police functions described by Maximilian, Wounded-
626 face mentions a special duty devolving on the two pipe-bearers. When some villager wished to kill a fellow-tribesman, these officers filled up a pipe, and gave him presents in order to make him desist. Acceptance signified acquiescence in their wishes.

575 Water-chief became a Black Mouth, together with about twenty of his comrades, at thirty; generally, however, the members were older. They

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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feasted their fathers for twelve nights. My informant received a tin rattle, as his father had been one of the singers, but, having a bad voice, he gave it to another man who was a better singer. When the new members paraded about, the villagers called them by name, and said, "You Black Mouths, die soon, for you are the bravest of the societies." The members put black paint on the lower part of the face, and black stripes on the body. If a dog came near them during a parade, a Black Mouth who had shot an enemy was permitted symbolically to refer to his deed by shooting the dog. 575 [302] [201]

Bull Society.

During their dance the members of the Bull organization (mēro'k ō'xat'e) wore, according to Maximilian, the upper part of the skin of a buffalo head with the horns and the long hairs of the neck. Two men, the bravest of all and pledged never to retreat from an enemy, wore together with the horns a complete representation of a buffalo head; this mask was provided with artificial eyeslits, surrounded by iron or tin rings. One woman attendant walked about during the dance, offering to the two mask-wearers water from a bowl. This woman was clad in a fine new suit of bighorn skin, and her face was painted with vermilion. The Bulls were the only society to use wooden whistles. They had a piece of red cloth fastened to the back, as well as the representation of a buffalo tail, and carried weapons in their hands. The two mask-wearers kept on the outside of the other dancers, and imitated the voice and actions of bulls, their shy wheeling over towards one side, their manner of looking about in all directions, etc. During the performance of the Bull dance witnessed by the Prince, there were nine dancers, who discharged their guns immediately on entering the Fort. Only one of them wore the complete buffalo head, the rest wore pieces of the skin of the forehead, a pair of cloth sashes, and an appendix decorated with feathers, which represented the tail; they carried shields decorated with red cloth, and long, beautifully ornamented lances.[1] A reproduction of Bodmer's drawing of the Bull dance in Maximilian's Atlas is presented in Fig. 12. 575 292

Wounded-face had heard that long ago a Mandan, who had a buffalo front leg in place of one arm, founded the Bull society. My informant said that only a few wore the piece of buffalo head skin with horns, some others merely dressed their hair in bunches in front. Still others covered their face with a mask, formed by fastening a tanned skin painted yellow over the

[1] Maximilian, II, 315.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

buffalo skin, the hair of which, however, was exposed from the wearer's forehead down to his chin. The spears carried were not very long, and the head pointed downwards. Shields rested on the left arm. Members who had struck enemies, carried guns; if they had used arrows to kill a foe, they carried arrows. Wounds received in battle were symbolized by red body paint. While dancing in the village, the Bulls jumped around. They pointed spears and guns at anyone approaching them, and thereby frightened young people. Those who had slain enemies enacted their martial deeds. For music they used a *large* drum. 575 292 [302] [534]

Calf-woman remembered seeing six women known as "Bull women" at a Bull performance; they sat behind the men singers. A woman brought in water, but only such members as had saved a woman's life were permitted to drink of it. This informant also remembers one of the mask-wearers pretending to spear people, and frightening the children, jumping up with both legs, and stamping one foot at a time. 575

The Bull dance described by Boller was not connected with the Bull society, but formed part of the Okipe as is obvious from comparison with Maximilian's and Catlin's accounts of this ceremony.[1] 535

Dog[1] Society.

Maximilian describes the emblem of the society as a stick a foot or a foot and a half in length, which was ornamented with blue and white beads, and to which a large number of animal hoofs were attached. To the front of the stick there was tied an eagle feather, to the lower extremity a piece of beaded leather. The members wore a large cap of colored cloth, to which were attached a great number of raven, magpie, and owl feathers, and which was further decorated with colored horsehair and weasel skins. Their whistle was large, and made from the wing bone of a swan. Three of them wore in the back sashes of red cloth similar to those of the Crazy Dog society. A bunch of owl, raven, or magpie feathers — and frequently a combination of all three — was attached to the head so as to hang down in the back. The three officers referred to were regarded as Real Dogs. People would throw a piece of meat into the ashes of a fire, or on the ground, and say, "You Dog, eat!" Then they were obliged to fall foul of it and to devour it like dogs or beasts of prey. 575 292 293

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[1] Boller, 103–105; Maximilian, II, 174, 178; Catlin, I, 164 f.

[1] The native name is mini's ō'xatoc. What was said above (p. 306) as to the translation of the word *mini's* applies in this case also. The equivalence of the Hidatsa Dog society cannot be doubted, and Maximilian's rendering of the Mandan name supports this view.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 535 292 302

A dance of the "Dog society" of Ruptare village that was witnessed by Bodmer is described by Maximilian. After a performance in their lodge, the members, twenty-seven or twenty-eight in number, advanced towards the Fort. Some were clad in beautiful robes or bighorn-skin shirts, others in red cloth shirts, or blue and red uniforms. Some exposed the upper part of their body, on which coups were indicated in reddish-brown paint. In this connection the Prince speaks of *four* Real Dogs, all wearing huge bonnets of raven or magpie feathers, tipped with small white plumes, while in the center there was a fan of the tail feathers of a wild turkey or eagle. Round the neck each of these officers wore a long strip of red cloth, which extended down the back as far as the calves and was knotted in the middle of the back. Two additional officers wore similarly colossal bonnets of yellowish owl feathers, with dark oblique stripes, and one had a large, horned war-bonnet with a feathered streamer hanging down in the back. All others were ornamented with a bunch of thickly-set raven, magpie, or owl feathers, which was considered emblematic of the society. All members wore long whistles, and carried in their left arm some weapon, while the hoof rattle was held in the right hand. A circle was formed. In the center [534] there was a large drum, which was beaten by five poorly clad musicians; in addition to these men, who were seated, two drummers stood on the side, beating hand-drums. After whistling in their places in accompaniment to the rapid and violent beats of the drum, the Dogs suddenly began to dance, dropping their robes to the ground. Several of them danced in the middle of the circle, leaning their bodies forward, jumping up some distance with both feet and coming down firmly on the ground. The other Indians danced without any attention to orderly arrangement, crowding one another, turning their faces towards the circle, and occasionally joining in lowering the head and upper part of the body.[1]

575 534 292 301

Wounded-face says that the rattle (wī'o OXERŌ'RE) consisted of a stick covered with buckskin, to which the hoofs of young buffalo were attached. There were two men with sashes, which were half green and half yellow, and which were decorated with feathers. The skin cap had magpie feathers tied to it in a large bunch, and a white plume was fastened to every feather. Two eagle feathers, together with owl feathers, were also used for a head ornament. A large whistle was suspended from a wide strip of skin decorated with quillwork. The body was painted red. All the members carried the hoof-rattles, and sometimes they beat a drum or a log with them. All the Dogs were portly old men, slow in their dancing. Wounded-face thinks the society originated with the Hidatsa.

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[1] Maximilian, II, 309-311.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

M H 575 527

Then this dried meat was appropriated by the mothers. When the runners had come back, they cleansed themselves by brushing themselves with sage. Then all returned to the village. There a sweat lodge was made. After all the women had entered the sweat house, the chief singer also went in, chanted, dipped some sagebrush into water, and sprinkled all the women with it. Next the mothers prepared food, and gave it to their daughters, whereupon a general feast followed.

M H 575 302

While the two middle officers wore the duck-bill head bands, the leader and rear officer wore no distinctive badge. The members on the left side of the lodge painted their faces black between the mouth and chin, while those on the right side used blue paint. The musicians had drums, but no rattles.

M H 575 527

The object of the ceremony was to make the corn grow. The geese and the corn were supposed to be one and the same thing.

MH [561] 575 432 527

Owl-woman's social career is well-nigh unique in that she never joined any organization until she was of mature age, when she entered the Goose society. She knew of only one other Mandan woman who had not joined other societies. When the River women collectively bought the Goose society, Owl-woman went along and purchased the membership with them. A candidate had to prepare a large quantity of dried beef for her mother, and also presented her with a horse. When receiving the bundle of sage with the corn, the novice paid her adopter another horse. According to Owl-woman, anyone, man, woman, or child, might volunteer to make an offering to the geese, and would then have to prepare the requisite food for the ceremony. The society marched out in regular order towards this person's lodge, the singers going ahead of the rest. The middle officer nearer to the Leader had her face painted blue from the mouth downwards, while her mate used black paint. The members halted and danced four times on the way. In entering, the rear officer went in first. One of the musicians smoked sage for incense near the central fireplace, and all members approached in order to scent their blankets. When all had taken their places, the person who had pledged the ceremony brought in the calico, or other property, to be presented as an offering, and also paid the incense-burner and his fellow-musicians. Then the singers began to sing for the dance. They sang four sets of four songs each, with an intermission between each set. After the dance, one of the singers took a stick, impaled some of the food on it, and offered it to the four quarters, finally throwing it into the fireplace. Before the commencement of the feast, the pledger went to the singers and induced them to utter a prayer in his behalf, asking for prosperity, victory in war, and the other good things of life. He also went about to the several members, and anyone owning personal medicines gave them to

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mahdan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

M H 575 527

The charms of most of the squaws in this "Goose Band" appeared to have faded long ago: they were evidently past the bloom of youth, and their voices and tempers had not improved in consequence. However, on this occasion they endeavored to look their best with the aid of paint and finery, in which respect they are not far behind their white sisters of more civilized climes. A row of poles resting upon forked sticks is put up, over which are hung in profusion pieces of fine, fat, dry meat, which have been carefully saved for this occasion. A band of four or five drummers take their seats close to one end, and a double row of squaws next to them facing each other. Each woman carried a bunch of long seedgrass, the favorite food of the wild goose, and at intervals all get up and dance in a circle with a peculiar shuffling step, singing and keeping time to the taps of the drum.

The spectators keep at a respectful distance and enjoy the fun, which consists in the attempts of some of the young men to steal the meat from the poles, in which however they are often thwarted by the vigilance of a few wise old "geese" who are constantly on the alert to prevent theft. If successful, the meat is carried off in great glee to some lodge, where they cook and eat it at their leisure. These exquisites are elaborately gotten up with bunches of raven plumes fluttering from their scalp-locks, and stripes of white and yellow clay upon their bodies, comprise their only covering.

M H [301 302]

Finally, one of the old men (who have been thumping assiduously on the drums all the while) takes his place a few hundred yards off on the prairie, and a grand race by the whole goose band follows. All form in line together, and run around the old gander before returning to the starting point.

The race over, the scaffolds are taken down, a feast prepared, and the meat remaining on hand cooked and eaten. For the rest of the day the band danced around among the different lodges, and of course paid a visit to the fort before concluding. On these occasions a few yards of calico or some trifling gifts are always expected to be thrown to the "Medicine" by the traders.[1]

M H 241

It is probable that the Hidatsa and Mandan had several corn ceremonies distinct from one another and from the performances of the Goose society. Catlin describes a green-corn ceremony involving a dance of four men with corn stalks round a kettle with boiling green corn, followed by the ceremonial friction of new fire, but his account has been discredited by Matthews.[2]

H 241

An Hidatsa ceremony performed in honor of the mythical Old-woman-who-never-dies, for the purpose of securing abundant corn crops is described by Mr. Curtis.[3] The corn singer figures prominently in this account but nothing is said of a women's society. However, we are told that those were invited to participate whose medicines consisted of various birds supposed to be children of Old-woman-who-never-dies and therefore peculiarly appropriate to the occasion.[4] Say describes a corn dance in which women play an important part, but does not identify them with any particular society:

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[1] Boller, 147–149.
[2] Catlin, I, 188–190; Matthews, 47.
[3] Curtis, IV, 148–152.
[4] Ibid, 150.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 and turned about. The women also faced about. Then all advanced with
292 a kind of shuffling movement the right and the left foot alternately, without
535 moving from their places. The musicians, who carried drums, remained in the rear. All the women painted their faces and wore feathers in the back of the head in imitation of men. They formed a circle, and danced forward. A few women cut out strips of rawhide, decorated them with beads, and placed them on their heads as though they were horns. This is said to have been in imitation of the Cheyenne women. Some young men used to watch from the roofs of their lodges. Each member selected one of these men to dance with her. After a while his relatives brought calico and other goods for his partner in order to ransom him and absolve him from the necessity of continuing to dance with her.

575 In purchasing the society, the aunts or mothers presented dresses to
432 their nieces or daughters while they received horses in return.

White Buffalo Cow Society.

575 The White Buffalo Cow society (pti'take ō'xat'e) was the highest of the women's societies known to the Mandan and Hidatsa, the Old Women's organization (p. 338) really belonging to another category.

575 Maximilian says that the members painted one eye any color they pleased
[304] (most generally azure) and had black tattoo marks between lips and chin.
527 Their headdress consisted of a broad strip of white buffalo cowhide worn in
292 hussar-cap fashion and topped with a bunch of feathers.[1] In Maximilian's day each Mandan village had its own White Buffalo organization, and he had occasion to observe the performances of both. In the performance of the Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch society, seventeen, for the most part elderly, women and two men with rattles and drums took part; one of the men was holding a gun in his hand. The leader was an elderly woman wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. In her right arm she carried cornucopia-fashion a bundle of twigs, tipped with plumes, with an eagle wing and a tin drinking vessel secured to the grip. Another woman also carried a bundle of this type. The men wore no headdresses. Of the women, two had skunk-skin head bands, the rest wore headdresses of white buffalo skin decorated
[302] in front with owl or raven feathers, which were partly dyed red. All women had the same face paint,— vermilion on the left cheek and eye, with two blue spots on the opposite temple, close to the right eye. The leader was wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. All the others except two, who

[1] Maximilian, II, 145–146.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

wore robes with the hairy side out, wore painted women's robes. They formed a circle, the men began to sing, and the women danced, taking up the tune at the same time. They waddled like ducks from side to side, raising each foot alternately higher than the other, but not moving from their position. After a while there was an intermission, which was again followed by a dance. Only the older members had the tattoo marks between mouth and chin that were distinctive of the society. When Maximilian saw the society from Ruptare perform, there were three male musicians, who also wore white buffalo skin headdresses, and none of the women carried bundles of twigs. Otherwise the equipment was the same as in the other dance.[1]

575 527 292 [304]

An illustration of the dance of this society, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas, is shown in Fig. 16.

Boller's account, which is of considerably later date, contributes the important fact that in case of a famine the White Buffalo Cow women were expected to make buffalo herds come nearer to the village. A similar function is attributed by Catlin to *male* Buffalo dancers wearing masks of a type described in this paper in connection with the Bull society (p. 315). Catlin, however, does not connect his Buffalo dance with any organization, for though only about ten or fifteen men are said to have joined in the dance at one time, he states that every Mandan was obliged to keep a buffalo mask for possible use in the buffalo-calling ceremony on the request of the chiefs.[2] Oddly enough, both Catlin and Boller say that their respective Buffalo dancers never failed to bring in the herds for the reason that they continued their performance for weeks if necessary, until buffalo were actually sighted. The dance of the society is thus described by Boller:

575 789 535

> The different members of the White-Cow band began to assemble, and soon the regular taps of the drum notified the camp that the great and important ceremony was in full progress. At one end of the lodge sat the musicians or drummers, three in number, who were untiring in their efforts, and aided their instrumentation by singing in a monotonous chanting strain. The women, comprising some forty or fifty matrons of the village, most of whose charms had unmistakably faded, were all attired in their quaintly garnished deer-skin dresses. Each had a spot of vermilion on either cheek, and their long black hair, which was carefully combed out and dressed with marrow grease, fell full and flowing over their shoulders, confined around the forehead with a fillet of white buffalo cow-skin. One of them had a white robe (which is very scarce, and held in the highest esteem) wrapped around her. This white robe was the common property of the band, and in its great power as a "medicine" were centred their hopes of bringing in the buffalo.[3]

[302] [778]

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[1] Ibid., 283-284, 297.
[2] Catlin, I, 127-128.
[3] Boller, 218-219.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

161 Morse,* therefore, estimates the number of these people rather too high, when he states it at 1250 souls.

142 The Mandans are a vigorous, well-made race of people, rather above the middling stature, and very few of the men could be called short. The tallest man now living was Mahchsi-Karehde (the flying war eagle), who was five feet ten inches two lines, Paris measure (above six feet English). In general, however, they are not so tall as the Manitaries. Many of them are robust, broad-shouldered, and muscular, while others are slender and small limbed. Their physiognomy is, in general, the same as that of most of the Missouri Indians, but their noses are not so long and arched as those of the Sioux, nor have they such high cheek bones. The nose of the Mandans and Manitaries is not broad—sometimes aquiline, or slightly curved, and often quite straight. Their eyes are, in general, long and narrow, of a dark brown colour; the inner angle is often rather lower in childhood, but it is rarely so in maturer age. The mouth is broad, large, rather prominent, and the lower jaw broad and angular. No great difference occurs in the form of the skull: in general I did not find the facial angle smaller than in Europeans, yet there are some exceptions.† Their hair is long, thick, lank, and black, but seldom as jet and glossy as that of the Brazilians: that of children is often only dark brown, especially at the tips; and Bradbury speaks of brown hair among the Mandans. There are whole families among them, as well as among the Blackfeet, whose hair is grey, or black mixed with white, so that the whole head appears grey. The families of Sih-Chida and Mato-Chiha are instances of this peculiarity. The latter chief was particularly remarkable in this respect: his hair grew in distinct locks of brown, black, silver grey, but mostly white, and his eyebrows perfectly white, which had a strange effect in a tall otherwise handsome man, between twenty and thirty years of age. They encourage the growth of their hair, and often lengthen it by artificial means. Their teeth, like those of all the Missouri Indians, are particularly fine, strong, firm, even, and as white as ivory. It is very seldom that you see a defect or a tooth

[302]

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* See Dr. Morse's Report, p. 252. He speaks (p. 349) of the Mandans, Blackfeet, Rapid (Fall) Indians, and Assiniboins. His tables of the Indian population of the United States are in page 362.

† Say, who, in general, gives a very accurate description of the North American Indians (see Major Long's Travels), lays too much stress, as it appears to me, on the character of the receding of the forehead; for, by a comparison of a great many skulls, I have fully convinced myself of the contrary. Say affirmed, also, that the facial angle is not so small as Professor Blumenbach supposes. The Indian features, as far as my experience reaches, cannot be called either Mongol or Malay, the latter of which is more perceptible in the Brazilians, notwithstanding the manifest affinity with the North Americans. The learned traveller, Augustus de St. Hilaire, even attributes to the Brazilians a conformation of the skull, according to which those people are endowed with inferior intellectual faculties. (See Voyages dans les Districts de Diamants). The missionary, Parker, in his Travels to the Columbia River, p. 155, expresses himself, in this respect, entirely in accordance with my views; and D'Orbigny confirms them in respect to the South Americans, in the conformation of whose skulls he found considerable diversities.

301 frames are of a considerable size, divided at one end like a boot-jack, and ornamented with brass nails, ribbons, pieces of skin and feathers (see the annexed woodcut of a hand looking-glass). Some

had very ingeniously fastened this important appendage to their fan made of an eagle's wing. The Indian dandy is constantly consulting his mirror, and, if he has been travelling, especially in the high winds so prevalent here, he immediately has recourse to his looking-glass, and his disordered dress is most carefully arranged.

302 301 It is remarkable that the men are far more vain than the women, and the latter are obliged to be greatly inferior to the lords of the creation in their attire and adornments. The costume of the Mandans is rather simple: by far the greatest attention is paid to the head-dress. Their hair is parted transversely across the middle of the head, the front hair combed smoothly down, and generally divided into three flat bands, two of which hang down on the temples, and are generally plaited. To these plaits they attach the ornament already mentioned, which consists of two strips of leather or cloth closely embroidered with white or azure glass beads, and intertwined with brass wire, as represented in the portrait of Pehriska-Ruhpa (Plate XVII). If the ground of this ornament is red or blue, it is studded with white beads, and if the ground is white the beads are blue. They put this ornament in their hair and pull it over the temples; a long string is fastened to the under part, which reaches to the waist, and is adorned with alternate rows of blue beads and white dentalium shells. Between these two singularly decorated plaits there is, in the centre of the forehead, a smooth flat lock reaching to the nose, which is not ornamented, but only tied with a red ribbon. The back hair falls smoothly from the crown of the head to the waist, and is divided into many tails, an inch and a half or two inches broad, which are smeared with brownish or red clay. When the hair is not naturally long enough it is frequently lengthened with other human hair, often that of enemies whom they have killed, which is fastened on with rosin. At the back of the head they sometimes wear a long stiff ornament in the shape of a ruler, three or four fingers broad, made of small sticks entwined with wire, which is fastened to the hair, and reaches down to the shoulders. It is covered with porcupine quills, dyed of various colours, in very neat patterns. At the upper end of this ornament an eagle's feather is affixed horizontally, the quill end of which is covered with red cloth, and the tip is ornamented with a bunch of horsehair dyed yellow. The lower white half of the feather is frequently dyed red with vermilion, and the quill covered with dyed porcupine quills. Such feathers are represented in Plate XXI. Figs. 13, 14. When the Indians are not in their best dress, when they are travelling, or going to the chase, they fasten their long hair in a thick bunch.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

When, however, they are full dressed, they put a variety of feathers in their hair, frequently a semicircle of feathers of birds of prey, like radii, or sunbeams, or a bunch of the tail feathers of the raven placed in a similar manner. Sometimes they have a thick tuft of owl's feathers, or small rosettes made of broad raven's feathers, cut short, in the centre of which is the tail of a bird of prey spread out like a fan. These feather ornaments are frequently determined according to the several bands or unions, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They likewise wear the large horned feather cap; this is a cap consisting of strips of white ermine, with pieces of red cloth hanging down behind as far as the calves of the legs, to which is attached an upright row of black and white eagle's feathers, beginning at the head and reaching to the whole length. Only distinguished warriors, who have performed many exploits, may wear this head-dress (See Plate XIII., which is the best representation hitherto given of it). 302 301 [554]

If they give away one or more of these head-dresses, which they estimate very highly, they are immediately considered men of great importance; the regular price of such a cap is a good horse; for a single eagle's feather is always valued at one or two dollars. On their buffalo robes they often represent this feather cap, under the image of a sun. Very celebrated and eminent warriors, when most highly decorated, wear in their hair various pieces of wood, as signals of their wounds and heroic deeds. Thus Mato-Topé (see his portrait, Plate XIV.) had fastened transversely in his hair a wooden knife, painted red, and about the length of a hand, because he had killed a Chayenne chief with his knife; then six wooden sticks, painted red, blue, and yellow, with a brass nail at one end, indicating so many musket wounds which he had received. For an arrow wound, he fastened in his hair the wing feather of a wild turkey; at the back of his head he wore a large bunch of owl's feathers, dyed yellow, with red tips, as the badge of the Meniss-Ochata (the dog band).[1] The half of his face was painted red, and the other yellow; his body was painted reddish-brown, with narrow stripes, which were produced by taking off the colour with the tip of the finger wetted. On his arms, from the shoulder downwards, he had seventeen yellow stripes, which indicated his warlike deeds, and on his breast the figure of a hand, of a yellow colour, as a sign that he had captured some prisoners. A warrior so adorned takes more time for his toilette than the most elegant Parisian belle. The colour with which they paint their bodies is mixed with grease. When in mourning they colour the face and hands white. The women and children paint only their faces red, leaving the hair its natural colour. The Mandans and Manitaries, and all the Indians of the Upper Missouri, often wear the handsome necklace made of the claws of the grizzly bear. These claws are very large in the spring, frequently three inches long, and the points are tinged of a white colour, which is much esteemed; only the claws of the fore feet are used for necklaces, which are fastened to a strip of otter skin, lined with red cloth, and embroidered with glass beads, which hangs down the back like a long tail. Such a 554 302 301 [431] [435] [561] [565] 301 000

[1] [This is one of the age-grade societies of the men. See also Cat. 116, pp. 355-56. --Analyst]

Such a
301 necklace is seldom to be had for less than twelve dollars; and very often the owners of them will
[435] not part with them on any terms. The Mandans adorn themselves with many other kinds of necklaces, such as strings of glass beads, scented roots, or fungi, elks' teeth, for 100 or 150 of
291 which they will, in exchange, give a horse, or something equivalent. These Indians generally
302 wear no covering on the upper part of the body; the leather shirt of the Assiniboins, Sioux,
301 Crows, Blackfeet, and other nations that live more to the north and north-west, are seldom used among them; yet a few individuals have obtained them from those Indians, either as presents, or by barter. Even in the midst of winter, the Mandans wear nothing on the upper part of the body, under their buffalo robe. They paint their bodies of a reddish-brown colour, on some occasions with white clay; and frequently draw red or black figures on their arms. The face is, for the most part, painted all over with vermilion, or yellow, in which latter case the circumference of the eyes and the chin are red. There are, however, no set rules for painting, and it depends on the taste of the Indian dandy; yet, still, a general similarity is observed. The bands, in their dances, and also after battles, and when they have performed some exploit, follow the established rule. In ordinary festivals, and dances, and whenever they wish to look particularly fine, the young men paint themselves in every variety of way, and each endeavours to find out some new mode. Should he find another dandy painted just like himself, he immediately retires
[554] and makes a change in the pattern, which may happen three or four times during the festival. If they have performed an exploit, the entire face is painted jet black. Sometimes, though seldom, the Mandans adorn the wrist and upper arm with polished steel bracelets, which they obtain from the merchants; often they wear many brass rings on their fingers, and are, on the whole, excessively fond of ornaments and finery. The chief article of their dress is the ample buffalo robe, called mahita, or mih-aha, which is often very elaborate and valuable. In dry weather these buffalo robes are worn with the hair inwards, and in rainy weather with the hairy side outwards. They are tanned on the fleshy side, and painted either white or reddish-brown, and ornamented with a transverse band of blue or white glass beads, and three large rosettes of the same beads, often of very tasteful patterns, at regular intervals. The centre is frequently red, surrounded with sky blue, embroidered with white figures, or sometimes the reverse. The transverse band is worked with variously dyed porcupine quills, and is then narrower. This, however, is now old-fashioned, and was worn before the coloured glass beads were obtained in such numbers
532 from the Whites. Other robes are painted with a reddish-brown ground, and black figures, especially of animals; others have a white ground, with representations of their heroic deeds in black, or in gay colours, with the wounds they received, the loss of blood, the killed, the prisoners, the arms they have taken, the horses stolen (the number of which is indicated by the number of horse-shoes), in black, red, green, or yellow figures, executed in their yet rude style of painting. The

291 garment, with open sleeves, and a girdle round the waist; the hem of this dress is often scolloped and fringed; they ornament the wrists with iron rings, and tie strings of glass beads round their necks, and sometimes in their ears. Their leggins, called, by the Canadians, mitasse, are short, reaching only from the ankle to the knee. Their shoes are simple, and without any ornament.

301 Tattooing is in use among these people, but by no means general. Most commonly only the left half of the breast and the corresponding arm are marked with black parallel stripes, and a few other figures. The lower arm and some of the fingers are occasionally marked; the men do not tattoo their faces, and they are far inferior in this art to the New Zealanders and other nations of the South Seas. Among the women such designs are sometimes seen, but not [56 I] frequently, and they are chiefly among the women's band of the white buffalo cow.[1] The point of the needle is dyed a dark blue with the bark of the willow soaked in water.

302 171 In Major Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains it is stated that the Crows rub their bodies with castoreum, on account of its pleasant scent. I must observe, however, that the custom is not confined to one nation, but is practised by the Mandans, Manitaries, Crows, and Blackfeet, and most of the other tribes of the Upper Missouri. They mix the castoreum with a red colour, and with it rub their face and frequently their hair.

361 712 Having obtained a clear idea of the outward appearance of these Indians, we will next consider their habitations, villages, and domestic life. Their villages are assemblages of clay huts, of greater or less extent, placed close to each other, without regard to order. Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, the largest of the Mandan villages, was about 150 or 200 paces in diameter, the second was much smaller. The circumference forms an irregular circle, and was anciently surrounded with strong posts, or palisades, which have, however, gradually disappeared as the natives used them for fuel in the cold winters. At four places, at nearly equal distances from each other, is a bastion built of clay, furnished with loop-holes, and lined both within and without with basket-work of willow branches. They form an angle, and are open towards the village; the earth is filled in between the basket-work; and it is said that these bulwarks, which are now in a

1 [This is one of the women's age-grade societies.--Analyst.]

142 account for it. Their traditions, so far as I have yet learned them, afford us no information of their having had any knowledge of white men before the visit of Lewis and Clarke, made to their village thirty-three years ago Since that time there have been but very few visits from white men to this place, and surely not enough to have changed the complexions and the customs of a nation. And I recollett perfectly well that Governor Clarke told me, before I started for this place, that I would find the Mandans a strange people and half white.

The diversity in the colour of hair is also equally as great as that in the complexion; for in a numerous group of these people (and more particularly amongst the females, who never take pains to change its natural colour, as the men often do), there may be seen every shade and colour of hair that can be seen in our own country, with the exception of red or auburn, which is not to be found.

And there is yet one more strange and unaccountable peculiarity, which can probably be seen nowhere else on earth; nor on any rational grounds accounted for,—other than it is a freak or order of Nature, for which she has not seen fit to assign a reason. There are very many, of both sexes, and of every age, from infancy to manhood and old age, with hair of a bright silvery grey; and in some instances almost perfectly white.

This singular and eccentric appearance is much oftener seen among the women than it is with the men; for many of the latter who have it, seem [302] ashamed of it, and artfully conceal it, by filling their hair with glue and black and red earth. The women, on the other hand, seem proud of it, and display it often in an almost incredible profusion, which spreads over their shoulders and falls as low as the knee. I have ascertained, on a careful enquiry, that about one in ten or twelve of the whole tribe are what the French call "cheveux gris," or greyhairs; and that this strange and unaccountable phenomenon is not the result of disease or habit; but that it is unquestionably a hereditary character which runs in families, and indicates no inequality in disposition or intellect. And by passing this hair through my hands, as I often have, I have found it uniformly to be as coarse and harsh as a horse's mane; differing materially from the hair of other colours, which amongst the Mandans, is generally as fine and as soft as silk.

The reader will at once see, by the above facts, that there is enough upon the faces and heads of these people to stamp them peculiar,—when he meets them in the heart of this almost boundless wilderness, presenting such diversities of colour in the complexion and hair; when he knows from what he has seen, and what he has read, that all other primitive tribes known in America, are dark copper-coloured, with jet black hair.

ccc From these few facts alone, the reader will see that I am amongst a strange and interesting people, and know how to pardon me, if I lead him through a maze of novelty and mysteries to the knowledge of a strange, yet kind and hospitable, people, whose fate, like that of all their race is sealed;—

000 whose doom is fixed, to live just long enough to be imperfectly known, and then to fall before the fell disease or sword of civilizing devastation.

141 The stature of the Mandans is rather below the ordinary size of man, with beautiful symmetry of form and proportion, and wonderful suppleness and elasticity; they are pleasingly erect and graceful, both in their walk and their attitudes; and the hair of the men, which generally spreads over their backs, 302 falling down to the hams, and sometimes to the ground, is divided into plaits or slabs of two inches in width, and filled with a profusion of glue and red earth or vermillion, at intervals of an inch or two, which becoming very hard, remains in and unchanged from year to year.

This mode of dressing the hair is curious, and gives to the Mandans the most singular appearance. The hair of the men is uniformly all laid over from the forehead backwards; carefully kept above and resting on the ear, and thence falling down over the back, in these flattened bunches, and painted red, extending oftentimes quite on to the calf of the leg, and sometimes in such profusion as almost to conceal the whole figure from the person walking behind them. In the portrait of San-ja-ka-ko-kah (the deceiving wolf, PLATE 54), where he is represented at full length, with several others of his family around him in a group, there will be seen a fair illustration of these and other customs of these people.

The hair of the women is also worn as long as they can possibly cultivate it, oiled very often, which preserves on it a beautiful gloss and shows its natural colour. They often braid it in two large plaits, one falling down just back of the ear, on each side of the head; and on any occasion which requires them to "put on their best looks," they pass their fingers through it, drawing it out of braid, and spreading it over their shoulders. The Mandan women observe strictly the same custom, which I observed amongst the Crows and Blackfeet (and, in fact, all other tribes I have seen, without a single exception), of parting the hair on the forehead, and always keeping the crease or separation filled with vermilion or other red paint. This is one of the very few little (and apparently trivial) customs which I have found amongst the Indians, without being able to assign any cause for it, other than that "they are Indians," and that this is an Indian fashion.

302 765 In mourning, like the Crows and most other tribes, the women are obliged to crop their hair all off; and the usual term of that condolence is until the hair has grown again to its former length

When a man mourns for the death of a near relation the case is quite different; his long, valued tresses, are of much greater importance, and only a lock or two can be spared. Just enough to tell of his grief to his friends, without destroying his most valued ornament, is doing just reverence and respect to the dead.

000 To repeat what I have said before, the Mandans are a pleasing and friendly race of people, of whom it is proverbial amongst the Traders and all who ever have known them that their treatment of white men in their

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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292 of ermine skins and tails, which hang over the top of the head-dress, somewhat in the form that the large and profuse locks of hair hang and fall over the head of a buffalo bull. See head-dress in PLATES 14, 64, and 91, of three different tribes.

600 The same custom I have found observed amongst the Sioux,—the Crows—the Blackfeet and Assinneboins, and it is one of so striking a character as needs a few more words of observation. There is a peculiar meaning or importance (in their estimation) to this and many other curious and unaccountable appearances in the habits of Indians, upon which the world generally look as things that are absurd and ridiculous, merely because they are beyond the world's comprehension, or because we do not stop to enquire or learn their uses or meaning.

I find that the principal cause why we underrate and despise the savage, is generally because we do not understand him; and the reason why we are ignorant of him and his modes, is that we do not stop to investigate—the world have been too much in the habit of looking upon him as altogether inferior—as a beast, a brute; and unworthy of more than a passing notice. If they stop long enough to form an acquaintance, it is but to take advantage of his ignorance and credulities—to rob him of the wealth and resources of his country;—to make him drunk with whiskey, and visit him with abuses which in his ignorance he never thought of. By this method his first visitors entirely overlook and never understand the meaning of his thousand interesting and characteristic customs; and at the same time, by changing his native modes and habits of life, blot them out from the view of the enquiring world for ever.

It is from the observance of a thousand little and apparently trivial modes and tricks of Indian life, that the Indian character must be learned; and, in fact, it is just the same with us if the subject were reversed: excepting that the system of civilized life would furnish ten apparently useless and ridiculous trifles to one which is found in Indian life; and at least twenty to one which are purely nonsensical and unmeaning.

The civilized world look upon a group of Indians, in their classic dress, with their few and simple oddities, all of which have their moral or meaning, and laugh at them excessively, because they are not like ourselves—we ask, "why do the silly creatures wear such great bunches of quills on their heads?—Such loads and streaks of paint upon their bodies—and bear's grease? abominable!" and a thousand other equally silly questions, without ever stopping to think that Nature taught them to do so—and that they all have some definite importance or meaning which an
292 Indian could explain to us at once, if he were asked and felt disposed to do so—that each quill in his head stood, in the eyes of his whole tribe, as the symbol of an enemy who had fallen by his hand—that every streak of red
● 302 paint covered a wound which he had got in honourable combat—and that the bear's grease with which he carefully anoints his body every morning, from

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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head to foot, cleanses and purifies the body, and protects his skin from the bite of musquitoes, and at the same time preserves him from colds and coughs which are usually taken through the pores of the skin. 302

At the same time, an Indian looks among the civilized world, no doubt, with equal, if not much greater, astonishment, at our apparently, as well as *really*, ridiculous customs and fashions; but he laughs not, nor ridicules, nor questions,—for his natural good sense and good manners forbid him,—until he is reclining about the fire-side of his wigwam companions, when he vents forth his just criticisms upon the learned world, who are a rich and just theme for Indian criticism and Indian gossip. 000

An Indian will not ask a white man the reason why he does not oil his skin with bears' grease, or why he does not paint his body—or why he wears a hat on his head, or why he has buttons on the back part of his coat, where they never can be used—or why he wears whiskers, and a shirt collar up to his eyes—or why he sleeps with his head towards the fire instead of his feet—why he walks with his toes out instead of turning them in—or why it is that hundreds of white folks will flock and crowd round a table to see an Indian eat—but he will go home to his wigwam fire-side, and "make the welkin ring" with jokes and fun upon the ignorance and folly of the knowing world.

A wild Indian thrown into the civilized atmosphere will see a man occasionally moving in society, wearing a cocked hat; and another with a laced coat and gold or silver epaulettes upon his shoulders, without knowing or enquiring the meaning of them, or the objects for which they are worn. Just so a white man travels amongst a wild and untaught tribe of Indians, and sees occasionally one of them parading about their village, with a head-dress of eagles' quills and ermine, and elevated above it a pair of beautifully polished buffalo horns; and just as ignorant is he also, of their meaning or importance; and more so, for the first will admit the presumption that epaulettes and cocked hats amongst the civilized world, are made for some important purpose,—but the latter will presume that horns on an Indian's head are nothing more nor less (nor can they be in their estimation), than Indian nonsense and stupidity.

This brings us to the "corned crest" again, and if the poor Indian scans epaulettes and cocked hats, without enquiring their meaning, and explaining them to his tribe, it is no reason why I should have associated with the noble dignitaries of these western regions, with horns and ermine on their heads, and then to have introduced the subject without giving some further clue to their importance and meaning. For me, this negligence would be doubly unpardonable, as I travel, not to *trade* but to *herald* the Indian and his dying customs to posterity. 292

This custom then, which I have before observed belongs to all the north-western tribes, is one no doubt of very ancient origin, having a purely classic meaning. No one wears the head-dress surmounted with horns ex- [171]

142 a dark brown, some few indeed I observed whose hair was almost fair. A Big Belly, in particular, I saw with yellow hair. This circumstance, I believe, could scarcely proceed from any connection with the whites, as it is now more than thirty years since they first saw us, and this man was at least forty years old. Their eyes are jet black, some few are of a dark grey.

LONG HAIR.

●302 The men wear their hair long, twisted into small quaittes hanging down to the rump. Some have it of enormous length, trailing upon the ground. They seldom tie it, but allow their numerous small quaittes to flow in a more graceful manner upon their backs; they always daub it with white and red earth. The women wear their hair short, allowing it to grow no longer than to be of sufficient length to cover the ears and neck. They never tie it, nor make use of any ornament for the head further than sometimes daubing it with red earth.

LASCIVIOUSNESS.

837 609 578 They seem to be a very lascivious people. The men make not the least scruple in offering their wives to lay with strangers, without any solicitation, and are even offended, if their offers are not accepted, unless you can convince them, by some good reason, for refusing to comply, and that it is not out of contempt. They always expect payment for their complaisance, but a mere trifle will satisfy, even a single coat-button. Notwithstanding this courteous behavior to strangers, they are not entirely free from jealousies among themselves, which sometimes cause quarrels and bloodshed. The woman generally falls a sacrifice in an affair of this nature.[1]

MODE OF ROASTING MEAT.

252 They have a very peculiar way of roasting meat; a plecotte, in particular, is suspended from the roof of the hut exactly over the fire, the cord being passed through and fastened to the centre of the piece keeps it in a flat position directly over the flames. A person is seated near it, and with a small stick keeps it continually in motion by pushing it to and fro. When one side is done, it is turned over, and fit for use. This method is much more expeditious than the common way of roasting before the fire, and preferable, as it retains the natural juice and flavor.[2]

EDWARD D. NEILL.

1 [See category 116, p. 342-3. -A.]

2 [For further information in Henry's Journal not mentioned by Neill, see category 116, pp. 343 ff. -Analyst.]

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

101 they apply to themselves, and draws from this the inference that "they must have resided on the banks of the Missouri in a very remote period." According to Morgan (Syst. Consang. and Affin., 285), the native name of the tribe is Metootahak, "South Villagers." Their relations so far as known historically and traditionally have been most intimate with the Hidatsa; yet, judged by the linguistic test, their position must be nearer the Winnebago. Matthews appears to consider the Hidatsa and Mandan descendants from the same immediate stem. Their traditions regarding their early history are scant and almost entirely mythological. All that can be gathered from them is the indication that at some time they lived in a more easterly locality in the vicinity of a lake. This tradition, often repeated by subsequent authors, is given by Lewis and Clarke.

These references to the east and south in the Mandan traditions are encountered by those who have been among them, and they are to be found in narratives based upon the authorities or upon the personal experiences of visitors, who are quoted by some who have heard the accounts from them; and it will be seen in what follows from "Indian Sign Language," by W. P. Clark (Phila., L. R. Hamersly & Co., 1885) that according to one of his authorities the reference to "people of the east" is interpreted to mean "the position they first occupied in the village." This is in keeping with a similar reference to one of the Dakota tribes—the Ihanktonwans, or Yanktons, meaning "village at the end," and of the Ihanktonwannas, or Yanktonais, meaning the "end village." All of which tends to indicate that not the American continent, but mere location in a group of Indian villages, may account for some legend-phrases supposed by many to prove a habitat in some remote part of North America. It will be seen also that Clark brings in some evidences of habitation of the Mandans to northward of the upper Missouri. We quote his summary on the Mandans, to-wit:

•304 **Tribal Sign—Tattooing.** Mandan. Conception: Tattooing chin and lower sides of the face. These Indians are usually indicated by the same sign as that made for the Arickarees; but the proper tribal sign is to partially compress the right hand, bring tip of thumb near tips of fingers and tap the chin and lower part of the face several times with tips of the thumb and fingers. "I was told by Mr. Girard that tattooing was practiced when he

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first came among these people in 1849. The women had a line on the chin and a small spot on the forehead tattooed by the medicine man, whom they paid roundly for the work. The chiefs only, of the men, were tattooed, and on one side, or one-half of the breast, or one arm and breast. This was part of the ceremony when they were elected or made chiefs. They call themselves by a word which signifies 'people of the east,' but claim that this refers only to the position they first occupied in the village." 304

Migrations—From North? "Tradition among these Indians gives no definite account of their migrations other than the movements of their villages on the Missouri river; not, of course, considering the myth of their subterranean origin at Devil's Lake, Dakota. The Cheyennes, who are clearer in their traditions than most tribes, claim that the Mandans came from the north. Mr. Donald Gunn, in his 'History of Manitoba,' says: 'The Crees who visited the trading posts on the shores of Hudson's Bay, and the Assiniboines, who traded in 1678 with Duluth at the west end of Lake Superior, were about the same time put in possession of firearms, and within a few years thereafter they seemed as if by mutual consent to have made a simultaneous movement, the former pressing on to the southwest, the latter pursuing their course to the northwest, until they met in the region west of Lake Winnipeg, and on the plains of Red and Assiniboine rivers. Indian tradition informs us that during the first half of the last century the Mandans occupied the country to the southwest of Lake Winnipeg, and that they had been forced by the united efforts of their invaders to leave their hunting grounds and retire to the upper Missouri. How long it took these tribes to drive out those whom they found in possession of the country, and what wars they carried on to accomplish that object, are lost in the mist of years. However, we have had the evidence of a living witness to the fact that the Crees and the Assiniboines lived on the plains southwest of Lake Winnipeg for some years previous to the year 1780, and that they made a preconcerted attack that year on the trading posts on the Assiniboine." 173

"I am inclined to think that this statement is in the main correct, but believe that the Mandans were driven out of this part of the country (adjacent to Lake Winnipeg) at an earlier date, for we find them located on the Missouri in 1772, with evidences of their having been there for many years." (P. 239.)

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342 are made like tombs, surrounded by skins. These men are always
513 naked, covered only with a buffalo robe. * * * * Their fort
251 is full of caves, in which are stored such articles as grain, food,
436 fat, dressed robes and bear skins. They are well supplied with
these; it is the money of the country. The more they have of it
●304 the richer they believe themselves to be. They are fond of tattooing, but never more than half of the body is tattoed, both of
285 men and women. They make wicker work very neatly, flat and in baskets.

Pottery. "They make use of earthen pots, which they use like
323 many other nations for cooking their food. They are for the most
part great eaters; are eager for feasts. They brought me every
261 day more than twenty dishes of wheat, beans and pumpkins, all cooked. Mr. de la Marque, who did not hate feasts, went to them continually with my children. As I did not go to them my share
141 was sent to me. The men are stout and tall, generally very active, fairly good looking, with a good physiognomy. The women have not the Indian physiognomy. The men indulge in a sort of ball
526 play on the squares and ramparts.

000 "On the evening of the 4th the Sieur Nolant and my son arrived, well satisfied with their journey, having been well received and strongly urged to remain longer. The fort is on the bank of the river, as large again as this; the squares and streets are very fine and clean; their palisade is in the best order and strength; the whole built in the same fashion as the one in which we were. From what they could hear all their forts are alike; who saw one saw all, with this difference, that some were much larger than others. The nearest to the Pananas that the river appeared to go was, according to the compass, southwest by south, by signs given to them; the lower part may go to the sea to the southwest by west. They were often amused by broken talk; not being able to answer questions put to them, they answered something else, for want of understanding. The waters of their rivers come down with great rapidity, having many shoals. The water is not good for drinking, being brakish. We have constantly found from the last mountain almost all the marshes and ponds brakish or sulphurous. What they could understand was that on the lower part of the river there were men like us, who made cloth and linen, were very numerous and had wars with a large part of the Indians. We saw that it was useless to question them, as they

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000 with us; the rest of the Indians following on shore. At one mile beyond the camp we passed a small creek, and at three[4] more a bluff of coal of an inferior quality on the south. After making eleven miles we reached an old field where the Mandans had cultivated grain last summer, and encamped for the night on the south side, about half a mile below the first village of the Mandans. In the morning, we had a willow low ground on the south and highland on the north, which occasionally varied in the course of the day. There is but little wood on this part of the river, which is here subdivided into many channels and obstructed by sandbars. As soon as we arrived a crowd of men, women and children came down to see us.

304 765 **First Meeting of the Mandans.** "Captain Lewis returned with the principal chiefs to the village, while the others remained with us during the evening; the object which seemed to surprise them most was a corn-mill fixed to the boat which we had occasion to use, and delighted them by the ease which it reduced the grain to powder. Among others who visited us was the son of the grand chief of the Mandans, who had his two little fingers cut off at the second joints. On inquiring into this accident, we found that it was customary to express grief for the death of relations by some corporal suffering, and that the usual mode was to lose two joints of the little fingers, or sometimes the other fingers. The wind blew very cold in the evening from the southwest. Two of the party were afflicted with rheumatic complaints." (id 159)

576 **The Interpreter.** "Saturday, October 27th. At an early hour we proceeded and anchored off the village. Captain Clarke went on shore, and after smoking a pipe with the chiefs, was desired to remain and eat with them. He declined on account of his being unwell; but his refusal gave great offense to the Indians, who considered it disrespectful not to eat when invited, till the cause was 000 explained to their satisfaction. We sent them some tobacco, and then proceeded to the second village, on the north passing by a bank containing coal, and a second village, and encamped at four miles on the north, opposite to a village of Ahnahaways. We here met with a Frenchman, named Jesseaume, who lived among the Indians with his wife and children, and whom we take as an interpreter. The Indians had flocked to the bank to see us as we passed, and they visited in great numbers the camp, where some

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

785 ployed by the Hidatsa in the NaxpikE ceremony, the Sun
171 Dance equivalent of that tribe, as was the case with the Mandans in their Okipa ceremony, where the one tortured was suspended until he became unconscious. This practice was modified in later years to conform with the Hidatsa custom.

785 The custom of cutting off fingers in mourning was universally practiced by the women but rarely by the men. The sacrifice
562 of fingers as a means of self-torture was practiced by men and
304 in only a few instances by women who, upon the death of a rel-
765 ative through warfare, sought by self-torture to revenge the relative's slaying at a time when her brothers contemplated a retaliatory raid on the enemy's camp during which time she would be fasting. Those seeking visions used a buffalo skull to cut the fingers on when a vision was sought.

787 Four Bears' fasting record at the base of a large oak tree in which a raven had its young, to learn the name of the Arikara
785 who had killed his brother, is still related as an example of the power which the supernatural had to clarify past deeds and bring success to the one adopted.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF FOUR BEARS[1]

787 A Mandan named Four Bears sent his younger brother out with the horses to a spot farther from the village where there was more grass. The Arikara
785 came and killed the boy. The men found him with a spear stuck through his body, which was a challenge to Four Bears to come and fight if he thought he
539 was lucky. Four Bears went out and brought the boy back to the village and saved the spear. He had already fasted in the Okipa and had many gods, but he began fasting again. He would fast and cry for seven days and nights without food and then come back to the village to rest. Then he would go out fasting again. He fasted near a high tree in which the ravens had a nest. He cut the flesh on his chest and inserted sticks with which he hung from the tree until he fell exhausted. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. One time he cut off a finger and offered it to the People Above and the raven that had its nest there.

The bird said, "It is an easy thing. You will find the man who killed your brother." The raven promised him that he could also bring rain. The bird added, "The one who killed your brother is named Bear Necklace, and he is the one you should kill."

In those days the dogs had names, so a clan father of Four Bears brought a dog to Four Bears to name, and he gave it the name Bear Necklace even before he killed the man. When Four Bears killed the Arikara without losing a man, and everything happened just as he had said the raven had predicted, he was highly respected.

1. This incident is mentioned in George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 238–41.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

When he returned to the village, people of his father's clan took away his gun, bow and arrows, and knife. He was required to pay in robes to get them back. The more one paid on these occasions, the higher he was regarded. 787 785 539

Scattercorn used the story of Big Coat to illustrate the severity of self-torture:

When Big Coat was eight years old, the Nuptadi Village was destroyed by the Sioux, and he was taken prisoner. When he was older, he escaped with his mother and came back to the Mandan. Thinking of the treatment of his people, he vowed that he would get a guardian spirit that was real strong so that he could kill many Sioux. He first went out to fast when he was seventeen years old. At first he only fasted four days at a time, and many animals offered him help. Then he began to fast seven days to get still greater gods. All the people began to recognize his ambitions and say that he would surely be lucky and become a great leader who would do much good some day. He began to cut off his fingers and offer them to the Sun, Moon, and big birds of the sky. He cut off three fingers of each hand, leaving only the thumb and middle finger of each hand which he needed to use the bow and arrow. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. He even cut off his flesh and offered it to the Holy Women.[2] Before he stopped fasting, he had nearly everything as a guardian. He was always successful when leading war parties. [304]

Offerings of fingers and flesh were made chiefly to the Sun, but included the other characters represented in the Sun bundles, which were the Moon, Old Woman Above, Woman Above (sister of the Sun), and the Holy Women. Sun was a cannibal and was believed to eat the human flesh offered to him. 785 304

Fasting and self-torture were practiced when on eagle-trapping expeditions.[3] The leader expected the younger men to volunteer. Dragging buffalo skulls by means of thongs through the skin of the back or suspension from trees or banks were the usual methods employed. Others drew wood to camp by means of these thongs. Fasting was not employed regularly at these camps except for short periods, since, to be successful, more time was consumed than in self-torture. When trapping was poor, many advanced middle-aged men would fast and cry to bring success. Self-torture was employed regularly when on war expeditions, but fasting was not practiced, since there was not time for the party to wait several days in one spot. Generally they were hung over a bank or from a tree. The thongs were inserted by one of the father's clan. 785

Dragging of buffalo skulls was done when in the summer vil-

2. These were his father's gods.
3. See chap. vii below.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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382 hung down to the shoulders. It was covered with quill work in different colors. On its top was placed horizontally an eagle [171] feather the base of which was covered with red cloth. The usual Siouan head-dresses were also worn. In every day life, however, Maximilian says the hair was knotted up in a ● 304 tuft. The Mandan men tattooed, but never on more than one half of the body. Usually the right breast and upper arm was tattooed with black parallel lines, accompanied by a few other figures. Occasionally the fore-arm and some of the fingers were tattooed. Occasionally also the women tattooed, but to only a small extent. Ermine was used in nearly all of their finest dresses, and tails of other animals as well as different sorts of bird feathers had especial signification in ceremonial or war [171] costumes. Altogether, as Catlin says, the dress of the Blackfeet, Sioux, and Mandans was practically alike. The great noticeable difference seems to be that the Mandans had much less regard for clothing than did most of their neighbors, they had a tendency toward simple apparel, and the buffalo robe was their original and only absolutely necessary garment.

411 WEAPONS:— The arms of the Mandans as well as their other culture features were much like those of their neighbors. They used the customary things — bows and arrows, lances, shields, knives, and tomahawks, and had in addition a peculiar weapon of their own called a bow-lance. The knives and arrow points were at first of stone as were the axes and tomahawks, but stone implements soon fell into disuse when steel ones were obtained. The Mandan bows were usually of elm or ash wood, [321] and rather short, with cords of twisted sinews. Occasionally, however, a bow of bone or horn was seen. Catlin describes such a one. It was short and had a sinew backing, while the cord was made of three twisted sinews. With the bow was usually a quiver of mountain lion, wild-cat, or wolf skin, the whole hide being used. The arrows of the Mandans were much better made than those of their neighbors. They were feathered with hawk and eagle feathers which were attached in a short spiral, a red line wound round the arrow in a spiral from barb to base. There were hunting points and war points: the for-

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The sixth group was that of the "Black-tail Deer" and 561
consisted of men over fifty years of age. There were two women in this band who served food and distributed fresh water during the dances. The men wore a crown of bears' claws.

There were a few other dances which were bought and sold, 561
but which hardly deserve a place in the regular system. One 424
of these was the dance of the "Half Shaven Head Band" which 535
the lowest band could buy before reaching the proper age to buy into the "Soldier Band." Another was the "Old Dog Dance." The "Dog Band" could buy this of the "Buffalo Band" before becoming Buffalos themselves or being able to. The "Hot Dance" was danced at Rouhptare by the youngest band, and also at the Hidatsa village where it was purchased from the Arikara. The dancers danced barefoot over live coals and plunged their hands into boiling water.

The women, too, were divided into bands. There were four 561
of these of which the first was "The Band of the Gun" which consisted of the younger girls. Next was the "River Band." The third band was the "Hay Women" who sang only the scalp dance. The fourth and last band was that of the "Women of the White Cow," most of them were old, and they were all tattooed with black lines from the mouth to the base of the [304] ●
chin.

The marriage customs of the Mandan Indians differed little 595
from those of their neighbors. Polygamy was common, although a large part of the men had but one wife. Descent was 611
probably along the male line, though there may have been remains of an older custom of descent along the female line, for all the horses captured by a young man belonged to his sister. The women worked hard and were sometimes badly treated 562
though not as a general rule. Lewis and Clarke says that infi- 684
delity was punishable by death. Maximilian says it was punishable by cutting off the woman's nose. When a man's wife was stolen he had a right to demand a horse from the abductor. Separations occurred among them quite frequently. Virtue [586]
among the women was held in high esteem but was rather 831
scarce. There are accounts of a celebration where prizes were 171
given to the virtuous maids — these celebrations also took place

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which were pushed in as they burnt. This was done because the First Man told them they must never have a big fire after the day's cooking was done and showed them how it should be built. It recalls the sacred fire of the Muskogi and other tribes of the lower Mississippi. They declared that many of the every day customs were taught them thus and consequently they always did them a certain way,—thus Ochkih-Hedde taught them to tattoo themselves, and their first chief taught them to kill buffalo and to make shields. 372 [773]

The Mandans practiced penances and sacrifices, especially self-torture which they carried to great extremes. Their medicine or personal guardian spirit was acquired by three or four days fasting and self injury, after which the medicine, often an animal, appeared to the candidate in a dream. This ceremony was also taught to them by Ochkih-Hedde. No expedition or enterprise was undertaken without a liberal sacrifice to some supernatural being, either by offering valuable goods or by physical self-torture. Finger joints were frequently cut off as an offering to the gods and fasting was common as a propitiation. Often a day or more would be spent near one of the medicine scaffolds in groaning, praying and weeping. Lewis and Clarke relate that finger joints were also cut off as a sign of mourning, which Maximilian denies, and Catlin tells how such a sacrifice was a part of the catalogue of tortures in the great Okeepa dance. The custom of consecrating personal property is found here as among the neighboring tribes. A man could make his gun, his horse, his pipe and other similar articles medicine by going through certain ceremonies, most important of which was the giving of a feast. The feast[1] was announced by a public crier, a certain number of guests were invited, the invitations being originally little rods and later playing cards. The drum and rattle made the round of the company. Then the article was consecrated; if a gun, it was rubbed with meal several times, with soup, and lastly with fat, after which the feast took place. 782 304 776 785 [765] 782 574

There were many shrines and sacred articles among the Mandans, but judging from the accounts, the sacred bundles or 778

[1] Maximilian: p. 463.

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764 face towards his old Village Down the river, that he might go Streight to his brother at their old village under ground." When a warrior was killed in battle he was never buried. If the body could not be carried back to the village, it was left as it lay.[1] In such a case the family would roll up a buffalo skin and carry it out, placing it on the scaffold where it was treated just as if it held the body of the dead man.

Catlin says that when the rods supporting the body broke and the body fell, the family interred all of the bones except the skull. Such skulls were placed eight or nine feet apart, in circles; one hundred or more in a circle; in the center of each circle was a small mound about three feet high. On this mound were two buffalo skulls, a male and a female, and in the center was a medicine pole twenty feet high supporting many medicine articles. Each skull was on a bunch of wild sage.

764 304 The Mandan period of mourning was one year, during which they dressed poorly and kept the hair cut short. Immediately upon the death, the relatives cut their hair, rubbed their bodies with white and gray clay, and gashed their arms and legs with a knife or a stone so that they were covered with blood. In the first few days groans and weeping were continuous. According to Maximilian there was a very solemn ceremony concluding the burial, which he called covering the body. This act might be done either by a relative or an outsider. The person who intended to cover the body came with one or two cloth coverings, red, blue, white or green. He mounted the scaffold as soon as the body was placed upon it and covered the remains with his covering. He then received a present of a horse from the immediate relatives. When it was learned that someone intended to cover the dead, a horse was at once tied to the scaffold and as soon as the body had been covered the horse was untied and led away by the man who had performed that office.[2] Gifts of value were hung all about the scaffold and these gifts were presented to those who had assisted in preparing and placing the body upon it.

[1] Maximilian: p. 472.

[2] Ibid., p. 481.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 and turned about. The women also faced about. Then all advanced with
292 a kind of shuffling movement the right and the left foot alternately, without
535 moving from their places. The musicians, who carried drums, remained in the rear. All the women painted their faces and wore feathers in the back of the head in imitation of men. They formed a circle, and danced forward. A few women cut out strips of rawhide, decorated them with beads, and placed them on their heads as though they were horns. This is said to have been in imitation of the Cheyenne women. Some young men used to watch from the roofs of their lodges. Each member selected one of these men to dance with her. After a while his relatives brought calico and other goods for his partner in order to ransom him and absolve him from the necessity of continuing to dance with her.

575 In purchasing the society, the aunts or mothers presented dresses to
432 their nieces or daughters while they received horses in return.

White Buffalo Cow Society.

575 The White Buffalo Cow society (ptī'take ō'xat'e) was the highest of the women's societies known to the Mandan and Hidatsa, the Old Women's organization (p. 338) really belonging to another category.

575 Maximilian says that the members painted one eye any color they pleased
[304] (most generally azure) and had black tattoo marks between lips and chin.
527 Their headdress consisted of a broad strip of white buffalo cowhide worn in
292 hussar-cap fashion and topped with a bunch of feathers.[1] In Maximilian's day each Mandan village had its own White Buffalo organization, and he had occasion to observe the performances of both. In the performance of the Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch society, seventeen, for the most part elderly, women and two men with rattles and drums took part; one of the men was holding a gun in his hand. The leader was an elderly woman wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. In her right arm she carried cornucopia-fashion a bundle of twigs, tipped with plumes, with an eagle wing and a tin drinking vessel secured to the grip. Another woman also carried a bundle of this type. The men wore no headdresses. Of the women, two had skunk-skin head bands, the rest wore headdresses of white buffalo skin decorated
[302] in front with owl or raven feathers, which were partly dyed red. All women had the same face paint,— vermilion on the left cheek and eye, with two blue spots on the opposite temple, close to the right eye. The leader was wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. All the others except two, who

[1] Maximilian, II, 145–146.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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wore robes with the hairy side out, wore painted women's robes. They formed a circle, the men began to sing, and the women danced, taking up the tune at the same time. They waddled like ducks from side to side, raising each foot alternately higher than the other, but not moving from their position. After a while there was an intermission, which was again followed by a dance. Only the older members had the tattoo marks between mouth and chin that were distinctive of the society. When Maximilian saw the society from Ruptare perform, there were three male musicians, who also wore white buffalo skin headdresses, and none of the women carried bundles of twigs. Otherwise the equipment was the same as in the other dance.[1]

575 527 292 [304]

An illustration of the dance of this society, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas, is shown in Fig. 16.

Boller's account, which is of considerably later date, contributes the important fact that in case of a famine the White Buffalo Cow women were expected to make buffalo herds come nearer to the village. A similar function is attributed by Catlin to *male* Buffalo dancers wearing masks of a type described in this paper in connection with the Bull society (p. 315). Catlin, however, does not connect his Buffalo dance with any organization, for though only about ten or fifteen men are said to have joined in the dance at one time, he states that every Mandan was obliged to keep a buffalo mask for possible use in the buffalo-calling ceremony on the request of the chiefs.[2] Oddly enough, both Catlin and Boller say that their respective Buffalo dancers never failed to bring in the herds for the reason that they continued their performance for weeks if necessary, until buffalo were actually sighted. The dance of the society is thus described by Boller:

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> The different members of the White-Cow band began to assemble, and soon the regular taps of the drum notified the camp that the great and important ceremony was in full progress. At one end of the lodge sat the musicians or drummers, three in number, who were untiring in their efforts, and aided their instrumentation by singing in a monotonous chanting strain. The women, comprising some forty or fifty matrons of the village, most of whose charms had unmistakably faded, were all attired in their quaintly garnished deer-skin dresses. Each had a spot of vermilion on either cheek, and their long black hair, which was carefully combed out and dressed with marrow grease, fell full and flowing over their shoulders, confined around the forehead with a fillet of white buffalo cow-skin. One of them had a white robe (which is very scarce, and held in the highest esteem) wrapped around her. This white robe was the common property of the band, and in its great power as a "medicine" were centred their hopes of bringing in the buffalo.[3]

[302] [778]

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[1] Ibid., 283–284, 297.
[2] Catlin, I, 127–128.
[3] Boller, 218–219.

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wanting even in old people, though, in the latter, they are often worn very short, which is chiefly to be attributed to their chewing hard, dry meat. The women are pretty robust, and sometimes tall, but, for the most part, they are short and broad shouldered. They are but few who can be called handsome as Indians, but there are many tolerable and some pretty faces among them. It is usually said of the Mandan women that they, in some respects, have a natural conformation, such as Le Vaillant and Peron ascribe to the Hottentot women; but it seems to be owing, in the Mandan women, less to nature than to artificial means.* The children have frequently slender limbs, and very prominent bellies. Deformed persons are very rare among the Mandans. I, however, saw a very little dwarf with a long, narrow face, and one man who squinted. Persons who had lost the sight of one eye, or with a cataract, are by no means uncommon. There were several deaf and dumb, among whom two brothers and a sister were all born with this defect. Some goitres, or, rather, thick necks among the women, are, doubtless, caused by too great exertions in carrying burdens on their backs. Instances where joints of the fingers are wanting are frequent, but these come under the head of voluntary mutilations.

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The colour of these Indians is a fine brown, sometimes reddish, more or less dark, which might, sometimes, come under the denomination of copper colour. In some it is more of a greyish-brown, in others yellowish; after a thorough ablution the skin of some of them appears almost white, and even some colour in their cheeks.† They do not disfigure their bodies, only they make some apertures in the outer rim of the ear, in which they hang strings of beads, brass or iron rings of different sizes, or shells, the last of which they obtain from other Indian tribes. If they are questioned respecting these shells, they answer that they were brought from the sea. These Indians are vain, and in this respect childish, like all savage nations. They are very fond of ornament, and the young men have always a little looking-glass suspended from their wrists. The traders sell these looking-glasses in a pasteboard case, which, however, is immediately changed for a solid wooden frame, and attached to the wrist by a red ribbon or a leather strap. The looking-glasses are framed in various ways; the rude frame is often painted red, or with stripes of different colours, with footsteps of bears or buffaloes carved on it. Nay, sometimes these

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* Hæc deformitas a viris ipsis ut dicunt, tractibus sæpe repetitis producitur. In nonnullis labia externa in orbem tres ad quatuor digitos transversos prominent; in aliis labia interna valde pendent; immo viroruin aes in partibus ipsis figuræ artificiosæ factas fecerunt.

Feminæ hæc mutatio curvus parvi auriculæ, et neglecta est.

Maris est in Mandans, Mannitarris, et in Crows, magis autem in Mannitarris; in Mandans, a mulieribus dissolutis, magis quam ab uxoribus hic mos perversus adhibitur.

† Volney has many inaccuracies in what he says of the colour of the Indians. (Vol. II. p. 435.) According to him, the children are born quite white like the Europeans; that the women are white on the thighs, hips, and lower parts of the body, where the skin is covered by the clothing; that it is wholly erroneous to suppose that the copper colour is natural to them, &c. Mr. Von Humboldt has long since refuted all these assertions.

796 act in conformity with their parts, endeavouring to imitate the natural attitudes of the animals they represent. 5. Two men, representing white-headed eagles, are painted of a dark brown colour; the head, neck, fore arm and hands, and the lower part of the legs, are white; they carry a stick in their hands, and their business is to pursue the antelopes. 6. Are two beavers; they wear the robe with the hairy side outwards, have a piece of parchment, resembling a beaver's tail, fastened to their girdle, and are painted brown. 7. Are two birds of prey; their shoulders are blue, the breast yellowish and spotted; they have feathers on their heads, and the feet of birds of prey in their hands. 8. Are two or four bears (mato), wrapped in bears' skins, with the head and claws, which cover their head and their whole body; they generally walk in a stooping attitude about the dancers, and growl like those animals. 9. Two men represent the dried meat, which is cut in small strips. They wear a cap of white hare skin; their body is painted with zig-zag stripes; round the waist they have a girdle of green boughs, and they dance with the others. 10. Forty or fifty Indians of different ages perform the part of antelopes; they are painted red on the back, the rest of the body and limbs are white, the nose and mouth black; they carry small sticks, and run about very swiftly. 11. Two men personate the night; they are naked, painted quite black, with white stars; on their backs they have the setting moon, and on their breast the rising sun; they are not allowed to sit, during the whole day, till the sun has set: they then sit down and must not rise till the next morning. 12. Are one or two wolves; they are painted white, wear a wolf's skin, and pursue the antelopes, which fly before them: if they catch one, the bears come and take it from them and devour it. All these animals imitate the originals to the best of their power. 13. Two prairie wolves; the tops of their heads are painted white, their faces yellowish-brown; they wear dry herbs in their hair, and carry in their hands a stick, painted with reddish-brown stripes, and run in the prairie before the other animals when they leave the village. Almost all these animals are said to have different songs, with words, [424] which the uninitiated do not understand; they sometimes practise these songs for a whole summer, and are frequently obliged to pay a high price for instruction. Originally there were only ten masks at this festival. The white-headed eagles, the beavers, and the prairie wolves, are a modern addition, and no part of the true ancient observances of it. When all these animals come together they fight with each other, and perform all sorts of antics. Every animal acts according to its natural character; the beavers strike with their tails, making a loud clapping noise; the buffaloes roll and wallow in the sand; the bears strike with their paws, &c.

796 785 304 During all these masquerade dances, the penitents have remained three entire days in the medicine lodge, where they have fasted and thirsted, sitting perfectly still and quiet. On the afternoon of that day, the persons of the ten masks also meet in the medicine lodge, and all together then leave this place. The penitents lie down on their bellies, in a circle round the ark, at some distance from it; the masks dance among them and over them, to the sound of

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the schischikué. Some already begin to suffer the tortures: they give a gun, a blanket, or some other article of value, to an eminent person, to inflict the tortures on them. During this time the Kani-Sachka has been moaning, and leaning on the ark. The tortures of the penitents now begin. In many of them strips of skin and flesh are cut from the breast, or the arms, and on the back, but in such a manner that they remain fast at both ends. A strap is then passed under them, and the sufferers are thrown over the declivity of the bank, where they remain suspended in the air; others have a strap drawn through the wound, to which the head of a buffalo is fastened, and they are obliged to drag this heavy weight about; others have themselves suspended by the muscles of the back; others have joints of their fingers cut off; others, again, are lifted up by the flesh, which is cut across the stomach, or have some heavy body suspended to the muscles, which have been cut and loosened, and other similar tortures. Those who have been tortured on this day return directly to their huts; but those who can bear to fast longer do not submit themselves to the torture till the fourth day.

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Fourth day of the Okippe.—All those who have endured fasting for four days are now assembled in the medicine lodge. Such as feel themselves faint beg that the dancing may begin early. Accordingly, the masquerade, and the dances performed yesterday, begin at daybreak. They dance on this day sixteen times—eight times in the morning, and eight times in the afternoon. The candidates for the torture are cut about two o'clock in the afternoon; and when they have suffered to the utmost of their power, a large circle is formed; two men, who have no part in the festival, take one of the penitents between them, hold him by the hand, and the whole circle moves round with the greatest rapidity. The Kani-Sachka is likewise treated in this manner. The fatigued and tortured penitents, for the most part, soon fall down, and many faint away, but no regard is paid to this; they are dragged and pulled about as long as they can possibly bear it; they are then let loose, and remain stretched on the ground as if dead. The eight buffalo bulls now come forward to execute their last dance. Meantime, Numank-Machana (the first man) stands on one side of the place, and invites the inhabitants to assemble. The men come on foot and on horseback, with their bows and arrows: the arrows are adorned with green leaves at the wooden points; and, when the eight buffaloes have approached, dancing, the first man, and been repulsed by him, they are shot at from all sides, fall, roll on the ground, and then lie still as if dead. The first man then invites the inhabitants to take the flesh of the buffaloes. The latter, whose robes have already fallen off, rise, and retire into the medicine lodge. Then the dancers divide into two parties, extend their arms and legs, strike themselves on the stomach, exclaiming that they feel themselves strong; some, that they will kill enemies; others, that they will slay many buffaloes, &c. They then retire, take food, and rest themselves, and the festival is concluded.

The wounds that have been inflicted on this occasion are now healed, but they remain visible

796 785 304 during the whole life, like thick swollen weals. This is to be observed in a much higher degree among the Manitaries than among the Mandans; the former seem to submit to much more severe tortures. The buffalo skulls, which these Indians have dragged about with much pain, are preserved in their huts, where they are everywhere to be seen, to be handed down from the father to the children. Many such heads are looked upon by them as medicine; they are kept in the huts, and sometimes the Indians stroke them over the nose, and set food before them. In general, the buffalo is a medicine animal, and more or less sacred.

796 837 Another very remarkable medicine festival is that for attracting the herds of buffaloes, which is usually celebrated in the autumn, or winter. I shall describe this festival, as an eye-witness among the Manitaries, where it is observed precisely in the same manner as among the Mandans. At this festival they leave their wives to the older men, and individual Indians do the same on certain occasions, when they desire to ask good wishes for the attainment of some object they have in view. A man, in such a case, goes, with his pipe, and accompanied by his wife, who wears no clothes except her buffalo robe, to another hut. The wife carries a dish of boiled maize, which she sets down before a third person, and the man does the same with his pipe. The woman then passes the palm of her hand down the whole arm of the person favoured in this manner, takes him by the hand, and he must follow her to a retired spot, generally to the forest surrounding the huts in the winter time; after which she returns and repeats the same process, often with eight or ten men. As soon as the man so favoured has resumed his seat, the person who asks his good wishes presents his pipe to him that he may smoke; whereupon he expresses his best wishes for the success of the undertaking or project in hand. By way of returning thanks, his arm is again stroked.

796 773 A third medicine feast is that described by Say, by the name of the corn dance of the Manitaries. He is pretty correct in his account of it, and it is used as well among the Mandans as the Manitaries. It is a consecration of the grain to be sown, and is called the corn dance feast of the women. The old woman who never dies sends, in the spring, the water-fowl, swans, geese, and ducks, as symbols of the kinds of grain cultivated by the Indians. The wild goose signifies maize; the swan, the gourd; and the duck, beans. It is the old woman that causes these plants to grow, and, therefore, she sends these birds as her signs and representatives. It is very seldom that eleven wild geese are found together in the spring; but, if it happens, this is a sign that the crop of maize will be remarkably fine. The Indians keep a large quantity of dried flesh in readiness for the time in the spring when the birds arrive, that they may immediately celebrate the corn feast of the women. They hang the meat, before the village, on long stages made of poles, three or four rows, one above another, and this, with various articles of value, is considered as an offering to the old woman. The elderly females, as representatives of the old woman who never dies, assemble on a certain day about the stages, carrying a stick in their hands, to one

778 were fixed upon poles, representing, as we were told, the sun and moon, probably the lord of life
782 and the old woman who never dies. Wormwood, of which they generally fasten a bunch to the poles, is a sacred medicine herb, to which they ascribe various effects.

Dreams, as I have before said, afford the usual motives for such actions, and for the
787 penances which they impose upon themselves, and they believe all that appears in their dreams
782 to be true. They were not yet acquainted with fire-arms, when one of the Indians dreamt
789 of a weapon with which they could kill their enemies at a great distance, and soon afterwards the white men brought them the first gun. In the same manner they dreamt of horses
304 before they obtained any. Even the Whites who live among them are infected with this belief in dreams, and other superstitions. They frequently promise, on undertaking anything, the joint of a finger, which they cut off at once, and keep in a handful of wormwood; this I myself saw among the Blackfeet, where, at that time, it was a sign of mourning. It is also done at the time of the Okippe in May and June. Almost all the Mandans and Manitaries have lost one or two joints of the fingers, and several of them more. There are numerous superstitious ideas and prejudices among these Indians. Thus, they believe that a person to whom they wish ill must die, if they make a figure of wood or clay, substituting for the heart, a needle, an awl, or a porcupine quill, and bury the image at the foot of one of their medicine poles. When a child is born, the father must not bridle a horse, that is to say, he is not to fasten the halter to the lower jaw, otherwise the child would die in convulsions. If the wife be pregnant, this circumstance is often the cause of much ill fortune to the husband, and he is frequently unsuccessful in hunting. If an Indian, in such cases, wounds a buffalo, without being able to kill it quickly, he endeavours to carry the heart of a buffalo home, and makes his wife discharge an arrow at
777 it; he then again feels confidence in his weapons, that they will speedily kill. The Indians affirm that a pregnant woman is very lucky at a game called billiards. Many consider it a bad omen when a woman, while several Mandans are smoking together, passes between them. If a woman is lying on the ground between the men who are smoking, a piece of wood is laid across her, to serve as a communication between the men. The strongest man now living among the
789 Mandans, who has been the victor in several wrestling matches with the Whites, always takes
555 hold of his pipe by the head, for, were he to touch it in another part, the blood would suddenly rush from his nostrils. As soon as he bleeds in this manner, he instantly empties his pipe, and throws the contents into the fire, where it explodes like gunpowder, and the bleeding immediately stops. Nobody, they say, can touch this man's face, without at once bleeding at the nose and mouth. A certain Indian affirms that, whenever another offers him a pipe to smoke, out of civility, he immediately has his mouth full of worms, handfuls of which he throws into the fire. The medicine of another man consists in making a snow-ball, which he rolls a long time between his hands, so that it at length becomes hard, and is converted into a white stone, which, when

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757 When blindness arises from the dazzling brightness of the snow, which it very frequently does in March, they bathe the eyes with a solution of gunpowder in water. They often have recourse to bleeding, which they perform with a sharp flint, or a knife. They often apply to the Whites for medicine, and willingly follow their prescriptions. These Indians have also various remedies for their horses; thus, when a horse has the strangury, they give it a piece of a wasp's nest.

764 When a Mandan or Manitari dies, they do not let the corpse remain long in the village; but convey it to the distance of 200 paces, and lay it on a narrow stage, about six feet long, resting on four stakes about ten feet high, the body being first laced up in buffalo robes and a blanket. The face, painted red, is turned towards the east. A number of such stages are seen about their villages, and, although they themselves say that this custom is injurious to the health of the villages, they do not renounce it. On many of these stages there are small boxes, containing the bodies of children wrapped in cloth or skins. Ravens are usually seen sitting on these stages, and the Indians dislike that bird, because it feeds on the flesh of their relations. If you ask a Mandan why they do not deposit their dead in the ground, he answers—"The lord of life has, indeed, told us that we came from the ground, and should return to it again;" yet we have lately begun to lay the bodies of the dead on stages, because we love them, and would weep at the sight of them. They believe that every person has several spirits dwelling in him; one of these spirits is black, another brown, and another light-coloured, the latter of which alone returns to the lord of life. They think that after death they go to the south, to several villages which are often visited by the gods; that the brave and most eminent go to the village of the good, but the wicked into a different one: that they there live in the same manner as they do here, carry on the same occupations, eat the same food, have wives, and enjoy the pleasures of the chase and war. Those who are kind-hearted are supposed to make many presents and do good, find everything in abundance, and their existence there is dependant on their course of life while in the world. Some of the inhabitants of the Mandan villages are said not to believe all these particulars, and suppose that after death they will live in the sun or in a certain star.

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765 [304] They mourn for the dead a whole year; cut off their hair, cover their body and head with white or grey clay, and often, with a knife or sharp flint, make incisions in their arms and legs in parallel lines, in their whole length, so that they are covered with blood. For some days after death the relations make a loud lament and bewailing. Often a relative, or some other friend, covers the dead, as they express it: he brings one or two woollen cloths, of a red, blue, white, or green colour, and, as soon as the body is laid on the stage, mounts upon the scaffolding, and conceals the body beneath the covering. A friend who will do this is, in token of respect, presented, by the family of the deceased, with a horse. If it is known beforehand that a person intends doing this honour to the dead, a horse is at once tied near the stage, and the friend, having per-

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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796 him from the cords by which he has been hung up; but leaving all the others with their weights, &c. hanging to his flesh.

881 In this condition he lies for six or eight minutes, until he gets strength to rise and move himself, for no one is allowed to assist or offer him aid, as he is here enjoying the most valued privilege which a Mandan can boast of, that of "trusting his life to the keeping of the Great Spirit," in this time of extreme peril.

796 As soon as he is seen to get strength enough to rise on his hands and feet, and drag his body around the lodge, he crawls with the weights still
881 hanging to his body, to another part of the lodge, where there is another
●304 Indian sitting with a hatchet in his hand, and a dried buffalo skull before him; and here, in the most earnest and humble manner, by holding up the little finger of his left hand to the Great Spirit, he expresses to Him, in a speech of a few words, his willingness to give it as a sacrifice; when he lays it on the dried buffalo skull, where the other chops it off near the hand, with a blow of the hatchet!

Nearly all of the young men whom I saw passing this horrid ordeal, gave in the above manner, the little finger of the left hand; and I saw also several, who immediately afterwards (and apparently with very little concern or emotion), with a similar speech, extended in the same way, the *fore*-finger of the same hand, and that too was struck off; leaving on the left hand only the two middle fingers and the thumb; all which they deem absolutely essential for holding the bow, the only weapon for the left hand.

One would think that this mutilation had thus been carried quite far enough; but I have since examined several of the head chiefs and dignitaries of the tribe, who have also given, in this manner, the little finger of the right hand, which is considered by them to be a much greater sacrifice than both of the others; and I have found also a number of their most famous men, who furnish me incontestible proof, by five or six corresponding scars on each arm, and each breast, and each leg, that they had so many times in their lives submitted to this almost incredible operation, which seems to be optional with them; and the oftener they volunteer to go through it, the more famous they become in the estimation of their tribe.

No bandages are applied to the fingers which have been amputated, nor any arteries taken up; nor is any attention whatever, paid to them or the other wounds; but they are left (as they say) "for the Great Spirit to cure, who will surely take good care of them." It is a remarkable fact (which I learned from a close inspection of their wounds from day to day) that the bleeding is but very slight and soon ceases, probably from the fact of their extreme exhaustion and debility, caused by want of sustenance and sleep, which checks the natural circulation, and admirably at the same time prepares them to meet the severity of these tortures without the same degree of sensibility and pain, which, under other circumstances, might result in inflammation and death.

526 covered with dust and sweat. The race is at least six miles long,
481 and it is surprising to see what a great distance some of them gain
702 upon others. This violent exercise is performed on the hottest summer days, and it is a wonder that some of them do not pay dearly for their temerity.

541 During my absence yesterday [July 21 - Analyst] my people, who remained here, witnessed a horse race. The Mandanes assembled in great numbers on horseback, and rode about three miles below the village, where all mustered. They set out in a body, pell-mell, whipping and kicking their horses, directing their course along the foot of the hills, and made a long circuit at full speed around the village. Some of their horses appeared very swift and spirited, but others were miserable animals. On their arrival, they performed their warlike manoeuvres on horseback, feigning their different attacks upon the enemy, giving their strokes of the battleax and thrusts of the spear, and defending themselves in turn by parrying blows and covering themselves with their shields.

526 ...I observed one particular game among the Mandanes, which the young men were continually playing. Two persons are each provided with a stick six feet long, on which are cut a certain number of notches, an inch long, in the intervals of which are fixed the same number of small bunches of feathers of divers colors, with three pieces of wood, 16 inches square, one near each end, and one in the middle; these are perforated in the center, and through them is passed the rod, painted of divers colors. Each notch has a particular mark, the nature of which they themselves only understand—indeed, the same may be said of the whole game. The ground on which they play is a smooth level space, about 40 paces long and 5 broad. The players stand side by side, start from one end of the ground and trot on till they are halfway through, when one of them throws a ball gently ahead, in such a manner that it will not roll further than the space allowed for the game; at the same time both players push their rod forward to overtake and keep pace with the ball, but not to check its course. They then examine the particular notch or bunch of feathers at which the ball stops, and count accordingly.

304 The greater part of the men—Big Bellies, Mandanes, and
787 Saulteurs (Souliers)—have lost a joint of several fingers, [364]
785 particularly of the left hand, and it is not uncommon to see only the

[p. 384(F)]

304 787 785

two forefingers and thumbs entire. Amputation is performed for the loss of a near relation, and likewise during the days of penance, on which they display their fortitude and courage in the following manner: When a young man has attained the age of 20 years, he generally, in the depth of winter, performs his penance by setting out entirely naked and alone, with only two or three pairs of shoes, the iron barb of an arrow, and no means of making a fire. In this condition he repairs to a certain high hill, a day's journey from the village. On this hill he must remain as many days as his strength will permit, during which time he neither eats, drinks, nor sleeps, but passes the time in dancing, bawling, howling, and lamenting. Here also he amputates a finger with the iron barb brought for that purpose. Some have been known to be absent seven days in the severest weather. This may appear incredible, but I have it from several eye-witnesses of such pilgrimages, and do not doubt it. After several days—more or fewer—the penitent makes his appearance, coming at full speed, and as there is continually somebody upon the huts, information is instantly given of his return. He is met by a particular friend, who has kept account of the number of days he has been absent, and for every day has been prepared a bull's head, to which has been fastened 1 1/2 fathams of cord. The other end of this is affixed to an incision in the penitent's back or shoulders, by pinching up a fold of skin and flesh, through which is thrust the barb of an arrow; as many days as he has been absent, so many must be the incisions, and the number of heads must also tally with them. He must then walk around the village, howling and bawling, with all those bulls' heads trailing on the ground; in some places, where the ground is rough, the poor fellow must pull and tug hard to get through, as the horns continually catch in uneven spots, and often fall into some of the empty corn pits, where they would hold until the skin gave way or the cord broke, were they not [365] attended to by some children who make it their business to disengage the horns. So many days as he has been absent, so many times must he walk round the village, never ceasing to utter lamentations. Some have been known to fall senseless during this painful ordeal; but even then they only allow themselves a few moments to recover, and proceed again. Having finished the necessary rounds, he is disengaged from the bulls' heads by his friend, with a long harangue, applauding his courage and fortitude; he may then retire to his hut and take care of his wounds, as he is in a shocking condition. Some never recover, and others languish for months before they get well.

[p. 364(G)]

304 785 They have another custom of putting their courage and contempt of pain to task by tormenting their flesh in a most atrocious manner. This is done by pinching up a fold of the skin and flesh an inch broad, under which they pass the iron barb of an arrow; they raise stripes in this manner from the back of the hand to the shoulder, and thence to the breast, there joining three or four separate circles of incisions made in the same manner on the lower part of the breast. Some content themselves by raising stripes of different lengths upon their arms and thighs, and forming crescentic cuts on the breast in a very regular manner, one within the other; some with the horns upward, others downward, according to fancy.

304 Most of the women have their faces tattooed in a very savage manner, lines a quarter inch broad passing from the nose to the ear, and down each side of the mouth and chin to the throat. This disfigures them very much; otherwise, some would have tolerably
304 good faces. Some tattooing is done to beautify the face, but at
684 other times it is the disfiguring mark of a fit of jealousy in the husband. [366] When a Mandane's handsome young wife is too lavish of her favors without his consent, he tattoes her face as a punish-
[576] ment. Although it cannot be said that these people are much given
837 to jealousy, still it is absolutely necessary for a woman to have the consent of her husband to cohabit with a stranger, whether he is white or one of their own people. But I observed during my stay that this consent is not so very necessary in regard to the inhabitants of the same village, as every morning early there were examples to be seen in their plantations of their loose way of living. Many
[164] of our servants who frequent these parts to trade in the winter, and who have too intimate connections with the fair sex, are attacked by a painful and loathsome disorder, which commonly appears in the groin, where it forms abscesses and, if neglected, will soon prove dangerous.

574 [401] At three o'clock we were all safely lodged in Black Cat's
609 hut, whom we found as usual very civil and complaisant, although he plainly saw we had nothing to pay him for his trouble. This man is one of the best Indians we met on the Missourie. We found
[432] what articles we had left in his charge all in good order, and carefully hung up to keep them from the mice. He even gave me his best horse upon credit; payment to be sent this fall by any opportunity. This was considered an extraordinary circumstance for a Mandane. He gave us several instances of his good nature and generosity while we were packing; every assistance in his power he gave us, without

[p. 384 (H)]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter I

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

182 THE Mandan social organization was complex and highly integrated. There is an abundance of archeological evidence that at a very early time the population was more widely dispersed along the Missouri River. La Verendrye, the first known visitor to this tribe, reported that they were residing in six villages which were fortified with closely grouped lodges. Considering the depth of refuse of the protohistoric village sites of the Heart River region, all which have closely grouped lodges within a fortification, it is evident that the Mandan village groups had lived in intimate contacts with each other for two or more centuries.

621 361 Each village was an economic unit. It acted as a unit when leaving on the summer buffalo hunt, although there was a certain amount of co-operation among villages in the matter of protecting the old people left behind and in keeping enemy raiding parties from burning the lodges during their absence. Each village had its garden section which was separate from other village garden areas, although my informants claimed that at one time just preceding the first smallpox epidemic, when the Boley, Scattered, Motsiff, and Slant villages of the west side and Round Lodges and Yellow Earth villages of the east side were occupied, all the available corn grounds were planted and that it was necessary for the villages to meet in council to define the garden limits of each village. At that time the most distant villages of the Heart River region were only a few miles from each other, and some families had gardens on opposite sides of the river. A village was frequently abandoned by a part of the people whenever wood was depleted or the corn ground was no longer productive, which in large measure accounts for the presence of so many village sites showing short occupation. At the mouth of the Heart River where the wooded bottoms were most extensive, the villages show longest continuous occupation.

[311]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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FIG. 28.—Distribution and ownership of eagle-trapping camps. (Drawn by Bears Arm.)

[P. 212]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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KEY TO FIGURE 28

OWNERS OF EAGLE-TRAPPING CAMPS, THEIR TRIBE AND CLAN

1, Iron Eyes, Mandan, WaxikEna; *2*, Small Ankles, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *3*, Belly Up, Hidatsa, AwaxEnawita; *4*, Little Shield, Mandan, WaxikEna; *5*, Brave, Hidatsa, AwaxEnawita; *6*, Four Bears, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *7*, Guts, Hidatsa, Maxoxati; *8*, Bad Buffalo, Mandan, Prairie Chicken; *9*, Old Black Bear, Hidatsa, AwaxEnawita; *10*, Poor Wolf, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *11*, Good Bear, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *12*, Good Walker, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *13*, Crows Paunch, Hidatsa, Prairie Chicken; *14*, Enemy Dog, Mandan, WaxikEna; *15*, Cedar, Mandan, WaxikEna; *16*, Road Maker, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *17*, Hairy Coat, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *18*, Raven Wing, Hidatsa, Water-buster; *19*, Plain Tail (Big Coat), Hidatsa, Low Hat; *20*, Bad Coat, Hidatsa, Maxoxati; *21*, Old Bear, Mandan, WaxikEna; *22*, Wolf Eyes, Hidatsa, Maxoxati; *23*, His Horse Smells Him, Hidatsa, Maxoxati; *24*, Red Basket, Mandan, Prairie Chicken; *25*, Runs, Hidatsa (clan not known); *26*, Coyote, Hidatsa, Prairie Chicken; *27*, Bears Tail, Hidatsa, Prairie Chicken; *28*, Little Coyote (he would come up from Awaxawi Village at Knife River to trap here; this is probably a mythological camp); *29*, Bad Robe, Mandan, Tamisik; *30*, Bears Foot, Mandan (clan not known); *31*, Makes Everything Good, Hidatsa, Prairie Chicken.

648 Among a number of other customs, was treaty making with other tribes. This was well described by Henry who accompanied the Mandans and Hidatsa when they went to make a treaty with the Cheyennes. Most of the people went on these treaty visits; the band marched in a procession of fixed order and a number of ceremonial objects were carried exposed throughout the march. The party was met with great ceremony by the new allies and its members were taken into their [597] houses. Several days of ceremonial feasting occurred and finally the head chief of each party adopted a son from the other [439] tribe. After this there was more feasting and several days of trade between the two bands, when both returned home.

597 The adoption of sons occurred also among the different families. Maximilian describes the adoption of a "medicine son" to whom a sacred pipe was given. The man chose his adopted son through a dream. The new pipe was consecrated and gifts were showered upon the son's family by the adopted father and his relatives. A dance and feast was then held. This custom was prevalent over all the Missouri region.

838 There were a number of men who dressed and acted like women and were treated in every way as such. These men claimed to follow this life by an order from the spirits given to them in a dream.

567 Catlin says that the Mandans did not have slaves and there is no mention of them elsewhere. The Arikara, however, had a regular slavery system, and the Crows made slaves and sold 201 them on the Missouri. The Mandans were very good at the sign language so Maximilian tells us. They were expert swim- 481 mers, and collected their whole supply of wood by swimming ● 313 out and towing in the drift wood at the time of the spring break-ups.

511 In point of general culture the Mandans were superior to any of their immediate neighbors, surpassing even the other sedentary people, the Hidatsa and Arikara. Catlin says that they had advanced far in the arts of manufacture and had more comforts and luxuries than other tribes. When Verendrye saw them he, too, was struck by their superior skill. He said that the Mandans dressed leather and worked in feathers better

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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X 172 283 pits. The cord mentioned consisted of three strands, each of six or seven prairie grass stems; these three strands were not braided, but twisted.

X 172 ●313 The remains of posts and sticks were often in such a condition that the wood could be identified. One of the largest posts found in the house site was of ash, but most of the large ones were clearly cut out of cottonwood. For the smaller posts, however, the diamond willow seems to have been most frequently used, and it is unquestionably the best wood. A few specimens of worked wood were found but none of great importance. There was a post, hewed square; a number of pieces of planks or slabs, fairly well cut; remnants of willow thatch from the roof; and a small piece of wood which had been whittled down with a blade of some sort.

The ashes showed the use of at least two sorts of fire wood, one giving a white ash and the other a red one. The red was probably diamond willow in most cases, as that is the only common wood in the region which leaves a reddish residue.

X 172 ANIMAL BONES:—Animal bones were numerous in all parts of the village site, not only in the form of implements, which have already been discussed, but also as refuse. Many of the bones were broken up into small fragments, but a number of whole ones were discovered and most of them have been identified. There were fish, bird and mammal bones belonging for the most part to the following species: Deer (*Cariacus virginianus*), Buffalo (*Bison americanus*), Elk (*Cervus canadensis*), Antelope (*Antilocapra americana*), Gray Wolf (*Canis lupus*), Coyote (*Canis latrans*), Raccoon (*Procyon lotor*), owl (*Strigidae sp.*), and Bald Eagle (*Haliaëtus leucocephalus*), besides bones of smaller birds, some that seemed to be from a crane but could not be accurately identified; bones of mice and gophers; some few fish bones, and quite a number of unio and small snail shells. It is a significant fact that no remains whatever of either horse or dog skeletons were found, thus apparently showing that the horse had not yet got to the Mandans when they lived on the Heart, and also corroborating Henry's statement that the Mandans at first had no dogs. [231]

10: Neill 114(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and treasures, as it contains every thing he values most, viz: 353
two bulls' heads, which seem to be their great Manitou and protection. They are well daubed over with earth, and particular care is taken of them. There is laid on, or rather hung up, his arms, shield, ammunition, scalps of his enemies, and every thing he most values.

MORTAR AND PESTLE.

Next to this stage, stand the mortar and pestle, fixed firm in 342
the ground, and the remainder of the hut from that to the door 412
is vacant during the daytime, but occupied during the night by 231
the horses. Then there still remains a large space in the center, around the fire, for the use of the family, which is generally swept clean once a day. 1/1

CORN STAGE.

Fronting the entrance of each porch stands a stage raised 343
about eight feet from the ground, twenty feet in length, and ten 251
feet in breadth, for the purpose of hanging up their corn to dry, in the fall; these stages have a tolerable good flooring, which in the fall is covered with beans to dry, and posts are erected upon them, on the tops of which are laid poles or rafters, to which the corn and sliced squashes are suspended in tresses to dry. When their harvest is over, they must have a pretty 313
effect, but at this season of the year they are lumbered up with 372
different kinds of drift-wood, of which they make their fires, and it gives a very ugly appearance to the villages.

DRIFT WOOD.

This wood they collect, in the spring, when the ice breaks up, and when great quantities of this wood floats down, the natives being expert swimmers, and so very active, that there is scarcely a large tree escapes them, until they have a sufficient stock for the year. I observed lying opposite to each village, an immense pile of this wood, and some trees of an amazing size. Commonly, when they collect the drift wood there come down [222]
numbers of drowned buffalo, that have perished in attempting to cross above, at a season when the ice was bad. These animals the natives are very careful to haul on shore, as they prefer the flesh in that state. [268]

LIGHT HAIRED CHILDREN.

An extraordinary sight that struck me among these people, 142
was to see several children, of about ten years of age, whose hair was perfectly gray, and bore a strong resemblance to aged persons. Those I saw were all girls. These people in general have not that strong coarse hair, so peculiar to the natives of North America; it is of a much finer nature, rather inclining to
1/1 [See Category 16, p. 382-N.]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

AwaxEnawita, trace their origin to these small winter camps. 223
Bears Arm explained that, in former times, the women's lodges 361
were the same as the men's and that, on termination of the 171
trapping season, the altar was removed and the bundle closed, 221
after which the lodge was no longer considered sacred. The 621
leader's wife and family came to his lodge, and the other trappers returned to their wives' lodges for the winter. Before the spring thaw, the various bands returned to the summer village to prepare for the planting of gardens. If this fall and winter division of the Hidatsa villages into bands was customary, as mentioned in tradition and mythology, the custom had been superseded by the winter village system by the opening of the historic period on the Upper Missouri River. By this time each summer village, which we have come to call the permanent village, had its corresponding winter village. The summer village was situated on one of the upper, grassy terraces adjacent to the Missouri River, with the winter village situated in heavy timber on the river bottom. The entire population of a summer village would move to its selected site, and there would be a winter chief selected each year.

There is no reference in the mythology to the breaking-up of 221
the Mandan summer village into winter bands, but each village 361
might build a winter camp to avoid the tedious task of bringing 314
wood a considerable distance to the village. After a few years, 621
all available wood near a summer village would be exhausted, except for driftwood in the river. From all available data, there is no evidence that the Mandan selected new chiefs for the winter period.

We may conclude that the Hidatsa practice of naming a win- 171
ter chief grew out of the custom of breaking up into eagle-trap- 621
ping bands under a leader in the fall, his authority continuing after the closing of trapping until the return of the party to the summer village. Wolf Chief explained that this could be done formerly, as there were fewer enemies, but that it was inexpedient in later years, as it was necessary to defend the villages the year round. It is possible, however, that the Mandan abandoned this custom somewhat earlier because of greater pressure from enemies.

A brief ritual closed the eagle-trapping period. It was essen- 000

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

even the few surviving Mandans were driven from their own huts. 164
Subsequently these tribes were again thus afflicted, and from one who was then stationed at Fort Clarke and an eye-witness of the fact, I am informed that suicide was committed by the victims [762] throwing themselves over the bluffs of the river to the rocks below. De Smet states that both the smallpox and cholera created havoc among the northern Indians in 1851." (p. 227.)

The making of glass beads by the Mandans and Aricarees is 323
alluded to by Wheeler, who says: 301

Glass Beads, Etc. "The Lewis and Clarke narrative for March 16th describes a process for making glass beads known to the Mandans.

"The Indians did not make the glass itself. This they obtained from the whites, but there is evidence that prior to the appearance of the traders, they used obsidian, or natural glass, for this purpose. Dr. Matthews, as late as 1870, had flat triangular blue glass pendants made to order by an Aricaree woman, he furnishing the glass.

"These people also made unglazed pottery, mats, and baskets, 285
ladles and spoons, from the horns of the Rocky mountain sheep 323
(Ovius Montana) and the buffalo, and from the shoulder-blades 321
of the bison they fashioned the hoes with which they hoed the 178
ground in very early time. Since the whites came, the crude implements of the old days have been mostly supplanted by our household, garden, etc., utensils; but, in 1902, I purchased a fine sheep-horn ladle apparently in daily use still." (p. 228.)

Steinbreuck's Observations. Hon. E. R. Steinbreuck, field 000
officer of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, makes the further statement to the writer, in a letter dated May 24th, 1908, concerning the Mandan deserted villages, and their former habitat, as follows:

Unsolved Problems. "I think it is a difficult and as yet unsolved problem, to write the history of the Mandans, as aborigines of South Dakota. We have the end of the trail, not so the beginning. We don't know for certain where the Mandans came from. The end is in North Dakota and that is also the beginning of the traditions of the present Mandans. Their entire knowledge of their origin is limited to the Heart river region in North Da-

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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382 hung down to the shoulders. It was covered with quill work in different colors. On its top was placed horizontally an eagle [171] feather the base of which was covered with red cloth. The usual Siouan head-dresses were also worn. In every day life, however, Maximilian says the hair was knotted up in a 304 tuft. The Mandan men tattooed, but never on more than one half of the body. Usually the right breast and upper arm was tattooed with black parallel lines, accompanied by a few other figures. Occasionally the fore-arm and some of the fingers were tattooed. Occasionally also the women tattooed, but to only a small extent. Ermine was used in nearly all of their finest dresses, and tails of other animals as well as different sorts of bird feathers had especial signification in ceremonial or war costumes. Altogether, as Catlin says, the dress of the Black- [171] feet, Sioux, and Mandans was practically alike. The great noticeable difference seems to be that the Mandans had much less regard for clothing than did most of their neighbors, they had a tendency toward simple apparel, and the buffalo robe was their original and only absolutely necessary garment.

411 WEAPONS:— The arms of the Mandans as well as their other culture features were much like those of their neighbors. They used the customary things — bows and arrows, lances, shields, knives, and tomahawks, and had in addition a peculiar weapon of their own called a bow-lance. The knives and arrow points were at first of stone as were the axes and tomahawks, but stone implements soon fell into disuse when steel ones were obtained. The Mandan bows were usually of elm or ash wood, and rather short, with cords of twisted sinews. Occasionally, [321] however, a bow of bone or horn was seen. Catlin describes such a one. It was short and had a sinew backing, while the cord was made of three twisted sinews. With the bow was usually a quiver of mountain lion, wild-cat, or wolf skin, the whole hide being used. The arrows of the Mandans were much better made than those of their neighbors. They were feathered with hawk and eagle feathers which were attached in a short spiral, a red line wound round the arrow in a spiral from barb to base. There were hunting points and war points: the for-

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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281 Verendrye mentions their skill in making such things as
237 painted ox-robes, deer skin, dressed buckskin, and ornamented fur and feathers, painted feathers, peltry, wrought garters, circlets for the head, and girdles. They certainly understood the art of dressing skins, though perhaps other nations equalled them. All their visitors speak of the ornamented robes for the decoration of which porcupine quills dyed various colors, or the pigments themselves, as paints, were used at first, though beads came gradually to take their places. The ornamentation con-
[532] sisted usually of representations of animals, and pictographic records. When leather got wet, it was beaten and rubbed with white clay which they always carried with them. This kept the robes soft. Then there were medicine bags, tobacco pouches, sheathes for knives and bows, all of skin, painted or embroidered with quills, such as are seen over the whole plains area. They had leather bridles for their horses, sometimes
[231] embroidered, and used a saddle, similar to that of the Dakotas. The horses were caught by means of long raw hide lariats which the Indians made themselves.

534 Whistles were also necessary articles to those belonging to the societies. Maximilian[1] describes them as "long wooden whistles at whose lower end an eagle feather on a string dangles." He says they also had large flute whistles, twenty inches long, with holes to vary the notes by application of the fingers. Besides these were the war whistles, usually made from the wing
412 bone of some large bird. Other articles of bone, necessitated
321 by the great use of skins, were the bone scrapers, needles and awls with which each house was profusely supplied.

241 Almost the only agricultural implements which they used were hoes. These were the shoulder blades of buffalo or occasionally of elk, which were cut down and to which a crooked stick was fastened as a handle.[2]

415 Among their cooking utensils, which were used in every hut, were spoons and ladles of bighorn and buffalo horns. Verendrye says some of these ladles held as much as three pints.

286 So far as the accounts go the Mandans did not make any textile fabric, though the Arikara are known to have made

[1] Op. cit., p. 416.
[2] Henry: vol. I, p. 343.

garters and belts of buffalo hair.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Potter's clay was commonly met with in small quantities. It was almost black, and very fine grained. Sometimes the clay was found pure, and sometimes it had already been mixed with coarse sand, made by burning and pulverizing granite. 172x 323

SHELL:—The shell remains in this village site were scanty. No layers or heaps of shells were found in any of the excavations, and none were in evidence in the dump. Thus it is to be presumed that shell-fish were comparatively little used for food. A 172x 321

FIG. 5. SHELL OBJECTS. ½

few snail shells were found in the mounds, and a few shells of the fresh water mussel, or Unio, were found scattered widely among the refuse in the mounds, caches and house rings. Some of the latter were also found in a house ring at the Ward site.

The Unio shells furnished easily worked material for useful and ornamental objects, and it is somewhat strange that more of these were not found. Fig. 5, *a*, shows an implement made by pointing one end of a unio shell. An implement very similar to this is said[1] to have been used in smoothing and shaping pottery.

[1] Notes on Canadian Pottery by F. W. Waugh: 12th Archaeological Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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X 172 In excavating the house site, Work 9, a disc-shaped shell gorget (Fig. 5, *c*), perforated in the center and incised around ●321 the rim with radiating lines, was found. A smaller piece of unio shell (Fig. 5, *e*), cut in the shape of a rectangle and polished, may have been used as an ornament. Only two shell beads were found. One was made from a Unio shell and was disc-shaped and about half an inch in diameter (Fig. *b*). The second was a pierced shell of the Oliva literata (Fig. *d*), This latter shell is an Atlantic seaboard variety, found south of Cape Hatteras. It was probably brought up the Mississippi in the course of trade, being commonly found in the mounds of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys.

X 172 COPPER:—Only two pieces of copper were found, one a bead about a half inch in length, and the other an irregular piece of sheet copper with a surface of less than a square inch.

X 172 BONE:—Bone implements were found in quantity, distrib- 321 uted through all the remains that were examined. The bone 412 articles found may be grouped under two heads, utilitarian and ornamental. The first comprises hoes, edged implements, grainers, arrow-straighteners, scrapers, digging sticks, awls, needles and fish-hooks, besides other articles of uncertain use. The second group contains gorgets, beads, buckles, bracelets, and certain finely made bone objects, which may have had a ceremonial use.

Hoes, broken and entire, were often met with. For these the shoulder blade of the buffalo and elk was used, the spine being cut away and the lower edge of the blade trimmed. The socket end of the blade shows no signs of wear in any of the specimens. This may be because it was protected by the thongs which bound it to the handle.

Smaller implements, made from part of a buffalo horn, were found here and there. Most of these were polished by much use, the base of the horn being worn down to a cutting edge. Fig. 6 represents one which has acquired a high polish from use. One of these implements was found in the middle stage of manufacture; in it the horn is roughly trimmed, as with

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an axe, and part of the frontal bone of the skull is still attached to the base of the horn. These horn tools may have been used for scrapers, trowels, or for general purposes in the kitchen.

FIG. 6. IMPLEMENT OF BUFFALO HORN. ½

Several gouges or grainers were uncovered. They were made from the metapodial bones of the buffalo, and show good

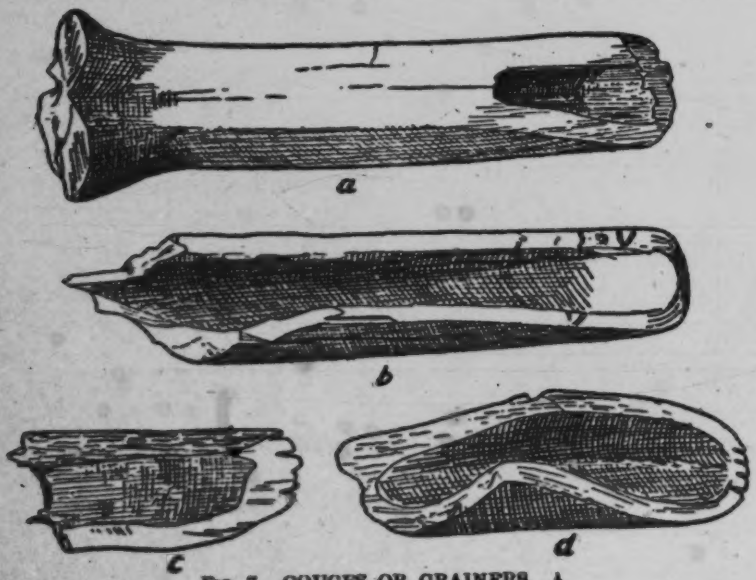

FIG. 7. GOUGES OR GRAINERS. ½

workmanship. Some of them (Fig. 7, *a* and *b*) have a smooth scraping edge, while others (Fig. 7, *c* and *d*) have a notched edge.

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172 The socket end of Fig. 7, *a*, the only perfect specimen, was probably covered with a pad, as the bone is rough, untrimmed, and shows no signs of wear. These gouge-like tools were probably used to scrape down skins in the process of graining.

So-called "arrow-straighteners" were found in considerable numbers in the mounds. These are of buffalo rib bones through which from one to three holes have been bored. The holes are sometimes almost round, but, more usually, are elongated along the axis of the bone. The bore is doubly funnel-shaped expanding toward both surfaces of the bone (Fig. 8). The use of these objects is problematical. It seems illogical to consider them

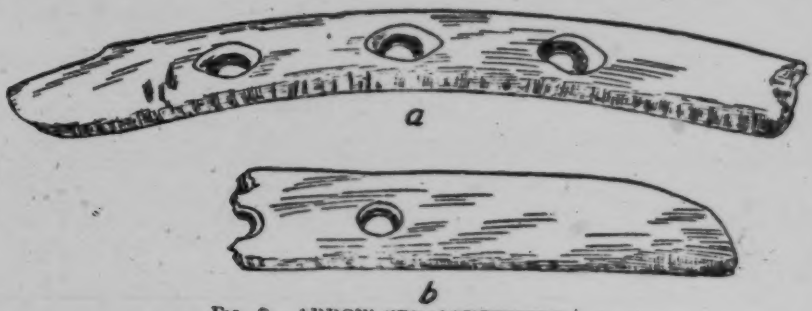

FIG. 8. ARROW-STRAIGHTENERS.

wrenches to straighten arrowshafts, because in this operation only one hole could be used at a time, and additional holes would only weaken the instrument. Since the holes in each piece are all the same size, they could not have been intended for arrowshafts of different sizes. However, beyond the possible use as arrow-straighteners, no use has been suggested for them.

Certain crude bone tools, worn on one or more edges, may be grouped as scrapers. Most of these are made of broken bones of the buffalo, in particular the shoulder blades and the larger leg bones. They evidently had only a temporary use.

"Digging sticks," as they have been called for want of a better name, were found in great numbers. These are made of the rib bones of the buffalo and elk, which have been worn off round at one or both ends (Plate XXXV, fig. *a*).

By far the most common of worked bone objects found, fall under the head of awls. These were found in all the exca-

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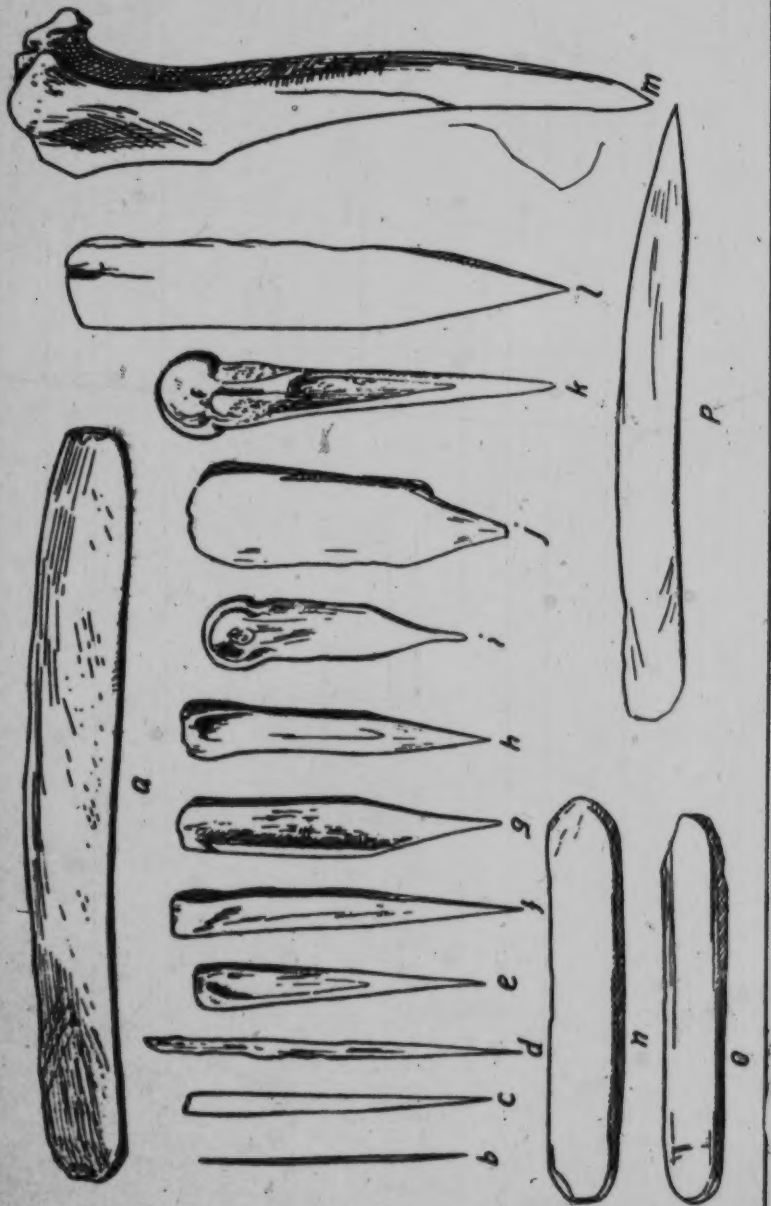

SMALL BONE IMPLEMENTS. ½

[Facing p. 170]

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X172 vations and in all the village sites visited. They have a wide range in size and shape; a series of typical examples is given in ● 321 Plate xxxv. The needles are represented in this plate by Figs. *b*, *c*, 412 and *d*. The first of these is round and very sharp, the other two are flat pieces of slivered bird bone. The larger awls are made in various shapes from various bones. Figs. *e*, *f*, and *h* are of bird bones. Figs. *g*, *j*, *l*, *n*, *o* and *p* are made from rib bones of buffalo and deer. Figs. *i* and *k* are made from the metapodial bones of the deer. Besides the awls which are more or less regular in shape, many were found which were very irregular. These were evidently intended for a temporary use and were made of anything that came to hand. Fig. *m* represents one of these cruder implements. The awls were ground to a point on whet stones of pumice stone.

A paint brush similar to those used of late years was found. It is triangular in shape and is made from the interior portion of a large bone.

FIG. 9. OBJECT MADE FROM BUFFALO SHOULDER BLADE. ½

Certain objects of doubtful use are made of the shoulder blades of large animals. Fig. 9 shows such an implement. It is thin, highly polished and has one edge sharpened. They may have been used for knives and scrapers.

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Plate XXXVI, figs. *s* and *t*, shows two bone fish-hooks which were unearthed. Figs. *u* and *v*, on the same plate, figure two pieces of worked bone which may be fish-hooks in the process of manufacture. 172X 321 227

Bone was made into a great number of ornamental objects. Of these, beads were the more numerous in the remains. Bone beads were usually made from the leg and wing bones of birds. Plate XXXVI, figs. *l* to *o*, are bones from which beads have been wholly or partially cut off. Plate XXXVI, figs. *a* to *k*, are beads of different sizes, ranging from an inch and a half to a quarter of an inch in length, and of varying diameters. 172X 321 301

"Bracelets" made from the rib bones of small animals are shown in Plate XXXVI, figs. *w* to *z*. These are usually grooved on one side and rounded on the other, and perforated at one end. While calling these bracelets it is difficult to understand just how they were used as such and they may have been simply pendants.

Plate XXXVI, fig. *r*, represents a bone object, with notches on the four sides much like the rectangular stones previously described. This object is flat on one side and curved on the other and has a high polish.

Plate XXXVI, figs. *p* and *q*, are fragments of buffalo shoulder blades which have perforations, their use being uncertain.

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FIG. 10. A BONE BUCKLE. ½

Fig. 10 shows a curious piece of bone which probably served as a buckle. It is made of the outside portion of a buffalo rib.

172X 321

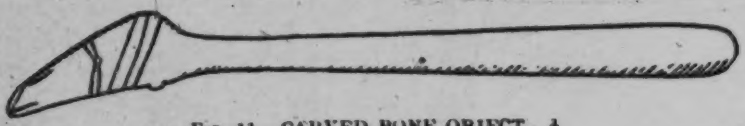

FIG. 11. CARVED BONE OBJECT. ½

The only piece of realistic art found is shown in Fig. 11. This bone is beautifully carved and polished. One end is incised to represent a crane's head, while the rest is rounded off to

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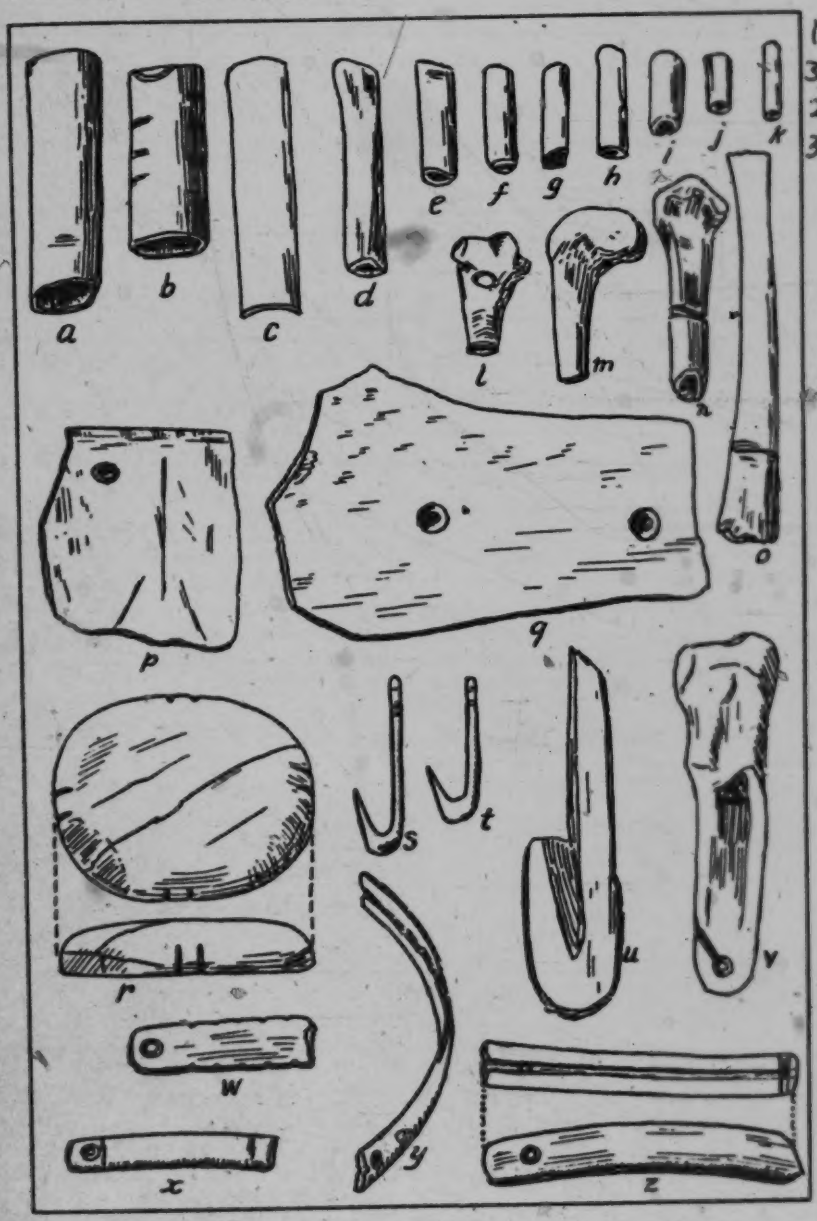

SMALL BONE OBJECTS. ½

[Facing p. 172]

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X 172 form the handle. The only sign of wear is on the beak of the
●321 bird's head. The use of this object is uncertain, but it is possible that it was part of the paraphernalia of a medicine man.

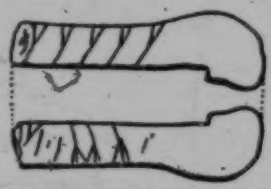

FIG. 12. BONE OBJECT WITH INCISED DECORATION. ½

Fig. 12 represents a portion of a well-made bone instrument which may have had a use similar to the above. This object is decorated with incised markings.

Several pieces of carved bones, representing various animal and bird heads, are reported to have been found in the various village sites, but no opportunity was given to inspect them.

X 172 POTTERY:—The pottery of the Mandans, judging by the
323 fragments found at the different village sites, is one of the most
171 interesting features of their culture. It is an excellent ware, thin, well-made, and with a characteristic development of form and ornament. The excellence of the pottery is the more remarkable when it is called to mind that the Mandans were at the northwestern limits of the pottery area. North of them, indeed, on the Mouse River, some crude pottery of uncertain origin is found. South of them, the Arikara and Omaha practised the ceramic art, being influenced in it by the pottery makers of the Mississippi valley. East of them, for several hundred miles, lived nomadic tribes who were apparently unacquainted with pottery, while the pottery of Wisconsin was too remote to exert an influence.

X 172 Mandan pottery is mentioned by almost all the early ex-
323 plorers, but no one gives an extended description of it, or a sufficiently detailed account of the method of manufacture. None of this pottery has been made for many years by the survivors of the tribe, but a knowledge of it can be gathered from a study of the fragments which have been preserved.

The pottery is, for the most part, a black ware, although sometimes it turned dull orange or red from firing. The un-

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and it is protected by a narrow shed or entry from six to ten feet long. Over the smoke-holes of many of the lodges are placed frames of wicker-work, on which skins are spread to the windward in stormy weather to keep the lodges from getting smoky. Sometimes bull-boats are used for this purpose. On the site of a proposed lodge, they often dig down a foot or more, in order to find earth compact enough to form a good floor; so, in some lodges, the floors are lower than the general surfaces of the ground on which the village stands. The floor is of earth, and has in its center a circular depression, for a fire-place, about a foot deep, and three or four feet wide, with a edging of flat rocks. These dwellings, being from thirty to forty feet in diameter, from ten to fifteen feet high in the center, and from five to seven feet high at the eaves, are quite commodious." 342

Women Construct Them. "The labor of constructing them is performed mostly by the women; but in lifting and setting the heavier beams, the men assist. If, with the aid of steel axes obtained from the whites, the task of building such a house is no easy one at this day, how difficult it must have been a century ago, when the stone axe was their best implement, and when the larger logs had to be burned through in order that pieces of suitable length might be obtained." 342 462 442 322

Frame of Lodge. "The frame of the lodge is thus made: A number of stout posts, from ten to fifteen, according to the size of the lodge, and raising to the height of about five feet above the surface of the earth, are set about ten feet apart in a circle. On the tops of these posts, solid beams are laid, extending from one to another. Then, towards the center of the lodge, four posts are erected, of much greater diameter than the outer posts, and rising to the height of ten or more feet about the ground. These four posts stand in the corners of a square about fifteen feet, and their tops are connected with four heavy logs or beams laid horizontally. From the four center beams to the smaller external beams, long poles, or rafters, are stretched at an angle of about 30 degrees with the horizon; and from the outer beams to the earth a number of shorter poles are laid at an angle of about 45 degrees. Finally, a number of saplings or rails are laid horizontally to cover the space between the four central beams, leaving only a hole for the combined skylight and chimney. This frame 342

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342 513 are made like tombs, surrounded by skins. These men are always naked, covered only with a buffalo robe. * * * * Their fort 251 is full of caves, in which are stored such articles as grain, food, 436 fat, dressed robes and bear skins. They are well supplied with these; it is the money of the country. The more they have of it 304 the richer they believe themselves to be. They are fond of tattooing, but never more than half of the body is tattoed, both of 285 men and women. They make wicker work very neatly, flat and in baskets.

Pottery. "They make use of earthen pots, which they use like ● 323 many other nations for cooking their food. They are for the most part great eaters; are eager for feasts. They brought me every 261 day more than twenty dishes of wheat, beans and pumpkins, all cooked. Mr. de la Marque, who did not hate feasts, went to them continually with my children. As I did not go to them my share 141 was sent to me. The men are stout and tall, generally very active, fairly good looking, with a good physiognomy. The women have not the Indian physiognomy. The men indulge in a sort of ball 526 play on the squares and ramparts.

000 "On the evening of the 4th the Sieur Nolant and my son arrived, well satisfied with their journey, having been well received and strongly urged to remain longer. The fort is on the bank of the river, as large again as this; the squares and streets are very fine and clean; their palisade is in the best order and strength; the whole built in the same fashion as the one in which we were. From what they could hear all their forts are alike; who saw one saw all, with this difference, that some were much larger than others. The nearest to the Pananas that the river appeared to go was, according to the compass, southwest by south, by signs given to them; the lower part may go to the sea to the southwest by west. They were often amused by broken talk; not being able to answer questions put to them, they answered something else, for want of understanding. The waters of their rivers come down with great rapidity, having many shoals. The water is not good for drinking, being brakish. We have constantly found from the last mountain almost all the marshes and ponds brakish or sulphurous. What they could understand was that on the lower part of the river there were men like us, who made cloth and linen, were very numerous and had wars with a large part of the Indians. We saw that it was useless to question them, as they

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clination to coalesce. The Mandan and Gros Ventre (or Minnetaree) languages are somewhat alike, and probably of a very distinct common origin; but no resemblance has yet been discovered between either of these and the Aricaree ('Ricaras'). Almost every member of each trib understands the languages of the other tribes, yet he speaks his own most fluently; so it is not an uncommon thing to hear a dialogue carried on in two languages, one person, for instance, questioning in Mandan, and the other answering back in Gros Ventre, and vice versa.

"Many of them understand the Dakota tongue, and use it as a means of intercommunication, and all understand the sign language. So, after all, they have no trouble in making themselves understood by one another. These Indians must have excellent memories and 'good capacity for study;' for it is not uncommon to find persons among them, some even under twenty years of age, who can speak fluently four or five different languages." (p. 17-18.)

As showing the aptness of the Rees and Mandans in working in glass or absidian, Matthews says:

Glass-Work—Beads. "The articles of glass spoken of above are chiefly of two kinds. First, large, globular, or ellipsoidal beads; and, second, flat, irregularly triangular plates or pendants, which are glazed only on one side, and have a hole at the apex. The art of making these deserves more than a mere mention, since it is commonly believed that the aboriginal Americans, even the more civilized races, knew nothing of the manufacture of glass at the time of the Columbian discovery. The very earliest ethnographical account we have of the Aricarees and Mandans shows that they knew how to make glass beads; and there is no doubt that the process employed in 1804 was essentially the same as that employed today." (Here follows the account given by Lewis and Clarke, already set forth herein and quoted by Matthews; after which he resumes:)

Not Glass Product. "This art is now only occasionally practiced in the village, and is mostly confined to the making of the flat triangular pendants. I have heard the process described in much the same way as in the above quotation. From this quotation, however, which is in part ambiguous, the inference might be drawn that the ornaments, when completed consist entirely of

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glass. Such is not the case in those I have seen; on the contrary, they consist of a core of baked earth covered with a thin shell of glass; and they have the appearance of having been perforated before heat was applied. But in the matter of making the holes, the process may have been changed, or there may have been two ways of doing it." (p. 20-21.) 323 301

Rees and Mandans—Glazed Ornaments? "The art of making these ornaments would appear to be old; yet the process as it existed in 1804 was evidently in part recent, since the Indians obtained the glass which they used from the whites. I have been informed by the Indians that in old days the art flourished among the Aricarees as well as among the Mandans; and certainly at the present day the Aricaree women understand it. I had two of the triangular pendants made to order in 1870, by an Aricaree woman, to whom I furished the blue glass necessary. When I gave instructions to have the articles made, I was invited to witness the process, but circumstances prevented me from doing so. One of these pendants was sent to the Smithsonian Institution. It is strange, if true, that these Indians should have obtained their knowledge of this art from the Snake Indians, a ruder and equally remote tribe. It is also strange, and undoubtedly true, that in 1804, as well as now, they did not make their glass, but obtained it ready-made, and merely fused it for their purposes, obtaining it, doubtlessly, from the whites. It is strange that within a few years after glass beads of European manufacture were first introduced among them, and when such beads must have commanded a high price, they should pulverize them and use the powder in making ruder and more unsightly articles after their own design. But it is not probable that they should have learned such an art from civilized people prior to 1804, when they had as yet seen but few whites, and when the whites they had seen were mostly rude Canadian frontiersmen, among whom it is not reasonable to suppose there were any persons versed in glass-making. I have heard Indians say, with uncertainty, that in former times they found glass in the hills, and pounded it for their beads; meaning perhaps that they used natural glass, which may be found where lignite beds have taken fire, and elsewhere on the upper Missouri. In view of all these facts, I have conjectured that they had the art of making glazed earthern ornaments before

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323 the whites came among them; and that when they saw the bril-
301 liantly colored beads of the traders, they conceived the idea of improving their art by using these beads. If they ever possessed the art of making glass de novo, there is no record, tradition, or other evidence of it, that I have been able to find."

Was It Ancient Art. "One of many reasons, though perhaps an insufficient reason, for believing the art to be of no recent origin among them, is that they used the triangular pendants, not as ornaments only, but as evidences of betrothal, as long ago as
[584] the oldest men can remember. When a girl was promised in marriage in her infancy by her parents, as was not infrequently done, one of these pendants was tied to her forelock so as to hang down over her forehead. When the promise was fulfilled, the husband removed the pendant and threw it away." (p. 22-23.)

439 **Inter-Tribal Trade.** "With the nomadic tribes around, they exchanged their agricultural produce for horses, and, recently,
[824] for robes. When the Dakotas saw a certain flower (Liatris punctata) blooming on the prairie, they knew that the corn was ripe, and went to the villages of the farming Indians to trade. From
721 the time they came in sight of the village to the time they disappeared there was a truce. When they had passed beyond the bluffs, they might steal an unguarded pony or lift a scalp, and were in turn liable to be attacked." (p. 27.)

439 **Trade With Pacific Coast—Shells.** "It appears probable that they once carried on trade indirectly with the tribes of the Pacific coast, for they had Dentalium shells similar to those obtained on the Pacific and they prized them so highly that the white traders found it advisable to obtain them for the trade. As late as 1866, ten of these shells, of inferior size, costing the traders only a cent a piece, would buy a superior buffalo robe, and formerly only two or three of the same quality were paid for a robe. Modern traders, with whom the writer had conversed, obtained their shells from eastern importers, and know nothing of the original source of supply. They supposed them to come from the Atlantic coast or the Great Lakes, and called them 'Iroquois shells,' which is probably their corruption of the Chinook 'hyakwa;' but it is possible the reverse is the case.

439 "They also used, and still use, as ornaments, fragments of the
301 **Abalone** shells (one or more species of **Haliotis**) of the Pacific.

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even the few surviving Mandans were driven from their own huts. 164
Subsequently these tribes were again thus afflicted, and from one who was then stationed at Fort Clarke and an eye-witness of the fact, I am informed that suicide was committed by the victims [762] throwing themselves over the bluffs of the river to the rocks below. De Smet states that both the smallpox and cholera created havoc among the northern Indians in 1851." (p. 227.)

The making of glass beads by the Mandans and Aricarees is 323 ●
alluded to by Wheeler, who says: 301

Glass Beads, Etc. "The Lewis and Clarke narrative for March 16th describes a process for making glass beads known to the Mandans.

"The Indians did not make the glass itself. This they obtained from the whites, but there is evidence that, prior to the appearance of the traders, they used obsidian, or natural glass, for this purpose. Dr. Matthews, as late as 1870, had flat triangular blue glass pendants made to order by an Aricaree woman, he furnishing the glass.

"These people also made unglazed pottery, mats, and baskets, 285
ladles and spoons, from the horns of the Rocky mountain sheep 323
(Ovius Montana) and the buffalo, and from the shoulder-blades 321
of the bison they fashioned the hoes with which they hoed the 178
ground in very early time. Since the whites came, the crude implements of the old days have been mostly supplanted by our household, garden, etc., utensils; but, in 1902, I purchased a fine sheep-horn ladle apparently in daily use still." (p. 228.)

Steinbreuck's Observations. Hon. E. R. Steinbreuck, field 000
officer of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, makes the further statement to the writer, in a letter dated May 24th, 1908, concerning the Mandan deserted villages, and their former habitat, as follows:

Unsolved Problems. "I think it is a difficult and as yet unsolved problem, to write the history of the Mandans, as aborigines of South Dakota. We have the end of the trail, not so the beginning. We don't know for certain where the Mandans came from. The end is in North Dakota and that is also the beginning of the traditions of the present Mandans. Their entire knowledge of their origin is limited to the Heart river region in North Da-

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garters and belts of buffalo hair. But they did make string 000
and willow matting. There is an account of a mat used on the 284
seat before the fire. Henry[1] says that the mat was of small 285
willows of equal size, fastened together by thread of native make passed through each stick about one foot apart. The mats were ten feet long, four feet broad, and the two ends for two and a half feet were raised slanting from the ground and supported by a kind of sofa. Verendrye says they made wicker work very neatly, flat, and in baskets.

The Mandans used snow-shoes which were only about two 481
and a half feet long.[2] For their dyes and paints they made use 386
of the following: red obtained from buffalo-berries, black from sunflowers, and yellow from a kind of moss which came from the Rocky Mountains. Blue, red, black, yellow and white clays were also used.

An indispensable article of the full dress was the fan. These 293
were made from the large plumes of the eagle, hawk, crow, and 237
a number of other birds, depending on the rank of the owner.

The Mandan pipes differed a trifle from those of their neigh- 276
bors, being less ornate.[3] They were either of stone, black clay, or yellow clay painted black. The stone pipes were obtained [439]
mostly from the Dakotas. Pipes with wooden bowls, lined with stone, were also used. The stem was long and round or flat. Catlin describes one pipe as of red steatite (catlinite) with a stem three feet long, half its length wound with braids of porcupine quills. They also had the calumet pipe which will be considered in connection with the ceremonies.

The Mandans and their neighbors the Arikara and Hidatsa 323
made glass beads, an art which they claimed was taught to them by the Snake Indians. They did not make the glass but used glass obtained through the whites. Lewis and Clarke[4] give a short account of the manufacture of beads which is exceedingly interesting. It may be thus summarized. The secret is known only to a few. Glass of several colors is pounded fine, each color separate; this is washed in several waters until the glass stops staining the water. They then take an

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 340.
[2] Maximilian: p. 390.
[3] Ibid., p. 391.
[4] March 16, 1805.

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323 earthen pot of some three gallons, put a platter in the mouth of the pot which has a nitch on its edge through which to watch the beads. Then some well seasoned clay, mixed with sand and tempered with water till of the consistency of dough, is taken, and from it are made a number of little sticks of the size of the hole desired in the bead. These are heated to a red heat and cooled again. The pot is also heated to clean it. Then small balls of the clay are made to serve as pedestals for the beads. The powdered glass, enough for one bead, is dipped into the palm of the hand with a little wooden paddle, where it is paddled into an oblong form, the clay stick is then laid across it and the glass is wound around the clay. The whole is then rolled in the hand till regular. To put in other colors the other end of the paddle stick, which is sharp, is used to make a hole which is then filled with another colored glass. A hole is then made in the center of each pedestal and a bead stuck in it. Then the platter is put in the coals and the pot is inverted over it; dry wood is placed about the whole and burnt; the beads are watched through the hole in the bottom of the pot, as overheating is harmful. When the beads are whitish red and grow pointed, they are taken off. The clay center is picked out with an awl.

415 323 Wooden bowls were used to some extent by the Mandans.[1] They also made very excellent pottery which was mentioned by nearly all their visitors. Verendrye says they had earthen pots which they used for cooking their food. Catlin speaks of earthenware dishes made in great quantities by the women and modelled into a thousand forms. He says they were of a tough, black clay, very hard, and were baked in prepared kilns. Henry[2] says they used large earthen pots of clay which was plentiful near the village. The pots held from one quart to five gallons. Nothing greasy was cooked in them as they claimed it cracked them. The bottoms of the pots were convex and they were set in the fire in a hole in the ashes. Coils of bois blanc fibres with a hole in the center, and of different sizes, were used to stand the pots on when off the fire. Some pots had two ears or handles.

[1] Catlin: vol. I, p. 114. [2] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 328.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Maximilian[1] also gives a description of the pottery;—"They make pots of different shapes and sizes. The clay is slate-colored and turns a yellowish red in the fire. It is mixed with powdered granite which has been burnt. A large round stone is stuck into the clay which is prevented from spreading sideways. It is polished with a piece of poplar bark. When shaped, it is filled with dry chips, and also surrounded by them on the outside, then burned. They use no enamel on the pots." This pottery has not been made for a number of years, and there are only a few whole samples of the cruder sort in collections. 323

AGRICULTURE:—The Mandans were, above all, an agricultural people, far more so than any of their neighbors. They have a tradition of having taught the Hidatsa how to cultivate the soil, and even the Arikara, who are said by some to have taught the Mandans, were somewhat inferior to the latter in the pursuit of agriculture. The Mandans were dependent on the soil for nearly all of their food, according to Verendrye, in 1738. By the time Lewis and Clarke came, however, they were about on the dividing line between being a hunting and an agricultural nation. They were not the hunters that their neighbors the Hidatsa were, because they were too weak in numbers to venture on long hunting trips. The agricultural ceremonies and dances shared honor with those of hunting, and the Old Woman Who Never Dies, or the Corn Mother, was an important personage in the ceremonial life of the people. 24 [177] [224] [176]

The land about the Mandan villages, smooth river bottoms and very fertile, was always extremely easy to work, and required but the crudest implements. Consequently the cultivation was fairly extensive. Maximilian says that each family cultivated three fields of four or five acres each, which were never fenced. The farms were shifted to a new place when the old area began to yield smaller crops. There seems to have been no attempt at fertilization, and it was hardly necessary in view of the great abundance of good land. Henry[2] gives an animated picture of the Mandan farming operations:

"We passed extensive fields of corn, beans, squashes and

[1] Op. cit., p. 396. [2] Op. cit., vol. I, pp. 343 et seq.

3; Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Potter's clay was commonly met with in small quantities. It was almost black, and very fine grained. Sometimes the clay was found pure, and sometimes it had already been mixed with coarse sand, made by burning and pulverizing granite. 172x 323

SHELL:—The shell remains in this village site were scanty. No layers or heaps of shells were found in any of the excavations, and none were in evidence in the dump. Thus it is to be presumed that shell-fish were comparatively little used for food. A 172x 321

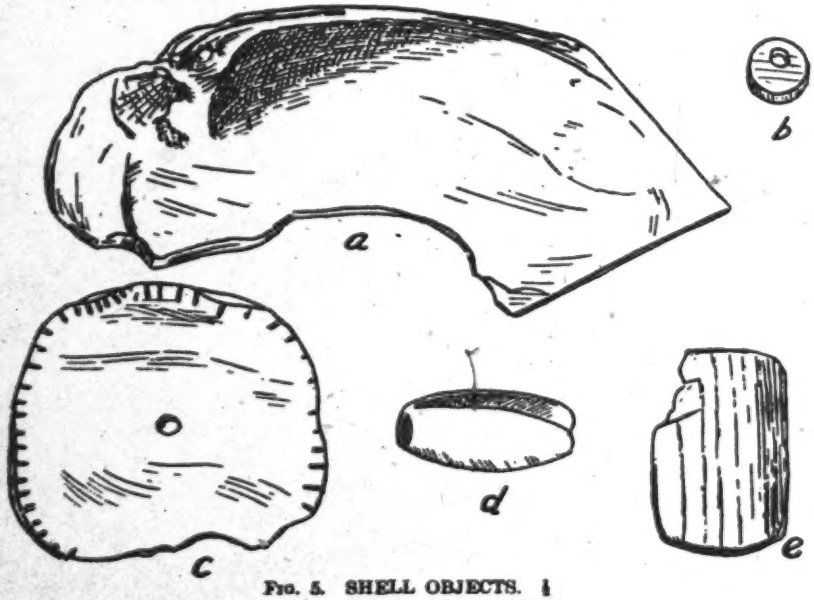

FIG. 5. SHELL OBJECTS. ½

few small shells were found in the mounds, and a few shells of the fresh water mussel, or Unio, were found scattered widely among the refuse in the mounds, caches and house rings. Some of the latter were also found in a house ring at the Ward site.

The Unio shells furnished easily worked material for useful and ornamental objects, and it is somewhat strange that more of these were not found. Fig. 5, *a*, shows an implement made by pointing one end of a unio shell. An implement very similar to this is said[1] to have been used in smoothing and shaping pottery.

[1] Notes on Canadian Pottery by F. W. Waugh: 13th Archaeological Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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X 172 form the handle. The only sign of wear is on the beak of the
321 bird's head. The use of this object is uncertain, but it is possible that it was part of the paraphernalia of a medicine man.

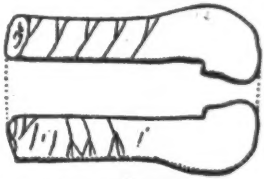

FIG. 12. BONE OBJECT WITH INCISED DECORATION. ½

Fig. 12 represents a portion of a well-made bone instrument which may have had a use similar to the above. This object is decorated with incised markings.

Several pieces of carved bones, representing various animal and bird heads, are reported to have been found in the various village sites, but no opportunity was given to inspect them.

X 172 POTTERY:—The pottery of the Mandans, judging by the
●323 fragments found at the different village sites, is one of the most
171 interesting features of their culture. It is an excellent ware, thin, well-made, and with a characteristic development of form and ornament. The excellence of the pottery is the more remarkable when it is called to mind that the Mandans were at the northwestern limits of the pottery area. North of them, indeed, on the Mouse River, some crude pottery of uncertain origin is found. South of them, the Arikara and Omaha practised the ceramic art, being influenced in it by the pottery makers of the Mississippi valley. East of them, for several hundred miles, lived nomadic tribes who were apparently unacquainted with pottery, while the pottery of Wisconsin was too remote to exert an influence.

X 172 Mandan pottery is mentioned by almost all the early ex-
323 plorers, but no one gives an extended description of it, or a sufficiently detailed account of the method of manufacture. None of this pottery has been made for many years by the survivors of the tribe, but a knowledge of it can be gathered from a study of the fragments which have been preserved.

The pottery is, for the most part, a black ware, although sometimes it turned dull orange or red from firing. The un-

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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baked clay, small quantities of which were found in the mounds is bluish black in color, fine grained, and tough. It was tempered with coarse sand made by burning and pulverizing granite bowlders. Occasionally, the pots seem to have been painted with red pigment on the inside, but the use of a clay size is extremely doubtful.

The method employed in making pottery is not disclosed very fully by the fragments. Still something can be added to Maximilian's account given on page 117 of this paper.

Comparatively few of the pottery fragments show much of this evidence of the method of manufacture. The pots appear to have been smoothed and often slightly polished with a stone or other implement. The surface of some of the potsherds is scratched as if a handful of dry grass had been used to smooth them.

The vessels had a considerable range in size and shape; the largest had a capacity of four or five gallons, while toy pots,

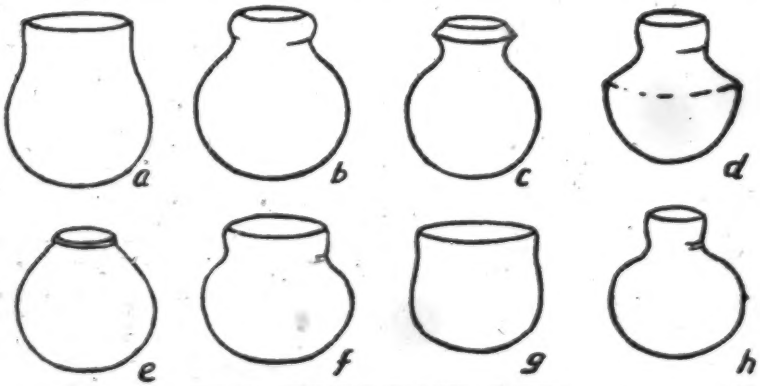

FIG. 13. TYPICAL SHAPES OF POTS.

two inches in diameter, were sometimes made. Fig. 13 illustrates some of the more common shapes, as reconstructed from fragments. There seems to have been no attempt to maintain a series of types. No two pots are exactly alike in form or ornament, and all intermediate shapes between the ones given are found. This variation did not lead to unusual or grotesque forms. Fig. 13, *d*, shows about the extreme of individual development. The bottoms of the pots were rounded, the

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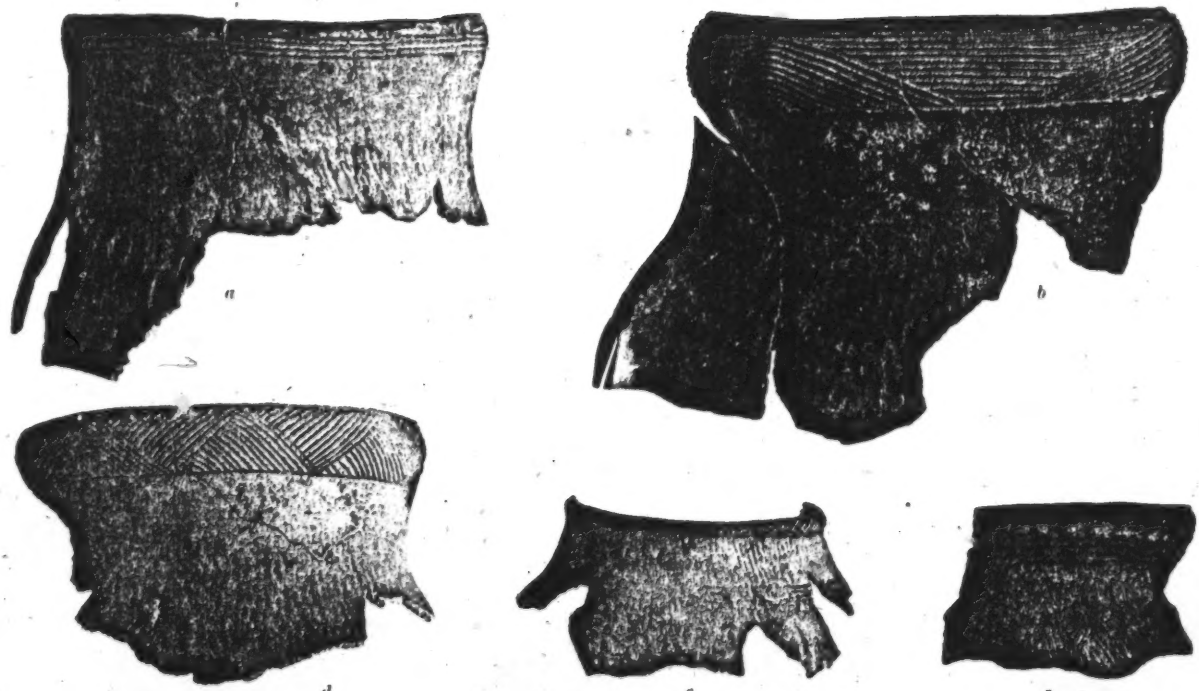

LARGE FRAGMENTS OF MANDAN POTS.

[P. 174 (A)]

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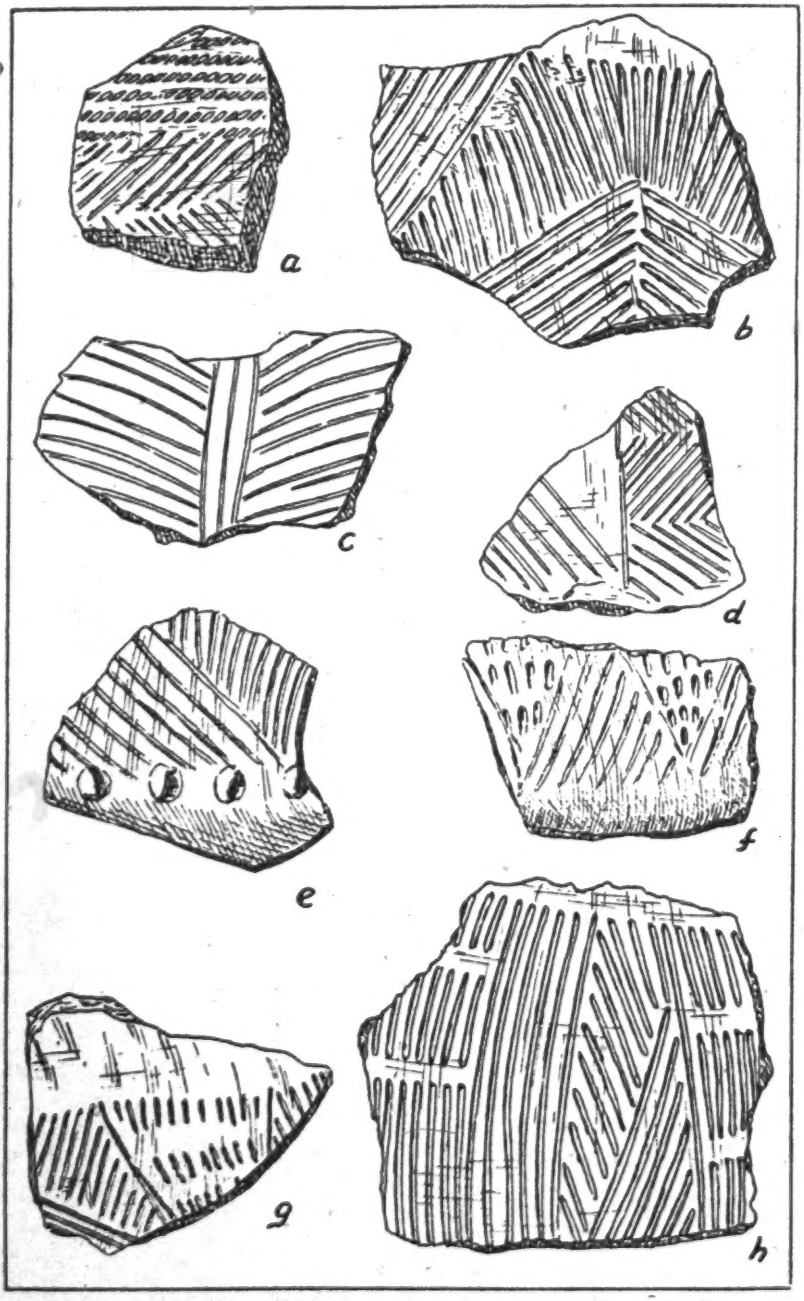

INCISED POTTERY FRAGMENTS.

[P. 174 (B)]

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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mouths wide, and the short neck more or less constricted. The profile of the rim is characterized by a reverse curve. Often these profiles have very fine lines and present much diversity.

Fig. 13, *a*, shows the most common and crudest form of pots, such as were used for the coarsest work. Sometimes these rude pots were entirely undecorated, but usually they had three or four encirling cord marks around the rims or shoulders. Fig. 13, *b*, *c*, *d*, and *f*, present more finely shaped pots which show the short neck and the reverse curve profile. In Fig. 13, *h*, the form approaches that of a bottle. Fig. 13, *e*, shows a form of pot in which the neck is absent. The mouth is smaller than usual, in comparison with the largest diameter of the pot. Fig. 13, *g* represents the bowl form, which was rather common. No pottery of the platter form was found, although it may have existed.

The ornamentation of Mandan pottery is interesting and characteristic. It may be roughly divided under two heads incised, and cord-marked. Incised design is neither so uniformly nor so characteristically developed as cord-mark design. In few cases can a unit of incised design be extracted. Cord-mark design is applied to the rim and to the neck of the pot, while incised design is applied almost entirely to the shoulder. For this reason incised design is usually found in combination with cord marking.

In incised design the incising consists of long and short lines such as could be made by a shell moulding tool like that shown in Fig. 5, *a*, or by some other pointed implement. These lines are often very evenly made, and seem to be comb markings. But examination shows that the lines are not exactly parallel as they would be if made by a toothed instrument (Plate XXXVIII, fig. *h*). The most common pattern of incised design is that in which the lines are arranged to form a zigzag around the shoulder of the pot. A fine example of this is seen in Fig. 16, and a freer use of the same pattern is shown in Plate XXXVII, fig. *e*. Often parallel lines are drawn, as a sort of cross-hatching, in irregular areas (Plate XXXVIII, figs. *b*, *g*, *h*). In the first of these, the suggestion of an elaborate design is destroyed by the evidence of other fragments from the same

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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pot. The herring-bone pattern is found in several fragments (Plate XXXVIII, figs. *a*, *d*, and in text, Fig. 14). The pattern shown in Plate XXXVIII, fig. *c*, is one in which the circumference of the pot was divided into several sections by a series of vertical lines, and the areas thus formed were decorated by curved cross lines. Perhaps the most regular of incised line

FIG. 14. INCISED POTTERY FRAGMENT SHOWING HERRING-BONE PATTERN.

patterns is that shown in Plate XXXVIII, fig. *f*. Here a band around the shoulder of the pot is divided into triangular areas by a zigzag line, then all the triangles pointing down are filled with short dashes, while the alternate ones, pointing up, are marked with oblique lines. Plate XXXVIII, fig. *g*, shows a less orderly form of the triangular area decorated with short lines. Figs. 14 and 15 show undecorated areas in the midst of decorated ones. In Fig. 15 the middle zone of the pot seems to have been divided into rectangles which were further divided by diagonals. The upper and lower quarters, thus made, were decorated by diagonal lines, the side areas remaining untouched. From the rest of the design, given on the fragment, it is evident that this idea was not carried out in an orderly fashion. Fig. 16 shows a fragment having a row of indentations round the body of the vessel.

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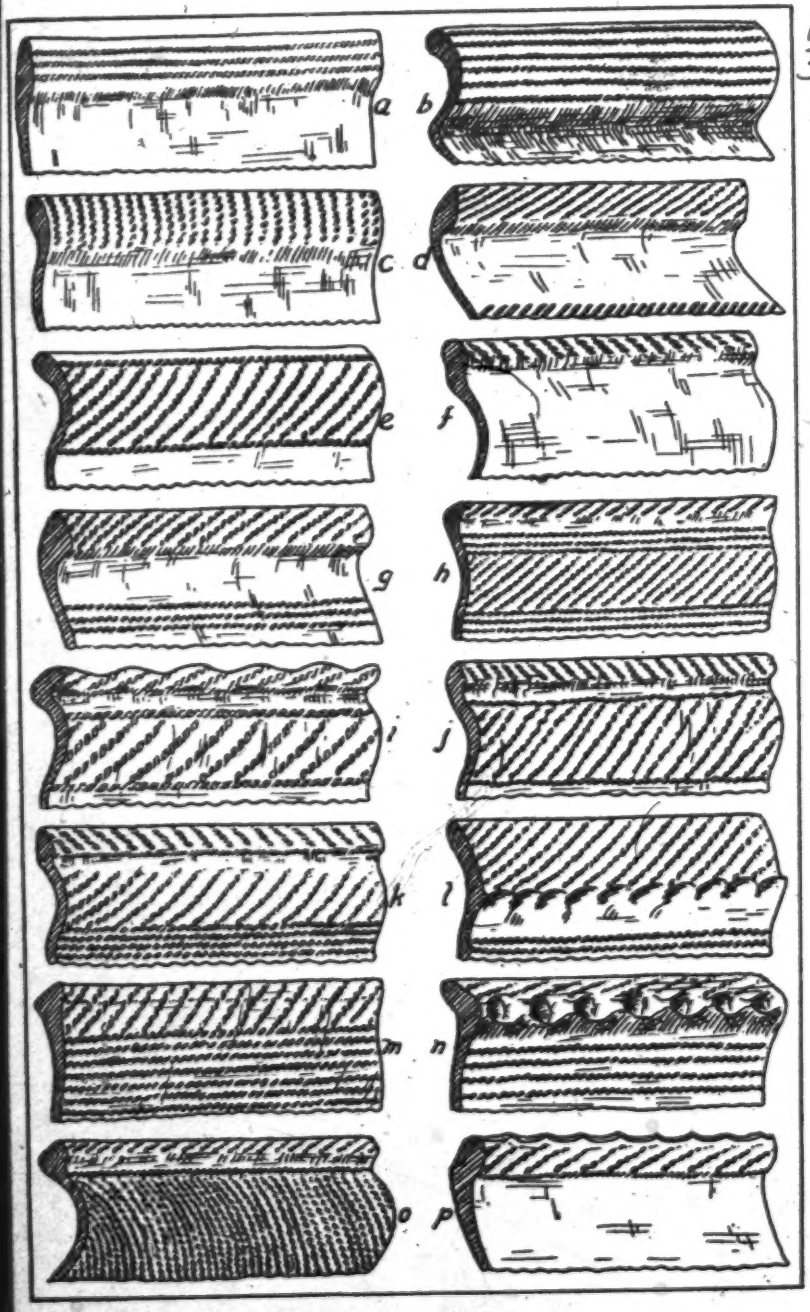

POTTERY ORNAMENTATION.

[P. 176 (A)]

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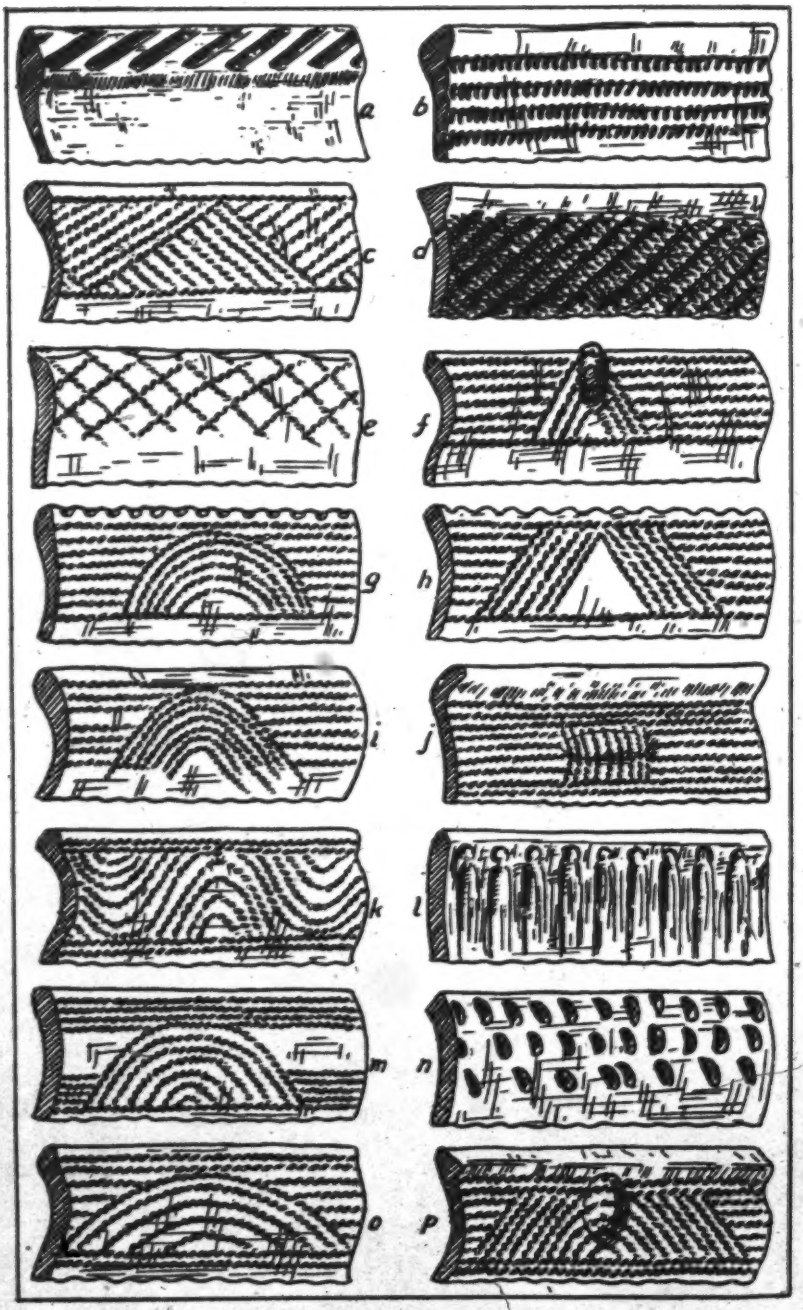

POTTERY ORNAMENTATION.

[P. 176 (B)]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Thus it is seen, that while there is considerable variety in incised design, it is not developed in an orderly manner. It is put on freely and at haphazard.

Cord-mark design, on the other hand, shows much neatness, order and precision. It also shows amazing variety within certain

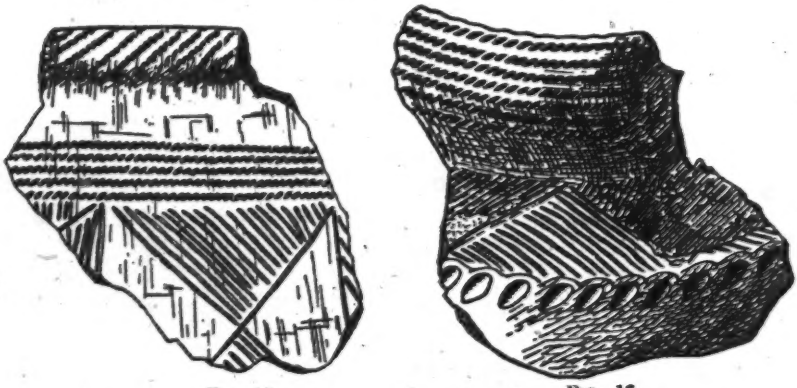

FIG. 15. FIG. 16.
POTTERY FRAGMENTS SHOWING THE COMBINATION OF CORD MARKED AND INCISED DESIGN.

narrow limits. Rectilinear designs preponderate and curvilinear forms occur only in conjunction with them. Sinuous lines were not found, except in one pattern (Plate XL, fig. *k*) where the semicircular arcs reverse.

Plates XXXIX and XL show the principal variations of cord-marked patterns. The cord-marked designs extend in bands around the rim of the pot. The bands are made up either of simple encircling lines (Plate XXXIX, figs. *a* and *b*) or of short, diagonal lines, often bounded by the encircling lines. Some of these patterns show much neatness in covering up the ends of the diagonal lines by the horizontal lines, (Plate XXXIX, figs. *e*, *h*, *i*, etc.) All the combinations of direction of the diagonal lines are shown in the different potsherds. No two patterns are found to be exactly alike, the number of the cord marks varying greatly, as also the form of the profile to which the design is fitted. Some of the designs are very neatly put on, while others are carelessly done. The size of the cord marks vary,—some of the string was evidently very fine, while some was quite coarse.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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The designs in which triangles, rectangles and arcs are inserted are so arranged that these insertions come at regular points on the circumference. Usually there are four of these points (Plate XL, figs. *f, g, h, i, j, m, o, p*).

Besides the cord marks, the ornamentation is often enhanced by scalloping the rim as in Plate XXXIX, fig. *p*, or by rendering it wavy as in Plate XXXIX, fig. *i* and Plate XL, figs. *e, g, h*. Sometimes a sharp angle is decorated with indentations, as in Plate XXXIX, fig. *n*. Sometimes the underside of a band of cord markings is bounded by a series of finger impressions, as in Plate XXXIX, fig. *l*. Knobs are frequently used in the center of the triangular or arc-like insertions, as in Plate XL, figs. *f, j, p*.

In Plate XL, fig. *a*, is a design made by impressing a small stem into the soft clay in the same manner as the cord impressions were made. Plate XL, fig. *b*, shows a design apparently made by impressing a small stick wound with a skin thong. It may, however, have been made by a string of shell beads. Plate XL, fig. *l*, shows a rough pattern made by a series of small holes, directly under which is an imprint, perhaps that of the paddle stick used in toughening the clay. Plate XL, fig. *n*, is a crude ornamentation made by the prints of the the thumb nail.

Only one example of textile impression is found, that shown in Plate XL, fig. *d*. The piece of pottery which shows this was picked up near the town of Mandan. The fabric from the imprint, seems to have been made of cords which are woven around a series of heavy cords or withes.

As before mentioned, an oval stone, which was evidently pecked into shape, was found in one of the house sites. This was probably one of the kind on which the bottoms were moulded. The pot was apparently beaten with paddle sticks, of various kinds, to toughen the clay. Plate XLI reproduces several potsherds which show markings. Sometimes the fragments show crisscross markings, as if a paddle covered with matting were used (figs. *f, g, i, m, n* and *o*). Sometimes fine check markings (figs. *c, d* and *e*) suggest that an incised paddle was used. More frequently, however, the markings are such as to suggest the use of a small spatulate stick (figs. *h, j, k, l, p* and *q*). The

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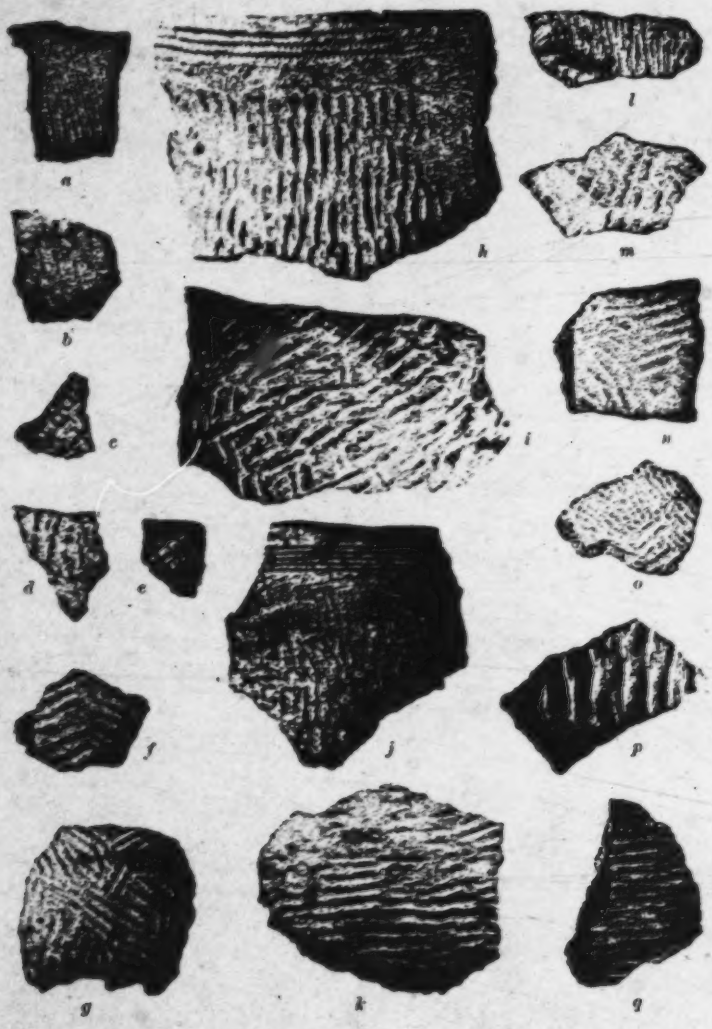

POTSHERDS SHOWING PADDLE AND OTHER MARKINGS.

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[P. 178 (A)]

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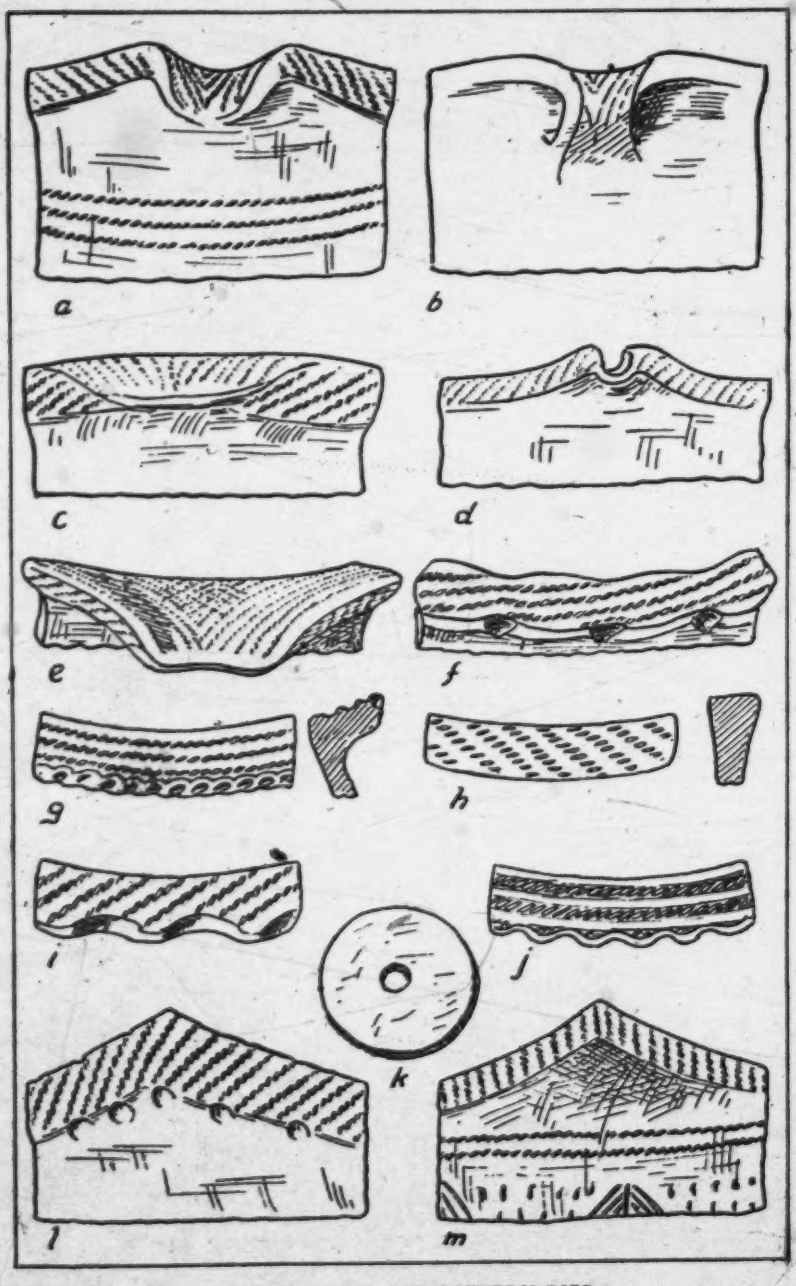

POTTERY RIMS AND POTTERY DISC.

[P. 178 (B)]

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

x172 markings, when roughly parallel, are either horizontal or vertical. Usually the markings around the necks of the pots are vertical.

●323 Sometimes the upper surface of the rim was impressed with cords or otherwise ornamented. Plate XLII, figs. *f* to *j*, gives representations of the different modes. Another kind of ornamentation, which was only slightly employed, was to form the edge of the pot into a series of broad serrations or crescent-shaped depressions. Apparently there were four or more cusps to the circumference. Examples of the cusps are shown in Plate XLII, figs. *l* and *m*. In this feature the Mandan pottery closely resembles the pottery around the Great Lakes. [[71]]

Many of the Mandan pots were provided with ears, lugs or spouts, the last evidently used to assist in pouring (Plate XLII, figs. *a* and *e*). A lug is shown in Plate XLII, fig. *b*. Sometimes the ear or lug may have been used only as a detail of ornamentation. Plate XLII, fig. *c*, gives a case in which the presence of the lug is disclosed by the cord marks. Plate XLII, fig. *d*, shows a peculiar spout-like opening which seems too small to have served any useful purpose.

Two or three fragments of pottery showing a perforation were found. The perforation was probably to enable some break to be mended.

No pipes made of pottery were found. The only other article of pottery, besides the potsherds, was the perforated disc shown in Plate XLII, fig. *k*. This object is about an inch in diameter.

x172 241 VEGETABLE REMAINS: — The materials of vegetable origin in the excavations were nearly all charred and consequently many points about them cannot be considered. However, there are a number of interesting details which coincide as far as they go with historical information concerning the Mandan agriculture. The actual remains of vegetables found were those of corn, beans, squash or pumpkins. The seeds of sunflowers and small black seeds of a sort of pig-weed (*Chenopodium sp.*) were also found.

The corn remains were mostly of cobs, from which the grain had been cut off, leaving only an occasional kernel. One or two pieces of ears with the kernels and part of the husk intact

262 which is so favourite a dish among the northern Indians, is not much in use among the Mandans. Their only drink is water, for they are unacquainted with the method of preparing fermented liquors. They did not obtain any spirits, either from the American Fur Company, or the agents [273] of Messrs. Soublette and Campbell; hence an intoxicated person is scarcely ever seen. They are extremely fond of sugar, and likewise of salt, which they procure from their lakes, and, if the supply is insufficient, purchase from the Whites. They are likewise fond of coffee and tea, well sweetened. It has been affirmed, that several North American nations, especially those which speak the Algonquin language, are cannibals, and more particularly the Chippeways and the Potawatomis; but I found no trace of this unnatural custom among the Missouri nations.

592 Two, and sometimes three, families usually live together in an Indian hut, commonly the
593 father, with his married sons or sons-in-law. Polygamy is everywhere practised, and the number
596 of wives differs; however, they have very seldom more than four, and, in general, only one. The women are very skilful in various kinds of work, particularly in dyeing and painting the buffalo
386 robes. They extract a red colour from the roots of the savoyenne, or from buffalo berries; yel-
824 low from a lichen of the Rocky Mountains; black from belianthus, as well as from a black stone
439 or clay; blue and green they extract from European substances. Among the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, the women, as Lewis and Clarke relate, manufacture beads from coloured glass. They powder those which they have obtained from the traders, and mould them into different shapes. This custom is, however, no longer common. The dyeing of the skins, of
323 which many travellers have spoken, employs a great portion of the women's time. These three nations understand the manufacture of earthen pots and vessels, of various forms and sizes. The clay is of a dark slate colour, and burns a yellowish-red, very similar to what is seen in the burnt tops of the Missouri hills. This clay is mixed with flint or granite, reduced to powder by the action of fire. The workwoman forms the hollow inside of the vessel by means of a round stone which she holds in her hand, while she works and smooths the outside with a piece of poplar bark. When the pot is made, it is filled and surrounded with dry shavings, and then burnt,
501 when it is ready for use. They know nothing of glazing. With respect to their boats, the North Americans are far more expert than the Brazilians, Patagonians, and other South Americans, who live on the banks of rivers, and yet have contrived no means to pass them. The Chippeways and other northern nations have handsome vessels of birch bark; the Esquimaux makes his kiack, which is curiously covered with seal skin; and on the Missouri, especially among the Mandans, there are boats of buffalo skin, which are represented in the plates accompanying this work. They are very light, of a circular form, stretched on a frame of several pieces of wood crossing each other, and may be carried on the shoulder of a single individual.

584 If a young Indian desires to marry, and has obtained the consent of the girl, he endeavours to procure that of her father; when he is certain of this, he brings two, three, nay, even eight or

10: Neill H4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

formed by the women in the morning.[2] Their sweet corn and beans are boiled whole; they make use of large earthen pots of their own manufacture, made of black clay, of which they have plenty near their villages. They make them of different sizes, from five gallons to a quart. In these vessels is never anything of a greasy nature.[1] * * * * * The bottoms of the pots are of an oblong shape; it therefore requires much care to keep them from upsetting, for which purpose when they are put to the fire a hole is made in the ashes to secure and prop them erect, and when taken away they are placed upon a sort of mat made of the fibers of the bois blanc; these coils or rugs are made of different sizes, according to the dimensions of the several pots, which keeps them firm and secure. Some of these pots are provided with two cones, or handles.[1] * *

Baptiste La France made his appearance here. This man had left the Prairie la Souris [Mouse River] with a small assortment of goods for the purpose of trading, equipped by the Hudson Bay Company. He now resides upon the south side of the river, at the great Mandane village,* and hearing of the arrival of white people, he came over to us. He now informed the chief, Black Cat, who his guests were and the cause of our visit, which was mere curiosity. [The chief] instantly retired to his family hut and brought out his flag, which was given him in 1804–5; they alsogave him a silver medal, and the same articles were also given to the principal chief of each of the other villages, also several very useful utensils were left amongst them.† I saw the remains of an excellent large corn mill, which the foolish fellows had demolished on purpose to barb their arrows; the largest piece of it which they could not break nor work up into any weapon they have now fixed to a wooden handle, and make use of it to pound marrow bones, to make grease."

We were now desirous of crossing the river, therefore sent off La France to engage people of the opposite village to come over for us.[2] * * * * * * * We were now informed that eight canoes were in waiting for us, from the opposite side, and the same number of young men had come over to assist in crossing our horses.[2] * * * * On our going over to the war side we found the chief of the Great Mandan village, Le Gros Blanc. He was waiting with his own canoe to ferry over Mr. Chaboillez and me. He appeared very

†To each chief, Lewis and Clarke presented a medal, a flag, and a uniform coat. In the narrative of the expedition is the following sentence: "A variety of other presents were distributed, but none seemed to give them more satisfaction than the iron corn mill, which we gave to the Mandans."

†The Mandans, about 1760, were settled on the banks of the Missouri, eighty miles below, seven villages on the west and two on the east side of the river. The two villages were reduced by small-pox, and moved up the river and settled a village near the Receivers, and afterwards the people of the other village joined them. In 1796 they were in two villages at the points where Henry found them, on opposite sides of Missouri, about three miles apart.

[1] [Category 116, p. 328.-A.] [2] [Category 116, p. 329.-A]

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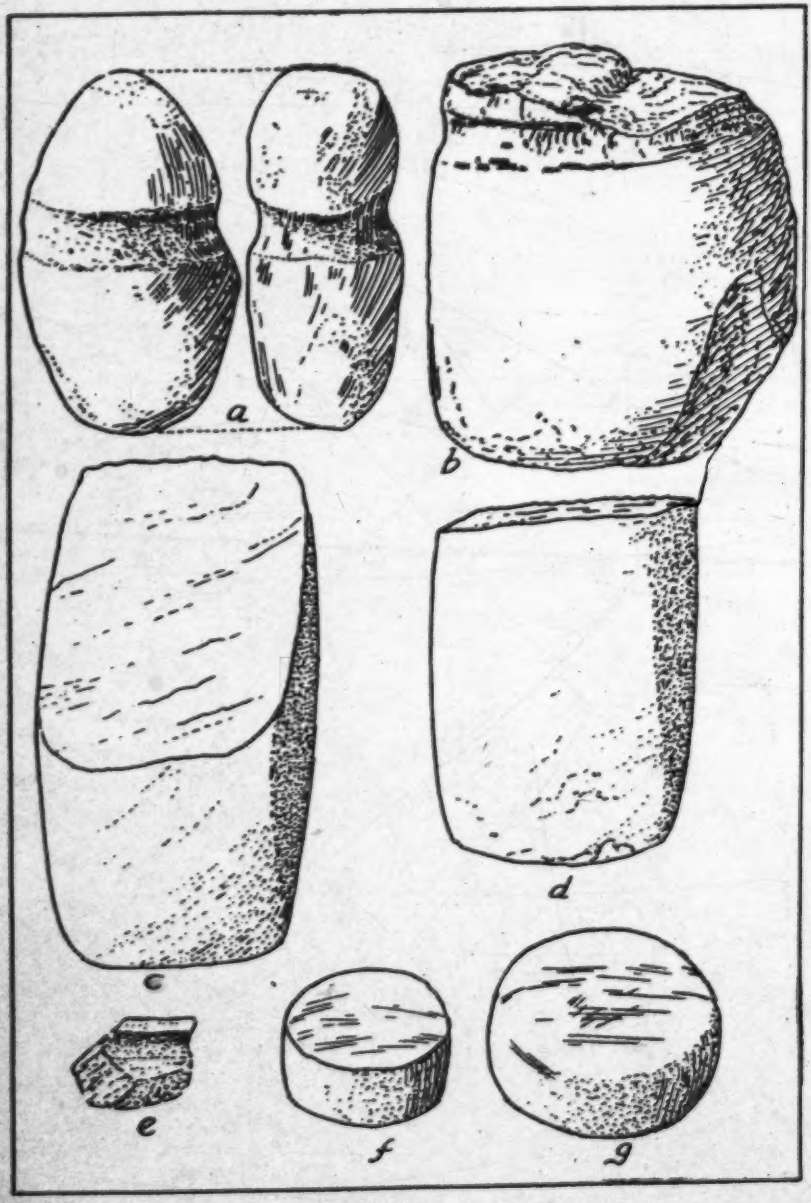

LARGE STONE OBJECTS. ¼

[Facing p. 162]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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x172 struction, and two of the large depressions were partly explored and established as house sites. A number of cache pits were cleared. The size of the ditch was ascertained and work was done on all the types of remains within the ditch. The smaller type of mound was also investigated, as well as the dump heap along the bluff. The only thing which was not located was the palisade described as on the outer side of the ditch.

x172 ●324 412 STONE:—Stone was used by the inhabitants of this old village as material for many articles, large and small. The larger stone objects comprised hammers, axes, celts, discoidal mullers, and large elliptical chipped blades. The smaller specimens may be classed under knives, arrowheads and spearheads, scrapers, chippers, and decorated stones of uncertain use. Some of the implements probably had other uses than those suggested by this list.

Although few large stone pieces were found, the variety was considerable. Plate XXXII, fig. *b*, represents the lower portion of a heavy granite maul. It is in a crumbly state owing to the action of fire. The groove is narrow but well marked, and is without any protruding rim or flange. The striking surface is flat and somewhat elliptical in shape, measuring four inches in its longest diameter.

Plate XXXII, fig. *a*, shows a hammer of red quartzite. This implement, made from a stream-worn stone which did not require much shaping, is divided into two nearly equal parts by a well-made pecked groove. This hammer was found in a boulder layer on hardpan at the east end of Work 2.

One crudely made grooved axe was found, the material being a hard greenstone, probably diorite. The two edges were roughly chipped into shape and the wide, shallow groove about the middle was made by grinding or pecking.

Two axes, showing much finer workmanship, are without grooves, and belong to the class known as celts. These are shown in Plate XXXII, figs. *c* and *d*. They are made of pecked and polished diorite and are bilaterally symmetrical.

Four discoidal stones were unearthed. Two of these were in perfect condition and are shown in Plate XXXII, figs. *f* and *g*, the other two were broken. These discoidal stones are of granite

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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X 172 or quartzite, well shaped, and measuring from an inch to an inch and a half in thickness, and from an inch and a half to ● 324 three inches in diameter. Most of the signs of grinding and 412 wear are shown on the circumference. One shows discoloration on both of the faces. The use of these stones is problematical. They may have been used as mullers to grind paint, as the discoloration on one of them suggests, or they may have been used in some game. They resemble the Chungkee stone of the Southern tribes. In the Mandan game of Skohpe, stones described as "rings" were used.

X 172 The large chipped blade forms were probably put to a 324 variety of uses. Some may have been used for lanceheads and 411 some for spikes to be inset in war clubs. The largest of these blades is shown in Plate XXXIII, fig. *e*. It measures about six inches in length and is made of a gray chert or fine grained argillite. Shorter blades of the same material are shown in Plate XXXIII, figs. *a*, *b*, *d*, *f*. These are all roughly chipped, and do not present much of a cutting edge. Figs. *g* to *k* illustrate various forms of other large blades.

X 172 The characteristic forms of the smaller implements are shown 324 in Plate XXXIV. The knives (Figs. *a*, *g* to *k*) show a variety of 412 shapes. They average about three and a half inches in length and about five eights of an inch in width. Some are double pointed, and some are squared off at one end. Some are symmetrical in outline and others are not. The material commonly used is a fine grained gray quartzite, but sometimes specimens made from dark colored flints are met with. Many knives were found in the mounds and in the cache pits.

X 172 It is impossible to draw any definite line between the differ- 324 ent classes of small implements. Thus, what are termed spear- 411 heads may have been used for knives, and vice versa. Arrowheads differ from spearheads only in size, the former seldom being over one and a half inches in length. A fine leaf-shaped spearhead is shown in Plate XXXIV, fig. *d*. It is made of brownish flint. A wide-stemmed, elliptical one of the same material is shown in Fig. *r*, while Fig. *o* shows a perforator.

Arrowheads of most of the common shapes were found, although they were not very abundant. The material used

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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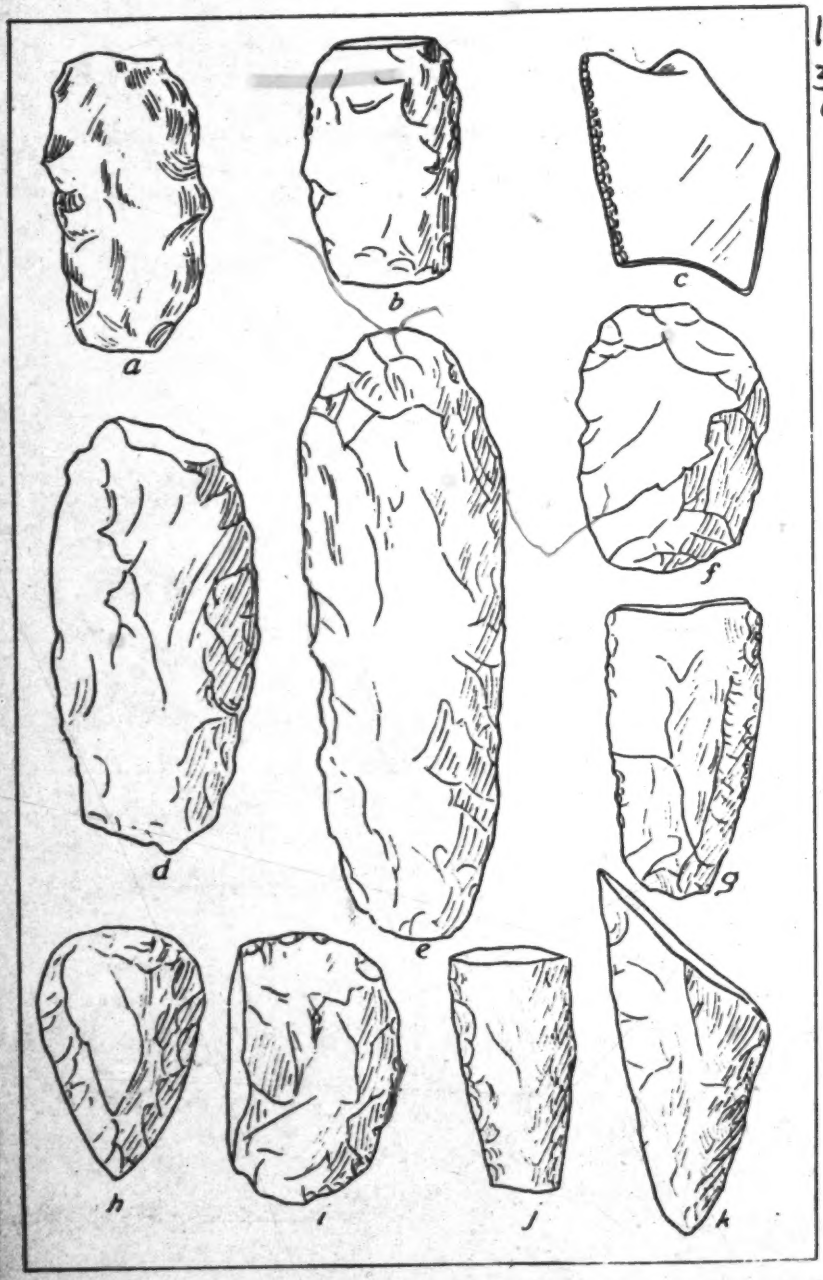

LARGE CHIPPED BLADES. ¼

[P. 164 (A)]

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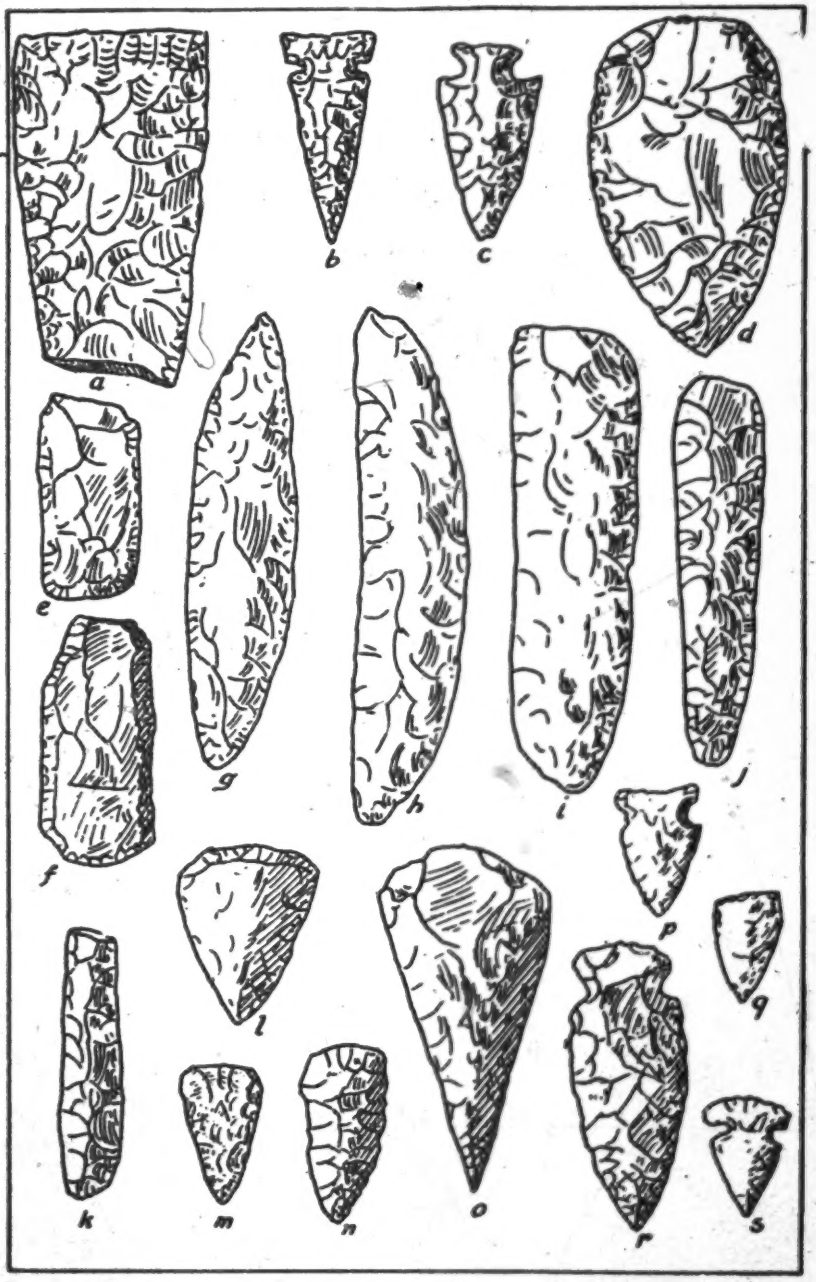

SMALL STONE OBJECTS: KNIVES, PERFORATORS, SCRAPERS, SPEARHEADS, AND ARROWHEADS. ⅓

[P. 164 (B)]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

for arrowheads was largely flint. A selection of the different types is shown in Plate XXXIV, figs. *b*, *c*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *q* and *s*.

Flint, chert, and quartzite scrapers were in great abundance. Some were of the "turtle back" form (Plate XXXIV, fig. *l*), flat on one side and convex on the other. Some were irregular flakes with one chipped edge (Plate XXXIII, fig. *c*). Some were roughly rectangular in shape (Plate XXXIV, figs. *e* and *f*), while others were leaf-shaped (Plate XXXIII, fig. *h*).

Flint chips were often found in layers and pockets. Near the bottom of the central cache pit in Work 5, an extensive layer of red and yellow flint chips was encountered. Double handfuls of flint and chert chips were found in various places in the mounds.

Pieces of pumice-stone were often met with in the different village sites. They were used, apparently, as whetstones to sharpen bone awls, and are sometimes deeply grooved as a result of such grinding. Other stones were also used for this purpose.

Plate XXXII, fig. *e*, shows a rasp for smoothing arrowshafts. It is made of a coarse yellow sandstone. It is very similar to rasps found among the Omaha.

Pebbles showing at the ends an abraded surface were common objects in the mounds and cache pits. These were chipping stones and were used in working flint and chert. They were of various kinds of stone, red jasper, diorite, quartzite and sandstone being noted.

Water-worn boulders, seldom over six inches in diameter, were common in all parts of the site. They were such as could be picked up on the prairie or buttes. Layers of boulders were found around the fireplaces in the two house sites explored. An extensive layer was found on hardpan in the eastern end of Work 2.

Some of these boulders gave evidence of having been broken. One showed signs of pecking. This one was oval in shape, and may have been used in shaping the bottoms of pots.

There still remains for consideration a class of ornamented stone objects of uncertain use. Three rectangular flat stones come under this head. All of these stones have diagonal cross

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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markings on one side. The largest is shown in Fig. 4, *a*. It is about two inches in width by two and a half in length, and a quarter of an inch in thickness. One face is smooth, and the other is marked by double diagonal lines which pass through

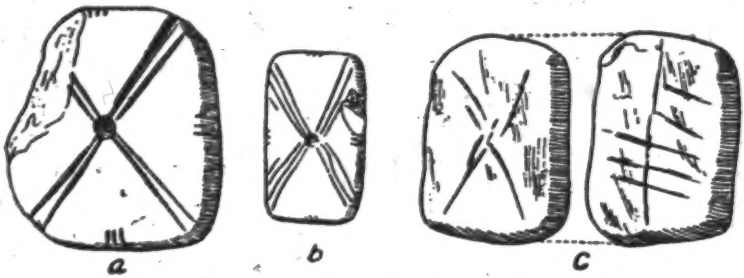

FIG. 4. RECTANGULAR STONE OBJECTS. ¼

an indentation in the center. Each edge has three notches. Fig. 4, *b*, shows a similar stone object, smaller, and somewhat longer in proportion. It is made of catlinite. This has also three notches on each edge, but the diagonal lines are triple, though not so definite, nor so deeply incised. Fig. 4, *c*, shows a cruder stone object of the same general character as the two above described. The material is a yellow clay-stone. The stone is rudely shaped and marked. It has no notches on the edge. On one face is a diagonal marking, and on the other a series of lines, some of which cross a line running lengthwise of the stone.

The stones may have been used as counters in some sort of game. Somewhat similar articles of bone were found, one of which is shown in Plate XXXVI, fig. *r*.

A small piece of the tubular base of a pipe of catlinite was uncovered in the refuse, near the bottom of the central cache-pit in Work 5.

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Besides the worked stone and boulders, various mineral paints and colored earths were found. Lumps of fine yellow clay, which may well have been used for paint, were collected in the mounds. Small quantities of red paint were found in loose lumps and adhering to fragments of pottery. Pieces of mica-schist, deeply tinged with iron, may have been ground up into brown paint.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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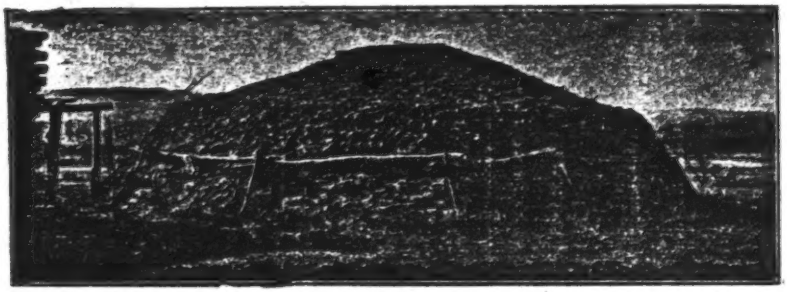

OLD EARTH LODGE.

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A SUMMER COTTAGE.

[face p. 289]

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

197 concerning correspondence between languages, however distinct in origin, if applied to the Mandan and Sioux languages, would 144 seem to tend strongly to suggest caution as to their identity, judging upon the facts set forth in the foregoing quotations from Rev. R. D. Hall.

181 **Peaceably Inclined.** The Mandans are unquestionably and justly regarded by substantially all the whites who have been among them from the earliest period of their discovery to have been peaceably inclined, in a sense which distinguished them from most of the warlike tribes who surrounded them on the upper Missouri. Yet they possessed high qualities of valor and actual prowess at arms when invasion of their rights led them to war, in some of which contests they without hesitation took the offensive and proved their ability to cope with their enemies under circumstances placing them at a disadvantage. They also maintained exceptionally friendly relations with the whites.

000 **Highly Civilized.** Their habitations in strongly entrenched and palisaded "forts," as they were called by the whites; the indubitable proofs of their having been agriculturalists in an eminent degree; their relatively polished and kindly mannerisms and unstinted hospitality, and their skill as artisans in fashioning pottery and other utensils adequate to their needs as families and communities—all seem to argue conclusively an exceptionally high state of civilization and such as marks them as being in a substantial degree apart from all other Indian tribes of the northwest. There are phases of their religious ceremonies which, coupled with some of their legends, lend strong support to the theory of the high character of their civilization and, taken in connection with all their other attributes, including physiognomy, are undeniably persuasive towards the conclusion that they have white blood in their veins and which must have existed for centuries.

342 The writer will not descend to a detailed description of the individual lodge, or hut, of the Mandans. It would be useless as mere repetition in substance of the various pen pictures given of them by a number of the early observers whose accounts are set forth hereinafter, and to which the reader or the student is referred. Suffice it to remark here that a substantial error has gone into prominent Indian literature upon the subject of the characteristics of such lodges, in Catlin's account and through

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

his drawings of the lodges of the Aricaras at their village near the mouth of Grand river, and which he merely passed by on the river when he visited the Mandans in 1833, in which connection he states that the lodges of both of those tribes were substantially identical in form and general construction, which is true. His point of observation having been the deck of the steamer, which in its progress up or down the river was, of course, at some distance from the Aricara village which he sketched, he failed to observe that the outer surface of the lodge, below the line where the lower part of the roof joined the sides, was not a curved surface, nor in strictly circular form, but that it was formed of many planes, each of which stood at an angle with the two others joining it, and that instead of the floor surface of the lodge being a circle it was in the form of an ellipse. He also considerably overestimated the height of the lodge in his drawings. These defects in his observations have been remarked upon by many subsequent writers and by some whose personal observations of both Mandan and Aricara lodges enable them to speak with authority. This point will be brought out in some quotations from later observers found in this paper. He also wholly failed to observe another vital feature of the Mandan lodges, and which it is somewhat strange that he overlooked, viz., the covered entrance to the lodge, some ten feet long by about four feet wide and some seven feet high.

342

Nor will we dwell longer upon any phase of the Mandans by way of preliminary, but will proceed now to bring into the account a few quotations embodying the conclusions of some of the authoritative publications upon the Mandans, followed by the narratives of the various visitors and observers already referred to, in chronological order, with occasional comments by the way.

000

From the "Handbook of American Indians," published by the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1907, we glean the following:

Mandan. A Siouan Tribe of the Northwest. The name, according to Maximilian, originally given by the Sioux, is believed by Matthews to be a corruption of the Dakota Mawatani. Previous to 1830 they called themselves simply Numakiki, "people" (Matthews). Maximilian says: "If they wish to particularize their descent they add the name of the village whence they came originally."

101

Hayden gives Miahtanes, "people on the bank," as the name

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

whites; it would take a whole summer to make the journey, and that since they were at war with the Pananas the men would not undertake to go far, the roads being closed to them. That cattle were abundant on the prairies, far larger and fatter than those we had seen on their prairies; their coat white and of several colors. He showed us horns split in half, of a greenish color, which hold nearly three pints. In all the huts they have them in use as ladles, proving that they have killed many when the road was open. That was all I could learn even by chance, as I had relied on my interpreter, that I would have time to be thoroughly informed at leisure. 000

"Six days after the Assiniboines left I sent my son, the Chevalier, with Sieur Nolant, six Frenchmen and several Mandans, to the nearest fort, which is on the bank of the river. If well received they were to sleep there, to get the best information of the course of the river; who dwell there; if they are acquainted with the lower part, in accordance with what was told us; to learn all that could be ascertained by signs and demonstrations. After their departure Mr. de la Marque walked about to observe the size of their fort and their fortifications.

The Village. "I decided to have the huts counted. It was found that there were a hundred and thirty of them. All the streets, squares and huts resemble each other. Several of our Frenchmen wandered about; they found the streets and squares very clean, the ramparts very level and broad, the palisades supported on cross pieces mortised into posts of fifteen feet. At fifteen points doubled are green skins which are put for sheathing when required, fastened only above when needed, as in the bastion there are four at each curtain, well flanked. The fort is built on a height in the open prairie, with a ditch upwards of fifteen feet deep by fifteen to eighteen feet wide. Their fort can only be gained by steps or posts, which can be removed when threatened by an enemy. If all their forts are alike they may be called impregnable to Indians. Their fortifications are not Indian. This nation is mixed white and black. 361 712

"The women are faily good looking, especially the white, many with blonde and fair hair. Both men and women of this nation are very laborious; their huts are large and spacious, separated into several compartments by thick planks; nothing is left lying about; all their baggage is in large bags hung on posts; their beds 142 342 513

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 513 are made like tombs, surrounded by skins. These men are always naked, covered only with a buffalo robe. * * * * Their fort 251 is full of caves, in which are stored such articles as grain, food, 436 fat, dressed robes and bear skins. They are well supplied with these; it is the money of the country. The more they have of it 304 the richer they believe themselves to be. They are fond of tattooing, but never more than half of the body is tattoed, both of 285 men and women. They make wicker work very neatly, flat and in baskets.

Pottery. "They make use of earthen pots, which they use like 323 many other nations for cooking their food. They are for the most part great eaters; are eager for feasts. They brought me every 261 day more than twenty dishes of wheat, beans and pumpkins, all cooked. Mr. de la Marque, who did not hate feasts, went to them continually with my children. As I did not go to them my share 141 was sent to me. The men are stout and tall, generally very active, fairly good looking, with a good physiognomy. The women have not the Indian physiognomy. The men indulge in a sort of ball 526 play on the squares and ramparts.

000 "On the evening of the 4th the Sieur Nolant and my son arrived, well satisfied with their journey, having been well received and strongly urged to remain longer. The fort is on the bank of the river, as large again as this; the squares and streets are very fine and clean; their palisade is in the best order and strength; the whole built in the same fashion as the one in which we were. From what they could hear all their forts are alike; who saw one saw all, with this difference, that some were much larger than others. The nearest to the Pananas that the river appeared to go was, according to the compass, southwest by south, by signs given to them; the lower part may go to the sea to the southwest by west. They were often amused by broken talk; not being able to answer questions put to them, they answered something else, for want of understanding. The waters of their rivers come down with great rapidity, having many shoals. The water is not good for drinking, being brakish. We have constantly found from the last mountain almost all the marshes and ponds brakish or sulphurous. What they could understand was that on the lower part of the river there were men like us, who made cloth and linen. were very numerous and had wars with a large part of the Indians. We saw that it was useless to question them, as they

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

114 The Mandans and Ariccaras come in for some separate treatment, but most of what is extracted herein is said by him as pertaining to the "Three Tribes" at Fort Berthold, above mentioned. Those extracts now follow:

Location of Confederated Village of Mandans, Etc. "An arid
131 prairie- terrace, some four miles wide, stretching southward to the Missouri from the base of bluffs which form the edge of a higher plain, becomes gradually narrower as it approaches the river, and terminates in a steep bluff of soft rock and lignite which overhangs the river. On the southern extremity of this terrace, near the brow of the bluff, stand the Indian village, and what remains, since a recent fire, of the old trading post of Fort Berthold. This is on the left bank of the Missouri, in latitude 47 degrees, 34 minutes north, and longitude 101 degrees, 48 minutes west nearly. About five years ago, a large reservation was declared for them in Dakota and Montana, along the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. Fort Berthold is in the northeast corner of this reservation."

000 See, for further description of this site and surroundings, Part I of this paper, Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., pp. 574-7.

Matthews' reference to the lodge-groupings in that village is as follows:

361 **Dwellings.** "The village consists of a number of houses built very closely together, without any attempt at regularity of position. The doors face in every possible direction; and there is great uniformity in the appearance of the lodges; so it is a very difficult matter to find one's way among them."

342 And of the type of lodges as originally constructed, he gives the following description, with some features not noted by the earlier visitors:

Old-Style Lodges of Mandans, Etc. "Most of the houses of the village were in 1865 peculiar, large, earth-covered lodges, such as were built by various tribes of Indians of the plains, in the valley of the Missouri, and so often, with varying accuracy, described by travelers. Each one of these lodges consists of a wooden frame, covered with willows, hay, and earth. A hole in the top, which lets in the light and lets out the smoke, and a doorway on one side, are the only apertures in the building. The door is made of rawhide stretched on a frame, or of puncheons.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and it is protected by a narrow shed or entry from six to ten feet long. Over the smoke-holes of many of the lodges are placed frames of wicker-work, on which skins are spread to the windward in stormy weather to keep the lodges from getting smoky. Sometimes bull-boats are used for this purpose. On the site of a proposed lodge, they often dig down a foot or more, in order to find earth compact enough to form a good floor; so, in some lodges, the floors are lower than the general surfaces of the ground on which the village stands. The floor is of earth, and has in its center a circular depression, for a fire-place, about a foot deep, and three or four feet wide, with a edging of flat rocks. These dwellings, being from thirty to forty feet in diameter, from ten to fifteen feet high in the center, and from five to seven feet high at the eaves, are quite commodious." 342

Women Construct Them. "The labor of constructing them is performed mostly by the women; but in lifting and setting the heavier beams, the men assist. If, with the aid of steel axes obtained from the whites, the task of building such a house is no easy one at this day, how difficult it must have been a century ago, when the stone axe was their best implement, and when the larger logs had to be burned through in order that pieces of suitable length might be obtained." 342 462 412 322

Frame of Lodge. "The frame of the lodge is thus made: A number of stout posts, from ten to fifteen, according to the size of the lodge, and raising to the height of about five feet above the surface of the earth, are set about ten feet apart in a circle. On the tops of these posts, solid beams are laid, extending from one to another. Then, towards the center of the lodge, four posts are erected, of much greater diameter than the outer posts, and rising to the height of ten or more feet about the ground. These four posts stand in the corners of a square about fifteen feet, and their tops are connected with four heavy logs or beams laid horizontally. From the four center beams to the smaller external beams, long poles, or rafters, are stretched at an angle of about 30 degrees with the horizon; and from the outer beams to the earth a number of shorter poles are laid at an angle of about 45 degrees. Finally, a number of saplings or rails are laid horizontally to cover the space between the four central beams, leaving only a hole for the combined skylight and chimney. This frame 342

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 is then covered with willows, hay and earth, as before mentioned; the covering being of equal depth over all parts of the frame.

"Earlier writers speak of the supporting-posts of the lodge as being forked. Nowadays, they seldom take the trouble to obtain forked sticks for this purpose."

Catlin's Incorrect Representations. "From the above description, it will be seen that the outline of a vertical section, or of the elevation of such a lodge, is necessarily an irregular hexagon, while that of its ground plan is polygonal, the angles being equal in number to the shorter uprights. Prince Maximilian's artist usually sketches the lodge very correctly; but Mr. Catlin invariably gives an incorrect representation of its exterior. Wherever he dipicts a Mandan, Aricaree, or Minnetaree lodge, he makes it appear as an almost exact hemisphere, and always omits the entry. It would seem that, in filling in his sketches, he adopted the hemisphere as a convenient symbol for a lodge. The authors referred to by name in the foot-note on another page speak of the entry passage."

The winter quarters of the Mandans and their confederates are thus described by Matthews:

342 **Winter Log-Houses.** "Every winter, until 1866, the Indians
361 left their permanent village, and, moving some distance up the
221 Missouri valley, built temporary quarters, usually in the center of heavy forests and in the neighborhood of buffalo. The chief objects of this movement were that they might have fuel convenient, and not exhaust the supply of wood in the neighborhood of the permanent village. It was also advisable that, during a portion of the year at least, they should not harass the game near home. The houses of the winter village resembled much the log-cabins of our own western pioneers. They were neatly built, very warm, had regular fire-places and chimneys built of sticks and mud, and square holes in the roofs for the admission of light. Ten years ago, there were some cabins of this description in the permanent village at Fort Berthold; every year since they are becoming gradually more numerous and threaten to gradually supplant the original earth-covered lodges. By reference to the note on page 4, it will be seen that, in 1872, the former outnumbered the latter by about nineteen."

odd Of the caches or circular pits of the confederated village Mat-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

lodges a circular form; and Catlin's alleged failure to truly depict those habitations as to appearance, etc.: 000

"Mrs. Baker, a daughter of Two Chiefs an old Mandan who has seen seventy-two snows, and a graduate of the Indian school at Santee, Neb., and who converses and writes well in English, stated that there were not more than five or six earth lodges to be found on the reservation today. 342●

"The word 'circular' used by the writers quoted in describing these huts must be taken in its larger, general meaning. The huts were really irregularly polygonal in shape. Those I saw were forty feet in diameter, perhaps, and the first had nine sides and second eleven. In one case one of the sides was double the length of the others."

Catlin Criticised. "Catlin's pictorial representations of these huts are not true to nature. The lodges were of a much more squatty appearance than he depicts them and without any such high arched, dome-like, hemispherical roof as he places upon them. He evidently adopted a conventional and largely imaginary figure for his huts, and pushed artistic license to the extreme. At a little distance the general effect was sufficiently that of a 'circular' structure to justify the use of the word when not used in a restrictive sense.

"When at Fort Berthold, I was informed that the very aged Mandan chief, Rushing Eagle, or more commonly, Bad Gun, descended from the great chief Four Bears, whom, I regret, I was not able to see, had kept standing until recently a very old lodge in which he kept some ancient relics, and that among these were some of the identical articles that Catlin had painted into his pictures in 1832. I was not able to verify this. The lodge had but lately been destroyed because of its age and decaying condition." (p. 221.)

Of the Mandan lodges Wheeler observes:

Lodges. "In my visit to the reservation in the fall of 1902 I saw two of these lodges and obtained photographs of them. If there were any differences between these and those of one hundred years ago, except the substitution of wooden for skin doors, they were so slight as not to be noticeable off-hand.

"At one of them, the owner being absent, I was unable to enter it, but through a wide crack in the door I obtained a good view

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 of the interior and it fitted well with the descriptions here given of the old lodges. It was evidently used at the present time for a storage house, at least to some extent, and was not a regular residence, for the log cabin home of the owner stood along side of it.

"At the other hut, across the Missouri river and several miles distant from the first one, the owner refused me permission to invade it, stating that it was used for ceremonial purposes." (p. 220.)

Prototype of Sod Houses. "After my inspection of the two earthern houses mentioned, I could not but be impressed with the fact that these old Mandan and Aricaree lodges were practically the prototypes of the settler's sod house of the prairies of recent time. The sides and roofs of these huts were covered with sod chunks of regular shapes and sizes, just such as we would cut out of the prairie for the same purpose. The porch, covered entrance, or passage-way mentioned was and is a characteristic, standing feature of these earthern lodges, and one which Catlin persistently ignored both in his paintings and text. Maximilian brought out this peculiarity of the Mandan hut in his work."

417 **Ancient Ladder.** "In one of the illustrations of an earth hut there can be seen a notched pole leaning against a scaffold, the latter used now, as in old days, for drying corn, etc. This pole is one of the primitive ladders anciently used by these Indians, and, evidently, not yet entirely discarded."

Says Wheeler relative to the causes of migration of the Mandans on the upper Missouri:

Mandan Deserted Villages—Migrations. "The monuments of 172 these tribes, in the shape of abandoned and ruined huts and 174 towns, are to be found, as has been stated, on the banks of the upper Missouri from about Heart or Cannon-Ball river, below Mandan and Bismarck, to Knife river or beyond. The Indians seem, notwithstanding the great labor involved in so doing, to have moved quite frequently, not necessarily, however, for long distances. As the Sioux harrassed them continually, these removals were due in part to a desire to protect themselves more effectually, and another reason was the scarcity of fuel and timber which in time was felt in each neighborhood. In making these removals, it was quite common, as Lewis and Clarke mention,

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

either of the nearest relatives or of the clan to which the lodge belonged. They believed that the lodge had a spirit which would have sent bad luck to one taking possession illegally.

The females of the lodge owned in common the domestic goods consisting of bedding, pots, household and gardening tools, the dogs, gardens, the wooden mortar and pestle, and the mares and colts. Clothing and personal effects were held individually. The men owned their weapons used in warfare and hunting as well as their own clothing and pipes. Men also owned the stallions and geldings. Sacred tribal bundles were held collectively by the man and his wives.

Lodges were built with little ceremony; the only rites were performed at the cutting of the notches for the four center posts when an old woman having the right to cut the posts was called in to sing one song and pray for the family's success. She received one robe for her services. It was the duty of the clan to assist in the erection of a member's lodge. Since these lodges were large, a considerable amount of work was entailed in erecting one and covering it with poles, willows, grass, and earth.[3] As a rule, the clan prepared a feast and invited the opposite moiety to assist, in which case the clans assisted according to the seating arrangement of the men in the Okipa or in council.

Mandan informants state that in earlier times each household had one or more game pits. These pits were dug by all the members of the household and were owned collectively. While the men would bring the poles for the cover and kill the game caught in them, the women frequently did most of the work of excavating and removing earth from the area of the pit. In recent times many households had fishtraps which are believed to have been used since introduced by Black Wolf. Fish bones, particularly catfish bones, are very abundant in the Heart River villages. The ceremonies associated with the trapping of fish, particularly the catfish, were performed by the older men, but the women assisted in weaving the walls for the trap and in sorting and cleaning the fish.

There was considerable variability in the status of household

3. For a report of the amount of materials used in the completion of an earth lodge see George F. Will, "The Mandan Lodge at Bismarck," *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 1 (October, 1930).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

fifty lodges, while the later villages of historic times were much smaller, owing to the smaller population. Maximilian reported sixty-five lodges at Mitutanka and thirty-eight at Nuptadi. My informants listed forty-three lodges at Like-a-Fishhook. After 1870, the Mandan began abandoning the circular four-post earth lodge for small rectangular log cabins, two of them housing the population formerly living in a single earth lodge. Frequently a log cabin was built with two rooms, one room being occupied by the older people, who preserved the sacred bundles in their quarters, and the other room being occupied by the younger married family.

THE CLAN AND MOIETY SYSTEM

At the present time there are four Mandan clans, and they are divided into nameless moieties according to their position in the Okipa lodge. The Okipa or ceremonial lodge occupied a position on the north side of the village open circle, with the entrance facing the sacred cedar. According to the traditions of the Okipa, there were formerly thirteen clans which were divided into moieties known as an east-side moiety, comprising these clans: Prairie Chicken; Speckled Eagle; Bear; Red Hill; Crow; Badger; Bunch of Wood; and a west-side moiety consisting of six clans: Waxi'kEna; Tami'sik; Tami'xixiks; and three extinct clans. In the construction of the ceremonial lodge all clans participated. The east-side clans erected their side of the lodge and placed yellow corn in each posthole. The west-side clans erected the west side of the ceremonial lodge and placed small mats of buffalo hair in the central postholes of their side.

According to tradition, the clans were not all established simultaneously. It is said that Lone Man announced while living in the tribe that he belonged to the WaxikEna clan. It was the custom for this clan to sit near the door on the left, or west, side in council and during the ceremonies. The other five clans which were believed to be closest in relationship to the WaxikEna clan occupied the west side of the lodge also. It was believed that those who were of no clan occupied the entire east section of the lodge in no particular order until Clay on the Face, when returning from a successful war expedition, announced an arbitrary division of the young men then sitting in council. It is said that

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

tween, these were the scalp poles and effigies of the gods. The 361
ground on which the village was located was chosen for defence, the bluff on the river side went down perpendicularly, and the village was on a point jutting out into the river so that only one side needed protection. Across this point was a palisade 361
and inside this was a ditch, three to four feet deep according to 712
Catlin. The palisade, he says, was of timbers eighteen feet high and one or more feet in diameter, set far enough apart to allow of shooting between. The warriors stayed in the ditch in defending the palisade. Concerning this palisade Henry and Maximilian both mention that it was in very poor repair indeed, but Henry adds that he was told it could be put in good condition very soon, every person in the village lending a hand. There is yet no mention of bastions and ramparts such as Verendrye refers to, but Maximilian[1] describes something similar. He says that at the corners of the palisade in four places were arcs or bastions, which formed an angle open toward the village, and said to have been built by the whites. These were intrenchments in the form of an arc, covered with a matting of willow and having loop holes.

On entering the village it seemed to be a mass of circular 342
houses from forty to ninety feet in diameter, set down haphazard closely crowded together. The houses were of earth with a smooth coating of pounded clay on the top, where most of the inhabitants were usually stationed. Before each house 343
was a scaffold, fronting the covered entrance. These scaffolds were six feet high, twenty feet long and ten broad[2] and were used for hanging up corn and meat to dry. They had a good floor, also, which was covered in the fall with drying beans. The staging for drying corn and meat was made as follows:[3] posts were set up on the scaffolds themselves, across these rafters were laid, and upon these cross rafters or poles the corn, meat and sliced squashes were hung. Before almost every 778
house were one or more poles about twenty feet high, to which images of the gods, or sacrifices to them were attached.

In the center of the village was a large open space of about 000

[1] Op. cit., p. 31. [2] Henry: vol. I, p. 340. [3] Ibid.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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In the center of the village was a large open space of about four acres[1] and in the center of this was the "Ark of the First Man." This was in the shape of a hogshead, of planks and hoops.[2] It was open above, the planks were embedded in the ground, and the hoops were branches tied around to hold these together. The Mandans called this the Big Canoe[3] and in it were some of their greatest medicines. This open space was the seat of all their festivals, dances and ceremonies, and here also they played their games of Chungkee or Skohpe. The space was closely surrounded by houses placed at equal distances apart and all facing the center. The largest of these lodges on the south side of the area was the medicine lodge, and on a pole above this was a figure of skin, with a carved wooden head, which represented the Evil Spirit. 361 778 [346]

About one quarter of a mile or less to the south of the village was a race-course; a hundred or more scaffolds on which the dead were deposited; slides for their games were also made outside the palisades. The ground about the houses was honeycombed with pits and caches in which most of the food and many of the valuables of the inhabitants were stored. The house roofs formed a general repository where bull boats, buffalo skulls, pottery, sledges and people were scattered promiscuously over the rounded surface, around the edge of which Bradbury says they built a sort of low railing. 361 [764] [351]

HOUSES:—The houses themselves were many times described, sometimes with considerable variation, and it is highly probable that there was more or less variation of construction in the minor details. They were distinguished from those of the Arikara in that the ground was first excavated, and that they were rather hemispherical, whereas the houses of the latter were more conical, like those of the Pawnee. Catlin[4] places the average size of the houses at from forty to sixty feet in diameter, depending on the size and importance of the family, and Henry[5] tells us that the one in which he himself stayed was ninety feet in diameter. 342 [171]

[1] Henry: vol. I, p. 338. "Sixty feet across," Maximilian: p. 286; "One hundred and fifty feet," Catlin: vol. I, p. 68.

[2] Catlin gives this as eight to ten feet high, Maximilian as four or five.

[3] Catlin: vol. I, p. 68.

[4] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 81.

[5] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 338.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The first step in the building of houses was the excavation of the ground where the floor was to be, to a depth of about one and a half to two feet, the earth being thrown out in a bank all around the rim of the excavation. Around this circle, against the edges were placed eleven to fifteen great posts, four to six feet high. Logs were laid across from one to another of these, and on the outside were slabs slanting in and resting against these cross logs. This arrangement is shown in Morgan's diagram reproduced in Figure 1. Also on these cross-beams rested the rafters. These were long poles[1] six to ten inches thick, the small end pointing in, placed very close together. Four or five[2] great posts, five feet in circumference, fifteen feet high, and fifteen feet apart formed an inner circle. The rafters rested on 342

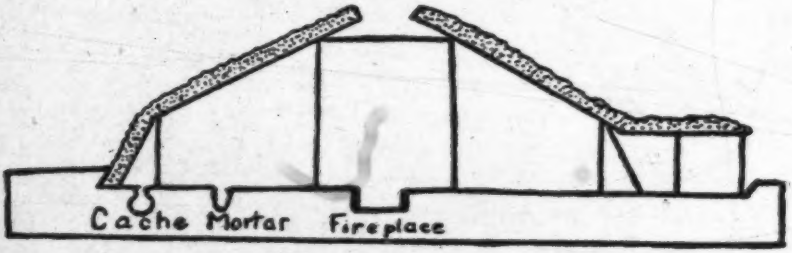


FIG. 1. MANDAN HOUSE. (After Morgan.)

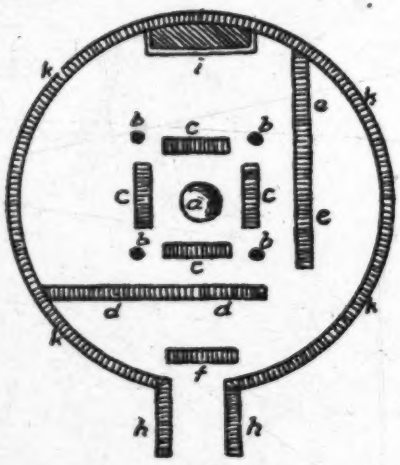
large squared beams which were laid horizontally on this inner circle of large posts. Catlin says that this inner circle of large posts supported the rafters at about their center. Henry says that these posts supported the end of the rafters, and the remaining space was filled by placing timbers criss-cross over the cross-beams leaving a smoke hole in the center. On top of the rafters was placed a matting of willows, six inches thick, fastened together compactly and secured to the rafters. Over the surface then one to three feet of earth was placed, and the sides were banked with earth three or four feet high, and four feet or more thick. Catlin says that the whole surface was then covered with clay hard and tough, which was impervious to water.

[1] Henry gives their length as twelve to fifteen feet.
[2] According to Catlin, Maximilian and Henry both give four.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 The doorway was five feet broad and six feet high, with a covered way of the same height, but seven feet broad and about ten feet long. The door itself was a raw buffalo hide dried on a frame which was hung from above on a cord, at night this was barricaded, and when the family was away the porch was closed with branches and sticks. This porch was covered with earth like the house itself and led downward to the lower level of the floor. It is not shown in any of Catlin's drawings and he does not mention one except in the medicine lodge, there he says it was eight to ten feet long, was hidden with a double screen, and guarded by armed sentinels.

342 353 Verendrye speaks of the division of the house into compartments and we find that the same thing existed when Henry was there. Lewis and Clarke, and Gass also mention that one part of the interior was cut off and used as a stable for the horses. Catlin, however, mentions no such cutting up of the interior, nor do his pictures show anything of the sort, but Maximilian, who visited them in the winter, gives a diagram of the winter house showing several compartments; this diagram and its key is reproduced in Figure 2. The main interior arrangements of the house in spite of the discrepancy on these latter points are agreed on by all. In the center under the smoke hole was the fireplace, a round hole five feet in diameter and a foot or more deep. This was curbed with stones placed upright about the edge.[1] Around the walls was a series of beds and about the fire



353 FIG. 2. MANDAN HOUSE.
(After Maximilian.)

a, Fireplace; *b b b b*, Central posts supporting roof; *c c c c*, Seats; *d d*, Screen or wind break; *e e*, Partition behind which horses were kept; *f*, Door of skin; *g*, Entrance; *h h*, Covered porch; *i*, Bed; *k k k k*, House walls.

[1] Maximilian, p. 387.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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as if broken off. A number of small flat pieces of wood were found near the outer edge of the excavation, possibly pieces of the slabs, and through most of the earth removed small bits of sticks one half to one inch thick were scattered. These may have been part of the willow matting with which the roof was usually covered. The pits, in all cases but one, were solidly filled in and had a clay layer over them, and it is probable that they had been filled up before the house was built. Henry tells us that houses were constantly being torn down and built again in new places. The one pit which, when found, was not completely filled, probably existed at the same time as the house. Morgan[1] in his description of the house site mentions the existence of such caches within the house, and shows it in the diagram reproduced on page 107.

172X
[342]

The dump heap along the bluff side was investigated at the points *r*, *s*, and *t*, as marked on Map IV. Excavations were made in four places and it was found that the deposit of rubbish and ashes went down to an average depth of about three and a half feet. Nothing unusual was found here, the finds being mostly broken pottery, and broken stone and bone implements.

After this a cross-section was made of the ditch in the deepest place at the point *u*, on Map IV. The original ditch was about nine feet deep with a flat bottom. The distance from side to side was about twenty feet. The depth from the bottom of the present ditch, at the center, to the original bottom was six feet. For about two feet above the bottom of the original ditch there was a layer of sand and just above this was a black layer about six inches thick which contained considerable charred matter. Above this layer was a considerable deposit of animal bones, mostly of buffalo. The remainder of the distance to the surface was filled in with ordinary earth containing occasional bits of broken bone and pottery.

A cross-section of the ridge on the inner side of the ditch was next made at the point *v*. The depth to the original surface was a trifle over three and a half feet, and the earth was full of refuse, but no trace of palisades was found here.

[1] L. H. Morgan: Stone and Bone Implements of the Arikarees, 31st Ann. Rep. of the Univ. of State of N. Y., on the State Cabinet of Nat. Hist.

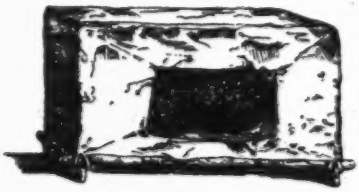
state of decay, were erected for the Indians by the Whites. There is nothing of the kind at Ruhptare. The huts, as I have before remarked, stand close to each other, leaving, in the centre, an open circular space, about sixty paces in diameter, in the centre of which (among the Mandans) the ark of the first man is set up,[1] of which we shall speak in the sequel. It is a small cylinder, open above, made of planks, about four or five feet high, fixed in the ground, and bound with climbing plants, or pliable boughs, to hold them together (see the woodcut, p. 342). 361 712

At the north end of this circular space is the medicine lodge, in which festivals are celebrated, and certain customs practised, which are connected with the religious notions of this people, which we shall treat of in the sequel. At the top of a high pole, a figure is here placed, made of skins, with a wooden head, the face painted black, and wearing a fur cap and feathers, which is intended to represent the evil spirit, Ochkih-Hadda (corresponding with the devil), or a wicked man, as they affirm, who once appeared among them, had neither wife nor child, and vanished, and whom they now stand greatly in dread of. Other grotesque figures, made of skins and bundles of twigs, we saw hanging on high poles, most of them being offerings to the deity. Among the huts are many stages of several stories, supported by poles, on which they dry the maize. The huts themselves are of a circular form, slightly vaulted, having a sort of portico entrance. When the inmates are absent the entrance is shut up with twigs and thorns; and if they wish merely to close the door they put up a skin stretched out on a frame, which is shoved aside on entering. In the centre of the roof is a square opening for the smoke to find vent, over which is a circular sort of screen made of twigs, as a protection against the wind and rain, and which, when necessary, is covered with skins (see woodcut). 361 346 778 [343] 342

The interior of the hut is spacious, tolerably light, and cleanly. Four strong pillars towards the middle, with several cross beams, support the roof. The inner circumference of the hut is formed by eleven or fifteen thick posts, four or five feet in height, between which other rather shorter ones are placed close to each other. On these shorter posts, which are all of an equal

1 [This shrine, the sacred cedar, represents the culture hero's body. See Category 116, Source 2: Bower, pp. 24, 116 for a more up-to-date summary.--Analyst]

342 height, are long rafters, inclining to the centre; they are placed near each other, and bear the roof. On the outside the huts are covered with a kind of mat, made of osiers, joined together with bark, and now the skeleton of the hut is finished. Over this hay is spread, and the outer covering
462 is of earth. The men and women work together in erecting these huts, and the relations, neighbours, and friends, assist them in the work. The building of the huts, manufacturing of their arms, hunting, and wars, and part of the labours of the harvest, are the occupations of the men; every other kind of work is left to the women, who, though in general well treated, are obliged to perform all the really laborious work. The women fetch fuel, in heavy loads, frequently from great distances, carry water, and, in winter, blocks of ice into the huts, cook, tan the skins, make
354 all the clothing, lay out the plantations, perform field labour, &c. &c. In the centre of the hut a circular place is dug for the fire, over which the kettle is suspended. This fire-place, or hearth, is often enclosed with a ledge of stones. The fuel is laid, in moderately thick pieces, on the external edge of the hearth, crossing each other in the middle, when it is kindled, and the pieces
352 gradually pushed in as they burn away. The Indians are not fond of large fires. The inmates sit round it, on low seats made of peeled osiers, covered with buffalo or bear skin. Round the inner circumference of the hut lie or hang the baggage, the furniture, and other property, in leather bags, the painted parchment travelling bags, and the harness of the horses; and on separate stages there are arms, sledges, and snow-shoes, while meat and maize, piled up, complete the motley assemblage. (See Mr. Bodmer's drawing of the interior of the hut of Dipauch, Plate XIX.) The beds stand against the wall of the hut; they consist of a large square case, made of parchment or skins, with a square entrance, and are large enough to hold several persons, who lie very conveniently and warm on skins and blankets. (See the woodcut.)



342 In the winter huts they place, at the inside of the door, a high screen of willow boughs,
221 covered with hides, which keeps off the draught of air from without, and especially protects the
171 fire.

The summer huts are very cool, and, generally speaking, have no unpleasant smell. Mr. Say gives a very good description, and a tolerably accurate print, of a Konza lodge, or hut, and, with

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

some slight differences, the mode of building resembles, in the main, those of the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras. Among these differences are the mats which are fastened all round in the first hut, and which I did not observe among the tribes that I visited. The beds, too, are arranged in a different manner. The Mandans and Manitaries are seen in their huts, sitting round the fire, employed in all kinds of domestic labour. The man has, generally, no clothing except the nokka, and is often merely smoking, but the women are never idle. In winter, that is, at the beginning or middle of November, these Indians remove, with the greater part of their effects, to the neighbouring forest, where their winter huts are situated. These consist of precisely similar huts, of rather smaller dimensions. Their departure from the summer huts is determined by the weather, but, as beforesaid, is generally about the middle of November; and their return, in the spring, is usually about the latter end of February, or the beginning of March, so that we may reckon that they pass above eight months in their summer quarters. Inside of the winter huts is a particular compartment, where the horses are put in the evening, and fed with maize. In the daytime they are driven into the prairie, and feed in the bushes, on the bark of poplars. There are, probably, above 300 horses in the two Mandan villages; some of the people, indeed, do not possess any, while others, again, have several. The Mandans and Manitaries, like all the other Indians of this country, sometimes make what are here called caches, or hiding-places, in the vicinity of their villages. These caches are holes, or magazines, underground, often so artfully contrived that it is very difficult to discover them. The Indians frequently go from their winter to their summer village, to fetch any articles they may happen to want, as they invariably leave part of their property behind. When they quit their huts for a longer period than usual, they load their dogs with the baggage, which is drawn in small sledges, made of a couple of thin, narrow boards, nine or ten feet in length, fastened together with leather straps, and with four cross-pieces, by way of giving them firmness. Leather straps are attached in front, and drawn either by men or dogs. The load is fastened to the sledge by straps (for such a sledge drawn by dogs see Vignette XXIX). When the snow is deep, they use snow shoes (Plate XXI. Fig. 4), which are described by Captain Franklin, only those of the Mandans are much smaller, about two feet and a half long; whereas in the north their length is from four to six feet. The Mandans and Manitaries have not, by any means, so many dogs as the Assiniboins, Crows, and Blackfeet. They are rarely of the true wolf's colour, but generally black, or white, or else spotted with black and white. Among the nations further to the north-west they more nearly resemble the wolf, but here they are more like the prairie wolf (*Canis latrans*). We likewise found, among these animals, a brown race, descended from European pointers, hence the genuine bark of the dog is more frequently heard here, whereas among the western nations they only howl. The Indian dogs are worked very hard, have hard blows, and hard fare; in fact, they are treated just as this fine animal is treated among the Esquimaux.

342 221 171 231 343 221 493 231 481 171 231 171

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

361 of dirt—and the thousand spears (not "spires") and scalp-poles, &c. &c., of the semi-subterraneous village of the hospitable and gentlemanly Mandans.

174 These people formerly (and within the recollection of many of their oldest men) lived fifteen or twenty miles farther down the river, in ten contiguous villages; the marks or ruins of which are yet plainly to be seen. At that period, it is evident, as well from the number of lodges which their villages contained, as from their traditions, that their numbers were much greater than at the present day.

There are other, and very interesting, traditions and historical facts relative to a still prior location and condition of these people, of which I shall speak more fully on a future occasion. From these, when they are promulged, I think there may be a pretty fair deduction drawn, that they formerly occupied the lower part of the Missouri, and even the Ohio and Muskingum, and have gradually made their way up the Missouri to where they now are.

There are many remains on the river below this place (and, in fact, to be seen nearly as low down as St. Louis), which shew clearly the peculiar construction of Mandan lodges, and consequently carry a strong proof of the above position. While descending the river, however, which I shall commence in a few weeks, in a canoe, this will be a subject of interest; and I shall give it close examination.

361 The ground on which the Mandan village is at present built, was admirably selected for defence; being on a bank forty or fifty feet above the
712 bed of the river. The greater part of this bank is nearly perpendicular, and of solid rock. The river, suddenly changing its course to a right-angle, protects two sides of the village, which is built upon this promontory or angle; they have therefore but one side to protect, which is effectually done by a strong piquet, and a ditch inside of it, of three or four feet in depth. The piquet is composed of timbers of a foot or more in diameter, and eighteen feet high, set firmly in the ground at sufficient distances from each other to admit of guns and other missiles to be fired between them. The ditch (unlike that of civilized modes of fortification) is inside of the piquet, in which their warriors screen their bodies from the view and weapons of their enemies, whilst they are reloading and discharging their weapons through the piquets.

361 The Mandans are undoubtedly secure in their villages, from the attacks of any Indian nation, and have nothing to fear, except when they meet their
● 342 enemy on the prairie. Their village has a most novel appearance to the eye of a stranger; their lodges are closely grouped together, leaving but just room enough for walking and riding between them; and appear from without, to be built entirely of dirt; but one is surprised when he enters them, to see the neatness, comfort, and spacious dimensions of these earth-covered dwellings. They all have a circular form, and are from forty to sixty feet in diameter. Their foundations are prepared by digging some two feet in the ground, and forming the floor of earth, by levelling the requisite size for

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

361 the lodge. These floors or foundations are all perfectly circular, and varying
342 in size in proportion to the number of inmates, or of the quality or standing of the families which are to occupy them. The superstructure is then produced, by arranging, inside of this circular excavation, firmly fixed in the ground and resting against the bank, a barrier or wall of timbers, some eight or nine inches in diameter, of equal height (about six feet) placed on end, and resting against each other, supported by a formidable embankment of earth raised against them outside; then, resting upon the tops of these timbers or piles, are others of equal size and equal in numbers, of twenty or twenty-five feet in length, resting firmly against each other, and sending their upper or smaller ends towards the centre and top of the lodge; rising at an angle of forty-five degrees to the apex or sky-light, which is about three or four feet in diameter, answering as a chimney and a sky-light at the same time. The roof of the lodge being thus formed, is supported by beams passing around the inner part of the lodge about the middle of these poles or timbers, and themselves upheld by four or five large posts passing down to the floor of the lodge. On the top of, and over the poles forming the roof, is placed a complete mat of willow-boughs, of half a foot or more in thickness, which protects the timbers from the dampness of the earth, with which the lodge is covered from bottom to top, to the depth of two or three feet; and then with a hard or tough clay, which is impervious to water, and which with long use becomes quite hard, and a lounging place for the whole family in pleasant weather—for sage— for wooing lovers—for dogs and all; an airing place—a look-out—a place for gossip and mirth—a seat for the solitary gaze and meditations of the stern warrior, who sits and contemplates the peaceful mirth and happiness that is breathed beneath him, fruits of his hard-fought battles, on fields of desperate combat with bristling Red Men.

342 The floors of these dwellings are of earth, but so hardened by use, and
353 swept so clean, and tracked by bare and moccassined feet, that they have almost a polish, and would scarcely soil the whitest linen. In the centre,
[354] and immediately under the sky-light (PLATE 46) is the fire-place—a hole of four or five feet in diameter, of a circular form, sunk a foot or more below the surface, and curbed around with stone. Over the fire-place, and suspended from the apex of diverging props or poles, is generally seen the pot or kettle, filled with buffalo meat; and around it are the family, reclining in all the most picturesque attitudes and groups, resting on their buffalo-robes
[592] and beautiful mats of rushes. These cabins are so spacious, that they hold from twenty to forty persons—a family and all their connexions. They all
352 sleep on bedsteads similar in form to ours, but generally not quite so high; made of round poles rudely lashed together with thongs. A buffalo skin, fresh stripped from the animal, is stretched across the bottom poles, and about two feet from the floor; which, when it dries, becomes much contracted, and forms a perfect sacking-bottom. The fur side of this skin is placed uppermost, on which they lie with great comfort, with a buffalo-robe

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

123 I had thus far progressed, with high-wrought feelings of pleasure, when
156 the two or three chiefs, who had been seated around the lodge, and whose portraits I had before painted, arose suddenly, and wrapping themselves tightly in their robes, crossed my room with a quick and heavy step, and took an informal leave of my cabin. I was apprehensive of their displeasure, though I continued my work; and in a few moments the interpreter came furiously into my room, addressing me thus:—"My God, Sir! this never will do; you have given great offence to the chiefs—they have made complaint of your conduct to me—they tell me this is a worthless fellow—a man of no account in the nation, and if you paint his picture, you must instantly destroy theirs; you have no alternative, my dear Sir—and the quicker this chap is out of your lodge the better."

The same matter was explained to my sitter by the interpreter, when he picked up his robe, wrapped himself in it, plied his fan nimbly about his face, and walked out of the lodge in silence, but with quite a consequential smile, taking his old position in front of the door for awhile, after which he drew himself quietly off without further exhibition. So highly do Mandan braves and worthies value the honour of being painted; and so little do they value a man, however lavishly Nature may have bestowed her master touches upon him, who has not the pride and noble bearing of a warrior.

000 I spoke in a former Letter of Mah-to-toh-pa (the four bears), the second chief of the nation, and the most popular man of the Mandans—a high-minded and gallant warrior, as well as a polite and polished gentleman. Since I painted his portrait, as I before described, I have received at his hands many marked and signal attentions; some of which I must name to you, as the very relation of them will put you in possession of many little forms and modes of Indian life, that otherwise might not have been noted.

574 About a week since, this noble fellow stepped into my painting-room about twelve o'clock in the day, in full and splendid dress, and passing his arm through mine, pointed the way, and led me in the most gentlemanly manner, through the village and into his own lodge, where a feast was prepared in a careful manner and waiting our arrival. The lodge in which he
• [342] dwelt was a room of immense size, some forty or fifty feet in diameter, in a circular form, and about twenty feet high—with a sunken curb of stone in the centre, of five or six feet in diameter and one foot deep, which contained the fire over which the pot was boiling. I was led near the edge of this curb, and seated on a very handsome robe, most ingeniously garnished and painted with hieroglyphics; and he seated himself gracefully on another one at a little distance from me; with the feast prepared in several dishes, resting on a beautiful rush mat, which was placed between us (PLATE 62).

262 The simple feast which was spread before us consisted of three dishes
264 only, two of which were served in wooden bowls, and the third in an earthen
415 vessel of their own manufacture, somewhat in shape of a bread-tray in our own country. This last contained a quantity of *pem-i-can* and *marrow-*

10: Neill H-4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

574 609 chief gave our horses in charge of a young man, and told us we need not be uneasy as there would be good care taken of them.

574 262 On going into the hut, we found buffalo hides spread on the ground, before the fire, for us to sit upon, and soon after we were presented with two large dishes of boiled corn and beans, after which they gave us another large dish of boiled dried meat, but very few of us could eat of it, as it had too strong a taste and smell.[1]

231 342 After some other details which we omit, Harvey writes that when night came: "One young man brought in our horses, and put them in the same hut along with us, upon the right hand, on entering, and ourselves upon the left; a space was enclosed with a railing to keep them within bounds. This custom causes their habitations to have a very disagreeable and offensive smell. This precaution of theirs is to keep the horses from being stolen by the Assiniboines, or other enemies, who are frequently lurking about the village.

515 291 "Towards evening, having gone down to the river side, I observed the custom of washing themselves in the Missouri. Both men and women make it a rule, every morning and evening, to go down to the river, and wash for some time; the men make use of the clay to wash their hair, which answers the purpose of soap to take out the white and red earth with which they daub it, after having washed. Modesty in the female sex appears to be a virtue they are unacquainted with. They wear a kind of leather shift which reaches down to the calves of their legs. This they slip off some distance from the shore, and walk very deliberately into the water entirely naked, in the presence of old and young who seem not to pay any attention to them. [2] * * * * The men make use of no other covering, in the summer season, than these buffalo robes, and even these are seldom worn within doors, and only thrown on when they go out to visit or walk about the village. [352] Both sexes sleep naked. Their beds are raised about two feet from the ground, and hung around with dressed skins. In summer they seldom use any coverings at night, but lay like so many brutes."[2] * * * * Mr. Henry gives a description of their lascivious dances which is too indelicate to publish. He writes under date of:

252 262 352 512 412 "Sunday, July 20th. At daybreak we were all up, and I took a walk down to the river, where I observed the same ceremony of washing as last evening, with as little reserve as before. Our host on our return presented us with some dried meat, and soon after a dish of corn and beans, but as it is not seasoned with any kind of grease or fat, after the first meal it has a very insipid taste. The corn is generally pounded or bruised in a wooden mortar, which is fixed fast and firm in the ground, in one corner of the hut, and this is the first work performed by the women in the morning.

1 [Category 116, p. 325.-A] 2 [Category 116, p. 326.-A]

10: Neill H4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

OPEN SPACE IN VILLAGE.

But I observe, always, that nearly about the centre of each village is a large open space of about four acres in circumference, round which the huts are built very regularly, and at equal distances from each other, the doors fronting the open space. This circle might consist of thirty huts, and I make no manner of doubt were the first that were erected on the spot. 361

VILLAGE EXPANSION.

Others of their friends joined them afterwards, for various causes and built in the rear and erected their huts as they found it convenient, and as this continues to be the case, there are huts continually demolishing in one village, and others building in another. This often proceeds from misunderstandings they have had with either of the chiefs of the village, or their own neighbors, when finding their situation unpleasant and probably subject to frequent quarrels, they shift their quarters, but always take up their own residence among their own tribe. 361 621 578

The Mandans and Saulteurs are a stationary people, and never abandon their villages further than to go out hunting or on a war party. They are much more given to agriculture than the Big Bellies, and raise an immense quantity of corn, beans, squashes, tobacco, and some flowers. 361 241

A MANDAN HUT.

A Mandan hut is large and spacious, of a circular form. I measured the one I lodged in, and found it ninety feet from the door to the opposite side, forming a circumference on the inside of many paces. The whole space is dug out about one and a half feet below the surface of the earth. In the center is the fire place, which is a square space of about five feet, dug out two feet below the surface. The lower part of the hut is constructed by erecting strong posts about six feet out of the ground, at equal distances, upon these are laid logs of the same size, and reach from post to post, and form the circle. On the outer side are erected pieces of split wood of seven feet in length, in a slanting manner, the one end resting on the ground, the other leaning against the crown log or beam. Upon this beam again, are placed rafters about the size of a man's leg, and from twelve to fifteen feet long, in a slanting position, sufficient to drain off the rain; they are laid so close as to touch. The upper end is supported upon very stout pieces of square timber, which last are also supported by four very thick posts, about five feet circumference, and fifteen feet out of the ground, and fifteen feet asunder, forming nearly a square. Over these pieces of square timber, others again of equal size are laid crossing them at right 342● [354]

342 angles, leaving open only a square space of about four feet on each side. This serves for chimney and windows, as they have [354] no other opening to admit of light; and when it rains, even this is covered over with a canoe to prevent the rain from impairing their earthen pots. The whole of the roof is then well thatched with willows, to the thickness of six inches or more. Over the whole is laid about one foot of earth, and round the base to the height of three or four feet, and the thickness of three feet, which answers for security in case of an attack by the enemy, and keeps out the cold. The door is five feet broad and six high, provided with a covered way or porch on the outside, of the same height as the door, about seven feet broad and ten feet in length.

342 The doors are made of raw buffalo hide stretched upon a 352 frame and suspended by cords from the beam, which forms the circle. Every night the door is barricaded with a long piece of timber supported by two stout posts down in the ground, inside of the hut, one on each side of the door. As you enter the hut after passing through the porch and door, the first thing that strikes the view is a kind of triangular apartment on the left hand side of the door, and fronting the fire. This is for the purpose of fire-wood in the winter. This partition is constructed of square planks, about twelve feet high, and caulked to keep off the air from the door. Between the partition and the fire, there is commonly a distance of about five feet, which the master of the hut occupies during the day time, seated on a mat, constructed of small willows.[2] * * * These mats are about ten feet long and four broad.[1] The two ends for about two and a half feet are raised from the ground in a slanting position and each supported by a kind of sofa; over the mat is spread buffalo skins.

352 Some of these couches are raised about a foot above the 571 ground. Seated upon this a Mandan sits all day long and receives his friends, smokes and chats the time away, with the greatest dignity. He sometimes passes the night there also, when not inclined to lay with his wives.

INSIDE ARRANGEMENT OF HUTS.

352 On the left side of the host begins their range of beds. The 513 master and his favorite wife always occupy the first, and his other wives each a separate one in succession, next to those of the young people. All are constructed in the same manner, and joining to each other lengthways.

MEDICINE STAGE,

353 At the bottom of the hut fronting the Masters' seat, stands his medicine stage, and indeed it may be called his whole riches

1 [See Category 116, p. 331-40. -A.]

and treasures, as it contains every thing he values most, viz: 353
two bulls' heads, which seem to be their great Manitou and protection. They are well daubed over with earth, and particular care is taken of them. There is laid on, or rather hung up, his arms, shield, ammunition, scalps of his enemies, and every thing he most values.

MORTAR AND PESTLE.

Next to this stage, stand the mortar and pestle, fixed firm in 342
the ground, and the remainder of the hut from that to the door 412
is vacant during the daytime, but occupied during the night by 231
the horses. Then there still remains a large space in the center, around the fire, for the use of the family, which is generally swept clean once a day. 1/1

CORN STAGE.

Fronting the entrance of each porch stands a stage raised 343
about eight feet from the ground, twenty feet in length, and ten 251
feet in breadth, for the purpose of hanging up their corn to dry, in the fall; these stages have a tolerable good flooring, which in the fall is covered with beans to dry, and posts are erected upon them, on the tops of which are laid poles or rafters, to which the corn and sliced squashes are suspended in tresses to dry. When their harvest is over, they must have a pretty 313
effect, but at this season of the year they are lumbered up with 372
different kinds of drift-wood, of which they make their fires, and it gives a very ugly appearance to the villages.

DRIFT WOOD.

This wood they collect, in the spring, when the ice breaks up, and when great quantities of this wood floats down, the natives being expert swimmers, and so very active, that there is scarcely a large tree escapes them, until they have a sufficient stock for the year. I observed lying opposite to each village, an immense pile of this wood, and some trees of an amazing size. Commonly, when they collect the drift wood there come down [222]
numbers of drowned buffalo, that have perished in attempting to cross above, at a season when the ice was bad. These animals the natives are very careful to haul on shore, as they prefer the flesh in that state. [268]

LIGHT HAIRED CHILDREN.

An extraordinory sight that struck me among these people, 142
was to see several children, of about ten years of age, whose hair was perfectly gray, and bore a strong resemblance to aged persons. Those I saw were all girls. These people in general have not that strong coarse hair, so peculiar to the natives of North America; it is of a much finer nature, rather inclining to

1/1 [See Category 116, p. 340.-A.]

675 it is gone in an instant, and search would be in vain; everyone
673 would wish to appear innocent, although they are not offended when
accused of stealing, but laugh the matter away. .....We paid
437 our landlord for board and lodging, as well as the care of our horses,
177 and of the articles left under his charge, as we never expect the
least favor from any of these fellows without recompensing them
accordingly. He appeared very well pleased with the following
articles, which we gave him: 60 rounds of ammunition, 4 large
knives, 2 awls, 1 fathom of tobacco, 1 steel, 5 flints, 1 dozen
hawk-bills, 2 worms (wormers for guns), and 1 dozen brass rings....
609 [332] My host was so obliging as to give up to me one of his
574 own best beds, well surrounded with dressed leather. We had a
plentiful supply of corn and beans, and were soon invited to several
huts, where we [333] were treated with a very palatable dish of
[431] pounded peas and parched corn; but it is customary for invited
guests, on leaving, to present the master of the hut with a few
inches of tobacco, for which he always appears very thankful.
728 [335] About 30 Big Bellies soon arrived on horseback, at full
speed; they brought an interpreter with them. This party consisted
of some of the principal war chiefs, and other great men, who did
not appear well pleased, but looked on the Pawnees with disdain.
285 [339] ...seated on a mat made of small willows of equal size,
fastened together [340] by threads of their own manufacture,
passed through each stick about a foot apart.
● 342 [340] Seldom more than one family occupies the same hut.
437 [342] We paid the young men for taking our horses across the
177 river, and the women for assisting us with the canoes. The total
cost was: 1 fathom of tobacco, 4 knives, 6 flints, 6 awls, 6 worms
[gun wormers—analyst], and 10 balls. I also paid my landlord
for the time we might remain here, which I supposed would be
about ten days for three persons, including board and lodging,
stabling for our horses, and care of our property. They make no
price, leaving that to the generosity of guests, and should the pay-
ment be too little they still appear to accept with gratitude; but
the visitor is afterward left to take care of his own property and
horses in the best manner he can. It is impossible to get the most
trifling service from the natives without immediate payment; not
even an inch of cord will they part with without receiving some-
thing in return. It is true a trifle will please them, and they are

[p. 384(D)]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

tween, these were the scalp poles and effigies of the gods. The 361
ground on which the village was located was chosen for defence, the bluff on the river side went down perpendicularly, and the village was on a point jutting out into the river so that only one side needed protection. Across this point was a palisade 361
and inside this was a ditch, three to four feet deep according to 712
Catlin. The palisade, he says, was of timbers eighteen feet high and one or more feet in diameter, set far enough apart to allow of shooting between. The warriors stayed in the ditch in defending the palisade. Concerning this palisade Henry and Maximilian both mention that it was in very poor repair indeed, but Henry adds that he was told it could be put in good condition very soon, every person in the village lending a hand. There is yet no mention of bastions and ramparts such as Verendrye refers to, but Maximilian[1] describes something similar. He says that at the corners of the palisade in four places were arcs or bastions, which formed an angle open toward the village, and said to have been built by the whites. These were intrenchments in the form of an arc, covered with a matting of willow and having loop holes.

On entering the village it seemed to be a mass of circular 342
houses from forty to ninety feet in diameter, set down haphazard closely crowded together. The houses were of earth with a smooth coating of pounded clay on the top, where most of the inhabitants were usually stationed. Before each house 343
was a scaffold, fronting the covered entrance. These scaffolds were six feet high, twenty feet long and ten broad[2] and were used for hanging up corn and meat to dry. They had a good floor, also, which was covered in the fall with drying beans. The staging for drying corn and meat was made as follows:[3] posts were set up on the scaffolds themselves, across these rafters were laid, and upon these cross rafters or poles the corn, meat and sliced squashes were hung. Before almost every 778
house were one or more poles about twenty feet high, to which images of the gods, or sacrifices to them were attached.

In the center of the village was a large open space of about 000

[1] Op. cit., p. 31. [2] Henry: vol. I, p. 340. [3] Ibid.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

state of decay, were erected for the Indians by the Whites. There is nothing of the kind 361
at Ruhptare. The huts, as I have before remarked, stand close to each other, leaving, in the 712
centre, an open circular space, about sixty paces in diameter, in the centre of which (among the Mandans) the ark of the first man is set up,[1] of which we shall speak in the sequel. It is a small cylinder, open above, made of planks, about four or five feet high, fixed in the ground, and bound with climbing plants, or pliable boughs, to hold them together (see the woodcut, p. 342).

At the north end of this circular space is the medicine lodge, in which festivals are 361
celebrated, and certain customs practised, which are connected with the religious notions of this 346
people, which we shall treat of in the sequel. At the top of a high pole, a figure is here 778
placed, made of skins, with a wooden head, the face painted black, and wearing a fur cap and feathers, which is intended to represent the evil spirit, Ochkih-Hadda (corresponding with the devil), or a wicked man, as they affirm, who once appeared among them, had neither wife nor child, and vanished, and whom they now stand greatly in dread of. Other grotesque figures, made of skins and bundles of twigs, we saw hanging on high poles, most of them being offerings to the deity. Among the huts are many stages of several stories, supported by poles, on which [343] ●
they dry the maize. The huts themselves are of a circular form, slightly vaulted, having a sort 342
of portico entrance. When the inmates are absent the entrance is shut up with twigs and thorns; and if they wish merely to close the door they put up a skin stretched out on a frame, which is shoved aside on entering. In the centre of the roof is a square opening for the smoke to find vent, over which is a circular sort of screen made of twigs, as a protection against the wind and rain, and which, when necessary, is covered with skins (see woodcut).

The interior of the hut is spacious, tolerably light, and cleanly. Four strong pillars towards the middle, with several cross beams, support the roof. The inner circumference of the hut is formed by eleven or fifteen thick posts, four or five feet in height, between which other rather shorter ones are placed close to each other. On these shorter posts, which are all of an equal

1 [This shrine, the sacred cedar, represents the culture hero's body. See Category 116, Source 2: Bower, pp. 24, 116 for a more up-to-date summary.--Analyst]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

some slight differences, the mode of building resembles, in the main, those of the Mandans, 342
Manitaries, and Arikkaras. Among these differences are the mats which are fastened all round in 221
the first hut, and which I did not observe among the tribes that I visited. The beds, too, are 171
arranged in a different manner. The Mandans and Manitaries are seen in their huts, sitting round the fire, employed in all kinds of domestic labour. The man has, generally, no clothing except the nokka, and is often merely smoking, but the women are never idle. In winter, that is, at the beginning or middle of November, these Indians remove, with the greater part of their effects, to the neighbouring forest, where their winter huts are situated. These consist of precisely similar huts, of rather smaller dimensions. Their departure from the summer huts is determined by the weather, but, as beforesaid, is generally about the middle of November; and their return, in the spring, is usually about the latter end of February, or the beginning of March, so that we may reckon that they pass above eight months in their summer quarters. Inside of the 231
winter huts is a particular compartment, where the horses are put in the evening, and fed with maize. In the daytime they are driven into the prairie, and feed in the bushes, on the bark of poplars. There are, probably, above 300 horses in the two Mandan villages; some of the people, indeed, do not possess any, while others, again, have several. The Mandans and Mani- 343
taries, like all the other Indians of this country, sometimes make what are here called caches, or 221
hiding-places, in the vicinity of their villages. These caches are holes, or magazines, underground, often so artfully contrived that it is very difficult to discover them. The Indians frequently go from their winter to their summer village, to fetch any articles they may happen to want, as they invariably leave part of their property behind. When they quit their huts for a 493
longer period than usual, they load their dogs with the baggage, which is drawn in small sledges, 231
made of a couple of thin, narrow boards, nine or ten feet in length, fastened together with leather straps, and with four cross-pieces, by way of giving them firmness. Leather straps are attached in front, and drawn either by men or dogs. The load is fastened to the sledge by straps (for such a sledge drawn by dogs see Vignette XXIX). When the snow is deep, they use snow shoes (Plate 481
XXI. Fig. 4), which are described by Captain Franklin, only those of the Mandans are much 171
smaller, about two feet and a half long; whereas in the north their length is from four to six feet. The Mandans and Manitaries have not, by any means, so many dogs as the Assiniboins, Crows, and 231
Blackfeet. They are rarely of the true wolf's colour, but generally black, or white, or else 171
spotted with black and white. Among the nations further to the north-west they more nearly resemble the wolf, but here they are more like the prairie wolf (*Canis latrans*). We likewise found, among these animals, a brown race, descended from European pointers, hence the genuine bark of the dog is more frequently heard here, whereas among the western nations they only howl. The Indian dogs are worked very hard, have hard blows, and hard fare; in fact, they are treated just as this fine animal is treated among the Esquimaux.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

plunge into and swim across the wildest streams and rivers, at times when they have no canoes or craft in which to cross them. I have as yet seen no tribe where this art is neglected. It is learned at a very early age by both sexes, and enables the strong and hardy muscles of the squaws to take their child upon the back, and successfully to pass any river that lies in their way. 000

The mode of swimming amongst the Mandans, as well as amongst most of the other tribes, is quite different from that practiced in those parts of the civilized world, which I have had the pleasure yet to visit. The Indian, instead of parting his hands simultaneously under the chin, and making the stroke outward, in a horizontal direction, causing thereby a serious strain upon the chest, throws his body alternately upon the left and the right side, raising one arm entirely above the water and reaching as far forward as he can, to dip it, whilst his whole weight and force are spent upon the one that is passing under him, and like a paddle propelling him along; whilst this arm is making a half circle, and is being raised out of the water behind him, the opposite arm is describing a similar arcl. in the air over his head, to be dipped in the water as far as he can reach before him, with the hand turned under, forming a sort of bucket, to act most effectively as it passes in its turn underneath him. 481

By this bold and powerful mode of swimming, which may want the grace that many would wish to see, I am quite sure, from the experience I have had, that much of the fatigue and strain upon the breast and spine are avoided, and that a man will preserve his strength and his breath much longer in this alternate and rolling motion, than he can in the usual mode of swimming, in the polished world.

In addition to the modes of bathing which I have above described, the Mandans have another, which is a much greater luxury, and often resorted to by the sick, but far more often by the well and sound, as a matter of luxury only, or perhaps for the purpose of hardening their limbs and preparing them for the thousand exposures and vicissitudes of life to which they are continually liable. I allude to their vapour baths, or *sudatories*, of which each village has several, and which seem to be a kind of public property—accessible to all, and resorted to by all, male and female, old and young, sick and well. 515 343 757

In every Mandan lodge is to be seen a crib or basket, much in the shape of a bathing-tub, curiously woven with willow boughs, and sufficiently large to receive any person of the family in a reclining or recumbent posture; which, when any one is to take a bath, is carried by the squaw to the sudatory for the purpose, and brought back to the wigwam again after it has been used 352 515

These sudatories are always near the village, above or below it, on the bank of the river. They are generally built of skins (in form of a Crow or Sioux lodge which I have before described), covered with buffalo skins 515 343 757

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

515 343 757 sewed tight together, with a kind of furnace in the centre; or in other words, in the centre of the lodge are two walls of stone about six feet long and two and a half apart, and about three feet high; across and over this space, between the two walls, are laid a number of round sticks, on which the bathing crib is placed (vide PLATE 71). Contiguous to the lodge, and outside of it, is a little furnace something similar, in the side of the bank, where the woman kindles a hot fire, and heats to a red heat a number of large stones, which are kept at these places for this particular purpose; and having them all in readiness, she goes home or sends word to inform her husband or other one who is waiting, that all is ready; when he makes his appearance entirely naked, though with a large buffalo robe wrapped around him. He then enters the lodge and places himself in the crib or basket, either on his back or in a sitting posture (the latter of which is generally preferred), with his back towards the door of the lodge; when the squaw brings in a large stone red hot, between two sticks (lashed together somewhat in the form of a pair of tongs) and, placing it under him, throws cold water upon it, which raises a profusion of vapour about him. He is at once enveloped in a cloud of steam, and a woman or child will sit at a little distance and continue to dash water upon the stone, whilst the matron of the lodge is out, and preparing to make her appearance with another heated stone: or he will sit and dip from a wooden bowl, with a ladle made of the mountain-sheep's horn, and throw upon the heated stones, with his own hands, the water which he is drawing through his lungs and pores, in the next moment, in the most delectable and exhilarating vapours, as it distils through the mat of wild sage and other medicinal and aromatic herbs, which he has strewed over the bottom of his basket, and on which he reclines.

515 757 During all this time the lodge is shut perfectly tight, and he quaffs this delicious and renovating draught to his lungs with deep drawn sighs, and with extended nostrils, until he is drenched in the most profuse degree of perspiration that can be produced; when he makes a kind of strangled signal, at which the lodge is opened, and he darts forth with the speed of a frightened deer, and plunges headlong into the river, from which he instantly escapes again, wraps his robe around him and "leans" as fast as possible for home. Here his limbs are wiped dry, and wrapped close and tight within the fur of the buffalo robes, in which he takes his nap, with his feet to the fire; then oils his limbs and hair with bear's grease, dresses and plumes himself for a visit—a feast—a parade, or a council; or slicks down his long hair, and rubs his oiled limbs to a polish, with a piece of soft buckskin, prepared to join in games of ball or Tchung-kee.

757 Such is the sudatory or the vapour bath of the Mandans, and, as I before observed, it is resorted to both as an every-day luxury by those who have the time and energy or industry to indulge in it; and also used by the sick as a remedy for nearly all the diseases which are known amongst them.

10: Neill H-4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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1/1 [See Category 116, p. 390.-N.]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

361 Aboriginal Mandan village sites had the following distinctive
174 characteristics.

1. The circular four-post earth lodge was the most common type used for summer residence, although semirectangular lodges did occasionally occur. These lodges were closely grouped within a limited area.

2. A central open space approximately one hundred and fifty feet in diameter was reserved for the dances and ceremonies. A [778] cedar was set into the ground at the center of the open circle and surrounded by an inclosure of wood to represent the culture hero's (NumakmaxEna) body. The inclosure was a symbol of the wall which NumakmaxEna erected to protect the people from the flood. The ceremonial lodge was on the north side of [344] the open area and in line with the other lodges which formed the circumference of the open area. Lodge entrances of this inner circle faced to the center. The ceremonial lodge was distinguished from other lodges by its flat front and greater length than width.

3. Villages were usually either protected by a surrounding wall and ditch or so situated as to employ as defenses such natural features of the terrain as cliffs, ravines, or riverbanks.

4. Villages were, with one or two exceptions, built near the Missouri River or its tributaries and adjacent to the wooded river bottoms which were cleared for gardens.

5. Although scaffolds for the dead were erected near the vil- [764] lages, isolated human bones, cache burials, and secondary bundle burials occur so frequently within the older villages that we are justified in assuming that these practices were characteristic of the older culture and that scaffold disposal was of late adoption.

6. There was a marked uniformity between villages of the same age with respect to material culture.

7. The clustering of a considerable number of village sites of a single archeological focus and the absence of all other foci within the region adjacent to the Heart River indicate Mandan domination of an extensive area along the Upper Missouri.

174 The Mandan claim to have been divided into bands which, in
large part, were broken down while living at the Heart River.
619 These were: (1) Is'topa ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves");

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

fifty lodges, while the later villages of historic times were much smaller, owing to the smaller population. Maximilian reported sixty-five lodges at Mitutanka and thirty-eight at Nuptadi. My informants listed forty-three lodges at Like-a-Fishhook. After 1870, the Mandan began abandoning the circular four-post earth lodge for small rectangular log cabins, two of them housing the population formerly living in a single earth lodge. Frequently a log cabin was built with two rooms, one room being occupied by the older people, who preserved the sacred bundles in their quarters, and the other room being occupied by the younger married family.

THE CLAN AND MOIETY SYSTEM

At the present time there are four Mandan clans, and they are divided into nameless moieties according to their position in the Okipa lodge. The Okipa or ceremonial lodge occupied a position on the north side of the village open circle, with the entrance facing the sacred cedar. According to the traditions of the Okipa, there were formerly thirteen clans which were divided into moieties known as an east-side moiety, comprising these clans: Prairie Chicken; Speckled Eagle; Bear; Red Hill; Crow; Badger; Bunch of Wood; and a west-side moiety consisting of six clans: Waxi'kEna; Tami'sik; Tami'xixiks; and three extinct clans. In the construction of the ceremonial lodge all clans participated. The east-side clans erected their side of the lodge and placed yellow corn in each posthole. The west-side clans erected the west side of the ceremonial lodge and placed small mats of buffalo hair in the central postholes of their side.

According to tradition, the clans were not all established simultaneously. It is said that Lone Man announced while living in the tribe that he belonged to the WaxikEna clan. It was the custom for this clan to sit near the door on the left, or west, side in council and during the ceremonies. The other five clans which were believed to be closest in relationship to the WaxikEna clan occupied the west side of the lodge also. It was believed that those who were of no clan occupied the entire east section of the lodge in no particular order until Clay on the Face, when returning from a successful war expedition, announced an arbitrary division of the young men then sitting in council. It is said that

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

of the caches or circular pits of the confederated village Mat-
thews speaks below. The writer found some of the remains of 251
those caches on said site in 1905.

Caches, or Pits. "The numerous caches, or pits, for storing grain, are noteworthy objects in the village. In summer, when they are not in use, they are often left open, or are carelessly covered, and may entrap the unwary stroller. When these Indians have harvested their crops, and before they start on their winter's hunt, they dig their caches, or clear out those dug in previous years. A cache is a cellar, usually round, with a small opening above, barely large enough to allow a person to descend; when finished, it looks like an ordinary round cistern. Reserving a small portion of corn, dried squash, etc., for winter use, they deposit the remainder in these subterranean store houses, along with household utensils and other articles of value which they wish to leave behind. They then fill up the orifices with earth, which they trample down and rake over, thus obliterating every trace of excavation.

"Some caches are made under the floors of the houses, others outside, in various parts of the village grounds; in each case, the distance and direction from some door, post, bedstead, fire-place, or other object is noted, so that the stores may be found on the return of the owners in the spring. Should an enemy enter the village while it is temporarily deserted, the goods are safe from fire and theft. This method of secreting property has long been used among many tribes, has been adopted by whites living on the plains, and is referred to in the works of many travelers."

It is seen from the following account of the "medicine-lodge" 346
of the Mandans, as observed by Matthews, that he ascribes to it 361
a religious character, as did Catlin and others:

Mandan and Arricara "Medicine-Lodges." "There are, in the village, two open spaces, which, although of irregular shape, may be called squares; one of these is in the Mandan, the other in the Aricaree quarter. Besides each square stands a large round 'medicine-lodge,' or temple, built as described in the second paragraph of section three, which is used for purposes that, in a general way, are called religious."

The Ark—Ceremony of Okeepa. "In the center of the Mandan 778
square is a small circular palisade, about six feet high and four feet in diameter, made of neatly hewn puncheons set closely to-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

346

MISSION HOUSE, ELBOWOODS, N. D.

281

MANDAN WOMAN SCRAPING HIDE.

[facing p. 640]

Chapter IV

THE OKIPA CEREMONY

796 THE Okipa[1] ceremony was an elaborate and complicated affair. It was a dramatization of the creation of the earth,
198 its people, plants, and animals, together with the struggles the Mandan endured to attain their present position. The history of the tribe was a part of the secret lore held by the officers of the ceremony. The uninformed could pay to have the creation myths told but could not repeat them. The songs, chants, and rituals were conducted by men who by virtue of inheritance and purchase had acquired that right, but the words were unintelligible to the population at large, being, according to tradition, in an ancient Nuptadi dialect. Only the legitimate officers understood their meaning, and that information was never divulged to another except when purchase was being made into the ceremony. The few phrases recognized, such as "Corn Mother" and "Thunder Father," were insufficient to understand the substance of the rites.

796 Certain arrangement of lodges within the village was necessary for the performance of the ceremony. Each village had an
361 open circle some one hundred and fifty feet in diameter reserved for this ceremony, and lodges were not permitted in that section. A cedar post, surrounded by a plank wall, occupied the center of this open circle, and lodges were arranged around the circle with their entrances toward the cedar.

361 The ceremonial lodge was to the north of the cedar and was a part of the row of lodges facing toward the open circle. It was
● 316 distinguishable from the other lodges by its flat side at the entrance (see Fig. 13), which was to the south. It was so oriented that the entrance faced in the direction Lone Man[1] went when he left the tribe.

Since lodges were not permitted within the open circle, nor were ashes and refuse deposited there, through normal accumu-

1. The word *okipE'* means "to look alike" and refers to the Bull Dancers, who were of the same stature and were painted and dressed alike for the dances.

1 [Culture hero; impersonated in the Okipa ceremony - Analyst]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

361 lation of refuse in the remainder of the village this open circle
•346 took on the character of a sunken area within the village. This open area appears as frequently near the edges of the abandoned village sites as in the approximate centers. These sunken areas
[172] within the ruins of ancient sites downstream from the last Mandan villages distinguish ancient Mandan villages from those of other tribes. In ruins such as occur at the Larson or Motsiff sites, where there was a considerable accumulation of refuse within the village, the sunken area was very pronounced. At the Deapolis Site, where the interlodge refuse was thin, the open circle appeared as a slight depression with a low mound where the cedar stood.

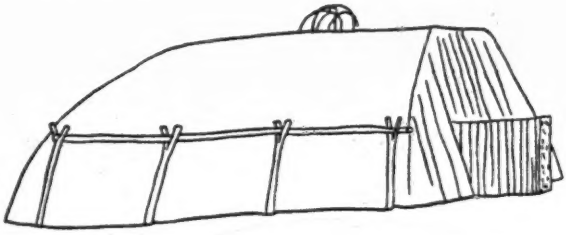

FIG. 13.—Plan of Okipa ceremonial lodge. (Drawn by White Calf.)

361 The three Hidatsa village groups in general lacked the open
171 circle arrangement of lodges, although the Hidatsa proper in later years marked off a section within the village where dancing was done and where lodges were not permitted. There was neither a cedar, special ceremonial lodge, nor inner circle of lodges facing a common center. The Awatixa and Awaxawi villages lacked all semblance of lodge orientation, leaving only sufficient space between for corn scaffolds and passageways.

The Arikara plan shows considerable variation as to age. The protohistoric and early historic sites frequently had a special ceremonial lodge in the approximate center of the village, but all villages did not have ceremonial lodges. A limited area adjacent to the ceremonial lodge was used for the dances, but the neighboring lodges were not arranged in a circle, and there was no orientation of lodge entrances toward the center. More recent historic Arikara villages had definite open circles with orientation of lodges toward the center, where the ceremonial lodge

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

stood. This lodge was circular in outline and differed from the regular earth lodges only by its greater size. 361 171

The open-circle concept was definitely established among the Mandan at a very early date according to the archeological evidence from the Heart River region.[2] There is some evidence in the Grand River region of the Mandan-type open-circle village arrangement, but the situation there is in most instances obscured by subsequent Arikara occupations.

Lone Man, according to tradition, established the custom of leaving an open area within each village for dancing. Later, when he was leaving the tribe, he erected a Red-painted cedar, as a symbol of his body and of all the Mandans who had lived before. The cedar was surrounded by a wall of cottonwood planks as a symbol of the wall he erected to protect the people from the flood. A water willow surrounding the planks marked the highest advance of the flood waters. He also established the custom of maintaining a special ceremonial lodge in each village and taught the ceremonies associated with its construction. The lodge was a symbol of Dog Den Butte where Hoita (the speckled eagle) imprisoned all living things. Six central posts were used making it oblong in form, with a flat side facing the open circle.[3] Lone Man also established the WəxikEna and Tamisik clans and indicated their seating arrangement in the ceremonial lodge. He divided the lodge into two halves, the left half or east side belonging to the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, and five other clans of that moiety. The right side belonged to the WaxikEna, Tamisik, Tamixixiks and three other clans of that moiety. 773 776 346

According to the sacred myths the moiety and clan system was as follows prior to the smallpox epidemics: 773 614 616

West-Side Moiety (Buffalo)	East-Side Moiety (Corn)
Waxi'kEna (Tell Bad News)	Sipuska'numak (Prairie Chicken People)
Tami'sik (no meaning)	Ipoka'numak (Speckled Eagle People)
Tami'xixiks (Bad Strap)	Mato'domak (Bear People)
[Three extinct clans whose names are not now remembered]	MasE'domak (Red Hill People)
	Amaka'domak (Badger People)
	HoxExaka'numak (Crow People)
	Manakasa'numak (People in Grove)

2. By 1500 in sites of the Huff focus in villages of rectangular lodges.

3. This was the habitation lodge which was retained for ceremonial purposes when the circular earth lodge was adopted shortly before 1600.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

614 Prior to the first smallpox epidemic there were thirteen named
616 clans, six clans dying out as a result of that epidemic. The three above clans of the west-side moiety survived together with the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, Crow, and Bear clans of the opposite moiety. The Bad Straps were assimilated into the Tamisik clan, while the Crow and Bear clans either died out or were assimilated with the Prairie Chickens after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

776 The west-side moiety was established by Lone Man, who
616 represented the village activities and peace functions of the tribe. The other moiety was divided into clans by Clay on the
614 Face, who promised to give the people sitting opposite Lone
773 Man's moiety names if he returned from a successful war expedition. As he returned from this expedition singing, he saw prairie chickens which were making a loud noise as they ate, the speckled eagles flying in the air, the bears in the timber, the snake people living in the red buttes near Old Woman Who Never Dies' lodge, the badger near his burrow on the prairie, the crows which were cawing, and mysterious people living in the small brush thickets. These were the names he gave to the people of his moiety.

Of the ten clans listed above, four survived the smallpox epi-
614 demic of 1837. They were WaxikEna, Tamisik, Prairie Chicken, and Speckled Eagle. Scattercorn's father, Moves Slowly, an officer in the Okipa, would call the name of each Nuptadi clan on the last day, and those impersonating the bulls would bellow as each was named. He had heard that the officers from the other village would formerly call the names of thirteen clans, but while at Fort Clark they dropped six extinct clans from the rites.

● 346 Each moiety owned its side of the ceremonial lodge. When
616 erecting a new lodge or repairing the old one, the clans forming a moiety worked as a unit on their own side. Those fasting dur-
614 ing the Okipa occupied places inside the lodge at the wall according to clan. Those of the WaxikEna were next to the door on the right side. The Tamisik occupied the balance of that side. On the left side the Prairie Chicken clan sat near to the door, and the Speckled Eagle clan occupied the remaining space on that side.

000 The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of the WaxikEna clan who was known as the custodian of the Okipa lodge.[4] His family lived with him in the lodge. The WaxikEna clan, to which Lone Man, traditional founder of the ceremony, belonged, met and selected one of their number to occupy the lodge and protect the ceremonial equipment left there by the various officers of the ceremony. The Mandan, upon joining the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, built a ceremonial lodge and selected Arrowhead Earrings as custodian. His family lived in the lodge except when it was needed for a ceremony, at which time they removed their lodge property. The family was paid for the use of the lodge or, as Calf Woman explained, for the trouble they had been put to in preparing the lodge for the ceremony. When Arrowhead Earrings died, the lodge should have been taken over by another member of the WaxikEna clan. His son-in-law, Never Eats Marrow, although of the Hidatsa Knife clan, was held in such high respect by the Mandan that he was intrusted with the lodge, and his daughter, Calf Woman, who supplied much of the information about this ceremony, was born in this lodge. She ultimately acquired the buffalo masks used in the ceremony through purchase from the WaxikEna clan after the buffaloes became extinct and the ceremony was no longer being performed.[5]

The repair of the cedar[6] and the wall inclosing it was also in-

4. Catlin is possibly in error when he says: "The 'Medicine Lodge,' the largest in the village and seventy-five feet in diameter, with four images (sacrifices of different-coloured and costly cloths) suspended on poles above it, was considered by these people as a sort of temple, held as strictly sacred, being built and used solely for these four days' ceremonies, and closed during the rest of the year" (George Catlin, *O-Kee-Pa* [Philadelphia, 1867], p. 81).

5. This is an instance of shifting from clan inheritance commonly occurring since 1845.

6. Scattercorn in recent years was considered custodian of the sacred cedar, which was placed west of Crows Heart's home. Members of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans were expected to attend and assist in the repair. Others would come to make offerings to the cedar at that time, which in recent years consisted chiefly of calicoes. She used one song during the ceremonial repairing of the cedar and inclosure, and it was directed to the four directions.

At the east side of the cedar she would sing:

o-ta'-nu-mą-kE (east people)	masa'numąkE (north people)
mikaxo' (big herd. Buffalo cows.)	maxEnu (one)
EhE'nakahoc (I am saying)	

At the west side she sang:

ota'numąkE	masa'numąkE
mikaxo'	nupa (two)
EhE'nakahoc	

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter VII

EAGLE-TRAPPING CEREMONY[1]

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CAPTURING eagles from concealed pits[2] was practiced by all tribes of the Northern Plains. So far as our meager information indicates, the technique was essentially the same for a large number of tribes occupying territory adjacent to the Mandan and Hidatsa. Less is known of the ceremonial aspect of the practice, organization of expeditions, values of feathers for decoration, number of leaders, inheritance of rites and skills, or the socioreligious position of its shaman.

Shooting young developed eagles was uncommon, but both Mandan and Hidatsa informants claimed that the Crows made less use of pits, since they lived near the Rocky Mountains, where most of the birds nested and were able to shoot them in trees or near decoys. Such information as the literature gives indicates that all the tribes of the Upper Missouri River Region adjacent to the Mandan and Hidatsa used the pit method of trapping.

In this discussion of eagle-trapping it is proposed to indicate the territory claimed by the Mandan and Hidatsa, the technique of securing birds, mythological background, inheritance of rights to trap, as well as the economic and religious position of leaders in the tribal life.[3]

796 223 346

Eagle-trapping by the Mandan and Hidatsa was confined to the rough lands adjacent to wooded streams. The ceremonial lodge for the men and the wood or hide tepees for the women and children were always erected in sheltered spots among the high trees along streams, while the pits were dug on the top or

1. For a detailed account of practices associated with eagle-trapping see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX [1929]), pp. 99–245.

2. For Maximilian's short account of eagle-trapping see Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, XXIII (Cleveland, 1906), 346.

3. Eagle-trapping rites and beliefs for both the Mandan and the Hidatsa are treated together in this chapter, since tribal differences were insignificant.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

near the top of hills or on benchlands adjacent to the streams (see Figs. 25–27). Of the total area claimed by these two tribes, only a small part of the entire territory was suitable for trapping, and that was confined to narrow sections of river country (see Fig. 28). 796 223 346

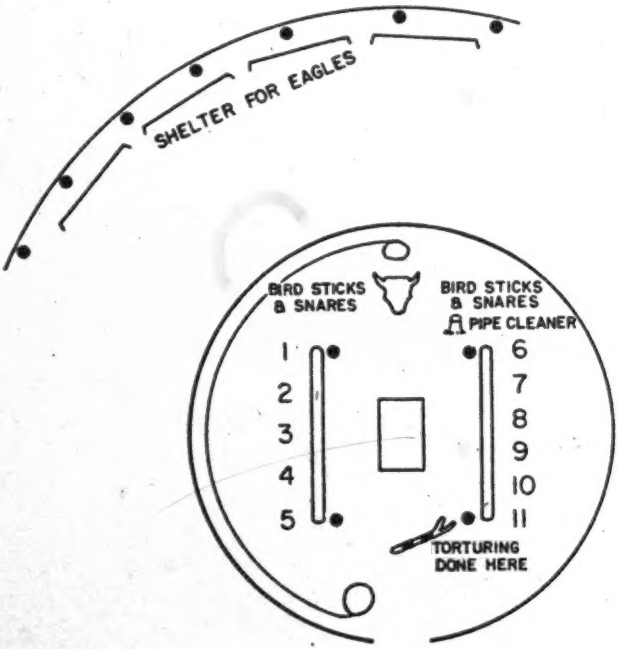

FIG. 25.—Plan of eagle-trapping lodge. *1*, Wolf Eyes—leader (Maxoxati-H); *2*, Big Walker—assistant leader (Tamisik-M); *3*, Little Crow (Low Hat); *4*, Lance-owner (3 clan); *5*, White Body (Maxoxati); *6*, Holding Eagle—Crack Shot (Prairie Chicken); *7*, Little Bull (Knife); *8*, Black Bear (Knife); *9*, Sitting Woman (Prairie Chicken); *10*, Bears Arm (Knife); *11*, Louie Wolf—waiter (Water-buster).

Historic accounts of these two tribes give little information on eagle-trapping, but there are frequent references to their value in trade. The standard price of a good horse was three war bonnets containing a total of one hundred and eight black-tipped feathers, which would be the feathers from nine birds. 796 435

Archeological evidence verifies native tradition of the great antiquity of eagle-trapping. In the rough country west of the Missouri River there are thousands of depressions marking the sites of former pits. These pits vary from sharply rectangular 796 223 172

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 forms with rotted sections of the cover still protruding to gently
223 rounded depressions now nearly filled by erosional activity. The
172 number of pits, together with their wide distribution, points to a universal practice of considerable antiquity.

796 During the century 1770–1870 there was a general northward
223 movement of the Mandan and Hidatsa which was accompanied
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648 [346]

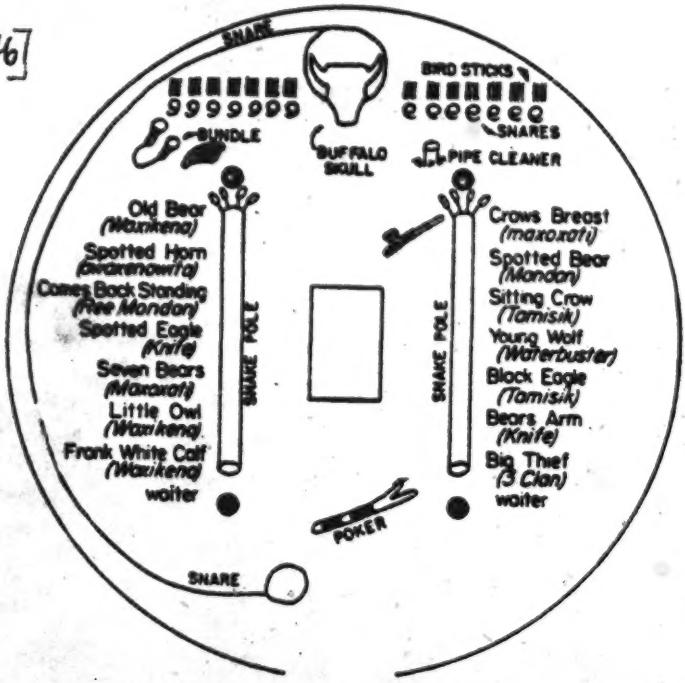

FIG. 26.—Floor plan of eagle-trapping lodge, Old Bear, leader. Bird sticks: *1*, "Both Ends White"; *2*, "Speckled"; *3*, "Four Stripes"; *4*, "The Young One."

by a shift in eagle-trapping territory. Crows Heart (Mandan), who had been on many trapping expeditions with both Mandan and Hidatsa leaders, stated that the Mandan claimed eagle-trapping rights to the territory on both sides of the Missouri River from Like-a-Fishhook Village to the Yellowstone and along the Little Missouri River to its headwaters. While living in the Heart River region, the Mandan claimed trapping rights to all the rough lands between the Little and Big Missouri rivers as far west as Powder River in Montana. To the south

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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FIG. 27.—Eagle-trapping camp and pits, Old Bear, leader. (Drawn by Bears Arm to show himself fasting when seventeen years of age.)

[P. 209]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 their intentions of trapping at certain localities and called for volunteers. The bundle-owner was leader, and his authority began as soon as the party left the village. Announcement that they would be trapping at a specified site was made in the village as soon as a party was organized, in order that hunting parties or other eagle-trapping parties would know their whereabouts.

Trapping parties left for the trapping sites when the leaves began to change color in the fall. In the party would be the leadder and his trappers, together with their wives and children. It [224] being customary to hunt game for the winter's needs when the winds were not from a westerly direction, the women were taken along to cure the meat and prepare the hides.

223 346 Two types of lodges were used in connection with eagle-trapping. According to tradition, when Black Wolf visited the bears, he found them using a grass lodge consisting of a sweat-lodge frame covered with grass mats. When this lodge was used, the rigid rules associated with eagle-trapping were dispensed with. The bears had said, "When you use the grass lodge, there will be no rules." Any suitable location for the lodge could be agreed upon where it would be centrally located in relation to the pits. Neither were there rules governing the excavation of pits nor the appropriation of old ones. Each trapped where he chose, killed the birds, and secured the feathers. This type lodge was rarely used except when trapping in new territory under circumstances such that it was considered unlikely that the party would ever return there again to trap.

223 346 778 The second type lodge was known as the wood lodge. There were two variants of this type. When it was planned to return to the locality again, it was constructed on a four-post standard, each post having a fork at the top on which poles were suspended forming a square. The sides of the lodge were built by leaning poles against this standard to form a roughly conical structure. Bark and earth were banked around the outer edge of the lodge to a height of three feet for warmth and protection from attack. This was the preferred type lodge. With it went ownership of the adjacent pits and hunting territory. It was the residence of the males and was owned by the leader who had directed its construction. When used in connection with eagle-trap-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ping, the full ritual belonging to the bundle was used. These were permanent sites and were used from year to year. (The camps indicated in Fig. 28 used this lodge.) Transfer of ownership was through the clan, although a leader of a different clan could pay for the right to use a lodge and pits for a season when neither the owner nor a member of the owner's clan intended to use it. 223 346 778

A variant of the pole lodge was generally used when a new territory was being explored for the first time. In exterior form it resembled the four-post lodge but lacked the standard on which the poles were leaned. The structure was begun by lashing four poles together in the manner of the four-pole tepee of the Plains, after which poles were leaned together at the top forming a circular base and conical exterior. The base had the same exterior covering of bark and earth for protection from the weather as well as defense from enemies. 223 346

Many of these pole lodges are still to be found, even though eagle-trapping was generally discontinued fifty years ago. In the autumn of 1932 the writer accompanied Bear on the Flat, Crows Heart, and Mark Mato on an eagle-trapping expedition and use was made of a lodge and pits owned by Iron Eyes (born into the WaxikEna clan but raised in the Prairie Chicken clan), a member of Bear on the Flat's clan.

When a trapping party returned to an old site, the first duty was to repair the trapping lodge. Broken poles were taken out of the wall and replaced by new ones, after which the sides were banked with bark and earth. When six or eight men were in the party, the lodge was the size of the regular hide tepee. When parties of fourteen to twenty men went out, the lodge was enlarged to twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter. Hide tepees were never used for the men when on eagle-trapping expeditions. The lodge was always concealed in a thicket of timber near running water. The head of the lodge was in a westerly direction, usually more north than west so that the entrance was in a general direction of the Missouri River's course. The head of the lodge and adjacent area on that side of the lodge were considered holy. One could not cut wood, perform tasks not related to the ceremonies, or loiter there. The sweat lodge was south of the trapping lodge. The women erected their hide tepees or pole lodges without the four-post standard, and their drying scaffolds were 223 346 778

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 346 778

in line with the entrance of the ceremonial lodge to the east. Before the introduction of horses, women lived in pole lodges, but these lodges were replaced with hide tepees as soon as possession of horses became general.

223 796

When returning to a site that had been used the former year, the two poles representing the snakes were brought from their place on the west side of the lodge and placed at the door; otherwise new ones were cut and brought to the lodge. Before the leader carried in the sacred bundle, he would sing the Song to the Lodge, with the trappers seated around him. After this he addressed the bundle, announced that trapping was about to commence, and asked for good luck from the Bears, the Buffalo, and the Snare. He then entered the lodge, invited the Buffalo and the trappers to come in, and placed the Buffalo skull and bundle at the head of the lodge.

When all were inside, the leader sang the Song of the Snakes and called for the two snake poles, which were brought in and placed one on the left side and the other on the right side of the lodge with the large ends representing the heads pointed toward the head of the lodge and the altar. The leader then produced a short sharp stick, usually decorated with porcupine quills, and marked off the limits of the fireplace, after which a rectangular pit was excavated. The rectangular shape of the fireplace was symbolic of the eagle-trapping pit, while the fire was addressed as "Grandfather," meaning that "it goes back in time to the beginning of things." The two ash poles were then placed on opposite sides of the fireplace. The pole on the left side represented the male snake and the one on the right side represented the female.[27] According to Mandan-Hidatsa tradition, Two Men[28] once came along and stopped with a party trapping eagles and informed the leader that the eagles ate snakes while the snakes preferred to eat eagle down. In that way snake poles were used in the ceremonial lodge for the men to place their heads on while sleeping.

The leader placed a juneberry branch tied up with white sage, representing the moon and also identified with the black-tipped

27. The arrangement of these two poles was symbolic of the lodge in Red Butte, visited by Grandson, where the snakes slept with their heads on poles at opposite sides of the fire.

28. Lodge Boy and Spring Boy of Hidatsa mythology.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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FIG. 31.—Vacated lodge* with closed door

FIG. 32.—Lodge when repaired and ready for occupation.

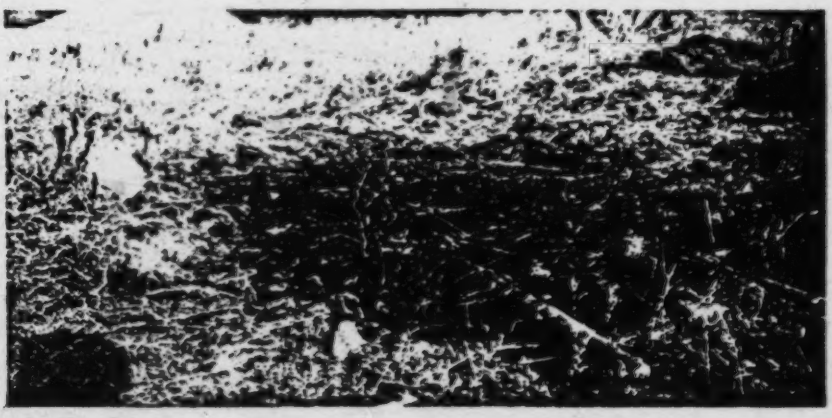

FIG. 33.—Pit with framework and buckbrush covering completed

* [Ceremonial lodge used during eagle trapping expedition — Analyst.]

[p. 242]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The other said, "I had that happen, too, when you were winning, so I don't think it is anything serious. If you find anything more to bet on, I am ready. I always give a person a chance to get back what he lost." 773 539

After a while Snake Man stepped out. Late that night Brown Old Man came and ate with the young man, and they were happy. He told Brown Old Man what Snake Man had said and then Brown Old Man laughed.

He said, "I made one mistake here; at the time you fellows ran I was angry, and I thought that every time Snake Man breathed the dirt would go into his mouth. That is why he threw all that dirt up. That was a mistake, for I am afraid that he will not have a long life."

While the gambling was going on, the young man had married. He told his wife to go out and take a bath, for he had promised Brown Old Man that if he won the game and had a wife he should take her as a daughter-in-law. Brown Old Man had said, "I will sleep beside her and take her as my daughter-in-law, but I will not touch her. What you have done, giving her to me for my daughter-in-law, makes me happy." They slept together until the next day. The young man and his "father," Brown Old Man, ate together and were happy. Brown Old Man said to his "son," "I sang a holy song while you were playing the game, and it is yours. In the future when you go out to attack your enemy, use that song, and you will win that game too."

Meanwhile Snake Man was vomiting up the dirt; it was not long after that until he died.

Brown Old Man died in that village, but, when they tell the story, the old people do not say whether he went back to the birds or not, but it seems from the earlier part of the story that he must have.

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF EAGLE-TRAPPING. I

The people were living out on the Reservation by this time [1888]. I was about twenty-four years old then. By that time we had wagons so we went with teams. We went across from Independence and set out west toward Heart Singer Butte, near which we camped that night. The next time we moved, we camped at Eagle Nest Butte. Bad Coat had his wife, True Woman (Water-buster clan); Iron Eyes had his wife, Brown Chest (AwaxEnawita clan); Charging had his wife, Robe (Knife clan); Little Crow had his wife, Otter (Water-buster clan); Packs Wolf had his wife, Comes Along Pink (AwaxEnawita clan); Spotted Weasel had his wife, Cedar (AwaxEnawita clan); Raven Knows Nothing had his wife, Bear Woman (Knife clan); Sitting Owl had his wife, Pink Blossom (AwaxEnawita clan); Sitting Owl had an adopted son along called Standing Bull. 223

The next time we camped just the other side of where the White Lodge stands, where there are large springs. The next day we came opposite Buffalo Manure Butte, called Lone Butte today, and camped on the banks of the Little Missouri River. We crossed the Little Missouri there and followed Buffalo Manure Creek, called Crosby Creek today, and crossed the divide to the west and camped. The camp was on the Little Missouri River in the timber.

We set to work, for we had wagons then, cutting the timbers and posts. They were mostly ash, and we hauled them on the wagons. We set up the four posts with the rails at the top and then carried the timbers around the sides of the place where the lodge was to stand. All the men worked on this, and we finally finished it. It took us one day to cut the timbers while others were scraping the ground down, taking the roots out. The next day we commenced 223 346

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 346 putting the lodge up, finishing the actual building in one day. The next day the leader put the wood pillows on the ground, dug out the fireplace, and placed the stakes at the head of the lodge where the buffalo head belonged. He finished everything up just as in the other drawings I made. After the skull was brought in by the leader, it was placed at the head of the lodge. Then we went out and cut soft grass for bedding. Iron Eyes was the man to stay in the lodge and burn incense, for he was an old man and did not go into any of the pits.

223 Each one of us went out and selected a spot where our pits should be; sometimes two would go together and make one pit. When finished, they would go to another site and make another pit for the other one. That took us two days. Where one had a pit close to a washout or bank, he would carry the dirt and throw it in there. Those on the level would carry the dirt far off and put it in a low pile to make it look as though a ground mole or pocket gopher had dug it up. After a pit was dug, we took the measurements of it for the cover and cut the six sticks for the frame. Buckbrush was tied between the pole frames to make a shield for the grass which was to come next.

The bait's place was at the west side. There were two stakes to hold it down with a crotch on the end of each. Stakes were driven into the ground, and the bait was tied to the two stakes to keep it from being moved by the birds. There was a stake on the inside of the pit in the wall also. The third stake had a crotch, and a strong cord was tied to it and to the bait so that the eagle could not move the bait.

As soon as all the stakes were tied together, to get into the pit, we would take the cover up and drop our things in under it and crawl in feet first. Before going in, the bait was fixed from the outside and the cord dropped down into the pit to be tied to the stake. Then we smoothed the grass covering. We always used six poles for the cover; that way it made the covering strong enough to hold a bird's weight. Some trappers often reported that birds came and fought the decoy if it was too close to the bait, so I always had mine farther off. That was why I never had any trouble catching birds.

223 796 When we had the lodge completed, the leader told us we could go in. We took our firearms up and stood in front of the lodge. The Leader said, "Sitting Owl, you will go in and be the Crack Shot (*mariisakihE*)."[8] He did not know that he would be selected. In fact, none of us knew who would be selected for the different places. Then Charging was told to go in, then Raven Knows Nothing, Bears Arm, and Spotted Weasel, who was selected as the waiter on that side. Then, on the other side Packs Wolf was selected waiter (*ix'-ta-ki*). Blue Stone, Little Crow, Iron Eyes, and Bad Coat went in last.

Each man beginning with the Crack Shot had four sticks, each one representing one of the four eagles, making in all twenty sticks on one side and twenty sticks on the other side. There were no markings on them; they were cut from chokecherry branches. When Wolfs Eyes went out, he had no sticks in front at all. Old Bear also gave each man four sticks which were placed in a row at the altar.

I never knew of offering strips of beaver hides to the stakes, as Crows Heart says, but it may have been in some of the other men's rites. I was out with Old Black Bear, and he was doing a little differently, but White Eagle came and asked me to go home as my folks wanted me. The leader thought

8. Hidatsa language.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF EAGLE-TRAPPING. II

223 Early in fall the leader, Wolfs Eyes, said, "I am going out eagle-trapping." There are two ways of getting up a group; some leaders accept volunteers, or the leader may select his men. We went to him and said. "We wish to go with you," and he said that it would be all right. He told us to take certain products from the garden such as roast corn, dried yellow corn, white flour corn, and dried squash. Some prepared their own baits at home. Most of the baits were stuffed jackrabbit skins. Those who did not have any baits made them after we were located at the eagle-trapping lodge and the tepees had been put up. Some would use a piece of deer hide cut up with ears on and two legs on the side.

In the party were the leader, Wolfs Eyes; Big Walk; Little Crow; Lance Owner; Little Bull; Holding Eagle; Black Bear; SittingWoman; White Body; Bears Arm; Louie Wolf or Red Horse; Many Birds; a boy, Spotted Weasel; Little Crow's wife, Otter Woman, and their daughter, Comes Out; Big Walk's wife, Plain Blossom, and their grandson, Jim Foot or Foot Prints; Plain Blossom's daughter, Too Costly; Woman in Water, wife of Charging Eagle, and her son, Richard Burr; Lance Owner's wife, Yellow Stalk; Holding Eagle's wife, Bobcat Woman. Charging Eagle being a policeman, he could not get away, but his wife, being Bears Arm's mother's sister, went along to help with the work in the camp. Also my mother's mother and Woman in Water were sisters. There were several women along because there was much to do, since in bad weather we would go out and kill mountain sheep, elk, and deer, so the women came along to care for the meet and hides. [462]

484 When everything was ready, the young women took their bullboats to the river and crossed our stuff consisting of tepees, poles, provisions, bedding, 492 and cooking utensils. It took nearly all day to cross the stuff. The first camp was at Beaver Creek. We used tepee poles tied together as travois. The horses pulled poles with the tepees and bedding, while several additional pack horses were loaded down with bedding. We were all on horseback and traveled very slowly. When traveling, the leader was at the head of the party, while the hunters were to the side or in advance of the others.

487 The second day we traveled to End of World Buttes and stopped northeast of Killdeer the third night. After camping on the east side of Killdeer, we went around the north side of the Killdeer Mountains and camped on the north side. From there we went north because that was the best route to cross the Little Missouri River. After we left the Little Missouri, we went to the place called Wolf Pit. When we reached our destination, we commenced to put up our lodge, for there was no lodge there before.

223 The place was selected by the leader because of the presence of a prairie-dog town there in a valley extending from the Yellowstone River eastward to the Little Missouri. All along that valley there were prairie dogs, and the eagles traveled along this valley in order to catch these animals. Then the Indians would come to this site, and our leader thought that it would be a good place to catch the birds.

● 346 As soon as the camp was selected, all set to work erecting the lodge, even the women helped by cutting the grass to pack between the poles and digging 784 dirt to put over the lodge. There was an opening at the top for the sparks and 223 smoke. There were four posts and railing on top, while the rest of the poles

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

leaned against them. We were not allowed to shoot or throw stones at any 346
kind of birds. Nor were we allowed to sing other than the songs that went with 784
the trapping. The leader tied pieces of calico to ash trees as offering to the
Holy Women and told the new members that the region back of the lodge or 223
west was holy ground as the birds came from that direction.

Then we did the "Tied" ceremony, meaning marking the corners of the 223
new pits so that they were square and deep enough to be over one's head when
sitting up in them. On the side wall a hole was dug like a small shelf and a 796
stone was put in it. The stone is called Baby Stone, for the eagles were considered sacred. The stone was used as a shield, and, when one catches an eagle and wishes to kill it in the pit, instead of using the words "kill it" we said "put it to sleep" and took the stone down and placed it between the eagles wings, took the cord tied around its neck, and pulled the cord back, and that way broke the neck.

The bears were the first ones to trap eagles; there are two different stories about eagle-trapping. The leader goes in and blesses the lodge and prays to the spirits. When they first learned of eagle-trapping, the bear was doing this. He had a cord and spread it out, opening it, and said, "All are caught." It [173]
was because the bears prayed that prayers had to be offered to the spirits to whom the bears prayed.

There must have been a great difference in the ceremonies once, since the stone is called "Tied" and also "Sleep Stone."

When our leader saw that all was ready, he said, "We must go in." He named Little Bull to be the Crack Shot and go in first; then he named Holding Eagle to sit next to the Crack Shot; then Wolfs Eyes went in and took his place at the head of the lodge; then the helper, Big Walk, went in. Whatever the leader does in singing and praying, the man sitting next to him is expected to give him assistance. The leader and his helper are the ones to offer prayers and do the singing, while the Crack Shot and the man next to him work together too. Their duty is to torture the men. Then the other men came in on both sides and took their places. Then there were two waiters selected by the leader. They were not named, nor is anyone named until the lodge is completed and ready to move in.

No excuses are allowed. When the leader says, "I select you as a waiter," one has no right to refuse. After this, we went in and took our places. The leader said, "Waiter, burn some incense," and, while the waiter burned it, the leader took his sacred articles out and held them in the smoke. He held up the cord, and while he was singing the song to the snares he made a motion as of throwing the loop to catch something. He did that three times, and the fourth time the Crack Shot jumped up and took the snare, saying, "Leader, you have snared everything; you have roped everything north, south, west, and east," meaning that then he had everything in the world caught in his snare.

There are many songs[12] to be sung by the leader and his helper. After he sings these songs, there is a special song for the waiter, who gets up and dances with the cord, making the sign of throwing the loop to catch something. Then, one of the men who is not married would say, "Waiter, I feel someone at my back."

Then the waiter looked and said, "There is a very handsome woman back

12. See Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 69–80.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

In the center of the village was a large open space of about four acres[1] and in the center of this was the "Ark of the First Man." This was in the shape of a hogshead, of planks and hoops.[2] It was open above, the planks were embedded in the ground, and the hoops were branches tied around to hold these together. The Mandans called this the Big Canoe[3] and in it were some of their greatest medicines. This open space was the seat of all their festivals, dances and ceremonies, and here also they played their games of Chungkee or Skohpe. The space was closely surrounded by houses placed at equal distances apart and all facing the center. The largest of these lodges on the south side of the area was the medicine lodge, and on a pole above this was a figure of skin, with a carved wooden head, which represented the Evil Spirit.

361 778 [346]

About one quarter of a mile or less to the south of the village was a race-course; a hundred or more scaffolds on which the dead were deposited; slides for their games were also made outside the palisades. The ground about the houses was honeycombed with pits and caches in which most of the food and many of the valuables of the inhabitants were stored. The house roofs formed a general repository where bull boats, buffalo skulls, pottery, sledges and people were scattered promiscuously over the rounded surface, around the edge of which Bradbury says they built a sort of low railing.

361 [764] [351]

Houses:—The houses themselves were many times described, sometimes with considerable variation, and it is highly probable that there was more or less variation of construction in the minor details. They were distinguished from those of the Arikara in that the ground was first excavated, and that they were rather hemispherical, whereas the houses of the latter were more conical, like those of the Pawnee. Catlin[4] places the average size of the houses at from forty to sixty feet in diameter, depending on the size and importance of the family, and Henry[5] tells us that the one in which he himself stayed was ninety feet in diameter.

342 [171]

[1] Henry: vol. I, p. 338. "Sixty feet across," Maximilian: p. 386; "One hundred and fifty feet," Catlin: vol. I, p. 88.
[2] Catlin gives this as eight to ten feet high, Maximilian as four or five.
[3] Catlin: vol. I, p. 88.
[4] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 81.
[5] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 338.

state of decay, were erected for the Indians by the Whites. There is nothing of the kind at Ruhptare. The huts, as I have before remarked, stand close to each other, leaving, in the centre, an open circular space, about sixty paces in diameter, in the centre of which (among the Mandans) the ark of the first man is set up,[1] of which we shall speak in the sequel. It is a small cylinder, open above, made of planks, about four or five feet high, fixed in the ground, and bound with climbing plants, or pliable boughs, to hold them together (see the woodcut, p. 342). 361 712

At the north end of this circular space is the medicine lodge, in which festivals are celebrated, and certain customs practised, which are connected with the religious notions of this people, which we shall treat of in the sequel. At the top of a high pole, a figure is here placed, made of skins, with a wooden head, the face painted black, and wearing a fur cap and feathers, which is intended to represent the evil spirit, Ochkih-Hadda (corresponding with the devil), or a wicked man, as they affirm, who once appeared among them, had neither wife nor child, and vanished, and whom they now stand greatly in dread of. Other grotesque figures, made of skins and bundles of twigs, we saw hanging on high poles, most of them being offerings to the deity. Among the huts are many stages of several stories, supported by poles, on which they dry the maize. The huts themselves are of a circular form, slightly vaulted, having a sort of portico entrance. When the inmates are absent the entrance is shut up with twigs and thorns; and if they wish merely to close the door they put up a skin stretched out on a frame, which is shoved aside on entering. In the centre of the roof is a square opening for the smoke to find vent, over which is a circular sort of screen made of twigs, as a protection against the wind and rain, and which, when necessary, is covered with skins (see woodcut). 361 346 778 [343] 342

The interior of the hut is spacious, tolerably light, and cleanly. Four strong pillars towards the middle, with several cross beams, support the roof. The inner circumference of the hut is formed by eleven or fifteen thick posts, four or five feet in height, between which other rather shorter ones are placed close to each other. On these shorter posts, which are all of an equal

1 [This shrine, the sacred cedar, represents the culture hero's body. See Category 116, Source 2: Bowers, pp. 24, 116 for a more up-to-date summary.--Analyst]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 to the top of the shaft there was fastened a single eagle feather. The bottom of
432 both staffs was blunt, but in order to secure them in their places a sharp-pointed stick
527 had been previously driven into the ground there. The fathers had two hand-
533 drums. The father nearest the door took the hooked stick (ma'nanū'skup) which
535 had been set at the left side of the straight stick (ma'nacū'cuk) for one facing the
293 door, and held it in his hand, while the last father in line took the straight stick. The two fathers standing nearest the staff-holders bore rattles. The drums were beaten, but before the rest of the fathers rose Shot-foot addressed us, saying, "Sons, you will keep our society, you will dance today." Then the fathers all rose, and the singing began. The staff-bearers advanced towards the boys, shouting, while the rest danced in their places. When the staff-bearers had got to the fireplace, the singing ceased. Each of the two officers then went to his son and led him to a spot between the two main posts on the right side of the lodge (for one facing the entrance), and gave his stick to his son. On this occasion Water-chief received the straight stick, and White-eye the bent stick. Next Shot-fox rose with his rattle and — this time without any singing or dancing — walked straight towards his son, Long-tail, whom he led to the place between the two posts used by the staff-bearers and presented with his rattle. The second rattler went through a corresponding procedure. Then the wives of the four officers who had just disposed of their emblems came forward to give the newly prepared clothes to their sons. The spectators, during all this performance, were restricted to the space between the door and the two front posts. From among these outsiders there now advanced the relatives of the new officers in order to pile up property before them or to present small sticks representing the promise to donate a horse.

The fathers said, "Now, sons, all of you stand up!" All the fathers then walked
575 towards us, followed by their wives, who carried the clothing and laid it down before
432 the sons. All of us put on the new clothes on the spot. The fathers who had
527 surrendered their rattles stood next to their sons, whom they wished to assist in
533 singing. The fathers who had owned the two officers' staffs said to the new incum-
534 bents: "There is an abundance of enemies; try to be brave!" The fathers who had carried rattles said the same to *their* sons, adding: "You will sing for your society, and I must teach you now. When you sing outdoors, you shall circle round to the right, and all will follow you." The first rattler accordingly led the procession in a circle until he had got near the second rattler, where he stopped and began to sing. The second rattler then also sang a song, shaking a tin-can rattle. In the procession outdoors the marchers walked at a very rapid pace.

Four female associates followed the men. These were called "Fox women" and had been appointed by their own families to assist the Foxes at their feasts and in the singing. They stood outside the circle formed by the society when dancing outdoors, but also took part in the dance. These women were unmarried, but later two of them, Pumpkin-blossom and Otter, married members of the society.

[349] After we had marched out of our lodge, we went to an open space east of the Round Corral.[1] Four of our fathers stepped inside the circle we formed there, and sang for us, beating their drums. We danced and then went home. This first public dance was the only occasion on which our fathers sang for us.

After a few days we came together and danced in Water-chief's lodge. During indoor performances we sat in an arc round the lodge and did not make use of our

[1] This is the structure described by Catlin and Maximilian as the "ark."

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

174 since some accounts tell of being created at the Heart River
773 while others tell of a migration along the Missouri from the southeast. This same inconsistency was recognized by Maximilian.[2] My informants did not consider this to be an inconsistency at all. Their explanation was that, when Lone Man made the land around the Heart River, he also made the land to the south as far as the ocean. He made fish people, eagle people, bear people, corn people, buffalo people, and others whose history was inaugurated into myths of the sacred bundles. These various people were born into the Mandan tribe by magical means, thus populating the lands.

174 The large number of village sites belonging to a single archeo-
161 logical focus adjacent to the Missouri River both below and above the junction with the Heart River indicates that the tribe at one time numbered several thousand, possibly as much as seven or eight thousand, while the depth of refuse establishes continuous residence there of several centuries.

THE MANDAN HOUSEHOLD

592 The household was the smallest economic unit and was composed of one or more biological families related through the fe-
[611] males. Theoretically, the household was held together by females so long as their lineage was unbroken and the lodge belonged to the clan of which the females were members. When a
● 351 village was first built on a new site, each household selected a
425 site for its lodge, corn scaffolds, and caches. There was a tend-
592 ency for related families to select adjacent quarters, while those intimately connected with the Okipa ceremony selected lodge sites adjacent to the open circle. These lodge sites within the village were held permanently within the female line, and, when returning to rebuild after a temporary abandonment of the village, female descendants of the original builders were entitled to
425 their former sites. When a family died out, the lodge belonged to the clan of the females and could be occupied by another
592 group of the same clan or could be sold to females of a different clan. My informants emphatically denied that abandoned lodges could be occupied until they had received permission

2. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 307–8. There is some inconsistency present, since other myths imply that the Mandan have been on or near the Heart River since the creation of man by Lone Man.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906

NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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About one quarter of a mile or less to the south of the village was a race-course; a hundred or more scaffolds on which the dead were deposited; slides for their games were also made outside the palisades. The ground about the houses was honeycombed with pits and caches in which most of the food and many of the valuables of the inhabitants were stored. The house roofs formed a general repository where bull boats, buffalo skulls, pottery, sledges and people were scattered promiscuously over the rounded surface, around the edge of which Bradbury says they built a sort of low railing.

HOUSES:—The houses themselves were many times described, sometimes with considerable variation, and it is highly probable that there was more or less variation of construction in the minor details. They were distinguished from those of the Arikara in that the ground was first excavated, and that they were rather hemispherical, whereas the houses of the latter were more conical, like those of the Pawnee. Catlin[4] places the average size of the houses at from forty to sixty feet in diameter, depending on the size and importance of the family, and Henry[5] tells us that the one in which he himself stayed was ninety feet in diameter.

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[5] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 338.

461 the east or the west, the scenes of their battles, which they are recounting over to each other. In another direction, the wooing lover, softening the heart of his fair Taih-nah-tai-a with the notes of his simple lute. On other lodges, and beyond these, groups are engaged in games of the "moccasin," or the "platter." Some are to be seen manufacturing robes and dresses, and others, fatigued with amusements or occupations, have stretched their limbs to enjoy the luxury of sleep, whilst basking in the sun. With all this wild and varied medley of living beings are mixed their dogs, which seem to be so near an Indian's heart, as almost to constitute a material link of his existence.

361 In the centre of the village is an open space, or public area, of 150 feet in diameter, and circular in form, which is used for all public games and 778 festivals, shews and exhibitions; and also for their "annual religious ceremonies," which are soon to take place, and of which I shall hereafter give some account. The lodges around this open space front in, with their doors towards the centre; and in the middle of this circle stands an object of great religious veneration, as I am told, on account of the importance it has in the conduction of those annual religious rites.

778 This object is in form of a large hogshead, some eight or ten feet high, made of planks and hoops, containing within it some of their choicest medicines or mysteries, and religiously preserved unhacked or scratched, as a symbol of the "Big Canoe," as they call it.

One of the lodges fronting on this circular area, and facing this strange object of their superstition, is called the "Medicine Lodge," or council house. It is in this sacred building that these wonderful ceremonies, in commemoration of the flood, take place. I am told by the Traders that the cruelties of these scenes are frightful and abhorrent in the extreme; and that this huge wigwam, which is now closed, has been built exclusively for this grand celebration. I am every day reminded of the near approach of the season for this strange affair, and as I have not yet seen any thing of it, I cannot describe it; I know it only from the relations of the Traders who have witnessed parts of it; and their descriptions are of so extraordinary a character, that I would not be willing to describe until I can see for myself, —which will, in all probability, be in a few days.

351 In ranging the eye over the village from where I am writing, there is 778 presented to the view the strangest mixture and medley of unintelligible trash (independant of the living beings that are in motion), that can possibly be imagined. On the roofs of the lodges, besides the groups of living, are buffaloes' skulls, skin canoes, pots and pottery; sleds and sledges—and suspended on poles, erected some twenty feet above the doors of their wigwams, are displayed in a pleasant day, the scalps of warriors, preserved as trophies; and thus proudly exposed as evidence of their warlike deeds. In other parts are raised on poles the warriors' pure and whitened shields and quivers, with medicine-bags attached; and here and there a sacrifice of red

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

cloth, or other costly stuff, offered up to the Great Spirit, over the door of some benignant chief, in humble gratitude for the blessings which he is enjoying. Such is a part of the strange medley that is before and around me; and amidst them and the blue streams of smoke that are rising from the tops of these hundred "coal-pits," can be seen in distance, the green and boundless, treeless, bushless prairie; and on it, and contiguous to the piquet which encloses the village, a hundred scaffolds, on which their "dead live," as they term it.

These people never bury the dead, but place the bodies on slight scaffolds just above the reach of human hands, and out of the way of wolves and dogs; and they are there left to moulder and decay. This cemetery, or place of deposite for the dead, is just back of the village, on a level prairie (PLATE 48); and with all its appearances, history, forms, ceremonies, &c. is one of the strangest and most interesting objects to be described in the vicinity of this peculiar race.

Whenever a person dies in the Mandan village, and the customary honours and condolence are paid to his remains, and the body dressed in its best attire, painted, oiled, feasted, and supplied with bow and quiver, shield, pipe and tobacco—knife, flint and steel, and provisions enough to last him a few days on the journey which he is to perform; a fresh buffalo's skin, just taken from the animal's back, is wrapped around the body, and tightly bound and wound with thongs of raw hide from head to foot. Then other robes are soaked in water, till they are quite soft and elastic, which are also bandaged around the body in the same manner, and tied fast with thongs, which are wound with great care and exactness, so as to exclude the action of the air from all parts of the body.

There is then a separate scaffold erected for it, constructed of four upright posts, a little higher than human hands can reach; and on the tops of these are small poles passing around from one post to the others; across which a number of willow-rods just strong enough to support the body, which is laid upon them on its back, with its feet carefully presented towards the rising sun.

There are a great number of these bodies resting exactly in a similar way; excepting in some instances where a chief, or medicine-man, may be seen with a few yards of scarlet or blue cloth spread over his remains, as a mark of public respect and esteem. Some hundreds of these bodies may be seen reposing in this manner in this curious place, which the Indians call, "the village of the dead;" and the traveller, who visits this country to study and learn, will not only be struck with the novel appearance of the scene; but if he will give attention to the respect and devotions that are paid to this sacred place, he will draw many a moral deduction that will last him through life: he will learn, at least, that filial, conjugal, and paternal affection are not necessarily the results of civilization; but that the Great Spirit has given them to man in his native state; and that the

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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mer unbarbed and securely fastened to the shaft, the latter 411
barbed and loosely attached.

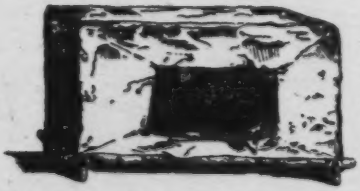
The lances were two-edged points fastened to a shaft of ash wood, some six or eight feet long, ornamented with tufts of eagle plumes. The knives were at first of stone, but were soon replaced by the European steel ones. The tomahawks were of several sorts and are all duplicated among those of the other Sioux tribes. The shield was an important part of a man's equipment, it was of buffalo hide whitened with white clay and with a large painting of the owner's medicine on the front. The bow-lance was a purely ceremonial weapon and was passed down from [428] father to son to be used in the dances. Maximilian describes it as a long bow with a spear point on one end, the whole decorated elaborately with eagle plumes and other ornaments.

MANUFACTURES: — The beds of the Mandans were built up 352
from four posts sunk in the earth to form a rectangle of suitable size, with poles lashed across from one to the other, about one foot above the ground. Over the cross poles a green buffalo hide was stretched and allowed to dry, thus forming a springy foundation; around the sides and across the top hides were also stretched, giving the whole bed the appearance of a large box. A small opening was left in one of the sides through which to enter, and the whole interior was piled with buffalo robes. These beds held several persons.

The Mandan boats, bull-boats they were called, also merit 501
a description. They were circular, made over a frame of bent willows, which consisted of two hoops held in position by cross pieces; over the whole a raw buffalo hide was stretched, hair in, and sewed to the upper rim. They were about six feet in diameter and could carry very heavy loads. For a paddle a pole some five feet long was used. It was split up the end where a flat board about two and a half feet long was inserted and bound on. The boat was paddled from a standing position, and made half a revolution at every stroke. This same sort of boat was 171
used by the Arikara and Hidatsa.

For the rest their material culture did not differ greatly from that of the surrounding nomadic tribes, only a brief enumeration therefore of the manufactures and utensils is necessary.

342 height, are long rafters, inclining to the centre; they are placed near each other, and bear the roof. On the outside the huts are covered with a kind of mat, made of osiers, joined together with bark, and now the skeleton of the hut is finished. Over this hay is spread, and the outer covering
462 is of earth. The men and women work together in erecting these huts, and the relations, neighbours, and friends, assist them in the work. The building of the huts, manufacturing of their arms, hunting, and wars, and part of the labours of the harvest, are the occupations of the men; every other kind of work is left to the women, who, though in general well treated, are obliged to perform all the really laborious work. The women fetch fuel, in heavy loads, frequently from great distances, carry water, and, in winter, blocks of ice into the huts, cook, tan the skins, make
354 all the clothing, lay out the plantations, perform field labour, &c. &c. In the centre of the hut a circular place is dug for the fire, over which the kettle is suspended. This fire-place, or hearth, is often enclosed with a ledge of stones. The fuel is laid, in moderately thick pieces, on the external edge of the hearth, crossing each other in the middle, when it is kindled, and the pieces
352 gradually pushed in as they burn away. The Indians are not fond of large fires. The inmates sit round it, on low seats, made of peeled osiers, covered with buffalo or bear skin. Round the inner circumference of the hut lie or hang the baggage, the furniture, and other property, in leather bags, the painted parchment travelling bags, and the harness of the horses; and on separate stages there are arms, sledges, and snow-shoes, while meat and maize, piled up, complete the motley assemblage. (See Mr. Bodmer's drawing of the interior of the hut of Dipauch, Plate XIX.) The beds stand against the wall of the hut; they consist of a large square case, made of parchment or skins, with a square entrance, and are large enough to hold several persons, who lie very conveniently and warm on skins and blankets. (See the woodcut.)



342 In the winter huts they place, at the inside of the door, a high screen of willow boughs,
221 covered with hides, which keeps off the draught of air from without, and especially protects the
171 fire.

The summer huts are very cool, and, generally speaking, have no unpleasant smell. Mr. Say gives a very good description, and a tolerably accurate print, of a Kouza lodge, or hut, and, with

361 the lodge. These floors or foundations are all perfectly circular, and varying
342 in size in proportion to the number of inmates, or of the quality or standing of the families which are to occupy them. The superstructure is then produced, by arranging, inside of this circular excavation, firmly fixed in the ground and resting against the bank, a barrier or wall of timbers, some eight or nine inches in diameter, of equal height (about six feet) placed on end, and resting against each other, supported by a formidable embankment of earth raised against them outside; then, resting upon the tops of these timbers or piles, are others of equal size and equal in numbers, of twenty or twenty-five feet in length, resting firmly against each other, and sending their upper or smaller ends towards the centre and top of the lodge; rising at an angle of forty-five degrees to the apex or sky-light, which is about three or four feet in diameter, answering as a chimney and a sky-light at the same time. The roof of the lodge being thus formed, is supported by beams passing around the inner part of the lodge about the middle of these poles or timbers, and themselves upheld by four or five large posts passing down to the floor of the lodge. On the top of, and over the poles forming the roof, is placed a complete mat of willow-boughs, of half a foot or more in thickness, which protects the timbers from the dampness of the earth, with which the lodge is covered from bottom to top, to the depth of two or three feet; and then with a hard or tough clay, which is impervious to water, and which with long use becomes quite hard, and a lounging place for the whole family in pleasant weather—for sage—for wooing lovers—for dogs and all; an airing place—a look-out—a place for gossip and mirth—a seat for the solitary gaze and meditations of the stern warrior, who sits and contemplates the peaceful mirth and happiness that is breathed beneath him, fruits of his hard-fought battles, on fields of desperate combat with bristling Red Men.

342 The floors of these dwellings are of earth, but so hardened by use, and
353 swept so clean, and tracked by bare and moccassined feet, that they have almost a polish, and would scarcely soil the whitest linen. In the centre,
[354] and immediately under the sky-light (PLATE 46) is the fire-place—a hole of four or five feet in diameter, of a circular form, sunk a foot or more below the surface, and curbed around with stone. Over the fire-place, and suspended from the apex of diverging props or poles, is generally seen the pot or kettle, filled with buffalo meat; and around it are the family, reclining in all the most picturesque attitudes and groups, resting on their buffalo-robes
[592] and beautiful mats of rushes. These cabins are so spacious, that they hold from twenty to forty persons—a family and all their connexions. They all
● 352 sleep on bedsteads similar in form to ours, but generally not quite so high; made of round poles rudely lashed together with thongs. A buffalo skin, fresh stripped from the animal, is stretched across the bottom poles, and about two feet from the floor; which, when it dries, becomes much contracted, and forms a perfect sacking-bottom. The fur side of this skin is placed uppermost, on which they lie with great comfort, with a buffalo-robe

folded up for a pillow, and others drawn over them instead of blankets. 352
These beds, as far as I have seen them (and I have visited almost every lodge in the village), are uniformly screened with a covering of buffalo or elk skins, oftentimes beautifully dressed and placed over the upright poles or frame, like a suit of curtains; leaving a hole in front, sufficiently spacious for the occupant to pass in and out, to and from his or her bed. Some of these coverings or curtains are exceedingly beautiful, being cut tastefully into fringe, and handsomely ornamented with porcupine's quills and picture writings or hieroglyphics.

From the great number of inmates in these lodges, they are necessarily 352
very spacious, and the number of beds considerable. It is no uncommon 353
thing to see these lodges fifty feet in diameter inside (which is an immense room), with a row of these curtained beds extending quite around their sides, being some ten or twelve of them, placed four or five feet apart, and the space between them occupied by a large post, fixed quite firm in the ground, and six or seven feet high, with large wooden pegs or bolts in it, on which 353
are hung and grouped, with a wild and startling taste, the arms and armour of the respective proprietor; consisting of his whitened shield, embossed and [411]
emblazoned with the figure of his protecting *medicine* (or mystery), his bow and quiver, his war-club or battle-axe, his dart or javelin—his tobacco pouch and pipe—his medicine-bag—and his eagle—ermine or raven head-dress; and over all, and on the top of the post (as if placed by some conjuror or Indian magician, to guard and protect the spell of wildness that reigns in this strange place), stands forth and in full relief the head and horns of a buffalo, which is, by a village regulation, owned and possessed [535]
by every man in the nation, and hung at the head of his bed, which he uses as a mask when called upon by the chiefs, to join in the buffalo-dance, of which I shall say more in a future epistle

This arrangement of beds, of arms, &c., combining the most vivid display and arrangement of colours, of furs, of trinkets—of barbed and glistening points and steel—of mysteries and hocus pocus, together with the sombre and smoked colour of the roof and sides of the lodge; and the wild, and rude and red—the graceful (though uncivil) conversational, garrulous, story-telling and happy, though ignorant and untutored groups, that are smoking their pipes—wooing their sweethearts, and embracing their little ones about their peaceful and endeared fire-sides; together with their pots and kettles, spoons, and other culinary articles of their own manufacture, around them; present altogether, one of the most picturesque scenes to the eye of a stranger, that can be possibly seen; and far more wild and vivid than could ever be imagined.

Reader, I said these people were garrulous, story-telling and happy; this 000
is true, and literally so; and it belongs to me to establish the fact, and correct the error which seems to have gone forth to the world on this subject.

As I have before observed, there is no subject that I know of within the

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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plunge into and swim across the wildest streams and rivers, at times when 000
they have no canoes or craft in which to cross them. I have as yet seen no tribe where this art is neglected. It is learned at a very early age by both sexes, and enables the strong and hardy muscles of the squaws to take their child upon the back, and successfully to pass any river that lies in their way.

The mode of swimming amongst the Mandans, as well as amongst most 481
of the other tribes, is quite different from that practiced in those parts of the civilized world, which I have had the pleasure yet to visit. The Indian, instead of parting his hands simultaneously under the chin, and making the stroke outward, in a horizontal direction, causing thereby a serious strain upon the chest, throws his body alternately upon the left and the right side, raising one arm entirely above the water and reaching as far forward as he can, to dip it, whilst his whole weight and force are spent upon the one that is passing under him, and like a paddle propelling him along; whilst this arm is making a half circle, and is being raised out of the water behind him, the opposite arm is describing a similar arcl. in the air over his head, to be dipped in the water as far as he can reach before him, with the hand turned under, forming a sort of bucket, to act most effectively as it passes in its turn underneath him.

By this bold and powerful mode of swimming, which may want the grace that many would wish to see, I am quite sure, from the experience I have had, that much of the fatigue and strain upon the breast and spine are avoided, and that a man will preserve his strength and his breath much longer in this alternate and rolling motion, than he can in the usual mode of swimming, in the polished world.

In addition to the modes of bathing which I have above described, the 515
Mandans have another, which is a much greater luxury, and often resorted 343
to by the sick, but far more often by the well and sound, as a matter of 757
luxury only, or perhaps for the purpose of hardening their limbs and preparing them for the thousand exposures and vicissitudes of life to which they are continually liable. I allude to their vapour baths, or *sudatories*, of which each village has several, and which seem to be a kind of public property—accessible to all, and resorted to by all, male and female, old and young, sick and well.

In every Mandan lodge is to be seen a crib or basket, much in the shape 352
of a bathing-tub, curiously woven with willow boughs, and sufficiently large 515
to receive any person of the family in a reclining or recumbent posture; which, when any one is to take a bath, is carried by the squaw to the sudatory for the purpose, and brought back to the wigwam again after it has been used

These sudatories are always near the village, above or below it, on the 515
bank of the river. They are generally built of skins (in form of a Crow 343
or Sioux lodge which I have before described), covered with buffalo skins 757

574 609 chief gave our horses in charge of a young man, and told us we need not be uneasy as there would be good care taken of them.

574 262 On going into the hut, we found buffalo hides spread on the ground, before the fire, for us to sit upon, and soon after we were presented with two large dishes of boiled corn and beans, after which they gave us another large dish of boiled dried meat, but very few of us could eat of it, as it had too strong a taste and smell.[1]

231 342 After some other details which we omit, Harvey writes that when night came: "One young man brought in our horses, and put them in the same hut along with us, upon the right hand, on entering, and ourselves upon the left; a space was enclosed with a railing to keep them within bounds. This custom causes their habitations to have a very disagreeable and offensive smell. This precaution of theirs is to keep the horses from being stolen by the Assiniboines, or other enemies, who are frequently lurking about the village.

515 291 "Towards evening, having gone down to the river side, I observed the custom of washing themselves in the Missouri. Both men and women make it a rule, every morning and evening, to go down to the river, and wash for some time; the men make use of the clay to wash their hair, which answers the purpose of soap to take out the white and red earth with which they daub it, after having washed. Modesty in the female sex appears to be a virtue they are unacquainted with. They wear a kind of leather shift which reaches down to the calves of their legs. This they slip off some distance from the shore, and walk very deliberately into the water entirely naked, in the presence of old and young who seem not to pay any attention to them. * * * * The men make use of no other covering, in the summer season, than these buffalo robes, and even these are seldom worn within doors, and only thrown on when they go out to visit or walk about the village. Both sexes sleep naked. Their beds are raised about two feet from the ground, and hung around with dressed skins. In summer they seldom use any coverings at night, but lay like so many brutes."[2] * * * * Mr. Henry gives a description of their lascivious dances which is too indelicate to publish. He writes under date of:

[352]

252 262 352 512 412 "Sunday, July 20th. At daybreak we were all up, and I took a walk down to the river, where I observed the same ceremony of washing as last evening, with as little reserve as before. Our host on our return presented us with some dried meat, and soon after a dish of corn and beans, but as it is not seasoned with any kind of grease or fat, after the first meal it has a very insipid taste. The corn is generally pounded or bruised in a wooden mortar, which is fixed fast and firm in the ground, in one corner of the hut, and this is the first work performed by the women in the morning.

[1] [Category 116, p. 325.-A] [2] [Category 116, p. 326.-A]

10: Neill H-1(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 angles, leaving open only a square space of about four feet on
[354] each side. This serves for chimney and windows, as they have no other opening to admit of light; and when it rains, even this is covered over with a canoe to prevent the rain from impairing their earthen pots. The whole of the roof is then well thatched with willows, to the thickness of six inches or more. Over the whole is laid about one foot of earth, and round the base to the height of three or four feet, and the thickness of three feet, which answers for security in case of an attack by the enemy, and keeps out the cold. The door is five feet broad and six high, provided with a covered way or porch on the outside, of the same height as the door, about seven feet broad and ten feet in length.

342 The doors are made of raw buffalo hide stretched upon a
352 frame and suspended by cords from the beam, which forms the circle. Every night the door is barricaded with a long piece of timber supported by two stout posts down in the ground, inside of the hut, one on each side of the door. As you enter the hut after passing through the porch and door, the first thing that strikes the view is a kind of triangular apartment on the left hand side of the door, and fronting the fire. This is for the purpose of fire-wood in the winter. This partition is constructed of square planks, about twelve feet high, and caulked to keep off the air from the door. Between the partition and the fire, there is commonly a distance of about five feet, which the master of the hut occupies during the day time, seated on a mat, constructed of small willows.[2] * * * These mats are about ten feet long and four broad.[1] The two ends for about two and a half feet are raised from the ground in a slanting position and each supported by a kind of sofa; over the mat is spread buffalo skins.

352 Some of these couches are raised about a foot above the
571 ground. Seated upon this a Mandan sits all day long and receives his friends, smokes and chats the time away, with the greatest dignity. He sometimes passes the night there also, when not inclined to lay with his wives.

INSIDE ARRANGEMENT OF HUTS.

352 On the left side of the host begins their range of beds. The
513 master and his favorite wife always occupy the first, and his other wives each a separate one in succession, next to those of the young people. All are constructed in the same manner, and joining to each other lengthways.

MEDICINE STAGE,

353 At the bottom of the hut fronting the Masters' seat, stands his medicine stage, and indeed it may be called his whole riches

1 [See Category 116, p. 339-40. A.]

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

764 length was pronounced by his brother, in which he impressed on their minds, the great importance which the deceased man had been to their nation; rehearsed his war exploits, and concluded by urging all to follow his example, and to become of equal usefulness to their tribe. Then they would be sure of following and becoming companions of him, and all the other great warriors, which had died before, in the world of spirits. After this address was closed, provisions were brought out, consisting of boiled dog's flesh, of which the company just tasted, and then a bowl full of it was presented to the dead man. He was then taken up by four men and carried outside of the village, just into the edge of the woods, and placed on a stage which had been previously erected, about ten feet high. The bowl of food was brought and set by his head, and his arms and accoutrements laid by his side. In this manner their dead are deposited, and are never buried. The wife and relations of the deceased made the most violent and dreadful howlings, tearing their hair and appearing to be in the deepest anguish, under the loss they had sustained."

142 **Complexion, Etc.** "The Mandans and the Gros Ventres are of the lightest complexion, and largest Indians on the Missouri. Their hair inclines to a chestnut color, and in some instances has a slight curl; it is never so lank and course as most other Indians. Their eyes are full and lively, their cheek bones rather high, and their countenances open and agreeable. The Gros Ventres have more of a fierce, savage look, than the Mandans who are courteous 291 and sociable in their behavior. They are neat in their dress, which is similar to that of the Rus, except that they decorate it with white rabbit, and white ermine skins. Many of their lodges, or 353 huts, are decorated in a beatiful manner; having the inside lined with the richest furs, such as the lynx, beaver, otter, white rabbit, martin, fox, mountain cat and white ermine, sewed together like patch-work, which gives them a rich and beautiful appearance. The lodge of the head chief was sixty feet in diameter, elegantly lined with furs, and the seats, which are also used as beds, were covered with the grizzly bear and buffalo skins. These people keep their lodges and buildings in a state of great neatness. They 439 cultivate the same kind of produce with the Rus, and carry on a trade with the roving Indians, who occasionally visit them. The 648 Mandans and Gros Ventres live in great friendship, although

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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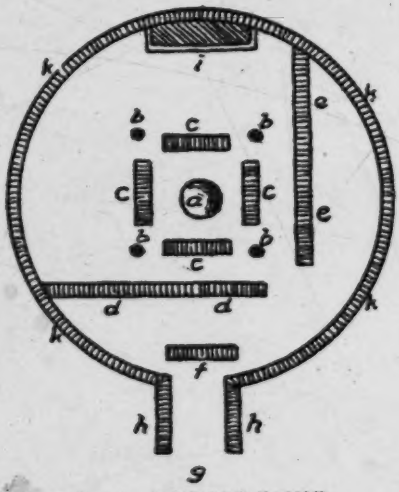
342 The doorway was five feet broad and six feet high, with a covered way of the same height, but seven feet broad and about ten feet long. The door itself was a raw buffalo hide dried on a frame which was hung from above on a cord, at night this was barricaded, and when the family was away the porch was closed with branches and sticks. This porch was covered with earth like the house itself and led downward to the lower level of the floor. It is not shown in any of Catlin's drawings and he does not mention one except in the medicine lodge, there he says it was eight to ten feet long, was hidden with a double screen, and guarded by armed sentinels.

342 Verendrye speaks of the division of the house into compart-
●353 ments and we find that the same thing existed when Henry was there. Lewis and Clarke, and Gass also mention that one part of the interior was cut off and used as a stable for the horses. Catlin, however, mentions no such cutting up of the interior, nor do his pictures show anything of the sort, but Maximilian, who visited them in the winter, gives a diagram of the winter house showing several compartments; this diagram and its key is reproduced in Figure 2. The main interior arrangements of the house in spite of the discrepancy on these latter points are agreed on by all. In the center under the smoke hole was the fireplace, a round hole five feet in diameter and a foot or more deep. This was curbed with stones placed upright about the edge.[1] Around the walls was a series of beds and about the fire



353 FIG. 2. MANDAN HOUSE.
(After Maximilian.)

a, Fireplace; *b b b b*, Central posts supporting roof; *c c c c*, Seats; *d d*, Screen or wind break; *e e*, Partition behind which horses were kept; *f*, Door of skin; *g*, Entrance; *h h*, Covered porch; *i*, Bed; *k k k k*, House walls.

[1] Maximilian, p. 387.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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over which a pot hung, were low seats of flexible willow boughs. 353

Henry's description[1] of the interior is probably the best, and is substantially as follows: on entering you first saw a kind of triangular apartment on the left fronting the fire, and leaving an open space on the right; this was to hold firewood. The partition was of squared planks twelve feet high, well calked to keep off the cold from the door. Between this and the fire was a space where the master sat on a mat of small willows supported as a sort of sofa and covered with a buffalo robe. On this the man sat all day and received his friends. To the left of the host began a range of beds. The master occupied the first bed with his favorite wife, then a wife occupied each of the next few beds, then came the young people. These beds were all built alike[2] and adjoined each other lengthwise. At the bottom of the hut facing the master stood his medicine stage containing everything he valued, and most important among them was a pair of bulls' heads daubed with earth. Here also hung his arms, ammunition, scalps and the like. Next to the stage was the mortar, fixed in the ground, and a pestle. The rest of the hut from there to the door was separated off for the horses at night.

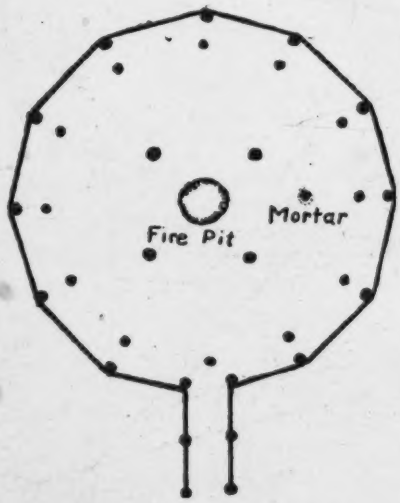

FIG. 3. MANDAN HOUSE.
(After Morgan.)

To this description might be added a few details from Catlin. He says that the cabins usually held a family and all its connections, from twenty to forty people. The beds were raised about two feet from the floor, were usually ten or twelve in number, four or five feet apart, and went all the way around. [592]

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, pp. 329-40.

[2] See for description, p. 113.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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353 Between every pair was a large post. An elevation showing some of the details is reproduced from Morgan in Figure 1, and a ground plan, in Figure 3.

251 171 The sedentary character of the Mandans and the fact that they practiced agriculture led to the development among them of several cultural features not found among the purely hunting tribes. In common with most sedentary tribes they made use of caches or storage pits. Henry[1] gives a description of them saying that, in the fall after harvest, the corn was dried, shelled and put in deep pits. These were about eight feet deep, with a mouth just wide enough for a person to get in, but the inside was hollowed out larger and the sides and bottom were lined with straw. The cache contained twenty to thirty bushels of beans or corn where it kept for several years. The caches were scattered everywhere about the village. Catlin mentions caches, saying that they placed corn in pits six or seven feet deep, jug shaped, and tightly closed at the top.

291 Dress:—The dress of the Mandans in general was much like that of their neighbors, at the later period of their history at least. There were however some minor differences. Verendrye says that at his visit the men went naked, except for a carelessly worn buffalo robe—not even wearing a breech cloth. The women wore very little as a rule, their only article of attire being an apron about the waist, a hand's breadth wide and a foot long. But he adds later that some of them wore a gown of very soft deerskin. It is probable that other articles of dress were borrowed from their neighbors as time went on.

515 302 The men and women both began the day with a bath, after which the body was carefully oiled with castoreum. For any ceremonial or feast the body was also painted in colors, these being mixed with grease. After the bath the face and hair were nearly always whitened. The men in Maximilian's time usu-
291 ally wore a breech cloth, of black and white cloth, and moccasins with little or no ornamentation. The upper part of the body was usually naked as they seldom wore the leather shirt used in many other tribes. Even in the winter, Maximilian says they wore only the buffalo robe over the upper half of the

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 360.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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[facing p. 80]

361 the lodge. These floors or foundations are all perfectly circular, and varying
342 in size in proportion to the number of inmates, or of the quality or standing of the families which are to occupy them. The superstructure is then produced, by arranging, inside of this circular excavation, firmly fixed in the ground and resting against the bank, a barrier or wall of timbers, some eight or nine inches in diameter, of equal height (about six feet) placed on end, and resting against each other, supported by a formidable embankment of earth raised against them outside; then, resting upon the tops of these timbers or piles, are others of equal size and equal in numbers, of twenty or twenty-five feet in length, resting firmly against each other, and sending their upper or smaller ends towards the centre and top of the lodge; rising at an angle of forty-five degrees to the apex or sky-light, which is about three or four feet in diameter, answering as a chimney and a sky-light at the same time. The roof of the lodge being thus formed, is supported by beams passing around the inner part of the lodge about the middle of these poles or timbers, and themselves upheld by four or five large posts passing down to the floor of the lodge. On the top of, and over the poles forming the roof, is placed a complete mat of willow-boughs, of half a foot or more in thickness, which protects the timbers from the dampness of the earth, with which the lodge is covered from bottom to top, to the depth of two or three feet; and then with a hard or tough clay, which is impervious to water, and which with long use becomes quite hard, and a lounging place for the whole family in pleasant weather—for sage— for wooing lovers—for dogs and all; an airing place—a look-out—a place for gossip and mirth—a seat for the solitary gaze and meditations of the stern warrior, who sits and contemplates the peaceful mirth and happiness that is breathed beneath him, fruits of his hard-fought battles, on fields of desperate combat with bristling Red Men.

342 The floors of these dwellings are of earth, but so hardened by use, and
353 swept so clean, and tracked by bare and moccassined feet, that they have
[354] almost a polish, and would scarcely soil the whitest linen. In the centre, and immediately under the sky-light (PLATE 46) is the fire-place—a hole of four or five feet in diameter, of a circular form, sunk a foot or more below the surface, and curbed around with stone. Over the fire-place, and suspended from the apex of diverging props or poles, is generally seen the pot or kettle, filled with buffalo meat; and around it are the family, reclining in all the most picturesque attitudes and groups, resting on their buffalo-robes
[592] and beautiful mats of rushes. These cabins are so spacious, that they hold
352 from twenty to forty persons—a family and all their connexions. They all sleep on bedsteads similar in form to ours, but generally not quite so high; made of round poles rudely lashed together with thongs. A buffalo skin, fresh stripped from the animal, is stretched across the bottom poles, and about two feet from the floor; which, when it dries, becomes much contracted, and forms a perfect sacking-bottom. The fur side of this skin is placed uppermost, on which they lie with great comfort, with a buffalo-robe

folded up for a pillow, and others drawn over them instead of blankets. 352
These beds, as far as I have seen them (and I have visited almost every lodge in the village), are uniformly screened with a covering of buffalo or elk skins, oftentimes beautifully dressed and placed over the upright poles or frame, like a suit of curtains; leaving a hole in front, sufficiently spacious for the occupant to pass in and out, to and from his or her bed. Some of these coverings or curtains are exceedingly beautiful, being cut tastefully into fringe, and handsomely ornamented with porcupine's quills and picture writings or hieroglyphics.

From the great number of inmates in these lodges, they are necessarily 352
very spacious, and the number of beds considerable. It is no uncommon 353
thing to see these lodges fifty feet in diameter inside (which is an immense room), with a row of these curtained beds extending quite around their sides, being some ten or twelve of them, placed four or five feet apart, and the space between them occupied by a large post, fixed quite firm in the ground, and six or seven feet high, with large wooden pegs or bolts in it, on which 353
are hung and grouped, with a wild and startling taste, the arms and armour of the respective proprietor; consisting of his whitened shield, embossed and [411]
emblazoned with the figure of his protecting *medicine* (or mystery), his bow and quiver, his war-club or battle-axe, his dart or javelin—his tobacco pouch and pipe—his medicine-bag—and his eagle—ermine or raven head-dress; and over all, and on the top of the post (as if placed by some conjuror or Indian magician, to guard and protect the spell of wildness that reigns in this strange place), stands forth and in full relief the head and [535]
horns of a buffalo, which is, by a village regulation, owned and possessed by every man in the nation, and hung at the head of his bed, which he uses as a mask when called upon by the chiefs, to join in the buffalo-dance, of which I shall say more in a future epistle

This arrangement of beds, of arms, &c., combining the most vivid display and arrangement of colours, of furs, of trinkets—of barbed and glistening points and steel—of mysteries and hocus pocus, together with the sombre and smoked colour of the roof and sides of the lodge; and the wild, and rude and red—the graceful (though uncivil) conversational, garrulous, story-telling and happy, though ignorant and untutored groups, that are smoking their pipes—wooing their sweethearts, and embracing their little ones about their peaceful and endeared fire-sides; together with their pots and kettles, spoons, and other culinary articles of their own manufacture, around them; present altogether, one of the most picturesque scenes to the eye of a stranger, that can be possibly seen; and far more wild and vivid than could ever be imagined.

Reader, I said these people were garrulous, story-telling and happy; this 000
is true, and literally so; and it belongs to me to establish the fact, and correct the error which seems to have gone forth to the world on this subject.

As I have before observed, there is no subject that I know of within the

342 angles, leaving open only a square space of about four feet on
[354] each side. This serves for chimney and windows, as they have no other opening to admit of light; and when it rains, even this is covered over with a canoe to prevent the rain from impairing their earthen pots. The whole of the roof is then well thatched with willows, to the thickness of six inches or more. Over the whole is laid about one foot of earth, and round the base to the height of three or four feet, and the thickness of three feet, which answers for security in case of an attack by the enemy, and keeps out the cold. The door is five feet broad and six high, provided with a covered way or porch on the outside, of the same height as the door, about seven feet broad and ten feet in length.

342 The doors are made of raw buffalo hide stretched upon a
352 frame and suspended by cords from the beam, which forms the circle. Every night the door is barricaded with a long piece of timber supported by two stout posts down in the ground, inside of the hut, one on each side of the door. As you enter the hut after passing through the porch and door, the first thing that strikes the view is a kind of triangular apartment on the left hand side of the door, and fronting the fire. This is for the purpose of fire-wood in the winter. This partition is constructed of square planks, about twelve feet high, and caulked to keep off the air from the door. Between the partition and the fire, there is commonly a distance of about five feet, which the master of the hut occupies during the day time, seated on a mat, constructed of small willows.[1] * * * These mats are about ten feet long and four broad. The two ends for about two and a half feet are raised from the ground in a slanting position and each supported by a kind of sofa; over the mat is spread buffalo skins.

352 Some of these couches are raised about a foot above the
571 ground. Seated upon this a Mandan sits all day long and receives his friends, smokes and chats the time away, with the greatest dignity. He sometimes passes the night there also, when not inclined to lay with his wives.

INSIDE ARRANGEMENT OF HUTS.

352 On the left side of the host begins their range of beds. The
513 master and his favorite wife always occupy the first, and his other wives each a separate one in succession, next to those of the young people. All are constructed in the same manner, and joining to each other lengthways.

MEDICINE STAGE,

● 353 At the bottom of the hut fronting the Masters' seat, stands his medicine stage, and indeed it may be called his whole riches

1 [See Category 116, p. 331-VD. -A.]

10: Neill H-4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and treasures, as it contains every thing he values most, viz: two bulls' heads, which seem to be their great Manitou and protection. They are well daubed over with earth, and particular care is taken of them. There is laid on, or rather hung up, his arms, shield, ammunition, scalps of his enemies, and every thing he most values. 353

MORTAR AND PESTLE.

Next to this stage, stand the mortar and pestle, fixed firm in the ground, and the remainder of the hut from that to the door is vacant during the daytime, but occupied during the night by the horses. Then there still remains a large space in the center, around the fire, for the use of the family, which is generally swept clean once a day. 342 412 231

CORN STAGE.

Fronting the entrance of each porch stands a stage raised about eight feet from the ground, twenty feet in length, and ten feet in breadth, for the purpose of hanging up their corn to dry, in the fall; these stages have a tolerable good flooring, which in the fall is covered with beans to dry, and posts are erected upon them, on the tops of which are laid poles or rafters, to which the corn and sliced squashes are suspended in tresses to dry. When their harvest is over, they must have a pretty effect, but at this season of the year they are lumbered up with different kinds of drift-wood, of which they make their fires, and it gives a very ugly appearance to the villages. 343 251 313 372

DRIFT WOOD.

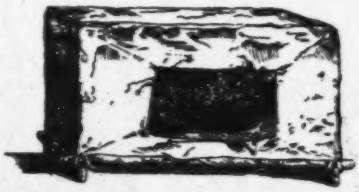
This wood they collect, in the spring, when the ice breaks up, and when great quantities of this wood floats down, the natives being expert swimmers, and so very active, that there is scarcely a large tree escapes them, until they have a sufficient stock for the year. I observed lying opposite to each village, an immense pile of this wood, and some trees of an amazing size. Commonly, when they collect the drift wood there come down numbers of drowned buffalo, that have perished in attempting to cross above, at a season when the ice was bad. These animals the natives are very careful to haul on shore, as they prefer the flesh in that state. [222] [262

LIGHT HAIRED CHILDREN.

An extraordinory sight that struck me among these people, was to see several children, of about ten years of age, whose hair was perfectly gray, and bore a strong resemblance to aged persons. Those I saw were all girls. These people in general have not that strong coarse hair, so peculiar to the natives of North America; it is of a much finer nature, rather inclining to 142

1/1 [See Category 16, p. 340.-M.]

342 height, are long rafters, inclining to the centre; they are placed near each other, and bear the roof. On the outside the huts are covered with a kind of mat, made of osiers, joined together with bark, and now the skeleton of the hut is finished. Over this hay is spread, and the outer covering
462 is of earth. The men and women work together in erecting these huts, and the relations, neighbours, and friends, assist them in the work. The building of the huts, manufacturing of their arms, hunting, and wars, and part of the labours of the harvest, are the occupations of the men; every other kind of work is left to the women, who, though in general well treated, are obliged to perform all the really laborious work. The women fetch fuel, in heavy loads, frequently from great distances, carry water, and, in winter, blocks of ice into the huts, cook, tan the skins, make
354 all the clothing, lay out the plantations, perform field labour, &c. &c. In the centre of the hut a circular place is dug for the fire, over which the kettle is suspended. This fire-place, or hearth, is often enclosed with a ledge of stones. The fuel is laid, in moderately thick pieces, on the external edge of the hearth, crossing each other in the middle, when it is kindled, and the pieces
352 gradually pushed in as they burn away. The Indians are not fond of large fires. The inmates sit round it, on low seats, made of peeled osiers, covered with buffalo or bear skin. Round the inner circumference of the hut lie or hang the baggage, the furniture, and other property, in leather bags, the painted parchment travelling bags, and the harness of the horses; and on separate stages there are arms, sledges, and snow-shoes, while meat and maize, piled up, complete the motley assemblage. (See Mr. Bodmer's drawing of the interior of the hut of Dipauch, Plate XIX.) The beds stand against the wall of the hut; they consist of a large square case, made of parchment or skins, with a square entrance, and are large enough to hold several persons, who lie very conveniently and warm on skins and blankets. (See the woodcut.)



342 In the winter huts they place, at the inside of the door, a high screen of willow boughs,
221 covered with hides, which keeps off the draught of air from without, and especially protects the
171 fire.

The summer huts are very cool, and, generally speaking, have no unpleasant smell. Mr. Say gives a very good description, and a tolerably accurate print, of a Konza lodge, or hut, and, with

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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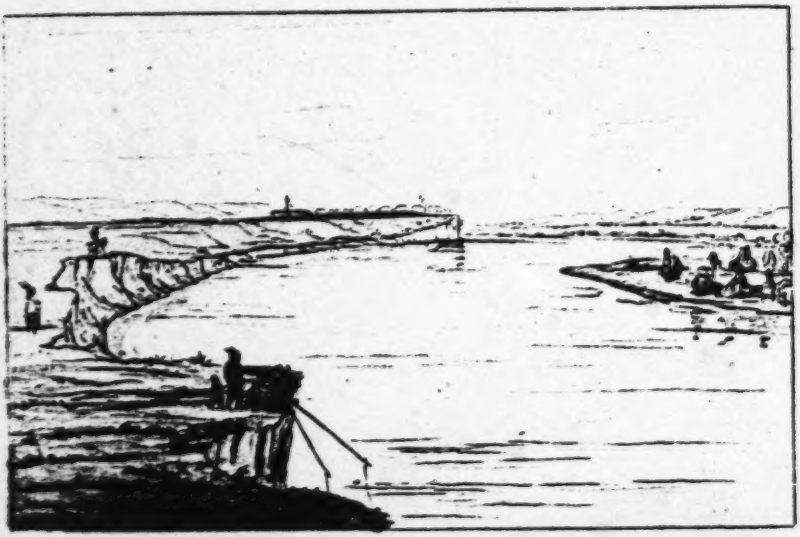

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[facing p. 80]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

361 the lodge. These floors or foundations are all perfectly circular, and varying
342 in size in proportion to the number of inmates, or of the quality or standing of the families which are to occupy them. The superstructure is then produced, by arranging, inside of this circular excavation, firmly fixed in the ground and resting against the bank, a barrier or wall of timbers, some eight or nine inches in diameter, of equal height (about six feet) placed on end, and resting against each other, supported by a formidable embankment of earth raised against them outside; then, resting upon the tops of these timbers or piles, are others of equal size and equal in numbers, of twenty or twenty-five feet in length, resting firmly against each other, and sending their upper or smaller ends towards the centre and top of the lodge; rising at an angle of forty-five degrees to the apex or sky-light, which is about three or four feet in diameter, answering as a chimney and a sky-light at the same time. The roof of the lodge being thus formed, is supported by beams passing around the inner part of the lodge about the middle of these poles or timbers, and themselves upheld by four or five large posts passing down to the floor of the lodge. On the top of, and over the poles forming the roof, is placed a complete mat of willow-boughs, of half a foot or more in thickness, which protects the timbers from the dampness of the earth, with which the lodge is covered from bottom to top, to the depth of two or three feet; and then with a hard or tough clay, which is impervious to water, and which with long use becomes quite hard, and a lounging place for the whole family in pleasant weather—for sage—for wooing lovers—for dogs and all; an airing place—a look-out—a place for gossip and mirth—a seat for the solitary gaze and meditations of the stern warrior, who sits and contemplates the peaceful mirth and happiness that is breathed beneath him, fruits of his hard-fought battles, on fields of desperate combat with bristling Red Men.

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• [354] and immediately under the sky-light (PLATE 46) is the fire-place—a hole of four or five feet in diameter, of a circular form, sunk a foot or more below the surface, and curbed around with stone. Over the fire-place, and suspended from the apex of diverging props or poles, is generally seen the pot or kettle, filled with buffalo meat; and around it are the family, reclining in all the most picturesque attitudes and groups, resting on their buffalo-robes
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10: Neill H-4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

OPEN SPACE IN VILLAGE.

But I observe, always, that nearly about the centre of each village is a large open space of about four acres in circumference, round which the huts are built very regularly, and at equal distances from each other, the doors fronting the open space. This circle might consist of thirty huts, and I make no manner of doubt were the first that were erected on the spot. 361

VILLAGE EXPANSION.

Others of their friends joined them afterwards, for various causes and built in the rear and erected their huts as they found it convenient, and as this continues to be the case, there are huts continually demolishing in one village, and others building in another. This often proceeds from misunderstandings they have had with either of the chiefs of the village, or their own neighbors, when finding their situation unpleasant and probably subject to frequent quarrels, they shift their quarters, but always take up their own residence among their own tribe. 361 621 578

The Mandans and Saulteurs are a stationary people, and never abandon their villages further than to go out hunting or on a war party. They are much more given to agriculture than the Big Bellies, and raise an immense quantity of corn, beans, squashes, tobacco, and some flowers. 361 241

A MANDAN HUT.

A Mandan hut is large and spacious, of a circular form. I measured the one I lodged in, and found it ninety feet from the door to the opposite side, forming a circumference on the inside of many paces. The whole space is dug out about one and a half feet below the surface of the earth. In the center is the fire place, which is a square space of about five feet, dug out two feet below the surface. The lower part of the hut is constructed by erecting strong posts about six feet out of the ground, at equal distances, upon these are laid logs of the same size, and reach from post to post, and form the circle. On the outer side are erected pieces of split wood of seven feet in length, in a slanting manner, the one end resting on the ground, the other leaning against the crown log or beam. Upon this beam again, are placed rafters about the size of a man's leg, and from twelve to fifteen feet long, in a slanting position, sufficient to drain off the rain; they are laid so close as to touch. The upper end is supported upon very stout pieces of square timber, which last are also supported by four very thick posts, about five feet circumference, and fifteen feet out of the ground, and fifteen feet asunder, forming nearly a square. Over these pieces of square timber, others again of equal size are laid crossing them at right 342 [354]

10: Neill H-1(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 angles, leaving open only a square space of about four feet on each side. This serves for chimney and windows, as they have [359] no other opening to admit of light; and when it rains, even this is covered over with a canoe to prevent the rain from impairing their earthen pots. The whole of the roof is then well thatched with willows, to the thickness of six inches or more. Over the whole is laid about one foot of earth, and round the base to the height of three or four feet, and the thickness of three feet, which answers for security in case of an attack by the enemy, and keeps out the cold. The door is five feet broad and six high, provided with a covered way or porch on the outside, of the same height as the door, about seven feet broad and ten feet in length.

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352 Some of these couches are raised about a foot above the 571 ground. Seated upon this a Mandan sits all day long and receives his friends, smokes and chats the time away, with the greatest dignity. He sometimes passes the night there also, when not inclined to lay with his wives.

INSIDE ARRANGEMENT OF HUTS.

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MEDICINE STAGE,

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[1] [See Category 116, p. 391-10. A.]

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the mouth of that river is nearly fifty miles north of the line between the Dakotas. 114 174

Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson, in his note on the Cheyenne Indians (S. Dak. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 146) says concerning the locality in which that tribe crossed the Missouri: "For some time after the Cheyennes reached the valley of the Missouri they lived on its east bank, and finally crossed at or about the mouth of the Big Cheyenne river, South Dakota." He also says: "Alexander Henry says the Salteurs informed him that they severely defeated the Cheyennes in a great battle about 1740, after which the latter tribe abandoned the country, going westward. The Cheyennes of the present day give the time of their crossing the Missouri river at about 1690."

Their Upper Missouri Villages. We will briefly trace the localities in which the Mandans have lived on the Missouri river since their most ancient and definite village remains, actually discovered by the whites, were occupied, and so far as information has come to hand. 361

We regard it as almost certain that when La Verendrye visited the Mandans in 1738 and 1742 they were stationed in the neighborhood of and across from what is now Mandan, N. D., and were, according to that explorer, in "five forts on the two banks of the river"—how many were on each side not appearing. Lewis and Clarke's interpreters informed them that forty years prior to 1804 they were settled in nine villages—seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri, about eighty miles below the Fort Mandan built by that expedition. The closest calculation we can make of the actual distances traveled by Lewis and Clarke after they found the first or most southerly Mandan ruin—as shown by the data in their journal—until they had reached the most northerly of what they call the nine deserted villages, shows that the stretch of river covered by those sites was about twenty-eight miles (instead of twenty miles, as their journal states), and taking as true Dr. Coues' statement that the first Mandan ruin found by them was eight miles below the lower end of what he says is Sibley Island, or about twenty-two miles below Bismarck, we find that the northermost deserted Mandan village in that group must have been located about six miles north of Mandan, N. D. But, as will be seen from Lewis and Clarke's journal inserted hereinafter, they actually point out only eight village sites in that group,

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and four of those are stated to be on the northeasterly and four on the southwesterly side of the Missouri. And by extending the calculation of distances on up the river, upon the further data of that expedition, we find that it is but about sixty-eight and one-half miles (instead of eighty, as they state it to be) from where they built Fort Mandan (say, seven miles below the mouth of Knife river) to said first or most southerly Mandan ruin. In other words, starting from eight miles below Sibley Island as the most southerly site (on the east side of the Missouri), the succeeding seven deserted villages are (2) fourteen miles on east side; (3) fourteen and one-half miles on west side; (4) sixteen and one-half miles on east side; (5) nineteen and one-half miles on west side; (6) twenty-three miles on west side; (7) twenty-six miles on east side, and (8) twenty-eight miles on west side—counting northward. The Lewis and Clarke journal says, by way of summary, that "these villages, which are nine in number, are scattered along each side of the river within a space of twenty miles." (London ed., Vol. I, p. 156.)

About twenty-four or twenty-five miles farther up the Missouri from the most northerly of said group of eight or nine village sites Lewis and Clarke found another on the east side which they call "the old village of the Mandans and Ricaras." (P. 157.) This would be about thirty miles above Bismarck, and it was eight miles above "an old village on the north" (northeast side of the Missouri) "which was the former residence of the Ahnahaways, who now live between the Mandans and Minnetarees." Another old Mandan village "which has been deserted for many years" was found about four miles farther up on the west side. The Lewis and Clarke journal adds: "A short distance above it, on the continuation of the same rising ground, are two old villages of Ricaras, one on top of the hill, the other in the level plain, which have been deserted only five years ago. Above these villages is an extensive low ground for several miles, in which are situated at three or four miles from the Ricara villages three old villages of Mandans near together. Here the Mandans lived when the Ricaras came to them for protection, and from this they moved to their present situation above." (P. 158.) This group of four Mandan and two Aricara villages would thus be shown to extend from about thirty-four to thirty-nine miles above Bismarck; and it seems probable that this locality is referred to by the Aricara

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

chief who was with Lewis and Clarke when they passed the second deserted Mandan village, and who told them that the Mandans "once lived in a number of villages on each side of the river" (doubtless the eight or nine village group already referred to) "till the Sioux forced them forty miles higher, whence, after a few years' residence, they moved to their present position." (London ed., Vol. I, p. 154.) Now speaking roundly, forty miles would span the gap between the oldest group of Mandan village sites and this locality, which is upwards of thirty miles above Bismarck. But it will be seen that Lewis and Clark speak of the Aricaras having come to that locality of the Mandans "for protection;" while at another point in their journal (p. 177) they mention two villages of the Mandans (who had doubtless been living in some of the so-called "nine villages")*** as "finding themselves wasted away before the smallpox and the Sioux,*** and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras," of the remaining Mandans, impelled by similar causes, having "emigrated in a body to the Ricara nation." This would indicate that they, within forty years prior to 1804, went up-river into the neighborhood of the Aricaras for protection. Nowhere in any of the early chronicles is it made clear where the Aricaras were located, above the Mandans, when the latter "moved up the river opposite to" them, or when, later on, the Mandans on the west side "emigrated in a body to the Ricara nation, where they formed themselves into two villages and joined those of their countrymen who had gone before them." Was it here, where these "two old villages of Ricaras" were located? If so, there should be found a Mandan village site somewhere in the neighborhood on the east side of the Missouri, but none is mentioned by Lewis and Clarke. And, as seen, Lewis and Clarke say the Aricaras came to the Mandans for protection in that locality. Here is an apparent difficulty which, involving time, locality and mutual protection, is not satisfactorily cleared up by any comparison of the various accounts of the early explorers which the writer has been able to make.

In Part I of this paper will be found a treatment of the subject of the various habitations of the Aricaras, and, in connection therewith, of the Mandans and their relations to the former. as shown by the journals of Lewis and Clarke and others; and reference is here made to that part of this paper to avoid repetition

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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and as throwing further light upon the Mandans in this relation. (See Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., pp 388-402, et seq.)

Without attempting to exhibit a continuous account of the Mandans, as to locus, from the time when the first visitors were among them early in the last century down to the present day—since such treatment of them is not within the scope of this paper as originally conceived by the writer—we will outline their principal movements as tribes after they went northward from their home at the "Mandan Villages" below Knife river.

•361

Their Recent Contact with Other Tribes. In 1845 the Hidatsa or Minnetaree (otherwise known as Gros Ventre or Big Bellies) Indians moved up the river from the Knife river, some forty miles, to the immediate vicinity of the site of Fort Berthold, which stockaded trading post was built there that year by the American Fur Company and the Indians, on the north side of the Missouri in what is now McLean county, North Dakota. The Mandans followed them soon after, removing thence from the "Mandan Villages." (See, for an account of Fort Berthold, Fort Atkinson and Fort Stevenson, and the Indians at that point, Part I of this paper, Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., pp. 572-578; also note of Dr. D. W. Robinson in Vol. I, p. 134, and note by the writer of this article, id., pp. 359-60.) The Aricaras joined the other Indians above referred to at Fort Berthold in 1862.

The "Confederated Village." There what was long known as the Confederated Village of the Mandans, Minnetarees and Aricaras was established, and this stockaded village stronghold was occupied by those tribes until about 1888, when they broke up their urban establishment and scattered out into the country westward and northward, comprising the Fort Berthold reservation at large, the Mandans having practically all crossed to the southwesterly side of the Missouri and settled in the area embraced within from a few miles below to many miles above the mouth of the Little Missouri, all of the Indians in question having dissolved their tribal relations and taken lands in individual allotments and become citizens under the severalty laws of the United States, where they now reside, the Mandans being a mere remnant of their former prowess as tribes.

Some few salient incidents in the experience of the Mandans in the last century, incidental to general history, will be touched upon later on in this paper.

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173 The foregoing is far from historic proof that the Mandans did not at the times mentioned have their real base on the Missouri river. If they had been driven out of the "plains southwest of Lake Winnipeg" southward to the Missouri river about the end of the 17th century, which plains had been their own country, it seems hardly possible that they would not have so informed Verendrye in 1738—less than half a century after such ejection; nor would they have been likely to have forgotten it as a fresh tradition when Lewis and Clarke visited them. But if they had been **hunting** or marauding on those Canadian plains, and had failed to make permanent lodgment there as a home while really living on the Missouri, such rebuffs by the Crees and Assiniboines would be less consequential and might account for silence on the part of the Mandans concerning their Canadian campaigns. We continue the account from "Indian Sign Language:"

"Information given to the late General William Clarke in his expedition up the Missouri denotes that the Mandans have suffered greater vicissitudes of fortune than most of the American tribes."

•361 **Walled Villages.** About a century ago they were settled on both banks of the Missouri some fifteen hundred miles above its mouth. They were then living in mire villages, surrounded by circular walls of earth without the adjunct of a ditch. The ruins of one of the old villages, observed in 1804, covered nearly eight acres and denoted a comparatively large population. Two of these villages were on the east and seven on the west side of the Missouri. They were first discovered and made known to us in this position in 1772. (Mitchell's letter herewith.)

721 **Their Wars.** They appear to have been a hated tribe to the Dakotas, or Sioux, and Assiniboines, who from the earliest traditionary times carried on fierce war against them.

361 **Smallpox.** Finding themselves sorely pressed by this war and having experienced the wasting inroads of the smallpox the two eastern villages united into one and migrated up the river to a point opposite to the Arickaree, fourteen hundred and thirty miles above the mouth. The same causes soon pressed the other seven western villages, reducing them to five; they also afterward migrated in a body and joined their tribesmen in the Arickaree country, and concentrated and settled themselves in two large villages. Here they dwelt for a time, but were still subject to

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the fierce attacks of their enemies; and deeming the position unfavorable they removed higher up the river and took possession of a precipitous and tenable point of land formed by an involution of the Missouri, where they formed one compact village in 1776. The eastern Mandans had settled in two villages, but finding the attacks of the Sioux hard to be resisted united also in one village. The two divisions of Mandan villages were still separated by the Missouri river, but seated directly opposite each other about three miles apart, including lowlands.

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The position is estimated to be sixteen hundred miles from the junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi. There they were visited by Lewis and Clarke on the 27th October, 1804. This was a memorable and an auspicious event in their history, as these intrepid American explorers determined to pass their first winter in this vicinity. They built Fort Mandan, a few miles distant, on a heavily wooded piece of bottom land, which yielded trees of sufficient size for erecting quarters for themselves and the men. They immediately opened an intercourse with the Mandans and established a friendship with them, which was strengthened by the incidents of a winter's residence." (pp. 239-240).

361 166

The following is an extract from Mr. Mitchell's letter above referred to: "The early portion of their history I gather from the narration of Mr. Macintosh, who, it seems, belonged to, or was in some way connected with the French Trading Company as far back as 1772. According to his narration, he set out from Montreal in the summer of 1773, crossed over the country to the Missouri river and arrived at one of the Mandan villages on Christmas day. He gives a long and somewhat romantic description of the manner in which he was received, and dwells at some length upon the greatness of the Mandan population, their superior intelligence and prowess in war. He says at that time the Mandans occupied nine large towns lying contiguous and could at short notice muster fifteen thousand mounted warriors." Clarke continues:

"I am inclined to think that the statistics of the author whom I have quoted are somewhat exaggerated, and at the time he visited the Missouri the Mandans were not so numerous as he represents. There are, however, the ruins of five villages in the neighborhood of the present village, which were evidently at one time occupied by the Mandans; and judging from the space which

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361 166 these 'deserted villages' cover they must have been powerful communities, at least as far as numbers could make them powerful.

164 "Whatever may have been their population, there is no doubt that the Mandans suffered more severely from the smallpox than any of the other tribes, and were, in fact, nearly exterminated by it. Mr. Girard says that when he joined them in 1849 the memory of the terrible ravages made by this disease was still fresh in their minds, and they stated that only thirty-five survived the terrible ordeal. He thinks that the disease overtook them in 1832 or 1833, when there were five villages of from sixty to two hundred and fifty lodges each, in all about one thousand lodges, averaging some thirteen persons to a lodge. I am inclined to think he is mistaken in regard to the date, and that they had the smallpox in 1837 instead of 1832-3. Schoolcraft, speaking of this, says: 'Surrounded, as the Mandans were, by active enemies, and doomed, as they appeared to be, to extinction, they might have resisted this course of depopulation a long period had it not been for the reoccurrence of smallpox among them in the summer of 1837. By this fatal calamity their numbers were reduced in a few days to less than one-sixteenth of their whole number. One of the reports of the disease reduced the survivors to thirty-one, another to one hundred and twenty-three.'

168 "They maintained their individuality as a tribe and increased their numbers by stringent marriage laws. They did not allow their women to marry into other bands or tribes unless the man would renounce his tribal relations, join them and agree that the children should talk the Mandan language and be reared in their customs and beliefs." (P. 241.)

144 Clarke discards without discussion the idea that their physical peculiarities or language indicates Welsh antecedents. He proceeds:

"The physical peculiarities of many of the Mandans, viz., their blue eyes and light hair, have led to the wildest kind of speculation in regard to their origin, some claiming that they were a lost Welsh colony and that their language supported this theory. It is hardly necessary to say that this has no foundation in fact. Some of the children also have gray hair, but this probably 'only denotes a morbid state of it, analogous to that which supervenes in albinoes.' This peculiarity is not limited to the Mandans, the

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whites; it would take a whole summer to make the journey, and that since they were at war with the Pananas the men would not undertake to go far, the roads being closed to them. That cattle were abundant on the prairies, far larger and fatter than those we had seen on their prairies; their coat white and of several colors. He showed us horns split in half, of a greenish color, which hold nearly three pints. In all the huts they have them in use as ladles, proving that they have killed many when the road was open. That was all I could learn even by chance, as I had relied on my interpreter, that I would have time to be thoroughly informed at leisure. 000

"Six days after the Assiniboines left I sent my son, the Chevalier, with Sieur Nolant, six Frenchmen and several Mandans, to the nearest fort, which is on the bank of the river. If well received they were to sleep there, to get the best information of the course of the river; who dwell there; if they are acquainted with the lower part, in accordance with what was told us; to learn all that could be ascertained by signs and demonstrations. After their departure Mr. de la Marque walked about to observe the size of their fort and their fortifications.

The Village. "I decided to have the huts counted. It was found that there were a hundred and thirty of them. All the streets, squares and huts resemble each other. Several of our Frenchmen wandered about; they found the streets and squares very clean, the ramparts very level and broad, the palisades supported on cross pieces mortised into posts of fifteen feet. At fifteen points doubled are green skins which are put for sheathing when required, fastened only above when needed, as in the bastion there are four at each curtain, well flanked. The fort is built on a height in the open prairie, with a ditch upwards of fifteen feet deep by fifteen to eighteen feet wide. Their fort can only be gained by steps or posts, which can be removed when threatened by an enemy. If all their forts are alike they may be called impregnable to Indians. Their fortifications are not Indian. This nation is mixed white and black. 36 10 712

"The women are faily good looking, especially the white, many with blonde and fair hair. Both men and women of this nation are very laborious; their huts are large and spacious, separated into several compartments by thick planks; nothing is left lying about; all their baggage is in large bags hung on posts; their beds 142 342 513

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revealed in their responses, it would seem that the influence of so notable and numerous a company as sat down among them during that winter might and should have evolved more than seems to have been learned by the members of that commission and recorded in those journals. Similar observations would seem to be warranted concerning the relative brevity and absence of more detailed and exhaustive information touching their ancient customs, religion, etc. However, observations such as are here indulged in must be regarded as largely speculative. Just how much the patriarchs and leading men of the Mandans had stored up along the lines indicated, and how much of what they did possess they were willing to impart to this the first formal delegation of whites who had ever visited them from the south, is matter of mystery, not of history. 114

The journal entry first to be reproduced here occurs under date of Friday, October 19th, 1804.

First Mandan Ruins. After seventeen and a half miles we encamped on the north, opposite to the uppermost of a number of round hills, forming a cone at the top, one being about ninety, another sixty feet in height, and some of less elevation. Our chief tells us that the calumet bird lives in the holes formed by the filteration of the water from the top of these hills through the sides. Near to one of these holes, on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain, are the remains of an old village which is high, strong, and has been fortified; this our chief tells us is the remains of one of the Mandan villages, and are the first ruins which we have seen of that nation in ascending the Missouri; opposite to our camp is a deep bend to the south, at the extremity of which is a pond. (Page 153, Vol 1, Lewis and Clarke's journal Original Edition, London, 1815.)" 361

Under the date-heading next following, the Lewis and Clarke Journal refers to a "creek on the north" which, according to Dr. Cones, is "Shepherd's Creek" of the Lewis and Clarke map and now known as Apple Creek; it is stated as being six miles below the southerly end of the island mentioned in said Journal. That creek is about seven or eight miles below Bismarck, N. D. The Journal continues:

"Saturday 20. At eight miles we reached the lower point of an island[1] in the middle of the river, though there is no current on

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•361 the south. This island is covered with willows and extends about two miles, there being a small creek[2] coming in from the south at its lower extremity. After making twelve miles we encamped on the south, at the upper part of a bluff containing stone-coal of an inferior quality; immediately below this bluff and on the declivity of a hill, are the remains of a village covering six or eight acres, formerly occupied by the Mandans, who, says our Ricara chief, once lived in a number of villages on each side of the river, till the Sioux forced them forty miles higher; whence, after a few years' residence, they moved to their present position. (id 154)"

"Sunday, 21. * * * * * At two miles from our encampment we came to the ruins of a second Mandan village, which was in existence at the same time with that just mentioned. It is situated on the north at the foot of a hill in a beautiful and extensive plain, which is now covered with herds of buffalo; nearly opposite are remains of a third village on the south of the Missouri; and there is another also about two miles further on the north, a little off the river.

"Monday, 22nd. In the morning we passed an old Mandan village on the south, near our camp; at four miles another on the same side. (id 155)"

"Monday, 22nd. * * * * At six we reached an island about one mile in length at the head of which is a Mandan village on the north in ruins, and two miles beyond a bad sandbar. At eight miles are the remains of another Mandan village on the south.

"These villages, which are nine in number, are scattered along each side of the river within a space of twenty miles; almost all that remains of them is the wall which surrounded them, the fallen heaps of earth which covered the houses and occasionally human skulls and the teeth and bones of men, and different animals, which are scattered on the surface of the ground."(id 156)

000 **Mandan Chief.** "Wednesday, 24th. The day was again dark and it snowed a little in the morning. At three miles we came to a point on the south, where the river, by forcing a channel across a former bend, has formed a large island[3] on the north. On this island we found one of the grand chiefs of the Mandans, who with Five Lodges was on a hunting excursion. He met his enemy the Ricara chief, with great ceremony and apparent cordiality, and

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smoked with him. After visiting his lodges, the grand chief and his brother came on board our boat for a short time; we then proceeded and encamped on the north, at seven miles from our last night's station and below the old village of the Mandans and Ricaras. Here four Mandans came down from a camp above, and our Ricara chief returned with them to their camp, from which we augur favorably of their pacific views towards each other. The land is low and beautiful, and covered with oak and cottonwood, but has been too recently hunted to afford much game.

"25th. The morning was cold and the wind gentle from the southeast; at three miles we passed a handsome high prairie on the south, and on an eminence about forty feet above the water, and extending back for several miles on a beautiful plain, was situated an old village of the Mandan nation, which has been deserted for many years. A short distance above it, on the continuation of the same rising ground are two old villages of the Ricaras, one on the top of hill, the other on the level plain, which have been deserted only five years ago. Above these villages is an extensive low ground for several miles, in which are situated, at three or four miles from the Ricara villages, three old villages of the Mandans near together. Here the Mandans lived when the Ricaras came to them for protection, and from this they moved to their present situation above. In the low ground the squaws raised their corn, and the timber of which there was a little near the villages, was supplied from the opposite side of the river, where it was and still is abundant.

"As we proceeded, several parties of Mandans both on foot and horseback came along the river to view us, and were very desirous that we should land and talk to them; this we could not do on account of the sandbreaks on the shore, but we sent out the Ricara chief to them in a perioque." (id 158.)

The Traders. "26th. We set out early with a southwest wind, and after putting the Ricara chief on shore to join the Mandans, who were in great numbers along it, we proceeded to the camp of the grand chiefs, four miles distant. Here we met Mr. M'Cracken, one of the Northwest or Hudson Bay company, who arrived with another person about nine days ago to trade for horses and buffalo robes. Two of the chiefs came on board with some of their household furniture, such as earthen pots and a little corn, and went on

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000 where they join each other. Each row contains four rooms, of fourteen feet square, and seven feet high, with plank ceiling, and the roof slanting so as to form a loft above the rooms, the highest part of which is eighteen feet from the ground. The backs of the huts form a wall of that height, and opposite the angle the place of the wall was supplied by picketing. In the area were two rooms for stores and provisions. The latitude by observation is 47 degrees, 21 minutes, 47 seconds, and the computed distance from the mouth of the Missouri, sixteen hundred miles." (id 176)

648 **Sioux Threats.** "In the course of the day several Indians came down to partake of our fresh meat; among the rest, three chiefs of the second Mandan village. They inform us that the Sioux on the Missouri above the Cheyenne river, threaten to attack them this winter; that these Sioux are much irritated at the Ricaras for having made peace through our means with the Mandans, and have lately ill-treated three Ricaras who carried the pipe of peace to them, by beating them and taking away their horses. We gave them assurances that we would protect them from all their enemies." (id 176)

•361 167 **Mandan Villages and Tribe.** "The villages near which we are established are five in number, and are the residence of three distinct nations—the Mandans, the Ahnahaways and the Minnetarees. The history of the Mandans, as we received it from our interpreters and from the chiefs themselves, and as it is attested by existing monuments, illustrates, more than that of any other nation, the unsteady movements and the tottering fortunes of the American nations. Within the recollection of living witnesses, the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about eighty miles below, and situated seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri. The two finding themselves wasting away before the smallpox and the Sioux, united into one village, and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras. The same causes reduced the remaining seven to five villages, till at length they emigrated in a body to the Ricaras nation, where they formed themselves into two villages, and joined those of their countrymen who had gone before them. In their new residence they were still insecure, and at length the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present position. The two

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who had emigrated together still settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri, while the single village took a position on the southeast side. In this situation they were found by those who visited them in 1796, since which the two villages have united in one. They are now in two villages, one on the southeast of the Missouri, the other on the opposite side, and at the distance of three miles across. The first, in an open plain, contains about forty or fifty lodges, built in the same way as the Ricaras; the second, the same number, and both may raise about three hundred and fifty men. 361● 167

Mahahas. "On the same side of the river, and at a distance of four miles from the lower Mandan village, is another called Mahaha. It is situated on a high plain at the mouth of the Knife river, and is the residence of the Ahnahaways. This nation, whose name indicates that they were "people whose village is on a hill," formerly resided on the Missouri, about thirty miles below where they now live. The Assiniboines and Sioux forced them to a spot five miles higher, where the greatest part of them were put to death, and the rest emigrated to their present situation, in order to obtain an asylum near the Minnetarees. They are called by the French, Soulier Noir or Shoe Indians; by the Mandans, Wattasoons, and their whole force is about fifty men. 000

Minnetarees. "On the south side of the same Knife river, half a mile above the Mahaha, and in the same open plain with it, is a village of Minnetarees surnamed Metaharta, who are about one hundred and fifty men in number. On the opposite side of the Knife river, and one and a half mile above this village, is a second of the Minnetarees, who may be considered as the proper Minnetarees' nation. It is situated in a beautiful low plain, and contains four hundred and fifty warriors. The accounts which received of the Minnearees were contradictory. The Mandans say that this people came out of the water to the east, and settled near them in their former establishment, in nine villages; that they were very numerous, and fixed themselves in one village on the southern side of the Missouri. A quarrel about a buffalo divided the nation, of which two bands went into the plains, and were known by the names of the Crow and the Paunch Indians, and the rest moved to their establishment. The Minnetarees proper assert, on the contrary, that they grew where they now

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000 consisting of men, women and children. There was an Irishman with them, who had come from the Northwest Company of traders. We remained here an hour, and then proceeded. A number of the Indians kept along the shore opposite the boat all day, on the south side, on which side we encamped. Some of them remained with us to 12 at night and then returned to their village.

Mandan Village. "Saturday, 27th. At half past seven we ar-
•361 rived at the first village of the Mandans and halted about two hours. This village contains forty or fifty lodges built in the manner of those of the Rickarees. These Indians have better complexions than most other Indians, and some of the children have fair hair. We passed a bluff on the south side with a stratum of black resembling coal. There is a bottom on the north side, where the second Mandan village is situated. We went about a mile above it and encamped on the same bottom, for the purpose of holding a council with the natives. This place is 1,610 miles from the mouth of the river du Bois, where we first embarked to proceed on the expedition. There are about the same number of lodges and people in this village as in the first. These people do not bury their dead, but place the body on a scaffold, wrapped in a buffalo robe, where it lies exposed.

"Sunday, 28th. The day was clear and we remained here, but could not sit in council, the wind blew so violent.

Council. "Monday, 29th. We had again a clear day and some
648 of the principal men came from each village of the Mandans, from the Watasoons, Sioux, and one from the Gros Ventres, and all sat in council together. At 11 o'clock, when the council met, a shot was fired from our bow piece, and the commanding officers took the chiefs by the hand. Captain Lewis, though an interpreter, delivered a speech, gave a suit of clothes to each of the chiefs and some articles for their villages. He also sent a suit to the chief of the Gros Ventres. At three o'clock another gun was fired at the breaking up of the council, and they all appeared satisfied. Captain Lewis gave an iron mill to the Mandan nation to grind their corn, with which they were highly pleased.

"Tuesday, 30th. We remained here to know the answer of the Indians. At ten Captain Lewis, with a party of our people and an Indian or two, went about six miles up the river to view an island, in order to ascertain whether or not it would suit for

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114 (Coale & Maxwell, Baltimore, 1816), and he also mentions briefly the tribe in his "Views of Louisiana," (Schaeffer & Maund, Balto., 1817.) He was a lawyer of keen observation, given somewhat to philosophical reflections upon the red man. The party reached the Mandan villages July 26, 1811. We quote as follows from his "Voyage," etc.:

Villages. "Wednesday, 26th, (July, 1811.) Continued our voyage through a beautiful country, on both sides of the river. In the afternoon passed by all five of the Mandan villages, which are situated upon high open plains, the village of She-he-ke, divided from the others by a handsome stream. The inhabitants had gathered to the bank to see us, several waded into the water, but returned when we beckoned to them not to approach. The men were generally naked, the women dressed according to their age or quality, from the course elk skin, to the elegant agalia. It was late at night before we reached the fort of the Missouri Company, which is situated above all the villages, and sixteen hundred and forty miles from the mouth of the Missouri, and in latitude 47 degrees, 13 minutes N."

Brackenridge describes the grim spectacle of the aerial sepulcher of the Mandans:

Burial Scaffolds. "We made several excursions to the villages below, the nearest about six miles off; but as they differ but little from those of the Arikara, I will give no particular description of them. I noticed but one thing as remarkable.

"About two miles on this side of the first village, my attention was attracted by a number of small scaffolds, distributed over several acres of ground on the slope of a hill. I soon discovered that this was a depository of the dead. The scaffolds were raised on forks about ten feet, and were sufficiently wide to contain two bodies; they were in general covered with blue and scarlet cloth, or wrapt in blankets and buffalo robes; we did not approach near enough to examine closely, this frightful Golgotha, or place of human skeletons, but we could see a great number of valuable articles which had been left as offerings to the manes of the deceased. Several crows and magpies were perched upon them; we could not but experience a sensation of horror, when we thought of the attraction which brought these birds to this dismal place. Some of the scaffolds had nearly fallen down, perhaps overturned by the wind, or the effect of decay, and a great num-

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ber of bones were scattered on the ground underneath. This mode of exposing the dead has something peculiarly horrible in it. The wolves of the prairie, the birds of the air, and even the Indian dogs, are attracted to the place, and taught to feed on human flesh. 764

"This custom prevails amongst all the wandering tribes; but amongst the Arikara, the dead are deposited in a grave as with us, which I think clearly proves their origin to be different from that of their neighbors; for there is nothing, in which men in all ages and countries, have manifested more solicitude, than in the treatment of the remains of their deceased friends." 764 171

Le Borgne. Brackenridge's vivid description of the Gros Ventre chief, Le Borgne or the One Eyed, is found below. The two chiefs were present at a celebration had by the whites at the Mandan villages on July 4th. He says: 000

"The two principal chiefs happened to be with us; the One Eyed, and the Black Shoe. The former is a giant in stature, and if his one eye had been placed in the middle of his forehead, he might have passed for a cyclop. His huge limbs and gigantic frame, his bushy hair shading his coarse visage and savage features, with his one eye flashing fire, constituted him a fearful demon. He sways, with unlimited control, all these villages, and is feared by all the neighboring nations. I remarked that on one or two occasions he treated She-he-ke, with great contempt. Lisa having referred to something said by that chief, 'What,' said this monster, 'What. Does that bag of lies pretend to have any authority here?'. He is sometimes a cruel and abominable tyrant."

Brackenridge then relates how the ruthless old outlaw murdered a young warrior who came to him to reclaim his wife who had been forcibly taken by that chief in her husband's absence, the mother of the slain warrior having lost her mind in grief over the dastardly act.

Brackenridge adds in a note: "She-he-ke is a fat man, extremely talkative, and no great warrior."

In his "Views of Louisiana," Brackenridge thus summarizes as to the tribes at the Mandan villages: 361

"Mandans, or Gros Ventres—The remnants of a number of villages, according to their account, seventeen. They claim only

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•361 the small portion of country which they actually occupy; in this, resembling the Arikaras. They still consist of seven villages, five of Gros Ventres, and two of Mandans, in the distance of about fifteen miles. They are generally on good terms with each other, but at present there exist considerable dissensions and even open [191] rupture. There is not the least affinity in their languages but the Gros Ventres is spoken by all the Mandans. According to the tradition of these last, who were originally of the Crow nation, owing to a quarrel between two chiefs, over the carcass of a buffalo which they had slain, a separation took place of the followers of each."

His estimate of the space comprised in the general group of those villages, as above, is too large, as it was probably not more that about nine miles between their extremes. He was also probably in error in regarding the Gros Ventres as originally Crows—it would perhaps be nearer historical fact to say that part of them had, about the time of their arrival from eastward, joined the Crows. This point is not entirely clear, however.

000 **Catlin's Account of Mandans.** George Catlin, whose observations upon the Aricaras were brought out in Part I of this paper (S. D. Hist. Coll., Vol. 3, pp. 490-3), now comes in for consideration in order of time, in his more detailed treatment of the Mandans in many phases of their character. The space herein allotted to his very interesting description and deductions relative to that tribe, is believed to be justified, in view of the generally admitted fact that of all the visitors among and students of this most interesting tribe of Indians, none have written of them in strains so attractive as did he; while we believe that his exhaustive descriptions of their customs and their traditions concerning their religious ceremonies, including also their Flood legends, constituting undoubted classics, are instructive in a high degree, so much so that there seems to be but one way of presenting his impressions and conclusions in order to do him and the subject in hand justice, viz., by quoting his own language at every step, with but few deviations from that course. No attempt to summarize his views could result otherwise than in a garbling process which must be nothing short of unfair and sadly ineffectual in bringing before the reader or student what Catlin saw and

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114 The Mandans and Ariccaras come in for some separate treatment, but most of what is extracted herein is said by him as pertaining to the "Three Tribes" at Fort Berthold, above mentioned. Those extracts now follow:

Location of Confederated Village of Mandans, Etc. "An arid
131 prairie- terrace, some four miles wide, stretching southward to the Missouri from the base of bluffs which form the edge of a higher plain, becomes gradually narrower as it approaches the river, and terminates in a steep bluff of soft rock and lignite which overhangs the river. On the southern extremity of this terrace, near the brow of the bluff, stand the Indian village, and what remains, since a recent fire, of the old trading post of Fort Berthold. This is on the left bank of the Missouri, in latitude 47 degrees, 34 minutes north, and longitude 101 degrees, 48 minutes west nearly. About five years ago, a large reservation was declared for them in Dakota and Montana, along the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. Fort Berthold is in the northeast corner of this reservation."

000 See, for further description of this site and surroundings, Part I of this paper, Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., pp. 574-7.

Matthews' reference to the lodge-groupings in that village is as follows:

•361 **Dwellings.** "The village consists of a number of houses built very closely together, without any attempt at regularity of position. The doors face in every possible direction; and there is great uniformity in the appearance of the lodges; so it is a very difficult matter to find one's way among them."

342 And of the type of lodges as originally constructed, he gives the following description, with some features not noted by the earlier visitors:

Old-Style Lodges of Mandans, Etc. "Most of the houses of the village were in 1865 peculiar, large, earth-covered lodges, such as were built by various tribes of Indians of the plains, in the valley of the Missouri, and so often, with varying accuracy, described by travelers. Each one of these lodges consists of a wooden frame, covered with willows, hay, and earth. A hole in the top, which lets in the light and lets out the smoke, and a doorway on one side, are the only apertures in the building. The door is made of rawhide stretched on a frame, or of puncheons.

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342 is then covered with willows, hay and earth, as before mentioned; the covering being of equal depth over all parts of the frame.

"Earlier writers speak of the supporting-posts of the lodge as being forked. Nowadays, they seldom take the trouble to obtain forked sticks for this purpose."

Catlin's Incorrect Representations. "From the above description, it will be seen that the outline of a vertical section, or of the elevation of such a lodge, is necessarily an irregular hexagon, while that of its ground plan is polygonal, the angles being equal in number to the shorter uprights. Prince Maximilian's artist usually sketches the lodge very correctly; but Mr. Catlin invariably gives an incorrect representation of its exterior. Wherever he dipicts a Mandan, Aricaree, or Minnetaree lodge, he makes it appear as an almost exact hemisphere, and always omits the entry. It would seem that, in filling in his sketches, he adopted the hemisphere as a convenient symbol for a lodge. The authors referred to by name in the foot-note on another page speak of the entry passage."

The winter quarters of the Mandans and their confederates are thus described by Matthews:

342 **Winter Log-Houses.** "Every winter, until 1866, the Indians left their permanent village, and, moving some distance up the
● 361 Missouri valley, built temporary quarters, usually in the center of
221 heavy forests and in the neighborhood of buffalo. The chief objects of this movement were that they might have fuel convenient, and not exhaust the supply of wood in the neighborhood of the permanent village. It was also advisable that, during a portion of the year at least, they should not harass the game near home. The houses of the winter village resembled much the log-cabins of our own western pioneers. They were neatly built, very warm, had regular fire-places and chimneys built of sticks and mud, and square holes in the roofs for the admission of light. Ten years ago, there were some cabins of this description in the permanent village at Fort Berthold; every year since they are becoming gradually more numerous and threaten to gradually supplant the original earth-covered lodges. By reference to the note on page 4, it will be seen that, in 1872, the former outnumbered the latter by about nineteen."

000 Of the caches or circular pits of the confederated village Mat-

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of the caches or circular pits of the confederated village Mat- 251
thews speaks below. The writer found some of the remains of those caches on said site in 1905:

Caches, or Pits. "The numerous caches, or pits, for storing grain, are noteworthy objects in the village. In summer, when they are not in use, they are often left open, or are carelessly covered, and may entrap the unwary stroller. When these Indians have harvested their crops, and before they start on their winter's hunt, they dig their caches, or clear out those dug in previous years. A cache is a cellar, usually round, with a small opening above, barely large enough to allow a person to descend; when finished, it looks like an ordinary round cistern. Reserving a small portion of corn, dried squash, etc., for winter use, they deposit the remainder in these subterranean store houses, along with household utensils and other articles of value which they wish to leave behind. They then fill up the orifices with earth, which they trample down and rake over, thus obliterating every trace of excavation.

"Some caches are made under the floors of the houses, others outside, in various parts of the village grounds; in each case, the distance and direction from some door, post, bedstead, fire-place, or other object is noted, so that the stores may be found on the return of the owners in the spring. Should an enemy enter the village while it is temporarily deserted, the goods are safe from fire and theft. This method of secreting property has long been used among many tribes, has been adopted by whites living on the plains, and is referred to in the works of many travelers."

It is seen from the following account of the "medicine-lodge" 346
of the Mandans, as observed by Matthews, that he ascribes to it 361
a religious character, as did Catlin and others:

Mandan and Arricara "Medicine-Lodges." "There are, in the village, two open spaces, which, although of irregular shape, may be called squares; one of these is in the Mandan, the other in the Aricaree quarter. Besides each square stands a large round 'medicine-lodge,' or temple, built as described in the second paragraph of section three, which is used for purposes that, in a general way, are called religious."

The Ark—Ceremony of Okeepa. "In the center of the Mandan 778
square is a small circular palisade, about six feet high and four feet in diameter, made of neatly hewn puncheons set closely to-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

dans; for their religious ceremonies connected with planting are the more numerous, and they honor the corn with a species of worship. In every Aricaree lodge, there is a large ear of corn, which has lasted for generations, sticking out of the mouth of a medicine-bag. At their feasts, they make offerings to the corn by rubbing a piece of meat on it, while they pray to it for plentiful harvests, and address it by the name of 'mother.' The Hidatsas claim to have had no knowledge of corn until they first ate it from the trenchers of the Mandans; and they have no important ceremonies connected with the harvesting, yet they cultivated it long before the advent of the white man." (p. 12.)

"Three Tribes" at Berthold—From South Dakota. "When Lewis and Clarke ascended the Missouri, in 1804, they found four tribes of agricultural Indians, numerous and prosperous, inhabiting the upper Missouri valley, west of the Dakota nation. They had eight permanently inhabited towns, others which they lived in only temporarily, and a number more which they had abandoned and allowed to go to ruin. They are spoken of in Lewis and Clarke's journal as the 'Ricaras,' 'Mandans,' 'Minnetarees,' and 'Ahnahaways.' All that are left of the four tribes are now gathered together in this one village, at Fort Berthold, which does not probably number 2,500 souls. The remains, now nearly obliterated, of their old towns, may be traced on nearly every prairie terrace adjacent to the Missouri, along six hundred miles of its course, from the mouth of the Lower White-Earth to the mouth of the Little Missouri. The Indians at Fort Berthold are, however, now generally referred to as the 'three tribes'; for one of the nations spoken of by Captain Lewis—that which he calls Ahnahaways—is no longer an organized tribe, but has been merged into the Minnetarees." (p. 12.)

"Mandan"—Previous History. "The Mandans, about a hundred years ago, lived in several villages near the mouth of Heart river. From this neighborhood, they moved up the Missouri, stopping and building villages at different localities. In 1804, they were found dwelling in two towns about four miles below the mouth of Knife river. One of these towns was named Metutahanke, Metutahankish, or, as Maximilian writes it, 'Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kusch,' meaning lower village. The other was called Ruptari or Nuptadi. They were almost exterminated by the

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for two small villages to combine in one at the new location. Owing to the immense difficulty of cutting timbers with their crude stone axes, in making these changes of residence they undoubtedly carried with them the timbers of the abandoned huts and used them in rebuilding, wherever possible. The Indians left Knife river because of the scarcity of timber and the attacks of the Sioux. When the trading post of Fort Berthold—so called in honor of Bartholomew Berthold, a fur trader of St. Louis—was established, about 1844 or 1845, the Indians 'drew the logs (of which it was built) with lariats of rawhide over their shoulders.'" (p. 223.)

Lodge Ruins. "The dirt mounds, ruins of their former homes, have often been mistaken for the ancient burial grounds of these tribes, which is not surprising unless one has studied the history of this interesting people. About ten miles above Bismarck one of the best of these collections of mounds is found, on a bluff overlooking one of the most beautiful stretches of the Missouri, just below Square Butte. There are eighteen or twenty of the mounds, most of them well-defined, and generally more or less circular in their form. They form a semi-circle arc, with the river as a chord, and are now more or less merged together into an irregular ridge. These mounds have been dug over and over, yet I was able to find among them many shards and arrow-points and knives when I visted them." (pp. 5-6.)

Lower Village. "The Mandans call themselves Metutahanke, **the Lower Village**, as Dr. Matthews gives it, or Miti-Untanhanke, **the Village on the East**, as it was given to, and partially written for me by Mrs. Baker, both referring to the same village, the one called Ma-too-ton-ha by Lewis and Clarke. Maximilian calls this village Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, and these different readings of the same word well indicate the difficulties experienced in obtaining correct Indian vocabularies."

Farmers. "These people have always been farmers, and both men and women have for years, now, shared the labors of the field. In early days they raised corn, tobacco, squashes, beans, the wild sunflower, etc., and now they grow, in addition, potatoes, turnips, and various vegetables. The Aricaree seem to be the best farmers. Each tribe now raises cattle and horses, but they do not seem to grasp the idea that cattle raising, if attended to

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231 properly, will enrich them, a scrub lean steer being as valuable in their eyes as a fat, blooded one. These Indians are virtually self-supporting, as they receive very little from the government." (Wheeler, p. 224.)

•361 Wheeler here notes the reason why the upper of the two Mandan villages proper near Knife river, which stood on the northeast bank of the Missouri in 1804, was found on the southwest bank in 1833:

Apparently Crossed River. "The five villages mentioned by Lewis and Clarke in 1804, were still in existence in 1833, when Maximilian visited these Indians. One important change had, he states, occurred. The Missouri river had characteristically changed its channel and in Maximilian's day flowed on the eastern side of Rooptahee, or Ruhptare, the second Mandan town of our narrative, so that both the Mandan villages were then on the western south bank."

773 **Mandans and Hidatsas.** "The tradition relating to the origin of the Mandans given by Lewis and Clarke, according to Dr. Matthews, relates, not only to the Mandans, but to the Hidatsa as well. This tradition, I find, is current at the present day and the lake from which the tribe emerged is said to be Minnewakan, or Devil's Lake in North Dakota, the Hidatsa name for this lake—Midihopa—meaning sacred or mysterious water. Dr. Matthews thinks that 'one nation borrowed its legend from the other,' so that both have a common source." (Wheeler, p. 228.)

771 **Polytheism.** "These people had a belief in a 'Great Spirit,' or
797 'Old Man Immortal,' or 'Great Mystery,' and Dr. Matthews discusses it quite fully in his paper. Their ancient belief appears to have been, on the whole, a species of Polytheism. Religious missionary work on the Fort Berthold reservation began in 1876, and since then there has been a marked change in their religious ideas. The leaven acted but slowly at first, but when its results were apparent it seemed to work with cumulative effect. 'Only a small minority of the people now hold to the wreck of their old paganism.' Carlisle, Santee, and other schools have had their influence in producing this uplift. The younger generations see things with a new and broader vision and their moral and religious notions are cast in a new mold." (Wheeler, p. 229.)

797 Wheeler quotes as follows from Rev. C. L. Hall, the Congrega-

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000 kota. It is for us to find traces of the Mandans in South Dakota and farther southeast."

0361 To further inquiries by the writer concerning the precise locations of various deserted Mandan and Aricaree villages explored 172 by him, Mr. Steinbreuck responded with the following valuable details:

Mandan and Aricaree Village Sites. "I will answer your questions to the best of my knowledge. The seven villages are strung along the Missouri from about two miles below Apple creek on the east side to about three miles above Burnt creek on the same side. There are remains of Mandan villages on (SW 4, Sec. 14 T. 137 R. 80 NW 4, Sec. 2, T. 139, R. 81, NE 4, Sec. 21, T. 140, R. 81), on the east side, and on (Sec. 13, T. 138, R. 81, Sec. 35, T. 139, R. 81, Sec. 27, T. 139, R. 81, Sec. 33, T. 140, R. 81), on the west side.

361 "All those villages were found abandoned by Lewis and Clarke. Lewis and Clarke found the Mandans at the bend of the Missouri 172 near Fort Clarke (built later during 1831-33, started by James 167 Kipp and finished by Mitchell) a little above that fort in two villages (1804). Catlin found the Mandans there also. The Mandans and the Aricarees lived together. The smallpox epidemic was in 1837, after which the Indians moved to the Fort Berthold reservation, where the Hidatsa had gone several years prior. That is all I can tell you about the Mandans. The story goes that the Mandans and Aricarees lived together near Heart river before Lewis and Clarke's time, about twenty years before Lewis and Clarke. That is, some lived in separate villages, some lived with the Mandans. They had a quarrel and separated. Some went up the Missouri with the Mandans, to Fort Clarke, others moved down the river again to that region below the Cannon-Ball. Later, between 1804 and 1834 the balance of the Aricarees below the Cannon-Ball, became too weak, by wars and disease, to withstand the attacks of the Sioux, moved gradually up the Missouri to join their former allies, the Mandans and their own 172 countrymen with the Mandans. This point was near Fort Clarke. 361 There are many Aricaree villages along the Missouri, more in number, than all the Mandan village sites together. All show short time of occupation. This information is obtained by my own investigation and compared with the reports of early travelers, and especially by the study of specimens found at the differ-

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ent villages, and it is no illusion to call one village a Mandan, and the other an Aricaree village of old. 172 361

"Such particulars have slipped the observation of early travelers, as they were looking more for the very goods, the Indians and for their places of habitation, and have overlooked abandoned places. Lewis and Clarke also do not mention any such abandoned village as there is the site on Sec. 30 and 31, 143, 81.

" As far as I have got in the location of villages, camps and cemeteries I have forty-five in number marked on the map, a few more to be added."

*(A map which he is preparing for the State Historical Society of North Dakota, see L.)

Under date of March 19th, 1907, Mr. Steinbreuck further states: 361 167

"I do not believe the Aricarees moved down the Missouri very far, since their quarrel with the Mandans. They put one river between them and the Mandans, the Cannon-Ball. Lewis and Clarke found them above Grand river. Some of the Aricarees stayed with their allies, the Mandans, and moved up stream with them from their villages near the Heart. The larger part moved up later between 1804 and 1833. I have found now forty-three villages from five miles below. Standing Rock agency, up to above Knife river, including three Hidatsa villages. Some of the villages are later than 1804, and are determinedly of Aricaree origin. Further no mention is made of those later villages by Lewis and Clarke."

Writer's Visit to Fort Berthold and Mandans. "On September 5th-7th, 1905, he who presents this paper went to Old Fort Berthold and beyond, to Elbowoods, N. D., for the purpose of gaining, if possible, some further impressions of the Mandans and of interviewing some of the leading men of the tribe on the reservation within whose limits they were living. An account of that trip, as regards the Aricarees—who were also the objective of the visit—is found in Vol. III, of the South Dakota History Collections, pages 572-583. 000

"Rev. C. L. Hall, who had been for about thirty years and still is Missionary of the Congregational Missionary Society among the Indians at that reservation, very kindly entertained and materially assisted the writer while there. That point, some twenty 621 124

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HISTORIC BACKGROUND

105 175 177 UNLIKE most tribes of the Northern Plains, the Mandan have moved little since first mentioned in the accounts of travelers, and their basic culture has changed little except for minor adjustments in their economy resulting from the introduction of the horse and European trade goods. The prominent part played by agriculture and the size and concentration of their villages at and above the mouth of the Heart River in early historic times, the semisedentary nature of their population, and their comparatively richer material wealth distinguished them from the nomadic buffalo hunters when European explorers first reached the Northern Plains. During late prehistoric times the Mandan were in intimate contacts with the Awatixa and Awaxawi bands of semisedentary Hidatsa, whose villages were situated below the Knife River at this time. So far as the writer was able to determine, the Mandan have always remained on friendly terms with the various Hidatsa and Crow groups.

175 •361 Their first contacts were with the French coming overland from the Lake Winnipeg region to trade shortly after A.D. 1700, for La Harpe in A.D. 1719 gave the location of the Arikara on the Missouri as one hundred and twenty leagues southeast from "seven famous villages," which would, from the location of the Arikara in the La Harpe map, place the Mandan near the mouth of the Heart River.[1] We cannot be certain that the "seven famous villages" referred to by La Harpe do not include both the Mandan and at least part of the Hidatsa villages, since the Hidatsa are not mentioned in the literature until 1797, when they were identified by David Thompson as a separate linguistic group.[2] La Verendrye, who visited the earth-lodge vil-

1. Bernard de la Harpe, "Relation du voyage de Bernard de la Harpe," in Pierre Margry (ed.), *Découvertes et établissements des Française dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique septentrionale, 1614–1754*, Sixième partie (Paris, 1886), pp. 292–93.

2. *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1916), pp. 209–42.

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lages on the Upper Missouri River in 1738, was the first known explorer to leave a written account of his observations.[3] In company with a large party of Assiniboine, he followed an old Indian trail that had been in long use by the Assiniboine when visiting the agricultural villages to barter for corn and other agricultural products. He set out from the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers on September 26, 1738, to visit a people known as the Montannes, who lived on a river believed to flow into the Pacific Ocean. Contacts with the earth-lodge groups must have been numerous, since the "Montannes" spoke Assiniboine well. Concerning the village where he headquartered, he wrote:

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> I gave orders to count the cabins, and we found that there were one hundred and thirty. All the streets, squares and cabins are uniform in appearance; often our Frenchmen would lose their way in going about. They kept the streets and open places very clean, the ramparts are smooth and wide; the palisade is supported on cross pieces morticed into posts fifteen feet apart with a lining. For this purpose they use green hides fastened only at the top in places where they are needed. As to the bastians, there are four of them at each curtain well flanked. The fort is built on an elevation in mid-prairie with a ditch fifteen feet deep and from fifteen to eighteen wide.[4]

He believed that these fortified villages were impregnable to attack. The younger La Verendrye went to another fort situated on the bank of the river and declared that it was twice as large. La Verendrye was told that there were six large villages on both banks of the river and that a day's march from the last of these were the Pananas, who had several forts, and then the Pananis. This would indicate that part of the Arikara had already moved northward to the neighborhood of the Grand River, a region which at that time had not been entered by the French traders.

M. Bellen's map of 1755 was the first to show the location of the Mandan villages.[5] This map shows the "Riv. des Mantons" flowing southeastward but fails to connect it with any of the streams in that direction. He wrote: "On ne connoit pas les sources du Missouri," and, of the "Riv. des Mantons," he added: "on ne scait si cette Riviere n'est pas la source du

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3. *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultin de Varennes de La Verendrye and His Sons*, ed. Lawrence J. Burpee (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1927), pp. 290–360.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 339–40.

5. N. H. Winchell, *The Aborigines of Minnesota* (St. Paul: Pioneer Press, 1911), p. 47.

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Chapter I

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

182 THE Mandan social organization was complex and highly integrated. There is an abundance of archeological evidence that at a very early time the population was more widely dispersed along the Missouri River. La Verendrye, the first known visitor to this tribe, reported that they were residing in six villages which were fortified with closely grouped lodges. Considering the depth of refuse of the protohistoric village sites of the Heart River region, all which have closely grouped lodges within a fortification, it is evident that the Mandan village groups had lived in intimate contacts with each other for two or more centuries.

621 361 Each village was an economic unit. It acted as a unit when leaving on the summer buffalo hunt, although there was a certain amount of co-operation among villages in the matter of protecting the old people left behind and in keeping enemy raiding parties from burning the lodges during their absence. Each village had its garden section which was separate from other village garden areas, although my informants claimed that at one time just preceding the first smallpox epidemic, when the Boley, Scattered, Motsiff, and Slant villages of the west side and Round Lodges and Yellow Earth villages of the east side were occupied, all the available corn grounds were planted and that it was necessary for the villages to meet in council to define the garden limits of each village. At that time the most distant villages of the Heart River region were only a few miles from each other, and some families had gardens on opposite sides of the river. A village was frequently abandoned by a part of the people whenever wood was depleted or the corn ground was no longer productive, which in large measure accounts for the presence of so many village sites showing short occupation. At the mouth of the Heart River where the wooded bottoms were most extensive, the villages show longest continuous occupation.

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●361 Aboriginal Mandan village sites had the following distinctive
174 characteristics.

1. The circular four-post earth lodge was the most common type used for summer residence, although semirectangular lodges did occasionally occur. These lodges were closely grouped within a limited area.

2. A central open space approximately one hundred and fifty feet in diameter was reserved for the dances and ceremonies. A
[778] cedar was set into the ground at the center of the open circle and surrounded by an inclosure of wood to represent the culture hero's (NumakmaxEna) body. The inclosure was a symbol of the wall which NumakmaxEna erected to protect the people
[344] from the flood. The ceremonial lodge was on the north side of the open area and in line with the other lodges which formed the circumference of the open area. Lodge entrances of this inner circle faced to the center. The ceremonial lodge was distinguished from other lodges by its flat front and greater length than width.

3. Villages were usually either protected by a surrounding wall and ditch or so situated as to employ as defenses such natural features of the terrain as cliffs, ravines, or riverbanks.

4. Villages were, with one or two exceptions, built near the Missouri River or its tributaries and adjacent to the wooded river bottoms which were cleared for gardens.

[764] 5. Although scaffolds for the dead were erected near the villages, isolated human bones, cache burials, and secondary bundle burials occur so frequently within the older villages that we are justified in assuming that these practices were characteristic of the older culture and that scaffold disposal was of late adoption.

6. There was a marked uniformity between villages of the same age with respect to material culture.

7. The clustering of a considerable number of village sites of a single archeological focus and the absence of all other foci within the region adjacent to the Heart River indicate Mandan domination of an extensive area along the Upper Missouri.

174 The Mandan claim to have been divided into bands which, in
large part, were broken down while living at the Heart River.
619 These were: (1) Is'topə ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves");

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

(2) Nup'tadi (no meaning); (3) Ma'nana'rE ("Those Who Quarreled"); (4) Awi'-ka-xa' (no meaning); and (5) Nu'itadi ("Our People"). 174 619

While living in the Heart River region, dialectic differences also existed between bands. Three major dialectic groups existed then, according to Crows Heart and Scattercorn: Nuptadi, Nuitadi, and Awigaxa. The latter group was small and was assimilated into the Nuitadi after the first smallpox epidemic. Linguistic differences between the Nuptadi and Nuitadi were recognized by Maximilian, who prepared a partial list of Mandan words of the two dialects.[1] These differences are still recognized by Mandan informants. The Nuitadi was the largest linguistic group and comprised the Nuitadi proper, the Is'topa, and the Ma'nana'rE. The latter two bands separated from the Nuptadi proper for economic reasons when the village population became too large for the further exploitation of the corn grounds. 174 619 197

In historic times and before coming to Fort Clark, according to Crows Heart, the Istopa and MananarE had separate villages. In addition, there were several villages of Nuitadi. The Istopa were believed to occupy the territory north of the Heart River and had as their nearest neighbors the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa, who moved there from below the Cannonball River. Their principal village was at the Motsiff site. Crows Heart's grandmother was of the Istopa band, and she was born in their village near the present town of Sanger, North Dakota. 619 361 131 174

The Mandan have been a relatively small tribe since the first smallpox epidemic which reached them before leaving the Heart River villages. Lewis and Clark reported ruins of their villages in that region in 1804, and the natives informed him that in their time nine villages were occupied simultaneously. The east-side villages united into one village and moved northward, while the west-side group united first into two villages and later into one village and moved northward along the west bank of the Missouri and settled at Fort Clark Village. 619 174

There is some inconsistency in the Mandan migration myths, 174 773

1. Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. R. G. Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906), XXIV, 259.

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There was considerable variability in the status of household
621 groups. Those groups possessing important tribal bundles and
554 participating frequently in the ceremonies occupied high status
571 in the village and endeavored to preserve their eminence by selective marriage of their children. The importance of the lodge group was also expressed by offerings placed on poles erected before the lodge. These offerings were distinctive and proclaimed the existing status of the household bundle. One's loyalty remained with the lodge group one was born into, while subsequent marriages united groups of households.

621 A lodge group could leave one village and join another at will.
Usually a number of related households moved at one time, but
166 there are numerous references to groups transferring from one
578 village to another. Informants thought that the three Mandan groups or bands were endogamous. When a group left one village, it endeavored to affiliate with its own band in one of the villages. Mandan informants had been told of at least four reasons why a household group would change villages. When a certain cermony had been allowed to die out or become inactive, a household having rights in that ceremony could enhance its social status by moving out of a village in which there were a number having rights in the ceremony, to take up residence in another where there were few having those particular ceremonial rights. Other household groups moved into another village over the recognition of chiefs. When a small group was dissatisfied with the leadership of the village, rather than have trouble, they moved into another village. Scattercorn remembered that there was often dissatisfaction among the women over the selection of a village site. She recalled that one of their villages was so sandy that the caches caved in, and some of the women wanted to move to another site. When the leaders refused, they were invited to affiliate with another village, which they did. The Missouri River frequently changed its course and sometimes cut through the gardens, destroying the garden sites belonging to some households. When no potential corn ground was available near at hand, household groups were obliged to move to a village with an abundance of suitable corn ground in preference to walking great distances to their gardens.

361 The protohistoric Mandan sites of the Heart River region
have ruins of one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

fifty lodges, while the later villages of historic times were much smaller, owing to the smaller population. Maximilian reported sixty-five lodges at Mitutanka and thirty-eight at Nuptadi. My informants listed forty-three lodges at Like-a-Fishhook. After 1870, the Mandan began abandoning the circular four-post earth lodge for small rectangular log cabins, two of them housing the population formerly living in a single earth lodge. Frequently a log cabin was built with two rooms, one room being occupied by the older people, who preserved the sacred bundles in their quarters, and the other room being occupied by the younger married family.

THE CLAN AND MOIETY SYSTEM

At the present time there are four Mandan clans, and they are divided into nameless moieties according to their position in the Okipa lodge. The Okipa or ceremonial lodge occupied a position on the north side of the village open circle, with the entrance facing the sacred cedar. According to the traditions of the Okipa, there were formerly thirteen clans which were divided into moieties known as an east-side moiety, comprising these clans: Prairie Chicken; Speckled Eagle; Bear; Red Hill; Crow; Badger; Bunch of Wood; and a west-side moiety consisting of six clans: Waxi'kEna; Tami'sik; Tami'xixiks; and three extinct clans. In the construction of the ceremonial lodge all clans participated. The east-side clans erected their side of the lodge and placed yellow corn in each posthole. The west-side clans erected the west side of the ceremonial lodge and placed small mats of buffalo hair in the central postholes of their side.

According to tradition, the clans were not all established simultaneously. It is said that Lone Man announced while living in the tribe that he belonged to the WaxikEna clan. It was the custom for this clan to sit near the door on the left, or west, side in council and during the ceremonies. The other five clans which were believed to be closest in relationship to the WaxikEna clan occupied the west side of the lodge also. It was believed that those who were of no clan occupied the entire east section of the lodge in no particular order until Clay on the Face, when returning from a successful war expedition, announced an arbitrary division of the young men then sitting in council. It is said that

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

in a line. Household groups kept together, since they would stop from time to time to dig wild turnips. Whenever the leader saw these plants in great numbers, he would ask his assistant, the announcer of the Black Mouths, to stop the party. All would dig except the scouts, who were ahead guarding the party against surprise by the enemy or hunting for fresh meat, and the Black Mouths, who were mounted and armed to protect the party against attack. The latter watched for stragglers and helped them to join the main party.

The leader selected the camping place which had been agreed upon in advance, and the Black Mouths enforced the regulations that the lodges be arranged in a circle at a certain distance from each other and compelled those whose lodges were out of place to take them down and set them up in such a way that the circle was complete except for a larger entrance at the side of the leader's lodge where the horses could be brought through to be corraled within the open circle. The leader's household was at the front of the line when traveling and was the first to set up a tepee; the back end of the line which was assembled by household groups swung around in a wide circle so that the last in the line set up their tepee at the side of the leader's tepee, thus completing the circle. Ropes were tied between the tepees forming a corral into which the horses were driven for the night.

The leader's tepee was used as a meeting place for the people assisting him in planning the hunt. They selected the scouts each day and relieved others who had ridden far; when the party had reached its destination, they also selected the leader of the hunters who was changed from day to day if the work of killing animals was tedious as was often the case when the buffaloes were in small bands. The leader was responsible for the success of the entire party and was expected to call in the hunters if scouts reported an enemy encampment until it was decided whether to move to another place or make provisions for the defense of the party. The Black Mouths drove all the women and children into the camp and enforced rigid rules against leaving.

The men butchered the animals and brought the meat to the camp, while the women cut it into strips and dried it on scaffolds. All were expected to get equal amounts, and a woman

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter IV

THE OKIPA CEREMONY

796 THE Okipa[1] ceremony was an elaborate and complicated affair. It was a dramatization of the creation of the earth,
198 its people, plants, and animals, together with the struggles the Mandan endured to attain their present position. The history of the tribe was a part of the secret lore held by the officers of the ceremony. The uninformed could pay to have the creation myths told but could not repeat them. The songs, chants, and rituals were conducted by men who by virtue of inheritance and purchase had acquired that right, but the words were unintelligible to the population at large, being, according to tradition, in an ancient Nuptadi dialect. Only the legitimate officers understood their meaning, and that information was never divulged to another except when purchase was being made into the ceremony. The few phrases recognized, such as "Corn Mother" and "Thunder Father," were insufficient to understand the substance of the rites.

796 Certain arrangement of lodges within the village was necessary for the performance of the ceremony. Each village had an
361 open circle some one hundred and fifty feet in diameter reserved for this ceremony, and lodges were not permitted in that section. A cedar post, surrounded by a plank wall, occupied the center of this open circle, and lodges were arranged around the circle with their entrances toward the cedar.

361 The ceremonial lodge was to the north of the cedar and was a
316 part of the row of lodges facing toward the open circle. It was distinguishable from the other lodges by its flat side at the entrance (see Fig. 13), which was to the south. It was so oriented that the entrance faced in the direction Lone Man went when he left the tribe.

Since lodges were not permitted within the open circle, nor were ashes and refuse deposited there, through normal accumu-

1. The word *okipE'* means "to look alike" and refers to the Bull Dancers, who were of the same stature and were painted and dressed alike for the dances.

1 [culture hero; impersonated in the Okipa ceremony - Analyst]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

361 lation of refuse in the remainder of the village this open circle
346 took on the character of a sunken area within the village. This open area appears as frequently near the edges of the abandoned village sites as in the approximate centers. These sunken areas
[172] within the ruins of ancient sites downstream from the last Mandan villages distinguish ancient Mandan villages from those of other tribes. In ruins such as occur at the Larson or Motsiff sites, where there was a considerable accumulation of refuse within the village, the sunken area was very pronounced. At the Deapolis Site, where the interlodge refuse was thin, the open circle appeared as a slight depression with a low mound where the cedar stood.

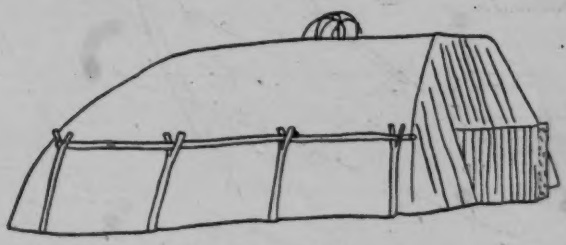

FIG. 13.—Plan of Okipa ceremonial lodge. (Drawn by White Calf.)

361 The three Hidatsa village groups in general lacked the open
171 circle arrangement of lodges, although the Hidatsa proper in later years marked off a section within the village where dancing was done and where lodges were not permitted. There was neither a cedar, special ceremonial lodge, nor inner circle of lodges facing a common center. The Awatixa and Awaxawi villages lacked all semblance of lodge orientation, having only sufficient space between for corn scaffolds and passageways.

The Arikara plan shows considerable variation asto age. The protohistoric and early historic sites frequently had a special ceremonial lodge in the approximate center of the village, but all villages did not have ceremonial lodges. A limitel area adjacent to the ceremonial lodge was used for the dances, but the neighboring lodges were not arranged in a circle, and there was no orientation of lodge entrances toward the center. More recent historic Arikara villages had definite open circles with orientation of lodges toward the center, where the ceremonial lodge

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

stood. This lodge was circular in outline and differed from the regular earth lodges only by its greater size. 361 171

The open-circle concept was definitely established among the Mandan at a very early date according to the archeological evidence from the Heart River region.[2] There is some evidence in the Grand River region of the Mandan-type open-circle village arrangement, but the situation there is in most instances obscured by subsequent Arikara occupations.

Lone Man, according to tradition, established the custom of leaving an open area within each village for dancing. Later, when he was leaving the tribe, he erected a Red-painted cedar, as a symbol of his body and of all the Mandans who had lived before. The cedar was surrounded by a wall of cottonwood planks as a symbol of the wall he erected to protect the people from the flood. A water willow surrounding the planks marked the highest advance of the flood waters. He also established the custom of maintaining a special ceremonial lodge in each village and taught the ceremonies associated with its construction. The lodge was a symbol of Dog Den Butte where Hoita (the speckled eagle) imprisoned all living things. Six central posts were used making it oblong in form, with a flat side facing the open circle.[3] Lone Man also established the WəxikEna and Tamisik clans and indicated their seating arrangement in the ceremonial lodge. He divided the lodge into two halves, the left half or east side belonging to the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, and five other clans of that moiety. The right side belonged to the WaxikEna, Tamisik, Tamixixiks and three other clans of that moiety. 773 776 346

According to the sacred myths the moiety and clan system was as follows prior to the smallpox epidemics: 773 614 616

West-Side Moiety (Buffalo)	East-Side Moiety (Corn)
Waxi'kEna (Tell Bad News)	Sipuska'numak (Prairie Chicken People)
Tami'sik (no meaning)	Ipoka'numak (Speckled Eagle People)
Tami'xixiks (Bad Strap)	Mato'domak (Bear People)
[Three extinct clans whose names are not now remembered]	MasE'domak (Red Hill People)
	Amaka'domak (Badger People)
	HoxExaka'numak (Crow People)
	Manakasa'numak (People in Grove)

2. By 1500 in sites of the Huff focus in villages of rectangular lodges.

3. This was the habitation lodge which was retained for ceremonial purposes when the circular earth lodge was adopted shortly before 1600.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

a bunch of sage in her lodge and rubbed her body after returning from the fields to cleanse herself from the spirits in the gardens. Years ago, it is said that, when this was done, worms came out of the women's bodies. The Corn bundle-owner walked through the gardens several times during the summer, carrying the pipe and singing the Corn songs.

When the weather was too hot, too cold, or too dry, all those with Corn medicine rights met, and the Goose Women's Society joined them to dance and pray. While the ceremony was in progress, people of each household brought presents and offered them for relief from the adverse weather.

Many women pledged a ceremony to the Corn if good crops were sent by the gods. A person making such a vow, first prepared an elkhide robe and paid the Corn Priest to officiate. When the time appointed for the offering came and after the crop was harvested, she carried the robe to her field, where she tied it to a cottonwood pole and covered the pole with corn on the ear until the pile reached nearly to the robe. The young men of the tribe were invited to come and charge the robe, the first one there taking it. At a signal, the young men searched for the meat under the pile of corn. The Corn bundle-owner received four things for his part in the ceremony. Many different women gave this ceremony each fall when the crops were abundant.

The Corn bundle-owner officiated whenever corn was sold to people of other tribes. It was thought that it must be done or the spirits in the corn might leave the Mandan and help the people who took the corn away. He dressed in his ceremonial outfit and "called back" the Corn Spirits.

Whenever a cache of stored corn was opened, four ears of corn were taken to the Corn bundle-owner as payment for his part in protecting the stored corn.

The order of Corn Priests is as follows:

1. Uses Head for Rattle
2. Brown
3. Pot
4. Bull Leg
5. Acting Foolish (OxinhEdE)
6. Foolish Man
7. Strong Arm
8. Raises Tail
9. Forearm Bone
10. Hunts His Enemy
11. Bull Standing on Land
12. WErukirihEri
13. Enemy
14. Sacred Cedar
15. Cedar Feather
16. Star
17. Head Comes Out
18. Water Bag
19. Coyote
20. Crow
21. WErukirihEri
22. Bloody Knife
23. Garden
24. Tree in Garden
25. Uses His Head for Rattle
26. HoxdEkE
27. Corn Grinder
28. Lying Down
29. Left-Hand Bull
30. Scabby
31. WErukirihEri
32. Crows Belt
33. Moves Slowly
34. Scattercorn
35. Mrs. Little Owl (present owner)

The many references to corn in the mythology express the significance of agriculture to this tribe. Archeological work in their prehistoric sites indicates that economically agriculture has played an important role in shaping the habits of these people. The primary factor in establishing villages at certain

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

241 361 796 points was the accessibility to desirable corn grounds. With the prominent place of agriculture in the economic life of these people, it was a logical consequence that leaders of the Corn ceremonies should determine sites for new villages. Although the actual site was selected by the Corn bundle-owners, the laying-out of the open circle and location of the sacred cedar and ceremonial lodge was the responsibility of the individuals impersonating Lone Man and Hoita in the Okipa ceremony.

796 From an analysis of traditions and rites retained after the smallpox epidemics something of the nature of the old corn ceremonies could be determined.

1. There was only one Robe bundle, which came from the Nuptadi Village of the east side of the Missouri.

2. The Skull bundle was of west-side origin and came originally from the Awigaxa band, who were last to reach the Upper Missouri.

3. Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles and secondary bundles belonging to this ceremony were found in all Mandan villages and, in fact, in Hidatsa, Awatixa, and Awaxawi villages. The ceremonies and beliefs with few exceptions were identical between villages and tribes. This seems to be an older, widely diffused Mandan-Hidatsa ceremony to which new practices, particularly the fertility or consecration of the seed rites, were added, based mythologically on a dramatization of corn as people coming from the ground.

CORN MYTH OF THE ROBE BUNDLE RELATED BY SCATTERCORN[8]

773 539 The Corn People were living under the ground by a lake. One day some of the people saw an opening reaching up to the land above, and there was a vine growing in this hole. They asked the Fox to climb up and see this land. He climbed up, but, when he stuck his nose out, he got only a brief look at the beautiful land above because Sun burned his nose.

Then they asked Elk to go up and dig the hole larger with his horns. He made the hole large so the people could get through. The people started up, following the vine. They came up continuously for four days, but on the last day a woman heavy with child broke the vine and ended the migration forever. All these people had been raising the corn on this land beneath the earth.

8. For another version of the same myth, apparently also related by Scattercorn, see Will and Hyde, *op. cit.*, pp. 218–23. Also see Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 35–48, for data on Good Furred Robe, including data on Corn Priest, Goose Women Society, and Black Mouth Society.

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223 Eagle-trapping expeditions were organized for a dual purpose,
224 namely, the securing of feathers and of a winter's supply of meat and hides. Crows Heart thought that, taken year after year, the meat and hides secured had greater worth than the feathers. As he explained, it was not unusual to return without feathers, but game was always abundant once one reached territory not ordinarily hunted in. He remarked, on many occasions, that a village as a unit would never go to rough country on a summer hunt, as there would be few buffaloes there, and it would be difficult to surround them because of the uneven topography. There was the further danger of ambush. The rough lands were hunted over by small bands, chiefly eagle-trappers and war parties.

223 The appearance of ice on the edges of streams was the signal
224 for the eagle-trapping expedition to return to the village. Before
505 horses became numerous in the villages, it was customary to travel overland to the trapping sites, where bullboats were made of buffalo and elk hides for floating back the meat and hides to the village. In order not to be caught along the way by a sudden freezing of the river, it was imperative that trapping cease immediately with the first appearance of cold weather.

224 While in the trapping camp, the women received the meat
251 and hides brought in by the men. The meat was cured on scaf-
281 folds, and the hides were dried or made into bullboats. Special effort was made to secure mountain sheep, as the badlands were the habitat of these prized animals, used for men's shirts and women's dresses, since their skins tanned softer than any other hide. Bears Arm, in explaining the importance of the meat and
[581] hides secured on these expeditions, stated that single women tried to marry young men so they could go along to help cure the meat and hides, knowing they might marry one so lucky as to kill a white buffalo.

223 Mandan tradition appears devoid of reference to recent divi-
●361 sion of a village population into small eagle-trapping bands dur-
171 ing the winter. Such is not the case with the Hidatsa, however.
221 In the Earthnaming ceremony of the Hidatsa there is reference
621 in the myth to the division of the village into small bands camped along the Little Missouri River in eagle-trapping lodges during the winter. At least two of the clans, the Maxoxati and

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AwaxEnawita, trace their origin to these small winter camps. 223
Bears Arm explained that, in former times, the women's lodges 361
were the same as the men's and that, on termination of the 171
trapping season, the altar was removed and the bundle closed, 221
after which the lodge was no longer considered sacred. The 621
leader's wife and family came to his lodge, and the other trappers returned to their wives' lodges for the winter. Before the spring thaw, the various bands returned to the summer village to prepare for the planting of gardens. If this fall and winter division of the Hidatsa villages into bands was customary, as mentioned in tradition and mythology, the custom had been superseded by the winter village system by the opening of the historic period on the Upper Missouri River. By this time each summer village, which we have come to call the permanent village, had its corresponding winter village. The summer village was situated on one of the upper, grassy terraces adjacent to the Missouri River, with the winter village situated in heavy timber on the river bottom. The entire population of a summer village would move to its selected site, and there would be a winter chief selected each year.

There is no reference in the mythology to the breaking-up of 221
the Mandan summer village into winter bands, but each village 361
might build a winter camp to avoid the tedious task of bringing 314
wood a considerable distance to the village. After a few years, 621
all available wood near a summer village would be exhausted, except for driftwood in the river. From all available data, there is no evidence that the Mandan selected new chiefs for the winter period.

We may conclude that the Hidatsa practice of naming a win- 171
ter chief grew out of the custom of breaking up into eagle-trap- 621
ping bands under a leader in the fall, his authority continuing after the closing of trapping until the return of the party to the summer village. Wolf Chief explained that this could be done formerly, as there were fewer enemies, but that it was inexpedient in later years, as it was necessary to defend the villages the year round. It is possible, however, that the Mandan abandoned this custom somewhat earlier because of greater pressure from enemies.

A brief ritual closed the eagle-trapping period. It was essen- 000

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778 lodge. The principal officer of the Okipa was the Lone Man,
796 who, traditionally, belonged to the WaxikEna clan. The rights
614 to impersonate Lone Man were inherited through the Waxi-
428 kEna clan. A buyer was assisted by his brothers and sisters, who
became secondary owners in the bundle. Should the buyer die, a brother was entitled to officiate until a new owner was qualified. When the bundle-owner had no brothers, the sisters' husband was authorized to officiate by performing a ceremonial feast to the bundle until a qualified successor in the clan was se-
[604] lected. The bundle and office passed from a man to his sister's son. A man could sell his rights in the office four times, but few sales were made in later years, since there were two separate bundle lineages representing the two villages built near Fort Clark which were adequate to meet ceremonial needs. In fact, one of these lineages died out shortly after 1837 and was never re-established. The Hoita lineage, though theoretically in the WaxikEna clan, was, in historic times, held temporarily by a member of the Tamisik clan.

778 Although villages were reported to be largely independent
ceremonially, they were not entirely so. The three sacred turtle
621 drums were kept by individual members of the WaxikEna clan at Nuptadi Village, one of the east-side villages of the Heart River group, and were borrowed by the other villages when the Okipa was to be performed. In later years when the tribe moved to Fort Clark, these drums were kept at the Upper Village situated near Deapolis. Each village was believed to possess its own complement of officers. There was, however, a certain amount of collaboration between villages when new officers were receiving training.

778 The sacred cedar was erected in each village if the village
621 group had a complete complement of Okipa officers. It was the
361 rule that, whenever a ceremony or organized social event was performed in the summer village, out of respect to Lone Man, whose body was represented by this inclosed post, the group
[431] should dance once at this sacred shrine. On these occasions,
[782] gifts of robes or other clothing were placed over the cedar as an offering to the Lone Man and became the property of the WaxikEna clan. The Mandan considered the entire open-circle area inclosing the sacred cedar sacred also. Even as late as

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1929, informants unwilling to divulge sacred lore were equally unwilling to divulge the arrangement of lodges around this circle. Their explanation was that the area was sacred because they had suffered there during the Okipa, standing at this point in the village when thongs were inserted in their flesh for dragging buffalo skulls, or because so many ceremonies had been performed there. When ceremonies were performed at the winter camps, it was customary to leave goods at the sacred cedar when returning later to the summer village. 778 621 361

Mandan informants disagree relative to the purpose of performing the Okipa ceremony. All give a number of reasons; they are: to bring buffaloes to the village; to acquaint young people with the history of the tribe; to give the young men an opportunity to fast. White Calf thought that the principal reason for performing the ceremony was to bring all the gods back so that all the holy beings would be working for the Mandan and not their enemies. He remarked that summer was the season when the gods, particularly the big birds, returned. At this point it is interesting to note that, although a restricted number of officers were intrusted with the direction and performance of this ceremony, on the third day, known as "Everything Comes Back Day," characters represented in the ceremony comprised most of the major bundle-owners of the village. 796

The person pledging the ceremony was known as the Okipa Maker. The ceremony was considered a "sacred feast to tribal bundles," and the benefits accruing to the Okipa Maker were comparable to those received when offering a feast to any other sacred bundles. He received a section of a sand-bar willow for his sacred bundle and was entitled to participate in important tribal discussions. There was no clan restriction as to performance. However, only those who had demonstrated bravery and industry were permitted to give the ceremony. 796 554

The principal officers of the Okipa were Lone Man and Hoita impersonators and the singers. They received their rights after undergoing formal training. For new officers, tribal recognition of their authority was given at a ceremonial feast held prior to the performance of the Okipa. Actually, one desiring to participate in the Okipa and being eligible according to the rules of inheritance underwent instruction at an early age, 796 793

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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114 After Catlin comes Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied.[1] During the winter of 1833–4 he passed several months among the Mandans, and has given us a minute and accurate account of the manners and customs of the people in so far as he observed them. In addition he has given one of the best vocabularies of Mandan and almost the only grammatical sketch of that language. This, though incomplete, is of great value. There is nothing romantic and imaginative in Maximilian's style and treatment of the Mandans, and he may be justly recognized as the best of the various authorities.

Besides these more important chroniclers of the Mandans there is a group of minor authorities to whom something is due for an occasional fact. Most of these men have taken their accounts almost wholly from the above first-hand narratives, making in some cases small additions of their own. First in this group is Patrick Gass,[2] a member of the Lewis and Clarke expedition. With the exception of McKenzie and Larocque,[3] two Northwest Company men who tell us scarcely anything, he is the only one of the minor authorities who writes from personal observation. The others are men who have only condensed what has been gathered by reading, such are Schoolcraft,[4] Hayden,[5] and Matthews.[6]

172 The remains which form a basis for the archaeological section
•361 of the present paper are part of a single village site. There are numerous other sites of a similar type scattered from the Grand River in South Dakota, to the north side of the Knife River in North Dakota. These sites are attributed to two different tribes, the Mandans and the Arikara. We may first consider the remains which seem to be of Mandan origin.

The field in which these sites are found is restricted to an area along the Missouri River from a few miles south of Apple

[1] Voyage en l'Amerique du Nord. Paris, 1843.

[2] Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a corps of Discovery under the command of Captain Lewis and Captain Clarke. Philadelphia, 1812.

[3] Journals in Masson, Les Bourgeois de la Campagnie du Nord-Ouest, vol. II. Quebec, 1889.

[4] Op. cit., vol. III, pp. 248 et seq.

[5] Contributions to the Ethnography and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley. Trans. Am. Philos. Soc. (N. S.), vol. XII, pp. 435 et seq.

[6] Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians. Washington, 1877.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Creek in Burleigh Co., North Dakota, to a point some fifteen miles south of the Knife River in Mercer Co., North Dakota, and this field is again subdivided into the historical and the more or less traditional sites. Of the former little will be said. They are the remains of villages which Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian, Catlin, and other early travellers visited, and are situated on the Missouri about fifteen miles below the Knife River. There is another small set of remains intermediate between the traditional and the historical, the stopping place between the former and the latter. These intermediate sites are on the south side of the Missouri on the bluffs southwest of Washburn, and are rather closely connected with several Arikara sites.

We are concerned here, however, with the oldest villages which were visited by only two white men who have left accounts, the Sieur de Verendrye, and McKenzie, whose account is mentioned by D. D. Mitchell in a letter to Schoolcraft. The question might be raised as to how it is known that the sites visited by Verendrye and McKenzie were the oldest ones. The statement of McKenzie that on his visit the Mandans lived in nine villages should suffice to establish this. According to all accounts, after the removal from the early sites the Mandans did not have at any time over five villages, and these soon shrank to even fewer. If McKenzie found nine villages in 1773 the Mandans must have been occupying the earlier sites, and certainly if they were there in 1773, they were very probably there in 1738. The further fact that Verendrye describes the Mandans as being in full power and prosperity shows also that they had as yet suffered none of the losses by disease and war which caused their removal to the later villages.

The location of these oldest Mandan sites comes up next for consideration. They were situated on the Missouri River near the Heart River, some above, some below, on both sides of the former, but the number of villages is uncertain. The location near the Heart is affirmed by all. Lewis and Clarke's Journal,[1] March 10, 1805, says, "The Mandans formerly lived in six (nine) large villages at and above the mouth of the Heart River." Maximilian[2] says, "After the first alliance with the

[1] Thwaites Edition, vol. I, p. 271. [2] Op. cit., p. 436.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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172 Hidatsa, the Mandans lived in eight or nine villages at and
175 above the Heart River."

361 The number of these ancient villages is a problem which it is impossible to settle definitely. Even an exact and thorough canvas of the ground cannot settle this, as changes of the river may have caused the entire disappearance of some sites. Historical and archaeological evidence alike leave one in doubt. Verendrye, who visited but one Mandan village, says, "I was answered that there were five forts on the two banks of the river . . . . . much larger than the one we are in."[1] But further on he makes this additional statement, "We noticed that in the plain were several small forts of forty to fifty huts . . . . . but no one was there. . . . . The forts in the plains were occupied during the summer to work their fields . . . . . there was a large store of reserve grain there."[2] Next in point of time comes Lewis and Clarke's account, from which may be given three extracts. "These villages, nine in number are scattered . . . . . for twenty miles, ... almost all that remains of them is the wall surrounding them and the fallen heaps of earth which covered the houses."[3] Again, "Within the recollection of living witnesses, the Mandans were settled . . . . in nine villages . . . . . about eighty miles below . . . . . seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri. The two . . . . . wasting before the smallpox and the Sioux united into one village and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras. The same causes reduced the seven to five . . . . . they immigrated . . . . . to the Ricara Nation . . . . ." Also,[4] "The Mandans formerly lived in six (nine) villages . . . four (six) on the west side, two (three) on the east. One of those on the east and the largest was entirely cut off by Sioux and smallpox."[5] Here is disagreement of the same authority both in the total number of villages and in the relative distribution on the two sides of the river.

Catlin is the next writer who gives a version of the tradition, and in his North American Indians[6] is the statement that the Mandans formerly lived down river in ten villages. Maximilian,

[1] Brymner: op. cit., p. 19. [2] Ibid., p. 23. [3] Oct. 22, 1804.
[4] Nov. 21, 1804. [5] Mar. 10, 1805. Thwaites Edition, I, p. 271. [6] p. 81.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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who next claims attention, gives at least two different versions of the story. In one place[1] he makes the statement that the Mandans formerly lived in thirteen or more villages, each had a name and they distinguished themselves thus: 1. Pheasant Village, 2. Village of (the people of) the West, 3. Bear Village, 4. Badger Village, 5. Prickly Pear Village, 6. Village of the Sulky Ones, because they separated from part of their nation to come up the Missouri. Here is a notable discrepancy between the stated number of villages and the number of names given. In another place he states[2] that after the first alliance with the Hidatsa the Mandans lived in eight or nine villages: 1. The South Village, 2. The Greatest Village, 3. The Scattered Village, 4. The Littlest Village, 5. The Village of Those Who Turn Back, 6. The Village on the Hill, 7. The Village of Those Who Separate their Legs, 8. The Village of Those Who Tattoo Themselves.

Thus the authorities not only disagree with each other, but even vary their own statements. Verendrye says six and a number of smaller ones; McKenzie, nine; Lewis and Clarke, from six to thirteen, at various times. Through all of these accounts, nine seems to be the favorite number, but it might hardly be safe to fix it at that. Perhaps the discrepancy can best be accounted for by remembering Verendrye's story of the summer villages, and the fact that Maximilian speaks of villages in the woods occupied for a short time during the worst of the winter. Another factor which may have a bearing on the matter is the old tradition mentioned by Maximilian[3] that the Hidatsa lived near the Mandans for a few years after their arrival, and before moving up to the Knife River. Considering these facts together with the prevailing traditional number of nine, it might be concluded that at the time of residence on the Heart River there were nine actual fixed villages, and an uncertain number of smaller and less fixed camps. This can be only regarded as a hypothesis.

Archaeological evidence is also conflicting on this subject. Lewis and Clarke noted a number of the remains in passing, and probably a series of quotations from them will best bring out

[1] Op. cit., p. 370. [2] Ibid., p. 436. [3] Ibid., p. 435.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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172 the points of location which should be emphasized. In Allen's
175 Lewis and Clarke are the following entries:

●361 "Oct. 19. 1804. We camped on the north opposite to the uppermost of a number of round hills. . . . . Near to one of these moles on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain are the remains of an old village. . . . . ."

"Oct. 20. After . . . . . twelve miles we encamped on the south at the upper part of a bluff . . . . . immediately below . . . . . are the remains of a village formerly occupied by the Mandans."

"Oct. 21. At two miles from our encampment . . . . . ruins of a second Mandan village . . . . . on the north at the foot of a hill in a beautiful . . . . . plain . . . . . nearly opposite are remains of a third village on the south . . . . . another . . . . . two miles further on the north. At a distance of seven miles we encamped. . . . . ."

"Oct. 22. We passed an old Mandan village on the south . . . . . at four miles another on the same side . . . . . at six we reached an island about one mile in length, at the head of which is a Mandan village on the north in ruins . . . . . at eight miles are remains of another Mandan village on the south."

Here is an actual description and more or less definite location of nine seemingly very noticeable village sites.

Maximilian's[1] notes on the subject come next with the following extracts: " . . . . a chain of hills called the mountains of the old Mandan village, for one of their villages had been where the river cuts the chain. . . . . It was at the foot of a chain of hills on a fine plain not far from the river. . . . . Here began the Mandan territory . . . . . [Later on same day] We cut wood near the mouth of Apple Creek."

"Next day we came in sight of Square Buttes. . . . . After eight hours we came to an old Mandan village on the right in the prairie."

The archaeological information collected by this party increases the uncertainty. No complete archaeological survey was attempted and the location of sites other than those personally visited will not be discussed. The accompanying map

[1] Op. cit., pp. 19 to 23.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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(Map I)[1] marks roughly the sites as judged from the above extracts from Lewis and Clarke, and more accurately the sites which have been actually seen in the course of this investigation. The first site encountered in the above extracts is approximately on the south bank of Apple Creek above some round, clay buttes. This one was not visited. The second site is on the west side of the river at the base of the hill on which the infantry post of Fort Abraham Lincoln was formerly located. This site was examined, and it is accurately marked on the map. Of the next two sites one on the east and one on the west, but little can be said. The first certainly is on the outskirts of the present town of Mandan. The other one possibly has disappeared in the river. At all events, the only corroboration found, after having been over the country, is a small site on the point of a bluff about one mile above the Northern Pacific Railroad bridge over the Missouri. It is not so plain as the others, nevertheless on a cursory investigation and excavation by our party it showed signs of lengthy occupation. The next site mentioned by Lewis and Clarke is stated to be "two miles further on the north and a little off the river." Of this no trace has been found, unless it be that at the Sperry farm. This one is about five miles above the other site; it is on a bluff, bordering what was formerly a creek, and is about two miles from the river. In some respects this fills the requirements, in point of distance, however, it hardly fits with the account.

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Of the locations of the three other villages on the west side of the river Lewis and Clarke's account does not furnish sufficiently accurate details, although a careful examination of the ground might make them clear. Only one more site is mentioned by Lewis and Clarke on the east, and this, it is believed, is the one where the excavations hereinafter described were made. This last site was by their reckoning about thirteen miles above their Fort Abraham Lincoln camp, at the head of an island. The site at which the excavation was carried on is probably fourteen miles north of their camp. It is at the head of a broad place in the river where there is a small island now. Mr. Burgois, who has lived in the neighborhood for a number of years, says that formerly the island was much

1 [See facing p. 85, cat. 116 — Analyst]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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larger. This is the only widening of the river where an island could form within the distance stated, and lastly the site is in a very conspicuous situation on the top of a hill. The earthworks are larger than is usual around the other sites, and in every respect the place is apt to attract the attention of any one passing up river.

At a distance of some three miles further up on the same side is another village site not quite as large. It is hidden now from the river by cottonwoods which have grown up in front of it; the site lies on the very edge of the first bench in a level plain. The finds there agree with those in the other places and it is very evidently a remnant of the same people. This gives four known sites on the east side.

On every hand thus it is evident that there is great uncertainty. The number of sites is far from certain. The sites cannot be absolutely identified even when historically described — neither locations nor distribution according with descriptions given. The fact that the Mandans have a tradition of the Hidatsa living near them for a while also adds to the confusion. But the tradition as given by Maximilian[1] states also that the Hidatsa were a roving people, and non-agricultural on their arrival. Consequently there would probably be little difficulty in distinguishing their sites. Moreover, the Hidatsa are supposed to have stayed there only four or five years, and then to have proceeded up to the Knife River.

One more phase of the location question remains to be discussed. The last disturbing feature in identifying the sites is the wandering of the Arikara who, as has been said, also left a number of village sites. It is probable, however, that the Heart River area was never occupied by them for any actual settlement. For this belief a number of reasons may be given. The Arikara are a branch of the Skidi Pawnee which split off through some quarrel and started off independently, reaching in the course of time the Missouri River and ascending it by stages. Their villages were stationary and much like the Mandans but none of them seem to have been as permanent as those of the latter. This fact offers one reason for supposing that such

[1] Op. cit., p. 435.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Heart River sites as were seen were not of Arikara origin, for the deposits in each place show a very long period of occupation. If the Arikara had just separated from the Pawnees at the time of Verendrye's visit, they certainly did not have time to accumulate such deposits before Lewis and Clarke came. 172 175 361

However, a brief consideration of what is known of their movements is still worth something though the evidence is negative. Verendrye[1] gives the following account of the Arikara: —

"At a day's journey from the last of these were the Panana ..... then the Panani. These two nations . . . were now at war for four years, had always . . . . been closely united . . . "

This extract seems to place the time of the separation at about 1734. The Arikara were seen in 1804 when Lewis and Clarke visited them, and at that time they lived in three villages at the mouth of the Grand River. On the way up, both on the Cheyenne and Moreau rivers old Arikara villages were noted and placed on the map. Later in 1812 Bradbury in the description of his journey says that they still occupied the Grand River site. However, during the period before Lewis and Clarke's arrival other moves had been made. Lewis and Clarke[2] state that after smallpox destroyed most of the Mandan nation, reducing them to one large and some small villages they moved up into the Arikara country where they lived many years in peace.

Alexander Henry[3] says that the Arikara and Mandans lived together in the same village thirty leagues down; they separated and the Arikara went down, the Mandans up till stopped by the Hidatsa.

Maximilian[4] states that thirty-seven years before, when Charboneau came, the Arikara lived on a point just above the largest Mandan village. After that they moved back down stream and the Mandans plundered their village.

The only point in all the above which seems to connect the Arikara with the Heart River sites is the statement by Henry that the two nations lived together at thirty leagues south. The circumstances of this seem to point to the site opposite Washburn, and it may be safe to consider his estimate of the

[1] Op. cit., 19.
[2] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 234.
[3] Nov. 12, 1804.
[4] Op. cit., p. 358.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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172 distance as an error in stating the story. The more so since
175 details coincide with accounts of the Washburn site.

Reviewing the whole question of the Arikara's locations,
361 there are:—a site on the Cheyenne River, one on the Moreau River, one on the Grand River, and one some fifty miles above the Heart River, near Washburn. In 1738 they were on or near the Grand, and there again in 1804. Maximilian says that before the smallpox the Mandans feared no one, but that the Arikara and the Cheyennes were their natural enemies. Taking into account the last statement and also the fact that during the period of sixty-six years the Arikara established such a number of villages, and, moreover, that the Mandan alliance with the Arikara is placed in all the traditions as after the fall of the Mandans, it may be safely stated that the Arikara are not responsible for any of the Heart River sites.

In the discussion the location and number of the sites has now been treated and there are points which should be emphasized. The only facts which are certain are that the Mandans formerly had at least six large villages in the neighborhood of the Heart River which were abandoned between 1772 and 1804, and that there are at least six old village sites which can still be located in that region. In addition there are the following which while not definitely proved, may be regarded as highly probable: that the Heart River sites are identical with the Mandan ones; that they cannot be attributed to the Hidatsa with any reason; and lastly that there is no proof for, and much circumstantial evidence against the belief that any of this group of sites is due to the Arikara. Details of culture, historical evidence, and archaeological finds, will reënforce belief in the mutual identity, and from now on all sites of the Heart River area will be considered as of Mandan origin.

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Island in South Dakota and was told by traders that there were 174
a number of others about that country. Maximilian was told
that the Mandans first touched the Missouri at White Earth 167
River in South Dakota, with which might be connected the reported existence of the remains of circular earth lodges in southern Wisconsin. Here are arguments for both theories; up to the present, however, the matter must remain unsettled until some careful investigation decides it.

HISTORY:—In the earliest historical accounts the Mandans 175
were firmly established in stationary villages in the neighbor-
hood of the Heart River. Verendrye says that they lived in 361
six large villages along the Mandan River, were a large and powerful nation and feared none of their neighbors, all of whom they dominated by their superior culture. Their manufactures [439]
were almost necessities among the other tribes, and in trade they were able to dictate their own terms. The forts he said were impregnable to Indians, being very well fortified. Verendrye visited the smallest village in which he said that there were one hundred and thirty houses by actual count. His son, who visited one of the larger villages, declared that it was twice as large, judging from which it can safely be assumed that there were at least one thousand houses in the several villages. Lewis
and Clarke declared that in the two villages of one hundred huts [161]
there were three hundred and fifty warriors; figuring at this rate there should have been at least fifteen thousand Mandans in 1738 dwelling prosperously in large and well-fortified towns.

For the next sixty-six years there is little information but 175
their own tradition. Judging from McKenzie's narrative they continued prosperous and powerful up to 1772 at least. He declared that at that time they lived in nine villages, large and near to each other, and could muster fifteen thousand warriors. The latter estimate is probably large, but the whole statement seems to show that no misfortune had come to them at that date. Their remaining history is summed up in their own tradition as related to Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian and others.

This tradition runs as follows:—Formerly they lived hap- 175
pily and prosperously in nine large villages on the Missouri 173
near the mouth of the Heart River. Six or seven of these vil-

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Henry says,[1] the men were tall, stout and well built. Maximilian also testifies along the same line: "Most of the Mandans are vigorous men, strong and large."[2] And adds later that they were a strong race, a little above medium height, possibly not as large as the Minnetarees, robust, with broad shoulders.[3] Judging from the information so far, the Mandans should be considered a large race, but on the other side there is the statement from Catlin[4] that the stature of the Mandans was below the ordinary, but they were well proportioned. All of these observers but Catlin thus speak of the Mandans as above average height. 141

For a further description of the Mandan physique there are only a few words from Maximilian,[5] who says that they had a less aquiline nose than their neighbors, less prominent cheek bones than the Dakotas; thin noses and straight; long, narrow eyes of a deep brown, a little raised and contracted at the inner corner; large mouth, large angular jaws, various shaped heads, but foreheads no lower on the average than among Europeans. 142

VILLAGES:—The Mandans, as has been said, were a sedentary tribe and lived in fixed villages for long periods of time. In these villages they built lasting lodges of a type similar to those of the Arikara, Omaha, and other tribes lower down the Missouri, though with small differences in the details of construction. The villages were usually well fortified, neat and orderly in the early days, but a considerable change seems to have come upon the people after their misfortunes, for there was much less care taken in the arrangement and fortification of the villages in their later locations. The first description of the Mandan village is from Verendrye, who makes it appear almost a model town. As this is the only description of the Mandan villages during the prosperity of the nation,[1] a summary of his account is here given:[6] 361 [171]

"Many people came to meet us but nothing in comparison with what appeared on the ramparts and along the trenches. . . . . Their fort can only be gained by steps or posts which can be removed when the enemy threatens. . . . . If all the forts are

[1] Op. cit., p. 341. [2] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 29. [3] Ibid., p. 372.
[4] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 28. [5] Op. cit., p. 37. [6] Op. cit., pp. 17-22.

[1] [ie., about 1738. See p. 86.-- Analyst]

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alike, they may be called impregnable to Indians. . . . . Their 36 / ●
fortifications are not Indian . . . . . Their fort is full of caves in which are stored such articles as grain, food. . . . . I walked about . . . . . their fort . . . . . there were one hundred and thirty of them [huts]. All the streets, squares and huts resembled each other . . . . . The streets and squares very clean, the ramparts very level and broad; the palisades supported on cross-pieces mortised into posts of fifteen feet. At fifteen points doubled are green skins which are put for sheathing when required, fastened only above and in places where needed. As in the bastions . . . . . at each curtain well flanked . . . . The fort is built on a height in the open prairie with a ditch upward of fifteen feet deep and fifteen to eighteen feet wide . . . . . The Sieur Nolant and my son arrived [from the other village] . . . . . The fort is on the bank of the river, as large again as this. The squares and streets were very fine and clean. Their palisade is in the best order and strength . . . . . built in the same fashion as the one in which we were. . . . . All their forts were alike . . . . . some much larger than others."

There is a little note from Schoolcraft[1] to add, who says that about 1750 the Mandans lived on the Heart River in nine villages surrounded by circular walls of earth, with no ditches. For this information, however, he cites no authority.

For the later Mandan villages there is something of a description from most of their visitors. Lewis and Clarke have very little to say on this subject, but Henry, Maximilian, and Catlin, all give good descriptions. Verendrye mentions squares and streets as though the early villages were arranged in some regular manner, while the very opposite seems to be true in the later visited places.

A composite description drawn from the various sources will perhaps give the best possible picture of the larger village below the Knife River. The whole town, according to Maximilian, had a very small diameter. It was situated in an extensive plain on a bluff about forty or fifty feet high on the south bank of the Missouri. From a distance it looked like a mass of mole hills, with numbers of grass blades growing be-

[1] Op. cit., vol. III, p. 248.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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tween, these were the scalp poles and effigies of the gods. The 361
ground on which the village was located was chosen for defence, the bluff on the river side went down perpendicularly, and the village was on a point jutting out into the river so that only one side needed protection. Across this point was a palisade 361
and inside this was a ditch, three to four feet deep according to 712
Catlin. The palisade, he says, was of timbers eighteen feet high and one or more feet in diameter, set far enough apart to allow of shooting between. The warriors stayed in the ditch in defending the palisade. Concerning this palisade Henry and Maximilian both mention that it was in very poor repair indeed, but Henry adds that he was told it could be put in good condition very soon, every person in the village lending a hand. There is yet no mention of bastions and ramparts such as Verendrye refers to, but Maximilian[1] describes something similar. He says that at the corners of the palisade in four places were arcs or bastions, which formed an angle open toward the village, and said to have been built by the whites. These were intrenchments in the form of an arc, covered with a matting of willow and having loop holes.

On entering the village it seemed to be a mass of circular 342
houses from forty to ninety feet in diameter, set down haphazard closely crowded together. The houses were of earth with a smooth coating of pounded clay on the top, where most of the inhabitants were usually stationed. Before each house 343
was a scaffold, fronting the covered entrance. These scaffolds were six feet high, twenty feet long and ten broad[2] and were used for hanging up corn and meat to dry. They had a good floor, also, which was covered in the fall with drying beans. The staging for drying corn and meat was made as follows:[3] posts were set up on the scaffolds themselves, across these rafters were laid, and upon these cross rafters or poles the corn, meat and sliced squashes were hung. Before almost every 778
house were one or more poles about twenty feet high, to which images of the gods, or sacrifices to them were attached.

In the center of the village was a large open space of about 000

[1] Op. cit., p. 31. [2] Henry: vol. I, p. 340. [3] Ibid.

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In the center of the village was a large open space of about four acres[1] and in the center of this was the "Ark of the First Man." This was in the shape of a hogshead, of planks and hoops.[2] It was open above, the planks were embedded in the ground, and the hoops were branches tied around to hold these together. The Mandans called this the Big Canoe[3] and in it were some of their greatest medicines. This open space was the seat of all their festivals, dances and ceremonies, and here also they played their games of Chungkee or Skohpe. The space was closely surrounded by houses placed at equal distances apart and all facing the center. The largest of these lodges on the south side of the area was the medicine lodge, and on a pole above this was a figure of skin, with a carved wooden head, which represented the Evil Spirit. 361 778 [346]

About one quarter of a mile or less to the south of the village was a race-course; a hundred or more scaffolds on which the dead were deposited; slides for their games were also made outside the palisades. The ground about the houses was honeycombed with pits and caches in which most of the food and many of the valuables of the inhabitants were stored. The house roofs formed a general repository where bull boats, buffalo skulls, pottery, sledges and people were scattered promiscuously over the rounded surface, around the edge of which Bradbury says they built a sort of low railing. 361 [764] [351]

HOUSES:—The houses themselves were many times described, sometimes with considerable variation, and it is highly probable that there was more or less variation of construction in the minor details. They were distinguished from those of the Arikara in that the ground was first excavated, and that they were rather hemispherical, whereas the houses of the latter were more conical, like those of the Pawnee. Catlin[4] places the average size of the houses at from forty to sixty feet in diameter, depending on the size and importance of the family, and Henry[5] tells us that the one in which he himself stayed was ninety feet in diameter. 342 [171]

[1] Henry: vol. I, p. 338. "Sixty feet across," Maximilian: p. 386; "One hundred and fifty feet," Catlin: vol. I, p. 88.

[2] Catlin gives this as eight to ten feet high, Maximilian as four or five.

[3] Catlin: vol. I, p. 88. [4] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 81.

[5] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 338.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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SECTION II.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

X172 As has been stated, the villages of the earliest known period centered about the mouth of Heart River, with Square Butte Creek for the northern and Apple Creek for the southern limit. Several sites in this area were examined, and one site, in almost all respects the best, was somewhat extensively explored.

X172 ●361 133 Of the village sites which were only incidentally studied, the most southern was that on the west bank of the Missouri near old Fort Abraham Lincoln. This village, roughly triangular in shape, occupied a bench bounded on one side by an old wash bank of the river, on another side by a deep narrow coulée, and on the remaining side by a high, steep hill. The mounds are low and indefinite in outline and evidently much disturbed. On the river side there is an extensive talus composed largely of refuse. Here there has also been a considerable landslide. On the side nearest the hill there are traces of a ditch, this side being the only one not protected by nature.

Another site, possessing natural defenses of the highest order, is located about three miles northwest of Bismarck, on the east bank of the river. Here, a promontory with a level, circular summit is almost entirely cut off from the high bench by deep precipitous ravines. The narrow neck, as shown in Map II,[1] was protected by a ditch and wall. The ditch and wall show two ox-bow like protuberances which may be the remains of a well-flanked gate. A ditch is also seen at a point on the river side where the hill-slope is less steep than usual. On the northern side, is a sort of platform along the hillside, about ten feet below the crest. This may be the remains of a ditch and wall, so placed that the higher level of the village would be a vantage point in defense of the palisades. This will be referred to as the Ward site.

[1] [facing p. 198]

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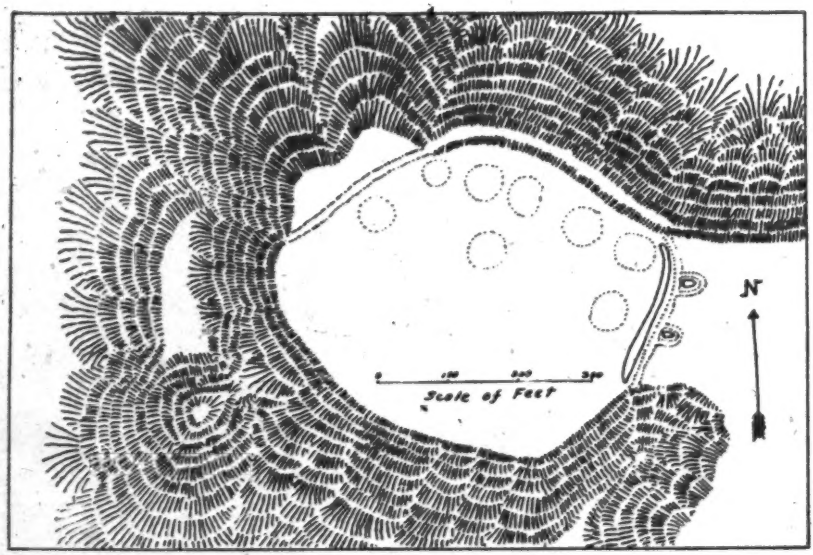
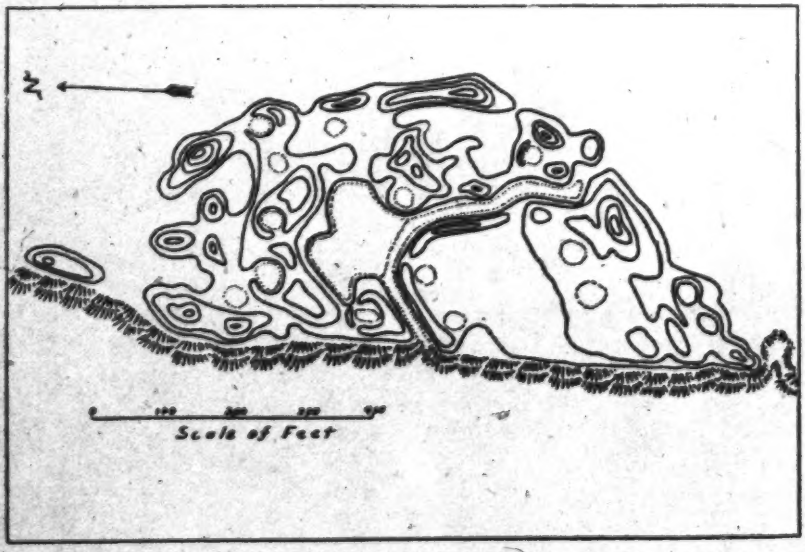


MAP II. THE WARD SITE.
Dotted lines surround sunken areas.



MAP III. LARSON SITE.
Dotted lines surround sunken areas. Contour interval is two feet.

[Facing p. 148]

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A third village location, the Larson site, is almost devoid of any natural defenses. It is situated on the east bank of the river, about seventeen miles above Bismarck. This village was built upon the edge of a wide, level bench which ranges only about thirty feet above the flood plain of the Missouri. As may be seen by Map III,[1] the remains consist of a well-marked ditch which traverses the central portion of the site, a sunken area near one end of the ditch, and a series of mounds, the largest of which are on the margin of the site. Unfortunately, the plow has disturbed the original contours of the mounds. Moreover, there is some evidence that the river may have cut away the bank and destroyed part of the site. The position of the larger mounds on the outer edge is in accordance with the theory that they were fortifications. But the position of the ditch is something of a mystery. Instead of surrounding the site, it seems to cut across it and divide it into two nearly equal parts. Adjoining the ditch, and near the wash bank, is a large sunken area which may have been the town square.

The Burgois site (Plates XXVIII, XXIX), which furnished the principal material for this paper, is about fourteen miles northwest of Bismarck, on the east bank of the river. It is conspicuously placed on the summit of a high bluff which commands a fine view up and down stream. Above the site, the Missouri swings in a wide curve known as Mountaineer Bend, at the upper end of which is situated the Larson site previously described. Below, the river spreads into a maze of islands and sand bars. It seems reasonable that this village may be identified with the one described by Lewis and Clark as being at the head of a large island, the island having since disintegrated.

On the south, about one hundred yards from the outer limits of the village remains, is a deep ravine; to the north and east there is a gentle slope towards the level prairie land. Below the bluff, stretch the bottom lands, partly meadow-land and partly timbered with cotton-wood, ash and diamond willow.

The remains extend for thirteen hundred feet along the edge of the bluff and eight hundred feet back. They comprise, first, mounds from one to ten feet in height; second, continuous ditches; third, circular, slightly sunken house rings; fourth,

[1] [facing p. 148.]

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small sunken areas marking old cache pits. Map IV[1] gives a general survey of the village. In this map the natural configuration of the land is represented in hachures, while the artificial mounds and depressions are represented, as well as the simple means at hand would permit, by contour lines with an interval of two feet.

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The large mounds are on the outside of the village site. They form a more or less continuous chain of earthworks, outside of, and between the two encircling ditches. If Verendrye spoke the truth in regard to the neatness and cleanness of the Mandan villages, these large mounds could not well have been dump heaps as some investigators appear to think. A more natural dump heap is located along the bluff front. It is more reasonable to identify them with the earth ramparts and bastions which, he says, were wide enough to allow the game of Skohpe to be played upon them. Moreover, there is a strategic fitness in many of them in regard to shape and location. Thus Mound *a* guards admirably the approach from the ravine south of the village. Two crescent mounds, *g* and *j*, would be strongholds in defense of the village. Many of the mounds, for instance *a* and *c*, have wall-like protuberances, which may have been extended breastworks.

The mounds, as may be seen by the map, are of various shapes and sizes. Mound *a*, the largest, is nearly a perfect rectangle, except for the irregular line of small mounds attached to one corner. It measures about one hundred and twenty feet in length, and is about eight feet high. Most of the larger mounds are of approximately the same height. Two mounds, *g* and *j*, before mentioned, are distinctly crescent-shaped. The other large mounds are either oval in shape or are irregular with two or more summits.

The smaller mounds are, for the most part, between the two ditches. They are irregular in shape, and range from a few inches in height to three or four feet. A few low mounds are found outside the circle of large mounds.

There are two ditches. The inner ditch, *y*, *y*, *y*, can be traced throughout its course, but the outer ditch, *z*, *z*, *z*, appears broken. The inner ditch encircles an area about five hundred

[1] [Facing p. 151.]

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feet in diameter which is devoid of any large mounds, and is marked by house rings and cache pits. Between the inner and outer ditches there are, in addition to the mounds, a few house rings. The ditches, in their deepest portions, are not more than three feet deep, though they were originally much deeper. A cross-section of the ditch, at the point marked *u*, shows it to have been nine feet deep and twenty feet wide.

The house sites were mostly in the interior of the village. They are marked by rings each with a slight depression in the center. After the prairie grass becomes brown, these depressions are marked by green patches. The house rings vary somewhat in size, averaging about forty feet in diameter. They are close together, but are sometimes arranged in more or less regular rows leaving what may roughly be termed streets.

Small depressions mark the location of old caches. These depressions are scattered over the entire area both inside and outside the ditches. Some have dropped in to a depth of two or three feet, but most of them show only a slight hollow. Frequently they occur in groups of three or four. Investigation disclosed the presence of these cache pits under the mounds and in the house sites.

Before entering upon an account of the work carried on at the Burgois site an attempt will be made to correlate the features of this site with the descriptions of the villages as they were actually seen. Verendrye tells us of the village surrounded by a piquet eighteen feet high and a ditch fifteen feet deep by eighteen feet across. This was protected by bastions and ramparts covering the piquet. We have the ditch, two in this case, as if the village had outgrown its original bounds; and on making a cross section of the ditch it was found to be nearly as large as described. Digging on the inner side of the ditch showed no sign of the piquet. Catlin tells us, however, that the piquet was only outside. The large surrounding mounds agree with the description of bastions and ramparts. The circles mark the sites of the round earth-houses, and the small depressions show where the caches described by every visitor were located. The greatest difficulty was identifying the large village square or ceremonial place. Inside the first ditch, in

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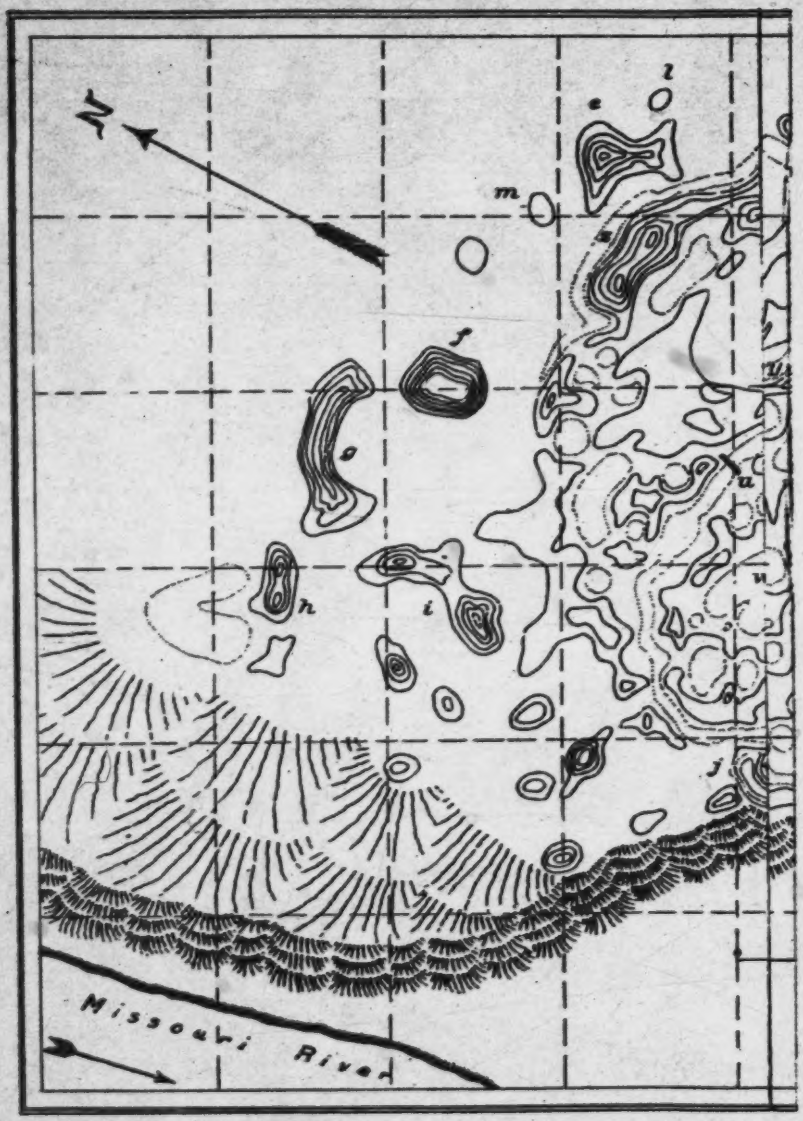

MAP IV. JR6
Contour interval is two feet. Dotted lines sunken

[Folded map facing p. 151 (A)]

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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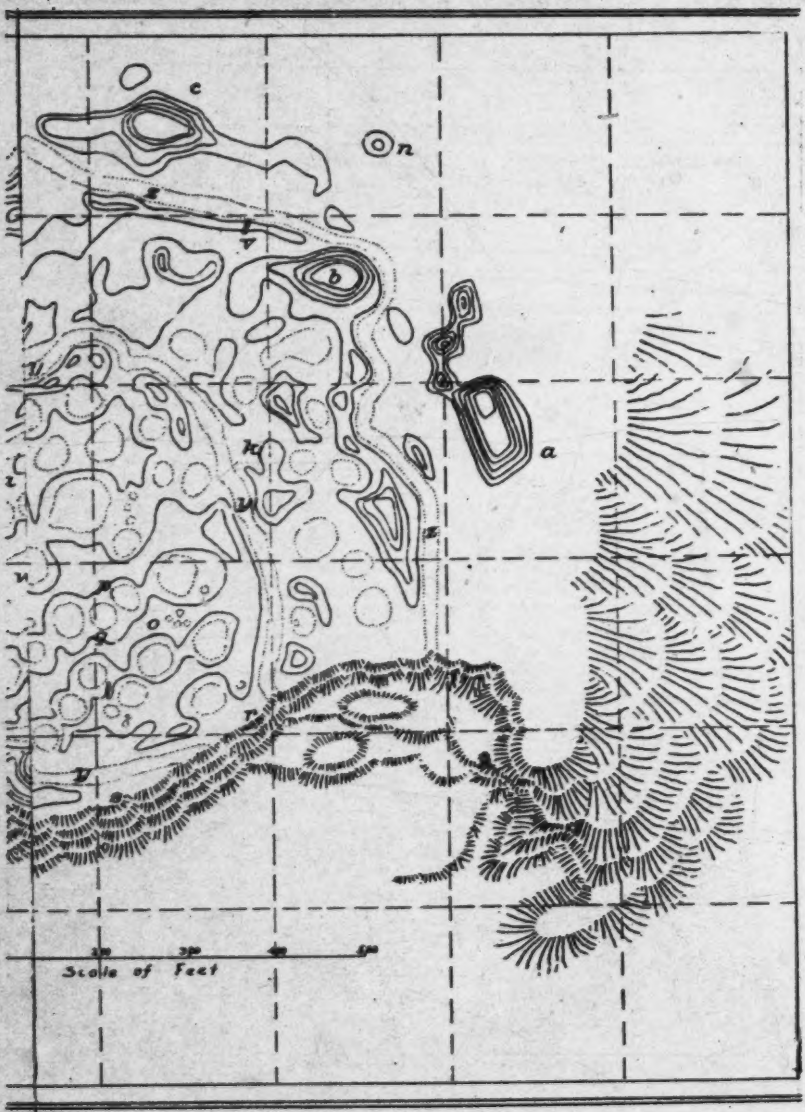

V. ARGOIS SITE.
sunken areas. Hatchures show natural configuration

[Folded map facing p. 151 (B)]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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the very center of the village is an area of about the right size, but it is broken by three rings which appear to be house rings, one larger than any of the others. Between the first ditch and the second, however, there is a large open space of the proper dimensions and unmarred by any rings or mounds (*x*). It answers the description except that it is not located in the center of the village. It might be possible that the first place was originally the public square, but as the village grew beyond the first ditch the square was moved to a better site and the old one was built over. Of the cemetery, of course no trace is now discoverable, although one of the bundles of bones was found buried. It is not related how or where bones taken from the scaffold were buried, and so the find can not be connected with what is historically described.

X172

MOUNDS:—The first work (Work 1) was done on the largest of the out-lying mounds (Map IV, Plates XXVIII, XXIX, XXX). This mound is about a hundred and twenty feet long by sixty or seventy wide. It slopes up gently from the west end for about thirty feet, then runs along almost flat until within ten feet of the other end, where it suddenly drops off. It is almost rectangular in shape. The west end of the mound was divided off into squares of five feet, and excavation was then begun along the entire end, and carried into the mound, preserving at all times a vertical face. This mound rested on a solid clay hardpan, from which the sod seemed to have been cleared before building the mound. The excavation was always carried a little below this hardpan level. The mound seemed to be built of refuse spread on in layers. Very little in the way of valuable remains was found on the edge of the mound, small fragments of pottery, a pocket of rocks, a pocket of bone, charcoal and pottery and two or three pockets of large bones, charcoal and pottery chips being the only things noted. These pockets all began about one foot below the surface of the mound. At the beginning of the excavation, from the surface to hardpan the depth was eight to twelve inches; by the time the work had been carried in fifteen feet the face of the excavation was from one and a half to two and a half feet high. At about the six-foot line the first of a

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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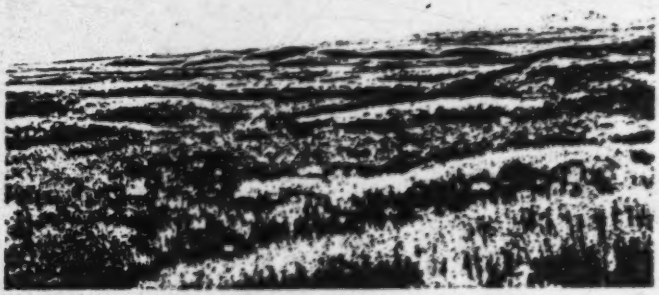
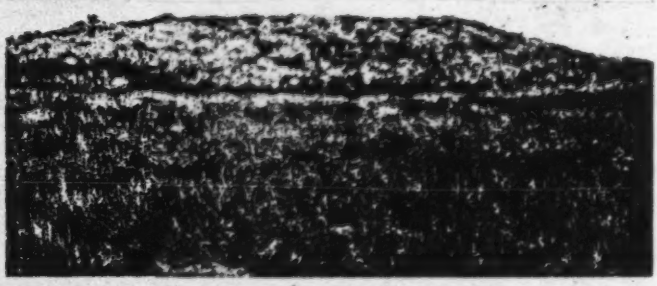
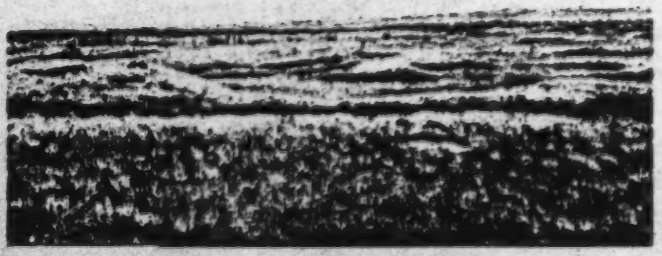


1. GENERAL VIEW OF BURGOIS VILLAGE SITE.



2. MOUND A, BURGOIS VILLAGE SITE.



3. DITCH AND HOUSE RINGS, BURGOIS VILLAGE SITE.

[facing page 152]

HELIOTYPE CO., BOSTON.

291 garment, with open sleeves, and a girdle round the waist; the hem of this dress is often scolloped and fringed; they ornament the wrists with iron rings, and tie strings of glass beads round their necks, and sometimes in their ears. Their leggins, called, by the Canadians, mitasse, are short, reaching only from the ankle to the knee. Their shoes are simple, and without any ornament.

301 Tattooing is in use among these people, but by no means general. Most commonly only the left half of the breast and the corresponding arm are marked with black parallel stripes, and a few other figures. The lower arm and some of the fingers are occasionally marked; the men do not tattoo their faces, and they are far inferior in this art to the New Zealanders and other nations of the South Seas. Among the women such designs are sometimes seen, but not [56 I] frequently, and they are chiefly among the women's band of the white buffalo cow.[1] The point of the needle is dyed a dark blue with the bark of the willow soaked in water.

302 171 In Major Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains it is stated that the Crows rub their bodies with castoreum, on account of its pleasant scent. I must observe, however, that the custom is not confined to one nation, but is practised by the Mandans, Manitaries, Crows, and Blackfeet, and most of the other tribes of the Upper Missouri. They mix the castoreum with a red colour, and with it rub their face and frequently their hair.

361 712 Having obtained a clear idea of the outward appearance of these Indians, we will next consider their habitations, villages, and domestic life. Their villages are assemblages of clay huts, of greater or less extent, placed close to each other, without regard to order. Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, the largest of the Mandan villages, was about 150 or 200 paces in diameter, the second was much smaller. The circumference forms an irregular circle, and was sociently surrounded with strong posts, or palisades, which have, however, gradually disappeared as the natives used them for fuel in the cold winters. At four places, at nearly equal distances from each other, is a bastion built of clay, furnished with loop-holes, and lined both within and without with basket-work of willow branches. They form an angle, and are open towards the village; the earth is filled in between the basket-work; and it is said that these bulwarks, which are now in a

[1] [This is one of the women's age-grade societies.--Analyst.]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

state of decay, were erected for the Indians by the Whites. There is nothing of the kind at Ruhptare. The huts, as I have before remarked, stand close to each other, leaving, in the centre, an open circular space, about sixty paces in diameter, in the centre of which (among the Mandans) the ark of the first man is set up,[1] of which we shall speak in the sequel. It is a small cylinder, open above, made of planks, about four or five feet high, fixed in the ground, and bound with climbing plants, or pliable boughs, to hold them together (see the woodcut, p. 342). 361 712

At the north end of this circular space is the medicine lodge, in which festivals are celebrated, and certain customs practised, which are connected with the religious notions of this people, which we shall treat of in the sequel. At the top of a high pole, a figure is here placed, made of skins, with a wooden head, the face painted black, and wearing a fur cap and feathers, which is intended to represent the evil spirit, Ochkib-Hadda (corresponding with the devil), or a wicked man, as they affirm, who once appeared among them, had neither wife nor child, and vanished, and whom they now stand greatly in dread of. Other grotesque figures, made of skins and bundles of twigs, we saw hanging on high poles, most of them being offerings to the deity. Among the huts are many stages of several stories, supported by poles, on which they dry the maize. The huts themselves are of a circular form, slightly vaulted, having a sort of portico entrance. When the inmates are absent the entrance is shut up with twigs and thorns; and if they wish merely to close the door they put up a skin stretched out on a frame, which is shoved aside on entering. In the centre of the roof is a square opening for the smoke to find vent, over which is a circular sort of screen made of twigs, as a protection against the wind and rain, and which, when necessary, is covered with skins (see woodcut). 361 346 778 [343] 342

The interior of the hut is spacious, tolerably light, and cleanly. Four strong pillars towards the middle, with several cross beams, support the roof. The inner circumference of the hut is formed by eleven or fifteen thick posts, four or five feet in height, between which other rather shorter ones are placed close to each other. On these shorter posts, which are all of an equal

1 [This shrine, the sacred cedar, represents the culture hero's body. See Category 116, Source 2: Bower, pp. 24, 116 for a more up-to-date summary.--Analyst]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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names. I subjoin a few singular specimens: "The bear which is a spirit;" "The bull which is a spirit;" "I hear somebody coming;" "There are seven of them married to old women," &c.

In conclusion I would say that some have affirmed that they have found, in North America, Indians who spoke the Gaelic language; this has been said of the Mandans; but it has long been ascertained that this notion is unfounded, as well as the assertion that the Mandans had a fairer complexion than the other Indians.

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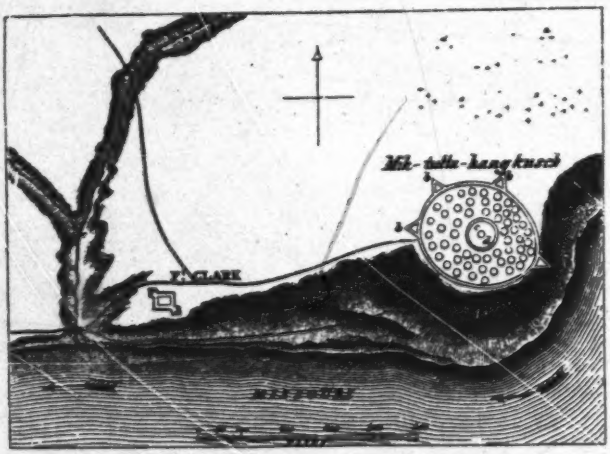

a Scaffolds for the dead, and poles with offerings. Vignette XIV., p. 361. Plate XXV. and p. 369.

b The Mandan village—Mih-tutta-hang-knach.

c The open space in the centre of the village.

d The ark of the first man, p. 342.

e The stream in which the dishes are washed.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LETTER—No. 11.

MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

080 I SAID that I was here in the midst of a strange people, which is literally true; and I find myself surrounded by subjects and scenes worthy the pens of Irving or Cooper—of the pencils of Raphael or Hogarth; rich in legends and romances, which would require no aid of the imagination for a book or a picture.

101 The Mandans (or See-pohs-kah-nu-mah-kah-kee, "people of the pheasants," as they call themselves), are perhaps one of the most ancient tribes o. Indians in our country. Their origin, like that of all the other tribes is from necessity, involved in mystery and obscurity. Their traditions and peculiarities I shall casually recite in this or future epistles; which when understood, will at once, I think, denominate them a peculiar and distinct race. They take great pride in relating their traditions, with regard to their origin; contending that they were the *first* people created on earth. Their existence in these regions has not been from a very ancient period; and, from what I could learn of their traditions, they have, at a former period, been a very numerous and powerful nation; but by the continual wars which have existed between them and their neighbours, they have been reduced to their present numbers.

This tribe is at present located on the west bank of the Missouri, about 1800 miles above St. Louis, and 200 below the Mouth of Yellow Stone river. They have two villages only, which are about two miles distant from
● 361 each other; and number in all (as near as I can learn), about 2000 souls. Their present villages are beautifully located, and judiciously also, for defence against the assaults of their enemies. The site of the lower (or principal) town, in particular (PLATE 45), is one of the most beautiful and pleasing that can be seen in the world, and even more beautiful than imagination could ever create. In the very midst of an extensive valley (embraced within a thousand graceful swells and parapets or mounds of interminable green, changing to blue, as they vanish in distance) is built the city, or principal town of the Mandans. On an extensive plain (which is covered with a green turf, as well as the hills and dales, as far as the eye can possibly range, without tree or bush to be seen) are to be seen rising from the ground, and towards the heavens, domes—(not "of gold," but)

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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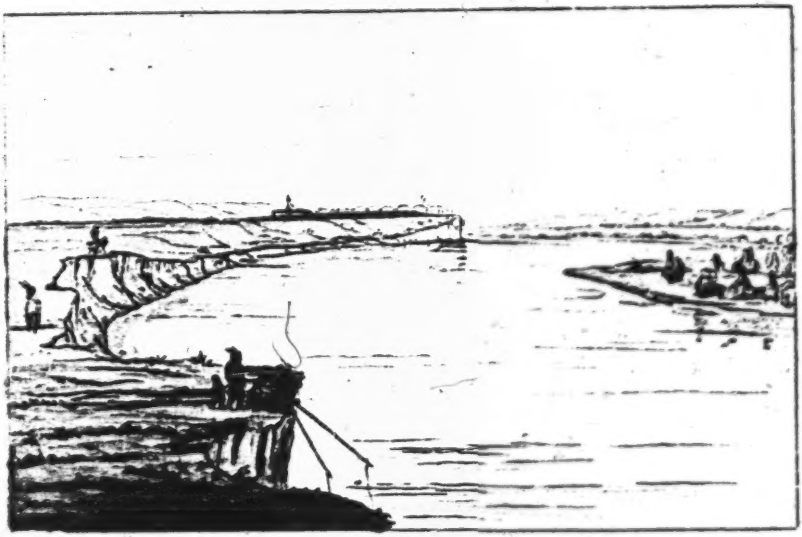

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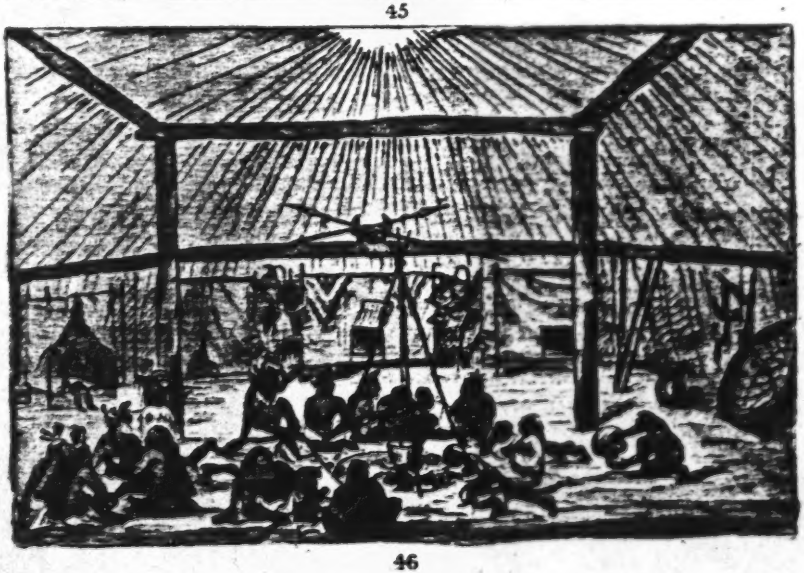

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[facing p. 80]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

361 of dirt—and the thousand spears (not "spires") and scalp-poles, &c. &c., of the semi-subterraneous village of the hospitable and gentlemanly Mandans.

174 These people formerly (and within the recollection of many of their oldest men) lived fifteen or twenty miles farther down the river, in ten contiguous villages; the marks or ruins of which are yet plainly to be seen. At that period, it is evident, as well from the number of lodges which their villages contained, as from their traditions, that their numbers were much greater than at the present day.

There are other, and very interesting, traditions and historical facts relative to a still prior location and condition of these people, of which I shall speak more fully on a future occasion. From these, when they are promulged, I think there may be a pretty fair deduction drawn, that they formerly occupied the lower part of the Missouri, and even the Ohio and Muskingum, and have gradually made their way up the Missouri to where they now are.

There are many remains on the river below this place (and, in fact, to be seen nearly as low down as St. Louis), which shew clearly the peculiar construction of Mandan lodges, and consequently carry a strong proof of the above position. While descending the river, however, which I shall commence in a few weeks, in a canoe, this will be a subject of interest; and I shall give it close examination.

361 The ground on which the Mandan village is at present built, was admi-
712 rably selected for defence; being on a bank forty or fifty feet above the bed of the river. The greater part of this bank is nearly perpendicular, and of solid rock. The river, suddenly changing its course to a right-angle, protects two sides of the village, which is built upon this promontory or angle; they have therefore but one side to protect, which is effectually done by a strong piquet, and a ditch inside of it, of three or four feet in depth. The piquet is composed of timbers of a foot or more in diameter, and eighteen feet high, set firmly in the ground at sufficient distances from each other to admit of guns and other missiles to be fired between them. The ditch (unlike that of civilized modes of fortification) is inside of the piquet, in which their warriors screen their bodies from the view and weapons of their enemies, whilst they are reloading and discharging their weapons through the piquets.

361 The Mandans are undoubtedly secure in their villages, from the attacks of
342 any Indian nation, and have nothing to fear, except when they meet their enemy on the prairie. Their village has a most novel appearance to the eye of a stranger; their lodges are closely grouped together, leaving but just room enough for walking and riding between them; and appear from without, to be built entirely of dirt; but one is surprised when he enters them, to see the neatness, comfort, and spacious dimensions of these earth-covered dwellings. They all have a circular form, and are from forty to sixty feet in diameter. Their foundations are prepared by digging some two feet in the ground, and forming the floor of earth, by levelling the requisite size for

361 342 the lodge. These floors or foundations are all perfectly circular, and varying in size in proportion to the number of inmates, or of the quality or standing of the families which are to occupy them. The superstructure is then produced, by arranging, inside of this circular excavation, firmly fixed in the ground and resting against the bank, a barrier or wall of timbers, some eight or nine inches in diameter, of equal height (about six feet) placed on end, and resting against each other, supported by a formidable embankment of earth raised against them outside; then, resting upon the tops of these timbers or piles, are others of equal size and equal in numbers, of twenty or twenty-five feet in length, resting firmly against each other, and sending their upper or smaller ends towards the centre and top of the lodge; rising at an angle of forty-five degrees to the apex or sky-light, which is about three or four feet in diameter, answering as a chimney and a sky-light at the same time. The roof of the lodge being thus formed, is supported by beams passing around the inner part of the lodge about the middle of these poles or timbers, and themselves upheld by four or five large posts passing down to the floor of the lodge. On the top of, and over the poles forming the roof, is placed a complete mat of willow-boughs, of half a foot or more in thickness, which protects the timbers from the dampness of the earth, with which the lodge is covered from bottom to top, to the depth of two or three feet; and then with a hard or tough clay, which is impervious to water, and which with long use becomes quite hard, and a lounging place for the whole family in pleasant weather—for sage— for wooing lovers—for dogs and all; an airing place—a look-out—a place for gossip and mirth—a seat for the solitary gaze and meditations of the stern warrior, who sits and contemplates the peaceful mirth and happiness that is breathed beneath him, fruits of his hard-fought battles, on fields of desperate combat with bristling Red Men.

342 353 The floors of these dwellings are of earth, but so hardened by use, and swept so clean, and tracked by bare and moccassined feet, that they have almost a polish, and would scarcely soil the whitest linen. In the centre, [354] and immediately under the sky-light (PLATE 46) is the fire-place—a hole of four or five feet in diameter, of a circular form, sunk a foot or more below the surface, and curbed around with stone. Over the fire-place, and suspended from the apex of diverging props or poles, is generally seen the pot or kettle, filled with buffalo meat; and around it are the family, reclining in all the most picturesque attitudes and groups, resting on their buffalo-robes [592] and beautiful mats of rushes. These cabins are so spacious, that they hold from twenty to forty persons—a family and all their connexions. They all 352 sleep on bedsteads similar in form to ours, but generally not quite so high; made of round poles rudely lashed together with thongs. A buffalo skin, fresh stripped from the animal, is stretched across the bottom poles, and about two feet from the floor; which, when it dries, becomes much contracted, and forms a perfect sacking-bottom. The fur side of this skin is placed uppermost, on which they lie with great comfort, with a buffalo-robe

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LETTER—No. 12.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

000 In my last, I gave some account of the village, and the customs, and appearances of this strange people,—and I will now proceed to give further details on that subject.

I have this morning, perched myself upon the top of one of the earth-covered lodges, which I have before described, and having the whole village beneath and about me (PLATE 47), with its sachems—its warriors—its dogs—and its horses in motion—its medicines (or mysteries) and scalp-poles waving over my head—its piquets—its green fields and prairies, and river in full view, with the din and bustle of the thrilling panorama that is about me. I shall be able, I hope, to give some sketches more to the life than I could have done from any effort of recollection.

• 361 I said that the lodges or wigwams were covered with earth—were of forty or sixty feet in diameter, and so closely grouped that there was but just room enough to walk and ride between them,—that they had a door by which to enter them, and a hole in the top for the admission of light, and for the smoke to escape,—that the inmates were at times grouped upon their tops in conversations and other amusements, &c.; and yet you know not exactly how they look, nor what is the precise appearance of the strange world that is about me. There is really a newness and rudeness in every thing that is to be seen. There are several hundred houses or dwellings about me, and they are purely unique—they are all covered with dirt—the people are all red, and yet distinct from all other red folks I have seen. The horses are wild—every dog is a wolf—the whole moving mass are strangers to me: the living, in everything, carry an air of intractable wildness about them, and the dead are not buried, but dried upon scaffolds.

The groups of lodges around me present a very curious and pleasing appearance, resembling in shape (more nearly than anything else I can compare them to) so many potash-kettles inverted. On the tops of these are to 461 be seen groups standing and reclining, whose wild and picturesque appearance it would be difficult to describe. Stern warriors, like statues, standing in dignified groups, wrapped in their painted robes, with their heads decked and plumed with quills of the war-eagle; extending their long arms to

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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[facing p. 87]

461 the east or the west, the scenes of their battles, which they are recounting over to each other. In another direction, the wooing lover, softening the heart of his fair Taih-nah-tai-a with the notes of his simple lute. On other lodges, and beyond these, groups are engaged in games of the "moccasin," or the "platter." Some are to be seen manufacturing robes and dresses, and others, fatigued with amusements or occupations, have stretched their limbs to enjoy the luxury of sleep, whilst basking in the sun. With all this wild and varied medley of living beings are mixed their dogs, which seem to be so near an Indian's heart, as almost to constitute a material link of his existence.

361 In the centre of the village is an open space, or public area, of 150 feet in diameter, and circular in form, which is used for all public games and 778 festivals, shews and exhibitions; and also for their "annual religious ceremonies," which are soon to take place, and of which I shall hereafter give some account. The lodges around this open space front in, with their doors towards the centre; and in the middle of this circle stands an object of great religious veneration, as I am told, on account of the importance it has in the conduction of those annual religious rites.

778 This object is in form of a large hogshead, some eight or ten feet high, made of planks and hoops, containing within it some of their choicest medicines or mysteries, and religiously preserved unhacked or scratched, as a symbol of the "Big Canoe," as they call it.

One of the lodges fronting on this circular area, and facing this strange object of their superstition, is called the "Medicine Lodge," or council house. It is in this sacred building that these wonderful ceremonies, in commemoration of the flood, take place. I am told by the Traders that the cruelties of these scenes are frightful and abhorrent in the extreme; and that this huge wigwam, which is now closed, has been built exclusively for this grand celebration. I am every day reminded of the near approach of the season for this strange affair, and as I have not yet seen any thing of it, I cannot describe it; I know it only from the relations of the Traders who have witnessed parts of it; and their descriptions are of so extraordinary a character, that I would not be willing to describe until I can see for myself, —which will, in all probability, be in a few days.

351 In ranging the eye over the village from where I am writing, there is 778 presented to the view the strangest mixture and medley of unintelligible trash (independant of the living beings that are in motion), that can possibly be imagined. On the roofs of the lodges, besides the groups of living, are buffaloes' skulls, skin canoes, pots and pottery; sleds and sledges—and suspended on poles, erected some twenty feet above the doors of their wigwams, are displayed in a pleasant day, the scalps of warriors, preserved as trophies; and thus proudly exposed as evidence of their warlike deeds. In other parts are raised on poles the warriors' pure and whitened shields and quivers, with medicine-bags attached; and here and there a sacrifice of red

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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[facing p. 132]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

300 ingly grotesque and amusing, and that part of them which has a relation to the Deluge is harmless and full of interest.

361 In the centre of the Mandan village is an open, circular area of 150 feet diameter, kept always clear, as a public ground, for the display of all their public feasts, parades, &c. and around it are their wigwams placed as near to each other as they can well stand, their doors facing the centre of this public area.

778 796 In the middle of this ground, which is trodden like a hard pavement, is a curb (somewhat like a large hogshead standing on its end) made of planks (and bound with hoops), some eight or nine feet high, which they religiously preserve and protect from year to year, free from mark or scratch, and which they call the "big canoe"—it is undoubtedly a symbolic representation of a part of their traditional history of the Flood; which it is very evident, from this and numerous other features of this grand ceremony, they have in some way or other received, and are here endeavouring to perpetuate by vividly impressing it on the minds of the whole nation. This object of superstition, from its position, as the very centre of the village is the rallying point of the whole nation. To it their devotions are paid on various occasions of feasts and religious exercises during the year; and in this extraordinary scene it was often the nucleus of their mysteries and cruelties, as I shall shortly describe them, and becomes an object worth bearing in mind, and worthy of being understood.

796 805 773 This exciting and appalling scene, then, which is familiarly (and no doubt correctly) called the "Mandan religious ceremony," commences, not on a particular day of the year, (for these people keep no record of days or weeks), but at a particular season, which is designated by the full expansion of the willow leaves under the bank of the river; for according to their tradition, "the twig that the bird brought home was a willow bough, and had full-grown leaves on it," and the bird to which they allude, is the mourning or turtle-dove, which they took great pains to point out to me, as it is often to be seen feeding on the sides of their earth-covered lodges, and which, being, as they call it, a *medicine-bird*, is not to be destroyed or harmed by any one, and even their dogs are instructed not to do it injury.

796 On the morning on which this strange transaction commenced, I was sitting at breakfast in the house of the Trader, Mr. Kipp, when at sun-rise, we were suddenly startled by the shrieking and screaming of the women, and barking and howling of dogs, as if an enemy were actually storming their village.

"Now we have it!" (exclaimed *mine host*, as he sprang from the table,) the grand ceremony has commenced!—drop your knife and fork, Monsr. and get your sketch-book as soon as possible, that you may lose nothing, for the very moment of *commencing* is as curious as anything else of this strange affair." I seized my sketch-book, and all hands of us were in an instant in front of the medicine-lodge, ready to see and to hear all that was to take place. Groups of women and children were gathered on the tops of

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

177 white, would be favorably predisposed toward white ways. But the descend-
121 ants of the previously mentioned Irishman are biologically part white, yet they remain unacculturated; and there are three families who have had a white model but who have not become acculturated. Another possible explanation is that the lighter skin color per se allows the children of mixed marriages to "pass" in local white society. The data does not confirm this notion either, as an Indian's ability to be accepted by local whites depends upon how he behaves rather than upon his racial characteristics. A series of relevant factors in the total situation, when taken together, do give at least partial understanding of the importance of white intermarriage. They add up to a picture of such extreme psychological and social isolation of the Indian people that a white person married into the family becomes the primary agent by which white ways and values are learned and internalized.

131 Lone Hill is physically isolated between the Missouri and the Little Mis-
177 souri rivers, and contact with white people is thus infrequent and limited. There are no stores, no paved roads, and no post office in the village. The
● [34] only whites who reside in Lone Hill itself are the two teachers in the govern-
487 ment grade school, who rarely participate in community affairs. None of the
489 whites currently married to Indians live permanently in the village today, although a few couples occasionally return to Lone Hill, during which time they stay with Indian families. There are two ways to travel to the surrounding towns: either across the Missouri River by boat during the summer and over the ice in winter, or by making a sixty-mile trip over dirt roads through irregular rolling hills and flat-topped buttes. Anyone who has lived in Lone Hill during the late spring comes to realize the meaning of isolation. The ice over the river is too thin for passage, the roads become blocked by mud and melting show, and the one telephone usually breaks down and remains unrepaired. Mail and supplies are often dropped by airplane. The physical isolation works in a double way—few whites come to Lone Hill and few Indians leave.

105 The Mandan-Hidatsa have never experienced a serious ecological read-
177 justment, as they have lived along the Missouri River Valley for at least the two centuries preceding the completion of this study in 1953. The Indian people today are certainly dependent upon the American economic system for their cash income, but almost every family in Lone Hill derives a relatively large noncash income from exploitation of the natural resources of the area. This exploitation is similar in some respects to the adjustment made by the aboriginal earth lodge tribes to the same fertile river bottom lands. Fuel is provided by wood from the timber, and from indigenous lignite outcroppings. Over half the families live in log cabins, which they erect themselves from timber found in the wooded bottoms. The food staples of corn and potatoes are obtained in part from small garden plots, now jointly worked by the men and women of the household. The meat supply depends largely upon the man's ability as a hunter of deer and small game. Abundant wild fruits and berries are gathered during the appropriate seasons and are preserved for use during the winter months. Thus, many of the economic goods which are normally

10: Neill 44(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

224 Not one do they allow to escape, large and small, fat and lean, all must fall to prevent their alarming other herds.

The manner of hunting the buffalo answers another good purpose, which is that the bad and dull horses have an equal share with the best racers.

DIVISION OF THE BUFFALO HUNT.

[141] They never make use of fire arms in hunting the buffalo. The bow and arrow is the only weapon. When a hunting excursion is in agitation among the Mandans, they inform their neighbors on the north shore, and the Saulteurs (Fall Indians.) The Big Bellies have their own parties and seldom interfere with the others. They never go in the same direction, the one goes to the northeast[1] and the others to the southwest. The [131] Knife River, indeed, seems to be the boundary line. The day is fixed for their departure, when early in the morning as many as are inclined to be of the party assemble upon the rising grounds in the rear of the village, about one and a half miles to the south. When all are ready they proceed in one body to find out the buffalo, and seldom or never return light. I observed that on their arrival, an extraordinary custom prevailed among them — the horses are instantly unloaded and the meat taken into the huts, where it is spread out upon the ground and exposed for some time before the master or mistress of the hut makes use of it. Soon after it is arrived, the women whose 431 husbands or sons have been hunting, enter the huts of those 224 who have meat, when the mistress instantly gives them a share, and they walk away with it, so that it often happens that there remains not a mouthful for her own family. When this is the case, she, in her turn, goes to the huts of some of her friends who have been hunting and comes away with a load. I observed that in several huts of those who had not been hunting, there was more meat than in those who had been out. It is also customary for the old men and the old women, who have no sons, nor particular friends, to march out on the first news of the hunters' approach, to the distance of a mile or more, where they sit by the road, and almost every hunter in passing drops them a piece of meat. By these means every individual has a share of what has been killed.

VILLAGES LIKE MOLE HILLS.

● 361 These villages at a distance have the appearance of a cluster of mole hills, or musk rat cabins. They are nearly of a circular form. The huts are placed in a very irregular manner, and some so very close to each other, as scarcely to admit of a foot-passenger; others again, at a distance of twenty to thirty feet from each other.

1 [Henry says southwest.-A.]

10: Neill H-4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

OPEN SPACE IN VILLAGE.

But I observe, always, that nearly about the centre of each village is a large open space of about four acres in circumference, round which the huts are built very regularly, and at equal distances from each other, the doors fronting the open space. This circle might consist of thirty huts, and I make no manner of doubt were the first that were erected on the spot. 361

VILLAGE EXPANSION.

Others of their friends joined them afterwards, for various causes and built in the rear and erected their huts as they found it convenient, and as this continues to be the case, there are huts continually demolishing in one village, and others building in another. This often proceeds from misunderstandings they have had with either of the chiefs of the village, or their own neighbors, when finding their situation unpleasant and probably subject to frequent quarrels, they shift their quarters, but always take up their own residence among their own tribe. 361 621 578

The Mandans and Saulteurs are a stationary people, and never abandon their villages further than to go out hunting or on a war party. They are much more given to agriculture than the Big Bellies, and raise an immense quantity of corn, beans, squashes, tobacco, and some flowers. 361 241

A MANDAN HUT.

A Mandan hut is large and spacious, of a circular form. I measured the one I lodged in, and found it ninety feet from the door to the opposite side, forming a circumference on the inside of many paces. The whole space is dug out about one and a half feet below the surface of the earth. In the center is the fire place, which is a square space of about five feet, dug out two feet below the surface. The lower part of the hut is constructed by erecting strong posts about six feet out of the ground, at equal distances, upon these are laid logs of the same size, and reach from post to post, and form the circle. On the outer side are erected pieces of split wood of seven feet in length, in a slanting manner, the one end resting on the ground, the other leaning against the crown log or beam. Upon this beam again, are placed rafters about the size of a man's leg, and from twelve to fifteen feet long, in a slanting position, sufficient to drain off the rain; they are laid so close as to touch. The upper end is supported upon very stout pieces of square timber, which last are also supported by four very thick posts, about five feet circumference, and fifteen feet out of the ground, and fifteen feet asunder, forming nearly a square. Over these pieces of square timber, others again of equal size are laid crossing them at right 342 [354]

437 willing and ready to serve you as long as you have any property.
177 But when all is expended you may shift for yourself, as they will pretend they do not understand you any longer. Besides paying our host [343] beforehand, I promised him a tobacco-pipe on my departure, if I were then pleased with his conduct during our stay. His pay consisted of the following articles: 60 balls and powder, 4 large knives, 2 small knives, 1 fathom tobacco, 1 dozen rings, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 6 flints, 3 worms, 3 awls, and 1/4 pound blue beads.

164 [343] The natives at present are mostly affected with a bad cough, which daily takes some of them off. Aged and infirm persons, and young children, are the common victims to this disease. It is a kind of whooping-cough, which has appeared all along the Red and Assiniboine rivers, on the Saskatchewan even to Fort des Prairies, and in several other parts of the North West, carrying off many people

241 July 21st. I set off early on horseback with part of my people
[462 for the upper villages. We passed extensive fields of corn, beans,
561] squashes, and sunflowers. Many women and children were already
412 employed in clearing and hoeing their plantations. Their hoes are the shoulderblade of a buffalo, to which is fastened a crooked stick for a handle; the soil not being stony, this slight implement answers every purpose. The road first led over two hills, after which we came to a smooth and pleasant plain for about two miles to the Saulteur (Soulier) [Amahami—Analyst] village, of about 40 huts.

361 [362]. . These villages are surrounded by a kind of stockade, princi-
417 pally made of driftwood, which has a miserable appearance and is daily falling to pieces; but I am told that upon any emergency it can be put into a tolerably good state of defense at very short notice, as every man, woman, and child lends a hand.

526 We witnessed a diversion which takes place almost every day
481 between the Mandanes and Saulteurs (Souliers). It is the exercise
702 of running long foot races, in order to be prepared for the emergency of being dismounted and obliged to fly from their enemies at war. They assemble upon a beautiful green near the village, where, having remained some time, calling out to their comrades to come and run, they set off in a file on a slow trot, entirely naked, taking the road that leads up the hills to the S., about a mile from the village. Passing near those rising grounds, they disappear, and are not seen till they reappear from the S.E., down a steep hill and over a level plain, to the spot whence they started. Here they do not stop, but rush on to the Missouri, and plunge in headlong, all

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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775 In this description of an after life, there was a marked mixture of ideas. The idea of multiple souls is Siouan, the rest is more or less common over most of the region.

776 821 As usual in the plains area every natural phenomenon and unaccountable event was mystery or medicine, and the medicine idea played the usual important part in all their religious customs. Thunder was ascribed to the familiar thunder-bird, the glitter of whose eyes dug a path through the clouds for the rain and caused the lightning.[1] Solitary claps of thunder were ascribed to a huge turtle which lived in the clouds. The rainbow was said to be a spirit which accompanies the sun and which shows itself when the sun retires for the night. The aurora borealis was said to be the fire kindled at an assembly of the great medicine men and warriors of the northern nations, over which they cooked their dead enemies in huge pots.[2] They had several beliefs about the stars—that of the Sioux, that each star is a man, and when a child is born the star comes down and when he dies it returns; also that a multitude of supernatural beings existed in the stars to which sacrifices and prayers were offered. Dreams were of very great importance and governed nearly all their acts. [787]

789 843 There were many small personal superstitions or mysteries. One man told Maximilian that he could turn a snowball into a white stone, another claimed that his nose always bled if he picked up his pipe by the bowl. There were many signs of good and bad luck. A pregnant woman was considered to bring luck at the game of Skohpe. The medicine men told them that if a clay image of an enemy were made with a needle or quill in it for a heart, and were placed at the foot of some medicine structure, that enemy would die. A pregnant woman brings bad luck to her husband in hunting. Many of the Mandans believed that they had some animal, as a buffalo, turtle or frog in them; the women had a dance when they thought an ear of corn was in them, which the dance caused to come out.[3] There were a number of other superstitions of this sort, mostly common to all the plains tribes. One more notable might be mentioned, however, that of building the fire with two sticks crossed in the center, ● 372

[1] Ibid., p. 422. [2] Ibid., p. 423. [3] Ibid., p. 463.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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which were pushed in as they burnt. This was done because the First Man told them they must never have a big fire after the day's cooking was done and showed them how it should be built. It recalls the sacred fire of the Muskogi and other tribes of the lower Mississippi. They declared that many of the every day customs were taught them thus and consequently they always did them a certain way,—thus Ochkih-Hedde taught them to tattoo themselves, and their first chief taught them to kill buffalo and to make shields. 372 [773]

The Mandans practiced penances and sacrifices, especially self-torture which they carried to great extremes. Their medicine or personal guardian spirit was acquired by three or four days fasting and self injury, after which the medicine, often an animal, appeared to the candidate in a dream. This ceremony was also taught to them by Ochkih-Hedde. No expedition or enterprise was undertaken without a liberal sacrifice to some supernatural being, either by offering valuable goods or by physical self-torture. Finger joints were frequently cut off as an offering to the gods and fasting was common as a propitiation. Often a day or more would be spent near one of the medicine scaffolds in groaning, praying and weeping. Lewis and Clarke relate that finger joints were also cut off as a sign of mourning, which Maximilian denies, and Catlin tells how such a sacrifice was a part of the catalogue of tortures in the great Okeepa dance. The custom of consecrating personal property is found here as among the neighboring tribes. A man could make his gun, his horse, his pipe and other similar articles medicine by going through certain ceremonies, most important of which was the giving of a feast. The feast[1] was announced by a public crier, a certain number of guests were invited, the invitations being originally little rods and later playing cards. The drum and rattle made the round of the company. Then the article was consecrated; if a gun, it was rubbed with meal several times, with soup, and lastly with fat, after which the feast took place. 782 304 776 785 [765] 782 574

There were many shrines and sacred articles among the Mandans, but judging from the accounts, the sacred bundles or 778

[1] Maximilian: p. 463.

and treasures, as it contains every thing he values most, viz: 353
two bulls' heads, which seem to be their great Manitou and protection. They are well daubed over with earth, and particular care is taken of them. There is laid on, or rather hung up, his arms, shield, ammunition, scalps of his enemies, and every thing he most values.

MORTAR AND PESTLE.

Next to this stage, stand the mortar and pestle, fixed firm in 342
the ground, and the remainder of the hut from that to the door 412
is vacant during the daytime, but occupied during the night by 231
the horses. Then there still remains a large space in the center, around the fire, for the use of the family, which is generally swept clean once a day. 1/1

CORN STAGE.

Fronting the entrance of each porch stands a stage raised 343
about eight feet from the ground, twenty feet in length, and ten 251
feet in breadth, for the purpose of hanging up their corn to dry, in the fall; these stages have a tolerable good flooring, which in the fall is covered with beans to dry, and posts are erected upon them, on the tops of which are laid poles or rafters, to which the corn and sliced squashes are suspended in tresses to dry. When their harvest is over, they must have a pretty 313
effect, but at this season of the year they are lumbered up with 372
different kinds of drift-wood, of which they make their fires, and it gives a very ugly appearance to the villages.

DRIFT WOOD.

This wood they collect, in the spring, when the ice breaks up, and when great quantities of this wood floats down, the natives being expert swimmers, and so very active, that there is scarcely a large tree escapes them, until they have a sufficient stock for the year. I observed lying opposite to each village, an immense pile of this wood, and some trees of an amazing size. Commonly, when they collect the drift wood there come down [222]
numbers of drowned buffalo, that have perished in attempting to cross above, at a season when the ice was bad. These animals the natives are very careful to haul on shore, as they prefer the flesh in that state. [268]

LIGHT HAIRED CHILDREN.

An extraordinory sight that struck me among these people, 142
was to see several children, of about ten years of age, whose hair was perfectly gray, and bore a strong resemblance to aged persons. Those I saw were all girls. These people in general have not that strong coarse hair, so peculiar to the natives of North America; it is of a much finer nature, rather inclining to

1/1 [See Category 16, p. 342.-A.]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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garters and belts of buffalo hair. But they did make string 000
and willow matting. There is an account of a mat used on the 284
seat before the fire. Henry[1] says that the mat was of small 285
willows of equal size, fastened together by thread of native make passed through each stick about one foot apart. The mats were ten feet long, four feet broad, and the two ends for two and a half feet were raised slanting from the ground and supported by a kind of sofa. Verendrye says they made wicker work very neatly, flat, and in baskets.

The Mandans used snow-shoes which were only about two 481
and a half feet long.[2] For their dyes and paints they made use 386
of the following: red obtained from buffalo-berries, black from sunflowers, and yellow from a kind of moss which came from the Rocky Mountains. Blue, red, black, yellow and white clays were also used.

An indispensable article of the full dress was the fan. These 293
were made from the large plumes of the eagle, hawk, crow, and 237
a number of other birds, depending on the rank of the owner.

The Mandan pipes differed a trifle from those of their neigh- 276
bors, being less ornate.[3] They were either of stone, black clay, or yellow clay painted black. The stone pipes were obtained [439]
mostly from the Dakotas. Pipes with wooden bowls, lined with stone, were also used. The stem was long and round or flat. Catlin describes one pipe as of red steatite (catlinite) with a stem three feet long, half its length wound with braids of porcupine quills. They also had the calumet pipe which will be considered in connection with the ceremonies.

The Mandans and their neighbors the Arikara and Hidatsa 323
made glass beads, an art which they claimed was taught to them by the Snake Indians. They did not make the glass but used glass obtained through the whites. Lewis and Clarke[4] give a short account of the manufacture of beads which is exceedingly interesting. It may be thus summarized. The secret is known only to a few. Glass of several colors is pounded fine, each color separate; this is washed in several waters until the glass stops staining the water. They then take an

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 340.
[2] Maximilian: p. 390.
[3] Ibid., p. 391.
[4] March 16, 1805.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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markings on one side. The largest is shown in Fig. 4, *a*. It is about two inches in width by two and a half in length, and a quarter of an inch in thickness. One face is smooth, and the other is marked by double diagonal lines which pass through

FIG. 4. RECTANGULAR STONE OBJECTS. ¼

an indentation in the center. Each edge has three notches. Fig. 4, *b*, shows a similar stone object, smaller, and somewhat longer in proportion. It is made of catlinite. This has also three notches on each edge, but the diagonal lines are triple, though not so definite, nor so deeply incised. Fig. 4, *c*, shows a cruder stone object of the same general character as the two above described. The material is a yellow clay-stone. The stone is rudely shaped and marked. It has no notches on the edge. On one face is a diagonal marking, and on the other a series of lines, some of which cross a line running lengthwise of the stone.

The stones may have been used as counters in some sort of game. Somewhat similar articles of bone were found, one of which is shown in Plate XXXVI, fig. *r*.

A small piece of the tubular base of a pipe of catlinite was uncovered in the refuse, near the bottom of the central cache-pit in Work 5.

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Besides the worked stone and boulders, various mineral paints and colored earths were found. Lumps of fine yellow clay, which may well have been used for paint, were collected in the mounds. Small quantities of red paint were found in loose lumps and adhering to fragments of pottery. Pieces of mica-schist, deeply tinged with iron, may have been ground up into brown paint.

262 which is so favourite a dish among the northern Indians, is not much in use among the Mandans. Their only drink is water, for they are unacquainted with the method of preparing fermented liquors. They did not obtain any spirits, either from the American Fur Company, or the agents [273] of Messrs. Soublette and Campbell; hence an intoxicated person is scarcely ever seen. They are extremely fond of sugar, and likewise of salt, which they procure from their lakes, and, if the supply is insufficient, purchase from the Whites. They are likewise fond of coffee and tea, well sweetened. It has been affirmed, that several North American nations, especially those which speak the Algonquin language, are cannibals, and more particularly the Chippeways and the Potawatomis; but I found no trace of this unnatural custom among the Missouri nations.

592 Two, and sometimes three, families usually live together in an Indian hut, commonly the
595 father, with his married sons or sons-in-law. Polygamy is everywhere practised, and the number
596 of wives differs; however, they have very seldom more than four, and, in general, only one. The women are very skilful in various kinds of work, particularly in dyeing and painting the buffalo
386 robes. They extract a red colour from the roots of the savoyenne, or from buffalo berries; yel-
824 low from a lichen of the Rocky Mountains; black from belianthus, as well as from a black stone
439 or clay; blue and green they extract from European substances. Among the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, the women, as Lewis and Clarke relate, manufacture beads from coloured glass. They powder those which they have obtained from the traders, and mould them into different shapes. This custom is, however, no longer common. The dyeing of the skins, of
323 which many travellers have spoken, employs a great portion of the women's time. These three nations understand the manufacture of earthen pots and vessels, of various forms and sizes. The clay is of a dark slate colour, and burns a yellowish-red, very similar to what is seen in the burnt tops of the Missouri hills. This clay is mixed with flint or granite, reduced to powder by the action of fire. The workwoman forms the hollow inside of the vessel by means of a round stone which she holds in her hand, while she works and smooths the outside with a piece of poplar bark. When the pot is made, it is filled and surrounded with dry shavings, and then burnt,
501 when it is ready for use. They know nothing of glazing. With respect to their boats, the North Americans are far more expert than the Brazilians, Patagonians, and other South Americans, who live on the banks of rivers, and yet have contrived no means to pass them. The Chippeways and other northern nations have handsome vessels of birch bark; the Esquimaux makes his kiack, which is curiously covered with seal skin; and on the Missouri, especially among the Mandans, there are boats of buffalo skin, which are represented in the plates accompanying this work. They are very light, of a circular form, stretched on a frame of several pieces of wood crossing each other, and may be carried on the shoulder of a single individual.

584 If a young Indian desires to marry, and has obtained the consent of the girl, he endeavours to procure that of her father; when he is certain of this, he brings two, three, nay, even eight or

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

seen the Snake Indians, and discovered whether their intentions were pacific." (id 212.) 721

"Friday, February 1st. A cold windy day; our hunters returned having killed only deer. One of the Minnetaree war chiefs, a young man named Maubuksheahokeah or Seeing Snake, came to us, and procured a war hatchet; he also requested that we would suffer him to go to war against the Sioux and Ricaras who had killed a Mandan some time ago; this we refused for reasons which we explained to him. He acknowledged that we were right, and promised to open his ears to our counsels." (id 215.)

Battle-Axe. "Tuesday, 5th. A pleasant fair morning with the wind from the northwest; a number of the Indians came with corn for the blacksmith, who being now provided with coal, has become one of our greatest resources for procuring grain. They seem particularly attached to a battle-axe, of a very inconvenient figure; it is made wholly of iron, the blade extremely thin, and from seven to nine inches long. It is sharp at the point and five or six inches on each side, whence they converge towards the eye, which is circular and about an inch in diameter, the blade itself being not more than a inch wide, the handle is straight, and twelve to fifteen inches long; the whole weighing about a pound. By way of ornament, the blade is perforated with several circular holes. The length of the blade compared with the shortness of the handle, renders it a weapon of very little strength, particularly as it is always used on horseback; there is still, however, another form which is even worse, the same sort of handle being fixed to a blade resembling an espontoon."[6] (id 216.) 411

Sheet-Iron Arrow Points. "Wednesday, February 6th. The morning was fair and pleasant, the wind northwest. A number of Indian chiefs visited us, and withdrew after we had smoked with them, contrary to their customs, for after being once introduced into our apartments, they are fond of lounging about during the remainder of the day. One of the men killed three antelopes. Our blacksmith has his time completely occupied, so great is the demand for utensils of different kinds. The Indians are particularly fond of sheet iron, out of which they form points for arrows and instruments for scraping hides, and when the blacksmith cut up an old cambouse[7] of that metal, we obtained for every piece of four inches square, seven or eight gallons of corn from the Indians, who were delighted at the exchange." (id 216.) 437 [411]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter XI

THE SNOW OWL CEREMONY

796 778 THERE were four separate rituals belonging to this bundle. They were: (1) medicine feast to the owls; (2) arrowmaking rites; (3) buffalo-calling rites; and (4) Holy Woman rites.

Each of these rites relates to a specific section of the sacred myth wherein Black Wolf was taken prisoner by the snow owl. The experiences of Black Wolf in his excursion into the sacred world formed the basis for the performance of the various rites. Although it was not possible to secure a detailed account of a bundle transfer, a number of informants had participated sufficiently in the various rites to secure an adequate picture of the mythological background and pattern of the ceremony in relation to the larger tribal ceremonial pattern.

The medicine feast to the two owls in the bundle followed the regular tribal pattern. Young men going to war would pledge a feast to the owls for success and would receive an article from the bundle to wear into battle. Several times during the bundle-owner's active years, he and those owning rights in the bundle would prepare a "renewal"[1] feast to the bundle. There was the usual period of preparation. To the feast would be invited all leading bundle-owners, who would pray for the success of the giver and receive goods for their part in the ceremony. At the close of the ceremony the bundle-owner and his family would be virtually destitute. Those dreaming of the snow owl and being otherwise eligible by the inheritance rules could buy rights in the owls and have new bundles made up. Sales could be made four times. These subdivisions of main bundles seem to have lost their hereditary character in a few generations.

796 778 411 The arrowmaking rites were associated with the two owls of the bundle, and the arrowmaker's tools were given to Black

1. Renewal feasts were not unique to this bundle alone. All major tribal bundle-owners were expected to give renewal feasts from time to time to enhance the status of the bundles.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Wolf as payment for his services to these birds in the sacred myth. According to tradition, only those who had purchased the right made arrows. Arrowmaking techniques were taught by certain bundle-owners. It is highly improbable that any living informant at the time this study was made was able to enumerate all bundles with arrowmaking rights. At least the following, which is no doubt only a partial list, had arrowmaking rights: Eagle-trapping; Big Bird; Snow Owl; and Woman Above bundles. All of these bundles were associated with birds of prey. 796 778 411

The belief was that certain men were arrowmakers in early times and that those in need of arrows bought their supply. People without the rights were not allowed to stand around when arrows were being made. Incidentally, pottery-making was also a secret art, and the women bought the rights and knowledge in the techniques of their mothers or clanswomen, using only such designs as they were instructed to make. There was a song to the arrows and another when approaching the thicket where the shafts were secured. The stone tips were believed to have been first secured from the beavers. 796 424 463

The buffalo-calling rites were performed during the winter and were initiated by a young man dreaming of the buffaloes. Woman Living in Dog Den Butte (Buffalo Woman) had said in the myth, "In the future, when any Indian thinks of me, he must make offerings to me and give his wife to the one who is head of this medicine." 796 224

The three officers in the ceremony were (1) the bundle-owner and his wives, who sat to the left side near the head of the lodge and were the singers; (2) a woman impersonating Woman Living in Dog Den Butte, who wore a buffalo robe with hair side out and had sage and magpie tail feathers in her hair, her place being at the head of the lodge; and (3) a man impersonating the brothers who lived in Dog Den Butte; he had red marks painted on his skin indicating the kinds of wounds a man could receive in battle, and his place was on the right side of the lodge near the door. 796

The Okipa lodge was used for the ceremony. After a young man had made the vow, robes and other goods were accumulated for the ceremony. A man received help from his wife, brothers, sisters, clan brothers and sisters, and the people of both his

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

382 hung down to the shoulders. It was covered with quill work in different colors. On its top was placed horizontally an eagle [171] feather the base of which was covered with red cloth. The usual Siouan head-dresses were also worn. In every day life, however, Maximilian says the hair was knotted up in a 304 tuft. The Mandan men tattooed, but never on more than one half of the body. Usually the right breast and upper arm was tattooed with black parallel lines, accompanied by a few other figures. Occasionally the fore-arm and some of the fingers were tattooed. Occasionally also the women tattooed, but to only a small extent. Ermine was used in nearly all of their finest dresses, and tails of other animals as well as different sorts of bird feathers had especial signification in ceremonial or war [171] costumes. Altogether, as Catlin says, the dress of the Blackfeet, Sioux, and Mandans was practically alike. The great noticeable difference seems to be that the Mandans had much less regard for clothing than did most of their neighbors, they had a tendency toward simple apparel, and the buffalo robe was their original and only absolutely necessary garment.

•411 WEAPONS:— The arms of the Mandans as well as their other culture features were much like those of their neighbors. They used the customary things — bows and arrows, lances, shields, knives, and tomahawks, and had in addition a peculiar weapon of their own called a bow-lance. The knives and arrow points were at first of stone as were the axes and tomahawks, but stone implements soon fell into disuse when steel ones were obtained. The Mandan bows were usually of elm or ash wood, and rather short, with cords of twisted sinews. Occasionally, [321] however, a bow of bone or horn was seen. Catlin describes such a one. It was short and had a sinew backing, while the cord was made of three twisted sinews. With the bow was usually a quiver of mountain lion, wild-cat, or wolf skin, the whole hide being used. The arrows of the Mandans were much better made than those of their neighbors. They were feathered with hawk and eagle feathers which were attached in a short spiral, a red line wound round the arrow in a spiral from barb to base. There were hunting points and war points: the for-

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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mer unbarbed and securely fastened to the shaft, the latter 411●
barbed and loosely attached.

The lances were two-edged points fastened to a shaft of ash wood, some six or eight feet long, ornamented with tufts of eagle plumes. The knives were at first of stone, but were soon replaced by the European steel ones. The tomahawks were of several sorts and are all duplicated among those of the other Sioux tribes. The shield was an important part of a man's equipment, it was of buffalo hide whitened with white clay and with a large painting of the owner's medicine on the front. The bow-lance was a purely ceremonial weapon and was passed down from [428] father to son to be used in the dances. Maximilian describes it as a long bow with a spear point on one end, the whole decorated elaborately with eagle plumes and other ornaments.

MANUFACTURES: — The beds of the Mandans were built up 352
from four posts sunk in the earth to form a rectangle of suitable size, with poles lashed across from one to the other, about one foot above the ground. Over the cross poles a green buffalo hide was stretched and allowed to dry, thus forming a springy foundation; around the sides and across the top hides were also stretched, giving the whole bed the appearance of a large box. A small opening was left in one of the sides through which to enter, and the whole interior was piled with buffalo robes. These beds held several persons.

The Mandan boats, bull-boats they were called, also merit 501
a description. They were circular, made over a frame of bent willows, which consisted of two hoops held in position by cross pieces; over the whole a raw buffalo hide was stretched, hair in, and sewed to the upper rim. They were about six feet in diameter and could carry very heavy loads. For a paddle a pole some five feet long was used. It was split up the end where a flat board about two and a half feet long was inserted and bound on. The boat was paddled from a standing position, and made half a revolution at every stroke. This same sort of boat was 171
used by the Arikara and Hidatsa.

For the rest their material culture did not differ greatly from that of the surrounding nomadic tribes, only a brief enumeration therefore of the manufactures and utensils is necessary.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

X 172 324 412 or quartzite, well shaped, and measuring from an inch to an inch and a half in thickness, and from an inch and a half to three inches in diameter. Most of the signs of grinding and wear are shown on the circumference. One shows discoloration on both of the faces. The use of these stones is problematical. They may have been used as mullers to grind paint, as the discoloration on one of them suggests, or they may have been used in some game. They resemble the Chungkee stone of the Southern tribes. In the Mandan game of Skohpe, stones described as "rings" were used.

X 172 324 411 The large chipped blade forms were probably put to a variety of uses. Some may have been used for lanceheads and some for spikes to be inset in war clubs. The largest of these blades is shown in Plate XXXIII, fig. *e*. It measures about six inches in length and is made of a gray chert or fine grained argillite. Shorter blades of the same material are shown in Plate XXXIII, figs. *a*, *b*, *d*, *f*. These are all roughly chipped, and do not present much of a cutting edge. Figs. *g* to *k* illustrate various forms of other large blades.

X 172 324 412 The characteristic forms of the smaller implements are shown in Plate XXXIV. The knives (Figs. *a*, *g* to *k*) show a variety of shapes. They average about three and a half inches in length and about five eights of an inch in width. Some are double pointed, and some are squared off at one end. Some are symmetrical in outline and others are not. The material commonly used is a fine grained gray quartzite, but sometimes specimens made from dark colored flints are met with. Many knives were found in the mounds and in the cache pits.

X 172 324 411 It is impossible to draw any definite line between the different classes of small implements. Thus, what are termed spearheads may have been used for knives, and vice versa. Arrowheads differ from spearheads only in size, the former seldom being over one and a half inches in length. A fine leaf-shaped spearhead is shown in Plate XXXIV, fig. *d*. It is made of brownish flint. A wide-stemmed, elliptical one of the same material is shown in Fig. *r*, while Fig. *o* shows a perforator.

Arrowheads of most of the common shapes were found, although they were not very abundant. The material used

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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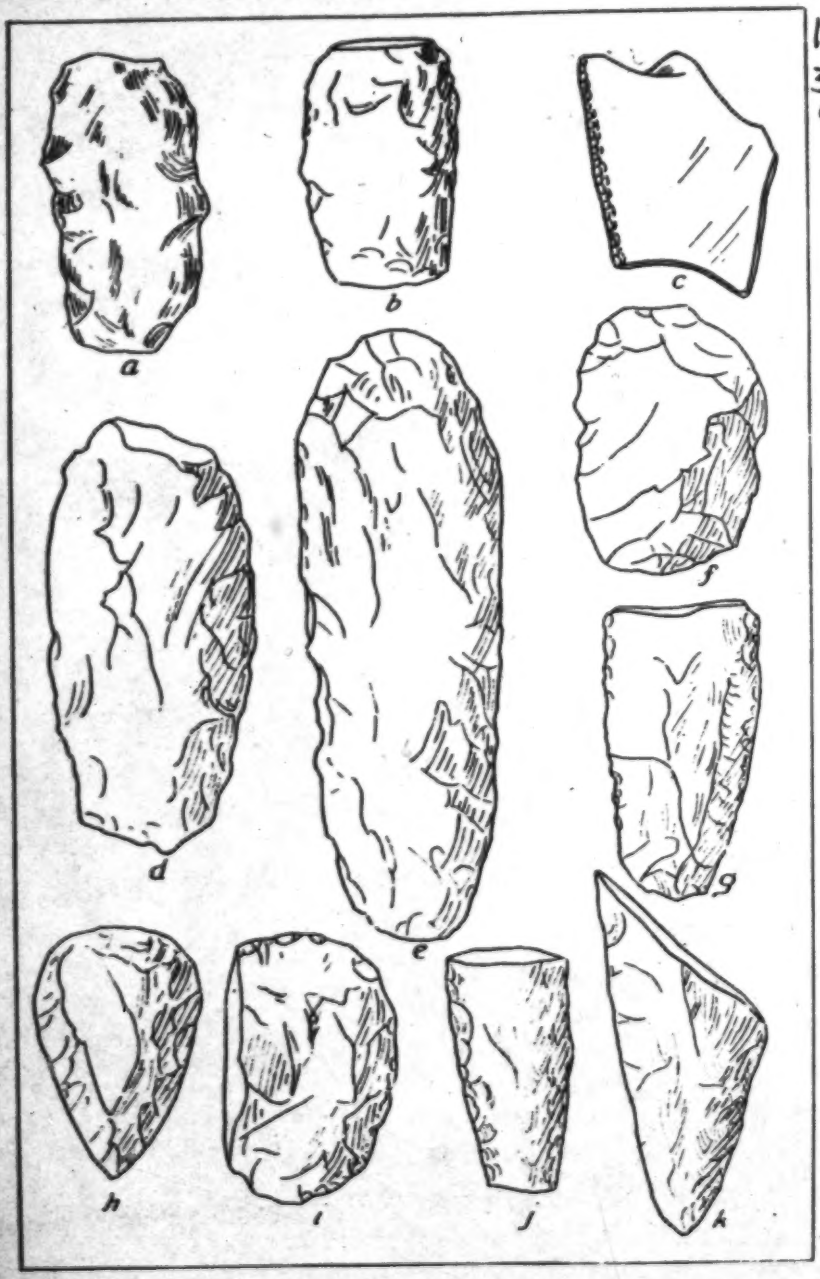

LARGE CHIPPED BLADES. ¼

[P. 164 (A)]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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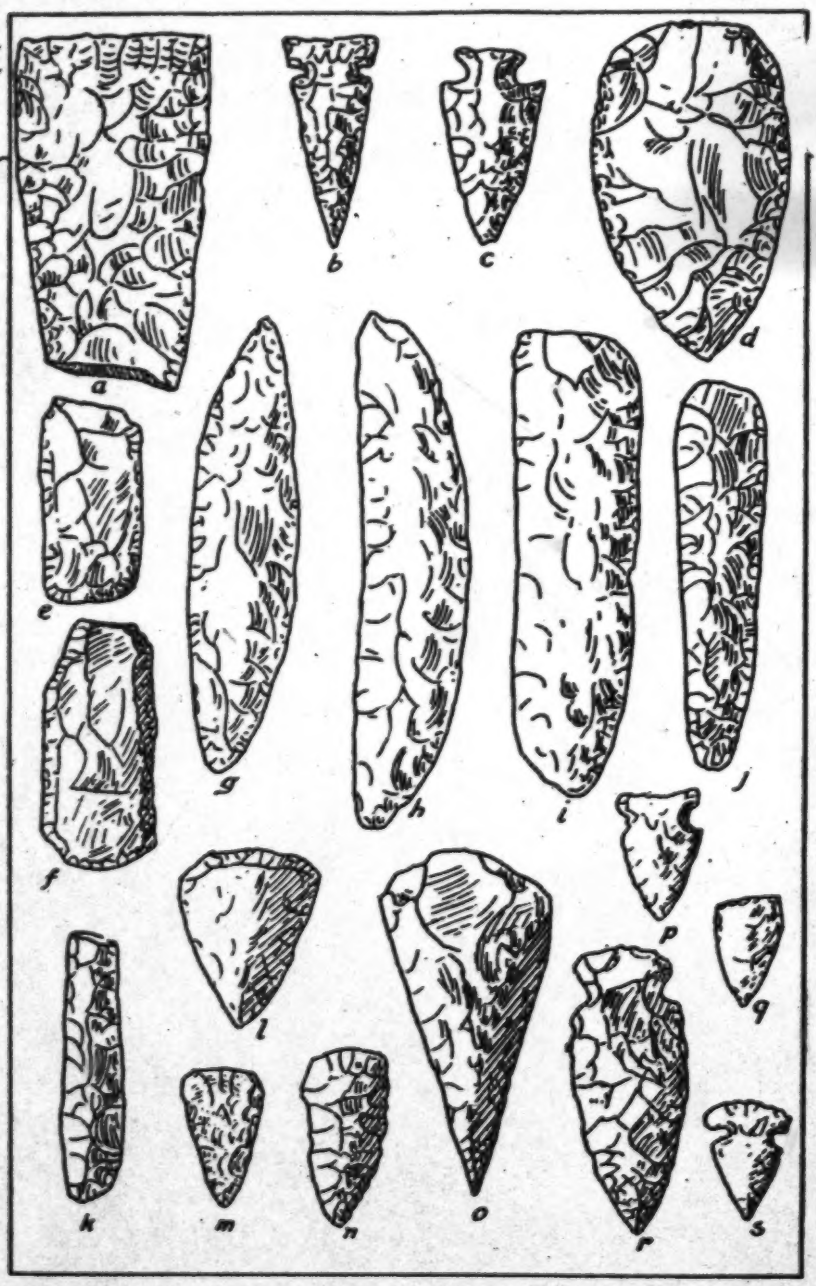

SMALL STONE OBJECTS: KNIVES, PERFORATORS, SCRAPERS, SPEARHEADS, AND ARROWHEADS. ⅓

[P. 164 (B)]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

X 172 324 for arrowheads was largely flint. A selection of the different types is shown in Plate XXXIV, figs. *b*, *c*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *q* and *s*.

[411] Flint, chert, and quartzite scrapers were in great abundance. Some were of the "turtle back" form (Plate XXXIV, fig. *l*), flat X 172 on one side and convex on the other. Some were irregular flakes 324 with one chipped edge (Plate XXXIII, fig. *c*). Some were roughly 412 rectangular in shape (Plate XXXIV, figs. *e* and *f*), while others were leaf-shaped (Plate XXXIII, fig. *h*).

Flint chips were often found in layers and pockets. Near the bottom of the central cache pit in Work 5, an extensive layer of red and yellow flint chips was encountered. Double handfuls of flint and chert chips were found in various places in the mounds.

Pieces of pumice-stone were often met with in the different village sites. They were used, apparently, as whetstones to sharpen bone awls, and are sometimes deeply grooved as a result of such grinding. Other stones were also used for this purpose.

[171] Plate XXXII, fig. *e*, shows a rasp for smoothing arrowshafts. It is made of a coarse yellow sandstone. It is very similar to rasps found among the Omaha.

Pebbles showing at the ends an abraded surface were common objects in the mounds and cache pits. These were chipping stones and were used in working flint and chert. They were of various kinds of stone, red jasper, diorite, quartzite and sandstone being noted.

X 172 324 Water-worn boulders, seldom over six inches in diameter, were common in all parts of the site. They were such as could be picked up on the prairie or buttes. Layers of boulders were found around the fireplaces in the two house sites explored. An extensive layer was found on hardpan in the eastern end of Work 2.

Some of these boulders gave evidence of having been broken. One showed signs of pecking. This one was oval in shape, and may have been used in shaping the bottoms of pots.

There still remains for consideration a class of ornamented stone objects of uncertain use. Three rectangular flat stones come under this head. All of these stones have diagonal cross

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The Mandans and Manitaries make excursions as far as the Rocky Mountains, against their enemies, the Blackfeet, and against the Chippeways, to the country of Pembina. Their other enemies are the Sioux, the Arikkaras, the Assiniboins, and the Chayennes (spelt, by the English, Shiennes). They are at peace with the Crows. 721

The weapons of the Mandans and Manitaries are, first, the bow and arrow. The bows are made of elm or ash, there being no other suitable kinds of wood in their country. In form and size they resemble those of the other nations; the string is made of the sinews of animals twisted. They are frequently ornamented. A piece of red cloth, four or five inches long, is wound round each end of the bow, and adorned with glass beads, dyed porcupine quills, and strips of white ermine. A tuft of horsehair, dyed yellow, is usually fastened to one end of the bow. Pehrisko-Ruhpa, in Plate XXIII., has such a weapon in his hand. The quiver, to which the bow-case is fastened, is made of panther or buffalo skin; in the first case, with the hair outwards, the long tail hanging down, and, as among the Blackfeet, lined with red cloth, and embroidered in various figures with white beads. Their handsome quivers are made of otter skin, which are much esteemed. A very beautifully ornamented one, belonging to the Crows, is represented in Plate XLVIII. Fig. 16. Narrow strips of skin hang down at both ends of the quiver. The arrows of the Mandans and Manitaries are neatly made; the best wood is said to be that of the service berry *(Amelanchier sanguinea)*. The arrows of all the Missouri nations are much alike,* with long, triangular, very sharp, iron heads, which they themselves make out of old iron: it is but slightly glued to the shaft of the arrow, which is rather short, and generally remains in the body of the wounded animal. They know nothing of poisoning their arrows. The arrow-heads were formerly made of sharp stones: when Charbonneau first came to the Missouri, some made of flint were in use, and in the villages they are still met with, and in all those parts of the United States where the expelled or extirpated aborigines formerly dwelt. We were told that, in the prairie, near the Manitari villages, there is a sand hill, where the wind has uncovered a great number of such stone arrow-heads. Almost all the Mandans and Manitaries now have guns, which they ornament with bits of red cloth, on the brass rings of the ramrod, and at the but-end 411 [824]

* Though all their arrows appear, at first sight, to be perfectly alike, there is a great difference in the manner in which they are made. Of all the tribes of the Missouri the Mandans are said to make the neatest and most solid arrows. The iron heads are thick and solid, the feathers glued on, and the part just below the head, and the lower end, are wound round with very even, extremely thin sinews of animals. They all have, in their whole length, a spiral line, either carved or painted red, which is to represent the lightning. The Manitaries make the iron heads thinner, and not so well. They do not glue on the feathers, but only tie them on at both ends, like the Brazilians. The Assiniboins frequently have very thin and indifferent heads to their arrows, made of iron-plate. Mr. Say (Major Long's Expedition) says, that the arrow-wood (viburnum) is used for their arrows by the Indians on the Lower Missouri and the neighbouring prairies. I conjecture that this shrub is the alisier (*Cratægus terminalis*) of the Upper Missouri, which is sometimes used for bows, but very seldom for arrows. [824]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

411 with brass nails. Besides the ramrod belonging to the gun, the Indians always carry another long ramrod in their hand, which they generally use. The pouch is made of leather, or cloth, often beautifully ornamented with beads, or porcupine quills, and is hung on the back by a piece of skin, or a broad strip of cloth of some lively colour. Their clubs and tomahawks are of various kinds. Many have a thick egg-shaped stone fastened to a handle, covered with leather, or without leather. (See the woodcut).

Others have small iron tomahawks (see portrait of Mato-Topé, Plate XIV.), but not tomahawks with pipes fixed to them. The large club with the broad iron point (Plate XLVIII., Fig. 41) is called manha-okatanha, or mauna-schicha. A simple, knotty, wooden club is called mauna-panischa. (See the woodcut).

Many Mandans likewise carry lances, and I was told that they had a remarkably handsome one, of which, however, I did not obtain a sight. These Indians have shields, which do not differ from those of the tribes already mentioned. They all wear, in their girdle, behind, their large knife, which is indispensable to them in hunting and in war. Some use, for the handle of the knife, the lower jaw of a bear, with the hair and teeth remaining. (Woodcut, page 234.) The bow and arrows are, even now, much esteemed by all the nations living on the Missouri, while those that have been entirely driven from that river (the Osages) greatly prefer the gun; the former, therefore, are capital archers, which cannot be affirmed of the Osages. The Mandans and Manitaries are said to fight well in their manner, and there have been frequent instances of individual bravery. One of their most distinguished warriors, at this time, is Mato-Topé, of whom we shall often have to speak in the sequel. He has killed more than five chiefs of other nations. The father of Mato-Topé, whose name was Suck-Schih (the handsome child), behaved exactly

555

7: Catlin R. E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

folded up for a pillow, and others drawn over them instead of blankets. 352
These beds, as far as I have seen them (and I have visited almost every lodge in the village), are uniformly screened with a covering of buffalo or elk skins, oftentimes beautifully dressed and placed over the upright poles or frame, like a suit of curtains; leaving a hole in front, sufficiently spacious for the occupant to pass in and out, to and from his or her bed. Some of these coverings or curtains are exceedingly beautiful, being cut tastefully into fringe, and handsomely ornamented with porcupine's quills and picture writings or hieroglyphics.

From the great number of inmates in these lodges, they are necessarily 352
very spacious, and the number of beds considerable. It is no uncommon 353
thing to see these lodges fifty feet in diameter inside (which is an immense room), with a row of these curtained beds extending quite around their sides, being some ten or twelve of them, placed four or five feet apart, and the space between them occupied by a large post, fixed quite firm in the ground, and six or seven feet high, with large wooden pegs or bolts in it, on which 353
are hung and grouped, with a wild and startling taste, the arms and armour [411]
of the respective proprietor; consisting of his whitened shield, embossed and emblazoned with the figure of his protecting *medicine* (or mystery), his bow and quiver, his war-club or battle-axe, his dart or javelin—his tobacco pouch and pipe—his medicine-bag—and his eagle—ermine or raven head-dress; and over all, and on the top of the post (as if placed by some conjurer or Indian magician, to guard and protect the spell of wildness that reigns in this strange place), stands forth and in full relief the head and horns of a buffalo, which is, by a village regulation, owned and possessed [535]
by every man in the nation, and hung at the head of his bed, which he uses as a mask when called upon by the chiefs, to join in the buffalo-dance, of which I shall say more in a future epistle

This arrangement of beds, of arms, &c., combining the most vivid display and arrangement of colours, of furs, of trinkets—of barbed and glistening points and steel—of mysteries and hocus pocus, together with the sombre and smoked colour of the roof and sides of the lodge; and the wild, and rude and red—the graceful (though uncivil) conversational, garrulous, story-telling and happy, though ignorant and untutored groups, that are smoking their pipes—wooing their sweethearts, and embracing their little ones about their peaceful and endeared fire-sides; together with their pots and kettles, spoons, and other culinary articles of their own manufacture, around them; present altogether, one of the most picturesque scenes to the eye of a stranger, that can be possibly seen; and far more wild and vivid than could ever be imagined.

Reader, I said these people were garrulous, story-telling and happy; this 000
is true, and literally so; and it belongs to me to establish the fact, and correct the error which seems to have gone forth to the world on this subject.

As I have before observed, there is no subject that I know of within the

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

159 ness of night broke upon the solitary stillness. His dress, which was a very splendid one, was complete in all its parts, and consisted of a shirt or tunic, leggings, moccasins, head-dress, necklace, shield, bow and quiver, lance, tobacco-sack, and pipe; robe, belt, and knife; medicine-bag, tomahawk, and war-club, or *po-ko-mo-kon*.

292 The shirt, of which I have spoken, was made of two skins of the mountain-sheep, beautifully dressed, and sewed together by seams which rested upon the arms; one skin hanging in front, upon the breast, and the other falling down upon the back; the head being passed between them, and they falling over and resting on the shoulders. Across each shoulder, and somewhat in the form of an epaulette, was a beautiful band; and down each arm from the neck to the hand was a similar one, of two inches in width (and crossing the other at right angles on the shoulder) beautifully embroidered with porcupine quills worked on the dress, and covering the seams. To the lower edge of these bands the whole way, at intervals of half an inch, were attached long locks of black hair, which he had taken with his own hand from the heads of his enemies whom he had slain in battle, and which he thus wore as a trophy, and also as an ornament to his dress. The front and back of the shirt were curiously garnished in several parts with porcupine quills and paintings of the battles he had fought, and also with representations of the victims that had fallen by his hand. The bottom of the dress was bound or hemmed with ermine skins, and tassels of ermines' tails were suspended from the arms and the shoulders.

The *Leggings*, which were made of deer skins, beautifully dressed, and fitting tight to the leg, extended from the feet to the hips, and were fastened to a belt which was passed around the waist. These, like the shirt, had a similar band, worked with porcupine quills of richest dyes, passing down the seam on the outer part of the leg, and fringed also the whole length of the leg, with the scalp-locks taken from his enemies' heads.

The *Moccasins* were of buckskin, and covered in almost every part with the beautiful embroidery of porcupines' quills.

The *Head-dress*, which was superb and truly magnificent, consisted of a crest of war-eagles' quills, gracefully falling back from the forehead over the back part of the head, and extending quite down to his feet; set the whole way in a profusion of ermine, and surmounted on the top of the head, with the horns of the buffalo, shaved thin and highly polished.

The *Necklace* was made of fifty huge claws or nails of the grizzly bear, ingeniously arranged on the skin of an otter, and worn, like the scalp-locks, as a trophy—as an evidence unquestionable, that he had contended with and overcome that desperate enemy in open combat.

411 His *Shield* was made of the hide of the buffalo's neck, and hardened with the glue that was taken from its hoofs; its boss was the skin of a pole-cat, and its edges were fringed with rows of eagles' quills and hoofs of the antelope.

His *Bow* was of bone, and as white and beautiful as ivory; over its back

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

was laid, and firmly attached to it, a coating of deers' sinews, which gave it its elasticity, and of course death to all that stood inimically before it. Its string was three stranded and twisted of sinews, which many a time had twanged and sent the whizzing death to animal and to human victims. 411

The *Quiver* was made of a panther's skin and hung upon his back, charged with its deadly arrows; some were poisoned and some were not; they were feathered with hawks' and eagles' quills; some were clean and innocent, and pure, and others were stained all over, with animal and human blood that was dried upon them. Their blades or points were of flints, and some of steel; and altogether were a deadly magazine.

The *Lance* or spear was held in his left hand; its blade was two-edged and of polished steel, and the blood of several human victims was seen dried upon it, one over the other; its shaft was of the toughest ash, and ornamented at intervals with tufts of war-eagles' quills.

His *Tobacco-sack* was made of the skin of an otter, and tastefully garnished with quills of the porcupine; in it was carried his *k'nick-k'neck*, (the bark of the red willow, which is smoked as a substitute for tobacco), it contained also his flint and steel, and spunk for lighting——— 276

His *Pipe*, which was ingeniously carved out of the red steatite (or pipe-stone), the stem of which was three feet long and two inches wide, made from the stalk of the young ash; about half its length was wound with delicate braids of the porcupine's quills, so ingeniously wrought as to represent figures of men and animals upon it. It was also ornamented with the skins and beaks of wood-peckers' heads, and the hair of the white buffalo's tail. The lower half of the stem was painted red, and on its edges it bore the notches he had recorded for the snows (or years) of his life.

His *Robe* was made of the skin of a young buffalo bull, with the fur on one side, and the other finely and delicately dressed; with all the battles of his life emblazoned on it by his own hand. 292

His *Belt*, which was of a substantial piece of buckskin, was firmly girded around his waist; and in it were worn his tomahawk and scalping-knife.

His *Medicine-bag* was the skin of a beaver, curiously ornamented with hawks' bills and ermine. It was held in his right hand, and his *po-ko-mo-kon* (or war-club) which was made of a round stone, tied up in a piece of rawhide, and attached to the end of a stick, somewhat in the form of a sling, was laid with others of his weapons at his feet. 415 411

Such was the dress of Mah-to-toh-pa when he entered my wigwam to stand for his picture; but such I have not entirely represented it in his portrait; having rejected such trappings and ornaments as interfered with the grace and simplicity of the figure. He was beautifully and extravagantly dressed; and in this he was not alone, for hundreds of others are equally elegant. In plumes, and arms, and ornaments, he is not singular; but in laurels and wreaths he stands unparalleled. His breast has been bared and scarred in defence of his country, and his brows crowned with honours 159

formed by the women in the morning.[1] Their sweet corn and beans are boiled whole; they make use of large earthen pots of their own manufacture, made of black clay, of which they have plenty near their villages. They make them of different sizes, from five gallons to a quart. In these vessels is never anything of a greasy nature.[1] * * * * * The bottoms of the pots are of an oblong shape; it therefore requires much care to keep them from upsetting, for which purpose when they are put to the fire a hole is made in the ashes to secure and prop them erect, and when taken away they are placed upon a sort of mat made of the fibers of the bois blanc; these coils or rugs are made of different sizes, according to the dimensions of the several pots, which keeps them firm and secure. Some of these pots are provided with two cones, or handles.[1] * *

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Baptiste La France made his appearance here. This man had left the Prairie la Souris [Mouse River] with a small assortment of goods for the purpose of trading, equipped by the Hudson Bay Company. He now resides upon the south side of the river, at the great Mandane village,* and hearing of the arrival of white people, he came over to us. He now informed the chief, Black Cat, who his guests were and the cause of our visit, which was mere curiosity. [The chief] instantly retired to his family hut and brought out his flag, which was given him in 1804–5; they alsogave him a silver medal, and the same articles were also given to the principal chief of each of the other villages, also several very useful utensils were left amongst them.† I saw the remains of an excellent large corn mill, which the foolish fellows had demolished on purpose to barb their arrows; the largest piece of it which they could not break nor work up into any weapon they have now fixed to a wooden handle, and make use of it to pound marrow bones, to make grease."

177 [411 412]

We were now desirous of crossing the river, therefore sent off La France to engage people of the opposite village to come over for us.[2] * * * * * * We were now informed that eight canoes were in waiting for us, from the opposite side, and the same number of young men had come over to assist in crossing our horses.[2] * * * * On our going over to the war side we found the chief of the Great Mandan village, Le Gros Blanc. He was waiting with his own canoe to ferry over Mr. Chaboillez and me. He appeared very

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† To each chief, Lewis and Clarke presented a medal, a flag, and a uniform coat. In the narrative of the expedition is the following sentence: "A variety of other presents were distributed, but none seemed to give them more satisfaction than the iron corn mill, which we gave to the Mandans."

* The Mandans, about 1760, were settled on the banks of the Missouri, eighty miles below, seven villages on the west and two on the east side of the river. The two villages were reduced by small-pox, and moved up the river and settled a village near the Receivers, and afterwards the people of the other village joined them. In 1796 they were in two villages at the points where Henry found them, on opposite sides of Missouri, about three miles apart.

[175]

[1] [Category 116, p. 328.-A.] [2] [Category 116, p. 329.-A]

10: Neill 44(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

224 Not one do they allow to escape, large and small, fat and lean, all must fall to prevent their alarming other herds.

The manner of hunting the buffalo answers another good purpose, which is that the bad and dull horses have an equal share with the best racers.

DIVISION OF THE BUFFALO HUNT.

● [441] They never make use of fire arms in hunting the buffalo. The bow and arrow is the only weapon. When a hunting excursion is in agitation among the Mandans, they inform their neighbors on the north shore, and the Saulteurs (Fall Indians.) The Big Bellies have their own parties and seldom interfere with the others. They never go in the same direction, the one goes to the northeast,* and the others to the southwest. The [131] Knife River, indeed, seems to be the boundary line. The day is fixed for their departure, when early in the morning as many as are inclined to be of the party assemble upon the rising grounds in the rear of the village, about one and a half miles to the south. When all are ready they proceed in one body to find out the buffalo, and seldom or never return light. I observed that on their arrival, an extraordinary custom prevailed among them — the horses are instantly unloaded and the meat taken into the huts, where it is spread out upon the ground and exposed for some time before the master or mistress of the hut makes use of it. Soon after it is arrived, the women whose 431 husbands or sons have been hunting, enter the huts of those 224 who have meat, when the mistress instantly gives them a share, and they walk away with it, so that it often happens that there remains not a mouthful for her own family. When this is the case, she, in her turn, goes to the huts of some of her friends who have been hunting and comes away with a load. I observed that in several huts of those who had not been hunting, there was more meat than in those who had been out. It is also customary for the old men and the old women, who have no sons, nor particular friends, to march out on the first news of the hunters' approach, to the distance of a mile or more, where they sit by the road, and almost every hunter in passing drops them a piece of meat. By these means every individual has a share of what has been killed.

VILLAGES LIKE MOLE HILLS.

361 These villages at a distance have the appearance of a cluster of mole hills, or musk rat cabins. They are nearly of a circular form. The huts are placed in a very irregular manner, and some so very close to each other, as scarcely to admit of a foot-passenger; others again, at a distance of twenty to thirty feet from each other.

* [Henry says southwest.-A.]

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and it is protected by a narrow shed or entry from six to ten feet long. Over the smoke-holes of many of the lodges are placed frames of wicker-work, on which skins are spread to the windward in stormy weather to keep the lodges from getting smoky. Sometimes bull-boats are used for this purpose. On the site of a proposed lodge, they often dig down a foot or more, in order to find earth compact enough to form a good floor; so, in some lodges, the floors are lower than the general surfaces of the ground on which the village stands. The floor is of earth, and has in its center a circular depression, for a fire-place, about a foot deep, and three or four feet wide, with a edging of flat rocks. These dwellings, being from thirty to forty feet in diameter, from ten to fifteen feet high in the center, and from five to seven feet high at the eaves, are quite commodious." 342

Women Construct Them. "The labor of constructing them is performed mostly by the women; but in lifting and setting the heavier beams, the men assist. If, with the aid of steel axes obtained from the whites, the task of building such a house is no easy one at this day, how difficult it must have been a century ago, when the stone axe was their best implement, and when the larger logs had to be burned through in order that pieces of suitable length might be obtained." 342 462 412 322

Frame of Lodge. "The frame of the lodge is thus made: A number of stout posts, from ten to fifteen, according to the size of the lodge, and raising to the height of about five feet above the surface of the earth, are set about ten feet apart in a circle. On the tops of these posts, solid beams are laid, extending from one to another. Then, towards the center of the lodge, four posts are erected, of much greater diameter than the outer posts, and rising to the height of ten or more feet about the ground. These four posts stand in the corners of a square about fifteen feet, and their tops are connected with four heavy logs or beams laid horizontally. From the four center beams to the smaller external beams, long poles, or rafters, are stretched at an angle of about 30 degrees with the horizon; and from the outer beams to the earth a number of shorter poles are laid at an angle of about 45 degrees. Finally, a number of saplings or rails are laid horizontally to cover the space between the four central beams, leaving only a hole for the combined skylight and chimney. This frame 342

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

281 Verendrye mentions their skill in making such things as
237 painted ox-robes, deer skin, dressed buckskin, and ornamented fur and feathers, painted feathers, peltry, wrought garters, circlets for the head, and girdles. They certainly understood the art of dressing skins, though perhaps other nations equalled them. All their visitors speak of the ornamented robes for the decoration of which porcupine quills dyed various colors, or the pigments themselves, as paints, were used at first, though beads
[532] came gradually to take their places. The ornamentation consisted usually of representations of animals, and pictographic records. When leather got wet, it was beaten and rubbed with white clay which they always carried with them. This kept the robes soft. Then there were medicine bags, tobacco pouches, sheathes for knives and bows, all of skin, painted or embroidered with quills, such as are seen over the whole plains
[231] area. They had leather bridles for their horses, sometimes embroidered, and used a saddle, similar to that of the Dakotas. The horses were caught by means of long raw hide lariats which the Indians made themselves.

534 Whistles were also necessary articles to those belonging to the societies. Maximilian[1] describes them as "long wooden whistles at whose lower end an eagle feather on a string dangles." He says they also had large flute whistles, twenty inches long, with holes to vary the notes by application of the fingers. Besides these were the war whistles, usually made from the wing
● 412 bone of some large bird. Other articles of bone, necessitated
321 by the great use of skins, were the bone scrapers, needles and awls with which each house was profusely supplied.

241 Almost the only agricultural implements which they used were hoes. These were the shoulder blades of buffalo or occasionally of elk, which were cut down and to which a crooked stick was fastened as a handle.[2]

415 Among their cooking utensils, which were used in every hut, were spoons and ladles of bighorn and buffalo horns. Verendrye says some of these ladles held as much as three pints.

286 So far as the accounts go the Mandans did not make any textile fabric, though the Arikara are known to have made

[1] Op. cit., p. 416. [2] Henry: vol. I, p. 343.

garters and belts of buffalo hair.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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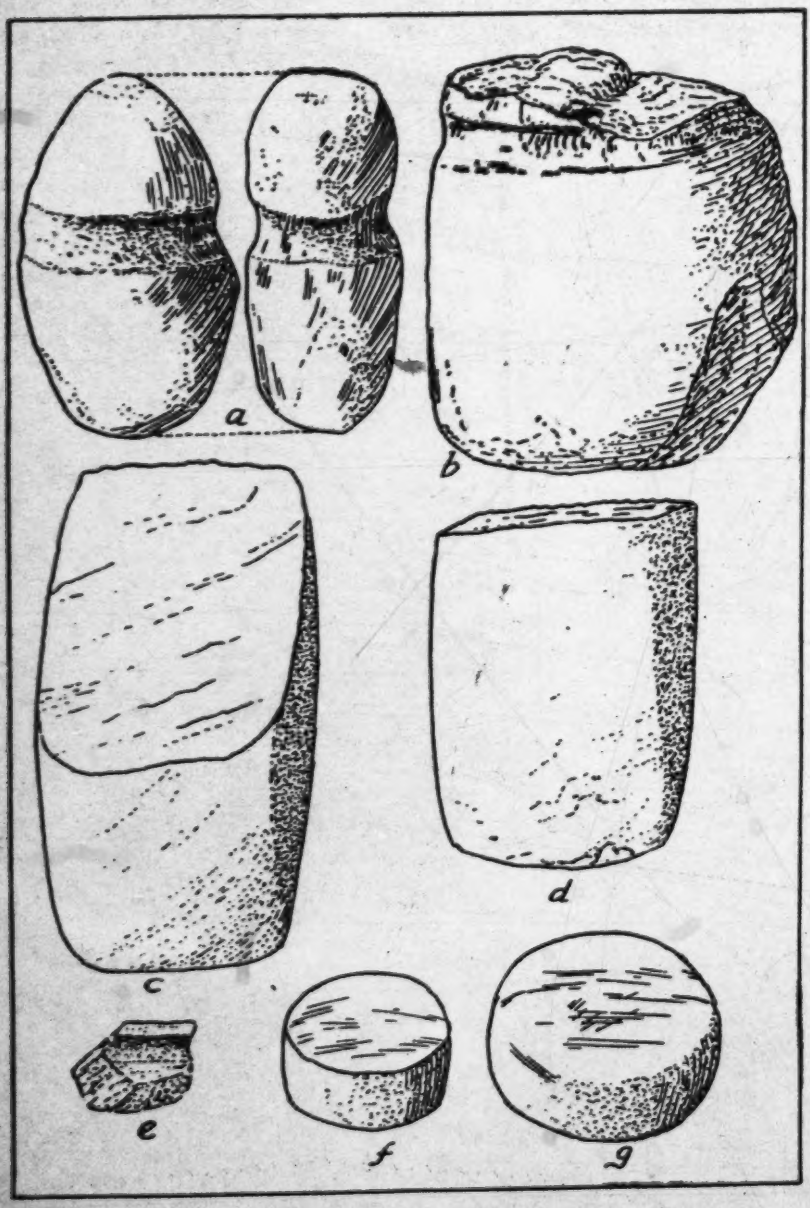

LARGE STONE OBJECTS. ½

[Facing p. 162]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

x172 struction, and two of the large depressions were partly explored and established as house sites. A number of cache pits were cleared. The size of the ditch was ascertained and work was done on all the types of remains within the ditch. The smaller type of mound was also investigated, as well as the dump heap along the bluff. The only thing which was not located was the palisade described as on the outer side of the ditch.

x172 324 412 STONE:—Stone was used by the inhabitants of this old village as material for many articles, large and small. The larger stone objects comprised hammers, axes, celts, discoidal mullers, and large elliptical chipped blades. The smaller specimens may be classed under knives, arrowheads and spearheads, scrapers, chippers, and decorated stones of uncertain use. Some of the implements probably had other uses than those suggested by this list.

Although few large stone pieces were found, the variety was considerable. Plate XXXII, fig. *b*, represents the lower portion of a heavy granite maul. It is in a crumbly state owing to the action of fire. The groove is narrow but well marked, and is without any protruding rim or flange. The striking surface is flat and somewhat elliptical in shape, measuring four inches in its longest diameter.

Plate XXXII, fig. *a*, shows a hammer of red quartzite. This implement, made from a stream-worn stone which did not require much shaping, is divided into two nearly equal parts by a well-made pecked groove. This hammer was found in a boulder layer on hardpan at the east end of Work 2.

One crudely made grooved axe was found, the material being a hard greenstone, probably diorite. The two edges were roughly chipped into shape and the wide, shallow groove about the middle was made by grinding or pecking.

Two axes, showing much finer workmanship, are without grooves, and belong to the class known as celts. These are shown in Plate XXXII, figs. *c* and *d*. They are made of pecked and polished diorite and are bilaterally symmetrical.

Four discoidal stones were unearthed. Two of these were in perfect condition and are shown in Plate XXXII, figs. *f* and *g*, the other two were broken. These discoidal stones are of granite

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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X 172 324 412 or quartzite, well shaped, and measuring from an inch to an inch and a half in thickness, and from an inch and a half to three inches in diameter. Most of the signs of grinding and wear are shown on the circumference. One shows discoloration on both of the faces. The use of these stones is problematical. They may have been used as mullers to grind paint, as the discoloration on one of them suggests, or they may have been used in some game. They resemble the Chungkee stone of the Southern tribes. In the Mandan game of Skohpe, stones described as "rings" were used.

X 172 324 411 The large chipped blade forms were probably put to a variety of uses. Some may have been used for lanceheads and some for spikes to be inset in war clubs. The largest of these blades is shown in Plate XXXIII, fig. *e*. It measures about six inches in length and is made of a gray chert or fine grained argillite. Shorter blades of the same material are shown in Plate XXXIII, figs. *a*, *b*, *d*, *f*. These are all roughly chipped, and do not present much of a cutting edge. Figs. *g* to *k* illustrate various forms of other large blades.

X 172 324 412 The characteristic forms of the smaller implements are shown in Plate XXXIV. The knives (Figs. *a*, *g* to *k*) show a variety of shapes. They average about three and a half inches in length and about five eights of an inch in width. Some are double pointed, and some are squared off at one end. Some are symmetrical in outline and others are not. The material commonly used is a fine grained gray quartzite, but sometimes specimens made from dark colored flints are met with. Many knives were found in the mounds and in the cache pits.

X 172 324 411 It is impossible to draw any definite line between the different classes of small implements. Thus, what are termed spearheads may have been used for knives, and vice versa. Arrowheads differ from spearheads only in size, the former seldom being over one and a half inches in length. A fine leaf-shaped spearhead is shown in Plate XXXIV, fig. *d*. It is made of brownish flint. A wide-stemmed, elliptical one of the same material is shown in Fig. *r*, while Fig. *o* shows a perforator.

Arrowheads of most of the common shapes were found, although they were not very abundant. The material used

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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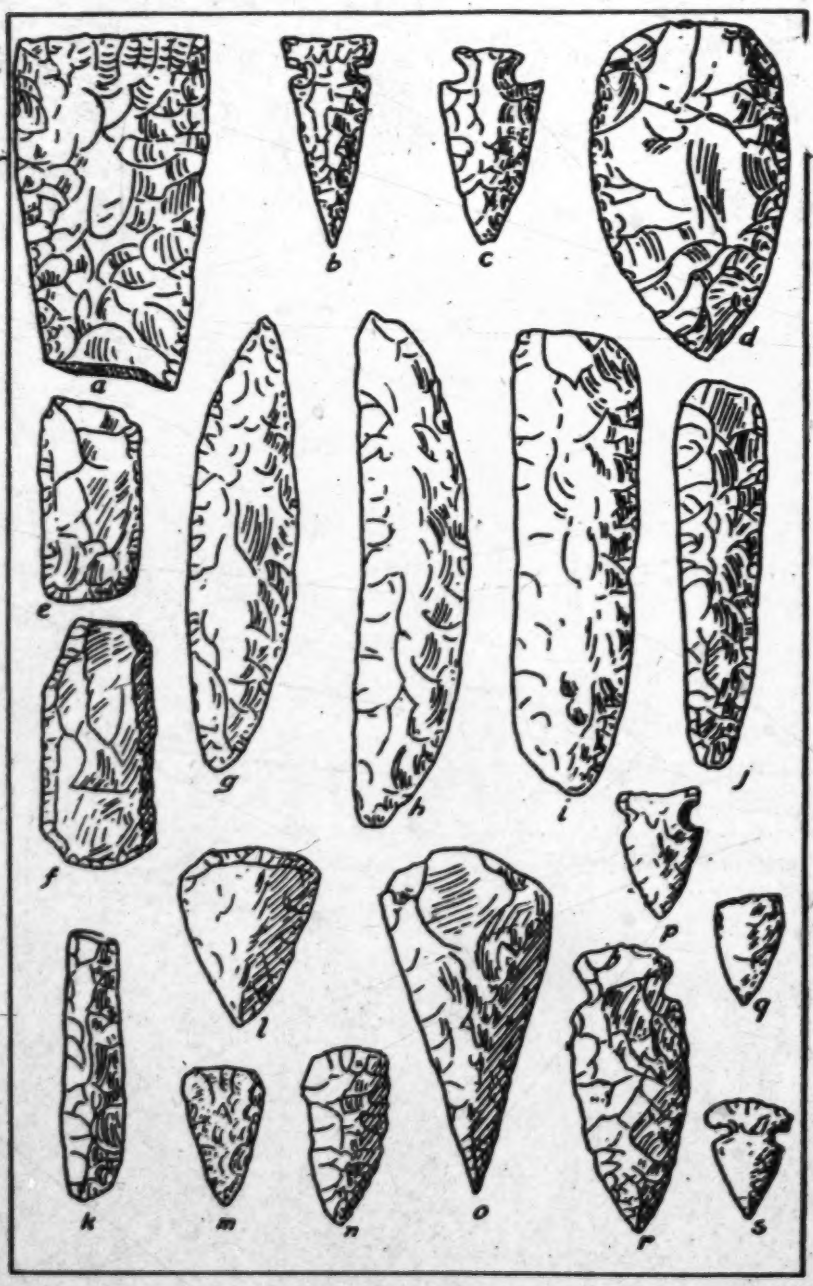

SMALL STONE OBJECTS: KNIVES, PERFORATORS, SCRAPERS, SPEARHEADS, AND ARROWHEADS. ⅓

[P. 164 (B)]

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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X 172 324 for arrowheads was largely flint. A selection of the different types is shown in Plate XXXIV, figs. *b*, *c*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *q* and *s*.

[411] Flint, chert, and quartzite scrapers were in great abundance. Some were of the "turtle back" form (Plate XXXIV, fig. *l*), flat X 172 on one side and convex on the other. Some were irregular flakes 324 with one chipped edge (Plate XXXIII, fig. *c*). Some were roughly 412 rectangular in shape (Plate XXXIV, figs. *e* and *f*), while others were leaf-shaped (Plate XXXIII, fig. *h*).

Flint chips were often found in layers and pockets. Near the bottom of the central cache pit in Work 5, an extensive layer of red and yellow flint chips was encountered. Double handfuls of flint and chert chips were found in various places in the mounds.

Pieces of pumice-stone were often met with in the different village sites. They were used, apparently, as whetstones to sharpen bone awls, and are sometimes deeply grooved as a result of such grinding. Other stones were also used for this purpose.

[171] Plate XXXII, fig. *e*, shows a rasp for smoothing arrowshafts. It is made of a coarse yellow sandstone. It is very similar to rasps found among the Omaha.

Pebbles showing at the ends an abraded surface were common objects in the mounds and cache pits. These were chipping stones and were used in working flint and chert. They were of various kinds of stone, red jasper, diorite, quartzite and sandstone being noted.

X 172 324 Water-worn boulders, seldom over six inches in diameter, were common in all parts of the site. They were such as could be picked up on the prairie or buttes. Layers of boulders were found around the fireplaces in the two house sites explored. An extensive layer was found on hardpan in the eastern end of Work 2.

Some of these boulders gave evidence of having been broken. One showed signs of pecking. This one was oval in shape, and may have been used in shaping the bottoms of pots.

There still remains for consideration a class of ornamented stone objects of uncertain use. Three rectangular flat stones come under this head. All of these stones have diagonal cross

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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X 172 321 In excavating the house site, Work 9, a disc-shaped shell gorget (Fig. 5, *c*), perforated in the center and incised around the rim with radiating lines, was found. A smaller piece of unio shell (Fig. 5, *e*), cut in the shape of a rectangle and polished, may have been used as an ornament. Only two shell beads were found. One was made from a Unio shell and was disc-shaped and about half an inch in diameter (Fig. *b*). The second was a pierced shell of the Oliva literata (Fig. *d*), This latter shell is an Atlantic seaboard variety, found south of Cape Hatteras. It was probably brought up the Mississippi in the course of trade, being commonly found in the mounds of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys.

X 172 COPPER:—Only two pieces of copper were found, one a bead about a half inch in length, and the other an irregular piece of sheet copper with a surface of less than a square inch.

X 172 321 412 BONE:—Bone implements were found in quantity, distributed through all the remains that were examined. The bone articles found may be grouped under two heads, utilitarian and ornamental. The first comprises hoes, edged implements, grainers, arrow-straighteners, scrapers, digging sticks, awls, needles and fish-hooks, besides other articles of uncertain use. The second group contains gorgets, beads, buckles, bracelets, and certain finely made bone objects, which may have had a ceremonial use.

Hoes, broken and entire, were often met with. For these the shoulder blade of the buffalo and elk was used, the spine being cut away and the lower edge of the blade trimmed. The socket end of the blade shows no signs of wear in any of the specimens. This may be because it was protected by the thongs which bound it to the handle.

Smaller implements, made from part of a buffalo horn, were found here and there. Most of these were polished by much use, the base of the horn being worn down to a cutting edge. Fig. 6 represents one which has acquired a high polish from use. One of these implements was found in the middle stage of manufacture; in it the horn is roughly trimmed, as with

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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an axe, and part of the frontal bone of the skull is still attached to the base of the horn. These horn tools may have been used for scrapers, trowels, or for general purposes in the kitchen.

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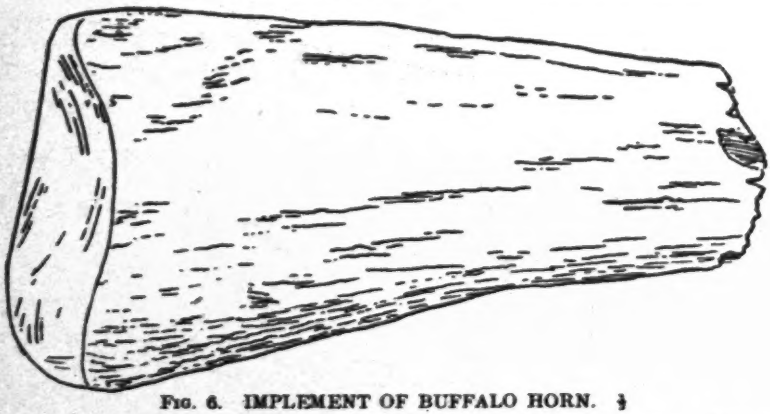

FIG. 6. IMPLEMENT OF BUFFALO HORN. ½

Several gouges or grainers were uncovered. They were made from the metapodial bones of the buffalo, and show good

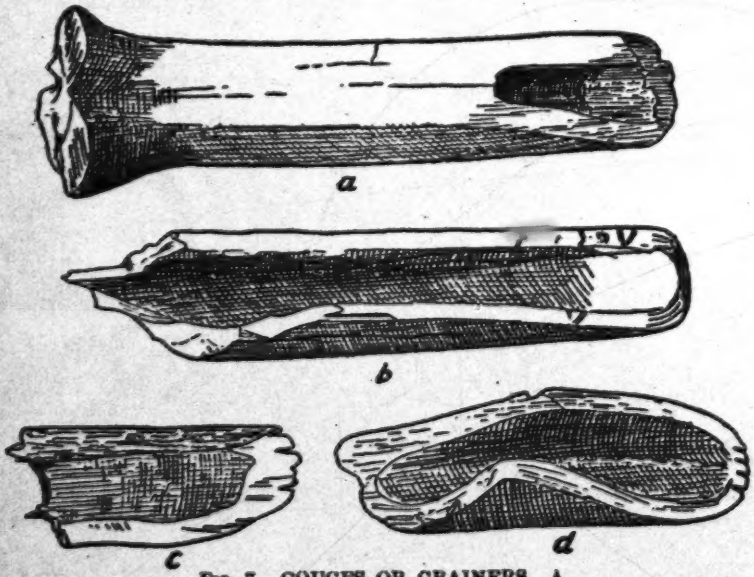

FIG. 7. GOUGES OR GRAINERS. ½

workmanship. Some of them (Fig. 7, *a* and *b*) have a smooth scraping edge, while others (Fig. 7, *c* and *d*) have a notched edge.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

172 The socket end of Fig. 7, *a*, the only perfect specimen, was probably covered with a pad, as the bone is rough, untrimmed, and shows no signs of wear. These gouge-like tools were probably used to scrape down skins in the process of graining.

So-called "arrow-straighteners" were found in considerable numbers in the mounds. These are of buffalo rib bones through which from one to three holes have been bored. The holes are sometimes almost round, but, more usually, are elongated along the axis of the bone. The bore is doubly funnel-shaped expanding toward both surfaces of the bone (Fig. 8). The use of these objects is problematical. It seems illogical to consider them

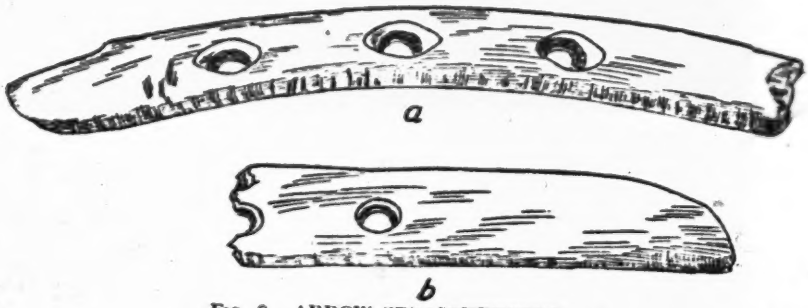

FIG. 8. ARROW-STRAIGHTENERS. ½

wrenches to straighten arrowshafts, because in this operation only one hole could be used at a time, and additional holes would only weaken the instrument. Since the holes in each piece are all the same size, they could not have been intended for arrowshafts of different sizes. However, beyond the possible use as arrow-straighteners, no use has been suggested for them.

Certain crude bone tools, worn on one or more edges, may be grouped as scrapers. Most of these are made of broken bones of the buffalo, in particular the shoulder blades and the larger leg bones. They evidently had only a temporary use.

"Digging sticks," as they have been called for want of a better name, were found in great numbers. These are made of the rib bones of the buffalo and elk, which have been worn off round at one or both ends (Plate XXXV, fig. *a*).

By far the most common of worked bone objects found, fall under the head of awls. These were found in all the exca-

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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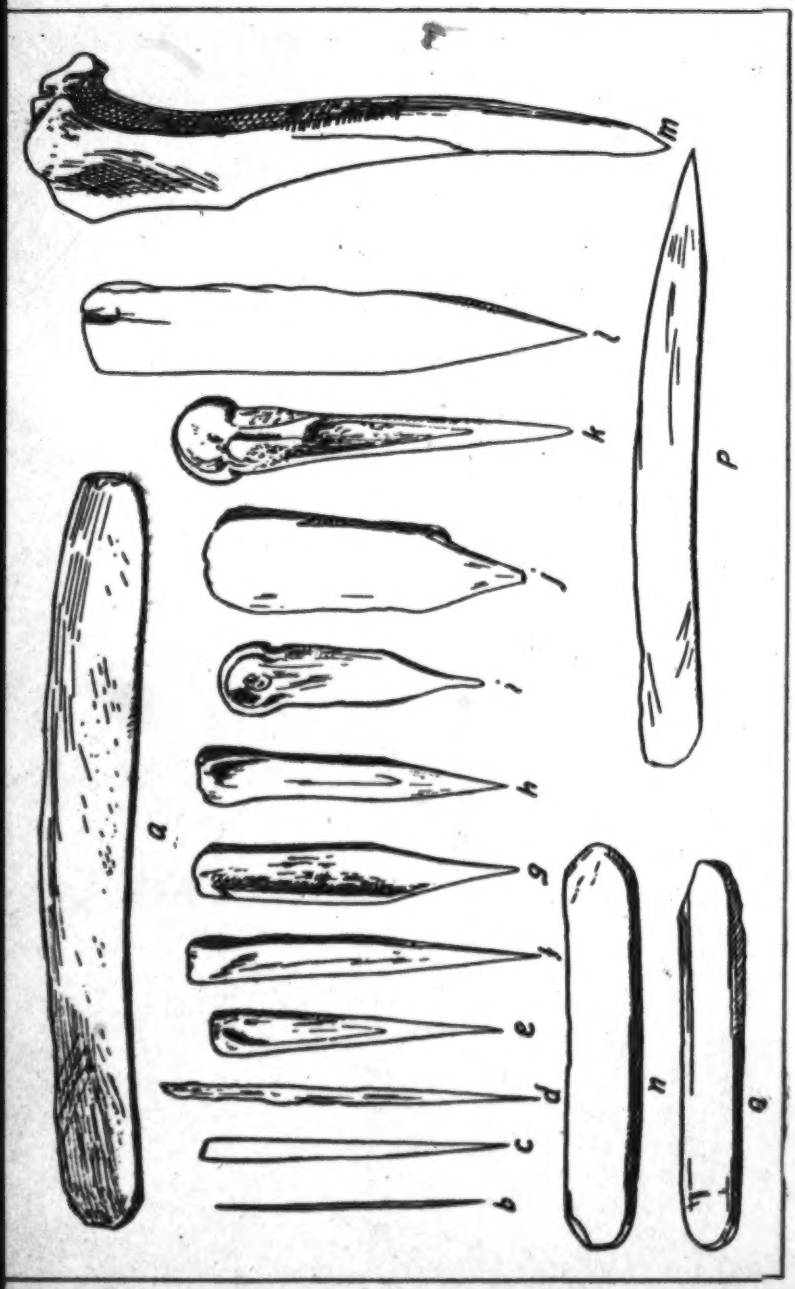

SMALL BONE IMPLEMENTS. ¼

[Facing p. 170]

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

X172 vations and in all the village sites visited. They have a wide range in size and shape; a series of typical examples is given in 321 Plate XXXV. The needles are represented in this plate by Figs. *b*, *c*, 412 and *d*. The first of these is round and very sharp, the other two are flat pieces of slivered bird bone. The larger awls are made in various shapes from various bones. Figs. *e*, *f*, and *h* are of bird bones. Figs. *g*, *j*, *l*, *n*, *o* and *p* are made from rib bones of buffalo and deer. Figs. *i* and *k* are made from the metapodial bones of the deer. Besides the awls which are more or less regular in shape, many were found which were very irregular. These were evidently intended for a temporary use and were made of anything that came to hand. Fig. *m* represents one of these cruder implements. The awls were ground to a point on whet stones of pumice stone.

A paint brush similar to those used of late years was found. It is triangular in shape and is made from the interior portion of a large bone.

FIG. 9. OBJECT MADE FROM BUFFALO SHOULDER BLADE. ½

Certain objects of doubtful use are made of the shoulder blades of large animals. Fig. 9 shows such an implement. It is thin, highly polished and has one edge sharpened. They may have been used for knives and scrapers.

574 chief gave our horses in charge of a young man, and told us
609 we need not be uneasy as there would be good care taken of them.

574 On going into the hut, we found buffalo hides spread on the
262 ground, before the fire, for us to sit upon, and soon after we were presented with two large dishes of boiled corn and beans, after which they gave us another large dish of boiled dried meat, but very few of us could eat of it, as it had too strong a taste and smell.[1]

231 After some other details which we omit, Harvey writes that
342 when night came: "One young man brought in our horses, and put them in the same hut along with us, upon the right hand, on entering, and ourselves upon the left; a space was enclosed with a railing to keep them within bounds. This custom causes their habitations to have a very disagreeable and offensive smell. This precaution of theirs is to keep the horses from being stolen by the Assiniboines, or other enemies, who are frequently lurking about the village.

515 "Towards evening, having gone down to the river side, I
291 observed the custom of washing themselves in the Missouri. Both men and women make it a rule, every morning and evening, to go down to the river, and wash for some time; the men make use of the clay to wash their hair, which answers the purpose of soap to take out the white and red earth with which they daub it, after having washed. Modesty in the female sex appears to be a virtue they are unacquainted with. They wear a kind of leather shift which reaches down to the calves of their legs. This they slip off some distance from the shore, and walk very deliberately into the water entirely naked, in the presence of old and young who seem not to pay any attention to them. * * * * The men make use of no other covering, in the summer season, than these buffalo robes, and even these are seldom worn within doors, and only thrown on when they go out to visit or walk about the village.
[352] Both sexes sleep naked. Their beds are raised about two feet from the ground, and hung around with dressed skins. In summer they seldom use any coverings at night, but lay like so many brutes."[2] * * * * Mr. Henry gives a description of their lascivious dances which is too indelicate to publish. He writes under date of:

252 "Sunday, July 20th. At daybreak we were all up, and I
262 took a walk down to the river, where I observed the same cer-
352 emony of washing as last evening, with as little reserve as
512 before. Our host on our return presented us with some dried
●412 meat, and soon after a dish of corn and beans, but as it is not seasoned with any kind of grease or fat, after the first meal it has a very insipid taste. The corn is generally pounded or bruised in a wooden mortar, which is fixed fast and firm in the ground, in one corner of the hut, and this is the first work performed by the women in the morning.

[1] [Category 116, p. 325.-A] [2] [Category 116, p. 326.-A]

10: Neill H4(no date) .1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

formed by the women in the morning.[1] Their sweet corn and beans are boiled whole; they make use of large earthen pots of their own manufacture, made of black clay, of which they have plenty near their villages. They make them of different sizes, from five gallons to a quart. In these vessels is never anything of a greasy nature.[1] * * * * * The bottoms of the pots are of an oblong shape; it therefore requires much care to keep them from upsetting, for which purpose when they are put to the fire a hole is made in the ashes to secure and prop them erect, and when taken away they are placed upon a sort of mat made of the fibers of the bois blanc; these coils or rugs are made of different sizes, according to the dimensions of the several pots, which keeps them firm and secure. Some of these pots are provided with two cones, or handles.[1] * *

Baptiste La France made his appearance here. This man had left the Prairie la Souris [Mouse River] with a small assortment of goods for the purpose of trading, equipped by the Hudson Bay Company. He now resides upon the south side of the river, at the great Mandane village,* and hearing of the arrival of white people, he came over to us. He now informed the chief, Black Cat, who his guests were and the cause of our visit, which was mere curiosity. [The chief] instantly retired to his family hut and brought out his flag, which was given him in 1804–5; they alsogave him a silver medal, and the same articles were also given to the principal chief of each of the other villages, also several very useful utensils were left amongst them.† I saw the remains of an excellent large corn mill, which the foolish fellows had demolished on purpose to barb their arrows; the largest piece of it which they could not break nor work up into any weapon they have now fixed to a wooden handle, and make use of it to pound marrow bones, to make grease."

We were now desirous of crossing the river, therefore sent off La France to engage people of the opposite village to come over for us.[2] * * * * * * We were now informed that eight canoes were in waiting for us, from the opposite side, and the same number of young men had come over to assist in crossing our horses.[2] * * * * On our going over to the war side we found the chief of the Great Mandan village, Le Gros Blanc. He was waiting with his own canoe to ferry over Mr. Chaboillez and me. He appeared very

† To each chief, Lewis and Clarke presented a medal, a flag, and a uniform coat. In the narrative of the expedition is the following sentence: "A variety of other presents were distributed, but none seemed to give them more satisfaction than the iron corn mill, which we gave to the Mandans."

† The Mandans, about 1760, were settled on the banks of the Missouri, eighty miles below, seven villages on the west and two on the east side of the river. The two villages were reduced by small-pox, and moved up the river and settled a village near the Receivers, and afterwards the people of the other village joined them. In 1796 they were in two villages at the points where Henry found them, on opposite sides of Missouri, about three miles apart.

[1] [Category 116, p. 328.-A.] [2] [Category 116, p. 329.-A]

10: Neill 14(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and treasures, as it contains every thing he values most, viz: two bulls' heads, which seem to be their great Manitou and protection. They are well daubed over with earth, and particular care is taken of them. There is laid on, or rather hung up, his arms, shield, ammunition, scalps of his enemies, and every thing he most values. 353

MORTAR AND PESTLE.

Next to this stage, stand the mortar and pestle, fixed firm in the ground, and the remainder of the hut from that to the door is vacant during the daytime, but occupied during the night by the horses. Then there still remains a large space in the center, around the fire, for the use of the family, which is generally swept clean once a day. 342 412 231

CORN STAGE.

Fronting the entrance of each porch stands a stage raised about eight feet from the ground, twenty feet in length, and ten feet in breadth, for the purpose of hanging up their corn to dry, in the fall; these stages have a tolerable good flooring, which in the fall is covered with beans to dry, and posts are erected upon them, on the tops of which are laid poles or rafters, to which the corn and sliced squashes are suspended in tresses to dry. When their harvest is over, they must have a pretty effect, but at this season of the year they are lumbered up with different kinds of drift-wood, of which they make their fires, and it gives a very ugly appearance to the villages. 343 251 313 372

DRIFT WOOD.

This wood they collect, in the spring, when the ice breaks up, and when great quantities of this wood floats down, the natives being expert swimmers, and so very active, that there is scarcely a large tree escapes them, until they have a sufficient stock for the year. I observed lying opposite to each village, an immense pile of this wood, and some trees of an amazing size. Commonly, when they collect the drift wood there come down numbers of drowned buffalo, that have perished in attempting to cross above, at a season when the ice was bad. These animals the natives are very careful to haul on shore, as they prefer the flesh in that state. [222] [262]

LIGHT HAIRED CHILDREN.

An extraordinary sight that struck me among these people, was to see several children, of about ten years of age, whose hair was perfectly gray, and bore a strong resemblance to aged persons. Those I saw were all girls. These people in general have not that strong coarse hair, so peculiar to the natives of North America; it is of a much finer nature, rather inclining to 142

[See Category 16, p. 362.-N.]

437 willing and ready to serve you as long as you have any property.
177 But when all is expended you may shift for yourself, as they will pretend they do not understand you any longer. Besides paying our host [343] beforehand, I promised him a tobacco-pipe on my departure, if I were then pleased with his conduct during our stay. His pay consisted of the following articles: 60 balls and powder, 4 large knives, 2 small knives, 1 fathom tobacco, 1 dozen rings, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 6 flints, 3 worms, 3 awls, and 1/4 pound blue beads.

164 [343] The natives at present are mostly affected with a bad cough, which daily takes some of them off. Aged and infirm persons, and young children, are the common victims to this disease. It is a kind of whooping-cough, which has appeared all along the Red and Assiniboine rivers, on the Saskatchewan even to Fort des Prairies, and in several other parts of the North West, carrying off many people

241 July 21st. I set off early on horseback with part of my people
[462 for the upper villages. We passed extensive fields of corn, beans,
561] squashes, and sunflowers. Many women and children were already
●412 employed in clearing and hoeing their plantations. Their hoes are the shoulderblade of a buffalo, to which is fastened a crooked stick for a handle; the soil not being stony, this slight implement answers every purpose. The road first led over two hills, after which we came to a smooth and pleasant plain for about two miles to the Saulteur (Soulier) [Amahami—Analyst] village, of about 40 huts.

361 [362]. . These villages are surrounded by a kind of stockade, princi-
417 pally made of driftwood, which has a miserable appearance and is daily falling to pieces; but I am told that upon any emergency it can be put into a tolerably good state of defense at very short notice, as every man, woman, and child lends a hand.

526 We witnessed a diversion which takes place almost every day
481 between the Mandanes and Saulteurs (Souliers). It is the exercise
702 of running long foot races, in order to be prepared for the emergency of being dismounted and obliged to fly from their enemies at war. They assemble upon a beautiful green near the village, where, having remained some time, calling out to their comrades to come and run, they set off in a file on a slow trot, entirely naked, taking the road that leads up the hills to the S., about a mile from the village. Passing near those rising grounds, they disappear, and are not seen till they reappear from the S.E., down a steep hill and over a level plain, to the spot whence they started. Here they do not stop, but rush on to the Missourie, and plunge in headlong, all

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

526 of them to get as many as eight arrows up before the first one reaches the ground.

For the successful use of the bow, as it is used through all this region of
536 country on horseback, and that invariably at full speed, the great object of
224 practice is to enable the bowman to draw the bow with suddenness and instant effect; and also to repeat the shots in the most rapid manner. As their game is killed from their horses' backs while at the swiftest rate—and their enemies fought in the same way; and as the horse is the swiftest animal of the prairie, and always able to bring his rider alongside, within a few paces of his victim; it will easily be seen that the Indian has little use in throwing his arrow more than a few paces; when he leans quite low on his horse's side, and drives it with astonishing force, capable of producing instant death to the buffalo, or any other animal in the country. The bows which are generally in use in these regions I have described in a former Letter, and the effects produced by them at the distance of a few paces is almost beyond relief, considering their length, which is not often over three,—and sometimes not exceeding two and a half feet. It can easily be seen, from what has been said, that the Indian has little use or object in throwing the arrow to any great distance. And as it is very seldom that they can be seen shooting at a target, I doubt very much whether their skill in such practice would compare with that attained to in many parts of the civilized world; but with the same weapon, and dashing forward at fullest speed on the wild horse, without the use of the rein, when the shot is required to be made with the most instantaneous effect, I scarcely think it possible that any people can be found more skilled, and capable of producing more deadly effects with the bow.

The horses which the Indians ride in this country are invariably the wild
231 horses, which are found in great numbers on the prairies; and have, unquestionably, strayed from the Mexican borders, into which they were introduced by the Spanish invaders of that country; and now range and subsist themselves, in winter and summer, over the vast plains of prairie that stretch from the Mexican frontiers to Lake Winnipeg on the North, a distance of 3000 miles. These horses are all of small stature, of the pony order; but a very hardy and tough animal, being able to perform for the Indians a continual and essential service. They are taken with the *laso*,
• [413] which is a long halter or thong, made of raw-hide, of some fifteen or twenty yards in length, and which the Indians throw with great dexterity; with a noose at one end of it, which drops over the head of the animal they wish to catch, whilst running at full speed—when the Indian dismounts from his own horse, and holding to the end of the laso, choaks the animal down, and afterwards tames and converts him to his own use.

Scarcely a man in these regions is to be found, who is not the owner of
422 one or more of these horses; and in many instances of eight, ten, or even twenty, which he values as his own personal property.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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281 Verendrye mentions their skill in making such things as
237 painted ox-robes, deer skin, dressed buckskin, and ornamented fur and feathers, painted feathers, peltry, wrought garters, circlets for the head, and girdles. They certainly understood the art of dressing skins, though perhaps other nations equalled them. All their visitors speak of the ornamented robes for the decoration of which porcupine quills dyed various colors, or the pigments themselves, as paints, were used at first, though beads
[532] came gradually to take their places. The ornamentation consisted usually of representations of animals, and pictographic records. When leather got wet, it was beaten and rubbed with white clay which they always carried with them. This kept the robes soft. Then there were medicine bags, tobacco pouches, sheathes for knives and bows, all of skin, painted or embroidered with quills, such as are seen over the whole plains
[231] area. They had leather bridles for their horses, sometimes embroidered, and used a saddle, similar to that of the Dakotas. The horses were caught by means of long raw hide lariats which the Indians made themselves.

534 Whistles were also necessary articles to those belonging to the societies. Maximilian[1] describes them as "long wooden whistles at whose lower end an eagle feather on a string dangles." He says they also had large flute whistles, twenty inches long, with holes to vary the notes by application of the fingers. Besides these were the war whistles, usually made from the wing
412 bone of some large bird. Other articles of bone, necessitated
321 by the great use of skins, were the bone scrapers, needles and awls with which each house was profusely supplied.

241 Almost the only agricultural implements which they used were hoes. These were the shoulder blades of buffalo or occasionally of elk, which were cut down and to which a crooked stick was fastened as a handle.[2]

• 415 Among their cooking utensils, which were used in every hut, were spoons and ladles of bighorn and buffalo horns. Verendrye says some of these ladles held as much as three pints.

286 So far as the accounts go the Mandans did not make any textile fabric, though the Arikara are known to have made

[1] Op. cit., p. 416. [2] Henry: vol. I, p. 343.

garters and belts of buffalo hair.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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323 earthen pot of some three gallons, put a platter in the mouth of the pot which has a nitch on its edge through which to watch the beads. Then some well seasoned clay, mixed with sand and tempered with water till of the consistency of dough, is taken, and from it are made a number of little sticks of the size of the hole desired in the bead. These are heated to a red heat and cooled again. The pot is also heated to clean it. Then small balls of the clay are made to serve as pedestals for the beads. The powdered glass, enough for one bead, is dipped into the palm of the hand with a little wooden paddle, where it is paddled into an oblong form, the clay stick is then laid across it and the glass is wound around the clay. The whole is then rolled in the hand till regular. To put in other colors the other end of the paddle stick, which is sharp, is used to make a hole which is then filled with another colored glass. A hole is then made in the center of each pedestal and a bead stuck in it. Then the platter is put in the coals and the pot is inverted over it; dry wood is placed about the whole and burnt; the beads are watched through the hole in the bottom of the pot, as overheating is harmful. When the beads are whitish red and grow pointed, they are taken off. The clay center is picked out with an awl.

● 415 323 Wooden bowls were used to some extent by the Mandans.[1] They also made very excellent pottery which was mentioned by nearly all their visitors. Verendrye says they had earthen pots which they used for cooking their food. Catlin speaks of earthenware dishes made in great quantities by the women and modelled into a thousand forms. He says they were of a tough, black clay, very hard, and were baked in prepared kilns. Henry[2] says they used large earthen pots of clay which was plentiful near the village. The pots held from one quart to five gallons. Nothing greasy was cooked in them as they claimed it cracked them. The bottoms of the pots were convex and they were set in the fire in a hole in the ashes. Coils of bois blanc fibres with a hole in the center, and of different sizes, were used to stand the pots on when off the fire. Some pots had two ears or handles.

[1] Catlin: vol. I, p. 114. [2] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 328.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

574 The Mandans are hospitable, and often invite their acquaintance to come and see them.
276 Their pipes are made of the red-stone, or of black clay. They obtain the red pipe-heads chiefly
241 from the Sioux; sometimes they have wooden heads lined with stone; the tube is plain, long,
824 round or flat, on the whole, of the same shape as among the Sioux, but they are not so fastidious about ornamenting their pipes as other tribes. They smoke the leaves of the tobacco plant, which is cultivated by them; the bark of the red willow *(Cornus sericea)*, which they obtain from the traders, is sometimes mixed with the tobacco, or the latter with the leaves of the bearberry *(Arbutus uva ursi)*. The tobacco of the Whites, unmixed, is too strong for the Indians, because they draw the smoke into their lungs; hence they do not willingly smoke cigars.

415 The meals of the Mandans are served in wooden dishes. The spoons are generally large and deep; they are made of the horn of the bighorn (see woodcut, p. 251); sometimes they are yellow, or else they are shallow, made of black buffalo's horn. They have a considerable variety
224 of dishes. The Indians residing in permanent villages have the advantage of the roving hunting
241 tribes, in that they not only hunt, but derive their chief subsistence from their plantations, which afford them a degree of security against distress. It is true these Indians sometimes suffer hunger when the buffalo herds keep at a great distance, and their crops fail; but the distress can never be so great among the Missouri Indians, as in the tribes that live further northwards. The plants which they cultivate are maize, beans, French beans, gourds, sunflowers, and tobacco *(Nicotiana quadrivalvis)*, of which I brought home some seeds, which have flowered in several botanic gardens.

243 Of maize there are several varieties of colour, to which they give different names. The
241 several varieties are:—1. White maize. 2. Yellow maize. 3. Red maize. 4. Spotted maize. 5. Black maize. 6. Sweet maize. 7. Very hard yellow maize. 8. White, or red-striped maize. 9. Very tender yellow maize.*

The beans are likewise of various sorts—small white beans, black, red, and spotted beans. The gourds are—yellow, black, striped, blue, long, and thick-shelled gourds.

241 The sunflower is a large helianthus, which seems perfectly to resemble that cultivated in our
276 gardens. It is planted in rows between the maize. There are two or three varieties, with red, and black, and one with smaller seeds. Very nice cakes are made of these seeds. The tobacco

* I brought to Europe specimens of the several kinds of maize grown among the Mandans; these have been sown, but only the early species were ripe in September, 1835. The heads have by no means attained the same size, on the Rhine, as in their native country. There the plant attains a height of five or six feet, and the colours of the grains are very various, bright and beautiful: while, on the Rhine, the plant grew to the height of four or four and a half feet. The later sorts grew to the height of ten feet, and were not quite ripe at the end of October. (See Bradbury, page 145, for an account of the maize of the Mandans.)

According to Tanner (page 180), an Ottawa Indian first introduced the cultivation of maize on the Red River, among the Ojibwas, or Chippeways.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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123 I had thus far progressed, with high-wrought feelings of pleasure, when
156 the two or three chiefs, who had been seated around the lodge, and whose portraits I had before painted, arose suddenly, and wrapping themselves tightly in their robes, crossed my room with a quick and heavy step, and took an informal leave of my cabin. I was apprehensive of their displeasure, though I continued my work; and in a few moments the interpreter came furiously into my room, addressing me thus:—"My God, Sir! this never will do; you have given great offence to the chiefs—they have made complaint of your conduct to me—they tell me this is a worthless fellow—a man of no account in the nation, and if you paint his picture, you must instantly destroy theirs; you have no alternative, my dear Sir—and the quicker this chap is out of your lodge the better."

The same matter was explained to my sitter by the interpreter, when he picked up his robe, wrapped himself in it, plied his fan nimbly about his face, and walked out of the lodge in silence, but with quite a consequential smile, taking his old position in front of the door for awhile, after which he drew himself quietly off without further exhibition. So highly do Mandan braves and worthies value the honour of being painted; and so little do they value a man, however lavishly Nature may have bestowed her master touches upon him, who has not the pride and noble bearing of a warrior.

000 I spoke in a former Letter of Mah-to-toh-pa (the four bears), the second chief of the nation, and the most popular man of the Mandans—a high-minded and gallant warrior, as well as a polite and polished gentleman. Since I painted his portrait, as I before described, I have received at his hands many marked and signal attentions; some of which I must name to you, as the very relation of them will put you in possession of many little forms and modes of Indian life, that otherwise might not have been noted.

574 About a week since, this noble fellow stepped into my painting-room about twelve o'clock in the day, in full and splendid dress, and passing his arm through mine, pointed the way, and led me in the most gentlemanly manner, through the village and into his own lodge, where a feast was prepared in a careful manner and waiting our arrival. The lodge in which he
[342] dwelt was a room of immense size, some forty or fifty feet in diameter, in a circular form, and about twenty feet high—with a sunken curb of stone in the centre, of five or six feet in diameter and one foot deep, which contained the fire over which the pot was boiling. I was led near the edge of this curb, and seated on a very handsome robe, most ingeniously garnished and painted with hieroglyphics; and he seated himself gracefully on another one at a little distance from me; with the feast prepared in several dishes, resting on a beautiful rush mat, which was placed between us (PLATE 62).

262 The simple feast which was spread before us consisted of three dishes
264 only, two of which were served in wooden bowls, and the third in an earthen
415 vessel of their own manufacture, somewhat in shape of a bread-tray in our own country. This last contained a quantity of *pem-i-can* and *marrow-*

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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262 *fat;* and one of the former held a fine brace of buffalo ribs, delightfully
264 roasted; and the other was filled with a kind of paste or pudding, made of
415 the flour of the "*pomme blanche,*" as the French call it, a delicious turnip of the prairie, finely flavoured with the buffalo berries, which are collected in great quantities in this country, and used with divers dishes in cooking, as we in civilized countries use dried currants, which they very much resemble.

276 A handsome pipe and a tobacco-pouch made of the otter skin, filled with
264 k'nick-k'neck (Indian tobacco), laid by the side of the feast; and when we were seated, mine host took up his pipe, and deliberately filled it; and instead of lighting it by the fire, which he could easily have done, he drew from his pouch his flint and steel, and raised a spark with which he kindled it. He drew a few strong whiffs through it, and presented the stem of it to my mouth, through which I drew a whiff or two while he held the stem in his hands. This done, he laid down the pipe, and drawing his knife from his belt, cut off a very small piece of the meat from the ribs, and pronouncing the words "Ho-pe-ne-chee wa-pa-shee" (meaning a *medicine* sacrifice), threw it into the fire.

He then (by signals) requested me to eat, and I commenced, after drawing out from my belt my knife (which it is supposed that every man in this country carries about him, for at an Indian feast a knife is never offered to a guest). Reader, be not astonished that I sat and ate my dinner *alone,*
[576] for such is the custom of this strange land. In all tribes in these western regions it is an invariable rule that a chief never eats with his guests invited to a feast; but while they eat, he sits by, at their service, and ready to wait upon them; deliberately charging and lighting the pipe which is to be passed around after the feast is over. Such was the case in the present instance, and while I was eating, Mah-to-toh-pa sat cross-legged before me, cleaning his pipe and preparing it for a cheerful smoke when I had finished my meal. For this ceremony I observed he was making unusual preparation, and I observed as I ate, that after he had taken enough of the k'nick-k'neck or bark of the red willow, from his pouch, he rolled out of it also a piece of the "*castor,*" which it is customary amongst these folks to carry in their tobacco-sack to give it a flavour; and, shaving off a small quantity of it, mixed it with the bark, with which he charged his pipe. This done, he drew also from his sack a small parcel containing a fine powder, which was made of dried buffalo dung, a little of which he spread over the top, (according also to custom,) which was like tinder, having no other effect than that of lighting the pipe with ease and satisfaction. My appetite satiated, I straightened up, and with a whiff the pipe was lit, and we enjoyed together for a quarter of an hour the most delightful exchange of good feelings, amid clouds of smoke and pantomimic signs and gesticulations.

251 The dish of "pemican and marrow-fat," of which I spoke, was thus:—The first, an article of food used throughout this country, as familiarly as we use

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251 bread in the civilized world. It is made of buffalo meat dried very hard, and afterwards pounded in a large wooden mortar until it is made nearly as fine as sawdust, then packed in this dry state in bladders or sacks of skin, and is easily carried to any part of the world in good order. "Marrow-fat" is collected by the Indians from the buffalo bones which they break to pieces, yielding a prodigious quantity of marrow, which is boiled out and put into buffalo bladders which have been distended; and after it cools, becomes quite hard like tallow, and has the appearance, and very nearly the flavour, of the richest yellow butter. At a feast, chunks of this marrow-fat are cut off and placed in a tray or bowl, with the pemican, and eaten together; which we civilized folks in these regions consider a very good substitute for (and indeed we generally so denominate it) "bread and
● 415 butter." In this dish laid a spoon made of the buffalo's horn, which was black as jet, and beautifully polished; in one of the others there was another of still more ingenious and beautiful workmanship, made of the horn of the mountain-sheep, or "Gros corn," as the French trappers call them; it was large enough to hold of itself two or three pints, and was almost entirely transparent.

I spoke also of the earthen dishes or bowls in which these viands were served out; they are a familiar part of the culinary furniture of every Mandan lodge, and are manufactured by the women of this tribe in great quantities, and modelled into a thousand forms and tastes. They are made by the hands of the women, from a tough black clay, and baked in kilns which are made for the purpose, and are nearly equal in hardness to our own manufacture of pottery; though they have not yet got the art of glazing, which would be to them a most valuable secret. They make them so strong and serviceable, however, that they hang them over the fire as we do our iron pots, and boil their meat in them with perfect success. I have seen some few specimens of such manufacture, which have been dug up in Indian mounds and tombs in the southern and middle states, placed in our Eastern Museums and looked upon as a great wonder, when here this novelty is at once done away with, and the whole mystery; where women can be seen handling and using them by hundreds, and they can be seen every day in the summer also, moulding them into many fanciful forms, and passing them through the kiln where they are hardened.

576 Whilst sitting at this feast the wigwam was as silent as death, although we
595 were not alone in it. This chief, like most others, had a plurality of wives, and all of them (some six or seven) were seated around the sides of the lodge, upon robes or mats placed upon the ground, and not allowed to speak, though they were it readiness to obey his orders or commands, which were uniformly given by signs manual, and executed in the neatest and most silent manner.

431 When I arose to return, the pipe through which we had smoked was presented to me; and the robe on which I had sat, he gracefully raised by the corners and tendered it to me, explaining by signs that the paintings

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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was laid, and firmly attached to it, a coating of deers' sinews, which gave it its elasticity, and of course death to all that stood inimically before it. Its string was three stranded and twisted of sinews, which many a time had twanged and sent the whizzing death to animal and to human victims. 411

The *Quiver* was made of a panther's skin and hung upon his back, charged with its deadly arrows; some were poisoned and some were not; they were feathered with hawks' and eagles' quills; some were clean and innocent, and pure, and others were stained all over, with animal and human blood that was dried upon them. Their blades or points were of flints, and some of steel; and altogether were a deadly magazine.

The *Lance* or spear was held in his left hand; its blade was two-edged and of polished steel, and the blood of several human victims was seen dried upon it, one over the other; its shaft was of the toughest ash, and ornamented at intervals with tufts of war-eagles' quills.

His *Tobacco-sack* was made of the skin of an otter, and tastefully garnished with quills of the porcupine; in it was carried his *k'nick-k'neck*, (the bark of the red willow, which is smoked as a substitute for tobacco), it contained also his flint and steel, and spunk for lighting——— 276

His *Pipe*, which was ingeniously carved out of the red steatite (or pipe-stone), the stem of which was three feet long and two inches wide, made from the stalk of the young ash; about half its length was wound with delicate braids of the porcupine's quills, so ingeniously wrought as to represent figures of men and animals upon it. It was also ornamented with the skins and beaks of wood-peckers' heads, and the hair of the white buffalo's tail. The lower half of the stem was painted red, and on its edges it bore the notches he had recorded for the snows (or years) of his life.

His *Robe* was made of the skin of a young buffalo bull, with the fur on one side, and the other finely and delicately dressed; with all the battles of his life emblazoned on it by his own hand. 292

His *Belt*, which was of a substantial piece of buckskin, was firmly girded around his waist; and in it were worn his tomahawk and scalping-knife.

His *Medicine-bag* was the skin of a beaver, curiously ornamented with hawks' bills and ermine. It was held in his right hand, and his *po-ko-mo-kon* (or war-club) which was made of a round stone, tied up in a piece of rawhide, and attached to the end of a stick, somewhat in the form of a sling, was laid with others of his weapons at his feet. 415 ● 411

Such was the dress of Mah-to-toh-pa when he entered my wigwam to stand for his picture; but such I have not entirely represented it in his portrait; having rejected such trappings and ornaments as interfered with the grace and simplicity of the figure. He was beautifully and extravagantly dressed; and in this he was not alone, for hundreds of others are equally elegant. In plumes, and arms, and ornaments, he is not singular; but in laurels and wreaths he stands unparalleled. His breast has been bared and scarred in defence of his country, and his brows crowned with honours 159

10: Neill 44(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

formed by the women in the morning.[1] Their sweet corn and beans are boiled whole; they make use of large earthen pots of their own manufacture, made of black clay, of which they have plenty near their villages. They make them of different sizes, from five gallons to a quart. In these vessels is never anything of a greasy nature.[1] * * * * * The bottoms of the pots are of an oblong shape; it therefore requires much care to keep them from upsetting, for which purpose when they are put to the fire a hole is made in the ashes to secure and prop them erect, and when taken away they are placed upon a sort of mat made of the fibers of the bois blanc; these coils or rugs are made of different sizes, according to the dimensions of the several pots, which keeps them firm and secure. Some of these pots are provided with two cones, or handles.[1] * *

Baptiste La France made his appearance here. This man had left the Prairie la Souris [Mouse River] with a small assortment of goods for the purpose of trading, equipped by the Hudson Bay Company. He now resides upon the south side of the river, at the great Mandane village,* and hearing of the arrival of white people, he came over to us. He now informed the chief, Black Cat, who his guests were and the cause of our visit, which was mere curiosity. [The chief] instantly retired to his family hut and brought out his flag, which was given him in 1804–5; they alsogave him a silver medal, and the same articles were also given to the principal chief of each of the other villages, also several very useful utensils were left amongst them.† I saw the remains of an excellent large corn mill, which the foolish fellows had demolished on purpose to barb their arrows; the largest piece of it which they could not break nor work up into any weapon they have now fixed to a wooden handle, and make use of it to pound marrow bones, to make grease."

We were now desirous of crossing the river, therefore sent off La France to engage people of the opposite village to come over for us.[2] * * * * * * We were now informed that eight canoes were in waiting for us, from the opposite side, and the same number of young men had come over to assist in crossing our horses.[2] * * * * On our going over to the war side we found the chief of the Great Mandan village, Le Gros Blanc. He was waiting with his own canoe to ferry over Mr. Chaboillez and me. He appeared very

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† To each chief, Lewis and Clarke presented a medal, a flag, and a uniform coat. In the narrative of the expedition is the following sentence: "A variety of other presents were distributed, but none seemed to give them more satisfaction than the iron corn mill, which we gave to the Mandans."

† The Mandans, about 1760, were settled on the banks of the Missouri, eighty miles below, seven villages on the west and two on the east side of the river. The two villages were reduced by small-pox, and moved up the river and settled a village near the Receivers, and afterwards the people of the other village joined them. In 1796 they were in two villages at the points where Henry found them, on opposite sides of Missouri, about three miles apart.

[1] [Category 116, p. 328.-A.] [2] [Category 116, p. 328.-A]

832 repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men,
834 who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young
men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on
461 the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to
526 hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times
they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback,
and performing warlike manoeuvres; they have also a favorite
game which occupies much of their time.

512 [328]...this is the first work performed by the women in the
515 morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed
themselves in the Missourie. ...every family being provided
●415 with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh.
177 Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to
771 say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those
574 earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest
kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come
in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the
contents.

231 .....Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed
437 in the meadow but never allowed them to be for a moment out of
648 his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them.
We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles,
for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco.

439 [329] It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail
upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger
has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first
village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many
439 European articles as they can, [330] particularly arms and ammuni-
609 tion. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each
other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have
578 often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death
569 of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also
to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great
distance. The Pawnees, also, with whom the Mandanes formerly
lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies.
Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and every-
one has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

675 We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the
673 landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut
[577] in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect
security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 of the interior and it fitted well with the descriptions here given of the old lodges. It was evidently used at the present time for a storage house, at least to some extent, and was not a regular residence, for the log cabin home of the owner stood along side of it.

"At the other hut, across the Missouri river and several miles distant from the first one, the owner refused me permission to invade it, stating that it was used for ceremonial purposes." (p. 220.)

Prototype of Sod Houses. "After my inspection of the two earthern houses mentioned, I could not but be impressed with the fact that these old Mandan and Aricaree lodges were practically the prototypes of the settler's sod house of the prairies of recent time. The sides and roofs of these huts were covered with sod chunks of regular shapes and sizes, just such as we would cut out of the prairie for the same purpose. The porch, covered entrance, or passage-way mentioned was and is a characteristic, standing feature of these earthern lodges, and one which Catlin persistently ignored both in his paintings and text. Maximilian brought out this peculiarity of the Mandan hut in his work."

•417 **Ancient Ladder.** "In one of the illustrations of an earth hut there can be seen a notched pole leaning against a scaffold, the latter used now, as in old days, for drying corn, etc. This pole is one of the primitive ladders anciently used by these Indians, and, evidently, not yet entirely discarded."

Says Wheeler relative to the causes of migration of the Mandans on the upper Missouri:

Mandan Deserted Villages—Migrations. "The monuments of 172 these tribes, in the shape of abandoned and ruined huts and 174 towns, are to be found, as has been stated, on the banks of the upper Missouri from about Heart or Cannon-Ball river, below Mandan and Bismarck, to Knife river or beyond. The Indians seem, notwithstanding the great labor involved in so doing, to have moved quite frequently, not necessarily, however, for long distances. As the Sioux harrassed them continually, these removals were due in part to a desire to protect themselves more effectually, and another reason was the scarcity of fuel and timber which in time was felt in each neighborhood. In making these removals, it was quite common, as Lewis and Clarke mention,

437 willing and ready to serve you as long as you have any property.
177 But when all is expended you may shift for yourself, as they will pretend they do not understand you any longer. Besides paying our host [343] beforehand, I promised him a tobacco-pipe on my departure, if I were then pleased with his conduct during our stay. His pay consisted of the following articles: 60 balls and powder, 4 large knives, 2 small knives, 1 fathom tobacco, 1 dozen rings, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 6 flints, 3 worms, 3 awls, and 1/4 pound blue beads.

164 [343] The natives at present are mostly affected with a bad cough, which daily takes some of them off. Aged and infirm persons, and young children, are the common victims to this disease. It is a kind of whooping-cough, which has appeared all along the Red and Assiniboine rivers, on the Saskatchewan even to Fort des Prairies, and in several other parts of the North West, carrying off many people

241 July 21st. I set off early on horseback with part of my people
[462 for the upper villages. We passed extensive fields of corn, beans,
561] squashes, and sunflowers. Many women and children were already
412 employed in clearing and hoeing their plantations. Their hoes are the shoulderblade of a buffalo, to which is fastened a crooked stick for a handle; the soil not being stony, this slight implement answers every purpose. The road first led over two hills, after which we came to a smooth and pleasant plain for about two miles to the Saulteur (Soulier) [Amahami—Analyst] village, of about 40 huts.

361 [362]..These villages are surrounded by a kind of stockade, princi-
● 417 pally made of driftwood, which has a miserable appearance and is daily falling to pieces; but I am told that upon any emergency it can be put into a tolerably good state of defense at very short notice, as every man, woman, and child lends a hand.

526 We witnessed a diversion which takes place almost every day
481 between the Mandanes and Saulteurs (Souliers). It is the exercise
702 of running long foot races, in order to be prepared for the emergency of being dismounted and obliged to fly from their enemies at war. They assemble upon a beautiful green near the village, where, having remained some time, calling out to their comrades to come and run, they set off in a file on a slow trot, entirely naked, taking the road that leads up the hills to the S., about a mile from the village. Passing near those rising grounds, they disappear, and are not seen till they reappear from the S.E., down a steep hill and over a level plain, to the spot whence they started. Here they do not stop, but rush on to the Missourie, and plunge in headlong, all

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

was customary for the clan to meet in the clan leader's lodge and make provisions for the accumulation of goods to be used in the rites. It was believed that a successful ceremony with an abundance of gifts to be given away brought credit to the entire clan. 614 431

Moieties were in theory exogamous, but they had ceased to regulate marriage after 1837. Scattercorn explained that, while the Mandan considered those who sat on the same side in the Okipa or in council as brothers, it was considered better to marry into a clan of the same moiety than to marry outside the tribe. Marriages within the clan were disapproved. 616 582

The clan was a property-holding group. The major bundles of the Okipa ceremony were held in the WaxikEna clan, which also owned the sacred cedar and controlled the Okipa lodge and sacred turtles. Traditionally, the Shell Robe bundle belonged in the Prairie Chicken clan. Eagle-trapping lodges belonged to the clan of the member building it and remained in the clan when the original owner died. There were two bundles for the Big Bird ceremonies which were known as Black Medicine bundle and Sweet Medicine bundle. The former was inherited in the Prairie Chicken clan and the latter in the Speckled Eagle clan of the same moiety. Each clan was the theoretical custodian of one variety of corn. The WaxikEna clan was custodian of the bluish-green flint corn; the Tamisik had the red corn; the Prairie Chicken had the yellow flint and dent; the Speckled Eagle had the rainbow corn. Crows Heart stated that Hides-and-Eats, an old woman who lived in his lodge, told him that, when she was young, people of one clan were not permitted to raise corn belonging to the other clans without first securing the rights and that each clan claimed to be the preserver of its own corn. 614 421

It was the duty of the clan to assist its own members. It was the clan's duty to care for its old people having no blood children. During the smallpox epidemic of 1837, women went through the villages and gathered the orphans of their clan, who were taken into their lodges to be reared. Old people were invited in to be fed and clothed by younger members of their own clan. When returning from a successful hunt, young men would offer meat to the old people who met them at the outskirts of the village. One was expected to offer meat to old people of the same clan without being asked for it. 614 736 888

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

614 The clan was the medium for the transfer of property when a
421 family died out without leaving descendants. When an individual died, leaving no relatives, the clan took possession of the property. The lodge was occupied by females of the same clan or could be sold to women of a different clan. It was the duty of the clan to assist a female member in repairing or building her lodge and to put up property for one of its number who was inviting the opposite moiety to assist in building a new lodge. The clan [424] owned certain names which belonged within the clan and were not sold outside the clan.

614 The clans extended through all the villages of the tribe and were in part equated with Hidatsa clans. Both tribes had a
621 Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna was the equiva-
171 lent of the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik was the equivalent of the Hidatsa Metsiroka. The Hidatsa also had a few people of the Speckled Eagle clan who were said to be of Mandan origin.[4]

614 It was the duty of the clan to revenge the killing of one of its
578 members. In the event of the murder of one of its number, the murderer would attempt to escape to the Crow, since the Hidatsa would not protect a murderer from the Mandan villages for fear of war between the two tribes.

614 The clan assisted at the death of a son. They prepared the body for the scaffold and sent the spirit away. It was also the duty of the father's clan to bring the skull of one dying away from the village back for disposal. Feasts were given to the members of the father's clan, and help was asked of individual members by those contemplating war expeditions. Men of the father's clan inserted the thongs for a faster. The permanent

4. The Hidatsa give a different account of the origin of this clan. Mrs. Bears Arm, a member of the clan, stated that there was a Mandan woman of the Prairie Chicken clan who was childless. She was a hard worker and had large gardens. One morning when she went to her gardens she noticed that someone had been hoeing the corn. She inquired in the village if someone had been working in her garden and could find none who had been working there. She went out before daylight to see who it was. Several whitetail deer were working in the garden. They ran away when they saw the woman. As they disappeared, she heard one say, "I left my baby there." The baby was a speckled eagle. She took the baby home to rear as her own and wanted the child to belong to the Prairie Chicken clan, but the others would not agree to it, since the child came of a different source. The child grew up and had children who were known as speckled eagles. While living below the Knife River, men of the Awaxawi village married a few girls of that clan and brought them to their own village to live. The group is treated as a lineage of the Hidatsa Prairie Chicken clan.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

meanwhile her parents frequently made arrangements to bring them to the daughter's parental lodge to live. They constructed a side passage from the door so that the son-in-law could enter his section of the lodge without meeting his mother-in-law, and he was expected to remain in his quarters when she was in the lodge. When the lodge was ready, the girl's father presented her husband with a horse or other goods and invited them to live with them. 591

When a man married the oldest sister, he was entitled to marry the younger ones as they became of age by giving them horses. Her parents built additional beds in the son-in-law's section. There was no wedding feast or exchange of goods. 587

A third method of marrying was known as "marriage by mutual agreement." Two people attracted to each other decided to marry without consulting their parents. Sometimes a girl did not approve of her sisters' husband and decided not to marry him. She encouraged a young man so that she could get away from her mother's household. She received two or three horses from her husband and left her parents to live in her husband's lodge. If she had a number of sisters and did not like their husband, she would remain in her husband's lodge and help the women of the household. Whether or not this residence became permanent depended on a number of factors. When the lodge was already occupied by her husband's sisters and their husband, she would attempt to move out with her husband to a household of old women of her clan, especially one where there were no men to provide for the household. Eventually she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens when the old people died. On the other hand, should her husband have no sisters, she would prefer to care for her parents-in-law, whom she treated as "grandparents" and addressed as such, and they would treat her as a woman of the lodge. When they died, she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens. 583 591 428

As a resident of the husband's lodge, a woman's position was subordinate to the other female members of the household group. In case of a quarrel, she was obliged to leave. Should her husband be killed or die, leaving small children and his brother was unable to marry her because of an unco-operative wife, she was sent out of the lodge and was permitted to take 592 768 421

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

592 only her clothing and children. Even the bedding belonged with
768 the lodge and could not be taken whether she had assisted in
421 tanning and preparing them or not. Responsibility for the children's care rested with her sisters and the female members of her clan.

586 Divorce was easy and common. The elopement of a married
837 woman having children with a married man also having chil-
578 dren was the cause of much trouble, since it involved so many
431 people. Learning that their brother had eloped with another
583 man's wife, the brothers and sisters would take horses and other property to the injured man to prevent him from causing them injury, since they were accountable for a sibling's conduct. Learning that his wife had run away with another man, he was entitled to retaliate against the man's brothers and sisters and would start killing their horses. My Mandan informants enjoyed relating instances when the brothers and sisters, learning that a brother had eloped with another man's wife, had reached the lodge before the wife was missed. They would come to his lodge in a group leading the horses. Seeing the people with horses, he would hurry into his lodge or go through the village calling for his wife. People considered it very humorous to surprise a man in that way, and it was the subject of gossip for quite a while. He was expected to accept the horses and forget his wife. The elopers usually visited the Crow Indians until
586 the husband was reconciled to his loss. When a prominent man
837 lost his wife, he would usually organize a war party or go out
578 alone against the enemy. He could disregard his former wife,
583 and those most concerned with public opinion usually did. However, a man of position usually called her into his lodge when she returned from her elopement, painted and dressed her, mounted her on a good horse, and took her back to her new husband. Those who cried because a wife eloped or who attempted to take her back or agreed to let her return if she requested it were considered weaklings and not worthy of respect. Bear on the Water, a Mandan, stole the young Arikara wife of Four Bears, the principal war chief of the Hidatsa. While they were away, Four Bears made so many threats that the Mandan were obliged to leave the village for fear of war. He refused to accept horses or to smoke the pipe with Bear on

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

This account of a summer buffalo hunt illustrates the position of an individual in his relations to the remainder of the village. As a young man first assisting in a summer buffalo hunt he received his training from those older and more experienced; he advanced by degrees, and his responsibilities increased until, as leader of the village when on the hunt, he was responsible for the well-being of the entire village group of which he was a part. It will be shown in the pages that follow that whereas an individual would, in one situation be the leader over his entire village, in other situations he would be a follower and others would be responsible for the group's success. 554

Men specialized in certain activities. Whereas some were leaders of buffalo hunts, fish-trapping, war expeditions, or various ceremonies, others specialized as singers, painters, arrowmakers, or storytellers. In Mandan society, a man or woman seeking information, however trivial, was expected to make a payment for the information acquired. Persons possessing unique information and techniques were highly regarded, and it would have been considered ill mannered to adopt another's skills without at first paying for that right, however well the individual may have been able to perform without this paid training. One was also said to be inviting bad luck by practicing arts for which payment had not been made. 463 437 555

Payment for training was so highly developed in Mandan society that a young woman assisting her mother in the making of clay pots would prepare a simple feast to which the females of the household were invited in order to receive the right to assist in the making of pots and to make vessels of her own after her mother had died. Within the family group the payments were usually insignificant so far as the value of the goods was concerned. It was felt that the small payment in goods expressed the young woman's respect for her mother. The Mandan also believed that payments expressed societal values. The mother would explain each step in pottery-making, the selection of the clay and grit, the molding of the mass, the introduction of decorations, and the drying and baking of the vessels. Mandan vessels had a variety of decorations, and the person buying the right to make pottery acquired only the right to employ such decorations as the mother had a right to use. If she wished to 437 421 425

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

437 utilize other decorations, she was obliged to seek another
421 woman entitled to make the particular decoration and buy the
425 right of her.

There was a similar specialization for men. When a young
437 man was found to have an especially good voice which was
heard above the others in the songs of the society dances, he
425 was encouraged to buy singer rights in dances of both a sacred
535 and a secular character. Although they were obliged to make
555 payments either to existing singers or to the owners of bundles, their rewards far exceeded the initial costs. Their training included information relative to the ceremonies that were being performed, and they received recognition comparable to that shown those who had directed a number of successful war expeditions. In council, their authority was as great as those who had directed war parties, summer buffalo hunts, or eagle-trapping expeditions.

555 Those who could tattoo or paint designs appreciated by the
people of the village were highly regarded and received a con-
616 siderable amount of goods for their services. There were usually
531 at least two skilled painters in each village, and they were
789 expected to belong to opposite moieties. A man of one moiety would go to a man of the other moiety to have a robe, shield, or clothing painted either according to his particular inclination or with specific designs of things dreamed of. Each warrior had one or more shields made of buffalo hide taken from around the neck, and these were used universally by the Mandan for protection against arrows and spears until guns became more universal. The designs were believed to offer supernatural protection, and their potency was considered to be enhanced when the design was painted by a man of the opposite moiety, since there would be a payment to the "father" who would pray for the "son's" success. These painters were held responsible for the proper painting of the characters represented in the Okipa and received much property for their services. If they were otherwise sensible men, they enjoyed the same status as those who had been successful in other pursuits.

555 The arrowmakers were highly regarded. Although all males
887 usually made arrows, some were employed specially for arrow-making. These were the older men of the lodge who had passed

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the prime of life and others who, having been crippled either in warfare, hunting, or other active pursuits, were unable to carry out the work normally performed by men. The older men of the lodge usually made the arrows used by the men of the household, and ten arrows complete with heads and feathers had the value of one unpainted robe. Young men of the lodge paid the older men for the right to learn the techniques of arrowmaking. The Mandan in 1929 remembered two men who had been crippled, one when his leg was broken by a wounded buffalo, the other who had had a femur bone shattered by a bullet and who had spent much of their time preparing arrows which they sold.

Another class of people who were highly regarded were the storytellers. The art of storytelling was highly developed; the stories had a variety of themes and were highly formalized. One paying for the right to have a story told was expected to repeat the story after the informer until it was learned in complete detail. The customary way of buying the story was to have a feast and a supply of tobacco mixed with red willow bark prepared before calling the informer in to relate his stories. The stories were of a semisacred character, and many dealt with the exploits of distinguished persons who had once lived in the village or tribe. It was considered improper to relate sacred myths belonging to others unless the informer was an owner in the particular rites, in which instance the buyer was expected to have enough robes and other goods so that each person having rights in the story would receive pay even when only one of their member was relating the story. The actual storytelling was then held at a later time when the informant could be alone with his pupil.

There was considerable traditional lore not actually associated with any ceremony at the time this study was being made. Informants were of the opinion that these myths once were associated with bundle rites now extinct and that the stories had continued as common property of the tribe. These stories have to do with such mythological characters as Corn Silk, Buffalo, First Creator, and the Snakes. Both men and women were storytellers, and they were highly respected as possessors of important tribal lore. They enjoyed intimate con-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

888 561 562 hunting. Women holding rights in the various Holy Women bundles also met whenever a medicine feast was given. Their rights were individually acquired by assisting their husbands or brothers in the bundle purchase. Some of their number were members of the Goose or the White Buffalo Cow societies.

888 562 The older people performed an important role in the ceremonies so long as they were not too feeble to get around. Women who had assisted others at childbirth became doctors after the menopause and could substitute for a man in a great many of the societies. In many ceremonies they were the medium through which the traditions and bundles were transmitted to a legitimate male heir.

888 785 755 Fasting was generally completed by the time one reached fifty years of age. In case of repeated bad luck or failure to attain a definite goal, fasting for short periods was practiced during a ceremony. When an epidemic of sore eyes broke out at Fishhook Village, one old woman fasted to seek relief from her affliction. Since her eye trouble was cleared up shortly afterward, quite a number of middle-aged and old people fasted to cure the ailment. Calf Woman said that more than half of them got relief.

888 431 787 People who were past middle age and who had been relatively successful all their lives would frequently have bad dreams in which they were being killed and cut up by the enemy or were drowning. It was believed that one could forestall this misfortune by giving away all his property. He would call in those who had been successful and were owners of important tribal bundles to give away his property, consisting of robes and bedding, household utensils, dogs, and horses, until the family was utterly destitute. One doing this would walk through the village repeating the dream. When the bad dream failed to materialize within the designated time, such people were said to be holy and as such were called the "protectors of the village." In appreciation of their sacrifices, each household group was expected to contribute something toward their comfort.

888 421 224 The old people had privately owned game pits and were entitled to the animals found in them. According to tradition, before horses were acquired, pits were widely used and owned by households. Ruins of game pits are still to be seen in consider-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

able numbers along the Heart River and in the vicinity of Square Butte Creek. With the introduction of the horse they were less commonly used, although the practice was not entirely abandoned until after 1870. Buffalo, deer, elk, and wolves were captured in them. Older men also managed the fish traps, of which there were a number for each village. An account of fish-trapping is given in chapter viii, "Catfish-trapping Ceremony," which appears in this account of ceremonialism.

The old people were generally well cared for by the Mandan. They were held in high respect, and my informants frequently condemned neighboring tribes for abandoning their old people. On the other hand, Mandan old people frequently were left back when the village went on a buffalo hunt and refused to have others remain with them, claiming that they would get along and that, if the enemy came and killed them, it was all right, as one could not live forever. Usually a few families remained in the village to care for the old people who were too feeble to travel.

The Mandan traditions state that, when people were first created and placed on the earth, Lone Man decreed that they should not live to be older than one hundred years and that some would die at various ages from birth to old age. It was believed that people died from improper fasting, violation of tribal custom, disrespect of holy things, quarreling, foreign objects in the body, and loss of "power." It was also believed that those who neglected the unfortunate would not live long, since the sacred things frequently sent destitute people into the tribe to detect the selfish families. The sun was believed to be a cannibal who would adopt a "son" in an enemy tribe, subsequently giving a Mandan a dream instruction to go out on the warfare where he would be killed.

The Mandan believed that a person had four souls. One was the white spirit, which was often seen traveling through the air as a shooting star. It was regarded as the principal spirit and was represented by the white upland sage. The second spirit was light brown and scarcely visible and was represented by the meadow lark. These two spirits united in the spirit world and became the individual of the hereafter. The third spirit was known as the lodge spirit and remained near the lodge of which

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 trusted to the WaxikEna clan, who could take any articles left
793 at the cedar as an offering for their own use. The amount of
614 goods placed at the cedar during a year was considerable, since
796 sometime during the performance of every ceremony and age-grade society dance a visit was made to the cedar to ask the blessings of Lone Man, and some article of value was placed there. In the case of strictly winter ceremonies held in the winter camp where a cedar was never erected, offerings frequently were not made to the cedar. The cedar together with the surrounding wall and willow band was called Minimi'tahEdE, meaning "the retreat of the waters."

778 In theory, goods deposited at the cedar became the property
614 of any member of the WaxikEna clan who happened to be passing by. In practice, however, the goods finally reached the
●421 old men and women of that clan. Those appropriating too much goods for personal use lost status in the village. Those living near the cedar had an advantage over those more distantly removed in reaching the goods first. Apparently there was no tendency to take the offerings away at once. Scattercorn told how a very beautiful robe hung on the wall several days before a man removed it and then not until a number of people had gathered there and to whom he announced that he had observed that a feeble clan brother was in need of a new robe since the one he was then wearing was shabby.

621 Each fixed village unit had its own complete set of officers.
619 Crows Heart explained that the tribe was formerly divided into a number of fixed bands, each one occupying one or more vil-
778 lages. His mother belonged to the Is'topa ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves"). There were also the Nuptadi, Ma'nana'-rE[7] ("Those Who Quarreled"), Awigaxa,[8] and Nuitadi. Each of

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At the north side she sang:

o-ta'-nu-mą-kE	masa'numąkE
mi-ka-xo'	na'mini (three)
EhE'nakahoc	

At the south side she sang:

ota'numąkE	masa'numąkE
mikaxo'	to'pa (four)
EhE'nakahoc.	

7. Other informants thought that the Mananada was not a fixed band but any small group who separated from a principal village when quarrels occurred.

8. According to tradition, this group lived near the Grand River until late prehistoric times and did not practice the Okipa until they moved to the Painted Woods

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 food or water and to participate in the torture features. After the
785 Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, there were usually as many Hidatsas as Mandans fasting, but the moiety arrangement of fasters was observed. In fact, Hidatsas gave the ceremony as often as Mandans at this time.

796 The turtle drums remained in the lodges of their custodians during the first day of the ceremony. These turtles were con-
421 sidered tribal property in the larger sense, and the WaxikEna clan were their custodians. WaxikEna clansmen paid to hold
614 custodianship which could be revoked by clan action. Individuals of the WaxikEna clan were willing to buy the right to keep them when the Okipa was not being performed, otherwise they remained in the Okipa lodge under the charge of the old man living there. Keepers of the turtles treated them like other medicine bundles, making feasts for them and praying to them on various occasions.

796 At sunset the Lone Man impersonator dressed up in his cere-
787 monial outfit and went for the turtles. While the Mandan were living in two villages near Fort Clark, the turtles were kept at Nuptadi Village. He went to the owner of the big turtle, the leader of the turtles, and asked him for this turtle first. It was believed that he could predict the abundance of buffaloes through the year by the weight of the turtle drums for, it was said, that the turtles were heavy when the buffalo herds were going to be near the village. People were not allowed to cross his trail when he carried the turtles to the Okipa lodge. The three turtles replaced the rolled-up hide as drums that evening. Everyone awaited word from inside the Okipa lodge concerning the weight of the turtle drums. Soon after the turtles were in their places, the old man of the WaxikEna clan who was custodian of the Okipa lodge called through the village that "the turtles are very heavy and the buffaloes will be near the village so all the ~~people can~~ have enough to eat."

Each of the drummers continued through the ceremony, using the turtle drums. These drums were moved four times in the evening and reached the east side of the lodge at midnight, where they remained until sunrise.

796 *Second day.*—Before sunrise, young men not having an active part in the ceremony brought in green willow branches to be

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter X

THE SMALL HAWK CEREMONY

796 778 ONLY the principal bundle belonging to this ceremony[1] remained in existence following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, although Scattercorn had heard that there had been a number of them formerly. The surviving bundle came from Mitutanka. The rites occupied a high place in the tribe's ceremonial life, and the small hawk, belonging to the bundle, was impersonated by one of the performers in the Okipa ceremony. The other bundle lines, of which there were said to have been several, were broken by the death of all eligible inheritors.

The single surviving bundle was owned by Berdache and her sister of the Tamisik clan and their husband of the WaxikEna clan. The latter two died after their daughters Calf Woman and Stands Yellow had married Hits on Back who had come to his wives' lodge to live. Hits on Back of the WaxikEna clan and his two wives bought the bundle from Berdache.[2] The bundle consisted of a sacred buffalo robe which traditionally came from Toad Earrings, mother of Buffalo Woman, a hide rattle representing Buffalo Woman, a gourd rattle representing Corn Silk, sage and magpie tail feathers representing membership in the Holy Woman Society, a stuffed hawk with blue shoulders and yellow spotted breast representing Split Wing Feathers and Looks Down To Hunt, a small ash digging stick, a wooden pipe, and a buffalo skull.

778 The bundle could be divided into two sections. One section consisted of the hawk, sage, hide rattle, pipe, and a buffalo skull
•421 and was transferable to a man of the WaxikEna clan, while the other section, the sacred robe, gourd rattle, sage, magpie and
425 tail feathers, could be bought by the wife. Subdivided bundles seem to have soon lost their hereditary character. Each section

1. The bundle is known as the Sikaraxa bundle, referring to the small hawk or kite mentioned in the sacred myth.

2. This purchase illustrates the character of bundle purchase through the female line.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

could be sold four times. The usual transfer was to sisters married to one man, in which instances the women acquired rights in the sacred robe and other paraphernalia of that section, and the husband took over the balance of the bundle. Such purchases were made only after several years of married life, as it was considered a sign of bad luck for common bundle-owners to quarrel. Crows Heart explained that having a common interest in a bundle was a powerful factor in making marriages permanent. Sale was not made until the parent-in-law taboo had been removed.

The prominence of these bundles is demonstrated by their representation in the Okipa ceremony. During the early summer all men owning primary and secondary rights in a Small Hawk ceremony met in one of their earth lodges to select two young men to represent their bundles in that summer's Okipa ceremony. Either young men of this group or men who were eligible to inherit a bundle were selected to dance in the ceremony and to receive goods offered to Small Hawk bundle-owners.

Women owning rights in the bundle were entitled to dress in the sacred robe, place sage and magpie tail feathers in the hair, and carry the ash digging stick at the close of the Okipa ceremony, when separate offerings were made to them by the Okipa Maker and his fellow-fasters and on other occasions when a feast was made to the bundle as a Buffalo-calling ceremony.

The rites are based on the exploits of Corn Silk, who visited the small hawk at his lodge on the eastern horizon where he lived with his mother. This small hawk, being a good hunter, taught the Buffalo-calling rites. Because he could produce thunder, he also introduced a rain-calling rite. His son, Looks Down To Hunt, inherited all his father's powers.

The holy robe and its rites have as their mythological origin Looks Down To Hunt's experiences on the northern horizon where he encountered his wife's mother who lived in a large earth lodge. After avoiding many hazards which she had set up to protect her people, the buffaloes, she was obliged to free these animals. The Mandan had many sacred robes, but each had its separate origin myth.

The myth throws light on the native theories of the universe. In one place Looks Down To Hunt asked the spider for his body

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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the arcana of Indian superstitions; and that this little, seemingly wonderful, relic of antiquity, symbol of some grand event, or "secret too valuable to be told," might have been at last nothing but a silly bunch of strings and toys, to which they pay some great peculiar regard; giving thereby to some favourite Spirit or essence an ideal existence, and which, when called upon to describe, they refuse to do so, calling it "*Great Medicine*," for the very reason that there is nothing in it to reveal or describe. 796 778

Immediately under the little frame or scaffold described, and on the floor of the lodge was placed a knife, and by the side of it a bundle of splints or skewers, which were kept in readiness for the infliction of the cruelties directly to be explained. There were seen also, in this stage of the affair, a number of cords of rawhide hanging down from the top of the lodge, and passing through its roof, with which the young men were to be suspended by the splints passed through their flesh, and drawn up by men placed on the top of the lodge for the purpose, as will be described in a few moments.

There were also four articles of great veneration and importance lying on the floor of the lodge, which were sacks, containing in each some three or four gallons of water. These also were objects of superstitious regard, and made with great labour and much ingenuity; each one of them being constructed of the skin of the buffalo's neck, and most elaborately sewed together in the form of a large tortoise lying on its back, with a bunch of eagle's quills appended to it as a tail; and each of them having a stick, shaped like a drum-stick, lying on them, with which, in a subsequent stage of these ceremonies, as will be seen, they are beaten upon by several of their mystery-men, as a part of the music for their strange dances and mysteries. By the side of these sacks which they call *Eeh-teek-ka*, are two other articles of equal importance, which they call *Eeh-na-dee* (rattles), in the form of a gourd-shell made also of dried skins, and used at the same time as the others, in the music (or rather *noise* and *din*) for their dances, &c.

These four sacks of water have the appearance of very great antiquity; and by enquiring of my very ingenious friend and patron, the *medicine-man*, after the ceremonies were over, he very gravely told me, that "those four tortoises contained the waters from the four quarters of the world—that these waters had been contained therein ever since the settling down of the waters!" I did not think it best to advance any argument against so ridiculous a theory, and therefore could not even enquire or learn, at what period they had been instituted, or how often, or on what occasions, the water in them had been changed or replenished.

I made several propositions, through my friend Mr. Kipp, the trader and interpreter, to purchase one of these strange things by offering them a very liberal price; to which I received in answer that these, and all the very numerous articles used in these ceremonies, being a *society property* were 796 421

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796 *medicine*, and could not be sold for any consideration; so I abandoned all thoughts of obtaining anything, except what I have done by the *medicine* 421 operation of my pencil, which was applied to everything, and even upon that they looked with decided distrust and apprehension, as a sort of theft or sacrilege.

Such then was the group, and such the appearance of the interior of the 796 medicine-lodge during the three first, and part of the fourth day also, of the Mandan religious ceremonies. The medicine-man with a group about him, of young aspirants who were under his sole controul, as was every article and implement to be used, and the sanctity of this solitary and gloomy looking place, which could not be trespassed upon by any man's presence without his most sovereign permission.

During the three first days of this solemn conclave, there were many very 796 curious forms and amusements enacted in the open area in the middle of the 535 village, and in front of the medicine-lodge, by other members of the community, one of which formed a material part or link of these strange ceremonials. This very curious and exceedingly grotesque part of their performance, which they denominated *Bel-lohck nah-pick* (the bull-dance) of which I have before spoken, as one of the avowed objects for which they held this annual fête; and to the strictest observance of which they attribute the coming of buffaloes to supply them with food during the season—is repeated four times during the first day, eight times on the second day, twelve times on the third day, and sixteen times on the fourth day; and always around the curb, or "*big canoe*," of which I have before spoken.

This subject I have selected for my second picture, and the principal actors in it were eight men, with the entire skins of buffaloes thrown over their backs, with the horns and hoofs and tails remaining on; their bodies in a horizontal position, enabling them to imitate the actions of the buffalo, whilst they were looking out of its eyes as through a mask (PLATE 67).

The bodies of these men were chiefly naked and all painted in the most extraordinary manner, with the nicest adherence to exact similarity; their limbs, bodies and faces, being in every part covered, either with black, red, or white paint. Each one of these strange characters had also a lock of buffalo's hair tied around his ancles—in his right hand a rattle, and a slender white rod or staff, six feet long, in the other; and carried on his back, a bunch of green willow boughs about the usual size of a bundle of straw. These eight men, being divided into four pairs, took their positions on the four different sides of the curb or big canoe, representing thereby the four cardinal points; and between each group of them, with the back turned to the big canoe, was another figure, engaged in the same dance, keeping step with them, with a similar staff or wand in one hand and a rattle in the other, and (being four in number) answering again to the four cardinal points. The bodies of these four young men were chiefly naked, with no other dress upon them than a beautiful kelt (or quartz-quaw), around the waist, made of eagles

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either of the nearest relatives or of the clan to which the lodge belonged. They believed that the lodge had a spirit which would have sent bad luck to one taking possession illegally.

The females of the lodge owned in common the domestic goods consisting of bedding, pots, household and gardening tools, the dogs, gardens, the wooden mortar and pestle, and the mares and colts. Clothing and personal effects were held individually. The men owned their weapons used in warfare and hunting as well as their own clothing and pipes. Men also owned the stallions and geldings. Sacred tribal bundles were held collectively by the man and his wives.

Lodges were built with little ceremony; the only rites were performed at the cutting of the notches for the four center posts when an old woman having the right to cut the posts was called in to sing one song and pray for the family's success. She received one robe for her services. It was the duty of the clan to assist in the erection of a member's lodge. Since these lodges were large, a considerable amount of work was entailed in erecting one and covering it with poles, willows, grass, and earth.[3] As a rule, the clan prepared a feast and invited the opposite moiety to assist, in which case the clans assisted according to the seating arrangement of the men in the Okipa or in council.

Mandan informants state that in earlier times each household had one or more game pits. These pits were dug by all the members of the household and were owned collectively. While the men would bring the poles for the cover and kill the game caught in them, the women frequently did most of the work of excavating and removing earth from the area of the pit. In recent times many households had fishtraps which are believed to have been used since introduced by Black Wolf. Fish bones, particularly catfish bones, are very abundant in the Heart River villages. The ceremonies associated with the trapping of fish, particularly the catfish, were performed by the older men, but the women assisted in weaving the walls for the trap and in sorting and cleaning the fish.

There was considerable variability in the status of household

3. For a report of the amount of materials used in the completion of an earth lodge see George F. Will, "The Mandan Lodge at Bismarck," *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 1 (October, 1930).

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526 of them to get as many as eight arrows up before the first one reaches the ground.

For the successful use of the bow, as it is used through all this region of 526 country on horseback, and that invariably at full speed, the great object of 224 practice is to enable the bowman to draw the bow with suddenness and instant effect; and also to repeat the shots in the most rapid manner. As their game is killed from their horses' backs while at the swiftest rate—and their enemies fought in the same way; and as the horse is the swiftest animal of the prairie, and always able to bring his rider alongside, within a few paces of his victim; it will easily be seen that the Indian has little use in throwing his arrow more than a few paces; when he leans quite low on his horse's side, and drives it with astonishing force, capable of producing instant death to the buffalo, or any other animal in the country. The bows which are generally in use in these regions I have described in a former Letter, and the effects produced by them at the distance of a few paces is almost beyond relief, considering their length, which is not often over three,—and sometimes not exceeding two and a half feet. It can easily be seen, from what has been said, that the Indian has little use or object in throwing the arrow to any great distance. And as it is very seldom that they can be seen shooting at a target, I doubt very much whether their skill in such practice would compare with that attained to in many parts of the civilized world; but with the same weapon, and dashing forward at fullest speed on the wild horse, without the use of the rein, when the shot is required to be made with the most instantaneous effect, I scarcely think it possible that any people can be found more skilled, and capable of producing more deadly effects with the bow.

231 The horses which the Indians ride in this country are invariably the wild horses, which are found in great numbers on the prairies; and have, unquestionably, strayed from the Mexican borders, into which they were introduced by the Spanish invaders of that country; and now range and subsist themselves, in winter and summer, over the vast plains of prairie that stretch from the Mexican frontiers to Lake Winnipeg on the North, a distance of 3000 miles. These horses are all of small stature, of the pony order; but a very hardy and tough animal, being able to perform for the Indians a continual and essential service. They are taken with the *laso*, [413] which is a long halter or thong, made of raw-hide, of some fifteen or twenty yards in length, and which the Indians throw with great dexterity; with a noose at one end of it, which drops over the head of the animal they wish to catch, whilst running at full speed—when the Indian dismounts from his own horse, and holding to the end of the laso, chokes the animal down, and afterwards tames and converts him to his own use.

● 422 Scarcely a man in these regions is to be found, who is not the owner of one or more of these horses; and in many instances of eight, ten, or even twenty, which he values as his own personal property.

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 773

Big Cloud's bundle was not complete; Iron Eyes had a main one.[22] Small Ankles would put up the lodge and put the snake pole in with the buffalo skull. He tied it into place with dark sage. I heard that once Old Woman's Grandson came in so they had the two poles brought in at that time to represent the snake.[23] 539

With respect to inheritance of trapping rights, rather marked differences exist between the Hidatsa and the Mandan. The former employed exclusively transfer from father to son or from individuals standing in the father-son relationship. Not a single instance of variation from the rule was observed except in the instance of Big Cloud's two sales to Wolf Eyes and Small Ankles. No doubt that exception can be traced to the circumstance that, though belonging to the Hidatsa Water-buster clan, Big Cloud lived in one of the Mandan villages with his Mandan father and Hidatsa mother. Hidatsa sales of trapping rights followed the normal pattern of bundle transfer from father to son, with a clan brother of the seller acting as sponsor to give instruction and prepare the bundle. Frequently a purchaser's brothers assisted in a joint purchase, taking possession upon death of the brother, but the next transfer would be to the son of original purchaser or his brother's son. 778 223 171 425

The small village of Awaxawi apparently had been strongly influenced by the Mandan, and clan inheritance was followed if the two bundles purchased just after the smallpox of 1837 were characteristic of all bundles formerly in the village prior to that epidemic.

Mandan inheritance of eagle-trapping bundles was affected by numerous factors. Except for the last generation in which it was from father to son, or other individuals standing in that relationship, inheritance was generally from one standing in the relationship of *pta'wadato'dE*, a special kinship term for the mother's brother and the mother's mother's brother. In tracing back inheritance of Mandan eagle-trapping bundles, one is impressed by a sudden change within a single generation to the Hidatsa pattern of purchasing from the father. 778 425 171

Iron Eyes' bundle had belonged in the WaxikEna clan for several generations. He purchased from his mother's brother before the Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook 423 223 778 425

22. He means the principal bundle.
23. See the myth of Old Woman Who Never Dies, chap. vi, above.

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423 Village, but he sold to his son after living one generation with
223 the Hidatsa. He inherited the eagle-trapping sites of his moth-
778 er's brother, but his son, Ben Benson, did not inherit his father's
425 trapping lodges, since they were of different clans. Trapping territory and lodges continued to be clan-inherited and were not affected by this change to father-son inheritance of bundles.

778 Residence also was a factor in determining Mandan bundle
425 transfers. When marriage was arranged on the initiative of the girl's parents, who selected the husband, the girl and her husband lived with her parents. As soon as it was evident that the marriage would become permanent, the girl's parents undertook what was known as "building up the son-in-law's reputation." First they would secure a white buffalo robe, which they presented to their son-in-law, who in turn would offer it to his own father's bundle.

If the young man came to regard the parents-in-law highly, he would, when successful in warfare, present his mother-in-law with a scalp, after which he could speak to her at will. Small Ankles lived in the same lodge with his wife and her parents, and he received his eagle-trapping rights from his father-in-law, Big Cloud, who also sold to his younger brother, Wolf Eyes. Wolf Chief, son of Small Ankles, was eligible to buy from his father. He also was invited to own his father-in-law's (Chief, a Mandan) eagle-trapping rights. This was an instance where a man (Hidatsa) was eligible to purchase his father's rights but through marriage to a Mandan and living in his parents-in-law's lodge could, according to Mandan custom, have inherited his father-in-law's bundle and rights.

Wolf Chief gave an account of a bundle transfer as told to him by his father, Small Ankles. The account illustrates quite definitely a considerable interchange of elements between the Mandan and Hidatsa, resulting in an enriched ceremonial life for both groups. The Hidatsa think of Small Ankles' rites as Hidatsa, but this account will show that the chief body of lore connected with the bundle was drawn from the Mandan.

223 WOLF CHIEF'S NARRATIVE OF A BUNDLE TRANSFER

778 I do not own the trapping rights, and by custom I should not tell; but,
425 since I have changed my ways, I will. My father, Small Ankles, did not get
159 the rights from his father but from Big Cloud, his father-in-law. Before Big

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eagle, and a fiber snare over the entrance. The sun, also identified with the speckled eagle, was represented by a chokecherry branch and a fiber snare tied over the front standard above the altar. 223 796

Then followed the assignment of places for the duration of the trapping season and the selection of officers. Until the assignment of places was made, the leader gave no indication of the selections he contemplated making. The leader's place was at the head of the lodge on the right side. For the place next to him he would select an assistant, whenever possible one who also had eagle-trapping rights. At the end of the row next to the door he would place the waiter. For the left side opposite the leader he would select the "Chief of the Hunters" or "Crack Shot." Next he would select an assistant to the Chief of the Hunters. In mythological times these last two positions were occupied by a single officer, Bear Cub, until Two Men stole his earthen pot. When they found that they could not escape from the Cub, they agreed to do the hunting for the bears, as they were arrows in spirit. When the party was quite large, a second waiter was selected to sit at the end of the line.

The assignment of "bird sticks" varied with different leaders. Bear on the Flat used twelve bird sticks cut from chokecherry branches, to which he tied pieces of calico. These sticks were stuck into the ground in a row in front of the buffalo skull. They represented the twelve tail feathers of the eagle and also the birds that belong in the eagle family according to native belief. Iron Eyes and Ben Benson placed one bird stick on the altar for each member of the party. Each stick was decorated with a piece of flint,[29] a strip of rabbit skin, and some white sage. Old Bear, a Mandan, placed four bird sticks at the altar for each trapper, representing four types of eagles—the bald-headed, speckled, four stripes (on tail feathers), and calumet (white tail feathers with black tips) varieties. Small Ankles gave each of his trappers two bird sticks decorated with calico. One was offered to the calumet and the other to all the other eagles.

After the lodge was entered, assignment of pits was in order. When returning to habitual trapping grounds, it was rarely necessary to dig new pits. The right to dig new pits was by a sepa- 223 425 423

29. See chap. ix for origin of flint knives.

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223 425 423 rate purchase, and all leaders did not possess this. Purchasers received a short ash digging stick for laying out the corners of the pit and the right to sing the Song to the Pit. Lacking this right, it was necessary for a leader to select an established camp of a clan brother or a site which he had formerly purchased or borrowed, as he could not lay claim to a new site without the right to dig new pits. It was customary for a leader to return to the same site year after year, except that he could not lead eagle-trapping expeditions and put out a fish trap the same year.

When new pits were to be dug, the trapper made his own selection of the site and then called for the leader to mark the corners, which was done with the small ash stick while singing the Song to the Pit at each of the corners. He received payment for this service.

223 In order to avoid disputes when selecting pits, the leader would name two men to select their pits until each trapper had a pit. It was believed that the birds would not come down if disputes occurred. The first day in camp was usually spent in preparing the trapping lodge and assigning the pits. In the evening when the lodge was completed and the altar had been set up, the leader went out and called the birds, told them that the lodge was ready, informed the trappers of the rules, and sang the trapping songs.

796 223 When the writer was on one of these trapping expeditions in 1932, Bear on the Flat gave us the following instructions in this order. Mark Mato served as interpreter. The main points stressed by Bear on the Flat were of necessity recorded in brief outline.

BEAR ON THE FLAT'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR EAGLE-TRAPPING

When the four-post eagle-trapping lodges are put up, the eagle-trapping owner should come out to that site each fall. When a person comes to a region for one season and knows that he will not return to the same site next season, he puts up the simple tepee-shaped lodge without the four central posts.

When lodges were used formerly, twelve to twenty trappers went out; the lodges were approximately twenty-five feet in diameter, and the snake poles were relatively larger. No one was allowed to touch the snake poles. If someone did, Old Black Bear punched him severely with one of the bird poles used as a poker for the fire. Children were pinched severely by anyone near at hand.

It is customary to wipe the hands on the snake poles after eating, as the snakes' share of the meal. Men sleep at night with their heads on the snake

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614 he divided those sitting on the east side into seven groups and
773 gave each group a name, informing them that their sisters and mothers would belong to the same group. Since men of all villages were present at the time, clans were taken back to all villages of the tribe.

Of the thirteen clans, nine have become extinct. Bites in Nose
614 was said to be the last to remember the thirteen clans which he
616 would call in turn during the Okipa ceremony. The WaxikEna and Tamisik constitute one moiety and the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle make up the other moiety today. When the last performance of the Okipa ceremony was held after going onto the Reservation, the WaxikEna and Tamisik occupied the west side of the lodge, and the other two clans took the opposite side. At that time Hidatsa fasters participated in the ceremony, and the members of their three-clan moiety sat with the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while the four-clan moiety sat on the opposite side.

614 The Mandan consider the WaxikEna to be the highest clan,
[424] since it held the rights in the Okipa ceremony. The word *waxikEna* means "to tell bad stories about." The word *tamisik* has no meaning, but the people of that clan were said to be stingy and were frequently teased for serving small portions on wooden platters placed before visitors. *Tamixixiks* refers to poor leather used in making harnesses for carrying wood.

According to tradition, when the Mandan were first created by the culture hero, Lone Man, young men married their own sisters until the tribe became numerous, when clans were established to prevent marriage between relatives. The clan names had no sacred significance, and in the cases of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle there was no prohibition against killing these birds by members of the two clans.

The clans were organized groups and elected a leader who
[554] acted in an advisory capacity. He was an older person who had been successful in warfare or in hunting and had shown considerable interest in the members of the clan, particularly the old
614 men and women. There were frequent clan feasts by some mem-
431 ber of the clan, at which time they would discuss the success of individual members. When a young man contemplated buying an important ceremonial bundle or performing a ceremony, it

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614 421 The clan was the medium for the transfer of property when a family died out without leaving descendants. When an individual died, leaving no relatives, the clan took possession of the property. The lodge was occupied by females of the same clan or could be sold to women of a different clan. It was the duty of the clan to assist a female member in repairing or building her lodge and to put up property for one of its number who was inviting the opposite moiety to assist in building a new lodge. The clan [424] owned certain names which belonged within the clan and were not sold outside the clan.

614 621 171 The clans extended through all the villages of the tribe and were in part equated with Hidatsa clans. Both tribes had a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna was the equivalent of the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik was the equivalent of the Hidatsa Metsiroka. The Hidatsa also had a few people of the Speckled Eagle clan who were said to be of Mandan origin.[4]

614 578 It was the duty of the clan to revenge the killing of one of its members. In the event of the murder of one of its number, the murderer would attempt to escape to the Crow, since the Hidatsa would not protect a murderer from the Mandan villages for fear of war between the two tribes.

614 The clan assisted at the death of a son. They prepared the body for the scaffold and sent the spirit away. It was also the duty of the father's clan to bring the skull of one dying away from the village back for disposal. Feasts were given to the members of the father's clan, and help was asked of individual members by those contemplating war expeditions. Men of the father's clan inserted the thongs for a faster. The permanent

4. The Hidatsa give a different account of the origin of this clan. Mrs. Bears Arm, a member of the clan, stated that there was a Mandan woman of the Prairie Chicken clan who was childless. She was a hard worker and had large gardens. One morning when she went to her gardens she noticed that someone had been hoeing the corn. She inquired in the village if someone had been working in her garden and could find none who had been working there. She went out before daylight to see who it was. Several whitetail deer were working in the garden. They ran away when they saw the woman. As they disappeared, she heard one say, "I left my baby there." The baby was a speckled eagle. She took the baby home to rear as her own and wanted the child to belong to the Prairie Chicken clan, but the others would not agree to it, since the child came of a different source. The child grew up and had children who were known as speckled eagles. While living below the Knife River, men of the Awaxawi village married a few girls of that clan and brought them to their own village to live. The group is treated as a lineage of the Hidatsa Prairie Chicken clan.

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daughters called the names of old men and women of the opposite moiety who were to receive presents. After the breakdown of the moiety system, the method of naming varied slightly. Formerly, when the father and mother were of different moieties, the name selected was that of a deceased male of distinction who was of the father's moiety, and the presents were given to men and women of the father's moiety. After the breakdown of the moiety system following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, the clan became the exogamous unit. When the father and mother belonged to clans within the same moiety, the name given was that of a distinguished deceased person of the father's clan, but gifts were given to persons of all the clans except the mother's, which was the assisting group. 554 616 553 431

Within a few days after returning from a successful war expedition, a young man would usually receive an offer of marriage from the parents of some eligible young woman who had not been married before. He could refuse, but few did. An ambitious young man wishing to establish a good reputation both as a war leader and as a person of distinction in the village needed several wives to assist him in the performance of ceremonies and the purchase of important sacred bundles. Those not eligible to inherit important tribal bundles could purchase the right to participate in important ceremonies, or they could pledge to perform the Okipa and, in recognition of their contribution to these tribal rites, received some sacred object associated with the ceremony to carry when on war expeditions. Social recognition of a man's right to be a war leader was given during these ceremonies when some older man of high status in the village announced while receiving goods that the young man would be lucky in "all that he undertook." Without this sanction by the older men, young warriors would have been unwilling to follow him on war expeditions. 554 581 424

The attainment of the rank of war leader marked an important point in a man's training and altered his relations materially with the people of the village. His opinions were solicited relative to problems of village welfare, and he received presents during ceremonial and social occasions in recognition of his position. He was now responsible for those fighting under his leadership and became the teacher of the skills he had acquired under 885 554 701

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the prime of life and others who, having been crippled either in warfare, hunting, or other active pursuits, were unable to carry out the work normally performed by men. The older men of the lodge usually made the arrows used by the men of the household, and ten arrows complete with heads and feathers had the value of one unpainted robe. Young men of the lodge paid the older men for the right to learn the techniques of arrowmaking. The Mandan in 1929 remembered two men who had been crippled, one when his leg was broken by a wounded buffalo, the other who had had a femur bone shattered by a bullet and who had spent much of their time preparing arrows which they sold.

Another class of people who were highly regarded were the storytellers. The art of storytelling was highly developed; the stories had a variety of themes and were highly formalized. One paying for the right to have a story told was expected to repeat the story after the informer until it was learned in complete detail. The customary way of buying the story was to have a feast and a supply of tobacco mixed with red willow bark prepared before calling the informer in to relate his stories. The stories were of a semisacred character, and many dealt with the exploits of distinguished persons who had once lived in the village or tribe. It was considered improper to relate sacred myths belonging to others unless the informer was an owner in the particular rites, in which instance the buyer was expected to have enough robes and other goods so that each person having rights in the story would receive pay even when only one of their member was relating the story. The actual storytelling was then held at a later time when the informant could be alone with his pupil.

There was considerable traditional lore not actually associated with any ceremony at the time this study was being made. Informants were of the opinion that these myths once were associated with bundle rites now extinct and that the stories had continued as common property of the tribe. These stories have to do with such mythological characters as Corn Silk, Buffalo, First Creator, and the Snakes. Both men and women were storytellers, and they were highly respected as possessors of important tribal lore. They enjoyed intimate con-

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tween bundle lines. Some informants thought that these bundles must have originated in different villages because their older people who were living when the tribe occupied two villages had spoken of ceremonial differences between the villages. They believed that these ceremonial differences went back to mythological times when the ceremonies were first taught to the people. 796 778 124

Mandan tribal sacred bundles had these elements in common: each contained objects representing the characters and incidents of the myth; the rites were dramatizations of the sacred myths; there were prescribed rules of behavior when in the presence of the bundle or while it was open; an incense was always burned while the bundle rites were being performed or when the rites were terminated; there were songs and a sacred myth which belonged to the bundle; each bundle included a buffalo skull; the ritualistic lore was secret, and payment must be made to the bundle-owner for a knowledge of the rites; there were fixed rules of inheritance for the sale and transfer of the bundle; tribal sanction of a bundle transfer was at a public feast to which those owning related bundles were invited; feasts were made to the bundle by nonowners as a social obligation; and bundle-owners on occasion would give Bundle Renewal feasts to their own bundles to which were invited those owning important tribal bundles. 796 778 773 424

The Mandan recognize four seasons which were associated with the spring, summer, autumn, and winter buffalo. Since informants could not agree on any other division of the year, it is highly unlikely that they recognized any other uniform divisions. The year count was important in relating events. Ceremonies were, in general, evenly divided over the year. Ceremonies for success in warfare or doctoring were held at any time. On the other hand, rites relating to agriculture were begun in late winter when the first water birds appeared and were held throughout the summer until the southern flight of these birds had passed. The Okipa was always held during the warmest months, while the Snow Owl, Red Stick, and White Buffalo Cow ceremonies to bring the winter buffalo herds were always held 796 805 221

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secret and were never related publicly. One paying to have the 778
myths related did not receive rights in the ceremony. Instruc- 773
tions in the rites and songs were divulged only to those purchasing the bundle rites.

So far as the writer was able to determine, the ceremonial 796
pattern had been established prior to A.D. 1800 and underwent little change in subsequent years. There was, however, a greater display of goods after the introduction of the horse and the establishment of trading posts.

Matthews wrote: "The work of Prince Maximilian contains the most accurate and extensive information regarding their customs and manners. Notwithstanding the great changes in the tribe since 1834, the majority of his notes might be used without alteration in describing the Mandan of to-day."[1]

The Mandan preserved their rich ceremonialism after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, according to Matthews, who added:

> The square, the medicine-lodge, with its four poles in front, surmounted by sacrificial effigies, and the ark, as they may be seen to-day, seem to be the almost exact counterparts of those which were seen in the old Mandan village at Ft. Clark, in 1832 and 1833, by George Catlin and the Prince of New-Wied, if we are to judge by the drawings they have given us. Within the temple and around the ark, the Mandans still perform the ceremony of the Okeepa, which Catlin so accurately describes. The awful severities of the rite, have however, been somewhat mitigated since his day.[2]

In addition to the sacred myths associated with the bundles, 773
there were numerous stories of a magical character which were 424
bought and sold. A few of these myths were recorded in the field but are omitted from this book, since a number of them have already appeared in print.[3] The most popular of these were: (1) the exploits of Spring Buffalo and Corn Silk; (2) Stiff Robe and the Buffaloes of the Four Seasons; (3) Four Wings; (4) Snake Village and Buffalo Village; (5) Sun as a Gambler and Cannibal; and (6) the Pet Magpie.[4]

The First Creator myths also belong in this category. Since 773
this mythological character had a dual personality, in organizing 128

1. Washington Matthews, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Language of the Hidatsa* (New York, 1873–74), p. 14.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
3. See Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [Boston, 1938]).
4. See also the myths recorded below in chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping Ceremony."

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 mony. In the beginning, the people lived an extremely simple
773 life without tools and weapons. At that time there were no societies and only a few simple rites, one of which was a Buffalo Dance in which one man danced. It is believed that, as time passed, the people acquired skills along many lines; there was a corresponding development of mutual obligations; new societies and ceremonies were adopted which grew in complexity. It is also believed that there was a parallel development of the Okipa ceremony from the simple Buffalo Dance to its complex form as performed until seventy-five years ago, and that the cultural growth of the tribe was divided into four periods which were represented by the four days of the ceremony.

The principal characters in the ceremony were Lone Man (NumakmaxEna), Speckled Eagle (Hoita), Giver of Ceremony (Koni'saka), and the singers.

796 Lone Man was without question the tribe's most important
776 deity. The original Lone Man belonged to the WaxikEna clan,
614 and a bundle was founded which contained all the articles used
778 by the Lone Man impersonator during the ceremony. Inheritance was through the WaxikEna clan. Before the smallpox epidemics, there were at least two similar and graded bundles in each village, and the men holding rights in the Okipa met to select from their number those who would officiate during the next ceremony.

796 According to tradition the original Lone Man established the
778 rule that the bundle should belong to the WaxikEna clan. However, before he left the tribe, he desired a white buffalo
●424 robe owned by his brother's son. The young man offered to exchange his robe for Lone Man's bundle, and this transaction was made, the bundle and office passing temporarily from the WaxikEna clan. The principal bundle was kept, after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, at Nuptadi Village, and a secondary
[562] bundle was kept by the other village group. Women could inherit and buy the bundle but could not officiate in the rites. Beaver's brother owned a bundle originally at Nuptadi Village prior to 1837. When he died, his sister transferred the bundle to her daughters, Shells and Grows First, who were both of the WaxikEna clan. Little Eagle, who had married the two sisters, paid them for the right to officiate in the ceremony. He then

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

paid Big Turtle, Hoita in the same ceremony, for instructions. 796
Little Eagle, who was of the Speckled Eagle clan, was killed in 778
warfare, and Cuts His Horn (WaxikEna clan) bought the right
to officiate from the two sisters, and, not being a close relative, 424
a new bundle was established by Big Turtle and the other men having Okipa rights. He officiated once or twice until there was a male in the main bundle line qualified to officiate. Two Chiefs (Prairie Chicken clan) married the two sisters and assumed the office of Lone Man after paying to receive instructions from Big Turtle and the other officers of the Okipa. White Calf, son of Shells (corn) and Little Eagle, bought the rights in the bundle from his mother and received his instructions from Two Chiefs. He never officiated as Lone Man in the ceremony after acquiring the bundle, since the ceremony was prohibited by the army officer in charge of the Reservation. White Calf was asked who would be the legitimate successor after him, and he gave this explanation:

> I could sell my rights to men of my clan, the WaxikEna, three times while still retaining my original rights. Usually only one or two sales were made. Those sales would be to men who had dreamed of Lone Man. People had a great respect for original bundles which had passed through many hands, so possession of new bundles did not give one much prestige unless he had given many feasts to the bundle, and that was hard to do.
>
> Who would receive my original bundle depended on many things. If my wife who helped me put on the feast when I got the bundle were living and had remarried to one of my clan, her husband would have first chance to take the bundle. If she were not alive, then my brothers would have first chance. If none were living, my sister could take the bundle, and her husband could get instructions from the other Okipa officers before officiating in the ceremony. Then the bundle would pass to her son when he was mature.

Before a bundle was transferred or sold, there was a period of private instruction by either one holding Lone Man rights or one of the other officers of the ceremony. The transfer was made final at a medicine feast attended by all persons holding Okipa rights. Goods and food were accumulated beforehand. Eminent men of the tribe offered their prayers for the giver's success and received some articles for their part in the ceremony. This public feast was a means of notifying the village of the legitimacy of the bundle transfer.

The bundles were identical as to content. They contained the 778
following items:

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 performed so that the day and night were properly divided. Lone Man directed the re-enactment of the flood, ceremonies at the cedar, and the use of the turtles as drums. The Hoita could not leave the lodge during the ceremony but sat in his place without speaking while the rites were being performed. This was symbolic of the time he sat in Dog Den Butte holding all the animals prisoners.

Eight singers were required; six used the rolled hides or the turtles, three beating toward the "upstream" and three toward [424] the "downstream" direction. The other two singers carried rattles. Singers bought the right to officiate, and a checkup of [614] clan affiliation of singers reveals an absence of clan restrictions. Likewise anyone having Lone Man or Hoita rights could be a singer providing he was not officiating in another capacity. There were usually many with singer rights so that turns were taken.

One man was selected by the other officers to impersonate the blue heron when none owned that right. He sat at the head of the lodge throughout the ceremony without speaking. The ceremonial paraphernalia which he wore were returned to the officers at the close of the ceremony.

The above-mentioned officers formed the nucleus of the ceremony and constituted, together with those who had previously given the ceremony, the Okipa Religious Society. To these men, meeting in council, was intrusted the duty of selecting qualified young men to give the ceremony. It is doubtful that any man could rise to the position of head or second chief who had not at one time given the ceremony. My informants were in agreement that the two highest chiefs would belong to the Okipa Religious Society by virtue, not of being officers of the Okipa, but because they had given the ceremony.

796 The desire to give the ceremony was the result of a vision ex-
787 perience wherein one had seen buffaloes singing the Okipa songs. The vision recipient would then have a feast prepared in his lodge, to which he invited the Okipa Religious Society. After the feast he would relate his vision experience and ask for an interpretation. Not all men dreaming of the buffalo bulls singing Okipa songs were permitted to give the ceremony. A young man having such a dream would tell his parents of his supernatural

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the purchaser. He could receive instructions and rights in a limited number of fundamental rites to trap eagles without going into the entire lore belonging to the ceremony. He could then lead trapping expeditions to established trapping grounds, open the lodge, receive the birds brought in by the trappers, and send the spirits away. He could not, however, dig new pits, make offerings to the holy women, or perform the many other simple rites associated with these expeditions. He would not attract the best trappers on his expeditions, as informants stated that successful trappers preferred to go out with leaders who had special rites for all situations likely to arise.

Some bundle-owners took particular interest in the mythology and rites belonging to eagle-trapping to the extent that supplementary purchases were made. In time, these leaders became authorities on eagle-trapping and received popular recognition comparable to specialists in any other pursuit such as warfare or hunting. Whenever such an owner discovered that another had a sacred song or simple rite used in connection with eagle-trapping, a purchase could be made, regardless of the clan of the seller. In this manner new elements modified or supplemented the original bundle rites.

The rites were further modified by vision instructions. When Bear on the Flat received his bundle from his father, Belly Up, he was instructed not to permit anyone to touch the snake poles. Subsequently, Bear on the Flat received a vision from the snakes in which he was advised to permit his trappers to wipe their hands on the poles as the snakes' portion of the meal.

Every major ceremony, whether Mandan or Hidatsa, had a mythological origin, and, in this respect, eagle-trapping ceremonies occupied major bundle status. In theory, eagle-trapping was first employed by two classes of small bears, the small black bears that had their pits on the east side of the Missouri River and the small brown bears that trapped on the west bank. There were seven mythological eagle-trapping camps at which these small bears were accustomed to meet in autumn to catch the young black-tipped eagles (see Fig. 29).

The brown-bear camps were at: (1) Thunder Butte; (2) Knife River, near the present town of Golden Valley; and (3) Heart River Ravine, near the town of New Salem. The black-bear

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter VIII

CATFISH-TRAPPING CEREMONY

THIS ceremony was associated with the eagle-trapping bundle, and both possessed a common mythological origin from Black Wolf. There was no direct reference to the fish trap in the Black Wolf myth, but in theory the sacred snare could catch anything. Crows Heart explained that even a buffalo corral was in reality a large snare, so a man owning a sacred snare was selected to stand on a high hill and by means of motions, as of snaring the buffaloes, pulled the animals by its magical powers into the corral.[1] War leaders took their sacred snares along when looking for enemies for supernatural aid in ensnaring and destroying their foes.

Purchase of catfish- and eagle-trapping rites could be made simultaneously, or the fish-trapping rights could be bought at a later date. Some men bought rights in only one of the ceremonies. A seller possessing rights in both ceremonies could sell each ceremony four times. Associated closely with these two ceremonies were the sweat lodge and the snare rites for doctoring and officiating at the buffalo and antelope pounds.

Although the Missouri River carries considerable sediment, catfish are very abundant. The presence of catfish bones in ancient Mandan and Hidatsa villages indicates that considerable use was made of these fish as food.

When a fish trap was in use, the black-bear hide was kept in the owner's lodge, laid out on calicoes on a four-post standard with its head pointing toward the fireplace. Food was offered to the bundle each day while the fish trap was being used.

Ben Benson remembered these Mandan who had catfish-trapping rights about 1880:

1. Black Tongue (Big Turtle). He was also custodian of the Okipa turtle drums, Hoita in the Okipa, owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a singer in the Corn ceremonies.

1. Refer to my manuscript, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization," for an account of the ceremonies associated with the buffalo corral.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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2. Hits on Back. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, a Holy Woman Robe bundle, and a Bird bundle of Sikaraxa.

3. Iron Eyes. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, a Wolf ceremony bundle, and custodian of an Okipa turtle drum.

4. Old (Black) Bear. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle.

5. Little Shield. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a Big Bird (Thunderbird) bundle.

6. Big Walker. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle.

It will be noted that each of these men also had eagle-trapping rights. In addition to these six bundle-owners, there were a number of men possessing fish-trap rights without securing a bundle. Such rights were acquired by payment of goods to a bundle-owner, who authorized the construction of a trap with instruction that the purchaser address his prayers to the seller's bundle. The following account by Crows Heart illustrates purchase by this method. His maternal grandfather had owned fish-trapping rites which had not been passed on. To receive instruction, his mother's sister directed him to the nearest relative of the opposite moiety.

CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF FISH-TRAPPING

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When I was a young man, I often fished with a line and metal hooks bought at the trading post. I never had very good luck catching fish that way. I only caught small catfish, bullheads, and white shiners which were full of bones. I often went down to the river in the fall when the water was low and helped the old men bail the fish out. They were catching the fish at night. Their fish were large ones, mostly catfish. Many of the very old people, especially the old women whose husbands were dead, came to the traps, and the men would give them fish. This made the old women very happy, and they would sing songs of praise to the old men. When I saw how happy it made them, I decided to trap fish when I grew up and make the old people happy.

One day I asked my "mother" how I could get the right to make a fish trap, and she said, "Go to Old Black Bear;[2] he is the man you must see."

When she said that, I asked, "Must I pay him?"

She replied, "You will have to pay him a horse and some blankets."

When I was nearly thirty years old, I invited Old Black Bear to my earth lodge. My wife prepared a feast of meat, bread, and coffee. I spread out a new robe on the floor, and he sat down on it. I had an overcoat I had paid $30.00 for; I put that over his shoulders. I also gave him a good gun, a fair horse, a redstone pipe, a good butcher knife, and three or four pieces of calico. Then he said, "What's up? What's all this for?"

I replied, "I want you to do me a favor. I want you to give me the right to make a fish trap."

He said, "I will give you the right to make and set out a fish trap. There's not much time today. I will teach you how to make the trap. If you think it

2. Crows Heart's father's moiety.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

is too far to come to my place, go to Benson, who lives near you; he will teach you all the songs, for he knows them. He paid me to sing them for him. You do not need to sing the songs each time you set the trap; you can pray to me instead, for I have the right to them."

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Old Black Bear taught me how to make the trap. The willows used should be about six feet long. Each pole should be sharpened on the end; the diameter of the pole would be that of a man's little finger. The willows were tied together in four bunches of one hundred poles each, like mats. Traps could be

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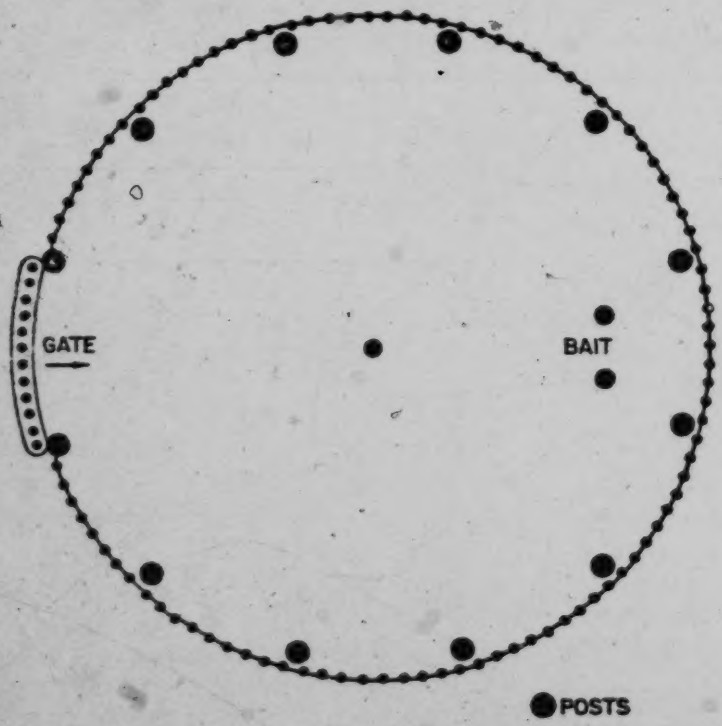

FIG. 37.—Plan of catfish trap

set out in the water or built against a bank. When the trap was set out in the ater, twelve posts were set into the ground. Two on the downstream side were set the length of a man's foot apart, for the door was fastened there. The willows were fastened to the large posts and driven into the ground, making a circular inclosure [see Fig. 37]. Sometimes suitable banks were found to attach the trap onto. When a sharp bank could be found, the side toward the bank was usually left open [see Figs. 38 and 39].

Care must be taken in selecting a place to put the trap into the water. The

3. This was the usual practice when one did not wish to learn all the ritual and become a singer in the ceremony. In cases of purchase, the new owner prayed to the animals, etc., represented in the bundle, as well as to the person from whom the bundle was acquired.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Wolf as payment for his services to these birds in the sacred myth. According to tradition, only those who had purchased the right made arrows. Arrowmaking techniques were taught by certain bundle-owners. It is highly improbable that any living informant at the time this study was made was able to enumerate all bundles with arrowmaking rights. At least the following, which is no doubt only a partial list, had arrowmaking rights: Eagle-trapping; Big Bird; Snow Owl; and Woman Above bundles. All of these bundles were associated with birds of prey.

The belief was that certain men were arrowmakers in early times and that those in need of arrows bought their supply. People without the rights were not allowed to stand around when arrows were being made. Incidentally, pottery-making was also a secret art, and the women bought the rights and knowledge in the techniques of their mothers or clanswomen, using only such designs as they were instructed to make. There was a song to the arrows and another when approaching the thicket where the shafts were secured. The stone tips were believed to have been first secured from the beavers.

The buffalo-calling rites were performed during the winter and were initiated by a young man dreaming of the buffaloes. Woman Living in Dog Den Butte (Buffalo Woman) had said in the myth, "In the future, when any Indian thinks of me, he must make offerings to me and give his wife to the one who is head of this medicine."

The three officers in the ceremony were (1) the bundle-owner and his wives, who sat to the left side near the head of the lodge and were the singers; (2) a woman impersonating Woman Living in Dog Den Butte, who wore a buffalo robe with hair side out and had sage and magpie tail feathers in her hair, her place being at the head of the lodge; and (3) a man impersonating the brothers who lived in Dog Den Butte; he had red marks painted on his skin indicating the kinds of wounds a man could receive in battle, and his place was on the right side of the lodge near the door.

The Okipa lodge was used for the ceremony. After a young man had made the vow, robes and other goods were accumulated for the ceremony. A man received help from his wife, brothers, sisters, clan brothers and sisters, and the people of both his

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The sixth group was that of the "Black-tail Deer" and consisted of men over fifty years of age. There were two women in this band who served food and distributed fresh water during the dances. The men wore a crown of bears' claws. 561

There were a few other dances which were bought and sold, but which hardly deserve a place in the regular system. One of these was the dance of the "Half Shaven Head Band" which the lowest band could buy before reaching the proper age to buy into the "Soldier Band." Another was the "Old Dog Dance." The "Dog Band" could buy this of the "Buffalo Band" before becoming Buffalos themselves or being able to. The "Hot Dance" was danced at Rouhptare by the youngest band, and also at the Hidatsa village where it was purchased from the Arikara. The dancers danced barefoot over live coals and plunged their hands into boiling water. 561 424 535

The women, too, were divided into bands. There were four of these of which the first was "The Band of the Gun" which consisted of the younger girls. Next was the "River Band." The third band was the "Hay Women" who sang only the scalp dance. The fourth and last band was that of the "Women of the White Cow," most of them were old, and they were all tattooed with black lines from the mouth to the base of the chin. 561 [304]

The marriage customs of the Mandan Indians differed little from those of their neighbors. Polygamy was common, although a large part of the men had but one wife. Descent was probably along the male line, though there may have been remains of an older custom of descent along the female line, for all the horses captured by a young man belonged to his sister. The women worked hard and were sometimes badly treated though not as a general rule. Lewis and Clarke says that infidelity was punishable by death. Maximilian says it was punishable by cutting off the woman's nose. When a man's wife was stolen he had a right to demand a horse from the abductor. Separations occurred among them quite frequently. Virtue among the women was held in high esteem but was rather scarce. There are accounts of a celebration where prizes were given to the virtuous maids — these celebrations also took place 595 611 562 684 [586] 831 171

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

MANDAN MEN'S SOCIETIES.

The Mandan System.

575 Both from Maximilian's account and the statements of my own informants it appears that the Mandan system of men's societies closely resembled
● 424 that of the Hidatsa. In both cases there was a series of graded organiza-
432 tions, the membership, or rather ownership, of each of which was acquired
171 by collective purchase. The method of buying membership was practically identical, and among the Mandan as well as among the Hidatsa the surrender of the purchasers' wives to the sellers formed a conspicuous feature. Owing to the collective manner of obtaining membership, practically all
[551] tribesmen belonged to some one of the societies. If a boy of a certain age did not yet belong to any organization, he was, according to Water-chief, derided as a "Finger-in-his-eye (istá wátke). After selling their last society the retired members, as among the Hidatsa, were known as "Stinking-ears" (nakóxe xu^{n}pé^{e}).

According to Black-chest and Wounded-face, the institution of "friendly"
573 organizations described for the Hidatsa (p. 229)[1] also occurs among the Mandan, but this is denied by Painted-up for both men's and women's organizations. Unfortunately this important point must remain undecided.

There can be no doubt that within the period known to my informants
575 membership in a society was primarily, on the Hidatsa plan, a matter of purchase, not of age. Because, for example, the group that normally would have purchased the Kit-Fox and Little Dog societies failed to buy either from his own class, Black-chest at 62 considers himself a member of these organizations, which he joined at 20 and 25 respectively.

177 Owing to the very small number of Mandan who survived the epidemic of 1837 and the intimate relations of the survivors with the Hidatsa, the
575 accounts of my Mandan informants may be largely colored by Hidatsa influences, so that Maximilian's data are all the more valuable and will be summarized in the following sections. Of the societies enumerated by my Mandan informants but not given by Maximilian, the Kit-Fox and the Little Dog organizations may be assumed to have been adopted from the Hidatsa in recent times, for both occur in Maximilian's Hidatsa list. In
575 preparing the following comparative table I assume, for reasons already set forth (p. 235), that in Maximilian's day there were distinct Dog and Half-

[1] [i.e., Members of two age groups separated in time by another age group would aid each other in opposition to the demands of the intermediate group. -- Analyst]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

1 575 293 outdoors, and drums within the lodge, but this contradicts the accounts of others. The rattles were originally made of gourds, but in Wounded-face's time baking-powder cans had been substituted.

575 The Fox women, according to Wounded-face, were selected by the fathers' wives. Their robes were decorated with honor marks earned by their male associates. Little-crow mentioned only two Fox women, selected by the members themselves, and placed in the middle of the line of march.

575 703 The military element was obviously prominent in the society. Water-chief relates that on the first public appearance of the new members, each one was called by name by the older men and women of the village and addressed as follows: "We have numerous enemies, you are the one that must fight and try to be a man. You must not forget this when you are in a fight." Later in the season, when Water-chief had struck a coup and received a wound, his people rejoiced, telling him, "That is what you desired to do, you are a brave man." Little-crow declared that the Kit-Foxes [535] did not dance very frequently,—in fact only when the approach of an enemy was reported. Wounded-face, while stating that dances were occasionally performed solely for the sake of amusement and in order to attract the attention of young women, also said that the Foxes danced very often in times of war, beginning as soon as a scout had brought the news of an enemy's approach. The Foxes tried to be brave in battle. Wounded-face recalls an occasion when a very brave enemy, surrounded by the Mandan, was holding his foemen at bay; finally, a Kit-Fox advanced towards him, struck him, and was killed. On another occasion a Kit-Fox together with four companions, set out on a war party. All five were killed by the enemy. This event was commemorated in song: "Once two enemies went into the bush. We surrounded them. One Kit-Fox went forward, and they killed him there."

575 The purely social features of the organization were also conspicuous. Public appearances were followed by feasts after the members had returned to their lodge. There were occasional horse parades by the Kit-Foxes, and the nocturnal processions referred to by Black-chest were of frequent occurrence.

Little Dog Society.

575 424 While Black-chest's and Wounded-face's group owned the Fox society, their fathers were Little Dogs (mini'sinik δ'xat'e) [1]; that is to say, after

[1] The present meaning of the native term seems to be "colt society," but the older informants consider the above rendering correct in the context given and consider the society related to the Hidatsa Little Dog organization. Maximilian also translates *menise* "dog." A corresponding confusion was encountered in the case of the other Mandan societies named for the dog.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

surrendering their ownership of the Fox organization, they had acquired possession of the Little Dog society. On one occasion, after the lapse of about five or six years, the Kit-Foxes were meeting at Woman-ghost's house, when someone asked whether they might not buy the Little Dog society then. Each one expressed his willingness to purchase it. Then they gathered together property for an initial gift, and one man carried a pipe to the Little Dogs' lodge. One of the Little Dogs said, "Well, we will meet and debate the matter." The messenger returned. As it was late, the Kit-Foxes waited for the next day to make their first offerings of goods, and merely went about the village, singing at several earth-lodges. On the next day they gathered and notified their friends, the River Women, who collected some property for them. This was piled up together with some guns contributed by the purchasers themselves, and was then divided among them. They waited until nightfall, then they went outside, crying, and marched towards the Little Dogs' lodge. A leader carried the pipe, and, on entering, laid it down before the fireplace. All the property was deposited near the pipe, then the Kit-Foxes took seats near the door, in the space allotted to outsiders. The Little Dogs were seated in the rear and on the sides of the lodge. Iron-eyes, one of the sellers' company, took the pipe towards the fire, lit it, and began to smoke. All the Kit-Foxes then cried, "Hahō'! We are going to have some songs." According to Wounded-face, the prospective buyers said to their fathers: "We have bought the Kit-Fox society of you, but we still have the Dog society to buy from you." Thereupon the fathers took the property and bade their sons prepare a lodge for the next evening. Then the Kit-Foxes went back to their lodge.

575 424 575 424 432 527 [576]

The next evening the Kit-Foxes gathered in Two-chiefs' house. They had married since their former purchase, and each one had his wife prepare food and bring it to the meeting place. The Little Dogs approached the lodge, singing on the way. The door of the lodge faced north. The buyers had ranged themselves on the right side (for one entering), with their wives behind them. The sellers sat down on the opposite side, with their wives behind them, and began to sing, using sticks with sleighbells for rattles. "We liked their song better than ours." (Black-chest). Big-thief rose, held up a dried dogskin, laid it toward the fire, faced the fire himself, sat down behind the skin, and thus addressed the group of buyers: "Well, sons, this dog has five claws on each of its front legs, that makes ten. Its hind legs also have ten claws, that makes twenty in all. So we wish you to feast us for twenty nights, then we will let you have our songs." [1]

575 432 527 [533]

[1] Wounded-face says that the entertainment lasted only fifteen nights, while Water-chief spoke of a ten nights' feasting of the fathers. When Little-crow, of the group immediately higher than that of the three informants quoted here and in the text, bought the same society, the entertainment lasted eight nights.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

There are other dances[1] which are bought and sold, among which are a second dance of the third band, and the dance of the half-shorn heads, which the lower class may buy before they are old enough to belong to the third band. 424 535

The medicine feast, the insignia, and the dance belonging to the half-shorn heads, will be described in the sequel. Another dance is that of the old dogs. The band of the dogs can buy it of the buffaloes before they can become buffaloes, or purchase their admission to the fifth band. In the dance of the old dogs they paint themselves white, the hands red and black, and wear a girdle of the skin of the grizzly bear, and a bunch of feathers hanging down at the back of the head.

What is called the hot dance is now danced at Ruhptare, and by the Manitaries, who bought it from the Arikkaras. It is executed by the little dogs, whose name is not known. A large fire is kindled on the occasion, and a quantity of live coals is scattered on the ground, about which the young men dance, quite naked and barefooted. The hands, with the lower part of the arms, and the feet and ankles, are painted red. A kettle, with meat cut in small pieces, is hung over the fire; and when the meat is done they plunge their hands into the boiling water, take out the meat, and eat it, at the risk of scalding themselves. The last comers are the worst off, having to dip their hands the deepest into the boiling water. During the dance they have in their hands their weapons and the schischikué.

There is another dance which will be described in one of the following chapters. The dance is accompanied with the schischikué and drum, and is generally performed in a circle: the dancers carry in their hands the bow-lance,* which is adorned with feathers and bears' entrails.

The Mandan women are divided precisely in the same manner as the men, into four classes, according to their age. The youngest band is called "the band of the gun." They wear in their hair some down feathers of the eagle, and have their peculiar dance. 561

The next class into which they obtain admission by purchase is "the river class." When they dance they wear an eagle's feather, fastened to the fore part of the head with a piece of white ribbon, which projects on the left side, and is entwined round the quill with grass.

The third class consists of the women of the hay, who, when they dance, put on their best clothes, and sing the scalp song.

The fourth and last class is the band of the white cow. They paint one eye with some colour according to their taste, generally sky-blue. On the chin, this class, mostly consisting of aged women, tattoo themselves with black lines; round their heads they wear a broad piece of the skin of a white buffalo cow, something like a hussar's cap, with a tuft of feathers in it. A more

* The bow-lance is a large bow, to one end of which the iron point of a lance is fastened. It serves only for show, and is never used in serious combat. It is very handsomely adorned with eagle's feathers, frequently with red cloth also, and, when completely decorated, is worth from 100 to 250 florins. It descends from father to son, and cannot be obtained except at a high price. Sometimes a horse or more must be given for it.

[1] [i.e., in addition to the dances the purchase of which acquires membership in an age-grade society. See category 561.--Analyst]

796 act in conformity with their parts, endeavouring to imitate the natural attitudes of the animals they represent. 5. Two men, representing white-headed eagles, are painted of a dark brown colour; the head, neck, fore arm and hands, and the lower part of the legs, are white; they carry a stick in their hands, and their business is to pursue the antelopes. 6. Are two beavers; they wear the robe with the hairy side outwards, have a piece of parchment, resembling a beaver's tail, fastened to their girdle, and are painted brown. 7. Are two birds of prey; their shoulders are blue, the breast yellowish and spotted; they have feathers on their heads, and the feet of birds of prey in their hands. 8. Are two or four bears (mato), wrapped in bears' skins, with the head and claws, which cover their head and their whole body; they generally walk in a stooping attitude about the dancers, and growl like those animals. 9. Two men represent the dried meat, which is cut in small strips. They wear a cap of white hare skin; their body is painted with zig-zag stripes; round the waist they have a girdle of green boughs, and they dance with the others. 10. Forty or fifty Indians of different ages perform the part of antelopes; they are painted red on the back, the rest of the body and limbs are white, the nose and mouth black; they carry small sticks, and run about very swiftly. 11. Two men personate the night; they are naked, painted quite black, with white stars; on their backs they have the setting moon, and on their breast the rising sun; they are not allowed to sit, during the whole day, till the sun has set: they then sit down and must not rise till the next morning. 12. Are one or two wolves; they are painted white, wear a wolf's skin, and pursue the antelopes, which fly before them: if they catch one, the bears come and take it from them and devour it. All these animals imitate the originals to the best of their power. 13. Two prairie wolves; the tops of their heads are painted white, their faces yellowish-brown; they wear dry herbs in their hair, and carry in their hands a stick, painted with reddish-brown stripes, and run in the prairie before the other animals when they leave the village. Almost all these animals are said to have different songs, with words, which the uninitiated do not understand; they sometimes practise these songs for a whole summer, and are frequently obliged to pay a high price for instruction. Originally there were only ten masks at this festival. The white-headed eagles, the beavers, and the prairie wolves, are a modern addition, and no part of the true ancient observances of it. When all these animals come together they fight with each other, and perform all sorts of antics. Every animal acts according to its natural character; the beavers strike with their tails, making a loud clapping noise; the buffaloes roll and wallow in the sand; the bears strike with their paws, &c.

[424]

796 During all these masquerade dances, the penitents have remained three entire days in
785 the medicine lodge, where they have fasted and thirsted, sitting perfectly still and quiet. On the
304 afternoon of that day, the persons of the ten masks also meet in the medicine lodge, and all together then leave this place. The penitents lie down on their bellies, in a circle round the ark, at some distance from it; the masks dance among them and over them, to the sound of

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174 since some accounts tell of being created at the Heart River
773 while others tell of a migration along the Missouri from the southeast. This same inconsistency was recognized by Maximilian.[2] My informants did not consider this to be an inconsistency at all. Their explanation was that, when Lone Man made the land around the Heart River, he also made the land to the south as far as the ocean. He made fish people, eagle people, bear people, corn people, buffalo people, and others whose history was inaugurated into myths of the sacred bundles. These various people were born into the Mandan tribe by magical means, thus populating the lands.

174 The large number of village sites belonging to a single archeological focus adjacent to the Missouri River both below and
161 above the junction with the Heart River indicates that the tribe at one time numbered several thousand, possibly as much as seven or eight thousand, while the depth of refuse establishes continuous residence there of several centuries.

THE MANDAN HOUSEHOLD

592 The household was the smallest economic unit and was composed of one or more biological families related through the fe-
[611] males. Theoretically, the household was held together by females so long as their lineage was unbroken and the lodge belonged to the clan of which the females were members. When a
351 village was first built on a new site, each household selected a
● 425 site for its lodge, corn scaffolds, and caches. There was a tend-
592 ency for related families to select adjacent quarters, while those intimately connected with the Okipa ceremony selected lodge sites adjacent to the open circle. These lodge sites within the village were held permanently within the female line, and, when returning to rebuild after a temporary abandonment of the village, female descendants of the original builders were entitled to
425 their former sites. When a family died out, the lodge belonged to the clan of the females and could be occupied by another
592 group of the same clan or could be sold to females of a different clan. My informants emphatically denied that abandoned lodges could be occupied until they had received permission

2. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 307–8. There is some inconsistency present, since other myths imply that the Mandan have been on or near the Heart River since the creation of man by Lone Man.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

either of the nearest relatives or of the clan to which the lodge belonged. They believed that the lodge had a spirit which would have sent bad luck to one taking possession illegally.

The females of the lodge owned in common the domestic goods consisting of bedding, pots, household and gardening tools, the dogs, gardens, the wooden mortar and pestle, and the mares and colts. Clothing and personal effects were held individually. The men owned their weapons used in warfare and hunting as well as their own clothing and pipes. Men also owned the stallions and geldings. Sacred tribal bundles were held collectively by the man and his wives.

Lodges were built with little ceremony; the only rites were performed at the cutting of the notches for the four center posts when an old woman having the right to cut the posts was called in to sing one song and pray for the family's success. She received one robe for her services. It was the duty of the clan to assist in the erection of a member's lodge. Since these lodges were large, a considerable amount of work was entailed in erecting one and covering it with poles, willows, grass, and earth.[3] As a rule, the clan prepared a feast and invited the opposite moiety to assist, in which case the clans assisted according to the seating arrangement of the men in the Okipa or in council.

Mandan informants state that in earlier times each household had one or more game pits. These pits were dug by all the members of the household and were owned collectively. While the men would bring the poles for the cover and kill the game caught in them, the women frequently did most of the work of excavating and removing earth from the area of the pit. In recent times many households had fishtraps which are believed to have been used since introduced by Black Wolf. Fish bones, particularly catfish bones, are very abundant in the Heart River villages. The ceremonies associated with the trapping of fish, particularly the catfish, were performed by the older men, but the women assisted in weaving the walls for the trap and in sorting and cleaning the fish.

There was considerable variability in the status of household

3. For a report of the amount of materials used in the completion of an earth lodge see George F. Will, "The Mandan Lodge at Bismarck," *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 1 (October, 1930).

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not possessing wealth or important sacred bundles it was largely 581
a social event involving the two households. Although young 584
men would court their girls, marriages were arranged by the relatives, who disapproved of elopements. The mother would watch her daughters, and, when she saw that they were seeing the young men often, she would discuss the matter with her husband. She would advise her daughters not to marry without a considerable exchange of goods, as to do so would be grounds for criticism. Mothers would explain the importance of ceremonial bundles and advise their daughters of the importance of keeping them in the lodge. People would say that a daughter was no good if little was received at her wedding.

There were in each of the Mandan villages a large number of 581
families owning or controlling important tribal bundles. These 778
families were considered the authorities on tribal lore and cus- 425
tom. They received, in addition to the produce of their gardens and their share of meat and hides from animals taken on the group hunts, a great deal of property and honors for officiating at the ceremonies. To preserve their status, they endeavored [556]
to have a considerable display of goods at the marriage of one of their children. Families with important related bundles 581
endeavored to marry their children into families also having 778
important bundles, the feeling being that those reared in a 796
lodge where important bundles were kept were better trained in learning the complicated rites associated with tribal bundles. A household that held an important tribal bundle inherited within a clan endeavored and generally succeeded in selecting a son-in-law who was of the same clan as the daughter's father. It was also believed that a man and his son-in-law got along better when they were of the same clan. In a large measure, the Mandan were successful in preserving most of their rich ceremonialism through the smallpox epidemic of 1837 because of the character of the formal training of those who were to inherit the traditional rights and responsibilities for the ceremonies and because of a system of preferred marriage in which the parents of both households selected their children's mates. It can be definitely said that the bulk of Mandan tribal lore was preserved by a small number of families, that their status was high in the

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This account of a summer buffalo hunt illustrates the position of an individual in his relations to the remainder of the village. As a young man first assisting in a summer buffalo hunt he received his training from those older and more experienced; he advanced by degrees, and his responsibilities increased until, as leader of the village when on the hunt, he was responsible for the well-being of the entire village group of which he was a part. It will be shown in the pages that follow that whereas an individual would, in one situation be the leader over his entire village, in other situations he would be a follower and others would be responsible for the group's success. 554

Men specialized in certain activities. Whereas some were leaders of buffalo hunts, fish-trapping, war expeditions, or various ceremonies, others specialized as singers, painters, arrowmakers, or storytellers. In Mandan society, a man or woman seeking information, however trivial, was expected to make a payment for the information acquired. Persons possessing unique information and techniques were highly regarded, and it would have been considered ill mannered to adopt another's skills without at first paying for that right, however well the individual may have been able to perform without this paid training. One was also said to be inviting bad luck by practicing arts for which payment had not been made. 463 437 555

Payment for training was so highly developed in Mandan society that a young woman assisting her mother in the making of clay pots would prepare a simple feast to which the females of the household were invited in order to receive the right to assist in the making of pots and to make vessels of her own after her mother had died. Within the family group the payments were usually insignificant so far as the value of the goods was concerned. It was felt that the small payment in goods expressed the young woman's respect for her mother. The Mandan also believed that payments expressed societal values. The mother would explain each step in pottery-making, the selection of the clay and grit, the molding of the mass, the introduction of decorations, and the drying and baking of the vessels. Mandan vessels had a variety of decorations, and the person buying the right to make pottery acquired only the right to employ such decorations as the mother had a right to use. If she wished to 437 421 425

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437 utilize other decorations, she was obliged to seek another
421 woman entitled to make the particular decoration and buy the
425 right of her.

There was a similar specialization for men. When a young
437 man was found to have an especially good voice which was
heard above the others in the songs of the society dances, he
425 was encouraged to buy singer rights in dances of both a sacred
535 and a secular character. Although they were obliged to make
555 payments either to existing singers or to the owners of bundles,
their rewards far exceeded the initial costs. Their training included information relative to the ceremonies that were being performed, and they received recognition comparable to that shown those who had directed a number of successful war expeditions. In council, their authority was as great as those who had directed war parties, summer buffalo hunts, or eagle-trapping expeditions.

555 Those who could tattoo or paint designs appreciated by the
people of the village were highly regarded and received a con-
616 siderable amount of goods for their services. There were usually
531 at least two skilled painters in each village, and they were
789 expected to belong to opposite moieties. A man of one moiety
would go to a man of the other moiety to have a robe, shield, or clothing painted either according to his particular inclination or with specific designs of things dreamed of. Each warrior had one or more shields made of buffalo hide taken from around the neck, and these were used universally by the Mandan for protection against arrows and spears until guns became more universal. The designs were believed to offer supernatural protection, and their potency was considered to be enhanced when the design was painted by a man of the opposite moiety, since there would be a payment to the "father" who would pray for the "son's" success. These painters were held responsible for the proper painting of the characters represented in the Okipa and received much property for their services. If they were otherwise sensible men, they enjoyed the same status as those who had been successful in other pursuits.

555 The arrowmakers were highly regarded. Although all males
887 usually made arrows, some were employed specially for arrow-
making. These were the older men of the lodge who had passed

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796 ants were in full agreement on some points. They stated that
778 those with singer rights in the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles were singers for the Women's Goose Society and that greater emphasis was placed on warfare rites. There was no reference in the Robe and Skull myths or rites to warfare except in the incident when Good Furred Robe founded the Black Mouth or Brave Warrior Society and gave a sunflower plant to each of the two bravest men, who were to carry them on war expeditions. The following articles were contained in a principal bundle: corn basket, elkskin robe, clay pot, wooden pipe, deer skull and antlers, corn, beans, squash, sunflowers, blackbird heads, bull-snake skin, bundle of young white sage, duck heads, swan feathers, goose heads, strip of grizzly-bear skin, gourd rattles, and a scalp. Owners of principal bundles held singer status. Bobtail Bull, so far as it was possible to determine, was the only Mandan with this status surviving the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

778 2. *Secondary bundles.*—Those holding secondary bundle rights
• 425 were exceedingly numerous. Such bundles were hereditary in
432 character but followed two distinct patterns. For instance, a qualified individual wishing to buy the Snake rites from Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles could either purchase rights from a Snake bundle-owner or could go to a principal bundle-owner and make the purchase. The purchase pattern was the same in both instances. White Calf purchased his Snake bundle from his parents, although his father was dead at the time of the transfer, and Bears Ghost bought from his father, Foolish Chief. On the other hand, Bobtail Bull sold the Snake rites to his son-in-law from a principal bundle.[4] He could do that without subdividing the bundle, since four sales were permissible. Bear bundles could be transferred or made up in the same manner. Men or women either could buy individually or could purchase jointly. There was a difference between group purchases instituted by a man from that of a female purchase. When a man bought, his wives, sisters, and brothers could purchase jointly. However, when a woman initiated the purchase, her sisters, brothers, and their wives could purchase jointly, but the husband could

4. There was a tendency to sell secondary bundles to sons, whereas clan inheritance by transfer to a sister's son or a son-in-law was generally practiced for original or principal tribal bundles.

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not participate in the transfer or hold rights in the bundle. The desire to own one of these secondary bundles could come either from vision instruction or from a sense of responsibility to perpetuate the parents' bundles. When vision instructed, sale was made by an owner of the father's clan having rights in a bundle; otherwise the vision recipient could make up a bundle according to the instructions received in the dream. In the latter case, although having as a personal god one of the characters represented in the Old Woman Who Never Dies rites, he was not considered qualified to attend Corn ceremonies and receive gifts.

3. *Composite bundles.*—This was the result of incorporation of Old Woman Who Never Dies rites into the ceremonialism associated with the Robe bundles. Scattercorn had heard her father say that in former times these were separate ceremonies. Crows Belt did not have rights in the Old Woman Who Never Dies ceremony. After the death of Bobtail Bull, Moves Slowly bought Crows Belt's Robe bundle and proceeded to purchase rights in additional ceremonies pertaining to garden crops, thereby building up a reputation as leader in all of the Corn ceremonies. Whereas some men acquired status in warfare, others rose to prominence by purchasing ceremonial bundles. Crows Heart thought that one was about as hard to do as the other. Buying into the ceremonies required a great deal of material wealth which had either to be prepared or bought. It is interesting to observe a parallelism between the records of Moves Slowly and of Poor Wolf, who purchased the Skull bundle at about the same time as Moves Slowly acquired the Robe bundle. There was always rivalry between the two men, who were at that time living at Like-a-Fishhook Village. Moves Slowly was eligible to inherit the Skull bundle, since his grandfather through the male line had owned rights in the bundle. Bear Looks Around bought the bundle before Moves Slowly was old enough to make the purchase. Crows Belt, who had no legitimate heir, sold the Robe bundle to Moves Slowly shortly after Poor Wolf secured the Skull bundle from Bear Looks Around. Both undertook the purchase of rights in related ceremonies, and the rivalry became keen in their efforts to build up the reputation of their bundles. Moves Slowly bought Hoita rights in the Okipa, assisted his brother, Bear on the Water, in

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they trapped along the Cannonball River and in the Black Hill region, especially along the north side, which was jointly occupied with the Cheyenne, whom he believed used the same methods and followed the same rituals. He had heard the old men say that it was understood that the eagle-trapping season should not be marked by bloodshed between the two tribes, or the trappers would have bad luck, and that their camps were often only a short distance apart. There would be visiting between camps and good-natured joking about the potency of their respective bundles. He further added that, through misfortune, the Mandan died off in such large numbers that they were obliged to relinquish most of their territory and establish a new territory which Hidatsa leaders had relinquished through simultaneous misfortunes. He had also heard the old men say that before abandoning the Cannonball region the Arikara, who then lived as far north as the Grand River to the south, had a similar treaty with the Sioux not to fight during the eagle-trapping season and at that time began to come into Mandan territory to make trouble. Since one was not permitted to carry his weapons to the pit,[4] a practice observed until trapping was abandoned a few years ago, the Mandan decided that it would be best to abandon their Cannonball River sites. New sites were established in Hidatsa trapping territory after the Mandan moved from the Heart River region to join the Hidatsa. Crows Heart had often visited the Crows and had heard them say they preferred to shoot the young birds, while still near their nesting places, to sitting in pits. There was also a period when the Snake Indians bothered the trappers, but he thought that it was not so long ago, as the Indians had horses by that time.[5]

A few leaders went to the east side of the Missouri River while occupying the Heart River region. Pits were dug as far east as Dog Den Butte and around Devils Lake. This was a limited territory since, in general, the country was too flat on the east side of the Missouri for successful trapping.

Ownership of a site was vested in the leader who had either purchased the lodge and adjacent pits from a man of his own

4. This practice suggests that a truce between tribes was quite universal before the introduction of the horse.

5. No doubt he referred to a recent eastward movement of Shoshonean-speaking groups after the appearance of the horse on the Northern Plains.

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clan or who had occupied unclaimed territory, erected his own 796
lodge, and marked the outlines of pits. Inheritance of trapping 223
sites was through the clan, and one could not secure permanent 425
ownership of a trapping site owned by a man of a different clan. 614
The nearest clan relative took possession of the site upon the death of the owner if it had not been sold. One could pay for permission to use a particular site for a season from one of a different clan when the owner did not intend to make use of it himself, but he was obliged to use the pits already dug and could not prepare new ones. In other words, a man could rent a site [427]
from an owner of a different clan, but he could not buy. When a site had been abandoned so long that its owner was not known, another could claim the site. Evidently little trouble was experienced over claims to sites, since a violator would have been severely criticized. There was, in addition, a religious taboo, [784]
since both the eagles and the bears belonging to the ritual occupied major bundle status in each tribe, and a trespasser could never have attained a position of prominence in either tribe.

The ritualistic differences between the Mandan and Hidatsa 796
were no greater than those between separate bundle lines within 171
the same village. Wolf Chief's narrative (to be quoted later) illustrates the extent to which one tribe borrowed from the other 778
in purchasing an eagle-trapping bundle. His father, Small 223
Ankles, purchased his rights from Big Cloud, who advised him to receive his instructions from Arrowhead Earrings, a Mandan, who was better informed. A study of individual bundle lines reveals that borrowing back and forth has been going on regularly since the smallpox epidemic of 1837, and from traditional information from informants this also applied to all their neighboring tribes as well. In native theory the particular ritual practiced at any time depended on these three factors: (1) the instructions received when the bundle was transferred; (2) elements of other eagle-trapping bundle rituals purchased; and (3) vision instructions.

A bundle-owner could sell his rights four times, and it was 796
only when the fourth sale was made that the original bundle was 778
transferred, new bundles being made up for the first three sales. 223
The amount of instruction received depended on the desires of

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Big Cloud's bundle was not complete; Iron Eye's had a main one.[22] Small Ankles would put up the lodge and put the snake pole in with the buffalo skull. He tied it into place with dark sage. I heard that once Old Woman's Grandson came in so they had the two poles brought in at that time to represent the snake.[23] 539

With respect to inheritance of trapping rights, rather marked differences exist between the Hidatsa and the Mandan. The former employed exclusively transfer from father to son or from individuals standing in the father-son relationship. Not a single instance of variation from the rule was observed except in the instance of Big Cloud's two sales to Wolf Eyes and Small Ankles. No doubt that exception can be traced to the circumstance that, though belonging to the Hidatsa Water-buster clan, Big Cloud lived in one of the Mandan villages with his Mandan father and Hidatsa mother. Hidatsa sales of trapping rights followed the normal pattern of bundle transfer from father to son, with a clan brother of the seller acting as sponsor to give instruction and prepare the bundle. Frequently a purchaser's brothers assisted in a joint purchase, taking possession upon death of the brother, but the next transfer would be to the son of original purchaser or his brother's son. 778 223 171 425

The small village of Awaxawi apparently had been strongly influenced by the Mandan, and clan inheritance was followed if the two bundles purchased just after the smallpox of 1837 were characteristic of all bundles formerly in the village prior to that epidemic.

Mandan inheritance of eagle-trapping bundles was affected by numerous factors. Except for the last generation in which it was from father to son, or other individuals standing in that relationship, inheritance was generally from one standing in the relationship of *pta'wadato'dE*, a special kinship term for the mother's brother and the mother's mother's brother. In tracing back inheritance of Mandan eagle-trapping bundles, one is impressed by a sudden change within a single generation to the Hidatsa pattern of purchasing from the father. 778 425 171

Iron Eyes' bundle had belonged in the WaxikEna clan for several generations. He purchased from his mother's brother before the Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook 423 223 778 425

22. He means the principal bundle.
23. See the myth of Old Woman Who Never Dies, chap. vi, above.

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423 Village, but he sold to his son after living one generation with
223 the Hidatsa. He inherited the eagle-trapping sites of his moth-
778 er's brother, but his son, Ben Benson, did not inherit his father's
425 trapping lodges, since they were of different clans. Trapping territory and lodges continued to be clan-inherited and were not affected by this change to father-son inheritance of bundles.

778 Residence also was a factor in determining Mandan bundle
transfers. When marriage was arranged on the initiative of the
425 girl's parents, who selected the husband, the girl and her husband lived with her parents. As soon as it was evident that the marriage would become permanent, the girl's parents undertook what was known as "building up the son-in-law's reputation." First they would secure a white buffalo robe, which they presented to their son-in-law, who in turn would offer it to his own father's bundle.

If the young man came to regard the parents-in-law highly, he would, when successful in warfare, present his mother-in-law with a scalp, after which he could speak to her at will. Small Ankles lived in the same lodge with his wife and her parents, and he received his eagle-trapping rights from his father-in-law, Big Cloud, who also sold to his younger brother, Wolf Eyes. Wolf Chief, son of Small Ankles, was eligible to buy from his father. He also was invited to own his father-in-law's (Chief, a Mandan) eagle-trapping rights. This was an instance where a man (Hidatsa) was eligible to purchase his father's rights but through marriage to a Mandan and living in his parents-in-law's lodge could, according to Mandan custom, have inherited his father-in-law's bundle and rights.

Wolf Chief gave an account of a bundle transfer as told to him by his father, Small Ankles. The account illustrates quite definitely a considerable interchange of elements between the Mandan and Hidatsa, resulting in an enriched ceremonial life for both groups. The Hidatsa think of Small Ankles' rites as Hidatsa, but this account will show that the chief body of lore connected with the bundle was drawn from the Mandan.

WOLF CHIEF'S NARRATIVE OF A BUNDLE TRANSFER

223 I do not own the trapping rights, and by custom I should not tell; but,
778 since I have changed my ways, I will. My father, Small Ankles, did not get
425 the rights from his father but from Big Cloud, his father-in-law. Before Big
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Cloud[24] died, he told my father that it would be better for him to put up a sweat and thus receive the Small Bear, for he might get some use out of it. When people in the future would make offerings to the bears, he would receive presents.

Small Ankles told me that he got this Small Bear shortly after the smallpox. He said to me, "I treated my father-in-law well; he was like an older brother to me; that was the reason why he asked me to buy the medicines. I had to put up the sweat and some articles before I received it. At that time there were few trade goods, so I went out for buffaloes and saved about twenty-five hides. I had them tanned by the women. I prepared a sweat bath and called Big Cloud. He showed me two feet belonging to the little bear; one was without hide and was called Bone Foot. It was difficult to find a man who knew all the songs, but we remembered that there was a man named White Finger Nails. He had a son who knew the holy songs, so he was selected to come in and sing the songs. That man was a Mandan, Calf Woman's mother's father, named Arrowhead Earrings.[25] Big Cloud did not own a complete bundle but had only part of the rites and songs, so they selected this man since he knew them all. The man selected I called "father" because he and my father were in some way distantly related. Also I said that it would be best to have my father-in-law there too, for he knew some of the songs and knew how to put up the trap with the songs for the baits and pits. They met together to have the ceremony." Small Ankles was there. Big Cloud gave his medicines to Small Ankles and taught him how to trap, sing the songs, and set the baits. Then the other man gave him a small piece of bear hide and foot, telling him that when out trapping, if bad luck came, he could call him "father" and say what he wished to say, and Arrowhead Earrings would remember.

Big Cloud received the ten hides and said, "It will be all the better to let this other man have fifteen hides and a horse, for he is the one who did most to give you a complete ceremony."

When they covered the sweat lodge with the robes, there was a buffalo skull and the medicines that were to go to Small Ankles inside. Then they sang the holy songs. Big Cloud gave Small Ankles the bear foot, three snares, and eagle down, saying, "I give these to use when trapping; keep them in good order." Then they went in and sang a holy song and called some of the people to come in front of the sweat to be cleansed of the evil spirits.

There were not many people there, for most of the eagle-trapping bundles had died out during the smallpox; all who did own such bundles came there. Arrowhead Earrings said to Small Ankles, "When you go out eagle-trapping, remember this medicine is connected with trapping fish too, so you must not trap both in the same year. If you do, you will surely get into trouble, for this is holy. It is best to change off and go out after eagles one year and catch fish the next. If you use both the same year, trouble will come, for the fish have the stronger spirit."

There was a holy man with eagle medicine named Medicine Eagle [Mandan]. Small Ankles heard that he was holy and learned that, when any of the

24. Big Cloud had no sons and was living with his daughter, who had married Small Ankles.

25. Arrowhead Earrings was a Mandan of the WaxikEna clan and custodian of the Okipa lodge, where he lived with his family when the lodge was not needed for the ceremonies. His eagle-trapping rights were secured from White Finger Nails.

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people wanted to make offerings to the eagles, Medicine Eagle would draw the picture of the things that they offered.

Small Ankles said, "I was trying to call him to come to my place and inquired what he did about making the signs for the eagle, thinking that it would help me in eagle-trapping. I called him in and told him I would like to own 'how he drew the picture,' and the man said he was willing to let me have it. He said it was not necessary to put up a big sweat and ceremony but to give enough articles, and he would show me how. He also owned a holy song for eagle-trapping which I could use. He gave them both to me to use.

" 'I will save enough hides to buy it from you,' and the man said that he would be ready any time. I looked up eight hides and my wife tanned them. A mare and colt were included. I put up a feast besides and told the medicine man that I was ready to own the medicine. The man came painted. His face was red; his hair was over his forehead; he wore the longest wing feathers. He came in, and I said, 'Here is the material I have put up to own your medicine song; here are two sticks which represent the mare and colt; this food also goes along with it.'

"When the man saw that, he said, 'I am satisfied with it, my son. You have put up all these things, and I am happy.' I had a pipe ready and handed it to him. He called for a little fire and I carried him a coal, but before he began to smoke he held up his pipe to the sky and prayed, then to the ground, and then to the birds of the four directions. When he finished smoking, he said that he would sing the holy song which belonged to the bait and show me how to draw the picture, for, when any man makes an offering to the eagles, then that man will have the right to draw a picture on his robe.[26] Medicine Eagle said, 'I will show you how to make the picture, for one who makes an offering to his own medicines, the eagles. I have a holy song for that.' I [Small Ankles] was taught the song, and the man said that he had already heard that I had bought the right to trap and now with my holy song it would be all the easier to trap an eagle. He taught how to sing the holy song, but one was not supposed to sing it aloud, just loud enough so that the people could hear it. The song had some words.

Female eagles come back first.

"Then he taught me how to draw the picture and said, 'Some day the people may make an offering to the eagles, and then you can draw the picture. Have some mud on a stick. When you draw the picture, make first a crooked line for lightning and then one straight line alternating until you have made six or eight figures representing lightning. Pull out one of the wing feathers and put it on one corner of whatever they offer when you finish drawing the pictures. When you have finished, cut an ash stick and put the robe around it with sage fastened on the top of it. Have a belt around the middle. Put it beside the door of his lodge so that it will stand there. When you go out eagle-trapping, remember the holy song and think whether you are getting enough birds. If you think you are not getting enough, use that song, singing it on the way to the pit or while smoking the bait. When you go into the pit, sing it. When you are at the pit, lift the bait in the air to the west and sing. If an eagle shows up while you are singing, it means that you will be successful. Do not sing this song often, only when you need it very badly.' "

26. The practice of painting robes to depict bundle rights was universal with the Mandan but uncommon with the Hidatsa.

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Small Ankles did not go out often, for there were many enemies. He did not like to go because of that. I went out along the Little Missouri River to Shoot-in-Nose Creek, and Small Ankles said I was four years old then. Then, Old Woman Crawling, Flying Above, and Big Cloud were along. There were old pits, but no one knew whose, so they fixed them in the same places. That is all right if one did not know whose they were. Many eagles were flying. One man stayed at home to protect the women. Big Cloud told of birds destroying the bait when the enemy appeared on the hill. The men freed the birds and ran away from the place. They traveled all night coming back. 223 778 425 159

The actual transfer of the bundle was a public event in both tribes. When a Hidatsa transfer was to be made, a clan brother of the seller occupied an important place, giving the instructions beforehand and directing the ceremonial transfer. He was recipient of most of the goods offered in payment. Attending the transfer ceremony and feast were all persons, male or female, owning a bundle containing a buffalo skull. These participants were considered the major bundle-owners of the tribe. 778 425

Mandan public transfer of this bundle was direct from seller to purchaser, and the only persons entitled to attend were legitimate owners of Eagle-trapping, Big Bird (this includes eagles, hawks, owls, thunder), Snake, and Bear bundles. Instruction in the techniques and rites of eagle-trapping was received directly from the seller without the assistance of a clan father. Each legitimate participant at the transfer received payment for his attendance and prayed for the success of the purchaser. Instruction was received from the seller privately, and appropriate payments were made from time to time during the period of apprenticeship. For instance, the buyer would be told that he should have so much goods ready at a stated time, and he would be taught how to erect the lodge; at another time how to dig the pits; etc. Each song would require its appropriate payment. When the feast was given, all knew that the buyer had received at least the minimum information necessary for leading eagle-trapping expeditions. Both tribes employed public transfers as an instrument for informing the population at large of the buyer's legitimate right to perform the ceremony. Transfer was always made in the village and never while on the trapping grounds.

There were two methods of organizing an eagle-trapping party depending on the inclination of the leader or bundle-owner. Some leaders selected their trappers, while others announced 223

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eagle, and a fiber snare over the entrance. The sun, also identified with the speckled eagle, was represented by a chokecherry branch and a fiber snare tied over the front standard above the altar. 223 796

Then followed the assignment of places for the duration of the trapping season and the selection of officers. Until the assignment of places was made, the leader gave no indication of the selections he contemplated making. The leader's place was at the head of the lodge on the right side. For the place next to him he would select an assistant, whenever possible one who also had eagle-trapping rights. At the end of the row next to the door he would place the waiter. For the left side opposite the leader he would select the "Chief of the Hunters" or "Crack Shot." Next he would select an assistant to the Chief of the Hunters. In mythological times these last two positions were occupied by a single officer, Bear Cub, until Two Men stole his earthen pot. When they found that they could not escape from the Cub, they agreed to do the hunting for the bears, as they were arrows in spirit. When the party was quite large, a second waiter was selected to sit at the end of the line.

The assignment of "bird sticks" varied with different leaders. Bear on the Flat used twelve bird sticks cut from chokecherry branches, to which he tied pieces of calico. These sticks were stuck into the ground in a row in front of the buffalo skull. They represented the twelve tail feathers of the eagle and also the birds that belong in the eagle family according to native belief. Iron Eyes and Ben Benson placed one bird stick on the altar for each member of the party. Each stick was decorated with a piece of flint,[29] a strip of rabbit skin, and some white sage. Old Bear, a Mandan, placed four bird sticks at the altar for each trapper, representing four types of eagles—the bald-headed, speckled, four stripes (on tail feathers), and calumet (white tail feathers with black tips) varieties. Small Ankles gave each of his trappers two bird sticks decorated with calico. One was offered to the calumet and the other to all the other eagles.

After the lodge was entered, assignment of pits was in order. When returning to habitual trapping grounds, it was rarely necessary to dig new pits. The right to dig new pits was by a sepa- 223 425 423

29. See chap. ix for origin of flint knives.

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223 rate purchase, and all leaders did not possess this. Purchasers
425 received a short ash digging stick for laying out the corners of
423 the pit and the right to sing the Song to the Pit. Lacking this right, it was necessary for a leader to select an established camp of a clan brother or a site which he had formerly purchased or borrowed, as he could not lay claim to a new site without the right to dig new pits. It was customary for a leader to return to the same site year after year, except that he could not lead eagle-trapping expeditions and put out a fish trap the same year.

When new pits were to be dug, the trapper made his own selection of the site and then called for the leader to mark the corners, which was done with the small ash stick while singing the Song to the Pit at each of the corners. He received payment for this service.

223 In order to avoid disputes when selecting pits, the leader would name two men to select their pits until each trapper had a pit. It was believed that the birds would not come down if disputes occurred. The first day in camp was usually spent in preparing the trapping lodge and assigning the pits. In the evening when the lodge was completed and the altar had been set up, the leader went out and called the birds, told them that the lodge was ready, informed the trappers of the rules, and sang the trapping songs.

796 When the writer was on one of these trapping expeditions in
223 1932, Bear on the Flat gave us the following instructions in this order. Mark Mato served as interpreter. The main points stressed by Bear on the Flat were of necessity recorded in brief outline.

BEAR ON THE FLAT'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR EAGLE-TRAPPING

When the four-post eagle-trapping lodges are put up, the eagle-trapping owner should come out to that site each fall. When a person comes to a region for one season and knows that he will not return to the same site next season, he puts up the simple tepee-shaped lodge without the four central posts.

When lodges were used formerly, twelve to twenty trappers went out; the lodges were approximately twenty-five feet in diameter, and the snake poles were relatively larger. No one was allowed to touch the snake poles. If someone did, Old Black Bear punched him severely with one of the bird poles used as a poker for the fire. Children were pinched severely by anyone near at hand.

It is customary to wipe the hands on the snake poles after eating, as the snakes' share of the meal. Men sleep at night with their heads on the snake

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223 from the rim were undesirable because birds flew past the bait before seeing it and frequently did not come down. Certain pits were known to be better than others because of their proper location in respect to the contour of the hill and because of an unobstructed view westward for many miles.

223 Even in localities visited annually, ancient pits were discover-
425 ed from time to time. Anyone finding an old pit, if within reason-
829 able distance of a trapping camp, could appropriate it for his use, in which case it became the property of the leader under whom the trapper served. It was not necessary to perform the rites at the pit when reopening the pit, as it was assumed that such rites had been performed originally when the pit was dug. It was both Mandan and Hidatsa belief that all tribes trapping eagles had similar rites. During this study, in an effort to learn the extent of knowledge concerning eagle-trapping by neighboring tribes with whom these two tribes were in constant contacts, Crows Heart was asked if he knew whether the Assiniboine, Cheyenne, and Sioux had ceremonies associated with eagle-trapping. His reply was that he was positive that they did and that both the rites and songs were the same as for his people. When inquiry was made relative to the source of his information whether from attending their trapping expeditions or from information supplied by Indians of these various tribes, his reply was that he had never been out with Indians of any tribe other than the Mandan and Hidatsa, neither had he discussed the matter with Indians of neighboring tribes, but that "it was common sense that they used the same ceremonies, as all eagle-trapping came from the Black Bears, otherwise these neighboring tribes would never have caught eagles." He then added, "If the ceremonies had been omitted, or improperly conducted, the Indians not only would never have caught eagles but other bad luck would have befallen them." This example illustrates the unreliability of information secured from an informant relative to a society of which he is not a part.

223 Whenever advice was needed, the trapper consulted the leader and paid him for his services. The leader usually supervised construction of the cover for the pit. Six poles were crossed and tied as illustrated in Figure 30. This framework was called the "buffalo's backbone." To these poles were tied buckbrush and

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2. Hits on Back. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, a Holy Woman Robe bundle, and a Bird bundle of Sikaraxa.

3. Iron Eyes. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, a Wolf ceremony bundle, and custodian of an Okipa turtle drum.

4. Old (Black) Bear. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle.

5. Little Shield. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a Big Bird (Thunderbird) bundle.

6. Big Walker. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle.

It will be noted that each of these men also had eagle-trapping rights. In addition to these six bundle-owners, there were a number of men possessing fish-trap rights without securing a bundle. Such rights were acquired by payment of goods to a bundle-owner, who authorized the construction of a trap with instruction that the purchaser address his prayers to the seller's bundle. The following account by Crows Heart illustrates purchase by this method. His maternal grandfather had owned fish-trapping rites which had not been passed on. To receive instruction, his mother's sister directed him to the nearest relative of the opposite moiety.

CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF FISH-TRAPPING

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When I was a young man, I often fished with a line and metal hooks bought at the trading post. I never had very good luck catching fish that way. I only caught small catfish, bullheads, and white shiners which were full of bones. I often went down to the river in the fall when the water was low and helped the old men bail the fish out. They were catching the fish at night. Their fish were large ones, mostly catfish. Many of the very old people, especially the old women whose husbands were dead, came to the traps, and the men would give them fish. This made the old women very happy, and they would sing songs of praise to the old men. When I saw how happy it made them, I decided to trap fish when I grew up and make the old people happy.

One day I asked my "mother" how I could get the right to make a fish trap, and she said, "Go to Old Black Bear;[2] he is the man you must see."

When she said that, I asked, "Must I pay him?"

She replied, "You will have to pay him a horse and some blankets."

When I was nearly thirty years old, I invited Old Black Bear to my earth lodge. My wife prepared a feast of meat, bread, and coffee. I spread out a new robe on the floor, and he sat down on it. I had an overcoat I had paid $30.00 for; I put that over his shoulders. I also gave him a good gun, a fair horse, a redstone pipe, a good butcher knife, and three or four pieces of calico. Then he said, "What's up? What's all this for?"

I replied, "I want you to do me a favor. I want you to give me the right to make a fish trap."

He said, "I will give you the right to make and set out a fish trap. There's not much time today. I will teach you how to make the trap. If you think it

2. Crows Heart's father's moiety.

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is too far to come to my place, go to Benson, who lives near you; he will teach you all the songs, for he knows them. He paid me to sing them for him. You do not need to sing the songs each time you set the trap; you can pray to me instead, for I have the right to them."

Old Black Bear taught me how to make the trap. The willows used should be about six feet long. Each poie should be sharpened on the end; the diameter of the pole would be that of a man's little finger. The willows were tied together in four bunches of one hundred poles each, like mats. Traps could be

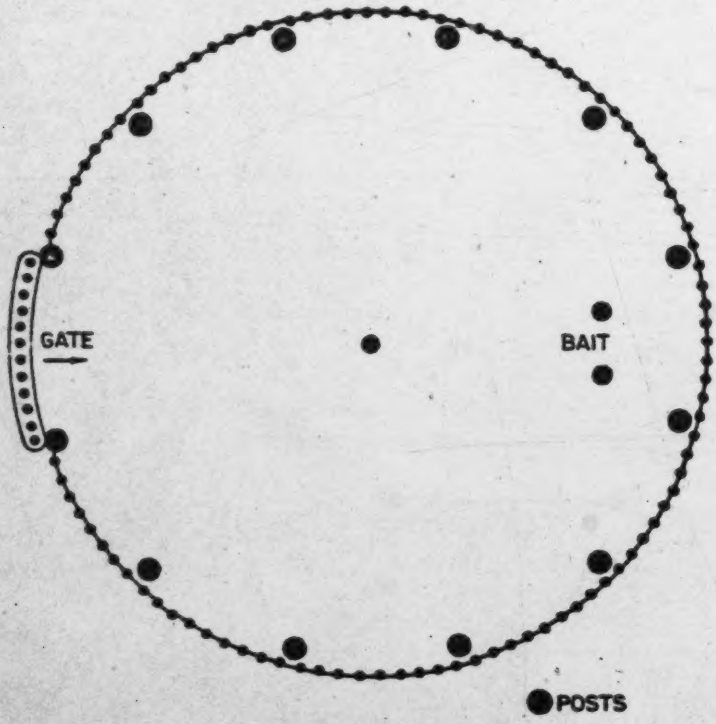

FIG. 37.—Plan of catfish trap

set out in the water or built against a bank. When the trap was set out in the water, twelve posts were set into the ground. Two on the downstream side were set the length of a man's foot apart, for the door was fastened there. The willows were fastened to the large posts and driven into the ground, making a circular inclosure [see Fig. 37]. Sometimes suitable banks were found to attach the trap onto. When a sharp bank could be found, the side toward the bank was usually left open [see Figs. 38 and 39].

Care must be taken in selecting a place to put the trap into the water. The

3. This was the usual practice when one did not wish to learn all the ritual and become a singer in the ceremony. In cases of purchase, the new owner prayed to the animals, etc., represented in the bundle, as well as to the person from whom the bundle was acquired.

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Chapter X

THE SMALL HAWK CEREMONY

796 778 ONLY the principal bundle belonging to this ceremony[1] remained in existence following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, although Scattercorn had heard that there had been a number of them formerly. The surviving bundle came from Mitutanka. The rites occupied a high place in the tribe's ceremonial life, and the small hawk, belonging to the bundle, was impersonated by one of the performers in the Okipa ceremony. The other bundle lines, of which there were said to have been several, were broken by the death of all eligible inheritors.

The single surviving bundle was owned by Berdache and her sister of the Tamisik clan and their husband of the WaxikEna clan. The latter two died after their daughters Calf Woman and Stands Yellow had married Hits on Back who had come to his wives' lodge to live. Hits on Back of the WaxikEna clan and his two wives bought the bundle from Berdache.[2] The bundle consisted of a sacred buffalo robe which traditionally came from Toad Earrings, mother of Buffalo Woman, a hide rattle representing Buffalo Woman, a gourd rattle representing Corn Silk, sage and magpie tail feathers representing membership in the Holy Woman Society, a stuffed hawk with blue shoulders and yellow spotted breast representing Split Wing Feathers and Looks Down To Hunt, a small ash digging stick, a wooden pipe, and a buffalo skull.

778 421 425 The bundle could be divided into two sections. One section consisted of the hawk, sage, hide rattle, pipe, and a buffalo skull and was transferable to a man of the WaxikEna clan, while the other section, the sacred robe, gourd rattle, sage, magpie and tail feathers, could be bought by the wife. Subdivided bundles seem to have soon lost their hereditary character. Each section

1. The bundle is known as the Sikaraxa bundle, referring to the small hawk or kite mentioned in the sacred myth.

2. This purchase illustrates the character of bundle purchase through the female line.

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could be sold four times. The usual transfer was to sisters married to one man, in which instances the women acquired rights in the sacred robe and other paraphernalia of that section, and the husband took over the balance of the bundle. Such purchases were made only after several years of married life, as it was considered a sign of bad luck for common bundle-owners to quarrel. Crows Heart explained that having a common interest in a bundle was a powerful factor in making marriages permanent. Sale was not made until the parent-in-law taboo had been removed.

The prominence of these bundles is demonstrated by their representation in the Okipa ceremony. During the early summer all men owning primary and secondary rights in a Small Hawk ceremony met in one of their earth lodges to select two young men to represent their bundles in that summer's Okipa ceremony. Either young men of this group or men who were eligible to inherit a bundle were selected to dance in the ceremony and to receive goods offered to Small Hawk bundle-owners.

Women owning rights in the bundle were entitled to dress in the sacred robe, place sage and magpie tail feathers in the hair, and carry the ash digging stick at the close of the Okipa ceremony, when separate offerings were made to them by the Okipa Maker and his fellow-fasters and on other occasions when a feast was made to the bundle as a Buffalo-calling ceremony.

The rites are based on the exploits of Corn Silk, who visited the small hawk at his lodge on the eastern horizon where he lived with his mother. This small hawk, being a good hunter, taught the Buffalo-calling rites. Because he could produce thunder, he also introduced a rain-calling rite. His son, Looks Down To Hunt, inherited all his father's powers.

The holy robe and its rites have as their mythological origin Looks Down To Hunt's experiences on the northern horizon where he encountered his wife's mother who lived in a large earth lodge. After avoiding many hazards which she had set up to protect her people, the buffaloes, she was obliged to free these animals. The Mandan had many sacred robes, but each had its separate origin myth.

The myth throws light on the native theories of the universe. In one place Looks Down To Hunt asked the spider for his body

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Den Butte would be with the enemy. The performers were then cleansed with sage by the leader and left the lodge. The giver and his wife remained to assist in the division of the goods. Then a man with rights in one of the Holy Woman bundles entered to announce that there were a great many holy women who were always working for the benefit of the Mandan.[3] These women came in dancing and received a part of the goods. 796

The officers of the ceremony, the giver, and his wife went to the bundle-owner's lodge where a sweat lodge was ready. After the cleansing ceremony, all received food prepared by the bundle-owner's wives.

Persons giving the ceremony within the memory of living informants were Standing Bear, Belly Up, Foolish Bear, and Bear on the Flat.

Women could buy the right to wear the buffalo robe, representing Woman Living in Dog Den Butte, and to dance in the Buffalo-calling ceremony. She was also entitled to wear the magpie tail feathers and sage on her head, as well as to carry an ash digging stick when other women representing various Holy Women met to dance. 796 778

A complete bundle contained the following articles: (1) arrow-straightener of buffalo rib with perforations; (2) wooden groover; (3) rawhide with sand glued to it as polisher; (4) grapevine; (5) tanned fawnskin; (6) two feet of white owl; (7) two feet of the small owl; (8) yellow and black clay for painting; (9) one large white-owl wing feather; (10) gray sage; (11) bow and lance; (12) buffalo robe; (13) magpie tail feathers; and (14) plain black elbow pipe. 778

Hits on Back was the only owner of a complete bundle which had come from Nuptadi Village. Inheritance was in the WaxikEna clan, since the ceremony was related to the Okipa. Related items in the bundle could be sold four times, but the last sale was of the entire original bundle. 778 425 614

When sales were made of portions of the bundle, transfer was from father to son or individuals in that relationship.[4] Partial

3. Actually, after the smallpox epidemic, there were few women holding rights in the Holy Women bundles.

4. The practice of transmitting principal bundles within the clan and secondary or partial bundles from father to son is not unique to this ceremony along. See Old Woman Who Never Dies myth (chap. vi) and the Okipa ceremony (chap. iv) for additional data.

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778 sales were as follows: (1) arrowmaking rights (Items 1, 2, 3, 4,
425 10); (2) owl rights (Items 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10); and (3) Holy Woman
614 rights (Items 10, 11, 12, 13). The buffalo-calling rights were reserved for the main bundle-owner. There is no evidence of a bundle coming from Mitutanka Village.

SNOW OWL CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[5]

773 A long time ago the Mandan were divided up into groups trapping eagles
539 along the creeks west of the Missouri River. They were living in the usual eagle-trapping lodges made on the four-post standard. Black Wolf was one of the party. Being a good hunter, Old Black Bear was glad to have him along. He would go out into the pit whenever the winds were from the west and he was catching many birds. One warm afternoon, when in his pit, he became sleepy and was dozing off when he heard a rumbling sound. He awoke instantly. This same sound occurred on three consecutive days, but each time he woke up. On the fourth day, he was asleep when it occurred.

When he finally woke up, his pit was so dark that he thought night had come. When he touched the roof of his pit, he found that a large rock covered it, holding him prisoner beneath. When he could not get out, he cried. He lost all track of time. At last he saw daylight and was glad to get out of the pit. He found himself in a strange country. He saw a high hill and went there to get his directions again. From there he saw timber farther on, and at the edge of it there was a very small man motioning with his robe for him to come over. He went to the stranger and found him to be a small man, almost a dwarf, with a fair complexion, yellow hair, and a slightly hooked nose. This little man spoke in Mandan, and Black Wolf was glad to hear a voice again. He was invited to a lodge which was a four-post eagle-trapping lodge. There he saw a middle-aged man sitting at the head of the lodge making arrows. The arrowmaker did not speak, but the little man asked him to sit down.

After a while the arrowmaker said to the little man, "My helper, you have brought in a stranger. Prepare food for him."

The little man brought in dried meat and fat which he cooked over the coals. When it was crisp, he placed it on a wooden platter and set it before Black Wolf. Being very hungry, he ate it all up. Then the little man brought him water in a buffalo horn.

When Black Wolf had eaten, the arrowmaker said to the little man again, "It is time for us to eat now." The meat Little Man brought in was from around the sinews of the back. This he pounded up with a stone hammer and made into pemmican. Then he brought out an earthen kettle full of water and set it onto the fire. When the water was hot, he brought out a white substance and put it into the kettle. Then he said, "The meal is ready."

The arrowmaker said, "Bring my paint," and the Little Man ran to obey him. The paint was yellow, and the arrowmaker daubed spots of it all over his body. He tied a scalp on his left wrist, then stood up and danced around the fire to the rhythm of his own breathing. Each time he came to the kettle, he

5. Another version of this myth is recorded in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 149–54.

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eat those he had sent dreams to or those who had his bundles 796
and gave feasts or offerings of goods to him regularly. The pres- 782
ence of so many bundle lines, both original and secondary, sur- 776
viving the smallpox of 1837, indicates the popularity of such bundles.

This was a very difficult bundle ceremony to secure informa- 778
tion about. All tribal ceremonies were secret. The difficulty in 124
securing information on this ceremony was based on fear of death. Calf Woman explained that, since she had joined the church and was not likely to sell rights in her other bundles four times, she was always willing to explain things in her other bundles. She had described everything Wilson and Lowie asked of her and never felt fear of the loss of good fortune.[2] She added:

> I showed you the masks yesterday that belonged in the Okipa ceremony. 778
> Of course, I smoked pine branches before I opened the bundle, but I always
> do that. I don't feel the same way about the Peope Above bundle. The Moon 776
> in the bundle doesn't worry me, but Sun is an evil spirit. He brought death
> to our warriors. My first husband was killed on the warpath even though his
> father and mother had a People Above bundle which together with my hus-
> band's sisters we would have had rights had he lived. So, you see, sometimes
> the Sun will even kill his own. It may be that the Sun had already blessed the
> enemy and adopted him as a son was why my husband was killed. This Old
> Woman Above is mean, but she is fair. Her daughter is evil; she causes men
> to leave their wives and little children; she causes insanity, fits, and feeble-
> mindedness. People are always careful to follow the rules belonging to these
> bundles, or their neighbors blame them when someone breaks a leg or has a
> tree fall on him. I worried last night because I had promised to tell you the
> myth.

Wolf Chief expressed the same fears when asked to explain 124
the Hidatsa ceremony to Woman Above. That there was a rich 776
ritualism connected with these bundles is evident from isolated data appearing in other sacred myths. There are a number of qualified informants, but to date it has been impossible to secure complete information from them. Variations no doubt existed between villages and even in bundle lines within the same village, but this could not be determined, since such information was not obtainable from Calf Woman.

Bundle purchase followed the normal tribal pattern. The in- 778
struction was directly between seller and buyer, which, when
completed, was followed by a medicine feast at the time the 425
transfer was made. Attendance was limited to persons with

2. Gilbert L. Wilson and Robert H. Lowie.

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778 bundles containing articles representing sacred beings believed
425 to be living in the world above, which would include People Above bundles, Star, and Holy Women bundles.

778 Bundle-owners doctored for insanity, feeble-mindedness, spasms and fits, premature births, and paralysis. Payment was
755 made if the patient recovered, or, when the case was given up as hopeless, the relatives requested that the doctor continue his efforts. Pine needles were burned as incense, and the Black Medicine root was chewed and blown over the victim. The songs were sung while using a large gourd rattle.

778 Calf Woman believed that the bundles were primarily war bundles because the Sun was a cannibal who brought war parties together and had some killed so he could eat them. Men having the Sun as their god believed that it would be the enemy who would be killed.

778 One could sell rights in the bundle four times but usually reserved singer rights and the rattle for the oldest daughter and
425 her husband. Women buying with the husband held Holy Woman rights to Old Woman Above and were entitled to wear magpie feathers and a braid of sweet grass and to carry an ash digging stick when attending a medicine feast.

772 Calf Woman added this general information about the beliefs associated with the ritual of the ceremony:

The world is in three layers: above world; the land we live on; and the lower land. First Creator and Lone Man created the land we live on. These lands and the sky are held apart by four large posts, for the universe is a large earth lodge. The earth is floating on water which separates it from the lower land because water comes out of the ground. There are people living on these three lands.

821 Sun dies during an eclipse. When there is a total eclipse of Sun, those with People Above bundles, which always includes Sun, burn pine spills that come from the Rocky Mountains, while all the people cry. Even the dogs cry. If the people are on the march when Sun dies, they stop to cry until Sun comes back to life. Sometimes Sun is sick, and then only part of the sun is dark.

Comets and constellations are people who once lived on the earth as holy people. The people were getting careless and broke the rules and did not treat these holy people right, so they went back to the sky and are making their home there now. When one sees a star going across the sky, it is because it is changing places, traveling as an arrow.

838 I saw three men who dressed like women; one was a Mandan, a brother to Four Bears;[3] the other two were Hidatsa. If a man dreams of the Holy Women and later finds a rope or porcupine quills in the forest, that is a sign that these

3. Four Bears also had a son who dressed in women's clothing.

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were sought, since these women went out at night, according to the myths, to fight and to incite fights between the Mandan and their own people or the enemy in order to have people to eat. They were described as cannibals in all the myths. 778 726 773

The peculiar ceremonial pattern and traditional history of the bundle, in a large measure, explained the general knowledge of the myths belonging to the ritual. The bundle-owner and his wives could sell the story. Owners of all bundles in which were represented Holy Women, consisting of Buffalo Woman, Old Woman Above (Sun's mother), Woman in Dog Den Buttes, Old Woman Who Never Dies, and Striped Scalp (Sun's sister), were included in this group. Traditionally, the myth survived when the Hidatsa sold the bundle. Those who had bought the right to hear the story could in turn retell when payment was made. Those who had made offerings to the robe could learn the story and retell it upon payment of goods. The bundle was normally transferred from parents to sons and daughters if they were living and wanted it; otherwise to a daughter and her husband, inheritance being in the Prairie Chicken clan. Transfer was made at a public feast, but the preliminary instructions were direct between buyer and seller and in secret. The people of the Prairie Chicken clan of Awatixa and the Mandan villages claimed rights to the bundle. 778 773 425

When doing ethnological work with Mandan informants, it was evident that there was no hesitation in giving information on this ceremony, as was the case with the People Above ceremony. There was no reference to punishing people with insanity, paralysis, and other afflictions, as was the case with the People Above mythology, in spite of the fact that the female characters represented were believed to be members of the Holy Women band. These women, although cannibals and evil in character, were often represented in the mythology as kind, sending fog to conceal their movements while they brought meat into the Mandan villages and loaded down the corn scaffolds during times of famine. People were not permitted to speak in a loud voice in the lodge where the bundle was kept, and mice that ran over it were said to have died. 776 124

During the last century the bundle and its owners have occupied an important place in the traditional history of the Man- 778

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lungs, heart, and windpipe were tied, drifted along with the wind until they reached the foot of the hill where the young man was fasting. They sang a song which mentioned the name of the young girl who was the cause of the disappearance of these families. She was destroyed by burning, which freed the people she had consumed. A sacred bundle was established by the young man. A buffalo robe represented the young girl, and twelve red sticks were carved to represent the twelve buffalo bulls.

Bundle transfer was traditionally from father to son,[3] but the information on actual transfers is so limited that it was not possible to check this belief with actual transfers. The ceremony was not given after the buffalo herds disappeared.

The pledge to give the ceremony could be made either by an individual or by an age-grade society. In the case of the former, clan brothers of about the same age assisted by bringing their wives with food and goods. The owner of the sacred bundle would select twelve older men who had given the ceremony or who had sacred buffalo skulls, acquired through vision or purchase with bundles, to carry the red sticks. When an age-grade society gave the ceremony, the bundle-owner distributed the red sticks among the members of the next highest age-grade society who impersonated the buffalo bulls.

The ceremony was held in the giver's lodge. He paid those who carried the red sticks and the bundle-owner who set up the robe of First Pretty Woman on an ash stake to represent a young girl. These carriers of the red sticks met at the bundle-owner's lodge in the evening to receive their ceremonial paraphernalia, after which by four stages they approached the lodge where the ceremony was being held. At each stop the giver's wife would put down a robe and a corn ball.

Upon entering the lodge where the ceremonies were to be held, the carriers placed the red sticks in a row extending from the fireplace to the head of the lodge, and the image of First Pretty Woman was placed to the right of them.

During the afternoon the Black Mouths sent their criers through the village announcing the buffalo dances were to be

3. We cannot be certain that this is true. Owing to influences of the Hidatsa pattern, Mandan bundles were in the process of shifting from clan to father-son inheritance during the eighteenth century. In numerous instances where informants stated inheritance was from father to son, genealogies showed inheritance to be within the clan.

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796 773 changed from generation to generation. When no sacred myth belonged to the ceremony or there were no sacred instructions at the time of the inception of the ceremony, the Mandan believed these ceremonies were borrowed of neighboring tribes. The Adoption Pipe ceremony belonged in this category. The sacred myth enumerated the benefits which would accrue to the tribe and the giver of the ceremony when the rites were performed.

773 602 776 The sacred myths were the basis for an extension of the kinship system to include the world of the supernatural. First Creator was addressed as "very old one," while Lone Man, who assisted him in the creation of the earth, was addressed by persons of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans as "ptawadatodE" or "mother's brother." Those of the opposite moiety addressed him as "father." Sun and Moon were "father" and their sister was "father's sister." Their mother was addressed as "grandmother," a term also used for the various holy women of the ash groves, the field mice, the corn mill, and all female beings present on the earth on the "first day of creation." An individual addressed a sacred being appearing in a dream and not belonging to the category of tribal gods as "father" if a male and "father's sister" if a female.

778 425 428 614 The Mandan system of bundle inheritance shows evidence of change within the last century. Certain bundles and ceremonial rights traditionally inherited through the clan and more specifically from the mother's brother, such as the Okipa belonging to the WaxikEna clan and the Shell Robe bundle of the Prairie Chicken clan, showed a tendency to change to a father-son inheritance of the Hidatsa pattern. The eagle-trapping lodges were still inherited through the clan as late as 1929, but the associated bundles had changed from clan inheritance to father-son inheritance after 1875. The system of inheritance was more flexible than for the Hidatsa, with whom they were intimately associated. At first I was inclined to believe that this greater flexibility was due, in part at least, to the breakdown of the older system, an opinion which I have now abandoned. The Mandan parents often selected their daughters' husbands and gave them preliminary assistance in ceremonial matters. The sons and daughters of a household usually purchased the par-

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ents' bundle collectively and designated one of their number, generally the oldest son, to be the custodian. A family having only daughters sold to the son-in-law providing he had been successful in warfare and had removed the mother-in-law taboo. 778 425 428 614

Unlike the Hidatsa, where bundle transfers were vision inspired, the Mandan seem to have placed greater emphasis on the personality and interests of the one to receive a tribal bundle. One owning an important bundle and getting along in years would frequently suggest to a younger person that he should buy into the bundle rites. The period of preparation was prolonged and frequently extended over several years. Since bundle rights could be sold four times, there were usually a number of people receiving instructions simultaneously. New bundles were made up for those buying part of the rites, while the original bundle was retained for the nearest relatives. When feasts were given to the bundle, all those having any rights in the bundle or related bundle rites were entitled to attend. This practice extended the ritualistic lore to many persons outside the immediate bundle-owner's family and probably explains why so much of the traditional lore was preserved through the smallpox epidemic of 1837. So far as it was possible to determine, the number of tribal bundle rites was not materially reduced during the nineteenth century. 778 425 869

The personal bundles constitute another important group of sacred objects. These were individually owned and were rarely inherited. The bundle was assembled after receiving a vision from some supernatural being, instructing him to assemble a bundle which would bring certain benefits to the individual. Unlike the tribal bundles, a buffalo skull was not a part of the bundle, and there were no sacred myths. There was a sacred song and a prescribed rule of behavior to be followed when the bundle was open. An unusually successful individual would sometimes sell his bundle to a son about to leave on a war expedition. These bundles, however, were rarely sold and were usually put away when the original owner died. 778 787

Both men and women had personal bundles. Women usually fasted less frequently and had only one bundle; usually the guardian spirit promised her a long life and the right to cure. Men fasted frequently and were recognized for the number of 778 554

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778 554 sacred bundles they had acquired, providing, of course, they had been successful in life and had not "kicked the stone." One having repeated bad luck usually put his bundles away and sought new vision experiences. This could not be done with tribal bundles. The only instance on record of an attempt to dispose ●425 of a tribal bundle was made by Red Bird in 1838, a year after 778 the smallpox epidemic when he lost a son of smallpox. A son-in-law offered to buy the bundle and received tribal approval of the transfer. Personal bundles were normally taken to the scaffold and hung with the pipe and firearms when the owner died.

796 In summary, the above report covers the main features of the Mandan ceremonial life so far as it was possible to ascertain. In 178 evaluating the data supplied by informants, the writer gave especial emphasis to the information of those informants whose 114 parents lived in the Nuptadi village which was occupied at Deapolis as a separate Mandan village after the Fort Clark village group had united with the Hidatsa. It was found that the Mandan preserved their ceremonial structure with minor variations after the smallpox epidemic. The clan system and age-grade organization were simplified to meet the new conditions of a reduced population. I have not attempted to indicate cultural borrowing, since a companion report covering details of the Hidatsa social and ceremonial organization is in the process of preparation. So far as the Mandan were concerned, there is little evidence of ceremonial borrowing since 1837, owing in large part, no doubt, to the heavy ceremonial burden inherited from earlier times when the population was materially larger. That the Mandan have played an important role in the growth of Plains culture must be inferred from their central position in the Low Plains, the high development in trade for agricultural products with their nomadic neighbors, and the admitted borrowing by the Hidatsa of many significant elements of their culture.

515 which arises from their continual and severe labour. They generally let their nails grow long.

The rude inhabitants of the prairies are extremely agile and hardy; they bathe, in the depth of winter, in the half frozen rivers, and wear no covering on the upper part of their body under the buffalo robe; they are very expert swimmers, even when quite young. I have already 481 observed that all these nations swim in the same manner as the Brazilian Tapuyas, which is confirmed by other writers. They often practise riding on horseback without a saddle, and very swift horse-racing. They are capital marksmen with the bow; all their senses are remarkably acute.

561 Among the Mandans, and all the nations of the Upper Missouri, as well as among most of the North American tribes, there are certain bands or unions or companies, which are dis- 425 tinguished from the others, and kept together by certain external badges and laws. They have three kinds of war or signal pipes, which are hung round the neck, and are among the badges of the unions, which divide the men into six classes, according to their age. The first band or union is composed of "the foolish dogs," or "the dogs whose name is not known." They are young people from ten to fifteen years of age, and wear a pipe made of the wing bone of the wild goose, which is but small. When they dance, three of them have a long broad piece of red cloth hanging from the back of the neck to the ground. Like every distinct class they have a particular song to accompany their dance. Formerly old people likewise belonged to this band, but then they never dared to retreat before the enemy; this has since been changed to the present limited rule. If a boy desires to enter the first band in order to become a man, he goes to a member of it, addresses him by the appellation of father, and endeavours to purchase the rank, the dance, the song, and the war pipe belonging to it, for certain articles of value, such as blankets, cloth, horses, powder, ball, and the like, which the father pays for him. If this place is sold to him he has a right to all the distinctions and privileges of the band, and he who sold it thereby renounces all claim to it, and endeavours to purchase admission to a higher 561 band. The dances of the several classes are in the main very similar, but there is a particular 535 song belonging to each, and sometimes even a different step. The drum and schischikué must 534 likewise be purchased at the same time. The latter, among this band, is spherical, with a handle, and is made of leather.

561 The second class or band is that of the crows or ravens; it consists of young men from twenty to twenty-five years of age. Frequently young people are in none of the bands for half a year or more. They then go to the band of the crows, and say, "Father, I am poor, but I wish [534] to purchase from you." If the possessor agrees, they then receive the raven's feathers, which the band wear on their heads, a double war-pipe, consisting of two wing bones of a goose joined together, a drum, schischikué, the song and the dance. Each of these bands has a leader, called,

561 The three men before-mentioned, who wear the strips of red cloth (the dogs, properly so called), are obliged, if any one throws a piece of meat into the ashes, or on the ground, saying, "There, dog, eat," to fall upon it, and devour it raw, like dogs or beasts of prey. The schischikué of this band is a stick, a foot or a foot and a half long, to which a number of animals' hoofs are fastened [534] The costume of these three dogs is shown in the portrait of Pehriska-Rupe. (Plate XXIII.)

The fifth band is that of the buffaloes. In their dance they wear the skin of the upper part 561 of the head, the mane of the buffalo, with its horns, on their heads; but two select individuals, the 554 bravest of all, who thenceforward never dare to fly from the enemy, wear a perfect imitation of the buffalo's head, with the horns, which they set on their heads (Plate XVIII.), and in which there are holes left for the eyes, which are surrounded with an iron or tin ring. This band alone has a wooden war pipe, and in their union they have a woman, who, during the dance, goes round with a dish of water, to refresh the dancers, but she must give this water only to the bravest, who wear the whole buffalo's head. She is dressed, on these occasions, in a handsome new robe of bighorn leather, and colours her face with vermilion. The men have a piece of red cloth fastened behind, and a figure representing a buffalo's tail; they also carry their arms in their hands. The men with the buffaloes' heads always keep in the dance at the outside of the group, imitate all the motions and the voice of this animal, as it timidly and cautiously retreats, looking around in all directions, &c. (Plate XVIII.)

561 The sixth band is that of the black-tailed deer. It consists of all the men above fifty years of age, who, however, likewise dance. Two women belong to the band, who wait on them at the dance, cook, carry water round to refresh them, and the like. All the men of this band wear a garland of the claws of the grizzly bear round their heads, and all insignia of their warlike exploits about their bodies, such as feathers on their heads, tufts of hair on their arms and legs, scalps, painting, &c.

561 All these bands, as well as the following dances, are bought and sold, and, as has been already 425 observed, on these occasions, the buyer must give up his wife to the seller during the festivity. 837 But if a young man is still unmarried, he will sometimes travel to a great distance to another village, to ask a friend or companion for his wife, who accordingly goes with him, and, on the 572 evenings of the dance, gives up his wives for him. A man often brings three or four, and even more, wives, and gives them to his father, as he is called, as soon as the dancing, eating, smoking, and the relating of their exploits, are concluded. Thus one woman after the other comes, as will be described in the account of the buffalo medicines of the Manitaries, strikes, with her hand, the arm of the man whom she will favour, and goes to the entrance of the tent, where she waits till he follows her. The man so invited often keeps his seat, and bows down his head; the woman then goes home, brings articles of value, such as guns, robes, blankets, &c., which she lays, piece by piece, before him, till he is satisfied, stands up, and follows her.

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clan or who had occupied unclaimed territory, erected his own lodge, and marked the outlines of pits. Inheritance of trapping sites was through the clan, and one could not secure permanent ownership of a trapping site owned by a man of a different clan. The nearest clan relative took possession of the site upon the death of the owner if it had not been sold. One could pay for permission to use a particular site for a season from one of a different clan when the owner did not intend to make use of it himself, but he was obliged to use the pits already dug and could not prepare new ones. In other words, a man could rent a site from an owner of a different clan, but he could not buy. When a site had been abandoned so long that its owner was not known, another could claim the site. Evidently little trouble was experienced over claims to sites, since a violator would have been severely criticized. There was, in addition, a religious taboo, since both the eagles and the bears belonging to the ritual occupied major bundle status in each tribe, and a trespasser could never have attained a position of prominence in either tribe.

The ritualistic differences between the Mandan and Hidatsa were no greater than those between separate bundle lines within the same village. Wolf Chief's narrative (to be quoted later) illustrates the extent to which one tribe borrowed from the other in purchasing an eagle-trapping bundle. His father, Small Ankles, purchased his rights from Big Cloud, who advised him to receive his instructions from Arrowhead Earrings, a Mandan, who was better informed. A study of individual bundle lines reveals that borrowing back and forth has been going on regularly since the smallpox epidemic of 1837, and from traditional information from informants this also applied to all their neighboring tribes as well. In native theory the particular ritual practiced at any time depended on these three factors: (1) the instructions received when the bundle was transferred; (2) elements of other eagle-trapping bundle rituals purchased; and (3) vision instructions.

A bundle-owner could sell his rights four times, and it was only when the fourth sale was made that the original bundle was transferred, new bundles being made up for the first three sales. The amount of instruction received depended on the desires of

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stream from the Knife River, where they separated after quarreling over the division of a buffalo. Those who moved farther upstream along the Missouri and Yellowstone became the "Paunch" Indians, while those who remained near the other Hidatsa villages were known as the Hidatsa.

By 1700 the entire section of the Missouri from the Cannonball to the mouth of the Yellowstone was occupied by groups of Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow of the "Paunch" band. The greatest concentration of villages was near the mouth of Heart River. These large earth-lodge villages were occupied by Mandan of the Nuptadi and Nuitadi bands and were situated on both banks of the Missouri. Agriculture was intensively practiced by these groups. Farther upstream at the Painted Woods, the Awigaxa band of Mandan and the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa had villages. The Awatixa band of Hidatsa were on the south bank of Knife River. Agriculture was practiced by all these groups. North of Knife River were the less agricultural Hidatsa, who sometimes came to the north bank of Knife River to occupy their large earth-lodge village and to plant corn. Generally they were farther upstream, on the Mouse River, or in the Turtle Mountains, living as nomadic hunters. Immediately to the west of the more nomadic Hidatsa were the nomadic Crow. These groups had prescribed territories and lived peacefully together so long as one group did not infringe on the territorial rights of the others. These groups moved little until the close of the eighteenth century, when the aboriginal population was sharply reduced by smallpox and other epidemics. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the region below the Cannonball was occupied by nomadic groups who were in part replaced by the Arikara after 1725 when they began their northward migration which did not terminate until 1862, at which time they united with the survivors of the Mandan and Hidatsa villages at Fishhook Village.

In another report the writer has analyzed the ceremonial organizations of the various village groups of Mandan and Hidatsa, using genealogies, historic accounts of travelers, and native traditions and has shown that two distinct inheritance patterns existed: (1) the Mandan pattern of inheritance of principal bundles and rites within the clan and (2) the Hidatsa and

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171 Awaxawi pattern, which provided for the inheritance of bundles
79% and rites from the father or a member of the father's clan.[30] In
this respect, the Awatixa, who have the longest traditional his-
1428

TABLE 1

INTERTRIBAL AND INTERVILLAGE CULTURAL BORROWING

Ceremony	Mandan	Hidatsa	Awatixa	Awaxawi
Okipa	x			
Corn and Fertility	x			
Old Woman Never Dies	x	x	x	x
Small Hawk	x			
Snow Owl	x			
Robe bundles	x			
Shell Robe	x		x	
Knife clan bundle			x	
Water-buster clan bundle			x	
Earth-naming		x		x
Hide-beating (Sun Dance)		x	x	x
Bear	x	x	x	x
Imitating Buffalo		x	x	x
Painted Red Stick	x	x		x
Buffalo Corral	x	x	x	x
Buffalo Neckbone	x	x	x	x
Sunset Wolf		x	x	x
Sunrise Wolf*		x	x	x
Thunder	x	x	x	x
Missouri River		x	x	x
Creek	x		x	
Earth-lodge-making	x		x	
Sacred Pot	x			x
Woman Above	x	x	x	x
Holy Woman	x	x	x	x
Eagle-trapping	x	x	x	x
Fish-trapping	x	x	x	x

* The Mandan had a Wolf rite inherited through the Prairie Chicken clan, but the features of the rites are only remotely similar to the Hidatsa Wolf ceremonies.

tory of residence near the Mandan, were intermediate, having features of both systems.

Table 1 indicates the extent of intertribal and intervillage cultural borrowing which had occurred between the Mandan and Hidatsa village groups with respect to ceremonies performed.

30. Bowers, *op. cit.*

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clan member, he was titular head of the lineage. This authority was nominally vested in the oldest male clan member of the household, and the mother's brother assumed this authority when his own mother's brother died or was too feeble to get around. A clan chief was the most distinguished of the mother's brothers of the households comprising the clan. He had considerable authority over his sister's children. He would scold them and frequently ducked a sister's son in the river. At the same time he assumed the responsibility for their final education and participation in the ceremonies and assisted them in the accumulation of robes and horses for ceremonial purchases. He would urge his sister's sons to fast during the ceremonies and would see that they came out. He would tell his sister's sons that the people of the other clans would tease them if his clan was not well represented. He would take his sister's son with him on war expeditions to teach him success in that enterprise.

The mother's brother began early the training of his sister's sons and daughters in the rites of certain tribal bundles and was assisted by the children's mother. It was believed that some young people would not live to maturity; therefore, it was necessary to begin the instruction early in life so that several would know the rites to prevent the bundles from getting out of the household. Since many tribal bundles, particularly those of the Okipa, descended through the closest related male members of the clan, the mother's brother was an important relative for the perpetuation of the ceremonial office within the household. The rule of inheritance for tribal bundles belonging to the clan was: mother's mother's brother; mother's brother; older brother; sister's male child; sister's daughter's male child. Failure to have a qualified male of the household prepared to perform a specific role in the tribal ceremonies would provoke criticism and lead to eventual relinquishment of the bundle.

Father's sister–brother's child (*ptu'minikE-minuha'kE; ptu'-minikE-koni'kE*).—The Mandan speak of the father's sister as a "little grandmother." She was a respect relative by virtue of her possession of certain rights in her brother's bundles. She helped her mother when a brother's child was born and was invariably the one called upon to name a female child, supplying a name associated with a bundle owned in common with her brother.

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meanwhile her parents frequently made arrangements to bring them to the daughter's parental lodge to live. They constructed a side passage from the door so that the son-in-law could enter his section of the lodge without meeting his mother-in-law, and he was expected to remain in his quarters when she was in the lodge. When the lodge was ready, the girl's father presented her husband with a horse or other goods and invited them to live with them. 591

When a man married the oldest sister, he was entitled to marry the younger ones as they became of age by giving them horses. Her parents built additional beds in the son-in-law's section. There was no wedding feast or exchange of goods. 587

A third method of marrying was known as "marriage by mutual agreement." Two people attracted to each other decided to marry without consulting their parents. Sometimes a girl did not approve of her sisters' husband and decided not to marry him. She encouraged a young man so that she could get away from her mother's household. She received two or three horses from her husband and left her parents to live in her husband's lodge. If she had a number of sisters and did not like their husband, she would remain in her husband's lodge and help the women of the household. Whether or not this residence became permanent depended on a number of factors. When the lodge was already occupied by her husband's sisters and their husband, she would attempt to move out with her husband to a household of old women of her clan, especially one where there were no men to provide for the household. Eventually she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens when the old people died. On the other hand, should her husband have no sisters, she would prefer to care for her parents-in-law, whom she treated as "grandparents" and addressed as such, and they would treat her as a woman of the lodge. When they died, she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens. 583 591 428

As a resident of the husband's lodge, a woman's position was subordinate to the other female members of the household group. In case of a quarrel, she was obliged to leave. Should her husband be killed or die, leaving small children and his brother was unable to marry her because of an unco-operative wife, she was sent out of the lodge and was permitted to take 592 768 421

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Chapter V

PERSONAL BUNDLES AND VISION EXPERIENCES

778 POSSESSION of tribal bundles inherited from the preceding generation was not the good fortune of all men and women.
428 Some were unable to acquire hereditary tribal bundles because they were not eligible either through birth or through marriage. Since the oldest son usually inherited his parents' bundle or bundles through the mother's lineage, younger sons and the daughters could, at most, hold partial rights through assistance in the transfer ceremonies and later became the titular bundle-owner should the older brother die. There are numerous instances of bundle transfers to a daughter and son-in-law in cases where there were no sons, providing the daughter and family were occupying her parents' lodge and especially when tribal custom prescribed clan inheritance of the bundle.

787 All males and females, regardless of bundles then owned or expected to be inherited at a later date, sought personal powers
869 of the supernatural during their younger years. In exceptional
785 instances the quest of supernatural power was continued until forty-five or fifty years of age. Fasting began at eight or nine, the parents recommending fasting and pointing out distinguished men who had been successful because of visions acquired through that practice. Parents never scolded or urged a son to fast. It was felt that a child's reputation was predetermined by the supernatural and that he would learn his destiny through the desire to fast. Parents would repeat their own experiences with the supernatural, either vision-inspired or through purchase. Small boys would be advised to fast a day or two during the Okipa ceremony to begin with and extend the length of their fasting at subsequent performances of that ceremony. Only four occasions provided formalized fasting. These were: during the Okipa ceremony, while trapping eagles, while

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785 562 and offered them to the sky-gods. She slashed her legs and arms where they had just healed after the mourning cuts she had inflicted. She fasted four days. Although she did not receive a vision, she attributed the unusual success of the war party to her sacrifices.

Men and women never fasted at the same places. Women usually fasted in their gardens or on the corn scaffolds. Women could pledge to give the Okipa, in which case they were permitted to fast on the roof, while a brother assumed the responsibilities of Okipa Maker. They rarely fasted more than one day and night at a time. The supernatural powers which one received were believed to be in direct proportion to one's suffering. Front Woman did not think women needed as powerful guardians as men, so she fasted only one day and night until she contracted sore eyes which would not heal. She and her mother's sister who also had eye trouble paid for the right to fast on the Okipa lodge while the ceremony was being held. Her eyes improved, but her mother's sister's eyes did not. Both fasted during the four days of the ceremony but returned to their lodge at evening.

787 756 428 Doctoring rights were included with most tribal hereditary bundles, and the rights to doctor were sold with the bundle. Such rights could also be acquired through supernatural instructions or purchased from one who had secured the right through visions. The latter practice, though common, did not continue for more than two or three generations. Only tribal bundles continued the hereditary character of doctoring rights generation after generation and with little change. Both men and women doctored. Women rarely doctored outside their own family until after the menopause.

The following account is typical of doctoring beliefs and practices.

MRS. GOOD BEAR'S NARRATIVE OF DOCTORING

787 756 159 My mother, Stays Yellow, fasted in the woods in quest of a god. Just before daylight she fell asleep. In her dream she saw two old people doctoring a woman who was having difficulty bearing a child. She saw that they were using black roots [Black Medicine] which they dug up in the forest. The old people, a man and a woman, had a hide rattle decorated with white feathers. She listened to the song they were singing. At the same time they administered to the woman giving birth to the child, they were doctoring to a number of dead watersnakes. The old woman chewed the roots and blew the chewed-up mass over the snakes; each time she blew on a snake, it came alive and

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787 159 176

came to him and promised him many things, taught him medicine songs and told him how to make a bundle.

He came back to the village where there were just a few Mandan living. The Ree were living in the village too and were mistreating the Mandan, but when they heard he was a holy man, they gave him robes and blankets to keep him from doing them harm.

When my father was grown, my grandfather said, "I am going to fix you up with the gods I have and teach you everything the bear, porcupine, and otter taught me. I will give you the songs, but you will have to pay me for them. I will teach you all the things I have been taught in my dreams."

He made a hole through two bullets; one he tied around my father's neck and the other round the wrist. He made a shield and painted a picture of a bear, porcupine, and otter on it, but the bear had two heads. He tied a soft eagle feather to the shield.

"If they shoot this little feather, they will kill you. Otherwise they can't kill you or hurt you in battle,"[15] he said.

He told my father, Moves Slowly, how to fix up the medicine for battle. Twice my father struck an enemy. This power was given him to be lucky, and his exploits brought him a high place in the tribe.

He once said to my father, "If the spirits agree, I will know it." He taught my father's sister the songs.[16] One time he asked the women to bring much firewood into the earth lodge and get out his three drums because he was going to bring all the gods in that night. He stood a long pole with a rattle tied on the end up through the smokehole. There was another rattle near the kettle beside the fireplace. There was a small sweat lodge in one corner of the earth lodge. Many people came in to look on. Two men tied him up hand and foot and put him in the sweat lodge. He was to bring in the spirits while the girl sang his medicine songs. The people were told that the spirits would hit them if they were not quiet. Soon the rattles began to shake, and the spirits came down and untied him and tied the lariat up in a knot. Then he ordered the fire built up, and everything was bright again.

He was able to name the person stealing things and locate lost storage pits. The spirits on the mountains showed him how to detect thieves or find things. One time some friends made a robe, but before it was finished someone stole it. They called my father in to sing his medicine songs. While he was singing, a dog barked out in the village and two men going by told him they passed a man wearing a robe that had not been trimmed around the edge. It was a Ree who had stolen it.

Another time he had just finished ten arrows. He had given a horse for the heads on the arrows and was proud of them. He missed them so that night he sang the medicine songs and asked the gods to help him find them. When he finished, he just wandered aimlessly through the village and went into a lodge, not knowing why he did. He told about his arrows and one of the men in the lodge said there was a young man sleeping there who had nice ones. They were the arrows he lost. So my father believed the promise made by his father that "the spirits would send powers" was true.

15. The feather represented the source of his power, and the only way to harm him was by breaking or destroying his connection with the supernatural.

16. This form of inheritance from parents to children was characteristic of personal bundles which should not be confused with tribal bundles which were theoretically clan owned.

[428]

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mal feasts to which the older people were invited and was considered selfish, in spite of the fact that he probably fed more people than those who offered feasts from time to time.

It was the duty of all to fast, but few could inherit tribal bundles. After the smallpox of 1837, there was probably a much higher percentage of the population owning these hereditary tribal bundles. Visions could be bought and sold like hereditary bundles, but their existence was usually short-lived unless they became incorporated into hereditary bundle rites. A man ordinarily did not boast of the bundles he owned. Instead, he would boast of the potency of the bundles. The Hidatsa custom of buying the father's bundle because he dreamed of it was not the Mandan way. A Mandan bought because he was expected to, and people would condemn him for failing to buy. The man would ask his son to buy. If he had no son, but a son-in-law was living in the lodge, he would ask him to buy. Instruction was direct between seller and buyer, whereas the Hidatsa used a member of the father's clan as intermediary. Moves Slowly did not dream of the Corn Medicine before buying. He was hereditarily entitled to it. When one of the Mandan Corn bundles reached the Awaxawi,[17] Poor Wolf bought because he dreamed of it. The Hidatsa performed a ceremony because they had a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Little Eagle, the Numakmaxena bundle-owner, was killed in war, and his wives automatically became the bundle-owners. When they remarried, their second husband received permission from them to officiate in the Okipa until White Calf, their son, was of proper age to assume the office. He had not dreamed of the bundle. The NaxpikE or Hide-beating ceremony of the Hidatsa was never given except when one who was a son of a man having this bundle received a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Such was not the custom in giving the Okipa. Permission must be given by the Okipa Society because an eligible candidate either had received vision instruction or had a feeling of responsibility to give it. So we see that even between these two groups, the Mandan and Hidatsa, who have lived in close contacts for a few centuries, some fundamental differences in ceremonial organization persisted.

17. A Hidatsa band.

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tadi band of Mandan. Immediately after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, both bundles were kept at Nuptadi but had different owners. Crows Belt owned the Robe bundle and Red Bird owned the Skull bundle. A year after the smallpox epidemic, Red Bird lost a son from smallpox and contemplated putting the bundle away on the hills, the customary method of relinquishing an unsold bundle, when his son-in-law, Bear Looks Around, an Awaxawi, indicated a desire to purchase the bundle.[2] 796 778

The Mandan who owned rights in all the Corn ceremonies met and approved the transfer, since at that time there was considerable intertribal marriage and the principal Mandan Corn bundle containing Good Furred Robe's robe was not involved in the sale. Bear Looks Around bought the bundle, which he later transferred to his "younger brother" (sister's son), Poor Wolf, who transferred it to Mrs. White Duck, his daughter, the present owner.

The Robe bundle was transferred from Crows Belt to Moves Slowly, last head of the Corn ceremonies at Like-a-Fishhook Village. Having no "younger brother," and since no male of his clan indicated a desire to purchase the bundle, he sold his rights to his daughter, Scattercorn.[3] She lost the robe and most of the bundle when their earth lodge burned but saved the pipe. She replaced part of the bundle but not the robe.

A second group of somewhat more complicated Corn ceremonies was associated with Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles. Four groups of bundles belonged to these rites. They were:

1. *Principal bundles.*—These consisted of a large number of articles symbolic of characters and objects referred to in the Old Woman Who Never Dies myth. There was no full bundle in existence at the time of this study. Information was supplied largely by Scattercorn and supplemented by isolated bits of information from a number of informants whose families owned secondary bundles associated with the principal bundles and containing varying numbers of articles similar to those in the principal bundles. From this scattered information, the inform-

2. Father-in-law to son-in-law or older brother to younger brother constitute moiety inheritance when moieties are exogamous. [616 428]

3. Scattercorn died in 1940. Her rights in the Corn ceremony were transferred to Mrs. Little Owl, a clan daughter.

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believed that the supernatural powers were transferred to her own body. These supernatural powers were in turn transmitted to her husband in the daily activities of living and working together. Men receiving sacred objects either to own or to hold took them in the same manner but did not hold them to the breast. 778 789

The faith of the Mandan in their sacred objects was unshaken by two severe smallpox epidemics. They speak of these epidemics as unfortunate and explain the impotency of their rites to protect the tribe on the grounds that, when the original ceremonies were introduced into the tribe, the sacred beings made no promise of tribal immunity to the white man's diseases. They believe that the tribe would have been exterminated by their enemies subsequent to the last smallpox epidemic had the ceremonies been abandoned. 778 731

The Mandan sacred bundles fall into two general categories. They are (1) the hereditary tribal bundles and (2) the personal bundles. Of these two groups of bundles, the former played a more significant role in the total ceremonial life and in a large measure set the background for the supernatural experiences which instituted the personal bundles. 778

At this point it would be well to indicate some of the general characteristics of these bundles not indicated in the main body of the report. The Mandan place greatest values on those bundles and ceremonies which traditionally were instituted in very early times. Foremost of these are the Okipa, founded by Lone Man and Hoita, and those Corn ceremonies which were founded by Good Furred Robe. Not only are these two ceremonies considered oldest, but they also involve the greatest number of participants. 778 796

The Okipa was without question the most complicated and colorful ceremony performed in the Northern Plains. According to tradition, the principal officers of the ceremony belonged to the WaxikEna clan. This clan was intrusted with the care and repair of the sacred cedar and other sacred objects appertaining to the ceremony. A male member of that clan occupied the sacred lodge and acted as announcer whenever tribal ceremonies were performed. A man selected one of his own clan to become his son-in-law to perpetuate the lineage in the sacred 778 796 614 428

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778 lodge. The principal officer of the Okipa was the Lone Man,
796 who, traditionally, belonged to the WaxikEna clan. The rights
614 to impersonate Lone Man were inherited through the Waxi-
●428 kEna clan. A buyer was assisted by his brothers and sisters, who became secondary owners in the bundle. Should the buyer die, a brother was entitled to officiate until a new owner was qualified. When the bundle-owner had no brothers, the sisters' husband was authorized to officiate by performing a ceremonial feast to the bundle until a qualified successor in the clan was se-
[604] lected. The bundle and office passed from a man to his sister's son. A man could sell his rights in the office four times, but few sales were made in later years, since there were two separate bundle lineages representing the two villages built near Fort Clark which were adequate to meet ceremonial needs. In fact, one of these lineages died out shortly after 1837 and was never re-established. The Hoita lineage, though theoretically in the WaxikEna clan, was, in historic times, held temporarily by a member of the Tamisik clan.

778 Although villages were reported to be largely independent
621 ceremonially, they were not entirely so. The three sacred turtle drums were kept by individual members of the WaxikEna clan at Nuptadi Village, one of the east-side villages of the Heart River group, and were borrowed by the other villages when the Okipa was to be performed. In later years when the tribe moved to Fort Clark, these drums were kept at the Upper Village situated near Deapolis. Each village was believed to possess its own complement of officers. There was, however, a certain amount of collaboration between villages when new officers were receiving training.

778 The sacred cedar was erected in each village if the village
621 group had a complete complement of Okipa officers. It was the
361 rule that, whenever a ceremony or organized social event was performed in the summer village, out of respect to Lone Man, whose body was represented by this inclosed post, the group
[431] should dance once at this sacred shrine. On these occasions,
[782] gifts of robes or other clothing were placed over the cedar as an offering to the Lone Man and became the property of the WaxikEna clan. The Mandan considered the entire open-circle area inclosing the sacred cedar sacred also. Even as late as

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796 773 changed from generation to generation. When no sacred myth belonged to the ceremony or there were no sacred instructions at the time of the inception of the ceremony, the Mandan believed these ceremonies were borrowed of neighboring tribes. The Adoption Pipe ceremony belonged in this category. The sacred myth enumerated the benefits which would accrue to the tribe and the giver of the ceremony when the rites were performed.

773 602 776 The sacred myths were the basis for an extension of the kinship system to include the world of the supernatural. First Creator was addressed as "very old one," while Lone Man, who assisted him in the creation of the earth, was addressed by persons of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans as "ptawadatodE" or "mother's brother." Those of the opposite moiety addressed him as "father." Sun and Moon were "father" and their sister was "father's sister." Their mother was addressed as "grandmother," a term also used for the various holy women of the ash groves, the field mice, the corn mill, and all female beings present on the earth on the "first day of creation." An individual addressed a sacred being appearing in a dream and not belonging to the category of tribal gods as "father" if a male and "father's sister" if a female.

778 425 428 614 The Mandan system of bundle inheritance shows evidence of change within the last century. Certain bundles and ceremonial rights traditionally inherited through the clan and more specifically from the mother's brother, such as the Okipa belonging to the WaxikEna clan and the Shell Robe bundle of the Prairie Chicken clan, showed a tendency to change to a father-son inheritance of the Hidatsa pattern. The eagle-trapping lodges were still inherited through the clan as late as 1929, but the associated bundles had changed from clan inheritance to father-son inheritance after 1875. The system of inheritance was more flexible than for the Hidatsa, with whom they were intimately associated. At first I was inclined to believe that this greater flexibility was due, in part at least, to the breakdown of the older system, an opinion which I have now abandoned. The Mandan parents often selected their daughters' husbands and gave them preliminary assistance in ceremonial matters. The sons and daughters of a household usually purchased the par-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ents' bundle collectively and designated one of their number, generally the oldest son, to be the custodian. A family having only daughters sold to the son-in-law providing he had been successful in warfare and had removed the mother-in-law taboo. 778 425 428 614

Unlike the Hidatsa, where bundle transfers were vision inspired, the Mandan seem to have placed greater emphasis on the personality and interests of the one to receive a tribal bundle. One owning an important bundle and getting along in years would frequently suggest to a younger person that he should buy into the bundle rites. The period of preparation was prolonged and frequently extended over several years. Since bundle rights could be sold four times, there were usually a number of people receiving instructions simultaneously. New bundles were made up for those buying part of the rites, while the original bundle was retained for the nearest relatives. When feasts were given to the bundle, all those having any rights in the bundle or related bundle rites were entitled to attend. This practice extended the ritualistic lore to many persons outside the immediate bundle-owner's family and probably explains why so much of the traditional lore was preserved through the smallpox epidemic of 1837. So far as it was possible to determine, the number of tribal bundle rites was not materially reduced during the nineteenth century. 778 425 869

The personal bundles constitute another important group of sacred objects. These were individually owned and were rarely inherited. The bundle was assembled after receiving a vision from some supernatural being, instructing him to assemble a bundle which would bring certain benefits to the individual. Unlike the tribal bundles, a buffalo skull was not a part of the bundle, and there were no sacred myths. There was a sacred song and a prescribed rule of behavior to be followed when the bundle was open. An unusually successful individual would sometimes sell his bundle to a son about to leave on a war expedition. These bundles, however, were rarely sold and were usually put away when the original owner died. 778 787

Both men and women had personal bundles. Women usually fasted less frequently and had only one bundle; usually the guardian spirit promised her a long life and the right to cure. Men fasted frequently and were recognized for the number of 778 554

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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mer unbarbed and securely fastened to the shaft, the latter 411
barbed and loosely attached.

The lances were two-edged points fastened to a shaft of ash wood, some six or eight feet long, ornamented with tufts of eagle plumes. The knives were at first of stone, but were soon replaced by the European steel ones. The tomahawks were of several sorts and are all duplicated among those of the other Sioux tribes. The shield was an important part of a man's equipment, it was of buffalo hide whitened with white clay and with a large painting of the owner's medicine on the front. The bow-lance was a purely ceremonial weapon and was passed down from [428] father to son to be used in the dances. Maximilian describes it as a long bow with a spear point on one end, the whole decorated elaborately with eagle plumes and other ornaments.

MANUFACTURES: — The beds of the Mandans were built up 352
from four posts sunk in the earth to form a rectangle of suitable size, with poles lashed across from one to the other, about one foot above the ground. Over the cross poles a green buffalo hide was stretched and allowed to dry, thus forming a springy foundation; around the sides and across the top hides were also stretched, giving the whole bed the appearance of a large box. A small opening was left in one of the sides through which to enter, and the whole interior was piled with buffalo robes. These beds held several persons.

The Mandan boats, bull-boats they were called, also merit 501
a description. They were circular, made over a frame of bent willows, which consisted of two hoops held in position by cross pieces; over the whole a raw buffalo hide was stretched, hair in, and sewed to the upper rim. They were about six feet in diameter and could carry very heavy loads. For a paddle a pole some five feet long was used. It was split up the end where a flat board about two and a half feet long was inserted and bound on. The boat was paddled from a standing position, and made half a revolution at every stroke. This same sort of boat was 171
used by the Arikara and Hidatsa.

For the rest their material culture did not differ greatly from that of the surrounding nomadic tribes, only a brief enumeration therefore of the manufactures and utensils is necessary.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

174 souri river, where they were living at the time they were discovered by the fur trader." That one of Dr. Robinson's authorities which he recalls as a basis for the foregoing statement concerning the Mandans having had an abode in the Lake Winnipeg country is, he declares, Clarke in his "Indian Sign Language," under various tribe headings therein, from some of which accounts we have hereinbefore quoted. He expresses with confidence his belief that he came in contact with further information leading to the same conclusion, but is at present without definite information as to the identity of such authorities.

114 We will now set forth the account at large of Sieur Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Verendrye, as published in "Canadian Archieves" (1889 pp. 1-29), concerning his visit to the Mandans in 1738, being, so far as now known, the first formal approach made by white men to those Indians, from which will appear the decided agricultural proclivities of this tribe, a reference also to their formidable barricaded villages or "forts," their exceptional makeup as to complexion, their marked hospitality, their fear of the Sioux, their shrewdness as traders, etc.

000 **Verendrye's Account.** "On the morning of the 28th we arrived at the place selected for the meeting of the Mandans, who arrived toward evening—a chief with thirty men and the four Assiniboines. The chief, after having from the top of a height considered for some time the extent of our village, which appeared of a good size, I had him brought to the hut where I was, where a place had been prepared to receive him on one side of it. He
● 431 came and placed himself near me; one of his people then, on his
276 part, presented me with a gift of Indian corn in the ear, and of their tobacco in rolls, which is not good, as they do not know how to cure it like us. It is very like ours, with this difference, that it is not cultivated and is cut green, everything being turned to account, the stocks and the leaves together. I gave him some of mine, which he thought very good. I acknowledged that I was surprised, expecting to see different people from the other Indians, especially after the account given me. There is no dif-
291 ference from the Assiniboines; they are naked, covered only with a buffalo robe, worn carelessly without breech clout.

"I knew from that time that we had to make an allowance for
000 all we had been told. The chief spoke to me in Assiniboine, testifying the joy which I had given to all their nation by my arrival

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

614 he divided those sitting on the east side into seven groups and
773 gave each group a name, informing them that their sisters and mothers would belong to the same group. Since men of all villages were present at the time, clans were taken back to all villages of the tribe.

614 Of the thirteen clans, nine have become extinct. Bites in Nose
616 was said to be the last to remember the thirteen clans which he would call in turn during the Okipa ceremony. The WaxikEna and Tamisik constitute one moiety and the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle make up the other moiety today. When the last performance of the Okipa ceremony was held after going onto the Reservation, the WaxikEna and Tamisik occupied the west side of the lodge, and the other two clans took the opposite side. At that time Hidatsa fasters participated in the ceremony, and the members of their three-clan moiety sat with the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while the four-clan moiety sat on the opposite side.

614 The Mandan consider the WaxikEna to be the highest clan,
[424] since it held the rights in the Okipa ceremony. The word *waxikEna* means "to tell bad stories about." The word *tamisik* has no meaning, but the people of that clan were said to be stingy and were frequently teased for serving small portions on wooden platters placed before visitors. *Tamixixiks* refers to poor leather used in making harnesses for carrying wood.

According to tradition, when the Mandan were first created by the culture hero, Lone Man, young men married their own sisters until the tribe became numerous, when clans were established to prevent marriage between relatives. The clan names had no sacred significance, and in the cases of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle there was no prohibition against killing these birds by members of the two clans.

The clans were organized groups and elected a leader who
[554] acted in an advisory capacity. He was an older person who had been successful in warfare or in hunting and had shown considerable interest in the members of the clan, particularly the old men and women. There were frequent clan feasts by some mem-
614 ber of the clan, at which time they would discuss the success of
● 431 individual members. When a young man contemplated buying an important ceremonial bundle or performing a ceremony, it

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

was customary for the clan to meet in the clan leader's lodge and make provisions for the accumulation of goods to be used in the rites. It was believed that a successful ceremony with an abundance of gifts to be given away brought credit to the entire clan. 614 431

Moieties were in theory exogamous, but they had ceased to regulate marriage after 1837. Scattercorn explained that, while the Mandan considered those who sat on the same side in the Okipa or in council as brothers, it was considered better to marry into a clan of the same moiety than to marry outside the tribe. Marriages within the clan were disapproved. 616 582

The clan was a property-holding group. The major bundles of the Okipa ceremony were held in the WaxikEna clan, which also owned the sacred cedar and controlled the Okipa lodge and sacred turtles. Traditionally, the Shell Robe bundle belonged in the Prairie Chicken clan. Eagle-trapping lodges belonged to the clan of the member building it and remained in the clan when the original owner died. There were two bundles for the Big Bird ceremonies which were known as Black Medicine bundle and Sweet Medicine bundle. The former was inherited in the Prairie Chicken clan and the latter in the Speckled Eagle clan of the same moiety. Each clan was the theoretical custodian of one variety of corn. The WaxikEna clan was custodian of the bluish-green flint corn; the Tamisik had the red corn; the Prairie Chicken had the yellow flint and dent; the Speckled Eagle had the rainbow corn. Crows Heart stated that Hides-and-Eats, an old woman who lived in his lodge, told him that, when she was young, people of one clan were not permitted to raise corn belonging to the other clans without first securing the rights and that each clan claimed to be the preserver of its own corn. 616 421

It was the duty of the clan to assist its own members. It was the clan's duty to care for its old people having no blood children. During the smallpox epidemic of 1837, women went through the villages and gathered the orphans of their clan, who were taken into their lodges to be reared. Old people were invited in to be fed and clothed by younger members of their own clan. When returning from a successful hunt, young men would offer meat to the old people who met them at the outskirts of the village. One was expected to offer meat to old people of the same clan without being asked for it. 614 736 888

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

785 was permitted to sleep near the sacred bundle until he recovered, believing that the bundle would induce visions. In the
787 case of supervised fasting directed by the mother's brother, he defined the rules and terminated the fasting. He also prepared the first food taken by those completing their fast and watched that none ate or drank excessively for a few days.

701 A young man distinguishing himself as a scout and desiring to advance to warrior status, when learning another war leader was organizing an expedition, would go to his lodge, hoping that he would be invited to join the party. As a warrior there was greater likelihood of capturing horses or striking an enemy. The leader was responsible for the welfare of all those serving under him and selected the members of his party. When the party was large, the leader selected those with the best war records to serve as co-leaders.

Mandan warfare was highly formalized, and there was a strict
701 division of labor. At the top, the leader or Old Wolf directed the
554 party, selecting the scouts and their leader, the Young Wolves or warriors, and the Camp Tenders, and he was responsible to the village but more particularly to the families represented in the party for their welfare. He determined the territory where the enemy would be sought, places to camp, the time to make or break camp, and whether an attack would be made when the enemy was found. A great leader was a successful teacher who instructed his party in methods of "striking the enemy" without loss to his own party. A leader who lost a man was said to have "kicked the stone," which reduced his status until he had "refasted" and led a successful war party.

727 Returning from an unsuccessful war expedition, the leader
554 would cry as he approached the village, while the other members
785 would walk quietly to their lodges. For many leaders, this would be the last expedition as leader. He would be condemned by the
614 brothers, sisters, and parents of the one killed and would be op-
431 posed by them every time he sought advancement in status. He could and frequently did overcome their opposition by going into mourning for the one he was held responsible for. He would gash his legs and cut off a finger which was offered to the Sun. He would set up a tent or build a simple shelter at a distance from the village where he would remain. In the meanwhile, his

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

brothers and sisters, assisted by their clan and his age-grade society, would accumulate robes and other property which were given to the lodge group that had lost a member. They were expected to accept the goods which was at first refused "because they loved their relative so much." The unsuccessful war leader's representatives then sought the "village chief," a man who by virtue of his tact in settling quarrels and his generosity in caring for the old was highest in village esteem, and paid him to take his pipe to the grieved relatives, lay it before them, and inform them that they, as relatives and associates of the unsuccessful war leader, begged them to accept it. Since none could refuse a request when a sacred pipe was placed before them, the aggrieved people, both men and women, smoked and accepted the goods to which in the meanwhile had been added horses and other articles of value. 727 554 785 614 431

The aggrieved family, feeling compassion for the unsuccessful war leader who had shown, by his act of fasting and his family's lavish display of goods, respect for their lost relative, sent a representative with new clothing to the fasting place, dressed and painted him, and conducted him to their lodge, where he was given the choicest foods to eat. While he was eating, the brothers of the boy who had been killed, brought their best horse and riding equipment to the lodge. When the feast was ended, the unsuccessful warrior, now in good graces with the family, was told to mount. He was led through the village, while the oldest female of the lodge sang the "Praise Songs." If an enemy had been killed at the time one of the party was lost, the "Victory Songs" were then sung and the Scalp Dance rites were performed. The unsuccessful warrior, by his acts of mourning and the payment of goods to the aggrieved family, regained his former status. If he were successful the next time he led a war party, the people said that bad luck will sometimes come even to those most careful to conform to tribal custom, and "never hold it against him." However, a second unsuccessful war expedition was his last as leader. He would not fast again, and having paid for his bad luck once, his relatives and clan advised him to forsake leadership of war parties as he had "kicked the stone." People would say he had not fasted right and would have been afraid to follow him. By giving many 727 554 785 431

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727 554 7&8 431 feasts, he would be respected as an average person, but he would never be able to rise to eminence.

727 554 431 A young man's first participation in a successful war expedition in which he captured horses and "struck" an enemy was an important occasion in his life and involved practically everyone in the village as well the other villages of the tribe. In the division of his horses, he expressed his respect for those who assisted him during the expedition as well as his affection for his friends and relatives in the village. If he captured a number of horses, among which was an animal of peculiar markings which the leader dreamed of and described before it was found, that animal belonged to the leader. The leader would also receive the first horse captured. Strays went to the first one seeing them regardless of the person capturing them. He would give the camp tender one if he had not already received one. Returning to the village, he would give one horse to his oldest married sister, who would, in turn, give it to her husband to use. This was a means of expressing rivalry between brothers-in-law of the same age. If his sisters were not married, the horse would go to his mother. His sisters would not ordinarily get horses on subsequent occasions unless they came out to meet him. He would give one horse to his father and, if there were any additional animals, would keep them for himself. However, if he had also been successful in striking the enemy while capturing these horses, he would not succeed in keeping any of the horses, for, on the succeeding day while the Scalp Dance was celebrated, an old woman of his father's clan would announce that [553] he was to receive a new name to supplant the one he had received as a baby. He was presented with new moccasins, leggings, and shirt, and he paid her as representative of his father's moiety in horses and other property.

554 616 553 431 A young man's reputation was based on his relatives' generosity which was contingent on the wealth and status of his relatives. Learning that he had struck the enemy and knowing one always received a new name that had belonged to a man of the father's moiety, the brothers and sisters accumulated goods for the occasion. They were assisted by members of their clan and young men of his age-grade society. During the Scalp Dance, singing was interrupted while the mother and her

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daughters called the names of old men and women of the opposite moiety who were to receive presents. After the breakdown of the moiety system, the method of naming varied slightly. Formerly, when the father and mother were of different moieties, the name selected was that of a deceased male of distinction who was of the father's moiety, and the presents were given to men and women of the father's moiety. After the breakdown of the moiety system following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, the clan became the exogamous unit. When the father and mother belonged to clans within the same moiety, the name given was that of a distinguished deceased person of the father's clan, but gifts were given to persons of all the clans except the mother's, which was the assisting group. 554 616 553 431

Within a few days after returning from a successful war expedition, a young man would usually receive an offer of marriage from the parents of some eligible young woman who had not been married before. He could refuse, but few did. An ambitious young man wishing to establish a good reputation both as a war leader and as a person of distinction in the village needed several wives to assist him in the performance of ceremonies and the purchase of important sacred bundles. Those not eligible to inherit important tribal bundles could purchase the right to participate in important ceremonies, or they could pledge to perform the Okipa and, in recognition of their contribution to these tribal rites, received some sacred object associated with the ceremony to carry when on war expeditions. Social recognition of a man's right to be a war leader was given during these ceremonies when some older man of high status in the village announced while receiving goods that the young man would be lucky in "all that he undertook." Without this sanction by the older men, young warriors would have been unwilling to follow him on war expeditions. 554 581 424

The attainment of the rank of war leader marked an important point in a man's training and altered his relations materially with the people of the village. His opinions were solicited relative to problems of village welfare, and he received presents during ceremonial and social occasions in recognition of his position. He was now responsible for those fighting under his leadership and became the teacher of the skills he had acquired under 885 554 701

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581 village, and that they endeavored by selective marriages to keep
778 the bundles and the associated ceremonies within their group.
796

The Mandan taught their children that they should marry
584 by the same method as their parents married. An analysis of the various methods of marrying will illustrate the significance of this Mandan rule.

The method used by the most distinguished families was
584 known as "choosing a son-in-law and buying him a sacred bun-
437 dle." The parents of a young woman who had reached the age
778 when she should marry selected a young man who had a good
583 reputation as a warrior and hunter and whose family owned an important ceremonial bundle. They would buy a white buffalo robe from some of the hunters or trade corn and horses for it with one of the many tribes that came to the village each fall. These robes were highly valued and would cost a family a high price in horses, garden products, and robes. Having secured one of these robes, they discussed the proposed marriage with the oldest daughter and secured her consent. It was important to get the daughter's consent, since, should she refuse after the marriage arrangements were instituted and run away, the village would learn of it and speculate as to the causes for her action. A daughter was expected to obey her parents and forget any other young men she had been seeing.

584 The young man was invited in by the girl's father, and an offer of marriage to the daughter was suggested. A robe was
431 put down, and he was asked to sit on it with the young woman.
778 The white buffalo robe was put over their shoulders, and they were given food prepared by the girl's mother. If the girl had younger sisters, they sat with him and became his wives when they were grown. The girl's brothers brought their new brother-in-law horses. As soon as the food had been eaten, he walked out and onto the top of his father-in-law's lodge, where he addressed his father's sacred bundle, announcing that the white robe was offered to his father's gods. His father's sister would come to the lodge when hearing him make this announcement and take the robe down to care for it until he performed the ceremony.

585 Having made the vow to perform the rites, he began collect-
431 ing robes and other property and was assisted by his wife and
778

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potential wives, his brothers-in-law, members of his own age-grade society, members of his wives's age-grade society, and the younger people of his clan. He paid the people occupying the Okipa lodge to vacate for the duration of the ceremony and selected berdaches to sweep the lodge, remove the ashes from the firepit, and repair the sweat lodge. On the date announced for the ceremony, the goods to be given away were taken into the lodge and hung on a line in full view of the spectators. Among them he hung the white buffalo robe where all could admire it. All the men and women having rights in his father's bundle and related bundles were expected to attend and to receive goods. The wives passed around food from time to time.

585 431 778

Those with singer rights directed the singing of the sacred songs. At the end of each song the young man and his wife would present a robe or other article of value to one of the older participants, who would pray to the white robe, asking it to give the young man and his wife or wives success in all their undertakings. He would then give the young man and his wife a small article from his sacred bundle. While the ceremony was in progress, the father's sister remained seated on two buffalo robes with two robes wrapped around her and one held in her hands, these constituting her payment for taking the white robe down from the lodge roof and protecting it until the ceremony was performed.

When the people who were invited had rights in the Corn ceremonies, they were paid to paint the white robe with a design of a corn plant. The one painting the stalk received a horse; for each ear a robe was paid; he paid five robes for the tassel; for each root, a robe was paid. The elaborateness of the design was in a large measure determined by the amount of property acquired for the ceremony. The robe became a part of his ceremonial bundle and was opened during the Corn ceremonies.

585 778

If the ceremony was given to the sacred cedar, which was believed to represent Lone Man's body, the robe was draped over the sacred cedar at the termination of the ceremony and became the property of the WaxikEna clan. If the ceremony was to Bird bundles, after the painting was completed, it was carried out onto the prairie where it was draped over a post and

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585 778 left there to disintegrate. If the ceremony was to the various Holy Women, it was wrapped around a figure representing an old woman and placed on a pole erected at the side of the wife's lodge.

585 778 431 The ceremony completed the marriage, and it was believed that the wife or wives were married to the husband's ceremonial bundles. A marriage in this manner brought together all the people of the village and usually a large number of people from the other villages; those having rights in the ceremony came to receive presents, and the others came to see the presents but more particularly the painted white robe.

584 583 A second class of marriages was known as "marriage by exchange of presents." The young man's parents selected a young woman who was acceptable to their son or who had received some attention by the son. The young man's parents went to the girl's parents and offered them a specified number of horses for their consent to the marriage. If the marriage was approved, the horses were taken to the girl's lodge and tied to the door. The girl gave the horses to her brothers, who were expected to give her an equal or greater number, which she took to the young man's lodge and presented to his father.

585 The marriage ceremony was held four or five days later to allow time for the preparation of the feast. The food was prepared by her mother and brothers' wives, who, on the designated day, carried the food to the young man's lodge and left immediately without waiting for the completion of the ceremony. When the women returned, the girl left for her prospective husband's lodge, leading the horses. The young man's relatives were gathered in the lodge, and a woman who had been married in this manner was selected to pass the food. Each of the young man's female relatives brought presents which were stacked in a pile. The act of eating together completed the ceremony. Word was then sent to the girl's parents, and the females of the lodge came for the empty vessels and took the presents as their own.

591 The husband's mothers and sisters presented her with presents which consisted chiefly of clothing, and she remained with her husband in his parents' lodge. She assisted with the work but was not considered a co-owner of the lodge property. In the

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592 only her clothing and children. Even the bedding belonged with
768 the lodge and could not be taken whether she had assisted in
421 tanning and preparing them or not. Responsibility for the children's care rested with her sisters and the female members of her clan.

586 Divorce was easy and common. The elopement of a married
837 woman having children with a married man also having chil-
578 dren was the cause of much trouble, since it involved so many people. Learning that their brother had eloped with another
431 man's wife, the brothers and sisters would take horses and
583 other property to the injured man to prevent him from causing them injury, since they were accountable for a sibling's conduct. Learning that his wife had run away with another man, he was entitled to retaliate against the man's brothers and sisters and would start killing their horses. My Mandan informants enjoyed relating instances when the brothers and sisters, learning that a brother had eloped with another man's wife, had reached the lodge before the wife was missed. They would come to his lodge in a group leading the horses. Seeing the people with horses, he would hurry into his lodge or go through the village calling for his wife. People considered it very humorous to surprise a man in that way, and it was the subject of gossip for quite a while. He was expected to accept the horses and forget his wife. The elopers usually visited the Crow Indians until
586 the husband was reconciled to his loss. When a prominent man
837 lost his wife, he would usually organize a war party or go out
578 alone against the enemy. He could disregard his former wife,
583 and those most concerned with public opinion usually did. However, a man of position usually called her into his lodge when she returned from her elopement, painted and dressed her, mounted her on a good horse, and took her back to her new husband. Those who cried because a wife eloped or who attempted to take her back or agreed to let her return if she requested it were considered weaklings and not worthy of respect. Bear on the Water, a Mandan, stole the young Arikara wife of Four Bears, the principal war chief of the Hidatsa. While they were away, Four Bears made so many threats that the Mandan were obliged to leave the village for fear of war. He refused to accept horses or to smoke the pipe with Bear on

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888 561 562 hunting. Women holding rights in the various Holy Women bundles also met whenever a medicine feast was given. Their rights were individually acquired by assisting their husbands or brothers in the bundle purchase. Some of their number were members of the Goose or the White Buffalo Cow societies.

888 562 The older people performed an important role in the ceremonies so long as they were not too feeble to get around. Women who had assisted others at childbirth became doctors after the menopause and could substitute for a man in a great many of the societies. In many ceremonies they were the medium through which the traditions and bundles were transmitted to a legitimate male heir.

888 785 755 Fasting was generally completed by the time one reached fifty years of age. In case of repeated bad luck or failure to attain a definite goal, fasting for short periods was practiced during a ceremony. When an epidemic of sore eyes broke out at Fishhook Village, one old woman fasted to seek relief from her affliction. Since her eye trouble was cleared up shortly afterward, quite a number of middle-aged and old people fasted to cure the ailment. Calf Woman said that more than half of them got relief.

888 431 787 People who were past middle age and who had been relatively successful all their lives would frequently have bad dreams in which they were being killed and cut up by the enemy or were drowning. It was believed that one could forestall this misfortune by giving away all his property. He would call in those who had been successful and were owners of important tribal bundles to give away his property, consisting of robes and bedding, household utensils, dogs, and horses, until the family was utterly destitute. One doing this would walk through the village repeating the dream. When the bad dream failed to materialize within the designated time, such people were said to be holy and as such were called the "protectors of the village." In appreciation of their sacrifices, each household group was expected to contribute something toward their comfort.

888 421 224 The old people had privately owned game pits and were entitled to the animals found in them. According to tradition, before horses were acquired, pits were widely used and owned by households. Ruins of game pits are still to be seen in consider-

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to the performers, or one who had given the ceremony could volunteer. Men giving the ceremony more than once were highly respected. Four Bears gave the ceremony a second time even after he had already become second chief. 796 [554]

Though the ceremony was long, candidates offering to perform the Okipa were acquainted with most of the songs, dances, and prayers beforehand, so the task of instructing the candidate did not require a great deal of time. Since most young men hoped that sometime they would be selected to be a Bull Dancer, they noted carefully the role performed by the Bulls.

It took a great deal of courage to become an Okipa Maker, and the tribe spoke of those who had done so as the bravest men and looked to them for leadership. It required a considerable amount of property to give the Okipa, for the giver was expected to prepare feasts for the officers of the Okipa during the time he received instructions. He was expected to have at least one hundred articles consisting of robes, elkskin dresses, dress goods, shirts with porcupine work, knives, and men's leggings. Usually one family could not acquire so much personal property. 796 431●

The Okipa Maker's wives began to gather clothing as soon as permission was granted their husband to direct the ceremony, which was usually a year in advance. The women called in their female relatives, and sometimes their women's societies helped them. The man asked help of his mothers and sisters as well as the members of his own and his father's clan. As a last resort, he gave a clan feast which all the members of his clan attended. There would be speeches about clan loyalty, and the old men would tell of the great men of the tribe who belonged to their clan and how "this young man has brought honor to us by offering to give the Okipa." Each speech would end with an appeal for goods of some sort to be used in the coming summer ceremony "which was, after all, given for our benefit." People gave freely for the benefit of a clan brother. 796 431 614

Each family of the tribe felt itself to be benefited by the summer Okipa ceremony and expected to give something. The Okipa Maker took his pipe to each lodge where people of his clan lived, placing it before the door, and the women brought out their contributions. Okipa Makers able to produce a large 796 431 554

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796 number of robes and other clothing to be given away were especially highly respected by the tribe.

431 554

The Okipa Maker was not permitted to kill any buffaloes or to do any butchering during the period he was under pledge to give the Okipa, nor was he permitted to eat any of the entrails from the buffalo. It was believed to have done so would have angered the buffaloes.

796 784

One of the oldest men of the WaxhikEna clan lived in the Okipa lodge with his family. He was custodian of such ceremonial objects as might be kept there to be used in succeeding Okipa ceremonies. When the time came to prepare for the ceremony, the NumakmaxEna gave instructions that the lodge be cleared of all the family's personal effects. Four men with Holy Women bundle rights swept the floor, carried out the ashes, and sprinkled the floor to settle the dust, after which sage was scattered about on the floor. Each received a robe from the Okipa Maker for his services. No women were permitted to go inside the lodge after it was cleaned until the ceremony had ended.

796 [562]

The one who was to represent Lone Man asked four men owning ceremonial bundles of The Woman Above (Sun ceremony) to paint the interior of the lodge.[9] At the last performance of the Okipa, the entire interior of the earth lodge was painted, the west half being black and the east half red. Formerly, only a narrow band about four inches wide was painted on each post, black on the west posts and red on the east ones. Woman Above bundle-owners each received a robe for painting the posts.

Opening the Okipa lodge.—When all was ready, the crier (the old man of WaxikEna clan living in the medicine lodge) went through the village before daylight announcing that the Lone Man would open the Okipa lodge the next morning at sunrise in order that the ceremony could be given. The head chief,[10] second chief,[11] council of old men, and all the owners of important tribal bundles painted their faces black and went to the head

9. There were only three Woman Above bundle-owners when the last performance was held, and one of these belonged to a woman, Calf Woman. The two other owners, Ears and Clam Necklace, painted the lodge with the assistance of two Hidatsa men owning similar bundles.

10. Red Buffalo Corn was head chief at Like-a-Fishhook Village.

11. Bad Gun was second chief at Like-a-Fishhook Village.

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on war expeditions, and during the summer buffalo hunt. Of these four, only during one, the Okipa ceremony, was fasting done within the village. This is in sharp contrast with the Hidatsa custom of fasting during many bundle-transfer ceremonies. Crows Heart preferred to fast away from the village, thinking that women were less inclined to conform to tribal custom, which made dreams hard to get. 787 869 785

A man who advised and instructed his own sons in the benefits to be attained from fasting would be abusive with his sister's sons whom he did not believe were making enough effort to secure supernatural guardians. He would use the argument that it would enhance the prestige of the clan. He would talk of an occasion when other young men would be fasting in the Okipa and state that he would expect the "younger brother" to be there, and he would give him goods to pay the officers for that privilege. The older male members of the various clans were especially watchful to see that the sections reserved for the clans were well filled. The other clans laughed at those who had only a few fasting during the ceremony. 785 869 796 614

Not all who fasted either alone beyond the village limits or during the Okipa did so with the expectation of having a vision. Nor were visions received each time. Self-privation was believed to please the supernatural, and both individual and general well-being was the natural consequence. Although boys began to fast at the age of eight or nine because they were advised to, the serious seeking of guardian spirits or vision experiences was not made until the property-owning age was reached and shortly after marriage. 785 787

Three methods were employed in gaining supernatural experiences. Some would fast in various ways; others would inflict torture; and still others would make presents of valued property. Of the three, offering of valued goods was considered the hardest to do, since it required much work to amass the goods. 785 787 431

Self-torture administered during the Okipa ceremony was more severe than that practiced in any of the Hidatsa ceremonies; otherwise the customs of the two tribes differed little as to severity of the measures employed. The father's clansmen prepared the young man for the torture feature by securing and inserting the thongs. Suspension of the one tortured was not em- 785 171

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785 lage, during marches in summer buffalo hunting, in eagle-trapping camps, or at the winter camp. This was the most common type of self-torture, since it was easier to induce a dream from the buffaloes. Human-skull circles were considered desirable places to fast for those who were making offerings of flesh or fingers to the Sun. Skull circles which had been prepared by owners of People Above bundles (the Sun, Moon, and their mother being the principal supernatural beings represented in those bundles) were considered particularly desirable.

785 The number of times one had fasted or inflicted self-torture was as much a part of one's record as the number of enemy 554 killed or struck in battle, and both were related during ceremonial 431 feasts. Those who had given the Okipa were especially respected, since the torturing of the Okipa Maker was even more severe than for the other fasters. There was the added fact that the Okipa Maker had sacrificed so much property that at the termination of the ceremony his family was entirely destitute and remained so until those who felt obligated to lend assistance sent help. Every normal male inflicted self-torture several times during early manhood. Everyone was expected to fast and be tortured at least once during the Okipa ceremony, although some were tortured annually for a number of years. Broken Ax, a Mandan, gave the Okipa eight times, and not once did he have a dream. He gave the ceremony, not from vision instruction, but because no others had dreamed of the Okipa.

785 Crows Heart told of instances when men fasted outside at night during the coldest weather. They would tie a lariat to a stake driven into the bank and call men of the father's clan to insert the thongs. They would hang over the bank until their clan fathers feared for their lives and brought them into camp. Others would remove all their clothing and walk around camp until nearly frozen.

Calf Woman told of an instance of a man dying as a result of fasting. She said, "People don't get visions every time they fast and don't expect to. Even though the gods send no instructions, they show their appreciation by sending good luck. Black Body, the husband of Turtle Woman who is still living, started for Saddle Butte to fast but decided to fast at the river instead. He fixed himself a place to fast and rolled up in his blanket. During

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bundle because Corn Silk also married a buffalo); and (15) one stuffed jackrabbit, which served as a scout for Sun. 778

Bundle-owners had shrines on the prairies near the village which they were expected to maintain. Whenever these shrines became weathered and the images of Sun, Moon, and Woman Above had fallen down, the bundle-owner, someone who had either dreamed of the bundle, or one planning to lead a war expedition, pledged a feast to the People Above bundle (see Fig. 41). Bundle-owners also put on renewal feasts to their bundles several times during middle age.

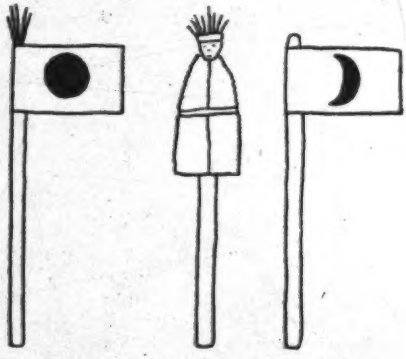

FIG. 41.—Images of People Above characters: Sun, Old Woman Above, and Moon

Calf Woman, who lived in the Okipa lodge with her parents and Arrowhead Earring (her mother's father), who was custodian of the lodge, observed a bundle renewal ceremony in which Clam Necklace and his wives gave a feast for his bundle. 796 431

CALF WOMAN'S NARRATIVE OF A BUNDLE RENEWAL CEREMONY

Bears Ghost was asking my mother for the lodge [Okipa lodge]. He wanted to give the Snake ceremony [secondary bundle belonging with the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles] for his parents, Foolish Chief and Dressed Up, from whom he was buying, when Clam Necklace came to ask for the lodge to give the People Above ceremony to his own bundle. He gave my mother several fine robes for the use of the lodge. He needed it for one day and night. She was glad that he was giving a feast to his own bundle, since he was a young man just building up his reputation. She had one of those bundles, and feasts like that gave her credit. He hung the robes on a line around the six central posts [see Fig. 42].

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The older men and women of the tribe arrived shortly after dark. When it was time for the ceremony to begin, Clam Necklace came into the Okipa lodge with his face painted white except for a red half-circle extending from the cheeks across the forehead. In his hair he wore two bunches of sage, one white and representing the sun, the other black and representing the moon. He carried a robe and the ceremonial bundle, which he laid out on a bench at the back of the lodge. On his way to the back of the lodge, he gave his bundle to Stands Yellow to pray to, and she took one of the robes as payment. His two wives followed him to the back of the lodge.

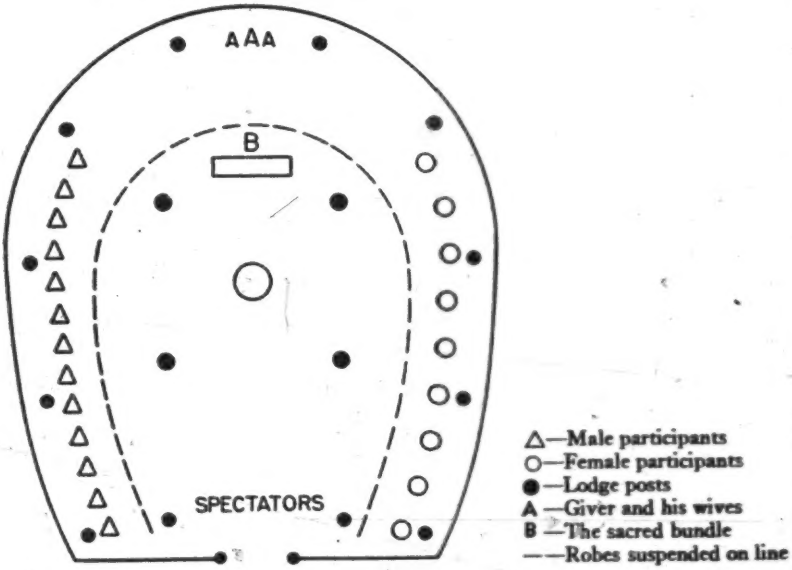

FIG. 42.—Lodge arrangement for People Above ceremony

First he chewed Black Medicine and blew it over himself and his wives; then he opened the bundle and spread the contents out on the robe laid on the bench. Although he took charge of the ceremony, his wives helped him in the singing. He burned pine needles brought from the Rocky Mountains. He sang the medicine songs through as he opened the bundle. As soon as the bundle was opened, the singing stopped. He placed food on the end of a stick and offered it to things in the bundle, after which all the visitors ate food passed around by his wives.

When the food was all eaten, Clam Necklace took a robe down from the roof, placed some object from the bundle on it, and called the name of the person to whom he presented the robe. The receiver of the gift prayed to his personal medicine objects to send good luck to the giver, then returned the medicine object, retaining the gift. When the robes were all given away, horses, dogs, calicoes, knives, moccasins, and dresses were given away. Each person receiving a gift prayed for the success of the giver. Clam Necklace gave presents to twenty-six people, fifteen of whom were women.

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People receiving goods were:

Women	Men
Big Chief Woman	Wolf Ghost
Spring Woman	Crows Breast
Lone Woman	Big Foot Bull
Hides and Eats	Afraid To Be Chief
Stays Yellow	Red Buffalo Cow
Unborn Calf Woman	Bull against Wind
Penned Up	Red Shield
Goes Out	Small Ankles
Owl Woman	Awaxniax (?)
Beaver Woman	Belly Up
Different Corn Silk	Broken Ax
Feather on Head Woman	
Otter Woman	
Eagle Woman	
Cedar Woman	

After the gifts were all presented, the people went home. Clam Necklace and his two wives went outside the village near the scaffolds for the dead and put up three new images, one of the Sun, one of the Moon, and another of the Old Woman Above. 796 778

The image of the Sun consisted of a round red disk painted on white calico or hide. Chokecherry brush was lashed to the top of the pole. The Old Woman Above image was made of a robe, hair side out, wrapped around an ash pole, with a piece of black hide for the face and white sage for the hair. It was tied to the pole with a belt which held the image in place. Moon's image was a red crescent painted on a white calico or hide lashed to an ash post [see above, Fig. 41]. The images were set up before sunrise.

Bundles having Old Woman Above's daughter represented added a fourth image. Instead of placing the images in a row with mounds in front of Sun's and Moon's images, the four images were placed at four corners of a square with the mounds in the center. White sage was set into the ground at the apex of the mound representing the Sun and black sage on the other mound representing the Moon. When two buffalo skulls were placed at the shrine, one was a bull's and the other a cow's skull. When four skulls were used, they were bull's skulls and represented buffaloes of the four seasons. These shrines became fasting places to which were brought skulls of relatives taken from the scaffolds. Enemies whose skulls lay on the prairies were brought to these shrines by those fasting there. Children's skulls were not placed in these circles. 778 764 [727]

The presence of enemy skulls in these circles was not unusual. Men fasting on the hills often collected the skulls of their enemies or went to the spot where the body lay to seek visions. 778 727 778

Maximilian referred to these shrines when he wrote:

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and all go to the place where the dance is to be held. They sing the medicine song as they go. 796

The lodge selected for the dance is the large Okipa lodge, which can be prepared easily for the occasion. There will be at least twelve singers with drums and two dancers, one with a pipe and the other with a rattle. Nearly all the people in the village will come in for at least a few minutes, for everyone is curious to see the clothes the old man will give the young man, and the buffalo horses that he will receive. People must give good clothing and horses, or these people will speak unkindly of them. When the dance is over, the boy's clan and society come in to help him out and bring with them shirts, blankets, and leggings which are piled up before the young man. 597

It is then announced that the person adopted is going to be bathed and dressed by the head of the medicine pipe people. The young man is led to the center of the room, and four bunches of rushes are brought in and placed before him in the form of a square. A dish made of rushes is brought in filled with water, and one of the Medicine Pipe men steps up, counts his coups, and punches a hole through it so that the water runs onto the young man's body. A wildcat's hide is used to dry his body. None of the others in his family are bathed.

Then the young man returns to his seat, and men with blankets held out hide those who are being adopted while they are fitted out in the new clothes. Each is painted with red paint over the mouth, one streak over the nose, and two streaks over the eyes. A fine black-tipped eagle feather is put in the hair of each person adopted; then all are paraded around so that each person there can see them.

Then the horses are led into the lodge. There will be as many horses given as there are people in the family being adopted. The pile of goods brought in by the young man's friends and clan brothers is given out to the men of the Medicine Pipe Society as their pay for helping in the ceremony. When all the things have been passed out, the dancing continues for a while. [431]

After a while the young man says to the adopted father, "Father, come over to my house and rub off my paint."

All the Medicine Pipe men go to the young man's lodge, where there is a feast. The young man is then given the pipe, and his wife is given one ear of yellow corn. The head man of the Medicine Pipe Society makes a motion as though to wash the young man, after which the young man rubs the paint off.

The old man says, "Son, I have given you my pipe. You can adopt four times. After that you can't adopt any more."

We respect these pipes highly, take them with us to war, and pray to them often at such times. We call them medicine pipes because of the powers they have. All the people who have such pipes belong to a society and meet at times to open their bundles and smoke the pipes. We never use them for everyday smoking. 778 597

A man sometimes adopts a daughter, and she, in turn, can adopt a young man and give him a pipe, or she may adopt another woman, whichever she wishes to do. Only the men go out on the prairies to build the nest and sing the Medicine Pipe songs, however. 597

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778 lodge. The principal officer of the Okipa was the Lone Man,
796 who, traditionally, belonged to the WaxikEna clan. The rights
614 to impersonate Lone Man were inherited through the Waxi-
kEna clan. A buyer was assisted by his brothers and sisters, who
428 became secondary owners in the bundle. Should the buyer die,
a brother was entitled to officiate until a new owner was qualified. When the bundle-owner had no brothers, the sisters' husband was authorized to officiate by performing a ceremonial feast to the bundle until a qualified successor in the clan was se-
[604] lected. The bundle and office passed from a man to his sister's son. A man could sell his rights in the office four times, but few sales were made in later years, since there were two separate bundle lineages representing the two villages built near Fort Clark which were adequate to meet ceremonial needs. In fact, one of these lineages died out shortly after 1837 and was never re-established. The Hoita lineage, though theoretically in the WaxikEna clan, was, in historic times, held temporarily by a member of the Tamisik clan.

778 Although villages were reported to be largely independent
ceremonially, they were not entirely so. The three sacred turtle
621 drums were kept by individual members of the WaxikEna clan at Nuptadi Village, one of the east-side villages of the Heart River group, and were borrowed by the other villages when the Okipa was to be performed. In later years when the tribe moved to Fort Clark, these drums were kept at the Upper Village situated near Deapolis. Each village was believed to possess its own complement of officers. There was, however, a certain amount of collaboration between villages when new officers were receiving training.

778 The sacred cedar was erected in each village if the village
group had a complete complement of Okipa officers. It was the
621 rule that, whenever a ceremony or organized social event was
361 performed in the summer village, out of respect to Lone Man, whose body was represented by this inclosed post, the group
• [431] should dance once at this sacred shrine. On these occasions,
gifts of robes or other clothing were placed over the cedar as an
[782] offering to the Lone Man and became the property of the WaxikEna clan. The Mandan considered the entire open-circle area inclosing the sacred cedar sacred also. Even as late as

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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purely lunar one. Some record was kept of the years, a certain symbol of some distinctive event standing for each year on the record robe, the same system used by the Dakotas. The year was divided as follows: 805 [211]

January	Moon	of	seven cold days.
February	"	"	the rut of wolves.
March	"	"	sore eyes.
April	"	"	game; or of the river break-up.
May	"	"	sowing; or of flowers.
June	"	"	ripe june-berries.
July	"	"	ripe choke-cherries.
August	"	"	ripe wild plums.
September	"	"	ripe corn.
October	"	"	the fall of leaves.
November	"	"	the freezing rivers.
December	"	"	the little cold.

The Mandans were a very liberal and hospitable people, more so than any of their neighbors according to Henry. Food was practically common property in the village. No man could become a chief without much giving of presents, and giving was considered a great honor, the gifts which a man had made being painted on his robe along with his deeds in war. If one expressed a desire for anything it was immediately given to him but a present of equal value was expected in return. In connection with this might be mentioned the custom of taking back a sale; by a return of the purchase price a man might regain anything which he had sold, whenever he wished to. 574 554 431 437

The hospitality of the Mandans is mentioned by every visitor. Verendrye speaks particularly of his kind reception and says, "Their custom being to feed liberally all who came among them, selling only what was to be taken away."[1] Even their worst enemy when once in their village had nothing to fear and was treated with all kindness. Henry remarked that the Mandans were thieves but never touched any property of a stranger who was a guest in a lodge. They were bound to protect any stranger, even an enemy who might seek refuge in the village. 574

[1] Op. cit., p. 15.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for his individual father. Wounded-face did not know that Two-crows owned two kinds of emblems,— the foxskin cap to be used in dancing and in war, and the head band decorated with the lower kit-fox jaws which was to be worn when courting young women.[1] On the morning of the final transference of membership rights, Two-crows gave Wounded-face the cap and the head band, as well as a shirt, armlets and fringed buckskin leggings. In return, Wounded-face paid his father a fast black horse suited for use in the buffalo chase and some property contributed by his relatives. I get the impression that the transfer of special regalia was automatic; that is to say, if the father happened to own certain specific emblems the son buying his membership bought *ipso facto* the regalia owned by the seller. 575 432 292 608

Little-crow states that at the public performance the relatives of the new members brought presents, which were turned over to the fathers, either individually or collectively. In the latter case the fathers proceeded to distribute the gifts among themselves. 575 431 602

In marching outdoors, the first rattler took the lead and was immediately followed by the first hooked-staff officer; Wounded-face — presumably as the owner of the cap — occupied a central position in the line; the second rattler came last, being directly behind the second hooked-staff officer. The first rattler selected a site for the dance and turned in order to begin the formation of a circle there, at the same time raising his rattle and singing very loudly. There was always a special song to be sung prior to the drummers' entrance into the circle. This song was taken up by the second rattler. While the circle was forming, the singers went within the circumference and began to beat their drums. These singers were always the members' fathers, if I understood Wounded-face correctly, but it is probable that this applies only to the first public performance by a new group of members. The songs referred to warlike deeds, and the words were, according to this informant, invariably in the Dakota language. 575 527 535 533 [177]

Little-crow, as already stated, considers the head band decorated with kit-fox jaws as a badge common to all members; he further states that each Kit-Fox had a hair-pipe attached to the left side of the head and that six men had their hair roached. The hair-cutting was done by the men's fathers. Other informants agree that there were two rattlers and two officers with hooked-staffs, wrapped with otterskin and decorated at four points with feathers. Wounded-face says that sometimes the second staff-bearer carried a *straight* stick, in which case an erect eagle feather was secured to the top of the shaft. Little-crow states that rattles were used 575 [292] [302] 293

[1] This seems to conflict with Black-chest's account, which assigns these emblems to distinct officers, but Little-crow regards the kit-fox head band as a badge common to all members.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 After this speech, Big-thief returned to his place. Then all the Kit-
608 Foxes rose and brought presents of food to their fathers. Black-chest again
432 selected Good-bear for his individual Father, but explains that this was
527 not obligatory. Wounded-face was obliged to select a new father, for the one chosen by him in purchasing the Kit-Fox organization had been killed in battle; otherwise, he says he should have kept the same individual for his father in buying all the higher societies. On this occasion his choice fell on Little-crow, to whom he presented a kettleful of food as a token of his selection. Black-chest states that five of the fathers had been killed since the purchase of the Kit-Fox society.

575 Black-chest says that on this occasion the River Women did not aid the
432 purchasers, as both they and the latter had married. This obviously refers
431 to the period of the fathers' entertainment, as the same informant mentions a contribution by this women's organization to the initial payment (see p. 303). On the other hand, the Black Mouths attended the performance and brought food for the sellers.

575 At a height of about seven feet from the ground the fathers stretched a
778 rawhide rope between the two rear main posts. To each end of the rope
527 they attached a whip, and near its center they folded over it two red cloth
837 sashes. These sashes were considered sacred. The wife of one of the buyers
533 then rose, stripped naked and covering her genitalia with her hands, approached the rear of the fireplace. Rising on tiptoes, she seized one of the sashes, covered her nakedness again, pressed the sash to her breast and hung it up as before. Each one of the buyers' wives went through the same ceremony. During this performance the fathers were all singing. The women returned to their seats and put on their blankets. Each husband then said to his wife: "I will give you to my father, for I want his song. Perhaps he will pray for us, and it will be well for both of us."

575 Then the father and the woman offered to him went out together.
[844] Menstruating women were absolved from this performance, for they were
837 not supposed to come to the lodge at all on such occasions. As a matter of fact, Black-chest says that only very few fathers availed themselves of
432 the right surrendered to them, being generally afraid of ill luck if they did.
527 The form, however, was gone through by each wife on each of the twenty nights. Black-chest's wife told her husband that Good-bear merely took her outside, faced west with her and said, "Daughter-in-law, stop and
[782] stand there." Then he prayed as follows: "My gods, my son has given me his wife. I wish that my daughter-in-law may always enjoy a long and happy life, and I ask you in behalf of my son that he may conquer his enemies." After this prayer he bade the woman go back, and both returned to the lodge.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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On the twentieth night Big-thief again took a seat by the dogskin. He thus addressed the buyers: "Now, sons, tomorrow this dance will be yours, so I wish to ask you for some more pay. Put down one gun to represent the killing of anything." Then one of the Kit-Foxes put down a gun. Big-thief continued: "This dog has a hide, give us a robe." Then one of the Kit-Foxes laid down his robe. "Give us a knife for butchering." Two men then rose and put down two butchering knives. "For this head put down one yellow cooking-kettle." The buyers sent round for such a kettle and finally secured one, which they brought to the fathers. "Put down one thing for the head." Then someone laid down a stick trimmed with tail-feathers. "Put down one thing for the tail." Then, Black-chest thinks, another robe was laid down. "The dog has four legs, put down four articles." The Kit-Foxes again did as bidden. 575 432 527

On the next day there followed the final surrender of membership prerogatives. This time the buyers sat in an arc, without their wives, who remained in the spectators' place (see p. 303). The fathers sat on the opposite side, singing a bravery song, and the two sash-wearing officers danced. The words of the song were in Hidatsa: — 575 432 527

"Māha'hkureci̇̀ruts. tō'cḕruca, marē'wits." [177]
"No one lives forever. Whatever may happen, I shall go."

At the close of this song the whippers and sash-wearers, as well as all the other fathers, surrendered their regalia to their respective sons. As Little-crow, Wounded-face's father, owned a lance decorated with a string of feathers, Wounded-face assumed the same office (not mentioned by Black-chest), of which there was one other incumbent. In addition to the lance, Wounded-face received a shirt, a new pair of leggings, a switch and pendants for the decoration of both sides of the head; his hair was cut short in front by Little-crow. Wounded-face's relatives piled up presents in front of him, which he turned over to his father, adding a good horse of his own. The other purchasers made corresponding presents to their fathers. While Wounded-face speaks of four sash-wearers, Black-chest limits the number to two, and Water-chief sets it at five. Water-chief, like Wounded-face, received one of the sashes from his father; there was tied to it a small package of root medicine to avert danger. This package has never been opened by Water-chief. The whippers, according to this last authority, lashed members who did not rise to dance at the proper time. Each member of the rank and file received a whistle of owl bone about four inches long, and a bunch of split owl feathers, with an eagle feather in the center, to be hung from the back of the head. These feathers were painted yellow. 575 432 431 [293] [534]

After the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the exception of 000

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After the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the ex-
ception of three men, who remained to instruct the new members in singing. These
575 three fathers stood between the door and the fireplace, but nearer to the
527 latter, while the new group of Little Dogs ranged themselves in a three-
868 quarter circle in the rear of the lodge. While the fathers sang, the members
533 danced, moving both feet at the same time and also raising and lowering their arms. Then the Little Dogs proceeded in single file to an open place, the singers following in the rear. Wounded-face says that as first lancer he took the lead, while his associate brought up the rear, and that the sash-wearers had no special place in the line. All the new members blew their whistles while coming out and formed a circle in the open place. The three fathers stepped inside the circle. At this first public parade, the old people called out the members' names and admonished them to try to die soon. Water-chief actually went on a war party soon after the parade, and put on his sash, thinking, "If I get killed, my old people will call out my name; if I live, I shall strike an enemy." As a matter of fact, he struck two women near the enemy's camp, and his people rejoiced.

575 After several songs and dances the Little Dogs stopped and went back
431 to their lodge, where they sat about and danced. The fathers sent messengers to summon their sons. Each son then went to his father's house, sometimes accompanied by his wife. The father gave his son a present of food, which the wife took home; if the son came alone, he took the food back to the society's lodge.

575 Like other societies, the Little Dogs occasionally went through the camp at night singing and waking up the villagers.

Crazy Dog Society.

575 In Maximilian's account the Crazy Dog (mini's'ōxka ō'xat'e)[1] society
561 figures as that of the youngest age group, embracing boys of from 10 to 15 years of age. In the list of my informants it ranks as the fourth society to be purchased by young men. It was obviously constituted in their day by married men; for they had all married before the purchase of the next lower society (see p. 304). Maximilian was told that in former days old men had also belonged to the organization, but on the understanding that they were never to retreat from the enemy.

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[1] The native name is nowadays at first blush interpreted as "Broncho Society." Maximilian, however, renders it "die thörichten Hunde, oder die Hunde deren Namen man nicht kennt, (les chiens fols, ou les chiens dont on ne connait pas le nom)," and this translation is confirmed on further inquiry. Cf. footnote, p. 302. Yellow-hair explicitly identified the Mandan *mini's'ō'xka ō'xate* with the Hidatsa *mees'ka wara'xe* (see p. 280).

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Hidatsa NQ14

ground. The buyers then presented them with portions of cooked meat. Each mother thereupon opened a little bag, took from it one seed of corn or squash, and gave it to her daughter. To distribute these seeds was a privilege of the Goose women. Buffalo-bird-woman and her comrades continued to distribute all the cooked food. In the meantime all the people had come to look at what was going on, but they were obliged to watch from the south and west side, the north and east side of the circle being considered sacred. The spectators also received a seed each. The mothers rose to dance. Only one man in the village, the Corn-singer (kō'xati akupā'+i), was permitted to sing. He wore a foxskin crown, and carried a pipe and a cottonwood stick with fat and leaves on it. He walked off towards the east. Then all the buyers went to their mothers, took the sagebrush out of their hands, and ran, as fast as possible, towards the Corn-singer, went past him, and returned to the Goose women who were performing their dance. This was done four times. The runners kept the sagebrush; for this they made a payment of horses, receiving as a return gift a new suit of clothes. Only Buffalo-bird-woman received a calf robe, with the hair outside, to be worn during the performance and returned after its close. According to my informant, the Hidatsa Goose society, though derived from the Mandan, differed from its prototype in that the members did not wear duck or gooseskin head bands, but merely carried sagebrush in their arms.[1] Towards the close of the ceremony the Corn-singer approached the rack, took off two of the best pieces, ceremonially brushed off all of the portions, and threw down whatever pieces he liked for his female relatives to pick up for him. When he had selected what he wished, the mothers came, appropriated the rest of the meat, and took it home. These proceedings were gone through for three seasons, and the fourth year the Goose society would have been definitely acquired by the buyers under normal conditions, but that year the Government put a stop to all the old dances.

M H 527 575 432
M H [431]
H [292]

An account of a Goose ceremony by one of the earlier travelers in the West may be appropriately reproduced here, since it is not generally accessible and confirms the statements of my own informants:

M H 575 527

> After the corn had all been gathered in, the Mandan and Minnetaree squaws made their Goose Medicine on the level prairie behind the village. This dance is to remind the wild geese, now beginning their southward flight, that they have had plenty of good food all summer, and to entreat their return in the spring, when the rains come and the green grass begins to grow.

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[1] Maximilian, who lists the Goose society only as an Hidatsa organization, does not mention birdskin head bands, but merely states that the members wore a feather transversely across the forehead (II, 219).

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 the members' faces. Each performer carried a bunch of peppermint
527 (ca'xkuxke); at the sound of the special song a motion was made with this
535 peppermint as though to remove the paint. Then the paint was actually rubbed off with the end of the robe. When the dance was all over, the women lay down to sleep in the lodge. Some members fasted all night. Before dawn one of the musicians took a long cottonwood pole and attached all the headdresses and the middle officer's robe to it. The staff was then fixed above the doorway. This was a sign for a big wind and snow to drive the buffalo close to the village. At the foot of the pole a buffalo skull was deposited. A branch of a tree was painted red, and numerous offerings were tied to it and laid on the skull. Thereupon all the members rose, went out of the lodge, and passed through the village. They approached the lodge in exactly the same way as on the previous day, making four stops and dancing at each before reëntering the dance-lodge. During the day one of the officers prepared all the food required. In the evening the performance was repeated, the three officers dancing up to the buffalo skull, whereupon the entire society followed suit. In front of the skull they placed a ball of mashed corn and a pipe. The leader took the pipe and the
[576] corn-ball. First she offered the pipe to the musicians, who lit and smoked it. Then she distributed the corn among the members, beginning with the one nearest to herself and appropriating what remained in the end. Next, the rear officer distributed corn twice, and finally the middle officer made two distributions. The entire society represented a buffalo herd; the middle officer represented the best buffalo and was supposed to get all that remained of the corn. The second, third, and fourth nights were all similar so far as the feature just described was concerned. Throughout the performance there were numerous spectators.

For the last night each member had to prepare a basketful of mashed corn; sometimes this was attended to by the members' mothers. Additional food was also brought together. This night was distinguished by the use of gourd rattles. All the baskets of corn, as well as the robes and headdresses were placed round the skull. Next a song was sung four times, and incense was burned to smoke the robes. Then mashed corn was given to the spectators until the supply was exhausted. Some peppermint was tied to a short pole. The incense-burner dipped it into a dish of water, and sprinkled all the members beginning with the leader and stopping with the rear officer. The buffalo skull and the musicians were also sprinkled. A little of the food was attached to the end of a short stick and placed in the nasal cavities of the skull, then pointed to the four quarters, and finally
[608 set down on the fireplace. A feast terminated the performance. On this
431] last night newly adopted members made valuable presents to their adoptive mothers.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

When, however, they are full dressed, they put a variety of feathers in their hair, frequently a 302
semicircle of feathers of birds of prey, like radii, or sunbeams, or a bunch of the tail feathers of 301
the raven placed in a similar manner. Sometimes they have a thick tuft of owl's feathers, or small rosettes made of broad raven's feathers, cut short, in the centre of which is the tail of a bird of prey spread out like a fan. These feather ornaments are frequently determined according to the several bands or unions, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They likewise wear the large horned feather cap; this is a cap consisting of stripe of white ermine, with pieces of red cloth hanging down behind as far as the calves of the legs, to which is attached an upright row of black and white eagle's feathers, beginning at the head and reaching to the whole length. Only distinguished warriors, who have performed many exploits, may wear this head-dress (See [554]
Plate XIII., which is the best representation hitherto given of it).

If they give away one or more of these head-dresses, which they estimate very highly, they 554
are immediately considered men of great importance; the regular price of such a cap is a good 302
horse; for a single eagle's feather is always valued at one or two dollars. On their buffalo robes 301
they often represent this feather cap, under the image of a sun. Very celebrated and eminent [431]
warriors, when most highly decorated, wear in their hair various pieces of wood, as signals of their [485]
wounds and heroic deeds. Thus Mato-Topé (see his portrait, Plate XIV.) had fastened transversely in his hair a wooden knife, painted red, and about the length of a hand, because he had killed a Chayenne chief with his knife; then six wooden sticks, painted red, blue, and yellow, with a brass nail at one end, indicating so many musket wounds which he had received. For an arrow wound, he fastened in his hair the wing feather of a wild turkey; at the back of his head he wore a large bunch of owl's feathers, dyed yellow, with red tips, as the badge of the Meniss- [561]
Ochata (the dog band).[1] The half of his face was painted red, and the other yellow; his body was painted reddish-brown, with narrow stripes, which were produced by taking off the colour with the tip of the finger wetted. On his arms, from the shoulder downwards, he had seventeen yellow stripes, which indicated his warlike deeds, and on his breast the figure of a hand, of a yellow colour, as a sign that he had captured some prisoners. A warrior so adorned takes more time for his toilette than the most elegant Parisian belle. The colour with which they paint their bodies is mixed with grease. When in mourning they colour the face and hands white. The [765]
women and children paint only their faces red, leaving the hair its natural colour. The Mandans and Mauitaries, and all the Indians of the Upper Missouri, often wear the handsome necklace made of the claws of the grizzly bear. These claws are very large in the spring, frequently three inches long, and the points are tinged of a white colour, which is much esteemed; only the claws of the fore feet are used for necklaces, which are fastened to a strip of otter skin, lined with red 301
cloth, and embroidered with glass beads, which hangs down the back like a long tail. Such a 000

[1] [This is one of the age-grade societies of the men. See also Cat. II., pp. 355-56. --Analyst]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

nations on the Missouri are all in the habit of painting such robes; but the Pawnees, Mandans, 532
Manitaries, and Crows, are the most skilful in this art.* Another mode of painting their robes 532
is, to represent the number of valuable presents they have made. By these presents, which are 431
often of great value, they acquire reputation and respect among their countrymen. On such 554
robes we observed long red figures, with a black circle at the termination, placed close to each 211
other in transverse rows; they represent whips, indicating the number of horses given, because 435
the whip belonging to the horse is always bestowed with the animal. Red or dark blue transverse figures indicate cloth or blankets given; parallel transverse stripes represent fire-arms, the outlines of which are pretty correctly drawn. The robe is frequently cut, at the bottom, into narrow strips, like fringe, and ornamented on the sides with tufts of human hair, and horse-hair dyed yellow and green, and with glass beads. Formerly the Indians painted these robes more care- 432
fully than they now do, and it was possible to obtain one for five musket balls and some powder; now they are far inferior, and eight or ten dollars is not unfrequently paid for them. A robe handsomely painted is equal in value to two not painted.

Their leggins are fastened with straps to their leathern girdles, and are embroidered at the 291
outer seam with stripes, one or two inches in breadth, of porcupine quills, of beautiful various colours, and often with blue and white beads, and long leathern fringes, which form at the ankle a thick bunch, which trails upon the ground. The leather of which their leggins are made is, for the most part, stained of a reddish-brown, or pale red, usually with clay, sometimes white, and often marked below the knee with black transverse stripes. They, as well as all the tribes of North America, use what the English call a breech-cloth (Nokka), which is a narrow strip of woollen cloth, striped black and white, which passes between the thighs under the girdle, before and behind, where it hangs down. Their shoes, which are made of buck skin, or buffalo leather, are generally plain, or very slightly ornamented; but, in full dress, they are embroidered with coloured rosettes, or strips of dyed porcupine quills or beads. Those men who have performed exploits wear, round the ankles, [554]
wolf's tail, or pieces of otter skin, which are lined with red cloth, and trail on the ground. In the summer, when the men are at home, and go about in state, they carry the fan of eagle's feathers in their hands, which we have before described. What the Anglo-Americans call "the crow," which is worn by the warriors of the nations of the Mississippi, and the Lower Missouri, is wholly unknown among the tribes of the Upper Missouri, the Sioux, Assiniboins, Crows, Mandans, Arikkaras, Manitaries, and Blackfeet.

The boys are generally naked, and in winter merely have a robe thrown over them; the 291
girls are dressed in leather in summer as well as winter. The women wear a long leather

* There is a print of such a robe in Major Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, and another in Plate XXI., Fig. 1., of my Atlas. The original was painted by Mato-Topé himself, and the figures on it represent some of his principal exploits, in which he killed, with his own hand, five chiefs of different nations.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Or, on the contrary: "The chain begins to rust," &c. &c. Though these people often manifest great energy of character, many have committed suicide on account of disappointments in love, or of wounded honour, of which Dr. Morse relates a remarkable instance, where an Indian killed himself because he was reproached with cowardice, after his mother had suffered death for him. Many travellers speak of the extraordinary memory of the Indians; several of them relate the entire history of their people in a continuous narrative.

The Mandans and Manitaries are proud, and have a high sense of honour. If a person expresses a wish to possess some article belonging to them, he generally receives it as a present, but a present of equal, or greater value, is always looked for in return. They estimate all their effects at a very high rate, ascribing to them an imaginary and far too great value; and a trifling thing is often paid for with one or two horses. Among the articles of great value is the skin of a white buffalo cow. Fifteen florins are paid for a small ermine skin; whereas, a wolf's skin may be purchased for a small quantity of tobacco. One or two horses are frequently given for a feather cap; a horse for 100 or 150 elks' teeth, or for a handful of dentalium shells. The men are much given to indolence, when they cannot pursue their chief avocations, hunting and war. In general, the Mandans and Manitaries are not dangerous, and, though there are many rude and savage men among them, they are, on the whole, well-disposed towards the Whites: the former, especially, manifest this, and have many good and trustworthy men among them. Some of them are addicted to thieving, especially the women and children; and it is said, that many of the Manitaries, when they meet the Whites in the prairie, though they do not kill them, as they used to do, generally plunder them.

They have always free access to the forts of the trading companies; and, as at Fort Clarke, there was no separate apartment for the Indians, we were molested by them, during the whole day, in every room; nay, they often took the place of the owners, which, during the severe cold in the winter time, was quite intolerable, as they stood in front of the fire, with their large buffalo robes, and kept the warmth from coming into the apartment. They require to be always regaled, which is generally done, and it was estimated that in one year they smoked 200 lbs. of tobacco at the expense of the Company. A few among them, indeed, manifested a much greater delicacy of feeling than the mass of them, and left the dining-room when the dinner-hour approached; but only a very small proportion possessed this correct sense of propriety, for the others generally came just at our dinner time; it is true they had but little meat in the winter season, and fared but badly. Disputes and quarrels are very rare among them; but duels are frequent; and revenge for blood is still exercised.

Many of them are particularly cleanly in their persons, and bathe daily, both in winter and summer; their hands, however, are often smeared with colours and fat, nay, sometimes the whole body is bedaubed. The women are, in general, less cleanly, particularly their hands,

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

This custom exists among most of the nations on the Missouri, and even among the Esquimaux there is a somewhat similar usage. If the adopted son and father have not happened to meet for a long time, they make presents to each other; the father gives the son a new dress, and the latter presents him with a good horse. Among all the Indian nations of North America, there is a particular class of men, who are specially engaged in all the above-mentioned ceremonies and medicines. They are, also, the physicians, and are called, among the Mandans, Numak-Choppenih, which signifies medicine man.

The skin of a white buffalo cow is an important article, and an eminent medicine in the opinion of the Mandans and Manitaries. He who has never possessed one of them is not respected. Suppose two men to be disputing about their exploits, the one an old veteran warrior, who has slain many enemies, the other, a young lad without experience; the latter reproaches the other with never having possessed a white buffalo cow hide, on which the old man droops his head, and covers his face for shame. He who possesses such a hide generally offers it to the lord of life, to whom he dedicates it, or, which is equivalent, to the sun, or to the first man. He collects, perhaps, in the course of a whole twelvemonth, various articles of value, and then hangs them up all together on a high pole in the open prairie, generally in the neighbourhood of the burying-place, or in the village before his hut. Distinguished men and chiefs of eminence are for the most part poor, because, in order to gain reputation and influence, they give away everything of value which they possess. A large number of relatives is one of the chief means of acquiring riches, for a young man who wishes to distinguish himself, and to be liberal, does honour to the whole family, who assist him to the utmost of their power. When one of his relations has anything of value, the young man goes to the owner to demand it, and not unfrequently takes it away without ceremony. Sometimes he hangs his head in silence, and then something of value is given him, a handsome dress, a horse, &c. If he wishes to gain reputation and a claim to distinction, it is necessary that he should make presents. All the people in the village notice very accurately what presents are made, and the donor has a right to display all such presents painted on his robes, and in this manner to hand down his reputation to posterity, as has been already related. This and military glory are, in the eyes of these men, the greatest virtues. They dare not draw a stroke too much on their robes for the horses, guns, &c., which they have given away, for the young men keep a most strict account against each other, and universal ridicule would be the immediate consequence of violating this rule. Among the distinctions of any man, the white buffalo hide is the greatest. He who has not been so fortunate as to kill a white buffalo himself, which is generally the case, as these animals are very rare, purchases a hide, often at a great distance from home, and other nations bring them hither, being well aware of the great value attached to them by the Mandans. The hide must be that of a young cow, not above two years old, and be taken off complete and tanned, with the horns,

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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251 bread in the civilized world. It is made of buffalo meat dried very hard, and afterwards pounded in a large wooden mortar until it is made nearly as fine as sawdust, then packed in this dry state in bladders or sacks of skin, and is easily carried to any part of the world in good order. "Marrow-fat" is collected by the Indians from the buffalo bones which they break to pieces, yielding a prodigious quantity of marrow, which is boiled out and put into buffalo bladders which have been distended; and after it cools, becomes quite hard like tallow, and has the appearance, and very nearly the flavour, of the richest yellow butter. At a feast, chunks of this marrow-fat are cut off and placed in a tray or bowl, with the pemican, and eaten together; which we civilized folks in these regions consider a very good substitute for (and indeed we generally so denominate it) "bread and
415 butter." In this dish laid a spoon made of the buffalo's horn, which was black as jet, and beautifully polished; in one of the others there was another of still more ingenious and beautiful workmanship, made of the horn of the mountain-sheep, or "Gros corn," as the French trappers call them; it was large enough to hold of itself two or three pints, and was almost entirely transparent.

I spoke also of the earthen dishes or bowls in which these viands were served out; they are a familiar part of the culinary furniture of every Mandan lodge, and are manufactured by the women of this tribe in great quantities, and modelled into a thousand forms and tastes. They are made by the hands of the women, from a tough black clay, and baked in kilns which are made for the purpose, and are nearly equal in hardness to our own manufacture of pottery; though they have not yet got the art of glazing, which would be to them a most valuable secret. They make them so strong and serviceable, however, that they hang them over the fire as we do our iron pots, and boil their meat in them with perfect success. I have seen some few specimens of such manufacture, which have been dug up in Indian mounds and tombs in the southern and middle states, placed in our Eastern Museums and looked upon as a great wonder, when here this novelty is at once done away with, and the whole mystery; where women can be seen handling and using them by hundreds, and they can be seen every day in the summer also, moulding them into many fanciful forms, and passing them through the kiln where they are hardened.

576 Whilst sitting at this feast the wigwam was as silent as death, although we were not alone in it. This chief, like most others, had a plurality of wives,
595 and all of them (some six or seven) were seated around the sides of the lodge, upon robes or mats placed upon the ground, and not allowed to speak, though they were it readiness to obey his orders or commands, which were uniformly given by signs manual, and executed in the neatest and most silent manner.

431 When I arose to return, the pipe through which we had smoked was presented to me; and the robe on which I had sat, he gracefully raised by the corners and tendered it to me, explaining by signs that the paintings

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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which were on it were the representations of the battles of his life, where he had fought and killed with his own hand fourteen of his enemies; that he had been two weeks engaged in painting it for me, and that he had invited me here on this occasion to present it to me. The robe, readers, which I shall describe in a future epistle, I took upon my shoulder, and he took me by the arm and led me back to my painting-room.

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture. 000

CRITERIA OF ACCULTURATION

There are many superficial criteria that could be selected to divide the population of Lone Hill into groups differing in degree of acculturation, but I prefer one that has an essential connection to the Indian value system. One well-known basic value that contrasts sharply with our general American ethic is the Indian value of generosity (Bruner 1953:23–24). This value difference has a readily observable behavioral manifestation—participation in the Indian ceremonial dances. The Indian "give-away" dance is now a secular affair, featuring Indian songs and dances and the giving of war bonnets, horses, cattle, blankets, and money as gifts to prescribed relatives, distinguished visitors, societies, and the needy. It is one of the few remaining public gatherings in Lone Hill where generosity and other Indian values are expressed, reaffirmed and maintained. The following statement by an informant aptly characterizes the emotional overtones of the dance (quoted in Merrill 1951:27): 177 431 535

> After the people get all painted up—this is decoration, like lipstick—and the tom-toms get going and people chanting and singing (demonstrated with a rapid beat of his feet and an ai-ai-ai chant), people get all worked up and excited. Then someone gets up and makes a speech and gives away a horse, or a beef, or two beefs, and everyone gets going and there's a lot of giving-away and many people end up with little or nothing. . . . They say that property doesn't mean anything; what counts is being friendly and generous and all friends of one another. . . . People shout and praise a person (who gives away a lot) and they talk about it long afterwards. [554]

Not every person in Lone Hill attends the dance. Some families come with all their children, stay throughout the night, and donate generously. For them the dance is an impressive and public mechanism of socialization to Indian ways. Others virtually never attend the ceremonials, as they are more concerned with the accumulation than the giving of goods. As a result, they and their children do not participate in the one public ritual that best symbolizes and makes legitimate the traditional Indian values. One acculturated Indian man had this to say about the ceremonials: 431 535 184 [556] 177

> I never go to any dances or pow-wows. These dances are the fellows breeding grounds; they go there to drink, to raise hell, and they are not Christians. A lot of these fellows . . . go there to take some gal out . . . and get her drunk. That's all these dances are for, as far as the younger people are concerned. The older people go there to get these donations; something for nothing. . . . They take their kids there and the kids don't learn much from that. They give things away and that money can be used to educate their children, buy provisions and things. It seems like with an Indian they think they are in the spotlight; it makes them feel good. I never believed in it simply because I know most families and they can't afford to do that.

Participation in the Indian ceremonials was applied to the population of Lone Hill as a criterion of acculturation. In order to define the population, it was first necessary to delimit the community, the sample, and the unit of 621 121 161

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

purchased with cash income derived from productive employment are obtained by the people of Lone Hill directly from natural sources. 105 177

The paternalistic policy of the Indian Bureau has probably been more effective than the geographical isolation and the ecological setting in limiting direct social relationships between the Indian people and surrounding whites. Most of the necessary economic, educational, and welfare activities are handled by the Agency staff instead of by the Indian people. What is called paternalism arose from the necessities of an earlier historical period, during which it was a humane and just policy to aid those Indian people whose life pattern had been disrupted by American expansion. The people of Lone Hill still expect this protection today, yet they resent the associated dependency. At Fort Berthold and on other Indian reservations, this has come to be one of the most complex and pressing problems of native administration. Given the problems that exist, the current Bureau policy of withdrawal is far from an adequate solution. In a paper of this scope we can do no more than call attention to the importance of the administration as an isolating barrier between the Mandan-Hidatsa and the larger American society. 657

What is possibly the most important isolating factor stems from the sharp discontinuity in the unacculturated Indian life career. From the point of view of the age grading of the learning process, acculturative influences are operative primarily in the adult years. During the early formative period the unacculturated child comes to internalize Indian ways from an intimate group of close relatives in a permissive and secure atmosphere. Before he attends school the child eats Indian food, attends the ceremonial dances, and hears about the daring exploits of the Stone Hammer Society from his old grandfather. The activities of the outside world are dim and vague to the Indian child, for he rarely leaves the village and has few opportunities for direct contact with whites. He does attend an occasional movie and he listens to the radio, but the child has had no context within his own experience with which to relate these impersonal mass media. Those whites who come to Lone Hill on business deal with the adults and rarely see the children. I recorded three life histories of young adults who knew no white people until they were seven or eight years of age. 177 867

From the unacculturated child's point of view, life in Lone Hill revolves around his family, peer, and residential groups. His main satisfactions are obtained from within these groups, and the activities of their members, most of whom are relatives, form the major topics of conversation. That kinship is widely extended among the Mandan-Hidatsa takes on added meaning in this context, as all of an unacculturated Indian's emotionally charged and rewarding experiences occur within, and are shared by, the kinship group. Members of the kinship group are also the agents of cultural transmission, and from them the child learns the approved norms of conduct and patterns of social relations. 177 867 602 571

The unacculturated Indian child soon learns that his emotional security and his very identity are dependent upon his maintaining good relationships with his kinsmen. He does not derive security from acts designed merely to 156 602 431

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

156 further his own ends, nor is there any pressure put upon him to realize ab-
602 solute ideals. The value of generosity in this perspective, and as defined by the
Indian people, is any act which promotes group welfare. Those persons who do
431 work together on such secular affairs as road projects are said to have donated
their time to the group. At a dance for his son serving in Korea, one man in
Lone Hill donated "the whitewashing of the school lunch room and the repair
of the grade school window sashes." As the kinship system embodies the
primary societal values, a man's position in society is assured if he meets the
obligations of that system at all public gatherings and in his everyday be-
[626 havior in the village. If a person behaves in any way that destroys group co-
571] operation he is not threatened or physically punished. His mother or older
sister will tell him the right way, and if they are not effective his grandparents
or other joking relatives will tease and ridicule him into conformity. The
Mandan-Hidatsa have a tremendous elaboration of joking relationships
which serve as a very effective mechanism of enforcing conformity to group
norms.

177 By the time the unacculturated child becomes an adult, he has been so
effectively socialized to Indian ways that white contact has very little in-
867 fluence. But the adult reality is such that he must live in a superordinate white
world. This is the sharp discontinuity in his life career. Every Indian must deal
with members of white society in order to perform necessary economic and
educational activities. The unacculturated Indian does not change himself
to become like a white person; instead he learns how to adjust to white
people. One informant described the technique as follows: "We Indians are
just like those lizards that change their colors. When we are with whites we
act one way and when we are with Indians we act another way." I think this
kind of compartmentalized behavior is called "situational role specificity"—
but possibly the analogy of the chameleon has a virtue of its own. In a sense,
the unacculturated people of Lone Hill come to learn two cultures, but it is a
177 case of differential learning with different points of origin. The unacculturated
154 Indian character is incorporated into the child in his formative years, while a
867 superficial knowledge of white culture and of the techniques of adjustment to
white people are learned primarily in adulthood. The unacculturated people of
Lone Hill are not torn with inner conflict between two worlds; they just in-
ternalize the Indian way as children and learn aspects of the white way as a
necessary accessory when they become adults. Erikson (1950:115) in his
study of the Sioux was intrigued by this point:

> This, it seemed to us, was the most astonishing single fact to be investigated: That Indian children could live for years without open rebellion or any signs of inner conflict between two standards which were incomparably further apart than those of any two generations or two classes in our culture.

177 The unacculturated Indian does not internalize white ways as an adult, not
because all learning stops in childhood, but because of the vast cultural differ-
563 ences between members of the two groups, the nature of the situations in
which adult Indian-white interaction occurs, and the attitudes of white

10: Neill H4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

chief called Le Grand* who insisted upon our taking lodgings in his hut, which stood near the edge of the banks. We accordingly entered it, but soon after we were visited by several other principal men, who requested some of us to take up our abode in their huts during our stay among them. La France advised us to do so, telling us we would be more at our ease by separating than if we remained all in the same hut. Accordingly Mr. Chaboillez and his people, consisting of an Indian who was his brother-in-law, and Mr. Allen McDonnell, took up their lodgings with Hairy Horn, and our guide, Hugh McReacan, (Cracken) Straight Horn, myself and my people, T. Viandrie and Joseph Du Charme, remained with Le Grand, a very civil fellow. This arrangement having been settled and instantly put into execution, we were provided with beds, or buffalo hides to sit upon. * * * * * We paid a visit to Le Gros Blanc, who thought we had somewhat slighted him in not taking up our residence in his hut, but kept the flag flying in honor of our arrival until sunset. We made amends as far as our circumstances would permit, and presented him with some tobacco, ammunition, etc., as a remuneration for his trouble in assisting us over. He was perfectly satisfied, and appeared highly pleased with the presents.

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[431]

We found in this village a Canadian by the name of Jussaume,† who accompanied Captains Lewis and Clarke to Washington on their return from their voyage of discoveries to the Pacific Ocean as interpreter to the Mandan chief, Le Gros Blanc. This man has been a resident among the Indians for upwards of fifteen years. He speaks their language tolerably well, has a wife and family who live and dress in the same manner as the natives. As for himself, he still retains the outward appearance of a Christian, and his principles as far as I could observe, are much worse than those of a Mandane. He is possessed of every superstition natural to these people, nor is he different in performing every mean, dirty trick which they have acquired from their intercourse with a set of worthless scoundrels accustomed to visit these parts, some for the purpose of trade, and others, to save themselves from justice and the laws of their country, that would not fail to punish them for their numerous offenses."

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EDWARD D. NEILL.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

*Le Gros Blanc, or Big White, called by the Indians Shahaka was the first chief of this village and was recognized by Lewis and Clark and presented with a medal. Ohbeenaw, Le Grant, or Big Man was much esteemed in the tribe. He was a Cheyenne taken prisoner, and then adopted by the Mandans.

[597]

† In the narrative of Lewis and Clarke his name is spelled Jesseaume, and on the 27th of October, 1805, was engaged as interpreter, and with the expedition went to the Pacific Ocean, accompanied by his Indian wife and babe. On the 16th of August, 1806, soon after Henry's departure, Lewis and Clarke returned to the Mandan village, and Le Gros Black, Big White, with his wife and son and Jessaume, the next day accompanied the military expedition to St. Louis, and from thence they went to Washington and were presented to President Jefferson.

[Category 116, p. 332.-A.]

10: Neill 44(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

224 Not one do they allow to escape, large and small, fat and lean, all must fall to prevent their alarming other herds.

The manner of hunting the buffalo answers another good purpose, which is that the bad and dull horses have an equal share with the best racers.

DIVISION OF THE BUFFALO HUNT.

[411] They never make use of fire arms in hunting the buffalo. The bow and arrow is the only weapon. When a hunting excursion is in agitation among the Mandans, they inform their neighbors on the north shore, and the Saulteurs (Fall Indians.) The Big Bellies have their own parties and seldom interfere with the others. They never go in the same direction, the one goes to the northeast,* and the others to the southwest. The [131] Knife River, indeed, seems to be the boundary line. The day is fixed for their departure, when early in the morning as many as are inclined to be of the party assemble upon the rising grounds in the rear of the village, about one and a half miles to the south. When all are ready they proceed in one body to find out the buffalo, and seldom or never return light. I observed that on their arrival, an extraordinary custom prevailed among them — the horses are instantly unloaded and the meat taken into the huts, where it is spread out upon the ground and exposed for some time before the master or mistress of the hut makes use of it. Soon after it is arrived, the women whose 431 husbands or sons have been hunting, enter the huts of those 224 who have meat, when the mistress instantly gives them a share, and they walk away with it, so that it often happens that there remains not a mouthful for her own family. When this is the case, she, in her turn, goes to the huts of some of her friends who have been hunting and comes away with a load. I observed that in several huts of those who had not been hunting, there was more meat than in those who had been out. It is also customary for the old men and the old women, who have no sons, nor particular friends, to march out on the first news of the hunters' approach, to the distance of a mile or more, where they sit by the road, and almost every hunter in passing drops them a piece of meat. By these means every individual has a share of what has been killed.

VILLAGES LIKE MOLE HILLS.

361 These villages at a distance have the appearance of a cluster of mole hills, or musk rat cabins. They are nearly of a circular form. The huts are placed in a very irregular manner, and some so very close to each other, as scarcely to admit of a foot-passenger; others again, at a distance of twenty to thirty feet from each other.

* [Henry says southeast.-A.]

675 it is gone in an instant, and search would be in vain; everyone
673 would wish to appear innocent, although they are not offended when accused of stealing, but laugh the matter away. .....We paid
437 our landlord for board and lodging, as well as the care of our horses,
177 and of the articles left under his charge, as we never expect the least favor from any of these fellows without recompensing them accordingly. He appeared very well pleased with the following articles, which we gave him: 60 rounds of ammunition, 4 large knives, 2 awls, 1 fathom of tobacco, 1 steel, 5 flints, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 2 worms (wormers for guns), and 1 dozen brass rings....

609 [332] My host was so obliging as to give up to me one of his
574 own best beds, well surrounded with dressed leather. We had a plentiful supply of corn and beans, and were soon invited to several huts, where we [333] were treated with a very palatable dish of
[431] pounded peas and parched corn; but it is customary for invited guests, on leaving, to present the master of the hut with a few inches of tobacco, for which he always appears very thankful.

728 [335] About 30 Big Bellies soon arrived on horseback, at full speed; they brought an interpreter with them. This party consisted of some of the principal war chiefs, and other great men, who did not appear well pleased, but looked on the Pawnees with disdain.

285 [339] ...seated on a mat made of small willows of equal size, fastened together [340] by threads of their own manufacture, passed through each stick about a foot apart.

342 [340] Seldom more than one family occupies the same hut.

437 [342] We paid the young men for taking our horses across the
177 river, and the women for assisting us with the canoes. The total cost was: 1 fathom of tobacco, 4 knives, 6 flints, 6 awls, 6 worms [gun wormers—analyst], and 10 balls. I also paid my landlord for the time we might remain here, which I supposed would be about ten days for three persons, including board and lodging, stabling for our horses, and care of our property. They make no price, leaving that to the generosity of guests, and should the payment be too little they still appear to accept with gratitude; but the visitor is afterward left to take care of his own property and horses in the best manner he can. It is impossible to get the most trifling service from the natives without immediate payment; not even an inch of cord will they part with without receiving something in return. It is true a trifle will please them, and they are

[p. 384(D)]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

787 554 785 795 mal feasts to which the older people were invited and was considered selfish, in spite of the fact that he probably fed more people than those who offered feasts from time to time.

778 428 171 432 It was the duty of all to fast, but few could inherit tribal bundles. After the smallpox of 1837, there was probably a much higher percentage of the population owning these hereditary tribal bundles. Visions could be bought and sold like hereditary bundles, but their existence was usually short-lived unless they became incorporated into hereditary bundle rites. A man ordinarily did not boast of the bundles he owned. Instead, he would boast of the potency of the bundles. The Hidatsa custom of buying the father's bundle because he dreamed of it was not the Mandan way. A Mandan bought because he was expected to, and people would condemn him for failing to buy. The man would ask his son to buy. If he had no son, but a son-in-law was living in the lodge, he would ask him to buy. Instruction was direct between seller and buyer, whereas the Hidatsa used a member of the father's clan as intermediary. Moves Slowly did not dream of the Corn Medicine before buying. He was hereditarily entitled to it. When one of the Mandan Corn bundles reached the Awaxawi,[17] Poor Wolf bought because he dreamed of it. The Hidatsa performed a ceremony because they had a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Little Eagle, the NumakmaxEna bundle-owner, was killed in war, and his wives automatically became the bundle-owners. When they remarried, their second husband received permission from them to officiate in the Okipa until White Calf, their son, was of proper age to assume the office. He had not dreamed of the bundle. The NaxpikE or Hide-beating ceremony of the Hidatsa was never given except when one who was a son of a man having this bundle received a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Such was not the custom in giving the Okipa. Permission must be given by the Okipa Society because an eligible candidate either had received vision instruction or had a feeling of responsibility to give it. So we see that even between these two groups, the Mandan and Hidatsa, who have lived in close contacts for a few centuries, some fundamental differences in ceremonial organization persisted.

17. A Hidatsa band.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 778 ants were in full agreement on some points. They stated that those with singer rights in the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles were singers for the Women's Goose Society and that greater emphasis was placed on warfare rites. There was no reference in the Robe and Skull myths or rites to warfare except in the incident when Good Furred Robe founded the Black Mouth or Brave Warrior Society and gave a sunflower plant to each of the two bravest men, who were to carry them on war expeditions. The following articles were contained in a principal bundle: corn basket, elkskin robe, clay pot, wooden pipe, deer skull and antlers, corn, beans, squash, sunflowers, blackbird heads, bull-snake skin, bundle of young white sage, duck heads, swan feathers, goose heads, strip of grizzly-bear skin, gourd rattles, and a scalp. Owners of principal bundles held singer status. Bobtail Bull, so far as it was possible to determine, was the only Mandan with this status surviving the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

778 425 432 2. *Secondary bundles.*—Those holding secondary bundle rights were exceedingly numerous. Such bundles were hereditary in character but followed two distinct patterns. For instance, a qualified individual wishing to buy the Snake rites from Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles could either purchase rights from a Snake bundle-owner or could go to a principal bundle-owner and make the purchase. The purchase pattern was the same in both instances. White Calf purchased his Snake bundle from his parents, although his father was dead at the time of the transfer, and Bears Ghost bought from his father, Foolish Chief. On the other hand, Bobtail Bull sold the Snake rites to his son-in-law from a principal bundle.[4] He could do that without subdividing the bundle, since four sales were permissible. Bear bundles could be transferred or made up in the same manner. Men or women either could buy individually or could purchase jointly. There was a difference between group purchases instituted by a man from that of a female purchase. When a man bought, his wives, sisters, and brothers could purchase jointly. However, when a woman initiated the purchase, her sisters, brothers, and their wives could purchase jointly, but the husband could

4. There was a tendency to sell secondary bundles to sons, whereas clan inheritance by transfer to a sister's son or a son-in-law was generally practiced for original or principal tribal bundles.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

not participate in the transfer or hold rights in the bundle. The desire to own one of these secondary bundles could come either from vision instruction or from a sense of responsibility to perpetuate the parents' bundles. When vision instructed, sale was made by an owner of the father's clan having rights in a bundle; otherwise the vision recipient could make up a bundle according to the instructions received in the dream. In the latter case, although having as a personal god one of the characters represented in the Old Woman Who Never Dies rites, he was not considered qualified to attend Corn ceremonies and receive gifts.

3. *Composite bundles.*—This was the result of incorporation of Old Woman Who Never Dies rites into the ceremonialism associated with the Robe bundles. Scattercorn had heard her father say that in former times these were separate ceremonies. Crows Belt did not have rights in the Old Woman Who Never Dies ceremony. After the death of Bobtail Bull, Moves Slowly bought Crows Belt's Robe bundle and proceeded to purchase rights in additional ceremonies pertaining to garden crops, thereby building up a reputation as leader in all of the Corn ceremonies. Whereas some men acquired status in warfare, others rose to prominence by purchasing ceremonial bundles. Crows Heart thought that one was about as hard to do as the other. Buying into the ceremonies required a great deal of material wealth which had either to be prepared or bought. It is interesting to observe a parallelism between the records of Moves Slowly and of Poor Wolf, who purchased the Skull bundle at about the same time as Moves Slowly acquired the Robe bundle. There was always rivalry between the two men, who were at that time living at Like-a-Fishhook Village. Moves Slowly was eligible to inherit the Skull bundle, since his grandfather through the male line had owned rights in the bundle. Bear Looks Around bought the bundle before Moves Slowly was old enough to make the purchase. Crows Belt, who had no legitimate heir, sold the Robe bundle to Moves Slowly shortly after Poor Wolf secured the Skull bundle from Bear Looks Around. Both undertook the purchase of rights in related ceremonies, and the rivalry became keen in their efforts to build up the reputation of their bundles. Moves Slowly bought Hoita rights in the Okipa, assisted his brother, Bear on the Water, in

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

MANDAN MEN'S SOCIETIES.

The Mandan System.

575 Both from Maximilian's account and the statements of my own inform-
424 ants it appears that the Mandan system of men's societies closely resembled
●432 that of the Hidatsa. In both cases there was a series of graded organiza-
171 tions, the membership, or rather ownership, of each of which was acquired
by collective purchase. The method of buying membership was practically
identical, and among the Mandan as well as among the Hidatsa the sur-
render of the purchasers' wives to the sellers formed a conspicuous feature.
Owing to the collective manner of obtaining membership, practically all
tribesmen belonged to some one of the societies. If a boy of a certain age
[551] did not yet belong to any organization, he was, according to Water-chief,
derided as a "Finger-in-his-eye (istá wátke). After selling their last society
the retired members, as among the Hidatsa, were known as "Stinking-ears"
(nakóxe xu^{n}pé^{e}).

According to Black-chest and Wounded-face, the institution of "friendly"
573 organizations described for the Hidatsa (p. 229) also occurs among the
Mandan, but this is denied by Painted-up for both men's and women's
organizations. Unfortunately this important point must remain undecided.

There can be no doubt that within the period known to my informants
575 membership in a society was primarily, on the Hidatsa plan, a matter of
purchase, not of age. Because, for example, the group that normally would
have purchased the Kit-Fox and Little Dog societies failed to buy either
from his own class, Black-chest at 62 considers himself a member of these
organizations, which he joined at 20 and 25 respectively.

177 Owing to the very small number of Mandan who survived the epidemic
of 1837 and the intimate relations of the survivors with the Hidatsa, the
575 accounts of my Mandan informants may be largely colored by Hidatsa
influences, so that Maximilian's data are all the more valuable and will be
summarized in the following sections. Of the societies enumerated by my
Mandan informants but not given by Maximilian, the Kit-Fox and the
Little Dog organizations may be assumed to have been adopted from the
Hidatsa in recent times, for both occur in Maximilian's Hidatsa list. In
575 preparing the following comparative table I assume, for reasons already set
forth (p. 235), that in Maximilian's day there were distinct Dog and Half-

[i.e., Members of two age groups separated in time by another age group would aid each other in opposition to the demands of the intermediate group. -- Analyst]

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Shaved Head societies. Black-chest's enumeration differs from that by Wounded face merely in the omission of the Old Dog, Coarse Hair, and Black Tail Deer societies and in the reversal of the relative positions of the Buffalo Bull and Dog societies. 575

MANDAN SOCIETIES.

Maximilian (II, 139–144).	Wounded-face.
	1. Cheyenne Society (cō'ta ō'xat'e)
	2. Kit-Fox Society (ō'xox'atoc)
	3. Little Dog Society (mini'sinik ō'xat'e
1. Foolish Dogs (Meni'ss O'chka O'chatā)	4. Crazy Dog Society (mini's'ō'xka ō'xat'e)
2. Crows, or Ravens (Hāhderucha O'chatā)	
3. Half-shaved Heads (I'schohā Kakoschochatā)	
4. Soldiers (Chara'k O'chatā, or Kau'a Karakáchka)	5. Black Mouth Society. (I'he psi'here ō'xate, or numā'k xarāk ō'xat'e)
5. Dogs (Meni'ss O'chatā)	7. Dog Society (mini's ō'xatoc)
6. Old Dogs (Meni'ss-Chāh-Ochatā)	8. Old Dog Society (mini's xixe' ō'xat'e)
7. Buffalo Bulls (Bero'ck-O'chatā)	6. Buffalo Bull Society (mēro'k ō'xat'e)
8. Black-Tail Deers (Schu'mpsi O'chatā)	10. Black-Tail Deer Society (cu'psi ō'xat'e)
	9. Coarse Hair Society (bacā'ca ō'xat'e)

CHEYENNE SOCIETY.

Wounded-face's group bought the Cheyenne society (cō'ta ō'xat'e), 575 at the request of the men owning it, when my informant was about 10 or 12 432 years old. Calicoes and tanned goods were gathered, and with them a pipe was taken to the sellers. One of these smoked the pipe to show that [576] they were willing to dispose of their membership.

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292 575 293 Every member had a head ornament consisting of a round piece of raw-hide with a bone feather holder. Two officers wore moderately wide aprons of red cloth edged with eagle feathers hanging down. Each of two other officers had a sacred bow with two arrows, one painted red and the other black. Two officers bore a spiked club (ō'o kahiri' 'ka), the spike being of horn. The sacred bows and arrows were for use against the enemy; they never missed their aim. For some reason no paraphernalia were supplied to Wounded-face's group, and they did not exercise their membership privileges because older men who should have taught them the appropriate songs died. All the members of this society were Mandan, but the organization originated with the Dakota or Cheyenne. Black-chest independently made the statement that the society was not really of Mandan origin. The [608] *cō'ta ō'xat'e* regarded the Foxes as their fathers, and the Little Dogs as their "friends."

292 575 Water-chief said that members wore two eagle feathers rising from the back of the head. Before his group bought the society, five older Mandan called them together, and said, "We wish to give you a society." Then property was collected and brought to them. The same night they sang songs, to which the young boys danced. After the dance, the sellers addressed their sons, saying, "You are growing up now. You must go against the enemy. Try to be brave and conquer the enemy."

Kit-Fox Society.

575 432 571 The following account of this society (ō'xox'atoc) was given by Black-chest.

When we bought this society, all of us were unmarried. We wished to buy this society. Our fathers said, "These foxes have ten claws on their front legs, so we wish you to give us a ten days' feast." I selected Good-bear, one of my clan fathers, for my individual father. The members of the River Women society were our "friends"; one of these, Black-head, was my individual "friend."

When the River Women had gathered together, we went to them and thus addressed them: "We wish to make friends with you. We desire to buy a society and wish you to help us and give us some blankets. We wish to know whether you are willing to do so." The women debated the request, and each one declared that she would contribute her blanket. Then we said, "Well, now each of you shall say which one of us you are willing to help." Then Black-head designated me. She was no clan aunt of mine.

575 527 432 We borrowed Broken-horn's earth-lodge for our meeting and brought kettles of food there. Black-head also brought a kettle of food there. We boys came in on the left side and sat down in an ellipse. We could hear our fathers singing as they approached our lodge. They entered it on the right side and sat down. Their wives, who were to assist in the singing during the ten nights' entertainment, were grouped behind their husbands.

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When our fathers had sat down, one of our number, Wounded-face, rose and said, "Well, comrades and women friends, listen. We have brought our food here, and we wish to select our fathers tonight. Do each of you rise and set your food before your father." Then each of us rose, picked up his kettle, and walked past the door-side of the fireplace to his father. I picked out one of my clan fathers and gave him my kettle; then I returned to my place. Black-head, who had watched my movements, then came forward and brought her kettle to the man indicated as my father. Those purchasers who had no clan fathers among the sellers selected anyone they pleased for their individual father. The fathers ate of the food, leaving some for their wives, who emptied the kettles and returned them to their husbands. Then Good-bear called me by name and said, "Come, son, and get your kettle." I went towards him and stood before him. Then Good-bear prayed to the supernatural powers: "I have gone through the Oki'pa ceremony myself and have undergone great hardships for your sake. In other ceremonies I have also undergone suffering. Before I underwent this suffering, I thought you would help me whenever I could not do something by my own power. I have no power to give honor marks, therefore I ask you to help me by securing honor marks for my son." Then I took both kettles and went back to my place, where I returned to Black-head her own kettle. Each of the boys acted in a similar way. 575 527 432 533 535

After all of us had sat down, our fathers began to sing. They beat drums, but did not dance. They sang these words: —

"ma'kitá'ni máhuna."
"You, wake up and come."

[These words are supposed to be addressed to one's sweetheart.]

Four times they sang such songs. Then came a second set of songs, during which the fathers danced in their places. When they had done dancing, they addressed us in obsolete Mandan, saying, "Sī! i'kare'xoc!" ("Clan son, daylight is here!") Shot-foot, one of the fathers, rose to address us. He said, "Sī, we wish you to give us a ten nights' feast. This will give us time to prepare clothes for you." [198]

This meeting took place in the evening, each of our female "friends" brought in a bundle of willows carried by means of a tump line and a second line passing around the breast. The bundles were piled up on the left side of the door (for one entering), and from time to time one of the boys would rise to keep up the fire. This purchase took place in midsummer. I was about 20 years old at the time.

On each of the ten nights the fathers came in in the same way as the first time, and the mode of procedure was the same. On the tenth night, the fathers said, "Sons, we have done; tomorrow we shall give you your things." On the following morning we came back to the same lodge and took our seats, but without any kettles. Our women "friends" also came in and sat down. This time, however, we were not ranged in an ellipse as before, but sat in the arc of a circle, with our "friends" in a similar arc from 4½ to 5 feet behind us. Until this day White-bear's house had served as the place of assembly for the fathers prior to their approach to our own meeting-place, but this morning each came from his own lodge, their wives carrying the clothes to be presented to the purchasers of the society. The fathers sat down in a curved line opposite to ours, and their wives took seats behind them. There were about thirty fathers; sometimes two boys had the same father. They planted two sticks into the ground in the rear (mana'ktata) of the lodge. One of the sticks was hooked, and its shaft was wrapped with otterskin; three eagle feathers hung down from the end of the hook. The second stick was straight and also wrapped with otterskin; 575 432 527 533 535 293

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575 to the top of the shaft there was fastened a single eagle feather. The bottom of
432 both staffs was blunt, but in order to secure them in their places a sharp-pointed stick had been previously driven into the ground there. The fathers had two hand-
527 drums. The father nearest the door took the hooked stick (ma'nanû'skup) which
533 had been set at the left side of the straight stick (ma'nacû'cuk) for one facing the
535 door, and held it in his hand, while the last father in line took the straight stick. The
293 two fathers standing nearest the staff-holders bore rattles. The drums were beaten, but before the rest of the fathers rose Shot-foot addressed us, saying, "Sons, you will keep our society, you will dance today." Then the fathers all rose, and the singing began. The staff-bearers advanced towards the boys, shouting, while the rest danced in their places. When the staff-bearers had got to the fireplace, the singing ceased. Each of the two officers then went to his son and led him to a spot between the two main posts on the right side of the lodge (for one facing the entrance), and gave his stick to his son. On this occasion Water-chief received the straight stick, and White-eye the bent stick. Next Shot-fox rose with his rattle and — this time without any singing or dancing — walked straight towards his son, Long-tail, whom he led to the place between the two posts used by the staff-bearers and presented with his rattle. The second rattler went through a corresponding procedure. Then the wives of the four officers who had just disposed of their emblems came forward to give the newly prepared clothes to their sons. The spectators, during all this performance, were restricted to the space between the door and the two front posts. From among these outsiders there now advanced the relatives of the new officers in order to pile up property before them or to present small sticks representing the promise to donate a horse.

The fathers said, "Now, sons, all of you stand up!" All the fathers then walked
575 towards us, followed by their wives, who carried the clothing and laid it down before
432 the sons. All of us put on the new clothes on the spot. The fathers who had
527 surrendered their rattles stood next to their sons, whom they wished to assist in
533 singing. The fathers who had owned the two officers' staffs said to the new incum-
534 bents: "There is an abundance of enemies; try to be brave!" The fathers who had carried rattles said the same to *their* sons, adding: "You will sing for your society, and I must teach you now. When you sing outdoors, you shall circle round to the right, and all will follow you." The first rattler accordingly led the procession in a circle until he had got near the second rattler, where he stopped and began to sing. The second rattler then also sang a song, shaking a tin-can rattle. In the procession outdoors the marchers walked at a very rapid pace.

Four female associates followed the men. These were called "Fox women" and had been appointed by their own families to assist the Foxes at their feasts and in the singing. They stood outside the circle formed by the society when dancing outdoors, but also took part in the dance. These women were unmarried, but later two of them, Pumpkin-blossom and Otter, married members of the society.

[349] After we had marched out of our lodge, we went to an open space east of the Round Corral.[1] Four of our fathers stepped inside the circle we formed there, and sang for us, beating their drums. We danced and then went home. This first public dance was the only occasion on which our fathers sang for us.

After a few days we came together and danced in Water-chief's lodge. During indoor performances we sat in an arc round the lodge and did not make use of our

[1] This is the structure described by Catlin and Maximilian as the "ark."

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regalia. After a few days spent in hunting we again gathered in our meeting-house and had an abundance of food prepared. Some time in the spring we went outside in our regalia and danced publicly, whereupon we would return to the lodge, dance again, and then have a feast. This happened about three or four times a year. Frequently members of the society went out at night in their ordinary costume and walked from house to house, singing in front of every lodge. This was done to please the young women of the village. The four Fox women did not take part in these nocturnal processions, but other girls accompanied the men and sang with them.

575 432 527 533 535

In addition to the rattlers and the staff-bearers, there were two men distinguished by their regalia from the rank and file. One of these wore a cap (mapa'caci wa'ah-ku'pe) of kit-fox skin, with the ears sticking up.[1] This officer acted as a sort of

[292]

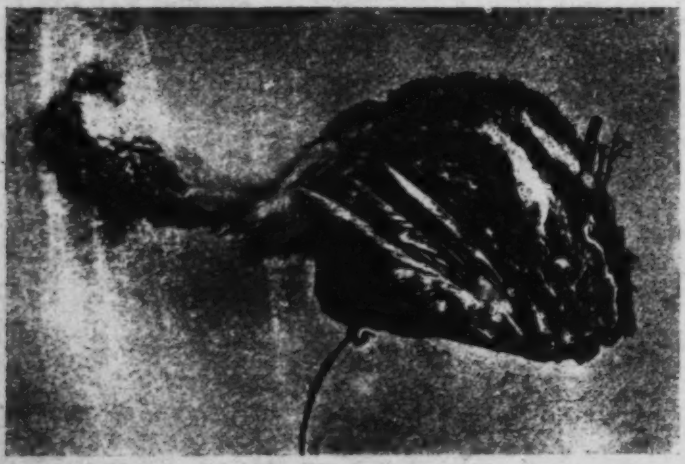

Fig. 10. (50.1–4332). Cap of Mandan Kit-Fox Society. Length, 127 cm.

spokesman for the society, but was not regarded as the chief of the organization. The other officer wore a head band decorated with kit-fox jaws (Fig. 17).

The Black Mouth society was regarded as friendly to our Kit-Fox group. They sat with us when we purchased the society and contributed to the food given to our fathers, though not to the property paid to them. When a new rattler did not at once learn his song and was accordingly afraid to try it, the Black Mouth officer bearing a "dance flag" took his place for a while. After the purchase the Black Mouths participated in our feasts. Sometimes we got together in the house of Two-chiefs, a Black Mouth; if any Black Mouth so desired he might then join us in the dancing.

Sometimes we gathered instead in the house of Foolish-soldier, a Stinking-Ear (see p. 294). Foolish-soldier acted as our herald. He would get up on the roof of a lodge and announce our meeting.

Bear's-ghost, Crow's-heart, Black-eagle, Sitting-crow, White-owl, and their associates should have bought the Kit-Fox society from us. As they did not do so, we still own it."

[1] Wounded-face's cap is shown in Fig. 10.

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575 Some additional information on this society was furnished by Wounded-face, Water-chief, and Little-crow. Of these, Wounded-face and Water-chief belonged to the same group as Black-chest, while Little-crow was a member of the group from which the other three informants purchased their membership. Black-chest sets his present age at 62, while Little-crow is supposed to be 74. At the time they purchased their membership, the age of Little-crow, Wounded-face and Water-chief was about 14, 20, and 16 respectively.

575 773 Wounded-face regards Good-fur-robe, a mythical hero, as the founder of the society. Good-fur-robe pulled out two sunflower stalks from the ground and presented them to two young men. He instructed them to plant these stalks in the ground during an encounter with the enemy and not to retreat from the spot. The sunflower and the corn, this informant added, were essentially one. A similar account was furnished by Packswolf, who further stated that at a later time lances were substituted for the stalks. Though Maximilian does not mention a Mandan Kit-Fox society, the following tradition recorded by him as to the origin of the other Mandan organizations is very suggestive in view of the statements obtained from my own informants. The chief who first ascended to the earth from the subterranean regions formerly inhabited by the Mandan was named Village-smoke, but assumed the name of Good-fur-robe ("die Robe oder das Fell mit schönem Haare, la robe à beau poil") after reaching the upper world. He founded the societies, beginning with the Dogs. For the Soldiers he made two hooked-sticks wrapped with otterskin and two other sticks trimmed with raven feathers. The hooked sticks represented sunflowers; the other sticks, the corn plant. These emblems were to be planted into the ground in fighting an enemy and were never to be abandoned.[1]

575 432 Water-chief mentions the interesting point that his group bought the Kit-Fox organization at the suggestion of the owners. These came to the younger men and said, "We wish to give you this Fox society and make you our sons." It is quite clear from the other accounts that this fact did not affect the initial mode of procedure. A pipe was put before the fathers and [576] had to be accepted and smoked by one of their number in the same way as when Little-crow's group decided to buy the membership on their own initiative. In both cases the fathers seem to have been able to dictate the terms of purchase: at the time when Black-chest and Water-chief became Kit-Foxes, a ten nights' entertainment was demanded, while in Little-crow's day the feasting of the sellers lasted twelve nights.

Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for

[1] Maximilian, II. 162.

[For bibliography, see Category 1:3-- Analyst]

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Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for his individual father. Wounded-face did not know that Two-crows owned two kinds of emblems,— the foxskin cap to be used in dancing and in war, and the head band decorated with the lower kit-fox jaws which was to be worn when courting young women.[1] On the morning of the final transference of membership rights, Two-crows gave Wounded-face the cap and the head band, as well as a shirt, armlets and fringed buckskin leggings. In return, Wounded-face paid his father a fast black horse suited for use in the buffalo chase and some property contributed by his relatives. I get the impression that the transfer of special regalia was automatic; that is to say, if the father happened to own certain specific emblems the son buying his membership bought *ipso facto* the regalia owned by the seller. 575 432 292 608

Little-crow states that at the public performance the relatives of the new members brought presents, which were turned over to the fathers, either individually or collectively. In the latter case the fathers proceeded to distribute the gifts among themselves. 575 431 602

In marching outdoors, the first rattler took the lead and was immediately followed by the first hooked-staff officer; Wounded-face — presumably as the owner of the cap — occupied a central position in the line; the second rattler came last, being directly behind the second hooked-staff officer. The first rattler selected a site for the dance and turned in order to begin the formation of a circle there, at the same time raising his rattle and singing very loudly. There was always a special song to be sung prior to the drummers' entrance into the circle. This song was taken up by the second rattler. While the circle was forming, the singers went within the circumference and began to beat their drums. These singers were always the members' fathers, if I understood Wounded-face correctly, but it is probable that this applies only to the first public performance by a new group of members. The songs referred to warlike deeds, and the words were, according to this informant, invariably in the Dakota language. 575 527 535 533 [177]

Little-crow, as already stated, considers the head band decorated with kit-fox jaws as a badge common to all members; he further states that each Kit-Fox had a hair-pipe attached to the left side of the head and that six men had their hair roached. The hair-cutting was done by the men's fathers. Other informants agree that there were two rattlers and two officers with hooked-staffs, wrapped with otterskin and decorated at four points with feathers. Wounded-face says that sometimes the second staff-bearer carried a *straight* stick, in which case an erect eagle feather was secured to the top of the shaft. Little-crow states that rattles were used 575 [292] [302] 293

[1] This seems to conflict with Black-chest's account, which assigns these emblems to distinct officers, but Little-crow regards the kit-fox head band as a badge common to all members.

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surrendering their ownership of the Fox organization, they had acquired 575
possession of the Little Dog society. On one occasion, after the lapse 424
of about five or six years, the Kit-Foxes were meeting at Woman-ghost's house, when someone asked whether they might not buy the Little Dog society then. Each one expressed his willingness to purchase it. Then 575
they gathered together property for an initial gift, and one man carried 424
a pipe to the Little Dogs' lodge. One of the Little Dogs said, "Well, we will meet and debate the matter." The messenger returned. As it was 432
late, the Kit-Foxes waited for the next day to make their first offerings of 527
goods, and merely went about the village, singing at several earth-lodges. On the next day they gathered and notified their friends, the River Women, who collected some property for them. This was piled up together with some guns contributed by the purchasers themselves, and was then divided among them. They waited until nightfall, then they went outside, crying, and marched towards the Little Dogs' lodge. A leader carried the pipe, and, on entering, laid it down before the fireplace. All the property was deposited near the pipe, then the Kit-Foxes took seats near the door, in the space allotted to outsiders. The Little Dogs were seated in the rear and on the sides of the lodge. Iron-eyes, one of the sellers' company, took the [576]
pipe towards the fire, lit it, and began to smoke. All the Kit-Foxes then cried, "Hahō'! We are going to have some songs." According to Wounded-face, the prospective buyers said to their fathers: "We have bought the Kit-Fox society of you, but we still have the Dog society to buy from you." Thereupon the fathers took the property and bade their sons prepare a lodge for the next evening. Then the Kit-Foxes went back to their lodge.

The next evening the Kit-Foxes gathered in Two-chiefs' house. They 575
had married since their former purchase, and each one had his wife prepare 432
food and bring it to the meeting place. The Little Dogs approached the lodge, singing on the way. The door of the lodge faced north. The buyers 527
had ranged themselves on the right side (for one entering), with their wives behind them. The sellers sat down on the opposite side, with their wives [533]
behind them, and began to sing, using sticks with sleighbells for rattles. "We liked their song better than ours." (Black-chest). Big-thief rose, held up a dried dogskin, laid it toward the fire, faced the fire himself, sat down behind the skin, and thus addressed the group of buyers: "Well, sons, this dog has five claws on each of its front legs, that makes ten. Its hind legs also have ten claws, that makes twenty in all. So we wish you to feast us for twenty nights, then we will let you have our songs." [1]

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[1] Wounded-face says that the entertainment lasted only fifteen nights, while Water-chief spoke of a ten nights' feasting of the fathers. When Little-crow, of the group immediately higher than that of the three informants quoted here and in the text, bought the same society, the entertainment lasted eight nights.

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575 608 432 527 After this speech, Big-thief returned to his place. Then all the Kit-Foxes rose and brought presents of food to their fathers. Black-chest again selected Good-bear for his individual Father, but explains that this was not obligatory. Wounded-face was obliged to select a new father, for the one chosen by him in purchasing the Kit-Fox organization had been killed in battle; otherwise, he says he should have kept the same individual for his father in buying all the higher societies. On this occasion his choice fell on Little-crow, to whom he presented a kettleful of food as a token of his selection. Black-chest states that five of the fathers had been killed since the purchase of the Kit-Fox society.

575 432 431 Black-chest says that on this occasion the River Women did not aid the purchasers, as both they and the latter had married. This obviously refers to the period of the fathers' entertainment, as the same informant mentions a contribution by this women's organization to the initial payment (see p. 303). On the other hand, the Black Mouths attended the performance and brought food for the sellers.

575 778 527 837 533 At a height of about seven feet from the ground the fathers stretched a rawhide rope between the two rear main posts. To each end of the rope they attached a whip, and near its center they folded over it two red cloth sashes. These sashes were considered sacred. The wife of one of the buyers then rose, stripped naked and covering her genitalia with her hands, approached the rear of the fireplace. Rising on tiptoes, she seized one of the sashes, covered her nakedness again, pressed the sash to her breast and hung it up as before. Each one of the buyers' wives went through the same ceremony. During this performance the fathers were all singing. The women returned to their seats and put on their blankets. Each husband then said to his wife: "I will give you to my father, for I want his song. Perhaps he will pray for us, and it will be well for both of us."

575 [841] 837 432 527 [782] Then the father and the woman offered to him went out together. Menstruating women were absolved from this performance, for they were not supposed to come to the lodge at all on such occasions. As a matter of fact, Black-chest says that only very few fathers availed themselves of the right surrendered to them, being generally afraid of ill luck if they did. The form, however, was gone through by each wife on each of the twenty nights. Black-chest's wife told her husband that Good-bear merely took her outside, faced west with her and said, "Daughter-in-law, stop and stand there." Then he prayed as follows: "My gods, my son has given me his wife. I wish that my daughter-in-law may always enjoy a long and happy life, and I ask you in behalf of my son that he may conquer his enemies." After this prayer he bade the woman go back, and both returned to the lodge.

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On the twentieth night Big-thief again took a seat by the dogskin. He thus addressed the buyers: "Now, sons, tomorrow this dance will be yours, so I wish to ask you for some more pay. Put down one gun to represent the killing of anything." Then one of the Kit-Foxes put down a gun. Big-thief continued: "This dog has a hide, give us a robe." Then one of the Kit-Foxes laid down his robe. "Give us a knife for butchering." Two men then rose and put down two butchering knives. "For this head put down one yellow cooking-kettle." The buyers sent round for such a kettle and finally secured one, which they brought to the fathers. "Put down one thing for the head." Then someone laid down a stick trimmed with tail-feathers. "Put down one thing for the tail." Then, Black-chest thinks, another robe was laid down. "The dog has four legs, put down four articles." The Kit-Foxes again did as bidden. 575 432 527

On the next day there followed the final surrender of membership prerogatives. This time the buyers sat in an arc, without their wives, who remained in the spectators' place (see p. 303). The fathers sat on the opposite side, singing a bravery song, and the two sash-wearing officers danced. The words of the song were in Hidatsa:— 575 432 527

"Māha'hkureci̇̀ruts. tō'cḕruca, marē'wits." [177]
"No one lives forever. Whatever may happen, I shall go."

At the close of this song the whippers and sash-wearers, as well as all the other fathers, surrendered their regalia to their respective sons. As Little-crow, Wounded-face's father, owned a lance decorated with a string of feathers, Wounded-face assumed the same office (not mentioned by Black-chest), of which there was one other incumbent. In addition to the lance, Wounded-face received a shirt, a new pair of leggings, a switch and pendants for the decoration of both sides of the head; his hair was cut short in front by Little-crow. Wounded-face's relatives piled up presents in front of him, which he turned over to his father, adding a good horse of his own. The other purchasers made corresponding presents to their fathers. While Wounded-face speaks of four sash-wearers, Black-chest limits the number to two, and Water-chief sets it at five. Water-chief, like Wounded-face, received one of the sashes from his father; there was tied to it a small package of root medicine to avert danger. This package has never been opened by Water-chief. The whippers, according to this last authority, lashed members who did not rise to dance at the proper time. Each member of the rank and file received a whistle of owl bone about four inches long, and a bunch of split owl feathers, with an eagle feather in the center, to be hung from the back of the head. These feathers were painted yellow. 575 432 431 [293] [534]

After the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the exception of 000

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The mode of purchase, as described by Maximilian, closely resembles that followed in buying membership in the other organizations. The boys desiring to become members approached the owners, addressed them as "fathers," and secured in exchange for blankets, cloths, horses and powder, the dances, songs, and regalia characteristic of the society. In this connection the Prince does not mention the feasting of the fathers, but the custom is referred to by my informants: Little-crow's group entertained the sellers for thirty, and that of Yellow-hair's husband for twenty nights. 575 432 527

One noteworthy addition to the purchase ceremony had become possible in later times through the change in the age of the members. As the Crazy Dogs were no longer boys as in Maximilian's day, but married men, the surrender of wives as a partial payment was no longer out of the question. As a matter of fact, I have no direct statement to the effect that wives were surrendered in this instance, but Yellow-hair's account strongly suggests that such was the case. According to t[illegible]'s authority, all the women attended the purchase of the Crazy Dog membership. A rope was stretched between two poles and from it were suspended three headdresses and three sashes. On each of the twenty nights of entertainment six women removed their insignia, took them outside, pressed them to their breasts, and finally brought them back and hung them up again. Then six other women went through the same performance, and so on. 575 432 527 837

In view of Black-chest's statements as to the purchase of the Little Dog society (p. 304), I am inclined to believe that Yellow-hair's account is incomplete and that the women who took down the regalia and passed outdoors were offered as a part payment for the benefits to be derived from the fathers. This interpretation is confirmed by Maximilian's repeated reference to the wife-offering as a feature common to all the higher societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa. 575 837 432

The badge of all members, according to the Prince, was a whistle made from the wing-bone of a wild goose. Yellow-hair says that this whistle was suspended from the neck by means of a quill-wrapped string. Everyone carried a rattle of globular or ring shape. The rattles were trimmed with raven wing-feathers. To the back of the head members attached an ornament of split raven wing-feathers. Some of the Crazy Dogs wore neither shirt nor leggings, but daubed their bodies with yellow paint. While dancing, members were permitted to bear lances. 575 292 301

From the rank and file there were distinguished, in Maximilian's day, three officers wearing a long, broad strip of red cloth extending down the back, from neck to foot. Yellow-hair also speaks of three sash-wearers; the red cloth was edged with white, and a slit made it possible to slip the sash over the head. At the shoulder, near the white edging, there was attached 575 292

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292 the war-medicine given by the father to the son at the time of the membership sale. Wounded-face says that there were four sash-wearers.

Besides the sash-wearers, there were three (Wounded-face again speaks of four) officers wearing headdresses of buffalo-skin, decorated with sections of horns and strips of weasel skins. The headgears were secured by means of neckstrings, which also served to fasten them to the stretched rope at the time of the purchase (see p. 307). To the back of the headdresses there were attached strips of rawhide, about 3½ feet in length and decorated with quillwork. Horsetails, dyed yellow, were fastened to the tops of the horns, and occasionally hawk-wings were used for decorating the headdresses.

Wounded-face is alone in speaking of two additional officers bearing lances, that were decorated at the top and center with a bunch of short raven wing-feathers. The use of a feathered string with these lances was optional.

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432 Yellow-hair mentions four drummers, each of whom gave his drum to his son at the time of the membership sale.

When the purchase had been consummated after the twenty nights'
575 entertainment, the fathers, according to Yellow-hair, passed out of the lodge,
432 lamenting the loss of their songs,— some of them even pretending to cry.
527 On the other hand, the purchasers began to sing and rejoice. They went outdoors, formed a circle, and sang there. After a while they returned to their lodge, followed by their wives. Supper had been prepared. The new Crazy Dogs and their wives feasted, and then went home. On the next day the fathers invited the purchasers and their wives, gave them breakfast, and presented the men with clothes and regalia and the women with dresses. In return, the sons gave horses to their fathers. After this exchange of gifts, the members frequently assembled to practise the newly acquired
[535] dance. The women never danced, but might take part in the singing. In dancing the Crazy Dogs jumped up with both feet and shook their rattles as an accompaniment to the drums. In a parade, the headdress-wearers took the lead, one marching behind the other; the sash-wearers had no fixed place.

575 Among the Mandan of Ruhptare Maximilian found that the Crazy[1]
535 Dogs performed the Hot dance. After a large fire had been built, a number of glowing embers were scattered about, and then the boys, stripped of all clothing, danced on them with their bare feet. The hands, forearms, and feet of the performers were colored red. Sliced meat was boiling in a kettle over the fire. When the meat had been well done, the dancers put their

[1] Maximilian writes: "Die kleinen Hunde, deren Namen man nicht kennt, führen ihn auf." The modifying clause makes it clear that he is referring to the first society of his series.

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hands into the boiling water, took out some of the meat, and ate it at the risk of scalding themselves. Those coming last to the kettle had the worst of it, for they were obliged to dig down deeper into the water than their predecessors. During the dance the performers carried weapons and rattles in their hands. 575 535

I did not obtain any Mandan description of the Hot dance. My Hidatsa information is given on p. 253. 000

Crow Society.

Maximilian translates the name of the society Hä'derucha-O'chatä as "Crow, or Raven, band."[1] Its members were from 20 to 25 years old. Sometimes the younger men had not owned a society for half a year or longer. Then one of them went to a Hä'derucha and said to him, "Father, I am poor, but I wish to buy of you." If the father consented, the young men then received the raven feathers worn on the head by the members of the society, a double whistle formed of two goose wing bones fastened together, a drum, rattle, song, and dance. In this case, as in other societies, a head man decided whether the privileges sought by the younger men should be sold and he it was that the prospective buyers approached. Then a feast was prepared in the medicine lodge for forty nights, and the fathers were entertained at their sons' expense. Moreover, the purchasers surrendered their wives to the sellers every evening until the fathers were satisfied and abdicated their membership. 575 432 [837]

Half-shaved Heads.

My Mandan informants did not refer to this society (Ischohä-Kakoscho'chatä), though it was described by my Hidatsa friends (p. 272). According to Maximilian, the *Hä'deruch-O'chatä* bought the Half-Shaved Head dance from the Soldiers before they were old enough to become Soldiers. It is worth while to summarize Maximilian's detailed account of the purchase. 575

The buyers were to entertain the sellers for forty nights. On the first night the drum was beaten to call the negotiating parties to the medicine lodge. A fire was burning in the center, the women sat along the walls, while the white visitors and several noted Soldiers sat in front of the draught- 575 432 527

[1] Compare what is said above about the Hidatsa Ä'rerö'ka society (p. 266).

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575 screen. Along the wall to the left sat the remaining Soldiers, about twenty-
432 five in number; while some were clad in fine garments, the majority dressed
527 in ordinary clothes. Some exposed the upper part of the body. In the
center three drummers seated themselves. The purchasers stood on the
right side of the fire. They were expected to give valuable presents to the
[837] Soldiers, to feast them and furnish them with tobacco for forty nights, and
every evening they were to offer them their wives. The sellers approached
the lodge amidst singing and drumming, and entered with their regalia.
These consisted of four lances, from 7 to 8 feet long, with an iron head point-
[293] ing downwards. The shaft was wrapped with broad bands of otterskin,
while pairs of otterskin strips were tied to the head and several other points
on the lance. Two of the lances were hooked, the two others were straight.
A fifth emblem consisted of a war club with iron point, which was colored
red and was decorated with several feathers in the back. Further there
were three lances, decorated alternately with black and white feathers, and a
beautifully ornamented bow and quiver. At first, the Soldiers remained
concealed behind the screen, and were merely holding these insignia so that
they projected into the main space of the lodge. After standing in this
position, singing and drumming violently, for a while, they entered, placed
the lances against the wall, and stuck the war club into the ground, near one
of the main pillars. Then they all took seats along the wall. While the
[576] singing and drumming was alternately renewed, the purchasers prepared
their pipes, and handed them to each of the guests in turn, for which act
they stooped, holding the mouthpiece towards the smokers. When the
guests had taken a few puffs, the purchasers did likewise, and then carried
the pipe in regular order, from right to left, to each of the sellers. This
smoking consumed considerable time; each guest, during this part of the
[535] performance, was also presented with a little cake of sweet-corn. After
about half an hour, two of the Soldiers rose and danced towards each other.
One of them seized the war club, and held it stiffly in his left hand, while the
right hung straight down. Bending the upper part of his body forward,
he jumped stiffly into the air with both feet; keeping time with the music.
The other dancer had fine decorations on his head and legs, and the upper
part of his body was likewise exposed. He seized one of the otterskin lances,
which he held, sloping, between his two hands, and both men then danced
or hopped towards each other. After several minutes the second performer
put the lance away, and took a seat, while all the other members gave the
war whoop and gave vent to exclamations of joy, amidst vigorous beating
of the drum. Then there was silence. The man with the war club ad-
dressed the buyers, calling them his "sons," and recounted several of his
martial exploits, whereupon he handed them the war club. One of the

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575 purchasers then called him his "father," stroked his arm downwards with his hand, took the weapon out of his hand, and again put it in its place. ●432 The other dancer followed, recounted some of his deeds, and offered the 527 lance to one of the buyers, who received it in the same manner as his predecessor, and then put it in its place. The periods of intermission were filled with smoking, singing and drumming, but no rattles were used. Two other Soldiers also rose, told of how they had stolen horses, medicine bundles, or other possessions, from the enemy, and gave two more insignia to the purchasers. After this had been done four or five times, the wives of the [837] buyers rose. Four of them divested themselves of their robes, quickly seized the lances, and carried them, one after another, outside the lodge. After a while they brought them in again. This ceremony was repeated twice, the disrobed women stroked the arms of the strangers and fathers, put on their robes, and passed outside. The persons stroked were expected to follow them into the woods. This procedure resembled that of the Hidatsa in their medicine festival.[1]

575 Some time after the purchase Maximilian had occasion to observe the dance of the new Half-Shaved Heads. About twenty of them entered the 535 Fort, threw off their robes so as to expose their gaily colored bodies, and 302 formed a circle. They were elaborately decorated and carried the insignia of the dance, such as the otter-wrapped sticks. One man wore a bonnet with horns and ermine strips; another, mounted on horseback, was decorated with paint symbolizing the blood from wounds. Three Soldiers (= Black Mouths) served as musicians. As soon as the drum was beaten, the dancers protruded the upper part of their bodies, and leaped into the air with both feet, at the same time holding their guns ready for firing. Thus they danced in the circle for about a minute, then hallooed, rested for a while, and resumed their performance. After receiving some tobacco, they dispersed, put on their robes, and went to Ruptare, where they also danced among the Hidatsa.[2] A picture of the dance, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas is shown in Fig. 11.

Black Mouths.

575 The native name of this society is *ī'he psi'here ō'xat'e*, or *numā'k xarā'k* 625 *ō'xat'e*. Maximilian calls the members of this society "Soldiers." They form the third society in his list, but he states that all the higher classes

[1] Maximilian, II, 274–277.
[2] Maximilian II, 286–287.

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might belong to the Soldiers' class, as the police functions devolved on this society. However, it was necessary that all members should agree to sell; a single negative voice put a stop to the negotiations. Some individuals did not immediately consent to sell when requested in order to exact a greater amount of property from the buyers. The Prince enumerates the undertakings in which the Soldiers took an important part: changes of village sites, buffalo hunts, and other communal movements. More particularly, they took care lest anyone should prematurely startle buffalo herds. Anyone shooting a wolf or other animal at such a time was maltreated, even if he happened to be a chief, and deprived of his gun. In the 'thirties even white people living in the vicinity were subjected to the same rules. The Soldiers frequently forbade the cutting of trees near the Fort, and took away the woodcutters' axes. 575 625 [432]

Maximilian says that the Soldiers painted the upper part of the face red, and the lower black. Their whistle was made of a crane wing bone. Two pipes, to be smoked on special occasions, remained in the custody of as many pipe-bearers. A rattle was made from a little tin kettle — apparently the baking-powder cans referred to by my own informants — provided with a handle. Among the insignia there were two long, straight poles wrapped with otterskin and decorated with dependent owl feathers. In war these poles were planted in the ground, and must not be abandoned by their bearers. A corresponding regulation applied to one other pole decorated with raven feathers in the manner described and illustrated by Maximilian in connection with a Blackfoot society.[1] 575 302 293

The following origin tradition was given by Wounded-face.[2] Long ago Good-fur-robe assembled the middle-aged men. To the leader he gave one cornstalk, and to the rear man another. "When the enemy chase you," he instructed them, "plant these in the ground and do not run away." Sometimes a cornstalk has five branches at the top. Later, a stick with a spear head was made to represent the cornstalks; owl wing-feathers were tied to its side, as well as crow or raven wing feathers and a raven head. It was wrapped with otterskin, and strips of skin were made to hang down from several points of the staff to represent leaves of the corn. There were two pipe-bearers and two rattlers, the latter taking places next to the spear-carriers, while the pipe men marched in the center. While dancing, the Black Mouths left their circle open at one side. The order in which they marched was: one spear officer, one rattler, the rank and file, the pipe-bearers, the rank and file, the second rattler, the second spear officer. The Black 575 293

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1 Maximilian, I, 378.
2 Cf. Maximilian's version, referred to on p. 300.

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Badger Society.

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This society was not mentioned by any of my Mandan friends, but was described by Wolf-chief as a Mandan (not an Hidatsa) institution. The members were old and but few in number. They did not dance, but assembled to go into a sweat lodge together, on which occasion they tried to fight like badgers and otherwise imitate these animals. In leaving the sweat lodge they always proceeded backwards. The sweat bath could never get too hot for them. Only those who had sold all other societies took part in these proceedings. Like other groups, however, the Badgers attempted to sell their membership. Some years ago a single Badger remained, and offered to sell his membership rights to my informant, who, however, refused to purchase them.

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not even obtain the name. As his spelling of the words for "fox" and "skunk" is almost identical, I am sure that this similarity in sound misled him. His statement that members were from fifteen to twenty years old fits the facts of the Skunk society fairly well.

The mode of entrance into at least the majority of the organizations was evidently similar to that in the men's organizations, but though purchase of membership was collective, there are indications that sometimes age-mates of the buyers did not participate in the purchase. The Skunk and Gun societies are said by Hides-and-eats to have had no formal adoption whatsoever.

The ceremonial relationship between buyers and sellers has already been explained (see p. 226). Clan aunts became the buyers' mothers. If an Hidatsa buyer could not find a clan aunt in the sellers' group, the latter would appoint some member of another clan to act as aunt and mother for the occasion of the purchase (Buffalo-bird-woman, Hidatsa). When buying the Goose society, Buffalo-bird-woman had an aunt among the sellers, but as she was the sister of my informant's husband and lived in the same lodge, it did not seem proper to buy the membership from her. Sometimes several girls took food to the same clan aunt, who would thus become the mother of several buyers.

That membership meant primarily ownership through purchase seems clear from several statements. Thus, Young-beaver still regards herself both a Cheyenne and a Goose woman, and Hides-and-eats holds both the Goose and the White Buffalo membership, because these informants never sold their membership.

Three of the women's organizations — the River, Goose, and White Buffalo societies — are rather sharply separated from the others by their clearly sacred character and the cleansing ceremony that concludes their performances. The Goose and White Buffalo societies are associated with securing food through magico-religious means. It should be noted, however that in both cases the women acted under the direction of a male singer. Thus, Calf-woman declared that it was the privilege of the Goose women's singers, Wounded-face and Poor-wolf, to tell the tale of the society's origin. The Skunk, Gun, and Enemy Women societies were obviously associated with war. To what extent any of the women's organizations had developed the social factor, is not clear. Rev. Wilson learned that the Skunks occasionally prepared feasts for themselves and their "friends." If members of the other Hidatsa societies were sick and unable to do their own planting they would prepare a feast for their fellow-members, who would come and plant all the sick woman's garden for her.

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Hairy-coat said that the Enemy Women society was originated among the Hidatsa by Itsi'kawā'hiric, the mythical hero. This informant also sang the two following songs as belonging to the society:—

(a)

mī'racē'ruc	batsē'	wakī'rits,	hi'ro	hūts.
I myself	a man	I look for,	here	he comes.

(b)

Màkooxpa',	na'kirac	ī'ru	mi	i'katā`ruc,	hiri'ts
Woman friend,	your husband	fixedly (?)	me	he looks at,	he did it.

na'cirihitō`k?
Will you throw him away?

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Goose Society.

Hides-and eats joined the Goose society (mi'ra i'ke') when she was about 30 years of age. Calf-woman gives the same for the members' average age, though she herself joined at 13, there being two young girls in the organization. Hides-and-eats said there was always *one* young member; in her day it was Calf-woman. The Goose women would cast about for a girl well beloved by her parents, and when they found one tried to make the parents consent to her adoption into the society; thus Calf-woman was adopted, and her parents paid a large amount of property for the privilege. Calf-

Fig. 14 (50.1–4360). Duckskin Head Band of Goose Society. Length, 54 cm.

woman herself said that she had been selected by Bells-look-round, one of the male singers, who also served as musician for the White Buffalo Women society. Calf-woman's father paid a great deal of calico and other property to the society. As a badge Calf-woman, as well as the other young member, received a head band of a duck skin with the bill (see Fig. 14), while the older members all wore narrow head bands of goose skin. The normal method of entering the society was for the entire River Women society to buy in a body the regalia and other appurtenances of the Goose society.

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A mother who had thus surrendered her regalia no longer belonged to the society, her place being taken by her daughter. Hides-and-eats' group was the last to buy the Goose society, for the next lower group never applied for the purchase of the organization, so that Hides-and-eats still retains her headband. Accordingly, she still considers herself a member of the Goose society; she does not consider herself a member of any of the lower societies because she surrendered the privileges of membership to her adoptive children when these acquired membership in the usual way, by purchase.

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Before the great ceremony of the society could be performed it was necessary that someone should have had a dream to that effect. Then the members prepared dried meat. Calf-woman says that in the winter some woman would always get up, saying, "In the spring, when the snow is off the ground, we are going to have a ceremony, we shall have to hang up offerings on posts." Then the necessary preparations were made. When the geese made their first appearance in the spring, meat was suspended from a tripod meat-rack set up on the borders of the village. When everything had been prepared, the members paraded through the village, halting four times on the way to the meat-rack. Each woman carried on her left arm an armful of sage enclosing an ear of corn. Calf-woman used to carry a pipe, as well as some dried meat and fat impaled on a cottontree branch. This pipe and the stick she afterwards placed before one of the singers, who lit the pipe, seized the dried meat, and returned it to Calf-woman. This was done four times. When the procession had arrived at the place of the meat-racks, the members performed one dance. Then there came from the village two representatives from each of the men's societies in their full regalia. These men were the bravest of their organization; they approached the meat, afoot or mounted (according to the nature of their martial exploits) and appropriated the dried meat, in place of which each warrior left one of his best blankets or a horse for the Goose woman who had prepared the food, i. e., the woman who took the initiative in getting up the ceremony. After the performance of the first dance, this woman distributed a great deal of meat to the spectators, who must remain on the west side of the lodge. After each of four dances this distribution took place. After the last dance those who had been newly adopted gave presents to their mothers. Then each new member took up her sage and corn, and raced at a dead run as fast as possible and back again. The woman who got back first would be instructed by the spirits as to the right way of living. The singer to whom Calf-woman offered the pipe and meat then turned his robe so that the hairy side faced outside, tied a red-fox skin round his head, took the pipe to the east, and touched with it whatever dried meat still remained.

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Then this dried meat was appropriated by the mothers. When the runners had come back, they cleansed themselves by brushing themselves with sage. Then all returned to the village. There a sweat lodge was made. After all the women had entered the sweat house, the chief singer also went in, chanted, dipped some sagebrush into water, and sprinkled all the women with it. Next the mothers prepared food, and gave it to their daughters, whereupon a general feast followed.

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While the two middle officers wore the duck-bill head bands, the leader and rear officer wore no distinctive badge. The members on the left side of the lodge painted their faces black between the mouth and chin, while those on the right side used blue paint. The musicians had drums, but no rattles.

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The object of the ceremony was to make the corn grow. The geese and the corn were supposed to be one and the same thing.

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Owl-woman's social career is well-nigh unique in that she never joined any organization until she was of mature age, when she entered the Goose society. She knew of only one other Mandan woman who had not joined other societies. When the River women collectively bought the Goose society, Owl-woman went along and purchased the membership with them. A candidate had to prepare a large quantity of dried beef for her mother, and also presented her with a horse. When receiving the bundle of sage with the corn, the novice paid her adopter another horse. According to Owl-woman, anyone, man, woman, or child, might volunteer to make an offering to the geese, and would then have to prepare the requisite food for the ceremony. The society marched out in regular order towards this person's lodge, the singers going ahead of the rest. The middle officer nearer to the Leader had her face painted blue from the mouth downwards, while her mate used black paint. The members halted and danced four times on the way. In entering, the rear officer went in first. One of the musicians smoked sage for incense near the central fireplace, and all members approached in order to scent their blankets. When all had taken their places, the person who had pledged the ceremony brought in the calico, or other property, to be presented as an offering, and also paid the incense-burner and his fellow-musicians. Then the singers began to sing for the dance. They sang four sets of four songs each, with an intermission between each set. After the dance, one of the singers took a stick, impaled some of the food on it, and offered it to the four quarters, finally throwing it into the fireplace. Before the commencement of the feast, the pledger went to the singers and induced them to utter a prayer in his behalf, asking for prosperity, victory in war, and the other good things of life. He also went about to the several members, and anyone owning personal medicines gave them to

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the pledger. Then the pledger's property and food were distributed among the members, and a general feast followed in conclusion of the ceremony.

Young Beaver said that when she and her comrades bought the Goose society they assembled outside the village and erected a long meat-rack. Along this each member had a place allotted to her, where she could hang up the dried meat and fat prepared by her. Then they called their mothers, and presented them with the food suspended from the rack. In addition, those who could afford it gave their mothers a horse apiece, while the poorer ones made gifts of calico cloth. On receiving these presents each mother put some "black medicine" (a root) into her daughter's mouth. In the fall the members put up a similar rack. One man, the corn-singer had the power — acquired by purchase — of passing along the rack from end to end, touching each portion of meat and singing mystery songs. In the spring or autumn any man or woman might give a feast to the society and otherwise pay them to perform for the benefit of his or her cornfields. On such occasions the host rose and passed from one member to another, and any one that owned some medicine put a little into his mouth, at the same time praying to the Corn in his behalf:—

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"tawi^{n}'hakehak', tē'ha hā'kehara makū'nista. nimā'Mihe
"This is my grandson, long life for me give him. Your blankets
ī'wakise ki'ritkāksō'ore."[1]
I made for you.

The last part of this prayer refers to the custom of piling up all the corn in one place and covering it with calico as an offering to the Corn. Then some boy would run up, strike the calico as though it were an enemy, and snatch it away.

The two or three hand-drums employed by the society were, according to the same informant, painted with representations of goose tracks.

Yellow-hair said that the women who initiated her and her associates into the Goose society were the comrades of the surviving White Buffalo women of today. At the transfer of the membership privileges, which took place, as stated by other informants, close to the meat-rack previously set up, the mothers sang four times. During the intermission between the songs, the food was given to the sellers. The horses to be paid were tied in a near-by coulée. After the fourth time, all the novices rose, and approached their aunts, who were holding sagebrush in their arms. The buyers took the sage and paid calico for it. Then they also received their Goose society head bands. When this performance had been completed, the women went back to the village. On the following day the novices danced from morning

[1] This prayer is in Mandan.

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till evening. The mothers came to the dance ground, and each one called her daughter to her lodge, feasted her, and presented her with a fine tanned robe and a sheepskin dress. Four days were spent in this way, then the new members stopped dancing. According to Yellow-hair, the Goose women were divided into two divisions, the members being distinguished by the use of white and dark head bands respectively, and having seats on opposite sides of the dance lodge. Each of the two young middle officers belonged to one of these divisions. Those wearing white head bands occupied the right-hand side for one entering the lodge, while the women with dark head bands sat on the left. One special officer, Calf-woman, served food to the Corn at every feast. She took a piece of meat and offered it to the Corn, saying, "You, Corn, eat this. I pray to you in order that the members of my society may live long."

M H [782]

In the winter preceding the attempt to purchase the Goose society made by Buffalo-bird-woman's group, Yellow-woman — possibly on account of a vision — desired to prepare a feast for the members of the Goose society. All the other members of her group assisted her by preparing some meat and fat. In the spring, when the geese came back from the east, the women set up a meat-rack. Then the woman whose prospective mother was leader of the Goose women hung up her meat, followed by the other women about to buy the society. Anyone that desired to give her mother a horse pledged herself to do so by fastening a stick to the meat. When the food had all been suspended, the men's societies were heard approaching. The Dogs came, blowing their whistles, and the Foolhardy Dogs, Foxes, and other organizations likewise appeared. The women cheered them in the manner termed *ī'rara'xke*, that is, by repeatedly pronouncing the syllable "la, la, la, la" with a rapid movement of the tongue. Each society appropriated one portion of side-ribs, leaving a blanket in its place. The buyers took pains to hide the best pieces of meat until after the men's societies had departed, in order to reserve them for their mothers. In the meantime the Goose women drummed and danced inside their lodge. The starter of the feast took a pipe and a piece of fat on a cottonwood stick, and ran all alone to the Goose society lodge. Each of the Goose women was holding in her left arm sagebrush about 5 feet long and wrapped round a long stick on which was impaled an ear of corn. The representative of the buyers placed the pipe before the singers. The pipe was smoked and returned, whereupon the delegate returned to the meat-rack. This procedure was repeated several times. All that day the buyers refrained from eating and drinking. The Goose women approached the meat-rack, halting several times and dancing each time. When they arrived at the place where the meat was suspended, they sat down in a circle and placed their sagebrush on the

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ground. The buyers then presented them with portions of cooked meat. Each mother thereupon opened a little bag, took from it one seed of corn or squash, and gave it to her daughter. To distribute these seeds was a privilege of the Goose women. Buffalo-bird-woman and her comrades continued to distribute all the cooked food. In the meantime all the people had come to look at what was going on, but they were obliged to watch from the south and west side, the north and east side of the circle being considered sacred. The spectators also received a seed each. The mothers rose to dance. Only one man in the village, the Corn-singer (kō'xati akupā'+i), was permitted to sing. He wore a foxskin crown, and carried a pipe and a cottonwood stick with fat and leaves on it. He walked off towards the east. Then all the buyers went to their mothers, took the sagebrush out of their hands, and ran, as fast as possible, towards the Corn-singer, went past him, and returned to the Goose women who were performing their dance. This was done four times. The runners kept the sagebrush; for this they made a payment of horses, receiving as a return gift a new suit of clothes. Only Buffalo-bird-woman received a calf robe, with the hair outside, to be worn during the performance and returned after its close. According to my informant, the Hidatsa Goose society, though derived from the Mandan, differed from its prototype in that the members did not wear duck or gooseskin head bands, but merely carried sagebrush in their arms.[1] Towards the close of the ceremony the Corn-singer approached the rack, took off two of the best pieces, ceremonially brushed off all of the portions, and threw down whatever pieces he liked for his female relatives to pick up for him. When he had selected what he wished, the mothers came, appropriated the rest of the meat, and took it home. These proceedings were gone through for three seasons, and the fourth year the Goose society would have been definitely acquired by the buyers under normal conditions, but that year the Government put a stop to all the old dances.

An account of a Goose ceremony by one of the earlier travelers in the West may be appropriately reproduced here, since it is not generally accessible and confirms the statements of my own informants:

> After the corn had all been gathered in, the Mandan and Minnetaree squaws made their Goose Medicine on the level prairie behind the village. This dance is to remind the wild geese, now beginning their southward flight, that they have had plenty of good food all summer, and to entreat their return in the spring, when the rains come and the green grass begins to grow.

[1] Maximilian, who lists the Goose society only as an Hidatsa organization, does not mention birdskin head bands, but merely states that the members wore a feather transversely across the forehead (II, 219).

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 773 539 delighted. He said, "I like this society. I wish to add something to your feather." Then he broke off some (unidentified) grass, and tied it to the feather. In the dance these feathers were meant to shake. Kínumakci said, "I will give you one of my songs." And he gave the man a song quite different from other songs. When Kínumakci had done singing, the visionary told the women whom he had organized

[292]

Fig. 15 (50.1–4329). River Society Head Ornament. Length, 61 cm.

to take their head bands, untie them, smooth them out, and put them down on the ground. The women obeyed, and the head bands turned into snakes and crawled away. From that time on the society was kept up.

575 773 301 Two-chiefs adds to the account as just given that several other beings made contributions to the dance regalia. The eagle feathers were distributed among the original dancers by the Eagle. The Bear gave them his claws to be strung for a necklace. The Mink allowed them to use his skin and claws: the two leaders and the two rear officers were to wear mink-claw necklaces, while the four middle officers were to wear a minkskin necklace, to which were attached bluish shells.[1] The organizer of the society selected four male singers and picked out for membership a number of women ranging in age from twenty to thirty. Calf-woman substitutes the mythical character I'tsi'kawa'herec[2] for Ki'numakci, and the Otter for the Mink.

575 ●432 One day Hides-and-eats was called by her friends to attend a meeting. This was shortly after the time of the smallpox. Very few of the River women had survived the epidemic; all of them had been very old women, about Hides-and-eats' present age. The young women called the survivors, heaped up property before them, and expressed their desire to purchase the [608] society. The older group consented to sell. In this instance the sellers for some obscure reason were not considered the purchasers' mothers. Hides-and-eats and her comrades remained in this society for ten years. Then

[1] Two-chiefs gives twice the number of officers fixed by Hides-and-eats.
[2] This is probably the Hidatsa equivalent for Ki'numakci.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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younger women called them and offered them property. "Then we adopted them and called them our daughters." Sometimes it happened that a single individual wished to join. In such a case she might buy a head band from a father's sister and become an additional member without replacing anyone. This, however, was not the regular way of entering the society. 575 432 [608]

In Hides-and-eats' time, there were two male head-singers, who called in five young men and taught them to sing, for which they received a compensation and were called "fathers" by the young men. From another statement by the same authority it would appear that the five men bought the right of singing and drumming from their predecessors in very much the same way as the young women bought the right to membership. 868 432

The officers of the society included a leader wearing a necklace of bear claws attached to otterskin; a rear officer with the same badge; and two middle officers with a loose-fitting white-shell necklace hanging down a few inches below the neck in front. There was one special member who surrendered to the society her earth-lodge to dance in; in Hides-and-eats' time this member's name was One-corn-seed. Calf-woman, who was one of the officers wearing a shell necklace, kept the dance-lodge, because her parents loved her dearly and never refused her anything. The ceremonial dance lasted four nights, the actual dancing beginning before sunset. The members were expected to remain in the earth-lodge during these four nights.[1] Some women, however, would clandestinely absent themselves and go home. As soon as the other members discovered their absence, they went to the woman's house, and sang outside, "Our friend, get up and come out here again." The drummers beat their drums, and the members, if necessary, seized the truant and brought her back to the dance lodge by force. The close of the performance was marked by a cleansing ceremony. The musicians tied together peppermint (?) stalks, and with these they brushed the members' bodies, from the shoulders down. The object of this was to remove the mysterious (xo'pinic) properties with which the members were endowed while dancing. In Calf-woman's time only one man, Bad-shirt performed this ceremony; he was paid with calico goods and food. Painted-up said the brusher was the singer of the Bird ceremony. The ceremonial cleansing took place only after the performances of the three *sacred* women's societies, that is, the River women, Goose women and White Buffalo women organizations. 575 301 527 535 [783]

Two-chiefs said that during the four nights' performance the head bands were suspended from a rawhide rope passing round the earth-lodge, and 575

[1] That is to say, they were not to sleep with their husbands. But if any member had a little child at home, she might go there to attend to its wants. In this case she was brought back to the lodge before daybreak.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 and turned about. The women also faced about. Then all advanced with
292 a kind of shuffling movement the right and the left foot alternately, without
535 moving from their places. The musicians, who carried drums, remained in the rear. All the women painted their faces and wore feathers in the back of the head in imitation of men. They formed a circle, and danced forward. A few women cut out strips of rawhide, decorated them with beads, and placed them on their heads as though they were horns. This is said to have been in imitation of the Cheyenne women. Some young men used to watch from the roofs of their lodges. Each member selected one of these men to dance with her. After a while his relatives brought calico and other goods for his partner in order to ransom him and absolve him from the necessity of continuing to dance with her.

575 In purchasing the society, the aunts or mothers presented dresses to
432 their nieces or daughters while they received horses in return.

White Buffalo Cow Society.

575 The White Buffalo Cow society (pti'take ō'xat'e) was the highest of the women's societies known to the Mandan and Hidatsa, the Old Women's organization (p. 338) really belonging to another category.

575 Maximilian says that the members painted one eye any color they pleased
[304] (most generally azure) and had black tattoo marks between lips and chin.
527 Their headdress consisted of a broad strip of white buffalo cowhide worn in
292 hussar-cap fashion and topped with a bunch of feathers.[1] In Maximilian's day each Mandan village had its own White Buffalo organization, and he had occasion to observe the performances of both. In the performance of the Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch society, seventeen, for the most part elderly, women and two men with rattles and drums took part; one of the men was holding a gun in his hand. The leader was an elderly woman wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. In her right arm she carried cornucopia-fashion a bundle of twigs, tipped with plumes, with an eagle wing and a tin drinking vessel secured to the grip. Another woman also carried a bundle of this type. The men wore no headdresses. Of the women, two had skunk-skin head bands, the rest wore headdresses of white buffalo skin decorated
[302] in front with owl or raven feathers, which were partly dyed red. All women had the same face paint,— vermilion on the left cheek and eye, with two blue spots on the opposite temple, close to the right eye. The leader was wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. All the others except two, who

[1] Maximilian, II, 145–146.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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I will now present my own field notes concerning this society.

Calf-woman joined the White Buffalo women when she was only two years old. Two years later she began to take part in the performances. Some old women went round the village looking for a female child whose parents loved her dearly and had given away a great deal of property in her honor. They came to Calf-woman's parents, and these consented to have their daughter adopted. Calf-woman's mother gave Brave-woman one pony and several blankets on this occasion. Whenever there was a dance of the society, a member named Berry carried the newly adopted infant on her back. There were about fifty women members, and five men acted as singers. The most important dance, or ceremony, of the society took place once a year, in the winter, on four successive nights. Sometimes the dance was kept up every other night for a month.

In preparation for the great ceremony the Indians of the village gathered an abundance of food and property for the society. Each member had a red line painted on the right side of her face, from temple to eyebrow, and a corresponding line in blue on the opposite side. All wore the buffalo skin caps emblematic of the organization and put on only on this special occasion, and moreover each member wore a buckskin dress and a robe. Three officers were distinguished by wearing their robes hair side out. The leader of this trio had a *white* buffalo skin robe; Calf-woman, who walked in the center, wore the best *calf* skin robe obtainable; and the third officer dorned a *coarse*-haired robe. In approaching the earth-lodge where the ceremony was to be performed, the members halted four times on the way. At each stopping-place they formed a circle and danced in the same way as they were going to do in the lodge. The leader entered the lodge and made a circuit walking to the right (for one entering). A buffalo cow skull had been placed at the foot of the northwestern main pole in the center of the lodge, and *ātūre* was burnt for incense in front of it. A special incense-burner conducted the leader to the skull, letting her stand there so that she might be smoked, and then led her back again to her place. The two other officers mentioned above were similarly treated. North of the door, in a line in front of that joining the two southern center poles, sat the five men singers. As soon as these musicians began to sing, the leader, the middle officer, and the rear officer danced forward to the fireplace, where they met, and then danced in position, facing the fire. After they had returned to their original places, a special song was chanted. This was a signal for the incense-burner to go dancing from member to member and remove their robes. Then the dancing began. Every song and dance was repeated four times. Towards the close of the first night's performance a particular song was intoned, indicating that the paint was to be rubbed off

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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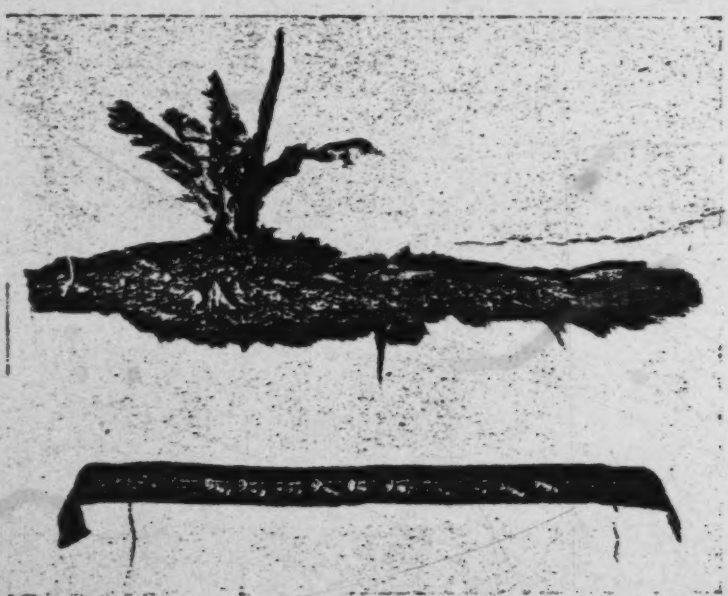
Throughout the ceremony two women whose normal position in the circle was on the right side of the rear officer preserved order in the lodge; the distinctive badge of their office consisted of a skunkskin head band (Fig. 17). 575 626

The object of the ceremony was to lure the buffalo near the fireplace. Once, when the performance took place in a clearing in the woods, one buffalo came directly to the doorway, and was killed on the spot. During the same season a great abundance of buffalo were found in the timber. Apparently, anyone who was desirous of making the buffalo come could take the initiative and ask the society to undertake the performance. 575 789



292

Fig. 17 (50.1–4815, 50.1–4231). Skunkskin Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society and Head Band of Kit-Fox Society. Lengths, 79 cm. and 85 cm.

Any old member could adopt as many new ones as she wished, and was obliged to provide each tyro with a headdress. Calf-woman obtained one of these headdresses at the time of her adoption, though she was only two years of age. She became the middle officer because her adoptive mother gave her the appropriate calfskin robe. The musicians adopted new musicians who were obliged to pay heavily for the songs. Four of them had drums for instruments, while the remaining one used a rattle of buffalo skin. 575 608 4320 [534]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

nations on the Missouri are all in the habit of painting such robes; but the Pawnees, Mandans, 532
Manitaries, and Crows, are the most skilful in this art.* Another mode of painting their robes 532
is, to represent the number of valuable presents they have made. By these presents, which are 431
often of great value, they acquire reputation and respect among their countrymen. On such 554
robes we observed long red figures, with a black circle at the termination, placed close to each 211
other in transverse rows; they represent whips, indicating the number of horses given, because 435
the whip belonging to the horse is always bestowed with the animal. Red or dark blue transverse figures indicate cloth or blankets given; parallel transverse stripes represent fire-arms, the outlines of which are pretty correctly drawn. The robe is frequently cut, at the bottom, into narrow strips, like fringe, and ornamented on the sides with tufts of human hair, and horse-hair dyed yellow and green, and with glass beads. Formerly the Indians painted these robes more care- 432
fully than they now do, and it was possible to obtain one for five musket balls and some powder; now they are far inferior, and eight or ten dollars is not unfrequently paid for them. A robe handsomely painted is equal in value to two not painted.

Their leggins are fastened with straps to their leathern girdles, and are embroidered at the 291
outer seam with stripes, one or two inches in breadth, of porcupine quills, of beautiful various colours, and often with blue and white beads, and long leathern fringes, which form at the ankle a thick bunch, which trails upon the ground. The leather of which their leggins are made is, for the most part, stained of a reddish-brown, or pale red, usually with clay, sometimes white, and often marked below the knee with black transverse stripes. They, as well as all the tribes of North America, use what the English call a breech-cloth (Nokka), which is a narrow strip of woollen cloth, striped black and white, which passes between the thighs under the girdle, before and behind, where it hangs down. Their shoes, which are made of buck skin, or buffalo leather, are generally plain, or very slightly ornamented; but, in full dress, they are embroidered with coloured rosettes, or strips of dyed porcupine quills or beads. Those men who have performed exploits wear, round the ankles, [554]
wolf's tail, or pieces of otter skin, which are lined with red cloth, and trail on the ground. In the summer, when the men are at home, and go about in state, they carry the fan of eagle's feathers in their hands, which we have before described. What the Anglo-Americans call "the crow," which is worn by the warriors of the nations of the Mississippi, and the Lower Missouri, is wholly unknown among the tribes of the Upper Missouri, the Sioux, Assiniboins, Crows, Mandans, Arikkarras, Manitaries, and Blackfeet.

The boys are generally naked, and in winter merely have a robe thrown over them; the 291
girls are dressed in leather in summer as well as winter. The women wear a long leather

* There is a print of such a robe in Major Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, and another in Plate XXI., Fig. 1., of my Atlas. The original was painted by Mato-Topé himself, and the figures on it represent some of his principal exploits, in which he killed, with his own hand, five chiefs of different nations.

304 They have another custom of putting their courage and con-
785 tempt of pain to task by tormenting their flesh in a most atrocious manner. This is done by pinching up a fold of the skin and flesh an inch broad, under which they pass the iron barb of an arrow; they raise stripes in this manner from the back of the hand to the shoulder, and thence to the breast, there joining three or four separate circles of incisions made in the same manner on the lower part of the breast. Some content themselves by raising stripes of different lengths upon their arms and thighs, and forming crescentic cuts on the breast in a very regular manner, one within the other; some with the horns upward, others downward, according to fancy.

304 Most of the women have their faces tattooed in a very savage
9 manner, lines a quarter inch broad passing from the nose to the ear, and down each side of the mouth and chin to the throat. This disfigures them very much; otherwise, some would have tolerably
304 good faces. Some tattooing is done to beautify the face, but at
684 other times it is the disfiguring mark of a fit of jealousy in the husband. [366] When a Mandane's handsome young wife is too lavish of her favors without his consent, he tattoes her face as a punish-
[578] ment. Although it cannot be said that these people are much given
837 to jealousy, still it is absolutely necessary for a woman to have the consent of her husband to cohabit with a stranger, whether he is white or one of their own people. But I observed during my stay that this consent is not so very necessary in regard to the inhabitants of the same village, as every morning early there were examples to be seen in their plantations of their loose way of living. Many
[164] of our servants who frequent these parts to trade in the winter, and who have too intimate connections with the fair sex, are attacked by a painful and loathsome disorder, which commonly appears in the groin, where it forms abscesses and, if neglected, will soon prove dangerous.

574 [401] At three o'clock we were all safely lodged in Black Cat's
609 hut, whom we found as usual very civil and complaisant, although he plainly saw we had nothing to pay him for his trouble. This man is one of the best Indians we met on the Missourie. We found
[432] what articles we had left in his charge all in good order, and carefully hung up to keep them from the mice. He even gave me his best horse upon credit; payment to be sent this fall by any opportunity. This was considered an extraordinary circumstance for a Mandane. He gave us several instances of his good nature and generosity while we were packing; every assistance in his power he gave us, without

[p. 384 (H)]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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sunflowers. Many women and children were already employed in clearing and hoeing their plantations . . . . On each side were pleasant cultivated spots some of which stretched up the rising ground on our left, whilst on our right they ran nearly to the Missouri."

The Mandans used to raise enormous quantities of produce from these crudely tilled plots, and the most of it was stored away in the caches. Each of these caches would hold from twenty to forty bushels of corn and beans, and the number of them was very large. Maximilian says that there was often from five hundred to eight hundred bushels of corn, alone, in the village. In view of his other statements this seems a very moderate estimate. The supply was large enough so that it was not only eaten by the people, but in the winter was sometimes fed to the horses.[1] Lewis and Clarke speak several times of buying corn of the Indians in lots of thirty bushels or more.

The methods of cultivation among the Mandans, though crude, were still above the most primitive types of tilling. The work in the fields was begun in May. Little trenches were made in rows, the grain was put in these and covered. During the summer the soil about the plants was dug up from three to four times. The harvest usually came in October and for that work every member of the village lent a hand, this being one of the few times when the men took any part in the domestic work. Between the rows of corn, rows of sunflowers were usually planted. The only noticeable feature in this description is the fact that the garden plots were cultivated and cared for during the summer, when most of the semi-agricultural tribes lower down the Missouri were absent on long hunting excursions.

The latitude of the Mandan villages required very hardy and quick-ripening vegetables; and we find that the Mandans had perfected a number of plants suited to the cold and dry climate of the region. The crops were often poor because of drought or early frost, but they never failed entirely.[2] The main products were corn, beans, squashes, sunflowers and tobacco. These were all grown when Verendrye visited them, and were

[1] Op. cit., p. 380. [2] Ibid., p. 347.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

near the top of hills or on benchlands adjacent to the streams (see Figs. 25–27). Of the total area claimed by these two tribes, only a small part of the entire territory was suitable for trapping, and that was confined to narrow sections of river country (see Fig. 28).

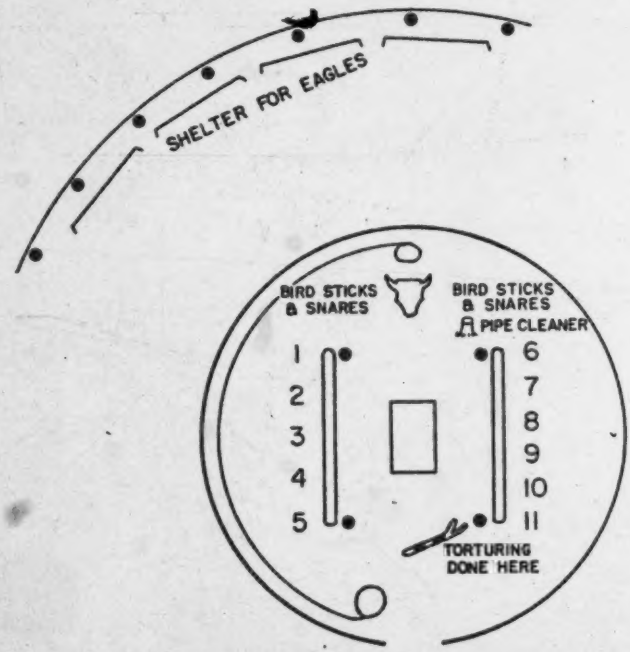

FIG. 25.—Plan of eagle-trapping lodge. *1*, Wolf Eyes—leader (Maxoxati-H); *2*, Big Walker—assistant leader (Tamisik-M); *3*, Little Crow (Low Hat); *4*, Lance-owner (3 clan); *5*, White Body (Maxoxati); *6*, Holding Eagle—Crack Shot (Prairie Chicken); *7*, Little Bull (Knife); *8*, Black Bear (Knife); *9*, Sitting Woman (Prairie Chicken); *10*, Bears Arm (Knife); *11*, Louie Wolf—waiter (Water-buster).

Historic accounts of these two tribes give little information on eagle-trapping, but there are frequent references to their value in trade. The standard price of a good horse was three war bonnets containing a total of one hundred and eight black-tipped feathers, which would be the feathers from nine birds.

Archeological evidence verifies native tradition of the great antiquity of eagle-trapping. In the rough country west of the Missouri River there are thousands of depressions marking the sites of former pits. These pits vary from sharply rectangular

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

When, however, they are full dressed, they put a variety of feathers in their hair, frequently a 302
semicircle of feathers of birds of prey, like radii, or sunbeams, or a bunch of the tail feathers of 301
the raven placed in a similar manner. Sometimes they have a thick tuft of owl's feathers, or small rosettes made of broad raven's feathers, cut short, in the centre of which is the tail of a bird of prey spread out like a fan. These feather ornaments are frequently determined according to the several bands or unions, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They likewise wear the large horned feather cap; this is a cap consisting of strips of white ermine, with pieces of red cloth hanging down behind as far as the calves of the legs, to which is attached an upright row of black and white eagle's feathers, beginning at the head and reaching to the whole length. Only distinguished warriors, who have performed many exploits, may wear this head-dress (See [554]
Plate XIII., which is the best representation hitherto given of it).

If they give away one or more of these head-dresses, which they estimate very highly, they 554
are immediately considered men of great importance; the regular price of such a cap is a good 302
horse; for a single eagle's feather is always valued at one or two dollars. On their buffalo robes 301
they often represent this feather cap, under the image of a sun. Very celebrated and eminent [431]
warriors, when most highly decorated, wear in their hair various pieces of wood, as signals of their [495]
wounds and heroic deeds. Thus Mato-Topé (see his portrait, Plate XIV.) had fastened transversely in his hair a wooden knife, painted red, and about the length of a hand, because he had killed a Chayenne chief with his knife; then six wooden sticks, painted red, blue, and yellow, with a brass nail at one end, indicating so many musket wounds which he had received. For an arrow wound, he fastened in his hair the wing feather of a wild turkey; at the back of his head he wore a large bunch of owl's feathers, dyed yellow, with red tips, as the badge of the Menis- [561]
Ochata (the dog band).[1] The half of his face was painted red, and the other yellow; his body was painted reddish-brown, with narrow stripes, which were produced by taking off the colour with the tip of the finger wetted. On his arms, from the shoulder downwards, he had seventeen yellow stripes, which indicated his warlike deeds, and on his breast the figure of a hand, of a yellow colour, as a sign that he had captured some prisoners. A warrior so adorned takes more time for his toilette than the most elegant Parisian belle. The colour with which they paint their bodies is mixed with grease. When in mourning they colour the face and hands white. The [765]
women and children paint only their faces red, leaving the hair its natural colour. The Mandans and Manitaries, and all the Indians of the Upper Missouri, often wear the handsome necklace made of the claws of the grizzly bear. These claws are very large in the spring, frequently three inches long, and the points are tinged of a white colour, which is much esteemed; only the claws of the fore feet are used for necklaces, which are fastened to a strip of otter skin, lined with red 301
cloth, and embroidered with glass beads, which hangs down the back like a long tail. Such a 000

[1] [This is one of the age-grade societies of the men. See also Cat. 116, pp. 355-56. --Analyst]

Such a
301 necklace is seldom to be had for less than twelve dollars; and very often the owners of them will
[435] not part with them on any terms. The Mandans adorn themselves with many other kinds of
necklaces, such as strings of glass beads, scented roots, or fungi, elks' teeth, for 100 or 150 of
291 which they will, in exchange, give a horse, or something equivalent. These Indians generally
302 wear no covering on the upper part of the body; the leather shirt of the Assiniboins, Sioux,
301 Crows, Blackfeet, and other nations that live more to the north and north-west, are seldom used
among them; yet a few individuals have obtained them from those Indians, either as presents,
or by barter. Even in the midst of winter, the Mandans wear nothing on the upper part of the
body, under their buffalo robe. They paint their bodies of a reddish-brown colour, on some
occasions with white clay; and frequently draw red or black figures on their arms. The face is,
for the most part, painted all over with vermilion, or yellow, in which latter case the circum-
ference of the eyes and the chin are red. There are, however, no set rules for painting, and it
depends on the taste of the Indian dandy; yet, still, a general similarity is observed. The bands,
in their dances, and also after battles, and when they have performed some exploit, follow the
established rule. In ordinary festivals, and dances, and whenever they wish to look particularly
fine, the young men paint themselves in every variety of way, and each endeavours to find out
some new mode. Should he find another dandy painted just like himself, he immediately retires
[554] and makes a change in the pattern, which may happen three or four times during the festival. If
they have performed an exploit, the entire face is painted jet black. Sometimes, though seldom,
the Mandans adorn the wrist and upper arm with polished steel bracelets, which they obtain from
the merchants; often they wear many brass rings on their fingers, and are, on the whole, exces-
sively fond of ornaments and finery. The chief article of their dress is the ample buffalo robe,
called mahita, or mih-sha, which is often very elaborate and valuable. In dry weather these
buffalo robes are worn with the hair inwards, and in rainy weather with the hairy side outwards.
They are tanned on the fleshy side, and painted either white or reddish-brown, and ornamented
with a transverse band of blue or white glass beads, and three large rosettes of the same beads,
often of very tasteful patterns, at regular intervals. The centre is frequently red, surrounded
with sky blue, embroidered with white figures, or sometimes the reverse. The transverse band
is worked with variously dyed porcupine quills, and is then narrower. This, however, is
now old-fashioned, and was worn before the coloured glass beads were obtained in such numbers
532 from the Whites. Other robes are painted with a reddish-brown ground, and black figures, espe-
cially of animals; others have a white ground, with representations of their heroic deeds in black,
or in gay colours, with the wounds they received, the loss of blood, the killed, the prisoners, the
arms they have taken, the horses stolen (the number of which is indicated by the number of horse-
shoes), in black, red, green, or yellow figures, executed in their yet rude style of painting. The

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

nations on the Missouri are all in the habit of painting such robes; but the Pawnees, Mandans, 532
Manitaries, and Crows, are the most skilful in this art.* Another mode of painting their robes 532
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often of great value, they acquire reputation and respect among their countrymen. On such 554
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other in transverse rows; they represent whips, indicating the number of horses given, because 435
the whip belonging to the horse is always bestowed with the animal. Red or dark blue transverse figures indicate cloth or blankets given; parallel transverse stripes represent fire-arms, the outlines of which are pretty correctly drawn. The robe is frequently cut, at the bottom, into narrow strips, like fringe, and ornamented on the sides with tufts of human hair, and horse-hair dyed yellow and green, and with glass beads. Formerly the Indians painted these robes more care- 432
fully than they now do, and it was possible to obtain one for five musket balls and some powder; now they are far inferior, and eight or ten dollars is not unfrequently paid for them. A robe handsomely painted is equal in value to two not painted.

Their leggins are fastened with straps to their leathern girdles, and are embroidered at the 291
outer seam with stripes, one or two inches in breadth, of porcupine quills, of beautiful various colours, and often with blue and white beads, and long leathern fringes, which form at the ankle a thick bunch, which trails upon the ground. The leather of which their leggins are made is, for the most part, stained of a reddish-brown, or pale red, usually with clay, sometimes white, and often marked below the knee with black transverse stripes. They, as well as all the tribes of North America, use what the English call a breech-cloth (Nokka), which is a narrow strip of woollen cloth, striped black and white, which passes between the thighs under the girdle, before and behind, where it hangs down. Their shoes, which are made of buck skin, or buffalo leather, are generally plain, or very slightly ornamented; but, in full dress, they are embroidered with coloured rosettes, or strips of dyed porcupine quills or beads. Those men who have performed exploits wear, round the ankles, [554]
wolf's tail, or pieces of otter skin, which are lined with red cloth, and trail on the ground. In the summer, when the men are at home, and go about in state, they carry the fan of eagle's feathers in their hands, which we have before described. What the Anglo-Americans call "the crow," which is worn by the warriors of the nations of the Mississippi, and the Lower Missouri, is wholly unknown among the tribes of the Upper Missouri, the Sioux, Assiniboins, Crows, Mandans, Arikkaras, Manitaries, and Blackfeet.

The boys are generally naked, and in winter merely have a robe thrown over them; the 291
girls are dressed in leather in summer as well as winter. The women wear a long leather

* There is a print of such a robe in Major Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, and another in Plate XXI., Fig. 1., of my Atlas. The original was painted by Mato-Topé himself, and the figures on it represent some of his principal exploits, in which he killed, with his own hand, five chiefs of different nations.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Or, on the contrary: "The chain begins to rust," &c. &c. Though these people often manifest great energy of character, many have committed suicide on account of disappointments in love, or of wounded honour, of which Dr. Morse relates a remarkable instance, where an Indian killed himself because he was reproached with cowardice, after his mother had suffered death for him. Many travellers speak of the extraordinary memory of the Indians; several of them relate the entire history of their people in a continuous narrative.

The Mandans and Manitaries are proud, and have a high sense of honour. If a person expresses a wish to possess some article belonging to them, he generally receives it as a present, but a present of equal, or greater value, is always looked for in return. They estimate all their effects at a very high rate, ascribing to them an imaginary and far too great value; and a trifling thing is often paid for with one or two horses. Among the articles of great value is the skin of a white buffalo cow. Fifteen florins are paid for a small ermine skin; whereas, a wolf's skin may be purchased for a small quantity of tobacco. One or two horses are frequently given for a feather cap; a horse for 100 or 150 elks' teeth, or for a handful of dentalium shells. The men are much given to indolence, when they cannot pursue their chief avocations, hunting and war. In general, the Mandans and Manitaries are not dangerous, and, though there are many rude and savage men among them, they are, on the whole, well-disposed towards the Whites: the former, especially, manifest this, and have many good and trustworthy men among them. Some of them are addicted to thieving, especially the women and children; and it is said, that many of the Manitaries, when they meet the Whites in the prairie, though they do not kill them, as they used to do, generally plunder them.

They have always free access to the forts of the trading companies; and, as at Fort Clarke, there was no separate apartment for the Indians, we were molested by them, during the whole day, in every room; nay, they often took the place of the owners, which, during the severe cold in the winter time, was quite intolerable, as they stood in front of the fire, with their large buffalo robes, and kept the warmth from coming into the apartment. They require to be always regaled, which is generally done, and it was estimated that in one year they smoked 200 lbs. of tobacco at the expense of the Company. A few among them, indeed, manifested a much greater delicacy of feeling than the mass of them, and left the dining-room when the dinner-hour approached; but only a very small proportion possessed this correct sense of propriety, for the others generally came just at our dinner time; it is true they had but little meat in the winter season, and fared but badly. Disputes and quarrels are very rare among them; but duels are frequent; and revenge for blood is still exercised.

Many of them are particularly cleanly in their persons, and bathe daily, both in winter and summer; their hands, however, are often smeared with colours and fat, nay, sometimes the whole body is bedaubed. The women are, in general, less cleanly, particularly their hands,

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote. One of their
771 chiefs never smoked out of a stone pipe, but always used a wooden one. Mato-Topé never
778 partook of other people's tobacco, but always smoked by himself, with the doors shut. They
276 do not willingly show their medicines or amulets, which are usually kept wrapped up in a bundle or bag, and never opened except on important occasions. They have particular medicine pipes, or, as the English call them, medicine stems, which are uncovered and used for smoking only on solemn occasions. Many make such pipes according to their own taste; such, for instance, was the pipe of Dipauch (Plate XXI. fig. 3). The bowl was nearly in the form of a Turkish pipe, and was made of brownish-red clay; the tube, which was rather short and thick, represented the lord of life in human form, but which it required some stretch of the imagination to discover. The nation preserves a celebrated pipe of this kind as a sacred relic, which no stranger is permitted to see. It has been in their possession since remote ages, and they offered to show it to me
435 for the value of 100 dollars. The Indians cannot obtain such pipes but at a considerable expense:
439 many of the necessary ornaments are not to be procured among them, such as the upper bill and the red crown of a species of woodpecker (*Picus pileatus*, Linn.), a bird which is not found so high up the Missouri. For the head of one of these woodpeckers, which was brought from
597 St. Louis, they gave a large handsome buffalo robe, worth six or eight dollars. If a man pos-
796 sesses such a pipe, he sometimes conceives the idea of adopting a medicine son. The young man
171 whom he is to choose appears to him in a dream; it is, however, requisite that he should be of a good family, or have performed some exploit. He acquaints him with his intention, and, after having provided two similar medicine pipes, he asks his newly-adopted son, whether he is ready to undergo the ceremony of the pipes? The latter frequently answers in the affirmative, and the time for the ceremony is fixed: but, if he has not yet made up his mind, it is deferred. The adoptive father then chooses two young men, who practise the medicine dance together, with the two pipes in their hands. The father often dances, in the morning, on the roof of his hut, and instructs these two young men. When the time arrives, and the adopted son is ready for the ceremony, the father, with all his relations, and the two young dancers, repairs to the hut of his newly-chosen son, and brings him a present of maize, cloth, blankets, kettles, and other valuable articles. The father takes his son by the hand and makes him sit down, after which the company dance round him, with the two pipes; they sing, accompanied by the drum and schischikué, the two young dancers keeping time to the music with their pipes. When the ceremony is over, and the presents laid in one or two heaps, the relations of the medicine son bring horses, cloth, blankets, and other things of value, which the two parties reciprocally divide between them. The father then again takes his son by the hand, makes him rise from his seat, and dresses him in new clothes from head to foot, and likewise paints his face according to his fancy. The dress and pipe are henceforth his property, and he is considered as a real son, who must support and defend his father.

6· Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 nose, hoofs, and tail. The value of ten to fifteen horses is given for it. A certain Mandan gave
281 ten horses, a gun, some kettles, and other articles, for such a hide. The white hide of a bull or
[435] of an old cow is by no means so valuable. The white hide of a young cow suffices for all the daughters of a family. They do not wear it as a robe, like the Manitaries, or, at the utmost, the wife, or one of the daughters of the family, wears it once at some great festival, but never a second
796 time. The Mandans have particular ceremonies at the dedication of the hide. As soon as they have obtained it they engage an eminent medicine man, who must throw it over him; he then walks round the village in the apparent direction of the sun's course, and sings a medicine song. When the owner, after collecting articles of value for three or four years, desires to offer his treasure to the lord of life, or to the first man, he rolls it up, after adding some wormwood or a head of maize, and the skin then remains suspended on a high pole till it rots away. At the time of my visit there was such an offering at Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, near the stages for the dead without the village. Sometimes, when the ceremony of dedication is finished, the hide is cut into small strips, and the members of the family wear parts of it tied over the head, or across the
554 forehead, when they are in full dress. If a Mandan kills a young white buffalo cow, it is
224 accounted to him as more than an exploit, or having killed an enemy. He does not cut up the animal himself, but employs another man, to whom he gives a horse for his trouble. He alone who has killed such an animal is allowed to wear a narrow strip of the skin in his ears. The whole robe is not ornamented, being esteemed superior to any other dress, however fine. The
[435] traders have, sometimes, sold such hides to the Indians, who gave them as many as sixty other
[136] robes in exchange. Buffalo skins with white spots are likewise highly valued by the Mandans; but there is a race of these animals with very soft silky hair, which has a beautiful gold lustre when in the sunshine: these are, likewise, highly prized, and sold for ten or fifteen dollars, and,
778 sometimes, for the value of a horse. Besides the white buffalo skins which are offered in sacrifice and hung on poles, there are, in the vicinity of the villages of the Mandans and Manitaries, other strange figures on high poles, as represented in Plate XXV. These figures are composed of skin, grass, and twigs, which, it seems, represent the sun and moon, perhaps, also, the lord of life, and the first man. The Indians resort to them when they wish to petition for anything, and sometimes howl and lament for days and weeks together.

796 The Mandans have several medicine festivals, of which the Okippe, or the penitential ceremony of the ark, is by far the most remarkable. It is celebrated in the spring or summer, and I regret to say that I cannot describe it as an eye-witness. I am, however, enabled to give a circumstantial description of it, word for word, as it was communicated to me by men initiated in the mysteries of the nation.*

* The author refers to a letter on this subject, written by Mr. Catlin, and published in a New York paper; but this is by no means so complete as that given in his valuable work published last year.—*Translator's Note.*

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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with porcupine quills—over their shoulders (or in other words, over one shoulder and passing under the other), they very gracefully wear a robe from the young buffalo's back, oftentimes cut down to about half its original size, to make it handy and easy for use. Many of these are also fringed on one side with scalp-locks; and the flesh side of the skin curiously ornamented with pictured representations of the creditable events and battles of their lives. 291

Their head-dresses are of various sorts, and many of them exceedingly picturesque and handsome; generally made of war-eagles' or ravens quills and ermine. These are the most costly part of an Indian's dress in all this country, owing to the difficulty of procuring the quills and the fur. The war-eagle being the "*rara avis*," and the ermine the rarest animal that is found in the country. The tail of a war-eagle in this village, provided it is a perfect one, containing some six or eight quills, which are denominated first-rate plumes, and suitable to arrange in a head-dress, will purchase a tolerable good horse (horses, however, are much cheaper here than they are in most other countries). I have had abundant opportunities of learning the great value which these people sometimes attach to such articles of dress and ornament, as I have been purchasing a great many, which I intend to exhibit in my Gallery of Indian Paintings, that the world may examine them for themselves, and thereby be enabled to judge of the fidelity of my works, and the ingenuity of Indian manufactures. 292 435

In these purchases I have often been surprised at the prices demanded by them; and perhaps I could not recite a better instance of the kind, than one which occurred here a few days since:—One of the chiefs, whom I had painted at full length, in a beautiful costume, with head-dress of war-eagles' quills and ermine, extending quite down to his feet; and whom I was soliciting for the purchase of his dress complete, was willing to sell to me all but the head-dress; saying, that "he could not part with that, as he would never be able to get quills and ermine of so good a quality to make another like it." I agreed with him, however, for the rest of the dress, and importuned him, from day to day, for the head-dress, until he at length replied, that, if I must have it, he must have two horses for it; the bargain was instantly struck—the horses were procured of the Traders at twenty-five dollars each, and the head-dress secured for my Collection.

There is occasionally, a chief or a warrior of so extraordinary renown, that he is allowed to wear horns on his head-dress, which give to his aspect a strange and majestic effect. These are made of about a third part of the horn of a buffalo bull; the horn having been split from end to end, and a third part of it taken and shaved thin and light, and highly polished. These are attached to the top of the head-dress on each side, in the same place that they rise and stand on the head of a buffalo; rising out of a mat 292

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 are made like tombs, surrounded by skins. These men are always
513 naked, covered only with a buffalo robe. * * * * Their fort
251 is full of caves, in which are stored such articles as grain, food,
436 fat, dressed robes and bear skins. They are well supplied with
these; it is the money of the country. The more they have of it
304 the richer they believe themselves to be. They are fond of tattooing, but never more than half of the body is tattoed, both of
285 men and women. They make wicker work very neatly, flat and in baskets.

Pottery. "They make use of earthen pots, which they use like
323 many other nations for cooking their food. They are for the most
261 part great eaters; are eager for feasts. They brought me every day more than twenty dishes of wheat, beans and pumpkins, all cooked. Mr. de la Marque, who did not hate feasts, went to them continually with my children. As I did not go to them my share
141 was sent to me. The men are stout and tall, generally very active, fairly good looking, with a good physiognomy. The women have not the Indian physiognomy. The men indulge in a sort of ball
526 play on the squares and ramparts.

000 "On the evening of the 4th the Sieur Nolant and my son arrived, well satisfied with their journey, having been well received and strongly urged to remain longer. The fort is on the bank of the river, as large again as this; the squares and streets are very fine and clean; their palisade is in the best order and strength; the whole built in the same fashion as the one in which we were. From what they could hear all their forts are alike; who saw one saw all, with this difference, that some were much larger than others. The nearest to the Pananas that the river appeared to go was, according to the compass, southwest by south, by signs given to them; the lower part may go to the sea to the southwest by west. They were often amused by broken talk; not being able to answer questions put to them, they answered something else, for want of understanding. The waters of their rivers come down with great rapidity, having many shoals. The water is not good for drinking, being brakish. We have constantly found from the last mountain almost all the marshes and ponds brakish or sulphurous. What they could understand was that on the lower part of the river there were men like us, who made cloth and linen, were very numerous and had wars with a large part of the Indians. We saw that it was useless to question them, as they

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

cloudy with some snow. About seventy lodges of Assiniboines and some Knistenaux are at the Mandan village, and this being the day of adoption and exchange of property between them all, it is accompanied by a dance, which prevents our seeing more than two Indians today. These Knistenaux are a band of Chippeways whose language they speak. They live on the Assiniboine and Saskashawan rivers, and are about two hundred and forty men." (id 173)

Hostilities With Assiniboines and Knistenauxs. "Sunday, November 18. Today we had a cold windy morning. The Black Cat came to see us, and occupied us for a long time with questions on the usages of our country. He mentioned that a council had been held yesterday to deliberate on the state of their affairs. It seemed that not long ago, a party of Sioux fell in with some horses belonging to the Minnetarees, and carried them off; but in their flight they were met by some of the Assiniboines, who killed the Sioux and kept the horses. A Frenchman, too, who had lived many years among the Mandans, was lately killed on his route to the British factory on the Assiniboine. Some smaller differences existed between the two nations, all of which being discussed, the council decided that they would not resent the recent insults from the Assiniboines and Knistenaux, until they had seen whether we had deceived them or not in our promises of furnishing them with arms and ammunition. They had been disappointed in their hopes of receiving them from Mr. Evans, and were afraid that we too, like him, might tell them what was not true. We advised them to continue at peace, that supplies of every kind would no doubt arrive for them, but that time was necessary to organize the trade. The fact is, that the Assiniboines treat the Mandans as the Sioux do the Ricaras; by their vicinity to the British they get all the supplies, which they withhold or give at pleasure to the remoter Indians. The consequence is, that however badly treated, the Mandans and Ricaras are very slow to retaliate, lest they should lose their trade altogether." (id 175.)

Fort Mandan. "Tuesday, 20th. We this day moved into our huts, which are now completed. This place, which we call Ft. Mandan, is situated in a point of low ground, on the north side of the Missouri, covered with tall and heavy cottonwood. The works consist of two rows of huts or sheds, forming an angle

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

524 observe the Indians at the village engaged out in the open air, at a game which resembled billiards more than anything we had seen, and which we are inclined to suspect may have been acquired by ancient intercourse with the French of Canada. From the first to the second chief's lodge, a distance of about fifty yards, was covered with timber, smoothed and joined so as to be as level as the floor of one of our houses, with a battery at the end to stop the rings; these rings were of clay-stone, and flat like the chequers for drafts, and the sticks were about four feet long, with two short pieces at one end in the form of a mace, so fixed, that the whole will slide along the board. Two men fix themselves at one end, each provided with a stick, and one of them with a ring; they then run along the board, and about half way slide the sticks after the ring." (id 196.)

•437 "Saturday, 22nd. A number of squaws and men dressed like squaws brought corn to trade for small articles with the men. Among other things we procured two horns of the animal called by the French, the Rock mountain sheep, and known to the Mandans by the name of ahsahta. The animal itself is about the size of a small elk or large deer; the horn winding like those of a ram, which they resemble also in texture, though larger and thicker."

Mandan Food. "Sunday, 23rd. The weather was fine and warm like that of yesterday. We were again visited by crowds of Indians of all descriptions, who came either to trade, or from mere curiosity. Among the rest Kogahami, the Little Raven, 252 brought his wife and son loaded with corn, and she then entertained us with a favorite Mandan dish, a mixture of pumpkins, beans, corn and chokecherries with the stones, all boiled together in a kettle, and forming a composition by no means unpalatable." (id 197.)

000 **Christmas.** "Tuesday, 25th. We were awakened before day by a discharge of three platoons from the party. We had told the Indians not to visit us, as it was one of our great medicine days; so that the men remained at home and amused themselves in various ways, particularly with dancing, in which they take great pleasure. The American flag was hoisted for the first time in the fort; the best provisions we had were brought out, and this, with a little brandy, enabled them to pass the day in great festivity." (id 198.)

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

seen the Snake Indians, and discovered whether their intentions were pacific." (id 212.) 721

"Friday, February 1st. A cold windy day; our hunters returned having killed only deer. One of the Minnetaree war chiefs, a young man named Maubuksheahokeah or Seeing Snake, came to us, and procured a war hatchet; he also requested that we would suffer him to go to war against the Sioux and Ricaras who had killed a Mandan some time ago; this we refused for reasons which we explained to him. He acknowledged that we were right, and promised to open his ears to our counsels." (id 215.)

Battle-Axe. "Tuesday, 5th. A pleasant fair morning with the wind from the northwest; a number of the Indians came with corn for the blacksmith, who being now provided with coal, has become one of our greatest resources for procuring grain. They seem particularly attached to a battle-axe, of a very inconvenient figure; it is made wholly of iron, the blade extremely thin, and from seven to nine inches long. It is sharp at the point and five or six inches on each side, whence they converge towards the eye, which is circular and about an inch in diameter, the blade itself being not more than a inch wide, the handle is straight, and twelve to fifteen inches long; the whole weighing about a pound. By way of ornament, the blade is perforated with several circular holes. The length of the blade compared with the shortness of the handle, renders it a weapon of very little strength, particularly as it is always used on horseback; there is still, however, another form which is even worse, the same sort of handle being fixed to a blade resembling an espontoon."[8] (id 216.) 411

Sheet-Iron Arrow Points. "Wednesday, February 6th. The morning was fair and pleasant, the wind northwest. A number of Indian chiefs visited us, and withdrew after we had smoked with them, contrary to their customs, for after being once introduced into our apartments, they are fond of lounging about during the remainder of the day. One of the men killed three antelopes. Our blacksmith has his time completely occupied, so great is the demand for utensils of different kinds. The Indians are particularly fond of sheet iron, out of which they form points for arrows and instruments for scraping hides, and when the blacksmith cut up an old camboose[7] of that metal, we obtained for every piece of four inches square, seven or eight gallons of corn from the Indians, who were delighted at the exchange." (id 216.) 437 [411]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

In most instances, the unit of extension is the clan, but these relationships are based on individual relations and groups. This point will be further developed in the analysis of the ceremonial structure. 601 614

The following behavioristic pattern prevailing between relatives will illustrate this point. For any individual the total number of relationships into which he entered largely determines his "social personality." The most basic of these are between the members of the elementary family, the parents and the children, but in Mandan society this is frequently modified by the presence of old women of the lodge who occupy a virtual second-mother position. An elementary family consisting of parents and children rarely occupied a lodge to the exclusion of all other relatives. There are eight possible combinations of relatives within an elementary family with a general pattern of behavior existing between each pair. They are: 592 593

Mother–daughter (*na'E'–mi'nuhą'kE*).—An intimate bond of love and affection existed between a mother and her daughter. Not a single instance of quarreling or serious difference was remembered by the Mandan informants, nor were there disputes over property held in common. They worked together in the gardens or performed domestic tasks in the lodge and were very intimate in their daily relations. She taught the child to grind corn and cure meat, to make baskets and clay pots, to dress hides, to color porcupine quills for decorating clothing, and to care for her own personal effects. She taught her daughter to make a small payment, a small colored bead or a few kernels of corn, for each little skill taught her, thus establishing at an early age a significant behavioristic pattern of paying those who taught her a new skill, a myth or song, or who received her into a rite or dance. Usually there were other women in the lodge whom she addressed as "Mother," and, if one of these had no daughter of her own, she would take over or adopt a daughter from the lodge unit for especial affection and care. Frequently the father's older sister, if she had no one to care for her, would come to the lodge to live when the lodge was one that had been erected or owned in the father's line and the mother had come here to live when marrying because the father was needed to care for his relatives who were old. She was called "daughter" 593 868 592 [437] 592 593 604

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

581 village, and that they endeavored by selective marriages to keep
778 the bundles and the associated ceremonies within their group.
796

The Mandan taught their children that they should marry
584 by the same method as their parents married. An analysis of the various methods of marrying will illustrate the signifieance of this Mandan rule.

The method used by the most distinguished families was
584 known as "choosing a son-in-law and buying him a sacred bun-
• 431 dle." The parents of a young woman who had reached the age
778 when she should marry selected a young man who had a good
583 reputation as a warrior and hunter and whose family owned an important ceremonial bundle. They would buy a white buffalo robe from some of the hunters or trade corn and horses for it with one of the many tribes that came to the village each fall. These robes were highly valued and would cost a family a high price in horses, garden products, and robes. Having secured one of these robes, they discussed the proposed marriage with the oldest daughter and secured her consent. It was important to get the daughter's consent, since, should she refuse after the marriage arrangements were instituted and run away, the village would learn of it and speculate as to the causes for her action. A daughter was expected to obey her parents and forget any other young men she had been seeing.

584 The young man was invited in by the girl's father, and an
431 offer of marriage to the daughter was suggested. A robe was
778 put down, and he was asked to sit on it with the young woman. The white buffalo robe was put over their shoulders, and they were given food prepared by the girl's mother. If the girl had younger sisters, they sat with him and became his wives when they were grown. The girl's brothers brought their new brother-in-law horses. As soon as the food had been eaten, he walked out and onto the top of his father-in-law's lodge, where he addressed his father's sacred bundle, announcing that the white robe was offered to his father's gods. His father's sister would come to the lodge when hearing him make this announcement and take the robe down to care for it until he performed the ceremony.

585 Having made the vow to perform the rites, he began collect-
431, ing robes and other property and was assisted by his wife and
778

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

This account of a summer buffalo hunt illustrates the position of an individual in his relations to the remainder of the village. As a young man first assisting in a summer buffalo hunt he received his training from those older and more experienced; he advanced by degrees, and his responsibilities increased until, as leader of the village when on the hunt, he was responsible for the well-being of the entire village group of which he was a part. It will be shown in the pages that follow that whereas an individual would, in one situation be the leader over his entire village, in other situations he would be a follower and others would be responsible for the group's success. 554

Men specialized in certain activities. Whereas some were leaders of buffalo hunts, fish-trapping, war expeditions, or various ceremonies, others specialized as singers, painters, arrowmakers, or storytellers. In Mandan society, a man or woman seeking information, however trivial, was expected to make a payment for the information acquired. Persons possessing unique information and techniques were highly regarded, and it would have been considered ill mannered to adopt another's skills without at first paying for that right, however well the individual may have been able to perform without this paid training. One was also said to be inviting bad luck by practicing arts for which payment had not been made. 463 437 555

Payment for training was so highly developed in Mandan society that a young woman assisting her mother in the making of clay pots would prepare a simple feast to which the females of the household were invited in order to receive the right to assist in the making of pots and to make vessels of her own after her mother had died. Within the family group the payments were usually insignificant so far as the value of the goods was concerned. It was felt that the small payment in goods expressed the young woman's respect for her mother. The Mandan also believed that payments expressed societal values. The mother would explain each step in pottery-making, the selection of the clay and grit, the molding of the mass, the introduction of decorations, and the drying and baking of the vessels. Mandan vessels had a variety of decorations, and the person buying the right to make pottery acquired only the right to employ such decorations as the mother had a right to use. If she wished to 437 421 425

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

437 utilize other decorations, she was obliged to seek another
421 woman entitled to make the particular decoration and buy the
425 right of her.

There was a similar specialization for men. When a young
437 man was found to have an especially good voice which was
heard above the others in the songs of the society dances, he
425 was encouraged to buy singer rights in dances of both a sacred
535 and a secular character. Although they were obliged to make
555 payments either to existing singers or to the owners of bundles,
their rewards far exceeded the initial costs. Their training included information relative to the ceremonies that were being performed, and they received recognition comparable to that shown those who had directed a number of successful war expeditions. In council, their authority was as great as those who had directed war parties, summer buffalo hunts, or eagle-trapping expeditions.

555 Those who could tattoo or paint designs appreciated by the
616 people of the village were highly regarded and received a con-
531 siderable amount of goods for their services. There were usually
789 at least two skilled painters in each village, and they were expected to belong to opposite moieties. A man of one moiety would go to a man of the other moiety to have a robe, shield, or clothing painted either according to his particular inclination or with specific designs of things dreamed of. Each warrior had one or more shields made of buffalo hide taken from around the neck, and these were used universally by the Mandan for protection against arrows and spears until guns became more universal. The designs were believed to offer supernatural protection, and their potency was considered to be enhanced when the design was painted by a man of the opposite moiety, since there would be a payment to the "father" who would pray for the "son's" success. These painters were held responsible for the proper painting of the characters represented in the Okipa and received much property for their services. If they were otherwise sensible men, they enjoyed the same status as those who had been successful in other pursuits.

555 The arrowmakers were highly regarded. Although all males
887 usually made arrows, some were employed specially for arrow-
making. These were the older men of the lodge who had passed

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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purely lunar one. Some record was kept of the years, a certain symbol of some distinctive event standing for each year on the record robe, the same system used by the Dakotas. The year was divided as follows: 805 [211]

January	Moon of	seven cold days.
February	" "	the rut of wolves.
March	" "	sore eyes.
April	" "	game; or of the river break-up.
May	" "	sowing; or of flowers.
June	" "	ripe june-berries.
July	" "	ripe choke-cherries.
August	" "	ripe wild plums.
September	" "	ripe corn.
October	" "	the fall of leaves.
November	" "	the freezing rivers.
December	" "	the little cold.

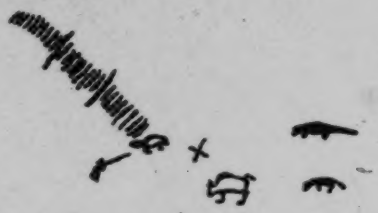
The Mandans were a very liberal and hospitable people, more so than any of their neighbors according to Henry. Food was practically common property in the village. No man could become a chief without much giving of presents, and giving was considered a great honor, the gifts which a man had made being painted on his robe along with his deeds in war. If one expressed a desire for anything it was immediately given to him but a present of equal value was expected in return. In connection with this might be mentioned the custom of taking back a sale; by a return of the purchase price a man might regain anything which he had sold, whenever he wished to. 574 554 431 437

The hospitality of the Mandans is mentioned by every visitor. Verendrye speaks particularly of his kind reception and says, "Their custom being to feed liberally all who came among them, selling only what was to be taken away."[1] Even their worst enemy when once in their village had nothing to fear and was treated with all kindness. Henry remarked that the Mandans were thieves but never touched any property of a stranger who was a guest in a lodge. They were bound to protect any stranger, even an enemy who might seek refuge in the village. 574

[1] Op. cit., p. 15.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

532 212 instead of writing; for instance, the figures on their robes, the drawing of Mato-Topé (Plate XXII.), and the subjoined Indian letter from a Mandan to a fur trader:



212 437 The following is the explanation of the hieroglyphic figures contained in it:

The cross signifies, "I will barter, or trade." Three animals are drawn on the right hand of the cross: one is a buffalo; the two others, a weasel (*Mustela Canadensis*), and an otter. The writer offers, in exchange for the skins of these animals (probably meaning that of a white buffalo), the articles which he has drawn on the left side of the cross.

He has, in the first place, depicted a beaver very plainly, behind which there is a gun; to the left of the beaver are thirty strokes, each ten separated by a longer line; this means, I will give thirty beaver skins and a gun for the skins of the three animals on the right hand of the cross.

821 Many of them dispute, with great earnestness, on more elevated subjects; thus, they inquired our ideas of the various heavenly bodies, and of the origin of the universe, as they, themselves, declare their own silly traditions to be insufficient. Some, indeed, thought our ideas on these subjects much more silly than their own. They laughed outright, when we affirmed that the earth was round, and revolved about the sun. Others, however, would not reject our views, and were of opinion that, as the Whites could do so much which was incomprehensible to them, it was possible they might be right on this point also.

537 In all works that treat of these remarkable people, we find recorded very energetic and well-digested speeches of their chiefs. They frequently use very appropriate figures, and often said bitter truths to their white oppressors. Dr. Morse quotes some such phrases, used at the conclusion of treaties of peace, or declarations of war, which express much in a few words. Thus, in declarations of war: "The blood of our wives and children smokes on the ground! The bones of our warriors and old men are uncovered, and whiten the earth! The tomahawk is raised!" And on the conclusion of peace: "The bones of our warriors are buried! the tomahawk is buried! the blood of our women and children is covered! The path which leads to them must be kept clean; no weeds may grow there. The chain which binds us together must not become rusty." Or, on the contrary: "The chain begins to rust," &c. &c..

832 repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men,
834 who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young
men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on
461 the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to
526 hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times
they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback,
and performing warlike manoeuvres; they have also a favorite
game which occupies much of their time.

512 [328]...this is the first work performed by the women in the
515 morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed
themselves in the Missourie. ...every family being provided
415 with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh.
177 Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to
771 say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those
574 earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest
kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come
in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the
contents.

231 .....Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed
● 437 in the meadow but never allowed them to be for a moment out of
648 his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them.
We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles,
for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco.

439 [329] It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail
upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger
has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first
village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many
439 European articles as they can, [330] particularly arms and ammuni-
609 tion. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each
other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have
578 often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death
869 of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also
to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great
distance. The Pawnees, also, with whom the Mandanes formerly
lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies.
Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and every-
one has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

675 We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the
673 landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut
[577] in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect
security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

[p. 384(C)]

675 it is gone in an instant, and search would be in vain; everyone
673 would wish to appear innocent, although they are not offended when accused of stealing, but laugh the matter away. .....We paid
437 our landlord for board and lodging, as well as the care of our horses,
177 and of the articles left under his charge, as we never expect the least favor from any of these fellows without recompensing them accordingly. He appeared very well pleased with the following articles, which we gave him: 60 rounds of ammunition, 4 large knives, 2 awls, 1 fathom of tobacco, 1 steel, 5 flints, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 2 worms (wormers for guns), and 1 dozen brass rings....

609 [332] My host was so obliging as to give up to me one of his
574 own best beds, well surrounded with dressed leather. We had a plentiful supply of corn and beans, and were soon invited to several huts, where we [333] were treated with a very palatable dish of
[431] pounded peas and parched corn; but it is customary for invited guests, on leaving, to present the master of the hut with a few inches of tobacco, for which he always appears very thankful.

728 [335] About 30 Big Bellies soon arrived on horseback, at full speed; they brought an interpreter with them. This party consisted of some of the principal war chiefs, and other great men, who did not appear well pleased, but looked on the Pawnees with disdain.

285 [339] ...seated on a mat made of small willows of equal size, fastened together [340] by threads of their own manufacture, passed through each stick about a foot apart.

342 [340] Seldom more than one family occupies the same hut.

437 [342] We paid the young men for taking our horses across the
177 river, and the women for assisting us with the canoes. The total cost was: 1 fathom of tobacco, 4 knives, 6 flints, 6 awls, 6 worms [gun wormers—analyst], and 10 balls. I also paid my landlord for the time we might remain here, which I supposed would be about ten days for three persons, including board and lodging, stabling for our horses, and care of our property. They make no price, leaving that to the generosity of guests, and should the payment be too little they still appear to accept with gratitude; but the visitor is afterward left to take care of his own property and horses in the best manner he can. It is impossible to get the most trifling service from the natives without immediate payment; not even an inch of cord will they part with without receiving something in return. It is true a trifle will please them, and they are

[p. 384(D)]

437 willing and ready to serve you as long as you have any property.
177 But when all is expended you may shift for yourself, as they will pretend they do not understand you any longer. Besides paying our host [343] beforehand, I promised him a tobacco-pipe on my departure, if I were then pleased with his conduct during our stay. His pay consisted of the following articles: 60 balls and powder, 4 large knives, 2 small knives, 1 fathom tobacco, 1 dozen rings, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 6 flints, 3 worms, 3 awls, and 1/4 pound blue beads.

164 [343] The natives at present are mostly affected with a bad cough, which daily takes some of them off. Aged and infirm persons, and young children, are the common victims to this disease. It is a kind of whooping-cough, which has appeared all along the Red and Assiniboine rivers, on the Saskatchewan even to Fort des Prairies, and in several other parts of the North West, carrying off many people

241 July 21st. I set off early on horseback with part of my people
[462 for the upper villages. We passed extensive fields of corn, beans,
561] squashes, and sunflowers. Many women and children were already
412 employed in clearing and hoeing their plantations. Their hoes are the shoulderblade of a buffalo, to which is fastened a crooked stick for a handle; the soil not being stony, this slight implement answers every purpose. The road first led over two hills, after which we came to a smooth and pleasant plain for about two miles to the Saulteur (Soulier) [Amahami—Analyst] village, of about 40 huts.

361 [362]. . These villages are surrounded by a kind of stockade, princi-
417 pally made of driftwood, which has a miserable appearance and is daily falling to pieces; but I am told that upon any emergency it can be put into a tolerably good state of defense at very short notice, as every man, woman, and child lends a hand.

526 We witnessed a diversion which takes place almost every day
481 between the Mandanes and Saulteurs (Souliers). It is the exercise
702 of running long foot races, in order to be prepared for the emergency of being dismounted and obliged to fly from their enemies at war. They assemble upon a beautiful green near the village, where, having remained some time, calling out to their comrades to come and run, they set off in a file on a slow trot, entirely naked, taking the road that leads up the hills to the S., about a mile from the village. Passing near those rising grounds, they disappear, and are not seen till they reappear from the S.E., down a steep hill and over a level plain, to the spot whence they started. Here they do not stop, but rush on to the Missourie, and plunge in headlong, all

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

were at home. We beg him to number us among his children.' This I did at once by putting my hands on the head of each chief, which is the usual ceremony, answered by loud shouts of joy and thanks. I then said to the Assiniboines: 'I am sending four Frenchmen to my fort to give my news there; I recommend you to get them to that place as soon as you can. I have left powder in the village, and all that is necessary to have them brought.' The council ended with loud thanks from both parties. As the Assiniboines did not yet speak of leaving, although they had purchased all they were able to do, such as painted ox robes, deer skin, dressed buckskin and ornamented furs and feathers, painted feathers and peltry, wrought garters, circlets for the head, girdles. These people dress leather better than any of the other nations and work in furs and feathers very tastefully, which the Assiniboines are not capable of doing. They are cunning traders, cheating the Assiniboines of all they may possess, such as muskets, powder, balls, kettles, axes, knives or awls. Seeing the great consumption of food daily by the Assiniboines, and afraid that it would not last long, they set afloat a rumor that the Sioux were near and that several of their hunters had noticed them. The Assiniboines fell into the trap and made up their minds quickly to decamp, not wishing to be obliged to fight. A Mandan chief let me understand by a sign that the rumor about the Sioux was to get rid of the Assiniboines. At six in the morning they all left in great haste, believing that the Sioux were near and fearing that the road might be blocked up. The chief with whom I had lodged brought five men to remain with me, saying: 'My father, I still hope that you will join us for a little; I march peaceably. Here are five of my young men, whom I give thee to remain with thee and to guide thee when thou shall wish to leave.' I made him a small present to thank him, telling him that he knew that I had sense and that I intended shortly to reward him for his attention. He left with great protestations of friendship. I was notified shortly after that an interpreter whom I had paid liberally to secure him had decamped in spite of all the offers which my son, the Chevalier, had made him, as he was going after an Assiniboine woman with whom he had fallen in love, but who would not remain with him. He was a young man of the Cree nation, speaking good Assiniboine. As there were several Mandans who spoke it well enough, I made myself very well under-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

764 length was pronounced by his brother, in which he impressed on their minds, the great importance which the deceased man had been to their nation; rehearsed his war exploits, and concluded by urging all to follow his example, and to become of equal usefulness to their tribe. Then they would be sure of following and becoming companions of him, and all the other great warriors, which had died before, in the world of spirits. After this address was closed, provisions were brought out, consisting of boiled dog's flesh, of which the company just tasted, and then a bowl full of it was presented to the dead man. He was then taken up by four men and carried outside of the village, just into the edge of the woods, and placed on a stage which had been previously erected, about ten feet high. The bowl of food was brought and set by his head, and his arms and accoutrements laid by his side. In this manner their dead are deposited, and are never buried. The wife and relations of the deceased made the most violent and dreadful howlings, tearing their hair and appearing to be in the deepest anguish, under the loss they had sustained."

142 **Complexion, Etc.** "The Mandans and the Gros Ventres are of the lightest complexion, and largest Indians on the Missouri. Their hair inclines to a chestnut color, and in some instances has a slight curl; it is never so lank and course as most other Indians. Their eyes are full and lively, their cheek bones rather high, and their countenances open and agreeable. The Gros Ventres have more of a fierce, savage look, than the Mandans who are courteous 291 and sociable in their behavior. They are neat in their dress, which is similar to that of the Rus, except that they decorate it with white rabbit, and white ermine skins. Many of their lodges, or 353 huts, are decorated in a beatiful manner; having the inside lined with the richest furs, such as the lynx, beaver, otter, white rabbit, martin, fox, mountain cat and white ermine, sewed together like patch-work, which gives them a rich and beautiful appearance. The lodge of the head chief was sixty feet in diameter, elegantly lined with furs, and the seats, which are also used as beds, were covered with the grizzly bear and buffalo skins. These people keep their lodges and buildings in a state of great neatness. They • 439 cultivate the same kind of produce with the Rus, and carry on a trade with the roving Indians, who occasionally visit them. The 648 Mandans and Gros Ventres live in great friendship, although

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

cloudy with some snow. About seventy lodges of Assiniboines and some Knistenaux are at the Mandan village, and this being the day of adoption and exchange of property between them all, it is accompanied by a dance, which prevents our seeing more than two Indians today. These Knistenaux are a band of Chippeways whose language they speak. They live on the Assiniboine and Saskashawan rivers, and are about two hundred and forty men." (id 173)

Hostilities With Assiniboines and Knistenauxs. "Sunday, November 18. Today we had a cold windy morning. The Black Cat came to see us, and occupied us for a long time with questions on the usages of our country. He mentioned that a council had been held yesterday to deliberate on the state of their affairs. It seemed that not long ago, a party of Sioux fell in with some horses belonging to the Minnetarees, and carried them off; but in their flight they were met by some of the Assiniboines, who killed the Sioux and kept the horses. A Frenchman, too, who had lived many years among the Mandans, was lately killed on his route to the British factory on the Assiniboine. Some smaller differences existed between the two nations, all of which being discussed, the council decided that they would not resent the recent insults from the Assiniboines and Knistenaux, until they had seen whether we had deceived them or not in our promises of furnishing them with arms and ammunition. They had been disappointed in their hopes of receiving them from Mr. Evans, and were afraid that we too, like him, might tell them what was not true. We advised them to continue at peace, that supplies of every kind would no doubt arrive for them, but that time was necessary to organize the trade. The fact is, that the Assiniboines treat the Mandans as the Sioux do the Ricaras; by their vicinity to the British they get all the supplies, which they withhold or give at pleasure to the remoter Indians. The consequence is, that however badly treated, the Mandans and Ricaras are very slow to retaliate, lest they should lose their trade altogether." (id 175.)

Fort Mandan. "Tuesday, 20th. We this day moved into our huts, which are now completed. This place, which we call Ft. Mandan, is situated in a point of low ground, on the north side of the Missouri, covered with tall and heavy cottonwood. The works consist of two rows of huts or sheds, forming an angle

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

323 the whites came among them; and that when they saw the bril-
301 liantly colored beads of the traders, they conceived the idea of improving their art by using these beads. If they ever possessed the art of making glass de novo, there is no record, tradition, or other evidence of it, that I have been able to find."

Was It Ancient Art. "One of many reasons, though perhaps an insufficient reason, for believing the art to be of no recent origin among them, is that they used the triangular pendants, not as ornaments only, but as evidences of betrothal, as long ago as
[584] the oldest men can remember. When a girl was promised in marriage in her infancy by her parents, as was not infrequently done, one of these pendants was tied to her forelock so as to hang down over her forehead. When the promise was fulfilled, the husband removed the pendant and threw it away." (p. 22-23.)

439 **Inter-Tribal Trade.** "With the nomadic tribes around, they exchanged their agricultural produce for horses, and, recently,
[824] for robes. When the Dakotas saw a certain flower (Liatris punctata) blooming on the prairie, they knew that the corn was ripe, and went to the villages of the farming Indians to trade. From
721 the time they came in sight of the village to the time they disappeared there was a truce. When they had passed beyond the bluffs, they might steal an unguarded pony or lift a scalp, and were in turn liable to be attacked." (p. 27.)

439 **Trade With Pacific Coast—Shells.** "It appears probable that they once carried on trade indirectly with the tribes of the Pacific coast, for they had Dentalium shells similar to those obtained on the Pacific and they prized them so highly that the white traders found it advisable to obtain them for the trade. As late as 1866, ten of these shells, of inferior size, costing the traders only a cent a piece, would buy a superior buffalo robe, and formerly only two or three of the same quality were paid for a robe. Modern traders, with whom the writer had conversed, obtained their shells from eastern importers, and know nothing of the original source of supply. They supposed them to come from the Atlantic coast or the Great Lakes, and called them 'Iroquois shells,' which is probably their corruption of the Chinook 'hyakwa;' but it is possible the reverse is the case.

439 "They also used, and still use, as ornaments, fragments of the
301 **Abalone** shells (one or more species of **Haliotis**) of the Pacific.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

These are now supplied to the trade under the name of California shells. Ten years ago, one of these shells, unpolished, sold for a good robe. There is little doubt that they used Abalone, Dentalium, and other sea shells before the traders brought them. Old traders and old Indians say so. Even as late as 1833, it would seem that they had not yet become a regular part of a trader's outfit; for Maximilian says of the Mandans: 'They do not disfigure the bodies; only they make some apertures in the outer rim of the ear, in which they hang strings of beads, brass, or iron rings of different sizes, or shells, the last of which they obtain from other Indian tribes. If they are questioned respecting these shells, they answer that they were brought from the sea." (p. 28.)

Matthews quotes the following expressions from D. D. Mitchell, found in Schoolcraft's work, concerning visitors to the Mandans in the eighteenth century:

McIntosh's Early Visit. "In a letter published in Schoolcraft's **Information Respecting the Indian Tribes,** the writer, D. D. Mitchell, says, speaking of the Mandans: 'The early portion of their history I gather from the narration of Mr. McIntosh, who, it seems, belonged to, or was in some way connected with, the French trading company as far back as 1772. According to his narration, he set out from Montreal in the summer of 1773, crossing over the country to the Missouri river, and arrived at one of the Mandan villages on Christmas day.' I have never seen McIntosh's account, nor have I seen any more extensive notice of it than the one given by Mr. Mitchell; and from this, it does not appear that McIntosh visited any of these agricultural Indians except the Mandans." (p. 29.)

And Matthews expresses the view that British and French traders and interpreters were among the Mandans prior to 1804, all of which appears in evidence hereinbefore submitted. He believes the earliest Europeans to reach them were from Hudson Bay territory, but he was, as he admits (p. 29), unaware of Verendrye's expedition referred to by Catlin, who is criticised by Matthews for failing to "tell us where the account of the expedition of 1738 is to be found," adding: "No other mention of the journey has ever been seen by me."

Matthews thus refers to the peaceable relations nearly always existing between the Mandans and Rees and the Americans:

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

a bunch of sage in her lodge and rubbed her body after returning from the fields to cleanse herself from the spirits in the gardens. Years ago, it is said that, when this was done, worms came out of the women's bodies. The Corn bundle-owner walked through the gardens several times during the summer, carrying the pipe and singing the Corn songs. 778 241 784

When the weather was too hot, too cold, or too dry, all those with Corn medicine rights met, and the Goose Women's Society joined them to dance and pray. While the ceremony was in progress, people of each household brought presents and offered them for relief from the adverse weather. 796 782 778

Many women pledged a ceremony to the Corn if good crops were sent by the gods. A person making such a vow, first prepared an elkhide robe and paid the Corn Priest to officiate. When the time appointed for the offering came and after the crop was harvested, she carried the robe to her field, where she tied it to a cottonwood pole and covered the pole with corn on the ear until the pile reached nearly to the robe. The young men of the tribe were invited to come and charge the robe, the first one there taking it. At a signal, the young men searched for the meat under the pile of corn. The Corn bundle-owner received four things for his part in the ceremony. Many different women gave this ceremony each fall when the crops were abundant. 241

The Corn bundle-owner officiated whenever corn was sold to people of other tribes. It was thought that it must be done or the spirits in the corn might leave the Mandan and help the people who took the corn away. He dressed in his ceremonial outfit and "called back" the Corn Spirits. 778 [439]

Whenever a cache of stored corn was opened, four ears of corn were taken to the Corn bundle-owner as payment for his part in protecting the stored corn. [251]

The order of Corn Priests is as follows:

1. Uses Head for Rattle
2. Brown
3. Pot
4. Bull Leg
5. Acting Foolish (OxinhEdE)
6. Foolish Man
7. Strong Arm
8. Raises Tail
9. Forearm Bone
10. Hunts His Enemy
11. Bull Standing on Land
12. WErukirihEri
13. Enemy
14. Sacred Cedar
15. Cedar Feather
16. Star
17. Head Comes Out
18. Water Bag
19. Coyote
20. Crow
21. WErukirihEri
22. Bloody Knife
23. Garden
24. Tree in Garden
25. Uses His Head for Rattle
26. HoxdEkE
27. Corn Grinder
28. Lying Down
29. Left-Hand Bull
30. Scabby
31. WErukirihEri
32. Crows Belt
33. Moves Slowly
34. Scattercorn
35. Mrs. Little Owl (present owner)

The many references to corn in the mythology express the significance of agriculture to this tribe. Archeological work in their prehistoric sites indicates that economically agriculture has played an important role in shaping the habits of these people. The primary factor in establishing villages at certain 241 361 796

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Island in South Dakota and was told by traders that there were 174
a number of others about that country. Maximilian was told
that the Mandans first touched the Missouri at White Earth 167
River in South Dakota, with which might be connected the reported existence of the remains of circular earth lodges in southern Wisconsin. Here are arguments for both theories; up to the present, however, the matter must remain unsettled until some careful investigation decides it.

HISTORY:—In the earliest historical accounts the Mandans 175
were firmly established in stationary villages in the neighbor-
hood of the Heart River. Verendrye says that they lived in 361
six large villages along the Mandan River, were a large and powerful nation and feared none of their neighbors, all of whom they dominated by their superior culture. Their manufactures [439]
were almost necessities among the other tribes, and in trade they were able to dictate their own terms. The forts he said were impregnable to Indians, being very well fortified. Verendrye visited the smallest village in which he said that there were one hundred and thirty houses by actual count. His son, who visited one of the larger villages, declared that it was twice as large, judging from which it can safely be assumed that there were at least one thousand houses in the several villages. Lewis
and Clarke declared that in the two villages of one hundred huts [161]
there were three hundred and fifty warriors; figuring at this rate there should have been at least fifteen thousand Mandans in 1738 dwelling prosperously in large and well-fortified towns.

For the next sixty-six years there is little information but 175
their own tradition. Judging from McKenzie's narrative they continued prosperous and powerful up to 1772 at least. He declared that at that time they lived in nine villages, large and near to each other, and could muster fifteen thousand warriors. The latter estimate is probably large, but the whole statement seems to show that no misfortune had come to them at that date. Their remaining history is summed up in their own tradition as related to Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian and others.

This tradition runs as follows:—Formerly they lived hap- 175
pily and prosperously in nine large villages on the Missouri 173
near the mouth of the Heart River. Six or seven of these vil-

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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garters and belts of buffalo hair. But they did make string 000
and willow matting. There is an account of a mat used on the 284
seat before the fire. Henry[1] says that the mat was of small 285
willows of equal size, fastened together by thread of native make passed through each stick about one foot apart. The mats were ten feet long, four feet broad, and the two ends for two and a half feet were raised slanting from the ground and supported by a kind of sofa. Verendrye says they made wicker work very neatly, flat, and in baskets.

The Mandans used snow-shoes which were only about two 481
and a half feet long.[2] For their dyes and paints they made use 386
of the following: red obtained from buffalo-berries, black from sunflowers, and yellow from a kind of moss which came from the Rocky Mountains. Blue, red, black, yellow and white clays were also used.

An indispensable article of the full dress was the fan. These 293
were made from the large plumes of the eagle, hawk, crow, and 237
a number of other birds, depending on the rank of the owner.

The Mandan pipes differed a trifle from those of their neigh- 276
bors, being less ornate.[3] They were either of stone, black clay, or yellow clay painted black. The stone pipes were obtained [439]
mostly from the Dakotas. Pipes with wooden bowls, lined with stone, were also used. The stem was long and round or flat. Catlin describes one pipe as of red steatite (catlinite) with a stem three feet long, half its length wound with braids of porcupine quills. They also had the calumet pipe which will be considered in connection with the ceremonies.

The Mandans and their neighbors the Arikara and Hidatsa 323
made glass beads, an art which they claimed was taught to them by the Snake Indians. They did not make the glass but used glass obtained through the whites. Lewis and Clarke[4] give a short account of the manufacture of beads which is exceedingly interesting. It may be thus summarized. The secret is known only to a few. Glass of several colors is pounded fine, each color separate; this is washed in several waters until the glass stops staining the water. They then take an

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 340.
[2] Ibid., p. 301.
[3] Maximilian: p. 390.
[4] March 16, 1805.

648 Among a number of other customs, was treaty making with other tribes. This was well described by Henry who accompanied the Mandans and Hidatsa when they went to make a treaty with the Cheyennes. Most of the people went on these treaty visits; the band marched in a procession of fixed order and a number of ceremonial objects were carried exposed throughout the march. The party was met with great ceremony by the new allies and its members were taken into their houses. Several days of ceremonial feasting occurred and finally the head chief of each party adopted a son from the other tribe. After this there was more feasting and several days of trade between the two bands, when both returned home.

[397] [439]

597 The adoption of sons occurred also among the different families. Maximilian describes the adoption of a "medicine son" to whom a sacred pipe was given. The man chose his adopted son through a dream. The new pipe was consecrated and gifts were showered upon the son's family by the adopted father and his relatives. A dance and feast was then held. This custom was prevalent over all the Missouri region.

838 There were a number of men who dressed and acted like women and were treated in every way as such. These men claimed to follow this life by an order from the spirits given to them in a dream.

567 Catlin says that the Mandans did not have slaves and there is no mention of them elsewhere. The Arikara, however, had a regular slavery system, and the Crows made slaves and sold them on the Missouri. The Mandans were very good at the sign language so Maximilian tells us. They were expert swimmers, and collected their whole supply of wood by swimming out and towing in the drift wood at the time of the spring break-ups.

201 481 313

511 In point of general culture the Mandans were superior to any of their immediate neighbors, surpassing even the other sedentary people, the Hidatsa and Arikara. Catlin says that they had advanced far in the arts of manufacture and had more comforts and luxuries than other tribes. When Verendrye saw them he, too, was struck by their superior skill. He said that the Mandans dressed leather and worked in feathers better

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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medicine bags as Maximilian calls them, seem to have been much less important than among the Arikara. Nevertheless these bundles were by no means absent. Maximilian relates that each man had his own medicine bag, the contents of which no one else might see. In addition to this there was a large medicine bag in the medicine lodge within which, Maximilian tells us, were preserved three sacred skulls, those of the chief who had led them out from underground, of his sister, and of his brother — also this chief's rattle. In the medicine lodge were also the sacred rattle and the four drums of hide, filled with water, which were made to resemble turtles and which they claimed, according to Catlin, they had always had. They had a sacred pipe or calumet also, which Maximilian was not allowed to see, the price of looking at it alone being placed at one hundred dollars. He says[1] that it was very hard for the Mandans to get these sacred pipes and much more trouble to consecrate them. Certain things must be hung upon them and among these was the skull of an animal which at that time was not found in the vicinity, and for which an enormous price had to be given. There were many other pipes called medicine pipes belonging to private owners, these however were merely ordinary pipes which had been consecrated by the ceremony already described. Each Mandan regarded his own medicine as a sacred animal, and in addition there were several animals which were regarded as sacred throughout the whole tribe. Owls and screech owls were kept in the lodges to predict the future. The war-eagle was considered as having great medicine power and they kept all sorts of birds of prey alive in the huts for their plumes. Geese were considered to be very sacred also, first because in one of their tales the Lord of Life turned into a goose and flew away with a flock of them, and also as they are the messengers of the Old Woman Who Never Dies or the Corn Mother. Of greatest importance among these sacred animals, however, was the white buffalo, whose hide was the most valuable article that a Mandan could possess. The hides were bought mostly from other nations, they were tanned with horns and hoofs on, and were not valuable unless of heifers

778 825
778 [439]

[1] Op. cit., p. 439.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NO17 Mandan NO17

wanting even in old people, though, in the latter, they are often worn very short, which is chiefly 142
to be attributed to their chewing hard, dry meat. The women are pretty robust, and sometimes tall, but, for the most part, they are short and broad shouldered. They are but few who can be called handsome as Indians, but there are many tolerable and some pretty faces among them. It is usually said of the Mandan women that they, in some respects, have a natural conformation, [304]
such as Le Vaillant and Peron ascribe to the Hottentot women; but it seems to be owing, in the Mandan women, less to nature than to artificial means.* The children have frequently slender limbs, and very prominent bellies. Deformed persons are very rare among the Mandans. I, however, saw a very little dwarf with a long, narrow face, and one man who squinted. Persons who had lost the sight of one eye, or with a cataract, are by no means uncommon. There were several deaf and dumb, among whom two brothers and a sister were all born with this defect. Some goitres, or, rather, thick necks among the women, are, doubtless, caused by too great exertions in carrying burdens on their backs. Instances where joints of the fingers are wanting [304]
are frequent, but these come under the head of voluntary mutilations.

The colour of these Indians is a fine brown, sometimes reddish, more or less dark, which 142
might, sometimes, come under the denomination of copper colour. In some it is more of a 301
greyish-brown, in others yellowish; after a thorough ablution the skin of some of them appears almost white, and even some colour in their cheeks.† They do not disfigure their bodies, only they make some apertures in the outer rim of the ear, in which they hang strings of beads, brass [439]
or iron rings of different sizes, or shells, the last of which they obtain from other Indian tribes. If they are questioned respecting these shells, they answer that they were brought from the sea. These Indians are vain, and in this respect childish, like all savage nations. They are very fond 301
of ornament, and the young men have always a little looking-glass suspended from their wrists. The traders sell these looking-glasses in a pasteboard case, which, however, is immediately changed for a solid wooden frame, and attached to the wrist by a red ribbon or a leather strap. The looking-glasses are framed in various ways; the rude frame is often painted red, or with stripes of different colours, with footsteps of bears or buffaloes carved on it. Nay, sometimes these

* Hanc deformitatem a viris ipsis ut decorem, tractibus saepe tegumine producitur. In mamillis labia externa in orbem ter ad quatuor digitos transversos prominent; in alia labia interna valde pendent; immo viraram ars in partibus ipsis figuras artificiosas fictas format.

Feminae hae mulieres cumam parvi aestimant, et raphanum ent.

Maris ea in Mandans, Mamnitaris, et in Crows, magis autem in Mamnitaris; in Mandans, a mulieribus dimoletis, magis quam ab maribus hic mos perversus adhibitur.

† Volney has many inaccuracies in what he says of the colour of the Indians. (Vol. II. p. 435.) According to him, the children are born quite white like the Europeans; that the women are white on the thighs, hips, and lower parts of the body, where the skin is covered by the clothing; that it is wholly erroneous to suppose that the copper colour is natural to them, &c. Mr. Von Humboldt has long since refuted all these assertions.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

262 which is so favourite a dish among the northern Indians, is not much in use among the Mandans. Their only drink is water, for they are unacquainted with the method of preparing fermented [273] liquors. They did not obtain any spirits, either from the American Fur Company, or the agents of Messrs. Soublette and Campbell; hence an intoxicated person is scarcely ever seen. They are extremely fond of sugar, and likewise of salt, which they procure from their lakes, and, if the supply is insufficient, purchase from the Whites. They are likewise fond of coffee and tea, well sweetened. It has been affirmed, that several North American nations, especially those which speak the Algonquin language, are cannibals, and more particularly the Chippeways and the Potawatomis; but I found no trace of this unnatural custom among the Missouri nations.

592 Two, and sometimes three, families usually live together in an Indian hut, commonly the 595 father, with his married sons or sons-in-law. Polygamy is everywhere practised, and the number 596 of wives differs; however, they have very seldom more than four, and, in general, only one. The women are very skilful in various kinds of work, particularly in dyeing and painting the buffalo 386 robes. They extract a red colour from the roots of the savoyenne, or from buffalo berries; yel- 824 low from a lichen of the Rocky Mountains; black from belianthus, as well as from a black stone 439 or clay; blue and green they extract from European substances. Among the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, the women, as Lewis and Clarke relate, manufacture beads from coloured glass. They powder those which they have obtained from the traders, and mould them into different shapes. This custom is, however, no longer common. The dyeing of the skins, of 323 which many travellers have spoken, employs a great portion of the women's time. These three nations understand the manufacture of earthen pots and vessels, of various forms and sizes. The clay is of a dark slate colour, and burns a yellowish-red, very similar to what is seen in the burnt tops of the Missouri hills. This clay is mixed with flint or granite, reduced to powder by the action of fire. The workwoman forms the hollow inside of the vessel by means of a round stone which she holds in her hand, while she works and smooths the outside with a piece of poplar bark. When the pot is made, it is filled and surrounded with dry shavings, and then burnt, 501 when it is ready for use. They know nothing of glazing. With respect to their boats, the North Americans are far more expert than the Brazilians, Patagonians, and other South Americans, who live on the banks of rivers, and yet have contrived no means to pass them. The Chippeways and other northern nations have handsome vessels of birch bark; the Esquimaux makes his kiack, which is curiously covered with seal skin; and on the Missouri, especially among the Mandans, there are boats of buffalo skin, which are represented in the plates accompanying this work. They are very light, of a circular form, stretched on a frame of several pieces of wood crossing each other, and may be carried on the shoulder of a single individual.

584 If a young Indian desires to marry, and has obtained the consent of the girl, he endeavours to procure that of her father; when he is certain of this, he brings two, three, nay, even eight or

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

600 at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote. One of their
771 chiefs never smoked out of a stone pipe, but always used a wooden one. Mato-Topé never
778 partook of other people's tobacco, but always smoked by himself, with the doors shut. They
276 do not willingly show their medicines or amulets, which are usually kept wrapped up in a bundle or bag, and never opened except on important occasions. They have particular medicine pipes, or, as the English call them, medicine stems, which are uncovered and used for smoking only on solemn occasions. Many make such pipes according to their own taste; such, for instance, was the pipe of Dipauch (Plate XXI. fig. 3). The bowl was nearly in the form of a Turkish pipe, and was made of brownish-red clay; the tube, which was rather short and thick, represented the lord of life in human form, but which it required some stretch of the imagination to discover. The nation preserves a celebrated pipe of this kind as a sacred relic, which no stranger is permitted to see. It has been in their possession since remote ages, and they offered to show it to me
435 for the value of 100 dollars. The Indians cannot obtain such pipes but at a considerable expense:
439 many of the necessary ornaments are not to be procured among them, such as the upper bill and the red crown of a species of woodpecker (*Picus pilcatus*, Linn.), a bird which is not found so high up the Missouri. For the head of one of these woodpeckers, which was brought from
597 St. Louis, they gave a large handsome buffalo robe, worth six or eight dollars. If a man pos-
796 sesses such a pipe, he sometimes conceives the idea of adopting a medicine son. The young man
171 whom he is to choose appears to him in a dream; it is, however, requisite that he should be of a good family, or have performed some exploit. He acquaints him with his intention, and, after having provided two similar medicine pipes, he asks his newly-adopted son, whether he is ready to undergo the ceremony of the pipes? The latter frequently answers in the affirmative, and the time for the ceremony is fixed: but, if he has not yet made up his mind, it is deferred. The adoptive father then chooses two young men, who practise the medicine dance together, with the two pipes in their hands. The father often dances, in the morning, on the roof of his hut, and instructs these two young men. When the time arrives, and the adopted son is ready for the ceremony, the father, with all his relations, and the two young dancers, repairs to the hut of his newly-chosen son, and brings him a present of maize, cloth, blankets, kettles, and other valuable articles. The father takes his son by the hand and makes him sit down, after which the company dance round him, with the two pipes; they sing, accompanied by the drum and schischikué, the two young dancers keeping time to the music with their pipes. When the ceremony is over, and the presents laid in one or two heaps, the relations of the medicine son bring horses, cloth, blankets, and other things of value, which the two parties reciprocally divide between them. The father then again takes his son by the hand, makes him rise from his seat, and dresses him in new clothes from head to foot, and likewise paints his face according to his fancy. The dress and pipe are henceforth his property, and he is considered as a real son, who must support and defend his father.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

This custom exists among most of the nations on the Missouri, and even among the Esquimaux there is a somewhat similar usage. If the adopted son and father have not happened to meet for a long time, they make presents to each other; the father gives the son a new dress, and the latter presents him with a good horse. Among all the Indian nations of North America, there is a particular class of men, who are specially engaged in all the above-mentioned ceremonies and medicines. They are, also, the physicians, and are called, among the Mandans, Numak-Choppenih, which signifies medicine man.

The skin of a white buffalo cow is an important article, and an eminent medicine in the opinion of the Mandans and Manitaries. He who has never possessed one of them is not respected. Suppose two men to be disputing about their exploits, the one an old veteran warrior, who has slain many enemies, the other, a young lad without experience; the latter reproaches the other with never having possessed a white buffalo cow hide, on which the old man droops his head, and covers his face for shame. He who possesses such a hide generally offers it to the lord of life, to whom he dedicates it, or, which is equivalent, to the sun, or to the first man. He collects, perhaps, in the course of a whole twelvemonth, various articles of value, and then hangs them up all together on a high pole in the open prairie, generally in the neighbourhood of the burying-place, or in the village before his hut. Distinguished men and chiefs of eminence are for the most part poor, because, in order to gain reputation and influence, they give away everything of value which they possess. A large number of relatives is one of the chief means of acquiring riches, for a young man who wishes to distinguish himself, and to be liberal, does honour to the whole family, who assist him to the utmost of their power. When one of his relations has anything of value, the young man goes to the owner to demand it, and not unfrequently takes it away without ceremony. Sometimes he hangs his head in silence, and then something of value is given him, a handsome dress, a horse, &c. If he wishes to gain reputation and a claim to distinction, it is necessary that he should make presents. All the people in the village notice very accurately what presents are made, and the donor has a right to display all such presents painted on his robes, and in this manner to hand down his reputation to posterity, as has been already related. This and military glory are, in the eyes of these men, the greatest virtues. They dare not draw a stroke too much on their robes for the horses, guns, &c., which they have given away, for the young men keep a most strict account against each other, and universal ridicule would be the immediate consequence of violating this rule. Among the distinctions of any man, the white buffalo hide is the greatest. He who has not been so fortunate as to kill a white buffalo himself, which is generally the case, as these animals are very rare, purchases a hide, often at a great distance from home, and other nations bring them hither, being well aware of the great value attached to them by the Mandans. The hide must be that of a young cow, not above two years old, and be taken off complete and tanned, with the horns,

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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526 stake their liberty upon the issue of these games, offering themselves as
525 slaves to their opponents in case they get beaten.

Feasting and *fasting* are important customs observed by the Mandans,
796 as well as by most other tribes, at stated times and for particular purposes. These observances are strictly religious and rigidly observed. There are many of these forms practiced amongst the Mandans, some of which are exceedingly interesting, and important also, in forming a correct estimate of the Indian character; and I shall at a future period take particular pains to lay them before my readers.

Sacrificing is also a religious custom with these people, and is performed
782 in many different modes, and on numerous occasions. Of this custom I shall also speak more fully hereafter, merely noticing at present, some few of the hundred modes in which these offerings are made to the Good and Evil Spirits. Human sacrifices have never been made by the Mandans, nor by any of the north western tribes (so far as I can learn), excepting the Pawnees of the Platte; who have, undoubtedly, observed such an inhuman practice in former times, though they have relinquished it of late. The Mandans sacrifice their fingers to the Great Spirit, and of their worldly goods, the best and the most costly; if a horse or a dog, it must be the favourite one; if it is an arrow from their quiver, they will select the most perfect one as the most effective gift; if it is meat, it is the choicest piece cut from the buffalo or other animal; if it is anything from the stores of the Traders, it is the most costly—it is blue or scarlet cloth, which costs them in this country an enormous price, and is chiefly used for the purpose of hanging over their wigwams to decay, or to cover the scaffolds where rest the bones of their departed relations.

Of these kinds of sacrifices there are three of an interesting nature, erected over the great medicine-lodge in the centre of the village—they consist of ten or fifteen yards of blue and black cloth each, purchased from the Fur Company at fifteen or twenty dollars per yard, which are folded up so as to resemble human figures, with quills in their heads and masks on their faces. These singular-looking figures, like "*scare crows*" (PLATE 47), are erected on poles about thirty feet high, over the door of the mystery-lodge, and there are left to decay. There hangs now by the side of them another, which was added to the number a few days since, of the skin of a white buffalo, which will remain there until it decays and falls to pieces.

This beautiful and costly skin, when its history is known, will furnish a
782 striking proof of the importance which they attach to these propitiatory
439 offerings. But a few weeks since, a party of Mandans returned from the Mouth of the Yellow Stone, two hundred miles above, with information that a party of Blackfeet were visiting that place on business with the American Fur Company; and that they had with them a white buffalo robe for sale. This was looked upon as a subject of great importance by the chiefs, and one worthy of public consideration. A white buffalo robe is a

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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782 great curiosity, even in the country of buffaloes, and will always command an almost incredible price, from its extreme scarcity; and then, from its being 439 the most costly article of traffic in these regions, it is usually converted into a *sacrifice*, being offered to the Great Spirit, as the most acceptable gift that can be procured. Amongst the vast herds of buffaloes which graze on these boundless prairies, there is not one in an hundred thousand, perhaps, that is white; and when such an one is obtained, it is considered great *medicine* or mystery.

On the receipt of the intelligence above-mentioned, the chiefs convened in council, and deliberated on the expediency of procuring the white robe from the Blackfeet; and also of appropriating the requisite means, and devising the proper mode of procedure for effecting the purchase. At the close of their deliberations, eight men were fitted out on eight of their best horses, who took from the Fur Company's store, on the credit of the chiefs, goods exceeding even the value of their eight horses; and they started for the Mouth of the Yellow Stone, where they arrived in due time, and made the purchase, by leaving the eight horses and all the goods which they carried; returning on foot to their own village, bringing home with them the white robe, which was looked upon by all eyes of the villagers as a thing that was vastly curious, and containing (as they express it) something of the Great Spirit. This wonderful anomaly laid several days in the chief's lodge, until public curiosity was gratified; and then it was taken by the doctors or high-priests, and with a great deal of form and mystery consecrated, and raised on the top of a long pole over the *medicine-lodge;* where it now stands in a group with the others, and will stand as an offering to the Great Spirit, until it decays and falls to the ground.

000 This Letter, as I promised in its commencement, being devoted to some of the customs peculiar to the Mandans, and all of which will be new to the world, I shall close, after recording in it an account of a laughable farce, which was enacted in this village when I was on my journey up the river, and had stopped on the way to spend a day or two in the Mandan village.

789 Readers, did you ever hear of "*Rain Makers?*" If not, sit still, and read on; but laugh not—keep cool and sober, or else you may laugh in the *beginning*, and cry at the *end* of my story. Well, I introduce to you a new character—not a *doctor* or a *high-priest*, yet a *medicine-man*, and one of the highest and most respectable order, a "*Rain Maker!*" Such dignitaries live in the Mandan nation, aye, and "*rain stoppers*" too; and even those also amongst their *conjurati*, who, like Joshua of old, have even essayed to stop the sun in his course; but from the inefficiency of their medicine or mystery, have long since descended into insignificance.

Well, the story begins thus:—The Mandans, as I have said in a former Letter, raise a great deal of corn; and sometimes a most disastrous drought will be visited on the land, destructive to their promised harvest. Such

Sections from Henry's Journal Not Printed in Neill's Version (page numbers refer to those in the Coues edition of Henry's Journal (1897):

224 [322] We had now a well-beaten path, but were several times in danger of breaking our necks in deep pits which the natives had dug in the path to catch wolves and foxes in winter. Some of them are 10 feet deep, hollowed out to a space about 30 feet in circumference, whilst the entrance is no wider than the foot-path and about five feet in length. Those holes are covered with dry grass at the season when wolves are good, and every morning are found to contain some of those animals. In summer the grass grows strong and high about the mouths, entirely concealing them, until one arrives upon the very brink and is in danger of tumbling in headlong.

491 [323] Before we reached the (Mandan) village, we passed through
241 a wood about two miles long. The road was bad, deep with mud and mire, the river having overflowed there lately. Having got through this wood, we came to several plantations of corn, beans, squashes, and sunflowers—the latter, indeed, grow in every direction, without cultivation, at some distance from the fields, where the seed has been carried by the wind; but such are never gathered by the natives, as they are not so good as those that have been properly sown and taken care of.

262 [325] This was just to their own palate, as they seldom eat
574 meat until it begins to smell. We were invited into several huts successively and presented with dried meat in a state of corruption, corn and beans, together with parched corn and fresh ears pounded up in a wooden mortar; this last dish we found good.

439 They soon asked us to trade, and brought buffalo robes, corn,
177 beans, dried squashes, etc.; but we informed them that we did not come here for that purpose, merely to visit them and see the country. They could not comprehend why we should have come so far out of mere curiosity, and said that all white people who came there did so with a view to trade. They suspected that we had goods which we wished to take over the river to the other villages, and were anxious to prevent it. They plagued us until dark, when they retired disappointed.

[p. 384(A)]

832 repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men,
834 who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young
men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on
461 the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to
526 hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times
they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback,
and performing warlike manoeuvres; they have also a favorite
game which occupies much of their time.

512 [328]...this is the first work performed by the women in the
515 morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed
themselves in the Missourie. ...every family being provided
415 with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh.
177 Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to
771 say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those
574 earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest
kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come
in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the
contents.

231 .....Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed
437 in the meadow but never allowed them to be for a moment out of
648 his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them.
We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles,
for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco.

● 439 [329] It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail
upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger
has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first
village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many
439 European articles as they can, [330] particularly arms and ammuni-
609 tion. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each
other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have
578 often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death
569 of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also
to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great
distance. The Pawnees, also, with whom the Mandanes formerly
lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies.
Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and every-
one has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

675 We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the
673 landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut
[577] in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect
security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Or, on the contrary: "The chain begins to rust," &c. &c. Though these people often manifest great energy of character, many have committed suicide on account of disappointments in love, or of wounded honour, of which Dr. Morse relates a remarkable instance, where an Indian killed himself because he was reproached with cowardice, after his mother had suffered death for him. Many travellers speak of the extraordinary memory of the Indians; several of them relate the entire history of their people in a continuous narrative.

The Mandans and Manitaries are proud, and have a high sense of honour. If a person expresses a wish to possess some article belonging to them, he generally receives it as a present, but a present of equal, or greater value, is always looked for in return. They estimate all their effects at a very high rate, ascribing to them an imaginary and far too great value; and a trifling thing is often paid for with one or two horses. Among the articles of great value is the skin of a white buffalo cow. Fifteen florins are paid for a small ermine skin; whereas, a wolf's skin may be purchased for a small quantity of tobacco. One or two horses are frequently given for a feather cap; a horse for 100 or 150 elks' teeth, or for a handful of dentalium shells. The men are much given to indolence, when they cannot pursue their chief avocations, hunting and war. In general, the Mandans and Manitaries are not dangerous, and, though there are many rude and savage men among them, they are, on the whole, well-disposed towards the Whites: the former, especially, manifest this, and have many good and trustworthy men among them. Some of them are addicted to thieving, especially the women and children; and it is said, that many of the Manitaries, when they meet the Whites in the prairie, though they do not kill them, as they used to do, generally plunder them.

They have always free access to the forts of the trading companies; and, as at Fort Clarke, there was no separate apartment for the Indians, we were molested by them, during the whole day, in every room; nay, they often took the place of the owners, which, during the severe cold in the winter time, was quite intolerable, as they stood in front of the fire, with their large buffalo robes, and kept the warmth from coming into the apartment. They require to be always regaled, which is generally done, and it was estimated that in one year they smoked 200 lbs. of tobacco at the expense of the Company. A few among them, indeed, manifested a much greater delicacy of feeling than the mass of them, and left the dining-room when the dinner-hour approached; but only a very small proportion possessed this correct sense of propriety, for the others generally came just at our dinner time; it is true they had but little meat in the winter season, and fared but badly. Disputes and quarrels are very rare among them; but duels are frequent; and revenge for blood is still exercised.

Many of them are particularly cleanly in their persons, and bathe daily, both in winter and summer; their hands, however, are often smeared with colours and fat, nay, sometimes the whole body is bedaubed. The women are, in general, less cleanly, particularly their hands,

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 Many instruments used by the Whites, especially mathematical, are a great medicine, or charm, in their eyes, because they do not comprehend the use of them. Thus, the Indian women were frequently embarrassed when we looked at them through a telescope, because they believed that we had the power of penetrating their inmost thoughts, and of discovering their past and future actions.

805 The division of time, especially that of the year into months, is pretty conformable to nature; they count the years by winters, and say so many winters have passed since such an event. They are able to reckon the winters either by numbers, or on their fingers, for their numerals are very complete.

1. The month of the seven cold days, answering to our January.
2. The pairing month—February.
3. The month of weak eyes—March.
4. The month of game. Some call it the month of the wild geese. It is likewise often called the month of the breaking-up of the ice.
5. The month in which maize is sown, or the month of flowers—May.
6. The month of ripe service berries.
7. The month of ripe cherries.
8. The month of ripe plums.
9. The month of ripe maize.
10. The month of the falling leaves.
11. The month in which the rivers freeze.
12. The month of slight frost.

Here and there other names are given to the months, but the above are the most common.

461 The chief occupations of the Indians, besides adorning and painting their persons, looking in
224 the glass, smoking, eating, and sleeping, are the chase and war, and these fill up a great part of their time. The principal beast of chase is the buffalo, or, rather, the buffalo cow. The men generally go hunting in a body, on horseback, in order to be the more secure against a superior
492 force of their enemies. The equipments of their horses are much like those of the Blackfeet, and their saddle resembles the Hungarian; though, now, they sometimes obtain saddles from the Whites, which they line and ornament with red and blue cloth. In riding, they never leave hold of their whip, the handle of which is made of wood, and not of elk's horn, as among the more
224 western nations. They never wear spurs. In the summer time, if the herds of buffaloes are dispersed to great distances in the prairie, the chase, of course, requires more time and exertion; but in winter, when they approach the Missouri, and seek shelter in the woods, a great number are

7: Catlin R. E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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LETTER—No. 12.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

000 In my last, I gave some account of the village, and the customs, and appearances of this strange people,—and I will now proceed to give further details on that subject.

I have this morning, perched myself upon the top of one of the earth-covered lodges, which I have before described, and having the whole village beneath and about me (PLATE 47), with its sachems—its warriors—its dogs—and its horses in motion—its medicines (or mysteries) and scalp-poles waving over my head—its piquets—its green fields and prairies, and river in full view, with the din and bustle of the thrilling panorama that is about me. I shall be able, I hope, to give some sketches more to the life than I could have done from any effort of recollection.

361 I said that the lodges or wigwams were covered with earth—were of forty or sixty feet in diameter, and so closely grouped that there was but just room enough to walk and ride between them,—that they had a door by which to enter them, and a hole in the top for the admission of light, and for the smoke to escape,—that the inmates were at times grouped upon their tops in conversations and other amusements, &c.; and yet you know not exactly how they look, nor what is the precise appearance of the strange world that is about me. There is really a newness and rudeness in every thing that is to be seen. There are several hundred houses or dwellings about me, and they are purely unique—they are all covered with dirt—the people are all red, and yet distinct from all other red folks I have seen. The horses are wild—every dog is a wolf—the whole moving mass are strangers to me: the living, in everything, carry an air of intractable wildness about them, and the dead are not buried, but dried upon scaffolds.

The groups of lodges around me present a very curious and pleasing appearance, resembling in shape (more nearly than anything else I can compare them to) so many potash-kettles inverted. On the tops of these are to 461 be seen groups standing and reclining, whose wild and picturesque appearance it would be difficult to describe. Stern warriors, like statues, standing in dignified groups, wrapped in their painted robes, with their heads decked and plumed with quills of the war-eagle; extending their long arms to

•461 the east or the west, the scenes of their battles, which they are recounting over to each other. In another direction, the wooing lover, softening the heart of his fair Taih-nah-tai-a with the notes of his simple lute. On other lodges, and beyond these, groups are engaged in games of the "moccasin," or the "platter." Some are to be seen manufacturing robes and dresses, and others, fatigued with amusements or occupations, have stretched their limbs to enjoy the luxury of sleep, whilst basking in the sun. With all this wild and varied medley of living beings are mixed their dogs, which seem to be so near an Indian's heart, as almost to constitute a material link of his existence.

361 In the centre of the village is an open space, or public area, of 150 feet in diameter, and circular in form, which is used for all public games and 778 festivals, shews and exhibitions; and also for their "annual religious ceremonies," which are soon to take place, and of which I shall hereafter give some account. The lodges around this open space front in, with their doors towards the centre; and in the middle of this circle stands an object of great religious veneration, as I am told, on account of the importance it has in the conduction of these annual religious rites.

778 This object is in form of a large hogshead, some eight or ten feet high, made of planks and hoops, containing within it some of their choicest medicines or mysteries, and religiously preserved unhacked or scratched, as a symbol of the "Big Canoe," as they call it.

One of the lodges fronting on this circular area, and facing this strange object of their superstition, is called the "Medicine Lodge," or council house. It is in this sacred building that these wonderful ceremonies, in commemoration of the flood, take place. I am told by the Traders that the cruelties of these scenes are frightful and abhorrent in the extreme; and that this huge wigwam, which is now closed, has been built exclusively for this grand celebration. I am every day reminded of the near approach of the season for this strange affair, and as I have not yet seen any thing of it, I cannot describe it; I know it only from the relations of the Traders who have witnessed parts of it; and their descriptions are of so extraordinary a character, that I would not be willing to describe until I can see for myself, —which will, in all probability, be in a few days.

351 In ranging the eye over the village from where I am writing, there is 778 presented to the view the strangest mixture and medley of unintelligible trash (independant of the living beings that are in motion), that can possibly be imagined. On the roofs of the lodges, besides the groups of living, are buffaloes' skulls, skin canoes, pots and pottery; sleds and sledges—and suspended on poles, erected some twenty feet above the doors of their wigwams, are displayed in a pleasant day, the scalps of warriors, preserved as trophies; and thus proudly exposed as evidence of their warlike deeds. In other parts are raised on poles the warriors' pure and whitened shields and quivers, with medicine-bags attached; and here and there a sacrifice of red

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LETTER—No. 18.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

461 535 The Mandans, like all other tribes, lead lives of idleness and leisure; and of course, devote a great deal of time to their sports and amusements, of which they have a great variety. Of these, dancing is one of the principal, and may be seen in a variety of forms: such as the buffalo dance, the boasting dance, the begging dance, the scalp dance, and a dozen other kinds of dances, all of which have their peculiar characters and meanings or objects.

535 533 198 These exercises are exceedingly grotesque in their appearance, and to the eye of a traveller who knows not their meaning or importance, they are an uncouth and frightful display of starts, and jumps, and yelps, and jarring gutturals, which are sometimes truly terrifying. But when one gives them a little attention, and has been lucky enough to be initiated into their mysterious meaning, they become a subject of the most intense and exciting interest. Every dance has its peculiar step, and every step has its meaning; every dance also has its peculiar song, and that is so intricate and mysterious oftentimes, that not one in ten of the young men who are dancing and singing it, know the meaning of the song which they are chanting over. None but the medicine-men are allowed to understand them; and even they are generally only initiated into these secret arcana, on the payment of a liberal stipend for their tuition, which requires much application and study. There is evidently a set song and sentiment for every dance, for the songs are perfectly measured, and sung in exact time with the beat of the drum; and always with an uniform and invariable set of sounds and expressions, which clearly indicate certain sentiments, which are expressed by the voice, though sometimes not given in any known language whatever.

They have other dances and songs which are not so mystified, but which are sung and understood by every person in the tribe, being sung in their own language, with much poetry in them, and perfectly metred, but without rhyme. On these subjects I shall take another occasion to say more; and will for the present turn your attention to the style and modes in which some of these curious transactions are conducted.

535 My ears have been almost continually ringing since I came here, with the din of yelping and beating of the drums; but I have for several days

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LETTER—No. 20.

MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

461 This day has been one of unusual mirth and amusement amongst the Mandans, and whether on account of some annual celebration or not, I am as yet unable to say, though I think such is the case; for these people have many days which, like this, are devoted to festivities and amusements.

Their lives, however, are lives of idleness and ease, and almost all their days and hours are spent in innocent amusements. Amongst a people who have no office hours to attend to—no professions to study, and of whom but very little time is required in the chase, to supply their families with food, it would be strange if they did not practice many games and amusements, and also become exceedingly expert in them.

I have this day been a spectator of games and plays until I am fatigued with looking on; and also by lending a hand, which I have done; but with so little success as only to attract general observation, and as generally to excite the criticisms and laughter of the squaws and little children.

526 I have seen a fair exhibition of their archery this day, in a favourite amusement which they call the "*game of the arrow*" (see PLATE 60), where the young men who are the most distinguished in this exercise, assemble on the prairie at a little distance from the village, and having paid, each one, his "entrance-fee," such as a shield, a robe, a pipe, or other article, step forward in turn, shooting their arrows into the air, endeavouring to see who can get the greatest number flying in the air at one time, thrown from the same bow. For this, the number of eight or ten arrows are clenched in the left hand with the bow, and the first one which is thrown is elevated to such a degree as will enable it to remain the longest time possible in the air, and while it is flying, the others are discharged as rapidly as possible; and he who succeeds in getting the greatest number up at once, is "best," and takes the goods staked.

In looking on at this amusement, the spectator is surprised; not at the great distance to which the arrows are actually sent; but at the quickness of fixing them on the string, and discharging them in succession; which is no doubt, the result of great practice, and enables the most expert

832 repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men,
834 who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young
men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on
461 the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to
526 hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times
they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback,
and performing warlike manoeuvres; they have also a favorite
game which occupies much of their time.

512 [328]...this is the first work performed by the women in the
515 morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed
themselves in the Missourie. ...every family being provided
415 with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh.
177 Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to
771 say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those
574 earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest
kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come
in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the
contents.

231 .....Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed
437 in the meadow but never allowed them to be for a moment out of
648 his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them.
We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles,
for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco.

439 [329] It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail
upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger
has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first
village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many
439 European articles as they can, [330] particularly arms and ammuni-
609 tion. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each
other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have
578 often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death
868 of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also
to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great
distance. The Pawnees, also, with whom the Mandanes formerly
lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies.
Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and every-
one has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

675 We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the
673 landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut
[577] in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect
security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and it is protected by a narrow shed or entry from six to ten feet long. Over the smoke-holes of many of the lodges are placed frames of wicker-work, on which skins are spread to the windward in stormy weather to keep the lodges from getting smoky. Sometimes bull-boats are used for this purpose. On the site of a proposed lodge, they often dig down a foot or more, in order to find earth compact enough to form a good floor; so, in some lodges, the floors are lower than the general surfaces of the ground on which the village stands. The floor is of earth, and has in its center a circular depression, for a fire-place, about a foot deep, and three or four feet wide, with a edging of flat rocks. These dwellings, being from thirty to forty feet in diameter, from ten to fifteen feet high in the center, and from five to seven feet high at the eaves, are quite commodious." 342

Women Construct Them. "The labor of constructing them is performed mostly by the women; but in lifting and setting the heavier beams, the men assist. If, with the aid of steel axes obtained from the whites, the task of building such a house is no easy one at this day, how difficult it must have been a century ago, when the stone axe was their best implement, and when the larger logs had to be burned through in order that pieces of suitable length might be obtained." 342 4620 412 322

Frame of Lodge. "The frame of the lodge is thus made: A number of stout posts, from ten to fifteen, according to the size of the lodge, and raising to the height of about five feet above the surface of the earth, are set about ten feet apart in a circle. On the tops of these posts, solid beams are laid, extending from one to another. Then, towards the center of the lodge, four posts are erected, of much greater diameter than the outer posts, and rising to the height of ten or more feet about the ground. These four posts stand in the corners of a square about fifteen feet, and their tops are connected with four heavy logs or beams laid horizontally. From the four center beams to the smaller external beams, long poles, or rafters, are stretched at an angle of about 30 degrees with the horizon; and from the outer beams to the earth a number of shorter poles are laid at an angle of about 45 degrees. Finally, a number of saplings or rails are laid horizontally to cover the space between the four central beams, leaving only a hole for the combined skylight and chimney. This frame 342

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

either of the nearest relatives or of the clan to which the lodge belonged. They believed that the lodge had a spirit which would have sent bad luck to one taking possession illegally.

The females of the lodge owned in common the domestic goods consisting of bedding, pots, household and gardening tools, the dogs, gardens, the wooden mortar and pestle, and the mares and colts. Clothing and personal effects were held individually. The men owned their weapons used in warfare and hunting as well as their own clothing and pipes. Men also owned the stallions and geldings. Sacred tribal bundles were held collectively by the man and his wives.

Lodges were built with little ceremony; the only rites were performed at the cutting of the notches for the four center posts when an old woman having the right to cut the posts was called in to sing one song and pray for the family's success. She received one robe for her services. It was the duty of the clan to assist in the erection of a member's lodge. Since these lodges were large, a considerable amount of work was entailed in erecting one and covering it with poles, willows, grass, and earth.[3] As a rule, the clan prepared a feast and invited the opposite moiety to assist, in which case the clans assisted according to the seating arrangement of the men in the Okipa or in council.

Mandan informants state that in earlier times each household had one or more game pits. These pits were dug by all the members of the household and were owned collectively. While the men would bring the poles for the cover and kill the game caught in them, the women frequently did most of the work of excavating and removing earth from the area of the pit. In recent times many households had fishtraps which are believed to have been used since introduced by Black Wolf. Fish bones, particularly catfish bones, are very abundant in the Heart River villages. The ceremonies associated with the trapping of fish, particularly the catfish, were performed by the older men, but the women assisted in weaving the walls for the trap and in sorting and cleaning the fish.

There was considerable variability in the status of household

3. For a report of the amount of materials used in the completion of an earth lodge see George F. Will, "The Mandan Lodge at Bismarck," *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 1 (October, 1930).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

593 [601] *mɥ'he* and others speak of her as *kɥ̃'hE*. An old man addresses an old wife as *mo'kaka*, meaning "old woman," and she addresses him as "old man." The husband usually lived with his wife's people, and the strength of bond between husband and wife was in a large measure determined by the circumstances of marriage. If parents of a lineage possessing an important tribal bundle secured a white buffalo robe and had a daughter or daughters of marriageable age, they would invite in a young man of another family distinguished for its important tribal bundle and complete a marriage. Such marriages were likely to be permanent, since both the husband and the wife were partners in an important ceremony. When children were born, the bond between husband and wife was further strengthened.

593 '462 There was a marked sex dichotomy between husband and wife. The woman did the housework, cared for the gardens, repaired the lodge, and, when on tribal hunts, did much of the butchering, while the man did the hunting, cared for the horses, and protected the village in case of attack. The woman was expected to prepare food for ceremonies in which the husband was participating, and, in the buffalo-calling ceremonies, she was expected to "walk with the buffaloes." She was also expected to "walk" with her husband's "fathers" in ceremonial transfers of age-grade societies.

586 A woman could divorce her husband by the simple expediency of telling him to leave if they were living in the wife's parents' lodge; if living in her husband's parents' lodge, she collected her personal belongings and the children and returned to her parents' lodge. A woman divorced because of cruelty or adultery on the part of her husband, while a man would leave his wife because of trouble with her family or infatuation for another woman.

581 584 596 Few marriages were consummated by mutual selection of the prospective mates; rather the two households made the selection, and children were expected to obey their parents even to the extent of approving mates selected for them. The ties which held husband and wife together were first the respect for their parents, but, when children were born, this parental respect was replaced by mutual affection for the children. Since divorce was easy and common, the household organization was strong,

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

736 In the event of separation or death the children were provided for by the mother's household, with the father's household generally disregarding them.

581 556 These various accounts of types of marriage might be analyzed at length; it is sufficient here to note some significant situations which can be explained as accounting for the variations that occur as well as the number of different relatives participating in one way or another. We have noted the great emphasis placed on wealth and the part it played at the naming of a child. There was a comparable display of wealth when a young man returned from his first successful war expedition. Mandan informants speak of advancement in the tribe as steps in a ladder. As one took a new step, he made certain payments. For those of eminence, marriage was treated in the same way. Except for those marriages which involved bundle purchase, marriage was secular in character and involved only a few people.

162 Plains warfare greatly unbalanced the proportion of women to men. My census of the Mandan as of 1870–72 showed that males constituted only 38 per cent of the total population. A similar proportion was found for Hidatsa men. If we disregard all children under fifteen years of age, the proportion of men would be even smaller. The women of the household played an exclusive role in gardening unless one considers the use of young men as watchmen during the day to prevent a surprise attack by their enemies. The women built the earth lodges except for the raising of the heavier rafters and repaired them from time to time. They dressed the hides and made all the household goods. They did most of the butchering, except when animals were killed at a distance from the village. And they found time to participate in many of the men's ceremonies besides having ceremonies of their own. They were acquainted with ceremonies in which tribal custom did not permit their participation and on some occasions were intrusted with important ritualism ultimately to be transferred to their children. They reared their families and trained them without a great deal of help from their husbands. Some lodge groups in 1870–72 had had no male old enough to hunt for ten years or more. Informants thought that the physical needs of such households were pretty well taken care of by the tribal system of mutual

562 462

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

assistance and the fact that the game run into yards was divided on a moiety basis. 562 [462]

Households having no males suffered most in their ceremonial life. When an important tribal bundle got out of the lodge, it was usually difficult to get it back. [778]

Marriage within the clan was not permitted. There was no punishment other than tribal criticism, and in the census taken as of 1870–72 only one instance was reported by informants, and all the informants questioned on this point mentioned the case. The one instance of marriage within the clan was between Standing Bear and Beaver Woman; though the tribe did not approve of the marriage, they thought that in a way it was justified, since Beaver Woman's mother suggested the marriage after both parties were over fifty-five years of age. The women were brought to Standing Bear's lodge, and the marriage was entered into after the women lost their lodge. 582

Certain Mandan clans had Hidatsa equivalents. Both had a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna clan was considered equivalent to the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik clan was equivalent to the Hidatsa Knife clan. The Mandan were not in agreement as to the wisdom of marriage between Mandan-Hidatsa equated clans. Some treated them as separate lineages and considered marriage permissible. Bad Gun's wife's younger sister, however, refused to marry him, believing that the Tamisik and Knife were divisions of a single clan. 582 614

The Mandan claim that moieties were exogamous until after 1837 and that it was more convenient to go through the ceremonies with the wives when they were of opposite moieties, giving as the basis for the breakdown of the moieties the shortage of men. People preferred to marry into the moiety to marrying outside the tribe. 582 616

Both the levirate and the sororate were permissible. When a man married to the older sister died, a younger brother had first chance to marry the widow, which he could do with only a token payment. Such marriages were highly regarded. This was rarely done, since, with a shortage of men, the younger brother was usually already married to several women. When a wife died, the husband could claim one of her younger sisters as wife, and she seldom refused, especially if her sister had small children. 587

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the offerings to the horns of some weathered buffalo skull found conveniently near by. If a horse fell into a washout, stepped into a badger hole and injured its rider, or was gored by a buffalo, the leader was said to have "kicked the stone" and was usually never selected again unless he fasted sufficiently to receive the forgiveness of the aggrieved parties. 224 554 788

As leader of the hunters, he was expected to make successful surrounds without losing his men from accident. Having been successful on many surrounds, it was believed that he was lucky and had sacred objects that were protecting him and his party. He was then eligible to become the leader of a future summer buffalo-hunting party.

A man's responsibilities increased greatly as the leader of the summer buffalo-hunting party. His selection was made in council held a month before the village was to leave for the summer hunt. The principal men of the village met to consider the matter of a leader. Crows Heart claimed that all who had been lucky in warfare or in leading the hunters aspired to be the summer buffalo-hunt leader at least once in their lifetime. The leader was selected from those who had buffalo skulls as a part of their sacred bundles. These skulls became a part of bundles either through purchase of a hereditary bundle or, more rarely, were introduced into a bundle when vision instructed. It was necessary to have unanimous consent of the head men to become leader, and the appointment was for only one expedition away from the village. A change was usually made for subsequent hunts on the former leader's recommendation, as it was believed that one would have bad luck if he led too many hunts. When a selection had been made, the crier for the Black Mouth Society[1] went through the village announcing the decision. [203]

The leader consulted the village chief in matters relative to preparation of the equipment and the leaders of war parties relative to the protection of the party which would comprise the entire population except a few feeble people who preferred to visit in a neighboring village while the party was away. The women first weeded and hilled their garden crops while the men prepared the dog and horse equipment. While preparations for the summer hunt were being completed, scouts were sent 224 [462]

[1] [The men's society intrusted with the organization and protection of the village. See pp. 94-95, Cat. 116.—Analyst]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

in a line. Household groups kept together, since they would 224
stop from time to time to dig wild turnips. Whenever the leader [222]
saw these plants in great numbers, he would ask his assistant, the announcer of the Black Mouths, to stop the party. All would dig, except the scouts, who were ahead guarding the party against surprise by the enemy or hunting for fresh meat, [561]
and the Black Mouths, who were mounted and armed to protect the party against attack. The latter watched for stragglers and helped them to join the main party.

The leader selected the camping place which had been agreed 224
upon in advance, and the Black Mouths enforced the regula- 561
tions that the lodges be arranged in a circle at a certain distance 361
from each other and compelled those whose lodges were out of place to take them down and set them up in such a way that the circle was complete except for a larger entrance at the side of the leader's lodge where the horses could be brought through to be corraled within the open circle. The leader's household was at the front of the line when traveling and was the first to set up a tepee; the back end of the line which was assembled by household groups swung around in a wide circle so that the last in the line set up their tepee at the side of the leader's tepee, thus completing the circle. Ropes were tied between the tepees forming a corral into which the horses were driven for the night.

The leader's tepee was used as a meeting place for the people 224
assisting him in planning the hunt. They selected the scouts each day and relieved others who had ridden far; when the party had reached its destination, they also selected the leader of the hunters who was changed from day to day if the work of killing animals was tedious as was often the case when the buffaloes were in small bands. The leader was responsible for the success of the entire party and was expected to call in the hunters if scouts reported an enemy encampment until it was decided whether to move to another place or make provisions for the defense of the party. The Black Mouths drove all the [561]
women and children into the camp and enforced rigid rules against leaving.

The men butchered the animals and brought the meat to the 224
camp, while the women cut it into strips and dried it on scaf- 462
folds. All were expected to get equal amounts, and a woman

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

224 462 could go to the pile brought in by anyone if her husband was slow in returning with his meat. There was no moiety division of the animals as was employed with the corral. Everyone was expected to work curing the meat, men and women alike. Older men would haul poles for scaffolds and set them up. Some husbands would be out as scouts and could not butcher. Crows Heart had been on a number of summer hunts and said that he never made a special effort to help his lodge group. As soon as he unloaded his meat, it was taken by anyone who was ready to cure it. Scattercorn said that one did not ask permission to take a hunter's meat and that one was more likely to be criticized for not working hard enough than for appearing selfish. All my informants were in agreement that quarrels over division of the meat and hides were unknown.

224 The leader and the leader of the hunters were entitled to the tongues, but these were shared with others having the buffalo as a god, while some tongues were given to old people. The evenings were spent in dancing and singing.

785 789 224 796 There was a marked increase of fasting during the summer hunts. Many thought that they secured better visions when fasting away from the village. Others thought that it would be highly desirable to fast far from the village to get visions from supernatural beings that might not come to the villages to "adopt a son." The older men taught that the young buffaloes lived in certain buttes and that fasting while out on the summer buffalo range would increase the next year's calf crop. To perpetuate the buffalo supply, they made offerings of speckled eagle feathers and calicoes to these buttes and encouraged the young men to fast near them. The leader would receive many valuable presents from young men seeking visions at that time while praying for their success when the thongs were being inserted through the skin. Dragging heads of recently killed buffaloes through the camp was a customary practice. Crows Heart thought that most young men who had recently fasted in the Okipa ceremony and had not received visions would repeat their vision quest at that time. The hunt would be terminated in time to reach the village before the corn was in the milk stage. Usually a second performance of the Okipa was held a short time after returning.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF EAGLE-TRAPPING. II

223 Early in fall the leader, Wolfs Eyes, said, "I am going out eagle-trapping." There are two ways of getting up a group; some leaders accept volunteers, or the leader may select his men. We went to him and said. "We wish to go with you," and he said that it would be all right. He told us to take certain products from the garden such as roast corn, dried yellow corn, white flour corn, and dried squash. Some prepared their own baits at home. Most of the baits were stuffed jackrabbit skins. Those who did not have any baits made them after we were located at the eagle-trapping lodge and the tepees had been put up. Some would use a piece of deer hide cut up with ears on and two legs on the side.

In the party were the leader, Wolfs Eyes; Big Walk; Little Crow; Lance Owner; Little Bull; Holding Eagle; Black Bear; SittingWoman; White Body; Bears Arm; Louie Wolf or Red Horse; Many Birds; a boy, Spotted Weasel; Little Crow's wife, Otter Woman, and their daughter, Comes Out; Big Walk's wife, Plain Blossom, and their grandson, Jim Foot or Foot Prints; Plain Blossom's daughter, Too Costly; Woman in Water, wife of Charging Eagle, and her son, Richard Burr; Lance Owner's wife, Yellow Stalk; Holding Eagle's wife, Bobcat Woman. Charging Eagle being a policeman, he could not get away, but his wife, being Bears Arm's mother's sister, went along to help with the work in the camp. Also my mother's mother and Woman in Water were sisters. There were several women along because there was much to do, since in bad weather we would go out and kill mountain sheep, elk, and deer, so the women came along to care for the meet and hides. [462]

484 When everything was ready, the young women took their bullboats to the river and crossed our stuff consisting of tepees, poles, provisions, bedding, 492 and cooking utensils. It took nearly all day to cross the stuff. The first camp was at Beaver Creek. We used tepee poles tied together as travois. The horses pulled poles with the tepees and bedding, while several additional pack horses were loaded down with bedding. We were all on horseback and traveled very slowly. When traveling, the leader was at the head of the party, while the hunters were to the side or in advance of the others.

The second day we traveled to End of World Buttes and stopped northeast 487 of Killdeer the third night. After camping on the east side of Killdeer, we went around the north side of the Killdeer Mountains and camped on the north side. From there we went north because that was the best route to cross the Little Missouri River. After we left the Little Missouri, we went to the place called Wolf Pit. When we reached our destination, we commenced to put up our lodge, for there was no lodge there before.

The place was selected by the leader because of the presence of a prairie-223 dog town there in a valley extending from the Yellowstone River eastward to the Little Missouri. All along that valley there were prairie dogs, and the eagles traveled along this valley in order to catch these animals. Then the Indians would come to this site, and our leader thought that it would be a good place to catch the birds.

As soon as the camp was selected, all set to work erecting the lodge, even 346 the women helped by cutting the grass to pack between the poles and digging 784 dirt to put over the lodge. There was an opening at the top for the sparks and 223 smoke. There were four posts and railing on top, while the rest of the poles

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 796 of you; it is an A-ci-ra'-wi'-a," meaning really a bear woman, for the origin was from the bears.

224 462 In early days when young men went out this way, the single girls would marry some of them before they left and then go out there. The women would prepare the meat from the mountain sheep and work on the hides while the men trapped. To secure these fine hides, women would marry a single man in order to get a chance to go out there.

223 796 The pits being dug, early the next morning we got up without having any breakfast and went to our pits. Some of the pits were old ones, but several new ones were made. Sometimes there would be two pits together, and then they would fix the last pit up and go into it. For their baits some had blood stored away while others had jackrabbits. Others had a hide fixed up so that it looked like some animal. Water was mixed with the dry blood and put on the bait. In the evening each man came out, and those who did not catch anything came home quietly, while those who had caught eagles would come in crying. When they heard someone come crying, the waiter would burn incense as the man with the eagle came into camp.

Eagle-trapping is called "Tied," when persons catching eagles are to kill them in the pit before bringing them to the lodge. The first man who came in that day was Little Bull. He had two birds with black tips. White Body was burning the incense. In case both the waiters were away, the leader would burn the incense himself. The next man who came in was Holding Eagle, and he had two birds with black tips. Black Bear caught two also. The saying is that, where you catch two eagles, they are a brother and a sister, for they travel together. These birds were all killed in the pit. The birds were brought in and placed at the head of the lodge in a row. The tails were brought in and placed on the buffalo head, each man keeping track of his own feathers.

223 777 The next day my brother, Little Bull, took me along, and we went into his pit. He caught four that day, and, when the fifth had landed on the bait, he told me to catch it by the feet, which I did. He helped me pull the bird down into the pit. He took me along to show me how to catch the birds. The next time he went out he caught three more, which made ten in all that he had caught. Three warbonnets could be made of them, and he had one tail extra. The leader said to him, "That is enough; you must not go out any more, or you will have bad luck." After that Little Bull did not go out any more.

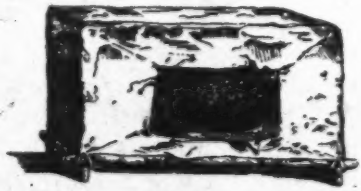
223 The second time Holding Eagle went out he caught three, and the third time he caught two, so that he had seven. Black Bear caught two the first time, three the second time, and two the third time, making seven for him. Lance Owner did not have any luck in his pit, so he was advised to go into Little Bull's pit, where he caught two. Little Crow did not catch anything in his pit, so he was also told to go into Little Bull's pit, and he caught two there. Sitting Woman caught three; White Body did not catch any. Wolfs Eyes and his helper did not trap.

223 796 All these birds were killed in the pit, each trapper having a Baby Stone in his hole. While facing east, they broke the birds' necks, and in that way the spirits of the birds would return to their spirit home down the river.

There are two ways of trapping eagles. This time we followed the ceremony called "Tied" which originated with the black bear. The other way was the real eagle-trapping and in that ceremony they had ways that were different from the ceremony Wolfs Eyes used. In the other ceremony if a trapper fell down and tells the leader about it, his named is changed. This time we did

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 height, are long rafters, inclining to the centre; they are placed near each other, and bear the roof. On the outside the huts are covered with a kind of mat, made of osiers, joined together with bark, and now the skeleton of the hut is finished. Over this hay is spread, and the outer covering
462 is of earth. The men and women work together in erecting these huts, and the relations, neighbours, and friends, assist them in the work. The building of the huts, manufacturing of their arms, hunting, and wars, and part of the labours of the harvest, are the occupations of the men; every other kind of work is left to the women, who, though in general well treated, are obliged to perform all the really laborious work. The women fetch fuel, in heavy loads, frequently from great distances, carry water, and, in winter, blocks of ice into the huts, cook, tan the skins, make
354 all the clothing, lay out the plantations, perform field labour, &c. &c. In the centre of the hut a circular place is dug for the fire, over which the kettle is suspended. This fire-place, or hearth, is often enclosed with a ledge of stones. The fuel is laid, in moderately thick pieces, on the external edge of the hearth, crossing each other in the middle, when it is kindled, and the pieces
352 gradually pushed in as they burn away. The Indians are not fond of large fires. The inmates sit round it, on low seats, made of peeled osiers, covered with buffalo or bear skin. Round the inner circumference of the hut lie or hang the baggage, the furniture, and other property, in leather bags, the painted parchment travelling bags, and the harness of the horses; and on separate stages there are arms, sledges, and snow-shoes, while meat and maize, piled up, complete the motley assemblage. (See Mr. Bodmer's drawing of the interior of the hut of Dipauch, Plate XIX.) The beds stand against the wall of the hut; they consist of a large square case, made of parchment or skins, with a square entrance, and are large enough to hold several persons, who lie very conveniently and warm on skins and blankets. (See the woodcut.)



342 In the winter huts they place, at the inside of the door, a high screen of willow boughs,
221 covered with hides, which keeps off the draught of air from without, and especially protects the
171 fire.

The summer huts are very cool, and, generally speaking, have no unpleasant smell. Mr. Say gives a very good description, and a tolerably accurate print, of a Konza lodge, or hut, and, with

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LETTER—No. 17.

MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

595 171 I MENTIONED in the foregoing epistle, that the chiefs of the Mandans frequently have a plurality of wives. Such is the custom amongst all of these North Western tribes, and a few general remarks on this subject will apply to them all, and save the trouble of repeating them.

Polygamy is countenanced amongst all of the North American Indians, so far as I have visited them; and it is no uncommon thing to find a chief with six, eight, or ten, and some with twelve or fourteen wives in his lodge. Such is an ancient custom, and in their estimation is right as well as necessary. 562 595 Women in a savage state, I believe, are always held in a rank inferior to that of the men, in relation to whom in many respects they stand rather in the light of menials and slaves than otherwise; and as they are the "hewers of wood and drawers of water," it becomes a matter of necessity for a chief (who must be liberal, keep open doors, and entertain, for the support of his popularity) to have in his wigwam a sufficient number of such handmaids or menials to perform the numerous duties and drudgeries of so large and expensive an establishment.

595 556 462 There are two other reasons for this custom which operate with equal, if not with greater force than the one above assigned. In the first place, these people, though far behind the civilized world in acquisitiveness, have still more or less passion for the accumulation of wealth, or, in other words, for the luxuries of life; and a chief, excited by a desire of this kind, together with a wish to be able to furnish his lodge with something more than ordinary for the entertainment of his own people, as well as strangers who fall upon his hospitality, sees fit to marry a number of wives, who are kept at hard labour during most of the year; and the avails of that labour enable him to procure those luxuries, and give to his lodge the appearance of respectability which is not ordinarily seen. Amongst those tribes who trade with the Fur Companies, this system is carried out to a great extent, and the women are kept for the greater part of the year, dressing buffalo robes and other skins for the market; and the brave or chief, who has the greatest number of wives, is considered the most affluent and envied man in the tribe; for his table is most bountifully supplied, and his lodge the most abundantly furnished with the luxuries

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

of civilized manufacture, who has at the year's end the greatest number of robes to vend to the Fur Company. 595

The manual labour amongst savages is all done by the women; and as there are no daily labourers or persons who will "*hire out*" to labour for another, it becomes necessary for him who requires more than the labour or services of one, to add to the number by legalizing and compromising by the ceremony of marriage, his stock of labourers; who can thus, and thus alone, be easily enslaved, and the results of their labour turned to good account. 556 462

There is yet the other inducement, which probably is more effective than either; the natural inclination which belongs to man, who stands high in the estimation of his people and wields the sceptre of power—surrounded by temptations which he considers it would be unnatural to resist, where no law or regulation of society stands in the way of his enjoyment. Such a custom amongst savage nations can easily be excused too, and we are bound to excuse it, when we behold man in a state of nature, as he was made, following a natural inclination, which is sanctioned by ancient custom and by their religion, without a law or regulation of their society to discountenance it; and when, at the same time, such an accumulation of a man's household, instead of quadrupling his expenses (as would be the case in the civilized world), actually becomes his wealth, as the results of their labour abundantly secure to him all the necessaries and luxuries of life. 595

There are other and very rational grounds on which the propriety of such a custom may be urged, one of which is as follows:—as all nations of Indians in their natural condition are unceasingly at war with the tribes that are about them, for the adjustment of ancient and never-ending feuds, as well as from a love of glory, to which in Indian life the battle-field is almost the only road, their warriors are killed off to that extent, that in many instances two and sometimes three women to a man are found in a tribe. In such instances I have found that the custom of polygamy has kindly helped the community to an evident relief from a cruel and prodigious calamity.

The instances of which I have above spoken, are generally confined to the chiefs and medicine-men; though there is no regulation prohibiting a poor or obscure individual from marrying several wives, other than the personal difficulties which lie between him and the hand which he wishes in vain to get, for want of sufficient celebrity in society, or from a still more frequent objection, that of his inability (from want of worldly goods) to deal in the customary way with the fathers of the girls whom he would appropriate to his own household.

There are very few instances indeed, to be seen in these regions, where a poor or ordinary citizen has more than one wife; but amongst chiefs and braves of great reputation, and doctors, it is common to see some six or

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

From the enslaved and degraded condition in which the women are held in the Indian country, the world would naturally think that theirs must be a community formed of incongruous and unharmonizing materials; and consequently destitute of the fine, reciprocal feelings and attachments which flow from the domestic relations in the civilized world; yet it would be untrue, and doing injustice to the Indians, to say that they were in the least behind us in conjugal, in filial, and in paternal affection. There is no trait in the human character which is more universal than the attachments which flow from these relations, and there is no part of the human species who have a stronger affection and a higher regard for them than the North American Indians. 593

There is no subject in the Indian character of more importance to be rightly understood than this, and none either that has furnished me more numerous instances and more striking proofs, of which I shall make use on a future occasion, when I shall say a vast deal more of marriage—of divorce—of polygamy—and of Indian domestic relations. For the present I am scribbling about the looks and usages of the Indians who are about me and under my eye; and I must not digress too much into general remarks, lest I lose sight of those who are near me, and the first to be heralded. 000

Such, then, are the Mandans—their women are beautiful and modest,—and amongst the respectable families, virtue is as highly cherished and as inapproachable, as in any society whatever; yet at the same time a chief may marry a dozen wives if he pleases, and so may a white man; and if either wishes to marry the most beautiful and modest girl in the tribe, she is valued only equal, perhaps, to two horses, a gun with powder and ball for a year, five or six pounds of beads, a couple of gallons of whiskey, and a handful of awls. 583

The girls of this tribe, like those of most of these north-western tribes, marry at the age of twelve or fourteen, and some at the age of eleven years; and their beauty, from this fact, as well as from the slavish life they lead, soon after marriage vanishes. Their occupations are almost continual, and they seem to go industriously at them, as if from choice or inclination, without a murmur. 582

The principal occupations of the women in this village, consist in procuring wood and water, in cooking, dressing robes and other skins, in drying meat and wild fruit, and raising corn (maize). The Mandans are somewhat of agriculturists, as they raise a great deal of corn and some pumpkins and squashes. This is all done by the women, who make their hoes of the shoulder-blade of the buffalo or the elk, and dig the ground over instead of ploughing it, which is consequently done with a vast deal of labour. They raise a very small sort of corn, the ears of which are not longer than a man's thumb. This variety is well adapted to their climate, as it ripens sooner than other varieties, which would not mature in so cold a latitude. The green corn season is one of great festivity with them, and one of much importance. The greater part of their crop is eaten during these festivals, 462 241 251

437 willing and ready to serve you as long as you have any property.
177 But when all is expended you may shift for yourself, as they will pretend they do not understand you any longer. Besides paying our host [343] beforehand, I promised him a tobacco-pipe on my departure, if I were then pleased with his conduct during our stay. His pay consisted of the following articles: 60 balls and powder, 4 large knives, 2 small knives, 1 fathom tobacco, 1 dozen rings, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 6 flints, 3 worms, 3 awls, and 1/4 pound blue beads.

164 [343] The natives at present are mostly affected with a bad cough, which daily takes some of them off. Aged and infirm persons, and young children, are the common victims to this disease. It is a kind of whooping-cough, which has appeared all along the Red and Assiniboine rivers, on the Saskatchewan even to Fort des Prairies, and in several other parts of the North West, carrying off many people

241 July 21st. I set off early on horseback with part of my people
●[462 for the upper villages. We passed extensive fields of corn, beans,
561] squashes, and sunflowers. Many women and children were already
412 employed in clearing and hoeing their plantations. Their hoes are the shoulderblade of a buffalo, to which is fastened a crooked stick for a handle; the soil not being stony, this slight implement answers every purpose. The road first led over two hills, after which we came to a smooth and pleasant plain for about two miles to the Saulteur (Soulier) [Amahami—Analyst] village, of about 40 huts.

361 [362]. . These villages are surrounded by a kind of stockade, princi-
417 pally made of driftwood, which has a miserable appearance and is daily falling to pieces; but I am told that upon any emergency it can be put into a tolerably good state of defense at very short notice, as every man, woman, and child lends a hand.

526 We witnessed a diversion which takes place almost every day
481 between the Mandanes and Saulteurs (Souliers). It is the exercise
702 of running long foot races, in order to be prepared for the emergency of being dismounted and obliged to fly from their enemies at war. They assemble upon a beautiful green near the village, where, having remained some time, calling out to their comrades to come and run, they set off in a file on a slow trot, entirely naked, taking the road that leads up the hills to the S., about a mile from the village. Passing near those rising grounds, they disappear, and are not seen till they reappear from the S.E., down a steep hill and over a level plain, to the spot whence they started. Here they do not stop, but rush on to the Missouri, and plunge in headlong, all

[p. 384(E)]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

This account of a summer buffalo hunt illustrates the position of an individual in his relations to the remainder of the village. As a young man first assisting in a summer buffalo hunt he received his training from those older and more experienced; he advanced by degrees, and his responsibilities increased until, as leader of the village when on the hunt, he was responsible for the well-being of the entire village group of which he was a part. It will be shown in the pages that follow that whereas an individual would, in one situation be the leader over his entire village, in other situations he would be a follower and others would be responsible for the group's success.

Men specialized in certain activities. Whereas some were leaders of buffalo hunts, fish-trapping, war expeditions, or various ceremonies, others specialized as singers, painters, arrowmakers, or storytellers. In Mandan society, a man or woman seeking information, however trivial, was expected to make a payment for the information acquired. Persons possessing unique information and techniques were highly regarded, and it would have been considered ill mannered to adopt another's skills without at first paying for that right, however well the individual may have been able to perform without this paid training. One was also said to be inviting bad luck by practicing arts for which payment had not been made.

Payment for training was so highly developed in Mandan society that a young woman assisting her mother in the making of clay pots would prepare a simple feast to which the females of the household were invited in order to receive the right to assist in the making of pots and to make vessels of her own after her mother had died. Within the family group the payments were usually insignificant so far as the value of the goods was concerned. It was felt that the small payment in goods expressed the young woman's respect for her mother. The Mandan also believed that payments expressed societal values. The mother would explain each step in pottery-making, the selection of the clay and grit, the molding of the mass, the introduction of decorations, and the drying and baking of the vessels. Mandan vessels had a variety of decorations, and the person buying the right to make pottery acquired only the right to employ such decorations as the mother had a right to use. If she wished to

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Wolf as payment for his services to these birds in the sacred myth. According to tradition, only those who had purchased the right made arrows. Arrowmaking techniques were taught by certain bundle-owners. It is highly improbable that any living informant at the time this study was made was able to enumerate all bundles with arrowmaking rights. At least the following, which is no doubt only a partial list, had arrowmaking rights: Eagle-trapping; Big Bird; Snow Owl; and Woman Above bundles. All of these bundles were associated with birds of prey.

The belief was that certain men were arrowmakers in early times and that those in need of arrows bought their supply. People without the rights were not allowed to stand around when arrows were being made. Incidentally, pottery-making was also a secret art, and the women bought the rights and knowledge in the techniques of their mothers or clanswomen, using only such designs as they were instructed to make. There was a song to the arrows and another when approaching the thicket where the shafts were secured. The stone tips were believed to have been first secured from the beavers.

The buffalo-calling rites were performed during the winter and were initiated by a young man dreaming of the buffaloes. Woman Living in Dog Den Butte (Buffalo Woman) had said in the myth, "In the future, when any Indian thinks of me, he must make offerings to me and give his wife to the one who is head of this medicine."

The three officers in the ceremony were (1) the bundle-owner and his wives, who sat to the left side near the head of the lodge and were the singers; (2) a woman impersonating Woman Living in Dog Den Butte, who wore a buffalo robe with hair side out and had sage and magpie tail feathers in her hair, her place being at the head of the lodge; and (3) a man impersonating the brothers who lived in Dog Den Butte; he had red marks painted on his skin indicating the kinds of wounds a man could receive in battle, and his place was on the right side of the lodge near the door.

The Okipa lodge was used for the ceremony. After a young man had made the vow, robes and other goods were accumulated for the ceremony. A man received help from his wife, brothers, sisters, clan brothers and sisters, and the people of both his

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

garters and belts of buffalo hair. But they did make string 000
and willow matting. There is an account of a mat used on the 284
seat before the fire. Henry[1] says that the mat was of small 285
willows of equal size, fastened together by thread of native make passed through each stick about one foot apart. The mats were ten feet long, four feet broad, and the two ends for two and a half feet were raised slanting from the ground and supported by a kind of sofa. Verendrye says they made wicker work very neatly, flat, and in baskets.

The Mandans used snow-shoes which were only about two 481
and a half feet long.[2] For their dyes and paints they made use 386
of the following: red obtained from buffalo-berries, black from sunflowers, and yellow from a kind of moss which came from the Rocky Mountains. Blue, red, black, yellow and white clays were also used.

An indispensable article of the full dress was the fan. These 293
were made from the large plumes of the eagle, hawk, crow, and 237
a number of other birds, depending on the rank of the owner.

The Mandan pipes differed a trifle from those of their neigh- 276
bors, being less ornate.[3] They were either of stone, black clay, or yellow clay painted black. The stone pipes were obtained [439]
mostly from the Dakotas. Pipes with wooden bowls, lined with stone, were also used. The stem was long and round or flat. Catlin describes one pipe as of red steatite (catlinite) with a stem three feet long, half its length wound with braids of porcupine quills. They also had the calumet pipe which will be considered in connection with the ceremonies.

The Mandans and their neighbors the Arikara and Hidatsa 323
made glass beads, an art which they claimed was taught to them by the Snake Indians. They did not make the glass but used glass obtained through the whites. Lewis and Clarke[4] give a short account of the manufacture of beads which is exceedingly interesting. It may be thus summarized. The secret is known only to a few. Glass of several colors is pounded fine, each color separate; this is washed in several waters until the glass stops staining the water. They then take an

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 340.
[2] Ibid., p. 391.
[3] Maximilian: p. 390.
[4] March 16, 1805.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

648 Among a number of other customs, was treaty making with other tribes. This was well described by Henry who accompanied the Mandans and Hidatsa when they went to make a treaty with the Cheyennes. Most of the people went on these treaty visits; the band marched in a procession of fixed order and a number of ceremonial objects were carried exposed throughout the march. The party was met with great ceremony by the new allies and its members were taken into their [597] houses. Several days of ceremonial feasting occurred and finally the head chief of each party adopted a son from the other [439] tribe. After this there was more feasting and several days of trade between the two bands, when both returned home.

597 The adoption of sons occurred also among the different families. Maximilian describes the adoption of a "medicine son" to whom a sacred pipe was given. The man chose his adopted son through a dream. The new pipe was consecrated and gifts were showered upon the son's family by the adopted father and his relatives. A dance and feast was then held. This custom was prevalent over all the Missouri region.

838 There were a number of men who dressed and acted like women and were treated in every way as such. These men claimed to follow this life by an order from the spirits given to them in a dream.

567 Catlin says that the Mandans did not have slaves and there is no mention of them elsewhere. The Arikara, however, had a regular slavery system, and the Crows made slaves and sold 201 them on the Missouri. The Mandans were very good at the sign language so Maximilian tells us. They were expert swim- • 481 mers, and collected their whole supply of wood by swimming 313 out and towing in the drift wood at the time of the spring break-ups.

511 In point of general culture the Mandans were superior to any of their immediate neighbors, surpassing even the other sedentary people, the Hidatsa and Arikara. Catlin says that they had advanced far in the arts of manufacture and had more comforts and luxuries than other tribes. When Verendrye saw them he, too, was struck by their superior skill. He said that the Mandans dressed leather and worked in feathers better

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

some slight differences, the mode of building resembles, in the main, those of the Mandans, 342
Manitaries, and Arikkaras. Among these differences are the mats which are fastened all round in 221
the first hut, and which I did not observe among the tribes that I visited. The beds, too, are 171
arranged in a different manner. The Mandans and Manitaries are seen in their huts, sitting
round the fire, employed in all kinds of domestic labour. The man has, generally, no clothing
except the nokka, and is often merely smoking, but the women are never idle. In winter, that
is, at the beginning or middle of November, these Indians remove, with the greater part of their
effects, to the neighbouring forest, where their winter huts are situated. These consist of pre-
cisely similar huts, of rather smaller dimensions. Their departure from the summer huts is deter-
mined by the weather, but, as beforesaid, is generally about the middle of November; and their
return, in the spring, is usually about the latter end of February, or the beginning of March, so
that we may reckon that they pass above eight months in their summer quarters. Inside of the 231
winter huts is a particular compartment, where the horses are put in the evening, and fed with
maize. In the daytime they are driven into the prairie, and feed in the bushes, on the bark of
poplars. There are, probably, above 300 horses in the two Mandan villages; some of the
people, indeed, do not possess any, while others, again, have several. The Mandans and Mani- 343
taries, like all the other Indians of this country, sometimes make what are here called caches, or 221
hiding-places, in the vicinity of their villages. These caches are holes, or magazines, under-
ground, often so artfully contrived that it is very difficult to discover them. The Indians fre-
quently go from their winter to their summer village, to fetch any articles they may happen to
want, as they invariably leave part of their property behind. When they quit their huts for a 493
longer period than usual, they load their dogs with the baggage, which is drawn in small sledges, 231
made of a couple of thin, narrow boards, nine or ten feet in length, fastened together with leather
straps, and with four cross-pieces, by way of giving them firmness. Leather straps are attached in
front, and drawn either by men or dogs. The load is fastened to the sledge by straps (for such a
sledge drawn by dogs see Vignette XXIX). When the snow is deep, they use snow shoes (Plate 481
XXI. Fig. 4), which are described by Captain Franklin, only those of the Mandans are much 171
smaller, about two feet and a half long; whereas in the north their length is from four to six feet.
The Mandans and Manitaries have not, by any means, so many dogs as the Assiniboins, Crows, and 231
Blackfeet. They are rarely of the true wolf's colour, but generally black, or white, or else 171
spotted with black and white. Among the nations further to the north-west they more nearly
resemble the wolf, but here they are more like the prairie wolf (*Canis latrans*). We likewise
found, among these animals, a brown race, descended from European pointers, hence the genuine
bark of the dog is more frequently heard here, whereas among the western nations they only
howl. The Indian dogs are worked very hard, have hard blows, and hard fare; in fact, they are
treated just as this fine animal is treated among the Esquimaux.

515 which arises from their continual and severe labour. They generally let their nails grow long.

The rude inhabitants of the prairies are extremely agile and hardy; they bathe, in the depth of winter, in the half frozen rivers, and wear no covering on the upper part of their body under the buffalo robe; they are very expert swimmers, even when quite young. I have already 481 observed that all these nations swim in the same manner as the Brazilian Tapuyas, which is confirmed by other writers. They often practise riding on horseback without a saddle, and very swift horse-racing. They are capital marksmen with the bow; all their senses are remarkably acute.

561 Among the Mandans, and all the nations of the Upper Missouri, as well as among most of the North American tribes, there are certain bands or unions or companies, which are dis-
425 tinguished from the others, and kept together by certain external badges and laws. They have three kinds of war or signal pipes, which are hung round the neck, and are among the badges of the unions, which divide the men into six classes, according to their age. The first band or union is composed of "the foolish dogs," or "the dogs whose name is not known." They are young people from ten to fifteen years of age, and wear a pipe made of the wing bone of the wild goose, which is but small. When they dance, three of them have a long broad piece of red cloth hanging from the back of the neck to the ground. Like every distinct class they have a particular song to accompany their dance. Formerly old people likewise belonged to this band, but then they never dared to retreat before the enemy; this has since been changed to the present limited rule. If a boy desires to enter the first band in order to become a man, he goes to a member of it, addresses him by the appellation of father, and endeavours to purchase the rank, the dance, the song, and the war pipe belonging to it, for certain articles of value, such as blankets, cloth, horses, powder, ball, and the like, which the father pays for him. If this place is sold to him he has a right to all the distinctions and privileges of the band, and he who sold it thereby renounces all claim to it, and endeavours to purchase admission to a higher
561 band. The dances of the several classes are in the main very similar, but there is a particular
535 song belonging to each, and sometimes even a different step. The drum and schischikué must
534 likewise be purchased at the same time. The latter, among this band, is spherical, with a handle, and is made of leather.

561 The second class or band is that of the crows or ravens; it consists of young men from twenty to twenty-five years of age. Frequently young people are in none of the bands for half a year or more. They then go to the band of the crows, and say, "Father, I am poor, but I wish [534] to purchase from you." If the possessor agrees, they then receive the raven's feathers, which the band wear on their heads, a double war-pipe, consisting of two wing bones of a goose joined together, a drum, schischikué, the song and the dance. Each of these bands has a leader, called,

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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000 country has been friendly and kind ever since their first acquaintance with them—they have ever met and received them, on the prairie or in their villages, with hospitality and honour.

515 They are handsome, straight and elegant in their forms—not tall, but quick and graceful; easy and polite in their manners, neat in their persons and beautifully clad. When I say "neat in person and beautifully clad," however, I do not intend my readers to understand that such is the case with them all, for among them and most other tribes, as with the enlightened world, there are different grades of society—those who care but little for their personal appearance, and those who take great pains to please themselves and their friends. Amongst this class of personages, such as chiefs and braves, or warriors of distinction, and their families, and dandies or exquisites (a class of beings of whom I shall take due time to speak in a future Letter), the strictest regard to decency, and cleanliness and elegance of dress is observed; and there are few people, perhaps, who take more pains to keep their persons neat and cleanly than they do.

At the distance of half a mile or so above the village, is the customary place where the women and girls resort every morning in the summer months, to bathe in the river. To this spot they repair by hundreds, every morning at sunrise, where, on a beautiful beach, they can be seen running and glistening in the sun, whilst they are playing their innocent gambols and leaping into the stream. They all learn to swim well, and the poorest swimmer amongst them will dash fearlessly into the boiling and eddying current of the Missouri, and cross it with perfect ease. At the distance of a quarter of a mile back from the river, extends a terrace or elevated prairie, running north from the village, and forming a kind of semicircle around this bathing-place; and on this terrace, which is some twenty or thirty feet higher than the meadow between it and the river, are stationed every morning several sentinels, with their bows and arrows in hand, to guard and protect this sacred ground from the approach of boys or men from any directions.

At a little distance below the village, also, is the place where the men and boys go to bathe and learn to swim. After this morning ablution, they return to their village, wipe their limbs dry, and use a profusion of bear's grease through their hair and over their bodies.

000 The art of swimming is known to all the American Indians; and perhaps no people on earth have taken more pains to learn it, nor any who turn it to better account. There certainly are no people whose avocations of life more often call for the use of their limbs in this way; as many of the tribes spend their lives on the shores of our vast lakes and rivers, paddling about from their childhood in their fragile bark canoes, which are liable to continual accidents, which often throw the Indian upon his natural resources for the preservation of his life.

There are many times also, when out upon their long marches in the prosecution of their almost continued warfare, when it becomes necessary to

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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plunge into and swim across the wildest streams and rivers, at times when they have no canoes or craft in which to cross them. I have as yet seen no tribe where this art is neglected. It is learned at a very early age by both sexes, and enables the strong and hardy muscles of the squaws to take their child upon the back, and successfully to pass any river that lies in their way. 000

The mode of swimming amongst the Mandans, as well as amongst most of the other tribes, is quite different from that practiced in those parts of the civilized world, which I have had the pleasure yet to visit. The Indian, instead of parting his hands simultaneously under the chin, and making the stroke outward, in a horizontal direction, causing thereby a serious strain upon the chest, throws his body alternately upon the left and the right side, raising one arm entirely above the water and reaching as far forward as he can, to dip it, whilst his whole weight and force are spent upon the one that is passing under him, and like a paddle propelling him along; whilst this arm is making a half circle, and is being raised out of the water behind him, the opposite arm is describing a similar arcl. in the air over his head, to be dipped in the water as far as he can reach before him, with the hand turned under, forming a sort of bucket, to act most effectively as it passes in its turn underneath him. 481

By this bold and powerful mode of swimming, which may want the grace that many would wish to see, I am quite sure, from the experience I have had, that much of the fatigue and strain upon the breast and spine are avoided, and that a man will preserve his strength and his breath much longer in this alternate and rolling motion, than he can in the usual mode of swimming, in the polished world.

In addition to the modes of bathing which I have above described, the Mandans have another, which is a much greater luxury, and often resorted to by the sick, but far more often by the well and sound, as a matter of luxury only, or perhaps for the purpose of hardening their limbs and preparing them for the thousand exposures and vicissitudes of life to which they are continually liable. I allude to their vapour baths, or *sudatories*, of which each village has several, and which seem to be a kind of public property—accessible to all, and resorted to by all, male and female, old and young, sick and well. 515 343 757

In every Mandan lodge is to be seen a crib or basket, much in the shape of a bathing-tub, curiously woven with willow boughs, and sufficiently large to receive any person of the family in a reclining or recumbent posture; which, when any one is to take a bath, is carried by the squaw to the sudatory for the purpose, and brought back to the wigwam again after it has been used 352 515

These sudatories are always near the village, above or below it, on the bank of the river. They are generally built of skins (in form of a Crow or Sioux lodge which I have before described), covered with buffalo skins 515 343 757

10: Neill H4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

609 attentive and polite in conveying our baggage on board. We
622 now perceived another American flag flying in the village on the south side of the river, while that of the Black Cat was still displayed over the hut we had occupied. Our conductor now informed us the flag we saw in the opposite village was his property, and had been hoisted by his orders over his own hut, where he begged we would take up our lodgings. The young men, I
[481 observed were very prompt in getting our horses over. They
492] fastened a line to the horse's mouth, the end of which one of them takes in his teeth, and swims on ahead, while others swim along on each side, and in the rear, draws the horse on very expeditiously. They swim remarkably swift, and notwithstanding
[481] the Missouri at this place is half a mile wide, and the current very strong, they drift down but a very considerable distance before they land.

501 Their canoes are of very singular construction and a stranger would scarcely dare venture his life in them to cross such a deep and rapid stream. They are of a circular form; the timbers are nothing but a few bent willows of about three inches in circumference, over which is stretched a raw buffalo hide, with the hair inside, and sewed first to the gunwales which are generally of a willow, about two inches in diameter. I was really surprised to see the great weight that one of those slender vessels would carry. We embarked, baggage, saddles, etc., weighing at least 200 pounds, Mr. Chaboillez and myself, and our ferryman, who was a remarkably stout fellow. Our canoe or dish would have supported at least 100 pounds more. What they make use of, in lieu of a paddle, is a pole about five feet long, split at one end so as to admit of a piece of board, about two feet long, and half a foot broad, which is lashed to the pole and forms a kind of cross, and as there is but one made use of for each canoe, and he that paddles pulls directly for the opposite shore, every stroke he gives turns his dish almost entirely around; when, to preserve his position and place him fronting his intended, route he must give a stroke upon the other hand which brings him up again, and so on until he gets over the river, which, however, is not accomplished until they have drifted down nearly a mile.

501 Some of them, I observed, were more expert than others in
482 managing their dishes, and did not drift more than a quarter of a mile. But as these vessels are very light they have the precaution to carry them upon their heads, or slung upon their backs to a considerable distance higher up the river, than where they wish to land. When we were on the water our conductor repeatedly made signs to us to salute the flag, by firing our guns, but we did not think proper to comply with his wishes or pretended we did not comprehend him.

622 We soon after landed at the village, which is situated upon
574 the very edge of the bank. Here we were received by another
609

437 willing and ready to serve you as long as you have any property.
177 But when all is expended you must shift for yourself, as they will pretend they do not understand you any longer. Besides paying our host [343] beforehand, I promised him a tobacco-pipe on my departure, if I were then pleased with his conduct during our stay. His pay consisted of the following articles: 60 balls and powder, 4 large knives, 2 small knives, 1 fathom tobacco, 1 dozen rings, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 6 flints, 3 worms, 3 awls, and 1/4 pound blue beads.

164 [343] The natives at present are mostly affected with a bad cough, which daily takes some of them off. Aged and infirm persons, and young children, are the common victims to this disease. It is a kind of whooping-cough, which has appeared all along the Red and Assiniboine rivers, on the Saskatchewan even to Fort des Prairies, and in several other parts of the North West, carrying off many people

241 July 21st. I set off early on horseback with part of my people
[462 for the upper villages. We passed extensive fields of corn, beans,
561] squashes, and sunflowers. Many women and children were already
412 employed in clearing and hoeing their plantations. Their hoes are the shoulderblade of a buffalo, to which is fastened a crooked stick for a handle; the soil not being stony, this slight implement answers every purpose. The road first led over two hills, after which we came to a smooth and pleasant plain for about two miles to the Saulteur (Soulier) [Amahami—Analyst] village, of about 40 huts.
361 [362]. . These villages are surrounded by a kind of stockade, princi-
417 pally made of driftwood, which has a miserable appearance and is daily falling to pieces; but I am told that upon any emergency it can be put into a tolerably good state of defense at very short notice, as every man, woman, and child lends a hand.

526 We witnessed a diversion which takes place almost every day
481 between the Mandanes and Saulteurs (Souliers). It is the exercise
702 of running long foot races, in order to be prepared for the emergency of being dismounted and obliged to fly from their enemies at war. They assemble upon a beautiful green near the village, where, having remained some time, calling out to their comrades to come and run, they set off in a file on a slow trot, entirely naked, taking the road that leads up the hills to the S., about a mile from the village. Passing near those rising grounds, they disappear, and are not seen till they reappear from the S.E., down a steep hill and over a level plain, to the spot whence they started. Here they do not stop, but rush on to the Missourie, and plunge in headlong, all

[p. 384(E)]

526 covered with dust and sweat. The race is at least six miles long,
●481 and it is surprising to see what a great distance some of them gain
702 upon others. This violent exercise is performed on the hottest summer days, and it is a wonder that some of them do not pay dearly for their temerity.

541 During my absence yesterday [July 21 - Analyst] my people, who remained here, witnessed a horse race. The Mandanes assembled in great numbers on horseback, and rode about three miles below the village, where all mustered. They set out in a body, pell-mell, whipping and kicking their horses, directing their course along the foot of the hills, and made a long circuit at full speed around the village. Some of their horses appeared very swift and spirited, but others were miserable animals. On their arrival, they performed their warlike manoeuvres on horseback, feigning their different attacks upon the enemy, giving their strokes of the battleax and thrusts of the spear, and defending themselves in turn by parrying blows and covering themselves with their shields.

526 ...I observed one particular game among the Mandanes, which the young men were continually playing. Two persons are each provided with a stick six feet long, on which are cut a certain number of notches, an inch long, in the intervals of which are fixed the same number of small bunches of feathers of divers colors, with three pieces of wood, 16 inches square, one near each end, and one in the middle; these are perforated in the center, and through them is passed the rod, painted of divers colors. Each notch has a particular mark, the nature of which they themselves only understand—indeed, the same may be said of the whole game. The ground on which they play is a smooth level space, about 40 paces long and 5 broad. The players stand side by side, start from one end of the ground, and trot on till they are halfway through, when one of them throws a ball gently ahead, in such a manner that it will not roll further than the space allowed for the game; at the same time both players push their rod forward to overtake and keep pace with the ball, but not to check its course. They then examine the particular notch or bunch of feathers at which the ball stops, and count accordingly.

304 The greater part of the men—Big Bellies, Mandanes, and
787 Saulteurs (Souliers)—have lost a joint of several fingers, [364]
785 particularly of the left hand, and it is not uncommon to see only the

[p. 384(F)]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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482
285

FIG. 4.—Mrs. Good Bear

10: Neill H(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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609

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

for two small villages to combine in one at the new location. Owing to the immense difficulty of cutting timbers with their crude stone axes, in making these changes of residence they undoubtedly carried with them the timbers of the abandoned huts and used them in rebuilding, wherever possible. The Indians left Knife river because of the scarcity of timber and the attacks of the Sioux. When the trading post of Fort Berthold—so called in honor of Bartholomew Berthold, a fur trader of St. Louis—was established, about 1844 or 1845, the Indians 'drew the logs (of which it was built) with lariats of rawhide over their shoulders.' " (p. 223.)

Lodge Ruins. "The dirt mounds, ruins of their former homes, have often been mistaken for the ancient burial grounds of these tribes, which is not surprising unless one has studied the history of this interesting people. About ten miles above Bismarck one of the best of these collections of mounds is found, on a bluff overlooking one of the most beautiful stretches of the Missouri, just below Square Butte. There are eighteen or twenty of the mounds, most of them well-defined, and generally more or less circular in their form. They form a semi-circle arc, with the river as a chord, and are now more or less merged together into an irregular ridge. These mounds have been dug over and over, yet I was able to find among them many shards and arrow-points and knives when I visted them." (pp. 5-6.)

Lower Village. "The Mandans call themselves Metutahanke, **the Lower Village**, as Dr. Matthews gives it, or Miti-Untanhanke, **the Village on the East**, as it was given to, and partially written for me by Mrs. Baker, both referring to the same village, the one called Ma-too-ton-ha by Lewis and Clarke. Maximilian calls this village Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, and these different readings of the same word well indicate the difficulties experienced in obtaining correct Indian vocabularies."

Farmers. "These people have always been farmers, and both men and women have for years, now, shared the labors of the field. In early days they raised corn, tobacco, squashes, beans, the wild sunflower, etc., and now they grow, in addition, potatoes, turnips, and various vegetables. The Aricaree seem to be the best farmers. Each tribe now raises cattle and horses, but they do not seem to grasp the idea that cattle raising, if attended to

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF EAGLE-TRAPPING. II

223 Early in fall the leader, Wolfs Eyes, said, "I am going out eagle-trapping." There are two ways of getting up a group; some leaders accept volunteers, or the leader may select his men. We went to him and said. "We wish to go with you," and he said that it would be all right. He told us to take certain products from the garden such as roast corn, dried yellow corn, white flour corn, and dried squash. Some prepared their own baits at home. Most of the baits were stuffed jackrabbit skins. Those who did not have any baits made them after we were located at the eagle-trapping lodge and the tepees had been put up. Some would use a piece of deer hide cut up with ears on and two legs on the side.

In the party were the leader, Wolfs Eyes; Big Walk; Little Crow; Lance Owner; Little Bull; Holding Eagle; Black Bear; SittingWoman; White Body; Bears Arm; Louie Wolf or Red Horse; Many Birds; a boy, Spotted Weasel; Little Crow's wife, Otter Woman, and their daughter, Comes Out; Big Walk's wife, Plain Blossom, and their grandson, Jim Foot or Foot Prints; Plain Blossom's daughter, Too Costly; Woman in Water, wife of Charging Eagle, and her son, Richard Burr; Lance Owner's wife, Yellow Stalk; Holding Eagle's wife, Bobcat Woman. Charging Eagle being a policeman, he could not get away, but his wife, being Bears Arm's mother's sister, went along to help with the work in the camp. Also my mother's mother and Woman in Water were [462] sisters. There were several women along because there was much to do, since in bad weather we would go out and kill mountain sheep, elk, and deer, so the women came along to care for the meet and hides.

● 484 492 When everything was ready, the young women took their bullboats to the river and crossed our stuff consisting of tepees, poles, provisions, bedding, and cooking utensils. It took nearly all day to cross the stuff. The first camp was at Beaver Creek. We used tepee poles tied together as travois. The horses pulled poles with the tepees and bedding, while several additional pack horses were loaded down with bedding. We were all on horseback and traveled very slowly. When traveling, the leader was at the head of the party, while the hunters were to the side or in advance of the others.

487 The second day we traveled to End of World Buttes and stopped northeast of Killdeer the third night. After camping on the east side of Killdeer, we went around the north side of the Killdeer Mountains and camped on the north side. From there we went north because that was the best route to cross the Little Missouri River. After we left the Little Missouri, we went to the place called Wolf Pit. When we reached our destination, we commenced to put up our lodge, for there was no lodge there before.

223 The place was selected by the leader because of the presence of a prairie-dog town there in a valley extending from the Yellowstone River eastward to the Little Missouri. All along that valley there were prairie dogs, and the eagles traveled along this valley in order to catch these animals. Then the Indians would come to this site, and our leader thought that it would be a good place to catch the birds.

346 784 223 As soon as the camp was selected, all set to work erecting the lodge, even the women helped by cutting the grass to pack between the poles and digging dirt to put over the lodge. There was an opening at the top for the sparks and smoke. There were four posts and railing on top, while the rest of the poles

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9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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177 white, would be favorably predisposed toward white ways. But the descend-
121 ants of the previously mentioned Irishman are biologically part white, yet they remain unacculturated; and there are three families who have had a white model but who have not become acculturated. Another possible explanation is that the lighter skin color per se allows the children of mixed marriages to "pass" in local white society. The data does not confirm this notion either, as an Indian's ability to be accepted by local whites depends upon how he behaves rather than upon his racial characteristics. A series of relevant factors in the total situation, when taken together, do give at least partial understanding of the importance of white intermarriage. They add up to a picture of such extreme psychological and social isolation of the Indian people that a white person married into the family becomes the primary agent by which white ways and values are learned and internalized.

131 Lone Hill is physically isolated between the Missouri and the Little Mis-
177 souri rivers, and contact with white people is thus infrequent and limited. There are no stores, no paved roads, and no post office in the village. The
[361] only whites who reside in Lone Hill itself are the two teachers in the govern-
487 ment grade school, who rarely participate in community affairs. None of the
488 whites currently married to Indians live permanently in the village today, although a few couples occasionally return to Lone Hill, during which time they stay with Indian families. There are two ways to travel to the surrounding towns: either across the Missouri River by boat during the summer and over the ice in winter, or by making a sixty-mile trip over dirt roads through irregular rolling hills and flat-topped buttes. Anyone who has lived in Lone Hill during the late spring comes to realize the meaning of isolation. The ice over the river is too thin for passage, the roads become blocked by mud and melting show, and the one telephone usually breaks down and remains unrepaired. Mail and supplies are often dropped by airplane. The physical isolation works in a double way—few whites come to Lone Hill and few Indians leave.

105 The Mandan-Hidatsa have never experienced a serious ecological read-
177 justment, as they have lived along the Missouri River Valley for at least the two centuries preceding the completion of this study in 1953. The Indian people today are certainly dependent upon the American economic system for their cash income, but almost every family in Lone Hill derives a relatively large noncash income from exploitation of the natural resources of the area. This exploitation is similar in some respects to the adjustment made by the aboriginal earth lodge tribes to the same fertile river bottom lands. Fuel is provided by wood from the timber, and from indigenous lignite outcroppings. Over half the families live in log cabins, which they erect themselves from timber found in the wooded bottoms. The food staples of corn and potatoes are obtained in part from small garden plots, now jointly worked by the men and women of the household. The meat supply depends largely upon the man's ability as a hunter of deer and small game. Abundant wild fruits and berries are gathered during the appropriate seasons and are preserved for use during the winter months. Thus, many of the economic goods which are normally

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121 ants of the previously mentioned Irishman are biologically part white, yet they remain unacculturated; and there are three families who have had a white model but who have not become acculturated. Another possible explanation is that the lighter skin color per se allows the children of mixed marriages to "pass" in local white society. The data does not confirm this notion either, as an Indian's ability to be accepted by local whites depends upon how he behaves rather than upon his racial characteristics. A series of relevant factors in the total situation, when taken together, do give at least partial understanding of the importance of white intermarriage. They add up to a picture of such extreme psychological and social isolation of the Indian people that a white person married into the family becomes the primary agent by which white ways and values are learned and internalized.

131 Lone Hill is physically isolated between the Missouri and the Little Mis-
177 souri rivers, and contact with white people is thus infrequent and limited. There are no stores, no paved roads, and no post office in the village. The
[36] only whites who reside in Lone Hill itself are the two teachers in the govern-
487 ment grade school, who rarely participate in community affairs. None of the
488 whites currently married to Indians live permanently in the village today, although a few couples occasionally return to Lone Hill, during which time they stay with Indian families. There are two ways to travel to the surrounding towns: either across the Missouri River by boat during the summer and over the ice in winter, or by making a sixty-mile trip over dirt roads through irregular rolling hills and flat-topped buttes. Anyone who has lived in Lone Hill during the late spring comes to realize the meaning of isolation. The ice over the river is too thin for passage, the roads become blocked by mud and melting show, and the one telephone usually breaks down and remains unrepaired. Mail and supplies are often dropped by airplane. The physical isolation works in a double way—few whites come to Lone Hill and few Indians leave.

105 The Mandan-Hidatsa have never experienced a serious ecological read-
177 justment, as they have lived along the Missouri River Valley for at least the two centuries preceding the completion of this study in 1953. The Indian people today are certainly dependent upon the American economic system for their cash income, but almost every family in Lone Hill derives a relatively large noncash income from exploitation of the natural resources of the area. This exploitation is similar in some respects to the adjustment made by the aboriginal earth lodge tribes to the same fertile river bottom lands. Fuel is provided by wood from the timber, and from indigenous lignite outcroppings. Over half the families live in log cabins, which they erect themselves from timber found in the wooded bottoms. The food staples of corn and potatoes are obtained in part from small garden plots, now jointly worked by the men and women of the household. The meat supply depends largely upon the man's ability as a hunter of deer and small game. Abundant wild fruits and berries are gathered during the appropriate seasons and are preserved for use during the winter months. Thus, many of the economic goods which are normally

Sections from Henry's Journal Not Printed in Neill's Version (page numbers refer to those in the Coues edition of Henry's Journal (1897):

224 [322] We had now a well-beaten path, but were several times in danger of breaking our necks in deep pits which the natives had dug in the path to catch wolves and foxes in winter. Some of them are 10 feet deep, hollowed out to a space about 30 feet in circumference, whilst the entrance is no wider than the foot-path and about five feet in length. Those holes are covered with dry grass at the season when wolves are good, and every morning are found to contain some of those animals. In summer the grass grows strong and high about the mouths, entirely concealing them, until one arrives upon the very brink and is in danger of tumbling in headlong.

491 241 [323] Before we reached the (Mandan) village, we passed through a wood about two miles long. The road was bad, deep with mud and mire, the river having overflowed there lately. Having got through this wood, we came to several plantations of corn, beans, squashes, and sunflowers—the latter, indeed, grow in every direction, without cultivation, at some distance from the fields, where the seed has been carried by the wind; but such are never gathered by the natives, as they are not so good as those that have been properly sown and taken care of.

262 574 [325] This was just to their own palate, as they seldom eat meat until it begins to smell. We were invited into several huts successively and presented with dried meat in a state of corruption, corn and beans, together with parched corn and fresh ears pounded up in a wooden mortar; this last dish we found good.

439 177 They soon asked us to trade, and brought buffalo robes, corn, beans, dried squashes, etc.; but we informed them that we did not come here for that purpose, merely to visit them and see the country. They could not comprehend why we should have come so far out of mere curiosity, and said that all white people who came there did so with a view to trade. They suspected that we had goods which we wished to take over the river to the other villages, and were anxious to prevent it. They plagued us until dark, when they retired disappointed.

[p. 384(A)]

574 any expectation of payment. Being almost destitute of tobacco
609 for our journey, he gave us some of their own manufacture. As
that herb is not yet arrived at maturity, they use only the blossoms
277 [402] at present. These are collected as required, dried before
the fire on a fragment of an earthen pot, and smoked by all the
natives. But I find the flowers a very poor substitute for our own
tobacco—a nauseous, insipid weed. The ripe leaf is somewhat
better, but even that is mere trash, possessed of neither strength
nor virtue.

648 [403] We soon after took the road, bidding a final adieu to
●[491] the Mandanes. The road through the wood was very muddy and bad.
[137] We found amazing quantities of poires, perfectly ripe. The
natives here are so surrounded by their different enemies at all
seasons, and particularly when the fruit is ripe, that the women dare
not leave the villages to gather it, though there is a great plenty
of chokecherries, cerises, etc. Even when they go out to hoe their
corn, young men, well armed, keep on the rounds at short distances from the women to prevent surprise from an enemy. This
is a necessary precaution, as they have frequently been attacked
while working in the fields. The village on the N. side lies under
a double disadvantage, surrounded by thick woods for nearly two
miles upon the land side, and having close by a vast quantity of
young sprouts and brushwood, enabling an enemy to approach very
near without being discovered. A single Sioux has been known to
secrete himself for several days among those bushes until a favorable
opportunity has offered, when he has dispatched a Mandane, and
got away with the scalp.

[p. 384 [I]]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF EAGLE-TRAPPING. II

223 Early in fall the leader, Wolfs Eyes, said, "I am going out eagle-trapping." There are two ways of getting up a group; some leaders accept volunteers, or the leader may select his men. We went to him and said. "We wish to go with you," and he said that it would be all right. He told us to take certain products from the garden such as roast corn, dried yellow corn, white flour corn, and dried squash. Some prepared their own baits at home. Most of the baits were stuffed jackrabbit skins. Those who did not have any baits made them after we were located at the eagle-trapping lodge and the tepees had been put up. Some would use a piece of deer hide cut up with ears on and two legs on the side.

In the party were the leader, Wolfs Eyes; Big Walk; Little Crow; Lance Owner; Little Bull; Holding Eagle; Black Bear; SittingWoman; White Body; Bears Arm; Louie Wolf or Red Horse; Many Birds; a boy, Spotted Weasel; Little Crow's wife, Otter Woman, and their daughter, Comes Out; Big Walk's wife, Plain Blossom, and their grandson, Jim Foot or Foot Prints; Plain Blossom's daughter, Too Costly; Woman in Water, wife of Charging Eagle, and her son, Richard Burr; Lance Owner's wife, Yellow Stalk; Holding Eagle's wife, Bobcat Woman. Charging Eagle being a policeman, he could not get away, but his wife, being Bears Arm's mother's sister, went along to help with the work in the camp. Also my mother's mother and Woman in Water were sisters. There were several women along because there was much to do, since [462] in bad weather we would go out and kill mountain sheep, elk, and deer, so the women came along to care for the meet and hides.

484 When everything was ready, the young women took their bullboats to the river and crossed our stuff consisting of tepees, poles, provisions, bedding, ●492 and cooking utensils. It took nearly all day to cross the stuff. The first camp was at Beaver Creek. We used tepee poles tied together as travois. The horses pulled poles with the tepees and bedding, while several additional pack horses were loaded down with bedding. We were all on horseback and traveled very slowly. When traveling, the leader was at the head of the party, while the hunters were to the side or in advance of the others.

487 The second day we traveled to End of World Buttes and stopped northeast of Killdeer the third night. After camping on the east side of Killdeer, we went around the north side of the Killdeer Mountains and camped on the north side. From there we went north because that was the best route to cross the Little Missouri River. After we left the Little Missouri, we went to the place called Wolf Pit. When we reached our destination, we commenced to put up our lodge, for there was no lodge there before.

223 The place was selected by the leader because of the presence of a prairie-dog town there in a valley extending from the Yellowstone River eastward to the Little Missouri. All along that valley there were prairie dogs, and the eagles traveled along this valley in order to catch these animals. Then the Indians would come to this site, and our leader thought that it would be a good place to catch the birds.

346 As soon as the camp was selected, all set to work erecting the lodge, even the women helped by cutting the grass to pack between the poles and digging 784 dirt to put over the lodge. There was an opening at the top for the sparks and 223 smoke. There were four posts and railing on top, while the rest of the poles

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 Many instruments used by the Whites, especially mathematical, are a great medicine, or charm, in their eyes, because they do not comprehend the use of them. Thus, the Indian women were frequently embarrassed when we looked at them through a telescope, because they believed that we had the power of penetrating their inmost thoughts, and of discovering their past and future actions.

805 The division of time, especially that of the year into months, is pretty conformable to nature; they count the years by winters, and say so many winters have passed since such an event. They are able to reckon the winters either by numbers, or on their fingers, for their numerals are very complete.

1. The month of the seven cold days, answering to our January.
2. The pairing month—February.
3. The month of weak eyes—March.
4. The month of game. Some call it the month of the wild geese. It is likewise often called the month of the breaking-up of the ice.
5. The month in which maize is sown, or the month of flowers—May.
6. The month of ripe service berries.
7. The month of ripe cherries.
8. The month of ripe plums.
9. The month of ripe maize.
10. The month of the falling leaves.
11. The month in which the rivers freeze.
12. The month of slight frost.

Here and there other names are given to the months, but the above are the most common.

461 The chief occupations of the Indians, besides adorning and painting their persons, looking in
224 the glass, smoking, eating, and sleeping, are the chase and war, and these fill up a great part of their time. The principal beast of chase is the buffalo, or, rather, the buffalo cow. The men generally go hunting in a body, on horseback, in order to be the more secure against a superior
492 force of their enemies. The equipments of their horses are much like those of the Blackfeet, and their saddle resembles the Hungarian; though, now, they sometimes obtain saddles from the Whites, which they line and ornament with red and blue cloth. In riding, they never leave hold of their whip, the handle of which is made of wood, and not of elk's horn, as among the more
224 western nations. They never wear spurs. In the summer time, if the herds of buffaloes are dispersed to great distances in the prairie, the chase, of course, requires more time and exertion; but in winter, when they approach the Missouri, and seek shelter in the woods, a great number are

609 attentive and polite in conveying our baggage on board. We
622 now perceived another American flag flying in the village on the south side of the river, while that of the Black Cat was still displayed over the hut we had occupied. Our conductor now informed us the flag we saw in the opposite village was his property, and had been hoisted by his orders over his own hut, where he begged we would take up our lodgings. The young men, I
[481 observed were very prompt in getting our horses over. They
412] fastened a line to the horse's mouth, the end of which one of them takes in his teeth, and swims on ahead, while others swim along on each side, and in the rear, draws the horse on very expeditiously. They swim remarkably swift, and notwithstanding
[481] the Missouri at this place is half a mile wide, and the current very strong, they drift down but a very considerable distance before they land.

501 Their canoes are of very singular construction and a stranger would scarcely dare venture his life in them to cross such a deep and rapid stream. They are of a circular form; the timbers are nothing but a few bent willows of about three inches in circumference, over which is stretched a raw buffalo hide, with the hair inside, and sewed first to the gunwales which are generally of a willow, about two inches in diameter. I was really surprised to see the great weight that one of those slender vessels would carry. We embarked, baggage, saddles, etc., weighing at least 200 pounds, Mr. Chaboillez and myself, and our ferryman, who was a remarkably stout fellow. Our canoe or dish would have supported at least 100 pounds more. What they make use of, in lieu of a paddle, is a pole about five feet long, split at one end so as to admit of a piece of board, about two feet long, and half a foot broad, which is lashed to the pole and forms a kind of cross, and as there is but one made use of for each canoe, and he that paddles pulls directly for the opposite shore, every stroke he gives turns his dish almost entirely around; when, to preserve his position and place him fronting his intended, route he must give a stroke upon the other hand which brings him up again, and so on until he gets over the river, which, however, is not accomplished until they have drifted down nearly a mile.

501 Some of them, I observed, were more expert than others in
462 managing their dishes, and did not drift more than a quarter of a mile. But as these vessels are very light they have the precaution to carry them upon their heads, or slung upon their backs to a considerable distance higher up the river, than where they wish to land. When we were on the water our conductor repeatedly made signs to us to salute the flag, by firing our guns, but we did not think proper to comply with his wishes or pretended we did not comprehend him.

622 We soon after landed at the village, which is situated upon
574 the very edge of the bank. Here we were received by another
609

10: Neill 44(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

preter with them. They did not appear well pleased, and looked on the Pawnees with an eye of disdain. After some conversation they desired the Pawnees to return immediately to their own villages, and to inform their great war chief, Red Tail, that if he sincerely wished for peace, he must come up and then they would settle matters, as they were determined to have nothing to do with young men. They allowed two moons to consider upon the business, and perform the journey. If, at the end of that time, the Chief did not make his appearance, they would immediately gather up their corn, and in a body, go and find him out, in his own village, and convince him what Big Bellies (or as they call themselves Willow Indians), and Mandans could do when exasperated by the treacherous conduct of the Pawnees. 648 728 721

The six embassies promised to depart early next morning to inform their Chief, who they answer no doubt, would very soon wait upon them. Thus ended an affair, which at the commencement we supposed would conclude with the death of the strangers, by the great bustle and noise their arrival occasioned.

But I was afterwards informed that of such proceedings there was not the least danger; that the natives of this place make it a particular point of honor to protect every stranger who throws himself upon them and begs their clemency. Even their natural and most inveterate enimies, the Sioux, have been known to come into their villages unexpectedly, and were always received with hospitality, and well entertained during thei stay which by the way, they never permit to be more than one night when they are dismissed, and allowed to return to their own homes unmolested. 609 648 728 721

A HUNTING PARTY.

Towards the evening there was a whooping and howling among the young men who were standing upon their huts. This, it seems, was to announce the appearance of a hunting party of the Mandans, who were just at that moment appearing upon the tops of the high bank to the south, and descending by a well-beaten road towards the village. The party consisted of about one hundred men on horseback, and each loaded with half a buffalo; some of them had even more, according to the strength of their horses, and the master will always ride, be his beast ever so loaded. They had been away since yesterday and found buffalo in great abundance near at hand. These people never go out hunting unless in large parties. The continual danger from their enemies obliges them to be very cautious; another reason is, that when the buffalo comes near at hand, they are anxious to prevent them from being driven away. For this purpose, it is customary for them all, in a body, to surround one herd only, which sometimes consists of several hundreds. 224 [492]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

some slight differences, the mode of building resembles, in the main, those of the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras. Among these differences are the mats which are fastened all round in the first hut, and which I did not observe among the tribes that I visited. The beds, too, are arranged in a different manner. The Mandans and Manitaries are seen in their huts, sitting round the fire, employed in all kinds of domestic labour. The man has, generally, no clothing except the nokka, and is often merely smoking, but the women are never idle. In winter, that is, at the beginning or middle of November, these Indians remove, with the greater part of their effects, to the neighbouring forest, where their winter huts are situated. These consist of precisely similar huts, of rather smaller dimensions. Their departure from the summer huts is determined by the weather, but, as beforesaid, is generally about the middle of November; and their return, in the spring, is usually about the latter end of February, or the beginning of March, so that we may reckon that they pass above eight months in their summer quarters. Inside of the winter huts is a particular compartment, where the horses are put in the evening, and fed with maize. In the daytime they are driven into the prairie, and feed in the bushes, on the bark of poplars. There are, probably, above 300 horses in the two Mandan villages; some of the people, indeed, do not possess any, while others, again, have several. The Mandans and Manitaries, like all the other Indians of this country, sometimes make what are here called caches, or hiding-places, in the vicinity of their villages. These caches are holes, or magazines, underground, often so artfully contrived that it is very difficult to discover them. The Indians frequently go from their winter to their summer village, to fetch any articles they may happen to want, as they invariably leave part of their property behind. When they quit their huts for a longer period than usual, they load their dogs with the baggage, which is drawn in small sledges, made of a couple of thin, narrow boards, nine or ten feet in length, fastened together with leather straps, and with four cross-pieces, by way of giving them firmness. Leather straps are attached in front, and drawn either by men or dogs. The load is fastened to the sledge by straps (for such a sledge drawn by dogs see Vignette XXIX). When the snow is deep, they use snow shoes (Plate XXI. Fig. 4), which are described by Captain Franklin, only those of the Mandans are much smaller, about two feet and a half long; whereas in the north their length is from four to six feet. The Mandans and Manitaries have not, by any means, so many dogs as the Assiniboins, Crows, and Blackfeet. They are rarely of the true wolf's colour, but generally black, or white, or else spotted with black and white. Among the nations further to the north-west they more nearly resemble the wolf, but here they are more like the prairie wolf (*Canis latrans*). We likewise found, among these animals, a brown race, descended from European pointers, hence the genuine bark of the dog is more frequently heard here, whereas among the western nations they only howl. The Indian dogs are worked very hard, have hard blows, and hard fare; in fact, they are treated just as this fine animal is treated among the Esquimaux.

342 281 171 231 343 221 493 231 481 171 231 171

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 mountains and to the Pacific coast on their memorable trip of exploration, and having recrossed the Continental Divide on the return trip in 1806, we find the first journal entry which in any way refers to the Mandans, under date of August 8th of that year, recorded in Vol. 3 of London Ed. of their journal, page 348, as follows:

•501 **Skin Canoes.** "Friday, 8th. * * They passed over a broken open country, and having reached the Yellowstone, near Pompey's Pillar, they determined to descend the river and for this purpose made two skin canoes,[8] such as they had seen among the Mandans and Ricaras. They are made in the following manner: Two sticks of an inch and a quarter in diameter are tied together so as to form a round hoop, which serves for the brim, while a second hoop, for the bottom of the boat, is made in the same way, and both secured by sticks of the same size from the sides of the hoops, fastened by thongs to the edges of the hoops, and at the interstice of the sticks. Over this frame the skin is drawn closely and tied with thongs, so as to form a perfect basin, seven feet and three inches in diameter, sixteen inches deep, and with sixteen ribs or cross-sticks, and capable of carrying six or eight men with their loads." (Vol. 3, p. 348)

721 **Mandans at War With Aricaras and Assiniboines.** "Monday, 11th. The next morning Captain Clarke set out early, and landed on a sandbar about ten o'clock, for the purpose of taking breakfast and drying the meat. At noon they proceeded on about two miles, when they observed a canoe near the shore. They immediately landed, and were equally surprised and pleased at discovering two men by the names of Dickson and Hancock, who had come from the Illinois on a hunting excursion up the Yellowstone. They had left the Illinois in the summer of 1804 and had spent the last winter with the Tetons, in company with a Mr. Ceautoin, who had come there as a trader, but whom they had robbed, or rather they had taken all his merchandise and given him a few robes in exchange. These men had met the boat which we had dispatched from Fort Mandan, on board of which they were told there was a Ricara chief on his way to Washington, and also another party of Yankton chiefs, accompanied by Mr. Durion on a visit of the same kind. We were sorry to learn that the Mandans and the Minnetarees were at war with the Ricaras, and had killed two of them.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

mer unbarbed and securely fastened to the shaft, the latter 411
barbed and loosely attached.

The lances were two-edged points fastened to a shaft of ash wood, some six or eight feet long, ornamented with tufts of eagle plumes. The knives were at first of stone, but were soon replaced by the European steel ones. The tomahawks were of several sorts and are all duplicated among those of the other Sioux tribes. The shield was an important part of a man's equipment, it was of buffalo hide whitened with white clay and with a large painting of the owner's medicine on the front. The bow-lance [428]
was a purely ceremonial weapon and was passed down from father to son to be used in the dances. Maximilian describes it as a long bow with a spear point on one end, the whole decorated elaborately with eagle plumes and other ornaments.

MANUFACTURES: — The beds of the Mandans were built up 352
from four posts sunk in the earth to form a rectangle of suitable size, with poles lashed across from one to the other, about one foot above the ground. Over the cross poles a green buffalo hide was stretched and allowed to dry, thus forming a springy foundation; around the sides and across the top hides were also stretched, giving the whole bed the appearance of a large box. A small opening was left in one of the sides through which to enter, and the whole interior was piled with buffalo robes. These beds held several persons.

The Mandan boats, bull-boats they were called, also merit 501
a description. They were circular, made over a frame of bent willows, which consisted of two hoops held in position by cross pieces; over the whole a raw buffalo hide was stretched, hair in, and sewed to the upper rim. They were about six feet in diameter and could carry very heavy loads. For a paddle a pole some five feet long was used. It was split up the end where a flat board about two and a half feet long was inserted and bound on. The boat was paddled from a standing position, and made half a revolution at every stroke. This same sort of boat was 171
used by the Arikara and Hidatsa.

For the rest their material culture did not differ greatly from that of the surrounding nomadic tribes, only a brief enumeration therefore of the manufactures and utensils is necessary.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

262 which is so favourite a dish among the northern Indians, is not much in use among the Mandans. Their only drink is water, for they are unacquainted with the method of preparing fermented liquors. They did not obtain any spirits, either from the American Fur Company, or the agents [273] of Messrs. Soublette and Campbell; hence an intoxicated person is scarcely ever seen. They are extremely fond of sugar, and likewise of salt, which they procure from their lakes, and, if the supply is insufficient, purchase from the Whites. They are likewise fond of coffee and tea, well sweetened. It has been affirmed, that several North American nations, especially those which speak the Algonquin language, are cannibals, and more particularly the Chippeways and the Potawatomis; but I found no trace of this unnatural custom among the Missouri nations.

592 Two, and sometimes three, families usually live together in an Indian hut, commonly the
595 father, with his married sons or sons-in-law. Polygamy is everywhere practised, and the number
596 of wives differs; however, they have very seldom more than four, and, in general, only one. The women are very skilful in various kinds of work, particularly in dyeing and painting the buffalo
386 robes. They extract a red colour from the roots of the savoyenne, or from buffalo berries; yel-
824 low from a lichen of the Rocky Mountains; black from belianthus, as well as from a black stone
439 or clay; blue and green they extract from European substances. Among the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, the women, as Lewis and Clarke relate, manufacture beads from coloured glass. They powder those which they have obtained from the traders, and mould them into different shapes. This custom is, however, no longer common. The dyeing of the skins, of
323 which many travellers have spoken, employs a great portion of the women's time. These three nations understand the manufacture of earthen pots and vessels, of various forms and sizes. The clay is of a dark slate colour, and burns a yellowish-red, very similar to what is seen in the burnt tops of the Missouri hills. This clay is mixed with flint or granite, reduced to powder by the action of fire. The workwoman forms the hollow inside of the vessel by means of a round stone which she holds in her hand, while she works and smooths the outside with a piece of poplar bark. When the pot is made, it is filled and surrounded with dry shavings, and then burnt,
● 501 when it is ready for use. They know nothing of glazing. With respect to their boats, the North Americans are far more expert than the Brazilians, Patagonians, and other South Americans, who live on the banks of rivers, and yet have contrived no means to pass them. The Chippeways and other northern nations have handsome vessels of birch bark; the Esquimaux makes his kiack, which is curiously covered with seal skin; and on the Missouri, especially among the Mandans, there are boats of buffalo skin, which are represented in the plates accompanying this work. They are very light, of a circular form, stretched on a frame of several pieces of wood crossing each other, and may be carried on the shoulder of a single individual.

584 If a young Indian desires to marry, and has obtained the consent of the girl, he endeavours to procure that of her father; when he is certain of this, he brings two, three, nay, even eight or

10: Neill H(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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622 now perceived another American flag flying in the village on the south side of the river, while that of the Black Cat was still displayed over the hut we had occupied. Our conductor now informed us the flag we saw in the opposite village was his property, and had been hoisted by his orders over his own hut, where he begged we would take up our lodgings. The young men, I
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2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 224 Eagle-trapping expeditions were organized for a dual purpose, namely, the securing of feathers and of a winter's supply of meat and hides. Crows Heart thought that, taken year after year, the meat and hides secured had greater worth than the feathers. As he explained, it was not unusual to return without feathers, but game was always abundant once one reached territory not ordinarily hunted in. He remarked, on many occasions, that a village as a unit would never go to rough country on a summer hunt, as there would be few buffaloes there, and it would be difficult to surround them because of the uneven topography. There was the further danger of ambush. The rough lands were hunted over by small bands, chiefly eagle-trappers and war parties.

223 224 505 The appearance of ice on the edges of streams was the signal for the eagle-trapping expedition to return to the village. Before horses became numerous in the villages, it was customary to travel overland to the trapping sites, where bullboats were made of buffalo and elk hides for floating back the meat and hides to the village. In order not to be caught along the way by a sudden freezing of the river, it was imperative that trapping cease immediately with the first appearance of cold weather.

224 251 281 While in the trapping camp, the women received the meat and hides brought in by the men. The meat was cured on scaffolds, and the hides were dried or made into bullboats. Special effort was made to secure mountain sheep, as the badlands were the habitat of these prized animals, used for men's shirts and women's dresses, since their skins tanned softer than any other hide. Bears Arm, in explaining the importance of the meat and hides secured on these expeditions, stated that single women tried to marry young men so they could go along to help cure the meat and hides, knowing they might marry one so lucky as to kill a white buffalo. [581]

223 361 171 221 621 Mandan tradition appears devoid of reference to recent division of a village population into small eagle-trapping bands during the winter. Such is not the case with the Hidatsa, however. In the Earthnaming ceremony of the Hidatsa there is reference in the myth to the division of the village into small bands camped along the Little Missouri River in eagle-trapping lodges during the winter. At least two of the clans, the Maxoxati and

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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648 Among a number of other customs, was treaty making with other tribes. This was well described by Henry who accompanied the Mandans and Hidatsa when they went to make a treaty with the Cheyennes. Most of the people went on these treaty visits; the band marched in a procession of fixed order and a number of ceremonial objects were carried exposed throughout the march. The party was met with great ceremony by the new allies and its members were taken into their [597] houses. Several days of ceremonial feasting occurred and finally the head chief of each party adopted a son from the other [439] tribe. After this there was more feasting and several days of trade between the two bands, when both returned home.

597 The adoption of sons occurred also among the different families. Maximilian describes the adoption of a "medicine son" to whom a sacred pipe was given. The man chose his adopted son through a dream. The new pipe was consecrated and gifts were showered upon the son's family by the adopted father and his relatives. A dance and feast was then held. This custom was prevalent over all the Missouri region.

838 There were a number of men who dressed and acted like women and were treated in every way as such. These men claimed to follow this life by an order from the spirits given to them in a dream.

567 Catlin says that the Mandans did not have slaves and there is no mention of them elsewhere. The Arikara, however, had a regular slavery system, and the Crows made slaves and sold 201 them on the Missouri. The Mandans were very good at the sign language so Maximilian tells us. They were expert swim- 481 mers, and collected their whole supply of wood by swimming 313 out and towing in the drift wood at the time of the spring break-ups.

●511 In point of general culture the Mandans were superior to any of their immediate neighbors, surpassing even the other sedentary people, the Hidatsa and Arikara. Catlin says that they had advanced far in the arts of manufacture and had more comforts and luxuries than other tribes. When Verendrye saw them he, too, was struck by their superior skill. He said that the Mandans dressed leather and worked in feathers better

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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than any other nation; also that they sold grain, tobacco, peltry, 511
and painted plumes to the Assiniboine for arms, kettles, and other things of European manufacture. As is seen from this 177
account of Verendrye, European culture touched them very early by means of trade with nations farther east, and they were quick to take up the better articles so acquired. For this reason it is difficult to get any description of the use of earlier crude bone and stone implements, most of which had almost gone out of use when Lewis and Clarke visited the villages.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: — As regards the social organization, 621
the Mandans were divided into two sorts of bands. By the first method, like the Pawnee, they were known according to the old village from which they had originally come. Maximilian names at one time eight villages in describing the old habitations; in another place he says they had thirteen and gives the names for six more, this gives fourteen distinct village names. He says that the people were known by the [614]
names of the villages whence they originally came, and Morgan mentions eight of the names given, as the gens names. This is the only trace of a gens organization found. The second method 561
of grouping into bands followed the lines of the general plains division according to age. The First Chief who led them from underground was the originator of these divisions. This chief gave to each band its own songs and whistles and directions as to conducting its dances. Each of these bands was distinguished by a number of songs, by a certain sort of war whistle, by its head-dress and a number of other details of attire and ceremony. For the men there were six recognized bands. As men grew older they went from one band to the next. Each band or society had a limited membership, and a place in the band above was only obtained by purchase from a member who was ready to resign his place, and try to purchase a place in a band still higher up. New members must be received by all the old members of the band or the sale could not be made. Each society had a chief who was in charge of all important affairs. After a sale the new member gave a feast to the whole band, and following this the purchase property was returned to

574 chief gave our horses in charge of a young man, and told us
609 we need not be uneasy as there would be good care taken of them.

574 On going into the hut, we found buffalo hides spread on the
262 ground, before the fire, for us to sit upon, and soon after we were presented with two large dishes of boiled corn and beans, after which they gave us another large dish of boiled dried meat, but very few of us could eat of it, as it had too strong a taste and smell.[1]

231 After some other details which we omit, Harvey writes that
342 when night came: "One young man brought in our horses, and put them in the same hut along with us, upon the right hand, on entering, and ourselves upon the left; a space was enclosed with a railing to keep them within bounds. This custom causes their habitations to have a very disagreeable and offensive smell. This precaution of theirs is to keep the horses from being stolen by the Assiniboines, or other enemies, who are frequently lurking about the village.

515 "Towards evening, having gone down to the river side, I
291 observed the custom of washing themselves in the Missouri. Both men and women make it a rule, every morning and evening, to go down to the river, and wash for some time; the men make use of the clay to wash their hair, which answers the purpose of soap to take out the white and red earth with which they daub it, after having washed. Modesty in the female sex appears to be a virtue they are unacquainted with. They wear a kind of leather shift which reaches down to the calves of their legs. This they slip off some distance from the shore, and walk very deliberately into the water entirely naked, in the presence of old and young who seem not to pay any attention to them. * * * * The men make use of no other covering, in the summer season, than these buffalo robes, and even these are seldom worn within doors, and only thrown on when they go out to visit or walk about the village.
[352] Both sexes sleep naked. Their beds are raised about two feet from the ground, and hung around with dressed skins. In summer they seldom use any coverings at night, but lay like so many brutes."[2] * * * * Mr. Henry gives a description of their lascivious dances which is too indelicate to publish. He writes under date of:

252 "Sunday, July 20th. At daybreak we were all up, and I
262 took a walk down to the river, where I observed the same cer-
352 emony of washing as last evening, with as little reserve as
● 512 before. Our host on our return presented us with some dried
412 meat, and soon after a dish of corn and beans, but as it is not seasoned with any kind of grease or fat, after the first meal it has a very insipid taste. The corn is generally pounded or bruised in a wooden mortar, which is fixed fast and firm in the ground, in one corner of the hut, and this is the first work performed by the women in the morning.

[1] [Category 116, p. 325.-A] [2] [Category 116, p. 326.-A]

832 repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men,
834 who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young
men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on
461 the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to
526 hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times
they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback,
and performing warlike manoeuvres; they have also a favorite
game which occupies much of their time.

●512 [328]...this is the first work performed by the women in the
515 morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed
themselves in the Missourie. ...every family being provided
415 with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh.
177 Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to
771 say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those
574 earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest
kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come
in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the
contents.

231 .....Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed
437 in the meadow but never allowed them to be for a moment out of
648 his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them.
We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles,
for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco.

439 [329] It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail
upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger
has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first
village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many
439 European articles as they can, [330] particularly arms and ammuni-
609 tion. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each
other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have
578 often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death
569 of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also
to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great
distance. The Pawnees, also, with whom the Mandanes formerly
lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies.
Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and every-
one has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

675 We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the
673 landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut
[577] in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect
security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

[P.384(C)]

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

whites; it would take a whole summer to make the journey, and that since they were at war with the Pananas the men would not undertake to go far, the roads being closed to them. That cattle were abundant on the prairies, far larger and fatter than those we had seen on their prairies; their coat white and of several colors. He showed us horns split in half, of a greenish color, which hold nearly three pints. In all the huts they have them in use as ladles, proving that they have killed many when the road was open. That was all I could learn even by chance, as I had relied on my interpreter, that I would have time to be thoroughly informed at leisure. 000

"Six days after the Assiniboines left I sent my son, the Chevalier, with Sieur Nolant, six Frenchmen and several Mandans, to the nearest fort, which is on the bank of the river. If well received they were to sleep there, to get the best information of the course of the river; who dwell there; if they are acquainted with the lower part, in accordance with what was told us; to learn all that could be ascertained by signs and demonstrations. After their departure Mr. de la Marque walked about to observe the size of their fort and their fortifications.

The Village. "I decided to have the huts counted. It was found that there were a hundred and thirty of them. All the streets, squares and huts resemble each other. Several of our Frenchmen wandered about; they found the streets and squares very clean, the ramparts very level and broad, the palisades supported on cross pieces mortised into posts of fifteen feet. At fifteen points doubled are green skins which are put for sheathing when required, fastened only above when needed, as in the bastion there are four at each curtain, well flanked. The fort is built on a height in the open prairie, with a ditch upwards of fifteen feet deep by fifteen to eighteen feet wide. Their fort can only be gained by steps or posts, which can be removed when threatened by an enemy. If all their forts are alike they may be called impregnable to Indians. Their fortifications are not Indian. This nation is mixed white and black. 361 712

"The women are faily good looking, especially the white, many with blonde and fair hair. Both men and women of this nation are very laborious; their huts are large and spacious, separated into several compartments by thick planks; nothing is left lying about; all their baggage is in large bags hung on posts; their beds 142 342 513

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342
513 are made like tombs, surrounded by skins. These men are always naked, covered only with a buffalo robe. * * * * Their fort
251 is full of caves, in which are stored such articles as grain, food,
436 fat, dressed robes and bear skins. They are well supplied with these; it is the money of the country. The more they have of it
304 the richer they believe themselves to be. They are fond of tattooing, but never more than half of the body is tattoed, both of
285 men and women. They make wicker work very neatly, flat and in baskets.

Pottery. "They make use of earthen pots, which they use like
323 many other nations for cooking their food. They are for the most part great eaters; are eager for feasts. They brought me every
261 day more than twenty dishes of wheat, beans and pumpkins, all cooked. Mr. de la Marque, who did not hate feasts, went to them continually with my children. As I did not go to them my share
141 was sent to me. The men are stout and tall, generally very active, fairly good looking, with a good physiognomy. The women have not the Indian physiognomy. The men indulge in a sort of ball
526 play on the squares and ramparts.

000 "On the evening of the 4th the Sieur Nolant and my son arrived, well satisfied with their journey, having been well received and strongly urged to remain longer. The fort is on the bank of the river, as large again as this; the squares and streets are very fine and clean; their palisade is in the best order and strength; the whole built in the same fashion as the one in which we were. From what they could hear all their forts are alike; who saw one saw all, with this difference, that some were much larger than others. The nearest to the Pananas that the river appeared to go was, according to the compass, southwest by south, by signs given to them; the lower part may go to the sea to the southwest by west. They were often amused by broken talk; not being able to answer questions put to them, they answered something else, for want of understanding. The waters of their rivers come down with great rapidity, having many shoals. The water is not good for drinking, being brakish. We have constantly found from the last mountain almost all the marshes and ponds brakish or sulphurous. What they could understand was that on the lower part of the river there were men like us, who made cloth and linen, were very numerous and had wars with a large part of the Indians. We saw that it was useless to question them, as they

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The old women attended to the child, disposing of the placenta and seeing that the child was properly greased and painted with red ocher under the arms, around the neck, between the legs, and on the top of the head to prevent chafing. It was wrapped in a piece of tanned hide taken from a tepee smokehole, since such leather did not harden when wet. The child was placed in the leather cradle shortly after birth. In the wintertime it was wrapped in a tanned buffalo calf hide from which the hair had not been removed. At night the child was taken from the cradle to sleep with the mother. Twice a day the child was taken from the cradle to be cleaned and greased.

On the tenth day a feast was given in the lodge, at which time the child was named. The parents selected the person who was to officiate at the naming ceremony. If the father had already acquired eminence and owned a major tribal bundle, he or his sister named the child; otherwise he called in people of his clan to give the name. The child's brothers and sisters and persons of the child's clan brought robes, and the father would frequently contribute a horse. The naming of a child was one of many occasions during one's lifetime when he would be expected to give goods to others ceremonially. The parents used the medium of the feast and the naming of the child, with an abundant display and disposal of goods, to enhance their social status in the tribe.

Until the child received a name, it was not considered a part of the social unit of the village but of the "baby home" from whence it had come. The child received a name relating to the ceremonial bundle of the person giving the name. Thus such names as Scattercorn, Stands Yellow, Pumpkin Blossom, Corn Piles Up, and Corn Silk belonged to Corn ceremony bundles. Others like Lone Woman, Calf Woman, Game Stone, Sage Woman, Big Feather on Head, and Berdache were taken from the Woman Above bundles. The person giving the name received a horse. Both men and women belonging to the child's father's clan were entitled to attend and were expected to receive some article and to pray for the child's success. Upon receiving a name, the child acquired status in the household and clan. Children dying before the naming ceremony were wrapped in hides and placed in a tree used for that purpose, and there were no rites of "sending the spirits away." Those dying after getting a

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

When a person believed he was about to die, the relatives were called and the dying person was dressed and painted before death, if possible. It was the duty of the father's clan to attend to the disposal of the body, and the dying person's request determined whether the body would be buried or placed on a scaffold. The Mandan claim that in earlier times earth burials were more common, and this belief is corroborated by the large number of both primary and secondary bundle burials found at their older villages near the Heart River. In some instances, they requested hilltop burials with only a covering of robes and stones. Most people were placed on scaffolds which were erected by members of the father's clan, and the "sending-away of the spirit" rites on the fourth day were performed by a woman of the father's clan. The body was placed on the scaffold with the head to the northwest and the feet to the southeast, the direction the spirits were believed to take to reach the Heart River. People never slept with their feet pointed to the southeast, believing that to do so would be to invite death. The relatives would come to the scaffold to mourn for four days. Whenever an eminent person died, all fires in the village were extinguished for one day while all the village mourned. It is said that even the dogs wept.

763 764 602 765 [513]

The deceased person's personal property was taken by the brothers and sisters, and, when there were none living, the people of the clan took possession of the goods and divided it among themselves. In return for this property, they were required to go to the scaffold to mourn and to pay the mourners of the father's clan. When the deceased was an old woman of a couple occupying a lodge by themselves, the man left the lodge to live with people of his own clan, and the lodge was either abandoned or taken over by a group of females belonging to the deceased person's clan. When an old woman having no children or younger females in the lodge became feeble, she usually moved into another lodge where the females were of her clan.

768 765 602

When a woman died leaving small children, her unmarried sisters were expected to provide for them and to marry the widower if he asked them. When the deceased mother had no sisters, the children were cared for by the maternal grandmother and her sisters. The clan provided for those who had no close blood relatives. Many families were broken up by the

768 602 614

10: Neill H-1(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 angles, leaving open only a square space of about four feet on
[354] each side. This serves for chimney and windows, as they have no other opening to admit of light; and when it rains, even this is covered over with a canoe to prevent the rain from impairing their earthen pots. The whole of the roof is then well thatched with willows, to the thickness of six inches or more. Over the whole is laid about one foot of earth, and round the base to the height of three or four feet, and the thickness of three feet, which answers for security in case of an attack by the enemy, and keeps out the cold. The door is five feet broad and six high, provided with a covered way or porch on the outside, of the same height as the door, about seven feet broad and ten feet in length.

342 The doors are made of raw buffalo hide stretched upon a
352 frame and suspended by cords from the beam, which forms the circle. Every night the door is barricaded with a long piece of timber supported by two stout posts down in the ground, inside of the hut, one on each side of the door. As you enter the hut after passing through the porch and door, the first thing that strikes the view is a kind of triangular apartment on the left hand side of the door, and fronting the fire. This is for the purpose of fire-wood in the winter. This partition is constructed of square planks, about twelve feet high, and caulked to keep off the air from the door. Between the partition and the fire, there is commonly a distance of about five feet, which the master of the hut occupies during the day time, seated on a mat, constructed of small willows.* * * * These mats are about ten feet long and four broad. The two ends for about two and a half feet are raised from the ground in a slanting position and each supported by a kind of sofa; over the mat is spread buffalo skins.

352 Some of these couches are raised about a foot above the
571 ground. Seated upon this a Mandan sits all day long and receives his friends, smokes and chats the time away, with the greatest dignity. He sometimes passes the night there also, when not inclined to lay with his wives.

INSIDE ARRANGEMENT OF HUTS.

352 On the left side of the host begins their range of beds. The
● 513 master and his favorite wife always occupy the first, and his other wives each a separate one in succession, next to those of the young people. All are constructed in the same manner, and joining to each other lengthways.

MEDICINE STAGE,

353 At the bottom of the hut fronting the Masters' seat, stands his medicine stage, and indeed it may be called his whole riches

* [See Category 116, p. 391-410. A.]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ticle in the bundle and was believed to have once belonged to Good Furred Robe, who wore it during the various Corn rites. 796 778

The pipe differed little from other ceremonial pipes. The bowl and part of the stem were carved from wood. There appeared to be a stone or clay lining to the bowl. A second piece of wood was carved to resemble a goose's head and neck. This pipe was owned by Good Furred Robe and, according to tradition, used by him in the ceremonies. 773

The headdress of foxskins (Item 3), badger fur (Item 11), kit-fox robe (Item 16), and strip of elkhide (Item 7) were represented in the bundle because these animals assisted in bringing the people out of the ground.

The sage belonging to the bundle was the kind kept in all earth lodges and used by the women at the close of a day's work in the gardens to cleanse themselves by rubbing their body and clothing with it. It was said that, in ancient times, worms and diseases were removed by this simple household cleansing rite. [515]

The dried gourd, used as a rattle, was symbolic of Good Furred Robe's brother, Uses His Head for a Rattle, who had assisted in the early Corn ceremonies. The braided cornhusks represented the other brother, Cornhusk Earrings, while all the other articles representing products from the garden were symbolic of Waving Corn Stalk, their sister, who repelled the Sun by walking through the gardens waving her robe, thus protecting her gardens from the heat.

The blackbird heads, duck head, and deer skull have a dual symbolic significance. They represent the birds that come north in the spring and the deer that inhabit the woodlands, but they are also the helpers of Old Woman Who Never Dies. In that sense the bundle ritualism is psychologically related to the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles and rites.

The second traditionally related Corn ceremony bundle is known as the Skull bundle (see Fig. 24). The contents of this bundle are: (1) Good Furred Robe's skull; (2) Cornhusk Earring's skull; (3) Uses Head for Rattle's skull; (4) a bundle of young white sage; (5) a substance resembling and representing corn silk; (6) a headdress of foxskins; and (7) a wooden pipe.

At the time this study was being made, Scattercorn was owner of the Robe bundle and Mrs. White Duck (Rattles Medicine) 778 796

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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353 Between every pair was a large post. An elevation showing some of the details is reproduced from Morgan in Figure 1, and a ground plan, in Figure 3.

251 171 The sedentary character of the Mandans and the fact that they practiced agriculture led to the development among them of several cultural features not found among the purely hunting tribes. In common with most sedentary tribes they made use of caches or storage pits. Henry[1] gives a description of them saying that, in the fall after harvest, the corn was dried, shelled and put in deep pits. These were about eight feet deep, with a mouth just wide enough for a person to get in, but the inside was hollowed out larger and the sides and bottom were lined with straw. The cache contained twenty to thirty bushels of beans or corn where it kept for several years. The caches were scattered everywhere about the village. Catlin mentions caches, saying that they placed corn in pits six or seven feet deep, jug shaped, and tightly closed at the top.

DRESS:—The dress of the Mandans in general was much like 291 that of their neighbors, at the later period of their history at least. There were however some minor differences. Verendrye says that at his visit the men went naked, except for a carelessly worn buffalo robe—not even wearing a breech cloth. The women wore very little as a rule, their only article of attire being an apron about the waist, a hand's breadth wide and a foot long. But he adds later that some of them wore a gown of very soft deerskin. It is probable that other articles of dress were borrowed from their neighbors as time went on.

515 302 The men and women both began the day with a bath, after which the body was carefully oiled with castoreum. For any ceremonial or feast the body was also painted in colors, these being mixed with grease. After the bath the face and hair were nearly always whitened. The men in Maximilian's time usu- 291 ally wore a breech cloth, of black and white cloth, and moccasins with little or no ornamentation. The upper part of the body was usually naked as they seldom wore the leather shirt used in many other tribes. Even in the winter, Maximilian says they wore only the buffalo robe over the upper half of the

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 360.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Or, on the contrary: "The chain begins to rust," &c. &c. Though these people often manifest great energy of character, many have committed suicide on account of disappointments in love, or of wounded honour, of which Dr. Morse relates a remarkable instance, where an Indian killed himself because he was reproached with cowardice, after his mother had suffered death for him. Many travellers speak of the extraordinary memory of the Indians; several of them relate the entire history of their people in a continuous narrative.

The Mandans and Manitaries are proud, and have a high sense of honour. If a person expresses a wish to possess some article belonging to them, he generally receives it as a present, but a present of equal, or greater value, is always looked for in return. They estimate all their effects at a very high rate, ascribing to them an imaginary and far too great value; and a trifling thing is often paid for with one or two horses. Among the articles of great value is the skin of a white buffalo cow. Fifteen florins are paid for a small ermine skin; whereas, a wolf's skin may be purchased for a small quantity of tobacco. One or two horses are frequently given for a feather cap; a horse for 100 or 150 elks' teeth, or for a handful of dentalium shells. The men are much given to indolence, when they cannot pursue their chief avocations, hunting and war. In general, the Mandans and Manitaries are not dangerous, and, though there are many rude and savage men among them, they are, on the whole, well-disposed towards the Whites: the former, especially, manifest this, and have many good and trustworthy men among them. Some of them are addicted to thieving, especially the women and children; and it is said, that many of the Manitaries, when they meet the Whites in the prairie, though they do not kill them, as they used to do, generally plunder them.

They have always free access to the forts of the trading companies; and, as at Fort Clarke, there was no separate apartment for the Indians, we were molested by them, during the whole day, in every room; nay, they often took the place of the owners, which, during the severe cold in the winter time, was quite intolerable, as they stood in front of the fire, with their large buffalo robes, and kept the warmth from coming into the apartment. They require to be always regaled, which is generally done, and it was estimated that in one year they smoked 200 lbs. of tobacco at the expense of the Company. A few among them, indeed, manifested a much greater delicacy of feeling than the mass of them, and left the dining-room when the dinner-hour approached; but only a very small proportion possessed this correct sense of propriety, for the others generally came just at our dinner time; it is true they had but little meat in the winter season, and fared but badly. Disputes and quarrels are very rare among them; but duels are frequent; and revenge for blood is still exercised.

Many of them are particularly cleanly in their persons, and bathe daily, both in winter and summer; their hands, however, are often smeared with colours and fat, nay, sometimes the whole body is bedaubed. The women are, in general, less cleanly, particularly their hands,

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

515 which arises from their continual and severe labour. They generally let their nails grow long.

The rude inhabitants of the prairies are extremely agile and hardy; they bathe, in the depth of winter, in the half frozen rivers, and wear no covering on the upper part of their body under the buffalo robe; they are very expert swimmers, even when quite young. I have already 481 observed that all these nations swim in the same manner as the Brazilian Tapuyas, which is confirmed by other writers. They often practise riding on horseback without a saddle, and very swift horse-racing. They are capital marksmen with the bow; all their senses are remarkably acute.

561 Among the Mandans, and all the nations of the Upper Missouri, as well as among most of the North American tribes, there are certain bands or unions or companies, which are dis- 425 tinguished from the others, and kept together by certain external badges and laws. They have three kinds of war or signal pipes, which are hung round the neck, and are among the badges of the unions, which divide the men into six classes, according to their age. The first band or union is composed of "the foolish dogs," or "the dogs whose name is not known." They are young people from ten to fifteen years of age, and wear a pipe made of the wing bone of the wild goose, which is but small. When they dance, three of them have a long broad piece of red cloth hanging from the back of the neck to the ground. Like every distinct class they have a particular song to accompany their dance. Formerly old people likewise belonged to this band, but then they never dared to retreat before the enemy; this has since been changed to the present limited rule. If a boy desires to enter the first band in order to become a man, he goes to a member of it, addresses him by the appellation of father, and endeavours to purchase the rank, the dance, the song, and the war pipe belonging to it, for certain articles of value, such as blankets, cloth, horses, powder, ball, and the like, which the father pays for him. If this place is sold to him he has a right to all the distinctions and privileges of the band, and he who sold it thereby renounces all claim to it, and endeavours to purchase admission to a higher 561 band. The dances of the several classes are in the main very similar, but there is a particular 535 song belonging to each, and sometimes even a different step. The drum and schischikué must 534 likewise be purchased at the same time. The latter, among this band, is spherical, with a handle, and is made of leather.

561 The second class or band is that of the crows or ravens; it consists of young men from twenty to twenty-five years of age. Frequently young people are in none of the bands for half a year or more. They then go to the band of the crows, and say, "Father, I am poor, but I wish [534] to purchase from you." If the possessor agrees, they then receive the raven's feathers, which the band wear on their heads, a double war-pipe, consisting of two wing bones of a goose joined together, a drum, schischikué, the song and the dance. Each of these bands has a leader, called,

000 country has been friendly and kind ever since their first acquaintance with them—they have ever met and received them, on the prairie or in their villages, with hospitality and honour.

515 They are handsome, straight and elegant in their forms—not tall, but quick and graceful; easy and polite in their manners, neat in their persons and beautifully clad. When I say "neat in person and beautifully clad," however, I do not intend my readers to understand that such is the case with them all, for among them and most other tribes, as with the enlightened world, there are different grades of society—those who care but little for their personal appearance, and those who take great pains to please themselves and their friends. Amongst this class of personages, such as chiefs and braves, or warriors of distinction, and their families, and dandies or exquisites (a class of beings of whom I shall take due time to speak in a future Letter), the strictest regard to decency, and cleanliness and elegance of dress is observed; and there are few people, perhaps, who take more pains to keep their persons neat and cleanly than they do.

At the distance of half a mile or so above the village, is the customary place where the women and girls resort every morning in the summer months, to bathe in the river. To this spot they repair by hundreds, every morning at sunrise, where, on a beautiful beach, they can be seen running and glistening in the sun, whilst they are playing their innocent gambols and leaping into the stream. They all learn to swim well; [illegible] the poorest swimmer amongst them will dash fearlessly into the boiling [illegible] eddying current of the Missouri, and cross it with perfect ease. At the distance of a quarter of a mile back from the river, extends a terrace or elevated prairie, running north from the village, and forming a kind of semicircle around this bathing-place; and on this terrace, which is some twenty or thirty feet higher than the meadow between it and the river, are stationed every morning several sentinels, with their bows and arrows in hand, to guard and protect this sacred ground from the approach of boys or men from any directions.

[481]

At a little distance below the village, also, is the place where the men and boys go to bathe and learn to swim. After this morning ablution, they return to their village, wipe their limbs dry, and use a profusion of bear's grease through their hair and over their bodies.

000 The art of swimming is known to all the American Indians; and perhaps no people on earth have taken more pains to learn it, nor any who turn it to better account. There certainly are no people whose avocations of life more often call for the use of their limbs in this way; as many of the tribes spend their lives on the shores of our vast lakes and rivers, paddling about from their childhood in their fragile bark canoes, which are liable to continual accidents, which often throw the Indian upon his natural resources for the preservation of his life.

There are many times also, when out upon their long marches in the prosecution of their almost continued warfare, when it becomes necessary to

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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plunge into and swim across the wildest streams and rivers, at times when 000
they have no canoes or craft in which to cross them. I have as yet seen no tribe where this art is neglected. It is learned at a very early age by both sexes, and enables the strong and hardy muscles of the squaws to take their child upon the back, and successfully to pass any river that lies in their way.

The mode of swimming amongst the Mandans, as well as amongst most of the other tribes, is quite different from that practiced in those parts of the 481
civilized world, which I have had the pleasure yet to visit. The Indian, instead of parting his hands simultaneously under the chin, and making the stroke outward, in a horizontal direction, causing thereby a serious strain upon the chest, throws his body alternately upon the left and the right side, raising one arm entirely above the water and reaching as far forward as he can, to dip it, whilst his whole weight and force are spent upon the one that is passing under him, and like a paddle propelling him along; whilst this arm is making a half circle, and is being raised out of the water behind him, the opposite arm is describing a similar arcl. in the air over his head, to be dipped in the water as far as he can reach before him, with the hand turned under, forming a sort of bucket, to act most effectively as it passes in its turn underneath him.

By this bold and powerful mode of swimming, which may want the grace that many would wish to see, I am quite sure, from the experience I have had, that much of the fatigue and strain upon the breast and spine are avoided, and that a man will preserve his strength and his breath much longer in this alternate and rolling motion, than he can in the usual mode of swimming, in the polished world.

In addition to the modes of bathing which I have above described, the 515
Mandans have another, which is a much greater luxury, and often resorted 343
to by the sick, but far more often by the well and sound, as a matter of 757
luxury only, or perhaps for the purpose of hardening their limbs and preparing them for the thousand exposures and vicissitudes of life to which they are continually liable. I allude to their vapour baths, or *sudatories*, of which each village has several, and which seem to be a kind of public property—accessible to all, and resorted to by all, male and female, old and young, sick and well.

In every Mandan lodge is to be seen a crib or basket, much in the shape 352
of a bathing-tub, curiously woven with willow boughs, and sufficiently large 515
to receive any person of the family in a reclining or recumbent posture; which, when any one is to take a bath, is carried by the squaw to the sudatory for the purpose, and brought back to the wigwam again after it has been used

These sudatories are always near the village, above or below it, on the 515
bank of the river. They are generally built of skins (in form of a Crow 343
or Sioux lodge which I have before described), covered with buffalo skins 757

515 343 757 sewed tight together, with a kind of furnace in the centre; or in other words, in the centre of the lodge are two walls of stone about six feet long and two and a half apart, and about three feet high; across and over this space, between the two walls, are laid a number of round sticks, on which the bathing crib is placed (vide PLATE 71). Contiguous to the lodge, and outside of it, is a little furnace something similar, in the side of the bank, where the woman kindles a hot fire, and heats to a red heat a number of large stones, which are kept at these places for this particular purpose; and having them all in readiness, she goes home or sends word to inform her husband or other one who is waiting, that all is ready; when he makes his appearance entirely naked, though with a large buffalo robe wrapped around him. He then enters the lodge and places himself in the crib or basket, either on his back or in a sitting posture (the latter of which is generally preferred), with his back towards the door of the lodge; when the squaw brings in a large stone red hot, between two sticks (lashed together somewhat in the form of a pair of tongs) and, placing it under him, throws cold water upon it, which raises a profusion of vapour about him. He is at once enveloped in a cloud of steam, and a woman or child will sit at a little distance and continue to dash water upon the stone, whilst the matron of the lodge is out, and preparing to make her appearance with another heated stone: or he will sit and dip from a wooden bowl, with a ladle made of the mountain-sheep's horn, and throw upon the heated stones, with his own hands, the water which he is drawing through his lungs and pores, in the next moment, in the most delectable and exhilarating vapours, as it distils through the mat of wild sage and other medicinal and aromatic herbs, which he has strewed over the bottom of his basket, and on which he reclines.

515 757 During all this time the lodge is shut perfectly tight, and he quaffs this delicious and renovating draught to his lungs with deep drawn sighs, and with extended nostrils, until he is drenched in the most profuse degree of perspiration that can be produced; when he makes a kind of strangled signal, at which the lodge is opened, and he darts forth with the speed of a frightened deer, and plunges headlong into the river, from which he instantly escapes again, wraps his robe around him and "leans" as fast as possible for home. Here his limbs are wiped dry, and wrapped close and tight within the fur of the buffalo robes, in which he takes his nap, with his feet to the fire; then oils his limbs and hair with bear's grease, dresses and plumes himself for a visit—a feast—a parade, or a council; or slicks down his long hair, and rubs his oiled limbs to a polish, with a piece of soft buckskin, prepared to join in games of ball or Tchung-kee.

757 Such is the sudatory or the vapour bath of the Mandans, and, as I before observed, it is resorted to both as an every-day luxury by those who have the time and energy or industry to indulge in it; and also used by the sick as a remedy for nearly all the diseases which are known amongst them.

10: Neill H-4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

574 609 chief gave our horses in charge of a young man, and told us we need not be uneasy as there would be good care taken of them.

574 262 On going into the hut, we found buffalo hides spread on the ground, before the fire, for us to sit upon, and soon after we were presented with two large dishes of boiled corn and beans, after which they gave us another large dish of boiled dried meat, but very few of us could eat of it, as it had too strong a taste and smell.[1]

231 342 After some other details which we omit, Harvey writes that when night came: "One young man brought in our horses, and put them in the same hut along with us, upon the right hand, on entering, and ourselves upon the left; a space was enclosed with a railing to keep them within bounds. This custom causes their habitations to have a very disagreeable and offensive smell. This precaution of theirs is to keep the horses from being stolen by the Assiniboines, or other enemies, who are frequently lurking about the village.

515 291 "Towards evening, having gone down to the river side, I observed the custom of washing themselves in the Missouri. Both men and women make it a rule, every morning and evening, to go down to the river, and wash for some time; the men make use of the clay to wash their hair, which answers the purpose of soap to take out the white and red earth with which they daub it, after having washed. Modesty in the female sex appears to be a virtue they are unacquainted with. They wear a kind of leather shift which reaches down to the calves of their legs. This they slip off some distance from the shore, and walk very deliberately into the water entirely naked, in the presence of old and young who seem not to pay any attention to them. [2] * * * * The men make use of no other covering, in the summer season, than these buffalo robes, and even these are seldom worn within doors, and only thrown on when they go out to visit or walk about the village. [352] Both sexes sleep naked. Their beds are raised about two feet from the ground, and hung around with dressed skins. In summer they seldom use any coverings at night, but lay like so many brutes."[2] * * * * Mr. Henry gives a description of their lascivious dances which is too indelicate to publish. He writes under date of:

252 262 352 512 412 "Sunday, July 20th. At daybreak we were all up, and I took a walk down to the river, where I observed the same ceremony of washing as last evening, with as little reserve as before. Our host on our return presented us with some dried meat, and soon after a dish of corn and beans, but as it is not seasoned with any kind of grease or fat, after the first meal it has a very insipid taste. The corn is generally pounded or bruised in a wooden mortar, which is fixed fast and firm in the ground, in one corner of the hut, and this is the first work performed by the women in the morning.

[1] [Category 116, p. 325.-A] [2] [Category 116, p. 326.-A]

834 [326] Some few are modest enough to conceal with one hand
515 what should not be exposed to public view, but even this is done so carelessly as seldom to answer the purpose—a flea or a louse, of which they have a good store, will make them raise the hand to the parts attacked, leaving their nudities exposed. The river being very shallow for some distance from shore, they make no scruple of standing only knee deep, and thus wash themselves before going further to swim; and in coming out they pass close by you as unconcernedly as if they had on a petticoat or shift. They sometimes bundle up their leather garment under the arm or in one hand and walk deliberately into the village to their own huts, where they sit by the fire for some time with their families, they go to bed entirely naked.

834 .....This evening we were plagued for some time by young women, who came in and wanted to lie with us; but as we did not care to accept their kind offers, they retired very much displeased, and muttering something we could not understand.

786 About midnight we were awakened by some extraordinary
832 noise in the village. On going to the outer porch door I saw about 25 persons of both sexes, entirely naked, going about the village singing and dancing. At times they withdrew in couples, but soon rejoined their companions in [327] the dance and song. During this short separation from the rest they appeared to be very closely engaged, and notwithstanding the night was dark I could perceive them occupied in enjoying each other with as little ceremony as if it had been only the common calls of nature. This affair continued about two hours, during which they made the tour of the village several times. What was the meaning of this ceremony I could not learn; but certainly there could be no performance more lascivious than the one I witnessed. The young men kept watch
[625] during the night, sitting on the tops of the huts or walking round the village, singing amorous songs to their particular favorites. This is done, I am told, to prevent a surprise in case an enemy may be at
832 hand. Love is not made by entering the tent at night and lying
834 down near the woman, as it is among other nations I have seen. The custom here is to barricade the doors of the huts during the night and not admit the young men. The latter therefore employ the night in addressing love songs to their mistresses, who either come out of the huts immediately, or wait until daybreak, when they

[p. 384 (B)]

832 repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men,
834 who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young
men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on
461 the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to
526 hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times
they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback,
and performing warlike manoeuvres; they have also a favorite
game which occupies much of their time.

512 [328]...this is the first work performed by the women in the
●515 morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed
themselves in the Missourie. ...every family being provided
415 with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh.
177 Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to
771 say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those
574 earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest
kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come
in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the
contents.

231 .....Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed
437 in the meadow but never allowed them to be for a moment out of
648 his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them.
We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles,
for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco.

439 [329] It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail
upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger
has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first
village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many
439 European articles as they can, [330] particularly arms and ammuni-
609 tion. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each
other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have
578 often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death
569 of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also
to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great
distance. The Pawnees, also, with whom the Mandanes formerly
lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies.
Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and every-
one has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

675 We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the
673 landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut
[577] in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect
security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

[p.384(C)]

251 and the remainder is gathered and dried on the cob, before it has ripened, and packed away in "*caches*" (as the French call them), holes dug in the ground, some six or sever feet deep, the insides of which are somewhat in the form of a jug, and tightly closed at the top. The corn, and even dried meat and pemican, are placed in these *caches*, being packed tight around the sides, with prairie grass, and effectually preserved through the severest winters.

251 Corn and dried meat are generally laid in in the fall, in sufficient quantities to support them through the winter. These are the principal articles of food
262 during that long and inclement season; and in addition to them, they oftentimes have in store great quantities of dried squashes and dried "*pommes blanches*," a kind of turnip which grows in great abundance in these regions, and of which I have before spoken. These are dried in great quantities, and pounded into a sort of meal, and cooked with the dried meat and corn. Great quantities also of wild fruit of different kinds are dried and laid away in store for the winter season, such as buffalo berries, service berries, strawberries, and wild plums.

The buffalo meat, however, is the great staple and "staff of life" in this
252 country, and seldom (if ever) fails to afford them an abundant and whole-
262 some means of subsistence. There are, from a fair computation, something like 250,000 Indians in these western regions, who live almost exclusively on the flesh of these animals, through every part of the year. During the summer and fall months they use the meat fresh, and cook it in a great variety of ways, by roasting, broiling, boiling, stewing, smoking, &c.; and by boiling the ribs and joints with the marrow in them, make a delicious soup, which is universally used, and in vast quantities. The Mandans, I
264 find, have no regular or stated times for their meals, but generally eat about twice in the twenty-four hours. The pot is always boiling over the fire, and any one who is hungry (either of the household or from any other part of the village) has a right to order it taken off, and to fall to eating as he pleases. Such is an unvarying custom amongst the North American Indians, and I very much doubt, whether the civilized world have in their institutions any system which can properly be called more humane and charitable. Every
574 man, woman, or child in Indian communities is allowed to enter any one's lodge, and even that of the chief of the nation, and eat when they are hungry, provided misfortune or necessity has driven them to it. Even so can the poorest and most worthless drone of the nation; if he is toc lazy to hunt or to supply himself, he can walk into any lodge and everyone will share with him as long as there is anything to eat. He, however, who thus begs when he is able to hunt, pays dear for his meat, for he is stigmatized with the disgraceful epithet of a poltroon and a beggar.

264 The Mandans, like all other tribes, sit at their meals cross-legged, or rather
516 with their ancles crossed in front of them, and both feet drawn close under their bodies; or, which is very often the case also, take their meals in a re-

clining posture, with the legs thrown out, and the body resting on one elbow and fore-arm, which are under them. The dishes from which they eat are invariably on the ground or floor of the lodge, and the group resting on buffalo robes or mats of various structure and manufacture. 264 516

The position in which the women sit at their meals and on other occasions is different from that of the men, and one which they take and rise from again, with great ease and much grace, by merely bending the knees both together, inclining the body back and the head and shoulders quite forward, they squat entirely down to the ground, inclining both feet either to the right or the left. In this position they always rest while eating, and it is both modest and graceful, for they seem, with apparent ease, to assume the position and rise out of it, without using their hands in any way to assist them.

These women, however, although graceful and civil, and ever so beautiful or ever so hungry, are not allowed to sit in the same group with the men while at their meals. So far as I have yet travelled in the Indian country, I never have seen an Indian woman eating with her husband. Men form the first group at the banquet, and women, and children and dogs all come together at the next, and these gormandize and glut themselves to an enormous extent, though the men very seldom do. 562 264

It is time that an error on this subject, which has gone generally abroad in the world, was corrected. It is everywhere asserted, and almost universally believed, that the Indians are "enormous eaters;" but comparatively speaking, I assure my readers that this is an error. I venture to say that there are no persons on earth who practice greater prudence and self-denial, than the men do (amongst the wild Indians), who are constantly in war and in the chase, or in their athletic sports and exercises; for all of which they are excited by the highest ideas of pride and honour, and every kind of excess is studiously avoided; and for a very great part of their lives, the most painful abstinence is enforced upon themselves, for the purpose of preparing their bodies and their limbs for these extravagant exertions. Many a man who has been a few weeks along the frontier, amongst the drunken, naked and beggared part of the Indian race, and run home and written a book on Indians, has, no doubt, often seen them eat to beastly excess; and he has seen them also guzzle whiskey (and perhaps *sold* it to them) till he has seen them glutted and besotted, without will or energy to move; and many and thousands of such things can always be seen, where white people have made beggars of them, and they have nothing to do but lie under a fence and beg a whole week to get meat and whiskey enough for one feast and one carouse; but amongst the wild Indians in this country there are no beggars—no drunkards—and every man, from a beautiful natural precept, studies to keep his body and mind in such a healthy shape and condition as will at all times enable him to use his weapons in self-defence, or struggle for the prize in their manly games. 261 177

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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526 regular archery contests in which each competitor paid an entrance fee; the object was to see which man could get the most arrows into the air at once.[1]

The women played a game with a large leather ball, ornamented and well made, which they caused to fall alternately on the foot and knee by bouncing. There was also a children's game, called Assé, played with the tip of an antler to the base of which two feathers were attached. The children also played a game with a hoop covered with a number of leather bands, and about a foot in diameter. This hoop was rolled along and they hit it and knocked it down by throwing a pointed stick; the one that struck nearest the center won. In the spring after the break-up, the children used to run along the bank and throw this ring into the water.[2] Catlin also gives an account of sham battles under the leadership of older men in which the boys engaged.

533 MISCELLANEOUS:—As to the other features of their culture perhaps a few words from Maximilian[3] will give some idea.

He says:—"Many of them take a real pleasure in music and painting and are very skillful in both. . . . Their musical instruments are simple. The songs consist of cries uttered from time to time, and broken by louder bursts of joy. These are accompanied by heavy drum blows and the sound of rattles. . . . They 521 discussed with pleasure subjects of the highest order, the universe and its cause together with kindred topics, saying that their own explanation was far from satisfactory. . . . They are 537 very fine orators, and use very impressive figurative language. They like to talk. . . . By nature they are proud and full of ambition. . . . They often are highly sensitive, and some have 156 been known to die of love or from wounded personal pride due to an insult to their honor."

538 Maximilian also says that they were good story tellers and took great pleasure in relating their myths and legends. They had a sort of literature in the shape of rituals for their elaborate dances, and these were handed down through the medicine men. 805 They paid considerable attention to the stars in their ceremonies but were not students of the heavens, and their calendar was a

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 141. [2] Maximilian: p. 417. [3] Ibid., pp. 404 et seq.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

of the upper region; men, women and children ascended by means of the vine; but when about half the nation had reached the surface of the earth, a corpulent woman, who was clambering up the vine, broke it with her weight, and closed upon herself and the rest of the nation the light of the sun. Those who were left on earth made a village below, where we saw the nine villages; and when the Mandans die they expect to return to the original seats of their forefathers; the good reaching the ancient village by means of the lake, which the burdens of the sins of the wicked will not enable them to cross." (id 191.) 775 773

Buffalo Chase. "Friday, December 7th. The wind still continued from the northwest, and the day is very cold. Shahaka, the chief of the lower village, came to apprise us that the buffalo were near, and that his people were waiting for us to join them in the chase. Captain Clarke with fifteen men went out and found the Indians engaged in killing the buffalo, the hunters mounted on horseback and armed with bows and arrows encircled the herd, and gradually drive them into a plain or an open place fit for the movements of horse; they then ride in among them, and singling out a buffalo, a female being preferred, go as close as possible and wound her with arrows till they think they have given the mortal stroke; then they pursue another till the quiver is exhausted. If, which rarely happens, the wounded buffalo attacks the hunter, he evades his blow by the agility of his horse, which is trained for the combat with great dexterity. When they have killed the requisite number they collect their game, and the squaws and attendants come up from the rear and skin and dress the animals. Captain Clarke killed ten buffalo, of which only five were brought to the fort, the rest, which could not be conveyed home, being seized by the Indians, among whom the custom is, that whenever a buffalo is found dead without an arrow, or any particular mark, he is the property of the finder; so that often a hunter secures scarcely any of the game he kills, if the arrow happens to fall off; whatever is left out at night falls to the share of the wolves, who are the constant and numerous attendants of the buffalo." (id 193.) 224

Mandan Games. "Wednesday, 19th. The weather moderated, and the river rose a little, so that we were unable to continue the picketing of the fort. Notwithstanding the extreme cold, we 524

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

524 observe the Indians at the village engaged out in the open air, at a game which resembled billiards more than anything we had seen, and which we are inclined to suspect may have been acquired by ancient intercourse with the French of Canada. From the first to the second chief's lodge, a distance of about fifty yards, was covered with timber, smoothed and joined so as to be as level as the floor of one of our houses, with a battery at the end to stop the rings; these rings were of clay-stone, and flat like the chequers for drafts, and the sticks were about four feet long, with two short pieces at one end in the form of a mace, so fixed, that the whole will slide along the board. Two men fix themselves at one end, each provided with a stick, and one of them with a ring; they then run along the board, and about half way slide the sticks after the ring." (id 196.)

437 "Saturday, 22nd. A number of squaws and men dressed like squaws brought corn to trade for small articles with the men. Among other things we procured two horns of the animal called by the French, the Rock mountain sheep, and known to the Mandans by the name of ahsahta. The animal itself is about the size of a small elk or large deer; the horn winding like those of a ram, which they resemble also in texture, though larger and thicker."

Mandan Food. "Sunday, 23rd. The weather was fine and warm like that of yesterday. We were again visited by crowds of Indians of all descriptions, who came either to trade, or from mere curiosity. Among the rest Kogahami, the Little Raven, 252 brought his wife and son loaded with corn, and she then entertained us with a favorite Mandan dish, a mixture of pumpkins, beans, corn and chokecherries with the stones, all boiled together in a kettle, and forming a composition by no means unpalatable." (id 197.)

000 **Christmas.** "Tuesday, 25th. We were awakened before day by a discharge of three platoons from the party. We had told the Indians not to visit us, as it was one of our great medicine days; so that the men remained at home and amused themselves in various ways, particularly with dancing, in which they take great pleasure. The American flag was hoisted for the first time in the fort; the best provisions we had were brought out, and this, with a little brandy, enabled them to pass the day in great festivity." (id 198.)

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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164 DISEASE AND THE CURE OF DISEASE:—The Mandans were as a rule a very healthy people and their catalogue of diseases was small, being mostly those which of necessity accompany a life of considerable hardship. Catarrhal troubles, snow blindness, rheumatism and hemoptisis were most common. They had no fevers and no consumption; venereal diseases were found, but the Mandans always claimed that these were got from the Crows. Their other troubles were wounds, snake bites and freezing. Maximilian said that he also found cases of the gout among them.

757 Colds and catarrhal troubles and rheumatism were treated in the vapor bath which is found in one form or another among most Indian tribes. The patient was steamed well and then immediately plunged into icy water or snow, from there he went into the house where he was kept wrapped up for some time. The snow blindness was treated by gentle sweating. Cataracts and inflammation of the eyes resulted from snow blindness at times, and the inflammation was treated by rubbing with some herb which had a rough surface. With this the eyeball was rubbed till blood flowed. Bleeding was practiced, and rattle-snake rattles were considered to be a remedy for almost anything. The rattles were powdered fine, mixed with water or saliva and either swallowed or rubbed on the parts affected. The Mandans used no emetics but had a number of vegetable purgatives. Lewis and Clarke described a root which was chewed and placed on a snake bite, they called it Sackacomah but it has not been identified botanically. Freezing was treated by rubbing with snow. Horses were sometimes given a piece of wasp's nest as a diuretic.

752 Wounds healed with remarkable rapidity and had very little care. Severe cuts were rubbed with fat and sometimes bound up. A number of cases were known where persons who had been scalped recovered. In arrow wounds the point was always forced entirely through the flesh if possible because it came out more easily so.

• 524 GAMES:— The Mandans had games for men, women and children, and in most of these betting was an important part of the sport. Probably the best known of these games was

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Skohpe, Tchung-kee or Billiards as some have called it. Henry[1] 524
gives a good account of the method of play:

"Two persons are each provided with a stick six feet long on which are cut a certain number of notches an inch long; in the intervals of which are fixed the same number of small bunches of feathers of diverse colors, with three pieces of wood sixteen inches square one near each end and one in the middle; these are perforated in the center and through them is passed the rod . . . . Each notch has a particular mark. . . . . The ground is a smooth level place forty paces long by five broad. The players stand side by side and start from one end . . . . and trot . . . . half way through, when one of them throws a ball . . . . and both players push their rods forward to overtake, and keep pace with the ball. They then examine the bunch at which the ball stops."

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[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 262. [2] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 132. [3] Op. cit., p. 417.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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868 and is performed on an empty stomach, affording them a rigid and wholesome exercise, whilst they are instructed in the important science of war. Some five or six miles of ground are run over during these evolutions, giving suppleness to their limbs and strength to their muscles, which last and benefit them through life.

After this exciting exhibition is ended, they all return to their village, where the chiefs and braves pay profound attention to their vaunting, and applaud them for their artifice and valour.

Those who have taken scalps then step forward, brandishing them and making their boast as they enter into the *scalp-dance* (in which they are also instructed by their leaders or teachers), jumping and yelling—brandishing their scalps, and reciting their *sanguinary deeds*, to the great astonishment of their tender aged sweethearts, who are gazing with wonder upon them.

526 The games and amusements of these people are in most respects like
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7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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Of these kinds of sacrifices there are three of an interesting nature, erected over the great medicine-lodge in the centre of the village—they consist of ten or fifteen yards of blue and black cloth each, purchased from the Fur Company at fifteen or twenty dollars per yard, which are folded up so as to resemble human figures, with quills in their heads and masks on their faces. These singular-looking figures, like "*scare crows*" (PLATE 47), are erected on poles about thirty feet high, over the door of the mystery-lodge, and there are left to decay. There hangs now by the side of them another, which was added to the number a few days since, of the skin of a white buffalo, which will remain there until it decays and falls to pieces.

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1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 are made like tombs, surrounded by skins. These men are always
513 naked, covered only with a buffalo robe. * * * * Their fort
251 is full of caves, in which are stored such articles as grain, food,
436 fat, dressed robes and bear skins. They are well supplied with
these; it is the money of the country. The more they have of it
304 the richer they believe themselves to be. They are fond of tattooing, but never more than half of the body is tattoed, both of
285 men and women. They make wicker work very neatly, flat and in baskets.

Pottery. "They make use of earthen pots, which they use like
323 many other nations for cooking their food. They are for the most
261 part great eaters; are eager for feasts. They brought me every day more than twenty dishes of wheat, beans and pumpkins, all cooked. Mr. de la Marque, who did not hate feasts, went to them continually with my children. As I did not go to them my share
141 was sent to me. The men are stout and tall, generally very active, fairly good looking, with a good physiognomy. The women have not the Indian physiognomy. The men indulge in a sort of ball
• 526 play on the squares and ramparts.

000 "On the evening of the 4th the Sieur Nolant and my son arrived, well satisfied with their journey, having been well received and strongly urged to remain longer. The fort is on the bank of the river, as large again as this; the squares and streets are very fine and clean; their palisade is in the best order and strength; the whole built in the same fashion as the one in which we were. From what they could hear all their forts are alike; who saw one saw all, with this difference, that some were much larger than others. The nearest to the Pananas that the river appeared to go was, according to the compass, southwest by south, by signs given to them; the lower part may go to the sea to the southwest by west. They were often amused by broken talk; not being able to answer questions put to them, they answered something else, for want of understanding. The waters of their rivers come down with great rapidity, having many shoals. The water is not good for drinking, being brakish. We have constantly found from the last mountain almost all the marshes and ponds brakish or sulphurous. What they could understand was that on the lower part of the river there were men like us, who made cloth and linen, were very numerous and had wars with a large part of the Indians. We saw that it was useless to question them, as they

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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526 regular archery contests in which each competitor paid an entrance fee; the object was to see which man could get the most arrows into the air at once.[1]

The women played a game with a large leather ball, ornamented and well made, which they caused to fall alternately on the foot and knee by bouncing. There was also a children's game, called Assé, played with the tip of an antler to the base of which two feathers were attached. The children also played a game with a hoop covered with a number of leather bands, and about a foot in diameter. This hoop was rolled along and they hit it and knocked it down by throwing a pointed stick; the one that struck nearest the center won. In the spring after the break-up, the children used to run along the bank and throw this ring into the water.[2] Catlin also gives an account of sham battles under the leadership of older men in which the boys engaged.

533 MISCELLANEOUS:—As to the other features of their culture perhaps a few words from Maximilian[3] will give some idea.

He says:—"Many of them take a real pleasure in music and painting and are very skillful in both. . . . Their musical instruments are simple. The songs consist of cries uttered from time to time, and broken by louder bursts of joy. These are accompanied by heavy drum blows and the sound of rattles. . . . They 521 discussed with pleasure subjects of the highest order, the universe and its cause together with kindred topics, saying that their own explanation was far from satisfactory. . . . They are 537 very fine orators, and use very impressive figurative language. They like to talk. . . . By nature they are proud and full of ambition. . . . They often are highly sensitive, and some have 156 been known to die of love or from wounded personal pride due to an insult to their honor."

538 Maximilian also says that they were good story tellers and took great pleasure in relating their myths and legends. They had a sort of literature in the shape of rituals for their elaborate dances, and these were handed down through the medicine men. 805 They paid considerable attention to the stars in their ceremonies but were not students of the heavens, and their calendar was a

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 141. [2] Maximilian: p. 417. [3] Ibid., pp. 404 et seq.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

561 particular description of the dress of this band is given in the sequel, and the representation of it in Vignette XXVIII.

533 534 These unions, or bands, give occasion to many festivities, with singing, music, and dancing. But they have likewise other dances and diversions. One of these is the scalp dance, which may be more appropriately described among the usages of war. Their musical amusements are very simple. The mode of singing varies but little among all the American Indians; it consists of broken, deep exclamations, often intercepted by loud shouts, and is accompanied by a violent beating of time on the drum, and the rattling of the schischikué. Besides these two instruments, the Mandans have long wooden pipes, at the lower end of which there is generally an eagle's feather hanging by a string. (See woodcut, page 180.) Other pipes are thicker, about twenty inches long, and are perforated with holes; in this respect they differ from the war pipe. They are sometimes ornamented with pieces of skin, &c. These are the only musical instruments of the Indians besides the war pipes.

526 The Indians have also many games; the game called billiards, by the French Canadians, is played by two young men, with long poles, which are often bound with leather, and have various ornaments attached to them. On a long, straight, level course, or a level path in or near the village, they roll a hoop, three or four inches in diameter, covered with leather, and throw the pole at it; and the success of the game depends upon the pole passing through it. This game is also practised among the Manitaries, and is described, in Major Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains, as being played by the Pawnees, who, however, have hooked sticks, which is not the case with the tribes here mentioned.

The women are expert at playing with a large leathern ball, which they let fall alternately on their foot and knee, again throwing it up and catching it, and thus keeping it in motion for a length of time without letting it fall to the ground. Prizes are given, and they often play high. The ball is often very neat and curiously covered with dyed porcupine quills. (See Plate XLVIII. Fig. 14.) Card-playing has not yet reached these Indians, though it is in use among the Osages and other tribes. The children of the Mandans and Manitaries play with a piece of stag's horn, in which a couple of feathers are inserted; this is thrown forward, the piece of horn being foremost.

About the middle of March, when the weather is fine, the children and young men play with a hoop, in the interior of which strips of leather are interwoven; its diameter is about a foot. This hoop is either rolled or thrown, and they thrust at it with a pointed stick; he who approaches the centre most nearly is the winner. The hoop and the stick are represented in Plate XLVIII.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Fig. 15. As soon as the ice in the rivers breaks up, they run to the banks and throw this interlaced hoop into the water. In the summer time the Mandans and Manitaries often amuse themselves with races in the prairie, for which they have the best opportunity in the vicinity of their villages; twenty young men, or more, often run at once, and on these occasions there is always high betting. Some of them are very swift runners, and can hold out a long time. 526

The Mandans and Manitaries are extremely superstitious, and all their important actions are guided by such motives. They have most strange ideas of surrounding nature, believe in a multitude of different beings in the heavenly bodies; offer sacrifices to them; invoke their assistance on every occasion; howl, lament, fast, inflict on themselves cruel acts of penance, to propitiate these spirits; and, above all, lay very great stress upon dreams. Some of their traditions have a resemblance to the revelations of the Bible; for instance, Noah's Ark and the Deluge, the history of Samson, &c. The question here arises whether these particulars have not been gradually introduced among them, from their intercourse with Christians, and this seems highly probable. If they have not yet embraced the Christian religion, it would, however, appear that they have adopted some portions which strike them as being either remarkable or interesting.* The belief in a future life, or a better state of things after death, exists among all the American nations; this is confirmed by D'Orbigny (Voyages, tom. iii. p. 90), who justly blames Azara for denying all religious ideas to the people of Paraguay. In order to obtain correct information respecting all their traditions and ideas, we persuaded Dipauch† to enliven our long winter evenings by his narratives, which he readily agreed to do. He spoke with much seriousness and gravity, and I had a most excellent interpreter in Mr. Kipp. I give these narratives, which are often extremely silly, as they were written down from his communications, though I must beg my reader's patience and indulgence. It was not possible to curtail them or to choose only the more interesting parts, since all their traditions and legends have a certain connexion, and really possess some influence on the actual mode of life of this people. 771 771 124

According to Dipauch, these Indians believe in several superior beings, of whom the lord of life, Ohmahank-Numakshi, is the first, the most exalted and the most powerful; who created the earth, man, and every existing object.‡ They believe that he has a tail, and appears sometimes 776 773

* This conjecture is adopted by Dr. Edwin James, the learned author of Tanner's Life among the Indians, p. 357 of that work. I refer to this interesting book for the remarkable hieroglyphics of the people of the Algonquin tribe.

† Dipauch is a very distinguished man, and might have been a chief long ago if he had planned, as he possesses all the necessary qualifications. His father was shot by the Sioux during Lewis and Clarke's winter residence among these Indians. These travellers offered to assist the Mandans against their enemies, and to take the field with them, to which, however, they would not consent.

‡ Beauchamp, p. 71, is very much mistaken in believing that the Mandans and Manitaries worship only buffalo heads, for, if the latter are medicine, it is incontrovertibly true that they believe in a number of superior beings who make a figure in their mythology.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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Sacrificing is also a religious custom with these people, and is performed in many different modes, and on numerous occasions. Of this custom I shall also speak more fully hereafter, merely noticing at present, some few of the hundred modes in which these offerings are made to the Good and Evil Spirits. Human sacrifices have never been made by the Mandans, nor by any of the north western tribes (so far as I can learn), excepting the Pawnees of the Platte; who have, undoubtedly, observed such an inhuman practice in former times, though they have relinquished it of late. The Mandans sacrifice their fingers to the Great Spirit, and of their worldly goods, the best and the most costly; if a horse or a dog, it must be the favourite one; if it is an arrow from their quiver, they will select the most perfect one as the most effective gift; if it is meat, it is the choicest piece cut from the buffalo or other animal; if it is anything from the stores of the Traders, it is the most costly—it is blue or scarlet cloth, which costs them in this country an enormous price, and is chiefly used for the purpose of hanging over their wigwams to decay, or to cover the scaffolds where rest the bones of their departed relations.

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LETTER—No. 20.

MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

461 THIS day has been one of unusual mirth and amusement amongst the Mandans, and whether on account of some annual celebration or not, I am as yet unable to say, though I think such is the case; for these people have many days which, like this, are devoted to festivities and amusements.

Their lives, however, are lives of idleness and ease, and almost all their days and hours are spent in innocent amusements. Amongst a people who have no office hours to attend to—no professions to study, and of whom but very little time is required in the chase, to supply their families with food, it would be strange if they did not practice many games and amusements, and also become exceedingly expert in them.

I have this day been a spectator of games and plays until I am fatigued with looking on; and also by lending a hand, which I have done; but with so little success as only to attract general observation, and as generally to excite the criticisms and laughter of the squaws and little children.

526 I have seen a fair exhibition of their archery this day, in a favourite amusement which they call the "*game of the arrow*" (see PLATE 60), where the young men who are the most distinguished in this exercise, assemble on the prairie at a little distance from the village, and having paid, each one, his "entrance-fee," such as a shield, a robe, a pipe, or other article, step forward in turn, shooting their arrows into the air, endeavouring to see who can get the greatest number flying in the air at one time, thrown from the same bow. For this, the number of eight or ten arrows are clenched in the left hand with the bow, and the first one which is thrown is elevated to such a degree as will enable it to remain the longest time possible in the air, and while it is flying, the others are discharged as rapidly as possible; and he who succeeds in getting the greatest number up at once, is "best," and takes the goods staked.

In looking on at this amusement, the spectator is surprised; not at the great distance to which the arrows are actually sent; but at the quickness of fixing them on the string, and discharging them in succession; which is no doubt, the result of great practice, and enables the most expert

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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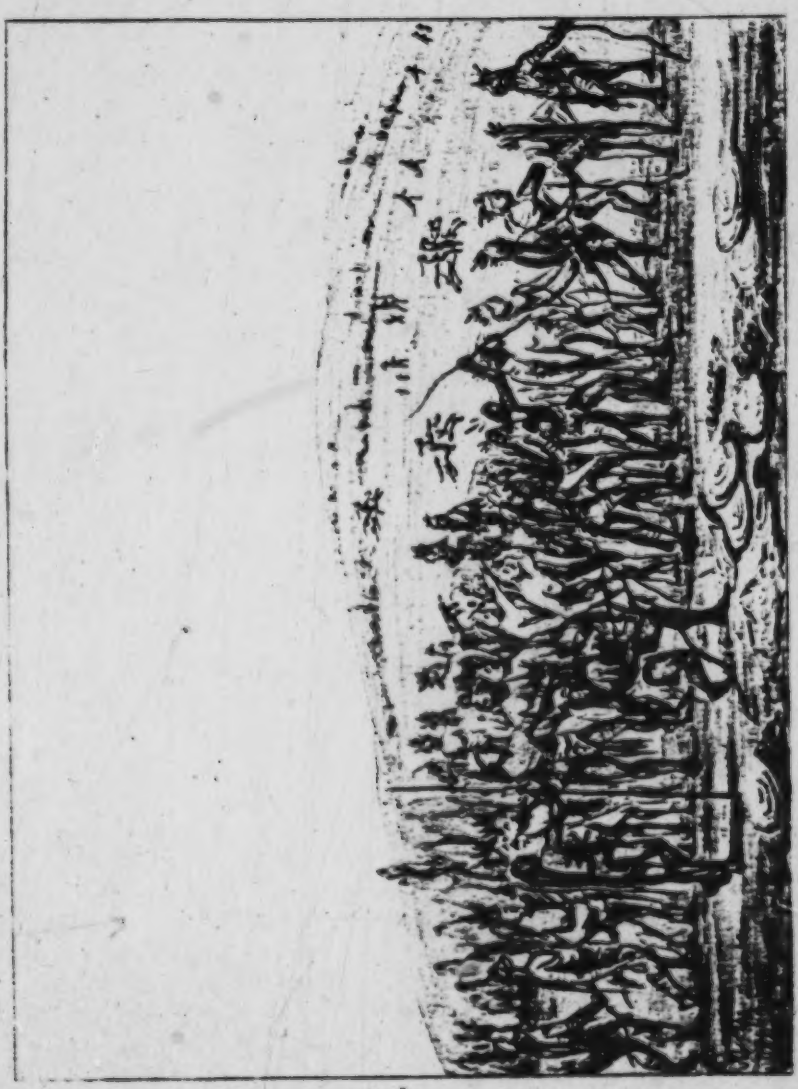

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[facing p. 141]

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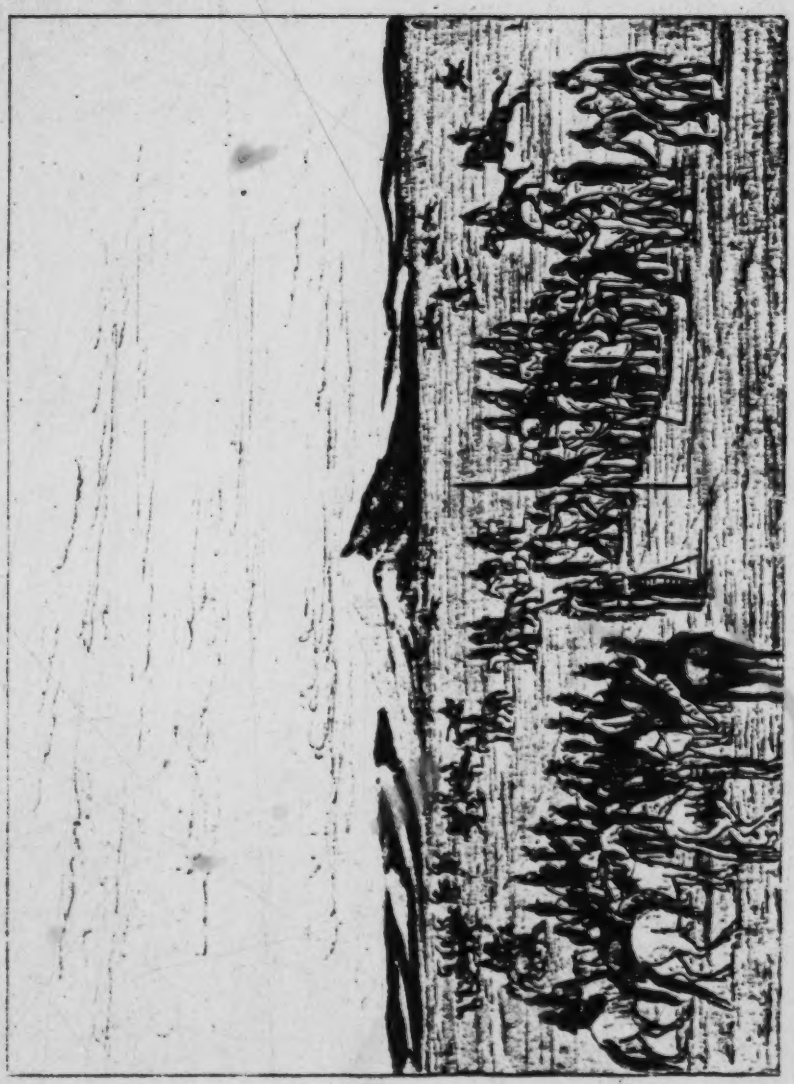
526 of them to get as many as eight arrows up before the first one reaches the ground.

526 For the successful use of the bow, as it is used through all this region of country on horseback, and that invariably at full speed, the great object of 224 practice is to enable the bowman to draw the bow with suddenness and instant effect; and also to repeat the shots in the most rapid manner. As their game is killed from their horses' backs while at the swiftest rate—and their enemies fought in the same way; and as the horse is the swiftest animal of the prairie, and always able to bring his rider alongside, within a few paces of his victim; it will easily be seen that the Indian has little use in throwing his arrow more than a few paces; when he leans quite low on his horse's side, and drives it with astonishing force, capable of producing instant death to the buffalo, or any other animal in the country. The bows which are generally in use in these regions I have described in a former Letter, and the effects produced by them at the distance of a few paces is almost beyond relief, considering their length, which is not often over three,—and sometimes not exceeding two and a half feet. It can easily be seen, from what has been said, that the Indian has little use or object in throwing the arrow to any great distance. And as it is very seldom that they can be seen shooting at a target, I doubt very much whether their skill in such practice would compare with that attained to in many parts of the civilized world; but with the same weapon, and dashing forward at fullest speed on the wild horse, without the use of the rein, when the shot is required to be made with the most instantaneous effect, I scarcely think it possible that any people can be found more skilled, and capable of producing more deadly effects with the bow.

231 The horses which the Indians ride in this country are invariably the wild horses, which are found in great numbers on the prairies; and have, unquestionably, strayed from the Mexican borders, into which they were introduced by the Spanish invaders of that country; and now range and subsist themselves, in winter and summer, over the vast plains of prairie that stretch from the Mexican frontiers to Lake Winnipeg on the North, a distance of 3000 miles. These horses are all of small stature, of the pony order; but a very hardy and tough animal, being able to perform for the Indians a continual and essential service. They are taken with the *laso*, [413] which is a long halter or thong, made of raw-hide, of some fifteen or twenty yards in length, and which the Indians throw with great dexterity; with a noose at one end of it, which drops over the head of the animal they wish to catch, whilst running at full speed—when the Indian dismounts from his own horse, and holding to the end of the laso, chokes the animal down, and afterwards tames and converts him to his own use.

422 Scarcely a man in these regions is to be found, who is not the owner of one or more of these horses; and in many instances of eight, ten, or even twenty, which he values as his own personal property.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17



526

[p. 142 (A)]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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231 The Indians are hard and cruel masters; and, added to their cruelties is
● 526 the sin that is familiar in the Christian world, of sporting with the limbs and the lives of these noble animals. *Horse-racing* here, as in all more enlightened communities, is one of the most exciting amusements, and one of the most extravagant modes of gambling.

I have been this day a spectator to scenes of this kind, which have been enacted in abundance, on a course which they have, just back of their village; and although I never had the least taste for this cruel amusement in my own country, yet, I must say, I have been not a little amused and pleased with the thrilling effect which these exciting scenes have produced amongst so wild and picturesque a group.

I have made a sketch of the ground and the group, as near as I could (PLATE 61); shewing the manner of "starting" and "coming out," which vary a little from the customs of the *knowing* world; but in other respects, I believe, a horse-race is the same all the world over.

727 Besides these, many have been the amusements of this day, to which I have been an eye-witness; and since writing the above, I have learned the cause of this unusual expression of hilarity and mirth; which was no more nor less than the safe return of a small war-party, who had been so long out without any tidings having been received of them—that they had long since been looked upon as sacrificed to the fates of war and lost. This party was made up of the most distinguished and desperate young men of the tribe, who had sallied out against the Riccarees, and taken the most solemn oath amongst themselves never to return without achieving a victory. They had wandered long and faithfully about the country, following the trails of their enemy; when they were attacked by a numerous party, and lost several of their men and all their horses. In this condition, to evade the scrutiny of their enemy, who were closely investing the natural route to their village; they took a circuitous range of the country, to enable them to return with their lives, to their village.

In this plight, it seems, I had dropped my little canoe alongside of them, while descending from the Mouth of Yellow Stone to this place, not many weeks since; where they had biwouacked or halted, to smoke and consult on the best and safest mode of procedure. At the time of meeting them, not knowing anything of their language, they were unable to communicate their condition to me, and more probably were afraid to do so even if they could have done it, from apprehension that we might have given some account of them to their enemies. I rested my canoe an hour or so with them during which time they treated us with an indifferent reserve, yet respectfully; and we passed on our way, without further information of them or their plans than the sketch that I there made (PLATE 63), and which I shall preserve and value as one of the most pleasing groups I ever have had the pleasure to see. Seated on their buffalo robes, which were spread upon the grass, with their respective weapons laying about them, and lighting their pipes at a

832 repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men,
834 who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young
men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on
461 the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to
526 hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times
they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback,
and performing warlike manoeuvres; they have also a favorite
game which occupies much of their time.

512 [328]...this is the first work performed by the women in the
515 morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed
themselves in the Missourie. ...every family being provided
415 with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh.
177 Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to
771 say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those
574 earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest
kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come
in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the
contents.

231 .....Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed
437 in the meadow but never allowed them to be for a moment out of
648 his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them.
We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles,
for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco.

439 [329] It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail
upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger
has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first
village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many
439 European articles as they can, [330] particularly arms and ammuni-
609 tion. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each
other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have
578 often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death
569 of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also
to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great
distance. The Pawnees, also, with whom the Mandanes formerly
lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies.
Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and every-
one has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

675 We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the
673 landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut
[577] in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect
security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

[p.384(C)]

437 willing and ready to serve you as long as you have any property.
177 But when all is expended you may shift for yourself, as they will pretend they do not understand you any longer. Besides paying our host [343] beforehand, I promised him a tobacco-pipe on my departure, if I were then pleased with his conduct during our stay. His pay consisted of the following articles: 60 balls and powder, 4 large knives, 2 small knives, 1 fathom tobacco, 1 dozen rings, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 6 flints, 3 worms, 3 awls, and 1/4 pound blue beads.

164 [343] The natives at present are mostly affected with a bad cough, which daily takes some of them off. Aged and infirm persons, and young children, are the common victims to this disease. It is a kind of whooping-cough, which has appeared all along the Red and Assiniboine rivers, on the Saskatchewan even to Fort des Prairies, and in several other parts of the North West, carrying off many people

241 July 21st. I set off early on horseback with part of my people
[462 for the upper villages. We passed extensive fields of corn, beans,
561] squashes, and sunflowers. Many women and children were already
412 employed in clearing and hoeing their plantations. Their hoes are the shoulderblade of a buffalo, to which is fastened a crooked stick for a handle; the soil not being stony, this slight implement answers every purpose. The road first led over two hills, after which we came to a smooth and pleasant plain for about two miles to the Saulteur (Soulier) [Amahami—Analyst] village, of about 40 huts.
361 [362]. . These villages are surrounded by a kind of stockade, princi-
417 pally made of driftwood, which has a miserable appearance and is daily falling to pieces; but I am told that upon any emergency it can be put into a tolerably good state of defense at very short notice, as every man, woman, and child lends a hand.

526 We witnessed a diversion which takes place almost every day
481 between the Mandanes and Saulteurs (Souliers). It is the exercise
702 of running long foot races, in order to be prepared for the emergency of being dismounted and obliged to fly from their enemies at war. They assemble upon a beautiful green near the village, where, having remained some time, calling out to their comrades to come and run, they set off in a file on a slow trot, entirely naked, taking the road that leads up the hills to the S., about a mile from the village. Passing near those rising grounds, they disappear, and are not seen till they reappear from the S.E., down a steep hill and over a level plain, to the spot whence they started. Here they do not stop, but rush on to the Missouri, and plunge in headlong, all

[p. 384(E)]

526 covered with dust and sweat. The race is at least six miles long,
481 and it is surprising to see what a great distance some of them gain
702 upon others. This violent exercise is performed on the hottest summer days, and it is a wonder that some of them do not pay dearly for their temerity.

541 During my absence yesterday [July 21 - Analyst] my people, who remained here, witnessed a horse race. The Mandanes assembled in great numbers on horseback, and rode about three miles below the village, where all mustered. They set out in a body, pell-mell, whipping and kicking their horses, directing their course along the foot of the hills, and made a long circuit at full speed around the village. Some of their horses appeared very swift and spirited, but others were miserable animals. On their arrival, they performed their warlike manoeuvres on horseback, feigning their different attacks upon the enemy, giving their strokes of the battleax and thrusts of the spear, and defending themselves in turn by parrying blows and covering themselves with their shields.

526 ...I observed one particular game among the Mandanes, which the young men were continually playing. Two persons are each provided with a stick six feet long, on which are cut a certain number of notches, an inch long, in the intervals of which are fixed the same number of small bunches of feathers of divers colors, with three pieces of wood, 16 inches square, one near each end, and one in the middle; these are perforated in the center, and through them is passed the rod, painted of divers colors. Each notch has a particular mark, the nature of which they themselves only understand—indeed, the same may be said of the whole game. The ground on which they play is a smooth level space, about 40 paces long and 5 broad. The players stand side by side, start from one end of the ground, and trot on till they are halfway through, when one of them throws a ball gently ahead, in such a manner that it will not roll further than the space allowed for the game; at the same time both players push their rod forward to overtake and keep pace with the ball, but not to check its course. They then examine the particular notch or bunch of feathers at which the ball stops, and count accordingly.

304 The greater part of the men—Big Bellies, Mandanes, and
787 Saulteurs (Souliers)—have lost a joint of several fingers, [364]
785 particularly of the left hand, and it is not uncommon to see only the

[p. 384(F)]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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292 575 293 Every member had a head ornament consisting of a round piece of rawhide with a bone feather holder. Two officers wore moderately wide aprons of red cloth edged with eagle feathers hanging down. Each of two other officers had a sacred bow with two arrows, one painted red and the other black. Two officers bore a spiked club (ō'o kahiri' 'ka), the spike being of horn. The sacred bows and arrows were for use against the enemy; they never missed their aim. For some reason no paraphernalia were supplied to Wounded-face's group, and they did not exercise their membership privileges because older men who should have taught them the appropriate songs died. All the members of this society were Mandan, but the organization originated with the Dakota or Cheyenne. Black-chest independently made the statement that the society was not really of Mandan origin. The [608] *cō'ta ō'xat'e* regarded the Foxes as their fathers, and the Little Dogs as their "friends."

292 575 Water-chief said that members wore two eagle feathers rising from the back of the head. Before his group bought the society, five older Mandan called them together, and said, "We wish to give you a society." Then property was collected and brought to them. The same night they sang songs, to which the young boys danced. After the dance, the sellers addressed their sons, saying, "You are growing up now. You must go against the enemy. Try to be brave and conquer the enemy."

Kit-Fox Society.

575 432 571 The following account of this society (ō'xox'atoc) was given by Black-chest.

When we bought this society, all of us were unmarried. We wished to buy this society. Our fathers said, "These foxes have ten claws on their front legs, so we wish you to give us a ten days' feast." I selected Good-bear, one of my clan fathers, for my individual father. The members of the River Women society were our "friends"; one of these, Black-head, was my individual "friend."

When the River Women had gathered together, we went to them and thus addressed them: "We wish to make friends with you. We desire to buy a society and wish you to help us and give us some blankets. We wish to know whether you are willing to do so." The women debated the request, and each one declared that she would contribute her blanket. Then we said, "Well, now each of you shall say which one of us you are willing to help." Then Black-head designated me. She was no clan aunt of mine.

575 527 432 We borrowed Broken-horn's earth-lodge for our meeting and brought kettles of food there. Black-head also brought a kettle of food there. We boys came in on the left side and sat down in an ellipse. We could hear our fathers singing as they approached our lodge. They entered it on the right side and sat down. Their wives, who were to assist in the singing during the ten nights' entertainment, were grouped behind their husbands.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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When our fathers had sat down, one of our number, Wounded-face, rose and said, "Well, comrades and women friends, listen. We have brought our food here, and we wish to select our fathers tonight. Do each of you rise and set your food before your father." Then each of us rose, picked up his kettle, and walked past the door-side of the fireplace to his father. I picked out one of my clan fathers and gave him my kettle; then I returned to my place. Black-head, who had watched my movements, then came forward and brought her kettle to the man indicated as my father. Those purchasers who had no clan fathers among the sellers selected anyone they pleased for their individual father. The fathers ate of the food, leaving some for their wives, who emptied the kettles and returned them to their husbands. Then Good-bear called me by name and said, "Come, son, and get your kettle." I went towards him and stood before him. Then Good-bear prayed to the supernatural powers: "I have gone through the Oki'pɛ ceremony myself and have undergone great hardships for your sake. In other ceremonies I have also undergone suffering. Before I underwent this suffering, I thought you would help me whenever I could not do something by my own power. I have no power to give honor marks, therefore I ask you to help me by securing honor marks for my son." Then I took both kettles and went back to my place, where I returned to Black-head her own kettle. Each of the boys acted in a similar way. 575 527 432 533 535

After all of us had sat down, our fathers began to sing. They beat drums, but did not dance. They sang these words: —

"ma'kltã'ni máhuna."
"You, wake up and come."

[These words are supposed to be addressed to one's sweetheart.]

Four times they sang such songs. Then came a second set of songs, during which the fathers danced in their places. When they had done dancing, they addressed us in obsolete Mandan, saying, "Sī! i'karẽ'xoc!" ("Clan son, daylight is here!") Shot-foot, one of the fathers, rose to address us. He said, "Sī, we wish you to give us a ten nights' feast. This will give us time to prepare clothes for you." [198]

This meeting took place in the evening, each of our female "friends" brought in a bundle of willows carried by means of a tump line and a second line passing around the breast. The bundles were piled up on the left side of the door (for one entering), and from time to time one of the boys would rise to keep up the fire. This purchase took place in midsummer. I was about 20 years old at the time.

On each of the ten nights the fathers came in in the same way as the first time, and the mode of procedure was the same. On the tenth night, the fathers said, "Sons, we have done; tomorrow we shall give you your things." On the following morning we came back to the same lodge and took our seats, but without any kettles. Our women "friends" also came in and sat down. This time, however, we were not ranged in an ellipse as before, but sat in the arc of a circle, with our "friends" in a similar arc from 4½ to 5 feet behind us. Until this day White-bear's house had served as the place of assembly for the fathers prior to their approach to our own meeting-place, but this morning each came from his own lodge, their wives carrying the clothes to be presented to the purchasers of the society. The fathers sat down in a curved line opposite to ours, and their wives took seats behind them. There were about thirty fathers; sometimes two boys had the same father. They planted two sticks into the ground in the rear (mana'ktata) of the lodge. One of the sticks was hooked, and its shaft was wrapped with otterskin; three eagle feathers hung down from the end of the hook. The second stick was straight and also wrapped with otterskin; 575 432 527 533 535 293

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575 to the top of the shaft there was fastened a single eagle feather. The bottom of
432 both staffs was blunt, but in order to secure them in their places a sharp-pointed stick
had been previously driven into the ground there. The fathers had two hand-
527 drums. The father nearest the door took the hooked stick (ma'nanū'skup) which
had been set at the left side of the straight stick (ma'nacū'cuk) for one facing the
533 door, and held it in his hand, while the last father in line took the straight stick. The
535 two fathers standing nearest the staff-holders bore rattles. The drums were beaten,
293 but before the rest of the fathers rose Shot-foot addressed us, saying, "Sons, you will
keep our society, you will dance today." Then the fathers all rose, and the singing
began. The staff-bearers advanced towards the boys, shouting, while the rest danced
in their places. When the staff-bearers had got to the fireplace, the singing ceased.
Each of the two officers then went to his son and led him to a spot between the two
main posts on the right side of the lodge (for one facing the entrance), and gave his
stick to his son. On this occasion Water-chief received the straight stick, and White-
eye the bent stick. Next Shot-fox rose with his rattle and — this time without any
singing or dancing — walked straight towards his son, Long-tail, whom he led to the
place between the two posts used by the staff-bearers and presented with his rattle.
The second rattler went through a corresponding procedure. Then the wives of the
four officers who had just disposed of their emblems came forward to give the newly
prepared clothes to their sons. The spectators, during all this performance, were
restricted to the space between the door and the two front posts. From among
these outsiders there now advanced the relatives of the new officers in order to pile up
property before them or to present small sticks representing the promise to donate a
horse.

The fathers said, "Now, sons, all of you stand up!" All the fathers then walked
575 towards us, followed by their wives, who carried the clothing and laid it down before
432 the sons. All of us put on the new clothes on the spot. The fathers who had
527 surrendered their rattles stood next to their sons, whom they wished to assist in
533 singing. The fathers who had owned the two officers' staffs said to the new incum-
534 bents: "There is an abundance of enemies; try to be brave!" The fathers who had
carried rattles said the same to *their* sons, adding: "You will sing for your society,
and I must teach you now. When you sing outdoors, you shall circle round to the
right, and all will follow you." The first rattler accordingly led the procession in a
circle until he had got near the second rattler, where he stopped and began to sing.
The second rattler then also sang a song, shaking a tin-can rattle. In the procession
outdoors the marchers walked at a very rapid pace.

Four female associates followed the men. These were called "Fox women" and
had been appointed by their own families to assist the Foxes at their feasts and in the
singing. They stood outside the circle formed by the society when dancing outdoors,
but also took part in the dance. These women were unmarried, but later two of
them, Pumpkin-blossom and Otter, married members of the society.

[349] After we had marched out of our lodge, we went to an open space east of the
Round Corral.[1] Four of our fathers stepped inside the circle we formed there,
and sang for us, beating their drums. We danced and then went home. This first
public dance was the only occasion on which our fathers sang for us.

After a few days we came together and danced in Water-chief's lodge. During
indoor performances we sat in an arc round the lodge and did not make use of our

[1] This is the structure described by Catlin and Maximilian as the "ark."

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regalia. After a few days spent in hunting we again gathered in our meeting-house and had an abundance of food prepared. Some time in the spring we went outside in our regalia and danced publicly, whereupon we would return to the lodge, dance again, and then have a feast. This happened about three or four times a year. Frequently members of the society went out at night in their ordinary costume and walked from house to house, singing in front of every lodge. This was done to please the young women of the village. The four Fox women did not take part in these nocturnal processions, but other girls accompanied the men and sang with them. 575 432 527 533 535

In addition to the rattlers and the staff-bearers, there were two men distinguished by their regalia from the rank and file. One of these wore a cap (mapa'caci wa'ah-ku'pe) of kit-fox skin, with the ears sticking up.[1] This officer acted as a sort of [292]

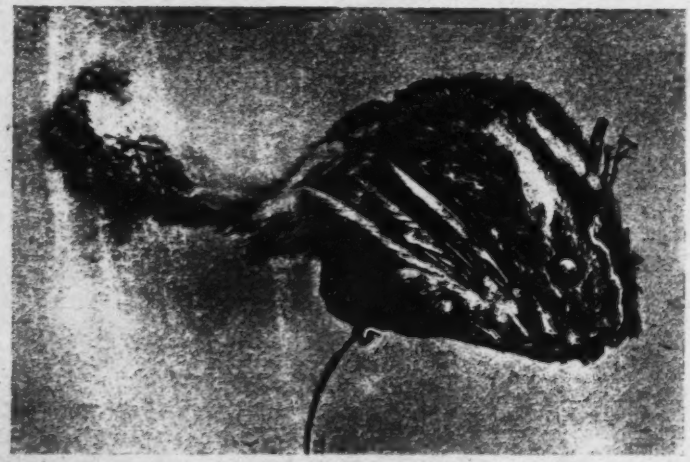

Fig. 10. (50.1–4332). Cap of Mandan Kit-Fox Society. Length, 127 cm.

spokesman for the society, but was not regarded as the chief of the organization. The other officer wore a head band decorated with kit-fox jaws (Fig. 17).

The Black Mouth society was regarded as friendly to our Kit-Fox group. They sat with us when we purchased the society and contributed to the food given to our fathers, though not to the property paid to them. When a new rattler did not at once learn his song and was accordingly afraid to try it, the Black Mouth officer bearing a "dance flag" took his place for a while. After the purchase the Black Mouths participated in our feasts. Sometimes we got together in the house of Two-chiefs, a Black Mouth; if any Black Mouth so desired he might then join us in the dancing.

Sometimes we gathered instead in the house of Foolish-soldier, a Stinking-Ear (see p. 294). Foolish-soldier acted as our herald. He would get up on the roof of a lodge and announce our meeting.

Bear's-ghost, Crow's-heart, Black-eagle, Sitting-crow, White-owl, and their associates should have bought the Kit-Fox society from us. As they did not do so, we still own it."

[1] Wounded-face's cap is shown in Fig. 10.

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Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for his individual father. Wounded-face did not know that Two-crows owned two kinds of emblems,— the foxskin cap to be used in dancing and in war, and the head band decorated with the lower kit-fox jaws which was to be worn when courting young women.[1] On the morning of the final transference of membership rights, Two-crows gave Wounded-face the cap and the head band, as well as a shirt, armlets and fringed buckskin leggings. In return, Wounded-face paid his father a fast black horse suited for use in the buffalo chase and some property contributed by his relatives. I get the impression that the transfer of special regalia was automatic; that is to say, if the father happened to own certain specific emblems the son buying his membership bought *ipso facto* the regalia owned by the seller. 575 432 292 608

Little-crow states that at the public performance the relatives of the new members brought presents, which were turned over to the fathers, either individually or collectively. In the latter case the fathers proceeded to distribute the gifts among themselves. 575 431 602

In marching outdoors, the first rattler took the lead and was immediately followed by the first hooked-staff officer; Wounded-face — presumably as the owner of the cap — occupied a central position in the line; the second rattler came last, being directly behind the second hooked-staff officer. The first rattler selected a site for the dance and turned in order to begin the formation of a circle there, at the same time raising his rattle and singing very loudly. There was always a special song to be sung prior to the drummers' entrance into the circle. This song was taken up by the second rattler. While the circle was forming, the singers went within the circumference and began to beat their drums. These singers were always the members' fathers, if I understood Wounded-face correctly, but it is probable that this applies only to the first public performance by a new group of members. The songs referred to warlike deeds, and the words were, according to this informant, invariably in the Dakota language. 575 527 535 533 [171]

Little-crow, as already stated, considers the head band decorated with kit-fox jaws as a badge common to all members; he further states that each Kit-Fox had a hair-pipe attached to the left side of the head and that six men had their hair roached. The hair-cutting was done by the men's fathers. Other informants agree that there were two rattlers and two officers with hooked-staffs, wrapped with otterskin and decorated at four points with feathers. Wounded-face says that sometimes the second staff-bearer carried a *straight* stick, in which case an erect eagle feather was secured to the top of the shaft. Little-crow states that rattles were used 575 [292] [302] 293

[1] This seems to conflict with Black-chest's account, which assigns these emblems to distinct officers, but Little-crow regards the kit-fox head band as a badge common to all members.

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surrendering their ownership of the Fox organization, they had acquired 575
possession of the Little Dog society. On one occasion, after the lapse 424
of about five or six years, the Kit-Foxes were meeting at Woman-ghost's
house, when someone asked whether they might not buy the Little Dog
society then. Each one expressed his willingness to purchase it. Then 575
they gathered together property for an initial gift, and one man carried
a pipe to the Little Dogs' lodge. One of the Little Dogs said, "Well, we 424
will meet and debate the matter." The messenger returned. As it was 432
late, the Kit-Foxes waited for the next day to make their first offerings of 527
goods, and merely went about the village, singing at several earth-lodges.
On the next day they gathered and notified their friends, the River Women,
who collected some property for them. This was piled up together with
some guns contributed by the purchasers themselves, and was then divided
among them. They waited until nightfall, then they went outside, crying,
and marched towards the Little Dogs' lodge. A leader carried the pipe,
and, on entering, laid it down before the fireplace. All the property was
deposited near the pipe, then the Kit-Foxes took seats near the door, in the
space allotted to outsiders. The Little Dogs were seated in the rear and
on the sides of the lodge. Iron-eyes, one of the sellers' company, took the [576]
pipe towards the fire, lit it, and began to smoke. All the Kit-Foxes then
cried, "Hahō'! We are going to have some songs." According to Wounded-
face, the prospective buyers said to their fathers: "We have bought the Kit-
Fox society of you, but we still have the Dog society to buy from you."
Thereupon the fathers took the property and bade their sons prepare a lodge
for the next evening. Then the Kit-Foxes went back to their lodge.

The next evening the Kit-Foxes gathered in Two-chiefs' house. They 575
had married since their former purchase, and each one had his wife prepare 432
food and bring it to the meeting place. The Little Dogs approached the
lodge, singing on the way. The door of the lodge faced north. The buyers 527
had ranged themselves on the right side (for one entering), with their wives
behind them. The sellers sat down on the opposite side, with their wives [533]
behind them, and began to sing, using sticks with sleighbells for rattles.
"We liked their song better than ours." (Black-chest). Big-thief rose,
held up a dried dogskin, laid it toward the fire, faced the fire himself, sat
down behind the skin, and thus addressed the group of buyers: "Well,
sons, this dog has five claws on each of its front legs, that makes ten. Its
hind legs also have ten claws, that makes twenty in all. So we wish you to
feast us for twenty nights, then we will let you have our songs." [1]

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[1] Wounded-face says that the entertainment lasted only fifteen nights, while Water-chief spoke of a ten nights' feasting of the fathers. When Little-crow, of the group immediately higher than that of the three informants quoted here and in the text, bought the same society, the entertainment lasted eight nights.

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575 608 432 527 After this speech, Big-thief returned to his place. Then all the Kit-Foxes rose and brought presents of food to their fathers. Black-chest again selected Good-bear for his individual Father, but explains that this was not obligatory. Wounded-face was obliged to select a new father, for the one chosen by him in purchasing the Kit-Fox organization had been killed in battle; otherwise, he says he should have kept the same individual for his father in buying all the higher societies. On this occasion his choice fell on Little-crow, to whom he presented a kettleful of food as a token of his selection. Black-chest states that five of the fathers had been killed since the purchase of the Kit-Fox society.

575 432 431 Black-chest says that on this occasion the River Women did not aid the purchasers, as both they and the latter had married. This obviously refers to the period of the fathers' entertainment, as the same informant mentions a contribution by this women's organization to the initial payment (see p. 303). On the other hand, the Black Mouths attended the performance and brought food for the sellers.

575 778 527 837 533 At a height of about seven feet from the ground the fathers stretched a rawhide rope between the two rear main posts. To each end of the rope they attached a whip, and near its center they folded over it two red cloth sashes. These sashes were considered sacred. The wife of one of the buyers then rose, stripped naked and covering her genitalia with her hands, approached the rear of the fireplace. Rising on tiptoes, she seized one of the sashes, covered her nakedness again, pressed the sash to her breast and hung it up as before. Each one of the buyers' wives went through the same ceremony. During this performance the fathers were all singing. The women returned to their seats and put on their blankets. Each husband then said to his wife: "I will give you to my father, for I want his song. Perhaps he will pray for us, and it will be well for both of us."

575 [844] 837 432 527 [782] Then the father and the woman offered to him went out together. Menstruating women were absolved from this performance, for they were not supposed to come to the lodge at all on such occasions. As a matter of fact, Black-chest says that only very few fathers availed themselves of the right surrendered to them, being generally afraid of ill luck if they did. *The form, however, was gone through by each wife on each of the twenty* nights. Black-chest's wife told her husband that Good-bear merely took her outside, faced west with her and said, "Daughter-in-law, stop and stand there." Then he prayed as follows: "My gods, my son has given me his wife. I wish that my daughter-in-law may always enjoy a long and happy life, and I ask you in behalf of my son that he may conquer his enemies." After this prayer he bade the woman go back, and both returned to the lodge.

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On the twentieth night Big-thief again took a seat by the dogskin. He thus addressed the buyers: "Now, sons, tomorrow this dance will be yours, so I wish to ask you for some more pay. Put down one gun to represent the killing of anything." Then one of the Kit-Foxes put down a gun. Big-thief continued: "This dog has a hide, give us a robe." Then one of the Kit-Foxes laid down his robe. "Give us a knife for butchering." Two men then rose and put down two butchering knives. "For this head put down one yellow cooking-kettle." The buyers sent round for such a kettle and finally secured one, which they brought to the fathers. "Put down one thing for the head." Then someone laid down a stick trimmed with tail-feathers. "Put down one thing for the tail." Then, Black-chest thinks, another robe was laid down. "The dog has four legs, put down four articles." The Kit-Foxes again did as bidden. 575 432 527

On the next day there followed the final surrender of membership prerogatives. This time the buyers sat in an arc, without their wives, who remained in the spectators' place (see p. 303). The fathers sat on the opposite side, singing a bravery song, and the two sash-wearing officers danced. The words of the song were in Hidatsa: — 575 432 527

"Māha'hkureci'ruts. tō'cē'ruca, marē'wits." [177]
"No one lives forever. Whatever may happen, I shall go."

At the close of this song the whippers and sash-wearers, as well as all the other fathers, surrendered their regalia to their respective sons. As Little-crow, Wounded-face's father, owned a lance decorated with a string of feathers, Wounded-face assumed the same office (not mentioned by Black-chest), of which there was one other incumbent. In addition to the lance, Wounded-face received a shirt, a new pair of leggings, a switch and pendants for the decoration of both sides of the head; his hair was cut short in front by Little-crow. Wounded-face's relatives piled up presents in front of him, which he turned over to his father, adding a good horse of his own. The other purchasers made corresponding presents to their fathers. While Wounded-face speaks of four sash-wearers, Black-chest limits the number to two, and Water-chief sets it at five. Water-chief, like Wounded-face, received one of the sashes from his father; there was tied to it a small package of root medicine to avert danger. This package has never been opened by Water-chief. The whippers, according to this last authority, lashed members who did not rise to dance at the proper time. Each member of the rank and file received a whistle of owl bone about four inches long, and a bunch of split owl feathers, with an eagle feather in the center, to be hung from the back of the head. These feathers were painted yellow. 575 432 431 [293] [534]

After the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the exception of

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After the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the ex-
ception of three men, who remained to instruct the new members in singing. These
575 three fathers stood between the door and the fireplace, but nearer to the
527 latter, while the new group of Little Dogs ranged themselves in a three-
868 quarter circle in the rear of the lodge. While the fathers sang, the members
533 danced, moving both feet at the same time and also raising and lowering their arms. Then the Little Dogs proceeded in single file to an open place, the singers following in the rear. Wounded-face says that as first lancer he took the lead, while his associate brought up the rear, and that the sash-wearers had no special place in the line. All the new members blew their whistles while coming out and formed a circle in the open place. The three fathers stepped inside the circle. At this first public parade, the old people called out the members' names and admonished them to try to die soon. Water-chief actually went on a war party soon after the parade, and put on his sash, thinking, "If I get killed, my old people will call out my name; if I live, I shall strike an enemy." As a matter of fact, he struck two women near the enemy's camp, and his people rejoiced.

575 After several songs and dances the Little Dogs stopped and went back
431 to their lodge, where they sat about and danced. The fathers sent messengers to summon their sons. Each son then went to his father's house, sometimes accompanied by his wife. The father gave his son a present of food, which the wife took home; if the son came alone, he took the food back to the society's lodge.

575 Like other societies, the Little Dogs occasionally went through the camp at night singing and waking up the villagers.

Crazy Dog Society.

575 In Maximilian's account the Crazy Dog (mini's'ōxka ō'xat'e)[1] society
561 figures as that of the youngest age group, embracing boys of from 10 to 15 years of age. In the list of my informants it ranks as the fourth society to be purchased by young men. It was obviously constituted in their day by married men; for they had all married before the purchase of the next lower society (see p. 304). Maximilian was told that in former days old men had also belonged to the organization, but on the understanding that they were never to retreat from the enemy.

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[1] The native name is nowadays at first blush interpreted as "Broncho Society." Maximilian, however, renders it "die thörichten Hunde, oder die Hunde deren Namen man nicht kennt, (les chiens fols, ou les chiens dont on ne connait pas le nom)," and this translation is confirmed on further inquiry. Cf. footnote, p. 302. Yellow-hair explicitly identified the Mandan *mini's'ōxka ō'xate* with the Hidatsa *macu'ka·wardᵉ̄ʀs* (see p. 280).

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The mode of purchase, as described by Maximilian, closely resembles that followed in buying membership in the other organizations. The boys desiring to become members approached the owners, addressed them as "fathers," and secured in exchange for blankets, cloths, horses and powder, the dances, songs, and regalia characteristic of the society. In this connection the Prince does not mention the feasting of the fathers, but the custom is referred to by my informants: Little-crow's group entertained the sellers for thirty, and that of Yellow-hair's husband for twenty nights. 575 432 527

One noteworthy addition to the purchase ceremony had become possible in later times through the change in the age of the members. As the Crazy Dogs were no longer boys as in Maximilian's day, but married men, the surrender of wives as a partial payment was no longer out of the question. As a matter of fact, I have no direct statement to the effect that wives were surrendered in this instance, but Yellow-hair's account strongly suggests that such was the case. According to this authority, all the women attended the purchase of the Crazy Dog membership. A rope was stretched between two poles and from it were suspended three headdresses and three sashes. On each of the twenty nights of entertainment six women removed their insignia, took them outside, pressed them to their breasts, and finally brought them back and hung them up again. Then six other women went through the same performance, and so on. 575 432 527 837

In view of Black-chest's statements as to the purchase of the Little Dog society (p. 304), I am inclined to believe that Yellow-hair's account is incomplete and that the women who took down the regalia and passed outdoors were offered as a part payment for the benefits to be derived from the fathers. This interpretation is confirmed by Maximilian's repeated reference to the wife-offering as a feature common to all the higher societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa. 575 837 432

The badge of all members, according to the Prince, was a whistle made from the wing-bone of a wild goose. Yellow-hair says that this whistle was suspended from the neck by means of a quill-wrapped string. Everyone carried a rattle of globular or ring shape. The rattles were trimmed with raven wing-feathers. To the back of the head members attached an ornament of split raven wing-feathers. Some of the Crazy Dogs wore neither shirt nor leggings, but daubed their bodies with yellow paint. While dancing, members were permitted to bear lances. 575 292 301

From the rank and file there were distinguished, in Maximilian's day, three officers wearing a long, broad strip of red cloth extending down the back, from neck to foot. Yellow-hair also speaks of three sash-wearers; the red cloth was edged with white, and a slit made it possible to slip the sash over the head. At the shoulder, near the white edging, there was attached 575 292

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575 292 the war-medicine given by the father to the son at the time of the membership sale. Wounded-face says that there were four sash-wearers.

Besides the sash-wearers, there were three (Wounded-face again speaks of four) officers wearing headdresses of buffalo-skin, decorated with sections of horns and strips of weasel skins. The headgears were secured by means of neckstrings, which also served to fasten them to the stretched rope at the time of the purchase (see p. 307). To the back of the headdresses there were attached strips of rawhide, about 3½ feet in length and decorated with quillwork. Horsetails, dyed yellow, were fastened to the tops of the horns, and occasionally hawk-wings were used for decorating the headdresses.

Wounded-face is alone in speaking of two additional officers bearing lances, that were decorated at the top and center with a bunch of short raven wing-feathers. The use of a feathered string with these lances was optional.

575 432 Yellow-hair mentions four drummers, each of whom gave his drum to his son at the time of the membership sale.

575 432 527 When the purchase had been consummated after the twenty nights' entertainment, the fathers, according to Yellow-hair, passed out of the lodge, lamenting the loss of their songs,— some of them even pretending to cry. On the other hand, the purchasers began to sing and rejoice. They went outdoors, formed a circle, and sang there. After a while they returned to their lodge, followed by their wives. Supper had been prepared. The new Crazy Dogs and their wives feasted, and then went home. On the next day the fathers invited the purchasers and their wives, gave them breakfast, and presented the men with clothes and regalia and the women with dresses. In return, the sons gave horses to their fathers. After this exchange of gifts, the members frequently assembled to practise the newly acquired [535] dance. The women never danced, but might take part in the singing. In dancing the Crazy Dogs jumped up with both feet and shook their rattles as an accompaniment to the drums. In a parade, the headdress-wearers took the lead, one marching behind the other; the sash-wearers had no fixed place.

575 535 Among the Mandan of Ruhptare Maximilian found that the Crazy[1] Dogs performed the Hot dance. After a large fire had been built, a number of glowing embers were scattered about, and then the boys, stripped of all clothing, danced on them with their bare feet. The hands, forearms, and feet of the performers were colored red. Sliced meat was boiling in a kettle over the fire. When the meat had been well done, the dancers put their

[1] Maximilian writes: "Die kleinen Hunde, deren Namen man nicht kennt, führen ihn auf." The modifying clause makes it clear that he is referring to the first society of his series.

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hands into the boiling water, took out some of the meat, and ate it at the 575
risk of scalding themselves. Those coming last to the kettle had the worst 535
of it, for they were obliged to dig down deeper into the water than their predecessors. During the dance the performers carried weapons and rattles in their hands.

I did not obtain any Mandan description of the Hot dance. My Hidatsa 000
information is given on p. 253.

Crow Society.

Maximilian translates the name of the society Hä'derucha-O'chatä as 575
"Crow, or Raven, band."[1] Its members were from 20 to 25 years old. 432
Sometimes the younger men had not owned a society for half a year or longer. Then one of them went to a Hä'derucha and said to him, "Father, I am poor, but I wish to buy of you." If the father consented, the young men then received the raven feathers worn on the head by the members of the society, a double whistle formed of two goose wing bones fastened together, a drum, rattle, song, and dance. In this case, as in other societies, a head man decided whether the privileges sought by the younger men should be sold and he it was that the prospective buyers approached. Then a feast was prepared in the medicine lodge for forty nights, and the fathers were entertained at their sons' expense. Moreover, the purchasers surrendered their [837]
wives to the sellers every evening until the fathers were satisfied and abdicated their membership.

Half-shaved Heads.

My Mandan informants did not refer to this society (Ischohä-Kakosche'chatä), though it was described by my Hidatsa friends (p. 272). Ac- 575
cording to Maximilian, the *Hä'deruch-O'chatä* bought the Half-Shaved Head dance from the Soldiers before they were old enough to become Soldiers. It is worth while to summarise Maximilian's detailed account of the purchase.

The buyers were to entertain the sellers for forty nights. On the first 575
night the drum was beaten to call the negotiating parties to the medicine 432
lodge. A fire was burning in the center, the women sat along the walls, 527
while the white visitors and several noted Soldiers sat in front of the draught-

[1] Compare what is said above about the Hidatsa hä'rerö'ka society (p. 266).

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575 screen. Along the wall to the left sat the remaining Soldiers, about twenty-
432 five in number; while some were clad in fine garments, the majority dressed
in ordinary clothes. Some exposed the upper part of the body. In the
●527 center three drummers seated themselves. The purchasers stood on the
right side of the fire. They were expected to give valuable presents to the
[537] Soldiers, to feast them and furnish them with tobacco for forty nights, and
every evening they were to offer them their wives. The sellers approached
the lodge amidst singing and drumming, and entered with their regalia.
These consisted of four lances, from 7 to 8 feet long, with an iron head point-
[293] ing downwards. The shaft was wrapped with broad bands of otterskin,
while pairs of otterskin strips were tied to the head and several other points
on the lance. Two of the lances were hooked, the two others were straight.
A fifth emblem consisted of a war club with iron point, which was colored
red and was decorated with several feathers in the back. Further there
were three lances, decorated alternately with black and white feathers, and a
beautifully ornamented bow and quiver. At first, the Soldiers remained
concealed behind the screen, and were merely holding these insignia so that
they projected into the main space of the lodge. After standing in this
position, singing and drumming violently, for a while, they entered, placed
the lances against the wall, and stuck the war club into the ground, near one
of the main pillars. Then they all took seats along the wall. While the
[576] singing and drumming was alternately renewed, the purchasers prepared
their pipes, and handed them to each of the guests in turn, for which act
they stooped, holding the mouthpiece towards the smokers. When the
guests had taken a few puffs, the purchasers did likewise, and then carried
the pipe in regular order, from right to left, to each of the sellers. This
smoking consumed considerable time; each guest, during this part of the
[535] performance, was also presented with a little cake of sweet-corn. After
about half an hour, two of the Soldiers rose and danced towards each other.
One of them seized the war club, and held it stiffly in his left hand, while the
right hung straight down. Bending the upper part of his body forward,
he jumped stiffly into the air with both feet; keeping time with the music.
The other dancer had fine decorations on his head and legs, and the upper
part of his body was likewise exposed. He seized one of the otterskin lances,
which he held, sloping, between his two hands, and both men then danced
or hopped towards each other. After several minutes the second performer
put the lance away, and took a seat, while all the other members gave the
war whoop and gave vent to exclamations of joy, amidst vigorous beating
of the drum. Then there was silence. The man with the war club ad-
dressed the buyers, calling them his "sons," and recounted several of his
martial exploits, whereupon he handed them the war club. One of the

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575 purchasers then called him his "father," stroked his arm downwards with
432 his hand, took the weapon out of his hand, and again put it in its place.
527 The other dancer followed, recounted some of his deeds, and offered the lance to one of the buyers, who received it in the same manner as his predecessor, and then put it in its place. The periods of intermission were filled with smoking, singing and drumming, but no rattles were used. Two other Soldiers also rose, told of how they had stolen horses, medicine bundles, or other possessions, from the enemy, and gave two more insignia to the
[837] purchasers. After this had been done four or five times, the wives of the buyers rose. Four of them divested themselves of their robes, quickly seized the lances, and carried them, one after another, outside the lodge. After a while they brought them in again. This ceremony was repeated twice, the disrobed women stroked the arms of the strangers and fathers, put on their robes, and passed outside. The persons stroked were expected to follow them into the woods. This procedure resembled that of the Hidatsa in their medicine festival.[1]

575 Some time after the purchase Maximilian had occasion to observe the
535 dance of the new Half-Shaved Heads. About twenty of them entered the
302 Fort, threw off their robes so as to expose their gaily colored bodies, and formed a circle. They were elaborately decorated and carried the insignia of the dance, such as the otter-wrapped sticks. One man wore a bonnet with horns and ermine strips; another, mounted on horseback, was decorated with paint symbolizing the blood from wounds. Three Soldiers (= Black Mouths) served as musicians. As soon as the drum was beaten, the dancers protruded the upper part of their bodies, and leaped into the air with both feet, at the same time holding their guns ready for firing. Thus they danced in the circle for about a minute, then hallooed, rested for a while, and resumed their performance. After receiving some tobacco, they dispersed, put on their robes, and went to Ruptare, where they also danced among the Hidatsa.[2] A picture of the dance, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas is shown in Fig. 11.

Black Mouths.

575 The native name of this society is *ī'he pei'here ō'xat'e*, or *numā'k xarā'k*
625 *ō'xat'e*. Maximilian calls the members of this society "Soldiers." They form the third society in his list, but he states that all the higher classes

[1] Maximilian, II, 274–277.
[2] Maximilian II, 286–287.

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A mother who had thus surrendered her regalia no longer belonged to the society, her place being taken by her daughter. Hides-and-eats' group was the last to buy the Goose society, for the next lower group never applied for the purchase of the organization, so that Hides-and-eats still retains her headband. Accordingly, she still considers herself a member of the Goose society; she does not consider herself a member of any of the lower societies because she surrendered the privileges of membership to her adoptive children when these acquired membership in the usual way, by purchase.

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Before the great ceremony of the society could be performed it was necessary that someone should have had a dream to that effect. Then the members prepared dried meat. Calf-woman says that in the winter some woman would always get up, saying, "In the spring, when the snow is off the ground, we are going to have a ceremony, we shall have to hang up offerings on posts." Then the necessary preparations were made. When the geese made their first appearance in the spring, meat was suspended from a tripod meat-rack set up on the borders of the village. When everything had been prepared, the members paraded through the village, halting four times on the way to the meat-rack. Each woman carried on her left arm an armful of sage enclosing an ear of corn. Calf-woman used to carry a pipe, as well as some dried meat and fat impaled on a cottontree branch. This pipe and the stick she afterwards placed before one of the singers, who lit the pipe, seized the dried meat, and returned it to Calf-woman. This was done four times. When the procession had arrived at the place of the meat-racks, the members performed one dance. Then there came from the village two representatives from each of the men's societies in their full regalia. These men were the bravest of their organization; they approached the meat, afoot or mounted (according to the nature of their martial exploits) and appropriated the dried meat, in place of which each warrior left one of his best blankets or a horse for the Goose woman who had prepared the food, i. e., the woman who took the initiative in getting up the ceremony. After the performance of the first dance, this woman distributed a great deal of meat to the spectators, who must remain on the west side of the lodge. After each of four dances this distribution took place. After the last dance those who had been newly adopted gave presents to their mothers. Then each new member took up her sage and corn, and raced at a dead run as fast as possible and back again. The woman who got back first would be instructed by the spirits as to the right way of living. The singer to whom Calf-woman offered the pipe and meat then turned his robe so that the hairy side faced outside, tied a red-fox skin round his head, took the pipe to the east, and touched with it whatever dried meat still remained.

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Then this dried meat was appropriated by the mothers. When the runners had come back, they cleansed themselves by brushing themselves with sage. Then all returned to the village. There a sweat lodge was made. After all the women had entered the sweat house, the chief singer also went in, chanted, dipped some sagebrush into water, and sprinkled all the women with it. Next the mothers prepared food, and gave it to their daughters, whereupon a general feast followed.

M H 575 302

While the two middle officers wore the duck-bill head bands, the leader and rear officer wore no distinctive badge. The members on the left side of the lodge painted their faces black between the mouth and chin, while those on the right side used blue paint. The musicians had drums, but no rattles.

M H 575 127

The object of the ceremony was to make the corn grow. The geese and the corn were supposed to be one and the same thing.

MH [561] 575 432 527

Owl-woman's social career is well-nigh unique in that she never joined any organization until she was of mature age, when she entered the Goose society. She knew of only one other Mandan woman who had not joined other societies. When the River women collectively bought the Goose society, Owl-woman went along and purchased the membership with them. A candidate had to prepare a large quantity of dried beef for her mother, and also presented her with a horse. When receiving the bundle of sage with the corn, the novice paid her adopter another horse. According to Owl-woman, anyone, man, woman, or child, might volunteer to make an offering to the geese, and would then have to prepare the requisite food for the ceremony. The society marched out in regular order towards this person's lodge, the singers going ahead of the rest. The middle officer nearer to the Leader had her face painted blue from the mouth downwards, while her mate used black paint. The members halted and danced four times on the way. In entering, the rear officer went in first. One of the musicians smoked sage for incense near the central fireplace, and all members approached in order to scent their blankets. When all had taken their places, the person who had pledged the ceremony brought in the calico, or other property, to be presented as an offering, and also paid the incense-burner and his fellow-musicians. Then the singers began to sing for the dance. They sang four sets of four songs each, with an intermission between each set. After the dance, one of the singers took a stick, impaled some of the food on it, and offered it to the four quarters, finally throwing it into the fireplace. Before the commencement of the feast, the pledger went to the singers and induced them to utter a prayer in his behalf, asking for prosperity, victory in war, and the other good things of life. He also went about to the several members, and anyone owning personal medicines gave them to

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the pledger. Then the pledger's property and food were distributed among the members, and a general feast followed in conclusion of the ceremony.

Young Beaver said that when she and her comrades bought the Goose society they assembled outside the village and erected a long meat-rack. Along this each member had a place allotted to her, where she could hang up the dried meat and fat prepared by her. Then they called their mothers, and presented them with the food suspended from the rack. In addition, those who could afford it gave their mothers a horse apiece, while the poorer ones made gifts of calico cloth. On receiving these presents each mother put some "black medicine" (a root) into her daughter's mouth. In the fall the members put up a similar rack. One man, the corn-singer had the power — acquired by purchase — of passing along the rack from end to end, touching each portion of meat and singing mystery songs. In the spring or autumn any man or woman might give a feast to the society and otherwise pay them to perform for the benefit of his or her cornfields. On such occasions the host rose and passed from one member to another, and any one that owned some medicine put a little into his mouth, at the same time praying to the Corn in his behalf:—

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"tawi^{n}'hakehak', tē'ha hā'kehārā makū'nista. nimā'mihe
"This is my grandson, long life for me give him. Your blankets
ī'wakise ki'ritkāksō'ore."[1]
I made for you.

The last part of this prayer refers to the custom of piling up all the corn in one place and covering it with calico as an offering to the Corn. Then some boy would run up, strike the calico as though it were an enemy, and snatch it away.

The two or three hand-drums employed by the society were, according to the same informant, painted with representations of goose tracks.

Yellow-hair said that the women who initiated her and her associates into the Goose society were the comrades of the surviving White Buffalo women of today. At the transfer of the membership privileges, which took place, as stated by other informants, close to the meat-rack previously set up, the mothers sang four times. During the intermission between the songs, the food was given to the sellers. The horses to be paid were tied in a near-by coulée. After the fourth time, all the novices rose, and approached their aunts, who were holding sagebrush in their arms. The buyers took the sage and paid calico for it. Then they also received their Goose society head bands. When this performance had been completed, the women went back to the village. On the following day the novices danced from morning

[1] This prayer is in Mandan.

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till evening. The mothers came to the dance ground, and each one called her daughter to her lodge, feasted her, and presented her with a fine tanned robe and a sheepskin dress. Four days were spent in this way, then the new members stopped dancing. According to Yellow-hair, the Goose women were divided into two divisions, the members being distinguished by the use of white and dark head bands respectively, and having seats on opposite sides of the dance lodge. Each of the two young middle officers belonged to one of these divisions. Those wearing white head bands occupied the right-hand side for one entering the lodge, while the women with dark head bands sat on the left. One special officer, Calf-woman, served food to the Corn at every feast. She took a piece of meat and offered it to the Corn, saying, "You, Corn, eat this. I pray to you in order that the members of my society may live long."

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In the winter preceding the attempt to purchase the Goose society made by Buffalo-bird-woman's group, Yellow-woman — possibly on account of a vision — desired to prepare a feast for the members of the Goose society. All the other members of her group assisted her by preparing some meat and fat. In the spring, when the geese came back from the east, the women set up a meat-rack. Then the woman whose prospective mother was leader of the Goose women hung up her meat, followed by the other women about to buy the society. Anyone that desired to give her mother a horse pledged herself to do so by fastening a stick to the meat. When the food had all been suspended, the men's societies were heard approaching. The Dogs came, blowing their whistles, and the Foolhardy Dogs, Foxes, and other organizations likewise appeared. The women cheered them in the manner termed *ī'rara`xke*, that is, by repeatedly pronouncing the syllable "la, la, la, la" with a rapid movement of the tongue. Each society appropriated one portion of side-ribs, leaving a blanket in its place. The buyers took pains to hide the best pieces of meat until after the men's societies had departed, in order to reserve them for their mothers. In the meantime the Goose women drummed and danced inside their lodge. The starter of the feast took a pipe and a piece of fat on a cottonwood stick, and ran all alone to the Goose society lodge. Each of the Goose women was holding in her left arm sagebrush about 5 feet long and wrapped round a long stick on which was impaled an ear of corn. The representative of the buyers placed the pipe before the singers. The pipe was smoked and returned, whereupon the delegate returned to the meat-rack. This procedure was repeated several times. All that day the buyers refrained from eating and drinking. The Goose women approached the meat-rack, halting several times and dancing each time. When they arrived at the place where the meat was suspended, they sat down in a circle and placed their sagebrush on the

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
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ground. The buyers then presented them with portions of cooked meat. Each mother thereupon opened a little bag, took from it one seed of corn or squash, and gave it to her daughter. To distribute these seeds was a privilege of the Goose women. Buffalo-bird-woman and her comrades continued to distribute all the cooked food. In the meantime all the people had come to look at what was going on, but they were obliged to watch from the south and west side, the north and east side of the circle being considered sacred. The spectators also received a seed each. The mothers rose to dance. Only one man in the village, the Corn-singer (kō'xati akupā'+i), was permitted to sing. He wore a foxskin crown, and carried a pipe and a cottonwood stick with fat and leaves on it. He walked off towards the east. Then all the buyers went to their mothers, took the sagebrush out of their hands, and ran, as fast as possible, towards the Corn-singer, went past him, and returned to the Goose women who were performing their dance. This was done four times. The runners kept the sagebrush; for this they made a payment of horses, receiving as a return gift a new suit of clothes. Only Buffalo-bird-woman received a calf robe, with the hair outside, to be worn during the performance and returned after its close. According to my informant, the Hidatsa Goose society, though derived from the Mandan, differed from its prototype in that the members did not wear duck or gooseskin head bands, but merely carried sagebrush in their arms.[1] Towards the close of the ceremony the Corn-singer approached the rack, took off two of the best pieces, ceremonially brushed off all of the portions, and threw down whatever pieces he liked for his female relatives to pick up for him. When he had selected what he wished, the mothers came, appropriated the rest of the meat, and took it home. These proceedings were gone through for three seasons, and the fourth year the Goose society would have been definitely acquired by the buyers under normal conditions, but that year the Government put a stop to all the old dances.

M H 527 575 432
M H [431]
H [292]

An account of a Goose ceremony by one of the earlier travelers in the West may be appropriately reproduced here, since it is not generally accessible and confirms the statements of my own informants:

M H 575 527

> After the corn had all been gathered in, the Mandan and Minnetaree squaws made their Goose Medicine on the level prairie behind the village. This dance is to remind the wild geese, now beginning their southward flight, that they have had plenty of good food all summer, and to entreat their return in the spring, when the rains come and the green grass begins to grow.

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[1] Maximilian, who lists the Goose society only as an Hidatsa organization, does not mention birdskin head bands, but merely states that the members wore a feather transversely across the forehead (II, 219).

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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The charms of most of the squaws in this "Goose Band" appeared to have faded long ago: they were evidently past the bloom of youth, and their voices and tempers had not improved in consequence. However, on this occasion they endeavored to look their best with the aid of paint and finery, in which respect they are not far behind their white sisters of more civilized climes. A row of poles resting upon forked sticks is put up, over which are hung in profusion pieces of fine, fat, dry meat, which have been carefully saved for this occasion. A band of four or five drummers take their seats close to one end, and a double row of squaws next to them facing each other. Each woman carried a bunch of long seedgrass, the favorite food of the wild goose, and at intervals all get up and dance in a circle with a peculiar shuffling step, singing and keeping time to the taps of the drum.

The spectators keep at a respectful distance and enjoy the fun, which consists in the attempts of some of the young men to steal the meat from the poles, in which however they are often thwarted by the vigilance of a few wise old "geese" who are constantly on the alert to prevent theft. If successful, the meat is carried off in great glee to some lodge, where they cook and eat it at their leisure. These exquisites are elaborately gotten up with bunches of raven plumes fluttering from their scalp-locks, and stripes of white and yellow clay upon their bodies, comprise their only covering.

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Finally, one of the old men (who have been thumping assiduously on the drums all the while) takes his place a few hundred yards off on the prairie, and a grand race by the whole goose band follows. All form in line together, and run around the old gander before returning to the starting point.

The race over, the scaffolds are taken down, a feast prepared, and the meat remaining on hand cooked and eaten. For the rest of the day the band danced around among the different lodges, and of course paid a visit to the fort before concluding. On these occasions a few yards of calico or some trifling gifts are always expected to be thrown to the "Medicine" by the traders.[1]

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It is probable that the Hidatsa and Mandan had several corn ceremonies distinct from one another and from the performances of the Goose society. Catlin describes a green-corn ceremony involving a dance of four men with corn stalks round a kettle with boiling green corn, followed by the ceremonial friction of new fire, but his account has been discredited by Matthews.[2] An Hidatsa ceremony performed in honor of the mythical Old-woman-who-never-dies, for the purpose of securing abundant corn crops is described by Mr. Curtis.[3] The corn singer figures prominently in this account but nothing is said of a women's society. However, we are told that those were invited to participate whose medicines consisted of various birds supposed to be children of Old-woman-who-never-dies and therefore peculiarly appropriate to the occasion.[4] Say describes a corn dance in which women play an important part, but does not identify them with any particular society:

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[1] Boller, 147–149.
[2] Catlin, I, 188–190; Matthews, 47.
[3] Curtis, IV, 148–152.
[4] Ibid, 150.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

younger women called them and offered them property. "Then we adopted them and called them our daughters." Sometimes it happened that a single individual wished to join. In such a case she might buy a head band from a father's sister and become an additional member without replacing anyone. This, however, was not the regular way of entering the society. 575 432 [608]

In Hides-and-eats' time, there were two male head-singers, who called in five young men and taught them to sing, for which they received a compensation and were called "fathers" by the young men. From another statement by the same authority it would appear that the five men bought the right of singing and drumming from their predecessors in very much the same way as the young women bought the right to membership. 868 432

The officers of the society included a leader wearing a necklace of bear claws attached to otterskin; a rear officer with the same badge; and two middle officers with a loose-fitting white-shell necklace hanging down a few inches below the neck in front. There was one special member who surrendered to the society her earth-lodge to dance in; in Hides-and-eats' time this member's name was One-corn-seed. Calf-woman, who was one of the officers wearing a shell necklace, kept the dance-lodge, because her parents loved her dearly and never refused her anything. The ceremonial dance lasted four nights, the actual dancing beginning before sunset. The members were expected to remain in the earth-lodge during these four nights.[1] Some women, however, would clandestinely absent themselves and go home. As soon as the other members discovered their absence, they went to the woman's house, and sang outside, "Our friend, get up and come out here again." The drummers beat their drums, and the members, if necessary, seized the truant and brought her back to the dance lodge by force. The close of the performance was marked by a cleansing ceremony. The musicians tied together peppermint (?) stalks, and with these they brushed the members' bodies, from the shoulders down. The object of this was to remove the mysterious (xo'pinic) properties with which the members were endowed while dancing. In Calf-woman's time only one man, Bad-shirt performed this ceremony; he was paid with calico goods and food. Painted-up said the brusher was the singer of the Bird ceremony. The ceremonial cleansing took place only after the performances of the three *sacred* women's societies, that is, the River women, Goose women and White Buffalo women organizations. 575 301 527 535 [783]

Two-chiefs said that during the four nights' performance the head bands were suspended from a rawhide rope passing round the earth-lodge, and 575

[1] That is to say, they were not to sleep with their husbands. But if any member had a little child at home, she might go there to attend to its wants. In this case she was brought back to the lodge before daybreak.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 and turned about. The women also faced about. Then all advanced with
292 a kind of shuffling movement the right and the left foot alternately, without
535 moving from their places. The musicians, who carried drums, remained in the rear. All the women painted their faces and wore feathers in the back of the head in imitation of men. They formed a circle, and danced forward. A few women cut out strips of rawhide, decorated them with beads, and placed them on their heads as though they were horns. This is said to have been in imitation of the Cheyenne women. Some young men used to watch from the roofs of their lodges. Each member selected one of these men to dance with her. After a while his relatives brought calico and other goods for his partner in order to ransom him and absolve him from the necessity of continuing to dance with her.

575 In purchasing the society, the aunts or mothers presented dresses to
432 their nieces or daughters while they received horses in return.

White Buffalo Cow Society.

575 The White Buffalo Cow society (ptī'take ō'xat'e) was the highest of the women's societies known to the Mandan and Hidatsa, the Old Women's organization (p. 338) really belonging to another category.

575 Maximilian says that the members painted one eye any color they pleased
[304] (most generally azure) and had black tattoo marks between lips and chin.
527 Their headdress consisted of a broad strip of white buffalo cowhide worn in
292 hussar-cap fashion and topped with a bunch of feathers.[1] In Maximilian's day each Mandan village had its own White Buffalo organization, and he had occasion to observe the performances of both. In the performance of the Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch society, seventeen, for the most part elderly, women and two men with rattles and drums took part; one of the men was holding a gun in his hand. The leader was an elderly woman wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. In her right arm she carried cornucopia-fashion a bundle of twigs, tipped with plumes, with an eagle wing and a tin drinking vessel secured to the grip. Another woman also carried a bundle of this type. The men wore no headdresses. Of the women, two had skunk-skin head bands, the rest wore headdresses of white buffalo skin decorated
[302] in front with owl or raven feathers, which were partly dyed red. All women had the same face paint,— vermilion on the left cheek and eye, with two blue spots on the opposite temple, close to the right eye. The leader was wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. All the others except two, who

[1] Maximilian, II, 145–146.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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wore robes with the hairy side out, wore painted women's robes. They formed a circle, the men began to sing, and the women danced, taking up the tune at the same time. They waddled like ducks from side to side, raising each foot alternately higher than the other, but not moving from their position. After a while there was an intermission, which was again followed by a dance. Only the older members had the tattoo marks between mouth and chin that were distinctive of the society. When Maximilian saw the society from Ruptare perform, there were three male musicians, who also wore white buffalo skin headdresses, and none of the women carried bundles of twigs. Otherwise the equipment was the same as in the other dance.[1]

575 527 292 [304]

An illustration of the dance of this society, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas, is shown in Fig. 16.

Boller's account, which is of considerably later date, contributes the important fact that in case of a famine the White Buffalo Cow women were expected to make buffalo herds come nearer to the village. A similar function is attributed by Catlin to *male* Buffalo dancers wearing masks of a type described in this paper in connection with the Bull society (p. 315). Catlin, however, does not connect his Buffalo dance with any organization, for though only about ten or fifteen men are said to have joined in the dance at one time, he states that every Mandan was obliged to keep a buffalo mask for possible use in the buffalo-calling ceremony on the request of the chiefs.[2] Oddly enough, both Catlin and Boller say that their respective Buffalo dancers never failed to bring in the herds for the reason that they continued their performance for weeks if necessary, until buffalo were actually sighted. The dance of the society is thus described by Boller:

575 789 535

> The different members of the White-Cow band began to assemble, and soon the regular taps of the drum notified the camp that the great and important ceremony was in full progress. At one end of the lodge sat the musicians or drummers, three in number, who were untiring in their efforts, and aided their instrumentation by singing in a monotonous chanting strain. The women, comprising some forty or fifty matrons of the village, most of whose charms had unmistakably faded, were all attired in their quaintly garnished deer-skin dresses. Each had a spot of vermilion on either cheek, and their long black hair, which was carefully combed out and dressed with marrow grease, fell full and flowing over their shoulders, confined around the forehead with a fillet of white buffalo cow-skin. One of them had a white robe (which is very scarce, and held in the highest esteem) wrapped around her. This white robe was the common property of the band, and in its great power as a "medicine" were centred their hopes of bringing in the buffalo.[3]

[302] [778]

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[1] Ibid., 283–284, 297.
[2] Catlin, I, 127–128.
[3] Boller, 218–219.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

I will now present my own field notes concerning this society. 575

Calf-woman joined the White Buffalo women when she was only two years old. Two years later she began to take part in the performances. 432 Some old women went round the village looking for a female child whose parents loved her dearly and had given away a great deal of property in her honor. 535 They came to Calf-woman's parents, and these consented to have their daughter adopted. Calf-woman's mother gave Brave-woman one pony and several blankets on this occasion. Whenever there was a dance of the society, a member named Berry carried the newly adopted infant on her back. There were about fifty women members, and five men acted as singers. The most important dance, or ceremony, of the society took place once a year, in the winter, on four successive nights. Sometimes the dance was kept up every other night for a month.

In preparation for the great ceremony the Indians of the village gathered 575 an abundance of food and property for the society. Each member had a red line painted on the right side of her face, from temple to eyebrow, and a 527 corresponding line in blue on the opposite side. All wore the buffalo skin 292 caps emblematic of the organization and put on only on this special occasion, and moreover each member wore a buckskin dress and a robe. Three officers were distinguished by wearing their robes hair side out. The leader of this trio had a *white* buffalo skin robe; Calf-woman, who walked in the center, wore the best *calf* skin robe obtainable; and the third officer donned a *coarse*-haired robe. In approaching the earth-lodge where the ceremony was to be performed, the members halted four times on the way. At each stopping-place they formed a circle and danced in the same way as they were going to do in the lodge. The leader entered the lodge and made a circuit walking to the right (for one entering). A buffalo cow skull had been [778] placed at the foot of the northwestern main pole in the center of the lodge, and *ítúre* was burnt for incense in front of it. A special incense-burner conducted the leader to the skull, letting her stand there so that she might be smoked, and then led her back again to her place. The two other officers mentioned above were similarly treated. North of the door, in a line in front of that joining the two southern center poles, sat the five men singers. As soon as these musicians began to sing, the leader, the middle 575 officer, and the rear officer danced forward to the fireplace, where they 527 met, and then danced in position, facing the fire. After they had returned 535 to their original places, a special song was chanted. This was a signal for the incense-burner to go dancing from member to member and remove their robes. Then the dancing began. Every song and dance was repeated four times. Towards the close of the first night's performance a particular song was intoned, indicating that the paint was to be rubbed off

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 the members' faces. Each performer carried a bunch of peppermint
527 (ca'xkuxke); at the sound of the special song a motion was made with this
535 peppermint as though to remove the paint. Then the paint was actually rubbed off with the end of the robe. When the dance was all over, the women lay down to sleep in the lodge. Some members fasted all night. Before dawn one of the musicians took a long cottonwood pole and attached all the headdresses and the middle officer's robe to it. The staff was then fixed above the doorway. This was a sign for a big wind and snow to drive the buffalo close to the village. At the foot of the pole a buffalo skull was deposited. A branch of a tree was painted red, and numerous offerings were tied to it and laid on the skull. Thereupon all the members rose, went out of the lodge, and passed through the village. They approached the lodge in exactly the same way as on the previous day, making four stops and dancing at each before reëntering the dance-lodge. During the day one of the officers prepared all the food required. In the evening the performance was repeated, the three officers dancing up to the buffalo skull, whereupon the entire society followed suit. In front of the skull they placed a ball of mashed corn and a pipe. The leader took the pipe and the
[57] corn-ball. First she offered the pipe to the musicians, who lit and smoked it. Then she distributed the corn among the members, beginning with the one nearest to herself and appropriating what remained in the end. Next, the rear officer distributed corn twice, and finally the middle officer made two distributions. The entire society represented a buffalo herd; the middle officer represented the best buffalo and was supposed to get all that remained of the corn. The second, third, and fourth nights were all similar so far as the feature just described was concerned. Throughout the performance there were numerous spectators.

For the last night each member had to prepare a basketful of mashed corn; sometimes this was attended to by the members' mothers. Additional food was also brought together. This night was distinguished by the use of gourd rattles. All the baskets of corn, as well as the robes and headdresses were placed round the skull. Next a song was sung four times, and incense was burned to smoke the robes. Then mashed corn was given to the spectators until the supply was exhausted. Some peppermint was tied to a short pole. The incense-burner dipped it into a dish of water, and sprinkled all the members beginning with the leader and stopping with the rear officer. The buffalo skull and the musicians were also sprinkled. A little of the food was attached to the end of a short stick and placed in the nasal cavities of the skull, then pointed to the four quarters, and finally
[608 set down on the fireplace. A feast terminated the performance. On this
431] last night newly adopted members made valuable presents to their adoptive mothers.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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MH 575 177

In Calf-woman's day[1] the number of Mandan and of Hidatsa women in the society was about equal. The performances ceased, under Government pressure, when she was about fourteen years of age.

MH 575 561

Hides-and-eats, who had served as rear officer, added a number of details. It was necessary to join in the wintertime because that was the season of the dance. The person who called for the performance of the great ceremony must have dreamt to that effect and was expected to prepare a great deal of food for the society. If, during the dance, a member went outside from necessity and a young man pulled her blanket, she was obliged to say, "A wolf has bitten me." If she failed to say this, she was in danger of actually being bitten by a wolf. The members were middle-aged, while the two women with skunkskin head bands were elderly. Hides-and-eats set the number of singers at four; their age was immaterial, but as a matter of fact they were about fifty or sixty. They were not identical with the musicians of other women's societies.

[788]

MH 575 527 [788]

Buffalo-bird-woman says that the White Buffalo women were in the habit of going round the village in the morning, passing every lodge. One member would enter a clan daughter's lodge, and say to her, "So-and-so's daughter, give me light" (that is, fire). The clan daughter sometimes answered, and sometimes remained silent. Once the informant's aunt addressed her as stated above, and she replied, "Yes, I will do so." This signified her willingness to provide a feast. The next day, accordingly, she brought large quantities of food, invited all the White Buffalo women to her lodge, and entertained them. Further, she gave the society a new gun as a present, and a piece of calico to be smoked with incense. The incense-burner, who also had the privilege of taking off all the members' robes and hanging them up, took charcoal, made incense, seized the head of the rear officer's robe, shook it, proceeded to the middle officer's,[2] and repeated the same performance, as she finally did with the leader also. She made incense as she passed along the circle of members. Then the dance began. All wore their crowns of white buffalo skin on this occasion. When the singers commenced to sing, the leader and the rear officer rose and danced forward, crossing each other's path. They returned to their places, and repeated the performance at the next two songs. At the fourth song, the middle officer also rose, and all three danced, facing alternately the fireplace and the door, and finally returning to their places. At the following song everyone rose and danced. After the dance was over, the little girl approached the rear officer with a corn-ball, and put a little of the corn

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[1] This informant is about 56 years old (1910).

[2] This informant, like Hides-and-eats, speaks of but one little girl in the society.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913

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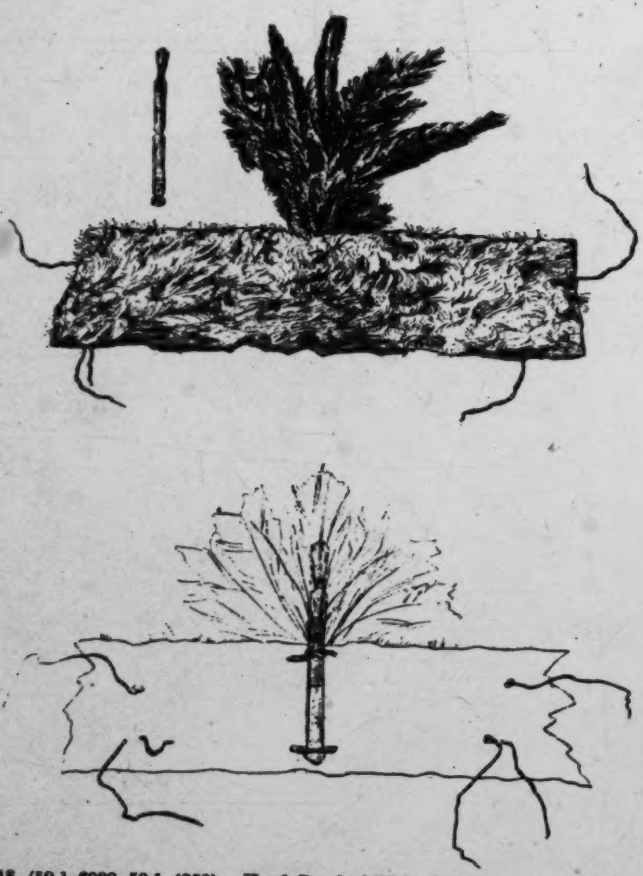
Hidatsa NQ14

M H 575 527

on the nose of the rear officer's skin robe. She did the same with the leader's robe, then she walked back to her place and went through the same performance with her own robe. This procedure which was regarded as an offering to the robes was called *ō'xkipati*. It was repeated three times. At the last song the incense-burner went to the rear officer, and untied her



M H [292]

Fig. 18. (50.1–6020, 50.1–4350). Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society, front and back view. Length, 62 cm.

robe, causing it to drop to the ground. She proceeded to the middle officer, and thence to the leader, untying all the robes. This dropping of the robes symbolized the shedding of the buffaloes' hair. [783]

Apparently anyone interested in the success of the buffalo chase might

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

437 utilize other decorations, she was obliged to seek another
421 woman entitled to make the particular decoration and buy the
425 right of her.

There was a similar specialization for men. When a young
437 man was found to have an especially good voice which was
heard above the others in the songs of the society dances, he
425 was encouraged to buy singer rights in dances of both a sacred
535 and a secular character. Although they were obliged to make
555 payments either to existing singers or to the owners of bundles,
their rewards far exceeded the initial costs. Their training included information relative to the ceremonies that were being performed, and they received recognition comparable to that shown those who had directed a number of successful war expeditions. In council, their authority was as great as those who had directed war parties, summer buffalo hunts, or eagle-trapping expeditions.

555 Those who could tattoo or paint designs appreciated by the
people of the village were highly regarded and received a con-
616 siderable amount of goods for their services. There were usually
●531 at least two skilled painters in each village, and they were
789 expected to belong to opposite moieties. A man of one moiety
would go to a man of the other moiety to have a robe, shield, or clothing painted either according to his particular inclination or with specific designs of things dreamed of. Each warrior had one or more shields made of buffalo hide taken from around the neck, and these were used universally by the Mandan for protection against arrows and spears until guns became more universal. The designs were believed to offer supernatural protection, and their potency was considered to be enhanced when the design was painted by a man of the opposite moiety, since there would be a payment to the "father" who would pray for the "son's" success. These painters were held responsible for the proper painting of the characters represented in the Okipa and received much property for their services. If they were otherwise sensible men, they enjoyed the same status as those who had been successful in other pursuits.

555 The arrowmakers were highly regarded. Although all males
887 usually made arrows, some were employed specially for arrow-
making. These were the older men of the lodge who had passed

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

301 beads thus formed are in great demand among the Indians, and used as pendants to their ears and hair, and are sometimes worn 'round the neck." (id 233.)

224 **Killing Buffalo On Ice.** "Friday, 29th. The weather clear, and the wind from the northwest. The obstruction above gave way this morning, and the ice came down in great quantities; the river having fallen eleven inches in the course of the last twenty-four hours. We have had few Indians at the fort for the last three or four days, as they are now busy in catching the floating buffalo. Every spring as the river is breaking up, the surrounding plains are set on fire, and the buffalo tempted to cross the river in search of the fresh grass which immediately succeeds to the burning; on their way they are often isolated on a large cake or mass of ice, which floats down the river. The Indians now select the most favorable points for attack; and, as the buffalo approaches, dart with astonishing agility across the trembling ice, sometimes pressing lightly a cake of not more than two feet square; the animal is of course unsteady, and his footsteps insecure on this new element, so that he can make but little resistance, and the hunter, who has given him his death wound, paddles his icy boat to the shore, and secures his prey." (id 239.)

532 **Indian Painting.** "Thursday, 4th. The day is clear and pleasant, though the wind is high from northwest. We now packed in different boxes a variety of articles for the president, which we shall send in the barge. A number of articles of Indian dress, among which was a buffalo robe, representing a battle fought about eight years since between the Sioux and Ricaras against the Mandans and Minnetarees, in which the combatants are represented on horseback. It has of late years excited much discussion to ascertain the period when the art of painting was first discovered, how hopeless all researches of this kind are, is evident from the foregoing fact. It is indebted for its origin to one of the strongest passions of the human heart; a wish to preserve the features of a departed friend, or the memory of some glorious exploit; this inherits equally the bosoms of all men, either civilized or savage. Such sketches, rude and imperfect as they are, delineate the predominant character of the savage nations. If they are peaceable and inoffensive, the drawings usually consist of local scenery and their favorite diversions. If the band are rude

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and ferocious, we observe tomahawks, scalping-knives, bows, arrows, and all the engines of destruction. A Mandan bow and quiver of arrows; also some Ricara tobacco seed, and an ear of Mandan corn. To these are added a box of plants, another of insects, and three cases, containing a burrowing squirrel, a prairie hen, and four magpies, all alive." (id 240) 532

Aricaras Arrive—Expedition Leaves Ft. Mandan. "Saturday, 6th. Another fine day with a gentle breeze from the south. The Mandans continue to come to the fort, and in the course of the day inform us of the arrival of a party of Ricaras on the other side of the river. We send our interpreter to inquire into the reason for coming, and in the morning, Sunday 7th, he returned with a Ricara chief and three of his nation. The chief, whose name is Kagohweto, or Brave Raven, brought a letter from Mr. Tabeau, mentioning the wish of the grand chiefs of the Ricaras to visit the president, and requesting permission for himself and four men to join our boat when it descends, to which we consented, as it will then be manned with fifteen hands, and be able to defend itself against the Sioux. After presenting the letter, he told us that he was sent with ten warriors, by his nation, to arrange their settling near the Mandans and Minnetarees, whom they wished to join; that he considered all the neighboring nations friendly, except the Sioux, whose persecutions they could no longer withstand, and whom they hoped to repel by uniting with the tribes in his quarter. He added, that the Ricaras intended to follow our advice and live in peace with all nations, and requested that we would speak in their favor to the Assiniboine Indians. This we willingly promised to do, and assured them that their great father would protect them, and no longer suffer the Sioux to have good guns, or to injure his dutiful children. We then gave him a small medal, a certificate of his good conduct, and carrot of tobacco, and some wampum, with which he departed for the Mandan village, well satisfied with his reception. Having made all our arrangements, we left the fort about five o'clock in the afternoon." (id 243) 000

"Sunday, April 7th. One of the Mandans likewise embarked with us, in order to go to the Snake Indians, and obtain a peace with them for his countrymen." (id 243)

The Lewis and Clarke expedition, having gone on over the

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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281 Verendrye mentions their skill in making such things as
237 painted ox-robes, deer skin, dressed buckskin, and ornamented fur and feathers, painted feathers, peltry, wrought garters, circlets for the head, and girdles. They certainly understood the art of dressing skins, though perhaps other nations equalled them. All their visitors speak of the ornamented robes for the decoration of which porcupine quills dyed various colors, or the pigments themselves, as paints, were used at first, though beads
[532] came gradually to take their places. The ornamentation consisted usually of representations of animals, and pictographic records. When leather got wet, it was beaten and rubbed with white clay which they always carried with them. This kept the robes soft. Then there were medicine bags, tobacco pouches, sheathes for knives and bows, all of skin, painted or embroidered with quills, such as are seen over the whole plains
[231] area. They had leather bridles for their horses, sometimes embroidered, and used a saddle, similar to that of the Dakotas. The horses were caught by means of long raw hide lariats which the Indians made themselves.

534 Whistles were also necessary articles to those belonging to the societies. Maximilian[1] describes them as "long wooden whistles at whose lower end an eagle feather on a string dangles." He says they also had large flute whistles, twenty inches long, with holes to vary the notes by application of the fingers. Besides these were the war whistles, usually made from the wing
412 bone of some large bird. Other articles of bone, necessitated
321 by the great use of skins, were the bone scrapers, needles and awls with which each house was profusely supplied.

241 Almost the only agricultural implements which they used were hoes. These were the shoulder blades of buffalo or occasionally of elk, which were cut down and to which a crooked stick was fastened as a handle.[2]

415 Among their cooking utensils, which were used in every hut, were spoons and ladles of bighorn and buffalo horns. Verendrye says some of these ladles held as much as three pints.

286 So far as the accounts go the Mandans did not make any textile fabric, though the Arikara are known to have made

[1] Op. cit., p. 416. [2] Henry: vol. I, p. 342.

garters and belts of buffalo hair.

Such a
301 necklace is seldom to be had for less than twelve dollars; and very often the owners of them will
[435] not part with them on any terms. The Mandans adorn themselves with many other kinds of necklaces, such as strings of glass beads, scented roots, or fungi, elks' teeth, for 100 or 150 of
291 which they will, in exchange, give a horse, or something equivalent. These Indians generally
302 wear no covering on the upper part of the body; the leather shirt of the Assiniboins, Sioux,
301 Crows, Blackfeet, and other nations that live more to the north and north-west, are seldom used among them; yet a few individuals have obtained them from those Indians, either as presents, or by barter. Even in the midst of winter, the Mandans wear nothing on the upper part of the body, under their buffalo robe. They paint their bodies of a reddish-brown colour, on some occasions with white clay; and frequently draw red or black figures on their arms. The face is, for the most part, painted all over with vermilion, or yellow, in which latter case the circumference of the eyes and the chin are red. There are, however, no set rules for painting, and it depends on the taste of the Indian dandy; yet, still, a general similarity is observed. The bands, in their dances, and also after battles, and when they have performed some exploit, follow the established rule. In ordinary festivals, and dances, and whenever they wish to look particularly fine, the young men paint themselves in every variety of way, and each endeavours to find out some new mode. Should he find another dandy painted just like himself, he immediately retires
[554] and makes a change in the pattern, which may happen three or four times during the festival. If they have performed an exploit, the entire face is painted jet black. Sometimes, though seldom, the Mandans adorn the wrist and upper arm with polished steel bracelets, which they obtain from the merchants; often they wear many brass rings on their fingers, and are, on the whole, excessively fond of ornaments and finery. The chief article of their dress is the ample buffalo robe, called mahita, or mih-aha, which is often very elaborate and valuable. In dry weather these buffalo robes are worn with the hair inwards, and in rainy weather with the hairy side outwards. They are tanned on the fleshy side, and painted either white or reddish-brown, and ornamented with a transverse band of blue or white glass beads, and three large rosettes of the same beads, often of very tasteful patterns, at regular intervals. The centre is frequently red, surrounded with sky blue, embroidered with white figures, or sometimes the reverse. The transverse band is worked with variously dyed porcupine quills, and is then narrower. This, however, is now old-fashioned, and was worn before the coloured glass beads were obtained in such numbers
532 from the Whites. Other robes are painted with a reddish-brown ground, and black figures, especially of animals; others have a white ground, with representations of their heroic deeds in black, or in gay colours, with the wounds they received, the loss of blood, the killed, the prisoners, the arms they have taken, the horses stolen (the number of which is indicated by the number of horseshoes), in black, red, green, or yellow figures, executed in their yet rude style of painting. The

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

nations on the Missouri are all in the habit of painting such robes; but the Pawnees, Mandans, 532
Manitaries, and Crows, are the most skilful in this art.* Another mode of painting their robes 532
is, to represent the number of valuable presents they have made. By these presents, which are 431
often of great value, they acquire reputation and respect among their countrymen. On such 554
robes we observed long red figures, with a black circle at the termination, placed close to each 211
other in transverse rows; they represent whips, indicating the number of horses given, because 435
the whip belonging to the horse is always bestowed with the animal. Red or dark blue transverse figures indicate cloth or blankets given; parallel transverse stripes represent fire-arms, the outlines of which are pretty correctly drawn. The robe is frequently cut, at the bottom, into narrow strips, like fringe, and ornamented on the sides with tufts of human hair, and horse-hair dyed yellow and green, and with glass beads. Formerly the Indians painted these robes more care- 432
fully than they now do, and it was possible to obtain one for five musket balls and some powder; now they are far inferior, and eight or ten dollars is not unfrequently paid for them. A robe handsomely painted is equal in value to two not painted.

Their leggins are fastened with straps to their leathern girdles, and are embroidered at the 291
outer seam with stripes, one or two inches in breadth, of porcupine quills, of beautiful various colours, and often with blue and white beads, and long leathern fringes, which form at the ankle a thick bunch, which trails upon the ground. The leather of which their leggins are made is, for the most part, stained of a reddish-brown, or pale red, usually with clay, sometimes white, and often marked below the knee with black transverse stripes. They, as well as all the tribes of North America, use what the English call a breech-cloth (Nokka), which is a narrow strip of woollen cloth, striped black and white, which passes between the thighs under the girdle, before and behind, where it hangs down. Their shoes, which are made of buck skin, or buffalo leather, are generally plain, or very slightly ornamented; but, in full dress, they are embroidered with coloured rosettes, or strips of dyed porcupine quills or beads. Those men who have performed exploits wear, round the ankles, [554]
wolf's tail, or pieces of otter skin, which are lined with red cloth, and trail on the ground. In the summer, when the men are at home, and go about in state, they carry the fan of eagle's feathers in their hands, which we have before described. What the Anglo-Americans call "the crow," which is worn by the warriors of the nations of the Mississippi, and the Lower Missouri, is wholly unknown among the tribes of the Upper Missouri, the Sioux, Assiniboins, Crows, Mandans, Arikkaras, Manitaries, and Blackfeet.

The boys are generally naked, and in winter merely have a robe thrown over them; the 291
girls are dressed in leather in summer as well as winter. The women wear a long leather

* There is a print of such a robe in Major Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, and another in Plate XXI., Fig. 1., of my Atlas. The original was painted by Mato-Topé himself, and the figures on it represent some of his principal exploits, in which he killed, with his own hand, five chiefs of different nations.

6; Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The 606 mother-in-law never speaks to her son-in-law; but if he comes home, and brings her the scalp of 171 a slain enemy, and his gun, she is at liberty, from that moment, to converse with him. This custom is found among the Manitaries, who have, doubtless, borrowed it from the Mandans, but not among the Crows and Arikkarns. Among the Chippeways, and the Algonquins in general, [551] the name must not be changed; and persons with the same name must not marry, but consider [614] each other as brothers and sisters. Among all the North American Indian nations there are men dressed and treated like women, called, by the Canadians, Bardaches, of whom Mc Kenzie, 838 Tanner, Langsdorff, and others, have spoken; but there was only one such among the Mandans, 171 and two or three among the Manitaries.

Volney, and some other writers, have spoken rather too unfavourably of the moral character 578 of the aborigines of North America, and their domestic habits. According to them, distrust and hostile feeling prevail among them, for which reason they never leave their huts unarmed; but I can bear witness that they are frequently seen in their villages, as well as in the environs, without arms, and that it is only at greater distances, and when they appear in state, that they carry their weapons in their hands. I have never observed any disputes among them, but, on the contrary, much more unity and tranquillity than in civilized Europe. It has often been asserted that the 900 Indians are inferior in intellectual capacity to the Whites; but this has been now sufficiently refuted; and Harlan is not wrong in saying that, among the races of men, of which Blumenbach reckons five, the American should be ranked immediately after the Caucasian. If man, in all his varieties, has not received from the Creator equally perfect faculties, I am, at least, convinced that, in this respect, the Americans are not inferior to the Whites. Many of the Mandans manifest a great thirst for knowledge, and much desire to hear something of objects of a higher order; and if they were not so much attached to the prejudices inherited from their ancestors, many of them might be very easily instructed. The bad examples which they so often observe in the white men, who roam about their country in quest of gain, are not calculated to inspire them with much respect for our race, or to improve their morality. And if they have not been found inclined to the Christian religion, this is, certainly, in some measure, the consequence of the bad conduct of the Whites, who call themselves Christians, and are often worse, and more immoral, than the most uncivilized of the Indians. Many American and foreign works have taken notice of the striking good sense and wit, the correct judgment of the Indians, in all the occurrences of daily life, and it would be mere repetition here to quote examples. One is often at a loss to answer their questions, founded on correct and natural judgment. The inactive mode of life natural to the Indians, which disdains all laborious exertion, is a great obstacle to their adopting a different system. But they are not deficient in talent for drawing, music, &c., and 532 this is quite manifest at first sight. Several Mandans not only took much pleasure in drawing, 212 but had a decided talent for it. The hieroglyphics are well known, which the Indians employ

532 212 instead of writing; for instance, the figures on their robes, the drawing of Mato-Topé (Plate XXII.), and the subjoined Indian letter from a Mandan to a fur trader:

212 437 The following is the explanation of the hieroglyphic figures contained in it:

The cross signifies, "I will barter, or trade." Three animals are drawn on the right hand of the cross: one is a buffalo; the two others, a weasel (*Mustela Canadensis*), and an otter. The writer offers, in exchange for the skins of these animals (probably meaning that of a white buffalo), the articles which he has drawn on the left side of the cross.

He has, in the first place, depicted a beaver very plainly, behind which there is a gun; to the left of the beaver are thirty strokes, each ten separated by a longer line; this means, I will give thirty beaver skins and a gun for the skins of the three animals on the right hand of the cross.

821 Many of them dispute, with great earnestness, on more elevated subjects; thus, they inquired our ideas of the various heavenly bodies, and of the origin of the universe, as they, themselves, declare their own silly traditions to be insufficient. Some, indeed, thought our ideas on these subjects much more silly than their own. They laughed outright, when we affirmed that the earth was round, and revolved about the sun. Others, however, would not reject our views, and were of opinion that, as the Whites could do so much which was incomprehensible to them, it was possible they might be right on this point also.

537 In all works that treat of these remarkable people, we find recorded very energetic and well-digested speeches of their chiefs. They frequently use very appropriate figures, and often said bitter truths to their white oppressors. Dr. Morse quotes some such phrases, used at the conclusion of treaties of peace, or declarations of war, which express much in a few words. Thus, in declarations of war: "The blood of our wives and children smokes on the ground! The bones of our warriors and old men are uncovered, and whiten the earth! The tomahawk is raised!" And on the conclusion of peace: "The bones of our warriors are buried! the tomahawk is buried! the blood of our women and children is covered! The path which leads to them must be kept clean; no weeds may grow there. The chain which binds us together must not become rusty."
Or, on the contrary: "The chain begins to rust," &c. &c..

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 villages on the east bank of the Missouri River. The method of
773 acquiring this sacred lore is characteristic of most Mandan-
776 Hidatsa bundles, but the particular spirits participating and the contributions made by each is characteristic solely of eagle-trapping. The chief spirit contributors were Old Black Bear, Coyote, Snake, Buffalo, Young Eagle, and Little Black Bear.

796 Old Black Bear taught Black Wolf these songs: (1) song to the
773 lodge (sung when building the lodge); (2) song to the sweat
776 lodge (sung when the sweat lodge was being built and when it was being used); (3) song to the bait; (4) song to the pit;
●533 (5) song to the snare; (6) song to the goose; (7) song to the swan; (8) song to the little bear; and (9) song to the bear.

Coyote taught the following song:

My old one in autumn
here I go (come to) Your power is strong.

The snakes contributed a song to be used when making offerings to the snake poles, since they belonged in the ceremony because Grandson once visited the bears while the ceremony was in progress.[6]

Buffalo[7] asked to come along and he contributed this song:

Lodge we have come lodge they have come

The *ma-si* eagle taught this song:

Earth above I am walking
Earth on I am walking

773 Several versions of the origin of eagle-trapping were recorded
539 during this study, and they were all essentially alike. Ben Benson, who had secured his rights from Iron Eyes, his father, supplied the following origin myth of eagle-trapping.

EAGLE-TRAPPING MYTH (BLACK WOLF) RELATED BY BEN BENSON[8]

A long time ago the Mandan did not know how to catch eagles or how to do many of the things they learned to do in later years. In one of the villages

6. Cf. my manuscript on "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Life" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago), for myth of Grandson visiting the Snakes, which slept with their heads on two poles and on opposite sides of the fire in Red Butte; cf. also above for the myth of Grandson, son of the Moon, in chap. vi, on "The Corn Ceremonies."

7. A bundle containing a buffalo bull skull occupied major bundle status.

8. For other relations of this myth by Ben Benson see Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 64–69, and Martha

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 a brief ritual closed the eagle-trapping period. It was essen-
796 tially the same for all bundle-owners. Ben Benson's ritual, which he received of Iron Eyes, was explained as follows.

BEN BENSON'S NARRATIVE OF CLOSING RITES

When ice began to form along the edges of small creeks, the men knew that it was time to stop trapping eagles. Usually three to eight weeks were spent trapping. The leader was in full charge of the expedition, and no one knew when he would order the trapping stopped. Early on the day trapping was to stop, the leader would kindle the fire and say, "Get up. There is a big flood coming." This meant that they must stop trapping, for when the flood comes there is no changing its course. Those who had never been out before did not know the meaning, but the old trappers knew that the time had come to return home.

After eating, the leader would say, "It is time now to kill all your live eagles. Kill them with Rope-in-Wood Snare. Carry all your eagles over the hill [he then designated the place] and put them in a row. Then you should make an offering of calico[43] to them."

By the time this had been done and the trappers had returned to camp, the leader had his eagle-trapping bundle closed and the women had their tepees down, ready to break camp.

One of the party, usually the man with the best war record, was sent out by the leader "to see if there are any enemies in the neighborhood." He went to the place where the dead eagles were lined up and returned in a hurry to report that there were a certain number of enemies just beyond the hill. [The number reported corresponded with the dead birds counted.] The trappers prepared for battle, painted their faces, dressed lightly, and put their hair up in a ball on top of their heads where it would not cover their eyes. Each trapper sang his personal sacred song and wore some article from his sacred bundle. At a signal from the leader, all charged the "enemies," shooting and calling as they ran. Each seized a bird and cut off the wings and five body feathers, running back to camp as quickly as possible.

The party moved away from camp immediately and stopped to make camp again after traveling a mile or more. The young men built a sweat lodge under the leader's direction, while the women prepared food. The sweat-lodge entrance was to the south. The trappers placed the wing and tail feathers they had secured on the west side of the fireplace, while the leader stood at the entrance to the sweat lodge with his eagle-trapping bundle on one side and a bundle of sage on the other.

223 The leader began by chanting four wordless songs and then, half-singing,
796 half-talking, he addressed the eagles in these words:
533

> Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
> Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
> Go; walk; go in the right direction;
> Go; walk; go in the right direction;
> Go to Birds Bill Butte;[44] there you will find antelope meat;
> Go to Birds Bill Butte; there you will find antelope meat.

43. In early times a strip of soft tanned elkhide was used.

44. Birds Bill Butte, better known today as Eagle Nose Butte, is a high promontory south of Mandan, North Dakota.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go across the divide;[45] there you will find blacktail deer meat;
Go across the divide; there you will find blacktail deer meat.

Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go to Grape River;[46] there you will find elk meat;
Go to Grape River; there you will find elk meat.

Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go to the Big Bend;[47] there you will find buffalo meat;
Go to the Big Bend; there you will find buffalo meat.
Now you are home.[48]

When this song was ended, the spirits of the eagles left to join their people in the meeting place of the spirits near a large body of water. Only the leaders could send the spirits away. Men without eagle-trapping rights were afraid to catch eagles for fear that the spirits, being unsent, might bring bad luck to the trappers. All who caught eagles gave the leader pay in feathers, calicoes, robes, or knives for singing these songs and sending the birds' spirits away.

Then the leader sang the cleansing song, rubbing all the feathers with the sage. He rubbed each person in the party to cleanse him and bring him back to a human being again. While trapping, the men were impersonating the small bears. My father gave each trapper a new name connected with the bears for the duration of trapping. Mandan generally had this change of names. If a trapper stumbled when out trapping, he would report it and get another name, otherwise he would have bad luck. Each man paid the leader for his name, but it was relinquished when the cleansing ceremony ended.

The leader and as many as wished went into the sweat lodge, where the trappers hung the feathers on the sides in imitation of the bear's lodge far to the north. The sweat-lodge rites completed the ceremonies, after which the families united again either to return home at once or to hunt along the way according to their inclinations. 223 796

Benson claimed to be the fourteenth owner of the bundle which he used. In order of succession from Black Wolf, the owners were reported as follows: (1) Black Wolf; (2) Bull Leg; 223 778

45. The Mandan called that section of the country between the Cannonball and Grand rivers "The Divide." The blacktail deer meat was believed to be on a high hill at the mouth of the Grand River and on the north bank.

46. The Little Bend of the Missouri River is at the mouth of the Cheyenne River, called by the Mandan Grape River.

47. The Big Bend of the Missouri is below Pierre, South Dakota.

48. The Mandan believed that the Missouri River entered the ocean not far below the Big Bend. This was believed to be the winter home of migratory waterfowl, corn, and the large birds of the eagle family (see chap. ix). [823]

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526 regular archery contests in which each competitor paid an entrance fee; the object was to see which man could get the most arrows into the air at once.[1]

The women played a game with a large leather ball, ornamented and well made, which they caused to fall alternately on the foot and knee by bouncing. There was also a children's game, called Assé, played with the tip of an antler to the base of which two feathers were attached. The children also played a game with a hoop covered with a number of leather bands, and about a foot in diameter. This hoop was rolled along and they hit it and knocked it down by throwing a pointed stick; the one that struck nearest the center won. In the spring after the break-up, the children used to run along the bank and throw this ring into the water.[2] Catlin also gives an account of sham battles under the leadership of older men in which the boys engaged.

533 MISCELLANEOUS:—As to the other features of their culture perhaps a few words from Maximilian[3] will give some idea.

He says:—"Many of them take a real pleasure in music and painting and are very skillful in both. . . . Their musical instruments are simple. The songs consist of cries uttered from time to time, and broken by louder bursts of joy. These are accompanied by heavy drum blows and the sound of rattles. . . . They
521 discussed with pleasure subjects of the highest order, the universe and its cause together with kindred topics, saying that their own explanation was far from satisfactory. . . . They are
537 very fine orators, and use very impressive figurative language. They like to talk. . . . By nature they are proud and full of ambition. . . . They often are highly sensitive, and some have
156 been known to die of love or from wounded personal pride due to an insult to their honor."

538 Maximilian also says that they were good story tellers and took great pleasure in relating their myths and legends. They had a sort of literature in the shape of rituals for their elaborate dances, and these were handed down through the medicine men.
805 They paid considerable attention to the stars in their ceremonies but were not students of the heavens, and their calendar was a

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 141. [2] Maximilian: p. 417. [3] Ibid., pp. 404 et seq.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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When our fathers had sat down, one of our number, Wounded-face, rose and said, "Well, comrades and women friends, listen. We have brought our food here, and we wish to select our fathers tonight. Do each of you rise and set your food before your father." Then each of us rose, picked up his kettle, and walked past the door-side of the fireplace to his father. I picked out one of my clan fathers and gave him my kettle; then I returned to my place. Black-head, who had watched my movements, then came forward and brought her kettle to the man indicated as my father. Those purchasers who had no clan fathers among the sellers selected anyone they pleased for their individual father. The fathers ate of the food, leaving some for their wives, who emptied the kettles and returned them to their husbands. Then Good-bear called me by name and said, "Come, son, and get your kettle." I went towards him and stood before him. Then Good-bear prayed to the supernatural powers: "I have gone through the Oki'pɛ ceremony myself and have undergone great hardships for your sake. In other ceremonies I have also undergone suffering. Before I underwent this suffering, I thought you would help me whenever I could not do something by my own power. I have no power to give honor marks, therefore I ask you to help me by securing honor marks for my son." Then I took both kettles and went back to my place, where I returned to Black-head her own kettle. Each of the boys acted in a similar way. 575 527 432 533 535

After all of us had sat down, our fathers began to sing. They beat drums, but did not dance. They sang these words: —

"ma'kitá'ni máhuna."
"You, wake up and come."

[These words are supposed to be addressed to one's sweetheart.]

Four times they sang such songs. Then came a second set of songs, during which the fathers danced in their places. When they had done dancing, they addressed us in obsolete Mandan, saying, "Sí! i'karé'xoc!" ("Clan son, daylight is here!") Shot-foot, one of the fathers, rose to address us. He said, "Sí, we wish you to give us a ten nights' feast. This will give us time to prepare clothes for you." [198]

This meeting took place in the evening, each of our female "friends" brought in a bundle of willows carried by means of a tump line and a second line passing around the breast. The bundles were piled up on the left side of the door (for one entering), and from time to time one of the boys would rise to keep up the fire. This purchase took place in midsummer. I was about 20 years old at the time.

On each of the ten nights the fathers came in in the same way as the first time, and the mode of procedure was the same. On the tenth night, the fathers said, "Sons, we have done; tomorrow we shall give you your things." On the following morning we came back to the same lodge and took our seats, but without any kettles. Our women "friends" also came in and sat down. This time, however, we were not ranged in an ellipse as before, but sat in the arc of a circle, with our "friends" in a similar arc from 4½ to 5 feet behind us. Until this day White-bear's house had served as the place of assembly for the fathers prior to their approach to our own meeting-place, but this morning each came from his own lodge, their wives carrying the clothes to be presented to the purchasers of the society. The fathers sat down in a curved line opposite to ours, and their wives took seats behind them. There were about thirty fathers; sometimes two boys had the same father. They planted two sticks into the ground in the rear (mana'ktata) of the lodge. One of the sticks was hooked, and its shaft was wrapped with otterskin; three eagle feathers hung down from the end of the hook. The second stick was straight and also wrapped with otterskin; 575 432 527 533 535 293

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 432 527 533 535 293 to the top of the shaft there was fastened a single eagle feather. The bottom of both staffs was blunt, but in order to secure them in their places a sharp-pointed stick had been previously driven into the ground there. The fathers had two hand-drums. The father nearest the door took the hooked stick (ma'nanū'skup) which had been set at the left side of the straight stick (ma'nacū'cuk) for one facing the door, and held it in his hand, while the last father in line took the straight stick. The two fathers standing nearest the staff-holders bore rattles. The drums were beaten, but before the rest of the fathers rose Shot-foot addressed us, saying, "Sons, you will keep our society, you will dance today." Then the fathers all rose, and the singing began. The staff-bearers advanced towards the boys, shouting, while the rest danced in their places. When the staff-bearers had got to the fireplace, the singing ceased. Each of the two officers then went to his son and led him to a spot between the two main posts on the right side of the lodge (for one facing the entrance), and gave his stick to his son. On this occasion Water-chief received the straight stick, and White-eye the bent stick. Next Shot-fox rose with his rattle and — this time without any singing or dancing — walked straight towards his son, Long-tail, whom he led to the place between the two posts used by the staff-bearers and presented with his rattle. The second rattler went through a corresponding procedure. Then the wives of the four officers who had just disposed of their emblems came forward to give the newly prepared clothes to their sons. The spectators, during all this performance, were restricted to the space between the door and the two front posts. From among these outsiders there now advanced the relatives of the new officers in order to pile up property before them or to present small sticks representing the promise to donate a horse.

575 432 527 533 534 The fathers said, "Now, sons, all of you stand up!" All the fathers then walked towards us, followed by their wives, who carried the clothing and laid it down before the sons. All of us put on the new clothes on the spot. The fathers who had surrendered their rattles stood next to their sons, whom they wished to assist in singing. The fathers who had owned the two officers' staffs said to the new incumbents: "There is an abundance of enemies; try to be brave!" The fathers who had carried rattles said the same to *their* sons, adding: "You will sing for your society, and I must teach you now. When you sing outdoors, you shall circle round to the right, and all will follow you." The first rattler accordingly led the procession in a circle until he had got near the second rattler, where he stopped and began to sing. The second rattler then also sang a song, shaking a tin-can rattle. In the procession outdoors the marchers walked at a very rapid pace.

Four female associates followed the men. These were called "Fox women" and had been appointed by their own families to assist the Foxes at their feasts and in the singing. They stood outside the circle formed by the society when dancing outdoors, but also took part in the dance. These women were unmarried, but later two of them, Pumpkin-blossom and Otter, married members of the society.

[349] After we had marched out of our lodge, we went to an open space east of the Round Corral.[1] Four of our fathers stepped inside the circle we formed there, and sang for us, beating their drums. We danced and then went home. This first public dance was the only occasion on which our fathers sang for us.

After a few days we came together and danced in Water-chief's lodge. During indoor performances we sat in an arc round the lodge and did not make use of our

[1] This is the structure described by Catlin and Maximilian as the "ark."

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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regalia. After a few days spent in hunting we again gathered in our meeting-house and had an abundance of food prepared. Some time in the spring we went outside in our regalia and danced publicly, whereupon we would return to the lodge, dance again, and then have a feast. This happened about three or four times a year. Frequently members of the society went out at night in their ordinary costume and walked from house to house, singing in front of every lodge. This was done to please the young women of the village. The four Fox women did not take part in these nocturnal processions, but other girls accompanied the men and sang with them.

In addition to the rattlers and the staff-bearers, there were two men distinguished by their regalia from the rank and file. One of these wore a cap (mapa'caci wa'ah-ku'pe) of kit-fox skin, with the ears sticking up.[1] This officer acted as a sort of

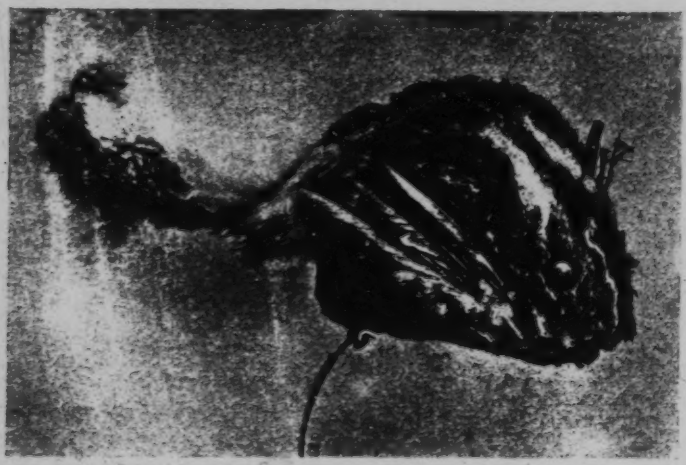

Fig. 10. (50.1–4332). Cap of Mandan Kit-Fox Society. Length, 127 cm.

spokesman for the society, but was not regarded as the chief of the organization. The other officer wore a head band decorated with kit-fox jaws (Fig. 17).

The Black Mouth society was regarded as friendly to our Kit-Fox group. They sat with us when we purchased the society and contributed to the food given to our fathers, though not to the property paid to them. When a new rattler did not at once learn his song and was accordingly afraid to try it, the Black Mouth officer bearing a "dance flag" took his place for a while. After the purchase the Black Mouths participated in our feasts. Sometimes we got together in the house of Two-chiefs, a Black Mouth; if any Black Mouth so desired he might then join us in the dancing.

Sometimes we gathered instead in the house of Foolish-soldier, a Stinking-Ear (see p. 294). Foolish-soldier acted as our herald. He would get up on the roof of a lodge and announce our meeting.

Bear's-ghost, Crow's-heart, Black-eagle, Sitting-crow, White-owl, and their associates should have bought the Kit-Fox society from us. As they did not do so, we still own it."

[1] Wounded-face's cap is shown in Fig. 10.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for his individual father. Wounded-face did not know that Two-crows owned two kinds of emblems,— the foxskin cap to be used in dancing and in war, and the head band decorated with the lower kit-fox jaws which was to be worn when courting young women.[1] On the morning of the final transference of membership rights, Two-crows gave Wounded-face the cap and the head band, as well as a shirt, armlets and fringed buckskin leggings. In return, Wounded-face paid his father a fast black horse suited for use in the buffalo chase and some property contributed by his relatives. I get the impression that the transfer of special regalia was automatic; that is to say, if the father happened to own certain specific emblems the son buying his membership bought *ipso facto* the regalia owned by the seller. 575 432 292 608

Little-crow states that at the public performance the relatives of the new members brought presents, which were turned over to the fathers, either individually or collectively. In the latter case the fathers proceeded to distribute the gifts among themselves. 575 431 602

In marching outdoors, the first rattler took the lead and was immediately followed by the first hooked-staff officer; Wounded-face — presumably as the owner of the cap — occupied a central position in the line; the second rattler came last, being directly behind the second hooked-staff officer. The first rattler selected a site for the dance and turned in order to begin the formation of a circle there, at the same time raising his rattle and singing very loudly. There was always a special song to be sung prior to the drummers' entrance into the circle. This song was taken up by the second rattler. While the circle was forming, the singers went within the circumference and began to beat their drums. These singers were always the members' fathers, if I understood Wounded-face correctly, but it is probable that this applies only to the first public performance by a new group of members. The songs referred to warlike deeds, and the words were, according to this informant, invariably in the Dakota language. 575 527 535 533 [177]

Little-crow, as already stated, considers the head band decorated with kit-fox jaws as a badge common to all members; he further states that each Kit-Fox had a hair-pipe attached to the left side of the head and that six men had their hair roached. The hair-cutting was done by the men's fathers. Other informants agree that there were two rattlers and two officers with hooked-staffs, wrapped with otterskin and decorated at four points with feathers. Wounded-face says that sometimes the second staff-bearer carried a *straight* stick, in which case an erect eagle feather was secured to the top of the shaft. Little-crow states that rattles were used 575 [292] [302] 293

[1] This seems to conflict with Black-chest's account, which assigns these emblems to distinct officers, but Little-crow regards the kit-fox head band as a badge common to all members.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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surrendering their ownership of the Fox organization, they had acquired 575
possession of the Little Dog society. On one occasion, after the lapse 424
of about five or six years, the Kit-Foxes were meeting at Woman-ghost's house, when someone asked whether they might not buy the Little Dog society then. Each one expressed his willingness to purchase it. Then 575
they gathered together property for an initial gift, and one man carried 424
a pipe to the Little Dogs' lodge. One of the Little Dogs said, "Well, we will meet and debate the matter." The messenger returned. As it was 432
late, the Kit-Foxes waited for the next day to make their first offerings of 527
goods, and merely went about the village, singing at several earth-lodges. On the next day they gathered and notified their friends, the River Women, who collected some property for them. This was piled up together with some guns contributed by the purchasers themselves, and was then divided among them. They waited until nightfall, then they went outside, crying, and marched towards the Little Dogs' lodge. A leader carried the pipe, and, on entering, laid it down before the fireplace. All the property was deposited near the pipe, then the Kit-Foxes took seats near the door, in the space allotted to outsiders. The Little Dogs were seated in the rear and on the sides of the lodge. Iron-eyes, one of the sellers' company, took the [576]
pipe towards the fire, lit it, and began to smoke. All the Kit-Foxes then cried, "Hahō'! We are going to have some songs." According to Wounded-face, the prospective buyers said to their fathers: "We have bought the Kit-Fox society of you, but we still have the Dog society to buy from you." Thereupon the fathers took the property and bade their sons prepare a lodge for the next evening. Then the Kit-Foxes went back to their lodge.

The next evening the Kit-Foxes gathered in Two-chiefs' house. They 575
had married since their former purchase, and each one had his wife prepare 432
food and bring it to the meeting place. The Little Dogs approached the lodge, singing on the way. The door of the lodge faced north. The buyers 527
had ranged themselves on the right side (for one entering), with their wives behind them. The sellers sat down on the opposite side, with their wives [533]
behind them, and began to sing, using sticks with sleighbells for rattles. "We liked their song better than ours." (Black-chest). Big-thief rose, held up a dried dogskin, laid it toward the fire, faced the fire himself, sat down behind the skin, and thus addressed the group of buyers: "Well, sons, this dog has five claws on each of its front legs, that makes ten. Its hind legs also have ten claws, that makes twenty in all. So we wish you to feast us for twenty nights, then we will let you have our songs." [1]

[1] Wounded-face says that the entertainment lasted only fifteen nights, while Water-chief spoke of a ten-nights' feasting of the fathers. When Little-crow, of the group immediately higher than that of the three informants quoted here and in the text, bought the same society, the entertainment lasted eight nights.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 608 432 527 After this speech, Big-thief returned to his place. Then all the Kit-Foxes rose and brought presents of food to their fathers. Black-chest again selected Good-bear for his individual Father, but explains that this was not obligatory. Wounded-face was obliged to select a new father, for the one chosen by him in purchasing the Kit-Fox organization had been killed in battle; otherwise, he says he should have kept the same individual for his father in buying all the higher societies. On this occasion his choice fell on Little-crow, to whom he presented a kettleful of food as a token of his selection. Black-chest states that five of the fathers had been killed since the purchase of the Kit-Fox society.

575 432 431 Black-chest says that on this occasion the River Women did not aid the purchasers, as both they and the latter had married. This obviously refers to the period of the fathers' entertainment, as the same informant mentions a contribution by this women's organization to the initial payment (see p. 303). On the other hand, the Black Mouths attended the performance and brought food for the sellers.

575 778 527 837 533 At a height of about seven feet from the ground the fathers stretched a rawhide rope between the two rear main posts. To each end of the rope they attached a whip, and near its center they folded over it two red cloth sashes. These sashes were considered sacred. The wife of one of the buyers then rose, stripped naked and covering her genitalia with her hands, approached the rear of the fireplace. Rising on tiptoes, she seized one of the sashes, covered her nakedness again, pressed the sash to her breast and hung it up as before. Each one of the buyers' wives went through the same ceremony. During this performance the fathers were all singing. The women returned to their seats and put on their blankets. Each husband then said to his wife: "I will give you to my father, for I want his song. Perhaps he will pray for us, and it will be well for both of us."

575 [841] 837 432 527 [782] Then the father and the woman offered to him went out together. Menstruating women were absolved from this performance, for they were not supposed to come to the lodge at all on such occasions. As a matter of fact, Black-chest says that only very few fathers availed themselves of the right surrendered to them, being generally afraid of ill luck if they did. The form, however, was gone through by each wife on each of the twenty nights. Black-chest's wife told her husband that Good-bear merely took her outside, faced west with her and said, "Daughter-in-law, stop and stand there." Then he prayed as follows: "My gods, my son has given me his wife. I wish that my daughter-in-law may always enjoy a long and happy life, and I ask you in behalf of my son that he may conquer his enemies." After this prayer he bade the woman go back, and both returned to the lodge.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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After the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the ex-
ception of three men, who remained to instruct the new members in singing. These
575 three fathers stood between the door and the fireplace, but nearer to the
527 latter, while the new group of Little Dogs ranged themselves in a three-
868 quarter circle in the rear of the lodge. While the fathers sang, the members
533 danced, moving both feet at the same time and also raising and lowering their arms. Then the Little Dogs proceeded in single file to an open place, the singers following in the rear. Wounded-face says that as first lancer he took the lead, while his associate brought up the rear, and that the sash-wearers had no special place in the line. All the new members blew their whistles while coming out and formed a circle in the open place. The three fathers stepped inside the circle. At this first public parade, the old people called out the members' names and admonished them to try to die soon. Water-chief actually went on a war party soon after the parade, and put on his sash, thinking, "If I get killed, my old people will call out my name; if I live, I shall strike an enemy." As a matter of fact, he struck two women near the enemy's camp, and his people rejoiced.

575 After several songs and dances the Little Dogs stopped and went back
431 to their lodge, where they sat about and danced. The fathers sent messengers to summon their sons. Each son then went to his father's house, sometimes accompanied by his wife. The father gave his son a present of food, which the wife took home; if the son came alone, he took the food back to the society's lodge.

575 Like other societies, the Little Dogs occasionally went through the camp at night singing and waking up the villagers.

Crazy Dog Society.

575 In Maximilian's account the Crazy Dog (mini's'ōxka ō'xat'e)[1] society
561 figures as that of the youngest age group, embracing boys of from 10 to 15 years of age. In the list of my informants it ranks as the fourth society to be purchased by young men. It was obviously constituted in their day by married men; for they had all married before the purchase of the next lower society (see p. 304). Maximilian was told that in former days old men had also belonged to the organization, but on the understanding that they were never to retreat from the enemy.

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[1] The native name is nowadays at first blush interpreted as "Broncho Society." Maximilian, however, renders it "die thörichten Hunde, oder die Hunde deren Namen man nicht kennt, (les chiens fols, ou les chiens dont on ne connait pas le nom)," and this translation is confirmed on further inquiry. Cf. footnote, p. 302. Yellow-hair explicitly identified the Mandan *mini's'ō'xka ō'xate* with the Hidatsa *macu'ka uarā'ēxe* (see p. 290).

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 293 [302] Mouths were also called "Brave Men's society." They painted their faces black. The Goose women used the same paint, because their society was founded by the same man. When the time came for singing, the first rattler walked ahead and began to sing. Then the drummers took up the song. The next time the second rattler acted in the same manner. The raven-lance bearers had a special song and dance, during which they crossed each other's path.

575 726 554 533 535 One summer, when the society wished to give a performance because some Sioux were coming to fight, they stuck two tipi poles into the ground, and tied raven-lances to the top. One of the Soldiers cried, "Kā! Kā! Kā!" This was in imitation of crows. Then some other member went outside the lodge to see which one had cried. Returning, he said, "It is not a living raven, but the raven head on Skunk's lance." Skunk was a very brave man. The people said, "We will find out what this means." Then someone took the lances down, and returned them to their owners. Skunk said, "Hold on, my fellow-members, I wish to know the reason why my lance is singing." He got his associate to accompany him, and both lance officers then went through the village, singing this song: —

"kē'ka, nasarā'rōoca. mī' ō'watē'roc.
"Raven, you sing. I want to die.
"kika're e'henik, ō'ota."
"If you are afraid, go away."

The people hearing Skunk thought him braver than ever. They said to him, "This is your day, do what you wish best." The people encouraged Skunk. When the society started outdoors for a dance, Skunk took the lead, and again sang. A circle was formed. All the people came to watch the performance. Skunk once more sang his song. He danced alone, in a slanting line. These were the words of his song: —

"mīnukarité, nū'tamina'tare hū'miikāc. i'miinahèc."
"My friends, our enemies are numerous. I am used to it" [that is, to fight].

When the time came to fight, Skunk struck many coups. This is what the singing of the raven had indicated.

575 626 In addition to the police functions described by Maximilian, Wounded-face mentions a special duty devolving on the two pipe-bearers. When some villager wished to kill a fellow-tribesman, these officers filled up a pipe, and gave him presents in order to make him desist. Acceptance signified acquiescence in their wishes.

575 Water-chief became a Black Mouth, together with about twenty of his comrades, at thirty; generally, however, the members were older. They

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

561 particular description of the dress of this band is given in the sequel, and the representation of it in Vignette XXVIII.

533 534 These unions, or bands, give occasion to many festivities, with singing, music, and dancing. But they have likewise other dances and diversions. One of these is the scalp dance, which may be more appropriately described among the usages of war. Their musical amusements are very simple. The mode of singing varies but little among all the American Indians; it consists of broken, deep exclamations, often intercepted by loud shouts, and is accompanied by a violent beating of time on the drum, and the rattling of the schischikué. Besides these two instruments, the Mandans have long wooden pipes, at the lower end of which there is generally an eagle's feather hanging by a string. (See woodcut, page 180.) Other pipes are thicker, about twenty inches long, and are perforated with holes; in this respect they differ from the war pipe. They are sometimes ornamented with pieces of skin, &c. These are the only musical instruments of the Indians besides the war pipes.

526 The Indians have also many games; the game called billiards, by the French Canadians, is played by two young men, with long poles, which are often bound with leather, and have various ornaments attached to them. On a long, straight, level course, or a level path in or near the village, they roll a hoop, three or four inches in diameter, covered with leather, and throw the pole at it; and the success of the game depends upon the pole passing through it. This game is also practised among the Manitaries, and is described, in Major Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains, as being played by the Pawnees, who, however, have hooked sticks, which is not the case with the tribes here mentioned.

The women are expert at playing with a large leathern ball, which they let fall alternately on their foot and knee, again throwing it up and catching it, and thus keeping it in motion for a length of time without letting it fall to the ground. Prizes are given, and they often play high. The ball is often very neat and curiously covered with dyed porcupine quills. (See Plate XLVIII. Fig. 14.) Card-playing has not yet reached these Indians, though it is in use among the Osages and other tribes. The children of the Mandans and Manitaries play with a piece of stag's horn, in which a couple of feathers are inserted; this is thrown forward, the piece of horn being foremost.

About the middle of March, when the weather is fine, the children and young men play with a hoop, in the interior of which strips of leather are interwoven; its diameter is about a foot. This hoop is either rolled or thrown, and they thrust at it with a pointed stick; he who approaches the centre most nearly is the winner. The hoop and the stick are represented in Plate XLVIII.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LETTER—No. 18.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

461 535 The Mandans, like all other tribes, lead lives of idleness and leisure; and of course, devote a great deal of time to their sports and amusements, of which they have a great variety. Of these, dancing is one of the principal, and may be seen in a variety of forms: such as the buffalo dance, the boasting dance, the begging dance, the scalp dance, and a dozen other kinds of dances, all of which have their peculiar characters and meanings or objects.

535 533 198 These exercises are exceedingly grotesque in their appearance, and to the eye of a traveller who knows not their meaning or importance, they are an uncouth and frightful display of starts, and jumps, and yelps, and jarring gutturals, which are sometimes truly terrifying. But when one gives them a little attention, and has been lucky enough to be initiated into their mysterious meaning, they become a subject of the most intense and exciting interest. Every dance has its peculiar step, and every step has its meaning; every dance also has its peculiar song, and that is so intricate and mysterious oftentimes, that not one in ten of the young men who are dancing and singing it, know the meaning of the song which they are chanting over. None but the medicine-men are allowed to understand them; and even they are generally only initiated into these secret arcana, on the payment of a liberal stipend for their tuition, which requires much application and study. There is evidently a set song and sentiment for every dance, for the songs are perfectly measured, and sung in exact time with the beat of the drum; and always with an uniform and invariable set of sounds and expressions, which clearly indicate certain sentiments, which are expressed by the voice, though sometimes not given in any known language whatever.

They have other dances and songs which are not so mystified, but which are sung and understood by every person in the tribe, being sung in their own language, with much poetry in them, and perfectly metred, but without rhyme. On these subjects I shall take another occasion to say more; and will for the present turn your attention to the style and modes in which some of these curious transactions are conducted.

535 My ears have been almost continually ringing since I came here, with the din of yelping and beating of the drums; but I have for several days

?: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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FIG. 1.—Sitting Crow and Crows Heart, Goose Society Singers.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 *The first evening.*—The ceremony began in the evening. The Okipa Maker carried in all the goods he had succeeded in collecting during the year and heaped them at the back of the lodge. Then he carried in a bag of specially prepared cornballs known as "four in one" because they contained ground corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers. He also brought in a sack of pemmican. A singer brought in a dry buffalo hide rolled up like a cylinder to serve as a drum.[14]

[534]

796 For weeks previous to the performance of the Okipa, the clan leaders, old men, and the tribal medicine bundle-owners talked 787 to the young men, telling them of the importance of seeking visions during the Okipa. Older clan brothers advised specific 785 young men to fast. Men who had been successful warriors, hunters, or doctors attributed much of their good luck to the powers that they had acquired while fasting or hanging from the roof of the Okipa lodge by means of leather thongs fastened through their skin. The result was that a larger number of young men came to the Okipa lodge to fast through the four days of the ceremony. After uniting with the Hidatsa, many young Mandans preferred to fast and go through the torture feature while on eagle-trapping or buffalo-hunting expeditions as the women of the Hidatsa and Arikara tribes did not observe the same rules. The fasters came in directly after the Okipa Maker had completed carrying in the robes, cornballs, and pemmican, and ranged in age from boys of eight years to middle-aged men of thirty-five years. Each was naked and painted according to his own inclination and carried a shield and bow in one hand and the father's medicine bundle in the other.[15] The quiver with the bow and arrows in it was hung back of the faster, and the medicine bundle was attached to a small twig stuck into the ground in front of him. Each carried in a buffalo skull for a pillow and sage brush for a bed. All the fasters arranged themselves around the wall, the Tamisik-WaxikEna division being on the west side, and the other half on the east

14. This dry hide was symbolic of the first Okipa in the Dog Dens when only a dry hide served as a drum through the whole ceremony performed by Hoita. For the west-side Mandans it represented one of the periods of tribal history before the turtle drums were acquired.

15. Many had no medicine bundles but brought one belonging to the father, thinking that they might have good luck thereafter.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 which was known as "Everything Comes Back Day." This was the day when all the mythological beings that were on the earth when the first Lone Man and Hoita lived among the Mandan came back. The participants were nominated as stated above

[534]

FIG. 18.—Back view of turtle drum with feather collar

and met at the ceremonial lodge to receive their sticks, which was their authority to officiate. (See Figs. 18 and 19.)

Wolf Chief supplied the following firsthand information on the calling-out of those who had previously been selected by the respective bundle-owners to enact their parts in the third day's performance:

The masks were at the head of the lodge when I entered. They began to name the men who were to imitate the different animals belonging in the dance. The officers first chose First Creator to sit beside the door. He had

281 Verendrye mentions their skill in making such things as
237 painted ox-robes, deer skin, dressed buckskin, and ornamented fur and feathers, painted feathers, peltry, wrought garters, circlets for the head, and girdles. They certainly understood the art of dressing skins, though perhaps other nations equalled them. All their visitors speak of the ornamented robes for the decoration of which porcupine quills dyed various colors, or the pigments themselves, as paints, were used at first, though beads
[532] came gradually to take their places. The ornamentation consisted usually of representations of animals, and pictographic records. When leather got wet, it was beaten and rubbed with white clay which they always carried with them. This kept the robes soft. Then there were medicine bags, tobacco pouches, sheathes for knives and bows, all of skin, painted or embroidered with quills, such as are seen over the whole plains
[231] area. They had leather bridles for their horses, sometimes embroidered, and used a saddle, similar to that of the Dakotas. The horses were caught by means of long raw hide lariats which the Indians made themselves.

● 534 Whistles were also necessary articles to those belonging to the societies. Maximilian[1] describes them as "long wooden whistles at whose lower end an eagle feather on a string dangles." He says they also had large flute whistles, twenty inches long, with holes to vary the notes by application of the fingers. Besides these were the war whistles, usually made from the wing
412 bone of some large bird. Other articles of bone, necessitated
321 by the great use of skins, were the bone scrapers, needles and awls with which each house was profusely supplied.

241 Almost the only agricultural implements which they used were hoes. These were the shoulder blades of buffalo or occasionally of elk, which were cut down and to which a crooked stick was fastened as a handle.[2]

415 Among their cooking utensils, which were used in every hut, were spoons and ladles of bighorn and buffalo horns. Verendrye says some of these ladles held as much as three pints.

286 So far as the accounts go the Mandans did not make any textile fabric, though the Arikara are known to have made

[1] Op. cit., p. 416. [2] Henry: vol. I, p. 343.

garters and belts of buffalo hair.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

561 the buyers. The first band was that of "The Dogs Whose Names Are Not Known." To this band boys from ten to fifteen years of age could belong. Maximilian was told that at first older men might belong to this band but that this was afterwards changed. Admission to this society and the learning of the dance was bought from a member by the boy's father. Maximilian says that the dances of all the bands were about the same, the differences being in the songs. Each band had a particular drum and rattle.

The second band was the "Band of the Crows" composed of men from twenty to twenty-six years of age.[1] There was usually an interval between the first and the second band when the man belonged to no group. Crow plumes were the distinguishing feature of this division.

561 625 623 [678] The third society was the "Soldier Band" and was composed of the most distinguished warriors of the tribe. The members of this band could never retreat before an enemy. Another feature was its possession of two sacred pipes. All members of the higher bands belonged at the same time to this one. This group had charge of policing and regulating the [71] village, a well-known feature of the Soldier Band among the Sioux and other plains tribes. They formed a committee which regulated all the important affairs of the nation, fixed the time for hunts and applied all the laws.[2]

561 The fourth division was the "Dog Band." Three members from this wore a red cloth down the back such as all the first band wore. These three were known as the Dogs, and anyone could throw a piece of meat on the floor or in the fire, saying "There, Dog, eat," and any of these three must obey.

The fifth band was that of the "Buffalos" or "Wolves." These in dancing wore the skin of a buffalo head with the horns. The two bravest, chosen by all, who never under any conditions could flee from an enemy, wore the whole head and horns and looked through artificial eyes. This was the only band which [534] had a wooden drum. In this society there was also one woman who offered the two head dancers a basin of water as they danced.

[1] Op. cit., p. 409. [2] Ibid., p. 411.

4; Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 to the top of the shaft there was fastened a single eagle feather. The bottom of
432 both staffs was blunt, but in order to secure them in their places a sharp-pointed stick
had been previously driven into the ground there. The fathers had two hand-
527 drums. The father nearest the door took the hooked stick (ma'nanū'skup) which
533 had been set at the left side of the straight stick (ma'nacū'cuk) for one facing the
535 door, and held it in his hand, while the last father in line took the straight stick. The
293 two fathers standing nearest the staff-holders bore rattles. The drums were beaten, but before the rest of the fathers rose Shot-foot addressed us, saying, "Sons, you will keep our society, you will dance today." Then the fathers all rose, and the singing began. The staff-bearers advanced towards the boys, shouting, while the rest danced in their places. When the staff-bearers had got to the fireplace, the singing ceased. Each of the two officers then went to his son and led him to a spot between the two main posts on the right side of the lodge (for one facing the entrance), and gave his stick to his son. On this occasion Water-chief received the straight stick, and White-eye the bent stick. Next Shot-fox rose with his rattle and — this time without any singing or dancing — walked straight towards his son, Long-tail, whom he led to the place between the two posts used by the staff-bearers and presented with his rattle. The second rattler went through a corresponding procedure. Then the wives of the four officers who had just disposed of their emblems came forward to give the newly prepared clothes to their sons. The spectators, during all this performance, were restricted to the space between the door and the two front posts. From among these outsiders there now advanced the relatives of the new officers in order to pile up property before them or to present small sticks representing the promise to donate a horse.

The fathers said, "Now, sons, all of you stand up!" All the fathers then walked
575 towards us, followed by their wives, who carried the clothing and laid it down before
432 the sons. All of us put on the new clothes on the spot. The fathers who had
527 surrendered their rattles stood next to their sons, whom they wished to assist in
533 singing. The fathers who had owned the two officers' staffs said to the new incum-
534 bents: "There is an abundance of enemies; try to be brave!" The fathers who had carried rattles said the same to *their* sons, adding: "You will sing for your society, and I must teach you now. When you sing outdoors, you shall circle round to the right, and all will follow you." The first rattler accordingly led the procession in a circle until he had got near the second rattler, where he stopped and began to sing. The second rattler then also sang a song, shaking a tin-can rattle. In the procession outdoors the marchers walked at a very rapid pace.

Four female associates followed the men. These were called "Fox women" and had been appointed by their own families to assist the Foxes at their feasts and in the singing. They stood outside the circle formed by the society when dancing outdoors, but also took part in the dance. These women were unmarried, but later two of them, Pumpkin-blossom and Otter, married members of the society.

[349] After we had marched out of our lodge, we went to an open space east of the Round Corral.[1] Four of our fathers stepped inside the circle we formed there, and sang for us, beating their drums. We danced and then went home. This first public dance was the only occasion on which our fathers sang for us.

After a few days we came together and danced in Water-chief's lodge. During indoor performances we sat in an arc round the lodge and did not make use of our

[1] This is the structure described by Catlin and Maximilian as the "ark."

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

On the twentieth night Big-thief again took a seat by the dogskin. He thus addressed the buyers: "Now, sons, tomorrow this dance will be yours, so I wish to ask you for some more pay. Put down one gun to represent the killing of anything." Then one of the Kit-Foxes put down a gun. Big-thief continued: "This dog has a hide, give us a robe." Then one of the Kit-Foxes laid down his robe. "Give us a knife for butchering." Two men then rose and put down two butchering knives. "For this head put down one yellow cooking-kettle." The buyers sent round for such a kettle and finally secured one, which they brought to the fathers. "Put down one thing for the head." Then someone laid down a stick trimmed with tail-feathers. "Put down one thing for the tail." Then, Black-chest thinks, another robe was laid down. "The dog has four legs, put down four articles." The Kit-Foxes again did as bidden. 575 432 527

On the next day there followed the final surrender of membership prerogatives. This time the buyers sat in an arc, without their wives, who remained in the spectators' place (see p. 303). The fathers sat on the opposite side, singing a bravery song, and the two sash-wearing officers danced. The words of the song were in Hidatsa: — 575 432 527

"Māha'hkureci'ruts. tō'cē'ruca, marē'wits." [177]
"No one lives forever. Whatever may happen, I shall go."

At the close of this song the whippers and sash-wearers, as well as all the other fathers, surrendered their regalia to their respective sons. As Little-crow, Wounded-face's father, owned a lance decorated with a string of feathers, Wounded-face assumed the same office (not mentioned by Black-chest), of which there was one other incumbent. In addition to the lance, Wounded-face received a shirt, a new pair of leggings, a switch and pendants for the decoration of both sides of the head; his hair was cut short in front by Little-crow. Wounded-face's relatives piled up presents in front of him, which he turned over to his father, adding a good horse of his own. The other purchasers made corresponding presents to their fathers. While Wounded-face speaks of four sash-wearers, Black-chest limits the number to two, and Water-chief sets it at five. Water-chief, like Wounded-face, received one of the sashes from his father; there was tied to it a small package of root medicine to avert danger. This package has never been opened by Water-chief. The whippers, according to this last authority, lashed members who did not rise to dance at the proper time. Each member of the rank and file received a whistle of owl bone about four inches long, and a bunch of split owl feathers, with an eagle feather in the center, to be hung from the back of the head. These feathers were painted yellow. 575 432 431 [293] [534]

After the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the exception of

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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buffalo skin, the hair of which, however, was exposed from the wearer's forehead down to his chin. The spears carried were not very long, and the head pointed downwards. Shields rested on the left arm. Members who had struck enemies, carried guns; if they had used arrows to kill a foe, they carried arrows. Wounds received in battle were symbolized by red body paint. While dancing in the village, the Bulls jumped around. They pointed spears and guns at anyone approaching them, and thereby frightened young people. Those who had slain enemies enacted their martial deeds. For music they used a *large* drum. 575 292 [302] [534]

Calf-woman remembered seeing six women known as "Bull women" at a Bull performance; they sat behind the men singers. A woman brought in water, but only such members as had saved a woman's life were permitted to drink of it. This informant also remembers one of the mask-wearers pretending to spear people, and frightening the children, jumping up with both legs, and stamping one foot at a time. 575

The Bull dance described by Boller was not connected with the Bull society, but formed part of the Okipe as is obvious from comparison with Maximilian's and Catlin's accounts of this ceremony.[1] 535

Dog[1] Society.

Maximilian describes the emblem of the society as a stick a foot or a foot and a half in length, which was ornamented with blue and white beads, and to which a large number of animal hoofs were attached. To the front of the stick there was tied an eagle feather, to the lower extremity a piece of beaded leather. The members wore a large cap of colored cloth, to which were attached a great number of raven, magpie, and owl feathers, and which was further decorated with colored horsehair and weasel skins. Their whistle was large, and made from the wing bone of a swan. Three of them wore in the back sashes of red cloth similar to those of the Crazy Dog society. A bunch of owl, raven, or magpie feathers — and frequently a combination of all three — was attached to the head so as to hang down in the back. The three officers referred to were regarded as Real Dogs. People would throw a piece of meat into the ashes of a fire, or on the ground, and say, "You Dog, eat!" Then they were obliged to fall foul of it and to devour it like dogs or beasts of prey. 575 292 293

[1] Boller, 102–105; Maximilian, II, 174, 178; Catlin, I, 164 f.

[2] The native name is mini's ɔ'xatoc. What was said above (p. 306) as to the translation of the word *mini's* applies in this case also. The equivalence of the Hidatsa Dog society cannot be doubted, and Maximilian's rendering of the Mandan name supports this view.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 535 292 302 A dance of the "Dog society" of Ruptare village that was witnessed by Bodmer is described by Maximilian. After a performance in their lodge, the members, twenty-seven or twenty-eight in number, advanced towards the Fort. Some were clad in beautiful robes or bighorn-skin shirts, others in red cloth shirts, or blue and red uniforms. Some exposed the upper part of their body, on which coups were indicated in reddish-brown paint. In this connection the Prince speaks of *four* Real Dogs, all wearing huge bonnets of raven or magpie feathers, tipped with small white plumes, while in the center there was a fan of the tail feathers of a wild turkey or eagle. Round the neck each of these officers wore a long strip of red cloth, which extended down the back as far as the calves and was knotted in the middle of the back. Two additional officers wore similarly colossal bonnets of yellowish owl feathers, with dark oblique stripes, and one had a large, horned war-bonnet with a feathered streamer hanging down in the back. All others were ornamented with a bunch of thickly-set raven, magpie, or owl feathers, which was considered emblematic of the society. All members wore long whistles, and carried in their left arm some weapon, while the hoof rattle was held in the right hand. A circle was formed. In the center [534] there was a large drum, which was beaten by five poorly clad musicians; in addition to these men, who were seated, two drummers stood on the side, beating hand-drums. After whistling in their places in accompaniment to the rapid and violent beats of the drum, the Dogs suddenly began to dance, dropping their robes to the ground. Several of them danced in the middle of the circle, leaning their bodies forward, jumping up some distance with both feet and coming down firmly on the ground. The other Indians danced without any attention to orderly arrangement, crowding one another, turning their faces towards the circle, and occasionally joining in lowering the head and upper part of the body.[1]

575 534 292 301 Wounded-face says that the rattle (wī'o oxerō're) consisted of a stick covered with buckskin, to which the hoofs of young buffalo were attached. There were two men with sashes, which were half green and half yellow, and which were decorated with feathers. The skin cap had magpie feathers tied to it in a large bunch, and a white plume was fastened to every feather. Two eagle feathers, together with owl feathers, were also used for a head ornament. A large whistle was suspended from a wide strip of skin decorated with quillwork. The body was painted red. All the members carried the hoof-rattles, and sometimes they beat a drum or a log with them. All the Dogs were portly old men, slow in their dancing. Wounded-face thinks the society originated with the Hidatsa.

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[1] Maximilian, II, 309–311.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Throughout the ceremony two women whose normal position in the circle was on the right side of the rear officer preserved order in the lodge; the distinctive badge of their office consisted of a skunkskin head band (Fig. 17). 575 626

The object of the ceremony was to lure the buffalo near the fireplace. Once, when the performance took place in a clearing in the woods, one buffalo came directly to the doorway, and was killed on the spot. During the same season a great abundance of buffalo were found in the timber. Apparently, anyone who was desirous of making the buffalo come could take the initiative and ask the society to undertake the performance. 575 789

292

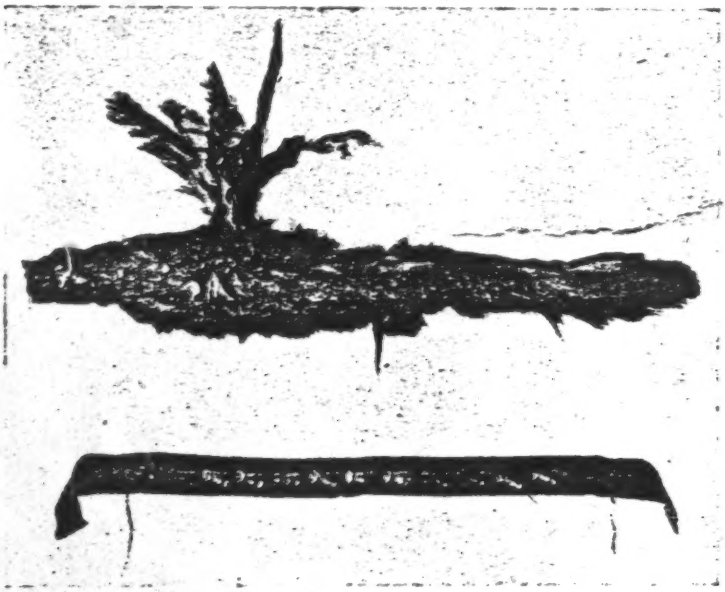


Fig. 17 (50.1–4815, 50.1–4331). Skunkskin Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society and Head Band of Kit-Fox Society. Lengths, 79 cm. and 85 cm.

Any old member could adopt as many new ones as she wished, and was obliged to provide each tyro with a headdress. Calf-woman obtained one of these headdresses at the time of her adoption, though she was only two years of age. She became the middle officer because her adoptive mother gave her the appropriate calfskin robe. The musicians adopted new musicians who were obliged to pay heavily for the songs. Four of them had drums for instruments, while the remaining one used a rattle of buffalo skin. 575 608 432 534

515 which arises from their continual and severe labour. They generally let their nails grow long.

The rude inhabitants of the prairies are extremely agile and hardy; they bathe, in the depth of winter, in the half frozen rivers, and wear no covering on the upper part of their body under the buffalo robe; they are very expert swimmers, even when quite young. I have already 481 observed that all these nations swim in the same manner as the Brazilian Tapuyas, which is confirmed by other writers. They often practise riding on horseback without a saddle, and very swift horse-racing. They are capital marksmen with the bow; all their senses are remarkably acute.

561 Among the Mandans, and all the nations of the Upper Missouri, as well as among most of the North American tribes, there are certain bands or unions or companies, which are dis- 425 tinguished from the others, and kept together by certain external badges and laws. They have three kinds of war or signal pipes, which are hung round the neck, and are among the badges of the unions, which divide the men into six classes, according to their age. The first band or union is composed of "the foolish dogs," or "the dogs whose name is not known." They are young people from ten to fifteen years of age, and wear a pipe made of the wing bone of the wild goose, which is but small. When they dance, three of them have a long broad piece of red cloth hanging from the back of the neck to the ground. Like every distinct class they have a particular song to accompany their dance. Formerly old people likewise belonged to this band, but then they never dared to retreat before the enemy; this has since been changed to the present limited rule. If a boy desires to enter the first band in order to become a man, he goes to a member of it, addresses him by the appellation of father, and endeavours to purchase the rank, the dance, the song, and the war pipe belonging to it, for certain articles of value, such as blankets, cloth, horses, powder, ball, and the like, which the father pays for him. If this place is sold to him he has a right to all the distinctions and privileges of the band, and he who sold it thereby renounces all claim to it, and endeavours to purchase admission to a higher 561 band. The dances of the several classes are in the main very similar, but there is a particular 535 song belonging to each, and sometimes even a different step. The drum and schischikué must 534 likewise be purchased at the same time. The latter, among this band, is spherical, with a handle, and is made of leather.

561 The second class or band is that of the crows or ravens; it consists of young men from twenty to twenty-five years of age. Frequently young people are in none of the bands for half a year or more. They then go to the band of the crows, and say, "Father, I am poor, but I wish [534] to purchase from you." If the possessor agrees, they then receive the raven's feathers, which the band wear on their heads, a double war-pipe, consisting of two wing bones of a goose joined together, a drum, schischikué, the song and the dance. Each of these bands has a leader, called,

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

by the Americans, head-man, who decides on the sale of its rights and attributes. This head-man is chiefly applied to when any one wishes for admission; a festival then takes place in the medicine lodge, which is continued for forty successive nights, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They dance, eat, and smoke there; the purchasers defray the expenses, and give up their wives every night to the sellers, till the fathers, as they are called, are satisfied, and transfer their rights to the purchasers, with which the festival concludes. 561 [837]

The third class or band is that of the soldiers, the most eminent and esteemed warriors. In their dances they paint the upper part of the face red, and the lower part black. Their war pipe is large, and made of the wing bone of a crane. Their badges are two long straight sticks bound with otter skin, to which owl's feathers are appended. When they go to war, they plant these sticks in the ground in front of the enemy, and, this done, they dare not leave them, not unlike the colours in a European army. They have a similar stick ornamented with raven's feathers (see second woodcut, page 256). They likewise have a dance and song peculiar to their band, and must purchase their admission into higher classes. Their schischikué or rattle is made of iron plate, in the form of a small kettle, with a handle. They likewise possess two tobacco pipes, which are used for smoking on special occasions. Two men keep and carry with them these pipes. All the higher classes may, at the same time, belong to the band of the soldiers, who act as police officers; it is, however, understood that all the members must be satisfied with the purchase. If but one object to the sale, the bargain cannot be concluded. It often happens that some individuals do not immediately give their consent, in order to raise the price and sell to more advantage afterwards. These soldiers, as they are called, form a kind of committee, which decides all the principal affairs, particularly general undertakings, such as changes of their places of abode, buffalo hunting, and the like. If the buffalo herds are in the vicinity, they watch them, and do not suffer them to be disturbed by individuals, till a general chase can be undertaken. 561 554 623 [534]

If, during this time, any one fires at a wolf or other animal, the soldiers take away his gun, ill-use, and sometimes beat him, to which he must submit; even the chiefs are not spared on these occasions. The Whites living in the neighbourhood are subject, during such a time, to the same laws, and the soldiers have often taken their hatchets from the woodcutters of the fort, or forbidden them to cut wood, that the buffaloes might not be disturbed by the noise.

The fourth band, that of the dogs, wear in their dance a large cap of coloured cloth, to which a great number of raven's, magpie's, and owl's feathers is fastened, adorned with dyed horse-hair and strips of ermine; they have a large war pipe of the wing bone of a swan. Three of them have the same strips of red cloth hanging down the back, as have been mentioned, when speaking of the first band. The head is generally adorned with a thick tuft of owl's, magpie's, and raven's feathers hanging down behind, and often all the three kinds of feathers are mixed together. 561

561 The three men before-mentioned, who wear the strips of red cloth (the dogs, properly so called), are obliged, if any one throws a piece of meat into the ashes, or on the ground, saying, "There, dog, eat," to fall upon it, and devour it raw, like dogs or beasts of prey. The schinchikné of this [534] band is a stick, a foot or a foot and a half long, to which a number of animals' hoofs are fastened. The costume of these three dogs is shown in the portrait of Pehriska-Rupe. (Plate XXIII.)

The fifth band is that of the buffaloes. In their dance they wear the skin of the upper part 561 of the head, the mane of the buffalo, with its horns, on their heads; but two select individuals, the 554 bravest of all, who thenceforward never dare to fly from the enemy, wear a perfect imitation of the buffalo's head, with the horns, which they set on their heads (Plate XVIII.), and in which there are holes left for the eyes, which are surrounded with an iron or tin ring. This band alone has a wooden war pipe, and in their union they have a woman, who, during the dance, goes round with a dish of water, to refresh the dancers, but she must give this water only to the bravest, who wear the whole buffalo's head. She is dressed, on these occasions, in a handsome new robe of bighorn leather, and colours her face with vermilion. The men have a piece of red cloth fastened behind, and a figure representing a buffalo's tail; they also carry their arms in their hands. The men with the buffaloes' heads always keep in the dance at the outside of the group, imitate all the motions and the voice of this animal, as it timidly and cautiously retreats, looking around in all directions, &c. (Plate XVIII.)

561 The sixth band is that of the black-tailed deer. It consists of all the men above fifty years of age, who, however, likewise dance. Two women belong to the band, who wait on them at the dance, cook, carry water round to refresh them, and the like. All the men of this band wear a garland of the claws of the grizzly bear round their heads, and all insignia of their warlike exploits about their bodies, such as feathers on their heads, tufts of hair on their arms and legs, scalps, painting, &c.

561 All these bands, as well as the following dances, are bought and sold, and, as has been already 425 observed, on these occasions, the buyer must give up his wife to the seller during the festivity. 837 But if a young man is still unmarried, he will sometimes travel to a great distance to another 572 village, to ask a friend or companion for his wife, who accordingly goes with him, and, on the evenings of the dance, gives up his wives for him. A man often brings three or four, and even more, wives, and gives them to his father, as he is called, as soon as the dancing, eating, smoking, and the relating of their exploits, are concluded. Thus one woman after the other comes, as will be described in the account of the buffalo medicines of the Mauitaries, strikes, with her hand, the arm of the man whom she will favour, and goes to the entrance of the tent, where she waits till he follows her. The man so invited often keeps his seat, and bows down his head; the woman then goes home, brings articles of value, such as guns, robes, blankets, &c., which she lays, piece by piece, before him, till he is satisfied, stands up, and follows her.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

561 particular description of the dress of this band is given in the sequel, and the representation of it in Vignette XXVIII.

533 534 These unions, or bands, give occasion to many festivities, with singing, music, and dancing. But they have likewise other dances and diversions. One of these is the scalp dance, which may be more appropriately described among the usages of war. Their musical amusements are very simple. The mode of singing varies but little among all the American Indians; it consists of broken, deep exclamations, often intercepted by loud shouts, and is accompanied by a violent beating of time on the drum, and the rattling of the schischikué. Besides these two instruments, the Mandans have long wooden pipes, at the lower end of which there is generally an eagle's feather hanging by a string. (See woodcut, page 160.) Other pipes are thicker, about twenty inches long, and are perforated with holes; in this respect they differ from the war pipe. They are sometimes ornamented with pieces of skin, &c. These are the only musical instruments of the Indians besides the war pipes.

526 The Indians have also many games; the game called billiards, by the French Canadians, is played by two young men, with long poles, which are often bound with leather, and have various ornaments attached to them. On a long, straight, level course, or a level path in or near the village, they roll a hoop, three or four inches in diameter, covered with leather, and throw the pole at it; and the success of the game depends upon the pole passing through it. This game is also practised among the Manitaries, and is described, in Major Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains, as being played by the Pawnees, who, however, have hooked sticks, which is not the case with the tribes here mentioned.

The women are expert at playing with a large leathern ball, which they let fall alternately on their foot and knee, again throwing it up and catching it, and thus keeping it in motion for a length of time without letting it fall to the ground. Prizes are given, and they often play high. The ball is often very neat and curiously covered with dyed porcupine quills. (See Plate XLVIII. Fig. 14.) Card-playing has not yet reached these Indians, though it is in use among the Osages and other tribes. The children of the Mandans and Manitaries play with a piece of stag's horn, in which a couple of feathers are inserted; this is thrown forward, the piece of horn being foremost.

About the middle of March, when the weather is fine, the children and young men play with a hoop, in the interior of which strips of leather are interwoven; its diameter is about a foot. This hoop is either rolled or thrown, and they thrust at it with a pointed stick; he who approaches the centre most nearly is the winner. The hoop and the stick are represented in Plate XLVIII.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

served as interpreter, was exceedingly helpful in planning the study of the ceremonies. Resistance to the divulging of sacred lore was anticipated. He indicated those who would be least likely to co-operate. Work was begun with Christianized informants. Before recording a ceremony, additional information on the household not brought out in recording the census was obtained. Employing genealogies based on household groups, it

FIG. 3.—Dance of the Goose Society

was possible in nearly every instance to determine both the former villages at Fort Clark and the older villages near Heart River of which the older people of the households were descendants. This information was important in determining cultural differences between the old villages.

The writer used fourteen informants for this study; eleven of these were Mandan and three were Hidatsa of the Awaxawi band. The six Mandan male informants were White Calf, Crows Heart, Ben Benson, Bear on the Flat, Foolish Woman, and Little Owl. The female informants were Scattercorn, Mrs. Good Bear, Calf Woman, Mrs. Owen Baker, and Front Woman. Wolf Chief and Mrs. White Duck supplied information on the Okipa and Corn ceremonies that had reached them through intermar-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

437 utilize other decorations, she was obliged to seek another
421 woman entitled to make the particular decoration and buy the
425 right of her.

There was a similar specialization for men. When a young
437 man was found to have an especially good voice which was
heard above the others in the songs of the society dances, he
425 was encouraged to buy singer rights in dances of both a sacred
535 and a secular character. Although they were obliged to make
555 payments either to existing singers or to the owners of bundles,
their rewards far exceeded the initial costs. Their training included information relative to the ceremonies that were being performed, and they received recognition comparable to that shown those who had directed a number of successful war expeditions. In council, their authority was as great as those who had directed war parties, summer buffalo hunts, or eagle-trapping expeditions.

555 Those who could tattoo or paint designs appreciated by the
people of the village were highly regarded and received a con-
616 siderable amount of goods for their services. There were usually
531 at least two skilled painters in each village, and they were
789 expected to belong to opposite moieties. A man of one moiety
would go to a man of the other moiety to have a robe, shield, or clothing painted either according to his particular inclination or with specific designs of things dreamed of. Each warrior had one or more shields made of buffalo hide taken from around the neck, and these were used universally by the Mandan for protection against arrows and spears until guns became more universal. The designs were believed to offer supernatural protection, and their potency was considered to be enhanced when the design was painted by a man of the opposite moiety, since there would be a payment to the "father" who would pray for the "son's" success. These painters were held responsible for the proper painting of the characters represented in the Okipa and received much property for their services. If they were otherwise sensible men, they enjoyed the same status as those who had been successful in other pursuits.

555 The arrowmakers were highly regarded. Although all males
887 usually made arrows, some were employed specially for arrow-
making. These were the older men of the lodge who had passed

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

worn like an apron. He wore the hair shed from a buffalo over his head and carried Lone Man's pipe and pemmican balls, which he placed on the ground in front of the drummers. Then he walked to the south side of the sacred cedar and stood on the buffalo skull he had previously placed there. Grasping the wooden planks inclosing the cedar with both hands and pressing his forehead against the wood, he asked Lone Man to hear him and send the people all they asked for, to bring the buffaloes near the villages, and to keep all bad luck away. 796 782

At the completion of the Okipa Maker's prayer and while he stood grasping the wooden inclosure, the drummers and rattlers began singing; this was the signal for the fasters to come out. They were dressed in their robes with the hair side out and hooked at each other in imitation of a herd of buffaloes as they danced toward the sacred cedar in a double line,[19] one line going to the east of the sacred cedar, the other to the west side. There they formed a straight line on the south side and danced forward and backward in front of the Okipa Maker, who continued his weeping, addressing the first Lone Man to help the people. When the drummers changed the song to one with a rapid tempo, the fasters and the Okipa Maker returned to the Okipa lodge, imitating a herd of buffaloes as they entered the lodge following the Okipa Maker. 796 535

The drummers, Okipa Maker, and fasters came out to dance four times the first day, and the procedure was the same on each occasion. They came out at sunrise, before noon, at mid-afternoon, and just before sunset.

Just before dark, after dancing outside had finished for the day, women brought willow firewood to the Okipa lodge, where it was placed in two piles on each side of the door. Women of the WaxikEna-Tamisik moiety placed theirs on the west side, while the other clans placed theirs on the east side. Male representatives of the two divisions of the tribe carried in the wood for the fire, since women were not permitted inside the lodge. The small boys and many of the young men left the Okipa lodge at the end of the first day, usually leaving from thirty to fifty fasters who intended to remain the entire four days without 796 562 796 785

19. Each half represented one of the moieties. The fasters were also symbolic of the animals held captive in Dog Den.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the other. The people gave him robes, for he symbolized the first Lone Man who went through the village each morning at sunrise attending to the needs of all his people. 796

Those painting the Bull Dancers worked all morning and did not finish until noon.[22] The two men with buffalo-hide rattles came out and took their places. The Okipa Maker came out

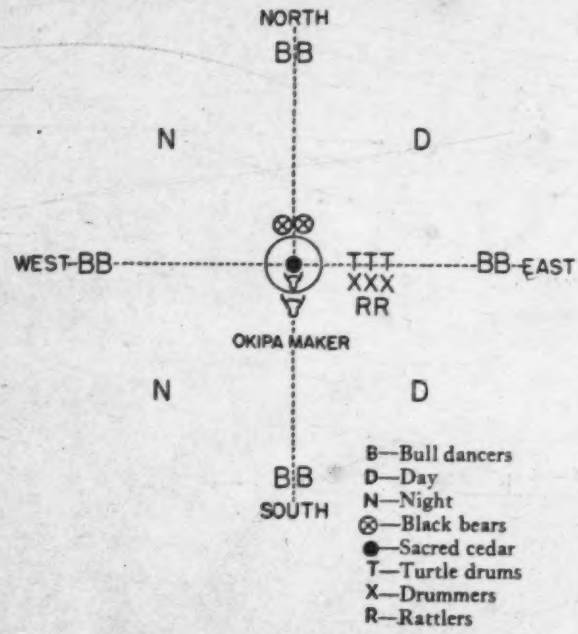


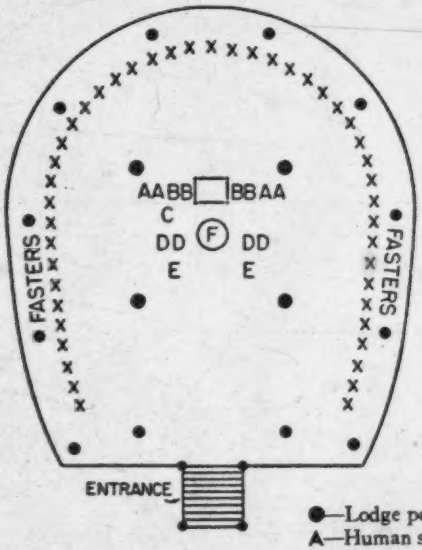
FIG. 15.—Direction symbolism for the bull dances

dressed as on the previous day and placed the pipe and pemmican ball in front of the turtles. He proceeded to the south side of the sacred cedar, where he again wept as he prayed to Lone Man to bring the buffaloes near and keep bad luck away from the village. While he was praying, the drummers began to beat the drums and sing, which was the signal for the Bull Dancers to come out. The people would congregate on lodges and around the open circle to observe these elaborately painted actors who performed the dances which were the most colorful of 796 535

22. Men bought the right and privilege to paint the characters of the ceremony. The Okipa Maker paid the painters for their services.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 535 the whole ceremony. The Bulls danced directly toward the sacred cedar and formed a circle around it, then formed in pairs to mark out the four cardinal points, and, finally separated to mark the eight directions (see Fig. 15). A change in rhythm was a signal for the Bulls to return to the Okipa lodge.



●—Lodge posts
A—Human skulls
B—Buffalo skulls
C—Okipa Maker
D—Turtle drums
E—Rattles
F—Fireplace

FIG. 16.—Lodge plan prior to torture feature. (After Catlin.)

The drummers, rattlers, Okipa Maker, and the eight Bull Dancers came out eight times the second day and repeated the same performance. The fasters came out only once the second day, following the first appearance of the Bulls. They formed a row at the south side of the sacred cedar and were dressed in buffalo robes with the hair side out. They returned into the lodge last and did not come out again that day (see Fig. 16).

796 785 Fasters began to present themselves for the torture feature[23]

23. Cutting off the fingers in the Okipa gradually died out and was uncommon after 1837, though it continued to be a practice when mourning a death or when fasting on a hill or in a remote place. It was said that a man in a dream was instructed that the fingers were needed to handle firearms.

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The sixth group was that of the "Black-tail Deer" and consisted of men over fifty years of age. There were two women in this band who served food and distributed fresh water during the dances. The men wore a crown of bears' claws. 561

There were a few other dances which were bought and sold, but which hardly deserve a place in the regular system. One of these was the dance of the "Half Shaven Head Band" which the lowest band could buy before reaching the proper age to buy into the "Soldier Band." Another was the "Old Dog Dance." The "Dog Band" could buy this of the "Buffalo Band" before becoming Buffalos themselves or being able to. The "Hot Dance" was danced at Rouhptare by the youngest band, and also at the Hidatsa village where it was purchased from the Arikara. The dancers danced barefoot over live coals and plunged their hands into boiling water. 561 424 535

The women, too, were divided into bands. There were four of these of which the first was "The Band of the Gun" which consisted of the younger girls. Next was the "River Band." The third band was the "Hay Women" who sang only the scalp dance. The fourth and last band was that of the "Women of the White Cow," most of them were old, and they were all tattooed with black lines from the mouth to the base of the chin. 561 [304]

The marriage customs of the Mandan Indians differed little from those of their neighbors. Polygamy was common, although a large part of the men had but one wife. Descent was probably along the male line, though there may have been remains of an older custom of descent along the female line, for all the horses captured by a young man belonged to his sister. The women worked hard and were sometimes badly treated though not as a general rule. Lewis and Clarke says that infidelity was punishable by death. Maximilian says it was punishable by cutting off the woman's nose. When a man's wife was stolen he had a right to demand a horse from the abductor. Separations occurred among them quite frequently. Virtue among the women was held in high esteem but was rather scarce. There are accounts of a celebration where prizes were given to the virtuous maids — these celebrations also took place 595 611 562 684 [586] 831 171

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sions of this story. None of the Caddoan Poor Boy stories have been found in the Mandan, but this may be due to the limited extent of Maximilian's collection. It can only be said that the Mandan myths so far as known seem to be about an equal mixture of north and south plains types. 773 171

CEREMONIALS:—The Mandan dance system seems to have been rather complicated, and in it are found again the two conflicting influences. In one case the origin of the dances is said to have been due to Ochkih-Hedde, the evil spirit. Again the First Chief who led them out of the ground is said to have arranged all their dances, and the Okeepa, according to Catlin, was instituted by the First Man. There were two sorts of dances; first those in which it appears that anyone could take part, and secondly those belonging to the different societies previously referred to.* Of the first kind there were four principal ones, and of these the Buffalo dance and the Scalp dance, although not the most important, were most frequently danced and were practically identical with the same dances of other plains tribes; the Scalp dance was performed by those related to persons with newly acquired coups. The Buffalo dances were of two types. One was for the purpose of getting the good will of influential men and is described by Henry and Catlin. This dance had several obscene features. The other Buffalo dance was danced by the men in relays wearing a buffalo head and its purpose was to bring the buffalo in time of need. 535 796

The other two dances deserve more particular mention. Catlin says of all these dances,[1] "Every dance has its peculiar step and song." The songs were understood only by the medicine men and required much application and study. Candidates paid to learn them. This applies particularly to the Okeepa which is the best-known dance of the Mandans. No description is necessary as Catlin has given two very full ones and Maximilian has also given a good account of it. The Okeepa was performed once a year as a rule and nearly every inhabitant of the village had some part to play in it. It lasted four days, and in all the dances, dance groups and ceremonial

[1] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 126.

* [Cf. pp. 129-561, cat. 116 — Analyst]

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535 796 objects, they kept a careful observance of the number four and its multiples. The Okeepa appears to have been quite different from the usual sun-dance ceremonies, although the sun-dance observance formed a part of it. Catlin says that no other nation had such a dance, although many had features of it in their own dances. In some respects it seems to show a rather remarkable similarity to some of the dances of the Pueblo region and very possibly some of these features were transmitted from there through the southern plains tribes. The resemblance is in small details such as the decorating of the ark with willow branches which is much like the preparation of the kisi. Communication with old villages underground was supposed to be established by pounding on the ark, as it was among the southwestern dancers by stepping on the sipapu. From the description of the sacred object in the center of the Mandan altar, it seems to have been something like the Pueblo squash blossoms. Lastly the story of the visit of the First Man to the whites and his institution of the Okeepa, after having escaped them, is much like the origin story of the Pueblo Snake and Antelope Dance. The most peculiar feature of the ceremony was the connection which it had with the flood myth; the ark was supposed to be a copy of the tower in which the Mandans were saved from the flood. It formed the center in all the different parts of the ceremony. The Okeepa had features which have been ascribed by Maximilian to the influence of early missionaries.

535 796 241 The second of these dances was the Corn Dance and this was doubtless of Caddo origin. This dance was danced to the Old Woman Who Never Dies by the old women of the village for whom a number of old men furnished the music. Each old woman carried an ear of corn on the end of a stick and the ceremony was intended to consecrate this corn. After the consecration the corn was distributed, a few grains to each family, by whom it was mixed with the seed corn for spring planting. The ceremony took place when the representatives of The Old Woman Who Never Dies — the water birds — returned north, and a quantity of dried meat was hung up on the scaffolds as a sacrifice. After the dance this dried meat

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became the property of the dancers. Another corn dance was held in the fall, but Maximilian tells us that the purpose of this one was to bring the buffalo. In this dance each woman carried a whole stalk of corn—the corn was called by the name of the water bird which represented it, and a prayer was made to the Old Woman Who Never Dies through these birds. The birds going south were supposed to carry these prayers to their mistress, and in this dance each old woman made a sacrifice of some valuable article. The elements of the corn dance agree in most particulars with those of the Pawnee and southern plains tribes.

535 796 241 [171] 764

BURIAL:—In their burial customs the Mandans show close analogy with the Sioux. Their cemeteries were usually only two hundred to three hundred paces from the palisade and consisted of a number of scaffolds on which the dead were placed. These scaffolds were made on four posts about twelve feet high, the length of the rectangle being about six feet. Across the posts willow rods, just strong enough to support the body, were placed.[1] When a person died he was left in the village but a very short time; the face was painted red, the body was oiled, dressed in the finest clothes and wrapped in a green buffalo skin or at a later period in a piece of cloth. The whole was then tightly wrapped with thongs of rawhide from head to foot. Then other robes were soaked in water and tightly wrapped and tied around the body. After this the corpse was immediately carried out and placed on the scaffold together with a bow and quiver, shield, pipe and tobacco, knife, flint and steel and provisions for several days. In case of a child, it was wrapped up in a small bundle which was tied to the scaffold by a cloth or hide. Catlin says the bodies were placed with their feet to the rising sun. Maximilian says the face was turned to the east.[2] Lewis and Clarke[3] give an account of a different sort of burial which must have been of rare occurrence for we find no mention of anything of the sort elsewhere. It is as follows: "An old man . . . . . one hundred and twenty winters old, he requested his grand Children to Dress him after Death, & Set him on a Stone on a hill, with his

[1] Catlin; vol. 1, p. 89. [2] Op. cit., p. 479. [3] Feb. 20, 1805.

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When our fathers had sat down, one of our number, Wounded-face, rose and said, "Well, comrades and women friends, listen. We have brought our food here, and we wish to select our fathers tonight. Do each of you rise and set your food before your father." Then each of us rose, picked up his kettle, and walked past the door-side of the fireplace to his father. I picked out one of my clan fathers and gave him my kettle; then I returned to my place. Black-head, who had watched my movements, then came forward and brought her kettle to the man indicated as my father. Those purchasers who had no clan fathers among the sellers selected anyone they pleased for their individual father. The fathers ate of the food, leaving some for their wives, who emptied the kettles and returned them to their husbands. Then Good-bear called me by name and said, "Come, son, and get your kettle." I went towards him and stood before him. Then Good-bear prayed to the supernatural powers: "I have gone through the Oki'pɛ ceremony myself and have undergone great hardships for your sake. In other ceremonies I have also undergone suffering. Before I underwent this suffering, I thought you would help me whenever I could not do something by my own power. I have no power to give honor marks, therefore I ask you to help me by securing honor marks for my son." Then I took both kettles and went back to my place, where I returned to Black-head her own kettle. Each of the boys acted in a similar way.

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After all of us had sat down, our fathers began to sing. They beat drums, but did not dance. They sang these words: —

"ma'kitã'ni máhuna."
"You, wake up and come."

[These words are supposed to be addressed to one's sweetheart.]

Four times they sang such songs. Then came a second set of songs, during which the fathers danced in their places. When they had done dancing, they addressed us in obsolete Mandan, saying, "Sĩ! i'karẽ'xoc!" ("Clan son, daylight is here!") Shot-foot, one of the fathers, rose to address us. He said, "Sĩ, we wish you to give us a ten nights' feast. This will give us time to prepare clothes for you."

[198]

This meeting took place in the evening, each of our female "friends" brought in a bundle of willows carried by means of a tump line and a second line passing around the breast. The bundles were piled up on the left side of the door (for one entering), and from time to time one of the boys would rise to keep up the fire. This purchase took place in midsummer. I was about 20 years old at the time.

On each of the ten nights the fathers came in in the same way as the first time, and the mode of procedure was the same. On the tenth night, the fathers said, "Sons, we have done; tomorrow we shall give you your things." On the following morning we came back to the same lodge and took our seats, but without any kettles. Our women "friends" also came in and sat down. This time, however, we were not ranged in an ellipse as before, but sat in the arc of a circle, with our "friends" in a similar arc from 4½ to 5 feet behind us. Until this day White-bear's house had served as the place of assembly for the fathers prior to their approach to our own meeting-place, but this morning each came from his own lodge, their wives carrying the clothes to be presented to the purchasers of the society. The fathers sat down in a curved line opposite to ours, and their wives took seats behind them. There were about thirty fathers; sometimes two boys had the same father. They planted two sticks into the ground in the rear (mana'ktata) of the lodge. One of the sticks was hooked, and its shaft was wrapped with otterskin; three eagle feathers hung down from the end of the hook. The second stick was straight and also wrapped with otterskin;

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575 to the top of the shaft there was fastened a single eagle feather. The bottom of
432 both staffs was blunt, but in order to secure them in their places a sharp-pointed stick
527 had been previously driven into the ground there. The fathers had two hand-
533 drums. The father nearest the door took the hooked stick (ma'nanū'skup) which
535 had been set at the left side of the straight stick (ma'nacū'cuk) for one facing the
293 door, and held it in his hand, while the last father in line took the straight stick. The two fathers standing nearest the staff-holders bore rattles. The drums were beaten, but before the rest of the fathers rose Shot-foot addressed us, saying, "Sons, you will keep our society, you will dance today." Then the fathers all rose, and the singing began. The staff-bearers advanced towards the boys, shouting, while the rest danced in their places. When the staff-bearers had got to the fireplace, the singing ceased. Each of the two officers then went to his son and led him to a spot between the two main posts on the right side of the lodge (for one facing the entrance), and gave his stick to his son. On this occasion Water-chief received the straight stick, and White-eye the bent stick. Next Shot-fox rose with his rattle and — this time without any singing or dancing — walked straight towards his son, Long-tail, whom he led to the place between the two posts used by the staff-bearers and presented with his rattle. The second rattler went through a corresponding procedure. Then the wives of the four officers who had just disposed of their emblems came forward to give the newly prepared clothes to their sons. The spectators, during all this performance, were restricted to the space between the door and the two front posts. From among these outsiders there now advanced the relatives of the new officers in order to pile up property before them or to present small sticks representing the promise to donate a horse.

575 The fathers said, "Now, sons, all of you stand up!" All the fathers then walked
432 towards us, followed by their wives, who carried the clothing and laid it down before
527 the sons. All of us put on the new clothes on the spot. The fathers who had
533 surrendered their rattles stood next to their sons, whom they wished to assist in
534 singing. The fathers who had owned the two officers' staffs said to the new incumbents: "There is an abundance of enemies; try to be brave!" The fathers who had carried rattles said the same to *their* sons, adding: "You will sing for your society, and I must teach you now. When you sing outdoors, you shall circle round to the right, and all will follow you." The first rattler accordingly led the procession in a circle until he had got near the second rattler, where he stopped and began to sing. The second rattler then also sang a song, shaking a tin-can rattle. In the procession outdoors the marchers walked at a very rapid pace.

Four female associates followed the men. These were called "Fox women" and had been appointed by their own families to assist the Foxes at their feasts and in the singing. They stood outside the circle formed by the society when dancing outdoors, but also took part in the dance. These women were unmarried, but later two of them, Pumpkin-blossom and Otter, married members of the society.

[349] After we had marched out of our lodge, we went to an open space east of the Round Corral.[1] Four of our fathers stepped inside the circle we formed there, and sang for us, beating their drums. We danced and then went home. This first public dance was the only occasion on which our fathers sang for us.

After a few days we came together and danced in Water-chief's lodge. During indoor performances we sat in an arc round the lodge and did not make use of our

[1] This is the structure described by Catlin and Maximilian as the "ark."

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regalia. After a few days spent in hunting we again gathered in our meeting-house 575
and had an abundance of food prepared. Some time in the spring we went outside
in our regalia and danced publicly, whereupon we would return to the lodge, dance 432
again, and then have a feast. This happened about three or four times a year. 527
Frequently members of the society went out at night in their ordinary costume and
walked from house to house, singing in front of every lodge. This was done to please 533
the young women of the village. The four Fox women did not take part in these 535
nocturnal processions, but other girls accompanied the men and sang with them.

In addition to the rattlers and the staff-bearers, there were two men distinguished
by their regalia from the rank and file. One of these wore a cap (mapa'caci wa'ah- [292]
ku`pe) of kit-fox skin, with the ears sticking up.[1] This officer acted as a sort of

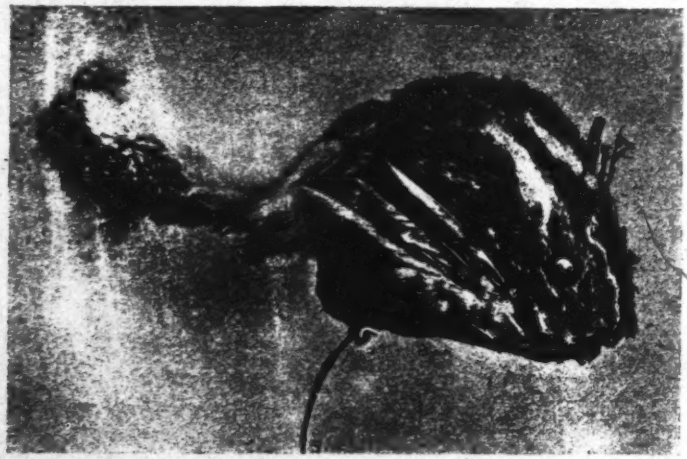

Fig. 10. (50.1–4232). Cap of Mandan Kit-Fox Society. Length, 127 cm.

spokesman for the society, but was not regarded as the chief of the organization. The other officer wore a head band decorated with kit-fox jaws (Fig. 17).

The Black Mouth society was regarded as friendly to our Kit-Fox group. They sat with us when we purchased the society and contributed to the food given to our fathers, though not to the property paid to them. When a new rattler did not at once learn his song and was accordingly afraid to try it, the Black Mouth officer bearing a "dance flag" took his place for a while. After the purchase the Black Mouths participated in our feasts. Sometimes we got together in the house of Two-chiefs, a Black Mouth; if any Black Mouth so desired he might then join us in the dancing.

Sometimes we gathered instead in the house of Foolish-soldier, a Stinking-Ear (see p. 294). Foolish-soldier acted as our herald. He would get up on the roof of a lodge and announce our meeting.

Bear's-ghost, Crow's-heart, Black-eagle, Sitting-crow, White-owl, and their associates should have bought the Kit-Fox society from us. As they did not do so, we still own it."

[1] Wounded-face's cap is shown in Fig. 10.

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Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for his individual father. Wounded-face did not know that Two-crows owned two kinds of emblems,— the foxskin cap to be used in dancing and in war, and the head band decorated with the lower kit-fox jaws which was to be worn when courting young women.[1] On the morning of the final transference of membership rights, Two-crows gave Wounded-face the cap and the head band, as well as a shirt, armlets and fringed buckskin leggings. In return, Wounded-face paid his father a fast black horse suited for use in the buffalo chase and some property contributed by his relatives. I get the impression that the transfer of special regalia was automatic; that is to say, if the father happened to own certain specific emblems the son buying his membership bought *ipso facto* the regalia owned by the seller. 575 432 292 608

Little-crow states that at the public performance the relatives of the new members brought presents, which were turned over to the fathers, either individually or collectively. In the latter case the fathers proceeded to distribute the gifts among themselves. 575 431 602

In marching outdoors, the first rattler took the lead and was immediately followed by the first hooked-staff officer; Wounded-face — presumably as the owner of the cap — occupied a central position in the line; the second rattler came last, being directly behind the second hooked-staff officer. The first rattler selected a site for the dance and turned in order to begin the formation of a circle there, at the same time raising his rattle and singing very loudly. There was always a special song to be sung prior to the drummers' entrance into the circle. This song was taken up by the second rattler. While the circle was forming, the singers went within the circumference and began to beat their drums. These singers were always the members' fathers, if I understood Wounded-face correctly, but it is probable that this applies only to the first public performance by a new group of members. The songs referred to warlike deeds, and the words were, according to this informant, invariably in the Dakota language. 575 527 535 533 [177]

Little-crow, as already stated, considers the head band decorated with kit-fox jaws as a badge common to all members; he further states that each Kit-Fox had a hair-pipe attached to the left side of the head and that six men had their hair roached. The hair-cutting was done by the men's fathers. Other informants agree that there were two rattlers and two officers with hooked-staffs, wrapped with otterskin and decorated at four points with feathers. Wounded-face says that sometimes the second staff-bearer carried a *straight* stick, in which case an erect eagle feather was secured to the top of the shaft. Little-crow states that rattles were used 575 [292] [302] 293

[1] This seems to conflict with Black-chest's account, which assigns these emblems to distinct officers, but Little-crow regards the kit-fox head band as a badge common to all members.

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575 outdoors, and drums within the lodge, but this contradicts the accounts
293 of others. The rattles were originally made of gourds, but in Wounded-face's time baking-powder cans had been substituted.

575 The Fox women, according to Wounded-face, were selected by the fathers' wives. Their robes were decorated with honor marks earned by their male associates. Little-crow mentioned only two Fox women, selected by the members themselves, and placed in the middle of the line of march.

575 The military element was obviously prominent in the society. Water-
703 chief relates that on the first public appearance of the new members, each one was called by name by the older men and women of the village and addressed as follows: "We have numerous enemies, you are the one that must fight and try to be a man. You must not forget this when you are in a fight." Later in the season, when Water-chief had struck a coup and received a wound, his people rejoiced, telling him, "That is what you desired to do, you are a brave man." Little-crow declared that the Kit-Foxes [535] did not dance very frequently,— in fact only when the approach of an enemy was reported. Wounded-face, while stating that dances were occasionally performed solely for the sake of amusement and in order to attract the attention of young women, also said that the Foxes danced very often in times of war, beginning as soon as a scout had brought the news of an enemy's approach. The Foxes tried to be brave in battle. Wounded-face recalls an occasion when a very brave enemy, surrounded by the Mandan, was holding his foemen at bay; finally, a Kit-Fox advanced towards him, struck him, and was killed. On another occasion a Kit-Fox together with four companions, set out on a war party. All five were killed by the enemy. This event was commemorated in song: "Once two enemies went into the bush. We surrounded them. One Kit-Fox went forward, and they killed him there."

575 The purely social features of the organization were also conspicuous. Public appearances were followed by feasts after the members had returned to their lodge. There were occasional horse parades by the Kit-Foxes, and the nocturnal processions referred to by Black-chest were of frequent occurrence.

Little Dog Society.

575 While Black-chest's and Wounded-face's group owned the Fox society,
424 their fathers were Little Dogs (mini'sinik ō'xat'e) [1]; that is to say, after

[1] The present meaning of the native term seems to be "colt society," but the older informants consider the above rendering correct in the context given and consider the society related to the Hidatsa Little Dog organization. Maximilian also translates *menise* "dog." A corresponding confusion was encountered in the case of the other Mandan societies named for the dog.

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575 292 the war-medicine given by the father to the son at the time of the membership sale. Wounded-face says that there were four sash-wearers.

Besides the sash-wearers, there were three (Wounded-face again speaks of four) officers wearing headdresses of buffalo-skin, decorated with sections of horns and strips of weasel skins. The headgears were secured by means of neckstrings, which also served to fasten them to the stretched rope at the time of the purchase (see p. 307). To the back of the headdresses there were attached strips of rawhide, about 3½ feet in length and decorated with quillwork. Horsetails, dyed yellow, were fastened to the tops of the horns, and occasionally hawk-wings were used for decorating the headdresses.

Wounded-face is alone in speaking of two additional officers bearing lances, that were decorated at the top and center with a bunch of short raven wing-feathers. The use of a feathered string with these lances was optional.

575 432 Yellow-hair mentions four drummers, each of whom gave his drum to his son at the time of the membership sale.

575 432 527 When the purchase had been consummated after the twenty nights' entertainment, the fathers, according to Yellow-hair, passed out of the lodge, lamenting the loss of their songs,—some of them even pretending to cry. On the other hand, the purchasers began to sing and rejoice. They went outdoors, formed a circle, and sang there. After a while they returned to their lodge, followed by their wives. Supper had been prepared. The new Crazy Dogs and their wives feasted, and then went home. On the next day the fathers invited the purchasers and their wives, gave them breakfast, and presented the men with clothes and regalia and the women with dresses. In return, the sons gave horses to their fathers. After this exchange of gifts, the members frequently assembled to practise the newly acquired [535] dance. The women never danced, but might take part in the singing. In dancing the Crazy Dogs jumped up with both feet and shook their rattles as an accompaniment to the drums. In a parade, the headdress-wearers took the lead, one marching behind the other; the sash-wearers had no fixed place.

575 535 Among the Mandan of Ruhptare Maximilian found that the Crazy[1] Dogs performed the Hot dance. After a large fire had been built, a number of glowing embers were scattered about, and then the boys, stripped of all clothing, danced on them with their bare feet. The hands, forearms, and feet of the performers were colored red. Sliced meat was boiling in a kettle over the fire. When the meat had been well done, the dancers put their

[1] Maximilian writes: "Die kleinen Hunde, deren Namen man nicht kennt, führen ihn auf." The modifying clause makes it clear that he is referring to the first society of his series.

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hands into the boiling water, took out some of the meat, and ate it at the risk of scalding themselves. Those coming last to the kettle had the worst of it, for they were obliged to dig down deeper into the water than their predecessors. During the dance the performers carried weapons and rattles in their hands. 575 535

I did not obtain any Mandan description of the Hot dance. My Hidatsa information is given on p. 253. 000

Crow Society.

Maximilian translates the name of the society Hä'derucha-O'chatä as "Crow, or Raven, band."[1] Its members were from 20 to 25 years old. Sometimes the younger men had not owned a society for half a year or longer. Then one of them went to a Hä'derucha and said to him, "Father, I am poor, but I wish to buy of you." If the father consented, the young men then received the raven feathers worn on the head by the members of the society, a double whistle formed of two goose wing bones fastened together, a drum, rattle, song, and dance. In this case, as in other societies, a head man decided whether the privileges sought by the younger men should be sold and he it was that the prospective buyers approached. Then a feast was prepared in the medicine lodge for forty nights, and the fathers were entertained at their sons' expense. Moreover, the purchasers surrendered their wives to the sellers every evening until the fathers were satisfied and abdicated their membership. 575 432 [837]

Half-shaved Heads.

My Mandan informants did not refer to this society (Ischohä-Kakoscho'chatä), though it was described by my Hidatsa friends (p. 272). According to Maximilian, the *Hä'deruch-O'chatä* bought the Half-Shaved Head dance from the Soldiers before they were old enough to become Soldiers. It is worth while to summarize Maximilian's detailed account of the purchase. 575

The buyers were to entertain the sellers for forty nights. On the first night the drum was beaten to call the negotiating parties to the medicine lodge. A fire was burning in the center, the women sat along the walls, while the white visitors and several noted Soldiers sat in front of the draught- 575 432 527

[1] Compare what is said above about the Hidatsa *hä'rerö'ka* society (p. 266).

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575 screen. Along the wall to the left sat the remaining Soldiers, about twenty-
432 five in number; while some were clad in fine garments, the majority dressed
527 in ordinary clothes. Some exposed the upper part of the body. In the
center three drummers seated themselves. The purchasers stood on the
right side of the fire. They were expected to give valuable presents to the
[837] Soldiers, to feast them and furnish them with tobacco for forty nights, and
every evening they were to offer them their wives. The sellers approached
the lodge amidst singing and drumming, and entered with their regalia.
These consisted of four lances, from 7 to 8 feet long, with an iron head point-
[293] ing downwards. The shaft was wrapped with broad bands of otterskin,
while pairs of otterskin strips were tied to the head and several other points
on the lance. Two of the lances were hooked, the two others were straight.
A fifth emblem consisted of a war club with iron point, which was colored
red and was decorated with several feathers in the back. Further there
were three lances, decorated alternately with black and white feathers, and a
beautifully ornamented bow and quiver. At first, the Soldiers remained
concealed behind the screen, and were merely holding these insignia so that
they projected into the main space of the lodge. After standing in this
position, singing and drumming violently, for a while, they entered, placed
the lances against the wall, and stuck the war club into the ground, near one
of the main pillars. Then they all took seats along the wall. While the
[576] singing and drumming was alternately renewed, the purchasers prepared
their pipes, and handed them to each of the guests in turn, for which act
they stooped, holding the mouthpiece towards the smokers. When the
guests had taken a few puffs, the purchasers did likewise, and then carried
the pipe in regular order, from right to left, to each of the sellers. This
smoking consumed considerable time; each guest, during this part of the
performance, was also presented with a little cake of sweet-corn. After
[535] about half an hour, two of the Soldiers rose and danced towards each other.
One of them seized the war club, and held it stiffly in his left hand, while the
right hung straight down. Bending the upper part of his body forward,
he jumped stiffly into the air with both feet; keeping time with the music.
The other dancer had fine decorations on his head and legs, and the upper
part of his body was likewise exposed. He seized one of the otterskin lances,
which he held, sloping, between his two hands, and both men then danced
or hopped towards each other. After several minutes the second performer
put the lance away, and took a seat, while all the other members gave the
war whoop and gave vent to exclamations of joy, amidst vigorous beating
of the drum. Then there was silence. The man with the war club ad-
dressed the buyers, calling them his "sons," and recounted several of his
martial exploits, whereupon he handed them the war club. One of the

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Fig. 11. Mandan Half-Shaved Head Dance. (Maximilian's Atlas.)

[p.311]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 purchasers then called him his "father," stroked his arm downwards with
432 his hand, took the weapon out of his hand, and again put it in its place.
527 The other dancer followed, recounted some of his deeds, and offered the lance to one of the buyers, who received it in the same manner as his predecessor, and then put it in its place. The periods of intermission were filled with smoking, singing and drumming, but no rattles were used. Two other Soldiers also rose, told of how they had stolen horses, medicine bundles, or other possessions, from the enemy, and gave two more insignia to the
[837] purchasers. After this had been done four or five times, the wives of the buyers rose. Four of them divested themselves of their robes, quickly seized the lances, and carried them, one after another, outside the lodge. After a while they brought them in again. This ceremony was repeated twice, the disrobed women stroked the arms of the strangers and fathers, put on their robes, and passed outside. The persons stroked were expected to follow them into the woods. This procedure resembled that of the Hidatsa in their medicine festival.[1]

575 Some time after the purchase Maximilian had occasion to observe the
535 dance of the new Half-Shaved Heads. About twenty of them entered the
302 Fort, threw off their robes so as to expose their gaily colored bodies, and formed a circle. They were elaborately decorated and carried the insignia of the dance, such as the otter-wrapped sticks. One man wore a bonnet with horns and ermine strips; another, mounted on horseback, was decorated with paint symbolizing the blood from wounds. Three Soldiers (= Black Mouths) served as musicians. As soon as the drum was beaten, the dancers protruded the upper part of their bodies, and leaped into the air with both feet, at the same time holding their guns ready for firing. Thus they danced in the circle for about a minute, then hallooed, rested for a while, and resumed their performance. After receiving some tobacco, they dispersed, put on their robes, and went to Ruptare, where they also danced among the Hidatsa.[2] A picture of the dance, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas is shown in Fig. 11.

Black Mouths.

575 The native name of this society is *ī'he pei'here ō'zat'e*, or *numā'k zarā'k*
625 *ō'zat'e*. Maximilian calls the members of this society "Soldiers." They form the third society in his list, but he states that all the higher classes

[1] Maximilian, II, 274–277.
[2] Maximilian II, 286–287.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 293 [302] Mouths were also called "Brave Men's society." They painted their faces black. The Goose women used the same paint, because their society was founded by the same man. When the time came for singing, the first rattler walked ahead and began to sing. Then the drummers took up the song. The next time the second rattler acted in the same manner. The raven-lance bearers had a special song and dance, during which they crossed each other's path.

575 726 554 533 535 One summer, when the society wished to give a performance because some Sioux were coming to fight, they stuck two tipi poles into the ground, and tied raven-lances to the top. One of the Soldiers cried, "Kā! Kā! Kā!" This was in imitation of crows. Then some other member went outside the lodge to see which one had cried. Returning, he said, "It is not a living raven, but the raven head on Skunk's lance." Skunk was a very brave man. The people said, "We will find out what this means." Then someone took the lances down, and returned them to their owners. Skunk said, "Hold on, my fellow-members, I wish to know the reason why my lance is singing." He got his associate to accompany him, and both lance officers then went through the village, singing this song: —

"kē'ka, nasarā'rōoca. mī' ō'watē'roc.
"Raven, you sing. I want to die.
"kika're e'henik, ō'ota."
"If you are afraid, go away."

The people hearing Skunk thought him braver than ever. They said to him, "This is your day, do what you wish best." The people encouraged Skunk. When the society started outdoors for a dance, Skunk took the lead, and again sang. A circle was formed. All the people came to watch the performance. Skunk once more sang his song. He danced alone, in a slanting line. These were the words of his song: —

"mīnukarité, nū'tamina'tare hū'miikāc. i'miinahèc."
"My friends, our enemies are numerous. I am used to it" [that is, to fight].

When the time came to fight, Skunk struck many coups. This is what the singing of the raven had indicated.

575 626 In addition to the police functions described by Maximilian, Wounded-face mentions a special duty devolving on the two pipe-bearers. When some villager wished to kill a fellow-tribesman, these officers filled up a pipe, and gave him presents in order to make him desist. Acceptance signified acquiescence in their wishes.

575 Water-chief became a Black Mouth, together with about twenty of his comrades, at thirty; generally, however, the members were older. They

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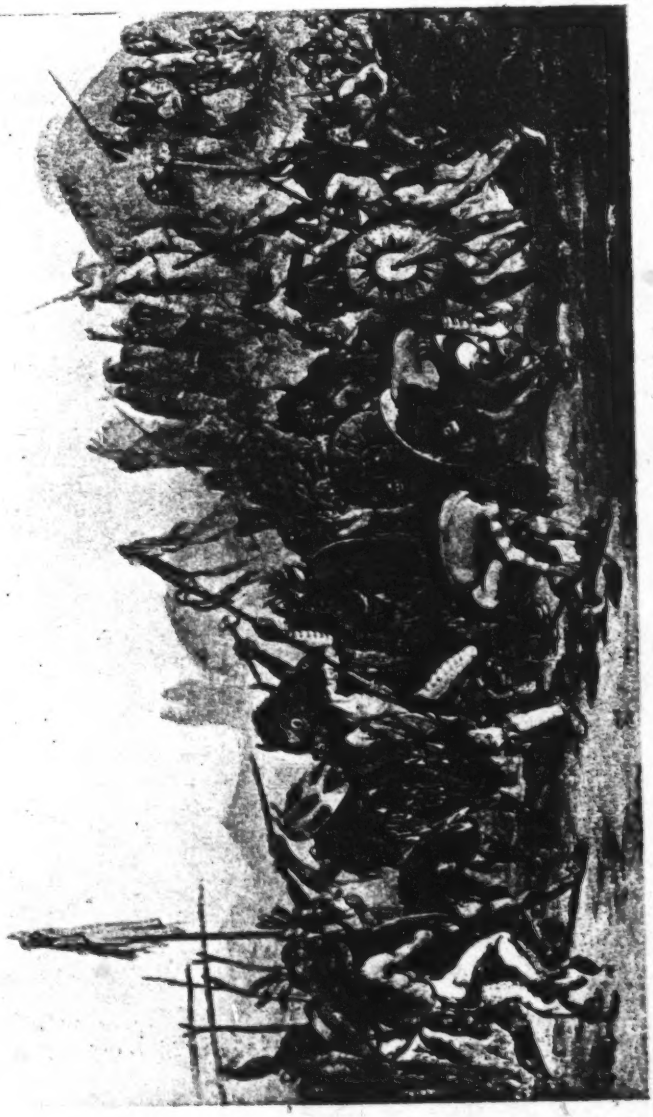

Fig. 12. Mandan Bull Dance. (Maximilian's Atlas.)

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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buffalo skin, the hair of which, however, was exposed from the wearer's forehead down to his chin. The spears carried were not very long, and the head pointed downwards. Shields rested on the left arm. Members who had struck enemies, carried guns; if they had used arrows to kill a foe, they carried arrows. Wounds received in battle were symbolized by red body paint. While dancing in the village, the Bulls jumped around. They pointed spears and guns at anyone approaching them, and thereby frightened young people. Those who had slain enemies enacted their martial deeds. For music they used a *large* drum. 575 292 [302] [534]

Calf-woman remembered seeing six women known as "Bull women" at a Bull performance; they sat behind the men singers. A woman brought in water, but only such members as had saved a woman's life were permitted to drink of it. This informant also remembers one of the mask-wearers pretending to spear people, and frightening the children, jumping up with both legs, and stamping one foot at a time. 575

The Bull dance described by Boller was not connected with the Bull society, but formed part of the Okipe as is obvious from comparison with Maximilian's and Catlin's accounts of this ceremony.[1] 535

Dog[1] Society.

Maximilian describes the emblem of the society as a stick a foot or a foot and a half in length, which was ornamented with blue and white beads, and to which a large number of animal hoofs were attached. To the front of the stick there was tied an eagle feather, to the lower extremity a piece of beaded leather. The members wore a large cap of colored cloth, to which were attached a great number of raven, magpie, and owl feathers, and which was further decorated with colored horsehair and weasel skins. Their whistle was large, and made from the wing bone of a swan. Three of them wore in the back sashes of red cloth similar to those of the Crazy Dog society. A bunch of owl, raven, or magpie feathers — and frequently a combination of all three — was attached to the head so as to hang down in the back. The three officers referred to were regarded as Real Dogs. People would throw a piece of meat into the ashes of a fire, or on the ground, and say, "You Dog, eat!" Then they were obliged to fall foul of it and to devour it like dogs or beasts of prey. 575 292 293

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[1] Boller, 169-205; Maximilian, II, 174, 178; Catlin, I, 164 f.

[1] The native name is mini's ō'xatsa. What was said above (p. 300) as to the translation of the word mini's applies in this case also. The equivalence of the Hidatsa Dog society cannot be doubted, and Maximilian's rendering of the Mandan name supports this view.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 A dance of the "Dog society" of Ruptare village that was witnessed by
535 Bodmer is described by Maximilian. After a performance in their lodge,
292 the members, twenty-seven or twenty-eight in number, advanced towards
302 the Fort. Some were clad in beautiful robes or bighorn-skin shirts, others in red cloth shirts, or blue and red uniforms. Some exposed the upper part of their body, on which coups were indicated in reddish-brown paint. In this connection the Prince speaks of *four* Real Dogs, all wearing huge bonnets of raven or magpie feathers, tipped with small white plumes, while in the center there was a fan of the tail feathers of a wild turkey or eagle. Round the neck each of these officers wore a long strip of red cloth, which extended down the back as far as the calves and was knotted in the middle of the back. Two additional officers wore similarly colossal bonnets of yellowish owl feathers, with dark oblique stripes, and one had a large, horned war-bonnet with a feathered streamer hanging down in the back. All others were ornamented with a bunch of thickly-set raven, magpie, or owl feathers, which was considered emblematic of the society. All members wore long whistles, and carried in their left arm some weapon, while the hoof rattle was held in the right hand. A circle was formed. In the center
[534] there was a large drum, which was beaten by five poorly clad musicians; in addition to these men, who were seated, two drummers stood on the side, beating hand-drums. After whistling in their places in accompaniment to the rapid and violent beats of the drum, the Dogs suddenly began to dance, dropping their robes to the ground. Several of them danced in the middle of the circle, leaning their bodies forward, jumping up some distance with both feet and coming down firmly on the ground. The other Indians danced without any attention to orderly arrangement, crowding one another, turning their faces towards the circle, and occasionally joining in lowering the head and upper part of the body.[1]

575 Wounded-face says that the rattle (wī'o oxerō're) consisted of a stick
534 covered with buckskin, to which the hoofs of young buffalo were attached.
292 There were two men with sashes, which were half green and half yellow,
301 and which were decorated with feathers. The skin cap had magpie feathers tied to it in a large bunch, and a white plume was fastened to every feather. Two eagle feathers, together with owl feathers, were also used for a head ornament. A large whistle was suspended from a wide strip of skin decorated with quillwork. The body was painted red. All the members carried the hoof-rattles, and sometimes they beat a drum or a log with them. All the Dogs were portly old men, slow in their dancing. Wounded-face thinks the society originated with the Hidatsa.

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[1] Maximilian, II, 309–311.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Old Dog Society.[1]

Maximilian, while not including this society in his list of age-classes, 561
states that the Old Dog-dance was one which the Dogs might buy of the 535
Bulls before they were permitted to become Bulls. The Old Dog dancers
painted their bodies white, and their hands red and black. They wore 575
a grizzly skin round the body, and on the head feathers which hung down 292
in the back.

Wounded-face knew nothing of the organization save the name. He had 575
heard that they dressed similarly to the Dogs.

Coarse Hair Society.

Wounded-face had only heard of this society (bacā'ca ō'xat'e) from his 575
grandfather. There was something sacred about it. A young man going 292
on the warpath promised the members to give them a dance provided he
performed some brave deed in battle. When dancing, the members dressed 554
up. On the head they placed a piece of scalp from a buffalo head of the 726
size of a human scalp. Hair was attached to the scalp so as to hang over 714
the members' faces. They put honor marks on their clothes. The left leggings were painted red up to the knee, and black marks were put round the lower legs as a sign that the wearer had struck many enemies. Leaders in war who had killed enemies tied human hair to the leggings. For each enemy struck in war, a member put one feather on his head. If he had been wounded by an arrow, the split feather from an arrow, dyed red, was worn on the head. A gun wound was indicated by a stick about 9 inches in length, and whittled at the lower end so that the shavings remained on the stick. The young warrior providing for the entertainment of the performers filled a pipe for them, and, if possible, presented them with horses or eagle feather bonnets. He asked them to pray for him. All the older men rejoiced in such a feast.

It is possible, but by no means certain, that this society corresponds to 575
Maximilian's As-Cho'h-O'chatā (Ascho'-O'chatā). On the 23rd of December, 1833, a large number of Indians visited the Fort, led by fourteen mem- 292
bers of this society from the village of Ruptare. The entire head was 535
covered with a wig of long, flat braids of hair, which fell over the face, completely hiding it. Feathers of the owl, raven, and of birds of prey,

[1] minis' xixe' ō'xat'e.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 each tipped with a thick white plume, adorned the head. One member
292 carried a beautiful fan of white feathers, and wore on the head a complete
535 swan's tail, each feather of which was decorated with dyed horsehair. The
[293] members wrapped themselves completely in their robes, and carried bow-lances trimmed with feathers, colored cloth, glass beads, and the like; most of them had fox skins attached to their heels. Several men beat a drum, while the rest formed a circle and imitated the sound of buffalo bulls. After they had danced for a while, the spectators threw a quantity of tobacco down for them, whereupon they departed for the village in the woods, taking off their wigs on the way. In another place, the Prince mentions rattles as well as drums, and states that the bow-lances were also decorated with bear guts.[1]

Black-Tail Deer Society.

575 All the old men above fifty were, according to Maximilian, members of
561 the Black-Tail Deer organization (cu'psi ō'xat'e). Two female attendants
301 cooked and served fresh water during a dance. All of the men wore a
554 wreath of grizzly claws round the head, and displayed their honor marks in the form of feather head ornaments, braids of hair on arms and legs, scalps, painting, etc.

575 Wounded-face says that the organization originated on the Bad Creek,
773 near the Heart River. One day two young men with arrows stayed on a high wooded hill by the Creek. They dug a deep pit, put sticks across, and covered them with grass. They wanted to snare some animals. One morning one of the men went towards the trap. As he drew close, he heard signs of a trapped animal. He was glad, looked inside, and saw that he had caught a large and very fat black-tail deer. He fitted an arrow to his bow, but the deer said, "Don't shoot me." "Why not?" "You are my son, you must not shoot me. Make a path for me to get out." The young man obeyed, and the buck got out. Then he said, "You are a young man, and I know what you desire: honor marks. I have the power to give them to you, but you have many other fathers, who will instruct you later." He stretched his legs, jumped away, and went some distance. Then he stretched his legs again, and sang a song. When his song was ended, he went towards a wooded hill. The young man knew there was a house there. It belonged to the Deer, and the door closed with a thud. The house was the Black-Tail lodge.

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[1] Maximilian, II, 145f., 281f.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Gun Society.

575 Hides-and-eats says that in the Gun society (Mandan: ĭ'rupe ō'xat'e) [608] there was no adoption. Three men who had guns for their personal medi- 535 cine went round the village, selecting young girls for the dance. The girls combed their hair loose, stuck feathers in the back like the Skunks,[1] put on their beaded belts and mountain-sheep dresses, and entered an earth-lodge, where they ranged themselves in the arc of a circle. The three men were seated between the fire and the screen between the two main poles facing the door; they were the singers and drummers. The girls danced up and down in their places, seating themselves when a song ended and rising to [782] dance when a new one was intoned. At the close of each song one of the three men expressed the following prayer: "My sacred gun, I pray to you, I wish to conquer my enemies." One of the men rose, impaled food on a stick, and cast it into the fire as an offering to the guns. After a prayer, food that had been previously prepared was distributed among the members. This food must all be eaten on the spot; it was not permissible to take any of it away. At the close of the performance sweetgrass was placed on a potsherd with some charcoal and burnt for incense. One of the men went round with the sherd, beginning at the right side of the door, and smoked each member in turn.

Sometimes the dance was performed, not in an earth-lodge, but outdoors in the village. The Gun women danced only during one month in the summertime. The next year the three men selected other young girls or young married women for the performance.[2] The object of the ceremony was to prevent the recurrence of losses from the enemy.

From the statements quoted it appears doubtful whether the Gun "society" was really a society, though the same term *ō'xat'e* is applied to it as to the other organizations.

River Women Society.

575 The River Women society (pasa'mĭ'he ō'xat'e) is called "Grass Crown society" (mikā'kikii) by the Hidatsa.

The following origin legend had been heard by Hides-and-eats:

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[1] Maximilian says they wore eagle plumes.

[2] Big-cloud, Bull-horn, and White-young-bear are said to have reörganized this society before the time of the smallpox.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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younger women called them and offered them property. "Then we adopted them and called them our daughters." Sometimes it happened that a single individual wished to join. In such a case she might buy a head band from a father's sister and become an additional member without replacing anyone. This, however, was not the regular way of entering the society. 575 432 [608]

In Hides-and-eats' time, there were two male head-singers, who called in five young men and taught them to sing, for which they received a compensation and were called "fathers" by the young men. From another statement by the same authority it would appear that the five men bought the right of singing and drumming from their predecessors in very much the same way as the young women bought the right to membership. 868 432

The officers of the society included a leader wearing a necklace of bear claws attached to otterskin; a rear officer with the same badge; and two middle officers with a loose-fitting white-shell necklace hanging down a few inches below the neck in front. There was one special member who surrendered to the society her earth-lodge to dance in; in Hides-and-eats' time this member's name was One-corn-seed. Calf-woman, who was one of the officers wearing a shell necklace, kept the dance-lodge, because her parents loved her dearly and never refused her anything. The ceremonial dance lasted four nights, the actual dancing beginning before sunset. The members were expected to remain in the earth-lodge during these four nights.[1] Some women, however, would clandestinely absent themselves and go home. As soon as the other members discovered their absence, they went to the woman's house, and sang outside, "Our friend, get up and come out here again." The drummers beat their drums, and the members, if necessary, seized the truant and brought her back to the dance lodge by force. The close of the performance was marked by a cleansing ceremony. The musicians tied together peppermint (?) stalks, and with these they brushed the members' bodies, from the shoulders down. The object of this was to remove the mysterious (xo'pinic) properties with which the members were endowed while dancing. In Calf-woman's time only one man, Bad-shirt performed this ceremony; he was paid with calico goods and food. Painted-up said the brusher was the singer of the Bird ceremony. The ceremonial cleansing took place only after the performances of the three *sacred* women's societies, that is, the River women, Goose women and White Buffalo women organizations. 575 301 527 535 [783]

Two-chiefs said that during the four nights' performance the head bands were suspended from a rawhide rope passing round the earth-lodge, and 575

[1] That is to say, they were not to sleep with their husbands. But if any member had a little child at home, she might go there to attend to its wants. In this case she was brought back to the lodge before daybreak.

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happened to be an officer, her badge and office were simply transferred to the purchaser. 000

The Hidatsa derived this society from the Mandan, but did not consider it so sacred as the Mandan did. Thus, as stated above, the Mandan rule was that women must not sleep with their husbands but must remain in the dance lodge during the four nights of the dance. Among the Hidatsa only the unmarried members regularly stayed in the dance lodge overnight. The married women went home, unless their husbands consented to let them follow the Mandan regulation. M H 575

Although Buffalo-bird-woman denied that the dance was regarded as sacred by her people, two features seem to have a religious character. In the first place, the annual performance took place after someone having had a dream to that effect had given a feast to the organization. Secondly, the performance closed with the ceremonial sweating and cleansing. The women took off their grass head bands, removed the feathers from them, piled up the crowns on the top of the sweat lodge, and went in to sweat, a few at a time. Then a man approached, holding in his hand some sagebrush with which he brushed off the sweat lodge, singing a song. All the women rose and faced him, and he brushed off the women, one by one, singing a song for each member. This power, my informant imagined, had been acquired by purchase. M H 575 783

Cheyenne[1] Women Society.

Young-beaver who had entered the River Women society when not quite 20, bought the Cheyenne Women membership, with some thirty of her comrades, at the age of a little over 30. She still considers herself a member of the Cheyenne Women society. M 575 561

The name of this organization (cō'ota mī ō'xat'e) indicates the source from which it is said to have been derived by the Mandan. Buffalo-bird-woman said that she first heard of the society about 56 years ago (1911), and that she joined as the only Hidatsa woman, her father having been asked for his consent. Any member who chose might assume men's garb. Some dressed like the Dakota, tying their front braids with otterskin, while others affected the long switches of the Crow. From two to four male singers were also chosen. At a dance of the organization a man carrying an eagle feather fan acted as leader, followed by the women in single file. At the intonation of a certain song, the leader held his fan close to his face, M 575 292 535

[1] One interpreter translated the native word "Sioux."

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 and turned about. The women also faced about. Then all advanced with
292 a kind of shuffling movement the right and the left foot alternately, without
moving from their places. The musicians, who carried drums, remained
●535 in the rear. All the women painted their faces and wore feathers in the back of the head in imitation of men. They formed a circle, and danced forward. A few women cut out strips of rawhide, decorated them with beads, and placed them on their heads as though they were horns. This is said to have been in imitation of the Cheyenne women. Some young men used to watch from the roofs of their lodges. Each member selected one of these men to dance with her. After a while his relatives brought calico and other goods for his partner in order to ransom him and absolve him from the necessity of continuing to dance with her.

575 In purchasing the society, the aunts or mothers presented dresses to
432 their nieces or daughters while they received horses in return.

White Buffalo Cow Society.

575 The White Buffalo Cow society (ptī'take ō'xat'e) was the highest of the women's societies known to the Mandan and Hidatsa, the Old Women's organization (p. 338) really belonging to another category.

575 Maximilian says that the members painted one eye any color they pleased
[304] (most generally azure) and had black tattoo marks between lips and chin.
527 Their headdress consisted of a broad strip of white buffalo cowhide worn in
292 hussar-cap fashion and topped with a bunch of feathers.[1] In Maximilian's day each Mandan village had its own White Buffalo organization, and he had occasion to observe the performances of both. In the performance of the Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch society, seventeen, for the most part elderly, women and two men with rattles and drums took part; one of the men was holding a gun in his hand. The leader was an elderly woman wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. In her right arm she carried cornucopia-fashion a bundle of twigs, tipped with plumes, with an eagle wing and a tin drinking vessel secured to the grip. Another woman also carried a bundle of this type. The men wore no headdresses. Of the women, two had skunk-skin head bands, the rest wore headdresses of white buffalo skin decorated
[302] in front with owl or raven feathers, which were partly dyed red. All women had the same face paint,— vermilion on the left cheek and eye, with two blue spots on the opposite temple, close to the right eye. The leader was wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. All the others except two, who

[1] Maximilian, II, 145–146.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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wore robes with the hairy side out, wore painted women's robes. They formed a circle, the men began to sing, and the women danced, taking up the tune at the same time. They waddled like ducks from side to side, raising each foot alternately higher than the other, but not moving from their position. After a while there was an intermission, which was again followed by a dance. Only the older members had the tattoo marks between mouth and chin that were distinctive of the society. When Maximilian saw the society from Ruptare perform, there were three male musicians, who also wore white buffalo skin headdresses, and none of the women carried bundles of twigs. Otherwise the equipment was the same as in the other dance.[1]

575 527 292 [304]

An illustration of the dance of this society, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas, is shown in Fig. 16.

Boller's account, which is of considerably later date, contributes the important fact that in case of a famine the White Buffalo Cow women were expected to make buffalo herds come nearer to the village. A similar function is attributed by Catlin to *male* Buffalo dancers wearing masks of a type described in this paper in connection with the Bull society (p. 315). Catlin, however, does not connect his Buffalo dance with any organization, for though only about ten or fifteen men are said to have joined in the dance at one time, he states that every Mandan was obliged to keep a buffalo mask for possible use in the buffalo-calling ceremony on the request of the chiefs.[2] Oddly enough, both Catlin and Boller say that their respective Buffalo dancers never failed to bring in the herds for the reason that they continued their performance for weeks if necessary, until buffalo were actually sighted. The dance of the society is thus described by Boller:

575 789 535

> The different members of the White-Cow band began to assemble, and soon the regular taps of the drum notified the camp that the great and important ceremony was in full progress. At one end of the lodge sat the musicians or drummers, three in number, who were untiring in their efforts, and aided their instrumentation by singing in a monotonous chanting strain. The women, comprising some forty or fifty matrons of the village, most of whose charms had unmistakably faded, were all attired in their quaintly garnished deer-skin dresses. Each had a spot of vermilion on either cheek, and their long black hair, which was carefully combed out and dressed with marrow grease, fell full and flowing over their shoulders, confined around the forehead with a fillet of white buffalo cow-skin. One of them had a white robe (which is very scarce, and held in the highest esteem) wrapped around her. This white robe was the common property of the band, and in its great power as a "medicine" were centred their hopes of bringing in the buffalo.[3]

[302] [778]

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[1] Ibid., 283–284, 297.
[2] Catlin, I, 127–128.
[3] Boller, 218–219.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mǎndan NQ17

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Fig. 16. White Buffalo Cow Women. (Maximilian's Atlas.)

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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I will now present my own field notes concerning this society.

Calf-woman joined the White Buffalo women when she was only two years old. Two years later she began to take part in the performances. Some old women went round the village looking for a female child whose parents loved her dearly and had given away a great deal of property in her honor. They came to Calf-woman's parents, and these consented to have their daughter adopted. Calf-woman's mother gave Brave-woman one pony and several blankets on this occasion. Whenever there was a dance of the society, a member named Berry carried the newly adopted infant on her back. There were about fifty women members, and five men acted as singers. The most important dance, or ceremony, of the society took place once a year, in the winter, on four successive nights. Sometimes the dance was kept up every other night for a month.

In preparation for the great ceremony the Indians of the village gathered an abundance of food and property for the society. Each member had a red line painted on the right side of her face, from temple to eyebrow, and a corresponding line in blue on the opposite side. All wore the buffalo skin caps emblematic of the organization and put on only on this special occasion, and moreover each member wore a buckskin dress and a robe. Three officers were distinguished by wearing their robes hair side out. The leader of this trio had a *white* buffalo skin robe; Calf-woman, who walked in the center, wore the best *calf* skin robe obtainable; and the third officer dorned a *coarse*-haired robe. In approaching the earth-lodge where the ceremony was to be performed, the members halted four times on the way. At each stopping-place they formed a circle and danced in the same way as they were going to do in the lodge. The leader entered the lodge and made a circuit walking to the right (for one entering). A buffalo cow skull had been placed at the foot of the northwestern main pole in the center of the lodge, and *ätüre* was burnt for incense in front of it. A special incense-burner conducted the leader to the skull, letting her stand there so that she might be smoked, and then led her back again to her place. The two other officers mentioned above were similarly treated. North of the door, in a line in front of that joining the two southern center poles, sat the five men singers. As soon as these musicians began to sing, the leader, the middle officer, and the rear officer danced forward to the fireplace, where they met, and then danced in position, facing the fire. After they had returned to their original places, a special song was chanted. This was a signal for the incense-burner to go dancing from member to member and remove their robes. Then the dancing began. Every song and dance was repeated four times. Towards the close of the first night's performance a particular song was intoned, indicating that the paint was to be rubbed off

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 the members' faces. Each performer carried a bunch of peppermint
527 (ca'xkuxke); at the sound of the special song a motion was made with this
535 peppermint as though to remove the paint. Then the paint was actually rubbed off with the end of the robe. When the dance was all over, the women lay down to sleep in the lodge. Some members fasted all night. Before dawn one of the musicians took a long cottonwood pole and attached all the headdresses and the middle officer's robe to it. The staff was then fixed above the doorway. This was a sign for a big wind and snow to drive the buffalo close to the village. At the foot of the pole a buffalo skull was deposited. A branch of a tree was painted red, and numerous offerings were tied to it and laid on the skull. Thereupon all the members rose, went out of the lodge, and passed through the village. They approached the lodge in exactly the same way as on the previous day, making four stops and dancing at each before reëntering the dance-lodge. During the day one of the officers prepared all the food required. In the evening the performance was repeated, the three officers dancing up to the buffalo skull, whereupon the entire society followed suit. In front of the skull they placed a ball of mashed corn and a pipe. The leader took the pipe and the
[576] corn-ball. First she offered the pipe to the musicians, who lit and smoked it. Then she distributed the corn among the members, beginning with the one nearest to herself and appropriating what remained in the end. Next, the rear officer distributed corn twice, and finally the middle officer made two distributions. The entire society represented a buffalo herd; the middle officer represented the best buffalo and was supposed to get all that remained of the corn. The second, third, and fourth nights were all similar so far as the feature just described was concerned. Throughout the performance there were numerous spectators.

For the last night each member had to prepare a basketful of mashed corn; sometimes this was attended to by the members' mothers. Additional food was also brought together. This night was distinguished by the use of gourd rattles. All the baskets of corn, as well as the robes and headdresses were placed round the skull. Next a song was sung four times, and incense was burned to smoke the robes. Then mashed corn was given to the spectators until the supply was exhausted. Some peppermint was tied to a short pole. The incense-burner dipped it into a dish of water, and sprinkled all the members beginning with the leader and stopping with the rear officer. The buffalo skull and the musicians were also sprinkled. A little of the food was attached to the end of a short stick and placed in the nasal cavities of the skull, then pointed to the four quarters, and finally set down on the fireplace. A feast terminated the performance. On this
[608 431] last night newly adopted members made valuable presents to their adoptive mothers.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Hidatsa NQ14

MH 575 177

In Calf-woman's day[1] the number of Mandan and of Hidatsa women in the society was about equal. The performances ceased, under Government pressure, when she was about fourteen years of age.

MH 575 561

Hides-and-eats, who had served as rear officer, added a number of details. It was necessary to join in the wintertime because that was the season of the dance. The person who called for the performance of the great ceremony must have dreamt to that effect and was expected to prepare a great deal of food for the society. If, during the dance, a member went outside from necessity and a young man pulled her blanket, she was obliged [788] to say, "A wolf has bitten me." If she failed to say this, she was in danger of actually being bitten by a wolf. The members were middle-aged, while the two women with skunkskin head bands were elderly. Hides-and-eats set the number of singers at four; their age was immaterial, but as a matter of fact they were about fifty or sixty. They were not identical with the musicians of other women's societies.

MH 575 527

Buffalo-bird-woman says that the White Buffalo women were in the habit of going round the village in the morning, passing every lodge. One member would enter a clan daughter's lodge, and say to her, "So-and-so's daughter, give me light" (that is, fire). The clan daughter sometimes [688] answered, and sometimes remained silent. Once the informant's aunt addressed her as stated above, and she replied, "Yes, I will do so." This signified her willingness to provide a feast. The next day, accordingly, she brought large quantities of food, invited all the White Buffalo women to her lodge, and entertained them. Further, she gave the society a new gun as a present, and a piece of calico to be smoked with incense. The incense-burner, who also had the privilege of taking off all the members' robes and hanging them up, took charcoal, made incense, seized the head of the rear officer's robe, shook it, proceeded to the middle officer's,[2] and repeated the same performance, as she finally did with the leader also. She made incense as she passed along the circle of members. Then the [535] dance began. All wore their crowns of white buffalo skin on this occasion. When the singers commenced to sing, the leader and the rear officer rose and danced forward, crossing each other's path. They returned to their places, and repeated the performance at the next two songs. At the fourth song, the middle officer also rose, and all three danced, facing alternately the fireplace and the door, and finally returning to their places. At the following song everyone rose and danced. After the dance was over, the little girl approached the rear officer with a corn-ball, and put a little of the corn

[1] This informant is about 58 years old (1910).
[2] This informant, like Hides-and-eats, speaks of but one little girl in the society.

515 which arises from their continual and severe labour. They generally let their nails grow long.

The rude inhabitants of the prairies are extremely agile and hardy; they bathe, in the depth of winter, in the half frozen rivers, and wear no covering on the upper part of their body under the buffalo robe; they are very expert swimmers, even when quite young. I have already 481 observed that all these nations swim in the same manner as the Brazilian Tapuyas, which is confirmed by other writers. They often practise riding on horseback without a saddle, and very swift horse-racing. They are capital marksmen with the bow; all their senses are remarkably acute.

561 Among the Mandans, and all the nations of the Upper Missouri, as well as among most of the North American tribes, there are certain bands or unions or companies, which are dis- 425 tinguished from the others, and kept together by certain external badges and laws. They have three kinds of war or signal pipes, which are hung round the neck, and are among the badges of the unions, which divide the men into six classes, according to their age. The first band or union is composed of "the foolish dogs," or "the dogs whose name is not known." They are young people from ten to fifteen years of age, and wear a pipe made of the wing bone of the wild goose, which is but small. When they dance, three of them have a long broad piece of red cloth hanging from the back of the neck to the ground. Like every distinct class they have a particular song to accompany their dance. Formerly old people likewise belonged to this band, but then they never dared to retreat before the enemy; this has since been changed to the present limited rule. If a boy desires to enter the first band in order to become a man, he goes to a member of it, addresses him by the appellation of father, and endeavours to purchase the rank, the dance, the song, and the war pipe belonging to it, for certain articles of value, such as blankets, cloth, horses, powder, ball, and the like, which the father pays for him. If this place is sold to him he has a right to all the distinctions and privileges of the band, and he who sold it thereby renounces all claim to it, and endeavours to purchase admission to a higher 561 band. The dances of the several classes are in the main very similar, but there is a particular 535 song belonging to each, and sometimes even a different step. The drum and schischikué must 534 likewise be purchased at the same time. The latter, among this band, is spherical, with a handle, and is made of leather.

561 The second class or band is that of the crows or ravens; it consists of young men from twenty to twenty-five years of age. Frequently young people are in none of the bands for half a year or more. They then go to the band of the crows, and say, "Father, I am poor, but I wish [534] to purchase from you." If the possessor agrees, they then receive the raven's feathers, which the band wear on their heads, a double war-pipe, consisting of two wing bones of a goose joined together, a drum, schischikué, the song and the dance. Each of these bands has a leader, called,

There are other dances[1] which are bought and sold, among which are a second dance of the third band, and the dance of the half-shorn heads, which the lower class may buy before they are old enough to belong to the third band. 424 535

The medicine feast, the insignia, and the dance belonging to the half-shorn heads, will be described in the sequel. Another dance is that of the old dogs. The band of the dogs can buy it of the buffaloes before they can become buffaloes, or purchase their admission to the fifth band. In the dance of the old dogs they paint themselves white, the hands red and black, and wear a girdle of the skin of the grizzly bear, and a bunch of feathers hanging down at the back of the head.

What is called the hot dance is now danced at Ruhptare, and by the Manitaries, who bought it from the Arikkaras. It is executed by the little dogs, whose name is not known. A large fire is kindled on the occasion, and a quantity of live coals is scattered on the ground, about which the young men dance, quite naked and barefooted. The hands, with the lower part of the arms, and the feet and ankles, are painted red. A kettle, with meat cut in small pieces, is hung over the fire; and when the meat is done they plunge their hands into the boiling water, take out the meat, and eat it, at the risk of scalding themselves. The last comers are the worst off, having to dip their hands the deepest into the boiling water. During the dance they have in their hands their weapons and the schischikué.

There is another dance which will be described in one of the following chapters. The dance is accompanied with the schischikué and drum, and is generally performed in a circle: the dancers carry in their hands the bow-lance,* which is adorned with feathers and bears' entrails.

The Mandan women are divided precisely in the same manner as the men, into four classes, according to their age. The youngest band is called "the band of the gun." They wear in their hair some down feathers of the eagle, and have their peculiar dance. 561

The next class into which they obtain admission by purchase is "the river class." When they dance they wear an eagle's feather, fastened to the fore part of the head with a piece of white ribbon, which projects on the left side, and is entwined round the quill with grass.

The third class consists of the women of the hay, who, when they dance, put on their best clothes, and sing the scalp song.

The fourth and last class is the band of the white cow. They paint one eye with some colour according to their taste, generally sky-blue. On the chin, this class, mostly consisting of aged women, tattoo themselves with black lines; round their heads they wear a broad piece of the skin of a white buffalo cow, something like a hussar's cap, with a tuft of feathers in it. A more

* The bow-lance is a large bow, to one end of which the iron point of a lance is fastened. It serves only for show, and is never used in serious combat. It is very handsomely adorned with eagle's feathers, frequently with red cloth also, and, when completely decorated, is worth from 100 to 250 florins. It descends from father to son, and cannot be obtained except at a high price. Sometimes a horse or more must be given for it.

1 [i.e., in addition to the dances the purchase of which acquires membership in an age-grade society. See category 561.--Analyst]

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72) the prisoners ere they can reach the village, and kill them; this is especially an act of revenge for
727 their husbands or sons who may have fallen in the battle.

When a young man desires to become a leader, or partisan, he first gains, by gifts, the favour
72) of the other young men, and then dedicates a medicine pipe, which is a plain, unornamented
555 tube. This ceremony is accomplished by a four days' fast, and supplications for assistance to the lord of life, the first man, &c. &c., and other supernatural beings. He then addresses the young men, and calls upon them to give him their support in his undertakings. If a sufficient number testify their readiness to accompany him in a warlike expedition, and such an expedition is determined upon, they dance and feast in the medicine lodge for several successive nights, from whence, too, they generally march off by night. The women never accompany these expeditions. On setting out the men are badly clothed, and not painted. They do not depart in a body, but, for the most part, singly, or in small detatched parties. At a certain distance from the village they halt upon an isolated hill, open their medicine bags, and, after the men have sat down in a
[787] circle, the partisan produces his medicine pipe, which all present smoke; the person who smokes last, then spreads his medicines on the ground, or hangs them up, and from them foretels the fate of the expedition. The Indians manifest much gravity and decorum on solemn occasions like these.

727 When the warriors return from their expedition, the scalps are carried on in advance, on
535 high poles: if they have performed any exploits, they paint their faces black; very frequently the whole body is thus disfigured. The women and children go out to meet them, and they enter the village performing the scalp dance. This dance is then repeated four successive nights in the medicine lodge, and is subsequently danced in the open space, in the centre of the village. If the campaign took place in the spring, it is danced, at intervals, till the fall of the leaf in autumn; if in the autumn, it is danced till spring, but should any of the nation be killed in the interim all festivities immediately cease. In the scalp dance the Indians paint themselves in various ways, form a semicircle, advance, and retreat amid the din of singing, the beating of the drum and schischikué. The wives of those men who have obtained the scalps carry them on long rods.

555 All the distinguished deeds performed by a war party are placed to the account of the partisan. All the scalps that are taken belong to him, and also the horses that they have captured. He who has killed an enemy is a brave man, and reckons one exploit; but the partisan rises the highest on that account, even though he had not seen any of the enemies who have been slain. When he returns home, the old men and women meet, and sing the scalp song, on which he must make them all presents of value. He gives away all the captured horses, and valuable articles, and is afterwards a poor man, but his reputation is great. Successful partisans afterwards become chiefs, and are highly respected by their nation. The Indian youths go to war when they are only fourteen or fifteen years of age. Sometimes they make excursions on horseback in the winter.

folded up for a pillow, and others drawn over them instead of blankets. 352
These beds, as far as I have seen them (and I have visited almost every lodge in the village), are uniformly screened with a covering of buffalo or elk skins, oftentimes beautifully dressed and placed over the upright poles or frame, like a suit of curtains; leaving a hole in front, sufficiently spacious for the occupant to pass in and out, to and from his or her bed. Some of these coverings or curtains are exceedingly beautiful, being cut tastefully into fringe, and handsomely ornamented with porcupine's quills and picture writings or hieroglyphics.

From the great number of inmates in these lodges, they are necessarily 352
very spacious, and the number of beds considerable. It is no uncommon 353
thing to see these lodges fifty feet in diameter inside (which is an immense room), with a row of these curtained beds extending quite around their sides, being some ten or twelve of them, placed four or five feet apart, and the space between them occupied by a large post, fixed quite firm in the ground, and six or seven feet high, with large wooden pegs or bolts in it, on which 353
are hung and grouped, with a wild and startling taste, the arms and armour of the respective proprietor; consisting of his whitened shield, embossed and [411]
emblazoned with the figure of his protecting *medicine* (or mystery), his bow and quiver, his war-club or battle-axe, his dart or javelin—his tobacco pouch and pipe—his medicine-bag—and his eagle—ermine or raven head-dress; and over all, and on the top of the post (as if placed by some conjuror or Indian magician, to guard and protect the spell of wildness that reigns in this strange place), stands forth and in full relief the head and horns of a buffalo, which is, by a village regulation, owned and possessed [535] ●
by every man in the nation, and hung at the head of his bed, which he uses as a mask when called upon by the chiefs, to join in the buffalo-dance, of which I shall say more in a future epistle

This arrangement of beds, of arms, &c., combining the most vivid display and arrangement of colours, of furs, of trinkets—of barbed and glistening points and steel—of mysteries and hocus pocus, together with the sombre and smoked colour of the roof and sides of the lodge; and the wild, and rude and red—the graceful (though uncivil) conversational, garrulous, story-telling and happy, though ignorant and untutored groups, that are smoking their pipes—wooing their sweethearts, and embracing their little ones about their peaceful and endeared fire-sides; together with their pots and kettles, spoons, and other culinary articles of their own manufacture, around them; present altogether, one of the most picturesque scenes to the eye of a stranger, that can be possibly seen; and far more wild and vivid than could ever be imagined.

Reader, I said these people were garrulous, story-telling and happy; this 000
is true, and literally so; and it belongs to me to establish the fact, and correct the error which seems to have gone forth to the world on this subject.

As I have before observed, there is no subject that I know of within the

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LETTER—No. 18.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

461 The Mandans, like all other tribes, lead lives of idleness and leisure; and of course, devote a great deal of time to their sports and amusements, 535 of which they have a great variety. Of these, dancing is one of the principal, and may be seen in a variety of forms: such as the buffalo dance, the boasting dance, the begging dance, the scalp dance, and a dozen other kinds of dances, all of which have their peculiar characters and meanings or objects.

535 These exercises are exceedingly grotesque in their appearance, and to the 533 eye of a traveller who knows not their meaning or importance, they are an 198 uncouth and frightful display of starts, and jumps, and yelps, and jarring gutturals, which are sometimes truly terrifying. But when one gives them a little attention, and has been lucky enough to be initiated into their mysterious meaning, they become a subject of the most intense and exciting interest. Every dance has its peculiar step, and every step has its meaning; every dance also has its peculiar song, and that is so intricate and mysterious oftentimes, that not one in ten of the young men who are dancing and singing it, know the meaning of the song which they are chanting over. None but the medicine-men are allowed to understand them; and even they are generally only initiated into these secret arcana, on the payment of a liberal stipend for their tuition, which requires much application and study. There is evidently a set song and sentiment for every dance, for the songs are perfectly measured, and sung in exact time with the beat of the drum; and always with an uniform and invariable set of sounds and expressions, which clearly indicate certain sentiments, which are expressed by the voice, though sometimes not given in any known language whatever.

They have other dances and songs which are not so mystified, but which are sung and understood by every person in the tribe, being sung in their own language, with much poetry in them, and perfectly metred, but without rhyme. On these subjects I shall take another occasion to say more; and will for the present turn your attention to the style and modes in which some of these curious transactions are conducted.

535 My ears have been almost continually ringing since I came here, with the din of yelping and beating of the drums; but I have for several days

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past been peculiarly engrossed, and my senses almost confounded with the stamping, and grunting, and bellowing of the *buffalo dance*, which closed a few days since at sunrise (thank Heaven), and which I must needs describe to you. 535 ●

Buffaloes, it is known, are a sort of roaming creatures, congregating occasionally in huge masses, and strolling away about the country from east to west, or from north to south, or just where their whims or strange fancies may lead them; and the Mandans are sometimes, by this means, most unceremoniously left without any thing to eat; and being a small tribe, and unwilling to risk their lives by going far from home in the face of their more powerful enemies, are oftentimes left almost in a state of starvation. In any emergency of this kind, every man musters and brings out of his lodge his mask (the skin of a buffalo's head with the horns on), which he is obliged to keep in readiness for this occasion; and then commences the buffalo dance, of which I have above spoken, which is held for the purpose of making "buffalo come" (as they term it), of inducing the buffalo herds to change the direction of their wanderings, and bend their course towards the Mandan village, and graze about on the beautiful hills and bluffs in its vicinity, where the Mandans can shoot them down and cook them as they want them for food.

For the most part of the year, the young warriors and hunters, by riding out a mile or two from the village, can kill meat in abundance; and sometimes large herds of these animals may be seen grazing in full view of the village. There are other seasons also when the young men have ranged about the country as far as they are willing to risk their lives, on account of their enemies, without finding meat. This sad intelligence is brought back to the chiefs and doctors, who sit in solemn council, and consult on the most expedient measures to be taken, until they are sure to decide upon the old and only expedient which "never has failed." 535 224

The chief issues his order to his runners or criers, who proclaim it through the village—and in a few minutes the dance begins. The place where this strange operation is carried on is in the public area in the centre of the village, and in front of the great medicine or mystery lodge. About ten or fifteen Mandans at a time join in the dance, each one with the skin of the buffalo's head (or mask) with the horns on, placed over his head, and in his hand his favourite bow or lance, with which he is used to slay the buffalo. 535

I mentioned that this dance always had the desired effect, that it never fails, nor can it, for it cannot be stopped (but is going incessantly day and night) until "buffalo come." Drums are beating and rattles are shaken, and songs and yells incessantly are shouted, and lookers-on stand ready with masks on their heads, and weapons in hand, to take the place of each one as he becomes fatigued, and jumps out of the ring.

During this time of general excitement, spies or "*lookers*" are kept on the

●535 hills in the neighbourhood of the village, who, when they discover buffaloes in sight, give the appropriate signal, by "throwing their robes," which is instantly seen in the village, and understood by the whole tribe. At this joyful intelligence there is a shout of thanks to the Great Spirit, and more especially to the mystery-man, and the dancers, who *have been the immediate cause of their success!* There is then a brisk preparation for the chase—a grand hunt takes place. The choicest pieces of the victims are sacrificed to the Great Spirit, and then a surfeit and a carouse.

These dances have sometimes been continued in this village two and three weeks without stopping an instant, until the joyful moment when buffaloes made their appearance. So they *never fail*; and they think they have been the means of bringing them in.

Every man in the Mandan village (as I have before said) is obliged by a village regulation, to keep the mask of the buffalo, hanging on a post at the head of his bed, which he can use on his head whenever he is called upon by the chiefs, to dance for the coming of buffaloes. The mask is put over the head, and generally has a strip of the skin hanging to it, of the whole length of the animal, with the tail attached to it, which, passing down over the back of the dancer, is dragging on the ground (PLATE 56). When one becomes fatigued of the exercise, he signifies it by bending quite forward, and sinking his body towards the ground; when another draws a bow upon him and hits him with a blunt arrow, and he falls like a buffalo—is seized by the bye-standers, who drag him out of the ring by the heels, brandishing their knives about him; and having gone through the motions of skinning and cutting him up, they let him off, and his place is at once supplied by another, who dances into the ring with his mask on; and by this taking of places, the scene is easily kept up night and day, until the desired effect has been produced, that of "making buffalo come."

The day before yesterday however, readers, which, though it commenced in joy and thanksgiving to the Great Spirit for the signal success which had attended their several days of dancing and supplication, ended in a calamity which threw the village of the Mandans into mourning and repentant tears, and that at a time of scarcity and great distress. The signal was given into the village on that morning from the top of a distant bluff, that a band of buffaloes were in sight, though at a considerable distance off, and every heart beat with joy, and every eye watered and glistened with gladness.

224 The dance had lasted some three or four days, and now, instead of the doleful tap of the drum and the begging chaunts of the dancers, the stamping of horses was heard as they were led and galloped through the village—young men were throwing off their robes and their shirts,—were seen snatching a handful of arrows from their quivers, and stringing their sinewy bows, glancing their eyes and their smiles at their sweethearts, and mounting their ponies. * * *

* * A few minutes there had been of bustle and

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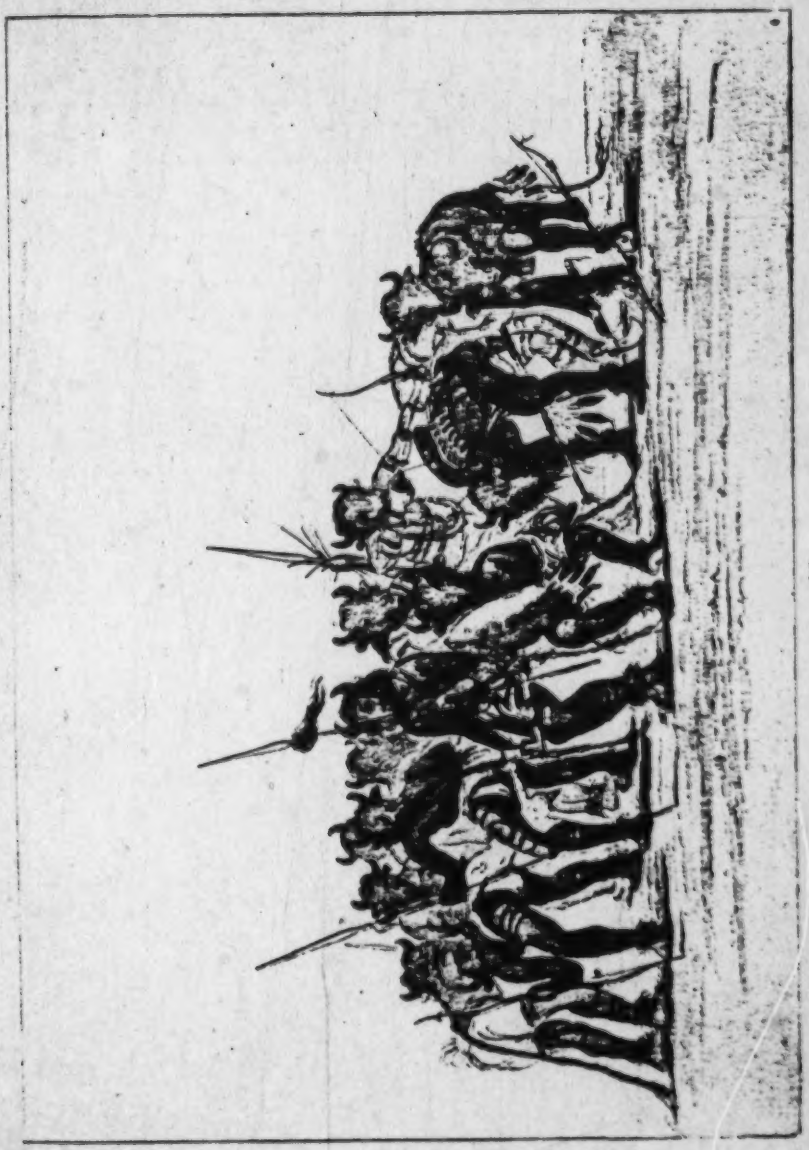

[facing p. 128]

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796 *medicine*, and could not be sold for any consideration; so I abandoned all
421 thoughts of obtaining anything, except what I have done by the *medicine* operation of my pencil, which was applied to everything, and even upon that they looked with decided distrust and apprehension, as a sort of theft or sacrilege.

Such then was the group, and such the appearance of the interior of the
796 medicine-lodge during the three first, and part of the fourth day also, of the Mandan religious ceremonies. The medicine-man with a group about him, of young aspirants who were under his sole controul, as was every article and implement to be used, and the sanctity of this solitary and gloomy looking place, which could not be trespassed upon by any man's presence without his most sovereign permission.

During the three first days of this solemn conclave, there were many very
796 curious forms and amusements enacted in the open area in the middle of the
535 village, and in front of the medicine-lodge, by other members of the community, one of which formed a material part or link of these strange ceremonials. This very curious and exceedingly grotesque part of their performance, which they denominated *Bel-lohck nah-pick* (the bull-dance) of which I have before spoken, as one of the avowed objects for which they held this annual fête; and to the strictest observance of which they attribute the coming of buffaloes to supply them with food during the season—is repeated four times during the first day, eight times on the second day, twelve times on the third day, and sixteen times on the fourth day; and always around the curb, or "*big canoe*," of which I have before spoken.

This subject I have selected for my second picture, and the principal actors in it were eight men, with the entire skins of buffaloes thrown over their backs, with the horns and hoofs and tails remaining on; their bodies in a horizontal position, enabling them to imitate the actions of the buffalo, whilst they were looking out of its eyes as through a mask (PLATE 67).

The bodies of these men were chiefly naked and all painted in the most extraordinary manner, with the nicest adherence to exact similarity; their limbs, bodies and faces, being in every part covered, either with black, red, or white paint. Each one of these strange characters had also a lock of buffalo's hair tied around his ancles—in his right hand a rattle, and a slender white rod or staff, six feet long, in the other; and carried on his back, a bunch of green willow boughs about the usual size of a bundle of straw. These eight men, being divided into four pairs, took their positions on the four different sides of the curb or big canoe, representing thereby the four cardinal points; and between each group of them, with the back turned to the big canoe, was another figure, engaged in the same dance, keeping step with them, with a similar staff or wand in one hand and a rattle in the other, and (being four in number) answering again to the four cardinal points. The bodies of these four young men were chiefly naked, with no other dress upon them than a beautiful kelt (or quarts-quaw), around the waist, made of eagles

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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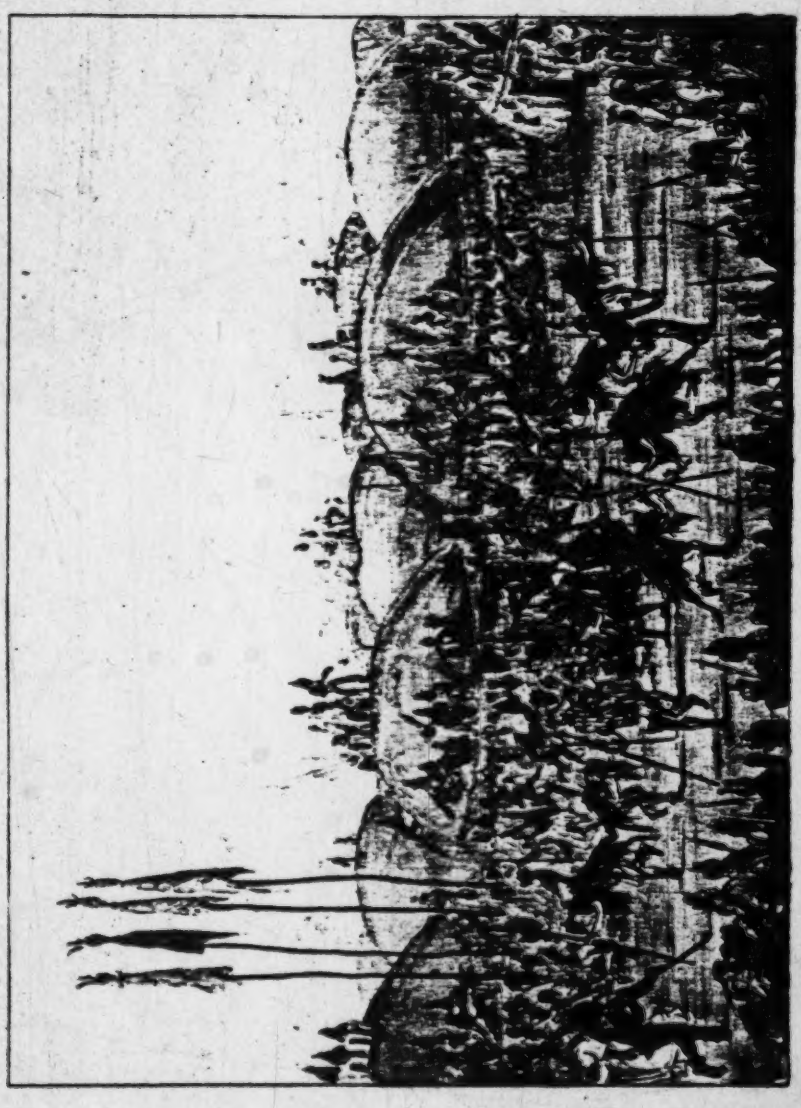

796
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[facing p. 164]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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quills and ermine, and very splendid head-dresses made of the same materials. Two of these figures were painted entirely black with pounded charcoal and grease, whom they called the "firmament or night," and the numerous white spots which were dotted all over their bodies, they called "stars." The other two were painted from head to foot as red as vermilion could make them; these they said represented the day, and the white streaks which were painted up and down over their bodies, were "ghosts which the morning rays were chasing away."

These twelve are the only persons actually engaged in this strange dance, which is each time repeated in the same form, without the slightest variation. There are, however, a great number of characters engaged in giving the whole effect and wildness to this strange and laughable scene, each one acting well his part, and whose offices, strange and inexplicable as they are, I will endeavour to point out and explain as well as I can, from what I saw, elucidated by their own descriptions.

This most remarkable scene, then, which is witnessed more or less often on each day, takes place in presence of the whole nation, who are generally gathered around, on the tops of the wigwams or otherwise, as spectators, whilst the young men are reclining and fasting in the lodge as above described. On the first day, this "*bull-dance*" is given *once* to each of the cardinal points, and the medicine-man smokes his pipe in those directions. On the second day, *twice* to each; *three times* to each on the third day, and *four times* to each on the fourth. As a signal for the dancers and other characters (as well as the public) to assemble, the old man, master of ceremonies, with the medicine-pipe in hand, dances out of the lodge, singing (or rather crying) forth a most pitiful lament, until he approaches the big canoe, against which he leans, with the pipe in his hand, and continues to cry. At this instant, four very aged and patriarchal looking men, whose bodies are painted red, and who have been guarding the four sides of the lodge, enter it and bring out the four sacks of water, which they place near the big canoe, where they seat themselves by the side of them and commence thumping on them with the mallets or drumsticks which have been lying on them; and another brandishes and shakes the *eeh-na-dees* or rattles, and all unite to them their voices, raised to the highest pitch possible, as the music for the *bull-dance*, which is then commenced and continued for fifteen minutes or more in perfect time, and without cessation or intermission. When the music and dancing stop, which are always perfectly simultaneous, the whole nation raise the huzza! and a deafening shout of approbation; the master of ceremonies dances back to the medicine-lodge, and the old men return to their former place; the sacks of water, and all rest as before, until by the same method, they are again called into a similar action.

The supernumeraries or other characters who play their parts in this grand spectacle, are numerous and well worth description. By the side of the

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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796 big canoe are seen two men with the skins of grizzly bears thrown over
535 them, using the skins as a mask, over their heads. These ravenous animals are continually growling and threatening to devour everything before them and interfering with the forms of their religious ceremony. To appease them, the women are continually bringing and placing before them dishes of meat, which are as often snatched up and carried to the prairie, by two men whose bodies are painted black and their heads white, whom they call bald eagles, who are darting by them and grasping their food from before them as they pass. These are again chased upon the plains by a hundred or more small boys, who are naked, with their bodies painted yellow and their heads white, whom they call *Cabris* or antelopes; who at length get the food away from them and devour it; thereby inculcating (perhaps) the beautiful moral, that by the dispensations of Providence, his bountiful gifts will fall at last to the hands of the innocent.

During the intervals between these dances, all these characters, except those from the medicine-lodge, retire to a wigwam close by, which they use on the occasion also as a sacred place, being occupied exclusively by them while they are at rest, and also for the purpose of painting and ornamenting their bodies for the occasion.

During each and every one of these dances, the old men who beat upon the sacks and sing, are earnestly chanting forth their supplications to the Great Spirit, for the continuation of his influence in sending them buffaloes to supply them with food during the year; they are administering courage and fortitude to the young men in the lodge, by telling them, that "the Great Spirit has opened his ears in their behalf—that the very atmosphere all about them is peace—that their women and children can hold the mouth of the grizzly bear—that they have invoked from day to day O-ke-hee-de (the Evil Spirit)—that they are still challenging him to come, and yet he has not dared to make his appearance!"

796 But alas! in the last of these dances, on the fourth day, in the midst of all their mirth and joy, and about noon, and in the height of all these exultations, an instant scream burst forth from the tops of the lodges!—men, women, dogs and all, seemed actually to howl and shudder with alarm, as they fixed their glaring eye-balls upon the prairie bluff, about a mile in the west, down the side of which a man was seen descending at full speed towards the village! This strange character darted about in a zig-zag course in all directions on the prairie, like a boy in pursuit of a butterfly, until he approached the piquets of the village, when it was discovered that his body was entirely naked, and painted as black as a negro, with pounded charcoal and bear's grease; his body was therefore everywhere of a shining black, except occasionally white tings of an inch or more in diameter, which were marked here and there all over him; and frightful indentures of white around his mouth, resembling canine teeth. Added to his hideous appearance, he gave the most frightful shrieks and screams as he dashed through the village

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture. 000

CRITERIA OF ACCULTURATION

There are many superficial criteria that could be selected to divide the population of Lone Hill into groups differing in degree of acculturation, but I prefer one that has an essential connection to the Indian value system. One well-known basic value that contrasts sharply with our general American ethic is the Indian value of generosity (Bruner 1953:23–24). This value difference has a readily observable behavioral manifestation—participation in the Indian ceremonial dances. The Indian "give-away" dance is now a secular affair, featuring Indian songs and dances and the giving of war bonnets, horses, cattle, blankets, and money as gifts to prescribed relatives, distinguished visitors, societies, and the needy. It is one of the few remaining public gatherings in Lone Hill where generosity and other Indian values are expressed, reaffirmed and maintained. The following statement by an informant aptly characterizes the emotional overtones of the dance (quoted in Merrill 1951:27): 177 431 535

> After the people get all painted up—this is decoration, like lipstick—and the tom-toms get going and people chanting and singing (demonstrated with a rapid beat of his feet and an ai-ai-ai chant), people get all worked up and excited. Then someone gets up and makes a speech and gives away a horse, or a beef, or two beefs, and everyone gets going and there's a lot of giving-away and many people end up with little or nothing. . . . They say that property doesn't mean anything; what counts is being friendly and generous and all friends of one another. . . . People shout and praise a person (who gives away a lot) and they talk about it long afterwards. [554]

Not every person in Lone Hill attends the dance. Some families come with all their children, stay throughout the night, and donate generously. For them the dance is an impressive and public mechanism of socialization to Indian ways. Others virtually never attend the ceremonials, as they are more concerned with the accumulation than the giving of goods. As a result, they and their children do not participate in the one public ritual that best symbolizes and makes legitimate the traditional Indian values. One acculturated Indian man had this to say about the ceremonials: 431 535 184 [556] 177

> I never go to any dances or pow-wows. These dances are the fellows breeding grounds; they go there to drink, to raise hell, and they are not Christians. A lot of these fellows . . . go there to take some gal out . . . and get her drunk. That's all these dances are for, as far as the younger people are concerned. The older people go there to get these donations; something for nothing. . . . They take their kids there and the kids don't learn much from that. They give things away and that money can be used to educate their children, buy provisions and things. It seems like with an Indian they think they are in the spotlight; it makes them feel good. I never believed in it simply because I know most families and they can't afford to do that.

Participation in the Indian ceremonials was applied to the population of Lone Hill as a criterion of acculturation. In order to define the population, it was first necessary to delimit the community, the sample, and the unit of 621 121 161

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

about one mile in length, he found the banks on the north side high with coal occasionally, and the country fine on all sides, but the want of wood and the scarcity of game up the river, induced us to decide on fixing ourselves lower down during the winter. In the evening our men danced among themselves to the great amusement of the Indians. 622 648

Mandan's Speech. "Wednesday, 31st. A second chief arrived this morning with an invitation from the grand chief of the Mandans, to come to his village where he wished to present some corn to us and speak with us. Captain Clarke walked down to his village. He was first seated with great ceremony on a robe by the side of the chief, who then threw over his shoulders another robe handsomely ornamented. The pipe was then smoked with several of the old men who were seated around the chief. After some time he began his discourse by observing that he believe what we had told him, and that they should soon enjoy peace, which would gratify him as well as his people, because they could then hunt without fear of being attacked, and the women might work in the fields without looking every moment for the enemy, and at night put off their moccasins, a phrase by which is conveyed the idea of security, when the women could undress at night without fear of attack. 622 648 537

"As to the Ricaras, he continued, in order to show you that we wish peace with all men, that chief, pointing to his second chief, will go with some warriors back to the Ricaras with their chief now here and smoke with that nation. When we heard of your coming, all the nations around returned from their hunting to see you, in hopes of receiving large presents. All were disappointed and some discontented. For his part he was not much so, though his village was. He added that he would go and see his great father, the president. Two of the steel traps stolen from the Frenchman were then laid before Captain Clarke, and the women brought about twelve bushels of corn. After the chief had finished, Captain Clarke made an answer to the speech and then he returned to the boat, where he found the chief of the third village and Kagohami (the Little Raven) who smoked and talked about half an hour. After they left the boat the grand chief of the Mandans came dressed in the clothes we had given him, with 622 648

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

leaders of the hierarchy of older men; they were expected to co-operate for the general welfare of the village. They were entitled to wear a headdress of buffalo horns and ermine during council meetings, on various social occasions, and during peace-making discussions with neighboring tribes.

The Mandan informants thought that sons of chiefs were usually selected, since they were better trained and were exposed to sacred bundles which had proved their potency. From a study of Mandan lineages it was not possible to establish the accuracy of this opinion, since all lineages having chiefs except that of Four Bears were broken by the smallpox. In this lineage there was the following inheritance of chiefs: Good Boy was chief at Slant Village after the first smallpox epidemic and lived at Fort Clark for nine years as first chief, where he died; Four Bears, son of Good Boy, was chief for a number of years prior to 1837, when he died of smallpox; Bad Gun, son of Four Bears, was selected after he had sold his rights in the Black Mouth Society. The Mandan claim that Bad Gun was not a strong chief and attribute his selection to the fact that he was the son of Four Bears. Because he had acquired his father's sacred bundle[5] which had brought Four Bears unique success in many war expeditions, the people thought he would be lucky.

The Mandan endeavored to select two men for chiefs whose interests were complementary. They felt that one chief should be an individual gifted in warfare and capable of repelling the enemy from the immediate environment of the village. The other, it was felt, should be one who had at heart the interest of the people in their daily activities around the village. He should be one who was thoughtful of others, gave frequent feasts, was popular with the tribes coming to the village to trade, and was able to settle little quarrels within the village or with visiting tribes. It was also felt that the two head chiefs should be of opposite moieties.

A chief had little or no authority apart from the council of which he was a member. His principal authority was derived from his ability as an orator to persuade the council of older men to sanction his opinions. A chief was, first of all, an orator who in council, after enumerating his various accomplishments

5. A sacred robe decorated with the rainbow and used in rainmaking rites.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

to demonstrate the extent to which he had worked for the welfare of the entire village, then offered an opinion as to the wisdom of a certain act or policy. He was never demoted, the Mandan claimed; others younger who had been distinguishing themselves merely replaced the older man in public esteem. A chief's greatness was based on the length of time that his opinions were accepted to the exclusion of all others' opinions. A chief was expected to conform strictly to village and tribal custom.

The day-by-day and calendar round of economic, social, and ceremonial activities were rigidly regulated by tradition. In matters relative to gardening, the Corn Bundle leaders, Goose Society, and females of the various households set their own rules. When public sanction was given a young man by one or more members of the council of older men to perform a certain ceremony and he had made public announcement from a rooftop that he would perform the ceremony, a time was reserved for the ceremony, and the Black Mouths would have prevented any interference. The Mandan believed that quarrels should not arise over schedules for performance of the various ceremonies. The fact is that the Mandan liked to attend ceremonies and believed that bad luck would come to anyone who deviated from the normal pattern of behavior.

The responsibilities for leadership in various Mandan social and ceremonial activities were profusely scattered through the entire population. A person who would be the leader in one activity became a subordinate member of another activity in which he was expected to follow the leader's directions. For instance, when the time arrived for the performance of the Okipa ceremony, the entire population was organized around the officers for that ceremony, while the Black Mouth Society enforced the rules. It is highly improbable that the Black Mouths received any formal instruction. Custom defined the rules of behavior during the Okipa which were known by all except very young children. It was also customary when the enemy were not especially troublesome for the greater part of a village group to leave for a short time to trap eagles. The village would break up into a dozen or more camps, each of which was under the leadership of a male having an eagle-trapping bundle. Regardless of a man's status during other activities, he was subordinate to the

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

526 regular archery contests in which each competitor paid an entrance fee; the object was to see which man could get the most arrows into the air at once.[1]

The women played a game with a large leather ball, ornamented and well made, which they caused to fall alternately on the foot and knee by bouncing. There was also a children's game, called Assé, played with the tip of an antler to the base of which two feathers were attached. The children also played a game with a hoop covered with a number of leather bands, and about a foot in diameter. This hoop was rolled along and they hit it and knocked it down by throwing a pointed stick; the one that struck nearest the center won. In the spring after the break-up, the children used to run along the bank and throw this ring into the water.[2] Catlin also gives an account of sham battles under the leadership of older men in which the boys engaged.

533 MISCELLANEOUS:—As to the other fe[illegible] of their culture perhaps a few words from Maximilian[3] [illegible]ve some idea.

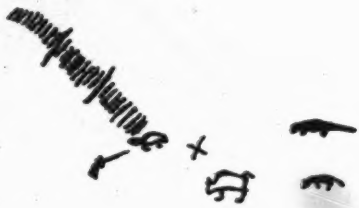
He says:—"Many of them take a real pleasure in music and painting and are very skillful in both. . . . Their musical instruments are simple. The songs consist of cries uttered from time to time, and broken by louder bursts of joy. These are accompanied by heavy drum blows and the sound of rattles. . . . They 521 discussed with pleasure subjects of the highest order, the universe and its cause together with kindred topics, saying that their own explanation was far from satisfactory. . . . They are ● 537 very fine orators, and use very impressive figurative language. They like to talk. . . . By nature they are proud and full of ambition. . . . They often are highly sensitive, and some have 156 been known to die of love or from wounded personal pride due to an insult to their honor."

538 Maximilian also says that they were good story tellers and took great pleasure in relating their myths and legends. They had a sort of literature in the shape of rituals for their elaborate dances, and these were handed down through the medicine men. 805 They paid considerable attention to the stars in their ceremonies but were not students of the heavens, and their calendar was a

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 141. [2] Maximilian: p. 417. [3] Ibid., pp. 404 et seq.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

532 212 instead of writing; for instance, the figures on their robes, the drawing of Mato-Topé (Plate XXII.), and the subjoined Indian letter from a Mandan to a fur trader:



212 437 The following is the explanation of the hieroglyphic figures contained in it:

The cross signifies, "I will barter, or trade." Three animals are drawn on the right hand of the cross: one is a buffalo; the two others, a weasel (*Mustela Canadensis*), and an otter. The writer offers, in exchange for the skins of these animals (probably meaning that of a white buffalo), the articles which he has drawn on the left side of the cross.

He has, in the first place, depicted a beaver very plainly, behind which there is a gun; to the left of the beaver are thirty strokes, each ten separated by a longer line; this means, I will give thirty beaver skins and a gun for the skins of the three animals on the right hand of the cross.

821 Many of them dispute, with great earnestness, on more elevated subjects; thus, they inquired our ideas of the various heavenly bodies, and of the origin of the universe, as they, themselves, declare their own silly traditions to be insufficient. Some, indeed, thought our ideas on these subjects much more silly than their own. They laughed outright, when we affirmed that the earth was round, and revolved about the sun. Others, however, would not reject our views, and were of opinion that, as the Whites could do so much which was incomprehensible to them, it was possible they might be right on this point also.

537 In all works that treat of these remarkable people, we find recorded very energetic and well-digested speeches of their chiefs. They frequently use very appropriate figures, and often said bitter truths to their white oppressors. Dr. Morse quotes some such phrases, used at the conclusion of treaties of peace, or declarations of war, which express much in a few words. Thus, in declarations of war: "The blood of our wives and children smokes on the ground! The bones of our warriors and old men are uncovered, and whiten the earth! The tomahawk is raised!" And on the conclusion of peace: "The bones of our warriors are buried! the tomahawk is buried! the blood of our women and children is covered! The path which leads to them must be kept clean; no weeds may grow there. The chain which binds us together must not become rusty." Or, on the contrary: "The chain begins to rust," &c. &c..

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the prime of life and others who, having been crippled either in warfare, hunting, or other active pursuits, were unable to carry out the work normally performed by men. The older men of the lodge usually made the arrows used by the men of the household, and ten arrows complete with heads and feathers had the value of one unpainted robe. Young men of the lodge paid the older men for the right to learn the techniques of arrowmaking. The Mandan in 1929 remembered two men who had been crippled, one when his leg was broken by a wounded buffalo, the other who had had a femur bone shattered by a bullet and who had spent much of their time preparing arrows which they sold.

Another class of people who were highly regarded were the storytellers. The art of storytelling was highly developed; the stories had a variety of themes and were highly formalized. One paying for the right to have a story told was expected to repeat the story after the informer until it was learned in complete detail. The customary way of buying the story was to have a feast and a supply of tobacco mixed with red willow bark prepared before calling the informer in to relate his stories. The stories were of a semisacred character, and many dealt with the exploits of distinguished persons who had once lived in the village or tribe. It was considered improper to relate sacred myths belonging to others unless the informer was an owner in the particular rites, in which instance the buyer was expected to have enough robes and other goods so that each person having rights in the story would receive pay even when only one of their member was relating the story. The actual storytelling was then held at a later time when the informant could be alone with his pupil.

There was considerable traditional lore not actually associated with any ceremony at the time this study was being made. Informants were of the opinion that these myths once were associated with bundle rites now extinct and that the stories had continued as common property of the tribe. These stories have to do with such mythological characters as Corn Silk, Buffalo, First Creator, and the Snakes. Both men and women were storytellers, and they were highly respected as possessors of important tribal lore. They enjoyed intimate con-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

773 tacts with most families, since a person was not considered
538 important who could not argue in council for a certain point of
554 view based on traditional action of the group. Group action was
571 in a large measure regulated by custom. These patterns of behavior were in a large measure perpetuated by the storyteller. Anyone seeking the position of chief would need a considerable knowledge of tribal history to attain that status. No amount of success in warfare or performance of ceremonies would in themselves have been sufficient. It was this extra knowledge of tribal lore that distinguished them as leaders. Actually, whenever one was the recipient of goods and honors from another, a new and intimate relationship was established between them. Those who had provided many feasts and acquired a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were ultimately selected to become the leaders of the various groups.

571 Men who had reached middle age were called on to insert the
785 thongs for a "son" who was preparing to fast and to pray for
554 his success. They were expected to supervise the fasting and have it terminated when there was a possibility that the "son" was carrying his fasting to excess. Those who had good war records or had made significant contributions toward village welfare in other ways offered many feasts to the older men hoping that, by so doing, they would be named village leaders. A man would announce renewal feasts to his ceremonial bundle from time to time and call in those who had similar bundles. Some would assist in removing arrows and opening wounds or doctor in other ways when the occasion warranted.

561 Men of middle age belonged to the Black Mouth Society,
701 which was intrusted with the organization and protection of the village. This was the most highly organized men's society. It met every two or three days and received its instructions from the older men meeting in council. It was their duty, whenever the village was in danger of attack, to see that none left the village without permission. Each member carried a club carved according to his own individual preference, and he was expected to use it if anyone was found violating the rules. If the announcer called through the village that the people were not to leave the village and anyone was seen leaving, the Black Mouths would drive him back. Crows Heart remembered a

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 over from the women's camp. Afterward the trapper smoked.
Each trapper, after eating, discussed happenings at the pit, and,
223 from the information thus supplied, the leader offered suggestions for increasing the catch. When birds circled the bait but would not come down, it was suggested that raw meat be used. Sometimes the birds flew by without appearing to see the bait, and decoys were recommended.

223 The leader did not have a pit for his own use but remained in camp. However, if the wind was from the wrong direction in the morning and the men were out hunting game, he could go into any of the pits should the wind change to the west.

223 Evenings were spent in storytelling. The leader would ac-
773 quaint the trappers with the myths associated with eagle-trap-
ping. There were many of these myths, and a good leader would
● 538 be able to consume every evening for the usual four weeks in camp without exhausting his stock. Each was related in great detail with endless repetitions. Some of the longer myths consumed four nights in telling; others were short and could be related in one night. All were expected to listen attentively while seated on a buffalo robe. Those who nodded were pinched with the bird stick. An example of the stories told is given in the Appendix.

223 The position of women in eagle-trapping ceremonies varied
562 among bundle-owners. (1) Most bundle-owners prohibited women from entering the ceremonial lodge or looking inside. (2) Several bundle-owners had special rites to which women were invited when birds had been caught. (3) A few bundle-
[841] owners required a menstruating woman to come into the lodge and breathe the smoke from sage burned at the four corners of the fire pit.

223 Unless special rites relative to the women were purchased,
562 they were required to stay away from the ceremonial lodge and
841 its vicinity. The right to bring women into the lodge was a sepa-
171 rate purchase not essential to trapping eagles. There were separate songs and a myth, giving the right to call in a menstruating woman, which could be purchased. It referred to the capture of the leader of the eagles who, in return for having her life spared, promised unusual success if her song was sung when a menstruating woman was brought into the lodge. The consensus of both

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Appendix IV

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON EAGLE-TRAPPING

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Evenings were spent in storytelling. The leader would acquaint the trappers with the myths associated with eagle-trapping. There were many of these myths, and a good leader would be able to consume every evening for the usual four weeks in camp without exhausting his stock. Each was related in great detail with endless repetitions. Some of the longer myths consumed four nights in telling; others were short and could be related in one night. All were expected to listen attentively while seated on a buffalo robe. Those who nodded were pinched with the bird stick. An example of the stories told is given below.

MYTH OF BROWN OLD MAN RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[1]

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There are two ways of telling this story; one is that he came from the heavens and the other that he came from the earth through being born of a woman. I heard many stories, when nineteen years of age from Small Ankles, my father, and Chief,[2] my father-in-law, in the winter village at Blue Buttes above here. Even the older people would have them come out and tell the story to them and put on a feast to them.

Brown Old Man came to the village and always knew himself that he was not a real human, but he would stay with them. When they needed meat, he would call the buffaloes. If they needed rain, he would call it. The people did not know, and he never told them, who he was. After he had been with the people a while, he thought that he would marry. In the spring the buffalo hides get brown, and he had one of those brown hides for a robe until they came to call him Brown Old Man. Sometimes the people would invite him in and feed him well. Then he would say that this man will strike an enemy; sometimes he would say two or more, and it would always come true. Still the people of the village did not know who he was at heart. At last the people began to realize that he was trying to be a holy man, and they would say, "If he were a real medicine man, he would have a good living with more to show for his powers." He felt bad when he heard it but would say, "I am a man who saves the people here." At last he was getting old and white, and his wife was old and white too.

There was one man in the village who invited in Brown Old Man often, and, when he went out to fast, he dreamed of Brown Old Man. He saw in his dream this Brown Old Man painted all over so that he looked more like a

1. For another relation of this myth by Wolf Chief see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX, Part IV [1929]), pp. 187–94. There is also a very brief version in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 204–5.

2. Chief was a Mandan of the Prairie Chicken clan.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

526 regular archery contests in which each competitor paid an entrance fee; the object was to see which man could get the most arrows into the air at once.[1]

The women played a game with a large leather ball, ornamented and well made, which they caused to fall alternately on the foot and knee by bouncing. There was also a children's game, called Assé, played with the tip of an antler to the base of which two feathers were attached. The children also played a game with a hoop covered with a number of leather bands, and about a foot in diameter. This hoop was rolled along and they hit it and knocked it down by throwing a pointed stick; the one that struck nearest the center won. In the spring after the break-up, the children used to run along the bank and throw this ring into the water.[2] Catlin also gives an account of sham battles under the leadership of older men in which the boys engaged.

533 MISCELLANEOUS:—As to the other features of their culture perhaps a few words from Maximilian[3] will give some idea. He says:—"Many of them take a real pleasure in music and painting and are very skillful in both. . . . Their musical instruments are simple. The songs consist of cries uttered from time to time, and broken by louder bursts of joy. These are accompanied by heavy drum blows and the sound of rattles. . . . They 521 discussed with pleasure subjects of the highest order, the universe and its cause together with kindred topics, saying that their own explanation was far from satisfactory. . . . They are 537 very fine orators, and use very impressive figurative language. They like to talk. . . . By nature they are proud and full of ambition. . . . They often are highly sensitive, and some have 156 been known to die of love or from wounded personal pride due to an insult to their honor."

538 Maximilian also says that they were good story tellers and took great pleasure in relating their myths and legends. They had a sort of literature in the shape of rituals for their elaborate dances, and these were handed down through the medicine men. 805 They paid considerable attention to the stars in their ceremonies but were not students of the heavens, and their calendar was a

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 141. [2] Maximilian: p. 417. [3] Ibid., pp. 404 et seq.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

773 the water, etc., these and kindred phases of the mythology which is the sole back-ground of their tribal past, make up the substance of the strange narratives unfolded, through the moderate abilities of the interpreter, Joseph Packineau, son of Charles Pactineaude or Pattineaux of the fur-trading days, to the writer.

142 "While there was nothing specially marked about the appearance of Little Owl, we can not refrain from remarking that Bear's Ghost made a distinct impression by his bearing and the manner of his speech. He was one of the most perfect specimens of the commanding physical man we ever observed. His figure was tall and lithe, his eye exceptionally bright, intelligent and winning, his voice soft yet animating; his speech was accompanied by such grace of attitude and fitting gestures as to captivate the listener. His complexion was much lighter than that of the Sioux Indian of the Dakotas, yet not as fair as to relieve his countenance from the general impress of Indian lineage. There was, however, less than usual of the more salient Indian features in high or prominent cheek-bones and roughness of contour. He appeared, in a word, the perfect gentleman and master of expression, and it was difficult to realize that an Indian was discoursing or narrating. His entire attitude was that of intelligent handling of his subject and of utter absence of any sense of inferiority. Sincerity, and a desire to emphasize the point that what he said was truth itself—these elements gave character to his narrative. And while much that he recounted seemed trival and fantastic, yet the air in which it was told gave his story the cast of respect if not of persuasion. We here repeat what has been said before in this paper—that it is believed it is not improbable that the reference to the vine and the under-world was derived from the tradition of the Gros Ventres or Minnetarees who probably came to the Missouri from the Devil's Lake region.

"Little Owl's account will be first given, as it was obtained first. It is seen that if his narrative and that of Bear's Ghost is given credence the Mandans came up the Missouri and from the lower Mississippi."

773 **Little Owl's Account—The Creation, Etc.** "The five villages
●539 below the Knife river. Bear-on-the-Water and he is the oldest man, he says they came from the—where the Mississippi empties in the sea; after that I can't give you an account of it. They

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had a long boat and they didn't have any oars, and the only thing they did was to get in and told the boat to go—they named it 'The Go.' The boat carried any number except seven; they wouldn't let seven ride, because the boat didn't go right, and gets wicked. They could go across the sea without the oars, they just told the boat to go. That is when they lived at the mouth of the river and the boat was in the sea. The boat would go anywhere on the water, up-stream or anywhere. There was some Indians on the other side of the sea, when the Mandans—and they go with the boat there and bring the sea shells from the other side of the sea, and the Mandans were there and part of them on this side. This boat travels without oars. So that one day Bad Boy went along and the boat was standing there on the river bank, and Bad Boy told the boat to go, and the boat went and they have never seen the boat since. Then they moved up this way; of course they called the Mississippi the Big River, and this is called the Missouri river; and they came along and in villages that you see at places, at the Mandans, from the mouth of the sea up here. The Rees have villages too; they had villages down by the Cannon-Ball and maybe further. These Mandans came all the way up to Heart river. They came up the Mississippi and up the Missouri to Heart river. Back of the Heart river they called it the Middle Hole, that is where they came from, the other Mandans. They was down in the earth and the Mandans were there; and one young man, he goes by the name of Magpie, he is a spirit, and he finds the light upon the hill up there, and he saw where the vine went up clear up to this earth here, top of the earth, so he climbed up there till he came out this way, and he see the country and the timbers and springs and grass and the games (game), and he killed some game and he took the sinews and some meat and some other part of the hide of the animal and took them down below where the others were and showed them what a nice country there was up here, and they would all go up there; and then he says 'All right, that is the place to go,' and this man took him and showed him, and then the chief says 'All right, we'll go;' and he sent all the Holy Spirit, they got the Holy Spirit, they sent them up first, and they took it up by following this vine, and each friend goes up—climbs up by himself, they go up there night and day right along, till they were about

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half of them went up, and then the woman came along, she was big, and the people forbid her, and said she better come last, and the woman says 'No, I have a right to go just as well as anybody,' and she got hold of the vine and get up a little ways towards the top and broke the vine, so they—part of them are down in the earth yet; and it is a good many is here, and some of them we grow; some of my father's ancestors away back came from the earth. The vine was below here, at the Middle Hole."

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The First Man. "There is a man—when this earth was no grass, no wood, nothing at all on top, just bare earth—and a man was walking along, and when he walked along and after a while he woke up, and he says 'I wonder where I come from,' all at once; then he turned around and looked at his track, the track was a buffalo track; so the man thought he must know where he come from and he followed his trail back, and then the grass was grown up and had some large white flowers on them, then another nice little fly was sitting on the flower, and the man thought this must be 'I come from here,' his tracks come from where that grass and flower is, and he looked around and he couldn't see any tracks, and the grass spoke and says 'I am the person that sent you up, the Lone Man,' that is the name they gave him, Lone Man. The little fly says to him 'We are the ones that sent you.' At the time that this man went away he had a lance block and he had his pipe when this beginning, to fix the country with, and rules with those things in the country he makes, that is, his commandments. So the Lone Man went off traveling and he met Mr. Coyote Chief, and the Lone Man thought 'I wonder where this man come from. I thought I was the only man in this world in here,' and he met this man and shook hands with him and he says 'Where you come from?' and he told him where he come from. and he says 'Where you come from too?' and Lone Man says 'I am the oldest, you will be my brother but I am the oldest, I will be the one to rule the country,' and the Coyote says 'No, I am the oldest, I will be the one to rule this country, you follow me.' So he says 'We'll go'—Coyote says 'You fix the country, you fix the north and I'll fix the south.' So they went on to fix the coulies and springs and rivers and timber and everything. and the bad lands; Coyote he made the mountains. the narrow places and more bad lands and more springs and more coulies and every-

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773 539 thing so the Indians could get their arrows, and short distance for shooting, and Lone Man he makes the north, makes so many lakes, there is no timber, a flat country, nothing but a prairie, and he couldn't be seen anywheres for long distances, and no guiding place and no nothing; and he made some springs in the country, and made timber up away back, and when he makes it timber he makes a big body of timber, and then he goes along the prairie again for miles and miles and makes timber the same way. Then he makes game, buffalo all colors, like tame cattle, with white horns. Then the Coyote he made these buffalos; and after they got through they counted the head (or meat); and he says, the first thing he asked—Coyote asked of the Lone Man 'What kind of buffalo you make?' he says 'I make some gray, some white, some red and black and white horns, and all colors and long tails.' Coyote says 'You make them long, what buffalo I make it is the kind of buffalo you won't make.' So Coyote says 'I made only one white buffalo, makes them once in a while, they'll be pretty hard to get,' so it would be of more value to the Indians for their robe. So he says—Lone Man says 'All right, I'll drive back what I made into the sea, and some of these days when the rule comes to an end when our buffalo are all gone, what I make people will live on it forever.' So this Lone Man afterwards, after he got through he knew the Mandans was in the Middle Hole and he knew those on the other side of the sea, and he knew those on this side of the mouth of the river that empties into the sea; and then he looked all over the tribes and he thought that the Mandans were the quietest and best characters, and he joined in with them and staid with them. So he advised everything that is good."

The Holy Man. "He was the Holy Man, sent on with the Holy Spirit, and a man, something like the whites that believe in Christ, he was a good character, and he didn't have anything to do with women or no wife of any kind; so the other Coyote and Rees—he makes a good country and good things, but on the other hand he was not as good as Lone Man; so they didn't take his advice but they took Lone Man's advice. He has a pipe, they got his pipe today, and they got his lance block, and they believe in him. So the Mandans they lived on Heart river. That name is by reason that right there where the Mandans is they called the

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river the Heart river, that is in the middle, from where you go from there to the south to the sea, and east the same distance, and north and west the same distance—right in the middle there, and so they called it the Heart." 773 539

The Middle Hole. "The first man (named above as being on the water), his ancestors came from the mouth of the river, and my ancestors and all other Mandans came from the Middle Hole."

Went to Winnipeg. "My father was Hit-him-in-the-Back; I was born in Ft. Berthold; am forty years old. My father was born in the Five Villages away down the river. The Five Villages was about ninety years ago. They lived there right after the smallpox was there. The villages down the Missouri river through South Dakota and to the Mississippi, that had ditches around them, were Mandan villages. The Rees have villages down here this side (north) of the Cheyenne river, just about there. They had five villages too. I don't know how far south of the Cheyenne they had villages. The Mandans grow as a people, and there are so many people and each one has a head man and chief; and they have taken their places all over, and one of the villages has gone at that time to the north to Winnipeg, and during that time one of the villages has gone again—one of the villages which the chief controls has gone; and the chief is called Tattooed Face and he has great control over the people and the largest village; and no one could tell where he went to those people. So this Winnipeg went over there, and five brothers, four of them goes in this spirit in the buffalo bulls—they were buffalo, and the youngest brother, the fifth one was a magpie, and their mother was Corn. So they went away to the north here where the Winnipegs were, and in the large timber there, they had their village there. They started from her, this side of Bismarck; and so Magpie goes out and roams around the country, and he comes back, and all his brothers were sitting and eating and laughing and enjoying themselves and plenty to eat and everything, and he sat down and he says 'My brothers, there's hard times coming:' so the August Buffalo Bull and the Fall Bull and the March Bull and the June Bull—so the August Bull said 'There's no hard times here' before he asked any questions—each one of the chiefs represents three months—so he says 'I call any of the buffalo, at the call buffalo they come in all the houses here, the children

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have plenty to eat, when the fall comes the Fall Chief calls the buffalo, and when winter comes the Winter Bull calls them,' etc. He says 'Our mother Corn Woman will plant corn on the rocks and it will grow anywheres;' so the boy Magpie he showed up. Then Magpie he has power too, he says 'I want to move to the Missouri river, I don't want to stay here in the north.' Then he got the old crier out to say that those men were going to move and that these people must go; so he brings back about half of the people—half of a village. Then he came over here to Bird's Bill at Fort Rice. And then it came to the winter, and then the buffalos and the north wind laps them, blow and storm, and they are starving; and they sent Jack Rabbit over there to Magpie's village to see how he was getting along, and they gave him two sunflower seed, so he had some of them take it back. 'They aint starving,' he said, 'They are all right;' and they took their buffalo robes and painted it right and left to hang up, so it looks like flesh, and they were kind of starving too, so he deceived them; all these buffalo robes kept all the buffalos away from him, so he deceived him. So Jack Rabbit told them 'You had better burn up the old wooden pans, etc., and call Lone Man, you are in hard shape.' So he did hallo for Lone Man, and Lone Man didn't come but sent Chinook Wind and drove all the cold away, and it kept going to the north and they are all right. So about one year from that time a flood came there and wiped out all of the houses on the north to Winnipeg, and there was a great big lodge of four of the Bulls—his brother on top of the lodge—and he came in there and says 'You said there was no hard time,' the one that spoke before he spoke first again, he says 'Why, you must have your heart just like a bone, you never told us this.' and Magpie says 'I tried to tell you about the hard times but you never gave me any show, no person could explain it to you, all you depend on you call buffalo, you don't look to other things.' 'Where's my mother?' he says. 'Your mother is right down straight here in the ground, she can't come, but she will if you want her.' And she says 'My son, are you here?' 'Yes, mother, but wait a while till I call you.' Then he went to work and pulled the bull's hair up on the top of his head to make a string to tie them like a loup, and when he got through—'Now.' he says 'I am ready, now you come, mother.' And she came up on

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the ear of yellow corn, she shot up like that—"(indicating)," and he got hold of her and put that string loup around her. When he comes up he got her around the neck and hung it down cross-ways, and they started to swim to the river. They had an awful long swim and got overe here back half way to Winnipeg, and he drowned first, and the August Bull drowned and the Winter Bull he drowned, two of them. The second Bull says 'There will be plenty of buffalo here when I am gone.' So the Fall Buffalo drowned, the third. And the Spring Buffalo he landed in Bird's Bill, he was the strongest and saved his mother that he was carrying on his neck—and she was turned to be an ear of corn.

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"My grandfather was Yellow Tail. He was born on the Heart river I suppose. My grandfather, they knew him in the Five Villages when he was a real old man.

"This story that I tell you came from my father and grandfather and the old people of my tribe. I am a full-blooded Mandan."

Below is the account of the Mandans given by Bear's Ghost:

Bear's Ghost's Narrative. "I am a full blooded Mandan. Age 47; born this side of Knife river, what they call Manhanen, on the Point. The village is there. My father was Foolish Chief. My grandfather's name was Ghost Heart. My father was born at the Five Villages, my grandfather was born at the same place.

"There is two ways that we came from the Mandan. It would take about four days to tell it all." (Here we indicated to the interpreter—after being told that the writer could not remain so many days—that he would narrate the main part of the tradition, etc.)

"Where the Mandans came from, there's two ways, and the generals talk and talk about it all the time. Those Mandans here, there is Rushing Eagle, Standing Bear, all the three lodges once here; they could tell the story. We are younger men and we don't know, but we hear them talk about it. I will tell you the best I can. The man that walks on the water, he always wants to remember where he came from. There was no earth, it was all water in this country when he walked on it. He went back, and they called the weeds Big Medicine, and the leaves were about so big (indicating); and he followed the trail back to the weeds called Big Medicine. So the leaves were about so big (indicat-

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ing); and the flood came out of one of the leaves, on the edge of the stalk where the joints come to, and he thought 'This is my mother.' This weed says 'Yes, I am your mother, I sent you out and I want you to do something, make up your mind to have to do something.' This man was going around on top of the water, he was naked, he went on top of the water, and he walked along, and finally he run across a track, and he went on, and the other fellow—he didn't know who he was at this time—he crossed his track and hunted around for a time three or four times, and they came across one another's tracks, and finally they met one another; and he told him—Lone Man told the other fellow, where he arrived from and where he started. The other fellow says 'I don't know where I come from but I walked along this way,' and the other fellow his hair was kind of kinky, and he was short and heavy joints and muscles were quite large on him, and the other fellow was kind of small and his body was nice built and his nose was small and his hair was kinky, and he had yellow eyes—he was Man Chief. So they walked along together and they come onto two divers, ducks, and asked them 'What are you doing here?' 'We don't know where we came from, we're here'—no other birds but them. So they asked them 'What are you eating, how far do you go down there?' 'We go down to the bottom of the mud in the water, pretty hard.' He says 'Go down there and bring me some earth.' They dived down there and didn't come up for some time, and after a while they came back without it, and took a rest. They go down again and bring some up; and they hold their hands, each one on their right hand—hold their right hand out and the ducks put the mud in there. So they dried it and grind it. And they go and they named it west and north and east and south. And so he told them—Man Chief told Lone Man to go to work and make the land on the east and north side, and I'll make the south side, and we will make this river—this Missouri river. So they went on and worked on them quite a while, and they made everything come together again. And Lone Man, what earth he got he ground it so fine, make the country more prairie, and the other fellow didn't grind it so fine and makes more bad lands. They went to work, and they come together, and Man Chief asked Lone Man what kind of buffalo he made, he told him he made spotted

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ones and all kinds, and he made the same, and he (meaning, probably, Lone Man) says 'You done wrong making those kind of buffalos;' and they had a dispute. He says 'I made the game so you could kill them or catch them,' he says 'You make the game, you can't catch them soon enough, they are pretty wild, some of these days your buffalo will be gone and mine will walk around amongst the people.' He told him he made the moose and all that kind of game, white bear and all kinds in the north; and birds blue and red and yellow and all color, east. Then the other fellow he made the eagles and hawks and the other kind of birds around west and south. That is the way they did. So they make the people, and they come into the Mandans, and started on the Mandans, the first language they made was the Mandan language, he made it himself."

First Men Meet at the Sea. "In the mouth of the sea, where this river empties into the sea, right below, there is where the two men met each other, and he make the earth. Then when they got through Lone Man staid with them, he staid right there; and the people moved to the west and he moved along with them—Lone Man did. Then down in the south here the Corn Man came up from under the earth and followed the vine up, and he killed the game and took the sinews and paunch and some other things, the fat, and took it down there, and he says 'What a fine country, and here's plenty to eat,' and so on; and they started to moving and coming up the vine, they caught hold of the vine and came from under the earth up, and about half way over, and this large woman came, and they all told her not to go, not to start. 'No,' she says, 'I'll go,' and she started up, and she broke the vine, and under the earth down there they cried; and they quit and halloed up and says to the people that was up (half of them were up)—they says 'You can go, it is all right.' Some of the grandfathers or mothers or fathers were down in the earth and some of them were up. So they traveled towards the Missouri, and this Lone Man traveled up to the west side of the river, and they met the Mandans and the other Mandans, and they came together.

"It is just the same as we—they started to meet her—this Corn Woman, and she married one of the Bulls, he took her over there to Winnipeg and started a village there; and this woman—and

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773 539 they had five children, the Fall Bull, Winter Bull, Spring Bull, and Summer Bull, and Magpie." (The rest of his story on this head is, as the interpreter states, the same as that of Little Owl.)

"The people that came from below the earth and followed the vine met the tobacco—(here a sample of the upper Missouri tobacco is shown). The Magpie went over to where they were—the four Bulls sat up on top of the lodge, etc. (continuance of the story of the other Indian, Little Owl). They had a long swim, and one died over at Mouse river by Minot, and the other was half way down the Missouri and the fellow came down to Coal Harbor (in McLean Co., N. D.) and died, and the other fellow swam down to Bird's Bill (Fort Rice) and died."

Four Bull and the Flood. "You whites have a flood. This flood where the four Bulls swam down is the same flood. There was a general that they kept an account of the years until—they kept it at the time of the smallpox, I can't explain very well, but the villages down the river, but Lone Man says 'You must not go to some other country, follow this river all the time;' and the time that those corn people all came up under the earth to meet the Lone Man people, that is the time they plant corn, squash, tobacco, beans, etc., and they have been raising it ever since. And now our seeds are going amongst the whites and amongst the Sioux, and everywhere our seed is growing.

"I want you to put this down just as I tell it; and you people knew God and His making the world. Maybe it is the same, but we have seen, our people have seen with their naked eyes that they made the world too. We have the same flood, only we couldn't keep the date, we lost the track.

"I was three years old when I left the village to come up to Berthold." (Meaning when he came to the old Confederated Village.)

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000 of life has his abode. The third son is the night. The eldest daughter is the star that rises in the east, the morning star; and they call her, "the woman who wears a plume." The second daughter, called "the striped gourd," is a high star which revolves around the polar star; and, lastly, the third daughter is the evening star which is near to the setting sun.[39]

ORIGIN MYTH RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[40]

773 539 A long time ago the Missouri River flowed into the Mississippi River and thence into the ocean. On the right bank there was a high point on the ocean shore that the Mandan came from. They were said to have come from under the ground at that place and brought corn up. Their chief was named Good Furred Robe. He had one brother named Cornhusk Earrings and another younger brother called No Hair on Him or Head for Rattle after the gourds. They had a sister named Corn Stalk.

In this early time when they came out of the ground, Good Furred Robe was Corn Medicine, and he had the right to teach the other people how to raise corn. The people of Awigaxa asked him to teach them his songs so as to keep the corn and be successful in growing their corn. Good Furred Robe also had a robe which, if sprinkled with water, would cause rain to come.

When they came out of the ground, there were many people but they had no clothing on. They said, "We have found Ma'tahara." That was what they called the river as it was like a stranger. It is also the word for "stranger." They went a short distance and planted corn, even though they were naked. They were located there for a few years, and all that time they planted corn. Then they moved north, and no one knows the number of years they stopped at the different places. At last they came to the place where the river flowed into the ocean. When they came to the mouth of this river, they saw people on the other side who could understand their language and they thought they were Mandan too. The village on the other side had a chief whose name was Maniga. It was a very large village.

While they were stopping there, they found that the people on the other side owned bowls made of shells. At Good Furred Robe's village they would kill the rabbits for the hides. They also killed the meadowlarks for the yellow crescents. They took them to the people of the other village to trade for shell bowls. They would also take the rabbit hides painted red and trade for the shells.

Good Furred Robe also owned a boat that was holy. It could carry twelve men. Each time they wanted to trade in the other village, they would take the red rabbit hides and the yellow meadowlark breasts and float over. There was a rough place in the middle, and they would drop some of these objects into the water, and then the water would calm.

All during this time they had enough corn to live on, but nothing is told

39. *Op. cit.*, pp. 301–3.

40. Wolf Chief secured this information from Chief, his Mandan father-in-law, whose wife was formerly married to Bobtail Bull, a Corn ceremony bundle-owner. For other versions of this myth see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 10–11; Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels*, ed. Thwaites, XXIII, 312–17; and Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I, 279–80.

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in the traditions about their clothing. They continued moving up the river until they came to the mouth of the Missouri River. They saw many trees on the Mississippi River and decided to go across and live on the Mississippi. They stayed in that country for three or four years, all the time planting corn along the river. They said, "We have discovered a better river and it will be a good place to plant the corn." They discovered fine evergreen trees, and we have called them medicine trees since that time. 773 539

There were no bows and arrows in those days, and one of the men made a bow and arrows, practicing with them and picking out sharp bones with which to tip the arrows. He also found the sinews that would stretch the bow. We do not know if they were eating meat or not at that time. There were many elk, deer, and beaver on this river, and that is why they called it Good River. At that time they found a dead buffalo in a mud hole, and one of them said that they ought to take the hide off and cut it into a long string to catch deer with. When they took the hide off, they cut the strings and twisted them to dry. Then they made a loop on the end. They would go out and find deer trails to hang it in to catch the deer. They made many of these snares and set them out in many places. They would find some dead deer and even some elk hanging there.

After they learned how to do this, they had plenty of meat to eat with their corn. They stayed at that place for over ten years. It was at this time that they learned how to use the bow and arrows tipped with bone, to kill smaller game.

Again they moved from there farther up the Mississippi River until they found a place where there was much timber but the surrounding land was flat. They found a flat place where the timber was not so thick, and there they lived for six years. At that time they called themselves Nu'itadi, meaning "from us." Some of them were called Nup'tadi (no meaning); another group was called Awi'gaxa (no meaning). One of the latter two bands moved from the others under a chief named Four Bulls and came to a place where there was much timber. The village after the split must have been in the western part of Minnesota not far from Pipestone.

They traveled southward then until they came to heavy timber and had a big village[41] there. While there they learned more about bows and arrows and could shoot even beavers and other game. Then they had plenty of food. Again they traveled on through the deep timber and had another village, staying there for four years. The earth lodges at that time were of the eagle-trapping type with grass and dirt covering the sides.

When they stopped there, a man went out looking for game and followed a creek. He saw some mud sticking out of a hill, and there was a spring at that place. The mud was sticky; he took some of it out and carried it away a short distance. He left some of it flat on the ground to dry. When he went back where he had left the mud, it was hard except that there was one crack. He thought that there should be some use for that mud. He thought, "I will get some sand and mix it with this mud and leave it again. It might be of some use." Then he went home again. When he returned, the mud was still cracked. He thought, "If I crack some stones and crush them fine to mix with the clay,

41. These villages were named in the Okipa ceremony, but the language used was unintelligible to the listener, as it was an old dialect. The translation was a part of the secret lore which passed with bundle sales. [198]

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it might be better." He found some hard stones and put them in the fire to burn four days. Then he crushed the stones and took the material to the place where the clay had been left. He mixed the clay with the crushed stone, shaped it into a pot, and left it in the sun to dry. Next day when he went back, he found that it was hard and could be used. He made many more; some he made into the shape of spoons.[42] From that time they had pots. After that they made large ones and baked them to cook in. The Mandan were the first to discover pottery; the Hidatsa and other people learned the art from them. The mud was a special kind, and it was hard to find. Later they found this clay around the flint they took out of the tops of hills west of the Missouri River.

They stayed there for more than ten years, for there were many animals suitable for food as well as good corn grounds. During this time some of the young men were looking for game, and they came out of the timber. They could see the flatland for a great distance, so they thought that they would move. At first they did not come completely out of the woods but stayed on the edge.

When they came out of the timber, they had another large village again. They stayed there a long time, for there was much game and they had their gardens in the timber.

When they had the village there, it happened that they had a dry year. The people who called themselves Awigaxa made a feast, and they had some of the women paint their faces and wear geese[43] on their heads. First Creator and Lone Man came at that time. They asked these people where they came from, and they replied that they had come up from under the ground and that they had traveled around much since then. The two men said, "You seem to be getting along well here. We came from the west bank of the Missouri River. We discovered some prairie dogs in a village there, but we changed them into humans. We showed them how to put on the Buffalo Dance, but we see now that we would rather have you people here put on that ceremony, for you would be more careful about giving the dance."

Then the two men walked off and returned to the prairie-dog village they had changed into humans. First Creator and Lone Man had made the dance for the prairie dogs, and, when they came back, they saw that these people were not fit to give the dance, for they had left the drum in the ashpile. They thought, "These people don't appreciate the dance, for they are not the right kind of people to begin with. It would be much better to take the Buffalo Dance from them." The two men took the Buffalo Dance away from the prairie dogs and gave it to the Mandan. They gave the prairie dogs a curing ceremony instead. The Arikara were the prairie-dog people. They have the Prairie Dog Curing Medicine yet.

First Creator and Lone Man came back to the Mandan village and said, "We are going to show you the Buffalo Dance."

They said "What is it?"

They replied, "It is a good thing for you, and any time you have a shortage of food, you will pray for food. This way it will increase your people and bring you plenty of food." They showed these people how to give the ceremony, paint, and dress.

42. Spoons have never been found in Mandan archaeological sites, whereas pots are abundant.

43. The Goose Women's Society. It was founded by Good Furred Robe, and the Corn bundle-owner was singer for this society.

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They thought, "How will we paint to make them good-looking? We might use some of the color of the snakes; they look nice. It is not a real snake but the worm on the chokecherry bushes. Between the shoulders they grow a hook. We will have that represent the mask and take that color for the buffaloes. The hook behind will be the buffalo horn and the branches will be the branches of the worm nest."

The people inquired how they would fix up that way and Lone Man said, "Go out and kill a buffalo; take all the flesh off of the skin and bring the hide to me." The people went out and killed a buffalo and brought the hide to the two men. They called one of the young men to stand before them. They took the horn off with the horn core removed. The young man had long hair hanging down. They put the horn on his back with the brush over it, reaching over his head and hanging down nearly to the ground. They painted him on the chest, legs, and arms with red, black, and white. All this was representative of this bug in color. When he was painted, he was very beautiful.

At this time they had a hide for a drum. They wanted to practice the songs that belonged to this drum, but the drum was not very solid. It would sink into the ground and soon wear out. Lone Man was doing the drumming, and he said to First Creator, "You show them how the dancing is done, and I will do the drumming." Lone Man sang the song, and First Creator danced, stretching his arms out. He danced and showed the painted man how to dance.

Lone Man said to the people, "You must not touch this drum, for it is very holy. We are going out to look for another drum and will be back after a while."

They went out, and after a while they came back with the badger. Even before they had the Buffalo Dance, Lone Man had a flat stick. Before he touched the badger, he held the stick up, but the badger pleaded that he was not strong enough. When he held the stick up, the badger sank into the ground.

They said, "The badger has no strength and is not suitable." They went to the beaver, but, before he ever hit the beaver, the animal sank into the ground. Each time he held his stick up, the earth shook. They went out again and came to a turtle. They asked him but the turtle replied, "I have no strength or power. I would rather that you went to the big turtle who is in the ocean. He would be a better drum, for his life will be so long that he will last forever. He will be better for the drum."

When they came to the shore, they found a large turtle; it was brown. They talked to the turtle saying, "We are looking for a drum to use in the dance, and now we need you for the drum."

The Turtle said, "That is all right. I do not think I can go myself, but you can look me over and then make one yourself out of a buffalo hide. When you fix it that way I will be there just the same, for you will be taking the shape of my body. If you do that, I will last forever."

When they returned, they killed a buffalo, took the hide off of the bull, and made a turtle. They made the legs out of oak and covered it with a hide from which the hair had been removed. Then they painted the outside with red paint. They finished the turtle, and in two days the hide was all dried up. First Creator said, "We must pick out a young man to dance in the costume; you show him how to dance." Lone Man made a motion as of striking the turtle. At the same time there was a noise as if the earth were cracking and

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dust came up, but the turtle was not driven into the earth like the other animals had been. Then Lone Man said, "That is the kind of drum we want; it will last forever. After this if any of you people dream of this dance or have a dream in which it is a part, then you must put up this dance. We are not going off right away but will be around near by."

He said, "When a young man is dancing, he may want to smoke the pipe. If they feel like smoking it, fill it up. I made it out of a green buffalo tail, bent it on one end to hold the tobacco, and filled it with sand until it was dry. The men with the buffalo heads must not touch the pipe. If he wants to smoke, you hold the pipe while he smokes."

About this time, Good Furred Robe, who was always traveling, found a red spot and wondered what it was. Going there, he saw that it was a stone. He thought that it might be a good thing to make a pipe from. Up to this time the people had used black stone pipes for smoking. He brought the red stone back. He thought how in the Buffalo Dance they used the buffalo tail and how it would be a good thing to fix up the red stone pipe and let them use that. He made a pipe with no elbow; the hole was in the end.

They had another Buffalo Dance, and one young man danced. At that time Lone Man came back. Good Furred Robe took the pipe to him and said, "I saw you using the buffalo tail, and I think this is better." Lone Man said, "It looks pretty, but I am afraid of it, for it is the color of human blood."

The Goose Women had put up a feast because the fields were drying up. Good Furred Robe took the pipe to them and said, "I have a good pipe here; it is a nice color. You should use it instead of the one you have that is not pretty." They said, "We are afraid of it because it is the color of human blood." The people were wondering where he had found the the red stone, and he took some of them to the place and showed them where he had found it. They saw some of the pretty stones and made a few pipes for their personal use. (I tried to claim the pipe stone quarries by this story, but some people did not believe it. Mrs. White Duck has Good Furred Robe's skull, but some of the younger men do not claim it because they are not familiar with this old story.)

Later three men were traveling around a great deal, and each time they would get out farther and farther. One time they came to the Missouri River and saw timber on each side. They reported this to the people, who thought that it must be a branch of the river they passed farther to the south. They decided to move from their village toward the river. They came to the Missouri River at what they called White Clay Creek.[44] It is below the Cheyenne River today. The camp was just opposite that river on the east side.

They built a camp there, and after three years the Awigaxa disappeared. They thought that the Awigaxa must have gone up the Cheyenne or White Clay River to the west. Two years afterward, about twelve families of the Awigaxa came back.

When they came back, they said, "They sent us back because the people out there do not think you know the Corn Medicine rites. They asked us to teach them to you."

The Awigaxa already talked a little differently from the others. Three years after they came back, the Buffalo Dance had increased so that four danced.

44. This is White River, which enters the Missouri River below Chamberlain, South Dakota.

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It is not known how many times they had villages along the river. At that time a man dreamed of the Buffalo Dance. He told his people afterward, "I saw more than one bull and many different birds and animals. There was a human being with a long penis. I saw four turtles instead of one."

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Lone Man came back. He related his dream to Lone Man, who said, "That is all right. You should try to put up the ceremony."

In the dream he had seen the four turtles. They had eagle feathers on their heads, but Lone Man said, "It would be hard for you to save that many feathers. You will have time to save some. Take your time saving all those feathers. If you think there are enough for four turtles, call me, and I will hear even though I am far away."

He saved all the feathers, knowing that it would take him a long time. In three or four years he had the necessary feathers, and then he called Lone Man. They made three more turtles just like the other one they had fixed before on the pattern of the ocean turtle.

When the two finished the turtles, they arranged them in a row, first the small one, then the two medium-sized ones, and then the large one which had been made first. Lone Man said, "You should give them what you can." It was the speckled eagle feathers that he was giving them. When he came to the last one, thinking it would like the calumet eagle's feathers best, he decorated it with those feathers. The one at the head said to the man, "You did not give me the right kind. That feather I do not like. For that reason, I am going back to the water."

They tried to hold him but could not. He walked away and went into the water. They called to Lone Man to help them. He came back and walked toward the turtle in the water. He took his lance up, sang his song, motioning with it at the water which ran apart. He could see the turtle in the water. He said, "They gave you the best of all. What is the matter?"

The turtle said, "That is all right." Then the water covered over the turtle again. I was never at the place[45] where it went into the water, but it was about opposite where Fort Yates now stands. The place or village is called "Where Turtle Went Back."

When Lone Man saw that the turtle was in the water, he turned around and walked back. Then they started the ceremony, and Lone Man said, "It is all right, for there are three left." They selected a big lodge and by that time the buffalo masks were taken inside. Lone Man was in there and the Ho'-kaha, a tall blue-gray bird with a long bill and a short tail [probably the heron], was in its place.

There were forty families that went out to White High Butte, now called Sheep Butte. These people separated from the others over in the woods before the Mandan reached the Missouri River. There is a river which runs north at Minot, North Dakota. There is a high butte up there called White High Butte. It is to the north of the Turtle Mountains. Their chief was Four Bulls, as you recall earlier in the story. Four Bulls and all his people had moved up there, building villages along the way until they reached this spot. Sometime in the spring they were living there. The Indians would make a trap of brush

45. Crows Heart has seen the spot and says that it is upstream from the mouth of the Cannonball River at an old village near Butte without Hair on the east bank. This is probably the Shermer Site. There is another Butte without Hair directly opposite on the west side of the Missouri River.

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and woven hair and put bait inside it. The birds going inside were taken. The birds were fat and good to eat. In the spring a young man, not knowing any better, pulled all the feathers off one of the birds and stuck one of the feathers through the bird's bill and nostrils. There were four medicine men there named Spring Buffalo, Winter Buffalo, Middle of the Summer Buffalo, and Autumn Buffalo.

At the time some of the young men in the village went out and caught young buffalo calves and brought them into the village. It was customary to blow up the entrails to dry. The young men blew up some, dried them, putting them over the calves' heads and telling them to go. When the Lone Man created these birds, he had them represent the water by the little spots under their wings. The four medicine men were angry at the way the calves were treated. The birds were angry also. They caused rain to fall for a long time. The water kept rising, getting nearer and nearer to the villages. The people called for Lone Man, saying that the water was coming and covering them. He fixed up the sticks in a circle with a water willow around them. When he finished, he took all the people of the village into the corral around the village. The four medicine men changed into buffaloes. They had a younger brother who was the magpie.

When the water began to cover the village, they started to swim to the Missouri. Magpie had a string around his neck which held the corn. One of the buffaloes was exhausted and said, "In the future there will be plenty of buffalo here and people can come here and hunt them." Then there were three. After a while one more of them was exhausted, and, before sinking, he said, "In the future there will be plenty of buffaloes if the people come here," and he sank.

A third one became exhausted, and he said, "In the future if people come here they will find plenty of buffaloes," and then he sank. There was one buffalo left, and he was swimming along. He saw a high butte in front of him. It was Birds Bill Butte,[46] and he swam toward it. He was completely exhausted when he reached the butte.

Back where Lone Man had the people in the corral, they were saved by the power of his corral. He said, "This cedar and corral is my protector. From this time on, you will always have it." The Mandan under Good Furred Robe traveled northward along the Missouri River until they reached the Heart River, where they joined the others whom Lone Man and First Creator had created at that place. At this time the flood was coming. These people built a large corral south of the Heart River on Eagle Nose Butte where they also were safe from the flood.

The Awigaxa did not have the turtles and cedar to protect them, for they had the Corn to worship. While living on the White Clay Creek and Cheyenne River, the Awigaxa became separated, and the group not having the Corn ceremonies was lost while making sinews near the Black Hills. Before the flood, the others came back to the Missouri River, for the river bottoms were not so large where they had been and not much corn could be grown. They built large villages at the mouth of the Cheyenne, Moreau, and other streams until they reached the mouth of the Grand River. At this time they had corn rites, but there is no mention of the Okipa or the sacred cedar.

When word reached the people who were living at the Grand River that a great flood was coming, they must not have had a sacred cedar since those who

46. Also known as Eagle Nose Butte.

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remained in their villages were drowned while those who escaped to the Rocky Mountains were saved. After the waters had retreated, those in the mountains planted corn out there, but the seasons were too short and the yields were small. The people wanted to return to the Grand River, but other people were living there. Scouts sent out reported that the other Mandan who had lived on the west bank of the Missouri near Painted Woods had left their village, the ruins of which were still standing, to seek shelter in a large corral built by Lone Man near the Heart River. The people decided to move from the mountains and built a village near Painted Woods at a spot where there was much wood.

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While living in this village called Awigaxa, Lone Man and First Creator came along and found them. They came along when the water was high during the spring floods and told the people that higher floods might come and that they should have something to protect them. Some of the people thought it would be easier to escape to the mountains, since it took so much goods to perform the Okipa and the rites at the sacred cedar. Others thought that it was more costly to travel so far. Still others thought that the cedar would be useful for other purposes. Lone Man sent a young man a dream in which he saw the buffaloes dancing at the sacred cedar, and the old men interpreted the dream to mean that they should give the Okipa. Some thought that goods should be paid in large quantities equal to the inconvenience of moving to the mountains, and from this time the Awigaxa were the most liberal of the villages in supplying goods for the ceremonies. Lone Man and First Creator came and taught young men who were brave and intelligent how to impersonate the different characters. There were more people in the ceremony than when the other Mandan were taught the ceremony while living far to the southeast.

Even the Awaxawi and Awatixa who were living on the Missouri at that time came to make offerings and to fast. The Hidatsa must not have come south yet from the place where they had gone to escape the flood, for nothing is said of them in this old story. After the Okipa ceremony was given, the people were very lucky because there were so many more gods to protect them. Because the people were so lucky, when the wood was exhausted at one place, they built another village near by. No bad luck came to them until smallpox was brought in by the white men.

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785 ployed by the Hidatsa in the NaxpikE ceremony, the Sun
171 Dance equivalent of that tribe, as was the case with the Mandans in their Okipa ceremony, where the one tortured was suspended until he became unconscious. This practice was modified in later years to conform with the Hidatsa custom.

785 The custom of cutting off fingers in mourning was universally practiced by the women but rarely by the men. The sacrifice
562 of fingers as a means of self-torture was practiced by men and
304 in only a few instances by women who, upon the death of a rel-
765 ative through warfare, sought by self-torture to revenge the relative's slaying at a time when her brothers contemplated a retaliatory raid on the enemy's camp during which time she would be fasting. Those seeking visions used a buffalo skull to cut the fingers on when a vision was sought.

787 Four Bears' fasting record at the base of a large oak tree in which a raven had its young, to learn the name of the Arikara
785 who had killed his brother, is still related as an example of the power which the supernatural had to clarify past deeds and bring success to the one adopted.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF FOUR BEARS[1]

787 A Mandan named Four Bears sent his younger brother out with the horses to a spot farther from the village where there was more grass. The Arikara
785 came and killed the boy. The men found him with a spear stuck through his body, which was a challenge to Four Bears to come and fight if he thought he
539 was lucky. Four Bears went out and brought the boy back to the village and saved the spear. He had already fasted in the Okipa and had many gods, but he began fasting again. He would fast and cry for seven days and nights without food and then come back to the village to rest. Then he would go out fasting again. He fasted near a high tree in which the ravens had a nest. He cut the flesh on his chest and inserted sticks with which he hung from the tree until he fell exhausted. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. One time he cut off a finger and offered it to the People Above and the raven that had its nest there.

The bird said, "It is an easy thing. You will find the man who killed your brother." The raven promised him that he could also bring rain. The bird added, "The one who killed your brother is named Bear Necklace, and he is the one you should kill."

In those days the dogs had names, so a clan father of Four Bears brought a dog to Four Bears to name, and he gave it the name Bear Necklace even before he killed the man. When Four Bears killed the Arikara without losing a man, and everything happened just as he had said the raven had predicted, he was highly respected.

1. This incident is mentioned in George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 238–41.

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When he returned to the village, people of his father's clan took away his gun, bow and arrows, and knife. He was required to pay in robes to get them back. The more one paid on these occasions, the higher he was regarded. 787 785 539

Scattercorn used the story of Big Coat to illustrate the severity of self-torture:

When Big Coat was eight years old, the Nuptadi Village was destroyed by the Sioux, and he was taken prisoner. When he was older, he escaped with his mother and came back to the Mandan. Thinking of the treatment of his people, he vowed that he would get a guardian spirit that was real strong so that he could kill many Sioux. He first went out to fast when he was seventeen years old. At first he only fasted four days at a time, and many animals offered him help. Then he began to fast seven days to get still greater gods. All the people began to recognize his ambitions and say that he would surely be lucky and become a great leader who would do much good some day. He began to cut off his fingers and offer them to the Sun, Moon, and big birds of the sky. He cut off three fingers of each hand, leaving only the thumb and middle finger of each hand which he needed to use the bow and arrow. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. He even cut off his flesh and offered it to the Holy Women.[2] Before he stopped fasting, he had nearly everything as a guardian. He was always successful when leading war parties. [304]

Offerings of fingers and flesh were made chiefly to the Sun, but included the other characters represented in the Sun bundles, which were the Moon, Old Woman Above, Woman Above (sister of the Sun), and the Holy Women. Sun was a cannibal and was believed to eat the human flesh offered to him. 785 304

Fasting and self-torture were practiced when on eagle-trapping expeditions.[3] The leader expected the younger men to volunteer. Dragging buffalo skulls by means of thongs through the skin of the back or suspension from trees or banks were the usual methods employed. Others drew wood to camp by means of these thongs. Fasting was not employed regularly at these camps except for short periods, since, to be successful, more time was consumed than in self-torture. When trapping was poor, many advanced middle-aged men would fast and cry to bring success. Self-torture was employed regularly when on war expeditions, but fasting was not practiced, since there was not time for the party to wait several days in one spot. Generally they were hung over a bank or from a tree. The thongs were inserted by one of the father's clan. 785

Dragging of buffalo skulls was done when in the summer vil-

2. These were his father's gods.
3. See chap. vii below.

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241 361 796 points was the accessibility to desirable corn grounds. With the prominent place of agriculture in the economic life of these people, it was a logical consequence that leaders of the Corn ceremonies should determine sites for new villages. Although the actual site was selected by the Corn bundle-owners, the laying-out of the open circle and location of the sacred cedar and ceremonial lodge was the responsibility of the individuals impersonating Lone Man and Hoita in the Okipa ceremony.

796 From an analysis of traditions and rites retained after the smallpox epidemics something of the nature of the old corn ceremonies could be determined.

1. There was only one Robe bundle, which came from the Nuptadi Village of the east side of the Missouri.

2. The Skull bundle was of west-side origin and came originally from the Awigaxa band, who were last to reach the Upper Missouri.

3. Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles and secondary bundles belonging to this ceremony were found in all Mandan villages and, in fact, in Hidatsa, Awatixa, and Awaxawi villages. The ceremonies and beliefs with few exceptions were identical between villages and tribes. This seems to be an older, widely diffused Mandan-Hidatsa ceremony to which new practices, particularly the fertility or consecration of the seed rites, were added, based mythologically on a dramatization of corn as people coming from the ground.

CORN MYTH OF THE ROBE BUNDLE RELATED BY SCATTERCORN[8]

773 •539 The Corn People were living under the ground by a lake. One day some of the people saw an opening reaching up to the land above, and there was a vine growing in this hole. They asked the Fox to climb up and see this land. He climbed up, but, when he stuck his nose out, he got only a brief look at the beautiful land above because Sun burned his nose.

Then they asked Elk to go up and dig the hole larger with his horns. He made the hole large so the people could get through. The people started up, following the vine. They came up continuously for four days, but on the last day a woman heavy with child broke the vine and ended the migration forever. All these people had been raising the corn on this land beneath the earth.

8. For another version of the same myth, apparently also related by Scattercorn, see Will and Hyde, *op. cit.*, pp. 218–23. Also see Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 35–48, for data on Good Furred Robe, including data on Corn Priest, Goose Women Society, and Black Mouth Society.

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There were four leaders in the group that reached the earth. They were three brothers and a sister. Their names were Good Furred Robe, Cornhusk Earrings, Uses His Head for Rattle, and a sister named Waving Corn Stalk. Good Furred Robe began to lay out the villages and fields. He laid out the lodges in rows like the rows of corn, and he assigned the garden plots to each family. Then he distributed corn, beans, squash, and sunflower seeds to each family.

In those days the sister would be out in the fields all day overseeing the work. One day a stranger came to the gardens and wanted to talk to her, but she would not see him. He came four times to see her, but each time she refused. That man was Sun. On his fourth visit he said, "What you plant you will not harvest."

The next day when the sun came up, the air was so hot that the corn wilted. After the sun had set, she went through the gardens with her robe singing the holy songs, and the corn plants revived. Sun scorched the gardens four times, and each time she revived them with her robe and songs.

The people were living there when men appeared on the opposite bank and said that they wanted to cross, and the Mandans called them Miditadi after that time. After the Hidatsa crossed the Missouri they camped near the Mandan villages. Some of their young men were foolish, and the customs at that time were quite different, so the older men were afraid that there would be trouble.

Good Furred Robe said, "Our ways are a little different, so I think it would be better if you had villages of your own. If you stay too near us, there will be trouble. If you go too far away, we will be strangers and there will be trouble. The best plan will be for you to travel north until, when you camp, you cannot see our fires. That will be the best place to settle. If you will send your chiefs over in the morning, I will give them all the different seeds we have."

That morning when the men arrived, Good Furred Robe broke an ear in two and said, "My friend, you can take the tip or the butt." The Hidatsa took the tip because he thought that it was the best part. The Hidatsa left that day. The Mandan built fires on the hills, and, when the Hidatsa had traveled until they could no longer see these fires, they stopped and built their village, which was at Knife River.

Good Furred Robe told the people that in the spring they should have certain songs sung when the ducks and other waterbirds came north so that there would be plenty of rain and good crops. He also told them that each family should bring out two kernels of each crop they grew and he would cleanse them so that they would germinate. All that spring and summer, he was painted with red paint and wore moccasins with the fur side on the inside. He wore his sacred robe all that time and could not eat early plums, berries, or garden products until the fall when the corn was ripe and the people announced that they had their seed for the next year. Men brought his meals to him while the crops were growing. He could not sleep with or go near his wives or other women. At the close of these restrictions, those with Corn medicines met, and there was a cleansing feast, after which these restrictions were removed.

Good Furred Robe also told the people that, when working in the gardens, they should burn sage and rub themselves with it to remove the bad spirits of the fields. In those days when he instructed them in that manner, worms and bugs fell from their robes, so the Mandan women set the rule of always burning sage at the close of the day's work in the fields.

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Then he organized two societies, one for the men and the other for the women. He called the society for the men "Brave Warrior Society" or "Black Mouths." He brought in the men to dance. Two were given cornstalks, for only the bravest were to carry them, and he told them that these plants represented the bravest men. In war these two men could get a stick and attach raven feathers to represent the corn. If this staff was stuck into the ground, they could hold the enemy back, and, if the Mandan wanted to retreat, they could pull up the staffs and retreat without being killed. The men were between thirty and forty years old.

He organized a women's society and called it the Goose Society. The older ones would be around thirty years of age and would keep the society for five years. He selected two little girls about eight years old and stood them in the middle of the group. One girl's mouth was painted blue, the other's was black, and both represented geese. Each member wore a gooseskin and head for a headdress. Whenever anyone made an offering to the waterbirds when they came north in the spring or in the fall when they returned to the south, this society met and danced. All others with rights in the Corn ceremonies came out at those times also. The leader of the Goose Society and the last woman in the line both carried small clay pots. People could come to these dances and make offerings of horses, guns, or robes which entitled them to dance in the line, going around the Corn Priest four times, which was a sign that the giver would live to be old.

When Good Furred Robe grew old, he told the people to keep his skull and that praying to it would be like praying to him when he was living. There was a little difference in the way that offerings were made to him. I told you today that, when anyone puts on a feast to Old Woman Who Never Dies, an image of her is put up before the giver's lodge so that all will know that the household has made a feast to her. When feasts to the Sacred Robe or the Sacred Skulls are made, the offering is placed on a post on the prairies near the village.

The inheritance of the Sacred Robe bundle was from Good Furred Robe's brother, Uses His Head for Rattle.

SKULL BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY MRS. WHITE DUCK

Long ago the Mandan lived together under the ground near the ocean. Some hunters found a hole reaching up to the surface of the land we are now living on and climbed up to investigate. Before they reached the top they heard the bellowing of the buffalo herds. On reaching the top, they found buffalo herds everywhere. Elk, deer, and antelope were in great numbers also. They killed some buffaloes and dried the meat to take back to the people. Then they returned to the hole and went back down to the land below. When the people below learned that game was plentiful up above, they wished to come up at once, but the second chief of the people warned them that fat women heavy with child must not go up at that time.

The people started coming up to the top, but, when about half of them were up, a large woman heavy with child started up. The people said she should not go up but should wait until her child was born. She insisted, but her weight broke the grapevine, and she fell down. This separated the people, half being below and half above.

Before coming out of the ground, Corn was a man. Everyone looked to him to give them success in raising their garden products. When the vine broke, he was still below, but his daughter, Waving Corn Stalk, succeeded in reaching the

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top. She looked back into the hole and cried when she learned that her father was separated from her. She cried, "What shall I do? I am up here all alone."

Her father replied, "You are old enough to understand all my ways of doing things. I give you the right to plant the corn anywhere you wish. Plant the corn anywhere up there, and it will grow, even though you plant it on top of rocks. You have your three brothers with you up there."

After the Mandan had been on the earth a long time, word came that because of angering Manika a big flood was coming. The people separated then, most of the west-side people went to the Rocky Mountains, but the others stopped at Birds Bill Butte south of Mandan, building their village on the highest banks out of reach of the waters. It took a long time for the ones who went west to reach the mountains because there were only dogs to draw the travois. While there they said they would make some holy things to bring the rain when they wanted it, so they killed an elk to get a robe on which they drew a picture of the mountains with the clouds, lightning, and the thunderbird on it. They lived there many years but turned back because it was not a good place to raise corn. The people found plenty of buffalo, but they were disappointed because they could not raise corn. Others did not like the climate with its frequent rains and snowstorms.

While they were in the high mountains, the flood came to the people along the Missouri River, but, when they reached the old villages, the water had gone down. They came to the camp opposite Yellow Earth Village on the west side and there found the old people they had left building a new village, for they had moved up the river fom Birds Bill Butte. There was another Mandan village just a short distance up the river from Yellow Earth Village on the same side of the river. We called those east-side people Nuptadi in late years, but they came from one of the two east-side villages, I think it was Yellow Earth Village.

During the time they were up to the mountains the three men whose skulls I have were with them. Many years after they came back the three brothers and the sister died. Since Waving Corn Stalk was a woman, her brother had helped her in the ceremonies to the corn, and, since he could not live forever, he taught others the ritual for corn-growing and asked that the people keep his skull when he died, for praying to it would be the same as praying to him. All three brothers were placed on a scaffold when they died. A year later the flesh had all decayed so their skulls were put in the same bundle which became a part of the Corn Medicine. The sister, Waving Corn Stalk, being one of the Spirit Women, became associated with the bundle for the Old Grandmothers.

OLD WOMAN WHO NEVER DIES MYTH RELATED BY MRS. GOOD BEAR[9]

The Old Woman Who Never Dies formerly lived below the Cannonball River on an island in the ocean, and no one knew there was such a person living there until two young men, Black Medicine and Sweet Medicine, were out hunting. In their wandering, they came to an object on the ground resembling a large baloon. There was a spot on the ground where the ground was bubbling

9. For a closely related myth see Hidatsa myth concerning visit of two men to Old Woman Who Never Dies in my MS, "Hidatsa Ceremonial Life" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago). Also see Densmore, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–84, for a portion of this myth related by Ben Benson.

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up. These two hunters shot into it with their arrows, and a strong wind came out of it and blew them far out into the water onto an island. When the wind went down, the two brothers looked about and saw an earth lodge and many whitetail deer near by. The two men went to the earth lodge where they found the Old Woman Who Never Dies, and she was glad to see them. She asked how they got there, and the two brothers told of the big wind that had brought them there.

When they arrived at her lodge, she was making some corn mush, and her spoons were made of clam shells. She had no dishes, so she gave them the pot to eat from. They ate in turn. At first they thought the portion was too small and that there would not be enough, but they ate all they wanted and the pot still remained as full as before they began their meal.

After finishing their meal, they told the Old Woman that they were going out to kill some of the deer, and the Old Woman nodded her consent. They soon saw whitetail deer jumping up everywhere about them, killed two of them, and butchered them for her with their flint knives. They returned with the animals, and the Old Woman expressed her pleasure at their success. She asked them to leave the deer at the door, for she wanted to cut them up for drying and they did. As soon as the boys were inside she told the deer to jump up and run away and to tell all the other deer to stay away from the lodge for a while because the two brothers were good shots.

One day the grandmother told the young men to stay out of sight as it was getting late in the fall, and she was expecting visitors for the winter. The next morning when the waterbirds flew by, the boys saw the Corn Spirits flying to the door of the lodge in groups of two. The young men noticed that all were beautiful women. All were well mannered and timid. Each carried dried meat which was piled in a heap near the center of the lodge saying, "I have come from the northland with your messengers who have shown me the way. Take good care of me or I will die."

Grandmother said, "I will take good care of you and keep you until spring when my messengers go back to the northland for the summer. I will awaken you then and send you back to my people at the Heart River." Then each turned into an ear of seed corn; some were white, others yellow, red, blue, pink, black, or mixed color. She put them away according to their group. The young men saw what had happened and knew that this was the winter home of the Corn Spirits.

The boys stayed around for a while and became homesick; they knew of no way to get home, for they were on an island and everywhere they looked there was water. They thought of fastening logs together for a raft, but the Old Woman said that her grandfather (husband's father) would take them to land. They looked about, but they saw no man. She said, "That is all right; go to the shore this evening and say to the waters 'Grandfather,[10] we want to go home in the morning.' "

The next morning the Old Woman arose early and made four large four-in-one corn balls. They were made of corn, sunflowers, squash, and beans ground together. She gave the two boys the corn balls for their journey would be tiring, since the distance was so great. When the two boys reached the lake shore, they saw a large snake on the water. This serpent had but one eye,

10. One's grandmother's grandfather, man or woman speaking, is also addressed as "Grandfather."

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which was in the middle of his head. This eye resembled a sunflower very closely except that at times lightning would flash forth. The snake was about thirty feet long and had two large horns resembling deer horns. The Old Woman told the boys to hang onto the horns, sitting on the head while traveling and their grandfather would take them across safely. When ready, the snake started and swam for a long time. When he grew fatigued, the boys gave him one of the corn balls, which refreshed him again. He became fatigued a second and a third time, and each time the two brothers fed him one of the corn balls. Just after giving him the fourth corn ball, the brothers saw land ahead, but the snake did not have strength to complete the journey. One of the brothers thought of some dried meat he had in his pockets and fed this to the snake so he was able to get them safely to the shore. They landed, and the snake disappeared. They thought he went back to the island, swimming under the water.

The two men traveled all day and failed to reach home. The second day they traveled until nearly evening when they saw something before them. Coming nearer, they saw that it was a large snake. It was so large they could not climb over and so long that they could not walk around it. They thought the best way would be to burn a hole through it, so they began to gather buffalo chips which they heaped against the snake. When the pile was as high as their heads, they lit the fire. Soon the snake was thoroughly cooked. One of the young men was foolish and suggested to the other that they eat some of the meat, but the wiser one said that it was wrong to do so. Nevertheless, the foolish one ate his fill, remarking to the other that the snake tasted like fish. Still the other would not be tempted.

After finishing his meal, they went through the opening burned in the snake and traveled until dark. They lay down on the prairie to sleep. In the morning the one who ate the snake said something was wrong with his feet. When he removed his moccasins he found that his feet were the same color as the snake's body. He was happy and said, "Now my girl will like me with my pretty feet." The wiser boy thought that something bad would surely come out of it all.

The third night they killed a deer, ate its ribs roasted before the fire, and went to sleep as soon as they had eaten. On awakening the next morning, he found the spots had extended until they were above his knees. The sensible brother was afraid, but the man with the spots thought nothing bad would come of it. The fourth night they camped as before and retired shortly after eating. In the morning the young man's entire body had turned into a snake with one eye just like the snake he had eaten of. His brother was very sad and did not know what to do. He cried aloud, and in a little while the snake spoke to him and said, "Take me down to the river." The other man could not carry him, so he was obliged to crawl. As they traveled toward the river, lightning from the snake's eye set the prairies afire. Finally, they reached the river opposite Birds Bill Butte which were just west of the Missouri River. In parting, the snake said, "My head will be up toward the mouth of the Yellowstone and my tail will be at the Birds Bill Butte. You can tell my people whenever they think about me, to make four corn balls, throw them into the waters, and then pray to me." (I have done this often. People who crossed the river often made these offerings so that the snake would protect them.)

The snake said, "I want you to get me a skunk cap. Make it look pretty.

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When you bring it to the river, tie it to one of the red willows and throw it into the water. I'll be there to receive it."

The young man made a cap as instructed and threw it into the river together with four corn balls. Afterward the young man became prominent in the tribe. He was successful in war and brought back many scalps. When he first came home, he told his friend's father and mother about their son so they would not grieve. The wise young man became the leader of the tribe and had more power than any of them. Every summer he would go down to the river and offer corn balls to his friend. He also told the tribe about his meeting with the Old Woman who was one of the Holy Women.

Years after this all happened, the Old Woman Who Never Dies moved up the river to Holding Eagles just across the river from Elbowoods, where she would spend the summers. The men on the warpath or out hunting found her there, but none seemed to know how she got there. They thought that she came north in spring with the summer birds. She liked buffalo paunch which she dried before preparing it as food. While she lived there, she had a large garden on the river bottoms just below her lodge. There she raised corn, squash, sunflowers, and beans in great quantities.

While she lived there, Sun and Moon, who lived above in the sky, came down to the earth. These two men, Sun and Moon, had a mother who was getting old and feeble.

Moon said to Sun, "Our mother is getting quite old. I think we should marry."

Sun said, "What kind of girl do you want to marry?"

Moon said, "I want to marry a girl from one of those Corn-sheller villages."

Sun said, "Do you like those women?"

"Yes," replied Moon, "they are good-looking women."

Sun said, "You are mistaken. The women have only one eye with wrinkles all over their faces whenever they look at me."

"Well," replied Moon, "what kind of woman do you want to marry?"

Sun said, "A Toad Woman. When they look at me they have such pretty blue eyes."

"Then," said Moon, "you marry a Toad Woman, and I'll get a Mandan girl for my wife."

It was time to marry. Moon came down to get his wife. There was a large summer village on a flat near the woods. Moon transformed himself into a porcupine and climbed up into a young cottonwood tree. Two Mandan girls came into the woods looking for firewood. They saw the porcupine and one said, "Let's get this porcupine." The younger one climbed into the tree. When she came to the porcupine, he went higher. This continued with the tree growing higher until they could see her no longer. Moon changed himself back to a human being and took the girl into his lodge. Juneberries were growing at the door. At the door of Sun's lodge red willows were growing.

Moon said to his mother, "Go out and get my wife." The old woman found the girl and brought her into the lodge.

Then Sun said to his mother, "Go out and get my wife."

The Old Woman went out and could not find anyone. Sun said, "Look under the brush." She looked under the brush and there she found a large toad. The toad hopped up to the door but could not quite jump over the step. She passed water at each jump. At last she got in the lodge.

The mother brought in the two girls and asked them what they wanted to

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eat. The Mandan girl wanted the thin part of the paunch, and the toad wanted the thick part. She cooked the paunch and some dried meat. She gave the thin part to the Mandan girl and the thick part to Toad Woman. 773 539

The Old Woman wanted to know which could eat the better and make the loudest crackling noise with her teeth. The Mandan girl had sharp teeth and could eat like a wolf. The toad had no teeth, so she tried to chew charcoal so as to make a noise. Everyone laughed at her. Moon laughed at her, and she became very angry. She jumped from the corner up onto Moon's breast and stuck there. Moon cut her away with his knife and threw her into the fire. Then she jumped on his back between his shoulder blades where he couldn't reach her. The Toad Woman said, "I shall stay here as long as I live." When we see the moon up in the sky, the black spot in the middle is that Toad Woman there still.

Moon had a son by the Mandan girl. The girl did not have much to do, so she went out digging wild turnips. One day she pulled up a large male turnip that has no bloom. In taking it out, she punched a hole through the ground and saw the earth down below where she had come from. Everything looked beautiful there, and then she knew where she belonged. She set about to find some means of getting down. She thought that if she had a long string she could get down to the earth. She told her son to ask his father to get all the sinews of a buffalo when on the hunt. The father wanted to know why his son wanted sinews. The Mandan girl said that they were to be used in her work. Moon went out hunting and brought back all the sinews of the buffalo except a little piece from the hip. Then she had a mouse fashion them into a long rope. However, she could only get to the top of the trees because the sinews from the hip had been left out. Moon came back from hunting and could not find his wife. He looked about for a long time. He finally remembered where his wife had been digging turnips. He found the turnip hole and saw his wife hanging down there on the end of the rope.

When Moon saw this, he looked down at her and said, "I will kill that woman."

He picked up a stone from above and sent it down, instructing it to kill the woman but to spare her son. The stone is still to be found near where Holding Eagles live. The stone hit the girl on the head, killed her, and knocked her down near the edge of Old Woman Who Never Dies' garden.

The Old Woman went out to her garden one day and saw the tracks of a little child. She wondered whether it was a boy or girl, so she made a ball of buffalo skin with a stick to hit it with and also a bow and arrows. She lay in the brush near by and watched. While she was there, a little child came walking that way. He picked up the bow and arrow. He shot at the ball.

After the Old Woman saw this, she knew it was a boy and caught him. She put his face against her breast and coddled him. Then she took him to her lodge and fed him corn mush. Her pot was full of mush which never could be completely consumed. The Old Woman told him that he should have a bow and arrows so that he could kill birds. She told him to take the juneberry branch down to the Short Missouri and say, "Grandfather, make me a bow and arrows."

Then she told him to leave it there and come back, adding, "You can scatter red corn around the fireplace so the blackbirds will come in and eat but don't kill any." The boy did as he was told. Many birds came into the lodge

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to eat, but he covered up the smokehole and, taking up a stick, killed many of them.

After he killed the blackbirds, the Old Woman came home. Grandson said, "Grandmother, see; I have killed all these blackbirds so they won't trouble your garden."

The Old Woman said, "All right," and shooed out the live birds before piling up the dead ones. Then the little boy was told to go down to the Short Missouri and get his arrows and bow. He ran down to the edge of the water and found his bow and arrows, which made him very happy.

Meanwhile, the Old Woman went off for a day. The boy learned that the Old Woman traveled up in the air even though she had no wings and could go anywhere she wanted to. After he got his bow and arrows, he was out hunting every day. He always went to the places where his grandmother told him not to go.

One day she said to him, "You keep away from those hills. Something there will get you."

The boy was very anxious to find out what was there, so he went to the hills. A large elk came out of the hills and ran toward the boy, intending to kill him, but the boy didn't run away. When the elk was near, the boy shot and killed him. Another elk came, and it was the doe.

The boy said, "Stop! I don't want to kill you because you are a doe."

She stopped, and he went up to her and pulled out her front teeth which then were very sharp. He threw away the sharp teeth so that the elk could not bite people. He replaced them with big beans so we have the blunt elk teeth of today. He then butchered the bull and brought the paunch in for his grandmother.

The next day he went out hunting again and went quite a long distance from his grandmother's lodge to the edge of the woods. A large bear came out after him. The little boy said, "Stop or I will kill you," so the bear stopped. In those days bears had very sharp teeth, but the little boy thought that they shouldn't have such teeth. He set to work with a stone and filed down the bear's teeth. He said to the bear, "Take me to my grandmother's lodge," and the bear did.

He called his grandmother and she came. "See here," he said, "I have a servant for you who is strong and can pack heavy loads."

The boy had also taken up some dirt and put in the bear's eyes. Since then the bears haven't been able to see as well as they used to. The grandmother was very surprised to see the boy on the bear's back. She said that she was very glad to have a big dog. After the little boy went into the house she told the bear to leave and turned him loose. The bear went back into the woods again.

The Old Woman had a bed surrounded by curtains of buffalo hide. It was made as they used to in those times. Once a day she would take corn mush in a wooden bowl and put it in the bed. After a while she would take out the plate and it would be empty. The boy noticed this and wondered who was in her bed. One day after the grandmother went away the boy opened the bed and found a snake which was the Old Woman's husband. He took his bow and arrow down and shot the snake. He took him down to the Short Missouri River and threw him into the water.

When the Old Woman came home, the boy told her about killing the snake and told her where he had put it. The Old Woman became afraid of him and suspected that he had greater power than ordinary people.

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In the morning she told him not to go into the bunch of box elders some distance from the lodge. When the grandmother went away, he went over there. He found two men there butchering a buffalo cow with a calf in it. The boy thought his grandmother would like the calf, so the men pulled out the buffalo calf and threw it toward the boy. He backed off and climbed into a tree to the very top. The men left the calf at the foot of the tree. They then picked up the rest of the buffalo meat and left.

After the men had been away some time they thought of the boy in the tree, and they went back. They took the boy down; he was thin. The calf was still under the tree. The two men told the boy that the old grandmother was their sweetheart but that she would not have them. They wanted her so they asked the boy to hurry and have the ceremonies so they could "walk" with the grandmother.

In the meanwhile she was looking for the boy because she thought that someone had killed him, but she went by the place without seeing him. The boy came home and told his grandmother what the men had said. She thought that she would find a way to get revenge for the way they had made the boy suffer those four days. She told the boy in advance that at the ceremonies there would be both good and poor bows.

She said, "Take the poorest one they have for that will be the oldest one. It will be the best one, for it can even shoot over a hill and kill things."

When the time came for the medicine doings, she prepared corn balls. They sent for the two men, who came also. Bows and arrows were brought. When the boy selected the old bow, the men said that the boy would be lucky. During the ceremonies, the two men "walked with the grandmother."[11]

The two men were about to return when the Old Woman said, "You caused my grandson to suffer for four days. Now, I am going to make you suffer, too." The men did not pay any attention to her and went away.

The winter set in hard and cold. The men made a good living hunting buffalo and elk until toward spring. The Old Woman said, "Now is the time."

Using her whistle, she caused a severe snowstorm to come. It snowed for four days. The men built a temporary shelter to protect their fire. Soon their wood was gone, and they had no more meat. They thought they would surely die. The grandson came and cried. Then the storm stopped.

Some time later the Old Woman said to her grandchild, "Don't go to that red hill over there."

The boy said he wouldn't, but still he had a desire to go there. Finally he went to the hill. The hill was covered with snakes. He reached their large circular den and went in. He sat on a flat rock in the middle of the den which was like the interior of an eagle-trapping lodge. They talked to him, and he told them stories until nearly daylight. He told them about his life. They went to sleep one at a time. Some of them tried to go under him but the flat rock prevented them. Finally, he said he would tell them a story, for all the snakes were drowsy by that time.

The snakes had poles for pillows. He got up after all were asleep. He took his knife out and cut their heads off. One small snake escaped. The boy chased the snake but could not get him as the snake went into his hole.

After he killed the snakes,[12] he remembered what his grandmother had told

11. This rite was to bring buffaloes near the villages.

12. See chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping" for ritualistic observances relating to this snake den.

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him about his family. Then he made up his mind to go home. He started home from the big den and did not return to his grandmother.

Finally he reached his mother's village at Heart River. He saw that his people were lean and starving. He said, "What is the matter?" At the same time a party was coming back with the meat. He saw white crows in the air crying, "Pas," causing the meat to turn bitter. The boy said, "I'll fix that."

As soon as the crows said the word, the meat became bitter and could not be eaten. The men then threw the meat away, and the crows ate it. The boy caught two birds, a male and a female. He painted them black and made them change their cry to "Ka." Since then the crows don't cry "Pas" any more.

After that no more meat spoiled. The people of the village did not know who the boy was, but they had heard that he was the grandchild of the Old Woman Who Never Dies.[13]

After he changed the crows' color, the people told him about another bad thing. It was about the dogs. The dogs could talk. They would tell stories to the men about their wives running out at night. They thought that it would be better for the dogs not to be able to talk.

In those days the dogs had mouths like humans. The boy took his knife out and slit their mouths from ear to ear. From then on the dogs could not talk.

After that he left the village and went to another one. When he got there, he found that the people had no mouths, although they had teeth. He walked among them and wondered how they ate enough to live. He saw that the people made very rich corn balls and smelled of them. That was how they lived. He asked them why they had no mouths. They replied that they did not know, for they had been that way all their lives, so he cut all their mouths open so they could eat.

When he was returning to the first village, it rained very hard, and he was wet. He sat on the ground. The little snake had always watched for his chance. He was sitting down when the little snake entered Grandson's body and went up into his entrails. He broke the boy's body in two and then went up into his head. He broke the head from the body and went into the skull. The head rolled down the hill and stopped upside down. There came a heavy rain and filled the skull with water. Then the sun shone very bright, and it became warm. The water warmed and almost came to a boil. This is how hot it was. The snake kept going in and out of the hole [foramen magnum]. Finally the skull caught the snake in the hole and squeezed him. The body came together, and the boy was as before.

In those days the snakes had long noses. The boy took up a rock and filed the nose until it was nearly all worn off. The snake said, "Stop! Otherwise, I'll have no nose."

The boy said, "You must never bite the people or bother them."

The snake agreed, saying, "There will be people with medicine to make the snakes harmless from now on."[14]

Then he went over to a little hole and said to the boy, "I won't do any harm to anyone unless he hurts me or tries to catch me." Then he went down his hole. Since then the rattlesnakes haven't bitten people unless disturbed.

The boy came back to the first village and became a great man and leader. He was able to make the buffaloes come close to the village whenever he

13. He is No'hąka Tawi'hąka of the Okipa ceremony.
14. This was the mythological basis for Snake-curing bundles.

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wanted to, so that the people always had meat. He had good luck on the battlefield and could bring rains for the crops. 773

Then he was married. Two sisters were brought to him by their father and mother. (This was the custom in olden times. The parents of children of marriageable age would bring them to some eligible man.) 539

The boy's grandmother is still living. The people downstream from the Knife River used to follow the river up to her place when on the warpath and eat corn with her. She would tell them how many people they would kill.

She became tired of this because they came too often, so she moved down the river about four miles, then up into the hills to the west where she disappeared. Since then she has been one of the Holy Women connected with corn. She must come back to Short Missouri, as people fasting there during the summer dream of her. Grandson went back to the sky and became one of the large stars.

CORN PIPE CEREMONY

This ceremony became extinct after 1837 and is remembered only from tradition. The principal article in its bundle was a sacred wooden pipe. The pipe was kept by Blue Snake Woman when her husband and children died during the smallpox epidemic. She surrendered the bundle to a daughter, who sold the pipe to Black Bear, who died a few years ago. The full bundle ritual was not performed after the smallpox epidemic, since those holding rights or acquainted with the ceremony had died. 796 778

The pipe was noted for its supernatural powers in producing winds. It was brought out when the days were warm and sultry to drive away the mosquitoes, so that women would not suffer from their bites while in the gardens. People were not permitted to climb on the lodge in which it was kept. If it was dropped or touched, the wind would blow. 778 821

According to tradition, a woman went to the Missouri River for water when the river was at flood stage. Driftwood was floating down. When she dipped up the water, she saw the pipe and an ear of yellow flint corn together in the water. She took the pipe and corn home and gave them to her husband, who called all the holy men to tell them of her discovery. They were afraid of the pipe because a high wind came up when one dropped it and did not want to keep it. They put it back in the water, thinking it would float on wherever it was going to. The woman found the pipe and corn four times at four different places where they camped. The holy men concluded that, since they had tried to get rid of it but it kept following them, it should be kept. They thought the corn should be divided among the families. In that way yellow flint corn was introduced in the tribe. 778 773

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796 villages on the east bank of the Missouri River. The method of
773 acquiring this sacred lore is characteristic of most Mandan-
776 Hidatsa bundles, but the particular spirits participating and the contributions made by each is characteristic solely of eagle-trapping. The chief spirit contributors were Old Black Bear, Coyote, Snake, Buffalo, Young Eagle, and Little Black Bear.

796 Old Black Bear taught Black Wolf these songs: (1) song to the
773 lodge (sung when building the lodge); (2) song to the sweat
776 lodge (sung when the sweat lodge was being built and when it was being used); (3) song to the bait; (4) song to the pit;
533 (5) song to the snare; (6) song to the goose; (7) song to the swan; (8) song to the little bear; and (9) song to the bear.

Coyote taught the following song:

My old one — autumn
here I go (come to) — Your power is strong.

The snakes contributed a song to be used when making offerings to the snake poles, since they belonged in the ceremony because Grandson once visited the bears while the ceremony was in progress.[6]

Buffalo[7] asked to come along and he contributed this song:

Lodge — we have come lodge — they have come

The *ma-si* eagle taught this song:

Earth above — I am walking
Earth on — I am walking

773 Several versions of the origin of eagle-trapping were recorded
539 during this study, and they were all essentially alike. Ben Benson, who had secured his rights from Iron Eyes, his father, supplied the following origin myth of eagle-trapping.

EAGLE-TRAPPING MYTH (BLACK WOLF) RELATED BY BEN BENSON[8]

A long time ago the Mandan did not know how to catch eagles or how to do many of the things they learned to do in later years. In one of the villages

6. Cf. my manuscript on "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Life" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago), for myth of Grandson visiting the Snakes, which slept with their heads on two poles and on opposite sides of the fire in Red Butte; cf. also above for the myth of Grandson, son of the Moon, in chap. vi, on "The Corn Ceremonies."

7. A bundle containing a buffalo bull skull occupied major bundle status.

8. For other relations of this myth by Ben Benson see Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 64–69, and Martha

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there was a young man by the name of Black Wolf who never went far from home. He preferred to stay around camp where he could dress up in fine clothes and call on all the girls. The active young men who were always out away fom the village hunting and fighting the tribe's enemies did not like the way he spent his time with the girls of the village. One night he was sitting under the corn scaffold in front of a young girl's lodge when an old man, one of the announcers of the village, went from house to house calling the names of the best runners of the tribe. He asked that these young men go out in search of the buffalo herds.

When this man came near where Black Wolf was sitting, he arose and went to the man and said, "I want to go. Won't you call my name so I can go?"

The announcer replied, "We have only selected good runners who have a good reputation in the tribe." Black Wolf only asked that his girl might hear him and not because he really wanted to go out in search of the herds. The announcer said, "Young man, come to the lodge where we meet and tell when you want to go."

Black Wolf went to the lodge, and the young men decided to go out at once. Their village was Yellow Earth Village,[9] and they set out in a northerly direction. It was dark when they left. The others saw that Black Wolf was with them and did not like it, for he was always with their girls, and, besides, he did not know the country they were traveling through. One of the hunters said, "We'll give him a good run," so they ran two or three miles, then walked a short distance, after which they ran again. Since they were afoot, Black Wolf soon became tired and lagged far behind. A little before daybreak the leader of the hunters halted the party to sleep for a short time. Black Wolf went sound asleep, and, when he awoke, the others had gone on. "Let him sleep," they had said as they started out. The day was foggy, and Black Wolf did not know where to go, for he had never been so far from home before. He called to the others, but nobody replied. The fog lifted in the middle of the day, and he found that he was far to the north. He walked along and each time he came to a buffalo skull, he took off some of the fine clothes he had been wearing when he went to see the girls until he was naked. Each article of clothing he offered to the buffaloes. He came to some buckbrush and lay down in it looking up into the sky. While there a beautiful calumet eagle[10] came above him, and the boy thought of his father who often shot them. While he was watching the eagle, he saw it come down to the ground and light. Suddenly the eagle disappeared from sight and something black came out of the ground and walked away. He wanted to know what all this meant, so he walked over to the spot where the eagle was seen to disappear. He found an eagle pit with a dim trail leading away from it. He followed the trail leading away from the ravine to a spring of clear water, near which he saw a round grass lodge. The

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Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 206–14. The latter work also includes a version of the myth related by Bears Arm (below, Appendix IV). Another version of the myth by Wolf Chief is reported by George H. Pepper and Gilbert L. Wilson, *An Hidsata Shrine and the Beliefs Respecting It* ("Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association," Vol. II [1907–15]), pp. 306–18.

9. One of the east-side villages north of Bismarck known today as the Bourgeois or Double Ditch site.

10. The eagle with white tail feathers and black tips.

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lodge had been made by sticking green poles in the ground in the form of a circle and bending them over at the top so that the lodge was like half a ball. Each pole was less than half the length of a man's foot apart, and the spaces between were filled with grass so that from the outside only the grass could be seen.[11]

On reaching the grass lodge, he saw eagle tail feathers hanging everywhere about the outside of the lodge. Inside he heard someone moving, and then a voice said, "You should bring the firewood."

Someone came out and saw Black Wolf standing there. He went inside and said, "Black Wolf is out there."

Another voice said, "Tell him to come in."

Someone came to the door and said, "Come in."

There was a little fellow in there, and he said, "Sit beside your younger brother." They cooked tender fat meat, and there was plenty of fresh water and dried meat, so that all had enough to eat. There were many people there, and they lived chiefly on young eagles. These people were the little bears. The black ones belonged on the left side and the brown ones on the right.[12]

Next morning someone called, "There is a good wind; the wind is from the right direction."

The little boy dressed and said, "I must go out catching eagles." All the others in the house left, leaving Black Wolf alone all day. When evening came, the little boy returned with an eagle.

Black Wolf said, "Younger brother, I want to go with you next time; it is too lonesome here alone."

The little boy said he would ask his father. The father said, "You may go with him, but you should be very careful."

Next morning they went out, and Black Wolf went with them. The little boy and Black Wolf both climbed into the pit. Black Wolf said, "Younger brother, when the eagles come, let me catch one."

He replied, "That is what father meant when he said for you to be careful. You must be very quick."

The little boy had been catching them by sticking his hand out as bait, and, when the eagle came down, he had been seizing it with the other hand. "This time you better be quick," the little boy warned, "for my hand is out." A bald-headed eagle was coming down; they are hard to catch. Before Black Wolf caught the eagle, it had stuck its claws through the little boy's wrists. Black Wolf pulled the eagle into the pit and took the claws out of the little boy's hand, but the pain was so severe that he cried and went home. Black Wolf walked right behind him, crying too, he felt so sorry for his little brother.

As they walked, Black Wolf saw a pretty leaf and dug to the roots of the plant to get the black sweet roots to chew and put on the wounds, thinking it might help the boy's hand. This root was Black Medicine.[13] He put the root which he chewed up onto the boy's hand, and it felt better immediately. The

11. This type lodge appears frequently in Mandan mythology, but there is no record of its use in any of the recorded expeditions.

12. This represents the mythological distribution of trapping sites with the Black Bears on the east bank of the Missouri River and the Brown Bears on the right bank.

13. The introduction of Black Medicine to the ceremony illustrates native belief of the development of a ceremony. Even ceremonial founders draw elements from other sources.

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little boy was happy to be relieved of the pain, and the father inquired of Black Wolf where he found the material, for he wanted to gather some to keep near in case eagles should seize anyone again.

In a few days the little boy's hand was well again. Black Wolf was sitting on top of a hill when the little boy came to him and asked why he was sitting there alone. Black Wolf said, "I am lonesome for my people. At this time of day we had such good times at Yellow Earth Village. I am homesick."

The little boy promised to speak to his father about it. The father said he could go any time he wished, and the boy came back with the news to Black Wolf.

"If father asks you when you want to go, say 'Now,' for 'Tomorrow' means one year from now." The father said he could go in the morning.

Early in the morning the three awakened and dressed. After eating, the father said, "You two boys go out to the side of the lodge and pick the best feathers you can find there." The boys found many good eagle feathers and soon had a bag full of them. The father asked that two bunches of sage he brought and divided into two equal piles and he gave each pile to Black Wolf. He said, "Go south until you come to the highest place. Go up there and put one bunch of sage on the ground and step on it; put the other bunch one step ahead, and step on that, reaching back for the bunch behind you. Step that way four times, and the fourth time you will look ahead of you and see your village."

Black Wolf went south toward the highest hill, where he put the sage down as he had been directed and stepped ahead four times. When he looked up, he was near home, and the sun was just going down. He thought he would stay outside the village until it was dark and then go in.

The old man eagle-trapper had told Black Wolf that, when he arrived home, the chief would bring his two daughters to him to take as his wives. "When you are married to them, come over and see us. Bring one wife.[14] Go a little ways from camp and step on the sage just as I told you, and you will be here at once."

The little brother had said to him after they went to bed the last night, "My father says you will come back. When you come here cry, 'My father, I want a stuffed animal' and keep saying that over and over." The father had heard them talking and asked them to be quiet and go to sleep, but the little boy said that they were only talking about the brother's trip home the next day.

After dark Black Wolf went into the village and walked to his father's lodge, which he found closed. He called, "Father, I am home."

The man said, "Who can that be talking?" The boy had been away so long that he had been nearly forgotten. The father opened the door, saw Black Wolf, put his arms around his boy's neck and fainted. The mother come to the door, saw her son, and fainted also. Soon the parents regained their senses. A bright fire was built up and the boy put the package down. In the meanwhile, the father went through the village calling, "My son whom we thought dead is home." They opened the package and found many fine eagle tail feathers in it. The chief's son was there and saw all the fine feathers. He went home at once and told his father about it, for the young man had longed for a fan made of eagle feathers.

14. This would be the older wife, as she was first to partake in the ceremonies.

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The chief said, "If you want a fan, it is best that you let your sisters marry the man."

The young son replied, "You can attend to that better yourself."

The chief ordered his wives to cook some of the best dried meat and corn before inviting Black Wolf in. The two daughters had a bed decorated with porcupine quill flaps.

The chief said, "Sit down there beside your wives. Now get out one of those robes for him to wear." The girls brought out a beautiful white buffalo robe decorated on the skin side with purcupine quills.

Black Wolf thanked them and said, "I am going to take this robe to my other father," and they knew then that he had some other spirits, holy people, somewhere.

Black Wolf walked out on top of the lodge and called, "My fathers, the Northern Black Bears, I have a beautiful white robe here for your bedding." His own father heard all about it and went to his own lodge where he inquired of his wife the number of tanned buffalo robes on hand. The wife thought there were thirty-five or forty. The husband said that he wished to use them. He also asked his parents[15] to furnish robes until, in all, he had a pile of nearly one hundred robes. He invited his son to eat with him and invited all the important men of the village to be there. Then he presented all the robes to the young son, who went onto the roof and offered them to his "spirit" father.

Before leaving Black Bear's lodge, the little boy had said, "When you come back, bring a large corn ball and a wooden medicine pipe filled with tobacco. When you get to the door keep crying, 'I want a stuffed animal.' Keep crying until he lets you in. Let your wife go in first and stand before him. If he says you get a stuffed animal, that is all there is to it."

Black Wolf said to his oldest wife, "We go to the north in four days." When the four days were up, they started. The wife had a corn ball made of four-in-one [corn, beans, sunflowers, and squash]. She carried the corn ball, and he had the pipe. When they reached the highest hill, he gathered four bunches of sage, giving two to his wife and keeping two for himself. He told her the way she should step from one to the other four times. Soon they were before the grass lodge, but the sun was setting so they had traveled all day.

He began to cry, "I want a stuffed animal," repeating it over and over until the old man inside said, "You shall have it." Black Wolf sent his wife in ahead, telling her to stand before the old man. He carried in the corn ball and pipe and put them before the old man.

The old man said, "Sit down. We will fix this up some time later." Black Wolf sat beside the one he called younger brother. The old man took the corn ball and pipe. The pipe was passed around three times before it was lit. Then the little boy said he would light it and eat the corn ball. He broke the corn ball in two, kept half and gave the other half to the others.

They smoked and food was cooked for them to eat. At last the old man said, "You will go home in the morning. After four days at home you must make a sweat lodge of sticks with a pit in the center. Have rocks and water at hand and find an old tepee cover to go over the framework of sticks. All those you see in this lodge will be there. I will tell you what you have to do in the future. Have plenty of food ready. The robes you have prepared must be hung beside the sweat lodge. Before you go home, take your little brother over the

15. Parents also included all men of the father's clan and their wives.

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hills and tickle him; he will go to sleep at once. You want a stuffed animal. After the boy has gone to sleep, skin out his hind legs and pull the skin over his head but do not cut any of the bones. Stuff the skin and bring it here and put it before me where I am sitting."

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He did as he was told. Then he returned to his own village with his wife and the little boy.

Black Wolf began to prepare for Old Black Bear's visit. Everything was in readiness just as directed by the Bears. Just before the Bears started, Coyote, the First Creator, came to the Bears and said, "My friends, you aren't going to leave me, are you? You can't leave without me. I will be the one to teach the people how to kill the enemy and strike the coups."

"All right, we'll take you and you can walk with our son's [Black Wolf's] wives.

A large grizzly bear came and said, "Why can't I go along? I can do a lot of work in those ceremonies. I will be the waiter."

Then the buffalo bull came and he said, "I will let buffaloes out around the village. I must go because I will be useful to the people over there."

The snakes, the eagles, and the coyotes wanted to go, and Old Black Bear agreed to take them all.

Just before starting, Old Black Bear said, "We will fix up something for our son, Black Wolf." All were ready to go and just outside the grass lodge Old Black Bear sang a song, and all the others knew it and sang it with him. While they were singing the song, Black Wolf far away heard it and knew that the Old Black Bears were coming.

It didn't take them long to get there. They stopped once and sang the song, went a ways farther and sang again, then still farther and sang. The fourth time they were at the village. Black Wolf saw them and came out with his wife, carrying a large corn ball and the wooden pipe filled with tobacco. He put the corn ball and pipe before the Old Black Bear. Old Black Bear picked up the corn ball and pipe, and returned it to Black Wolf. The party presented Black Wolf with a buffalo skull, and his wife walked[16] with it toward their lodge, the others walking behind. She also had the stuffed animal which represented the little brother, and Old Black Bear gave them two green poles representing the Snakes which always went with the birds.

Meanwhile the sweat lodge was ready and the rocks heated. Old Black Bear said, "My son, watch everything we do. We are tired so we must go in the sweat." The animals put the rocks in and went inside. Black Wolf, from the outside, listened to the song the animals sang in the sweat, which was the sweat-lodge song.

Those are medicine	take of them	a part (portion)
take of them	they are holy	

All this meant that Black Wolf and Little Boy had trapped for eagles, and the little boy had hurt his hand. Black Wolf had taken the medicine of the Black Medicine to cure the wounds. It was of this root that the animals were singing.

When they finished the song, they prayed to the animals, and, after pouring water on themselves, came out and said to Black Wolf, "You see how we

16. This act made the woman daughter-in-law to the buffaloes.

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fixed the sweat lodge; when we come out, we are not tired. You can doctor[17] and cure people with the sweat-lodge baths." This was the first sweat lodge, and this story tells how the first sweat lodges came to the Mandan.

After the animals came out of the sweat lodge, they sat down in a circle while Old Black Bear instructed Black Wolf in the technique of catching eagles. Old Black Bear said, "My son can catch eagles from the top of his lodge or he can go out on the prairies. It is better to go out on the prairies; there dig a hole on the side or top of the hill. The hole should be so deep that when you sit up your head will just reach the top of the pit. The pit must be long enough to allow you to stretch out in, and you must face to the west, where the eagles come from in the fall of the year." Then Old Black Bear gave Black Wolf the ritual to follow and the restrictions necessary to catch the birds. First Creator was there and taught Black Wolf how to use the Little Black Bear when on the hunt or warpath.

Old Black Bear gave Black Wolf instructions in the use of fish traps, how the corral of willows should be tied, which baits to use, and the depth in the water to set the trap. When making the trap, Little Black Bear [stuffed animal] should be kept at home in a bed of robes and calicoes with his face to the fireplace. He taught the use of the snare for corraling buffaloes.

When Old Black Bear was giving the instructions to Black Wolf, he had said, "Take good care of your little brother; give him corn balls and corn mush every day."

One day Black Wolf's mother-in-law, while making mush for Little Black Bear, burned her hands and was very angry. She said, "Every day I cook for that sharp-nosed bear, and what good does it do?" Little Black Bear heard and cried because the remarks hurt his feelings. She brought the mush to Little Black Bear and set it before him. In the evening Black Wolf came in and walked right up to his little brother. He saw the tears in his younger brother's eyes and noticed that the little fellow had not eaten the food set before him. Black Wolf inquired why he had not eaten the food, and Little Black Bear replied, "I am angry. Mother-in-law is cross with me and she called me 'sharp-nose.' I am going back to my people, the Black Bear people."

Black Wolf sat down beside him and begged him to stay. "I don't say bad things about you, neither do my wives, so why be angry."

Little Black Bear said, "I will stay if you stay all night with me without sleeping." Black Wolf agreed to the proposition and asked his wives to make up a big feast, for he was inviting all the old men to spend the night with him and Little Black Bear. The old people were glad to sit up all night with him. They sat up all night until nearly morning, when Little Black Bear extended the night another night's length. Still they stayed until it was nearly morning, when Little Black Bear extended the night another night's length. He did this three times. The fourth time the old people all lay sleeping except Black Wolf, who was sitting up sleeping by that time. Seeing that his brother was sleeping, Little Black Bear got up, and quietly returned home to the Black Bears in the north. Black Wolf woke up and saw his brother in his usual place and spoke to him. Little Black Bear did not answer, for his soul or spirit had gone back even though the body remained there.

When Little Black Bear reached home, his father asked why he had returned, and Little Black Bear replied, "She called me names. I left my body,

17. The bears were believed to be the greatest doctors.

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and the power is still there with it. They can still use me in catching the eagles, but I will not have to live where I am insulted." 539

The following narrative by Wolf Chief was a part of both his father's and his father-in-law's bundles and comes from the Mandan. The division of the bears into two groups representing two sides of the Missouri River is symbolic of the moiety division of the tribe into an east-side and a west-side seating arrangement for council meetings and the Okipa ceremony. The myth expresses the potency of the snare and gives the traditional origin of a number of songs and rites. 778 773 539

EAGLE-TRAPPING MYTH (BLACK AND BROWN BEARS) RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[18]

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In the beginning all the Black Bears were said to be living on the north side of the earth, while on the south side were the small Brown Bears. All the bears on the left side of the river, from the Yellowstone and beyond, even down to Knife River, belonged to the Black Bears. The Brown Bears on the right side of the river would know ahead of time the main trails of the eagles and get there ahead of the others from the left bank. There was a place called One Cottonwood Camp, where the Yellowstone runs into the Missouri River. When the birds traveled, they always came through that country. At that time the Black Bears were catching young eagles there and would eat them, for they were tender. They caught only that kind, for they liked to eat them.

Brown Bear called himself the real spirit. He had so much power that he did not have to use bait but could use his own hands to catch them. He selected his place called Thunder Butte where he went to catch the birds by hand. One of the Brown Bears had selected his place, at the Knife River south of the town of Golden Valley where the brush runs to the east, to catch only black tips. He called it Sand Lodge from the sand stones around there. There was another place at Heart River called Heart River Ravine.

On the north side the Black Bears had a trapping place called First Trapping Camp, the highest butte just below Sanish. (The Hidatsa Four Bears used to trap there.) Another place was at Buckbrush Trapping Camp, the flat west of the Mormon church just below Shell Creek. They put up a trap there, for they saw many eagles. The pits were in the hills at The Slides and to the north; another trapping place was below Fishhook to the east on the high banks, and they called it High Butte Trapping Camp. We do not know if it was Sandy Lodge, Thunder Butte, or One Cottonwood that he had his lodge close to.

Brown Bear had a lodge in one of these places. He lost his little boy from one of these lodges. When he disappeared, they looked all over. It was foggy, and they could not see a long distance or find his tracks. After a while they learned that the eagles had hidden the boy. They went far away looking, but it was foggy all the time until they came to the Heart River east of Dickinson. There they thought they had discovered his tracks along the edge of the

18. For portions of this myth, also related by Wolf Chief, see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX, Part IV [1929]), pp. 156 and 214–16.

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creek. They thought according to the tracks that he was going to Rainy Buttes; sometimes the tracks were plain, other times dim. The father thought when he came near the butte that they were hiding his son inside the butte. Before reaching the Rainy Buttes, the tracks disappeared. They looked all the way around the butte, and his father said, "I am sure that they must have taken him inside of this butte; I am going to cut this butte down and destroy it. I am going to use my snare to put around it and pull the butte to pieces to see if we can find him inside." Before putting the snare around the butte, he sang a holy song:

Acira Acira goes toward the butte.

Then he put the snare (calls it medicine robe) around the butte and pulled. He caved off about half of the butte, but he did not have the power to tear it all down. Still he did not find him in there. He went all over the earth looking around, but still the boy could not be found. At last the boy had been gone for a year, and the parents were very sad. They came back to their camp, and the fog still covered the sky, sometimes clearing slightly and then darkening. All this time Brown Bear's boy was trying to clear the fog, but he was not powerful enough. At this time the young one was alone. The fog was beginning to break, and he could see far. The leaves were taking on color; he remembered his father and mother and knew that it was at this time of the year that his father and mother had a good time. He remembered himself and could tell where he came from, and he knew the location of the camp. As soon as he recognized the place, he sang his holy song while walking toward his home.

I will come to that hill.

Then he came to the hill. He saw timber ahead. He sang:

I will reach that big timber.

He was there at once. He saw the Missouri River.

I will reach that river.

He was there. Then he saw a road and he sang:

I will reach that road.

He was there. Then he saw the door and he sang:

I will reach that door.

He was there at once.

The father was feeling sad about it and was going to do something to the birds for punishment. He went to Eagle Butte and went into a pit. He would spit on his hand and hold it out. The eagles would come down, and he would seize them. Sometimes the eagles would fly up nearly to the sky, and then he would hold up his holy snare. Then the eagles would come right down. After that all these places were good ones to catch eagles. The Brown Bears would have a lodge. One with a son had more power than the others. He would take out his snare, and that would draw the birds down. They would say that he was the most powerful one in the lodge.

They were supposed to leave for the traps when the leaves began to change color. The Brown Bears had one lodge. The youngest one wanted to go trapping, but the father said that he was too young. Still he insisted that he knew the holy songs and their order, so he went out without the father's permission. He was in a hole watching the eagles, and while there he went to sleep. The

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eagles picked him up and took him away. All that time on the eagles' side there was a leader who said when he picked up the little bear, "He is sleeping down there; this is a good chance to take him away." This bird was a large one, the largest of the birds. The little brown bear's father wondered what had become of him and went out the second day to see. When he came to the pit, he saw from the signs that the birds had picked him up and carried him into the sky. When he learned this, he came back and was very sad. He thought that he would catch the leader among the birds, the one who caused his son to be caught. He made plans at once to catch the bird. At his lodge there were five of these small brown bears, but one was the leader.

The old one said, "I will try to catch that big bird, for that is the one who took the boy above. I think that bird will come along about tomorrow or the next day." The leader of the Brown Bears stood up and said, "That big bird has started already," and when he went outside he sang:

Where I have my trap it is already; catch the one I want to.[19]

He said to the older bears, "I will go out, repeating that song on the way to the pit. When I bring that bird in, you repeat that song, take the bird, and throw it to the head of the lodge as hard as you can."[20] He went into the hole, and soon the big bird was in the air above him. He pretended to be asleep, and the bird came down. He picked up his snare and sang the holy songs. When the bird was near, he threw his snare up, caught the bird by the legs, and pulled him down. When he caught the bird, it began to beg saying, "Save my life."

Brown Bear said, "No, I am going to sit on you," meaning that he was going to eat the bird. He tied the bird up and carried him home. When he was near the lodge he cried:

I am trapping. I am holy. I know I am
I am trapping. I have caught him
I am trapping. Now I know I am going to eat.

He came back to the lodge and gave the bird to the others to seize and throw as hard as they could to the head of the lodge. All that time the bird was begging them not to kill him, but the bear who caught the bird said, "Do not listen to him but get that clay pot ready to put in the fire for we will eat him."

The bears were singing while they were getting ready. They sang:

Put that pot in the fire. We will eat.
Take your knife out and get ready. We will eat.

The bird said, "I will be with you and be a great help in the future. I know that you have much power, for I can see that. If you have my help, you will have still more power."

They sang:

Acira [Small Brown Bear] your pot moves toward the fire.
Your pot is already in the fire.
Acira your pot is boiling.
Acira your pot is nearly red hot.
Acira your pot is boiling.

19. Song of the pit.
20. This explains the practice of throwing the birds violently to the head of the lodge.

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At this time they decided to sing their holy song which was the Knife Song to be used when butchering the bird. The bird jumped up again and promised that he would be among them forever and that he would help them along, too, and give them success in the future in whatever they should do. They asked of the bird, "How would you help us?"

The bird said, "You will call me Acira's sister; you will pick up any kind of stick and tie a small offering of leather to it, and that will be myself. When you want to get more eagles, you can say a prayer to me, and you will succeed, for I am the leader of these birds. This will go on forever, but, if you kill me, you will eat me up, and then you will have nothing to show. It may be in the future that some woman will have monthlies. The eagles are afraid of them then. There is a holy song[21] that I will teach you, and, if there is such a woman, you will have it to protect you. Then you will not have bad luck but get good luck from the eagles."

They said to the bird, "We will take your word for it, but we will give you orders that in the future you must not claw the humans, for if you do, we will get rid of you and kill all of you."

They said among themselves, "We will let the bird go, but we will put the snare around its neck with black medicine. If he disobeys what we say, having the snare around his neck, we have a chance to sit on him [eat him] again."

The leader said to the bird, "Remember what we said and do not scratch any of the people, for we are going to trap for a long time in the future. We do not want any trouble from you."

This was kept up for a long time until a few years ago.

Even in my time if some woman with monthlies did not report it, the tail feathers were poor.

On the east side at The Slides, in the brush, there were about thirty black bears who had trapping places on the high hills from Lucky Mound to Joe Black Bear's home today. They had another pit in the buckbrush west of where the church is, for they saw many eagle feathers around there and thought it would be a good thing to have a trap. This pit near the buckbrush was the best of all, and they decided that, instead of using them all, they would take turns at that pit; the first man caught five eagles and the others stayed on the butte to watch. Eagles would fly over there and then disappear in the ground. Five birds would be caught there nearly every day. They used the pit for two years and hardly used the others at all, for so few birds were caught in them. They came back to try the trap again and did not succeed, so they thought that someone had spoiled it. All the time they were cleansing themselves, and then they went to the pit to see what was the matter. They cleaned out the pit and found a flint knife in it and knew at once that the bad luck was caused by the knife. The leader cleaned the pit, but still they did not succeed. They watched the sky and saw that the birds would go into the air and fly around, then go away. Even the others were having bad luck. After catching only two eagles, they decided to give up. They do not know who spoiled the pit. After all the acira had gone away the people had pits there, and they never learned why the pit was not as good as formerly.

I never heard what became of the little boy.

21. Song for menstruating woman. See the account of Bears Arm, below, Appendix IV.

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Big Cloud's bundle was not complete; Iron Eyes had a main one.[22] Small Ankles would put up the lodge and put the snake pole in with the buffalo skull. He tied it into place with dark sage. I heard that once Old Woman's Grandson came in so they had the two poles brought in at that time to represent the snake.[23] 539

With respect to inheritance of trapping rights, rather marked differences exist between the Hidatsa and the Mandan. The former employed exclusively transfer from father to son or from individuals standing in the father-son relationship. Not a single instance of variation from the rule was observed except in the instance of Big Cloud's two sales to Wolf Eyes and Small Ankles. No doubt that exception can be traced to the circumstance that, though belonging to the Hidatsa Water-buster clan, Big Cloud lived in one of the Mandan villages with his Mandan father and Hidatsa mother. Hidatsa sales of trapping rights followed the normal pattern of bundle transfer from father to son, with a clan brother of the seller acting as sponsor to give instruction and prepare the bundle. Frequently a purchaser's brothers assisted in a joint purchase, taking possession upon death of the brother, but the next transfer would be to the son of original purchaser or his brother's son. 778 223 171 425

The small village of Awaxawi apparently had been strongly influenced by the Mandan, and clan inheritance was followed if the two bundles purchased just after the smallpox of 1837 were characteristic of all bundles formerly in the village prior to that epidemic.

Mandan inheritance of eagle-trapping bundles was affected by numerous factors. Except for the last generation in which it was from father to son, or other individuals standing in that relationship, inheritance was generally from one standing in the relationship of *pta'wadato'dE*, a special kinship term for the mother's brother and the mother's mother's brother. In tracing back inheritance of Mandan eagle-trapping bundles, one is impressed by a sudden change within a single generation to the Hidatsa pattern of purchasing from the father. 778 425 171

Iron Eyes' bundle had belonged in the WaxikEna clan for several generations. He purchased from his mother's brother before the Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook 423 223 778 425

22. He means the principal bundle.
23. See the myth of Old Woman Who Never Dies, chap. vi, above.

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Chapter IX

BIG BIRD CEREMONY

796 773 THE birds belonging to this ceremony were classed in four groups: (1) hawks, ravens, and crows; (2) young calumet eagles; (3) old calumet eagles; and (4) bald eagles. According to the myth, the thunderbird was considered a relative of these birds, while in other myths the thunderbird was referred to as any one of the four groups of birds listed above.

796 821 The various rites were frequently referred to as the Thunderbird ceremony. However, birds other than those included in these rites, as well as the Sun and Moon and the snakes, were believed to possess the supernatural power of producing thunder and lightning.

796 778 773 There were two principal bundles appertaining to the ceremony. The Black Medicine bundle owned by Red Buffalo Cow (Prairie Chicken clan) was traditionally founded by Black Medicine, while the Sweet Medicine bundle was believed to have been founded by Grows in Lee Places, his twin brother. The latter bundle was last owned by Sand (Speckled Eagle clan). These two bundles came from Nuptadi Village. A second Black Medicine bundle owned by Little Shield (Prairie Chicken clan) [614] came from Fort Clark Village. The linked character of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle clans was expressed by the inheritance through the clan of two closely related bundles from two "brothers" of different clans.

The two bundles had a common mythological origin based on the exploits of two brothers. The myth was supplied by Ben Benson, while much of the data on rites relating to the bundle were secured from White Calf.

773 BIG BIRD CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEN BENSON[1]

539 This account goes back to the time when the villages were near the mouth of Heart River. Chief Bird was the head man of one of the villages. His sons

1. For another relation of this myth by the same informant see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," XXXII [1938]), pp. 53–62.

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by different mothers were named Black Medicine, after a root used to cure scratches from eagle claws or bites from rattlesnakes, because he was made of black medicine, and Grows in Lee Places, after a brown plant. The older boy, Black Medicine, was sensible; the other one was a little foolish and did not respect people or think anything was holy. Both were good hunters and went out often.[2]

One day Black Medicine said, "Let's go out hunting; we have not been out for a long time. If we kill a fat elk or buffalo, we can have a fine meal." The other agreed, so they went out and soon killed a deer. They cooked the meat and enjoyed themselves eating it. They went on and killed another, which they carried along until it was all eaten. They were surprised to find no more game, however far they traveled. Soon they came to a timbered coulee and saw smoke. They knew someone lived there, so they went in the direction of the smoke. They found the smoke coming out of a grass lodge, but, when they reached the door, a man walked out with something on his back without paying any attention to the two hunters. The two brothers could not understand that but walked into the lodge. The entire interior of the lodge was fixed up with fresh grass to lie on, while ribs, tongues, and legs were roasting beside the fire. The two sat down and waited for someone to appear. They waited a long time, and nobody came.

The foolish one said, "What is the use of sitting here? Let's eat this."

Black Medicine replied, "No, the owner will come back."

The foolish one was very hungry and, never respecting others anyway, said, "I am too hungry; I am going to eat."

When he had eaten nearly all the meat, Black Medicine ate what remained. They found water in a bag and drank of it.

They slept comfortably in the grass lodge until morning. Before leaving, they picked the bones from any meat they could find and left. As they were leaving, the foolish one asked, "Who can that fellow be who paid no attention to us? He went to the southeast. We should go that way and see who he is."

They went in that direction and hunted a little but could see no game of any kind. They traveled until the sun was low. They were on a high bluff overlooking a deep ravine when they saw the smoke again. They went in the direction of the smoke, and, when they reached the grass lodge, the same man with something on his back passed them without looking at them or speaking.

The foolish one said, "This is just the same as yesterday, and he isn't going to come back." The foolish one took his meat and turned it over once to brown it a little, but left some for the morning. They slept in the lodge and next morning ate all that was left. One of the young men said, "We will go after this man, for it looks like something will happen to us."

This day they looked only for the man who behaved so queerly. When the sun was low, they came to a deep ravine and saw smoke below them; then the grass lodge came into sight. One of the young men said, "That man smells us before we get to his place. That is why he leaves." So they studied the winds and came up against the wind until they were close. One brother said, "We must go up quietly and try to get as close as possible. When he comes out, we can seize him."

2. The two brothers, one wise and the other foolish, suggest the Two Men of Hidatsa mythology and the First Man and Foolish One exploits of the Mandan Okipa ceremony.

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They crept up quietly, one on each side of the door, and, when he came out with the bundle on his back, they seized him. The bundle was thrown to the ground, making such a noise that people a long distance away could hear it. The bundle burst, and deer, buffalo, elk, antelope, and all the big animals ran all over the earth. The two men knew then that he was the one who had been holding the game in his power. The man ran away, and nobody knew who he was. The two brothers said there would be plenty of game the next morning.

In the grass lodge that the mysterious man had deserted so quickly they found plenty of meat to eat, so they remained there overnight and went on in the morning. They saw all the big animals that had been freed, and the hunting was good. All at once they saw something white on the ground. It was bubbling up, and the foolish one shot into it with his arrows; then they went on. Soon they saw a big white cloud coming [a tornado]. It was making a loud noise and with it was a strong wind. Black Medicine said to his brother, "Come to me." He tied the two of them together with the sinews of their bows. The winds took them into the air, and they did not know where they were until they passed the river where the Arikara grow corn [Grand River, South Dakota]. The foolish one did not think it a bad place to be, for up in the air, at least, they did not have to walk. Evening came, and Black Medicine sang his medicine song. Then the wind went down, letting them descend to earth again. They found themselves on an island among many islands with water as far as they could see.

They looked about and one said, "What can we do now? Here we are on a small island with water everywhere, but there seems to be plenty of game to eat." They did not hunt that night but went to sleep at once, for they were tired from their ride through the air.

The next morning they did not know what to do. Black Medicine said, "Let's go along the edge of the water and see what this island is like." Soon they came to a well-used path and knew that someone lived on the island. The path led to a large earth lodge, and they saw the cornfields and gardens on all sides of them. They came to the earth lodge and walked in, where they found only an old woman [Old Woman Who NeverDies] who was glad to see them. She said, "Here are my two grandchildren, sons of Chief Bird. Have you come to see me?"

They told her of the wind, and she said, "You boys can stay here, for I think you are hungry. Help yourselves to that mush." The boys did not think there would be enough, and she read their thoughts, saying, "Stir it up." The vessel was full again. They ate most of the mush and stirred the balance up again.

After they had been on the island two days they thought they should do some hunting. They did not go far until they saw a white-tail buck and shot it. The animal was butchered where it fell and then they presented it to Old Woman. She said, "You boys did well; eat it. I don't eat that kind of food myself; I eat only antelope and buffalo. I will take the deer outside and make dried meat of it."

When she got the deer outside, she said to the animal, "Get up now and run away. Don't come near, for those boys are good hunters."

When she returned to the earth lodge, she said to the boys, "If you kill white-tail deer, don't bring the meat here; cook it out in the woods and eat what you want, for the white-tail deer look after my gardens for me." After

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that they ate the meat in the woods. Sometimes they would stay out in the woods as long as three days at a time. 773 539

One day Old Woman told them not to go out hunting that day but to hide near the wall of the lodge and be quiet. Soon they heard the noise of two people coming in; then some more people came in. Looking out from under their robes, the two boys saw that the visitors were all women. Each woman had brought in dried meat which was heaped in a pile. As the meat was put on the pile, each woman would say, "My leader, take good care of me and give me this."

One woman had something in her robe and wouldn't show it. The others asked her what she had, and she said, "I have something here but it isn't very good. That is why I don't like to show it." She took it out and it was an earthen pot full of cooked corn and buffalo-foot cords. The others said, "That is good food." The boys observed everything carefully, learning that these women were the corn who had turned themselves into humans.

After the women finished talking, the Old Woman Who Never Dies said, "I am so glad each of you brought me something. I am going to keep you until spring,[3] and I will take good care of you." When she said that, each woman turned into an ear of seed corn, and Old Woman put them away in different places according to the kind of corn they were. She took the meat to use during the winter.

One day the boys were sitting quietly gazing out across the water when their grandmother asked them why they were so quiet. They told her that they were lonesome and could see that they had no way of going home. She said, "I am glad you have come to visit me. You get ready to go home tomorrow. I will fix you up a meal of four-in-one corn balls. [Four-in-one corn balls were made of ground corn, beans, and sunflowers, to which boiled squash was added.] I will make you four of these corn balls."

The next morning after breakfast she gave the corn balls to the boys and instructed them to go to the shore and call, "Grandfather, come out and take us across the water." She explained, "You will see the waves moving, and a large snake with a single horn will come out of the deep water. When he reaches the shore, tell him he is not the one you want. Call again, and there will be another snake with two forked horns but send him back, also, for he is not the one either. A third one will come out, and you will see a growth of young willows and small cottonwoods between his two horns. Tell him he is not the one you want either. Call 'Grandfather' again, and there will be large waves along the shore. The last snake will have long horns with cottonwood, willows, grass, and sage growing all over his head. Tell him you want him to take you across the water. Ask him to put his head close to the shore. You must jump onto the snake. You will find many deer tracks on his head. Be careful not to do anything foolish while you are on your way."

The boys did everything as instructed, and everything happened just as the Old Woman Who Never Dies said it would. They jumped on the snake's head, and he swam with them for a long time until he said he was tired. The boys broke up one of the corn balls and fed the snake. Refreshed, the snake swam on until he was tired again, when the boys again fed him a corn ball. Again they went forward. After feeding the snake the fourth corn ball, land came in

3. This island was the winter meeting place of many creatures (see chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping Ceremony").

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sight. The snake came to the shore, and the boys asked him to put his head up on dry land, but the snake could not put his head out on the dry land. Black Medicine jumped, but the snake almost swallowed him. He was afraid that his brother would be swallowed, so he called back to him to be careful, but the other brother said he would jump from the snake's nose. Black Medicine warned him not to jump from the snake's nose, but the brother did, and the snake swallowed him.

Black Medicine was left alone. He cried all day as he walked back and forth along the shore. Next morning as he walked along the shore, the big snake came up and opened his mouth. He saw his brother in the snake's mouth standing there and making motions to Black Medicine that it was nice in the snake's mouth and urging him to come in, but Black Medicine would not. He cried all that night, he missed his brother so. The next morning he again saw the snake and his brother, who invited him to come in, but again he refused. The third day the same thing happened. That night just when the wind was going down, while the water was calm, he saw a man standing beside the shore wearing a robe with the hair side out. He noted that there were pieces of white jackrabbit fur along the edges of the robe, and he wondered what the meaning of that could be. He heard a noise above him, and, looking up, he saw the man whose reflection he had seen in the water. This man had a flat stick two feet long in his arms. He asked the cause of all the crying each night, and Black Medicine told of the trouble with the serpent and how his brother had been swallowed and taken into the water. The stranger asked if he had seen his brother since, and Black Medicine told of seeing the snake come up to the surface of the water, and how he was able to see his brother in the snake's mouth motioning for him to come in.

The man in the air said, "Good! That snake comes close to shore because he likes corn balls."

"But I have no more corn balls," Black Medicine replied.

The man in the air brought forth a corn ball, made of only a little corn and mostly of ground sunflower seeds and rabbit manure which he gave to Black Medicine. He took the corn ball and cried all night. On the morning of the fourth day, the big snake came close to the shore and Black Medicine said, "Grandfather, I have a nice corn ball for you. Will you come close so I can put it in your mouth? Come closer." When he had the snake close to land, he gave the corn ball to the snake who ate it. Black Medicine said to the snake, "I want to see my brother once more to shake hands with him and then I will go home." The big snake came up and opened his mouth. There was the brother standing in the snake's mouth, but Black Medicine complained that he was too far away and asked the snake to come closer. The snake came closer but refused to put his head on the shore. Black Medicine walked toward the corner of the snake's mouth, but the brother refused to come toward him until he had begged four times.

The snake asked, "Do you see any black clouds?" Though there were a number in the sky, Black Medicine said that there were none. Suddenly Black Medicine seized his brother by the wrist and pulled him out. They hit the shore and bounced up at once, jumping farther up the bank. That moment a long flash of lightning shot out of a cloud above, and the snake sent out lightning at the same time. Thunder above had the stronger lightning and killed the big snake, which was thrown up onto the dry land.

The young men were knocked unconscious and lay on the ground as though

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dead. Thunderbird noted the condition they were in and brought them back to their senses. He took the two boys with him and went to his earth lodge. Thunderbird had a wife and two daughters. He said to his daughters, "Hurry! These young men killed a large snake. We must go there and butcher it."

The wife never moved but remained in her bed all day long. Thunderbird, his daughters, and the two young men went to the place where the snake lay dead. Thunderbird cut the snake up into small pieces and carried it home. Thunderbird and his family ate the snake, but the two boys would not touch the meat. Thunderbird noticed that these young men were active, with more powers than ordinary Indians. He said to them one evening, "You know that every man should have a wife. You should have a wife, and you will sometime. I am here alone; my wife is sick in bed all the time. I have two daughters, and they are good-looking girls. I want you boys to marry my daughters. The older boy should take the older girl and the younger boy should marry the younger girl."

Black Medicine was sensible, but the other was foolish. Black Medicine hung his head and studied for a long time, but the foolish one kept saying, "Why don't you tell him that we will take the wives."

At last Black Medicine said, "We will take the girls for our wives."

After that the young men were out hunting a great deal and brought in the meat from the animals they had killed. The father-in-law praised them for their skill. Thunderbird said, "You must not go to the other side of that hill, for there is long grass there and the ground is wet and boggy." They agreed not to go there.

One day while out hunting the foolish one said, "Let's see what it is like over back of that hill where our father-in-law says for us not to go." They went there and found a dangerous lake with a white beaver on the shore next to them in the grass. The beaver heard them coming. His tail was covered with flint tools arranged like the shingles on a roof. The beaver slapped his tail, and small pieces of flint stones struck them with such force that they were obliged to run for their lives. They studied from the top of the hill how they could get the beaver. Black Medicine went to the pocket gopher for help. The pocket gopher agreed to dig a hole under the ground until he came to the beaver's bed. When the hole was big enough for the men to get through, he came back and told them that the hole was ready.

Next morning the boys went to the hill overlooking the lake and saw the beaver in his usual bed beside the lake. They crawled along in the tunnel that the pocket gopher had made until under the beaver. They could see the beaver's heart moving, they were so near to him. Black Medicine shot his best arrow through the beaver's heart and killed him. The two brothers went home at once, and the father-in-law knew something had happened.

They said, "Yes, we went to that big spring and lake you spoke about. We saw a white beaver and killed him."

The father-in-law could hardly believe their words. Thunderbird went back with them and butchered the beaver and carried it home on his back. They ate the meat and shelled the arrowheads off the tail like a woman shells corn from the cob until there was a large pile of arrowheads. The arrowheads were just what the father-in-law wanted.

One day the father-in-law said, "There is an animal over in those red hills. It is a red jackrabbit. I would like to get his hide, but something keeps warning him every time I go after him."

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The young men agreed to go after the rabbit, and the father-in-law told them where they would find the rabbit. One day they went out, but just as they were nearing the red hills the rabbit ran over the hill and was gone. They said they would get him the next time.

All this time their mother-in-law was in bed ill. The young men asked their wives what was the matter with their mother and were told of a long porcupine quill in her foot. Black Medicine[4] told his wife that he could doctor. The boys built a sweat lodge first. They found the quill in her foot, squeezed the pus out, pulled out the quill, and put her in the sweat. When they carried her out, Black Medicine took a piece of black medicine from his pocket, chewed it, and blew it over her foot. Then he put her to bed, and she had a good rest. Soon she was able to walk around again.

One day there was no breeze, and they decided that the right time had come to get the rabbit, for, without the wind to help him, he would not be able to smell the two brothers as they approached thehill. They reached Red Hill, and Black Medicine sent his brother to the other side of the hill. Black Medicine walked through the peaks, and the red rabbit saw him and ran over the hill. When he saw the other hunter, he turned about and was shot in the side and killed. They left the rabbit for the old man to get. When they reached home, the father-in-law knew that something had happened. They told him where he would find the rabbit. The old man skinned the rabbit and saved the fur; the meat he cooked and ate.

For a long time after this, the young men did not find hunting very good. One day when hunting was poor, they wondered how far they could shoot. Each shot two arrows, and they walked along, picking up the arrows. They found that one of the arrows had gone through a snake with a head on each end, killing it.

When they reached home, the old man said, "I smell something." The young men insisted that they had not killed anything, but he still insisted that he smelled something. They told how they had not killed anything except that, while practicing for distance, one arrow went through a small double-headed snake.

When they reached the spot where the snake had been killed, they found that the snake had grown large. The father-in-law cut the snake up and all carried the meat to the earth lodge. The father-in-law said, "It is good that you killed this snake, for my relatives will be here soon. I must get ready for them." He went outside and cut some chokecherry sticks the size of a pencil and about two feet long. Some of these he peeled the bark from and fastened to them the arrowheads he got from the beaver's tail. He fastened a piece of red rabbit skin to the side and sage to the other, until he had enough of these sticks to make a large bundle.[5]

Thunderbird sat on his lodge for a long time, and at last he said to his wife, "Cook the snake, for my relatives are coming." He asked the boys to hide themselves in the earth lodge. The first arrival walked right in; he was a man, but just before he entered he was a raven. He was pleased with the abundance

4. In the myth of the origin of Eagle-trapping, Black Wolf also doctored the bear cub with black medicine.

5. These were known as bird sticks and were a part of most Eagle-trapping bundles. When trapping, these sticks were arranged at the altar.

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of food, and the old man gave him one of the sticks he had prepared. The raven finished eating and said that he would go back to spread the news that the old man had much to eat. The old man went on top of the lodge but came right down again, for another person was coming. He came right in and was given food and one of the sticks, and he said, "I came ahead to find out how things are here. The main party will arive here tomorrow." This man was the chicken hawk.

Thunderbird said, "You tell them to stop a little ways from my place before coming in. Tell them when they stop over by my house to divide up into their own groups."

The sisters told their husbands when they doctored their mother-in-law for a sore foot that she was one of a large party of birds going west in the spring. She could not go on because of her bad foot.

The next day birds began to come, and each arrival sought his own group near the lodge. The groups were: (1) hawks, ravens, and crows; (2) young calumet eagles; (3) old calumet eagles; and (4) bald eagles.

The old man went out with the snake meat, which he divided into four piles, and he divided the sticks into four piles also. The birds began to eat, and soon all the food was eaten. Each took a stick with the flint stone attached. When the feast was finished, the old man said, "I have done all these things you like, but I didn't get it all myself. I have two sons-in-law. They are Mandan. They did all this." Then he called the two young men out, and all were surprised to see them. Some were afraid and would have run away had the old man not spoken to them.

When they finished eating, the old man said, "You can go to your homes now [autumn], but, when spring comes, I would like to have you come to me. We will move somewhere else then."

The birds all went to their old nests and stayed away all winter until spring came. Then the old man said to his wife, "Spring is here, and our friends will be coming soon. We are expected to move up the rivers. What are we to do with our sons-in-law? They have no wings, and it would not be right to take our daughters without them. When the four groups are here, we will discuss the matter with them and see what they think about it."

Soon the four groups of birds came, and he said to them, "What are we going to do with my sons-in-law? They have no wings and they are humans. My daughters like them. What shall we do?"

The birds replied, "I think it is best that we hatch the young men into birds." They decided that the bald-headed eagles should lay them, for they were the oldest birds. The young men were brought out of the earth lodge and went up on top of it. The birds asked the boys to roll up into a ball, and the bald-headed eagle put her wings over them. When she flew away to the other birds, there were two eggs where she had been sitting.

On each of the two eggs there was a straight line and a zigzagged line representing the lightning, for sometimes the flashes are straight, other times zigzagged. The bird went back and set on the eggs. The eggs hatched on the second day, and she flew away. Soon she came back and set on them again, and, when she flew away, their wings were nearly grown. When she flew away the fourth time, the young birds had grown into full-sized, bald-headed eagles. All the birds watched them while they flew up into the air. Everything

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was ready for the birds to travel; their course was up the Missouri River. Two birds were selected to be the scouts and go ahead of the main body of travelers. The scouts were the chicken hawk with the white feathers at the base of the tail feathers and the raven. All the other birds traveled along behind the scouts. They traveled along until the chicken hawk came back to report something strange in a ravine ahead.

The birds said, "We will have the two Mandan men investigate and get whatever it is." They called the two brothers and told them about it. Each of the big eagles had a sword[6] shaped like a knife; some were white; others were black. All of them were very beautiful.

The young men were given their pick, but before they made a selection the wives said, "If they tell you to take certain ones, be sure to take the old one; it is a little cracked, but it has much power and is very sacred. If you swing that, you will never miss."

The young men did as they were told and selected a very old sword. The wives said, "When they let you go to kill what is in the ravine, be sure to go high in the air and sing this song we always use when we kill something. Then come down, both of you at the same time and turn sidewise when you are nearly there, one going to the right and the other to the left. Do this three times. The last time swoop down together until you are close to the ground, and the one who has the sword hit at it easy and very slowly. Then go straight up into the air again, for you will kill what you want to kill."

The big party of birds did not tell the boys to sing the bird song, but the wives taught them the song. The two went high into the air but could see nothing and came back. The other birds said, "That was all our fault; we should have told you to look sidewise."

They went out again and soon saw a serpent. Just then, the other birds remembered that they had not taught the boys the song and were surprised to hear the "eagle-killing song."[7] The boys dived out of the sky three times and the fourth time made a motion with their sword. A flash of lightning shot forth. At the same time the snake sent up lightning. They killed the snake and returned to the other birds, who praised them for their skill in killing the snake. In a short time the birds had eaten up the snake and had begun to fly northwest along the Missouri River.

The chicken hawk and raven returned a second time and said that they were nearing a Mandan village where a man by the name of Chief Bird was giving a feast for all the big birds just as he always did at this time of the year. The boys heard the name of their father and knew that they were near home. They talked to their wives about it. They told their wives that this was their home and that Chief Bird was their father. They asked their wives to go to their home with them. The boys went to their father and told him of their adventures. The wives were invited to come and live in the village, but next morning they were afraid to go in since they looked so unlike the Mandan.

The sisters said, "We are afraid to go there; we would feel out of place. It is best that we give you something that represents us." They pulled out a wing feather the birds put their heads under when they go to sleep. The Mandan call this feather "sleep feather." Each pulled out the sleep feather from the underside of the left wing and gave it to her husband. After the feast was

6. The sword is a part of the sacred bundle for this ceremony.
7. One of the sacred songs of the Big Bird ceremony.

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over, the boys decided to give a feast for the big birds every fall when the birds went south. They gathered robes all summer, for it took a large amount of goods, besides the meat, in order to put on the ceremony. Twelve stones were used in the sweat lodge representing the twelve tail feathers each of the big birds has. Seven robes were needed to cover the sweat lodge. All the people belonging to this group met together, and the two young men brought out the two "sleep feathers" representing the two wives. The rights in the ceremony were sold to their "Children of the Clan" and have continued down to this day.

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773 in order that he could retreat to the lowest level in the universe.
772 It was believed that the earth comprised four horizontal levels and that the surface of the earth was the top level. The sky was likewise made up of four semicircular hemispheres shaped like an earth-lodge roof and supported by four posts. This belief was associated with rites performed by a female robe-owner whenever a new lodge was erected or an old one repaired.

796 There was no spring or autumn bird feast, as in the case of the
778 Big Bird bundles. When the bundle-owners were paid to perform the Buffalo-calling ceremony, the man officiated as the singer, carried the rattles, and wore the hawk on his head; his wife was dressed in the robe, wore the sage and magpie tail feathers, used the ash stick to dig a small hole near the head of the lodge, and "called up the buffaloes," as had been done by Frog Earrings in the mythology. A young man, about to go to war, asked the help of a bundle-owner belonging to his father's clan and promised to make an offering to the bundle upon his return. For this, he received a feather to wear on his head when in battle.

778 The sacred robe was held in high regard as a means of warding off misfortune. Because of the wicked disposition and power
773 of Frog Earrings, whom the robe represented, it was believed that men took to wearing women's clothing and followed female
[828] avocations. She was also believed to be the cause of insanity,
[826] feeble-mindedness, malformations, twisted jaws, and premature
[848] births.

SMALL HAWK MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[3]

773 It was the fall of the year. Corn Silk and her nine brothers were living to-
539 gether. Whenever any young man would ask her to marry him, she would refuse. One of the brothers always spoke for the young man, but there was one of them who never paid any attention to her or urged her to marry. A young man, an unusually fine hunter, asked her to marry, and the brother who had been silent was disappointed, for he thought she would surely marry this one. He said to her, "I have never spoken before, so I think you should heed my words. At other times, our other brothers acted as spokesmen. This man is such a good provider you should marry him. You will have a comfortable home and everything you need. I think you should listen to me."

Corn Silk did not obey the request, and the mother was angry and said, "One of your brothers never spoke, but this man was a good provider, and he

3. Another version of this myth is reported in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 63–76.

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had confidence you would obey him. It looks like you are going to have Sikaraxa [Split Wing Feathers] for a husband." 773

Sikaraxa lived in the direction of the sunrise. Corn Silk invited in four old women of the village, and they asked the purpose of the invitation. She said, "My mother wants me to marry Sikaraxa, and I want to know where he lives." 539

The old women said, "We heard it is in a far-away country. It is almost impossible for any human being to go that far. The best way for you to get there is to make a ball."

Corn Silk made a ball as directed. She invited the four old women in again, and they said, "When you start out in the morning, go out onto the ridge and kick the ball. Then you will be at the next ridge [horizon]. If you can't get there today, you will be sure to get there tomorrow. Take as much food as you can carry."

They instructed her to kick the ball four times toward the horizon. She was to kick it three times, and, on the fourth kick, there would be a forest running crosswise to her course. There she would find some of her grandmothers.

She followed their instructions. At the end of the fourth kick she reached the timber and there found a lodge. Inside were the mice [grandmothers]. Corn Silk could hear them talk of the day's work digging roots. One of the mice came out for wood and saw Corn Silk. At first they were frightened, but, when they learned that it was Corn Silk, they invited her in and asked, "What has brought you here so far from home?"

Corn Silk said, "My brothers have sent me here because I refused to marry a great hunter. They sent me to Sikaraxa, and I am on the way to the place where this bird dwells."

She stayed with the long-nosed field mice the first night, traveled all the next day, and reached the home of the mice with white breasts and red backs the second night. The third night she spent with the black mice, and the fourth night with the moles. At each stop she explained her mission. The mice all followed her and met at the moles' lodge. From there, all were to go together to the cliff and lake where Sikaraxa lived.

The mice warned her, "You are in danger and must follow our instructions carefully. When you get there, you will find yourself on a buffalo skull. He will come and ask you to take a bath with him, and you must say, 'I don't think it is necessary for me to stand on this skull and meet my death. I have heard about you and don't intend to go through all these rites.' Then kick the buffalo skull out from under you and see what happens."

Corn Silk went to the village on the island and there found an enormous earth lodge. Sikaraxa lived in it. He said at once, "Let's take a bath."

The man's mother said, "You must not take her to the lake so soon. You always do that and put an end to them. I don't want to see Corn Silk's life ended so soon. We may like her when we know her better."

Sikaraxa would not listen to his mother. The two walked out together. Mole whispered to Corn Silk, "Today we are all going to die together. The only way we can save you is by putting strong wristlets, anklets, and a necklace on you. Make the strings strong. The strings to your moccasins must be strong with long extensions so that we can hold onto them. Have your belt extensions to the back."

When the people in the village saw Sikaraxa taking Corn Silk to the lake to bathe, they were sorry that so beautiful a young woman was to die so soon. All admired her because of her long hair. No other woman who had come to

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him had been nearly so beautiful. He commanded her to stand on the buffalo skull, and she refused saying, "It is not necessary for me to die on a buffalo skull."

She kicked it into the lake. A large fish[4] with long teeth leaped from the lake, took the buffalo skull, and ate it. Then Sikaraxa ordered Corn Silk to remove her clothing and lie on her back with her head toward the lake. She refused, saying, "I came here to marry you, and I refuse to go through these rites. I won't undress."

Sikaraxa said, "I will come toward you four times, and the ceremony will be over," so she lay down as ordered. The moles dug holes to her wrists, ankles, neck, and waist, holding onto the straps. They also dug a trench so her body was level with the ground. Sikaraxa went out of sight in the air and came down as the Thunderbird, making much noise, and bringing the wind with him. He thought she would surely be blown into the lake, but she was not, since the mice were holding her firmly. The second time, he came lower, and the wind was stronger, but he saw that she did not move. The third time he was down to the height of the trees, and the fourth time he came within a few feet of her. During one of the intervals between the winds, the mice said, "The fourth time he will be only a few feet above you. Seize the white thing he has around his neck," but he went by before she could get it. Then he circled a few feet above her, wondering what held her. One of the moles punched Corn Silk who had gone to sleep and woke her up. She reached up and grabbed the object he had round his neck. At the moment he lost the object, he changed from a bird to a human being and stood beside her.

They walked back to the village, but she kept the object which was his heart. He stayed close to his wife during the daytime, following her everywhere she went. The people laughed at him and said, "He has taken a strange turn of life."

His powers were almost all taken from him because of the loss of his heart. The mother-in-law was glad to have a young woman in the lodge who had returned unharmed, and all the village was happy. Sikaraxa had been a great traveler, being a bird, but, after this, he never went out. Instead he would be found tagging after his wife wherever she went.

They were together until she gave birth to a child, a small boy. They continued to live together until the boy was three or four years old and able to talk. He was inquisitive and was always asking questions. Corn Silk wore the heart sewed on the inside of her buckskin dress and kept a belt over it so that Sikaraxa did not know where it was. One day the boy asked her if this was her native village, and she said, "No, we came from the Missouri River. You have uncles [mother's brothers] and a grandmother there."

The boy said, "Let's go home."

She said to Sikaraxa, "Our son has learned that he has relatives at the Missouri River, and he wants to see them. We are planning to go back for that purpose." Sikaraxa was willing to go along as protection for them. The boy was very happy, but the mother said, "It will take a long time to get to your relatives this way." The father made a nest and placed the boy in it, asking his wife to sit on the boy. He performed rites that changed the boy into an egg which shortly afterward hatched into a bird.

Sikaraxa was to follow later. They were transformed into two white swans

4. The pike called by the Mandan "Wolf Fish."

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swimming near the edge of the lake. They stopped there a while to feed. When Sikaraxa thought it was time, he started after them to see how far they had gone. He was changed into Thunderbird. He could not find them, but he saw two swans feeding along the shore of a lake. The two were afraid, and the mother said, "If your father does not know we changed into swans, he may kill us. Shout to him, 'Here we are.' " The father sent them on their journey, all the time flying toward their village, but Sikaraxa was far above them in the skies.

When they reached the village, they changed back to their former selves again. They entered the home village again. Corn Silk, being a holy person, was recognized by all, who cried, "Corn Silk is back from her search for a husband." They were curious to see the man she brought back.

There had been a famine after she left, so Sikaraxa made medicine to bring back the buffalo herds. He also brought rain for the crops. Since Corn Silk's father was chief, their family had plenty to eat. Sikaraxa lived with them a long time. During the course of his visit, Sikaraxa and his wife took a bath in a pond near the village while the little boy played on the bank. While playing there, he saw the heart sewed into his mother's dress and, lifting it, called to the mother, "Mother, look what I found."

Both the man and his wife ran for it, but the man got there first. All the while, the mother was pleading for the boy not to let his father have it, but he gave it to his father. Immediately, the man transformed himself into a large bird and flew into the air. He soared over them. Corn Silk was on the point of scolding the boy when Sikaraxa said, "Don't scold him. It is all for the best. When he grows up, he will be successful; he will be a great hunter and bring the herds near the village."

Corn Silk scolded the man for making promises that could not be fulfilled. She added, "You better fly away. We don't need you any more. The boy has enough uncles [mother's brothers] to provide for him."

Now Corn Silk was a widow. The boy was unusually intelligent and came to be considered a great hunter. He resembled his father closely, and people all remarked of their close resemblance. Time passed fast, and soon the boy had grown to manhood. It was late summer, and the families were thinking of a suitable winter village site. Half of the people had left.

The boy said, "I hate to go to the winter camp where we have to shovel snow and haul in wood. We have enough corn here, and I can hunt a little."

His family decided not to go to the winter village. Half of the people stayed in the summer village with them. Soon he was renowned as a hunter, and his lodge became the central meeting place where most people got their meals. They were getting along better than they had expected. His father had given him the name "Looks Down To Hunt." He kept his mother well supplied with meat, and, during his leisure, he would sit on a pile of rocks on the hill back of the village. One day as he looked down from his rock pile, he noticed that his mother was dressed up in fine clothing and prettily painted. She was playing kickball. As he watched, he heard a sound resembling a song, but the words were not distinct.

He went back the next day, for he was curious to learn what the song was. It was more distinct, so he knew it was someone far away singing. When he saw his mother dressed up in her fine clothes again, he was so angry that he went to bed without eating. The third day, the singers were closer and the words were something about his name, but his name was all that he could dis-

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tinguish. When he saw his mother playing the third day, he was disgusted, and, when she spoke to him as a woman does to her husband, he was all the angrier. When he was on the hill the fourth day, the sound was just back of the hill from where he sat. There were two singers, and the words were:

> We have Looks Down To Hunt in our heart,
> But his mother is silly about her son.
> Our feet are blistered from walking so far.

The boy was facing the east, looking down onto the village. When he recognized the words, he was so angry he would not go down the hill. The two singers approached. The one from the north was of dark complexion and had long black hair; the singer from the south was of light complexion with yellow hair. The one from the north carried a yellow wooden bowl full of pemmican, and the one from the south carried a woven bowl full of four-in-one corn balls. Each carried a pair of moccasins. When they came to him, he was at a loss concerning the order in which to eat the food, for he thought, "If I take one's food first, the other will be jealous." So he took from each bowl at the same time and put both portions into his mouth at the same time.

Then the woman from the south said, "I have never been jealous, so eat from my friend's first, for my friend from the north often gets jealous." When it came to the moccasins, he thought of the same thing and took one from each pair, but his hands were awkward. The woman from the south said, "You should put on the pair the woman from the north brought. She gets jealous."

He took both women to his lodge. His mother was out again dressed up in her finest clothing playing the kickball game. When she returned, he said, "You foolish old woman! I have brought you two daughters-in-law."

When she heard that, she ran into her lodge, pulled off the elkskin dress and robe, rubbed charcoal over her paint, and came out looking like an old woman again. When it was time to go to bed, the three went together into the same bed, he in the middle with one of his arms under each wife's head. They slept that way all night.

Next day, the woman from the south said, "I am not jealous; tonight you should sleep with the woman from the north." The woman from the south was Corn Silk and the woman from the north was Buffalo Woman.

Buffalo Woman was first to give birth to a child, a little boy. Next night a child, also a boy, was born to Corn Silk. Nothing of importance happened until the boys were old enough to talk. One day they were playing together and enjoying themselves. The women were busy at their quill work. Buffalo Woman's boy cried and bothered his mother until she gave him a hoop laced with rawhide to play with. He enjoyed himself with it for some time. Corn Silk's boy wanted to play with it, but the other would not let him. He kept crying until finally Corn Silk brought him a small pumpkin the size of a ball and gave it to him to play with. The pumpkin made a rumbling sound as the boy rolled it on the ground. The buffalo boy threw his hoop away and cried for the pumpkin. Buffalo Woman said to Corn Silk, "Why can't you tell your boy to let mine play with the pumpkin? You have given many people chapped hands; you have caused many people to grow old from work; you have cut many people about the face with your dry husks. You always want to eat the best part of my body, especially the fat on my bowels."

Corn Silk replied, "You, too, always want to eat some part of my body. In the winter you go south where I came from to eat cornhusks; you eat the

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bodies of human beings." [She meant that when on the buffalo hunt there were instances of death of Indians from enemies or from injuries inflicted by the buffaloes.] 773 539

They scolded each other until Buffalo Woman said, "Get up, Calf!" They started for their home in the north.

When the husband came in, his wife said, "I told you the other wife was jealous. If you want to, you can follow them." He decided to follow and see how his son was getting along and then return to the village.

When he was ready to start, Corn Silk said, "When you get to the place where Buffalo Woman lives, you will get into trouble, but I will help you." He waited two or three days and then went to the place where he was accustomed to sit. He changed himself into a bird and flew in the direction his wife had taken. He changed into one of the small hawks known as the kite. When he got near the place where she lived, he came to large cactus plants as high as the cottonwood trees. Their needles were a foot long. Buffalo Woman and Calf did not stop but went straight into the cactus thicket. The father saw them from above and thought of striking her on the head with his lightning, but the calf was too near her. They were all day going through the cactus brush. That evening they came out and set up their skin tepee, which was almost white in color. The husband changed himself into a human being and went up to the door. His son came out and saw him. He was happy and ran inside to tell his mother. She only said, "Your father is not a very good man. Besides, he couldn't travel through that thick brush."

Calf asked if he could let his father in, but the Buffalo Woman said nothing. The boy ran to the door and said, "Mother wants you to come in." He went in. That night they slept in the tepee. Next morning he awoke to find himself sleeping in a buffalo wallow. His family and the tepee were gone. He could not find any tracks to tell him which way they had gone. He flew up, transformed into a bird, and shortly afterward he jumped a jackrabbit which he killed for his morning meal. He flew high into the air and found his wife and son approaching a large lake. First they would gallop, then they would run. When they reached the lake, the cow jumped into the water and the calf followed. They swam nearly all day and reached the other shore just as the sun was setting. Then they became human beings again and pitched their tepee. The husband came up, was invited in by the little boy, and slept in the tepee just as he had done the night before. Next morning he found the tepee gone as before. He changed into a bird, flew into the air, and again killed a jackrabbit for his morning meal. He found his wife and their son at the foot of a rocky ridge. He could see that she was working hard to get over the high rocks with the calf. It was sunset when they crossed the last ridge. They pitched their tent for the night. The husband stood at the door, but the wife did not think he would come that far, but the son found him and brought him in. The boy gave his share of the roasted buffalo ribs to his father. The boy slept with his father, but he was so noisy that his mother called him back to her bed.

Next morning the husband again found himself sleeping in a wallow with the tepee gone. He killed a jackrabbit for his morning meal and flew into the sky. He found them going through thorn-apple brush with the cow pushing her way ahead with difficulty. When the cow and calf came out of it, the sun was just setting. They pitched their tepee for the night.

She was roasting ribs for the meal when the husband came up. The boy asked his mother if he could give his father some. He took two of them to him

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to eat. (That is why a man today has ribs shaped like a buffalo's.) He slept with his father that night.

He said to his father, "Tomorrow is the day that we are to get home. I have much to tell you. My grandmother is mean. There are ten of us grandchildren. We all look alike and are boys. The first obstacle you will have to overcome is the door. It is one solid rock. If you are a little too fast or too slow, it will fall on you. You will have to find me. If you watch closely, you will see one run against the bed two or three times. That bed is my mother's. If you get in without being killed, grandmother will tell you to hang up your quiver against my mother's bed. If you watch closely, I will rub against it."

The husband changed into the down from his feather. The rock fell to crush him but instead it sucked him into the lodge. Once inside, he changed back to a human being again. He found the mother-in-law to be large, with earrings of live toads. He saw the boy bump into the bed three times, so he hung his quiver up over the bed the boy had bumped into. Then the calves were lined up, and he was asked to find his son, but he recognized him when Calf wiggled his left ear once. Then his son changed into a child again.

The fourth obstacle he was to encounter was that of the sweat lodge. The old woman said, "Calf, your father has traveled far and must be very tired. I am going into the sweat lodge with him."

She put the stakes of the lodge deep into the ground, and the covering was so thick that it was almost impossible to get out. She placed large boulders the size of an earth lodge but reduced, though holding the same amount of heat, in the pit. She hung three buffalo paunches full of water on the side of the door. As he went into the sweat lodge, he picked up a spider and said to him, "I will be burned to death if you do not help me."

He took the spider's body and went with it to the fourth layer under the ground. It was dark in the large earth lodge along the walls. Ten buffaloes were there in the lodge, unseen. They held the sides of the sweat lodge down so none could escape. When she put water on the stones, it was so hot that none could stand it, so she was surprised that her son-in-law should call for so much more water. The spider, speaking for the man said, "Bring more water for your mother-in-law." The toads she wore for earrings were nearly dead from the heat.

She came out of the lodge and the son-in-law came up from the fourth layer of the universe. He said, "That sweat was not warm enough to limber me up. Son,[5] can't your grandmother build another sweat tonight?"

She refused saying, "There is something I am afraid of which has come among us." He conquered death and then lived among them for some time.

One day the old woman came back from visiting a friend. She was crying, and they asked her what was the matter. She said, "They have been burning some dry cottonwood. I asked for some, but they said I had an Indian for a son-in-law. They said, 'Get him to bring some.' "

When she said that, her son-in-law agreed to get it. She said that in a certain ravine there was a dry cottonwood, the only tree of its kind there. All the time, the old woman knew that there was a family of bald eagles living there. He started for the tree; just before he reached it, the eagle saw him and began to send out lightning. He ordered them to stop sending the lightning, and the eagle said, "I thought you was an Indian." The eagle split the wood with his

5. He speaks to his mother-in-law indirectly.

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lightning and the man took it back to his mother-in-law. She took some of it to the people who had refused to give her any, so she said. 773

Some time later, she again came back crying and said her friend had some wolf pups a son-in-law had brought her. The pups were red from the chest up. She said that they had refused to give her any, since she had a son-in-law of her own. Again he volunteered to go out for her, this time for the wolf pups, if he only knew where they were to be found. 539

The mother-in-law said, "One will have to go north until he reaches some Red Buttes; one is higher than the other. The wolf pups are at the foot of the highest butte."

He started on the trip for the wolf pups. When he came to the place, the wolf and its mate came out to eat him, flames shooting out of their eyes. Before they could harm him, he told them who he was. He took two of the pups back alive, and the old woman was amazed that he was not eaten up. She said she was so proud she was going to give one of them to her friend, but actually she turned them loose, for these were some of the servants she had employed to devour her son-in-law.

Her friend, she said, had snow-white beaver cubs, and she wanted one of them, but the friend said she had an Indian for a son-in-law. He went after them for her. She said they were found in a certain lake. When he came near, the beavers switched their tails, and flints flew off chipping pieces of wood and even breaking stones. The man said, "Beavers! Stop that or I will kill you," and they stopped. He took two of the cubs back to the old woman.

Again she came back crying. This time she wanted juneberry sticks for arrows. Buffalo Woman scolded her for asking for so many things. Again she told how her friend's son-in-law had some he was cleaning the bark from with his teeth, but that they wouldn't give her any, telling her she had a son-in-law who was an Indian. Again he went out; this time it was for the sticks to make arrows from. While he was away, she said aloud, "I have put off long enough this matter of destroying him. I am not going to depend on my servants any longer. I am going to kill him myself now."

Before he left, he had inquired where they were, and she had said that they were on the other side of the hill just back of the camp. This was a high hill with a ravine beyond it. The sticks were at the bottom of the ravine. When he began to cut, he remembered that the best sticks were always at the bottoms of ravines. Actually the ravine was the old mother-in-law's rectum, and, when he began to cut, he found himself inside the old woman. She thought he would surely be killed by suffocation so she let up on her hold and then he was free to move about, but he could not get out. He looked through her stomach and saw a corn basket attached to a rope coming from above. He remembered then that his wife, Corn Silk, had said that when he was in trouble she would help him. The old woman thought she had disposed of him and had made a laughingstock of him as well. But he flew up as a swallow and gave the old woman the juneberry sticks, both the straight and crooked ones.

She had been using the other gods to kill her son-in-law. Again she thought she would try it herself. She said to Calf, "Your father has good vision. I am going to see which of us can recognize the island in the lake to the northeast.

He said, "My medicines, I am in trouble. I want you birds of the air to do the seeing for me," and the slender raven said, "I am the only bird with a long vision." (When a man is in trouble, he does not say "my friend" but "my medicines.")

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Raven took his eyeballs out and put them into the man's eye sockets. When he was ready, the woman said, "Let's go up on the lodge and see if you can sight the island."[6] He looked in the direction of the island and proceeded to describe the curves of the shore line and everything else on the island. She said he had described everything correctly.

When making a bet like this, the loser can have a second chance. She said, "Now, give me a second chance by seeing which of us has the better voice." The man went to his medicines again, and Land Gull said, "I am the bird with the clearest voice; use me for your voice."

During the breeding season, the buffalo bulls can be heard for over twenty miles. The woman used the voice of the bull. The old woman and her son-in-law were to be the sole judges of the contest. They separated and were far apart. When the bull bellowed, no sound came to the man. When the bird sounded, its voice could be heard as though it had come from just back of her ears.

Then she thought she could defeat the man in the foot race and thus kill him. Though this old woman lived in an earth lodge, actually the whole world was inside it. The four uprights were the four posts of the universe[7] which held up the sky. The four uprights were to be blackened, and the first to make the rounds of them was to be the winner. He called on his medicines to help him. The lodge was considered to be the earth; the wall was the horizon; the posts were the four uprights which held up the sky. He asked the killdeer bird to make the land between the first two posts boggy, and he called on the small gray fox to run the first stretch for him. The old woman employed four buffaloes, one for each stretch. He called on the red fox to run the second stretch; that land was undermined by the moles, who left just enough soil to hold the fox up but the old woman's buffalo floundered about helplessly. He called on the coyote to make the third run, but nothing was done to the land. He made the last run himself.

The race began. When the buffalo got to the first post, he was far behind. Each time when the buffalo reached the post, he would find it blackened. The man finished the race, transformed into a bird. After he won the race, the man said to the mother-in-law, "I want that prize to take home."

She said, "That is right," and, going to the head of the lodge and taking her wooden digging stick with her, she pried a rock out of its place and spoke down into the hole saying, "All of you come out." The buffaloes came out, but they were hairless and covered with grease. They had no meat, only fat on them.

He thought, "If I take them, my son will not get out." He refused them.

A second herd was called out, but they had long legs, long horns, long manes, and turned-up noses; they ate human beings. He refused them, and they returned into the earth. The third herd called up had long horns, manes that reached the ground, and bushy tails like horses, but they were larger than the others. He refused that herd, so she sent them back. The fourth herd was like the buffaloes we know.

He thought, "Here is a chance to take my wife and child back," so he accepted them.

6. She uses direct address. In extreme circumstances the mother-in-law will address the son-in-law directly.

7. So far as it was possible to determine, this was the only myth referring to the earth as a huge earth lodge. The mouth of Heart River was the fireplace.

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The old woman said, "This is the herd I tried to keep from you, but I am going to make a ruling that, when a white one appears, or a calf is born in the winter, it will be of great value." 773 539

That custom persisted until the buffalo were exterminated. He took the herd home, but let his wife and children [all the cow's sister's children were classified as children] go with the herd. He parted from them, for they were now considered food. This was also the beginning of the custom of a man parting with his wife and child and thinking little about it. This man taught the people that the world was an earth lodge supported by four posts. Thus, in building an earth lodge of the four-post standard, either an eagle lodge or earth lodge, calicoes were given to the posts in commemoration of this event.

When he reached home, the corn was short, for the season was dry; the buffalo herds were far away. He caused it to rain and brought the herds close to the village. All the people prospered and were happy, for the man by his adventures had brought good luck to all the people. By his suffering, he gained powers, and it was for the good of all his people.

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sales were as follows: (1) arrowmaking rights (Items 1, 2, 3, 4, 10); (2) owl rights (Items 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10); and (3) Holy Woman rights (Items 10, 11, 12, 13). The buffalo-calling rights were reserved for the main bundle-owner. There is no evidence of a bundle coming from Mitutanka Village.

SNOW OWL CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[5]

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A long time ago the Mandan were divided up into groups trapping eagles along the creeks west of the Missouri River. They were living in the usual eagle-trapping lodges made on the four-post standard. Black Wolf was one of the party. Being a good hunter, Old Black Bear was glad to have him along. He would go out into the pit whenever the winds were from the west and he was catching many birds. One warm afternoon, when in his pit, he became sleepy and was dozing off when he heard a rumbling sound. He awoke instantly. This same sound occurred on three consecutive days, but each time he woke up. On the fourth day, he was asleep when it occurred.

When he finally woke up, his pit was so dark that he thought night had come. When he touched the roof of his pit, he found that a large rock covered it, holding him prisoner beneath. When he could not get out, he cried. He lost all track of time. At last he saw daylight and was glad to get out of the pit. He found himself in a strange country. He saw a high hill and went there to get his directions again. From there he saw timber farther on, and at the edge of it there was a very small man motioning with his robe for him to come over. He went to the stranger and found him to be a small man, almost a dwarf, with a fair complexion, yellow hair, and a slightly hooked nose. This little man spoke in Mandan, and Black Wolf was glad to hear a voice again. He was invited to a lodge which was a four-post eagle-trapping lodge. There he saw a middle-aged man sitting at the head of the lodge making arrows. The arrowmaker did not speak, but the little man asked him to sit down.

After a while the arrowmaker said to the little man, "My helper, you have brought in a stranger. Prepare food for him."

The little man brought in dried meat and fat which he cooked over the coals. When it was crisp, he placed it on a wooden platter and set it before Black Wolf. Being very hungry, he ate it all up. Then the little man brought him water in a buffalo horn.

When Black Wolf had eaten, the arrowmaker said to the little man again, "It is time for us to eat now." The meat Little Man brought in was from around the sinews of the back. This he pounded up with a stone hammer and made into pemmican. Then he brought out an earthen kettle full of water and set it onto the fire. When the water was hot, he brought out a white substance and put it into the kettle. Then he said, "The meal is ready."

The arrowmaker said, "Bring my paint," and the Little Man ran to obey him. The paint was yellow, and the arrowmaker daubed spots of it all over his body. He tied a scalp on his left wrist, then stood up and danced around the fire to the rhythm of his own breathing. Each time he came to the kettle, he

5. Another version of this myth is recorded in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 149–54.

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sifted a little of the pemmican into it and then ate a little out of the kettle each time around until he had his fill. Little Man did just as the larger man had done.

At the evening meal, everything happened just as at the previous one.

At the morning meal, the food was prepared as formerly. Black Wolf ate first; the arrowmaker went through the dance as he ate, as before, but added the words, "If you don't bring in the elk, you are a coward."

It was customary for Black Wolf and Little Man to bring the firewood from the timber. While in the woods, Black Wolf asked Little Man what the arrowmaker meant by calling him a coward if he did not bring the elk. Little Man replied, "A large elk lives in a lake far to the north. It comes out of the lake in the middle of the day to take a nap. By my cunning, I always approach him and shave off a small piece of his horns to bring home to cook in the earthen pot we keep by the fire."

Black Wolf said, "I will bring in that elk."

Little Man said, "There are two cranes watching the elk. They cry out, and their voices echo over the whole country whenever anyone approaches."

Black Wolf left immediately in quest of the elk. Toward evening he came to a forest. He thought he would spend the night there and soon found a four-post lodge near the edge of the trees. He went to the lodge and stopped at the door. Inside he heard women talking of digging roots and wild potatoes in the forest. Some said their work was easy; others said it was difficult. They said they were hungry and that one should go outside for the firewood. The one who went out was short, with a long nose, but she was very good-looking. She saw Black Wolf outside and invited him in, but the other women, on seeing him, became so frightened that they ran to the head of the lodge and fell in a pile on the floor. The woman at the bottom of the pile said, "I am smothering. There is nothing to be afraid of. It is only Black Wolf. It is our grandchild who frightened us."

Black Wolf took out a piece of tallow for the grandmothers to grease their hands with and to eat. Some ate theirs; others greased their hands.

When the excitement died down, one of the women asked, "Grandchild, what made you come so far?"

Black Wolf replied, "That is right. I am far from home." Then he related the strange things he had experienced. He told how the rock fell over his pit, how the two men danced as they ate, and how they had called him a coward if he did not bring Elk-with-Antlers. The women listened carefully to all he related.

Then one of the grandmothers said, "Grandchild, this is a dangerous undertaking. If you keep traveling north, you will meet more of your grandmothers [long-nosed mice living in the timber]. When you go, we will follow after you, and you can tell the next grandmothers you meet we are coming to them."

He gave the women a small piece of fat before leaving in the morning. He traveled all day, and toward evening he came to a lodge in the forest. As he came nearer, he saw the smoke coming from the lodge and heard voices inside. Their conversation was also about digging roots and wild potatoes. One of their number was sent out for firewood, and she cried back saying, "An Indian has come to our lodge." All the mice ran to the side of the lodge opposite the door where they formed a huge pile.

One of the number said, "It has been a long time if it was an Indian. She must have been fooling us."

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A second mouse went out to see what was the matter. She called back, "It is Black Wolf. Our grandchild must be on an important errand to be so far from home," so they opened the door, and Black Wolf went in.

One of the women said, "How is it you are up north so far from home? We never expected to see you here." Black Wolf thought of the reception and of the fat in his pockets. One of the mice said, "My lips and hands are chapped." He gave each grandmother a piece of fat. Some used it on chapped hands; others ate theirs. Then he related all that had happened since the rock rolled over his pit, making him a prisoner. When he told them that the grandmothers one camp back were coming, they said that there were more mice farther north and that another day's travel would bring him to them. They asked him to spend the night there. These mice were red-backed with white breasts. Before he left, they said that they would follow him to where the elk lived.

Next morning he went on, and at evening he came to the timber again. There he found a lodge and stood beside the door. Inside he could hear the usual conversation about chapped hands. Soon one of the mice was sent out for firewood and saw Black Wolf. Again they were all frightened and rushed to the back of the lodge to form a pile. The one spoke saying, "It is time the Indian was coming in. She may be fooling us."

Saying this, she went out and saw Black Wolf standing at the door. They were no longer frightened when they saw that Black Wolf had come to their lodge. They told of their chapped lips and hands. He thought of his fat and gave them larger pieces than he had done at the other lodges. These mice were nearly black. They asked the same questions concerning his business in the far north, and he told the same story as before. They said, "One day's journey from here will take you to the other grandmothers. Tell them we are following you to their lodge. We have nothing to say about your errand. It is those at the first lodge whose word is authority."

Black Wolf spent the night there and started on his journey next day at sunrise. That evening at sunset he came to a timber that lay crosswise to the course of his journey and saw a lodge just inside the timber. He heard those inside telling of digging roots and wild potatoes. One of their number was sent out to gather firewood and saw Black Wolf. She called to the others, "There is an Indian at our door." All the mice ran to the back of the lodge. One said, "She must be fooling us. It is time he came in." She went out to find Black Wolf standing there. She invited him in. They questioned him about the reason for being so far from home, and he told them everything.

They said, "That big man who took you after you were held prisoner in the pit is one nobody can do anything with. He captured Little Man to be his slave. There is no way to capture the elk, but, when your other grandmothers arrive, we will talk the matter over and see what can be done. That elk sleeps at noon." These were the moles.

The other mice arrived that evening. First they told him that the elk was white. When the mice were ready, they told him to remain in the lodge. All of them went outside without telling him why. The mice of the first night began a tunnel underground and dug until they were tired; the mice of the second lodge dug on; the mice of the third lodge dug as far as they could; the mice of the fourth lodge finished the tunnel up to the sleeping elk. Then they called Black Wolf to follow the tunnel and kill the elk. Its heart beat was so strong that Black Wolf could hear it. He went up to the sleeping elk and shot four arrows tipped with flint into the heart, and the animal died. When the mice

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dug the tunnel, the cranes set to guarding the elk knew nothing of it so did not let out a cry until it was too late.

The grandmothers advised him to return at once with the elk. Being holy, he made the trip in one day. As soon as he reached the lodge of the two men, he informed the large man that he had killed the elk. He only replied, "Good! We will bring it in." Being birds, they made the trip there and brought in all the meat in one day.

When all the elk was taken into the lodge, the large bird danced around the food before eating. The small portion they used to put into the kettle was the fat from the horns. Now they had all the horns so they were well supplied. At first the large man was satisfied with the meat, but he got tired of it after three meals. They he danced and chanted "If you don't bring the four stripes, you are not a man." He referred to a man who had four stripes painted in his hair.

Little Man was one of the small gray-colored owls about the size of a blackbird found in the timber. Black Wolf continued to gather wood with Little Man. That day he asked what Big Man meant about the four stripes, and Little Man said, "He means that you should go after a man with hair striped white, red, blue, and bright red. This man lives near the ocean. There is no way of reaching him. That is the person Big Man was speaking of."

Black Wolf said, "I will go for him."

When Big Man heard of this, he was very happy, for he had no way of getting the man. Black Wolf changed into a bird and made the flight to the seashore. Then he changed back into a human being again. He walked along the edge of the forest where he saw many tracks of animals. Soon he saw an earth lodge with smoke coming from the smokehole and knew that it was occupied. Without awaiting an invitation, he walked in. There was only one occupant, a woman (the white-tail deer). She said, "What brings you so far from home?" She gave him corn-meal porridge, cooked dried meat, and water. Being hungry, he ate it all up and drank the soup. Again she asked him what brought him to the lodge. He told her of Big Man who took him in; how he sang a song telling of Black Wolf's cowardice if he did not bring in the white elk; and how Big Man now wanted him to bring in the man with the striped scalp.

When he finished, the woman said, "It is a good time to go now, for that man is in love with me."

She wore a dress of buckskin. This she took off and stood naked before him. Then she asked Black Wolf to do the same. Then she rubbed his body until he had her physique. When she came to the calves of his legs where one of the veins looks like lightning, she said, "If I change that vein, you will not run so fast. Now you look just like me except your lower legs. Now you must go to the shore and say, 'Grandfather, my grandmother has ordered you to cross me.' If a snake comes out, tell him he is not the right one, and he will disappear."

He did as she directed. When the first snake came out, there were only red willows on the bank, so he knew it was not the right one. He called again, and the growth on the shore was the small cottonwoods. He said, "Grandfather, you are not the right one."

The snake said, "I am sorry. I came for nothing."

The grandmother had said, "The third one to come out will lay its head on the shore. If the cottonwoods show smooth bark, tell him he is not the one you want, and he will disappear. The fourth time you call, the shore line will be changed to rocky sides and the cottonwoods will be large in circumference

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but not tall, with red willows growing at their feet." She gave Black Wolf eight large corn balls and said, "That snake will say, 'Grandchild, put one of those corn balls into my mouth,' but instead of doing it, put it into the water and let the snake get it himself. All these growths will be on the serpent's head."

When the last snake came to the shore, Black Wolf said, "Come a little closer," and it obeyed. Four times he asked the snake to come closer, and each time the large snake drew its head farther up on the bank. Then Black Wolf jumped and grabbed some red willows to hold onto. He missed the draft that nearly sucked him into the snake's mouth. The snake swam on, since he could not get Black Wolf at the shore. He hoped to swallow the man when he put corn balls into his mouth but, instead, Black Wolf threw them into the water for the snake to get as best he could. Corn balls were thrown into the water four times on the trip, and then they reached shore. There the snake placed his head even with the water, but Black Wolf did not dare to get off and asked him to move farther up the bank. This way, he moved the snake four times so that he was far up on the bank. Black Wolf jumped safely to shore.

At once he dressed in the woman's costume and started for the earth-lodge village. The grandmother had instructed him to look for a lodge facing south, which he had no difficulty in finding, once he reached the village. The young men of the village, playing the hoop-and-stick game, stopped to admire the pretty young woman passing by. One of them said, "She is the prettiest girl to come to this island. No doubt she is going to visit Four Stripes."

He went to the lodge and said, "Here is a woman who wants to come in."

When Four Stripes' mother heard, she went out to the girl and said, "Pretty woman, did you come to see my son?"

Black Wolf said, "Yes." The old woman showed her to a seat. Black Wolf was dressed in an elk robe, mountain-sheep dress, and leggings. He was very beautiful in women's clothing.

The grandmother, in giving instructions, had said, "Four Stripes' mother has the reputation of being a very mean woman."

Black Wolf was given food, and about that time Four Stripes returned. He was very handsome with light complexion and long hair. He was dressed in a beautiful costume. He had just returned from courting the chief's daughter. He carried a long lance in his hand. This he hung up at the head of his bed while he changed his robe. The mother said, "This young woman has come to you, and you better sit beside her and become her husband." He agreed, and they were married.

The mother-in-law sent Black Wolf for water. At the edge of the spring, he found a mountain-sheep horn that was always in motion. It had peppermint growing on its edges. He took the horn, filled it with water, and gave it to Four Stripes. The mother-in-law instructed Black Wolf to return the horn where he found it. He was given food, and, when the two had eaten, they heard a loud noise above. A woman came down through the smokehole. She was a bird with a long neck and on her back carried a sharpened ash pole with which she killed anything she attacked. She was a holy woman. She traveled like a bird and devoured humans as food. Her hair was dark with gray stripes. She was sister to Four Stripes. Also in the lodge was Four Stripes' mother's

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sister (called mother). When the holy woman[6] flew in from the skies, she was surprised to see the woman beside Four Stripes.

The mother said, "Don't you do anything to my daughter-in-law," for this woman was in the habit of eating anyone who came to marry Four Stripes.

Holy Woman said, "If she is a woman, let her stand up like a woman." She meant that she should strip naked. The holy woman asked her to let her arms hang. As it was dark in the lodge, she lit willows to examine Black Wolf. Then she commanded Black Wolf to turn his face from the fire, and then she admitted that there was a resemblance to a woman. She noticed the veins on Black Wolf's legs, and she flew up through the smokehole, saying, "The calves of her legs are not those of a woman."

It was not long until it was time to retire. Black Wolf wanted intercourse with Four Stripes and set the night back four times. Near the end of the fourth night, Four Stripes went to sleep. Black Wolf got up and shook Four Stripes, but he was sound asleep. Then he began to cut the head off with a flint knife. When he came to the fat around the spinal cord, he found that it was a chokecherry branch. He finished cutting the head off and put it inside his dress. He said to the mother-in-law, "I have my periods. I should go outside to sleep while I have them."

The mother-in-law said, "You should go on a scaffold."

"No, I will sleep on the earth-lodge entrance," Black Wolf replied.

The mother-in-law made a covering of robes for Black Wolf. As he walked, blood dripped from the head, and she thought it was from the sickness. He left one of his lice in the bed to impersonate him. He ran to the shore and found the monster still waiting for him.

He said, "Grandfather, I am back." He was nearly sucked into the snake's mouth as he jumped onto its head. He gave out the four corn balls on the way, but they had not reached the shore. The snake asked for flesh from the thigh of Black Wolf's leg. That gave him strength to reach the shore. Black Wolf landed safely and ran to meet the grandmother. She said, "Hurry, take off your clothing." By the same rubbing process, he was returned to his old self again. She forgot to rub under his arm, so that to this day, a man's skin there resembles a woman's.

When the excitement was over, the grandmother said, "Hurry, and try to reach the lodge at Fat Hill (north of Little Missouri River). Don't stop at the entrance but run inside as fast as you can."

He left the grandmother and ran toward the lodge as fast as he could. Just before reaching the lodge, the holy woman in the air said, "The head is drying up. There is no chance for you to get out alive." He ran into the lodge and threw himself out of reach of the large bird. The only person in the lodge was a small boy with a dirty nose; he was playing in the ashes. The holy woman landed a little behind Black Wolf but did not go into the lodge. The little boy was named Bad Bone, the Mandan term for the sternum bone.

The holy woman called into the lodge, "Send Black Wolf out. If any harm comes to him, I will make you suffer." Bad Bone went to the left side of the lodge and rubbed it with his hand, and the lodge immediately changed into

6. Four Stripes' sister. One of holy women entitled to dress up and dance at the close of the Okipa ceremony and to receive gifts whenever a major bundle rite was being performed.

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a solid rock, holding the two inside. The holy woman flew up into the sky and came down with the pointed stick, attempting to chip the stone. Bad Bone caused a crack to appear in the stone, large enough for her to stick her pointed rod into, and then he caused the lodge to go back together, holding the stick and woman prisoner. When the bird was fast, he returned to his playing and did not say a word to Black Wolf. Bad Bone then caused it to rain, and the holy woman became wet and cold. She called to the boy, but he paid no attention to her. Then he caused it to snow, and there was a blizzard from the northwest. She called that she was freezing, and they could hear her shiver. At last she died. Black Wolf went outside, cut her head off, and told Bad Bone that he could eat the body.

He left the lodge immediately, carrying the two heads. He reached Big Man's lodge without further difficulty and presented them to him. Big Man was glad to get the two heads, which he skinned and dried. Before this time, it had been customary for Black Wolf to eat first but Big Man said, "My helper, get something to eat. We will eat together." He tied Four Stripes' scalp on Big Man's wrist and gave the woman's scalp to Little Man to wear on his wrist. When Black Wolf first came, Big Man had a scalp on his left wrist; this he gave to Black Wolf to wear on his left wrist. The three danced around the food before eating.

For several days they danced in this manner before each meal. Each time they ate, part of the elk's horn fat went into the kettle with the pounded meat. Black Wolf and Little Man went for wood each day. One day Black Wolf told of his desire to go home.

When he made his wishes known, Little Man said, "When you get to the lodge, bow your head and make it known that you are homesick. He will ask me what is wrong and you address him Igij'tahE." IgiitahE was the owl that lived in the north. It always faced the wind, no matter how cold and stormy it might be. This owl was almost pure white in color.

When Big Man asked him what was the matter, Black Wolf told him he was lonesome. IgiitahE asked when he wanted to return, and Black Wolf said, "I have brought you all the things you desired, and now I think I have earned my freedom. I want to start for home today."

IgiitahE said, "That is true; you brought me everything I asked for. My last wish is that you stay with us tonight. Your home is not far, and you can reach it in one day."

That evening they ate together and then retired. Early next morning, IgiitahE woke up and asked Little Man to get a meal together, as it would be their last one with Black Wolf. Then IgiitahE asked Little Man to bring the medicine bundle, and the boy gave him the bundle. From the bundle Big Man took a rib with a hole through it. It was one such as is used for straightening arrow shafts and making the grooves. He said to Black Wolf, "See how I make them." He took out a wooden object with a hollow in it to polish the shaft. He put pulverized stone in the groove. The third object was a piece of rawhide tanned in such a way that pulverized stone stuck to it, serving like a sandpaper for smoothing arrows. The pulverized stone clung to the hide by a glue made of boiled sinew. The fourth object was a grapevine the length of the arm and the diameter of the thumb. He also gave Black Wolf a tanned fawnskin, both his spur claws, yellow clay for paint, black clay also for paint, and one of his largest feathers pulled from his wing.

Then he instructed Black Wolf that on the way home he would meet a very

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pretty woman who would say that she heard he was returning. "You should shun her and not even smile at her. She is pretty, but farther on there is a prettier one. The second one will try to attract you and even make advances toward you. Don't smile or talk to her, or she will use her powers over you and take you to her lodge. You will meet four pretty women.[7] You are privileged to talk to the fourth woman, if you are not strong-hearted, for man is not strong that way."

Black Wolf met the three women just as IgiitahE had said he would but passed them all up. Coming to the fourth woman, he saw that she was the most beautiful of them all. He thought of the privilege he had been given, so when she got in his path, he smiled and spoke to her. She invited him to her lodge, saying, "Come, my lodge is over there," and she prepared a meal. Then she asked him to marry her. Looking around, he saw that there were eight beds. He had been warned to be on the lookout all the time, for there were many dangers. He remembered that he had been warned that, in the course of intercourse, he would need the articles give him by IgiitahE. As they lay there, something tried to bite him. He used the rib employed in manufacturing arrows and the vaginal teeth chewed it to pieces. Next time the teeth tried to bite him, he used the two wooden tools for smoothening arrows; the third time he used the rawhide sandpaper which it took a long time to chew up; the fourth time he used the grapevine, which it chewed on for a long time. Then he had normal intercourse.

Shortly afterward, one of the men returned to the lodge. This lodge was the Dog Den Butte. The other six men came back soon afterward. Each time one of the men came in, he noticed an outsider in the lodge and would say, "Hurry and make us a meal of that animal you have just devoured."

The sister would say, "You can't eat this one; he is your brother-in-law." It had been customary, when killing a man, for the sister to bite off the penis, and then the brothers would eat the corpse. It was the custom of these brothers to lead the Mandan into the vicinity of Dog Den Butte, where, when a battle took place with the enemy, one of the warriors would be killed. These seven brothers would then take the corpse into Dog Den Butte and eat it. When the seven brothers could not induce their sister to give up Black Wolf, they said, "We are going to have a dance. Let Black Wolf dance with us."

She warned Black Wolf, "Do not dance with them, or they will eat you."

He only replied, "Since my brothers-in-law want me to join their dance, I will."

"But they will kill you," his wife replied. Black Wolf insisted that he could dance like them and thus be safe from harm. He put on a costume like Big Man had given him and braided his hair into a knot on the top of his head. He used the wing feather, yellow clay and black clay, tying the spurs of the white owl to each wrist; he slung the fawnskin over his shoulders. He made a pretty sight with his body painted yellow and spotted with the black clay. When the dance began, some of the dancers threw off their heads, others their stomachs, hearts, and even legs.

Black Wolf dressed in his bed. When ready for the dance, his wife said, "Your brother-in-law is coming out." They stood beside his bed ready to seize him when he appeared. Instead, he threw the fawnskin out, which, coming to life, frightened the brothers. Black Wolf impersonated the white owl and

7. In order these women were: White-Tail Deer, Black-Tail Deer, Elk, and Buffalo.

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screeched. The seven brothers ran away, leaving portions of their bodies they had been holding in their hands.

Black Wolf said, "I am very sorry they wanted me to take part in this, for they are all afraid of me."

The brothers begged the sister to get Black Wolf to give them back the pieces of their bodies deserted in the wild scramble for the door. One by one the dancers overcame their fright and ran into the lodge, seizing the lost parts. Black Wolf told them he had taken off his costume so they were safe in returning to the lodge. The brothers gathered around the fire, but they still feared Black Wolf. Each time he moved they would rush out of the lodge.

Black Wolf said, "I was on my way home when you brought me in. Now I must go home." At this time Black Wolf noticed an old bow with a knotted string, also a lance with a warped handle, and a quiver full of holes hanging over the door. He thought there must be some reason for the things hanging there. The brothers gave him his choice of the three, and he saw that his wife wanted to speak to him so he listened to her before making a choice. She whispered, "The important articles are at the farther end. If you take one of the two, you are making a good selection."

Black Wolf said to the brothers-in-law, "You have been good to me, but I am not worthy of taking your best, so I will take the bow and lance."

He left immediately, but the wife said, "Wait."

The brother-in-law said, "You did not take the best."

Another said, "You have given him his choice, and you should let it go at that."

Another said, "It is the custom for a married woman to go with her husband."

Another said, "No, she is the one who gets us food when we fail to bring in meat."

The brothers all agreed that she should say something to her husband before he left. She said, "You must go home and marry any kind of woman, even if she is not honorable. Then leave her for another. Do this four times, for I want to be jealous four times. When you go home, I will stay here and perform ceremonies. When you prepare for the ceremony, my brothers and I will be there. The chief will ask you to his lodge and offer you his daughter. Your answer will be 'I have important work to perform, and, when I get it done, I will take her.' "

When they were ready to let him go, she took four bundles apart and asked him to walk on them with his eyes shut and to open his eyes when he stepped on the last one. Then he would be home. He did as directed, and on the fourth step he reached home.

Word went around the village that Black Wolf was back. The chief heard of it and invited him to his lodge, saying, "During your absence, we have had hard times. I want you to marry my daughter so times will be better."

Black Wolf said, "I have come home to perform some very important business. I must complete that task. After that, I will consider marrying your daughter." That same night he married a girl from a poor family and word went around that he was foolish to marry the poor girl when the chief had offered him his daughter. Next morning the wife was found dead, and Black Wolf married a second wife the same day. She, too, died the next morning, and he married a third wife, who died on the morning following her marriage. He married four wives, and all of them died.

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Then he was free to marry the chief's daughter, for he knew that the woman in Dog Den Butte had had her jealousy satisfied. (To this day, it is believed that when a man loses many wives, it is due to the jealousy of the woman living in the Dog Den Butte.) He was married and lived in the chief's lodge. Black Wolf had promised that, when he returned to the village, he would perform the ceremony. The property necessary for the ceremony included over one hundred buffalo robes and one white buffalo robe. When he left the Dog Den Butte, he did not take the old bow and lance, for his wife in the Dog Den Butte had said, "When you give the ceremony, I will deliver the things to you."

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When he made the sacrifice of robes to the people in the Dog Den Butte, they knew that the time had come. The chief's daughter removed her clothing and carried a plain black pipe. The people from the Dog Den Butte made four stops coming to the village so the girl was sent with the pipe, corn balls, and a robe to meet them at each stop. The robe was given them at the first stop, but they also received one at the door of the chief's lodge. When they made their last stop, they were at the door of the lodge, and all entered. Someone laid the robe on the floor, and the people from the Dog Den Butte laid Black Wolf's bow and lance on it. The sacred dances then commenced. The woman from Dog Den Butte was naked with a small robe over her shoulders, and a turtle shell over her pudendal region. The dance was very suggestive. They danced continually through the ceremony. Then the woman took up the bow and lance, which she gave to Black Wolf. The woman and each of her brothers took turns promising Black Wolf success in warfare and in taking scalps.

The brothers said, "You will be chief of this village and never have any bad luck."

The woman said, "In the future, when any Indian thinks of me, he must make offerings to me and give his wife to the one who is head of this medicine."

That was the way the custom of "giving the wives" began, and it has continued down to its present keeper, Little Owl. All the sacred objects are kept. The ones making the ceremony within memory of those living are Standing Bear, Belly Up, Foolish Bear, and Bear on the Flat. The last person to impersonate the woman of Dog Den Butte was Flat Bear's grandmother, Brave Woman. She is called Woman Living in Dog Den Butte. In the last dance a man by the name of Big Turtle was on one side of the door. He had marks painted in red clay showing the kinds of wounds an enemy might inflict on the Mandan. A young man wanting to be lucky would go to him and ask for the privilege of striking an enemy. Then, when he was successful, he paid the man for sending him good luck.

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women want the man to pick it up. If he picks it up, but few do, he dresses like a woman. 838

There are three women, one in each of the three places where Sun stops to smoke. They are his sisters. Their names are Sunrise Woman, Above Woman, and Sunset Woman. They are all evil women. Because Sun is my god, I have the right to give children such names as Lone Woman from Sun's mother, Buffalo Woman from the buffalo skull, Digs Turnips or Chokecherry Tree from the Bear. 776 553

Although the woman represented in the Shell bundle is one of the Holy Women, rights in the People Above ceremony did not carry rights in the Shell bundle. 778 776

These Holy Women cause twisted faces and insanity, and people with rights in the bundle can cure them. I have the right also to doctor those thrown from horses or hit with an ash stick. This right comes from the People Above bundle. [553] [828]

The myth Calf Woman had been taught when buying the bundle was as follows: 773

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY CALF WOMAN 539

Three people go together in this story; they are Sun, Moon, and Old Woman Above. A long time ago a young woman named Corn Silk wanted to marry Sun. She went to a very old woman, who was a Holy Woman, to get instructions as to where Sun lived and how she might reach him. This Holy Woman said, "Your grandmothers, the mice, are living on the prairies. You can stop at their earth lodges each night on the way."

She started on her journey and came to the home of the lodge mice about sundown. She walked up to the lodge and stood outside. One of the children who came outside saw her and ran inside to tell the mice about it. The old women told the little mouse to invite her in. She asked the woman who was doing the cooking to prepare Corn Silk some ground beans for her supper. The young woman had buffalo fat along; she gave some of it to the mice to use, for their hands were chapped from digging beans. She also had some blue stone beads along, and she gave some of them to the old women. She slept there and the next morning went on.

The lodge mice told her that there was another family of mice a little farther on. She reached them at sunset. They were the white-breasted mice. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads as before. She also gave them fat for their chapped hands. One of the old women asked her where she was going, and she replied that she was on her way to marry Sun. They told her she would find another family of mice a little farther on.

She traveled all day and reached the lodge of the mosquito mice at sunset. One came out and saw her, and she was invited in as before. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads and buffalo fat.

They inquired, "Where are you going, my beautiful grandchild?"

She answered, "I am on my way to marry Sun."

She slept until morning and ate her breakfast with the mice. She traveled all day and reached the home of the pocket gophers at sunset. They saw her,

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and she was invited in. Each of the pocket gophers had a little clay pot cooking in the fire.

The head woman said, "The first cooked beans must be given to our grandchild."

Corn Silk had some corn balls with her, and she gave each old woman one of them with the buffalo fat. They asked where she was going, and she told of her trip to marry Sun.

Next day she traveled on until she reached the lodge where Sun lived. She stood at the door. Sun's mother, Old Woman Above, came out and saw the beautiful girl. Sun and Moon each owned a side of the lodge. Old Woman Above called her in and sent her to Moon's side of the lodge instead of Sun's.

About this time a Cheyenne woman came up from below, and Old Woman Above took her to Sun's side. Sun was on the inside of the lodge and knew all that was going on outside of the lodge. He saw that his mother was cheating him. He told his mother about it, but she said that not many women came to be the wife of Moon. Old Woman Above brought in the Cheyenne woman and said to Sun, "Here is your wife."

Moon said, "Mother, cook something for your daughters-in-law."

Sun was a cannibal, so Old Woman Above cooked human hands, ears, and skin which the Cheyenne woman helped Sun eat.

They had been married some time when the women knew that they were to have children. Moon told his wife he had a nest in a tree and asked Corn Silk to give birth to her child there, for Sun was fierce and would otherwise eat the baby. She had only to make the motion of jumping up to the nest, and she was there. Moon's wife gave birth to a boy. She and her baby were safe in a tree.

Shortly afterward, Sun's wife gave birth to a boy also. Sun picked it up and licked it like a buffalo licks her calf. Both parents were proud of their baby boys. Moon would go out in the evening and come back in the morning just when Sun was leaving. Sun said that he did not want the children to be babies all the time, and Moon agreed with him. Moon was afraid of Sun, since Sun would play with the children while Moon was away during the night. Moon knew that Sun had done something to his son, so he looked in the baby's mouth, where he found pieces of skin from humans Sun had been feeding him.

Sun said the babies should sit up, and they sat up; that they should walk, and they walked; that they should run around, and they ran around. That way they were full grown in a short time, and Sun gave the boys names. Moon's child was named Prairie Dog Owl. Sun's child was named Game Piece Stone.

Sun said, "Our boys are grown up, so I am anxious to have some people to eat."

When Moon went out that night, Sun had the boys play the gambling game. Old Woman Above watched closely every moment of the time. Moon's boy won the game but Sun said to play it over again; again Moon's boy won, and a second time Sun said to play it over. They played the game over four times, and each time Moon's boy won, but each time Sun said, "My boy has won the game."

Old Woman Above said, "Moon's son won every time."

They quarreled, and Sun said, "You always help Moon."

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Old Woman Above replied, "Moon's boy won every time, and you always want to take it away from him." 773

In every game there was something bet. Once Moon's boy bet a Mandan household and Sun's boy bet his Cheyenne mother's ten brothers. When Moon came back, Old Woman Above told of the affair. 539

Moon said to his wife, "I will lengthen the night four times. You put a flea on the bed and tell it to talk to Sun, who will think it is you. Try to get to the village you came from with the boy. There you will be safe. The flea will tell the story over and over taking your place for four entire nights."

Moon's wife started back toward her village, and, while she traveled on through a night four nights long, the flea began the story. He told how Corn Silk went to the holy old woman to learn how she could get to Sun; how she visited and spent the nights with the mice for one night on the way; how she inquired the way to Sun's lodge and eventually found it.

About that time Sun became nervous because morning did not come. Then Moon added another night, and the flea told of the second night Corn Silk had spent with the mice.

Sun wondered why morning did not come again and said, "Something must have happened; it ought to be morning."

Moon set the night back a third time, and the flea told of the third night Corn Silk spent with the mice. The fourth night Corn Silk spent with the pocket gophers, the flea explained to Sun. Then the flea told how Corn Silk came to the lodge and Old Woman Above put her on Moon's side even though she came to marry Sun. The flea told of her marriage with Moon and Sun's marriage with the Cheyenne woman. By that time it was daylight.

Moon, who was also a large bird, one of the Thunderbirds, came back but not to the lodge. Instead he sat on a high cliff. He painted and prepared for war and flew around looking for the Cheyenne woman's ten brothers who were on their way to attack the village where Corn Silk's people lived. He found them and killed them with one flash of lightning. Just as soon as the ten men were killed, the Holy Women (magpies) who were evil spirits came and ate the meat from the bodies. Sun's child was among the ten. Moon's child cut the head off of Sun's child, but he had to put fire on him to kill the body completely. Moon had said that it was the only way Sun's child could be completely killed. He saved the head from Sun's boy. When Corn Silk and her son reached Prairie Chicken River, Moon's son ordered the Prairie Chickens to come together so that they formed a bridge with their beaks for the two to cross over on. The birds did as he ordered, and, when the boy was in the middle of the river, he dropped the head into the water and said, "Grandfather [Snake], I am making an offering of Sun's boy's head to you."

The two reached their village, and the people were proud of them and sang songs of praise because the boy's father had killed their enemies, the Cheyennes. They put him above all the others in the tribe and eventually made him their war chief.

By that time, Sun awoke and knew something had happened. He went to the spot where the bodies lay. There he found his son's ashes and put them together. The little boy jumped up without a head and fell down again. Sun then went to the spot where the Cheyenne had been killed, but only one skinny skeleton remained uneaten by the evil spirits

Moon's wife had a lodge of her own where she lived with her son. He had

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773 a pile of stones on a high hill, and he went there to sit nearly every day. Since
539 his father was a Thunderbird, he liked to sit on high places and sing his sacred songs.

778 Calf Woman's bundle contained these articles (see Fig. 40): (1) copper ring representing Old Woman Above; (2) copper ring representing Sun; (3) copper crescent representing Moon;[4] (4) one large gourd rattle; (5) six magpie tail feathers (the Holy Women were identified by these magpie feathers); (6) twelve owl tail feathers (the owl was associated with the moon and the

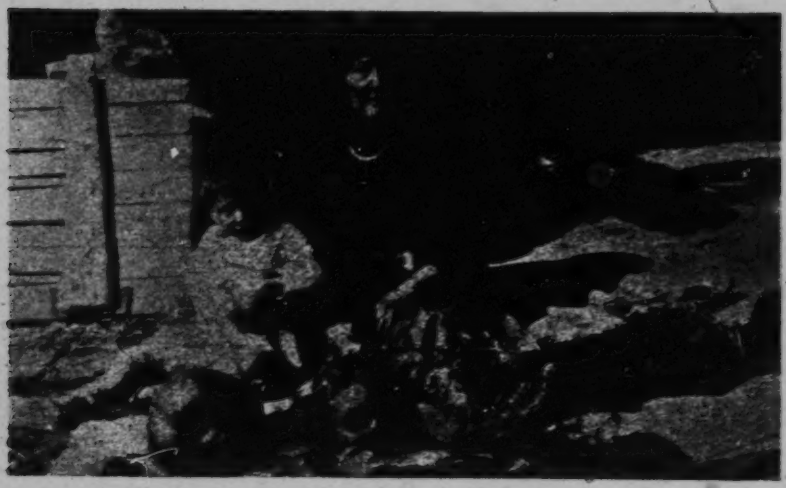

FIG. 40.—People Above bundle with owner, Calf Woman, and her grandson

night); (7) human scalp, said to be one that was taken from a Cheyenne Indian, killed by Moon when his son escaped; (8) left arm of a grizzly bear, used in the ceremony, since Corn Silk and her son did not have time to get a forearm of one of the Cheyenne; (9) grizzly bear's skull;[5] (10) tuft of long hair from a buffalo bull's lower jaw; (11) a strip of hide from a buffalo calf's head; (12) long hair from a buffalo's foreleg; (13) buffalo left horn; (14) a buffalo skull.[6] (The buffalo was represented in the

4. The three copper objects were obtained from white traders.

776 5. Scattercorn explained that the Holy Women were the only ones who could master a grizzly bear and compel it to work for them carrying wood from the forests. The significance of this skull was not clear to the informant. She thought that it had been added by a former owner and was not a true part of the bundle.

6. The rites were of major bundle status.

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where the Sioux were hiding. The Sioux rushed out, and a shot broke Bobtail Bull's leg above the ankle, and he said, "I am Bobtail Bull." He shot several with his arrows but in turn was hit in the chest with a bullet and died. The Sioux who killed him named himself Bobtail Bull.

Because Bobtail Bull killed the enemy at the small Mandan village, these people were obliged to come to Like-a-Fishhook Village for protection.

There is a slight variation in the myth between villages. This was determined by ascertaining the villages the various family lines had resided in. There were two distinct Mandan versions and one Hidatsa version. Several accounts were recorded of which three representative versions are given. They are: (1) Mitutanka version, supplied by Mrs. Owen Baker, granddaughter of Bobtail Bull; (2) Nuptadi version, narrated by Ben Benson; and (3) Hidatsa version, related by Bears Arm.[5]

MITUTANKA SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY MRS. OWEN BAKER[6]

She was a Mandan. The people went to a winter camp, coming from the Heart River. They were at the place where they dig paint near the Little Missouri. It was east of where the road crosses north of Killdeer. This place was called "Where they dig paint." They were traveling along slowly, for they had dogs. The girl and her brother got lost. Though the children were missing, the people could find no trace of them. The two children built a lodge shaped like the eagle-trapping lodge. When they had finished, they were hungry, so they looked around. They found rose berries and wild turnips. They dug a cellar and put them away for the winter.

In a short time, the sister found a friend who stayed at home all the time, but the sister rarely stayed at home. She brought in elk, deer, and many kinds of meat. One day the boy brought in an elkhide. The women tanned the hide and made a robe of it. When they finished, they pasted clam shells to it. They painted the morning star on the middle of the robe.

She said, "Leave a space where I can put something on the left side for Corn Tassel." (The Awatixa call her Red Feather.)

Her brother did not know what it all meant, so he worried about it. After he had eaten, he would lie down to worry.

The two women tanned hides for their robes and dresses. The sister did not like the place and thought it was not a good place to live, so she left the place and went to Big Timber. There she built a large lodge and had all the mysterious holy women help her. They lived there a few years. When she was away, the brother would hear a strange noise while hunting and wondered what it was, but he was never able to get the answer. One day when she was gone, his other sister told him that his sister (Feather on Head) was after him.

She said, "Did you hear a noise? That is your sister. She flies into the skies and fights there. She is trying to take your life. I will try to help you out so you will be safe. When you go hunting, if you kill an elk or buffalo, cut the meat and hide up into small pieces and throw it around where you butchered."

5. This version was from Awatixa Village of the Hidatsa tribe.
6. For the Nuptadi and Awatixa versions see Appendix II.

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He came home, and it was then that he told the other sister that he had cut the elk up and thrown it around. 773

She said, "When your sister gets back, tell her that you killed an elk and that, when you got it, you were tired. Tell her to get it in the morning. Be sure to hide your tracks. Cover them and walk in the water. When you have escaped, go toward the Fire Man, for she is afraid of that man." 539

She came home, and he told her that he had killed the elk and that she should get it for him. As soon as they had eaten in the morning, she started out. She saw where he had butchered. There were many small pieces, and she wondered what it was all about. It was hard to gather them, but she collected them in her robe and ran home with them.

He traveled along, hiding his tracks. He came into the lodge backward and put his arrow into the ashes to jump. The arrow carried him along. He ran fast. The meadowlark told him to try to reach the butte, "for the only person that your sister is afraid of is Fire Man."

She came back and found wood piled before the door, so she called for him to open the door.

He had left an arrow to talk to her, and Arrow said, "I am busy; open it yourself."

She broke open the door and found no one at home. She looked for the tracks and followed them but could not find how he went out. At last she saw where he had gone up through the smokehole. She got her digging stick, put her magpie feathers on her head, and flew out. The meadowlark told him to hurry, for she was near. He threw arrows out, and the best ones went farthest. He gathered those and put them in his mouth, where he would have them ready to use.

She said, "There is no place that you can go to and be safe."

The boy turned back with an arrow pointed and shot. The sister used a bunch of black sage, but both missed each other. He shot three times but missed; then he was close to the lodge where Fire Man lived.

He fell through the lodge and said, "Grandfather, I am done."

A very old man lived in there. A hot kettle was on the fire, and the boy was puffing.

The sister looked in and said, "Give him back to me."

The old man said, "Get him yourself."

"Give him back to me, or I will include you," she said.

"Are you crazy? That is your own brother," he replied. He picked up the kettle and chased her away.

The grandfather said, "Your sister has turned into a spirit now. She will never die. No one can do anything to her. She is the head of all the Holy Women, but she is afraid of me, for she is afraid of this fire. You go home this evening, and I will warn her. I will fix you so you can go home."

He put cottonwood limbs in the fire, for they bend as they burn. He put the bracelets of curved, charred cottonwood on the boy's wrists.

"You will hear her crying as you come near the lodge. She will be waiting to kill you. You put your arm through the door, and she will see the fire and be afraid. Then she will sit down and cry," the grandfather explained.

He did just as the old man told him. She gave him his supper, and he ate.

He stayed a few days and his sister said, "You can go home to our people now. They are not far from us. When you get home, they will give you the chief's two daughters. Then you can make your medicine and keep me, for I will never go back again, and I will never die."

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773 When he was ready to go, she said, "Wait a while," and she went out and brought in a large buffalo. She said, "I want you to fix up my brother as he should be dressed."

539 She showed him where the village was, so he went back. He went back to the Mandan and not to the Hidatsa.

When he got back, the people were told of his experiences. A chief gave him his two daughters. He told his wives about his experiences and how he had been sent back to perform the ceremony. His father-in-law was happy and prepared everything for him, since it took a great deal of goods. He took one of his wives and went back to his sister. When he reached the door, he was crying.

She said, "My son [not a brother now], come in."

His wife had corn balls of four-in-one and she took them to the holy woman. The other wife stayed home and cooked sweet corn, corn balls, and meatballs to have everything ready. He took the pipe and corn balls and put them in front of him. She went out and called the buffalo in again.

She said, "Bless the corn ball. You smoke first, for you are the one to supply meat for my 'son.'"

Buffalo smoked first and then broke the corn balls. She went out and invited in all her friends who were the Holy Women, the magpies and the buffalo cows. When they had finished eating, they said, "You can go home now, and we will be there in four days."

When he had been home four days, the morning was foggy and still. When the fog lifted, the people could see them coming. Buffalo was first; then the sister came, carrying a live Assiniboine Indian on her back. She wanted her "son" to strike a live enemy there in the lodge during the medicine feast. They went into the lodge which belonged to his father-in-law.

She said, "I have brought you an enemy. I want you to strike him so that you will be successful against the enemy." His sister passed the medicine to his wife to press against her breast. Then she gave the robe to him.

She said, "This is my body. It will protect you through life until you are old. When you are old, you must pass it on to another to protect him." She gave the scalp from the Assiniboine to her "son" to put on the robe. When the ceremony was over, she went back, and he never saw her after that. These had been Hidatsa, but he went back to the Mandan at Heart River, so the medicine got to the Mandan.

He killed many Assiniboines. Because he killed more enemies then the other men, he was made chief. He died of old age. The sister is called Feather on Head Woman, the same name as my mother had. The boy's name was In the Corn Tassel.

If mice ran in front of the robe, they died. People could not talk out loud in front of it. It belonged to Big Coat; then it went to Bobtail Bull; Big Foot Bull got it through his wives.

Big Coat was on the warpath during the June raise. He had thirty Mandan who were all afoot. They came to a large Sioux camp and did not know which way to run except toward the river. It was high, and he did not know which way to go. He was responsible for his men, so he called to cross the river.

He said, "My old mother, I saw you tall as a cottonwood tree. Now I want to wade this river."

He pointed his pipe at the river. They waded in, and the river did not seem high. He crossed safely, and in that way he saved his men.

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tribes who had recently married into the tribe, believing that the spirits of the red sticks would then help the other tribe. However, when such women had joined a Mandan clan, they could participate. 796 837 614

Sometimes, when a man refused to walk with his "granddaughter," her husband placed a filled pipe before him. This left the old man one of two choices: (1) he could walk with her, or (2) he could invoke the spirits of the north that sent storms driving the buffaloes to the Missouri River to help her and her husband. A woman was not offered to a man of her own clan or to immediate blood relatives.

Mrs. Good Bear recognized this as a separate ceremony at the lower village, Mitutanka, and did not believe that it was performed at Nuptadi in this form, as they had the Buffalo-calling rites of the Snow Owl ceremony, which was similar in some respects to the Red Stick ceremony. Scattercorn verified this information by stating that Standing Bear, who owned the Red Stick ceremony, came up early to Like-a-Fishhook Village (about 1845) together with the survivors of the lower village and that, after the Nuptadi survivors joined the other Mandans, both ceremonies were given but never at the same time. 796

The sacred myth belonging to the ceremony was related by Mrs. Good Bear.

RED STICK CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY MRS. GOOD BEAR

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A long time ago there was a respectable young woman named Corn Silk who had then been single for several years. Many men wanted to marry her, but she always refused. One day her parents said, "Why don't you get married?" They scolded her, and she felt bad because they had quarreled. When night came, she went outside and lay on top of the doorway to the earth lodge to sleep and would not go into the lodge that night. She went to sleep.

When she awoke, someone was carrying her on his shoulders, and she knew that someone had her in his power. She couldn't get away. They went along until they came to his lodge. He put her in a bed, thinking that she was asleep, but she knew everything that happened. Then there was another woman, an owl, and a large grizzly bear in the lodge. The man asked Owl Woman to cook something for Corn Silk, and she began to prepare food. Then she said, "Corn Silk, you should get up and eat." Owl Woman brought water for her to wash with, and then she ate.

The man came in again and said to Owl Woman, "Send her into the woods to get fuel. Tell her to take the bear with her."

He walked out and then Owl Woman said, "You are a good and beautiful

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773 •539 young woman, I am going to tell you what will happen to you. That man plans to eat you. That is why he brought you here. You must try hard to save your life. He will kill you when you get back from the woods, so be on your guard."

Corn Silk took the bear and the travois to bring the wood in with. The bear lay down while she gathered dry sticks, figuring all the time how she could get away. Owl Woman had said, "If you get to that sharp hill before he gets you, you will be safe." She picked up one of her lice while she was in the woods and thought that she would get away while the louse answered anyone who came along. She ran as fast as she could.

At that time the man came along and inquired where the girl was, and the louse replied, "In the woods." He waited. Corn Silk was nearly to the hill. The man went in to see where she was. He asked the bear where she had gone, and he replied that she asked him to lie down, so he did not know. He asked where she was, and the louse replied, "Here I am."

The man said, "I know where she is," and he ran toward the sharp hill to get her.

He came close and kept saying, "I will get you!" She had some waterbird feathers stripped down to work, like in quill work. She threw one of the feather sticks back, and thousands of these white birds [a bird on the lakes of the north, the land gull] flew up and beat him in the face, slowing him up.

When he got out of the flock, she threw back an elk-horn scraper which was used to flatten quills, asking help of the elk bulls, who appeared and hooked him. This slowed him up, but he passed them. He said, "I'll get you this time."

She had a pumice stone to smoothen the feathers with, and she threw that back. Sharp hills of pumice stone came up, and they caused him to fall often. About this time she reached the hill and found the door open. She ran in. A little boy named Breast was inside playing with a bow and arrow, but he did not pay any attention to the young woman who had come in. Soon Spirit Man was outside, and he called, "Send her out, or I will get you, too." The boy was shooting into the fireplace. Each time the man said, "I'll get you, too," the boy repeated it.

The man said, "This will be the last time that I will warn you."

The boy took up a pipe called "Tail Pipe" [a buffalo tail hide stuffed with sand until dry, when a hole was made in the end, leaving the tip hair on]. The boy picked up the pipe and filled it with tobacco, lighting it. The man was standing a short distance away. Breast took a deep suck on the pipe and blew the smoke toward the man, who fell down and died. He called to his sister to come outside and burn the body. They covered it with buffalo chips and burned the body until it was reduced to ashes.

When evening came, the little boy said, "Sister, I have quite a few brothers; some are foolish, and they are out hunting now, so you must go behind their beds and hide before they get here." She hid and they came in; they were all young men; they cooked a meal and talked of the hunt for a long while.

The little boy sat there and suddenly said, "I found something," but they paid no attention to him. He repeated it, but they paid no attention to him.

At last one said, "Our little brother said that he found something."

The others said, "Show us what you found."

After a long time he said, "I found a sister." They all agreed that they

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would have her for a sister, so the little boy said, "Sister, come out." She came out from hiding as a beautiful young woman.

All the young men called her sister, and one of them said, "It is a good thing that you reached here because that man kills people and eats them. It is a lucky thing that Breast was here. It won't do to keep you here all the time, so in a few days we will take you home again. You can stay two days and rest and then go home again."

The next day they told her that they were going hunting and that she was to stay with Breast through the day. They said to Breast, "Stay with our sister, and you must not go out anywhere at all." They said to the young woman, "Sister, we are saying this because there are many evil spirits who would take you away."

While they were gone, an old woman came along packing an old man like they carried babies. His face was ugly; his nose was dirty; he cried like a baby. All this was to try to get Corn Silk to look at him. She hung her head and would not look at him. The old woman was angry because Corn Silk would not look, but they went out.

Toward evening the brothers came home and inquired whether anyone had been there, and Corn Silk told of the old man and woman whom she would not look at. The brothers said, "We thought so; everyone will be after you. It is best for you to go home. We will let you take something along with you so that you will be safe. Then nobody will bother you." One of them pulled out a beautiful otter skin with the skull still in it. She wrapped it up to carry on her back. At the same time she pounded dry meat for her trip home. Her brothers said, "If anyone stops you or tries to give you anything to eat, you must refuse it. Do not eat with them."

She walked along until evening came, when she met a beautiful young girl who said, "My friend, I have a lodge. You should come and stay with me overnight." They went into a ravine. The woman had a wood-and-brush tepee. They went in, and she said, "My friend, I will give you something to eat." So she dished out a portion of a man's brain with a mountain-sheep spoon. Corn Silk took out the brain and gave it to the otter skull, which ate it all up. She slept there. While she slept, the other woman went away, for in the morning she was alone. She set the tepee afire and traveled along.

She walked all day until afternoon, when a small child came to her crying for its mother. She looked at it and knew that it was not a real human and passed it up. Soon she saw another and passed it up; still another cried, and she thought of taking it because it looked so pretty. She went on. It cried louder and louder. Toward evening she met another woman, who addressed her as "my friend" and asked her to her house in a ravine. It was another brush tepee. She said that she was cooking dried squash, but they were people's ears. Corn Silk said, "I have something here for you to eat," and she gave the dried meat to the woman. Corn Silk gave the ears to the otter skull. The skull ate all the ears. The other woman said she was glad Corn Silk ate all the squash. When Corn Silk awoke, she was alone. She set the tepee afire as before.

She traveled until nearly evening, when she met another baby; she passed a second one also. The third one was a very beautiful girl who was just learning to walk. The baby touched Corn Silk's dress, and she looked at it. She took it even though she had been told not to take anything. She packed the baby on her back. She came home with the baby girl the same evening. Everyone

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773 called that Corn Silk was back, and all admired the very pretty baby she had with her. Everyone heard about the baby and came to admire it. This went
●539 on for three days. One morning when the village awoke, an entire family[8] was gone. The people wondered about it. The next morning another family had disappeared, and still a third family on the third morning. Some of the older people met and debated the cause of this and what could be done. It was something very mysterious, and they told the young men to stay up all night and keep watch. One young man said, "I will fast on the hills and see if I can find out what it is all about."

He cried all day, and a snowstorm and blizzard came up toward evening. In the night during the storm twelve buffalo bulls came along under the hill walking in the snow. They were walking toward the village. Each had a flat board about two feet long with hoofs, lungs, and a heart tied to the handle. They stopped at the foot of the hill near the young man, circled around, and sang their song.

First Pretty Woman was the name of the child which had been brought into the village, and the bulls gave the name. They said, "First Pretty Woman nearly ate up your village," and then they bellowed, pushing each other with their bodies. They were carrying the red sticks all this time. When they finished singing the song, the bulls went away and the young man returned to his village.

He said to the older men, "You wanted some young man to learn what has become of the people. I fasted on the hill to find out. While I was there, a storm came. I stood up against the wind and cried, and at the foot of the hill there appeared twelve buffalo bulls. They stood in a circle and sang a beautiful song. Each carried boards painted red. On the handles of each were hung heads, lungs, heart, and windpipe. They sang a song, and these words were in the song: 'First Pretty Woman ate up most of your people.'

"You must learn whether there is any child in the village named First Pretty Woman."

An old man said, "Corn Silk brought in a baby named First Pretty Woman, and that must be the one."

The older men called the Black Mouth Society, ordering them to go from lodge to lodge and find out who she was. They inquired the names of all the children in each family until they came to Corn Silk. They asked her if that was her own baby, and she said that it was. Then they asked the name and she replied, "First Pretty Woman."

Then the Black Mouths said, "That is the child we are looking for. We lost our families and something got them. We heard one of the young men say that First Pretty Woman was the name of the child who ate them. That must be the one, and we are going to take the baby from you."

Corn Silk replied, "She isn't mine because I picked her up on the prairie one morning at daybreak.[9] Once the child flew down through the smokehole and came to me. I tickled her, and she laughed. I saw a piece of meat between her teeth and pulled it out. It was the fingernail of a human."

The Black Mouths took the baby along, called through the village that they had found the child, and directed the people to bring wood to burn her.

8. "Family" here is used to designate all residents of an earth lodge.

9. This is one of the holy women and was identified by the magpie tail feather she wore and the ash digging stick she carried.

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They built a large fire and threw the child into the fire. She jumped out three times. The fourth time the baby burned, and its stomach swelled up and burst. All the people she had eaten came out and walked back to their lodges. 773 539

After that was done, this young man made up the ceremony. He made the sticks just like the ones he saw the buffaloes carrying. It was not in the dream but instead of the lungs he put on hoofs. It was the custom to put on this dance whenever the buffaloes were scarce, and then they came near the village. When the young man came back, he was the first to make these sticks. The old men met and came to his lodge to sing the song that went with the sticks. The young man's friends brought their wives, and the old men walked with them.

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the ceremonies would begin at such a time, and the people were expected to have a wood supply on hand. The people were expected to be quiet, and stray dogs were either tied up or killed. Both Calf Woman and Scattercorn (her father, Moves Slowly, was singer for the Mandan women) believed that the society was founded by the Mandan and bought by the Hidatsa.

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ORIGIN MYTH OF THE WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY RELATED BY SCATTERCORN

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The White Buffalo Women's Society began from a dream a man once had when he was fasting out on the hills. He dreamed that he heard a man calling from far away. He continued to fast. The fourth night the voice was so clear that he could heard the words. The voice kept saying, "Put a child with them." Soon he saw a man coming with two small children in his arms.

The man said, "I am going to give you these two children. Prepare a feast, and I will return to you. I am the buffalo. When you have the feast ready, I will come; you will have plenty of buffaloes all the time."

The man who had been fasting came back to the village and told how a buffalo man had promised him that his people were coming to the village to give him two buffalo children. He asked that the people put up a feast of all the different varieties of corn. He asked two women to come and receive the two buffalo children.

Soon a party of strange women came to eat the food and showed them how to give the dance. When the women left, the two children struggled to free themselves because they wanted to follow the women. One got away, but the other one was kept in the village. The child was reared in the tribe, and it was from this feast that the White Buffalo Society began.

Each winter the women came back to see the child. They were the buffalo cows, so the society danced to give the buffaloes a chance to see their child. The buffalo women would bring the winter buffalo herds with them.

The rule was that a woman should not belong to this society until she was beyond the childbearing age. This was the highest and last society to which women could belong. Women could not be members while they still had menstruation periods, as it was believed that the blood would drive the buffaloes away.

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The society kept four men as singers. They bought their rights and could sell out whenever they wanted to. Before the ceremony of selling was held, the women put up a sweat-lodge frame which resembled an inverted bullboat frame. The ones buying must supply five or six robes for the cover. Each one buying gave a wooden dish and robes to one of the older women, whom she called "mother," to get her rights in the society. One person was selected to buy the leader's robe, which was white. As soon as the sale was concluded, the new society women lined up. The leader would be on the end of the line wearing the white buffalo robe with the hair outside. The child, a little girl between the years of two and nine, stood in the center of the line wearing a robe with the hair side out. A woman at the end of the line wore the robe of a summer buffalo and was called the summer buffalo. All the other women wore their robes with the hair side in. A woman standing next to the child burned the

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Appendix I

MYTHS OF THE OKIPA CEREMONY

ORIGIN MYTH RELATED BY WHITE CALF[1]

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My father was named Little Eagle. He was killed sixty-three years ago when out to war along the Mouse River [1867]. My mother's name was Shell Corn, and she died thirty-two years ago. I was born just after my father was killed.

My information comes from Big Turtle. He told the stories to One Side of Feather, Short Bull, Bear on Water, Big Foot Bull, and Two Chiefs when they were buying offices in the Okipa, and I bought my Lone Man's bundle from Two Chiefs, who married my mother after my father was killed."

In the beginning the earth was covered with water. Lone Man was walking along on top of the waves. He turned back to follow his tracks, all the time wondering where he came from. He came to a flower and saw that there was blood in it. The Flower said, "My son, you were born from me. I gave birth to you in order that you could go around in the world and do much work."

He went on, for he now knew who his mother was. He thought that there should be something at the bottom of the water, so he went on until he came to two ducks. He thought that there must be something in the water that his mother came from.

The Ducks said, "There is a bottom to the water."

Lone Man said, "Go down to the bottom and bring me up some earth," and they went down four times, so that he had four pieces of earth from the bottom of the water. He scattered the earth as he went along. When he looked back, he saw that the land had come up from the four pieces that he had scattered. He saw that the land he had made was good; there were trees in places, and some of them had fruit on them.

He secured wood from the trees and made a wooden pipe. He carried it on his arm as he walked along. He came to a buffalo bull, but the bull did not know where he had come from. There was some grass around the spot where the bull stood, and Lone Man decided to scatter that so that the hills would have grass. The bull saw that Lone Man had nothing in his pipe, so he passed water in spots that Lone Man had loosened in the earth.

The Bull said, "You can go on now but come back when you hear a sound like thunder." Lone Man wondered about it as he traveled along. He came to a small mouse with a long nose called Mosquito Mouse, and after that he came to a cornmill, and, because these were found in early times, we still call them "grandmother."

1. For other versions of this myth see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 1–21, and also Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travel, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, 1906), XXIII, 304–12.

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He went on with his pipe until he came to First Man (Coyote) and said to him, "You are younger than I am," and there was an argument, each betting that he was the older. Lone Man had a lance representing the two birds that brought up the earth from the bottom of the water. Lone Man stuck his lance in the ground and First Man lay down beside it.

Lone Man walked away and after a while he heard a noise like thunder. He went back to his garden and saw healthy tobacco plants growing there. There were many bees around the blooms, and they were making a sound like thunder. The Bull came back and made a tobacco sack from a buffalo's bladder. He filled his pipe, and the smoke was of fine flavor.

He thought of the bet he had made with First Man, so he went to the place where he had left his lance. He found it warped and said, "I told you I was the older man," so he left the lance and went on. After a number of years he came back and the stick was still there, but First Man's bones were scattered. The fourth time he came back, the stick of his lance was bent nearly to the ground, and he thought that Coyote was surely dead, so he took the lance out of the ground, and, by rubbing it with his hands, it was like new. When he was about to walk away, First Man jumped up, proving that he was the older. First Man said, "We will go around the world, and I will help you in everything that you undertake."

They made over the country. Because the pipe was in two parts which did not come entirely together, water was left between so that the land did not entirely come together, leaving the Missouri River between. Lone Man made the north or east side, and First Man made the other side of the Missouri River. They finished and came back to the Heart River.

Lone Man said, "I made my side flat with lakes, small hills, many rocks, waterbirds, and spotted buffaloes."

First Man said, "I made my land rough with springs and trees so that the people could come close to the buffaloes. I made the buffaloes, and they are fat and dark."

Lone Man said, "I made my buffaloes spotted and tame so that they would be easy for the people to hunt, but yours will be wild and hard to get."

They went around and examined the lands they had made. Lone Man secured a wolf hide for a robe. He killed rabbits to get the hide to put around his ankles as white stockings.

By that time there were quite a few Indians on this land they had made. He was among them, but they never noticed him. He wondered how he could get into one of the women so that he could be born into the tribe. He found a girl eating dry corn, but he thought that she would crack him with her teeth, so he gave that up. One day an old woman and her daughter were in the woods for firewood. The girl went to the river as she was thirsty. She saw a dead buffalo floating along in the current and drew it to shore. Seeing the kidney fat sticking out of a hole in its back, she ate some of it. She told her mother about the buffalo, but when they returned to the river, the animal had broken away from shore.

A month afterward, the girl learned that she was in a family way, and they wondered how it had happened. When it was nearly time for the baby to be born, it heard every word that the people said and thought that it was then time to come out into the world again. The girl was sick, and her mother put her in the lodge where the baby was born. They observed that the baby was painted black on the forehead, and the people knew that it was more than an

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average baby. They wrapped the baby in a hide smoked in the smokehole, and that was not good for him because it caused him to forget himself.

Nevertheless, the baby grew rapidly and soon he was a young man. He knew many things. Hoita[2] was living there at that time and was receiving many fine presents, especially white robes with the hoofs and horns attached. Lone Man wanted one of these robes and wondered how he could get one of them. He hired Thunder, Rain, Whirlwind, and Sun to help him. He did all this to get Hoita's white buffalo robe. The thunder came, followed by rain. The people went inside, but the lodges leaked and everything was wet. Hoita took his fine robe out after the rain and left it in the sun to dry. A whirlwind came along and carried the robe into the air, and it came down far to the north. A party of Indians found it and brought it back to the village. They said that it was even better than the one that had been given to Hoita. Everyone thought that they would surely give it to Hoita, but instead they gave it to Lone Man (Na'-to-re).[3]

Hoita was angry and went to Dog Den Butte,[4] taking all the animals with him. He held the animals there.[5] One day Lone Man went up onto a mound on a hill and noticed that there were no animals around. Soon a raven came along and disappeared to the north, and he thought that there must be something over there. Three white swans flew over, going in the same direction. Then three jackrabbits went by, and shortly afterward a wolf with the front part of his shoulders painted red went by. Lone Man saw seven buffaloes grazing on a hill to the north, and he thought that he would go there and inquire where they came from. He went to the spot where they had been grazing but could not find them, but he found a sharp-nosed mosquito mouse with her six young ones.

Mosquito Mouse said to Lone Man, "You are slowly losing your mind. I have been trying to make you understand what is happening. When you see a raven fly by, that represents your cap; the white swans represent your lance; the three jackrabbits represent your anklets; the wolf represents the robe you are wearing. Hoita has every living thing captive inside of Dog Den Butte. You should go there to see what you can do to protect your people. Then you can have your own ceremony just like Hoita is performing. You should have some young man dress up like Hoita, and, if he comes around, have the young man say 'I am your son because you walked with my mother,' but if he says he never walked with her, say 'She put your medicine bundle against her heart and that is why I was born.'"

After the talk with the mouse Lone Man went on to Dog Den Butte.[6] He saw nothing outside except a few rabbits running around. He changed himself

2. The speckled eagle.
3. He is addressed here as "the old one."
4. These are buttes of Northeast McLean County, N.D.
5. For a similar Hidatsa myth concerning Dog Den Butte see Beckwith, *op. cit.*, pp. 140–41.
6. Note that in the other origin myth of the Okipa, recorded above (chap. iv), the ceremony was believed to have originated downstream near the White River in South Dakota. According to native accounts, differences in myths explaining the origin and significance of the same ceremony were common. Informants would say, "the people of the other villages would tell somewhat different stories, but the ceremony was performed in the same way in all the villages."

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into a rabbit from the roughlands, but they were afraid of him. He ate the cactus, too, and toward morning they all went into the den.

Hoita said, "You are Lone Man; you are not a rabbit."

That evening they were having a dance, and they used a dried buffalo hide rolled up for the drum. There were two blue herons standing beside the drummers, picking up the bugs that were beaten from the hide. He saw everything that went on inside Dog Den Butte, and then he went back to his village toward morning. They were having a famine in the village. He decided to do just as the mouse had advised. He found an intelligent young man whose mother had walked with the Hoita and told him that a famine was coming and that they should perform the ceremony to free the animals. He called the old people together and told them of his plans. He instructed the young man who was to impersonate the real Hoita.

He secured a dry buffalo hide for the drum and selected two young men with long legs to stand by the drum and impersonate the herons picking up the bugs. Instead of worms they had corn balls to pick up. Lone Man didn't like the hide for a drum and brought in a beaver, but after the beaver was hit a few times, it was broken. He then brought out a badger, but that animal could not stand the blows either. The third time he brought a common turtle, but it could not stand the blows. He could see that it would take something very strong to stand the blows, so he went south to the ocean, and there he found the ocean turtle in the water near a sand bar. He put his pipe before the large ocean turtles, and they smoked. The leader of the turtles asked, "What is it that you want of me?"

Lone Man replied, "I want something strong enough for a drum in the Buffalo Dance."

The turtle said, "The world is supported on our backs, so we four turtles cannot leave here. You can look us over and made drums like us but of the strongest and thickest buffalo-bull hide."

Lone Man went back to the village and secured the hides. He used the thickest part of the neck and sewed it up with the heaviest of hide lace. He sewed an extra piece of hide on the turtles' backs so that, when a hole wore into the back, he could take the piece off and sew a new one in place. The framework was of oak which were the trees that the turtles were supporting on their backs. He put a little buffalo of buffalo sheddings inside of each and instructed the people that the turtles should be repaired secretly in a bullboat anchored in the Missouri River. Young men made offerings of speckled eagle feathers to fashion a collar for each turtle.[7]

Hoita was using a hide rolled up for the drum in his ceremony inside of Dog Den Butte, but Lone Man used the turtles, and the sound was so loud that it could be heard far away in Dog Den Butte. Hoita wanted to know what was going on, so he sent Swift Fox out. The fox went to the village to learn how the people were getting along. Lone Man knew what was being done, so he sent the men out to make a fox trap and bait it with a buffalo rib. The fox came near the village and was caught in the trap. The men tied the rib around the fox's neck and sent him back to Dog Den Butte.

The next day Hoita sent Red Fox out to see what was going on. He was also caught in the trap, and again the men tied a buffalo rib around the fox's neck and sent him home.

7. This is the correct description of the turtle drums. Maximilian errs in describing them as sacks filled with water.

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The third day First Creator went out and ran over to Lone Man's village He saw that the people were doing well and stayed there. 773

Red Fox said, "Hoita, you are there yourself," and Hoita went over to see for himself. 539

Lone Man knew that Hoita was coming and announced it to the people. The people thought that they would fool Hoita so they made four corn balls and placed them in a row so that he would pass them as he approached the ceremonial lodge. Hoita came in and saw a young man in his place and inquired what right he had to impersonate the real Hoita.

The young man said, "You are my father."

Hoita said, "I never walked with your mother."

The boy replied, "I got into my mother's body the time she put the sage which you gave her next to her breast."

Hoita was suspicious and said, "Get up. I want to look at you. I didn't know that I had a son. Look at me." Every time he looked toward Hoita, lightning came from his eyes. The light came from the fireflies that Lone Man had put in the young man's eyes. Hoita decided that the boy was his son. This was the first time that the turtles were used.

There are many words in the ceremony which are not understood today because the meanings have changed. We understand enough of the words in the songs and ritual to know that they refer to pieces of buffalo meat and the dust raised by the herds when they are running.

Hoita went back to Dog Den Butte and told the animals that they could leave. He sent the black-tail deer to the badlands, the white-tail deer to the timber, the bears to the points in the river, the buffaloes to the flat, and the antelopes to the hills. "The Mandan can go out now and find plenty of meat. All the people will be happy. Lone Man and I will work together, for I have a son in that village." All these people were Nuptadi, and I am one of them myself.

The people were accustomed to cross the water to trade for shells in Maniga's village. They had a boat that would carry twelve men, and it would cross merely by saying, "Go." These shells were on an island. Lone Man wanted to go also, so thirteen were in the boat that time. It was rough in the middle of the water. They landed and went to Maniga's village. The people in that village were accustomed to kill off the Mandan by having them eat, drink, and smoke too much. Then the women of the tribe were offered to the Mandan. The Mandan had brought a sunflower which they had hollowed and through which they passed the food and water. A man with the medicine of the tobacco bee came along, so they were not taken sick from smoking. They used a buffalo tail from which the hair had been removed to overcome the last barrier. Then Maniga's people brought out the shells in large sacks for the Mandan to take back to their village.

Maniga announced that he would return the visit in four days, which meant four years. He came as the flood.[8] Lone Man built a wall around the village, and all went inside. The water came as high as the band on the outside of the wall and could not come higher. This band was of the water willow, but in recent years young cottonwoods are being used.

Maniga liked skunkskins. When the water was at its highest point, he threw the shells over the wall. The sacred cedar is a symbol of the flood in

8. Catlin records a variant of this flood story (George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I [Philadelphia, 1857], 177-78).

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miniature. The cedar represents Lone Man and all the people; the enclosure is the wall he built around the people to protect them from the flood; the band of water willow surrounding the wall represents the highest point reached by the water. After the flood, the water went down in a few days, and there was dry land again.

Lone Man was well built and very good-looking. He never married while he was in the tribe. Whenever there were hard times, he helped the people.

There was a good, young woman in one of the villages who never went out with any of the young men. Burrs got into her dress, and she went into her mother's lodge to search for them. She had taken off her dress and was standing just under the smokehole when a shadow passed over like when the sun is shaded by a cloud. She thought that there was someone on the roof so she hid herself. Not long after that she heard someone singing inside her. Her family could not understand it. In a short time the pain inside nearly killed her. That night a child was born to her, but it disappeared immediately in the darkness. She called her family, and they built up the fire. The child was black in color with white spots. He was jumping up and down, and the family could not do anything with him. He grew very fast. He was always jumping or running about, and they could not do anything with him.

One day his grandfather was making arrows and tipping them with speckled eagle feathers. The boy liked them and wanted to wear some of the feathers in his hair. His grandfather fixed him up a bunch of these feathers. He asked his grandfather for a cane. and he tied a ball on one end of it. One day he wanted to go outside, but they were afraid to let him go outside for fear that he would run away. He begged, and they let him go out. He made great leaps, running up the sides of the lodges. It was great entertainment for the people. His name was OxinhEdE,[9] or Foolish One. He went out among the high hills, jumping from one hill to the other. He killed the sacred snakes and many other things that the people worshiped. He even killed the Holy Women who lived in the ash thickets. All the gods met to decide what should be done with him. Since these gods were working for the benefit of the Mandan, they decided to kill the little black boy.

Foolish One asked the people to make four warbonnets. While they were working on the warbonnets, a heavy fog came up. He went out and returned several times, but at last he did not return. When the fog raised, his father came down from the sun and found his son lying dead on the prairie. He met Lone Man and inquired who had killed the boy. All the spirits that had been present when the boy was killed fled and hid in the Killdeer Mountains. At that time they were in one block, but the black man hit the mountains with his club and broke them into two pieces, leaving them as we see them today, one being the head and the other the body.

The elder Foolish One was painted black all the time. He asked Lone Man what should be done with the body. They came to a large rock. Lone Man hit it with his staff, and it split open. They put the boy inside and squeezed the rock together again. This rock is near one of the old villages at Heart River. Foolish One went back to the sun.

At that time there were four turtles. The people thought a great deal of them. These turtles liked the tail feathers of the speckled eagles and the bald

9. For another version of the incident centering around this character see *ibid.*, pp. 280–81.

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eagles. One was the leader of the turtles. The people gave him a feather of the yearling calumet eagle, and he became angry. This happened on the east side of the Missouri River, opposite and a little above Standing Rock. They could not hold the turtle, and Lone Man was away. A man who was good at thinking said, "I will do that," for Lone Man had said that he would return in spirit if the people would only think of him. Lone Man returned this time. He split the water with his lance, and the turtle lay on the bottom of the river. Lone Man said, "What is the matter?"

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The turtle replied, "I am angry. I guess they can get along without me."

Lone Man went to the southwest. Before leaving he said, "When people think of me, I will answer as the south wind."

ORIGIN MYTH RELATED BY SCATTERCORN

The world was sandy and watery in the beginning. When the Lone Man whom we call NumakmaxEna came to himself, he had been walking for a long time.

He said, "Who am I? Where did I come from?"

He turned back and saw his tracks in the sand and decided to follow them and learn where he had come from. At the end of his trail he found a large plant [I'datɛ'ki] about a foot high. It was green with white stripes on the leaves and had a red flower. It was growing in a spring. He wondered if the plant or the bug was his mother. He turned away from the plant and went his way.

He traveled to many different places and met another man, the First Creator[10] [Ki'numakci or Coyote], who said, "How did you happen to be here?"

"I just found myself walking in the world. I know where I walked, but I don't know whether my mother is the red flower or the bug in the flower. I am older than you are."

First Creator said, "I am the older."

They argued for a long while about it. They decided to lie down where they stood and die there for a long time. There they decayed and were covered with dirt until there were hardly any bones left. First Creator was afraid to get up, while Lone Man thought he was the only man alive. At last Lone Man arose, and Coyote jumped up. Lone Man admitted the other was the older. They decided to call each other the older brothers of the tribe.

Then they decided to fix up the land, for it was too boggy. First Creator took the right side of the Missouri River and Lone Man the left side. They laid out the land to suit themselves, and, when they had finished, they met again. Lone Man said, "I laid out my land flat. I made lakes and only a little timber here and there so that people on the warpath can see a long ways." First Creator said, "I made many ravines, hills, and rocks; I made plenty of springs. I think I made the best land."

They decided to separate, each going his own way. Lone Man came to the Heart River, where there was a hill near by shaped like a heart and he named it Heart Butte. This he decided was to be the "Heart of the World," and this hill is still holy to our people.

He saw a buffalo in a ravine and said, "I haven't seen anything like you since I came here. How did you come here?"

10. Also known as Omahank-Numakshi (see Maximilian, *op. cit.*, pp. 301–3).

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"I just came to myself here. What do you have in your pipe?" asked the Buffalo.

"I am just carrying it around."

The Buffalo said, "You should have something to put in it. I am going to make something for it."

The buffalo dug in the sod and passed water all through the rows of the small garden. Then the Buffalo said, "Go on your way. When you hear loud thunder, you will find your tobacco in this place." When Lone Man heard the noise of the thunder, he returned. He found the tobacco all in blossom. The Buffalo said, "This is your tobacco."

He looked at it. There were many tobacco flies on it. They were the ones who were making the noise. Even today we have them, and they make a loud noise.

The Buffalo picked off the ends of the blossoms and said, "I will get you something to dry your tobacco on." The whole side of his coat came off. "You put your tobacco on this, and, when you think it is dry, come back again." Lone Man left the place and went on his way again.

When he returned, he found his tobacco dry. The buffalo was there, and he gave Lone Man a sack for it. The sack was made of a buffalo bladder.

Buffalo said, "Try your tobacco and see if it is good. Then put the rest of it in your bag." Lone Man tried it and liked it and was glad he got it.

The Buffalo said, "Whenever you are out of it, come back here again, and I will get you some more."

Lone Man left and again traveled all through the land he had made. He thought there should be some people living in the world, and he decided to make some. He took two ends off of his ribs,[11] one on each side and made one into a man and the other a woman. He directed them to stay there and build themselves a lodge. Some time after he had made this man and woman he thought of them again. When he returned, he found that they had children, and he was pleased. He married the boys and girls together and did this several times. That is how they increased. Each time he came back, he united new groups.

He was pleased with the manner in which the tribe grew. In this early time, the men called their wives by the name "sister," but, after the tribe was larger, they called them "wife" instead.

The village grew to be very large, and Lone Man said, "Sometimes I am gone a long time. If anything happens, and you need me, you can call me. I will hear and come back."

Every time the village was in need, they called him. When he came back, he traveled through the air like a shooting star, only not quite so fast, a little more like the lights on a car at night. Whenever any little thing came up, they would call, and he became impatient. He instructed them that if anything happened he would not come back but would look back and that the south wind was the sign that they were being answered. This proved more conven-

11. The other informants stated that a mudhen brought up clay after the world was made and that this earth was shaped into a man and a woman. The notion of shaping a figure and producing life from it is also expressed in the making of a clay doll by a barren woman desiring children. Curtis also secured similar information of Iron Eyes, his Mandan informant. Another myth speaks of coming from underground, bringing corn up with them.

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ient, and, when the south wind blew, they knew that he was thinking of them and answering their prayers. 773

After the people increased, and the Corn People had come from below, and the Sky People from above, the village was so large that they had to divide it. The number of villages grew until there were five. Lone Man often came back at night and saw how happy they were. This pleased him. 539

When the villages had grown in number until there were five, he thought he ought to be born in the tribe again so that he could be one of the people. He went to the village and climbed upon the earth lodges to look about, but he had difficulty in finding a suitable young woman to be his mother. In the first four villages he found the girls all foolish about the young men. In the fifth village he found a young woman that he was satisfied with, so he decided he would have her for his mother and be born from her. She had no lovers but went about her business when out in the village. He didn't know just how to get into her body. He thought he would get into her food, but the kernel of corn he hid in fell out of the bowl onto the ground, so he failed in that attempt. He tried other schemes, but in each he failed.

One day the girl and her mother went out into the garden to hoe the corn. While working there, the sun was hot and the girl became thirsty. She ran down to the river to get a drink. The water was up to the willows, and a dead buffalo came floating by near the edge of the river. Its back was cut open, so that the kidney fat was sticking out. She pulled the animal to the bank and ate some of the fat. Then she tied the animal fast to a willow while she ran to tell her mother what she had found. When they returned, the buffalo was gone. They never found it, but the willows were still there. This was the way Lone Man got into her body.

The two women went back home, and there the girl described a peculiar feeling inside of her. The mother told her that she was in a family way. Her mother wanted to know how she got in such a condition, unless she knew some young man. She asked her to name him, but the girl insisted that she had never been intimate with any of the young men. The mother said it was impossible to be in such a condition otherwise. So this was the way that our chief god came to be one of us.

At the time the pains came on, the girl told her mother about them. Her father was one of the chiefs of the fifth village (Nuptadi) of the Mandan. When he learned about this he said, "Whoever you are in there, come out and stop your mother's pains," and Lone Man came right out.

He knew everything they did from the beginning. They had only buffalo robes to wrap him in, but they took good care of him. He grew up in the tribe and became a child of the village. The mother was ashamed to be out in the village and seldom was seen in the company of others. This young boy lived with his grandfather. Every time the grandfather painted himself, Lone Man painted his own forehead red with the paint the grandfather had given him in a little paint bag.

He played with the other small boys, and the other chief of the village often watched them from his seat on the earth lodge. He saw the small boys with robes over them imitating buffaloes running into a small cave they had dug. He noticed that every time they ran in, one of them was a real buffalo calf. He watched the next day, and there was a real calf again. He watched them for four days and concluded that this young buffalo must be the poor fatherless boy. He was much concerned about this; everything was so strange and

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unlike anything he had ever heard of before. If this could be true, he must make friends with this boy, and possibly the boy would give him some of his powers to enable him to rise to the place of first chief of the village. He asked his wife to invite the boy over and give him the finest foods.

Lone Man told the people he had a name, Muska' Ko'oma, meaning "Wild Animal Foating." Each day the second chief's wife called to Muska' Ko'oma to come and eat. The food set before him was made from sunflowers, beans, corn, and pumpkins boiled together. When the boy finished eating, the second chief gave him a spotted eagle feather to play with. The boy liked it so much that he took it home with him. When he returned, he gave the feather to his grandfather. After this he was invited to eat with the second chief frequently, because the boy's powers were plainly seen by that time. He would tell the chief that at a certain time so many buffaloes would come near the village, and the men would go out and always find them. Everyone knew he was a spirit, or he could not predict these things.

In another village, a spirit also grew up by being born into a woman who had never had intercourse with any man. This man was the Spotted Eagle, but the Mandan called him Hoita. Both of these spirits grew up in their own villages; Hoita was the eagle spirit; Lone Man was the buffalo. The people came to recognize the two spirits and made offerings to them. White buffalo robes were considered valuable, and both of these spirits liked them. But one time a man possessing one of these robes got up on the earth lodge and offered it to Hoita. Lone Man became jealous because the people had been giving so many things to the other man.

He thought, "You won't have that robe, Hoita." He went to Thunder and said, "I want you to work for me."

"All right," Thunder said.

"You rain and wet Hoita's robe; soak through the roof and wet it well." Thunder did as directed, and then Lone Man went to Whirlwind and asked him to work for him.

He said, "When Hoita takes his robe out to dry, carry it far away from the village where people will find it."

The rain came and soaked the robe, and then the sun came out. Hoita took the robe out of the lodge and hung it on a scaffold to dry. Whirlwind came and carried it away. Thus Hoita lost his fine white buffalo robe. It was carried far away to the southeast. There were other people living in that direction, and some men looking for buffaloes found the robe. They said, "We will fix this robe up and take it to the Missouri River, for the Mandan place great value on these hides."

This robe was brought to Lone Man's village and bought by the chief. One day the chief climbed onto his earth lodge and offered the robe to Lone Man. When Hoita heard of this, he said, "Let him have it; they have been giving me many things lately." But one day Lone Man took his beautiful white robe out in the sun to air. Hoita saw that it resembled his, and he realized that a trick had been played on him.

Hoita vowed revenge for losing his white robe, so he put on the Buffalo Dance in Dog Den Butte. This was the first time it was ever given. He called all the buffaloes away from around the villages and herded them together in the Dog Den Butte. Every form of living thing was brought into this hill, which resembled a large earth lodge on the inside. The people on the outside were starving, and there was hardly any game to be found. Lone Man would

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go out in search of game, but he could not find any either, but he did find the bones of dead animals on the prairies. These he ordered taken to the village and broken open for the marrow. He would touch these bones with his sacred headdress and sing his sacred songs. There came a time when there was no longer any marrow in the bones.

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All this time he knew Hoita was the one who was doing this, but he did not know just how to get around it and bring the animals back. One day he was on a hill wandering about, wondering what he should do, when he saw a raven flying northward followed by a swan, then a wolf, and finally seven buffaloes. He thought how good it was to see them, but when he ran over where they had been, he discovered that they had disappeared.

Finally he heard a feeble voice in the grass say, "We are here, but you can't see us."

He looked into the grass and saw seven tiny mosquito mice with long pointed noses. One said, "This Hoita has got everything in Dog Den Butte, and we are the last to go in. He has all the animals in there. Just a little while ago you saw a raven go by. That raven was your headdress. The swan was part of your headdress too. That wolf was your robe. We are the last ones, and we are going too. Before you know it, if you don't look out, your sacred pipe will roll down the hill into the Dog Den Butte."

The mosquito mice told Lone Man everything and added in leaving as a warning, "If you don't look out, you will be trapped. We are the last ones. You ought to change into a jackrabbit. There are three kinds of jackrabbits, so you tell Hoita that you are a fourth kind and come from the Rocky Mountains. Tell him your legs are longer than the other rabbits and that you jump over the sage brush, hills, trees, and coulees. Tell him that out in the Rocky Mountains you heard of the things going on down here because his medicine was so strong. You must practice passing your manure so that you always pass seven at each leap. He will ask what you eat. Tell him your favorite food is the cactus plant. You must practice eating from the cactus, since he will ask you to eat some. The jackrabbits are turned out of the Dog Den Butte when evening comes, and you must run among them. Tell them you are the fourth kind and that you come from the Rocky Mountains. Tell Hoita that everything must be done by fours, and he will believe you."

He changed himself into a rabbit, and, when he reached the Dog Den Butte, the other three rabbits ran away from him until he told them that he was from the Rocky Mountains. They believed him, and he went into the butte with them.

When they got inside, Hoita asked, "There are only three kinds of rabbits. What is that other fellow doing here? There is no fourth rabbit."

"I am the rabbit from the Rocky Mountains and that is why I am larger than the others. I heard about your taking all the animals in here," he replied.

"All right, if you are a rabbit, pass manure as a rabbit," Hoita demanded. He passed seven each time he leaped just as the mosquito mice had directed.

The mosquito mice had instructed that he should watch everything that happened in the hill and picture everything in his mind. He should observe the arrangement of the lodge, the steps of the dances, and learn the songs sung. When he got back to his own village, he should find a young man who looked like Hoita and have him impersonate Hoita in a big animal ceremony like that taking place in the Dog Den Butte, and have him do all the things that they

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773 were doing in the hill. When everything was done just like in the hill, the Mandan would overcome their starvation.

•539 Before he entered the hill, he changed himself into a spider. He crawled down from a rafter until he was near where the singers were. From his hiding place overhead, he looked down and observed everything. After he learned all the steps of this animal ceremony, he returned to his own village but left the fourth rabbit in Dog Den Butte. He told the people that the only way to get away from starvation was to put on the Buffalo Dance (Okipa), for that would make Hoita open the hill and free the animals.

He selected for the leader the man in the village who looked the most like Hoita and gave him instructions for the ceremony. One of the largest lodges was cleaned out for the purpose, since in those days the Mandan did not have a special ceremonial lodge. He informed the leader that he should claim to be the son of Hoita, since Hoita would come over from Dog Den Butte when the new ceremony was given and inquire concerning their right to give the ceremony.

Lone Man said, "Tell him that he once 'walked' with your mother and that you came from that relation. He will remember that and call you his son." The young man agreed. He looked just like Hoita, only younger, and the people were pleased to have such a near-likeness. It is said that when the real Hoita opened his eyes at night, light flashed out of them. Knowing that Hoita would ask the young man to open his eyes, fireflies were put into his eyes. Hoita would ask to see his eyes, and would know the young man was his son when he saw the eyes flash.

The Buffalo ceremony began then. To begin with, a long dry buffalo hide was used for the drum, but, when the people struck the hide, worms came out. So only the Hoxa, ones who had the blue herons as gods, were allowed to beat the hide.

After the ceremony got under way, the real Hoita said, "We have kept all these animals from the Mandan so they probably are all dead by this time."

He sent Red Fox out. He found the Mandan all dancing and having a good time, and the ceremony was just the same as the one going on in the Dog Den Butte. Then Hoita sent out Gray Fox, and he reported the same thing, but Hoita did not believe that it could be true. He sent the magpie out, and the magpie returned complaining, "They are all having a good time, and here you have kept us all shut up here while they are doing all the things we are."

Hoita said, "I will go myself and see," just as the mosquito mouse had said he would when the fourth time came.

Lone Man had corn balls prepared for Hoita. The mice had told him that he should search for corn, sunflowers, beans, and squash to make into balls and to have them ready so that when the real Hoita came there will be some on the outside where he will step on them. Hoita would then wonder about this because he would expect to find all the people starved.

Hoita came just as the mice said he would. He stepped on the two corn balls and turned to the boy who resembled the real Hoita and inquired, "What right have you to be in my place?"

The boy answered, "I am your son."

Hoita replied, "I have no son. You have insulted me by claiming me as your father. How does it come that you are my son?"

The young Hoita said, "I know you are my father because my mother was given to you once to walk with. My mother took the bundle of sage you had in your hand. That sage conceived me."

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"If you are my son, open your eyes and look at me," Hoita demanded. 773
When he opened them, something like lightning came out and flashed to the top of the earth lodge. Hoita was convinced and said, "All right, you are 539
my son. I remember the time your mother was given to me. It is good that they put you in my place.[12] Now all these people will be free because you are my son." He turned to Lone Man and said, "You are very smart. You have put my son in place of me, and now we shall not work against each other any more."

He set the animals free as well and told them that the people had not starved. It was the Okipa that the buffaloes had been dancing in Dog Den Butte. From that time on, Hoita and Lone Man co-operated for the good of the people, but Lone Man continued to be the more powerful.

In the Okipa the Mandan first used a drum made of a dried buffalo hide with the hair off and rolled up. When they beat the hide, worms came out of it, and the blue heron was kept near by to eat them. Lone Man did not like the worms and looked around for a substitute.

First he went to the beaver and asked if he would be a drum for the Okipa and let himself be hit on the back, but the beaver said, "I am just a weak thing even though I can cut down big trees. If you hit me once, I would be smashed to the ground."

Lone Man went to the badger, but the badger said he was not strong enough. Then he went to the otter, but the otter claimed to be too weak. He roamed all over the world until he came to the ocean which is southeast of us a few days' march below the Cannonball River. At the ocean, as far out on the water as he could see there were a few very large trees. There were the largest oak trees he had ever seen. He wanted to learn why they were there, so he went out skimming along on the water. He was curious to know if there was land underneath them or whether they just grew out of the water. He carried a sacred staff called *dawo'dokidi* in his hand, and he pointed it down at what was the bottom of the water, and the way opened up so that he could see everything beneath him. There was a large turtle at the bottom of the ocean, and it was holding the trees up.

He said, "I have been looking for something to use for my drum, and I believe you are just what I am looking for."

Turtle replied, "You can't use me because the whole world is attached to me."

Lone Man stuck his sacred lance under the turtle, and everything moved but the turtle. It would not come loose.

Turtle said, "You can look me over and make your drums just like me."

Lone Man looked the turtle over, first on one side and then the other until he had every part of him in mind. He went back to the villages and made turtles just like he had seen. He secured the thickest buffalo-bull hide, and he sewed it up so that it was exactly like a turtle. The wood he used for the legs was of the oak that the turtle in the ocean was holding up. He made four of these turtles, three were of the same size and one a smaller one, and he named the last one "the lean turtle."

When he finished his job, he had the people put the feathers on. Feathers of the speckled eagle were put all over the head, for the buffaloes like speckled

12. For details of the "walking" rites of the Buffalo-calling ceremony see chap. xiv, "Red Stick Ceremony."

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eagle feathers. Whenever offerings are made to the buffaloes, the speckled feathers are used even today.

One of the turtles was called the leader. In addition to the speckled feathers, calumet-eagle down was put on his head, but he became angry because he thought it was a snowbird's feather.

He said, "I am going back to the ocean," and he started toward the river. The people tied ropes to him and lashed him to the corn scaffolds to keep him from escaping. Nothing could hold him back when he started. He pulled all the people into the river. There is a place still to be seen where he dragged them into the river. It is marked by a little gully. This place is below the Heart River on the east side of the Missouri.

The escaped turtle said, "You will have three turtles for the dance, but I am going back to the ocean." We have kept the other three since that time, but several times we came near losing them, and it is because they are so holy that they never went away.

When Nuptadi Village was burned by the Sioux, the lodge they were in was burned, but the turtles produced water which protected them, although their feather collars were burned off.[13] Lone Man told the people that sometimes the turtles would need mending. The last man to mend them was Moves Slowly, my father. The turtles were taken to the river and put in a buffalo bullboat and floated out into the river. The boat was fastened to a snag, and the turtles were repaired in the boat, out there in the water. Lone Man told the people that there was a little buffalo in each turtle. While repairing one a long time ago, a man stuck in his entire finger and felt the sheddings of the tiny buffalo. He could hear the breathing. So we are told that a little buffalo was put in. When there were going to be many buffaloes, the turtles became very heavy, but now they are very light. The turtles were used to bring the buffaloes near the villages.

Once our people lived beside a large lake. They had a large boat in those times that was able to carry twelve people. On the other side of the lake was a large tribe of people whose chief was named Maniga. This boat would go by its own power; all the people needed to do was to point it and say, "Go." In the middle of this lake there was a rough place, and sometimes it seemed that the boat would surely tip over. When the people neared the shore, the red willows would turn into warriors and wrestle with them. Beyond the willows was the village of which Maniga was chief. The Mandan crossed this lake for shells which were very numerous on that shore, but they could not get them without being seen by these people. Maniga always called his people together whenever the Mandan came across. He would supply so much food, water, tobacco, and women that many of the Mandan died of excessive indulgence. If they did as they were ordered, Maniga gave them great quantities of shells. They crossed every summer, and the hardships encountered always killed several of the party.

Lone Man said he would go over. He took along a man named Bull Spirit who had the medicine of the water plants and could drink forever. Another man had the medicine of the buffalo that eats all the time. The third man had the medicine of the tobacco bee that lives on the tobacco plant but never gets sick. Lone Man went to protect his people and free themselves from the Maniga. He quieted the rough water and weakened the young men who were the red

13. This village was destroyed about 1785.

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willows of the bank. They went directly to Maniga's village and ordered the women to bring out the food, water, and tobacco which was already prepared for them. The man with the spirit of the water plants complained of not having enough to drink; the man with the spirit of the buffalo complained of not having enough to eat; the man with the spirit of the tobacco bee complained of the weak tobacco; Lone Man complained that not enough women had been supplied him. Maniga observed that none of the Mandan died and that this party was not like the others. He realized that Lone Man had outwitted him.

Maniga said, "You people have gone too far."

Lone Man replied, "It is you who have gone too far, doing all these things before giving my people the shells they need so much."

Maniga gave a large bag of shells to each of the Mandans. Someone put a dead dog in their path, and one of the men kicked it out of the way. Maniga accused the Mandan of being murderers, one of the worst insults the Mandan knew.

Maniga said, "I will visit your village within the next four days," but that meant within the next four years.

When the party returned to the Mandan village on the other side of the lake, Lone Man began preparations for the flood. A cedar post was put up in the center of the village which was to represent Lone Man. Before that time the villages did not have the large open center like they did after the cedar post was put up. A wooden fence around the cedar was to represent the fortifications, and the wood used to tie around the wall was of water willow. We notice that, when the river rises in the spring, it never gets about the bank where the water willows grow, so they must have the power of keeping the waters down.

When the floods came that summer, the waters reached to the willows tied around the wall of the cedar. This cedar protected the people against the flood when Maniga came over. The boat was lost because a foolish boy said, in fun, "Go on your way," and it never returned. This boat was called I'dEHE or "to go with."

We have had the sacred cedar ever since we lived beside the lake a long time ago. Some people think this lake was under the ground and that we left it when we came up out of the ground. Others think it is on top of the ground. The young men who went to the world war thirteen years ago say that the lake is still there and that it is still rough in the center but that it is on top of the ground. I am sure that we once lived beside a lake a long time ago because I have heard so many stories about them. Our old people must have got some of their stories mixed because they tell of coming out of the ground as a tribe and also of the making of the world on top at the Heart River. Others say they came from the sky.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE SACRED PIPE RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[14]

Long ago there was a man running on the water. He was thinking. He wondered where he came from, so he turned around and came to a big flower that grows in water around springs. This flower has a blossom reddish in color. One of the branches was broken down, so he decided that this was where he came from. They called this flower "Great Medicine" after that.

14. This is one of the origin myths of the Okipa ceremony.

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When he learned that he came from the plant, he wondered who his father was. Someone said, "I am your father," and he thought that it was the day, "the First Day of Creation." All this time he was walking along on the water. Soon he saw another man walking on the water, too, and he went up to the other. He saw that the other man was painted and had feathers on his head. He inquired of the other man where he came from, and the other said he came from far to the south. The two went off together on the water, and at a distance they saw a black spot. They wondered what it was and went there and discovered that it was a little black diving duck.

They questioned the bird saying, "Where did you come from and what are you doing here?"

The bird replied, "I just came to myself here."

"What do you eat to build up your body and live?" they inquired.

The bird said, "When I get hungry, I dive down a long distance. Sometimes I am almost exhausted, but I find dirt and sand there. You can see that I have been down there so many times that my eyes are red."

The two men talked about it and wanted the bird to go for some dirt to make the earth from.

The bird went down and brought up some dirt and handed it to them. It was only a little bit. As they handled it, it grew to the size of a ball. Lone Man divided up the earth into two pieces and gave half to First Creator. He told First Creator to build the west side while he built the east side. We say that the west side is the woman and the other side is the man. They worked on the land, and then they came together. They decided that the center of the earth would be at Heart River and that the river would be the "Heart of the World." On the south side of the Heart River they made the Heart Butte with the dirt First Creator had left over. The Missouri River was in the center between the two sides. On the east side there is a small butte which was made up of the earth that was left over and was called "Big Hill."

After they finished making the land there was nothing growing on it. It was sandy and bare. When they looked over their earth, they saw a little track on it. Upon looking around, they came to the end of the tracks and found a little black mouse. She said, "I was born myself."

They said, "She is going to be our grandmother."

Again they went along and came to another track. When they came to the end, there was a large turtle. They asked him where he came from, and he said that he was born by himself right there.

They traveled along and found a few grass plants here and there. Then they came to a larger track, so they followed the track until they came to a buffalo standing there. They asked him where he came from, and he said, "I came from myself without any parents."

They asked him what he ate and he said, "I am eating these few plants of the grass that are growing on the land here." Then he added, "While you are traveling along you will hear a loud noise; come toward it, for I will be there doing much good. I will fix you some tobacco."

The two men did not know what the tobacco was, and Buffalo said, "You will see what the tobacco is when you come."

They asked him to fix the tobacco at once, and the buffalo agreed. He passed water in spots and then walked off. In places there was something growing.

In less than a year the two men who had been traveling around began to

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come back in that direction. They decided that Lone Man wanted the east or left side and that First Creator could work on the west side. They decided to separate and go to work. They began to work on the two sides, making the hills, creeks, and trees. They made the different animals and birds also. No one knows how long it took to make the earth. After they finished the land, the hills, lakes, and living things, they met to discuss what each had done.

Lone Man said, "I made almost flat land, with lakes and timber far to the east."

First Creator said, "I have made deep ravines with many springs and much shelter for the game."

Lone Man said, "I made all the different kinds of stock with long horns and mixed colors of red, white, and black. How did you make your animals?"

He replied, "I have made the animals with short horns and hump backs. Since the side I made was the woman, I made much rough land with plenty of shelter. After a while we should go out and look over the land we have made. We will see first how you did."

They went out together to see how Lone Man had made it. They saw all the flat land and the living things and how they were made.

First Creator said, "You made a mistake; the animals are too mixed. Because the land is so flat storms will kill off some of the animals, for there are no shelters or windbreaks. These animals that you made do not have enough hair. With such level land I do not think they will live. I tell you what we will do; we will send all the animals across the ocean to that other land that we made. It may be that in the future they can be used again."

Then they decided to come back to the west side that First Creator had made and examine that. They saw the buffaloes with plenty of hair to live through the winter; there were plenty of springs, hills, and good shelters. Both agreed then that it would be best that they should have it that way.

All this time they kept hearing a noise far away. They remembered that they had met something a long time before, so they went back to the place where they heard the loud noise. They arrived at the place where they had met the buffalo, and they found the tobacco in blossom. There were insects flying around the plants. They saw that these insects were making the roaring sound.

Buffalo said again, "That is the tobacco that I was going to make; you go back again; I am going to fix you a pipe. When you hear someone bellowing, hurry back again."

They traveled on until they heard the bellowing, and then they started back again. While they were running toward the tobacco, they heard a voice saying, "It has almost come together again."

While the voice was calling, "It has almost come together" a second time, they came to the buffalo. They saw that the stem and the bowl of the pipe had almost come together. The stem of the pipe was the east side and represented man. The part where they put in the tobacco was the west side and represented the woman. If the voice had got to the place where it had all come together, there would have been no Missouri River.

When they came to where the tobacco was, they saw that it looked good. They asked Buffalo how they could fix it up, and he said, "I will fix it." He rolled and some of his hair came out. He fixed it up for them to lay the tobacco on.

They asked how to prepare the tobacco, and Buffalo said they would have

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to grease it. They asked how to grease it, and Buffalo said, "You will have to open up my body and get some of the kidney fat to grease it with."

"How are we going to dry up the tobacco?" they inquired. Buffalo made a fire and showed them how to dry the tobacco and break it up. They asked how they should smoke it, and he showed them how it was done.

After they finished smoking, they went out and traveled along, but nobody knows how long. They were talking among themselves and wondered who was the older. Lone Man said, "We will find out. We will lie on the ground; the one who lies on the ground longest will be the older." Lone Man when traveling had a stick on which were alternating black and white feathers. It was painted red and had a feather on the end. He would often say, "This is my body." He stuck this staff into the ground.

First Creator said, "I am going to lie down as the coyote." Lone Man stuck his staff into the ground to act as his body while he traveled on alone. After two years he came back to the place where First Creator lay on the ground. He found the bones scattered around, but the staff was still standing up straight. After four years were up he went back again and found the staff bent so that the top nearly touched the ground. The feathers were gone. He looked over at First Creator and saw only a few bones then nearly covered with dirt.

He thought, "Poor fellow. He wanted to be older than I."

He pulled out the staff, rubbing his hands over it, and it was new again. The First Creator jumped up, and he was a coyote again. First Creator said, "That is what I said; I was the older, and now I have proved it." They agreed that he was the older, and the people believed it after that incident.

(Nowadays we have cattle of all different colors, but they were mentioned a long time ago. That is why we have them today. They all came from the east.)

After the people appeared on this earth, they learned of the origin of the pipe.

Lone Man said to the Mandan, "I am going to leave you some day and go back home. When there is a change in the world, I will be back again. The sign will be when the Missouri River changes its course and flows in the other direction. Then the big trees will grow in the opposite direction with the roots sticking up at the top. Then the antelopes will have no flesh on the lower part of their breasts. All that will be a sign that I will come back again. At that time the people asked him where he belonged, and he said, "I am the wind from the far south. My home is down there. When it is spring, I will send the warm winds from my home in the warm southland. I belong to the WaxikEna clan. If you run out of wood toward spring, you should say, 'My older brother, I am out of wood.' "

They asked First Creator where he was going to go, and he said, "I am going to be among you people forever." It is pretty hard to get rid of these coyotes. Sometimes those of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans used to talk to Lone Man, saying, "My older brother, I am out of wood, and I want you to send us warm winds to melt all the snow." While they were among these peoples, they did many things.

Since the pipe did not come entirely together, we use two pieces of wood, and so there is a Missouri River. Now they are irrigating up the river and making the waters flow north.

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Lone Man said, "We made land to the south where the ocean is. We made the Fish People, and they will come up this way. You will be all mixed up, eagle people, bear people, corn people, buffalo people, and others." And that is the way it was.

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ORIGIN MYTH OF OXINHEDE, OR FOOLISH ONE RELATED BY CROWS HEART[15]

One time there was a woman in the village who had never been around with young men. While returning from her field with the other women she brushed into some burrs, and they fastened to her dress. She went into the lodge to take off the dress and remove the burrs. It was dark in the lodge, so she stood under the opening where the smoke went out. Suddenly she saw a shadow at the smokehole, and she hid herself. In a short time she heard someone inside her singing, and it nearly killed her. In the night a child was born to her, and it disappeared as soon as it was born. She called all the family, and they built a bright fire. He was black. He kept jumping up and down, and they could not do anything with him.

He grew very fast and was never still. He was always running and jumping about. One day his grandfather was making up arrows and tipping them with wing feathers of the speckled eagle. The boy liked them and wanted them over his shoulder in a sheath. The boy took the arrows and went out. This was the first time he had ever been out of the earth lodge, for the people were afraid that he would run away. When he got outside the earth lodge, he ran about, making great leaps, running up the earth lodges, and flitting around to the entertainment of the people.

But this little black boy ran out onto the hills where he killed the sacred snakes and many other holy things. He even killed the wicked women who lived in the earth and crept out at dark to entice men away from their wives. He would not stay away from the sacred things. Finally, all the spirits of the sacred things got together and vowed that he must be killed.

One day there was a heavy fog sent by the spirits of the holy things. When it cleared up, Foolish One was not to be found. In a short time his father came looking for him. His father must have been the Sun or lived in the Sun. He found the boy dead and was very angry. All the people of the village had liked him even though he had been so foolish. The father was very angry and demanded of Lone Man who killed his son. All the spirits that had helped kill little Foolish One became frightened of the Sun spirit and hid in a hole on the top of the Killdeer Mountains. At that time the mountains were solid. The spirit from the Sun hit the mountain with his club and broke it in two parts, so that today there are two parts, the head and the body.

Big Foolish One asked Lone Man what should be done with the little fellow. They came to a big rock, and Lone Man split it with his lance. They put the boy in the rock and fitted the rock back. This rock is near one of our camps on the Heart River. Big Foolish One went back to the Sun, and he never came back again. Many still worship him as a great spirit, and we put him in the Okipa on one of the days of dancing because he was here on earth when Lone Man was here.

15. This is a brief summary of the Foolish One, who is represented in the Okipa ceremony. George Catlin (*Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* [Philadelphia, 1857], I, 280–81) records another version of this myth.

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Appendix II

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NUPTADI SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY BEN BENSON[1]

A long time ago the Mandan had no horses. They used dogs to pack their bedding, tepees, and things they took when moving. Each family had quite a few dogs. The camp I am telling of was somewhere south of Mandan. They moved north a little ways to winter in the bottoms around Square Butte Creek. A dog was hitched to a travois with a little boy on it. The dog ran away over the hills chasing a coyote (Kinumakci, the First Creator). This dog came to a ravine and was caught in the brush. He backed up and freed himself, returning to camp without the boy. The boy stood up and cried. He wandered through the ravine until he became very hungry.

While he was walking along, he found a little bow with arrows. Some spirit probably had left it there to save someone's life. He took the bow and arrows and walked along until he saw a buffalo bull. He crept close but not near enough for the arrow to be effective. However, the little fellow hit the bull in the side and pierced its heart. The buffalo fell down dead.

He had no way of butchering the bull. He found a flint knife and opened the buffalo's side near the kidneys. He pulled out the kidneys and part of the liver. He wanted some fat also, so he put a stone under one of the legs and kept hitting the end of the bone to make it break, so he could get the marrow out. Finally, he broke the bone. A piece flew away whistling.

As soon as the fragment struck the ground, he could hear a little baby crying. He went over to see what it was, and, when he got there, he saw that a little newborn baby girl was lying there. He took the baby in his arms. He didn't know what to do with her but finally decided to pull out some of the buffalo head hair to lay the baby on.

About that time, a magpie[2] came and built a fire to cook the food. They cooked and ate. Then Coyote came. He was Kinumakci, the First Creator. He said that he was going to cook some meat and eat it. After he ate he said, "Little brother, bring me some gray sage."

The boy brought in a little bunch of gray sage. The man then took some charcoal and burned the sage to produce smoke. He said to the boy, "Bring the baby here; she is our sister."

The man took the little baby and put her over the smoke, raising her up and down. He said, "I want her to grow." When he put the baby on the ground, she started to walk.

"Bring her back again," he commanded.

1. For another relation of this same myth by the same informant see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 96–102.

2. The magpie is always associated with the Holy Women.

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The child was put over the smoke again, and this time the baby could run about. The third time the little girl was put on the fire he talked to her. He said, "Grow little girl, grow!"

This time she could walk, jump around, and talk. But this wasn't enough. So he made more smoke by adding more sage to the fire and raised the girl up and down in the smoke. Then she was large enough to work at tanning hides and cooking meals.

The man said, "This is enough. You have a girl big enough to cook and care for you. I must leave and travel around."

By this time the boy had become a young man. After First Creator left, the boy set to work building a bark tepee[3] or lodge with four posts on the inside. When the girl was a little older, she was a great worker. She could cut up meat and tan the hides as good as any old woman.

She said to her brother, "This lodge of ours is too small; we must make a larger one."

They went out into the woods and burned trees with crotches (the fire was blown around the base by means of a hollow reed) to use for the four posts. They built an earth lodge with plenty of room to live in comfortably.

The girl said, "Brother, it doesn't look right for you to be single; you should get married."

The boy said, "Where am I going to find a wife?"

The girl replied, "Do you want to get married?"

The brother said, "Yes, if you can get me a good wife."

The girl went off and came back. She said, "I have found some girls, but they do not want to marry you on account of your quick temper."

The boy said, "All right, I'll stay single. I have been able to get along all these years. I guess I can get along for the rest of my life."

The sister answered, "Well, don't give up so soon; I will try again."

She went off again. The second time she came back and said that two girls were coming to see him. Then she set to work cooking up dry meat in preparation for a big feast. That night two very pretty girls came. She gave them plenty to eat. While they were eating, she said that she had to go out for firewood so she left them alone with her brother.

The girls said to the young man, "Is it true that you would like us for wives?"

He said, "Yes, but my sister tells me that you do not like me on account of my temper. If you girls think me too mean, leave me alone."

The sisters answered, "No. It is the other way. It is your sister who is mean. She is going to kill you some day. In the night when you sleep, she gets up and goes out to kill people. She puts their scalps on her robe. Her elkhide robe is covered with scalps except in one place on the shoulder. She wants to fill that space with your scalp and intends to do that."

After these two sisters had spoken they went home.

The boy said to his sister, "I am going to kill a young female elk, and I want you to make a robe for me."

All this time she had an elkhide robe of her own hanging up in a bundle. The boy had never seen her wear it. He always wondered why she didn't use that robe. One day he took it down to open it, but, before he did, he smoked sweet grass which grew in low places in the timber. Inside of the robe bundle

3. Eagle-trapping lodge type.

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there were many clam shells. He wra[illegible] up as before. He suspected then that [illegible] Many nights she was away; many times when he awoke near daybreak she was cooking something, the nature of which he did not recognize. Once he asked her what she was cooking and eating. She wouldn't tell, saying, "I thought you were sound asleep."

One day the boy went away hunting, and the sister was home alone. She said, "I am going to fix up my robe now." She burned sweet grass for the robe, and then she took it down and opened the bundle. When she opened it, the shells were as she had left them. She laid the robe out; it wasn't very large, only two feet square. She had a number of little round scalps and clam shells. She put the scalps on the robe and then placed a clam shell over each. Then the scalps stuck to the robe. She put them in rows. One place was left in front of the shoulder.

She said, "I thought I had enough, but I haven't. I will need one more scalp. I think I will have to get his scalp and put it there. He worked hard to raise me, but I think I will get his scalp for that place nevertheless."

The time when the boy was supposed to be out hunting, he really did not go but stayed near by and hid. He heard everything that she said and then set out for the hunt. When the sister was looking at her own robe, she took down her brother's robe and a blaze of fire came forth.

"Ah," she said, "he has power, too!"

He came back from hunting and told his sister that he had killed some game near by and that she should go out with her hide basket and bring in the meat. Her basket was shaped like a corn basket, but it was covered with hide. She went after the meat.

The girls had told him that, when he escaped from the lodge, he should hide in White Clay Tepee where they lived, or his sister would kill him. While she was out gathering the meat, the boy thought that he would escape. He pondered a plan for getting out. He thought he would go through the smokehole so that she would not see his tracks. He stuck an arrow in the center of the fireplace.

He picked a louse from his head and said to it, "When my sister comes and calls, put her off. Tell her to wait a little while."

He put the louse on the ground. Then he stepped on the arrow and went out through the smokehole, taking his elkskin robe with him. In a little while she came back. She found the door blocked with poles.

She said, "Open it. What are you doing?"

The louse said, "Wait a while; I am busy here."

This continued until the sister became angry and broke open the door.

She called, "Where are you? I don't see you."

The louse, still pretending to be her brother answered, "Over here."

She went to the spot where the sound came from and could not find anything because the louse was hidden in the dirt. The sister knew then that the brother had escaped.

She said, "I know where you are." Then she burned sweet grass before her robe, opened it, and put it on her back. She picked up her digging stick and went away, flying into the air, although she didn't have any wings. She soon saw that the boy was almost to the lodge where the other women were living.

She said, "I'll get you before you get there." Just as she was about to

brother to come in here in order that he might save his life."

The boy's name was One Feather on the Head (Wo'kide), and the girl's name was Feather on the Head Woman (O'kimi'hE). The girls and the boy had digging sticks, too. Each time they hit at the sister, she would go up in the air, so they could only hit her legs.

The boy said, "I'll get her." He came out with his bow and arrows. While the sister was fighting, she had two magpie feathers stuck in the back of her head. The brother took his bow and arrows out and shot at her. The first shot hit the center of the tail supporting the feathers and split one feather. He had been told by a meadowlark when he came out of the lodge that he should aim for the feathers in her hair. She fell down and was dying. After she was on the ground, he walked up to her before she died.

She spoke to him saying, "Brother, I am all finished now. Take my robe and go home. Take good care of it because it is the same as my body. You can go back to your people where you will have power over them because of this robe."

He went back to his people and did as he was told. His father and mother were living yet, and they were so glad to see him that they cried. He had the medicine robe with him and told them what it was and all about it. Since then the Mandan people have called that robe "Young Grandmother." The boy became a great man and kept that robe until he died. Then another man took it.

The descent of the robe went from father to son or father to daughter and her husband. Each had to pay for the robe when he got it.

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Appendix III

AWATIXA SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY BEARS ARM

The people came from Knife River after corn-planting time. They followed the Missouri River and went over toward the Little Missouri, crossed it, and were between the Little and Big Missouries. The camp was of Hidatsa. They were traveling along. It was at the time when the young meadowlarks were old enough to fly. There was a young woman who had a small brother in the party.

The little brother said, "Sister, I wish to have a young bird," so the sister took her little brother away while the main camp traveled westward. They went off to look for a young bird. Somehow the two got separated from the main party and lost their way.

The main party sent out scouts looking for the girl and her brother, but they failed to find them. The camp went on and turned to the southwest and traveled far. The girl and brother went to the Little Missouri River and came to a place suitable to camp. She put up a little lodge like the men use when eagle-trapping. Near by there was a high cliff and just below it was a level place. He became a hunter; she put out snares and caught rabbits. In that way they made a living. Near the lodge was a spring of clear water. They stayed there for some time. Soon the boy grew up and was big enough to use a bow and arrows. Before that time he would use stones to kill young prairie chickens.

He said to his sister, "It is about time for me to have a bow and arrows."

She replied, "Go out and get ten young cherry branches and flints. Take them to this high cliff and lay them down at the foot of the cliff and say, 'Make me arrows.' Lay them down and come home."

The boy got the sticks and flint and took them to the cliff. He spoke as she had instructed him to. He came home, and his sister said, "In four nights you can go back and see about your arrows." He left his arrows there.

Meantime his sister, being mysterious, would go out to find game and bring the meat back.

After four days, the sister said, "You should go over and see about your arrows," so he left for the cliff. When he came to the place where he left the sticks, there were ten arrows with feathers and flint arrowheads. Beside them lay a good bow and string.

The boy said, "You have done me a fine turn by making these arrows for me. I will shoot with these and stop throwing stones." He took the bow and arrows to his camp. He was now able to kill bigger game.

The two lived there for a long time by themselves. One day the boy was home alone while his sister was away as usual, for she had begun to leave each day. She would go far out. She would cause the people to have wars between themselves so she could come home with scalps. She had a robe of her own,

the robe.

One day she went off in the morning. A meadowlark flew by and said, "Your sister is planning to kill you. You must do something to save yourself." Meantime the sister, being able to go all over, found White Lodge Butte called Where the White Lodge Stands. [This butte is between the Little and Big Missouri rivers near the western border of the Fort Berthold Reservation.] In this lodge lived two women who each had a daughter. The sister went to the lodge, saw the two women, and said, "I have a brother who wishes to take your daughters as his wives."

The two women said, "Our girls are young, and they are good girls. We will think about the matter." The sister left the lodge and, being holy, heard everything. She heard the two women discussing the proposal. They said, "No doubt the boy is a good boy, but we know the kind of person his sister is."

The sister went home. When she got back to her camp, she told her brother of the proposal she made for him. One day the sister went away as usual. He, too, was going out on a hunt that day. He picked a louse from his hair and left it in the lodge, saying to it, "You take my place and, if she comes back, don't answer her. See what she does."

He left, and soon she came back. She said, "I know my brother, Feather on Head, that you were out, and I know that you are here." No answer came. She went in and took her robe down. She said, "Right here is where I am going to put you," meaning the brother's scalp. During that time he ran over to where the White Lodge stood. He arrived, and the women came out.

He said, "I have come to you people to see if you could give me some help. My sister is planning to kill me."

The girls went in and told their mothers what Feather on Head had come for. The women said, "Yes, we will help him when the proper time comes."

The girls came back to Feather on Head and told him what their mothers said. He said to the girls, "From this time on watch for me, for I will run away from my sister and come here."

He returned to his lodge and stayed there for some time. Meadowlark came and said to Feather on Head, "You must hurry and get away from here. Go a long ways off and kill a large buffalo bull. When you have it skinned, take the hide and spread it on the ground and cut your meat up in small pieces. Pile the pieces up on top of the hide. Then you must go back and tell your sister that you have the meat cut up and piled ready for her to come after."

He did as the meadowlark directed. He killed the bull, skinned it, spread the hide, piled the meat on the hide, and cut the meat up in small pieces. Then he returned to the lodge and told his sister that he had killed a buffalo bull and had the meat piled on the hide.

She said, "All right, I will go after it, and I will find the meat no matter where it is."

She always had a piece of buffalo hide that she wore over her back so she would not get her dresses bloody. She started out and went over the hill. Feather on Head followed her for a ways, and he saw her going over a ridge. He came back to the camp and picked up what few things belonged to him and ran as fast as he could for the White Lodge. When he was near the lodge,

pulled the arrow out. When she was nearer, he shot again, and she turned, raising her right arm to shield her face. He shot her in the right side of the chest. At that moment Meadowlark came along and flew over Feather on Head's head. She said, "Shoot the feather on her head." He took an arrow out and shot at the feather on her head. He cut the feather in two. She bled, for the feather on her head was her heart.

Before she fell over and died she staggered around, saying, "This is my mistake. I came to kill you, and now you have killed me."

She was wearing the robe that had so many scalps on it. She said, "Brother, you may take this robe. If you wear it in the battles, you will always come out victorious. The songs that go with the robe you will learn in a dream."

The young man took the robe. She died with her head toward the east and her feet toward the west.

Just then the girls and their mothers came. They helped take the robe off of the dead woman. The young man went back to his camp. When he got back there, he wept. The woman and the girls at White Tepee carried out a buffalo robe from which the hair had been removed. They dug a grave and put the body on the hide. They wrapped it around her and buried her there. They did this because there were so many coyotes and wolves. They knew that if they left the dead body on top of the ground, the wolves would come and eat her flesh.

The young man came back to White Lodge and married the two girls. He stayed there for a long time. He hunted and killed many kinds of game. The time came when he grew homesick. He would get up on the lodge with his head bowed.

His mothers-in-law said, "We know where his home is, and we know that he is lonesome. You girls are his wives, and you will have to go with him if he decides to go home."

The wives inquired whether he was lonesome, and he said, "Yes, I am getting lonesome; I want to see my people, and I feel sad because I killed my own sister. In a way, it is all right that I killed my own sister; if I had not killed her, she would have killed me."

The wives said, "If you want to go back to your people, we will be obliged to go back with you."

He said, "I am glad that you are going with me. You prepare for the journey, and in a few days we will go back to my people."

As soon as his wives were ready, they started back to the village at Knife River. It took them several days to make the trip from White Lodge to the mouth of Knife River. They arrived home, and he was glad to see his people. They were glad to see him back safely.

His wives said, "Now, we want you to leave other women alone; do not have anything to do with them. Do not let any woman touch you. If you touch any woman, we will leave you and go back to our home."

One day he went to the river and bathed. He came toward his lodge. When he reached a narrow place where the lodges were grouped closely, he met one of his sisters-in-law, and she said, "You had it announced that no one would be allowed to touch you. I am going to touch you."

"You must not lay hand on me," he replied and tried to run around her. She seized the corner of his robe and cut it off. She threw it onto the bundle. He went home. As soon as he went in, his wives said, "You have been touched. You know that we told you not to be touched by any other woman. We must leave you."

He begged his wives to stay, but they said, "No. We will have to go."

The corn was high by that time, and the sunflowers stood even higher. They walked through the fields to the edge of the gardens. They stopped there. He kept begging his wives to return to the village with him. While he stood there looking at his wives, they changed into two tall, wild sunflowers.

He could do nothing more, so he returned to the village. He told the people what had happened. He said, "Do not pull up wild sunflowers or urinate close to them."

In the meantime he learned all the songs that went with this Sacred Robe. That robe was handed down to the proper ones, and Wolfs Ghost was the last one to keep it. People used to go into his lodge to worship this sacred robe and offer sacrifices to it. When Wolfs Ghost died, a few years ago, that robe was still in his lodge, and nobody knows what became of it.

Feather on Head had the robe, and he would wear it whenever the enemy came to attack the village. It was very hard for the enemy to do anything to him, for the robe protected him. He married again and raised a family. He went up to White Lodge, but there was no entrance. He became famous as a great warrior and died of old age. When the smallpox of 1837 came, Bobtail Bull was the owner. He came from the Mi-tu-tan-ka Village of the Mandan.

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Appendix IV

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON EAGLE-TRAPPING

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Evenings were spent in storytelling. The leader would acquaint the trappers with the myths associated with eagle-trapping. There were many of these myths, and a good leader would be able to consume every evening for the usual four weeks in camp without exhausting his stock. Each was related in great detail with endless repetitions. Some of the longer myths consumed four nights in telling; others were short and could be related in one night. All were expected to listen attentively while seated on a buffalo robe. Those who nodded were pinched with the bird stick. An example of the stories told is given below.

MYTH OF BROWN OLD MAN RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[1]

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There are two ways of telling this story; one is that he came from the heavens and the other that he came from the earth through being born of a woman. I heard many stories, when nineteen years of age from Small Ankles, my father, and Chief,[2] my father-in-law, in the winter village at Blue Buttes above here. Even the older people would have them come out and tell the story to them and put on a feast to them.

Brown Old Man came to the village and always knew himself that he was not a real human, but he would stay with them. When they needed meat, he would call the buffaloes. If they needed rain, he would call it. The people did not know, and he never told them, who he was. After he had been with the people a while, he thought that he would marry. In the spring the buffalo hides get brown, and he had one of those brown hides for a robe until they came to call him Brown Old Man. Sometimes the people would invite him in and feed him well. Then he would say that this man will strike an enemy; sometimes he would say two or more, and it would always come true. Still the people of the village did not know who he was at heart. At last the people began to realize that he was trying to be a holy man, and they would say, "If he were a real medicine man, he would have a good living with more to show for his powers." He felt bad when he heard it but would say, "I am a man who saves the people here." At last he was getting old and white, and his wife was old and white too.

There was one man in the village who invited in Brown Old Man often, and, when he went out to fast, he dreamed of Brown Old Man. He saw in his dream this Brown Old Man painted all over so that he looked more like a

1. For another relation of this myth by Wolf Chief see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX, Part IV [1929]), pp. 187–94. There is also a very brief version in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 204–5.

2. Chief was a Mandan of the Prairie Chicken clan.

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bird. When the young man was with the war parties, he would be the first to strike, and he thought that this was being caused by Brown Old Man. Brown Old Man's lodge was small, and he had only a few articles in it, but he was a medicine man, nevertheless. One day this young man called Brown Old Man and gave him and his wife some pieces of meat.

Brown Old Man said, "My son, I am the one who gave you the dream and spirit; you are my "son." I am the man who gave you the power to strike the enemy and made you chief."

The young man began to tell his dream, saying, "In my dream I saw you painted all over, and you looked like a bird and had bird claws, but I never told you or anyone else."

The old man said, "That is right; I am not really human. When I gave you that dream, you were not supposed to tell it to your own people. You dreamed that you saw me painted all over. I had a father who was a red bird. That is why you saw me painted with red paint."

The young man was happy and took off his leggings, moccasins, and robe, which he gave to the old man. Brown Old Man said to the young man, "You have already seen me in your dream, and I think you will be successful."

Even when the young man went out eagle-trapping he would succeed in bringing back many eagle tails. The old man would smoke some days, and then he would take on new life again. In the fall the people in that village would go out eagle-trapping in all directions; some went to the Little Missouri River; others went along the Missouri and Yellowstone, so that the people were scattered out in camps all over the roughland. The old man said to his wife, "I am going out to the west and see all my different sons."[3]

At this time not even the old woman knew that he was a bird, and she said, "I do not think you can find your way. You are too old." His "son" who had dreamed of Brown Old Man had already left and was at the mouth of Yellowstone River in a camp called One Cottonwood Camp.

He replied, "I am going to One Cottonwood Camp."

She said, "You can't find that place; you are just childish and think you are young again."

He said, "I know all the earth; of course you do not know me; that is why you say that. When I am ready to go, you will go with me a little ways until we come to a hill. Then you can come back. I am not really human; I am different altogether from humans. That is why we did not have any children."

They walked out of the village to a hill, and he said, "Cover up your head and you will see a god."

She covered herself and did not see him, but she heard a noise like a big bird. Then she was sure that he was something else besides a human. Before she took the robe off, her husband was flying through the air just above her, singing a holy song. When he told her to take the robe off, she looked up and saw her husband had turned into a spotted eagle.[4] When she saw the big bird, she cried and lay on the ground while the bird flew around. He said, "You can go home; I will come back some day."

He flew up the Missouri River and came to the hills, south of the present Fishhook site, called High Butte Trapping Place. There were some people in the hills trapping eagles. Before he reached the village he changed into Brown

3. Sons of clan brothers.
4. The Hoita of the Mandan Okipa ceremony represented the spotted eagle.

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Old Man again. He carried a cane and made them believe that he was an old man. He walked toward one of the little lodges, and they said, "There is Brown Old Man; we should take him in and feed him."

Others said, "We don't want to bother with him."

Some treated him well, while others let him go without food. He went into one lodge and was fed; then the young man said that he would give him water and asked the old man to open his mouth so that he could put the water into it. When it was dark, the old man was still sitting near the door. Some thought that, being old, he might have some stories to tell, but others thought that, since he did not have much wealth at the old village, he would not know very much. Some were good to him and said, "Brown Old Man, we would like to hear a story." But others did not care to hear it.

Brown Old Man said, "I may not be able to tell a good story, but I will tell a story. One of you go out and bring a block of wood and set it before that buffalo skull for me to sit on."

One of them found a block of wood and left it before the skull. Brown Old Man folded his brown robe, put it on the wood, and sat on it.

He said: "A long time ago there was a red bird, and he had a son. The son thought that he would go among the people and turn himself into a human and be born among the people to lead them. (When he mentioned these words, some said that he was crazy, and they wanted to drag him outside, while others wanted to hear it all, thinking it was a good story.) There was a man there who thought that he would take some of the young people as 'sons,' and then they would strike the enemy, bring buffalo or rain; and everything happened as he had predicted. Sometimes in the fall the people would go out eagle-trapping, and he thought, since he knew all the places, he would tell them where to go to have good luck, and it was always so. Even then the people would not believe it. (Some wanted to throw him out; others wanted to give him a feast.) This bird they would call Brown Old Man. When he was old, he would smoke himself and get new life. He was always leading his people even though they did not realize it. In the fall they were all out eagle-trapping. Brown Old Man was getting very old at that time; his wife was old too. The old man told his wife that he was going out to see all his sons, but she did not believe that he knew the way and thought that he would get lost. Brown Old Man told his wife that he knew all the places and would not get lost. He asked his wife to go out a short distance, and they went out a short distance together. He told her to cover up herself, for he was not a true human; she heard a noise like a bird. He flew up into the air and sang a holy song and told her to uncover herself. She saw a large spotted eagle flying above her. She cried and rolled herself on the ground all the time the large bird was flying around in the air. He told the old woman to go back and that he would return to her some day. The bird flew up the river to the place where the people were trapping eagles, and there he alighted and turned into an old man with a cane. He walked into the camp. Some of them treated him well; others did not. Some fed him, and others wanted to throw him out. When the old man finished eating, the good young man took his mountain-sheep horn spoon and gave him water. The old man thought, 'I know that the rest of the men here do not like me. Those who treat me well will get birds, for I am a big bird; but those who treat me badly will get none. Those who treat me well will get six or seven eagles.' "

By that time all the men were looking at Brown Old Man. He said, "To

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the one who treated me best and gave me water, I will give the power to catch twelve eagles. I am that Brown Old Man." Then he changed himself into a spotted eagle and flew out, saying, "You people see that I am holy," and was gone.

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The next night he reached a place called Buckbrush Trapping Camp (the hills around Slide Coulee). When they saw the old man, they said that they were crowded and that he might pass his water inside the lodges. He sat outside until it was getting dark, and some said that they should take him in or he might freeze. They called him in and fed him and wanted him to tell a story.

He said, "I came, and the people would not take me in; they will not get any birds, for I am a bird."

He flew away. When he left, all the people there worried about him. They did not get any eagles at all that year, and not even deer or buffaloes. At last they were starving and went back to the village.

He came to a camp called "First Trapping Place" (below Sanish). When he stopped there, he saw many people. They had much dried meat hanging in the trees and were having a good time. As soon as it was evening, he changed himself into an old man with a cane. He walked toward the village.

The people there said, "I wonder how he got here; he is such an old man."

They said to the younger people, "You should take care of him, for the young should always treat the old kindly."

Even his moccasins were worn out, and they gave him new ones, showing him every kindness. They wanted him to tell them a story, and he called for a block of wood which they brought and put beside the buffalo skull. When he told the story, he told how he came to the first trapping place. Some treated him well. He promised twelve eagles, to the man who gave him the water, but those who were not kind to him would get none. At the second place they did not like him because he was old, and they were afraid that he would wet in the lodge. They would not get any birds or food but would starve because they did not know that he was a bird. He changed into a bird and flew out the smokehole. He came to the third place, and they treated him well, and, when he was near, the young men ran to tell the camp that the Brown Old Man was coming. They fed him, gave him moccasins, and treated him well. All those would get twelve or more birds each and have plenty to eat.

He thought, "They have treated me well, and I will sing my medicine song to show them that I am holy." As he was changing into a bird, he said, "You see me as a bird. I am your father," and he sang as he flew off:

Hiu ho ho ho Hiu ho ho ho

They were lucky in getting eagles and found plenty of game near the camp.

He went on and came to the mouth of the Yellowstone River. It was here that the young man who had a dream from Brown Old Man was living with his younger, unmarried brother. When he came to the village, there were no men there, but the son's wife was there; also another man's wife was there. The latter treated the old man well and gave him food and water, but the former did not treat him well, even though she was the wife of the old man's "son." The good woman took him in and talked to him.

In the evening the men came back, and Brown Old Man's son said to his wife, "What did you do to my father? Did you feed him?"

She said, "I didn't do anything to him, and I did not feed him."

The other man asked, "What did you do to the old man?"

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His wife said, "I brought him in and gave him meat seasoned with peppermint and fresh water. I noticed that his moccasins were worn through, and I gave him new ones."

The other man was angry because his wife had not treated him well. When he went out trapping, he was unlucky, but the other man whose wife had treated Brown Old Man well got many birds. The Brown Old Man wanted to give his "son" eagles but thought he would not, since the woman had not treated him right. The lucky man got many eagles, and at last he found a white buffalo near the village and killed it. After they had been there some time, the weather began to get cold, so Brown Old Man decided he would leave soon. He wanted to tell a story before he left, so one night he told the men that he was going to tell a story.

He said: "There was a spotted eagle who came to the people changed into a human. They called him Brown Old Man. He gave a dream to a young man and took him as his son. This old man would say that certain things would happen, and they did. Brown Old Man thought that he would go out to see the people at their traps and that he would call on his son. He took his wife out on a hill and she saw him in the air. He came to different camps along the river. At some of the places he was treated well; at others he was not. He thought that those who had treated him well would get many eagles, but those who did not would not have good luck. He came to the second place and was very badly treated. They would not take him in for fear he would dirty the lodge. The old man knew everything they said. He thought that, since these people treated him so badly, he would not give them any birds. He came to the third camp, and most of the people treated him well, and he was glad. They would catch many eagles and have plenty of food. When he left that place, he thought again of his son, a young man whom he loved very much, and decided to go to that camp and see his son. When he came to the fourth place at One Cottonwood Camp, he changed himself back into a human. When he was near, he found two women outside. His "granddaughter," he could tell at once, did not like him; the other one liked him and called him in to feed him. He thought that even though this woman's husband was not his son, he would bring him good luck. Since the other one's wife did not like him, he would not get any birds. Instead he would get dirty and covered with grass in the pit. He thought that this man who was not his son would catch five eagles and also kill a white buffalo. That Brown Old Man is myself."

He went back to Knife River again.

The man whose wife treated him well caught twelve eagles and killed a white buffalo. The "son" and his wife quarreled after that and could not get along together. Before leaving the place, he killed a white buffalo also. The other man was lucky though and killed much game. He had a white buffalo hide, and he and his wife were happy. He said, "We should go home, for it will soon be cold weather."

They broke camp and came back along the Missouri River. They reached the hilly country below the Yellowstone River. All that time the son was angry, and, as they walked along, he said, "We should stop here, my wife, and let the others go ahead." The man's brother liked the wife and wanted to stay back with them, but his brother sent him ahead. He set up two sticks in the ground, and then he tied his wife to the sticks and built a fire under her. He let her burn to death. The others were ahead waiting for them to catch up.

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After a while he came alone, and they asked him where his wife was, and he said, "She will come up."

Then the boy said, "I think I will go back and see my sister-in-law."

The husband said, "You can go back if you want to." When the boy came back to the place where they had stopped, he saw something but at first could not tell what it was. He walked toward the place and saw an owl, a wolf, and a black bear there. When he saw the three animals, he began to cry. His sister-in-law was there and said, "Do not cry. I always loved you. This wolf, owl, and little bear brought me to life again." When he looked at her, he saw that her eyes looked bright while her hair was light-colored and long.

She said, "Do not cry; I am your medicine now. I am holy, and you will be holy too. Your brother fastened me to stakes and burned me, but this black bear came and cleaned out the bad spirits. The owl fixed my eyes and hair, and now I am holy. The wolf fixed up my body."

Black Bear said to the woman, "I know that you have suffered; Brown Old Man was responsible for that. We know Brown Old Man's father, the Red Bird, and I think I will get rid of him."

She said to the boy, "You are old enough; we could go back to the lodge and trap eagles." They went back to the lodge. Beside the door was a snare singing a holy song:[5]

> Young woman, she is crying, but she will be holy.
> Young man was crying, but he will become holy.

(This song is used just before going into the holes and means that everything will be caught.)

Then the snare said that everything would be caught or held tight. (They used this song when putting up the snare in the trapping lodge. I fasted while eagle-trapping and heard a song, but it had different words:

> The young man was crying, and for that he became different.

That time I held an elkhorn on one side of my chest and a mountain-sheep head on the left. They had cut a hole through the skin of my shoulders, and I had a buck head fastened there to thongs through my flesh. I was running around the lodge when I heard the song.)

They moved into the lodge and cleaned out the pits to trap in. After a while they each caught a bird. They did not have much meat in the camp, and after a while the woman said to the boy, "You should go out to hunt," but the boy thought he was still too young.

She said, "I think you can. If you find a buffalo, you will be able to kill it. While you are gone, I will go into the pit." She brought in two eagles,[6] and he killed two buffaloes. After that they had plenty to eat and got along well.

The woman said, "You remember the time we were here; your brother was angry at me for not taking in Brown Old Man. He nearly killed me, but Little Black Bear said that he was going to catch Brown Old Man's father. I think if we got thirty eagles, it would be enough to satisfy your brother for the trouble I made him by failing to feed Brown Old Man. You go out and you will see some buffaloes. There will be a white one; you get the hide to give to your brother."

5. "Song of the Snare."
6. Mandan and Hidatsa women were not permitted to trap eagles.

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The boy came back with the white buffalo, and, it being just at the beginning of cold weather, it was of good quality. He said, "You should tan it and keep it for yourself." Just then he noticed that she had caught some eagles and had carried them to the camp.

She smiled and said, "You treat me very well. In my dream I saw the snare that hangs on the wall, and it was singing a song. It was the same thing I dreamed of. I also dreamed of the small black bear and the Bear said, 'When I use this snare to trap with I never miss, no matter what animal I go after.' You know when we came into the lodge at first we heard that snare singing. It sang two songs for us, and I want you to own those songs because I was killed by your brother. You came to see me and were crying. All those things you did for me I have not forgotten; now you have given me this white buffalo hide, so you can own those two songs, and, any time when you are having bad luck, you can use those songs. When you want anything, sing these songs, and your wish will come true. Keep them for the future, for it will be better for you to have them, since you are a young man. It is a rule that we are to stop trapping now, for the river is beginning to freeze up along the edges. Even the Black Bears quit at that time. The eagles might take some human lives or take away our spirits. As soon as I finish this tanning, we should go home."

They put all the feathers, thirty sets in all, together. She packed up the meat, and then they went back toward Knife River. They stopped several times on the way before they reached home.

Before going into the village, she said to the boy, "I know that your brother was angry, but it was my mistake; he was angry about not getting enough eagles and the white robe, so we will go back to your brother's lodge. You give him the thirty tails and robe and say, 'I want you to take back my sister-in-law again.' "

The woman looked changed now with different eyes and hair that was combed down. When they went into the lodge, they found that her husband was making arrows. He did not recognize the woman with his brother and wondered who she was. Even the younger brother looked different, for he had been among the gods.

The younger brother said, "I know that you are angry about those eagle tails and white robe, but you can have these, and I want you to live with her again." He put the robe over his brother's shoulders. Then his brother began to cry.

The older brother said, "What you said, is all true. The Brown Old Man was my god and loved me and that is where the trouble began, for your sister-in-law did not treat him right. I burned her, but now I can see that she has turned into a holy person, so she can stay here and be my holy spirit and look after me. She can look after the village too."

The woman said to the boy, "I have taught you the two holy songs that were sung by the snare, and you know them already. You keep them and then you will be chief and look after the village. I am not going to stay here forever. Once I nearly died, and those three gods brought me back to life. Some day I am going back to the owls."

This woman lived with her husband again, but he was always afraid of her, since her actions were different and she did not talk very much. They did not get along like they had formerly. Before they were aware of it, the woman disappeared.

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In the same village there was a man who was always changing himself into a black bear. He was good at trapping eagles, for he was the head of the trappers. He grew to be a very old man. He planned to go out trapping and selected six men. They came to the high buttes just below Fort Stevenson. He had experience in trapping, but the other six did not know anything about it. He went out with them fixing the pits, and then he sent them out after bait. He would sing a holy song for them.

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He said, "I have my trap prepared; my trap is between those trees. You young men ought to make offerings. If you have any colored birds at home promise them to the eagles. If you have any meadowlarks with bright yellow breasts, offer them to the eagles if you catch any eagles."

He asked each of the young men where his pit was. There was one boy who was poor and had no parents. When he came to the poor boy, that one answered, "I have mine close to a spring, for I thought the eagles might get thirsty and come there to drink. I might get them there."

The old man said, "You did right. You should ask your grandmother. She might have something that you could give to the eagles as offerings."

Then he would talk to each young man, telling him to make an offering. The last time they were making an offering, the poor one peeped into the lodge and said, "Now small Black Bear, I want to make an offering to you that some day you will make my grandmother[7] your mother-in-law," and the Black Bear said, "That is a good thing."

Black Bear said to the young men, "After it has snowed, I want all of you to hunt a deer. If you have a chance to shoot it, do not follow it, or you might drop dead."

After a while it began to snow. When it had cleared, they went out, shot a buck, and saw it run into the trees. It fell down between the trees. When they saw the animal fall down, they said, "We must not follow it, for we are not supposed to go up to it."

They came back, and the old man said, "I do not think that deer fell close to my trap so it will be hard to catch that red bird. If I drag the deer to the bait, the bird will know it. I think the only way I can catch that red bird is to dig a hole under the ground to the deer." He dug into the ground and went up to the deer and tied himself tightly under the deer. He noticed that Red Bird was coming his way.

Old Black Bear stayed there, and other birds flew around above. They said, "This looks like a trap, so we better stay here until Red Bird comes." They sat in the trees and waited for Red Bird to come. After a while Red Bird came, and the others said, "This deer looks fat, and we wanted you to get your share. We have waited for you to get yours first."

Then Red Bird said to the other birds, "I am afraid, for I know that that Old Black Bear is the real trapper and never misses anything; he has great power for tying things up. Look around and see if there are any tracks."

"We have looked around carefully, and there are no tracks. That deer must have run a long ways before falling."

Red Bird said, "If you could catch hold of that deer and move it to the side, I would take my share. I will pick one of you to move it to one side. I will select the baldheaded eagle to move it to the side, for you are strong."

The baldheaded eagle went to the deer and tried to lift it but could not

7. Black Bear would be taking the poor boy as his son.

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move it, only pulling out the hair. He said, "I can't lift it; I do not think there is anything under the deer."

Then Red Bird slowly flew down toward the deer, circling, and then went down to the deer. Old Black Bear seized him and said to the bird, "You are not the one who is holy; I am the holy man and have much more power than you have. I am going to get rid of you."

The bird cried, "Save my life; if you get rid of me, there will be no birds."

The Bear said, "You have made the people suffer, so I am going to kill you and get rid of you."

He pulled all the feathers out of the bird, saying, "I do not want to see any red birds like you, and I do not want you to treat people again as you did in the past. If you treat the people like you have in the past, I am going to get rid of you by cutting your head off." He turned the red bird loose, but after that they did not see any red birds like this one again.

About this time Brown Old Man in the village knew what was happening to his father, Red Bird, and he was sad. After they caught his father and pulled all the feathers out, Brown Old Man did not have his former strength. Still he had one holy song.

At the village they were playing the pole-and-stone game, and one fellow would win the game all the time. His medicine was the Snake. He was playing the game with another who had a father who was a chief. The boy always bet the things that belonged to his father. He would put in the lodge or all the things in the lodge. He even bet his parents' bedding. After a while they were sleeping in hay for bedding and did not have much left.

At this time the man said to his son, "You ought to see that we do not have much left and that we are very uncomfortable. What you should do now is call in Brown Old Man and give him a little roasted corn and moccasins. Tell him that you will give him your wife for a daughter-in-law. Do this after sundown."

The young man secured roast corn, fat, and moccasins. He went to Brown Old Man's lodge and invited him over. He said to Brown Old Man. "I was playing a game with the young man who has the Snake Medicine and he has beaten me. We do not have very much left. I know that you are a holy man, and I want you to help me. I will give you these things and, if I ever marry, I will have my wife for your daughter-in-law."

The old man said, "It is pretty hard to win a game from him. That stick he plays with is a snake too. That is why he wins the game all the time. You will never win the game so long as he has that snake for a stick. You can't tell the difference, but it is a snake just the same even though you cannot recognize it. I heard some stories about that snake; I am a bird and snakes are my food; that is the reason why that fellow is against me all the time. If you do not win the game, I will not take your wife as my daughter-in-law. If you win, I will call her that. You go out and see what you can find over there where Snake Man is; you will see much earth and various things scattered around. That is not real earth but eagle tails and other things he has won. You take some of them."

The young man went and came back. He brought back a robe full of articles, and he put them in the lodge on the ground but there was nothing visible except the dirt floor.

Brown Old Man sent him out a third time, a little after midnight saying, "Do not let him see you. There will be two sticks standing there. Go slowly

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and get those sticks for me. The first thing in the morning call to him, 'Let us play the game again.' When he comes, tell him that you want to use a bigger stick. If he says it is all right and then takes the smaller stick, it will mean that he is going to lose his mind. This earth you piled here, I will change like before into many valuable things that he has won from your father." 773 539

Brown Old Man stood up and took hold of the largest stick and said, "I am going to sing a holy song." He bent the stick, rubbing it, and started it moving like a snake. When he had finished singing, it had changed into a real stick with no sign of a snake. He threw the stick onto the ground. He threw it from one place to another like a bird throws a snake and said, "There is no snake left to it." He took the smaller stick and bent it, and it seemed like a snake too. Then he sang his holy song and threw it onto the ground several times, and it was a stick again.

He said, "When you are ready to play the game, put one of these bird's claws on each end of the stick. If there are any snakes, these claws will catch them. When you want to start the game, take the largest stick and say that you are going to say your prayer, and he will say that you are not a real medicine man. Say that you always pray before the game and then take some dirt and rub it on the stick. Be sure that you have a hoop of your own. After a while he will let you use it and that, too, is a sign that he will lose his mind. Play this game with him for four days, and by that time he will be about exhausted, with water coming out of his mouth."

Brown Old Man went to the earth pile and sang his holy song, saying, "Pick what you want for your bidding from this pile," and the earth changed to eagle tails.

When he changed the earth there were four eagle tails. "The Snake Man will say, 'Where did you get those eagle tails?' and you say, 'I have been around begging from my friends.' Then he will not be afraid and put his four tails on, too. When you play the game, go as fast as you can. While you are running remember the holy song I taught you and sing it in your mind. Have some young men run with you when you play the game. On the last day I may be there, for I know that that snake hates me."

After he finished talking, he smoked the two sticks and told the young man to take them back and put them where they belonged, for Snake Man, who was sleeping, would not hear him. Brown Old Man said, "The first thing in the morning, go to the river and take a bath. Put mud on your head. I will be praying to the birds all the time, and you will not get exhausted but light while you run. Call the first thing in the morning that you are ready to play, and he will ask why you don't use white clay instead of that dirt, and you say, 'I am in such a hurry that I am going to use this kind of paint.' "

Snake Man came and asked where he got the tails, and he replied that they were given him by different people who scolded him because he was using up all his father's things. He sent for his eagle tails to bet against the young man. The young man said to Snake Man, "I want a bigger stick this time, for you are always using your small ones. I don't know how to win the game anyhow and you will win."

The other one agreed to use the larger stick. Brown Old Man had said that he would go easy with Snake Man at first. There were many young fellows around, and he begged some of them to follow him while he ran even though he couldn't win the game. They ran, letting the loop go first. Snake Man threw his stick first and then the other threw. The stick went where it should go, so

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he won the first game and had two sticks. They threw the sticks out again. Before the stick stopped, he saw that he was nearer and then he had four of the sticks. After a while the young man won the eagle tails, so he had eight tails. He thought he would fool the opponent by saying, "Now that I have the eight tails I will be able to play all the longer before you win them back from me as you will eventually."

Snake Man sent for eight more eagle tails, and they began to run again. Each time they threw, the young man would hit the right place; then he began to lag so the other would not be suspicious, until late in the evening when he won the game outright. Then he had sixteen eagle tails.

Snake Man said, "I am tired now so we will stop." The other said, "When I was losing, you always wanted to go until sundown," but Snake Man thought that he would stop so he could fix his sticks.

The young man said to his helpers, "I will pay you after I have finished the game."

Next day they had another game and Snake Man brought out all the eagle tails left and said, "If you win all the tails, I suppose I can put in robes and other things?" The young man agreed to do so. The third day he won the game again and had robes and everything that Snake Man had.

The third night, Brown Old Man came and said, "Tomorrow will be your last day for the game. After he has lost everything, he will bet his wife, for she is his real power, so you must do your best to win her."

The boy's father was at the lodge when they brought in all the things that the father had lost before. On the last day Snake Man did not have very much property to bet, bringing only pots, bedding, spoons, and such things as he could get hold of. The young man put up eagle tails against them. The game went on, and Snake Man said, "Now I have nothing left. I will bet my earth lodge." When he lost that, Snake Man said, "I will bet my wife now. That is all that I have left."

Brown Old Man had said formerly, "During the last game when he bets his wife, I will be sitting ahead of you, for if you do not win right away, she may throw you off in your throw. She has great power."

When the other people saw that he was winning the game back, they would run beside him and make much noise in victory. By that time Snake Man was nearly exhausted with water running from his mouth. When the last game was played, they began to run with Brown Old Man in the lead. When Snake Man threw his stick, he saw the old man and thought that he would throw the stick past Brown Old Man. After the game was over Snake Man said, "Brown Old Man, I think you were the one who did this, making me throw my stick in the wrong direction."

The young man said to the people, "You may carry all the things over to the lodge I have won and put them inside. I know that Snake Man once won all these valuables from you, and I am going to return them to you again."

He called Snake Man's wife in and said, "You belong to me, but I do not think I will keep you. I will give you some clothing to put on and you can go anywhere you please."

She dressed and went out. When he had everything collected that he had won from Snake Man, he called in his "father," Brown Old Man. Snake Man came in with nothing on but a breechcloth. The young man inquired what he had come for, to smoke or what? Snake Man said, "I went down to the river to take a bath, and I vomited out only earth."

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The other said, "I had that happen, too, when you were winning, so I don't think it is anything serious. If you find anything more to bet on, I am ready. I always give a person a chance to get back what he lost." 773

After a while Snake Man stepped out. Late that night Brown Old Man came and ate with the young man, and they were happy. He told Brown Old Man what Snake Man had said and then Brown Old Man laughed. 539

He said, "I made one mistake here; at the time you fellows ran I was angry, and I thought that every time Snake Man breathed the dirt would go into his mouth. That is why he threw all that dirt up. That was a mistake, for I am afraid that he will not have a long life."

While the gambling was going on, the young man had married. He told his wife to go out and take a bath, for he had promised Brown Old Man that if he won the game and had a wife he should take her as a daughter-in-law. Brown Old Man had said, "I will sleep beside her and take her as my daughter-in-law, but I will not touch her. What you have done, giving her to me for my daughter-in-law, makes me happy." They slept together until the next day. The young man and his "father," Brown Old Man, ate together and were happy. Brown Old Man said to his "son," "I sang a holy song while you were playing the game, and it is yours. In the future when you go out to attack your enemy, use that song, and you will win that game too."

Meanwhile Snake Man was vomiting up the dirt; it was not long after that until he died.

Brown Old Man died in that village, but, when they tell the story, the old people do not say whether he went back to the birds or not, but it seems from the earlier part of the story that he must have.

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF EAGLE-TRAPPING. I

The people were living out on the Reservation by this time [1888]. I was about twenty-four years old then. By that time we had wagons so we went with teams. We went across from Independence and set out west toward Heart Singer Butte, near which we camped that night. The next time we moved, we camped at Eagle Nest Butte. Bad Coat had his wife, True Woman (Water-buster clan); Iron Eyes had his wife, Brown Chest (AwaxEnawita clan); Charging had his wife, Robe (Knife clan); Little Crow had his wife, Otter (Water-buster clan); Packs Wolf had his wife, Comes Along Pink (AwaxEnawita clan); Spotted Weasel had his wife, Cedar (AwaxEnawita clan); Raven Knows Nothing had his wife, Bear Woman (Knife clan); Sitting Owl had his wife, Pink Blossom (AwaxEnawita clan); Sitting Owl had an adopted son along called Standing Bull. 223

The next time we camped just the other side of where the White Lodge stands, where there are large springs. The next day we came opposite Buffalo Manure Butte, called Lone Butte today, and camped on the banks of the Little Missouri River. We crossed the Little Missouri there and followed Buffalo Manure Creek, called Crosby Creek today, and crossed the divide to the west and camped. The camp was on the Little Missouri River in the timber.

We set to work, for we had wagons then, cutting the timbers and posts. They were mostly ash, and we hauled them on the wagons. We set up the four posts with the rails at the top and then carried the timbers around the sides of the place where the lodge was to stand. All the men worked on this, and we finally finished it. It took us one day to cut the timbers while others were scraping the ground down, taking the roots out. The next day we commenced 223 346

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778 which Lewis and Clarke, Henry, Catlin, and Maximilian all give
781 accounts. The Mandans told Lewis and Clarke that this rock, which was at three days march to the southwest, informed them of every thing to happen during the year and that they visited it every spring and sometimes in the summers.[1] The description which Maximilian gives of this rock seems worth repetition: "It is situated at two or three days from the village on the edge of the Cannonball River from which it is about one hundred paces. They say it is on the summit of a rather high hill, the top of which is level. It is marked by the footprints of men and other animals, dogs and travois. It is a sort of oracle. They offer it all sorts of valuable articles — knives, pipes, cloth. . . . When going to war they pass near and consult the stone. They approach it, weep, groan, smoke, and retire to a distance where they pass the night. Next day they take down on parchment what the stone shows. This painted parchment is carried to the village where the old men interpret it. Undoubtedly new figures are seen on the stone from time to time. Not far from this place was the ark where part of the nation was saved." The Minnetarees also had one of these medicine stones which was consulted in practically the same way. One more of their natural sacred objects deserves
778 mention; this was a lake some distance from their villages
782 where a great serpent, formerly a Mandan warrior, was said to reside. This serpent was a good genius and offerings of all sorts were thrown into the lake to procure his aid.

791 The shaman although mentioned occasionally is not described, nor are his powers well defined by any of the authorities. Maximilian remarked that there were shamans who gathered herbs and pretended to cure diseases and others who did tricks and conducted preparations for the ceremonies.

773 MYTHOLOGY:—Practically all material on Mandan mythology comes from Maximilian who wrote down a large number of
539 stories directly as they were told to him by a Mandan chief, Dipeuch. Catlin and Lewis and Clarke reinforce these with a few details. It is found by analysis of the myths given by Maximilian that two distinct, parallel, mythological stories of

[1] Lewis and Clarke: Feb. 21, 1805.

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the origin of the people existed, both were told by the same man, each of these accounts being made up of a number of separate myths. Perhaps a short synopsis of these two cycles will best show the condition of the mythology and the relationship with that of other nations. According to one of these, the Lord of Life created the First Man, who in turn created the earth. It was made of mud brought up from the bottom of the sea by a duck. The First Man walked about on it, meeting some animals and then finally the Lord of Life; a dispute arose between the two as to which should be called father, and they sat down, agreeing that the first one to rise should be the son. Many years they sat and when the Lord of Life was only a pile of whitened bones, the First Man arose. At once the Lord of Life jumped up and was acknowledged as father. The two of them went about together, the Lord of Life said the earth must be remade and called the buffalo, who was commanded to fetch grass and wood. Then the two gods each took half the land to shape—they were at the mouth of the Heart River and the Lord of Life took the south side of the Missouri, the First Man took the north. The Lord of Life made hills and coulées, but First Man made his section flat and wooded so people could not live there. Then each made himself a wooden pipe, the Lord of Life making his of ash wood inlaid with stone, the First Man making his of soft wood. They placed the two together and the Lord of Life said, "This will be the center, the heart of the world." They walked along and met a buffalo from whom they got tobacco. Then they made men, but limited their life to one hundred years lest the world be over-populated, and these men were taught by the Lord of Life to use buffalo. After this the Lord of Life and the First Man killed all the old wolves and taught the young ones not to eat men, the skins of the old ones floating down the river, turned into white men. A little later the First Man saw a girl ineffectually attempting to bring ashore a dead buffalo cow, he supernaturally guided it to her and she ate some of the flesh and in consequence became pregnant. A boy was born to her who became the first chief. This chief made a canoe which understood him when he spoke to it. In it he sent some men down to a white nation

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773 539 to get shells and beads. The men were killed, so finally he went himself and came back safely. Then the First Man went down with another party and all were killed but he. He saved himself by strategy. The white men became angry because they could not kill him and they made the waters rise so that the whole earth was submerged. Related to this is a statement by a Mandan to Catlin that the earth was a huge turtle, the white men stuck a knife through its shell and it sank so the water flooded its back. The First Man made them build a tower on a height on the lower bank of the Heart River and the whole nation was saved there. Soon after the flood, the First Man went away to the west and said he would come back when they needed him. One day they wanted him and could not discover how to reach him, till at last a man said that thought would do it. He sat down and thought and cried, "I think, I have thought, I return," and rose bathed in sweat, and the First Man came, and helped them. Just after this the Lord of Life turned into a goose and being hurt fell into a Mandan village where he escaped plucking by cursing the women. Thence he flew to the Hidatsa village, where he clawed and beat a woman who said she would have no one but the Lord of Life for her husband. The next day, however, he returned to the sun and caused her to ascend to him by means of a rope which he let down, the story continuing the Siouan myth of the boy and the mother coming down a sinew cord to the earth again.

The second cycle of stories does not begin with a creation myth, but merely with a brief account of the earliest existence. The Mandans said that there were four stories under the earth and four stories above; before the flood they lived in a village under the earth near a lake, and a grape-vine grew down through, letting the light into the underworld. They wanted to come up and sent the mouse, badger, a strange, mythical animal and a deer to dig out a hole. Then they climbed out by the grape-vine till half were on earth and a very corpulent woman broke the vine. A flood came when they were first coming out and the first tribe (Tattooed Faces) perished almost wholly. All this happened near a lake to the east. If they are good the Mandans go back to this old village under ground when they die.

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They now found themselves on the surface of the earth. The people were led by a chief and they kept walking till they reached the Missouri at the mouth of the White River. They ascended it to the Moreau, here they found enemies in the Cheyenne, and they went to war and killed and scalped for the first time. The great chief who led them out of the earth together with his sister and brother taught them to make shields, and then he divided them into bands and led them against the Cheyenne. After a long struggle he performed a miracle by which the enemy were nearly all slain. Then the Mandans moved up to the Heart River. Here one day, four Hidatsa came to them for a time and on leaving promised to return in four days. Four years later they returned with a numerous band. The Hidatsa crossed the river and built villages, and the Mandans taught them to raise corn. Then after a few years they moved up to the Knife River where they settled. This was during the period at which the Mandans lived in a village on the Heart River.

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Besides these two myth cycles there are also a number of tales as yet unconnected with either group. First among these should be considered the tales about the Old Woman Who Never Dies. The Old Woman Who Never Dies owns a very large plantation in the south where her two deer and many blackbirds guard her crops, and the mouse and mole help work the soil. The water birds she sends north as her representatives in the spring, and at the same time goes north to visit the Old Man Who Never Dies, but she stays with him only a short time. She is the goddess of corn, and the ceremonies in her honor are to bring good crops. Formerly she lived on the Little Missouri where the Indians visited her. She gave the Hidatsa once a little corn in a dish and it fed twelve men. Finally she went south to live.

The story of the great serpent forms an important tale for comparative purposes. The great serpent was supposed to have been one of two Mandan braves who crawled through a hole in the bluff and came out in a land of giants. On returning, the two killed a monstrous snake of which one of them ate. He himself soon turned into a great snake and became a sort of minor deity for the people.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Once the Mandan lived underground. A small mouse went about and discovered a little hole in the ground, through which he crawled up and thus came to see the surface of the earth. He liked the light and the grass. He returned, and told his people about it. They said to Fox, "You are small enough to get up through the hole." So Fox went up. He got to the ground, looked about, and found everything good there. He liked it, and told the three chiefs[1] and their sister. The hole was still too small, so the Elk was called. "You have wide horns, make a little passage for us to get through." The Elk did as he was bidden, got above ground, and enjoyed the sight. He returned, and told them how good the country above was. Then the youngest of the three brothers went up through the opening, and found plenty of buffalo and elk. He hunted them, killed a buffalo and took the sinew and paunch, which he gave to his brothers on his return. They were very glad to get sinew, for underground they had been obliged to use sunflower threads for cordage. All the people wished to go above ground. They went to the hole, and found a vine passing from their country to the earth. The chiefs climbed up first on the vine. They found an abundance of game, and camped near the hole. The people went up, one after another, until a pregnant woman tried to climb up and broke the vine. It was impossible to readjust the vine, so those behind the woman were obliged to remain below. The chiefs' sister had forgotten to take along her elk robe, and called down for it to her mother, who was still underground at the time when the vine broke. But the woman answered, "You cannot get it now; however, you will find one just like it above. When you die, you will come back, and then you will be able to get your elk robe again." The girl, accordingly, got a new elk robe above ground just like the one left behind. It was tanned soft, without the hair on, and painted black on one side; fleshed bluebirds were attached to it. This robe was passed from heir to heir until the time of the Ft. Berthold settlement, where Moves-slowly, a Corn-singer, kept it by his shrine.

The Mandan ascended the River and built their villages. They came to a big clay hill named Bare-Hill, where no grass grew. Near this hill they built one village. A young man went up the hill in order to get a vision. On a high hill, on the opposite bank of the Missouri, he saw many women dancing. Every time he went up the hill he saw the same vision, but each time the women got closer. The fourth time they came closer still, they came across the Missouri. When they approached the man, he saw how they were dressed. They were all mysterious beings. At the same time, some women just like them rose from the Bare-Hill itself, and began to dance. They wore crowns of live snakes,[2] whose necks were striped with different colors. Their heads were on the left side of the dancers, the tails on the right. The visionary was also able to hear the mysterious women's songs. In accordance with this vision he started the River Women society. In the place of the snake crowns, he took blue-grass about three feet long and from a triple braid of this material he made the head band emblematic of the organization (Fig. 15). Into the left side of the head band he stuck in obliquely the tail feather of an eagle. The ends of the crown were tied in the middle of the forehead. Kinumakci came to the visionary, and was

[1] The skulls of these three chiefs, according to Hides-and-eats, were still kept by Poor-wolf at the time of my visit. Cf. Maximilian (II, 161): "Noch gegenwärtig heben die Mandans in ihrer Medicine-Tasche oder Beutel 3 heilige Schädel auf, von welchen der eine der des genannten Chefs und die anderen die dessen Bruders und Schwester seyn sollen."

[2] Garter-snakes, according to one informant; according to another, brown snakes about 3 feet long, which the Indians call "grass-eaters."

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575 773 539 delighted. He said, "I like this society. I wish to add something to your feather." Then he broke off some (unidentified) grass, and tied it to the feather. In the dance these feathers were meant to shake. Kinumakci said, "I will give you one of my songs." And he gave the man a song quite different from other songs. When Kinumakci had done singing, the visionary told the women whom he had organized

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Fig. 15 (50.1–4329). River Society Head Ornament. Length, 61 cm.

to take their head bands, untie them, smooth them out, and put them down on the ground. The women obeyed, and the head bands turned into snakes and crawled away. From that time on the society was kept up.

575 773 301 Two-chiefs adds to the account as just given that several other beings made contributions to the dance regalia. The eagle feathers were distributed among the original dancers by the Eagle. The Bear gave them his claws to be strung for a necklace. The Mink allowed them to use his skin and claws: the two leaders and the two rear officers were to wear mink-claw necklaces, while the four middle officers were to wear a minkskin necklace, to which were attached bluish shells.[1] The organizer of the society selected four male singers and picked out for membership a number of women ranging in age from twenty to thirty. Calf-woman substitutes the mythical character I'tsi'kawa'herec[2] for Ki'numakci, and the Otter for the Mink.

575 432 One day Hides-and-eats was called by her friends to attend a meeting. This was shortly after the time of the smallpox. Very few of the River women had survived the epidemic; all of them had been very old women, about Hides-and-eats' present age. The young women called the survivors, heaped up property before them, and expressed their desire to purchase the [608] society. The older group consented to sell. In this instance the sellers for some obscure reason were not considered the purchasers' mothers. Hides-and-eats and her comrades remained in this society for ten years. Then

[1] Two-chiefs gives twice the number of officers fixed by Hides-and-eats.
[2] This is probably the Hidatsa equivalent for Ki'numakci.

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MANDAN TEXTS.

I.

mī'ⁱsipàsa ō'wakarax mī'hṑxat mārū'cec. ō'warucèkī, icákhiⁿ 539
Yellowstone River mouth Goose society I bought. We got it, then

nū'waxkùpini mī'haⁿ ō'cahe énuka àxkupíni, numā'napekàc. mérEx
our crowns goose cut strips that we put on, we danced. Kettle

oki'heranì marátEk íseẋki mā'skuhinì, mō'+ipke, éokarèc. ī'wa-
cooked feast making sugar (coffee or tea) dried meat, these (they made). I

kapèkac hīⁿ mā'+íxte nōwā'teki "néwak káana." ī'wakapèkac,
distributed and calico if there is any "This keep it." I distributed,

gawī'wakapékac.
I was the distributor.

II.

mī'xgereki u'uⁿ mā'akcī hēra mahī'migak ō'ohèrani sùxgarikā'-
Woman some and pointed hill clay-hill they came

sēeroc. mi'isi u'uⁿ mā'kiruxka ā'xkupkerec, hiⁿ ō'oherenì taka-
out from there. Woman makes crown put on, and then

wáxgarākc máxana núpxe ī'naⁿkā'aruc. inúp mána meréx kā'kerec.
singer one skin rattle had. Two drum they had.

nū'maaké hera mā'mini hī'rixirì. herō'makōc. hiⁿ ō'oherenì nū'maⁿ-
A man water not drank. He saw it. And then people

kā̀kisen nā'akuⁿ ō'xat íseẋkèrec. hiaⁿ'ska hū'na nucā'ni éreẋkòroni.
afterwards society made. And that way coming they wanted to get it.

mā'oka kicō'kēregèc. kō ō'xatkarès utkū'karec. hiⁿ ō'oherenì ā'we
Property they gathered. This society to they give it. And then all

kohū'ne tū'tuhoc nā'askahàna. hiⁿ ō'xat keresō'onik mā'a' sì'na
mothers they got that way. And society when they were(?) Eagle

híromakōc. "ō'minatatinistore," éheni. káni ī'pe okirúskani. ā'ⁿwe
came. "I want to join," he said. Then tail feathers he pulled out, all

máxananā̀ kehē'reromakōc. Kínumakci hī'romakṑc. káni ícak
one by one he gave to them. Kinumakci came. Then he himself

mō'okīre kahéreromakōc. xa'tā'rak éotahìⁿ mā'ⁿsi inús éota ō'ki
head ornament he gave to them. Grass with them Eagle that with them head
ornament

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•539 kéreromakōc. mā'kiruxkas u'u^{n} ā'xkupini mō'okī'keres ō'ota néhe-
he put on. Snakes crown put on feathers with them all

rekère nō'makoc. hí matō'na híremakōc. hi u^{n}káahe kínucāni,
together he did. And Bear came. And claws he took off.

kahére nomakō'c, mī^{n}'keresē`ra nápini íkererowakō`c. hi^{n} péxtakē`na
he gave to them he did. Those women necklaces ?. And Otter

híromakōc. péxtakēnus u^{n}'ut matō'+uks nēherekerèc. hiná^{n}skahere
came to them. That Otter on bear's claws they put on. That way then

kihi^{n}' óxat nucékìhi mató u^{n}káas. nupápirɛk ta+istúhe ā'^{n}tāroc
they did (?). society they got when bear claws. Twenty nights that is all

ō'xatat hi u^{n}'a marátɛk nī'sixkac, hiā'terōhereni numā`akupenas
that society that number feast we made. And then our crowns

éheni matō'u^{n}ks éheni nukíxkukerē`c, minís nukáherɛk. hi ō'oher eni
bear claws they gave to us, horse we gave. And then

istúhare nixgā`rɛk nuki'inā`pec, nukíxasúxgerekat matī'ixta dikū'^{n}cta.
in the evening about this time we danced, in a circle we go out outside inside (?)

karúpxari érexkinìki inúnūp néxkerèki matō'+uk napinís inúp
When they wish to go in two by two as they follow bear claws necklace two of them

kiu^{n}'tōc ná^{n}ska kikō'kikaha^{n} karúpxekirìkāc, dikū'usta
leaders ? two go in, inside

kínaapékerikac. matō'+uk nápini nené itō'opuc mā'ata inák
they dance there. Bear claw necklace those four of them shell

kánapinì tō'opuc. hiyō'^{o}háreni matō'uk napinís itō'pca tawáhe
necklace four. And then bear claw necklace four (each) songs

túkerec. hi^{n} ganā'ktikihi itō'ps nā'ape kirìkac. mū'u'perī'kerekac,
they had. And when singing four danced. They give presents,

mī'iharacirì, ínuperecirì, mā'+ixterecirì u^{n}peréxkerekàc, mā'takara-
blankets, guns, calicoes they give away, shell

pinikas tā'wahe tū'kerec. icakī'raapékikerekàc. hi^{n} nā'apee kixē'k-
necklace some they had. They made them dance. And dance when

teki, hī'imak mū'upèrekerekàc. hi^{n} kixē'ktiki, mā'axkupkères mō'oca
they stop, they give away presents. And they cease, their crowns rope tied

nutíte hèreni mā'a'kups ī'kaskìkerec kakinī'na. mā'peha ā'we
string they did (?) crowns they tied one after another. Under the crowns all

mī'ixkères hā'nakèrekac. kawáxkanā`kɛs ō'hanakìrekac. itō'pana
women sleep. Singers slept. On the fourth night

ō'maxa hánakìrec, ō'kape ō'tita kerexkerekàc. kacékarèxteki ō'keres
together they slept, some of the rest home they went. Near daybreak those that
went home

ā'ⁿwe óti ecká nupkā'ata, nuréeẋkac. ō'tii nurō'pẋektíki, numā'x- 539
all their homes we woke them up, we go along (to the next house). Her house we enter, we

kanā`kac. "ímupā, kitā'ni, mahū'na!" kawáxkanā'kes nō'ota,
sing. "Comrade, wake up, come!" Singers we are with,

hiⁿ ā'we kíix̀kèrekac tíoohìta mā'axkup ónūnisū`t. hiⁿ tō'pana
and all come back to the lodge crowns where they keep. And four nights

nū'mak nō'hū'ta mā'rahirexkèrekac. tō'panā`ne ecó kixē'kerec.
man near they do not go to. On that fourth night that they stop.

kixē'kehi kamā'napikɛs ā'we marátɛk íseẋkèrec. oóhereni mā'axkupe
When they stop those dancers all feast they make. And then crowns

ā'we kawákirihē'rec. mā'akta mā'axkups náciha nū'niẋkèrikac.
all they string up. On the ground crowns behind they stay.

hiⁿ ō'ohereni nū'maake máxana mā'niksùks katanícke rekà énehi
And then man one (with) bird medicine that one

kamī'nepekàs, ā'we íkaraxukōc ō'ohaktō'hereni. kixē'ktihi, mā'axkups
dancers, all he rubs off to the last one. When they cease, crowns

ī'wapsituxs kirúcani, íxahanàs ā'we kirúcanāni, kicū'cukàrani. kāhósta
their feathers he takes out, those grasses all he unloosens, he straightens out.
On the prairie

ā'nahinik, patíkōc. ā'atāroc.
he takes them out, he throws them away. This is all.

III.

cáhakèro nuⁿtēk, minísinik óxat'e nurū'cec. hiā'atere ȯohareni
Across the river we were staying. Cult society we bought. And then

núⁿkikìruhèreec. ā'we híkerec. ā'taxka' "mā'karuske hárenìsta!"
we invited friends. All got there. Already "Things collect!"

nuⁿtamáhe túktōc. híre ícturxki manác nā're'toc. nápte hérɛkerekì,
Our song we ought to have. Now tonight tobacco we take over. They will light
the pipe (?)

aⁿ'taxkac mā'+usta híre ictúxki nū'tiktōc. "ā'we marácisèke
then already that night we shall all be there. "All mixed-tobacco

huⁿ'huⁿ hárenista! marátɛke ā'we óna atínitooc kū'ⁿnìsta" hiⁿhā'-
plenty have! Feast all your father give ye." Now,

askat ictúhe tétuki maráteke nūkū'una nū'wiic. nā'aka ictúxki
that way nights eight feast we gave right along. Next night

nūkirúceẋtō'c hináasekehì kō'ots úⁿuta hiⁿáthiⁿ híkereèc hiⁿ kō'otsūt
we shall get it. That way fathers to them they have come. And to his father

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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539 hĩkĩhi. "Ptamã'-ipàxtuke makĩ'kùuta. ptámanisè no ã'watì`c."
he came. "My clothes give me mine. My horse here I have out here."

hĩ^{n} kõ'otsẽ`na "néwa$^{n}$k márahẽ`rẽc" éheni. marátɛke kũ'urõc.
And to (?) his father, "This is your food," he said. Feast he gave them.

"néhak nihũ'poõ`c, néhak nihú$^{n}$cic, íniwacutõ`oc, manã'nihoc marára-
"This is your moccasin, this your leggings, your shirt, your blanket, your

pìninuc, mõ'orakeskèc, mõ'onakiruc nĩ'itak õ'racipoc."
necklace your earring, your head ornament, your face-pendants."

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776 773 in the form of an aged man, and, at others, in that of a young man. The first man, Numank-Machana, holds the second rank; he was created by the lord of life, but is likewise of a divine nature. The lord of life gave him great power, and they, therefore, worship and offer sacrifices 776 171 to him. He is nearly identical with Nanabush among the Chippeways, or the people of the Algonquin language, who, according to the notion of those tribes, acts as mediator between the creator and the human race. Nanabush and the creator frequently had disputes, and the Mandans have similar legends. Omahank-Chika, the evil one of the earth, is a malignant spirit, 776 773 who has, likewise, much influence over men, but who is not as powerful as the lord of life and the first man. The fourth being is Rohanka-Tauihanka, who lives in the planet Venus, and it is he who protects mankind on the earth; for without his care the race would have been long since extinct. A fifth being, who, however, has no power, is something like the wandering Jew, ever in motion, and walking on the face of the earth in human form. They call him the lying prairie wolf. Besides these there is a sixth being, Ochkih-Hadda, whom it is difficult to class, and of whom they have a tradition, that whoever dreams of him is doomed soon to die. He appears to figure in their traditions as a kind of devil, is said to have once come to their villages, and taught them many things, but has not since appeared. They are afraid of him, offer sacrifices to him, and have in their villages a hideous figure representing him. They worship the sun, because they 776 believe it to be the residence of the lord of life. All their medicines or sacrifices are offered 772 chiefly to the sun, or rather to the lord of life, as inhabiting it. In the moon, say they, lives the old woman who never dies, and who wears a white band from the front to the back of the head; sacrifices and offerings are likewise made to her. They do not know who she is, but her power is great. She has six children, three sons and three daughters, who all live in certain stars. The eldest son is the day (the first day of the creation), the second is the sun, in which the lord of life has his abode. The third son is the night. The eldest daughter is the star that rises in the east, the morning star; and they call her, "the woman who wears a plume." The second daughter, called "the striped gourd," is a high star which revolves around the polar star; and, lastly, the third daughter is the evening star which is near to the setting sun.

• 539 The old woman in the moon desired to find a wife for her son, and brought a girl, whom she desired to wait outside the door. When the old woman sent out to fetch her, they found in her place a toad; indignant at the exchange, the toad was boiled in a vessel, that it might be destroyed. But this could not be done, nor could it be eaten, and it was, therefore, cursed, on which it remained always visible as a spot in the moon. The narrator could not say whether [821] the sun was large or small, but, at all events, it was glowing hot. The son married a woman whom they called "the narrow-leaved wormwood." They had a son, of great promise, who appeared destined to act an important part. He was very skilful in making arrows, and versed in all kinds of hunting and catching of animals. He shot birds for his mother, though she had

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forbidden him to kill the prairie larks, yet he shot all his arrows at these birds, but he was unable to kill any. Upon this, one of the birds said to him, "Why will you kill me, since I am related to you?" He dug up in the moon the pomme blanche (*Psoralea esculenta*), for which his mother reproved him, because, through the hole which he had dug, they could see the Manitari villages in the earth beneath. And his mother said, "See, all those men are our relations; I did not intend to descend to the earth yet, but now we must go thither." The father once ordered the son to shoot a buffalo for him, and to bring him all the sinews of the animal; but the son twisted a rope with part of those sinews, in order thereby to let himself down to the earth. Accordingly he descended to the earth in the vicinity of the Little Missouri, but his rope reached only to the top of the trees. If he had had all the sinews of the buffalo, his rope would have reached the ground, but now remained suspended, and swung backwards and forwards. A large stone was thrown at him from the moon, which stone was in existence not very long since. The stone, however, could not kill him, he being medicine, that is, charmed. 539

The Mandans believe that the thunder is produced by the motion of the wings of a gigantic bird. When this bird flies softly, as is usually the case, he is not heard, but when he flaps his wings violently, he occasions a roaring noise. This huge bird is said to have only two toes on each foot, one behind and the other before. It lives in the mountains, where it builds an immense nest, as big as Fort Clarke. Its food consists of deer and other large animals, the horns of which are heaped up round the nest. The glance of its eyes produces lightning; it breaks through the clouds, the canopy of heaven, and makes a way for the rain. The isolated and peculiarly loud claps of thunder are produced by a gigantic tortoise, which lives in the clouds. When the lightning strikes, it is a sign of anger. They believe the stars to be deceased men. When a child is born, a star descends and appears on the earth in human form; after death it reascends and appears again as a star in the heavens. 821 [775]

The rainbow is a spirit accompanying the sun, and is especially visible at its setting. Many affirm that the northern lights are occasioned by a large assembly of the medicine men and distinguished warriors of several nations in the north, who boil their prisoners and slain enemies in immense cauldrons. The Chippeways are said to call this phenomenon "the dancing spirit," and the milky way, "the path of the ghosts." [171]

Dipauch related a history of the creation and the origin of the Mandan tribe, in the following manner. Though this narrative is equally silly and tiresome, I subjoin it, as giving an idea of the intellectual condition of this people, and the nature of their conversations. 773 539

Before the existence of the earth, the lord of life created the first man, Numank-Machana, who moved on the waters, and met with a diver or duck, which was alternately diving and rising again. The man said to the bird, "You dive so well, now dive deep and bring up some earth."

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The bird obeyed, and soon brought up some earth, which the first man scattered upon the face of the waters, using some incantations, commanding the earth to appear, and it appeared. The land was naked; not a blade of grass was growing on it; he wandered about and thought that he was alone, when he suddenly met with a toad. "I thought I was here alone," said he, "but you are here, and who are you?" It did not answer. "I do not know you, but I must give you a name. You are older than I am, for your skin is rough and scaly; I must call you my grandmother, for you are so very old." He went further and found a piece of an earthen pot. "I thought I was here alone, but men must have lived here before me." Thereupon he took the potsherd and said, "I will give you also a name, and, as you were here before me, I must, likewise, call you my grandmother." On going further he met with a mouse: "It is clear," said he to himself, "that I am not the first being; I call you also my grandmother." A little further on he and the lord of life met. "Oh, there is a man like myself," exclaimed he, and went up to him. "How do you do, my son?" said the man to Omahank-Numakshi; but he answered, "I am not your son, but you are mine." The first man answered, "I dispute this." But the lord of life answered, "You are my son, and I will prove it; if you will not believe me, we will sit down and plant our medicine sticks which we have in our hands in the ground; he who first rises is the youngest, and the son of the other." They sat down and looked at each other for a long time, till, at length, the lord of life became pale, his flesh dropped from his bones, on which the first man exclaimed, "Now you are surely dead." Thus they looked at each other for ten years, at the end of which time, when the bare bones of the lord of life were in a decomposed state, the first man rose, exclaiming, "Now he is surely dead." He seized Omahank-Numakshi's stick, and pulled it out of the ground; but at the same moment the lord of life stood up, saying, "See here, I am your father, and you are my son," and the first man called him his father. As they were going on together, the lord of life said, "This land is not well formed, we will make it better." At that time the buffalo was already on the earth. The lord of life called to the weasel, and ordered him to dive and bring up grass, which was done. He then sent him again to fetch wood, which he brought in like manner. He divided the grass and the wood, giving one half to the first man. This took place at the mouth of Heart River. The lord of life then desired the first man to make the north bank of the Missouri, while he himself made the south-west bank, which is beautifully diversified with hills, valleys, forests, and thickets. The man, on the contrary, made the whole country flat, with a good deal of wood in the distance. They then met again, and, when the lord of life had seen the work of the first man, he shook his head and said, "You have not done this well: all is level, so that it will be impossible to surprise buffaloes or deer, and approach them unperceived. Men will not be able to live there. They will see each other in the plain at too great a distance, and will be unable to avoid each other, consequently they will destroy each other."

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He then took the first man to the other side of the river, and said, "See here, I have made springs and streams in sufficient abundance, and hills and valleys, and added all kinds of animals and fine wood; here men will be able to live by the chase, and feed on the flesh of those animals." They then both proceeded to the mouth of the Natke-Passaha (Heart River), in order, according to the directions of the lord of life, to make medicine pipes. He himself made them of ash, lined with stone. The man, on the contrary, made his pipes of box-alder, a soft wood. They placed these pipes together, and the lord of life said, "This shall be the heart, the centre of the world; and this river shall be the Heart River." Each of them had now his pipe in his hand, and when they met any creature, the lord of life laid the pipe down before it: on doing this to a buffalo, it said, "This is not enough; there must be something to smoke in the pipe." And the lord of life said, "Then do you get something to smoke." On which the buffalo cleared a spot on the ground with his fore foot, and said, "When the rutting time of the buffaloes approaches, come here and you will find something to smoke." The lord of life accordingly sent at the time appointed to fetch tobacco, but it was not yet dry and prepared; he therefore ordered the buffalo to be called, which at once spread out the leaves and dried them; and the lord of life smoked, and found the tobacco very good. The bull then taught him to pull off and smoke the flowers and the buds, for these are the best parts of the plant.

The lord of life and the first man were now resolved to create the human race. They began their operations near the bank of the Missouri; and, in order to promote the increase of the species, they placed the part necessary for that purpose in the forehead; but the frog came up out of the water, and said, "How foolish you are!" and altered the situation of the part. "What business have you to speak!" said the lord of life, and struck the frog upon the back with his stick, and since that time the frog has had a humped back. God had made man, and told him he should increase and multiply, but not live longer than a hundred years; since, otherwise, there would not be room enough for all. The first man now said to his father, "When buffaloes are hunted, the skins of the animals killed must be immediately taken off to wear as robes; the stomach must be emptied, and pemmican made of the flesh." The lord of life, however, answered, "This would not be advisable. Men would then quarrel and destroy each other. Let them rather take the animals home, and tan the hides, then they will have robes for their own use, and for sale." And it appeared that the lord of life was always right.

The first man was once on the banks of the Missouri, when a dead buffalo cow, in the side of which the wolves had eaten a hole, floated down the stream. A woman was on the bank, who called to her daughter, "Make haste, pull off your clothes, and bring the cow on shore." The first man heard this, and brought the cow to the spot. The girl eat some of the flesh, which the first man gave her, and became pregnant. She was ashamed, and said to her mother, that "she could not tell how she came into this state, as she had had no intercourse with any man," and her mother was

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ashamed with her. The daughter was afterwards delivered of a son, who grew with extraordinary rapidity, and soon became a robust young man. He was immediately the first chief of his people—a great leader among men. The first thing he did was to build a boat, which understood whatever he said to it. He filled it with men, ordered it to cross the river and come back, and in this manner he sent it over several times. The new chief was of the nation of the Numakshi (the Mandans). A saying was then current among these people, that on the other side of the great water, or the sea, there lived white men, who possessed wampum shells. Bodies of fifteen or twenty men were frequently sent thither, but they were all killed. Hereupon the chief said, "I will send my boat thither, with eight men; this is the right number." And the boat went, arrived at the right place, and brought to the white men the red mouse hair (beaver hair), which they highly valued. They were well received, feasted in the dwellings, and materials for smoking were given them. Each received buffalo skins filled with wampum shells, and the boat returned quickly. The boat then went, for the second time, with eleven men, and the lord of life accompanied it. He had dressed himself in mean apparel, and took with him a large hollow cane. On their arrival they went into a village, but the first man remained sitting near the boat, and dug a deep hole, over which he seated himself. The inhabitants of the village agreed to kill the strangers by overfeeding them, and, with this view, gave them abundance of food. The first man, to whom the overplus of the provisions was brought, let them drop through his cane into the hole, and the white men were astonished at the quantity of provisions consumed. They then agreed to kill them by smoke; but the first man made the smoke pass through his cane, and their plan was again defeated. They now thought of killing them by means of women, all of whom they left at their disposal.* As they could not kill the strangers either by eating, smoking, or women, they gave them as many wampum shells as they could take in their boat, and sent them away. When the children learnt that the boat understood what was said to it, they ordered it to go down the river to the white people; it obeyed, and was never afterwards seen.

The first man now said to the Numangkake that he should leave them, and never return; that he was going to the west; but that, in case of need, they might apply to him, and he would assist them. They were living in a small village, on Heart River, when their enemies surrounded them, and threatened to destroy them. In this great distress they resolved to apply to their protector; but how were they to get to the first man? One man proposed to send a bird to him; but birds could not fly so far. Another thought that the eyesight must be able to reach him; but the prairie hills were in the way. At last, a third said that thought would undoubtedly be the best means of reaching the first man. He wrapped himself in his robe and fell to the ground. Soon afterwards he said, "I think!—I have thought!—I return!" He threw off his

* Numank-Machana autem, partis naturalis loco cauda vacua usus erat: incolæ loci, valde stupefacti præstantes et assiduas primi hominis vires admirarunt.

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robe, and was in a profuse perspiration all over. "The first man will quickly come," he exclaimed; and he was soon there, fell furiously on the enemy, drove them away, and immediately vanished. Since that time he has not been again seen.

The lord of life once told the first man, that if the Numangkake should go over the river they would be devoured by the wolves; on which they both crossed the river, and killed all the old wolves. They ordered the young wolves not to devour men in future, but to confine themselves to buffaloes, deer, and other wild animals. They threw the old wolves into the north ocean, where they became putrid, and their hair swam on the surface of the water, from which the white men originated. The lord of life also told the Numangkake, that when they had boiled their maize they should keep up only a small fire for the rest of the day; and this they still do. When the fire would not burn, they were to take the larger brands from below, and lay them on the top. When the lord of life was a little below Heart River, in the spring, when the first wild geese flew past, he told them to wait, because he would fly with them, and assumed the form of a goose. The Indians are accustomed to shout and halloo when the see the flocks of geese, by which they are frightened, and thrown into confusion. So it happened on this occasion to the lord of life, and he fell to the ground. He was carried into the hut of the chief, who sent the youngest woman to pluck the goose, but it bit her, and she gave it to the oldest, who was likewise bitten; so that the lord of life escaped. He then flew to the Manitaries. A young woman, who refused to marry, was here whipped and beaten by him. She went to the lower village, and complained that God had punished her, because she would not marry. A young man, who wished to have her for his wife, took the dress of the lord of life, as she was resolved to marry none but him. She now desired to know whether her lover was really what he pretended to be, and with this view placed some pointed stakes in the ground, on which he must wound himself in the night, if he were not of a superior nature. He came and wounded himself, on which she fell on him, took away all his clothes and hid them, so that he looked for a long time both for them and his weapons. When day came, two long lines, like fishing lines, were hanging down from the sun to the earth, and near to the place where the girl was. A voice called to her, from above, to climb up by the lines; that the clothes were no longer in the place where she had hidden them; it was, therefore, the lord of life who had appeared to her under the form of the young man. The girl took hold of the lines, and the sun seemed to come down. Several of her relations, and other men, pulled the lines, but could not draw the sun down, while the lord of life lay quietly in it. A very strong man, who was able to pull up the largest trees by the roots, and cast them from him, was not able to do anything on this occasion; the line turned round his shoulders. "I can pull up the largest trees," said he, "and my strength is greater than that of all other men united, and yet I cannot break this small line." To which the lord of life answered, "If you reach and kill me, the human race will be destroyed from the face of the earth."

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At the time that the first man had incensed the Whites by his voracity, the latter made the water rise so high that all the land was overflowed. On this, the first man advised the ancestors of the Numangkake to build a wooden tower, or fort, upon an eminence, assuring them that the water would not rise higher than that point. They followed his advice, and built the ark, on the lower side of Heart River, on a large scale, and a part of the nation was preserved in this building, while the remainder perished in the waves. In remembrance of the kind care of the first man, they placed in each of their villages a miniature model of this ark, one of which still exists in the village of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush. The waters afterwards subsided, and they still celebrate the festival of Okippe in honour of this ark, of which we shall have to speak in the sequel.

Before the first great deluge, the Numangkake lived below ground, but a band of them (the same of which we have been speaking) took up their abode above ground at an earlier period. They believe that there are four stories below ground, and as many above, and they now inhabit the fourth from below. The band which first came above ground is called by them Histoppa (those with the tattooed countenance), and these, for the most part, perished in the great deluge. Those who lived under ground one day perceived a light over their heads, which made them desire to ascertain what was above. They accordingly sent up a mouse, which looked about, returned, and reported that the land above was similar to that which they inhabited. They then sent up a certain animal, called by them, Nahsi, about the size of a polecat, and distinguishable by black stripes on its face and legs. Perhaps this was the racoon, which is not now to be found in this part of the country. This animal, when he came back, said that it was much more pleasant above than below. They, therefore, ordered the badger to dig a larger opening, as the present issue was too small. After the badger had performed his task, the black-tailed deer was ordered to go up and enlarge the opening by means of his horns. He ran about the whole day, ate service berries, and returned in the evening. His tail was at that time white, but as this deer returned at sunset, and the sun went down at the very moment when his tail only was above ground, that was ever afterwards black.

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The Numangkake now resolved to go up. The great chief, with his medicine and his schischikué in his hand, went first. They climbed up, one after another, by the aid of a branch of a vine; and when exactly half their number had ascended, and a corpulent woman was half-way up the vine, it broke, and the remainder of the nation fell to the ground. This happened in the neighbourhood of the sea-shore. Those who had reached the surface went on till they came to the Missouri, which they reached at White Earth River. They then proceeded up the Missouri to Moreau's River. At that time they knew nothing of enemies. Once, when a Mandan woman was scraping a hide, a Chayenne Indian came and killed her. The Mandans followed the traces of this new enemy till they came to a certain river, where they all turned

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back with the exception of two, the husband and the brother of the woman who was killed. These two men went on till they discovered the enemy, killed one of them, and took his scalp with them. Before they got back to their village they found some white clay which they had never seen before, and took a portion of it with them. When they came to their great chief, the first who had climbed up the vine, and whose skull and schischikué they still preserve, as a relic, in the medicine bag of the nation, they gave him the white clay, with which he marked some lines on his schischikué. The name of this chief was, at first, Mihti-Pihka (the smoke of the village), but when he ascended to the surface of the earth he called himself the Mihti-Shi (the robe with the beautiful hair). When he had received the clay and the scalp, he commanded all his people to shoot buffaloes, but only bulls, and to make shields of the thickest part of the hide, which they did. When this was done, they asked the chief what were his next commands? To which he replied, "Paint a drooping sunflower on this shield" (as a sort of medicine, or amulet), on which the sister of the chief said, "You are fools! paint a bean on it; for what is smoother than a bean to ward off the arrows?"

The chief now introduced the establishment of the bands or unions, and founded first that of "the foolish dogs." He made four caps of crow's feathers, and commissioned the Mandans to make a number of similar ones. He then gave them the war pipe and song, and exhorted them to be always valiant and cheerful, and never to retreat before the point of the arrow. He also gave them the strips of red cloth which hang down behind, and added that, if they would follow his directions, they would always be esteemed as brave and worthy men. The chief then made two of the bent sticks covered with otter skins, and gave them the kana-karakachka, and then two others adorned with raven's feathers, which he also presented to them. The first represent the sunflower, and the latter the maize. "These badges," said he, "you are to carry before you when you go against the enemy; plant them in the ground, and fight to the last man, that is to say, never abandon them." He next founded the band of "the little foolish dogs," and assembled many young men, whom he ordered to paint their faces of a black colour, and gave them a song of their own, with the war whoop at the end, and said he would call them "the blackbirds." He afterwards went to war with his people against the Chayennes. They reached the enemy and laid all their robes in a heap together. The chief wore a cap of lynx skin, and had his medicine pipe on his arm. He did not join in the action, but sat apart on the ground during the whole time that it lasted. They fought almost the whole day, drove the enemy into their village, and were then repulsed, which happened three or four times, and one of the Numangkake was killed. When the chief was informed of this, he ordered them to go to the river and bring him a young poplar with large leaves, which he planted in the ground near to the enemy, and challenged the Chayennes to attack him; but they answered, they would wait for his attack. As

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he would commence the combat, the enemy shot at him, but their arrows only grazed his arm and robe. He then held up the poplar, which suddenly shot up to a colossal size, was thrown, by a violent storm which arose, among the enemies, crushed many of them, and obliged the Chayennes to retreat across the Missouri.

The Numangkake now went up the Missouri to beyond the Heart River, where a Mandan village had long stood. An old man of their tribe was fishing at this place, when four men appeared on the opposite bank. On his inquiring who they were, they told him their names, and put the same question to him, which he answered; and, having an ear of maize with him, he fastened it to an arrow, and shot it over to the strangers. Finding the maize very agreeable to the taste, they called to him and said that, within four nights, a great many men would come, for whom he would do well to prepare plenty of food. They then returned to their camp, and gave their countrymen an account of the maize. They had likewise tasted the pomme blanche, and several other vegetables, but considered the maize as the best of all. The camp was accordingly broken up, and they proceeded slowly onwards. The Numangkake expected the strangers for four nights; they cooked and made everything ready for their reception, but, as their visitors did not make their appearance at the end of the fourth night, they ate the provisions themselves. A year passed by, and the strangers did not come; the second and the third year likewise; at length, in the spring of the fourth year, all the surrounding hills were covered with red men. Thus, instead of four days, four years had elapsed. The new comers crossed the river, and built a village near the Numangkake, and the name of Manitaries was given, *i. e.*, those who came over the waters.

The principal chief of each nation met, and had a conference together. The Manitari chief asked the other whence they procured so much red maize? To which he replied, "When we fought with our enemies, and they killed our wives and children in the maize fields, the maize grew up, and was for the most part red." To which the Manitari chief replied, "that he would assist them with his people against their enemies." Already on the following day many Chayennes came and killed a number of women in the plantations; the united nations attacked them, killed many during the whole day, and drove them back to a small river which falls into the Missouri. The two allied nations now remained united, but, being so numerous that the country did not afford them sufficient subsistence, the Mandans said to the Manitaries, "Remove higher up the Missouri: this whole country belongs to us. There are the rivers Little Missouri, Yellow Stone, and Knife River, on the banks of which you can settle, but do not go beyond the latter river, for it is only in this case that we shall remain good friends. If you go too far we shall have disputes, make peace and again disagree; but if you remain on this side there will be constant friendship between us." The Manitaries removed as proposed, but built

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one of their villages on the other side of Knife River, which frequently occasioned dissension between them, and it is only within these fourteen years that permanent peace and concord have existed between the two people.

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At the time when our narrator was a young man, the Arikkaras were near and dangerous enemies to the Mandans. They often fought with them as well as with the Sioux. When one of the two allied nations fought alone, it was almost always defeated, but when they were combined they generally triumphed. The preceding long narrative throws, as I have said, much light on the actual condition of this people, and of their prevalent superstitious customs.

At the time of their first alliance with the Manitaries, the Mandans are said to have inhabited eight or nine villages on the two banks of the Missouri, on the Heart River, and higher upwards. Subsequently a great number of the Mandans were carried off by the small-pox, and their enemies, the Sioux, entirely destroyed their largest village, and massacred the inhabitants. The remaining population then collected in the two villages that still exist—Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush and Ruhptare. Plate XVI. is a view of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, of which a ground plan will be found at the end of this chapter. Previously to the devastations of the small-pox, the Sioux were not very dangerous enemies to the Mandans, because they lived at too great a distance from them, but the Chayennes and the Arikkaras were their natural adversaries. I shall now *proceed to treat of the religious and superstitious practices which still prevail among them.*

771 776 782

These Indians are full of prejudice and superstition, and connect all the natural phenomena with the before-mentioned silly creations of their own imaginations. They undertake nothing without first invoking their guardian spirit, or medicine, who mostly appears to them in a dream. When they wish to choose their medicine or guardian spirit, they fast for three or four days, and even longer, retire to a solitary spot, do penance, and even sacrifice joints of their fingers; howl and cry to the lord of life, or to the first man, beseeching him to point out their guardian spirit. They continue in this excited state till they dream, and the first animal or other object which appears to them is chosen for their guardian spirit or medicine. Every man has his guardian spirit. There is, in the prairie, a large hill where they remain motionless many days, lamenting and fasting; not far from this hill is a cave, into which they creep at night. The choice and adoration of their medicine are said to have been taught them by the strange man or spirit who appeared in their villages many years ago, and has not since been seen, and of whom mention has already been made by the name of Ochkih-Hadda. He is said also to have taught them the art of tattooing, and to have instituted their medicine feasts. In all natural phenomena, which are not of daily occurrence, they see wonders, and indications of favourable or unfavourable events. If the falling stars are numerous, or in a certain direction, it is to them an indication of war, or of a great mortality in the human race. They were not willing to have their portraits painted, because they alleged that they should soon die if their portraits came into other hands; 774

at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote.

526 covered with dust and sweat. The race is at least six miles long,
481 and it is surprising to see what a great distance some of them gain
702 upon others. This violent exercise is performed on the hottest summer days, and it is a wonder that some of them do not pay dearly for their temerity.

541 During my absence yesterday [July 21 - Analyst] my people, who remained here, witnessed a horse race. The Mandanes assembled in great numbers on horseback, and rode about three miles below the village, where all mustered. They set out in a body, pell-mell, whipping and kicking their horses, directing their course along the foot of the hills, and made a long circuit at full speed around the village. Some of their horses appeared very swift and spirited, but others were miserable animals. On their arrival, they performed their warlike manoeuvres on horseback, feigning their different attacks upon the enemy, giving their strokes of the battleax and thrusts of the spear, and defending themselves in turn by parrying blows and covering themselves with their shields.

526 ...I observed one particular game among the Mandanes, which the young men were continually playing. Two persons are each provided with a stick six feet long, on which are cut a certain number of notches, an inch long, in the intervals of which are fixed the same number of small bunches of feathers of divers colors, with three pieces of wood, 16 inches square, one near each end, and one in the middle; these are perforated in the center, and through them is passed the rod, painted of divers colors. Each notch has a particular mark, the nature of which they themselves only understand—indeed, the same may be said of the whole game. The ground on which they play is a smooth level space, about 40 paces long and 5 broad. The players stand side by side, start from one end of the ground, and trot on till they are halfway through, when one of them throws a ball gently ahead, in such a manner that it will not roll further than the space allowed for the game; at the same time both players push their rod forward to overtake and keep pace with the ball, but not to check its course. They then examine the particular notch or bunch of feathers at which the ball stops, and count accordingly.

304 The greater part of the men—Big Bellies, Mandanes, and
787 Saulteurs (Souliers)—have lost a joint of several fingers, [364]
785 particularly of the left hand, and it is not uncommon to see only the

[p. 384(F)]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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831 among the Arikara and Hidatsa. The men boasted their love
171 exploits, and carried often about the village small bundles of sticks each representing a conquest, or one large stick with stripes indicating the number; this was also a Hidatsa custom.

585 When a man wished to marry, after obtaining the girl's and the father's consent, he led horses to the door of the father's house and tied them there. Then the father took the same number of his own horses and tied them to the young man's door. After this the girl cooked corn each day and carried it to the young man's house for a certain number of days. Then the young man went to the father's house and claimed his wife. The young people either built a new home or lived with one of their parents, in which case the father remained master of the
587 house. On marrying an eldest sister, a man acquired the right of marriage over all the other sisters. Catlin tells us that the girls usually married at from twelve to fourteen years of age.

858 Children were never disciplined and were always humored
601 by their parents who seemed to be very fond of them. The
606 father's brother and sister were called father and mother. The
551 mother's sister was called mother and her brother uncle. Cousins called each other brother and sister. The mother-in-law was not permitted to address her son-in-law till he had come back with the scalp and gun of an enemy. Someone was usually paid to give the child his name, which was chosen by the parent.

776 RELIGION:—The religious ideas of the Mandans resemble in a number of respects both those of the Sioux and the Arikara. While there are a number of deities, there was one among them to whom special veneration was paid. This one, the creator of the earth and everything in it, and of men, was called the Lord of Life.[1] Next after him came the First Man to whom the Lord of Life gave great power and who acted as a sort of mediator for men. Catlin says he was the only person saved from the great deluge, and he played an important part in the Okeepa. He was worshipped and sacrifices were made to him. Next was an evil spirit who, though powerful, ranks far below the First Man. Fourth on the list was Rokanka-Tauihanka

[1] Maximilian: p. 419.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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child), meaning bush, also *manaroxte*, forest. *Warade*, fire, 193
gives *wararakce*, firebrand, and *warakapidihe*, flame. 192

Again from *po*, fish, comes the word for fin, *posi*, literally fish-feather. From the word *waci*, white men, comes the word for flour, *wacita*. *Mini*, water, also gives a number of derivatives among which are the words for flood, *minisukhedic*, and for bank, *miniwakaxta*. From *tohe*, blue comes *wiratohe*, green.

Compound nouns — There is no lack of compound nouns in the Mandan and their formation is the same as in English, the modifying word coming first.

From *ci*, foot, and *psih*, black, comes Blackfeet, *Cipsih*. *Poikinnih*, fish-hook, is a compound similar to the English one. Bird, *mandek*, with the word for young animals, *nixe*, gives egg, *mandenike*. The elm is called bow-wood, *manawaraerup*. For grandfather we get *tatecike*, old father.

The Mandan personal names, which always had a meaning, [551]
were often represented by very long compounds as were many of the society names.

Composite verbs:—The compounding of one verbal stem 193
with another is not a very common feature in the Mandan but can be plainly noticed in a number of examples. There are probably other cases which cannot be distinguished among the long verbal forms, as the separate stems are not known. Besides this doubling of verb stems there is also an incorporation of nouns into the verb in order to complete the meaning.

Actual double stems occur in the following examples; I shall come and sit down, *wahunawaxkanakoc*, *huruc*, to come, and *kanake*, to sit; I decoy, *wattaxahhuruc*, litterally, I call to come; I fast, *nahnkawawarutenexoc*, literally, sit I eat not; Maximilian gives "to shoot at," as *ohxatakerehuc*, and translates it, "he has gone away wounded;" to sleep is *hanaruc*, to fall asleep, *wahanaeduksahuc*.

Examples of compounding with nouns are: to smoke, *manaczinduc*, tobacco to smoke; to scrape, *unkaheric*, fingers to rub; to swim, *miniputxuhuc*, water to push.

In the foregoing an attempt has been made to present a 000
sketch of the grammatical construction of the Mandan language

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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MANDAN MEN'S SOCIETIES.

The Mandan System.

575 Both from Maximilian's account and the statements of my own inform-
424 ants it appears that the Mandan system of men's societies closely resembled
432 that of the Hidatsa. In both cases there was a series of graded organiza-
171 tions, the membership, or rather ownership, of each of which was acquired by collective purchase. The method of buying membership was practically identical, and among the Mandan as well as among the Hidatsa the surrender of the purchasers' wives to the sellers formed a conspicuous feature. Owing to the collective manner of obtaining membership, practically all tribesmen belonged to some one of the societies. If a boy of a certain age
[551] did not yet belong to any organization, he was, according to Water-chief, derided as a "Finger-in-his-eye (istá wátke). After selling their last society the retired members, as among the Hidatsa, were known as "Stinking-ears" (nakóxe xu^{n}pé').

According to Black-chest and Wounded-face, the institution of "friendly"
573 organizations described for the Hidatsa (p. 229) also occurs among the Mandan, but this is denied by Painted-up for both men's and women's organizations. Unfortunately this important point must remain undecided.

There can be no doubt that within the period known to my informants
575 membership in a society was primarily, on the Hidatsa plan, a matter of purchase, not of age. Because, for example, the group that normally would have purchased the Kit-Fox and Little Dog societies failed to buy either from his own class, Black-chest at 62 considers himself a member of these organizations, which he joined at 20 and 25 respectively.

Owing to the very small number of Mandan who survived the epidemic
177 of 1837 and the intimate relations of the survivors with the Hidatsa, the
575 accounts of my Mandan informants may be largely colored by Hidatsa influences, so that Maximilian's data are all the more valuable and will be summarized in the following sections. Of the societies enumerated by my Mandan informants but not given by Maximilian, the Kit-Fox and the Little Dog organizations may be assumed to have been adopted from the Hidatsa in recent times, for both occur in Maximilian's Hidatsa list. In
575 preparing the following comparative table I assume, for reasons already set forth (p. 235), that in Maximilian's day there were distinct Dog and Half-

[i.e., Members of two age groups separated in time by another age group would aid each other in opposition to the demands of the intermediate group. -- Analyst]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

mother-in-law never speaks to her son-in-law; but if he comes home, and brings her the scalp of a slain enemy, and his gun, she is at liberty, from that moment, to converse with him. This custom is found among the Manitaries, who have, doubtless, borrowed it from the Mandans, but not among the Crows and Arikkaras. Among the Chippeways, and the Algonquins in general, the name must not be changed; and persons with the same name must not marry, but consider each other as brothers and sisters. Among all the North American Indian nations there are men dressed and treated like women, called, by the Canadians, Bardaches, of whom Mc Kenzie, Tanner, Langsdorff, and others, have spoken; but there was only one such among the Mandans, and two or three among the Manitaries.

Volney, and some other writers, have spoken rather too unfavourably of the moral character of the aborigines of North America, and their domestic habits. According to them, distrust and hostile feeling prevail among them, for which reason they never leave their huts unarmed; but I can bear witness that they are frequently seen in their villages, as well as in the environs, without arms, and that it is only at greater distances, and when they appear in state, that they carry their weapons in their hands. I have never observed any disputes among them, but, on the contrary, much more unity and tranquillity than in civilized Europe. It has often been asserted that the Indians are inferior in intellectual capacity to the Whites; but this has been now sufficiently refuted; and Harlan is not wrong in saying that, among the races of men, of which Blumenbach reckons five, the American should be ranked immediately after the Caucasian. If man, in all his varieties, has not received from the Creator equally perfect faculties, I am, at least, convinced that, in this respect, the Americans are not inferior to the Whites. Many of the Mandans manifest a great thirst for knowledge, and much desire to hear something of objects of a higher order; and if they were not so much attached to the prejudices inherited from their ancestors, many of them might be very easily instructed. The bad examples which they so often observe in the white men, who roam about their country in quest of gain, are not calculated to inspire them with much respect for our race, or to improve their morality. And if they have not been found inclined to the Christian religion, this is, certainly, in some measure, the consequence of the bad conduct of the Whites, who call themselves Christians, and are often worse, and more immoral, than the most uncivilized of the Indians. Many American and foreign works have taken notice of the striking good sense and wit, the correct judgment of the Indians, in all the occurrences of daily life, and it would be mere repetition here to quote examples. One is often at a loss to answer their questions, founded on correct and natural judgment. The inactive mode of life natural to the Indians, which disdains all laborious exertion, is a great obstacle to their adopting a different system. But they are not deficient in talent for drawing, music, &c., and this is quite manifest at first sight. Several Mandans not only took much pleasure in drawing, but had a decided talent for it. The hieroglyphics are well known, which the Indians employ

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

formed this last office, unties the animal and leads it away. If a Mandan or Manitari falls in battle, 765
and the news of his death reaches the family, who are unable to recover the body, a buffalo skin is rolled up and carried to the village. All those who desire to lament the deceased assemble, and many articles of value are distributed among them. The mourners cut off their hair, wound themselves with knives, and make loud lamentations. Joints of the fingers are not cut off here, as among the Blackfeet, as a token of mourning, but as signs of penance and offering to the lord of life and the first man.

The English and French find the pronunciation of the Mandan language extremely difficult; 197
while to a German, or a Dutchman, it is considerably easier, because it contains very many gutturals, like *ach*, *och*, *uch*, in German. The nasal sounds, on the contrary, are few, but they frequently speak in a very indistinct way, having the mouth scarcely opened. The vowels are often softened, and much depends on the way in which the accent falls. The vowels *a* and *u* are often only half pronounced, but occur very frequently. I collected many words, as specimens of the language, and wrote down phrases, and made an attempt to compile a grammar of the Mandan language, but the completion of it was, unfortunately, hindered by unfavourable circumstances. Several old persons assured me that they perfectly remembered that, in their youth, many resemblances between the Mandan and Manitari languages did not then exist, which have since gradually crept in; the two languages being then quite different, which, indeed, they are still, in the main. As nations and allies, however, they have reciprocally adopted many words and expressions, and hence there is a better understanding among them now than heretofore, and their intercourse is greatly facilitated. Time will, undoubtedly, produce a still closer approximation. It is a remarkable fact, and proves how easily the separation of single tribes, and even villages, of one and the same nation, leads to changes in the language, and transitions into other dialects. An example of this kind was presented in the two Mandan villages, where many diversities of language had already taken place. I collected several specimens of this kind, and, to me, it was highly interesting. The Mandans are more apt in learning foreign languages than many other nations. Thus, the majority of them speak the Manitari language, whereas but few of the latter understand the Mandan language. Most of the American nations, at least, those on the Missouri, are said to have no maledictory words or terms of abuse; the Mandans have nothing of the kind but the expression—"bad people." The article is wanting in the Mandan language, and there is no distinction of gender, except in addressing a man or a woman. For my observations on the Mandan language, I am chiefly indebted to the kindness and patience of Mr. Kipp, who had lived eleven years among that people, had married an Indian wife, and had attained a perfect knowledge of the language. The Mandan names always have a signification, 197
and are often equivalent to whole sentences: all surrounding objects are made use of in giving 551

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551

names. I subjoin a few singular specimens: "The bear which is a spirit;" "The bull which is a spirit;" "I hear somebody coming;" "There are seven of them married to old women," &c.

In conclusion I would say that some have affirmed that they have found, in North America, Indians who spoke the Gaelic language; this has been said of the Mandans; but it has long been ascertained that this notion is unfounded, as well as the assertion that the Mandans had a fairer complexion than the other Indians.

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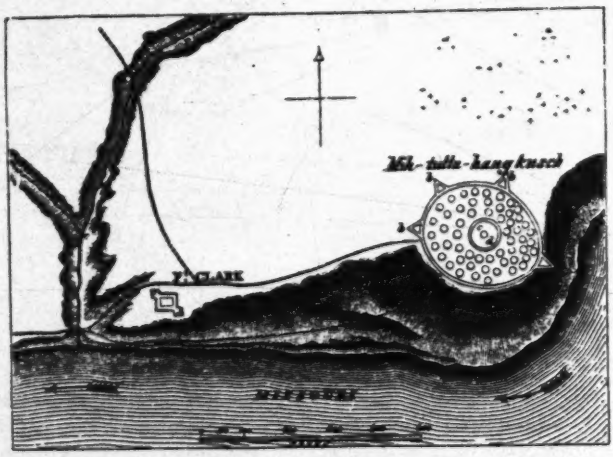

a Scaffolds for the dead, and poles with offerings. Vignette XIV., p. 361. Plate XXV. and p. 369.
b The Mandan village—Mih-tutta-hang-kusch.
c The open space in the centre of the village.
d The ark of the first man, p. 343.
e The stream in which the dishes are washed.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The permanent name one received when returning from the first successful war expedition was received from the father's clan.

The moiety had both ceremonial and economic functions. When dividing the buffalo captured in the corral, the inclosure was symbolic of the ceremonial lodge. A line was drawn through the center of the corral extending from the midpoint of the entrance to the opposite side. Those animals falling to the left of the entrance belonged to the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while those of the opposite side belonged to the other moiety. Women of a moiety butchered on their side without regard to clan. Each moiety constructed its half of the ceremonial lodge and would also erect an earth lodge used as a residence when the clan of the owner of the new lodge assisted in putting up goods for the assistance rendered by the opposite moiety. It was believed that the moiety regulated marriage prior to the last smallpox epidemic, but a study of lineages indicated that it had little influence over marriages after 1837. There was a feeling that in former times traditional eagle-trapping sites were divided into moieties, each moiety trapping on its side of the Missouri River. If such division existed, all evidences had disappeared before 1870. There was considerable competition between moieties. When one moiety had more successful war leaders than the other, its members would tease the others and question their bravery. Sons of men of the same moiety teased each other a great deal. Each moiety had a leader who assisted in the division of the buffalo taken in a corral.

VILLAGE AND TRIBAL LEADERSHIP

Mandan village and tribal leadership was vested in the hierarchy of bundle-owners or priests who constituted a group of head men whose number varied from time to time depending on the status of the various bundles. From this group two leaders were selected whose war or peacemaking record exceeded that of all others or who, because of other practices, had acquired considerable popularity with the people. The one whose record in warfare was greatest was selected in council to be war chief. A second chief selected was one who had important ceremonial bundles, had given many feasts, and had performed many rites for the general welfare of the village. These were considered the

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clan member, he was titular head of the lineage. This authority was nominally vested in the oldest male clan member of the household, and the mother's brother assumed this authority when his own mother's brother died or was too feeble to get around. A clan chief was the most distinguished of the mother's brothers of the households comprising the clan. He had considerable authority over his sister's children. He would scold them and frequently ducked a sister's son in the river. At the same time he assumed the responsibility for their final education and participation in the ceremonies and assisted them in the accumulation of robes and horses for ceremonial purchases. He would urge his sister's sons to fast during the ceremonies and would see that they came out. He would tell his sister's sons that the people of the other clans would tease them if his clan was not well represented. He would take his sister's son with him on war expeditions to teach him success in that enterprise.

The mother's brother began early the training of his sister's sons and daughters in the rites of certain tribal bundles and was assisted by the children's mother. It was believed that some young people would not live to maturity; therefore, it was necessary to begin the instruction early in life so that several would know the rites to prevent the bundles from getting out of the household. Since many tribal bundles, particularly those of the Okipa, descended through the closest related male members of the clan, the mother's brother was an important relative for the perpetuation of the ceremonial office within the household. The rule of inheritance for tribal bundles belonging to the clan was: mother's mother's brother; mother's brother; older brother; sister's male child; sister's daughter's male child. Failure to have a qualified male of the household prepared to perform a specific role in the tribal ceremonies would provoke criticism and lead to eventual relinquishment of the bundle.

Father's sister–brother's child (*ptu'minikE-minuha'kE; ptu'-minikE-koni'kE*).—The Mandan speak of the father's sister as a "little grandmother." She was a respect relative by virtue of her possession of certain rights in her brother's bundles. She helped her mother when a brother's child was born and was invariably the one called upon to name a female child, supplying a name associated with a bundle owned in common with her brother.

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The old women attended to the child, disposing of the placenta and seeing that the child was properly greased and painted with red ocher under the arms, around the neck, between the legs, and on the top of the head to prevent chafing. It was wrapped in a piece of tanned hide taken from a tepee smokehole, since such leather did not harden when wet. The child was placed in the leather cradle shortly after birth. In the wintertime it was wrapped in a tanned buffalo calf hide from which the hair had not been removed. At night the child was taken from the cradle to sleep with the mother. Twice a day the child was taken from the cradle to be cleaned and greased.

On the tenth day a feast was given in the lodge, at which time the child was named. The parents selected the person who was to officiate at the naming ceremony. If the father had already acquired eminence and owned a major tribal bundle, he or his sister named the child; otherwise he called in people of his clan to give the name. The child's brothers and sisters and persons of the child's clan brought robes, and the father would frequently contribute a horse. The naming of a child was one of many occasions during one's lifetime when he would be expected to give goods to others ceremonially. The parents used the medium of the feast and the naming of the child, with an abundant display and disposal of goods, to enhance their social status in the tribe.

Until the child received a name, it was not considered a part of the social unit of the village but of the "baby home" from whence it had come. The child received a name relating to the ceremonial bundle of the person giving the name. Thus such names as Scattercorn, Stands Yellow, Pumpkin Blossom, Corn Piles Up, and Corn Silk belonged to Corn ceremony bundles. Others like Lone Woman, Calf Woman, Game Stone, Sage Woman, Big Feather on Head, and Berdache were taken from the Woman Above bundles. The person giving the name received a horse. Both men and women belonging to the child's father's clan were entitled to attend and were expected to receive some article and to pray for the child's success. Upon receiving a name, the child acquired status in the household and clan. Children dying before the naming ceremony were wrapped in hides and placed in a tree used for that purpose, and there were no rites of "sending the spirits away." Those dying after getting a

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

766 name were taken to the usual place, where they were placed on a scaffold or interred, according to the parents' preference.

725 The Mandan believed that there was a Baby Hill near Fort Clark, another near the Heart River, and a third near Dickinson which had interiors like an earth lodge, in which an old man cared for them. If a child died before being named, it returned to the Baby Hill. People claimed to have seen baby tracks on the tops and sides of these hills. It was believed that the spirits in the hill near the Heart River came north when the Mandan [842] came north. If a woman had been married a number of years and was childless, desiring a child, she would go to one of these hills to pray for one. Those wanting a daughter brought girl's clothing and a ball; for a son she brought a small bow and arrow. The Mandan believed in rebirth. Calf Woman's grandfather said he was one who had been reborn. One of her grandchildren had a spot on her hip, and it was thought she was one who had lived before. It was believed that children choose the mother they want and that a child resembling a sibling who had died was the reincarnation of the other child. The Mandan cite numerous instances of culture heroes who selected a mother when desiring to be born into the tribe.

553 A girl usually keeps her first name as long as she lives. If she was sick or unlucky, her parents frequently put up a feast to get a new name for her. If she had grown up, her brothers and sisters helped her prepare a renaming feast.

853 A nursing child frequently developed a sore mouth which interfered with its feeding. In such cases, the parents selected a 755 man of the child's father's clan to cure it by piercing the skin of the ceremonial father's leg and permitting the child to suck of his blood. A payment was made to the man selected by the child's clan brothers and sisters.

TRAINING

861 The child's training was both economic and ritualistic and 868 differed according to the sex of the child. A girl was trained in lodge management, household arts, gardening, curing of meat, 562 and certain ritualistic practices, receiving her instruction primarily from the women of the lodge. A boy was taught hunting and fishing and went out while still a boy to help bring meat

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727 554 785 431 feasts, he would be respected as an average person, but he would never be able to rise to eminence.

727 554 431 A young man's first participation in a successful war expedition in which he captured horses and "struck" an enemy was an important occasion in his life and involved practically everyone in the village as well the other villages of the tribe. In the division of his horses, he expressed his respect for those who assisted him during the expedition as well as his affection for his friends and relatives in the village. If he captured a number of horses, among which was an animal of peculiar markings which the leader dreamed of and described before it was found, that animal belonged to the leader. The leader would also receive the first horse captured. Strays went to the first one seeing them regardless of the person capturing them. He would give the camp tender one if he had not already received one. Returning to the village, he would give one horse to his oldest married sister, who would, in turn, give it to her husband to use. This was a means of expressing rivalry between brothers-in-law of the same age. If his sisters were not married, the horse would go to his mother. His sisters would not ordinarily get horses on subsequent occasions unless they came out to meet him. He would give one horse to his father and, if there were any additional animals, would keep them for himself. However, if he had also been successful in striking the enemy while capturing these horses, he would not succeed in keeping any of the horses, for, on the succeeding day while the Scalp Dance was celebrated, an old woman of his father's clan would announce that [553] he was to receive a new name to supplant the one he had received as a baby. He was presented with new moccasins, leggings, and shirt, and he paid her as representative of his father's moiety in horses and other property.

554 616 553 431 A young man's reputation was based on his relatives' generosity which was contingent on the wealth and status of his relatives. Learning that he had struck the enemy and knowing one always received a new name that had belonged to a man of the father's moiety, the brothers and sisters accumulated goods for the occasion. They were assisted by members of their clan and young men of his age-grade society. During the Scalp Dance, singing was interrupted while the mother and her

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daughters called the names of old men and women of the opposite moiety who were to receive presents. After the breakdown of the moiety system, the method of naming varied slightly. Formerly, when the father and mother were of different moieties, the name selected was that of a deceased male of distinction who was of the father's moiety, and the presents were given to men and women of the father's moiety. After the breakdown of the moiety system following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, the clan became the exogamous unit. When the father and mother belonged to clans within the same moiety, the name given was that of a distinguished deceased person of the father's clan, but gifts were given to persons of all the clans except the mother's, which was the assisting group.

Within a few days after returning from a successful war expedition, a young man would usually receive an offer of marriage from the parents of some eligible young woman who had not been married before. He could refuse, but few did. An ambitious young man wishing to establish a good reputation both as a war leader and as a person of distinction in the village needed several wives to assist him in the performance of ceremonies and the purchase of important sacred bundles. Those not eligible to inherit important tribal bundles could purchase the right to participate in important ceremonies, or they could pledge to perform the Okipa and, in recognition of their contribution to these tribal rites, received some sacred object associated with the ceremony to carry when on war expeditions. Social recognition of a man's right to be a war leader was given during these ceremonies when some older man of high status in the village announced while receiving goods that the young man would be lucky in "all that he undertook." Without this sanction by the older men, young warriors would have been unwilling to follow him on war expeditions.

The attainment of the rank of war leader marked an important point in a man's training and altered his relations materially with the people of the village. His opinions were solicited relative to problems of village welfare, and he received presents during ceremonial and social occasions in recognition of his position. He was now responsible for those fighting under his leadership and became the teacher of the skills he had acquired under

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women want the man to pick it up. If he picks it up, but few do, he dresses like a woman. 838

There are three women, one in each of the three places where Sun stops to smoke. They are his sisters. Their names are Sunrise Woman, Above Woman, and Sunset Woman. They are all evil women. Because Sun is my god, I have the right to give children such names as Lone Woman from Sun's mother, Buffalo Woman from the buffalo skull, Digs Turnips or Chokecherry Tree from the Bear. 776 553

Although the woman represented in the Shell bundle is one of the Holy Women, rights in the People Above ceremony did not carry rights in the Shell bundle. 778 776

These Holy Women cause twisted faces and insanity, and people with rights in the bundle can cure them. I have the right also to doctor those thrown from horses or hit with an ash stick. This right comes from the People Above bundle. [753] [828]

The myth Calf Woman had been taught when buying the bundle was as follows: 773

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY CALF WOMAN 539

Three people go together in this story; they are Sun, Moon, and Old Woman Above. A long time ago a young woman named Corn Silk wanted to marry Sun. She went to a very old woman, who was a Holy Woman, to get instructions as to where Sun lived and how she might reach him. This Holy Woman said, "Your grandmothers, the mice, are living on the prairies. You can stop at their earth lodges each night on the way."

She started on her journey and came to the home of the lodge mice about sundown. She walked up to the lodge and stood outside. One of the children who came outside saw her and ran inside to tell the mice about it. The old women told the little mouse to invite her in. She asked the woman who was doing the cooking to prepare Corn Silk some ground beans for her supper. The young woman had buffalo fat along; she gave some of it to the mice to use, for their hands were chapped from digging beans. She also had some blue stone beads along, and she gave some of them to the old women. She slept there and the next morning went on.

The lodge mice told her that there was another family of mice a little farther on. She reached them at sunset. They were the white-breasted mice. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads as before. She also gave them fat for their chapped hands. One of the old women asked her where she was going, and she replied that she was on her way to marry Sun. They told her she would find another family of mice a little farther on.

She traveled all day and reached the lodge of the mosquito mice at sunset. One came out and saw her, and she was invited in as before. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads and buffalo fat.

They inquired, "Where are you going, my beautiful grandchild?"

She answered, "I am on my way to marry Sun."

She slept until morning and ate her breakfast with the mice. She traveled all day and reached the home of the pocket gophers at sunset. They saw her,

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ten horses, and fastens them to the hut of the young woman, who gives them to her father. The 584
latter then takes other horses, and if he has them not himself, his relations assist him, and these horses are fastened, in return, to the hut of the intended son-in-law. In such a case an estimate is previously made of the number of horses possessed by the woman's relations, for all presents are returned in equal number. The bride next boils some maize, and daily carries a kettle or dish filled with it to the hut of the bridegroom. After some time has elapsed, the young man repairs [585]
to the hut of his bride, where he passes the night with her, and the marriage is considered as complete. The young couple often continue to reside in the hut of the father-in-law, but they more 591
frequently build a new hut for themselves; sometimes, however, they afterwards separate. The 596
father-in-law is, subsequently, the principal person in the hut; everything depends on him, and is done on his account, and for him; if game is killed, the flesh is first presented to him, &c. There [163]
are often many children in these Indian families; some had as many as ten; yet, on the whole, the Indians have not so many children as the Whites, doubtless because they keep them longer at the breast. They are extremely fond of them, but the children are often weak and sickly, in con- 856
sequence, it is supposed, of the hard labour which the women have to perform. I was universally 844
assured, that the new-born children are of a reddish colour. The births are, in general, extremely easy, and the mother bathes in the river immediately afterwards, even if it is frozen; in ten days the child is considered as safe, having got over the most dangerous period. A person is 553
paid to give it the name chosen by the parents and relations. The child is held up, then turned to all sides of the heavens, in the direction of the course of the sun, and its name proclaimed. They have cradles for their infants, consisting of a leather bag, which is suspended by a strap to 854
a cross beam in the hut. These cradles of the Mandans are not so elegant and beautifully worked as those which we saw among the Sioux and Assiniboins. The children of these Indians are sub- 861
ject to no kind of discipline whatever; they may do and say whatever they please, and nobody 865
finds fault with them. Everything is done to excite a spirit of independence and self-will in the boys; if the mother speaks to one of them, he will very likely slap her face, or kick her, nay, sometimes he will do the same to his father, who says, coolly, bowing his head, this boy will one day become a famous warrior. The men sometimes treat their wives very brutally; and it 562
has not unfrequently happened, that a woman, after such treatment, has left the hut and hanged 762
herself on a tree. This lately happened in the case of an aged woman, whose grown-up son had ill-treated her. She was missed, and was afterwards found suspended from a tree. The women have nothing to indemnify them for their incessant and laborious work, not even good clothing, for this right of the fair sex in Europe is claimed among the Indians by the men. It is singular that these women, who are condemned constantly to work like slaves, refuse to do any work whatever if they marry a white man, and, the Whites being entirely in the power of the Indians, and the relations of their wives, they are obliged to submit to this. Sisters have great 000

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There was considerable variability in the status of household
621 groups. Those groups possessing important tribal bundles and
554 participating frequently in the ceremonies occupied high status
571 in the village and endeavored to preserve their eminence by selective marriage of their children. The importance of the lodge group was also expressed by offerings placed on poles erected before the lodge. These offerings were distinctive and proclaimed the existing status of the household bundle. One's loyalty remained with the lodge group one was born into, while subsequent marriages united groups of households.

621 A lodge group could leave one village and join another at will.
Usually a number of related households moved at one time, but
166 there are numerous references to groups transferring from one
578 village to another. Informants thought that the three Mandan groups or bands were endogamous. When a group left one village, it endeavored to affiliate with its own band in one of the villages. Mandan informants had been told of at least four reasons why a household group would change villages. When a certain cermony had been allowed to die out or become inactive, a household having rights in that ceremony could enhance its social status by moving out of a village in which there were a number having rights in the ceremony, to take up residence in another where there were few having those particular ceremonial rights. Other household groups moved into another village over the recognition of chiefs. When a small group was dissatisfied with the leadership of the village, rather than have trouble, they moved into another village. Scattercorn remembered that there was often dissatisfaction among the women over the selection of a village site. She recalled that one of their villages was so sandy that the caches caved in, and some of the women wanted to move to another site. When the leaders refused, they were invited to affiliate with another village, which they did. The Missouri River frequently changed its course and sometimes cut through the gardens, destroying the garden sites belonging to some households. When no potential corn ground was available near at hand, household groups were obliged to move to a village with an abundance of suitable corn ground in preference to walking great distances to their gardens.

361 The protohistoric Mandan sites of the Heart River region
have ruins of one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and

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614 773 he divided those sitting on the east side into seven groups and gave each group a name, informing them that their sisters and mothers would belong to the same group. Since men of all villages were present at the time, clans were taken back to all villages of the tribe.

614 616 Of the thirteen clans, nine have become extinct. Bites in Nose was said to be the last to remember the thirteen clans which he would call in turn during the Okipa ceremony. The WaxikEna and Tamisik constitute one moiety and the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle make up the other moiety today. When the last performance of the Okipa ceremony was held after going onto the Reservation, the WaxikEna and Tamisik occupied the west side of the lodge, and the other two clans took the opposite side. At that time Hidatsa fasters participated in the ceremony, and the members of their three-clan moiety sat with the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while the four-clan moiety sat on the opposite side.

614 [424] The Mandan consider the WaxikEna to be the highest clan, since it held the rights in the Okipa ceremony. The word *waxikEna* means "to tell bad stories about." The word *tamisik* has no meaning, but the people of that clan were said to be stingy and were frequently teased for serving small portions on wooden platters placed before visitors. *Tamixixiks* refers to poor leather used in making harnesses for carrying wood.

According to tradition, when the Mandan were first created by the culture hero, Lone Man, young men married their own sisters until the tribe became numerous, when clans were established to prevent marriage between relatives. The clan names had no sacred significance, and in the cases of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle there was no prohibition against killing these birds by members of the two clans.

The clans were organized groups and elected a leader who [654] acted in an advisory capacity. He was an older person who had been successful in warfare or in hunting and had shown considerable interest in the members of the clan, particularly the old men and women. There were frequent clan feasts by some member of the clan, at which time they would discuss the success of individual members. When a young man contemplated buying an important ceremonial bundle or performing a ceremony, it

614 43

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to demonstrate the extent to which he had worked for the welfare of the entire village, then offered an opinion as to the wisdom of a certain act or policy. He was never demoted, the Mandan claimed; others younger who had been distinguishing themselves merely replaced the older man in public esteem. A chief's greatness was based on the length of time that his opinions were accepted to the exclusion of all others' opinions. A chief was expected to conform strictly to village and tribal custom.

The day-by-day and calendar round of economic, social, and ceremonial activities were rigidly regulated by tradition. In matters relative to gardening, the Corn Bundle leaders, Goose Society, and females of the various households set their own rules. When public sanction was given a young man by one or more members of the council of older men to perform a certain ceremony and he had made public announcement from a rooftop that he would perform the ceremony, a time was reserved for the ceremony, and the Black Mouths would have prevented any interference. The Mandan believed that quarrels should not arise over schedules for performance of the various ceremonies. The fact is that the Mandan liked to attend ceremonies and believed that bad luck would come to anyone who deviated from the normal pattern of behavior.

The responsibilities for leadership in various Mandan social and ceremonial activities were profusely scattered through the entire population. A person who would be the leader in one activity became a subordinate member of another activity in which he was expected to follow the leader's directions. For instance, when the time arrived for the performance of the Okipa ceremony, the entire population was organized around the officers for that ceremony, while the Black Mouth Society enforced the rules. It is highly improbable that the Black Mouths received any formal instruction. Custom defined the rules of behavior during the Okipa which were known by all except very young children. It was also customary when the enemy were not especially troublesome for the greater part of a village group to leave for a short time to trap eagles. The village would break up into a dozen or more camps, each of which was under the leadership of a male having an eagle-trapping bundle. Regardless of a man's status during other activities, he was subordinate to the

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554 leader.[6] Even the most distinguished war leader, who was one of
796 the two head chiefs of the village, frequently joined an expedi-
626 tion under another for the purpose of capturing horses, although in this instance recognition was often shown an outstanding leader by naming him a co-leader.

622 An essential function of a chief was to mold public opinion so that a village could act in unison. A chief was considered eminent if for a long time under his leadership there had been a minimum of dissension in the village. Mandan informants still speak of Good Boy, who was chief of Slant Village below the Heart River after the first smallpox epidemic. He was able to unite the remnants of several villages into a single village and to co-ordinate elements with a minimum of friction. He was essentially a village leader who devoted himself, according to tradition, to the rebuilding of the tribe to its former prominence. It is significant to note that, a few years after his death, one group of Mandan separated from the parent-village and were not reunited until Good Boy's son, Four Bears, was elevated to second chief.

622 A chief could prevent intervillage or intravillage warfare only to the extent to which he could inculcate a concept of tribal
182 unity. Neither a chief nor the council has authority to prevent a
778 portion of a village from separating and establishing a separate village. Such separations as have occurred have usually been of short duration, largely because of the integration of the ceremonial structure through the entire tribal population. Although each permanent Mandan village was in a large measure a separate economic, social, and ceremonial unit, the villages were not entirely independent. The turtle drums, which were considered the most sacred objects of the tribe, were held within the Nuptadi band of east-side Mandan, and the other villages were obliged to borrow them for ceremonial purposes. Whereas the sacred cedar in the center of each village was a symbol of village unity, the Mandan considered the turtle drums a symbol of tribal unity.

6. Cf. chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping."

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785 was permitted to sleep near the sacred bundle until he recovered, believing that the bundle would induce visions. In the
787 case of supervised fasting directed by the mother's brother, he defined the rules and terminated the fasting. He also prepared the first food taken by those completing their fast and watched that none ate or drank excessively for a few days.

701 A young man distinguishing himself as a scout and desiring to advance to warrior status, when learning another war leader was organizing an expedition, would go to his lodge, hoping that he would be invited to join the party. As a warrior there was greater likelihood of capturing horses or striking an enemy. The leader was responsible for the welfare of all those serving under him and selected the members of his party. When the party was large, the leader selected those with the best war records to serve as co-leaders.

Mandan warfare was highly formalized, and there was a strict
701 division of labor. At the top, the leader or Old Wolf directed the
554 party, selecting the scouts and their leader, the Young Wolves or warriors, and the Camp Tenders, and he was responsible to the village but more particularly to the families represented in the party for their welfare. He determined the territory where the enemy would be sought, places to camp, the time to make or break camp, and whether an attack would be made when the enemy was found. A great leader was a successful teacher who instructed his party in methods of "striking the enemy" without loss to his own party. A leader who lost a man was said to have "kicked the stone," which reduced his status until he had "refasted" and led a successful war party.

727 Returning from an unsuccessful war expedition, the leader
554 would cry as he approached the village, while the other members
785 would walk quietly to their lodges. For many leaders, this would be the last expedition as leader. He would be condemned by the
614 brothers, sisters, and parents of the one killed and would be op-
431 posed by them every time he sought advancement in status. He could and frequently did overcome their opposition by going into mourning for the one he was held responsible for. He would gash his legs and cut off a finger which was offered to the Sun. He would set up a tent or build a simple shelter at a distance from the village where he would remain. In the meanwhile, his

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brothers and sisters, assisted by their clan and his age-grade society, would accumulate robes and other property which were given to the lodge group that had lost a member. They were expected to accept the goods which was at first refused "because they loved their relative so much." The unsuccessful war leader's representatives then sought the "village chief," a man who by virtue of his tact in settling quarrels and his generosity in caring for the old was highest in village esteem, and paid him to take his pipe to the grieved relatives, lay it before them, and inform them that they, as relatives and associates of the unsuccessful war leader, begged them to accept it. Since none could refuse a request when a sacred pipe was placed before them, the aggrieved people, both men and women, smoked and accepted the goods to which in the meanwhile had been added horses and other articles of value.

The aggrieved family, feeling compassion for the unsuccessful war leader who had shown, by his act of fasting and his family's lavish display of goods, respect for their lost relative, sent a representative with new clothing to the fasting place, dressed and painted him, and conducted him to their lodge, where he was given the choicest foods to eat. While he was eating, the brothers of the boy who had been killed, brought their best horse and riding equipment to the lodge. When the feast was ended, the unsuccessful warrior, now in good graces with the family, was told to mount. He was led through the village, while the oldest female of the lodge sang the "Praise Songs." If an enemy had been killed at the time one of the party was lost, the "Victory Songs" were then sung and the Scalp Dance rites were performed. The unsuccessful warrior, by his acts of mourning and the payment of goods to the aggrieved family, regained his former status. If he were successful the next time he led a war party, the people said that bad luck will sometimes come even to those most careful to conform to tribal custom, and "never hold it against him." However, a second unsuccessful war expedition was his last as leader. He would not fast again, and having paid for his bad luck once, his relatives and clan advised him to forsake leadership of war parties as he had "kicked the stone." People would say he had not fasted right and would have been afraid to follow him. By giving many

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885 others' directions. As the leader of his first war expedition, he
554 was expected to name others with a distinguished war record
701 to serve with him as co-leaders. They would share his rewards and assume their share of the responsibilities. His word was authority in all matters relating to his war expeditions, and, whereas in the past he had accepted the decisions of his leader in disputes appertaining to rewards for striking the enemy or capturing and dividing the spoils, he demanded similar obedience from his group.

554 The Mandan had a highly formalized method of recording
721 war honors, and it was the duty of the war leader to verify their authenticity. He would relate the exploits of his men during social occasions and ceremonies. Those holding war honors were entitled to express them by means of particular decorations. Of
[77] these decorations, the Mandan claim that the practice of wearing eagle feathers was of recent origin and was borrowed from the Sioux.

554 The highest honor was accorded to a man who went out alone
703 and found an enemy whom he killed and scalped. He was authorized to paint one legging black and the other either
628 yellow or white and to paint each half of his shirt in the same
721 manner. He was also permitted to wear a coyote tail at each ankle signifying that he saw an enemy first and afterward "struck" him. He could also wear one eagle feather in his hair and was the recipient of much honor during the scalp dances as long as he lived. The most common motive for going out alone was to revenge a relative, particularly a sibling, when the slayer was known. In such cases, announcement was made in advance that he was leaving on a particular day to find his relative's slayer. Catlin records such an expedition by Four Bears, who went into the Arikara villages near the Grand River at night to avenge the death of his brother.[2] The old Mandan still related this incident in 1930, when the information for this report was collected. The only instance of one man going far
554 from the village and killing one or more persons remembered as
578 occurring during the lifetime of my informants was for revenge.
721 A distinguished war leader's wife ran away with another dis-
837

2. George Catlin, *The Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (London, 1841), pp. 239–40.

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tinguished man between whom there had been considerable rivalry, and he was very angry because he had pledged to give certain ceremonies and needed his wife's help to prepare the robes and food. He knew that his rival's relatives were laughing about it, for the wife's people were said to be selfish and wanted their daughter to marry a more distinguished man. If he took his wife back, he would lose face and would be laughed at during the dances when the men related their deeds of bravery. On the other hand, he could not go through the ceremony without a wife's assistance. He could have called her back to his lodge to have her painted and dressed beautifully and returned to her new husband on the best horse he could find. This would have been considered an honorable act. Instead he disappeared during the night when none would see him leaving and walked toward the Mouse River to get horses and scalps to be used in shaming his rival.

He left in the middle of the winter during the coldest part of the year and suffered a great deal from the cold while crossing the divide which separates the Missouri and Mouse rivers. Looking down from the high hills into the valley, he found a camp of Assiniboine and observed that the lodges were not closely assembled, since war parties rarely went out during the coldest part of the winter. He singled out an isolated lodge having only two occupants, a young man and his wife, and observed where their horses were taken for the night. After dark he went into the camp and selected a horse to ride back to his winter village and hid it in a suitable spot where he could reach it quickly when it was needed. When the camp was quiet, he went into the lodge, killing and scalping the young man. He did not kill the woman out of respect to his own motherless children, which fact he intended to mention when insulting his own wife after he returned.

Taking the scalp as proof of his success and riding the horse, he reached his home in two days. He rested one day during which time preparations were made for the Scalp Dance. On the second day he sent for his wife, who was obliged to come. He washed her face, dressed her in the best clothing he could find, and placed her on the horse. She cried from shame. During the Scalp Dance she was sent on horseback from the lodge to

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554 578 724 837 return to her new husband's lodge. A family having two eligible daughters invited him in to marry them. He then had help to perform the ceremonies he had pledged. Having killed an enemy when out alone far from home, he became a man of unusual distinction and was respected in council.

554 703 When several went out and found one enemy who was killed far from home, the first to strike him painted one side of his shirt and legging black and wore one coyote tail; the second painted the shirt and leggings in the same manner and wore the coyote tail but added a red stripe to the eagle feather. The third and fourth painted only the legging black, the third one painting two stripes on the eagle feather, and the fourth painting three stripes.

There were also distinctive markings to indicate those who had struck a single enemy on different expeditions. A person striking a lone enemy could paint or decorate two X's on the legging, one above the knee and the other below the knee, or he could put them on the sleeve of the shirt. For the second enemy found alone and struck, he added two X's to either the other legging or the shirt. Crosses on both sleeves of the shirt and both leggings indicated that he had struck a lone enemy on four different war expeditions when far from the village. The Mandan interpreted "far from the village" as meaning beyond the usual hunting territory.

A coyote tail worn on the ankle signified that the wearer had struck one enemy far from home; two coyote tails signified that he had struck an enemy on two occasions or had killed and struck one enemy when out alone and far from home. When feathers of the crow or raven were attached to the coyote tail, it signified that he was also first to see the enemy.

The leader or Old Wolf was entitled to carry a scalp stick to which was attached a portion of a scalp for each scalp taken while serving as leader. He was also authorized to wear scalps on his shirt; for the first scalp, he would wear one piece on one sleeve; for the second scalp he would wear pieces on both sleeves. He wore a piece of scalp on each sleeve of the shirt and each leg of the leggings for four enemies killed on four different expeditions. He did not, however, wear feathers in his hair, paint his leggings, or wear the coyote tails unless he struck an enemy while serving as leader.

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A person striking three or more enemies was entitled to paint the entire left legging red; ordinarily, they preferred to paint the legging from the knee down, thinking it looked better. The second person striking three or more enemies painted the left legging red above the knee; the third person painted three stripes on the left legging; the fourth person painted four stripes. 554 703

It was considered a high honor to be the first person to strike an enemy in a battle during which several enemies were killed. A person winning this distinction painted three black stripes on one legging. The next three to strike the first enemy killed wore three red stripes.

It was considered even a greater honor to strike the last enemy killed. Crows Heart remarked that there was usually a good deal of confusion around the last one to fall and that it was frequently difficult to determine the order of striking. In these disputes, the leader was judge, and his men were expected to accept his decision. Anyone defying him and wearing badges of unauthorized honors was ridiculed. The first to strike wore a black double stripe the full length of one legging and four pairs of horizontal stripes. Those striking second, third, and fourth wore the four pairs of stripes only.

The four warriors striking a slain enemy woman were entitled to wear a short carved stick decorated with porcupine work and feathers in the hair but could not employ the legging or shirt decorations. The leader was entitled to wear a scalp. Striking a girl counted the same as for a woman, while a male, regardless of age, was treated the same as when striking a man.

Striking or seizing a live enemy was considered a higher honor than striking one who had been killed. If, during battle, a warrior was able to seize an enemy, he was entitled to paint or tatoo two hands on the breast. Crows Heart remembered a Mandan who wore eight hands to signify that he had seized an enemy on four occasions and held him until either he or his party could kill him. A man riding a horse over an enemy, knocking him down, could paint a hand on each side of the horse's chest. A man shot in battle could wear a stick with a knot carved in it and painted red. A man first reporting an enemy tepee was entitled to wear the white wing feathers of the swan in his hair, and the first to see smoke from an enemy's tepee wore a section

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554 703 of the cattail plant in his hair. Those stabbed by a knife or spear could wear a stick carved to resemble a knife. One who had been shot in battle painted red spots on his shirts, leggings, or robes with red stripes below to indicate bullet holes and blood dripping from the wounds. Men painted horse tracks on their blankets to indicate the horses they had stolen. These tracks were bunched to indicate the number taken on each expedition.

727 597 581 Small children too young to remember their parents were frequently taken prisoners and adopted into the village. They were "struck" by the warriors who were given credit toward their war record but such records were not related during ceremonies once the children were adopted into the households. Girls approaching marriageable age were frequently returned alive to the village and sold to those needing an extra wife.

554 562 703 Women also qualified for war honors and were eligible to wear the same decorations as men. Informants remembered a number of women who had struck an enemy and had displayed their war honors during the Scalp Dance. One woman concealed herself at the entrance to her lodge and hit an Assiniboine on the head with a stone hammer. She scalped him and, during the dances, received a hearty applause whenever she was leader of the line of dancers, carrying her scalp on a stick.

554 703 The war records enumerated above constitute the principal awards having social recognition and fall into two general groups: awards limited solely to war leaders and consisting of scalps which were worn on their clothing or carried on scalp sticks and awards to warriors consisting of peculiar painting of the clothing, wearing of coyote tails, and certain feathers. Only those who had led many war parties and had been successful attained the highest ranks as chiefs unless their lack of significant successes in warfare was compensated with a record of many feasts during which time much property was given away or the possession of important tribal bundles. There was a series of designs painted or woven on robes which proclaimed the amount of goods so disposed of.

MARRIAGE AND THE HOUSEHOLD

581 584 Marriage was an exceedingly important event among the leading families of a Mandan village, but for the average family

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MATURITY AND MIDDLE AGE

885 A man was considered to have reached maturity when, several years after his first marriage, he had assumed most of the responsibility of providing meat for the household and had taken over important ceremonial duties. Marriage introduced him to a new set of relatives with a new pattern of behavior in his daily associations with them. Marriage also introduced his wife to new sets of relations as well as new ceremonial relatives.

561 By the time a young man had reached maturity, he would normally have advanced through at least three age-grade societies. Except for the first society which was owned by the young preadolescent boys, the buyer was expected to bring his wife to the transfer ceremonies. She was expected to give assistance in the preparation of the food and goods used during the society transfer. A man's ceremonial "father" from whom he received paraphernalia and instructions in the lore and rites of the society was a ceremonial "grandfather" to the wife and was entitled to have "intercourse" with her during the transfer ceremonies. The men's societies all followed a common pattern when being transferred. The sellers individually selected young men, not more than four in number and whose fathers were of the seller's clan, to sponsor during the transfer ceremonies. He had the necessary clothing and equipment prepared for his "sons" and gave them individual instructions prior to the meeting of the two groups representing the sellers and buyers.

561 The sellers addressed the buyers collectively as "sons," who
554 in turn addressed the sellers as "fathers." All the wives of the buyers were addressed by the sellers as "granddaughters." A man's social status grew in proportion to the number of societies he had owned at one time or another and was especially enhanced if he had kept the same wives who assisted him in all his society purchases. Those who had enjoyed the loyalty of their wives while making many society purchases were especially regarded because they continued the same "father-son" relationship independent of the societies afterward. Crows Heart frequently referred to occasions in later years when he had invited in the men who acted as his sponsors when buying into a society and had given them a meal and little presents.

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A man's social status at any one period varied greatly between individuals. It was in part determined by birth, those being born in households having important bundles and a well-balanced household economy and, particularly if there were many brothers and sisters, had a great advantage over those whose households had been broken up by death or divorce. Children of eminent parents were presumed to be better informed than those who had lived from lodge to lodge. 554

Upon reaching maturity, a man's role in the total ceremonial life of the village and tribe was largely determined by his previous participations in ceremonies. This role followed a generalized tribal pattern which varied little from generation to generation unless unusual situations occurred such as epidemics or severe losses in warfare. A man would usually fast less when he reached maturity, but he would fast if he considered the situation warranted it until he reached old age. If he had bad luck while leading a war expedition, his fasting would often be long. He would even lash his legs with a knife and cut off portions of fingers. When a man was poor or received few presents during the ceremonies or secular dances, he would often fast to draw the attention of the village to his poverty. The people would say that he is fasting to bring good luck to the village and that he was entitled to rewards for his generosity. There was considerable rivalry between individuals, and this was expressed in a number of ways. For instance, when the winter buffalo herds were late in arriving at their grazing grounds along the streams near the villages, the people would suffer considerably from a meat shortage. One who had felt that he had been neglected and had not been receiving appropriate recognition would announce that, when the weather became severe, he would go out and fast on the hills to bring the buffaloes. The village would recognize that fasting under such conditions was a distinct sacrifice. Since the cold weather and storms would cause the buffaloes to seek the sheltered sections along the Missouri River bottoms, one announcing that he would fast during the coldest days when the wind was from the north would time his fasting to coincide with the normal first arrival of the winter herds. Such a person was said to place the welfare of the village above consideration for his personal comfort and 554 785

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554 785 received goods in abundance from people of the village, particularly persons of his children's clan.

Since the Mandan lived in a territory of uncertain rainfall, the crops were frequently endangered by drought. There were 554 formal rainmaking ceremonies, but these frequently failed to 785 bring rain. A man would frequently announce that he was fasting on a certain day to bring the rains. If rains came before the 789 fasting began, he received credit for them and was paid generously for his services. When the rains had not come on the day when fasting was to begin, he would go to some designated spot to fast, singing his holy songs while watching the sky for the approaching clouds, which he would endeavor to direct toward the gardens. Anyone could fast to bring rains to the gardens or buffaloes near the village, but in general these extra rites were performed by persons lacking formal tribal bundles and were people who felt that they had not received proper recognition for their successes in warfare, horse-stealing, or in finding the buffalo herds. They had little to lose; failing to bring buffaloes or rain, they were thought none the less of for their failure and were praised if they succeeded.

785 There was a certain amount of fasting when bad luck persisted. When on eagle-trapping expeditions, some men would catch eagles while others did not. One who had been especially lucky would volunteer the use of his pit to one who had failed to catch birds. If the latter's bad luck persisted, he would fast and even have thongs inserted through his skin for dragging buffalo skulls.

224 There was a certain degree of specialization of males in a Mandan village. Those who had acquired an aptitude of finding 554 the buffalo herds were relied upon for their good judgment in 788 supervising the summer buffalo-hunting expeditions. Even those who eventually attained the status of leader were expected to attain that position by degrees. He was first taken out as scout to assist in locating the herds and later as leader of the hunters when he was expected to perform simple rites immediately before the attack was made on the herd. He would pray to the buffaloes not to send the party bad luck, and, when the surround had been made, he would make an offering of sage and feathers from the speckled eagle to the buffaloes by tying

the offerings to the horns of some weathered buffalo skull found 224
conveniently near by. If a horse fell into a washout, stepped 554
into a badger hole and injured its rider, or was gored by a 788
buffalo, the leader was said to have "kicked the stone" and was usually never selected again unless he fasted sufficiently to receive the forgiveness of the aggrieved parties.

As leader of the hunters, he was expected to make successful surrounds without losing his men from accident. Having been successful on many surrounds, it was believed that he was lucky and had sacred objects that were protecting him and his party. He was then eligible to become the leader of a future summer buffalo-hunting party.

A man's responsibilities increased greatly as the leader of the summer buffalo-hunting party. His selection was made in council held a month before the village was to leave for the summer hunt. The principal men of the village met to consider the matter of a leader. Crows Heart claimed that all who had been lucky in warfare or in leading the hunters aspired to be the summer buffalo-hunt leader at least once in their lifetime. The leader was selected from those who had buffalo skulls as a part of their sacred bundles. These skulls became a part of bundles either through purchase of a hereditary bundle or, more rarely, were introduced into a bundle when vision instructed. It was necessary to have unanimous consent of the head men to become leader, and the appointment was for only one expedition away from the village. A change was usually made for subsequent hunts on the former leader's recommendation, as it was believed that one would have bad luck if he led too many hunts. When a selection had been made, the crier for the Black Mouth Society[1] went through the village announcing the [203] decision.

The leader consulted the village chief in matters relative to 224
preparation of the equipment and the leaders of war parties relative to the protection of the party which would comprise the entire population except a few feeble people who preferred to visit in a neighboring village while the party was away. The [462]
women first weeded and hilled their garden crops while the men prepared the dog and horse equipment. While preparations for the summer hunt were being completed, scouts were sent

[1] [The men's society intrusted with the organization and protection of the village. See pp. 94-95, Cat. 116.—Analyst]

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This account of a summer buffalo hunt illustrates the position of an individual in his relations to the remainder of the village. As a young man first assisting in a summer buffalo hunt he received his training from those older and more experienced; he advanced by degrees, and his responsibilities increased until, as leader of the village when on the hunt, he was responsible for the well-being of the entire village group of which he was a part. It will be shown in the pages that follow that whereas an individual would, in one situation be the leader over his entire village, in other situations he would be a follower and others would be responsible for the group's success. 554

Men specialized in certain activities. Whereas some were leaders of buffalo hunts, fish-trapping, war expeditions, or various ceremonies, others specialized as singers, painters, arrowmakers, or storytellers. In Mandan society, a man or woman seeking information, however trivial, was expected to make a payment for the information acquired. Persons possessing unique information and techniques were highly regarded, and it would have been considered ill mannered to adopt another's skills without at first paying for that right, however well the individual may have been able to perform without this paid training. One was also said to be inviting bad luck by practicing arts for which payment had not been made. 463 437 555

Payment for training was so highly developed in Mandan society that a young woman assisting her mother in the making of clay pots would prepare a simple feast to which the females of the household were invited in order to receive the right to assist in the making of pots and to make vessels of her own after her mother had died. Within the family group the payments were usually insignificant so far as the value of the goods was concerned. It was felt that the small payment in goods expressed the young woman's respect for her mother. The Mandan also believed that payments expressed societal values. The mother would explain each step in pottery-making, the selection of the clay and grit, the molding of the mass, the introduction of decorations, and the drying and baking of the vessels. Mandan vessels had a variety of decorations, and the person buying the right to make pottery acquired only the right to employ such decorations as the mother had a right to use. If she wished to 437 421 425

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the prime of life and others who, having been crippled either in warfare, hunting, or other active pursuits, were unable to carry out the work normally performed by men. The older men of the lodge usually made the arrows used by the men of the household, and ten arrows complete with heads and feathers had the value of one unpainted robe. Young men of the lodge paid the older men for the right to learn the techniques of arrowmaking. The Mandan in 1929 remembered two men who had been crippled, one when his leg was broken by a wounded buffalo, the other who had had a femur bone shattered by a bullet and who had spent much of their time preparing arrows which they sold.

Another class of people who were highly regarded were the storytellers. The art of storytelling was highly developed; the stories had a variety of themes and were highly formalized. One paying for the right to have a story told was expected to repeat the story after the informer until it was learned in complete detail. The customary way of buying the story was to have a feast and a supply of tobacco mixed with red willow bark prepared before calling the informer in to relate his stories. The stories were of a semisacred character, and many dealt with the exploits of distinguished persons who had once lived in the village or tribe. It was considered improper to relate sacred myths belonging to others unless the informer was an owner in the particular rites, in which instance the buyer was expected to have enough robes and other goods so that each person having rights in the story would receive pay even when only one of their member was relating the story. The actual storytelling was then held at a later time when the informant could be alone with his pupil.

There was considerable traditional lore not actually associated with any ceremony at the time this study was being made. Informants were of the opinion that these myths once were associated with bundle rites now extinct and that the stories had continued as common property of the tribe. These stories have to do with such mythological characters as Corn Silk, Buffalo, First Creator, and the Snakes. Both men and women were storytellers, and they were highly respected as possessors of important tribal lore. They enjoyed intimate con-

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773 tacts with most families, since a person was not considered
538 important who could not argue in council for a certain point of
554 view based on traditional action of the group. Group action was
571 in a large measure regulated by custom. These patterns of behavior were in a large measure perpetuated by the storyteller. Anyone seeking the position of chief would need a considerable knowledge of tribal history to attain that status. No amount of success in warfare or performance of ceremonies would in themselves have been sufficient. It was this extra knowledge of tribal lore that distinguished them as leaders. Actually, whenever one was the recipient of goods and honors from another, a new and intimate relationship was established between them. Those who had provided many feasts and acquired a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were ultimately selected to become the leaders of the various groups.

571 Men who had reached middle age were called on to insert the
785 thongs for a "son" who was preparing to fast and to pray for
554 his success. They were expected to supervise the fasting and have it terminated when there was a possibility that the "son" was carrying his fasting to excess. Those who had good war records or had made significant contributions toward village welfare in other ways offered many feasts to the older men hoping that, by so doing, they would be named village leaders. A man would announce renewal feasts to his ceremonial bundle from time to time and call in those who had similar bundles. Some would assist in removing arrows and opening wounds or doctor in other ways when the occasion warranted.

561 Men of middle age belonged to the Black Mouth Society,
701 which was intrusted with the organization and protection of the village. This was the most highly organized men's society. It met every two or three days and received its instructions from the older men meeting in council. It was their duty, whenever the village was in danger of attack, to see that none left the village without permission. Each member carried a club carved according to his own individual preference, and he was expected to use it if anyone was found violating the rules. If the announcer called through the village that the people were not to leave the village and anyone was seen leaving, the Black Mouths would drive him back. Crows Heart remembered a

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to the performers, or one who had given the ceremony could volunteer. Men giving the ceremony more than once were highly respected. Four Bears gave the ceremony a second time even after he had already become second chief. 796 [554]

Though the ceremony was long, candidates offering to perform the Okipa were acquainted with most of the songs, dances, and prayers beforehand, so the task of instructing the candidate did not require a great deal of time. Since most young men hoped that sometime they would be selected to be a Bull Dancer, they noted carefully the role performed by the Bulls.

It took a great deal of courage to become an Okipa Maker, and the tribe spoke of those who had done so as the bravest men and looked to them for leadership. It required a considerable amount of property to give the Okipa, for the giver was expected to prepare feasts for the officers of the Okipa during the time he received instructions. He was expected to have at least one hundred articles consisting of robes, elkskin dresses, dress goods, shirts with porcupine work, knives, and men's leggings. Usually one family could not acquire so much personal property. 796 431

The Okipa Maker's wives began to gather clothing as soon as permission was granted their husband to direct the ceremony, which was usually a year in advance. The women called in their female relatives, and sometimes their women's societies helped them. The man asked help of his mothers and sisters as well as the members of his own and his father's clan. As a last resort, he gave a clan feast which all the members of his clan attended. There would be speeches about clan loyalty, and the old men would tell of the great men of the tribe who belonged to their clan and how "this young man has brought honor to us by offering to give the Okipa." Each speech would end with an appeal for goods of some sort to be used in the coming summer ceremony "which was, after all, given for our benefit." People gave freely for the benefit of a clan brother. 796 431 614

Each family of the tribe felt itself to be benefited by the summer Okipa ceremony and expected to give something. The Okipa Maker took his pipe to each lodge where people of his clan lived, placing it before the door, and the women brought out their contributions. Okipa Makers able to produce a large 796 431 554

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796 431 554 number of robes and other clothing to be given away were especially highly respected by the tribe.

The Okipa Maker was not permitted to kill any buffaloes or 796 to do any butchering during the period he was under pledge to 784 give the Okipa, nor was he permitted to eat any of the entrails from the buffalo. It was believed to have done so would have angered the buffaloes.

796 One of the oldest men of the WaxhikEna clan lived in the Okipa lodge with his family. He was custodian of such ceremonial objects as might be kept there to be used in succeeding Okipa ceremonies. When the time came to prepare for the ceremony, the NumakmaxEna gave instructions that the lodge be cleared of all the family's personal effects. Four men with Holy Women bundle rights swept the floor, carried out the ashes, and sprinkled the floor to settle the dust, after which sage was scattered about on the floor. Each received a robe from the Okipa Maker for his services. No women were permitted to go [562] inside the lodge after it was cleaned until the ceremony had ended.

The one who was to represent Lone Man asked four men owning ceremonial bundles of The Woman Above (Sun ceremony) to paint the interior of the lodge.[9] At the last performance of the Okipa, the entire interior of the earth lodge was painted, the west half being black and the east half red. Formerly, only a narrow band about four inches wide was painted on each post, black on the west posts and red on the east ones. Woman Above bundle-owners each received a robe for painting the posts.

Opening the Okipa lodge.—When all was ready, the crier (the old man of WaxikEna clan living in the medicine lodge) went through the village before daylight announcing that the Lone Man would open the Okipa lodge the next morning at sunrise in order that the ceremony could be given. The head chief,[10] second chief,[11] council of old men, and all the owners of important tribal bundles painted their faces black and went to the head

9. There were only three Woman Above bundle-owners when the last performance was held, and one of these belonged to a woman, Calf Woman. The two other owners, Ears and Clam Necklace, painted the lodge with the assistance of two Hidatsa men owning similar bundles.

10. Red Buffalo Corn was head chief at Like-a-Fishhook Village.

11. Bad Gun was second chief at Like-a-Fishhook Village.

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785 lage, during marches in summer buffalo hunting, in eagle-trapping camps, or at the winter camp. This was the most common type of self-torture, since it was easier to induce a dream from the buffaloes. Human-skull circles were considered desirable places to fast for those who were making offerings of flesh or fingers to the Sun. Skull circles which had been prepared by owners of People Above bundles (the Sun, Moon, and their mother being the principal supernatural beings represented in those bundles) were considered particularly desirable.

785 The number of times one had fasted or inflicted self-torture was as much a part of one's record as the number of enemy 554 killed or struck in battle, and both were related during ceremonial 431 feasts. Those who had given the Okipa were especially respected, since the torturing of the Okipa Maker was even more severe than for the other fasters. There was the added fact that the Okipa Maker had sacrificed so much property that at the termination of the ceremony his family was entirely destitute and remained so until those who felt obligated to lend assistance sent help. Every normal male inflicted self-torture several times during early manhood. Everyone was expected to fast and be tortured at least once during the Okipa ceremony, although some were tortured annually for a number of years. Broken Ax, a Mandan, gave the Okipa eight times, and not once did he have a dream. He gave the ceremony, not from vision instruction, but because no others had dreamed of the Okipa.

785 Crows Heart told of instances when men fasted outside at night during the coldest weather. They would tie a lariat to a stake driven into the bank and call men of the father's clan to insert the thongs. They would hang over the bank until their clan fathers feared for their lives and brought them into camp. Others would remove all their clothing and walk around camp until nearly frozen.

Calf Woman told of an instance of a man dying as a result of fasting. She said, "People don't get visions every time they fast and don't expect to. Even though the gods send no instructions, they show their appreciation by sending good luck. Black Body, the husband of Turtle Woman who is still living, started for Saddle Butte to fast but decided to fast at the river instead. He fixed himself a place to fast and rolled up in his blanket. During

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Calf Woman told of an old Mandan with ten sons who instructed them each to take one of his teeth to be carried in battle. After he died, he was placed on a scaffold for one year, when the teeth were taken by the sons and kept as sacred objects. The skull was placed at one of the skull circles near a People Above shrine, and the other bones were buried. He had been very successful in warfare but died of a boil. 766 778

The skulls of those who died away from the village were usually brought back a year later, if requested by the relatives, by either a man or woman of the father's clan. It was customary to have a woman bring back the skull if summer village hunting expeditions were in the vicinity; otherwise a man leaving on a war expedition was delegated to secure the skull. Skulls brought back were placed at one of the shrines, of which there were a number adjacent to each village.

All men and women fasted, and most people had vision experiences. All were medicine men just as all were warriors or hunters. Some acquired reputations as medicine men just as some had good reputations as warriors or hunters. There was no grouping into cults according to vision; such division as did occur was based on ownership of related hereditary tribal bundles, a system much like the Pawnee except for a greater flexibility deriving from the four-sale right. It cannot be said that inherited bundle-owners were higher in tribal regard than those who practiced doctoring or led successful war parties. Each stood on his own record. Such advantage as hereditary bundle-owners had over others came from their possession of tribal lore belonging to the bundle. Since each hereditary bundle-owner was instructed in the traditional history of the bundle, he became an authority on the early history of the tribe. Four Bears rose to eminence and became second chief without inheriting any bundles of his parents other than a sacred shield and rain-calling robe. He had a successful war record and did much fasting. That would never have elevated him to more than a war leader, but the many feasts he made to which the older hereditary bundle-owners were invited gave him the necessary prestige. He gave the Okipa twice. Crows Heart had a good war record but never rose to eminence. His home being near a river crossing, people were always stopping there for meals. Nevertheless, he gave few for- 787 554 785 795

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787 554 785 795 mal feasts to which the older people were invited and was considered selfish, in spite of the fact that he probably fed more people than those who offered feasts from time to time.

778 428 171 432 It was the duty of all to fast, but few could inherit tribal bundles. After the smallpox of 1837, there was probably a much higher percentage of the population owning these hereditary tribal bundles. Visions could be bought and sold like hereditary bundles, but their existence was usually short-lived unless they became incorporated into hereditary bundle rites. A man ordinarily did not boast of the bundles he owned. Instead, he would boast of the potency of the bundles. The Hidatsa custom of buying the father's bundle because he dreamed of it was not the Mandan way. A Mandan bought because he was expected to, and people would condemn him for failing to buy. The man would ask his son to buy. If he had no son, but a son-in-law was living in the lodge, he would ask him to buy. Instruction was direct between seller and buyer, whereas the Hidatsa used a member of the father's clan as intermediary. Moves Slowly did not dream of the Corn Medicine before buying. He was hereditarily entitled to it. When one of the Mandan Corn bundles reached the Awaxawi,[17] Poor Wolf bought because he dreamed of it. The Hidatsa performed a ceremony because they had a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Little Eagle, the Numakmaxena bundle-owner, was killed in war, and his wives automatically became the bundle-owners. When they remarried, their second husband received permission from them to officiate in the Okipa until White Calf, their son, was of proper age to assume the office. He had not dreamed of the bundle. The NaxpikE or Hide-beating ceremony of the Hidatsa was never given except when one who was a son of a man having this bundle received a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Such was not the custom in giving the Okipa. Permission must be given by the Okipa Society because an eligible candidate either had received vision instruction or had a feeling of responsibility to give it. So we see that even between these two groups, the Mandan and Hidatsa, who have lived in close contacts for a few centuries, some fundamental differences in ceremonial organization persisted.

17. A Hidatsa band.

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not participate in the transfer or hold rights in the bundle. The desire to own one of these secondary bundles could come either from vision instruction or from a sense of responsibility to perpetuate the parents' bundles. When vision instructed, sale was made by an owner of the father's clan having rights in a bundle; otherwise the vision recipient could make up a bundle according to the instructions received in the dream. In the latter case, although having as a personal god one of the characters represented in the Old Woman Who Never Dies rites, he was not considered qualified to attend Corn ceremonies and receive gifts.

3. *Composite bundles.*—This was the result of incorporation of Old Woman Who Never Dies rites into the ceremonialism associated with the Robe bundles. Scattercorn had heard her father say that in former times these were separate ceremonies. Crows Belt did not have rights in the Old Woman Who Never Dies ceremony. After the death of Bobtail Bull, Moves Slowly bought Crows Belt's Robe bundle and proceeded to purchase rights in additional ceremonies pertaining to garden crops, thereby building up a reputation as leader in all of the Corn ceremonies. Whereas some men acquired status in warfare, others rose to prominence by purchasing ceremonial bundles. Crows Heart thought that one was about as hard to do as the other. Buying into the ceremonies required a great deal of material wealth which had either to be prepared or bought. It is interesting to observe a parallelism between the records of Moves Slowly and of Poor Wolf, who purchased the Skull bundle at about the same time as Moves Slowly acquired the Robe bundle. There was always rivalry between the two men, who were at that time living at Like-a-Fishhook Village. Moves Slowly was eligible to inherit the Skull bundle, since his grandfather through the male line had owned rights in the bundle. Bear Looks Around bought the bundle before Moves Slowly was old enough to make the purchase. Crows Belt, who had no legitimate heir, sold the Robe bundle to Moves Slowly shortly after Poor Wolf secured the Skull bundle from Bear Looks Around. Both undertook the purchase of rights in related ceremonies, and the rivalry became keen in their efforts to build up the reputation of their bundles. Moves Slowly bought Hoita rights in the Okipa, assisted his brother, Bear on the Water, in

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796 778 554 buying their father's Holy Woman bundle, learned to bring down the spirits in a sleight-of-hand act, learned how to find lost articles, and had every god pertaining to corn as his personal guardian. Poor Wolf (Awaxawi) acquired Earthmaking, River, Old Woman Who Never Dies, Imitating Buffalo, Painted Red Stick, and Eagle-trapping bundles. Both were singers in the Women's Goose societies. For twenty years these two men were rivals because Poor Wolf acquired the Skull bundle which legitimately should have gone to Moves Slowly. When this rivalry ended, no other men owned rights in so many ceremonies as these men. Poor Wolf consolidated the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundle and River bundle with the Skull bundle for the Corn ceremonies, but the others were kept separate. Moves Slowly did likewise. Moves Slowly had the right to give out seed in the Spring Fertility ceremony, but Poor Wolf could not do this, since Bear Looks Around had failed to buy that right of Red Bird, and there were none to purchase from except Moves Slowly, whose price no doubt would have been high to a rival. Moves Slowly enjoyed exclusive authority in the Spring Fertility rites of distributing sacred seed corn, two kernels being given to each women, who paid him for thus assuring her that the seed she planted would germinate.

During middle age these two men worked hard and were poor in material wealth, since it took all they could acquire to perform the bundle transfers, but their wealth measured in social status and ceremonial lore grew until each became an authority on the traditional history of his respective group. Both were selected as village or peace chiefs of their respective tribes.

796 778 4. *Sacred pot ceremonies.*[5]—Two large clay pots were a part of the Old Woman Who Never Dies ceremony at Nuptadi Village when that group lived above Burnt Creek on the east side of the Missouri River. The information that reached Scattercorn through her father indicated that the ceremony was one of rainmaking. People would pay to have the ceremony given, at which time the pots were taken out. These pots were said to have been given to the Nuptadi by Old Woman Who Never Dies with the understanding that, whenever they were used, her image would

5. See my "Hidatsa Ceremonial Life" for an account of the Hidatsa version of this ceremony.

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1929, informants unwilling to divulge sacred lore were equally 778
unwilling to divulge the arrangement of lodges around this 621
circle. Their explanation was that the area was sacred because 361
they had suffered there during the Okipa, standing at this point in the village when thongs were inserted in their flesh for dragging buffalo skulls, or because so many ceremonies had been performed there. When ceremonies were performed at the winter camps, it was customary to leave goods at the sacred cedar when returning later to the summer village.

Mandan informants disagree relative to the purpose of performing the Okipa ceremony. All give a number of reasons; they 796
are: to bring buffaloes to the village; to acquaint young people with the history of the tribe; to give the young men an opportunity to fast. White Calf thought that the principal reason for performing the ceremony was to bring all the gods back so that all the holy beings would be working for the Mandan and not their enemies. He remarked that summer was the season when the gods, particularly the big birds, returned. At this point it is interesting to note that, although a restricted number of officers were intrusted with the direction and performance of this ceremony, on the third day, known as "Everything Comes Back Day," characters represented in the ceremony comprised most of the major bundle-owners of the village.

The person pledging the ceremony was known as the Okipa 796
Maker. The ceremony was considered a "sacred feast to tribal
bundles," and the benefits accruing to the Okipa Maker were 554
comparable to those received when offering a feast to any other sacred bundles. He received a section of a sand-bar willow for his sacred bundle and was entitled to participate in important tribal discussions. There was no clan restriction as to performance. However, only those who had demonstrated bravery and industry were permitted to give the ceremony.

The principal officers of the Okipa were Lone Man and 796
Hoita impersonators and the singers. They received their
rights after undergoing formal training. For new officers, tribal 793
recognition of their authority was given at a ceremonial feast held prior to the performance of the Okipa. Actually, one desiring to participate in the Okipa and being eligible according to the rules of inheritance underwent instruction at an early age,

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ents' bundle collectively and designated one of their number, generally the oldest son, to be the custodian. A family having only daughters sold to the son-in-law providing he had been successful in warfare and had removed the mother-in-law taboo. 778 425 428 614

Unlike the Hidatsa, where bundle transfers were vision inspired, the Mandan seem to have placed greater emphasis on the personality and interests of the one to receive a tribal bundle. One owning an important bundle and getting along in years would frequently suggest to a younger person that he should buy into the bundle rites. The period of preparation was prolonged and frequently extended over several years. Since bundle rights could be sold four times, there were usually a number of people receiving instructions simultaneously. New bundles were made up for those buying part of the rites, while the original bundle was retained for the nearest relatives. When feasts were given to the bundle, all those having any rights in the bundle or related bundle rites were entitled to attend. This practice extended the ritualistic lore to many persons outside the immediate bundle-owner's family and probably explains why so much of the traditional lore was preserved through the smallpox epidemic of 1837. So far as it was possible to determine, the number of tribal bundle rites was not materially reduced during the nineteenth century. 778 425 869

The personal bundles constitute another important group of sacred objects. These were individually owned and were rarely inherited. The bundle was assembled after receiving a vision from some supernatural being, instructing him to assemble a bundle which would bring certain benefits to the individual. Unlike the tribal bundles, a buffalo skull was not a part of the bundle, and there were no sacred myths. There was a sacred song and a prescribed rule of behavior to be followed when the bundle was open. An unusually successful individual would sometimes sell his bundle to a son about to leave on a war expedition. These bundles, however, were rarely sold and were usually put away when the original owner died. 778 787

Both men and women had personal bundles. Women usually fasted less frequently and had only one bundle; usually the guardian spirit promised her a long life and the right to cure. Men fasted frequently and were recognized for the number of 778 554

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778 sacred bundles they had acquired, providing, of course, they
•554 had been successful in life and had not "kicked the stone." One having repeated bad luck usually put his bundles away and sought new vision experiences. This could not be done with tribal bundles. The only instance on record of an attempt to dispose
425 of a tribal bundle was made by Red Bird in 1838, a year after
778 the smallpox epidemic when he lost a son of smallpox. A son-in-law offered to buy the bundle and received tribal approval of the transfer. Personal bundles were normally taken to the scaffold and hung with the pipe and firearms when the owner died.

796 In summary, the above report covers the main features of the Mandan ceremonial life so far as it was possible to ascertain. In
178 evaluating the data supplied by informants, the writer gave especial emphasis to the information of those informants whose
114 parents lived in the Nuptadi village which was occupied at Deapolis as a separate Mandan village after the Fort Clark village group had united with the Hidatsa. It was found that the Mandan preserved their ceremonial structure with minor variations after the smallpox epidemic. The clan system and age-grade organization were simplified to meet the new conditions of a reduced population. I have not attempted to indicate cultural borrowing, since a companion report covering details of the Hidatsa social and ceremonial organization is in the process of preparation. So far as the Mandan were concerned, there is little evidence of ceremonial borrowing since 1837, owing in large part, no doubt, to the heavy ceremonial burden inherited from earlier times when the population was materially larger. That the Mandan have played an important role in the growth of Plains culture must be inferred from their central position in the Low Plains, the high development in trade for agricultural products with their nomadic neighbors, and the admitted borrowing by the Hidatsa of many significant elements of their culture.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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223 the pit where it was dispatched and the hunter waited for an-
171 other. This method was also used by the Hidatsa, and so in fact nearly all the Mandan hunting methods and customs were duplicated among their neighbors. The only important exception was the Mandan custom of giving a share of the meat to anyone who might come to the home of a successful hunter and ask for it. Henry tells us that the Hidatsa and Amahami did not have this charitable custom.

WAR:— Among most of the Indians, war was the chief occu-
721 pation of the men, and the Mandans in this respect differed little from the other tribes. They were constantly in danger from their more numerous enemies, the Dakotas, and in addition frequently had disputes with other smaller bands. The Mandans were not a warlike people, and fought only when necessary; but when the time came they were among the bravest and most fearless warriors of the region. Maximilian says that they had been known to send war parties as far as the Rocky Mountains against the Blackfeet and as far east as the Red River against the Ojibwa. Their chief enemies were, however, the Dakota, the Cheyenne, and at times the Arikara. The custom of sending out war parties was not as usual here as among
721 their neighbors, the Hidatsa. The system of rank in the village
554 was to a considerable extent based upon military prowess;
301 the wearing of different insignia which indicated each man's
302 deeds was a common device. Those who had made a coup wore a wolf's tail at the heel of their moccasin. If a man was the first of a party to touch and kill an enemy, he painted a spiral line about his arm, with another winding in the opposite direction with three cross stripes. For the second enemy he painted his left legging a reddish brown. If he killed an enemy in equal fight before any other enemy was slain, he could put a wolf's tail around each foot. For the third coup two lengthwise stripes with three cross stripes were painted on the arm, this was the most honorable coup and no other distinctive marks were in use, except that another eagle feather might be worn in the hair for each additional coup. If a man made his coup after others were made, the end of the wolf's tail was cut off. Six little wooden sticks worn in the hair showed that a man

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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had been shot six times; some wore a wooden knife, a sign they had killed an enemy with a knife. Maximilian describes one man, a chief, whose face was painted half yellow and half red, with stripes made by rubbing the color off; his arms had seventeen lines showing the number of his deeds, and on his breast, in yellow, was a hand showing that he had made prisoners. 721 554 381 382

When a youth first wished to lead a war party he at once acquired a medicine. Then he solicited his young men friends by presents and assurances of the efficacy of his medicine and after feasts and dances he departed with as many followers as he could get. In the large war parties there were four real leaders and sometimes three others called bad leaders. Each real leader carried a medicine pipe in a case on his back. To become a chief it was necessary to begin as a war party leader, then to kill a man while in a party where the candidate was not a leader. Again, while following another leader, he must be the first to discover the enemy and kill one of them, and lastly he must have owned at some time a white buffalo hide. Each warrior carried about his neck the whistle of his band, and at the moment of falling upon the enemy these were blown and the war-cry was sounded. 701 554 778 726

The Mandans seldom took male prisoners but even when taken they were never tortured. As soon as a prisoner had entered the village and eaten corn he was considered as one of the nation; the women, however, could go out and meet the returning party and kill the prisoners then. Scalps were dried and used in decoration. When a successful war party returned they were met by the women and children who entered the village with them dancing the scalp dance. The warriors painted the face, and often the whole body, black, and the scalp dance was danced in the medicine lodge four nights, then later in the middle of the village. If no Mandan was killed in the campaign, the dance was kept up for six months. 727

In all these war customs we find nothing more than the general plains ideas such as were found in all the Sioux tribes and among most of their neighbors. [171]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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purely lunar one. Some record was kept of the years, a certain symbol of some distinctive event standing for each year on the record robe, the same system used by the Dakotas. The year was divided as follows: 865 [211]

January	Moon	of	seven cold days.
February	"	"	the rut of wolves.
March	"	"	sore eyes.
April	"	"	game; or of the river break-up.
May	"	"	sowing; or of flowers.
June	"	"	ripe june-berries.
July	"	"	ripe choke-cherries.
August	"	"	ripe wild plums.
September	"	"	ripe corn.
October	"	"	the fall of leaves.
November	"	"	the freezing rivers.
December	"	"	the little cold.

The Mandans were a very liberal and hospitable people, more so than any of their neighbors according to Henry. Food was practically common property in the village. No man could become a chief without much giving of presents, and giving was considered a great honor, the gifts which a man had made being painted on his robe along with his deeds in war. If one expressed a desire for anything it was immediately given to him but a present of equal value was expected in return. In connection with this might be mentioned the custom of taking back a sale; by a return of the purchase price a man might regain anything which he had sold, whenever he wished to. 574 554 431 437

The hospitality of the Mandans is mentioned by every visitor. Verendrye speaks particularly of his kind reception and says, "Their custom being to feed liberally all who came among them, selling only what was to be taken away."[1] Even their worst enemy when once in their village had nothing to fear and was treated with all kindness. Henry remarked that the Mandans were thieves but never touched any property of a stranger who was a guest in a lodge. They were bound to protect any stranger, even an enemy who might seek refuge in the village. 574

[1] Op. cit., p. 15.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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under two years old. These hides were worth ten to fifteen horses or sixty ordinary robes. No man could be of great importance in the tribe unless he had at one time owned one of them. Immediately on its acquisition the hide was hung up on a pole before the owner's lodge and consecrated to the Lord of Life, the sun, or the First Man. The ceremony of consecration was rather elaborate and was conducted by the shaman. A great mass of valuables, the collection of three or four years, was also offered or given away at the same time. The robe was either left suspended until it rotted away, or was taken down and cut into strips, one of which was worn by each member of the owner's family.

The Mandans seem to have had something in the nature of shrines and sacred images both natural and artificial. First among the artificial ones might be mentioned the Ark or Big Canoe which has already been described. This formed the central figure for most of the Mandan ceremonial dances. There was also the image of Ochkih-Hedde which hung before the medicine lodge; and there were similar images hanging before nearly every one of the other lodges, these were made of skin, branches and earth[1] and were intended to represent the Lord of Life and the First Man. Other shrine-like structures were built on the prairie. One of these is described by Maximilian.[2] "... Four poles are placed in a square, the two front ones garnished at the base with a pile of earth and sod. Between them are four buffalo skulls in a row, between the two back poles are twenty-six human skulls painted partly with red stripes, behind the whole are two knives fixed in the ground. The poles are surmounted by bundles of branches; on these again is a crest of pieces of sharp wood, the ends painted red. ... Sometimes on two of the poles are tied stuffed figures to represent the sun and moon, or the Lord of Life and the Old Woman Who Never Dies. Wild absinthe (wormwood) is attached by handfuls to the poles." These are probably the same things which Catlin mentions in connection with the burial customs.

Chief among the natural shrines was the medicine rock of

[1] Maximilian: p. 444. [2] Ibid., p. 460.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 293 [302] Mouths were also called "Brave Men's society." They painted their faces black. The Goose women used the same paint, because their society was founded by the same man. When the time came for singing, the first rattler walked ahead and began to sing. Then the drummers took up the song. The next time the second rattler acted in the same manner. The raven-lance bearers had a special song and dance, during which they crossed each other's path.

575 726 554 533 535 One summer, when the society wished to give a performance because some Sioux were coming to fight, they stuck two tipi poles into the ground, and tied raven-lances to the top. One of the Soldiers cried, "Kā! Kā! Kā!" This was in imitation of crows. Then some other member went outside the lodge to see which one had cried. Returning, he said, "It is not a living raven, but the raven head on Skunk's lance." Skunk was a very brave man. The people said, "We will find out what this means." Then someone took the lances down, and returned them to their owners. Skunk said, "Hold on, my fellow-members, I wish to know the reason why my lance is singing." He got his associate to accompany him, and both lance officers then went through the village, singing this song: —

"kē'ka, nasarā'rōoca. mī' ō'watē'roc.
"Raven, you sing. I want to die.
"kika're e'henik, ō'ota."
"If you are afraid, go away."

The people hearing Skunk thought him braver than ever. They said to him, "This is your day, do what you wish best." The people encouraged Skunk. When the society started outdoors for a dance, Skunk took the lead, and again sang. A circle was formed. All the people came to watch the performance. Skunk once more sang his song. He danced alone, in a slanting line. These were the words of his song: —

"mīnukarité, nū'tamina'tare hū'miikāc. i'miinahèc."
"My friends, our enemies are numerous. I am used to it" [that is, to fight].

When the time came to fight, Skunk struck many coups. This is what the singing of the raven had indicated.

575 626 In addition to the police functions described by Maximilian, Wounded-face mentions a special duty devolving on the two pipe-bearers. When some villager wished to kill a fellow-tribesman, these officers filled up a pipe, and gave him presents in order to make him desist. Acceptance signified acquiescence in their wishes.

575 Water-chief became a Black Mouth, together with about twenty of his comrades, at thirty; generally, however, the members were older. They

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Old Dog Society.[1]

Maximilian, while not including this society in his list of age-classes, 561
states that the Old Dog dance was one which the Dogs might buy of the 535
Bulls before they were permitted to become Bulls. The Old Dog dancers
painted their bodies white, and their hands red and black. They wore 575
a grizzly skin round the body, and on the head feathers which hung down 292
in the back.

Wounded-face knew nothing of the organization save the name. He had 575
heard that they dressed similarly to the Dogs.

Coarse Hair Society.

Wounded-face had only heard of this society (bacā'ca ō'xat'e) from his 575
grandfather. There was something sacred about it. A young man going 292
on the warpath promised the members to give them a dance provided he
performed some brave deed in battle. When dancing, the members dressed 554
up. On the head they placed a piece of scalp from a buffalo head of the 726
size of a human scalp. Hair was attached to the scalp so as to hang over 714
the members' faces. They put honor marks on their clothes. The left leggings were painted red up to the knee, and black marks were put round the lower legs as a sign that the wearer had struck many enemies. Leaders in war who had killed enemies tied human hair to the leggings. For each enemy struck in war, a member put one feather on his head. If he had been wounded by an arrow, the split feather from an arrow, dyed red, was worn on the head. A gun wound was indicated by a stick about 9 inches in length, and whittled at the lower end so that the shavings remained on the stick. The young warrior providing for the entertainment of the performers filled a pipe for them, and, if possible, presented them with horses or eagle feather bonnets. He asked them to pray for him. All the older men rejoiced in such a feast.

It is possible, but by no means certain, that this society corresponds to 575
Maximilian's As-Cho'h-O'chatä (Ascho'-O'chatä). On the 23rd of December, 1833, a large number of Indians visited the Fort, led by fourteen mem- 292
bers of this society from the village of Ruptare. The entire head was 535
covered with a wig of long, flat braids of hair, which fell over the face, completely hiding it. Feathers of the owl, raven, and of birds of prey,

[1] minis' xixe' ō'xat'e.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 each tipped with a thick white plume, adorned the head. One member
292 carried a beautiful fan of white feathers, and wore on the head a complete
535 swan's tail, each feather of which was decorated with dyed horsehair. The
[293] members wrapped themselves completely in their robes, and carried bow-lances trimmed with feathers, colored cloth, glass beads, and the like; most of them had fox skins attached to their heels. Several men beat a drum, while the rest formed a circle and imitated the sound of buffalo bulls. After they had danced for a while, the spectators threw a quantity of tobacco down for them, whereupon they departed for the village in the woods, taking off their wigs on the way. In another place, the Prince mentions rattles as well as drums, and states that the bow-lances were also decorated with bear guts.[1]

Black-Tail Deer Society.

575 All the old men above fifty were, according to Maximilian, members of
561 the Black-Tail Deer organization (cu'psi ō'xat'e). Two female attendants
301 cooked and served fresh water during a dance. All of the men wore a
554 wreath of grizzly claws round the head, and displayed their honor marks in the form of feather head ornaments, braids of hair on arms and legs, scalps, painting, etc.

575 Wounded-face says that the organization originated on the Bad Creek,
773 near the Heart River. One day two young men with arrows stayed on a high wooded hill by the Creek. They dug a deep pit, put sticks across, and covered them with grass. They wanted to snare some animals. One morning one of the men went towards the trap. As he drew close, he heard signs of a trapped animal. He was glad, looked inside, and saw that he had caught a large and very fat black-tail deer. He fitted an arrow to his bow, but the deer said, "Don't shoot me." "Why not?" "You are my son, you must not shoot me. Make a path for me to get out." The young man obeyed, and the buck got out. Then he said, "You are a young man, and I know what you desire: honor marks. I have the power to give them to you, but you have many other fathers, who will instruct you later." He stretched his legs, jumped away, and went some distance. Then he stretched his legs again, and sang a song. When his song was ended, he went towards a wooded hill. The young man knew there was a house there. It belonged to the Deer, and the door closed with a thud. The house was the Black-Tail lodge.

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[1] Maximilian, II, 145f., 281f.

When, however, they are full dressed, they put a variety of feathers in their hair, frequently a semicircle of feathers of birds of prey, like radii, or sunbeams, or a bunch of the tail feathers of the raven placed in a similar manner. Sometimes they have a thick tuft of owl's feathers, or small rosettes made of broad raven's feathers, cut short, in the centre of which is the tail of a bird of prey spread out like a fan. These feather ornaments are frequently determined according to the several bands or unions, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They likewise wear the large horned feather cap; this is a cap consisting of strips of white ermine, with pieces of red cloth hanging down behind as far as the calves of the legs, to which is attached an upright row of black and white eagle's feathers, beginning at the head and reaching to the whole length. Only distinguished warriors, who have performed many exploits, may wear this head-dress (See Plate XIII., which is the best representation hitherto given of it). 302 301 [554]

If they give away one or more of these head-dresses, which they estimate very highly, they are immediately considered men of great importance; the regular price of such a cap is a good horse; for a single eagle's feather is always valued at one or two dollars. On their buffalo robes they often represent this feather cap, under the image of a sun. Very celebrated and eminent warriors, when most highly decorated, wear in their hair various pieces of wood, as signals of their wounds and heroic deeds. Thus Mato-Topé (see his portrait, Plate XIV.) had fastened transversely in his hair a wooden knife, painted red, and about the length of a hand, because he had killed a Chayenne chief with his knife; then six wooden sticks, painted red, blue, and yellow, with a brass nail at one end, indicating so many musket wounds which he had received. For an arrow wound, he fastened in his hair the wing feather of a wild turkey; at the back of his head he wore a large bunch of owl's feathers, dyed yellow, with red tips, as the badge of the Meniss-Ochata (the dog band).[1] The half of his face was painted red, and the other yellow; his body was painted reddish-brown, with narrow stripes, which were produced by taking off the colour with the tip of the finger wetted. On his arms, from the shoulder downwards, he had seventeen yellow stripes, which indicated his warlike deeds, and on his breast the figure of a hand, of a yellow colour, as a sign that he had captured some prisoners. A warrior so adorned takes more time for his toilette than the most elegant Parisian belle. The colour with which they paint their bodies is mixed with grease. When in mourning they colour the face and hands white. The women and children paint only their faces red, leaving the hair its natural colour. The Mandans and Manitaries, and all the Indians of the Upper Missouri, often wear the handsome necklace made of the claws of the grizzly bear. These claws are very large in the spring, frequently three inches long, and the points are tinged of a white colour, which is much esteemed; only the claws of the fore feet are used for necklaces, which are fastened to a strip of otter skin, lined with red cloth, and embroidered with glass beads, which hangs down the back like a long tail. Such a 554 302 301 [43] 435 [561] [765] 301 000

[1] [This is one of the age-grade societies of the men. See also Cat. 116, pp. 355-56. --Analyst]

Such a
301 necklace is seldom to be had for less than twelve dollars; and very often the owners of them will
[435] not part with them on any terms. The Mandans adorn themselves with many other kinds of necklaces, such as strings of glass beads, scented roots, or fungi, elks' teeth, for 100 or 150 of
29 which they will, in exchange, give a horse, or something equivalent. These Indians generally
302 wear no covering on the upper part of the body; the leather shirt of the Assiniboins, Sioux,
301 Crows, Blackfeet, and other nations that live more to the north and north-west, are seldom used among them; yet a few individuals have obtained them from those Indians, either as presents, or by barter. Even in the midst of winter, the Mandans wear nothing on the upper part of the body, under their buffalo robe. They paint their bodies of a reddish-brown colour, on some occasions with white clay; and frequently draw red or black figures on their arms. The face is, for the most part, painted all over with vermilion, or yellow, in which latter case the circumference of the eyes and the chin are red. There are, however, no set rules for painting, and it depends on the taste of the Indian dandy; yet, still, a general similarity is observed. The bands, in their dances, and also after battles, and when they have performed some exploit, follow the established rule. In ordinary festivals, and dances, and whenever they wish to look particularly fine, the young men paint themselves in every variety of way, and each endeavours to find out some new mode. Should he find another dandy painted just like himself, he immediately retires
[554] and makes a change in the pattern, which may happen three or four times during the festival. If they have performed an exploit, the entire face is painted jet black. Sometimes, though seldom, the Mandans adorn the wrist and upper arm with polished steel bracelets, which they obtain from the merchants; often they wear many brass rings on their fingers, and are, on the whole, excessively fond of ornaments and finery. The chief article of their dress is the ample buffalo robe, called mahita, or mih-aha, which is often very elaborate and valuable. In dry weather these buffalo robes are worn with the hair inwards, and in rainy weather with the hairy side outwards. They are tanned on the fleshy side, and painted either white or reddish-brown, and ornamented with a transverse band of blue or white glass beads, and three large rosettes of the same beads, often of very tasteful patterns, at regular intervals. The centre is frequently red, surrounded with sky blue, embroidered with white figures, or sometimes the reverse. The transverse band is worked with variously dyed porcupine quills, and is then narrower. This, however, is now old-fashioned, and was worn before the coloured glass beads were obtained in such numbers
532 from the Whites. Other robes are painted with a reddish-brown ground, and black figures, especially of animals; others have a white ground, with representations of their heroic deeds in black, or in gay colours, with the wounds they received, the loss of blood, the killed, the prisoners, the arms they have taken, the horses stolen (the number of which is indicated by the number of horse-shoes), in black, red, green, or yellow figures, executed in their yet rude style of painting. The

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

nations on the Missouri are all in the habit of painting such robes; but the Pawnees, Mandans, 532
Manitaries, and Crows, are the most skilful in this art.* Another mode of painting their robes 532
is, to represent the number of valuable presents they have made. By these presents, which are 431
often of great value, they acquire reputation and respect among their countrymen. On such 554
robes we observed long red figures, with a black circle at the termination, placed close to each 211
other in transverse rows; they represent whips, indicating the number of horses given, because 435
the whip belonging to the horse is always bestowed with the animal. Red or dark blue transverse figures indicate cloth or blankets given; parallel transverse stripes represent fire-arms, the outlines of which are pretty correctly drawn. The robe is frequently cut, at the bottom, into narrow strips, like fringe, and ornamented on the sides with tufts of human hair, and horse-hair dyed yellow and green, and with glass beads. Formerly the Indians painted these robes more care- 432
fully than they now do, and it was possible to obtain one for five musket balls and some powder; now they are far inferior, and eight or ten dollars is not unfrequently paid for them. A robe handsomely painted is equal in value to two not painted.

Their leggins are fastened with straps to their leathern girdles, and are embroidered at the 291
outer seam with stripes, one or two inches in breadth, of porcupine quills, of beautiful various colours, and often with blue and white beads, and long leathern fringes, which form at the ankle a thick bunch, which trails upon the ground. The leather of which their leggins are made is, for the most part, stained of a reddish-brown, or pale red, usually with clay, sometimes white, and often marked below the knee with black transverse stripes. They, as well as all the tribes of North America, use what the English call a breech-cloth (Nokka), which is a narrow strip of woollen cloth, striped black and white, which passes between the thighs under the girdle, before and behind, where it hangs down. Their shoes, which are made of buck skin, or buffalo leather, are generally plain, or very slightly ornamented; but, in full dress, they are embroidered with coloured rosettes, or strips of dyed porcupine quills or beads. Those men who have performed exploits wear, round the ankles, [554]
wolf's tail, or pieces of otter skin, which are lined with red cloth, and trail on the ground. In the summer, when the men are at home, and go about in state, they carry the fan of eagle's feathers in their hands, which we have before described. What the Anglo-Americans call "the crow," which is worn by the warriors of the nations of the Mississippi, and the Lower Missouri, is wholly unknown among the tribes of the Upper Missouri, the Sioux, Assiniboins, Crows, Mandans, Arikkaras, Manitaries, and Blackfeet.

The boys are generally naked, and in winter merely have a robe thrown over them; the 291
girls are dressed in leather in summer as well as winter. The women wear a long leather

* There is a print of such a robe in Major Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, and another in Plate XXI., Fig. 1., of my Atlas. The original was painted by Mato-Topé himself, and the figures on it represent some of his principal exploits, in which he killed, with his own hand, five chiefs of different nations.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

by the Americans, head-man, who decides on the sale of its rights and attributes. This head-man is chiefly applied to when any one wishes for admission; a festival then takes place in the medicine lodge, which is continued for forty successive nights, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They dance, eat, and smoke there; the purchasers defray the expenses, and give up their wives every night to the sellers, till the fathers, as they are called, are satisfied, and transfer their rights to the purchasers, with which the festival concludes. 561 [837]

The third class or band is that of the soldiers, the most eminent and esteemed warriors. In their dances they paint the upper part of the face red, and the lower part black. Their war pipe is large, and made of the wing bone of a crane. Their badges are two long straight sticks bound with otter skin, to which owl's feathers are appended. When they go to war, they plant these sticks in the ground in front of the enemy, and, this done, they dare not leave them, not unlike the colours in a European army. They have a similar stick ornamented with raven's feathers (see second woodcut, page 256). They likewise have a dance and song peculiar to their band, and must purchase their admission into higher classes. Their schischikué or rattle is made of iron plate, in the form of a small kettle, with a handle. They likewise possess two tobacco pipes, which are used for smoking on special occasions. Two men keep and carry with them these pipes. All the higher classes may, at the same time, belong to the band of the soldiers, who act as police officers; it is, however, understood that all the members must be satisfied with the purchase. If but one object to the sale, the bargain cannot be concluded. It often happens that some individuals do not immediately give their consent, in order to raise the price and sell to more advantage afterwards. These soldiers, as they are called, form a kind of committee, which decides all the principal affairs, particularly general undertakings, such as changes of their places of abode, buffalo hunting, and the like. If the buffalo herds are in the vicinity, they watch them, and do not suffer them to be disturbed by individuals, till a general chase can be undertaken. 561 554 623 [534]

If, during this time, any one fires at a wolf or other animal, the soldiers take away his gun, ill-use, and sometimes beat him, to which he must submit; even the chiefs are not spared on these occasions. The Whites living in the neighbourhood are subject, during such a time, to the same laws, and the soldiers have often taken their hatchets from the woodcutters of the fort, or forbidden them to cut wood, that the buffaloes might not be disturbed by the noise.

The fourth band, that of the dogs, wear in their dance a large cap of coloured cloth, to which a great number of raven's, magpie's, and owl's feathers is fastened, adorned with dyed horse-hair and strips of ermine; they have a large war pipe of the wing bone of a swan. Three of them have the same strips of red cloth hanging down the back, as have been mentioned, when speaking of the first band. The head is generally adorned with a thick tuft of owl's, magpie's, and raven's feathers hanging down behind, and often all the three kinds of feathers are mixed together. 561

561 The three men before-mentioned, who wear the strips of red cloth (the dogs, properly so called), are obliged, if any one throws a piece of meat into the ashes, or on the ground, saying, "There, dog, eat," to fall upon it, and devour it raw, like dogs or beasts of prey. The schischikué of this band is a stick, a foot or a foot and a half long, to which a number of animals' hoofs are fastened [534] The costume of these three dogs is shown in the portrait of Pehriska-Rupe. (Plate XXIII.)

The fifth band is that of the buffaloes. In their dance they wear the skin of the upper part 561 of the head, the mane of the buffalo, with its horns, on their heads; but two select individuals, the 554 bravest of all, who thenceforward never dare to fly from the enemy, wear a perfect imitation of the buffalo's head, with the horns, which they set on their heads (Plate XVIII.), and in which there are holes left for the eyes, which are surrounded with an iron or tin ring. This band alone has a wooden war pipe, and in their union they have a woman, who, during the dance, goes round with a dish of water, to refresh the dancers, but she must give this water only to the bravest, who wear the whole buffalo's head. She is dressed, on these occasions, in a handsome new robe of bighorn leather, and colours her face with vermilion. The men have a piece of red cloth fastened behind, and a figure representing a buffalo's tail; they also carry their arms in their hands. The men with the buffaloes' heads always keep in the dance at the outside of the group, imitate all the motions and the voice of this animal, as it timidly and cautiously retreats, looking around in all directions, &c. (Plate XVIII.)

561 The sixth band is that of the black-tailed deer. It consists of all the men above fifty years of age, who, however, likewise dance. Two women belong to the band, who wait on them at the dance, cook, carry water round to refresh them, and the like. All the men of this band wear a garland of the claws of the grizzly bear round their heads, and all insignia of their warlike exploits about their bodies, such as feathers on their heads, tufts of hair on their arms and legs, scalps, painting, &c.

561 All these bands, as well as the following dances, are bought and sold, and, as has been already 425 observed, on these occasions, the buyer must give up his wife to the seller during the festivity. 837 But if a young man is still unmarried, he will sometimes travel to a great distance to another village, to ask a friend or companion for his wife, who accordingly goes with him, and, on the 572 evenings of the dance, gives up his wives for him. A man often brings three or four, and even more, wives, and gives them to his father, as he is called, as soon as the dancing, eating, smoking, and the relating of their exploits, are concluded. Thus one woman after the other comes, as will be described in the account of the buffalo medicines of the Manitaries, strikes, with her hand, the arm of the man whom she will favour, and goes to the entrance of the tent, where she waits till he follows her. The man so invited often keeps his seat, and bows down his head; the woman then goes home, brings articles of value, such as guns, robes, blankets, &c., which she lays, piece by piece, before him, till he is satisfied, stands up, and follows her.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

This custom exists among most of the nations on the Missouri, and even among the Esquimaux there is a somewhat similar usage. If the adopted son and father have not happened to meet for a long time, they make presents to each other; the father gives the son a new dress, and the latter presents him with a good horse. Among all the Indian nations of North America, there is a particular class of men, who are specially engaged in all the above-mentioned ceremonies and medicines. They are, also, the physicians, and are called, among the Mandans, Numak-Choppenih, which signifies medicine man.

The skin of a white buffalo cow is an important article, and an eminent medicine in the opinion of the Mandans and Manitaries. He who has never possessed one of them is not respected. Suppose two men to be disputing about their exploits, the one an old veteran warrior, who has slain many enemies, the other, a young lad without experience; the latter reproaches the other with never having possessed a white buffalo cow hide, on which the old man droops his head, and covers his face for shame. He who possesses such a hide generally offers it to the lord of life, to whom he dedicates it, or, which is equivalent, to the sun, or to the first man. He collects, perhaps, in the course of a whole twelvemonth, various articles of value, and then hangs them up all together on a high pole in the open prairie, generally in the neighbourhood of the burying-place, or in the village before his hut. Distinguished men and chiefs of eminence are for the most part poor, because, in order to gain reputation and influence, they give away everything of value which they possess. A large number of relatives is one of the chief means of acquiring riches, for a young man who wishes to distinguish himself, and to be liberal, does honour to the whole family, who assist him to the utmost of their power. When one of his relations has anything of value, the young man goes to the owner to demand it, and not unfrequently takes it away without ceremony. Sometimes he hangs his head in silence, and then something of value is given him, a handsome dress, a horse, &c. If he wishes to gain reputation and a claim to distinction, it is necessary that he should make presents. All the people in the village notice very accurately what presents are made, and the donor has a right to display all such presents painted on his robes, and in this manner to hand down his reputation to posterity, as has been already related. This and military glory are, in the eyes of these men, the greatest virtues. They dare not draw a stroke too much on their robes for the horses, guns, &c., which they have given away, for the young men keep a most strict account against each other, and universal ridicule would be the immediate consequence of violating this rule. Among the distinctions of any man, the white buffalo hide is the greatest. He who has not been so fortunate as to kill a white buffalo himself, which is generally the case, as these animals are very rare, purchases a hide, often at a great distance from home, and other nations bring them hither, being well aware of the great value attached to them by the Mandans. The hide must be that of a young cow, not above two years old, and be taken off complete and tanned, with the horns,

4: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 281 [435] 796 554 224 [435] [136] 778 796

nose, hoofs, and tail. The value of ten to fifteen horses is given for it. A certain Mandan gave ten horses, a gun, some kettles, and other articles, for such a hide. The white hide of a bull or of an old cow is by no means so valuable. The white hide of a young cow suffices for all the daughters of a family. They do not wear it as a robe, like the Manitaries, or, at the utmost, the wife, or one of the daughters of the family, wears it once at some great festival, but never a second time. The Mandans have particular ceremonies at the dedication of the hide. As soon as they have obtained it they engage an eminent medicine man, who must throw it over him; he then walks round the village in the apparent direction of the sun's course, and sings a medicine song. When the owner, after collecting articles of value for three or four years, desires to offer his treasure to the lord of life, or to the first man, he rolls it up, after adding some wormwood or a head of maize, and the skin then remains suspended on a high pole till it rots away. At the time of my visit there was such an offering at Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, near the stages for the dead without the village. Sometimes, when the ceremony of dedication is finished, the hide is cut into small strips, and the members of the family wear parts of it tied over the head, or across the forehead, when they are in full dress. If a Mandan kills a young white buffalo cow, it is accounted to him as more than an exploit, or having killed an enemy. He does not cut up the animal himself, but employs another man, to whom he gives a horse for his trouble. He alone who has killed such an animal is allowed to wear a narrow strip of the skin in his ears. The whole robe is not ornamented, being esteemed superior to any other dress, however fine. The traders have, sometimes, sold such hides to the Indians, who gave them as many as sixty other robes in exchange. Buffalo skins with white spots are likewise highly valued by the Mandans; but there is a race of these animals with very soft silky hair, which has a beautiful gold lustre when in the sunshine: these are, likewise, highly prized, and sold for ten or fifteen dollars, and, sometimes, for the value of a horse. Besides the white buffalo skins which are offered in sacrifice and hung on poles, there are, in the vicinity of the villages of the Mandans and Manitaries, other strange figures on high poles, as represented in Plate XXV. These figures are composed of skin, grass, and twigs, which, it seems, represent the sun and moon, perhaps, also, the lord of life, and the first man. The Indians resort to them when they wish to petition for anything, and sometimes howl and lament for days and weeks together.

The Mandans have several medicine festivals, of which the Okippa, or the penitential ceremony of the ark, is by far the most remarkable. It is celebrated in the spring or summer, and I regret to say that I cannot describe it as an eye-witness. I am, however, enabled to give a circumstantial description of it, word for word, as it was communicated to me by men initiated in the mysteries of the nation.*

* The author refers to a letter on this subject, written by Mr. Catlin, and published in a New York paper; but this is by no means so complete as that given in his valuable work published last year.—*Translator's Note.*

7: Catlin R. E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

292 cept the dignitaries who are very high in authority, and whose exceeding valour, worth, and power is admitted by all the nation.

He may wear them, however, who is not a *chief;* but a brave, or 292 warrior of such remarkable character, that he is esteemed universally in the tribe, as a man whose "voice is as loud in council" as that of a chief of the 554 first grade, and consequently his *power* as great.

This head-dress with horns is used only on certain occasions, and they are very seldom. When foreign chiefs, Indian agents, or other important personages visit a tribe; or at war parades, at the celebration of a victory, at public festivals, &c. they are worn; but on no other occasions—unless, sometimes, when a chief sees fit to lead a war-party to battle, he decorates his head with this symbol of power, to stimulate his men; and throws himself into the foremost of the battle, inviting his enemy to concentrate their shafts upon him.

The horns on these head-dresses are but loosely attached at the bottom, so that they easily fall back or forward, according as the head is inclined forward or backward; and by an ingenious motion of the head, which is so slight as to be almost imperceptible—they are made to balance to and fro, and sometimes, one backward and the other forward like a horse's ears, giving a vast deal of expression and force of character, to the appearance of the chief who is wearing them. This, reader, is a remarkable instance (like hundreds of others), for its striking similarity to *Jewish customs*, to the kerns (or keren, in Hebrew), the horns worn by the Abysinian chiefs and Hebrews, as a *symbol of power* and command; worn at great parades and celebrations of victories.

080 "The false prophet Zedekiah, made him horns of iron" (1 Kings xxii. 11). "Lift not your horns on high; speak not with a stiff neck" (Ps. lxxv. 5).

This last citation seems so exactly to convey to my mind the mode of raising and changing the position of the horns by a motion of the head, as I have above described, that I am irresistibly led to believe that this custom is now practiced amongst these tribes very nearly as it was amongst the Jews; and that it has been, like many other customs of which I shall speak more in future epistles, handed down and preserved with very little innovation or change from that ancient people.

The reader will see this custom exemplified in the portrait of Mah-to-292 toh-pa (PLATE 64). This man, although the second chief, was the only 554 man in the nation who was allowed to wear the horns; and all, I found, looked upon him as the leader, who had the power to lead all the warriors in time of war; and that, in consequence of the extraordinary battles which he had fought.

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture. 000

CRITERIA OF ACCULTURATION

There are many superficial criteria that could be selected to divide the population of Lone Hill into groups differing in degree of acculturation, but I prefer one that has an essential connection to the Indian value system. One well-known basic value that contrasts sharply with our general American ethic is the Indian value of generosity (Bruner 1953:23–24). This value difference has a readily observable behavioral manifestation—participation in the Indian ceremonial dances. The Indian "give-away" dance is now a secular affair, featuring Indian songs and dances and the giving of war bonnets, horses, cattle, blankets, and money as gifts to prescribed relatives, distinguished visitors, societies, and the needy. It is one of the few remaining public gatherings in Lone Hill where generosity and other Indian values are expressed, reaffirmed and maintained. The following statement by an informant aptly characterizes the emotional overtones of the dance (quoted in Merrill 1951:27): 177 431 535

> After the people get all painted up—this is decoration, like lipstick—and the tom-toms get going and people chanting and singing (demonstrated with a rapid beat of his feet and an ai-ai-ai chant), people get all worked up and excited. Then someone gets up and makes a speech and gives away a horse, or a beef, or two beefs, and everyone gets going and there's a lot of giving-away and many people end up with little or nothing. . . . They say that property doesn't mean anything; what counts is being friendly and generous and all friends of one another. . . . People shout and praise a person (who gives away a lot) and they talk about it long afterwards. [554]

Not every person in Lone Hill attends the dance. Some families come with all their children, stay throughout the night, and donate generously. For them the dance is an impressive and public mechanism of socialization to Indian ways. Others virtually never attend the ceremonials, as they are more concerned with the accumulation than the giving of goods. As a result, they and their children do not participate in the one public ritual that best symbolizes and makes legitimate the traditional Indian values. One acculturated Indian man had this to say about the ceremonials: 431 535 184 [556] 177

> I never go to any dances or pow-wows. These dances are the fellows breeding grounds; they go there to drink, to raise hell, and they are not Christians. A lot of these fellows . . . go there to take some gal out . . . and get her drunk. That's all these dances are for, as far as the younger people are concerned. The older people go there to get these donations; something for nothing. . . . They take their kids there and the kids don't learn much from that. They give things away and that money can be used to educate their children, buy provisions and things. It seems like with an Indian they think they are in the spotlight; it makes them feel good. I never believed in it simply because I know most families and they can't afford to do that.

Participation in the Indian ceremonials was applied to the population of Lone Hill as a criterion of acculturation. In order to define the population, it was first necessary to delimit the community, the sample, and the unit of 621 121 161

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

This account of a summer buffalo hunt illustrates the position of an individual in his relations to the remainder of the village. As a young man first assisting in a summer buffalo hunt he received his training from those older and more experienced; he advanced by degrees, and his responsibilities increased until, as leader of the village when on the hunt, he was responsible for the well-being of the entire village group of which he was a part. It will be shown in the pages that follow that whereas an individual would, in one situation be the leader over his entire village, in other situations he would be a follower and others would be responsible for the group's success. 554

Men specialized in certain activities. Whereas some were leaders of buffalo hunts, fish-trapping, war expeditions, or various ceremonies, others specialized as singers, painters, arrowmakers, or storytellers. In Mandan society, a man or woman seeking information, however trivial, was expected to make a payment for the information acquired. Persons possessing unique information and techniques were highly regarded, and it would have been considered ill mannered to adopt another's skills without at first paying for that right, however well the individual may have been able to perform without this paid training. One was also said to be inviting bad luck by practicing arts for which payment had not been made. 463 437 555

Payment for training was so highly developed in Mandan society that a young woman assisting her mother in the making of clay pots would prepare a simple feast to which the females of the household were invited in order to receive the right to assist in the making of pots and to make vessels of her own after her mother had died. Within the family group the payments were usually insignificant so far as the value of the goods was concerned. It was felt that the small payment in goods expressed the young woman's respect for her mother. The Mandan also believed that payments expressed societal values. The mother would explain each step in pottery-making, the selection of the clay and grit, the molding of the mass, the introduction of decorations, and the drying and baking of the vessels. Mandan vessels had a variety of decorations, and the person buying the right to make pottery acquired only the right to employ such decorations as the mother had a right to use. If she wished to 437 421 425

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

437 utilize other decorations, she was obliged to seek another
421 woman entitled to make the particular decoration and buy the
425 right of her.

There was a similar specialization for men. When a young
437 man was found to have an especially good voice which was
heard above the others in the songs of the society dances, he
425 was encouraged to buy singer rights in dances of both a sacred
535 and a secular character. Although they were obliged to make
555 payments either to existing singers or to the owners of bundles,
their rewards far exceeded the initial costs. Their training included information relative to the ceremonies that were being performed, and they received recognition comparable to that shown those who had directed a number of successful war expeditions. In council, their authority was as great as those who had directed war parties, summer buffalo hunts, or eagle-trapping expeditions.

555 Those who could tattoo or paint designs appreciated by the
people of the village were highly regarded and received a con-
616 siderable amount of goods for their services. There were usually
531 at least two skilled painters in each village, and they were
789 expected to belong to opposite moieties. A man of one moiety would go to a man of the other moiety to have a robe, shield, or clothing painted either according to his particular inclination or with specific designs of things dreamed of. Each warrior had one or more shields made of buffalo hide taken from around the neck, and these were used universally by the Mandan for protection against arrows and spears until guns became more universal. The designs were believed to offer supernatural protection, and their potency was considered to be enhanced when the design was painted by a man of the opposite moiety, since there would be a payment to the "father" who would pray for the "son's" success. These painters were held responsible for the proper painting of the characters represented in the Okipa and received much property for their services. If they were otherwise sensible men, they enjoyed the same status as those who had been successful in other pursuits.

555 The arrowmakers were highly regarded. Although all males
887 usually made arrows, some were employed specially for arrow-
making. These were the older men of the lodge who had passed

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the prime of life and others who, having been crippled either in warfare, hunting, or other active pursuits, were unable to carry out the work normally performed by men. The older men of the lodge usually made the arrows used by the men of the household, and ten arrows complete with heads and feathers had the value of one unpainted robe. Young men of the lodge paid the older men for the right to learn the techniques of arrowmaking. The Mandan in 1929 remembered two men who had been crippled, one when his leg was broken by a wounded buffalo, the other who had had a femur bone shattered by a bullet and who had spent much of their time preparing arrows which they sold.

Another class of people who were highly regarded were the storytellers. The art of storytelling was highly developed; the stories had a variety of themes and were highly formalized. One paying for the right to have a story told was expected to repeat the story after the informer until it was learned in complete detail. The customary way of buying the story was to have a feast and a supply of tobacco mixed with red willow bark prepared before calling the informer in to relate his stories. The stories were of a semisacred character, and many dealt with the exploits of distinguished persons who had once lived in the village or tribe. It was considered improper to relate sacred myths belonging to others unless the informer was an owner in the particular rites, in which instance the buyer was expected to have enough robes and other goods so that each person having rights in the story would receive pay even when only one of their member was relating the story. The actual storytelling was then held at a later time when the informant could be alone with his pupil.

There was considerable traditional lore not actually associated with any ceremony at the time this study was being made. Informants were of the opinion that these myths once were associated with bundle rites now extinct and that the stories had continued as common property of the tribe. These stories have to do with such mythological characters as Corn Silk, Buffalo, First Creator, and the Snakes. Both men and women were storytellers, and they were highly respected as possessors of important tribal lore. They enjoyed intimate con-

778 were fixed upon poles, representing, as we were told, the sun and moon, probably the lord of life
782 and the old woman who never dies. Wormwood, of which they generally fasten a bunch to the poles, is a sacred medicine herb, to which they ascribe various effects.

Dreams, as I have before said, afford the usual motives for such actions, and for the
787 penances which they impose upon themselves, and they believe all that appears in their dreams
782 to be true. They were not yet acquainted with fire-arms, when one of the Indians dreamt
789 of a weapon with which they could kill their enemies at a great distance, and soon after-
304 wards the white men brought them the first gun. In the same manner they dreamt of horses before they obtained any. Even the Whites who live among them are infected with this belief in dreams, and other superstitions. They frequently promise, on undertaking anything, the joint of a finger, which they cut off at once, and keep in a handful of wormwood; this I myself saw among the Blackfeet, where, at that time, it was a sign of mourning. It is also done at the time of the Okippe in May and June. Almost all the Mandans and Manitaries have lost one or two joints of the fingers, and several of them more. There are numerous superstitious ideas and prejudices among these Indians. Thus, they believe that a person to whom they wish ill must die, if they make a figure of wood or clay, substituting for the heart, a needle, an awl, or a porcupine quill, and bury the image at the foot of one of their medicine poles. When a child is born, the father must not bridle a horse, that is to say, he is not to fasten the halter to the lower jaw, otherwise the child would die in convulsions. If the wife be pregnant, this circumstance is often the cause of much ill fortune to the husband, and he is frequently unsuccessful in hunting. If an Indian, in such cases, wounds a buffalo, without being able to kill it quickly, he endeavours to carry the heart of a buffalo home, and makes his wife discharge an arrow at
777 it; he then again feels confidence in his weapons, that they will speedily kill. The Indians affirm that a pregnant woman is very lucky at a game called billiards. Many consider it a bad omen when a woman, while several Mandans are smoking together, passes between them. If a woman is lying on the ground between the men who are smoking, a piece of wood is laid across her, to serve as a communication between the men. The strongest man now living among the
789 Mandans, who has been the victor in several wrestling matches with the Whites, always takes
555 hold of his pipe by the head, for, were he to touch it in another part, the blood would suddenly rush from his nostrils. As soon as he bleeds in this manner, he instantly empties his pipe, and throws the contents into the fire, where it explodes like gunpowder, and the bleeding immediately stops. Nobody, they say, can touch this man's face, without at once bleeding at the nose and mouth. A certain Indian affirms that, whenever another offers him a pipe to smoke, out of civility, he immediately has his mouth full of worms, handfuls of which he throws into the fire. The medicine of another man consists in making a snow-ball, which he rolls a long time between his hands, so that it at length becomes hard, and is converted into a white stone, which, when

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

struck, emits fire. Many persons, even Whites, pretended they had seen this, and it is utterly useless to attempt convincing them to the contrary. The same man pretends that, during a dance, he plucked white feathers from a certain small bird, which he rolled between his hands, and formed of them, in a short time, a similar white stone. Sometimes an Indian takes it into his head to make his gun medicine, or to consecrate it, which he does not dare afterwards to part with. With this view he generally makes a yearly feast in the spring. The crier (kettle-tender, or marmiton) must invite a certain number of guests, and receive an equal number of small sticks, which he delivers to them, as a sign of their being invited; nay, now, European playing cards are actually sent round for this purpose. The guests appear, lay their guns aside, and take their places, on which the drum and schischikué go round, and every guest sings, and plays the drum and rattle. While this music is going on, they eat the food which has been dressed, nor are they allowed to leave any of it. The host then takes his gun, cuts a piece of flesh, and with it rubs the barrel, and flings the meat into the fire; this is repeated thrice. He then takes up some of the water in which the meat was boiled, rubs the whole length of the barrel with it, pours the rest of the broth into the fire; and, lastly, takes fat, with which he rubs the whole of his gun, and then throws the remainder into the fire.

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A great many Mandans and Manitaries believe that they have wild animals in their body; one, for instance, affirmed he had a buffalo calf, the kicking of which he often felt; others said they had tortoises, frogs, lizards, birds, and so forth. Among the Manitaries we saw medicine dances of the women, where one pretended that she had a head of maize in her body, which she cast out by dancing, and then ate, after it had been mixed with wormwood. Another discharged blood, but of this we shall speak in the sequel. Similar feats are seen among the Mandans also. They likewise relate a number of foolish stories of miraculous and supernatural events. Thus, a girl refused to marry, and had no intercourse with the other sex. One night, while she was asleep, a man lay down by her side, on which she awoke, and saw him go away in a white buffalo robe. As he returned on the two succeeding nights, she resolved to mark him, and stained her hand with red. He appeared, and she gave him a blow, with her hand, on his back, not being able to hold him. On the following day she examined all the robes in the whole village, but could not find the mark of her hand, till at length she discovered it on the back of a large white dog. Some months after, as the Indians are fully persuaded, she was delivered of seven young dogs. The people consider owls as medicine birds, and pretend to hold conversations with them, and to understand their attitudes and voices; often, indeed, they keep these animals alive in their huts, and look upon them as soothsayers. I shall, subsequently, have occasion to speak of the manner in which they catch all kinds of birds of prey, which feed on the flesh of dead animals, particularly eagles, which they sometimes preserve alive. They frequently look upon them as medicine.

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6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

224 The wolf and the fox are sometimes shot with a gun, as well as the white hare, in the winter time, or they are caught in traps. They set for the wolves very strong traps. The prairie wolf is not easily caught, being very cautious. Foxes are caught in small traps, which are covered with brushwood and buffaloes' skulls, to conceal them. Many such traps are seen everywhere in the prairies, which are surrounded with small stakes, that the animals may not enter them sideways. Beavers are now caught, in great numbers, in iron traps, which they procure from the Whites. Small animals, such as the ermine, are caught with horsehair springes, set before their burrows. The manner in which birds of prey are caught is said to be very remarkable. 223 The birdcatcher lies down at full length in a narrow pit made on purpose, and exactly large enough to hold him. As soon as he has lain down, the pit is covered with brushwood and hay, pieces of meat are laid upon it, and a crow, or some such bird, fastened to it. The eagle, or other bird of prey, is said to descend, and to sit down, in order to eat, on which the birdcatcher seizes it by the legs. I would not believe this had not men worthy of credit given me their word for it. In this manner they catch the eagle, called, by the English, the war-eagle, and the golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*), the Quiliou, or *oiseau de medicine*, of the Canadians, which I was not so fortunate as to meet with, and which they highly value, as I have already stated.

721 Next to the chase, war is the chief employment of the Indians, and military glory the highest object of their ambition. It is well known that Indian bravery is very different from that of the Whites; for wilfully to expose themselves to the enemy's fire would, in their eyes, not be bravery, but folly. Cunning and stratagem give them the advantage over the enemy; their strength lies in concealing their march, and surprises at daybreak. He who kills many enemies without sustaining any loss is the best warrior.

721 When a young man desires to establish his reputation in the field, he fasts for four or seven days, as long as his strength permits him, goes alone to the hills, complains and cries to 787 the lord of life, calls incessantly to the higher powers for their aid, and only goes home, sometimes, in the evening, to sleep. 555 A dream suggests his medicine to him. If the lord of life makes him dream of a piece of cherry-tree wood, or of an animal, it is a good omen. The young men who take the field with him have then confidence in his medicine. If he can perform an exploit his reputation is established. But whatever exploits he may perform, he acquires no respect if he does not make valuable presents; and they say of him, "He has indeed performed many exploits, but yet he is as much to be pitied as those whom he has killed." A man may have performed many exploits, and yet not be allowed to wear tufts of hair on his clothes, unless he carries a medicine pipe, and has been the leader of a war party. When a young man, who has never performed an exploit, is the first to kill an enemy on a warlike expedition, he 721 paints a spiral line round his arm, of whatever colour he pleases, and he may then wear a 555 whole wolf's tail at the ankle or heel of one foot. If he has first killed and touched the

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

enemy he paints a line running obliquely round the arm, and another crossing it in the opposite direction, with three transverse stripes. On killing the second enemy he paints his left leg (that is, the leggin) of a reddish-brown. If he kills the second enemy before another is killed by his comrades, he may wear two entire wolves' tails at his heels. On his third exploit he paints two longitudinal stripes on his arms, and three transverse stripes. This is the exploit that is esteemed the highest; after the third exploit no more marks are made. If he kills an enemy after others of the party have done the same, he may wear on his heel one wolf's tail, the tip of which is cut off. In every numerous war party there are four leaders (partisans, karokkanakah), sometimes seven, but only four are reckoned as the real partisans; the others are called bad partisans (karokkanakah-chakohosch, literally, *partisans galeux*). All partisans carry on their backs a medicine pipe in a case, which other warriors dare not have. To become a chief (Numakschi) a man must have been a partisan, and then kill an enemy when he is not a partisan. If he follows another partisan for the second time, he must have first discovered the enemy, have killed one, and then possessed the hide of a white buffalo cow complete, with the horns, to pretend to the title of chief (Numakschi). Dipauch, who related these particulars, had himself done all these, and was an eminent man among his people, but had never assumed that title. He had given five horses for his white buffalo hide. All the warriors wear small war pipes round their necks, which are often very elegantly ornamented with porcupine quills (Plate XXI. Fig. 9, and Plate XLVIII. Fig. 14).

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As soon as they advance to attack the enemy every one sounds his pipe, and all together utter the war whoop, a shrill cry, which they render tremulous by repeatedly and suddenly striking the mouth with the hand. Those who fast and dream, in order to perform an exploit, are entitled to wear a wolf's skin. A warrior has a right to wear as many eagle's feathers as he has performed exploits. All Indians, on their military expeditions, erect, in the evening, a sort of fort, in which they are, in some measure, secure against a sudden attack. In Major Long's expedition to the Rocky Mountains, it is stated, that they often make *caches* (hiding-places) in these forts; but we did not observe any such on the Missouri. The Indians, on their expeditions, always set a watch by night as soon as they are near the enemy, and often send out scouts to considerable distances. At such a post the Indians are very vigilant and active; after an engagement they do not bury the dead, but, if they have not time to carry them away, leave them on the spot where they fell. The scalps, called, by the Canadians, *les chevelures*, are often preserved for a long time stretched upon small hoops, and the hair is afterwards used as an ornament to the dress of the men. The skin of the scalp is generally painted red. The Mandans, Manitaries, and Crows, never torture their prisoners like the Pawnees and the eastern nations. When a prisoner has arrived at the village, and eaten maize, he is considered as one of their own nation, and no person ever thinks of molesting him. Often, however, the women hasten out to meet

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721 727 the prisoners ere they can reach the village, and kill them; this is especially an act of revenge for their husbands or sons who may have fallen in the battle.

721 555 When a young man desires to become a leader, or partisan, he first gains, by gifts, the favour of the other young men, and then dedicates a medicine pipe, which is a plain, unornamented tube. This ceremony is accomplished by a four days' fast, and supplications for assistance to the lord of life, the first man, &c. &c., and other supernatural beings. He then addresses the young men, and calls upon them to give him their support in his undertakings. If a sufficient number testify their readiness to accompany him in a warlike expedition, and such an expedition is determined upon, they dance and feast in the medicine lodge for several successive nights, from whence, too, they generally march off by night. The women never accompany these expeditions. On setting out the men are badly clothed, and not painted. They do not depart in a body, but, for the most part, singly, or in small detatched parties. At a certain distance from the village they halt upon an isolated hill, open their medicine bags, and, after the men have sat down in a circle, the partisan produces his medicine pipe, which all present smoke; the person who smokes last, then spreads his medicines on the ground, or hangs them up, and from them foretels the fate of the expedition. The Indians manifest much gravity and decorum on solemn occasions like these.

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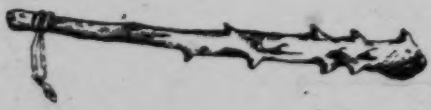
727 535 When the warriors return from their expedition, the scalps are carried on in advance, on high poles: if they have performed any exploits, they paint their faces black; very frequently the whole body is thus disfigured. The women and children go out to meet them, and they enter the village performing the scalp dance. This dance is then repeated four successive nights in the medicine lodge, and is subsequently danced in the open space, in the centre of the village. If the campaign took place in the spring, it is danced, at intervals, till the fall of the leaf in autumn; if in the autumn, it is danced till spring, but should any of the nation be killed in the interim all festivities immediately cease. In the scalp dance the Indians paint themselves in various ways, form a semicircle, advance, and retreat amid the din of singing, the beating of the drum and schischikué. The wives of those men who have obtained the scalps carry them on long rods.

555 All the distinguished deeds performed by a war party are placed to the account of the partisan. All the scalps that are taken belong to him, and also the horses that they have captured. He who has killed an enemy is a brave man, and reckons one exploit; but the partisan rises the highest on that account, even though he had not seen any of the enemies who have been slain. When he returns home, the old men and women meet, and sing the scalp song, on which he must make them all presents of value. He gives away all the captured horses, and valuable articles, and is afterwards a poor man, but his reputation is great. Successful partisans afterwards become chiefs, and are highly respected by their nation. The Indian youths go to war when they are only fourteen or fifteen years of age. Sometimes they make excursions on horseback in the winter.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

411 with brass nails. Besides the ramrod belonging to the gun, the Indians always carry another long ramrod in their hand, which they generally use. The pouch is made of leather, or cloth, often beautifully ornamented with beads, or porcupine quills, and is hung on the back by a piece of skin, or a broad strip of cloth of some lively colour. Their clubs and tomahawks are of various kinds. Many have a thick egg-shaped stone fastened to a handle, covered with leather, or without leather. (See the woodcut).

Others have small iron tomahawks (see portrait of Mato-Topé, Plate XIV.), but not tomahawks with pipes fixed to them. The large club with the broad iron point (Plate XLVIII., Fig. 41) is called manha-okatanha, or mauna-schscha. A simple, knotty, wooden club is called mauna-panischa. (See the woodcut).



Many Mandans likewise carry lances, and I was told that they had a remarkably handsome one, of which, however, I did not obtain a sight. These Indians have shields, which do not differ from those of the tribes already mentioned. They all wear, in their girdle, behind, their large knife, which is indispensable to them in hunting and in war. Some use, for the handle of the knife, the lower jaw of a bear, with the hair and teeth remaining. (Woodcut, page 234.) The bow and arrows are, even now, much esteemed by all the nations living on the Missouri, while those that have been entirely driven from that river (the Osages) greatly prefer the gun; the former, therefore, are capital archers, which cannot be affirmed of the Osages. The Mandans and Manitaries are said to fight well in their manner, and there have been frequent instances of individual bravery. One of their most distinguished warriors, at this time, is Mato-Topé, of whom we shall often have to speak in the sequel. He has killed more than five chiefs of other nations. The father of Mato-Topé, whose name was Suck-Schih (the handsome child), behaved exactly

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6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

in the same manner as the Manitari chief, Kokoahkis, mentioned by Say. He went, one evening, wrapped up in his robe, into a hut of the hostile Arikkaras, as the young men of the village often do, ate with his face covered, so that he was taken for a young Arikkara; then laid himself down by the side of a woman, and afterwards cut off a lock of her hair, with which he retired. He might have killed the woman, as Kokoahkis did, but refrained from doing so. 555

Wounds appear to be healed with remarkable ease. In cases of arrow wounds, they like to force the arrow quite through, that the iron head may not remain in the wound. Men and women are often scalped, in battle, who afterwards come to themselves, and are cured. Such a large wound on the head is rubbed with fat; the medicine man fumigates it, singing at the same time. Disorders are not uncommon among the Indians. The Mandans and Manitaries often suffer from diseases in the eyes; many are one-eyed, or have a tunicle over one eye. In inflammation of the eye they have a custom of scratching the inner eye with the leaf of a kind of grass, resembling a saw, which causes them to bleed very much, and this may often occasion the loss of the eye. Rheumatism, coughs, and the like, are frequent, because they go half naked in the severest cold, and plunge into ice water. Much benefit is often derived from their steam-baths, in a well closed hut, where a thick steam is produced by pouring water on hot stones. They then immediately go into the cold, roll themselves in the snow, or plunge into a river covered with drifting ice, but do not return to a warm hut, as the Russians do. Many Indians are said to have died on the spot by trying this remedy. Some suffer from gout; but all who survive these violent remedies are stronger and more hardy. Another remedy is trampling on the whole body, especially the stomach, as is practised also among the Brazilians. This operation is performed with such violence, as often to occasion hard swellings in the intestines, or ulcers, especially in the liver. The steam-bath is used as a remedy in all kinds of disorders. Vaccination, the application of which met with no difficulties among several nations on the great lakes, especially the Chippeways, is not yet practised among the Mandans and Manitaries. Spitting of blood is said to be frequent, but not pulmonary consumption. Gonorrhœa is very common; they affirm that all venereal disorders came to them from the Crows beyond the Rocky Mountains. For such disorders they often seat themselves over a heated pot, but very frequently burn themselves. They cut open buboes, lengthwise, with a knife, and then run for a couple of miles as fast as they can. The jaundice is said not to occur among them. It appears that they are not acquainted with emetics, but, if they feel anything wrong in the stomach, they thrust a feather down the throat, and thus produce vomiting. Their purgatives are obtained from the vegetable kingdom. The poison-vine often produces swellings, especially in children. As rattlesnakes are rare in the vicinity of the villages, it is, of course, seldom that any one is bitten by them; these Indians are said, however, to have very good remedies against the bite. Frozen limbs are rubbed with snow. 752 757 164 757

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

not possessing wealth or important sacred bundles it was largely a social event involving the two households. Although young men would court their girls, marriages were arranged by the relatives, who disapproved of elopements. The mother would watch her daughters, and, when she saw that they were seeing the young men often, she would discuss the matter with her husband. She would advise her daughters not to marry without a considerable exchange of goods, as to do so would be grounds for criticism. Mothers would explain the importance of ceremonial bundles and advise their daughters of the importance of keeping them in the lodge. People would say that a daughter was no good if little was received at her wedding.

There were in each of the Mandan villages a large number of families owning or controlling important tribal bundles. These families were considered the authorities on tribal lore and custom. They received, in addition to the produce of their gardens and their share of meat and hides from animals taken on the group hunts, a great deal of property and honors for officiating at the ceremonies. To preserve their status, they endeavored to have a considerable display of goods at the marriage of one of their children. Families with important related bundles endeavored to marry their children into families also having important bundles, the feeling being that those reared in a lodge where important bundles were kept were better trained in learning the complicated rites associated with tribal bundles. A household that held an important tribal bundle inherited within a clan endeavored and generally succeeded in selecting a son-in-law who was of the same clan as the daughter's father. It was also believed that a man and his son-in-law got along better when they were of the same clan. In a large measure, the Mandan were successful in preserving most of their rich ceremonialism through the smallpox epidemic of 1837 because of the character of the formal training of those who were to inherit the traditional rights and responsibilities for the ceremonies and because of a system of preferred marriage in which the parents of both households selected their children's mates. It can be definitely said that the bulk of Mandan tribal lore was preserved by a small number of families, that their status was high in the

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

736 In the event of separation or death the children were provided for by the mother's household, with the father's household generally disregarding them.

581 556 These various accounts of types of marriage might be analyzed at length; it is sufficient here to note some significant situations which can be explained as accounting for the variations that occur as well as the number of different relatives participating in one way or another. We have noted the great emphasis placed on wealth and the part it played at the naming of a child. There was a comparable display of wealth when a young man returned from his first successful war expedition. Mandan informants speak of advancement in the tribe as steps in a ladder. As one took a new step, he made certain payments. For those of eminence, marriage was treated in the same way. Except for those marriages which involved bundle purchase, marriage was secular in character and involved only a few people.

162 Plains warfare greatly unbalanced the proportion of women to men. My census of the Mandan as of 1870–72 showed that males constituted only 38 per cent of the total population. A similar proportion was found for Hidatsa men. If we disregard all children under fifteen years of age, the proportion of men would be even smaller. The women of the household played an exclusive role in gardening unless one considers the use of young men as watchmen during the day to prevent a surprise attack by their enemies. The women built the earth lodges except for the raising of the heavier rafters and repaired them from time to time. They dressed the hides and made all the household goods. They did most of the butchering, except when animals were killed at a distance from the village. And they found time to participate in many of the men's ceremonies besides having ceremonies of their own. They were acquainted with ceremonies in which tribal custom did not permit their participation and on some occasions were intrusted with important ritualism ultimately to be transferred to their children. They reared their families and trained them without a great deal of help from their husbands. Some lodge groups in 1870–72 had had no male old enough to hunt for ten years or more. Informants thought that the physical needs of such households were pretty well taken care of by the tribal system of mutual

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6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

This custom exists among most of the nations on the Missouri, and even among the Esquimaux there is a somewhat similar usage. If the adopted son and father have not happened to meet for a long time, they make presents to each other; the father gives the son a new dress, and the latter presents him with a good horse. Among all the Indian nations of North America, there is a particular class of men, who are specially engaged in all the above-mentioned ceremonies and medicines. They are, also, the physicians, and are called, among the Mandans, Numak-Choppenih, which signifies medicine man.

The skin of a white buffalo cow is an important article, and an eminent medicine in the opinion of the Mandans and Manitaries. He who has never possessed one of them is not respected. Suppose two men to be disputing about their exploits, the one an old veteran warrior, who has slain many enemies, the other, a young lad without experience; the latter reproaches the other with never having possessed a white buffalo cow hide, on which the old man droops his head, and covers his face for shame. He who possesses such a hide generally offers it to the lord of life, to whom he dedicates it, or, which is equivalent, to the sun, or to the first man. He collects, perhaps, in the course of a whole twelvemonth, various articles of value, and then hangs them up all together on a high pole in the open prairie, generally in the neighbourhood of the burying-place, or in the village before his hut. Distinguished men and chiefs of eminence are for the most part poor, because, in order to gain reputation and influence, they give away everything of value which they possess. A large number of relatives is one of the chief means of acquiring riches, for a young man who wishes to distinguish himself, and to be liberal, does honour to the whole family, who assist him to the utmost of their power. When one of his relations has anything of value, the young man goes to the owner to demand it, and not unfrequently takes it away without ceremony. Sometimes he hangs his head in silence, and then something of value is given him, a handsome dress, a horse, &c. If he wishes to gain reputation and a claim to distinction, it is necessary that he should make presents. All the people in the village notice very accurately what presents are made, and the donor has a right to display all such presents painted on his robes, and in this manner to hand down his reputation to posterity, as has been already related. This and military glory are, in the eyes of these men, the greatest virtues. They dare not draw a stroke too much on their robes for the horses, guns, &c., which they have given away, for the young men keep a most strict account against each other, and universal ridicule would be the immediate consequence of violating this rule. Among the distinctions of any man, the white buffalo hide is the greatest. He who has not been so fortunate as to kill a white buffalo himself, which is generally the case, as these animals are very rare, purchases a hide, often at a great distance from home, and other nations bring them hither, being well aware of the great value attached to them by the Mandans. The hide must be that of a young cow, not above two years old, and be taken off complete and tanned, with the horns,

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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LETTER—No. 17.

MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

595 171 I MENTIONED in the foregoing epistle, that the chiefs of the Mandans frequently have a plurality of wives. Such is the custom amongst all of these North Western tribes, and a few general remarks on this subject will apply to them all, and save the trouble of repeating them.

Polygamy is countenanced amongst all of the North American Indians, so far as I have visited them; and it is no uncommon thing to find a chief with six, eight, or ten, and some with twelve or fourteen wives in his lodge. Such is an ancient custom, and in their estimation is right as well as necessary. 562 595 Women in a savage state, I believe, are always held in a rank inferior to that of the men, in relation to whom in many respects they stand rather in the light of menials and slaves than otherwise; and as they are the "hewers of wood and drawers of water," it becomes a matter of necessity for a chief (who must be liberal, keep open doors, and entertain, for the support of his popularity) to have in his wigwam a sufficient number of such handmaids or menials to perform the numerous duties and drudgeries of so large and expensive an establishment.

595 556 462 There are two other reasons for this custom which operate with equal, if not with greater force than the one above assigned. In the first place, these people, though far behind the civilized world in acquisitiveness, have still more or less passion for the accumulation of wealth, or, in other words, for the luxuries of life; and a chief, excited by a desire of this kind, together with a wish to be able to furnish his lodge with something more than ordinary for the entertainment of his own people, as well as strangers who fall upon his hospitality, sees fit to marry a number of wives, who are kept at hard labour during most of the year; and the avails of that labour enable him to procure those luxuries, and give to his lodge the appearance of respectability which is not ordinarily seen. Amongst those tribes who trade with the Fur Companies, this system is carried out to a great extent, and the women are kept for the greater part of the year, dressing buffalo robes and other skins for the market; and the brave or chief, who has the greatest number of wives, is considered the most affluent and envied man in the tribe; for his table is most bountifully supplied, and his lodge the most abundantly furnished with the luxuries

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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of civilized manufacture, who has at the year's end the greatest number of robes to vend to the Fur Company. 595

The manual labour amongst savages is all done by the women; and as there are no daily labourers or persons who will "*hire out*" to labour for another, it becomes necessary for him who requires more than the labour or services of one, to add to the number by legalizing and compromising by the ceremony of marriage, his stock of labourers; who can thus, and thus alone, be easily enslaved, and the results of their labour turned to good account. 556 462

There is yet the other inducement, which probably is more effective than either; the natural inclination which belongs to man, who stands high in the estimation of his people and wields the sceptre of power—surrounded by temptations which he considers it would be unnatural to resist, where no law or regulation of society stands in the way of his enjoyment. Such a custom amongst savage nations can easily be excused too, and we are bound to excuse it, when we behold man in a state of nature, as he was made, following a natural inclination, which is sanctioned by ancient custom and by their religion, without a law or regulation of their society to discountenance it; and when, at the same time, such an accumulation of a man's household, instead of quadrupling his expenses (as would be the case in the civilized world), actually becomes his wealth, as the results of their labour abundantly secure to him all the necessaries and luxuries of life. 595

There are other and very rational grounds on which the propriety of such a custom may be urged, one of which is as follows:—as all nations of Indians in their natural condition are unceasingly at war with the tribes that are about them, for the adjustment of ancient and never-ending feuds, as well as from a love of glory, to which in Indian life the battle-field is almost the only road, their warriors are killed off to that extent, that in many instances two and sometimes three women to a man are found in a tribe. In such instances I have found that the custom of polygamy has kindly helped the community to an evident relief from a cruel and prodigious calamity.

The instances of which I have above spoken, are generally confined to the chiefs and medicine-men; though there is no regulation prohibiting a poor or obscure individual from marrying several wives, other than the personal difficulties which lie between him and the hand which he wishes in vain to get, for want of sufficient celebrity in society, or from a still more frequent objection, that of his inability (from want of worldly goods) to deal in the customary way with the fathers of the girls whom he would appropriate to his own household.

There are very few instances indeed, to be seen in these regions, where a poor or ordinary citizen has more than one wife; but amongst chiefs and braves of great reputation, and doctors, it is common to see some six or

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture. 000

CRITERIA OF ACCULTURATION

There are many superficial criteria that could be selected to divide the population of Lone Hill into groups differing in degree of acculturation, but I prefer one that has an essential connection to the Indian value system. One well-known basic value that contrasts sharply with our general American ethic is the Indian value of generosity (Bruner 1953:23–24). This value difference has a readily observable behavioral manifestation—participation in the Indian ceremonial dances. The Indian "give-away" dance is now a secular affair, featuring Indian songs and dances and the giving of war bonnets, horses, cattle, blankets, and money as gifts to prescribed relatives, distinguished visitors, societies, and the needy. It is one of the few remaining public gatherings in Lone Hill where generosity and other Indian values are expressed, reaffirmed and maintained. The following statement by an informant aptly characterizes the emotional overtones of the dance (quoted in Merrill 1951:27): 177 431 535

> After the people get all painted up—this is decoration, like lipstick—and the tom-toms get going and people chanting and singing (demonstrated with a rapid beat of his feet and an ai-ai-ai chant), people get all worked up and excited. Then someone gets up and makes a speech and gives away a horse, or a beef, or two beefs, and everyone gets going and there's a lot of giving-away and many people end up with little or nothing. . . . They say that property doesn't mean anything; what counts is being friendly and generous and all friends of one another. . . . People shout and praise a person (who gives away a lot) and they talk about it long afterwards. [554]

Not every person in Lone Hill attends the dance. Some families come with all their children, stay throughout the night, and donate generously. For them the dance is an impressive and public mechanism of socialization to Indian ways. Others virtually never attend the ceremonials, as they are more concerned with the accumulation than the giving of goods. As a result, they and their children do not participate in the one public ritual that best symbolizes and makes legitimate the traditional Indian values. One acculturated Indian man had this to say about the ceremonials: 431 535 184 [556] 177

> I never go to any dances or pow-wows. These dances are the fellows breeding grounds; they go there to drink, to raise hell, and they are not Christians. A lot of these fellows . . . go there to take some gal out . . . and get her drunk. That's all these dances are for, as far as the younger people are concerned. The older people go there to get these donations; something for nothing. . . . They take their kids there and the kids don't learn much from that. They give things away and that money can be used to educate their children, buy provisions and things. It seems like with an Indian they think they are in the spotlight; it makes them feel good. I never believed in it simply because I know most families and they can't afford to do that.

Participation in the Indian ceremonials was applied to the population of Lone Hill as a criterion of acculturation. In order to define the population, it was first necessary to delimit the community, the sample, and the unit of 621 121 161

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

861 that a different set of relatives instructed her for a different set
562 of economic pursuits. The women of the lodge were responsible
602 for her training. They gave her toys, related stories and traditions, and taught her to care for her younger siblings. Her mother taught her to harness the dogs and took her to the forest for firewood. Some of my informants' most tender memories were of the times when as young girls, their mothers had given them dogs with harnesses, and had taken them along in gathering brush for the fires. The mother-daughter bonds were of deep affection. When the women of the lodge dressed hides, the daughter would help, and she had her own sewing kit containing awls, sinew thread, paints, beads, and porcupine quills, and she was taught the techniques of hide dressing and decoration, giving those who helped her little presents to express her affection. As a little girl, she made crude pots when the women of the lodge were making pottery, and, when old enough, she bought her mother's rights in the techniques and designs of pottery-making.

861 Parents owning rights in age-grade societies encouraged their
561 children to join an age-grade society. Those too young to be-
602 long to a society would see older ones dancing. A girl's older sisters and women of the lodge would explain the procedure of buying as a group and helped collect goods for the transfer of the society to the younger girls. Membership in a society introduced a series of new obligations. Heretofore her obligations were with the persons of her parental household. As a member of an organized female group, composed largely of persons of her own age and outside her own household, she was called on to prepare robes and other clothing for the brother or husband of a society member who was buying a ceremonial bundle or was having rites performed for the renewal of a bundle. As a member of an organized group she likewise received assistance when her own family was buying rights in a sacred bundle. Collectively she treated those in the next older group as mothers and those in the group younger than her own as daughters.

Preadolescent boys also joined an age-grade society, buying as a group from the older boys on the advice of their parents. All boys of the age eligible to buy would organize to join. Some boys were not interested; some households were temporarily broken

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

up by death or divorce; some fathers were in disrepute, having conducted an unsuccessful war expedition. An old man of a boy's lodge, one who had belonged to many societies, learning in the village that there was talk of buying the youngest society, would encourage his grandson to join and would help him accumulate the goods used for the purchase.

Joining an age-grade society for the first time as a boy, he encountered a "father-son" relationship which had heretofore applied only to his own household. He was selected by a member who was of his father's clan, and the initiate addressed him as "father" during all the proceedings preliminary to the formal purchase; he learned that the other two or three boys his ceremonial "father" had selected were likewise based on a "father-son" relationship. This "father-son" relationship, extending outside his own household, formally instituted when making his first purchase into a society, became the basis of his behavior in buying and selling societies and ceremonies for the rest of his life.

FASTING AND FIRST WAR EXPEDITIONS

Fasting during the Okipa ceremony marked the introduction of the boy to status in the tribe as a whole and was first instituted at the age of eight or nine, when the people of all the villages were assembled for this annual event. The first fasting was of short duration. The fasting periods increased until a boy reached the age of seventeen or eighteen, when he was expected to fast for the entire duration of the Okipa ceremony and to drag buffalo skulls or be suspended by means of thongs inserted under the skin. Visions were not induced each time one fasted; neither were they expected.

It was believed that one's social personality was determined by sacred beings before the birth of the individual and that fasting was a means of renewing these former instructions that were temporarily forgotten while being born and cared for in the village. It was also believed that in the universe there were many sacred people who would adopt as a "son" those who fasted frequently and made offerings to them or who gave feasts to the sacred bundles of the village. A young man was taught to consult not only his own father but all men of his father's clan on matters of a sacred character. If one's sister's son seemed neg-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

MATURITY AND MIDDLE AGE

885 A man was considered to have reached maturity when, several years after his first marriage, he had assumed most of the responsibility of providing meat for the household and had taken over important ceremonial duties. Marriage introduced him to a new set of relatives with a new pattern of behavior in his daily associations with them. Marriage also introduced his wife to new sets of relations as well as new ceremonial relatives.

561 By the time a young man had reached maturity, he would normally have advanced through at least three age-grade societies. Except for the first society which was owned by the young preadolescent boys, the buyer was expected to bring his wife to the transfer ceremonies. She was expected to give assistance in the preparation of the food and goods used during the society transfer. A man's ceremonial "father" from whom he received paraphernalia and instructions in the lore and rites of the society was a ceremonial "grandfather" to the wife and was entitled to have "intercourse" with her during the transfer ceremonies. The men's societies all followed a common pattern when being transferred. The sellers individually selected young men, not more than four in number and whose fathers were of the seller's clan, to sponsor during the transfer ceremonies. He had the necessary clothing and equipment prepared for his "sons" and gave them individual instructions prior to the meeting of the two groups representing the sellers and buyers.

561 The sellers addressed the buyers collectively as "sons," who
554 in turn addressed the sellers as "fathers." All the wives of the buyers were addressed by the sellers as "granddaughters." A man's social status grew in proportion to the number of societies he had owned at one time or another and was especially enhanced if he had kept the same wives who assisted him in all his society purchases. Those who had enjoyed the loyalty of their wives while making many society purchases were especially regarded because they continued the same "father-son" relationship independent of the societies afterward. Crows Heart frequently referred to occasions in later years when he had invited in the men who acted as his sponsors when buying into a society and had given them a meal and little presents.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

224 out daily to travel as much as one hundred and fifty miles from the village to observe the numbers and movements of the buffalo. Returning war leaders were called in to report the number and size of the herds they had observed. The leader planned the hunt on the basis of the knowledge he had acquired from several sources and designated the spots where the party would camp each night. This information together with the time of departure from the village was given to the Black Mouth Society, which sent its announcer through the village to notify the people.

221 241 796 The summer buffalo hunt was scheduled as a permanent part of the summer's activities and did not interfere with the normal village routine. The gardens were prepared and planted in May, and the first performance of the Okipa was celebrated just prior to leaving for the summer hunt. Since one of the purposes of the Okipa was to have the Buffalo Dance performed, it was believed that it should be held prior to the summer hunt. Ceremonies to the buffalo were believed to insure a good hunt and the replenishment of their numbers by the escape of the buffalo spirits from the spirit homes in which they lived before being born into the herds. The leader was not authorized to call an unscheduled hunt.

224 561 Crows Heart believed that all the leaders selected in his time belonged to the Black Mouth or Bull men's societies, since these were the two oldest active societies, but felt that membership was not obligatory, since in former times there were so many people that all did not belong, especially those who were too busy with other ceremonial matters. The leader never undertook to direct the hunt unassisted. He invited in all those with the right to pray to the buffalo to meet at his lodge and assist him. These would be the officers of the Okipa and Red Stick ceremonies, Okipa Makers, and all those who had buffalo skulls in their bundles whether acquired by vision or purchase. He discussed his plans with them and changed them if any offered a reasonable objection. The hunt was frequently canceled when war leaders reported unusual numbers of enemies about.

224 In early times dogs were used, but, after horses were acquired, the summer hunts of later times were out much farther. The leader was always to the front, and the party followed behind

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

in a line. Household groups kept together, since they would stop from time to time to dig wild turnips. Whenever the leader saw these plants in great numbers, he would ask his assistant, the announcer of the Black Mouths, to stop the party. All would dig except the scouts, who were ahead guarding the party against surprise by the enemy or hunting for fresh meat, and the Black Mouths, who were mounted and armed to protect the party against attack. The latter watched for stragglers and helped them to join the main party.

The leader selected the camping place which had been agreed upon in advance, and the Black Mouths enforced the regulations that the lodges be arranged in a circle at a certain distance from each other and compelled those whose lodges were out of place to take them down and set them up in such a way that the circle was complete except for a larger entrance at the side of the leader's lodge where the horses could be brought through to be corraled within the open circle. The leader's household was at the front of the line when traveling and was the first to set up a tepee; the back end of the line which was assembled by household groups swung around in a wide circle so that the last in the line set up their tepee at the side of the leader's tepee, thus completing the circle. Ropes were tied between the tepees forming a corral into which the horses were driven for the night.

The leader's tepee was used as a meeting place for the people assisting him in planning the hunt. They selected the scouts each day and relieved others who had ridden far; when the party had reached its destination, they also selected the leader of the hunters who was changed from day to day if the work of killing animals was tedious as was often the case when the buffaloes were in small bands. The leader was responsible for the success of the entire party and was expected to call in the hunters if scouts reported an enemy encampment until it was decided whether to move to another place or make provisions for the defense of the party. The Black Mouths drove all the women and children into the camp and enforced rigid rules against leaving.

The men butchered the animals and brought the meat to the camp, while the women cut it into strips and dried it on scaffolds. All were expected to get equal amounts, and a woman

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

773 tacts with most families, since a person was not considered
538 important who could not argue in council for a certain point of
554 view based on traditional action of the group. Group action was
571 in a large measure regulated by custom. These patterns of behavior were in a large measure perpetuated by the storyteller. Anyone seeking the position of chief would need a considerable knowledge of tribal history to attain that status. No amount of success in warfare or performance of ceremonies would in themselves have been sufficient. It was this extra knowledge of tribal lore that distinguished them as leaders. Actually, whenever one was the recipient of goods and honors from another, a new and intimate relationship was established between them. Those who had provided many feasts and acquired a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were ultimately selected to become the leaders of the various groups.

571 Men who had reached middle age were called on to insert the
785 thongs for a "son" who was preparing to fast and to pray for
554 his success. They were expected to supervise the fasting and have it terminated when there was a possibility that the "son" was carrying his fasting to excess. Those who had good war records or had made significant contributions toward village welfare in other ways offered many feasts to the older men hoping that, by so doing, they would be named village leaders. A man would announce renewal feasts to his ceremonial bundle from time to time and call in those who had similar bundles. Some would assist in removing arrows and opening wounds or doctor in other ways when the occasion warranted.

●561 Men of middle age belonged to the Black Mouth Society,
701 which was intrusted with the organization and protection of the village. This was the most highly organized men's society. It met every two or three days and received its instructions from the older men meeting in council. It was their duty, whenever the village was in danger of attack, to see that none left the village without permission. Each member carried a club carved according to his own individual preference, and he was expected to use it if anyone was found violating the rules. If the announcer called through the village that the people were not to leave the village and anyone was seen leaving, the Black Mouths would drive him back. Crows Heart remembered a

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man who drew his gun when being driven back and was killed by the Black Mouths. Usually it was the duty of one's brothers to revenge a sibling's death, but in this instance siblings took no action. The Black Mouths were believed to be the bravest men of the village. Before making an attack on the enemy, their leaders would stick their lances into the ground which meant that they would not retreat. When on the summer buffalo hunts they received their orders from the leader and were instructed to prevent premature hunting and to see that the party did not break up. Although they endeavored to prevent war parties from leaving the village when there was danger of attack, they inflicted no punishment when an unauthorized war party returned.

It was believed that an individual's influence with sacred things advanced in age. They were consulted on sacred matters and were offered their "sons'" wives frequently during the buffalo ceremonies. Men and women assisted in the disposal of the dead. It was a man's duty to assist a clan sister in the construction of the scaffold for one whose father was of their clan, to superintend the painting and wrapping of the body.

OLD AGE AND DEATH

The old people were respected members of the household. The grandfather would assist the youngsters of the lodge in making toys and in playing their simple games, but he was always held in high regard as the one from whom the child's father had acquired much of his training in sacred matters. Having more time to give to the instruction of the children of the lodge, he would assist them in learning stories if the children were interested in hearing them. The older women assisted the younger women about the lodge and in the gardens but were not expected to do much work.

The older women were organized into two age-grade societies which were sacred in character. Women of advanced middle age joined the Goose Society and, when they had reached the menopause, sold to younger women and bought into the White Buffalo Cow Society.[3] As members of these societies they were respected for their supernatural powers over agriculture and

3. See the chapters on ceremonialism for an account of their origin.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

888 561 562 hunting. Women holding rights in the various Holy Women bundles also met whenever a medicine feast was given. Their rights were individually acquired by assisting their husbands or brothers in the bundle purchase. Some of their number were members of the Goose or the White Buffalo Cow societies.

888 562 The older people performed an important role in the ceremonies so long as they were not too feeble to get around. Women who had assisted others at childbirth became doctors after the menopause and could substitute for a man in a great many of the societies. In many ceremonies they were the medium through which the traditions and bundles were transmitted to a legitimate male heir.

888 785 755 Fasting was generally completed by the time one reached fifty years of age. In case of repeated bad luck or failure to attain a definite goal, fasting for short periods was practiced during a ceremony. When an epidemic of sore eyes broke out at Fishhook Village, one old woman fasted to seek relief from her affliction. Since her eye trouble was cleared up shortly afterward, quite a number of middle-aged and old people fasted to cure the ailment. Calf Woman said that more than half of them got relief.

888 431 787 People who were past middle age and who had been relatively successful all their lives would frequently have bad dreams in which they were being killed and cut up by the enemy or were drowning. It was believed that one could forestall this misfortune by giving away all his property. He would call in those who had been successful and were owners of important tribal bundles to give away his property, consisting of robes and bedding, household utensils, dogs, and horses, until the family was utterly destitute. One doing this would walk through the village repeating the dream. When the bad dream failed to materialize within the designated time, such people were said to be holy and as such were called the "protectors of the village." In appreciation of their sacrifices, each household group was expected to contribute something toward their comfort.

888 421 324 The old people had privately owned game pits and were entitled to the animals found in them. According to tradition, before horses were acquired, pits were widely used and owned by households. Ruins of game pits are still to be seen in consider-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 lungs, heart, and windpipe were tied, drifted along with the
773 wind until they reached the foot of the hill where the young man was fasting. They sang a song which mentioned the name of the young girl who was the cause of the disappearance of these families. She was destroyed by burning, which freed the people she had consumed. A sacred bundle was established by the young man. A buffalo robe represented the young girl, and twelve red sticks were carved to represent the twelve buffalo bulls.

778 Bundle transfer was traditionally from father to son,[3] but the
425 information on actual transfers is so limited that it was not possible to check this belief with actual transfers. The ceremony was not given after the buffalo herds disappeared.

796 The pledge to give the ceremony could be made either by an individual or by an age-grade society. In the case of the former,
778 clan brothers of about the same age assisted by bringing their wives with food and goods. The owner of the sacred bundle
•561 would select twelve older men who had given the ceremony or who had sacred buffalo skulls, acquired through vision or purchase with bundles, to carry the red sticks. When an age-grade society gave the ceremony, the bundle-owner distributed the red sticks among the members of the next highest age-grade society who impersonated the buffalo bulls.

796 The ceremony was held in the giver's lodge. He paid those who carried the red sticks and the bundle-owner who set up the robe
778 of First Pretty Woman on an ash stake to represent a young girl. These carriers of the red sticks met at the bundle-owner's lodge in the evening to receive their ceremonial paraphernalia, after which by four stages they approached the lodge where the ceremony was being held. At each stop the giver's wife would put down a robe and a corn ball.

Upon entering the lodge where the ceremonies were to be held, the carriers placed the red sticks in a row extending from the fireplace to the head of the lodge, and the image of First Pretty Woman was placed to the right of them.

During the afternoon the Black Mouths sent their criers through the village announcing the buffalo dances were to be

3. We cannot be certain that this is true. Owing to influences of the Hidatsa pattern,
171 Mandan bundles were in the process of shifting from clan to father-son inheritance during the eighteenth century. In numerous instances where informants stated inheritance was from father to son, genealogies showed inheritance to be within the clan.

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Chapter XV

THE WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY[1]

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THE two highest of the four women's age-grade societies, the White Buffalo Cow and Goose societies, were religious in character. The Goose Society[2] was organized, according to tradition, by Good Furred Robe to dance during the Corn ceremonies. During the time women were performing the ceremony, they would dream of corn or the supernatural beings associated with corn so that, when the time came to sell the society to younger women and buy into the next age-grade society, most women had minor rights in the Corn ceremonies and were invited to come to the corn feasts.

When Calf Woman was two years old, she was taken into the White Buffalo Cow Society to represent the buffalo calf. As a young woman she bought into the Goose Society. After selling out to younger women, she always attended and danced with the society. There was not the entire relinquishment of rights in the two highest Mandan women's societies so characteristic of the men's societies and the lower women's societies. Both Scattercorn and Calf Woman were in agreement that this was due to their religious character. The Goose Society was associated with the spring and fall migration of the birds and the summer Corn ceremonies. The White Buffalo Cow Society was associated with the winter migration of the buffalo herds from the flats to the river bottoms. The ceremony was held during the shortest days to bring the winter buffaloes. While the ceremony was in progress, the Black Mouth Society policed the winter village to see that none chopped wood, left the village to hunt, or had their dogs running loose. Announcement was given in advance that

1. See Maximilian in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, 1906), XXIII, 297; XXIV, 48–49; Henry A. Boller, *Among the Indians* (Philadelphia, 1868), pp. 216–22; Robert H. Lowie, *Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XI [1916]), pp. 346–54.

2. See Boller, *op. cit.*, pp. 147–49 and 283.

2: Bowers E. 5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the ceremonies would begin at such a time, and the people were expected to have a wood supply on hand. The people were expected to be quiet, and stray dogs were either tied up or killed. Both Calf Woman and Scattercorn (her father, Moves Slowly, was singer for the Mandan women) believed that the society was founded by the Mandan and bought by the Hidatsa.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY RELATED BY SCATTERCORN

The White Buffalo Women's Society began from a dream a man once had when he was fasting out on the hills. He dreamed that he heard a man calling from far away. He continued to fast. The fourth night the voice was so clear that he could heard the words. The voice kept saying, "Put a child with them." Soon he saw a man coming with two small children in his arms.

The man said, "I am going to give you these two children. Prepare a feast, and I will return to you. I am the buffalo. When you have the feast ready, I will come; you will have plenty of buffaloes all the time."

The man who had been fasting came back to the village and told how a buffalo man had promised him that his people were coming to the village to give him two buffalo children. He asked that the people put up a feast of all the different varieties of corn. He asked two women to come and receive the two buffalo children.

Soon a party of strange women came to eat the food and showed them how to give the dance. When the women left, the two children struggled to free themselves because they wanted to follow the women. One got away, but the other one was kept in the village. The child was reared in the tribe, and it was from this feast that the White Buffalo Society began.

Each winter the women came back to see the child. They were the buffalo cows, so the society danced to give the buffaloes a chance to see their child. The buffalo women would bring the winter buffalo herds with them.

The rule was that a woman should not belong to this society until she was beyond the childbearing age. This was the highest and last society to which women could belong. Women could not be members while they still had menstruation periods, as it was believed that the blood would drive the buffaloes away.

The society kept four men as singers. They bought their rights and could sell out whenever they wanted to. Before the ceremony of selling was held, the women put up a sweat-lodge frame which resembled an inverted bullboat frame. The ones buying must supply five or six robes for the cover. Each one buying gave a wooden dish and robes to one of the older women, whom she called "mother," to get her rights in the society. One person was selected to buy the leader's robe, which was white. As soon as the sale was concluded, the new society women lined up. The leader would be on the end of the line wearing the white buffalo robe with the hair outside. The child, a little girl between the years of two and nine, stood in the center of the line wearing a robe with the hair side out. A woman at the end of the line wore the robe of a summer buffalo and was called the summer buffalo. All the other women wore their robes with the hair side in. A woman standing next to the child burned the

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

561 incense and smoked the clothing they wore. The child represented the small buffalo calf left in the tribe by the buffalo women.

796 The dance was symbolic of the return of the buffaloes. All wore a band of buffalo hide around the arms and forehead, in which were tied owl and magpie feathers. The head woman wore a headband of white buffalo hide.

The dance was performed in the winter during the shortest days. Its purpose was to bring the buffalo herds back to the villages. It also was believed to bring cold weather, causing the herds to desert the flats for the sheltered river bottoms. Failure to have given the dances would have resulted in small herds or none at all. Someone always paid to have the dances.

CALF WOMAN'S NARRATIVE OF THE WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY

561 I was two years old when I went into the Hidatsa White Buffalo Society, and the women would carry me on their backs in the dance. The singers were
159 Crows Paunch, Bear Looks Out, Poor Wolf, and Red Wing (a Mandan).

The Goose Society was first, and the women selling out the Goose Society bought in. The society also came from the Mandan, but it passed over to the Hidatsa long before the Goose Society was passed over. Women were forty-five to fifty years old when joining. Bear Looks Out and Poor Wolf liked the ways of the society, and they went to the Mandan and bought singer rights.

The members of the society were: Calf Woman (a child), Otter, Dances Along, Different Sage, Root, Lone Woman, Good Paint, Long Hair, both of the Sioux Women, All Blossoms, Flying, Spring Woman, Cherry Women, and all those who had belonged to the Goose Society except Juneberries. I am today the only Mandan or Hidatsa with rights in the society.

After a group of women sell their rights in the Goose Society, they still have the right to attend their meetings and dance. [Scattercorn verified this.]

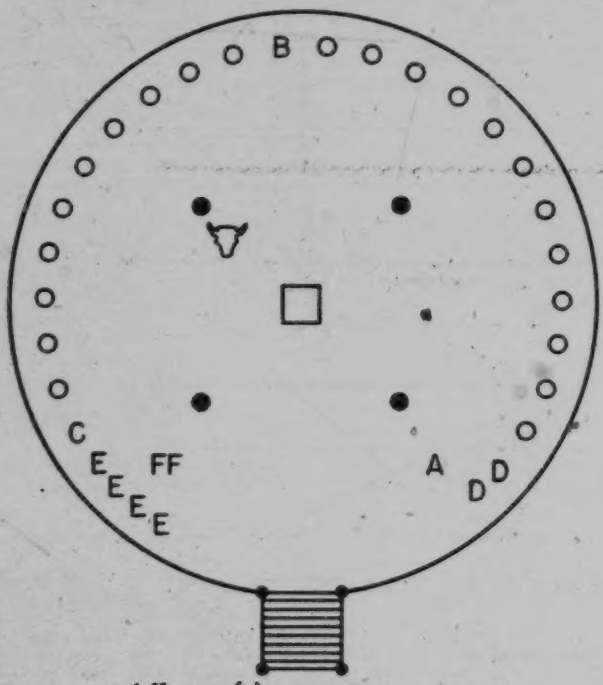
Everything in buying is the same as with the Goose Society, and the sale is made in the late fall. They meet each night for sixty nights; during that time those who are buying the society bring in food for the society they are buying out. At the end of the sixty nights, the older people give the clothing needed in the ceremony to the ones who are buying in.

Otter wore the white robe; I was the middle person wearing the little calf robe. Flying was the third person to wear one of the special robes of a calf and was well into the forties at that time.

561 We would meet in the wintertime when the days were the coldest, also in early winter when the days were shortest. The leader wore the white robe;
796 they called her "white robe." The middle one wore a calf robe; she was called "good calf robe." *MitE'atu'ki* means "white robe." The third officer is
159 "keeper of the incense." They make incense of a fine, pulpy, yellow material such as is used in the Bear ceremony. It comes from the Crow Indians. Lead or Lone Woman [mother's sister of Calf Woman] was "keeper of the incense." The last woman in the line holds the robes over the smoke before they put them on. They dance in a circle just like in the Goose Society. The singers in the Goose Society kept their rights even when the women sold out. Two women sit back of the woman with the white robe, wearing skunk headdresses, and it is their job to look after the spectators. Lone Woman attended to the incense, taking incense to the first three officers, then to the buffalo skull and finally around to all the women and the singers. They dance in the winter when they want the buffaloes to come and any other time, except when warm

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

enough for the crops, upon invitation. When they sing the songs in the spring after the crops are in, the frost will kill all the plants, so they are afraid to sing or dance then. They would not meet often in the wintertime if someone did not offer them a feast. They feel that they must dance once in the year, anyway, even though no one puts it on. Then they smoke the robes and skull before dancing. All the dancers wear a headband of white buffalo hair, two magpie tail feathers, and white down feathers of the eagle together with owl



A, Keeper of the ceremony
B, Child representing Buffalo Calf
C, Woman representing Summer Buffalo
D, Women acting as waiters
E, Singers
F, Giver of ceremony and wife

FIG. 44.—Lodge plan of the White Buffalo Cow Women's Society

feathers. They dance four times beginning in the evening, and it takes them until late into the night. The fourth time they dance, Lone Woman stands up and takes all their robes off so they dance in their buckskin dresses. The person giving the ceremony would sit with his wife next to the singers and toward the door (see Fig. 44).

They always meet in the leading woman's lodge, in this case Otter's lodge. Otter had three daughters, three sisters, and a mother living in that lodge, and that way there were eight of them; they would hitch up their dogs and bring in wood and water for the ceremony. She had three sons and a son-in-law, and they brought the buffalo meat. That was what they had when they danced.

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She was "Keeper of the Ceremony," and, when they danced, she fed the whole society. If another was putting on the ceremony, it would still be best to hold it in Otter's lodge. Old Packineau used to invite them in often. Otter made corn balls for the ceremony, and after the first dance she passed small pieces to each of the women.

The Mandan White Buffalo Society singers were Moves Slowly, Red Buffalo Cow, Short Bull, and Iron Eyes; Brown Nose, wife of Bear on Water, was the leader.

One time they danced in winter camp north and opposite to Independence. While they danced, a buffalo came and walked up to the door, and they killed it there.[3] They would take my little robe and all the headdresses to tie to a stick. They put them outside of the lodge in the morning after dancing all night; then in the evening they would take them back, doing that every day and taking them down for the four nights of dancing. During the four days of the ceremony, they stayed at the lodge, sleeping there when the ceremony was not in session. After the dance, each woman made corn balls. One of the singers with his rattle, in this case it was Red Wing, would sprinkle water on them. When he did that, the people would come in. They passed the corn balls around four times to the people who came to look on. They would place their headdresses and robes in a row with corn balls in front of each one. Then the owners would come and take the corn balls that were placed in front of their robes. They gave Red Wing many things for doing this for the women and singers, and he was the one who got the principal reward for it all.

There were four old women in the group who sold out, Corn Woman, Brave Woman, Spring Woman, and All Blossom. Each had from four to six younger women whom they had to claim as "daughters." They had to give the younger ones robes and clothing to be used in the ceremony. Corn Women had no daughters of her own. Spring Woman had one daughter (myself) and took as her daughters, Cherries, Long Hair, Many Yellow, Root, Different Sage, Flying Woman—seven in all, but not all were of the Chicken clan. Brave Woman took in Calf Woman, Cherries, and Peppermint. Corn Woman took in Lone Woman, the two Sioux Women, and another Cherry Woman. All Blossom took in all the rest of the women who were left. Red Wing had Crow Paunch, Bear Looks Out, and Poor Wolf. Red Wing was the only one of the old singers who had belonged with the four old women. Before dancing, the women painted the left side of their faces red and the right side blue with clay. They wore buckskin dresses and robes, but three had special robes and headdresses and painted their temples. The singers dressed in any manner they wished and also used any face paints they wanted.

After the ceremony was over, Red Wing cleansed the articles and each put her things away carefully, ready for the next ceremony. After that, different ones would invite us to their lodges immediately to feast, and then we would go back to our own lodges, having been away for four nights. I was the only girl in my family, and they thought so much of me that they urged and helped me to join different societies.

At Like-a-Fishhook Village the Mandan and Hidatsa kept their ceremonies separate. The Mandan met in Moves Slowly's lodge. He was head singer, getting his rights from Corn Woman's father, Enemy Face.

The ceremony in the two tribes was identical. The songs were alike also.

3. See *ibid.*, p. 305, for a reference to a similar incident.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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than any other nation; also that they sold grain, tobacco, peltry, 511
and painted plumes to the Assiniboine for arms, kettles, and
other things of European manufacture. As is seen from this 177
account of Verendrye, European culture touched them very
early by means of trade with nations farther east, and they
were quick to take up the better articles so acquired. For
this reason it is difficult to get any description of the use of
earlier crude bone and stone implements, most of which had
almost gone out of use when Lewis and Clarke visited the
villages.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: — As regards the social organization, 621
the Mandans were divided into two sorts of bands. By the
first method, like the Pawnee, they were known accord-
ing to the old village from which they had originally come.
Maximilian names at one time eight villages in describing the
old habitations; in another place he says they had thirteen
and gives the names for six more, this gives fourteen distinct
village names. He says that the people were known by the [614]
names of the villages whence they originally came, and Morgan
mentions eight of the names given, as the gens names. This is
the only trace of a gens organization found. The second method 561
of grouping into bands followed the lines of the general plains
division according to age. The First Chief who led them from
underground was the originator of these divisions. This chief
gave to each band its own songs and whistles and directions as
to conducting its dances. Each of these bands was distin-
guished by a number of songs, by a certain sort of war whistle,
by its head-dress and a number of other details of attire and
ceremony. For the men there were six recognized bands. As
men grew older they went from one band to the next. Each
band or society had a limited membership, and a place in the
band above was only obtained by purchase from a member
who was ready to resign his place, and try to purchase a place
in a band still higher up. New members must be received by
all the old members of the band or the sale could not be made.
Each society had a chief who was in charge of all important
affairs. After a sale the new member gave a feast to the whole
band, and following this the purchase property was returned to

561 the buyers. The first band was that of "The Dogs Whose Names Are Not Known." To this band boys from ten to fifteen years of age could belong. Maximilian was told that at first older men might belong to this band but that this was afterwards changed. Admission to this society and the learning of the dance was bought from a member by the boy's father. Maximilian says that the dances of all the bands were about the same, the differences being in the songs. Each band had a particular drum and rattle.

The second band was the "Band of the Crows" composed of men from twenty to twenty-six years of age.[1] There was usually an interval between the first and the second band when the man belonged to no group. Crow plumes were the distinguishing feature of this division.

561 625 623 [78] The third society was the "Soldier Band" and was composed of the most distinguished warriors of the tribe. The members of this band could never retreat before an enemy. Another feature was its possession of two sacred pipes. All members of the higher bands belonged at the same time to this one. This group had charge of policing and regulating the [71] village, a well-known feature of the Soldier Band among the Sioux and other plains tribes. They formed a committee which regulated all the important affairs of the nation, fixed the time for hunts and applied all the laws.[2]

561 The fourth division was the "Dog Band." Three members from this wore a red cloth down the back such as all the first band wore. These three were known as the Dogs, and anyone could throw a piece of meat on the floor or in the fire, saying "There, Dog, eat," and any of these three must obey.

The fifth band was that of the "Buffalos" or "Wolves." These in dancing wore the skin of a buffalo head with the horns. The two bravest, chosen by all, who never under any conditions could flee from an enemy, wore the whole head and horns and looked through artificial eyes. This was the only band which [534] had a wooden drum. In this society there was also one woman who offered the two head dancers a basin of water as they danced.

[1] Op. cit., p. 409. [2] Ibid., p. 411.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The sixth group was that of the "Black-tail Deer" and 561
consisted of men over fifty years of age. There were two women in this band who served food and distributed fresh water during the dances. The men wore a crown of bears' claws.

There were a few other dances which were bought and sold, 561
but which hardly deserve a place in the regular system. One 424
of these was the dance of the "Half Shaven Head Band" which 535
the lowest band could buy before reaching the proper age to buy into the "Soldier Band." Another was the "Old Dog Dance." The "Dog Band" could buy this of the "Buffalo Band" before becoming Buffalos themselves or being able to. The "Hot Dance" was danced at Rouhptare by the youngest band, and also at the Hidatsa village where it was purchased from the Arikara. The dancers danced barefoot over live coals and plunged their hands into boiling water.

The women, too, were divided into bands. There were four 561
of these of which the first was "The Band of the Gun" which consisted of the younger girls. Next was the "River Band." The third band was the "Hay Women" who sang only the scalp dance. The fourth and last band was that of the "Women of the White Cow," most of them were old, and they were all tattooed with black lines from the mouth to the base of the [304]
chin.

The marriage customs of the Mandan Indians differed little 595
from those of their neighbors. Polygamy was common, although a large part of the men had but one wife. Descent was 611
probably along the male line, though there may have been remains of an older custom of descent along the female line, for all the horses captured by a young man belonged to his sister. The women worked hard and were sometimes badly treated 562
though not as a general rule. Lewis and Clarke says that infidelity was punishable by death. Maximilian says it was punishable by cutting off the woman's nose. When a man's wife was stolen he had a right to demand a horse from the abductor. Separations occurred among them quite frequently. Virtue [586]
among the women was held in high esteem but was rather 831
scarce. There are accounts of a celebration where prizes were 171
given to the virtuous maids — these celebrations also took place

4: Lowie
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Mandan NQ17

[Although no mention is made of it in the analyzed sections of this source, the Mandan and Hidatsa societies are also age-graded. Therefore, for information concerning category 561 (age stratification) see also category 575 (sodalities). --Analyst]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

After the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the ex-
caption three men, who remained to instruct the new members in singing. These
575 three fathers stood between the door and the fireplace, but nearer to the
527 latter, while the new group of Little Dogs ranged themselves in a three-
868 quarter circle in the rear of the lodge. While the fathers sang, the members
533 danced, moving both feet at the same time and also raising and lowering their arms. Then the Little Dogs proceeded in single file to an open place, the singers following in the rear. Wounded-face says that as first lancer he took the lead, while his associate brought up the rear, and that the sash-wearers had no special place in the line. All the new members blew their whistles while coming out and formed a circle in the open place. The three fathers stepped inside the circle. At this first public parade, the old people called out the members' names and admonished them to try to die soon. Water-chief actually went on a war party soon after the parade, and put on his sash, thinking, "If I get killed, my old people will call out my name; if I live, I shall strike an enemy." As a matter of fact, he struck two women near the enemy's camp, and his people rejoiced.

575 After several songs and dances the Little Dogs stopped and went back
431 to their lodge, where they sat about and danced. The fathers sent messengers to summon their sons. Each son then went to his father's house, sometimes accompanied by his wife. The father gave his son a present of food, which the wife took home; if the son came alone, he took the food back to the society's lodge.

575 Like other societies, the Little Dogs occasionally went through the camp at night singing and waking up the villagers.

Crazy Dog Society.

575 In Maximilian's account the Crazy Dog (mini's'ōxka ō'xat'e)[1] society
● 561 figures as that of the youngest age group, embracing boys of from 10 to 15 years of age. In the list of my informants it ranks as the fourth society to be purchased by young men. It was obviously constituted in their day by married men; for they had all married before the purchase of the next lower society (see p. 304). Maximilian was told that in former days old men had also belonged to the organization, but on the understanding that they were never to retreat from the enemy.

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[1] The native name is nowadays at first blush interpreted as "Broncho Society." Maximilian, however, renders it "die thörichten Hunde, oder die Hunde deren Namen man nicht kennt, (les chiens fols, ou les chiens dont on ne connait pas le nom)," and this translation is confirmed on further inquiry. Cf. footnote, p. 302. Yellow-hair explicitly identified the Mandan *mini's'ōxka ō'xate* with the Hidatsa *mace'ka wer'ōxe* (see p. 280).

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Old Dog Society.[1]

Maximilian, while not including this society in his list of age-classes, states that the Old Dog dance was one which the Dogs might buy of the Bulls before they were permitted to become Bulls. The Old Dog dancers painted their bodies white, and their hands red and black. They wore a grizzly skin round the body, and on the head feathers which hung down in the back.

Wounded-face knew nothing of the organization save the name. He had heard that they dressed similarly to the Dogs.

Coarse Hair Society.

Wounded-face had only heard of this society (bacā'ca ō'xat'e) from his grandfather. There was something sacred about it. A young man going on the warpath promised the members to give them a dance provided he performed some brave deed in battle. When dancing, the members dressed up. On the head they placed a piece of scalp from a buffalo head of the size of a human scalp. Hair was attached to the scalp so as to hang over the members' faces. They put honor marks on their clothes. The left leggings were painted red up to the knee, and black marks were put round the lower legs as a sign that the wearer had struck many enemies. Leaders in war who had killed enemies tied human hair to the leggings. For each enemy struck in war, a member put one feather on his head. If he had been wounded by an arrow, the split feather from an arrow, dyed red, was worn on the head. A gun wound was indicated by a stick about 9 inches in length, and whittled at the lower end so that the shavings remained on the stick. The young warrior providing for the entertainment of the performers filled a pipe for them, and, if possible, presented them with horses or eagle feather bonnets. He asked them to pray for him. All the older men rejoiced in such a feast.

It is possible, but by no means certain, that this society corresponds to Maximilian's As-Cho'h-O'chatā (Ascho'-O'chatā). On the 23rd of December, 1833, a large number of Indians visited the Fort, led by fourteen members of this society from the village of Ruptare. The entire head was covered with a wig of long, flat braids of hair, which fell over the face, completely hiding it. Feathers of the owl, raven, and of birds of prey,

[1] minis' xixe' ō'xat'e.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 each tipped with a thick white plume, adorned the head. One member
292 carried a beautiful fan of white feathers, and wore on the head a complete
535 swan's tail, each feather of which was decorated with dyed horsehair. The
[293] members wrapped themselves completely in their robes, and carried bow-lances trimmed with feathers, colored cloth, glass beads, and the like; most of them had fox skins attached to their heels. Several men beat a drum, while the rest formed a circle and imitated the sound of buffalo bulls. After they had danced for a while, the spectators threw a quantity of tobacco down for them, whereupon they departed for the village in the woods, taking off their wigs on the way. In another place, the Prince mentions rattles as well as drums, and states that the bow-lances were also decorated with bear guts.[1]

Black-Tail Deer Society.

575 All the old men above fifty were, according to Maximilian, members of
561 the Black-Tail Deer organization (cu'psi ō'xat'e). Two female attendants
301 cooked and served fresh water during a dance. All of the men wore a
554 wreath of grizzly claws round the head, and displayed their honor marks in the form of feather head ornaments, braids of hair on arms and legs, scalps, painting, etc.

575 Wounded-face says that the organization originated on the Bad Creek,
773 near the Heart River. One day two young men with arrows stayed on a high wooded hill by the Creek. They dug a deep pit, put sticks across, and covered them with grass. They wanted to snare some animals. One morning one of the men went towards the trap. As he drew close, he heard signs of a trapped animal. He was glad, looked inside, and saw that he had caught a large and very fat black-tail deer. He fitted an arrow to his bow, but the deer said, "Don't shoot me." "Why not?" "You are my son, you must not shoot me. Make a path for me to get out." The young man obeyed, and the buck got out. Then he said, "You are a young man, and I know what you desire: honor marks. I have the power to give them to you, but you have many other fathers, who will instruct you later." He stretched his legs, jumped away, and went some distance. Then he stretched his legs again, and sang a song. When his song was ended, he went towards a wooded hill. The young man knew there was a house there. It belonged to the Deer, and the door closed with a thud. The house was the Black-Tail lodge.

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[1] Maximilian, II, 145f., 281f.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Badger Society.

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This society was not mentioned by any of my Mandan friends, but was described by Wolf-chief as a Mandan (not an Hidatsa) institution. The members were old and but few in number. They did not dance, but assembled to go into a sweat lodge together, on which occasion they tried to fight like badgers and otherwise imitate these animals. In leaving the sweat lodge they always proceeded backwards. The sweat bath could never get too hot for them. Only those who had sold all other societies took part in these proceedings. Like other groups, however, the Badgers attempted to sell their membership. Some years ago a single Badger remained, and offered to sell his membership rights to my informant, who, however, refused to purchase them.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
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MANDAN AND HIDATSA WOMEN'S SOCIETIES.

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According to Maximilian, the Mandan women were grouped in four age-societies, and the Hidatsa women in three. Beginning with the youngest, the Mandan had a Gun society (Eru'hpa-Mih-Ochatä), a River (Passan-Mih-Ochatä), Hay women (Chan-Mih-Ochatä), and White Buffalo (Ptihn-Tack-Ochatä) society. His Hidatsa societies, listed in the reverse order, are the Wild Goose (Bi'hda-Ächke), Enemy (Ma'h-Iha'h-Ächke), and Skunk (Cho'chkäiwi) societies.[1] Of these, the Hay society was not mentioned by any of my informants.[2] On the other hand, a Cheyenne Women society was said to have been introduced among the Mandan in recent times. The River and the Buffalo organizations are generally admitted to be Mandan societies of old standing, while the Enemy society is unanimously considered of Hidatsa origin. In recent times the tribal lines were not strictly drawn, so that Mandan women belonged to the Hidatsa Enemy society, and Hidatsa women bought the Mandan Buffalo membership.[3] The case of the Skunk, Goose, and River societies is rather different, as there is evidence that each of these organizations existed independently in both tribes, though the Skunk society is said to be of Hidatsa, and the River society of Mandan origin, both by Maximilian and by native informants now living. As to the Goose society there is conflict of opinion. Maximilian lists it only among the Hidatsa organizations, while all of my informants are of opinion that it developed among the Mandan and was borrowed by the Hidatsa. Hides-and-eats specified that it originated in the Eastern Mandan village (Maximilian's Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch). Either alternative has interesting implications. If the Goose society originally belonged to the Mandan, then all the women's organizations of a sacred character are distinctive of that tribe. If, on the other hand the Goose women originally formed the highest of the Hidatsa organizations, it is worth noting that they were in later times subordinated to the Mandan White Buffalo women, there being general agreement as to the relative rank of the two organizations.

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Matthews[4] speaks of an Hidatsa Fox Women society of which I did

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[1] Maximilian, II, 145, 219.

[2] Maximilian tells us only that they wore their best clothes when they danced and sang scalp songs.

[3] This has also been noted by Matthews, 47.

[4] Matthews, 155.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

not even obtain the name. As his spelling of the words for "fox" and "skunk" is almost identical, I am sure that this similarity in sound misled him. His statement that members were from fifteen to twenty years old fits the facts of the Skunk society fairly well.

The mode of entrance into at least the majority of the organizations was evidently similar to that in the men's organizations, but though purchase of membership was collective, there are indications that sometimes age-mates of the buyers did not participate in the purchase. The Skunk and Gun societies are said by Hides-and-eats to have had no formal adoption whatsoever.

The ceremonial relationship between buyers and sellers has already been explained (see p. 226). Clan aunts became the buyers' mothers. If an Hidatsa buyer could not find a clan aunt in the sellers' group, the latter would appoint some member of another clan to act as aunt and mother for the occasion of the purchase (Buffalo-bird-woman, Hidatsa). When buying the Goose society, Buffalo-bird-woman had an aunt among the sellers, but as she was the sister of my informant's husband and lived in the same lodge, it did not seem proper to buy the membership from her. Sometimes several girls took food to the same clan aunt, who would thus become the mother of several buyers.

That membership meant primarily ownership through purchase seems clear from several statements. Thus, Young-beaver still regards herself both a Cheyenne and a Goose woman, and Hides-and-eats holds both the Goose and the White Buffalo membership, because these informants never sold their membership.

Three of the women's organizations — the River, Goose, and White Buffalo societies — are rather sharply separated from the others by their clearly sacred character and the cleansing ceremony that concludes their performances. The Goose and White Buffalo societies are associated with securing food through magico-religious means. It should be noted, however that in both cases the women acted under the direction of a male singer. Thus, Calf-woman declared that it was the privilege of the Goose women's singers, Wounded-face and Poor-wolf, to tell the tale of the society's origin. The Skunk, Gun, and Enemy Women societies were obviously associated with war. To what extent any of the women's organizations had developed the social factor, is not clear. Rev. Wilson learned that the Skunks occasionally prepared feasts for themselves and their "friends." If members of the other Hidatsa societies were sick and unable to do their own planting they would prepare a feast for their fellow-members, who would come and plant all the sick woman's garden for her.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
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Then this dried meat was appropriated by the mothers. When the runners had come back, they cleansed themselves by brushing themselves with sage. Then all returned to the village. There a sweat lodge was made. After all the women had entered the sweat house, the chief singer also went in, chanted, dipped some sagebrush into water, and sprinkled all the women with it. Next the mothers prepared food, and gave it to their daughters, whereupon a general feast followed.

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While the two middle officers wore the duck-bill head bands, the leader and rear officer wore no distinctive badge. The members on the left side of the lodge painted their faces black between the mouth and chin, while those on the right side used blue paint. The musicians had drums, but no rattles.

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The object of the ceremony was to make the corn grow. The geese and the corn were supposed to be one and the same thing.

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Owl-woman's social career is well-nigh unique in that she never joined any organization until she was of mature age, when she entered the Goose society. She knew of only one other Mandan woman who had not joined other societies. When the River women collectively bought the Goose society, Owl-woman went along and purchased the membership with them. A candidate had to prepare a large quantity of dried beef for her mother, and also presented her with a horse. When receiving the bundle of sage with the corn, the novice paid her adopter another horse. According to Owl-woman, anyone, man, woman, or child, might volunteer to make an offering to the geese, and would then have to prepare the requisite food for the ceremony. The society marched out in regular order towards this person's lodge, the singers going ahead of the rest. The middle officer nearer to the Leader had her face painted blue from the mouth downwards, while her mate used black paint. The members halted and danced four times on the way. In entering, the rear officer went in first. One of the musicians smoked sage for incense near the central fireplace, and all members approached in order to scent their blankets. When all had taken their places, the person who had pledged the ceremony brought in the calico, or other property, to be presented as an offering, and also paid the incense-burner and his fellow-musicians. Then the singers began to sing for the dance. They sang four sets of four songs each, with an intermission between each set. After the dance, one of the singers took a stick, impaled some of the food on it, and offered it to the four quarters, finally throwing it into the fireplace. Before the commencement of the feast, the pledger went to the singers and induced them to utter a prayer in his behalf, asking for prosperity, victory in war, and the other good things of life. He also went about to the several members, and anyone owning personal medicines gave them to

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

happened to be an officer, her badge and office were simply transferred to the purchaser. 000

The Hidatsa derived this society from the Mandan, but did not consider it so sacred as the Mandan did. Thus, as stated above, the Mandan rule was that women must not sleep with their husbands but must remain in the dance lodge during the four nights of the dance. Among the Hidatsa only the unmarried members regularly stayed in the dance lodge overnight. The married women went home, unless their husbands consented to let them follow the Mandan regulation. M H 575

Although Buffalo-bird-woman denied that the dance was regarded as sacred by her people, two features seem to have a religious character. In the first place, the annual performance took place after someone having had a dream to that effect had given a feast to the organization. Secondly, the performance closed with the ceremonial sweating and cleansing. The women took off their grass head bands, removed the feathers from them, piled up the crowns on the top of the sweat lodge, and went in to sweat, a few at a time. Then a man approached, holding in his hand some sagebrush with which he brushed off the sweat lodge, singing a song. All the women rose and faced him, and he brushed off the women, one by one, singing a song for each member. This power, my informant imagined, had been acquired by purchase. M H 575 783

Cheyenne[1] Women Society.

Young-beaver who had entered the River Women society when not quite 20, bought the Cheyenne Women membership, with some thirty of her comrades, at the age of a little over 30. She still considers herself a member of the Cheyenne Women society. M 575 561

The name of this organization (cō′ota mī ō′xat'e) indicates the source from which it is said to have been derived by the Mandan. Buffalo-bird-woman said that she first heard of the society about 56 years ago (1911), and that she joined as the only Hidatsa woman, her father having been asked for his consent. Any member who chose might assume men's garb. Some dressed like the Dakota, tying their front braids with otterskin, while others affected the long switches of the Crow. From two to four male singers were also chosen. At a dance of the organization a man carrying an eagle feather fan acted as leader, followed by the women in single file. At the intonation of a certain song, the leader held his fan close to his face, M 575 292 535

[1] One interpreter translated the native word "Sioux."

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

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In Calf-woman's day[1] the number of Mandan and of Hidatsa women in the society was about equal. The performances ceased, under Government pressure, when she was about fourteen years of age.

Hides-and-eats, who had served as rear officer, added a number of details. It was necessary to join in the wintertime because that was the season of the dance. The person who called for the performance of the great ceremony must have dreamt to that effect and was expected to prepare a great deal of food for the society. If, during the dance, a member went outside from necessity and a young man pulled her blanket, she was obliged [788] to say, "A wolf has bitten me." If she failed to say this, she was in danger of actually being bitten by a wolf. The members were middle-aged, while the two women with skunkskin head bands were elderly. Hides-and-eats set the number of singers at four; their age was immaterial, but as a matter of fact they were about fifty or sixty. They were not identical with the musicians of other women's societies.

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Buffalo-bird-woman says that the White Buffalo women were in the habit of going round the village in the morning, passing every lodge. One member would enter a clan daughter's lodge, and say to her, "So-and-so's daughter, give me light" (that is, fire). The clan daughter sometimes answered, and sometimes remained silent. Once the informant's aunt addressed her as stated above, and she replied, "Yes, I will do so." This signified her willingness to provide a feast. The next day, accordingly, she brought large quantities of food, invited all the White Buffalo women to her lodge, and entertained them. Further, she gave the society a new gun as a present, and a piece of calico to be smoked with incense. The incense-burner, who also had the privilege of taking off all the members' robes and hanging them up, took charcoal, made incense, seized the head of the rear officer's robe, shook it, proceeded to the middle officer's,[2] and repeated the same performance, as she finally did with the leader also. She made incense as she passed along the circle of members. Then the [535] dance began. All wore their crowns of white buffalo skin on this occasion. When the singers commenced to sing, the leader and the rear officer rose and danced forward, crossing each other's path. They returned to their places, and repeated the performance at the next two songs. At the fourth song, the middle officer also rose, and all three danced, facing alternately the fireplace and the door, and finally returning to their places. At the following song everyone rose and danced. After the dance was over, the little girl approached the rear officer with a corn-ball, and put a little of the corn

[1] This informant is about 56 years old (1910).
[2] This informant, like Hides-and-eats, speaks of but one little girl in the society.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

When, however, they are full dressed, they put a variety of feathers in their hair, frequently a 302
semicircle of feathers of birds of prey, like radii, or sunbeams, or a bunch of the tail feathers of 301
the raven placed in a similar manner. Sometimes they have a thick tuft of owl's feathers, or small rosettes made of broad raven's feathers, cut short, in the centre of which is the tail of a bird of prey spread out like a fan. These feather ornaments are frequently determined according to the several bands or unions, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They likewise wear the large horned feather cap; this is a cap consisting of strips of white ermine, with pieces of red cloth hanging down behind as far as the calves of the legs, to which is attached an upright row of black and white eagle's feathers, beginning at the head and reaching to the whole length. Only distinguished warriors, who have performed many exploits, may wear this head-dress (See [554]
Plate XIII., which is the best representation hitherto given of it).

If they give away one or more of these head-dresses, which they estimate very highly, they 554
are immediately considered men of great importance; the regular price of such a cap is a good 302
horse; for a single eagle's feather is always valued at one or two dollars. On their buffalo robes 301
they often represent this feather cap, under the image of a sun. Very celebrated and eminent [431]
warriors, when most highly decorated, wear in their hair various pieces of wood, as signals of their [485]
wounds and heroic deeds. Thus Mato-Topé (see his portrait, Plate XIV.) had fastened transversely in his hair a wooden knife, painted red, and about the length of a hand, because he had killed a Chayenne chief with his knife; then six wooden sticks, painted red, blue, and yellow, with a brass nail at one end, indicating so many musket wounds which he had received. For an arrow wound, he fastened in his hair the wing feather of a wild turkey; at the back of his head he wore a large bunch of owl's feathers, dyed yellow, with red tips, as the badge of the Meniss- [561]
Ochata (the dog band).[1] The half of his face was painted red, and the other yellow; his body was painted reddish-brown, with narrow stripes, which were produced by taking off the colour with the tip of the finger wetted. On his arms, from the shoulder downwards, he had seventeen yellow stripes, which indicated his warlike deeds, and on his breast the figure of a hand, of a yellow colour, as a sign that he had captured some prisoners. A warrior so adorned takes more time for his toilette than the most elegant Parisian belle. The colour with which they paint their bodies is mixed with grease. When in mourning they colour the face and hands white. The [765]
women and children paint only their faces red, leaving the hair its natural colour. The Mandans and Manitaries, and all the Indians of the Upper Missouri, often wear the handsome necklace made of the claws of the grizzly bear. These claws are very large in the spring, frequently three inches long, and the points are tinged of a white colour, which is much esteemed; only the claws of the fore feet are used for necklaces, which are fastened to a strip of otter skin, lined with red 301
cloth, and embroidered with glass beads, which hangs down the back like a long tail. Such a 000

[1] [This is one of the age-grade societies of the men. See also Cat. 116, pp. 355-56. --Analyst]

291 garment, with open sleeves, and a girdle round the waist; the hem of this dress is often scolloped and fringed; they ornament the wrists with iron rings, and tie strings of glass beads round their necks, and sometimes in their ears. Their leggins, called, by the Canadians, mitasse, are short, reaching only from the ankle to the knee. Their shoes are simple, and without any ornament.

301 Tattooing is in use among these people, but by no means general. Most commonly only the left half of the breast and the corresponding arm are marked with black parallel stripes, and a few other figures. The lower arm and some of the fingers are occasionally marked; the men do not tattoo their faces, and they are far inferior in this art to the New Zealanders and other nations of the South Seas. Among the women such designs are sometimes seen, but not [56 1] frequently, and they are chiefly among the women's band of the white buffalo cow.[1] The point of the needle is dyed a dark blue with the bark of the willow soaked in water.

302 171 In Major Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains it is stated that the Crows rub their bodies with castoreum, on account of its pleasant scent. I must observe, however, that the custom is not confined to one nation, but is practised by the Mandans, Manitaries, Crows, and Blackfeet, and most of the other tribes of the Upper Missouri. They mix the castoreum with a red colour, and with it rub their face and frequently their hair.

361 712 Having obtained a clear idea of the outward appearance of these Indians, we will next consider their habitations, villages, and domestic life. Their villages are assemblages of clay huts, of greater or less extent, placed close to each other, without regard to order. Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, the largest of the Mandan villages, was about 150 or 200 paces in diameter, the second was much smaller. The circumference forms an irregular circle, and was anciently surrounded with strong posts, or palisades, which have, however, gradually disappeared as the natives used them for fuel in the cold winters. At four places, at nearly equal distances from each other, is a bastion built of clay, furnished with loop-holes, and lined both within and without with basket-work of willow branches. They form an angle, and are open towards the village; the earth is filled in between the basket-work; and it is said that these bulwarks, which are now in a

[1] [This is one of the women's age-grade societies.--Analyst.]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

515 which arises from their continual and severe labour. They generally let their nails grow long.

The rude inhabitants of the prairies are extremely agile and hardy; they bathe, in the depth of winter, in the half frozen rivers, and wear no covering on the upper part of their body under the buffalo robe; they are very expert swimmers, even when quite young. I have already 481 observed that all these nations swim in the same manner as the Brazilian Tapuyas, which is confirmed by other writers. They often practise riding on horseback without a saddle, and very swift horse-racing. They are capital marksmen with the bow; all their senses are remarkably acute.

561 Among the Mandans, and all the nations of the Upper Missouri, as well as among most of the North American tribes, there are certain bands or unions or companies, which are dis- 425 tinguished from the others, and kept together by certain external badges and laws. They have three kinds of war or signal pipes, which are hung round the neck, and are among the badges of the unions, which divide the men into six classes, according to their age. The first band or union is composed of "the foolish dogs," or "the dogs whose name is not known." They are young people from ten to fifteen years of age, and wear a pipe made of the wing bone of the wild goose, which is but small. When they dance, three of them have a long broad piece of red cloth hanging from the back of the neck to the ground. Like every distinct class they have a particular song to accompany their dance. Formerly old people likewise belonged to this band, but then they never dared to retreat before the enemy; this has since been changed to the present limited rule. If a boy desires to enter the first band in order to become a man, he goes to a member of it, addresses him by the appellation of father, and endeavours to purchase the rank, the dance, the song, and the war pipe belonging to it, for certain articles of value, such as blankets, cloth, horses, powder, ball, and the like, which the father pays for him. If this place is sold to him he has a right to all the distinctions and privileges of the band, and he who sold it thereby renounces all claim to it, and endeavours to purchase admission to a higher 561 band. The dances of the several classes are in the main very similar, but there is a particular 535 song belonging to each, and sometimes even a different step. The drum and schischikué must 534 likewise be purchased at the same time. The latter, among this band, is spherical, with a handle, and is made of leather.

561 The second class or band is that of the crows or ravens; it consists of young men from twenty to twenty-five years of age. Frequently young people are in none of the bands for half a year or more. They then go to the band of the crows, and say, "Father, I am poor, but I wish [534] to purchase from you." If the possessor agrees, they then receive the raven's feathers, which the band wear on their heads, a double war-pipe, consisting of two wing bones of a goose joined together, a drum, schischikué, the song and the dance. Each of these bands has a leader, called,

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

by the Americans, head-man, who decides on the sale of its rights and attributes. This head-man is chiefly applied to when any one wishes for admission; a festival then takes place in the medicine lodge, which is continued for forty successive nights, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They dance, eat, and smoke there; the purchasers defray the expenses, and give up their wives every night to the sellers, till the fathers, as they are called, are satisfied, and transfer their rights to the purchasers, with which the festival concludes. 561 [837]

The third class or band is that of the soldiers, the most eminent and esteemed warriors. In their dances they paint the upper part of the face red, and the lower part black. Their war pipe is large, and made of the wing bone of a crane. Their badges are two long straight sticks bound with otter skin, to which owl's feathers are appended. When they go to war, they plant these sticks in the ground in front of the enemy, and, this done, they dare not leave them, not unlike the colours in a European army. They have a similar stick ornamented with raven's feathers (see second woodcut, page 256). They likewise have a dance and song peculiar to their band, and must purchase their admission into higher classes. Their schischikué or rattle is made of iron plate, in the form of a small kettle, with a handle. They likewise possess two tobacco pipes, which are used for smoking on special occasions. Two men keep and carry with them these pipes. All the higher classes may, at the same time, belong to the band of the soldiers, who act as police officers; it is, however, understood that all the members must be satisfied with the purchase. If but one object to the sale, the bargain cannot be concluded. It often happens that some individuals do not immediately give their consent, in order to raise the price and sell to more advantage afterwards. These soldiers, as they are called, form a kind of committee, which decides all the principal affairs, particularly general undertakings, such as changes of their places of abode, buffalo hunting, and the like. If the buffalo herds are in the vicinity, they watch them, and do not suffer them to be disturbed by individuals, till a general chase can be undertaken. 561 554 623 [534]

If, during this time, any one fires at a wolf or other animal, the soldiers take away his gun, ill-use, and sometimes beat him, to which he must submit; even the chiefs are not spared on these occasions. The Whites living in the neighbourhood are subject, during such a time, to the same laws, and the soldiers have often taken their hatchets from the woodcutters of the fort, or forbidden them to cut wood, that the buffaloes might not be disturbed by the noise.

The fourth band, that of the dogs, wear in their dance a large cap of coloured cloth, to which a great number of raven's, magpie's, and owl's feathers is fastened, adorned with dyed horse-hair and strips of ermine; they have a large war pipe of the wing bone of a swan. Three of them have the same strips of red cloth hanging down the back, as have been mentioned, when speaking of the first band. The head is generally adorned with a thick tuft of owl's, magpie's, and raven's feathers hanging down behind, and often all the three kinds of feathers are mixed together. 561

561 The three men before-mentioned, who wear the strips of red cloth (the dogs, properly so called), are obliged, if any one throws a piece of meat into the ashes, or on the ground, saying, "There, dog, eat," to fall upon it, and devour it raw, like dogs or beasts of prey. The schischikué of this band is a stick, a foot or a foot and a half long, to which a number of animals' hoofs are fastened [534] The costume of these three dogs is shown in the portrait of Pehriska-Rupe. (Plate XXIII.)

The fifth band is that of the buffaloes. In their dance they wear the skin of the upper part of the head, the mane of the buffalo, with its horns, on their heads; but two select individuals, the bravest of all, who thenceforward never dare to fly from the enemy, wear a perfect imitation of the buffalo's head, with the horns, which they set on their heads (Plate XVIII.), and in which there are holes left for the eyes, which are surrounded with an iron or tin ring. This band alone has a wooden war pipe, and in their union they have a woman, who, during the dance, goes round with a dish of water, to refresh the dancers, but she must give this water only to the bravest, who wear the whole buffalo's head. She is dressed, on these occasions, in a handsome new robe of bighorn leather, and colours her face with vermilion. The men have a piece of red cloth fastened behind, and a figure representing a buffalo's tail; they also carry their arms in their hands. The men with the buffaloes' heads always keep in the dance at the outside of the group, imitate all the motions and the voice of this animal, as it timidly and cautiously retreats, looking around in all directions, &c. (Plate XVIII.) 561 564

The sixth band is that of the black-tailed deer. It consists of all the men above fifty years of age, who, however, likewise dance. Two women belong to the band, who wait on them at the dance, cook, carry water round to refresh them, and the like. All the men of this band wear a garland of the claws of the grizzly bear round their heads, and all insignia of their warlike exploits about their bodies, such as feathers on their heads, tufts of hair on their arms and legs, scalps, painting, &c. 561

All these bands, as well as the following dances, are bought and sold, and, as has been already observed, on these occasions, the buyer must give up his wife to the seller during the festivity. But if a young man is still unmarried, he will sometimes travel to a great distance to another village, to ask a friend or companion for his wife, who accordingly goes with him, and, on the evenings of the dance, gives up his wives for him. A man often brings three or four, and even more, wives, and gives them to his father, as he is called, as soon as the dancing, eating, smoking, and the relating of their exploits, are concluded. Thus one woman after the other comes, as will be described in the account of the buffalo medicines of the Manitaries, strikes, with her hand, the arm of the man whom she will favour, and goes to the entrance of the tent, where she waits till he follows her. The man so invited often keeps his seat, and bows down his head; the woman then goes home, brings articles of value, such as guns, robes, blankets, &c., which she lays, piece by piece, before him, till he is satisfied, stands up, and follows her. 561 425 837 572

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There are other dances[1] which are bought and sold, among which are a second dance of the third band, and the dance of the half-shorn heads, which the lower class may buy before they are old enough to belong to the third band. 424 535

The medicine feast, the insignia, and the dance belonging to the half-shorn heads, will be described in the sequel. Another dance is that of the old dogs. The band of the dogs can buy it of the buffaloes before they can become buffaloes, or purchase their admission to the fifth band. In the dance of the old dogs they paint themselves white, the hands red and black, and wear a girdle of the skin of the grizzly bear, and a bunch of feathers hanging down at the back of the head.

What is called the hot dance is now danced at Ruhptare, and by the Manitaries, who bought it from the Arikkaras. It is executed by the little dogs, whose name is not known. A large fire is kindled on the occasion, and a quantity of live coals is scattered on the ground, about which the young men dance, quite naked and barefooted. The hands, with the lower part of the arms, and the feet and ankles, are painted red. A kettle, with meat cut in small pieces, is hung over the fire; and when the meat is done they plunge their hands into the boiling water, take out the meat, and eat it, at the risk of scalding themselves. The last comers are the worst off, having to dip their hands the deepest into the boiling water. During the dance they have in their hands their weapons and the schischikué.

There is another dance which will be described in one of the following chapters. The dance is accompanied with the schischikué and drum, and is generally performed in a circle: the dancers carry in their hands the bow-lance,* which is adorned with feathers and bears' entrails.

The Mandan women are divided precisely in the same manner as the men, into four classes, according to their age. The youngest band is called "the band of the gun." They wear in their hair some down feathers of the eagle, and have their peculiar dance. 561

The next class into which they obtain admission by purchase is "the river class." When they dance they wear an eagle's feather, fastened to the fore part of the head with a piece of white ribbon, which projects on the left side, and is entwined round the quill with grass.

The third class consists of the women of the hay, who, when they dance, put on their best clothes, and sing the scalp song.

The fourth and last class is the band of the white cow. They paint one eye with some colour according to their taste, generally sky-blue. On the chin, this class, mostly consisting of aged women, tattoo themselves with black lines; round their heads they wear a broad piece of the skin of a white buffalo cow, something like a hussar's cap, with a tuft of feathers in it. A more

* The bow-lance is a large bow, to one end of which the iron point of a lance is fastened. It serves only for show, and is never used in obvious combat. It is very handsomely adorned with eagle's feathers, frequently with red cloth also, and, when completely decorated, is worth from 100 to 250 florins. It descends from father to son, and cannot be obtained except at a high price. Sometimes a horse or more must be given for it.

[1 [i.e., in addition to the dances the purchase of which acquires membership in an age-grade society. See category 561.--Analyst]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

561 particular description of the dress of this band is given in the sequel, and the representation of it in Vignette XXVIII.

533 534 These unions, or bands, give occasion to many festivities, with singing, music, and dancing. But they have likewise other dances and diversions. One of these is the scalp dance, which may be more appropriately described among the usages of war. Their musical amusements are very simple. The mode of singing varies but little among all the American Indians; it consists of broken, deep exclamations, often intercepted by loud shouts, and is accompanied by a violent beating of time on the drum, and the rattling of the schischikué. Besides these two instruments, the Mandans have long wooden pipes, at the lower end of which there is generally an eagle's feather hanging by a string. (See woodcut, page 180.) Other pipes are thicker, about twenty inches long, and are perforated with holes; in this respect they differ from the war pipe. They are sometimes ornamented with pieces of skin, &c. These are the only musical instruments of the Indians besides the war pipes.

526 The Indians have also many games; the game called billiards, by the French Canadians, is played by two young men, with long poles, which are often bound with leather, and have various ornaments attached to them. On a long, straight, level course, or a level path in or near the village, they roll a hoop, three or four inches in diameter, covered with leather, and throw the pole at it; and the success of the game depends upon the pole passing through it. This game is also practised among the Manitaries, and is described, in Major Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains, as being played by the Pawnees, who, however, have hooked sticks, which is not the case with the tribes here mentioned.

The women are expert at playing with a large leathern ball, which they let fall alternately on their foot and knee, again throwing it up and catching it, and thus keeping it in motion for a length of time without letting it fall to the ground. Prizes are given, and they often play high. The ball is often very neat and curiously covered with dyed porcupine quills. (See Plate XLVIII. Fig. 14.) Card-playing has not yet reached these Indians, though it is in use among the Osages and other tribes. The children of the Mandans and Manitaries play with a piece of stag's horn, in which a couple of feathers are inserted; this is thrown forward, the piece of horn being foremost.

About the middle of March, when the weather is fine, the children and young men play with a hoop, in the interior of which strips of leather are interwoven; its diameter is about a foot. This hoop is either rolled or thrown, and they thrust at it with a pointed stick; he who approaches the centre most nearly is the winner. The hoop and the stick are represented in Plate XLVIII.

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437 willing and ready to serve you as long as you have any property.
177 But when all is expended you may shift for yourself, as they will pretend they do not understand you any longer. Besides paying our host [343] beforehand, I promised him a tobacco-pipe on my departure, if I were then pleased with his conduct during our stay. His pay consisted of the following articles: 60 balls and powder, 4 large knives, 2 small knives, 1 fathom tobacco, 1 dozen rings, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 6 flints, 3 worms, 3 awls, and 1/4 pound blue beads.

164 [343] The natives at present are mostly affected with a bad cough, which daily takes some of them off. Aged and infirm persons, and young children, are the common victims to this disease. It is a kind of whooping-cough, which has appeared all along the Red and Assiniboine rivers, on the Saskatchewan even to Fort des Prairies, and in several other parts of the North West, carrying off many people

241 July 21st. I set off early on horseback with part of my people
[462 for the upper villages. We passed extensive fields of corn, beans,
● 561] squashes, and sunflowers. Many women and children were already
412 employed in clearing and hoeing their plantations. Their hoes are the shoulderblade of a buffalo, to which is fastened a crooked stick for a handle; the soil not being stony, this slight implement answers every purpose. The road first led over two hills, after which we came to a smooth and pleasant plain for about two miles to the Saulteur (Soulier) [Amahami—Analyst] village, of about 40 huts.

361 [362]. . . These villages are surrounded by a kind of stockade, princi-
417 pally made of driftwood, which has a miserable appearance and is daily falling to pieces; but I am told that upon any emergency it can be put into a tolerably good state of defense at very short notice, as every man, woman, and child lends a hand.

526 We witnessed a diversion which takes place almost every day
481 between the Mandanes and Saulteurs (Souliers). It is the exercise
702 of running long foot races, in order to be prepared for the emergency of being dismounted and obliged to fly from their enemies at war. They assemble upon a beautiful green near the village, where, having remained some time, calling out to their comrades to come and run, they set off in a file on a slow trot, entirely naked, taking the road that leads up the hills to the S., about a mile from the village. Passing near those rising grounds, they disappear, and are not seen till they reappear from the S.E., down a steep hill and over a level plain, to the spot whence they started. Here they do not stop, but rush on to the Missourie, and plunge in headlong, all

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name were taken to the usual place, where they were placed on a scaffold or interred, according to the parents' preference.

The Mandan believed that there was a Baby Hill near Fort Clark, another near the Heart River, and a third near Dickinson which had interiors like an earth lodge, in which an old man cared for them. If a child died before being named, it returned to the Baby Hill. People claimed to have seen baby tracks on the tops and sides of these hills. It was believed that the spirits in the hill near the Heart River came north when the Mandan came north. If a woman had been married a number of years and was childless, desiring a child, she would go to one of these hills to pray for one. Those wanting a daughter brought girl's clothing and a ball; for a son she brought a small bow and arrow. The Mandan believed in rebirth. Calf Woman's grandfather said he was one who had been reborn. One of her grandchildren had a spot on her hip, and it was thought she was one who had lived before. It was believed that children choose the mother they want and that a child resembling a sibling who had died was the reincarnation of the other child. The Mandan cite numerous instances of culture heroes who selected a mother when desiring to be born into the tribe.

A girl usually keeps her first name as long as she lives. If she was sick or unlucky, her parents frequently put up a feast to get a new name for her. If she had grown up, her brothers and sisters helped her prepare a renaming feast.

A nursing child frequently developed a sore mouth which interfered with its feeding. In such cases, the parents selected a man of the child's father's clan to cure it by piercing the skin of the ceremonial father's leg and permitting the child to suck of his blood. A payment was made to the man selected by the child's clan brothers and sisters.

TRAINING

The child's training was both economic and ritualistic and differed according to the sex of the child. A girl was trained in lodge management, household arts, gardening, curing of meat, and certain ritualistic practices, receiving her instruction primarily from the women of the lodge. A boy was taught hunting and fishing and went out while still a boy to help bring meat

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back to the village. Economic training came largely from his father and the older men of the lodge. If he were inclined to be lazy, his mother would talk to him, while her brother would shame him and accuse him of bringing disgrace to the clan. 861 868 562

A boy was taught to begin fasting when he was eight or nine years of age. The parents would tell him of the benefits he would receive and cite the various eminent men of the village who had attained their position from this practice. The mother's brother and his older brothers would give him goods to take into the Okipa to present to some man of his father's clan and designate the person entitled to the gift. An older brother planning to fast would bring a younger brother to the Okipa ceremony and instruct him, sending him home when he thought he had been there long enough, while the father would give him some small article from his ceremonial bundle to wear, thinking it would help to get a "vision." 861 869 785

A lodge "grandfather" contributed a great deal to a boy's education. He would make toy bows and arrows and teach him to use them. If he had a fish trap, his grandsons did much of the work of carrying willows to the bank for weaving into sections for the walls, and he would permit them to bail the fish out of the trap. He would teach them games, especially techniques and skills which would be useful in warfare, and tell them stories. Using rivalry between the moieties, these old men who were too old to hunt would arrange the boys ten years and younger on sides and teach them to use shields for their protection, shooting at each other with arrows on the blunt ends of which a ball of mud or wrapped hide had been attached. 868 616

Not to be discounted in the training of a young Mandan boy or girl was the informal education they received by living in intimate contact with the entire village population, observing the conduct of others, and being kept informed of contemplated group action by the village "criers" who announced each decision of the village leaders. He learned that he must treat different relatives in various ways and that they would laugh at him if he did not. Learning that he was expected to treat different relatives the same way his brothers did, he imitated his older brothers unconsciously and followed their advice. 861 867

A girl's education was essentially the same as a boy's except 861 562 602

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861 that a different set of relatives instructed her for a different set
562 of economic pursuits. The women of the lodge were responsible
602 for her training. They gave her toys, related stories and traditions, and taught her to care for her younger siblings. Her mother taught her to harness the dogs and took her to the forest for firewood. Some of my informants' most tender memories were of the times when as young girls, their mothers had given them dogs with harnesses, and had taken them along in gathering brush for the fires. The mother-daughter bonds were of deep affection. When the women of the lodge dressed hides, the daughter would help, and she had her own sewing kit containing awls, sinew thread, paints, beads, and porcupine quills, and she was taught the techniques of hide dressing and decoration, giving those who helped her little presents to express her affection. As a little girl, she made crude pots when the women of the lodge were making pottery, and, when old enough, she bought her mother's rights in the techniques and designs of pottery-making.

861 Parents owning rights in age-grade societies encouraged their
561 children to join an age-grade society. Those too young to be-
602 long to a society would see older ones dancing. A girl's older sisters and women of the lodge would explain the procedure of buying as a group and helped collect goods for the transfer of the society to the younger girls. Membership in a society introduced a series of new obligations. Heretofore her obligations were with the persons of her parental household. As a member of an organized female group, composed largely of persons of her own age and outside her own household, she was called on to prepare robes and other clothing for the brother or husband of a society member who was buying a ceremonial bundle or was having rites performed for the renewal of a bundle. As a member of an organized group she likewise received assistance when her own family was buying rights in a sacred bundle. Collectively she treated those in the next older group as mothers and those in the group younger than her own as daughters.

Preadolescent boys also joined an age-grade society, buying as a group from the older boys on the advice of their parents. All boys of the age eligible to buy would organize to join. Some boys were not interested; some households were temporarily broken

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554 703 of the cattail plant in his hair. Those stabbed by a knife or spear could wear a stick carved to resemble a knife. One who had been shot in battle painted red spots on his shirts, leggings, or robes with red stripes below to indicate bullet holes and blood dripping from the wounds. Men painted horse tracks on their blankets to indicate the horses they had stolen. These tracks were bunched to indicate the number taken on each expedition.

727 597 581 Small children too young to remember their parents were frequently taken prisoners and adopted into the village. They were "struck" by the warriors who were given credit toward their war record but such records were not related during ceremonies once the children were adopted into the households. Girls approaching marriageable age were frequently returned alive to the village and sold to those needing an extra wife.

554 562 703 Women also qualified for war honors and were eligible to wear the same decorations as men. Informants remembered a number of women who had struck an enemy and had displayed their war honors during the Scalp Dance. One woman concealed herself at the entrance to her lodge and hit an Assiniboine on the head with a stone hammer. She scalped him and, during the dances, received a hearty applause whenever she was leader of the line of dancers, carrying her scalp on a stick.

554 703 The war records enumerated above constitute the principal awards having social recognition and fall into two general groups: awards limited solely to war leaders and consisting of scalps which were worn on their clothing or carried on scalp sticks and awards to warriors consisting of peculiar painting of the clothing, wearing of coyote tails, and certain feathers. Only those who had led many war parties and had been successful attained the highest ranks as chiefs unless their lack of significant successes in warfare was compensated with a record of many feasts during which time much property was given away or the possession of important tribal bundles. There was a series of designs painted or woven on robes which proclaimed the amount of goods so disposed of.

MARRIAGE AND THE HOUSEHOLD

581 584 Marriage was an exceedingly important event among the leading families of a Mandan village, but for the average family

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736 In the event of separation or death the children were provided for by the mother's household, with the father's household generally disregarding them.

581 556 These various accounts of types of marriage might be analyzed at length; it is sufficient here to note some significant situations which can be explained as accounting for the variations that occur as well as the number of different relatives participating in one way or another. We have noted the great emphasis placed on wealth and the part it played at the naming of a child. There was a comparable display of wealth when a young man returned from his first successful war expedition. Mandan informants speak of advancement in the tribe as steps in a ladder. As one took a new step, he made certain payments. For those of eminence, marriage was treated in the same way. Except for those marriages which involved bundle purchase, marriage was secular in character and involved only a few people.

162 Plains warfare greatly unbalanced the proportion of women to men. My census of the Mandan as of 1870–72 showed that males constituted only 38 per cent of the total population. A similar proportion was found for Hidatsa men. If we disregard all children under fifteen years of age, the proportion of men would be even smaller. The women of the household played an exclusive role in gardening unless one considers the use of young men as watchmen during the day to prevent a surprise attack by their enemies. The women built the earth lodges except for the raising of the heavier rafters and repaired them from time to time. They dressed the hides and made all the household goods. They did most of the butchering, except when animals were killed at a distance from the village. And they found time to participate in many of the men's ceremonies besides having ceremonies of their own. They were acquainted with ceremonies in which tribal custom did not permit their participation and on some occasions were intrusted with important ritualism ultimately to be transferred to their children. They reared their families and trained them without a great deal of help from their husbands. Some lodge groups in 1870–72 had had no male old enough to hunt for ten years or more. Informants thought that the physical needs of such households were pretty well taken care of by the tribal system of mutual

562 462

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assistance and the fact that the game run into yards was divided on a moiety basis.

Households having no males suffered most in their ceremonial life. When an important tribal bundle got out of the lodge, it was usually difficult to get it back.

Marriage within the clan was not permitted. There was no punishment other than tribal criticism, and in the census taken as of 1870–72 only one instance was reported by informants, and all the informants questioned on this point mentioned the case. The one instance of marriage within the clan was between Standing Bear and Beaver Woman; though the tribe did not approve of the marriage, they thought that in a way it was justified, since Beaver Woman's mother suggested the marriage after both parties were over fifty-five years of age. The women were brought to Standing Bear's lodge, and the marriage was entered into after the women lost their lodge.

Certain Mandan clans had Hidatsa equivalents. Both had a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna clan was considered equivalent to the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik clan was equivalent to the Hidatsa Knife clan. The Mandan were not in agreement as to the wisdom of marriage between Mandan-Hidatsa equated clans. Some treated them as separate lineages and considered marriage permissible. Bad Gun's wife's younger sister, however, refused to marry him, believing that the Tamisik and Knife were divisions of a single clan.

The Mandan claim that moieties were exogamous until after 1837 and that it was more convenient to go through the ceremonies with the wives when they were of opposite moieties, giving as the basis for the breakdown of the moieties the shortage of men. People preferred to marry into the moiety to marrying outside the tribe.

Both the levirate and the sororate were permissible. When a man married to the older sister died, a younger brother had first chance to marry the widow, which he could do with only a token payment. Such marriages were highly regarded. This was rarely done, since, with a shortage of men, the younger brother was usually already married to several women. When a wife died, the husband could claim one of her younger sisters as wife, and she seldom refused, especially if her sister had small children.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

man who drew his gun when being driven back and was killed 561 by the Black Mouths. Usually it was the duty of one's brothers 701 to revenge a sibling's death, but in this instance siblings took no action. The Black Mouths were believed to be the bravest men of the village. Before making an attack on the enemy, their leaders would stick their lances into the ground which meant that they would not retreat. When on the summer buffalo hunts [224] they received their orders from the leader and were instructed to prevent premature hunting and to see that the party did not break up. Although they endeavored to prevent war parties from leaving the village when there was danger of attack, they inflicted no punishment when an unauthorized war party returned.

It was believed that an individual's influence with sacred 561 things advanced in age. They were consulted on sacred matters [837] and were offered their "sons'" wives frequently during the buffalo ceremonies. Men and women assisted in the disposal of the [764] dead. It was a man's duty to assist a clan sister in the construction of the scaffold for one whose father was of their clan, to superintend the painting and wrapping of the body.

OLD AGE AND DEATH

The old people were respected members of the household. 888 The grandfather would assist the youngsters of the lodge in 603 making toys and in playing their simple games, but he was always held in high regard as the one from whom the child's father had acquired much of his training in sacred matters. Having more time to give to the instruction of the children of the lodge, he would assist them in learning stories if the children were interested in hearing them. The older women assisted the younger women about the lodge and in the gardens but were not expected to do much work.

The older women were organized into two age-grade societies 888 which were sacred in character. Women of advanced middle 561 age joined the Goose Society and, when they had reached the 562 menopause, sold to younger women and bought into the White Buffalo Cow Society.[3] As members of these societies they were respected for their supernatural powers over agriculture and

3. See the chapters on ceremonialism for an account of their origin.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

888 561 562 hunting. Women holding rights in the various Holy Women bundles also met whenever a medicine feast was given. Their rights were individually acquired by assisting their husbands or brothers in the bundle purchase. Some of their number were members of the Goose or the White Buffalo Cow societies.

888 562 The older people performed an important role in the ceremonies so long as they were not too feeble to get around. Women who had assisted others at childbirth became doctors after the menopause and could substitute for a man in a great many of the societies. In many ceremonies they were the medium through which the traditions and bundles were transmitted to a legitimate male heir.

888 785 755 Fasting was generally completed by the time one reached fifty years of age. In case of repeated bad luck or failure to attain a definite goal, fasting for short periods was practiced during a ceremony. When an epidemic of sore eyes broke out at Fishhook Village, one old woman fasted to seek relief from her affliction. Since her eye trouble was cleared up shortly afterward, quite a number of middle-aged and old people fasted to cure the ailment. Calf Woman said that more than half of them got relief.

888 431 787 People who were past middle age and who had been relatively successful all their lives would frequently have bad dreams in which they were being killed and cut up by the enemy or were drowning. It was believed that one could forestall this misfortune by giving away all his property. He would call in those who had been successful and were owners of important tribal bundles to give away his property, consisting of robes and bedding, household utensils, dogs, and horses, until the family was utterly destitute. One doing this would walk through the village repeating the dream. When the bad dream failed to materialize within the designated time, such people were said to be holy and as such were called the "protectors of the village." In appreciation of their sacrifices, each household group was expected to contribute something toward their comfort.

888 421 324 The old people had privately owned game pits and were entitled to the animals found in them. According to tradition, before horses were acquired, pits were widely used and owned by households. Ruins of game pits are still to be seen in consider-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 mony. In the beginning, the people lived an extremely simple
773 life without tools and weapons. At that time there were no societies and only a few simple rites, one of which was a Buffalo Dance in which one man danced. It is believed that, as time passed, the people acquired skills along many lines; there was a corresponding development of mutual obligations; new societies and ceremonies were adopted which grew in complexity. It is also believed that there was a parallel development of the Okipa ceremony from the simple Buffalo Dance to its complex form as performed until seventy-five years ago, and that the cultural growth of the tribe was divided into four periods which were represented by the four days of the ceremony.

The principal characters in the ceremony were Lone Man (NumakmaxEna), Speckled Eagle (Hoita), Giver of Ceremony (Koni'saka), and the singers.

796 Lone Man was without question the tribe's most important
776 deity. The original Lone Man belonged to the WaxikEna clan,
614 and a bundle was founded which contained all the articles used by the Lone Man impersonator during the ceremony. Inheritance was through the WaxikEna clan. Before the smallpox
778 epidemics, there were at least two similar and graded bundles in each village, and the men holding rights in the Okipa met to select from their number those who would officiate during the next ceremony.

796 According to tradition the original Lone Man established the
778 rule that the bundle should belong to the WaxikEna clan. However, before he left the tribe, he desired a white buffalo
424 robe owned by his brother's son. The young man offered to exchange his robe for Lone Man's bundle, and this transaction was made, the bundle and office passing temporarily from the WaxikEna clan. The principal bundle was kept, after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, at Nuptadi Village, and a secondary
• [562] bundle was kept by the other village group. Women could inherit and buy the bundle but could not officiate in the rites. Beaver's brother owned a bundle originally at Nuptadi Village prior to 1837. When he died, his sister transferred the bundle to her daughters, Shells and Grows First, who were both of the WaxikEna clan. Little Eagle, who had married the two sisters, paid them for the right to officiate in the ceremony. He then

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 431 554 number of robes and other clothing to be given away were especially highly respected by the tribe.

The Okipa Maker was not permitted to kill any buffaloes or 796 784 to do any butchering during the period he was under pledge to give the Okipa, nor was he permitted to eat any of the entrails from the buffalo. It was believed to have done so would have angered the buffaloes.

796 One of the oldest men of the WaxhikEna clan lived in the Okipa lodge with his family. He was custodian of such ceremonial objects as might be kept there to be used in succeeding Okipa ceremonies. When the time came to prepare for the ceremony, the NumakmaxEna gave instructions that the lodge be cleared of all the family's personal effects. Four men with Holy Women bundle rights swept the floor, carried out the ashes, and sprinkled the floor to settle the dust, after which sage was scattered about on the floor. Each received a robe from the Okipa Maker for his services. No women were permitted to go [562] inside the lodge after it was cleaned until the ceremony had ended.

The one who was to represent Lone Man asked four men owning ceremonial bundles of The Woman Above (Sun ceremony) to paint the interior of the lodge.[9] At the last performance of the Okipa, the entire interior of the earth lodge was painted, the west half being black and the east half red. Formerly, only a narrow band about four inches wide was painted on each post, black on the west posts and red on the east ones. Woman Above bundle-owners each received a robe for painting the posts.

Opening the Okipa lodge.—When all was ready, the crier (the old man of WaxikEna clan living in the medicine lodge) went through the village before daylight announcing that the Lone Man would open the Okipa lodge the next morning at sunrise in order that the ceremony could be given. The head chief,[10] second chief,[11] council of old men, and all the owners of important tribal bundles painted their faces black and went to the head

9. There were only three Woman Above bundle-owners when the last performance was held, and one of these belonged to a woman, Calf Woman. The two other owners, Ears and Clam Necklace, painted the lodge with the assistance of two Hidatsa men owning similar bundles.

10. Red Buffalo Corn was head chief at Like-a-Fishhook Village.

11. Bad Gun was second chief at Like-a-Fishhook Village.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

worn like an apron. He wore the hair shed from a buffalo over his head and carried Lone Man's pipe and pemmican balls, which he placed on the ground in front of the drummers. Then he walked to the south side of the sacred cedar and stood on the buffalo skull he had previously placed there. Grasping the wooden planks inclosing the cedar with both hands and pressing his forehead against the wood, he asked Lone Man to hear him and send the people all they asked for, to bring the buffaloes near the villages, and to keep all bad luck away.

At the completion of the Okipa Maker's prayer and while he stood grasping the wooden inclosure, the drummers and rattlers began singing; this was the signal for the fasters to come out. They were dressed in their robes with the hair side out and hooked at each other in imitation of a herd of buffaloes as they danced toward the sacred cedar in a double line,[19] one line going to the east of the sacred cedar, the other to the west side. There they formed a straight line on the south side and danced forward and backward in front of the Okipa Maker, who continued his weeping, addressing the first Lone Man to help the people. When the drummers changed the song to one with a rapid tempo, the fasters and the Okipa Maker returned to the Okipa lodge, imitating a herd of buffaloes as they entered the lodge following the Okipa Maker.

The drummers, Okipa Maker, and fasters came out to dance four times the first day, and the procedure was the same on each occasion. They came out at sunrise, before noon, at mid-afternoon, and just before sunset.

Just before dark, after dancing outside had finished for the day, women brought willow firewood to the Okipa lodge, where it was placed in two piles on each side of the door. Women of the WaxikEna-Tamisik moiety placed theirs on the west side, while the other clans placed theirs on the east side. Male representatives of the two divisions of the tribe carried in the wood for the fire, since women were not permitted inside the lodge. The small boys and many of the young men left the Okipa lodge at the end of the first day, usually leaving from thirty to fifty fasters who intended to remain the entire four days without

19. Each half represented one of the moieties. The fasters were also symbolic of the animals held captive in Dog Den.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

785 ployed by the Hidatsa in the NaxpikE ceremony, the Sun
171 Dance equivalent of that tribe, as was the case with the Mandans in their Okipa ceremony, where the one tortured was suspended until he became unconscious. This practice was modified in later years to conform with the Hidatsa custom.

785 The custom of cutting off fingers in mourning was universally practiced by the women but rarely by the men. The sacrifice
562 of fingers as a means of self-torture was practiced by men and
304 in only a few instances by women who, upon the death of a rel-
765 ative through warfare, sought by self-torture to revenge the relative's slaying at a time when her brothers contemplated a retaliatory raid on the enemy's camp during which time she would be fasting. Those seeking visions used a buffalo skull to cut the fingers on when a vision was sought.

787 Four Bears' fasting record at the base of a large oak tree in which a raven had its young, to learn the name of the Arikara
785 who had killed his brother, is still related as an example of the power which the supernatural had to clarify past deeds and bring success to the one adopted.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF FOUR BEARS[1]

787 A Mandan named Four Bears sent his younger brother out with the horses to a spot farther from the village where there was more grass. The Arikara
785 came and killed the boy. The men found him with a spear stuck through his body, which was a challenge to Four Bears to come and fight if he thought he
539 was lucky. Four Bears went out and brought the boy back to the village and saved the spear. He had already fasted in the Okipa and had many gods, but he began fasting again. He would fast and cry for seven days and nights without food and then come back to the village to rest. Then he would go out fasting again. He fasted near a high tree in which the ravens had a nest. He cut the flesh on his chest and inserted sticks with which he hung from the tree until he fell exhausted. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. One time he cut off a finger and offered it to the People Above and the raven that had its nest there.

The bird said, "It is an easy thing. You will find the man who killed your brother." The raven promised him that he could also bring rain. The bird added, "The one who killed your brother is named Bear Necklace, and he is the one you should kill."

In those days the dogs had names, so a clan father of Four Bears brought a dog to Four Bears to name, and he gave it the name Bear Necklace even before he killed the man. When Four Bears killed the Arikara without losing a man, and everything happened just as he had said the raven had predicted, he was highly respected.

1. This incident is mentioned in George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 238–41.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

lose any Young Wolves. It would be a blur to my record to 'kick the stone' so I am going back." The others returned with him. 726 159

When we came back, there was nothing of importance until we reached the Killdeer Mountains, where a Sioux war party saw us. We took the middle of the flat east of the Killdeer Mountains, and one of the party killed an antelope. We wasted no time pulling the hide off, and went right on to Red Paint Creek. I laid the hide out to dry to use on my horse that had a sore back. While we were roasting the meat, a whirlwind took the hide up into the air and whirled it, all the time with the flat side down.

When it happened, we said as a joke, "The enemy is upon us," but each of us jumped onto his horse and followed the creek down to the Little Missouri. We did not stop until we reached Cedar Butte, four miles above Hans Creek, when we went into an elm thicket to rest the horses. While there, an owl came and hooted. The enemy had outnumbered us ten to one and had been watching us from the Killdeer Mountains. They thought they had us, but it was the whirlwind that saved us. It was almost a miracle that we escaped the enemy. [The enemy was never seen but was merely suspected by the signs.] From our camp in Hans Creek we left at dawn without food and rode until we reached Manure Creek, where we grazed our horses in a clearing in the woods and cooked meat. We reached Like-a-Fishhook Village at sunset.

Puts Away His Hair got no credit for the lodge even though he found it just where his medicine said it would be.

The Mandan distinguished two kinds of supernatural experiences, those which were received through dreams and those actually seen, the latter being considered the more reliable. Crows Heart thought that what one actually saw could be depended on, whereas all dreams were not real. Scattercorn told of a Mandan who was visiting the Crow Indians. She said: "A friend took him to the top of a high mountain. While there a storm came up so they sought shelter under a cliff. During the night Thunderbird came by with his wings straight out. The lightning came out of his neck, and, when he moved his wings ever so little, it thundered. This Mandan really saw this bird, and it was his guardian after that." 787

All women fasted at least once during their lifetime. Self-torture was rarely practiced except in unusual instances. Scattercorn recalled an instance when three brothers were killed by the Cheyennes, who had been in the village exchanging robes for corn. When they left, they met men coming back loaded with meat. No precautions were taken when they saw the Cheyennes, since they knew what their mission had been. The brothers of the slain men fasted and practiced self-torture to get supernatural aid. When the war party left, one sister cut off two fingers 785 562

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

785 562 and offered them to the sky-gods. She slashed her legs and arms where they had just healed after the mourning cuts she had inflicted. She fasted four days. Although she did not receive a vision, she attributed the unusual success of the war party to her sacrifices.

Men and women never fasted at the same places. Women usually fasted in their gardens or on the corn scaffolds. Women could pledge to give the Okipa, in which case they were permitted to fast on the roof, while a brother assumed the responsibilities of Okipa Maker. They rarely fasted more than one day and night at a time. The supernatural powers which one received were believed to be in direct proportion to one's suffering. Front Woman did not think women needed as powerful guardians as men, so she fasted only one day and night until she contracted sore eyes which would not heal. She and her mother's sister who also had eye trouble paid for the right to fast on the Okipa lodge while the ceremony was being held. Her eyes improved, but her mother's sister's eyes did not. Both fasted during the four days of the ceremony but returned to their lodge at evening.

787 756 428 Doctoring rights were included with most tribal hereditary bundles, and the rights to doctor were sold with the bundle. Such rights could also be acquired through supernatural instructions or purchased from one who had secured the right through visions. The latter practice, though common, did not continue for more than two or three generations. Only tribal bundles continued the hereditary character of doctoring rights generation after generation and with little change. Both men and women doctored. Women rarely doctored outside their own family until after the menopause.

The following account is typical of doctoring beliefs and practices.

MRS. GOOD BEAR'S NARRATIVE OF DOCTORING

787 756 159 My mother, Stays Yellow, fasted in the woods in quest of a god. Just before daylight she fell asleep. In her dream she saw two old people doctoring a woman who was having difficulty bearing a child. She saw that they were using black roots [Black Medicine] which they dug up in the forest. The old people, a man and a woman, had a hide rattle decorated with white feathers. She listened to the song they were singing. At the same time they administered to the woman giving birth to the child, they were doctoring to a number of dead watersnakes. The old woman chewed the roots and blew the chewed-up mass over the snakes; each time she blew on a snake, it came alive and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 over from the women's camp. Afterward the trapper smoked.
Each trapper, after eating, discussed happenings at the pit, and,
223 from the information thus supplied, the leader offered suggestions for increasing the catch. When birds circled the bait but would not come down, it was suggested that raw meat be used. Sometimes the birds flew by without appearing to see the bait, and decoys were recommended.

223 The leader did not have a pit for his own use but remained in camp. However, if the wind was from the wrong direction in the morning and the men were out hunting game, he could go into any of the pits should the wind change to the west.

223 Evenings were spent in storytelling. The leader would ac-
773 quaint the trappers with the myths associated with eagle-trap-
ping. There were many of these myths, and a good leader would
538 be able to consume every evening for the usual four weeks in camp without exhausting his stock. Each was related in great detail with endless repetitions. Some of the longer myths consumed four nights in telling; others were short and could be related in one night. All were expected to listen attentively while seated on a buffalo robe. Those who nodded were pinched with the bird stick. An example of the stories told is given in the Appendix.

223 The position of women in eagle-trapping ceremonies varied among bundle-owners. (1) Most bundle-owners prohibited
562 women from entering the ceremonial lodge or looking inside. (2) Several bundle-owners had special rites to which women were invited when birds had been caught. (3) A few bundle-
[841] owners required a menstruating woman to come into the lodge and breathe the smoke from sage burned at the four corners of the fire pit.

223 Unless special rites relative to the women were purchased,
562 they were required to stay away from the ceremonial lodge and
841 its vicinity. The right to bring women into the lodge was a sepa-
171 rate purchase not essential to trapping eagles. There were separate songs and a myth, giving the right to call in a menstruating woman, which could be purchased. It referred to the capture of the leader of the eagles who, in return for having her life spared, promised unusual success if her song was sung when a menstruating woman was brought into the lodge. The consensus of both

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Mandan and Hidatsa informants was that women took a more prominent place in Mandan than in Hidatsa ceremonies and that bringing women into the lodges was a Mandan rite that some Hidatsa bought. This native belief is borne out by a woman's right to perform the Okipa ceremony with her brother's assistance and to own bundles of deceased relatives until a successor had qualified.

In the selection of eagle-trapping territory, consideration was given to the suitability of the region for hunting. Some informants thought that not more than one-third of the days were suitable for catching eagles. When the winds were not from a westerly direction, the party went out hunting and received their orders from the Chief of the Hunters, whose place in the ceremonial lodge was near the head of the lodge on the left side and opposite the leader.

The office of Chief of the Hunters was filled by the leader when selecting the places for the men when first entering the lodge. In mythological times, Two Men[40] discovered Black Bear's cub carrying a clay pot in which he cooked his food mysteriously, and, resolving to live leisurely thereafter, they stole the vessel. The cub chased them into Dog Den Butte and captured them with his snare. Cub contemplated killing them, but they agreed to do the hunting[41] for the eagle-trappers if their lives were spared. In time they acquired the position of leaders of the hunters.

The eagle-trapping territory was distantly removed from the summer villages in a region not occupied permanently by any tribe.[42] Except for sites on the east side of the Missouri River, the territory was deeply eroded with isolated wooded areas along, and adjacent to, the principal streams. The badlands region along the Little Missouri River and its tributaries was a favorite habitat of the elk, black-tail deer, and mountain sheep. White-tail deer remained more or less in the wooded bottom lands of streams, while buffalo and antelope ranged in herds and bands on the high grass plains a few miles from the principal streams.

40. See my manuscript on "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization" for an account of the exploits of these two characters.

41. Their medicine was the arrow.

42. See map of eagle-trapping camps (Fig. 28).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

than skulls, which usually appear singly in refuse heaps, pits, or shallow graves.

Women took an active part in these ceremonies. Calf Woman thought that it was because they did not want their gardens burned by Sun, who she said once tried to marry Waving Corn. (People never prayed to the sun to bring warm weather. When the winter was severe, they prayed to Lone Man of the Okipa to come as the south wind.) When he was refused, he came four times, and each time the plants withered. Women would fast at these shrines to save their crops and ask help for their men away on the warpath.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

I told you of the case where a man fasted in a bear's den, and the bear took a hold of him and threw him to one side. This man dreamed that night that the bear came and blessed him and told him that he would be a successful warrior and a brave man. Afterward a son was born to him; the son was Seven Bears. The Assiniboine came with the intention of destroying our village, but Seven Bears was brave. They shot him with arrows and bullets, but they had no effect on him. His horse was shot, but he got on another and came back. He fought the enemy and ran over them; he struck them so that the enemy turned and ran back. Torturing was a part of our prayers, for, whenever one prays, he should fast. In torturing, one will have a dream of a spirit, and that way he is blessed. By doing these things, some of the men got great power from the spirits. Crows Heart once saw that Old White Man's back was full of scars, and Crows Heart asked him how many times he had suffered. Old White Man could not remember; his skin had been pierced so many times. 785 796

The next one to be tortured was Packs Wolf. His suffering was inside of the lodge, where he was fastened to the roof. His feet were off of the ground, and a stick was given to him with which to swing himself. While he was hanging there, the leader sang his songs.

Then several days after that Spotted Weasel whittled four sticks, came back, and made a sweathouse. They ran sticks through his wrist and up to the braces of the sweat lodge, and he was also tortured on the breast. When one is tortured in the sweathouse, the women are not permitted to go into it at any time. The Crack Shot was Sitting Owl, and Spotted Weasel was his son-in-law, so he got another man to act in his place. He asked Raven Knows Nothing to do the torturing. When we went in there, the leader began to pour water on the stones, and we got down low near the ground, but Spotted Weasel could not, being tied up there near the roof. He cried to the spirits; it was a hardship for him to go through, but he did. After that, we went into our pits, but no one caught any more birds, even though we were there over one month.

Now that the sweathouse was made, each one of us got some good dried meat and a whole meat [the large piece stripped off of the length of the animal's back]. We paid the leader, and he took us into the sweat lodge to cleanse all of us. We broke camp and started for home. Bluestone and I, being single, left the others and came ahead.

On the other trips with other men, they would not let the women come into the lodge. I thought that the reason for being unlucky was because they had let the women in. 223 796

I heard that Blue Stone's father, Wood Mouth or Medicine Bird, whipped his wife one day when he was a leader and his men did not have any luck in catching the eagles. By doing that their luck changed from bad to good. They caught many eagles. I do not know if some great spirit told him to do that or not, but I do know that they ordinarily did not do that, for men, women, and children were expected to be kindhearted and not have any ill-feeling toward each other. 562

We did not change pipes but used both red and black stone, depending on the kind the leader had. In early days they did not have the red stone pipes. Then the stone was black, and the pipe was straight without the elbow. The hole was in the end, and the stone fitted in on the inside was called I-go-xE'. 276 796

In the ceremony they used a special medicine pipe taken from the bundles.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The sixth group was that of the "Black-tail Deer" and consisted of men over fifty years of age. There were two women in this band who served food and distributed fresh water during the dances. The men wore a crown of bears' claws. 561

There were a few other dances which were bought and sold, but which hardly deserve a place in the regular system. One of these was the dance of the "Half Shaven Head Band" which the lowest band could buy before reaching the proper age to buy into the "Soldier Band." Another was the "Old Dog Dance." The "Dog Band" could buy this of the "Buffalo Band" before becoming Buffalos themselves or being able to. The "Hot Dance" was danced at Rouhptare by the youngest band, and also at the Hidatsa village where it was purchased from the Arikara. The dancers danced barefoot over live coals and plunged their hands into boiling water. 561 424 535

The women, too, were divided into bands. There were four of these of which the first was "The Band of the Gun" which consisted of the younger girls. Next was the "River Band." The third band was the "Hay Women" who sang only the scalp dance. The fourth and last band was that of the "Women of the White Cow," most of them were old, and they were all tattooed with black lines from the mouth to the base of the chin. 561 [304]

The marriage customs of the Mandan Indians differed little from those of their neighbors. Polygamy was common, although a large part of the men had but one wife. Descent was probably along the male line, though there may have been remains of an older custom of descent along the female line, for all the horses captured by a young man belonged to his sister. The women worked hard and were sometimes badly treated though not as a general rule. Lewis and Clarke says that infidelity was punishable by death. Maximilian says it was punishable by cutting off the woman's nose. When a man's wife was stolen he had a right to demand a horse from the abductor. Separations occurred among them quite frequently. Virtue among the women was held in high esteem but was rather scarce. There are accounts of a celebration where prizes were given to the virtuous maids — these celebrations also took place 595 611 562 684 [586] 831 171

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ten horses, and fastens them to the hut of the young woman, who gives them to her father. The latter then takes other horses, and if he has them not himself, his relations assist him, and these horses are fastened, in return, to the hut of the intended son-in-law. In such a case an estimate is previously made of the number of horses possessed by the woman's relations, for all presents are returned in equal number. The bride next boils some maize, and daily carries a kettle or dish filled with it to the hut of the bridegroom. After some time has elapsed, the young man repairs to the hut of his bride, where he passes the night with her, and the marriage is considered as complete. The young couple often continue to reside in the hut of the father-in-law, but they more frequently build a new hut for themselves; sometimes, however, they afterwards separate. The father-in-law is, subsequently, the principal person in the hut; everything depends on him, and is done on his account, and for him; if game is killed, the flesh is first presented to him, &c. There are often many children in these Indian families; some had as many as ten; yet, on the whole, the Indians have not so many children as the Whites, doubtless because they keep them longer at the breast. They are extremely fond of them, but the children are often weak and sickly, in consequence, it is supposed, of the hard labour which the women have to perform. I was universally assured, that the new-born children are of a reddish colour. The births are, in general, extremely easy, and the mother bathes in the river immediately afterwards, even if it is frozen; in ten days the child is considered as safe, having got over the most dangerous period. A person is paid to give it the name chosen by the parents and relations. The child is held up, then turned to all sides of the heavens, in the direction of the course of the sun, and its name proclaimed. They have cradles for their infants, consisting of a leather bag, which is suspended by a strap to a cross beam in the hut. These cradles of the Mandans are not so elegant and beautifully worked as those which we saw among the Sioux and Assiniboins. The children of these Indians are subject to no kind of discipline whatever; they may do and say whatever they please, and nobody finds fault with them. Everything is done to excite a spirit of independence and self-will in the boys; if the mother speaks to one of them, he will very likely slap her face, or kick her, nay, sometimes he will do the same to his father, who says, coolly, bowing his head, this boy will one day become a famous warrior. The men sometimes treat their wives very brutally; and it has not unfrequently happened, that a woman, after such treatment, has left the hut and hanged herself on a tree. This lately happened in the case of an aged woman, whose grown-up son had ill-treated her. She was missed, and was afterwards found suspended from a tree. The women have nothing to indemnify them for their incessant and laborious work, not even good clothing, for this right of the fair sex in Europe is claimed among the Indians by the men. It is singular that these women, who are condemned constantly to work like slaves, refuse to do any work whatever if they marry a white man, and, the Whites being entirely in the power of the Indians, and the relations of their wives, they are obliged to submit to this. Sisters have great

584 [585] 591 596 [163] 855 844 553 854 861 865 562 762 000

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LETTER—No. 17.

MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

595 171 I MENTIONED in the foregoing epistle, that the chiefs of the Mandans frequently have a plurality of wives. Such is the custom amongst all of these North Western tribes, and a few general remarks on this subject will apply to them all, and save the trouble of repeating them.

Polygamy is countenanced amongst all of the North American Indians, so far as I have visited them; and it is no uncommon thing to find a chief with six, eight, or ten, and some with twelve or fourteen wives in his lodge. Such is an ancient custom, and in their estimation is right as well as necessary. 562 595 Women in a savage state, I believe, are always held in a rank inferior to that of the men, in relation to whom in many respects they stand rather in the light of menials and slaves than otherwise; and as they are the "hewers of wood and drawers of water," it becomes a matter of necessity for a chief (who must be liberal, keep open doors, and entertain, for the support of his popularity) to have in his wigwam a sufficient number of such handmaids or menials to perform the numerous duties and drudgeries of so large and expensive an establishment.

595 556 462 There are two other reasons for this custom which operate with equal, if not with greater force than the one above assigned. In the first place, these people, though far behind the civilized world in acquisitiveness, have still more or less passion for the accumulation of wealth, or, in other words, for the luxuries of life; and a chief, excited by a desire of this kind, together with a wish to be able to furnish his lodge with something more than ordinary for the entertainment of his own people, as well as strangers who fall upon his hospitality, sees fit to marry a number of wives, who are kept at hard labour during most of the year; and the avails of that labour enable him to procure those luxuries, and give to his lodge the appearance of respectability which is not ordinarily seen. Amongst those tribes who trade with the Fur Companies, this system is carried out to a great extent, and the women are kept for the greater part of the year, dressing buffalo robes and other skins for the market; and the brave or chief, who has the greatest number of wives, is considered the most affluent and envied man in the tribe; for his table is most bountifully supplied, and his lodge the most abundantly furnished with the luxuries

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

eliniug posture, with the legs thrown out, and the body resting on one elbow and fore-arm, which are under them. The dishes from which they eat are invariably on the ground or floor of the lodge, and the group resting on buffalo robes or mats of various structure and manufacture. 264 516

The position in which the women sit at their meals and on other occasions is different from that of the men, and one which they take and rise from again, with great ease and much grace, by merely bending the knees both together, inclining the body back and the head and shoulders quite forward, they squat entirely down to the ground, inclining both feet either to the right or the left. In this position they always rest while eating, and it is both modest and graceful, for they seem, with apparent ease, to assume the position and rise out of it, without using their hands in any way to assist them.

These women, however, although graceful and civil, and ever so beautiful or ever so hungry, are not allowed to sit in the same group with the men while at their meals. So far as I have yet travelled in the Indian country, I never have seen an Indian woman eating with her husband. Men form the first group at the banquet, and women, and children and dogs all come together at the next, and these gormandize and glut themselves to an enormous extent, though the men very seldom do. 562 264

It is time that an error on this subject, which has gone generally abroad in the world, was corrected. It is everywhere asserted, and almost universally believed, that the Indians are "enormous eaters;" but comparatively speaking, I assure my readers that this is an error. I venture to say that there are no persons on earth who practice greater prudence and self-denial, than the men do (amongst the wild Indians), who are constantly in war and in the chase, or in their athletic sports and exercises; for all of which they are excited by the highest ideas of pride and honour, and every kind of excess is studiously avoided; and for a very great part of their lives, the most painful abstinence is enforced upon themselves, for the purpose of preparing their bodies and their limbs for these extravagant exertions. Many a man who has been a few weeks along the frontier, amongst the drunken, naked and beggared part of the Indian race, and run home and written a book on Indians, has, no doubt, often seen them eat to beastly excess; and he has seen them also guzzle whiskey (and perhaps *sold* it to them) till he has seen them glutted and besotted, without will or energy to move; and many and thousands of such things can always be seen, where white people have made beggars of them, and they have nothing to do but lie under a fence and beg a whole week to get meat and whiskey enough for one feast and one carouse; but amongst the wild Indians in this country there are no beggars—no drunkards—and every man, from a beautiful natural precept, studies to keep his body and mind in such a healthy shape and condition as will at all times enable him to use his weapons in self-defence, or struggle for the prize in their manly games. 261 177

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

156 further his own ends, nor is there any pressure put upon him to realize ab-
602 solute ideals. The value of generosity in this perspective, and as defined by the
431 Indian people, is any act which promotes group welfare. Those persons who do work together on such secular affairs as road projects are said to have donated their time to the group. At a dance for his son serving in Korea, one man in Lone Hill donated "the whitewashing of the school lunch room and the repair of the grade school window sashes." As the kinship system embodies the primary societal values, a man's position in society is assured if he meets the obligations of that system at all public gatherings and in his everyday be-
[626 havior in the village. If a person behaves in any way that destroys group co-
571] operation he is not threatened or physically punished. His mother or older sister will tell him the right way, and if they are not effective his grandparents or other joking relatives will tease and ridicule him into conformity. The Mandan-Hidatsa have a tremendous elaboration of joking relationships which serve as a very effective mechanism of enforcing conformity to group norms.

177 By the time the unacculturated child becomes an adult, he has been so
867 effectively socialized to Indian ways that white contact has very little influence. But the adult reality is such that he must live in a superordinate white world. This is the sharp discontinuity in his life career. Every Indian must deal with members of white society in order to perform necessary economic and educational activities. The unacculturated Indian does not change himself to become like a white person; instead he learns how to adjust to white people. One informant described the technique as follows: "We Indians are just like those lizards that change their colors. When we are with whites we act one way and when we are with Indians we act another way." I think this kind of compartmentalized behavior is called "situational role specificity"—but possibly the analogy of the chameleon has a virtue of its own. In a sense, the unacculturated people of Lone Hill come to learn two cultures, but it is a
177 case of differential learning with different points of origin. The unacculturated
154 Indian character is incorporated into the child in his formative years, while a
867 superficial knowledge of white culture and of the techniques of adjustment to white people are learned primarily in adulthood. The unacculturated people of Lone Hill are not torn with inner conflict between two worlds; they just internalize the Indian way as children and learn aspects of the white way as a necessary accessory when they become adults. Erikson (1950:115) in his study of the Sioux was intrigued by this point:

> This, it seemed to us, was the most astonishing single fact to be investigated: That Indian children could live for years without open rebellion or any signs of inner conflict between two standards which were incomparably further apart than those of any two generations or two classes in our culture.

177 The unacculturated Indian does not internalize white ways as an adult, not
because all learning stops in childhood, but because of the vast cultural differ-
563 ences between members of the two groups, the nature of the situations in which adult Indian-white interaction occurs, and the attitudes of white

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

people toward Indians. Indian relationships to whites are made difficult by the many points of incompatibility between their respective value systems. The unacculturated Indian does not work hard and long in order to accumulate land, goods, and status symbols, as this behavior is disapproved in Indian society. The Indian does not receive prestige for persistent efforts to become "successful," and he finds no necessity to establish a good credit rating. Respectable whites often regard unacculturated Indians as lazy and irresponsible; Indian people in turn see much white behavior as stingy. 177 563

While a few local whites fanatically reject all Indians, many do make genuine efforts to educate and elevate Indian peoples. Many of these sincere attempts to "help" Indians are done with the implicit belief that the white way is superior to the Indian way, and thus they involve a comparison in which the Indian is deemed unworthy. It is difficult to influence another person if your expressed intention is to change him in a direction which you advertise as being better. These efforts, which usually are directed at social and economic betterment, are based upon the white ethic which most Indians either cannot understand or do not want to accept, and thus they create an insurmountable barrier to learning.

The Indian people have few opportunities to participate in active social organizations that include members of both cultures. The social roles that Indians can adopt in relation to whites are severely limited and few effective channels of communication exist. Those younger unacculturated Indians who leave Lone Hill to attend high school and off-reservation boarding schools do have the opportunity to increase their interaction with white people, but the vast majority of the adults of the village have not completed grade school. Indians and whites meet at such recreational activities as county fairs, dances, rodeos, and athletic events, but these are temporary affairs and the interaction takes place mainly between younger Indians and the lower-class segment if local white society. Most of the interaction between unacculturated Indians and whites is not only impersonal but it is atomistic in that individuals meet as individuals for specific and unitary purposes. The Indian meets the white man in the role of customer or employee, not as a total human being. In general, the unacculturated Indian finds relationships within the kinship group rewarding; but his impersonal atomistic relationships with outside whites tend to be unrewarding and often are punishing. 177

The presence of a white model in the nuclear family through the mechanism of white intermarriage is a prerequisite for acculturation in Lone Hill. If the people of the village were not physically isolated but were living in proximity to whites, if the natural resources did not satisfy so many economic needs, if the Indian Bureau had not fostered dependency, if the unacculturated children were not so effectively socialized to a life pattern wherein their emotional security depended upon relationships within the kinship group, if Indians did not utilize techniques of adjustment to whites, if the Indian and white value systems were not so incompatible, if white attitudes toward Indians did not create a barrier to learning, and if Indians had the opportunity to integrate into white social organizations—then white intermarriage might not be so

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

648 Among a number of other customs, was treaty making with other tribes. This was well described by Henry who accompanied the Mandans and Hidatsa when they went to make a treaty with the Cheyennes. Most of the people went on these treaty visits; the band marched in a procession of fixed order and a number of ceremonial objects were carried exposed throughout the march. The party was met with great ceremony by the new allies and its members were taken into their [597] houses. Several days of ceremonial feasting occurred and finally the head chief of each party adopted a son from the other [439] tribe. After this there was more feasting and several days of trade between the two bands, when both returned home.

597 The adoption of sons occurred also among the different families. Maximilian describes the adoption of a "medicine son" to whom a sacred pipe was given. The man chose his adopted son through a dream. The new pipe was consecrated and gifts were showered upon the son's family by the adopted father and his relatives. A dance and feast was then held. This custom was prevalent over all the Missouri region.

838 There were a number of men who dressed and acted like women and were treated in every way as such. These men claimed to follow this life by an order from the spirits given to them in a dream.

●567 Catlin says that the Mandans did not have slaves and there is no mention of them elsewhere. The Arikara, however, had a regular slavery system, and the Crows made slaves and sold 201 them on the Missouri. The Mandans were very good at the sign language so Maximilian tells us. They were expert swim- 481 mers, and collected their whole supply of wood by swimming 313 out and towing in the drift wood at the time of the spring break-ups.

511 In point of general culture the Mandans were superior to any of their immediate neighbors, surpassing even the other sedentary people, the Hidatsa and Arikara. Catlin says that they had advanced far in the arts of manufacture and had more comforts and luxuries than other tribes. When Verendrye saw them he, too, was struck by their superior skill. He said that the Mandans dressed leather and worked in feathers better

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

There was considerable variability in the status of household
621 groups. Those groups possessing important tribal bundles and
554 participating frequently in the ceremonies occupied high status
571 in the village and endeavored to preserve their eminence by selective marriage of their children. The importance of the lodge group was also expressed by offerings placed on poles erected before the lodge. These offerings were distinctive and proclaimed the existing status of the household bundle. One's loyalty remained with the lodge group one was born into, while subsequent marriages united groups of households.

621 A lodge group could leave one village and join another at will.
Usually a number of related households moved at one time, but
166 there are numerous references to groups transferring from one
578 village to another. Informants thought that the three Mandan groups or bands were endogamous. When a group left one village, it endeavored to affiliate with its own band in one of the villages. Mandan informants had been told of at least four reasons why a household group would change villages. When a certain cermony had been allowed to die out or become inactive, a household having rights in that ceremony could enhance its social status by moving out of a village in which there were a number having rights in the ceremony, to take up residence in another where there were few having those particular ceremonial rights. Other household groups moved into another village over the recognition of chiefs. When a small group was dissatisfied with the leadership of the village, rather than have trouble, they moved into another village. Scattercorn remembered that there was often dissatisfaction among the women over the selection of a village site. She recalled that one of their villages was so sandy that the caches caved in, and some of the women wanted to move to another site. When the leaders refused, they were invited to affiliate with another village, which they did. The Missouri River frequently changed its course and sometimes cut through the gardens, destroying the garden sites belonging to some households. When no potential corn ground was available near at hand, household groups were obliged to move to a village with an abundance of suitable corn ground in preference to walking great distances to their gardens.

361 The protohistoric Mandan sites of the Heart River region
have ruins of one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the prime of life and others who, having been crippled either in warfare, hunting, or other active pursuits, were unable to carry out the work normally performed by men. The older men of the lodge usually made the arrows used by the men of the household, and ten arrows complete with heads and feathers had the value of one unpainted robe. Young men of the lodge paid the older men for the right to learn the techniques of arrowmaking. The Mandan in 1929 remembered two men who had been crippled, one when his leg was broken by a wounded buffalo, the other who had had a femur bone shattered by a bullet and who had spent much of their time preparing arrows which they sold.

Another class of people who were highly regarded were the storytellers. The art of storytelling was highly developed; the stories had a variety of themes and were highly formalized. One paying for the right to have a story told was expected to repeat the story after the informer until it was learned in complete detail. The customary way of buying the story was to have a feast and a supply of tobacco mixed with red willow bark prepared before calling the informer in to relate his stories. The stories were of a semisacred character, and many dealt with the exploits of distinguished persons who had once lived in the village or tribe. It was considered improper to relate sacred myths belonging to others unless the informer was an owner in the particular rites, in which instance the buyer was expected to have enough robes and other goods so that each person having rights in the story would receive pay even when only one of their member was relating the story. The actual storytelling was then held at a later time when the informant could be alone with his pupil.

There was considerable traditional lore not actually associated with any ceremony at the time this study was being made. Informants were of the opinion that these myths once were associated with bundle rites now extinct and that the stories had continued as common property of the tribe. These stories have to do with such mythological characters as Corn Silk, Buffalo, First Creator, and the Snakes. Both men and women were storytellers, and they were highly respected as possessors of important tribal lore. They enjoyed intimate con-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

773 tacts with most families, since a person was not considered
538 important who could not argue in council for a certain point of
554 view based on traditional action of the group. Group action was
in a large measure regulated by custom. These patterns of be-
●571 havior were in a large measure perpetuated by the storyteller.
Anyone seeking the position of chief would need a considerable knowledge of tribal history to attain that status. No amount of success in warfare or performance of ceremonies would in themselves have been sufficient. It was this extra knowledge of tribal lore that distinguished them as leaders. Actually, whenever one was the recipient of goods and honors from another, a new and intimate relationship was established between them. Those who had provided many feasts and acquired a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were ultimately selected to become the leaders of the various groups.

571 Men who had reached middle age were called on to insert the
785 thongs for a "son" who was preparing to fast and to pray for
his success. They were expected to supervise the fasting and
554 have it terminated when there was a possibility that the "son"
was carrying his fasting to excess. Those who had good war records or had made significant contributions toward village welfare in other ways offered many feasts to the older men hoping that, by so doing, they would be named village leaders. A man would announce renewal feasts to his ceremonial bundle from time to time and call in those who had similar bundles. Some would assist in removing arrows and opening wounds or doctor in other ways when the occasion warranted.

561 Men of middle age belonged to the Black Mouth Society,
which was intrusted with the organization and protection of the
701 village. This was the most highly organized men's society. It
met every two or three days and received its instructions from the older men meeting in council. It was their duty, whenever the village was in danger of attack, to see that none left the village without permission. Each member carried a club carved according to his own individual preference, and he was expected to use it if anyone was found violating the rules. If the announcer called through the village that the people were not to leave the village and anyone was seen leaving, the Black Mouths would drive him back. Crows Heart remembered a

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

292 575 293 Every member had a head ornament consisting of a round piece of rawhide with a bone feather holder. Two officers wore moderately wide aprons of red cloth edged with eagle feathers hanging down. Each of two other officers had a sacred bow with two arrows, one painted red and the other black. Two officers bore a spiked club (ō'o kahiri' 'ka), the spike being of horn. The sacred bows and arrows were for use against the enemy; they never missed their aim. For some reason no paraphernalia were supplied to Wounded-face's group, and they did not exercise their membership privileges because older men who should have taught them the appropriate songs died. All the members of this society were Mandan, but the organization originated with the Dakota or Cheyenne. Black-chest independently made the statement that the society was not really of Mandan origin. The [608] *cō'ta ō'xat'e* regarded the Foxes as their fathers, and the Little Dogs as their "friends."

292 575 Water-chief said that members wore two eagle feathers rising from the back of the head. Before his group bought the society, five older Mandan called them together, and said, "We wish to give you a society." Then property was collected and brought to them. The same night they sang songs, to which the young boys danced. After the dance, the sellers addressed their sons, saying, "You are growing up now. You must go against the enemy. Try to be brave and conquer the enemy."

Kit-Fox Society.

575 432 571 The following account of this society (ō'xox'atoc) was given by Black-chest.

When we bought this society, all of us were unmarried. We wished to buy this society. Our fathers said, "These foxes have ten claws on their front legs, so we wish you to give us a ten days' feast." I selected Good-bear, one of my clan fathers, for my individual father. The members of the River Women society were our "friends"; one of these, Black-head, was my individual "friend."

When the River Women had gathered together, we went to them and thus addressed them: "We wish to make friends with you. We desire to buy a society and wish you to help us and give us some blankets. We wish to know whether you are willing to do so." The women debated the request, and each one declared that she would contribute her blanket. Then we said, "Well, now each of you shall say which one of us you are willing to help." Then Black-head designated me. She was no clan aunt of mine.

575 527 432 We borrowed Broken-horn's earth-lodge for our meeting and brought kettles of food there. Black-head also brought a kettle of food there. We boys came in on the left side and sat down in an ellipse. We could hear our fathers singing as they approached our lodge. They entered it on the right side and sat down. Their wives, who were to assist in the singing during the ten nights' entertainment, were grouped behind their husbands.

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

purchased with cash income derived from productive employment are obtained by the people of Lone Hill directly from natural sources. 105 177

The paternalistic policy of the Indian Bureau has probably been more effective than the geographical isolation and the ecological setting in limiting direct social relationships between the Indian people and surrounding whites. Most of the necessary economic, educational, and welfare activities are handled by the Agency staff instead of by the Indian people. What is called paternalism arose from the necessities of an earlier historical period, during which it was a humane and just policy to aid those Indian people whose life pattern had been disrupted by American expansion. The people of Lone Hill still expect this protection today, yet they resent the associated dependency. At Fort Berthold and on other Indian reservations, this has come to be one of the most complex and pressing problems of native administration. Given the problems that exist, the current Bureau policy of withdrawal is far from an adequate solution. In a paper of this scope we can do no more than call attention to the importance of the administration as an isolating barrier between the Mandan-Hidatsa and the larger American society. 657

What is possibly the most important isolating factor stems from the sharp discontinuity in the unacculturated Indian life career. From the point of view of the age grading of the learning process, acculturative influences are operative primarily in the adult years. During the early formative period the unacculturated child comes to internalize Indian ways from an intimate group of close relatives in a permissive and secure atmosphere. Before he attends school the child eats Indian food, attends the ceremonial dances, and hears about the daring exploits of the Stone Hammer Society from his old grandfather. The activities of the outside world are dim and vague to the Indian child, for he rarely leaves the village and has few opportunities for direct contact with whites. He does attend an occasional movie and he listens to the radio, but the child has had no context within his own experience with which to relate these impersonal mass media. Those whites who come to Lone Hill on business deal with the adults and rarely see the children. I recorded three life histories of young adults who knew no white people until they were seven or eight years of age. 177 867

From the unacculturated child's point of view, life in Lone Hill revolves around his family, peer, and residential groups. His main satisfactions are obtained from within these groups, and the activities of their members, most of whom are relatives, form the major topics of conversation. That kinship is widely extended among the Mandan-Hidatsa takes on added meaning in this context, as all of an unacculturated Indian's emotionally charged and rewarding experiences occur within, and are shared by, the kinship group. Members of the kinship group are also the agents of cultural transmission, and from them the child learns the approved norms of conduct and patterns of social relations. 177 867 602 571

The unacculturated Indian child soon learns that his emotional security and his very identity are dependent upon his maintaining good relationships with his kinsmen. He does not derive security from acts designed merely to 156 602 431

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

156 further his own ends, nor is there any pressure put upon him to realize ab-
602 solute ideals. The value of generosity in this perspective, and as defined by the
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563 because all learning stops in childhood, but because of the vast cultural differences between members of the two groups, the nature of the situations in which adult Indian-white interaction occurs, and the attitudes of white

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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177 important. As these conditions do exist, the transmission of white ways in an intimate family group becomes the major mechanism of acculturation.

SOCIAL INTERACTION WITHIN THE VILLAGE

177 The thirty-four unacculturated families are isolated from surrounding whites, but they do have contact with the fourteen acculturated families 571 who reside in the village. The acculturated group are a potential source of rapid culture change, and their influence could lead to the spread of white ways throughout the entire population of Lone Hill. But this does not happen. The cultural innovations initiated by the acculturated families are generally not accepted by the unacculturated majority. Why this is so may be understood by first making an additional distinction among the fourteen acculturated families and then describing the social interaction among the groupings that emerge.

A further differentiation is found when the criterion of acculturation is reapplied to the fourteen families who do not regularly attend the Indian ceremonials. Table 1 presents a final summary of group differences in Mandan-Hidatsa acculturation. Seven families virtually never attend the dances; we continue to refer to them as acculturated. The remaining seven families, henceforth to be called "marginal," do participate in the ceremonials when they are in the village. However, the seven marginal families do not live in Lone Hill for more than six to eight months of the year. For the rest of the year, during their off-reservation periods, they interact with whites and with Indians from other tribes. Marginal families and individuals may leave abruptly by automobile for South Dakota, Montana, or even California, and stay away for months at a time. They are called marginal specifically because their shifting pattern of residence prevents them from regularly attending the Indian ceremonials and from fully participating in village culture. While they are living in Lone Hill, the marginal families interact primarily with unacculturated Indians. They are very active in community affairs, seem to uphold Indian beliefs and values, and at times are among the staunchest defenders of traditional Indian ways. Despite their varied experiences outside Lone Hill, the marginal families do not initiate major cultural change within the village.

Table 1.—Group Differences in Mandan-Hidatsa Acculturation

Degree of Acculturation	White Model in Household	
	Absent	Present
Unacculturated	31	3
Marginal	0	7
Acculturated	0	7

177 Observation indicates that members of the marginal families are restless, 158 unsatisfied, rather unpredictable, and some are psychologically unstable. In every one of these seven families there is a constant pattern of excessive drinking and fighting, and every adult male has a jail record for committing minor offenses. One of these men is a severe alcoholic, while a second has spent almost three years in a state asylum where he was diagnosed as a case of

10: Neill H-(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

342 angles, leaving open only a square space of about four feet on
[354] each side. This serves for chimney and windows, as they have no other opening to admit of light; and when it rains, even this is covered over with a canoe to prevent the rain from impairing their earthen pots. The whole of the roof is then well thatched with willows, to the thickness of six inches or more. Over the whole is laid about one foot of earth, and round the base to the height of three or four feet, and the thickness of three feet, which answers for security in case of an attack by the enemy, and keeps out the cold. The door is five feet broad and six high, provided with a covered way or porch on the outside, of the same height as the door, about seven feet broad and ten feet in length.

342 The doors are made of raw buffalo hide stretched upon a
352 frame and suspended by cords from the beam, which forms the circle. Every night the door is barricaded with a long piece of timber supported by two stout posts down in the ground, inside of the hut, one on each side of the door. As you enter the hut after passing through the porch and door, the first thing that strikes the view is a kind of triangular apartment on the left hand side of the door, and fronting the fire. This is for the purpose of fire-wood in the winter. This partition is constructed of square planks, about twelve feet high, and caulked to keep off the air from the door. Between the partition and the fire, there is commonly a distance of about five feet, which the master of the hut occupies during the day time, seated on a mat, constructed of small willows.[1] * * * These mats are about ten feet long and four broad.[1] The two ends for about two and a half feet are raised from the ground in a slanting position and each supported by a kind of sofa; over the mat is spread buffalo skins.

352 Some of these couches are raised about a foot above the
●571 ground. Seated upon this a Mandan sits all day long and receives his friends, smokes and chats the time away, with the greatest dignity. He sometimes passes the night there also, when not inclined to lay with his wives.

INSIDE ARRANGEMENT OF HUTS.

352 On the left side of the host begins their range of beds. The
513 master and his favorite wife always occupy the first, and his other wives each a separate one in succession, next to those of the young people. All are constructed in the same manner, and joining to each other lengthways.

MEDICINE STAGE,

353 At the bottom of the hut fronting the Masters' seat, stands his medicine stage, and indeed it may be called his whole riches

1 [See Category 116, p. 331-40. A.]

561 The three men before-mentioned, who wear the strips of red cloth (the dogs, properly so called), are obliged, if any one throws a piece of meat into the ashes, or on the ground, saying, "There, dog, eat," to fall upon it, and devour it raw, like dogs or beasts of prey. The schischikué of this band is a stick, a foot or a foot and a half long, to which a number of animals' hoofs are fastened [534] The costume of these three dogs is shown in the portrait of Pehriska-Rupe. (Plate XXIII.)

The fifth band is that of the buffaloes. In their dance they wear the skin of the upper part 561 of the head, the mane of the buffalo, with its horns, on their heads; but two select individuals, the 564 bravest of all, who thenceforward never dare to fly from the enemy, wear a perfect imitation of the buffalo's head, with the horns, which they set on their heads (Plate XVIII.), and in which there are holes left for the eyes, which are surrounded with an iron or tin ring. This band alone has a wooden war pipe, and in their union they have a woman, who, during the dance, goes round with a dish of water, to refresh the dancers, but she must give this water only to the bravest, who wear the whole buffalo's head. She is dressed, on these occasions, in a handsome new robe of bighorn leather, and colours her face with vermilion. The men have a piece of red cloth fastened behind, and a figure representing a buffalo's tail; they also carry their arms in their hands. The men with the buffaloes' heads always keep in the dance at the outside of the group, imitate all the motions and the voice of this animal, as it timidly and cautiously retreats, looking around in all directions, &c. (Plate XVIII.)

561 The sixth band is that of the black-tailed deer. It consists of all the men above fifty years of age, who, however, likewise dance. Two women belong to the band, who wait on them at the dance, cook, carry water round to refresh them, and the like. All the men of this band wear a garland of the claws of the grizzly bear round their heads, and all insignia of their warlike exploits about their bodies, such as feathers on their heads, tufts of hair on their arms and legs, scalps, painting, &c.

561 All these bands, as well as the following dances, are bought and sold, and, as has been already 425 observed, on these occasions, the buyer must give up his wife to the seller during the festivity. 837 But if a young man is still unmarried, he will sometimes travel to a great distance to another village, to ask a friend or companion for his wife, who accordingly goes with him, and, on the 572 evenings of the dance, gives up his wives for him. A man often brings three or four, and even more, wives, and gives them to his father, as he is called, as soon as the dancing, eating, smoking, and the relating of their exploits, are concluded. Thus one woman after the other comes, as will be described in the account of the buffalo medicines of the Manitaries, strikes, with her hand, the arm of the man whom she will favour, and goes to the entrance of the tent, where she waits till he follows her. The man so invited often keeps his seat, and bows down his head; the woman then goes home, brings articles of value, such as guns, robes, blankets, &c., which she lays, piece by piece, before him, till he is satisfied, stands up, and follows her.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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MANDAN MEN'S SOCIETIES.

The Mandan System.

575 Both from Maximilian's account and the statements of my own inform-
424 ants it appears that the Mandan system of men's societies closely resembled
432 that of the Hidatsa. In both cases there was a series of graded organiza-
171 tions, the membership, or rather ownership, of each of which was acquired by collective purchase. The method of buying membership was practically identical, and among the Mandan as well as among the Hidatsa the surrender of the purchasers' wives to the sellers formed a conspicuous feature. Owing to the collective manner of obtaining membership, practically all tribesmen belonged to some one of the societies. If a boy of a certain age
[551] did not yet belong to any organization, he was, according to Water-chief, derided as a "Finger-in-his-eye (istá wátke). After selling their last society the retired members, as among the Hidatsa, were known as "Stinking-ears" (nakóxe xuⁿpé).

According to Black-chest and Wounded-face, the institution of "friendly"
573 organizations described for the Hidatsa (p. 229) 1/A also occurs among the Mandan, but this is denied by Painted-up for both men's and women's organizations. Unfortunately this important point must remain undecided.

There can be no doubt that within the period known to my informants
575 membership in a society was primarily, on the Hidatsa plan, a matter of purchase, not of age. Because, for example, the group that normally would have purchased the Kit-Fox and Little Dog societies failed to buy either from his own class, Black-chest at 62 considers himself a member of these organizations, which he joined at 20 and 25 respectively.

Owing to the very small number of Mandan who survived the epidemic
177 of 1837 and the intimate relations of the survivors with the Hidatsa, the
575 accounts of my Mandan informants may be largely colored by Hidatsa influences, so that Maximilian's data are all the more valuable and will be summarized in the following sections. Of the societies enumerated by my Mandan informants but not given by Maximilian, the Kit-Fox and the Little Dog organizations may be assumed to have been adopted from the Hidatsa in recent times, for both occur in Maximilian's Hidatsa list. In
575 preparing the following comparative table I assume, for reasons already set forth (p. 235), that in Maximilian's day there were distinct Dog and Half-

1/A [i.e., Members of two age groups separated in time by another age group would aid each other in opposition to the demands of the intermediate group. -- Analyst]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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purely lunar one. Some record was kept of the years, a certain symbol of some distinctive event standing for each year on the record robe, the same system used by the Dakotas. The year was divided as follows: 865 [211]

January	Moon of	seven cold days.
February	" "	the rut of wolves.
March	" "	sore eyes.
April	" "	game; or of the river break-up.
May	" "	sowing; or of flowers.
June	" "	ripe june-berries.
July	" "	ripe choke-cherries.
August	" "	ripe wild plums.
September	" "	ripe corn.
October	" "	the fall of leaves.
November	" "	the freezing rivers.
December	" "	the little cold.

The Mandans were a very liberal and hospitable people, more so than any of their neighbors according to Henry. Food was practically common property in the village. No man could become a chief without much giving of presents, and giving was considered a great honor, the gifts which a man had made being painted on his robe along with his deeds in war. If one expressed a desire for anything it was immediately given to him but a present of equal value was expected in return. In connection with this might be mentioned the custom of taking back a sale; by a return of the purchase price a man might regain anything which he had sold, whenever he wished to. 574 554 431 437

The hospitality of the Mandans is mentioned by every visitor. Verendrye speaks particularly of his kind reception and says, "Their custom being to feed liberally all who came among them, selling only what was to be taken away."[1] Even their worst enemy when once in their village had nothing to fear and was treated with all kindness. Henry remarked that the Mandans were thieves but never touched any property of a stranger who was a guest in a lodge. They were bound to protect any stranger, even an enemy who might seek refuge in the village. 574

[1] Op. cit., p. 15.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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which were pushed in as they burnt. This was done because the First Man told them they must never have a big fire after the day's cooking was done and showed them how it should be built. It recalls the sacred fire of the Muskogi and other tribes of the lower Mississippi. They declared that many of the every day customs were taught them thus and consequently they always did them a certain way,—thus Ochkih-Hedde taught them to tattoo themselves, and their first chief taught them to kill buffalo and to make shields. 372 [773]

The Mandans practiced penances and sacrifices, especially self-torture which they carried to great extremes. Their medicine or personal guardian spirit was acquired by three or four days fasting and self injury, after which the medicine, often an animal, appeared to the candidate in a dream. This ceremony was also taught to them by Ochkih-Hedde. No expedition or enterprise was undertaken without a liberal sacrifice to some supernatural being, either by offering valuable goods or by physical self-torture. Finger joints were frequently cut off as an offering to the gods and fasting was common as a propitiation. Often a day or more would be spent near one of the medicine scaffolds in groaning, praying and weeping. Lewis and Clarke relate that finger joints were also cut off as a sign of mourning, which Maximilian denies, and Catlin tells how such a sacrifice was a part of the catalogue of tortures in the great Okeepa dance. The custom of consecrating personal property is found here as among the neighboring tribes. A man could make his gun, his horse, his pipe and other similar articles medicine by going through certain ceremonies, most important of which was the giving of a feast. The feast[1] was announced by a public crier, a certain number of guests were invited, the invitations being originally little rods and later playing cards. The drum and rattle made the round of the company. Then the article was consecrated; if a gun, it was rubbed with meal several times, with soup, and lastly with fat, after which the feast took place. 782 304 776 785 [765] 782 574

There were many shrines and sacred articles among the Mandans, but judging from the accounts, the sacred bundles or 778

[1] Maximilian: p. 468.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

574 The Mandans are hospitable, and often invite their acquaintance to come and see them. Their pipes are made of the red-stone, or of black clay. They obtain the red pipe-heads chiefly from the Sioux; sometimes they have wooden heads lined with stone; the tube is plain, long, round or flat, on the whole, of the same shape as among the Sioux, but they are not so fastidious about ornamenting their pipes as other tribes. They smoke the leaves of the tobacco plant, which is cultivated by them; the bark of the red willow *(Cornus sericea)*, which they obtain from the traders, is sometimes mixed with the tobacco, or the latter with the leaves of the bearberry *(Arbutus uva ursi)*. The tobacco of the Whites, unmixed, is too strong for the Indians, because they draw the smoke into their lungs; hence they do not willingly smoke cigars.

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415 The meals of the Mandans are served in wooden dishes. The spoons are generally large and deep; they are made of the horn of the bighorn (see woodcut, p. 251); sometimes they are yellow, or else they are shallow, made of black buffalo's horn. They have a considerable variety of dishes. The Indians residing in permanent villages have the advantage of the roving hunting tribes, in that they not only hunt, but derive their chief subsistence from their plantations, which afford them a degree of security against distress. It is true these Indians sometimes suffer hunger when the buffalo herds keep at a great distance, and their crops fail; but the distress can never be so great among the Missouri Indians, as in the tribes that live further northwards. The plants which they cultivate are maize, beans, French beans, gourds, sunflowers, and tobacco *(Nicotiana quadrivalvis)*, of which I brought home some seeds, which have flowered in several botanic gardens.

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243 Of maize there are several varieties of colour, to which they give different names. The several varieties are:—1. White maize. 2. Yellow maize. 3. Red maize. 4. Spotted maize. 5. Black maize. 6. Sweet maize. 7. Very hard yellow maize. 8. White, or red-striped maize. 9. Very tender yellow maize.*

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The beans are likewise of various sorts—small white beans, black, red, and spotted beans. The gourds are—yellow, black, striped, blue, long, and thick-shelled gourds.

241 The sunflower is a large helianthus, which seems perfectly to resemble that cultivated in our gardens. It is planted in rows between the maize. There are two or three varieties, with red, and black, and one with smaller seeds. Very nice cakes are made of these seeds. The tobacco

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* I brought to Europe specimens of the several kinds of maize grown among the Mandans; these have been sown, but only the early species were ripe in September, 1833. The heads have by no means attained the same size, on the Rhine, as in their native country. There the plant attains a height of five or six feet, and the colours of the grains are very various, bright and beautiful: while, on the Rhine, the plant grew to the height of four or four and a half feet. The later sorts grew to the height of ten feet, and were not quite ripe at the end of October. (See Bradbury, page 145, for an account of the maize of the Mandans.)

According to Tanner (page 180), an Ottawa Indian first introduced the cultivation of maize on the Red River, among the Ojibwas, or Chippeways.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

123 I had thus far progressed, with high-wrought feelings of pleasure, when
156 the two or three chiefs, who had been seated around the lodge, and whose portraits I had before painted, arose suddenly, and wrapping themselves tightly in their robes, crossed my room with a quick and heavy step, and took an informal leave of my cabin. I was apprehensive of their displeasure, though I continued my work; and in a few moments the interpreter came furiously into my room, addressing me thus:—"My God, Sir! this never will do; you have given great offence to the chiefs—they have made complaint of your conduct to me—they tell me this is a worthless fellow—a man of no account in the nation, and if you paint his picture, you must instantly destroy theirs; you have no alternative, my dear Sir—and the quicker this chap is out of your lodge the better."

The same matter was explained to my sitter by the interpreter, when he picked up his robe, wrapped himself in it, plied his fan nimbly about his face, and walked out of the lodge in silence, but with quite a consequential smile, taking his old position in front of the door for awhile, after which he drew himself quietly off without further exhibition. So highly do Mandan braves and worthies value the honour of being painted; and so little do they value a man, however lavishly Nature may have bestowed her master touches upon him, who has not the pride and noble bearing of a warrior.

000 I spoke in a former Letter of Mah-to-toh-pa (the four bears), the second chief of the nation, and the most popular man of the Mandans—a high-minded and gallant warrior, as well as a polite and polished gentleman. Since I painted his portrait, as I before described, I have received at his hands many marked and signal attentions; some of which I must name to you, as the very relation of them will put you in possession of many little forms and modes of Indian life, that otherwise might not have been noted.

•574 About a week since, this noble fellow stepped into my painting-room about twelve o'clock in the day, in full and splendid dress, and passing his arm through mine, pointed the way, and led me in the most gentlemanly manner, through the village and into his own lodge, where a feast was prepared in a careful manner and waiting our arrival. The lodge in which he
[342] dwelt was a room of immense size, some forty or fifty feet in diameter, in a circular form, and about twenty feet high—with a sunken curb of stone in the centre, of five or six feet in diameter and one foot deep, which contained the fire over which the pot was boiling. I was led near the edge of this curb, and seated on a very handsome robe, most ingeniously garnished and painted with hieroglyphics; and he seated himself gracefully on another one at a little distance from me; with the feast prepared in several dishes, resting on a beautiful rush mat, which was placed between us (PLATE 62).

262 The simple feast which was spread before us consisted of three dishes
264 only, two of which were served in wooden bowls, and the third in an earthen
415 vessel of their own manufacture, somewhat in shape of a bread-tray in our own country. This last contained a quantity of *pem-i-can* and *marrow-*

7: Catlin R, F 5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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[pacing p. 114]

251 and the remainder is gathered and dried on the cob, before it has ripened, and packed away in "*caches*" (as the French call them), holes dug in the ground, some six or sever feet deep, the insides of which are somewhat in the form of a jug, and tightly closed at the top. The corn, and even dried meat and pemican, are placed in these *caches*, being packed tight around the sides, with prairie grass, and effectually preserved through the severest winters.

251 Corn and dried meat are generally laid in in the fall, in sufficient quantities
262 to support them through the winter. These are the principal articles of food during that long and inclement season; and in addition to them, they oftentimes have in store great quantities of dried squashes and dried "*pommes blanches*," a kind of turnip which grows in great abundance in these regions, and of which I have before spoken. These are dried in great quantities, and pounded into a sort of meal, and cooked with the dried meat and corn. Great quantities also of wild fruit of different kinds are dried and laid away in store for the winter season, such as buffalo berries, service berries, strawberries, and wild plums.

252 The buffalo meat, however, is the great staple and "staff of life" in this
262 country, and seldom (if ever) fails to afford them an abundant and wholesome means of subsistence. There are, from a fair computation, something like 250,000 Indians in these western regions, who live almost exclusively on the flesh of these animals, through every part of the year. During the summer and fall months they use the meat fresh, and cook it in a great variety of ways, by roasting, broiling, boiling, stewing, smoking, &c.; and by boiling the ribs and joints with the marrow in them, make a delicious soup, which is universally used, and in vast quantities. The Mandans, I
264 find, have no regular or stated times for their meals, but generally eat about twice in the twenty-four hours. The pot is always boiling over the fire, and any one who is hungry (either of the household or from any other part of the village) has a right to order it taken off, and to fall to eating as he pleases. Such is an unvarying custom amongst the North American Indians, and I very much doubt, whether the civilized world have in their institutions any system which can properly be called more humane and charitable. Every
574 man, woman, or child in Indian communities is allowed to enter any one's lodge, and even that of the chief of the nation, and eat when they are hungry, provided misfortune or necessity has driven them to it. Even so can the poorest and most worthless drone of the nation; if he is too lazy to hunt or to supply himself, he can walk into any lodge and everyone will share with him as long as there is anything to eat. He, however, who thus begs when he is able to hunt, pays dear for his meat, for he is stigmatized with the disgraceful epithet of a poltroon and a beggar.

264 The Mandans, like all other tribes, sit at their meals cross-legged, or rather
516 with their ancles crossed in front of them, and both feet drawn close under their bodies; or, which is very often the case also, take their meals in a re-

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and called loudly for revenge. "Let every Mandan (said he) be silent, and let no one sound the name of Mah-to-toh-pa—let no one ask for him, nor where he has gone, until you hear him sound the war-cry in front of the village, when he will enter it and shew you the blood of Won-ga-tap. The blade of this lance shall drink the heart's blood of Won-ga-tap, or Mah-to-toh-pa mingles his shadow with that of his brother."

With this he sallied forth from the village, and over the plains, with the lance in his hand; his direction was towards the Riccaree village, and all eyes were upon him, though none dared to speak till he disappeared over the distant grassy bluffs. He travelled the distance of two hundred miles entirely alone, with a little parched corn in his pouch, making his marches by night, and laying secreted by days, until he reached the Riccaree village; where (being acquainted with its shapes and its habits, and knowing the position of the wigwam of his doomed enemy) he loitered about in disguise, mingling himself in the obscure throng; and at last, silently and alone, observed through the rents of the wigwam, the last motions and movements of his victim, as he retired to bed with his wife: he saw him light his last pipe and smoke it "to its end"—he saw the last whiff, and saw the last curl of blue smoke that faintly steeped from its bowl—he saw the village awhile in darkness and silence, and the embers that were covered in the middle of the wigwam gone nearly out, and the last flickering light which had been gently playing over them; when he walked softly, but not slyly, into the wigwam and seated himself by the fire, over which was hanging a large pot, with a quantity of cooked meat remaining in it; and by the side of the fire, the pipe and tobacco-pouch which had just been used; and knowing that the twilight of the wigwam was not sufficient to disclose the features of his face to his enemy, he very deliberately turned to the pot and completely satiated the desperate appetite, which he had got in a journey of six or seven days, with little or nothing to eat; and then, as deliberately, charged and lighted the pipe, and sent (no doubt, in every whiff that he drew through its stem) a prayer to the Great Spirit for a moment longer for the consummation of his design. Whilst eating and smoking, the wife of his victim, while laying in bed, several times enquired of her husband, what man it was who was eating in their lodge? to which, he as many times replied, "It's no matter; let him eat, for he is probably hungry."

● [574] Mah-to-toh-pa knew full well that his appearance would cause no other reply than this, from the dignitary of the nation; for, from an invariable custom amongst these Northern Indians, any one who is hungry is allowed to walk into any man's lodge and eat. Whilst smoking his last gentle and tremulous whiffs on the pipe, Mah-to-toh-pa (leaning back, and turning gradually on his side, to get a better view of the position of his enemy, and to see a little more distinctly the shapes of things) stirred the embers with his toes (readers, I had every word of this from his own lips, and every attitude and gesture acted out with his own limbs), until he saw his

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son who Lewis and Clarke found in October, 1804, trading among the Indians. On the 19th Henry and party came in sight of the Missouri. He writes in his Journal: "Descending the high banks we came to the river Bourbeuse [Bourbeux, Moiy.] We had much difficulty in crossing; on both sides nothing but soft clay, into which our horses sunk almost up to their ears. Having got through we washed and cleaned them, and ourselves in the Missouri * * * At 2 o'clock we saddled and proceeded on passing near to the water side. At the foot of the Lodge de Serpent is a bank upon the north side of the Missouri, about three hundred feet high; the side fronting the river is very steep and barren composed of gravel intermixed with a quantity of flat decayed stones of bluish and iron color with some streaks." 114

A short distance from the foot of the hill was a Gros Ventres winter village[1] and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon they arrived opposite the mouth of the Knife River, on the bank of which a mile from the Missouri, was also a village of Gros Ventres.[2] Riding down on the north bank of the Missouri, a distance of five miles, to a Mandan village, "we passed," writes Henry, "through one of their old villages that was abandoned a few years ago; they have now built about a mile lower down the river. Near this deserted village we saw great numbers of the dead exposed upon stages about eight feet from the ground. The envelopes or coverings are generally of dressed leathe- and parchments, many of which were still good, whilr others were decayed, and nothing but the bones appeared. e * * We now met a Mandan who was well armed, he ac* companied a party of women that were hoeing corn, and he served as their guard. On perceiving us, he instantly came up and shook hands with us and expressed himself by signs that we should put up at his village. We saw numbers of women and children at work in the corn field. 000 574 576

Just before we entered the village we were met by the chief of the place, Chat Noir * [Black Cat] and a number of the natives. Every one of them were shaking hands with us, and bid us welcome. The chief then conducted us to one of his huts, appropriated for the reception of the strangers. He has another, in which the principal friends of his family resides. He keeps one of his wives, in the one we were in, to attend upon his guests, cook, bring water, etc., and to serve as a bed fellow if required. [837]

In a moment, the whole village flocked around us, and all were curious to see what articles we had brought to trade, and they were neither troublesome, nor impertinent. Having unsaddled our horses, and taken our baggage into the hut, the 574 609

* Lewis and Clarke made Poscopsesh or Black Cat, the first chief of the village, and the grand chief of the whole Mandan nation.

1 [See category 116, p. 322, for section, missing here, which is in original account. Ann Yo] 2 [See category 116, p. 323, for missing section. — Ann Yo]

10: Neill H-4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

574 chief gave our horses in charge of a young man, and told us
609 we need not be uneasy as there would be good care taken of them.

574 On going into the hut, we found buffalo hides spread on the
262 ground, before the fire, for us to sit upon, and soon after we were presented with two large dishes of boiled corn and beans, after which they gave us another large dish of boiled dried meat, but very few of us could eat of it, as it had too strong a taste and smell.[1]

231 After some other details which we omit, Harvey writes that
342 when night came: "One young man brought in our horses, and put them in the same hut along with us, upon the right hand, on entering, and ourselves upon the left; a space was enclosed with a railing to keep them within bounds. This custom causes their habitations to have a very disagreeable and offensive smell. This precaution of theirs is to keep the horses from being stolen by the Assiniboines, or other enemies, who are frequently lurking about the village.

515 "Towards evening, having gone down to the river side, I
291 observed the custom of washing themselves in the Missouri. Both men and women make it a rule, every morning and evening, to go down to the river, and wash for some time; the men make use of the clay to wash their hair, which answers the purpose of soap to take out the white and red earth with which they daub it, after having washed. Modesty in the female sex appears to be a virtue they are unacquainted with. They wear a kind of leather shift which reaches down to the calves of their legs. This they slip off some distance from the shore, and walk very deliberately into the water entirely naked, in the presence of old and young who seem not to pay any attention to them. * * * * The men make use of no other covering, in the summer season, than these buffalo robes, and even these are seldom worn within doors, and only thrown on when they go out to visit or walk about the village.
[352] Both sexes sleep naked. Their beds are raised about two feet from the ground, and hung around with dressed skins. In summer they seldom use any coverings at night, but lay like so many brutes." * * * * Mr. Henry gives a description of their lascivious dances which is too indelicate to publish. He writes under date of:

252 "Sunday, July 20th. At daybreak we were all up, and I
262 took a walk down to the river, where I observed the same cer-
352 emony of washing as last evening, with as little reserve as
512 before. Our host on our return presented us with some dried
412 meat, and soon after a dish of corn and beans, but as it is not seasoned with any kind of grease or fat, after the first meal it has a very insipid taste. The corn is generally pounded or bruised in a wooden mortar, which is fixed fast and firm in the ground, in one corner of the hut, and this is the first work performed by the women in the morning.

[1] [Category 116, p. 325.-A] [2] [Category 116, p. 326.-A]

609 attentive and polite in conveying our baggage on board. We
622 now perceived another American flag flying in the village on the south side of the river, while that of the Black Cat was still displayed over the hut we had occupied. Our conductor now informed us the flag we saw in the opposite village was his property, and had been hoisted by his orders over his own hut, where he begged we would take up our lodgings. The young men, I
[481 observed were very prompt in getting our horses over. They
492] fastened a line to the horse's mouth, the end of which one of them takes in his teeth, and swims on ahead, while others swim along on each side, and in the rear, draws the horse on very expeditiously. They swim remarkably swift, and notwithstanding
[481] the Missouri at this place is half a mile wide, and the current very strong, they drift down but a very considerable distance before they land.

501 Their canoes are of very singular construction and a stranger would scarcely dare venture his life in them to cross such a deep and rapid stream. They are of a circular form; the timbers are nothing but a few bent willows of about three inches in circumference, over which is stretched a raw buffalo hide, with the hair inside, and sewed first to the gunwales which are generally of a willow, about two inches in diameter. I was really surprised to see the great weight that one of those slender vessels would carry. We embarked, baggage, saddles, etc., weighing at least 200 pounds, Mr. Chaboillez and myself, and our ferryman, who was a remarkably stout fellow. Our canoe or dish would have supported at least 100 pounds more. What they make use of, in lieu of a paddle, is a pole about five feet long, split at one end so as to admit of a piece of board, about two feet long, and half a foot broad, which is lashed to the pole and forms a kind of cross, and as there is but one made use of for each canoe, and he that paddles pulls directly for the opposite shore, every stroke he gives turns his dish almost entirely around; when, to preserve his position and place him fronting his intended, route he must give a stroke upon the other hand which brings him up again, and so on until he gets over the river, which, however, is not accomplished until they have drifted down nearly a mile.

501 Some of them, I observed, were more expert than others in
482 managing their dishes, and did not drift more than a quarter of a mile. But as these vessels are very light they have the precaution to carry them upon their heads, or slung upon their backs to a considerable distance higher up the river, than where they wish to land. When we were on the water our conductor repeatedly made signs to us to salute the flag, by firing our guns, but we did not think proper to comply with his wishes or pretended we did not comprehend him.

622 We soon after landed at the village, which is situated upon
● 574 the very edge of the bank. Here we were received by another
609

10: Neill H4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

chief called Le Grand * who insisted upon our taking lodgings in his hut, which stood near the edge of the banks. We accordingly entered it, but soon after we were visited by several other principal men, who requested some of us to take up our abode in their huts during our stay among them. La France advised us to do so, telling us we would be more at our ease by separating than if we remained all in the same hut. Accordingly Mr. Chaboillez and his people, consisting of an Indian who was his brother-in-law, and Mr. Allen McDonnell, took up their lodgings with Hairy Horn, and our guide, Hugh McReacan, (Cracken) Straight Horn, myself and my people, T. Viandrie and Joseph Du Charme, remained with Le Grand, a very civil fellow. This arrangement having been settled and instantly put into execution, we were provided with beds, or buffalo hides to sit upon.[1] * * * * * We paid a visit to Le Gros Blanc, who thought we had somewhat slighted him in not taking up our residence in his hut, but kept the flag flying in honor of our arrival until sunset. We made amends as far as our circumstances would permit, and presented him with some tobacco, ammunition, etc., as a remuneration for his trouble in assisting us over. He was perfectly satisfied, and appeared highly pleased with the presents.

622 574 609 [431]

We found in this village a Canadian by the name of Jussaume,† who accompanied Captains Lewis and Clarke to Washington on their return from their voyage of discoveries to the Pacific Ocean as interpreter to the Mandan chief, Le Gros Blanc. This man has been a resident among the Indians for upwards of fifteen years. He speaks their language tolerably well, has a wife and family who live and dress in the same manner as the natives. As for himself, he still retains the outward appearance of a Christian, and his principles as far as I could observe, are much worse than those of a Mandane. He is possessed of every superstition natural to these people, nor is he different in performing every mean, dirty trick which they have acquired from their intercourse with a set of worthless scoundrels accustomed to visit these parts, some for the purpose of trade, and others, to save themselves from justice and the laws of their country, that would not fail to punish them for their numerous offenses."

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EDWARD D. NEILL.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

*Le Gros Blanc, or Big White, called by the Indians Shahaka was the first chief of this village and was recognized by Lewis and Clark and presented with a medal. Ohheenaw, Le Grant, or Big Man was much esteemed in the tribe. He was a Cheyenne taken prisoner, and then adopted by the Mandans. [597]

† In the narrative of Lewis and Clarke his name is spelled Jesseaume, and on the 27th of October, 1805, was engaged as interpreter, and with the expedition went to the Pacific Ocean, accompanied by his Indian wife and babe. On the 16th of August, 1806, soon after Henry's departure, Lewis and Clarke returned to the Mandan village, and Le Gros Black, Big White, with his wife and son and Jessaume, the next day accompanied the military expedition to St. Louis, and from thence they went to Washington and were presented to President Jefferson.

[1] [Category 116, p. 332.-A.]

Sections from Henry's Journal Not Printed in Neill's Version (page numbers refer to those in the Coues edition of Henry's Journal (1897):

224 [322] We had now a well-beaten path, but were several times in danger of breaking our necks in deep pits which the natives had dug in the path to catch wolves and foxes in winter. Some of them are 10 feet deep, hollowed out to a space about 30 feet in circumference, whilst the entrance is no wider than the foot-path and about five feet in length. Those holes are covered with dry grass at the season when wolves are good, and every morning are found to contain some of those animals. In summer the grass grows strong and high about the mouths, entirely concealing them, until one arrives upon the very brink and is in danger of tumbling in headlong.

491 [323] Before we reached the (Mandan) village, we passed through
241 a wood about two miles long. The road was bad, deep with mud and mire, the river having overflowed there lately. Having got through this wood, we came to several plantations of corn, beans, squashes, and sunflowers--the latter, indeed, grow in every direction, without cultivation, at some distance from the fields, where the seed has been carried by the wind; but such are never gathered by the natives, as they are not so good as those that have been properly sown and taken care of.

262 [325] This was just to their own palate, as they seldom eat
574 meat until it begins to smell. We were invited into several huts successively and presented with dried meat in a state of corruption, corn and beans, together with parched corn and fresh ears pounded up in a wooden mortar; this last dish we found good.

439 They soon asked us to trade, and brought buffalo robes, corn,
177 beans, dried squashes, etc.; but we informed them that we did not come here for that purpose, merely to visit them and see the country. They could not comprehend why we should have come so far out of mere curiosity, and said that all white people who came there did so with a view to trade. They suspected that we had goods which we wished to take over the river to the other villages, and were anxious to prevent it. They plagued us until dark, when they retired disappointed.

[p. 384(A)]

832 repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men,
834 who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young
men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on
461 the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to
526 hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times
they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback,
and performing warlike manoeuvres; they have also a favorite
game which occupies much of their time.

512 [328] ... this is the first work performed by the women in the
515 morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed
themselves in the Missourie. ... every family being provided
415 with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh.
177 Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to
771 say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those
574 earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest
kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come
in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the
contents.

231 ..... Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed
437 in the meadow but never allowed them to be for a moment out of
648 his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them.
We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles,
for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco.

439 [329] It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail
upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger
has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first
village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many
439 European articles as they can, [330] particularly arms and ammuni-
609 tion. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each
other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have
578 often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death
569 of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also
to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great
distance. The Pawnees, also, with whom the Mandanes formerly
lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies.
Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and every-
one has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

675 We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the
673 landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut
[577] in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect
security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

[p. 384(C)]

675 it is gone in an instant, and search would be in vain; everyone
673 would wish to appear innocent, although they are not offended when
accused of stealing, but laugh the matter away. .....We paid
437 our landlord for board and lodging, as well as the care of our horses,
177 and of the articles left under his charge, as we never expect the
least favor from any of these fellows without recompensing them
accordingly. He appeared very well pleased with the following
articles, which we gave him: 60 rounds of ammunition, 4 large
knives, 2 awls, 1 fathom of tobacco, 1 steel, 5 flints, 1 dozen
hawk-bills, 2 worms (wormers for guns), and 1 dozen brass rings....
609 [332] My host was so obliging as to give up to me one of his
● 574 own best beds, well surrounded with dressed leather. We had a
plentiful supply of corn and beans, and were soon invited to several
huts, where we [333] were treated with a very palatable dish of
[431] pounded peas and parched corn; but it is customary for invited
guests, on leaving, to present the master of the hut with a few
inches of tobacco, for which he always appears very thankful.
728 [335] About 30 Big Bellies soon arrived on horseback, at full
speed; they brought an interpreter with them. This party consisted
of some of the principal war chiefs, and other great men, who did
not appear well pleased, but looked on the Pawnees with disdain.
285 [339] ...seated on a mat made of small willows of equal size,
fastened together [340] by threads of their own manufacture,
passed through each stick about a foot apart.
342 [340] Seldom more than one family occupies the same hut.
437 [342] We paid the young men for taking our horses across the
177 river, and the women for assisting us with the canoes. The total
cost was: 1 fathom of tobacco, 4 knives, 6 flints, 6 awls, 6 worms
[gun wormers—analyst], and 10 balls. I also paid my landlord
for the time we might remain here, which I supposed would be
about ten days for three persons, including board and lodging,
stabling for our horses, and care of our property. They make no
price, leaving that to the generosity of guests, and should the pay-
ment be too little they still appear to accept with gratitude; but
the visitor is afterward left to take care of his own property and
horses in the best manner he can. It is impossible to get the most
trifling service from the natives without immediate payment; not
even an inch of cord will they part with without receiving some-
thing in return. It is true a trifle will please them, and they are

[p. 384(D)]

304 They have another custom of putting their courage and con-
785 tempt of pain to task by tormenting their flesh in a most atrocious manner. This is done by pinching up a fold of the skin and flesh an inch broad, under which they pass the iron barb of an arrow; they raise stripes in this manner from the back of the hand to the shoulder, and thence to the breast, there joining three or four separate circles of incisions made in the same manner on the lower part of the breast. Some content themselves by raising stripes of different lengths upon their arms and thighs, and forming crescentic cuts on the breast in a very regular manner, one within the other; some with the horns upward, others downward, according to fancy.

304 Most of the women have their faces tattooed in a very savage manner, lines a quarter inch broad passing from the nose to the ear, and down each side of the mouth and chin to the throat. This disfigures them very much; otherwise, some would have tolerably
304 good faces. Some tattooing is done to beautify the face, but at
684 other times it is the disfiguring mark of a fit of jealousy in the husband. [366] When a Mandane's handsome young wife is too lavish of her favors without his consent, he tattoes her face as a punish-
[576] ment. Although it cannot be said that these people are much given
837 to jealousy, still it is absolutely necessary for a woman to have the consent of her husband to cohabit with a stranger, whether he is white or one of their own people. But I observed during my stay that this consent is not so very necessary in regard to the inhabitants of the same village, as every morning early there were examples to be seen in their plantations of their loose way of living. Many
[164] of our servants who frequent these parts to trade in the winter, and who have too intimate connections with the fair sex, are attacked by a painful and loathsome disorder, which commonly appears in the groin, where it forms abscesses and, if neglected, will soon prove dangerous.

574 [401] At three o'clock we were all safely lodged in Black Cat's
609 hut, whom we found as usual very civil and complaisant, although he plainly saw we had nothing to pay him for his trouble. This man is one of the best Indians we met on the Missourie. We found
[432] what articles we had left in his charge all in good order, and carefully hung up to keep them from the mice. He even gave me his best horse upon credit; payment to be sent this fall by any opportunity. This was considered an extraordinary circumstance for a Mandane. He gave us several instances of his good nature and generosity while we were packing; every assistance in his power he gave us, without

[p. 384 (H)]

574 any expectation of payment. Being almost destitute of tobacco
609 for our journey, he gave us some of their own manufacture. As
that herb is not yet arrived at maturity, they use only the blossoms
277 [402] at present. These are collected as required, dried before
the fire on a fragment of an earthen pot, and smoked by all the
natives. But I find the flowers a very poor substitute for our own
tobacco—a nauseous, insipid weed. The ripe leaf is somewhat
better, but even that is mere trash, possessed of neither strength
nor virtue.

648 [403] We soon after took the road, bidding a final adieu to
[491] the Mandanes. The road through the wood was very muddy and bad.
[137] We found amazing quantities of poires, perfectly ripe. The
natives here are so surrounded by their different enemies at all
seasons, and particularly when the fruit is ripe, that the women dare
not leave the villages to gather it, though there is a great plenty
of chokecherries, cerises, etc. Even when they go out to hoe their
corn, young men, well armed, keep on the rounds at short distances from the women to prevent surprise from an enemy. This
is a necessary precaution, as they have frequently been attacked
while working in the fields. The village on the N. side lies under
a double disadvantage, surrounded by thick woods for nearly two
miles upon the land side, and having close by a vast quantity of
young sprouts and brushwood, enabling an enemy to approach very
near without being discovered. A single Sioux has been known to
secrete himself for several days among those bushes until a favorable
opportunity has offered, when he has dispatched a Mandane, and
got away with the scalp.

[p. 384 [I]]

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MANDAN MEN'S SOCIETIES.

The Mandan System.

575 Both from Maximilian's account and the statements of my own informants it appears that the Mandan system of men's societies closely resembled
424 that of the Hidatsa. In both cases there was a series of graded organiza-
432 tions, the membership, or rather ownership, of each of which was acquired
171 by collective purchase. The method of buying membership was practically identical, and among the Mandan as well as among the Hidatsa the surrender of the purchasers' wives to the sellers formed a conspicuous feature. Owing to the collective manner of obtaining membership, practically all tribesmen belonged to some one of the societies. If a boy of a certain age
[551] did not yet belong to any organization, he was, according to Water-chief, derided as a "Finger-in-his-eye (istá wátke). After selling their last society the retired members, as among the Hidatsa, were known as "Stinking-ears" (nakóxe xuⁿpé).

According to Black-chest and Wounded-face, the institution of "friendly"
573 organizations described for the Hidatsa (p. 229) also occurs among the Mandan, but this is denied by Painted-up for both men's and women's organizations. Unfortunately this important point must remain undecided.

There can be no doubt that within the period known to my informants
575 membership in a society was primarily, on the Hidatsa plan, a matter of purchase, not of age. Because, for example, the group that normally would have purchased the Kit-Fox and Little Dog societies failed to buy either from his own class, Black-chest at 62 considers himself a member of these organizations, which he joined at 20 and 25 respectively.

Owing to the very small number of Mandan who survived the epidemic
177 of 1837 and the intimate relations of the survivors with the Hidatsa, the
575 accounts of my Mandan informants may be largely colored by Hidatsa influences, so that Maximilian's data are all the more valuable and will be summarized in the following sections. Of the societies enumerated by my Mandan informants but not given by Maximilian, the Kit-Fox and the Little Dog organizations may be assumed to have been adopted from the Hidatsa in recent times, for both occur in Maximilian's Hidatsa list. In
575 preparing the following comparative table I assume, for reasons already set forth (p. 235), that in Maximilian's day there were distinct Dog and Half-

[i.e., Members of two age groups separated in time by another age group would aid each other in opposition to the demands of the intermediate group. -- Analyst]

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Shaved Head societies. Black-chest's enumeration differs from that by Wounded face merely in the omission of the Old Dog, Coarse Hair, and Black Tail Deer societies and in the reversal of the relative positions of the Buffalo Bull and Dog societies. 575

MANDAN SOCIETIES.

Maximilian (II, 139–144).	Wounded-face.
	1. Cheyenne Society (cō'ta ō'xat'e)
	2. Kit-Fox Society (ō'xox'atoc)
	3. Little Dog Society (mini'sinik ō'xat'e
1. Foolish Dogs (Meni'ss O'chka O'chatā)	4. Crazy Dog Society (mini's'ō'xka ō'xat'e)
2. Crows, or Ravens (Hāhderucha O'chatā)	
3. Half-shaved Heads (I'schohā Kakoschochatā)	
4. Soldiers (Chara'k O'chatā, or Kau'a Karakáchka)	5. Black Mouth Society. (I'he psi'here ō'xate, or numā'k xarāk ō'xat'e)
5. Dogs (Meni'ss O'chatā)	7. Dog Society (mini's ō'xatoc)
6. Old Dogs (Meni'ss-Chāh-Ochatā)	8. Old Dog Society (mini's xixe' ō'xat'e)
7. Buffalo Bulls (Bero'ck-O'chatā)	6. Buffalo Bull Society (mēro'k ō'xat'e)
8. Black-Tail Deers (Schu'mpsi O'chatā)	10. Black-Tail Deer Society (cu'psi ō'xat'e)
	9. Coarse Hair Society (bacā'ca ō'xat'e)

CHEYENNE SOCIETY.

Wounded-face's group bought the Cheyenne society (cō'ta ō'xat'e), 575 at the request of the men owning it, when my informant was about 10 or 12 432 years old. Calicoes and tanned goods were gathered, and with them a pipe was taken to the sellers. One of these smoked the pipe to show that [576] they were willing to dispose of their membership.

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292 Every member had a head ornament consisting of a round piece of raw-
575 hide with a bone feather holder. Two officers wore moderately wide aprons
293 of red cloth edged with eagle feathers hanging down. Each of two other officers had a sacred bow with two arrows, one painted red and the other black. Two officers bore a spiked club (ō'o kahiri' 'ka), the spike being of horn. The sacred bows and arrows were for use against the enemy; they never missed their aim. For some reason no paraphernalia were supplied to Wounded-face's group, and they did not exercise their membership privileges because older men who should have taught them the appropriate songs died. All the members of this society were Mandan, but the organization originated with the Dakota or Cheyenne. Black-chest independently made the statement that the society was not really of Mandan origin. The
[608] *cō'ta ō'xat'e* regarded the Foxes as their fathers, and the Little Dogs as their "friends."

292 Water-chief said that members wore two eagle feathers rising from the
575 back of the head. Before his group bought the society, five older Mandan called them together, and said, "We wish to give you a society." Then property was collected and brought to them. The same night they sang songs, to which the young boys danced. After the dance, the sellers addressed their sons, saying, "You are growing up now. You must go against the enemy. Try to be brave and conquer the enemy."

Kit-Fox Society.

575 The following account of this society (ō'xox'atoc) was given by Black-
432 chest.

571 When we bought this society, all of us were unmarried. We wished to buy this society. Our fathers said, "These foxes have ten claws on their front legs, so we wish you to give us a ten days' feast." I selected Good-bear, one of my clan fathers, for my individual father. The members of the River Women society were our "friends"; one of these, Black-head, was my individual "friend."

When the River Women had gathered together, we went to them and thus addressed them: "We wish to make friends with you. We desire to buy a society and wish you to help us and give us some blankets. We wish to know whether you are willing to do so." The women debated the request, and each one declared that she would contribute her blanket. Then we said, "Well, now each of you shall say which one of us you are willing to help." Then Black-head designated me. She was no clan aunt of mine.

575 We borrowed Broken-horn's earth-lodge for our meeting and brought kettles of
527 food there. Black-head also brought a kettle of food there. We boys came in on
432 the left side and sat down in an ellipse. We could hear our fathers singing as they approached our lodge. They entered it on the right side and sat down. Their wives, who were to assist in the singing during the ten nights' entertainment, were grouped behind their husbands.

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When our fathers had sat down, one of our number, Wounded-face, rose and said, "Well, comrades and women friends, listen. We have brought our food here, and we wish to select our fathers tonight. Do each of you rise and set your food before your father." Then each of us rose, picked up his kettle, and walked past the door-side of the fireplace to his father. I picked out one of my clan fathers and gave him my kettle; then I returned to my place. Black-head, who had watched my movements, then came forward and brought her kettle to the man indicated as my father. Those purchasers who had no clan fathers among the sellers selected anyone they pleased for their individual father. The fathers ate of the food, leaving some for their wives, who emptied the kettles and returned them to their husbands. Then Good-bear called me by name and said, "Come, son, and get your kettle." I went towards him and stood before him. Then Good-bear prayed to the supernatural powers: "I have gone through the Oki'pɛ ceremony myself and have undergone great hardships for your sake. In other ceremonies I have also undergone suffering. Before I underwent this suffering, I thought you would help me whenever I could not do something by my own power. I have no power to give honor marks, therefore I ask you to help me by securing honor marks for my son." Then I took both kettles and went back to my place, where I returned to Black-head her own kettle. Each of the boys acted in a similar way. 575 527 432 533 535

After all of us had sat down, our fathers began to sing. They beat drums, but did not dance. They sang these words: —

"ma'kitá'ni máhuna."
"You, wake up and come."

[These words are supposed to be addressed to one's sweetheart.]

Four times they sang such songs. Then came a second set of songs, during which the fathers danced in their places. When they had done dancing, they addressed us in obsolete Mandan, saying, "Si! i'karẽ'xoc!" ("Clan son, daylight is here!") Shot-foot, one of the fathers, rose to address us. He said, "Si, we wish you to give us a ten nights' feast. This will give us time to prepare clothes for you." [198]

This meeting took place in the evening, each of our female "friends" brought in a bundle of willows carried by means of a tump line and a second line passing around the breast. The bundles were piled up on the left side of the door (for one entering), and from time to time one of the boys would rise to keep up the fire. This purchase took place in midsummer. I was about 20 years old at the time.

On each of the ten nights the fathers came in in the same way as the first time, and the mode of procedure was the same. On the tenth night, the fathers said, "Sons, we have done; tomorrow we shall give you your things." On the following morning we came back to the same lodge and took our seats, but without any kettles. Our women "friends" also came in and sat down. This time, however, we were not ranged in an ellipse as before, but sat in the arc of a circle, with our "friends" in a similar arc from 4½ to 5 feet behind us. Until this day White-bear's house had served as the place of assembly for the fathers prior to their approach to our own meeting-place, but this morning each came from his own lodge, their wives carrying the clothes to be presented to the purchasers of the society. The fathers sat down in a curved line opposite to ours, and their wives took seats behind them. There were about thirty fathers; sometimes two boys had the same father. They planted two sticks into the ground in the rear (mana'ktata) of the lodge. One of the sticks was hooked, and its shaft was wrapped with otterskin; three eagle feathers hung down from the end of the hook. The second stick was straight and also wrapped with otterskin; 575 432 527 533 535 293

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575 432 527 533 535 273 to the top of the shaft there was fastened a single eagle feather. The bottom of both staffs was blunt, but in order to secure them in their places a sharp-pointed stick had been previously driven into the ground there. The fathers had two hand-drums. The father nearest the door took the hooked stick (ma'nanū'skup) which had been set at the left side of the straight stick (ma'nacū'cuk) for one facing the door, and held it in his hand, while the last father in line took the straight stick. The two fathers standing nearest the staff-holders bore rattles. The drums were beaten, but before the rest of the fathers rose Shot-foot addressed us, saying, "Sons, you will keep our society, you will dance today." Then the fathers all rose, and the singing began. The staff-bearers advanced towards the boys, shouting, while the rest danced in their places. When the staff-bearers had got to the fireplace, the singing ceased. Each of the two officers then went to his son and led him to a spot between the two main posts on the right side of the lodge (for one facing the entrance), and gave his stick to his son. On this occasion Water-chief received the straight stick, and White-eye the bent stick. Next Shot-fox rose with his rattle and — this time without any singing or dancing — walked straight towards his son, Long-tail, whom he led to the place between the two posts used by the staff-bearers and presented with his rattle. The second rattler went through a corresponding procedure. Then the wives of the four officers who had just disposed of their emblems came forward to give the newly prepared clothes to their sons. The spectators, during all this performance, were restricted to the space between the door and the two front posts. From among these outsiders there now advanced the relatives of the new officers in order to pile up property before them or to present small sticks representing the promise to donate a horse.

575 432 527 533 534 The fathers said, "Now, sons, all of you stand up!" All the fathers then walked towards us, followed by their wives, who carried the clothing and laid it down before the sons. All of us put on the new clothes on the spot. The fathers who had surrendered their rattles stood next to their sons, whom they wished to assist in singing. The fathers who had owned the two officers' staffs said to the new incumbents: "There is an abundance of enemies; try to be brave!" The fathers who had carried rattles said the same to *their* sons, adding: "You will sing for your society, and I must teach you now. When you sing outdoors, you shall circle round to the right, and all will follow you." The first rattler accordingly led the procession in a circle until he had got near the second rattler, where he stopped and began to sing. The second rattler then also sang a song, shaking a tin-can rattle. In the procession outdoors the marchers walked at a very rapid pace.

Four female associates followed the men. These were called "Fox women" and had been appointed by their own families to assist the Foxes at their feasts and in the singing. They stood outside the circle formed by the society when dancing outdoors, but also took part in the dance. These women were unmarried, but later two of them, Pumpkin-blossom and Otter, married members of the society.

[349] After we had marched out of our lodge, we went to an open space east of the Round Corral.[1] Four of our fathers stepped inside the circle we formed there, and sang for us, beating their drums. We danced and then went home. This first public dance was the only occasion on which our fathers sang for us.

After a few days we came together and danced in Water-chief's lodge. During indoor performances we sat in an arc round the lodge and did not make use of our

[1] This is the structure described by Catlin and Maximilian as the "ark."

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regalia. After a few days spent in hunting we again gathered in our meeting-house and had an abundance of food prepared. Some time in the spring we went outside in our regalia and danced publicly, whereupon we would return to the lodge, dance again, and then have a feast. This happened about three or four times a year. Frequently members of the society went out at night in their ordinary costume and walked from house to house, singing in front of every lodge. This was done to please the young women of the village. The four Fox women did not take part in these nocturnal processions, but other girls accompanied the men and sang with them. 575 432 527 533 535

In addition to the rattlers and the staff-bearers, there were two men distinguished by their regalia from the rank and file. One of these wore a cap (mapa'caci wa'ah-ku'pe) of kit-fox skin, with the ears sticking up.[1] This officer acted as a sort of [292]

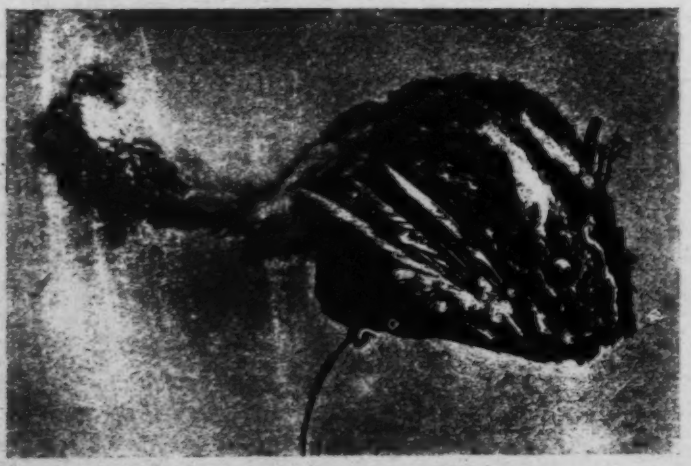

Fig. 10. (50.1–6332). Cap of Mandan Kit-Fox Society. Length, 127 cm.

spokesman for the society, but was not regarded as the chief of the organization. The other officer wore a head band decorated with kit-fox jaws (Fig. 17).

The Black Mouth society was regarded as friendly to our Kit-Fox group. They sat with us when we purchased the society and contributed to the food given to our fathers, though not to the property paid to them. When a new rattler did not at once learn his song and was accordingly afraid to try it, the Black Mouth officer bearing a "dance flag" took his place for a while. After the purchase the Black Mouths participated in our feasts. Sometimes we got together in the house of Two-chiefs, a Black Mouth; if any Black Mouth so desired he might then join us in the dancing.

Sometimes we gathered instead in the house of Foolish-soldier, a Stinking-Ear (see p. 294). Foolish-soldier acted as our herald. He would get up on the roof of a lodge and announce our meeting.

Bear's-ghost, Crow's-heart, Black-eagle, Sitting-crow, White-owl, and their associates should have bought the Kit-Fox society from us. As they did not do so, we still own it."

[1] Wounded-face's cap is shown in Fig. 10.

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575 Some additional information on this society was furnished by Wounded-face, Water-chief, and Little-crow. Of these, Wounded-face and Water-chief belonged to the same group as Black-chest, while Little-crow was a member of the group from which the other three informants purchased their membership. Black-chest sets his present age at 62, while Little-crow is supposed to be 74. At the time they purchased their membership, the age of Little-crow, Wounded-face and Water-chief was about 14, 20, and 16 respectively.

575 773 Wounded-face regards Good-fur-robe, a mythical hero, as the founder of the society. Good-fur-robe pulled out two sunflower stalks from the ground and presented them to two young men. He instructed them to plant these stalks in the ground during an encounter with the enemy and not to retreat from the spot. The sunflower and the corn, this informant added, were essentially one. A similar account was furnished by Packs-wolf, who further stated that at a later time lances were substituted for the stalks. Though Maximilian does not mention a Mandan Kit-Fox society, the following tradition recorded by him as to the origin of the other Mandan organizations is very suggestive in view of the statements obtained from my own informants. The chief who first ascended to the earth from the subterranean regions formerly inhabited by the Mandan was named Village-smoke, but assumed the name of Good-fur-robe ("die Robe oder das Fell mit schönem Haare, la robe à beau poil") after reaching the upper world. He founded the societies, beginning with the Dogs. For the Soldiers he made two hooked-sticks wrapped with otterskin and two other sticks trimmed with raven feathers. The hooked sticks represented sunflowers; the other sticks, the corn plant. These emblems were to be planted into the ground in fighting an enemy and were never to be abandoned.[1]

575 432 Water-chief mentions the interesting point that his group bought the Kit-Fox organization at the suggestion of the owners. These came to the younger men and said, "We wish to give you this Fox society and make you our sons." It is quite clear from the other accounts that this fact did not affect the initial mode of procedure. A pipe was put before the fathers and [576] had to be accepted and smoked by one of their number in the same way as when Little-crow's group decided to buy the membership on their own initiative. In both cases the fathers seem to have been able to dictate the terms of purchase: at the time when Black-chest and Water-chief became Kit-Foxes, a ten nights' entertainment was demanded, while in Little-crow's day the feasting of the sellers lasted twelve nights.

Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for

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[1] Maximilian, II. 162.

[For bibliography, see Category 113-- Analyst]

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Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for his individual father. Wounded-face did not know that Two-crows owned two kinds of emblems,— the foxskin cap to be used in dancing and in war, and the head band decorated with the lower kit-fox jaws which was to be worn when courting young women.[1] On the morning of the final transference of membership rights, Two-crows gave Wounded-face the cap and the head band, as well as a shirt, armlets and fringed buckskin leggings. In return, Wounded-face paid his father a fast black horse suited for use in the buffalo chase and some property contributed by his relatives. I get the impression that the transfer of special regalia was automatic; that is to say, if the father happened to own certain specific emblems the son buying his membership bought *ipso facto* the regalia owned by the seller. 575 432 292 608

Little-crow states that at the public performance the relatives of the new members brought presents, which were turned over to the fathers, either individually or collectively. In the latter case the fathers proceeded to distribute the gifts among themselves. 575 431 602

In marching outdoors, the first rattler took the lead and was immediately followed by the first hooked-staff officer; Wounded-face — presumably as the owner of the cap — occupied a central position in the line; the second rattler came last, being directly behind the second hooked-staff officer. The first rattler selected a site for the dance and turned in order to begin the formation of a circle there, at the same time raising his rattle and singing very loudly. There was always a special song to be sung prior to the drummers' entrance into the circle. This song was taken up by the second rattler. While the circle was forming, the singers went within the circumference and began to beat their drums. These singers were always the members' fathers, if I understood Wounded-face correctly, but it is probable that this applies only to the first public performance by a new group of members. The songs referred to warlike deeds, and the words were, according to this informant, invariably in the Dakota language. 575 527 535 533 [177]

Little-crow, as already stated, considers the head band decorated with kit-fox jaws as a badge common to all members; he further states that each Kit-Fox had a hair-pipe attached to the left side of the head and that six men had their hair roached. The hair-cutting was done by the men's fathers. Other informants agree that there were two rattlers and two officers with hooked-staffs, wrapped with otterskin and decorated at four points with feathers. Wounded-face says that sometimes the second staff-bearer carried a *straight* stick, in which case an erect eagle feather was secured to the top of the shaft. Little-crow states that rattles were used 575 [292] [302] 293

[1] This seems to conflict with Black-chest's account, which assigns these emblems to distinct officers, but Little-crow regards the kit-fox head band as a badge common to all members.

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575 outdoors, and drums within the lodge, but this contradicts the accounts
293 of others. The rattles were originally made of gourds, but in Wounded-face's time baking-powder cans had been substituted.

575 The Fox women, according to Wounded-face, were selected by the fathers' wives. Their robes were decorated with honor marks earned by their male associates. Little-crow mentioned only two Fox women, selected by the members themselves, and placed in the middle of the line of march.

575 The military element was obviously prominent in the society. Water-
703 chief relates that on the first public appearance of the new members, each one was called by name by the older men and women of the village and addressed as follows: "We have numerous enemies, you are the one that must fight and try to be a man. You must not forget this when you are in a fight." Later in the season, when Water-chief had struck a coup and received a wound, his people rejoiced, telling him, "That is what you desired
[535] to do, you are a brave man." Little-crow declared that the Kit-Foxes did not dance very frequently,—in fact only when the approach of an enemy was reported. Wounded-face, while stating that dances were occasionally performed solely for the sake of amusement and in order to attract the attention of young women, also said that the Foxes danced very often in times of war, beginning as soon as a scout had brought the news of an enemy's approach. The Foxes tried to be brave in battle. Wounded-face recalls an occasion when a very brave enemy, surrounded by the Mandan, was holding his foemen at bay; finally, a Kit-Fox advanced towards him, struck him, and was killed. On another occasion a Kit-Fox together with four companions, set out on a war party. All five were killed by the enemy. This event was commemorated in song: "Once two enemies went into the bush. We surrounded them. One Kit-Fox went forward, and they killed him there."

575 The purely social features of the organization were also conspicuous. Public appearances were followed by feasts after the members had returned to their lodge. There were occasional horse parades by the Kit-Foxes, and the nocturnal processions referred to by Black-chest were of frequent occurrence.

Little Dog Society.

575 While Black-chest's and Wounded-face's group owned the Fox society,
424 their fathers were Little Dogs (mini'sinik ō'xat'e)[1]; that is to say, after

[1] The present meaning of the native term seems to be "colt society," but the older informants consider the above rendering correct in the context given and consider the society related to the Hidatsa Little Dog organization. Maximilian also translates *mesiss* "dog." A corresponding confusion was encountered in the case of the other Mandan societies named for the dog.

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surrendering their ownership of the Fox organization, they had acquired 575
possession of the Little Dog society. On one occasion, after the lapse 424
of about five or six years, the Kit-Foxes were meeting at Woman-ghost's house, when someone asked whether they might not buy the Little Dog society then. Each one expressed his willingness to purchase it. Then 575
they gathered together property for an initial gift, and one man carried 424
a pipe to the Little Dogs' lodge. One of the Little Dogs said, "Well, we will meet and debate the matter." The messenger returned. As it was 432
late, the Kit-Foxes waited for the next day to make their first offerings of 527
goods, and merely went about the village, singing at several earth-lodges. On the next day they gathered and notified their friends, the River Women, who collected some property for them. This was piled up together with some guns contributed by the purchasers themselves, and was then divided among them. They waited until nightfall, then they went outside, crying, and marched towards the Little Dogs' lodge. A leader carried the pipe, and, on entering, laid it down before the fireplace. All the property was deposited near the pipe, then the Kit-Foxes took seats near the door, in the space allotted to outsiders. The Little Dogs were seated in the rear and on the sides of the lodge. Iron-eyes, one of the sellers' company, took the [576]
pipe towards the fire, lit it, and began to smoke. All the Kit-Foxes then cried, "Hahō'! We are going to have some songs." According to Wounded-face, the prospective buyers said to their fathers: "We have bought the Kit-Fox society of you, but we still have the Dog society to buy from you." Thereupon the fathers took the property and bade their sons prepare a lodge for the next evening. Then the Kit-Foxes went back to their lodge.

The next evening the Kit-Foxes gathered in Two-chiefs' house. They 575
had married since their former purchase, and each one had his wife prepare 432
food and bring it to the meeting place. The Little Dogs approached the lodge, singing on the way. The door of the lodge faced north. The buyers 527
had ranged themselves on the right side (for one entering), with their wives behind them. The sellers sat down on the opposite side, with their wives [533]
behind them, and began to sing, using sticks with sleighbells for rattles. "We liked their song better than ours." (Black-chest). Big-thief rose, held up a dried dogskin, laid it toward the fire, faced the fire himself, sat down behind the skin, and thus addressed the group of buyers: "Well, sons, this dog has five claws on each of its front legs, that makes ten. Its hind legs also have ten claws, that makes twenty in all. So we wish you to feast us for twenty nights, then we will let you have our songs." [1]

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[1] Wounded-face says that the entertainment lasted only fifteen nights, while Water-chief spoke of a ten nights' feasting of the fathers. When Little-crow, of the group immediately higher than that of the three informants quoted here and in the text, bought the same society, the entertainment lasted eight nights.

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575 608 432 527 After this speech, Big-thief returned to his place. Then all the Kit-Foxes rose and brought presents of food to their fathers. Black-chest again selected Good-bear for his individual Father, but explains that this was not obligatory. Wounded-face was obliged to select a new father, for the one chosen by him in purchasing the Kit-Fox organization had been killed in battle; otherwise, he says he should have kept the same individual for his father in buying all the higher societies. On this occasion his choice fell on Little-crow, to whom he presented a kettleful of food as a token of his selection. Black-chest states that five of the fathers had been killed since the purchase of the Kit-Fox society.

575 432 431 Black-chest says that on this occasion the River Women did not aid the purchasers, as both they and the latter had married. This obviously refers to the period of the fathers' entertainment, as the same informant mentions a contribution by this women's organization to the initial payment (see p. 303). On the other hand, the Black Mouths attended the performance and brought food for the sellers.

575 778 527 837 533 At a height of about seven feet from the ground the fathers stretched a rawhide rope between the two rear main posts. To each end of the rope they attached a whip, and near its center they folded over it two red cloth sashes. These sashes were considered sacred. The wife of one of the buyers then rose, stripped naked and covering her genitalia with her hands, approached the rear of the fireplace. Rising on tiptoes, she seized one of the sashes, covered her nakedness again, pressed the sash to her breast and hung it up as before. Each one of the buyers' wives went through the same ceremony. During this performance the fathers were all singing. The women returned to their seats and put on their blankets. Each husband then said to his wife: "I will give you to my father, for I want his song. Perhaps he will pray for us, and it will be well for both of us."

575 [844] 837 432 527 [782] Then the father and the woman offered to him went out together. Menstruating women were absolved from this performance, for they were not supposed to come to the lodge at all on such occasions. As a matter of fact, Black-chest says that only very few fathers availed themselves of the right surrendered to them, being generally afraid of ill luck if they did. The form, however, was gone through by each wife on each of the twenty nights. Black-chest's wife told her husband that Good-bear merely took her outside, faced west with her and said, "Daughter-in-law, stop and stand there." Then he prayed as follows: "My gods, my son has given me his wife. I wish that my daughter-in-law may always enjoy a long and happy life, and I ask you in behalf of my son that he may conquer his enemies." After this prayer he bade the woman go back, and both returned to the lodge.

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On the twentieth night Big-thief again took a seat by the dogskin. He thus addressed the buyers: "Now, sons, tomorrow this dance will be yours, so I wish to ask you for some more pay. Put down one gun to represent the killing of anything." Then one of the Kit-Foxes put down a gun. Big-thief continued: "This dog has a hide, give us a robe." Then one of the Kit-Foxes laid down his robe. "Give us a knife for butchering." Two men then rose and put down two butchering knives. "For this head put down one yellow cooking-kettle." The buyers sent round for such a kettle and finally secured one, which they brought to the fathers. "Put down one thing for the head." Then someone laid down a stick trimmed with tail-feathers. "Put down one thing for the tail." Then, Black-chest thinks, another robe was laid down. "The dog has four legs, put down four articles." The Kit-Foxes again did as bidden. 575 432 527

On the next day there followed the final surrender of membership prerogatives. This time the buyers sat in an arc, without their wives, who remained in the spectators' place (see p. 303). The fathers sat on the opposite side, singing a bravery song, and the two sash-wearing officers danced. The words of the song were in Hidatsa: — 575 432 527

"Māha'hkureci̇̀ruts. tō'cē̇̀ruca, marē'wits." [177]
"No one lives forever. Whatever may happen, I shall go."

At the close of this song the whippers and sash-wearers, as well as all the other fathers, surrendered their regalia to their respective sons. As Little-crow, Wounded-face's father, owned a lance decorated with a string of feathers, Wounded-face assumed the same office (not mentioned by Black-chest), of which there was one other incumbent. In addition to the lance, Wounded-face received a shirt, a new pair of leggings, a switch and pendants for the decoration of both sides of the head; his hair was cut short in front by Little-crow. Wounded-face's relatives piled up presents in front of him, which he turned over to his father, adding a good horse of his own. The other purchasers made corresponding presents to their fathers. While Wounded-face speaks of four sash-wearers, Black-chest limits the number to two, and Water-chief sets it at five. Water-chief, like Wounded-face, received one of the sashes from his father; there was tied to it a small package of root medicine to avert danger. This package has never been opened by Water-chief. The whippers, according to this last authority, lashed members who did not rise to dance at the proper time. Each member of the rank and file received a whistle of owl bone about four inches long, and a bunch of split owl feathers, with an eagle feather in the center, to be hung from the back of the head. These feathers were painted yellow. 575 432 431 [293] [534]

After the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the exception of

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after the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the ex-
cepta of three men, who remained to instruct the new members in singing. These
575 three fathers stood between the door and the fireplace, but nearer to the
527 latter, while the new group of Little Dogs ranged themselves in a three-
868 quarter circle in the rear of the lodge. While the fathers sang, the members
533 danced, moving both feet at the same time and also raising and lowering their arms. Then the Little Dogs proceeded in single file to an open place, the singers following in the rear. Wounded-face says that as first lancer he took the lead, while his associate brought up the rear, and that the sash-wearers had no special place in the line. All the new members blew their whistles while coming out and formed a circle in the open place. The three fathers stepped inside the circle. At this first public parade, the old people called out the members' names and admonished them to try to die soon. Water-chief actually went on a war party soon after the parade, and put on his sash, thinking, "If I get killed, my old people will call out my name; if I live, I shall strike an enemy." As a matter of fact, he struck two women near the enemy's camp, and his people rejoiced.

575 After several songs and dances the Little Dogs stopped and went back
431 to their lodge, where they sat about and danced. The fathers sent messengers to summon their sons. Each son then went to his father's house, sometimes accompanied by his wife. The father gave his son a present of food, which the wife took home; if the son came alone, he took the food back to the society's lodge.

575 Like other societies, the Little Dogs occasionally went through the camp at night singing and waking up the villagers.

Crazy Dog Society.

575 In Maximilian's account the Crazy Dog (mini's'ōxka ō'xat'e)[1] society
561 figures as that of the youngest age group, embracing boys of from 10 to 15 years of age. In the list of my informants it ranks as the fourth society to be purchased by young men. It was obviously constituted in their day by married men; for they had all married before the purchase of the next lower society (see p. 304). Maximilian was told that in former days old men had also belonged to the organization, but on the understanding that they were never to retreat from the enemy.

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[1] The native name is nowadays at first blush interpreted as "Broncho Society." Maximilian, however, renders it "die thörichten Hunde, oder die Hunde deren Namen man nicht kennt, (les chiens fols, ou les chiens dont on ne connait pas le nom)," and this translation is confirmed on further inquiry. Cf. footnote, p. 302. Yellow-hair explicitly identified the Mandan *mini's'ōxka ō'xate* with the Hidatsa *macu'ka ward'ᵊxe* (see p. 280).

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The mode of purchase, as described by Maximilian, closely resembles that followed in buying membership in the other organizations. The boys desiring to become members approached the owners, addressed them as "fathers," and secured in exchange for blankets, cloths, horses and powder, the dances, songs, and regalia characteristic of the society. In this connection the Prince does not mention the feasting of the fathers, but the custom is referred to by my informants: Little-crow's group entertained the sellers for thirty, and that of Yellow-hair's husband for twenty nights. 575 432 527

One noteworthy addition to the purchase ceremony had become possible in later times through the change in the age of the members. As the Crazy Dogs were no longer boys as in Maximilian's day, but married men, the surrender of wives as a partial payment was no longer out of the question. As a matter of fact, I have no direct statement to the effect that wives were surrendered in this instance, but Yellow-hair's account strongly suggests that such was the case. According to this authority, all the women attended the purchase of the Crazy Dog membership. A rope was stretched between two poles and from it were suspended three headdresses and three sashes. On each of the twenty nights of entertainment six women removed their insignia, took them outside, pressed them to their breasts, and finally brought them back and hung them up again. Then six other women went through the same performance, and so on. 575 432 527 837

In view of Black-chest's statements as to the purchase of the Little Dog society (p. 304), I am inclined to believe that Yellow-hair's account is incomplete and that the women who took down the regalia and passed outdoors were offered as a part payment for the benefits to be derived from the fathers. This interpretation is confirmed by Maximilian's repeated reference to the wife-offering as a feature common to all the higher societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa. 575 837 432

The badge of all members, according to the Prince, was a whistle made from the wing-bone of a wild goose. Yellow-hair says that this whistle was suspended from the neck by means of a quill-wrapped string. Everyone carried a rattle of globular or ring shape. The rattles were trimmed with raven wing-feathers. To the back of the head members attached an ornament of split raven wing-feathers. Some of the Crazy Dogs wore neither shirt nor leggings, but daubed their bodies with yellow paint. While dancing, members were permitted to bear lances. 575 292 301

From the rank and file there were distinguished, in Maximilian's day, three officers wearing a long, broad strip of red cloth extending down the back, from neck to foot. Yellow-hair also speaks of three sash-wearers; the red cloth was edged with white, and a slit made it possible to slip the sash over the head. At the shoulder, near the white edging, there was attached 575 292

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575 292 the war-medicine given by the father to the son at the time of the membership sale. Wounded-face says that there were four sash-wearers.

Besides the sash-wearers, there were three (Wounded-face again speaks of four) officers wearing headdresses of buffalo-skin, decorated with sections of horns and strips of weasel skins. The headgears were secured by means of neckstrings, which also served to fasten them to the stretched rope at the time of the purchase (see p. 307). To the back of the headdresses there were attached strips of rawhide, about 3½ feet in length and decorated with quillwork. Horsetails, dyed yellow, were fastened to the tops of the horns, and occasionally hawk-wings were used for decorating the headdresses.

Wounded-face is alone in speaking of two additional officers bearing lances, that were decorated at the top and center with a bunch of short raven wing-feathers. The use of a feathered string with these lances was optional.

575 432 Yellow-hair mentions four drummers, each of whom gave his drum to his son at the time of the membership sale.

575 432 527 When the purchase had been consummated after the twenty nights' entertainment, the fathers, according to Yellow-hair, passed out of the lodge, lamenting the loss of their songs,— some of them even pretending to cry. On the other hand, the purchasers began to sing and rejoice. They went outdoors, formed a circle, and sang there. After a while they returned to their lodge, followed by their wives. Supper had been prepared. The new Crazy Dogs and their wives feasted, and then went home. On the next day the fathers invited the purchasers and their wives, gave them breakfast, and presented the men with clothes and regalia and the women with dresses. In return, the sons gave horses to their fathers. After this exchange of gifts, the members frequently assembled to practise the newly acquired [535] dance. The women never danced, but might take part in the singing. In dancing the Crazy Dogs jumped up with both feet and shook their rattles as an accompaniment to the drums. In a parade, the headdress-wearers took the lead, one marching behind the other; the sash-wearers had no fixed place.

575 535 Among the Mandan of Ruhptare Maximilian found that the Crazy[1] Dogs performed the Hot dance. After a large fire had been built, a number of glowing embers were scattered about, and then the boys, stripped of all clothing, danced on them with their bare feet. The hands, forearms, and feet of the performers were colored red. Sliced meat was boiling in a kettle over the fire. When the meat had been well done, the dancers put their

[1] Maximilian writes: "Die kleinen Hunde, deren Namen man nicht kennt, führen ihn auf." The modifying clause makes it clear that he is referring to the first society of his series.

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hands into the boiling water, took out some of the meat, and ate it at the risk of scalding themselves. Those coming last to the kettle had the worst of it, for they were obliged to dig down deeper into the water than their predecessors. During the dance the performers carried weapons and rattles in their hands. 575 535

I did not obtain any Mandan description of the Hot dance. My Hidatsa information is given on p. 253. 000

Crow Society.

Maximilian translates the name of the society Hä'derucha-O'chatä as "Crow, or Raven, band."[1] Its members were from 20 to 25 years old. Sometimes the younger men had not owned a society for half a year or longer. Then one of them went to a Hä'derucha and said to him, "Father, I am poor, but I wish to buy of you." If the father consented, the young men then received the raven feathers worn on the head by the members of the society, a double whistle formed of two goose wing bones fastened together, a drum, rattle, song, and dance. In this case, as in other societies, a head man decided whether the privileges sought by the younger men should be sold and he it was that the prospective buyers approached. Then a feast was prepared in the medicine lodge for forty nights, and the fathers were entertained at their sons' expense. Moreover, the purchasers surrendered their wives to the sellers every evening until the fathers were satisfied and abdicated their membership. 575 432 [837]

Half-shaved Heads.

My Mandan informants did not refer to this society (Ischohä-Kakoscho'chatä), though it was described by my Hidatsa friends (p. 272). According to Maximilian, the *Hä'deruch-O'chatä* bought the Half-Shaved Head dance from the Soldiers before they were old enough to become Soldiers. It is worth while to summarize Maximilian's detailed account of the purchase. 575

The buyers were to entertain the sellers for forty nights. On the first night the drum was beaten to call the negotiating parties to the medicine lodge. A fire was burning in the center, the women sat along the walls, while the white visitors and several noted Soldiers sat in front of the draught- 575 432 527

[1] Compare what is said above about the Hidatsa Ä'rə-ə'ka society (p. 266).

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●575 432 527 screen. Along the wall to the left sat the remaining Soldiers, about twenty-five in number; while some were clad in fine garments, the majority dressed in ordinary clothes. Some exposed the upper part of the body. In the center three drummers seated themselves. The purchasers stood on the right side of the fire. They were expected to give valuable presents to the [837] Soldiers, to feast them and furnish them with tobacco for forty nights, and every evening they were to offer them their wives. The sellers approached the lodge amidst singing and drumming, and entered with their regalia. These consisted of four lances, from 7 to 8 feet long, with an iron head point- [293] ing downwards. The shaft was wrapped with broad bands of otterskin, while pairs of otterskin strips were tied to the head and several other points on the lance. Two of the lances were hooked, the two others were straight. A fifth emblem consisted of a war club with iron point, which was colored red and was decorated with several feathers in the back. Further there were three lances, decorated alternately with black and white feathers, and a beautifully ornamented bow and quiver. At first, the Soldiers remained concealed behind the screen, and were merely holding these insignia so that they projected into the main space of the lodge. After standing in this position, singing and drumming violently, for a while, they entered, placed the lances against the wall, and stuck the war club into the ground, near one of the main pillars. Then they all took seats along the wall. While the [576] singing and drumming was alternately renewed, the purchasers prepared their pipes, and handed them to each of the guests in turn, for which act they stooped, holding the mouthpiece towards the smokers. When the guests had taken a few puffs, the purchasers did likewise, and then carried the pipe in regular order, from right to left, to each of the sellers. This smoking consumed considerable time; each guest, during this part of the [535] performance, was also presented with a little cake of sweet-corn. After about half an hour, two of the Soldiers rose and danced towards each other. One of them seized the war club, and held it stiffly in his left hand, while the right hung straight down. Bending the upper part of his body forward, he jumped stiffly into the air with both feet; keeping time with the music. The other dancer had fine decorations on his head and legs, and the upper part of his body was likewise exposed. He seized one of the otterskin lances, which he held, sloping, between his two hands, and both men then danced or hopped towards each other. After several minutes the second performer put the lance away, and took a seat, while all the other members gave the war whoop and gave vent to exclamations of joy, amidst vigorous beating of the drum. Then there was silence. The man with the war club addressed the buyers, calling them his "sons," and recounted several of his martial exploits, whereupon he handed them the war club. One of the

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575 purchasers then called him his "father," stroked his arm downwards with his hand, took the weapon out of his hand, and again put it in its place. 432 The other dancer followed, recounted some of his deeds, and offered the 527 lance to one of the buyers, who received it in the same manner as his predecessor, and then put it in its place. The periods of intermission were filled with smoking, singing and drumming, but no rattles were used. Two other Soldiers also rose, told of how they had stolen horses, medicine bundles, or other possessions, from the enemy, and gave two more insignia to the purchasers. After this had been done four or five times, the wives of the [837] buyers rose. Four of them divested themselves of their robes, quickly seized the lances, and carried them, one after another, outside the lodge. After a while they brought them in again. This ceremony was repeated twice, the disrobed women stroked the arms of the strangers and fathers, put on their robes, and passed outside. The persons stroked were expected to follow them into the woods. This procedure resembled that of the Hidatsa in their medicine festival.[1]

575 Some time after the purchase Maximilian had occasion to observe the dance of the new Half-Shaved Heads. About twenty of them entered the 535 Fort, threw off their robes so as to expose their gaily colored bodies, and 302 formed a circle. They were elaborately decorated and carried the insignia of the dance, such as the otter-wrapped sticks. One man wore a bonnet with horns and ermine strips; another, mounted on horseback, was decorated with paint symbolizing the blood from wounds. Three Soldiers (= Black Mouths) served as musicians. As soon as the drum was beaten, the dancers protruded the upper part of their bodies, and leaped into the air with both feet, at the same time holding their guns ready for firing. Thus they danced in the circle for about a minute, then hallooed, rested for a while, and resumed their performance. After receiving some tobacco, they dispersed, put on their robes, and went to Ruptare, where they also danced among the Hidatsa.[2] A picture of the dance, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas is shown in Fig. 11.

Black Mouths.

575 The native name of this society is *ī'he pei'here ō'xat'e*, or *numā'k xarā'k* 625 *ō'xat'e*. Maximilian calls the members of this society "Soldiers." They form the third society in his list, but he states that all the higher classes

[1] Maximilian, II, 274–277.
[2] Maximilian II, 286–287.

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might belong to the Soldiers' class, as the police functions devolved on this society. However, it was necessary that all members should agree to sell; a single negative voice put a stop to the negotiations. Some individuals did not immediately consent to sell when requested in order to exact a greater amount of property from the buyers. The Prince enumerates the undertakings in which the Soldiers took an important part: changes of village sites, buffalo hunts, and other communal movements. More particularly, they took care lest anyone should prematurely startle buffalo herds. Anyone shooting a wolf or other animal at such a time was maltreated, even if he happened to be a chief, and deprived of his gun. In the 'thirties even white people living in the vicinity were subjected to the same rules. The Soldiers frequently forbade the cutting of trees near the Fort, and took away the woodcutters' axes. 575 625 [432]

Maximilian says that the Soldiers painted the upper part of the face red, and the lower black. Their whistle was made of a crane wing bone. Two pipes, to be smoked on special occasions, remained in the custody of as many pipe-bearers. A rattle was made from a little tin kettle — apparently the baking-powder cans referred to by my own informants — provided with a handle. Among the insignia there were two long, straight poles wrapped with otterskin and decorated with dependent owl feathers. In war these poles were planted in the ground, and must not be abandoned by their bearers. A corresponding regulation applied to one other pole decorated with raven feathers in the manner described and illustrated by Maximilian in connection with a Blackfoot society.[1] 575 302 293

The following origin tradition was given by Wounded-face.[2] Long ago Good-fur-robe assembled the middle-aged men. To the leader he gave one cornstalk, and to the rear man another. "When the enemy chase you," he instructed them, "plant these in the ground and do not run away." Sometimes a cornstalk has five branches at the top. Later, a stick with a spear head was made to represent the cornstalks; owl wing-feathers were tied to its side, as well as crow or raven wing feathers and a raven head. It was wrapped with otterskin, and strips of skin were made to hang down from several points of the staff to represent leaves of the corn. There were two pipe-bearers and two rattlers, the latter taking places next to the spear-carriers, while the pipe men marched in the center. While dancing, the Black Mouths left their circle open at one side. The order in which they marched was: one spear officer, one rattler, the rank and file, the pipe-bearers, the rank and file, the second rattler, the second spear officer. The Black 575 293

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1 Maximilian, I, 578.
2 Cf. Maximilian's version, referred to on p. 300.

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575 293 [302] Mouths were also called "Brave Men's society." They painted their faces black. The Goose women used the same paint, because their society was founded by the same man. When the time came for singing, the first rattler walked ahead and began to sing. Then the drummers took up the song. The next time the second rattler acted in the same manner. The raven-lance bearers had a special song and dance, during which they crossed each other's path.

575 726 554 533 535 One summer, when the society wished to give a performance because some Sioux were coming to fight, they stuck two tipi poles into the ground, and tied raven-lances to the top. One of the Soldiers cried, "Kā! Kā! Kā!" This was in imitation of crows. Then some other member went outside the lodge to see which one had cried. Returning, he said, "It is not a living raven, but the raven head on Skunk's lance." Skunk was a very brave man. The people said, "We will find out what this means." Then someone took the lances down, and returned them to their owners. Skunk said, "Hold on, my fellow-members, I wish to know the reason why my lance is singing." He got his associate to accompany him, and both lance officers then went through the village, singing this song: —

"kē'ka, nasarā'rōoca. mī' ō`watē'roc.
"Raven, you sing. I want to die.
"kika're e'henik, ō'ota."
"If you are afraid, go away."

The people hearing Skunk thought him braver than ever. They said to him, "This is your day, do what you wish best." The people encouraged Skunk. When the society started outdoors for a dance, Skunk took the lead, and again sang. A circle was formed. All the people came to watch the performance. Skunk once more sang his song. He danced alone, in a slanting line. These were the words of his song: —

"mīnukarité, nū'tamina'tare hū'miikāc. i'miinahèc."
"My friends, our enemies are numerous. I am used to it" [that is, to fight].

When the time came to fight, Skunk struck many coups. This is what the singing of the raven had indicated.

575 626 In addition to the police functions described by Maximilian, Wounded-face mentions a special duty devolving on the two pipe-bearers. When some villager wished to kill a fellow-tribesman, these officers filled up a pipe, and gave him presents in order to make him desist. Acceptance signified acquiescence in their wishes.

575 Water-chief became a Black Mouth, together with about twenty of his comrades, at thirty; generally, however, the members were older. They

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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feasted their fathers for twelve nights. My informant received a tin rattle, as his father had been one of the singers, but, having a bad voice, he gave it to another man who was a better singer. When the new members paraded about, the villagers called them by name, and said, "You Black Mouths, die soon, for you are the bravest of the societies." The members put black paint on the lower part of the face, and black stripes on the body. If a dog came near them during a parade, a Black Mouth who had shot an enemy was permitted symbolically to refer to his deed by shooting the dog. 575 [302] [201]

Bull Society.

During their dance the members of the Bull organization (mēro'k ō'xat'e) wore, according to Maximilian, the upper part of the skin of a buffalo head with the horns and the long hairs of the neck. Two men, the bravest of all and pledged never to retreat from an enemy, wore together with the horns a complete representation of a buffalo head; this mask was provided with artificial eyeslits, surrounded by iron or tin rings. One woman attendant walked about during the dance, offering to the two mask-wearers water from a bowl. This woman was clad in a fine new suit of bighorn skin, and her face was painted with vermilion. The Bulls were the only society to use wooden whistles. They had a piece of red cloth fastened to the back, as well as the representation of a buffalo tail, and carried weapons in their hands. The two mask-wearers kept on the outside of the other dancers, and imitated the voice and actions of bulls, their shy wheeling over towards one side, their manner of looking about in all directions, etc. During the performance of the Bull dance witnessed by the Prince, there were nine dancers, who discharged their guns immediately on entering the Fort. Only one of them wore the complete buffalo head, the rest wore pieces of the skin of the forehead, a pair of cloth sashes, and an appendix decorated with feathers, which represented the tail; they carried shields decorated with red cloth, and long, beautifully ornamented lances.[1] A reproduction of Bodmer's drawing of the Bull dance in Maximilian's Atlas is presented in Fig. 12. 575 292

Wounded-face had heard that long ago a Mandan, who had a buffalo front leg in place of one arm, founded the Bull society. My informant said that only a few wore the piece of buffalo head skin with horns, some others merely dressed their hair in bunches in front. Still others covered their face with a mask, formed by fastening a tanned skin painted yellow over the

[1] Maximilian, II, 315.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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buffalo skin, the hair of which, however, was exposed from the wearer's forehead down to his chin. The spears carried were not very long, and the head pointed downwards. Shields rested on the left arm. Members who had struck enemies, carried guns; if they had used arrows to kill a foe, they carried arrows. Wounds received in battle were symbolized by red body paint. While dancing in the village, the Bulls jumped around. They pointed spears and guns at anyone approaching them, and thereby frightened young people. Those who had slain enemies enacted their martial deeds. For music they used a *large* drum. 575 292 [302] [534]

Calf-woman remembered seeing six women known as "Bull women" at a Bull performance; they sat behind the men singers. A woman brought in water, but only such members as had saved a woman's life were permitted to drink of it. This informant also remembers one of the mask-wearers pretending to spear people, and frightening the children, jumping up with both legs, and stamping one foot at a time. 575

The Bull dance described by Boller was not connected with the Bull society, but formed part of the Okipe as is obvious from comparison with Maximilian's and Catlin's accounts of this ceremony.[1] 535

Dog[1] Society.

Maximilian describes the emblem of the society as a stick a foot or a foot and a half in length, which was ornamented with blue and white beads, and to which a large number of animal hoofs were attached. To the front of the stick there was tied an eagle feather, to the lower extremity a piece of beaded leather. The members wore a large cap of colored cloth, to which were attached a great number of raven, magpie, and owl feathers, and which was further decorated with colored horsehair and weasel skins. Their whistle was large, and made from the wing bone of a swan. Three of them wore in the back sashes of red cloth similar to those of the Crazy Dog society. A bunch of owl, raven, or magpie feathers — and frequently a combination of all three — was attached to the head so as to hang down in the back. The three officers referred to were regarded as Real Dogs. People would throw a piece of meat into the ashes of a fire, or on the ground, and say, "You Dog, eat!" Then they were obliged to fall foul of it and to devour it like dogs or beasts of prey. 575 292 293

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[1] Boller, 102–105; Maximilian, II, 174, 178; Catlin, I, 164 f.

[2] The native name is mini's ō'xatoc. What was said above (p. 306) as to the translation of the word *mini's* applies in this case also. The equivalence of the Hidatsa Dog society cannot be doubted, and Maximilian's rendering of the Mandan name supports this view.

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A dance of the "Dog society" of Ruptare village that was witnessed by Bodmer is described by Maximilian. After a performance in their lodge, the members, twenty-seven or twenty-eight in number, advanced towards the Fort. Some were clad in beautiful robes or bighorn-skin shirts, others in red cloth shirts, or blue and red uniforms. Some exposed the upper part of their body, on which coups were indicated in reddish-brown paint. In this connection the Prince speaks of *four* Real Dogs, all wearing huge bonnets of raven or magpie feathers, tipped with small white plumes, while in the center there was a fan of the tail feathers of a wild turkey or eagle. Round the neck each of these officers wore a long strip of red cloth, which extended down the back as far as the calves and was knotted in the middle of the back. Two additional officers wore similarly colossal bonnets of yellowish owl feathers, with dark oblique stripes, and one had a large, horned war-bonnet with a feathered streamer hanging down in the back. All others were ornamented with a bunch of thickly-set raven, magpie, or owl feathers, which was considered emblematic of the society. All members wore long whistles, and carried in their left arm some weapon, while the hoof rattle was held in the right hand. A circle was formed. In the center [534] there was a large drum, which was beaten by five poorly clad musicians; in addition to these men, who were seated, two drummers stood on the side, beating hand-drums. After whistling in their places in accompaniment to the rapid and violent beats of the drum, the Dogs suddenly began to dance, dropping their robes to the ground. Several of them danced in the middle of the circle, leaning their bodies forward, jumping up some distance with both feet and coming down firmly on the ground. The other Indians danced without any attention to orderly arrangement, crowding one another, turning their faces towards the circle, and occasionally joining in lowering the head and upper part of the body.[1]

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Wounded-face says that the rattle (wī'o oxerō're) consisted of a stick covered with buckskin, to which the hoofs of young buffalo were attached. There were two men with sashes, which were half green and half yellow, and which were decorated with feathers. The skin cap had magpie feathers tied to it in a large bunch, and a white plume was fastened to every feather. Two eagle feathers, together with owl feathers, were also used for a head ornament. A large whistle was suspended from a wide strip of skin decorated with quillwork. The body was painted red. All the members carried the hoof-rattles, and sometimes they beat a drum or a log with them. All the Dogs were portly old men, slow in their dancing. Wounded-face thinks the society originated with the Hidatsa.

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[1] Maximilian, II, 309-311.

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Old Dog Society.[1]

Maximilian, while not including this society in his list of age-classes, 561
states that the Old Dog dance was one which the Dogs might buy of the 535
Bulls before they were permitted to become Bulls. The Old Dog dancers
painted their bodies white, and their hands red and black. They wore 575
a grizzly skin round the body, and on the head feathers which hung down 292
in the back.

Wounded-face knew nothing of the organization save the name. He had 575
heard that they dressed similarly to the Dogs.

Coarse Hair Society.

Wounded-face had only heard of this society (bacā'ca ō'xat'e) from his 575
grandfather. There was something sacred about it. A young man going 292
on the warpath promised the members to give them a dance provided he
performed some brave deed in battle. When dancing, the members dressed 554
up. On the head they placed a piece of scalp from a buffalo head of the 726
size of a human scalp. Hair was attached to the scalp so as to hang over 714
the members' faces. They put honor marks on their clothes. The left leggings were painted red up to the knee, and black marks were put round the lower legs as a sign that the wearer had struck many enemies. Leaders in war who had killed enemies tied human hair to the leggings. For each enemy struck in war, a member put one feather on his head. If he had been wounded by an arrow, the split feather from an arrow, dyed red, was worn on the head. A gun wound was indicated by a stick about 9 inches in length, and whittled at the lower end so that the shavings remained on the stick. The young warrior providing for the entertainment of the performers filled a pipe for them, and, if possible, presented them with horses or eagle feather bonnets. He asked them to pray for him. All the older men rejoiced in such a feast.

It is possible, but by no means certain, that this society corresponds to 575
Maximilian's As-Cho'h-O'chatā (Ascho'-O'chatā). On the 23rd of December, 1833, a large number of Indians visited the Fort, led by fourteen mem- 292
bers of this society from the village of Ruptare. The entire head was 535
covered with a wig of long, flat braids of hair, which fell over the face, completely hiding it. Feathers of the owl, raven, and of birds of prey,

[1] minis' xixe' ō'xat'e.

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575 each tipped with a thick white plume, adorned the head. One member
292 carried a beautiful fan of white feathers, and wore on the head a complete
535 swan's tail, each feather of which was decorated with dyed horsehair. The
[293] members wrapped themselves completely in their robes, and carried bow-lances trimmed with feathers, colored cloth, glass beads, and the like; most of them had fox skins attached to their heels. Several men beat a drum, while the rest formed a circle and imitated the sound of buffalo bulls. After they had danced for a while, the spectators threw a quantity of tobacco down for them, whereupon they departed for the village in the woods, taking off their wigs on the way. In another place, the Prince mentions rattles as well as drums, and states that the bow-lances were also decorated with bear guts.[1]

Black-Tail Deer Society.

575 All the old men above fifty were, according to Maximilian, members of
561 the Black-Tail Deer organization (cu'psi ō'xat'e). Two female attendants
301 cooked and served fresh water during a dance. All of the men wore a
554 wreath of grizzly claws round the head, and displayed their honor marks in the form of feather head ornaments, braids of hair on arms and legs, scalps, painting, etc.

575 Wounded-face says that the organization originated on the Bad Creek,
773 near the Heart River. One day two young men with arrows stayed on a high wooded hill by the Creek. They dug a deep pit, put sticks across, and covered them with grass. They wanted to snare some animals. One morning one of the men went towards the trap. As he drew close, he heard signs of a trapped animal. He was glad, looked inside, and saw that he had caught a large and very fat black-tail deer. He fitted an arrow to his bow, but the deer said, "Don't shoot me." "Why not?" "You are my son, you must not shoot me. Make a path for me to get out." The young man obeyed, and the buck got out. Then he said, "You are a young man, and I know what you desire: honor marks. I have the power to give them to you, but you have many other fathers, who will instruct you later." He stretched his legs, jumped away, and went some distance. Then he stretched his legs again, and sang a song. When his song was ended, he went towards a wooded hill. The young man knew there was a house there. It belonged to the Deer, and the door closed with a thud. The house was the Black-Tail lodge.

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[1] Maximilian, ii, 145f., 281f.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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The young man returned to the village and told the people that he had caught and liberated a deer, but he did not tell them anything else. He waited for the good wishes of the Deer to come true. His father, whom he told about it, bade him fast. Accordingly, he went into the Deer's wood, fasting and crying for two nights. A boy came to him and said, "They are calling you." This boy led him into an earth-lodge, where the young man beheld many men sitting around. In the center were two girls, each carrying a pipe pointed towards the door. The Deer sat by the door of his lodge, and tobacco was heaped up before him. The stranger was asked to sit near his host, who thus addressed him: "Now, my son, I told you that you had a great many fathers. They wish to talk to you now." Then each old man said in turn, "My son, look at me, and see what honor marks I have on my clothes. These marks are yours." When he at last came to the Deer himself, he was addressed thus: "You see what honors we have given you. I will add one thing more. If you get wounded, no matter where, you shall not die from your wounds. You will get all the honors given by your fathers." Then the Deer asked the others, how long their son was to live. They allowed the girls to decide. The girls discussed the matter, and one of them said, "We want him to be very old and to die from old age in his sleep." All the men assented. The host then said, "My son, you see this society, but you must not found it immediately, wait until you are very old." The girls wore eagle plumes above the ears. All the men began to sing, and the young man learned every one of their songs. Finally, the Deer said, "When you wish to fight, paint your body yellow, put black on both arms as far as the elbow and also from the knees to the feet. Here [giving him his own black-tail necklace] is your necklace. If enemies get close, they will miss you, for your fathers were never wounded by arrows."

The young man returned to the village, and became a great warrior. When very old, he sent for men distinguished for martial deeds. They came, and he explained his vision to them. He told them he wished to found the society; all were willing to join, and learned the songs. Then he said, "We will get two girls loved by their fathers." They selected two such girls, and let them sit in the center, carrying pipes and wearing plumes on their heads.

When very young, Wounded-face saw a very old woman who had been one of the Black-Tail Deer girls.

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Badger Society.

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This society was not mentioned by any of my Mandan friends, but was described by Wolf-chief as a Mandan (not an Hidatsa) institution. The members were old and but few in number. They did not dance, but assembled to go into a sweat lodge together, on which occasion they tried to fight like badgers and otherwise imitate these animals. In leaving the sweat lodge they always proceeded backwards. The sweat bath could never get too hot for them. Only those who had sold all other societies took part in these proceedings. Like other groups, however, the Badgers attempted to sell their membership. Some years ago a single Badger remained, and offered to sell his membership rights to my informant, who, however, refused to purchase them.

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MANDAN AND HIDATSA WOMEN'S SOCIETIES.

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According to Maximilian, the Mandan women were grouped in four age-societies, and the Hidatsa women in three. Beginning with the youngest, the Mandan had a Gun society (Eru'hpa-Mih-Ochatä), a River (Passan-Mih-Ochatä), Hay women (Chan-Mih-Ochatä), and White Buffalo (Ptihn-Tack-Ochatä) society. His Hidatsa societies, listed in the reverse order, are the Wild Goose (Bi'hda-Ächke), Enemy (Ma'h-Iha'h-Ächke), and Skunk (Cho'chkäiwi) societies.[1] Of these, the Hay society was not mentioned by any of my informants.[2] On the other hand, a Cheyenne Women society was said to have been introduced among the Mandan in recent times. The River and the Buffalo organizations are generally admitted to be Mandan societies of old standing, while the Enemy society is unanimously considered of Hidatsa origin. In recent times the tribal lines were not strictly drawn, so that Mandan women belonged to the Hidatsa Enemy society, and Hidatsa women bought the Mandan Buffalo membership.[3] The case of the Skunk, Goose, and River societies is rather different, as there is evidence that each of these organizations existed independently in both tribes, though the Skunk society is said to be of Hidatsa, and the River society of Mandan origin, both by Maximilian and by native informants now living. As to the Goose society there is conflict of opinion. Maximilian lists it only among the Hidatsa organizations, while all of my informants are of opinion that it developed among the Mandan and was borrowed by the Hidatsa. Hides-and-eats specified that it originated in the Eastern Mandan village (Maximilian's Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch). Either alternative has interesting implications. If the Goose society originally belonged to the Mandan, then all the women's organizations of a sacred character are distinctive of that tribe. If, on the other hand the Goose women originally formed the highest of the Hidatsa organizations, it is worth noting that they were in later times subordinated to the Mandan White Buffalo women, there being general agreement as to the relative rank of the two organizations.

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Matthews[4] speaks of an Hidatsa Fox Women society of which I did

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[1] Maximilian, II, 145, 219.

[2] Maximilian tells us only that they wore their best clothes when they danced and sang scalp songs.

[3] This has also been noted by Matthews, 47.

[4] Matthews, 155.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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not even obtain the name. As his spelling of the words for "fox" and "skunk" is almost identical, I am sure that this similarity in sound misled him. His statement that members were from fifteen to twenty years old fits the facts of the Skunk society fairly well.

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The mode of entrance into at least the majority of the organizations was evidently similar to that in the men's organizations, but though purchase of membership was collective, there are indications that sometimes age-mates of the buyers did not participate in the purchase. The Skunk and Gun societies are said by Hides-and-eats to have had no formal adoption whatsoever.

H M 608 432 575

The ceremonial relationship between buyers and sellers has already been explained (see p. 226). Clan aunts became the buyers' mothers. If an Hidatsa buyer could not find a clan aunt in the sellers' group, the latter would appoint some member of another clan to act as aunt and mother for the occasion of the purchase (Buffalo-bird-woman, Hidatsa). When buying the Goose society, Buffalo-bird-woman had an aunt among the sellers, but as she was the sister of my informant's husband and lived in the same lodge, it did not seem proper to buy the membership from her. Sometimes several girls took food to the same clan aunt, who would thus become the mother of several buyers.

H M 575 432

That membership meant primarily ownership through purchase seems clear from several statements. Thus, Young-beaver still regards herself both a Cheyenne and a Goose woman, and Hides-and-eats holds both the Goose and the White Buffalo membership, because these informants never sold their membership.

H M 575

Three of the women's organizations — the River, Goose, and White Buffalo societies — are rather sharply separated from the others by their clearly sacred character and the cleansing ceremony that concludes their performances. The Goose and White Buffalo societies are associated with securing food through magico-religious means. It should be noted, however that in both cases the women acted under the direction of a male singer. Thus, Calf-woman declared that it was the privilege of the Goose women's singers, Wounded-face and Poor-wolf, to tell the tale of the society's origin. The Skunk, Gun, and Enemy Women societies were obviously associated with war. To what extent any of the women's organizations had developed the social factor, is not clear. Rev. Wilson learned that the Skunks occasionally prepared feasts for themselves and their "friends." If members of the other Hidatsa societies were sick and unable to do their own planting they would prepare a feast for their fellow-members, who would come and plant all the sick woman's garden for her.

H [476]

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Hairy-coat said that the Enemy Women society was originated among the Hidatsa by Itsi'kawā'hiric, the mythical hero. This informant also sang the two following songs as belonging to the society:—

(a)

mi'racē'ruc	batsē'	wakī'rits,	hi'rō	hūts.
I myself	a man	I look for,	here	he comes.

(b)

Màkooxpa',	na'kirac	ī'ru	mi	i'katā'ruc,	hiri'ts
Woman friend,	your husband	fixedly (?)	me	he looks at,	he did it.

na'cirihitō'k?
Will you throw him away?

Goose Society.

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Hides-and eats joined the Goose society (mi'ra i'ke') when she was about 30 years of age. Calf-woman gives the same for the members' average age, though she herself joined at 13, there being two young girls in the organization. Hides-and-eats said there was always *one* young member; in her day it was Calf-woman. The Goose women would cast about for a girl well beloved by her parents, and when they found one tried to make the parents consent to her adoption into the society; thus Calf-woman was adopted, and her parents paid a large amount of property for the privilege. Calf-

Fig. 14 (50.1–4360). Duckskin Head Band of Goose Society. Length, 54 cm.

woman herself said that she had been selected by Bells-look-round, one of the male singers, who also served as musician for the White Buffalo Women society. Calf-woman's father paid a great deal of calico and other property to the society. As a badge Calf-woman, as well as the other young member, received a head band of a duck skin with the bill (see Fig. 14), while the older members all wore narrow head bands of goose skin. The normal method of entering the society was for the entire River Women society to buy in a body the regalia and other appurtenances of the Goose society.

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A mother who had thus surrendered her regalia no longer belonged to the society, her place being taken by her daughter. Hides-and-eats' group was the last to buy the Goose society, for the next lower group never applied for the purchase of the organization, so that Hides-and-eats still retains her headband. Accordingly, she still considers herself a member of the Goose society; she does not consider herself a member of any of the lower societies because she surrendered the privileges of membership to her adoptive children when these acquired membership in the usual way, by purchase.

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Before the great ceremony of the society could be performed it was necessary that someone should have had a dream to that effect. Then the members prepared dried meat. Calf-woman says that in the winter some woman would always get up, saying, "In the spring, when the snow is off the ground, we are going to have a ceremony, we shall have to hang up offerings on posts." Then the necessary preparations were made. When the geese made their first appearance in the spring, meat was suspended from a tripod meat-rack set up on the borders of the village. When everything had been prepared, the members paraded through the village, halting four times on the way to the meat-rack. Each woman carried on her left arm an armful of sage enclosing an ear of corn. Calf-woman used to carry a pipe, as well as some dried meat and fat impaled on a cottontree branch. This pipe and the stick she afterwards placed before one of the singers, who lit the pipe, seized the dried meat, and returned it to Calf-woman. This was done four times. When the procession had arrived at the place of the meat-racks, the members performed one dance. Then there came from the village two representatives from each of the men's societies in their full regalia. These men were the bravest of their organization; they approached the meat, afoot or mounted (according to the nature of their martial exploits) and appropriated the dried meat, in place of which each warrior left one of his best blankets or a horse for the Goose woman who had prepared the food, i. e., the woman who took the initiative in getting up the ceremony. After the performance of the first dance, this woman distributed a great deal of meat to the spectators, who must remain on the west side of the lodge. After each of four dances this distribution took place. After the last dance those who had been newly adopted gave presents to their mothers. Then each new member took up her sage and corn, and raced at a dead run as fast as possible and back again. The woman who got back first would be instructed by the spirits as to the right way of living. The singer to whom Calf-woman offered the pipe and meat then turned his robe so that the hairy side faced outside, tied a red-fox skin round his head, took the pipe to the east, and touched with it whatever dried meat still remained.

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M H 575 527

Then this dried meat was appropriated by the mothers. When the runners had come back, they cleansed themselves by brushing themselves with sage. Then all returned to the village. There a sweat lodge was made. After all the women had entered the sweat house, the chief singer also went in, chanted, dipped some sagebrush into water, and sprinkled all the women with it. Next the mothers prepared food, and gave it to their daughters, whereupon a general feast followed.

M H 575 302

While the two middle officers wore the duck-bill head bands, the leader and rear officer wore no distinctive badge. The members on the left side of the lodge painted their faces black between the mouth and chin, while those on the right side used blue paint. The musicians had drums, but no rattles.

M H 575 527

The object of the ceremony was to make the corn grow. The geese and the corn were supposed to be one and the same thing.

MH [561] 575 432 527

Owl-woman's social career is well-nigh unique in that she never joined any organization until she was of mature age, when she entered the Goose society. She knew of only one other Mandan woman who had not joined other societies. When the River women collectively bought the Goose society, Owl-woman went along and purchased the membership with them. A candidate had to prepare a large quantity of dried beef for her mother, and also presented her with a horse. When receiving the bundle of sage with the corn, the novice paid her adopter another horse. According to Owl-woman, anyone, man, woman, or child, might volunteer to make an offering to the geese, and would then have to prepare the requisite food for the ceremony. The society marched out in regular order towards this person's lodge, the singers going ahead of the rest. The middle officer nearer to the Leader had her face painted blue from the mouth downwards, while her mate used black paint. The members halted and danced four times on the way. In entering, the rear officer went in first. One of the musicians smoked sage for incense near the central fireplace, and all members approached in order to scent their blankets. When all had taken their places, the person who had pledged the ceremony brought in the calico, or other property, to be presented as an offering, and also paid the incense-burner and his fellow-musicians. Then the singers began to sing for the dance. They sang four sets of four songs each, with an intermission between each set. After the dance, one of the singers took a stick, impaled some of the food on it, and offered it to the four quarters, finally throwing it into the fireplace. Before the commencement of the feast, the pledger went to the singers and induced them to utter a prayer in his behalf, asking for prosperity, victory in war, and the other good things of life. He also went about to the several members, and anyone owning personal medicines gave them to

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the pledger. Then the pledger's property and food were distributed among the members, and a general feast followed in conclusion of the ceremony.

Young Beaver said that when she and her comrades bought the Goose society they assembled outside the village and erected a long meat-rack. Along this each member had a place allotted to her, where she could hang up the dried meat and fat prepared by her. Then they called their mothers, and presented them with the food suspended from the rack. In addition, those who could afford it gave their mothers a horse apiece, while the poorer ones made gifts of calico cloth. On receiving these presents each mother put some "black medicine" (a root) into her daughter's mouth. In the fall the members put up a similar rack. One man, the corn-singer had the power — acquired by purchase — of passing along the rack from end to end, touching each portion of meat and singing mystery songs. In the spring or autumn any man or woman might give a feast to the society and otherwise pay them to perform for the benefit of his or her cornfields. On such occasions the host rose and passed from one member to another, and any one that owned some medicine put a little into his mouth, at the same time praying to the Corn in his behalf:—

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"tawi^{n}'hakehak', tē'ha hā'keharā makū'nista. nimā'mihe
"This is my grandson, long life for me give him. Your blankets
I'wakise ki'ritkāksō'ore."[1]
I made for you.

The last part of this prayer refers to the custom of piling up all the corn in one place and covering it with calico as an offering to the Corn. Then some boy would run up, strike the calico as though it were an enemy, and snatch it away.

The two or three hand-drums employed by the society were, according to the same informant, painted with representations of goose tracks.

Yellow-hair said that the women who initiated her and her associates into the Goose society were the comrades of the surviving White Buffalo women of today. At the transfer of the membership privileges, which took place, as stated by other informants, close to the meat-rack previously set up, the mothers sang four times. During the intermission between the songs, the food was given to the sellers. The horses to be paid were tied in a near-by coulée. After the fourth time, all the novices rose, and approached their aunts, who were holding sagebrush in their arms. The buyers took the sage and paid calico for it. Then they also received their Goose society head bands. When this performance had been completed, the women went back to the village. On the following day the novices danced from morning

[1] This prayer is in Mandan.

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till evening. The mothers came to the dance ground, and each one called her daughter to her lodge, feasted her, and presented her with a fine tanned robe and a sheepskin dress. Four days were spent in this way, then the new members stopped dancing. According to Yellow-hair, the Goose women were divided into two divisions, the members being distinguished by the use of white and dark head bands respectively, and having seats on opposite sides of the dance lodge. Each of the two young middle officers belonged to one of these divisions. Those wearing white head bands occupied the right-hand side for one entering the lodge, while the women with dark head bands sat on the left. One special officer, Calf-woman, served food to the Corn at every feast. She took a piece of meat and offered it to the Corn, saying, "You, Corn, eat this. I pray to you in order that the members of my society may live long."

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In the winter preceding the attempt to purchase the Goose society made by Buffalo-bird-woman's group, Yellow-woman — possibly on account of a vision — desired to prepare a feast for the members of the Goose society. All the other members of her group assisted her by preparing some meat and fat. In the spring, when the geese came back from the east, the women set up a meat-rack. Then the woman whose prospective mother was leader of the Goose women hung up her meat, followed by the other women about to buy the society. Anyone that desired to give her mother a horse pledged herself to do so by fastening a stick to the meat. When the food had all been suspended, the men's societies were heard approaching. The Dogs came, blowing their whistles, and the Foolhardy Dogs, Foxes, and other organizations likewise appeared. The women cheered them in the manner termed *ī'rara`xke*, that is, by repeatedly pronouncing the syllable "la, la, la, la" with a rapid movement of the tongue. Each society appropriated one portion of side-ribs, leaving a blanket in its place. The buyers took pains to hide the best pieces of meat until after the men's societies had departed, in order to reserve them for their mothers. In the meantime the Goose women drummed and danced inside their lodge. The starter of the feast took a pipe and a piece of fat on a cottonwood stick, and ran all alone to the Goose society lodge. Each of the Goose women was holding in her left arm sagebrush about 5 feet long and wrapped round a long stick on which was impaled an ear of corn. The representative of the buyers placed the pipe before the singers. The pipe was smoked and returned, whereupon the delegate returned to the meat-rack. This procedure was repeated several times. All that day the buyers refrained from eating and drinking. The Goose women approached the meat-rack, halting several times and dancing each time. When they arrived at the place where the meat was suspended, they sat down in a circle and placed their sagebrush on the

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ground. The buyers then presented them with portions of cooked meat. Each mother thereupon opened a little bag, took from it one seed of corn or squash, and gave it to her daughter. To distribute these seeds was a privilege of the Goose women. Buffalo-bird-woman and her comrades continued to distribute all the cooked food. In the meantime all the people had come to look at what was going on, but they were obliged to watch from the south and west side, the north and east side of the circle being considered sacred. The spectators also received a seed each. The mothers rose to dance. Only one man in the village, the Corn-singer (kō'xati akupā'+i), was permitted to sing. He wore a foxskin crown, and carried a pipe and a cottonwood stick with fat and leaves on it. He walked off towards the east. Then all the buyers went to their mothers, took the sagebrush out of their hands, and ran, as fast as possible, towards the Corn-singer, went past him, and returned to the Goose women who were performing their dance. This was done four times. The runners kept the sagebrush; for this they made a payment of horses, receiving as a return gift a new suit of clothes. Only Buffalo-bird-woman received a calf robe, with the hair outside, to be worn during the performance and returned after its close. According to my informant, the Hidatsa Goose society, though derived from the Mandan, differed from its prototype in that the members did not wear duck or gooseskin head bands, but merely carried sagebrush in their arms.[1] Towards the close of the ceremony the Corn-singer approached the rack, took off two of the best pieces, ceremonially brushed off all of the portions, and threw down whatever pieces he liked for his female relatives to pick up for him. When he had selected what he wished, the mothers came, appropriated the rest of the meat, and took it home. These proceedings were gone through for three seasons, and the fourth year the Goose society would have been definitely acquired by the buyers under normal conditions, but that year the Government put a stop to all the old dances.

An account of a Goose ceremony by one of the earlier travelers in the West may be appropriately reproduced here, since it is not generally accessible and confirms the statements of my own informants:

After the corn had all been gathered in, the Mandan and Minnetaree squaws made their Goose Medicine on the level prairie behind the village. This dance is to remind the wild geese, now beginning their southward flight, that they have had plenty of good food all summer, and to entreat their return in the spring, when the rains come and the green grass begins to grow.

[1] Maximilian, who lists the Goose society only as an Hidatsa organization, does not mention birdskin head bands, but merely states that the members wore a feather transversely across the forehead (II, 219).

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The charms of most of the squaws in this "Goose Band" appeared to have faded long ago: they were evidently past the bloom of youth, and their voices and tempers had not improved in consequence. However, on this occasion they endeavored to look their best with the aid of paint and finery, in which respect they are not far behind their white sisters of more civilized climes. A row of poles resting upon forked sticks is put up, over which are hung in profusion pieces of fine, fat, dry meat, which have been carefully saved for this occasion. A band of four or five drummers take their seats close to one end, and a double row of squaws next to them facing each other. Each woman carried a bunch of long seedgrass, the favorite food of the wild goose, and at intervals all get up and dance in a circle with a peculiar shuffling step, singing and keeping time to the taps of the drum.

The spectators keep at a respectful distance and enjoy the fun, which consists in the attempts of some of the young men to steal the meat from the poles, in which however they are often thwarted by the vigilance of a few wise old "geese" who are constantly on the alert to prevent theft. If successful, the meat is carried off in great glee to some lodge, where they cook and eat it at their leisure. These exquisites are elaborately gotten up with bunches of raven plumes fluttering from their scalp-locks, and stripes of white and yellow clay upon their bodies, comprise their only covering.

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Finally, one of the old men (who have been thumping assiduously on the drums all the while) takes his place a few hundred yards off on the prairie, and a grand race by the whole goose band follows. All form in line together, and run around the old gander before returning to the starting point.

The race over, the scaffolds are taken down, a feast prepared, and the meat remaining on hand cooked and eaten. For the rest of the day the band danced around among the different lodges, and of course paid a visit to the fort before concluding. On these occasions a few yards of calico or some trifling gifts are always expected to be thrown to the "Medicine" by the traders.[1]

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It is probable that the Hidatsa and Mandan had several corn ceremonies distinct from one another and from the performances of the Goose society. Catlin describes a green-corn ceremony involving a dance of four men with corn stalks round a kettle with boiling green corn, followed by the ceremonial friction of new fire, but his account has been discredited by Matthews.[2]

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An Hidatsa ceremony performed in honor of the mythical Old-woman-who-never-dies, for the purpose of securing abundant corn crops is described by Mr. Curtis.[3] The corn singer figures prominently in this account but nothing is said of a women's society. However, we are told that those were invited to participate whose medicines consisted of various birds supposed to be children of Old-woman-who-never-dies and therefore peculiarly appropriate to the occasion.[4] Say describes a corn dance in which women play an important part, but does not identify them with any particular society:

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[1] Boller, 147–149.
[2] Catlin, I, 188–190; Matthews, 47.
[3] Curtis, IV, 148–152.
[4] Ibid, 150.

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sown in order to enhance its fertility. The food on the rack fell to the old women's share because they represented Old-woman-who-never-dies, but frequently some members of the Dog society appeared and appropriated large portions of the meat (see p. 288).

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The autumn ceremony was celebrated in order to attract the buffalo herds. Then the women performers did not carry corncobs on sticks, but entire corn plants. Both the corn and the birds symbolizing the plants were called by the name of the female deity, and addressed in prayer as the women's mother. They were requested to pity the suppliants, to postpone a severe cold, and prevent the game from moving away lest the people should be in want of food. When the birds in question began their migration southward, or, as the Indians believed, returned to Old-woman-who-never-dies, they were supposed to take with them gifts suspended for that deity outside the village, – more particularly the dried meat, which Old-woman was believed to eat herself. Some poor women unable to make other offerings would wrap up and suspend the foot of a buffalo, but these gifts were even more acceptable to the deity than any of the others.[1]

While it is impossible to speak with assurance on this point, we can readily understand how the Goose society might have become secondarily associated with a corn ceremony when we recollect the identification of the wild geese with corn and Old-woman-who-never-dies.

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It is evident that the Goose society is of a distinctly more religious character than either the Skunk or the Enemy society. According to Buffalo-bird-woman, the Goose ceremony shared a feature with the ceremonies of two other sacred women's societies of the Mandan, viz. a final brushing-off of the performers to divest them of their sacred character (see pp. 343, 344). My informant added that there are worms in the corn and that these might have got into the performers' bodies unless they had been brushed off.

Old Women Society.

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The Old Women society (kā'ru parū'wa+ī'ri) is said to have been an Hidatsa institution, and Buffalo-bird-woman was the only informant that described it in this connection. Though she mentioned it in the same breath with the other women's societies and explained how it helped "friendly" groups, it was clearly one of the totally different unions of people performing sacred bundle ceremonies. It seems that membership was

[1] Maximilian, II, 182–184.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Gun Society.

575 [608] 535 Hides-and-eats says that in the Gun society (Mandan: ī'rupe ō'xat'e) there was no adoption. Three men who had guns for their personal medicine went round the village, selecting young girls for the dance. The girls combed their hair loose, stuck feathers in the back like the Skunks,[1] put on their beaded belts and mountain-sheep dresses, and entered an earth-lodge, where they ranged themselves in the arc of a circle. The three men were seated between the fire and the screen between the two main poles facing the door; they were the singers and drummers. The girls danced up and down in their places, seating themselves when a song ended and rising to [782] dance when a new one was intoned. At the close of each song one of the three men expressed the following prayer: "My sacred gun, I pray to you, I wish to conquer my enemies." One of the men rose, impaled food on a stick, and cast it into the fire as an offering to the guns. After a prayer, food that had been previously prepared was distributed among the members. This food must all be eaten on the spot; it was not permissible to take any of it away. At the close of the performance sweetgrass was placed on a potsherd with some charcoal and burnt for incense. One of the men went round with the sherd, beginning at the right side of the door, and smoked each member in turn.

Sometimes the dance was performed, not in an earth-lodge, but outdoors in the village. The Gun women danced only during one month in the summertime. The next year the three men selected other young girls or young married women for the performance.[2] The object of the ceremony was to prevent the recurrence of losses from the enemy.

From the statements quoted it appears doubtful whether the Gun "society" was really a society, though the same term *ō'xat'e* is applied to it as to the other organizations.

River Women Society.

575 The River Women society (pasa''mī'he ō'xat'e) is called "Grass Crown society" (mikā'kikii) by the Hidatsa.

The following origin legend had been heard by Hides-and-eats:

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[1] Maximilian says they wore eagle plumes.

[2] Big-cloud, Bull-horn, and White-young-bear are said to have reörganized this society before the time of the smallpox.

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Once the Mandan lived underground. A small mouse went about and discovered a little hole in the ground, through which he crawled up and thus came to see the surface of the earth. He liked the light and the grass. He returned, and told his people about it. They said to Fox, "You are small enough to get up through the hole." So Fox went up. He got to the ground, looked about, and found everything good there. He liked it, and told the three chiefs[1] and their sister. The hole was still too small, so the Elk was called. "You have wide horns, make a little passage for us to get through." The Elk did as he was bidden, got above ground, and enjoyed the sight. He returned, and told them how good the country above was. Then the youngest of the three brothers went up through the opening, and found plenty of buffalo and elk. He hunted them, killed a buffalo and took the sinew and paunch, which he gave to his brothers on his return. They were very glad to get sinew, for underground they had been obliged to use sunflower threads for cordage. All the people wished to go above ground. They went to the hole, and found a vine passing from their country to the earth. The chiefs climbed up first on the vine. They found an abundance of game, and camped near the hole. The people went up, one after another, until a pregnant woman tried to climb up and broke the vine. It was impossible to readjust the vine, so those behind the woman were obliged to remain below. The chiefs' sister had forgotten to take along her elk robe, and called down for it to her mother, who was still underground at the time when the vine broke. But the woman answered, "You cannot get it now; however, you will find one just like it above. When you die, you will come back, and then you will be able to get your elk robe again." The girl, accordingly, got a new elk robe above ground just like the one left behind. It was tanned soft, without the hair on, and painted black on one side; fleshed bluebirds were attached to it. This robe was passed from heir to heir until the time of the Ft. Berthold settlement, where Moves-slowly, a Corn-singer, kept it by his shrine.

The Mandan ascended the River and built their villages. They came to a big clay hill named Bare-Hill, where no grass grew. Near this hill they built one village. A young man went up the hill in order to get a vision. On a high hill, on the opposite bank of the Missouri, he saw many women dancing. Every time he went up the hill he saw the same vision, but each time the women got closer. The fourth time they came closer still, they came across the Missouri. When they approached the man, he saw how they were dressed. They were all mysterious beings. At the same time, some women just like them rose from the Bare-Hill itself, and began to dance. They wore crowns of live snakes,[2] whose necks were striped with different colors. Their heads were on the left side of the dancers, the tails on the right. The visionary was also able to hear the mysterious women's songs. In accordance with this vision he started the River Women society. In the place of the snake crowns, he took blue-grass about three feet long and from a triple braid of this material he made the head band emblematic of the organization (Fig. 15). Into the left side of the head band he stuck in obliquely the tail feather of an eagle. The ends of the crown were tied in the middle of the forehead. Kinumakci came to the visionary, and was

[1] The skulls of these three chiefs, according to Hides-and-eats, were still kept by Poor-wolf at the time of my visit. Cf. Maximilian (II, 161): "Noch gegenwärtig heben die Mandans in ihrer Medicine-Tasche oder Beutel 3 heilige Schädel auf, von welchen der eine der des genannten Chefs und die anderen die dessen Bruders und Schwester seyn sollen."

[2] Garter-snakes, according to one informant; according to another, brown snakes about 3 feet long, which the Indians call "grass-eaters."

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575 773 539 delighted. He said, "I like this society. I wish to add something to your feather." Then he broke off some (unidentified) grass, and tied it to the feather. In the dance these feathers were meant to shake. Kínumakci said, "I will give you one of my songs." And he gave the man a song quite different from other songs. When Kínumakci had done singing, the visionary told the women whom he had organized

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Fig. 15 (50.1–4329). River Society Head Ornament. Length, 61 cm.

to take their head bands, untie them, smooth them out, and put them down on the ground. The women obeyed, and the head bands turned into snakes and crawled away. From that time on the society was kept up.

575 773 301 Two-chiefs adds to the account as just given that several other beings made contributions to the dance regalia. The eagle feathers were distributed among the original dancers by the Eagle. The Bear gave them his claws to be strung for a necklace. The Mink allowed them to use his skin and claws: the two leaders and the two rear officers were to wear mink-claw necklaces, while the four middle officers were to wear a minkskin necklace, to which were attached bluish shells.[1] The organizer of the society selected four male singers and picked out for membership a number of women ranging in age from twenty to thirty. Calf-woman substitutes the mythical character I'tsi'kawa'herec[2] for Ki'numakci, and the Otter for the Mink.

575 432 One day Hides-and-eats was called by her friends to attend a meeting. This was shortly after the time of the smallpox. Very few of the River women had survived the epidemic; all of them had been very old women, about Hides-and-eats' present age. The young women called the survivors, heaped up property before them, and expressed their desire to purchase the [608] society. The older group consented to sell. In this instance the sellers for some obscure reason were not considered the purchasers' mothers. Hides-and-eats and her comrades remained in this society for ten years. Then

[1] Two-chiefs gives twice the number of officers fixed by Hides-and-eats.
[2] This is probably the Hidatsa equivalent for Ki'numakci.

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younger women called them and offered them property. "Then we adopted them and called them our daughters." Sometimes it happened that a single individual wished to join. In such a case she might buy a head band from a father's sister and become an additional member without replacing anyone. This, however, was not the regular way of entering the society. 575 432 [608]

In Hides-and-eats' time, there were two male head-singers, who called in five young men and taught them to sing, for which they received a compensation and were called "fathers" by the young men. From another statement by the same authority it would appear that the five men bought the right of singing and drumming from their predecessors in very much the same way as the young women bought the right to membership. 868 432

The officers of the society included a leader wearing a necklace of bear claws attached to otterskin; a rear officer with the same badge; and two middle officers with a loose-fitting white-shell necklace hanging down a few inches below the neck in front. There was one special member who surrendered to the society her earth-lodge to dance in; in Hides-and-eats' time this member's name was One-corn-seed. Calf-woman, who was one of the officers wearing a shell necklace, kept the dance-lodge, because her parents loved her dearly and never refused her anything. The ceremonial dance lasted four nights, the actual dancing beginning before sunset. The members were expected to remain in the earth-lodge during these four nights.[1] Some women, however, would clandestinely absent themselves and go home. As soon as the other members discovered their absence, they went to the woman's house, and sang outside, "Our friend, get up and come out here again." The drummers beat their drums, and the members, if necessary, seized the truant and brought her back to the dance lodge by force. The close of the performance was marked by a cleansing ceremony. The musicians tied together peppermint (?) stalks, and with these they brushed the members' bodies, from the shoulders down. The object of this was to remove the mysterious (xo'pinic) properties with which the members were endowed while dancing. In Calf-woman's time only one man, Bad-shirt performed this ceremony; he was paid with calico goods and food. Painted-up said the brusher was the singer of the Bird ceremony. The ceremonial cleansing took place only after the performances of the three *sacred* women's societies, that is, the River women, Goose women and White Buffalo women organizations. 575 301 527 535 [783]

Two-chiefs said that during the four nights' performance the head bands were suspended from a rawhide rope passing round the earth-lodge, and 575

[1] That is to say, they were not to sleep with their husbands. But if any member had a little child at home, she might go there to attend to its wants. In this case she was brought back to the lodge before daybreak.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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M 575 [301]

members were expected to sleep below these headdresses. During part of the dance the women wearing bearclaw necklaces, (that is, the leaders and rear officers) performed alone, and were then supposed to present gifts to their own aunts or uncles. The middle officers also performed when a special song was sung, and they were expected to make a similar distribution of gifts. At the conclusion of the whole ceremony, the members sat down in a circle and placed their crowns in front of them. A man whose personal medicine was the Eagle or the Thunder was summoned to purge first the headdresses, and then the women themselves. Then, after the removal of the eagle feathers, which were saved for another occasion, the head bands were taken to the outskirts of the village, and abandoned there.

M [183]

H 575 432 527

Buffalo-bird-woman gave the following account of the purchase of the River Women, or, as she called it, Grass Crown, society. Her statements, she said, also applied to the Skunk society. A male "friend" led the procession of purchasers, carrying a pipe[1] to the lodge of the sellers. The girls or women pretended to weep in feigned expectation of the possibility that their offer to buy the society might be declined by their mothers. On the first evening they merely stated their request, saying "Mothers, we desire to get this society, we do not know how to get it." As soon as the mothers had consented to give up their society, they pretended to cry, saying, "We have lost our songs." Then there followed ten nights during which the "mothers" were entertained by the purchasers. On the first of these nights the aunts[2] danced four times, whereupon each buyer brought a kettleful of food to her aunt. This was repeated every following night. On the tenth night, each daughter gave a special present to her mother and put a pipe before her, which was smoked, as before, by a male friend, and then returned. On the next evening each mother called her daughter to her own lodge and gave her a new suit of clothes, including head band, dress, and robe. It is not clear whether it was on this or another occasion that the mothers served food for their daughters, the statement being that this took place after the first dance by the new Grass Crown women. If two or three candidates had the same woman for their mother, the latter was not a real aunt of all of them. If the mother, in such a case was an officer, only one of her daughters received the office. When Buffalo-bird-woman bought the society, there were four women having a joint mother, who had considerable difficulty in getting together the requisite amount of clothing for the four novices. The officers were not selected. It depended merely on the novice's mother whether a novice became an officer. If the mother happened to be an officer, her badge and office were simply transferred to the purchaser.

[1] This pipe was smoked by a male "friend" of the sellers.

[2] See p. 227.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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happened to be an officer, her badge and office were simply transferred to the purchaser. 000

The Hidatsa derived this society from the Mandan, but did not consider it so sacred as the Mandan did. Thus, as stated above, the Mandan rule was that women must not sleep with their husbands but must remain in the dance lodge during the four nights of the dance. Among the Hidatsa only the unmarried members regularly stayed in the dance lodge overnight. The married women went home, unless their husbands consented to let them follow the Mandan regulation. M H 575

Although Buffalo-bird-woman denied that the dance was regarded as sacred by her people, two features seem to have a religious character. In the first place, the annual performance took place after someone having had a dream to that effect had given a feast to the organization. Secondly, the performance closed with the ceremonial sweating and cleansing. The women took off their grass head bands, removed the feathers from them, piled up the crowns on the top of the sweat lodge, and went in to sweat, a few at a time. Then a man approached, holding in his hand some sagebrush with which he brushed off the sweat lodge, singing a song. All the women rose and faced him, and he brushed off the women, one by one, singing a song for each member. This power, my informant imagined, had been acquired by purchase. M H 575 783

Cheyenne[1] Women Society.

Young-beaver who had entered the River Women society when not quite 20, bought the Cheyenne Women membership, with some thirty of her comrades, at the age of a little over 30. She still considers herself a member of the Cheyenne Women society. M 575 561

The name of this organization (cō'ota mī ō'xat'e) indicates the source from which it is said to have been derived by the Mandan. Buffalo-bird-woman said that she first heard of the society about 56 years ago (1911), and that she joined as the only Hidatsa woman, her father having been asked for his consent. Any member who chose might assume men's garb. Some dressed like the Dakota, tying their front braids with otterskin, while others affected the long switches of the Crow. From two to four male singers were also chosen. At a dance of the organization a man carrying an eagle feather fan acted as leader, followed by the women in single file. At the intonation of a certain song, the leader held his fan close to his face, M 575 292 535

[1] One interpreter translated the native word "Sioux."

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 and turned about. The women also faced about. Then all advanced with
292 a kind of shuffling movement the right and the left foot alternately, without
535 moving from their places. The musicians, who carried drums, remained in the rear. All the women painted their faces and wore feathers in the back of the head in imitation of men. They formed a circle, and danced forward. A few women cut out strips of rawhide, decorated them with beads, and placed them on their heads as though they were horns. This is said to have been in imitation of the Cheyenne women. Some young men used to watch from the roofs of their lodges. Each member selected one of these men to dance with her. After a while his relatives brought calico and other goods for his partner in order to ransom him and absolve him from the necessity of continuing to dance with her.

575 In purchasing the society, the aunts or mothers presented dresses to
432 their nieces or daughters while they received horses in return.

White Buffalo Cow Society.

575 The White Buffalo Cow society (ptī'take ō'xat'e) was the highest of the women's societies known to the Mandan and Hidatsa, the Old Women's organization (p. 338) really belonging to another category.

575 Maximilian says that the members painted one eye any color they pleased
[304] (most generally azure) and had black tattoo marks between lips and chin.
527 Their headdress consisted of a broad strip of white buffalo cowhide worn in
292 hussar-cap fashion and topped with a bunch of feathers.[1] In Maximilian's day each Mandan village had its own White Buffalo organization, and he had occasion to observe the performances of both. In the performance of the Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch society, seventeen, for the most part elderly, women and two men with rattles and drums took part; one of the men was holding a gun in his hand. The leader was an elderly woman wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. In her right arm she carried cornucopia-fashion a bundle of twigs, tipped with plumes, with an eagle wing and a tin drinking vessel secured to the grip. Another woman also carried a bundle of this type. The men wore no headdresses. Of the women, two had skunk-skin head bands, the rest wore headdresses of white buffalo skin decorated
[302] in front with owl or raven feathers, which were partly dyed red. All women had the same face paint,— vermilion on the left cheek and eye, with two blue spots on the opposite temple, close to the right eye. The leader was wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. All the others except two, who

[1] Maximilian, II, 145–146.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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wore robes with the hairy side out, wore painted women's robes. They formed a circle, the men began to sing, and the women danced, taking up the tune at the same time. They waddled like ducks from side to side, raising each foot alternately higher than the other, but not moving from their position. After a while there was an intermission, which was again followed by a dance. Only the older members had the tattoo marks between mouth and chin that were distinctive of the society. When Maximilian saw the society from Ruptare perform, there were three male musicians, who also wore white buffalo skin headdresses, and none of the women carried bundles of twigs. Otherwise the equipment was the same as in the other dance.[1]

575 527 292 [304]

An illustration of the dance of this society, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas, is shown in Fig. 16.

Boller's account, which is of considerably later date, contributes the important fact that in case of a famine the White Buffalo Cow women were expected to make buffalo herds come nearer to the village. A similar function is attributed by Catlin to *male* Buffalo dancers wearing masks of a type described in this paper in connection with the Bull society (p. 315). Catlin, however, does not connect his Buffalo dance with any organization, for though only about ten or fifteen men are said to have joined in the dance at one time, he states that every Mandan was obliged to keep a buffalo mask for possible use in the buffalo-calling ceremony on the request of the chiefs.[2] Oddly enough, both Catlin and Boller say that their respective Buffalo dancers never failed to bring in the herds for the reason that they continued their performance for weeks if necessary, until buffalo were actually sighted. The dance of the society is thus described by Boller:

575 789 535

> The different members of the White-Cow band began to assemble, and soon the regular taps of the drum notified the camp that the great and important ceremony was in full progress. At one end of the lodge sat the musicians or drummers, three in number, who were untiring in their efforts, and aided their instrumentation by singing in a monotonous chanting strain. The women, comprising some forty or fifty matrons of the village, most of whose charms had unmistakably faded, were all attired in their quaintly garnished deer-skin dresses. Each had a spot of vermilion on either cheek, and their long black hair, which was carefully combed out and dressed with marrow grease, fell full and flowing over their shoulders, confined around the forehead with a fillet of white buffalo cow-skin. One of them had a white robe (which is very scarce, and held in the highest esteem) wrapped around her. This white robe was the common property of the band, and in its great power as a "medicine" were centred their hopes of bringing in the buffalo.[3]

[302] [778]

[1] Ibid., 283–284, 297.
[2] Catlin, I, 127–128.
[3] Boller, 218–219.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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I will now present my own field notes concerning this society.

Calf-woman joined the White Buffalo women when she was only two years old. Two years later she began to take part in the performances. Some old women went round the village looking for a female child whose parents loved her dearly and had given away a great deal of property in her honor. They came to Calf-woman's parents, and these consented to have their daughter adopted. Calf-woman's mother gave Brave-woman one pony and several blankets on this occasion. Whenever there was a dance of the society, a member named Berry carried the newly adopted infant on her back. There were about fifty women members, and five men acted as singers. The most important dance, or ceremony, of the society took place once a year, in the winter, on four successive nights. Sometimes the dance was kept up every other night for a month.

In preparation for the great ceremony the Indians of the village gathered an abundance of food and property for the society. Each member had a red line painted on the right side of her face, from temple to eyebrow, and a corresponding line in blue on the opposite side. All wore the buffalo skin caps emblematic of the organization and put on only on this special occasion, and moreover each member wore a buckskin dress and a robe. Three officers were distinguished by wearing their robes hair side out. The leader of this trio had a *white* buffalo skin robe; Calf-woman, who walked in the center, wore the best *calf* skin robe obtainable; and the third officer donned a *coarse*-haired robe. In approaching the earth-lodge where the ceremony was to be performed, the members halted four times on the way. At each stopping-place they formed a circle and danced in the same way as they were going to do in the lodge. The leader entered the lodge and made a circuit walking to the right (for one entering). A buffalo cow skull had been placed at the foot of the northwestern main pole in the center of the lodge, and *átūre* was burnt for incense in front of it. A special incense-burner conducted the leader to the skull, letting her stand there so that she might be smoked, and then led her back again to her place. The two other officers mentioned above were similarly treated. North of the door, in a line in front of that joining the two southern center poles, sat the five men singers. As soon as these musicians began to sing, the leader, the middle officer, and the rear officer danced forward to the fireplace, where they met, and then danced in position, facing the fire. After they had returned to their original places, a special song was chanted. This was a signal for the incense-burner to go dancing from member to member and remove their robes. Then the dancing began. Every song and dance was repeated four times. Towards the close of the first night's performance a particular song was intoned, indicating that the paint was to be rubbed off

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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the members' faces. Each performer carried a bunch of peppermint (ca'xkuxke); at the sound of the special song a motion was made with this peppermint as though to remove the paint. Then the paint was actually rubbed off with the end of the robe. When the dance was all over, the women lay down to sleep in the lodge. Some members fasted all night. Before dawn one of the musicians took a long cottonwood pole and attached all the headdresses and the middle officer's robe to it. The staff was then fixed above the doorway. This was a sign for a big wind and snow to drive the buffalo close to the village. At the foot of the pole a buffalo skull was deposited. A branch of a tree was painted red, and numerous offerings were tied to it and laid on the skull. Thereupon all the members rose, went out of the lodge, and passed through the village. They approached the lodge in exactly the same way as on the previous day, making four stops and dancing at each before reëntering the dance-lodge. During the day one of the officers prepared all the food required. In the evening the performance was repeated, the three officers dancing up to the buffalo skull, whereupon the entire society followed suit. In front of the skull they placed a ball of mashed corn and a pipe. The leader took the pipe and the corn-ball. First she offered the pipe to the musicians, who lit and smoked it. Then she distributed the corn among the members, beginning with the one nearest to herself and appropriating what remained in the end. Next, the rear officer distributed corn twice, and finally the middle officer made two distributions. The entire society represented a buffalo herd; the middle officer represented the best buffalo and was supposed to get all that remained of the corn. The second, third, and fourth nights were all similar so far as the feature just described was concerned. Throughout the performance there were numerous spectators.

For the last night each member had to prepare a basketful of mashed corn; sometimes this was attended to by the members' mothers. Additional food was also brought together. This night was distinguished by the use of gourd rattles. All the baskets of corn, as well as the robes and headdresses were placed round the skull. Next a song was sung four times, and incense was burned to smoke the robes. Then mashed corn was given to the spectators until the supply was exhausted. Some peppermint was tied to a short pole. The incense-burner dipped it into a dish of water, and sprinkled all the members beginning with the leader and stopping with the rear officer. The buffalo skull and the musicians were also sprinkled. A little of the food was attached to the end of a short stick and placed in the nasal cavities of the skull, then pointed to the four quarters, and finally set down on the fireplace. A feast terminated the performance. On this last night newly adopted members made valuable presents to their adoptive mothers.

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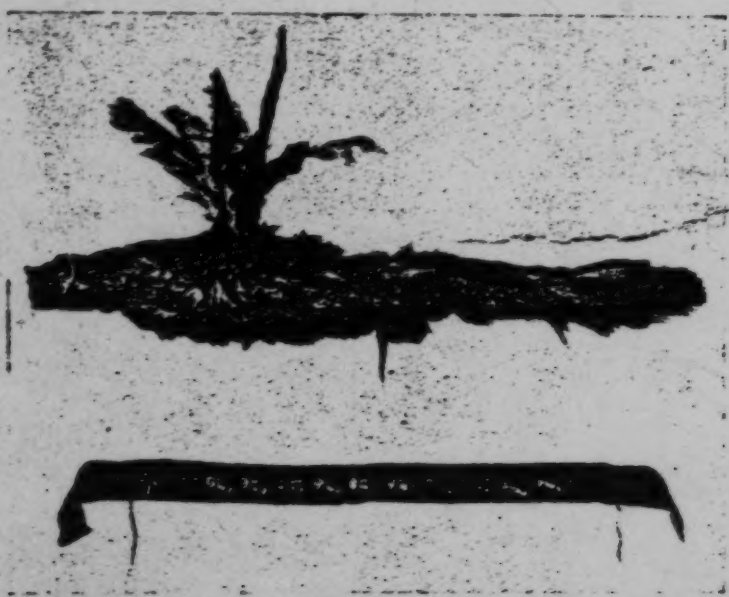
Throughout the ceremony two women whose normal position in the circle was on the right side of the rear officer preserved order in the lodge; the distinctive badge of their office consisted of a skunkskin head band (Fig. 17). 575 626

The object of the ceremony was to lure the buffalo near the fireplace. Once, when the performance took place in a clearing in the woods, one buffalo came directly to the doorway, and was killed on the spot. During the same season a great abundance of buffalo were found in the timber. Apparently, anyone who was desirous of making the buffalo come could take the initiative and ask the society to undertake the performance. 575 789



292

Fig. 17 (30.1–6818, 30.1–6231). Skunkskin Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society and Head Band of Kit-Fox Society. Lengths, 79 cm. and 85 cm.

Any old member could adopt as many new ones as she wished, and was obliged to provide each tyro with a headdress. Calf-woman obtained one of these headdresses at the time of her adoption, though she was only two years of age. She became the middle officer because her adoptive mother gave her the appropriate calfskin robe. The musicians adopted new musicians who were obliged to pay heavily for the songs. Four of them had drums for instruments, while the remaining one used a rattle of buffalo skin. 575 608 432 [534]

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In Calf-woman's day[1] the number of Mandan and of Hidatsa women in the society was about equal. The performances ceased, under Government pressure, when she was about fourteen years of age.

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H
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Hides-and-eats, who had served as rear officer, added a number of details. It was necessary to join in the wintertime because that was the season of the dance. The person who called for the performance of the great ceremony must have dreamt to that effect and was expected to prepare a great deal of food for the society. If, during the dance, a member went outside from necessity and a young man pulled her blanket, she was obliged [788] to say, "A wolf has bitten me." If she failed to say this, she was in danger of actually being bitten by a wolf. The members were middle-aged, while the two women with skunkskin head bands were elderly. Hides-and-eats set the number of singers at four; their age was immaterial, but as a matter of fact they were about fifty or sixty. They were not identical with the musicians of other women's societies.

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[788]

Buffalo-bird-woman says that the White Buffalo women were in the habit of going round the village in the morning, passing every lodge. One member would enter a clan daughter's lodge, and say to her, "So-and-so's daughter, give me light" (that is, fire). The clan daughter sometimes answered, and sometimes remained silent. Once the informant's aunt addressed her as stated above, and she replied, "Yes, I will do so." This signified her willingness to provide a feast. The next day, accordingly, she brought large quantities of food, invited all the White Buffalo women to her lodge, and entertained them. Further, she gave the society a new gun as a present, and a piece of calico to be smoked with incense. The incense-burner, who also had the privilege of taking off all the members' robes and hanging them up, took charcoal, made incense, seized the head of the rear officer's robe, shook it, proceeded to the middle officer's,[2] and repeated the same performance, as she finally did with the leader also. She made incense as she passed along the circle of members. Then the [535] dance began. All wore their crowns of white buffalo skin on this occasion. When the singers commenced to sing, the leader and the rear officer rose and danced forward, crossing each other's path. They returned to their places, and repeated the performance at the next two songs. At the fourth song, the middle officer also rose, and all three danced, facing alternately the fireplace and the door, and finally returning to their places. At the following song everyone rose and danced. After the dance was over, the little girl approached the rear officer with a corn-ball, and put a little of the corn

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[1] This informant is about 56 years old (1910).

[2] This informant, like Hides-and-eats, speaks of but one little girl in the society.

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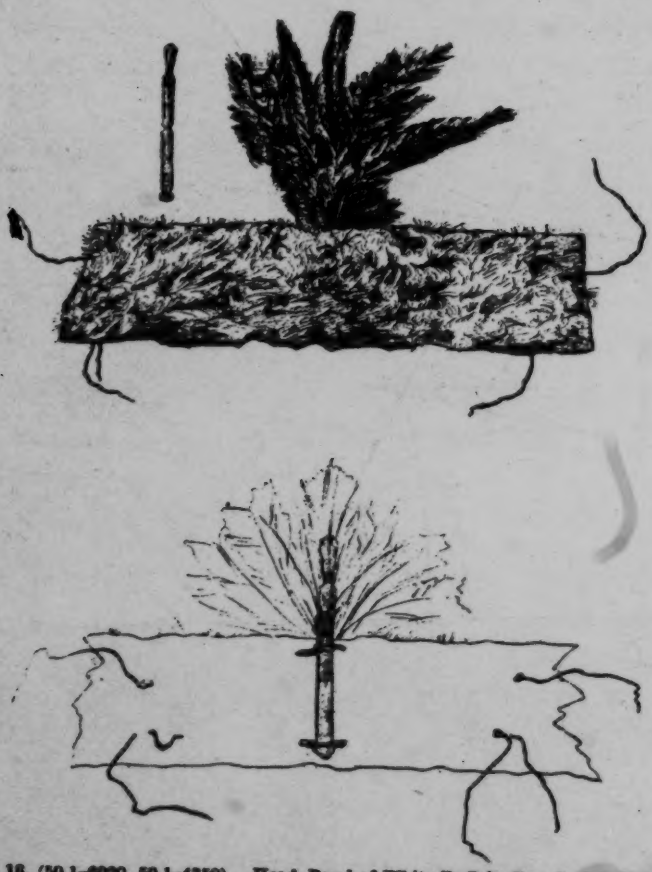
M H 575 527

on the nose of the rear officer's skin robe. She did the same with the leader's robe, then she walked back to her place and went through the same performance with her own robe. This procedure which was regarded as an offering to the robes was called *ō'zkipati*. It was repeated three times. At the last song the incense-burner went to the rear officer, and untied her



M H [292]

Fig. 18. (50.1–6020, 50.1–4350). Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society, front and back view. Length, 62 cm.

robe, causing it to drop to the ground. She proceeded to the middle officer, and thence to the leader, untying all the robes. This dropping of the robes symbolized the shedding of the buffaloes' hair. [783]

Apparently anyone interested in the success of the buffalo chase might 000

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M H 575 789

Apparently anyone interested in the success of the buffalo chase might give a feast to the society and make offerings. Buffalo-bird-woman remembered one instance when a white man made offerings to the buffalo spirits before a hunt. He gave the society a butcher knife and other property and thus addressed them: "You, Buffalo women, I give offerings to you. I will give you a butcher knife when you cross in the dance. I wish to save all these men from getting injured and I desire to get all the meat."

M H 575 292

The Museum owns several White Buffalo headdresses actually used by members and collected by Rev. Wilson and the present writer. One of these is represented in Fig. 18, together with the small notched wooden feather-straightener. In the skunkskin head band (Fig. 17) the feathers are attached in similar fashion.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 with us; the rest of the Indians following on shore. At one mile beyond the camp we passed a small creek, and at three[4] more a bluff of coal of an inferior quality on the south. After making eleven miles we reached an old field where the Mandans had cultivated grain last summer, and encamped for the night on the south side, about half a mile below the first village of the Mandans. In the morning, we had a willow low ground on the south and highland on the north, which occasionally varied in the course of the day. There is but little wood on this part of the river, which is here subdivided into many channels and obstructed by sandbars. As soon as we arrived a crowd of men, women and children came down to see us.

304 765 **First Meeting of the Mandans.** "Captain Lewis returned with the principal chiefs to the village, while the others remained with us during the evening; the object which seemed to surprise them most was a corn-mill fixed to the boat which we had occasion to use, and delighted them by the ease which it reduced the grain to powder. Among others who visited us was the son of the grand chief of the Mandans, who had his two little fingers cut off at the second joints. On inquiring into this accident, we found that it was customary to express grief for the death of relations by some corporal suffering, and that the usual mode was to lose two joints of the little fingers, or sometimes the other fingers. The wind blew very cold in the evening from the southwest. Two of the party were afflicted with rheumatic complaints." (id 159)

●576 **The Interpreter.** "Saturday, October 27th. At an early hour we proceeded and anchored off the village. Captain Clarke went on shore, and after smoking a pipe with the chiefs, was desired to remain and eat with them. He declined on account of his being unwell; but his refusal gave great offense to the Indians, who considered it disrespectful not to eat when invited, till the cause was 000 explained to their satisfaction. We sent them some tobacco, and then proceeded to the second village, on the north passing by a bank containing coal, and a second village, and encamped at four miles on the north, opposite to a village of Ahnahaways. We here met with a Frenchman, named Jesseaume, who lived among the Indians with his wife and children, and whom we take as an interpreter. The Indians had flocked to the bank to see us as we passed, and they visited in great numbers the camp, where some

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Shaved Head societies. Black-chest's enumeration differs from that by Wounded face merely in the omission of the Old Dog, Coarse Hair, and Black Tail Deer societies and in the reversal of the relative positions of the Buffalo Bull and Dog societies. 575

MANDAN SOCIETIES.

Maximilian (II, 139–144).	Wounded-face.
	1. Cheyenne Society (cō'ta ō'xat'e)
	2. Kit-Fox Society (ō'xox'atoc)
	3. Little Dog Society (mini'sinik ō'xat'e
1. Foolish Dogs (Meni'ss O'chka O'chatā)	4. Crazy Dog Society (mini's'ō'xka ō'xat'e)
2. Crows, or Ravens (Hāhderucha O'chatā)	
3. Half-shaved Heads (I'schohā Kako-schochatā)	
4. Soldiers (Chara'k O'chatā, or Kau'a Karakāchka)	5. Black Mouth Society. (I'he psi'here ō'xate, or numā'k xarāk ō'xat'e)
5. Dogs (Meni'ss O'chatā)	7. Dog Society (mini's ō'xatoc)
6. Old Dogs (Meni'ss-Chāh-Ochatā)	8. Old Dog Society (mini's xixe' ō'xat'e)
7. Buffalo Bulls (Bero'ck-O'chatā)	6. Buffalo Bull Society (mēro'k ō'xat'e)
8. Black-Tail Deers (Schu'mpsi O'chatā)	10. Black-Tail Deer Society (cu'psi ō'xat'e)
	9. Coarse Hair Society (bacā'ca ō'xat'e)

CHEYENNE SOCIETY.

Wounded-face's group bought the Cheyenne society (cō'ta ō'xat'e), 575 at the request of the men owning it, when my informant was about 10 or 12 432 years old. Calicoes and tanned goods were gathered, and with them a pipe was taken to the sellers. One of these smoked the pipe to show that [576] they were willing to dispose of their membership.

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575 Some additional information on this society was furnished by Wounded-face, Water-chief, and Little-crow. Of these, Wounded-face and Water-chief belonged to the same group as Black-chest, while Little-crow was a member of the group from which the other three informants purchased their membership. Black-chest sets his present age at 62, while Little-crow is supposed to be 74. At the time they purchased their membership, the age of Little-crow, Wounded-face and Water-chief was about 14, 20, and 16 respectively.

575 773 Wounded-face regards Good-fur-robe, a mythical hero, as the founder of the society. Good-fur-robe pulled out two sunflower stalks from the ground and presented them to two young men. He instructed them to plant these stalks in the ground during an encounter with the enemy and not to retreat from the spot. The sunflower and the corn, this informant added, were essentially one. A similar account was furnished by Packs-wolf, who further stated that at a later time lances were substituted for the stalks. Though Maximilian does not mention a Mandan Kit-Fox society, the following tradition recorded by him as to the origin of the other Mandan organizations is very suggestive in view of the statements obtained from my own informants. The chief who first ascended to the earth from the subterranean regions formerly inhabited by the Mandan was named Village-smoke, but assumed the name of Good-fur-robe ("die Robe oder das Fell mit schönem Haare, la robe à beau poil") after reaching the upper world. He founded the societies, beginning with the Dogs. For the Soldiers he made two hooked-sticks wrapped with otterskin and two other sticks trimmed with raven feathers. The hooked sticks represented sunflowers; the other sticks, the corn plant. These emblems were to be planted into the ground in fighting an enemy and were never to be abandoned.[1]

575 432 Water-chief mentions the interesting point that his group bought the Kit-Fox organization at the suggestion of the owners. These came to the younger men and said, "We wish to give you this Fox society and make you our sons." It is quite clear from the other accounts that this fact did not affect the initial mode of procedure. A pipe was put before the fathers and [576] had to be accepted and smoked by one of their number in the same way as when Little-crow's group decided to buy the membership on their own initiative. In both cases the fathers seem to have been able to dictate the terms of purchase: at the time when Black-chest and Water-chief became Kit-Foxes, a ten nights' entertainment was demanded, while in Little-crow's day the feasting of the sellers lasted twelve nights.

Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for

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[1] Maximilian, II, 162.

[For bibliography, see Category 113-- Analyst]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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surrendering their ownership of the Fox organization, they had acquired 575
possession of the Little Dog society. On one occasion, after the lapse 424
of about five or six years, the Kit-Foxes were meeting at Woman-ghost's house, when someone asked whether they might not buy the Little Dog society then. Each one expressed his willingness to purchase it. Then 575
they gathered together property for an initial gift, and one man carried 424
a pipe to the Little Dogs' lodge. One of the Little Dogs said, "Well, we will meet and debate the matter." The messenger returned. As it was 432
late, the Kit-Foxes waited for the next day to make their first offerings of 527
goods, and merely went about the village, singing at several earth-lodges. On the next day they gathered and notified their friends, the River Women, who collected some property for them. This was piled up together with some guns contributed by the purchasers themselves, and was then divided among them. They waited until nightfall, then they went outside, crying, and marched towards the Little Dogs' lodge. A leader carried the pipe, and, on entering, laid it down before the fireplace. All the property was deposited near the pipe, then the Kit-Foxes took seats near the door, in the space allotted to outsiders. The Little Dogs were seated in the rear and on the sides of the lodge. Iron-eyes, one of the sellers' company, took the [576]
pipe towards the fire, lit it, and began to smoke. All the Kit-Foxes then cried, "Hahō'! We are going to have some songs." According to Wounded-face, the prospective buyers said to their fathers: "We have bought the Kit-Fox society of you, but we still have the Dog society to buy from you." Thereupon the fathers took the property and bade their sons prepare a lodge for the next evening. Then the Kit-Foxes went back to their lodge.

The next evening the Kit-Foxes gathered in Two-chiefs' house. They 575
had married since their former purchase, and each one had his wife prepare 432
food and bring it to the meeting place. The Little Dogs approached the lodge, singing on the way. The door of the lodge faced north. The buyers 527
had ranged themselves on the right side (for one entering), with their wives behind them. The sellers sat down on the opposite side, with their wives [533]
behind them, and began to sing, using sticks with sleighbells for rattles. "We liked their song better than ours." (Black-chest). Big-thief rose, held up a dried dogskin, laid it toward the fire, faced the fire himself, sat down behind the skin, and thus addressed the group of buyers: "Well, sons, this dog has five claws on each of its front legs, that makes ten. Its hind legs also have ten claws, that makes twenty in all. So we wish you to feast us for twenty nights, then we will let you have our songs." [1]

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[1] Wounded-face says that the entertainment lasted only fifteen nights, while Water-chief spoke of a ten nights' feasting of the fathers. When Little-crow, of the group immediately higher than that of the three informants quoted here and in the text, bought the same society, the entertainment lasted eight nights.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 screen. Along the wall to the left sat the remaining Soldiers, about twenty-
432 five in number; while some were clad in fine garments, the majority dressed
527 in ordinary clothes. Some exposed the upper part of the body. In the
center three drummers seated themselves. The purchasers stood on the
right side of the fire. They were expected to give valuable presents to the
[837] Soldiers, to feast them and furnish them with tobacco for forty nights, and
every evening they were to offer them their wives. The sellers approached
the lodge amidst singing and drumming, and entered with their regalia.
These consisted of four lances, from 7 to 8 feet long, with an iron head point-
[293] ing downwards. The shaft was wrapped with broad bands of otterskin,
while pairs of otterskin strips were tied to the head and several other points
on the lance. Two of the lances were hooked, the two others were straight.
A fifth emblem consisted of a war club with iron point, which was colored
red and was decorated with several feathers in the back. Further there
were three lances, decorated alternately with black and white feathers, and a
beautifully ornamented bow and quiver. At first, the Soldiers remained
concealed behind the screen, and were merely holding these insignia so that
they projected into the main space of the lodge. After standing in this
position, singing and drumming violently, for a while, they entered, placed
the lances against the wall, and stuck the war club into the ground, near one
of the main pillars. Then they all took seats along the wall. While the
[576] singing and drumming was alternately renewed, the purchasers prepared
their pipes, and handed them to each of the guests in turn, for which act
they stooped, holding the mouthpiece towards the smokers. When the
guests had taken a few puffs, the purchasers did likewise, and then carried
the pipe in regular order, from right to left, to each of the sellers. This
smoking consumed considerable time; each guest, during this part of the
[535] performance, was also presented with a little cake of sweet-corn. After
about half an hour, two of the Soldiers rose and danced towards each other.
One of them seized the war club, and held it stiffly in his left hand, while the
right hung straight down. Bending the upper part of his body forward,
he jumped stiffly into the air with both feet; keeping time with the music.
The other dancer had fine decorations on his head and legs, and the upper
part of his body was likewise exposed. He seized one of the otterskin lances,
which he held, sloping, between his two hands, and both men then danced
or hopped towards each other. After several minutes the second performer
put the lance away, and took a seat, while all the other members gave the
war whoop and gave vent to exclamations of joy, amidst vigorous beating
of the drum. Then there was silence. The man with the war club ad-
dressed the buyers, calling them his "sons," and recounted several of his
martial exploits, whereupon he handed them the war club. One of the

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 the members' faces. Each performer carried a bunch of peppermint
527 (ca'xkuxke); at the sound of the special song a motion was made with this
535 peppermint as though to remove the paint. Then the paint was actually rubbed off with the end of the robe. When the dance was all over, the women lay down to sleep in the lodge. Some members fasted all night. Before dawn one of the musicians took a long cottonwood pole and attached all the headdresses and the middle officer's robe to it. The staff was then fixed above the doorway. This was a sign for a big wind and snow to drive the buffalo close to the village. At the foot of the pole a buffalo skull was deposited. A branch of a tree was painted red, and numerous offerings were tied to it and laid on the skull. Thereupon all the members rose, went out of the lodge, and passed through the village. They approached the lodge in exactly the same way as on the previous day, making four stops and dancing at each before reëntering the dance-lodge. During the day one of the officers prepared all the food required. In the evening the performance was repeated, the three officers dancing up to the buffalo skull, whereupon the entire society followed suit. In front of the skull they placed a ball of mashed corn and a pipe. The leader took the pipe and the
• [57] corn-ball. First she offered the pipe to the musicians, who lit and smoked it. Then she distributed the corn among the members, beginning with the one nearest to herself and appropriating what remained in the end. Next, the rear officer distributed corn twice, and finally the middle officer made two distributions. The entire society represented a buffalo herd; the middle officer represented the best buffalo and was supposed to get all that remained of the corn. The second, third, and fourth nights were all similar so far as the feature just described was concerned. Throughout the performance there were numerous spectators.

For the last night each member had to prepare a basketful of mashed corn; sometimes this was attended to by the members' mothers. Additional food was also brought together. This night was distinguished by the use of gourd rattles. All the baskets of corn, as well as the robes and headdresses were placed round the skull. Next a song was sung four times, and incense was burned to smoke the robes. Then mashed corn was given to the spectators until the supply was exhausted. Some peppermint was tied to a short pole. The incense-burner dipped it into a dish of water, and sprinkled all the members, beginning with the leader and stopping with the rear officer. The buffalo skull and the musicians were also sprinkled. A little of the food was attached to the end of a short stick and placed in the nasal cavities of the skull, then pointed to the four quarters, and finally
[608 set down on the fireplace. A feast terminated the performance. On this
431] last night newly adopted members made valuable presents to their adoptive mothers.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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262 *fat*; and one of the former held a fine brace of buffalo ribs, delightfully
264 roasted; and the other was filled with a kind of paste or pudding, made of
415 the flour of the "*pomme blanche*," as the French call it, a delicious turnip of the prairie, finely flavoured with the buffalo berries, which are collected in great quantities in this country, and used with divers dishes in cooking, as we in civilized countries use dried currants, which they very much resemble.

276 A handsome pipe and a tobacco-pouch made of the otter skin, filled with
264 k'nick-k'neck (Indian tobacco), laid by the side of the feast; and when we were seated, mine host took up his pipe, and deliberately filled it; and instead of lighting it by the fire, which he could easily have done, he drew from his pouch his flint and steel, and raised a spark with which he kindled it. He drew a few strong whiffs through it, and presented the stem of it to my mouth, through which I drew a whiff or two while he held the stem in his hands. This done, he laid down the pipe, and drawing his knife from his belt, cut off a very small piece of the meat from the ribs, and pronouncing the words "Ho-pe-ne-chee wa-pa-shee" (meaning a *medicine* sacrifice), threw it into the fire.

He then (by signals) requested me to eat, and I commenced, after drawing out from my belt my knife (which it is supposed that every man in this country carries about him, for at an Indian feast a knife is never offered
[576] to a guest). Reader, be not astonished that I sat and ate my dinner *alone*, for such is the custom of this strange land. In all tribes in these western regions it is an invariable rule that a chief never eats with his guests invited to a feast; but while they eat, he sits by, at their service, and ready to wait upon them; deliberately charging and lighting the pipe which is to be passed around after the feast is over. Such was the case in the present instance, and while I was eating, Mah-to-toh-pa sat cross-legged before me, cleaning his pipe and preparing it for a cheerful smoke when I had finished my meal. For this ceremony I observed he was making unusual preparation, and I observed as I ate, that after he had taken enough of the k'nick-k'neck or bark of the red willow, from his pouch, he rolled out of it also a piece of the "*castor*," which it is customary amongst these folks to carry in their tobacco-sack to give it a flavour; and, shaving off a small quantity of it, mixed it with the bark, with which he charged his pipe. This done, he drew also from his sack a small parcel containing a fine powder, which was made of dried buffalo dung, a little of which he spread over the top, (according also to custom,) which was like tinder, having no other effect than that of lighting the pipe with ease and satisfaction. My appetite satiated, I straightened up, and with a whiff the pipe was lit, and we enjoyed together for a quarter of an hour the most delightful exchange of good feelings, amid clouds of smoke and pantomimic signs and gesticulations.

251 The dish of "pemican and marrow-fat," of which I spoke, was thus:—The first, an article of food used throughout this country, as familiarly as we use

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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251 bread in the civilized world. It is made of buffalo meat dried very hard, and afterwards pounded in a large wooden mortar until it is made nearly as fine as sawdust, then packed in this dry state in bladders or sacks of skin, and is easily carried to any part of the world in good order. "Marrow-fat" is collected by the Indians from the buffalo bones which they break to pieces, yielding a prodigious quantity of marrow, which is boiled out and put into buffalo bladders which have been distended; and after it cools, becomes quite hard like tallow, and has the appearance, and very nearly the flavour, of the richest yellow butter. At a feast, chunks of this marrow-fat are cut off and placed in a tray or bowl, with the pemican, and eaten together; which we civilized folks in these regions consider a very good substitute for (and indeed we generally so denominate it) "bread and 415 butter." In this dish laid a spoon made of the buffalo's horn, which was black as jet, and beautifully polished; in one of the others there was another of still more ingenious and beautiful workmanship, made of the horn of the mountain-sheep, or "Gros corn," as the French trappers call them; it was large enough to hold of itself two or three pints, and was almost entirely transparent.

I spoke also of the earthen dishes or bowls in which these viands were served out; they are a familiar part of the culinary furniture of every Mandan lodge, and are manufactured by the women of this tribe in great quantities, and modelled into a thousand forms and tastes. They are made by the hands of the women, from a tough black clay, and baked in kilns which are made for the purpose, and are nearly equal in hardness to our own manufacture of pottery; though they have not yet got the art of glazing, which would be to them a most valuable secret. They make them so strong and serviceable, however, that they hang them over the fire as we do our iron pots, and boil their meat in them with perfect success. I have seen some few specimens of such manufacture, which have been dug up in Indian mounds and tombs in the southern and middle states, placed in our Eastern Museums and looked upon as a great wonder, when here this novelty is at once done away with, and the whole mystery; where women can be seen handling and using them by hundreds, and they can be seen every day in the summer also, moulding them into many fanciful forms, and passing them through the kiln where they are hardened.

576 Whilst sitting at this feast the wigwam was as silent as death, although we 595 were not alone in it. This chief, like most others, had a plurality of wives, and all of them (some six or seven) were seated around the sides of the lodge, upon robes or mats placed upon the ground, and not allowed to speak, though they were it readiness to obey his orders or commands, which were uniformly given by signs manual, and executed in the neatest and most silent manner.

431 When I arose to return, the pipe through which we had smoked was presented to me; and the robe on which I had sat, he gracefully raised by the corners and tendered it to me, explaining by signs that the paintings

10: Neill H-4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

son who Lewis and Clarke found in October, 1804, trading among the Indians. On the 19th Henry and party came in sight of the Missouri. He writes in his Journal: "Descending the high banks we came to the river Bourbeuse [Bourbeux, Moiy.] We had much difficulty in crossing; on both sides nothing but soft clay, into which our horses sunk almost up to their ears. Having got through we washed and cleaned them, and ourselves in the Missouri * * * At 2 o'clock we saddled and proceeded on passing near to the water side. At the foot of the Lodge de Serpent is a bank upon the north side of the Missouri, about three hundred feet high; the side fronting the river is very steep and barren composed of gravel intermixed with a quantity of flat decayed stones of bluish and iron color with some streaks." 114

A short distance from the foot of the hill was a Gros Ventres winter village[1] and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon they arrived opposite the mouth of the Knife River, on the bank of which a mile from the Missouri, was also a village of Gros Ventres.[2] Riding down on the north bank of the Missouri, a distance of five miles, to a Mandan village, "we passed," writes Henry, "through one of their old villages that was abandoned a few years ago; they have now built about a mile lower down the river. Near this deserted village we saw great numbers of the dead exposed upon stages about eight feet from the ground. The envelopes or coverings are generally of dressed leathe- and parchments, many of which were still good, whilr others were decayed, and nothing but the bones appeared. e * * We now met a Mandan who was well armed, he ac* companied a party of women that were hoeing corn, and he served as their guard. On perceiving us, he instantly came up and shook hands with us and expressed himself by signs that we should put up at his village. We saw numbers of women and children at work in the corn field. 574 576

Just before we entered the village we were met by the chief of the place, Chat Noir * [Black Cat] and a number of the natives. Every one of them were shaking hands with us, and bid us welcome. The chief then conducted us to one of his huts, appropriated for the reception of the strangers. He has another, in which the principal friends of his family resides. He keeps one of his wives, in the one we were in, to attend upon his guests, cook, bring water, etc., and to serve as a bed fellow if required. [837]

In a moment, the whole village flocked around us, and all were curious to see what articles we had brought to trade, and they were neither troublesome, nor impertinent. Having unsaddled our horses, and taken our baggage into the hut, the 574 609

* Lewis and Clarke made Poscopseah or Black Cat, the first chief of the village, and the grand chief of the whole Mandan nation.

1 [See category 116, p. 322, for section, missing here, which is in original account. Ann Yost]

2 [See category 116, p. 323, for missing section. —Ann Yost]

832 repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men,
834 who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young
men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on
461 the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to
526 hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times
they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback,
and performing warlike manoeuvres; they have also a favorite
game which occupies much of their time.

512 [328]...this is the first work performed by the women in the
515 morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed
themselves in the Missourie. ...every family being provided
415 with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh.
177 Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to
771 say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those
574 earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest
kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come
in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the
contents.

231 .....Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed
437 in the meadow but never allowed them to be for a moment out of
648 his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them.
We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles,
for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco.

439 [329] It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail
upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger
has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first
village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many
439 European articles as they can, [330] particularly arms and ammuni-
609 tion. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each
other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have
578 often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death
569 of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also
to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great
distance. The Pawnees, also, with whom the Mandanes formerly
lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies.
Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and every-
one has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

675 We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the
673 landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut
[577] in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect
security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

There was considerable variability in the status of household
621 groups. Those groups possessing important tribal bundles and
554 participating frequently in the ceremonies occupied high status
571 in the village and endeavored to preserve their eminence by selective marriage of their children. The importance of the lodge group was also expressed by offerings placed on poles erected before the lodge. These offerings were distinctive and proclaimed the existing status of the household bundle. One's loyalty remained with the lodge group one was born into, while subsequent marriages united groups of households.

621 A lodge group could leave one village and join another at will.
Usually a number of related households moved at one time, but
166 there are numerous references to groups transferring from one
578 village to another. Informants thought that the three Mandan groups or bands were endogamous. When a group left one village, it endeavored to affiliate with its own band in one of the villages. Mandan informants had been told of at least four reasons why a household group would change villages. When a certain cermony had been allowed to die out or become inactive, a household having rights in that ceremony could enhance its social status by moving out of a village in which there were a number having rights in the ceremony, to take up residence in another where there were few having those particular ceremonial rights. Other household groups moved into another village over the recognition of chiefs. When a small group was dissatisfied with the leadership of the village, rather than have trouble, they moved into another village. Scattercorn remembered that there was often dissatisfaction among the women over the selection of a village site. She recalled that one of their villages was so sandy that the caches caved in, and some of the women wanted to move to another site. When the leaders refused, they were invited to affiliate with another village, which they did. The Missouri River frequently changed its course and sometimes cut through the gardens, destroying the garden sites belonging to some households. When no potential corn ground was available near at hand, household groups were obliged to move to a village with an abundance of suitable corn ground in preference to walking great distances to their gardens.

361 The protohistoric Mandan sites of the Heart River region
have ruins of one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

614 The clan was the medium for the transfer of property when a
421 family died out without leaving descendants. When an individual died, leaving no relatives, the clan took possession of the property. The lodge was occupied by females of the same clan or could be sold to women of a different clan. It was the duty of the clan to assist a female member in repairing or building her lodge and to put up property for one of its number who was inviting
[424] the opposite moiety to assist in building a new lodge. The clan owned certain names which belonged within the clan and were not sold outside the clan.

614 The clans extended through all the villages of the tribe and were in part equated with Hidatsa clans. Both tribes had a
621 Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna was the equiva-
171 lent of the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik was the equivalent of the Hidatsa Metsiroka. The Hidatsa also had a few people of the Speckled Eagle clan who were said to be of Mandan origin.[4]

614 It was the duty of the clan to revenge the killing of one of its members. In the event of the murder of one of its number, the
578 murderer would attempt to escape to the Crow, since the Hidatsa would not protect a murderer from the Mandan villages for fear of war between the two tribes.

614 The clan assisted at the death of a son. They prepared the body for the scaffold and sent the spirit away. It was also the duty of the father's clan to bring the skull of one dying away from the village back for disposal. Feasts were given to the members of the father's clan, and help was asked of individual members by those contemplating war expeditions. Men of the father's clan inserted the thongs for a faster. The permanent

4. The Hidatsa give a different account of the origin of this clan. Mrs. Bears Arm, a member of the clan, stated that there was a Mandan woman of the Prairie Chicken clan who was childless. She was a hard worker and had large gardens. One morning when she went to her gardens she noticed that someone had been hoeing the corn. She inquired in the village if someone had been working in her garden and could find none who had been working there. She went out before daylight to see who it was. Several whitetail deer were working in the garden. They ran away when they saw the woman. As they disappeared, she heard one say, "I left my baby there." The baby was a speckled eagle. She took the baby home to rear as her own and wanted the child to belong to the Prairie Chicken clan, but the others would not agree to it, since the child came of a different source. The child grew up and had children who were known as speckled eagles. While living below the Knife River, men of the Awaxawi village married a few girls of that clan and brought them to their own village to live. The group is treated as a lineage of the Hidatsa Prairie Chicken clan.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

885 others' directions. As the leader of his first war expedition, he
554 was expected to name others with a distinguished war record
701 to serve with him as co-leaders. They would share his rewards and assume their share of the responsibilities. His word was authority in all matters relating to his war expeditions, and, whereas in the past he had accepted the decisions of his leader in disputes appertaining to rewards for striking the enemy or capturing and dividing the spoils, he demanded similar obedience from his group.

554 The Mandan had a highly formalized method of recording
721 war honors, and it was the duty of the war leader to verify their authenticity. He would relate the exploits of his men during social occasions and ceremonies. Those holding war honors were entitled to express them by means of particular decorations. Of
[177] these decorations, the Mandan claim that the practice of wearing eagle feathers was of recent origin and was borrowed from the Sioux.

554 The highest honor was accorded to a man who went out alone
703 and found an enemy whom he killed and scalped. He was authorized to paint one legging black and the other either
628 yellow or white and to paint each half of his shirt in the same
721 manner. He was also permitted to wear a coyote tail at each ankle signifying that he saw an enemy first and afterward "struck" him. He could also wear one eagle feather in his hair and was the recipient of much honor during the scalp dances as long as he lived. The most common motive for going out alone was to revenge a relative, particularly a sibling, when the slayer was known. In such cases, announcement was made in advance that he was leaving on a particular day to find his relative's slayer. Catlin records such an expedition by Four Bears, who went into the Arikara villages near the Grand River at night to avenge the death of his brother.[2] The old Mandan still related this incident in 1930, when the information for this report was collected. The only instance of one man going far
511 from the village and killing one or more persons remembered as
578 occurring during the lifetime of my informants was for revenge.
721 A distinguished war leader's wife ran away with another dis-
837

2. George Catlin, *The Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (London, 1841), pp. 239–40.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

tinguished man between whom there had been considerable rivalry, and he was very angry because he had pledged to give certain ceremonies and needed his wife's help to prepare the robes and food. He knew that his rival's relatives were laughing about it, for the wife's people were said to be selfish and wanted their daughter to marry a more distinguished man. If he took his wife back, he would lose face and would be laughed at during the dances when the men related their deeds of bravery. On the other hand, he could not go through the ceremony without a wife's assistance. He could have called her back to his lodge to have her painted and dressed beautifully and returned to her new husband on the best horse he could find. This would have been considered an honorable act. Instead he disappeared during the night when none would see him leaving and walked toward the Mouse River to get horses and scalps to be used in shaming his rival.

He left in the middle of the winter during the coldest part of the year and suffered a great deal from the cold while crossing the divide which separates the Missouri and Mouse rivers. Looking down from the high hills into the valley, he found a camp of Assiniboine and observed that the lodges were not closely assembled, since war parties rarely went out during the coldest part of the winter. He singled out an isolated lodge having only two occupants, a young man and his wife, and observed where their horses were taken for the night. After dark he went into the camp and selected a horse to ride back to his winter village and hid it in a suitable spot where he could reach it quickly when it was needed. When the camp was quiet, he went into the lodge, killing and scalping the young man. He did not kill the woman out of respect to his own motherless children, which fact he intended to mention when insulting his own wife after he returned.

Taking the scalp as proof of his success and riding the horse, he reached his home in two days. He rested one day during which time preparations were made for the Scalp Dance. On the second day he sent for his wife, who was obliged to come. He washed her face, dressed her in the best clothing he could find, and placed her on the horse. She cried from shame. During the Scalp Dance she was sent on horseback from the lodge to

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554 578 721 837 return to her new husband's lodge. A family having two eligible daughters invited him in to marry them. He then had help to perform the ceremonies he had pledged. Having killed an enemy when out alone far from home, he became a man of unusual distinction and was respected in council.

554 703 When several went out and found one enemy who was killed far from home, the first to strike him painted one side of his shirt and legging black and wore one coyote tail; the second painted the shirt and leggings in the same manner and wore the coyote tail but added a red stripe to the eagle feather. The third and fourth painted only the legging black, the third one painting two stripes on the eagle feather, and the fourth painting three stripes.

There were also distinctive markings to indicate those who had struck a single enemy on different expeditions. A person striking a lone enemy could paint or decorate two X's on the legging, one above the knee and the other below the knee, or he could put them on the sleeve of the shirt. For the second enemy found alone and struck, he added two X's to either the other legging or the shirt. Crosses on both sleeves of the shirt and both leggings indicated that he had struck a lone enemy on four different war expeditions when far from the village. The Mandan interpreted "far from the village" as meaning beyond the usual hunting territory.

A coyote tail worn on the ankle signified that the wearer had struck one enemy far from home; two coyote tails signified that he had struck an enemy on two occasions or had killed and struck one enemy when out alone and far from home. When feathers of the crow or raven were attached to the coyote tail, it signified that he was also first to see the enemy.

The leader or Old Wolf was entitled to carry a scalp stick to which was attached a portion of a scalp for each scalp taken while serving as leader. He was also authorized to wear scalps on his shirt; for the first scalp, he would wear one piece on one sleeve; for the second scalp he would wear pieces on both sleeves. He wore a piece of scalp on each sleeve of the shirt and each leg of the leggings for four enemies killed on four different expeditions. He did not, however, wear feathers in his hair, paint his leggings, or wear the coyote tails unless he struck an enemy while serving as leader.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

592 768 421 only her clothing and children. Even the bedding belonged with the lodge and could not be taken whether she had assisted in tanning and preparing them or not. Responsibility for the children's care rested with her sisters and the female members of her clan.

586 837 578 431 583 Divorce was easy and common. The elopement of a married woman having children with a married man also having children was the cause of much trouble, since it involved so many people. Learning that their brother had eloped with another man's wife, the brothers and sisters would take horses and other property to the injured man to prevent him from causing them injury, since they were accountable for a sibling's conduct. Learning that his wife had run away with another man, he was entitled to retaliate against the man's brothers and sisters and would start killing their horses. My Mandan informants enjoyed relating instances when the brothers and sisters, learning that a brother had eloped with another man's wife, had reached the lodge before the wife was missed. They would come to his lodge in a group leading the horses. Seeing the people with horses, he would hurry into his lodge or go through the village calling for his wife. People considered it very humorous to surprise a man in that way, and it was the subject of gossip for quite a while. He was expected to accept the horses and forget his wife. The elopers usually visited the Crow Indians until 586 837 578 583 the husband was reconciled to his loss. When a prominent man lost his wife, he would usually organize a war party or go out alone against the enemy. He could disregard his former wife, and those most concerned with public opinion usually did. However, a man of position usually called her into his lodge when she returned from her elopement, painted and dressed her, mounted her on a good horse, and took her back to her new husband. Those who cried because a wife eloped or who attempted to take her back or agreed to let her return if she requested it were considered weaklings and not worthy of respect. Bear on the Water, a Mandan, stole the young Arikara wife of Four Bears, the principal war chief of the Hidatsa. While they were away, Four Bears made so many threats that the Mandan were obliged to leave the village for fear of war. He refused to accept horses or to smoke the pipe with Bear on

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the Water's relatives. He demanded that his younger wife be returned on the grounds that she had a small child who was ill. The people all knew that this one was his favorite wife and that there were enough other wives and females in the lodge to care for the child. The Mandan were quite angry at Four Bears for his actions, which they did not consider worthy of a chief. A year before, Poor Wolf, the second chief of the Hidatsa, stole the wife of Flying Eagle, a Mandan, and the latter man had said, "Let him have her" and thought nothing more of it. Mandan informants were in general agreement that the Hidatsa more commonly demanded that the wife be returned.

Even when the husband accepted his wife's elopement with good grace, the couple usually encountered plenty of trouble when they returned to the village. A woman would frequently permit her husband to bring his stolen wife into the lodge when the women were close relatives of the same clan. In a few instances, the stolen wife was a younger sister of the first wife and had not been getting along well with her husband. The family had actually conspired with the man to get her back and were prepared to make payment as soon as the elopement occurred. When the elopement did not have the approval of a man's wife and her brothers, there were usually complications. She would be driven out of the first wife's lodge, and the husband was obliged to live between two lodges. The women would be jealous and carry knives, watching for an opportunity to slash each other's faces and clothing. If the first wife had many brothers, she was likely to be pretty saucy, particularly if the other woman had none. On the other hand, when the first wife had no brother while the second one had several, she would be inclined to accept the situation and get along as best she could until she had an opportunity of separating from her husband and getting another.

Marrying a brother's widow was considered the honorable way of providing for his children, in which case the man lived between two lodges. A woman having several brothers rarely married her deceased husband's brother, as it frequently meant sharing a husband with women of a different clan and household. In the event of separation or death the children were pro-

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

mother-in-law never speaks to her son-in-law; but if he comes home, and brings her the scalp of a slain enemy, and his gun, she is at liberty, from that moment, to converse with him. This custom is found among the Manitaries, who have, doubtless, borrowed it from the Mandans, but not among the Crows and Arikkaras. Among the Chippeways, and the Algonquins in general, the name must not be changed; and persons with the same name must not marry, but consider each other as brothers and sisters. Among all the North American Indian nations there are men dressed and treated like women, called, by the Canadians, Bardaches, of whom Mc Kenzie, Tanner, Langsdorff, and others, have spoken; but there was only one such among the Mandans, and two or three among the Manitaries.

Volney, and some other writers, have spoken rather too unfavourably of the moral character of the aborigines of North America, and their domestic habits. According to them, distrust and hostile feeling prevail among them, for which reason they never leave their huts unarmed; but I can bear witness that they are frequently seen in their villages, as well as in the environs, without arms, and that it is only at greater distances, and when they appear in state, that they carry their weapons in their hands. I have never observed any disputes among them, but, on the contrary, much more unity and tranquillity than in civilized Europe. It has often been asserted that the Indians are inferior in intellectual capacity to the Whites; but this has been now sufficiently refuted; and Harlan is not wrong in saying that, among the races of men, of which Blumenbach reckons five, the American should be ranked immediately after the Caucasian. If man, in all his varieties, has not received from the Creator equally perfect faculties, I am, at least, convinced that, in this respect, the Americans are not inferior to the Whites. Many of the Mandans manifest a great thirst for knowledge, and much desire to hear something of objects of a higher order; and if they were not so much attached to the prejudices inherited from their ancestors, many of them might be very easily instructed. The bad examples which they so often observe in the white men, who roam about their country in quest of gain, are not calculated to inspire them with much respect for our race, or to improve their morality. And if they have not been found inclined to the Christian religion, this is, certainly, in some measure, the consequence of the bad conduct of the Whites, who call themselves Christians, and are often worse, and more immoral, than the most uncivilized of the Indians. Many American and foreign works have taken notice of the striking good sense and wit, the correct judgment of the Indians, in all the occurrences of daily life, and it would be mere repetition here to quote examples. One is often at a loss to answer their questions, founded on correct and natural judgment. The inactive mode of life natural to the Indians, which disdains all laborious exertion, is a great obstacle to their adopting a different system. But they are not deficient in talent for drawing, music, &c., and this is quite manifest at first sight. Several Mandans not only took much pleasure in drawing, but had a decided talent for it. The hieroglyphics are well known, which the Indians employ

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Or, on the contrary: "The chain begins to rust," &c. &c. Though these people often manifest great energy of character, many have committed suicide on account of disappointments in love, or of wounded honour, of which Dr. Morse relates a remarkable instance, where an Indian killed himself because he was reproached with cowardice, after his mother had suffered death for him. Many travellers speak of the extraordinary memory of the Indians; several of them relate the entire history of their people in a continuous narrative.

The Mandans and Manitaries are proud, and have a high sense of honour. If a person expresses a wish to possess some article belonging to them, he generally receives it as a present, but a present of equal, or greater value, is always looked for in return. They estimate all their effects at a very high rate, ascribing to them an imaginary and far too great value; and a trifling thing is often paid for with one or two horses. Among the articles of great value is the skin of a white buffalo cow. Fifteen florins are paid for a small ermine skin; whereas, a wolf's skin may be purchased for a small quantity of tobacco. One or two horses are frequently given for a feather cap; a horse for 100 or 150 elks' teeth, or for a handful of dentalium shells. The men are much given to indolence, when they cannot pursue their chief avocations, hunting and war. In general, the Mandans and Manitaries are not dangerous, and, though there are many rude and savage men among them, they are, on the whole, well-disposed towards the Whites: the former, especially, manifest this, and have many good and trustworthy men among them. Some of them are addicted to thieving, especially the women and children; and it is said, that many of the Manitaries, when they meet the Whites in the prairie, though they do not kill them, as they used to do, generally plunder them.

They have always free access to the forts of the trading companies; and, as at Fort Clarke, there was no separate apartment for the Indians, we were molested by them, during the whole day, in every room; nay, they often took the place of the owners, which, during the severe cold in the winter time, was quite intolerable, as they stood in front of the fire, with their large buffalo robes, and kept the warmth from coming into the apartment. They require to be always regaled, which is generally done, and it was estimated that in one year they smoked 200 lbs. of tobacco at the expense of the Company. A few among them, indeed, manifested a much greater delicacy of feeling than the mass of them, and left the dining-room when the dinner-hour approached; but only a very small proportion possessed this correct sense of propriety, for the others generally came just at our dinner time; it is true they had but little meat in the winter season, and fared but badly. Disputes and quarrels are very rare among them; but duels are frequent; and revenge for blood is still exercised.

Many of them are particularly cleanly in their persons, and bathe daily, both in winter and summer; their hands, however, are often smeared with colours and fat, nay, sometimes the whole body is bedaubed. The women are, in general, less cleanly, particularly their hands,

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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dementia praecox. The latter travels all over the United States as a hobo, but always returns to the village. A third marginal male went AWOL from the Army, and was once sentenced to three years in the penitentiary for forgery. Still another individual, although married, has admitted to the paternity of three children by three different off-reservation women, and action has been taken in two of the cases for nonsupport. 177 158

The relationships between the seven acculturated families and the thirty-four unacculturated families are characterized by much hostility and a low frequency of social interaction. The acculturated people rarely visit at unacculturated homes, do not participate in the dances or other community activities, and make special efforts to keep their children isolated from the unacculturated children. White "middle class" values are the criteria by which the acculturated Indian appraises his worth and evaluates himself, even though he is not a member of any white social group. Some acculturated individuals actually over-react to those white standards which form the basis for white disapproval of Indian behavior. One man in the village never touches a drop of liquor, is very active in the Christian Church, is up for breakfast every morning by seven, accumulates land and money to the point of being miserly, and will pay every debt before it is due. The acculturated Indians not only reject traditional Indian ways; they often will openly and severely criticize Indian behavior. They have become spokesmen within Lone Hill for those whites who feel that the solution to the Indian "problem" is to destroy the old culture. For the acculturated individual it is inevitable that the Indian people must live in a white world. They see the unacculturated Indians as holding back the course of progress to the detriment of all. The unacculturated majority feel that the acculturated families have taken for themselves what belongs to everyone, have violated the primary Indian values of generosity and emphasis on group welfare, and are "in cahoots" with the Indian Bureau against the best interests of the Indian people. They see the acculturated Indians as traitors and collaborationists. 177 156 578

Acculturated Indians actively seek to increase their interaction with middle class whites, as they need their approval and support. White people tend to accept the acculturated Indian because he behaves in accordance with the middle class ethic and is docile in his relations to whites. Almost without exception, when whites make their infrequent trips to Lone Hill they visit at the homes of a handful of acculturated families. As a consequence, the unacculturated Indians are further isolated from white contact in the village. During the first two weeks that my wife and I lived in Lone Hill, a nearby acculturated family brought us fresh milk, butter, and rolls, offered to drive us around the area, invited us to supper, and was even ready to discuss how we could best obtain rapport with the older Indian people. The acculturated families sought us out, while we had to take the initiative in meeting the unacculturated families. 177

Many government employees and surrounding whites feel that acculturated Indians are outstanding examples of what any individual Indian could achieve given the requisite ambition. Acculturated Indians have a virtual

10: Neill H-4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

OPEN SPACE IN VILLAGE.

But I observe, always, that nearly about the centre of each village is a large open space of about four acres in circumference, round which the huts are built very regularly, and at equal distances from each other, the doors fronting the open space. This circle might consist of thirty huts, and I make no manner of doubt were the first that were erected on the spot. 361

VILLAGE EXPANSION.

Others of their friends joined them afterwards, for various causes and built in the rear and erected their huts as they found it convenient, and as this continues to be the case, there are huts continually demolishing in one village, and others building in another. This often proceeds from misunderstandings they have had with either of the chiefs of the village, or their own neighbors, when finding their situation unpleasant and probably subject to frequent quarrels, they shift their quarters, but always take up their own residence among their own tribe. 361 621 578

The Mandans and Saulteurs are a stationary people, and never abandon their villages further than to go out hunting or on a war party. They are much more given to agriculture than the Big Bellies, and raise an immense quantity of corn, beans, squashes, tobacco, and some flowers. 361 241

A MANDAN HUT.

A Mandan hut is large and spacious, of a circular form. I measured the one I lodged in, and found it ninety feet from the door to the opposite side, forming a circumference on the inside of many paces. The whole space is dug out about one and a half feet below the surface of the earth. In the center is the fire place, which is a square space of about five feet, dug out two feet below the surface. The lower part of the hut is constructed by erecting strong posts about six feet out of the ground, at equal distances, upon these are laid logs of the same size, and reach from post to post, and form the circle. On the outer side are erected pieces of split wood of seven feet in length, in a slanting manner, the one end resting on the ground, the other leaning against the crown log or beam. Upon this beam again, are placed rafters about the size of a man's leg, and from twelve to fifteen feet long, in a slanting position, sufficient to drain off the rain; they are laid so close as to touch. The upper end is supported upon very stout pieces of square timber, which last are also supported by four very thick posts, about five feet circumference, and fifteen feet out of the ground, and fifteen feet asunder, forming nearly a square. Over these pieces of square timber, others again of equal size are laid crossing them at right 342 [354]

142 a dark brown, some few indeed I observed whose hair was almost fair. A Big Belly, in particular, I saw with yellow hair. This circumstance, I believe, could scarcely proceed from any connection with the whites, as it is now more than thirty years since they first saw us, and this man was at least forty years old. Their eyes are jet black, some few are of a dark grey.

LONG HAIR.

302 The men wear their hair long, twisted into small quaittes hanging down to the rump. Some have it of enormous length, trailing upon the ground. They seldom tie it, but allow their numerous small quaittes to flow in a more graceful manner upon their backs; they always daub it with white and red earth. The women wear their hair short, allowing it to grow no longer than to be of sufficient length to cover the ears and neck. They never tie it, nor make use of any ornament for the head further than sometimes daubing it with red earth.

LASCIVIOUSNESS.

837 609 578 They seem to be a very lascivious people. The men make not the least scruple in offering their wives to lay with strangers, without any solicitation, and are even offended, if their offers are not accepted, unless you can convince them, by some good reason, for refusing to comply, and that it is not out of contempt. They always expect payment for their complaisance, but a mere trifle will satisfy, even a single coat-button. Notwithstanding this courteous behavior to strangers, they are not entirely free from jealousies among themselves, which sometimes cause quarrels and bloodshed. The woman generally falls a sacrifice in an affair of this nature.[1]

MODE OF ROASTING MEAT.

252 They have a very peculiar way of roasting meat; a plecotte, in particular, is suspended from the roof of the hut exactly over the fire, the cord being passed through and fastened to the centre of the piece keeps it in a flat position directly over the flames. A person is seated near it, and with a small stick keeps it continually in motion by pushing it to and fro. When one side is done, it is turned over, and fit for use. This method is much more expeditious than the common way of roasting before the fire, and preferable, as it retains the natural juice and flavor.[2]

EDWARD D. NEILL.

1 [See category 116, p. 342-3. -A.]

2 [For further information in Henry's Journal not mentioned by Neill, see category 116, pp. 343 ff. -Analyst.]

832 repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men,
834 who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young
men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on
461 the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to
526 hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times
they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback,
and performing warlike manoeuvres; they have also a favorite
game which occupies much of their time.

512 [328]...this is the first work performed by the women in the
515 morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed
themselves in the Missourie. ...every family being provided
415 with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh.
177 Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to
771 say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those
574 earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest
kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come
in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the
contents.

231 .....Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed
437 in the meadow but never allowed them to be for a moment out of
648 his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them.
We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles,
for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco.

439 [329] It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail
upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger
has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first
village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many
439 European articles as they can, [330] particularly arms and ammuni-
609 tion. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each
other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have
578 often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death
869 of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also
to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great
distance. The Pawnees, also, with whom the Mandanes formerly
lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies.
Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and every-
one has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

675 We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the
673 landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut
[577] in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect
security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

304 They have another custom of putting their courage and con-
785 tempt of pain to task by tormenting their flesh in a most atrocious manner. This is done by pinching up a fold of the skin and flesh an inch broad, under which they pass the iron barb of an arrow; they raise stripes in this manner from the back of the hand to the shoulder, and thence to the breast, there joining three or four separate circles of incisions made in the same manner on the lower part of the breast. Some content themselves by raising stripes of different lengths upon their arms and thighs, and forming crescentic cuts on the breast in a very regular manner, one within the other; some with the horns upward, others downward, according to fancy.

304 Most of the women have their faces tattooed in a very savage manner, lines a quarter inch broad passing from the nose to the ear, and down each side of the mouth and chin to the throat. This disfigures them very much; otherwise, some would have tolerably
304 good faces. Some tattooing is done to beautify the face, but at
684 other times it is the disfiguring mark of a fit of jealousy in the husband. [366] When a Mandane's handsome young wife is too lavish of her favors without his consent, he tattoes her face as a punish-
[576] ment. Although it cannot be said that these people are much given
837 to jealousy, still it is absolutely necessary for a woman to have the consent of her husband to cohabit with a stranger, whether he is white or one of their own people. But I observed during my stay that this consent is not so very necessary in regard to the inhabitants of the same village, as every morning early there were examples to be seen in their plantations of their loose way of living. Many
[164] of our servants who frequent these parts to trade in the winter, and who have too intimate connections with the fair sex, are attacked by a painful and loathsome disorder, which commonly appears in the groin, where it forms abscesses and, if neglected, will soon prove dangerous.

574 [401] At three o'clock we were all safely lodged in Black Cat's
609 hut, whom we found as usual very civil and complaisant, although he plainly saw we had nothing to pay him for his trouble. This man is one of the best Indians we met on the Missourie. We found
[432] what articles we had left in his charge all in good order, and carefully hung up to keep them from the mice. He even gave me his best horse upon credit; payment to be sent this fall by any opportunity. This was considered an extraordinary circumstance for a Mandane. He gave us several instances of his good nature and generosity while we were packing; every assistance in his power he gave us, without

[p. 384 (H)]

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593 [60] *mu'he* and others speak of her as *ku'hE*. An old man addresses an old wife as *mo'kaka*, meaning "old woman," and she addresses him as "old man." The husband usually lived with his wife's people, and the strength of bond between husband and wife was in a large measure determined by the circumstances of marriage. If parents of a lineage possessing an important tribal bundle secured a white buffalo robe and had a daughter or daughters of marriageable age, they would invite in a young man of another family distinguished for its important tribal bundle and complete a marriage. Such marriages were likely to be permanent, since both the husband and the wife were partners in an important ceremony. When children were born, the bond between husband and wife was further strengthened.

593 '462 There was a marked sex dichotomy between husband and wife. The woman did the housework, cared for the gardens, repaired the lodge, and, when on tribal hunts, did much of the butchering, while the man did the hunting, cared for the horses, and protected the village in case of attack. The woman was expected to prepare food for ceremonies in which the husband was participating, and, in the buffalo-calling ceremonies, she was expected to "walk with the buffaloes." She was also expected to "walk" with her husband's "fathers" in ceremonial transfers of age-grade societies.

586 A woman could divorce her husband by the simple expediency of telling him to leave if they were living in the wife's parents' lodge; if living in her husband's parents' lodge, she collected her personal belongings and the children and returned to her parents' lodge. A woman divorced because of cruelty or adultery on the part of her husband, while a man would leave his wife because of trouble with her family or infatuation for another woman.

581 584 596 Few marriages were consummated by mutual selection of the prospective mates; rather the two households made the selection, and children were expected to obey their parents even to the extent of approving mates selected for them. The ties which held husband and wife together were first the respect for their parents, but, when children were born, this parental respect was replaced by mutual affection for the children. Since divorce was easy and common, the household organization was strong,

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and the extended household preserved the structure in spite of numerous separations of individual families.

When marriage was by exchange of gifts and a feast, and the husband lived with his wife's people, he held prior claim to the wife's sisters as they became of marriageable age, and such marriages were encouraged.

Older brother–younger brother (*mụ'kas–mi'cụ'ka*).—The bond between brothers was very strong. It was based on common blood and residence and included all in the household who stood in an older brother–younger brother relationship. There was no distinction between siblings and children of the mother's sister if all had a common residence. Older brothers cared for their younger brothers, taught them games and the care of the horses, and teased each other mildly. Quarrels were rare and soon forgotten. The older brother who had participated in the ceremonies would urge the younger brother to follow his example and would assist his younger brother in collecting materials to be presented to the father's clan. If the younger brother showed little interest in fasting or ceremonial participation, the older brother could and frequently did severely criticize him. If a brother were killed in battle, his brother was expected to inflict self-torture and to revenge his death. He also had first claim to his brother's widow, and she could not marry until he made known his intentions.

When grown up and married, brothers co-operated in providing for their mother's household. Brothers co-operated in the purchase of ceremonial bundles and rites. This intimate bond continued for life and was extended to include mother's sister's son's and father's brother's sons, the feeling of nearness being determined by residence and participation in joint activities.

Older sister–younger sister (*mirukE'–pta'ka*).—The bond between sisters was very strong and was based largely on common blood, mutual activities, and lifelong residence together. No distinction was made between sisters with different fathers, even when the fathers were of different clans. Neither was distinction made between one's own sisters and daughters of the mother's sister if all grew up together in the same household. There was not, however, the same close bond of affection with "sisters" of the father's second wife when his second wife occu-

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daughters called the names of old men and women of the opposite moiety who were to receive presents. After the breakdown of the moiety system, the method of naming varied slightly. Formerly, when the father and mother were of different moieties, the name selected was that of a deceased male of distinction who was of the father's moiety, and the presents were given to men and women of the father's moiety. After the breakdown of the moiety system following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, the clan became the exogamous unit. When the father and mother belonged to clans within the same moiety, the name given was that of a distinguished deceased person of the father's clan, but gifts were given to persons of all the clans except the mother's, which was the assisting group.

Within a few days after returning from a successful war expedition, a young man would usually receive an offer of marriage from the parents of some eligible young woman who had not been married before. He could refuse, but few did. An ambitious young man wishing to establish a good reputation both as a war leader and as a person of distinction in the village needed several wives to assist him in the performance of ceremonies and the purchase of important sacred bundles. Those not eligible to inherit important tribal bundles could purchase the right to participate in important ceremonies, or they could pledge to perform the Okipa and, in recognition of their contribution to these tribal rites, received some sacred object associated with the ceremony to carry when on war expeditions. Social recognition of a man's right to be a war leader was given during these ceremonies when some older man of high status in the village announced while receiving goods that the young man would be lucky in "all that he undertook." Without this sanction by the older men, young warriors would have been unwilling to follow him on war expeditions.

The attainment of the rank of war leader marked an important point in a man's training and altered his relations materially with the people of the village. His opinions were solicited relative to problems of village welfare, and he received presents during ceremonial and social occasions in recognition of his position. He was now responsible for those fighting under his leadership and became the teacher of the skills he had acquired under

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554 703 of the cattail plant in his hair. Those stabbed by a knife or spear could wear a stick carved to resemble a knife. One who had been shot in battle painted red spots on his shirts, leggings, or robes with red stripes below to indicate bullet holes and blood dripping from the wounds. Men painted horse tracks on their blankets to indicate the horses they had stolen. These tracks were bunched to indicate the number taken on each expedition.

727 597 581 Small children too young to remember their parents were frequently taken prisoners and adopted into the village. They were "struck" by the warriors who were given credit toward their war record but such records were not related during ceremonies once the children were adopted into the households. Girls approaching marriageable age were frequently returned alive to the village and sold to those needing an extra wife.

554 562 703 Women also qualified for war honors and were eligible to wear the same decorations as men. Informants remembered a number of women who had struck an enemy and had displayed their war honors during the Scalp Dance. One woman concealed herself at the entrance to her lodge and hit an Assiniboine on the head with a stone hammer. She scalped him and, during the dances, received a hearty applause whenever she was leader of the line of dancers, carrying her scalp on a stick.

554 703 The war records enumerated above constitute the principal awards having social recognition and fall into two general groups: awards limited solely to war leaders and consisting of scalps which were worn on their clothing or carried on scalp sticks and awards to warriors consisting of peculiar painting of the clothing, wearing of coyote tails, and certain feathers. Only those who had led many war parties and had been successful attained the highest ranks as chiefs unless their lack of significant successes in warfare was compensated with a record of many feasts during which time much property was given away or the possession of important tribal bundles. There was a series of designs painted or woven on robes which proclaimed the amount of goods so disposed of.

MARRIAGE AND THE HOUSEHOLD

581 584 Marriage was an exceedingly important event among the leading families of a Mandan village, but for the average family

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

not possessing wealth or important sacred bundles it was largely a social event involving the two households. Although young men would court their girls, marriages were arranged by the relatives, who disapproved of elopements. The mother would watch her daughters, and, when she saw that they were seeing the young men often, she would discuss the matter with her husband. She would advise her daughters not to marry without a considerable exchange of goods, as to do so would be grounds for criticism. Mothers would explain the importance of ceremonial bundles and advise their daughters of the importance of keeping them in the lodge. People would say that a daughter was no good if little was received at her wedding.

There were in each of the Mandan villages a large number of families owning or controlling important tribal bundles. These families were considered the authorities on tribal lore and custom. They received, in addition to the produce of their gardens and their share of meat and hides from animals taken on the group hunts, a great deal of property and honors for officiating at the ceremonies. To preserve their status, they endeavored to have a considerable display of goods at the marriage of one of their children. Families with important related bundles endeavored to marry their children into families also having important bundles, the feeling being that those reared in a lodge where important bundles were kept were better trained in learning the complicated rites associated with tribal bundles. A household that held an important tribal bundle inherited within a clan endeavored and generally succeeded in selecting a son-in-law who was of the same clan as the daughter's father. It was also believed that a man and his son-in-law got along better when they were of the same clan. In a large measure, the Mandan were successful in preserving most of their rich ceremonialism through the smallpox epidemic of 1837 because of the character of the formal training of those who were to inherit the traditional rights and responsibilities for the ceremonies and because of a system of preferred marriage in which the parents of both households selected their children's mates. It can be definitely said that the bulk of Mandan tribal lore was preserved by a small number of families, that their status was high in the

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

village, and that they endeavored by selective marriages to keep the bundles and the associated ceremonies within their group.

The Mandan taught their children that they should marry by the same method as their parents married. An analysis of the various methods of marrying will illustrate the significance of this Mandan rule.

The method used by the most distinguished families was known as "choosing a son-in-law and buying him a sacred bundle." The parents of a young woman who had reached the age when she should marry selected a young man who had a good reputation as a warrior and hunter and whose family owned an important ceremonial bundle. They would buy a white buffalo robe from some of the hunters or trade corn and horses for it with one of the many tribes that came to the village each fall. These robes were highly valued and would cost a family a high price in horses, garden products, and robes. Having secured one of these robes, they discussed the proposed marriage with the oldest daughter and secured her consent. It was important to get the daughter's consent, since, should she refuse after the marriage arrangements were instituted and run away, the village would learn of it and speculate as to the causes for her action. A daughter was expected to obey her parents and forget any other young men she had been seeing.

The young man was invited in by the girl's father, and an offer of marriage to the daughter was suggested. A robe was put down, and he was asked to sit on it with the young woman. The white buffalo robe was put over their shoulders, and they were given food prepared by the girl's mother. If the girl had younger sisters, they sat with him and became his wives when they were grown. The girl's brothers brought their new brother-in-law horses. As soon as the food had been eaten, he walked out and onto the top of his father-in-law's lodge, where he addressed his father's sacred bundle, announcing that the white robe was offered to his father's gods. His father's sister would come to the lodge when hearing him make this announcement and take the robe down to care for it until he performed the ceremony.

Having made the vow to perform the rites, he began collecting robes and other property and was assisted by his wife and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

736 In the event of separation or death the children were provided for by the mother's household, with the father's household generally disregarding them.

•581 556 These various accounts of types of marriage might be analyzed at length; it is sufficient here to note some significant situations which can be explained as accounting for the variations that occur as well as the number of different relatives participating in one way or another. We have noted the great emphasis placed on wealth and the part it played at the naming of a child. There was a comparable display of wealth when a young man returned from his first successful war expedition. Mandan informants speak of advancement in the tribe as steps in a ladder. As one took a new step, he made certain payments. For those of eminence, marriage was treated in the same way. Except for those marriages which involved bundle purchase, marriage was secular in character and involved only a few people.

162 Plains warfare greatly unbalanced the proportion of women to men. My census of the Mandan as of 1870–72 showed that males constituted only 38 per cent of the total population. A similar proportion was found for Hidatsa men. If we disregard all children under fifteen years of age, the proportion of men would be even smaller. The women of the household played an 562 exclusive role in gardening unless one considers the use of 462 young men as watchmen during the day to prevent a surprise attack by their enemies. The women built the earth lodges except for the raising of the heavier rafters and repaired them from time to time. They dressed the hides and made all the household goods. They did most of the butchering, except when animals were killed at a distance from the village. And they found time to participate in many of the men's ceremonies besides having ceremonies of their own. They were acquainted with ceremonies in which tribal custom did not permit their participation and on some occasions were intrusted with important ritualism ultimately to be transferred to their children. They reared their families and trained them without a great deal of help from their husbands. Some lodge groups in 1870–72 had had no male old enough to hunt for ten years or more. Informants thought that the physical needs of such households were pretty well taken care of by the tribal system of mutual

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223 Eagle-trapping expeditions were organized for a dual purpose,
224 namely, the securing of feathers and of a winter's supply of meat and hides. Crows Heart thought that, taken year after year, the meat and hides secured had greater worth than the feathers. As he explained, it was not unusual to return without feathers, but game was always abundant once one reached territory not ordinarily hunted in. He remarked, on many occasions, that a village as a unit would never go to rough country on a summer hunt, as there would be few buffaloes there, and it would be difficult to surround them because of the uneven topography. There was the further danger of ambush. The rough lands were hunted over by small bands, chiefly eagle-trappers and war parties.

223 The appearance of ice on the edges of streams was the signal
224 for the eagle-trapping expedition to return to the village. Before
505 horses became numerous in the villages, it was customary to travel overland to the trapping sites, where bullboats were made of buffalo and elk hides for floating back the meat and hides to the village. In order not to be caught along the way by a sudden freezing of the river, it was imperative that trapping cease immediately with the first appearance of cold weather.

224 While in the trapping camp, the women received the meat
257 and hides brought in by the men. The meat was cured on scaf-
281 folds, and the hides were dried or made into bullboats. Special effort was made to secure mountain sheep, as the badlands were the habitat of these prized animals, used for men's shirts and women's dresses, since their skins tanned softer than any other hide. Bears Arm, in explaining the importance of the meat and hides secured on these expeditions, stated that single women [581] tried to marry young men so they could go along to help cure the meat and hides, knowing they might marry one so lucky as to kill a white buffalo.

223 Mandan tradition appears devoid of reference to recent divi-
361 sion of a village population into small eagle-trapping bands dur-
171 ing the winter. Such is not the case with the Hidatsa, however.
221 In the Earthnaming ceremony of the Hidatsa there is reference
621 in the myth to the division of the village into small bands camped along the Little Missouri River in eagle-trapping lodges during the winter. At least two of the clans, the Maxoxati and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

assistance and the fact that the game run into yards was divided on a moiety basis.

Households having no males suffered most in their ceremonial life. When an important tribal bundle got out of the lodge, it was usually difficult to get it back.

Marriage within the clan was not permitted. There was no punishment other than tribal criticism, and in the census taken as of 1870–72 only one instance was reported by informants, and all the informants questioned on this point mentioned the case. The one instance of marriage within the clan was between Standing Bear and Beaver Woman; though the tribe did not approve of the marriage, they thought that in a way it was justified, since Beaver Woman's mother suggested the marriage after both parties were over fifty-five years of age. The women were brought to Standing Bear's lodge, and the marriage was entered into after the women lost their lodge.

Certain Mandan clans had Hidatsa equivalents. Both had a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna clan was considered equivalent to the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik clan was equivalent to the Hidatsa Knife clan. The Mandan were not in agreement as to the wisdom of marriage between Mandan-Hidatsa equated clans. Some treated them as separate lineages and considered marriage permissible. Bad Gun's wife's younger sister, however, refused to marry him, believing that the Tamisik and Knife were divisions of a single clan.

The Mandan claim that moieties were exogamous until after 1837 and that it was more convenient to go through the ceremonies with the wives when they were of opposite moieties, giving as the basis for the breakdown of the moieties the shortage of men. People preferred to marry into the moiety to marrying outside the tribe.

Both the levirate and the sororate were permissible. When a man married to the older sister died, a younger brother had first chance to marry the widow, which he could do with only a token payment. Such marriages were highly regarded. This was rarely done, since, with a shortage of men, the younger brother was usually already married to several women. When a wife died, the husband could claim one of her younger sisters as wife, and she seldom refused, especially if her sister had small children.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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According to Calf-woman, the Prairie-chicken clan is the most important on the Reservation. This is consistent with Mr. Curtis's data, according to which the larger moiety bears the name of this clan, corresponding preëminence being assigned to the tamī'sik in the Three-clan moiety. It should be noted that the Prairie-chicken clan is the only one common to the Hidatsa and Mandan series. 614 [171]

Calf-woman's ō'rɛ' 'kūpa (nitɛ) was given by Turtle-woman not as the designation of a clan but of all the seven clans jointly in addressing the entire tribe. [101]

Mr. Curtis states that the marriage of fellow-clansmen was considered improper and publicly ridiculed, but according to my witnesses this rule has long ceased to be absolute. Thus, Calf-woman declared that sometimes people married within their own clan, though there were some who regarded this as wrong; and Two-chiefs, a maxi' 'kina married to a xtaxta', cited the case of her husband's mother who had married another xtaxta', not related by blood. 582 178 614

Kinship Terms.

A brief but in most respects accurate statement as to Mandan kinship nomenclature is made by Maximilian.[1] Recently Mr. Curtis has summarily characterized the Mandan terminology as largely influenced by the clan factor, the father's brother and his clansmen being classed with the father, the father's clanswomen with the father's sister, all mates in one's clan with brothers and all females as mothers.[2] This statement is undoubtedly in large measure correct, but, the last part is manifestly not to be taken literally since the mother's mother and her generation and the sisters are certainly not called "mother." Morgan already had to contend with the difficulty of finding interpreters fully conversant with Mandan and offers an avowedly imperfect list. So far as essentials are concerned, he correctly characterizes the system as of the usual classificatory type. The most important deviation from the norm mentioned in his résumé consists in the classification of the father's sister with the mother in feminine parlance, a distinctive word for paternal aunt being used only by males.[3] My data yield no confirmation of this peculiarity. A remarkable feature found by Morgan among the Hidatsa and Crow but not noted by him among the Mandan, though recorded both by Mr. Curtis and myself, is the confusion of generations in the designation of the father's sister's female descendants 601 601 171 177

[1] Maximilian, II, 122, 543.
[2] Curtis, V, 145.
[3] Morgan, (a), 184.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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582 Regarding cross-cousin marriage, Two-chiefs said that it was permissible for a man to marry the daughter of a mother's clansman but not the daughter of a mother's own brother. On the other hand, Turtle-woman declared that it was proper for a girl to marry her father's sister's son, and my Hidatsa interpreter explained that this was a point in which Mandan and Hidatsa practices diverged.

606 Not only the wife's mother but also the mother-in-law's sisters and mother avoided the husband.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

From the enslaved and degraded condition in which the women are held in the Indian country, the world would naturally think that theirs must be a community formed of incongruous and unharmonizing materials; and consequently destitute of the fine, reciprocal feelings and attachments which flow from the domestic relations in the civilized world; yet it would be untrue, and doing injustice to the Indians, to say that they were in the least behind us in conjugal, in filial, and in paternal affection. There is no trait in the human character which is more universal than the attachments which flow from these relations, and there is no part of the human species who have a stronger affection and a higher regard for them than the North American Indians. 593

There is no subject in the Indian character of more importance to be rightly understood than this, and none either that has furnished me more numerous instances and more striking proofs, of which I shall make use on a future occasion, when I shall say a vast deal more of marriage—of divorce—of polygamy—and of Indian domestic relations. For the present I am scribbling about the looks and usages of the Indians who are about me and under my eye; and I must not digress too much into general remarks, lest I lose sight of those who are near me, and the first to be heralded. 000

Such, then, are the Mandans—their women are beautiful and modest,—and amongst the respectable families, virtue is as highly cherished and as inapproachable, as in any society whatever; yet at the same time a chief may marry a dozen wives if he pleases, and so may a white man; and if either wishes to marry the most beautiful and modest girl in the tribe, she is valued only equal, perhaps, to two horses, a gun with powder and ball for a year, five or six pounds of beads, a couple of gallons of whiskey, and a handful of awls. 583

The girls of this tribe, like those of most of these north-western tribes, marry at the age of twelve or fourteen, and some at the age of eleven years; and their beauty, from this fact, as well as from the slavish life they lead, soon after marriage vanishes. Their occupations are almost continual, and they seem to go industriously at them, as if from choice or inclination, without a murmur. 582

The principal occupations of the women in this village, consist in procuring wood and water, in cooking, dressing robes and other skins, in drying meat and wild fruit, and raising corn (maize). The Mandans are somewhat of agriculturists, as they raise a great deal of corn and some pumpkins and squashes. This is all done by the women, who make their hoes of the shoulder-blade of the buffalo or the elk, and dig the ground over instead of ploughing it, which is consequently done with a vast deal of labour. They raise a very small sort of corn, the ears of which are not longer than a man's thumb. This variety is well adapted to their climate, as it ripens sooner than other varieties, which would not mature in so cold a latitude. The green corn season is one of great festivity with them, and one of much importance. The greater part of their crop is eaten during these festivals, 462 241 251

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was customary for the clan to meet in the clan leader's lodge and make provisions for the accumulation of goods to be used in the rites. It was believed that a successful ceremony with an abundance of gifts to be given away brought credit to the entire clan. 614 431

Moieties were in theory exogamous, but they had ceased to regulate marriage after 1837. Scattercorn explained that, while the Mandan considered those who sat on the same side in the Okipa or in council as brothers, it was considered better to marry into a clan of the same moiety than to marry outside the tribe. Marriages within the clan were disapproved. 616 582

The clan was a property-holding group. The major bundles of the Okipa ceremony were held in the WaxikEna clan, which also owned the sacred cedar and controlled the Okipa lodge and sacred turtles. Traditionally, the Shell Robe bundle belonged in the Prairie Chicken clan. Eagle-trapping lodges belonged to the clan of the member building it and remained in the clan when the original owner died. There were two bundles for the Big Bird ceremonies which were known as Black Medicine bundle and Sweet Medicine bundle. The former was inherited in the Prairie Chicken clan and the latter in the Speckled Eagle clan of the same moiety. Each clan was the theoretical custodian of one variety of corn. The WaxikEna clan was custodian of the bluish-green flint corn; the Tamisik had the red corn; the Prairie Chicken had the yellow flint and dent; the Speckled Eagle had the rainbow corn. Crows Heart stated that Hides-and-Eats, an old woman who lived in his lodge, told him that, when she was young, people of one clan were not permitted to raise corn belonging to the other clans without first securing the rights and that each clan claimed to be the preserver of its own corn. 614 421

It was the duty of the clan to assist its own members. It was the clan's duty to care for its old people having no blood children. During the smallpox epidemic of 1837, women went through the villages and gathered the orphans of their clan, who were taken into their lodges to be reared. Old people were invited in to be fed and clothed by younger members of their own clan. When returning from a successful hunt, young men would offer meat to the old people who met them at the outskirts of the village. One was expected to offer meat to old people of the same clan without being asked for it. 614 736 888

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The permanent name one received when returning from the first successful war expedition was received from the father's clan.

The moiety had both ceremonial and economic functions. When dividing the buffalo captured in the corral, the inclosure was symbolic of the ceremonial lodge. A line was drawn through the center of the corral extending from the midpoint of the entrance to the opposite side. Those animals falling to the left of the entrance belonged to the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while those of the opposite side belonged to the other moiety. Women of a moiety butchered on their side without regard to clan. Each moiety constructed its half of the ceremonial lodge and would also erect an earth lodge used as a residence when the clan of the owner of the new lodge assisted in putting up goods for the assistance rendered by the opposite moiety. It was believed that the moiety regulated marriage prior to the last smallpox epidemic, but a study of lineages indicated that it had little influence over marriages after 1837. There was a feeling that in former times traditional eagle-trapping sites were divided into moieties, each moiety trapping on its side of the Missouri River. If such division existed, all evidences had disappeared before 1870. There was considerable competition between moieties. When one moiety had more successful war leaders than the other, its members would tease the others and question their bravery. Sons of men of the same moiety teased each other a great deal. Each moiety had a leader who assisted in the division of the buffalo taken in a corral.

VILLAGE AND TRIBAL LEADERSHIP

Mandan village and tribal leadership was vested in the hierarchy of bundle-owners or priests who constituted a group of head men whose number varied from time to time depending on the status of the various bundles. From this group two leaders were selected whose war or peacemaking record exceeded that of all others or who, because of other practices, had acquired considerable popularity with the people. The one whose record in warfare was greatest was selected in council to be war chief. A second chief selected was one who had important ceremonial bundles, had given many feasts, and had performed many rites for the general welfare of the village. These were considered the

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herited the lodge property and gardens belonging to the household through a grandmother–granddaughter relationship. This was considered proper when no females of the mother-in-law's clan signified an intention of living in the lodge and caring for the old people. A daughter-in-law was treated kindly by her mother-in-law, who instructed her as her own mother would. 606 603

Father-in-law–son-in-law (*kota'waratox'kas–no'haka; ptuts'–ptuts'*).—*Kota'waratox'kas* is morphologically related to the word for mother's brother and means "his old mother's brother." When a young man married into the household and came to his wife's lodge to live, he frequently was in a dual relationship to the father-in-law; he was the husband of his father-in-law's daughter; also his father-in-law was a mother's brother by the clan extension of kinship, and was treated as a mother's brother.[2] The son-in-law was expected to be brave and industrious. He was at first addressed as a young person (*no'haka*). When the marriage had lasted a few years, during which time children had come, and the father-in-law and the son-in-law got along well together, a mutual interest led to familiarity and each addressed the other *ptutE*. In the Mandan system of preferred marriages with the daughter's parents selecting her mate and desiring to keep certain clan bundles in the household, the prospective father-in-law selected a young man of his own clan for his daughter's husband. It was not proper for a son-in-law to tease his father-in-law; he was expected to treat his father-in-law with the same respect as he showed his own mother's brother and to take over the hunting activities when the father-in-law became feeble. 606 601 [583]

Mother-in-law–son-in-law (*ptu'hinikE–nohaka or ptuts'*).—The word *ptuhiniks* for mother-in-law is morphologically related to the word *ptuminiks* ("father's sister"), and informants explained that the mother-in-law was a special "father's sister." When the son-in-law first came to the lodge to live, he was avoided by the mother-in-law and never addressed her directly. When speaking of him, the mother-in-law would use the term *nohaka*, meaning a "young person" or "young one." When a young man's ties were weak with his own household, because he

2. Scattercorn thought *kota'waratox'kas* was never used when the father-in-law was of a different clan.

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437 dle." The parents of a young woman who had reached the age
778 when she should marry selected a young man who had a good
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431 offer of marriage to the daughter was suggested. A robe was
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585 778 left there to disintegrate. If the ceremony was to the various Holy Women, it was wrapped around a figure representing an old woman and placed on a pole erected at the side of the wife's lodge.

585 778 431 The ceremony completed the marriage, and it was believed that the wife or wives were married to the husband's ceremonial bundles. A marriage in this manner brought together all the people of the village and usually a large number of people from the other villages; those having rights in the ceremony came to receive presents, and the others came to see the presents but more particularly the painted white robe.

584 583 A second class of marriages was known as "marriage by exchange of presents." The young man's parents selected a young woman who was acceptable to their son or who had received some attention by the son. The young man's parents went to the girl's parents and offered them a specified number of horses for their consent to the marriage. If the marriage was approved, the horses were taken to the girl's lodge and tied to the door. The girl gave the horses to her brothers, who were expected to give her an equal or greater number, which she took to the young man's lodge and presented to his father.

585 The marriage ceremony was held four or five days later to allow time for the preparation of the feast. The food was prepared by her mother and brothers' wives, who, on the designated day, carried the food to the young man's lodge and left immediately without waiting for the completion of the ceremony. When the women returned, the girl left for her prospective husband's lodge, leading the horses. The young man's relatives were gathered in the lodge, and a woman who had been married in this manner was selected to pass the food. Each of the young man's female relatives brought presents which were stacked in a pile. The act of eating together completed the ceremony. Word was then sent to the girl's parents, and the females of the lodge came for the empty vessels and took the presents as their own.

591 The husband's mothers and sisters presented her with presents which consisted chiefly of clothing, and she remained with her husband in his parents' lodge. She assisted with the work but was not considered a co-owner of the lodge property. In the

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meanwhile her parents frequently made arrangements to bring 591
them to the daughter's parental lodge to live. They constructed a side passage from the door so that the son-in-law could enter his section of the lodge without meeting his mother-in-law, and he was expected to remain in his quarters when she was in the lodge. When the lodge was ready, the girl's father presented her husband with a horse or other goods and invited them to live with them.

When a man married the oldest sister, he was entitled to 587
marry the younger ones as they became of age by giving them horses. Her parents built additional beds in the son-in-law's section. There was no wedding feast or exchange of goods.

A third method of marrying was known as "marriage by mu- 583
tual agreement." Two people attracted to each other decided 591
to marry without consulting their parents. Sometimes a girl 428
did not approve of her sisters' husband and decided not to marry him. She encouraged a young man so that she could get away from her mother's household. She received two or three horses from her husband and left her parents to live in her husband's lodge. If she had a number of sisters and did not like their husband, she would remain in her husband's lodge and help the women of the household. Whether or not this residence became permanent depended on a number of factors. When the lodge was already occupied by her husband's sisters and their husband, she would attempt to move out with her husband to a household of old women of her clan, especially one where there were no men to provide for the household. Eventually she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens when the old people died. On the other hand, should her husband have no sisters, she would prefer to care for her parents-in-law, whom she treated as "grandparents" and addressed as such, and they would treat her as a woman of the lodge. When they died, she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens.

As a resident of the husband's lodge, a woman's position was 592
subordinate to the other female members of the household 768
group. In case of a quarrel, she was obliged to leave. Should 421
her husband be killed or die, leaving small children and his brother was unable to marry her because of an unco-operative wife, she was sent out of the lodge and was permitted to take

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592 768 421 only her clothing and children. Even the bedding belonged with the lodge and could not be taken whether she had assisted in tanning and preparing them or not. Responsibility for the children's care rested with her sisters and the female members of her clan.

586 837 578 431 583 Divorce was easy and common. The elopement of a married woman having children with a married man also having children was the cause of much trouble, since it involved so many people. Learning that their brother had eloped with another man's wife, the brothers and sisters would take horses and other property to the injured man to prevent him from causing them injury, since they were accountable for a sibling's conduct. Learning that his wife had run away with another man, he was entitled to retaliate against the man's brothers and sisters and would start killing their horses. My Mandan informants enjoyed relating instances when the brothers and sisters, learning that a brother had eloped with another man's wife, had reached the lodge before the wife was missed. They would come to his lodge in a group leading the horses. Seeing the people with horses, he would hurry into his lodge or go through the village calling for his wife. People considered it very humorous to surprise a man in that way, and it was the subject of gossip for quite a while. He was expected to accept the horses and forget his wife. The elopers usually visited the Crow Indians until 586 837 578 583 the husband was reconciled to his loss. When a prominent man lost his wife, he would usually organize a war party or go out alone against the enemy. He could disregard his former wife, and those most concerned with public opinion usually did. However, a man of position usually called her into his lodge when she returned from her elopement, painted and dressed her, mounted her on a good horse, and took her back to her new husband. Those who cried because a wife eloped or who attempted to take her back or agreed to let her return if she requested it were considered weaklings and not worthy of respect. Bear on the Water, a Mandan, stole the young Arikara wife of Four Bears, the principal war chief of the Hidatsa. While they were away, Four Bears made so many threats that the Mandan were obliged to leave the village for fear of war. He refused to accept horses or to smoke the pipe with Bear on

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the Water's relatives. He demanded that his younger wife be returned on the grounds that she had a small child who was ill. The people all knew that this one was his favorite wife and that there were enough other wives and females in the lodge to care for the child. The Mandan were quite angry at Four Bears for his actions, which they did not consider worthy of a chief. A year before, Poor Wolf, the second chief of the Hidatsa, stole the wife of Flying Eagle, a Mandan, and the latter man had said, "Let him have her" and thought nothing more of it. Mandan informants were in general agreement that the Hidatsa more commonly demanded that the wife be returned.

Even when the husband accepted his wife's elopement with good grace, the couple usually encountered plenty of trouble when they returned to the village. A woman would frequently permit her husband to bring his stolen wife into the lodge when the women were close relatives of the same clan. In a few instances, the stolen wife was a younger sister of the first wife and had not been getting along well with her husband. The family had actually conspired with the man to get her back and were prepared to make payment as soon as the elopement occurred. When the elopement did not have the approval of a man's wife and her brothers, there were usually complications. She would be driven out of the first wife's lodge, and the husband was obliged to live between two lodges. The women would be jealous and carry knives, watching for an opportunity to slash each other's faces and clothing. If the first wife had many brothers, she was likely to be pretty saucy, particularly if the other woman had none. On the other hand, when the first wife had no brother while the second one had several, she would be inclined to accept the situation and get along as best she could until she had an opportunity of separating from her husband and getting another.

Marrying a brother's widow was considered the honorable way of providing for his children, in which case the man lived between two lodges. A woman having several brothers rarely married her deceased husband's brother, as it frequently meant sharing a husband with women of a different clan and household. In the event of separation or death the children were pro-

595 eight living under one roof, and all apparently quiet and contented; seemingly harmonizing, and enjoying the modes of life and treatment that falls to their lot.

583 Wives in this country are mostly treated for with the father, as in all instances they are regularly bought and sold. In many cases the bargain is made with the father alone, without ever consulting the inclinations of the girl, and seems to be conducted on his part as a mercenary contract entirely, where he stands out for the highest price he can possibly command for her. There are other instances to be sure, where the parties approach each other, and from the expression of a mutual fondness, make their own arrangements, and pass their own mutual vows, which are quite as sacred and inviolable as similar assurances when made in the civilized world. Yet even in such cases, the marriage is never consummated without the necessary form of making presents to the father of the girl.

177 It becomes a matter of policy and almost of absolute necessity, for the white men who are Traders in these regions to connect themselves in this way, to one or more of the most influential families in the tribe, which in a measure identifies their interest with that of the nation, and enables them, with the influence of their new family connexions, to carry on successfully their business transactions with them. The young women of the best families only can aspire to such an elevation; and the most of them are exceedingly ambitious for such a connexion, inasmuch as they are certain of a delightful exemption from the slavish duties that devolve upon them when married under other circumstances; and expect to be, as they generally are, allowed to lead a life of ease and idleness, covered with mantles of blue and scarlet cloth—with beads and trinkets, and ribbons, in which they flounce and flirt about, the envied and tinselled belles of every tribe.

These connexions, however, can scarcely be called marriages, for I believe they are generally entered into without the form or solemnizing ceremony of a marriage, and on the part of the father of the girls, conducted purely as a mercenary or business transaction; in which they are very expert, and practice a deal of shrewdness in exacting an adequate price from a purchaser whom they consider possessed of so large and so rich a stock of the world's goods; and who they deem abundantly able to pay liberally for so delightful a commodity.

Almost every Trader and every clerk who commences in the business of this country, speedily enters into such an arrangement, which is done with as little ceremony as he would bargain for a horse, and just as unceremoniously do they annul and abolish this connexion when they wish to leave the country, or change their positions from one tribe to another; at which time the woman is left, a fair and proper candidate for matrimony or speculation, when another applicant comes along, and her father equally desirous for another horse or gun, &c. which he can easily command at her second espousal.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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From the enslaved and degraded condition in which the women are held in the Indian country, the world would naturally think that theirs must be a community formed of incongruous and unharmonizing materials; and consequently destitute of the fine, reciprocal feelings and attachments which flow from the domestic relations in the civilized world; yet it would be untrue, and doing injustice to the Indians, to say that they were in the least behind us in conjugal, in filial, and in paternal affection. There is no trait in the human character which is more universal than the attachments which flow from these relations, and there is no part of the human species who have a stronger affection and a higher regard for them than the North American Indians. 593

There is no subject in the Indian character of more importance to be rightly understood than this, and none either that has furnished me more numerous instances and more striking proofs, of which I shall make use on a future occasion, when I shall say a vast deal more of marriage—of divorce—of polygamy—and of Indian domestic relations. For the present I am scribbling about the looks and usages of the Indians who are about me and under my eye; and I must not digress too much into general remarks, lest I lose sight of those who are near me, and the first to be heralded. 000

Such, then, are the Mandans—their women are beautiful and modest,—and amongst the respectable families, virtue is as highly cherished and as inapproachable, as in any society whatever; yet at the same time a chief may marry a dozen wives if he pleases, and so may a white man; and if either wishes to marry the most beautiful and modest girl in the tribe, she is valued only equal, perhaps, to two horses, a gun with powder and ball for a year, five or six pounds of beads, a couple of gallons of whiskey, and a handful of awls. 583

The girls of this tribe, like those of most of these north-western tribes, marry at the age of twelve or fourteen, and some at the age of eleven years; and their beauty, from this fact, as well as from the slavish life they lead, soon after marriage vanishes. Their occupations are almost continual, and they seem to go industriously at them, as if from choice or inclination, without a murmur. 582

The principal occupations of the women in this village, consist in procuring wood and water, in cooking, dressing robes and other skins, in drying meat and wild fruit, and raising corn (maize). The Mandans are somewhat of agriculturists, as they raise a great deal of corn and some pumpkins and squashes. This is all done by the women, who make their hoes of the shoulder-blade of the buffalo or the elk, and dig the ground over instead of ploughing it, which is consequently done with a vast deal of labour. They raise a very small sort of corn, the ears of which are not longer than a man's thumb. This variety is well adapted to their climate, as it ripens sooner than other varieties, which would not mature in so cold a latitude. The green corn season is one of great festivity with them, and one of much importance. The greater part of their crop is eaten during these festivals, 462 241 251

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

323 the whites came among them; and that when they saw the bril-
301 liantly colored beads of the traders, they conceived the idea of improving their art by using these beads. If they ever possessed the art of making glass de novo, there is no record, tradition, or other evidence of it, that I have been able to find."

Was It Ancient Art. "One of many reasons, though perhaps an insufficient reason, for believing the art to be of no recent origin among them, is that they used the triangular pendants, not as ornaments only, but as evidences of betrothal, as long ago as
[584] the oldest men can remember. When a girl was promised in marriage in her infancy by her parents, as was not infrequently done, one of these pendants was tied to her forelock so as to hang down over her forehead. When the promise was fulfilled, the husband removed the pendant and threw it away." (p. 22-23.)

439 **Inter-Tribal Trade.** "With the nomadic tribes around, they exchanged their agricultural produce for horses, and, recently,
[824] for robes. When the Dakotas saw a certain flower (Liatris punctata) blooming on the prairie, they knew that the corn was ripe, and went to the villages of the farming Indians to trade. From
721 the time they came in sight of the village to the time they disappeared there was a truce. When they had passed beyond the bluffs, they might steal an unguarded pony or lift a scalp, and were in turn liable to be attacked." (p. 27.)

439 **Trade With Pacific Coast—Shells.** "It appears probable that they once carried on trade indirectly with the tribes of the Pacific coast, for they had Dentalium shells similar to those obtained on the Pacific and they prized them so highly that the white traders found it advisable to obtain them for the trade. As late as 1866, ten of these shells, of inferior size, costing the traders only a cent a piece, would buy a superior buffalo robe, and formerly only two or three of the same quality were paid for a robe. Modern traders, with whom the writer had conversed, obtained their shells from eastern importers, and know nothing of the original source of supply. They supposed them to come from the Atlantic coast or the Great Lakes, and called them 'Iroquois shells,' which is probably their corruption of the Chinook 'hyakwa;' but it is possible the reverse is the case.

439 "They also used, and still use, as ornaments, fragments of the
301 **Abalone** shells (one or more species of **Haliotis**) of the Pacific,

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593 [60] *mu'he* and others speak of her as *ku'hE*. An old man addresses an old wife as *mo'kaka*, meaning "old woman," and she addresses him as "old man." The husband usually lived with his wife's people, and the strength of bond between husband and wife was in a large measure determined by the circumstances of marriage. If parents of a lineage possessing an important tribal bundle secured a white buffalo robe and had a daughter or daughters of marriageable age, they would invite in a young man of another family distinguished for its important tribal bundle and complete a marriage. Such marriages were likely to be permanent, since both the husband and the wife were partners in an important ceremony. When children were born, the bond between husband and wife was further strengthened.

593 '462 There was a marked sex dichotomy between husband and wife. The woman did the housework, cared for the gardens, repaired the lodge, and, when on tribal hunts, did much of the butchering, while the man did the hunting, cared for the horses, and protected the village in case of attack. The woman was expected to prepare food for ceremonies in which the husband was participating, and, in the buffalo-calling ceremonies, she was expected to "walk with the buffaloes." She was also expected to "walk" with her husband's "fathers" in ceremonial transfers of age-grade societies.

586 A woman could divorce her husband by the simple expediency of telling him to leave if they were living in the wife's parents' lodge; if living in her husband's parents' lodge, she collected her personal belongings and the children and returned to her parents' lodge. A woman divorced because of cruelty or adultery on the part of her husband, while a man would leave his wife because of trouble with her family or infatuation for another woman.

581 584 596 Few marriages were consummated by mutual selection of the prospective mates; rather the two households made the selection, and children were expected to obey their parents even to the extent of approving mates selected for them. The ties which held husband and wife together were first the respect for their parents, but, when children were born, this parental respect was replaced by mutual affection for the children. Since divorce was easy and common, the household organization was strong,

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and the extended household preserved the structure in spite of numerous separations of individual families.

When marriage was by exchange of gifts and a feast, and the husband lived with his wife's people, he held prior claim to the wife's sisters as they became of marriageable age, and such marriages were encouraged.

Older brother–younger brother (*mu'kas–mi'cu'ka*).—The bond between brothers was very strong. It was based on common blood and residence and included all in the household who stood in an older brother–younger brother relationship. There was no distinction between siblings and children of the mother's sister if all had a common residence. Older brothers cared for their younger brothers, taught them games and the care of the horses, and teased each other mildly. Quarrels were rare and soon forgotten. The older brother who had participated in the ceremonies would urge the younger brother to follow his example and would assist his younger brother in collecting materials to be presented to the father's clan. If the younger brother showed little interest in fasting or ceremonial participation, the older brother could and frequently did severely criticize him. If a brother were killed in battle, his brother was expected to inflict self-torture and to revenge his death. He also had first claim to his brother's widow, and she could not marry until he made known his intentions.

When grown up and married, brothers co-operated in providing for their mother's household. Brothers co-operated in the purchase of ceremonial bundles and rites. This intimate bond continued for life and was extended to include mother's sister's son's and father's brother's sons, the feeling of nearness being determined by residence and participation in joint activities.

Older sister–younger sister (*mirukE'–ptą'ka*).—The bond between sisters was very strong and was based largely on common blood, mutual activities, and lifelong residence together. No distinction was made between sisters with different fathers, even when the fathers were of different clans. Neither was distinction made between one's own sisters and daughters of the mother's sister if all grew up together in the same household. There was not, however, the same close bond of affection with "sisters" of the father's second wife when his second wife occu-

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592 pied a separate lodge. In fact, there was likely to be mild re-
593 sistance when the girl's own household disapproved of the other marriage which they were obliged to tolerate because of the absence of mature males in their own household. The older sister acted as a "little mother" to her younger sisters, looking out for them while the mother was in the garden or at work
[595] tanning hides. When the older sister married, each of the younger sisters became an eligible mate, and frequently sisters remained together through life, possessing a common husband. They inherited the mother's household and gardens, and the oldest sister became the head of the household. When there were several sisters, the younger ones who did not wish to marry the older sister's husband would move into a lodge where the females were of their clan and closely related, helping the house-
• [584] hold with their work in the gardens. Her brother would select a husband for her and provide for the exchange of goods so that, when the older women died, she would have exclusive possession of a lodge of her own. In the late historic villages, it was often impossible to find space for additional lodges, since all were closely grouped within a fortification.

593 Quarrels between sisters were generally unknown, and younger sisters who moved to another lodge did so out of respect to the
592 married sisters, believing that a man having too many wives
611 would not be able to provide for all of them. A sister would raise children of a deceased sister, and, the tribe being matrilinear, there was no change of clans. The relations of sisters to each other and to the mother was the foundation of the Mandan household and was based on the inheritance of the lodge, lodge property, and the gardens. A daughter was expected to help the mother and to take over her mother's property when she died.

593 *Brother–sister* (*mi'cɥ'ka–ptami'hE*).—Brothers and sisters played together when young, and there was a close bond of affection between them. As they grew older, they avoided being alone together, and the prevailing games and economic activities separated them. Even after marriage, a man considered his mother's household his own. After his mother's death, his interest in his sister and her household continued. He would bring her portions of fresh meat from animals he had killed. If she had no horses, when returning from a raiding expedition, he would

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554 703 of the cattail plant in his hair. Those stabbed by a knife or spear could wear a stick carved to resemble a knife. One who had been shot in battle painted red spots on his shirts, leggings, or robes with red stripes below to indicate bullet holes and blood dripping from the wounds. Men painted horse tracks on their blankets to indicate the horses they had stolen. These tracks were bunched to indicate the number taken on each expedition.

727 597 581 Small children too young to remember their parents were frequently taken prisoners and adopted into the village. They were "struck" by the warriors who were given credit toward their war record but such records were not related during ceremonies once the children were adopted into the households. Girls approaching marriageable age were frequently returned alive to the village and sold to those needing an extra wife.

554 562 703 Women also qualified for war honors and were eligible to wear the same decorations as men. Informants remembered a number of women who had struck an enemy and had displayed their war honors during the Scalp Dance. One woman concealed herself at the entrance to her lodge and hit an Assiniboine on the head with a stone hammer. She scalped him and, during the dances, received a hearty applause whenever she was leader of the line of dancers, carrying her scalp on a stick.

554 703 The war records enumerated above constitute the principal awards having social recognition and fall into two general groups: awards limited solely to war leaders and consisting of scalps which were worn on their clothing or carried on scalp sticks and awards to warriors consisting of peculiar painting of the clothing, wearing of coyote tails, and certain feathers. Only those who had led many war parties and had been successful attained the highest ranks as chiefs unless their lack of significant successes in warfare was compensated with a record of many feasts during which time much property was given away or the possession of important tribal bundles. There was a series of designs painted or woven on robes which proclaimed the amount of goods so disposed of.

MARRIAGE AND THE HOUSEHOLD

581 584 Marriage was an exceedingly important event among the leading families of a Mandan village, but for the average family

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not possessing wealth or important sacred bundles it was largely 581
a social event involving the two households. Although young 584
men would court their girls, marriages were arranged by the relatives, who disapproved of elopements. The mother would watch her daughters, and, when she saw that they were seeing the young men often, she would discuss the matter with her husband. She would advise her daughters not to marry without a considerable exchange of goods, as to do so would be grounds for criticism. Mothers would explain the importance of ceremonial bundles and advise their daughters of the importance of keeping them in the lodge. People would say that a daughter was no good if little was received at her wedding.

There were in each of the Mandan villages a large number of 581
families owning or controlling important tribal bundles. These 778
families were considered the authorities on tribal lore and cus- 425
tom. They received, in addition to the produce of their gardens and their share of meat and hides from animals taken on the group hunts, a great deal of property and honors for officiating at the ceremonies. To preserve their status, they endeavored [556]
to have a considerable display of goods at the marriage of one of their children. Families with important related bundles 581
endeavored to marry their children into families also having 778
important bundles, the feeling being that those reared in a 796
lodge where important bundles were kept were better trained in learning the complicated rites associated with tribal bundles. A household that held an important tribal bundle inherited within a clan endeavored and generally succeeded in selecting a son-in-law who was of the same clan as the daughter's father. It was also believed that a man and his son-in-law got along better when they were of the same clan. In a large measure, the Mandan were successful in preserving most of their rich ceremonialism through the smallpox epidemic of 1837 because of the character of the formal training of those who were to inherit the traditional rights and responsibilities for the ceremonies and because of a system of preferred marriage in which the parents of both households selected their children's mates. It can be definitely said that the bulk of Mandan tribal lore was preserved by a small number of families, that their status was high in the

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

581 village, and that they endeavored by selective marriages to keep
778 the bundles and the associated ceremonies within their group.
796

The Mandan taught their children that they should marry
584 by the same method as their parents married. An analysis of the various methods of marrying will illustrate the significance of this Mandan rule.

The method used by the most distinguished families was
584 known as "choosing a son-in-law and buying him a sacred bun-
437 dle." The parents of a young woman who had reached the age
778 when she should marry selected a young man who had a good
583 reputation as a warrior and hunter and whose family owned an important ceremonial bundle. They would buy a white buffalo robe from some of the hunters or trade corn and horses for it with one of the many tribes that came to the village each fall. These robes were highly valued and would cost a family a high price in horses, garden products, and robes. Having secured one of these robes, they discussed the proposed marriage with the oldest daughter and secured her consent. It was important to get the daughter's consent, since, should she refuse after the marriage arrangements were instituted and run away, the village would learn of it and speculate as to the causes for her action. A daughter was expected to obey her parents and forget any other young men she had been seeing.

584 The young man was invited in by the girl's father, and an
431 offer of marriage to the daughter was suggested. A robe was
778 put down, and he was asked to sit on it with the young woman. The white buffalo robe was put over their shoulders, and they were given food prepared by the girl's mother. If the girl had younger sisters, they sat with him and became his wives when they were grown. The girl's brothers brought their new brother-in-law horses. As soon as the food had been eaten, he walked out and onto the top of his father-in-law's lodge, where he addressed his father's sacred bundle, announcing that the white robe was offered to his father's gods. His father's sister would come to the lodge when hearing him make this announcement and take the robe down to care for it until he performed the ceremony.

585 Having made the vow to perform the rites, he began collect-
431, ing robes and other property and was assisted by his wife and
778

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

585 778 left there to disintegrate. If the ceremony was to the various Holy Women, it was wrapped around a figure representing an old woman and placed on a pole erected at the side of the wife's lodge.

585 778 431 The ceremony completed the marriage, and it was believed that the wife or wives were married to the husband's ceremonial bundles. A marriage in this manner brought together all the people of the village and usually a large number of people from the other villages; those having rights in the ceremony came to receive presents, and the others came to see the presents but more particularly the painted white robe.

584 583 A second class of marriages was known as "marriage by exchange of presents." The young man's parents selected a young woman who was acceptable to their son or who had received some attention by the son. The young man's parents went to the girl's parents and offered them a specified number of horses for their consent to the marriage. If the marriage was approved, the horses were taken to the girl's lodge and tied to the door. The girl gave the horses to her brothers, who were expected to give her an equal or greater number, which she took to the young man's lodge and presented to his father.

585 The marriage ceremony was held four or five days later to allow time for the preparation of the feast. The food was prepared by her mother and brothers' wives, who, on the designated day, carried the food to the young man's lodge and left immediately without waiting for the completion of the ceremony. When the women returned, the girl left for her prospective husband's lodge, leading the horses. The young man's relatives were gathered in the lodge, and a woman who had been married in this manner was selected to pass the food. Each of the young man's female relatives brought presents which were stacked in a pile. The act of eating together completed the ceremony. Word was then sent to the girl's parents, and the females of the lodge came for the empty vessels and took the presents as their own.

591 The husband's mothers and sisters presented her with presents which consisted chiefly of clothing, and she remained with her husband in his parents' lodge. She assisted with the work but was not considered a co-owner of the lodge property. In the

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

262 which is so favourite a dish among the northern Indians, is not much in use among the Mandans. Their only drink is water, for they are unacquainted with the method of preparing fermented liquors. They did not obtain any spirits, either from the American Fur Company, or the agents [273] of Messrs. Soublette and Campbell; hence an intoxicated person is scarcely ever seen. They are extremely fond of sugar, and likewise of salt, which they procure from their lakes, and, if the supply is insufficient, purchase from the Whites. They are likewise fond of coffee and tea, well sweetened. It has been affirmed, that several North American nations, especially those which speak the Algonquin language, are cannibals, and more particularly the Chippeways and the Potawatomis; but I found no trace of this unnatural custom among the Missouri nations.

592 Two, and sometimes three, families usually live together in an Indian hut, commonly the
595 father, with his married sons or sons-in-law. Polygamy is everywhere practised, and the number
596 of wives differs; however, they have very seldom more than four, and, in general, only one. The women are very skilful in various kinds of work, particularly in dyeing and painting the buffalo
386 robes. They extract a red colour from the roots of the savoyenne, or from buffalo berries; yel-
824 low from a lichen of the Rocky Mountains; black from belianthus, as well as from a black stone
439 or clay; blue and green they extract from European substances. Among the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, the women, as Lewis and Clarke relate, manufacture beads from coloured glass. They powder those which they have obtained from the traders, and mould them into different shapes. This custom is, however, no longer common. The dyeing of the skins, of
323 which many travellers have spoken, employs a great portion of the women's time. These three nations understand the manufacture of earthen pots and vessels, of various forms and sizes. The clay is of a dark slate colour, and burns a yellowish-red, very similar to what is seen in the burnt tops of the Missouri hills. This clay is mixed with flint or granite, reduced to powder by the action of fire. The workwoman forms the hollow inside of the vessel by means of a round stone which she holds in her hand, while she works and smooths the outside with a piece of poplar bark. When the pot is made, it is filled and surrounded with dry shavings, and then burnt,
501 when it is ready for use. They know nothing of glazing. With respect to their boats, the North Americans are far more expert than the Brazilians, Patagonians, and other South Americans, who live on the banks of rivers, and yet have contrived no means to pass them. The Chippeways and other northern nations have handsome vessels of birch bark; the Esquimaux makes his kiack, which is curiously covered with seal skin; and on the Missouri, especially among the Mandans, there are boats of buffalo skin, which are represented in the plates accompanying this work. They are very light, of a circular form, stretched on a frame of several pieces of wood crossing each other, and may be carried on the shoulder of a single individual.

584 If a young Indian desires to marry, and has obtained the consent of the girl, he endeavours to procure that of her father; when he is certain of this, he brings two, three, nay, even eight or

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ten horses, and fastens them to the hut of the young woman, who gives them to her father. The 584
latter then takes other horses, and if he has them not himself, his relations assist him, and these horses are fastened, in return, to the hut of the intended son-in-law. In such a case an estimate is previously made of the number of horses possessed by the woman's relations, for all presents are returned in equal number. The bride next boils some maize, and daily carries a kettle or dish filled with it to the hut of the bridegroom. After some time has elapsed, the young man repairs [585]
to the hut of his bride, where he passes the night with her, and the marriage is considered as complete. The young couple often continue to reside in the hut of the father-in-law, but they more 591
frequently build a new hut for themselves; sometimes, however, they afterwards separate. The 596
father-in-law is, subsequently, the principal person in the hut; everything depends on him, and is done on his account, and for him; if game is killed, the flesh is first presented to him, &c. There [163]
are often many children in these Indian families; some had as many as ten; yet, on the whole, the Indians have not so many children as the Whites, doubtless because they keep them longer at the breast. They are extremely fond of them, but the children are often weak and sickly, in con- 856
sequence, it is supposed, of the hard labour which the women have to perform. I was universally 844
assured, that the new-born children are of a reddish colour. The births are, in general, extremely easy, and the mother bathes in the river immediately afterwards, even if it is frozen; in ten days the child is considered as safe, having got over the most dangerous period. A person is 553
paid to give it the name chosen by the parents and relations. The child is held up, then turned to all sides of the heavens, in the direction of the course of the sun, and its name proclaimed. They have cradles for their infants, consisting of a leather bag, which is suspended by a strap to 854
a cross beam in the hut. These cradles of the Mandans are not so elegant and beautifully worked as those which we saw among the Sioux and Assiniboins. The children of these Indians are sub- 861
ject to no kind of discipline whatever; they may do and say whatever they please, and nobody 865
finds fault with them. Everything is done to excite a spirit of independence and self-will in the boys; if the mother speaks to one of them, he will very likely slap her face, or kick her, nay, sometimes he will do the same to his father, who says, coolly, bowing his head, this boy will one day become a famous warrior. The men sometimes treat their wives very brutally; and it 562
has not unfrequently happened, that a woman, after such treatment, has left the hut and hanged 762
herself on a tree. This lately happened in the case of an aged woman, whose grown-up son had ill-treated her. She was missed, and was afterwards found suspended from a tree. The women have nothing to indemnify them for their incessant and laborious work, not even good clothing, for this right of the fair sex in Europe is claimed among the Indians by the men. It is singular that these women, who are condemned constantly to work like slaves, refuse to do any work whatever if they marry a white man, and, the Whites being entirely in the power of the Indians, and the relations of their wives, they are obliged to submit to this. Sisters have great 000

593 Sisters have great privileges among these Indians. All the horses which a young man steals, or captures in war, belong to them. If an Indian returns from an expedition on horseback, and meets his sister, he will immediately alight, and give her the horse; on the other hand, if he wishes to possess some object of value belonging to his sister, for instance, a dress, he goes and abruptly demands it, and immediately receives it; even should it be the very dress she is wearing, she will take it off at once, and give it to her brother.

837 Prudery is not a virtue of the Indian women; they have often two, three, or more lovers: infidelity is not often punished. There was only one woman among the Mandans, a piece of whose nose was cut off, a circumstance which is very common among the Blackfeet. If an Indian elopes with a married woman, the husband whom she has abandoned avenges himself by seizing the seducer's property, his horses and other things of value, to which the latter must quietly submit. Such a woman is never taken back. If a man has the eldest daughter of a family for his wife, he has a right to all her sisters. A chief business of the young men among these Indian tribes is to try their fortune with the young maidens and the women, and this, together with their toilet, fills up the greater part of their time. They do not meet with many coy beauties. In the evening, and generally till late at night, they roam about the villages, or in the vicinity, or from one village to the other. They have a singular mode of displaying their achievements in this field, especially when they visit the women in their best dresses. On these occasions they endeavour to gain credit by the variety of their triumphs, and mark the number of conquered beauties by bundles of peeled osier twigs, painted red at the tips. These sticks are of two kinds. Most of them are from two to three feet in length, others five or six feet. The latter, being carried singly, are painted with white and red rings alternately, which indicates the number of conquests. The shorter sticks are only painted red at the tips, and every stick indicates an exploit, the number of which is often bound up into a pretty large bundle. Thick fasces of this kind are carried about by the dandies in their gallant excursions. Among the Mandans these sticks are generally quite plain; among the Manitaries, on the contrary, there is, usually, in the middle of the bundle, one larger stick, at the end of which there is a tuft of black feathers. These feathers indicate the favourite, and the dandies tell everybody that she is the person for whom this honour is intended. (See Plate XXI. Fig. 6.)

[587] 584 836

If these people have had familiar intercourse with a person who wore the white buffalo robe, a piece of skin of that colour is fastened to the stick; if she wore a red blanket, or buffalo robe, a piece of red cloth is fastened to the stick. This custom, which is well known among the Mandans and Manitaries, has not, to my knowledge, been mentioned by any traveller.

601 000 They have distinct names for the several degrees of relationship. The father's brother is called father, and the mother's sister, mother; cousins are called brothers and sisters. The

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

581 village, and that they endeavored by selective marriages to keep
778 the bundles and the associated ceremonies within their group.
796

The Mandan taught their children that they should marry
584 by the same method as their parents married. An analysis of the various methods of marrying will illustrate the significance of this Mandan rule.

584 The method used by the most distinguished families was known as "choosing a son-in-law and buying him a sacred bun-
437 dle." The parents of a young woman who had reached the age
778 when she should marry selected a young man who had a good
583 reputation as a warrior and hunter and whose family owned an important ceremonial bundle. They would buy a white buffalo robe from some of the hunters or trade corn and horses for it with one of the many tribes that came to the village each fall. These robes were highly valued and would cost a family a high price in horses, garden products, and robes. Having secured one of these robes, they discussed the proposed marriage with the oldest daughter and secured her consent. It was important to get the daughter's consent, since, should she refuse after the marriage arrangements were instituted and run away, the village would learn of it and speculate as to the causes for her action. A daughter was expected to obey her parents and forget any other young men she had been seeing.

584 The young man was invited in by the girl's father, and an
431 offer of marriage to the daughter was suggested. A robe was
778 put down, and he was asked to sit on it with the young woman. The white buffalo robe was put over their shoulders, and they were given food prepared by the girl's mother. If the girl had younger sisters, they sat with him and became his wives when they were grown. The girl's brothers brought their new brother-in-law horses. As soon as the food had been eaten, he walked out and onto the top of his father-in-law's lodge, where he addressed his father's sacred bundle, announcing that the white robe was offered to his father's gods. His father's sister would come to the lodge when hearing him make this announcement and take the robe down to care for it until he performed the ceremony.

585 Having made the vow to perform the rites, he began collect-
431 ing robes and other property and was assisted by his wife and
778

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

potential wives, his brothers-in-law, members of his own age-grade society, members of his wives's age-grade society, and the younger people of his clan. He paid the people occupying the Okipa lodge to vacate for the duration of the ceremony and selected berdachès to sweep the lodge, remove the ashes from the firepit, and repair the sweat lodge. On the date announced for the ceremony, the goods to be given away were taken into the lodge and hung on a line in full view of the spectators. Among them he hung the white buffalo robe where all could admire it. All the men and women having rights in his father's bundle and related bundles were expected to attend and to receive goods. The wives passed around food from time to time. 585 431 778

Those with singer rights directed the singing of the sacred songs. At the end of each song the young man and his wife would present a robe or other article of value to one of the older participants, who would pray to the white robe, asking it to give the young man and his wife or wives success in all their undertakings. He would then give the young man and his wife a small article from his sacred bundle. While the ceremony was in progress, the father's sister remained seated on two buffalo robes with two robes wrapped around her and one held in her hands, these constituting her payment for taking the white robe down from the lodge roof and protecting it until the ceremony was performed.

When the people who were invited had rights in the Corn ceremonies, they were paid to paint the white robe with a design of a corn plant. The one painting the stalk received a horse; for each ear a robe was paid; he paid five robes for the tassel; for each root, a robe was paid. The elaborateness of the design was in a large measure determined by the amount of property acquired for the ceremony. The robe became a part of his ceremonial bundle and was opened during the Corn ceremonies. 585 778

If the ceremony was given to the sacred cedar, which was believed to represent Lone Man's body, the robe was draped over the sacred cedar at the termination of the ceremony and became the property of the WaxikEna clan. If the ceremony was to Bird bundles, after the painting was completed, it was carried out onto the prairie where it was draped over a post and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

585 778 left there to disintegrate. If the ceremony was to the various Holy Women, it was wrapped around a figure representing an old woman and placed on a pole erected at the side of the wife's lodge.

585 778 431 The ceremony completed the marriage, and it was believed that the wife or wives were married to the husband's ceremonial bundles. A marriage in this manner brought together all the people of the village and usually a large number of people from the other villages; those having rights in the ceremony came to receive presents, and the others came to see the presents but more particularly the painted white robe.

584 583 A second class of marriages was known as "marriage by exchange of presents." The young man's parents selected a young woman who was acceptable to their son or who had received some attention by the son. The young man's parents went to the girl's parents and offered them a specified number of horses for their consent to the marriage. If the marriage was approved, the horses were taken to the girl's lodge and tied to the door. The girl gave the horses to her brothers, who were expected to give her an equal or greater number, which she took to the young man's lodge and presented to his father.

585 The marriage ceremony was held four or five days later to allow time for the preparation of the feast. The food was prepared by her mother and brothers' wives, who, on the designated day, carried the food to the young man's lodge and left immediately without waiting for the completion of the ceremony. When the women returned, the girl left for her prospective husband's lodge, leading the horses. The young man's relatives were gathered in the lodge, and a woman who had been married in this manner was selected to pass the food. Each of the young man's female relatives brought presents which were stacked in a pile. The act of eating together completed the ceremony. Word was then sent to the girl's parents, and the females of the lodge came for the empty vessels and took the presents as their own.

591 The husband's mothers and sisters presented her with presents which consisted chiefly of clothing, and she remained with her husband in his parents' lodge. She assisted with the work but was not considered a co-owner of the lodge property. In the

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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831 among the Arikara and Hidatsa. The men boasted their love
171 exploits, and carried often about the village small bundles of sticks each representing a conquest, or one large stick with stripes indicating the number; this was also a Hidatsa custom.

585 When a man wished to marry, after obtaining the girl's and the father's consent, he led horses to the door of the father's house and tied them there. Then the father took the same number of his own horses and tied them to the young man's door. After this the girl cooked corn each day and carried it to the young man's house for a certain number of days. Then the young man went to the father's house and claimed his wife. The young people either built a new home or lived with one of their parents, in which case the father remained master of the
587 house. On marrying an eldest sister, a man acquired the right of marriage over all the other sisters. Catlin tells us that the girls usually married at from twelve to fourteen years of age.

858 Children were never disciplined and were always humored
601 by their parents who seemed to be very fond of them. The
606 father's brother and sister were called father and mother. The
551 mother's sister was called mother and her brother uncle. Cousins called each other brother and sister. The mother-in-law was not permitted to address her son-in-law till he had come back with the scalp and gun of an enemy. Someone was usually paid to give the child his name, which was chosen by the parent.

776 RELIGION:—The religious ideas of the Mandans resemble in a number of respects both those of the Sioux and the Arikara. While there are a number of deities, there was one among them to whom special veneration was paid. This one, the creator of the earth and everything in it, and of men, was called the Lord of Life.[1] Next after him came the First Man to whom the Lord of Life gave great power and who acted as a sort of mediator for men. Catlin says he was the only person saved from the great deluge, and he played an important part in the Okeepa. He was worshipped and sacrifices were made to him. Next was an evil spirit who, though powerful, ranks far below the First Man. Fourth on the list was Rokanka-Tauihanka

[1] Maximilian: p. 419.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ten horses, and fastens them to the hut of the young woman, who gives them to her father. The 584
latter then takes other horses, and if he has them not himself, his relations assist him, and these horses are fastened, in return, to the hut of the intended son-in-law. In such a case an estimate is previously made of the number of horses possessed by the woman's relations, for all presents are returned in equal number. The bride next boils some maize, and daily carries a kettle or dish filled with it to the hut of the bridegroom. After some time has elapsed, the young man repairs [585]
to the hut of his bride, where he passes the night with her, and the marriage is considered as complete. The young couple often continue to reside in the hut of the father-in-law, but they more 591
frequently build a new hut for themselves; sometimes, however, they afterwards separate. The 596
father-in-law is, subsequently, the principal person in the hut; everything depends on him, and is done on his account, and for him; if game is killed, the flesh is first presented to him, &c. There [163]
are often many children in these Indian families; some had as many as ten; yet, on the whole, the Indians have not so many children as the Whites, doubtless because they keep them longer at the breast. They are extremely fond of them, but the children are often weak and sickly, in con- 856
sequence, it is supposed, of the hard labour which the women have to perform. I was universally 844
assured, that the new-born children are of a reddish colour. The births are, in general, extremely easy, and the mother bathes in the river immediately afterwards, even if it is frozen; in ten days the child is considered as safe, having got over the most dangerous period. A person is 553
paid to give it the name chosen by the parents and relations. The child is held up, then turned to all sides of the heavens, in the direction of the course of the sun, and its name proclaimed. They have cradles for their infants, consisting of a leather bag, which is suspended by a strap to 854
a cross beam in the hut. These cradles of the Mandans are not so elegant and beautifully worked as those which we saw among the Sioux and Assiniboins. The children of these Indians are sub- 861
ject to no kind of discipline whatever; they may do and say whatever they please, and nobody 865
finds fault with them. Everything is done to excite a spirit of independence and self-will in the boys; if the mother speaks to one of them, he will very likely slap her face, or kick her, nay, sometimes he will do the same to his father, who says, coolly, bowing his head, this boy will one day become a famous warrior. The men sometimes treat their wives very brutally; and it 562
has not unfrequently happened, that a woman, after such treatment, has left the hut and hanged 762
herself on a tree. This lately happened in the case of an aged woman, whose grown-up son had ill-treated her. She was missed, and was afterwards found suspended from a tree. The women have nothing to indemnify them for their incessant and laborious work, not even good clothing, for this right of the fair sex in Europe is claimed among the Indians by the men. It is singular that these women, who are condemned constantly to work like slaves, refuse to do any work whatever if they marry a white man, and, the Whites being entirely in the power of the Indians, and the relations of their wives, they are obliged to submit to this. Sisters have great 000

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

593 *mṵ'he* and others speak of her as *kṵ'hE*. An old man addresses an
[60] old wife as *mo'kaka*, meaning "old woman," and she addresses him as "old man." The husband usually lived with his wife's people, and the strength of bond between husband and wife was in a large measure determined by the circumstances of marriage. If parents of a lineage possessing an important tribal bundle secured a white buffalo robe and had a daughter or daughters of marriageable age, they would invite in a young man of another family distinguished for its important tribal bundle and complete a marriage. Such marriages were likely to be permanent, since both the husband and the wife were partners in an important ceremony. When children were born, the bond between husband and wife was further strengthened.

593 There was a marked sex dichotomy between husband and
'62 wife. The woman did the housework, cared for the gardens, repaired the lodge, and, when on tribal hunts, did much of the butchering, while the man did the hunting, cared for the horses, and protected the village in case of attack. The woman was expected to prepare food for ceremonies in which the husband was participating, and, in the buffalo-calling ceremonies, she was expected to "walk with the buffaloes." She was also expected to "walk" with her husband's "fathers" in ceremonial transfers of age-grade societies.

•586 A woman could divorce her husband by the simple expediency of telling him to leave if they were living in the wife's parents' lodge; if living in her husband's parents' lodge, she collected her personal belongings and the children and returned to her parents' lodge. A woman divorced because of cruelty or adultery on the part of her husband, while a man would leave his wife because of trouble with her family or infatuation for another woman.

581 Few marriages were consummated by mutual selection of the
584 prospective mates; rather the two households made the selection, and children were expected to obey their parents even to
596 the extent of approving mates selected for them. The ties which held husband and wife together were first the respect for their parents, but, when children were born, this parental respect was replaced by mutual affection for the children. Since divorce was easy and common, the household organization was strong,

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592 only her clothing and children. Even the bedding belonged with
768 the lodge and could not be taken whether she had assisted in
421 tanning and preparing them or not. Responsibility for the children's care rested with her sisters and the female members of her clan.

586 Divorce was easy and common. The elopement of a married
837 woman having children with a married man also having chil-
578 dren was the cause of much trouble, since it involved so many
431 people. Learning that their brother had eloped with another
583 man's wife, the brothers and sisters would take horses and other property to the injured man to prevent him from causing them injury, since they were accountable for a sibling's conduct. Learning that his wife had run away with another man, he was entitled to retaliate against the man's brothers and sisters and would start killing their horses. My Mandan informants enjoyed relating instances when the brothers and sisters, learning that a brother had eloped with another man's wife, had reached the lodge before the wife was missed. They would come to his lodge in a group leading the horses. Seeing the people with horses, he would hurry into his lodge or go through the village calling for his wife. People considered it very humorous to surprise a man in that way, and it was the subject of gossip for quite a while. He was expected to accept the horses and forget his wife. The elopers usually visited the Crow Indians until
586 the husband was reconciled to his loss. When a prominent man
837 lost his wife, he would usually organize a war party or go out
578 alone against the enemy. He could disregard his former wife,
583 and those most concerned with public opinion usually did. However, a man of position usually called her into his lodge when she returned from her elopement, painted and dressed her, mounted her on a good horse, and took her back to her new husband. Those who cried because a wife eloped or who attempted to take her back or agreed to let her return if she requested it were considered weaklings and not worthy of respect. Bear on the Water, a Mandan, stole the young Arikara wife of Four Bears, the principal war chief of the Hidatsa. While they were away, Four Bears made so many threats that the Mandan were obliged to leave the village for fear of war. He refused to accept horses or to smoke the pipe with Bear on

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the Water's relatives. He demanded that his younger wife be returned on the grounds that she had a small child who was ill. The people all knew that this one was his favorite wife and that there were enough other wives and females in the lodge to care for the child. The Mandan were quite angry at Four Bears for his actions, which they did not consider worthy of a chief. A year before, Poor Wolf, the second chief of the Hidatsa, stole the wife of Flying Eagle, a Mandan, and the latter man had said, "Let him have her" and thought nothing more of it. Mandan informants were in general agreement that the Hidatsa more commonly demanded that the wife be returned.

Even when the husband accepted his wife's elopement with good grace, the couple usually encountered plenty of trouble when they returned to the village. A woman would frequently permit her husband to bring his stolen wife into the lodge when the women were close relatives of the same clan. In a few instances, the stolen wife was a younger sister of the first wife and had not been getting along well with her husband. The family had actually conspired with the man to get her back and were prepared to make payment as soon as the elopement occurred. When the elopement did not have the approval of a man's wife and her brothers, there were usually complications. She would be driven out of the first wife's lodge, and the husband was obliged to live between two lodges. The women would be jealous and carry knives, watching for an opportunity to slash each other's faces and clothing. If the first wife had many brothers, she was likely to be pretty saucy, particularly if the other woman had none. On the other hand, when the first wife had no brother while the second one had several, she would be inclined to accept the situation and get along as best she could until she had an opportunity of separating from her husband and getting another.

Marrying a brother's widow was considered the honorable way of providing for his children, in which case the man lived between two lodges. A woman having several brothers rarely married her deceased husband's brother, as it frequently meant sharing a husband with women of a different clan and household. In the event of separation or death the children were pro-

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The sixth group was that of the "Black-tail Deer" and 561
consisted of men over fifty years of age. There were two women in this band who served food and distributed fresh water during the dances. The men wore a crown of bears' claws.

There were a few other dances which were bought and sold, 561
but which hardly deserve a place in the regular system. One 424
of these was the dance of the "Half Shaven Head Band" which 535
the lowest band could buy before reaching the proper age to buy into the "Soldier Band." Another was the "Old Dog Dance." The "Dog Band" could buy this of the "Buffalo Band" before becoming Buffalos themselves or being able to. The "Hot Dance" was danced at Rouhptare by the youngest band, and also at the Hidatsa village where it was purchased from the Arikara. The dancers danced barefoot over live coals and plunged their hands into boiling water.

The women, too, were divided into bands. There were four 561
of these of which the first was "The Band of the Gun" which consisted of the younger girls. Next was the "River Band." The third band was the "Hay Women" who sang only the scalp dance. The fourth and last band was that of the "Women of the White Cow," most of them were old, and they were all tattooed with black lines from the mouth to the base of the [304]
chin.

The marriage customs of the Mandan Indians differed little 595
from those of their neighbors. Polygamy was common, although a large part of the men had but one wife. Descent was 611
probably along the male line, though there may have been remains of an older custom of descent along the female line, for all the horses captured by a young man belonged to his sister. The women worked hard and were sometimes badly treated 562
though not as a general rule. Lewis and Clarke says that infidelity was punishable by death. Maximilian says it was punishable by cutting off the woman's nose. When a man's wife was stolen he had a right to demand a horse from the abductor. Separations occurred among them quite frequently. Virtue [586]
among the women was held in high esteem but was rather 831
scarce. There are accounts of a celebration where prizes were 171
given to the virtuous maids — these celebrations also took place

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and the extended household preserved the structure in spite of numerous separations of individual families.

When marriage was by exchange of gifts and a feast, and the husband lived with his wife's people, he held prior claim to the wife's sisters as they became of marriageable age, and such marriages were encouraged.

Older brother–younger brother (*mu'kas–mi'cu'ka*).—The bond between brothers was very strong. It was based on common blood and residence and included all in the household who stood in an older brother–younger brother relationship. There was no distinction between siblings and children of the mother's sister if all had a common residence. Older brothers cared for their younger brothers, taught them games and the care of the horses, and teased each other mildly. Quarrels were rare and soon forgotten. The older brother who had participated in the ceremonies would urge the younger brother to follow his example and would assist his younger brother in collecting materials to be presented to the father's clan. If the younger brother showed little interest in fasting or ceremonial participation, the older brother could and frequently did severely criticize him. If a brother were killed in battle, his brother was expected to inflict self-torture and to revenge his death. He also had first claim to his brother's widow, and she could not marry until he made known his intentions.

When grown up and married, brothers co-operated in providing for their mother's household. Brothers co-operated in the purchase of ceremonial bundles and rites. This intimate bond continued for life and was extended to include mother's sister's son's and father's brother's sons, the feeling of nearness being determined by residence and participation in joint activities.

Older sister–younger sister (*mirukE'–pta'ka*).—The bond between sisters was very strong and was based largely on common blood, mutual activities, and lifelong residence together. No distinction was made between sisters with different fathers, even when the fathers were of different clans. Neither was distinction made between one's own sisters and daughters of the mother's sister if all grew up together in the same household. There was not, however, the same close bond of affection with "sisters" of the father's second wife when his second wife occu-

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meanwhile her parents frequently made arrangements to bring them to the daughter's parental lodge to live. They constructed a side passage from the door so that the son-in-law could enter his section of the lodge without meeting his mother-in-law, and he was expected to remain in his quarters when she was in the lodge. When the lodge was ready, the girl's father presented her husband with a horse or other goods and invited them to live with them. 591

When a man married the oldest sister, he was entitled to marry the younger ones as they became of age by giving them horses. Her parents built additional beds in the son-in-law's section. There was no wedding feast or exchange of goods. 587

A third method of marrying was known as "marriage by mutual agreement." Two people attracted to each other decided to marry without consulting their parents. Sometimes a girl did not approve of her sisters' husband and decided not to marry him. She encouraged a young man so that she could get away from her mother's household. She received two or three horses from her husband and left her parents to live in her husband's lodge. If she had a number of sisters and did not like their husband, she would remain in her husband's lodge and help the women of the household. Whether or not this residence became permanent depended on a number of factors. When the lodge was already occupied by her husband's sisters and their husband, she would attempt to move out with her husband to a household of old women of her clan, especially one where there were no men to provide for the household. Eventually she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens when the old people died. On the other hand, should her husband have no sisters, she would prefer to care for her parents-in-law, whom she treated as "grandparents" and addressed as such, and they would treat her as a woman of the lodge. When they died, she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens. 583 591 428

As a resident of the husband's lodge, a woman's position was subordinate to the other female members of the household group. In case of a quarrel, she was obliged to leave. Should her husband be killed or die, leaving small children and his brother was unable to marry her because of an unco-operative wife, she was sent out of the lodge and was permitted to take 592 768 421

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the Water's relatives. He demanded that his younger wife be returned on the grounds that she had a small child who was ill. The people all knew that this one was his favorite wife and that there were enough other wives and females in the lodge to care for the child. The Mandan were quite angry at Four Bears for his actions, which they did not consider worthy of a chief. A year before, Poor Wolf, the second chief of the Hidatsa, stole the wife of Flying Eagle, a Mandan, and the latter man had said, "Let him have her" and thought nothing more of it. Mandan informants were in general agreement that the Hidatsa more commonly demanded that the wife be returned.

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2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

562 assistance and the fact that the game run into yards was divided [462] on a moiety basis.

Households having no males suffered most in their ceremonial [778] life. When an important tribal bundle got out of the lodge, it was usually difficult to get it back.

Marriage within the clan was not permitted. There was no 582 punishment other than tribal criticism, and in the census taken as of 1870–72 only one instance was reported by informants, and all the informants questioned on this point mentioned the case. The one instance of marriage within the clan was between Standing Bear and Beaver Woman; though the tribe did not approve of the marriage, they thought that in a way it was justified, since Beaver Woman's mother suggested the marriage after both parties were over fifty-five years of age. The women were brought to Standing Bear's lodge, and the marriage was entered into after the women lost their lodge.

Certain Mandan clans had Hidatsa equivalents. Both had 582 a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna clan was con- 614 sidered equivalent to the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik clan was equivalent to the Hidatsa Knife clan. The Mandan were not in agreement as to the wisdom of marriage between Mandan-Hidatsa equated clans. Some treated them as separate lineages and considered marriage permissible. Bad Gun's wife's younger sister, however, refused to marry him, believing that the Tamisik and Knife were divisions of a single clan.

The Mandan claim that moieties were exogamous until after 582 1837 and that it was more convenient to go through the cere- 616 monies with the wives when they were of opposite moieties, giving as the basis for the breakdown of the moieties the shortage of men. People preferred to marry into the moiety to marrying outside the tribe.

Both the levirate and the sororate were permissible. When 587 a man married to the older sister died, a younger brother had first chance to marry the widow, which he could do with only a token payment. Such marriages were highly regarded. This was rarely done, since, with a shortage of men, the younger brother was usually already married to several women. When a wife died, the husband could claim one of her younger sisters as wife, and she seldom refused, especially if her sister had small children.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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831 among the Arikara and Hidatsa. The men boasted their love
171 exploits, and carried often about the village small bundles of sticks each representing a conquest, or one large stick with stripes indicating the number; this was also a Hidatsa custom.

585 When a man wished to marry, after obtaining the girl's and the father's consent, he led horses to the door of the father's house and tied them there. Then the father took the same number of his own horses and tied them to the young man's door. After this the girl cooked corn each day and carried it to the young man's house for a certain number of days. Then the young man went to the father's house and claimed his wife. The young people either built a new home or lived with one of their parents, in which case the father remained master of the
•587 house. On marrying an eldest sister, a man acquired the right of marriage over all the other sisters. Catlin tells us that the girls usually married at from twelve to fourteen years of age.

858 Children were never disciplined and were always humored by their parents who seemed to be very fond of them. The
601 father's brother and sister were called father and mother. The
606 mother's sister was called mother and her brother uncle.
551 Cousins called each other brother and sister. The mother-in-law was not permitted to address her son-in-law till he had come back with the scalp and gun of an enemy. Someone was usually paid to give the child his name, which was chosen by the parent.

776 RELIGION:—The religious ideas of the Mandans resemble in a number of respects both those of the Sioux and the Arikara. While there are a number of deities, there was one among them to whom special veneration was paid. This one, the creator of the earth and everything in it, and of men, was called the Lord of Life.[1] Next after him came the First Man to whom the Lord of Life gave great power and who acted as a sort of mediator for men. Catlin says he was the only person saved from the great deluge, and he played an important part in the Okeepa. He was worshipped and sacrifices were made to him. Next was an evil spirit who, though powerful, ranks far below the First Man. Fourth on the list was Rokanka-Tauihanka

[1] Maximilian: p. 419.

593 Sisters have great privileges among these Indians. All the horses which a young man steals, or captures in war, belong to them. If an Indian returns from an expedition on horseback, and meets his sister, he will immediately alight, and give her the horse; on the other hand, if he wishes to possess some object of value belonging to his sister, for instance, a dress, he goes and abruptly demands it, and immediately receives it; even should it be the very dress she is wearing, she will take it off at once, and give it to her brother.

837 Prudery is not a virtue of the Indian women; they have often two, three, or more lovers: infidelity is not often punished. There was only one woman among the Mandans, a piece of whose nose was cut off, a circumstance which is very common among the Blackfeet. If an Indian elopes with a married woman, the husband whom she has abandoned avenges himself by seizing the seducer's property, his horses and other things of value, to which the latter must quietly [587] submit. Such a woman is never taken back. If a man has the eldest daughter of a family for his wife, he has a right to all her sisters. A chief business of the young men among these Indian 584 tribes is to try their fortune with the young maidens and the women, and this, together with their 836 toilet, fills up the greater part of their time. They do not meet with many coy beauties. In the evening, and generally till late at night, they roam about the villages, or in the vicinity, or from one village to the other. They have a singular mode of displaying their achievements in this field, especially when they visit the women in their best dresses. On these occasions they endeavour to gain credit by the variety of their triumphs, and mark the number of conquered beauties by bundles of peeled osier twigs, painted red at the tips. These sticks are of two kinds. Most of them are from two to three feet in length, others five or six feet. The latter, being carried singly, are painted with white and red rings alternately, which indicates the number of conquests. The shorter sticks are only painted red at the tips, and every stick indicates an exploit, the number of which is often bound up into a pretty large bundle. Thick fasces of this kind are carried about by the dandies in their gallant excursions. Among the Mandans these sticks are generally quite plain; among the Manitaries, on the contrary, there is, usually, in the middle of the bundle, one larger stick, at the end of which there is a tuft of black feathers. These feathers indicate the favourite, and the dandies tell everybody that she is the person for whom this honour is intended. (See Plate XXI. Fig. 6.)

If these people have had familiar intercourse with a person who wore the white buffalo robe, a piece of skin of that colour is fastened to the stick; if she wore a red blanket, or buffalo robe, a piece of red cloth is fastened to the stick. This custom, which is well known among the Mandans and Manitaries, has not, to my knowledge, been mentioned by any traveller.

601 They have distinct names for the several degrees of relationship. The father's brother is 600 called father, and the mother's sister, mother; cousins are called brothers and sisters. The

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

585 778 left there to disintegrate. If the ceremony was to the various Holy Women, it was wrapped around a figure representing an old woman and placed on a pole erected at the side of the wife's lodge.

585 778 431 The ceremony completed the marriage, and it was believed that the wife or wives were married to the husband's ceremonial bundles. A marriage in this manner brought together all the people of the village and usually a large number of people from the other villages; those having rights in the ceremony came to receive presents, and the others came to see the presents but more particularly the painted white robe.

584 583 A second class of marriages was known as "marriage by exchange of presents." The young man's parents selected a young woman who was acceptable to their son or who had received some attention by the son. The young man's parents went to the girl's parents and offered them a specified number of horses for their consent to the marriage. If the marriage was approved, the horses were taken to the girl's lodge and tied to the door. The girl gave the horses to her brothers, who were expected to give her an equal or greater number, which she took to the young man's lodge and presented to his father.

585 The marriage ceremony was held four or five days later to allow time for the preparation of the feast. The food was prepared by her mother and brothers' wives, who, on the designated day, carried the food to the young man's lodge and left immediately without waiting for the completion of the ceremony. When the women returned, the girl left for her prospective husband's lodge, leading the horses. The young man's relatives were gathered in the lodge, and a woman who had been married in this manner was selected to pass the food. Each of the young man's female relatives brought presents which were stacked in a pile. The act of eating together completed the ceremony. Word was then sent to the girl's parents, and the females of the lodge came for the empty vessels and took the presents as their own.

591 The husband's mothers and sisters presented her with presents which consisted chiefly of clothing, and she remained with her husband in his parents' lodge. She assisted with the work but was not considered a co-owner of the lodge property. In the

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

meanwhile her parents frequently made arrangements to bring them to the daughter's parental lodge to live. They constructed a side passage from the door so that the son-in-law could enter his section of the lodge without meeting his mother-in-law, and he was expected to remain in his quarters when she was in the lodge. When the lodge was ready, the girl's father presented her husband with a horse or other goods and invited them to live with them. 591

When a man married the oldest sister, he was entitled to marry the younger ones as they became of age by giving them horses. Her parents built additional beds in the son-in-law's section. There was no wedding feast or exchange of goods. 587

A third method of marrying was known as "marriage by mutual agreement." Two people attracted to each other decided to marry without consulting their parents. Sometimes a girl did not approve of her sisters' husband and decided not to marry him. She encouraged a young man so that she could get away from her mother's household. She received two or three horses from her husband and left her parents to live in her husband's lodge. If she had a number of sisters and did not like their husband, she would remain in her husband's lodge and help the women of the household. Whether or not this residence became permanent depended on a number of factors. When the lodge was already occupied by her husband's sisters and their husband, she would attempt to move out with her husband to a household of old women of her clan, especially one where there were no men to provide for the household. Eventually she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens when the old people died. On the other hand, should her husband have no sisters, she would prefer to care for her parents-in-law, whom she treated as "grandparents" and addressed as such, and they would treat her as a woman of the lodge. When they died, she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens. 583 591 428

As a resident of the husband's lodge, a woman's position was subordinate to the other female members of the household group. In case of a quarrel, she was obliged to leave. Should her husband be killed or die, leaving small children and his brother was unable to marry her because of an unco-operative wife, she was sent out of the lodge and was permitted to take 592 768 421

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ten horses, and fastens them to the hut of the young woman, who gives them to her father. The 584
latter then takes other horses, and if he has them not himself, his relations assist him, and these horses are fastened, in return, to the hut of the intended son-in-law. In such a case an estimate is previously made of the number of horses possessed by the woman's relations, for all presents are returned in equal number. The bride next boils some maize, and daily carries a kettle or dish filled with it to the hut of the bridegroom. After some time has elapsed, the young man repairs [585]
to the hut of his bride, where he passes the night with her, and the marriage is considered as complete. The young couple often continue to reside in the hut of the father-in-law, but they more 591
frequently build a new hut for themselves; sometimes, however, they afterwards separate. The 596
father-in-law is, subsequently, the principal person in the hut; everything depends on him, and is done on his account, and for him; if game is killed, the flesh is first presented to him, &c. There [143]
are often many children in these Indian families; some had as many as ten; yet, on the whole, the Indians have not so many children as the Whites, doubtless because they keep them longer at the breast. They are extremely fond of them, but the children are often weak and sickly, in con- 856
sequence, it is supposed, of the hard labour which the women have to perform. I was universally 844
assured, that the new-born children are of a reddish colour. The births are, in general, extremely easy, and the mother bathes in the river immediately afterwards, even if it is frozen; in ten days the child is considered as safe, having got over the most dangerous period. A person is 553
paid to give it the name chosen by the parents and relations. The child is held up, then turned to all sides of the heavens, in the direction of the course of the sun, and its name proclaimed. They have cradles for their infants, consisting of a leather bag, which is suspended by a strap to 854
a cross beam in the hut. These cradles of the Mandans are not so elegant and beautifully worked as those which we saw among the Sioux and Assiniboins. The children of these Indians are sub- 861
ject to no kind of discipline whatever; they may do and say whatever they please, and nobody 865
finds fault with them. Everything is done to excite a spirit of independence and self-will in the boys; if the mother speaks to one of them, he will very likely slap her face, or kick her, nay, sometimes he will do the same to his father, who says, coolly, bowing his head, this boy will one day become a famous warrior. The men sometimes treat their wives very brutally; and it 562
has not unfrequently happened, that a woman, after such treatment, has left the hut and hanged 762
herself on a tree. This lately happened in the case of an aged woman, whose grown-up son had ill-treated her. She was missed, and was afterwards found suspended from a tree. The women have nothing to indemnify them for their incessant and laborious work, not even good clothing, for this right of the fair sex in Europe is claimed among the Indians by the men. It is singular that these women, who are condemned constantly to work like slaves, refuse to do any work whatever if they marry a white man, and, the Whites being entirely in the power of the Indians, and the relations of their wives, they are obliged to submit to this. Sisters have great 000

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

since some accounts tell of being created at the Heart River while others tell of a migration along the Missouri from the southeast. This same inconsistency was recognized by Maximilian.[2] My informants did not consider this to be an inconsistency at all. Their explanation was that, when Lone Man made the land around the Heart River, he also made the land to the south as far as the ocean. He made fish people, eagle people, bear people, corn people, buffalo people, and others whose history was inaugurated into myths of the sacred bundles. These various people were born into the Mandan tribe by magical means, thus populating the lands.

The large number of village sites belonging to a single archeological focus adjacent to the Missouri River both below and above the junction with the Heart River indicates that the tribe at one time numbered several thousand, possibly as much as seven or eight thousand, while the depth of refuse establishes continuous residence there of several centuries.

THE MANDAN HOUSEHOLD

The household was the smallest economic unit and was composed of one or more biological families related through the females. Theoretically, the household was held together by females so long as their lineage was unbroken and the lodge belonged to the clan of which the females were members. When a village was first built on a new site, each household selected a site for its lodge, corn scaffolds, and caches. There was a tendency for related families to select adjacent quarters, while those intimately connected with the Okipa ceremony selected lodge sites adjacent to the open circle. These lodge sites within the village were held permanently within the female line, and, when returning to rebuild after a temporary abandonment of the village, female descendants of the original builders were entitled to their former sites. When a family died out, the lodge belonged to the clan of the females and could be occupied by another group of the same clan or could be sold to females of a different clan. My informants emphatically denied that abandoned lodges could be occupied until they had received permission

2. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 307–8. There is some inconsistency present, since other myths imply that the Mandan have been on or near the Heart River since the creation of man by Lone Man.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

either of the nearest relatives or of the clan to which the lodge belonged. They believed that the lodge had a spirit which would have sent bad luck to one taking possession illegally.

The females of the lodge owned in common the domestic goods consisting of bedding, pots, household and gardening tools, the dogs, gardens, the wooden mortar and pestle, and the mares and colts. Clothing and personal effects were held individually. The men owned their weapons used in warfare and hunting as well as their own clothing and pipes. Men also owned the stallions and geldings. Sacred tribal bundles were held collectively by the man and his wives.

Lodges were built with little ceremony; the only rites were performed at the cutting of the notches for the four center posts when an old woman having the right to cut the posts was called in to sing one song and pray for the family's success. She received one robe for her services. It was the duty of the clan to assist in the erection of a member's lodge. Since these lodges were large, a considerable amount of work was entailed in erecting one and covering it with poles, willows, grass, and earth.[3] As a rule, the clan prepared a feast and invited the opposite moiety to assist, in which case the clans assisted according to the seating arrangement of the men in the Okipa or in council.

Mandan informants state that in earlier times each household had one or more game pits. These pits were dug by all the members of the household and were owned collectively. While the men would bring the poles for the cover and kill the game caught in them, the women frequently did most of the work of excavating and removing earth from the area of the pit. In recent times many households had fishtraps which are believed to have been used since introduced by Black Wolf. Fish bones, particularly catfish bones, are very abundant in the Heart River villages. The ceremonies associated with the trapping of fish, particularly the catfish, were performed by the older men, but the women assisted in weaving the walls for the trap and in sorting and cleaning the fish.

There was considerable variability in the status of household

3. For a report of the amount of materials used in the completion of an earth lodge see George F. Will, "The Mandan Lodge at Bismarck," *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 1 (October, 1930).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

In most instances, the unit of extension is the clan, but these relationships are based on individual relations and groups. This point will be further developed in the analysis of the ceremonial structure.

The following behavioristic pattern prevailing between relatives will illustrate this point. For any individual the total number of relationships into which he entered largely determines his "social personality." The most basic of these are between the members of the elementary family, the parents and the children, but in Mandan society this is frequently modified by the presence of old women of the lodge who occupy a virtual second-mother position. An elementary family consisting of parents and children rarely occupied a lodge to the exclusion of all other relatives. There are eight possible combinations of relatives within an elementary family with a general pattern of behavior existing between each pair. They are:

Mother–daughter (*na'E'–mi'nuhą'kE*).—An intimate bond of love and affection existed between a mother and her daughter. Not a single instance of quarreling or serious difference was remembered by the Mandan informants, nor were there disputes over property held in common. They worked together in the gardens or performed domestic tasks in the lodge and were very intimate in their daily relations. She taught the child to grind corn and cure meat, to make baskets and clay pots, to dress hides, to color porcupine quills for decorating clothing, and to care for her own personal effects. She taught her daughter to make a small payment, a small colored bead or a few kernels of corn, for each little skill taught her, thus establishing at an early age a significant behavioristic pattern of paying those who taught her a new skill, a myth or song, or who received her into a rite or dance. Usually there were other women in the lodge whom she addressed as "Mother," and, if one of these had no daughter of her own, she would take over or adopt a daughter from the lodge unit for especial affection and care. Frequently the father's older sister, if she had no one to care for her, would come to the lodge to live when the lodge was one that had been erected or owned in the father's line and the mother had come here to live when marrying because the father was needed to care for his relatives who were old. She was called "daughter"

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592 593 [604] by the father's sister and treated as a daughter. She, on the other hand, thought of the father's sister as a special relative, one who was between the mother and the grandmother and was taught to speak of her as "my little grandmother." She was considered a special "holy woman" who on certain occasions, particularly when a brother or sister died, performed the rites of sending the spirit away.

All the women of the lodge addressed as "mothers" were treated with respect, and all contributed to the daughters' training.

Mother–son (*na'E'–miniks'*).—The same bonds of love and affection existed between the mother and son as was shared between the mother and daughter. It was based on a close kinship bond, though partially modified by sex dichotomy. As a small child he received the same affection as his sisters. The mother would make toys for his amusement, and, when he was three or four years old, she taught him to give her small items such as a few beads or other trinkets in payment for an especially well-decorated robe, moccasins, or leggings. His mother's brother or an older sibling would assist him in securing presents for the mother. His first knowledge about the clan would come [867] from the mother; she would tell him of men of the clan who had been brave in battle, had brought rain for the crops, had been especially kind to the old people of the clan, or had distinguished themselves in other ways. She taught him not to play in front of the platform at the head of the lodge where the ceremonial paraphernalia was kept and explained that, if he obeyed the older men and was industrious and brave, he would some day be custodian of the bundle. His mother encouraged him to join a Boys Society. The son, as a young single man, assisted in the buffalo hunt and helped his parents with the butchering. If the sister married, she was expected to bring her husband to the lodge. Then, when he married, he would live with his wife in another lodge. As a married man this deep affection for his mother and her sisters continued. When returning with meat, knowing she was without fresh meat, he would go to her lodge first and give her the choicest portions before returning to his wife's family. She received the most valuable mare taken on his first horse-stealing raid if his sisters were small. This bond of

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

affection continued while his mother lived. Although it was considered improper for a man to be alone in the lodge with his daughter, nothing was thought of a son being alone with his mother.

Father-daughter (*tatE'-mi'nuhą'kE*).—The father was a respect relative providing he remained married to the daughter's mother, otherwise he was generally disregarded, since children of divorced mates were reared by the mother. He was expected to provide for the daughter and, in those families where the father and mother were successfully mated, co-operated with his wife in the training of the children. He avoided being alone with his daughter in the lodge.

Father-son (*tatE'-miniks'*).—A son treated his father with a respect which was sacred in character as he was informed at an early age of his father's fasting and war record and was taught to believe that the family's possession of property and good health was attributable to the father's fasting, respect for sacred objects, and kindness to the old people. The father was expected to provide meat for the family, but he took little part in the care of the son until he was old enough to understand the sacred character of certain objects in the lodge. When the son was old enough to play in the group games, he was encouraged to participate and was given game objects. He was encouraged to fast during the Okipa, if for only a day, and his father would loan him a small item from his personal bundle to wear while fasting. The father was an adviser but not a punishing member of the family. The mother or her brother would teach him to seek advice regularly of the father and present him with a small article of value each time the father offered him significant information. The father would explain that the members of his own clan were the son's "fathers" and that he should seek their advice also. By the time a young man was sixteen or seventeen years of age, the advice of distinguished males of the father's clan was frequently sought, and it was their duty, in the event that the son was killed while away from the village, to see that his skull was returned to the village and placed at one of the shrines.

Husband-wife (*mi'woro-mu'hE*).—The Mandan have several terms for a husband and wife. A man addresses his wife as

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and the extended household preserved the structure in spite of numerous separations of individual families.

When marriage was by exchange of gifts and a feast, and the husband lived with his wife's people, he held prior claim to the wife's sisters as they became of marriageable age, and such marriages were encouraged. 587

Older brother–younger brother (*mṷ'kas–mi'cṷ'ka*).—The bond between brothers was very strong. It was based on common blood and residence and included all in the household who stood in an older brother–younger brother relationship. There was no distinction between siblings and children of the mother's sister if all had a common residence. Older brothers cared for their younger brothers, taught them games and the care of the horses, and teased each other mildly. Quarrels were rare and soon forgotten. The older brother who had participated in the ceremonies would urge the younger brother to follow his example and would assist his younger brother in collecting materials to be presented to the father's clan. If the younger brother showed little interest in fasting or ceremonial participation, the older brother could and frequently did severely criticize him. If a brother were killed in battle, his brother was expected to inflict self-torture and to revenge his death. He also had first claim to his brother's widow, and she could not marry until he made known his intentions. 593 [867] [587]

When grown up and married, brothers co-operated in providing for their mother's household. Brothers co-operated in the purchase of ceremonial bundles and rites. This intimate bond continued for life and was extended to include mother's sister's son's and father's brother's sons, the feeling of nearness being determined by residence and participation in joint activities. 592 593

Older sister–younger sister (*mirukE'–ptą'ka*).—The bond between sisters was very strong and was based largely on common blood, mutual activities, and lifelong residence together. No distinction was made between sisters with different fathers, even when the fathers were of different clans. Neither was distinction made between one's own sisters and daughters of the mother's sister if all grew up together in the same household. There was not, however, the same close bond of affection with "sisters" of the father's second wife when his second wife occu-

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592 pied a separate lodge. In fact, there was likely to be mild re-
593 sistance when the girl's own household disapproved of the other marriage which they were obliged to tolerate because of the absence of mature males in their own household. The older sister acted as a "little mother" to her younger sisters, looking out for them while the mother was in the garden or at work
[595] tanning hides. When the older sister married, each of the younger sisters became an eligible mate, and frequently sisters remained together through life, possessing a common husband. They inherited the mother's household and gardens, and the oldest sister became the head of the household. When there were several sisters, the younger ones who did not wish to marry the older sister's husband would move into a lodge where the females were of their clan and closely related, helping the house-
[584] hold with their work in the gardens. Her brother would select a husband for her and provide for the exchange of goods so that, when the older women died, she would have exclusive possession of a lodge of her own. In the late historic villages, it was often impossible to find space for additional lodges, since all were closely grouped within a fortification.

593 Quarrels between sisters were generally unknown, and younger
592 sisters who moved to another lodge did so out of respect to the
611 married sisters, believing that a man having too many wives would not be able to provide for all of them. A sister would raise children of a deceased sister, and, the tribe being matrilinear, there was no change of clans. The relations of sisters to each other and to the mother was the foundation of the Mandan household and was based on the inheritance of the lodge, lodge property, and the gardens. A daughter was expected to help the mother and to take over her mother's property when she died.

593 *Brother–sister* (*mi'cu'ka–ptami'hE*).—Brothers and sisters played together when young, and there was a close bond of affection between them. As they grew older, they avoided being alone together, and the prevailing games and economic activities separated them. Even after marriage, a man considered his mother's household his own. After his mother's death, his interest in his sister and her household continued. He would bring her portions of fresh meat from animals he had killed. If she had no horses, when returning from a raiding expedition, he would

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603 the same clan as the boy's father, on occasions he received presents from his grandson during the ceremonies. A man addressed
[601] as "grandchild" the wives of all those men he addressed as "son" and the spouses of all he addressed as "grandchild."

603 *Grandmother–grandchild* (*maxis'–ptawi'hąkE*).—The maternal grandmother was always present and assisted in the birth
844 and care of her daughter's child and the paternal grandmother was expected to carry out the other's instructions. In case the paternal grandmother had a superior ceremonial bundle and a good reputation for successful deliveries, she was asked to take charge. The child's closest affection was for the grandmother belonging to the lodge group. The grandmother would make clothing for her grandchildren and teach them stories. The paternal grandmother delighted in preparing nice robes and other clothing for son's children and would invite them to her lodge to eat, when she would dress them in the pretty clothes. Informants thought that the father's mother showed more affection for a grandchild than a maternal grandmother, since the former did not have them under foot every day. They thought that grandmothers had a tendency to get cross as they grew old and that the maternal grandmother, while scolding children for jumping on her bed, would scold her own daughter if she thought the children were not treated right.

603 A grandmother was more closely associated with her granddaughter than her grandson. She would teach the granddaugh-
868 ter the arts of dressing hides and making pottery, and she ex-
601 pected payment for this instruction. The grandson was expected to give her meat if she met him at the outskirts of the village without having to ask him for it. This obligation to give meat to a grandmother was extended to include all females addressed as "grandmother." A woman addressed as "grandchild" the wives of all those men she addressed as "son" and the spouses of all she addressed as "grandchild."

604 *Mother's brother–sister's child* (*pta'warato'dE–ptu'hakE*).—The mother's brother was a very important relative in the Mandan
592 matrilinear system, as he had considerable authority over his
613 sister's household even when living in another household. As an occupant of his wife's lodge, he was a subordinate member, but in his sister's lodge, by virtue of his position as the oldest male

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clan member, he was titular head of the lineage. This authority was nominally vested in the oldest male clan member of the household, and the mother's brother assumed this authority when his own mother's brother died or was too feeble to get around. A clan chief was the most distinguished of the mother's brothers of the households comprising the clan. He had considerable authority over his sister's children. He would scold them and frequently ducked a sister's son in the river. At the same time he assumed the responsibility for their final education and participation in the ceremonies and assisted them in the accumulation of robes and horses for ceremonial purchases. He would urge his sister's sons to fast during the ceremonies and would see that they came out. He would tell his sister's sons that the people of the other clans would tease them if his clan was not well represented. He would take his sister's son with him on war expeditions to teach him success in that enterprise.

The mother's brother began early the training of his sister's sons and daughters in the rites of certain tribal bundles and was assisted by the children's mother. It was believed that some young people would not live to maturity; therefore, it was necessary to begin the instruction early in life so that several would know the rites to prevent the bundles from getting out of the household. Since many tribal bundles, particularly those of the Okipa, descended through the closest related male members of the clan, the mother's brother was an important relative for the perpetuation of the ceremonial office within the household. The rule of inheritance for tribal bundles belonging to the clan was: mother's mother's brother; mother's brother; older brother; sister's male child; sister's daughter's male child. Failure to have a qualified male of the household prepared to perform a specific role in the tribal ceremonies would provoke criticism and lead to eventual relinquishment of the bundle.

Father's sister–brother's child (*ptu'minikE-minuha'kE; ptu'-minikE-koni'kE*).—The Mandan speak of the father's sister as a "little grandmother." She was a respect relative by virtue of her possession of certain rights in her brother's bundles. She helped her mother when a brother's child was born and was invariably the one called upon to name a female child, supplying a name associated with a bundle owned in common with her brother.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

meanwhile her parents frequently made arrangements to bring them to the daughter's parental lodge to live. They constructed a side passage from the door so that the son-in-law could enter his section of the lodge without meeting his mother-in-law, and he was expected to remain in his quarters when she was in the lodge. When the lodge was ready, the girl's father presented her husband with a horse or other goods and invited them to live with them. 591

When a man married the oldest sister, he was entitled to marry the younger ones as they became of age by giving them horses. Her parents built additional beds in the son-in-law's section. There was no wedding feast or exchange of goods. 587

A third method of marrying was known as "marriage by mutual agreement." Two people attracted to each other decided to marry without consulting their parents. Sometimes a girl did not approve of her sisters' husband and decided not to marry him. She encouraged a young man so that she could get away from her mother's household. She received two or three horses from her husband and left her parents to live in her husband's lodge. If she had a number of sisters and did not like their husband, she would remain in her husband's lodge and help the women of the household. Whether or not this residence became permanent depended on a number of factors. When the lodge was already occupied by her husband's sisters and their husband, she would attempt to move out with her husband to a household of old women of her clan, especially one where there were no men to provide for the household. Eventually she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens when the old people died. On the other hand, should her husband have no sisters, she would prefer to care for her parents-in-law, whom she treated as "grandparents" and addressed as such, and they would treat her as a woman of the lodge. When they died, she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens. 583 591 428

As a resident of the husband's lodge, a woman's position was subordinate to the other female members of the household group. In case of a quarrel, she was obliged to leave. Should her husband be killed or die, leaving small children and his brother was unable to marry her because of an unco-operative wife, she was sent out of the lodge and was permitted to take 592 768 421

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

592 768 421 only her clothing and children. Even the bedding belonged with the lodge and could not be taken whether she had assisted in tanning and preparing them or not. Responsibility for the children's care rested with her sisters and the female members of her clan.

586 837 578 431 583 Divorce was easy and common. The elopement of a married woman having children with a married man also having children was the cause of much trouble, since it involved so many people. Learning that their brother had eloped with another man's wife, the brothers and sisters would take horses and other property to the injured man to prevent him from causing them injury, since they were accountable for a sibling's conduct. Learning that his wife had run away with another man, he was entitled to retaliate against the man's brothers and sisters and would start killing their horses. My Mandan informants enjoyed relating instances when the brothers and sisters, learning that a brother had eloped with another man's wife, had reached the lodge before the wife was missed. They would come to his lodge in a group leading the horses. Seeing the people with horses, he would hurry into his lodge or go through the village calling for his wife. People considered it very humorous to surprise a man in that way, and it was the subject of gossip for quite a while. He was expected to accept the horses and forget his wife. The elopers usually visited the Crow Indians until 586 837 578 583 the husband was reconciled to his loss. When a prominent man lost his wife, he would usually organize a war party or go out alone against the enemy. He could disregard his former wife, and those most concerned with public opinion usually did. However, a man of position usually called her into his lodge when she returned from her elopement, painted and dressed her, mounted her on a good horse, and took her back to her new husband. Those who cried because a wife eloped or who attempted to take her back or agreed to let her return if she requested it were considered weaklings and not worthy of respect. Bear on the Water, a Mandan, stole the young Arikara wife of Four Bears, the principal war chief of the Hidatsa. While they were away, Four Bears made so many threats that the Mandan were obliged to leave the village for fear of war. He refused to accept horses or to smoke the pipe with Bear on

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

over which a pot hung, were low seats of flexible willow boughs. 363

Henry's description[1] of the interior is probably the best, and is substantially as follows: on entering you first saw a kind of triangular apartment on the left fronting the fire, and leaving an open space on the right; this was to hold firewood. The partition was of squared planks twelve feet high, well calked to keep off the cold from the door. Between this and the fire was a space where the master sat on a mat of small willows supported as a sort of sofa and covered with a buffalo robe. On this the man sat all day and received his friends. To the left of the host began a range of beds. The master occupied the first bed with his favorite wife, then a wife occupied each of the next few beds, then came the young people. These beds were all built alike[2] and adjoined each other lengthwise. At the bottom of the hut facing the master stood his medicine stage containing everything he valued, and most important among them was a pair of bulls' heads daubed with earth. Here also hung his arms, ammunition, scalps and the like. Next to the stage was the mortar, fixed in the ground, and a pestle. The rest of the hut from there to the door was separated off for the horses at night.

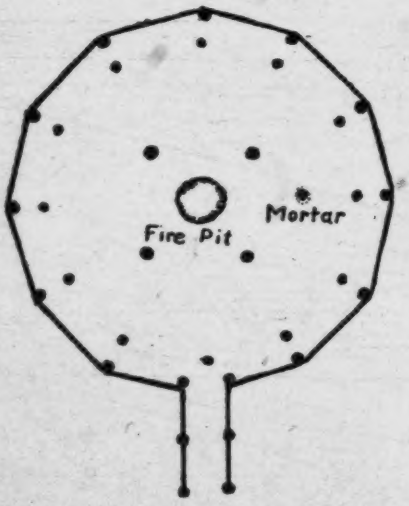

FIG. 3. MANDAN HOUSE.
(After Morgan.)

To this description might be added a few details from Catlin. He says that the cabins usually held a family and all its connections, from twenty to forty people. The beds were raised about two feet from the floor, were usually ten or twelve in number, four or five feet apart, and went all the way around. [592]

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, pp. 339-40.

[2] See for description, p. 113.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

262 which is so favourite a dish among the northern Indians, is not much in use among the Mandans. Their only drink is water, for they are unacquainted with the method of preparing fermented [273] liquors. They did not obtain any spirits, either from the American Fur Company, or the agents of Messrs. Soublette and Campbell; hence an intoxicated person is scarcely ever seen. They are extremely fond of sugar, and likewise of salt, which they procure from their lakes, and, if the supply is insufficient, purchase from the Whites. They are likewise fond of coffee and tea, well sweetened. It has been affirmed, that several North American nations, especially those which speak the Algonquin language, are cannibals, and more particularly the Chippeways and the Potawatomis; but I found no trace of this unnatural custom among the Missouri nations.

592 Two, and sometimes three, families usually live together in an Indian hut, commonly the 595 father, with his married sons or sons-in-law. Polygamy is everywhere practised, and the number 596 of wives differs; however, they have very seldom more than four, and, in general, only one. The women are very skilful in various kinds of work, particularly in dyeing and painting the buffalo 386 robes. They extract a red colour from the roots of the savoyenne, or from buffalo berries; yel- 824 low from a lichen of the Rocky Mountains; black from helianthus, as well as from a black stone 439 or clay; blue and green they extract from European substances. Among the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, the women, as Lewis and Clarke relate, manufacture beads from coloured glass. They powder those which they have obtained from the traders, and mould them into different shapes. This custom is, however, no longer common. The dyeing of the skins, of 323 which many travellers have spoken, employs a great portion of the women's time. These three nations understand the manufacture of earthen pots and vessels, of various forms and sizes. The clay is of a dark slate colour, and burns a yellowish-red, very similar to what is seen in the burnt tops of the Missouri hills. This clay is mixed with flint or granite, reduced to powder by the action of fire. The workwoman forms the hollow inside of the vessel by means of a round stone which she holds in her hand, while she works and smooths the outside with a piece of poplar bark. When the pot is made, it is filled and surrounded with dry shavings, and then burnt, 501 when it is ready for use. They know nothing of glazing. With respect to their boats, the North Americans are far more expert than the Brazilians, Patagonians, and other South Americans, who live on the banks of rivers, and yet have contrived no means to pass them. The Chippeways and other northern nations have handsome vessels of birch bark; the Esquimaux makes his kiack, which is curiously covered with seal skin; and on the Missouri, especially among the Mandans, there are boats of buffalo skin, which are represented in the plates accompanying this work. They are very light, of a circular form, stretched on a frame of several pieces of wood crossing each other, and may be carried on the shoulder of a single individual.

584 If a young Indian desires to marry, and has obtained the consent of the girl, he endeavours to procure that of her father; when he is certain of this, he brings two, three, nay, even eight or

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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361 the lodge. These floors or foundations are all perfectly circular, and varying
342 in size in proportion to the number of inmates, or of the quality or standing of the families which are to occupy them. The superstructure is then produced, by arranging, inside of this circular excavation, firmly fixed in the ground and resting against the bank, a barrier or wall of timbers, some eight or nine inches in diameter, of equal height (about six feet) placed on end, and resting against each other, supported by a formidable embankment of earth raised against them outside; then, resting upon the tops of these timbers or piles, are others of equal size and equal in numbers, of twenty or twenty-five feet in length, resting firmly against each other, and sending their upper or smaller ends towards the centre and top of the lodge; rising at an angle of forty-five degrees to the apex or sky-light, which is about three or four feet in diameter, answering as a chimney and a sky-light at the same time. The roof of the lodge being thus formed, is supported by beams passing around the inner part of the lodge about the middle of these poles or timbers, and themselves upheld by four or five large posts passing down to the floor of the lodge. On the top of, and over the poles forming the roof, is placed a complete mat of willow-boughs, of half a foot or more in thickness, which protects the timbers from the dampness of the earth, with which the lodge is covered from bottom to top, to the depth of two or three feet; and then with a hard or tough clay, which is impervious to water, and which with long use becomes quite hard, and a lounging place for the whole family in pleasant weather—for sage— for wooing lovers—for dogs and all; an airing place—a look-out—a place for gossip and mirth—a seat for the solitary gaze and meditations of the stern warrior, who sits and contemplates the peaceful mirth and happiness that is breathed beneath him, fruits of his hard-fought battles, on fields of desperate combat with bristling Red Men.

342 The floors of these dwellings are of earth, but so hardened by use, and
353 swept so clean, and tracked by bare and moccassined feet, that they have almost a polish, and would scarcely soil the whitest linen. In the centre,
[354] and immediately under the sky-light (PLATE 46) is the fire-place—a hole of four or five feet in diameter, of a circular form, sunk a foot or more below the surface, and curbed around with stone. Over the fire-place, and suspended from the apex of diverging props or poles, is generally seen the pot or kettle, filled with buffalo meat; and around it are the family, reclining in all the most picturesque attitudes and groups, resting on their buffalo-robes
[592] and beautiful mats of rushes. These cabins are so spacious, that they hold
352 from twenty to forty persons—a family and all their connexions. They all sleep on bedsteads similar in form to ours, but generally not quite so high; made of round poles rudely lashed together with thongs. A buffalo skin, fresh stripped from the animal, is stretched across the bottom poles, and about two feet from the floor; which, when it dries, becomes much contracted, and forms a perfect sacking-bottom. The fur side of this skin is placed uppermost, on which they lie with great comfort, with a buffalo-robe

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

In most instances, the unit of extension is the clan, but these relationships are based on individual relations and groups. This point will be further developed in the analysis of the ceremonial structure. 601 614

The following behavioristic pattern prevailing between relatives will illustrate this point. For any individual the total number of relationships into which he entered largely determines his "social personality." The most basic of these are between the members of the elementary family, the parents and the children, but in Mandan society this is frequently modified by the presence of old women of the lodge who occupy a virtual second-mother position. An elementary family consisting of parents and children rarely occupied a lodge to the exclusion of all other relatives. There are eight possible combinations of relatives within an elementary family with a general pattern of behavior existing between each pair. They are: 592 593

Mother–daughter (*na'E'–mi'nuhą'kE*).—An intimate bond of love and affection existed between a mother and her daughter. Not a single instance of quarreling or serious difference was remembered by the Mandan informants, nor were there disputes over property held in common. They worked together in the gardens or performed domestic tasks in the lodge and were very intimate in their daily relations. She taught the child to grind corn and cure meat, to make baskets and clay pots, to dress hides, to color porcupine quills for decorating clothing, and to care for her own personal effects. She taught her daughter to make a small payment, a small colored bead or a few kernels of corn, for each little skill taught her, thus establishing at an early age a significant behavioristic pattern of paying those who taught her a new skill, a myth or song, or who received her into a rite or dance. Usually there were other women in the lodge whom she addressed as "Mother," and, if one of these had no daughter of her own, she would take over or adopt a daughter from the lodge unit for especial affection and care. Frequently the father's older sister, if she had no one to care for her, would come to the lodge to live when the lodge was one that had been erected or owned in the father's line and the mother had come here to live when marrying because the father was needed to care for his relatives who were old. She was called "daughter" 593 868 592 [437] 592 593 604

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

592 593 [604] by the father's sister and treated as a daughter. She, on the other hand, thought of the father's sister as a special relative, one who was between the mother and the grandmother and was taught to speak of her as "my little grandmother." She was considered a special "holy woman" who on certain occasions, particularly when a brother or sister died, performed the rites of sending the spirit away.

All the women of the lodge addressed as "mothers" were treated with respect, and all contributed to the daughters' training.

Mother–son (*na'E'–miniks'*).—The same bonds of love and affection existed between the mother and son as was shared between the mother and daughter. It was based on a close kinship bond, though partially modified by sex dichotomy. As a small child he received the same affection as his sisters. The mother would make toys for his amusement, and, when he was three or four years old, she taught him to give her small items such as a few beads or other trinkets in payment for an especially well-decorated robe, moccasins, or leggings. His mother's brother or an older sibling would assist him in securing presents for the mother. His first knowledge about the clan would come [867] from the mother; she would tell him of men of the clan who had been brave in battle, had brought rain for the crops, had been especially kind to the old people of the clan, or had distinguished themselves in other ways. She taught him not to play in front of the platform at the head of the lodge where the ceremonial paraphernalia was kept and explained that, if he obeyed the older men and was industrious and brave, he would some day be custodian of the bundle. His mother encouraged him to join a Boys Society. The son, as a young single man, assisted in the buffalo hunt and helped his parents with the butchering. If the sister married, she was expected to bring her husband to the lodge. Then, when he married, he would live with his wife in another lodge. As a married man this deep affection for his mother and her sisters continued. When returning with meat, knowing she was without fresh meat, he would go to her lodge first and give her the choicest portions before returning to his wife's family. She received the most valuable mare taken on his first horse-stealing raid if his sisters were small. This bond of

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

affection continued while his mother lived. Although it was considered improper for a man to be alone in the lodge with his daughter, nothing was thought of a son being alone with his mother. 592 593

Father–daughter (*tatE'–mi'nuhą'kE*).—The father was a respect relative providing he remained married to the daughter's mother, otherwise he was generally disregarded, since children of divorced mates were reared by the mother. He was expected to provide for the daughter and, in those families where the father and mother were successfully mated, co-operated with his wife in the training of the children. He avoided being alone with his daughter in the lodge.

Father–son (*tatE'–miniks'*).—A son treated his father with a respect which was sacred in character as he was informed at an early age of his father's fasting and war record and was taught to believe that the family's possession of property and good health was attributable to the father's fasting, respect for sacred objects, and kindness to the old people. The father was expected to provide meat for the family, but he took little part in the care of the son until he was old enough to understand the sacred character of certain objects in the lodge. When the son was old enough to play in the group games, he was encouraged to participate and was given game objects. He was encouraged to fast during the Okipa, if for only a day, and his father would loan him a small item from his personal bundle to wear while fasting. The father was an adviser but not a punishing member of the family. The mother or her brother would teach him to seek advice regularly of the father and present him with a small article of value each time the father offered him significant information. The father would explain that the members of his own clan were the son's "fathers" and that he should seek their advice also. By the time a young man was sixteen or seventeen years of age, the advice of distinguished males of the father's clan was frequently sought, and it was their duty, in the event that the son was killed while away from the village, to see that his skull was returned to the village and placed at one of the shrines. 593 867

Husband–wife (*mi'woro–mu'hE*).—The Mandan have several terms for a husband and wife. A man addresses his wife as 593 601

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

593 [60] *mu'he* and others speak of her as *ku'hE*. An old man addresses an old wife as *mo'kaka*, meaning "old woman," and she addresses him as "old man." The husband usually lived with his wife's people, and the strength of bond between husband and wife was in a large measure determined by the circumstances of marriage. If parents of a lineage possessing an important tribal bundle secured a white buffalo robe and had a daughter or daughters of marriageable age, they would invite in a young man of another family distinguished for its important tribal bundle and complete a marriage. Such marriages were likely to be permanent, since both the husband and the wife were partners in an important ceremony. When children were born, the bond between husband and wife was further strengthened.

593 '462 There was a marked sex dichotomy between husband and wife. The woman did the housework, cared for the gardens, repaired the lodge, and, when on tribal hunts, did much of the butchering, while the man did the hunting, cared for the horses, and protected the village in case of attack. The woman was expected to prepare food for ceremonies in which the husband was participating, and, in the buffalo-calling ceremonies, she was expected to "walk with the buffaloes." She was also expected to "walk" with her husband's "fathers" in ceremonial transfers of age-grade societies.

586 A woman could divorce her husband by the simple expediency of telling him to leave if they were living in the wife's parents' lodge; if living in her husband's parents' lodge, she collected her personal belongings and the children and returned to her parents' lodge. A woman divorced because of cruelty or adultery on the part of her husband, while a man would leave his wife because of trouble with her family or infatuation for another woman.

581 584 596 Few marriages were consummated by mutual selection of the prospective mates; rather the two households made the selection, and children were expected to obey their parents even to the extent of approving mates selected for them. The ties which held husband and wife together were first the respect for their parents, but, when children were born, this parental respect was replaced by mutual affection for the children. Since divorce was easy and common, the household organization was strong,

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and the extended household preserved the structure in spite of numerous separations of individual families.

When marriage was by exchange of gifts and a feast, and the husband lived with his wife's people, he held prior claim to the wife's sisters as they became of marriageable age, and such marriages were encouraged.

Older brother–younger brother (*mụ'kas–mi'cụ'ka*).—The bond between brothers was very strong. It was based on common blood and residence and included all in the household who stood in an older brother–younger brother relationship. There was no distinction between siblings and children of the mother's sister if all had a common residence. Older brothers cared for their younger brothers, taught them games and the care of the horses, and teased each other mildly. Quarrels were rare and soon forgotten. The older brother who had participated in the ceremonies would urge the younger brother to follow his example and would assist his younger brother in collecting materials to be presented to the father's clan. If the younger brother showed little interest in fasting or ceremonial participation, the older brother could and frequently did severely criticize him. If a brother were killed in battle, his brother was expected to inflict self-torture and to revenge his death. He also had first claim to his brother's widow, and she could not marry until he made known his intentions.

When grown up and married, brothers co-operated in providing for their mother's household. Brothers co-operated in the purchase of ceremonial bundles and rites. This intimate bond continued for life and was extended to include mother's sister's son's and father's brother's sons, the feeling of nearness being determined by residence and participation in joint activities.

Older sister–younger sister (*mirukE'–pta'ka*).—The bond between sisters was very strong and was based largely on common blood, mutual activities, and lifelong residence together. No distinction was made between sisters with different fathers, even when the fathers were of different clans. Neither was distinction made between one's own sisters and daughters of the mother's sister if all grew up together in the same household. There was not, however, the same close bond of affection with "sisters" of the father's second wife when his second wife occu-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

592 pied a separate lodge. In fact, there was likely to be mild re-
593 sistance when the girl's own household disapproved of the other marriage which they were obliged to tolerate because of the absence of mature males in their own household. The older sister acted as a "little mother" to her younger sisters, looking out for them while the mother was in the garden or at work
[595] tanning hides. When the older sister married, each of the younger sisters became an eligible mate, and frequently sisters remained together through life, possessing a common husband. They inherited the mother's household and gardens, and the oldest sister became the head of the household. When there were several sisters, the younger ones who did not wish to marry the older sister's husband would move into a lodge where the females were of their clan and closely related, helping the house-
[584] hold with their work in the gardens. Her brother would select a husband for her and provide for the exchange of goods so that, when the older women died, she would have exclusive possession of a lodge of her own. In the late historic villages, it was often impossible to find space for additional lodges, since all were closely grouped within a fortification.

593 Quarrels between sisters were generally unknown, and younger
592 sisters who moved to another lodge did so out of respect to the
611 married sisters, believing that a man having too many wives would not be able to provide for all of them. A sister would raise children of a deceased sister, and, the tribe being matrilinear, there was no change of clans. The relations of sisters to each other and to the mother was the foundation of the Mandan household and was based on the inheritance of the lodge, lodge property, and the gardens. A daughter was expected to help the mother and to take over her mother's property when she died.

593 *Brother-sister* (*mi'cu'ka-ptami'hE*).—Brothers and sisters played together when young, and there was a close bond of affection between them. As they grew older, they avoided being alone together, and the prevailing games and economic activities separated them. Even after marriage, a man considered his mother's household his own. After his mother's death, his interest in his sister and her household continued. He would bring her portions of fresh meat from animals he had killed. If she had no horses, when returning from a raiding expedition, he would

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

give her the best mare taken. She would not refuse him anything he asked of her, and, if he were killed while fighting with the enemy, she was expected to inflict self-torture and dress in mourning. She would assist her brothers in acquiring property needed for the ceremonies. This bond of mutual assistance was not affected by his subsequent marriage. Brothers and sisters were supposed to share in the perpetuation of their parents' ceremonial bundles. In old age, when their respective families were broken up by deaths, brothers would frequently return to the parental lodge. The smallpox epidemic of 1837 left many orphans, and these were taken into households where the females were of the same clan.

Grandfather–grandchild (*tata'xis–ptawi'hąkE*).—The grandfather–grandchild relation was, in general, one of affection. The grandfather would make toys for his grandsons, teach them stories, and watch after them when on summer buffalo hunts, especially when moving camp or while the men and women of middle age were busy butchering and drying meat. Of the large number of persons addressed as "grandfather," the closest relations were those associated with him in the daily life of the household. The lodge grandfather was usually the one to take a grandson to the river early each morning to bathe. He teased his grandson mildly for falling off a horse or for small infractions of tribal custom, but the grandson would not reciprocate, since the grandfather was respected for his knowledge of tribal lore, the enemies he had struck, or the horses he had captured. A young man was expected to respect older people as holy, since in their lifetime they had had experiences with sacred things in the ceremonies.

The grandfather would play with a granddaughter when she was young and teach her stories. When she attained the age of ten years, he would avoid her lest people gossip. Should he come into the lodge and find a granddaughter alone, he would leave immediately.

A grandfather never punished grandchildren, but he would scold them. A grandfather living in the lodge was highly respected and was very helpful in preparing a grandson for ceremonies and war expeditions. If he became cross as he grew old, the grandson generally avoided him. If the grandfather was of

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

his fundamental training in warfare. In company with other 785
young men, and frequently afoot, whereas the main party was on 701
horseback, they were required to travel ahead, watching from 726
high buttes, and by means of signals to report the presence of an enemy or horses. It was necessary for the scouts to keep in touch with their leader, who, in turn, was intrusted with the duty of relaying information to the main body. New scouts were taught the proper posture when running to prevent premature exhaustion, and there were contests between scouts to determine their relative durability in reaching distant lookout points. The leader of the scouts reported the winners to the leader, who praised them publicly when the party returned to the village. The old women then sang their victory songs while the old men encouraged more fasting.

A sister was taught that fasting while her brother was away 785
on war expeditions would bring him success in "striking the 593
enemy" or capturing horses. She would take quill work with 765
her at daybreak and leave the village for a low hill or mound or recline on a platform in the garden where she would cry for his success, addressing her prayers to all the holy things. If the expedition was long overdue, she would go to the scaffolds of deceased relatives or skull circles to weep, returning to her lodge each evening. Successful war parties returned to the village at daybreak, and she would leave her lodge immediately to meet her brother. If he had captured horses, the best animal was presented to her. This was equivalent to presenting the horse to all the females of his mother's lodge. These females, on the other hand, were the principal mourners if he were killed, and the married sisters were expected to undergo extreme self-inflicted torture by gashing their bodies, cutting off the ends of fingers, cutting their hair, and shortening their dresses.

Their brothers fasted four, seven, or nine days without food 785
or water, remaining outside the village in some secluded spot
for the full period of the fast. From time to time, the father 787
would send a clan brother to observe whether his son was endangering his life, and he could stop the fast if in his opinion the young man's self-torture was excessive. A young man returning from fasting which had not induced a vision was given an object from his father's bundle to carry on war expeditions and

593 Sisters have great privileges among these Indians. All the horses which a young man steals, or captures in war, belong to them. If an Indian returns from an expedition on horseback, and meets his sister, he will immediately alight, and give her the horse; on the other hand, if he wishes to possess some object of value belonging to his sister, for instance, a dress, he goes and abruptly demands it, and immediately receives it; even should it be the very dress she is wearing, she will take it off at once, and give it to her brother.

837 Prudery is not a virtue of the Indian women; they have often two, three, or more lovers: infidelity is not often punished. There was only one woman among the Mandans, a piece of whose nose was cut off, a circumstance which is very common among the Blackfeet. If an Indian elopes with a married woman, the husband whom she has abandoned avenges himself by seizing the seducer's property, his horses and other things of value, to which the latter must quietly [587] submit. Such a woman is never taken back. If a man has the eldest daughter of a family for his wife, he has a right to all her sisters. A chief business of the young men among these Indian 584 tribes is to try their fortune with the young maidens and the women, and this, together with their 836 toilet, fills up the greater part of their time. They do not meet with many coy beauties. In the evening, and generally till late at night, they roam about the villages, or in the vicinity, or from one village to the other. They have a singular mode of displaying their achievements in this field, especially when they visit the women in their best dresses. On these occasions they endeavour to gain credit by the variety of their triumphs, and mark the number of conquered beauties by bundles of peeled osier twigs, painted red at the tips. These sticks are of two kinds. Most of them are from two to three feet in length, others five or six feet. The latter, being carried singly, are painted with white and red rings alternately, which indicates the number of conquests. The shorter sticks are only painted red at the tips, and every stick indicates an exploit, the number of which is often bound up into a pretty large bundle. Thick fasces of this kind are carried about by the dandies in their gallant excursions. Among the Mandans these sticks are generally quite plain; among the Manitaries, on the contrary, there is, usually, in the middle of the bundle, one larger stick, at the end of which there is a tuft of black feathers. These feathers indicate the favourite, and the dandies tell everybody that she is the person for whom this honour is intended. (See Plate XXI. Fig. 6.)

If these people have had familiar intercourse with a person who wore the white buffalo robe, a piece of skin of that colour is fastened to the stick; if she wore a red blanket, or buffalo robe, a piece of red cloth is fastened to the stick. This custom, which is well known among the Mandans and Manitaries, has not, to my knowledge, been mentioned by any traveller.

601 They have distinct names for the several degrees of relationship. The father's brother is 000 called father, and the mother's sister, mother; cousins are called brothers and sisters. The

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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From the enslaved and degraded condition in which the women are held in the Indian country, the world would naturally think that theirs must be a community formed of incongruous and unharmonizing materials; and consequently destitute of the fine, reciprocal feelings and attachments which flow from the domestic relations in the civilized world; yet it would be untrue, and doing injustice to the Indians, to say that they were in the least behind us in conjugal, in filial, and in paternal affection. There is no trait in the human character which is more universal than the attachments which flow from these relations, and there is no part of the human species who have a stronger affection and a higher regard for them than the North American Indians. 593

There is no subject in the Indian character of more importance to be rightly understood than this, and none either that has furnished me more numerous instances and more striking proofs, of which I shall make use on a future occasion, when I shall say a vast deal more of marriage—of divorce—of polygamy—and of Indian domestic relations. For the present I am scribbling about the looks and usages of the Indians who are about me and under my eye; and I must not digress too much into general remarks, lest I lose sight of those who are near me, and the first to be heralded. 000

Such, then, are the Mandans—their women are beautiful and modest,—and amongst the respectable families, virtue is as highly cherished and as inapproachable, as in any society whatever; yet at the same time a chief may marry a dozen wives if he pleases, and so may a white man; and if either wishes to marry the most beautiful and modest girl in the tribe, she is valued only equal, perhaps, to two horses, a gun with powder and ball for a year, five or six pounds of beads, a couple of gallons of whiskey, and a handful of awls. 583

The girls of this tribe, like those of most of these north-western tribes, marry at the age of twelve or fourteen, and some at the age of eleven years; and their beauty, from this fact, as well as from the slavish life they lead, soon after marriage vanishes. Their occupations are almost continual, and they seem to go industriously at them, as if from choice or inclination, without a murmur. 582

The principal occupations of the women in this village, consist in procuring wood and water, in cooking, dressing robes and other skins, in drying meat and wild fruit, and raising corn (maize). The Mandans are somewhat of agriculturists, as they raise a great deal of corn and some pumpkins and squashes. This is all done by the women, who make their hoes of the shoulder-blade of the buffalo or the elk, and dig the ground over instead of ploughing it, which is consequently done with a vast deal of labour. They raise a very small sort of corn, the ears of which are not longer than a man's thumb. This variety is well adapted to their climate, as it ripens sooner than other varieties, which would not mature in so cold a latitude. The green corn season is one of great festivity with them, and one of much importance. The greater part of their crop is eaten during these festivals, 462 241 251

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

592 pied a separate lodge. In fact, there was likely to be mild re-
593 sistance when the girl's own household disapproved of the other marriage which they were obliged to tolerate because of the absence of mature males in their own household. The older sister acted as a "little mother" to her younger sisters, looking out for them while the mother was in the garden or at work tanning hides. When the older sister married, each of the [595] younger sisters became an eligible mate, and frequently sisters remained together through life, possessing a common husband. They inherited the mother's household and gardens, and the oldest sister became the head of the household. When there were several sisters, the younger ones who did not wish to marry the older sister's husband would move into a lodge where the females were of their clan and closely related, helping the house-
[584] hold with their work in the gardens. Her brother would select a husband for her and provide for the exchange of goods so that, when the older women died, she would have exclusive possession of a lodge of her own. In the late historic villages, it was often impossible to find space for additional lodges, since all were closely grouped within a fortification.

593 Quarrels between sisters were generally unknown, and younger
592 sisters who moved to another lodge did so out of respect to the
611 married sisters, believing that a man having too many wives would not be able to provide for all of them. A sister would raise children of a deceased sister, and, the tribe being matrilinear, there was no change of clans. The relations of sisters to each other and to the mother was the foundation of the Mandan household and was based on the inheritance of the lodge, lodge property, and the gardens. A daughter was expected to help the mother and to take over her mother's property when she died.

593 *Brother–sister* (*mi'cu'ka–ptami'hE*).—Brothers and sisters played together when young, and there was a close bond of affection between them. As they grew older, they avoided being alone together, and the prevailing games and economic activities separated them. Even after marriage, a man considered his mother's household his own. After his mother's death, his interest in his sister and her household continued. He would bring her portions of fresh meat from animals he had killed. If she had no horses, when returning from a raiding expedition, he would

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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The sixth group was that of the "Black-tail Deer" and consisted of men over fifty years of age. There were two women in this band who served food and distributed fresh water during the dances. The men wore a crown of bears' claws. 561

There were a few other dances which were bought and sold, but which hardly deserve a place in the regular system. One of these was the dance of the "Half Shaven Head Band" which the lowest band could buy before reaching the proper age to buy into the "Soldier Band." Another was the "Old Dog Dance." The "Dog Band" could buy this of the "Buffalo Band" before becoming Buffalos themselves or being able to. The "Hot Dance" was danced at Rouhptare by the youngest band, and also at the Hidatsa village where it was purchased from the Arikara. The dancers danced barefoot over live coals and plunged their hands into boiling water. 561 424 535

The women, too, were divided into bands. There were four of these of which the first was "The Band of the Gun" which consisted of the younger girls. Next was the "River Band." The third band was the "Hay Women" who sang only the scalp dance. The fourth and last band was that of the "Women of the White Cow," most of them were old, and they were all tattooed with black lines from the mouth to the base of the chin. 561 [304]

The marriage customs of the Mandan Indians differed little from those of their neighbors. Polygamy was common, although a large part of the men had but one wife. Descent was probably along the male line, though there may have been remains of an older custom of descent along the female line, for all the horses captured by a young man belonged to his sister. The women worked hard and were sometimes badly treated though not as a general rule. Lewis and Clarke says that infidelity was punishable by death. Maximilian says it was punishable by cutting off the woman's nose. When a man's wife was stolen he had a right to demand a horse from the abductor. Separations occurred among them quite frequently. Virtue among the women was held in high esteem but was rather scarce. There are accounts of a celebration where prizes were given to the virtuous maids — these celebrations also took place 595 611 562 684 [586] 831 171

262 which is so favourite a dish among the northern Indians, is not much in use among the Mandans. Their only drink is water, for they are unacquainted with the method of preparing fermented [273] liquors. They did not obtain any spirits, either from the American Fur Company, or the agents of Messrs. Soublette and Campbell; hence an intoxicated person is scarcely ever seen. They are extremely fond of sugar, and likewise of salt, which they procure from their lakes, and, if the supply is insufficient, purchase from the Whites. They are likewise fond of coffee and tea, well sweetened. It has been affirmed, that several North American nations, especially those which speak the Algonquin language, are cannibals, and more particularly the Chippeways and the Potawatomis; but I found no trace of this unnatural custom among the Missouri nations.

592 Two, and sometimes three, families usually live together in an Indian hut, commonly the 595 father, with his married sons or sons-in-law. Polygamy is everywhere practised, and the number 596 of wives differs; however, they have very seldom more than four, and, in general, only one. The women are very skilful in various kinds of work, particularly in dyeing and painting the buffalo 386 robes. They extract a red colour from the roots of the savoyenne, or from buffalo berries; yel- 824 low from a lichen of the Rocky Mountains; black from helianthus, as well as from a black stone 439 or clay; blue and green they extract from European substances. Among the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, the women, as Lewis and Clarke relate, manufacture beads from coloured glass. They powder those which they have obtained from the traders, and mould them into different shapes. This custom is, however, no longer common. The dyeing of the skins, of 323 which many travellers have spoken, employs a great portion of the women's time. These three nations understand the manufacture of earthen pots and vessels, of various forms and sizes. The clay is of a dark slate colour, and burns a yellowish-red, very similar to what is seen in the burnt tops of the Missouri hills. This clay is mixed with flint or granite, reduced to powder by the action of fire. The workwoman forms the hollow inside of the vessel by means of a round stone which she holds in her hand, while she works and smooths the outside with a piece of poplar bark. When the pot is made, it is filled and surrounded with dry shavings, and then burnt, 501 when it is ready for use. They know nothing of glazing. With respect to their boats, the North Americans are far more expert than the Brazilians, Patagonians, and other South Americans, who live on the banks of rivers, and yet have contrived no means to pass them. The Chippeways and other northern nations have handsome vessels of birch bark; the Esquimaux makes his kiack, which is curiously covered with seal skin; and on the Missouri, especially among the Mandans, there are boats of buffalo skin, which are represented in the plates accompanying this work. They are very light, of a circular form, stretched on a frame of several pieces of wood crossing each other, and may be carried on the shoulder of a single individual.

584 If a young Indian desires to marry, and has obtained the consent of the girl, he endeavours to procure that of her father; when he is certain of this, he brings two, three, nay, even eight or

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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251 bread in the civilized world. It is made of buffalo meat dried very hard, and afterwards pounded in a large wooden mortar until it is made nearly as fine as sawdust, then packed in this dry state in bladders or sacks of skin, and is easily carried to any part of the world in good order. "Marrow-fat" is collected by the Indians from the buffalo bones which they break to pieces, yielding a prodigious quantity of marrow, which is boiled out and put into buffalo bladders which have been distended; and after it cools, becomes quite hard like tallow, and has the appearance, and very nearly the flavour, of the richest yellow butter. At a feast, chunks of this marrow-fat are cut off and placed in a tray or bowl, with the pemican, and eaten together; which we civilized folks in these regions consider a very good substitute for (and indeed we generally so denominate it) "bread and
415 butter." In this dish laid a spoon made of the buffalo's horn, which was black as jet, and beautifully polished; in one of the others there was another of still more ingenious and beautiful workmanship, made of the horn of the mountain-sheep, or "Gros corn," as the French trappers call them; it was large enough to hold of itself two or three pints, and was almost entirely transparent.

I spoke also of the earthen dishes or bowls in which these viands were served out; they are a familiar part of the culinary furniture of every Mandan lodge, and are manufactured by the women of this tribe in great quantities, and modelled into a thousand forms and tastes. They are made by the hands of the women, from a tough black clay, and baked in kilns which are made for the purpose, and are nearly equal in hardness to our own manufacture of pottery; though they have not yet got the art of glazing, which would be to them a most valuable secret. They make them so strong and serviceable, however, that they hang them over the fire as we do our iron pots, and boil their meat in them with perfect success. I have seen some few specimens of such manufacture, which have been dug up in Indian mounds and tombs in the southern and middle states, placed in our Eastern Museums and looked upon as a great wonder, when here this novelty is at once done away with, and the whole mystery; where women can be seen handling and using them by hundreds, and they can be seen every day in the summer also, moulding them into many fanciful forms, and passing them through the kiln where they are hardened.

576 Whilst sitting at this feast the wigwam was as silent as death, although we
595 were not alone in it. This chief, like most others, had a plurality of wives, and all of them (some six or seven) were seated around the sides of the lodge, upon robes or mats placed upon the ground, and not allowed to speak, though they were it readiness to obey his orders or commands, which were uniformly given by signs manual, and executed in the neatest and most silent manner.

431 When I arose to return, the pipe through which we had smoked was presented to me; and the robe on which I had sat, he gracefully raised by the corners and tendered it to me, explaining by signs that the paintings

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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LETTER—No. 17.

MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

595 171 I MENTIONED in the foregoing epistle, that the chiefs of the Mandans frequently have a plurality of wives. Such is the custom amongst all of these North Western tribes, and a few general remarks on this subject will apply to them all, and save the trouble of repeating them.

Polygamy is countenanced amongst all of the North American Indians, so far as I have visited them; and it is no uncommon thing to find a chief with six, eight, or ten, and some with twelve or fourteen wives in his lodge. Such is an ancient custom, and in their estimation is right as well as necessary. 562 595 Women in a savage state, I believe, are always held in a rank inferior to that of the men, in relation to whom in many respects they stand rather in the light of menials and slaves than otherwise; and as they are the "hewers of wood and drawers of water," it becomes a matter of necessity for a chief (who must be liberal, keep open doors, and entertain, for the support of his popularity) to have in his wigwam a sufficient number of such handmaids or menials to perform the numerous duties and drudgeries of so large and expensive an establishment.

595 556 462 There are two other reasons for this custom which operate with equal, if not with greater force than the one above assigned. In the first place, these people, though far behind the civilized world in acquisitiveness, have still more or less passion for the accumulation of wealth, or, in other words, for the luxuries of life; and a chief, excited by a desire of this kind, together with a wish to be able to furnish his lodge with something more than ordinary for the entertainment of his own people, as well as strangers who fall upon his hospitality, sees fit to marry a number of wives, who are kept at hard labour during most of the year; and the avails of that labour enable him to procure those luxuries, and give to his lodge the appearance of respectability which is not ordinarily seen. Amongst those tribes who trade with the Fur Companies, this system is carried out to a great extent, and the women are kept for the greater part of the year, dressing buffalo robes and other skins for the market; and the brave or chief, who has the greatest number of wives, is considered the most affluent and envied man in the tribe; for his table is most bountifully supplied, and his lodge the most abundantly furnished with the luxuries

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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of civilized manufacture, who has at the year's end the greatest number of robes to vend to the Fur Company. 595

The manual labour amongst savages is all done by the women; and as there are no daily labourers or persons who will "*hire out*" to labour for another, it becomes necessary for him who requires more than the labour or services of one, to add to the number by legalizing and compromising by the ceremony of marriage, his stock of labourers; who can thus, and thus alone, be easily enslaved, and the results of their labour turned to good account. 556 462

There is yet the other inducement, which probably is more effective than either; the natural inclination which belongs to man, who stands high in the estimation of his people and wields the sceptre of power—surrounded by temptations which he considers it would be unnatural to resist, where no law or regulation of society stands in the way of his enjoyment. Such a custom amongst savage nations can easily be excused too, and we are bound to excuse it, when we behold man in a state of nature, as he was made, following a natural inclination, which is sanctioned by ancient custom and by their religion, without a law or regulation of their society to discountenance it; and when, at the same time, such an accumulation of a man's household, instead of quadrupling his expenses (as would be the case in the civilized world), actually becomes his wealth, as the results of their labour abundantly secure to him all the necessaries and luxuries of life. 595

There are other and very rational grounds on which the propriety of such a custom may be urged, one of which is as follows:—as all nations of Indians in their natural condition are unceasingly at war with the tribes that are about them, for the adjustment of ancient and never-ending feuds, as well as from a love of glory, to which in Indian life the battle-field is almost the only road, their warriors are killed off to that extent, that in many instances two and sometimes three women to a man are found in a tribe. In such instances I have found that the custom of polygamy has kindly helped the community to an evident relief from a cruel and prodigious calamity.

The instances of which I have above spoken, are generally confined to the chiefs and medicine-men; though there is no regulation prohibiting a poor or obscure individual from marrying several wives, other than the personal difficulties which lie between him and the hand which he wishes in vain to get, for want of sufficient celebrity in society, or from a still more frequent objection, that of his inability (from want of worldly goods) to deal in the customary way with the fathers of the girls whom he would appropriate to his own household.

There are very few instances indeed, to be seen in these regions, where a poor or ordinary citizen has more than one wife; but amongst chiefs and braves of great reputation, and doctors, it is common to see some six or

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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595 eight living under one roof, and all apparently quiet and contented; seemingly harmonizing, and enjoying the modes of life and treatment that falls to their lot.

583 Wives in this country are mostly treated for with the father, as in all instances they are regularly bought and sold. In many cases the bargain is made with the father alone, without ever consulting the inclinations of the girl, and seems to be conducted on his part as a mercenary contract entirely, where he stands out for the highest price he can possibly command for her. There are other instances to be sure, where the parties approach each other, and from the expression of a mutual fondness, make their own arrangements, and pass their own mutual vows, which are quite as sacred and inviolable as similar assurances when made in the civilized world. Yet even in such cases, the marriage is never consummated without the necessary form of making presents to the father of the girl.

177 It becomes a matter of policy and almost of absolute necessity, for the white men who are Traders in these regions to connect themselves in this way, to one or more of the most influential families in the tribe, which in a measure identifies their interest with that of the nation, and enables them, with the influence of their new family connexions, to carry on successfully their business transactions with them. The young women of the best families only can aspire to such an elevation; and the most of them are exceedingly ambitious for such a connexion, inasmuch as they are certain of a delightful exemption from the slavish duties that devolve upon them when married under other circumstances; and expect to be, as they generally are, allowed to lead a life of ease and idleness, covered with mantles of blue and scarlet cloth—with beads and trinkets, and ribbons, in which they flounce and flirt about, the envied and tinselled belles of every tribe.

These connexions, however, can scarcely be called marriages, for I believe they are generally entered into without the form or solemnizing ceremony of a marriage, and on the part of the father of the girls, conducted purely as a mercenary or business transaction; in which they are very expert, and practice a deal of shrewdness in exacting an adequate price from a purchaser whom they consider possessed of so large and so rich a stock of the world's goods; and who they deem abundantly able to pay liberally for so delightful a commodity.

Almost every Trader and every clerk who commences in the business of this country, speedily enters into such an arrangement, which is done with as little ceremony as he would bargain for a horse, and just as unceremoniously do they annul and abolish this connexion when they wish to leave the country, or change their positions from one tribe to another; at which time the woman is left, a fair and proper candidate for matrimony or speculation, when another applicant comes along, and her father equally desirous for another horse or gun, &c. which he can easily command at her second espousal.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

593 [601] *mu'he* and others speak of her as *ku'hE*. An old man addresses an old wife as *mo'kaka*, meaning "old woman," and she addresses him as "old man." The husband usually lived with his wife's people, and the strength of bond between husband and wife was in a large measure determined by the circumstances of marriage. If parents of a lineage possessing an important tribal bundle secured a white buffalo robe and had a daughter or daughters of marriageable age, they would invite in a young man of another family distinguished for its important tribal bundle and complete a marriage. Such marriages were likely to be permanent, since both the husband and the wife were partners in an important ceremony. When children were born, the bond between husband and wife was further strengthened.

593 '462 There was a marked sex dichotomy between husband and wife. The woman did the housework, cared for the gardens, repaired the lodge, and, when on tribal hunts, did much of the butchering, while the man did the hunting, cared for the horses, and protected the village in case of attack. The woman was expected to prepare food for ceremonies in which the husband was participating, and, in the buffalo-calling ceremonies, she was expected to "walk with the buffaloes." She was also expected to "walk" with her husband's "fathers" in ceremonial transfers of age-grade societies.

586 A woman could divorce her husband by the simple expediency of telling him to leave if they were living in the wife's parents' lodge; if living in her husband's parents' lodge, she collected her personal belongings and the children and returned to her parents' lodge. A woman divorced because of cruelty or adultery on the part of her husband, while a man would leave his wife because of trouble with her family or infatuation for another woman.

581 584 596 Few marriages were consummated by mutual selection of the prospective mates; rather the two households made the selection, and children were expected to obey their parents even to the extent of approving mates selected for them. The ties which held husband and wife together were first the respect for their parents, but, when children were born, this parental respect was replaced by mutual affection for the children. Since divorce was easy and common, the household organization was strong,

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and the extended household preserved the structure in spite of numerous separations of individual families.

When marriage was by exchange of gifts and a feast, and the husband lived with his wife's people, he held prior claim to the wife's sisters as they became of marriageable age, and such marriages were encouraged.

Older brother–younger brother (*mɥ'kas–mi'cɥ'ka*).—The bond between brothers was very strong. It was based on common blood and residence and included all in the household who stood in an older brother–younger brother relationship. There was no distinction between siblings and children of the mother's sister if all had a common residence. Older brothers cared for their younger brothers, taught them games and the care of the horses, and teased each other mildly. Quarrels were rare and soon forgotten. The older brother who had participated in the ceremonies would urge the younger brother to follow his example and would assist his younger brother in collecting materials to be presented to the father's clan. If the younger brother showed little interest in fasting or ceremonial participation, the older brother could and frequently did severely criticize him. If a brother were killed in battle, his brother was expected to inflict self-torture and to revenge his death. He also had first claim to his brother's widow, and she could not marry until he made known his intentions.

When grown up and married, brothers co-operated in providing for their mother's household. Brothers co-operated in the purchase of ceremonial bundles and rites. This intimate bond continued for life and was extended to include mother's sister's son's and father's brother's sons, the feeling of nearness being determined by residence and participation in joint activities.

Older sister–younger sister (*mirukE'–ptɑ'ka*).—The bond between sisters was very strong and was based largely on common blood, mutual activities, and lifelong residence together. No distinction was made between sisters with different fathers, even when the fathers were of different clans. Neither was distinction made between one's own sisters and daughters of the mother's sister if all grew up together in the same household. There was not, however, the same close bond of affection with "sisters" of the father's second wife when his second wife occu-

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

262 which is so favourite a dish among the northern Indians, is not much in use among the Mandans. Their only drink is water, for they are unacquainted with the method of preparing fermented liquors. They did not obtain any spirits, either from the American Fur Company, or the agents [273] of Messrs. Soublette and Campbell; hence an intoxicated person is scarcely ever seen. They are extremely fond of sugar, and likewise of salt, which they procure from their lakes, and, if the supply is insufficient, purchase from the Whites. They are likewise fond of coffee and tea, well sweetened. It has been affirmed, that several North American nations, especially those which speak the Algonquin language, are cannibals, and more particularly the Chippeways and the Potawatomis; but I found no trace of this unnatural custom among the Missouri nations.

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ten horses, and fastens them to the hut of the young woman, who gives them to her father. The 584
latter then takes other horses, and if he has them not himself, his relations assist him, and these horses are fastened, in return, to the hut of the intended son-in-law. In such a case an estimate is previously made of the number of horses possessed by the woman's relations, for all presents are returned in equal number. The bride next boils some maize, and daily carries a kettle or dish filled with it to the hut of the bridegroom. After some time has elapsed, the young man repairs [585]
to the hut of his bride, where he passes the night with her, and the marriage is considered as complete. The young couple often continue to reside in the hut of the father-in-law, but they more 591
frequently build a new hut for themselves; sometimes, however, they afterwards separate. The 596
father-in-law is, subsequently, the principal person in the hut; everything depends on him, and is done on his account, and for him; if game is killed, the flesh is first presented to him, &c. There [163]
are often many children in these Indian families; some had as many as ten; yet, on the whole, the Indians have not so many children as the Whites, doubtless because they keep them longer at the breast. They are extremely fond of them, but the children are often weak and sickly, in con- 856
sequence, it is supposed, of the hard labour which the women have to perform. I was universally 844
assured, that the new-born children are of a reddish colour. The births are, in general, extremely easy, and the mother bathes in the river immediately afterwards, even if it is frozen; in ten days the child is considered as safe, having got over the most dangerous period. A person is 553
paid to give it the name chosen by the parents and relations. The child is held up, then turned to all sides of the heavens, in the direction of the course of the sun, and its name proclaimed. They have cradles for their infants, consisting of a leather bag, which is suspended by a strap to 854
a cross beam in the hut. These cradles of the Mandans are not so elegant and beautifully worked as those which we saw among the Sioux and Assiniboins. The children of these Indians are sub- 861
ject to no kind of discipline whatever; they may do and say whatever they please, and nobody 865
finds fault with them. Everything is done to excite a spirit of independence and self-will in the boys; if the mother speaks to one of them, he will very likely slap her face, or kick her, nay, sometimes he will do the same to his father, who says, coolly, bowing his head, this boy will one day become a famous warrior. The men sometimes treat their wives very brutally; and it 562
has not unfrequently happened, that a woman, after such treatment, has left the hut and hanged 762
herself on a tree. This lately happened in the case of an aged woman, whose grown-up son had ill-treated her. She was missed, and was afterwards found suspended from a tree. The women have nothing to indemnify them for their incessant and laborious work, not even good clothing, for this right of the fair sex in Europe is claimed among the Indians by the men. It is singular that these women, who are condemned constantly to work like slaves, refuse to do any work whatever if they marry a white man, and, the Whites being entirely in the power of the Indians, and the relations of their wives, they are obliged to submit to this. Sisters have great 000

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

cloudy with some snow. About seventy lodges of Assiniboines and some Knistenaux are at the Mandan village, and this being the day of adoption and exchange of property between them all, it is accompanied by a dance, which prevents our seeing more than two Indians today. These Knistenaux are a band of Chippeways whose language they speak. They live on the Assiniboine and Saskashawan rivers, and are about two hundred and forty men." (id 173)

Hostilities With Assiniboines and Knistenauxs. "Sunday, November 18. Today we had a cold windy morning. The Black Cat came to see us, and occupied us for a long time with questions on the usages of our country. He mentioned that a council had been held yesterday to deliberate on the state of their affairs. It seemed that not long ago, a party of Sioux fell in with some horses belonging to the Minnetarees, and carried them off; but in their flight they were met by some of the Assiniboines, who killed the Sioux and kept the horses. A Frenchman, too, who had lived many years among the Mandans, was lately killed on his route to the British factory on the Assiniboine. Some smaller differences existed between the two nations, all of which being discussed, the council decided that they would not resent the recent insults from the Assiniboines and Knistenaux, until they had seen whether we had deceived them or not in our promises of furnishing them with arms and ammunition. They had been disappointed in their hopes of receiving them from Mr. Evans, and were afraid that we too, like him, might tell them what was not true. We advised them to continue at peace, that supplies of every kind would no doubt arrive for them, but that time was necessary to organize the trade. The fact is, that the Assiniboines treat the Mandans as the Sioux do the Ricaras; by their vicinity to the British they get all the supplies, which they withhold or give at pleasure to the remoter Indians. The consequence is, that however badly treated, the Mandans and Ricaras are very slow to retaliate, lest they should lose their trade altogether." (id 175.)

Fort Mandan. "Tuesday, 20th. We this day moved into our huts, which are now completed. This place, which we call Ft. Mandan, is situated in a point of low ground, on the north side of the Missouri, covered with tall and heavy cottonwood. The works consist of two rows of huts or sheds, forming an angle

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

pecially important in Mandan social and ceremonial life, since individuals in the father's father's lineage usually occupy a closer relationship through marriage. 601 613

These lineages are the basis of the Mandan kinship structure; they extend kinship relations beyond the elementary family to the limits of the tribe; they regulate the behavior and social 613

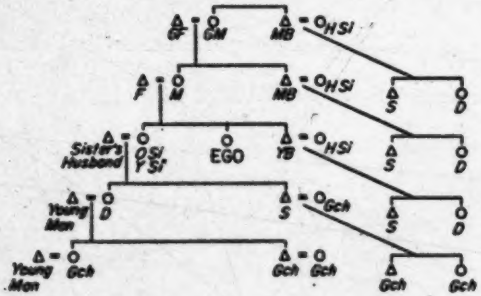

FIG. 11.—Mother's lineage. Ego = female

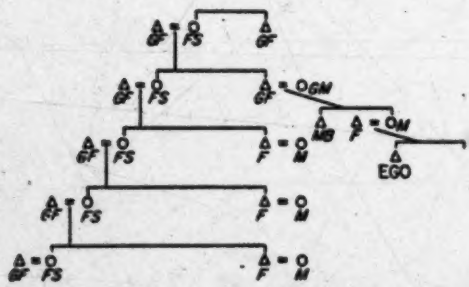

FIG. 12.—Mother's father's lineage. Ego = male

relations of the entire village. The extension of this lineage principle united the various villages into a tribal unit.

The Mandan had numerous methods of extending the range of kinship, and the character of the pattern resulting from this extension is important for an understanding of social integration. The Mandan treat everyone as a relative and recognize varying degrees of nearness of relationship. A person is considered to be related to everyone of his own clan and is a "son" to all males and females of his father's clan. Marriage introduces another set of relatives, and the custom of adopting a "son" 602 608 547 614

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

602 brings together still another set of relatives between whom there
608 is frequently established a "father-son" bond extending to the
597 "father-son" relatives which was often more intimate than with
614 the "son's" own father who may be separated from the son's mother. This relationship to persons outside the biological family may be further altered by ceremonial participation. Adoption of a child from outside the clan, though uncommon, did occur, and the one adopted, by changing his or her clan status,
[616] affected the relationship of both groups. When no other relationship was applicable, the moiety functioned as a clan. There was a further extension of the kinship to embrace the supernatural. Details of this classification appear in the chapters on ceremonialism contained in this report. The kinship pattern was also extended to include persons of neighboring tribes, even unfriendly tribes, when a friendship developed between individuals of different tribes; formal adoption established relationships that played an important role in restricting warfare and promoting trade. The numerous devices for extending kinship between the villages frequently brought about a situation in which a Mandan had a choice of two or more terms of relationship for the same person. The situation determined the term to be employed. Obviously those who are most closely associated in daily and ceremonial activities were considered closest in making a decision. When the writer was collecting the materials for this report, he was very anxious to use Tom Smith as interpreter for Scattercorn, since he was familiar with the specific problem being developed at that time. She refused to work with him on the grounds that she considered him a "son-in-law." The relationship between the two was this: Scattercorn's (Tamisik clan) sister's daughter's daughter married Edgar Crows Heart, who was Tom Smith's sister's son (Water-buster clan). She was, of course, Edgar Crows Heart's mother-in-law, but she extended the taboo to Tom Smith because he visited a great deal at Crows Heart's home. She did not consider Drags Wolf a son-in-law, although of Edgar Crows Heart's clan, because he rarely called at Crows Heart's lodge.

601 The importance of the clan in regard to the kinship has been
614 brought out in the foregoing discussions, but this should not be interpreted to mean that the kinship system is a clan system.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

554 703 of the cattail plant in his hair. Those stabbed by a knife or spear could wear a stick carved to resemble a knife. One who had been shot in battle painted red spots on his shirts, leggings, or robes with red stripes below to indicate bullet holes and blood dripping from the wounds. Men painted horse tracks on their blankets to indicate the horses they had stolen. These tracks were bunched to indicate the number taken on each expedition.

727 597 581 Small children too young to remember their parents were frequently taken prisoners and adopted into the village. They were "struck" by the warriors who were given credit toward their war record but such records were not related during ceremonies once the children were adopted into the households. Girls approaching marriageable age were frequently returned alive to the village and sold to those needing an extra wife.

554 562 703 Women also qualified for war honors and were eligible to wear the same decorations as men. Informants remembered a number of women who had struck an enemy and had displayed their war honors during the Scalp Dance. One woman concealed herself at the entrance to her lodge and hit an Assiniboine on the head with a stone hammer. She scalped him and, during the dances, received a hearty applause whenever she was leader of the line of dancers, carrying her scalp on a stick.

554 703 The war records enumerated above constitute the principal awards having social recognition and fall into two general groups: awards limited solely to war leaders and consisting of scalps which were worn on their clothing or carried on scalp sticks and awards to warriors consisting of peculiar painting of the clothing, wearing of coyote tails, and certain feathers. Only those who had led many war parties and had been successful attained the highest ranks as chiefs unless their lack of significant successes in warfare was compensated with a record of many feasts during which time much property was given away or the possession of important tribal bundles. There was a series of designs painted or woven on robes which proclaimed the amount of goods so disposed of.

MARRIAGE AND THE HOUSEHOLD

581 584 Marriage was an exceedingly important event among the leading families of a Mandan village, but for the average family

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter XVI

ADOPTION PIPE CEREMONY

THERE were many people, both men and women, owning rights in this ceremony. Although Crows Heart believed that the ceremony was bought from the Arikaras a long time ago, Maximilian[1] recognized two types of sacred pipes, one[2] of which had been in the tribe for a long time and which he could have seen for one hundred dollars. He describes in detail the adoption ceremony, which is in every sense identical to Crows Heart's account. The two pipes carried in the ceremony are one belonging to the seller and one the purchaser was to receive. This ceremony performed an important social and religious role. The Hidatsa and Mandan adoption were identical as to ritual and songs.

In reality it was the pipe stem that was sacred, since the red stone bowls could be removed for daily use, whereas the stems were kept in bundles and were not taken out, except preliminary to an Adoption Pipe ceremony. Crows Heart is probably correct in his statement that the ceremony was bought of the Arikara, since this is the only instance when red stone pipes were used for ceremonial purposes. Objection to red stone is based on the myth wherein Good Furred Robe, in early times, was unable to introduce redstone pipes because they were the color of human blood.[3]

Crows Heart, who had been adopted twice, supplied the information on the adoption ceremony.

CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF THE ADOPTION CEREMONY[4]

The old Mandans told me that the sacred pipes were bought from the Arikara quite a long while ago. The stand represents the cornstalks; the horse

1. See Maximilian in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, 1906), XXIII, 319–21.

2. This was known as the Corn Pipe and was in no way connected with the adoption ceremony.

3. See Okipa ceremony origin myth (chap. iv).

4. Lewis and Clark witnessed an adoption ceremony, but furnish few details (see *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites [New York, 1905], I, 222).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 tail hairs represent the corn silks; the stem represents an ear of corn; the birds'
597 heads are connected with the Old Woman who tends the crops. I heard that
the red heads on the pipe are from a bird that lived a long ways below Fort
778 Yates.[5] The Indians down there brought them up here and traded them for horses and corn.

796 If I want to adopt, I go to a young man who is son of a man who belongs to my clan, which is the Prairie Chicken clan. We never adopt a person who
597 has no horses but select a man who has the finest buffalo horses. If I want to get his horses, I go out and kill a deer or possibly a buffalo, and my wife prepares a feast. Then I invite him to come with his family and visit us. My wife cleans the earth lodge up and puts down a good robe for him to sit on. When he gets through eating, and they cannot eat it all, his wife takes what is left over from the meal and goes home. Then we sit together and smoke, and I say to him, "I want to adopt you as a son, and I want to fix up my medicine pipe for you." He will always accept. If he refused, others would hear about it and say bad things about him.

When he agrees, I inquire, "How many of you will be in the family?" He will include the wife, the children, and may even include his small brothers and sisters, until there are probably six of them in all. When all is agreed upon, I tell him that I will give him the pipe many days, usually about a month, later. In the meanwhile I look around for presents and usually get together some good moccasins and leggings for the man, his wife, and their children. Sometimes we have elks' teeth, and we decorate a dress for his wife. If one is not able to get all the things he needs, he goes to his brothers and sisters for help.

796 Four days before I am to give the pipe, I invite all the old men who have
these medicine pipes to come to my lodge, and we work together repairing
778 a pipe stem. There is a song that goes with the pipes, and we sing that and
597 burn sweet grass before we open the bundle that contains the stem. Eagle tail feathers of the young eagle [black tips] are then put on the stem, and a red pipe is fitted onto it. The pipe is repaired each time a man is adopted.

796 On the day that the adoption is to take place, all the men having medicine pipes go to the lodge of the man who is adopting the son and dress up in the
597 fine clothes that are to go to the young man. Then all the men go out onto the prairie and make a hole in the ground representing a duck's nest. These men form a circle around the nest, holding their own medicine pipes and singing the songs that go with the pipes. By the time the men return to the village, the young man will be ready with his horses tied to the lodge, one horse for each person going into the adoption ceremonies with him. The pipe medicine people, coming in from the prairie, go directly to the young man's lodge, singing and beating drums all the while. The man doing the adopting goes ahead, carrying the pipe.

When they reach the door of the young man's lodge, all stop singing. One of the men who killed an enemy and destroyed his tepee or had other good luck in war counts his coups; how he charged a tepee, killed all, took the blankets, or whatever his record is. This man goes in first, and all the others follow. They sing and walk around the fireplace once while the man doing the adopting goes to the young man and asks him to stand up and go with him. Other Medicine Pipe men each take a boy or girl of the young man's family

5. See Maximilian, *op. cit.*, pp. 319–21.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and all go to the place where the dance is to be held. They sing the medicine song as they go. 796

The lodge selected for the dance is the large Okipa lodge, which can be prepared easily for the occasion. There will be at least twelve singers with drums and two dancers, one with a pipe and the other with a rattle. Nearly all the people in the village will come in for at least a few minutes, for everyone is curious to see the clothes the old man will give the young man, and the buffalo horses that he will receive. People must give good clothing and horses, or these people will speak unkindly of them. When the dance is over, the boy's clan and society come in to help him out and bring with them shirts, blankets, and leggings which are piled up before the young man. 597

It is then announced that the person adopted is going to be bathed and dressed by the head of the medicine pipe people. The young man is led to the center of the room, and four bunches of rushes are brought in and placed before him in the form of a square. A dish made of rushes is brought in filled with water, and one of the Medicine Pipe men steps up, counts his coups, and punches a hole through it so that the water runs onto the young man's body. A wildcat's hide is used to dry his body. None of the others in his family are bathed.

Then the young man returns to his seat, and men with blankets held out hide those who are being adopted while they are fitted out in the new clothes. Each is painted with red paint over the mouth, one streak over the nose, and two streaks over the eyes. A fine black-tipped eagle feather is put in the hair of each person adopted; then all are paraded around so that each person there can see them.

Then the horses are led into the lodge. There will be as many horses given as there are people in the family being adopted. The pile of goods brought in by the young man's friends and clan brothers is given out to the men of the Medicine Pipe Society as their pay for helping in the ceremony. When all the things have been passed out, the dancing continues for a while. [431]

After a while the young man says to the adopted father, "Father, come over to my house and rub off my paint."

All the Medicine Pipe men go to the young man's lodge, where there is a feast. The young man is then given the pipe, and his wife is given one ear of yellow corn. The head man of the Medicine Pipe Society makes a motion as though to wash the young man, after which the young man rubs the paint off.

The old man says, "Son, I have given you my pipe. You can adopt four times. After that you can't adopt any more."

We respect these pipes highly, take them with us to war, and pray to them often at such times. We call them medicine pipes because of the powers they have. All the people who have such pipes belong to a society and meet at times to open their bundles and smoke the pipes. We never use them for everyday smoking. 778 597

A man sometimes adopts a daughter, and she, in turn, can adopt a young man and give him a pipe, or she may adopt another woman, whichever she wishes to do. Only the men go out on the prairies to build the nest and sing the Medicine Pipe songs, however. 597

[p. 332 is blank]

648 Among a number of other customs, was treaty making with other tribes. This was well described by Henry who accompanied the Mandans and Hidatsa when they went to make a treaty with the Cheyennes. Most of the people went on these treaty visits; the band marched in a procession of fixed order and a number of ceremonial objects were carried exposed throughout the march. The party was met with great ceremony by the new allies and its members were taken into their [597] houses. Several days of ceremonial feasting occurred and finally the head chief of each party adopted a son from the other [439] tribe. After this there was more feasting and several days of trade between the two bands, when both returned home.

597 The adoption of sons occurred also among the different families. Maximilian describes the adoption of a "medicine son" to whom a sacred pipe was given. The man chose his adopted son through a dream. The new pipe was consecrated and gifts were showered upon the son's family by the adopted father and his relatives. A dance and feast was then held. This custom was prevalent over all the Missouri region.

838 There were a number of men who dressed and acted like women and were treated in every way as such. These men claimed to follow this life by an order from the spirits given to them in a dream.

567 Catlin says that the Mandans did not have slaves and there is no mention of them elsewhere. The Arikara, however, had a regular slavery system, and the Crows made slaves and sold 201 them on the Missouri. The Mandans were very good at the sign language so Maximilian tells us. They were expert swim- 481 mers, and collected their whole supply of wood by swimming 313 out and towing in the drift wood at the time of the spring break-ups.

511 In point of general culture the Mandans were superior to any of their immediate neighbors, surpassing even the other sedentary people, the Hidatsa and Arikara. Catlin says that they had advanced far in the arts of manufacture and had more comforts and luxuries than other tribes. When Verendrye saw them he, too, was struck by their superior skill. He said that the Mandans dressed leather and worked in feathers better

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote. One of their
771 chiefs never smoked out of a stone pipe, but always used a wooden one. Mato-Topé never
778 partook of other people's tobacco, but always smoked by himself, with the doors shut. They
276 do not willingly show their medicines or amulets, which are usually kept wrapped up in a bundle or bag, and never opened except on important occasions. They have particular medicine pipes, or, as the English call them, medicine stems, which are uncovered and used for smoking only on solemn occasions. Many make such pipes according to their own taste; such, for instance, was the pipe of Dipauch (Plate XXI. fig. 3). The bowl was nearly in the form of a Turkish pipe, and was made of brownish-red clay; the tube, which was rather short and thick, represented the lord of life in human form, but which it required some stretch of the imagination to discover. The nation preserves a celebrated pipe of this kind as a sacred relic, which no stranger is permitted to see. It has been in their possession since remote ages, and they offered to show it to me
435 for the value of 100 dollars. The Indians cannot obtain such pipes but at a considerable expense:
439 many of the necessary ornaments are not to be procured among them, such as the upper bill and the red crown of a species of woodpecker (*Picus pileatus*, Linn.), a bird which is not found so high up the Missouri. For the head of one of these woodpeckers, which was brought from
●597 St. Louis, they gave a large handsome buffalo robe, worth six or eight dollars. If a man pos-
796 sesses such a pipe, he sometimes conceives the idea of adopting a medicine son. The young man
171 whom he is to choose appears to him in a dream; it is, however, requisite that he should be of a good family, or have performed some exploit. He acquaints him with his intention, and, after having provided two similar medicine pipes, he asks his newly-adopted son, whether he is ready to undergo the ceremony of the pipes? The latter frequently answers in the affirmative, and the time for the ceremony is fixed: but, if he has not yet made up his mind, it is deferred. The adoptive father then chooses two young men, who practise the medicine dance together, with the two pipes in their hands. The father often dances, in the morning, on the roof of his hut, and instructs these two young men. When the time arrives, and the adopted son is ready for the ceremony, the father, with all his relations, and the two young dancers, repairs to the hut of his newly-chosen son, and brings him a present of maize, cloth, blankets, kettles, and other valuable articles. The father takes his son by the hand and makes him sit down, after which the company dance round him, with the two pipes; they sing, accompanied by the drum and schischikué, the two young dancers keeping time to the music with their pipes. When the ceremony is over, and the presents laid in one or two heaps, the relations of the medicine son bring horses, cloth, blankets, and other things of value, which the two parties reciprocally divide between them. The father then again takes his son by the hand, makes him rise from his seat, and dresses him in new clothes from head to foot, and likewise paints his face according to his fancy. The dress and pipe are henceforth his property, and he is considered as a real son, who must support and defend his father.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

This custom exists among most of the nations on the Missouri, and even among the Esquimaux there is a somewhat similar usage. If the adopted son and father have not happened to meet for a long time, they make presents to each other; the father gives the son a new dress, and the latter presents him with a good horse. Among all the Indian nations of North America, there is a particular class of men, who are specially engaged in all the above-mentioned ceremonies and medicines. They are, also, the physicians, and are called, among the Mandans, Numak-Choppenih, which signifies medicine man.

The skin of a white buffalo cow is an important article, and an eminent medicine in the opinion of the Mandans and Manitaries. He who has never possessed one of them is not respected. Suppose two men to be disputing about their exploits, the one an old veteran warrior, who has slain many enemies, the other, a young lad without experience; the latter reproaches the other with never having possessed a white buffalo cow hide, on which the old man droops his head, and covers his face for shame. He who possesses such a hide generally offers it to the lord of life, to whom he dedicates it, or, which is equivalent, to the sun, or to the first man. He collects, perhaps, in the course of a whole twelvemonth, various articles of value, and then hangs them up all together on a high pole in the open prairie, generally in the neighbourhood of the burying-place, or in the village before his hut. Distinguished men and chiefs of eminence are for the most part poor, because, in order to gain reputation and influence, they give away everything of value which they possess. A large number of relatives is one of the chief means of acquiring riches, for a young man who wishes to distinguish himself, and to be liberal, does honour to the whole family, who assist him to the utmost of their power. When one of his relations has anything of value, the young man goes to the owner to demand it, and not unfrequently takes it away without ceremony. Sometimes he hangs his head in silence, and then something of value is given him, a handsome dress, a horse, &c. If he wishes to gain reputation and a claim to distinction, it is necessary that he should make presents. All the people in the village notice very accurately what presents are made, and the donor has a right to display all such presents painted on his robes, and in this manner to hand down his reputation to posterity, as has been already related. This and military glory are, in the eyes of these men, the greatest virtues. They dare not draw a stroke too much on their robes for the horses, guns, &c., which they have given away, for the young men keep a most strict account against each other, and universal ridicule would be the immediate consequence of violating this rule. Among the distinctions of any man, the white buffalo hide is the greatest. He who has not been so fortunate as to kill a white buffalo himself, which is generally the case, as these animals are very rare, purchases a hide, often at a great distance from home, and other nations bring them hither, being well aware of the great value attached to them by the Mandans. The hide must be that of a young cow, not above two years old, and be taken off complete and tanned, with the horns,

10: Neill H4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

chief called Le Grand* who insisted upon our taking lodgings in his hut, which stood near the edge of the banks. We accordingly entered it, but soon after we were visited by several other principal men, who requested some of us to take up our abode in their huts during our stay among them. La France advised us to do so, telling us we would be more at our ease by separating than if we remained all in the same hut. Accordingly Mr. Chaboillez and his people, consisting of an Indian who was his brother-in-law, and Mr. Allen McDonnell, took up their lodgings with Hairy Horn, and our guide, Hugh McReacan, (Cracken) Straight Horn, myself and my people, T. Viandrie and Joseph Du Charme, remained with Le Grand, a very civil fellow. This arrangement having been settled and instantly put into execution, we were provided with beds, or buffalo hides to sit upon. * * * * * * We paid a visit to Le Gros Blanc, who thought we had somewhat slighted him in not taking up our residence in his hut, but kept the flag flying in honor of our arrival until sunset. We made amends as far as our circumstances would permit, and presented him with some tobacco, ammunition, etc., as a remuneration for his trouble in assisting us over. He was perfectly satisfied, and appeared highly pleased with the presents.

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[431]

We found in this village a Canadian by the name of Jussaume,† who accompanied Captains Lewis and Clarke to Washington on their return from their voyage of discoveries to the Pacific Ocean as interpreter to the Mandan chief, Le Gros Blanc. This man has been a resident among the Indians for upwards of fifteen years. He speaks their language tolerably well, has a wife and family who live and dress in the same manner as the natives. As for himself, he still retains the outward appearance of a Christian, and his principles as far as I could observe, are much worse than those of a Mandane. He is possessed of every superstition natural to these people, nor is he different in performing every mean, dirty trick which they have acquired from their intercourse with a set of worthless scoundrels accustomed to visit these parts, some for the purpose of trade, and others, to save themselves from justice and the laws of their country, that would not fail to punish them for their numerous offenses."

000

EDWARD D. NEILL.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

*Le Gros Blanc, or Big White, called by the Indians Shahaka was the first chief of this village and was recognized by Lewis and Clark and presented with a medal. Ohheenaw, Le Grant, or Big Man was much esteemed in the tribe. He was a Cheyenne taken prisoner, and then adopted by the Mandans.

[597]

†In the narrative of Lewis and Clarke his name is spelled Jesseaume, and on the 27th of October, 1805, was engaged as interpreter, and with the expedition went to the Pacific Ocean, accompanied by his Indian wife and babe. On the 16th of August, 1806, soon after Henry's departure, Lewis and Clarke returned to the Mandan village, and Le Gros Black, Big White, with his wife and son and Jessaume, the next day accompanied the military expedition to St. Louis, and from thence they went to Washington and were presented to President Jefferson.

[Category 116, p. 332.-A.]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter II

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

TERMINOLOGY[1]

THE Mandan have a Crow type of kinship system. Their terminology is illustrated in Figures 5–8 and in Table 2. By means of the extension of kinship terms employed for members of the biological family to clan and moiety affiliates, the entire tribal population was classified as relatives and was treated as such. In former times each village was politically independent except that the Nuptadi held certain tribal paraphernalia used during the Okipa, and the other villages looked to them for ceremonial assistance. Dialectic differences offered no handicap. The villages acted collectively when war threatened. Each village was divided into a series of matrilineal, exogamous, nontotemic clans grouped into moieties. Each clan was composed of one or more lineages which were closely associated with the lodge groups. In Mandan theory the lodge group was based on matrilinear descent and matrilocal residence and consisted of several families held together by females. Lodges, in theory, belonged to the females occupying the lodge and were a part of a property-holding complex consisting of the lodge, corn scaffold, storage pits, cooking utensils, bedding, dogs and harnesses, mares and colts (geldings and stallions belonged to the men), gardens, and gardening equipment.

The structure, function, interdependence, and interrelations of the various groups will be analyzed after the kinship has been analyzed. Where significant changes in the social structure occurred due to a change in population, both the older and the more recent system will be indicated.

1. An elaboration of the genealogical and schedule method was used after taking a census of the tribe by lodge units as of 1870. An attempt was made to get pertinent data about as many individuals and lodge groups as possible, and this was added to as the study of the ceremonial organization progressed. With the use of genealogical charts, attempt was made to determine the actual inheritance of bundles and rites as against native theory of inheritance.

•601

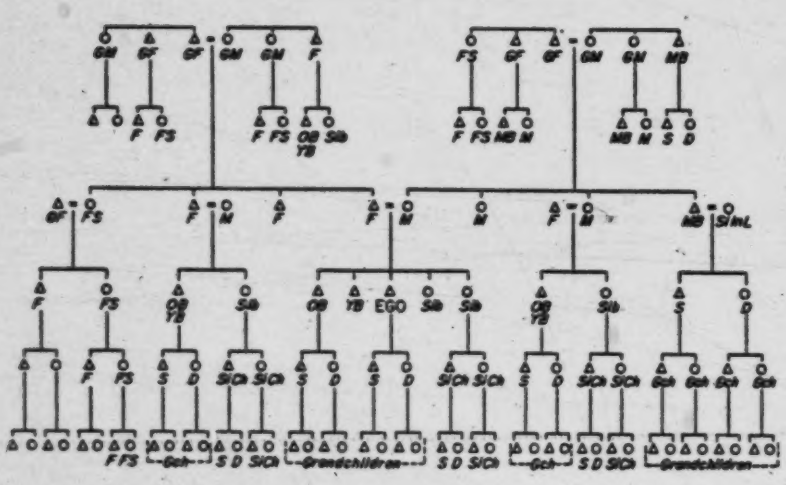

FIG. 5.—Chart of the Mandan kinship system. Ego = male. For the native terms used see Table 2 and the text.

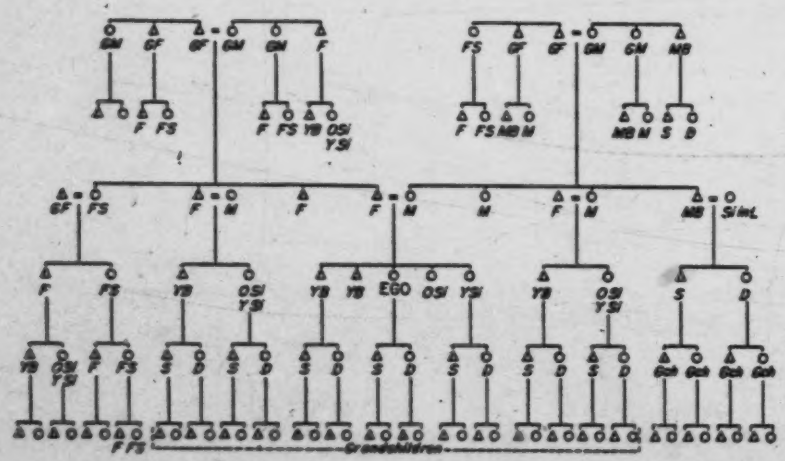

FIG. 6.—Chart of the Mandan kinship system. Ego = female. For the native terms used see Table 2 and the text.

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The classification of blood relatives is illustrated in Figures 5 and 6 (for the Mandan kinship terms refer to Table 2). The Mandan kinship system is of the "classificatory" type, since the father's brothers are classed with the father and the mother's sisters with the mother. In the grandparent's generation separate terms are used to designate grandfather and grandmother.

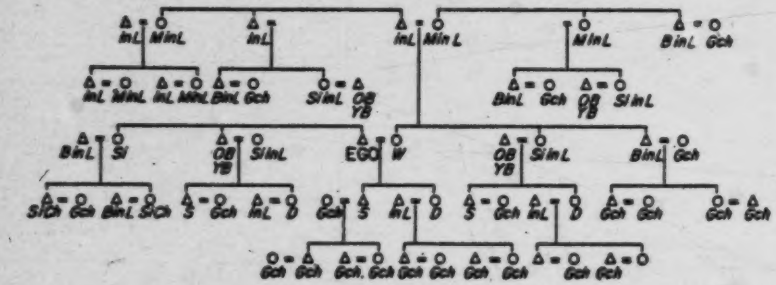

FIG. 7.—Chart of Mandan affinal relations. Ego = male. For native terms and abbreviations used see Table 2 and the text.

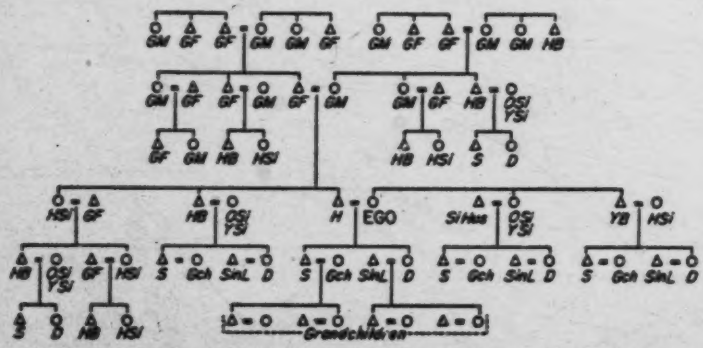

FIG. 8.—Chart of Mandan affinal relations. Ego = female. For native terms and abbreviations used see Table 2 and the text.

Sisters of grandmothers are grandmothers and brothers of grandfathers are grandfathers. The paternal grandmother's brother is a "father," while the brother of the maternal grandmother is a "mother's brother." In the parental generation, the father's sister is designated by a special term *ptumініks*, which is extended to include all her female descendants and all other females of her clan regardless of age if not occupying a position closer to the speaker; the husband of a father's sister is classified

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•601 as a grandfather. There is a separate term for "mother's brother," and his wife is a sister-in-law. In ego's own generation siblings are distinguished according to age and sex. A male classifies his male siblings according to age and uses a single term for female siblings regardless of age. A female uses the same term for all male siblings that a male uses for younger male siblings. A female classifies her sisters according to age. Parallel

TABLE 2

MANDAN KINSHIP TERMS

na'E'	mother (M); voc.; m.s., w.s. (*mihu'rus* = my mother; *kohus'* = his mother; *kohu'nE* = her mother)
tatE'	father (F); voc.; m.s., w.s. (*tatE'Ens* = non-voc.)
mɑ'kas	older brother (OB); m.s.
mi'cɑ'ka	younger brother (YB); m.s.; all male siblings, w.s.
mirukE'	older sister (OSi) w.s. *konuk's* = her older sister
ptɑ'ka	younger sister (YSi) w.s. *kotɑ'ka* = her younger sister
ptami'hE	female sibling (Sib) m.s. *kotomi'hE* = his sister
naxis'	grandmother (GM) m.s., w.s.; voc.; *konu'xis* = his or her grandmother
tata'xis	grandfather (GF) m.s., w.s., voc.; *kota'xis* = his or her grandfather
miniks'	son (S) m.s., w.s., voc.; *minikE'* = my son; *koni'kE* = his or her son
mi'nuhɑ'kE	daughter (D) m.s., w.s.
ptawi'hɑkE	grandchild (Gch) m.s., w.s.
ptu'hakE	sister's child; also sister's daughter's child (SiCh) m.s.
mũ'hE	wife (W). *kũ'hE* = his wife
mi'woro	husband (H)
misikE'	husband's brother (HB)
mo'waki	wife's brother or sister's husband (B in L) m.s.
ptuts'	son-in-law or father-in-law; m.s.; (in Law) m.s. *no'hɑka* = son-in-law. w.s. m.s. non-voc.
ptus	husband's sister or brother's wife (HSi) w.s.
no'hɑkamis'	brother's wife (Si in L) m.s.
pta'wæraio'dE	mother's brother (MB); m.s., w.s.
ptu'miniks	father's sister (FS); m.s., w.s.
ptu'hiniks	mother-in-law (M in L) non-voc. m.s.

cousins are treated as siblings; children of a "father's sister" are "fathers" and "father's sisters," while the children of a mother's brother are sons and daughters. In the children's generation a woman classifies her own sons with her sisters' and brothers' sons, and their daughters with her own daughters. A man classifies only his brothers' sons with his own sons and his daughters with his brothers' daughters, while classifying his sisters' children, both male and female, as "children of clan." In the grandchild generation, children of "sons" and "daughters" are "grandchildren"; sons of male "child of clan" are "sons"; daughters of

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a male "child of clan" are "daughters"; sons and daughters of female "child of clan" are "children of the clan." 601

The kinship system as noted above for the blood relatives is classified largely on a generation basis. The classification of the father's sister and her descendants completely disregards the generation principle, while the mother's mother's brother's children and the mother's brother's children who are classified as "sons" and "daughters" disregard the generation principle on the mother's side. The naming of these lineages relates them to lineages in other family lines and becomes the basis of an integration into clans.

Figures 9–12 illustrate the Mandan system by means of lineage charts whereby a vertical grouping of kin based on matrilineal descent occurs rather than a "horizonal" one based on bilateral descent. In ego's own lineage some differences occur; a female occupies a somewhat different position from a male, and the terms vary for a male ego and a female ego. Since the mother's mother's brother is considered by both a male and female as a "male of the clan," ego (male) classifies his sister's sons and daughters as well as his sister's daughter's sons and daughters as "children of the clan." 601 613

In ego's father's lineage all the women are "father's sisters" or "grandmothers," the latter term being used only for one's own known direct ascendants. All husbands of women of the father's lineage are grandfathers; all sons of "father's sisters" are fathers and their children are siblings. An examination of Figures 9–12 for the father's and the mother's father's lineage will show that they are of the same lineage.

For a male ego, his male relatives in the mother's lineage are differentiated as mother's brother, older or younger brother, and "child of the clan"; for a female they are mother's brother, younger brother, son, and grandchild. Since both male and female call the mother's brother and mother's mother's brother "brother of the mother's clan," a man calls his sister's children and his sister's daughter's children "children of the clan."

Men marrying females of male ego's generation or younger are brothers-in-law (male relatives-in-law), while a female marrying a man of male ego's age or older is "brother's wife," those younger being "grandchild." For a female ego, men

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601 613 [606] marrying into the lineage are "grandfather," "father," and "brother-in-law," while one marrying into the mother's lineage younger than female ego is treated as "young man," since the mother-in-law taboo becomes operative with this class of male

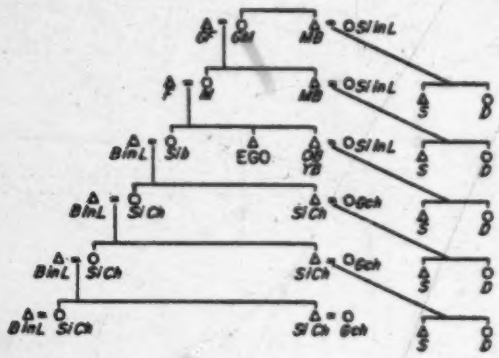

FIG. 9.—Mother's lineage. Ego = male

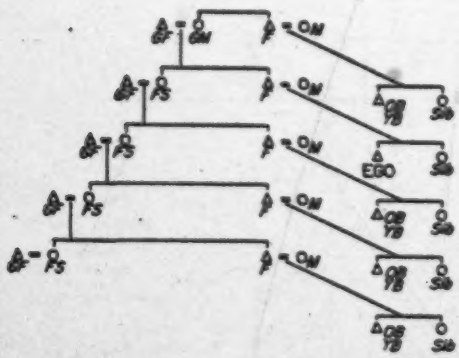

FIG. 10.—Father's lineage. Ego = male

relatives by marriage, and there is no direct term of address. In female ego's mother's lineage, women marrying into the lineage who are of the same generation or above are "sisters-in-law," a term also used by a female to designate her "husband's sister." A man's wife's brother is placed in the same class as his sister's husband. Men of the father's father's clan are called "grandfather," and all the women of the clan are called "grandmother" by both men and women. The latter lineage is not es-

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pecially important in Mandan social and ceremonial life, since individuals in the father's father's lineage usually occupy a closer relationship through marriage. 601 613

These lineages are the basis of the Mandan kinship structure; they extend kinship relations beyond the elementary family to the limits of the tribe; they regulate the behavior and social 613

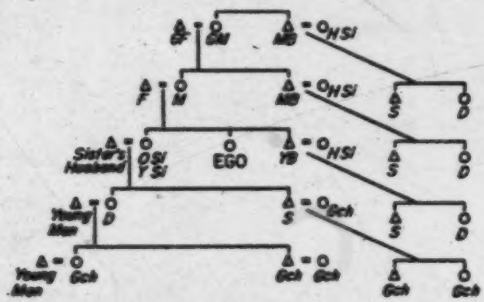

FIG. 11.—Mother's lineage. Ego = female

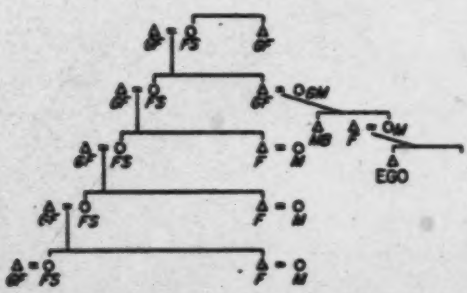

FIG. 12.—Mother's father's lineage. Ego = male

relations of the entire village. The extension of this lineage principle united the various villages into a tribal unit.

The Mandan had numerous methods of extending the range of kinship, and the character of the pattern resulting from this extension is important for an understanding of social integration. The Mandan treat everyone as a relative and recognize varying degrees of nearness of relationship. A person is considered to be related to everyone of his own clan and is a "son" to all males and females of his father's clan. Marriage introduces another set of relatives, and the custom of adopting a "son" 602 608 597 614

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602 608 597 614 brings together still another set of relatives between whom there is frequently established a "father-son" bond extending to the "father-son" relatives which was often more intimate than with the "son's" own father who may be separated from the son's mother. This relationship to persons outside the biological family may be further altered by ceremonial participation. Adoption of a child from outside the clan, though uncommon, did occur, and the one adopted, by changing his or her clan status, [616] affected the relationship of both groups. When no other relationship was applicable, the moiety functioned as a clan. There was a further extension of the kinship to embrace the supernatural. Details of this classification appear in the chapters on ceremonialism contained in this report. The kinship pattern was also extended to include persons of neighboring tribes, even unfriendly tribes, when a friendship developed between individuals of different tribes; formal adoption established relationships that played an important role in restricting warfare and promoting trade. The numerous devices for extending kinship between the villages frequently brought about a situation in which a Mandan had a choice of two or more terms of relationship for the same person. The situation determined the term to be employed. Obviously those who are most closely associated in daily and ceremonial activities were considered closest in making a decision. When the writer was collecting the materials for this report, he was very anxious to use Tom Smith as interpreter for Scattercorn, since he was familiar with the specific problem being developed at that time. She refused to work with him on the grounds that she considered him a "son-in-law." The relationship between the two was this: Scattercorn's (Tamisik clan) sister's daughter's daughter married Edgar Crows Heart, who was Tom Smith's sister's son (Water-buster clan). She was, of course, Edgar Crows Heart's mother-in-law, but she extended the taboo to Tom Smith because he visited a great deal at Crows Heart's home. She did not consider Drags Wolf a son-in-law, although of Edgar Crows Heart's clan, because he rarely called at Crows Heart's lodge.

601 614 The importance of the clan in regard to the kinship has been brought out in the foregoing discussions, but this should not be interpreted to mean that the kinship system is a clan system.

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In most instances, the unit of extension is the clan, but these relationships are based on individual relations and groups. This point will be further developed in the analysis of the ceremonial structure.

The following behavioristic pattern prevailing between relatives will illustrate this point. For any individual the total number of relationships into which he entered largely determines his "social personality." The most basic of these are between the members of the elementary family, the parents and the children, but in Mandan society this is frequently modified by the presence of old women of the lodge who occupy a virtual second-mother position. An elementary family consisting of parents and children rarely occupied a lodge to the exclusion of all other relatives. There are eight possible combinations of relatives within an elementary family with a general pattern of behavior existing between each pair. They are:

Mother–daughter (*na'E'–mi'nuhą'kE*).—An intimate bond of love and affection existed between a mother and her daughter. Not a single instance of quarreling or serious difference was remembered by the Mandan informants, nor were there disputes over property held in common. They worked together in the gardens or performed domestic tasks in the lodge and were very intimate in their daily relations. She taught the child to grind corn and cure meat, to make baskets and clay pots, to dress hides, to color porcupine quills for decorating clothing, and to care for her own personal effects. She taught her daughter to make a small payment, a small colored bead or a few kernels of corn, for each little skill taught her, thus establishing at an early age a significant behavioristic pattern of paying those who taught her a new skill, a myth or song, or who received her into a rite or dance. Usually there were other women in the lodge whom she addressed as "Mother," and, if one of these had no daughter of her own, she would take over or adopt a daughter from the lodge unit for especial affection and care. Frequently the father's older sister, if she had no one to care for her, would come to the lodge to live when the lodge was one that had been erected or owned in the father's line and the mother had come here to live when marrying because the father was needed to care for his relatives who were old. She was called "daughter"

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affection continued while his mother lived. Although it was considered improper for a man to be alone in the lodge with his daughter, nothing was thought of a son being alone with his mother. 592 593

Father–daughter (*tatE'–mi'nuhą'kE*).—The father was a respect relative providing he remained married to the daughter's mother, otherwise he was generally disregarded, since children of divorced mates were reared by the mother. He was expected to provide for the daughter and, in those families where the father and mother were successfully mated, co-operated with his wife in the training of the children. He avoided being alone with his daughter in the lodge.

Father–son (*tatE'–miniks'*).—A son treated his father with a respect which was sacred in character as he was informed at an early age of his father's fasting and war record and was taught to believe that the family's possession of property and good health was attributable to the father's fasting, respect for sacred objects, and kindness to the old people. The father was expected to provide meat for the family, but he took little part in the care of the son until he was old enough to understand the sacred character of certain objects in the lodge. When the son was old enough to play in the group games, he was encouraged to participate and was given game objects. He was encouraged to fast during the Okipa, if for only a day, and his father would loan him a small item from his personal bundle to wear while fasting. The father was an adviser but not a punishing member of the family. The mother or her brother would teach him to seek advice regularly of the father and present him with a small article of value each time the father offered him significant information. The father would explain that the members of his own clan were the son's "fathers" and that he should seek their advice also. By the time a young man was sixteen or seventeen years of age, the advice of distinguished males of the father's clan was frequently sought, and it was their duty, in the event that the son was killed while away from the village, to see that his skull was returned to the village and placed at one of the shrines. 593 867

Husband–wife (*mi'woro–mɥ'hE*).—The Mandan have several terms for a husband and wife. A man addresses his wife as 593 601

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593 *mu'he* and others speak of her as *ku'hE*. An old man addresses an
[60] old wife as *mo'kaka*, meaning "old woman," and she addresses him as "old man." The husband usually lived with his wife's people, and the strength of bond between husband and wife was in a large measure determined by the circumstances of marriage. If parents of a lineage possessing an important tribal bundle secured a white buffalo robe and had a daughter or daughters of marriageable age, they would invite in a young man of another family distinguished for its important tribal bundle and complete a marriage. Such marriages were likely to be permanent, since both the husband and the wife were partners in an important ceremony. When children were born, the bond between husband and wife was further strengthened.

593 There was a marked sex dichotomy between husband and
462 wife. The woman did the housework, cared for the gardens, repaired the lodge, and, when on tribal hunts, did much of the butchering, while the man did the hunting, cared for the horses, and protected the village in case of attack. The woman was expected to prepare food for ceremonies in which the husband was participating, and, in the buffalo-calling ceremonies, she was expected to "walk with the buffaloes." She was also expected to "walk" with her husband's "fathers" in ceremonial transfers of age-grade societies.

586 A woman could divorce her husband by the simple expediency of telling him to leave if they were living in the wife's parents' lodge; if living in her husband's parents' lodge, she collected her personal belongings and the children and returned to her parents' lodge. A woman divorced because of cruelty or adultery on the part of her husband, while a man would leave his wife because of trouble with her family or infatuation for another woman.

581 Few marriages were consummated by mutual selection of the
584 prospective mates; rather the two households made the selection, and children were expected to obey their parents even to
596 the extent of approving mates selected for them. The ties which held husband and wife together were first the respect for their parents, but, when children were born, this parental respect was replaced by mutual affection for the children. Since divorce was easy and common, the household organization was strong,

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603 the same clan as the boy's father, on occasions he received presents from his grandson during the ceremonies. A man addressed
•[601] as "grandchild" the wives of all those men he addressed as "son" and the spouses of all he addressed as "grandchild."

603 *Grandmother–grandchild* (*maxis'–ptawi'hąkE*).—The maternal grandmother was always present and assisted in the birth
844 and care of her daughter's child and the paternal grandmother was expected to carry out the other's instructions. In case the paternal grandmother had a superior ceremonial bundle and a good reputation for successful deliveries, she was asked to take charge. The child's closest affection was for the grandmother belonging to the lodge group. The grandmother would make clothing for her grandchildren and teach them stories. The paternal grandmother delighted in preparing nice robes and other clothing for son's children and would invite them to her lodge to eat, when she would dress them in the pretty clothes. Informants thought that the father's mother showed more affection for a grandchild than a maternal grandmother, since the former did not have them under foot every day. They thought that grandmothers had a tendency to get cross as they grew old and that the maternal grandmother, while scolding children for jumping on her bed, would scold her own daughter if she thought the children were not treated right.

603 A grandmother was more closely associated with her granddaughter than her grandson. She would teach the granddaugh-
868 ter the arts of dressing hides and making pottery, and she ex-
601 pected payment for this instruction. The grandson was expected to give her meat if she met him at the outskirts of the village without having to ask him for it. This obligation to give meat to a grandmother was extended to include all females addressed as "grandmother." A woman addressed as "grandchild" the wives of all those men she addressed as "son" and the spouses of all she addressed as "grandchild."

604 *Mother's brother–sister's child* (*pta'warato'dE–ptu'hakE*).—The mother's brother was a very important relative in the Mandan
592 matrilinear system, as he had considerable authority over his
613 sister's household even when living in another household. As an occupant of his wife's lodge, he was a subordinate member, but in his sister's lodge, by virtue of his position as the oldest male

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604 brother. The Mandan divide a child's kin into two groups and give each a part in the rearing of the child. It was the mother's relatives' duty to provide for the child's physical needs and give instruction in household and tribal lore. While this was being done, the father's sister in the performance of her part in the child's father's ceremonies protected him from misfortune. If the child died or was killed in warfare, it became her [764] duty to see that his spirit returned to the spirit home. She supervised washing and painting the deceased and with the assistance of her brothers removed the body to the scaffold, where she recited the rite which returned the spirit to the "home of the dead."

604 The father's sister was eligible to receive gifts during ceremonies and to pray for the success of her "son" or "daughter." •601 The father's sister's household was a possible home for her brother's children if their mother died, leaving no female relatives to care for them. There is no "teasing" relation with the father's sister. While a person has many "father's sisters," since all females of the father's clan were called "father's sisters," the closest ones were the actual sisters of the father who were brought up in the father's household. Her position in terminology and behavior was intermediate to the grandmother and mother, since she addressed her brother's children as "sons" and "daughters," while they, in turn, addressed her husband as "grandfather."

606 *Father-in-law–daughter-in-law* (*tata'xis–ptawi'hąkE*).—This 603 was a "grandfather–grandchild" relationship. He treated her with all the tenderness shown his own blood grandchildren when other people were present. She respected him as the father of her husband and the owner of important ceremonial rites which would eventually become her husband's. If they were of different clans, her husband might ask her to "walk" with the "grandfather" during one of the buffalo-calling ceremonies. Ceremonial "sexual intercourse" was permitted at that time providing she was not living in her husband's household.

Mother-in-law–daughter-in-law (*maxis'–ptawi'hąkE*).—This was a "grandmother-grandchild" relationship. A household having no daughters paid a daughter-in-law to live in the husband's lodge, and, upon the death of the mother-in-law, she in-

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herited the lodge property and gardens belonging to the household through a grandmother–granddaughter relationship. This was considered proper when no females of the mother-in-law's clan signified an intention of living in the lodge and caring for the old people. A daughter-in-law was treated kindly by her mother-in-law, who instructed her as her own mother would.

Father-in-law–son-in-law (*kota'waratox'kas–no'hąka; ptuts'–ptuts'*).—*Kota'waratox'kas* is morphologically related to the word for mother's brother and means "his old mother's brother." When a young man married into the household and came to his wife's lodge to live, he frequently was in a dual relationship to the father-in-law; he was the husband of his father-in-law's daughter; also his father-in-law was a mother's brother by the clan extension of kinship, and was treated as a mother's brother.[2] The son-in-law was expected to be brave and industrious. He was at first addressed as a young person (*no'haka*). When the marriage had lasted a few years, during which time children had come, and the father-in-law and the son-in-law got along well together, a mutual interest led to familiarity and each addressed the other *ptutE*. In the Mandan system of preferred marriages with the daughter's parents selecting her mate and desiring to keep certain clan bundles in the household, the prospective father-in-law selected a young man of his own clan for his daughter's husband. It was not proper for a son-in-law to tease his father-in-law; he was expected to treat his father-in-law with the same respect as he showed his own mother's brother and to take over the hunting activities when the father-in-law became feeble.

Mother-in-law–son-in-law (*ptu'hinikE–nohąka or ptuts'*).—The word *ptuhiniks* for mother-in-law is morphologically related to the word *ptuminiks* ("father's sister"), and informants explained that the mother-in-law was a special "father's sister." When the son-in-law first came to the lodge to live, he was avoided by the mother-in-law and never addressed her directly. When speaking of him, the mother-in-law would use the term *nohaka*, meaning a "young person" or "young one." When a young man's ties were weak with his own household, because he

2. Scattercorn thought *kota'waratox'kas* was never used when the father-in-law was of a different clan.

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606 had no sisters, and his own household was run by his brother's
601 wives, he would often establish a new bond with the people of his wife's household by bringing his mother-in-law a scalp. When returning from a successful war expedition, he would go directly to his wife's lodge instead of to his sister's, which was the usual practice, and give the scalp to the oldest mother-in-law in the lodge. Usually there were a number of females in the lodge who were treated as "mother-in-law." In this group would be those whom the wife addressed as "mother," "grandmother," or "father's sister." The oldest mother-in-law took the scalp, sang the victory songs, and danced toward each woman who was treated as a mother-in-law. When the scalp dance was performed on the succeeding day, she danced while carrying the scalp and singing her new "son's" praises. She then treated him as a son but usually addressed him as *ptutE*, which was the same term as employed by her husband, while the son-in-law treated her as he would his own mother but addressed her as *ptuhinikE*. He could also break the taboo by bringing her a horse instead of taking it to his parental lodge. Then the mother-in-law would lead it through the village during the scalp dance. He could then interfere in a quarrel between a group of women which included his mothers-in-law.

607 *Sibling-in-law–sibling-in-law* (*mo'waki–mo'waki*).—Ego addressed his wife's brother and his own sister's husband as brothers-in-law, and they in turn called ego brother-in-law when addressing him. When the mother's lineage is arranged in a chart (see Fig. 5)[1], it will be seen that a "brother-in-law" is one married to females of ego's lineage who are of the same generation or younger. This relationship is extended to include male ego's mother's sister's daughter's, and the father's brother's daughter's, husband, and husbands of their female descendants. There was a good deal of rivalry between brothers-in-law, and they were expected to joke with each other in public. However, if an older sister was rearing and caring for a young brother whose parents had died and was herself the titular head of the lineage in the lodge, her husband would treat his brother-in-law as a "son," and the same bonds of affection ex-
607 isted between them as between father and son.

601 *Sibling-in-law–sibling-in-law* (*ptus-ptus*).—A woman ad-

1 [See p. 38, Category 116 -- Analyst]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

dressed as sister-in-law all her husband's sisters and those he called female "child of the clan" as well as the wives of all those she addressed as "brothers." 607 601

Brother-in-law–sister-in-law (*misikE'–no'hąkamis'*).—A woman addressed as brother-in-law all those males whom her husband addressed as "mother's brother," "older brother," "younger brother," or "son of the clan."

A man addressed as sister-in-law all those females married to one whom he addressed as "mother's brother," "older brother," "younger brother," or "male child of the clan"

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

831 among the Arikara and Hidatsa. The men boasted their love
171 exploits, and carried often about the village small bundles of sticks each representing a conquest, or one large stick with stripes indicating the number; this was also a Hidatsa custom.

585 When a man wished to marry, after obtaining the girl's and the father's consent, he led horses to the door of the father's house and tied them there. Then the father took the same number of his own horses and tied them to the young man's door. After this the girl cooked corn each day and carried it to the young man's house for a certain number of days. Then the young man went to the father's house and claimed his wife. The young people either built a new home or lived with one of their parents, in which case the father remained master of the
587 house. On marrying an eldest sister, a man acquired the right of marriage over all the other sisters. Catlin tells us that the girls usually married at from twelve to fourteen years of age.

858 Children were never disciplined and were always humored
601 by their parents who seemed to be very fond of them. The father's brother and sister were called father and mother. The
606 mother's sister was called mother and her brother uncle.
551 Cousins called each other brother and sister. The mother-in-law was not permitted to address her son-in-law till he had come back with the scalp and gun of an enemy. Someone was usually paid to give the child his name, which was chosen by the parent.

776 RELIGION:—The religious ideas of the Mandans resemble in a number of respects both those of the Sioux and the Arikara. While there are a number of deities, there was one among them to whom special veneration was paid. This one, the creator of the earth and everything in it, and of men, was called the Lord of Life.[1] Next after him came the First Man to whom the Lord of Life gave great power and who acted as a sort of mediator for men. Catlin says he was the only person saved from the great deluge, and he played an important part in the Okeepa. He was worshipped and sacrifices were made to him. Next was an evil spirit who, though powerful, ranks far below the First Man. Fourth on the list was Rokanka-Tauihanka

[1] Maximilian: p. 419.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

According to Calf-woman, the Prairie-chicken clan is the most important on the Reservation. This is consistent with Mr. Curtis's data, according to which the larger moiety bears the name of this clan, corresponding preëminence being assigned to the tamī'sik in the Three-clan moiety. It should be noted that the Prairie-chicken clan is the only one common to the Hidatsa and Mandan series. 614 [171]

Calf-woman's ō'rē' 'kūpa (nitɛ) was given by Turtle-woman not as the designation of a clan but of all the seven clans jointly in addressing the entire tribe. [101]

Mr. Curtis states that the marriage of fellow-clansmen was considered improper and publicly ridiculed, but according to my witnesses this rule has long ceased to be absolute. Thus, Calf-woman declared that sometimes people married within their own clan, though there were some who regarded this as wrong; and Two-chiefs, a maxi' 'kina married to a xtaxta', cited the case of her husband's mother who had married another xtaxta', not related by blood. 582 178 614

Kinship Terms.

A brief but in most respects accurate statement as to Mandan kinship nomenclature is made by Maximilian.[1] Recently Mr. Curtis has summarily characterised the Mandan terminology as largely influenced by the clan factor, the father's brother and his clansmen being classed with the father, the father's clanswomen with the father's sister, all mates in one's clan with brothers and all females as mothers.[2] This statement is undoubtedly in large measure correct, but, the last part is manifestly not to be taken literally since the mother's mother and her generation and the sisters are certainly not called "mother." Morgan already had to contend with the difficulty of finding interpreters fully conversant with Mandan and offers an avowedly imperfect list. So far as essentials are concerned, he correctly characterises the system as of the usual classificatory type. The most important deviation from the norm mentioned in his résumé consists in the classification of the father's sister with the mother in feminine parlance, a distinctive word for paternal aunt being used only by males.[3] My data yield no confirmation of this peculiarity. A remarkable feature found by Morgan among the Hidatsa and Crow but not noted by him among the Mandan, though recorded both by Mr. Curtis and myself, is the confusion of generations in the designation of the father's sister's female descendants 601 601 171 177

[1] Maximilian, II, 132, 543.
[2] Curtis, V, 145.
[3] Morgan, (a), 184.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

601 [171] 177

through females, all these relatives being classed with the father's sister regardless of generation.[1] The question arises whether this trait was borrowed by the Mandan, possibly since their practical absorption in the neighboring tribe. Another peculiarity not indicated by Morgan in his discussion of the Mandan system, though emphasized in his treatment of the Hidatsa and Crow terminologies, is the classification of the maternal uncle with the elder brother. In Mandan this is optional and there is an alternative specific designation for the mother's brother, while Crow and Hidatsa lack any separate word for this relative. From the great rarity of this feature and the simultaneous use of a distinct word for the mother's brother, which moreover is the only designation given by Maximilian and Morgan, I infer that the Mandan borrowed from the Hidatsa the classification of the uncle with the elder brother. This seems to me the more probable because according to the more trustworthy of my informants the sister's son is not addressed as "younger brother" but only by a distinct term correlative with that for mother's brother. But the Hidatsa mode of classifying the maternal uncle is of a piece with the Hidatsa designation of the female descendants of the paternal aunt, i. e., in both cases the same principle of emphasizing clan affiliation to the extent of disregarding generation finds expression. It is, therefore, likely that both features were borrowed by the Mandan.

601 With the aid of two informants, Two-chiefs and Calf-woman, I secured the following imperfect list of kinship terms.

tate' (vocative only). Father, father's brother, father's sister's son.

tate'xihe, tate'xis (voc.). Father's sister's husband, husband's father, grandfather, greatgrandfather.

mā'ats, tate'ena (non-voc.). Father, father's brother, father's sister's son.

mā'txis (non-voc.). Father's sister's husband, grandfather.

tà terité (voc.). My fathers, i. e., my father's fellow-clansmen.

nō'atō'oc (non-voc.). Father's clansman (man speaking).

nō'atōre (non-voc.). Father's clansman (woman speaking).

ptū minike' (voc.). Father's sister, father's sister's daughter, father's sister's daughter's daughter, etc., *ad infinitum*. Non-voc. form: ptū'minikse'ena.

nae' (voc.). Mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.

nā'xic, nā'xihe' (voc.). Grandmother, husband's mother.

mihu'xis (non-voc.). Grandmother.

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[1] Morgan's schedules regarding the descendants of the father's sister are blank for the Mandan. (a), 322–330.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

601

ō'mihū'ruc (non-voc.). Mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.

tàwaratōtɛ' (voc.). Mother's brother (see p. 12 and below). Non-voc. form: tà waratōsɛ' ena.

ptā'rumaks. Mother's brother (w. sp.).[1]

mū' ukā (voc., m. sp.). My elder brother, mother's brother, father's sister's son's son older than ego, father's brother's son older than ego, mother's sister's son older than ego. Non-voc. form: mū' ukasɛ' ena.

micu̧ ka'. My younger brother (m. sp.), elder or younger brother (w. sp.); father's sister's son's son, father's brother's son, mother's sister's son.

ptamihɛ' (m. sp.). Elder or younger sister, father's sister's son's daughter, father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, brother-in-law's wife.

mīrukɛ' (w. sp.). Elder sister, father's sister's son's daughter, father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter.

ptą' ka' (w. sp.). Younger sister, father's sister's son's daughter, father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter.

minikɛ' (voc.). Son (m. sp., w. sp.), brother's son (m. sp., w. sp.), sister's son (w. sp.), mother's brother's son. Non-voc. form: mini'ks.

kunika' (voc.). Son, grandson.

minū'hakɛ' (voc.). Daughter, brother's daughter (m. sp., w. sp.), mother's brother's daughter, sister's daughter (w. sp.). Non-voc. form: minū'haks.

ptū'haxka' (m. sp.). Sister's son, sister's daughter.

ptawi' haka. Grandchild, son's wife, grandson's wife.

màratō ka' (voc.). Husband, wife. Non-voc. form: mà ratōka'sɛ' na.

mī'morus (non-voc.). Husband. kō'worus, her husband.

nokā ka' (voc.). Wife, husband.[2]

mū'us (non-voc.). My wife, k'u'us; k'u'uhe, his wife.

ɛ' ecehak (voc.). Husband's brother.

nisi'kɛ. Husband's brother, kocu'ka, (probably) her husband's brother. This last may simply mean "his brother."

mō' wa 'kihɛ'. Wife's brother, sister's husband (m. sp.).

ptumɛ'. Brother's wife (w. sp.), husband's sister.

nō'hakamīhe. Brother's wife.

mū' ubō'rakɛ (m. sp.). My brother's wife.

p't' ū'te, p 'tūts. Daughter's husband.

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[1] This word was given only by Calf-woman, who considered mū'uka as the corresponding male term.

[2] One informant gave mārat̄ōkā for husband, and nokākā for wife, the other reversed these interpretations, probably there are two words both designating the spouse regardless of sex.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913) 1917
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601 nō'hakàs. Daughter's husband.
pta +i' maratokās. My wife's father.
ptù hinî ks. My wife's mother, my wife's mother's sister.

601 114 It will be noted that beyond the second ascending and the second descending generations no relatives are designated by special terms, lineal and collateral ancestors being classed with grandparents and descendants with grandchildren, regardless of male or female lines.[1] This fact is borne out in detail by Morgan's schedules. According to these, it would appear that no distinction was drawn between the father's father's and the mother's mother's sister, nor between the father's father's and the mother's mother's brother. On the latter point I unfortunately failed to get data, which would have been of interest in comparison with the Hidatsa usage of classing the maternal grandmother's brother with the elder brother. According to Morgan the word for grandchild was also applied to the sister's grandchild (w. sp.), brother's grandchild (m. or w. sp.), and the sister's son's wife (m. sp.).

With the father Morgan, doubtless correctly, classes the mother's sister's husband and the stepfather. His identification of the father's sister with the mother in female parlance, however, seems doubtful since both my informants were women but gave a single word for the paternal aunt, corresponding to one of Morgan's terms for male usage. A second word given by Morgan for the father's sister (m. sp.) [177] *mā-sā-we*, is not Mandan at all but unmistakably the Hidatsa *bacā'wi*, which is used by both sexes. On the other hand, Morgan has only the equivalent of *tā waratore'* for the maternal uncle, while I also obtained a distinct word for women's use as well as the classification with the elder brother (by men only?).

Except for the applications already mentioned, my connotations for the elder brother term closely coincide with Morgan's, which is also essentially true of the younger brother category. The essential point here is that women have a single term for elder and younger brother coinciding with the men's word for younger brother, the men having an additional term for the elder brother.

In the designation of sisters there is only partial parallelism. To be sure, the [171] women (i. e., members of the sex of the person designated) have two distinct words for elder and younger sister, while the men have only one. The men's generic term, however, does not coincide with either of the women's words so that there are not two words but three to be reckoned with. Here Morgan agrees as regards the men's word, but differs in ascribing a single generic term to the women. Analogy, not only with the brother terms but also with the usage of other Siouan tribes, such as the Winnebago, strongly suggests that Morgan is in error.

My list contains two words for son without clear differentiation. Morgan practically restricts *minike'* to male and *kunika'* entirely to female speech. The latter word is also translated by him to cover the brother's son, sister's son, father's brother's son's son, mother's sister's son's son and mother's sister's daughter's son,—all with a woman speaking. He interprets *minike'* to cover the son, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, mother's son's son and stepson in male speech, and the stepson and father's brother's daughter's son in female speech. The two last-mentioned meanings are not very convincing; more particularly, the father's brother's daughter being classed with the sister, her son would logically be a sister's son, i. e., a "son" for women according to the usual classificatory rules, and it is not at all clear why this particular "son" should be distinguished from others by substituting a word ordinarily confined to male usage. It is further strange that a woman should

[1] [Consult category 116, pp. 12-14 for information on the Kinship terms.—Analyst]

5: Lowie E-3 (1910-1913)1917
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601 114

use a single word for brother's and sister's son. On the other hand, my own list of meanings for *minikt'* is rendered somewhat doubtful by extending the word to the brother's son of both men and women. A similar feature of the daughter category, however, viz., the classing of the man's brother's daughter with the woman's, is supported by Morgan's as well as my own informants.

One of my words for husband, *mî' morus*, is approached by Morgan's *me-mer-ul*, while his *moo-hul* and his *moo-ha* for wife and brother's wife are at least of the same stem as my *mî' us* and *mu' uhô'aks* (m. sp.). I did not get the words by which the wife's and the husband's fathers and mothers address each other, but analogy with other Siouan systems supports Morgan's statement that there are distinct terms, which he gives as *kote'-he-a* for the father-*in*-law and *me-ho-he-a* for the mother-in-law. My list also lacks a word for wife's sister, which Morgan gives as *noo-ko-he-mus*.

Instead of *koo-too'-min-ik* I have *ptuns'* for brother's wife (w. sp.); Morgan's informants, consistently enough, included under his term the father's brother's son's and the mother's sister's son's wife. In my list the husband's sister is put into this category.

To my *p'i'ti'ie* for daughter's husband clearly corresponds Morgan's *p'too'-ta*, brother's daughter's husband (m. sp.), which indicates that his *ko-too'-te* is merely a form of the same stem. He gives many connotations for this word, none of which (except son-in-law) is given in my series. Thus, Morgan, translates it also "husband's father" and "husband's mother" and reciprocally "daughter-in-law" (m. sp. and w. sp.), but here judging from analogy, he is almost certainly wrong, the latter relative being classed with the grandchild, the parents-in-law with the grandparents, as my list indicates. Consistently with his classification of the brother's with the sister's daughter (w. sp.) and with the customary classificatory extensions, Morgan further lists under the same caption the brother's son's wife, brother's daughter's husband (w. sp.), sister's son's wife (w. sp.) and sister's daughter's husband (w. sp.). Of these meanings only those applied to men are compatible with my data.

My *mî' ua'k i ha'*, wife's brother, sister's husband (m. sp.) is phonetically the equivalent of Morgan's *ue-ud' ha-a* and *ue-ud-ke*. He gives various additional meanings, viz., sister's husband (w. sp.), husband's brother, sister's daughter's husband (m. sp.), father's brother's daughter's and mother's sister's daughter's husband. The two last-mentioned meanings follow of course from the meaning "sister's husband." That a woman should call the sister's husband by the same term applied by a man to his brother-in-law, seems rather improbable, but unfortunately I did not get evidence on this point. On the other hand, I have two distinct terms for the husband's brother, so that in this respect Morgan's data seem inaccurate. Altogether it is regrettable that the terms of affinity are involved in so much doubt.

Social Customs.

602

On this subject I only collected a few items, some of which, however, are of some comparative interest.

As among the Hidatsa and Crow, there was a joking-relationship, which obtained among the sons and daughters of men belonging to the same clan. These relatives, if such they may be styled, were called *t'iusit*.

593 Sisters have great privileges among these Indians. All the horses which a young man steals, or captures in war, belong to them. If an Indian returns from an expedition on horseback, and meets his sister, he will immediately alight, and give her the horse; on the other hand, if he wishes to possess some object of value belonging to his sister, for instance, a dress, he goes and abruptly demands it, and immediately receives it; even should it be the very dress she is wearing, she will take it off at once, and give it to her brother.

837 Prudery is not a virtue of the Indian women; they have often two, three, or more lovers: infidelity is not often punished. There was only one woman among the Mandans, a piece of whose nose was cut off, a circumstance which is very common among the Blackfeet. If an Indian elopes with a married woman, the husband whom she has abandoned avenges himself by seizing the seducer's property, his horses and other things of value, to which the latter must quietly submit. Such a woman is never taken back. If a man has the eldest daughter of a family for his wife, he has a right to all her sisters. A chief business of the young men among these Indian tribes is to try their fortune with the young maidens and the women, and this, together with their toilet, fills up the greater part of their time. They do not meet with many coy beauties. In the evening, and generally till late at night, they roam about the villages, or in the vicinity, or from one village to the other. They have a singular mode of displaying their achievements in this field, especially when they visit the women in their best dresses. On these occasions they endeavour to gain credit by the variety of their triumphs, and mark the number of conquered beauties by bundles of peeled osier twigs, painted red at the tips. These sticks are of two kinds. Most of them are from two to three feet in length, others five or six feet. The latter, being carried singly, are painted with white and red rings alternately, which indicates the number of conquests. The shorter sticks are only painted red at the tips, and every stick indicates an exploit, the number of which is often bound up into a pretty large bundle. Thick faces of this kind are carried about by the dandies in their gallant excursions. Among the Mandans these sticks are generally quite plain; among the Manitaries, on the contrary, there is, usually, in the middle of the bundle, one larger stick, at the end of which there is a tuft of black feathers. These feathers indicate the favourite, and the dandies tell everybody that she is the person for whom this honour is intended. (See Plate XXI. Fig. 6.)

[587] 584 836

If these people have had familiar intercourse with a person who wore the white buffalo robe, a piece of skin of that colour is fastened to the stick: if she wore a red blanket, or buffalo robe, a piece of red cloth is fastened to the stick. This custom, which is well known among the Mandans and Manitaries, has not, to my knowledge, been mentioned by any traveller.

601 000 They have distinct names for the several degrees of relationship. The father's brother is called father, and the mother's sister, mother; cousins are called brothers and sisters. The

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

themselves in one of these communities located on an isolated segment of the reservation between the Missouri and the Little Missouri rivers. The village is called Lone Hill by the Indian people. In 1951, Lone Hill had a total Indian population of 267 individuals forming 48 nuclear families. 101 175 [16]

THE PROBLEM

In the summer of 1951 and continuing in 1952–53, I studied social and cultural change in Lone Hill village. Starting with an investigation of kinship using the genealogical method I obtained kinship schedules essentially similar to those reported by Morgan (1871:291–382), Lowie (1917), and Bowers (1950, ms.) as characterizing the traditional Crow lineage system. It became apparent that for some members of Lone Hill, both old and young, the terminological system had not changed. While the majority of the schedules gathered in the village represented the Crow lineage system, this was not so for every case. A number of schedules were obtained with English terms and were directly comparable to the American type of system. Thus, within one community, I obtained two kinds of kinship patterns, the first aboriginal Indian and the second modern near-white. 121 601●

This extreme variation is not too surprising if one considers previous work on kinship change in other American Indian tribes which have had a comparable Crow lineage system. Spoehr (1947), comparing related tribes within the Southeastern area, found direct evidence of a complete series from a pure Crow type to a variant of an American generational system with intermediate forms showing a regular pattern of change. The Schmitts (n.d.), within one community of Wichita, found variations in kinship terminology which fitted into the latter part of Spoehr's more complete series. The direction of the Wichita data tends to validate Spoehr's conclusions—when a Crow system changes under modern acculturative influence, there is an increasing patrilineal emphasis, a shift from a lineal to a generational pattern in classification, and a diminishing importance of kinship in regulating social life.

The point to be stressed here is that the terminological systems gathered among the Indian people of Lone Hill village were either pure Crow or white generation types—both extremes without the intermediate variations. While a generational type kinship system is found among the Mandan-Hidatsa and in the cases reported upon by Spoehr and the Schmitts, the absence of intermediate variations in Lone Hill suggests a significant difference in the kind of acculturation taking place. This difference may be clarified by a description of the types of terminological systems found in Lone Hill, followed by an analysis of the mechanisms of kinship change.

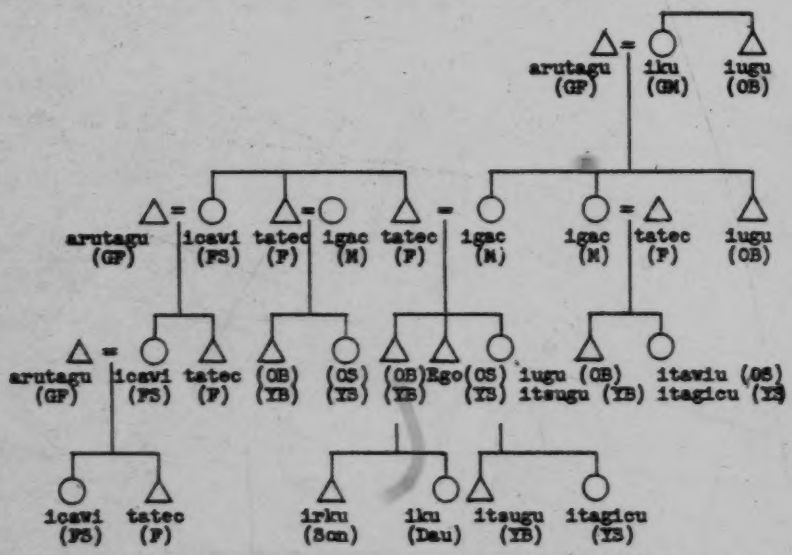
THE KINSHIP PATTERNS

Of the two terminological kinship patterns found in Lone Hill, the pure Crow type remains the operating functional system for the majority of the people of the village. Figure 1 is a diagram of the system in the Hidatsa language with English equivalents. The orthography follows Bowers (ms.). 601

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

601 [191]

Although Lone Hill is composed of members of the Hidatsa and the Mandan tribes, the Hidatsa language has become standard in the village while the Mandan language is rapidly becoming extinct. This may have been due to the small percentage of Mandan-speaking people in Lone Hill when the community was formed. The Crow terminology is used in the Indian language in daily face-to-face contact among most of the people in the village. The meanings and applications of the terms have not changed. Bowers (1950:1) notes that "the kinship system has been affected little by recent events." Figure 1 is based upon observations of usage throughout the village and was



(Note—For a female ego, sister's children are son and daughter.)

FIG. 1

checked by formal schedules obtained from 14 individuals: 8 males ages 34 to 70, and 6 females ages 23 to 60.

601 191

In certain situations the people of Lone Hill make a direct linguistic translation of the Crow terminology from the Indian language into the English language. Classificatory fathers are called uncle, classificatory mothers and fathers' sisters are called aunt, while niece, nephew, and cousin terms are applied indiscriminately and usually incorrectly from the white point of view. There are no uncle, cousin, niece, or nephew terms in the Indian language. Figure 2 is offered as an illustration—note particularly the descendants from the father's sister. As the diagram shows, the generation principle does not apply.

This use of English is not a variation of the Crow system but is rather the same system with an alternate language. The English kinship terms do not

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

form a reciprocal system and do not conform to expected white usage, for example, an individual whom you address as uncle may call you cousin or brother rather than nephew. It is an egocentric system and is used only when an individual in Lone Hill finds himself in a situation in which he is forced to speak English. All but two of the 137 adults of the village are bilingual, as they speak English in addition to the Indian language. English is most often learned in government schools as a second language and is used by the Indian people to deal with the outside world: in contact with Indian Bureau employees, local white merchants, or when members of alien tribes visit or marry into the village. 601 191

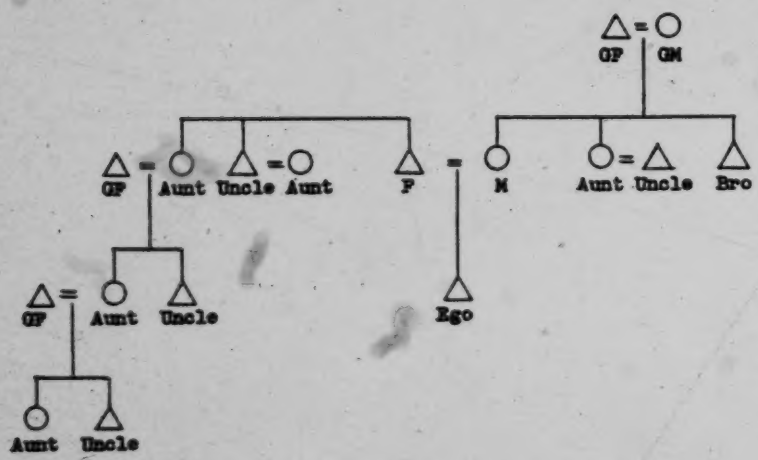


FIG. 2

The second major kinship pattern in Lone Hill consists of cases in which English terms are used in the white generation pattern, as indicated in Figure 3. My observations indicate that the generational system was used only by seven acculturated families. Many of the individuals in these families have spent most of their lives away from the village in off-reservation schools. The system was checked in formal interviews with six people, all between the ages of 20 and 30. In one instance a father's brother was called a cousin rather than an uncle because, as my informant said, "He is too young to be my uncle." The situations in which the generational system is employed tend to be relatively restricted and occur when acculturated individuals relate to one another, their close relatives, and whites in or outside the village. 601 191 177 124

An additional kinship complication arises in those homes in which a member of an alien tribe—usually Crow, Sioux, Blackfoot, or Arikara—marries a Mandan-Hidatsa resident of the village. No schedule can be given here as there is no general pattern, but one case will be briefly described as an illustration. 601 177 191

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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As shown in Figure 4, John Bear Leg is the child of a mixed Hidatsa-Arikara marriage. The family lives in Lone Hill and speaks only English at home as Mrs. Bear Leg, an Arikara woman, does not understand Hidatsa. While discussing kinship, John referred to his father's sister's daughter, Mary White Duck, by the term "sister" and told me, "That's the white way." This is incorrect, of course, as in the American way Mary would be a cousin to John, while in the Hidatsa way, she would be an *icawi* or father's sister. I became excited here, as I thought I had found a case of ironing out generation differences which would represent an internal shift in kinship type. Further inquiry revealed that John's Arikara mother had told him to regard Mary as a sister. Mrs. Bear Leg wants her son to take all of his relationships

[601]

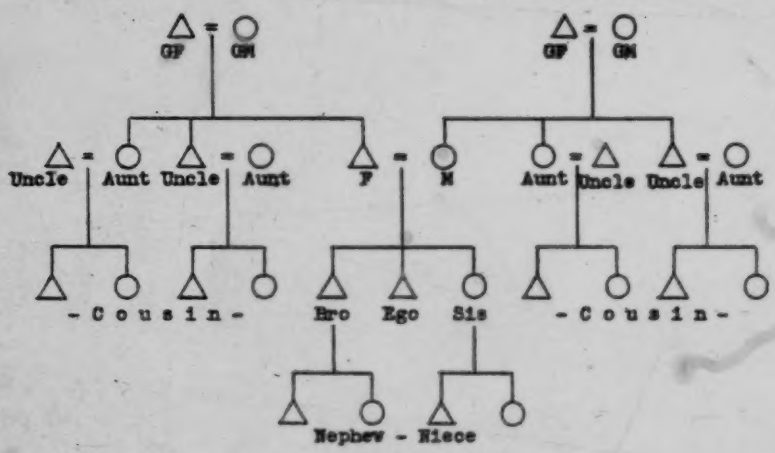

FIG. 3

in the Arikara way, and she attempts to teach him Arikara kinship. I checked with Mary, who informed me, "I know it's not right, but he calls me sister so I call him brother." The use of sibling terms for cross-cousins is one stage in Spoehr's series in the breakdown of a pure Crow system. But in this case it is a borrowed change introduced by an Arikara and not one that arose from the situation in Lone Hill.

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John's total kinship pattern indicates that he follows Hidatsa usage with most of his father's relatives and Arikara usage with all of his mother's relatives, who reside in another village at Fort Berthold. As his mother seems to be the dominant member of the family in these matters, John also refers to some of his father's relatives according to the Arikara way. I pointed out this apparent confusion to John, who replied, "I still don't know about these relationships yet, except what they say to me. The old folks each tell me their way. I'm catching on slow but sure." The net result of this situation is that while John knows how to interact with each specific relative he does not have a consistent total kinship system. John, now 24 years old, understands neither

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the Hidatsa, Arikara, nor the white kinship pattern. His case illustrates the confusion found among the children of mixed marriages in which the parents have not established a clear-cut identification with any one social system. 601 177 602

To summarize thus far, the two kinship patterns found in Lone Hill are: (1) the traditional Crow terminological system, which remains the basic type for the village and has not changed, at least since 1862 when Morgan first gathered Mandan and Hidatsa kinship terms; and (2) a white generational system employed primarily by the acculturated families. There is also a separate set of English terms used in the Crow pattern for the benefit of outsiders and an inconsistent terminological pattern in some Indian homes in which a member of an alien tribe has come to Lone Hill through marriage. 601 177 191

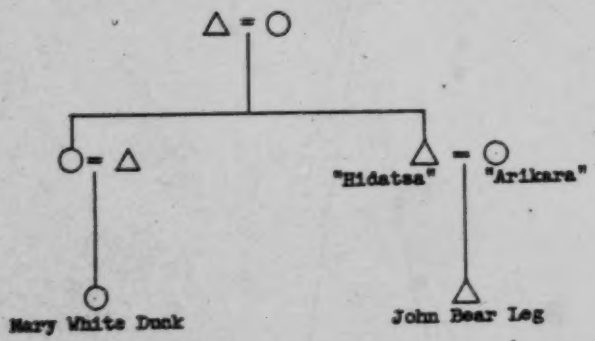

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FIG. 4

TWO PROCESSES

These data, considered in conjunction with the findings of Spoehr and of the Schmitts, indicate that there are two distinct processes involved in kinship change. The first process consists of the slow modification of a kinship system as evidenced by an orderly and progressive shift in type. This process is best illustrated by Spoehr's complete series in the transition from a pure Crow to an American generation type. Although the shift described by Spoehr was an indirect result of acculturative factors, the slow modification of a social structure may be due to internal forces that are not necessarily associated with culture contact (Eggan 1941; Gough 1952). The second process is a more radical change evidenced by an abrupt jump from one type of kinship system to another. In the second case, reported upon in this paper, the Indian and the white systems exist simultaneously without intermediate variations in kinship patterns. 601 177

Both processes of change, slow modification and sudden transformation, occur together in Lone Hill—and they also take place together among the Southeastern tribes. Spoehr emphasized the progressive stages in the breakdown of a Crow lineage system but he also recognized the more rapid type of kinship change (1947:198). The Mandan-Hidatsa seem to differ from the Southeastern tribes in terms of the relative importance of each process.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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The first process of slow modification has not affected the Crow kinship terminology and associated behavior in Lone Hill, but it has changed other aspects of social life in the village. There are many changes in content. A man recently modified the strict mother-in-law respect relation, not by the aboriginal practice of giving his mother-in-law a scalp, but by presenting her with an imitation war bonnet purchased from a mail order house. Innumerable other examples could be cited in which known changes in cultural content have not precipitated changes in the established social structure (cf. Gough 1952:85). An extreme illustration of this is provided by the previously mentioned case of English kinship terminology being used in the Crow kinship pattern. There are, however, many structural changes: the destruction of the native ceremonial life has decreased the religious importance of the father's lineage, the moieties are almost inoperative, the clans have diminished in importance, there is a general laxity among the youth in meeting certain kinship obligations, village organization has shifted from a close-knit unit to one of widely separated households, the matrilocal extended family is no longer a residence unit, and the lineage has ceased to be a corporate group. The only change in the Crow terminology is that vocative terms are rarely used except on public and community-wide occasions. The important point is that the gradual modification of the social structure has not proceeded far enough in Lone Hill to cause an internal shift in kinship type.

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The significance of the second process of radical change in Lone Hill may be seen in broader perspective by examining the kind of acculturation now taking place among the Mandan-Hidatsa (Bruner 1953). In every acculturated family that uses the American generational system there has been an Indian-white intermarriage within three ascending generations. Individuals in these families make an abrupt and almost total conversion to white ways, while the rest of the people in the village continue to live by more traditional Indian standards. In the families in which there has been a mixed marriage, the entire white system comes across in the socialization process. Among the Southeastern tribes the shifts in kinship terminology were the result of adaptive responses to changing conditions (Spoehr 1947:225). The presence of the white generational system in Lone Hill is due to neither cultural "borrowing," adult learning, nor rearrangements in the social structure precipitated by new conditions. Individuals in Lone Hill learn the American kinship system in the English language within the intimate domestic family situation. Although no single factor is ever sufficient to explain a highly complex acculturation situation, it would seem that these differences in the mechanisms of change may account for the differences in kinship patterns found among the Southeastern tribes and the Mandan-Hidatsa. (In a future paper, I shall document and describe the process of individual conversion to white ways in greater detail.)

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The converted Indian embraces a new way of life and comes to internalize a set of goals and values which are incongruent with the Crow lineage system. The kinship ties and obligations of the Crow system incorporate and reaffirm

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the older societal values. Kinship provides the means for mutual aid and co-operation in the village as well as a mechanism of social control for ridiculing and cajoling the nonconformist. While the Mandan-Hidatsa social system, with its wide range, embodies the primary societal values of sharing, generosity, group co-operation, and village unity, the converted Indian shifts to the more individualistic American values of accumulating goods and wealth as ends in themselves. Any member of Lone Hill who interacts with others in terms of the Crow kinship system and who meets the obligations of that system will remain an "Indian." 177 601 181

The majority of the Indians who have converted to white ways tend to leave the village to seek their fortunes elsewhere (cf. Spicer 1940; Tax 1941). For this reason, there were few cases of American type kinship systems found in Lone Hill—most such people had already left their village. If all the individuals who adopted a new kinship system as part of a more inclusive conversion experience were to remain in Lone Hill, they might well produce radical changes in the existing social structure of the community. Their departure is a major factor making for the retention of traditional Indian ways. However, some of the converted Indians do continue to live in Lone Hill and do become sources of change in the Crow kinship system. 177 601 167

Individuals in Lone Hill who do not fulfil their kinship obligations destroy the solidarity of the group and the unity of the system. The converted Indian will avoid any kinship tie which involves his sharing material wealth or giving of his time or possessions. One man has developed devious means to accomplish this. He deposits all of his money in a bank so that when people ask him for a loan he can honestly reply that he does not have any money around. He avoids any situation in which he might be called upon to make donations, and, as such, he never attends the social "give-away" dances. This man has consciously narrowed the range of his relationships but he has done so selectively. He will not address another by a kinship term if there is any possibility that he may have to help that person. On the other hand, he does not avoid his joking relatives, for through the structured joking he can make critical remarks about Indian ways which would not be permitted in any other context. 177 602 154

SITUATIONAL DETERMINANTS

As converted Indians who use the generational system do interact with their many relatives in the village who use the traditional lineage system, some mechanism of adjustment is necessary. Two relatives who follow different kinship systems may have different conceptions of the proper way of relating to one another. The adjustment is usually made through one of the persons' adopting the other's system for that *particular* relationship. Every acculturated individual in the village who ordinarily uses the generational system will use the Indian lineage system with *some* of his relatives. The converse also occurs, as unacculturated Indians sometimes use the American generational system. Individuals thus adjust to the alternate kinship systems, which tends to minimize the changes in the systems themselves. 177 601 602

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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Individual adjustment to alternate ways of structuring relationships is neither alien nor unique to the Mandan-Hidatsa (Firth 1930). Overlapping kinship ties tend to be characteristic of small societies with widely extended kinship systems. In addition to consanguineal and affinal relations, the Mandan-Hidatsa extended kinship to the clan, linked clan, moiety, ceremonial system and the supernatural world. As a result, almost every individual in the village was related to everyone else in more than one way. The closest relationship, as defined by the Mandan-Hidatsa, was usually taken in any given case, but factors unique to the individuals involved were also important (Bowers ms.). Today the people often discuss these dual ways of being related and they tend to regard the white way of reckoning kinship as one more way of being related, comparable to the alternate ways within the Indian system.

The following examples will illustrate how the adjustment takes place.

A young girl teased an unacculturated woman, after which the woman said to her, "You're supposed to be my *icawi* [father's sister] and you are not supposed to tease me, but that's O.K., we can take it the white way."

In referring to an acculturated girl, an older woman remarked, "She don't talk Indian. She is supposed to call me mother but she calls me auntie. I would be glad to hear it if she called me mother but she won't use it anymore. She's my daughter but she won't understand so I call her niece. All of that family acts like white kids."

An old woman of the village called a young converted Indian boy by the term "son." He realized that she could be either a mother or a father's sister to him in the Indian way but he did not know which. He came and asked me to find out from my genealogical charts because, as he said, "I can't figure it out and I want to act right with the old lady."

An acculturated woman refers to her mother's brother as an uncle and addresses him as uncle. He follows the traditional system, continuing to call her younger sister and considering himself as an older brother. Even though the terms are taken from two different systems, neither party seems to be especially disturbed. This is an unusual case and tends to occur only when there is no marked discrepancy in the external behavior.

Frank Bruce, who recently returned to the reservation, was related to William White Duck in two ways—their fathers were in the same clan, which required strong obligatory joking, and Frank was a "father" to William, which called for a father-son respect relationship. William had lived on the reservation all his life, understood both relationships, and quite properly, in terms of the traditional system, took the father-son blood relation rather than the clan tie. He talked politely to Frank and considered him a father, whom one never teased, although he never addressed him as father. Frank did not know that he was related to William either way and on one occasion teased him. William then said in public, "This old man of mine wants to take clans as the rule." Thereafter they teased each other on every possible occasion. All this was explained to Frank after it had taken place, as he had not understood that he had changed an existing relationship.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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Two individuals were related to one another in a dual way: one a joking grandfather-grandchild relationship, and the other a respect father-son relation. These boys were roommates at boarding school, during which time they teased one another and acted more like "roommates" than in accordance with either of the two possible kinship relationships. One said of the Indian way, "We left it home." When they returned to the reservation they continued the teasing relationship which had arisen from the school situation. Eventually they came to use grandfather-grandchild kinship terms as a means of justifying to others their mild joking. In this case, it was fortunate that a kinship bond existed to validate their behavior on the reservation.

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Schneider (1953:228) has suggested "that one important function of the use of kinship terms as forms of address is in imposing on the situation a kind of sanction which enforces conformity with the social definition of the relationship." In some situations the people of Lone Hill consciously manipulate kinship terms to serve their personal ends. Interaction between the acculturated and unacculturated is not unstructured or loosely defined, but it does have an element of ambiguity as there are two relatively clear-cut alternate systems. A few individuals take advantage of this in rather subtle ways.

At a political meeting, a converted Indian, who ordinarily uses the generational system, addressed a prominent member of the opposing faction as a "father." He used the Crow system in this situation knowing full well that his political rival would not be so indiscreet as to criticize a "son" in public.

An unacculturated woman of the village came into the house of a wealthy converted Indian and addressed him as "older brother." She sat down and indicated that she had some important business in town but had no means of transportation. The converted Indian, as he was preparing to drive her to town, whispered to me, "The only time she ever calls me 'brother' is when she wants something."

CONCLUSION

In earlier times both the Mandan-Hidatsa and the Southeastern tribes had a pure Crow type lineage system. After acculturative influence an American generational type kinship system is found among the two groups. In the Southeast the orderly and progressive shift in kinship type was characterized as a process of slow modification of the existing system due to adaptive responses to changing conditions. In Lone Hill, the lack of intermediate variations in kinship patterns suggests a rapid process of change caused by early socialization in those families in which there has been white intermarriage.

The comparison of static types and categories at different times will yield only partial information on the processes of change and persistence. If we are satisfied simply with answers to the question of *what* change has taken place, it may be sufficient to study the beginning and the end of a cultural sequence. But only through examination of an ongoing sequence and of the actual contexts in which a choice of alternatives is made can we say *how* the change has happened and thereby gain insight into the process itself. And the deepest understanding of social change may best be achieved by direct study of the actual mechanisms and processes involved.

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9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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177 175 indirect effect of contact resulted in the displacement of Eastern tribes, the formation of full Plains equestrian nomadism, and constant raids by hostile groups. These momentous events precipitated radical changes in the cultures of all Plains-Prairie peoples, and the Mandan-Hidatsa were no exception, although they did change less than other earth-lodge tribes (Strong 1940; Jablow 1950; Eggan 1952; Krieger 1953).

105 177 Indian culture today includes automobiles, farm equipment, washing machines, radios, and other material objects of American culture. Clothing and household goods are generally purchased through Western mail order catalogs. The major sources of cash income are the cattle business, agricultural enterprises, leasing lands to whites, wage work, and relief money. Every adult has attended government or missionary schools, and Catholic and Congregational Churches are established in the village. Thirty-one of the sixty-four males over seventeen years of age have had military experience.

Lone Hill village has never been a closed, self-sufficient society, from the time it was founded in the last decade of the nineteenth century with the allotment program of the Indian Bureau until the present. Today every adult deals with white people who reside outside the community, although contact is limited. The Indian's cash income and the education of his children are controlled in part by the Indian Bureau and by forces in the larger American society. Agency personnel, government employees, missionaries, day school teachers, traveling salesmen and local tradespeople, farmers and ranchers, visit with Indians both on and off the reservation. The resident of Lone Hill village buys goods from white storekeepers, attends schools taught by whites, transacts business with white government people, and often seeks wage work from nearby whites. The Indian must satisfy specialized needs through the services of white doctors, lawyers and professional people.

[191 601 614] Despite the many American elements which have been adopted, Hidatsa is the major spoken language in Lone Hill today, secular Indian ceremonial dances are performed, and the social organization includes matrilineal clans and a Crow type kinship system. Sacred bundles are highly respected, Indian doctors utilize native medicine to cure the sick, and distinctively Indian values are manifest on many occasions. The linguistic, religious, and social patterns are not considered here as isolated survivals persisting intact from the aboriginal past, for they too have changed from older times as a consequence of changing conditions of life; and they function in a very different total situation in 1950 as compared with 1850 or 1750.

Viewed historically, contemporary Indian culture is mixed. It consists of automobiles from Detroit, dances from the Cheyenne, medicine bundles from the Mandan, and a language from the Hidatsa. From the perspective of some individuals who share it, this mixed culture is perfectly consistent. No person in Lone Hill today knows how to stalk buffalo, scalp a Sioux, or shape a stone arrowhead. With the exception of a few very old people, no one in Lone Hill has ever lived in a culture in which these activities were performed. Our task is to understand how groups of individuals in Lone Hill come to regard and participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

pecially important in Mandan social and ceremonial life, since individuals in the father's father's lineage usually occupy a closer relationship through marriage. 601 613

These lineages are the basis of the Mandan kinship structure; they extend kinship relations beyond the elementary family to the limits of the tribe; they regulate the behavior and social 613

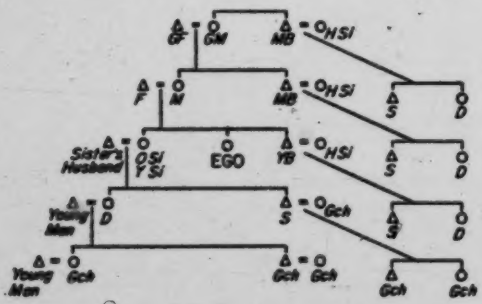

FIG. 11.—Mother's lineage. Ego = female

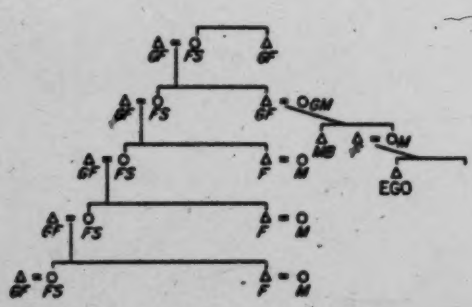

FIG. 12.—Mother's father's lineage. Ego = male

relations of the entire village. The extension of this lineage principle united the various villages into a tribal unit.

The Mandan had numerous methods of extending the range of kinship, and the character of the pattern resulting from this extension is important for an understanding of social integration. The Mandan treat everyone as a relative and recognize varying degrees of nearness of relationship. A person is considered to be related to everyone of his own clan and is a "son" to all males and females of his father's clan. Marriage introduces another set of relatives, and the custom of adopting a "son" 602 608 547 614

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

602 brings together still another set of relatives between whom there
608 is frequently established a "father-son" bond extending to the
597 "father-son" relatives which was often more intimate than with
614 the "son's" own father who may be separated from the son's mother. This relationship to persons outside the biological family may be further altered by ceremonial participation. Adoption of a child from outside the clan, though uncommon, did occur, and the one adopted, by changing his or her clan status,
[616] affected the relationship of both groups. When no other relationship was applicable, the moiety functioned as a clan. There was a further extension of the kinship to embrace the supernatural. Details of this classification appear in the chapters on ceremonialism contained in this report. The kinship pattern was also extended to include persons of neighboring tribes, even unfriendly tribes, when a friendship developed between individuals of different tribes; formal adoption established relationships that played an important role in restricting warfare and promoting trade. The numerous devices for extending kinship between the villages frequently brought about a situation in which a Mandan had a choice of two or more terms of relationship for the same person. The situation determined the term to be employed. Obviously those who are most closely associated in daily and ceremonial activities were considered closest in making a decision. When the writer was collecting the materials for this report, he was very anxious to use Tom Smith as interpreter for Scattercorn, since he was familiar with the specific problem being developed at that time. She refused to work with him on the grounds that she considered him a "son-in-law." The relationship between the two was this: Scattercorn's (Tamisik clan) sister's daughter's daughter married Edgar Crows Heart, who was Tom Smith's sister's son (Water-buster clan). She was, of course, Edgar Crows Heart's mother-in-law, but she extended the taboo to Tom Smith because he visited a great deal at Crows Heart's home. She did not consider Drags Wolf a son-in-law, although of Edgar Crows Heart's clan, because he rarely called at Crows Heart's lodge.

601 The importance of the clan in regard to the kinship has been
614 brought out in the foregoing discussions, but this should not be interpreted to mean that the kinship system is a clan system.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

back to the village. Economic training came largely from his father and the older men of the lodge. If he were inclined to be lazy, his mother would talk to him, while her brother would shame him and accuse him of bringing disgrace to the clan. 861 868 562

A boy was taught to begin fasting when he was eight or nine years of age. The parents would tell him of the benefits he would receive and cite the various eminent men of the village who had attained their position from this practice. The mother's brother and his older brothers would give him goods to take into the Okipa to present to some man of his father's clan and designate the person entitled to the gift. An older brother planning to fast would bring a younger brother to the Okipa ceremony and instruct him, sending him home when he thought he had been there long enough, while the father would give him some small article from his ceremonial bundle to wear, thinking it would help to get a "vision." 861 869 785

A lodge "grandfather" contributed a great deal to a boy's education. He would make toy bows and arrows and teach him to use them. If he had a fish trap, his grandsons did much of the work of carrying willows to the bank for weaving into sections for the walls, and he would permit them to bail the fish out of the trap. He would teach them games, especially techniques and skills which would be useful in warfare, and tell them stories. Using rivalry between the moieties, these old men who were too old to hunt would arrange the boys ten years and younger on sides and teach them to use shields for their protection, shooting at each other with arrows on the blunt ends of which a ball of mud or wrapped hide had been attached. 868 616

Not to be discounted in the training of a young Mandan boy or girl was the informal education they received by living in intimate contact with the entire village population, observing the conduct of others, and being kept informed of contemplated group action by the village "criers" who announced each decision of the village leaders. He learned that he must treat different relatives in various ways and that they would laugh at him if he did not. Learning that he was expected to treat different relatives the same way his brothers did, he imitated his older brothers unconsciously and followed their advice. 861 867

A girl's education was essentially the same as a boy's except 861 562 602

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

861 that a different set of relatives instructed her for a different set
562 of economic pursuits. The women of the lodge were responsible
602 for her training. They gave her toys, related stories and traditions, and taught her to care for her younger siblings. Her mother taught her to harness the dogs and took her to the forest for firewood. Some of my informants' most tender memories were of the times when as young girls, their mothers had given them dogs with harnesses, and had taken them along in gathering brush for the fires. The mother-daughter bonds were of deep affection. When the women of the lodge dressed hides, the daughter would help, and she had her own sewing kit containing awls, sinew thread, paints, beads, and porcupine quills, and she was taught the techniques of hide dressing and decoration, giving those who helped her little presents to express her affection. As a little girl, she made crude pots when the women of the lodge were making pottery, and, when old enough, she bought her mother's rights in the techniques and designs of pottery-making.

861 Parents owning rights in age-grade societies encouraged their
561 children to join an age-grade society. Those too young to be-
602 long to a society would see older ones dancing. A girl's older sisters and women of the lodge would explain the procedure of buying as a group and helped collect goods for the transfer of the society to the younger girls. Membership in a society introduced a series of new obligations. Heretofore her obligations were with the persons of her parental household. As a member of an organized female group, composed largely of persons of her own age and outside her own household, she was called on to prepare robes and other clothing for the brother or husband of a society member who was buying a ceremonial bundle or was having rites performed for the renewal of a bundle. As a member of an organized group she likewise received assistance when her own family was buying rights in a sacred bundle. Collectively she treated those in the next older group as mothers and those in the group younger than her own as daughters.

Preadolescent boys also joined an age-grade society, buying as a group from the older boys on the advice of their parents. All boys of the age eligible to buy would organize to join. Some boys were not interested; some households were temporarily broken

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

up by death or divorce; some fathers were in disrepute, having conducted an unsuccessful war expedition. An old man of a boy's lodge, one who had belonged to many societies, learning in the village that there was talk of buying the youngest society, would encourage his grandson to join and would help him accumulate the goods used for the purchase.

Joining an age-grade society for the first time as a boy, he encountered a "father-son" relationship which had heretofore applied only to his own household. He was selected by a member who was of his father's clan, and the initiate addressed him as "father" during all the proceedings preliminary to the formal purchase; he learned that the other two or three boys his ceremonial "father" had selected were likewise based on a "father-son" relationship. This "father-son" relationship, extending outside his own household, formally instituted when making his first purchase into a society, became the basis of his behavior in buying and selling societies and ceremonies for the rest of his life.

FASTING AND FIRST WAR EXPEDITIONS

Fasting during the Okipa ceremony marked the introduction of the boy to status in the tribe as a whole and was first instituted at the age of eight or nine, when the people of all the villages were assembled for this annual event. The first fasting was of short duration. The fasting periods increased until a boy reached the age of seventeen or eighteen, when he was expected to fast for the entire duration of the Okipa ceremony and to drag buffalo skulls or be suspended by means of thongs inserted under the skin. Visions were not induced each time one fasted; neither were they expected.

It was believed that one's social personality was determined by sacred beings before the birth of the individual and that fasting was a means of renewing these former instructions that were temporarily forgotten while being born and cared for in the village. It was also believed that in the universe there were many sacred people who would adopt as a "son" those who fasted frequently and made offerings to them or who gave feasts to the sacred bundles of the village. A young man was taught to consult not only his own father but all men of his father's clan on matters of a sacred character. If one's sister's son seemed neg-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

When a person believed he was about to die, the relatives were called and the dying person was dressed and painted before death, if possible. It was the duty of the father's clan to attend to the disposal of the body, and the dying person's request determined whether the body would be buried or placed on a scaffold. The Mandan claim that in earlier times earth burials were more common, and this belief is corroborated by the large number of both primary and secondary bundle burials found at their older villages near the Heart River. In some instances, they requested hilltop burials with only a covering of robes and stones. Most people were placed on scaffolds which were erected by members of the father's clan, and the "sending-away of the spirit" rites on the fourth day were performed by a woman of the father's clan. The body was placed on the scaffold with the head to the northwest and the feet to the southeast, the direction the spirits were believed to take to reach the Heart River. People never slept with their feet pointed to the southeast, believing that to do so would be to invite death. The relatives would come to the scaffold to mourn for four days. Whenever an eminent person died, all fires in the village were extinguished for one day while all the village mourned. It is said that even the dogs wept.

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The deceased person's personal property was taken by the brothers and sisters, and, when there were none living, the people of the clan took possession of the goods and divided it among themselves. In return for this property, they were required to go to the scaffold to mourn and to pay the mourners of the father's clan. When the deceased was an old woman of a couple occupying a lodge by themselves, the man left the lodge to live with people of his own clan, and the lodge was either abandoned or taken over by a group of females belonging to the deceased person's clan. When an old woman having no children or younger females in the lodge became feeble, she usually moved into another lodge where the females were of her clan.

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When a woman died leaving small children, her unmarried sisters were expected to provide for them and to marry the widower if he asked them. When the deceased mother had no sisters, the children were cared for by the maternal grandmother and her sisters. The clan provided for those who had no close blood relatives. Many families were broken up by the

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2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

768 smallpox epidemic of 1837. The orphans were taken in by the
602 females according to clan affiliation and reared as their own
614 children.

Suicide was rare among the Mandan. The only instances
762 remembered by Mandan informants were immediately follow-
775 ing the last smallpox epidemic. When a household had been nearly exterminated, the remaining females frequently took their lives. Crows Heart thought that suicides were buried and that their spirits did not reach the spirit world. Scattercorn remembered hearing of two girls who hanged themselves in 1837 in the village where her father lived and said that they were placed on the scaffold which was built by her father whose sister sent the spirits away at the end of four days.

The last murder of a male occurred among the Mandan in
682 1820, part of the Mandan separating from the village group to
627 live on Eagle Nose Butte until 1823, when the relatives of the murdered man invited them to return to Fort Clark Village. One who had been murdered was treated as though he had been killed in battle or had died a natural death. There was the usual preparation of the body by the relatives of the father's clan. The murderer, if caught, was killed by the murdered man's male siblings or clansmen, and his body was buried at a distance
[766] from the village. No rites were performed to send his spirit away. The murder of a woman by another woman was treated lightly and settled by a payment of goods.

The Mandan, and in later years the Hidatsa also, were accus-
765 tomed to collect the bones of their relatives after the scaffolds
614 on which they were placed had rotted and fallen to the ground.
778 The skulls were taken to a place adjacent to the scaffolds and there arranged in circles of which there were a number near each village. Scattercorn claimed that the skulls of each circle were of closely related people who had belonged to the same clan and that these shrines enhanced the "sacred powers" of the Woman Above bundles which were a part of the shrine.[4] If these were clan shrines, the practice of arranging the circles according to clans must have been abandoned after moving to Like-a-Fishhook Village, as there were only two or three circles at most, and the Hidatsa made simultaneous use of these shrines

4. See Catlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–52, for an eyewitness description of these circles.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Mrs. Good Bear remembered an old man with the medicine of the otter. The otter was said to extract arrowheads and bullets by sticking his head into the wound.

The Mandan had one doctoring practice not employed by the Hidatsa. Sometimes a baby got a sore mouth and could not nurse its mother. The child's father would call one of his own brothers saying, "I want to drink of your blood."

The father would use an awl to prick a hole in his brother's leg and the child's mouth was put over the wound. When a man had no brothers, he called a man of his own clan. The rule was that the blood one drank must come from a man of the father's clan. Crows Heart showed several scars where he had given blood to cure sore mouths.

Breaking rules was believed to be the cause of bad luck. This could be either intentional or unintentional. Sometimes the guardian spirit was said to abandon one who violated some rule. Crows Heart said that it was impossible to explain why some men who were so particular about obeying all the rules should lose power. Edgar Crows Heart took his mother's brother's mink hide[13] to use in a dance without getting permission. Shortly afterward, he was thrown from a horse and suffered a broken nose, a result, Crows Heart, the father, said of taking a medicine bundle without the right.

Scattercorn was the only informant to give an example of sleight-of-hand practices performed as the result of a dream. In the hereditary bundle rites people claimed to have corn, buffalo, and other spirits in their body which came up into the mouth during the ceremonies.[14] Her account is of one not informed in the actual rites.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF POWER OF MEDICINE

My father's father ran away from the village when the smallpox came and lived with the Crow Indians out west. He was one who fasted much. One time he fasted on a high mountain. He became so weak that he could not get down the mountain and fell unconscious in the snow. A bear, porcupine, and otter came to him and said, "Son, we heard you cry and are going to help you." Those spirits carried him down the mountain, and he was so weak that he could not help himself. He became unusually holy because so many animals

13. Hidatsa Creek medicine.

14. Also reported by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIV (Cleveland, 1906), 33.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 773 changed from generation to generation. When no sacred myth belonged to the ceremony or there were no sacred instructions at the time of the inception of the ceremony, the Mandan believed these ceremonies were borrowed of neighboring tribes. The Adoption Pipe ceremony belonged in this category. The sacred myth enumerated the benefits which would accrue to the tribe and the giver of the ceremony when the rites were performed.

773 602 776 The sacred myths were the basis for an extension of the kinship system to include the world of the supernatural. First Creator was addressed as "very old one," while Lone Man, who assisted him in the creation of the earth, was addressed by persons of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans as "ptawadatodE" or "mother's brother." Those of the opposite moiety addressed him as "father." Sun and Moon were "father" and their sister was "father's sister." Their mother was addressed as "grandmother," a term also used for the various holy women of the ash groves, the field mice, the corn mill, and all female beings present on the earth on the "first day of creation." An individual addressed a sacred being appearing in a dream and not belonging to the category of tribal gods as "father" if a male and "father's sister" if a female.

778 425 428 614 The Mandan system of bundle inheritance shows evidence of change within the last century. Certain bundles and ceremonial rights traditionally inherited through the clan and more specifically from the mother's brother, such as the Okipa belonging to the WaxikEna clan and the Shell Robe bundle of the Prairie Chicken clan, showed a tendency to change to a father-son inheritance of the Hidatsa pattern. The eagle-trapping lodges were still inherited through the clan as late as 1929, but the associated bundles had changed from clan inheritance to father-son inheritance after 1875. The system of inheritance was more flexible than for the Hidatsa, with whom they were intimately associated. At first I was inclined to believe that this greater flexibility was due, in part at least, to the breakdown of the older system, an opinion which I have now abandoned. The Mandan parents often selected their daughters' husbands and gave them preliminary assistance in ceremonial matters. The sons and daughters of a household usually purchased the par-

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913

NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for his individual father. Wounded-face did not know that Two-crows owned two kinds of emblems,— the foxskin cap to be used in dancing and in war, and the head band decorated with the lower kit-fox jaws which was to be worn when courting young women.[1] On the morning of the final transference of membership rights, Two-crows gave Wounded-face the cap and the head band, as well as a shirt, armlets and fringed buckskin leggings. In return, Wounded-face paid his father a fast black horse suited for use in the buffalo chase and some property contributed by his relatives. I get the impression that the transfer of special regalia was automatic; that is to say, if the father happened to own certain specific emblems the son buying his membership bought *ipso facto* the regalia owned by the seller. 575 432 292 608

Little-crow states that at the public performance the relatives of the new members brought presents, which were turned over to the fathers, either individually or collectively. In the latter case the fathers proceeded to distribute the gifts among themselves. 575 431 602

In marching outdoors, the first rattler took the lead and was immediately followed by the first hooked-staff officer; Wounded-face — presumably as the owner of the cap — occupied a central position in the line; the second rattler came last, being directly behind the second hooked-staff officer. The first rattler selected a site for the dance and turned in order to begin the formation of a circle there, at the same time raising his rattle and singing very loudly. There was always a special song to be sung prior to the drummers' entrance into the circle. This song was taken up by the second rattler. While the circle was forming, the singers went within the circumference and began to beat their drums. These singers were always the members' fathers, if I understood Wounded-face correctly, but it is probable that this applies only to the first public performance by a new group of members. The songs referred to warlike deeds, and the words were, according to this informant, invariably in the Dakota language. 575 527 535 533 [177]

Little-crow, as already stated, considers the head band decorated with kit-fox jaws as a badge common to all members; he further states that each Kit-Fox had a hair-pipe attached to the left side of the head and that six men had their hair roached. The hair-cutting was done by the men's fathers. Other informants agree that there were two rattlers and two officers with hooked-staffs, wrapped with otterskin and decorated at four points with feathers. Wounded-face says that sometimes the second staff-bearer carried a *straight* stick, in which case an erect eagle feather was secured to the top of the shaft. Little-crow states that rattles were used 575 [292] [302] 293

[1] This seems to conflict with Black-chest's account, which assigns these emblems to distinct officers, but Little-crow regards the kit-fox head band as a badge common to all members.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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use a single word for brother's and sister's son. On the other hand, my own list of meanings for *mínikí* is rendered somewhat doubtful by extending the word to the brother's son of both men and women. A similar feature of the daughter category, however, viz., the classing of the man's brother's daughter with the woman's, is supported by Morgan's as well as my own informants.

One of my words for husband, *mī' morus*, is approached by Morgan's *me-mer-ul*, while his *moo-hul* and his *moo-ha* for wife and brother's wife are at least of the same stem as my *mē'us* and *mu' uhō'aks* (m. sp.). I did not get the words by which the wife's and the husband's fathers and mothers address each other, but analogy with other Siouan systems supports Morgan's statement that there are distinct terms, which he gives as *kote'-he-a* for the father-in-law and *me-ho-he-a* for the mother-in-law. My list also lacks a word for wife's sister, which Morgan gives as *noo-ko-ho-mus*.

Instead of *koo-too'-min-ik* I have *ptuné'* for brother's wife (w. sp.); Morgan's informants, consistently enough, included under his term the father's brother's son's and the mother's sister's son's wife. In my list the husband's sister is put into this category.

To my *p'ī'ē'te* for daughter's husband clearly corresponds Morgan's *p'too'-ta*, brother's daughter's husband (m. sp.), which indicates that his *ko-too'-te* is merely a form of the same stem. He gives many connotations for this word, none of which (except son-in-law) is given in my series. Thus, Morgan, translates it also "husband's father" and "husband's mother" and reciprocally "daughter-in-law" (m. sp. and w. sp.), but here judging from analogy, he is almost certainly wrong, the latter relative being classed with the grandchild, the parents-in-law with the grandparents, as my list indicates. Consistently with his classification of the brother's with the sister's daughter (w. sp.) and with the customary classificatory extensions, Morgan further lists under the same caption the brother's son's wife, brother's daughter's husband (w. sp.), sister's son's wife (w. sp.) and sister's daughter's husband (w. sp.). Of these meanings only those applied to men are compatible with my data.

My *mī' ua'k i ke'*, wife's brother, sister's husband (m. sp.) is phonetically the equivalent of Morgan's *uo-ud' ke-a* and *uo-ud-ke*. He gives various additional meanings, viz., sister's husband (w. sp.), husband's brother, sister's daughter's husband (m. sp.), father's brother's daughter's and mother's sister's daughter's husband. The two last-mentioned meanings follow of course from the meaning "sister's husband." That a woman should call the sister's husband by the same term applied by a man to his brother-in-law, seems rather improbable, but unfortunately I did not get evidence on this point. On the other hand, I have two distinct terms for the husband's brother, so that in this respect Morgan's data seem inaccurate. Altogether it is regrettable that the terms of affinity are involved in so much doubt.

Social Customs.

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On this subject I only collected a few items, some of which, however, are of some comparative interest.

As among the Hidatsa and Crow, there was a joking-relationship, which obtained among the sons and daughters of men belonging to the same clan. These relatives, if such they may be styled, were called *t'ūsit*.

6c Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 This custom exists among most of the nations on the Missouri, and even among the Esquimaux 597 there is a somewhat similar usage. If the adopted son and father have not happened to meet 171 for a long time, they make presents to each other; the father gives the son a new dress, and the latter presents him with a good horse. Among all the Indian nations of North America, 791 there is a particular class of men, who are specially engaged in all the above-mentioned 171 ceremonies and medicines. They are, also, the physicians, and are called, among the Mandans, Numah-Choppenih, which signifies medicine man.

The skin of a white buffalo cow is an important article, and an eminent medicine in the 778 opinion of the Mandans and Manitaries. He who has never possessed one of them is not respected. 554 Suppose two men to be disputing about their exploits, the one an old veteran warrior, who has slain many enemies, the other, a young lad without experience; the latter reproaches the other with never having possessed a white buffalo cow hide, on which the old man droops his head, and covers his face for shame. He who possesses such a hide generally offers it to the 782 lord of life, to whom he dedicates it, or, which is equivalent, to the sun, or to the first man. He collects, perhaps, in the course of a whole twelvemonth, various articles of value, and then hangs them up all together on a high pole in the open prairie, generally in the neighbourhood of the burying-place, or in the village before his hut. Distinguished men and chiefs of 556 eminence are for the most part poor, because, in order to gain reputation and influence, they give 431 away everything of value which they possess. A large number of relatives is one of the chief 602 means of acquiring riches, for a young man who wishes to distinguish himself, and to be liberal, does honour to the whole family, who assist him to the utmost of their power. When one of his relations has anything of value, the young man goes to the owner to demand it, and not unfrequently takes it away without ceremony. Sometimes he hangs his head in silence, and then something of value is given him, a handsome dress, a horse, &c. If he wishes to gain reputation and a claim to distinction, it is necessary that he should make presents. All the people in the village notice very accurately what presents are made, and the donor has a right to display all such presents painted on his robes, and in this manner to hand down his reputation to posterity, as has been already related. This and military glory are, in the eyes of these men, the greatest virtues. They dare not draw a stroke too much on their robes for the horses, guns, &c., which they have given away, for the young men keep a most strict account against each other, and universal ridicule would be the immediate consequence of violating this rule. Among the 778 distinctions of any man, the white buffalo hide is the greatest. He who has not been so fortunate 281 as to kill a white buffalo himself, which is generally the case, as these animals are very rare, [439] purchases a hide, often at a great distance from home, and other nations bring them hither, being well aware of the great value attached to them by the Mandans. The hide must be that of a young cow, not above two years old, and be taken off complete and tanned, with the horns,

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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As shown in Figure 4, John Bear Leg is the child of a mixed Hidatsa-Arikara marriage. The family lives in Lone Hill and speaks only English at home as Mrs. Bear Leg, an Arikara woman, does not understand Hidatsa. While discussing kinship, John referred to his father's sister's daughter, Mary White Duck, by the term "sister" and told me, "That's the white way." This is incorrect, of course, as in the American way Mary would be a cousin to John, while in the Hidatsa way, she would be an *icawi* or father's sister. I became excited here, as I thought I had found a case of ironing out generation differences which would represent an internal shift in kinship type. Further inquiry revealed that John's Arikara mother had told him to regard Mary as a sister. Mrs. Bear Leg wants her son to take all of his relationships

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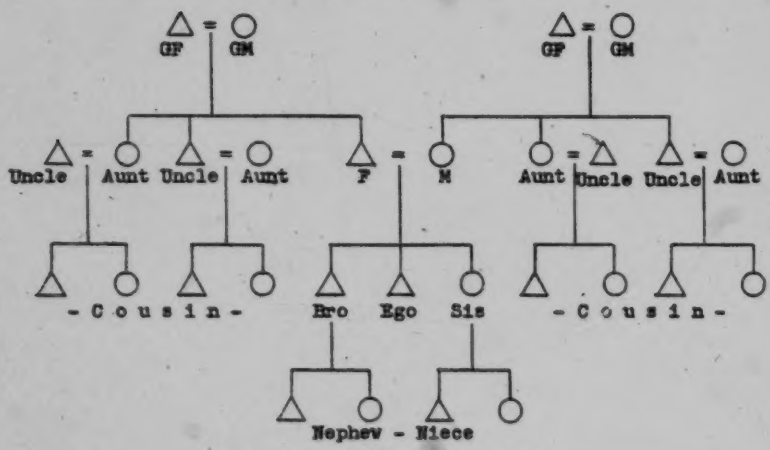

FIG. 3

in the Arikara way, and she attempts to teach him Arikara kinship. I checked with Mary, who informed me, "I know it's not right, but he calls me sister so I call him brother." The use of sibling terms for cross-cousins is one stage in Spoehr's series in the breakdown of a pure Crow system. But in this case it is a borrowed change introduced by an Arikara and not one that arose from the situation in Lone Hill.

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John's total kinship pattern indicates that he follows Hidatsa usage with most of his father's relatives and Arikara usage with all of his mother's relatives, who reside in another village at Fort Berthold. As his mother seems to be the dominant member of the family in these matters, John also refers to some of his father's relatives according to the Arikara way. I pointed out this apparent confusion to John, who replied, "I still don't know about these relationships yet, except what they say to me. The old folks each tell me their way. I'm catching on slow but sure." The net result of this situation is that while John knows how to interact with each specific relative he does not have a consistent total kinship system. John, now 24 years old, understands neither

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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the Hidatsa, Arikara, nor the white kinship pattern. His case illustrates the confusion found among the children of mixed marriages in which the parents have not established a clear-cut identification with any one social system. 601 177 602

To summarize thus far, the two kinship patterns found in Lone Hill are: (1) the traditional Crow terminological system, which remains the basic type for the village and has not changed, at least since 1862 when Morgan first gathered Mandan and Hidatsa kinship terms; and (2) a white generational system employed primarily by the acculturated families. There is also a separate set of English terms used in the Crow pattern for the benefit of outsiders and an inconsistent terminological pattern in some Indian homes in which a member of an alien tribe has come to Lone Hill through marriage. 601 177 191

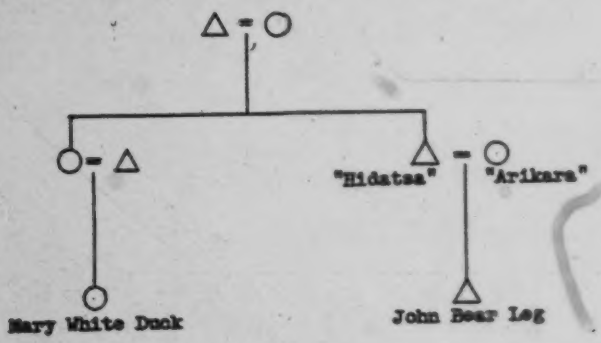

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FIG. 4

TWO PROCESSES

These data, considered in conjunction with the findings of Spoehr and of the Schmitts, indicate that there are two distinct processes involved in kinship change. The first process consists of the slow modification of a kinship system as evidenced by an orderly and progressive shift in type. This process is best illustrated by Spoehr's complete series in the transition from a pure Crow to an American generation type. Although the shift described by Spoehr was an indirect result of acculturative factors, the slow modification of a social structure may be due to internal forces that are not necessarily associated with culture contact (Eggan 1941; Gough 1952). The second process is a more radical change evidenced by an abrupt jump from one type of kinship system to another. In the second case, reported upon in this paper, the Indian and the white systems exist simultaneously without intermediate variations in kinship patterns. 601 177

Both processes of change, slow modification and sudden transformation, occur together in Lone Hill—and they also take place together among the Southeastern tribes. Spoehr emphasized the progressive stages in the breakdown of a Crow lineage system but he also recognized the more rapid type of kinship change (1947:198). The Mandan-Hidatsa seem to differ from the Southeastern tribes in terms of the relative importance of each process.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the older societal values. Kinship provides the means for mutual aid and co-operation in the village as well as a mechanism of social control for ridiculing and cajoling the nonconformist. While the Mandan-Hidatsa social system, with its wide range, embodies the primary societal values of sharing, generosity, group co-operation, and village unity, the converted Indian shifts to the more individualistic American values of accumulating goods and wealth as ends in themselves. Any member of Lone Hill who interacts with others in terms of the Crow kinship system and who meets the obligations of that system will remain an "Indian." 177 601 181

The majority of the Indians who have converted to white ways tend to leave the village to seek their fortunes elsewhere (cf. Spicer 1940; Tax 1941). For this reason, there were few cases of American type kinship systems found in Lone Hill—most such people had already left their village. If all the individuals who adopted a new kinship system as part of a more inclusive conversion experience were to remain in Lone Hill, they might well produce radical changes in the existing social structure of the community. Their departure is a major factor making for the retention of traditional Indian ways. However, some of the converted Indians do continue to live in Lone Hill and do become sources of change in the Crow kinship system. 177 601 167

Individuals in Lone Hill who do not fulfil their kinship obligations destroy the solidarity of the group and the unity of the system. The converted Indian will avoid any kinship tie which involves his sharing material wealth or giving of his time or possessions. One man has developed devious means to accomplish this. He deposits all of his money in a bank so that when people ask him for a loan he can honestly reply that he does not have any money around. He avoids any situation in which he might be called upon to make donations, and, as such, he never attends the social "give-away" dances. This man has consciously narrowed the range of his relationships but he has done so selectively. He will not address another by a kinship term if there is any possibility that he may have to help that person. On the other hand, he does not avoid his joking relatives, for through the structured joking he can make critical remarks about Indian ways which would not be permitted in any other context. 177 602 154

SITUATIONAL DETERMINANTS

As converted Indians who use the generational system do interact with their many relatives in the village who use the traditional lineage system, some mechanism of adjustment is necessary. Two relatives who follow different kinship systems may have different conceptions of the proper way of relating to one another. The adjustment is usually made through one of the persons' adopting the other's system for that *particular* relationship. Every acculturated individual in the village who ordinarily uses the generational system will use the Indian lineage system with *some* of his relatives. The converse also occurs, as unacculturated Indians sometimes use the American generational system. Individuals thus adjust to the alternate kinship systems, which tends to minimize the changes in the systems themselves. 177 601 602

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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Individual adjustment to alternate ways of structuring relationships is neither alien nor unique to the Mandan-Hidatsa (Firth 1930). Overlapping kinship ties tend to be characteristic of small societies with widely extended kinship systems. In addition to consanguineal and affinal relations, the Mandan-Hidatsa extended kinship to the clan, linked clan, moiety, ceremonial system and the supernatural world. As a result, almost every individual in the village was related to everyone else in more than one way. The closest relationship, as defined by the Mandan-Hidatsa, was usually taken in any given case, but factors unique to the individuals involved were also important (Bowers ms.). Today the people often discuss these dual ways of being related and they tend to regard the white way of reckoning kinship as one more way of being related, comparable to the alternate ways within the Indian system.

The following examples will illustrate how the adjustment takes place.

A young girl teased an unacculturated woman, after which the woman said to her, "You're supposed to be my *icowi* [father's sister] and you are not supposed to tease me, but that's O.K., we can take it the white way."

In referring to an acculturated girl, an older woman remarked, "She don't talk Indian. She is supposed to call me mother but she calls me auntie. I would be glad to hear it if she called me mother but she won't use it anymore. She's my daughter but she won't understand so I call her niece. All of that family acts like white kids."

An old woman of the village called a young converted Indian boy by the term "son." He realized that she could be either a mother or a father's sister to him in the Indian way but he did not know which. He came and asked me to find out from my genealogical charts because, as he said, "I can't figure it out and I want to act right with the old lady."

An acculturated woman refers to her mother's brother as an uncle and addresses him as uncle. He follows the traditional system, continuing to call her younger sister and considering himself as an older brother. Even though the terms are taken from two different systems, neither party seems to be especially disturbed. This is an unusual case and tends to occur only when there is no marked discrepancy in the external behavior.

Frank Bruce, who recently returned to the reservation, was related to William White Duck in two ways—their fathers were in the same clan, which required strong obligatory joking, and Frank was a "father" to William, which called for a father-son respect relationship. William had lived on the reservation all his life, understood both relationships, and quite properly, in terms of the traditional system, took the father-son blood relation rather than the clan tie. He talked politely to Frank and considered him a father, whom one never teased, although he never addressed him as father. Frank did not know that he was related to William either way and on one occasion teased him. William then said in public, "This old man of mine wants to take clans as the rule." Thereafter they teased each other on every possible occasion. All this was explained to Frank after it had taken place, as he had not understood that he had changed an existing relationship.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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Two individuals were related to one another in a dual way: one a joking grandfather-grandchild relationship, and the other a respect father-son relation. These boys were roommates at boarding school, during which time they teased one another and acted more like "roommates" than in accordance with either of the two possible kinship relationships. One said of the Indian way, "We left it home." When they returned to the reservation they continued the teasing relationship which had arisen from the school situation. Eventually they came to use grandfather-grandchild kinship terms as a means of justifying to others their mild joking. In this case, it was fortunate that a kinship bond existed to validate their behavior on the reservation. 177 601 602

Schneider (1953:228) has suggested "that one important function of the use of kinship terms as forms of address is in imposing on the situation a kind of sanction which enforces conformity with the social definition of the relationship." In some situations the people of Lone Hill consciously manipulate kinship terms to serve their personal ends. Interaction between the acculturated and unacculturated is not unstructured or loosely defined, but it does have an element of ambiguity as there are two relatively clear-cut alternate systems. A few individuals take advantage of this in rather subtle ways.

At a political meeting, a converted Indian, who ordinarily uses the generational system, addressed a prominent member of the opposing faction as a "father." He used the Crow system in this situation knowing full well that his political rival would not be so indiscreet as to criticize a "son" in public.

An unacculturated woman of the village came into the house of a wealthy converted Indian and addressed him as "older brother." She sat down and indicated that she had some important business in town but had no means of transportation. The converted Indian, as he was preparing to drive her to town, whispered to me, "The only time she ever calls me 'brother' is when she wants something."

CONCLUSION

In earlier times both the Mandan-Hidatsa and the Southeastern tribes had a pure Crow type lineage system. After acculturative influence an American generational type kinship system is found among the two groups. In the Southeast the orderly and progressive shift in kinship type was characterized as a process of slow modification of the existing system due to adaptive responses to changing conditions. In Lone Hill, the lack of intermediate variations in kinship patterns suggests a rapid process of change caused by early socialization in those families in which there has been white intermarriage.

The comparison of static types and categories at different times will yield only partial information on the processes of change and persistence. If we are satisfied simply with answers to the question of *what* change has taken place, it may be sufficient to study the beginning and the end of a cultural sequence. But only through examination of an ongoing sequence and of the actual contexts in which a choice of alternatives is made can we say *how* the change has happened and thereby gain insight into the process itself. And the deepest understanding of social change may best be achieved by direct study of the actual mechanisms and processes involved. 121

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

purchased with cash income derived from productive employment are obtained by the people of Lone Hill directly from natural sources. 105 177

The paternalistic policy of the Indian Bureau has probably been more effective than the geographical isolation and the ecological setting in limiting direct social relationships between the Indian people and surrounding whites. Most of the necessary economic, educational, and welfare activities are handled by the Agency staff instead of by the Indian people. What is called paternalism arose from the necessities of an earlier historical period, during which it was a humane and just policy to aid those Indian people whose life pattern had been disrupted by American expansion. The people of Lone Hill still expect this protection today, yet they resent the associated dependency. At Fort Berthold and on other Indian reservations, this has come to be one of the most complex and pressing problems of native administration. Given the problems that exist, the current Bureau policy of withdrawal is far from an adequate solution. In a paper of this scope we can do no more than call attention to the importance of the administration as an isolating barrier between the Mandan-Hidatsa and the larger American society. 657

What is possibly the most important isolating factor stems from the sharp discontinuity in the unacculturated Indian life career. From the point of view of the age grading of the learning process, acculturative influences are operative primarily in the adult years. During the early formative period the unacculturated child comes to internalize Indian ways from an intimate group of close relatives in a permissive and secure atmosphere. Before he attends school the child eats Indian food, attends the ceremonial dances, and hears about the daring exploits of the Stone Hammer Society from his old grandfather. The activities of the outside world are dim and vague to the Indian child, for he rarely leaves the village and has few opportunities for direct contact with whites. He does attend an occasional movie and he listens to the radio, but the child has had no context within his own experience with which to relate these impersonal mass media. Those whites who come to Lone Hill on business deal with the adults and rarely see the children. I recorded three life histories of young adults who knew no white people until they were seven or eight years of age. 177 867

From the unacculturated child's point of view, life in Lone Hill revolves around his family, peer, and residential groups. His main satisfactions are obtained from within these groups, and the activities of their members, most of whom are relatives, form the major topics of conversation. That kinship is widely extended among the Mandan-Hidatsa takes on added meaning in this context, as all of an unacculturated Indian's emotionally charged and rewarding experiences occur within, and are shared by, the kinship group. Members of the kinship group are also the agents of cultural transmission, and from them the child learns the approved norms of conduct and patterns of social relations. 177 867 602 571

The unacculturated Indian child soon learns that his emotional security and his very identity are dependent upon his maintaining good relationships with his kinsmen. He does not derive security from acts designed merely to 156 602 431

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further his own ends, nor is there any pressure put upon him to realize absolute ideals. The value of generosity in this perspective, and as defined by the Indian people, is any act which promotes group welfare. Those persons who do work together on such secular affairs as road projects are said to have donated their time to the group. At a dance for his son serving in Korea, one man in Lone Hill donated "the whitewashing of the school lunch room and the repair of the grade school window sashes." As the kinship system embodies the primary societal values, a man's position in society is assured if he meets the obligations of that system at all public gatherings and in his everyday behavior in the village. If a person behaves in any way that destroys group cooperation he is not threatened or physically punished. His mother or older sister will tell him the right way, and if they are not effective his grandparents or other joking relatives will tease and ridicule him into conformity. The Mandan-Hidatsa have a tremendous elaboration of joking relationships which serve as a very effective mechanism of enforcing conformity to group norms.

By the time the unacculturated child becomes an adult, he has been so effectively socialized to Indian ways that white contact has very little influence. But the adult reality is such that he must live in a superordinate white world. This is the sharp discontinuity in his life career. Every Indian must deal with members of white society in order to perform necessary economic and educational activities. The unacculturated Indian does not change himself to become like a white person; instead he learns how to adjust to white people. One informant described the technique as follows: "We Indians are just like those lizards that change their colors. When we are with whites we act one way and when we are with Indians we act another way." I think this kind of compartmentalized behavior is called "situational role specificity"—but possibly the analogy of the chameleon has a virtue of its own. In a sense, the unacculturated people of Lone Hill come to learn two cultures, but it is a case of differential learning with different points of origin. The unacculturated Indian character is incorporated into the child in his formative years, while a superficial knowledge of white culture and of the techniques of adjustment to white people are learned primarily in adulthood. The unacculturated people of Lone Hill are not torn with inner conflict between two worlds; they just internalize the Indian way as children and learn aspects of the white way as a necessary accessory when they become adults. Erikson (1950:115) in his study of the Sioux was intrigued by this point:

> This, it seemed to us, was the most astonishing single fact to be investigated: That Indian children could live for years without open rebellion or any signs of inner conflict between two standards which were incomparably further apart than those of any two generations or two classes in our culture.

The unacculturated Indian does not internalize white ways as an adult, not because all learning stops in childhood, but because of the vast cultural differences between members of the two groups, the nature of the situations in which adult Indian-white interaction occurs, and the attitudes of white

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give her the best mare taken. She would not refuse him anything he asked of her, and, if he were killed while fighting with the enemy, she was expected to inflict self-torture and dress in mourning. She would assist her brothers in acquiring property needed for the ceremonies. This bond of mutual assistance was not affected by his subsequent marriage. Brothers and sisters were supposed to share in the perpetuation of their parents' ceremonial bundles. In old age, when their respective families were broken up by deaths, brothers would frequently return to the parental lodge. The smallpox epidemic of 1837 left many orphans, and these were taken into households where the females were of the same clan.

Grandfather–grandchild (*tata'xis–ptawi'hąkE*).—The grandfather–grandchild relation was, in general, one of affection. The grandfather would make toys for his grandsons, teach them stories, and watch after them when on summer buffalo hunts, especially when moving camp or while the men and women of middle age were busy butchering and drying meat. Of the large number of persons addressed as "grandfather," his closest relations were those associated with him in the daily life of the household. The lodge grandfather was usually the one to take a grandson to the river early each morning to bathe. He teased his grandson mildly for falling off a horse or for small infractions of tribal custom, but the grandson would not reciprocate, since the grandfather was respected for his knowledge of tribal lore, the enemies he had struck, or the horses he had captured. A young man was expected to respect older people as holy, since in their lifetime they had had experiences with sacred things in the ceremonies.

The grandfather would play with a granddaughter when she was young and teach her stories. When she attained the age of ten years, he would avoid her lest people gossip. Should he come into the lodge and find a granddaughter alone, he would leave immediately.

A grandfather never punished grandchildren, but he would scold them. A grandfather living in the lodge was highly respected and was very helpful in preparing a grandson for ceremonies and war expeditions. If he became cross as he grew old, the grandson generally avoided him. If the grandfather was of

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

603 the same clan as the boy's father, on occasions he received presents from his grandson during the ceremonies. A man addressed
[601] as "grandchild" the wives of all those men he addressed as "son" and the spouses of all he addressed as "grandchild."

603 *Grandmother–grandchild* (*maxis'–ptawi'hąkE*).—The maternal grandmother was always present and assisted in the birth
844 and care of her daughter's child and the paternal grandmother was expected to carry out the other's instructions. In case the paternal grandmother had a superior ceremonial bundle and a good reputation for successful deliveries, she was asked to take charge. The child's closest affection was for the grandmother belonging to the lodge group. The grandmother would make clothing for her grandchildren and teach them stories. The paternal grandmother delighted in preparing nice robes and other clothing for son's children and would invite them to her lodge to eat, when she would dress them in the pretty clothes. Informants thought that the father's mother showed more affection for a grandchild than a maternal grandmother, since the former did not have them under foot every day. They thought that grandmothers had a tendency to get cross as they grew old and that the maternal grandmother, while scolding children for jumping on her bed, would scold her own daughter if she thought the children were not treated right.

603 A grandmother was more closely associated with her granddaughter than her grandson. She would teach the granddaugh-
868 ter the arts of dressing hides and making pottery, and she ex-
601 pected payment for this instruction. The grandson was expected to give her meat if she met him at the outskirts of the village without having to ask him for it. This obligation to give meat to a grandmother was extended to include all females addressed as "grandmother." A woman addressed as "grandchild" the wives of all those men she addressed as "son" and the spouses of all she addressed as "grandchild."

604 *Mother's brother–sister's child* (*pta'warato'dE–ptu'hakE*).—The mother's brother was a very important relative in the Mandan
592 matrilinear system, as he had considerable authority over his
613 sister's household even when living in another household. As an occupant of his wife's lodge, he was a subordinate member, but in his sister's lodge, by virtue of his position as the oldest male

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604 brother. The Mandan divide a child's kin into two groups and give each a part in the rearing of the child. It was the mother's relatives' duty to provide for the child's physical needs and give instruction in household and tribal lore. While this was being done, the father's sister in the performance of her part in the child's father's ceremonies protected him from misfortune. If the child died or was killed in warfare, it became her [764] duty to see that his spirit returned to the spirit home. She supervised washing and painting the deceased and with the assistance of her brothers removed the body to the scaffold, where she recited the rite which returned the spirit to the "home of the dead."

604 The father's sister was eligible to receive gifts during cere-
601 monies and to pray for the success of her "son" or "daughter." The father's sister's household was a possible home for her brother's children if their mother died, leaving no female relatives to care for them. There is no "teasing" relation with the father's sister. While a person has many "father's sisters," since all females of the father's clan were called "father's sisters," the closest ones were the actual sisters of the father who were brought up in the father's household. Her position in terminology and behavior was intermediate to the grandmother and mother, since she addressed her brother's children as "sons" and "daughters," while they, in turn, addressed her husband as "grandfather."

606 *Father-in-law–daughter-in-law* (*tata'xis–ptawi'hąkE*).—This
603 was a "grandfather–grandchild" relationship. He treated her with all the tenderness shown his own blood grandchildren when other people were present. She respected him as the father of her husband and the owner of important ceremonial rites which would eventually become her husband's. If they were of different clans, her husband might ask her to "walk" with the "grandfather" during one of the buffalo-calling ceremonies. Ceremonial "sexual intercourse" was permitted at that time providing she was not living in her husband's household.

Mother-in-law–daughter-in-law (*maxis'–ptawi'hąkE*).—This was a "grandmother-grandchild" relationship. A household having no daughters paid a daughter-in-law to live in the husband's lodge, and, upon the death of the mother-in-law, she in-

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herited the lodge property and gardens belonging to the household through a grandmother–granddaughter relationship. This was considered proper when no females of the mother-in-law's clan signified an intention of living in the lodge and caring for the old people. A daughter-in-law was treated kindly by her mother-in-law, who instructed her as her own mother would. 606 603

Father-in-law–son-in-law (*kota'waratox'kas–no'hąka; ptuts'–ptuts'*).—*Kota'waratox'kas* is morphologically related to the word for mother's brother and means "his old mother's brother." When a young man married into the household and came to his wife's lodge to live, he frequently was in a dual relationship to the father-in-law; he was the husband of his father-in-law's daughter; also his father-in-law was a mother's brother by the clan extension of kinship, and was treated as a mother's brother.[2] The son-in-law was expected to be brave and industrious. He was at first addressed as a young person (*no'haka*). When the marriage had lasted a few years, during which time children had come, and the father-in-law and the son-in-law got along well together, a mutual interest led to familiarity and each addressed the other *ptutE*. In the Mandan system of preferred marriages with the daughter's parents selecting her mate and desiring to keep certain clan bundles in the household, the prospective father-in-law selected a young man of his own clan for his daughter's husband. It was not proper for a son-in-law to tease his father-in-law; he was expected to treat his father-in-law with the same respect as he showed his own mother's brother and to take over the hunting activities when the father-in-law became feeble. 606 601 [583]

Mother-in-law–son-in-law (*ptu'hinikE–nohąka or ptuts'*).—The word *ptuhiniks'* for mother-in-law is morphologically related to the word *ptuminiks* ("father's sister"), and informants explained that the mother-in-law was a special "father's sister." When the son-in-law first came to the lodge to live, he was avoided by the mother-in-law and never addressed her directly. When speaking of him, the mother-in-law would use the term *nohąka*, meaning a "young person" or "young one." When a young man's ties were weak with his own household, because he

2. Scattercorn thought *kota'waratox'kas* was never used when the father-in-law was of a different clan.

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nan who drew his gun when being driven back and was killed 561
y the Black Mouths. Usually it was the duty of one's brothers 701
o revenge a sibling's death, but in this instance siblings took no
ction. The Black Mouths were believed to be the bravest men
f the village. Before making an attack on the enemy, their
eaders would stick their lances into the ground which meant
hat they would not retreat. When on the summer buffalo hunts
hey received their orders from the leader and were instructed to [524]
revent premature hunting and to see that the party did not
reak up. Although they endeavored to prevent war parties
rom leaving the village when there was danger of attack, they
nflicted no punishment when an unauthorized war party
eturned.

It was believed that an individual's influence with sacred 561
hings advanced in age. They were consulted on sacred matters
nd were offered their "sons'" wives frequently during the buf- [837]
alo ceremonies. Men and women assisted in the disposal of the
lead. It was a man's duty to assist a clan sister in the construc- [764]
ion of the scaffold for one whose father was of their clan, to
uperintend the painting and wrapping of the body.

OLD AGE AND DEATH

The old people were respected members of the household. 888
The grandfather would assist the youngsters of the lodge in 603
making toys and in playing their simple games, but he was
always held in high regard as the one from whom the child's
father had acquired much of his training in sacred matters.
Having more time to give to the instruction of the children of
the lodge, he would assist them in learning stories if the children
were interested in hearing them. The older women assisted the
younger women about the lodge and in the gardens but were
not expected to do much work.

The older women were organized into two age-grade societies 888
which were sacred in character. Women of advanced middle 561
age joined the Goose Society and, when they had reached the 562
menopause, sold to younger women and bought into the White
Buffalo Cow Society.[3] As members of these societies they were
respected for their supernatural powers over agriculture and

3. See the chapters on ceremonialism for an account of their origin.

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In most instances, the unit of extension is the clan, but these relationships are based on individual relations and groups. This point will be further developed in the analysis of the ceremonial structure.

The following behavioristic pattern prevailing between relatives will illustrate this point. For any individual the total number of relationships into which he entered largely determines his "social personality." The most basic of these are between the members of the elementary family, the parents and the children, but in Mandan society this is frequently modified by the presence of old women of the lodge who occupy a virtual second-mother position. An elementary family consisting of parents and children rarely occupied a lodge to the exclusion of all other relatives. There are eight possible combinations of relatives within an elementary family with a general pattern of behavior existing between each pair. They are:

Mother–daughter (*na'E'–mi'nuhą'kE*).—An intimate bond of love and affection existed between a mother and her daughter. Not a single instance of quarreling or serious difference was remembered by the Mandan informants, nor were there disputes over property held in common. They worked together in the gardens or performed domestic tasks in the lodge and were very intimate in their daily relations. She taught the child to grind corn and cure meat, to make baskets and clay pots, to dress hides, to color porcupine quills for decorating clothing, and to care for her own personal effects. She taught her daughter to make a small payment, a small colored bead or a few kernels of corn, for each little skill taught her, thus establishing at an early age a significant behavioristic pattern of paying those who taught her a new skill, a myth or song, or who received her into a rite or dance. Usually there were other women in the lodge whom she addressed as "Mother," and, if one of these had no daughter of her own, she would take over or adopt a daughter from the lodge unit for especial affection and care. Frequently the father's older sister, if she had no one to care for her, would come to the lodge to live when the lodge was one that had been erected or owned in the father's line and the mother had come here to live when marrying because the father was needed to care for his relatives who were old. She was called "daughter"

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592 593 [604] by the father's sister and treated as a daughter. She, on the other hand, thought of the father's sister as a special relative, one who was between the mother and the grandmother and was taught to speak of her as "my little grandmother." She was considered a special "holy woman" who on certain occasions, particularly when a brother or sister died, performed the rites of sending the spirit away.

All the women of the lodge addressed as "mothers" were treated with respect, and all contributed to the daughters' training.

Mother–son (*na'E'–miniks'*).—The same bonds of love and affection existed between the mother and son as was shared between the mother and daughter. It was based on a close kinship bond, though partially modified by sex dichotomy. As a small child he received the same affection as his sisters. The mother would make toys for his amusement, and, when he was three or four years old, she taught him to give her small items such as a few beads or other trinkets in payment for an especially well-decorated robe, moccasins, or leggings. His mother's brother or an older sibling would assist him in securing presents [867] for the mother. His first knowledge about the clan would come from the mother; she would tell him of men of the clan who had been brave in battle, had brought rain for the crops, had been especially kind to the old people of the clan, or had distinguished themselves in other ways. She taught him not to play in front of the platform at the head of the lodge where the ceremonial paraphernalia was kept and explained that, if he obeyed the older men and was industrious and brave, he would some day be custodian of the bundle. His mother encouraged him to join a Boys Society. The son, as a young single man, assisted in the buffalo hunt and helped his parents with the butchering. If the sister married, she was expected to bring her husband to the lodge. Then, when he married, he would live with his wife in another lodge. As a married man this deep affection for his mother and her sisters continued. When returning with meat, knowing she was without fresh meat, he would go to her lodge first and give her the choicest portions before returning to his wife's family. She received the most valuable mare taken on his first horse-stealing raid if his sisters were small. This bond of

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603 the same clan as the boy's father, on occasions he received presents from his grandson during the ceremonies. A man addressed
[601] as "grandchild" the wives of all those men he addressed as "son" and the spouses of all he addressed as "grandchild."

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844 nal grandmother was always present and assisted in the birth and care of her daughter's child and the paternal grandmother was expected to carry out the other's instructions. In case the paternal grandmother had a superior ceremonial bundle and a good reputation for successful deliveries, she was asked to take charge. The child's closest affection was for the grandmother belonging to the lodge group. The grandmother would make clothing for her grandchildren and teach them stories. The paternal grandmother delighted in preparing nice robes and other clothing for son's children and would invite them to her lodge to eat, when she would dress them in the pretty clothes. Informants thought that the father's mother showed more affection for a grandchild than a maternal grandmother, since the former did not have them under foot every day. They thought that grandmothers had a tendency to get cross as they grew old and that the maternal grandmother, while scolding children for jumping on her bed, would scold her own daughter if she thought the children were not treated right.

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592 mother's brother was a very important relative in the Mandan matrilinear system, as he had considerable authority over his
613 sister's household even when living in another household. As an occupant of his wife's lodge, he was a subordinate member, but in his sister's lodge, by virtue of his position as the oldest male

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clan member, he was titular head of the lineage. This authority was nominally vested in the oldest male clan member of the household, and the mother's brother assumed this authority when his own mother's brother died or was too feeble to get around. A clan chief was the most distinguished of the mother's brothers of the households comprising the clan. He had considerable authority over his sister's children. He would scold them and frequently ducked a sister's son in the river. At the same time he assumed the responsibility for their final education and participation in the ceremonies and assisted them in the accumulation of robes and horses for ceremonial purchases. He would urge his sister's sons to fast during the ceremonies and would see that they came out. He would tell his sister's sons that the people of the other clans would tease them if his clan was not well represented. He would take his sister's son with him on war expeditions to teach him success in that enterprise.

The mother's brother began early the training of his sister's sons and daughters in the rites of certain tribal bundles and was assisted by the children's mother. It was believed that some young people would not live to maturity; therefore, it was necessary to begin the instruction early in life so that several would know the rites to prevent the bundles from getting out of the household. Since many tribal bundles, particularly those of the Okipa, descended through the closest related male members of the clan, the mother's brother was an important relative for the perpetuation of the ceremonial office within the household. The rule of inheritance for tribal bundles belonging to the clan was: mother's mother's brother; mother's brother; older brother; sister's male child; sister's daughter's male child. Failure to have a qualified male of the household prepared to perform a specific role in the tribal ceremonies would provoke criticism and lead to eventual relinquishment of the bundle.

Father's sister–brother's child (*ptu'minikE-minuha'kE; ptu'-minikE-koni'kE*).—The Mandan speak of the father's sister as a "little grandmother." She was a respect relative by virtue of her possession of certain rights in her brother's bundles. She helped her mother when a brother's child was born and was invariably the one called upon to name a female child, supplying a name associated with a bundle owned in common with her brother.

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606 603 *Father-in-law–daughter-in-law* (*tata'xis–ptawi'hąkE*).—This was a "grandfather–grandchild" relationship. He treated her with all the tenderness shown his own blood grandchildren when other people were present. She respected him as the father of her husband and the owner of important ceremonial rites which would eventually become her husband's. If they were of different clans, her husband might ask her to "walk" with the "grandfather" during one of the buffalo-calling ceremonies. Ceremonial "sexual intercourse" was permitted at that time providing she was not living in her husband's household.

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778 lodge. The principal officer of the Okipa was the Lone Man,
796 who, traditionally, belonged to the WaxikEna clan. The rights
614 to impersonate Lone Man were inherited through the Waxi-
428 kEna clan. A buyer was assisted by his brothers and sisters, who became secondary owners in the bundle. Should the buyer die, a brother was entitled to officiate until a new owner was qualified. When the bundle-owner had no brothers, the sisters' husband was authorized to officiate by performing a ceremonial feast to the bundle until a qualified successor in the clan was selected. The bundle and office passed from a man to his sister's [604] son. A man could sell his rights in the office four times, but few sales were made in later years, since there were two separate bundle lineages representing the two villages built near Fort Clark which were adequate to meet ceremonial needs. In fact, one of these lineages died out shortly after 1837 and was never re-established. The Hoita lineage, though theoretically in the WaxikEna clan, was, in historic times, held temporarily by a member of the Tamisik clan.

778 Although villages were reported to be largely independent
621 ceremonially, they were not entirely so. The three sacred turtle drums were kept by individual members of the WaxikEna clan at Nuptadi Village, one of the east-side villages of the Heart River group, and were borrowed by the other villages when the Okipa was to be performed. In later years when the tribe moved to Fort Clark, these drums were kept at the Upper Village situated near Deapolis. Each village was believed to possess its own complement of officers. There was, however, a certain amount of collaboration between villages when new officers were receiving training.

778 The sacred cedar was erected in each village if the village
621 group had a complete complement of Okipa officers. It was the
361 rule that, whenever a ceremony or organized social event was performed in the summer village, out of respect to Lone Man, whose body was represented by this inclosed post, the group should dance once at this sacred shrine. On these occasions, [431] gifts of robes or other clothing were placed over the cedar as an [782] offering to the Lone Man and became the property of the WaxikEna clan. The Mandan considered the entire open-circle area inclosing the sacred cedar sacred also. Even as late as

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601 marrying into the lineage are "grandfather," "father," and
613 "brother-in-law," while one marrying into the mother's lineage
younger than female ego is treated as "young man," since the
[606] mother-in-law taboo becomes operative with this class of male

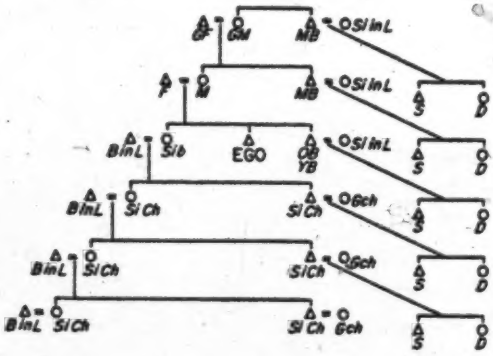

FIG. 9.—Mother's lineage. Ego = male

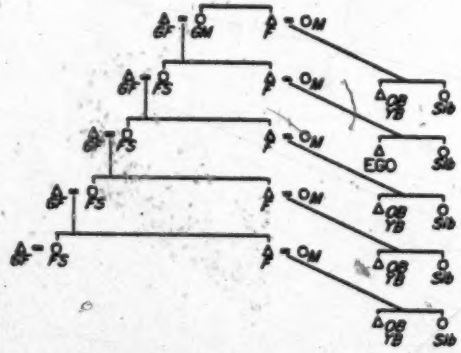

FIG. 10.—Father's lineage. Ego = male

relatives by marriage, and there is no direct term of address. In female ego's mother's lineage, women marrying into the lineage who are of the same generation or above are "sisters-in-law," a term also used by a female to designate her "husband's sister." A man's wife's brother is placed in the same class as his sister's husband. Men of the father's father's clan are called "grandfather," and all the women of the clan are called "grandmother" by both men and women. The latter lineage is not es-

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2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

herited the lodge property and gardens belonging to the household through a grandmother–granddaughter relationship. This was considered proper when no females of the mother-in-law's clan signified an intention of living in the lodge and caring for the old people. A daughter-in-law was treated kindly by her mother-in-law, who instructed her as her own mother would.

Father-in-law–son-in-law (*kota'waratox'kas–no'hąka; ptuts'–ptuts'*).—*Kota'waratox'kas* is morphologically related to the word for mother's brother and means "his old mother's brother." When a young man married into the household and came to his wife's lodge to live, he frequently was in a dual relationship to the father-in-law; he was the husband of his father-in-law's daughter; also his father-in-law was a mother's brother by the clan extension of kinship, and was treated as a mother's brother.[2] The son-in-law was expected to be brave and industrious. He was at first addressed as a young person (*no'haka*). When the marriage had lasted a few years, during which time children had come, and the father-in-law and the son-in-law got along well together, a mutual interest led to familiarity and each addressed the other *ptutE*. In the Mandan system of preferred marriages with the daughter's parents selecting her mate and desiring to keep certain clan bundles in the household, the prospective father-in-law selected a young man of his own clan for his daughter's husband. It was not proper for a son-in-law to tease his father-in-law; he was expected to treat his father-in-law with the same respect as he showed his own mother's brother and to take over the hunting activities when the father-in-law became feeble.

Mother-in-law–son-in-law (*ptu'hinikE–nohąka or ptuts'*).—The word *ptuhiniks'* for mother-in-law is morphologically related to the word *ptumininks* ("father's sister"), and informants explained that the mother-in-law was a special "father's sister." When the son-in-law first came to the lodge to live, he was avoided by the mother-in-law and never addressed her directly. When speaking of him, the mother-in-law would use the term *nohaka*, meaning a "young person" or "young one." When a young man's ties were weak with his own household, because he

2. Scattercorn thought *kota'waratox'kas* was never used when the father-in-law was of a different clan.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

606 601 had no sisters, and his own household was run by his brother's wives, he would often establish a new bond with the people of his wife's household by bringing his mother-in-law a scalp. When returning from a successful war expedition, he would go directly to his wife's lodge instead of to his sister's, which was the usual practice, and give the scalp to the oldest mother-in-law in the lodge. Usually there were a number of females in the lodge who were treated as "mother-in-law." In this group would be those whom the wife addressed as "mother," "grandmother," or "father's sister." The oldest mother-in-law took the scalp, sang the victory songs, and danced toward each woman who was treated as a mother-in-law. When the scalp dance was performed on the succeeding day, she danced while carrying the scalp and singing her new "son's" praises. She then treated him as a son but usually addressed him as *ptutE*, which was the same term as employed by her husband, while the son-in-law treated her as he would his own mother but addressed her as *ptuhinikE*. He could also break the taboo by bringing her a horse instead of taking it to his parental lodge. Then the mother-in-law would lead it through the village during the scalp dance. He could then interfere in a quarrel between a group of women which included his mothers-in-law.

607 *Sibling-in-law–sibling-in-law* (*mo'waki–mo'waki*).—Ego addressed his wife's brother and his own sister's husband as brothers-in-law, and they in turn called ego brother-in-law when addressing him. When the mother's lineage is arranged in a chart (see Fig. 5), it will be seen that a "brother-in-law" is one married to females of ego's lineage who are of the same generation or younger. This relationship is extended to include male ego's mother's sister's daughter's, and the father's brother's daughter's, husband, and husbands of their female descendants. There was a good deal of rivalry between brothers-in-law, and they were expected to joke with each other in public. However, if an older sister was rearing and caring for a young brother whose parents had died and was herself the titular head of the lineage in the lodge, her husband would treat his brother-in-law as a "son," and the same bonds of affection existed between them as between father and son.

607 601 *Sibling-in-law–sibling-in-law* (*ptus-ptus*).—A woman ad-

1 [See p. 38, Category 116 -- Analyst]

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

831 among the Arikara and Hidatsa. The men boasted their love
171 exploits, and carried often about the village small bundles of sticks each representing a conquest, or one large stick with stripes indicating the number; this was also a Hidatsa custom.

585 When a man wished to marry, after obtaining the girl's and the father's consent, he led horses to the door of the father's house and tied them there. Then the father took the same number of his own horses and tied them to the young man's door. After this the girl cooked corn each day and carried it to the young man's house for a certain number of days. Then the young man went to the father's house and claimed his wife. The young people either built a new home or lived with one of their parents, in which case the father remained master of the
587 house. On marrying an eldest sister, a man acquired the right of marriage over all the other sisters. Catlin tells us that the girls usually married at from twelve to fourteen years of age.

858 Children were never disciplined and were always humored
601 by their parents who seemed to be very fond of them. The father's brother and sister were called father and mother. The
● 606 mother's sister was called mother and her brother uncle.
551 Cousins called each other brother and sister. The mother-in-law was not permitted to address her son-in-law till he had come back with the scalp and gun of an enemy. Someone was usually paid to give the child his name, which was chosen by the parent.

776 RELIGION:—The religious ideas of the Mandans resemble in a number of respects both those of the Sioux and the Arikara. While there are a number of deities, there was one among them to whom special veneration was paid. This one, the creator of the earth and everything in it, and of men, was called the Lord of Life.[1] Next after him came the First Man to whom the Lord of Life gave great power and who acted as a sort of mediator for men. Catlin says he was the only person saved from the great deluge, and he played an important part in the Okeepa. He was worshipped and sacrifices were made to him. Next was an evil spirit who, though powerful, ranks far below the First Man. Fourth on the list was Rokanka-Tauihanka

[1] Maximilian: p. 419.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

582 Regarding cross-cousin marriage, Two-chiefs said that it was permissible for a man to marry the daughter of a mother's clansman but not the daughter of a mother's own brother. On the other hand, Turtle-woman declared that it was proper for a girl to marry her father's sister's son, and my Hidatsa interpreter explained that this was a point in which Mandan and Hidatsa practices diverged.

606 Not only the wife's mother but also the mother-in-law's sisters and mother avoided the husband.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

mother-in-law never speaks to her son-in-law; but if he comes home, and brings her the scalp of a slain enemy, and his gun, she is at liberty, from that moment, to converse with him. This custom is found among the Manitaries, who have, doubtless, borrowed it from the Mandans, but not among the Crows and Arikkaras. Among the Chippeways, and the Algonquins in general, the name must not be changed; and persons with the same name must not marry, but consider each other as brothers and sisters. Among all the North American Indian nations there are men dressed and treated like women, called, by the Canadians, Bardaches, of whom Mc Kenzie, Tanner, Langsdorff, and others, have spoken; but there was only one such among the Mandans, and two or three among the Manitaries.

Volney, and some other writers, have spoken rather too unfavourably of the moral character of the aborigines of North America, and their domestic habits. According to them, distrust and hostile feeling prevail among them, for which reason they never leave their huts unarmed; but I can bear witness that they are frequently seen in their villages, as well as in the environs, without arms, and that it is only at greater distances, and when they appear in state, that they carry their weapons in their hands. I have never observed any disputes among them, but, on the contrary, much more unity and tranquillity than in civilized Europe. It has often been asserted that the Indians are inferior in intellectual capacity to the Whites; but this has been now sufficiently refuted; and Harlan is not wrong in saying that, among the races of men, of which Blumenbach reckons five, the American should be ranked immediately after the Caucasian. If man, in all his varieties, has not received from the Creator equally perfect faculties, I am, at least, convinced that, in this respect, the Americans are not inferior to the Whites. Many of the Mandans manifest a great thirst for knowledge, and much desire to hear something of objects of a higher order; and if they were not so much attached to the prejudices inherited from their ancestors, many of them might be very easily instructed. The bad examples which they so often observe in the white men, who roam about their country in quest of gain, are not calculated to inspire them with much respect for our race, or to improve their morality. And if they have not been found inclined to the Christian religion, this is, certainly, in some measure, the consequence of the bad conduct of the Whites, who call themselves Christians, and are often worse, and more immoral, than the most uncivilized of the Indians. Many American and foreign works have taken notice of the striking good sense and wit, the correct judgment of the Indians, in all the occurrences of daily life, and it would be mere repetition here to quote examples. One is often at a loss to answer their questions, founded on correct and natural judgment. The inactive mode of life natural to the Indians, which disdains all laborious exertion, is a great obstacle to their adopting a different system. But they are not deficient in talent for drawing, music, &c., and this is quite manifest at first sight. Several Mandans not only took much pleasure in drawing, but had a decided talent for it. The hieroglyphics are well known, which the Indians employ

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

601 177 [606] 178

The first process of slow modification has not affected the Crow kinship terminology and associated behavior in Lone Hill, but it has changed other aspects of social life in the village. There are many changes in content. A man recently modified the strict mother-in-law respect relation, not by the aboriginal practice of giving his mother-in-law a scalp, but by presenting her with an imitation war bonnet purchased from a mail order house. Innumerable other examples could be cited in which known changes in cultural content have not precipitated changes in the established social structure (cf. Gough 1952:85). An extreme illustration of this is provided by the previously mentioned case of English kinship terminology being used in the Crow kinship pattern. There are, however, many structural changes: the destruction of the native ceremonial life has decreased the religious importance of the father's lineage, the moieties are almost inoperative, the clans have diminished in importance, there is a general laxity among the youth in meeting certain kinship obligations, village organization has shifted from a close-knit unit to one of widely separated households, the matrilocal extended family is no longer a residence unit, and the lineage has ceased to be a corporate group. The only change in the Crow terminology is that vocative terms are rarely used except on public and community-wide occasions. The important point is that the gradual modification of the social structure has not proceeded far enough in Lone Hill to cause an internal shift in kinship type.

177 601

The significance of the second process of radical change in Lone Hill may be seen in broader perspective by examining the kind of acculturation now taking place among the Mandan-Hidatsa (Bruner 1953). In every acculturated family that uses the American generational system there has been an Indian-white intermarriage within three ascending generations. Individuals in these families make an abrupt and almost total conversion to white ways, while the rest of the people in the village continue to live by more traditional Indian standards. In the families in which there has been a mixed marriage, the entire white system comes across in the socialization process. Among the Southeastern tribes the shifts in kinship terminology were the result of adaptive responses to changing conditions (Spoehr 1947:225). The presence of the white generational system in Lone Hill is due to neither cultural "borrowing," adult learning, nor rearrangements in the social structure precipitated by new conditions. Individuals in Lone Hill learn the American kinship system in the English language within the intimate domestic family situation. Although no single factor is ever sufficient to explain a highly complex acculturation situation, it would seem that these differences in the mechanisms of change may account for the differences in kinship patterns found among the Southeastern tribes and the Mandan-Hidatsa. (In a future paper, I shall document and describe the process of individual conversion to white ways in greater detail.)

177 601 181

The converted Indian embraces a new way of life and comes to internalize a set of goals and values which are incongruent with the Crow lineage system. The kinship ties and obligations of the Crow system incorporate and reaffirm

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

606 had no sisters, and his own household was run by his brother's
601 wives, he would often establish a new bond with the people of his wife's household by bringing his mother-in-law a scalp. When returning from a successful war expedition, he would go directly to his wife's lodge instead of to his sister's, which was the usual practice, and give the scalp to the oldest mother-in-law in the lodge. Usually there were a number of females in the lodge who were treated as "mother-in-law." In this group would be those whom the wife addressed as "mother," "grandmother," or "father's sister." The oldest mother-in-law took the scalp, sang the victory songs, and danced toward each woman who was treated as a mother-in-law. When the scalp dance was performed on the succeeding day, she danced while carrying the scalp and singing her new "son's" praises. She then treated him as a son but usually addressed him as *ptutE*, which was the same term as employed by her husband, while the son-in-law treated her as he would his own mother but addressed her as *ptuhinikE*. He could also break the taboo by bringing her a horse instead of taking it to his parental lodge. Then the mother-in-law would lead it through the village during the scalp dance. He could then interfere in a quarrel between a group of women which included his mothers-in-law.

• 607 *Sibling-in-law–sibling-in-law* (*mo'waki–mo'waki*).—Ego addressed his wife's brother and his own sister's husband as brothers-in-law, and they in turn called ego brother-in-law when addressing him. When the mother's lineage is arranged in a chart (see Fig. 5), it will be seen that a "brother-in-law" is one married to females of ego's lineage who are of the same generation or younger. This relationship is extended to include male ego's mother's sister's daughter's, and the father's brother's daughter's, husband, and husbands of their female descendants. There was a good deal of rivalry between brothers-in-law, and they were expected to joke with each other in public. However, if an older sister was rearing and caring for a young brother whose parents had died and was herself the titular head of the lineage in the lodge, her husband would treat his brother-in-law as a "son," and the same bonds of affection ex-
607 isted between them as between father and son.

601 *Sibling-in-law–sibling-in-law* (*ptus-ptus*).—A woman ad-

1 [See p. 38, Category 116 -- Analyst]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

dressed as sister-in-law all her husband's sisters and those he called female "child of the clan" as well as the wives of all those she addressed as "brothers."

Brother-in-law–sister-in-law (*misikE'–no'hąkamis'*).—A woman addressed as brother-in-law all those males whom her husband addressed as "mother's brother," "older brother," "younger brother," or "son of the clan."

A man addressed as sister-in-law all those females married to one whom he addressed as "mother's brother," "older brother," "younger brother," or "male child of the clan."

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

pecially important in Mandan social and ceremonial life, since individuals in the father's father's lineage usually occupy a closer relationship through marriage. 601 613

These lineages are the basis of the Mandan kinship structure; they extend kinship relations beyond the elementary family to the limits of the tribe; they regulate the behavior and social 613

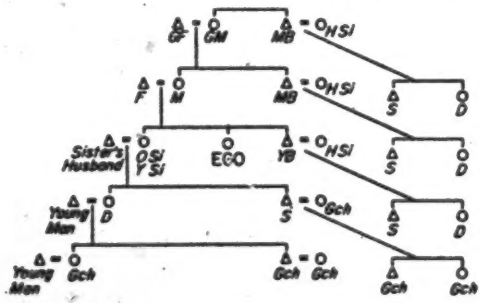

FIG. 11.—Mother's lineage. Ego = female

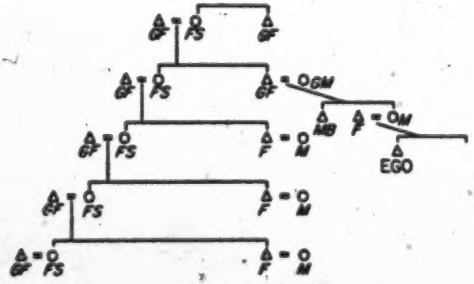

FIG. 12.—Mother's father's lineage. Ego = male

relations of the entire village. The extension of this lineage principle united the various villages into a tribal unit.

The Mandan had numerous methods of extending the range of kinship, and the character of the pattern resulting from this extension is important for an understanding of social integration. The Mandan treat everyone as a relative and recognize varying degrees of nearness of relationship. A person is considered to be related to everyone of his own clan and is a "son" to all males and females of his father's clan. Marriage introduces another set of relatives, and the custom of adopting a "son" 602 608 597 614

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

602 brings together still another set of relatives between whom there
608 is frequently established a "father-son" bond extending to the
597 "father-son" relatives which was *often more intimate than with*
614 the "son's" own father who may be separated from the son's mother. This relationship to persons outside the biological family may be further altered by ceremonial participation. Adoption of a child from outside the clan, though uncommon, did occur, and the one adopted, by changing his or her clan status,
[616] affected the relationship of both groups. When no other relationship was applicable, the moiety functioned as a clan. There was a further extension of the kinship to embrace the supernatural. Details of this classification appear in the chapters on ceremonialism contained in this report. The kinship pattern was also extended to include persons of neighboring tribes, even unfriendly tribes, when a friendship developed between individuals of different tribes; formal adoption established relationships that played an important role in restricting warfare and promoting trade. The numerous devices for extending kinship between the villages frequently brought about a situation in which a Mandan had a choice of two or more terms of relationship for the same person. The situation determined the term to be employed. Obviously those who are most closely associated in daily and ceremonial activities were considered closest in making a decision. When the writer was collecting the materials for this report, he was very anxious to use Tom Smith as interpreter for Scattercorn, since he was familiar with the specific problem being developed at that time. She refused to work with him on the grounds that she considered him a "son-in-law." The relationship between the two was this: Scattercorn's (Tamisik clan) sister's daughter's daughter married Edgar Crows Heart, who was Tom Smith's sister's son (Water-buster clan). She was, of course, Edgar Crows Heart's mother-in-law, but she extended the taboo to Tom Smith because he visited a great deal at Crows Heart's home. She did not consider Drags Wolf a son-in-law, although of Edgar Crows Heart's clan, because he rarely called at Crows Heart's lodge.

601 The importance of the clan in regard to the kinship has been
614 brought out in the foregoing discussions, but this should not be interpreted to mean that the kinship system is a clan system.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

292 575 293 Every member had a head ornament consisting of a round piece of rawhide with a bone feather holder. Two officers wore moderately wide aprons of red cloth edged with eagle feathers hanging down. Each of two other officers had a sacred bow with two arrows, one painted red and the other black. Two officers bore a spiked club (ō'o kahiri' 'ka), the spike being of horn. The sacred bows and arrows were for use against the enemy; they never missed their aim. For some reason no paraphernalia were supplied to Wounded-face's group, and they did not exercise their membership privileges because older men who should have taught them the appropriate songs died. All the members of this society were Mandan, but the organization originated with the Dakota or Cheyenne. Black-chest independently made the statement that the society was not really of Mandan origin. The [608] *cō'ta ō'xat'e* regarded the Foxes as their fathers, and the Little Dogs as their "friends."

292 575 Water-chief said that members wore two eagle feathers rising from the back of the head. Before his group bought the society, five older Mandan called them together, and said, "We wish to give you a society." Then property was collected and brought to them. The same night they sang songs, to which the young boys danced. After the dance, the sellers addressed their sons, saying, "You are growing up now. You must go against the enemy. Try to be brave and conquer the enemy."

Kit-Fox Society.

575 432 571 The following account of this society (ō'xox'atoc) was given by Black-chest.

When we bought this society, all of us were unmarried. We wished to buy this society. Our fathers said, "These foxes have ten claws on their front legs, so we wish you to give us a ten days' feast." I selected Good-bear, one of my clan fathers, for my individual father. The members of the River Women society were our "friends"; one of these, Black-head, was my individual "friend."

When the River Women had gathered together, we went to them and thus addressed them: "We wish to make friends with you. We desire to buy a society and wish you to help us and give us some blankets. We wish to know whether you are willing to do so." The women debated the request, and each one declared that she would contribute her blanket. Then we said, "Well, now each of you shall say which one of us you are willing to help." Then Black-head designated me. She was no clan aunt of mine.

575 527 432 We borrowed Broken-horn's earth-lodge for our meeting and brought kettles of food there. Black-head also brought a kettle of food there. We boys came in on the left side and sat down in an ellipse. We could hear our fathers singing as they approached our lodge. They entered it on the right side and sat down. Their wives, who were to assist in the singing during the ten nights' entertainment, were grouped behind their husbands.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913

NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for his individual father. Wounded-face did not know that Two-crows owned two kinds of emblems,— the foxskin cap to be used in dancing and in war, and the head band decorated with the lower kit-fox jaws which was to be worn when courting young women.[1] On the morning of the final transference of membership rights, Two-crows gave Wounded-face the cap and the head band, as well as a shirt, armlets and fringed buckskin leggings. In return, Wounded-face paid his father a fast black horse suited for use in the buffalo chase and some property contributed by his relatives. I get the impression that the transfer of special regalia was automatic; that is to say, if the father happened to own certain specific emblems the son buying his membership bought *ipso facto* the regalia owned by the seller. 575 432 292 608

Little-crow states that at the public performance the relatives of the new members brought presents, which were turned over to the fathers, either individually or collectively. In the latter case the fathers proceeded to distribute the gifts among themselves. 575 431 602

In marching outdoors, the first rattler took the lead and was immediately followed by the first hooked-staff officer; Wounded-face — presumably as the owner of the cap — occupied a central position in the line; the second rattler came last, being directly behind the second hooked-staff officer. The first rattler selected a site for the dance and turned in order to begin the formation of a circle there, at the same time raising his rattle and singing very loudly. There was always a special song to be sung prior to the drummers' entrance into the circle. This song was taken up by the second rattler. While the circle was forming, the singers went within the circumference and began to beat their drums. These singers were always the members' fathers, if I understood Wounded-face correctly, but it is probable that this applies only to the first public performance by a new group of members. The songs referred to warlike deeds, and the words were, according to this informant, invariably in the Dakota language. 575 527 535 533 [177]

Little-crow, as already stated, considers the head band decorated with kit-fox jaws as a badge common to all members; he further states that each Kit-Fox had a hair-pipe attached to the left side of the head and that six men had their hair roached. The hair-cutting was done by the men's fathers. Other informants agree that there were two rattlers and two officers with hooked-staffs, wrapped with otterskin and decorated at four points with feathers. Wounded-face says that sometimes the second staff-bearer carried a *straight* stick, in which case an erect eagle feather was secured to the top of the shaft. Little-crow states that rattles were used 575 [292] [302] 293

[1] This seems to conflict with Black-chest's account, which assigns these emblems to distinct officers, but Little-crow regards the kit-fox head band as a badge common to all members.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 After this speech, Big-thief returned to his place. Then all the Kit-
608 Foxes rose and brought presents of food to their fathers. Black-chest again
432 selected Good-bear for his individual Father, but explains that this was
527 not obligatory. Wounded-face was obliged to select a new father, for the one chosen by him in purchasing the Kit-Fox organization had been killed in battle; otherwise, he says he should have kept the same individual for his father in buying all the higher societies. On this occasion his choice fell on Little-crow, to whom he presented a kettleful of food as a token of his selection. Black-chest states that five of the fathers had been killed since the purchase of the Kit-Fox society.

575 Black-chest says that on this occasion the River Women did not aid the
432 purchasers, as both they and the latter had married. This obviously refers
431 to the period of the fathers' entertainment, as the same informant mentions a contribution by this women's organization to the initial payment (see p. 303). On the other hand, the Black Mouths attended the performance and brought food for the sellers.

575 At a height of about seven feet from the ground the fathers stretched a
778 rawhide rope between the two rear main posts. To each end of the rope
527 they attached a whip, and near its center they folded over it two red cloth
837 sashes. These sashes were considered sacred. The wife of one of the buyers
533 then rose, stripped naked and covering her genitalia with her hands, approached the rear of the fireplace. Rising on tiptoes, she seized one of the sashes, covered her nakedness again, pressed the sash to her breast and hung it up as before. Each one of the buyers' wives went through the same ceremony. During this performance the fathers were all singing. The women returned to their seats and put on their blankets. Each husband then said to his wife: "I will give you to my father, for I want his song. Perhaps he will pray for us, and it will be well for both of us."

575 Then the father and the woman offered to him went out together.
[841] Menstruating women were absolved from this performance, for they were
837 not supposed to come to the lodge at all on such occasions. As a matter of fact, Black-chest says that only very few fathers availed themselves of
432 the right surrendered to them, being generally afraid of ill luck if they did.
527 The form, however, was gone through by each wife on each of the twenty nights. Black-chest's wife told her husband that Good-bear merely took her outside, faced west with her and said, "Daughter-in-law, stop and
[782] stand there." Then he prayed as follows: "My gods, my son has given me his wife. I wish that my daughter-in-law may always enjoy a long and happy life, and I ask you in behalf of my son that he may conquer his enemies." After this prayer he bade the woman go back, and both returned to the lodge.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

H 561 575 not even obtain the name. As his spelling of the words for "fox" and "skunk" is almost identical, I am sure that this similarity in sound misled him. His statement that members were from fifteen to twenty years old fits the facts of the Skunk society fairly well.

H M 561 575 432 The mode of entrance into at least the majority of the organizations was evidently similar to that in the men's organizations, but though purchase of membership was collective, there are indications that sometimes age-mates of the buyers did not participate in the purchase. The Skunk and Gun societies are said by Hides-and-eats to have had no formal adoption whatsoever.

H M 608 432 575 The ceremonial relationship between buyers and sellers has already been explained (see p. 226). Clan aunts became the buyers' mothers. If an Hidatsa buyer could not find a clan aunt in the sellers' group, the latter would appoint some member of another clan to act as aunt and mother for the occasion of the purchase (Buffalo-bird-woman, Hidatsa). When buying the Goose society, Buffalo-bird-woman had an aunt among the sellers, but as she was the sister of my informant's husband and lived in the same lodge, it did not seem proper to buy the membership from her. Sometimes several girls took food to the same clan aunt, who would thus become the mother of several buyers.

H M 575 432 That membership meant primarily ownership through purchase seems clear from several statements. Thus, Young-beaver still regards herself both a Cheyenne and a Goose woman, and Hides-and-eats holds both the Goose and the White Buffalo membership, because these informants never sold their membership.

H M 575 Three of the women's organizations — the River, Goose, and White Buffalo societies — are rather sharply separated from the others by their clearly sacred character and the cleansing ceremony that concludes their performances. The Goose and White Buffalo societies are associated with securing food through magico-religious means. It should be noted, however that in both cases the women acted under the direction of a male singer. Thus, Calf-woman declared that it was the privilege of the Goose women's singers, Wounded-face and Poor-wolf, to tell the tale of the society's origin. The Skunk, Gun, and Enemy Women societies were obviously associated with war. To what extent any of the women's organizations had developed the social factor, is not clear. Rev. Wilson learned that the Skunks occasionally prepared feasts for themselves and their "friends." If members of the other Hidatsa societies were sick and unable to do their own planting they would prepare a feast for their fellow-members, who would come and plant all the sick woman's garden for her.

H [476]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Gun Society.

575 Hides-and-eats says that in the Gun society (Mandan: ĩ'rupe ō'xat'e)
[182] there was no adoption. Three men who had guns for their personal medi-
535 cine went round the village, selecting young girls for the dance. The girls combed their hair loose, stuck feathers in the back like the Skunks,[1] put on their beaded belts and mountain-sheep dresses, and entered an earth-lodge, where they ranged themselves in the arc of a circle. The three men were seated between the fire and the screen between the two main poles facing the door; they were the singers and drummers. The girls danced up and down in their places, seating themselves when a song ended and rising to
[182] dance when a new one was intoned. At the close of each song one of the three men expressed the following prayer: "My sacred gun, I pray to you, I wish to conquer my enemies." One of the men rose, impaled food on a stick, and cast it into the fire as an offering to the guns. After a prayer, food that had been previously prepared was distributed among the members. This food must all be eaten on the spot; it was not permissible to take any of it away. At the close of the performance sweetgrass was placed on a potsherd with some charcoal and burnt for incense. One of the men went round with the sherd, beginning at the right side of the door, and smoked each member in turn.

Sometimes the dance was performed, not in an earth-lodge, but outdoors in the village. The Gun women danced only during one month in the summertime. The next year the three men selected other young girls or young married women for the performance.[2] The object of the ceremony was to prevent the recurrence of losses from the enemy.

From the statements quoted it appears doubtful whether the Gun "society" was really a society, though the same term *ō'xat'e* is applied to it as to the other organizations.

River Women Society.

575 The River Women society (pasa'mĩ'he ō'xat'e) is called "Grass Crown society" (mikā'kikii) by the Hidatsa.

The following origin legend had been heard by Hides-and-eats:

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[1] Maximilian says they wore eagle plumes.

[2] Big-cloud, Bull-horn, and White-young-bear are said to have reörganized this society before the time of the smallpox.

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575 773 539 delighted. He said, "I like this society. I wish to add something to your feather." Then he broke off some (unidentified) grass, and tied it to the feather. In the dance these feathers were meant to shake. Kínumakci said, "I will give you one of my songs." And he gave the man a song quite different from other songs. When Kínumakci had done singing, the visionary told the women whom he had organized

[292]

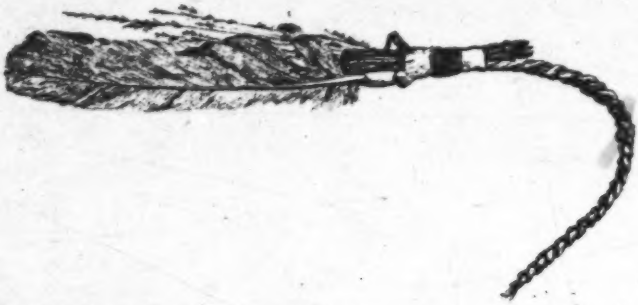

Fig. 15 (50.1–4329). River Society Head Ornament. Length, 61 cm.

to take their head bands, untie them, smooth them out, and put them down on the ground. The women obeyed, and the head bands turned into snakes and crawled away. From that time on the society was kept up.

575 773 301 Two-chiefs adds to the account as just given that several other beings made contributions to the dance regalia. The eagle feathers were distributed among the original dancers by the Eagle. The Bear gave them his claws to be strung for a necklace. The Mink allowed them to use his skin and claws: the two leaders and the two rear officers were to wear mink-claw necklaces, while the four middle officers were to wear a minkskin necklace, to which were attached bluish shells.[1] The organizer of the society selected four male singers and picked out for membership a number of women ranging in age from twenty to thirty. Calf-woman substitutes the mythical character I'tsi'kawa'herec[2] for Ki'numakci, and the Otter for the Mink.

575 432 One day Hides-and-eats was called by her friends to attend a meeting. This was shortly after the time of the smallpox. Very few of the River women had survived the epidemic; all of them had been very old women, about Hides-and-eats' present age. The young women called the survivors, heaped up property before them, and expressed their desire to purchase the [608] society. The older group consented to sell. In this instance the sellers for some obscure reason were not considered the purchasers' mothers. Hides-and-eats and her comrades remained in this society for ten years. Then

[1] Two-chiefs gives twice the number of officers fixed by Hides-and-eats.
[2] This is probably the Hidatsa equivalent for Ki'numakci.

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younger women called them and offered them property. "Then we adopted them and called them our daughters." Sometimes it happened that a single individual wished to join. In such a case she might buy a head band from a father's sister and become an additional member without replacing anyone. This, however, was not the regular way of entering the society. 575 432 [608]

In Hides-and-eats' time, there were two male head-singers, who called in five young men and taught them to sing, for which they received a compensation and were called "fathers" by the young men. From another statement by the same authority it would appear that the five men bought the right of singing and drumming from their predecessors in very much the same way as the young women bought the right to membership. 868 432

The officers of the society included a leader wearing a necklace of bear claws attached to otterskin; a rear officer with the same badge; and two middle officers with a loose-fitting white-shell necklace hanging down a few inches below the neck in front. There was one special member who surrendered to the society her earth-lodge to dance in; in Hides-and-eats' time this member's name was One-corn-seed. Calf-woman, who was one of the officers wearing a shell necklace, kept the dance-lodge, because her parents loved her dearly and never refused her anything. The ceremonial dance lasted four nights, the actual dancing beginning before sunset. The members were expected to remain in the earth-lodge during these four nights.[1] Some women, however, would clandestinely absent themselves and go home. As soon as the other members discovered their absence, they went to the woman's house, and sang outside, "Our friend, get up and come out here again." The drummers beat their drums, and the members, if necessary, seized the truant and brought her back to the dance lodge by force. The close of the performance was marked by a cleansing ceremony. The musicians tied together peppermint (?) stalks, and with these they brushed the members' bodies, from the shoulders down. The object of this was to remove the mysterious (xo'pinic) properties with which the members were endowed while dancing. In Calf-woman's time only one man, Bad-shirt performed this ceremony; he was paid with calico goods and food. Painted-up said the brusher was the singer of the Bird ceremony. The ceremonial cleansing took place only after the performances of the three *sacred* women's societies, that is, the River women, Goose women and White Buffalo women organizations. 575 301 527 535 [783]

Two-chiefs said that during the four nights' performance the head bands were suspended from a rawhide rope passing round the earth-lodge, and 575

[1] That is to say, they were not to sleep with their husbands. But if any member had a little child at home, she might go there to attend to its wants. In this case she was brought back to the lodge before daybreak.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 the members' faces. Each performer carried a bunch of peppermint
527 (ca'xkuxke); at the sound of the special song a motion was made with this
535 peppermint as though to remove the paint. Then the paint was actually rubbed off with the end of the robe. When the dance was all over, the women lay down to sleep in the lodge. Some members fasted all night. Before dawn one of the musicians took a long cottonwood pole and attached all the headdresses and the middle officer's robe to it. The staff was then fixed above the doorway. This was a sign for a big wind and snow to drive the buffalo close to the village. At the foot of the pole a buffalo skull was deposited. A branch of a tree was painted red, and numerous offerings were tied to it and laid on the skull. Thereupon all the members rose, went out of the lodge, and passed through the village. They approached the lodge in exactly the same way as on the previous day, making four stops and dancing at each before reëntering the dance-lodge. During the day one of the officers prepared all the food required. In the evening the performance was repeated, the three officers dancing up to the buffalo skull, whereupon the entire society followed suit. In front of the skull they placed a ball of mashed corn and a pipe. The leader took the pipe and the
[576] corn-ball. First she offered the pipe to the musicians, who lit and smoked it. Then she distributed the corn among the members, beginning with the one nearest to herself and appropriating what remained in the end. Next, the rear officer distributed corn twice, and finally the middle officer made two distributions. The entire society represented a buffalo herd; the middle officer represented the best buffalo and was supposed to get all that remained of the corn. The second, third, and fourth nights were all similar so far as the feature just described was concerned. Throughout the performance there were numerous spectators.

For the last night each member had to prepare a basketful of mashed corn; sometimes this was attended to by the members' mothers. Additional food was also brought together. This night was distinguished by the use of gourd rattles. All the baskets of corn, as well as the robes and headdresses were placed round the skull. Next a song was sung four times, and incense was burned to smoke the robes. Then mashed corn was given to the spectators until the supply was exhausted. Some peppermint was tied to a short pole. The incense-burner dipped it into a dish of water, and sprinkled all the members beginning with the leader and stopping with the rear officer. The buffalo skull and the musicians were also sprinkled. A little of the food was attached to the end of a short stick and placed in the nasal cavities of the skull, then pointed to the four quarters, and finally
[608 set down on the fireplace. A feast terminated the performance. On this
431] last night newly adopted members made valuable presents to their adoptive mothers.

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Throughout the ceremony two women whose normal position in the circle was on the right side of the rear officer preserved order in the lodge; the distinctive badge of their office consisted of a skunkskin head band (Fig. 17). 575 626

The object of the ceremony was to lure the buffalo near the fireplace. Once, when the performance took place in a clearing in the woods, one buffalo came directly to the doorway, and was killed on the spot. During the same season a great abundance of buffalo were found in the timber. Apparently, anyone who was desirous of making the buffalo come could take the initiative and ask the society to undertake the performance. 575 789

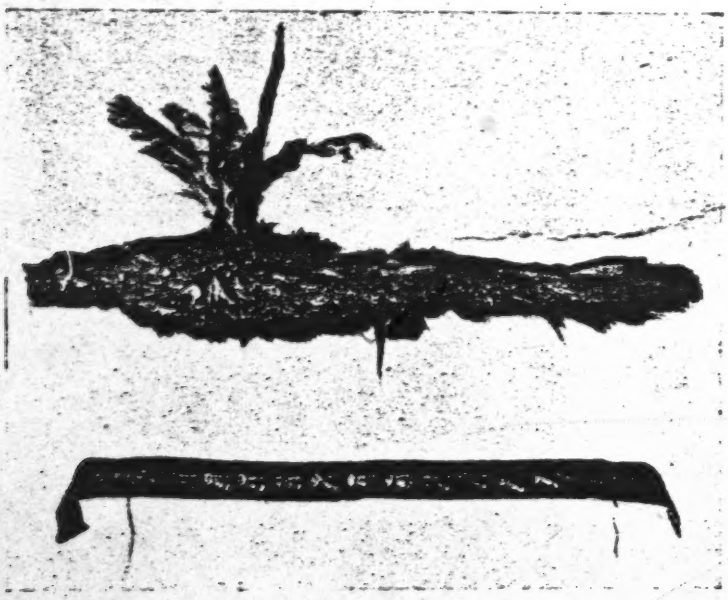

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Fig. 17 (50.1–4815, 50.1–4331). Skunkskin Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society and Head Band of Kit-Fox Society. Lengths, 79 cm. and 85 cm.

Any old member could adopt as many new ones as she wished, and was obliged to provide each tyro with a headdress. Calf-woman obtained one of these headdresses at the time of her adoption, though she was only two years of age. She became the middle officer because her adoptive mother gave her the appropriate calfskin robe. The musicians adopted new musicians who were obliged to pay heavily for the songs. Four of them had drums for instruments, while the remaining one used a rattle of buffalo skin. 575 608 432 [534]

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son who Lewis and Clarke found in October, 1804, trading among the Indians. On the 19th Henry and party came in sight of the Missouri. He writes in his Journal: "Descending the high banks we came to the river Bourbeuse [Bourbeux, Moiy.] We had much difficulty in crossing; on both sides nothing but soft clay, into which our horses sunk almost up to their ears. Having got through we washed and cleaned them, and ourselves in the Missouri * * * At 2 o'clock we saddled and proceeded on passing near to the water side. At the foot of the Lodge de Serpent is a bank upon the north side of the Missouri, about three hundred feet high; the side fronting the river is very steep and barren composed of gravel intermixed with a quantity of flat decayed stones of bluish and iron color with some streaks." 114

A short distance from the foot of the hill was a Gros Ventres winter village[1] and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon they arrived opposite the mouth of the Knife River, on the bank of which a mile from the Missouri, was also a village of Gros Ventres.[2] Riding down on the north bank of the Missouri, a distance of five miles, to a Mandan village, "we passed," writes Henry, "through one of their old villages that was abandoned a few years ago; they have now built about a mile lower down the river. Near this deserted village we saw great numbers of the dead exposed upon stages about eight feet from the ground. The envelopes or coverings are generally of dressed leathe- and parchments, many of which were still good, whilr others were decayed, and nothing but the bones appeared. e * * We now met a Mandan who was well armed, he accompanied a party of women that were hoeing corn, and he served as their guard. On perceiving us, he instantly came up and shook hands with us and expressed himself by signs that we should put up at his village. We saw numbers of women and children at work in the corn field. 000 574 576

Just before we entered the village we were met by the chief of the place, Chat Noir * [Black Cat] and a number of the natives. Every one of them were shaking hands with us, and bid us welcome. The chief then conducted us to one of his huts, appropriated for the reception of the strangers. He has another, in which the principal friends of his family resides. He keeps one of his wives, in the one we were in, to attend upon his guests, cook, bring water, etc., and to serve as a bed fellow if required. [837]

In a moment, the whole village flocked around us, and all were curious to see what articles we had brought to trade, and they were neither troublesome, nor impertinent. Having unsaddled our horses, and taken our baggage into the hut, the 574 609

* Lewis and Clarke made Poscopscah or Black Cat, the first chief of the village, and the grand chief of the whole Mandan nation.

1 [See category 116, p. 322, for section, missing here, which is in original account. Analyst] 2 [See category 116, p. 323, for missing section.—Analyst]

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574 chief gave our horses in charge of a young man, and told us
609 we need not be uneasy as there would be good care taken of them.

574 On going into the hut, we found buffalo hides spread on the
262 ground, before the fire, for us to sit upon, and soon after we were presented with two large dishes of boiled corn and beans, after which they gave us another large dish of boiled dried meat, but very few of us could eat of it, as it had too strong a taste and smell.[1]

231 After some other details which we omit, Harvey writes that
342 when night came: "One young man brought in our horses, and put them in the same hut along with us, upon the right hand, on entering, and ourselves upon the left; a space was enclosed with a railing to keep them within bounds. This custom causes their habitations to have a very disagreeable and offensive smell. This precaution of theirs is to keep the horses from being stolen by the Assiniboines, or other enemies, who are frequently lurking about the village.

515 "Towards evening, having gone down to the river side, I
291 observed the custom of washing themselves in the Missouri. Both men and women make it a rule, every morning and evening, to go down to the river, and wash for some time; the men make use of the clay to wash their hair, which answers the purpose of soap to take out the white and red earth with which they daub it, after having washed. Modesty in the female sex appears to be a virtue they are unacquainted with. They wear a kind of leather shift which reaches down to the calves of their legs. This they slip off some distance from the shore, and walk very deliberately into the water entirely naked, in the presence of old and young who seem not to pay any attention to them. [2] * * * * The men make use of no other covering, in the summer season, than these buffalo robes, and even these are seldom worn within doors, and only thrown on when they go out to visit or walk about the village.
[352] Both sexes sleep naked. Their beds are raised about two feet from the ground, and hung around with dressed skins. In summer they seldom use any coverings at night, but lay like so many brutes."[2] * * * * Mr. Henry gives a description of their lascivious dances which is too indelicate to publish. He writes under date of:

252 "Sunday, July 20th. At daybreak we were all up, and I
262 took a walk down to the river, where I observed the same cer-
352 emony of washing as last evening, with as little reserve as
512 before. Our host on our return presented us with some dried
412 meat, and soon after a dish of corn and beans, but as it is not seasoned with any kind of grease or fat, after the first meal it has a very insipid taste. The corn is generally pounded or bruised in a wooden mortar, which is fixed fast and firm in the ground, in one corner of the hut, and this is the first work performed by the women in the morning.

[1] [Category 116, p. 325.-A] [2] [Category 116, p. 326.-A]

formed by the women in the morning.[1] Their sweet corn and beans are boiled whole; they make use of large earthen pots of their own manufacture, made of black clay, of which they have plenty near their villages. They make them of different sizes, from five gallons to a quart. In these vessels is never anything of a greasy nature.[1] * * * * * The bottoms of the pots are of an oblong shape; it therefore requires much care to keep them from upsetting, for which purpose when they are put to the fire a hole is made in the ashes to secure and prop them erect, and when taken away they are placed upon a sort of mat made of the fibers of the bois blanc; these coils or rugs are made of different sizes, according to the dimensions of the several pots, which keeps them firm and secure. Some of these pots are provided with two cones, or handles.[1] * *

Baptiste La France made his appearance here. This man had left the Prairie la Souris [Mouse River] with a small assortment of goods for the purpose of trading, equipped by the Hudson Bay Company. He now resides upon the south side of the river, at the great Mandane village,* and hearing of the arrival of white people, he came over to us. He now informed the chief, Black Cat, who his guests were and the cause of our visit, which was mere curiosity. [The chief] instantly retired to his family hut and brought out his flag, which was given him in 1804–5; they alsogave him a silver medal, and the same articles were also given to the principal chief of each of the other villages, also several very useful utensils were left amongst them.† I saw the remains of an excellent large corn mill, which the foolish fellows had demolished on purpose to barb their arrows; the largest piece of it which they could not break nor work up into any weapon they have now fixed to a wooden handle, and make use of it to pound marrow bones, to make grease."

We were now desirous of crossing the river, therefore sent off La France to engage people of the opposite village to come over for us.[2] * * * * * * * We were now informed that eight canoes were in waiting for us, from the opposite side, and the same number of young men had come over to assist in crossing our horses.[2] * * * * On our going over to the war side we found the chief of the Great Mandan village, Le Gros Blanc. He was waiting with his own canoe to ferry over Mr. Chaboillez and me. He appeared very

† To each chief, Lewis and Clarke presented a medal, a flag, and a uniform coat. In the narrative of the expedition is the following sentence: "A variety of other presents were distributed, but none seemed to give them more satisfaction than the iron corn mill, which we gave to the Mandans."

* The Mandans, about 1760, were settled on the banks of the Missouri, eighty miles below, seven villages on the west and two on the east side of the river. The two villages were reduced by small-pox, and moved up the river and settled a village near the Receivers, and afterwards the people of the other village joined them. In 1796 they were in two villages at the points where Henry found them, on opposite sides of Missouri, about three miles apart.

[1] [Category 116, p. 328.-A.] [2] [Category 116, p. 329.-A]

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609 622 attentive and polite in conveying our baggage on board. We now perceived another American flag flying in the village on the south side of the river, while that of the Black Cat was still displayed over the hut we had occupied. Our conductor now informed us the flag we saw in the opposite village was his property, and had been hoisted by his orders over his own hut, where he begged we would take up our lodgings. The young men, I [481 442] observed were very prompt in getting our horses over. They fastened a line to the horse's mouth, the end of which one of them takes in his teeth, and swims on ahead, while others swim along on each side, and in the rear, draws the horse on very expeditiously. They swim remarkably swift, and notwithstanding [481] the Missouri at this place is half a mile wide, and the current very strong, they drift down but a very considerable distance before they land.

501 Their canoes are of very singular construction and a stranger would scarcely dare venture his life in them to cross such a deep and rapid stream. They are of a circular form; the timbers are nothing but a few bent willows of about three inches in circumference, over which is stretched a raw buffalo hide, with the hair inside, and sewed first to the gunwales which are generally of a willow, about two inches in diameter. I was really surprised to see the great weight that one of those slender vessels would carry. We embarked, baggage, saddles, etc., weighing at least 200 pounds, Mr. Chaboillez and myself, and our ferryman, who was a remarkably stout fellow. Our canoe or dish would have supported at least 100 pounds more. What they make use of, in lieu of a paddle, is a pole about five feet long, split at one end so as to admit of a piece of board, about two feet long, and half a foot broad, which is lashed to the pole and forms a kind of cross, and as there is but one made use of for each canoe, and he that paddles pulls directly for the opposite shore, every stroke he gives turns his dish almost entirely around; when, to preserve his position and place him fronting his intended, route he must give a stroke upon the other hand which brings him up again, and so on until he gets over the river, which, however, is not accomplished until they have drifted down nearly a mile.

501 462 Some of them, I observed, were more expert than others in managing their dishes, and did not drift more than a quarter of a mile. But as these vessels are very light they have the precaution to carry them upon their heads, or slung upon their backs to a considerable distance higher up the river, than where they wish to land. When we were on the water our conductor repeatedly made signs to us to salute the flag, by firing our guns, but we did not think proper to comply with his wishes or pretended we did not comprehend him.

622 574 609 We soon after landed at the village, which is situated upon the very edge of the bank. Here we were received by another

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chief called Le Grand * who insisted upon our taking lodgings in his hut, which stood near the edge of the banks. We accordingly entered it, but soon after we were visited by several other principal men, who requested some of us to take up our abode in their huts during our stay among them. La France advised us to do so, telling us we would be more at our ease by separating than if we remained all in the same hut. Accordingly Mr. Chaboillez and his people, consisting of an Indian who was his brother-in-law, and Mr. Allen McDonnell, took up their lodgings with Hairy Horn, and our guide, Hugh McReacan, (Cracken) Straight Horn, myself and my people, T. Viandrie and Joseph Du Charme, remained with Le Grand, a very civil fellow. This arrangement having been settled and instantly put into execution, we were provided with beds, or buffalo hides to sit upon. * * * * * * We paid a visit to Le Gros Blanc, who thought we had somewhat slighted him in not taking up our residence in his hut, but kept the flag flying in honor of our arrival until sunset. We made amends as far as our circumstances would permit, and presented him with some tobacco, ammunition, etc., as a remuneration for his trouble in assisting us over. He was perfectly satisfied, and appeared highly pleased with the presents.

We found in this village a Canadian by the name of Jussaume,† who accompanied Captains Lewis and Clarke to Washington on their return from their voyage of discoveries to the Pacific Ocean as interpreter to the Mandan chief, Le Gros Blanc. This man has been a resident among the Indians for upwards of fifteen years. He speaks their language tolerably well, has a wife and family who live and dress in the same manner as the natives. As for himself, he still retains the outward appearance of a Christian, and his principles as far as I could observe, are much worse than those of a Mandane. He is possessed of every superstition natural to these people, nor is he different in performing every mean, dirty trick which they have acquired from their intercourse with a set of worthless scoundrels accustomed to visit these parts, some for the purpose of trade, and others, to save themselves from justice and the laws of their country, that would not fail to punish them for their numerous offenses."

EDWARD D. NEILL.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

*Le Gros Blanc, or Big White, called by the Indians Shahaka was the first chief of this village and was recognized by Lewis and Clark and presented with a medal. Ohheenaw, Le Grant, or Big Man was much esteemed in the tribe. He was a Cheyenne taken prisoner, and then adopted by the Mandans.

† In the narrative of Lewis and Clarke his name is spelled Jesseaume, and on the 27th of October, 1805, was engaged as interpreter, and with the expedition went to the Pacific Ocean, accompanied by his Indian wife and babe. On the 16th of August, 1806, soon after Henry's departure, Lewis and Clarke returned to the Mandan village, and Le Gros Black, Big White, with his wife and son and Jessaume, the next day accompanied the military expedition to St. Louis, and from thence they went to Washington and were presented to President Jefferson.

622 574 609 [431] 000 [597] [Category 116, p. 332.-A.]

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preter with them. They did not appear well pleased, and looked on the Pawnees with an eye of disdain. After some conversation they desired the Pawnees to return immediately to their own villages, and to inform their great war chief, Red Tail, that if he sincerely wished for peace, he must come up and then they would settle matters, as they were determined to have nothing to do with young men. They allowed two moons to consider upon the business, and perform the journey. If, at the end of that time, the Chief did not make his appearance, they would immediately gather up their corn, and in a body, go and find him out, in his own village, and convince him what Big Bellies (or as they call themselves Willow Indians), and Mandans could do when exasperated by the treacherous conduct of the Pawnees. 648 728 721

The six embassies promised to depart early next morning to inform their Chief, who they answer no doubt, would very soon wait upon them. Thus ended an affair, which at the commencement we supposed would conclude with the death of the strangers, by the great bustle and noise their arrival occasioned.

But I was afterwards informed that of such proceedings there was not the least danger; that the natives of this place make it a particular point of honor to protect every stranger who throws himself upon them and begs their clemency. Even their natural and most inveterate enimies, the Sioux, have been known to come into their villages unexpectedly, and were always received with hospitality, and well entertained during thei stay which by the way, they never permit to be more than one night when they are dismissed, and allowed to return to their own homes unmolested. 604 648 728 721

A HUNTING PARTY.

Towards the evening there was a whooping and howling among the young men who were standing upon their huts. This, it seems, was to announce the appearance of a hunting party of the Mandans, who were just at that moment appearing upon the tops of the high bank to the south, and descending by a well-beaten road towards the village. The party consisted of about one hundred men on horseback, and each loaded with half a buffalo; some of them had even more, according to the strength of their horses, and the master will always ride, be his beast ever so loaded. They had been away since yesterday and found buffalo in great abundance near at hand. These people never go out hunting unless in large parties. The continual danger from their enemies obliges them to be very cautious; another reason is, that when the buffalo comes near at hand, they are anxious to prevent them from being driven away. For this purpose, it is customary for them all, in a body, to surround one herd only, which sometimes consists of several hundreds. 224 [492]

142 a dark brown, some few indeed I observed whose hair was almost fair. A Big Belly, in particular, I saw with yellow hair. This circumstance, I believe, could scarcely proceed from any connection with the whites, as it is now more than thirty years since they first saw us, and this man was at least forty years old. Their eyes are jet black, some few are of a dark grey.

LONG HAIR.

302 The men wear their hair long, twisted into small quaittes hanging down to the rump. Some have it of enormous length, trailing upon the ground. They seldom tie it, but allow their numerous small quaittes to flow in a more graceful manner upon their backs; they always daub it with white and red earth. The women wear their hair short, allowing it to grow no longer than to be of sufficient length to cover the ears and neck. They never tie it, nor make use of any ornament for the head further than sometimes daubing it with red earth.

LASCIVIOUSNESS.

837 609 578 They seem to be a very lascivious people. The men make not the least scruple in offering their wives to lay with strangers, without any solicitation, and are even offended, if their offers are not accepted, unless you can convince them, by some good reason, for refusing to comply, and that it is not out of contempt. They always expect payment for their complaisance, but a mere trifle will satisfy, even a single coat-button. Notwithstanding this courteous behavior to strangers, they are not entirely free from jealousies among themselves, which sometimes cause quarrels and bloodshed. The woman generally falls a sacrifice in an affair of this nature.[1]

MODE OF ROASTING MEAT.

252 They have a very peculiar way of roasting meat; a plecotte, in particular, is suspended from the roof of the hut exactly over the fire, the cord being passed through and fastened to the centre of the piece keeps it in a flat position directly over the flames. A person is seated near it, and with a small stick keeps it continually in motion by pushing it to and fro. When one side is done, it is turned over, and fit for use. This method is much more expeditious than the common way of roasting before the fire, and preferable, as it retains the natural juice and flavor.[2]

EDWARD D. NEILL.

1 [See category 116, p. 342-3. -A.]

2 [For further information in Henry's Journal not mentioned by Neill, see category 116, pp. 343 ff. -Analyst.]

832 repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men,
834 who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young
men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on
461 the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to
526 hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times
they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback,
and performing warlike manoeuvres; they have also a favorite
game which occupies much of their time.

512 [328]...this is the first work performed by the women in the
515 morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed
themselves in the Missourie. ...every family being provided
415 with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh.
177 Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to
771 say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those
574 earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest
kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come
in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the
contents.

231 .....Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed
437 in the meadow but never allowed them to be for a moment out of
648 his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them.
We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles,
for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco.

439 [329] It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail
upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger
has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first
village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many
439 European articles as they can, [330] particularly arms and ammuni-
● 609 tion. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each
other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have
578 often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death
569 of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also
to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great
distance. The Pawnees, also, with whom the Mandanes formerly
lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies.
Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and every-
one has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

675 We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the
673 landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut
[577] in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect
security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

675 it is gone in an instant, and search would be in vain; everyone
673 would wish to appear innocent, although they are not offended when accused of stealing, but laugh the matter away. .....We paid
437 our landlord for board and lodging, as well as the care of our horses,
177 and of the articles left under his charge, as we never expect the least favor from any of these fellows without recompensing them accordingly. He appeared very well pleased with the following articles, which we gave him: 60 rounds of ammunition, 4 large knives, 2 awls, 1 fathom of tobacco, 1 steel, 5 flints, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 2 worms (wormers for guns), and 1 dozen brass rings....

● 609 [332] My host was so obliging as to give up to me one of his
574 own best beds, well surrounded with dressed leather. We had a plentiful supply of corn and beans, and were soon invited to several huts, where we [333] were treated with a very palatable dish of
[421] pounded peas and parched corn; but it is customary for invited guests, on leaving, to present the master of the hut with a few inches of tobacco, for which he always appears very thankful.

728 [335] About 30 Big Bellies soon arrived on horseback, at full speed; they brought an interpreter with them. This party consisted of some of the principal war chiefs, and other great men, who did not appear well pleased, but looked on the Pawnees with disdain.

285 [339] ...seated on a mat made of small willows of equal size, fastened together [340] by threads of their own manufacture, passed through each stick about a foot apart.

342 [340] Seldom more than one family occupies the same hut.

437 [342] We paid the young men for taking our horses across the
177 river, and the women for assisting us with the canoes. The total cost was: 1 fathom of tobacco, 4 knives, 6 flints, 6 awls, 6 worms [gun wormers—analyst], and 10 balls. I also paid my landlord for the time we might remain here, which I supposed would be about ten days for three persons, including board and lodging, stabling for our horses, and care of our property. They make no price, leaving that to the generosity of guests, and should the payment be too little they still appear to accept with gratitude; but the visitor is afterward left to take care of his own property and horses in the best manner he can. It is impossible to get the most trifling service from the natives without immediate payment; not even an inch of cord will they part with without receiving something in return. It is true a trifle will please them, and they are

[p. 384(D)]

304 They have another custom of putting their courage and con-
785 tempt of pain to task by tormenting their flesh in a most atrocious manner. This is done by pinching up a fold of the skin and flesh an inch broad, under which they pass the iron barb of an arrow; they raise stripes in this manner from the back of the hand to the shoulder, and thence to the breast, there joining three or four separate circles of incisions made in the same manner on the lower part of the breast. Some content themselves by raising stripes of different lengths upon their arms and thighs, and forming crescentic cuts on the breast in a very regular manner, one within the other; some with the horns upward, others downward, according to fancy.

304 Most of the women have their faces tattooed in a very savage manner, lines a quarter inch broad passing from the nose to the ear, and down each side of the mouth and chin to the throat. This disfigures them very much; otherwise, some would have tolerably
304 good faces. Some tattooing is done to beautify the face, but at
684 other times it is the disfiguring mark of a fit of jealousy in the husband. [366] When a Mandane's handsome young wife is too lavish of her favors without his consent, he tattoes her face as a punish-
[578] ment. Although it cannot be said that these people are much given
837 to jealousy, still it is absolutely necessary for a woman to have the consent of her husband to cohabit with a stranger, whether he is white or one of their own people. But I observed during my stay that this consent is not so very necessary in regard to the inhabitants of the same village, as every morning early there were examples to be seen in their plantations of their loose way of living. Many
[164] of our servants who frequent these parts to trade in the winter, and who have too intimate connections with the fair sex, are attacked by a painful and loathsome disorder, which commonly appears in the groin, where it forms abscesses and, if neglected, will soon prove dangerous.

574 [401] At three o'clock we were all safely lodged in Black Cat's
● 609 hut, whom we found as usual very civil and complaisant, although he plainly saw we had nothing to pay him for his trouble. This man is one of the best Indians we met on the Missourie. We found
[432] what articles we had left in his charge all in good order, and carefully hung up to keep them from the mice. He even gave me his best horse upon credit; payment to be sent this fall by any opportunity. This was considered an extraordinary circumstance for a Mandane. He gave us several instances of his good nature and generosity while we were packing; every assistance in his power he gave us, without

[p. 384 (H)]

574 any expectation of payment. Being almost destitute of tobacco
609 for our journey, he gave us some of their own manufacture. As
that herb is not yet arrived at maturity, they use only the blossoms
277 [402] at present. These are collected as required, dried before
the fire on a fragment of an earthen pot, and smoked by all the
natives. But I find the flowers a very poor substitute for our own
tobacco—a nauseous, insipid weed. The ripe leaf is somewhat
better, but even that is mere trash, possessed of neither strength
nor virtue.

648 [403] We soon after took the road, bidding a final adieu to
[491] the Mandanes. The road through the wood was very muddy and bad.
[137] We found amazing quantities of poires, perfectly ripe. The
natives here are so surrounded by their different enemies at all
seasons, and particularly when the fruit is ripe, that the women dare
not leave the villages to gather it, though there is a great plenty
of chokecherries, cerises, etc. Even when they go out to hoe their
corn, young men, well armed, keep on the rounds at short distances from the women to prevent surprise from an enemy. This
is a necessary precaution, as they have frequently been attacked
while working in the fields. The village on the N. side lies under
a double disadvantage, surrounded by thick woods for nearly two
miles upon the land side, and having close by a vast quantity of
young sprouts and brushwood, enabling an enemy to approach very
near without being discovered. A single Sioux has been known to
secrete himself for several days among those bushes until a favorable
opportunity has offered, when he has dispatched a Mandane, and
got away with the scalp.

[p. 384 [I]]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

174 since some accounts tell of being created at the Heart River
773 while others tell of a migration along the Missouri from the southeast. This same inconsistency was recognized by Maximilian.[2] My informants did not consider this to be an inconsistency at all. Their explanation was that, when Lone Man made the land around the Heart River, he also made the land to the south as far as the ocean. He made fish people, eagle people, bear people, corn people, buffalo people, and others whose history was inaugurated into myths of the sacred bundles. These various people were born into the Mandan tribe by magical means, thus populating the lands.

174 The large number of village sites belonging to a single archeological focus adjacent to the Missouri River both below and
161 above the junction with the Heart River indicates that the tribe at one time numbered several thousand, possibly as much as seven or eight thousand, while the depth of refuse establishes continuous residence there of several centuries.

THE MANDAN HOUSEHOLD

592 The household was the smallest economic unit and was composed of one or more biological families related through the females. Theoretically, the household was held together by fe-
[611] males so long as their lineage was unbroken and the lodge belonged to the clan of which the females were members. When a
351 village was first built on a new site, each household selected a
425 site for its lodge, corn scaffolds, and caches. There was a tend-
592 ency for related families to select adjacent quarters, while those intimately connected with the Okipa ceremony selected lodge sites adjacent to the open circle. These lodge sites within the village were held permanently within the female line, and, when returning to rebuild after a temporary abandonment of the village, female descendants of the original builders were entitled to
425 their former sites. When a family died out, the lodge belonged to the clan of the females and could be occupied by another
592 group of the same clan or could be sold to females of a different clan. My informants emphatically denied that abandoned lodges could be occupied until they had received permission

2. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 307–8. There is some inconsistency present, since other myths imply that the Mandan have been on or near the Heart River since the creation of man by Lone Man.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

592 pied a separate lodge. In fact, there was likely to be mild re-
593 sistance when the girl's own household disapproved of the other marriage which they were obliged to tolerate because of the absence of mature males in their own household. The older sister acted as a "little mother" to her younger sisters, looking out for them while the mother was in the garden or at work
[595] tanning hides. When the older sister married, each of the younger sisters became an eligible mate, and frequently sisters remained together through life, possessing a common husband. They inherited the mother's household and gardens, and the oldest sister became the head of the household. When there were several sisters, the younger ones who did not wish to marry the older sister's husband would move into a lodge where the females were of their clan and closely related, helping the house-
[584] hold with their work in the gardens. Her brother would select a husband for her and provide for the exchange of goods so that, when the older women died, she would have exclusive possession of a lodge of her own. In the late historic villages, it was often impossible to find space for additional lodges, since all were closely grouped within a fortification.

593 Quarrels between sisters were generally unknown, and younger sisters who moved to another lodge did so out of respect to the
592 married sisters, believing that a man having too many wives
611 would not be able to provide for all of them. A sister would raise children of a deceased sister, and, the tribe being matrilinear, there was no change of clans. The relations of sisters to each other and to the mother was the foundation of the Mandan household and was based on the inheritance of the lodge, lodge property, and the gardens. A daughter was expected to help the mother and to take over her mother's property when she died.

593 *Brother–sister* (*mi'cɥ'ka–ptami'hE*).—Brothers and sisters played together when young, and there was a close bond of affection between them. As they grew older, they avoided being alone together, and the prevailing games and economic activities separated them. Even after marriage, a man considered his mother's household his own. After his mother's death, his interest in his sister and her household continued. He would bring her portions of fresh meat from animals he had killed. If she had no horses, when returning from a raiding expedition, he would

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The sixth group was that of the "Black-tail Deer" and 561
consisted of men over fifty years of age. There were two women in this band who served food and distributed fresh water during the dances. The men wore a crown of bears' claws.

There were a few other dances which were bought and sold, 561
but which hardly deserve a place in the regular system. One 424
of these was the dance of the "Half Shaven Head Band" which 535
the lowest band could buy before reaching the proper age to buy into the "Soldier Band." Another was the "Old Dog Dance." The "Dog Band" could buy this of the "Buffalo Band" before becoming Buffalos themselves or being able to. The "Hot Dance" was danced at Rouhptare by the youngest band, and also at the Hidatsa village where it was purchased from the Arikara. The dancers danced barefoot over live coals and plunged their hands into boiling water.

The women, too, were divided into bands. There were four 561
of these of which the first was "The Band of the Gun" which consisted of the younger girls. Next was the "River Band." The third band was the "Hay Women" who sang only the scalp dance. The fourth and last band was that of the "Women of the White Cow," most of them were old, and they were all tattooed with black lines from the mouth to the base of the [304]
chin.

The marriage customs of the Mandan Indians differed little 595
from those of their neighbors. Polygamy was common, although a large part of the men had but one wife. Descent was 611 ●
probably along the male line, though there may have been remains of an older custom of descent along the female line, for all the horses captured by a young man belonged to his sister. The women worked hard and were sometimes badly treated 562
though not as a general rule. Lewis and Clarke says that infi- 684
delity was punishable by death. Maximilian says it was punishable by cutting off the woman's nose. When a man's wife was stolen he had a right to demand a horse from the abductor. Separations occurred among them quite frequently. Virtue [586]
among the women was held in high esteem but was rather 831
scarce. There are accounts of a celebration where prizes were 171
given to the virtuous maids — these celebrations also took place

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE MANDAN.

Clan System.

The study of ancient Mandan society is rendered unusually difficult 161
through the almost complete extinction of the tribe. There are probably
not more than half a dozen full-blood Mandan living on the Fort Berthold 611
Reservation in North Dakota. Though the census of 1910 sets their number at 197, this is given on the basis of the native way of tracing descent so as to include all those whose mothers only were Mandan or were according to the matrilineal principle of descent reckoned as Mandan. Living for a long period in close contact with the more numerous Hidatsa, with whom [191]
intermarriage has taken place to a considerable extent, the younger Mandan so-called hardly ever speak Mandan as fluently or correctly as Hidatsa.[1]

Under these circumstances the question naturally arises over and over 177
again whether a given feature common to Mandan and Hidatsa culture is not an Hidatsa trait shared by the Mandan only since their practical absorption in the neighboring tribe. This naturally complicates the sufficiently difficult question as to the relative contributions of the two tribes to their common cultural stock. On this subject widely varying views have been held. Thus, Morgan, rather cavalierly assumed that agriculture and the earth-lodge were brought into the region by the Hidatsa and borrowed by the Mandan,[2] while Matthews has expressed the opposite opinion.[3]

Since in culture the Hidatsa differ from the Crow far more than the [197]
affinity of the two languages and hence presumable recency of their separation would lead us to expect, it seems natural to refer such divergence as exists to Mandan influence on the Hidatsa. This interpretation would lead to thoroughly satisfactory results if we could be sure that recently collected Mandan data indicating cultural identity with the Hidatsa reflect ancient Mandan conditions. Unfortunately, we are frequently without the means of checking our information on account of the inadequacy of the early accounts.

A point of great importance regarding the Mandan is their local and 197
linguistic differentiation. Whatever may be the fact as to the nine villages they are said to have inhabited about the Heart River confluence in 1750,[4]

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[1] It may be noted in this connection that these languages, though both of the Siouan stock, are only remotely related.
[2] Morgan, (b), part II, chapter 6.
[3] Matthews, 377.
[4] Handbook of American Indians, i, 797.

NQ10 Crow NQ10
Hidatsa NQ14
[169 (A)] MANDAN NQ17

Wednesday, June 11, 120 miles above Fort Union

C 136 This morning we shot two antelope and brought them on the boat. They have no horns at this season and are shedding their hair. In some places the skin is bare and the hair comes off in handfuls. They are a fine looking animal and much larger than I expected. They are nearly as large as the common deer, white bellies and white around and below the tail which is flat and short.

C 124 Had another long talk with Meldrum this morning on several subjects. Obtained the Minnetare tribes [clans] and law of descent, also the Crow method of bestowing and changing names, and also in the changes in language, which are given below.

H 614 *Minnetare Tribes* [*Clans*], *Gros Ventres of Missouri*[128]

1. Mit′-che-ro-ka Knife Tribe
2. Min-ne-pā′-ta Water "
3. Seech′-ka-be-ruh-pā′-ka Prairie chicken
4. E-tish-sho′-ka People of the Hills
5. Ah-mah′-ha-nā′-me-ta Meaning lost —
6. E-ku′-pā-be-ka Low Hat, or Bonnet
7. Bā-ho-hā′-ta Dirt Lodges

H [582] [611] [429] All the individuals of the tribe are consanguine. No man or woman can marry a person in his own tribe and the children are of the tribe of the mother. They carry out the law of female line succession as to chief and property, the same as the Crow. These facts were obtained by Meldrum from the H 115 Minnetare chief on board, who talks Crow and with whom and the two Crow young men I made the first attempt at a Crow schedule.

Mandan Tribes [*Clans*]

M 614 The Mandans he says are divided into tribes and have descent in the female line, ●611 the same as the Minnetares, but he could 191

128 A [Morgan lists these clans in Ancient Society, p. 159 -- ANALYST]

[169(B)]

M
614 not talk Mandan.[129] None of the Minnetares
611 talk Mandan, but the latter talk the former.
191

Crows Change Their Names and Manner of Christening

C
553 A few days after a child is born, usually
[602] about six, there is a family council of the relatives on the father's side who give the name, instead of the mother's tribal relatives. The person who is to give the name places roots of some kind upon coals of fire and as the smoke ascends, the child is placed in his hands by the mother. He then holds him in the smoke and at the same time announces the name which he gives
C the child. He raises him up gently in the
[782] rising smoke towards heaven and invokes

129 [About a week later Morgan ascertained and recorded names of MANDAN clans. -- ANALYST]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

a male "child of clan" are "daughters"; sons and daughters of female "child of clan" are "children of the clan." 601

The kinship system as noted above for the blood relatives is classified largely on a generation basis. The classification of the father's sister and her descendants completely disregards the generation principle, while the mother's mother's brother's children and the mother's brother's children who are classified as "sons" and "daughters" disregard the generation principle on the mother's side. The naming of these lineages relates them to lineages in other family lines and becomes the basis of an integration into clans.

Figures 9–12 illustrate the Mandan system by means of lineage charts whereby a vertical grouping of kin based on matrilineal descent occurs rather than a "horizonal" one based on bilateral descent. In ego's own lineage some differences occur; a female occupies a somewhat different position from a male, and the terms vary for a male ego and a female ego. Since the mother's mother's brother is considered by both a male and female as a "male of the clan," ego (male) classifies his sister's sons and daughters as well as his sister's daughter's sons and daughters as "children of the clan." 601 613

In ego's father's lineage all the women are "father's sisters" or "grandmothers," the latter term being used only for one's own known direct ascendants. All husbands of women of the father's lineage are grandfathers; all sons of "father's sisters" are fathers and their children are siblings. An examination of Figures 9–12 for the father's and the mother's father's lineage will show that they are of the same lineage.

For a male ego, his male relatives in the mother's lineage are differentiated as mother's brother, older or younger brother, and "child of the clan"; for a female they are mother's brother, younger brother, son, and grandchild. Since both male and female call the mother's brother and mother's mother's brother "brother of the mother's clan," a man calls his sister's children and his sister's daughter's children "children of the clan."

Men marrying females of male ego's generation or younger are brothers-in-law (male relatives-in-law), while a female marrying a man of male ego's age or older is "brother's wife," those younger being "grandchild." For a female ego, men

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

601 marrying into the lineage are "grandfather," "father," and
613 "brother-in-law," while one marrying into the mother's lineage
younger than female ego is treated as "young man," since the
[606] mother-in-law taboo becomes operative with this class of male

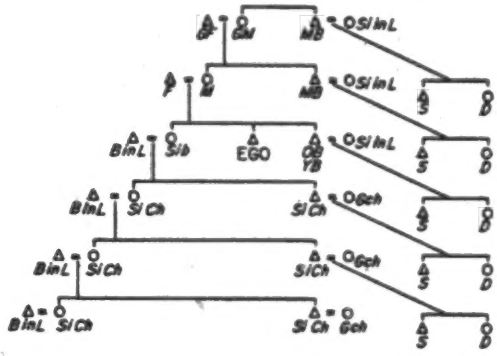

FIG. 9.—Mother's lineage. Ego = male

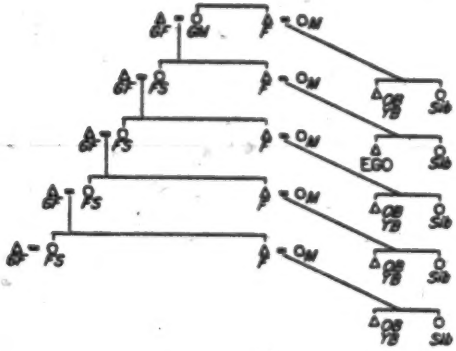

FIG. 10.—Father's lineage. Ego = male

relatives by marriage, and there is no direct term of address. In female ego's mother's lineage, women marrying into the lineage who are of the same generation or above are "sisters-in-law," a term also used by a female to designate her "husband's sister." A man's wife's brother is placed in the same class as his sister's husband. Men of the father's father's clan are called "grandfather," and all the women of the clan are called "grandmother" by both men and women. The latter lineage is not es-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

pecially important in Mandan social and ceremonial life, since individuals in the father's father's lineage usually occupy a closer relationship through marriage. 601 613

These lineages are the basis of the Mandan kinship structure; they extend kinship relations beyond the elementary family to the limits of the tribe; they regulate the behavior and social 613

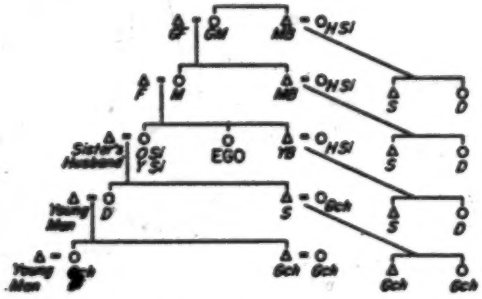

FIG. 11.—Mother's lineage. Ego = female

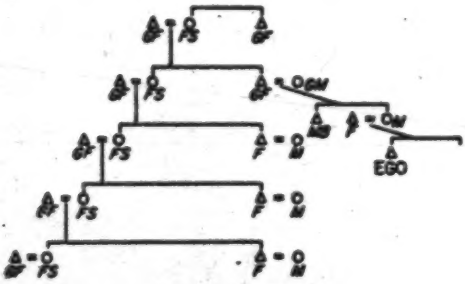

FIG. 12.—Mother's father's lineage. Ego = male

relations of the entire village. The extension of this lineage principle united the various villages into a tribal unit.

The Mandan had numerous methods of extending the range of kinship, and the character of the pattern resulting from this extension is important for an understanding of social integration. The Mandan treat everyone as a relative and recognize varying degrees of nearness of relationship. A person is considered to be related to everyone of his own clan and is a "son" to all males and females of his father's clan. Marriage introduces another set of relatives, and the custom of adopting a "son" 602 608 547 614

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

603 the same clan as the boy's father, on occasions he received presents from his grandson during the ceremonies. A man addressed
[601] as "grandchild" the wives of all those men he addressed as "son" and the spouses of all he addressed as "grandchild."

603 *Grandmother–grandchild* (*maxis'–ptawi'hąkE*).—The maternal grandmother was always present and assisted in the birth
844 and care of her daughter's child and the paternal grandmother was expected to carry out the other's instructions. In case the paternal grandmother had a superior ceremonial bundle and a good reputation for successful deliveries, she was asked to take charge. The child's closest affection was for the grandmother belonging to the lodge group. The grandmother would make clothing for her grandchildren and teach them stories. The paternal grandmother delighted in preparing nice robes and other clothing for son's children and would invite them to her lodge to eat, when she would dress them in the pretty clothes. Informants thought that the father's mother showed more affection for a grandchild than a maternal grandmother, since the former did not have them under foot every day. They thought that grandmothers had a tendency to get cross as they grew old and that the maternal grandmother, while scolding children for jumping on her bed, would scold her own daughter if she thought the children were not treated right.

603 A grandmother was more closely associated with her granddaughter than her grandson. She would teach the granddaugh-
868 ter the arts of dressing hides and making pottery, and she ex-
601 pected payment for this instruction. The grandson was expected to give her meat if she met him at the outskirts of the village without having to ask him for it. This obligation to give meat to a grandmother was extended to include all females addressed as "grandmother." A woman addressed as "grandchild" the wives of all those men she addressed as "son" and the spouses of all she addressed as "grandchild."

604 *Mother's brother–sister's child* (*pta'warato'dE–ptu'hakE*).—The mother's brother was a very important relative in the Mandan
592 matrilinear system, as he had considerable authority over his
613 sister's household even when living in another household. As an occupant of his wife's lodge, he was a subordinate member, but in his sister's lodge, by virtue of his position as the oldest male

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

clan member, he was titular head of the lineage. This authority was nominally vested in the oldest male clan member of the household, and the mother's brother assumed this authority when his own mother's brother died or was too feeble to get around. A clan chief was the most distinguished of the mother's brothers of the households comprising the clan. He had considerable authority over his sister's children. He would scold them and frequently ducked a sister's son in the river. At the same time he assumed the responsibility for their final education and participation in the ceremonies and assisted them in the accumulation of robes and horses for ceremonial purchases. He would urge his sister's sons to fast during the ceremonies and would see that they came out. He would tell his sister's sons that the people of the other clans would tease them if his clan was not well represented. He would take his sister's son with him on war expeditions to teach him success in that enterprise.

The mother's brother began early the training of his sister's sons and daughters in the rites of certain tribal bundles and was assisted by the children's mother. It was believed that some young people would not live to maturity; therefore, it was necessary to begin the instruction early in life so that several would know the rites to prevent the bundles from getting out of the household. Since many tribal bundles, particularly those of the Okipa, descended through the closest related male members of the clan, the mother's brother was an important relative for the perpetuation of the ceremonial office within the household. The rule of inheritance for tribal bundles belonging to the clan was: mother's mother's brother; mother's brother; older brother; sister's male child; sister's daughter's male child. Failure to have a qualified male of the household prepared to perform a specific role in the tribal ceremonies would provoke criticism and lead to eventual relinquishment of the bundle.

Father's sister–brother's child (*ptu'minikE-minuha'kE; ptu'-minikE-koni'kE*).—The Mandan speak of the father's sister as a "little grandmother." She was a respect relative by virtue of her possession of certain rights in her brother's bundles. She helped her mother when a brother's child was born and was invariably the one called upon to name a female child, supplying a name associated with a bundle owned in common with her brother.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

either of the nearest relatives or of the clan to which the lodge belonged. They believed that the lodge had a spirit which would have sent bad luck to one taking possession illegally.

The females of the lodge owned in common the domestic goods consisting of bedding, pots, household and gardening tools, the dogs, gardens, the wooden mortar and pestle, and the mares and colts. Clothing and personal effects were held individually. The men owned their weapons used in warfare and hunting as well as their own clothing and pipes. Men also owned the stallions and geldings. Sacred tribal bundles were held collectively by the man and his wives.

Lodges were built with little ceremony; the only rites were performed at the cutting of the notches for the four center posts when an old woman having the right to cut the posts was called in to sing one song and pray for the family's success. She received one robe for her services. It was the duty of the clan to assist in the erection of a member's lodge. Since these lodges were large, a considerable amount of work was entailed in erecting one and covering it with poles, willows, grass, and earth.[3] As a rule, the clan prepared a feast and invited the opposite moiety to assist, in which case the clans assisted according to the seating arrangement of the men in the Okipa or in council.

Mandan informants state that in earlier times each household had one or more game pits. These pits were dug by all the members of the household and were owned collectively. While the men would bring the poles for the cover and kill the game caught in them, the women frequently did most of the work of excavating and removing earth from the area of the pit. In recent times many households had fishtraps which are believed to have been used since introduced by Black Wolf. Fish bones, particularly catfish bones, are very abundant in the Heart River villages. The ceremonies associated with the trapping of fish, particularly the catfish, were performed by the older men, but the women assisted in weaving the walls for the trap and in sorting and cleaning the fish.

There was considerable variability in the status of household

3. For a report of the amount of materials used in the completion of an earth lodge see George F. Will, "The Mandan Lodge at Bismarck," *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 1 (October, 1930).

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fifty lodges, while the later villages of historic times were much smaller, owing to the smaller population. Maximilian reported sixty-five lodges at Mitutanka and thirty-eight at Nuptadi. My informants listed forty-three lodges at Like-a-Fishhook. After 1870, the Mandan began abandoning the circular four-post earth lodge for small rectangular log cabins, two of them housing the population formerly living in a single earth lodge. Frequently a log cabin was built with two rooms, one room being occupied by the older people, who preserved the sacred bundles in their quarters, and the other room being occupied by the younger married family.

THE CLAN AND MOIETY SYSTEM

At the present time there are four Mandan clans, and they are divided into nameless moieties according to their position in the Okipa lodge. The Okipa or ceremonial lodge occupied a position on the north side of the village open circle, with the entrance facing the sacred cedar. According to the traditions of the Okipa, there were formerly thirteen clans which were divided into moieties known as an east-side moiety, comprising these clans: Prairie Chicken; Speckled Eagle; Bear; Red Hill; Crow; Badger; Bunch of Wood; and a west-side moiety consisting of six clans: Waxi'kEna; Tami'sik; Tami'xixiks; and three extinct clans. In the construction of the ceremonial lodge all clans participated. The east-side clans erected their side of the lodge and placed yellow corn in each posthole. The west-side clans erected the west side of the ceremonial lodge and placed small mats of buffalo hair in the central postholes of their side.

According to tradition, the clans were not all established simultaneously. It is said that Lone Man announced while living in the tribe that he belonged to the WaxikEna clan. It was the custom for this clan to sit near the door on the left, or west, side in council and during the ceremonies. The other five clans which were believed to be closest in relationship to the WaxikEna clan occupied the west side of the lodge also. It was believed that those who were of no clan occupied the entire east section of the lodge in no particular order until Clay on the Face, when returning from a successful war expedition, announced an arbitrary division of the young men then sitting in council. It is said that

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614 773 he divided those sitting on the east side into seven groups and gave each group a name, informing them that their sisters and mothers would belong to the same group. Since men of all villages were present at the time, clans were taken back to all villages of the tribe.

614 616 Of the thirteen clans, nine have become extinct. Bites in Nose was said to be the last to remember the thirteen clans which he would call in turn during the Okipa ceremony. The WaxikEna and Tamisik constitute one moiety and the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle make up the other moiety today. When the last performance of the Okipa ceremony was held after going onto the Reservation, the WaxikEna and Tamisik occupied the west side of the lodge, and the other two clans took the opposite side. At that time Hidatsa fasters participated in the ceremony, and the members of their three-clan moiety sat with the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while the four-clan moiety sat on the opposite side.

614 [424] The Mandan consider the WaxikEna to be the highest clan, since it held the rights in the Okipa ceremony. The word *waxikEna* means "to tell bad stories about." The word *tamisik* has no meaning, but the people of that clan were said to be stingy and were frequently teased for serving small portions on wooden platters placed before visitors. *Tamixixiks* refers to poor leather used in making harnesses for carrying wood.

According to tradition, when the Mandan were first created by the culture hero, Lone Man, young men married their own sisters until the tribe became numerous, when clans were established to prevent marriage between relatives. The clan names had no sacred significance, and in the cases of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle there was no prohibition against killing these birds by members of the two clans.

The clans were organized groups and elected a leader who [554] acted in an advisory capacity. He was an older person who had been successful in warfare or in hunting and had shown considerable interest in the members of the clan, particularly the old men and women. There were frequent clan feasts by some mem- 614 ber of the clan, at which time they would discuss the success of 431 individual members. When a young man contemplated buying an important ceremonial bundle or performing a ceremony, it

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was customary for the clan to meet in the clan leader's lodge and make provisions for the accumulation of goods to be used in the rites. It was believed that a successful ceremony with an abundance of gifts to be given away brought credit to the entire clan. 614 431

Moieties were in theory exogamous, but they had ceased to regulate marriage after 1837. Scattercorn explained that, while the Mandan considered those who sat on the same side in the Okipa or in council as brothers, it was considered better to marry into a clan of the same moiety than to marry outside the tribe. Marriages within the clan were disapproved. 616 582

The clan was a property-holding group. The major bundles of the Okipa ceremony were held in the WaxikEna clan, which also owned the sacred cedar and controlled the Okipa lodge and sacred turtles. Traditionally, the Shell Robe bundle belonged in the Prairie Chicken clan. Eagle-trapping lodges belonged to the clan of the member building it and remained in the clan when the original owner died. There were two bundles for the Big Bird ceremonies which were known as Black Medicine bundle and Sweet Medicine bundle. The former was inherited in the Prairie Chicken clan and the latter in the Speckled Eagle clan of the same moiety. Each clan was the theoretical custodian of one variety of corn. The WaxikEna clan was custodian of the bluish-green flint corn; the Tamisik had the red corn; the Prairie Chicken had the yellow flint and dent; the Speckled Eagle had the rainbow corn. Crows Heart stated that Hides-and-Eats, an old woman who lived in his lodge, told him that, when she was young, people of one clan were not permitted to raise corn belonging to the other clans without first securing the rights and that each clan claimed to be the preserver of its own corn. 614 421

It was the duty of the clan to assist its own members. It was the clan's duty to care for its old people having no blood children. During the smallpox epidemic of 1837, women went through the villages and gathered the orphans of their clan, who were taken into their lodges to be reared. Old people were invited in to be fed and clothed by younger members of their own clan. When returning from a successful hunt, young men would offer meat to the old people who met them at the outskirts of the village. One was expected to offer meat to old people of the same clan without being asked for it. 614 736 888

614 421 The clan was the medium for the transfer of property when a family died out without leaving descendants. When an individual died, leaving no relatives, the clan took possession of the property. The lodge was occupied by females of the same clan or could be sold to women of a different clan. It was the duty of the clan to assist a female member in repairing or building her lodge and to put up property for one of its number who was inviting the opposite moiety to assist in building a new lodge. The clan [424] owned certain names which belonged within the clan and were not sold outside the clan.

614 621 171 The clans extended through all the villages of the tribe and were in part equated with Hidatsa clans. Both tribes had a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna was the equivalent of the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik was the equivalent of the Hidatsa Metsiroka. The Hidatsa also had a few people of the Speckled Eagle clan who were said to be of Mandan origin.[4]

614 578 It was the duty of the clan to revenge the killing of one of its members. In the event of the murder of one of its number, the murderer would attempt to escape to the Crow, since the Hidatsa would not protect a murderer from the Mandan villages for fear of war between the two tribes.

614 The clan assisted at the death of a son. They prepared the body for the scaffold and sent the spirit away. It was also the duty of the father's clan to bring the skull of one dying away from the village back for disposal. Feasts were given to the members of the father's clan, and help was asked of individual members by those contemplating war expeditions. Men of the father's clan inserted the thongs for a faster. The permanent

4. The Hidatsa give a different account of the origin of this clan. Mrs. Bears Arm, a member of the clan, stated that there was a Mandan woman of the Prairie Chicken clan who was childless. She was a hard worker and had large gardens. One morning when she went to her gardens she noticed that someone had been hoeing the corn. She inquired in the village if someone had been working in her garden and could find none who had been working there. She went out before daylight to see who it was. Several whitetail deer were working in the garden. They ran away when they saw the woman. As they disappeared, she heard one say, "I left my baby there." The baby was a speckled eagle. She took the baby home to rear as her own and wanted the child to belong to the Prairie Chicken clan, but the others would not agree to it, since the child came of a different source. The child grew up and had children who were known as speckled eagles. While living below the Knife River, men of the Awaxawi village married a few girls of that clan and brought them to their own village to live. The group is treated as a lineage of the Hidatsa Prairie Chicken clan.

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The permanent name one received when returning from the first successful war expedition was received from the father's clan.

The moiety had both ceremonial and economic functions. When dividing the buffalo captured in the corral, the inclosure was symbolic of the ceremonial lodge. A line was drawn through the center of the corral extending from the midpoint of the entrance to the opposite side. Those animals falling to the left of the entrance belonged to the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while those of the opposite side belonged to the other moiety. Women of a moiety butchered on their side without regard to clan. Each moiety constructed its half of the ceremonial lodge and would also erect an earth lodge used as a residence when the clan of the owner of the new lodge assisted in putting up goods for the assistance rendered by the opposite moiety. It was believed that the moiety regulated marriage prior to the last smallpox epidemic, but a study of lineages indicated that it had little influence over marriages after 1837. There was a feeling that in former times traditional eagle-trapping sites were divided into moieties, each moiety trapping on its side of the Missouri River. If such division existed, all evidences had disappeared before 1870. There was considerable competition between moieties. When one moiety had more successful war leaders than the other, its members would tease the others and question their bravery. Sons of men of the same moiety teased each other a great deal. Each moiety had a leader who assisted in the division of the buffalo taken in a corral.

VILLAGE AND TRIBAL LEADERSHIP

Mandan village and tribal leadership was vested in the hierarchy of bundle-owners or priests who constituted a group of head men whose number varied from time to time depending on the status of the various bundles. From this group two leaders were selected whose war or peacemaking record exceeded that of all others or who, because of other practices, had acquired considerable popularity with the people. The one whose record in warfare was greatest was selected in council to be war chief. A second chief selected was one who had important ceremonial bundles, had given many feasts, and had performed many rites for the general welfare of the village. These were considered the

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pecially important in Mandan social and ceremonial life, since individuals in the father's father's lineage usually occupy a closer relationship through marriage. 601 613

These lineages are the basis of the Mandan kinship structure; they extend kinship relations beyond the elementary family to the limits of the tribe; they regulate the behavior and social 613

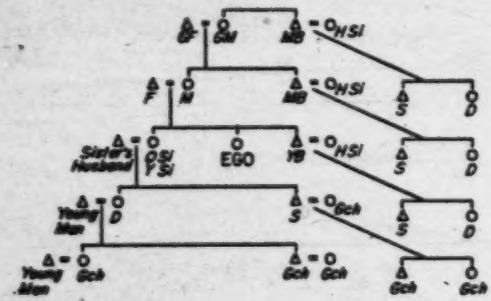

FIG. 11.—Mother's lineage. Ego = female

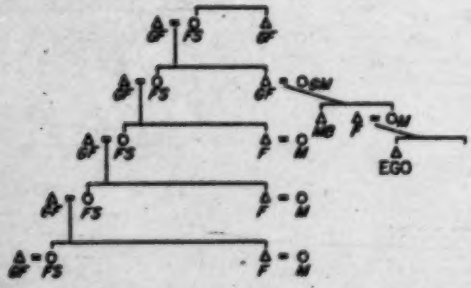

FIG. 12.—Mother's father's lineage. Ego = male

relations of the entire village. The extension of this lineage principle united the various villages into a tribal unit.

The Mandan had numerous methods of extending the range of kinship, and the character of the pattern resulting from this extension is important for an understanding of social integration. The Mandan treat everyone as a relative and recognize varying degrees of nearness of relationship. A person is considered to be related to everyone of his own clan and is a "son" to all males and females of his father's clan. Marriage introduces another set of relatives, and the custom of adopting a "son" 602 608 597 614

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602 brings together still another set of relatives between whom there
608 is frequently established a "father-son" bond extending to the
597 "father-son" relatives which was often more intimate than with
614 the "son's" own father who may be separated from the son's mother. This relationship to persons outside the biological family may be further altered by ceremonial participation. Adoption of a child from outside the clan, though uncommon, did occur, and the one adopted, by changing his or her clan status, [616] affected the relationship of both groups. When no other relationship was applicable, the moiety functioned as a clan. There was a further extension of the kinship to embrace the supernatural. Details of this classification appear in the chapters on ceremonialism contained in this report. The kinship pattern was also extended to include persons of neighboring tribes, even unfriendly tribes, when a friendship developed between individuals of different tribes; formal adoption established relationships that played an important role in restricting warfare and promoting trade. The numerous devices for extending kinship between the villages frequently brought about a situation in which a Mandan had a choice of two or more terms of relationship for the same person. The situation determined the term to be employed. Obviously those who are most closely associated in daily and ceremonial activities were considered closest in making a decision. When the writer was collecting the materials for this report, he was very anxious to use Tom Smith as interpreter for Scattercorn, since he was familiar with the specific problem being developed at that time. She refused to work with him on the grounds that she considered him a "son-in-law." The relationship between the two was this: Scattercorn's (Tamisik clan) sister's daughter's daughter married Edgar Crows Heart, who was Tom Smith's sister's son (Water-buster clan). She was, of course, Edgar Crows Heart's mother-in-law, but she extended the taboo to Tom Smith because he visited a great deal at Crows Heart's home. She did not consider Drags Wolf a son-in-law, although of Edgar Crows Heart's clan, because he rarely called at Crows Heart's lodge.

601 The importance of the clan in regard to the kinship has been
614 brought out in the foregoing discussions, but this should not be interpreted to mean that the kinship system is a clan system.

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In most instances, the unit of extension is the clan, but these relationships are based on individual relations and groups. This point will be further developed in the analysis of the ceremonial structure.

The following behavioristic pattern prevailing between relatives will illustrate this point. For any individual the total number of relationships into which he entered largely determines his "social personality." The most basic of these are between the members of the elementary family, the parents and the children, but in Mandan society this is frequently modified by the presence of old women of the lodge who occupy a virtual second-mother position. An elementary family consisting of parents and children rarely occupied a lodge to the exclusion of all other relatives. There are eight possible combinations of relatives within an elementary family with a general pattern of behavior existing between each pair. They are:

Mother–daughter (*na'E'–mi'nuhą'kE*).—An intimate bond of love and affection existed between a mother and her daughter. Not a single instance of quarreling or serious difference was remembered by the Mandan informants, nor were there disputes over property held in common. They worked together in the gardens or performed domestic tasks in the lodge and were very intimate in their daily relations. She taught the child to grind corn and cure meat, to make baskets and clay pots, to dress hides, to color porcupine quills for decorating clothing, and to care for her own personal effects. She taught her daughter to make a small payment, a small colored bead or a few kernels of corn, for each little skill taught her, thus establishing at an early age a significant behavioristic pattern of paying those who taught her a new skill, a myth or song, or who received her into a rite or dance. Usually there were other women in the lodge whom she addressed as "Mother," and, if one of these had no daughter of her own, she would take over or adopt a daughter from the lodge unit for especial affection and care. Frequently the father's older sister, if she had no one to care for her, would come to the lodge to live when the lodge was one that had been erected or owned in the father's line and the mother had come here to live when marrying because the father was needed to care for his relatives who were old. She was called "daughter"

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785 was permitted to sleep near the sacred bundle until he recovered, believing that the bundle would induce visions. In the
787 case of supervised fasting directed by the mother's brother, he defined the rules and terminated the fasting. He also prepared the first food taken by those completing their fast and watched that none ate or drank excessively for a few days.

701 A young man distinguishing himself as a scout and desiring to advance to warrior status, when learning another war leader was organizing an expedition, would go to his lodge, hoping that he would be invited to join the party. As a warrior there was greater likelihood of capturing horses or striking an enemy. The leader was responsible for the welfare of all those serving under him and selected the members of his party. When the party was large, the leader selected those with the best war records to serve as co-leaders.

Mandan warfare was highly formalized, and there was a strict
701 division of labor. At the top, the leader or Old Wolf directed the
554 party, selecting the scouts and their leader, the Young Wolves or warriors, and the Camp Tenders, and he was responsible to the village but more particularly to the families represented in the party for their welfare. He determined the territory where the enemy would be sought, places to camp, the time to make or break camp, and whether an attack would be made when the enemy was found. A great leader was a successful teacher who instructed his party in methods of "striking the enemy" without loss to his own party. A leader who lost a man was said to have "kicked the stone," which reduced his status until he had "refasted" and led a successful war party.

727 Returning from an unsuccessful war expedition, the leader
554 would cry as he approached the village, while the other members would walk quietly to their lodges. For many leaders, this would
785 be the last expedition as leader. He would be condemned by the
614 brothers, sisters, and parents of the one killed and would be op-
431 posed by them every time he sought advancement in status. He could and frequently did overcome their opposition by going into mourning for the one he was held responsible for. He would gash his legs and cut off a finger which was offered to the Sun. He would set up a tent or build a simple shelter at a distance from the village where he would remain. In the meanwhile, his

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brothers and sisters, assisted by their clan and his age-grade society, would accumulate robes and other property which were given to the lodge group that had lost a member. They were expected to accept the goods which was at first refused "because they loved their relative so much." The unsuccessful war leader's representatives then sought the "village chief," a man who by virtue of his tact in settling quarrels and his generosity in caring for the old was highest in village esteem, and paid him to take his pipe to the grieved relatives, lay it before them, and inform them that they, as relatives and associates of the unsuccessful war leader, begged them to accept it. Since none could refuse a request when a sacred pipe was placed before them, the aggrieved people, both men and women, smoked and accepted the goods to which in the meanwhile had been added horses and other articles of value.

The aggrieved family, feeling compassion for the unsuccessful war leader who had shown, by his act of fasting and his family's lavish display of goods, respect for their lost relative, sent a representative with new clothing to the fasting place, dressed and painted him, and conducted him to their lodge, where he was given the choicest foods to eat. While he was eating, the brothers of the boy who had been killed, brought their best horse and riding equipment to the lodge. When the feast was ended, the unsuccessful warrior, now in good graces with the family, was told to mount. He was led through the village, while the oldest female of the lodge sang the "Praise Songs." If an enemy had been killed at the time one of the party was lost, the "Victory Songs" were then sung and the Scalp Dance rites were performed. The unsuccessful warrior, by his acts of mourning and the payment of goods to the aggrieved family, regained his former status. If he were successful the next time he led a war party, the people said that bad luck will sometimes come even to those most careful to conform to tribal custom, and "never hold it against him." However, a second unsuccessful war expedition was his last as leader. He would not fast again, and having paid for his bad luck once, his relatives and clan advised him to forsake leadership of war parties as he had "kicked the stone." People would say he had not fasted right and would have been afraid to follow him. By giving many

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assistance and the fact that the game run into yards was divided on a moiety basis.

Households having no males suffered most in their ceremonial life. When an important tribal bundle got out of the lodge, it was usually difficult to get it back.

Marriage within the clan was not permitted. There was no punishment other than tribal criticism, and in the census taken as of 1870–72 only one instance was reported by informants, and all the informants questioned on this point mentioned the case. The one instance of marriage within the clan was between Standing Bear and Beaver Woman; though the tribe did not approve of the marriage, they thought that in a way it was justified, since Beaver Woman's mother suggested the marriage after both parties were over fifty-five years of age. The women were brought to Standing Bear's lodge, and the marriage was entered into after the women lost their lodge.

Certain Mandan clans had Hidatsa equivalents. Both had a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna clan was considered equivalent to the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik clan was equivalent to the Hidatsa Knife clan. The Mandan were not in agreement as to the wisdom of marriage between Mandan-Hidatsa equated clans. Some treated them as separate lineages and considered marriage permissible. Bad Gun's wife's younger sister, however, refused to marry him, believing that the Tamisik and Knife were divisions of a single clan.

The Mandan claim that moieties were exogamous until after 1837 and that it was more convenient to go through the ceremonies with the wives when they were of opposite moieties, giving as the basis for the breakdown of the moieties the shortage of men. People preferred to marry into the moiety to marrying outside the tribe.

Both the levirate and the sororate were permissible. When a man married to the older sister died, a younger brother had first chance to marry the widow, which he could do with only a token payment. Such marriages were highly regarded. This was rarely done, since, with a shortage of men, the younger brother was usually already married to several women. When a wife died, the husband could claim one of her younger sisters as wife, and she seldom refused, especially if her sister had small children.

When a person believed he was about to die, the relatives were called and the dying person was dressed and painted before death, if possible. It was the duty of the father's clan to attend to the disposal of the body, and the dying person's request determined whether the body would be buried or placed on a scaffold. The Mandan claim that in earlier times earth burials were more common, and this belief is corroborated by the large number of both primary and secondary bundle burials found at their older villages near the Heart River. In some instances, they requested hilltop burials with only a covering of robes and stones. Most people were placed on scaffolds which were erected by members of the father's clan, and the "sending-away of the spirit" rites on the fourth day were performed by a woman of the father's clan. The body was placed on the scaffold with the head to the northwest and the feet to the southeast, the direction the spirits were believed to take to reach the Heart River. People never slept with their feet pointed to the southeast, believing that to do so would be to invite death. The relatives would come to the scaffold to mourn for four days. Whenever an eminent person died, all fires in the village were extinguished for one day while all the village mourned. It is said that even the dogs wept.

763 764 602 765 [513]

The deceased person's personal property was taken by the brothers and sisters, and, when there were none living, the people of the clan took possession of the goods and divided it among themselves. In return for this property, they were required to go to the scaffold to mourn and to pay the mourners of the father's clan. When the deceased was an old woman of a couple occupying a lodge by themselves, the man left the lodge to live with people of his own clan, and the lodge was either abandoned or taken over by a group of females belonging to the deceased person's clan. When an old woman having no children or younger females in the lodge became feeble, she usually moved into another lodge where the females were of her clan.

768 765 602

When a woman died leaving small children, her unmarried sisters were expected to provide for them and to marry the widower if he asked them. When the deceased mother had no sisters, the children were cared for by the maternal grandmother and her sisters. The clan provided for those who had no close blood relatives. Many families were broken up by the

768 602 614

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768 smallpox epidemic of 1837. The orphans were taken in by the
602 females according to clan affiliation and reared as their own
614 children.

Suicide was rare among the Mandan. The only instances
762 remembered by Mandan informants were immediately follow-
775 ing the last smallpox epidemic. When a household had been nearly exterminated, the remaining females frequently took their lives. Crows Heart thought that suicides were buried and that their spirits did not reach the spirit world. Scattercorn remembered hearing of two girls who hanged themselves in 1837 in the village where her father lived and said that they were placed on the scaffold which was built by her father whose sister sent the spirits away at the end of four days.

The last murder of a male occurred among the Mandan in
682 1820, part of the Mandan separating from the village group to
627 live on Eagle Nose Butte until 1823, when the relatives of the murdered man invited them to return to Fort Clark Village. One who had been murdered was treated as though he had been killed in battle or had died a natural death. There was the usual preparation of the body by the relatives of the father's clan. The murderer, if caught, was killed by the murdered man's male siblings or clansmen, and his body was buried at a distance
[766] from the village. No rites were performed to send his spirit away. The murder of a woman by another woman was treated lightly and settled by a payment of goods.

The Mandan, and in later years the Hidatsa also, were accus-
765 tomed to collect the bones of their relatives after the scaffolds
614 on which they were placed had rotted and fallen to the ground.
778 The skulls were taken to a place adjacent to the scaffolds and there arranged in circles of which there were a number near each village. Scattercorn claimed that the skulls of each circle were of closely related people who had belonged to the same clan and that these shrines enhanced the "sacred powers" of the Woman Above bundles which were a part of the shrine.[4] If these were clan shrines, the practice of arranging the circles according to clans must have been abandoned after moving to Like-a-Fishhook Village, as there were only two or three circles at most, and the Hidatsa made simultaneous use of these shrines

4. See Catlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–52, for an eyewitness description of these circles.

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for the disposal of the skulls of their dead. The other bones were gathered and wrapped in a hide before being buried in the village refuse or along the river and creek banks. 765 614 778

The custom of bringing back the skulls of those who died or were killed while away from the village was continued until the Mandan were placed on individual land allotments. When one died while away from the village, the body was wrapped in robes and either placed in a tree, a crevice among the rocks, or a shallow grave covered with rocks. The body was left there for one year, when it became the duty of the father's sister to make provision for its return. If the summer buffalo-hunting camp was in the vicinity of the grave, she would pay some man to obtain the skull, or she secured it herself if the party passed near by. The skull was wrapped in white sage and carried in a soft leather bag. It was considered sacred and was prayed to. Young men who addressed it as father would request permission to fast near it. When the party reached the village, the skull became a part of one of the skull circles. 765 778

After the Mandan were placed on individual allotments on the Fort Berthold Reservation, it was customary to place the dead in boxes and trunks or to wrap them in robes and blankets which were placed in crevices in rocks or on high hills. Those who were closely affiliated with one of the churches were prevailed upon to have their dead buried in the church cemetery. Some bodies were unburied as late as 1928. For a number of years after moving onto individual allotments, a skull circle was maintained on a hill a short distance east of the Tom Smith farm, but in later years the skulls were not removed. 764 177

[p. 102 is blank]

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stood. This lodge was circular in outline and differed from the regular earth lodges only by its greater size. 361 171

The open-circle concept was definitely established among the Mandan at a very early date according to the archeological evidence from the Heart River region.[2] There is some evidence in the Grand River region of the Mandan-type open-circle village arrangement, but the situation there is in most instances obscured by subsequent Arikara occupations.

Lone Man, according to tradition, established the custom of leaving an open area within each village for dancing. Later, when he was leaving the tribe, he erected a Red-painted cedar, as a symbol of his body and of all the Mandans who had lived before. The cedar was surrounded by a wall of cottonwood planks as a symbol of the wall he erected to protect the people from the flood. A water willow surrounding the planks marked the highest advance of the flood waters. He also established the custom of maintaining a special ceremonial lodge in each village and taught the ceremonies associated with its construction. The lodge was a symbol of Dog Den Butte where Hoita (the speckled eagle) imprisoned all living things. Six central posts were used making it oblong in form, with a flat side facing the open circle.[3] Lone Man also established the WəxikEna and Tamisik clans and indicated their seating arrangement in the ceremonial lodge. He divided the lodge into two halves, the left half or east side belonging to the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, and five other clans of that moiety. The right side belonged to the WaxikEna, Tamisik, Tamixixiks and three other clans of that moiety. 773 776 346

According to the sacred myths the moiety and clan system was as follows prior to the smallpox epidemics: 773 614 616

West-Side Moiety (Buffalo)	East-Side Moiety (Corn)
Waxi'kEna (Tell Bad News)	Sipuska'numak (Prairie Chicken People)
Tami'sik (no meaning)	Ipoka'numak (Speckled Eagle People)
Tami'xixiks (Bad Strap)	Mato'domak (Bear People)
[Three extinct clans whose names are not now remembered]	MasE'domak (Red Hill People)
	Amaka'domak (Badger People)
	HoxExaka'numak (Crow People)
	Manakasa'numak (People in Grove)

2. By 1500 in sites of the Huff focus in villages of rectangular lodges.

3. This was the habitation lodge which was retained for ceremonial purposes when the circular earth lodge was adopted shortly before 1600.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

614 616 Prior to the first smallpox epidemic there were thirteen named clans, six clans dying out as a result of that epidemic. The three above clans of the west-side moiety survived together with the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, Crow, and Bear clans of the opposite moiety. The Bad Straps were assimilated into the Tamisik clan, while the Crow and Bear clans either died out or were assimilated with the Prairie Chickens after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

776 616 614 773 The west-side moiety was established by Lone Man, who represented the village activities and peace functions of the tribe. The other moiety was divided into clans by Clay on the Face, who promised to give the people sitting opposite Lone Man's moiety names if he returned from a successful war expedition. As he returned from this expedition singing, he saw prairie chickens which were making a loud noise as they ate, the speckled eagles flying in the air, the bears in the timber, the snake people living in the red buttes near Old Woman Who Never Dies' lodge, the badger near his burrow on the prairie, the crows which were cawing, and mysterious people living in the small brush thickets. These were the names he gave to the people of his moiety.

614 Of the ten clans listed above, four survived the smallpox epidemic of 1837. They were WaxikEna, Tamisik, Prairie Chicken, and Speckled Eagle. Scattercorn's father, Moves Slowly, an officer in the Okipa, would call the name of each Nuptadi clan on the last day, and those impersonating the bulls would bellow as each was named. He had heard that the officers from the other village would formerly call the names of thirteen clans, but while at Fort Clark they dropped six extinct clans from the rites.

346 616 614 Each moiety owned its side of the ceremonial lodge. When erecting a new lodge or repairing the old one, the clans forming a moiety worked as a unit on their own side. Those fasting during the Okipa occupied places inside the lodge at the wall according to clan. Those of the WaxikEna were next to the door on the right side. The Tamisik occupied the balance of that side. On the left side the Prairie Chicken clan sat near to the door, and the Speckled Eagle clan occupied the remaining space on that side.

000 The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of

The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of the WaxikEna clan who was known as the custodian of the Okipa lodge.[4] His family lived with him in the lodge. The WaxikEna clan, to which Lone Man, traditional founder of the ceremony, belonged, met and selected one of their number to occupy the lodge and protect the ceremonial equipment left there by the various officers of the ceremony. The Mandan, upon joining the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, built a ceremonial lodge and selected Arrowhead Earrings as custodian. His family lived in the lodge except when it was needed for a ceremony, at which time they removed their lodge property. The family was paid for the use of the lodge or, as Calf Woman explained, for the trouble they had been put to in preparing the lodge for the ceremony. When Arrowhead Earrings died, the lodge should have been taken over by another member of the WaxikEna clan. His son-in-law, Never Eats Marrow, although of the Hidatsa Knife clan, was held in such high respect by the Mandan that he was intrusted with the lodge, and his daughter, Calf Woman, who supplied much of the information about this ceremony, was born in this lodge. She ultimately acquired the buffalo masks used in the ceremony through purchase from the WaxikEna clan after the buffaloes became extinct and the ceremony was no longer being performed.[5]

346 614 793

The repair of the cedar[6] and the wall inclosing it was also in-

718 793 614 796

4. Catlin is possibly in error when he says: "The 'Medicine Lodge,' the largest in the village and seventy-five feet in diameter, with four images (sacrifices of different-coloured and costly cloths) suspended on poles above it, was considered by these people as a sort of temple, held as strictly sacred, being built and used solely for these four days' ceremonies, and closed during the rest of the year" (George Catlin, *O-Kee-Pa* [Philadelphia, 1867], p. 81).

5. This is an instance of shifting from clan inheritance commonly occurring since 1845.

6. Scattercorn in recent years was considered custodian of the sacred cedar, which was placed west of Crows Heart's home. Members of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans were expected to attend and assist in the repair. Others would come to make offerings to the cedar at that time, which in recent years consisted chiefly of calicoes. She used one song during the ceremonial repairing of the cedar and inclosure, and it was directed to the four directions.

At the east side of the cedar she would sing:

o-ta'-nu-mą-kE (east people)	masa'numąkE (north people)
mikaxo' (big herd. Buffalo cows.)	maxEnu (one)
EhE'nakshoc (I am saying)	

At the west side she sang:

ota'numąkE	masa'numąkE
mikaxo'	nupa (two)
EhE'nakshoc	

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 trusted to the WaxikEna clan, who could take any articles left
793 at the cedar as an offering for their own use. The amount of
614 goods placed at the cedar during a year was considerable, since
796 sometime during the performance of every ceremony and age-grade society dance a visit was made to the cedar to ask the blessings of Lone Man, and some article of value was placed there. In the case of strictly winter ceremonies held in the winter camp where a cedar was never erected, offerings frequently were not made to the cedar. The cedar together with the surrounding wall and willow band was called Minimi'tahEdE, meaning "the retreat of the waters."

778 In theory, goods deposited at the cedar became the property
614 of any member of the WaxikEna clan who happened to be
421 passing by. In practice, however, the goods finally reached the old men and women of that clan. Those appropriating too much goods for personal use lost status in the village. Those living near the cedar had an advantage over those more distantly removed in reaching the goods first. Apparently there was no tendency to take the offerings away at once. Scattercorn told how a very beautiful robe hung on the wall several days before a man removed it and then not until a number of people had gathered there and to whom he announced that he had observed that a feeble clan brother was in need of a new robe since the one he was then wearing was shabby.

621 Each fixed village unit had its own complete set of officers.
619 Crows Heart explained that the tribe was formerly divided into
778 a number of fixed bands, each one occupying one or more villages. His mother belonged to the Is'topa ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves"). There were also the Nuptadi, Ma'nana'-rE[7] ("Those Who Quarreled"), Awigaxa,[8] and Nuitadi. Each of

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At the north side she sang:

o-ta'-nu-mą-kE	masa'numąkE
mi-ka-xo'	na'mini (three)
EhE'nakahoc	

At the south side she sang:

ota'numąkE	masa'numąkE
mikaxo'	to'pa (four)
EhE'nakahoc.	

7. Other informants thought that the Mananada was not a fixed band but any small group who separated from a principal village when quarrels occurred.

8. According to tradition, this group lived near the Grand River until late prehistoric times and did not practice the Okipa until they moved to the Painted Woods

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 mony. In the beginning, the people lived an extremely simple
773 life without tools and weapons. At that time there were no societies and only a few simple rites, one of which was a Buffalo Dance in which one man danced. It is believed that, as time passed, the people acquired skills along many lines; there was a corresponding development of mutual obligations; new societies and ceremonies were adopted which grew in complexity. It is also believed that there was a parallel development of the Okipa ceremony from the simple Buffalo Dance to its complex form as performed until seventy-five years ago, and that the cultural growth of the tribe was divided into four periods which were represented by the four days of the ceremony.

The principal characters in the ceremony were Lone Man (NumakmaxEna), Speckled Eagle (Hoita), Giver of Ceremony (Koni'saka), and the singers.

796 Lone Man was without question the tribe's most important
776 deity. The original Lone Man belonged to the WaxikEna clan, and a bundle was founded which contained all the articles used
•614 by the Lone Man impersonator during the ceremony. Inherit-
778 ance was through the WaxikEna clan. Before the smallpox epidemics, there were at least two similar and graded bundles in each village, and the men holding rights in the Okipa met to select from their number those who would officiate during the next ceremony.

796 According to tradition the original Lone Man established the
778 rule that the bundle should belong to the WaxikEna clan. However, before he left the tribe, he desired a white buffalo
424 robe owned by his brother's son. The young man offered to exchange his robe for Lone Man's bundle, and this transaction was made, the bundle and office passing temporarily from the WaxikEna clan. The principal bundle was kept, after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, at Nuptadi Village, and a secondary
[562] bundle was kept by the other village group. Women could inherit and buy the bundle but could not officiate in the rites. Beaver's brother owned a bundle originally at Nuptadi Village prior to 1837. When he died, his sister transferred the bundle to her daughters, Shells and Grows First, who were both of the WaxikEna clan. Little Eagle, who had married the two sisters, paid them for the right to officiate in the ceremony. He then

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 1. A buffalo-skin apron with buffalo-hair strands attached
2. Flat staff with the moon and thunderbird carved on one side, a star and the sun on the other
3. A stuffed raven
4. Two-piece wooden pipe inlaid with a dark-colored stone
5. Jackrabbit-skin collar and anklets
6. Headdress of porcupine trimmed with jackrabbit skin
7. A set of buffalo teeth
8. A war-bonnet trailer of alternating raven and swan feathers
9. A buffalo-hair headdress with a stuffed owl attached
10. Four buffalo tails with white buffalo hair attached
11. A staff decoration consisting of a buffalo tail trimmed with weasel fur

Bundle-owners were custodians of the turtle drums, the sacred cedar, and the ceremonial lodge.

796 776 773 The office of Hoita ranked equal in importance with that of the Lone Man during the performance of the Okipa but otherwise was unimportant. Hoita or Speckled Eagle represented the People Above but had had no part in the creation of the earth according to the mythology. He was born into the tribe where he was recognized for his supernatural powers. Because of jealousy over a white buffalo robe, he imprisoned the animals in Dog Den Butte. When he learned that another who claimed to be his "son" through the medium of the "walking" ceremony was holding the Okipa, he freed the animals and agreed to co-operate with Lone Man in performing the Okipa.

796 614 The rule was that the Hoita should belong to either the WaxikEna or Tamisik clan, and there is no evidence that this rule was ever broken, at least in the memory of my informants. During the period of readjustment following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, Big Turtle (Tamisik clan) held the office. He sold rights in the office to Moves Slowly (WaxikEna clan), who impersonated Hoita, while Big Turtle served as director of the singers. Moves Slowly sold his rights to Iron Eyes (WaxikEna), who officiated, while Moves Slowly assisted the singers. The right to officiate in the Okipa ceremony was given at a public feast.

796 The Hoita directed the ceremonies performed inside the ceremonial lodge. He supervised the fasters and saw that none who had interrupted their fasting returned to the lodge. He directed the selection of characters represented in the dances and supervised the painting, indicating the time when each rite was to be

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 performed so that the day and night were properly divided. Lone Man directed the re-enactment of the flood, ceremonies at the cedar, and the use of the turtles as drums. The Hoita could not leave the lodge during the ceremony but sat in his place without speaking while the rites were being performed. This was symbolic of the time he sat in Dog Den Butte holding all the animals prisoners.

Eight singers were required; six used the rolled hides or the turtles, three beating toward the "upstream" and three toward [424] the "downstream" direction. The other two singers carried rattles. Singers bought the right to officiate, and a checkup of [614] clan affiliation of singers reveals an absence of clan restrictions. Likewise anyone having Lone Man or Hoita rights could be a singer providing he was not officiating in another capacity. There were usually many with singer rights so that turns were taken.

One man was selected by the other officers to impersonate the blue heron when none owned that right. He sat at the head of the lodge throughout the ceremony without speaking. The ceremonial paraphernalia which he wore were returned to the officers at the close of the ceremony.

The above-mentioned officers formed the nucleus of the ceremony and constituted, together with those who had previously given the ceremony, the Okipa Religious Society. To these men, meeting in council, was intrusted the duty of selecting qualified young men to give the ceremony. It is doubtful that any man could rise to the position of head or second chief who had not at one time given the ceremony. My informants were in agreement that the two highest chiefs would belong to the Okipa Religious Society by virtue, not of being officers of the Okipa, but because they had given the ceremony.

796 The desire to give the ceremony was the result of a vision ex-
787 perience wherein one had seen buffaloes singing the Okipa songs. The vision recipient would then have a feast prepared in his lodge, to which he invited the Okipa Religious Society. After the feast he would relate his vision experience and ask for an interpretation. Not all men dreaming of the buffalo bulls singing Okipa songs were permitted to give the ceremony. A young man having such a dream would tell his parents of his supernatural

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

to the performers, or one who had given the ceremony could volunteer. Men giving the ceremony more than once were highly respected. Four Bears gave the ceremony a second time even after he had already become second chief. 796 [554]

Though the ceremony was long, candidates offering to perform the Okipa were acquainted with most of the songs, dances, and prayers beforehand, so the task of instructing the candidate did not require a great deal of time. Since most young men hoped that sometime they would be selected to be a Bull Dancer, they noted carefully the role performed by the Bulls.

It took a great deal of courage to become an Okipa Maker, and the tribe spoke of those who had done so as the bravest men and looked to them for leadership. It required a considerable amount of property to give the Okipa, for the giver was expected to prepare feasts for the officers of the Okipa during the time he received instructions. He was expected to have at least one hundred articles consisting of robes, elkskin dresses, dress goods, shirts with porcupine work, knives, and men's leggings. Usually one family could not acquire so much personal property. 796 431

The Okipa Maker's wives began to gather clothing as soon as permission was granted their husband to direct the ceremony, which was usually a year in advance. The women called in their female relatives, and sometimes their women's societies helped them. The man asked help of his mothers and sisters as well as the members of his own and his father's clan. As a last resort, he gave a clan feast which all the members of his clan attended. There would be speeches about clan loyalty, and the old men would tell of the great men of the tribe who belonged to their clan and how "this young man has brought honor to us by offering to give the Okipa." Each speech would end with an appeal for goods of some sort to be used in the coming summer ceremony "which was, after all, given for our benefit." People gave freely for the benefit of a clan brother. 796 431 614

Each family of the tribe felt itself to be benefited by the summer Okipa ceremony and expected to give something. The Okipa Maker took his pipe to each lodge where people of his clan lived, placing it before the door, and the women brought out their contributions. Okipa Makers able to produce a large 796 431 554

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 food or water and to participate in the torture features. After the
785 Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, there were usually as many Hidatsas as Mandans fasting, but the moiety arrangement of fasters was observed. In fact, Hidatsas gave the ceremony as often as Mandans at this time.

796 The turtle drums remained in the lodges of their custodians during the first day of the ceremony. These turtles were con-
421 sidered tribal property in the larger sense, and the WaxikEna clan were their custodians. WaxikEna clansmen paid to hold
614 custodianship which could be revoked by clan action. Individuals of the WaxikEna clan were willing to buy the right to keep them when the Okipa was not being performed, otherwise they remained in the Okipa lodge under the charge of the old man living there. Keepers of the turtles treated them like other medicine bundles, making feasts for them and praying to them on various occasions.

796 At sunset the Lone Man impersonator dressed up in his cere-
787 monial outfit and went for the turtles. While the Mandan were living in two villages near Fort Clark, the turtles were kept at Nuptadi Village. He went to the owner of the big turtle, the leader of the turtles, and asked him for this turtle first. It was believed that he could predict the abundance of buffaloes through the year by the weight of the turtle drums for, it was said, that the turtles were heavy when the buffalo herds were going to be near the village. People were not allowed to cross his trail when he carried the turtles to the Okipa lodge. The three turtles replaced the rolled-up hide as drums that evening. Everyone awaited word from inside the Okipa lodge concerning the weight of the turtle drums. Soon after the turtles were in their places, the old man of the WaxikEna clan who was custodian of the Okipa lodge called through the village that "the turtles are very heavy and the buffaloes will be near the village so all the people can have enough to eat."

Each of the drummers continued through the ceremony, using the turtle drums. These drums were moved four times in the evening and reached the east side of the lodge at midnight, where they remained until sunrise.

796 *Second day.*—Before sunrise, young men not having an active part in the ceremony brought in green willow branches to be

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

on war expeditions, and during the summer buffalo hunt. Of these four, only during one, the Okipa ceremony, was fasting done within the village. This is in sharp contrast with the Hidatsa custom of fasting during many bundle-transfer ceremonies. Crows Heart preferred to fast away from the village, thinking that women were less inclined to conform to tribal custom, which made dreams hard to get.

A man who advised and instructed his own sons in the benefits to be attained from fasting would be abusive with his sister's sons whom he did not believe were making enough effort to secure supernatural guardians. He would use the argument that it would enhance the prestige of the clan. He would talk of an occasion when other young men would be fasting in the Okipa and state that he would expect the "younger brother" to be there, and he would give him goods to pay the officers for that privilege. The older male members of the various clans were especially watchful to see that the sections reserved for the clans were well filled. The other clans laughed at those who had only a few fasting during the ceremony.

Not all who fasted either alone beyond the village limits or during the Okipa did so with the expectation of having a vision. Nor were visions received each time. Self-privation was believed to please the supernatural, and both individual and general well-being was the natural consequence. Although boys began to fast at the age of eight or nine because they were advised to, the serious seeking of guardian spirits or vision experiences was not made until the property-owning age was reached and shortly after marriage.

Three methods were employed in gaining supernatural experiences. Some would fast in various ways; others would inflict torture; and still others would make presents of valued property. Of the three, offering of valued goods was considered the hardest to do, since it required much work to amass the goods.

Self-torture administered during the Okipa ceremony was more severe than that practiced in any of the Hidatsa ceremonies; otherwise the customs of the two tribes differed little as to severity of the measures employed. The father's clansmen prepared the young man for the torture feature by securing and inserting the thongs. Suspension of the one tortured was not em-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Mrs. Good Bear remembered an old man with the medicine of the otter. The otter was said to extract arrowheads and bullets by sticking his head into the wound.

The Mandan had one doctoring practice not employed by the Hidatsa. Sometimes a baby got a sore mouth and could not nurse its mother. The child's father would call one of his own brothers saying, "I want to drink of your blood."

The father would use an awl to prick a hole in his brother's leg and the child's mouth was put over the wound. When a man had no brothers, he called a man of his own clan. The rule was that the blood one drank must come from a man of the father's clan. Crows Heart showed several scars where he had given blood to cure sore mouths.

Breaking rules was believed to be the cause of bad luck. This could be either intentional or unintentional. Sometimes the guardian spirit was said to abandon one who violated some rule. Crows Heart said that it was impossible to explain why some men who were so particular about obeying all the rules should lose power. Edgar Crows Heart took his mother's brother's mink hide[13] to use in a dance without getting permission. Shortly afterward, he was thrown from a horse and suffered a broken nose, a result, Crows Heart, the father, said of taking a medicine bundle without the right.

Scattercorn was the only informant to give an example of sleight-of-hand practices performed as the result of a dream. In the hereditary bundle rites people claimed to have corn, buffalo, and other spirits in their body which came up into the mouth during the ceremonies.[14] Her account is of one not informed in the actual rites.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF POWER OF MEDICINE

My father's father ran away from the village when the smallpox came and lived with the Crow Indians out west. He was one who fasted much. One time he fasted on a high mountain. He became so weak that he could not get down the mountain and fell unconscious in the snow. A bear, porcupine, and otter came to him and said, "Son, we heard you cry and are going to help you." Those spirits carried him down the mountain, and he was so weak that he could not help himself. He became unusually holy because so many animals

13. Hidatsa Creek medicine.

14. Also reported by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIV (Cleveland, 1906), 33.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 they trapped along the Cannonball River and in the Black Hill
223 region, especially along the north side, which was jointly occu-
167 pied with the Cheyenne, whom he believed used the same meth-
648 ods and followed the same rituals. He had heard the old men say that it was understood that the eagle-trapping season should not be marked by bloodshed between the two tribes, or the trappers would have bad luck, and that their camps were often only a short distance apart. There would be visiting between camps and good-natured joking about the potency of their respective bundles. He further added that, through misfortune, the Mandan died off in such large numbers that they were obliged to relinquish most of their territory and establish a new territory which Hidatsa leaders had relinquished through simultaneous misfortunes. He had also heard the old men say that before abandoning the Cannonball region the Arikara, who then lived as far north as the Grand River to the south, had a similar treaty with the Sioux not to fight during the eagle-trapping season and at that time began to come into Mandan territory to make trouble. Since one was not permitted to carry his weapons to the pit,[4] a practice observed until trapping was abandoned a few years ago, the Mandan decided that it would be best to abandon their Cannonball River sites. New sites were established in Hidatsa trapping territory after the Mandan moved from the Heart River region to join the Hidatsa. Crows Heart had often visited the Crows and had heard them say they preferred to shoot the young birds, while still near their nesting places, to sitting in pits. There was also a period when the Snake Indians bothered the trappers, but he thought that it was not so long ago, as the Indians had horses by that time.[5]

A few leaders went to the east side of the Missouri River while occupying the Heart River region. Pits were dug as far east as Dog Den Butte and around Devils Lake. This was a limited territory since, in general, the country was too flat on the east side of the Missouri for successful trapping.

796 Ownership of a site was vested in the leader who had either
223 purchased the lodge and adjacent pits from a man of his own
425
614

4. This practice suggests that a truce between tribes was quite universal before the introduction of the horse.

5. No doubt he referred to a recent eastward movement of Shoshonean-speaking groups after the appearance of the horse on the Northern Plains.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

clan or who had occupied unclaimed territory, erected his own lodge, and marked the outlines of pits. Inheritance of trapping sites was through the clan, and one could not secure permanent ownership of a trapping site owned by a man of a different clan. The nearest clan relative took possession of the site upon the death of the owner if it had not been sold. One could pay for permission to use a particular site for a season from one of a different clan when the owner did not intend to make use of it himself, but he was obliged to use the pits already dug and could not prepare new ones. In other words, a man could rent a site from an owner of a different clan, but he could not buy. When a site had been abandoned so long that its owner was not known, another could claim the site. Evidently little trouble was experienced over claims to sites, since a violator would have been severely criticized. There was, in addition, a religious taboo, since both the eagles and the bears belonging to the ritual occupied major bundle status in each tribe, and a trespasser could never have attained a position of prominence in either tribe.

The ritualistic differences between the Mandan and Hidatsa were no greater than those between separate bundle lines within the same village. Wolf Chief's narrative (to be quoted later) illustrates the extent to which one tribe borrowed from the other in purchasing an eagle-trapping bundle. His father, Small Ankles, purchased his rights from Big Cloud, who advised him to receive his instructions from Arrowhead Earrings, a Mandan, who was better informed. A study of individual bundle lines reveals that borrowing back and forth has been going on regularly since the smallpox epidemic of 1837, and from traditional information from informants this also applied to all their neighboring tribes as well. In native theory the particular ritual practiced at any time depended on these three factors: (1) the instructions received when the bundle was transferred; (2) elements of other eagle-trapping bundle rituals purchased; and (3) vision instructions.

A bundle-owner could sell his rights four times, and it was only when the fourth sale was made that the original bundle was transferred, new bundles being made up for the first three sales. The amount of instruction received depended on the desires of

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter IX

BIG BIRD CEREMONY

796 773 THE birds belonging to this ceremony were classed in four groups: (1) hawks, ravens, and crows; (2) young calumet eagles; (3) old calumet eagles; and (4) bald eagles. According to the myth, the thunderbird was considered a relative of these birds, while in other myths the thunderbird was referred to as any one of the four groups of birds listed above.

796 821 The various rites were frequently referred to as the Thunderbird ceremony. However, birds other than those included in these rites, as well as the Sun and Moon and the snakes, were believed to possess the supernatural power of producing thunder and lightning.

796 778 773 There were two principal bundles appertaining to the ceremony. The Black Medicine bundle owned by Red Buffalo Cow (Prairie Chicken clan) was traditionally founded by Black Medicine, while the Sweet Medicine bundle was believed to have been founded by Grows in Lee Places, his twin brother. The latter bundle was last owned by Sand (Speckled Eagle clan). These two bundles came from Nuptadi Village. A second Black Medicine bundle owned by Little Shield (Prairie Chicken clan) [614] came from Fort Clark Village. The linked character of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle clans was expressed by the inheritance through the clan of two closely related bundles from two "brothers" of different clans.

The two bundles had a common mythological origin based on the exploits of two brothers. The myth was supplied by Ben Benson, while much of the data on rites relating to the bundle were secured from White Calf.

BIG BIRD CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEN BENSON[1]

773 539 This account goes back to the time when the villages were near the mouth of Heart River. Chief Bird was the head man of one of the villages. His sons

1. For another relation of this myth by the same informant see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," XXXII [1938]), pp. 53–62.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Den Butte would be with the enemy. The performers were then cleansed with sage by the leader and left the lodge. The giver and his wife remained to assist in the division of the goods. Then a man with rights in one of the Holy Woman bundles entered to announce that there were a great many holy women who were always working for the benefit of the Mandan.[3] These women came in dancing and received a part of the goods. 796

The officers of the ceremony, the giver, and his wife went to the bundle-owner's lodge where a sweat lodge was ready. After the cleansing ceremony, all received food prepared by the bundle-owner's wives.

Persons giving the ceremony within the memory of living informants were Standing Bear, Belly Up, Foolish Bear, and Bear on the Flat.

Women could buy the right to wear the buffalo robe, representing Woman Living in Dog Den Butte, and to dance in the Buffalo-calling ceremony. She was also entitled to wear the magpie tail feathers and sage on her head, as well as to carry an ash digging stick when other women representing various Holy Women met to dance. 796 778

A complete bundle contained the following articles: (1) arrow-straightener of buffalo rib with perforations; (2) wooden groover; (3) rawhide with sand glued to it as polisher; (4) grapevine; (5) tanned fawnskin; (6) two feet of white owl; (7) two feet of the small owl; (8) yellow and black clay for painting; (9) one large white-owl wing feather; (10) gray sage; (11) bow and lance; (12) buffalo robe; (13) magpie tail feathers; and (14) plain black elbow pipe. 778

Hits on Back was the only owner of a complete bundle which had come from Nuptadi Village. Inheritance was in the WaxikEna clan, since the ceremony was related to the Okipa. Related items in the bundle could be sold four times, but the last sale was of the entire original bundle. 778 425 614

When sales were made of portions of the bundle, transfer was from father to son or individuals in that relationship.[4] Partial

3. Actually, after the smallpox epidemic, there were few women holding rights in the Holy Women bundles.

4. The practice of transmitting principal bundles within the clan and secondary or partial bundles from father to son is not unique to this ceremony along. See Old Woman Who Never Dies myth (chap. vi) and the Okipa ceremony (chap. iv) for additional data.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 425 614

sales were as follows: (1) arrowmaking rights (Items 1, 2, 3, 4, 10); (2) owl rights (Items 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10); and (3) Holy Woman rights (Items 10, 11, 12, 13). The buffalo-calling rights were reserved for the main bundle-owner. There is no evidence of a bundle coming from Mitutanka Village.

SNOW OWL CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[5]

773 539

A long time ago the Mandan were divided up into groups trapping eagles along the creeks west of the Missouri River. They were living in the usual eagle-trapping lodges made on the four-post standard. Black Wolf was one of the party. Being a good hunter, Old Black Bear was glad to have him along. He would go out into the pit whenever the winds were from the west and he was catching many birds. One warm afternoon, when in his pit, he became sleepy and was dozing off when he heard a rumbling sound. He awoke instantly. This same sound occurred on three consecutive days, but each time he woke up. On the fourth day, he was asleep when it occurred.

When he finally woke up, his pit was so dark that he thought night had come. When he touched the roof of his pit, he found that a large rock covered it, holding him prisoner beneath. When he could not get out, he cried. He lost all track of time. At last he saw daylight and was glad to get out of the pit. He found himself in a strange country. He saw a high hill and went there to get his directions again. From there he saw timber farther on, and at the edge of it there was a very small man motioning with his robe for him to come over. He went to the stranger and found him to be a small man, almost a dwarf, with a fair complexion, yellow hair, and a slightly hooked nose. This little man spoke in Mandan, and Black Wolf was glad to hear a voice again. He was invited to a lodge which was a four-post eagle-trapping lodge. There he saw a middle-aged man sitting at the head of the lodge making arrows. The arrowmaker did not speak, but the little man asked him to sit down.

After a while the arrowmaker said to the little man, "My helper, you have brought in a stranger. Prepare food for him."

The little man brought in dried meat and fat which he cooked over the coals. When it was crisp, he placed it on a wooden platter and set it before Black Wolf. Being very hungry, he ate it all up. Then the little man brought him water in a buffalo horn.

When Black Wolf had eaten, the arrowmaker said to the little man again, "It is time for us to eat now." The meat Little Man brought in was from around the sinews of the back. This he pounded up with a stone hammer and made into pemmican. Then he brought out an earthen kettle full of water and set it onto the fire. When the water was hot, he brought out a white substance and put it into the kettle. Then he said, "The meal is ready."

The arrowmaker said, "Bring my paint," and the Little Man ran to obey him. The paint was yellow, and the arrowmaker daubed spots of it all over his body. He tied a scalp on his left wrist, then stood up and danced around the fire to the rhythm of his own breathing. Each time he came to the kettle, he

5. Another version of this myth is recorded in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 149–54.

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796 Bulls." The women then returned to their places, put on their
778 buffalo robes, and passed around the food to the old men representing the buffalo bulls and to the spectators.

The next performance was the "Giving the Wives" to the
796 buffalo bulls.[4] One of the young men, addressing his wife, would
837 say, "Wife, I want you to help me to become a lucky man. I
•614 want you to walk with my father."[5] The rule was for a young man always to select an old man of his father's clan. If the man selected did not choose to have intercourse with his "son's" wife, he would stop her before she reached the door.

One time when Red Coyote was selected, he said: "Stop right there, my 'granddaughter.' I want you to hold my medicine bundle now. Once I fasted four days in a ravine. While I slept, an owl came to me and said that I would be a lucky man and live to be old. I have killed an enemy, captured six horses, and struck three enemies. I pray that you will live a long time, be healthy, raise many children, and keep free of diseases."[6] Both returned to their places and sat down.

Each young man selected an old man to "walk with his wife."[7] Some men stopped the women at the door and did not care to go outside with them; others went outside. In either case, the woman was given the old man's medicine bundle (vision bundle), which she clasped to her breast, believing that, by doing so, some of its powers would enter her body.

An unmarried man could participate by bringing his brother's or clan brother's wife. Men never brought women of other

4. This portion of the ceremony appears to have been rather famous among the early visitors to the Mandan and Hidatsa (see *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition 1804–1806*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, I [New York, 1905], 245; *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri*, ed. and trans. Annie Heloise Abel [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939], pp. 196–97; Maximilian in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites [Cleveland, 1906], XXIII, 334; XXIV, 27–31). In addition, Thompson and Henry saw portions of a similar ceremony but apparently misinterpreted the actions (see *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell [Toronto, 1916], pp. 225–38, and "Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson," in *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, ed. Elliot Coues, I [New York, 1897], 326–27).

5. This is what Good Bear said when he sent his wife to one of the old men, according to Mrs. Good Bear. "Father" refers to a male member of Good Bear's father's clan.

6. Red Coyote was frozen in a late-spring blizzard near Rainy Buttes shortly after this.

7. Mrs. Good Bear related that her ceremonial grandfather went out with her, all the while bellowing in imitation of a buffalo bull.

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tribes who had recently married into the tribe, believing that the spirits of the red sticks would then help the other tribe. However, when such women had joined a Mandan clan, they could participate. 796 837 614

Sometimes, when a man refused to walk with his "granddaughter," her husband placed a filled pipe before him. This left the old man one of two choices: (1) he could walk with her, or (2) he could invoke the spirits of the north that sent storms driving the buffaloes to the Missouri River to help her and her husband. A woman was not offered to a man of her own clan or to immediate blood relatives.

Mrs. Good Bear recognized this as a separate ceremony at the lower village, Mitutanka, and did not believe that it was performed at Nuptadi in this form, as they had the Buffalo-calling rites of the Snow Owl ceremony, which was similar in some respects to the Red Stick ceremony. Scattercorn verified this information by stating that Standing Bear, who owned the Red Stick ceremony, came up early to Like-a-Fishhook Village (about 1845) together with the survivors of the lower village and that, after the Nuptadi survivors joined the other Mandans, both ceremonies were given but never at the same time. 796

The sacred myth belonging to the ceremony was related by Mrs. Good Bear.

RED STICK CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY MRS. GOOD BEAR

773 539

A long time ago there was a respectable young woman named Corn Silk who had then been single for several years. Many men wanted to marry her, but she always refused. One day her parents said, "Why don't you get married?" They scolded her, and she felt bad because they had quarreled. When night came, she went outside and lay on top of the doorway to the earth lodge to sleep and would not go into the lodge that night. She went to sleep.

When she awoke, someone was carrying her on his shoulders, and she knew that someone had her in his power. She couldn't get away. They went along until they came to his lodge. He put her in a bed, thinking that she was asleep, but she knew everything that happened. Then there was another woman, an owl, and a large grizzly bear in the lodge. The man asked Owl Woman to cook something for Corn Silk, and she began to prepare food. Then she said, "Corn Silk, you should get up and eat." Owl Woman brought water for her to wash with, and then she ate.

The man came in again and said to Owl Woman, "Send her into the woods to get fuel. Tell her to take the bear with her."

He walked out and then Owl Woman said, "You are a good and beautiful

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believed that the supernatural powers were transferred to her own body. These supernatural powers were in turn transmitted to her husband in the daily activities of living and working together. Men receiving sacred objects either to own or to hold took them in the same manner but did not hold them to the breast. 778 789

The faith of the Mandan in their sacred objects was unshaken by two severe smallpox epidemics. They speak of these epidemics as unfortunate and explain the impotency of their rites to protect the tribe on the grounds that, when the original ceremonies were introduced into the tribe, the sacred beings made no promise of tribal immunity to the white man's diseases. They believe that the tribe would have been exterminated by their enemies subsequent to the last smallpox epidemic had the ceremonies been abandoned. 778 731

The Mandan sacred bundles fall into two general categories. They are (1) the hereditary tribal bundles and (2) the personal bundles. Of these two groups of bundles, the former played a more significant role in the total ceremonial life and in a large measure set the background for the supernatural experiences which instituted the personal bundles. 778

At this point it would be well to indicate some of the general characteristics of these bundles not indicated in the main body of the report. The Mandan place greatest values on those bundles and ceremonies which traditionally were instituted in very early times. Foremost of these are the Okipa, founded by Lone Man and Hoita, and those Corn ceremonies which were founded by Good Furred Robe. Not only are these two ceremonies considered oldest, but they also involve the greatest number of participants. 778 796

The Okipa was without question the most complicated and colorful ceremony performed in the Northern Plains. According to tradition, the principal officers of the ceremony belonged to the WaxikEna clan. This clan was intrusted with the care and repair of the sacred cedar and other sacred objects appertaining to the ceremony. A male member of that clan occupied the sacred lodge and acted as announcer whenever tribal ceremonies were performed. A man selected one of his own clan to become his son-in-law to perpetuate the lineage in the sacred 778 796 614 428

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 lodge. The principal officer of the Okipa was the Lone Man,
796 who, traditionally, belonged to the WaxikEna clan. The rights
•614 to impersonate Lone Man were inherited through the WaxikEna clan. A buyer was assisted by his brothers and sisters, who
428 became secondary owners in the bundle. Should the buyer die, a brother was entitled to officiate until a new owner was qualified. When the bundle-owner had no brothers, the sisters' husband was authorized to officiate by performing a ceremonial feast to the bundle until a qualified successor in the clan was se-
[604] lected. The bundle and office passed from a man to his sister's son. A man could sell his rights in the office four times, but few sales were made in later years, since there were two separate bundle lineages representing the two villages built near Fort Clark which were adequate to meet ceremonial needs. In fact, one of these lineages died out shortly after 1837 and was never re-established. The Hoita lineage, though theoretically in the WaxikEna clan, was, in historic times, held temporarily by a member of the Tamisik clan.

778 Although villages were reported to be largely independent
621 ceremonially, they were not entirely so. The three sacred turtle drums were kept by individual members of the WaxikEna clan at Nuptadi Village, one of the east-side villages of the Heart River group, and were borrowed by the other villages when the Okipa was to be performed. In later years when the tribe moved to Fort Clark, these drums were kept at the Upper Village situated near Deapolis. Each village was believed to possess its own complement of officers. There was, however, a certain amount of collaboration between villages when new officers were receiving training.

778 The sacred cedar was erected in each village if the village
621 group had a complete complement of Okipa officers. It was the rule that, whenever a ceremony or organized social event was
361 performed in the summer village, out of respect to Lone Man, whose body was represented by this inclosed post, the group
[431] should dance once at this sacred shrine. On these occasions, gifts of robes or other clothing were placed over the cedar as an
[782] offering to the Lone Man and became the property of the WaxikEna clan. The Mandan considered the entire open-circle area inclosing the sacred cedar sacred also. Even as late as

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 773 changed from generation to generation. When no sacred myth belonged to the ceremony or there were no sacred instructions at the time of the inception of the ceremony, the Mandan believed these ceremonies were borrowed of neighboring tribes. The Adoption Pipe ceremony belonged in this category. The sacred myth enumerated the benefits which would accrue to the tribe and the giver of the ceremony when the rites were performed.

773 602 776 The sacred myths were the basis for an extension of the kinship system to include the world of the supernatural. First Creator was addressed as "very old one," while Lone Man, who assisted him in the creation of the earth, was addressed by persons of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans as "ptawadatodE" or "mother's brother." Those of the opposite moiety addressed him as "father." Sun and Moon were "father" and their sister was "father's sister." Their mother was addressed as "grandmother," a term also used for the various holy women of the ash groves, the field mice, the corn mill, and all female beings present on the earth on the "first day of creation." An individual addressed a sacred being appearing in a dream and not belonging to the category of tribal gods as "father" if a male and "father's sister" if a female.

778 425 428 614 The Mandan system of bundle inheritance shows evidence of change within the last century. Certain bundles and ceremonial rights traditionally inherited through the clan and more specifically from the mother's brother, such as the Okipa belonging to the WaxikEna clan and the Shell Robe bundle of the Prairie Chicken clan, showed a tendency to change to a father-son inheritance of the Hidatsa pattern. The eagle-trapping lodges were still inherited through the clan as late as 1929, but the associated bundles had changed from clan inheritance to father-son inheritance after 1875. The system of inheritance was more flexible than for the Hidatsa, with whom they were intimately associated. At first I was inclined to believe that this greater flexibility was due, in part at least, to the breakdown of the older system, an opinion which I have now abandoned. The Mandan parents often selected their daughters' husbands and gave them preliminary assistance in ceremonial matters. The sons and daughters of a household usually purchased the par-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ents' bundle collectively and designated one of their number, generally the oldest son, to be the custodian. A family having only daughters sold to the son-in-law providing he had been successful in warfare and had removed the mother-in-law taboo. 778 425 428 614

Unlike the Hidatsa, where bundle transfers were vision inspired, the Mandan seem to have placed greater emphasis on the personality and interests of the one to receive a tribal bundle. One owning an important bundle and getting along in years would frequently suggest to a younger person that he should buy into the bundle rites. The period of preparation was prolonged and frequently extended over several years. Since bundle rights could be sold four times, there were usually a number of people receiving instructions simultaneously. New bundles were made up for those buying part of the rites, while the original bundle was retained for the nearest relatives. When feasts were given to the bundle, all those having any rights in the bundle or related bundle rites were entitled to attend. This practice extended the ritualistic lore to many persons outside the immediate bundle-owner's family and probably explains why so much of the traditional lore was preserved through the smallpox epidemic of 1837. So far as it was possible to determine, the number of tribal bundle rites was not materially reduced during the nineteenth century. 778 425 869

The personal bundles constitute another important group of sacred objects. These were individually owned and were rarely inherited. The bundle was assembled after receiving a vision from some supernatural being, instructing him to assemble a bundle which would bring certain benefits to the individual. Unlike the tribal bundles, a buffalo skull was not a part of the bundle, and there were no sacred myths. There was a sacred song and a prescribed rule of behavior to be followed when the bundle was open. An unusually successful individual would sometimes sell his bundle to a son about to leave on a war expedition. These bundles, however, were rarely sold and were usually put away when the original owner died. 778 787

Both men and women had personal bundles. Women usually fasted less frequently and had only one bundle; usually the guardian spirit promised her a long life and the right to cure. Men fasted frequently and were recognized for the number of 778 554

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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than any other nation; also that they sold grain, tobacco, peltry, 511
and painted plumes to the Assiniboine for arms, kettles, and
other things of European manufacture. As is seen from this 177
account of Verendrye, European culture touched them very
early by means of trade with nations farther east, and they
were quick to take up the better articles so acquired. For
this reason it is difficult to get any description of the use of
earlier crude bone and stone implements, most of which had
almost gone out of use when Lewis and Clarke visited the
villages.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: — As regards the social organization, 621
the Mandans were divided into two sorts of bands. By the
first method, like the Pawnee, they were known accord-
ing to the old village from which they had originally come.
Maximilian names at one time eight villages in describing the
old habitations; in another place he says they had thirteen
and gives the names for six more, this gives fourteen distinct
village names. He says that the people were known by the [614]
names of the villages whence they originally came, and Morgan
mentions eight of the names given, as the gens names. This is
the only trace of a gens organization found. The second method 561
of grouping into bands followed the lines of the general plains
division according to age. The First Chief who led them from
underground was the originator of these divisions. This chief
gave to each band its own songs and whistles and directions as
to conducting its dances. Each of these bands was distin-
guished by a number of songs, by a certain sort of war whistle,
by its head-dress and a number of other details of attire and
ceremony. For the men there were six recognized bands. As
men grew older they went from one band to the next. Each
band or society had a limited membership, and a place in the
band above was only obtained by purchase from a member
who was ready to resign his place, and try to purchase a place
in a band still higher up. New members must be received by
all the old members of the band or the sale could not be made.
Each society had a chief who was in charge of all important
affairs. After a sale the new member gave a feast to the whole
band, and following this the purchase property was returned to

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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197 or the thirteen villages with which Maximilian's informants credited them,[1] in the beginning of the nineteenth century there certainly were two villages, Nū'pta (Ruhptare) and Mị'tutąk (Mihtuttahangkusch), speaking distinct dialects, as is demonstrated by Maximilian's vocabularies.[2] One of my informants added a third village, Istápe, (given by Morgan as a clan name), where she said the Nū'pta dialect was spoken.

621 It is clear from Maximilian's data that between Nū'pta and Mị'tutąk
[184] there was also a minor cultural differentiation in the matter of dances. The question in connection with our immediate problem is how to conceive
614 the relation of the villages to the social divisions. Maximilian tells us that
174 the Mandan called themselves "Nū'mangkā'ke" (*nū'makā'ki*) i. e., people, and were wont to add the name of the village from which they had originally come. Thus, there were Prairie-chicken people, so-called after the Prairie-chicken village; Bear people, Cactus people, Badger people,— all named from corresponding villages.

> Obgleich nun alle die oben genannten Dörfer nicht mehr existiren, so nennen sich dennoch alle diese Indianer ihrer Abstammung zufolge noch nach denselben.[3]

This is a clear-cut statement to the effect that the Mandan clans developed in recent times from formerly distinct local groups. If we assume that the ancient village scheme involved local exogamy and matrilineal descent, or that the latter was grafted on the former, possibly through borrowing, the fusion of people from different settlements would quite naturally lead to the evolution of exogamous clans. The statement of one of my informants that all the clans were found in both Mị'tutąk and Nū'pta is not inconsistent with such a line of development since this condition would be readily brought about by intermarriage. However, all this is pure speculation and the questions involved will only become clearer after considering the social organization of the Mandan as sketched by recent informants and comparing it with that of the Hidatsa and other tribes.

616 The Mandan were divided into non-exogamous moieties corresponding
[171] in name to those of the Hidatsa, viz., Three-clans (nū'makā'ki ō're nā'mini) and Four-clans (nū'makā'ki ō're tōp). According to Black-chest, the names of the moieties and the constituent clans were originated by the legendary warrior Seven-wolf when returning from a victorious expedition against the Arikara. Information is very meager as to the functions of the dual division in tribal life, but here there is again close correspondence to Hidatsa conditions. During a general council of the Mandan the Three-

[1] Maximilian, II, 103.
[2] *ibid.*, 557–561.
[3] *ibid.*, 104.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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clans were ranged on one side, the Four-clans on the other. In building an earth-lodge the Three-clan women would put earth on one side and the Four-clan women on the other. 616

It is altogether improbable that the Hidatsa and Mandan moiety systems should have had an independent origin. The question at once arises, then, which was the borrowing tribe. The complete lack of any trace of the dual division among the Crow suggests that the Hidatsa imitated the Mandan scheme, a conclusion which I was at first tempted to draw. However, there is no satisfactory evidence on behalf of this interpretation. In the first place, the moieties of the Winnebago, the closest linguistic allies of the Mandan, were exogamous, while there is no indication that this applies to the Mandan and Hidatsa divisions; moreover, the Mandan differ from all other Siouans and resemble the Hidatsa and Crow in the rule of matrilineal descent. There is thus no *a priori* reason for assigning the rôle of transmitter to the Mandan rather than to the Hidatsa. Secondly, there is a disparity between the designations of the Mandan moieties and the number of their clans such as does not occur among the Hidatsa. Some informants, to be sure, make the number correspond to the moiety names, and Morgan without speaking of a dual division lists seven clans. But other Mandans give the number as eleven or even sixteen, while nine are reported by Mr. Curtis. The informant who spoke of sixteen clans added that more of them belonged to the Four-clan than to the Three-clan moiety, but this struck me as an obvious afterthought,— as a secondary attempt to harmonize as best he could two sets of contradictory facts. Although the information obtained is hardly sufficient to permit a definite solution, I rather incline to Mr. Curtis's view that the Mandan moiety scheme is derived from the Hidatsa, whose clans conform in number to the moiety names. 616 616 171 614 174

The following scheme was furnished by Two-chiefs, herself a member of the first-named clan:— 616 614

Three-Clan Moiety.

maxi' 'kina
tamī'sik
nū'pta

Four-Clan Moiety.

si' pucka nū'mak, Prairie-chicken people
xtaxtám nū'mak, Young white-headed Eagle[1]
mánakactðk nū'mak, People all in a bunch[2]
xō'xixō' ka nū'mak, Crow people (said to refer to the scalp on a stick)

[1] Mr. Curtis, (v, 145), translates the word "Spotted Eagle."
[2] Presumably Mr. Curtis's Madhakashtak, "Clump of Wood."

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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In this list it will be noted that the third name in the first moiety coincides with that of the Nū'pta village and dialectic division. Black-chest, of the same moiety, substituted the ma'nakactðk for the nū'pta, and Turtle-woman, likewise a Three-clan, gave the tamī'kexik in the same place. This name suspiciously resembles another, tamī'kaxik, Bad Packstrap, which the same authority gave as an ancient designation of the maxi''kina people, who were so named because they used poor string to tie with. Both Black-chest and Turtle-woman regarded the tamī'sik as equivalent to the Hidatsa mɛ'ˑ tsirō'ke (Knife) clan. There is no suggestion that this was meant to interpret the meaning of the name, and Turtle-woman said that the tamī'sik were Wolf people. This is probably merely a symbolic reference since the words for "wolf" are quite different in Maximilian's vocabularies. As regards the constitution of the Four-clan moiety, Turtle-woman and Two-chiefs are in perfect agreement.

614

Calf-woman said that there were eleven clans grouped in moieties but made no attempt to classify the ten names she actually supplied. Like Maximilian, she regarded all the clans as connected with different villages; accordingly, it is not surprising that she should have included nū'pta in her list. On the other hand, several others are omitted in her enumeration, which follows: —

si' pucka
xtaxta' nū'ma ˢkɛ
mī'ti ā'ki, Village above
maxíhe
tamī'sik
ō'rɛˑ 'kū'pa, Seven-different-kinds
mā'ak ī'xtit mī'ti, Hilltop village
mī'tixā'rɛ, Scattered village
mī'ī'tik ɛ'exicot nū'makā'ki, White-bellied mouse people
nūptarɛ

Three names not recorded by me at all are given by Mr. Curtis,— the maaē' (kshuk), Red Butte; the matēk, Badger; and the madhadhacu, Charcoal. Of these the Badger people are also mentioned by Maximilian, but his Bear and Cactus villages seem to have no equivalents in either Mr. Curtis's or my own lists. Morgan's [1] list of seven clans includes the Prairie-chickens, Maximilian's Bear and Calf-woman's Village-above people,— also a Wolf (Horata), Good Knife (Tanatsuka), Eagle (Kitanemake), and Flathead (Estapa) clan.

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[1] Morgan, (b), part II, chapter 4.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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According to Calf-woman, the Prairie-chicken clan is the most important on the Reservation. This is consistent with Mr. Curtis's data, according to which the larger moiety bears the name of this clan, corresponding preëminence being assigned to the tamī'sik in the Three-clan moiety. It should be noted that the Prairie-chicken clan is the only one common to the Hidatsa and Mandan series. 614 [171]

Calf-woman's ō'rɛ' 'kūpa (nitɛ) was given by Turtle-woman not as the designation of a clan but of all the seven clans jointly in addressing the entire tribe. [101]

Mr. Curtis states that the marriage of fellow-clansmen was considered improper and publicly ridiculed, but according to my witnesses this rule has long ceased to be absolute. Thus, Calf-woman declared that sometimes people married within their own clan, though there were some who regarded this as wrong; and Two-chiefs, a maxi' 'kina married to a xtaxta', cited the case of her husband's mother who had married another xtaxta', not related by blood. 582 178 614

Kinship Terms.

A brief but in most respects accurate statement as to Mandan kinship nomenclature is made by Maximilian.[1] Recently Mr. Curtis has summarily characterized the Mandan terminology as largely influenced by the clan factor, the father's brother and his clansmen being classed with the father, the father's clanswomen with the father's sister, all mates in one's clan with brothers and all females as mothers.[2] This statement is undoubtedly in large measure correct, but, the last part is manifestly not to be taken literally since the mother's mother and her generation and the sisters are certainly not called "mother." Morgan already had to contend with the difficulty of finding interpreters fully conversant with Mandan and offers an avowedly imperfect list. So far as essentials are concerned, he correctly characterizes the system as of the usual classificatory type. The most important deviation from the norm mentioned in his résumé consists in the classification of the father's sister with the mother in feminine parlance, a distinctive word for paternal aunt being used only by males.[3] My data yield no confirmation of this peculiarity. A remarkable feature found by Morgan among the Hidatsa and Crow but not noted by him among the Mandan, though recorded both by Mr. Curtis and myself, is the confusion of generations in the designation of the father's sister's female descendants 601 601 171 177

[1] Maximilian, II, 122, 543.
[2] Curtis, V, 145.
[3] Morgan, (a), 184.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NO17 Mandan NQ17

perhaps more, villages. They call themselves Numangkake (*i. e.*, men), and if they wish to particularize their descent, they add the name of the village whence they came originally. Some, for instance, call themselves Sipuske-Numangkake, the men of the pheasant or prairie hens, from the village Sipuska-Mihte, pheasant village; others, Mato-Numangkake, the men of the bear, from the village Mato-Mihte, bear village, &c. &c. Another general name of this people is Mahna-Narra, the sulky, because they separated from the rest of their nation, and went higher up the Missouri.

The early history of the Mandans is involved in obscurity; their own traditions and legends will be discussed in the sequel, when treating on their religious ideas. They affirm that they descend originally from the more eastern nations, near the sea-coast.* Though the above-named villages do not all exist at this time, these Indians still call themselves by their several names. They formerly dwelt near the Heart River: when Charbonneau arrived here at the end of the last century, the two Mandan villages, which are still standing, were about six or eight miles further down the Missouri. The small-pox and the assaults of their enemies have so reduced this people, that the whole number now reside in two villages, in the vicinity of Fort Clarke. These two villages are Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush (the southern village), about 300 paces above Fort Clarke, and on the same side of the river, and Ruhptare,† about three miles higher up, likewise on the same bank. The first had, at the time of our visit, sixty-five huts, and contained about 150 warriors; the other, thirty-eight huts and eighty-three warriors. According to this, the tribe had not more than 230 or 240 warriors; and, on the whole, scarcely 900 or 1000 souls; Dr.

* Warden is mistaken when he says (Vol. III. p. 559), that the Mandans are descended from the Crows; for this is applicable to the Manitaries, of whom we shall speak afterward.

† Lewis and Clarke write this name Rooptahee, which is incorrect. (See Account of their Journey, Vol. I. p. 129.) These celebrated travellers passed the winter among the Mandans, and give many particulars respecting them, which, on the whole, are correct; but their proper names and words from the Mandan and Manitari languages are, in general, inaccurately understood and written. It is said, they derived their information from a person named Jessaume, who spoke the language very imperfectly, as we were assured everywhere on the Missouri. Of this kind are many of the names mentioned by these travellers, which neither the Indians nor the Whites were able to understand; for instance, Ahnahaways (Vol. I. p. 115), a people who are said to have formerly dwelt between the Mandans and the Manitaries; likewise Mahawha, where the Arwacahwas lived (*ibid.*); the fourth village is said to have been called Menharta, and to have been inhabited by Manitaries (*ibid.*); of all these names, except, perhaps, Mahawha, which ought probably to be Machaha, nobody could give us the slightest information, not even Charbonneau, though he has lived here so many years. It is necessary to be much on your guard against bad interpreters, and I acted in this respect with much caution. All the information given by me, respecting Indian words and names, was carefully written down from the statements of sensible, well-informed men of these nations. I have endeavoured to write down their language exactly, according to its real pronunciation, in doing which, the German guttural sounds were of great assistance to me, as it is that of the Missouri Indians. Mr. Kipp and Charbonneau, with some others who have lived long among these Indians, daily assisted me, during a long winter, with much patience and kindness, in this work.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

mother-in-law never speaks to her son-in-law; but if he comes home, and brings her the scalp of a slain enemy, and his gun, she is at liberty, from that moment, to converse with him. This custom is found among the Manitaries, who have, doubtless, borrowed it from the Mandans, but not among the Crows and Arikkaras. Among the Chippeways, and the Algonquins in general, the name must not be changed; and persons with the same name must not marry, but consider each other as brothers and sisters. Among all the North American Indian nations there are men dressed and treated like women, called, by the Canadians, Bardaches, of whom Mc Kenzie, Tanner, Langsdorff, and others, have spoken; but there was only one such among the Mandans, and two or three among the Manitaries.

Volney, and some other writers, have spoken rather too unfavourably of the moral character of the aborigines of North America, and their domestic habits. According to them, distrust and hostile feeling prevail among them, for which reason they never leave their huts unarmed; but I can bear witness that they are frequently seen in their villages, as well as in the environs, without arms, and that it is only at greater distances, and when they appear in state, that they carry their weapons in their hands. I have never observed any disputes among them, but, on the contrary, much more unity and tranquillity than in civilized Europe. It has often been asserted that the Indians are inferior in intellectual capacity to the Whites; but this has been now sufficiently refuted; and Harlan is not wrong in saying that, among the races of men, of which Blumenbach reckons five, the American should be ranked immediately after the Caucasian. If man, in all his varieties, has not received from the Creator equally perfect faculties, I am, at least, convinced that, in this respect, the Americans are not inferior to the Whites. Many of the Mandans manifest a great thirst for knowledge, and much desire to hear something of objects of a higher order; and if they were not so much attached to the prejudices inherited from their ancestors, many of them might be very easily instructed. The bad examples which they so often observe in the white men, who roam about their country in quest of gain, are not calculated to inspire them with much respect for our race, or to improve their morality. And if they have not been found inclined to the Christian religion, this is, certainly, in some measure, the consequence of the bad conduct of the Whites, who call themselves Christians, and are often worse, and more immoral, than the most uncivilized of the Indians. Many American and foreign works have taken notice of the striking good sense and wit, the correct judgment of the Indians, in all the occurrences of daily life, and it would be mere repetition here to quote examples. One is often at a loss to answer their questions, founded on correct and natural judgment. The inactive mode of life natural to the Indians, which disdains all laborious exertion, is a great obstacle to their adopting a different system. But they are not deficient in talent for drawing, music, &c., and this is quite manifest at first sight. Several Mandans not only took much pleasure in drawing, but had a decided talent for it. The hieroglyphics are well known, which the Indians employ

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

177 indirect effect of contact resulted in the displacement of Eastern tribes, the
175 formation of full Plains equestrian nomadism, and constant raids by hostile groups. These momentous events precipitated radical changes in the cultures of all Plains-Prairie peoples, and the Mandan-Hidatsa were no exception, although they did change less than other earth-lodge tribes (Strong 1940; Jablow 1950; Eggan 1952; Krieger 1953).

105 Indian culture today includes automobiles, farm equipment, washing
177 machines, radios, and other material objects of American culture. Clothing and household goods are generally purchased through Western mail order catalogs. The major sources of cash income are the cattle business, agricultural enterprises, leasing lands to whites, wage work, and relief money. Every adult has attended government or missionary schools, and Catholic and Congregational Churches are established in the village. Thirty-one of the sixty-four males over seventeen years of age have had military experience.

Lone Hill village has never been a closed, self-sufficient society, from the time it was founded in the last decade of the nineteenth century with the allotment program of the Indian Bureau until the present. Today every adult deals with white people who reside outside the community, although contact is limited. The Indian's cash income and the education of his children are controlled in part by the Indian Bureau and by forces in the larger American society. Agency personnel, government employees, missionaries, day school teachers, traveling salesmen and local tradespeople, farmers and ranchers, visit with Indians both on and off the reservation. The resident of Lone Hill village buys goods from white storekeepers, attends schools taught by whites, transacts business with white government people, and often seeks wage work from nearby whites. The Indian must satisfy specialized needs through the services of white doctors, lawyers and professional people.

[191 Despite the many American elements which have been adopted, Hidatsa
601] is the major spoken language in Lone Hill today, secular Indian ceremonial
614] dances are performed, and the social organization includes matrilineal clans and a Crow type kinship system. Sacred bundles are highly respected, Indian doctors utilize native medicine to cure the sick, and distinctively Indian values are manifest on many occasions. The linguistic, religious, and social patterns are not considered here as isolated survivals persisting intact from the aboriginal past, for they too have changed from older times as a consequence of changing conditions of life; and they function in a very different total situation in 1950 as compared with 1850 or 1750.

Viewed historically, contemporary Indian culture is mixed. It consists of automobiles from Detroit, dances from the Cheyenne, medicine bundles from the Mandan, and a language from the Hidatsa. From the perspective of some individuals who share it, this mixed culture is perfectly consistent. No person in Lone Hill today knows how to stalk buffalo, scalp a Sioux, or shape a stone arrowhead. With the exception of a few very old people, no one in Lone Hill has ever lived in a culture in which these activities were performed. Our task is to understand how groups of individuals in Lone Hill come to regard and participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture.

NQ10 Crow NQ10
[#169 (A)] Hidatsa NQ14
MANDAN NQ17

Wednesday, June 11, 120 miles above Fort Union

C 186 This morning we shot two antelope and brought them on the boat. They have no horns at this season and are shedding their hair. In some places the skin is bare and the hair comes off in handfuls. They are a fine looking animal and much larger than I expected. They are nearly as large as the common deer, white bellies and white around and below the tail which is flat and short.

C 124 Had another long talk with Meldrum this morning on several subjects. Obtained the Minnetare tribes [clans] and law of descent, also the Crow method of bestowing and changing names, and also in the changes in language, which are given below.

H 614 *Minnetare Tribes* [*Clans*], *Gros Ventres of Missouri*[128]

1. Mit′-che-ro-ka Knife Tribe
2. Min-ne-pā′-ta Water "
3. Seech′-ka-be-ruh-pā′-ka Prairie chicken
4. E-tish-sho′-ka People of the Hills
5. Ah-mah′-ha-nā′-me-ta Meaning lost—
6. E-ku′-pā-be-ka Low Hat, or Bonnet
7. Bā-ho-hā′-ta Dirt Lodges

H [582] [611] [428] All the individuals of the tribe are consanguine. No man or woman can marry a person in his own tribe and the children are of the tribe of the mother. They carry out the law of female line succession as to chief and property, the same as the Crow. These

H 115 facts were obtained by Meldrum from the Minnetare chief on board, who talks Crow and with whom and the two Crow young men I made the first attempt at a Crow schedule.

Mandan Tribes [*Clans*]

M ● 614 611 191 The Mandans he says are divided into tribes and have descent in the female line, the same as the Minnetares, but he could

128 [Morgan lists these clans in Ancient Society, p. 159 -- ANALYST]

M
614 not talk Mandan.[129] None of the Minnetares
611 talk Mandan, but the latter talk the former.
191

Crows Change Their Names and Manner of Christening

C
553 A few days after a child is born, usually
[602] about six, there is a family council of the relatives on the father's side who give the name, instead of the mother's tribal relatives. The person who is to give the name places roots of some kind upon coals of fire and as the smoke ascends, the child is placed in his hands by the mother. He then holds him in the smoke and at the same time announces the name which he gives
C
[782] the child. He raises him up gently in the rising smoke towards heaven and invokes

129 A [About a week later Morgan ascertained and recorded names of MANDAN clans. -- ANALYST]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

fifty lodges, while the later villages of historic times were much smaller, owing to the smaller population. Maximilian reported sixty-five lodges at Mitutanka and thirty-eight at Nuptadi. My informants listed forty-three lodges at Like-a-Fishhook. After 1870, the Mandan began abandoning the circular four-post earth lodge for small rectangular log cabins, two of them housing the population formerly living in a single earth lodge. Frequently a log cabin was built with two rooms, one room being occupied by the older people, who preserved the sacred bundles in their quarters, and the other room being occupied by the younger married family. 361 342

THE CLAN AND MOIETY SYSTEM

At the present time there are four Mandan clans, and they are divided into nameless moieties according to their position in the Okipa lodge. The Okipa or ceremonial lodge occupied a position on the north side of the village open circle, with the entrance facing the sacred cedar. According to the traditions of the Okipa, there were formerly thirteen clans which were divided into moieties known as an east-side moiety, comprising these clans: Prairie Chicken; Speckled Eagle; Bear; Red Hill; Crow; Badger; Bunch of Wood; and a west-side moiety consisting of six clans: Waxi'kEna; Tami'sik; Tami'xixiks; and three extinct clans. In the construction of the ceremonial lodge all clans participated. The east-side clans erected their side of the lodge and placed yellow corn in each posthole. The west-side clans erected the west side of the ceremonial lodge and placed small mats of buffalo hair in the central postholes of their side. 616 614 [344]

According to tradition, the clans were not all established simultaneously. It is said that Lone Man announced while living in the tribe that he belonged to the WaxikEna clan. It was the custom for this clan to sit near the door on the left, or west, side in council and during the ceremonies. The other five clans which were believed to be closest in relationship to the WaxikEna clan occupied the west side of the lodge also. It was believed that those who were of no clan occupied the entire east section of the lodge in no particular order until Clay on the Face, when returning from a successful war expedition, announced an arbitrary division of the young men then sitting in council. It is said that 614 773

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

614 773 he divided those sitting on the east side into seven groups and gave each group a name, informing them that their sisters and mothers would belong to the same group. Since men of all villages were present at the time, clans were taken back to all villages of the tribe.

614 616 Of the thirteen clans, nine have become extinct. Bites in Nose was said to be the last to remember the thirteen clans which he would call in turn during the Okipa ceremony. The WaxikEna and Tamisik constitute one moiety and the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle make up the other moiety today. When the last performance of the Okipa ceremony was held after going onto the Reservation, the WaxikEna and Tamisik occupied the west side of the lodge, and the other two clans took the opposite side. At that time Hidatsa fasters participated in the ceremony, and the members of their three-clan moiety sat with the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while the four-clan moiety sat on the opposite side.

614 [424] The Mandan consider the WaxikEna to be the highest clan, since it held the rights in the Okipa ceremony. The word *waxikEna* means "to tell bad stories about." The word *tamisik* has no meaning, but the people of that clan were said to be stingy and were frequently teased for serving small portions on wooden platters placed before visitors. *Tamixixiks* refers to poor leather used in making harnesses for carrying wood.

According to tradition, when the Mandan were first created by the culture hero, Lone Man, young men married their own sisters until the tribe became numerous, when clans were established to prevent marriage between relatives. The clan names had no sacred significance, and in the cases of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle there was no prohibition against killing these birds by members of the two clans.

[554] The clans were organized groups and elected a leader who acted in an advisory capacity. He was an older person who had been successful in warfare or in hunting and had shown considerable interest in the members of the clan, particularly the old men and women. There were frequent clan feasts by some member of the clan, at which time they would discuss the success of individual members. When a young man contemplated buying an important ceremonial bundle or performing a ceremony, it

614 431

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was customary for the clan to meet in the clan leader's lodge and make provisions for the accumulation of goods to be used in the rites. It was believed that a successful ceremony with an abundance of gifts to be given away brought credit to the entire clan. 614 431

Moieties were in theory exogamous, but they had ceased to regulate marriage after 1837. Scattercorn explained that, while the Mandan considered those who sat on the same side in the Okipa or in council as brothers, it was considered better to marry into a clan of the same moiety than to marry outside the tribe. Marriages within the clan were disapproved. 616 582

The clan was a property-holding group. The major bundles of the Okipa ceremony were held in the WaxikEna clan, which also owned the sacred cedar and controlled the Okipa lodge and sacred turtles. Traditionally, the Shell Robe bundle belonged in the Prairie Chicken clan. Eagle-trapping lodges belonged to the clan of the member building it and remained in the clan when the original owner died. There were two bundles for the Big Bird ceremonies which were known as Black Medicine bundle and Sweet Medicine bundle. The former was inherited in the Prairie Chicken clan and the latter in the Speckled Eagle clan of the same moiety. Each clan was the theoretical custodian of one variety of corn. The WaxikEna clan was custodian of the bluish-green flint corn; the Tamisik had the red corn; the Prairie Chicken had the yellow flint and dent; the Speckled Eagle had the rainbow corn. Crows Heart stated that Hides-and-Eats, an old woman who lived in his lodge, told him that, when she was young, people of one clan were not permitted to raise corn belonging to the other clans without first securing the rights and that each clan claimed to be the preserver of its own corn. 614 421

It was the duty of the clan to assist its own members. It was the clan's duty to care for its old people having no blood children. During the smallpox epidemic of 1837, women went through the villages and gathered the orphans of their clan, who were taken into their lodges to be reared. Old people were invited in to be fed and clothed by younger members of their own clan. When returning from a successful hunt, young men would offer meat to the old people who met them at the outskirts of the village. One was expected to offer meat to old people of the same clan without being asked for it. 614 736 888

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The permanent name one received when returning from the first successful war expedition was received from the father's clan.

The moiety had both ceremonial and economic functions. When dividing the buffalo captured in the corral, the inclosure was symbolic of the ceremonial lodge. A line was drawn through the center of the corral extending from the midpoint of the entrance to the opposite side. Those animals falling to the left of the entrance belonged to the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while those of the opposite side belonged to the other moiety. Women of a moiety butchered on their side without regard to clan. Each moiety constructed its half of the ceremonial lodge and would also erect an earth lodge used as a residence when the clan of the owner of the new lodge assisted in putting up goods for the assistance rendered by the opposite moiety. It was believed that the moiety regulated marriage prior to the last smallpox epidemic, but a study of lineages indicated that it had little influence over marriages after 1837. There was a feeling that in former times traditional eagle-trapping sites were divided into moieties, each moiety trapping on its side of the Missouri River. If such division existed, all evidences had disappeared before 1870. There was considerable competition between moieties. When one moiety had more successful war leaders than the other, its members would tease the others and question their bravery. Sons of men of the same moiety teased each other a great deal. Each moiety had a leader who assisted in the division of the buffalo taken in a corral.

VILLAGE AND TRIBAL LEADERSHIP

Mandan village and tribal leadership was vested in the hierarchy of bundle-owners or priests who constituted a group of head men whose number varied from time to time depending on the status of the various bundles. From this group two leaders were selected whose war or peacemaking record exceeded that of all others or who, because of other practices, had acquired considerable popularity with the people. The one whose record in warfare was greatest was selected in council to be war chief. A second chief selected was one who had important ceremonial bundles, had given many feasts, and had performed many rites for the general welfare of the village. These were considered the

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602 brings together still another set of relatives between whom there
608 is frequently established a "father-son" bond extending to the
597 "father-son" relatives which was often more intimate than with
the "son's" own father who may be separated from the son's
614 mother. This relationship to persons outside the biological family may be further altered by ceremonial participation. Adoption of a child from outside the clan, though uncommon, did occur, and the one adopted, by changing his or her clan status,
[616] affected the relationship of both groups. When no other relationship was applicable, the moiety functioned as a clan. There was a further extension of the kinship to embrace the supernatural. Details of this classification appear in the chapters on ceremonialism contained in this report. The kinship pattern was also extended to include persons of neighboring tribes, even unfriendly tribes, when a friendship developed between individuals of different tribes; formal adoption established relationships that played an important role in restricting warfare and promoting trade. The numerous devices for extending kinship between the villages frequently brought about a situation in which a Mandan had a choice of two or more terms of relationship for the same person. The situation determined the term to be employed. Obviously those who are most closely associated in daily and ceremonial activities were considered closest in making a decision. When the writer was collecting the materials for this report, he was very anxious to use Tom Smith as interpreter for Scattercorn, since he was familiar with the specific problem being developed at that time. She refused to work with him on the grounds that she considered him a "son-in-law." The relationship between the two was this: Scattercorn's (Tamisik clan) sister's daughter's daughter married Edgar Crows Heart, who was Tom Smith's sister's son (Water-buster clan). She was, of course, Edgar Crows Heart's mother-in-law, but she extended the taboo to Tom Smith because he visited a great deal at Crows Heart's home. She did not consider Drags Wolf a son-in-law, although of Edgar Crows Heart's clan, because he rarely called at Crows Heart's lodge.

601 The importance of the clan in regard to the kinship has been
614 brought out in the foregoing discussions, but this should not be interpreted to mean that the kinship system is a clan system.

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back to the village. Economic training came largely from his father and the older men of the lodge. If he were inclined to be lazy, his mother would talk to him, while her brother would shame him and accuse him of bringing disgrace to the clan. 861 868 562

A boy was taught to begin fasting when he was eight or nine years of age. The parents would tell him of the benefits he would receive and cite the various eminent men of the village who had attained their position from this practice. The mother's brother and his older brothers would give him goods to take into the Okipa to present to some man of his father's clan and designate the person entitled to the gift. An older brother planning to fast would bring a younger brother to the Okipa ceremony and instruct him, sending him home when he thought he had been there long enough, while the father would give him some small article from his ceremonial bundle to wear, thinking it would help to get a "vision." 861 869 785

A lodge "grandfather" contributed a great deal to a boy's education. He would make toy bows and arrows and teach him to use them. If he had a fish trap, his grandsons did much of the work of carrying willows to the bank for weaving into sections for the walls, and he would permit them to bail the fish out of the trap. He would teach them games, especially techniques and skills which would be useful in warfare, and tell them stories. Using rivalry between the moieties, these old men who were too old to hunt would arrange the boys ten years and younger on sides and teach them to use shields for their protection, shooting at each other with arrows on the blunt ends of which a ball of mud or wrapped hide had been attached. 868 616

Not to be discounted in the training of a young Mandan boy or girl was the informal education they received by living in intimate contact with the entire village population, observing the conduct of others, and being kept informed of contemplated group action by the village "criers" who announced each decision of the village leaders. He learned that he must treat different relatives in various ways and that they would laugh at him if he did not. Learning that he was expected to treat different relatives the same way his brothers did, he imitated his older brothers unconsciously and followed their advice. 861 867

A girl's education was essentially the same as a boy's except 861 862 602

727 554 785 431 feasts, he would be respected as an average person, but he would never be able to rise to eminence.

727 554 431 A young man's first participation in a successful war expedition in which he captured horses and "struck" an enemy was an important occasion in his life and involved practically everyone in the village as well the other villages of the tribe. In the division of his horses, he expressed his respect for those who assisted him during the expedition as well as his affection for his friends and relatives in the village. If he captured a number of horses, among which was an animal of peculiar markings which the leader dreamed of and described before it was found, that animal belonged to the leader. The leader would also receive the first horse captured. Strays went to the first one seeing them regardless of the person capturing them. He would give the camp tender one if he had not already received one. Returning to the village, he would give one horse to his oldest married sister, who would, in turn, give it to her husband to use. This was a means of expressing rivalry between brothers-in-law of the same age. If his sisters were not married, the horse would go to his mother. His sisters would not ordinarily get horses on subsequent occasions unless they came out to meet him. He would give one horse to his father and, if there were any additional animals, would keep them for himself. However, if he had also been successful in striking the enemy while capturing these horses, he would not succeed in keeping any of the horses, for, on the succeeding day while the Scalp Dance was celebrated, an old woman of his father's clan would announce that [553] he was to receive a new name to supplant the one he had received as a baby. He was presented with new moccasins, leggings, and shirt, and he paid her as representative of his father's moiety in horses and other property.

554 ●616 553 431 A young man's reputation was based on his relatives' generosity which was contingent on the wealth and status of his relatives. Learning that he had struck the enemy and knowing one always received a new name that had belonged to a man of the father's moiety, the brothers and sisters accumulated goods for the occasion. They were assisted by members of their clan and young men of his age-grade society. During the Scalp Dance, singing was interrupted while the mother and her

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daughters called the names of old men and women of the opposite moiety who were to receive presents. After the breakdown of the moiety system, the method of naming varied slightly. Formerly, when the father and mother were of different moieties, the name selected was that of a deceased male of distinction who was of the father's moiety, and the presents were given to men and women of the father's moiety. After the breakdown of the moiety system following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, the clan became the exogamous unit. When the father and mother belonged to clans within the same moiety, the name given was that of a distinguished deceased person of the father's clan, but gifts were given to persons of all the clans except the mother's, which was the assisting group.

Within a few days after returning from a successful war expedition, a young man would usually receive an offer of marriage from the parents of some eligible young woman who had not been married before. He could refuse, but few did. An ambitious young man wishing to establish a good reputation both as a war leader and as a person of distinction in the village needed several wives to assist him in the performance of ceremonies and the purchase of important sacred bundles. Those not eligible to inherit important tribal bundles could purchase the right to participate in important ceremonies, or they could pledge to perform the Okipa and, in recognition of their contribution to these tribal rites, received some sacred object associated with the ceremony to carry when on war expeditions. Social recognition of a man's right to be a war leader was given during these ceremonies when some older man of high status in the village announced while receiving goods that the young man would be lucky in "all that he undertook." Without this sanction by the older men, young warriors would have been unwilling to follow him on war expeditions.

The attainment of the rank of war leader marked an important point in a man's training and altered his relations materially with the people of the village. His opinions were solicited relative to problems of village welfare, and he received presents during ceremonial and social occasions in recognition of his position. He was now responsible for those fighting under his leadership and became the teacher of the skills he had acquired under

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562 assistance and the fact that the game run into yards was divided [462] on a moiety basis.

Households having no males suffered most in their ceremonial [578] life. When an important tribal bundle got out of the lodge, it was usually difficult to get it back.

Marriage within the clan was not permitted. There was no 582 punishment other than tribal criticism, and in the census taken as of 1870–72 only one instance was reported by informants, and all the informants questioned on this point mentioned the case. The one instance of marriage within the clan was between Standing Bear and Beaver Woman; though the tribe did not approve of the marriage, they thought that in a way it was justified, since Beaver Woman's mother suggested the marriage after both parties were over fifty-five years of age. The women were brought to Standing Bear's lodge, and the marriage was entered into after the women lost their lodge.

Certain Mandan clans had Hidatsa equivalents. Both had 582 a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna clan was con- 614 sidered equivalent to the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik clan was equivalent to the Hidatsa Knife clan. The Mandan were not in agreement as to the wisdom of marriage between Mandan-Hidatsa equated clans. Some treated them as separate lineages and considered marriage permissible. Bad Gun's wife's younger sister, however, refused to marry him, believing that the Tamisik and Knife were divisions of a single clan.

The Mandan claim that moieties were exogamous until after 582 1837 and that it was more convenient to go through the cere- 616 monies with the wives when they were of opposite moieties, giving as the basis for the breakdown of the moieties the shortage of men. People preferred to marry into the moiety to marrying outside the tribe.

Both the levirate and the sororate were permissible. When 587 a man married to the older sister died, a younger brother had first chance to marry the widow, which he could do with only a token payment. Such marriages were highly regarded. This was rarely done, since, with a shortage of men, the younger brother was usually already married to several women. When a wife died, the husband could claim one of her younger sisters as wife, and she seldom refused, especially if her sister had small children.

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437 utilize other decorations, she was obliged to seek another
421 woman entitled to make the particular decoration and buy the
428 right of her.

There was a similar specialization for men. When a young
437 man was found to have an especially good voice which was
heard above the others in the songs of the society dances, he
425 was encouraged to buy singer rights in dances of both a sacred
535 and a secular character. Although they were obliged to make
555 payments either to existing singers or to the owners of bundles, their rewards far exceeded the initial costs. Their training included information relative to the ceremonies that were being performed, and they received recognition comparable to that shown those who had directed a number of successful war expeditions. In council, their authority was as great as those who had directed war parties, summer buffalo hunts, or eagle-trapping expeditions.

555 Those who could tattoo or paint designs appreciated by the people of the village were highly regarded and received a con-
•616 siderable amount of goods for their services. There were usually
531 at least two skilled painters in each village, and they were
789 expected to belong to opposite moieties. A man of one moiety would go to a man of the other moiety to have a robe, shield, or clothing painted either according to his particular inclination or with specific designs of things dreamed of. Each warrior had one or more shields made of buffalo hide taken from around the neck, and these were used universally by the Mandan for protection against arrows and spears until guns became more universal. The designs were believed to offer supernatural protection, and their potency was considered to be enhanced when the design was painted by a man of the opposite moiety, since there would be a payment to the "father" who would pray for the "son's" success. These painters were held responsible for the proper painting of the characters represented in the Okipa and received much property for their services. If they were otherwise sensible men, they enjoyed the same status as those who had been successful in other pursuits.

555 The arrowmakers were highly regarded. Although all males
887 usually made arrows, some were employed specially for arrow-making. These were the older men of the lodge who had passed

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stood. This lodge was circular in outline and differed from the regular earth lodges only by its greater size. 361 171

The open-circle concept was definitely established among the Mandan at a very early date according to the archeological evidence from the Heart River region.[2] There is some evidence in the Grand River region of the Mandan-type open-circle village arrangement, but the situation there is in most instances obscured by subsequent Arikara occupations.

Lone Man, according to tradition, established the custom of leaving an open area within each village for dancing. Later, when he was leaving the tribe, he erected a Red-painted cedar, as a symbol of his body and of all the Mandans who had lived before. The cedar was surrounded by a wall of cottonwood planks as a symbol of the wall he erected to protect the people from the flood. A water willow surrounding the planks marked the highest advance of the flood waters. He also established the custom of maintaining a special ceremonial lodge in each village and taught the ceremonies associated with its construction. The lodge was a symbol of Dog Den Butte where Hoita (the speckled eagle) imprisoned all living things. Six central posts were used making it oblong in form, with a flat side facing the open circle.[3] Lone Man also established the WəxikEna and Tamisik clans and indicated their seating arrangement in the ceremonial lodge. He divided the lodge into two halves, the left half or east side belonging to the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, and five other clans of that moiety. The right side belonged to the WaxikEna, Tamisik, Tamixixiks and three other clans of that moiety. 773 776 346

According to the sacred myths the moiety and clan system was as follows prior to the smallpox epidemics: 773 614 616

West-Side Moiety (Buffalo)	East-Side Moiety (Corn)
Waxi'kEna (Tell Bad News)	Sipuska'numak (Prairie Chicken People)
Tami'sik (no meaning)	Ipoka'numak (Speckled Eagle People)
Tami'xixiks (Bad Strap)	Mato'domak (Bear People)
[Three extinct clans whose names are not now remembered]	MasE'domak (Red Hill People)
	Amaka'domak (Badger People)
	HoxExaka'numak (Crow People)
	Manakasa'numak (People in Grove)

2. By 1500 in sites of the Huff focus in villages of rectangular lodges.

3. This was the habitation lodge which was retained for ceremonial purposes when the circular earth lodge was adopted shortly before 1600.

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614 Prior to the first smallpox epidemic there were thirteen named clans, six clans dying out as a result of that epidemic. The three
616 above clans of the west-side moiety survived together with the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, Crow, and Bear clans of the opposite moiety. The Bad Straps were assimilated into the Tamisik clan, while the Crow and Bear clans either died out or were assimilated with the Prairie Chickens after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

776 The west-side moiety was established by Lone Man, who represented the village activities and peace functions of the
616 tribe. The other moiety was divided into clans by Clay on the
614 Face, who promised to give the people sitting opposite Lone Man's moiety names if he returned from a successful war ex-
773 pedition. As he returned from this expedition singing, he saw prairie chickens which were making a loud noise as they ate, the speckled eagles flying in the air, the bears in the timber, the snake people living in the red buttes near Old Woman Who Never Dies' lodge, the badger near his burrow on the prairie, the crows which were cawing, and mysterious people living in the small brush thickets. These were the names he gave to the people of his moiety.

Of the ten clans listed above, four survived the smallpox epi-
614 demic of 1837. They were WaxikEna, Tamisik, Prairie Chicken, and Speckled Eagle. Scattercorn's father, Moves Slowly, an officer in the Okipa, would call the name of each Nuptadi clan on the last day, and those impersonating the bulls would bellow as each was named. He had heard that the officers from the other village would formerly call the names of thirteen clans, but while at Fort Clark they dropped six extinct clans from the rites.

346 Each moiety owned its side of the ceremonial lodge. When erecting a new lodge or repairing the old one, the clans forming
616 a moiety worked as a unit on their own side. Those fasting dur-
614 ing the Okipa occupied places inside the lodge at the wall according to clan. Those of the WaxikEna were next to the door on the right side. The Tamisik occupied the balance of that side. On the left side the Prairie Chicken clan sat near to the door, and the Speckled Eagle clan occupied the remaining space on that side.

000 The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of

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tadi band of Mandan. Immediately after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, both bundles were kept at Nuptadi but had different owners. Crows Belt owned the Robe bundle and Red Bird owned the Skull bundle. A year after the smallpox epidemic, Red Bird lost a son from smallpox and contemplated putting the bundle away on the hills, the customary method of relinquishing an unsold bundle, when his son-in-law, Bear Looks Around, an Awaxawi, indicated a desire to purchase the bundle.[2]

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The Mandan who owned rights in all the Corn ceremonies met and approved the transfer, since at that time there was considerable intertribal marriage and the principal Mandan Corn bundle containing Good Furred Robe's robe was not involved in the sale. Bear Looks Around bought the bundle, which he later transferred to his "younger brother" (sister's son), Poor Wolf, who transferred it to Mrs. White Duck, his daughter, the present owner.

The Robe bundle was transferred from Crows Belt to Moves Slowly, last head of the Corn ceremonies at Like-a-Fishhook Village. Having no "younger brother," and since no male of his clan indicated a desire to purchase the bundle, he sold his rights to his daughter, Scattercorn.[3] She lost the robe and most of the bundle when their earth lodge burned but saved the pipe. She replaced part of the bundle but not the robe.

A second group of somewhat more complicated Corn ceremonies was associated with Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles. Four groups of bundles belonged to these rites. They were:

1. *Principal bundles.*—These consisted of a large number of articles symbolic of characters and objects referred to in the Old Woman Who Never Dies myth. There was no full bundle in existence at the time of this study. Information was supplied largely by Scattercorn and supplemented by isolated bits of information from a number of informants whose families owned secondary bundles associated with the principal bundles and containing varying numbers of articles similar to those in the principal bundles. From this scattered information, the inform-

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2. Father-in-law to son-in-law or older brother to younger brother constitute moiety inheritance when moieties are exogamous.

3. Scattercorn died in 1940. Her rights in the Corn ceremony were transferred to Mrs. Little Owl, a clan daughter.

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197 or the thirteen villages with which Maximilian's informants credited them,[1] in the beginning of the nineteenth century there certainly were two villages, Nū'pta (Ruhptare) and Mị'tutąk (Mihtuttahangkusch), speaking distinct dialects, as is demonstrated by Maximilian's vocabularies.[2] One of my informants added a third village, Istápe, (given by Morgan as a clan name), where she said the Nū'pta dialect was spoken.

621 It is clear from Maximilian's data that between Nū'pta and Mị'tutąk [184] there was also a minor cultural differentiation in the matter of dances. The question in connection with our immediate problem is how to conceive 614 the relation of the villages to the social divisions. Maximilian tells us that 174 the Mandan called themselves "Nū'mangkā'ke" (*nū'makā'ki*) i. e., people, and were wont to add the name of the village from which they had originally come. Thus, there were Prairie-chicken people, so-called after the Prairie-chicken village; Bear people, Cactus people, Badger people,— all named from corresponding villages.

> Obgleich nun alle die oben genannten Dörfer nicht mehr existiren, so nennen sich dennoch alle diese Indianer ihrer Abstammung zufolge noch nach denselben.[3]

This is a clear-cut statement to the effect that the Mandan clans developed in recent times from formerly distinct local groups. If we assume that the ancient village scheme involved local exogamy and matrilineal descent, or that the latter was grafted on the former, possibly through borrowing, the fusion of people from different settlements would quite naturally lead to the evolution of exogamous clans. The statement of one of my informants that all the clans were found in both Mị'tutąk and Nū'pta is not inconsistent with such a line of development since this condition would be readily brought about by intermarriage. However, all this is pure speculation and the questions involved will only become clearer after considering the social organization of the Mandan as sketched by recent informants and comparing it with that of the Hidatsa and other tribes.

• 616 The Mandan were divided into non-exogamous moieties corresponding [171] in name to those of the Hidatsa, viz., Three-clans (nū'makā'ki ō'rehe nā'mini) and Four-clans (nū'makā'ki ō're tōp). According to Black-chest, the names of the moieties and the constituent clans were originated by the legendary warrior Seven-wolf when returning from a victorious expedition against the Arikara. Information is very meager as to the functions of the dual division in tribal life, but here there is again close correspondence to Hidatsa conditions. During a general council of the Mandan the Three-

[1] Maximilian, II, 103.
[2] *ibid.*, 557–561.
[3] *ibid.*, 104.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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clans were ranged on one side, the Four-clans on the other. In building an earth-lodge the Three-clan women would put earth on one side and the Four-clan women on the other. 616

It is altogether improbable that the Hidatsa and Mandan moiety systems should have had an independent origin. The question at once arises, then, which was the borrowing tribe. The complete lack of any trace of the dual division among the Crow suggests that the Hidatsa imitated the Mandan scheme, a conclusion which I was at first tempted to draw. However, there is no satisfactory evidence on behalf of this interpretation. In the first place, the moieties of the Winnebago, the closest linguistic allies of the Mandan, were exogamous, while there is no indication that this applies to the Mandan and Hidatsa divisions; moreover, the Mandan differ from all other Siouans and resemble the Hidatsa and Crow in the rule of matrilineal descent. There is thus no *a priori* reason for assigning the rôle of transmitter to the Mandan rather than to the Hidatsa. Secondly, there is a disparity between the designations of the Mandan moieties and the number of their clans such as does not occur among the Hidatsa. Some informants, to be sure, make the number correspond to the moiety names, and Morgan without speaking of a dual division lists seven clans. But other Mandans give the number as eleven or even sixteen, while nine are reported by Mr. Curtis. The informant who spoke of sixteen clans added that more of them belonged to the Four-clan than to the Three-clan moiety, but this struck me as an obvious afterthought,— as a secondary attempt to harmonize as best he could two sets of contradictory facts. Although the information obtained is hardly sufficient to permit a definite solution, I rather incline to Mr. Curtis's view that the Mandan moiety scheme is derived from the Hidatsa, whose clans conform in number to the moiety names. 616 171 614 174

The following scheme was furnished by Two-chiefs, herself a member of the first-named clan: — 616 614

Three-Clan Moiety.

maxi' 'kina
tamī'sik
nū'pta

Four-Clan Moiety.

si' pucka nū'mak, Prairie-chicken people
xtaxtám nū'mak, Young white-headed Eagle[1]
mánakactōk nū'mak, People all in a bunch[2]
xō'xixā' ka nū'mak, Crow people (said to refer to the scalp on a stick)

[1] Mr. Curtis, (v. 145), translates the word "Spotted Eagle."
[2] Presumably Mr. Curtis's Madhakashtak, "Clump of Wood."

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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●616 614 In this list it will be noted that the third name in the first moiety coincides with that of the Nū'pta village and dialectic division. Black-chest, of the same moiety, substituted the ma'nakactðk for the nū'pta, and Turtle-woman, likewise a Three-clan, gave the tamī'kexik in the same place. This name suspiciously resembles another, tamī'kaxik, Bad Packstrap, which the same authority gave as an ancient designation of the maxi''kina people, who were so named because they used poor string to tie with. Both Black-chest and Turtle-woman regarded the tamī'sik as equivalent to the Hidatsa me'ᵉ tsirō'ke (Knife) clan. There is no suggestion that this was meant to interpret the meaning of the name, and Turtle-woman said that the tamī'sik were Wolf people. This is probably merely a symbolic reference since the words for "wolf" are quite different in Maximilian's vocabularies. As regards the constitution of the Four-clan moiety, Turtle-woman and Two-chiefs are in perfect agreement.

Calf-woman said that there were eleven clans grouped in moieties but made no attempt to classify the ten names she actually supplied. Like 614 Maximilian, she regarded all the clans as connected with different villages; accordingly, it is not surprising that she should have included nū'pta in her list. On the other hand, several others are omitted in her enumeration, which follows:—

sī' pucka
xtaxta' nū'ma ᵃkᵉ
mī'ti ā'ki, Village above
maxáhe
tamī'sik
ō'rᵉ' 'kū'pa, Seven-different-kinds
mā'ak ī'xtit mī'ti, Hilltop village
mī'tixā'rᵉ, Scattered village
mī'ī'tik ᵉ'exicot nū'makā'ki, White-bellied mouse people
nūptarᵉ

Three names not recorded by me at all are given by Mr. Curtis,— the masē' (kshuk), Red Butte; the matēk, Badger; and the madhadhacu, Charcoal. Of these the Badger people are also mentioned by Maximilian, but his Bear and Cactus villages seem to have no equivalents in either Mr. Curtis's or my own lists. Morgan's[1] list of seven clans includes the Prairie-chickens, Maximilian's Bear and Calf-woman's Village-above people,— also a Wolf (Horata), Good Knife (Tanatsuka), Eagle (Kitanemake), and Flathead (Estapa) clan.

[1] Morgan, (b), part II, chapter 6.

[For information on the Mandan "clan," see category 614.]

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[For information on "clans" see category 614.]

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[For information on the kinship units Lowie calls clans, see category 614.]

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361 Aboriginal Mandan village sites had the following distinctive
174 characteristics.

1. The circular four-post earth lodge was the most common type used for summer residence, although semirectangular lodges did occasionally occur. These lodges were closely grouped within a limited area.

2. A central open space approximately one hundred and fifty feet in diameter was reserved for the dances and ceremonies. A
[778] cedar was set into the ground at the center of the open circle and surrounded by an inclosure of wood to represent the culture hero's (NumakmaxEna) body. The inclosure was a symbol of the wall which NumakmaxEna erected to protect the people
[344] from the flood. The ceremonial lodge was on the north side of the open area and in line with the other lodges which formed the circumference of the open area. Lodge entrances of this inner circle faced to the center. The ceremonial lodge was distinguished from other lodges by its flat front and greater length than width.

3. Villages were usually either protected by a surrounding wall and ditch or so situated as to employ as defenses such natural features of the terrain as cliffs, ravines, or riverbanks.

4. Villages were, with one or two exceptions, built near the Missouri River or its tributaries and adjacent to the wooded river bottoms which were cleared for gardens.

5. Although scaffolds for the dead were erected near the vil-
[764] lages, isolated human bones, cache burials, and secondary bundle burials occur so frequently within the older villages that we are justified in assuming that these practices were characteristic of the older culture and that scaffold disposal was of late adoption.

6. There was a marked uniformity between villages of the same age with respect to material culture.

7. The clustering of a considerable number of village sites of a single archeological focus and the absence of all other foci within the region adjacent to the Heart River indicate Mandan domination of an extensive area along the Upper Missouri.

174 The Mandan claim to have been divided into bands which, in large part, were broken down while living at the Heart River.
619 These were: (1) Is'topa ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves");

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

(2) Nup'tadi (no meaning); (3) Ma'nana'rE ("Those Who Quarreled"); (4) Awi'-ka-xa (no meaning); and (5) Nu'itadi ("Our People").

While living in the Heart River region, dialectic differences also existed between bands. Three major dialectic groups existed then, according to Crows Heart and Scattercorn: Nuptadi, Nuitadi, and Awigaxa. The latter group was small and was assimilated into the Nuitadi after the first smallpox epidemic. Linguistic differences between the Nuptadi and Nuitadi were recognized by Maximilian, who prepared a partial list of Mandan words of the two dialects.[1] These differences are still recognized by Mandan informants. The Nuitadi was the largest linguistic group and comprised the Nuitadi proper, the Is'topa, and the Ma'nana'rE. The latter two bands separated from the Nuptadi proper for economic reasons when the village population became too large for the further exploitation of the corn grounds.

In historic times and before coming to Fort Clark, according to Crows Heart, the Istopa and MananarE had separate villages. In addition, there were several villages of Nuitadi. The Istopa were believed to occupy the territory north of the Heart River and had as their nearest neighbors the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa, who moved there from below the Cannonball River. Their principal village was at the Motsiff site. Crows Heart's grandmother was of the Istopa band, and she was born in their village near the present town of Sanger, North Dakota.

The Mandan have been a relatively small tribe since the first smallpox epidemic which reached them before leaving the Heart River villages. Lewis and Clark reported ruins of their villages in that region in 1804, and the natives informed him that in their time nine villages were occupied simultaneously. The east-side villages united into one village and moved northward, while the west-side group united first into two villages and later into one village and moved northward along the west bank of the Missouri and settled at Fort Clark Village.

There is some inconsistency in the Mandan migration myths,

1. Maximilian, Prince of W.ed, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. R. G. Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906), XXIV, 259.

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778 trusted to the WaxikEna clan, who could take any articles left
793 at the cedar as an offering for their own use. The amount of
614 goods placed at the cedar during a year was considerable, since
796 sometime during the performance of every ceremony and age-grade society dance a visit was made to the cedar to ask the blessings of Lone Man, and some article of value was placed there. In the case of strictly winter ceremonies held in the winter camp where a cedar was never erected, offerings frequently were not made to the cedar. The cedar together with the surrounding wall and willow band was called Minimi'tahEdE, meaning "the retreat of the waters."

778 In theory, goods deposited at the cedar became the property
614 of any member of the WaxikEna clan who happened to be
421 passing by. In practice, however, the goods finally reached the old men and women of that clan. Those appropriating too much goods for personal use lost status in the village. Those living near the cedar had an advantage over those more distantly removed in reaching the goods first. Apparently there was no tendency to take the offerings away at once. Scattercorn told how a very beautiful robe hung on the wall several days before a man removed it and then not until a number of people had gathered there and to whom he announced that he had observed that a feeble clan brother was in need of a new robe since the one he was then wearing was shabby.

621 Each fixed village unit had its own complete set of officers.
619 Crows Heart explained that the tribe was formerly divided into
778 a number of fixed bands, each one occupying one or more villages. His mother belonged to the Is'topa ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves"). There were also the Nuptadi, Ma'nana'-rE[7] ("Those Who Quarreled"), Awigaxa,[8] and Nuitadi. Each of

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At the north side she sang:

o-ta'-nu-mą-kE	masa'numąkE
mi-ka-xo'	na'mini (three)
EhE'nakahoc	

At the south side she sang:

ota'numąkE	masa'numąkE
mikaxo'	to'pa (four)
EhE'nakahoc.	

7. Other informants thought that the Mananada was not a fixed band but any small group who separated from a principal village when quarrels occurred.

8. According to tradition, this group lived near the Grand River until late prehistoric times and did not practice the Okipa until they moved to the Painted Woods

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these groups set up a cedar whenever a new village was built. Each had its own set of officers, but the turtles originally belonged to the Nuptadi band into which the original Lone Man was once born, and it was necessary to borrow them whenever the Okipa was being performed in one of the other villages. They were the common property of the WaxikEna clan. Crows Heart explained that quarrels sometimes occurred in a village, with part of the population breaking away, but that in such instances no cedar would be erected or ceremonial lodge built until it was decided to make the village a permanent one. Scattercorn thought that the groups were stable, although a few families were always leaving one group and joining another. She thought that fission of villages was a difficult thing, as new Okipa officers would be needed.

The Mandan have a number of creation stories which were a part of the sacred myths of the bundles and their associated ceremonies. The sacred myth of the Corn ceremony relates the exploits of the Corn People, who formerly lived below the surface of the earth beside a lake before coming to the surface under the chieftainship of Good Furred Robe. The Buffalo People, who were the performers of the Okipa, were created on the earth near Heart River by Lone Man after the lands were made. In mythological times there was an earth-lodge village of hawks to the east, bears to the north, eagles and other large birds including the Sun and Moon in the sky, to mention but a few of them. The Heart River region became a meeting place of peoples of all these groups. The Corn People migrated northward and united with the Buffalo People. Other peoples were added from time to time through intermarriage and were identified according to their respective bundles. It was believed that the visions one had were dependent on the mythological group to which he belonged.

The Animal rites of the Okipa ceremony are reported to have originally belonged to the Buffalo People, who were created in the vicinity of Heart River by Lone Man and are a dramatization of the freeing of the animals from Dog Den Butte. As new groups united with them, modifications were instituted in the cere-

region shortly before the first smallpox epidemic. Their emphasis was on corn rites instituted by Good Furred Robe while living far to the south.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

more likely to be exact than the estimate of those early explorers. Opinions upon this point will naturally differ.

Thompson. David Thompson, who in the preface to Coues' edition of the Henry-Thompson Journals (Francis P. Harper, 1897) is referred to as "the celebrated astronomer, geographer, explorer and discoverer—in a word the scientist," and who, in the employ of the Northwest Company, left McDougall's house on the Assiniboine river November 28th, 1797, and arrived at the Missouri river and the Mandan villages December 29th, 1797, and departed on his return trip January 10th, 1798, is thus noted by Dr. Coues, who has summarized from the Thompson Journal: "He notes five villages, altogether of 318 houses and 7 tents, viz: Upper Fall Indians, 31 houses, 7 tents; Lower Fall Indians, 82 houses; third village, 'Mahnon of Mandens and a few Fall Indians,' 52 houses, 37 Mandan and 15 Fall; fourth village, Mandan, 'across the river,' 40 houses; fifth, or principal Mandan village, lowest, 113 houses." (Vol. 1, p. 301-2.) He does not undertake to locate precisely any of these villages. But it is clear that he does find two villages on the westerly side of the Missouri in 1797-8, one of which is exclusively Mandan, the other principally composed of that tribe.

Now, both the Thompson and the Lewis and Clarke accounts declare that there were, in the general group of Indian villages on the Missouri at and just below the mouth of the Big Knife river five of them in all. But in order to harmonize the two accounts as to how many of them were Mandan villages we must consider the statement in Lewis and Clarke that the two Mandan villages "who had emigrated together" from below and in the neighborhood of Heart river (opposite to Bismarck, North Dakota), and who "settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri," and who were found there by Thompson in 1797 in two villages, had consolidated between that time and 1804, as Lewis and Clarke say of them (referring to the visitors of "1796"), "since which the two villages have united into one." They also say that the "Mahaha" village, on the south side of the Big Knife and at its very mouth, was half a mile below the so called Minitaree, or "Metaharta" village on that stream, and that "on the opposite side of the Knife river, and one and a half miles above this village, is a second of Minnetarees, who may be considered as the proper Minnetaree nation." (Id., p. 198.) We

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ent villages, and it is no illusion to call one village a Mandan, and the other an Aricaree village of old. 172 361

"Such particulars have slipped the observation of early travelers, as they were looking more for the very goods, the Indians and for their places of habitation, and have overlooked abandoned places. Lewis and Clarke also do not mention any such abandoned village as there is the site on Sec. 30 and 31, 143, 81.

" As far as I have got in the location of villages, camps and cemeteries I have forty-five in number marked on the map, a few more to be added."

"(A map which he is preparing for the State Historical Society of North Dakota, see L.)

Under date of March 19th, 1907, Mr. Steinbreuck further states: 361

"I do not believe the Aricarees moved down the Missouri very far, since their quarrel with the Mandans. They put one river between them and the Mandans, the Cannon-Ball. Lewis and Clarke found them above Grand river. Some of the Aricarees stayed with their allies, the Mandans, and moved up stream with them from their villages near the Heart. The larger part moved up later between 1804 and 1833. I have found now forty-three villages from five miles below. Standing Rock agency, up to above Knife river, including three Hidatsa villages. Some of the villages are later than 1804, and are determinedly of Aricaree origin. Further no mention is made of those later villages by Lewis and Clarke." 167

Writer's Visit to Fort Berthold and Mandans. "On September 5th-7th, 1905, he who presents this paper went to Old Fort Berthold and beyond, to Elbowoods, N. D., for the purpose of gaining, if possible, some further impressions of the Mandans and of interviewing some of the leading men of the tribe on the reservation within whose limits they were living. An account of that trip, as regards the Aricarees—who were also the objective of the visit—is found in Vol. III, of the South Dakota History Collections, pages 572-583. 000

"Rev. C. L. Hall, who had been for about thirty years and still is Missionary of the Congregational Missionary Society among the Indians at that reservation, very kindly entertained and materially assisted the writer while there. That point, some twenty 621 124

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

621 124 miles west of the site of Old Fort Berthold, is yet known as the Fort Berthold Indian agency, and all of the instrumentalities of the agency, including an Indian school, were centered there, although the agency had been officially discontinued June 30, 1904. But, as stated in Part I of this paper in the account of the Aricarees, the Indians themselves were so completely separated from each other as forming tribal communities as to have erased all semblance of their former tribal relations, and had in fact taken lands in severalty and become citizens. The writer was able to interview but two Mandans in the brief time covered by his visit to that quarter, and was obliged to cross the Missouri and seek them on the southwesterly side of that stream at a point some seven miles below the mouth of the Little Missouri. Through the solicitude of Rev. Hall, and of Hon. Anzi W. Thomas, late Indian agent, an interpreter, who was assistant farmer at the agency, was furnished the writer in connection with the interviews of the Indians Bear's Ghost and Little Owl—two Mandans who were pointed out by Rev. Hall and others as likely to be able to impart information concerning the traditions of their tribe, though neither was an old man; nor was it possible to find an aged member of the tribe near the agency headquarters. Furthermore, there seemed to be no very old member of the former band or tribe within the reservation who was conspicuous as the possessor of the tribal history and traditions in an eminent degree. However, those who were interviewed were evidently equipped to intelligently communicate the seemingly common story of the creation, the flood, etc., as it was understood by the Mandans.

773 "It will be seen that these Indians had no definite information in the nature of tradition as to their origin; but there runs through the narrative an unmistakable thread of marine experience in passing from somewhere beyond the sea or the Mississippi into the interior; as found in the account of the boat 'without the oars'—(indicating, it is believed, sailing vessels)—the 'other Mandans' who came from 'down under the earth,' the first or 'lone man' who while wandering met the 'Coyote' from the south and together they fashioned the whole landscape, made the inhabitants of earth and air; while the 'Corn Mother' who was revered as the symbol of germination and growth, the buffalos representing the four seasons, the ducks which brought earth from under

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter I

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

182 THE Mandan social organization was complex and highly integrated. There is an abundance of archeological evidence that at a very early time the population was more widely dispersed along the Missouri River. La Verendrye, the first known visitor to this tribe, reported that they were residing in six villages which were fortified with closely grouped lodges. Considering the depth of refuse of the protohistoric village sites of the Heart River region, all which have closely grouped lodges within a fortification, it is evident that the Mandan village groups had lived in intimate contacts with each other for two or more centuries.

621 361 Each village was an economic unit. It acted as a unit when leaving on the summer buffalo hunt, although there was a certain amount of co-operation among villages in the matter of protecting the old people left behind and in keeping enemy raiding parties from burning the lodges during their absence. Each village had its garden section which was separate from other village garden areas, although my informants claimed that at one time just preceding the first smallpox epidemic, when the Boley, Scattered, Motsiff, and Slant villages of the west side and Round Lodges and Yellow Earth villages of the east side were occupied, all the available corn grounds were planted and that it was necessary for the villages to meet in council to define the garden limits of each village. At that time the most distant villages of the Heart River region were only a few miles from each other, and some families had gardens on opposite sides of the river. A village was frequently abandoned by a part of the people whenever wood was depleted or the corn ground was no longer productive, which in large measure accounts for the presence of so many village sites showing short occupation. At the mouth of the Heart River where the wooded bottoms were most extensive, the villages show longest continuous occupation.

[311]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

There was considerable variability in the status of household
•621 groups. Those groups possessing important tribal bundles and
554 participating frequently in the ceremonies occupied high status
571 in the village and endeavored to preserve their eminence by selective marriage of their children. The importance of the lodge group was also expressed by offerings placed on poles erected before the lodge. These offerings were distinctive and proclaimed the existing status of the household bundle. One's loyalty remained with the lodge group one was born into, while subsequent marriages united groups of households.

621 A lodge group could leave one village and join another at will.
Usually a number of related households moved at one time, but
166 there are numerous references to groups transferring from one
578 village to another. Informants thought that the three Mandan groups or bands were endogamous. When a group left one village, it endeavored to affiliate with its own band in one of the villages. Mandan informants had been told of at least four reasons why a household group would change villages. When a certain cermony had been allowed to die out or become inactive, a household having rights in that ceremony could enhance its social status by moving out of a village in which there were a number having rights in the ceremony, to take up residence in another where there were few having those particular ceremonial rights. Other household groups moved into another village over the recognition of chiefs. When a small group was dissatisfied with the leadership of the village, rather than have trouble, they moved into another village. Scattercorn remembered that there was often dissatisfaction among the women over the selection of a village site. She recalled that one of their villages was so sandy that the caches caved in, and some of the women wanted to move to another site. When the leaders refused, they were invited to affiliate with another village, which they did. The Missouri River frequently changed its course and sometimes cut through the gardens, destroying the garden sites belonging to some households. When no potential corn ground was available near at hand, household groups were obliged to move to a village with an abundance of suitable corn ground in preference to walking great distances to their gardens.

361 The protohistoric Mandan sites of the Heart River region
have ruins of one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

614 421 The clan was the medium for the transfer of property when a family died out without leaving descendants. When an individual died, leaving no relatives, the clan took possession of the property. The lodge was occupied by females of the same clan or could be sold to women of a different clan. It was the duty of the clan to assist a female member in repairing or building her lodge and to put up property for one of its number who was inviting the opposite moiety to assist in building a new lodge. The clan [424] owned certain names which belonged within the clan and were not sold outside the clan.

614 621 171 The clans extended through all the villages of the tribe and were in part equated with Hidatsa clans. Both tribes had a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna was the equivalent of the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik was the equivalent of the Hidatsa Metsiroka. The Hidatsa also had a few people of the Speckled Eagle clan who were said to be of Mandan origin.[4]

614 578 It was the duty of the clan to revenge the killing of one of its members. In the event of the murder of one of its number, the murderer would attempt to escape to the Crow, since the Hidatsa would not protect a murderer from the Mandan villages for fear of war between the two tribes.

614 The clan assisted at the death of a son. They prepared the body for the scaffold and sent the spirit away. It was also the duty of the father's clan to bring the skull of one dying away from the village back for disposal. Feasts were given to the members of the father's clan, and help was asked of individual members by those contemplating war expeditions. Men of the father's clan inserted the thongs for a faster. The permanent

4. The Hidatsa give a different account of the origin of this clan. Mrs. Bears Arm, a member of the clan, stated that there was a Mandan woman of the Prairie Chicken clan who was childless. She was a hard worker and had large gardens. One morning when she went to her gardens she noticed that someone had been hoeing the corn. She inquired in the village if someone had been working in her garden and could find none who had been working there. She went out before daylight to see who it was. Several whitetail deer were working in the garden. They ran away when they saw the woman. As they disappeared, she heard one say, "I left my baby there." The baby was a speckled eagle. She took the baby home to rear as her own and wanted the child to belong to the Prairie Chicken clan, but the others would not agree to it, since the child came of a different source. The child grew up and had children who were known as speckled eagles. While living below the Knife River, men of the Awaxawi village married a few girls of that clan and brought them to their own village to live. The group is treated as a lineage of the Hidatsa Prairie Chicken clan.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The permanent name one received when returning from the first successful war expedition was received from the father's clan.

The moiety had both ceremonial and economic functions. When dividing the buffalo captured in the corral, the inclosure was symbolic of the ceremonial lodge. A line was drawn through the center of the corral extending from the midpoint of the entrance to the opposite side. Those animals falling to the left of the entrance belonged to the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while those of the opposite side belonged to the other moiety. Women of a moiety butchered on their side without regard to clan. Each moiety constructed its half of the ceremonial lodge and would also erect an earth lodge used as a residence when the clan of the owner of the new lodge assisted in putting up goods for the assistance rendered by the opposite moiety. It was believed that the moiety regulated marriage prior to the last smallpox epidemic, but a study of lineages indicated that it had little influence over marriages after 1837. There was a feeling that in former times traditional eagle-trapping sites were divided into moieties, each moiety trapping on its side of the Missouri River. If such division existed, all evidences had disappeared before 1870. There was considerable competition between moieties. When one moiety had more successful war leaders than the other, its members would tease the others and question their bravery. Sons of men of the same moiety teased each other a great deal. Each moiety had a leader who assisted in the division of the buffalo taken in a corral.

VILLAGE AND TRIBAL LEADERSHIP

Mandan village and tribal leadership was vested in the hierarchy of bundle-owners or priests who constituted a group of head men whose number varied from time to time depending on the status of the various bundles. From this group two leaders were selected whose war or peacemaking record exceeded that of all others or who, because of other practices, had acquired considerable popularity with the people. The one whose record in warfare was greatest was selected in council to be war chief. A second chief selected was one who had important ceremonial bundles, had given many feasts, and had performed many rites for the general welfare of the village. These were considered the

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

leaders of the hierarchy of older men; they were expected to co-operate for the general welfare of the village. They were entitled to wear a headdress of buffalo horns and ermine during council meetings, on various social occasions, and during peace-making discussions with neighboring tribes.

The Mandan informants thought that sons of chiefs were usually selected, since they were better trained and were exposed to sacred bundles which had proved their potency. From a study of Mandan lineages it was not possible to establish the accuracy of this opinion, since all lineages having chiefs except that of Four Bears were broken by the smallpox. In this lineage there was the following inheritance of chiefs: Good Boy was chief at Slant Village after the first smallpox epidemic and lived at Fort Clark for nine years as first chief, where he died; Four Bears, son of Good Boy, was chief for a number of years prior to 1837, when he died of smallpox; Bad Gun, son of Four Bears, was selected after he had sold his rights in the Black Mouth Society. The Mandan claim that Bad Gun was not a strong chief and attribute his selection to the fact that he was the son of Four Bears. Because he had acquired his father's sacred bundle[5] which had brought Four Bears unique success in many war expeditions, the people thought he would be lucky.

The Mandan endeavored to select two men for chiefs whose interests were complementary. They felt that one chief should be an individual gifted in warfare and capable of repelling the enemy from the immediate environment of the village. The other, it was felt, should be one who had at heart the interest of the people in their daily activities around the village. He should be one who was thoughtful of others, gave frequent feasts, was popular with the tribes coming to the village to trade, and was able to settle little quarrels within the village or with visiting tribes. It was also felt that the two head chiefs should be of opposite moieties.

A chief had little or no authority apart from the council of which he was a member. His principal authority was derived from his ability as an orator to persuade the council of older men to sanction his opinions. A chief was, first of all, an orator who in council, after enumerating his various accomplishments

5. A sacred robe decorated with the rainbow and used in rainmaking rites.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter II

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

TERMINOLOGY[1]

THE Mandan have a Crow type of kinship system. Their terminology is illustrated in Figures 5–8 and in Table 2. By means of the extension of kinship terms employed for members of the biological family to clan and moiety affiliates, the entire tribal population was classified as relatives and was treated as such. In former times each village was politically independent except that the Nuptadi held certain tribal paraphernalia used during the Okipa, and the other villages looked to them for ceremonial assistance. Dialectic differences offered no handicap. The villages acted collectively when war threatened. Each village was divided into a series of matrilineal, exogamous, nontotemic clans grouped into moieties. Each clan was composed of one or more lineages which were closely associated with the lodge groups. In Mandan theory the lodge group was based on matrilinear descent and matrilocal residence and consisted of several families held together by females. Lodges, in theory, belonged to the females occupying the lodge and were a part of a property-holding complex consisting of the lodge, corn scaffold, storage pits, cooking utensils, bedding, dogs and harnesses, mares and colts (geldings and stallions belonged to the men), gardens, and gardening equipment.

The structure, function, interdependence, and interrelations of the various groups will be analyzed after the kinship has been analyzed. Where significant changes in the social structure occurred due to a change in population, both the older and the more recent system will be indicated.

1. An elaboration of the genealogical and schedule method was used after taking a census of the tribe by lodge units as of 1870. An attempt was made to get pertinent data about as many individuals and lodge groups as possible, and this was added to as the study of the ceremonial organization progressed. With the use of genealogical charts, attempt was made to determine the actual inheritance of bundles and rites as against native theory of inheritance.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 trusted to the WaxikEna clan, who could take any articles left
793 at the cedar as an offering for their own use. The amount of
614 goods placed at the cedar during a year was considerable, since
796 sometime during the performance of every ceremony and age-grade society dance a visit was made to the cedar to ask the blessings of Lone Man, and some article of value was placed there. In the case of strictly winter ceremonies held in the winter camp where a cedar was never erected, offerings frequently were not made to the cedar. The cedar together with the surrounding wall and willow band was called Minimi'tahEdE, meaning "the retreat of the waters."

778 In theory, goods deposited at the cedar became the property
614 of any member of the WaxikEna clan who happened to be
421 passing by. In practice, however, the goods finally reached the old men and women of that clan. Those appropriating too much goods for personal use lost status in the village. Those living near the cedar had an advantage over those more distantly removed in reaching the goods first. Apparently there was no tendency to take the offerings away at once. Scattercorn told how a very beautiful robe hung on the wall several days before a man removed it and then not until a number of people had gathered there and to whom he announced that he had observed that a feeble clan brother was in need of a new robe since the one he was then wearing was shabby.

621 Each fixed village unit had its own complete set of officers.
619 Crows Heart explained that the tribe was formerly divided into
778 a number of fixed bands, each one occupying one or more villages. His mother belonged to the Is'topa ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves"). There were also the Nuptadi, Ma'nana'-rE[7] ("Those Who Quarreled"), Awigaxa,[8] and Nuitadi. Each of

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At the north side she sang:

o-ta'-nu-mą-kE	masa'numąkE
mi-ka-xo'	na'mini (three)
EhE'nakahoc	

At the south side she sang:

ota'numąkE	masa'numąkE
mikaxo'	to'pa (four)
EhE'nakahoc.	

7. Other informants thought that the Mananada was not a fixed band but any small group who separated from a principal village when quarrels occurred.

8. According to tradition, this group lived near the Grand River until late prehistoric times and did not practice the Okipa until they moved to the Painted Woods

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

these groups set up a cedar whenever a new village was built. Each had its own set of officers, but the turtles originally belonged to the Nuptadi band into which the original Lone Man was once born, and it was necessary to borrow them whenever the Okipa was being performed in one of the other villages. They were the common property of the WaxikEna clan. Crows Heart explained that quarrels sometimes occurred in a village, with part of the population breaking away, but that in such instances no cedar would be erected or ceremonial lodge built until it was decided to make the village a permanent one. Scattercorn thought that the groups were stable, although a few families were always leaving one group and joining another. She thought that fission of villages was a difficult thing, as new Okipa officers would be needed.

The Mandan have a number of creation stories which were a part of the sacred myths of the bundles and their associated ceremonies. The sacred myth of the Corn ceremony relates the exploits of the Corn People, who formerly lived below the surface of the earth beside a lake before coming to the surface under the chieftainship of Good Furred Robe. The Buffalo People, who were the performers of the Okipa, were created on the earth near Heart River by Lone Man after the lands were made. In mythological times there was an earth-lodge village of hawks to the east, bears to the north, eagles and other large birds including the Sun and Moon in the sky, to mention but a few of them. The Heart River region became a meeting place of peoples of all these groups. The Corn People migrated northward and united with the Buffalo People. Other peoples were added from time to time through intermarriage and were identified according to their respective bundles. It was believed that the visions one had were dependent on the mythological group to which he belonged.

The Animal rites of the Okipa ceremony are reported to have originally belonged to the Buffalo People, who were created in the vicinity of Heart River by Lone Man and are a dramatization of the freeing of the animals from Dog Den Butte. As new groups united with them, modifications were instituted in the cere-

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region shortly before the first smallpox epidemic. Their emphasis was on corn rites instituted by Good Furred Robe while living far to the south.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 224 Eagle-trapping expeditions were organized for a dual purpose, namely, the securing of feathers and of a winter's supply of meat and hides. Crows Heart thought that, taken year after year, the meat and hides secured had greater worth than the feathers. As he explained, it was not unusual to return without feathers, but game was always abundant once one reached territory not ordinarily hunted in. He remarked, on many occasions, that a village as a unit would never go to rough country on a summer hunt, as there would be few buffaloes there, and it would be difficult to surround them because of the uneven topography. There was the further danger of ambush. The rough lands were hunted over by small bands, chiefly eagle-trappers and war parties.

223 224 505 The appearance of ice on the edges of streams was the signal for the eagle-trapping expedition to return to the village. Before horses became numerous in the villages, it was customary to travel overland to the trapping sites, where bullboats were made of buffalo and elk hides for floating back the meat and hides to the village. In order not to be caught along the way by a sudden freezing of the river, it was imperative that trapping cease immediately with the first appearance of cold weather.

224 251 281 While in the trapping camp, the women received the meat and hides brought in by the men. The meat was cured on scaffolds, and the hides were dried or made into bullboats. Special effort was made to secure mountain sheep, as the badlands were the habitat of these prized animals, used for men's shirts and women's dresses, since their skins tanned softer than any other hide. Bears Arm, in explaining the importance of the meat and hides secured on these expeditions, stated that single women [581] tried to marry young men so they could go along to help cure the meat and hides, knowing they might marry one so lucky as to kill a white buffalo.

223 361 171 221 621 Mandan tradition appears devoid of reference to recent division of a village population into small eagle-trapping bands during the winter. Such is not the case with the Hidatsa, however. In the Earthnaming ceremony of the Hidatsa there is reference in the myth to the division of the village into small bands camped along the Little Missouri River in eagle-trapping lodges during the winter. At least two of the clans, the Maxoxati and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

AwaxEnawita, trace their origin to these small winter camps. 223
Bears Arm explained that, in former times, the women's lodges 361
were the same as the men's and that, on termination of the 171
trapping season, the altar was removed and the bundle closed, 221
after which the lodge was no longer considered sacred. The 621
leader's wife and family came to his lodge, and the other trappers returned to their wives' lodges for the winter. Before the spring thaw, the various bands returned to the summer village to prepare for the planting of gardens. If this fall and winter division of the Hidatsa villages into bands was customary, as mentioned in tradition and mythology, the custom had been superseded by the winter village system by the opening of the historic period on the Upper Missouri River. By this time each summer village, which we have come to call the permanent village, had its corresponding winter village. The summer village was situated on one of the upper, grassy terraces adjacent to the Missouri River, with the winter village situated in heavy timber on the river bottom. The entire population of a summer village would move to its selected site, and there would be a winter chief selected each year.

There is no reference in the mythology to the breaking-up of 221
the Mandan summer village into winter bands, but each village 361
might build a winter camp to avoid the tedious task of bringing 314
wood a considerable distance to the village. After a few years, 621
all available wood near a summer village would be exhausted, except for driftwood in the river. From all available data, there is no evidence that the Mandan selected new chiefs for the winter period.

We may conclude that the Hidatsa practice of naming a win- 171
ter chief grew out of the custom of breaking up into eagle-trap- 621
ping bands under a leader in the fall, his authority continuing after the closing of trapping until the return of the party to the summer village. Wolf Chief explained that this could be done formerly, as there were fewer enemies, but that it was inexpedient in later years, as it was necessary to defend the villages the year round. It is possible, however, that the Mandan abandoned this custom somewhat earlier because of greater pressure from enemies.

A brief ritual closed the eagle-trapping period. It was essen- 000

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 lodge. The principal officer of the Okipa was the Lone Man,
who, traditionally, belonged to the WaxikEna clan. The rights
796 to impersonate Lone Man were inherited through the Waxi-
614 kEna clan. A buyer was assisted by his brothers and sisters, who
428 became secondary owners in the bundle. Should the buyer die,
a brother was entitled to officiate until a new owner was qualified. When the bundle-owner had no brothers, the sisters' husband was authorized to officiate by performing a ceremonial feast to the bundle until a qualified successor in the clan was se-
[604] lected. The bundle and office passed from a man to his sister's son. A man could sell his rights in the office four times, but few sales were made in later years, since there were two separate bundle lineages representing the two villages built near Fort Clark which were adequate to meet ceremonial needs. In fact, one of these lineages died out shortly after 1837 and was never re-established. The Hoita lineage, though theoretically in the WaxikEna clan, was, in historic times, held temporarily by a member of the Tamisik clan.

778 Although villages were reported to be largely independent
ceremonially, they were not entirely so. The three sacred turtle
●621 drums were kept by individual members of the WaxikEna clan at Nuptadi Village, one of the east-side villages of the Heart River group, and were borrowed by the other villages when the Okipa was to be performed. In later years when the tribe moved to Fort Clark, these drums were kept at the Upper Village situated near Deapolis. Each village was believed to possess its own complement of officers. There was, however, a certain amount of collaboration between villages when new officers were receiving training.

778 The sacred cedar was erected in each village if the village
group had a complete complement of Okipa officers. It was the
621 rule that, whenever a ceremony or organized social event was
361 performed in the summer village, out of respect to Lone Man, whose body was represented by this inclosed post, the group
should dance once at this sacred shrine. On these occasions,
[431] gifts of robes or other clothing were placed over the cedar as an
[782] offering to the Lone Man and became the property of the WaxikEna clan. The Mandan considered the entire open-circle area inclosing the sacred cedar sacred also. Even as late as

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

1929, informants unwilling to divulge sacred lore were equally unwilling to divulge the arrangement of lodges around this circle. Their explanation was that the area was sacred because they had suffered there during the Okipa, standing at this point in the village when thongs were inserted in their flesh for dragging buffalo skulls, or because so many ceremonies had been performed there. When ceremonies were performed at the winter camps, it was customary to leave goods at the sacred cedar when returning later to the summer village. 778 621 361

Mandan informants disagree relative to the purpose of performing the Okipa ceremony. All give a number of reasons; they are: to bring buffaloes to the village; to acquaint young people with the history of the tribe; to give the young men an opportunity to fast. White Calf thought that the principal reason for performing the ceremony was to bring all the gods back so that all the holy beings would be working for the Mandan and not their enemies. He remarked that summer was the season when the gods, particularly the big birds, returned. At this point it is interesting to note that, although a restricted number of officers were intrusted with the direction and performance of this ceremony, on the third day, known as "Everything Comes Back Day," characters represented in the ceremony comprised most of the major bundle-owners of the village. 796

The person pledging the ceremony was known as the Okipa Maker. The ceremony was considered a "sacred feast to tribal bundles," and the benefits accruing to the Okipa Maker were comparable to those received when offering a feast to any other sacred bundles. He received a section of a sand-bar willow for his sacred bundle and was entitled to participate in important tribal discussions. There was no clan restriction as to performance. However, only those who had demonstrated bravery and industry were permitted to give the ceremony. 796 554

The principal officers of the Okipa were Lone Man and Hoita impersonators and the singers. They received their rights after undergoing formal training. For new officers, tribal recognition of their authority was given at a ceremonial feast held prior to the performance of the Okipa. Actually, one desiring to participate in the Okipa and being eligible according to the rules of inheritance underwent instruction at an early age, 796 793

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

than any other nation; also that they sold grain, tobacco, peltry, 511
and painted plumes to the Assiniboine for arms, kettles, and
other things of European manufacture. As is seen from this 177
account of Verendrye, European culture touched them very
early by means of trade with nations farther east, and they
were quick to take up the better articles so acquired. For
this reason it is difficult to get any description of the use of
earlier crude bone and stone implements, most of which had
almost gone out of use when Lewis and Clarke visited the
villages.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: — As regards the social organization, 621
the Mandans were divided into two sorts of bands. By the
first method, like the Pawnee, they were known accord-
ing to the old village from which they had originally come.
Maximilian names at one time eight villages in describing the
old habitations; in another place he says they had thirteen
and gives the names for six more, this gives fourteen distinct
village names. He says that the people were known by the [614]
names of the villages whence they originally came, and Morgan
mentions eight of the names given, as the gens names. This is
the only trace of a gens organization found. The second method 561
of grouping into bands followed the lines of the general plains
division according to age. The First Chief who led them from
underground was the originator of these divisions. This chief
gave to each band its own songs and whistles and directions as
to conducting its dances. Each of these bands was distin-
guished by a number of songs, by a certain sort of war whistle,
by its head-dress and a number of other details of attire and
ceremony. For the men there were six recognized bands. As
men grew older they went from one band to the next. Each
band or society had a limited membership, and a place in the
band above was only obtained by purchase from a member
who was ready to resign his place, and try to purchase a place
in a band still higher up. New members must be received by
all the old members of the band or the sale could not be made.
Each society had a chief who was in charge of all important
affairs. After a sale the new member gave a feast to the whole
band, and following this the purchase property was returned to

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

197 or the thirteen villages with which Maximilian's informants credited them,[1] in the beginning of the nineteenth century there certainly were two villages, Nū'pta (Ruhptare) and Mi̧'tuṭąk (Mihtuttahangkusch), speaking distinct dialects, as is demonstrated by Maximilian's vocabularies.[2] One of my informants added a third village, Istápe, (given by Morgan as a clan name), where she said the Nū'pta dialect was spoken.

621 It is clear from Maximilian's data that between Nū'pta and Mi̧'tuṭąk [184] there was also a minor cultural differentiation in the matter of dances. The question in connection with our immediate problem is how to conceive 614 the relation of the villages to the social divisions. Maximilian tells us that 174 the Mandan called themselves "Nū'mangkā'ke" (*nū'makā'ki*) i. e., people, and were wont to add the name of the village from which they had originally come. Thus, there were Prairie-chicken people, so-called after the Prairie-chicken village; Bear people, Cactus people, Badger people,— all named from corresponding villages.

> Obgleich nun alle die oben genannten Dörfer nicht mehr existiren, so nennen sich dennoch alle diese Indianer ihrer Abstammung zufolge noch nach denselben.[3]

This is a clear-cut statement to the effect that the Mandan clans developed in recent times from formerly distinct local groups. If we assume that the ancient village scheme involved local exogamy and matrilineal descent, or that the latter was grafted on the former, possibly through borrowing, the fusion of people from different settlements would quite naturally lead to the evolution of exogamous clans. The statement of one of my informants that all the clans were found in both Mi̧'tuṭąk and Nū'pta is not inconsistent with such a line of development since this condition would be readily brought about by intermarriage. However, all this is pure speculation and the questions involved will only become clearer after considering the social organization of the Mandan as sketched by recent informants and comparing it with that of the Hidatsa and other tribes.

616 The Mandan were divided into non-exogamous moieties corresponding [171] in name to those of the Hidatsa, viz., Three-clans (nū'makā'ki ō'rehe nā'mini) and Four-clans (nū'makā'ki ō're tōp). According to Black-chest, the names of the moieties and the constituent clans were originated by the legendary warrior Seven-wolf when returning from a victorious expedition against the Arikara. Information is very meager as to the functions of the dual division in tribal life, but here there is again close correspondence to Hidatsa conditions. During a general council of the Mandan the Three-

[1] Maximilian, II, 103.
[2] *ibid.*, 557–561.
[3] *ibid.*, 104.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NO17 Mandan NO17

perhaps more, villages. They call themselves Numangkake (*i. e.*, men), and if they wish to particularize their descent, they add the name of the village whence they came originally. Some, for instance, call themselves Sipuske-Numangkake, the men of the pheasant or prairie hens, from the village Sipuska-Mihte, pheasant village; others, Mato-Numangkake, the men of the bear, from the village Mato-Mihte, bear village, &c. &c. Another general name of this people is Mahna-Narra, the sulky, because they separated from the rest of their nation, and went higher up the Missouri.

The early history of the Mandans is involved in obscurity; their own traditions and legends will be discussed in the sequel, when treating on their religious ideas. They affirm that they descend originally from the more eastern nations, near the sea-coast.* Though the above-named villages do not all exist at this time, these Indians still call themselves by their several names, They formerly dwelt near the Heart River: when Charbonneau arrived here at the end of the last century, the two Mandan villages, which are still standing, were about six or eight miles further down the Missouri. The small-pox and the assaults of their enemies have so reduced this people, that the whole number now reside in two villages, in the vicinity of Fort Clarke. These two villages are Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush (the southern village), about 300 paces above Fort Clarke, and on the same side of the river, and Ruhptare,† about three miles higher up, likewise on the same bank. The first had, at the time of our visit, sixty-five huts, and contained about 150 warriors; the other, thirty-eight huts and eighty-three warriors. According to this, the tribe had not more than 230 or 240 warriors; and, on the whole, scarcely 900 or 1000 souls; Dr.

* Warden is mistaken when he says (Vol. III. p. 559), that the Mandans are descended from the Crows; for this is applicable to the Manitaries, of whom we shall speak afterward.

† Lewis and Clarke write this name Recptahee, which is incorrect. (See Account of their Journey, Vol. I. p. 120.) These celebrated travellers passed the winter among the Mandans, and give many particulars respecting them, which, on the whole, are correct; but their proper names and words from the Mandan and Manitari languages are, in general, inaccurately understood and written. It is said, they derived their information from a person named Jessaume, who spoke the language very imperfectly, as we were assured everywhere on the Missouri. Of this kind are many of the names mentioned by these travellers, which neither the Indians nor the Whites were able to understand; for instance, Ahnahaways (Vol. I. p. 115), a people who are said to have formerly dwelt between the Mandans and the Manitaries; likewise Mahawha, where the Arwacahwas lived (*ibid.*); the fourth village is said to have been called Menharra, and to have been inhabited by Manitaries (*ibid.*); of all these names, except, perhaps, Mahawha, which ought probably to be Mashaha, nobody could give us the slightest information, not even Charbonneau, though he has lived here so many years. It is necessary to be much on your guard against bad interpreters, and I acted in this respect with much caution. All the information given by me, respecting Indian words and names, was carefully written down from the statements of sensible, well-informed men of these nations. I have endeavoured to write down their language exactly, according to its real pronunciation, in doing which, the German guttural sounds were of great assistance to me, as it is that of the Missouri Indians. Mr. Kipp and Charbonneau, with some others who have lived long among these Indians, daily assisted me, during a long winter, with much patience and kindness, in this work.

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture. 000

CRITERIA OF ACCULTURATION

There are many superficial criteria that could be selected to divide the population of Lone Hill into groups differing in degree of acculturation, but I prefer one that has an essential connection to the Indian value system. One well-known basic value that contrasts sharply with our general American ethic is the Indian value of generosity (Bruner 1953:23–24). This value difference has a readily observable behavioral manifestation—participation in the Indian ceremonial dances. The Indian "give-away" dance is now a secular affair, featuring Indian songs and dances and the giving of war bonnets, horses, cattle, blankets, and money as gifts to prescribed relatives, distinguished visitors, societies, and the needy. It is one of the few remaining public gatherings in Lone Hill where generosity and other Indian values are expressed, reaffirmed and maintained. The following statement by an informant aptly characterizes the emotional overtones of the dance (quoted in Merrill 1951:27): 177 431 535

> After the people get all painted up—this is decoration, like lipstick—and the tom-toms get going and people chanting and singing (demonstrated with a rapid beat of his feet and an ai-ai-ai chant), people get all worked up and excited. Then someone gets up and makes a speech and gives away a horse, or a beef, or two beefs, and everyone gets going and there's a lot of giving-away and many people end up with little or nothing. . . . They say that property doesn't mean anything; what counts is being friendly and generous and all friends of one another. . . . People shout and praise a person (who gives away a lot) and they talk about it long afterwards. [554]

Not every person in Lone Hill attends the dance. Some families come with all their children, stay throughout the night, and donate generously. For them the dance is an impressive and public mechanism of socialization to Indian ways. Others virtually never attend the ceremonials, as they are more concerned with the accumulation than the giving of goods. As a result, they and their children do not participate in the one public ritual that best symbolizes and makes legitimate the traditional Indian values. One acculturated Indian man had this to say about the ceremonials: 431 535 184 [556] 177

> I never go to any dances or pow-wows. These dances are the fellows breeding grounds; they go there to drink, to raise hell, and they are not Christians. A lot of these fellows . . . go there to take some gal out . . . and get her drunk. That's all these dances are for, as far as the younger people are concerned. The older people go there to get these donations; something for nothing. . . . They take their kids there and the kids don't learn much from that. They give things away and that money can be used to educate their children, buy provisions and things. It seems like with an Indian they think they are in the spotlight; it makes them feel good. I never believed in it simply because I know most families and they can't afford to do that.

Participation in the Indian ceremonials was applied to the population of Lone Hill as a criterion of acculturation. In order to define the population, it was first necessary to delimit the community, the sample, and the unit of 621 121 161

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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analysis. The governmental administrative divisions do not correspond to the community of Lone Hill, which is a smaller but socially more relevant unit and is recognized as such by the people themselves. All the Indian people who had an established home in the village during the latter half of 1951 were included in the sample. Lone Hill as thus defined consists of 267 residents, of whom 137 were adults over seventeen years of age, forming forty-eight nuclear families living in forty-one separate households. The nuclear family was selected as the unit of analysis rather than the isolated individual or the household, as the data suggest that acculturation in Lone Hill is related to family orientation, and the nuclear family is the only unit of socialization common to the entire population. Those nuclear families who do attend the dance regularly were put in one group; those who do not in another. The application of the criterion dichotomized the population. Of the forty-eight Indian nuclear families in Lone Hill, thirty-four families do regularly participate in the dances and fourteen families do not. Although there are some difficulties associated with these rubrics, I refer to the thirty-four families as "unacculturated" and the fourteen as "acculturated." These terms are not meant to imply absolute categories, as if one group were fully acculturated and the other were not, for our concern is with relative differences of degree. Indeed, in a later section of this paper one further subdivision will be made within the acculturated category.

If the criterion of acculturation was a good choice, there should be processes which explain how the two groupings arose. To become acculturated means, in part, to learn and internalize white ways and values from a white person. The Indian people all have contact with whites as adults but they do not all become acculturated at the same rate. Our attention is thus directed to differential exposure to and influence by white persons in the important early years of life, in the socialization process. The preliminary notion suggests itself that degree of acculturation, based upon participation in contemporary Indian culture, is associated with degree of influence by white persons in childhood. To examine this notion we should study cultural transmission and socialization over many generations. For practical reasons this is not feasible but we can determine which families in Lone Hill village have had a history of white intermarriage. In those cases in which a white person has married an Indian, there would be a white person in the domestic family situation who would thus provide a model for the children.

For purposes of this study, the presence or absence of a white model was determined for every family in Lone Hill on the basis of census data, Indian Bureau records, village genealogies, informal interviews, and in some cases extensive life history material. Any given nuclear family was said to have had a white model if either a parent, a grandparent, or a great-grandparent, or a substitute for such on either side, was a white person who actually lived with the nuclear family. Taking our point of departure from the present children, this creates a limit of four generations back, which was in part a matter of expediency as it was not possible to trace instances of white intermarriage beyond four generations. However, the limit of four generations corresponds to

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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177 monopoly of the numerous benefits and services to be derived from the Indian Bureau and they often seek and obtain employment with the Bureau. They are all economically successful cattlemen compared with the unacculturated Indians who derive their cash income primarily from lease money, relief, and seasonal farm work. According to the Extension Agent's report for the year 1951, the seven acculturated families owned from twenty-nine to 149 head of cattle, a total for all families of 514, and an average of approximately seventy-three. Eighteen of the thirty-four unacculturated families owned no cattle at all. The sixteen unacculturated families with cattle had a range per family of one to fifty-two head, a total for all families of 395, and an average of approximately twenty-five cattle per family.

177 At Fort Berthold, as on many other Indian reservations, there are two political factions which locally are called the "Yes" or progressive group and
●621 the "No" or conservative faction. The basis for leadership is different in each faction. In the conservative group, leadership is based upon personal qualities combined with the inheritance of sacred bundles from older chiefs, while for the progressive group it is based upon white standards of achievement. There is no clear-cut correlation between degree of acculturation and affiliation with any one faction, as the membership of each faction varies with the particular issue involved, but the nucleus of the progressive faction is derived from the acculturated families and the nucleus of the conservative faction from the unacculturated and marginal groups. These political differences are one manifestation of the larger processes which lead to different sociocultural groupings, for Lone Hill is a community divided into two conflicting and relatively noninteracting social groups.

177 Thus the acculturated families do not precipitate rapid change within the village because of the mutual hostility and mistrust generated between them-
167 selves and the remainder of the community. An additional factor is that the membership of the acculturated group is constantly being depleted, as accul-
161 turated individuals tend to leave the village. The children of the acculturated families, who have the greatest potentiality for initiating change, do not remain in Lone Hill, as they have internalized the values of white society and as there are so few opportunities presented to them within the village. Of the seven acculturated families, there are three in which the parents are over fifty years of age and in which the children are all over twenty years old. In every one of these families, all or the majority of the children have left Lone Hill. In the remaining four families the parents are between the ages of twenty-six and forty-two, and the oldest child is fifteen. While these children are not old enough to leave and seek employment elsewhere, each of their parents has either a brother or sister who has left. The parents of the acculturated children, most of whom have built up successful cattle operations, are tied to Lone Hill. Their goal is to see their children become accepted members of white society. Despite the departure of the acculturated people and of others, the population continues to increase because of the fertility of the resident population. Since 1910, the population of enrolled members of the

10: Neill H-4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

OPEN SPACE IN VILLAGE.

But I observe, always, that nearly about the centre of each village is a large open space of about four acres in circumference, round which the huts are built very regularly, and at equal distances from each other, the doors fronting the open space. This circle might consist of thirty huts, and I make no manner of doubt were the first that were erected on the spot. 361

VILLAGE EXPANSION.

Others of their friends joined them afterwards, for various causes and built in the rear and erected their huts as they found it convenient, and as this continues to be the case, there are huts continually demolishing in one village, and others building in another. This often proceeds from misunderstandings they have had with either of the chiefs of the village, or their own neighbors, when finding their situation unpleasant and probably subject to frequent quarrels, they shift their quarters, but always take up their own residence among their own tribe. 361 621● 578

The Mandans and Saulteurs are a stationary people, and never abandon their villages further than to go out hunting or on a war party. They are much more given to agriculture than the Big Bellies, and raise an immense quantity of corn, beans, squashes, tobacco, and some flowers. 361 241

A MANDAN HUT.

A Mandan hut is large and spacious, of a circular form. I measured the one I lodged in, and found it ninety feet from the door to the opposite side, forming a circumference on the inside of many paces. The whole space is dug out about one and a half feet below the surface of the earth. In the center is the fire place, which is a square space of about five feet, dug out two feet below the surface. The lower part of the hut is constructed by erecting strong posts about six feet out of the ground, at equal distances, upon these are laid logs of the same size, and reach from post to post, and form the circle. On the outer side are erected pieces of split wood of seven feet in length, in a slanting manner, the one end resting on the ground, the other leaning against the crown log or beam. Upon this beam again, are placed rafters about the size of a man's leg, and from twelve to fifteen feet long, in a slanting position, sufficient to drain off the rain; they are laid so close as to touch. The upper end is supported upon very stout pieces of square timber, which last are also supported by four very thick posts, about five feet circumference, and fifteen feet out of the ground, and fifteen feet asunder, forming nearly a square. Over these pieces of square timber, others again of equal size are laid crossing them at right 342 [354]

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

of them remained all night. We sent in the evening three young Indians with a present of tobacco for the chiefs of the three upper villages, inviting them to come down in the morning to a council with us. 000

Minnetarees and Ahnahaways. "Accordingly, the next day, Sunday, October 28, we were joined by many of the Minnetarees and Ahnahaways from above but the wind was so violent from the southwest that the chiefs of the lower villages could not come up, and the council was deferred till tomorrow. In the meantime we entertained our visitors by showing them what was new to them in the boat; all which, as well as our black servant, they called Great Medicine, the meaning of which we afterwards learnt. We also consulted the grand chief of the Mandans, Black Cat and Mr. Jesseaume, as to the names, characters, etc., of the chiefs with whom we are to hold the council. In the course of the day we received several presents from the women, consisting of corn, boiled hominy, and garden stuffs; in our turn we gratified the wife of the great chief with a gift of a glazed earthen jar. Our hunter brought us two beavers. In the afternoon we sent the Minnetarees chiefs to smoke for us with the great chief of the Mandans, and told them we would speak in the morning. Finding that we shall be obliged to pass the winter at this place, we went up the river about one and a half mile to-day with a view of finding a convenient spot for a fort, but the timber was too scarce and small for our purposes.

First Indian Council. "Monday, October 29th. The morning was fine and we prepared our presents and speech for the council. After breakfast we were visited by an old chief of the Ahnahaways, who finding himself growing old and weak, had transferred his power to his son, who is now at war against the Shoshonees. At ten o'clock the chiefs were all assembled under an awning of our sails, stretched so as to exclude the wind which had become high. That the impression might be the more forceable, the men were all paraded, and the council opened by a discharge from the swivel of the boat. We then delivered a speech, which like those we had already made, intermingled advice with assurances of friendship and trade; while we were speaking the old Ahnahaway chief grew very restless, and observed that he could not wait so long, as his camp was exposed to the 6220 648

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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hostilities of the Shoshonees. He was instantly rebuked with great dignity by one of the chiefs for this violation of decorum at such a moment, and remained quiet during the rest of the council. Towards the end of our speech we introduced the subject of our Ricara chief, with whom we recommended a firm peace. To this they seemed well disposed, and all smoked with him very amicably. We all mentioned the goods which had been taken from the Frenchman, and expressed a wish that they should be restored. This being over, we proceeded to distribute the presents with great ceremony. One chief of each town was acknowledged by a gift of a flag, a medal with the likeness of the president of the United States, a uniform coat, hat and feather; to the second chiefs we gave a medal representing some animals, and a loom for weaving; to the third chiefs, medals with the impressions of a farmer sowing grain. A variety of other presents were distributed but none seemed to give them more satisfaction than an iron corn-mill which we gave to the Mandans.

"The chiefs who were made today are: Shahaka or Big White, a first chief, and Kagohami or Little Raven, a second chief of the lower village of the Mandans, called Matootonha. The other chiefs of an inferior quality who were recommended were: 1. Ohheenaw, or Big Man, a Cheyenne taken prisoner by the Mandans who adopted him, and he now enjoys great consideration among the tribe. 2. Shotahawrora, or coal, of the second Mandan village, which is called Rooptahee. We made Poscopsahe, or Black Cat, the first chief of the village, and the grand chief of the whole Mandan nation; his second chief is Kagonomokshe, or raven man chief; inferior chiefs of this village were Tawnoheo and Bellahsara, of which we did not learn the translation." (id 161)

Big White. "Tuesday, 30. We were this morning visited by the two persons from the lower village, one the Big White, the chief of the village, the other the Cheyenne called the Big Man. They had been hunting, and did not return yesterday early enough to attend the council. At their request we repeated part of our speech of yesterday, and put the medal round the neck of the chief. Captain Clarke took a perioque and went up the river in search of a good wintering place, and returned after going seven miles to the lower point of an island on the north side,

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

about one mile in length, he found the banks on the north side high with coal occasionally, and the country fine on all sides, but the want of wood and the scarcity of game up the river, induced us to decide on fixing ourselves lower down during the winter. In the evening our men danced among themselves to the great amusement of the Indians. 622 648

Mandan's Speech. "Wednesday, 31st. A second chief arrived this morning with an invitation from the grand chief of the Mandans, to come to his village where he wished to present some corn to us and speak with us. Captain Clarke walked down to his village. He was first seated with great ceremony on a robe by the side of the chief, who then threw over his shoulders another robe handsomely ornamented. The pipe was then smoked with several of the old men who were seated around the chief. After some time he began his discourse by observing that he believe what we had told him, and that they should soon enjoy peace, which would gratify him as well as his people, because they could then hunt without fear of being attacked, and the women might work in the fields without looking every moment for the enemy, and at night put off their moccasins, a phrase by which is conveyed the idea of security, when the women could undress at night without fear of attack. 622 648 537

"As to the Ricaras, he continued, in order to show you that we wish peace with all men, that chief, pointing to his second chief, will go with some warriors back to the Ricaras with their chief now here and smoke with that nation. When we heard of your coming, all the nations around returned from their hunting to see you, in hopes of receiving large presents. All were disappointed and some discontented. For his part he was not much so, though his village was. He added that he would go and see his great father, the president. Two of the steel traps stolen from the Frenchman were then laid before Captain Clarke, and the women brought about twelve bushels of corn. After the chief had finished, Captain Clarke made an answer to the speech and then he returned to the boat, where he found the chief of the third village and Kagohami (the Little Raven) who smoked and talked about half an hour. After they left the boat the grand chief of the Mandans came dressed in the clothes we had given him, with 622 648

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

622 648 his two children, and begged to see the men dance, in which they willingly gratified him."(id 168)

Peace With the Aricaras. "Thursday, November 1st. At ten o'clock the chiefs of the lower village arrived. They requested that we would call at their village for some corn; that they were willing to make peace with the Ricaras; that they had never provoked the war between them, but as the Ricaras killed some of their chiefs, they had retaliated on them; that they had killed them like birds, till they were tired of killing them, so that they would send a chief and some warriors to smoke with them. In the evening we dropped down to the lower village, where Captain Lewis went on shore, and Captain Clarke proceeded to a point of wood on the north side.

"Friday, November 2. He therefore went up to the village, where eleven bushels of corn were presented to him. In the meantime Captain Clarke went down with the boat three miles, and having found a good position where there was plenty of timber, encamped and began to fell trees to build our huts. Our Ricara chief set out with one Mandan chief and several Minnitarees and Mandan warriors; the wind was from the southeast, and the weather being fine, crowds of Indians came down to visit us." (id 169)

224 **Mandan Hunt.** "Monday, 5th. The Indians are all out on their hunting parties. A camp of Mandans caught within two days one hundred goats a short distance below us. Their mode of hunting them is to form a large strong pen or fold, from which a fence made of bushes gradually widens on each side. The animals are surrounded by the hunters and gently driven towards this pen, in which they imperceptibly find themselves inclosed, and are then at the mercy of the hunters." (id 170.)

231 "Thursday, 8. The morning again cloudy; our huts advanced very well, and we are visited by numbers of Indians who come to let their horses graze near us. In the day the horses are let loose in quest of grass, in the night they are collected and receive an armful of small boughs of the cottonwood, which being very juicy, soft and brittle, form nutritious and agreeable food." (id 171.)

000 **Northern Indians.** "Wednesday, 14th. The river rose last night half an inch, and is now filled with floating ice. This morning was

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The permanent name one received when returning from the first successful war expedition was received from the father's clan.

The moiety had both ceremonial and economic functions. When dividing the buffalo captured in the corral, the inclosure was symbolic of the ceremonial lodge. A line was drawn through the center of the corral extending from the midpoint of the entrance to the opposite side. Those animals falling to the left of the entrance belonged to the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while those of the opposite side belonged to the other moiety. Women of a moiety butchered on their side without regard to clan. Each moiety constructed its half of the ceremonial lodge and would also erect an earth lodge used as a residence when the clan of the owner of the new lodge assisted in putting up goods for the assistance rendered by the opposite moiety. It was believed that the moiety regulated marriage prior to the last smallpox epidemic, but a study of lineages indicated that it had little influence over marriages after 1837. There was a feeling that in former times traditional eagle-trapping sites were divided into moieties, each moiety trapping on its side of the Missouri River. If such division existed, all evidences had disappeared before 1870. There was considerable competition between moieties. When one moiety had more successful war leaders than the other, its members would tease the others and question their bravery. Sons of men of the same moiety teased each other a great deal. Each moiety had a leader who assisted in the division of the buffalo taken in a corral.

VILLAGE AND TRIBAL LEADERSHIP

Mandan village and tribal leadership was vested in the hierarchy of bundle-owners or priests who constituted a group of head men whose number varied from time to time depending on the status of the various bundles. From this group two leaders were selected whose war or peacemaking record exceeded that of all others or who, because of other practices, had acquired considerable popularity with the people. The one whose record in warfare was greatest was selected in council to be war chief. A second chief selected was one who had important ceremonial bundles, had given many feasts, and had performed many rites for the general welfare of the village. These were considered the

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

leaders of the hierarchy of older men; they were expected to co-operate for the general welfare of the village. They were entitled to wear a headdress of buffalo horns and ermine during council meetings, on various social occasions, and during peace-making discussions with neighboring tribes.

The Mandan informants thought that sons of chiefs were usually selected, since they were better trained and were exposed to sacred bundles which had proved their potency. From a study of Mandan lineages it was not possible to establish the accuracy of this opinion, since all lineages having chiefs except that of Four Bears were broken by the smallpox. In this lineage there was the following inheritance of chiefs: Good Boy was chief at Slant Village after the first smallpox epidemic and lived at Fort Clark for nine years as first chief, where he died; Four Bears, son of Good Boy, was chief for a number of years prior to 1837, when he died of smallpox; Bad Gun, son of Four Bears, was selected after he had sold his rights in the Black Mouth Society. The Mandan claim that Bad Gun was not a strong chief and attribute his selection to the fact that he was the son of Four Bears. Because he had acquired his father's sacred bundle[5] which had brought Four Bears unique success in many war expeditions, the people thought he would be lucky.

The Mandan endeavored to select two men for chiefs whose interests were complementary. They felt that one chief should be an individual gifted in warfare and capable of repelling the enemy from the immediate environment of the village. The other, it was felt, should be one who had at heart the interest of the people in their daily activities around the village. He should be one who was thoughtful of others, gave frequent feasts, was popular with the tribes coming to the village to trade, and was able to settle little quarrels within the village or with visiting tribes. It was also felt that the two head chiefs should be of opposite moieties.

A chief had little or no authority apart from the council of which he was a member. His principal authority was derived from his ability as an orator to persuade the council of older men to sanction his opinions. A chief was, first of all, an orator who in council, after enumerating his various accomplishments

5. A sacred robe decorated with the rainbow and used in rainmaking rites.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

to demonstrate the extent to which he had worked for the welfare of the entire village, then offered an opinion as to the wisdom of a certain act or policy. He was never demoted, the Mandan claimed; others younger who had been distinguishing themselves merely replaced the older man in public esteem. A chief's greatness was based on the length of time that his opinions were accepted to the exclusion of all others' opinions. A chief was expected to conform strictly to village and tribal custom.

The day-by-day and calendar round of economic, social, and ceremonial activities were rigidly regulated by tradition. In matters relative to gardening, the Corn Bundle leaders, Goose Society, and females of the various households set their own rules. When public sanction was given a young man by one or more members of the council of older men to perform a certain ceremony and he had made public announcement from a rooftop that he would perform the ceremony, a time was reserved for the ceremony, and the Black Mouths would have prevented any interference. The Mandan believed that quarrels should not arise over schedules for performance of the various ceremonies. The fact is that the Mandan liked to attend ceremonies and believed that bad luck would come to anyone who deviated from the normal pattern of behavior.

The responsibilities for leadership in various Mandan social and ceremonial activities were profusely scattered through the entire population. A person who would be the leader in one activity became a subordinate member of another activity in which he was expected to follow the leader's directions. For instance, when the time arrived for the performance of the Okipa ceremony, the entire population was organized around the officers for that ceremony, while the Black Mouth Society enforced the rules. It is highly improbable that the Black Mouths received any formal instruction. Custom defined the rules of behavior during the Okipa which were known by all except very young children. It was also customary when the enemy were not especially troublesome for the greater part of a village group to leave for a short time to trap eagles. The village would break up into a dozen or more camps, each of which was under the leadership of a male having an eagle-trapping bundle. Regardless of a man's status during other activities, he was subordinate to the

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

leader.[6] Even the most distinguished war leader, who was one of the two head chiefs of the village, frequently joined an expedition under another for the purpose of capturing horses, although in this instance recognition was often shown an outstanding leader by naming him a co-leader.

An essential function of a chief was to mold public opinion so that a village could act in unison. A chief was considered eminent if for a long time under his leadership there had been a minimum of dissension in the village. Mandan informants still speak of Good Boy, who was chief of Slant Village below the Heart River after the first smallpox epidemic. He was able to unite the remnants of several villages into a single village and to co-ordinate elements with a minimum of friction. He was essentially a village leader who devoted himself, according to tradition, to the rebuilding of the tribe to its former prominence. It is significant to note that, a few years after his death, one group of Mandan separated from the parent-village and were not reunited until Good Boy's son, Four Bears, was elevated to second chief.

A chief could prevent intervillage or intravillage warfare only to the extent to which he could inculcate a concept of tribal unity. Neither a chief nor the council has authority to prevent a portion of a village from separating and establishing a separate village. Such separations as have occurred have usually been of short duration, largely because of the integration of the ceremonial structure through the entire tribal population. Although each permanent Mandan village was in a large measure a separate economic, social, and ceremonial unit, the villages were not entirely independent. The turtle drums, which were considered the most sacred objects of the tribe, were held within the Nuptadi band of east-side Mandan, and the other villages were obliged to borrow them for ceremonial purposes. Whereas the sacred cedar in the center of each village was a symbol of village unity, the Mandan considered the turtle drums a symbol of tribal unity.

6. Cf. chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping."

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LETTER—No. 13.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

622 In several of my former Letters I have given sketches of the village, and some few of the customs of these peculiar people; and I have many more yet in store; some of which will induce the readers to laugh, and others almost dispose them to weep. But at present, I drop them, and introduce a few of the wild and gentlemanly Mandans themselves; and first, Ha-na-tah-nu-mauh, the wolf chief (PLATE 49). This man is head-chief of the nation, and familiarly known by the name of "Chef de Loup," as the French Traders call him; a haughty, austere, and overbearing man, respected and feared by his people rather than loved. The tenure by which this man holds his office, is that by which the head-chiefs of most of the tribes claim, that of inheritance. It is a general, though not an infallible rule amongst the numerous tribes of North American Indians, that the office of chief belongs to the eldest son of a chief; provided he shews himself, by his conduct, to be equally worthy of it as any other in the nation: making it hereditary on a very proper condition—in default of which requisites, or others which may happen, the office is elective.

The dress of this chief was one of great extravagance, and some beauty; manufactured of skins, and a great number of quills of the raven, forming his stylish head-dress.

The next and second chief of the tribe, is Mah-to-toh-pa (the four bears). This extraordinary man, though second in office is undoubtedly the first and most popular man in the nation. Free, generous, elegant and gentlemanly in his deportment—handsome, brave and valiant; wearing a robe on his back, with the history of his battles emblazoned on it; which would fill a book of themselves, if properly translated. This, readers, is the most extraordinary man, perhaps, who lives at this day, in the atmosphere of Nature' noblemen; and I shall certainly tell you more of him anon.

After him, there are Mah-tahp-ta-ha, he who rushes through the midd (PLATE 50); Seehk-hee-da, the mouse-coloured feather (PLATE 51); Sun ja-ka-ko-kah (the deceiving wolf); Mah-to-he-ha (the old bear), an others, distinguished as chiefs and warriors—and there are belles also; 000 such as Mi-neek-e-sunk-te-ca, the mink (PLATE 53); and the little gray-haired Sha-ko-ka, mint (PLATE 52); and fifty others, who are famous for

10: Neill H4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

formed by the women in the morning.[1] Their sweet corn and beans are boiled whole; they make use of large earthen pots of their own manufacture, made of black clay, of which they have plenty near their villages. They make them of different sizes, from five gallons to a quart. In these vessels is never anything of a greasy nature.[1] * * * * * The bottoms of the pots are of an oblong shape; it therefore requires much care to keep them from upsetting, for which purpose when they are put to the fire a hole is made in the ashes to secure and prop them erect, and when taken away they are placed upon a sort of mat made of the fibers of the bois blanc; these coils or rugs are made of different sizes, according to the dimensions of the several pots, which keeps them firm and secure. Some of these pots are provided with two cones, or handles.[1] * *

Baptiste La France made his appearance here. This man had left the Prairie la Souris [Mouse River] with a small assortment of goods for the purpose of trading, equipped by the Hudson Bay Company. He now resides upon the south side of the river, at the great Mandane village,* and hearing of the arrival of white people, he came over to us. He now informed the chief, Black Cat, who his guests were and the cause of our visit, which was mere curiosity. [The chief] instantly retired to his family hut and brought out his flag, which was given him in 1804–5; they alsogave him a silver medal, and the same articles were also given to the principal chief of each of the other villages, also several very useful utensils were left amongst them.† I saw the remains of an excellent large corn mill, which the foolish fellows had demolished on purpose to barb their arrows; the largest piece of it which they could not break nor work up into any weapon they have now fixed to a wooden handle, and make use of it to pound marrow bones, to make grease."

We were now desirous of crossing the river, therefore sent off La France to engage people of the opposite village to come over for us.[2] * * * * * * * We were now informed that eight canoes were in waiting for us, from the opposite side, and the same number of young men had come over to assist in crossing our horses.[2] * * * * On our going over to the war side we found the chief of the Great Mandan village, Le Gros Blanc. He was waiting with his own canoe to ferry over Mr. Chaboillez and me. He appeared very

† To each chief, Lewis and Clarke presented a medal, a flag, and a uniform coat. In the narrative of the expedition is the following sentence: "A variety of other presents were distributed, but none seemed to give them more satisfaction than the iron corn mill, which we gave to the Mandans."

† The Mandans, about 1760, were settled on the banks of the Missouri, eighty miles below, seven villages on the west and two on the east side of the river. The two villages were reduced by small-pox, and moved up the river and settled a village near the Receivers, and afterwards the people of the other village joined them. In 1796 they were in two villages at the points where Henry found them, on opposite sides of Missouri, about three miles apart.

[1] [Category 116, p. 328.-A.] [2] [Category 116, p. 328.-A]

10: Neill H4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

609 attentive and polite in conveying our baggage on board. We
622 now perceived another American flag flying in the village on the south side of the river, while that of the Black Cat was still displayed over the hut we had occupied. Our conductor now informed us the flag we saw in the opposite village was his property, and had been hoisted by his orders over his own hut, where he begged we would take up our lodgings. The young men, I
[481 492] observed were very prompt in getting our horses over. They fastened a line to the horse's mouth, the end of which one of them takes in his teeth, and swims on ahead, while others swim along on each side, and in the rear, draws the horse on very expeditiously. They swim remarkably swift, and notwithstanding
[481] the Missouri at this place is half a mile wide, and the current very strong, they drift down but a very considerable distance before they land.

501 Their canoes are of very singular construction and a stranger would scarcely dare venture his life in them to cross such a deep and rapid stream. They are of a circular form; the timbers are nothing but a few bent willows of about three inches in circumference, over which is stretched a raw buffalo hide, with the hair inside, and sewed first to the gunwales which are generally of a willow, about two inches in diameter. I was really surprised to see the great weight that one of those slender vessels would carry. We embarked, baggage, saddles, etc., weighing at least 200 pounds, Mr. Chaboillez and myself, and our ferryman, who was a remarkably stout fellow. Our canoe or dish would have supported at least 100 pounds more. What they make use of, in lieu of a paddle, is a pole about five feet long, split at one end so as to admit of a piece of board, about two feet long, and half a foot broad, which is lashed to the pole and forms a kind of cross, and as there is but one made use of for each canoe, and he that paddles pulls directly for the opposite shore, every stroke he gives turns his dish almost entirely around; when, to preserve his position and place him fronting his intended, route he must give a stroke upon the other hand which brings him up again, and so on until he gets over the river, which, however, is not accomplished until they have drifted down nearly a mile.

501 Some of them, I observed, were more expert than others in
482 managing their dishes, and did not drift more than a quarter of a mile. But as these vessels are very light they have the precaution to carry them upon their heads, or slung upon their backs to a considerable distance higher up the river, than where they wish to land. When we were on the water our conductor repeatedly made signs to us to salute the flag, by firing our guns, but we did not think proper to comply with his wishes or pretended we did not comprehend him.

622 We soon after landed at the village, which is situated upon
574 the very edge of the bank. Here we were received by another
609

10: Neill H4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

chief called Le Grand* who insisted upon our taking lodgings in his hut, which stood near the edge of the banks. We accordingly entered it, but soon after we were visited by several other principal men, who requested some of us to take up our abode in their huts during our stay among them. La France advised us to do so, telling us we would be more at our ease by separating than if we remained all in the same hut. Accordingly Mr. Chaboillez and his people, consisting of an Indian who was his brother-in-law, and Mr. Allen McDonnell, took up their lodgings with Hairy Horn, and our guide, Hugh McReacan, (Cracken) Straight Horn, myself and my people, T. Viandrie and Joseph Du Charme, remained with Le Grand, a very civil fellow. This arrangement having been settled and instantly put into execution, we were provided with beds, or buffalo hides to sit upon. * * * * * We paid a visit to Le Gros Blanc, who thought we had somewhat slighted him in not taking up our residence in his hut, but kept the flag flying in honor of our arrival until sunset. We made amends as far as our circumstances would permit, and presented him with some tobacco, ammunition, etc., as a remuneration for his trouble in assisting us over. He was perfectly satisfied, and appeared highly pleased with the presents.

We found in this village a Canadian by the name of Jussaume,† who accompanied Captains Lewis and Clarke to Washington on their return from their voyage of discoveries to the Pacific Ocean as interpreter to the Mandan chief, Le Gros Blanc. This man has been a resident among the Indians for upwards of fifteen years. He speaks their language tolerably well, has a wife and family who live and dress in the same manner as the natives. As for himself, he still retains the outward appearance of a Christian, and his principles as far as I could observe, are much worse than those of a Mandane. He is possessed of every superstition natural to these people, nor is he different in performing every mean, dirty trick which they have acquired from their intercourse with a set of worthless scoundrels accustomed to visit these parts, some for the purpose of trade, and others, to save themselves from justice and the laws of their country, that would not fail to punish them for their numerous offenses."

EDWARD D. NEILL.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

*Le Gros Blanc, or Big White, called by the Indians Shahaka was the first chief of this village and was recognized by Lewis and Clark and presented with a medal. Ohheenaw, Le Grant, or Big Man was much esteemed in the tribe. He was a Cheyenne taken prisoner, and then adopted by the Mandans.

† In the narrative of Lewis and Clarke his name is spelled Jesseaume, and on the 27th of October, 1805, was engaged as interpreter, and with the expedition went to the Pacific Ocean, accompanied by his Indian wife and babe. On the 16th of August, 1806, soon after Henry's departure, Lewis and Clarke returned to the Mandan village, and Le Gros Black, Big White, with his wife and son and Jessaume, the next day accompanied the military expedition to St. Louis, and from thence they went to Washington and were presented to President Jefferson.

[Category 116, p. 332.-A.]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The permanent name one received when returning from the first successful war expedition was received from the father's clan.

The moiety had both ceremonial and economic functions. When dividing the buffalo captured in the corral, the inclosure was symbolic of the ceremonial lodge. A line was drawn through the center of the corral extending from the midpoint of the entrance to the opposite side. Those animals falling to the left of the entrance belonged to the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while those of the opposite side belonged to the other moiety. Women of a moiety butchered on their side without regard to clan. Each moiety constructed its half of the ceremonial lodge and would also erect an earth lodge used as a residence when the clan of the owner of the new lodge assisted in putting up goods for the assistance rendered by the opposite moiety. It was believed that the moiety regulated marriage prior to the last smallpox epidemic, but a study of lineages indicated that it had little influence over marriages after 1837. There was a feeling that in former times traditional eagle-trapping sites were divided into moieties, each moiety trapping on its side of the Missouri River. ~~If such~~ division existed, all evidences had disappeared before 1870. There was considerable competition between moieties. When one moiety had more successful war leaders than the other, its members would tease the others and question their bravery. Sons of men of the same moiety teased each other a great deal. Each moiety had a leader who assisted in the division of the buffalo taken in a corral.

VILLAGE AND TRIBAL LEADERSHIP

Mandan village and tribal leadership was vested in the hierarchy of bundle-owners or priests who constituted a group of head men whose number varied from time to time depending on the status of the various bundles. From this group two leaders were selected whose war or peacemaking record exceeded that of all others or who, because of other practices, had acquired considerable popularity with the people. The one whose record in warfare was greatest was selected in council to be war chief. A second chief selected was one who had important ceremonial bundles, had given many feasts, and had performed many rites for the general welfare of the village. These were considered the

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

621 leaders of the hierarchy of older men; they were expected to
622 co-operate for the general welfare of the village. They were en-
623 titled to wear a headdress of buffalo horns and ermine during council meetings, on various social occasions, and during peace-making discussions with neighboring tribes.

622 The Mandan informants thought that sons of chiefs were usually selected, since they were better trained and were exposed to sacred bundles which had proved their potency. From a study of Mandan lineages it was not possible to establish the accuracy of this opinion, since all lineages having chiefs except that of Four Bears were broken by the smallpox. In this lineage there was the following inheritance of chiefs: Good Boy was chief at Slant Village after the first smallpox epidemic and lived at Fort Clark for nine years as first chief, where he died; Four Bears, son of Good Boy, was chief for a number of years prior to 1837, when he died of smallpox; Bad Gun, son of Four Bears, was selected after he had sold his rights in the Black Mouth Society. The Mandan claim that Bad Gun was not a strong chief and attribute his selection to the fact that he was the son of Four Bears. Because he had acquired his father's sacred bundle[5] which had brought Four Bears unique success in many war expeditions, the people thought he would be lucky.

The Mandan endeavored to select two men for chiefs whose interests were complementary. They felt that one chief should be an individual gifted in warfare and capable of repelling the enemy from the immediate environment of the village. The other, it was felt, should be one who had at heart the interest of the people in their daily activities around the village. He should be one who was thoughtful of others, gave frequent feasts, was popular with the tribes coming to the village to trade, and was able to settle little quarrels within the village or with visiting tribes. It was also felt that the two head chiefs should be of opposite moieties.

A chief had little or no authority apart from the council of
622 which he was a member. His principal authority was derived
537 from his ability as an orator to persuade the council of older men to sanction his opinions. A chief was, first of all, an orator who in council, after enumerating his various accomplishments

5. A sacred robe decorated with the rainbow and used in rainmaking rites.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

561 the buyers. The first band was that of "The Dogs Whose Names Are Not Known." To this band boys from ten to fifteen years of age could belong. Maximilian was told that at first older men might belong to this band but that this was afterwards changed. Admission to this society and the learning of the dance was bought from a member by the boy's father. Maximilian says that the dances of all the bands were about the same, the differences being in the songs. Each band had a particular drum and rattle.

The second band was the "Band of the Crows" composed of men from twenty to twenty-six years of age.[1] There was usually an interval between the first and the second band when the man belonged to no group. Crow plumes were the distinguishing feature of this division.

561 625 623 [578] The third society was the "Soldier Band" and was composed of the most distinguished warriors of the tribe. The members of this band could never retreat before an enemy. Another feature was its possession of two sacred pipes. All members of the higher bands belonged at the same time to this one. This group had charge of policing and regulating the [71] village, a well-known feature of the Soldier Band among the Sioux and other plains tribes. They formed a committee which regulated all the important affairs of the nation, fixed the time for hunts and applied all the laws.[2]

561 The fourth division was the "Dog Band." Three members from this wore a red cloth down the back such as all the first band wore. These three were known as the Dogs, and anyone could throw a piece of meat on the floor or in the fire, saying "There, Dog, eat," and any of these three must obey.

The fifth band was that of the "Buffalos" or "Wolves." These in dancing wore the skin of a buffalo head with the horns. The two bravest, chosen by all, who never under any conditions could flee from an enemy, wore the whole head and horns and [534] looked through artificial eyes. This was the only band which had a wooden drum. In this society there was also one woman who offered the two head dancers a basin of water as they danced.

[1] Op. cit., p. 409. [2] Ibid., p. 411.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

by the Americans, head-man, who decides on the sale of its rights and attributes. This head-man is chiefly applied to when any one wishes for admission; a festival then takes place in the medicine lodge, which is continued for forty successive nights, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They dance, eat, and smoke there; the purchasers defray the expenses, and give up their wives every night to the sellers, till the fathers, as they are called, are satisfied, and transfer their rights to the purchasers, with which the festival concludes. 561 [837]

The third class or band is that of the soldiers, the most eminent and esteemed warriors. In their dances they paint the upper part of the face red, and the lower part black. Their war pipe is large, and made of the wing bone of a crane. Their badges are two long straight sticks bound with otter skin, to which owl's feathers are appended. When they go to war, they plant these sticks in the ground in front of the enemy, and, this done, they dare not leave them, not unlike the colours in a European army. They have a similar stick ornamented with raven's feathers (see second woodcut, page 256). They likewise have a dance and song peculiar to their band, and must purchase their admission into higher classes. Their schischikué or rattle is made of iron plate, in the form of a small kettle, with a handle. They likewise possess two tobacco pipes, which are used for smoking on special occasions. Two men keep and carry with them these pipes. All the higher classes may, at the same time, belong to the band of the soldiers, who act as police officers; it is, however, understood that all the members must be satisfied with the purchase. If but one object to the sale, the bargain cannot be concluded. It often happens that some individuals do not immediately give their consent, in order to raise the price and sell to more advantage afterwards. These soldiers, as they are called, form a kind of committee, which decides all the principal affairs, particularly general undertakings, such as changes of their places of abode, buffalo hunting, and the like. If the buffalo herds are in the vicinity, they watch them, and do not suffer them to be disturbed by individuals, till a general chase can be undertaken. 561 554 623 [534]

If, during this time, any one fires at a wolf or other animal, the soldiers take away his gun, ill-use, and sometimes beat him, to which he must submit; even the chiefs are not spared on these occasions. The Whites living in the neighbourhood are subject, during such a time, to the same laws, and the soldiers have often taken their hatchets from the woodcutters of the fort, or forbidden them to cut wood, that the buffaloes might not be disturbed by the noise.

The fourth band, that of the dogs, wear in their dance a large cap of coloured cloth, to which a great number of raven's, magpie's, and owl's feathers is fastened, adorned with dyed horse-hair and strips of ermine; they have a large war pipe of the wing bone of a swan. Three of them have the same strips of red cloth hanging down the back, as have been mentioned, when speaking of the first band. The head is generally adorned with a thick tuft of owl's, magpie's, and raven's feathers hanging down behind, and often all the three kinds of feathers are mixed together. 561

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

561 the buyers. The first band was that of "The Dogs Whose Names Are Not Known." To this band boys from ten to fifteen years of age could belong. Maximilian was told that at first older men might belong to this band but that this was afterwards changed. Admission to this society and the learning of the dance was bought from a member by the boy's father. Maximilian says that the dances of all the bands were about the same, the differences being in the songs. Each band had a particular drum and rattle.

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561 625 623 [78] [71] The third society was the "Soldier Band" and was composed of the most distinguished warriors of the tribe. The members of this band could never retreat before an enemy. Another feature was its possession of two sacred pipes. All members of the higher bands belonged at the same time to this one. This group had charge of policing and regulating the village, a well-known feature of the Soldier Band among the Sioux and other plains tribes. They formed a committee which regulated all the important affairs of the nation, fixed the time for hunts and applied all the laws.[2]

561 The fourth division was the "Dog Band." Three members from this wore a red cloth down the back such as all the first band wore. These three were known as the Dogs, and anyone could throw a piece of meat on the floor or in the fire, saying "There, Dog, eat," and any of these three must obey.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 409. [2] Ibid., p. 411.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 purchasers then called him his "father," stroked his arm downwards with his hand, took the weapon out of his hand, and again put it in its place.
432 The other dancer followed, recounted some of his deeds, and offered the
527 lance to one of the buyers, who received it in the same manner as his predecessor, and then put it in its place. The periods of intermission were filled with smoking, singing and drumming, but no rattles were used. Two other Soldiers also rose, told of how they had stolen horses, medicine bundles, or other possessions, from the enemy, and gave two more insignia to the purchasers. After this had been done four or five times, the wives of the
[837] buyers rose. Four of them divested themselves of their robes, quickly seized the lances, and carried them, one after another, outside the lodge. After a while they brought them in again. This ceremony was repeated twice, the disrobed women stroked the arms of the strangers and fathers, put on their robes, and passed outside. The persons stroked were expected to follow them into the woods. This procedure resembled that of the Hidatsa in their medicine festival.[1]

575 Some time after the purchase Maximilian had occasion to observe the dance of the new Half-Shaved Heads. About twenty of them entered the
535 Fort, threw off their robes so as to expose their gaily colored bodies, and
302 formed a circle. They were elaborately decorated and carried the insignia of the dance, such as the otter-wrapped sticks. One man wore a bonnet with horns and ermine strips; another, mounted on horseback, was decorated with paint symbolizing the blood from wounds. Three Soldiers (= Black Mouths) served as musicians. As soon as the drum was beaten, the dancers protruded the upper part of their bodies, and leaped into the air with both feet, at the same time holding their guns ready for firing. Thus they danced in the circle for about a minute, then hallooed, rested for a while, and resumed their performance. After receiving some tobacco, they dispersed, put on their robes, and went to Ruptare, where they also danced among the Hidatsa.[2] A picture of the dance, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas is shown in Fig. 11.

Black Mouths.

575 The native name of this society is *ī'he psi'here ō'xat'e*, or *numā'k xarā'k*
●625 *ō'xat'e*. Maximilian calls the members of this society "Soldiers." They form the third society in his list, but he states that all the higher classes

[1] Maximilian, II, 274–277.
[2] Maximilian II, 286–287.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

might belong to the Soldiers' class, as the police functions devolved on this society. However, it was necessary that all members should agree to sell; a single negative voice put a stop to the negotiations. Some individuals did not immediately consent to sell when requested in order to exact a greater amount of property from the buyers. The Prince enumerates the undertakings in which the Soldiers took an important part: changes of village sites, buffalo hunts, and other communal movements. More particularly, they took care lest anyone should prematurely startle buffalo herds. Anyone shooting a wolf or other animal at such a time was maltreated, even if he happened to be a chief, and deprived of his gun. In the 'thirties even white people living in the vicinity were subjected to the same rules. The Soldiers frequently forbade the cutting of trees near the Fort, and took away the woodcutters' axes. 575 625 [432]

Maximilian says that the Soldiers painted the upper part of the face red, and the lower black. Their whistle was made of a crane wing bone. Two pipes, to be smoked on special occasions, remained in the custody of as many pipe-bearers. A rattle was made from a little tin kettle — apparently the baking-powder cans referred to by my own informants — provided with a handle. Among the insignia there were two long, straight poles wrapped with otterskin and decorated with dependent owl feathers. In war these poles were planted in the ground, and must not be abandoned by their bearers. A corresponding regulation applied to one other pole decorated with raven feathers in the manner described and illustrated by Maximilian in connection with a Blackfoot society.[1] 575 302 293

The following origin tradition was given by Wounded-face.[2] Long ago Good-fur-robe assembled the middle-aged men. To the leader he gave one cornstalk, and to the rear man another. "When the enemy chase you," he instructed them, "plant these in the ground and do not run away." Sometimes a cornstalk has five branches at the top. Later, a stick with a spear head was made to represent the cornstalks; owl wing-feathers were tied to its side, as well as crow or raven wing feathers and a raven head. It was wrapped with otterskin, and strips of skin were made to hang down from several points of the staff to represent leaves of the corn. There were two pipe-bearers and two rattlers, the latter taking places next to the spear-carriers, while the pipe men marched in the center. While dancing, the Black Mouths left their circle open at one side. The order in which they marched was: one spear officer, one rattler, the rank and file, the pipe-bearers, the rank and file, the second rattler, the second spear officer. The Black 575 293

[1] Maximilian, I, 578.
[2] Cf. Maximilian's version, referred to on p. 300.

834 [326] Some few are modest enough to conceal with one hand
515 what should not be exposed to public view, but even this is done so carelessly as seldom to answer the purpose—a flea or a louse, of which they have a good store, will make them raise the hand to the parts attacked, leaving their nudities exposed. The river being very shallow for some distance from shore, they make no scruple of standing only knee deep, and thus wash themselves before going further to swim; and in coming out they pass close by you as unconcernedly as if they had on a petticoat or shift. They sometimes bundle up their leather garment under the arm or in one hand and walk deliberately into the village to their own huts, where they sit by the fire for some time with their families, they go to bed entirely naked.

834 .....This evening we were plagued for some time by young women, who came in and wanted to lie with us; but as we did not care to accept their kind offers, they retired very much displeased, and muttering something we could not understand.

786 About midnight we were awakened by some extraordinary
832 noise in the village. On going to the outer porch door I saw about 25 persons of both sexes, entirely naked, going about the village singing and dancing. At times they withdrew in couples, but soon rejoined their companions in [327] the dance and song. During this short separation from the rest they appeared to be very closely engaged, and notwithstanding the night was dark I could perceive them occupied in enjoying each other with as little ceremony as if it had been only the common calls of nature. This affair continued about two hours, during which they made the tour of the village several times. What was the meaning of this ceremony I could not learn; but certainly there could be no performance more lascivious than the one I witnessed. The young men kept watch
625] during the night, sitting on the tops of the huts or walking round the village, singing amorous songs to their particular favorites. This is done, I am told, to prevent a surprise in case an enemy may be at
832 hand. Love is not made by entering the tent at night and lying
834 down near the woman, as it is among other nations I have seen. The custom here is to barricade the doors of the huts during the night and not admit the young men. The latter therefore employ the night in addressing love songs to their mistresses, who either come out of the huts immediately, or wait until daybreak, when they

[p. 384 (B)]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

to demonstrate the extent to which he had worked for the welfare of the entire village, then offered an opinion as to the wisdom of a certain act or policy. He was never demoted, the Mandan claimed; others younger who had been distinguishing themselves merely replaced the older man in public esteem. A chief's greatness was based on the length of time that his opinions were accepted to the exclusion of all others' opinions. A chief was expected to conform strictly to village and tribal custom.

The day-by-day and calendar round of economic, social, and ceremonial activities were rigidly regulated by tradition. In matters relative to gardening, the Corn Bundle leaders, Goose Society, and females of the various households set their own rules. When public sanction was given a young man by one or more members of the council of older men to perform a certain ceremony and he had made public announcement from a rooftop that he would perform the ceremony, a time was reserved for the ceremony, and the Black Mouths would have prevented any interference. The Mandan believed that quarrels should not arise over schedules for performance of the various ceremonies. The fact is that the Mandan liked to attend ceremonies and believed that bad luck would come to anyone who deviated from the normal pattern of behavior.

The responsibilities for leadership in various Mandan social and ceremonial activities were profusely scattered through the entire population. A person who would be the leader in one activity became a subordinate member of another activity in which he was expected to follow the leader's directions. For instance, when the time arrived for the performance of the Okipa ceremony, the entire population was organized around the officers for that ceremony, while the Black Mouth Society enforced the rules. It is highly improbable that the Black Mouths received any formal instruction. Custom defined the rules of behavior during the Okipa which were known by all except very young children. It was also customary when the enemy were not especially troublesome for the greater part of a village group to leave for a short time to trap eagles. The village would break up into a dozen or more camps, each of which was under the leadership of a male having an eagle-trapping bundle. Regardless of a man's status during other activities, he was subordinate to the

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554 leader.[6] Even the most distinguished war leader, who was one of
796 the two head chiefs of the village, frequently joined an expedi-
626 tion under another for the purpose of capturing horses, although in this instance recognition was often shown an outstanding leader by naming him a co-leader.

622 An essential function of a chief was to mold public opinion so that a village could act in unison. A chief was considered eminent if for a long time under his leadership there had been a minimum of dissension in the village. Mandan informants still speak of Good Boy, who was chief of Slant Village below the Heart River after the first smallpox epidemic. He was able to unite the remnants of several villages into a single village and to co-ordinate elements with a minimum of friction. He was essentially a village leader who devoted himself, according to tradition, to the rebuilding of the tribe to its former prominence. It is significant to note that, a few years after his death, one group of Mandan separated from the parent-village and were not reunited until Good Boy's son, Four Bears, was elevated to second chief.

622 A chief could prevent intervillage or intravillage warfare only
182 to the extent to which he could inculcate a concept of tribal unity. Neither a chief nor the council has authority to prevent a
778 portion of a village from separating and establishing a separate village. Such separations as have occurred have usually been of short duration, largely because of the integration of the ceremonial structure through the entire tribal population. Although each permanent Mandan village was in a large measure a separate economic, social, and ceremonial unit, the villages were not entirely independent. The turtle drums, which were considered the most sacred objects of the tribe, were held within the Nuptadi band of east-side Mandan, and the other villages were obliged to borrow them for ceremonial purposes. Whereas the sacred cedar in the center of each village was a symbol of village unity, the Mandan considered the turtle drums a symbol of tribal unity.

6. Cf. chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping."

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

destroy the Mandans. Sacred myths played an important role in the interpretation of situations arising from time to time. First of all, these myths constituted the traditional history of the tribe, and the Mandan were accustomed until a few years ago to return from time to time to these sacred places at and near the Heart River to examine these shrines. My informants often remarked that they would have forgotten many of these stories had they not been able to see for themselves what the older people had explained.[2]

The sacred myths expressed a fundamental pattern of conduct which regulated and to a certain degree regimented the population. The fear of accident or misfortune being ever present, those possessing a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were consulted frequently by those not so well informed. A young man accustomed to consult his elders on important matters was considered wise, and the older people would say, "He will become eminent because he endeavors to regulate his behavior along the line laid down by the sacred things long ago."

The sacred myths established psychological relationships between bundles which to the student of Mandan ceremonialism are otherwise not understandable. In the natives' minds certain bundles are related, and, when a ceremony for one of the bundles of the complex was held, those having bundles believed to be related were expected to attend. The Old Woman Who Never Dies rites will illustrate this point. Since this culture hero formerly cared for her gardens along the Missouri River, the psychological relationship with the Corn Skull bundles is evident. The association of the Bear bundles with this rite become intelligible only when examining the sacred myth in which it is said that she used the grizzly bear for a dog because she was so powerful that all animals were her slaves. Additional information on this point appears in the accounts of the various ceremonies which appear above.

Ceremonies were native dramatizations of the sacred myths. In native theory, the details of the ceremony continued un-

2. Differences in myths and rites now recognized by the older Mandan probably represent cultural differences between villages which become apparent only when the survivors of the Heart River villages united to occupy a single village.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 Mouths were also called "Brave Men's society." They painted their faces
293 black. The Goose women used the same paint, because their society was
[302] founded by the same man. When the time came for singing, the first rattler walked ahead and began to sing. Then the drummers took up the song. The next time the second rattler acted in the same manner. The raven-lance bearers had a special song and dance, during which they crossed each other's path.

575 One summer, when the society wished to give a performance because
726 some Sioux were coming to fight, they stuck two tipi poles into the ground, and tied raven-lances to the top. One of the Soldiers cried, "Kā! Kā! Kā!"
554 This was in imitation of crows. Then some other member went outside the lodge to see which one had cried. Returning, he said, "It is not a living
533 raven, but the raven head on Skunk's lance." Skunk was a very brave
535 man. The people said, "We will find out what this means." Then someone took the lances down, and returned them to their owners. Skunk said, "Hold on, my fellow-members, I wish to know the reason why my lance is singing." He got his associate to accompany him, and both lance officers then went through the village, singing this song: —

"kē'ka, nasarā'rōoca. mī' ō`watē'roc.
"Raven, you sing. I want to die.
"kika're e'henik, ō'ota."
"If you are afraid, go away."

The people hearing Skunk thought him braver than ever. They said to him, "This is your day, do what you wish best." The people encouraged Skunk. When the society started outdoors for a dance, Skunk took the lead, and again sang. A circle was formed. All the people came to watch the performance. Skunk once more sang his song. He danced alone, in a slanting line. These were the words of his song: —

"mīnukarité, nū'tamina'tare hū'miikāc. i'miinahèc."
"My friends, our enemies are numerous. I am used to it" [that is, to fight].

When the time came to fight, Skunk struck many coups. This is what the singing of the raven had indicated.

575 In addition to the police functions described by Maximilian, Wounded-
● 626 face mentions a special duty devolving on the two pipe-bearers. When some villager wished to kill a fellow-tribesman, these officers filled up a pipe, and gave him presents in order to make him desist. Acceptance signified acquiescence in their wishes.

575 Water-chief became a Black Mouth, together with about twenty of his comrades, at thirty; generally, however, the members were older. They

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Throughout the ceremony two women whose normal position in the circle was on the right side of the rear officer preserved order in the lodge; the distinctive badge of their office consisted of a skunkskin head band (Fig. 17). 575 626

The object of the ceremony was to lure the buffalo near the fireplace. Once, when the performance took place in a clearing in the woods, one buffalo came directly to the doorway, and was killed on the spot. During the same season a great abundance of buffalo were found in the timber. Apparently, anyone who was desirous of making the buffalo come could take the initiative and ask the society to undertake the performance. 575 789

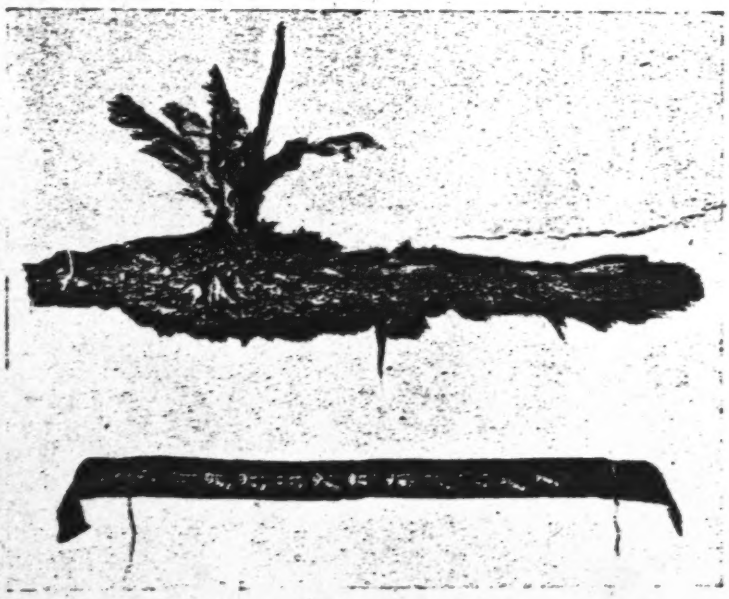

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Fig. 17 (50.1–4815, 50.1–4231). Skunkskin Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society and Head Band of Kit-Fox Society. Lengths, 79 cm. and 85 cm.

Any old member could adopt as many new ones as she wished, and was obliged to provide each tyro with a headdress. Calf-woman obtained one of these headdresses at the time of her adoption, though she was only two years of age. She became the middle officer because her adoptive mother gave her the appropriate calfskin robe. The musicians adopted new musicians who were obliged to pay heavily for the songs. Four of them had drums for instruments, while the remaining one used a rattle of buffalo skin. 575 608 432 [534]

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

156 further his own ends, nor is there any pressure put upon him to realize ab-
602 solute ideals. The value of generosity in this perspective, and as defined by the
431 Indian people, is any act which promotes group welfare. Those persons who do work together on such secular affairs as road projects are said to have donated their time to the group. At a dance for his son serving in Korea, one man in Lone Hill donated "the whitewashing of the school lunch room and the repair of the grade school window sashes." As the kinship system embodies the primary societal values, a man's position in society is assured if he meets the obligations of that system at all public gatherings and in his everyday be-
[626 havior in the village. If a person behaves in any way that destroys group co-
571] operation he is not threatened or physically punished. His mother or older sister will tell him the right way, and if they are not effective his grandparents or other joking relatives will tease and ridicule him into conformity. The Mandan-Hidatsa have a tremendous elaboration of joking relationships which serve as a very effective mechanism of enforcing conformity to group norms.

177 By the time the unacculturated child becomes an adult, he has been so
867 effectively socialized to Indian ways that white contact has very little influence. But the adult reality is such that he must live in a superordinate white world. This is the sharp discontinuity in his life career. Every Indian must deal with members of white society in order to perform necessary economic and educational activities. The unacculturated Indian does not change himself to become like a white person; instead he learns how to adjust to white people. One informant described the technique as follows: "We Indians are just like those lizards that change their colors. When we are with whites we act one way and when we are with Indians we act another way." I think this kind of compartmentalized behavior is called "situational role specificity"—but possibly the analogy of the chameleon has a virtue of its own. In a sense, the unacculturated people of Lone Hill come to learn two cultures, but it is a
177 case of differential learning with different points of origin. The unacculturated
154 Indian character is incorporated into the child in his formative years, while a
867 superficial knowledge of white culture and of the techniques of adjustment to white people are learned primarily in adulthood. The unacculturated people of Lone Hill are not torn with inner conflict between two worlds; they just internalize the Indian way as children and learn aspects of the white way as a necessary accessory when they become adults. Erikson (1950:115) in his study of the Sioux was intrigued by this point:

> This, it seemed to us, was the most astonishing single fact to be investigated: That Indian children could live for years without open rebellion or any signs of inner conflict between two standards which were incomparably further apart than those of any two generations or two classes in our culture.

177 The unacculturated Indian does not internalize white ways as an adult, not
563 because all learning stops in childhood, but because of the vast cultural differences between members of the two groups, the nature of the situations in which adult Indian-white interaction occurs, and the attitudes of white

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Minnetarees, who fired on them; a circumstance which may occasion some disturbance between the two nations." (id 229.) 000

Letter to Aricaras. "Tuesday, 5th. About four o'clock in the morning there was a slight fall of snow, but the day became clear and pleasant, with the mercury forty degrees above zero. We sent down an Indian and a Frenchman to the Ricara village with a letter to Mr. Tabeau." (id 229.)

Prairie Fires. "Wednesday, 6th. The day was cloudy and smoky in consequence of the burning of the plains by the Minnetarees; they have set all the neighboring country on fire in order to obtain an early crop of grass, which may answer for the consumption of their horses, and also as an inducement for the buffalo and other game to visit it. The horses stolen two days ago by the Assiniboines have been returned to the Minnetarees. Ohhaw, second chief of the lower Minnetaree village came to see us. The river rose and overran the ice, so as to render the crossing difficult." (id 230.)

LeBorgne. "Saturday, 9th. The morning cloudy and cool, the wind from the north. The grand chief of the Minnetarees, who is called by the French LeBorgne, from his having but one eye, came down for the first time to the fort. He was received with much attention, two guns were fired in honor of his arrival, the curiosities were exhibited to him, and, as he said that he had not received the presents which we had sent him on his arrival, we again gave him a flag, a medal, shirt, arm braces and the usual presents on such occasions, with all which he was much pleased. In the course of the conversation, the chief observed, that some foolish young men of his nation had told him that there was a person among us quite black, and he wished to know if it could be true. We assured him that it was true, and sent for York; the Borgne was very much surprised at his appearance, examining him closely, and spit on his finger and rubbed the skin in order to wash off the paint; nor was it until the negro uncovered his head, and showing his short hair that the Borgne could be persuaded that he was not a painted white man."

Mandan Justice. "Sunday, 10th. A cold windy day. Tetuckopinreha, chief of the Ahnahaway and the Minnetaree chief, Ompschars, passed the day with us, and the former remained during the night. We had occasion to see an instance of the 627 837

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summary justice of the Indians. A young Minnetaree had carried off the daughter of Cagonomokshe, the Raven Man, second chief of the upper village of the Mandans; the father went to the village and found his daughter, whom he brought home, and took with him a horse belonging to the offender. This reprisal satisfied the vengeance of the father and of the nation, as the young man would not dare to reclaim his horse, which from that time became the property of the injured party. The stealing of young women is one of the most common offenses against the police of the village, and the punishment of it always measured by the power or the passions of the kindred of the female. A voluntary elopement is of course more rigidly chastised. One of the wives of the Borgne deserted him in favor of a man who had been her lover before the marriage, and who after some time left her, and she was obliged to return to her father's house. As soon as he heard it the Borgne walked there and found her sitting near the fire. Without noticing his wife, he began to smoke with the father; when they were joined by the old men of the village, who, knowing his temper, had followed in hopes of appeasing him. He continued to smoke quietly with them, till rising to return, he took his wife by the hair, led her as far as the door, and with a single stroke of his tomahawk put her to death before her father's eyes. Then turning fiercely upon the spectators, he said that if any of her relations wished to avenge her, they might always find him at his lodge; but the fate of the woman had not sufficient interest to excite the vengeance of the family. The caprice or the generosity of the same chief gave a very different result to a similar incident which occurred some time afterwards. Another of his wives eloped with a young man, who not being able to support her as she wished, they both returned to the village, and she presented herself before the husband, supplicating his pardon for her conduct. The Borgne sent for the lover. At the moment when the youth expected that he would be put to death, the chief mildly asked them if they still preserved their affection for each other; and on their declaring that want, and not a change of affection had induced them to return, he gave up his wife to her lover, with the liberal present of three horses, and restored them both to his favor." (id 231.)

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Mandan Beads. "Saturday, 16th. The weather is cloudy, the

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768 smallpox epidemic of 1837. The orphans were taken in by the
602 females according to clan affiliation and reared as their own
614 children.

Suicide was rare among the Mandan. The only instances
762 remembered by Mandan informants were immediately follow-
775 ing the last smallpox epidemic. When a household had been nearly exterminated, the remaining females frequently took their lives. Crows Heart thought that suicides were buried and that their spirits did not reach the spirit world. Scattercorn remembered hearing of two girls who hanged themselves in 1837 in the village where her father lived and said that they were placed on the scaffold which was built by her father whose sister sent the spirits away at the end of four days.

682 The last murder of a male occurred among the Mandan in 1820, part of the Mandan separating from the village group to
● 627 live on Eagle Nose Butte until 1823, when the relatives of the murdered man invited them to return to Fort Clark Village. One who had been murdered was treated as though he had been killed in battle or had died a natural death. There was the usual preparation of the body by the relatives of the father's clan. The murderer, if caught, was killed by the murdered man's male siblings or clansmen, and his body was buried at a distance
[766] from the village. No rites were performed to send his spirit away. The murder of a woman by another woman was treated lightly and settled by a payment of goods.

The Mandan, and in later years the Hidatsa also, were accus-
765 tomed to collect the bones of their relatives after the scaffolds
614 on which they were placed had rotted and fallen to the ground.
778 The skulls were taken to a place adjacent to the scaffolds and there arranged in circles of which there were a number near each village. Scattercorn claimed that the skulls of each circle were of closely related people who had belonged to the same clan and that these shrines enhanced the "sacred powers" of the Woman Above bundles which were a part of the shrine.[4] If these were clan shrines, the practice of arranging the circles according to clans must have been abandoned after moving to Like-a-Fishhook Village, as there were only two or three circles at most, and the Hidatsa made simultaneous use of these shrines

4. See Catlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–52, for an eyewitness description of these circles.

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685 554 701 others' directions. As the leader of his first war expedition, he was expected to name others with a distinguished war record to serve with him as co-leaders. They would share his rewards and assume their share of the responsibilities. His word was authority in all matters relating to his war expeditions, and, whereas in the past he had accepted the decisions of his leader in disputes appertaining to rewards for striking the enemy or capturing and dividing the spoils, he demanded similar obedience from his group.

554 721 The Mandan had a highly formalized method of recording war honors, and it was the duty of the war leader to verify their authenticity. He would relate the exploits of his men during social occasions and ceremonies. Those holding war honors were entitled to express them by means of particular decorations. Of [177] these decorations, the Mandan claim that the practice of wearing eagle feathers was of recent origin and was borrowed from the Sioux.

554 703 628 721 The highest honor was accorded to a man who went out alone and found an enemy whom he killed and scalped. He was authorized to paint one legging black and the other either yellow or white and to paint each half of his shirt in the same manner. He was also permitted to wear a coyote tail at each ankle signifying that he saw an enemy first and afterward "struck" him. He could also wear one eagle feather in his hair and was the recipient of much honor during the scalp dances as long as he lived. The most common motive for going out alone was to revenge a relative, particularly a sibling, when the slayer was known. In such cases, announcement was made in advance that he was leaving on a particular day to find his relative's slayer. Catlin records such an expedition by Four Bears, who went into the Arikara villages near the Grand River at night to avenge the death of his brother.[2] The old Mandan still related this incident in 1930, when the information for this report was collected. The only instance of one man going far 554 from the village and killing one or more persons remembered as 578 occurring during the lifetime of my informants was for revenge. 721 A distinguished war leader's wife ran away with another dis-

837 2. George Catlin, *The Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (London, 1841), pp. 239–40.

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Now it is in evidence from an entirely different source that prior to the spring of 1734—over four years before Verendrye visited the Mandans—a Frenchman had visited the Aricaras at their upper Missouri villages, that fact being evidenced by "a letter from Bienville, dated April 22nd, 1734, stating that a Frenchman, having lived several years among the Pawnees, had ascended the Missouri river to the Ricaras, who had never before seen a Frenchman." That letter is taken from Margry, Vol. 6, page 455. See the Appendatory Note to Part I of this paper in Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., page 586, which note refers to Vol. 9, Kas. Hist. Coll. for 1905-6, as the source of the information. From all of which, and the information imparted to Verendrye by the Mandans, it would seem that communication, however imperfect and irregular, between the whites below and the Indians as far up as the Aricara villages of the Missouri, had already been established when that intrepid explorer made his first memorable visit to the Mandans. Whether the advent of the Frenchman at the Aricara villages had anything to do with the commencement of that war between those Indians and the Mandans which he was told had then raged "for four years," and prior to which, according to further information given him, the Pawnees (Aricaras) and the Mandans "had always from all time been closely united and in alliance together"—may never be determinable by competent evidence; but as the dawn of the fur trade of the upper Missouri was not to appear for some fifty years then yet to come, it is safe to declare that fur traffic or its incidents in rivalries and overreachings among the whites had nothing to do with this first breach between the tribes in question. Verendrye's record concerning the long duration of peace and alliance between the upper Missouri Pawnees and the Mandans at that early date is significant as indicating that the Mandans had then long been in those quarters. And that the Pananas "made their forts like them" (i. e., the Mandans) is also indicative of a long period of mutual experience in housebuilding by both tribes in that general locality. And it seems highly probable that such resemblance in the character of habitations is less likely to have been occasioned by the proximity of the two tribes brought about through a southwestward approach to the Missouri by the Mandans and an up-river progress by the Aricaras, than to have followed a mutual progress up-river. And when we further consider that all of the formidable village defenses of both tribes were, according to information recorded

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by Verendrye, such as brought him to conclude that "they may be called impregnable to Indians," there would seem to be made out at least a presumptive case of mutual defense by Mandans and Aricaras against enemies from below—including the dreaded Sioux—rather than against those from the north; in other words, that such formidable earthworks as are thus recorded, including in at least one case a ditch "upwards of fifteen feet deep by fifteen to eighteen feet wide," reinforced by "ramparts very level and broad, the palisade supported on cross pieces mortised into posts of fifteen feet," were probably the climax of the efforts of years to ward off a strong, persistent and generally successful foe who had driven both tribes up the Missouri.

From Agnes C. Laut's "Pathfinders of the West" (Macmillan Co., 1904) we quote the following extract relating to the second contact of the Verendryes (sons of him who headed the expedition of 1738) with the Mandans in 1742. The account is set forth in the spirited phrases indicative of movement and inspiration, for which that gifted author is famous:

"The two men left among the Mandans to learn the language had returned to the Assiniboine river with more news of tribes from the "setting sun" who dwelt on salt water. Pierre de la Verendrye went down to the Missouri with the two interpreters, but the Mandans refused to supply guides that year and the young Frenchman came back to winter on the Assiniboine. Here he made every preparation for another attempt to find the Western Sea by way of the Missouri. On April 29th, 1742, the two brothers, Pierre and Francois, left the Assiniboine with the two interpreters. Their course led along the trail that for two hundred years was to be a famous highway between the Missouri and Hudson Bay. Leading southwest, they followed the Souris river to the watershed of the Missouri, and in three weeks were once more the guests of the smoky Mandan lodges. Round the inside walls of each circular hut ran berth beds of buffalo skins with trophies of the chase, hide shields and weapons of war, fastened to the posts that separate berth from berth. A common fire, with a family meat pot hanging above, occupied the center of the lodge. In one of these lodges the two brothers and their men were quartered. The summer passed feasting with the Mandans and smoking the calumet of peace; but all was in vain. The Missouri Indians were arrant cowards in the matter of war. The terror

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764 length was pronounced by his brother, in which he impressed on their minds, the great importance which the deceased man had been to their nation; rehearsed his war exploits, and concluded by urging all to follow his example, and to become of equal usefulness to their tribe. Then they would be sure of following and becoming companions of him, and all the other great warriors, which had died before, in the world of spirits. After this address was closed, provisions were brought out, consisting of boiled dog's flesh, of which the company just tasted, and then a bowl full of it was presented to the dead man. He was then taken up by four men and carried outside of the village, just into the edge of the woods, and placed on a stage which had been previously erected, about ten feet high. The bowl of food was brought and set by his head, and his arms and accoutrements laid by his side. In this manner their dead are deposited, and are never buried. The wife and relations of the deceased made the most violent and dreadful howlings, tearing their hair and appearing to be in the deepest anguish, under the loss they had sustained."

142 **Complexion, Etc.** "The Mandans and the Gros Ventres are of the lightest complexion, and largest Indians on the Missouri. Their hair inclines to a chestnut color, and in some instances has a slight curl; it is never so lank and course as most other Indians. Their eyes are full and lively, their cheek bones rather high, and their countenances open and agreeable. The Gros Ventres have more of a fierce, savage look, than the Mandans who are courteous 291 and sociable in their behavior. They are neat in their dress, which is similar to that of the Rus, except that they decorate it with white rabbit, and white ermine skins. Many of their lodges, or 353 huts, are decorated in a beatiful manner; having the inside lined with the richest furs, such as the lynx, beaver, otter, white rabbit, martin, fox, mountain cat and white ermine, sewed together like patch-work, which gives them a rich and beautiful appearance. The lodge of the head chief was sixty feet in diameter, elegantly lined with furs, and the seats, which are also used as beds, were covered with the grizzly bear and buffalo skins. These people keep their lodges and buildings in a state of great neatness. They 439 cultivate the same kind of produce with the Rus, and carry on a trade with the roving Indians, who occasionally visit them. The ● 648 Mandans and Gros Ventres live in great friendship, although

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they speak different languages; and it is necessary they should, for their villages are not more than six miles apart. The Mandans speak the same tongue of the Osage, but have a different accent, and dialect. They were once a numerous, war-like people, but have been reduced by the smallpox, and by their enemies, the Sioux, to less than four hundred warriors." (Pages 180 to 183 LeRaye's journal.)

After having tarried eight days with the Mandans, LeRaye and his Indian escorts left there, arriving on the 13th July, 1802, at the Gros Ventre village "on the lower side of the Batteau (Knife) river," called the Meniture village. Another village, called Meni-tar-u-miti-ha-tah, is situated on the upper side of the Batteau river. These villages are larger than the Mandans, built in the same manner, and containing about 600 warriors, and about 2500 inhabitants. They were formerly more numerous, but the smallpox has made its ravages among them. These people deposit their dead in the same manner as the Mandans, but at a greater distance from their villages."

Marriage Ceremony. Here LeRaye gives interesting particulars of an Indian marriage ceremony at the last mentioned village: "Proclamation was made, by one of the relations, that on the next day, in the morning, the marriage would be celebrated." The next morning "The company assembled at her father's lodge, where the chief of the village attended. He informed the company, that the young man, calling him by name, intended to take the girl, calling her by name, to be his wife. He then asked each of them if that were their intention, which each of them answered in the affirmative. The chief then handed them a small rod, which was broken between them. The groom then broke his part into a number of small pieces, and handed them to the men who stood near to him. The bride did the same with her part of the rod, which consummated the marriage. Fire was then brought, and the sacred pipe was lighted. After all the men had smoked in it, the dance commenced, which was continued for several hours." Down to the point of smoking, the foregoing seems to have been strikingly similar to the usual civilized marriage ceremony of those times.

Rocky Mountain Hunt. After a feast on July 2nd, 1802, the Indians, still holding LeRaye, and accompanied by Pardo, set out on the fall hunt to the Yellowstone and the Rocky mountains;

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of them remained all night. We sent in the evening three young Indians with a present of tobacco for the chiefs of the three upper villages, inviting them to come down in the morning to a council with us. 000

Minnetarees and Ahnahaways. "Accordingly, the next day, Sunday, October 28, we were joined by many of the Minnetarees and Ahnahaways from above but the wind was so violent from the southwest that the chiefs of the lower villages could not come up, and the council was deferred till tomorrow. In the meantime we entertained our visitors by showing them what was new to them in the boat; all which, as well as our black servant, they called Great Medicine, the meaning of which we afterwards learnt. We also consulted the grand chief of the Mandans, Black Cat and Mr. Jesseaume, as to the names, characters, etc., of the chiefs with whom we are to hold the council. In the course of the day we received several presents from the women, consisting of corn, boiled hominy, and garden stuffs; in our turn we gratified the wife of the great chief with a gift of a glazed earthen jar. Our hunter brought us two beavers. In the afternoon we sent the Minnetarees chiefs to smoke for us with the great chief of the Mandans, and told them we would speak in the morning. Finding that we shall be obliged to pass the winter at this place, we went up the river about one and a half mile to-day with a view of finding a convenient spot for a fort, but the timber was too scarce and small for our purposes.

First Indian Council. "Monday, October 29th. The morning was fine and we prepared our presents and speech for the council. After breakfast we were visited by an old chief of the Ahnahaways, who finding himself growing old and weak, had transferred his power to his son, who is now at war against the Shoshonees. At ten o'clock the chiefs were all assembled under an awning of our sails, stretched so as to exclude the wind which had become high. That the impression might be the more forceable, the men were all paraded, and the council opened by a discharge from the swivel of the boat. We then delivered a speech, which like those we had already made, intermingled advice with assurances of friendship and trade; while we were speaking the old Ahnahaway chief grew very restless, and observed that he could not wait so long, as his camp was exposed to the 622 648

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hostilities of the Shoshonees. He was instantly rebuked with great dignity by one of the chiefs for this violation of decorum at such a moment, and remained quiet during the rest of the council. Towards the end of our speech we introduced the subject of our Ricara chief, with whom we recommended a firm peace. To this they seemed well disposed, and all smoked with him very amicably. We all mentioned the goods which had been taken from the Frenchman, and expressed a wish that they should be restored. This being over, we proceeded to distribute the presents with great ceremony. One chief of each town was acknowledged by a gift of a flag, a medal with the likeness of the president of the United States, a uniform coat, hat and feather; to the second chiefs we gave a medal representing some animals, and a loom for weaving; to the third chiefs, medals with the impressions of a farmer sowing grain. A variety of other presents were distributed but none seemed to give them more satisfaction than an iron corn-mill which we gave to the Mandans.

"The chiefs who were made today are: Shahaka or Big White, a first chief, and Kagohami or Little Raven, a second chief of the lower village of the Mandans, called Matootonha. The other chiefs of an inferior quality who were recommended were: 1. Ohheenaw, or Big Man, a Cheyenne taken prisoner by the Mandans who adopted him, and he now enjoys great consideration among the tribe. 2. Shotahawrora, or coal, of the second Mandan village, which is called Rooptahee. We made Poscopsahe, or Black Cat, the first chief of the village, and the grand chief of the whole Mandan nation; his second chief is Kagonomokshe, or raven man chief; inferior chiefs of this village were Tawnoheo and Bellahsara, of which we did not learn the translation." (id 161)

Big White. "Tuesday, 30. We were this morning visited by the two persons from the lower village, one the Big White, the chief of the village, the other the Cheyenne called the Big Man. They had been hunting, and did not return yesterday early enough to attend the council. At their request we repeated part of our speech of yesterday, and put the medal round the neck of the chief. Captain Clarke took a perioque and went up the river in search of a good wintering place, and returned after going seven miles to the lower point of an island on the north side,

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about one mile in length, he found the banks on the north side high with coal occasionally, and the country fine on all sides, but the want of wood and the scarcity of game up the river, induced us to decide on fixing ourselves lower down during the winter. In the evening our men danced among themselves to the great amusement of the Indians. 622 648

Mandan's Speech. "Wednesday, 31st. A second chief arrived this morning with an invitation from the grand chief of the Mandans, to come to his village where he wished to present some corn to us and speak with us. Captain Clarke walked down to his village. He was first seated with great ceremony on a robe by the side of the chief, who then threw over his shoulders another robe handsomely ornamented. The pipe was then smoked with several of the old men who were seated around the chief. After some time he began his discourse by observing that he believe what we had told him, and that they should soon enjoy peace, which would gratify him as well as his people, because they could then hunt without fear of being attacked, and the women might work in the fields without looking every moment for the enemy, and at night put off their moccasins, a phrase by which is conveyed the idea of security, when the women could undress at night without fear of attack. 622 648 537

"As to the Ricaras, he continued, in order to show you that we wish peace with all men, that chief, pointing to his second chief, will go with some warriors back to the Ricaras with their chief now here and smoke with that nation. When we heard of your coming, all the nations around returned from their hunting to see you, in hopes of receiving large presents. All were disappointed and some discontented. For his part he was not much so, though his village was. He added that he would go and see his great father, the president. Two of the steel traps stolen from the Frenchman were then laid before Captain Clarke, and the women brought about twelve bushels of corn. After the chief had finished, Captain Clarke made an answer to the speech and then he returned to the boat, where he found the chief of the third village and Kagohami (the Little Raven) who smoked and talked about half an hour. After they left the boat the grand chief of the Mandans came dressed in the clothes we had given him, with 622 648

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622 648 his two children, and begged to see the men dance, in which they willingly gratified him."(id 168)

Peace With the Aricaras. "Thursday, November 1st. At ten o'clock the chiefs of the lower village arrived. They requested that we would call at their village for some corn; that they were willing to make peace with the Ricaras; that they had never provoked the war between them, but as the Ricaras killed some of their chiefs, they had retaliated on them; that they had killed them like birds, till they were tired of killing them, so that they would send a chief and some warriors to smoke with them. In the evening we dropped down to the lower village, where Captain Lewis went on shore, and Captain Clarke proceeded to a point of wood on the north side.

"Friday, November 2. He therefore went up to the village, where eleven bushels of corn were presented to him. In the meantime Captain Clarke went down with the boat three miles, and having found a good position where there was plenty of timber, encamped and began to fell trees to build our huts. Our Ricara chief set out with one Mandan chief and several Minnitarees and Mandan warriors; the wind was from the southeast, and the weather being fine, crowds of Indians came down to visit us." (id 169)

224 **Mandan Hunt.** "Monday, 5th. The Indians are all out on their hunting parties. A camp of Mandans caught within two days one hundred goats a short distance below us. Their mode of hunting them is to form a large strong pen or fold, from which a fence made of bushes gradually widens on each side. The animals are surrounded by the hunters and gently driven towards this pen, in which they imperceptibly find themselves inclosed, and are then at the mercy of the hunters." (id 170.)

231 "Thursday, 8. The morning again cloudy; our huts advanced very well, and we are visited by numbers of Indians who come to let their horses graze near us. In the day the horses are let loose in quest of grass, in the night they are collected and receive an armful of small boughs of the cottonwood, which being very juicy, soft and brittle, form nutritious and agreeable food." (id 171.)

000 **Northern Indians.** "Wednesday, 14th. The river rose last night half an inch, and is now filled with floating ice. This morning was

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cloudy with some snow. About seventy lodges of Assiniboines and some Knistenaux are at the Mandan village, and this being the day of adoption and exchange of property between them all, it is accompanied by a dance, which prevents our seeing more than two Indians today. These Knistenaux are a band of Chippeways whose language they speak. They live on the Assiniboine and Saskashawan rivers, and are about two hundred and forty men." (id 173)

Hostilities With Assiniboines and Knistenauxs. "Sunday, November 18. Today we had a cold windy morning. The Black Cat came to see us, and occupied us for a long time with questions on the usages of our country. He mentioned that a council had been held yesterday to deliberate on the state of their affairs. It seemed that not long ago, a party of Sioux fell in with some horses belonging to the Minnetarees, and carried them off; but in their flight they were met by some of the Assiniboines, who killed the Sioux and kept the horses. A Frenchman, too, who had lived many years among the Mandans, was lately killed on his route to the British factory on the Assiniboine. Some smaller differences existed between the two nations, all of which being discussed, the council decided that they would not resent the recent insults from the Assiniboines and Knistenaux, until they had seen whether we had deceived them or not in our promises of furnishing them with arms and ammunition. They had been disappointed in their hopes of receiving them from Mr. Evans, and were afraid that we too, like him, might tell them what was not true. We advised them to continue at peace, that supplies of every kind would no doubt arrive for them, but that time was necessary to organize the trade. The fact is, that the Assiniboines treat the Mandans as the Sioux do the Ricaras; by their vicinity to the British they get all the supplies, which they withhold or give at pleasure to the remoter Indians. The consequence is, that however badly treated, the Mandans and Ricaras are very slow to retaliate, lest they should lose their trade altogether." (id 175.)

Fort Mandan. "Tuesday, 20th. We this day moved into our huts, which are now completed. This place, which we call Ft. Mandan, is situated in a point of low ground, on the north side of the Missouri, covered with tall and heavy cottonwood. The works consist of two rows of huts or sheds, forming an angle

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000 where they join each other. Each row contains four rooms, of fourteen feet square, and seven feet high, with plank ceiling, and the roof slanting so as to form a loft above the rooms, the highest part of which is eighteen feet from the ground. The backs of the huts form a wall of that height, and opposite the angle the place of the wall was supplied by picketing. In the area were two rooms for stores and provisions. The latitude by observation is 47 degrees, 21 minutes, 47 seconds, and the computed distance from the mouth of the Missouri, sixteen hundred miles." (id 176)

•648 **Sioux Threats.** "In the course of the day several Indians came down to partake of our fresh meat; among the rest, three chiefs of the second Mandan village. They inform us that the Sioux on the Missouri above the Cheyenne river, threaten to attack them this winter; that these Sioux are much irritated at the Ricaras for having made peace through our means with the Mandans, and have lately ill-treated three Ricaras who carried the pipe of peace to them, by beating them and taking away their horses. We gave them assurances that we would protect them from all their enemies." (id 176)

361 167 **Mandan Villages and Tribe.** "The villages near which we are established are five in number, and are the residence of three distinct nations—the Mandans, the Ahnahaways and the Minnetarees. The history of the Mandans, as we received it from our interpreters and from the chiefs themselves, and as it is attested by existing monuments, illustrates, more than that of any other nation, the unsteady movements and the tottering fortunes of the American nations. Within the recollection of living witnesses, the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about eighty miles below, and situated seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri. The two finding themselves wasting away before the smallpox and the Sioux, united into one village, and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras. The same causes reduced the remaining seven to five villages, till at length they emigrated in a body to the Ricaras nation, where they formed themselves into two villages, and joined those of their countrymen who had gone before them. In their new residence they were still insecure, and at length the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present position. The two

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increased by the strength of the fort, and the circumstances of our interpreters having both removed there with their families. These reports we did not fail to disprove to their entire satisfaction, and amused them with every attention, particularly by the dancing of the men, which diverted them highly. All the Indians whom Captain Lewis had visited were very well disposed, and received him with great kindness, except a principal chief of one of the upper villages, named Mahpahpaparapassatoo, or Horned Weasel, who made use of the civilized indecorum of refusing to be seen, and when Captain Lewis called, he was told the chief was not at home. In the course of the day seven of the Northwest company's traders arrived from the Assiniboine river, and one of their interpreters having undertaken to circulate among the Indians unfavorable reports, it became necessary to warn them of the consequences, if they did not desist from such proceedings. The river fell two inches today and the weather became very cold." 000

No British Flag. "About eight o'clock Poscopsahe came down to visit us, with some warriors; we gave them presents and entertained them with all that might amuse their curiosity, and at parting we told them that we had heard of the British trader, Mr. Laroche, having attempted to distribute medals and flags among them; but that those emblems could not be received from any other than the American nation, without incurring the displeasures of the great father, the president. They left us much pleased with their treatment." (id 182.) 648

Sioux Raid. "Friday, 30th. About eight o'clock an Indian came to the opposite bank of the river, calling out that he had something important to communicate, and on sending for him, he told us that five Mandans had been met about eight leagues to the southwest by a party of Sioux, who had killed one of them, wounded two, and taken nine horses; that four of the Wattasoons were missing, and that the Mandans expected an attack. We thought this an excellent opportunity to discountenance the injurious reports against us, and to fix the waivering confidence of the nation. Captain Clarke therefore instantly crossed the river with twenty-three men strongly armed, and circling the town, approached it from behind. His unexpected appearance surprised and alarmed the chiefs, who came out to meet him, and 648 721

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conducted him to the village. He then told them that having heard of the outrage just committed, he had come to assist his dutiful children; and that if they would assemble their warriors and those of the nation, he would lead them against the Sioux and avenge the blood of their countrymen. After some minutes' conversation, Ohenaw, the Cheyenne arose: 'We now see,' said he, 'that what you have told us is true, since as soon as our enemies threatened to attack us you come to protect us and are ready to chastise those who have spilled our blood. We did indeed listen to your good talk, for when you told us that the other nations were inclined to peace with us, we went out carelessly in small parties, and some have been killed by the Sioux and Ricaras. But I knew that the Ricaras were liars, and I told their chief who accompanied you, that his whole nation were liars and bad men; that we had several times made a peace with them, which they were the first to break; that whenever we pleased we might shoot them like buffalo, but that we had no wish to kill them; that we would not suffer them to kill us, nor steal our horses; and that although we agree to make peace with them, because our two fathers desired it, yet we did not believe that they would be faithful long. Such, father, was my language to them in your presence, and you see that instead of listening to your good counsel they have spilt our blood. A few days ago, two Ricaras came here and told us that two of their villages were making moccasins, that the Sioux were stirring them up against us, and that we ought to take care of our horses; yet these very Ricaras we sent home as soon as the news reached us today, lest our people should kill them in the first moments of grief for their murdered relatives. Four of the Wattasoons whom we expected back in sixteen days have been absent twenty-four, and we fear have fallen. But, father, the snow is now deep, the weather cold, and our horses cannot travel through the plains; the murderers have gone off; if you will conduct us in the spring time, when the snow has disappeared, we will assemble all the surrounding warriors, and follow you.'"

Clarke Counsels Peace. "Captain Clarke replied, that we were always willing and able to defend them; that he was sorry that the snow prevented their marching to meet the Sioux, since he wished to show them that the warriors of their great father would

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chastise the enemies of his obedient children who opened their ears to his advise; that if some Ricaras had joined the Sioux, they should remember that there were some bad men in every nation, and that they should not be offended at the Ricaras till they saw whether these ill-disposed men were countenanced by the whole tribe; that the Sioux possessed great influence over the Ricaras, whom they supplied with military stores, and sometimes led them estray, because they were afraid to oppose them; but that this should be the less offensive, since the Mandans themselves were under the same apprehensions from the Assiniboines and Kristenaux, and that while they were thus dependent, both the Ricaras and Mandans ought to keep on terms with their powerful neighbors, whom they may afterwards set at defiance, when we shall supply them with arms, and take them under our protection. 648 721

"After two hours conversation Captain Clarke left the village. The chief repeatedly thanked him for the fatherly protection he had given them, observing that the whole village had been weeping all night and day for the brave young men who had been slain, but now they would wipe their eyes and weep no more as they saw that their father would protect them. He then crossed the river on the ice and returned on the north side of the fort." (id 184.)

Cheyenne Delegation. "Saturday, December 1st. The wind was from the northwest, and the whole party engaged in picketing the fort. About ten o'clock the half-brother of the man who had been killed, came to inform us that six Sharhas, or Cheyenne Indians, had arrived, bringing a pipe of peace, and that their nation was three days' march behind them. Three Pawnees had accompanied the Sharhas, and the Mandans being afraid of the Sharhas on account of their being at peace with the Sioux, wished to put both them and the three Pawnees to death; but the chiefs had forbidden it, as it would be contrary to our wishes. We gave him a present of tobacco, and although from his connection with the sufferer, he was more embittered against the Pawnees than any other Mandan, yet he seemed perfectly satisfied with our pacific counsels and advise. The Mandans we observed called all the Ricaras by the name of Pawnee; the name of Ricaras being that by which the nation distinguished itself." 648

"Sunday, December 2nd. At eleven o'clock, the chiefs of the

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lower village brought down four of the Sharhas. We explained to them our intentions, and advised them to remain at peace with each other; we also gave them a flag, some tobacco, and a speech for their nation. These were accompanied by a letter to Messrs. Tabeau and Gravelines at the Ricara village, requesting them to preserve peace if possible, and to declare the part which we should be forced to take if the Ricaras and Sioux made war on those whom we had adopted. After distributing a few presents to the Sharhas and Mandans, and showing them our curiosities, we dismissed them, apparently well pleased at their reception." (id 187.)

Mandan Religion—Origin. "Tuesday, 4th. Oscapsaee and two young chiefs passed the day with us. The whole religion of the Mandans consists in the belief of one great spirit presiding over their destinies. This being must be in the nature of a good genius, since it is associated with the healing art, and the great spirit is synonymous with the great medicine, a name also applied to every thing which they do not understand. Each individual selects for himself the particular object of his devotion, which is termed his medicine, and is either some invisible being or more commonly some animal, which henceforward becomes his protector or his intercessor with the great spirit; to propitiate whom every attention is lavished, and every personal consideration is sacrificed. 'I was lately owner of seventeen horses,' said a Mandan to us one day, 'but I have offered them all up to my medicine, and am now poor.' He had in reality taken all his wealth, his horses, into the plain, and turning them loose, committed them to the care of his medicine, and abandoned them forever. The horses, less religious, took care of themselves, and the pious votary traveled home on foot. Their belief in a future state is connected with this tradition of their origin; the whole nation resided in one large village under ground, near a subterraneous lake; a grape vine extended its roots down to their habitation, and gave them a view of the light; some of the most adventurous climbed up the vine, and were delighted with the sight of the earth, which they found covered with buffalo and rich with every kind of fruits; returning with the grapes they had gathered, their countrymen were so pleased with the taste of them that the whole nation resolved to leave their dull residence for the charms

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The Assiniboines, too, are at war with the Mandans. They have in consequence, prohibited the Northwestern Company from trading to the Missouri, and even killed two of their traders near the Mouse river, and are now lying in wait for Mr. M'Kenzie of the Northwestern Company, who had been for a long time among the Minnetarees. These appearances are rather unfavorable to the project of carrying some of the chiefs to the United States; but we still hope, that by effecting a peace between the Mandans, Minnetarees and Ricaras, the views of our government may be accomplished." (id 350) 721

"Thursday, 14th.[9] We again set out at sunrise, and at length approached the grand village[10] of the Minnetarees, where the natives had collected to view us as we passed. We fired the blunderbuss several times by way of salute, and soon after landed at the bank near the village of the Mahahas, or Shoe Indians and were received by a crowd of people, who came to welcome our return." 000

Re-Arrival at Mandan Villages. "Among these were the principal chief of the Mahahas, and the chief of the Little Minnetaree village, both of whom expressed great pleasure at seeing us again, but the latter wept most bitterly. On inquiry, it appeared that his tears were excited, because the sight of us reminded him of his son who had been lately killed by the Blackfoot Indians. After remaining there a few minutes, we crossed to the Mandan village of the Black Cat, where all the inhabitants seemed very much pleased at seeing us. We immediately sent Chaboneau with an invitation for the Minnetarees to visit us, and dispatched Drewyer to the lower village of the Mandans to bring Jesseaume as an interpreter."

Black Cat. "Captain Clarke in the meantime walked up to the village of the Black Cat, and smoked and ate with the chief. This village has been rebuilt since our departure, and was now much smaller; a quarrel having arisen among the Indians, in consequence of which a number of families had removed to the opposite side of the river. On the arrival of Jesseaume, Captain Clarke addressed the chiefs. We spoke to them now, he said, in the same language we had done before; and then repeated his invitation to accompany him to the United States, to hear in person the counsels of their great father, who can at all times protect those who open their ears to his counsels, and punish his enemies. The 648

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648 Black Cat, in reply, declared that he wished to visit the United States, and see his great father, but was afraid of the Sioux, who had killed several of the Mandans since our departure, and who were now on the river below, and would intercept him if he attempted to go. Captain Clarke endeavored to quiet his apprehensions by assuring him that he would not suffer the Sioux to injure one of our red children who should accompany us, and that they should return loaded with presents, and protected at the expense of the United States. The council was then broken up, after which we crossed and formed our camp on the other side of the river, where we should be sheltered from the rain. Soon after the chief of the Mahahas informed us that if we would send to his village, we should have some corn. Three men were therefore dispatched, and soon after returned loaded with as much as they could carry, and were soon followed by the chief and his wife, to whom we presented a few needles and other articles fit for women. In a short time the Borgne (the great chief of all the Minnetarees) came down, attended by several other chiefs, to whom after smoking a pipe, Captain Clarke now made an harangue, renewing his assurances of friendship and the invitation to go with us to Washington. He was answered by the Borgne, who began by declaring that he much desired to visit his great father, but that the Sioux would certainly kill any of the Mandans who should attempt to go down the river. They were bad people and would not listen to any advice. When he saw us last, we had told him that we had made peace with all the nations below, yet the Sioux had since killed eight of his tribe, and stolen a number of their horses. The Ricaras too had stolen their horses, and in the contest his people had killed two of the Ricaras. Yet in spite of these dispositions, he had always had his ears open to our counsels, and had actually made a peace with the Cheyennes and the Indians of the Rocky Mountains. He concluded by saying that however disposed they were to visit the United States, the fear of the Sioux would prevent them from going with us.[11] The counsel was then finished, and soon afterwards an invitation was received from the Black Cat, who, on Captain Clarke's arrival at his village, presented him with a dozen bushels of corn, which he said was a large proportion of what his people owned, and after smoking a pipe, declared that his people were too apprehensive

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of the Sioux to venture with us. Captain Clarke then spoke to the chiefs and warriors of the village. He told them of his anxiety that some of them should see their great father, and hear his good words and receive his gifts, and requested them to fix on some confidential chief who might accompany us. To this they made the same objections as before, till at length a young man offered to go, and the warriors all assented to it. But the character of his man was known to be bad, and one of the party with Captain Clarke informed him that at that moment he had in his possession a knife which he had stolen. Captain Clarke therefore told the chief of this theft, and ordered the knife to be given up. This was done with a poor apology for having it in his possession, and Captain Clarke then reproached the chiefs for wishing to send such a fellow to see and hear so distinguished a person as their great father. They all hung down their heads for some time, till the Black Cat apologized by saying that the danger was such that they were afraid of sending any of their chiefs, as they considered his loss almost inevitable. Captain Clarke remained some time with them, smoking and relating various particulars of his journey, and then left them to visit the second chief of the Mandans (or the Blackcrow) who had expressed some disposition to accompany us. He seemed well inclined to the journey, but was unwilling to decide till he had called a council of his people, which he intended to do in the afternoon. On returning to the camp, he found the chief of the Mahahas, and also the chief of the Little Minnetaree village, who brought a present of corn on their mules, of which they possess several, and which they procure from the Crow Indians, who either buy or steal them on the frontiers of the Spanish settlements. A great number of the Indians visited us for the purpose of renewing their acquaintance, or of exchanging robes or other articles for the skins brought by the men." (id 354)

Mandan Wars. "In the evening Chaboneau, who has been mingling with the Indians, and had learned what had taken place during their absence, informed us that as soon as we had left the Minnetarees, they sent out a war party against the Shoshonees, whom they attacked and routed, though in the engagement they lost two men, one of whom was the son of the chief of the Little Minnetaree village. Another war party had gone against

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721 the Ricaras, two of whom they killed. A misunderstanding, too, had taken place between the Mandans and the Minnetarees, in consequence of a dispute about a woman, which had nearly occasioned a war, but at length a pipe was presented by the Minnetarees, and a reconciliation took place."

•648 721 **Corn Abundant—Counseled Against Wars.** "Friday, 15th. The Mandans had offered to give us some corn, and on sending this morning, we found a greater quantity collected for our use than all our canoes would contain. We therefore thanked the chief and took only six loads. At ten o'clock the chiefs of the different villages came down to smoke with us. We therefore took this opportunity of endeavoring to engage the Borgne in our interests by a present of the swivel, which is no longer serviceable, as it cannot be discharged from our largest perioque. It was now loaded, and the chiefs being formed in a circle around it, Captain Clarke addressed them with great ceremony. He said that he had listened with much attention to what had yesterday been declared by the Borgne, whom he believed to be sincere, and then reproached them with their disregard of our counsels, and their wars on the Shoshonees and Ricaras. Little Cherry, the old Minnetaree chief, answered that they had long stayed at home and listened to our advice, but at last went to war against the Sioux, because their horses had been stolen, and their companions killed, and in an expedition against those people, they had met the Ricaras, who were on their way to strike them, and a battle ensued. But in future, he said, they would attend to our words and live in peace. But Borgne added that his ears, too, would always be open to the words of his good father, and shut against bad counsel. Captain Clarke then presented to the Borgne the swivel, which we told him had announced the words of his great father to all the nations we had seen, and which, whenever it was fired, should recall those which we had delivered to him. The gun was then discharged, and the Borgne had it conveyed in great pomp to his village. The counsel then adjourned."

000 **Big White Taken Past.** "In the afternoon, Captain Clarke walked up to the village of the Littleerow, taking a flag, which he intended to present to him, but was surprised on being told by him that he had given over all intentions of accompanying us, and refused the flag. He found that this was occasioned by a

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000 ning down to the beach, who appeared very anxious to speak to us. We went ashore, and found it was the brother of the Big White, who was encamped at no great distance, and hearing of our departure, came to take leave of the chief.

"The Big White gave him a pair of leggins, and they separated in a most affectionate manner, and we then continued, though the wind and waves were still high. The Indian chief seemed quite satisfied with his treatment, and during the whole of his time was employed in pointing out the ancient monuments of the Mandans, or in relating their traditions. At length, after making forty miles, we encamped on the northeast side, opposite an old Mandan village, and below the mouth of Chesshetah river."[12] (id 364)

"Here follow some entries showing events on the return trip of Lewis & Clarke at and near the Aricara villages and which are found in Part I of this paper in Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Call. pp. 400-1.

•648 **At the Aricaras Villages the Mandan Chief Thus Addressed the Rees.** "The Big White, chief of the Mandans, now addressed them at some length, explaining the pacific intentions of his nation; and the Cheyenne observed that both the Ricaras and Mandans seemed to be in fault; but at the end of the council, the Mandan chief treated with great civility, and the greatest harmony prevailed among them." * * *

765 "Captain Clarke returned to the boats where he found the chief of the lower village, who had cut off part of his hair and disfigured himself in such a manner that we did not recognize him at first, until he explained that he was in mourning for his nephew, who had been killed by the Sioux. He proceeded with us to the 648 village on the island, where we were met by all the inhabitants. The second chief, on seeing the Mandan, began to speak to him in a loud and threatening tone, till Captain Clarke declared that the Mandans had listened to our counsels, and that if any injury was done to the chief, we should defend him against every nation. He then invited the Mandans to his lodge, and after a very ceremonious smoking, assured Captain Clarke that the Mandan was as safe as at home, for the Ricaras had opened their ears to our counsels as well as the Mandans. This was repeated by the great chief, and the Mandan and Ricara chiefs now smoked and con-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

versed and great apparent harmony; after which we returned to the boats." (id 370) 648

"Friday, 22nd. While here we had occasion to notice that the Mandans, as well as the Minnetarees and Ricaras, kept their horses in the same lodges with themselves." (id 372)

Patrick Gass' observations on the Mandans, taken from his journal made while a member of the Lewis and Clarke expedition, will now be presented. Gass was a redoubtable Irishman of sound sense and keen observation. While much of what he records is largely a duplication of the Lewis and Clarke entries in substance, yet it will be found upon comparison of the two records that considerable additional information is contained in his journal. Some of his descriptions of Indians, situations and circumstances surrounding the sojourn with the Mandans and at Fort Mandan are striking, and constitute a substantial addition to the main journals. The original edition, published by Ells, Claflin & Co., Dayton (Ohio), in 1847, is here referred to. 114

Journal of Patrick Gass—Lewis and Clarke Expedition. (p. 56, et seq.) 000

"Wednesday, 24th, (October 1804). At twelve we came to a hunting party of the Mandan nation of Indians, and remained with them until 2 and then continued our voyage. There were three lodges of these Indians on an island, which has been cut off the Grand Bend, a short distance below the Mandan village. We encamped on the north side. Five of the Indians came to us, and our Indian went over with them and returned in the morning.

"Thursday, 25th. Passed a beautiful bottom on the south side, and hills on the north. A great many of the natives, some on horseback and some on foot appeared on the hills on the north side, hallooing and singing. At 2, we stopped for dinner, and as we could not get our boat to shore on the north side, the water being shallow, our Indian was sent over to them. In the afternoon we passed a bottom covered with timber on the north side and hills on the south, and encamped on the north side. Here our Indian returned accompanied by one of the Mandans.

"Friday, 26th. Passed a large willow bottom on the south and high land on the north side. The Mandan Indian left us early in the morning. At 10, we came to a hunting party of the Mandans,

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 consisting of men, women and children. There was an Irishman with them, who had come from the Northwest Company of traders. We remained here an hour, and then proceeded. A number of the Indians kept along the shore opposite the boat all day, on the south side, on which side we encamped. Some of them remained with us to 12 at night and then returned to their village.

361 **Mandan Village.** "Saturday, 27th. At half past seven we arrived at the first village of the Mandans and halted about two hours. This village contains forty or fifty lodges built in the manner of those of the Rickarees. These Indians have better complexions than most other Indians, and some of the children have fair hair. We passed a bluff on the south side with a stratum of black resembling coal. There is a bottom on the north side, where the second Mandan village is situated. We went about a mile above it and encamped on the same bottom, for the purpose of holding a council with the natives. This place is 1,610 miles from the mouth of the river du Bois, where we first embarked to proceed on the expedition. There are about the same number of lodges and people in this village as in the first. These people do not bury their dead, but place the body on a scaffold, wrapped in a buffalo robe, where it lies exposed.

"Sunday, 28th. The day was clear and we remained here, but could not sit in council, the wind blew so violent.

•648 **Council.** "Monday, 29th. We had again a clear day and some of the principal men came from each village of the Mandans, from the Watasoons, Sioux, and one from the Gros Ventres, and all sat in council together. At 11 o'clock, when the council met, a shot was fired from our bow piece, and the commanding officers took the chiefs by the hand. Captain Lewis, though an interpreter, delivered a speech, gave a suit of clothes to each of the chiefs and some articles for their villages. He also sent a suit to the chief of the Gros Ventres. At three o'clock another gun was fired at the breaking up of the council, and they all appeared satisfied. Captain Lewis gave an iron mill to the Mandan nation to grind their corn, with which they were highly pleased.

"Tuesday, 30th. We remained here to know the answer of the Indians. At ten Captain Lewis, with a party of our people and an Indian or two, went about six miles up the river to view an island, in order to ascertain whether or not it would suit for

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

winter quarters. At five p. m. they returned and were of opinion that it was not an eligible place. 648

"Wednesday, 31st. A pleasant morning. We remained here also today, the Indians having given no answer. At 12, Captain Clarke and some of the men went down to the village, and the chief gave nine or ten bushels of corn, and some buffalo robes.

"Thursday, 1st November, 1804. At three o'clock p. m. we returned down the river to look for a place where we could fix our winter quarters. At dark we had ascended nine miles, and came to a bottom covered with cottonwood, where we encamped.

"Friday, 2nd. Captain Lewis, myself and some of the men went up to the first village of the Mandans, who gave us some corn. Captain Clarke and the rest of our party, having dropped half a mile lower down the river, began to clear a place for a camp and a fort. We pitched our tents and laid the foundation of one line of huts.

Fort Mandan. "Saturday, 3rd. A clear day. We continued building. The following is the manner in which our huts and forts were built. The huts were in two rows, containing four rooms each, and joined at one end forming an angle. When raised about seven feet high a floor of puncheons or split plank were laid, and covered with grass and clay, which made a warm loft. The upper part projected a foot over and the roofs were made shed-fashion, rising from the inner side and making the outer wall about eighteen feet high. The part not inclosed by the huts we intended to picket. In the angle formed by the two rows of huts we built two rooms for holding our provisions and stores. 000

"From the 20th to the 27th, we had fine pleasant weather, and on the evening of the latter finished the roofs of our huts. These were made of puncheons split out of cottonwood and then hewed. The cottonwood resembles the lombardy poplar, and is a light soft wood. The largest trees are in thickness about eighteen inches diameter.

The Sioux. "Thursday, 29th. Early in the morning of this day we saw an Indian on the opposite side of the river, and brought him over. He informed us that a few days ago eight of his nation were out hunting and were attacked by a party of the Sioux tribe, who killed one and wounded two more, and also

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

These are now supplied to the trade under the name of California 439
shells. Ten years ago, one of these shells, unpolished, sold for a 301
good robe. There is little doubt that they used Abalone, Dentalium, and other sea shells before the traders brought them. Old traders and old Indians say so. Even as late as 1833, it would seem that they had not yet become a regular part of a trader's outfit; for Maximilian says of the Mandans: 'They do not disfigure the bodies; only they make some apertures in the outer rim of the ear, in which they hang strings of beads, brass, or iron rings of different sizes, or shells, the last of which they obtain from other Indian tribes. If they are questioned respecting these shells, they answer that they were brought from the sea." (p. 28.)

Matthews quotes the following expressions from D. D. Mitchell, 000
found in Schoolcraft's work, concerning visitors to the Mandans in the eighteenth century:

McIntosh's Early Visit. "In a letter published in Schoolcraft's 177
Information Respecting the Indian Tribes, the writer, D. D. Mitchell, says, speaking of the Mandans: 'The early portion of their history I gather from the narration of Mr. McIntosh, who, it seems, belonged to, or was in some way connected with, the French trading company as far back as 1772. According to his narration, he set out from Montreal in the summer of 1773, crossing over the country to the Missouri river, and arrived at one of the Mandan villages on Christmas day.' I have never seen McIntosh's account, nor have I seen any more extensive notice of it than the one given by Mr. Mitchell; and from this, it does not appear that McIntosh visited any of these agricultural Indians except the Mandans." (p. 29.)

And Matthews expresses the view that British and French traders and interpreters were among the Mandans prior to 1804, all of which appears in evidence hereinbefore submitted. He believes the earliest Europeans to reach them were from Hudson Bay territory, but he was, as he admits (p. 29), unaware of Verendrye's expedition referred to by Catlin, who is criticised by Matthews for failing to "tell us where the account of the expedition of 1738 is to be found," adding: "No other mention of the journey has ever been seen by me."

Matthews thus refers to the peaceable relations nearly always 648
existing between the Mandans and Rees and the Americans:

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

•648 **Peaceable With Americans—Government Neglect.** "During a short period of their history, the Aricarees were at war with the Americans; but for many years they have strictly maintained peace, and have fought with us and against our enemies. The Mandans and Minnetarees claim never to have shed a white man's blood, although some of their number have been killed by whites. For their fidelity they have been repaid in starvation and neglect. [165] Many of these friendly Indians, particularly among the Aricarees, have during the past ten years, died of actual hunger or the diseases incident to a state of famine. Within the past three years there seem to be some evidences of increased legislative interest in them, but the benefits arising therefrom are by no means equal to their needs or their deserts." (p. 31-32.)

142 **Complexion—Hidatsa and Mandan.** "The majority of the Hidatsa have the ordinary dusky Indian complexion, which is, however, not of a uniform shade, as far as I have seen in any tribe. There are none of this nation that would be considered dark for Indians. Among various tribes of western Indians may be found individuals, claiming pure aboriginal blood, who possess complexions much fairer than the average Indian, with light-colored hair and eyes. Such individuals are more common among the Mandans and Minnetarees than they are among most of the neighboring tribes. A natural or inherited clearness of complexion, too, is more easily discernable among members of the village tribes than among members of roving bands who are more exposed to the weather. The presence of pale Indians in these tribes was noted by travelers in early days, before intermarriages with whites were common enough to have accounted for it."

Mandans' Fair Skin. "Lewis and Clarke and Gass notice this fairness when speaking of the Mandans only, but their remarks are general. Catlin speaks of the fairness of the Mandans only, and supposes this peculiarity to arise from some pre-Columbian infusion of European blood. The Prince of Neuwied, who visited these tribes but one year later than Mr. Catlin, denies that the Mandans are of fairer complexion than their neighbors, while he asserts, at the same time, that, 'after a thorough ablution, the skin of some of them appears almost white.' I have heard old Mandans say that when the Minnetarees, including the Crows, first came among them, the strangers were a fairer race than they.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 forms with rotted sections of the cover still protruding to gently
223 rounded depressions now nearly filled by erosional activity. The
172 number of pits, together with their wide distribution, points to a universal practice of considerable antiquity.

796 During the century 1770–1870 there was a general northward
223 movement of the Mandan and Hidatsa which was accompanied
167
648 [346]

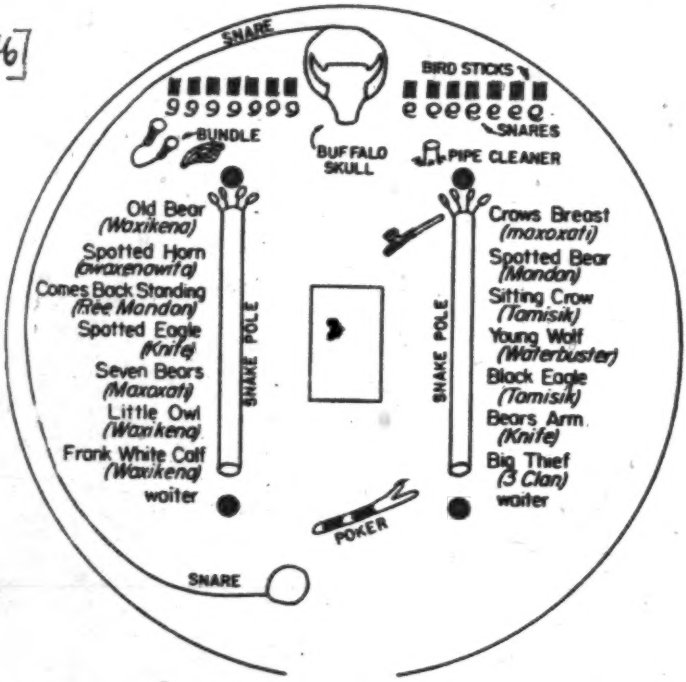

FIG. 26.—Floor plan of eagle-trapping lodge, Old Bear, leader. Bird sticks: *1*, "Both Ends White"; *2*, "Speckled"; *3*, "Four Stripes"; *4*, "The Young One."

by a shift in eagle-trapping territory. Crows Heart (Mandan), who had been on many trapping expeditions with both Mandan and Hidatsa leaders, stated that the Mandan claimed eagle-trapping rights to the territory on both sides of the Missouri River from Like-a-Fishhook Village to the Yellowstone and along the Little Missouri River to its headwaters. While living in the Heart River region, the Mandan claimed trapping rights to all the rough lands between the Little and Big Missouri rivers as far west as Powder River in Montana. To the south

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 223 167 648

they trapped along the Cannonball River and in the Black Hill region, especially along the north side, which was jointly occupied with the Cheyenne, whom he believed used the same methods and followed the same rituals. He had heard the old men say that it was understood that the eagle-trapping season should not be marked by bloodshed between the two tribes, or the trappers would have bad luck, and that their camps were often only a short distance apart. There would be visiting between camps and good-natured joking about the potency of their respective bundles. He further added that, through misfortune, the Mandan died off in such large numbers that they were obliged to relinquish most of their territory and establish a new territory which Hidatsa leaders had relinquished through simultaneous misfortunes. He had also heard the old men say that before abandoning the Cannonball region the Arikara, who then lived as far north as the Grand River to the south, had a similar treaty with the Sioux not to fight during the eagle-trapping season and at that time began to come into Mandan territory to make trouble. Since one was not permitted to carry his weapons to the pit,[4] a practice observed until trapping was abandoned a few years ago, the Mandan decided that it would be best to abandon their Cannonball River sites. New sites were established in Hidatsa trapping territory after the Mandan moved from the Heart River region to join the Hidatsa. Crows Heart had often visited the Crows and had heard them say they preferred to shoot the young birds, while still near their nesting places, to sitting in pits. There was also a period when the Snake Indians bothered the trappers, but he thought that it was not so long ago, as the Indians had horses by that time.[5]

A few leaders went to the east side of the Missouri River while occupying the Heart River region. Pits were dug as far east as Dog Den Butte and around Devils Lake. This was a limited territory since, in general, the country was too flat on the east side of the Missouri for successful trapping.

796 223 425 614

Ownership of a site was vested in the leader who had either purchased the lodge and adjacent pits from a man of his own

4. This practice suggests that a truce between tribes was quite universal before the introduction of the horse.

5. No doubt he referred to a recent eastward movement of Shoshonean-speaking groups after the appearance of the horse on the Northern Plains.

648 Among a number of other customs, was treaty making with other tribes. This was well described by Henry who accompanied the Mandans and Hidatsa when they went to make a treaty with the Cheyennes. Most of the people went on these treaty visits; the band marched in a procession of fixed order and a number of ceremonial objects were carried exposed throughout the march. The party was met with great ceremony by the new allies and its members were taken into their houses. Several days of ceremonial feasting occurred and finally the head chief of each party adopted a son from the other tribe. After this there was more feasting and several days of trade between the two bands, when both returned home.

[597] [439]

597 The adoption of sons occurred also among the different families. Maximilian describes the adoption of a "medicine son" to whom a sacred pipe was given. The man chose his adopted son through a dream. The new pipe was consecrated and gifts were showered upon the son's family by the adopted father and his relatives. A dance and feast was then held. This custom was prevalent over all the Missouri region.

838 There were a number of men who dressed and acted like women and were treated in every way as such. These men claimed to follow this life by an order from the spirits given to them in a dream.

567 Catlin says that the Mandans did not have slaves and there is no mention of them elsewhere. The Arikara, however, had a regular slavery system, and the Crows made slaves and sold them on the Missouri. The Mandans were very good at the sign language so Maximilian tells us. They were expert swimmers, and collected their whole supply of wood by swimming out and towing in the drift wood at the time of the spring break-ups.

201 481 313

511 In point of general culture the Mandans were superior to any of their immediate neighbors, surpassing even the other sedentary people, the Hidatsa and Arikara. Catlin says that they had advanced far in the arts of manufacture and had more comforts and luxuries than other tribes. When Verendrye saw them he, too, was struck by their superior skill. He said that the Mandans dressed leather and worked in feathers better

LIFE AMONG THE MANDANS EIGHTY YEARS AGO.

[Continued from page 253.]

FORMER RELATIONS OF PAWNEES[1] AND MANDANS.

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Not many years ago the Pawnees and Mandans were allied to each other, and lived together in the same villages, which were situated on the banks of the river Missouri, about thirty leagues below. A misunderstanding happening to occur amongst them they separated, the Pawnees retired down the river and built their village where it stands at present (A. D. 1806), and the Mandans proceeded with an intention of settling themselves somewhere about the confluence of the Little Missouri river, or on the upper part of Reviere La Souris (Moose river). But on their arrival at this place the Big Bellies barred the road, and put a stop to their progress to the westward, telling them that they would not permit them, or any one, to build higher up the river, and desiring the Mandans to build where they are at present. The latter, it seems were not much inclined to comply, but dreading the displeasure of the others who were more numerous, comprised, then, of a village of nine hundred huts, necessity obliged them to accept the terms. Since that period the Pawnees and Mandans have frequently been at war, and as often made peace again. They are a stationary people as the Mandans, and cultivate the ground in the same manner;

1 [Henry[2] probably mistakes Pawnee for Arikara--Aunlyst]

[pp. 254 to 377 have no information on the Mandan]

10: Neill 14(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

175 648 they are represented as a treacherous, deceitful people, always taking advantage of their neighbors, and favoring the Sioux when they come to war this way, and frequently intermix with them to annoy the Mandans and Big Bellies.

SIGN LANGUAGE.

201 This language is entirely different from the natives of this place, and it is only by signs that they usually communicate with each other, excepting a few among them who understand each other's language. It serves as interpreter upon any affair of importance. It is surprising how dexterous all these natives of the plains are, in the art of communicating their ideas by signs. They will hold conference, for several hours together, upon different subjects, and during the whole time not a single word will be pronounced upon either side, and still they appear to comprehend each other perfectly well. This mode of communication appears to be quite natural to them, other difficult events are performed with the greatest ease and readiness. They never seem to be at loss, or in want of a sign to express their meaning.

COURTESY TO STRANGERS.

648 721 728 Soon after our arrival, there was a great uproar occasioned by the unexpected visit of six Pawnees, from their own village, sixty leagues below this, on the banks of the same (Missouri) river. They were sent upon an embassy to treat for peace. It appears that last spring, some of these people had accompanied a war party of Sioux who came here and killed five Mandans. The latter nation, in company with the Big Bellies (Gros Ventres,) soon after returned the visit, and not finding the Sioux, on their return killed two Pawnees, but this did not satisfy them. They had informed the Pawnees that they might expect a more formal visit the ensuing fall; that both the Mandans and Big Bellies were determined to exterminate every Pawnee they could find, and lay their villages even with the ground.

To avoid this storm, the latter thought prudent to sue for [202] peace. A messenger was instantly dispatched to the upper villages to give information of their arrival. In the meantime the strangers were very hospitably entertained, conducted into a hut, and presented with corn and beans, dried meats, etc. All were now silent for some time, awaiting the determination of the Big Bellies.

ARRIVAL OF GROS VENTRES.

The Big Bellies[1] in a short time, arrived on horse-back; about thirty men came down full speed; they brought down an inter-

1 [Category 116, p. 335.—A.]

10: Neill H4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

preter with them. They did not appear well pleased, and looked on the Pawnees with an eye of disdain. After some conversation they desired the Pawnees to return immediately to their own villages, and to inform their great war chief, Red Tail, that if he sincerely wished for peace, he must come up and then they would settle matters, as they were determined to have nothing to do with young men. They allowed two moons to consider upon the business, and perform the journey. If, at the end of that time, the Chief did not make his appearance, they would immediately gather up their corn, and in a body, go and find him out, in his own village, and convince him what Big Bellies (or as they call themselves Willow Indians), and Mandans could do when exasperated by the treacherous conduct of the Pawnees. 648 728 721

The six embassies promised to depart early next morning to inform their Chief, who they answer no doubt, would very soon wait upon them. Thus ended an affair, which at the commencement we supposed would conclude with the death of the strangers, by the great bustle and noise their arrival occasioned.

But I was afterwards informed that of such proceedings there was not the least danger; that the natives of this place make it a particular point of honor to protect every stranger who throws himself upon them and begs their clemency. Even their natural and most inveterate enimies, the Sioux, have been known to come into their villages unexpectedly, and were always received with hospitality, and well entertained during thei stay which by the way, they never permit to be more than one night when they are dismissed, and allowed to return to their own homes unmolested. 609 648 728 721

A HUNTING PARTY.

Towards the evening there was a whooping and howling among the young men who were standing upon their huts. This, it seems, was to announce the appearance of a hunting party of the Mandans, who were just at that moment appearing upon the tops of the high bank to the south, and descending by a well-beaten road towards the village. The party consisted of about one hundred men on horseback, and each loaded with half a buffalo; some of them had even more, according to the strength of their horses, and the master will always ride, be his beast ever so loaded. They had been away since yesterday and found buffalo in great abundance near at hand. These people never go out hunting unless in large parties. The continual danger from their enemies obliges them to be very cautious; another reason is, that when the buffalo comes near at hand, they are anxious to prevent them from being driven away. For this purpose, it is customary for them all, in a body, to surround one herd only, which sometimes consists of several hundreds. 224 [492]

832 repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men,
834 who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young
men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on
461 the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to
526 hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times
they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback,
and performing warlike manoeuvres; they have also a favorite
game which occupies much of their time.

512 [328]...this is the first work performed by the women in the
515 morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed
themselves in the Missourie. ...every family being provided
415 with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh.
177 Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to
771 say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those
574 earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest
kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come
in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the
contents.

231 .....Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed
437 in the meadow but never allowed them to be for a moment out of
648 his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them.
We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles,
for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco.

439 [329] It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail
upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger
has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first
village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many
439 European articles as they can, [330] particularly arms and ammuni-
609 tion. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each
other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have
578 often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death
569 of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also
to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great
distance. The Pawnees, also, with whom the Mandanes formerly
lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies.
Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and every-
one has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

675 We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the
673 landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut
[577] in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect
security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

574 any expectation of payment. Being almost destitute of tobacco
609 for our journey, he gave us some of their own manufacture. As
that herb is not yet arrived at maturity, they use only the blossoms
277 [402] at present. These are collected as required, dried before
the fire on a fragment of an earthen pot, and smoked by all the
natives. But I find the flowers a very poor substitute for our own
tobacco—a nauseous, insipid weed. The ripe leaf is somewhat
better, but even that is mere trash, possessed of neither strength
nor virtue.

•648 [403] We soon after took the road, bidding a final adieu to
[491] the Mandanes. The road through the wood was very muddy and bad.
[137] We found amazing quantities of poires, perfectly ripe. The
natives here are so surrounded by their different enemies at all
seasons, and particularly when the fruit is ripe, that the women dare
not leave the villages to gather it, though there is a great plenty
of chokecherries, cerises, etc. Even when they go out to hoe their
corn, young men, well armed, keep on the rounds at short distances from the women to prevent surprise from an enemy. This
is a necessary precaution, as they have frequently been attacked
while working in the fields. The village on the N. side lies under
a double disadvantage, surrounded by thick woods for nearly two
miles upon the land side, and having close by a vast quantity of
young sprouts and brushwood, enabling an enemy to approach very
near without being discovered. A single Sioux has been known to
secrete himself for several days among those bushes until a favorable
opportunity has offered, when he has dispatched a Mandane, and
got away with the scalp.

[p. 384 [I]]

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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purchased with cash income derived from productive employment are obtained by the people of Lone Hill directly from natural sources. 105 177

The paternalistic policy of the Indian Bureau has probably been more effective than the geographical isolation and the ecological setting in limiting direct social relationships between the Indian people and surrounding whites. Most of the necessary economic, educational, and welfare activities are handled by the Agency staff instead of by the Indian people. What is called paternalism arose from the necessities of an earlier historical period, during which it was a humane and just policy to aid those Indian people whose life pattern had been disrupted by American expansion. The people of Lone Hill still expect this protection today, yet they resent the associated dependency. At Fort Berthold and on other Indian reservations, this has come to be one of the most complex and pressing problems of native administration. Given the problems that exist, the current Bureau policy of withdrawal is far from an adequate solution. In a paper of this scope we can do no more than call attention to the importance of the administration as an isolating barrier between the Mandan-Hidatsa and the larger American society. 657

What is possibly the most important isolating factor stems from the sharp discontinuity in the unacculturated Indian life career. From the point of view of the age grading of the learning process, acculturative influences are operative primarily in the adult years. During the early formative period the unacculturated child comes to internalize Indian ways from an intimate group of close relatives in a permissive and secure atmosphere. Before he attends school the child eats Indian food, attends the ceremonial dances, and hears about the daring exploits of the Stone Hammer Society from his old grandfather. The activities of the outside world are dim and vague to the Indian child, for he rarely leaves the village and has few opportunities for direct contact with whites. He does attend an occasional movie and he listens to the radio, but the child has had no context within his own experience with which to relate these impersonal mass media. Those whites who come to Lone Hill on business deal with the adults and rarely see the children. I recorded three life histories of young adults who knew no white people until they were seven or eight years of age. 177 867

From the unacculturated child's point of view, life in Lone Hill revolves around his family, peer, and residential groups. His main satisfactions are obtained from within these groups, and the activities of their members, most of whom are relatives, form the major topics of conversation. That kinship is widely extended among the Mandan-Hidatsa takes on added meaning in this context, as all of an unacculturated Indian's emotionally charged and rewarding experiences occur within, and are shared by, the kinship group. Members of the kinship group are also the agents of cultural transmission, and from them the child learns the approved norms of conduct and patterns of social relations. 177 867 602 571

The unacculturated Indian child soon learns that his emotional security and his very identity are dependent upon his maintaining good relationships with his kinsmen. He does not derive security from acts designed merely to 156 602 431

832 repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men,
834 who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young
men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on
461 the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to
526 hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times
they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback,
and performing warlike manoeuvres; they have also a favorite
game which occupies much of their time.

512 [328]...this is the first work performed by the women in the
515 morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed
themselves in the Missourie. ...every family being provided
415 with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh.
177 Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to
771 say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those
574 earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest
kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come
in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the
contents.

231 .....Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed
437 in the meadow but never allowed them to be for a moment out of
648 his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them.
We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles,
for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco.

439 [329] It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail
upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger
has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first
village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many
439 European articles as they can, [330] particularly arms and ammuni-
609 tion. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each
other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have
578 often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death
569 of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also
to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great
distance. The Pawnees, also, with whom the Mandanes formerly
lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies.
Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and every-
one has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

675 We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the
● 673 landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut
[577] in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect
security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

[P.384(C)]

675 it is gone in an instant, and search would be in vain; everyone
673 would wish to appear innocent, although they are not offended when
accused of stealing, but laugh the matter away. .....We paid
437 our landlord for board and lodging, as well as the care of our horses,
177 and of the articles left under his charge, as we never expect the
least favor from any of these fellows without recompensing them
accordingly. He appeared very well pleased with the following
articles, which we gave him: 60 rounds of ammunition, 4 large
knives, 2 awls, 1 fathom of tobacco, 1 steel, 5 flints, 1 dozen
hawk-bills, 2 worms (wormers for guns), and 1 dozen brass rings....
609 [332] My host was so obliging as to give up to me one of his
574 own best beds, well surrounded with dressed leather. We had a
plentiful supply of corn and beans, and were soon invited to several
huts, where we [333] were treated with a very palatable dish of
[H31] pounded peas and parched corn; but it is customary for invited
guests, on leaving, to present the master of the hut with a few
inches of tobacco, for which he always appears very thankful.
728 [335] About 30 Big Bellies soon arrived on horseback, at full
speed; they brought an interpreter with them. This party consisted
of some of the principal war chiefs, and other great men, who did
not appear well pleased, but looked on the Pawnees with disdain.
285 [339] ...seated on a mat made of small willows of equal size,
fastened together [340] by threads of their own manufacture,
passed through each stick about a foot apart.
342 [340] Seldom more than one family occupies the same hut.
437 [342] We paid the young men for taking our horses across the
177 river, and the women for assisting us with the canoes. The total
cost was: 1 fathom of tobacco, 4 knives, 6 flints, 6 awls, 6 worms
[gun wormers—analyst], and 10 balls. I also paid my landlord
for the time we might remain here, which I supposed would be
about ten days for three persons, including board and lodging,
stabling for our horses, and care of our property. They make no
price, leaving that to the generosity of guests, and should the pay-
ment be too little they still appear to accept with gratitude; but
the visitor is afterward left to take care of his own property and
horses in the best manner he can. It is impossible to get the most
trifling service from the natives without immediate payment; not
even an inch of cord will they part with without receiving some-
thing in return. It is true a trifle will please them, and they are

[p. 384(D)]

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[p. 384(D)]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

768 smallpox epidemic of 1837. The orphans were taken in by the
602 females according to clan affiliation and reared as their own
614 children.

Suicide was rare among the Mandan. The only instances
762 remembered by Mandan informants were immediately follow-
775 ing the last smallpox epidemic. When a household had been nearly exterminated, the remaining females frequently took their lives. Crows Heart thought that suicides were buried and that their spirits did not reach the spirit world. Scattercorn remembered hearing of two girls who hanged themselves in 1837 in the village where her father lived and said that they were placed on the scaffold which was built by her father whose sister sent the spirits away at the end of four days.

•682 The last murder of a male occurred among the Mandan in
627 1820, part of the Mandan separating from the village group to live on Eagle Nose Butte until 1823, when the relatives of the murdered man invited them to return to Fort Clark Village. One who had been murdered was treated as though he had been killed in battle or had died a natural death. There was the usual preparation of the body by the relatives of the father's clan. The murderer, if caught, was killed by the murdered man's male siblings or clansmen, and his body was buried at a distance
[766] from the village. No rites were performed to send his spirit away. The murder of a woman by another woman was treated lightly and settled by a payment of goods.

The Mandan, and in later years the Hidatsa also, were accus-
765 tomed to collect the bones of their relatives after the scaffolds
614 on which they were placed had rotted and fallen to the ground.
778 The skulls were taken to a place adjacent to the scaffolds and there arranged in circles of which there were a number near each village. Scattercorn claimed that the skulls of each circle were of closely related people who had belonged to the same clan and that these shrines enhanced the "sacred powers" of the Woman Above bundles which were a part of the shrine.[4] If these were clan shrines, the practice of arranging the circles according to clans must have been abandoned after moving to Like-a-Fishhook Village, as there were only two or three circles at most, and the Hidatsa made simultaneous use of these shrines

4. See Catlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–52, for an eyewitness description of these circles.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The sixth group was that of the "Black-tail Deer" and 561
consisted of men over fifty years of age. There were two women in this band who served food and distributed fresh water during the dances. The men wore a crown of bears' claws.

There were a few other dances which were bought and sold, 561
but which hardly deserve a place in the regular system. One 404
of these was the dance of the "Half Shaven Head Band" which 535
the lowest band could buy before reaching the proper age to buy into the "Soldier Band." Another was the "Old Dog Dance." The "Dog Band" could buy this of the "Buffalo Band" before becoming Buffalos themselves or being able to. The "Hot Dance" was danced at Rouhptare by the youngest band, and also at the Hidatsa village where it was purchased from the Arikara. The dancers danced barefoot over live coals and plunged their hands into boiling water.

The women, too, were divided into bands. There were four 561
of these of which the first was "The Band of the Gun" which consisted of the younger girls. Next was the "River Band." The third band was the "Hay Women" who sang only the scalp dance. The fourth and last band was that of the "Women of the White Cow," most of them were old, and they were all tattooed with black lines from the mouth to the base of the [364]
chin.

The marriage customs of the Mandan Indians differed little 595
from those of their neighbors. Polygamy was common, although a large part of the men had but one wife. Descent was 611
probably along the male line, though there may have been remains of an older custom of descent along the female line, for all the horses captured by a young man belonged to his sister. The women worked hard and were sometimes badly treated 562
though not as a general rule. Lewis and Clarke says that infi- 684
delity was punishable by death. Maximilian says it was punishable by cutting off the woman's nose. When a man's wife was stolen he had a right to demand a horse from the abductor. Separations occurred among them quite frequently. Virtue [586]
among the women was held in high esteem but was rather 831
scarce. There are accounts of a celebration where prizes were 171
given to the virtuous maids — these celebrations also took place

304 They have another custom of putting their courage and con-
785 tempt of pain to task by tormenting their flesh in a most atrocious manner. This is done by pinching up a fold of the skin and flesh an inch broad, under which they pass the iron barb of an arrow; they raise stripes in this manner from the back of the hand to the shoulder, and thence to the breast, there joining three or four separate circles of incisions made in the same manner on the lower part of the breast. Some content themselves by raising stripes of different lengths upon their arms and thighs, and forming crescentic cuts on the breast in a very regular manner, one within the other; some with the horns upward, others downward, according to fancy.

304 Most of the women have their faces tattooed in a very savage manner, lines a quarter inch broad passing from the nose to the ear, and down each side of the mouth and chin to the throat. This disfigures them very much; otherwise, some would have tolerably
304 good faces. Some tattooing is done to beautify the face, but at
● 684 other times it is the disfiguring mark of a fit of jealousy in the husband. [366] When a Mandane's handsome young wife is too lavish of her favors without his consent, he tattoes her face as a punish-
[576] ment. Although it cannot be said that these people are much given
837 to jealousy, still it is absolutely necessary for a woman to have the consent of her husband to cohabit with a stranger, whether he is white or one of their own people. But I observed during my stay that this consent is not so very necessary in regard to the inhabitants of the same village, as every morning early there were examples to be seen in their plantations of their loose way of living. Many
[164] of our servants who frequent these parts to trade in the winter, and who have too intimate connections with the fair sex, are attacked by a painful and loathsome disorder, which commonly appears in the groin, where it forms abscesses and, if neglected, will soon prove dangerous.

574 [401] At three o'clock we were all safely lodged in Black Cat's
609 hut, whom we found as usual very civil and complaisant, although he plainly saw we had nothing to pay him for his trouble. This man is one of the best Indians we met on the Missourie. We found
[432] what articles we had left in his charge all in good order, and carefully hung up to keep them from the mice. He even gave me his best horse upon credit; payment to be sent this fall by any opportunity. This was considered an extraordinary circumstance for a Mandane. He gave us several instances of his good nature and generosity while we were packing; every assistance in his power he gave us, without

[p. 384 (H)]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

785 lectful and took little interest in securing a "guardian spirit,"
881 the mother's brother would tease him and tell him he was bring-
869 ing dishonor to his clan and suggest that, to be rich and honored, he must begin fasting. He would collect goods for his sister's son and instruct him that he should go out on the hills and fast, using the goods on his return to pay his "clan father" for interpreting the dream. The mother's brother also supervised the fasting of the young boys of ten to fourteen years of age, selecting an isolated place at a short distance from the village where the boys were sheltered in a temporary brush lodge and instructed in the proper procedures for inducing visions.

869 Children acquired an attitude of respect for the sacred ob-
778 jects of the lodge while young, first by being scolded for playing near the platform on which the bundles were kept, and later by observation of a fixed ritualistic behavior by the parents when the bundles were opened. They were taught that the bundles "protected" them until they were old enough to own "gods" of their own and were informed that their success was in direct proportion to the number and efficiency of "gods" owned. Children who would inherit or assist in the performance of certain tribal bundle rites received special training beginning when they were ten or twelve years of age. They were also expected to fast often and establish personal bundles based on heir supernatural experiences.

[785] Fasting was a prerequisite to participation in the organized
701 war expeditions. One would conclude from an examination of
786 the mythology that a young man, after his first experience with the supernatural, organized a war expedition immediately and served as leader. In examining the war records of a number of Mandan, it was found that none would have followed a young man receiving his first vision experience and that, even as a member of a recognized war leader's party, he would be "camp tender," bringing wood and water to the camp, preparing the food, and waiting on the leader during the performance of the rites appertaining to warfare. When he was alert and anticipated the needs of the leader and was not lazy, he was promoted to scout and in company with others of that rank was sent out ahead of the main party each morning to look for the enemy or horses. It was while serving as scout that a young man received

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

his fundamental training in warfare. In company with other young men, and frequently afoot, whereas the main party was on horseback, they were required to travel ahead, watching from high buttes, and by means of signals to report the presence of an enemy or horses. It was necessary for the scouts to keep in touch with their leader, who, in turn, was intrusted with the duty of relaying information to the main body. New scouts were taught the proper posture when running to prevent premature exhaustion, and there were contests between scouts to determine their relative durability in reaching distant lookout points. The leader of the scouts reported the winners to the leader, who praised them publicly when the party returned to the village. The old women then sang their victory songs while the old men encouraged more fasting.

A sister was taught that fasting while her brother was away on war expeditions would bring him success in "striking the enemy" or capturing horses. She would take quill work with her at daybreak and leave the village for a low hill or mound or recline on a platform in the garden where she would cry for his success, addressing her prayers to all the holy things. If the expedition was long overdue, she would go to the scaffolds of deceased relatives or skull circles to weep, returning to her lodge each evening. Successful war parties returned to the village at daybreak, and she would leave her lodge immediately to meet her brother. If he had captured horses, the best animal was presented to her. This was equivalent to presenting the horse to all the females of his mother's lodge. These females, on the other hand, were the principal mourners if he were killed, and the married sisters were expected to undergo extreme self-inflicted torture by gashing their bodies, cutting off the ends of fingers, cutting their hair, and shortening their dresses.

Their brothers fasted four, seven, or nine days without food or water, remaining outside the village in some secluded spot for the full period of the fast. From time to time, the father would send a clan brother to observe whether his son was endangering his life, and he could stop the fast if in his opinion the young man's self-torture was excessive. A young man returning from fasting which had not induced a vision was given an object from his father's bundle to carry on war expeditions and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

785 was permitted to sleep near the sacred bundle until he recovered, believing that the bundle would induce visions. In the
787 case of supervised fasting directed by the mother's brother, he defined the rules and terminated the fasting. He also prepared the first food taken by those completing their fast and watched that none ate or drank excessively for a few days.

701 A young man distinguishing himself as a scout and desiring to advance to warrior status, when learning another war leader was organizing an expedition, would go to his lodge, hoping that he would be invited to join the party. As a warrior there was greater likelihood of capturing horses or striking an enemy. The leader was responsible for the welfare of all those serving under him and selected the members of his party. When the party was large, the leader selected those with the best war records to serve as co-leaders.

Mandan warfare was highly formalized, and there was a strict
701 division of labor. At the top, the leader or Old Wolf directed the
554 party, selecting the scouts and their leader, the Young Wolves or warriors, and the Camp Tenders, and he was responsible to the village but more particularly to the families represented in the party for their welfare. He determined the territory where the enemy would be sought, places to camp, the time to make or break camp, and whether an attack would be made when the enemy was found. A great leader was a successful teacher who instructed his party in methods of "striking the enemy" without loss to his own party. A leader who lost a man was said to have "kicked the stone," which reduced his status until he had "refasted" and led a successful war party.

727 Returning from an unsuccessful war expedition, the leader
554 would cry as he approached the village, while the other members
785 would walk quietly to their lodges. For many leaders, this would be the last expedition as leader. He would be condemned by the
614 brothers, sisters, and parents of the one killed and would be op-
431 posed by them every time he sought advancement in status. He could and frequently did overcome their opposition by going into mourning for the one he was held responsible for. He would gash his legs and cut off a finger which was offered to the Sun. He would set up a tent or build a simple shelter at a distance from the village where he would remain. In the meanwhile, his

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

daughters called the names of old men and women of the opposite moiety who were to receive presents. After the breakdown of the moiety system, the method of naming varied slightly. Formerly, when the father and mother were of different moieties, the name selected was that of a deceased male of distinction who was of the father's moiety, and the presents were given to men and women of the father's moiety. After the breakdown of the moiety system following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, the clan became the exogamous unit. When the father and mother belonged to clans within the same moiety, the name given was that of a distinguished deceased person of the father's clan, but gifts were given to persons of all the clans except the mother's, which was the assisting group. 554 616 553 431

Within a few days after returning from a successful war expedition, a young man would usually receive an offer of marriage from the parents of some eligible young woman who had not been married before. He could refuse, but few did. An ambitious young man wishing to establish a good reputation both as a war leader and as a person of distinction in the village needed several wives to assist him in the performance of ceremonies and the purchase of important sacred bundles. Those not eligible to inherit important tribal bundles could purchase the right to participate in important ceremonies, or they could pledge to perform the Okipa and, in recognition of their contribution to these tribal rites, received some sacred object associated with the ceremony to carry when on war expeditions. Social recognition of a man's right to be a war leader was given during these ceremonies when some older man of high status in the village announced while receiving goods that the young man would be lucky in "all that he undertook." Without this sanction by the older men, young warriors would have been unwilling to follow him on war expeditions. 554 581 424

The attainment of the rank of war leader marked an important point in a man's training and altered his relations materially with the people of the village. His opinions were solicited relative to problems of village welfare, and he received presents during ceremonial and social occasions in recognition of his position. He was now responsible for those fighting under his leadership and became the teacher of the skills he had acquired under 885 554 701

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

885 others' directions. As the leader of his first war expedition, he
554 was expected to name others with a distinguished war record
701 to serve with him as co-leaders. They would sha[illegible]s rewards and assume their share of the responsibilities. H[illegible]ord was authority in all matters relating to his war expe[illegible]ns, and, whereas in the past he had accepted the decisions o[illegible] leader in disputes appertaining to rewards for striking the [illegible]emy or capturing and dividing the spoils, he demanded similar obedience from his group.

554 The Mandan had a highly formalized method of recording
721 war honors, and it was the duty of the war leader to verify their authenticity. He would relate the exploits of his men during social occasions and ceremonies. Those holding war honors were entitled to express them by means of particular decorations. Of
[177] these decorations, the Mandan claim that the practice of wearing eagle feathers was of recent origin and was borrowed from the Sioux.

554 The highest honor was accorded to a man who went out alone
703 and found an enemy whom he killed and scalped. He was authorized to paint one legging black and the other either
628 yellow or white and to paint each half of his shirt in the same
721 manner. He was also permitted to wear a coyote tail at each ankle signifying that he saw an enemy first and afterward "struck" him. He could also wear one eagle feather in his hair and was the recipient of much honor during the scalp dances as long as he lived. The most common motive for going out alone was to revenge a relative, particularly a sibling, when the slayer was known. In such cases, announcement was made in advance that he was leaving on a particular day to find his relative's slayer. Catlin records such an expedition by Four Bears, who went into the Arikara villages near the Grand River at night to avenge the death of his brother.[2] The old Mandan still related this incident in 1930, when the information for this report was collected. The only instance of one man going far
554 from the village and killing one or more persons remembered as
578 occurring during the lifetime of my informants was for revenge.
721 A distinguished war leader's wife ran away with another dis-

837 2. George Catlin, *The Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (London, 1841), pp. 239–40.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

773 tacts with most families, since a person was not considered
538 important who could not argue in council for a certain point of
554 view based on traditional action of the group. Group action was
571 in a large measure regulated by custom. These patterns of behavior were in a large measure perpetuated by the storyteller. Anyone seeking the position of chief would need a considerable knowledge of tribal history to attain that status. No amount of success in warfare or performance of ceremonies would in themselves have been sufficient. It was this extra knowledge of tribal lore that distinguished them as leaders. Actually, whenever one was the recipient of goods and honors from another, a new and intimate relationship was established between them. Those who had provided many feasts and acquired a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were ultimately selected to become the leaders of the various groups.

571 Men who had reached middle age were called on to insert the
785 thongs for a "son" who was preparing to fast and to pray for
554 his success. They were expected to supervise the fasting and have it terminated when there was a possibility that the "son" was carrying his fasting to excess. Those who had good war records or had made significant contributions toward village welfare in other ways offered many feasts to the older men hoping that, by so doing, they would be named village leaders. A man would announce renewal feasts to his ceremonial bundle from time to time and call in those who had similar bundles. Some would assist in removing arrows and opening wounds or doctor in other ways when the occasion warranted.

561 Men of middle age belonged to the Black Mouth Society,
701 which was intrusted with the organization and protection of the village. This was the most highly organized men's society. It met every two or three days and received its instructions from the older men meeting in council. It was their duty, whenever the village was in danger of attack, to see that none left the village without permission. Each member carried a club carved according to his own individual preference, and he was expected to use it if anyone was found violating the rules. If the announcer called through the village that the people were not to leave the village and anyone was seen leaving, the Black Mouths would drive him back. Crows Heart remembered a

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

nan who drew his gun when being driven back and was killed by the Black Mouths. Usually it was the duty of one's brothers to revenge a sibling's death, but in this instance siblings took no action. The Black Mouths were believed to be the bravest men of the village. Before making an attack on the enemy, their leaders would stick their lances into the ground which meant that they would not retreat. When on the summer buffalo hunts they received their orders from the leader and were instructed to prevent premature hunting and to see that the party did not break up. Although they endeavored to prevent war parties from leaving the village when there was danger of attack, they inflicted no punishment when an unauthorized war party returned.

It was believed that an individual's influence with sacred things advanced in age. They were consulted on sacred matters and were offered their "sons'" wives frequently during the buffalo ceremonies. Men and women assisted in the disposal of the dead. It was a man's duty to assist a clan sister in the construction of the scaffold for one whose father was of their clan, to superintend the painting and wrapping of the body.

OLD AGE AND DEATH

The old people were respected members of the household. The grandfather would assist the youngsters of the lodge in making toys and in playing their simple games, but he was always held in high regard as the one from whom the child's father had acquired much of his training in sacred matters. Having more time to give to the instruction of the children of the lodge, he would assist them in learning stories if the children were interested in hearing them. The older women assisted the younger women about the lodge and in the gardens but were not expected to do much work.

The older women were organized into two age-grade societies which were sacred in character. Women of advanced middle age joined the Goose Society and, when they had reached the menopause, sold to younger women and bought into the White Buffalo Cow Society.[3] As members of these societies they were respected for their supernatural powers over agriculture and

3. See the chapters on ceremonialism for an account of their origin.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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had been shot six times; some wore a wooden knife, a sign they had killed an enemy with a knife. Maximilian describes one man, a chief, whose face was painted half yellow and half red, with stripes made by rubbing the color off; his arms had seventeen lines showing the number of his deeds, and on his breast, in yellow, was a hand showing that he had made prisoners. 721 554 301 302

When a youth first wished to lead a war party he at once acquired a medicine. Then he solicited his young men friends by presents and assurances of the efficacy of his medicine and after feasts and dances he departed with as many followers as he could get. In the large war parties there were four real leaders and sometimes three others called bad leaders. Each real leader carried a medicine pipe in a case on his back. To become a chief it was necessary to begin as a war party leader, then to kill a man while in a party where the candidate was not a leader. Again, while following another leader, he must be the first to discover the enemy and kill one of them, and lastly he must have owned at some time a white buffalo hide. Each warrior carried about his neck the whistle of his band, and at the moment of falling upon the enemy these were blown and the war-cry was sounded. 701 554 778 726

The Mandans seldom took male prisoners but even when taken they were never tortured. As soon as a prisoner had entered the village and eaten corn he was considered as one of the nation; the women, however, could go out and meet the returning party and kill the prisoners then. Scalps were dried and used in decoration. When a successful war party returned they were met by the women and children who entered the village with them dancing the scalp dance. The warriors painted the face, and often the whole body, black, and the scalp dance was danced in the medicine lodge four nights, then later in the middle of the village. If no Mandan was killed in the campaign, the dance was kept up for six months. 727

In all these war customs we find nothing more than the general plains ideas such as were found in all the Sioux tribes and among most of their neighbors. [171]

437 willing and ready to serve you as long as you have any property.
177 But when all is expended you may shift for yourself, as they will pretend they do not understand you any longer. Besides paying our host [343] beforehand, I promised him a tobacco-pipe on my departure, if I were then pleased with his conduct during our stay. His pay consisted of the following articles: 60 balls and powder, 4 large knives, 2 small knives, 1 fathom tobacco, 1 dozen rings, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 6 flints, 3 worms, 3 awls, and 1/4 pound blue beads.

164 [343] The natives at present are mostly affected with a bad cough, which daily takes some of them off. Aged and infirm persons, and young children, are the common victims to this disease. It is a kind of whooping-cough, which has appeared all along the Red and Assiniboine rivers, on the Saskatchewan even to Fort des Prairies, and in several other parts of the North West, carrying off many people

241 July 21st. I set off early on horseback with part of my people
[462 for the upper villages. We passed extensive fields of corn, beans,
561] squashes, and sunflowers. Many women and children were already
412 employed in clearing and hoeing their plantations. Their hoes are the shoulderblade of a buffalo, to which is fastened a crooked stick for a handle; the soil not being stony, this slight implement answers every purpose. The road first led over two hills, after which we came to a smooth and pleasant plain for about two miles to the Saulteur (Soulier) [Amahami—Analyst] village, of about 40 huts.

361 [362]..These villages are surrounded by a kind of stockade, princi-
417 pally made of driftwood, which has a miserable appearance and is daily falling to pieces; but I am told that upon any emergency it can be put into a tolerably good state of defense at very short notice, as every man, woman, and child lends a hand.

528 We witnessed a diversion which takes place almost every day
481 between the Mandanes and Saulteurs (Souliers). It is the exercise
● 702 of running long foot races, in order to be prepared for the emergency of being dismounted and obliged to fly from their enemies at war. They assemble upon a beautiful green near the village, where, having remained some time, calling out to their comrades to come and run, they set off in a file on a slow trot, entirely naked, taking the road that leads up the hills to the S., about a mile from the village. Passing near those rising grounds, they disappear, and are not seen till they reappear from the S.E., down a steep hill and over a level plain, to the spot whence they started. Here they do not stop, but rush on to the Missourie, and plunge in headlong, all

[p. 384(E)]

526 covered with dust and sweat. The race is at least six miles long,
481 and it is surprising to see what a great distance some of them gain
● 702 upon others. This violent exercise is performed on the hottest summer days, and it is a wonder that some of them do not pay dearly for their temerity.

541 During my absence yesterday [July 21 - Analyst] my people, who remained here, witnessed a horse race. The Mandanes assembled in great numbers on horseback, and rode about three miles below the village, where all mustered. They set out in a body, pell-mell, whipping and kicking their horses, directing their course along the foot of the hills, and made a long circuit at full speed around the village. Some of their horses appeared very swift and spirited, but others were miserable animals. On their arrival, they performed their warlike manoeuvres on horseback, feigning their different attacks upon the enemy, giving their strokes of the battleax and thrusts of the spear, and defending themselves in turn by parrying blows and covering themselves with their shields.

526 ...I observed one particular game among the Mandanes, which the young men were continually playing. Two persons are each provided with a stick six feet long, on which are cut a certain number of notches, an inch long, in the intervals of which are fixed the same number of small bunches of feathers of divers colors, with three pieces of wood, 16 inches square, one near each end, and one in the middle; these are perforated in the center, and through them is passed the rod, painted of divers colors. Each notch has a particular mark, the nature of which they themselves only understand—indeed, the same may be said of the whole game. The ground on which they play is a smooth level space, about 40 paces long and 5 broad. The players stand side by side, start from one end of the ground, and trot on till they are halfway through, when one of them throws a ball gently ahead, in such a manner that it will not roll further than the space allowed for the game; at the same time both players push their rod forward to overtake and keep pace with the ball, but not to check its course. They then examine the particular notch or bunch of feathers at which the ball stops, and count accordingly.

304 The greater part of the men—Big Bellies, Mandanes, and
787 Saulteurs (Souliers)—have lost a joint of several fingers, [364]
785 particularly of the left hand, and it is not uncommon to see only the

[p. 384(F)]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

885 others' directions. As the leader of his first war expedition, he
554 was expected to name others with a distinguished war record
701 to serve with him as co-leaders. They would share his rewards and assume their share of the responsibilities. His word was authority in all matters relating to his war expeditions, and, whereas in the past he had accepted the decisions of his leader in disputes appertaining to rewards for striking the enemy or capturing and dividing the spoils, he demanded similar obedience from his group.

554 The Mandan had a highly formalized method of recording
721 war honors, and it was the duty of the war leader to verify their authenticity. He would relate the exploits of his men during social occasions and ceremonies. Those holding war honors were entitled to express them by means of particular decorations. Of
[177] these decorations, the Mandan claim that the practice of wearing eagle feathers was of recent origin and was borrowed from the Sioux.

554 The highest honor was accorded to a man who went out alone
703 and found an enemy whom he killed and scalped. He was authorized to paint one legging black and the other either
628 yellow or white and to paint each half of his shirt in the same
721 manner. He was also permitted to wear a coyote tail at each ankle signifying that he saw an enemy first and afterward "struck" him. He could also wear one eagle feather in his hair and was the recipient of much honor during the scalp dances as long as he lived. The most common motive for going out alone was to revenge a relative, particularly a sibling, when the slayer was known. In such cases, announcement was made in advance that he was leaving on a particular day to find his relative's slayer. Catlin records such an expedition by Four Bears, who went into the Arikara villages near the Grand River at night to avenge the death of his brother.[2] The old Mandan still related this incident in 1930, when the information for this report was collected. The only instance of one man going far
554 from the village and killing one or more persons remembered as
578 occurring during the lifetime of my informants was for revenge.
721 A distinguished war leader's wife ran away with another dis-
837

2. George Catlin, *The Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (London, 1841), pp. 239–40.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

554 578 721 837 return to her new husband's lodge. A family having two eligible daughters invited him in to marry them. He then had help to perform the ceremonies he had pledged. Having killed an enemy when out alone far from home, he became a man of unusual distinction and was respected in council.

554 703 When several went out and found one enemy who was killed far from home, the first to strike him painted one side of his shirt and legging black and wore one coyote tail; the second painted the shirt and leggings in the same manner and wore the coyote tail but added a red stripe to the eagle feather. The third and fourth painted only the legging black, the third one painting two stripes on the eagle feather, and the fourth painting three stripes.

There were also distinctive markings to indicate those who had struck a single enemy on different expeditions. A person striking a lone enemy could paint or decorate two X's on the legging, one above the knee and the other below the knee, or he could put them on the sleeve of the shirt. For the second enemy found alone and struck, he added two X's to either the other legging or the shirt. Crosses on both sleeves of the shirt and both leggings indicated that he had struck a lone enemy on four different war expeditions when far from the village. The Mandan interpreted "far from the village" as meaning beyond the usual hunting territory.

A coyote tail worn on the ankle signified that the wearer had struck one enemy far from home; two coyote tails signified that he had struck an enemy on two occasions or had killed and struck one enemy when out alone and far from home. When feathers of the crow or raven were attached to the coyote tail, it signified that he was also first to see the enemy.

The leader or Old Wolf was entitled to carry a scalp stick to which was attached a portion of a scalp for each scalp taken while serving as leader. He was also authorized to wear scalps on his shirt; for the first scalp, he would wear one piece on one sleeve; for the second scalp he would wear pieces on both sleeves. He wore a piece of scalp on each sleeve of the shirt and each leg of the leggings for four enemies killed on four different expeditions. He did not, however, wear feathers in his hair, paint his leggings, or wear the coyote tails unless he struck an enemy while serving as leader.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

A person striking three or more enemies was entitled to paint the entire left legging red; ordinarily, they preferred to paint the legging from the knee down, thinking it looked better. The second person striking three or more enemies painted the left legging red above the knee; the third person painted three stripes on the left legging; the fourth person painted four stripes. 554 703

It was considered a high honor to be the first person to strike an enemy in a battle during which several enemies were killed. A person winning this distinction painted three black stripes on one legging. The next three to strike the first enemy killed wore three red stripes.

It was considered even a greater honor to strike the last enemy killed. Crows Heart remarked that there was usually a good deal of confusion around the last one to fall and that it was frequently difficult to determine the order of striking. In these disputes, the leader was judge, and his men were expected to accept his decision. Anyone defying him and wearing badges of unauthorized honors was ridiculed. The first to strike wore a black double stripe the full length of one legging and four pairs of horizontal stripes. Those striking second, third, and fourth wore the four pairs of stripes only.

The four warriors striking a slain enemy woman were entitled to wear a short carved stick decorated with porcupine work and feathers in the hair but could not employ the legging or shirt decorations. The leader was entitled to wear a scalp. Striking a girl counted the same as for a woman, while a male, regardless of age, was treated the same as when striking a man.

Striking or seizing a live enemy was considered a higher honor than striking one who had been killed. If, during battle, a warrior was able to seize an enemy, he was entitled to paint or tatoo two hands on the breast. Crows Heart remembered a Mandan who wore eight hands to signify that he had seized an enemy on four occasions and held him until either he or his party could kill him. A man riding a horse over an enemy, knocking him down, could paint a hand on each side of the horse's chest. A man shot in battle could wear a stick with a knot carved in it and painted red. A man first reporting an enemy tepee was entitled to wear the white wing feathers of the swan in his hair, and the first to see smoke from an enemy's tepee wore a section

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

554 703 of the cattail plant in his hair. Those stabbed by a knife or spear could wear a stick carved to resemble a knife. One who had been shot in battle painted red spots on his shirts, leggings, or robes with red stripes below to indicate bullet holes and blood dripping from the wounds. Men painted horse tracks on their blankets to indicate the horses they had stolen. These tracks were bunched to indicate the number taken on each expedition.

727 597 581 Small children too young to remember their parents were frequently taken prisoners and adopted into the village. They were "struck" by the warriors who were given credit toward their war record but such records were not related during ceremonies once the children were adopted into the households. Girls approaching marriageable age were frequently returned alive to the village and sold to those needing an extra wife.

554 562 703 Women also qualified for war honors and were eligible to wear the same decorations as men. Informants remembered a number of women who had struck an enemy and had displayed their war honors during the Scalp Dance. One woman concealed herself at the entrance to her lodge and hit an Assiniboine on the head with a stone hammer. She scalped him and, during the dances, received a hearty applause whenever she was leader of the line of dancers, carrying her scalp on a stick.

554 703 The war records enumerated above constitute the principal awards having social recognition and fall into two general groups: awards limited solely to war leaders and consisting of scalps which were worn on their clothing or carried on scalp sticks and awards to warriors consisting of peculiar painting of the clothing, wearing of coyote tails, and certain feathers. Only those who had led many war parties and had been successful attained the highest ranks as chiefs unless their lack of significant successes in warfare was compensated with a record of many feasts during which time much property was given away or the possession of important tribal bundles. There was a series of designs painted or woven on robes which proclaimed the amount of goods so disposed of.

MARRIAGE AND THE HOUSEHOLD

581 584 Marriage was an exceedingly important event among the leading families of a Mandan village, but for the average family

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 outdoors, and drums within the lodge, but this contradicts the accounts
293 of others. The rattles were originally made of gourds, but in Wounded-face's time baking-powder cans had been substituted.

575 The Fox women, according to Wounded-face, were selected by the fathers' wives. Their robes were decorated with honor marks earned by their male associates. Little-crow mentioned only two Fox women, selected by the members themselves, and placed in the middle of the line of march.

575 The military element was obviously prominent in the society. Water-
703 chief relates that on the first public appearance of the new members, each one was called by name by the older men and women of the village and addressed as follows: "We have numerous enemies, you are the one that must fight and try to be a man. You must not forget this when you are in a fight." Later in the season, when Water-chief had struck a coup and received a wound, his people rejoiced, telling him, "That is what you desired
[535] to do, you are a brave man." Little-crow declared that the Kit-Foxes did not dance very frequently,— in fact only when the approach of an enemy was reported. Wounded-face, while stating that dances were occasionally performed solely for the sake of amusement and in order to attract the attention of young women, also said that the Foxes danced very often in times of war, beginning as soon as a scout had brought the news of an enemy's approach. The Foxes tried to be brave in battle. Wounded-face recalls an occasion when a very brave enemy, surrounded by the Mandan, was holding his foemen at bay; finally, a Kit-Fox advanced towards him, struck him, and was killed. On another occasion a Kit-Fox together with four companions, set out on a war party. All five were killed by the enemy. This event was commemorated in song: "Once two enemies went into the bush. We surrounded them. One Kit-Fox went forward, and they killed him there."

575 The purely social features of the organization were also conspicuous. Public appearances were followed by feasts after the members had returned to their lodge. There were occasional horse parades by the Kit-Foxes, and the nocturnal processions referred to by Black-chest were of frequent occurrence.

Little Dog Society.

575 While Black-chest's and Wounded-face's group owned the Fox society,
424 their fathers were Little Dogs (mini'sinik ō'xat'e)[1]; that is to say, after

[1] The present meaning of the native term seems to be "colt society," but the older informants consider the above rendering correct in the context given and consider the society related to the Hidatsa Little Dog organization. Maximilian also translates *menios* "dog." A corresponding confusion was encountered in the case of the other Mandan societies named for the dog.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

whites; it would take a whole summer to make the journey, and that since they were at war with the Pananas the men would not undertake to go far, the roads being closed to them. That cattle were abundant on the prairies, far larger and fatter than those we had seen on their prairies; their coat white and of several colors. He showed us horns split in half, of a greenish color, which hold nearly three pints. In all the huts they have them in use as ladles, proving that they have killed many when the road was open. That was all I could learn even by chance, as I had relied on my interpreter, that I would have time to be thoroughly informed at leisure. 000

"Six days after the Assiniboines left I sent my son, the Chevalier, with Sieur Nolant, six Frenchmen and several Mandans, to the nearest fort, which is on the bank of the river. If well received they were to sleep there, to get the best information of the course of the river; who dwell there; if they are acquainted with the lower part, in accordance with what was told us; to learn all that could be ascertained by signs and demonstrations. After their departure Mr. de la Marque walked about to observe the size of their fort and their fortifications.

The Village. "I decided to have the huts counted. It was found that there were a hundred and thirty of them. All the streets, squares and huts resemble each other. Several of our Frenchmen wandered about; they found the streets and squares very clean, the ramparts very level and broad, the palisades supported on cross pieces mortised into posts of fifteen feet. At fifteen points doubled are green skins which are put for sheathing when required, fastened only above when needed, as in the bastion there are four at each curtain, well flanked. The fort is built on a height in the open prairie, with a ditch upwards of fifteen feet deep by fifteen to eighteen feet wide. Their fort can only be gained by steps or posts, which can be removed when threatened by an enemy. If all their forts are alike they may be called impregnable to Indians. Their fortifications are not Indian. This nation is mixed white and black. 361 712

"The women are faily good looking, especially the white, many with blonde and fair hair. Both men and women of this nation are very laborious; their huts are large and spacious, separated into several compartments by thick planks; nothing is left lying about; all their baggage is in large bags hung on posts; their beds 142 342 513

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Now it is in evidence from an entirely different source that prior to the spring of 1734—over four years before Verendrye visited the Mandans—a Frenchman had visited the Aricaras at their upper Missouri villages, that fact being evidenced by "a letter from Bienville, dated April 22nd, 1734, stating that a Frenchman, having lived several years among the Pawnees, had ascended the Missouri river to the Ricaras, who had never before seen a Frenchman." That letter is taken from Margry, Vol. 6, page 455. See the Appendatory Note to Part I of this paper in Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., page 586, which note refers to Vol. 9, Kas. Hist. Coll. for 1905-6, as the source of the information. From all of which, and the information imparted to Verendrye by the Mandans, it would seem that communication, however imperfect and irregular, between the whites below and the Indians as far up as the Aricara villages of the Missouri, had already been established when that intrepid explorer made his first memorable visit to the Mandans. Whether the advent of the Frenchman at the Aricara villages had anything to do with the commencement of that war between those Indians and the Mandans which he was told had then raged "for four years," and prior to which, according to further information given him, the Pawnees (Aricaras) and the Mandans "had always from all time been closely united and in alliance together"—may never be determinable by competent evidence; but as the dawn of the fur trade of the upper Missouri was not to appear for some fifty years then yet to come, it is safe to declare that fur traffic or its incidents in rivalries and overreachings among the whites had nothing to do with this first breach between the tribes in question. Verendrye's record concerning the long duration of peace and alliance between the upper Missouri Pawnees and the Mandans at that early date is significant as indicating that the Mandans had then long been in those quarters. And that the Pananas "made their forts like them" (i. e., the Mandans) is also indicative of a long period of mutual experience in housebuilding by both tribes in that general locality. And it seems highly probable that such resemblance in the character of habitations is less likely to have been occasioned by the proximity of the two tribes brought about through a southwestward approach to the Missouri by the Mandans and an up-river progress by the Aricaras, than to have followed a mutual progress up-river. And when we further consider that all of the formidable village defenses of both tribes were, according to information recorded

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1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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by Verendrye, such as brought him to conclude that "they may be called impregnable to Indians," there would seem to be made out at least a presumptive case of mutual defense by Mandans and Aricaras against enemies from below—including the dreaded Sioux—rather than against those from the north; in other words, that such formidable earthworks as are thus recorded, including in at least one case a ditch "upwards of fifteen feet deep by fifteen to eighteen feet wide," reinforced by "ramparts very level and broad, the palisade supported on cross pieces mortised into posts of fifteen feet," were probably the climax of the efforts of years to ward off a strong, persistent and generally successful foe who had driven both tribes up the Missouri.

From Agnes C. Laut's "Pathfinders of the West" (Macmillan Co., 1904) we quote the following extract relating to the second contact of the Verendryes (sons of him who headed the expedition of 1738) with the Mandans in 1742. The account is set forth in the spirited phrases indicative of movement and inspiration, for which that gifted author is famous:

"The two men left among the Mandans to learn the language had returned to the Assiniboine river with more news of tribes from the "setting sun" who dwelt on salt water. Pierre de la Verendrye went down to the Missouri with the two interpreters, but the Mandans refused to supply guides that year and the young Frenchman came back to winter on the Assiniboine. Here he made every preparation for another attempt to find the Western Sea by way of the Missouri. On April 29th, 1742, the two brothers, Pierre and Francois, left the Assiniboine with the two interpreters. Their course led along the trail that for two hundred years was to be a famous highway between the Missouri and Hudson Bay. Leading southwest, they followed the Souris river to the watershed of the Missouri, and in three weeks were once more the guests of the smoky Mandan lodges. Round the inside walls of each circular hut ran berth beds of buffalo skins with trophies of the chase, hide shields and weapons of war, fastened to the posts that separate berth from berth. A common fire, with a family meat pot hanging above, occupied the center of the lodge. In one of these lodges the two brothers and their men were quartered. The summer passed feasting with the Mandans and smoking the calumet of peace; but all was in vain. The Missouri Indians were arrant cowards in the matter of war. The terror

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778 gether. It has somewhat the appearance of a large barrel, and is emblematic of the ark in which, according to Mandan mythology, the sole survivor of the deluge was saved. The square, the medicine-lodge, with its four poles in front, surmounted by sacrificial effigies, and the ark, as they may be seen at Fort Berthold today, seem to be the almost exact counterparts of those which were seen in the old Mandan village at Fort Clarke, in 1832 and 1833, by George Catlin and the Prince of New-Wied, if we are to judge by the drawings they have given us. Within the temple and around the ark, the Mandans still perform the ceremony of the Okeepa, which Catlin so accurately describes. The awful severities of the rites have, however, been somewhat mitigated since his day."

000 **Aricaree Medicine-Lodge.** "The medicine-lodges of the Aricarees is larger than that of the Mandans, and is used for a greater variety of ceremonies. Some of these performances, consisting of ingenious tricks of jugglery and dances, representative of various hunts, we might be inclined to call theatrical rather than religious. Probably these Indians consider them both worshipful and entertaining.

"It is often hard to tell how much of a religious ceremony is intended to propitiate the unknown powers, and how much to please the spectators."

●712 **Fortifications—Stockades.** "Many travelers have described their towns as being fortified, sometimes with walls, but usually with ditches and stockades, or with stockades alone. The latter system of defense was in use at the village of Fort Berthold until the winter of 1865, when they cut down the palisades for firewood; and they have never since restored them. The presence of United States troops in their neighborhood, and the growing weakness of the Dakotas, were probably the causes which led them to discontinue their fortifications."

773 Matthews virtually bears out Catlin concerning the mythical veneration of the Mandans for the corn symbol:

243 **Agriculturalists—"Corn Mother."** "The Aricarees and Man-
174 dans have doubtlessly tilled the soil for many centuries. Their accounts of the origin of corn are mingled with their earliest myths and traditions. There are some reasons for believing that the Aricarees represent an older race of farmers than the Man-

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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tween, these were the scalp poles and effigies of the gods. The 361
ground on which the village was located was chosen for defence, the bluff on the river side went down perpendicularly, and the village was on a point jutting out into the river so that only one side needed protection. Across this point was a palisade 361
and inside this was a ditch, three to four feet deep according to 712
Catlin. The palisade, he says, was of timbers eighteen feet high and one or more feet in diameter, set far enough apart to allow of shooting between. The warriors stayed in the ditch in defending the palisade. Concerning this palisade Henry and Maximilian both mention that it was in very poor repair indeed, but Henry adds that he was told it could be put in good condition very soon, every person in the village lending a hand. There is yet no mention of bastions and ramparts such as Verendrye refers to, but Maximilian[1] describes something similar. He says that at the corners of the palisade in four places were arcs or bastions, which formed an angle open toward the village, and said to have been built by the whites. These were intrenchments in the form of an arc, covered with a matting of willow and having loop holes.

On entering the village it seemed to be a mass of circular 342
houses from forty to ninety feet in diameter, set down haphazard closely crowded together. The houses were of earth with a smooth coating of pounded clay on the top, where most of the inhabitants were usually stationed. Before each house 343
was a scaffold, fronting the covered entrance. These scaffolds were six feet high, twenty feet long and ten broad[2] and were used for hanging up corn and meat to dry. They had a good floor, also, which was covered in the fall with drying beans. The staging for drying corn and meat was made as follows:[3] posts were set up on the scaffolds themselves, across these rafters were laid, and upon these cross rafters or poles the corn, meat and sliced squashes were hung. Before almost every 778
house were one or more poles about twenty feet high, to which images of the gods, or sacrifices to them were attached.

In the center of the village was a large open space of about 000

[1] Op. cit., p. 31. [2] Henry: vol. I, p. 340. [3] Ibid.

291 garment, with open sleeves, and a girdle round the waist; the hem of this dress is often scolloped and fringed; they ornament the wrists with iron rings, and tie strings of glass beads round their necks, and sometimes in their ears. Their leggins, called, by the Canadians, mitasse, are short, reaching only from the ankle to the knee. Their shoes are simple, and without any ornament.

301 Tattooing is in use among these people, but by no means general. Most commonly only the left half of the breast and the corresponding arm are marked with black parallel stripes, and a few other figures. The lower arm and some of the fingers are occasionally marked; the men do not tattoo their faces, and they are far inferior in this art to the New Zealanders and other nations of the South Seas. Among the women such designs are sometimes seen, but not [56 I] frequently, and they are chiefly among the women's band of the white buffalo cow.[1] The point of the needle is dyed a dark blue with the bark of the willow soaked in water.

302 In Major Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains it is stated that the Crows rub their bodies 17! with castoreum, on account of its pleasant scent. I must observe, however, that the custom is not confined to one nation, but is practised by the Mandans, Manitaries, Crows, and Blackfeet, and most of the other tribes of the Upper Missouri. They mix the castoreum with a red colour, and with it rub their face and frequently their hair.

361 Having obtained a clear idea of the outward appearance of these Indians, we will next consider their habitations, villages, and domestic life. Their villages are assemblages of clay 712 huts, of greater or less extent, placed close to each other, without regard to order. Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, the largest of the Mandan villages, was about 150 or 200 paces in diameter, the second was much smaller. The circumference forms an irregular circle, and was anciently surrounded with strong posts, or palisades, which have, however, gradually disappeared as the natives used them for fuel in the cold winters. At four places, at nearly equal distances from each other, is a bastion built of clay, furnished with loop-holes, and lined both within and without with basket-work of willow branches. They form an angle, and are open towards the village; the earth is filled in between the basket-work; and it is said that these bulwarks, which are now in a

[1] [This is one of the women's age-grade societies.--Analyst.]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

state of decay, were erected for the Indians by the Whites. There is nothing of the kind at Ruhptare. The huts, as I have before remarked, stand close to each other, leaving, in the centre, an open circular space, about sixty paces in diameter, in the centre of which (among the Mandans) the ark of the first man is set up,[1] of which we shall speak in the sequel. It is a small cylinder, open above, made of planks, about four or five feet high, fixed in the ground, and bound with climbing plants, or pliable boughs, to hold them together (see the woodcut, p. 342). 361 712

At the north end of this circular space is the medicine lodge, in which festivals are celebrated, and certain customs practised, which are connected with the religious notions of this people, which we shall treat of in the sequel. At the top of a high pole, a figure is here placed, made of skins, with a wooden head, the face painted black, and wearing a fur cap and feathers, which is intended to represent the evil spirit, Ochkib-Hadda (corresponding with the devil), or a wicked man, as they affirm, who once appeared among them, had neither wife nor child, and vanished, and whom they now stand greatly in dread of. Other grotesque figures, made of skins and bundles of twigs, we saw hanging on high poles, most of them being offerings to the deity. Among the huts are many stages of several stories, supported by poles, on which they dry the maize. The huts themselves are of a circular form, slightly vaulted, having a sort of portico entrance. When the inmates are absent the entrance is shut up with twigs and thorns; and if they wish merely to close the door they put up a skin stretched out on a frame, which is shoved aside on entering. In the centre of the roof is a square opening for the smoke to find vent, over which is a circular sort of screen made of twigs, as a protection against the wind and rain, and which, when necessary, is covered with skins (see woodcut). 361 346 778 [343] 342

The interior of the hut is spacious, tolerably light, and cleanly. Four strong pillars towards the middle, with several cross beams, support the roof. The inner circumference of the hut is formed by eleven or fifteen thick posts, four or five feet in height, between which other rather shorter ones are placed close to each other. On these shorter posts, which are all of an equal

1 [This shrine, the sacred cedar, represents the culture hero's body. See Category 116, Source 2: Bower, pp. 24, 116 for a more up-to-date summary.--Analyst]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

361 of dirt—and the thousand spears (not "spires") and scalp-poles, &c. &c., of the semi-subterraneous village of the hospitable and gentlemanly Mandans.

174 These people formerly (and within the recollection of many of their oldest men) lived fifteen or twenty miles farther down the river, in ten contiguous villages; the marks or ruins of which are yet plainly to be seen. At that period, it is evident, as well from the number of lodges which their villages contained, as from their traditions, that their numbers were much greater than at the present day.

There are other, and very interesting, traditions and historical facts relative to a still prior location and condition of these people, of which I shall speak more fully on a future occasion. From these, when they are promulged, I think there may be a pretty fair deduction drawn, that they formerly occupied the lower part of the Missouri, and even the Ohio and Muskingum, and have gradually made their way up the Missouri to where they now are.

There are many remains on the river below this place (and, in fact, to be seen nearly as low down as St. Louis), which shew clearly the peculiar construction of Mandan lodges, and consequently carry a strong proof of the above position. While descending the river, however, which I shall commence in a few weeks, in a canoe, this will be a subject of interest; and I shall give it close examination.

361 The ground on which the Mandan village is at present built, was admirably selected for defence; being on a bank forty or fifty feet above the
●712 bed of the river. The greater part of this bank is nearly perpendicular, and of solid rock. The river, suddenly changing its course to a right-angle, protects two sides of the village, which is built upon this promontory or angle; they have therefore but one side to protect, which is effectually done by a strong piquet, and a ditch inside of it, of three or four feet in depth. The piquet is composed of timbers of a foot or more in diameter, and eighteen feet high, set firmly in the ground at sufficient distances from each other to admit of guns and other missiles to be fired between them. The ditch (unlike that of civilized modes of fortification) is inside of the piquet, in which their warriors screen their bodies from the view and weapons of their enemies, whilst they are reloading and discharging their weapons through the piquets.

361 The Mandans are undoubtedly secure in their villages, from the attacks of any Indian nation, and have nothing to fear, except when they meet their
342 enemy on the prairie. Their village has a most novel appearance to the eye of a stranger; their lodges are closely grouped together, leaving but just room enough for walking and riding between them; and appear from without, to be built entirely of dirt; but one is surprised when he enters them, to see the neatness, comfort, and spacious dimensions of these earth-covered dwellings. They all have a circular form, and are from forty to sixty feet in diameter. Their foundations are prepared by digging some two feet in the ground, and forming the floor of earth, by levelling the requisite size for

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Old Dog Society.[1]

Maximilian, while not including this society in his list of age-classes, 561
states that the Old Dog dance was one which the Dogs might buy of the 535
Bulls before they were permitted to become Bulls. The Old Dog dancers
painted their bodies white, and their hands red and black. They wore 575
a grizzly skin round the body, and on the head feathers which hung down 292
in the back.

Wounded-face knew nothing of the organization save the name. He had 575
heard that they dressed similarly to the Dogs.

Coarse Hair Society.

Wounded-face had only heard of this society (bacā'ca ō'xat'e) from his 575
grandfather. There was something sacred about it. A young man going 292
on the warpath promised the members to give them a dance provided he
performed some brave deed in battle. When dancing, the members dressed 554
up. On the head they placed a piece of scalp from a buffalo head of the 726
size of a human scalp. Hair was attached to the scalp so as to hang over 714
the members' faces. They put honor marks on their clothes. The left leggings were painted red up to the knee, and black marks were put round the lower legs as a sign that the wearer had struck many enemies. Leaders in war who had killed enemies tied human hair to the leggings. For each enemy struck in war, a member put one feather on his head. If he had been wounded by an arrow, the split feather from an arrow, dyed red, was worn on the head. A gun wound was indicated by a stick about 9 inches in length, and whittled at the lower end so that the shavings remained on the stick. The young warrior providing for the entertainment of the performers filled a pipe for them, and, if possible, presented them with horses or eagle feather bonnets. He asked them to pray for him. All the older men rejoiced in such a feast.

It is possible, but by no means certain, that this society corresponds to 575
Maximilian's As-Cho'h-O'chatā (Ascho'-O'chatā). On the 23rd of December, 1833, a large number of Indians visited the Fort, led by fourteen mem- 292
bers of this society from the village of Ruptare. The entire head was 535
covered with a wig of long, flat braids of hair, which fell over the face, completely hiding it. Feathers of the owl, raven, and of birds of prey,

[1] minis' xixe' ō'xat'e.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

173 The foregoing is far from historic proof that the Mandans did not at the times mentioned have their real base on the Missouri river. If they had been driven out of the "plains southwest of Lake Winnipeg" southward to the Missouri river about the end of the 17th century, which plains had been their own country, it seems hardly possible that they would not have so informed Verendrye in 1738—less than half a century after such ejection; nor would they have been likely to have forgotten it as a fresh tradition when Lewis and Clarke visited them. But if they had been hunting or marauding on those Canadian plains, and had failed to make permanent lodgment there as a home while really living on the Missouri, such rebuffs by the Crees and Assiniboines would be less consequential and might account for silence on the part of the Mandans concerning their Canadian campaigns. We continue the account from "Indian Sign Language:"

"Information given to the late General William Clarke in his expedition up the Missouri denotes that the Mandans have suffered greater vicissitudes of fortune than most of the American tribes."

361 **Walled Villages.** About a century ago they were settled on both banks of the Missouri some fifteen hundred miles above its mouth. They were then living in mire villages, surrounded by circular walls of earth without the adjunct of a ditch. The ruins of one of the old villages, observed in 1804, covered nearly eight acres and denoted a comparatively large population. Two of these villages were on the east and seven on the west side of the Missouri. They were first discovered and made known to us in this position in 1772. (Mitchell's letter herewith.)

•721 **Their Wars.** They appear to have been a hated tribe to the Dakotas, or Sioux, and Assiniboines, who from the earliest traditionary times carried on fierce war against them.

361 **Smallpox.** Finding themselves sorely pressed by this war and
166 having experienced the wasting inroads of the smallpox the two
[164] eastern villages united into one and migrated up the river to a
721 point opposite to the Arickaree, fourteen hundred and thirty miles above the mouth. The same causes soon pressed the other seven western villages, reducing them to five; they also afterward migrated in a body and joined their tribesmen in the Arickaree country, and concentrated and settled themselves in two large villages. Here they dwelt for a time, but were still subject to

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the fierce attacks of their enemies; and deeming the position unfavorable they removed higher up the river and took possession of a precipitous and tenable point of land formed by an involution of the Missouri, where they formed one compact village in 1776. The eastern Mandans had settled in two villages, but finding the attacks of the Sioux hard to be resisted united also in one village. The two divisions of Mandan villages were still separated by the Missouri river, but seated directly opposite each other about three miles apart, including lowlands. 361 166 7210

The position is estimated to be sixteen hundred miles from the junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi. There they were visited by Lewis and Clarke on the 27th October, 1804. This was a memorable and an auspicious event in their history, as these intrepid American explorers determined to pass their first winter in this vicinity. They built Fort Mandan, a few miles distant, on a heavily wooded piece of bottom land, which yielded trees of sufficient size for erecting quarters for themselves and the men. They immediately opened an intercourse with the Mandans and established a friendship with them, which was strengthened by the incidents of a winter's residence." (pp. 239-240). 361 166

The following is an extract from Mr. Mitchell's letter above referred to: "The early portion of their history I gather from the narration of Mr. Macintosh, who, it seems, belonged to, or was in some way connected with the French Trading Company as far back as 1772. According to his narration, he set out from Montreal in the summer of 1773, crossed over the country to the Missouri river and arrived at one of the Mandan villages on Christmas day. He gives a long and somewhat romantic description of the manner in which he was received, and dwells at some length upon the greatness of the Mandan population, their superior intelligence and prowess in war. He says at that time the Mandans occupied nine large towns lying contiguous and could at short notice muster fifteen thousand mounted warriors." Clarke continues:

"*I am inclined to think that the statistics of the author whom* I have quoted are somewhat exaggerated, and at the time he visited the Missouri the Mandans were not so numerous as he represents. There are, however, the ruins of five villages in the neighborhood of the present village, which were evidently at one time occupied by the Mandans; and judging from the space which

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increased by the strength of the fort, and the circumstances of our interpreters having both removed there with their families. These reports we did not fail to disprove to their entire satisfaction, and amused them with every attention, particularly by the dancing of the men, which diverted them highly. All the Indians whom Captain Lewis had visited were very well disposed, and received him with great kindness, except a principal chief of one of the upper villages, named Mahpahpaparapassatoo, or Horned Weasel, who made use of the civilized indecorum of refusing to be seen, and when Captain Lewis called, he was told the chief was not at home. In the course of the day seven of the Northwest company's traders arrived from the Assiniboine river, and one of their interpreters having undertaken to circulate among the Indians unfavorable reports, it became necessary to warn them of the consequences, if they did not desist from such proceedings. The river fell two inches today and the weather became very cold."

No British Flag. "About eight o'clock Poscopsahe came down to visit us, with some warriors; we gave them presents and entertained them with all that might amuse their curiosity, and at parting we told them that we had heard of the British trader, Mr. Laroche, having attempted to distribute medals and flags among them; but that those emblems could not be received from any other than the American nation, without incurring the displeasures of the great father, the president. They left us much pleased with their treatment." (id 182.)

Sioux Raid. "Friday, 30th. About eight o'clock an Indian came to the opposite bank of the river, calling out that he had something important to communicate, and on sending for him, he told us that five Mandans had been met about eight leagues to the southwest by a party of Sioux, who had killed one of them, wounded two, and taken nine horses; that four of the Wattasoons were missing, and that the Mandans expected an attack. We thought this an excellent opportunity to discountenance the injurious reports against us, and to fix the waivering confidence of the nation. Captain Clarke therefore instantly crossed the river with twenty-three men strongly armed, and circling the town, approached it from behind. His unexpected appearance surprised and alarmed the chiefs, who came out to meet him, and

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.721

conducted him to the village. He then told them that having heard of the outrage just committed, he had come to assist his dutiful children; and that if they would assemble their warriors and those of the nation, he would lead them against the Sioux and avenge the blood of their countrymen. After some minutes' conversation, Ohenaw, the Cheyenne arose: 'We now see,' said he, 'that what you have told us is true, since as soon as our enemies threatened to attack us you come to protect us and are ready to chastise those who have spilled our blood. We did indeed listen to your good talk, for when you told us that the other nations were inclined to peace with us, we went out carelessly in small parties, and some have been killed by the Sioux and Ricaras. But I knew that the Ricaras were liars, and I told their chief who accompanied you, that his whole nation were liars and bad men; that we had several times made a peace with them, which they were the first to break; that whenever we pleased we might shoot them like buffalo, but that we had no wish to kill them; that we would not suffer them to kill us, nor steal our horses; and that although we agree to make peace with them, because our two fathers desired it, yet we did not believe that they would be faithful long. Such, father, was my language to them in your presence, and you see that instead of listening to your good counsel they have spilt our blood. A few days ago, two Ricaras came here and told us that two of their villages were making moccasins, that the Sioux were stirring them up against us, and that we ought to take care of our horses; yet these very Ricaras we sent home as soon as the news reached us today, lest our people should kill them in the first moments of grief for their murdered relatives. Four of the Wattasoons whom we expected back in sixteen days have been absent twenty-four, and we fear have fallen. But, father, the snow is now deep, the weather cold, and our horses cannot travel through the plains; the murderers have gone off; if you will conduct us in the spring time, when the snow has disappeared, we will assemble all the surrounding warriors, and follow you.' "

Clarke Counsels Peace. "Captain Clarke replied, that we were always willing and able to defend them; that he was sorry that the snow prevented their marching to meet the Sioux, since he wished to show them that the warriors of their great father would

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chastise the enemies of his obedient children who opened their ears to his advise; that if some Ricaras had joined the Sioux, they should remember that there were some bad men in every nation, and that they should not be offended at the Ricaras till they saw whether these ill-disposed men were countenanced by the whole tribe; that the Sioux possessed great influence over the Ricaras, whom they supplied with military stores, and sometimes led them estray, because they were afraid to oppose them; but that this should be the less offensive, since the Mandans themselves were under the same apprehensions from the Assiniboines and Kristenaux, and that while they were thus dependent, both the Ricaras and Mandans ought to keep on terms with their powerful neighbors, whom they may afterwards set at defiance, when we shall supply them with arms, and take them under our protection. 648 721

"After two hours conversation Captain Clarke left the village. The chief repeatedly thanked him for the fatherly protection he had given them, observing that the whole village had been weeping all night and day for the brave young men who had been slain, but now they would wipe their eyes and weep no more as they saw that their father would protect them. He then crossed the river on the ice and returned on the north side of the fort." (id 184.)

Cheyenne Delegation. "Saturday, December 1st. The wind was from the northwest, and the whole party engaged in picketing the fort. About ten o'clock the half-brother of the man who had been killed, came to inform us that six Sharhas, or Cheyenne Indians, had arrived, bringing a pipe of peace, and that their nation was three days' march behind them. Three Pawnees had accompanied the Sharhas, and the Mandans being afraid of the Sharhas on account of their being at peace with the Sioux, wished to put both them and the three Pawnees to death; but the chiefs had forbidden it, as it would be contrary to our wishes. We gave him a present of tobacco, and although from his connection with the sufferer, he was more embittered against the Pawnees than any other Mandan, yet he seemed perfectly satisfied with our pacific counsels and advise. The Mandans we observed called all the Ricaras by the name of Pawnee; the name of Ricaras being that by which the nation distinguished itself." 648

"Sunday, December 2nd. At eleven o'clock, the chiefs of the

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224 the village together, and after discovering a spot convenient for the game, fix their tents; all the family bear their part in the labor, and the game is equally divided among the families of the tribe. When a single hunter returns from the chase with more than is necessary for his own immediate consumption, the neighbors are entitled by custom to a share of it; they do not however ask for it, but send a squaw, who, without saying anything, sits down by the door of the lodge till the master understands the hint, and gives her gratuitously a part for her family." (id 209.)

000 "Monday, 14th. The Mandans continue to pass down the river on their hunting party, and were joined by six of our men. One of those sent on Thursday returned, with information that one of his companions had his feet so badly frost bitten that he could not walk home." (id 210.)

"Wednesday, 16th. About thirty Mandans, among whom six were chiefs, came to see us; the Minnetarees reproached them with their falsehoods, declaring that they were bad men and ought to hide themselves. They had told the Minnetarees that we would kill them if they came to the fort, yet on the contrary they had spent a night there, and been treated with kindness by the whites, who had smoked with them and danced for their amusement.

•721 To the chief Kagahami, who contemplated war against the Snake Indians, this advice was given: "We advised him to reflect seriously before he committed the peace of his nation to the hazards of war: to look back on the numerous nations whom war has destroyed: that if he wished his nation to be happy, he should cultivate peace and intercourse with all his neighbors, by which means they would procure more horses, and increase in numbers; and that if he went to war, he would displease his great father, the president, and forfeit his protection. We added that we had spoken thus to all the tribes whom we had met, that they had all opened their ears, and that the president would compel those who did not voluntarily listen to his advise. Although a young man of only twenty-six years of age, this discourse seemed to strike him. He observed, that if it would be displeasing to us he would not go to war, since he had horses enough and that he would advise all nations to remain at home, until we had

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

seen the Snake Indians, and discovered whether their intentions were pacific." (id 212.) 721

"Friday, February 1st. A cold windy day; our hunters returned having killed only deer. One of the Minnetaree war chiefs, a young man named Maubuksheahokeah or Seeing Snake, came to us, and procured a war hatchet; he also requested that we would suffer him to go to war against the Sioux and Ricaras who had killed a Mandan some time ago; this we refused for reasons which we explained to him. He acknowledged that we were right, and promised to open his ears to our counsels." (id 215.)

Battle-Axe. "Tuesday, 5th. A pleasant fair morning with the wind from the northwest; a number of the Indians came with corn for the blacksmith, who being now provided with coal, has become one of our greatest resources for procuring grain. They seem particularly attached to a battle-axe, of a very inconvenient figure; it is made wholly of iron, the blade extremely thin, and from seven to nine inches long. It is sharp at the point and five or six inches on each side, whence they converge towards the eye, which is circular and about an inch in diameter, the blade itself being not more than a inch wide, the handle is straight, and twelve to fifteen inches long; the whole weighing about a pound. By way of ornament, the blade is perforated with several circular holes. The length of the blade compared with the shortness of the handle, renders it a weapon of very little strength, particularly as it is always used on horseback; there is still, however, another form which is even worse, the same sort of handle being fixed to a blade resembling an espontoon."[6] (id 216.) 411

Sheet-Iron Arrow Points. "Wednesday, February 6th. The morning was fair and pleasant, the wind northwest. A number of Indian chiefs visited us, and withdrew after we had smoked with them, contrary to their customs, for after being once introduced into our apartments, they are fond of lounging about during the remainder of the day. One of the men killed three antelopes. Our blacksmith has his time completely occupied, so great is the demand for utensils of different kinds. The Indians are particularly fond of sheet iron, out of which they form points for arrows and instruments for scraping hides, and when the blacksmith cut up an old cambouse[7] of that metal, we obtained for every piece of four inches square, seven or eight gallons of corn from the Indians, who were delighted at the exchange." (id 216.) 437 [411]

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 mountains and to the Pacific coast on their memorable trip of exploration, and having recrossed the Continental Divide on the return trip in 1806, we find the first journal entry which in any way refers to the Mandans, under date of August 8th of that year, recorded in Vol. 3 of London Ed. of their journal, page 348, as follows:

501 **Skin Canoes.** "Friday, 8th. * * They passed over a broken open country, and having reached the Yellowstone, near Pompey's Pillar, they determined to descend the river and for this purpose made two skin canoes,[8] such as they had seen among the Mandans and Ricaras. They are made in the following manner: Two sticks of an inch and a quarter in diameter are tied together so as to form a round hoop, which serves for the brim, while a second hoop, for the bottom of the boat, is made in the same way, and both secured by sticks of the same size from the sides of the hoops, fastened by thongs to the edges of the hoops, and at the interstice of the sticks. Over this frame the skin is drawn closely and tied with thongs, so as to form a perfect basin, seven feet and three inches in diameter, sixteen inches deep, and with sixteen ribs or cross-sticks, and capable of carrying six or eight men with their loads." 'Vol. 3, p. 348)

•721 **Mandans at War With Aricaras and Assiniboines.** "Monday, 11th. The next morning Captain Clarke set out early, and landed on a sandbar about ten o'clock, for the purpose of taking breakfast and drying the meat. At noon they proceeded on about two miles, when they observed a canoe near the shore. They immediately landed, and were equally surprised and pleased at discovering two men by the names of Dickson and Hancock, who had come from the Illinois on a hunting excursion up the Yellowstone. They had left the Illinois in the summer of 1804 and had spent the last winter with the Tetons, in company with a Mr. Ceautoin, who had come there as a trader, but whom they had robbed, or rather they had taken all his merchandise and given him a few robes in exchange. These men had met the boat which we had dispatched from Fort Mandan, on board of which they were told there was a Ricara chief on his way to Washington, and also another party of Yankton chiefs, accompanied by Mr. Durion on a visit of the same kind. We were sorry to learn that the Mandans and the Minnetarees were at war with the Ricaras, and had killed two of them.

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The Assiniboines, too, are at war with the Mandans. They have in consequence, prohibited the Northwestern Company from trading to the Missouri, and even killed two of their traders near the Mouse river, and are now lying in wait for Mr. M'Kenzie of the Northwestern Company, who had been for a long time among the Minnetarees. These appearances are rather unfavorable to the project of carrying some of the chiefs to the United States; but we still hope, that by effecting a peace between the Mandans, Minnetarees and Ricaras, the views of our government may be accomplished." (id 350) 721

"Thursday, 14th.[9] We again set out at sunrise, and at length approached the grand village[10] of the Minnetarees, where the natives had collected to view us as we passed. We fired the blunderbuss several times by way of salute, and soon after landed at the bank near the village of the Mahahas, or Shoe Indians and were received by a crowd of people, who came to welcome our return." 000

Re-Arrival at Mandan Villages. "Among these were the principal chief of the Mahahas, and the chief of the Little Minnetaree village, both of whom expressed great pleasure at seeing us again, but the latter wept most bitterly. On inquiry, it appeared that his tears were excited, because the sight of us reminded him of his son who had been lately killed by the Blackfoot Indians. After remaining there a few minutes, we crossed to the Mandan village of the Black Cat, where all the inhabitants seemed very much pleased at seeing us. We immediately sent Chaboneau with an invitation for the Minnetarees to visit us, and dispatched Drewyer to the lower village of the Mandans to bring Jesseaume as an interpreter."

Black Cat. "Captain Clarke in the meantime walked up to the village of the Black Cat, and smoked and ate with the chief. This village has been rebuilt since our departure, and was now much smaller; a quarrel having arisen among the Indians, in consequence of which a number of families had removed to the opposite side of the river. On the arrival of Jesseaume, Captain Clarke addressed the chiefs. We spoke to them now, he said, in the same language we had done before; and then repeated his invitation to accompany him to the United States, to hear in person the counsels of their great father, who can at all times protect those who open their ears to his counsels, and punish his enemies. The 648

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of the Sioux to venture with us. Captain Clarke then spoke to the chiefs and warriors of the village. He told them of his anxiety that some of them should see their great father, and hear his good words and receive his gifts, and requested them to fix on some confidential chief who might accompany us. To this they made the same objections as before, till at length a young man offered to go, and the warriors all assented to it. But the character of his man was known to be bad, and one of the party with Captain Clarke informed him that at that moment he had in his possession a knife which he had stolen. Captain Clarke therefore told the chief of this theft, and ordered the knife to be given up. This was done with a poor apology for having it in his possession, and Captain Clarke then reproached the chiefs for wishing to send such a fellow to see and hear so distinguished a person as their great father. They all hung down their heads for some time, till the Black Cat apologized by saying that the danger was such that they were afraid of sending any of their chiefs, as they considered his loss almost inevitable. Captain Clarke remained some time with them, smoking and relating various particulars of his journey, and then left them to visit the second chief of the Mandans (or the Blackcrow) who had expressed some disposition to accompany us. He seemed well inclined to the journey, but was unwilling to decide till he had called a council of his people, which he intended to do in the afternoon. On returning to the camp, he found the chief of the Mahahas, and also the chief of the Little Minnetaree village, who brought a present of corn on their mules, of which they possess several, and which they procure from the Crow Indians, who either buy or steal them on the frontiers of the Spanish settlements. A great number of the Indians visited us for the purpose of renewing their acquaintance, or of exchanging robes or other articles for the skins brought by the men." (id 354)

Mandan Wars. "In the evening Chaboneau, who has been mingling with the Indians, and had learned what had taken place during their absence, informed us that as soon as we had left the Minnetarees, they sent out a war party against the Shoshonees, whom they attacked and routed, though in the engagement they lost two men, one of whom was the son of the chief of the Little Minnetaree village. Another war party had gone against

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•721 the Ricaras, two of whom they killed. A misunderstanding, too, had taken place between the Mandans and the Minnetarees, in consequence of a dispute about a woman, which had nearly occasioned a war, but at length a pipe was presented by the Minnetarees, and a reconciliation took place."

648 **Corn Abundant—Counseled Against Wars.** "Friday, 15th. The Mandans had offered to give us some corn, and on sending
721 this morning, we found a greater quantity collected for our use than all our canoes would contain. We therefore thanked the chief and took only six loads. At ten o'clock the chiefs of the different villages came down to smoke with us. We therefore took this opportunity of endeavoring to engage the Borgne in our interests by a present of the swivel, which is no longer serviceable, as it cannot be discharged from our largest perioque. It was now loaded, and the chiefs being formed in a circle around it, Captain Clarke addressed them with great ceremony. He said that he had listened with much attention to what had yesterday been declared by the Borgne, whom he believed to be sincere, and then reproached them with their disregard of our counsels, and their wars on the Shoshonees and Ricaras. Little Cherry, the old Minnetaree chief, answered that they had long stayed at home and listened to our advice, but at last went to war against the Sioux, because their horses had been stolen, and their companions killed, and in an expedition against those people, they had met the Ricaras, who were on their way to strike them, and a battle ensued. But in future, he said, they would attend to our words and live in peace. But Borgne added that his ears, too, would always be open to the words of his good father, and shut against bad counsel. Captain Clarke then presented to the Borgne the swivel, which we told him had announced the words of his great father to all the nations we had seen, and which, whenever it was fired, should recall those which we had delivered to him. The gun was then discharged, and the Borgne had it conveyed in great pomp to his village. The counsel then adjourned."

000 **Big White Taken Past.** "In the afternoon, Captain Clarke walked up to the village of the Littlecrow, taking a flag, which he intended to present to him, but was surprised on being told by him that he had given over all intentions of accompanying us, and refused the flag. He found that this was occasioned by a

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000 another glass of whiskey and at night Captain Clarke and part of the men returned from the village, the rest remained all night.

"Wednesday, 2nd. This day I discovered how the Indians keep their horses during the winter. In the day time they are permitted to run out and gather what they can, and at night are brought into the lodges, with the natives themselves, and fed upon cottonwood branches, and in this way are kept in tolerable ease. (p. 66.)

789 "Sunday, 20th. I went up with one of the men to the villages. They treated us friendly and gave us victuals. After we were done eating they presented a bowlful to a buffalo head, saying "**eat that.**" Their superstitious credulity is so great that they believe by using the head well the living buffalo will come and that they will get a supply of meat. (p. 68)

Sioux Hostilities. "Thursday, 28th. Sixteen of us went up
•721 the river about six miles, where we found and cut down trees for four canoes. While we were absent an express arrived from the Rickarees village with news that the Sioux had declared war against us, and also the Mandans and Gros Ventres. They had boasted of the robbery of the 14th, at the Rickarees village in their way home, and that they intended to massacre the whole of us in the spring. By this express we therefore found out that it was the Sioux who had taken the horses from our men. (p. 70)

000 "Saturday, 6th. The day was clear and pleasant. This day we heard that some of the Rickarees had come up to the Mandan villages. Our interpreter and some of the men were sent over to ascertain the truth of the report and we were detained all day waiting their return. (p. 72)

Ricara Delegation. "Sunday, 7th. The men returned and four of the Rickarees with them. The commanding officers held a conversation with these Indians and they concluded that some of them would go down in the boat from their village to St. Louis. About five o'clock in the afternoon we left Fort Mandan in good spirits. Thirty-one men and a woman went up the river and thirteen returned down it in the boat. We had two perioques and six canoes and proceeded about four miles and encamped opposite the first Mandan village on the north side.

Departure From Mandan Villages. "Monday, 8th. At 12 the word was passed from a canoe in the rear that it was sinking,

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

323 the whites came among them; and that when they saw the bril-
301 liantly colored beads of the traders, they conceived the idea of improving their art by using these beads. If they ever possessed the art of making glass de novo, there is no record, tradition, or other evidence of it, that I have been able to find."

Was It Ancient Art. "One of many reasons, though perhaps an insufficient reason, for believing the art to be of no recent origin among them, is that they used the triangular pendants, not as ornaments only, but as evidences of betrothal, as long ago as
[584] the oldest men can remember. When a girl was promised in marriage in her infancy by her parents, as was not infrequently done, one of these pendants was tied to her forelock so as to hang down over her forehead. When the promise was fulfilled, the husband removed the pendant and threw it away." (p. 22-23.)

439 **Inter-Tribal Trade.** "With the nomadic tribes around, they exchanged their agricultural produce for horses, and, recently,
[824] for robes. When the Dakotas saw a certain flower (Liatris punctata) blooming on the prairie, they knew that the corn was ripe, and went to the villages of the farming Indians to trade. From
●721 the time they came in sight of the village to the time they disappeared there was a truce. When they had passed beyond the bluffs, they might steal an unguarded pony or lift a scalp, and were in turn liable to be attacked." (p. 27.)

439 **Trade With Pacific Coast—Shells.** "It appears probable that they once carried on trade indirectly with the tribes of the Pacific coast, for they had Dentalium shells similar to those obtained on the Pacific and they prized them so highly that the white traders found it advisable to obtain them for the trade. As late as 1866, ten of these shells, of inferior size, costing the traders only a cent a piece, would buy a superior buffalo robe, and formerly only two or three of the same quality were paid for a robe. Modern traders, with whom the writer had conversed, obtained their shells from eastern importers, and know nothing of the original source of supply. They supposed them to come from the Atlantic coast or the Great Lakes, and called them 'Iroquois shells,' which is probably their corruption of the Chinock 'hyakwa;' but it is possible the reverse is the case.

439 "They also used, and still use, as ornaments, fragments of the
301 **Abalone** shells (one or more species of **Haliotis**) of the Pacific.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

885 others' directions. As the leader of his first war expedition, he
554 was expected to name others with a distinguished war record
701 to serve with him as co-leaders. They would share his rewards and assume their share of the responsibilities. His word was authority in all matters relating to his war expeditions, and, whereas in the past he had accepted the decisions of his leader in disputes appertaining to rewards for striking the enemy or capturing and dividing the spoils, he demanded similar obedience from his group.

554 The Mandan had a highly formalized method of recording
721 war honors, and it was the duty of the war leader to verify their authenticity. He would relate the exploits of his men during social occasions and ceremonies. Those holding war honors were entitled to express them by means of particular decorations. Of
[177] these decorations, the Mandan claim that the practice of wearing eagle feathers was of recent origin and was borrowed from the Sioux.

554 The highest honor was accorded to a man who went out alone
703 and found an enemy whom he killed and scalped. He was authorized to paint one legging black and the other either
628 yellow or white and to paint each half of his shirt in the same
721 manner. He was also permitted to wear a coyote tail at each ankle signifying that he saw an enemy first and afterward "struck" him. He could also wear one eagle feather in his hair and was the recipient of much honor during the scalp dances as long as he lived. The most common motive for going out alone was to revenge a relative, particularly a sibling, when the slayer was known. In such cases, announcement was made in advance that he was leaving on a particular day to find his relative's slayer. Catlin records such an expedition by Four Bears, who went into the Arikara villages near the Grand River at night to avenge the death of his brother.[2] The old Mandan still related this incident in 1930, when the information for this report was collected. The only instance of one man going far
554 from the village and killing one or more persons remembered as
578 occurring during the lifetime of my informants was for revenge.
721 A distinguished war leader's wife ran away with another dis-

837 2. George Catlin, *The Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (London, 1841), pp. 239–40.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

tinguished man between whom there had been considerable rivalry, and he was very angry because he had pledged to give certain ceremonies and needed his wife's help to prepare the robes and food. He knew that his rival's relatives were laughing about it, for the wife's people were said to be selfish and wanted their daughter to marry a more distinguished man. If he took his wife back, he would lose face and would be laughed at during the dances when the men related their deeds of bravery. On the other hand, he could not go through the ceremony without a wife's assistance. He could have called her back to his lodge to have her painted and dressed beautifully and returned to her new husband on the best horse he could find. This would have been considered an honorable act. Instead he disappeared during the night when none would see him leaving and walked toward the Mouse River to get horses and scalps to be used in shaming his rival.

He left in the middle of the winter during the coldest part of the year and suffered a great deal from the cold while crossing the divide which separates the Missouri and Mouse rivers. Looking down from the high hills into the valley, he found a camp of Assiniboine and observed that the lodges were not closely assembled, since war parties rarely went out during the coldest part of the winter. He singled out an isolated lodge having only two occupants, a young man and his wife, and observed where their horses were taken for the night. After dark he went into the camp and selected a horse to ride back to his winter village and hid it in a suitable spot where he could reach it quickly when it was needed. When the camp was quiet, he went into the lodge, killing and scalping the young man. He did not kill the woman out of respect to his own motherless children, which fact he intended to mention when insulting his own wife after he returned.

Taking the scalp as proof of his success and riding the horse, he reached his home in two days. He rested one day during which time preparations were made for the Scalp Dance. On the second day he sent for his wife, who was obliged to come. He washed her face, dressed her in the best clothing he could find, and placed her on the horse. She cried from shame. During the Scalp Dance she was sent on horseback from the lodge to

2: Bower's E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

554 578 721 837

return to her new husband's lodge. A family having two eligible daughters invited him in to marry them. He then had help to perform the ceremonies he had pledged. Having killed an enemy when out alone far from home, he became a man of unusual distinction and was respected in council.

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When several went out and found one enemy who was killed far from home, the first to strike him painted one side of his shirt and legging black and wore one coyote tail; the second painted the shirt and leggings in the same manner and wore the coyote tail but added a red stripe to the eagle feather. The third and fourth painted only the legging black, the third one painting two stripes on the eagle feather, and the fourth painting three stripes.

There were also distinctive markings to indicate those who had struck a single enemy on different expeditions. A person striking a lone enemy could paint or decorate two X's on the legging, one above the knee and the other below the knee, or he could put them on the sleeve of the shirt. For the second enemy found alone and struck, he added two X's to either the other legging or the shirt. Crosses on both sleeves of the shirt and both leggings indicated that he had struck a lone enemy on four different war expeditions when far from the village. The Mandan interpreted "far from the village" as meaning beyond the usual hunting territory.

A coyote tail worn on the ankle signified that the wearer had struck one enemy far from home; two coyote tails signified that he had struck an enemy on two occasions or had killed and struck one enemy when out alone and far from home. When feathers of the crow or raven were attached to the coyote tail, it signified that he was also first to see the enemy.

The leader or Old Wolf was entitled to carry a scalp stick to which was attached a portion of a scalp for each scalp taken while serving as leader. He was also authorized to wear scalps on his shirt; for the first scalp, he would wear one piece on one sleeve; for the second scalp he would wear pieces on both sleeves. He wore a piece of scalp on each sleeve of the shirt and each leg of the leggings for four enemies killed on four different expeditions. He did not, however, wear feathers in his hair, paint his leggings, or wear the coyote tails unless he struck an enemy while serving as leader.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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223 the pit where it was dispatched and the hunter waited for an-
171 other. This method was also used by the Hidatsa, and so in fact nearly all the Mandan hunting methods and customs were duplicated among their neighbors. The only important exception was the Mandan custom of giving a share of the meat to anyone who might come to the home of a successful hunter and ask for it. Henry tells us that the Hidatsa and Amahami did not have this charitable custom.

WAR:— Among most of the Indians, war was the chief occu-
721 pation of the men, and the Mandans in this respect differed little from the other tribes. They were constantly in danger from their more numerous enemies, the Dakotas, and in addition frequently had disputes with other smaller bands. The Mandans were not a warlike people, and fought only when necessary; but when the time came they were among the bravest and most fearless warriors of the region. Maximilian says that they had been known to send war parties as far as the Rocky Mountains against the Blackfeet and as far east as the Red River against the Ojibwa. Their chief enemies were, however, the Dakota, the Cheyenne, and at times the Arikara. The custom of sending out war parties was not as usual here as among
721 their neighbors, the Hidatsa. The system of rank in the village
554 was to a considerable extent based upon military prowess;
301 the wearing of different insignia which indicated each man's
302 deeds was a common device. Those who had made a coup wore a wolf's tail at the heel of their moccasin. If a man was the first of a party to touch and kill an enemy, he painted a spiral line about his arm, with another winding in the opposite direction with three cross stripes. For the second enemy he painted his left legging a reddish brown. If he killed an enemy in equal fight before any other enemy was slain, he could put a wolf's tail around each foot. For the third coup two lengthwise stripes with three cross stripes were painted on the arm, this was the most honorable coup and no other distinctive marks were in use, except that another eagle feather might be worn in the hair for each additional coup. If a man made his coup after others were made, the end of the wolf's tail was cut off. Six little wooden sticks worn in the hair showed that a man

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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had been shot six times; some wore a wooden knife, a sign they 721 ●
had killed an enemy with a knife. Maximilian describes one 554
man, a chief, whose face was painted half yellow and half 301
red, with stripes made by rubbing the color off; his arms had 302
seventeen lines showing the number of his deeds, and on his
breast, in yellow, was a hand showing that he had made
prisoners.

When a youth first wished to lead a war party he at once 701
acquired a medicine. Then he solicited his young men friends 554
by presents and assurances of the efficacy of his medicine and 778
after feasts and dances he departed with as many followers as
he could get. In the large war parties there were four real
leaders and sometimes three others called bad leaders. Each
real leader carried a medicine pipe in a case on his back. To
become a chief it was necessary to begin as a war party leader,
then to kill a man while in a party where the candidate was not
a leader. Again, while following another leader, he must be the
first to discover the enemy and kill one of them, and lastly he
must have owned at some time a white buffalo hide. Each 726
warrior carried about his neck the whistle of his band, and at
the moment of falling upon the enemy these were blown and
the war-cry was sounded.

The Mandans seldom took male prisoners but even when 727
taken they were never tortured. As soon as a prisoner had
entered the village and eaten corn he was considered as one of
the nation; the women, however, could go out and meet the
returning party and kill the prisoners then. Scalps were dried
and used in decoration. When a successful war party
returned they were met by the women and children who entered
the village with them dancing the scalp dance. The warriors
painted the face, and often the whole body, black, and the
scalp dance was danced in the medicine lodge four nights,
then later in the middle of the village. If no Mandan was
killed in the campaign, the dance was kept up for six
months.

In all these war customs we find nothing more than the [171]
general plains ideas such as were found in all the Sioux tribes
and among most of their neighbors.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

773 one of their villages on the other side of Knife River, which frequently occasioned dissension 534 between them, and it is only within these fourteen years that permanent peace and concord have 173 existed between the two people.

At the time when our narrator was a young man, the Arikkaras were near and dangerous 173 enemies to the Mandans. They often fought with them as well as with the Sioux. When one 721 of the two allied nations fought alone, it was almost always defeated, but when they were combined they generally triumphed. The preceding long narrative throws, as I have said, much light on the actual condition of this people, and of their prevalent superstitious customs.

At the time of their first alliance with the Manitaries, the Mandans are said to have inhabited eight or nine villages on the two banks of the Missouri, on the Heart River, and higher upwards. Subsequently a great number of the Mandans were carried off by the small-pox, and their enemies, the Sioux, entirely destroyed their largest village, and massacred the inhabitants. The remaining population then collected in the two villages that still exist—Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush and Ruhptare. Plate XVI. is a view of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, of which a ground plan will be found at the end of this chapter. Previously to the devastations of the small-pox, the Sioux were not very dangerous enemies to the Mandans, because they lived at too great a distance from them, but the Chayennes and the Arikkaras were their natural adversaries. I shall now proceed to treat of the religious and superstitious practices which still prevail among them.

These Indians are full of prejudice and superstition, and connect all the natural phenomena 771 with the before-mentioned silly creations of their own imaginations. They undertake nothing 776 without first invoking their guardian spirit, or medicine, who mostly appears to them in a dream. 782 When they wish to choose their medicine or guardian spirit, they fast for three or four days, and even longer, retire to a solitary spot, do penance, and even sacrifice joints of their fingers; howl and cry to the lord of life, or to the first man, beseeching him to point out their guardian spirit. They continue in this excited state till they dream, and the first animal or other object which appears to them is chosen for their guardian spirit or medicine. Every man has his guardian spirit. There is, in the prairie, a large hill where they remain motionless many days, lamenting and fasting; not far from this hill is a cave, into which they creep at night. The choice and adoration of their medicine are said to have been taught them by the strange man or spirit who appeared in their villages many years ago, and has not since been seen, and of whom mention has already been made by the name of Ochkih-Hadda. He is said also to have taught them the art of tattooing, and to have instituted their medicine feasts. In all natural phenomena, which are not of daily occurrence, they see wonders, and indications of favourable or unfavourable events. If the falling stars are numerous, or in a certain direction, it is to them an indication of war, or of a great mortality in the human race. They were not willing to have their portraits 774 painted, because they alleged that they should soon die if their portraits came into other hands; at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote.

224 The wolf and the fox are sometimes shot with a gun, as well as the white hare, in the winter time, or they are caught in traps. They set for the wolves very strong traps. The prairie wolf is not easily caught, being very cautious. Foxes are caught in small traps, which are covered with brushwood and buffaloes' skulls, to conceal them. Many such traps are seen everywhere in the prairies, which are surrounded with small stakes, that the animals may not enter them sideways. Beavers are now caught, in great numbers, in iron traps, which they procure from the Whites. Small animals, such as the ermine, are caught with horsehair springes, set before their burrows. The manner in which birds of prey are caught is said to be very remarkable. 223 The birdcatcher lies down at full length in a narrow pit made on purpose, and exactly large enough to hold him. As soon as he has lain down, the pit is covered with brushwood and hay, pieces of meat are laid upon it, and a crow, or some such bird, fastened to it. The eagle, or other bird of prey, is said to descend, and to sit down, in order to eat, on which the birdcatcher seizes it by the legs. I would not believe this had not men worthy of credit given me their word for it. In this manner they catch the eagle, called, by the English, the war-eagle, and the golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*), the Quiliou, or *oiseau de medicine*, of the Canadians, which I was not so fortunate as to meet with, and which they highly value, as I have already stated.

•721 Next to the chase, war is the chief employment of the Indians, and military glory the highest object of their ambition. It is well known that Indian bravery is very different from that of the Whites; for wilfully to expose themselves to the enemy's fire would, in their eyes, not be bravery, but folly. Cunning and stratagem give them the advantage over the enemy; their strength lies in concealing their march, and surprises at daybreak. He who kills many enemies without sustaining any loss is the best warrior.

721 When a young man desires to establish his reputation in the field, he fasts for four or seven days, as long as his strength permits him, goes alone to the hills, complains and cries to 787 the lord of life, calls incessantly to the higher powers for their aid, and only goes home, sometimes, in the evening, to sleep. 555 A dream suggests his medicine to him. If the lord of life makes him dream of a piece of cherry-tree wood, or of an animal, it is a good omen. The young men who take the field with him have then confidence in his medicine. If he can perform an exploit his reputation is established. But whatever exploits he may perform, he acquires no respect if he does not make valuable presents; and they say of him, "He has indeed performed many exploits, but yet he is as much to be pitied as those whom he has killed." A man may have performed many exploits, and yet not be allowed to wear tufts of hair on his clothes, unless he carries a medicine pipe, and has been the leader of a war party. When a young man, who has never performed an exploit, is the first to kill an enemy on a warlike expedition, he 721 paints a spiral line round his arm, of whatever colour he pleases, and he may then wear a 555 whole wolf's tail at the ankle or heel of one foot. If he has first killed and touched the

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

enemy he paints a line running obliquely round the arm, and another crossing it in the opposite direction, with three transverse stripes. On killing the second enemy he paints his left leg (that is, the leggin) of a reddish-brown. If he kills the second enemy before another is killed by his comrades, he may wear two entire wolves' tails at his heels. On his third exploit he paints two longitudinal stripes on his arms, and three transverse stripes. This is the exploit that is esteemed the highest; after the third exploit no more marks are made. If he kills an enemy after others of the party have done the same, he may wear on his heel one wolf's tail, the tip of which is cut off. In every numerous war party there are four leaders (partisans, karokkanakah), sometimes seven, but only four are reckoned as the real partisans; the others are called bad partisans (karokkanakah-chakohosch, literally, *partisans galeux*). All partisans carry on their backs a medicine pipe in a case, which other warriors dare not have. To become a chief (Numakschi) a man must have been a partisan, and then kill an enemy when he is not a partisan. If he follows another partisan for the second time, he must have first discovered the enemy, have killed one, and then possessed the hide of a white buffalo cow complete, with the horns, to pretend to the title of chief (Numakschi). Dipauch, who related these particulars, had himself done all these, and was an eminent man among his people, but had never assumed that title. He had given five horses for his white buffalo hide. All the warriors wear small war pipes round their necks, which are often very elegantly ornamented with porcupine quills (Plate XXI. Fig. 9, and Plate XLVIII. Fig. 14).

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As soon as they advance to attack the enemy every one sounds his pipe, and all together utter the war whoop, a shrill cry, which they render tremulous by repeatedly and suddenly striking the mouth with the hand. Those who fast and dream, in order to perform an exploit, are entitled to wear a wolf's skin. A warrior has a right to wear as many eagle's feathers as he has performed exploits. All Indians, on their military expeditions, erect, in the evening, a sort of fort, in which they are, in some measure, secure against a sudden attack. In Major Long's expedition to the Rocky Mountains, it is stated, that they often make *caches* (hiding-places) in these forts; but we did not observe any such on the Missouri. The Indians, on their expeditions, always set a watch by night as soon as they are near the enemy, and often send out scouts to considerable distances. At such a post the Indians are very vigilant and active; after an engagement they do not bury the dead, but, if they have not time to carry them away, leave them on the spot where they fell. The scalps, called, by the Canadians, *les chevelures*, are often preserved for a long time stretched upon small hoops, and the hair is afterwards used as an ornament to the dress of the men. The skin of the scalp is generally painted red. The Mandans, Manitaries, and Crows, never torture their prisoners like the Pawnees and the eastern nations. When a prisoner has arrived at the village, and eaten maize, he is considered as one of their own nation, and no person ever thinks of molesting him. Often, however, the women hasten out to meet

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721 727 the prisoners ere they can reach the village, and kill them; this is especially an act of revenge for their husbands or sons who may have fallen in the battle.

721 555 When a young man desires to become a leader, or partisan, he first gains, by gifts, the favour of the other young men, and then dedicates a medicine pipe, which is a plain, unornamented tube. This ceremony is accomplished by a four days' fast, and supplications for assistance to the lord of life, the first man, &c. &c., and other supernatural beings. He then addresses the young men, and calls upon them to give him their support in his undertakings. If a sufficient number testify their readiness to accompany him in a warlike expedition, and such an expedition is determined upon, they dance and feast in the medicine lodge for several successive nights, from whence, too, they generally march off by night. The women never accompany these expeditions. On setting out the men are badly clothed, and not painted. They do not depart in a body, but, for the most part, singly, or in small detatched parties. At a certain distance from the village they halt upon an isolated hill, open their medicine bags, and, after the men have sat down in a circle, the partisan produces his medicine pipe, which all present smoke; the person who smokes last, then spreads his medicines on the ground, or hangs them up, and from them foretels the fate of the expedition. The Indians manifest much gravity and decorum on solemn occasions like these.

[787]

727 535 When the warriors return from their expedition, the scalps are carried on in advance, on high poles: if they have performed any exploits, they paint their faces black; very frequently the whole body is thus disfigured. The women and children go out to meet them, and they enter the village performing the scalp dance. This dance is then repeated four successive nights in the medicine lodge, and is subsequently danced in the open space, in the centre of the village. If the campaign took place in the spring, it is danced, at intervals, till the fall of the leaf in autumn; if in the autumn, it is danced till spring, but should any of the nation be killed in the interim all festivities immediately cease. In the scalp dance the Indians paint themselves in various ways, form a semicircle, advance, and retreat amid the din of singing, the beating of the drum and schischikué. The wives of those men who have obtained the scalps carry them on long rods.

555 All the distinguished deeds performed by a war party are placed to the account of the partisan. All the scalps that are taken belong to him, and also the horses that they have captured. He who has killed an enemy is a brave man, and reckons one exploit; but the partisan rises the highest on that account, even though he had not seen any of the enemies who have been slain. When he returns home, the old men and women meet, and sing the scalp song, on which he must make them all presents of value. He gives away all the captured horses, and valuable articles, and is afterwards a poor man, but his reputation is great. Successful partisans afterwards become chiefs, and are highly respected by their nation. The Indian youths go to war when they are only fourteen or fifteen years of age. Sometimes they make excursions on horseback in the winter.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The Mandans and Manitaries make excursions as far as the Rocky Mountains, against their enemies, the Blackfeet, and against the Chippeways, to the country of Pembina. Their other enemies are the Sioux, the Arikkaras, the Assiniboins, and the Chayennes (spelt, by the English, Shiennes). They are at peace with the Crows. 721

The weapons of the Mandans and Manitaries are, first, the bow and arrow. The bows are made of elm or ash, there being no other suitable kinds of wood in their country. In form and size they resemble those of the other nations; the string is made of the sinews of animals twisted. They are frequently ornamented. A piece of red cloth, four or five inches long, is wound round each end of the bow, and adorned with glass beads, dyed porcupine quills, and strips of white ermine. A tuft of horsehair, dyed yellow, is usually fastened to one end of the bow. Pehriska-Ruhpa, in Plate XXIII., has such a weapon in his hand. The quiver, to which the bow-case is fastened, is made of panther or buffalo skin; in the first case, with the hair outwards, the long tail hanging down, and, as among the Blackfeet, lined with red cloth, and embroidered in various figures with white beads. Their handsome quivers are made of otter skin, which are much esteemed. A very beautifully ornamented one, belonging to the Crows, is represented in Plate XLVIII. Fig. 16. Narrow strips of skin hang down at both ends of the quiver. The arrows of the Mandans and Manitaries are neatly made; the best wood is said to be that of the service berry (*Amelanchier sanguinea*). The arrows of all the Missouri nations are much alike,* with long, triangular, very sharp, iron heads, which they themselves make out of old iron: it is but slightly glued to the shaft of the arrow, which is rather short, and generally remains in the body of the wounded animal. They know nothing of poisoning their arrows. The arrow-heads were formerly made of sharp stones: when Charbonneau first came to the Missouri, some made of flint were in use, and in the villages they are still met with, and in all those parts of the United States where the expelled or extirpated aborigines formerly dwelt. We were told that, in the prairie, near the Manitari villages, there is a sand hill, where the wind has uncovered a great number of such stone arrow-heads. Almost all the Mandans and Manitaries now have guns, which they ornament with bits of red cloth, on the brass rings of the ramrod, and at the but-end 411 [824]

* Though all their arrows appear, at first sight, to be perfectly alike, there is a great difference in the manner in which they are made. Of all the tribes of the Missouri the Mandans are said to make the neatest and most solid arrows. The iron heads are thick and solid, the feathers glued on, and the part just below the head, and the lower end, are wound round with very even, extremely thin sinews of animals. They all have, in their whole length, a spiral line, either carved or painted red, which is to represent the lightning. The Manitaries make the iron heads thinner, and not so well. They do not glue on the feathers, but only tie them on at both ends, like the Brazilians. The Assiniboins frequently have very thin and indifferent heads to their arrows, made of iron-plate. Mr. Say (Major Long's Expedition) says, that the arrow-wood (viburnum) is used for their arrows by the Indians on the Lower Missouri and the neighbouring prairies. I conjecture that this shrub is the sloisir (*Cornus sericea*) of the Upper Missouri, which is sometimes used for bows, but very seldom for arrows. [824]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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000 their conquests, not with the bow or the javelin, but with their small black eyes, which shoot out from under their unfledged brows, and pierce the boldest, fiercest chieftain to the heart.

181 The Mandans are certainly a very interesting and pleasing people in their personal appearance and manners; differing in many respects, both in 721 looks and customs, from all other tribes which I have seen. They are not a warlike people; for they seldom, if ever, carry war into their enemies' country; but when invaded, shew their valour and courage to be equal to that of any people on earth. Being a small tribe, and unable to contend on the wide prairies with the Sioux and other roaming tribes, who are ten times more numerous; they have very judiciously located themselves in a permanent village, which is strongly fortified, and ensures their preservation. 181 By this means they have advanced further in the arts of manufacture; have supplied their lodges more abundantly with the comforts, and even luxuries of life, than any Indian nation I know of. The consequence of this is, that this tribe have taken many steps ahead of other tribes in manners and refinements (if I may be allowed to apply the word refinement to Indian life); and are therefore familiarly (and correctly) denominated, by the Traders and others, who have been amongst them, "the polite and friendly Mandans."

There is certainly great justice in the remark; and so forcibly have I been struck with the peculiar ease and elegance of these people, together with the diversity of complexions, the various colours of their hair and eyes; the singularity of their language, and their peculiar and unaccountable customs, that I am fully convinced that they have sprung from some other origin than that of the other North American tribes, or that they are an amalgam of natives with some civilized race.

Here arises a question of very great interest and importance for discussion; and, after further familiarity with their character, customs, and traditions, if I forget it not, I will eventually give it further consideration. Suffice it then, for the present, that their *personal appearance* alone, independant of their modes and customs, pronounces them at once, as more or less, than savage.

142 A stranger in the Mandan village is first struck with the different shades of complexion, and various colours of hair which he sees in a crowd about him; and is at once almost disposed to exclaim that "these are not Indians."

There are a great many of these people whose complexions appear as light as half breeds; and amongst the women particularly, there are many whose skins are almost white, with the most pleasing symmetry and proportion of features; with hazel, with grey, and with blue eyes,—with mildness and sweetness of expression, and excessive modesty of demeanour, which render them exceedingly pleasing and beautiful.

Why this diversity of complexion I cannot tell, nor can they themselves

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224 boasting, whilst bows were twanging and spears were polishing by running their blades into the ground—every face and every eye was filled with joy and gladness—horses were pawing and snuffing in fury for the outset, when Louison Frénié, an interpreter of the Fur Company, galloped through the village with his rifle in his hand and his powder-horn at his side; his head and waist were bandaged with handkerchiefs, and his shirt sleeves rolled up to his shoulders—the hunter's yell issued from his lips and was repeated through the village; he flew to the bluffs, and behind him and over the graceful swells of the prairie, galloped the emulous youths, whose hearts were beating high and quick for the onset.

261 In the village, where hunger had reigned, and starvation was almost ready to look them in the face, all was instantly turned to joy and gladness. The chiefs and doctors who had been for some days dealing out minimum rations to the community from the public crib, now spread before their subjects the contents of their own private *caches*, and the last of every thing that could be mustered, that they might eat a thanksgiving to the Great Spirit for his goodness in sending them a supply of buffalo meat. A general carouse of banqueting ensued, which occupied the greater part of the day; and their hidden stores which might have fed an emergency for several weeks, were pretty nearly used up on the occasion—bones were half picked, and dishes half emptied and then handed to the dogs. *I* was not forgotten neither, in the general surfeit; several large and generous wooden bowls of pemican and other palatable food were sent to my painting-room, and I received them in this time of scarcity with great pleasure.

721 After this general indulgence was over, and the dogs had licked the dishes, their usual games and amusements ensued—and hilarity and mirth, and joy took possession of, and reigned in, every nook and corner of the village; and in the midst of this, screams and shrieks were heard! and echoed everywhere. Women and children scrambled to the tops of their wigwams, with their eyes and their hands stretched in agonizing earnestness to the prairie, whilst blackened warriors ran furiously through every winding maze of the village, and issuing their jarring gutturals of vengeance, as they snatched their deadly weapons from their lodges, and struck the reddened post as they furiously passed it by! Two of their hunters were bending their course down the sides of the bluff towards the village, and another broke suddenly out of a deep ravine, and yet another was seen dashing over and down the green hills, and all were goading on their horses at full speed! and then came another, and another, and all entered the village amid shouts and groans of the villagers who crowded around them; the story was told in their looks, for one was bleeding, and the blood that flowed from his naked breast had crimsoned his milk white steed as it had dripped over him; another grasped in his left hand a scalp that was reeking in blood—and in the other his whip—another grasped nothing, save the reins in one hand and the mane of the horse in the other, having thrown his bow and his arrows

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• 72 away, and trusted to the fleetness of his horse for his safety; yet the story was audibly told, and the fatal tragedy recited in irregular and almost suffocating ejaculations—the names of the dead were in turns pronounced and screams and shrieks burst forth at their recital—murmurs and groans ran through the village, and this happy little community were in a moment smitten with sorrow and distraction.

Their proud band of hunters who had started full of glee and mirth in the morning, had been surrounded by their enemy, the Sioux, and eight of them killed. The Sioux, who had probably reconnoitred their village during the night, and ascertained that they were dancing for buffaloes, laid a stratagem to entrap them in the following manner:—Some six or eight of them appeared the next morning (on a distant bluff, in sight of their sentinel) under the skins of buffaloes, imitating the movements of those animals whilst grazing; and being discovered by the sentinel, the intelligence was telegraphed to the village, which brought out their hunters as I have described. The masked buffaloes were seen grazing on the top of a high bluff, and when the hunters had approached within half a mile or so of them, they suddenly disappeared over the hill. Louison Frénié, who was leading the little band of hunters, became at that moment suspicious of so strange a movement, and came to a halt * * *

* "Look"! (said a Mandan, pointing to a little ravine to the right, and at the foot of the hill, from which suddenly broke some forty or fifty furious Sioux, on fleet horses and under full whip, who were rushing upon them); they wheeled, and in front of them came another band more furious from the other side of the hill! they started for home (poor fellows), and strained every nerve; but the Sioux were too fleet for them; and every now and then, the whizzing arrow and the lance were herd to rip the flesh of their naked backs, and a grunt and a groan, as they tumbled from their horses. Several miles were run in this desperate race; and Frénié got home, and several of the Mandans, though eight of them were killed and scalped by the way.

So ended that day and the hunt; but many a day and sad, will last the grief of those whose hearts were broken on that unlucky occasion.

This day, though, my readers, has been one of a more joyful kind, for the Great Spirit, who was indignant at so flagrant an injustice, has sent the Mandans an abundance of buffaloes; and all hearts have joined in a general thanksgiving to Him for his goodness and justice.

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159 that elevate him conspicuous above all of his nation. There is no man amongst the Mandans so generally loved, nor any one who wears a robe so justly famed and honourable as that of Mah-to-toh-pa.

I said his robe was of the skin of a young buffalo bull, and that the battles of his life were emblazoned on it; and on a former occasion, that he presented me a beautiful robe, containing all the battles of his life, which he had spent two weeks' time in copying from his original one, which he wore on his shoulders.

This robe, with his tracings on it, is the chart of his military life; and when explained, will tell more of Mah-to-toh-pa.

Some days after this robe was presented, he called upon me with Mr. Kipp, the trader and interpreter for the Mandans, and gave me of each battle there pourtrayed the following history, which was interpreted by Mr. Kipp, from his own lips, and written down by me, as we three sat upon the robe. Mr. Kipp, who is a gentleman of respectability and truth; and who has lived with these people ten years, assured me, that nearly every one of these narrations were of events that had happened whilst he had lived with them, and had been familiarly known to him; and that every word that he asserted was true

And again, reader, in this country where, of all countries I ever was in, men are the most jealous of rank and of standing; and in a community so small also, that every man's deeds of honour and chivalry are familiarly known to all; it would not be reputable, or even safe to life, for a warrior to wear upon his back the representations of battles he never had fought; professing to have done what every child in the village would know he never had done.

So then I take the records of battles on the robe of Mah-to-toh-pa to be matter of historical fact; and I proceed to give them as I wrote them down from his own lips. Twelve battle-scenes are there represented, where he has contended with his enemy, and in which he has taken fourteen of their scalps. The groups are drawn according to his own rude ideas of the arts; and I proceed to describe them in turn, as they were explained to me.

ROBE OF MAH-TO-TOH-PA (Plate 65).

159 721 212 1. Mah-to-toh-pa kills a Sioux chief—the three heads represent the three Riccarees, whom the Sioux chief had previously killed. The Sioux chief is seen with war-paint black on his face. Mah-to-toh-pa is seen with the scalp of the Sioux in one hand, and his knife in the other, with his bow and quiver lying behind him.*

2. A Shienne chief, who sent word to Mah-to-toh-pa that he wished to fight him—was killed by Mah-to-toh-pa with a lance, in presence of a large

* The reader will see in Plate 65, an accurate drawing of this curious robe, which now hangs in the Indian Gallery, and on the following pages, each group numbered, and delineated on a larger scale, which are *fac-similes* of the drawings on the robe.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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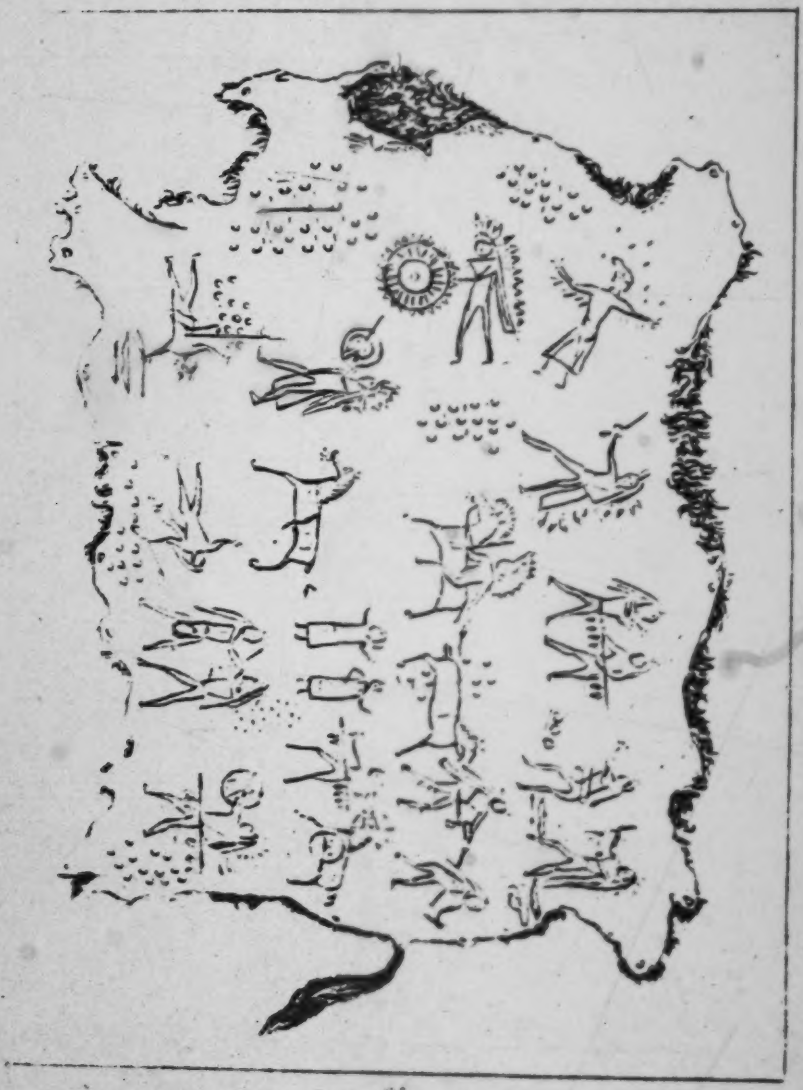

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7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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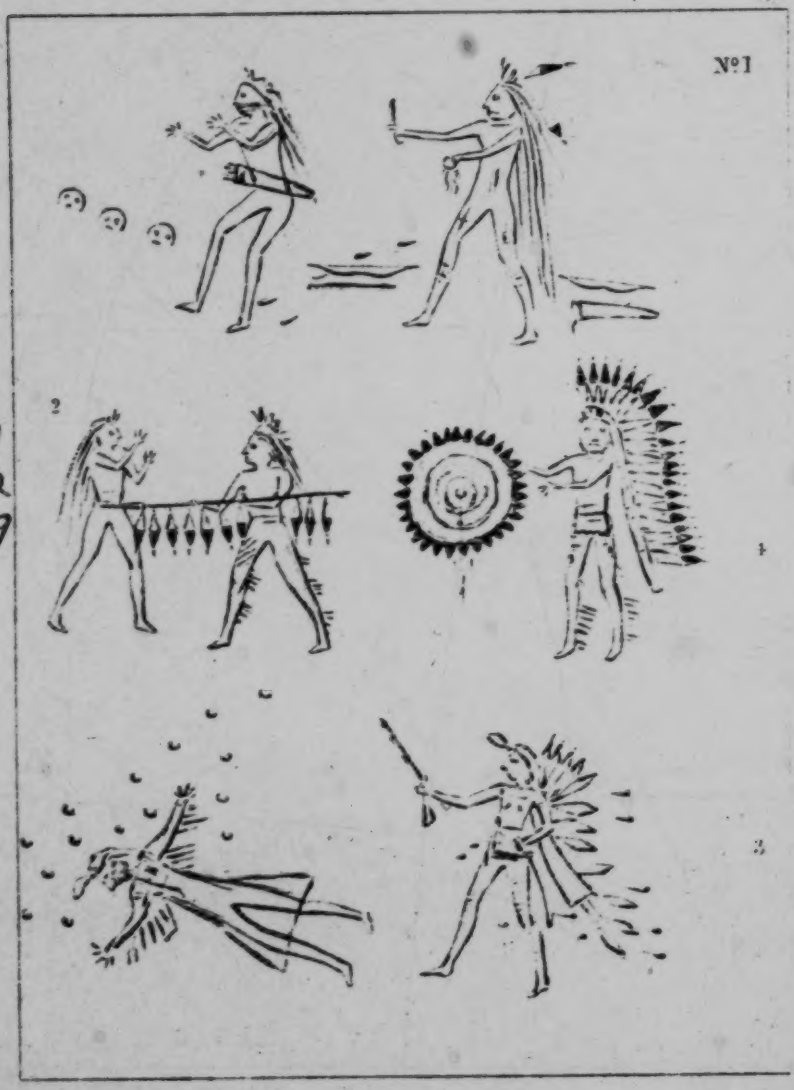

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[p. 148 (B)]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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[p. 148 (D)]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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159 party of Mandans and Shiennes. Mah-to-toh-pa is here known by his lance
721 with eagles' quills on it.

212 3. A Shienne killed by Mah-to-toh-pa after Mah-to-toh-pa had been left by his party, badly wounded and bleeding; the twenty-five or thirty foot-tracks around, represent the number of Shiennes, who were present when the battle took place; and the bullets from their guns represented as flying all around the head of Mah-to-toh-pa.

4. Shienne chief with war-eagle head-dress, and a beautiful shield, ornamented with eagles' quills, killed by Mah-to-toh-pa. In this battle the wife of the Shienne rushed forward in a desperate manner to his assistance; but arriving too late, fell a victim. In this battle Mah-to-toh-pa obtained two scalps.

5. Mah-to-toh-pa, with a party of Riccarees, fired at by a party of Sioux; the Riccarees fled—Mah-to-toh-pa dismounted and drove his horse back, facing the enemy alone and killing one of them. Mah-to-toh-pa is here represented with a beautiful head-dress of war-eagles' quills, and one on his horse's head of equal beauty; his shield is on his arm, and the party of Sioux is represented in front of him by the number of horse tracks.

6. The brother of Mah-to-toh-pa killed by a Riccaree, who shot him with an arrow, and then running a lance through his body, left it there. Mah-to-toh-pa was the first to find his brother's body with the lance in it: he drew the lance from the body, kept it four years with the blood dried on its blade, and then, according to his oath, killed the same Riccaree with the same lance; the dead body of his brother is here seen with the arrow and lance remaining in it, and the tracks of the Riccaree's horses in front.

159 The following was, perhaps, one of the most extraordinary exploits of this
721 remarkable man's life, and is well attested by Mr. Kipp, and several white men, who were living in the Mandan village at the time of its occurrence. In a skirmish, near the Mandan village, when they were set upon by their enemies, the Riccarees, the brother of Mah-to-toh-pa was missing for several days, when Mah-to-toh-pa found the body shockingly mangled, and a handsome spear left piercing the body through the heart. The spear was by him brought into the Mandan village, where it was recognized by many as a famous weapon belonging to a noted brave of the Riccarees, by the name of Won-ga-tap. This spear was brandished through the Mandan village by Mah-to-toh-pa (with the blood of his brother dried on its blade), crying most piteously, and swearing that he would some day revenge the death of his brother with the same weapon.

It is almost an incredible fact, that he kept this spear with great care in his wigwam for the space of four years, in the fruitless expectation of an opportunity to use it upon the breast of its owner; when his indignant soul, impatient of further delay, burst forth in the most uncontroulable frenzy and fury; he again brandished it through the village, and said, that the blood of his brother's heart which was seen on its blade was yet fresh,

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159 and called loudly for revenge. "Let every Mandan (said he) be silent, and let no one sound the name of Mah-to-toh-pa—let no one ask for him, nor where he has gone, until you hear him sound the war-cry in front of the village, when he will enter it and shew you the blood of Won-ga-tap. The blade of this lance shall drink the heart's blood of Won-ga-tap, or Mah-to-toh-pa mingles his shadow with that of his brother."

With this he sallied forth from the village, and over the plains, with the lance in his hand; his direction was towards the Riccaree village, and all eyes were upon him, though none dared to speak till he disappeared over the distant grassy bluffs. He travelled the distance of two hundred miles entirely alone, with a little parched corn in his pouch, making his marches by night, and laying secreted by days, until he reached the Riccaree village; where (being acquainted with its shapes and its habits, and knowing the position of the wigwam of his doomed enemy) he loitered about in disguise, mingling himself in the obscure throng; and at last, silently and alone, observed through the rents of the wigwam, the last motions and movements of his victim, as he retired to bed with his wife: he saw him light his last pipe and smoke it "to its end"—he saw the last whiff, and saw the last curl of blue smoke that faintly steeped from its bowl—he saw the village awhile in darkness and silence, and the embers that were covered in the middle of the wigwam gone nearly out, and the last flickering light which had been gently playing over them; when he walked softly, but not slyly, into the wigwam and seated himself by the fire, over which was hanging a large pot, with a quantity of cooked meat remaining in it; and by the side of the fire, the pipe and tobacco-pouch which had just been used; and knowing that the twilight of the wigwam was not sufficient to disclose the features of his face to his enemy, he very deliberately turned to the pot and completely satiated the desperate appetite, which he had got in a journey of six or seven days, with little or nothing to eat; and then, as deliberately, charged and lighted the pipe, and sent (no doubt, in every whiff that he drew through its stem) a prayer to the Great Spirit for a moment longer for the consummation of his design. Whilst eating and smoking, the wife of his victim, while laying in bed, several times enquired of her husband, what man it was who was eating in their lodge? to which, he as many times replied, "It's no matter; let him eat, for he is probably hungry."

[574] Mah-to-toh-pa knew full well that his appearance would cause no other reply than this, from the dignitary of the nation; for, from an invariable custom amongst these Northern Indians, any one who is hungry is allowed to walk into any man's lodge and eat. Whilst smoking his last gentle and tremulous whiffs on the pipe, Mah-to-toh-pa (leaning back, and turning gradually on his side, to get a better view of the position of his enemy, and to see a little more distinctly the shapes of things) stirred the embers with his toes (readers, I had every word of this from his own lips, and every attitude and gesture acted out with his own limbs), until he saw his

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way was clear; at which moment, with his lance in his hands, he rose and drove it through the body of his enemy, and snatching the scalp from his head, he darted from the lodge—and quick as lightning, with the lance in one hand, and the scalp in the other, made his way to the prairie! The village was in an uproar, but he was off, and no one knew the enemy who had struck the blow. Mah-to-toh-pa ran all night, and lay close during the days; thanking the Great Spirit for strengthening his heart and his arm to this noble revenge; and prayed fervently for a continuance of his aid and protection till he should get back to his own village. His prayers were heard; and on the sixth morning, at sunrise, Mah-to-toh-pa descended the bluffs, and entered the village amidst deafening shouts of applause, while he brandished and shewed to his people the blade of his lance, with the blood of his victim dried upon it, over that of his brother; and the scalp of Won-ga-tap suspended from its handle 159 721

Such was the feat represented by Mah-to-toh-pa on his robe—and the lance, of which I have just spoken, is seen in the hand of his portrait, which will stand in my Gallery, and of which I have thus formerly spoken:—"The lance or spear of Mah-to-toh-pa, when he stood for his portrait, was held in his left hand; its blade was two-edged, and of polished steel, and the blood of several human victims was seen dried upon its surface, one over the other; its shaft was of the toughest ash, and ornamented at intervals with tufts of war-eagle's quills."

In the portrait, of which I am speaking, there will be seen an eagle's quill balanced on the hilt of the lance, severed from its original position, and loose from the weapon. When I painted his portrait, he brought that quill to my wigwam in his left hand, and carefully balancing it on the lance, as seen in the painting; he desired me to be very exact with it, to have it appear as separate from, and unconnected with, the lance; and to represent a spot of blood which was visible upon it. I indulged him in his request, and then got from him the following explanation:—"That quill (said he) is great *medicine!* it belongs to the Great Spirit, and not to me—when I was running out of the lodge of Won-ga-tap, I looked back and saw that quill hanging to the wound in his side; I ran back, and pulling it out, brought it home in my left hand, and I have kept it for the Great Spirit to this day!"

"Why do you not then tie it on to the lance again, where it came off?"

"Hush-sh (said he), if the Great Spirit had wished it to be tied on in that place, it never would have come off; he has been kind to me, and I will not offend him."

7. A Riccaree killed by Mah-to-toh-pa in revenge of the death of a white man killed by a Riccaree in the Fur Traders' Fort, a short time previous. 159 721

8. Mah-to-toh-pa, or four bears, kills a Shienne chief, who challenged him to single combat, in presence of the two war-parties; they fought on horse-back with guns, until Mah-to-toh-pa's powder-horn was shot away; they then fought with bows and arrows, until their quivers were emptied, when they 212

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159 dismounted and fougnt single-handed. The Shienne drew his knife, and
721 Mah-to-toh-pa had left his; they struggled for the knife, which Mah-to-toh-pa
212 wrested from the Shienne, and killed him with it; in the struggle, the blade of the knife was several times drawn through the hand of Mah-to-toh-pa, and the blood is seen running from the wound.

This extraordinary occurrence also, was one which admits of, and deserves a more elaborate description, which I will here give as it was translated from his own lips, while he sat upon the robe, pointing to his painting of it; and at the same time brandishing the identical knife which he drew from his belt, as he was shewing how the fatal blow was given; and exhibiting the wounds inflicted in his hand, as the blade of the knife was several times drawn through it before he wrested it from his antagonist.

159 A party of about 150 Shienne warriors had made an assault upon the
721 Mandan village at an early hour in the morning, and driven off a considerable number of horses, and taken one scalp. Mah-to-toh-pa, who was then a young man, but famed as one of the most valiant of the Mandans, took the lead of a party of fifty warriors, all he could at that time muster, and went in pursuit of the enemy; about noon of the second day, they came in sight of the Shiennes; and the Mandans seeing their enemy much more numerous than they had expected, were generally disposed to turn about and return without attacking them. They started to go back, when Mah-to-toh-pa galloped out in front upon the prairie, and plunged his lance into the ground; the blade was driven into the earth to its hilt—he made another circuit around, and in that circuit tore from his breast his reddened sash, which he hung upon its handle as a flag, calling out to the Mandans, "What! have we come to this? we have dogged our enemy two days, and now when we have found them, are we to turn about and go back like cowards? Mah-to-toh-pa's lance, which is red with the blood of brave men, has led you to the sight of your enemy, and you have followed it; it now stands firm in the ground, where the earth will drink the blood of Mah-to-toh-pa! you may all go back, and Mah-to-toh-pa will fight them alone!"

During this manœuvre, the Shiennes, who had discovered the Mandans behind them, had turned about and were gradually approaching, in order to give them battle; the chief of the Shienne war-party seeing and understanding the difficulty, and admiring the gallant conduct of Mah-to-toh-pa, galloped his horse forward within hailing distance, in front of the Mandans, and called out to know "who he was who had stuck down his lance and defied the whole enemy alone?"

"I am Mah-to-toh-pa, second in command of the brave and valiant Mandans."

"I have heard often of Mah-to-toh-pa, he is a great warrior—dares Mah-to-toh-pa to come forward and fight this battle with me alone, and our warriors will look on?"

"Is he a chief who speaks to Mah-to-toh-pa?"

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"My scalps you see hanging to my horse's bits, and here is my lance with the ermine skins and the war-eagle's tail!" 159 721

"You have said enough."

The Shienne chief made a circuit or two at full gallop on a beautiful white horse, when he struck his lance into the ground, and left it standing by the side of the lance of Mah-to-toh-pa, both of which were waving together their little red flags, tokens of blood and defiance.

The two parties then drew nearer, on a beautiful prairie, and the two full-plumed chiefs, at full speed, drove furiously upon each other! both firing their guns at the same moment. They passed each other a little distance and wheeled, when Mah-to-toh-pa drew off his powder-horn, and by holding it up, shewed his adversary that the bullet had shattered it to pieces and destroyed his ammunition; he then threw it from him, and his gun also—drew his bow from his quiver, and an arrow, and his shield upon his left arm! The Shienne instantly did the same; *his* horn was thrown off, and his gun was thrown into the air—his shield was balanced on his arm—his bow drawn, and quick as lightning, they were both on the wing for a deadly combat! Like two soaring eagles in the open air, they made their circuits around, and the twangs of their sinewy bows were heard, and the war-whoop, as they dashed by each other, parrying off the whizzing arrows with their shields! Some lodged in their legs and others in their arms; but both protected their *bodies* with their bucklers of bull's hide. Deadly and many were the shafts that fled from their murderous bows. At length the horse of Mah-to-toh-pa fell to the ground with an arrow in his heart: his rider sprang upon his feet prepared to renew the combat; but the Shienne, seeing his adversary dismounted, sprang from his horse, and driving him back, presented the face of his shield towards his enemy, inviting him to come on!—a few shots more were exchanged thus, when the Shienne, having discharged all his arrows, held up his empty quiver and dashing it furiously to the ground, with his bow and his shield; drew and brandished his naked knife!

"Yes!" said Mah-to-toh-pa, as he threw *his* shield and quiver to the earth, and was rushing up—*he* grasped for his knife, but his belt had it not; he had left it at home! his bow was in his hand, with which he parried his antagonist's blow and felled him to the ground! A desperate struggle now ensued for the knife—the blade of it was several times drawn through the right hand of Mah-to-toh-pa, inflicting the most frightful wounds, while he was severely wounded in several parts of the body. He at length succeeded however, in wresting it from his adversary's hand, and plunged it to his heart.

By this time the two parties had drawn up in close view of each other, and at the close of the battle, Mah-to-toh-pa held up, and claimed in deadly silence, the knife and scalp of the noble Shienne chief.*

* This celebrated weapon with the blood of several victims dried upon its blade, now

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

159 9. Several hundred Minatarrees and Mandans attacked by a party of
●721 Assinneboins—all fled but Mah-to-toh-pa, who stood his ground, fired,
and killed one of the enemy, putting the rest of them to flight, and driving
212 off sixty horses! He is here seen with his lance and shield—foot-tracks of his enemy in front, and his own party's horse-tracks behind him, and a shower of bullets flying around his head; here he got the name of "*the four bears*," as the Assinneboins said he rushed on like four bears.

10. Mah-to-toh-pa gets from his horse and kills two Ojibbeway women, and takes their scalps; done by the side of an Ojibbeway village, where they went to the river for water. He is here seen with his lance in one hand and his knife in the other—an eagle's plume head-dress on his horse, and his shield left on his horse's back. I incurred his ill-will for awhile by asking him, whether it was manly to boast of taking the scalps of women? and his pride prevented him from giving me any explanation or apology. The interpreter, however, explained to me that he had secreted himself in the most daring manner, in full sight of the Ojibbeway village, seeking to revenge a murder, where he remained six days without sustenance, and then killed the two women in full view of the tribe, and made his escape, which entitled him to the credit of a victory, though his victims were women.

11. A large party of Assinneboins entrenched near the Mandan village attacked by the Mandans and Minatarrees, who were driven back—Mah-to-toh-pa rushes into the entrenchment alone—an Indian fires at him and burns his face with the muzzle of his gun, which burst—the Indian retreats, leaving his exploded gun, and Mah-to-toh-pa shoots him through the shoulders as he runs, and kills him with his tomahawk; the gun of the Assinneboin is seen falling to the ground, and in front of him the heads of the Assinneboins in the entrenchment; the horse of Mah-to-toh-pa is seen behind him.

12. Mah-to-toh-pa between his enemy the Sioux, and his own people, with an arrow shot through him, after standing the fire of the Sioux for a long time alone. In this battle he took no scalps, yet his valour was so extraordinary that the chiefs and braves awarded him the honour of a victory.

This feat is seen in the centre of the robe—head-dress of war-eagles' quills on his own and his horse's head—the tracks of his enemies' horses are seen in front of him, and bullets flying both ways all around him. With his whip in his hand, he is seen urging his horse forward, and an arrow is seen flying, and bloody, as it has passed through his body. For this wound, and the several others mentioned above, he bears the honourable scars on his body, which he generally keeps covered with red paint.

Such are the battles traced upon the robe of Mah-to-toh-pa or four bears, interpreted by J. Kipp from the words of the hero while sitting upon the robe, explaining each battle as represented.

hangs in the INDIAN GALLERY, with satisfactory certificates of its identity and its remarkable history, and an exact drawing of it and its scabbard can be seen in PLATE 99, a.

10: Neill 14(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

175 648 they are represented as a treacherous, deceitful people, always taking advantage of their neighbors, and favoring the Sioux when they come to war this way, and frequently intermix with them to annoy the Mandans and Big Bellies.

SIGN LANGUAGE.

201 This language is entirely different from the natives of this place, and it is only by signs that they usually communicate with each other, excepting a few among them who understand each other's language. It serves as interpreter upon any affair of importance. It is surprising how dexterous all these natives of the plains are, in the art of communicating their ideas by signs. They will hold conference, for several hours together, upon different subjects, and during the whole time not a single word will be pronounced upon either side, and still they appear to comprehend each other perfectly well. This mode of communication appears to be quite natural to them, other difficult events are performed with the greatest ease and readiness. They never seem to be at loss, or in want of a sign to express their meaning.

COURTESY TO STRANGERS.

648 721 728 Soon after our arrival, there was a great uproar occasioned by the unexpected visit of six Pawnees, from their own village, sixty leagues below this, on the banks of the same (Missouri) river. They were sent upon an embassy to treat for peace. It appears that last spring, some of these people had accompanied a war party of Sioux who came here and killed five Mandans. The latter nation, in company with the Big Bellies (Gros Ventres,) soon after returned the visit, and not finding the Sioux, on their return killed two Pawnees, but this did not satisfy them. They had informed the Pawnees that they might expect a more formal visit the ensuing fall; that both the Mandans and Big Bellies were determined to exterminate every Pawnee they could find, and lay their villages even with the ground.

To avoid this storm, the latter thought prudent to sue for [202] peace. A messenger was instantly dispatched to the upper villages to give information of their arrival. In the meantime the strangers were very hospitably entertained, conducted into a hut, and presented with corn and beans, dried meats, etc. All were now silent for some time, awaiting the determination of the Big Bellies.

ARRIVAL OF GROS VENTRES.

The Big Bellies[1], in a short time, arrived on horse-back; about thirty men came down full speed; they brought down an inter-

1 [Category 116, p. 335, -A.]

10: Neill H4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

preter with them. They did not appear well pleased, and looked on the Pawnees with an eye of disdain. After some conversation they desired the Pawnees to return immediately to their own villages, and to inform their great war chief, Red Tail, that if he sincerely wished for peace, he must come up and then they would settle matters, as they were determined to have nothing to do with young men. They allowed two moons to consider upon the business, and perform the journey. If, at the end of that time, the Chief did not make his appearance, they would immediately gather up their corn, and in a body, go and find him out, in his own village, and convince him what Big Bellies (or as they call themselves Willow Indians), and Mandans could do when exasperated by the treacherous conduct of the Pawnees. 648 728 721

The six embassies promised to depart early next morning to inform their Chief, who they answer no doubt, would very soon wait upon them. Thus ended an affair, which at the commencement we supposed would conclude with the death of the strangers, by the great bustle and noise their arrival occasioned.

But I was afterwards informed that of such proceedings there was not the least danger; that the natives of this place make it a particular point of honor to protect every stranger who throws himself upon them and begs their clemency. Even their natural and most inveterate enimies, the Sioux, have been known to come into their villages unexpectedly, and were always received with hospitality, and well entertained during thei stay which by the way, they never permit to be more than one night when they are dismissed, and allowed to return to their own homes unmolested. 609 648 728 721

A HUNTING PARTY.

Towards the evening there was a whooping and howling among the young men who were standing upon their huts. This, it seems, was to announce the appearance of a hunting party of the Mandans, who were just at that moment appearing upon the tops of the high bank to the south, and descending by a well-beaten road towards the village. The party consisted of about one hundred men on horseback, and each loaded with half a buffalo; some of them had even more, according to the strength of their horses, and the master will always ride, be his beast ever so loaded. They had been away since yesterday and found buffalo in great abundance near at hand. These people never go out hunting unless in large parties. The continual danger from their enemies obliges them to be very cautious; another reason is, that when the buffalo comes near at hand, they are anxious to prevent them from being driven away. For this purpose, it is customary for them all, in a body, to surround one herd only, which sometimes consists of several hundreds. 224 [492]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

785 lectful and took little interest in securing a "guardian spirit,"
881 the mother's brother would tease him and tell him he was bring-
869 ing dishonor to his clan and suggest that, to be rich and honored, he must begin fasting. He would collect goods for his sister's son and instruct him that he should go out on the hills and fast, using the goods on his return to pay his "clan father" for interpreting the dream. The mother's brother also supervised the fasting of the young boys of ten to fourteen years of age, selecting an isolated place at a short distance from the village where the boys were sheltered in a temporary brush lodge and instructed in the proper procedures for inducing visions.

869 Children acquired an attitude of respect for the sacred ob-
778 jects of the lodge while young, first by being scolded for playing near the platform on which the bundles were kept, and later by observation of a fixed ritualistic behavior by the parents when the bundles were opened. They were taught that the bundles "protected" them until they were old enough to own "gods" of their own and were informed that their success was in direct proportion to the number and potency of "gods" owned. Children who would inherit or assist in the performance of certain tribal bundle rites received special training beginning when they were ten or twelve years of age. They were also expected to fast often and establish personal bundles based on heir supernatural experiences.

[785] Fasting was a prerequisite to participation in the organized
701 war expeditions. One would conclude from an examination of
• 726 the mythology that a young man, after his first experience with the supernatural, organized a war expedition immediately and served as leader. In examining the war records of a number of Mandan, it was found that none would have followed a young man receiving his first vision experience and that, even as a member of a recognized war leader's party, he would be "camp tender," bringing wood and water to the camp, preparing the food, and waiting on the leader during the performance of the rites appertaining to warfare. When he was alert and anticipated the needs of the leader and was not lazy, he was promoted to scout and in company with others of that rank was sent out ahead of the main party each morning to look for the enemy or horses. It was while serving as scout that a young man received

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

his fundamental training in warfare. In company with other 785
young men, and frequently afoot, whereas the main party was on 701
horseback, they were required to travel ahead, watching from 726
high buttes, and by means of signals to report the presence of
an enemy or horses. It was necessary for the scouts to keep in
touch with their leader, who, in turn, was intrusted with the
duty of relaying information to the main body. New scouts
were taught the proper posture when running to prevent pre-
mature exhaustion, and there were contests between scouts to
determine their relative durability in reaching distant lookout
points. The leader of the scouts reported the winners to the
leader, who praised them publicly when the party returned to
the village. The old women then sang their victory songs while
the old men encouraged more fasting.

A sister was taught that fasting while her brother was away 785
on war expeditions would bring him success in "striking the
enemy" or capturing horses. She would take quill work with 593
her at daybreak and leave the village for a low hill or mound or 765
recline on a platform in the garden where she would cry for his
success, addressing her prayers to all the holy things. If the ex-
pedition was long overdue, she would go to the scaffolds of de-
ceased relatives or skull circles to weep, returning to her lodge
each evening. Successful war parties returned to the village at
daybreak, and she would leave her lodge immediately to meet
her brother. If he had captured horses, the best animal was pre-
sented to her. This was equivalent to presenting the horse to all
the females of his mother's lodge. These females, on the other
hand, were the principal mourners if he were killed, and the
married sisters were expected to undergo extreme self-inflicted
torture by gashing their bodies, cutting off the ends of fingers,
cutting their hair, and shortening their dresses.

Their brothers fasted four, seven, or nine days without food 785
or water, remaining outside the village in some secluded spot
for the full period of the fast. From time to time, the father 787
would send a clan brother to observe whether his son was en-
dangering his life, and he could stop the fast if in his opinion the
young man's self-torture was excessive. A young man returning
from fasting which had not induced a vision was given an ob-
ject from his father's bundle to carry on war expeditions and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

785 top of my bait, and I stuck my right hand out and caught him. He was a big
159 beautiful eagle, and that was the result I got for my suffering the night before. Before I finished killing him, another big one came down on top of my pit and
223 walked over to the bait. I caught him as I had the other one and pulled him into the pit where I killed him, and there was never a happier person than I. I forgot all about my pains. I was happy as I thought of what I had done the night before. I did not have to go very far to get results for the suffering I did the night before. After that the leader said, since I was lucky, I should get up mornings and look at the flag to see if the winds were right.

787 If a man goes out on the hills to fast and suffer and some holy person or
785 animal comes to him and tells him that he will be lucky and kill an enemy, but when he goes out as leader, the enemy kills one of his party instead, he
159 will come home crying because the people will think that he didn't fast right or that his dream wasn't real. Brave men will start fasting again and seek an even stronger god by fasting longer and offering their flesh to the Sun. The older men watch one who has lost a warrior when he fasts. If the suffering is too severe, men of his father's clan pay him to stop for fear that he will kill himself. After he has suffered a while, the parents of the warrior who was killed in battle will give a feast to the man and ask him to stop. When a leader goes out to war as a result of the promise of a certain animal and loses one of his men, he will reject that animal's vision instructions if sent to him again in a dream. He will keep on fasting until another god comes to him. It is often hard to get men to follow an unlucky leader. If he goes out a second time and kills or strikes an enemy, the people will say, "You have a real protector now, one that is going to be a great help to you."

My god is the horse. When I was a young man, I led a horse around the sacred cedar standing in the center of Like-a-Fishhook Village by means of thongs in my flesh until I fell down unconscious. As I lay there, a horse came to me and promised me success in hunting and warfare. I killed two enemies a long ways from home because of this dream. The horse sang me his sacred songs, but I am not allowed to sing them for you. I have done all the things the horse asked of me, and the horse has done everything he promised me he would. The doctoring you saw me do did not come from the instructions the horse gave me. The sharp stick I used for letting out matter came from my rights in the Big Bird ceremony my sisters and I bought of Big Black, my father's brother.

•726 I can illustrate by a story how a man organizes a war party to go out for
159 the enemy that his god has promised him. The leader is careful to do just as he was instructed.

The party was to leave from Fishhook Village. The leaders were Old Bear (Tamisik clan), Crows Breast (Tamisik clan), and Porcupine Head (Speckled Eagle clan). I joined the party because of a suggestion by Afraid To Be Chief [his mother's brother and head of the lodge at that time] that he had no horses. If we got horses, we would be pretty well fixed. When a party of this kind is made up, they do not announce it but act quietly in preparation for the trip. A night was set to leave. Those planning to join got together a supply of moccasins and food. A lodge was designated as our meeting place. The party met this time in Two Chief's lodge. Others came to look on and wish us luck so that the lodge was packed full of people.

In addition to the leaders mentioned already, there were these warriors in the party: Big Steal (Tamisik clan), Long Tail (Prairie Chicken clan), Afraid

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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To Be Chief (Prairie Chicken clan), Raven Turns (WaxikEna clan), Bear Chief (Prairie Chicken clan), Short Bears Teeth (Tamisik clan), Crows Heart (Prairie Chicken clan), Tree Bark (Tamisik clan), and Crow (Prairie Chicken clan).

We met at Two Chief's lodge, since he was a brother-in-law of Crows Breast, one of the Old Wolves. We had enough bullboats in readiness to carry the party down the river. It was planned that the party should sing the songs belonging to the whole group[4] before leaving. All of us wore a white piece of cloth for a headgear and a white cloak reaching to the knees. While singing the songs, we made a noise by "hitting the mouth"; this brought a great crowd of onlookers. While we were singing, a heavy shower of rain fell, and water ran everywhere in small torrents. The leaders decided not to go that night; they would wait until the next evening just at sunset.

When the schedule was changed, each of us took up his medicine bundle and equipment and left the lodge. Upon reaching our earth lodge, I lay aside my medicine bag and moccasins and went out of the village to attend to my horses. While there I met an Hidatsa named Puts Away His Hair, who said he was organizing a war party of his own and wanted me to go along as a Young Wolf [scout].

He said, "When I was making the ceremony, my gods gave me one tepee at a place called Cedars Facing Each Other [southwest of the present town of Dickinson, North Dakota]."

When he said that, I was undecided what to do. I thought it over for a long time and finally decided to go with him as a Young Wolf. I had already left a bullboat with the other party. I prepared to leave immediately with the newly organized party. It did not take me long to get ready, since I had only to fetch my horse. My medicine bundle and moccasins were already packed for the other expedition I had planned accompanying. In a short time I plunged my horse into the muddy waters of the Missouri at a point just below the village and swam him to the opposite shore where we were to meet. It was late spring, and the river was quite high. Big Steal also changed over to this party.

We went to a sand bar to wait for the party. We were told that we would wait for him there, but we did not know who he meant. We later learned that they meant Four Bears, whom you are named after.

The leaders of Old Wolves were: Puts Away His Hair (Water-buster clan, Hidatsa), Sitting Elk (Water-buster clan, Hidatsa), Four Bears (Prairie Chicken clan, Hidatsa), and Shaved Forehead (Water-buster clan, Hidatsa). The others of the party were: Yellow Robe (Prairie Chicken clan, Hidatsa), Foolish Man (Tamisik clan, Louie Baker's brother, Mandan), Rattlesnake (Tamisik clan, Mandan), No Arm (Tamisik clan, Mandan), and Crows Heart (Prairie Chicken clan, nineteen years old, Mandan).

The route we took was a little east of the present post office of Defiance by Lake Gap [Mandan name]. There were plenty of antelope, and we had enough meat. Our route took us by Red Bank, where we made our first camp. From there we went directly toward the present site of the town of Dickinson and on the second night stopped on the river bottoms there. Next day we went on to Rose Bud Ground to the southwest. From our camp there, we climbed the grass-covered buttes from which we saw the hill called Home-of-the-Buffalo,

4. I.e., society songs.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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the place where the animals were believed to come out. Some of the party decided to go there to look at the place. On reaching Home-of-Buffalo Hill some of us looked around for the blue clay used for painting our faces and known to be plentiful there. On top of the hill there was a deep crack in the ground, and we could see the buffalo spirits' tracks in there, for it was well packed down. On the west side we came to a great cavity half-full of bones. There were so many bones there I think the animals must have been killed by lightning.

This was the same summer that Custer's party went through the country [1876]. Their army went just a little to the west of the hill and made a regular road. We went there to see their trail. When we came to where it went down to the Little Missouri River, we found skeletons of mules, wrecked and abandoned wagons, and much other material discarded by the army. Their trail was plain, so we followed it all the way to the Little Missouri. Just before crossing the Little Missouri, we went through rough country. There we found oats, clothing, and harness; it looked as though the men had spent a long time there making the road. We found good bridles, reins, and tents which we took. All of us were well supplied. From there we rode to Like-a-Chicken-Tail Butte. This was one of the places where we usually got red paint. All in the party said they would need it when they captured the one lodge. From there we followed the west bank of the Little Missouri River a ways, then crossed and camped on the bank, all the time going up the river. The country abounded with elk, antelope, and blacktail deer. We were never short of meat.

Soon we could see Cedars Facing Each Other Buttes. There we killed two elk, for we were afraid we might not find the tepee at once and might need meat while we were scouting around for it. There we built a sweat lodge and dried our meat in it with heated stones, for we did not dare shoot game when in the vicinity of the enemy. The scouts constantly traveled ahead of us, headed by Yellow Robe and assisted by Foolish Man and Rattlesnake. On the third day after drying the elk meat, they came back running to inform us that they had found where a tepee had been and that the coals were still hot. They said they could still see the place where the horses had been picketed.

When Puts Away His Hair reached the site of the tepee, he went to the west side of the tepee ring to fast and cry. He cried until the next noon.

Then he pointed to the Sun and said, "Old Man, what you have given me, you have also taken away." Then he turned to the Young Wolves and said, "Now, my Young Wolves, this is the place designated by my medicine. It would not be good policy to follow this enemy. We could catch him at his next stop but that would be beyond the authority given me by my medicine. I might be harmed and some of you Young Wolves might be killed. Young Wolves, I am going to turn back, but you may go on if you wish. Old Man gave me this lodge (one family), but now he has taken it back again."

When he made that decision, Sitting Elk[5] decided to go on as leader and took with him Yellow Robe, Foolish Man, and No Arm. They went on for one day when they found the camp fire again burning. Sitting Elk was leader, but he decided that in view of the fact that another had been given the lodge, it would be dangerous to them.

He said, "By the looks of things, the enemy is wise to us. I don't want to

5. Hidatsa Hide-beating bundle-owner.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

lose any Young Wolves. It would be a blur to my record to 'kick the stone' so I am going back." The others returned with him. 726 159

When we came back, there was nothing of importance until we reached the Killdeer Mountains, where a Sioux war party saw us. We took the middle of the flat east of the Killdeer Mountains, and one of the party killed an antelope. We wasted no time pulling the hide off, and went right on to Red Paint Creek. I laid the hide out to dry to use on my horse that had a sore back. While we were roasting the meat, a whirlwind took the hide up into the air and whirled it, all the time with the flat side down.

When it happened, we said as a joke, "The enemy is upon us," but each of us jumped onto his horse and followed the creek down to the Little Missouri. We did not stop until we reached Cedar Butte, four miles above Hans Creek, when we went into an elm thicket to rest the horses. While there, an owl came and hooted. The enemy had outnumbered us ten to one and had been watching us from the Killdeer Mountains. They thought they had us, but it was the whirlwind that saved us. It was almost a miracle that we escaped the enemy. [The enemy was never seen but was merely suspected by the signs.] From our camp in Hans Creek we left at dawn without food and rode until we reached Manure Creek, where we grazed our horses in a clearing in the woods and cooked meat. We reached Like-a-Fishhook Village at sunset.

Puts Away His Hair got no credit for the lodge even though he found it just where his medicine said it would be.

The Mandan distinguished two kinds of supernatural experiences, those which were received through dreams and those actually seen, the latter being considered the more reliable. Crows Heart thought that what one actually saw could be depended on, whereas all dreams were not real. Scattercorn told of a Mandan who was visiting the Crow Indians. She said: "A friend took him to the top of a high mountain. While there a storm came up so they sought shelter under a cliff. During the night Thunderbird came by with his wings straight out. The lightning came out of his neck, and, when he moved his wings ever so little, it thundered. This Mandan really saw this bird, and it was his guardian after that." 787

All women fasted at least once during their lifetime. Self-torture was rarely practiced except in unusual instances. Scattercorn recalled an instance when three brothers were killed by the Cheyennes, who had been in the village exchanging robes for corn. When they left, they met men coming back loaded with meat. No precautions were taken when they saw the Cheyennes, since they knew what their mission had been. The brothers of the slain men fasted and practiced self-torture to get supernatural aid. When the war party left, one sister cut off two fingers 785 562

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Chapter XIII

THE SHELL ROBE BUNDLE

778 THIS bundle was spoken of as the Shell Robe of the Holy Women to distinguish it from other Holy Women bundles. Traditionally, the robe originated in Yellow Dog's village of Awatixa and reached the Mandan by intermarriage a long time ago, while the Mandan were still living in the Heart River region. The bundle consisted of a tanned piece of elkhide approximately two feet square to which were attached pieces of human scalps and clam shells set in rows. The hair had been removed from the hide, and a piece of scalp and a clam shell were fastened together in some manner not clear to informants, before being attached to the robe. A star representing the morning star was painted on the center of the robe. The bundle also contained magpie tail feathers, a braid of sweet grass, an ash digging stick, a buffalo-bull skull, and a plain wooden pipe. These, except the buffalo skull, were kept in a buffalo-hide sack. The bundle was one of a number having its mythological origin from the Holy Women, being so identified by the presence of magpie tail feathers, braids of sweet grass, and the ash digging stick.

778 This was the most widely known of the Holy Women myths. Those having other Holy Women bundle rights could sell the
773 story independently of the Shell Robe bundle. Bear on the Flat,
726 whose mother had rights in the Woman in Dog Den bundle, claimed rights in this bundle by virtue of rights in a Holy Woman bundle. This was primarily a war bundle, and feasts given by men leading war parties were of frequent occurrence. The feasts entitled them to have an image erected before the giver's lodge and to have given them some article from the bundle by the Shell Robe owner. The article was carried on war expeditions and prayed to during the performance of the war rituals when away from the village. The number of feasts that could be given or the number of times articles associated with the bundle could be given out was unlimited. The blessings of the Holy Women

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

were sought, since these women went out at night, according to the myths, to fight and to incite fights between the Mandan and their own people or the enemy in order to have people to eat. They were described as cannibals in all the myths. 778 726 773

The peculiar ceremonial pattern and traditional history of the bundle, in a large measure, explained the general knowledge of the myths belonging to the ritual. The bundle-owner and his wives could sell the story. Owners of all bundles in which were represented Holy Women, consisting of Buffalo Woman, Old Woman Above (Sun's mother), Woman in Dog Den Buttes, Old Woman Who Never Dies, and Striped Scalp (Sun's sister), were included in this group. Traditionally, the myth survived when the Hidatsa sold the bundle. Those who had bought the right to hear the story could in turn retell when payment was made. Those who had made offerings to the robe could learn the story and retell it upon payment of goods. The bundle was normally transferred from parents to sons and daughters if they were living and wanted it; otherwise to a daughter and her husband, inheritance being in the Prairie Chicken clan. Transfer was made at a public feast, but the preliminary instructions were direct between buyer and seller and in secret. The people of the Prairie Chicken clan of Awatixa and the Mandan villages claimed rights to the bundle. 778 773 425

When doing ethnological work with Mandan informants, it was evident that there was no hesitation in giving information on this ceremony, as was the case with the People Above ceremony. There was no reference to punishing people with insanity, paralysis, and other afflictions, as was the case with the People Above mythology, in spite of the fact that the female characters represented were believed to be members of the Holy Women band. These women, although cannibals and evil in character, were often represented in the mythology as kind, sending fog to conceal their movements while they brought meat into the Mandan villages and loaded down the corn scaffolds during times of famine. People were not permitted to speak in a loud voice in the lodge where the bundle was kept, and mice that ran over it were said to have died. 776 124

During the last century the bundle and its owners have occupied an important place in the traditional history of the Man- 778

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

had been shot six times; some wore a wooden knife, a sign they 721
had killed an enemy with a knife. Maximilian describes one 554
man, a chief, whose face was painted half yellow and half 301
red, with stripes made by rubbing the color off; his arms had 302
seventeen lines showing the number of his deeds, and on his breast, in yellow, was a hand showing that he had made prisoners.

When a youth first wished to lead a war party he at once 701
acquired a medicine. Then he solicited his young men friends 554
by presents and assurances of the efficacy of his medicine and 778
after feasts and dances he departed with as many followers as he could get. In the large war parties there were four real leaders and sometimes three others called bad leaders. Each real leader carried a medicine pipe in a case on his back. To become a chief it was necessary to begin as a war party leader, then to kill a man while in a party where the candidate was not a leader. Again, while following another leader, he must be the first to discover the enemy and kill one of them, and lastly he must have owned at some time a white buffalo hide. Each 726
warrior carried about his neck the whistle of his band, and at the moment of falling upon the enemy these were blown and the war-cry was sounded.

The Mandans seldom took male prisoners but even when 727
taken they were never tortured. As soon as a prisoner had entered the village and eaten corn he was considered as one of the nation; the women, however, could go out and meet the returning party and kill the prisoners then. Scalps were dried and used in decoration. When a successful war party returned they were met by the women and children who entered the village with them dancing the scalp dance. The warriors painted the face, and often the whole body, black, and the scalp dance was danced in the medicine lodge four nights, then later in the middle of the village. If no Mandan was killed in the campaign, the dance was kept up for six months.

In all these war customs we find nothing more than the [171]
general plains ideas such as were found in all the Sioux tribes and among most of their neighbors.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 Mouths were also called "Brave Men's society." They painted their faces
293 black. The Goose women used the same paint, because their society was
[302] founded by the same man. When the time came for singing, the first rattler walked ahead and began to sing. Then the drummers took up the song. The next time the second rattler acted in the same manner. The raven-lance bearers had a special song and dance, during which they crossed each other's path.

575 One summer, when the society wished to give a performance because
726 some Sioux were coming to fight, they stuck two tipi poles into the ground, and tied raven-lances to the top. One of the Soldiers cried, "Kā! Kā! Kā!"
554 This was in imitation of crows. Then some other member went outside the
533 lodge to see which one had cried. Returning, he said, "It is not a living
535 raven, but the raven head on Skunk's lance." Skunk was a very brave man. The people said, "We will find out what this means." Then someone took the lances down, and returned them to their owners. Skunk said, "Hold on, my fellow-members, I wish to know the reason why my lance is singing." He got his associate to accompany him, and both lance officers then went through the village, singing this song: —

"kē'ka, nasarā'rōoca. mī' ō'watē'roc.
"Raven, you sing. I want to die.
"kika're e'henik, ō'ota."
"If you are afraid, go away."

The people hearing Skunk thought him braver than ever. They said to him, "This is your day, do what you wish best." The people encouraged Skunk. When the society started outdoors for a dance, Skunk took the lead, and again sang. A circle was formed. All the people came to watch the performance. Skunk once more sang his song. He danced alone, in a slanting line. These were the words of his song: —

"mīnukarité, nū'tamina'tare hū'miikāc. i'miinahèc."
"My friends, our enemies are numerous. I am used to it" [that is, to fight].

When the time came to fight, Skunk struck many coups. This is what the singing of the raven had indicated.

575 In addition to the police functions described by Maximilian, Wounded-
626 face mentions a special duty devolving on the two pipe-bearers. When some villager wished to kill a fellow-tribesman, these officers filled up a pipe, and gave him presents in order to make him desist. Acceptance signified acquiescence in their wishes.

575 Water-chief became a Black Mouth, together with about twenty of his comrades, at thirty; generally, however, the members were older. They

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Old Dog Society.[1]

Maximilian, while not including this society in his list of age-classes, 561
states that the Old Dog dance was one which the Dogs might buy of the 535
Bulls before they were permitted to become Bulls. The Old Dog dancers
painted their bodies white, and their hands red and black. They wore 575
a grizzly skin round the body, and on the head feathers which hung down 292
in the back.

Wounded-face knew nothing of the organization save the name. He had 575
heard that they dressed similarly to the Dogs.

Coarse Hair Society.

Wounded-face had only heard of this society (bacā'ca ō'xat'e) from his 575
grandfather. There was something sacred about it. A young man going 292
on the warpath promised the members to give them a dance provided he
performed some brave deed in battle. When dancing, the members dressed 554
up. On the head they placed a piece of scalp from a buffalo head of the 726
size of a human scalp. Hair was attached to the scalp so as to hang over 714
the members' faces. They put honor marks on their clothes. The left
leggings were painted red up to the knee, and black marks were put round
the lower legs as a sign that the wearer had struck many enemies. Leaders
in war who had killed enemies tied human hair to the leggings. For each
enemy struck in war, a member put one feather on his head. If he had been
wounded by an arrow, the split feather from an arrow, dyed red, was worn
on the head. A gun wound was indicated by a stick about 9 inches in
length, and whittled at the lower end so that the shavings remained on the
stick. The young warrior providing for the entertainment of the performers filled a pipe for them, and, if possible, presented them with horses
or eagle feather bonnets. He asked them to pray for him. All the older
men rejoiced in such a feast.

It is possible, but by no means certain, that this society corresponds to 575
Maximilian's As-Cho'h-O'chatā (Ascho'-O'chatā). On the 23rd of December, 1833, a large number of Indians visited the Fort, led by fourteen mem- 292
bers of this society from the village of Ruptare. The entire head was 535
covered with a wig of long, flat braids of hair, which fell over the face,
completely hiding it. Feathers of the owl, raven, and of birds of prey,

[1] minis' xixe' ō'xat'e.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

785 was permitted to sleep near the sacred bundle until he recovered, believing that the bundle would induce visions. In the
781 case of supervised fasting directed by the mother's brother, he defined the rules and terminated the fasting. He also prepared the first food taken by those completing their fast and watched that none ate or drank excessively for a few days.

701 A young man distinguishing himself as a scout and desiring to advance to warrior status, when learning another war leader was organizing an expedition, would go to his lodge, hoping that he would be invited to join the party. As a warrior there was greater likelihood of capturing horses or striking an enemy. The leader was responsible for the welfare of all those serving under him and selected the members of his party. When the party was large, the leader selected those with the best war records to serve as co-leaders.

Mandan warfare was highly formalized, and there was a strict
701 division of labor. At the top, the leader or Old Wolf directed the
554 party, selecting the scouts and their leader, the Young Wolves or warriors, and the Camp Tenders, and he was responsible to the village but more particularly to the families represented in the party for their welfare. He determined the territory where the enemy would be sought, places to camp, the time to make or break camp, and whether an attack would be made when the enemy was found. A great leader was a successful teacher who instructed his party in methods of "striking the enemy" without loss to his own party. A leader who lost a man was said to have "kicked the stone," which reduced his status until he had "refasted" and led a successful war party.

727 Returning from an unsuccessful war expedition, the leader
554 would cry as he approached the village, while the other members
785 would walk quietly to their lodges. For many leaders, this would be the last expedition as leader. He would be condemned by the
614 brothers, sisters, and parents of the one killed and would be op-
431 posed by them every time he sought advancement in status. He could and frequently did overcome their opposition by going into mourning for the one he was held responsible for. He would gash his legs and cut off a finger which was offered to the Sun. He would set up a tent or build a simple shelter at a distance from the village where he would remain. In the meanwhile, his

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

brothers and sisters, assisted by their clan and his age-grade society, would accumulate robes and other property which were given to the lodge group that had lost a member. They were expected to accept the goods which was at first refused "because they loved their relative so much." The unsuccessful war leader's representatives then sought the "village chief," a man who by virtue of his tact in settling quarrels and his generosity in caring for the old was highest in village esteem, and paid him to take his pipe to the grieved relatives, lay it before them, and inform them that they, as relatives and associates of the unsuccessful war leader, begged them to accept it. Since none could refuse a request when a sacred pipe was placed before them, the aggrieved people, both men and women, smoked and accepted the goods to which in the meanwhile had been added horses and other articles of value.

The aggrieved family, feeling compassion for the unsuccessful war leader who had shown, by his act of fasting and his family's lavish display of goods, respect for their lost relative, sent a representative with new clothing to the fasting place, dressed and painted him, and conducted him to their lodge, where he was given the choicest foods to eat. While he was eating, the brothers of the boy who had been killed, brought their best horse and riding equipment to the lodge. When the feast was ended, the unsuccessful warrior, now in good graces with the family, was told to mount. He was led through the village, while the oldest female of the lodge sang the "Praise Songs." If an enemy had been killed at the time one of the party was lost, the "Victory Songs" were then sung and the Scalp Dance rites were performed. The unsuccessful warrior, by his acts of mourning and the payment of goods to the aggrieved family, regained his former status. If he were successful the next time he led a war party, the people said that bad luck will sometimes come even to those most careful to conform to tribal custom, and "never hold it against him." However, a second unsuccessful war expedition was his last as leader. He would not fast again, and having paid for his bad luck once, his relatives and clan advised him to forsake leadership of war parties as he had "kicked the stone." People would say he had not fasted right and would have been afraid to follow him. By giving many

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

727 554 785 431 feasts, he would be respected as an average person, but he would never be able to rise to eminence.

727 554 431 A young man's first participation in a successful war expedition in which he captured horses and "struck" an enemy was an important occasion in his life and involved practically everyone in the village as well the other villages of the tribe. In the division of his horses, he expressed his respect for those who assisted him during the expedition as well as his affection for his friends and relatives in the village. If he captured a number of horses, among which was an animal of peculiar markings which the leader dreamed of and described before it was found, that animal belonged to the leader. The leader would also receive the first horse captured. Strays went to the first one seeing them regardless of the person capturing them. He would give the camp tender one if he had not already received one. Returning to the village, he would give one horse to his oldest married sister, who would, in turn, give it to her husband to use. This was a means of expressing rivalry between brothers-in-law of the same age. If his sisters were not married, the horse would go to his mother. His sisters would not ordinarily get horses on subsequent occasions unless they came out to meet him. He would give one horse to his father and, if there were any additional animals, would keep them for himself. However, if he had also been successful in striking the enemy while capturing these horses, he would not succeed in keeping any of the horses, for, on the succeeding day while the Scalp Dance was celebrated, an old woman of his father's clan would announce that he was to receive a new name to supplant the one he had received as a baby. He was presented with new moccasins, leggings, and shirt, and he paid her as representative of his father's moiety in horses and other property.

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554 616 553 431 A young man's reputation was based on his relatives' generosity which was contingent on the wealth and status of his relatives. Learning that he had struck the enemy and knowing one always received a new name that had belonged to a man of the father's moiety, the brothers and sisters accumulated goods for the occasion. They were assisted by members of their clan and young men of his age-grade society. During the Scalp Dance, singing was interrupted while the mother and her

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

554 703 of the cattail plant in his hair. Those stabbed by a knife or spear could wear a stick carved to resemble a knife. One who had been shot in battle painted red spots on his shirts, leggings, or robes with red stripes below to indicate bullet holes and blood dripping from the wounds. Men painted horse tracks on their blankets to indicate the horses they had stolen. These tracks were bunched to indicate the number taken on each expedition.

727 597 581 Small children too young to remember their parents were frequently taken prisoners and adopted into the village. They were "struck" by the warriors who were given credit toward their war record but such records were not related during ceremonies once the children were adopted into the households. Girls approaching marriageable age were frequently returned alive to the village and sold to those needing an extra wife.

554 562 703 Women also qualified for war honors and were eligible to wear the same decorations as men. Informants remembered a number of women who had struck an enemy and had displayed their war honors during the Scalp Dance. One woman concealed herself at the entrance to her lodge and hit an Assiniboine on the head with a stone hammer. She scalped him and, during the dances, received a hearty applause whenever she was leader of the line of dancers, carrying her scalp on a stick.

554 703 The war records enumerated above constitute the principal awards having social recognition and fall into two general groups: awards limited solely to war leaders and consisting of scalps which were worn on their clothing or carried on scalp sticks and awards to warriors consisting of peculiar painting of the clothing, wearing of coyote tails, and certain feathers. Only those who had led many war parties and had been successful attained the highest ranks as chiefs unless their lack of significant successes in warfare was compensated with a record of many feasts during which time much property was given away or the possession of important tribal bundles. There was a series of designs painted or woven on robes which proclaimed the amount of goods so disposed of.

MARRIAGE AND THE HOUSEHOLD

581 584 Marriage was an exceedingly important event among the leading families of a Mandan village, but for the average family

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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People receiving goods were: 431

Women	Men
Big Chief Woman	Wolf Ghost
Spring Woman	Crows Breast
Lone Woman	Big Foot Bull
Hides and Eats	Afraid To Be Chief
Stays Yellow	Red Buffalo Cow
Unborn Calf Woman	Bull against Wind
Penned Up	Red Shield
Goes Out	Small Ankles
Owl Woman	Awaxniax (?)
Beaver Woman	Belly Up
Different Corn Silk	Broken Ax
Feather on Head Woman	
Otter Woman	
Eagle Woman	
Cedar Woman	

After the gifts were all presented, the people went home. Clam Necklace and his two wives went outside the village near the scaffolds for the dead and put up three new images, one of the Sun, one of the Moon, and another of the Old Woman Above. 796 778

The image of the Sun consisted of a round red disk painted on white calico or hide. Chokecherry brush was lashed to the top of the pole. The Old Woman Above image was made of a robe, hair side out, wrapped around an ash pole, with a piece of black hide for the face and white sage for the hair. It was tied to the pole with a belt which held the image in place. Moon's image was a red crescent painted on a white calico or hide lashed to a rush post [see above, Fig. 41]. The images were set up before sunrise.

Bundles having Old Woman Above's daughter represented added a fourth image. Instead of placing the images in a row with mounds in front of Sun's and Moon's images, the four images were placed at four corners of a square with the mounds in the center. White sage was set into the ground at the apex of the mound representing the Sun and black sage on the other mound representing the Moon. When two buffalo skulls were placed at the shrine, one was a bull's and the other a cow's skull. When four skulls were used, they were bull's skulls and represented buffaloes of the four seasons. These shrines became fasting places to which were brought skulls of relatives taken from the scaffolds. Enemies whose skulls lay on the prairies were brought to these shrines by those fasting there. Children's skulls were not placed in these circles. 778 764 [727]

The presence of enemy skulls in these circles was not unusual. Men fasting on the hills often collected the skulls of their enemies or went to the spot where the body lay to seek visions. 778 727 778

Maximilian referred to these shrines when he wrote:

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

had been shot six times; some wore a wooden knife, a sign they had killed an enemy with a knife. Maximilian describes one man, a chief, whose face was painted half yellow and half red, with stripes made by rubbing the color off; his arms had seventeen lines showing the number of his deeds, and on his breast, in yellow, was a hand showing that he had made prisoners. 721 554 301 302

When a youth first wished to lead a war party he at once acquired a medicine. Then he solicited his young men friends by presents and assurances of the efficacy of his medicine and after feasts and dances he departed with as many followers as he could get. In the large war parties there were four real leaders and sometimes three others called bad leaders. Each real leader carried a medicine pipe in a case on his back. To become a chief it was necessary to begin as a war party leader, then to kill a man while in a party where the candidate was not a leader. Again, while following another leader, he must be the first to discover the enemy and kill one of them, and lastly he must have owned at some time a white buffalo hide. Each warrior carried about his neck the whistle of his band, and at the moment of falling upon the enemy these were blown and the war-cry was sounded. 701 554 778 726

The Mandans seldom took male prisoners but even when taken they were never tortured. As soon as a prisoner had entered the village and eaten corn he was considered as one of the nation; the women, however, could go out and meet the returning party and kill the prisoners then. Scalps were dried and used in decoration. When a successful war party returned they were met by the women and children who entered the village with them dancing the scalp dance. The warriors painted the face, and often the whole body, black, and the scalp dance was danced in the medicine lodge four nights, then later in the middle of the village. If no Mandan was killed in the campaign, the dance was kept up for six months. 727

In all these war customs we find nothing more than the general plains ideas such as were found in all the Sioux tribes and among most of their neighbors. [171]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

enemy he paints a line running obliquely round the arm, and another crossing it in the opposite direction, with three transverse stripes. On killing the second enemy he paints his left leg (that is, the leggin) of a reddish-brown. If he kills the second enemy before another is killed by his comrades, he may wear two entire wolves' tails at his heels. On his third exploit he paints two longitudinal stripes on his arms, and three transverse stripes. This is the exploit that is esteemed the highest; after the third exploit no more marks are made. If he kills an enemy after others of the party have done the same, he may wear on his heel one wolf's tail, the tip of which is cut off. In every numerous war party there are four leaders (partisans, karokkanakah), sometimes seven, but only four are reckoned as the real partisans; the others are called bad partisans (karokkanakah-chakohosch, literally, *partisans galeux*). All partisans carry on their backs a medicine pipe in a case, which other warriors dare not have. To become a chief (Numakschi) a man must have been a partisan, and then kill an enemy when he is not a partisan. If he follows another partisan for the second time, he must have first discovered the enemy, have killed one, and then possessed the hide of a white buffalo cow complete, with the horns, to pretend to the title of chief (Numakschi). Dipauch, who related these particulars, had himself done all these, and was an eminent man among his people, but had never assumed that title. He had given five horses for his white buffalo hide. All the warriors wear small war pipes round their necks, which are often very elegantly ornamented with porcupine quills (Plate XXI. Fig. 9, and Plate XLVIII. Fig. 14).

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As soon as they advance to attack the enemy every one sounds his pipe, and all together utter the war whoop, a shrill cry, which they render tremulous by repeatedly and suddenly striking the mouth with the hand. Those who fast and dream, in order to perform an exploit, are entitled to wear a wolf's skin. A warrior has a right to wear as many eagle's feathers as he has performed exploits. All Indians, on their military expeditions, erect, in the evening, a sort of fort, in which they are, in some measure, secure against a sudden attack. In Major Long's expedition to the Rocky Mountains, it is stated, that they often make *caches* (hiding-places) in these forts; but we did not observe any such on the Missouri. The Indians, on their expeditions, always set a watch by night as soon as they are near the enemy, and often send out scouts to considerable distances. At such a post the Indians are very vigilant and active; after an engagement they do not bury the dead, but, if they have not time to carry them away, leave them on the spot where they fell. The scalps, called, by the Canadians, *les chevelures*, are often preserved for a long time stretched upon small hoops, and the hair is afterwards used as an ornament to the dress of the men. The skin of the scalp is generally painted red. The Mandans, Manitaries, and Crows, never torture their prisoners like the Pawnees and the eastern nations. When a prisoner has arrived at the village, and eaten maize, he is considered as one of their own nation, and no person ever thinks of molesting him. Often, however, the women hasten out to meet

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721 727 the prisoners ere they can reach the village, and kill them; this is especially an act of revenge for their husbands or sons who may have fallen in the battle.

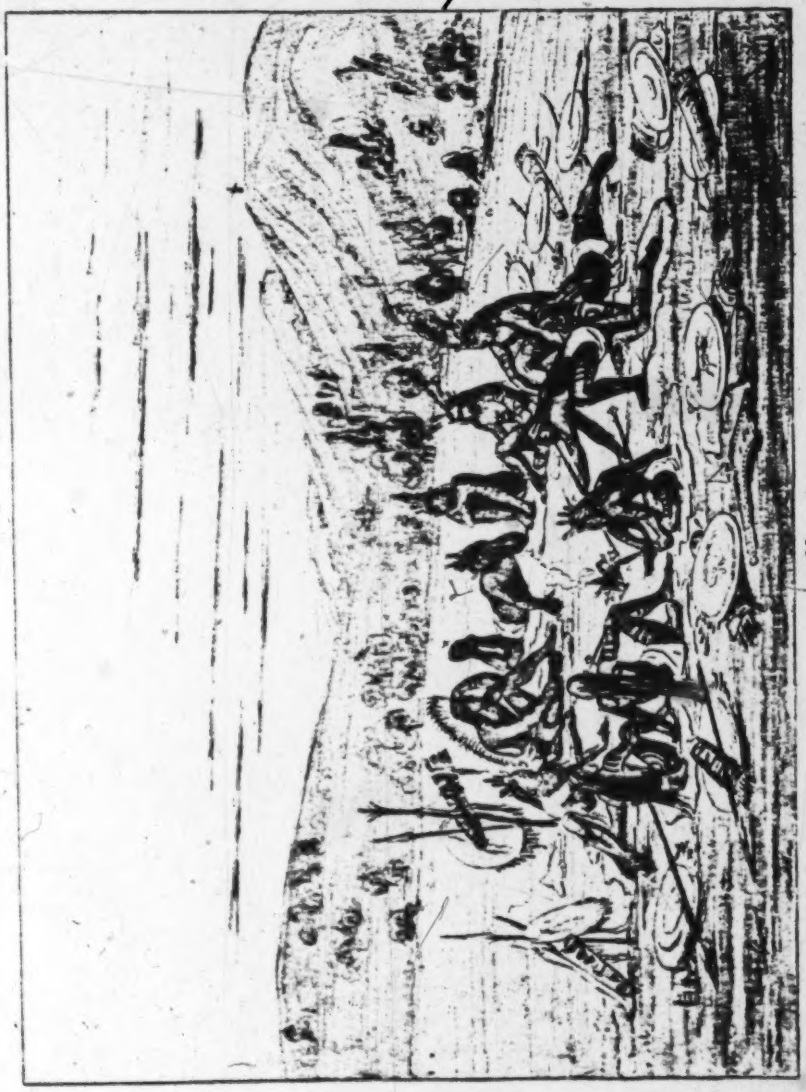
721 555 When a young man desires to become a leader, or partisan, he first gains, by gifts, the favour of the other young men, and then dedicates a medicine pipe, which is a plain, unornamented tube. This ceremony is accomplished by a four days' fast, and supplications for assistance to the lord of life, the first man, &c. &c., and other supernatural beings. He then addresses the young men, and calls upon them to give him their support in his undertakings. If a sufficient number testify their readiness to accompany him in a warlike expedition, and such an expedition is determined upon, they dance and feast in the medicine lodge for several successive nights, from whence, too, they generally march off by night. The women never accompany these expeditions. On setting out the men are badly clothed, and not painted. They do not depart in a body, but, for the most part, singly, or in small detatched parties. At a certain distance from the village they halt upon an isolated hill, open their medicine bags, and, after the men have sat down in a [787] circle, the partisan produces his medicine pipe, which all present smoke; the person who smokes last, then spreads his medicines on the ground, or hangs them up, and from them foretels the fate of the expedition. The Indians manifest much gravity and decorum on solemn occasions like these.

727 535 When the warriors return from their expedition, the scalps are carried on in advance, on high poles: if they have performed any exploits, they paint their faces black; very frequently the whole body is thus disfigured. The women and children go out to meet them, and they enter the village performing the scalp dance. This dance is then repeated four successive nights in the medicine lodge, and is subsequently danced in the open space, in the centre of the village. If the campaign took place in the spring, it is danced, at intervals, till the fall of the leaf in autumn; if in the autumn, it is danced till spring, but should any of the nation be killed in the interim all festivities immediately cease. In the scalp dance the Indians paint themselves in various ways, form a semicircle, advance, and retreat amid the din of singing, the beating of the drum and schischikué. The wives of those men who have obtained the scalps carry them on long rods.

555 All the distinguished deeds performed by a war party are placed to the account of the partisan. All the scalps that are taken belong to him, and also the horses that they have captured. He who has killed an enemy is a brave man, and reckons one exploit; but the partisan rises the highest on that account, even though he had not seen any of the enemies who have been slain. When he returns home, the old men and women meet, and sing the scalp song, on which he must make them all presents of value. He gives away all the captured horses, and valuable articles, and is afterwards a poor man, but his reputation is great. Successful partisans afterwards become chiefs, and are highly respected by their nation. The Indian youths go to war when they are only fourteen or fifteen years of age. Sometimes they make excursions on horseback in the winter.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857

NQ17 Mandan NQ17



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[p. 142(B)]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

231 526 The Indians are hard and cruel masters; and, added to their cruelties is the sin that is familiar in the Christian world, of sporting with the limbs and the lives of these noble animals. *Horse-racing* here, as in all more enlightened communities, is one of the most exciting amusements, and one of the most extravagant modes of gambling.

I have been this day a spectator to scenes of this kind, which have been enacted in abundance, on a course which they have, just back of their village; and although I never had the least taste for this cruel amusement in my own country, yet, I must say, I have been not a little amused and pleased with the thrilling effect which these exciting scenes have produced amongst so wild and picturesque a group.

I have made a sketch of the ground and the group, as near as I could (PLATE 61); shewing the manner of "starting" and "coming out," which vary a little from the customs of the *knowing* world; but in other respects, I believe, a horse-race is the same all the world over.

727 Besides these, many have been the amusements of this day, to which I have been an eye-witness; and since writing the above, I have learned the cause of this unusual expression of hilarity and mirth; which was no more nor less than the safe return of a small war-party, who had been so long out without any tidings having been received of them—that they had long since been looked upon as sacrificed to the fates of war and lost. This party was made up of the most distinguished and desperate young men of the tribe, who had sallied out against the Riccarees, and taken the most solemn oath amongst themselves never to return without achieving a victory. They had wandered long and faithfully about the country, following the trails of their enemy; when they were attacked by a numerous party, and lost several of their men and all their horses. In this condition, to evade the scrutiny of their enemy, who were closely investing the natural route to their village; they took a circuitous range of the country, to enable them to return with their lives, to their village.

In this plight, it seems, I had dropped my little canoe alongside of them, while descending from the Mouth of Yellow Stone to this place, not many weeks since; where they had bivouacked or halted, to smoke and consult on the best and safest mode of procedure. At the time of meeting them, not knowing anything of their language, they were unable to communicate their condition to me, and more probably were afraid to do so even if they could have done it, from apprehension that we might have given some account of them to their enemies. I rested my canoe an hour or so with them during which time they treated us with an indifferent reserve, yet respectfully; and we passed on our way, without further information of them or their plans than the sketch that I there made (PLATE 63), and which I shall preserve and value as one of the most pleasing groups I ever have had the pleasure to see. Seated on their buffalo robes, which were spread upon the grass, with their respective weapons laying about them, and lighting their pipes at a

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

727 little fire which was kindled in the centre—the chief or leader of the party, with his arms stacked behind him, and his long head-dress of war-eagles' quills and ermine falling down over his back, whilst he sat in a contemplative and almost desponding mood, was surely one of the most striking and beautiful illustrations of a natural hero that I ever looked upon.

These gallant fellows got safely home to their village, and the numerous expressions of joy for their return, which I have this day witnessed, have so much fatigued me that I write brief, and close my Letter here.

10: Neill 14(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

175 648 they are represented as a treacherous, deceitful people, always taking advantage of their neighbors, and favoring the Sioux when they come to war this way, and frequently intermix with them to annoy the Mandans and Big Bellies.

SIGN LANGUAGE.

201 This language is entirely different from the natives of this place, and it is only by signs that they usually communicate with each other, excepting a few among them who understand each other's language. It serves as interpreter upon any affair of importance. It is surprising how dexterous all these natives of the plains are, in the art of communicating their ideas by signs. They will hold conference, for several hours together, upon different subjects, and during the whole time not a single word will be pronounced upon either side, and still they appear to comprehend each other perfectly well. This mode of communication appears to be quite natural to them, other difficult events are performed with the greatest ease and readiness. They never seem to be at loss, or in want of a sign to express their meaning.

COURTESY TO STRANGERS.

648 721 728 Soon after our arrival, there was a great uproar occasioned by the unexpected visit of six Pawnees, from their own village, sixty leagues below this, on the banks of the same (Missouri) river. They were sent upon an embassy to treat for peace. It appears that last spring, some of these people had accompanied a war party of Sioux who came here and killed five Mandans. The latter nation, in company with the Big Bellies (Gros Ventres,) soon after returned the visit, and not finding the Sioux, on their return killed two Pawnees, but this did not satisfy them. They had informed the Pawnees that they might expect a more formal visit the ensuing fall; that both the Mandans and Big Bellies were determined to exterminate every Pawnee they could find, and lay their villages even with the ground.

To avoid this storm, the latter thought prudent to sue for [202] peace. A messenger was instantly dispatched to the upper villages to give information of their arrival. In the meantime the strangers were very hospitably entertained, conducted into a hut, and presented with corn and beans, dried meats, etc. All were now silent for some time, awaiting the determination of the Big Bellies.

ARRIVAL OF GROS VENTRES.

The Big Bellies[1] in a short time, arrived on horse-back; about thirty men came down full speed; they brought down an inter-

1 [Category 116, p. 335.—A.]

10: Neill 44(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

preter with them. They did not appear well pleased, and looked on the Pawnees with an eye of disdain. After some conversation they desired the Pawnees to return immediately to their own villages, and to inform their great war chief, Red Tail, that if he sincerely wished for peace, he must come up and then they would settle matters, as they were determined to have nothing to do with young men. They allowed two moons to consider upon the business, and perform the journey. If, at the end of that time, the Chief did not make his appearance, they would immediately gather up their corn, and in a body, go and find him out, in his own village, and convince him what Big Bellies (or as they call themselves Willow Indians), and Mandans could do when exasperated by the treacherous conduct of the Pawnees. 648 728 721

The six embassies promised to depart early next morning to inform their Chief, who they answer no doubt, would very soon wait upon them. Thus ended an affair, which at the commencement we supposed would conclude with the death of the strangers, by the great bustle and noise their arrival occasioned.

But I was afterwards informed that of such proceedings there was not the least danger; that the natives of this place make it a particular point of honor to protect every stranger who throws himself upon them and begs their clemency. Even their natural and most inveterate enimies, the Sioux, have been known to come into their villages unexpectedly, and were always received with hospitality, and well entertained during thei stay which by the way, they never permit to be more than one night when they are dismissed, and allowed to return to their own homes unmolested. 609 648 728 721

A HUNTING PARTY.

Towards the evening there was a whooping and howling among the young men who were standing upon their huts. This, it seems, was to announce the appearance of a hunting party of the Mandans, who were just at that moment appearing upon the tops of the high bank to the south, and descending by a well-beaten road towards the village. The party consisted of about one hundred men on horseback, and each loaded with half a buffalo; some of them had even more, according to the strength of their horses, and the master will always ride, be his beast ever so loaded. They had been away since yesterday and found buffalo in great abundance near at hand. These people never go out hunting unless in large parties. The continual danger from their enemies obliges them to be very cautious; another reason is, that when the buffalo comes near at hand, they are anxious to prevent them from being driven away. For this purpose, it is customary for them all, in a body, to surround one herd only, which sometimes consists of several hundreds. 224 [492]

675 it is gone in an instant, and search would be in vain; everyone
673 would wish to appear innocent, although they are not offended when accused of stealing, but laugh the matter away. .....We paid
437 our landlord for board and lodging, as well as the care of our horses,
177 and of the articles left under his charge, as we never expect the least favor from any of these fellows without recompensing them accordingly. He appeared very well pleased with the following articles, which we gave him: 60 rounds of ammunition, 4 large knives, 2 awls, 1 fathom of tobacco, 1 steel, 5 flints, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 2 worms (wormers for guns), and 1 dozen brass rings....

609 [332] My host was so obliging as to give up to me one of his
574 own best beds, well surrounded with dressed leather. We had a plentiful supply of corn and beans, and were soon invited to several huts, where we [333] were treated with a very palatable dish of
[431] pounded peas and parched corn; but it is customary for invited guests, on leaving, to present the master of the hut with a few inches of tobacco, for which he always appears very thankful.

728 [335] About 30 Big Bellies soon arrived on horseback, at full speed; they brought an interpreter with them. This party consisted of some of the principal war chiefs, and other great men, who did not appear well pleased, but looked on the Pawnees with disdain.

285 [339] ...seated on a mat made of small willows of equal size, fastened together [340] by threads of their own manufacture, passed through each stick about a foot apart.

342 [340] Seldom more than one family occupies the same hut.

437 [342] We paid the young men for taking our horses across the
177 river, and the women for assisting us with the canoes. The total cost was: 1 fathom of tobacco, 4 knives, 6 flints, 6 awls, 6 worms [gun wormers—analyst], and 10 balls. I also paid my landlord for the time we might remain here, which I supposed would be about ten days for three persons, including board and lodging, stabling for our horses, and care of our property. They make no price, leaving that to the generosity of guests, and should the payment be too little they still appear to accept with gratitude; but the visitor is afterward left to take care of his own property and horses in the best manner he can. It is impossible to get the most trifling service from the natives without immediate payment; not even an inch of cord will they part with without receiving something in return. It is true a trifle will please them, and they are

[p. 384(D)]

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

142 days and then mysteriously to have disappeared. The hair of the men often trailed on the ground, and Henry, Catlin, and others [302] refer to this in much detail. Now they wear their hair cut short, of their own volition, and in my brief visit I noticed no peculiarities of complexion or in color or hair. All of them, Mandans, Aricarees, and Minnetarees, seem to be a sturdy, manly set of fellows, with frank and intelligent countenances. I am inclined to think they have not had the best of supervision in the past, nor been treated with sufficient liberality and consideration by the government."

000 **Noted Chiefs—Patriarchs.** "Catlin was effusive in his praise of these Indians, and both he and Maximilian appear to have found some individuals who savored strongly of the Chingachgook type of Indian, and whose memories and virtues are venerated today. Such a man, for one, was the old Mah-to-toh-papa, or Four Bears, of Catlin, the Meto-Tope of Maximilian, and I can easily believe that Lean, or Poor Wolf, a Gros Ventre of today, now blind and infirm with the weight of his eighty-three years, has been a man that one could trust and respect. De Smet says that Four Bears was 'the most civil and affable Indian' that he ever met on the Missouri. Two-Chiefs, and Leggings, Mandans, and now old like Poor Wolf, a Gros Ventre, or Hidatsa, must also have been men of dignity and character." (Wheeler, p. 240.)

144 **Race Declining.** "As a pure race 'the polite and friendly Mandans,' as they were known to the traders, are slowly but surely declining, and it will not be long before the last one will have departed for the happy hunting grounds. The reservation rolls call for two hundred and fifty Mandans. In talking with Two-Chiefs, I asked him how many full-blood, pure Mandans he thought still remained. The old man, seventy-two years of age, stood in deep thought for several moments, and then replied, 'Not more than ten families; all the others are mixed blood.' Numerically, the tribe as a whole seems to be holding its own." (Wheeler, p. 242.)

•731 **Fort Mandan.** "Not a vestige of Fort Mandan remains. On the return of the expedition in 1806, under date of August 17th, the Lewis and Clarke itinerary says: 'In reaching Fort Mandan we found a few pickets standing on the riverside, but all the houses except one, had been burnt by an accidental fire.'

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

"What the 'accidental fire' left, the remorseless river took long ago. The character of the Missouri along here for the rapid cutting of its banks has been abundantly shown. A century has given ample opportunity for that one hut and those few pickets to have been insidiously undermined and carried away by the stream, and we know from Maximilian that this had been done in 1833." (Wheeler, p. 271.) 731

Wheeler thus expresses his profound impressions upon looking up and down the Missouri from the location of Fort Mandan: 000

Knife River and "Coal Bluff." "As I stood on the high bluffs of the river at this point in 1899, and overlooked the scene, I was profoundly impressed. To the north the distant valley of Knife river, deep green with heavy foliage, leads down to the Missouri; to the south the rough, bluffy ground near me grows rougher and bluffier as it reaches a big bend, and the irregular, grayish, ash-colored cut bank seems like that of a prodigious railway cut; the great river, in a wide, swollen flood, rolls on as it did a hundred years ago, and in broad, massive curve sweeps around a low point on the opposite shore, when, in a mood of inconstancy, it whirls back again in the other direction, and, at the beginning of the curve, is that 'bluff of coal' mentioned by the explorers, standing out strong and plain as a guide to us. Those were the limits—the 'bluff of coal' to the south, the Knife river to the north, and between them were the old Mandan villages, now gone forever.

"There extends for one and one-half or two miles a flat, heavily timbered bottom—Elm Point it is now called, and down near the lower end of it was where old Fort Mandan stood, and with our glasses we can make out, on the opposite shore, all that is left of Fort Clarke, the trading post named after Captain Clarke, and of which but a trace remains." (p. 272.)

Wheeler thus refers to the ravages of the smallpox among the Mandans: 164

Smallpox. "The worst affliction of this sort was subsequent to the visits of Catlin and Maximilian, and it almost completely annihilated the Mandans, if the old accounts are fairly trustworthy.

"In 1837 the smallpox was carried among them from the Missouri river steamboat **St. Peter's**, owned by the American Fur Company, and out of 1600 Mandans, only about 31 or 32 families-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

believed that the supernatural powers were transferred to her own body. These supernatural powers were in turn transmitted to her husband in the daily activities of living and working together. Men receiving sacred objects either to own or to hold took them in the same manner but did not hold them to the breast. 778 789

The faith of the Mandan in their sacred objects was unshaken by two severe smallpox epidemics. They speak of these epidemics as unfortunate and explain the impotency of their rites to protect the tribe on the grounds that, when the original ceremonies were introduced into the tribe, the sacred beings made no promise of tribal immunity to the white man's diseases. They believe that the tribe would have been exterminated by their enemies subsequent to the last smallpox epidemic had the ceremonies been abandoned. 778 731

The Mandan sacred bundles fall into two general categories. They are (1) the hereditary tribal bundles and (2) the personal bundles. Of these two groups of bundles, the former played a more significant role in the total ceremonial life and in a large measure set the background for the supernatural experiences which instituted the personal bundles. 778

At this point it would be well to indicate some of the general characteristics of these bundles not indicated in the main body of the report. The Mandan place greatest values on those bundles and ceremonies which traditionally were instituted in very early times. Foremost of these are the Okipa, founded by Lone Man and Hoita, and those Corn ceremonies which were founded by Good Furred Robe. Not only are these two ceremonies considered oldest, but they also involve the greatest number of participants. 778 796

The Okipa was without question the most complicated and colorful ceremony performed in the Northern Plains. According to tradition, the principal officers of the ceremony belonged to the WaxikEna clan. This clan was intrusted with the care and repair of the sacred cedar and other sacred objects appertaining to the ceremony. A male member of that clan occupied the sacred lodge and acted as announcer whenever tribal ceremonies were performed. A man selected one of his own clan to become his son-in-law to perpetuate the lineage in the sacred 778 796 614 428

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

was customary for the clan to meet in the clan leader's lodge and make provisions for the accumulation of goods to be used in the rites. It was believed that a successful ceremony with an abundance of gifts to be given away brought credit to the entire clan. 614 431

Moieties were in theory exogamous, but they had ceased to regulate marriage after 1837. Scattercorn explained that, while the Mandan considered those who sat on the same side in the Okipa or in council as brothers, it was considered better to marry into a clan of the same moiety than to marry outside the tribe. Marriages within the clan were disapproved. 616 582

The clan was a property-holding group. The major bundles of the Okipa ceremony were held in the WaxikEna clan, which also owned the sacred cedar and controlled the Okipa lodge and sacred turtles. Traditionally, the Shell Robe bundle belonged in the Prairie Chicken clan. Eagle-trapping lodges belonged to the clan of the member building it and remained in the clan when the original owner died. There were two bundles for the Big Bird ceremonies which were known as Black Medicine bundle and Sweet Medicine bundle. The former was inherited in the Prairie Chicken clan and the latter in the Speckled Eagle clan of the same moiety. Each clan was the theoretical custodian of one variety of corn. The WaxikEna clan was custodian of the bluish-green flint corn; the Tamisik had the red corn; the Prairie Chicken had the yellow flint and dent; the Speckled Eagle had the rainbow corn. Crows Heart stated that Hides-and-Eats, an old woman who lived in his lodge, told him that, when she was young, people of one clan were not permitted to raise corn belonging to the other clans without first securing the rights and that each clan claimed to be the preserver of its own corn. 614 421

It was the duty of the clan to assist its own members. It was the clan's duty to care for its old people having no blood children. During the smallpox epidemic of 1837, women went through the villages and gathered the orphans of their clan, who were taken into their lodges to be reared. Old people were invited in to be fed and clothed by younger members of their own clan. When returning from a successful hunt, young men would offer meat to the old people who met them at the outskirts of the village. One was expected to offer meat to old people of the same clan without being asked for it. 614 736 888

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

give her the best mare taken. She would not refuse him anything he asked of her, and, if he were killed while fighting with the enemy, she was expected to inflict self-torture and dress in mourning. She would assist her brothers in acquiring property needed for the ceremonies. This bond of mutual assistance was not affected by his subsequent marriage. Brothers and sisters were supposed to share in the perpetuation of their parents' ceremonial bundles. In old age, when their respective families were broken up by deaths, brothers would frequently return to the parental lodge. The smallpox epidemic of 1837 left many orphans, and these were taken into households where the females were of the same clan.

Grandfather–grandchild (*tata'xis–ptawi'hąkE*).—The grandfather–grandchild relation was, in general, one of affection. The grandfather would make toys for his grandsons, teach them stories, and watch after them when on summer buffalo hunts, especially when moving camp or while the men and women of middle age were busy butchering and drying meat. Of the large number of persons addressed as "grandfather," his closest relations were those associated with him in the daily life of the household. The lodge grandfather was usually the one to take a grandson to the river early each morning to bathe. He teased his grandson mildly for falling off a horse or for small infractions of tribal custom, but the grandson would not reciprocate, since the grandfather was respected for his knowledge of tribal lore, the enemies he had struck, or the horses he had captured. A young man was expected to respect older people as holy, since in their lifetime they had had experiences with sacred things in the ceremonies.

The grandfather would play with a granddaughter when she was young and teach her stories. When she attained the age of ten years, he would avoid her lest people gossip. Should he come into the lodge and find a granddaughter alone, he would leave immediately.

A grandfather never punished grandchildren, but he would scold them. A grandfather living in the lodge was highly respected and was very helpful in preparing a grandson for ceremonies and war expeditions. If he became cross as he grew old, the grandson generally avoided him. If the grandfather was of

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

736 In the event of separation or death the children were provided for by the mother's household, with the father's household generally disregarding them.

581 556 These various accounts of types of marriage might be analyzed at length; it is sufficient here to note some significant situations which can be explained as accounting for the variations that occur as well as the number of different relatives participating in one way or another. We have noted the great emphasis placed on wealth and the part it played at the naming of a child. There was a comparable display of wealth when a young man returned from his first successful war expedition. Mandan informants speak of advancement in the tribe as steps in a ladder. As one took a new step, he made certain payments. For those of eminence, marriage was treated in the same way. Except for those marriages which involved bundle purchase, marriage was secular in character and involved only a few people.

162 Plains warfare greatly unbalanced the proportion of women to men. My census of the Mandan as of 1870–72 showed that males constituted only 38 per cent of the total population. A similar proportion was found for Hidatsa men. If we disregard all children under fifteen years of age, the proportion of men would be even smaller. The women of the household played an exclusive role in gardening unless one considers the use of young men as watchmen during the day to prevent a surprise attack by their enemies. The women built the earth lodges except for the raising of the heavier rafters and repaired them from time to time. They dressed the hides and made all the household goods. They did most of the butchering, except when animals were killed at a distance from the village. And they found time to participate in many of the men's ceremonies besides having ceremonies of their own. They were acquainted with ceremonies in which tribal custom did not permit their participation and on some occasions were intrusted with important ritualism ultimately to be transferred to their children. They reared their families and trained them without a great deal of help from their husbands. Some lodge groups in 1870–72 had had no male old enough to hunt for ten years or more. Informants thought that the physical needs of such households were pretty well taken care of by the tribal system of mutual

562 462

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My mother received the right to doctor women having trouble in childbirth, but she never practiced until she was quite an old woman. She learned of a woman that other doctors had given up to die and went to help her. The woman was scarcely alive but still conscious and could talk a little. 844 159

My mother said to her, "I have no great powers, but I am going to do just as I saw in my dream when a young woman." She chewed the black root and blew it over the sick woman and sang the medicine song she heard the old man and woman singing. She asked one of the old women standing near by to bring a stiff feather. Then she lifted the sick woman's head up and opened her mouth. She pressed one knee on the patient's stomach and at the same time pushed the feather down her throat, causing her to strain as in vomiting. This contracted the abdominal muscles, and, the fourth time the feather was pushed down her throat, the child came. My mother did not dream that she should use the feather. It was her own idea. She boiled some of the black root and gave the sick woman the water off of it to drink. She got a good horse, ten blankets, and much calico for doctoring this woman.

My mother turned her doctoring bundle over to me when she was old. The bundle consisted of black root, sage, and the song. She did not have the hide rattle, as it was the man in her dream who held that. I only doctored one woman who was having pains before her child was born. I did just as my mother instructed me to. I went to her lodge, sent everyone out except one woman, the sick one's mother, and made the room dark. I sang the song and blew chewed black root over her. I boiled black root and gave her the water to drink. The child was born before I had time to use the feather. I was paid a fat steer for helping her.

Crows Heart thought that a person rarely called in another to doctor except when the case was serious. People usually depended on their own bundles for protection and recovery from illness or accident. In the case of imbedded arrows, anyone might be asked to help remove them. Arrowheads or bullets imbedded in the flesh of the limbs were usually pressed on through the limb. He cited examples, one when a man doctored his own injuries and one where help was asked of others. 755 752

CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF CHERRY NECKLACE

Once the Mandan went toward Dickinson on their summer buffalo hunt. Nearly one thousand Sioux attacked them, and Poor Bear was shot through the chest so that the bullet come out through his shoulder blade. He bled through his nose and mouth when he was carried into his tepee. He said that when he got his medicine spirit, the Bear, he was promised protection. Although bullets might hit him they could not kill him if he carried out the instructions received in his dream. He asked his wives to bring him wild plums to eat, but there were none because it was early in the summer. Instead they brought him plum leaves and said they were plums. He chewed the leaves and sang his sacred songs. His wives helped him to his feet, and he danced while he sang with the blood flowing from the two wounds. In four days he was able to walk through camp again.

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Another time there was a battle at Like-a-Fishhook Village with the Sioux, and one of the warriors was shot in the abdomen with an arrow. The arrowhead hit a bone so that the shaft came out, leaving the arrow in his body. The man was very sick from the pain. His family called that anyone taking out the metal arrowhead would be paid a buffalo horse, two pack horses, a large tepee of twenty hides, a mule, a dress made of mountain-sheep hide and decorated with five hundred elk teeth, one war bonnet, and a pile of robes and blankets. Nobody came to remove the arrowhead so his wife put a pipe before Cherry Necklace[10] and Rattles Stone Like a Bell, holy men, and asked them to help. Both came to the wounded man's lodge.

Cherry Necklace got his powers years before when away eagle-trapping. He waded into a pond one evening to fast in quest of a god. There he cried all night until nearly morning when a bear came out of the water and led him into his den under the water. The bear showed him how to use medicine roots, gave him a song, and took him to a snake den where the snakes showed him how to poison people. Cherry Necklace always smoked alone, and it was said that anyone coming into his lodge while he smoked was poisoned. Sometimes he smoked with others, but there must be seven in the party. He poisoned through habit, not meanness, and everyone respected and feared him.

Rattles Stone Like a Bell fasted on Eagles Nest Hill[11] southeast of Washburn, and the eagles instructed him to make a holy pipe, and the Crane gave him the power to remove arrowheads and bullets.

Cherry Necklace[12] tried to get the arrowhead first. He thought he ought to put him to sleep, so he smoked his medicine roots, but the injured man was in too great pain to sleep. He thought he would try another way; he would put hot coals on his pipe stem. The bull-snake came out, and he asked the snake to go into the wound, but the snake's jaws were too weak to extract the point, so Cherry Necklace gave up.

Rattles Stone Like a Bell tried. He had two dried crane heads with the lower jaws attached and a stuffed crane. He tied one of the dry heads around the patient's neck and painted his face red. He put the other crane head around his own neck and painted his own face red also. He sang his medicine song which put the wounded man to sleep. While he was singing, the crane came alive and walked around the wounded man. As he was going to sleep, he heard the crane calling "Konix," and the medicine man answering "Konix" from the other side of the room. When he was asleep, the crane walked up to him, stuck his bill in the wound, using his bill as pinchers. After pulling several times, he succeeded in extracting the arrowhead. Matter and blood came out of the wound. Rattles Stone Like a Bell sent word through the village for the people to come to the river's edge and see the wounded man bathe. He led the sick man to the water, all the time singing the crane's song. They washed off the red paint and went back to the lodge. Rattles Stone Like a Bell took all the goods he had been promised, but he gave some to Cherry Necklace, who was the older man.

10. For other stories concerning this man see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 264–66.

11. Another Eagle Nest Hill was south of Mandan, North Dakota.

12. Cherry Necklace was a Hidatsa.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Mrs. Good Bear remembered an old man with the medicine of the otter. The otter was said to extract arrowheads and bullets by sticking his head into the wound. 755 752

The Mandan had one doctoring practice not employed by the Hidatsa. Sometimes a baby got a sore mouth and could not nurse its mother. The child's father would call one of his own brothers saying, "I want to drink of your blood." 758 602 614

The father would use an awl to prick a hole in his brother's leg and the child's mouth was put over the wound. When a man had no brothers, he called a man of his own clan. The rule was that the blood one drank must come from a man of the father's clan. Crows Heart showed several scars where he had given blood to cure sore mouths.

Breaking rules was believed to be the cause of bad luck. This could be either intentional or unintentional. Sometimes the guardian spirit was said to abandon one who violated some rule. Crows Heart said that it was impossible to explain why some men who were so particular about obeying all the rules should lose power. Edgar Crows Heart took his mother's brother's mink hide[13] to use in a dance without getting permission. Shortly afterward, he was thrown from a horse and suffered a broken nose, a result, Crows Heart, the father, said of taking a medicine bundle without the right. 777

Scattercorn was the only informant to give an example of sleight-of-hand practices performed as the result of a dream. In the hereditary bundle rites people claimed to have corn, buffalo, and other spirits in their body which came up into the mouth during the ceremonies.[14] Her account is of one not informed in the actual rites. 776

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF POWER OF MEDICINE

My father's father ran away from the village when the smallpox came and lived with the Crow Indians out west. He was one who fasted much. One time he fasted on a high mountain. He became so weak that he could not get down the mountain and fell unconscious in the snow. A bear, porcupine, and otter came to him and said, "Son, we heard you cry and are going to help you." Those spirits carried him down the mountain, and he was so weak that he could not help himself. He became unusually holy because so many animals 787 159 776

13. Hidatsa Creek medicine.

14. Also reported by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIV (Cleveland, 1906), 33.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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164 DISEASE AND THE CURE OF DISEASE:—The Mandans were as a rule a very healthy people and their catalogue of diseases was small, being mostly those which of necessity accompany a life of considerable hardship. Catarrhal troubles, snow blindness, rheumatism and hemoptisis were most common. They had no fevers and no consumption; venereal diseases were found, but the Mandans always claimed that these were got from the Crows. Their other troubles were wounds, snake bites and freezing. Maximilian said that he also found cases of the gout among them.

757 Colds and catarrhal troubles and rheumatism were treated in the vapor bath which is found in one form or another among most Indian tribes. The patient was steamed well and then immediately plunged into icy water or snow, from there he went into the house where he was kept wrapped up for some time. The snow blindness was treated by gentle sweating. Cataracts and inflammation of the eyes resulted from snow blindness at times, and the inflammation was treated by rubbing with some herb which had a rough surface. With this the eyeball was rubbed till blood flowed. Bleeding was practiced, and rattle-snake rattles were considered to be a remedy for almost anything. The rattles were powdered fine, mixed with water or saliva and either swallowed or rubbed on the parts affected. The Mandans used no emetics but had a number of vegetable purgatives. Lewis and Clarke described a root which was chewed and placed on a snake bite, they called it Sackacomah but it has not been identified botanically. Freezing was treated by rubbing with snow. Horses were sometimes given a piece of wasp's nest as a diuretic.

752 Wounds healed with remarkable rapidity and had very little care. Severe cuts were rubbed with fat and sometimes bound up. A number of cases were known where persons who had been scalped recovered. In arrow wounds the point was always forced entirely through the flesh if possible because it came out more easily so.

524 GAMES:—The Mandans had games for men, women and children, and in most of these betting was an important part of the sport. Probably the best known of these games was

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

in the same manner as the Manitari chief, Kokoshkis, mentioned by Say. He went, one evening, wrapped up in his robe, into a hut of the hostile Arikkaras, as the young men of the village often do, ate with his face covered, so that he was taken for a young Arikkara; then laid himself down by the side of a woman, and afterwards cut off a lock of her hair, with which he retired. He might have killed the woman, as Kokoshkis did, but refrained from doing so. 555

Wounds appear to be healed with remarkable ease. In cases of arrow wounds, they like to force the arrow quite through, that the iron head may not remain in the wound. Men and women are often scalped, in battle, who afterwards come to themselves, and are cured. Such a large wound on the head is rubbed with fat; the medicine man fumigates it, singing at the same time. Disorders are not uncommon among the Indians. The Mandans and Manitaries often suffer from diseases in the eyes; many are one-eyed, or have a tunicle over one eye. In inflammation of the eye they have a custom of scratching the inner eye with the leaf of a kind of grass, resembling a saw, which causes them to bleed very much, and this may often occasion the loss of the eye. Rheumatism, coughs, and the like, are frequent, because they go half naked in the severest cold, and plunge into ice water. Much benefit is often derived from their steam-baths, in a well closed hut, where a thick steam is produced by pouring water on hot stones. They then immediately go into the cold, roll themselves in the snow, or plunge into a river covered with drifting ice, but do not return to a warm hut, as the Russians do. Many Indians are said to have died on the spot by trying this remedy. Some suffer from gout; but all who survive these violent remedies are stronger and more hardy. Another remedy is trampling on the whole body, especially the stomach, as is practised also among the Brazilians. This operation is performed with such violence, as often to occasion hard swellings in the intestines, or ulcers, especially in the liver. The steam-bath is used as a remedy in all kinds of disorders. Vaccination, the application of which met with no difficulties among several nations on the great lakes, especially the Chippeways, is not yet practised among the Mandans and Manitaries. Spitting of blood is said to be frequent, but not pulmonary consumption. Gonorrhœa is very common; they affirm that all venereal disorders came to them from the Crows beyond the Rocky Mountains. For such disorders they often seat themselves over a heated pot, but very frequently burn themselves. They cut open buboes, lengthwise, with a knife, and then run for a couple of miles as fast as they can. The jaundice is said not to occur among them. It appears that they are not acquainted with emetics, but, if they feel anything wrong in the stomach, they thrust a feather down the throat, and thus produce vomiting. Their purgatives are obtained from the vegetable kingdom. The poison-vine often produces swellings, especially in children. As rattlesnakes are rare in the vicinity of the villages, it is, of course, seldom that any one is bitten by them; these Indians are said, however, to have very good remedies against the bite. Frozen limbs are rubbed with snow. 752 757 164 757

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787 Coyote Woman went onto a hill. The wolf said, "Your husband who was like an enemy to you has been eaten up. Don't feel sorry for him, or I will never
756 help you."

159 Before she went home, she cut deep gashes in her arms and legs with a flint knife and cut the sleeves from her dress. As she approached the village, she began to cry, and all the people ran out to learn the cause of her mourning. She said that her husband and all his party were dead.

She began doctoring the sick people the way she had formerly been instructed by the bear.[8] She examined her patients first to learn what caused the illness. Some were made ill by the snakes or bugs in their bodies; others from [753] the influence of evil spirits; others from the loss of a god. She had a medicine song and a medicine root. If she found the pain was in one spot, she sucked with her mouth or a hollow horn, sometimes drawing out long slim worms or maggots of different colors. She pressed the stomach for pains located in the stomach or bowels and blew chewed-up cedar bark over the patient; when a person had a headache, she let out blood from the forehead.

756 The stone was burned so our people lost that. When Coyote Woman was old, she did not sell my mother the right to doctor, but my mother often
159 heard her tell how she cured her patients. We have always believed since then that the bear was the greatest of all doctors.

844 Certain doctors were called upon to help women laboring in childbirth. Some of the women of the house would fill a pipe and place it before the wom-
159 an they wished to act as midwife or doctor. The doctor gave instructions which must be carried out and set the price which was for the number of days she would serve. If she failed to help the patient in that time, she left to give another a chance to cure the patient. If the doctor failed to cure the patient in the time designated, the relatives might again place the pipe before her, and she was obliged to remain longer. Extra goods were then paid for the additional time. When the doctor entered the lodge where the woman in labor lived, she ordered all the men and small children out, and women then in their [841] menstrual period were asked to stay away from the lodge. Should any woman during her menstrual period come into the lodge, sage was immediately burned in four places in the lodge, two fires being made of sage painted red and two of white sage.[9] If this was not done, it was believed that the patient might die. A special song was sung during the burning of the sage, for which the doctor received an additional fee. The doctor called in two young girls while the four fires were burning and asked them to doctor the patient in her stead by singing the medicine songs and dancing around the sick person. At the end of the songs, the two girls walked to the sick person and said, "You are well now," and left the lodge. The doctor then continued to administer to the sick woman.

The doctor selected an old woman to take the child as soon as it came. Women gave birth to children usually in bed or on a robe laid on the floor. The lodge was darkened, and only the doctor and the sick woman's mother were allowed inside. As soon as the child was born, a wide belt was bound tightly around the mother's abdomen. Because of the cost, many women did not engage a doctor unless difficulty was experienced.

8. Bear bundle rites were inherited in the Bear clan until the clan died out after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

9. Apparently this practice was a part of each doctoring rite. Red sage represented the sun and white sage represented the moon.

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women want the man to pick it up. If he picks it up, but few do, he dresses like a woman. 838

There are three women, one in each of the three places where Sun stops to smoke. They are his sisters. Their names are Sunrise Woman, Above Woman, and Sunset Woman. They are all evil women. Because Sun is my god, I have the right to give children such names as Lone Woman from Sun's mother, Buffalo Woman from the buffalo skull, Digs Turnips or Chokecherry Tree from the Bear. 776 553

Although the woman represented in the Shell bundle is one of the Holy Women, rights in the People Above ceremony did not carry rights in the Shell bundle. 778 776

These Holy Women cause twisted faces and insanity, and people with rights in the bundle can cure them. I have the right also to doctor those thrown from horses or hit with an ash stick. This right comes from the People Above bundle. [553] [828]

The myth Calf Woman had been taught when buying the bundle was as follows: 773

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY CALF WOMAN 539

Three people go together in this story; they are Sun, Moon, and Old Woman Above. A long time ago a young woman named Corn Silk wanted to marry Sun. She went to a very old woman, who was a Holy Woman, to get instructions as to where Sun lived and how she might reach him. This Holy Woman said, "Your grandmothers, the mice, are living on the prairies. You can stop at their earth lodges each night on the way."

She started on her journey and came to the home of the lodge mice about sundown. She walked up to the lodge and stood outside. One of the children who came outside saw her and ran inside to tell the mice about it. The old women told the little mouse to invite her in. She asked the woman who was doing the cooking to prepare Corn Silk some ground beans for her supper. The young woman had buffalo fat along; she gave some of it to the mice to use, for their hands were chapped from digging beans. She also had some blue stone beads along, and she gave some of them to the old women. She slept there and the next morning went on.

The lodge mice told her that there was another family of mice a little farther on. She reached them at sunset. They were the white-breasted mice. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads as before. She also gave them fat for their chapped hands. One of the old women asked her where she was going, and she replied that she was on her way to marry Sun. They told her she would find another family of mice a little farther on.

She traveled all day and reached the lodge of the mosquito mice at sunset. One came out and saw her, and she was invited in as before. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads and buffalo fat.

They inquired, "Where are you going, my beautiful grandchild?"

She answered, "I am on my way to marry Sun."

She slept until morning and ate her breakfast with the mice. She traveled all day and reached the home of the pocket gophers at sunset. They saw her,

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squirmed away. The last of the snakes had young in her body and was slow to come to life. The woman blew the black root on the snake several times, and each time the snake gave birth to a young snake until all were born. The old man and woman then instructed Stays Yellow that she could doctor women when they had difficulty bearing children. My mother never killed snakes after that; she always blew some of the medicine root on any snake near our lodge and then carried it away.

My mother's mother, Coyote Woman, lived with her husband between the Knife and the Heart rivers.[6] He was very mean to her and beat her a great deal. He sent her out every morning at daylight to see if there were any animals in their pits. One day there was a large wolf in one of the pits.

The wolf said, "Take me out, and I will give you power to do anything you ask."

Coyote Woman did not know what to do because she was afraid of her husband. The wolf knew her thoughts. He coughed up a blue stone.

"Take that stone and use it among your people," he said. "If you use it, you will stay awake all night just like the wolves do." She took the stone and let the wolf out.

From fear of her husband, she told him what had happened. The old man was very cross and inquired how much power the wolf gave her. She showed him the blue stone, and the old man took it away from her.

When the wolf gave her the stone he had said, "If anybody in your tribe is mean to you and you want to get rid of him, cut out an image of him in leather, put the stone beside the image, and cover both with hot ashes. Then the person will die."

She told all this to her husband. She had had another husband when she was young, and the old man immediately put a piece of hide cut out in the shape of the other man together with the blue stone into the ashes, calling the other man's name. That night the old man and his wife could not sleep. The next morning the woman's first husband died. She knew that she would have to get the stone away from her husband or he would kill half the tribe, so she stole the stone. When he missed the stone, he beat her; then he took her to the prairie where he drove down four posts, tying her arms and legs each to a post. In the night the wolf came and chewed off all the straps, thus setting her free.[7]

The Wolf said, "Any time you want to know anything, come out on the hills and I will tell you."

She went home and slept during the day. A large bear came to her and said, "You are having a hard time. From now on, you must go among your people doctoring. People will give you white buffalo robes, leggings, dresses, and moccasins, for you will cure all who ask your help."

Then the wolf came to her in her dream and said, "Tell your husband to go on the warpath. The first time the wolves will send him good luck and all the people will praise him; the second time he won't come back, for the wolves will eat him."

He did as she said. The second time he did not come back. After ten days,

6. This was the village of the Awigaxa and Istopa bands.

7. This suggests Hidatsa beliefs concerning wolves. See "Wolf Ceremonies" in Bowers, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, MS).

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name were taken to the usual place, where they were placed on a scaffold or interred, according to the parents' preference.

The Mandan believed that there was a Baby Hill near Fort Clark, another near the Heart River, and a third near Dickinson which had interiors like an earth lodge, in which an old man cared for them. If a child died before being named, it returned to the Baby Hill. People claimed to have seen baby tracks on the tops and sides of these hills. It was believed that the spirits in the hill near the Heart River came north when the Mandan came north. If a woman had been married a number of years and was childless, desiring a child, she would go to one of these hills to pray for one. Those wanting a daughter brought girl's clothing and a ball; for a son she brought a small bow and arrow. The Mandan believed in rebirth. Calf Woman's grandfather said he was one who had been reborn. One of her grandchildren had a spot on her hip, and it was thought she was one who had lived before. It was believed that children choose the mother they want and that a child resembling a sibling who had died was the reincarnation of the other child. The Mandan cite numerous instances of culture heroes who selected a mother when desiring to be born into the tribe.

A girl usually keeps her first name as long as she lives. If she was sick or unlucky, her parents frequently put up a feast to get a new name for her. If she had grown up, her brothers and sisters helped her prepare a renaming feast.

A nursing child frequently developed a sore mouth which interfered with its feeding. In such cases, the parents selected a man of the child's father's clan to cure it by piercing the skin of the ceremonial father's leg and permitting the child to suck of his blood. A payment was made to the man selected by the child's clan brothers and sisters.

TRAINING

The child's training was both economic and ritualistic and differed according to the sex of the child. A girl was trained in lodge management, household arts, gardening, curing of meat, and certain ritualistic practices, receiving her instruction primarily from the women of the lodge. A boy was taught hunting and fishing and went out while still a boy to help bring meat

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888 561 562 hunting. Women holding rights in the various Holy Women bundles also met whenever a medicine feast was given. Their rights were individually acquired by assisting their husbands or brothers in the bundle purchase. Some of their number were members of the Goose or the White Buffalo Cow societies.

888 562 The older people performed an important role in the ceremonies so long as they were not too feeble to get around. Women who had assisted others at childbirth became doctors after the menopause and could substitute for a man in a great many of the societies. In many ceremonies they were the medium through which the traditions and bundles were transmitted to a legitimate male heir.

888 785 755 Fasting was generally completed by the time one reached fifty years of age. In case of repeated bad luck or failure to attain a definite goal, fasting for short periods was practiced during a ceremony. When an epidemic of sore eyes broke out at Fishhook Village, one old woman fasted to seek relief from her affliction. Since her eye trouble was cleared up shortly afterward, quite a number of middle-aged and old people fasted to cure the ailment. Calf Woman said that more than half of them got relief.

888 431 787 People who were past middle age and who had been relatively successful all their lives would frequently have bad dreams in which they were being killed and cut up by the enemy or were drowning. It was believed that one could forestall this misfortune by giving away all his property. He would call in those who had been successful and were owners of important tribal bundles to give away his property, consisting of robes and bedding, household utensils, dogs, and horses, until the family was utterly destitute. One doing this would walk through the village repeating the dream. When the bad dream failed to materialize within the designated time, such people were said to be holy and as such were called the "protectors of the village." In appreciation of their sacrifices, each household group was expected to contribute something toward their comfort.

888 421 324 The old people had privately owned game pits and were entitled to the animals found in them. According to tradition, before horses were acquired, pits were widely used and owned by households. Ruins of game pits are still to be seen in consider-

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My mother received the right to doctor women having trouble in childbirth, but she never practiced until she was quite an old woman. She learned of a woman that other doctors had given up to die and went to help her. The woman was scarcely alive but still conscious and could talk a little. 844 159

My mother said to her, "I have no great powers, but I am going to do just as I saw in my dream when a young woman." She chewed the black root and blew it over the sick woman and sang the medicine song she heard the old man and woman singing. She asked one of the old women standing near by to bring a stiff feather. Then she lifted the sick woman's head up and opened her mouth. She pressed one knee on the patient's stomach and at the same time pushed the feather down her throat, causing her to strain as in vomiting. This contracted the abdominal muscles, and, the fourth time the feather was pushed down her throat, the child came. My mother did not dream that she should use the feather. It was her own idea. She boiled some of the black root and gave the sick woman the water off of it to drink. She got a good horse, ten blankets, and much calico for doctoring this woman.

My mother turned her doctoring bundle over to me when she was old. The bundle consisted of black root, sage, and the song. She did not have the hide rattle, as it was the man in her dream who held that. I only doctored one woman who was having pains before her child was born. I did just as my mother instructed me to. I went to her lodge, sent everyone out except one woman, the sick one's mother, and made the room dark. I sang the song and blew chewed black root over her. I boiled black root and gave her the water to drink. The child was born before I had time to use the feather. I was paid a fat steer for helping her.

Crows Heart thought that a person rarely called in another to doctor except when the case was serious. People usually depended on their own bundles for protection and recovery from illness or accident. In the case of imbedded arrows, anyone might be asked to help remove them. Arrowheads or bullets imbedded in the flesh of the limbs were usually pressed on through the limb. He cited examples, one when a man doctored his own injuries and one where help was asked of others. 755 752

CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF CHERRY NECKLACE

Once the Mandan went toward Dickinson on their summer buffalo hunt. Nearly one thousand Sioux attacked them, and Poor Bear was shot through the chest so that the bullet come out through his shoulder blade. He bled through his nose and mouth when he was carried into his tepee. He said that when he got his medicine spirit, the Bear, he was promised protection. Although bullets might hit him they could not kill him if he carried out the instructions received in his dream. He asked his wives to bring him wild plums to eat, but there were none because it was early in the summer. Instead they brought him plum leaves and said they were plums. He chewed the leaves and sang his sacred songs. His wives helped him to his feet, and he danced while he sang with the blood flowing from the two wounds. In four days he was able to walk through camp again.

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Another time there was a battle at Like-a-Fishhook Village with the Sioux, and one of the warriors was shot in the abdomen with an arrow. The arrowhead hit a bone so that the shaft came out, leaving the arrow in his body. The man was very sick from the pain. His family called that anyone taking out the metal arrowhead would be paid a buffalo horse, two pack horses, a large tepee of twenty hides, a mule, a dress made of mountain-sheep hide and decorated with five hundred elk teeth, one war bonnet, and a pile of robes and blankets. Nobody came to remove the arrowhead so his wife put a pipe before Cherry Necklace[10] and Rattles Stone Like a Bell, holy men, and asked them to help. Both came to the wounded man's lodge.

Cherry Necklace got his powers years before when away eagle-trapping. He waded into a pond one evening to fast in quest of a god. There he cried all night until nearly morning when a bear came out of the water and led him into his den under the water. The bear showed him how to use medicine roots, gave him a song, and took him to a snake den where the snakes showed him how to poison people. Cherry Necklace always smoked alone, and it was said that anyone coming into his lodge while he smoked was poisoned. Sometimes he smoked with others, but there must be seven in the party. He poisoned through habit, not meanness, and everyone respected and feared him.

Rattles Stone Like a Bell fasted on Eagles Nest Hill[11] southeast of Washburn, and the eagles instructed him to make a holy pipe, and the Crane gave him the power to remove arrowheads and bullets.

Cherry Necklace[12] tried to get the arrowhead first. He thought he ought to put him to sleep, so he smoked his medicine roots, but the injured man was in too great pain to sleep. He thought he would try another way; he would put hot coals on his pipe stem. The bull-snake came out, and he asked the snake to go into the wound, but the snake's jaws were too weak to extract the point, so Cherry Necklace gave up.

Rattles Stone Like a Bell tried. He had two dried crane heads with the lower jaws attached and a stuffed crane. He tied one of the dry heads around the patient's neck and painted his face red. He put the other crane head around his own neck and painted his own face red also. He sang his medicine song which put the wounded man to sleep. While he was singing, the crane came alive and walked around the wounded man. As he was going to sleep, he heard the crane calling "Konix," and the medicine man answering "Konix" from the other side of the room. When he was asleep, the crane walked up to him, stuck his bill in the wound, using his bill as pinchers. After pulling several times, he succeeded in extracting the arrowhead. Matter and blood came out of the wound. Rattles Stone Like a Bell sent word through the village for the people to come to the river's edge and see the wounded man bathe. He led the sick man to the water, all the time singing the crane's song. They washed off the red paint and went back to the lodge. Rattles Stone Like a Bell took all the goods he had been promised, but he gave some to Cherry Necklace, who was the older man.

10. For other stories concerning this man see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 264–66.

11. Another Eagle Nest Hill was south of Mandan, North Dakota.

12. Cherry Necklace was a Hidatsa.

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Mrs. Good Bear remembered an old man with the medicine of the otter. The otter was said to extract arrowheads and bullets by sticking his head into the wound.

The Mandan had one doctoring practice not employed by the Hidatsa. Sometimes a baby got a sore mouth and could not nurse its mother. The child's father would call one of his own brothers saying, "I want to drink of your blood."

The father would use an awl to prick a hole in his brother's leg and the child's mouth was put over the wound. When a man had no brothers, he called a man of his own clan. The rule was that the blood one drank must come from a man of the father's clan. Crows Heart showed several scars where he had given blood to cure sore mouths.

Breaking rules was believed to be the cause of bad luck. This could be either intentional or unintentional. Sometimes the guardian spirit was said to abandon one who violated some rule. Crows Heart said that it was impossible to explain why some men who were so particular about obeying all the rules should lose power. Edgar Crows Heart took his mother's brother's mink hide[13] to use in a dance without getting permission. Shortly afterward, he was thrown from a horse and suffered a broken nose, a result, Crows Heart, the father, said of taking a medicine bundle without the right.

Scattercorn was the only informant to give an example of sleight-of-hand practices performed as the result of a dream. In the hereditary bundle rites people claimed to have corn, buffalo, and other spirits in their body which came up into the mouth during the ceremonies.[14] Her account is of one not informed in the actual rites.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF POWER OF MEDICINE

My father's father ran away from the village when the smallpox came and lived with the Crow Indians out west. He was one who fasted much. One time he fasted on a high mountain. He became so weak that he could not get down the mountain and fell unconscious in the snow. A bear, porcupine, and otter came to him and said, "Son, we heard you cry and are going to help you." Those spirits carried him down the mountain, and he was so weak that he could not help himself. He became unusually holy because so many animals

13. Hidatsa Creek medicine.

14. Also reported by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIV (Cleveland, 1906), 33.

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778 bundles containing articles representing sacred beings believed
425 to be living in the world above, which would include People Above bundles, Star, and Holy Women bundles.

778 Bundle-owners doctored for insanity, feeble-mindedness, spasms and fits, premature births, and paralysis. Payment was
755 made if the patient recovered, or, when the case was given up as hopeless, the relatives requested that the doctor continue his efforts. Pine needles were burned as incense, and the Black Medicine root was chewed and blown over the victim. The songs were sung while using a large gourd rattle.

778 Calf Woman believed that the bundles were primarily war bundles because the Sun was a cannibal who brought war parties together and had some killed so he could eat them. Men having the Sun as their god believed that it would be the enemy who would be killed.

778 One could sell rights in the bundle four times but usually reserved singer rights and the rattle for the oldest daughter and
425 her husband. Women buying with the husband held Holy Woman rights to Old Woman Above and were entitled to wear magpie feathers and a braid of sweet grass and to carry an ash digging stick when attending a medicine feast.

772 Calf Woman added this general information about the beliefs associated with the ritual of the ceremony:

> The world is in three layers: above world; the land we live on; and the lower land. First Creator and Lone Man created the land we live on. These lands and the sky are held apart by four large posts, for the universe is a large earth lodge. The earth is floating on water which separates it from the lower land because water comes out of the ground. There are people living on these three lands.
>
> 821 Sun dies during an eclipse. When there is a total eclipse of Sun, those with People Above bundles, which always includes Sun, burn pine spills that come from the Rocky Mountains, while all the people cry. Even the dogs cry. If the people are on the march when Sun dies, they stop to cry until Sun comes back to life. Sometimes Sun is sick, and then only part of the sun is dark.
>
> Comets and constellations are people who once lived on the earth as holy people. The people were getting careless and broke the rules and did not treat these holy people right, so they went back to the sky and are making their home there now. When one sees a star going across the sky, it is because it is changing places, traveling as an arrow.
>
> 838 I saw three men who dressed like women; one was a Mandan, a brother to Four Bears;[3] the other two were Hidatsa. If a man dreams of the Holy Women and later finds a rope or porcupine quills in the forest, that is a sign that these

3. Four Bears also had a son who dressed in women's clothing.

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773 labourers, and the mouse, the mole, and the before-mentioned stags, perform the work. The birds, which fly from the sea-shore in the spring, represent the old woman, who then travels to the north to visit "the old man who never dies," and who always resides in that quarter. She does not, however, stop there long, but generally returns in three or four days. In former times, the old woman's hut was near the little Missouri, where the Indians often went to visit her. One day, twelve Manitaries came to her, and she set before them a pot of maize, which was so small, that it was not sufficient to satisfy even one; but she invited them to eat, and, as soon as the pot was empty, it was instantly refilled, and all the twelve men had enough. This occurred several times while the old woman resided in that spot.

773 Serpents, especially the rattlesnakes, are in a greater or less degree "medicine" for these people, who kill them, and cut off the rattles, which they regard as an effectual remedy in many 755 diseases. They chew one of the joints, and wet various parts of the body of the patient with [825] the saliva. They likewise believe in the existence of a colossal medicine serpent, which lives in 778 a lake three or four days' journey from this place, and to which they make offerings. The following is their tradition of this monster:—Two young men were strolling along the bank of the river, and observed a cavern, through which curiosity led them to go. On reaching the further end, they were surprised at beholding a picturesque country, wholly unknown to them, where numerous herds of buffaloes were grazing. Suddenly, however, an immense giant stood before them, who demanded—"Who are you, you little people? I am afraid, if I were to lay hold of you, I should crush you!" He then lifted them in his hands very carefully, and carried them into the village, which was inhabited by giants like himself. Accompanied by the two Mandans, they went out to hunt buffaloes. The giants killed the buffaloes by throwing stones, but the Mandans destroyed many with their arrows, which greatly delighted the giants. At that time the giants were at war with the eagles, which were very numerous, and which they slew by flinging stones. The Mandans, however, shot them with arrows, so that they speedily procured a large quantity of eagles' feathers. They then took leave of the giants, and were permitted to depart with all their valuable feathers. On their return they found the cave blocked up by a colossal serpent. At first they were at a loss how to make a passage, but they soon collected a large pile of wood and burnt the monster. One of them tasted the roasted flesh of the serpent, and, finding it palatable, partook of more. They proceeded on their way, when the head of the Mandan who had tasted the serpent's flesh began to swell prodigiously, and an intolerable itching came over his face. He begged his friend not to leave him, but to take him home. On the second day he continued to swell, increased in length, felt an irritation all over, and was soon afterwards transformed into a serpent, upon which he begged his companion to take 773 him to the Missouri, which the latter accomplished in three days. As soon as the serpent reached 778 the water, he dived, but speedily rose to the surface, and said, "There are many like me below, but

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785 562 and offered them to the sky-gods. She slashed her legs and arms where they had just healed after the mourning cuts she had inflicted. She fasted four days. Although she did not receive a vision, she attributed the unusual success of the war party to her sacrifices.

Men and women never fasted at the same places. Women usually fasted in their gardens or on the corn scaffolds. Women could pledge to give the Okipa, in which case they were permitted to fast on the roof, while a brother assumed the responsibilities of Okipa Maker. They rarely fasted more than one day and night at a time. The supernatural powers which one received were believed to be in direct proportion to one's suffering. Front Woman did not think women needed as powerful guardians as men, so she fasted only one day and night until she contracted sore eyes which would not heal. She and her mother's sister who also had eye trouble paid for the right to fast on the Okipa lodge while the ceremony was being held. Her eyes improved, but her mother's sister's eyes did not. Both fasted during the four days of the ceremony but returned to their lodge at evening.

787 •756 428 Doctoring rights were included with most tribal hereditary bundles, and the rights to doctor were sold with the bundle. Such rights could also be acquired through supernatural instructions or purchased from one who had secured the right through visions. The latter practice, though common, did not continue for more than two or three generations. Only tribal bundles continued the hereditary character of doctoring rights generation after generation and with little change. Both men and women doctored. Women rarely doctored outside their own family until after the menopause.

The following account is typical of doctoring beliefs and practices.

MRS. GOOD BEAR'S NARRATIVE OF DOCTORING

787 756 159 My mother, Stays Yellow, fasted in the woods in quest of a god. Just before daylight she fell asleep. In her dream she saw two old people doctoring a woman who was having difficulty bearing a child. She saw that they were using black roots [Black Medicine] which they dug up in the forest. The old people, a man and a woman, had a hide rattle decorated with white feathers. She listened to the song they were singing. At the same time they administered to the woman giving birth to the child, they were doctoring to a number of dead watersnakes. The old woman chewed the roots and blew the chewed-up mass over the snakes; each time she blew on a snake, it came alive and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

squirmed away. The last of the snakes had young in her body and was slow to come to life. The woman blew the black root on the snake several times, and each time the snake gave birth to a young snake until all were born. The old man and woman then instructed Stays Yellow that she could doctor women when they had difficulty bearing children. My mother never killed snakes after that; she always blew some of the medicine root on any snake near our lodge and then carried it away.

My mother's mother, Coyote Woman, lived with her husband between the Knife and the Heart rivers.[6] He was very mean to her and beat her a great deal. He sent her out every morning at daylight to see if there were any animals in their pits. One day there was a large wolf in one of the pits.

The wolf said, "Take me out, and I will give you power to do anything you ask."

Coyote Woman did not know what to do because she was afraid of her husband. The wolf knew her thoughts. He coughed up a blue stone.

"Take that stone and use it among your people," he said. "If you use it, you will stay awake all night just like the wolves do." She took the stone and let the wolf out.

From fear of her husband, she told him what had happened. The old man was very cross and inquired how much power the wolf gave her. She showed him the blue stone, and the old man took it away from her.

When the wolf gave her the stone he had said, "If anybody in your tribe is mean to you and you want to get rid of him, cut out an image of him in leather, put the stone beside the image, and cover both with hot ashes. Then the person will die."

She told all this to her husband. She had had another husband when she was young, and the old man immediately put a piece of hide cut out in the shape of the other man together with the blue stone into the ashes, calling the other man's name. That night the old man and his wife could not sleep. The next morning the woman's first husband died. She knew that she would have to get the stone away from her husband or he would kill half the tribe, so she stole the stone. When he missed the stone, he beat her; then he took her to the prairie where he drove down four posts, tying her arms and legs each to a post. In the night the wolf came and chewed off all the straps, thus setting her free.[7]

The Wolf said, "Any time you want to know anything, come out on the hills and I will tell you."

She went home and slept during the day. A large bear came to her and said, "You are having a hard time. From now on, you must go among your people doctoring. People will give you white buffalo robes, leggings, dresses, and moccasins, for you will cure all who ask your help."

Then the wolf came to her in her dream and said, "Tell your husband to go on the warpath. The first time the wolves will send him good luck and all the people will praise him; the second time he won't come back, for the wolves will eat him."

He did as she said. The second time he did not come back. After ten days,

6. This was the village of the Awigaxa and Istopa bands.

7. This suggests Hidatsa beliefs concerning wolves. See "Wolf Ceremonies" in Bowers, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, MS).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

787 Coyote Woman went onto a hill. The wolf said, "Your husband who was like
756 an enemy to you has been eaten up. Don't feel sorry for him, or I will never
159 help you."

Before she went home, she cut deep gashes in her arms and legs with a flint knife and cut the sleeves from her dress. As she approached the village, she began to cry, and all the people ran out to learn the cause of her mourning. She said that her husband and all his party were dead.

She began doctoring the sick people the way she had formerly been instructed by the bear.[8] She examined her patients first to learn what caused the
[753] illness. Some were made ill by the snakes or bugs in their bodies; others from the influence of evil spirits; others from the loss of a god. She had a medicine song and a medicine root. If she found the pain was in one spot, she sucked with her mouth or a hollow horn, sometimes drawing out long slim worms or maggots of different colors. She pressed the stomach for pains located in the stomach or bowels and blew chewed-up cedar bark over the patient; when a person had a headache, she let out blood from the forehead.

756 The stone was burned so our people lost that. When Coyote Woman was
159 old, she did not sell my mother the right to doctor, but my mother often heard her tell how she cured her patients. We have always believed since then that the bear was the greatest of all doctors.

844 Certain doctors were called upon to help women laboring in childbirth.
159 Some of the women of the house would fill a pipe and place it before the woman they wished to act as midwife or doctor. The doctor gave instructions which must be carried out and set the price which was for the number of days she would serve. If she failed to help the patient in that time, she left to give another a chance to cure the patient. If the doctor failed to cure the patient in the time designated, the relatives might again place the pipe before her, and she was obliged to remain longer. Extra goods were then paid for the additional time. When the doctor entered the lodge where the woman in labor
[841] lived, she ordered all the men and small children out, and women then in their menstrual period were asked to stay away from the lodge. Should any woman during her menstrual period come into the lodge, sage was immediately burned in four places in the lodge, two fires being made of sage painted red and two of white sage.[9] If this was not done, it was believed that the patient might die. A special song was sung during the burning of the sage, for which the doctor received an additional fee. The doctor called in two young girls while the four fires were burning and asked them to doctor the patient in her stead by singing the medicine songs and dancing around the sick person. At the end of the songs, the two girls walked to the sick person and said, "You are well now," and left the lodge. The doctor then continued to administer to the sick woman.

The doctor selected an old woman to take the child as soon as it came. Women gave birth to children usually in bed or on a robe laid on the floor. The lodge was darkened, and only the doctor and the sick woman's mother were allowed inside. As soon as the child was born, a wide belt was bound tightly around the mother's abdomen. Because of the cost, many women did not engage a doctor unless difficulty was experienced.

8. Bear bundle rites were inherited in the Bear clan until the clan died out after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

9. Apparently this practice was a part of each doctoring rite. Red sage represented the sun and white sage represented the moon.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

164 DISEASE AND THE CURE OF DISEASE:—The Mandans were as a rule a very healthy people and their catalogue of diseases was small, being mostly those which of necessity accompany a life of considerable hardship. Catarrhal troubles, snow blindness, rheumatism and hemoptisis were most common. They had no fevers and no consumption; venereal diseases were found, but the Mandans always claimed that these were got from the Crows. Their other troubles were wounds, snake bites and freezing. Maximilian said that he also found cases of the gout among them.

757 Colds and catarrhal troubles and rheumatism were treated in the vapor bath which is found in one form or another among most Indian tribes. The patient was steamed well and then immediately plunged into icy water or snow, from there he went into the house where he was kept wrapped up for some time. The snow blindness was treated by gentle sweating. Cataracts and inflammation of the eyes resulted from snow blindness at times, and the inflammation was treated by rubbing with some herb which had a rough surface. With this the eyeball was rubbed till blood flowed. Bleeding was practiced, and rattle-snake rattles were considered to be a remedy for almost anything. The rattles were powdered fine, mixed with water or saliva and either swallowed or rubbed on the parts affected. The Mandans used no emetics but had a number of vegetable purgatives. Lewis and Clarke described a root which was chewed and placed on a snake bite, they called it Sackacomah but it has not been identified botanically. Freezing was treated by rubbing with snow. Horses were sometimes given a piece of wasp's nest as a diuretic.

752 Wounds healed with remarkable rapidity and had very little care. Severe cuts were rubbed with fat and sometimes bound up. A number of cases were known where persons who had been scalped recovered. In arrow wounds the point was always forced entirely through the flesh if possible because it came out more easily so.

524 GAMES:—The Mandans had games for men, women and children, and in most of these betting was an important part of the sport. Probably the best known of these games was

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

in the same manner as the Manitari chief, Kokoahkis, mentioned by Say. He went, one evening, wrapped up in his robe, into a hut of the hostile Arikkaras as the young men of the village often do, ate with his face covered, so that he was taken for a young Arikkara; then laid himself down by the side of a woman, and afterwards cut off a lock of her hair, with which he retired. He might have killed the woman, as Kokoahkis did, but refrained from doing so. 555

Wounds appear to be healed with remarkable ease. In cases of arrow wounds, they like to force the arrow quite through, that the iron head may not remain in the wound. Men and women are often scalped, in battle, who afterwards come to themselves, and are cured. Such a large wound on the head is rubbed with fat; the medicine man fumigates it, singing at the same time. Disorders are not uncommon among the Indians. The Mandans and Manitaries often suffer from diseases in the eyes; many are one-eyed, or have a tunicle over one eye. In inflammation of the eye they have a custom of scratching the inner eye with the leaf of a kind of grass, resembling a saw, which causes them to bleed very much, and this may often occasion the loss of the eye. Rheumatism, coughs, and the like, are frequent, because they go half naked in the severest cold, and plunge into ice water. Much benefit is often derived from their steam-baths, in a well closed hut, where a thick steam is produced by pouring water on hot stones. They then immediately go into the cold, roll themselves in the snow, or plunge into a river covered with drifting ice, but do not return to a warm hut, as the Russians do. Many Indians are said to have died on the spot by trying this remedy. Some suffer from gout; but all who survive these violent remedies are stronger and more hardy. Another remedy is trampling on the whole body, especially the stomach, as is practised also among the Brazilians. This operation is performed with such violence, as often to occasion hard swellings in the intestines, or ulcers, especially in the liver. The steam-bath is used as a remedy in all kinds of disorders. Vaccination, the application of which met with no difficulties among several nations on the great lakes, especially the Chippeways, is not yet practised among the Mandans and Manitaries. Spitting of blood is said to be frequent, but not pulmonary consumption. Gonorrhœa is very common; they affirm that all venereal disorders came to them from the Crows beyond the Rocky Mountains. For such disorders they often seat themselves over a heated pot, but very frequently burn themselves. They cut open buboes, lengthwise, with a knife, and then run for a couple of miles as fast as they can. The jaundice is said not to occur among them. It appears that they are not acquainted with emetics, but, if they feel anything wrong in the stomach, they thrust a feather down the throat, and thus produce vomiting. Their purgatives are obtained from the vegetable kingdom. The poison-vine often produces swellings, especially in children. As rattlesnakes are rare in the vicinity of the villages, it is, of course, seldom that any one is bitten by them; these Indians are said, however, to have very good remedies against the bite. Frozen limbs are rubbed with snow. 752 757 164 757

757 When blindness arises from the dazzling brightness of the snow, which it very frequently does in March, they bathe the eyes with a solution of gunpowder in water. They often have recourse to bleeding, which they perform with a sharp flint, or a knife. They often apply to the Whites for medicine, and willingly follow their prescriptions. These Indians have also various remedies for their horses; thus, when a horse has the strangury, they give it a piece of a wasp's nest.

764 When a Mandan or Manitari dies, they do not let the corpse remain long in the village; but convey it to the distance of 200 paces, and lay it on a narrow stage, about six feet long, resting on four stakes about ten feet high, the body being first laced up in buffalo robes and a blanket. The face, painted red, is turned towards the east. A number of such stages are seen about their villages, and, although they themselves say that this custom is injurious to the health of the villages, they do not renounce it. On many of these stages there are small boxes, containing the bodies of children wrapped in cloth or skins. Ravens are usually seen sitting on these stages, and the Indians dislike that bird, because it feeds on the flesh of their relations. If you ask a Mandan why they do not deposit their dead in the ground, he answers—"The lord of life has, indeed, told us that we came from the ground, and should return to it again;" yet we have lately begun to lay the bodies of the dead on stages, because we love them, and would weep at the sight of them. They believe that every person has several spirits dwelling in him; one of these spirits is black, another brown, and another light-coloured, the latter of which alone returns to the lord of life. They think that after death they go to the south, to several villages which are often visited by the gods; that the brave and most eminent go to the village of the good, but the wicked into a different one: that they there live in the same manner as they do here, carry on the same occupations, eat the same food, have wives, and enjoy the pleasures of the chase and war. Those who are kind-hearted are supposed to make many presents and do good, find everything in abundance, and their existence there is dependant on their course of life while in the world. Some of the inhabitants of the Mandan villages are said not to believe all these particulars, and suppose that after death they will live in the sun or in a certain star.

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765 [304] They mourn for the dead a whole year; cut off their hair, cover their body and head with white or grey clay, and often, with a knife or sharp flint, make incisions in their arms and legs in parallel lines, in their whole length, so that they are covered with blood. For some days after death the relations make a loud lament and bewailing. Often a relative, or some other friend, covers the dead, as they express it: he brings one or two woollen cloths, of a red, blue, white, or green colour, and, as soon as the body is laid on the stage, mounts upon the scaffolding, and conceals the body beneath the covering. A friend who will do this is, in token of respect, presented, by the family of the deceased, with a horse. If it is known beforehand that a person intends doing this honour to the dead, a horse is at once tied near the stage, and the friend, having per-

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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plunge into and swim across the wildest streams and rivers, at times when they have no canoes or craft in which to cross them. I have as yet seen no tribe where this art is neglected. It is learned at a very early age by both sexes, and enables the strong and hardy muscles of the squaws to take their child upon the back, and successfully to pass any river that lies in their way. 000

The mode of swimming amongst the Mandans, as well as amongst most of the other tribes, is quite different from that practiced in those parts of the civilized world, which I have had the pleasure yet to visit. The Indian, instead of parting his hands simultaneously under the chin, and making the stroke outward, in a horizontal direction, causing thereby a serious strain upon the chest, throws his body alternately upon the left and the right side, raising one arm entirely above the water and reaching as far forward as he can, to dip it, whilst his whole weight and force are spent upon the one that is passing under him, and like a paddle propelling him along; whilst this arm is making a half circle, and is being raised out of the water behind him, the opposite arm is describing a similar arcl. in the air over his head, to be dipped in the water as far as he can reach before him, with the hand turned under, forming a sort of bucket, to act most effectively as it passes in its turn underneath him. 481

By this bold and powerful mode of swimming, which may want the grace that many would wish to see, I am quite sure, from the experience I have had, that much of the fatigue and strain upon the breast and spine are avoided, and that a man will preserve his strength and his breath much longer in this alternate and rolling motion, than he can in the usual mode of swimming, in the polished world.

In addition to the modes of bathing which I have above described, the Mandans have another, which is a much greater luxury, and often resorted to by the sick, but far more often by the well and sound, as a matter of luxury only, or perhaps for the purpose of hardening their limbs and preparing them for the thousand exposures and vicissitudes of life to which they are continually liable. I allude to their vapour baths, or *sudatories*, of which each village has several, and which seem to be a kind of public property—accessible to all, and resorted to by all, male and female, old and young, sick and well. 515 343 757

In every Mandan lodge is to be seen a crib or basket, much in the shape of a bathing-tub, curiously woven with willow boughs, and sufficiently large to receive any person of the family in a reclining or recumbent posture; which, when any one is to take a bath, is carried by the squaw to the sudatory for the purpose, and brought back to the wigwam again after it has been used 352 515

These sudatories are always near the village, above or below it, on the bank of the river. They are generally built of skins (in form of a Crow or Sioux lodge which I have before described), covered with buffalo skins 515 343 757

515 sewed tight together, with a kind of furnace in the centre; or in other words,
343 in the centre of the lodge are two walls of stone about six feet long and
757 two and a half apart, and about three feet high; across and over this space, between the two walls, are laid a number of round sticks, on which the bathing crib is placed (vide PLATE 71). Contiguous to the lodge, and outside of it, is a little furnace something similar, in the side of the bank, where the woman kindles a hot fire, and heats to a red heat a number of large stones, which are kept at these places for this particular purpose; and having them all in readiness, she goes home or sends word to inform her husband or other one who is waiting, that all is ready; when he makes his appearance entirely naked, though with a large buffalo-robe wrapped around him. He then enters the lodge and places himself in the crib or basket, either on his back or in a sitting posture (the latter of which is generally preferred), with his back towards the door of the lodge; when the squaw brings in a large stone red hot, between two sticks (lashed together somewhat in the form of a pair of tongs) and, placing it under him, throws cold water upon it, which raises a profusion of vapour about him. He is at once enveloped in a cloud of steam, and a woman or child will sit at a little distance and continue to dash water upon the stone, whilst the matron of the lodge is out, and preparing to make her appearance with another heated stone: or he will sit and dip from a wooden bowl, with a ladle made of the mountain-sheep's horn, and throw upon the heated stones, with his own hands, the water which he is drawing through his lungs and pores, in the next moment, in the most delectable and exhilarating vapours, as it distils through the mat of wild sage and other medicinal and aromatic herbs, which he has strewed over the bottom of his basket, and on which he reclines.

515 During all this time the lodge is shut perfectly tight, and he quaffs this
757 delicious and renovating draught to his lungs with deep drawn sighs, and with extended nostrils, until he is drenched in the most profuse degree of perspiration that can be produced; when he makes a kind of strangled signal, at which the lodge is opened, and he darts forth with the speed of a frightened deer, and plunges headlong into the river, from which he instantly escapes again, wraps his robe around him and "leans" as fast as possible for home. Here his limbs are wiped dry, and wrapped close and tight within the fur of the buffalo robes, in which he takes his nap, with his feet to the fire; then oils his limbs and hair with bear's grease, dresses and plumes himself for a visit—a feast—a parade, or a council; or slicks down his long hair, and rubs his oiled limbs to a polish, with a piece of soft buckskin, prepared to join in games of ball or Tchung-kee.

757 Such is the sudatory or the vapour bath of the Mandans, and, as I before observed, it is resorted to both as an every-day luxury by those who have the time and energy or industry to indulge in it; and also used by the sick as a remedy for nearly all the diseases which are known amongst them.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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Fevers are very rare, and in fact almost unknown amongst these people: but in the few cases of fever which have been known, this treatment has been applied, and without the fatal consequences which we would naturally predict. The greater part of their diseases are inflammatory rheumatisms, and other chronic diseases; and for these, this mode of treatment, with their modes of life, does admirably well. This custom is similar amongst nearly all of these Missouri Indians, and amongst the Pawnees, Omahas, and Punchas and other tribes, who have suffered with the small-pox (the dread destroyer of the Indian race), this mode was practiced by the poor creatures, who fled by hundreds to the river's edge, and by hundreds died before they could escape from the waves, into which they had plunged in the heat and rage of a burning fever. Such will yet be the scourge, and such the misery of these poor unthinking people, and each tribe to the Rocky Mountains, as it has been with every tribe between here and the Atlantic Ocean. White men—whiskey—tomahawks—scalping knives—guns, powder and ball—small-pox—debauchery—extermination.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Mrs. Good Bear remembered an old man with the medicine of the otter. The otter was said to extract arrowheads and bullets by sticking his head into the wound.

The Mandan had one doctoring practice not employed by the Hidatsa. Sometimes a baby got a sore mouth and could not nurse its mother. The child's father would call one of his own brothers saying, "I want to drink of your blood."

The father would use an awl to prick a hole in his brother's leg and the child's mouth was put over the wound. When a man had no brothers, he called a man of his own clan. The rule was that the blood one drank must come from a man of the father's clan. Crows Heart showed several scars where he had given blood to cure sore mouths.

Breaking rules was believed to be the cause of bad luck. This could be either intentional or unintentional. Sometimes the guardian spirit was said to abandon one who violated some rule. Crows Heart said that it was impossible to explain why some men who were so particular about obeying all the rules should lose power. Edgar Crows Heart took his mother's brother's mink hide[13] to use in a dance without getting permission. Shortly afterward, he was thrown from a horse and suffered a broken nose, a result, Crows Heart, the father, said of taking a medicine bundle without the right.

Scattercorn was the only informant to give an example of sleight-of-hand practices performed as the result of a dream. In the hereditary bundle rites people claimed to have corn, buffalo, and other spirits in their body which came up into the mouth during the ceremonies.[14] Her account is of one not informed in the actual rites.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF POWER OF MEDICINE

My father's father ran away from the village when the smallpox came and lived with the Crow Indians out west. He was one who fasted much. One time he fasted on a high mountain. He became so weak that he could not get down the mountain and fell unconscious in the snow. A bear, porcupine, and otter came to him and said, "Son, we heard you cry and are going to help you." Those spirits carried him down the mountain, and he was so weak that he could not help himself. He became unusually holy because so many animals

13. Hidatsa Creek medicine.

14. Also reported by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIV (Cleveland, 1906), 33.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

able numbers along the Heart River and in the vicinity of Square Butte Creek. With the introduction of the horse they were less commonly used, although the practice was not entirely abandoned until after 1870. Buffalo, deer, elk, and wolves were captured in them. Older men also managed the fish traps, of which there were a number for each village. An account of fish-trapping is given in chapter viii, "Catfish-trapping Ceremony," which appears in this account of ceremonialism.

The old people were generally well cared for by the Mandan. They were held in high respect, and my informants frequently condemned neighboring tribes for abandoning their old people. On the other hand, Mandan old people frequently were left back when the village went on a buffalo hunt and refused to have others remain with them, claiming that they would get along and that, if the enemy came and killed them, it was all right, as one could not live forever. Usually a few families remained in the village to care for the old people who were too feeble to travel.

The Mandan traditions state that, when people were first created and placed on the earth, Lone Man decreed that they should not live to be older than one hundred years and that some would die at various ages from birth to old age. It was believed that people died from improper fasting, violation of tribal custom, disrespect of holy things, quarreling, foreign objects in the body, and loss of "power." It was also believed that those who neglected the unfortunate would not live long, since the sacred things frequently sent destitute people into the tribe to detect the selfish families. The sun was believed to be a cannibal who would adopt a "son" in an enemy tribe, subsequently giving a Mandan a dream instruction to go out on the warfare where he would be killed.

The Mandan believed that a person had four souls. One was the white spirit, which was often seen traveling through the air as a shooting star. It was regarded as the principal spirit and was represented by the white upland sage. The second spirit was light brown and scarcely visible and was represented by the meadow lark. These two spirits united in the spirit world and became the individual of the hereafter. The third spirit was known as the lodge spirit and remained near the lodge of which

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

animals, the front of the body yellowish; a black line is drawn from each eye down the cheeks, and in each hand they carry a bunch of wormwood. 4. One man represents the evil spirit; he is conducted by two men of the village to the river, where he is dressed and painted; his entire body is painted black, and, as soon as this is done, he is not permitted to speak a word. They put on his head a cap, with a black cock's-comb; he likewise wears a mask, with white wooden rings left for the opening round the eyes. They then make for him large teeth of cotton yarn, paint the sun upon his stomach, the crescent upon his back, and on each joint of the arms and legs, a white circle; they then put on a buffalo's tail, and place a small stick in his hand, with a ball, made of skin, at the end, to which a scalp, painted red on the under side, is fastened. The ball represents the head of an enemy. When this monster is completed, they let him loose, and he runs, like one possessed, about the prairie, comes into the village, gets upon the huts, one after the other, and prys into every corner, while the inhabitants throw out to him all kinds of valuable articles as presents. As soon as he perceives this he turns towards the sun, and intimates to it, by signs, how well he is treated, and that it is foolish of it (the sun) to keep at so great a distance. He goes about and looks on the people's heads for vermin, and, if he finds any, he pretends to be very happy, and runs about with great rapidity. The Indians are very much afraid of the devil, for which reason this part cannot be assigned to anybody; but he who wishes to perform it must offer himself. My informant added that this medicine feast was once celebrated on the banks of Heart River, where the Mandans then resided, and the man who had undertaken this part was conducted into the river. When his clothes were taken off, in order to paint and dress him, he appeared very uneasy, and required to be let loose; and when this was done he seemed as one possessed by the evil spirit, and ran, with the velocity of an arrow, on the hills and about the plain. His two attendants were alarmed, and pursued him to the village, but the new demon darted past them, leaped over the high fence of the village, jumped down into the huts, and again made his egress, and then ran to the river; this now convinced them that he was possessed. It cost the inhabitants much trouble to catch and wash him, but he trembled like an aspen leaf, wrapped himself in his robe, and continued in this condition for the remainder of his life without ever speaking a word.* While the devil is walking about, the other masks continue dancing, and

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* When these Indians fast for three or four days together, they dream very frequently of the devil, and, in this case, they believe that they have not long to live. The narrator had once fasted for a long time at this festival, and suffered himself to be hung up by the back. During the night he dreamed of the devil, who appeared far more frightful and taller than he could ever be represented. His plume of feathers reached to the clouds, and he ran about as quick as lightning. On several other occasions he dreamed of this devil, but now he is resolved not to fast any more, that he might not die prematurely. He added, that he had often looked without apprehension, and with pleasure, on the mask representing the devil; but he now regarded the matter in a different light, for, the more he thought of him, the taller and the more frightful did he appear to him, and, under these circumstances, the spirit had been very near him, and, if he had but once touched him, he certainly should have been dead already.

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1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

even the few surviving Mandans were driven from their own huts. 164
Subsequently these tribes were again thus afflicted, and from one who was then stationed at Fort Clarke and an eye-witness of the fact, I am informed that suicide was committed by the victims [762] throwing themselves over the bluffs of the river to the rocks below. De Smet states that both the smallpox and cholera created havoc among the northern Indians in 1851." (p. 227.)

The making of glass beads by the Mandans and Aricarees is 323
alluded to by Wheeler, who says: 301

Glass Beads, Etc. "The Lewis and Clarke narrative for March 16th describes a process for making glass beads known to the Mandans.

"The Indians did not make the glass itself. This they obtained from the whites, but there is evidence that prior to the appearance of the traders, they used obsidian, or natural glass, for this purpose. Dr. Matthews, as late as 1870, had flat triangular blue glass pendants made to order by an Aricaree woman, he furnishing the glass.

"These people also made unglazed pottery, mats, and baskets, 285
ladles and spoons, from the horns of the Rocky mountain sheep 323
(Ovius Montana) and the buffalo, and from the shoulder-blades 321
of the bison they fashioned the hoes with which they hoed the 178
ground in very early time. Since the whites came, the crude implements of the old days have been mostly supplanted by our household, garden, etc., utensils; but, in 1902, I purchased a fine sheep-horn ladle apparently in daily use still." (p. 228.)

Steinbreuck's Observations. Hon. E. R. Steinbreuck, field 000
officer of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, makes the further statement to the writer, in a letter dated May 24th, 1908, concerning the Mandan deserted villages, and their former habitat, as follows:

Unsolved Problems. "I think it is a difficult and as yet unsolved problem, to write the history of the Mandans, as aborigines of South Dakota. We have the end of the trail, not so the beginning. We don't know for certain where the Mandans came from. The end is in North Dakota and that is also the beginning of the traditions of the present Mandans. Their entire knowledge of their origin is limited to the Heart river region in North Da-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

768 smallpox epidemic of 1837. The orphans were taken in by the
602 females according to clan affiliation and reared as their own
614 children.

Suicide was rare among the Mandan. The only instances
•762 remembered by Mandan informants were immediately follow-
775 ing the last smallpox epidemic. When a household had been nearly exterminated, the remaining females frequently took their lives. Crows Heart thought that suicides were buried and that their spirits did not reach the spirit world. Scattercorn remembered hearing of two girls who hanged themselves in 1837 in the village where her father lived and said that they were placed on the scaffold which was built by her father whose sister sent the spirits away at the end of four days.

The last murder of a male occurred among the Mandan in
682 1820, part of the Mandan separating from the village group to
627 live on Eagle Nose Butte until 1823, when the relatives of the murdered man invited them to return to Fort Clark Village. One who had been murdered was treated as though he had been killed in battle or had died a natural death. There was the usual preparation of the body by the relatives of the father's clan. The murderer, if caught, was killed by the murdered man's male siblings or clansmen, and his body was buried at a distance
[766] from the village. No rites were performed to send his spirit away. The murder of a woman by another woman was treated lightly and settled by a payment of goods.

The Mandan, and in later years the Hidatsa also, were accus-
765 tomed to collect the bones of their relatives after the scaffolds
614 on which they were placed had rotted and fallen to the ground.
778 The skulls were taken to a place adjacent to the scaffolds and there arranged in circles of which there were a number near each village. Scattercorn claimed that the skulls of each circle were of closely related people who had belonged to the same clan and that these shrines enhanced the "sacred powers" of the Woman Above bundles which were a part of the shrine.[4] If these were clan shrines, the practice of arranging the circles according to clans must have been abandoned after moving to Like-a-Fishhook Village, as there were only two or three circles at most, and the Hidatsa made simultaneous use of these shrines

4. See Catlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–52, for an eyewitness description of these circles.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ten horses, and fastens them to the hut of the young woman, who gives them to her father. The 584
latter then takes other horses, and if he has them not himself, his relations assist him, and these horses are fastened, in return, to the hut of the intended son-in-law. In such a case an estimate is previously made of the number of horses possessed by the woman's relations, for all presents are returned in equal number. The bride next boils some maize, and daily carries a kettle or dish filled with it to the hut of the bridegroom. After some time has elapsed, the young man repairs [585]
to the hut of his bride, where he passes the night with her, and the marriage is considered as complete. The young couple often continue to reside in the hut of the father-in-law, but they more 591
frequently build a new hut for themselves; sometimes, however, they afterwards separate. The 596
father-in-law is, subsequently, the principal person in the hut; everything depends on him, and is done on his account, and for him; if game is killed, the flesh is first presented to him, &c. There [163]
are often many children in these Indian families; some had as many as ten; yet, on the whole, the Indians have not so many children as the Whites, doubtless because they keep them longer at the breast. They are extremely fond of them, but the children are often weak and sickly, in con- 856
sequence, it is supposed, of the hard labour which the women have to perform. I was universally 844
assured, that the new-born children are of a reddish colour. The births are, in general, extremely easy, and the mother bathes in the river immediately afterwards, even if it is frozen; in ten days the child is considered as safe, having got over the most dangerous period. A person is 553
paid to give it the name chosen by the parents and relations. The child is held up, then turned to all sides of the heavens, in the direction of the course of the sun, and its name proclaimed. They have cradles for their infants, consisting of a leather bag, which is suspended by a strap to 854
a cross beam in the hut. These cradles of the Mandans are not so elegant and beautifully worked as those which we saw among the Sioux and Assiniboins. The children of these Indians are sub- 861
ject to no kind of discipline whatever; they may do and say whatever they please, and nobody 865
finds fault with them. Everything is done to excite a spirit of independence and self-will in the boys; if the mother speaks to one of them, he will very likely slap her face, or kick her, nay, sometimes he will do the same to his father, who says, coolly, bowing his head, this boy will one day become a famous warrior. The men sometimes treat their wives very brutally; and it 562
has not unfrequently happened, that a woman, after such treatment, has left the hut and hanged 762
herself on a tree. This lately happened in the case of an aged woman, whose grown-up son had ill-treated her. She was missed, and was afterwards found suspended from a tree. The women have nothing to indemnify them for their incessant and laborious work, not even good clothing, for this right of the fair sex in Europe is claimed among the Indians by the men. It is singular that these women, who are condemned constantly to work like slaves, refuse to do any work whatever if they marry a white man, and, the Whites being entirely in the power of the Indians, and the relations of their wives, they are obliged to submit to this. Sisters have great 000

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Or, on the contrary: "The chain begins to rust," &c. &c. Though these people often manifest great energy of character, many have committed suicide on account of disappointments in love, or of wounded honour, of which Dr. Morse relates a remarkable instance, where an Indian killed himself because he was reproached with cowardice, after his mother had suffered death for him. Many travellers speak of the extraordinary memory of the Indians; several of them relate the entire history of their people in a continuous narrative.

The Mandans and Manitaries are proud, and have a high sense of honour. If a person expresses a wish to possess some article belonging to them, he generally receives it as a present, but a present of equal, or greater value, is always looked for in return. They estimate all their effects at a very high rate, ascribing to them an imaginary and far too great value; and a trifling thing is often paid for with one or two horses. Among the articles of great value is the skin of a white buffalo cow. Fifteen florins are paid for a small ermine skin; whereas, a wolf's skin may be purchased for a small quantity of tobacco. One or two horses are frequently given for a feather cap; a horse for 100 or 150 elks' teeth, or for a handful of dentalium shells. The men are much given to indolence, when they cannot pursue their chief avocations, hunting and war. In general, the Mandans and Manitaries are not dangerous, and, though there are many rude and savage men among them, they are, on the whole, well-disposed towards the Whites: the former, especially, manifest this, and have many good and trustworthy men among them. Some of them are addicted to thieving, especially the women and children; and it is said, that many of the Manitaries, when they meet the Whites in the prairie, though they do not kill them, as they used to do, generally plunder them.

They have always free access to the forts of the trading companies; and, as at Fort Clarke, there was no separate apartment for the Indians, we were molested by them, during the whole day, in every room; nay, they often took the place of the owners, which, during the severe cold in the winter time, was quite intolerable, as they stood in front of the fire, with their large buffalo robes, and kept the warmth from coming into the apartment. They require to be always regaled, which is generally done, and it was estimated that in one year they smoked 200 lbs. of tobacco at the expense of the Company. A few among them, indeed, manifested a much greater delicacy of feeling than the mass of them, and left the dining-room when the dinner-hour approached; but only a very small proportion possessed this correct sense of propriety, for the others generally came just at our dinner time; it is true they had but little meat in the winter season, and fared but badly. Disputes and quarrels are very rare among them; but duels are frequent; and revenge for blood is still exercised.

Many of them are particularly cleanly in their persons, and bathe daily, both in winter and summer; their hands, however, are often smeared with colours and fat, nay, sometimes the whole body is bedaubed. The women are, in general, less cleanly, particularly their hands,

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

800 to sweat the part afflicted, by holding the face over a hot stone, and receiving the fumes from snow thrown on it. A large red fox was killed today." (id 222.)

"Sunday, 17th. The weather continued as yesterday, though in the afternoon it became fair. Shotawoorora and his son came to see us, with about thirty pounds of dried buffalo meat and some tallow." (id 223.)

145 **Dying Mandan—Ceremonial.** "Wednesday, 20th. The day was delightfully fine, the mercury being at sunrise two degrees, •763 and in the course of the day twenty-two degrees above zero, the wind southerly. Kagohomi came down to see us early; his village is afflicted by the death of one of their eldest men, who, from his account to us, must have seen one hundred and twenty winters. Just as he was dying, he requested his grandchildren to dress him in his best robe when he was dead, and then carry him to a hill and seat him on a stone, with his face down the river towards their old village, that he might go straight to his brother who had passed before him to the ancient village under ground. We have seen a number of Mandans who have lived to a great age; chiefly however the men, whose robust exercises fortify the body, while the laborious occupations of the women shorten their existence."

778 **Medicine Stone.** "Thursday, 21st. We had a continuance of the same pleasant weather. Oheenaw Shahaka came down to see 787 us, and mentioned that several of their countrymen had gone to consult their medicine stone as to the prospects of the following year. The medicine stone is the great oracle of the Mandans, and whatever it announces is believed with implicit confidence. Every spring and on some occasions during the summer, a deputation visits the sacred spot, where there is a thick porous stone twenty feet in circumference, with a smooth surface. Having reached the place, the ceremony of smoking to it is performed by the deputies, who alternately take a whiff themselves, and then present the pipe to the stone; after this they retire to an adjoining wood for the night, during which, it may be safely presumed that all the embassy do not sleep; and in the morning they read the destines of the nation in the white marks on the stone, which those who make them are at no loss to decipher. The Minnetarees have a stone of a similar kind, which has the same qualities,

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

When a person believed he was about to die, the relatives were called and the dying person was dressed and painted before death, if possible. It was the duty of the father's clan to attend to the disposal of the body, and the dying person's request determined whether the body would be buried or placed on a scaffold. The Mandan claim that in earlier times earth burials were more common, and this belief is corroborated by the large number of both primary and secondary bundle burials found at their older villages near the Heart River. In some instances, they requested hilltop burials with only a covering of robes and stones. Most people were placed on scaffolds which were erected by members of the father's clan, and the "sending-away of the spirit" rites on the fourth day were performed by a woman of the father's clan. The body was placed on the scaffold with the head to the northwest and the feet to the southeast, the direction the spirits were believed to take to reach the Heart River. People never slept with their feet pointed to the southeast, believing that to do so would be to invite death. The relatives would come to the scaffold to mourn for four days. Whenever an eminent person died, all fires in the village were extinguished for one day while all the village mourned. It is said that even the dogs wept.

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The deceased person's personal property was taken by the brothers and sisters, and, when there were none living, the people of the clan took possession of the goods and divided it among themselves. In return for this property, they were required to go to the scaffold to mourn and to pay the mourners of the father's clan. When the deceased was an old woman of a couple occupying a lodge by themselves, the man left the lodge to live with people of his own clan, and the lodge was either abandoned or taken over by a group of females belonging to the deceased person's clan. When an old woman having no children or younger females in the lodge became feeble, she usually moved into another lodge where the females were of her clan.

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When a woman died leaving small children, her unmarried sisters were expected to provide for them and to marry the widower if he asked them. When the deceased mother had no sisters, the children were cared for by the maternal grandmother and her sisters. The clan provided for those who had no close blood relatives. Many families were broken up by the

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ammunition, proposed to ascend the Missouri, on a hunting expedition with a party of Gros Ventres, with whom he was connected by marriage. His wife was the daughter of the chief of this nation. He applied to the chief of our camp, to whom I belong, whose name is Man-di-tongue-go, for liberty for me to accompany him. The chief consented that I should go with him, on condition that I should give him a part of the skins I procured, and lent me an old musket. There were three of the Sioux, one of whom was his relation, who agreed to go with us.

"We started on the 27th of May, crossed Missouri, and arrived the same evening at the upper village. This village is situated on an island, in the Missouri, and is fortified in the same manner as the lower village, containing about sixty huts. Our party consisted of twenty-seven men, six women and four children; none of the Gros Ventres having their familiies with them. The next morning we proceeded, and soon left the Missouri, traveling a northwest course, in a well beaten path. The land on each side of us ascended into high ridges. On the northern side of them, was considerable timber, mostly cedar and the land poor. The path continued up the valley, but often passed over low ridges. On the 29th, we struck a branch of the stream called by the traders, Ball river. We followed this branch to its mouth. Here we crossed Ball river." (Pages 175 to 180 LeRaye's journal.)

Mandan Villages. "We now frequently passed camps of Mandans, and on the 5th of June, arrived at the lower Mandan village. This village, which is above the great bend of the Missouri, is situated on a pleasant interval, covered with cottonwood and cedar. Is built and fortified in the same manner as those of the Rus. Here, a sight new to me, and exceedingly disagreeable, arrested my attention as soon as I came in view of the village. This was their manner of disposing the bodies of the dead. Immediately after my arrival I had an opportunity of witnessing the funeral ceremonies practiced by these people, which was in the following manner: A dead body was brought out of the hut, and laid on the ground before it, dressed in its best apparel, and wrapped in a buffalo robe. The relations and principal part of the people in the village, assembled around it. A fire was then made, and the sacred stem or pipe, was brought and lighted. The deceased having been a warrior, an eulogy of considerable

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•764 length was pronounced by his brother, in which he impressed on their minds, the great importance which the deceased man had been to their nation; rehearsed his war exploits, and concluded by urging all to follow his example, and to become of equal usefulness to their tribe. Then they would be sure of following and becoming companions of him, and all the other great warriors, which had died before, in the world of spirits. After this address was closed, provisions were brought out, consisting of boiled dog's flesh, of which the company just tasted, and then a bowl full of it was presented to the dead man. He was then taken up by four men and carried outside of the village, just into the edge of the woods, and placed on a stage which had been previously erected, about ten feet high. The bowl of food was brought and set by his head, and his arms and accoutrements laid by his side. In this manner their dead are deposited, and are never buried. The wife and relations of the deceased made the most violent and dreadful howlings, tearing their hair and appearing to be in the deepest anguish, under the loss they had sustained."

142 **Complexion, Etc.** "The Mandans and the Gros Ventres are of the lightest complexion, and largest Indians on the Missouri. Their hair inclines to a chestnut color, and in some instances has a slight curl; it is never so lank and course as most other Indians. Their eyes are full and lively, their cheek bones rather high, and their countenances open and agreeable. The Gros Ventres have more of a fierce, savage look, than the Mandans who are courteous 291 and sociable in their behavior. They are neat in their dress, which is similar to that of the Rus, except that they decorate it with white rabbit, and white ermine skins. Many of their lodges, or 353 huts, are decorated in a beatiful manner; having the inside lined with the richest furs, such as the lynx, beaver, otter, white rabbit, martin, fox, mountain cat and white ermine, sewed together like patch-work, which gives them a rich and beautiful appearance. The lodge of the head chief was sixty feet in diameter, elegantly lined with furs, and the seats, which are also used as beds, were covered with the grizzly bear and buffalo skins. These people keep their lodges and buildings in a state of great neatness. They 439 cultivate the same kind of produce with the Rus, and carry on a trade with the roving Indians, who occasionally visit them. The 648 Mandans and Gros Ventres live in great friendship, although

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114 (Coale & Maxwell, Baltimore, 1816), and he also mentions briefly the tribe in his "Views of Louisiana," (Schaeffer & Maund, Balto., 1817.) He was a lawyer of keen observation, given somewhat to philosophical reflections upon the red man. The party reached the Mandan villages July 26, 1811. We quote as follows from his "Voyage," etc.:

361 **Villages.** "Wednesday, 26th, (July, 1811.) Continued our voyage through a beautiful country, on both sides of the river. In the afternoon passed by all five of the Mandan villages, which are situated upon high open plains, the village of She-he-ke, divided from the others by a handsome stream. The inhabitants had gathered to the bank to see us, several waded into the water, but returned when we beckoned to them not to approach. The 291 men were generally naked, the women dressed according to their age or quality, from the course elk skin, to the elegant agalia. It was late at night before we reached the fort of the Missouri Company, which is situated above all the villages, and sixteen hundred and forty miles from the mouth of the Missouri, and in latitude 47 degrees, 13 minutes N."

Brackenridge describes the grim spectacle of the aerial sepulcher of the Mandans:

764 **Burial Scaffolds.** "We made several excursions to the villages below, the nearest about six miles off; but as they differ but little from those of the Arikara, I will give no particular description of them. I noticed but one thing as remarkable.

"About two miles on this side of the first village, my attention was attracted by a number of small scaffolds, distributed over several acres of ground on the slope of a hill. I soon discovered that this was a depository of the dead. The scaffolds were raised on forks about ten feet, and were sufficiently wide to contain two bodies; they were in general covered with blue and scarlet cloth, or wrapt in blankets and buffalo robes; we did not approach near enough to examine closely, this frightful Golgotha, or place of human skeletons, but we could see a great number of valuable articles which had been left as offerings to the manes of the deceased. Several crows and magpies were perched upon them; we could not but experience a sensation of horror, when we thought of the attraction which brought these birds to this dismal place. Some of the scaffolds had nearly fallen down, perhaps overturned by the wind, or the effect of decay, and a great num-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ber of bones were scattered on the ground underneath. This mode of exposing the dead has something peculiarly horrible in it. The wolves of the prairie, the birds of the air, and even the Indian dogs, are attracted to the place, and taught to feed on human flesh. 764

"This custom prevails amongst all the wandering tribes; but amongst the Arikara, the dead are deposited in a grave as with us, which I think clearly proves their origin to be different from that of their neighbors; for there is nothing, in which men in all ages and countries, have manifested more solicitude, than in the treatment of the remains of their deceased friends." 764 171

Le Borgne. Brackenridge's vivid description of the Gros Ventre chief, Le Borgne or the One Eyed, is found below. The two chiefs were present at a celebration had by the whites at the Mandan villages on July 4th. He says: 000

"The two principal chiefs happened to be with us; the One Eyed, and the Black Shoe. The former is a giant in stature, and if his one eye had been placed in the middle of his forehead, he might have passed for a cyclop. His huge limbs and gigantic frame, his bushy hair shading his coarse visage and savage features, with his one eye flashing fire, constituted him a fearful demon. He sways, with unlimited control, all these villages, and is feared by all the neighboring nations. I remarked that on one or two occasions he treated She-he-ke, with great contempt. Lisa having referred to something said by that chief, 'What,' said this monster, 'What. Does that bag of lies pretend to have any authority here?'. He is sometimes a cruel and abominable tyrant."

Brackenridge then relates how the ruthless old outlaw murdered a young warrior who came to him to reclaim his wife who had been forcibly taken by that chief in her husband's absence, the mother of the slain warrior having lost her mind in grief over the dastardly act.

Brackenridge adds in a note: "She-he-ke is a fat man, extremely talkative, and no great warrior."

In his "Views of Louisiana," Brackenridge thus summarizes as to the tribes at the Mandan villages: 361

"Mandans, or Gros Ventres—The remnants of a number of villages, according to their account, seventeen. They claim only

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361 Aboriginal Mandan village sites had the following distinctive
174 characteristics.

1. The circular four-post earth lodge was the most common type used for summer residence, although semirectangular lodges did occasionally occur. These lodges were closely grouped within a limited area.

2. A central open space approximately one hundred and fifty feet in diameter was reserved for the dances and ceremonies. A [778] cedar was set into the ground at the center of the open circle and surrounded by an inclosure of wood to represent the culture hero's (NumakmaxEna) body. The inclosure was a symbol of the wall which NumakmaxEna erected to protect the people [344] from the flood. The ceremonial lodge was on the north side of the open area and in line with the other lodges which formed the circumference of the open area. Lodge entrances of this inner circle faced to the center. The ceremonial lodge was distinguished from other lodges by its flat front and greater length than width.

3. Villages were usually either protected by a surrounding wall and ditch or so situated as to employ as defenses such natural features of the terrain as cliffs, ravines, or riverbanks.

4. Villages were, with one or two exceptions, built near the Missouri River or its tributaries and adjacent to the wooded river bottoms which were cleared for gardens.

[764] 5. Although scaffolds for the dead were erected near the villages, isolated human bones, cache burials, and secondary bundle burials occur so frequently within the older villages that we are justified in assuming that these practices were characteristic of the older culture and that scaffold disposal was of late adoption.

6. There was a marked uniformity between villages of the same age with respect to material culture.

7. The clustering of a considerable number of village sites of a single archeological focus and the absence of all other foci within the region adjacent to the Heart River indicate Mandan domination of an extensive area along the Upper Missouri.

174 The Mandan claim to have been divided into bands which, in
619 large part, were broken down while living at the Heart River. These were: (1) Is'topa ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves");

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

604 brother. The Mandan divide a child's kin into two groups and give each a part in the rearing of the child. It was the mother's relatives' duty to provide for the child's physical needs and give instruction in household and tribal lore. While this was being done, the father's sister in the performance of her part in the child's father's ceremonies protected him from misfortune. If the child died or was killed in warfare, it became her [764] duty to see that his spirit returned to the spirit home. She supervised washing and painting the deceased and with the assistance of her brothers removed the body to the scaffold, where she recited the rite which returned the spirit to the "home of the dead."

604 601 The father's sister was eligible to receive gifts during ceremonies and to pray for the success of her "son" or "daughter." The father's sister's household was a possible home for her brother's children if their mother died, leaving no female relatives to care for them. There is no "teasing" relation with the father's sister. While a person has many "father's sisters," since all females of the father's clan were called "father's sisters," the closest ones were the actual sisters of the father who were brought up in the father's household. Her position in terminology and behavior was intermediate to the grandmother and mother, since she addressed her brother's children as "sons" and "daughters," while they, in turn, addressed her husband as "grandfather."

606 603 *Father-in-law–daughter-in-law* (*tata'xis–ptawi'hąkE*).—This was a "grandfather–grandchild" relationship. He treated her with all the tenderness shown his own blood grandchildren when other people were present. She respected him as the father of her husband and the owner of important ceremonial rites which would eventually become her husband's. If they were of different clans, her husband might ask her to "walk" with the "grandfather" during one of the buffalo-calling ceremonies. Ceremonial "sexual intercourse" was permitted at that time providing she was not living in her husband's household.

Mother-in-law–daughter-in-law (*maxis'–ptawi'hąkE*).—This was a "grandmother-grandchild" relationship. A household having no daughters paid a daughter-in-law to live in the husband's lodge, and, upon the death of the mother-in-law, she in-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

man who drew his gun when being driven back and was killed by the Black Mouths. Usually it was the duty of one's brothers to revenge a sibling's death, but in this instance siblings took no action. The Black Mouths were believed to be the bravest men of the village. Before making an attack on the enemy, their leaders would stick their lances into the ground which meant that they would not retreat. When on the summer buffalo hunts they received their orders from the leader and were instructed to prevent premature hunting and to see that the party did not break up. Although they endeavored to prevent war parties from leaving the village when there was danger of attack, they inflicted no punishment when an unauthorized war party returned.

It was believed that an individual's influence with sacred things advanced in age. They were consulted on sacred matters and were offered their "sons'" wives frequently during the buffalo ceremonies. Men and women assisted in the disposal of the dead. It was a man's duty to assist a clan sister in the construction of the scaffold for one whose father was of their clan, to superintend the painting and wrapping of the body.

OLD AGE AND DEATH

The old people were respected members of the household. The grandfather would assist the youngsters of the lodge in making toys and in playing their simple games, but he was always held in high regard as the one from whom the child's father had acquired much of his training in sacred matters. Having more time to give to the instruction of the children of the lodge, he would assist them in learning stories if the children were interested in hearing them. The older women assisted the younger women about the lodge and in the gardens but were not expected to do much work.

The older women were organized into two age-grade societies which were sacred in character. Women of advanced middle age joined the Goose Society and, when they had reached the menopause, sold to younger women and bought into the White Buffalo Cow Society.[3] As members of these societies they were respected for their supernatural powers over agriculture and

3. See the chapters on ceremonialism for an account of their origin.

When a person believed he was about to die, the relatives were called and the dying person was dressed and painted before death, if possible. It was the duty of the father's clan to attend to the disposal of the body, and the dying person's request determined whether the body would be buried or placed on a scaffold. The Mandan claim that in earlier times earth burials were more common, and this belief is corroborated by the large number of both primary and secondary bundle burials found at their older villages near the Heart River. In some instances, they requested hilltop burials with only a covering of robes and stones. Most people were placed on scaffolds which were erected by members of the father's clan, and the "sending-away of the spirit" rites on the fourth day were performed by a woman of the father's clan. The body was placed on the scaffold with the head to the northwest and the feet to the southeast, the direction the spirits were believed to take to reach the Heart River. People never slept with their feet pointed to the southeast, believing that to do so would be to invite death. The relatives would come to the scaffold to mourn for four days. Whenever an eminent person died, all fires in the village were extinguished for one day while all the village mourned. It is said that even the dogs wept.

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The deceased person's personal property was taken by the brothers and sisters, and, when there were none living, the people of the clan took possession of the goods and divided it among themselves. In return for this property, they were required to go to the scaffold to mourn and to pay the mourners of the father's clan. When the deceased was an old woman of a couple occupying a lodge by themselves, the man left the lodge to live with people of his own clan, and the lodge was either abandoned or taken over by a group of females belonging to the deceased person's clan. When an old woman having no children or younger females in the lodge became feeble, she usually moved into another lodge where the females were of her clan.

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2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

for the disposal of the skulls of their dead. The other bones were gathered and wrapped in a hide before being buried in the village refuse or along the river and creek banks. 765 614 778

The custom of bringing back the skulls of those who died or were killed while away from the village was continued until the Mandan were placed on individual land allotments. When one died while away from the village, the body was wrapped in robes and either placed in a tree, a crevice among the rocks, or a shallow grave covered with rocks. The body was left there for one year, when it became the duty of the father's sister to make provision for its return. If the summer buffalo-hunting camp was in the vicinity of the grave, she would pay some man to obtain the skull, or she secured it herself if the party passed near by. The skull was wrapped in white sage and carried in a soft leather bag. It was considered sacred and was prayed to. Young men who addressed it as father would request permission to fast near it. When the party reached the village, the skull became a part of one of the skull circles. 765 778

After the Mandan were placed on individual allotments on the Fort Berthold Reservation, it was customary to place the dead in boxes and trunks or to wrap them in robes and blankets which were placed in crevices in rocks or on high hills. Those who were closely affiliated with one of the churches were prevailed upon to have their dead buried in the church cemetery. Some bodies were unburied as late as 1928. For a number of years after moving onto individual allotments, a skull circle was maintained on a hill a short distance east of the Tom Smith farm, but in later years the skulls were not removed. 764 177

[p. 102 is blank]

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796

People receiving goods were:

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Women	Men
Big Chief Woman	Wolf Ghost
Spring Woman	Crows Breast
Lone Woman	Big Foot Bull
Hides and Eats	Afraid To Be Chief
Stays Yellow	Red Buffalo Cow
Unborn Calf Woman	Bull against Wind
Penned Up	Red Shield
Goes Out	Small Ankles
Owl Woman	Awaxniax (?)
Beaver Woman	Belly Up
Different Corn Silk	Broken Ax
Feather on Head Woman	
Otter Woman	
Eagle Woman	
Cedar Woman	

After the gifts were all presented, the people went home. Clam Necklace and his two wives went outside the village near the scaffolds for the dead and put up three new images, one of the Sun, one of the Moon, and another of the Old Woman Above. 796 778

The image of the Sun consisted of a round red disk painted on white calico or hide. Chokecherry brush was lashed to the top of the pole. The Old Woman Above image was made of a robe, hair side out, wrapped around an ash pole, with a piece of black hide for the face and white sage for the hair. It was tied to the pole with a belt which held the image in place. Moon's image was a red crescent painted on a white calico or hide lashed to an ash post [see above, Fig. 41]. The images were set up before sunrise.

Bundles having Old Woman Above's daughter represented added a fourth image. Instead of placing the images in a row with mounds in front of Sun's and Moon's images, the four images were placed at four corners of a square with the mounds in the center. White sage was set into the ground at the apex of the mound representing the Sun and black sage on the other mound representing the Moon. When two buffalo skulls were placed at the shrine, one was a bull's and the other a cow's skull. When four skulls were used, they were bull's skulls and represented buffaloes of the four seasons. These shrines became fasting places to which were brought skulls of relatives taken from the scaffolds. Enemies whose skulls lay on the prairies were brought to these shrines by those fasting there. Children's skulls were not placed in these circles. 778 764 [727]

The presence of enemy skulls in these circles was not unusual. Men fasting on the hills often collected the skulls of their enemies or went to the spot where the body lay to seek visions. 778 727 778

Maximilian referred to these shrines when he wrote:

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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In the center of the village was a large open space of about four acres[1] and in the center of this was the "Ark of the First Man." This was in the shape of a hogshead, of planks and hoops.[2] It was open above, the planks were embedded in the ground, and the hoops were branches tied around to hold these together. The Mandans called this the Big Canoe[3] and in it were some of their greatest medicines. This open space was the seat of all their festivals, dances and ceremonies, and here also they played their games of Chungkee or Skohpe. The space was closely surrounded by houses placed at equal distances apart and all facing the center. The largest of these lodges on the south side of the area was the medicine lodge, and on a pole above this was a figure of skin, with a carved wooden head, which represented the Evil Spirit. 361 778 [346]

About one quarter of a mile or less to the south of the village was a race-course; a hundred or more scaffolds on which the dead were deposited; slides for their games were also made outside the palisades. The ground about the houses was honeycombed with pits and caches in which most of the food and many of the valuables of the inhabitants were stored. The house roofs formed a general repository where bull boats, buffalo skulls, pottery, sledges and people were scattered promiscuously over the rounded surface, around the edge of which Bradbury says they built a sort of low railing. 361 [764] [351]

HOUSES:—The houses themselves were many times described, sometimes with considerable variation, and it is highly probable that there was more or less variation of construction in the minor details. They were distinguished from those of the Arikara in that the ground was first excavated, and that they were rather hemispherical, whereas the houses of the latter were more conical, like those of the Pawnee. Catlin[4] places the average size of the houses at from forty to sixty feet in diameter, depending on the size and importance of the family, and Henry[5] tells us that the one in which he himself stayed was ninety feet in diameter. 342 [171]

[1] Henry: vol. I, p. 338. "Sixty feet across," Maximilian: p. 386; "One hundred and fifty feet," Catlin: vol. I, p. 88.

[2] Catlin gives this as eight to ten feet high, Maximilian as four or five.

[3] Catlin: vol. I, p. 88. [4] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 81.

[5] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 338.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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became the property of the dancers. Another corn dance was held in the fall, but Maximilian tells us that the purpose of this one was to bring the buffalo. In this dance each woman carried a whole stalk of corn—the corn was called by the name of the water bird which represented it, and a prayer was made to the Old Woman Who Never Dies through these birds. The birds going south were supposed to carry these prayers to their mistress, and in this dance each old woman made a sacrifice of some valuable article. The elements of the corn dance agree in most particulars with those of the Pawnee and southern plains tribes.

535
796
241
[171]

BURIAL:—In their burial customs the Mandans show close analogy with the Sioux. Their cemeteries were usually only two hundred to three hundred paces from the palisade and consisted of a number of scaffolds on which the dead were placed. These scaffolds were made on four posts about twelve feet high, the length of the rectangle being about six feet. Across the posts willow rods, just strong enough to support the body, were placed.[1] When a person died he was left in the village but a very short time; the face was painted red, the body was oiled, dressed in the finest clothes and wrapped in a green buffalo skin or at a later period in a piece of cloth. The whole was then tightly wrapped with thongs of rawhide from head to foot. Then other robes were soaked in water and tightly wrapped and tied around the body. After this the corpse was immediately carried out and placed on the scaffold together with a bow and quiver, shield, pipe and tobacco, knife, flint and steel and provisions for several days. In case of a child, it was wrapped up in a small bundle which was tied to the scaffold by a cloth or hide. Catlin says the bodies were placed with their feet to the rising sun. Maximilian says the face was turned to the east.[2] Lewis and Clarke[3] give an account of a different sort of burial which must have been of rare occurrence for we find no mention of anything of the sort elsewhere. It is as follows: "An old man . . . . . one hundred and twenty winters old, he requested his grand Children to Dress him after Death, & Set him on a Stone on a hill, with his

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[1] Catlin; vol. 1, p. 89. [2] Op. cit., p. 479. [3] Feb. 20, 1805.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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764 face towards his old Village Down the river, that he might go Streight to his brother at their old village under ground." When a warrior was killed in battle he was never buried. If the body could not be carried back to the village, it was left as it lay.[1] In such a case the family would roll up a buffalo skin and carry it out, placing it on the scaffold where it was treated just as if it held the body of the dead man.

Catlin says that when the rods supporting the body broke and the body fell, the family interred all of the bones except the skull. Such skulls were placed eight or nine feet apart, in circles; one hundred or more in a circle; in the center of each circle was a small mound about three feet high. On this mound were two buffalo skulls, a male and a female, and in the center was a medicine pole twenty feet high supporting many medicine articles. Each skull was on a bunch of wild sage.

764 304 The Mandan period of mourning was one year, during which they dressed poorly and kept the hair cut short. Immediately upon the death, the relatives cut their hair, rubbed their bodies with white and gray clay, and gashed their arms and legs with a knife or a stone so that they were covered with blood. In the first few days groans and weeping were continuous. According to Maximilian there was a very solemn ceremony concluding the burial, which he called covering the body. This act might be done either by a relative or an outsider. The person who intended to cover the body came with one or two cloth coverings, red, blue, white or green. He mounted the scaffold as soon as the body was placed upon it and covered the remains with his covering. He then received a present of a horse from the immediate relatives. When it was learned that someone intended to cover the dead, a horse was at once tied to the scaffold and as soon as the body had been covered the horse was untied and led away by the man who had performed that office.[2] Gifts of value were hung all about the scaffold and these gifts were presented to those who had assisted in preparing and placing the body upon it.

[1] Maximilian: p. 472.

[2] Ibid., p. 481.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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The Mandan method of burial was used likewise by their neighbors the Hidatsa and in a modified form by the Dakota and nearly all the Siouan tribes. The Arikara, however, used the opposite form, that of interment. With them the dead were buried in a flexed position in graves (lined with stone) and the scaffold system was never used. 764 171

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

172x

The last work was done on one of the low mounds beyond the outside ditch (Map IV, *l*). The height of this one was not over one foot at the center and its diameter was about thirty feet. A trench was run across the mound from south to north cutting it at the center. The earth of which the mound was constructed was soft and full of bone fragments below the sod. For the first ten feet of the trench this soft earth went down to a depth of from eight inches to one foot where the line of old sod was reached. Fifteen feet from the south end of the trench there was a pile of human bones indicating a burial according to the Mandan method. This was only about ten or twelve inches below the surface of the mound. The bones were in a compact bundle, several of them had ends broken off, and some of the small ones, as well as the skull, were missing. Under one corner of this skeleton was part of a child's skeleton, in very poor condition, the skull being in pieces and many of the bones missing. Over the two skeletons was a thin layer of brown material resembling decayed wood. In the earth about these human remains was a considerable amount of animal bones, and immediately below was a very large pit. [164]

This pit was not of the usual shape. At its edge twelve feet from the beginning of the trench it was eight feet deep; under the skeleton the depth decreased to five feet three inches, and at the eighteen foot line it was four feet six inches deep. The trench was not excavated beyond this point, but from the angle of the slope the pit would seem to have been from fourteen to eighteen feet in diameter. The earth in the pit contained a large quantity of refuse, bones and bone implements and ashes. There was a distinct ash layer at about two feet below the surface. A large quantity of pottery fragments occurred in the pit and a number of large and very well-made pieces were found.

Two other low mounds (*m* and *n*) were investigated but nothing of any value was found in them.

Time prevented any further work on the site and much was left which should have been done. However, a fairly accurate idea was obtained of the whole site. Two of the larger mounds were excavated sufficiently to show their con-

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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The bison bones predominated in the finds, parts of almost every portion of the skeleton being found. One whole skull was uncovered, besides a number of horns and a considerable quantity of teeth. Portions of the vertebral column were also taken out, including the long vertebrae of the hump; ribs, hoofs, and leg bones, the latter much broken, were present, as well as a number of the large scapulae which were used in making the hoes. 172 x

Of the deer not many bones were identified. There were, however, a number of antler tips, as well as teeth and broken portions of the jaw.

Two antelope skulls were found, one that of an adult, and the other that of a very young animal with horns just sprouting. Antelope teeth were also found as well as some portions of the smaller leg bones, a piece of the sternum, and one or two scapulae.

A number of the large front teeth of the elk or wapiti were found, but none of the valuable "tushes." Part of an elk horn as well as several tips came to light in the excavation.

Wolf remains occurred frequently, four whole skulls being found, as well as a number of leg and foot bones, and several of the last phalanges to which the claws were attached. Three of these skulls were broken in on one side, as if the animal had been knocked on the head with a club. Two cayote skulls were also found, as well as some of the leg bones. From one of these skulls the nose had been smoothly cut off.

Among the smaller animals, the teeth and jaws of a raccoon, gopher jaws, and several skulls of mice were found.

A large number of bird bones were not identified but some of the wing bones of a species of owl as well as the leg bones from a bald headed eagle were found. The bill of some sort of crane also came to light.

The fish bones were so fragmentary that the species were not accurately identified, but it is probable that most of them were from cat-fish.

Burial and Human Remains:—The human remains discovered during the excavation were few and unsatisfactory. Only one skull was found and but two adult skeletons were 172 x 764 ●

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

X172 764 secured, one in poor condition. Parts of a child's skeleton were found and broken bits of skulls occurred occasionally in mounds or pits. The two skeletons, besides being apparently of two different types, exemplified two very different methods of burial.

The first skeleton, which was complete, was found under the largest mound at the bottom of a small circular pit. The skeleton was in a flexed position, hands about the neck, and knees drawn up nearly to the chin. It lay on the right side and faced towards the southwest. No ornaments of any sort were found about the remains, but a bone hoe lay above and another just below them; a brown layer, below, possibly marked the remains of some sort of wrapping. This burial shows nothing whatever in common with that of the Mandans so far as accounts go; and it resembles that of the Arikara only in that it was placed underground, since the Arikara lined the grave with stone and buried many things of value with the dead, often placing more than one body in a grave which was partitioned into compartments.

The second burial differed in every detail from the first, but seemed to correspond to the Mandan custom. The bones had been collected into a bundle and buried without ceremony, and a child's remains in an irregular mass were found associated with the larger bundle of bones. The skull of the adult was missing. According to Catlin after the dead body had dried on the scaffold it was taken down, the head was kept in one of the shrines and the bones were buried in a bundle. The body of a child was tied to the scaffold of an adult, and it is probable that the bones were buried along with those of the older person. Hence this burial may be confidently identified as Mandan. A number of broken fragments of children's skulls were found among the other refuse of the mounds and pits, but none of the other bones of the skeleton were ever present, which corroborates Catlin's story of the separation of the skulls from the remainder of the body.

X172 141 As has been said, the two skeletons found seemed to be of different types. The first one was that of a man about fifty years of age, whose height was 1594 cm. The skeleton was

757 When blindness arises from the dazzling brightness of the snow, which it very frequently does in March, they bathe the eyes with a solution of gunpowder in water. They often have recourse to bleeding, which they perform with a sharp flint, or a knife. They often apply to the Whites for medicine, and willingly follow their prescriptions. These Indians have also various remedies for their horses; thus, when a horse has the strangury, they give it a piece of a wasp's nest.

764 When a Mandan or Manitari dies, they do not let the corpse remain long in the village; but convey it to the distance of 200 paces, and lay it on a narrow stage, about six feet long, resting on four stakes about ten feet high, the body being first laced up in buffalo robes and a blanket. The face, painted red, is turned towards the east. A number of such stages are seen about their villages, and, although they themselves say that this custom is injurious to the health of the villages, they do not renounce it. On many of these stages there are small boxes, containing the bodies of children wrapped in cloth or skins. Ravens are usually seen sitting on these stages, and the Indians dislike that bird, because it feeds on the flesh of their relations. If you ask a Mandan why they do not deposit their dead in the ground, he answers—"The lord of life has, indeed, told us that we came from the ground, and should return to it again;" yet we have lately begun to lay the bodies of the dead on stages, because we love them, and would weep at the sight of them. They believe that every person has several spirits dwelling in him; one of 774 these spirits is black, another brown, and another light-coloured, the latter of which alone 775 returns to the lord of life. They think that after death they go to the south, to several villages which are often visited by the gods; that the brave and most eminent go to the village of the good, but the wicked into a different one: that they there live in the same manner as they do here, carry on the same occupations, eat the same food, have wives, and enjoy the pleasures of the chase and war. Those who are kind-hearted are supposed to make many presents and do good, find everything in abundance, and their existence there is dependant on their course of life while in the world. Some of the inhabitants of the Mandan villages are said not to believe all these particulars, and suppose that after death they will live in the sun or in a certain star.

765 [304] They mourn for the dead a whole year; cut off their hair, cover their body and head with white or grey clay, and often, with a knife or sharp flint, make incisions in their arms and legs in parallel lines, in their whole length, so that they are covered with blood. For some days after death the relations make a loud lament and bewailing. Often a relative, or some other friend, covers the dead, as they express it: he brings one or two woollen cloths, of a red, blue, white, or green colour, and, as soon as the body is laid on the stage, mounts upon the scaffolding, and conceals the body beneath the covering. A friend who will do this is, in token of respect, presented, by the family of the deceased, with a horse. If it is known beforehand that a person intends doing this honour to the dead, a horse is at once tied near the stage, and the friend, having per-

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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cloth, or other costly stuff, offered up to the Great Spirit, over the door of some benignant chief, in humble gratitude for the blessings which he is enjoying. Such is a part of the strange medley that is before and around me; and amidst them and the blue streams of smoke that are rising from the tops of these hundred "coal-pits," can be seen in distance, the green and boundless, treeless, bushless prairie; and on it, and contiguous to the piquet which encloses the village, a hundred scaffolds, on which their "dead live," as they term it.

These people never bury the dead, but place the bodies on slight scaffolds just above the reach of human hands, and out of the way of wolves and dogs; and they are there left to moulder and decay. This cemetery, or place of deposite for the dead, is just back of the village, on a level prairie (PLATE 48); and with all its appearances, history, forms, ceremonies, &c. is one of the strangest and most interesting objects to be described in the vicinity of this peculiar race.

Whenever a person dies in the Mandan village, and the customary honours and condolence are paid to his remains, and the body dressed in its best attire, painted, oiled, feasted, and supplied with bow and quiver, shield, pipe and tobacco—knife, flint and steel, and provisions enough to last him a few days on the journey which he is to perform; a fresh buffalo's skin, just taken from the animal's back, is wrapped around the body, and tightly bound and wound with thongs of raw hide from head to foot. Then other robes are soaked in water, till they are quite soft and elastic, which are also bandaged around the body in the same manner, and tied fast with thongs, which are wound with great care and exactness, so as to exclude the action of the air from all parts of the body.

There is then a separate scaffold erected for it, constructed of four upright posts, a little higher than human hands can reach; and on the tops of these are small poles passing around from one post to the others; across which a number of willow-rods just strong enough to support the body, which is laid upon them on its back, with its feet carefully presented towards the rising sun.

There are a great number of these bodies resting exactly in a similar way; excepting in some instances where a chief, or medicine-man, may be seen with a few yards of scarlet or blue cloth spread over his remains, as a mark of public respect and esteem. Some hundreds of these bodies may be seen reposing in this manner in this curious place, which the Indians call, "the village of the dead;" and the traveller, who visits this country to study and learn, will not only be struck with the novel appearance of the scene; but if he will give attention to the respect and devotions that are paid to this sacred place, he will draw many a moral deduction that will last him through life: he will learn, at least, that filial, conjugal, and paternal affection are not necessarily the results of civilization; but that the Great Spirit has given them to man in his native state; and that the

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 with us; the rest of the Indians following on shore. At one mile beyond the camp we passed a small creek, and at three[4] more a bluff of coal of an inferior quality on the south. After making eleven miles we reached an old field where the Mandans had cultivated grain last summer, and encamped for the night on the south side, about half a mile below the first village of the Mandans. In the morning, we had a willow low ground on the south and highland on the north, which occasionally varied in the course of the day. There is but little wood on this part of the river, which is here subdivided into many channels and obstructed by sandbars. As soon as we arrived a crowd of men, women and children came down to see us.

304 **First Meeting of the Mandans.** "Captain Lewis returned with
•765 the principal chiefs to the village, while the others remained with us during the evening; the object which seemed to surprise them most was a corn-mill fixed to the boat which we had occasion to use, and delighted them by the ease which it reduced the grain to powder. Among others who visited us was the son of the grand chief of the Mandans, who had his two little fingers cut off at the second joints. On inquiring into this accident, we found that it was customary to express grief for the death of relations by some corporal suffering, and that the usual mode was to lose two joints of the little fingers, or sometimes the other fingers. The wind blew very cold in the evening from the southwest. Two of the party were afflicted with rheumatic complaints." (id 159)

576 **The Interpreter.** "Saturday, October 27th. At an early hour we proceeded and anchored off the village. Captain Clarke went on shore, and after smoking a pipe with the chiefs, was desired to remain and eat with them. He declined on account of his being unwell; but his refusal gave great offense to the Indians, who considered it disrespectful not to eat when invited, till the cause was
000 explained to their satisfaction. We sent them some tobacco, and then proceeded to the second village, on the north passing by a bank containing coal, and a second village, and encamped at four miles on the north, opposite to a village of Ahnahaways. We here met with a Frenchman, named Jesseaume, who lived among the Indians with his wife and children, and whom we take as an interpreter. The Indians had flocked to the bank to see us as we passed, and they visited in great numbers the camp, where some

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 ning down to the beach, who appeared very anxious to speak to us. We went ashore, and found it was the brother of the Big White, who was encamped at no great distance, and hearing of our departure, came to take leave of the chief.

"The Big White gave him a pair of leggins, and they separated in a most affectionate manner, and we then continued, though the wind and waves were still high. The Indian chief seemed quite satisfied with his treatment, and during the whole of his time was employed in pointing out the ancient monuments of the Mandans, or in relating their traditions. At length, after making forty miles, we encamped on the northeast side, opposite an old Mandan village, and below the mouth of Chesshetah river."[12] (id 364)

"Here follow some entries showing events on the return trip of Lewis & Clarke at and near the Aricara villages and which are found in Part I of this paper in Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Call. pp. 400-1.

648 **At the Aricaras Villages the Mandan Chief Thus Addressed the Rees.** "The Big White, chief of the Mandans, now addressed them at some length, explaining the pacific intentions of his nation; and the Cheyenne observed that both the Ricaras and Mandans seemed to be in fault; but at the end of the council, the Mandan chief treated with great civility, and the greatest harmony prevailed among them." * * *

•765 "Captain Clarke returned to the boats where he found the chief of the lower village, who had cut off part of his hair and disfigured himself in such a manner that we did not recognize him at first, until he explained that he was in mourning for his nephew, who had been killed by the Sioux. He proceeded with us to the 648 village on the island, where we were met by all the inhabitants. The second chief, on seeing the Mandan, began to speak to him in a loud and threatening tone, till Captain Clarke declared that the Mandans had listened to our counsels, and that if any injury was done to the chief, we should defend him against every nation. He then invited the Mandans to his lodge, and after a very ceremonious smoking, assured Captain Clarke that the Mandan was as safe as at home, for the Ricaras had opened their ears to our counsels as well as the Mandans. This was repeated by the great chief, and the Mandan and Ricara chiefs now smoked and con-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

his fundamental training in warfare. In company with other 785
young men, and frequently afoot, whereas the main party was on 781
horseback, they were required to travel ahead, watching from 726
high buttes, and by means of signals to report the presence of an enemy or horses. It was necessary for the scouts to keep in touch with their leader, who, in turn, was intrusted with the duty of relaying information to the main body. New scouts were taught the proper posture when running to prevent premature exhaustion, and there were contests between scouts to determine their relative durability in reaching distant lookout points. The leader of the scouts reported the winners to the leader, who praised them publicly when the party returned to the village. The old women then sang their victory songs while the old men encouraged more fasting.

A sister was taught that fasting while her brother was away 785
on war expeditions would bring him success in "striking the 593
enemy" or capturing horses. She would take quill work with 765
her at daybreak and leave the village for a low hill or mound or recline on a platform in the garden where she would cry for his success, addressing her prayers to all the holy things. If the expedition was long overdue, she would go to the scaffolds of deceased relatives or skull circles to weep, returning to her lodge each evening. Successful war parties returned to the village at daybreak, and she would leave her lodge immediately to meet her brother. If he had captured horses, the best animal was presented to her. This was equivalent to presenting the horse to all the females of his mother's lodge. These females, on the other hand, were the principal mourners if he were killed, and the married sisters were expected to undergo extreme self-inflicted torture by gashing their bodies, cutting off the ends of fingers, cutting their hair, and shortening their dresses.

Their brothers fasted four, seven, or nine days without food 785
or water, remaining outside the village in some secluded spot 787
for the full period of the fast. From time to time, the father would send a clan brother to observe whether his son was endangering his life, and he could stop the fast if in his opinion the young man's self-torture was excessive. A young man returning from fasting which had not induced a vision was given an object from his father's bundle to carry on war expeditions and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

When a person believed he was about to die, the relatives were called and the dying person was dressed and painted before death, if possible. It was the duty of the father's clan to attend to the disposal of the body, and the dying person's request determined whether the body would be buried or placed on a scaffold. The Mandan claim that in earlier times earth burials were more common, and this belief is corroborated by the large number of both primary and secondary bundle burials found at their older villages near the Heart River. In some instances, they requested hilltop burials with only a covering of robes and stones. Most people were placed on scaffolds which were erected by members of the father's clan, and the "sending-away of the spirit" rites on the fourth day were performed by a woman of the father's clan. The body was placed on the scaffold with the head to the northwest and the feet to the southeast, the direction the spirits were believed to take to reach the Heart River. People never slept with their feet pointed to the southeast, believing that to do so would be to invite death. The relatives would come to the scaffold to mourn for four days. Whenever an eminent person died, all fires in the village were extinguished for one day while all the village mourned. It is said that even the dogs wept.

763 764 602 765 [513]

The deceased person's personal property was taken by the brothers and sisters, and, when there were none living, the people of the clan took possession of the goods and divided it among themselves. In return for this property, they were required to go to the scaffold to mourn and to pay the mourners of the father's clan. When the deceased was an old woman of a couple occupying a lodge by themselves, the man left the lodge to live with people of his own clan, and the lodge was either abandoned or taken over by a group of females belonging to the deceased person's clan. When an old woman having no children or younger females in the lodge became feeble, she usually moved into another lodge where the females were of her clan.

768 765 602

When a woman died leaving small children, her unmarried sisters were expected to provide for them and to marry the widower if he asked them. When the deceased mother had no sisters, the children were cared for by the maternal grandmother and her sisters. The clan provided for those who had no close blood relatives. Many families were broken up by the

768 602 614

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

768 smallpox epidemic of 1837. The orphans were taken in by the
602 females according to clan affiliation and reared as their own
614 children.

Suicide was rare among the Mandan. The only instances
762 remembered by Mandan informants were immediately follow-
775 ing the last smallpox epidemic. When a household had been nearly exterminated, the remaining females frequently took their lives. Crows Heart thought that suicides were buried and that their spirits did not reach the spirit world. Scattercorn remembered hearing of two girls who hanged themselves in 1837 in the village where her father lived and said that they were placed on the scaffold which was built by her father whose sister sent the spirits away at the end of four days.

The last murder of a male occurred among the Mandan in
682 1820, part of the Mandan separating from the village group to
627 live on Eagle Nose Butte until 1823, when the relatives of the murdered man invited them to return to Fort Clark Village. One who had been murdered was treated as though he had been killed in battle or had died a natural death. There was the usual preparation of the body by the relatives of the father's clan. The murderer, if caught, was killed by the murdered man's male siblings or clansmen, and his body was buried at a distance
[766] from the village. No rites were performed to send his spirit away. The murder of a woman by another woman was treated lightly and settled by a payment of goods.

The Mandan, and in later years the Hidatsa also, were accus-
•765 tomed to collect the bones of their relatives after the scaffolds
614 on which they were placed had rotted and fallen to the ground.
The skulls were taken to a place adjacent to the scaffolds and
778 there arranged in circles of which there were a number near each village. Scattercorn claimed that the skulls of each circle were of closely related people who had belonged to the same clan and that these shrines enhanced the "sacred powers" of the Woman Above bundles which were a part of the shrine.[4] If these were clan shrines, the practice of arranging the circles according to clans must have been abandoned after moving to Like-a-Fishhook Village, as there were only two or three circles at most, and the Hidatsa made simultaneous use of these shrines

4. See Catlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–52, for an eyewitness description of these circles.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

for the disposal of the skulls of their dead. The other bones were gathered and wrapped in a hide before being buried in the village refuse or along the river and creek banks. 765 614 778

The custom of bringing back the skulls of those who died or were killed while away from the village was continued until the Mandan were placed on individual land allotments. When one died while away from the village, the body was wrapped in robes and either placed in a tree, a crevice among the rocks, or a shallow grave covered with rocks. The body was left there for one year, when it became the duty of the father's sister to make provision for its return. If the summer buffalo-hunting camp was in the vicinity of the grave, she would pay some man to obtain the skull, or she secured it herself if the party passed near by. The skull was wrapped in white sage and carried in a soft leather bag. It was considered sacred and was prayed to. Young men who addressed it as father would request permission to fast near it. When the party reached the village, the skull became a part of one of the skull circles. 765 778

After the Mandan were placed on individual allotments on the Fort Berthold Reservation, it was customary to place the dead in boxes and trunks or to wrap them in robes and blankets which were placed in crevices in rocks or on high hills. Those who were closely affiliated with one of the churches were prevailed upon to have their dead buried in the church cemetery. Some bodies were unburied as late as 1928. For a number of years after moving onto individual allotments, a skull circle was maintained on a hill a short distance east of the Tom Smith farm, but in later years the skulls were not removed. 764 177

[p. 102 is blank]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

785 171 ployed by the Hidatsa in the NaxpikE ceremony, the Sun Dance equivalent of that tribe, as was the case with the Mandans in their Okipa ceremony, where the one tortured was suspended until he became unconscious. This practice was modified in later years to conform with the Hidatsa custom.

785 562 304 765 The custom of cutting off fingers in mourning was universally practiced by the women but rarely by the men. The sacrifice of fingers as a means of self-torture was practiced by men and in only a few instances by women who, upon the death of a relative through warfare, sought by self-torture to revenge the relative's slaying at a time when her brothers contemplated a retaliatory raid on the enemy's camp during which time she would be fasting. Those seeking visions used a buffalo skull to cut the fingers on when a vision was sought.

787 785 Four Bears' fasting record at the base of a large oak tree in which a raven had its young, to learn the name of the Arikara who had killed his brother, is still related as an example of the power which the supernatural had to clarify past deeds and bring success to the one adopted.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF FOUR BEARS[1]

787 785 539 A Mandan named Four Bears sent his younger brother out with the horses to a spot farther from the village where there was more grass. The Arikara came and killed the boy. The men found him with a spear stuck through his body, which was a challenge to Four Bears to come and fight if he thought he was lucky. Four Bears went out and brought the boy back to the village and saved the spear. He had already fasted in the Okipa and had many gods, but he began fasting again. He would fast and cry for seven days and nights without food and then come back to the village to rest. Then he would go out fasting again. He fasted near a high tree in which the ravens had a nest. He cut the flesh on his chest and inserted sticks with which he hung from the tree until he fell exhausted. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. One time he cut off a finger and offered it to the People Above and the raven that had its nest there.

The bird said, "It is an easy thing. You will find the man who killed your brother." The raven promised him that he could also bring rain. The bird added, "The one who killed your brother is named Bear Necklace, and he is the one you should kill."

In those days the dogs had names, so a clan father of Four Bears brought a dog to Four Bears to name, and he gave it the name Bear Necklace even before he killed the man. When Four Bears killed the Arikara without losing a man, and everything happened just as he had said the raven had predicted, he was highly respected.

1. This incident is mentioned in George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 238–41.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

which were pushed in as they burnt. This was done because the First Man told them they must never have a big fire after the day's cooking was done and showed them how it should be built. It recalls the sacred fire of the Muskogi and other tribes of the lower Mississippi. They declared that many of the every day customs were taught them thus and consequently they always did them a certain way,—thus Ochkih-Hedde taught them to tattoo themselves, and their first chief taught them to kill buffalo and to make shields. 372 [773]

The Mandans practiced penances and sacrifices, especially self-torture which they carried to great extremes. Their medicine or personal guardian spirit was acquired by three or four days fasting and self injury, after which the medicine, often an animal, appeared to the candidate in a dream. This ceremony was also taught to them by Ochkih-Hedde. No expedition or enterprise was undertaken without a liberal sacrifice to some supernatural being, either by offering valuable goods or by physical self-torture. Finger joints were frequently cut off as an offering to the gods and fasting was common as a propitiation. Often a day or more would be spent near one of the medicine scaffolds in groaning, praying and weeping. Lewis and Clarke relate that finger joints were also cut off as a sign of mourning, which Maximilian denies, and Catlin tells how such a sacrifice was a part of the catalogue of tortures in the great Okeepa dance. The custom of consecrating personal property is found here as among the neighboring tribes. A man could make his gun, his horse, his pipe and other similar articles medicine by going through certain ceremonies, most important of which was the giving of a feast. The feast[1] was announced by a public crier, a certain number of guests were invited, the invitations being originally little rods and later playing cards. The drum and rattle made the round of the company. Then the article was consecrated; if a gun, it was rubbed with meal several times, with soup, and lastly with fat, after which the feast took place. 782 304 776 785 [765] 782 574

There were many shrines and sacred articles among the Mandans, but judging from the accounts, the sacred bundles or 778

[1] Maximilian: p. 463.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

When, however, they are full dressed, they put a variety of feathers in their hair, frequently a semicircle of feathers of birds of prey, like radii, or sunbeams, or a bunch of the tail feathers of the raven placed in a similar manner. Sometimes they have a thick tuft of owl's feathers, or small rosettes made of broad raven's feathers, cut short, in the centre of which is the tail of a bird of prey spread out like a fan. These feather ornaments are frequently determined according to the several bands or unions, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They likewise wear the large horned feather cap; this is a cap consisting of strips of white ermine, with pieces of red cloth hanging down behind as far as the calves of the legs, to which is attached an upright row of black and white eagle's feathers, beginning at the head and reaching to the whole length. Only distinguished warriors, who have performed many exploits, may wear this head-dress (See Plate XIII., which is the best representation hitherto given of it). 302 301 [554]

If they give away one or more of these head-dresses, which they estimate very highly, they are immediately considered men of great importance; the regular price of such a cap is a good horse; for a single eagle's feather is always valued at one or two dollars. On their buffalo robes they often represent this feather cap, under the image of a sun. Very celebrated and eminent warriors, when most highly decorated, wear in their hair various pieces of wood, as signals of their wounds and heroic deeds. Thus Mato-Topé (see his portrait, Plate XIV.) had fastened transversely in his hair a wooden knife, painted red, and about the length of a hand, because he had killed a Chayenne chief with his knife; then six wooden sticks, painted red, blue, and yellow, with a brass nail at one end, indicating so many musket wounds which he had received. For an arrow wound, he fastened in his hair the wing feather of a wild turkey; at the back of his head he wore a large bunch of owl's feathers, dyed yellow, with red tips, as the badge of the Menis-Ochata (the dog band).[1] The half of his face was painted red, and the other yellow; his body was painted reddish-brown, with narrow stripes, which were produced by taking off the colour with the tip of the finger wetted. On his arms, from the shoulder downwards, he had seventeen yellow stripes, which indicated his warlike deeds, and on his breast the figure of a hand, of a yellow colour, as a sign that he had captured some prisoners. A warrior so adorned takes more time for his toilette than the most elegant Parisian belle. The colour with which they paint their bodies is mixed with grease. When in mourning they colour the face and hands white. The women and children paint only their faces red, leaving the hair its natural colour. The Mandans and Manitaries, and all the Indians of the Upper Missouri, often wear the handsome necklace made of the claws of the grizzly bear. These claws are very large in the spring, frequently three inches long, and the points are tinged of a white colour, which is much esteemed; only the claws of the fore feet are used for necklaces, which are fastened to a strip of otter skin, lined with red cloth, and embroidered with glass beads, which hangs down the back like a long tail. Such a 554 302 301 [431] [495] [561] [765] 301 000

[1] [This is one of the age-grade societies of the men. See also Cat. 116, pp. 355-56. --Analyst]

757 When blindness arises from the dazzling brightness of the snow, which it very frequently does in March, they bathe the eyes with a solution of gunpowder in water. They often have recourse to bleeding, which they perform with a sharp flint, or a knife. They often apply to the Whites for medicine, and willingly follow their prescriptions. These Indians have also various remedies for their horses; thus, when a horse has the strangury, they give it a piece of a wasp's nest.

764 When a Mandan or Manitari dies, they do not let the corpse remain long in the village; but convey it to the distance of 200 paces, and lay it on a narrow stage, about six feet long, resting on four stakes about ten feet high, the body being first laced up in buffalo robes and a blanket. The face, painted red, is turned towards the east. A number of such stages are seen about their villages, and, although they themselves say that this custom is injurious to the health of the villages, they do not renounce it. On many of these stages there are small boxes, containing the bodies of children wrapped in cloth or skins. Ravens are usually seen sitting on these stages, and the Indians dislike that bird, because it feeds on the flesh of their relations. If you ask a Mandan why they do not deposit their dead in the ground, he answers—"The lord of life has, indeed, told us that we came from the ground, and should return to it again;" yet we have lately begun to lay the bodies of the dead on stages, because we love them, and would weep at
774 the sight of them. They believe that every person has several spirits dwelling in him; one of
775 these spirits is black, another brown, and another light-coloured, the latter of which alone returns to the lord of life. They think that after death they go to the south, to several villages which are often visited by the gods; that the brave and most eminent go to the village of the good, but the wicked into a different one: that they there live in the same manner as they do here, carry on the same occupations, eat the same food, have wives, and enjoy the pleasures of the chase and war. Those who are kind-hearted are supposed to make many presents and do good, find everything in abundance, and their existence there is dependant on their course of life while in the world. Some of the inhabitants of the Mandan villages are said not to believe all these particulars, and suppose that after death they will live in the sun or in a certain star.

765 [304] They mourn for the dead a whole year; cut off their hair, cover their body and head with white or grey clay, and often, with a knife or sharp flint, make incisions in their arms and legs in parallel lines, in their whole length, so that they are covered with blood. For some days after death the relations make a loud lament and bewailing. Often a relative, or some other friend, covers the dead, as they express it: he brings one or two woollen cloths, of a red, blue, white, or green colour, and, as soon as the body is laid on the stage, mounts upon the scaffolding, and conceals the body beneath the covering. A friend who will do this is, in token of respect, presented, by the family of the deceased, with a horse. If it is known beforehand that a person intends doing this honour to the dead, a horse is at once tied near the stage, and the friend, having per-

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

formed this last office, unties the animal and leads it away. If a Mandan or Manitari falls in battle, and the news of his death reaches the family, who are unable to recover the body, a buffalo skin is rolled up and carried to the village. All those who desire to lament the deceased assemble, and many articles of value are distributed among them. The mourners cut off their hair, wound themselves with knives, and make loud lamentations. Joints of the fingers are not cut off here, as among the Blackfeet, as a token of mourning, but as signs of penance and offering to the lord of life and the first man. 765

The English and French find the pronunciation of the Mandan language extremely difficult; while to a German, or a Dutchman, it is considerably easier, because it contains very many gutturals, like *ach*, *och*, *uch*, in German. The nasal sounds, on the contrary, are few, but they frequently speak in a very indistinct way, having the mouth scarcely opened. The vowels are often softened, and much depends on the way in which the accent falls. The vowels *a* and *u* are often only half pronounced, but occur very frequently. I collected many words, as specimens of the language, and wrote down phrases, and made an attempt to compile a grammar of the Mandan language, but the completion of it was, unfortunately, hindered by unfavourable circumstances. Several old persons assured me that they perfectly remembered that, in their youth, many resemblances between the Mandan and Manitari languages did not then exist, which have since gradually crept in; the two languages being then quite different, which, indeed, they are still, in the main. As nations and allies, however, they have reciprocally adopted many words and expressions, and hence there is a better understanding among them now than heretofore, and their intercourse is greatly facilitated. Time will, undoubtedly, produce a still closer approximation. It is a remarkable fact, and proves how easily the separation of single tribes, and even villages, of one and the same nation, leads to changes in the language, and transitions into other dialects. An example of this kind was presented in the two Mandan villages, where many diversities of language had already taken place. I collected several specimens of this kind, and, to me, it was highly interesting. The Mandans are more apt in learning foreign languages than many other nations. Thus, the majority of them speak the Manitari language, whereas but few of the latter understand the Mandan language. Most of the American nations, at least, those on the Missouri, are said to have no maledictory words or terms of abuse; the Mandans have nothing of the kind but the expression—"bad people." The article is wanting in the Mandan language, and there is no distinction of gender, except in addressing a man or a woman. For my observations on the Mandan language, I am chiefly indebted to the kindness and patience of Mr. Kipp, who had lived eleven years among that people, had married an Indian wife, and had attained a perfect knowledge of the language. The Mandan names always have a signification, and are often equivalent to whole sentences: all surrounding objects are made use of in giving 197 197 551

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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[facing p. 87]

080 spices and improvements of the enlightened world have never refined upon them.

There is not a day in the year in which one may not see in this place evidences of this fact, that will wring tears from his eyes, and kindle in his bosom a spark of respect and sympathy for the poor Indian, if he never felt it before. Fathers, mothers, wives, and children, may be seen lying under
●765 these scaffolds, prostrated upon the ground, with their faces in the dirt, howling forth incessantly the most piteous and heart-broken cries and lamentations for the misfortunes of their kindred; tearing their hair—cutting their flesh with their knives, and doing other penance to appease the spirits of the dead, whose misfortunes they attribute to some sin or omission of their own, for which they sometimes inflict the most excruciating self-torture.

When the scaffolds on which the bodies rest, decay and fall to the ground, the nearest relations having buried the rest of the bones, take the skulls, which are perfectly bleached and purified, and place them in circles of an hundred or more on the prairie—placed at equal distances apart (some eight or nine inches from each other), with the faces all looking to the centre; where they are religiously protected and preserved in their precise positions from year to year, as objects of religious and affectionate veneration (PLATE 48).

765 There are several of these "Golgothas" or circles of twenty or thirty feet in diameter, and in the centre of each ring or circle is a little mound of
769 three feet high, on which uniformly rest two buffalo skulls (a male and female); and in the centre of the little mound is erected a "medicine pole," about twenty feet high, supporting many curious articles of mystery and superstition, which they suppose have the power of guarding and protecting this sacred arrangement. Here then, to this strange place do these people again resort, to evince their further affections for the dead—not in groans and lamentations however, for several years have cured the anguish; but fond affections and endearments are here renewed, and conversations are here held and cherished with the dead.

Each one of these skulls is placed upon a bunch of wild sage, which has been pulled and placed under it. The wife knows (by some mark or resemblance) the skull of her husband or her child, which lies in this group; and there seldom passes a day that she does not visit it, with a dish of the best cooked food that her wigwam affords, which she sets before the skull at night, and returns for the dish in the morning. As soon as it is discovered that the sage on which the skull rests is beginning to decay, the woman cuts a fresh bunch, and places the skull carefully upon it, removing that which was under it.

769 Independent of the above-named duties, which draw the women to this spot, they visit it from inclination, and linger upon it to hold converse and company with the dead There is scarcely an hour in a pleasant day, but

000 whose doom is fixed, to live just long enough to be imperfectly known, and then to fall before the fell disease or sword of civilizing devastation.

141 The stature of the Mandans is rather below the ordinary size of man, with beautiful symmetry of form and proportion, and wonderful suppleness and elasticity; they are pleasingly erect and graceful, both in their walk and their attitudes; and the hair of the men, which generally spreads over their backs, 302 falling down to the hams, and sometimes to the ground, is divided into plaits or slabs of two inches in width, and filled with a profusion of glue and red earth or vermillion, at intervals of an inch or two, which becoming very hard, remains in and unchanged from year to year.

This mode of dressing the hair is curious, and gives to the Mandans the most singular appearance. The hair of the men is uniformly all laid over from the forehead backwards; carefully kept above and resting on the ear, and thence falling down over the back, in these flattened bunches, and painted red, extending oftentimes quite on to the calf of the leg, and sometimes in such profusion as almost to conceal the whole figure from the person walking behind them. In the portrait of San-ja-ka-ko-kah (the deceiving wolf, PLATE 54), where he is represented at full length, with several others of his family around him in a group, there will be seen a fair illustration of these and other customs of these people.

The hair of the women is also worn as long as they can possibly cultivate it, oiled very often, which preserves on it a beautiful gloss and shows its natural colour. They often braid it in two large plaits, one falling down just back of the ear, on each side of the head; and on any occasion which requires them to "put on their best looks," they pass their fingers through it, drawing it out of braid, and spreading it over their shoulders. The Mandan women observe strictly the same custom, which I observed amongst the Crows and Blackfeet (and, in fact, all other tribes I have seen, without a single exception), of parting the hair on the forehead, and always keeping the crease or separation filled with vermilion or other red paint. This is one of the very few little (and apparently trivial) customs which I have found amongst the Indians, without being able to assign any cause for it, other than that "they are Indians," and that this is an Indian fashion.

302 In mourning, like the Crows and most other tribes, the women are obliged
765 to crop their hair all off; and the usual term of that condolence is until the hair has grown again to its former length

When a man mourns for the death of a near relation the case is quite different; his long, valued tresses, are of much greater importance, and only a lock or two can be spared. Just enough to tell of his grief to his friends, without destroying his most valued ornament, is doing just reverence and respect to the dead.

000 To repeat what I have said before, the Mandans are a pleasing and friendly race of people, of whom it is proverbial amongst the Traders and all who ever have known them that their treatment of white men in their

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The old women attended to the child, disposing of the placenta and seeing that the child was properly greased and painted with red ocher under the arms, around the neck, between the legs, and on the top of the head to prevent chafing. It was wrapped in a piece of tanned hide taken from a tepee smokehole, since such leather did not harden when wet. The child was placed in the leather cradle shortly after birth. In the wintertime it was wrapped in a tanned buffalo calf hide from which the hair had not been removed. At night the child was taken from the cradle to sleep with the mother. Twice a day the child was taken from the cradle to be cleaned and greased.

On the tenth day a feast was given in the lodge, at which time the child was named. The parents selected the person who was to officiate at the naming ceremony. If the father had already acquired eminence and owned a major tribal bundle, he or his sister named the child; otherwise he called in people of his clan to give the name. The child's brothers and sisters and persons of the child's clan brought robes, and the father would frequently contribute a horse. The naming of a child was one of many occasions during one's lifetime when he would be expected to give goods to others ceremonially. The parents used the medium of the feast and the naming of the child, with an abundant display and distribution of goods, to enhance their social status in the tribe.

Until the child received a name, it was not considered a part of the social unit of the village but of the "baby home" from whence it had come. The child received a name relating to the ceremonial bundle of the person giving the name. Thus such names as Scattercorn, Stands Yellow, Pumpkin Blossom, Corn Piles Up, and Corn Silk belonged to Corn ceremony bundles. Others like Lone Woman, Calf Woman, Game Stone, Sage Woman, Big Feather on Head, and Berdache were taken from the Woman Above bundles. The person giving the name received a horse. Both men and women belonging to the child's father's clan were entitled to attend and were expected to receive some article and to pray for the child's success. Upon receiving a name, the child acquired status in the household and clan. Children dying before the naming ceremony were wrapped in hides and placed in a tree used for that purpose, and there were no rites of "sending the spirits away." Those dying after getting a

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

name were taken to the usual place, where they were placed on a scaffold or interred, according to the parents' preference.

The Mandan believed that there was a Baby Hill near Fort Clark, another near the Heart River, and a third near Dickinson which had interiors like an earth lodge, in which an old man cared for them. If a child died before being named, it returned to the Baby Hill. People claimed to have seen baby tracks on the tops and sides of these hills. It was believed that the spirits in the hill near the Heart River came north when the Mandan came north. If a woman had been married a number of years and was childless, desiring a child, she would go to one of these hills to pray for one. Those wanting a daughter brought girl's clothing and a ball; for a son she brought a small bow and arrow. The Mandan believed in rebirth. Calf Woman's grandfather said he was one who had been reborn. One of her grandchildren had a spot on her hip, and it was thought she was one who had lived before. It was believed that children choose the mother they want and that a child resembling a sibling who had died was the reincarnation of the other child. The Mandan cite numerous instances of culture heroes who selected a mother when desiring to be born into the tribe.

A girl usually keeps her first name as long as she lives. If she was sick or unlucky, her parents frequently put up a feast to get a new name for her. If she had grown up, her brothers and sisters helped her prepare a renaming feast.

A nursing child frequently developed a sore mouth which interfered with its feeding. In such cases, the parents selected a man of the child's father's clan to cure it by piercing the skin of the ceremonial father's leg and permitting the child to suck of his blood. A payment was made to the man selected by the child's clan brothers and sisters.

TRAINING

The child's training was both economic and ritualistic and differed according to the sex of the child. A girl was trained in lodge management, household arts, gardening, curing of meat, and certain ritualistic practices, receiving her instruction primarily from the women of the lodge. A boy was taught hunting and fishing and went out while still a boy to help bring meat

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

774 it was a member during the life of the individual. It was the earth spirit and was believed to hover around the lodge so long as any visible evidence of the lodge ruins remained. People would see dim lights around the abandoned villages and attributed these lights to the third spirit. The fourth spirit was black and remained outside the lodge and traveled away from the village at times but would return frequently. It was represented by a shadow and was the spirit that frightened people. It was this spirit that Calf Woman believed frightened her the evening before government rations were issued so that she was unable to walk out for her share. It was also the spirit that came [787] to a person in his dreams. When moccasins were burned at the doorway of the lodge where a person had died, it no longer frightened people.

775 The Mandan concept of the hereafter was based largely on vision experiences. They have a number of accounts of persons who "died" and then returned. All informants were in agreement that the first two spirits returned downstream. Some of the very old people who were remembered by my informants claimed that they would go to the Heart River, where their old people had lived and died. At that place there was a spirit village for each of the villages of the Heart River area, and a spirit-house stood over the body of each person either buried or placed on the prairie there. Some claimed that they would return to Baby Hill and be reincarnated into the tribe. At the present time the older Mandan think that they will return to Like-a-Fishhook Village, where they will be reunited with their relatives who lived and died there. They believe that the spirit people live in earth-lodge villages, plant gardens, hunt, and perform ceremonies much the same as during their lifetime. One's status in the hereafter is essentially the same as when one died.

775 Children who died before being named were wrapped in robes and placed in trees or interred apart from the rest of the dead. 776 There were no rites, since they were not considered a part of the village until they had been named. They were believed to return immediately to the Home of the Babies to be reborn later.

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2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Calf Woman told of an old Mandan with ten sons who instructed them each to take one of his teeth to be carried in battle. After he died, he was placed on a scaffold for one year, when the teeth were taken by the sons and kept as sacred objects. The skull was placed at one of the skull circles near a People Above shrine, and the other bones were buried. He had been very successful in warfare but died of a boil. 766 778

The skulls of those who died away from the village were usually brought back a year later, if requested by the relatives, by either a man or woman of the father's clan. It was customary to have a woman bring back the skull if summer village hunting expeditions were in the vicinity; otherwise a man leaving on a war expedition was delegated to secure the skull. Skulls brought back were placed at one of the shrines, of which there were a number adjacent to each village.

All men and women fasted, and most people had vision experiences. All were medicine men just as all were warriors or hunters. Some acquired reputations as medicine men just as some had good reputations as warriors or hunters. There was no grouping into cults according to vision; such division as did occur was based on ownership of related hereditary tribal bundles, a system much like the Pawnee except for a greater flexibility deriving from the four-sale right. It cannot be said that inherited bundle-owners were higher in tribal regard than those who practiced doctoring or led successful war parties. Each stood on his own record. Such advantage as hereditary bundle-owners had over others came from their possession of tribal lore belonging to the bundle. Since each hereditary bundle-owner was instructed in the traditional history of the bundle, he became an authority on the early history of the tribe. Four Bears rose to eminence and became second chief without inheriting any bundles of his parents other than a sacred shield and rain-calling robe. He had a successful war record and did much fasting. That would never have elevated him to more than a war leader, but the many feasts he made to which the older hereditary bundle-owners were invited gave him the necessary prestige. He gave the Okipa twice. Crows Heart had a good war record but never rose to eminence. His home being near a river crossing, people were always stopping there for meals. Nevertheless, he gave few for- 787 554 785 795

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768 SOCIAL READJUSTMENTS TO DEATH--disposition of the possessions of the deceased (e.g., abandonment or relocation of dwelling, destruction or mutilation of movable possessions, redistribution of property); provision for support of spouse and children; residence changes of survivors; etc. See also:

Inheritance 428
Guardianship and administration 429
Insurance 456
Heirlooms 523
Remarriage 587
Status of widows 589
Rule of residence 591
Adoption 597
Rules of succession 59, 61, 63, 622, 643
Relief of widows and orphans 736
Social insurance 745

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meanwhile her parents frequently made arrangements to bring 591
them to the daughter's parental lodge to live. They constructed a side passage from the door so that the son-in-law could enter his section of the lodge without meeting his mother-in-law, and he was expected to remain in his quarters when she was in the lodge. When the lodge was ready, the girl's father presented her husband with a horse or other goods and invited them to live with them.

When a man married the oldest sister, he was entitled to 587
marry the younger ones as they became of age by giving them horses. Her parents built additional beds in the son-in-law's section. There was no wedding feast or exchange of goods.

A third method of marrying was known as "marriage by mu- 583
tual agreement." Two people attracted to each other decided 591
to marry without consulting their parents. Sometimes a girl 428
did not approve of her sisters' husband and decided not to marry him. She encouraged a young man so that she could get away from her mother's household. She received two or three horses from her husband and left her parents to live in her husband's lodge. If she had a number of sisters and did not like their husband, she would remain in her husband's lodge and help the women of the household. Whether or not this residence became permanent depended on a number of factors. When the lodge was already occupied by her husband's sisters and their husband, she would attempt to move out with her husband to a household of old women of her clan, especially one where there were no men to provide for the household. Eventually she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens when the old people died. On the other hand, should her husband have no sisters, she would prefer to care for her parents-in-law, whom she treated as "grandparents" and addressed as such, and they would treat her as a woman of the lodge. When they died, she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens.

As a resident of the husband's lodge, a woman's position was 592
subordinate to the other female members of the household 768
group. In case of a quarrel, she was obliged to leave. Should 421
her husband be killed or die, leaving small children and his brother was unable to marry her because of an unco-operative wife, she was sent out of the lodge and was permitted to take

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592 only her clothing and children. Even the bedding belonged with
768 the lodge and could not be taken whether she had assisted in
421 tanning and preparing them or not. Responsibility for the children's care rested with her sisters and the female members of her clan.

586 Divorce was easy and common. The elopement of a married
837 woman having children with a married man also having chil-
578 dren was the cause of much trouble, since it involved so many
431 people. Learning that their brother had eloped with another
583 man's wife, the brothers and sisters would take horses and other property to the injured man to prevent him from causing them injury, since they were accountable for a sibling's conduct. Learning that his wife had run away with another man, he was entitled to retaliate against the man's brothers and sisters and would start killing their horses. My Mandan informants enjoyed relating instances when the brothers and sisters, learning that a brother had eloped with another man's wife, had reached the lodge before the wife was missed. They would come to his lodge in a group leading the horses. Seeing the people with horses, he would hurry into his lodge or go through the village calling for his wife. People considered it very humorous to surprise a man in that way, and it was the subject of gossip for quite a while. He was expected to accept the horses and forget his wife. The elopers usually visited the Crow Indians until
586 the husband was reconciled to his loss. When a prominent man
837 lost his wife, he would usually organize a war party or go out
578 alone against the enemy. He could disregard his former wife,
583 and those most concerned with public opinion usually did. However, a man of position usually called her into his lodge when she returned from her elopement, painted and dressed her, mounted her on a good horse, and took her back to her new husband. Those who cried because a wife eloped or who attempted to take her back or agreed to let her return if she requested it were considered weaklings and not worthy of respect. Bear on the Water, a Mandan, stole the young Arikara wife of Four Bears, the principal war chief of the Hidatsa. While they were away, Four Bears made so many threats that the Mandan were obliged to leave the village for fear of war. He refused to accept horses or to smoke the pipe with Bear on

When a person believed he was about to die, the relatives were called and the dying person was dressed and painted before death, if possible. It was the duty of the father's clan to attend to the disposal of the body, and the dying person's request determined whether the body would be buried or placed on a scaffold. The Mandan claim that in earlier times earth burials were more common, and this belief is corroborated by the large number of both primary and secondary bundle burials found at their older villages near the Heart River. In some instances, they requested hilltop burials with only a covering of robes and stones. Most people were placed on scaffolds which were erected by members of the father's clan, and the "sending-away of the spirit" rites on the fourth day were performed by a woman of the father's clan. The body was placed on the scaffold with the head to the northwest and the feet to the southeast, the direction the spirits were believed to take to reach the Heart River. People never slept with their feet pointed to the southeast, believing that to do so would be to invite death. The relatives would come to the scaffold to mourn for four days. Whenever an eminent person died, all fires in the village were extinguished for one day while all the village mourned. It is said that even the dogs wept.

763 764 602 765 [513]

The deceased person's personal property was taken by the brothers and sisters, and, when there were none living, the people of the clan took possession of the goods and divided it among themselves. In return for this property, they were required to go to the scaffold to mourn and to pay the mourners of the father's clan. When the deceased was an old woman of a couple occupying a lodge by themselves, the man left the lodge to live with people of his own clan, and the lodge was either abandoned or taken over by a group of females belonging to the deceased person's clan. When an old woman having no children or younger females in the lodge became feeble, she usually moved into another lodge where the females were of her clan.

768 765 602

When a woman died leaving small children, her unmarried sisters were expected to provide for them and to marry the widower if he asked them. When the deceased mother had no sisters, the children were cared for by the maternal grandmother and her sisters. The clan provided for those who had no close blood relatives. Many families were broken up by the

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768 smallpox epidemic of 1837. The orphans were taken in by the
602 females according to clan affiliation and reared as their own
614 children.

Suicide was rare among the Mandan. The only instances
762 remembered by Mandan informants were immediately follow-
775 ing the last smallpox epidemic. When a household had been nearly exterminated, the remaining females frequently took their lives. Crows Heart thought that suicides were buried and that their spirits did not reach the spirit world. Scattercorn remembered hearing of two girls who hanged themselves in 1837 in the village where her father lived and said that they were placed on the scaffold which was built by her father whose sister sent the spirits away at the end of four days.

682 The last murder of a male occurred among the Mandan in
627 1820, part of the Mandan separating from the village group to live on Eagle Nose Butte until 1823, when the relatives of the murdered man invited them to return to Fort Clark Village. One who had been murdered was treated as though he had been killed in battle or had died a natural death. There was the usual preparation of the body by the relatives of the father's clan. The murderer, if caught, was killed by the murdered man's male siblings or clansmen, and his body was buried at a distance
[766] from the village. No rites were performed to send his spirit away. The murder of a woman by another woman was treated lightly and settled by a payment of goods.

765 The Mandan, and in later years the Hidatsa also, were accus-
614 tomed to collect the bones of their relatives after the scaffolds on which they were placed had rotted and fallen to the ground.
778 The skulls were taken to a place adjacent to the scaffolds and there arranged in circles of which there were a number near each village. Scattercorn claimed that the skulls of each circle were of closely related people who had belonged to the same clan and that these shrines enhanced the "sacred powers" of the Woman Above bundles which were a part of the shrine.[4] If these were clan shrines, the practice of arranging the circles according to clans must have been abandoned after moving to Like-a-Fishhook Village, as there were only two or three circles at most, and the Hidatsa made simultaneous use of these shrines

4. See Catlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–52, for an eyewitness description of these circles.

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[facing p. 87]

060 spices and improvements of the enlightened world have never refined upon them.

There is not a day in the year in which one may not see in this place evidences of this fact, that will wring tears from his eyes, and kindle in his bosom a spark of respect and sympathy for the poor Indian, if he never felt it before. Fathers, mothers, wives, and children, may be seen lying under 765 these scaffolds, prostrated upon the ground, with their faces in the dirt, howling forth incessantly the most piteous and heart-broken cries and lamentations for the misfortunes of their kindred; tearing their hair—cutting their flesh with their knives, and doing other penance to appease the spirits of the dead, whose misfortunes they attribute to some sin or omission of their own, for which they sometimes inflict the most excruciating self-torture.

When the scaffolds on which the bodies rest, decay and fall to the ground, the nearest relations having buried the rest of the bones, take the skulls, which are perfectly bleached and purified, and place them in circles of an hundred or more on the prairie—placed at equal distances apart (some eight or nine inches from each other), with the faces all looking to the centre; where they are religiously protected and preserved in their precise positions from year to year, as objects of religious and affectionate veneration (PLATE 48).

765 There are several of these "Golgothas" or circles of twenty or thirty feet in diameter, and in the centre of each ring or circle is a little mound of 769 three feet high, on which uniformly rest two buffalo skulls (a male and female); and in the centre of the little mound is erected a "medicine pole," about twenty feet high, supporting many curious articles of mystery and superstition, which they suppose have the power of guarding and protecting this sacred arrangement. Here then, to this strange place do these people again resort, to evince their further affections for the dead—not in groans and lamentations however, for several years have cured the anguish; but fond affections and endearments are here renewed, and conversations are here held and cherished with the dead.

Each one of these skulls is placed upon a bunch of wild sage, which has been pulled and placed under it. The wife knows (by some mark or resemblance) the skull of her husband or her child, which lies in this group; and there seldom passes a day that she does not visit it, with a dish of the best cooked food that her wigwam affords, which she sets before the skull at night, and returns for the dish in the morning. As soon as it is discovered that the sage on which the skull rests is beginning to decay, the woman cuts a fresh bunch, and places the skull carefully upon it, removing that which was under it.

769 Independent of the above-named duties, which draw the women to this spot, they visit it from inclination, and linger upon it to hold converse and company with the dead There is scarcely an hour in a pleasant day, but

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more or less of these women may be seen sitting or laying by the skull of their child or husband—talking to it in the most pleasant and endearing language that they can use (as they were wont to do in former days) and seemingly getting an answer back. It is not unfrequently the case, that the woman brings her needle-work with her, spending the greater part of the day, sitting by the side of the skull of her child, chatting incessantly with it, while she is embroidering or garnishing a pair of moccasins; and perhaps, overcome with fatigue, falls asleep, with her arms encircled around it, forgetting herself for hours; after which she gathers up her things and returns to the village. 769

There is something exceedingly interesting and impressive in these scenes, which are so strikingly dissimilar, and yet within a few rods of each other; the one is the place where they pour forth the frantic anguish of their souls—and afterwards pay their visits to the other, to jest and gossip with the dead. 000

The great variety of shapes and characters exhibited in these groups of crania, render them a very interesting study for the craniologist and phrenologist; but I apprehend that it would be a matter of great difficulty (if not of impossibility) to procure them at this time, for the use and benefit of the scientific world.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

231 properly, will enrich them, a scrub lean steer being as valuable in their eyes as a fat, blooded one. These Indians are virtually self-supporting, as they receive very little from the government." (Wheeler, p. 224.)

361 Wheeler here notes the reason why the upper of the two Mandan villages proper near Knife river, which stood on the northeast bank of the Missouri in 1804, was found on the southwest bank in 1833:

Apparently Crossed River. "The five villages mentioned by Lewis and Clarke in 1804, were still in existence in 1833, when Maximilian visited these Indians. One important change had, he states, occurred. The Missouri river had characteristically changed its channel and in Maximilian's day flowed on the eastern side of Rooptahee, or Ruhptare, the second Mandan town of our narrative, so that both the Mandan villages were then on the western south bank."

773 **Mandans and Hidatsas.** "The tradition relating to the origin of the Mandans given by Lewis and Clarke, according to Dr. Matthews, relates, not only to the Mandans, but to the Hidatsa as well. This tradition, I find, is current at the present day and the lake from which the tribe emerged is said to be Minnewakan, or Devil's Lake in North Dakota, the Hidatsa name for this lake—Midihopa—meaning sacred or mysterious water. Dr. Matthews thinks that 'one nation borrowed its legend from the other,' so that both have a common source." (Wheeler, p. 228.)

•771 **Polytheism.** "These people had a belief in a 'Great Spirit,' or
797 'Old Man Immortal,' or 'Great Mystery,' and Dr. Matthews discusses it quite fully in his paper. Their ancient belief appears to have been, on the whole, a species of Polytheism. Religious missionary work on the Fort Berthold reservation began in 1876, and since then there has been a marked change in their religious ideas. The leaven acted but slowly at first, but when its results were apparent it seemed to work with cumulative effect. 'Only a small minority of the people now hold to the wreck of their old paganism.' Carlisle, Santee, and other schools have had their influence in producing this uplift. The younger generations see things with a new and broader vision and their moral and religious notions are cast in a new mold." (Wheeler, p. 229.)

797 Wheeler quotes as follows from Rev. C. L. Hall, the Congrega-

6:.Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Fig. 15. As soon as the ice in the rivers breaks up, they run to the banks and throw this interlaced hoop into the water. In the summer time the Mandans and Manitaries often amuse themselves with races in the prairie, for which they have the best opportunity in the vicinity of their villages; twenty young men, or more, often run at once, and on these occasions there is always high betting. Some of them are very swift runners, and can hold out a long time. 526

The Mandans and Manitaries are extremely superstitious, and all their important actions are guided by such motives. They have most strange ideas of surrounding nature, believe in a multitude of different beings in the heavenly bodies; offer sacrifices to them; invoke their assistance on every occasion; howl, lament, fast, inflict on themselves cruel acts of penance, to propitiate these spirits; and, above all, lay very great stress upon dreams. Some of their traditions have a resemblance to the revelations of the Bible; for instance, Noah's Ark and the Deluge, the history of Samson, &c. The question here arises whether these particulars have not been gradually introduced among them, from their intercourse with Christians, and this seems highly probable. If they have not yet embraced the Christian religion, it would, however, appear that they have adopted some portions which strike them as being either remarkable or interesting.* The belief in a future life, or a better state of things after death, exists among all the American nations; this is confirmed by D'Orbigny (Voyages, tom. iii. p. 90), who justly blames Azara for denying all religious ideas to the people of Paraguay. In order to obtain correct information respecting all their traditions and ideas, we persuaded Dipauch† to enliven our long winter evenings by his narratives, which he readily agreed to do. He spoke with much seriousness and gravity, and I had a most excellent interpreter in Mr. Kipp. I give these narratives, which are often extremely silly, as they were written down from his communications, though I must beg my reader's patience and indulgence. It was not possible to curtail them or to choose only the more interesting parts, since all their traditions and legends have a certain connexion, and really possess some influence on the actual mode of life of this people. 771 771 124

According to Dipauch, these Indians believe in several superior beings, of whom the lord of life, Olumahank-Numakshi, is the first, the most exalted and the most powerful; who created the earth, man, and every existing object.‡ They believe that he has a tail, and appears sometimes 776 773

* This conjecture is adopted by Dr. Edwin James, the learned author of Tanner's Life among the Indians, p. 357 of that work. I refer to this interesting book for the remarkable hieroglyphics of the people of the Algonquin tribe.

† Dipauch is a very distinguished man, and might have been a chief long ago if he had pleased, as he possesses all the necessary qualifications. His father was shot by the Sioux during Lewis and Clarke's winter residence among these Indians. These travellers offered to assist the Mandans against their enemies, and to take the field with them, to which, however, they would not consent.

‡ Beauchamp, p. 71, is very much mistaken in believing that the Mandans and Manitaries worship only buffalo heads, &c. If the latter are medicine, it is nevertheless true that they believe in a number of superior beings who make a figure in their mythology.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

773 one of their villages on the other side of Knife River, which frequently occasioned dissension 534 between them, and it is only within these fourteen years that permanent peace and concord have 173 existed between the two people.

At the time when our narrator was a young man, the Arikkaras were near and dangerous 173 enemies to the Mandans. They often fought with them as well as with the Sioux. When one 721 of the two allied nations fought alone, it was almost always defeated, but when they were combined they generally triumphed. The preceding long narrative throws, as I have said, much light on the actual condition of this people, and of their prevalent superstitious customs.

At the time of their first alliance with the Manitaries, the Mandans are said to have inhabited eight or nine villages on the two banks of the Missouri, on the Heart River, and higher upwards. Subsequently a great number of the Mandans were carried off by the small-pox, and their enemies, the Sioux, entirely destroyed their largest village, and massacred the inhabitants. The remaining population then collected in the two villages that still exist—Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush and Ruhptare. Plate XVI. is a view of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, of which a ground plan will be found at the end of this chapter. Previously to the devastations of the small-pox, the Sioux were not very dangerous enemies to the Mandans, because they lived at too great a distance from them, but the Chayennes and the Arikkaras were their natural adversaries. I shall now proceed to treat of the religious and superstitious practices which still prevail among them.

These Indians are full of prejudice and superstition, and connect all the natural phenomena 771 with the before-mentioned silly creations of their own imaginations. They undertake nothing 776 without first invoking their guardian spirit, or medicine, who mostly appears to them in a dream. 782 When they wish to choose their medicine or guardian spirit, they fast for three or four days, and even longer, retire to a solitary spot, do penance, and even sacrifice joints of their fingers; howl and cry to the lord of life, or to the first man, beseeching him to point out their guardian spirit. They continue in this excited state till they dream, and the first animal or other object which appears to them is chosen for their guardian spirit or medicine. Every man has his guardian spirit. There is, in the prairie, a large hill where they remain motionless many days, lamenting and fasting; not far from this hill is a cave, into which they creep at night. The choice and adoration of their medicine are said to have been taught them by the strange man or spirit who appeared in their villages many years ago, and has not since been seen, and of whom mention has already been made by the name of Ochkih-Hadda. He is said also to have taught them the art of tattooing, and to have instituted their medicine feasts. In all natural phenomena, which are not of daily occurrence, they see wonders, and indications of favourable or unfavourable events. If the falling stars are numerous, or in a certain direction, it is to them an indication of war, or of a great mortality in the human race. They were not willing to have their portraits 774 painted, because they alleged that they should soon die if their portraits came into other hands; at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote.

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600 at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote. One of their
771 chiefs never smoked out of a stone pipe, but always used a wooden one. Mato-Topé never
778 partook of other people's tobacco, but always smoked by himself, with the doors shut. They
276 do not willingly show their medicines or amulets, which are usually kept wrapped up in a bundle or bag, and never opened except on important occasions. They have particular medicine pipes, or, as the English call them, medicine-stems, which are uncovered and used for smoking only on solemn occasions. Many make such pipes according to their own taste; such, for instance, was the pipe of Dipauch (Plate XXI. fig. 3). The bowl was nearly in the form of a Turkish pipe, and was made of brownish-red clay; the tube, which was rather short and thick, represented the lord of life in human form, but which it required some stretch of the imagination to discover. The nation preserves a celebrated pipe of this kind as a sacred relic, which no stranger is permitted to see. It has been in their possession since remote ages, and they offered to show it to me
435 for the value of 100 dollars. The Indians cannot obtain such pipes but at a considerable expense:
439 many of the necessary ornaments are not to be procured among them, such as the upper bill and the red crown of a species of woodpecker (*Picus pilcatus*, Linn.), a bird which is not found so high up the Missouri. For the head of one of these woodpeckers, which was brought from
597 St. Louis, they gave a large handsome buffalo robe, worth six or eight dollars. If a man pos-
796 sesses such a pipe, he sometimes conceives the idea of adopting a medicine son. The young man
171 whom he is to choose appears to him in a dream; it is, however, requisite that he should be of a good family, or have performed some exploit. He acquaints him with his intention, and, after having provided two similar medicine pipes, he asks his newly-adopted son, whether he is ready to undergo the ceremony of the pipes? The latter frequently answers in the affirmative, and the time for the ceremony is fixed: but, if he has not yet made up his mind, it is deferred. The adoptive father then chooses two young men, who practise the medicine dance together, with the two pipes in their hands. The father often dances, in the morning, on the roof of his hut, and instructs these two young men. When the time arrives, and the adopted son is ready for the ceremony, the father, with all his relations, and the two young dancers, repairs to the hut of his newly-chosen son, and brings him a present of maize, cloth, blankets, kettles, and other valuable articles. The father takes his son by the hand and makes him sit down, after which the company dance round him, with the two pipes; they sing, accompanied by the drum and schischikué, the two young dancers keeping time to the music with their pipes. When the ceremony is over, and the presents laid in one or two heaps, the relations of the medicine son bring horses, cloth, blankets, and other things of value, which the two parties reciprocally divide between them. The father then again takes his son by the hand, makes him rise from his seat, and dresses him in new clothes from head to foot, and likewise paints his face according to his fancy. The dress and pipe are henceforth his property, and he is considered as a real son, who must support and defend his father.

000 cruel scenes, and am almost ready to shrink from the task of reciting them after I have so long promised some account of them. I entered the *medicine-house* of these scenes, as I would have entered a church, and expected to see something extraordinary and strange, but yet in the form of worship or devotion; but alas! little did I expect to see the interior of their holy temple turned into a *slaughter-house*, and its floor strewed with the blood of its fanatic devotees. Little did I think that I was entering a house of God, where His blinded worshippers were to pollute its sacred interior with their blood, and propitiatory suffering and tortures—surpassing, if possible, the cruelty of the rack or the inquisition; but such the scene has been, and as such I will endeavour to describe it.

The "*Mandan religious ceremony*" then, as I believe it is very justly denominated, is an annual transaction, held in their *medicine-lodge* once a year, as a great religious anniversary, and for several distinct objects, as I shall in a few minutes describe; during and after which, they look with implicit reliance for the justification and approval of the Great Spirit.

●771 All of the Indian tribes, as I have before observed, are religious—are worshipful—and many of them go to almost incredible lengths (as will be seen in the present instance, and many others I may recite) in worshipping the Great Spirit; denying and humbling themselves before Him for the same purpose, and in the same hope as we do, perhaps in a more rational and acceptable way.

The tribes, so far as I have visited them, all distinctly believe in the existence of a Great (or Good) Spirit, an Evil (or Bad) Spirit, and also in a future existence and future accountability, according to their virtues and vices in this world. So far the North American Indians would seem to be one family, and such an unbroken theory amongst them; yet with regard to the manner and form, and time and place of that accountability—to the constructions of virtues and vices, and the modes of appeasing and propitiating the Good and Evil Spirits, they are found with all the changes and variety which fortuitous circumstances, and fictions, and fables have wrought upon them.

If from their superstitions and their ignorance, there are oftentimes obscurities and mysteries thrown over and around their system, yet these affect not the theory itself, which is everywhere essentially the same—and which, if it be not correct, has this much to command the admiration of the enlightened world, that they worship with great sincerity, and all according to one creed.

The Mandans believe in the existence of a Great (or Good) Spirit, and also of an Evil Spirit, who they say existed long before the Good Spirit, and is far superior in power. They all believe also in a future state of existence, and a future administration of rewards and punishments, and (so do all other tribes that I have yet visited) they believe those punishments are not eternal, but commensurate with their sins.

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These people living in a climate where they suffer from cold in the severity of their winters, have very naturally reversed our ideas of Heaven and Hell. The latter they describe to be a country very far to the north, of barren and hideous aspect, and covered with eternal snows and ice. The torments of this freezing place they describe as most excruciating; whilst Heaven they suppose to be in a warmer and delightful latitude, where nothing is felt but the keenest enjoyment, and where the country abounds in buffaloes and other luxuries of life. The Great or Good Spirit they believe dwells in the former place for the purpose of there meeting those who have offended him; increasing the agony of their sufferings, by being himself present, administering the penalties. The Bad or Evil Spirit they at the same time suppose to reside in Paradise, still tempting the happy; and those who have gone to the regions of punishment they believe to be tortured for a time proportioned to the amount of their transgressions, and that they are then to be transferred to the land of the happy, where they are again liable to the temptations of the Evil Spirit, and answerable again at a future period for their new offences. 771

Such is the religious creed of the Mandans, and for the purpose of appeasing the Good and Evil Spirits, and to secure their entrance into those "fields Elysian," or beautiful hunting grounds, do the young men subject themselves to the horrid and sickening cruelties to be described in the following pages.

There are other three distinct objects (yet to be named) for which these religious ceremonies are held, which are as follow:— 796

First, they are held annually as a celebration of the event of the subsiding of the Flood, which they call *Mee-nee-ro-ka-ha-sha*, (sinking down or settling of the waters.)

Secondly, for the purpose of dancing what they call, *Bel-lohck-na-pic* (the bull-dance); to the strict observance of which they attribute the coming of buffaloes to supply them with food during the season; and

Thirdly and lastly, for the purpose of conducting all the young men of the tribe, as they annually arrive to the age of manhood, through an ordeal of privation and torture, which, while it is supposed to harden their muscles and prepare them for extreme endurance, enables the chiefs who are spectators to the scene, to decide upon their comparative bodily strength and ability to endure the extreme privations and sufferings that often fall to the lots of Indian warriors; and that they may decide who is the most hardy and best able to lead a war-party in case of extreme exigency. 796 881

This part of the ceremony, as I have just witnessed it, is truly shocking to behold, and will almost stagger the belief of the world when they read o it. The scene is too terrible and too revolting to be seen or to be told, were it not an essential part of a whole, which will be new to the civilized world, and therefore worth their knowing. 000

The bull-dance, and many other parts of these ceremonies are exceed-

832 repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men,
834 who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young
men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on
461 the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to
526 hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times
they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback,
and performing warlike manoeuvres; they have also a favorite
game which occupies much of their time.

512 [328]...this is the first work performed by the women in the
515 morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed
themselves in the Missourie. ...every family being provided
415 with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh.
177 Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to
●771 say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those
574 earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest
kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come
in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the
contents.

231 .....Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed
437 in the meadow but never allowed them to be for a moment out of
648 his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them.
We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles,
for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco.

439 [329] It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail
upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger
has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first
village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many
439 European articles as they can, [330] particularly arms and ammuni-
609 tion. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each
other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have
578 often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death
569 of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also
to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great
distance. The Pawnees, also, with whom the Mandanes formerly
lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies.
Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and every-
one has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

675 We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the
673 landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut
[577] in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect
security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

could be sold four times. The usual transfer was to sisters married to one man, in which instances the women acquired rights in the sacred robe and other paraphernalia of that section, and the husband took over the balance of the bundle. Such purchases were made only after several years of married life, as it was considered a sign of bad luck for common bundle-owners to quarrel. Crows Heart explained that having a common interest in a bundle was a powerful factor in making marriages permanent. Sale was not made until the parent-in-law taboo had been removed. 778 421 425 [777]

The prominence of these bundles is demonstrated by their representation in the Okipa ceremony. During the early summer all men owning primary and secondary rights in a Small Hawk ceremony met in one of their earth lodges to select two young men to represent their bundles in that summer's Okipa ceremony. Either young men of this group or men who were eligible to inherit a bundle were selected to dance in the ceremony and to receive goods offered to Small Hawk bundle-owners.

Women owning rights in the bundle were entitled to dress in the sacred robe, place sage and magpie tail feathers in the hair, and carry the ash digging stick at the close of the Okipa ceremony, when separate offerings were made to them by the Okipa Maker and his fellow-fasters and on other occasions when a feast was made to the bundle as a Buffalo-calling ceremony. [292]

The rites are based on the exploits of Corn Silk, who visited the small hawk at his lodge on the eastern horizon where he lived with his mother. This small hawk, being a good hunter, taught the Buffalo-calling rites. Because he could produce thunder, he also introduced a rain-calling rite. His son, Looks Down To Hunt, inherited all his father's powers. 796 773

The holy robe and its rites have as their mythological origin Looks Down To Hunt's experiences on the northern horizon where he encountered his wife's mother who lived in a large earth lodge. After avoiding many hazards which she had set up to protect her people, the buffaloes, she was obliged to free these animals. The Mandan had many sacred robes, but each had its separate origin myth. 778 773

The myth throws light on the native theories of the universe. In one place Looks Down To Hunt asked the spider for his body 773 772

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

773 in order that he could retreat to the lowest level in the universe.
772 It was believed that the earth comprised four horizontal levels and that the surface of the earth was the top level. The sky was likewise made up of four semicircular hemispheres shaped like an earth-lodge roof and supported by four posts. This belief was associated with rites performed by a female robe-owner whenever a new lodge was erected or an old one repaired.

796 There was no spring or autumn bird feast, as in the case of the
778 Big Bird bundles. When the bundle-owners were paid to perform the Buffalo-calling ceremony, the man officiated as the singer, carried the rattles, and wore the hawk on his head; his wife was dressed in the robe, wore the sage and magpie tail feathers, used the ash stick to dig a small hole near the head of the lodge, and "called up the buffaloes," as had been done by Frog Earrings in the mythology. A young man, about to go to war, asked the help of a bundle-owner belonging to his father's clan and promised to make an offering to the bundle upon his return. For this, he received a feather to wear on his head when in battle.

778 The sacred robe was held in high regard as a means of warding off misfortune. Because of the wicked disposition and power
773 of Frog Earrings, whom the robe represented, it was believed that men took to wearing women's clothing and followed female
[828] avocations. She was also believed to be the cause of insanity,
[826] feeble-mindedness, malformations, twisted jaws, and premature
[845] births.

773 SMALL HAWK MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[3]

539 It was the fall of the year. Corn Silk and her nine brothers were living together. Whenever any young man would ask her to marry him, she would refuse. One of the brothers always spoke for the young man, but there was one of them who never paid any attention to her or urged her to marry. A young man, an unusually fine hunter, asked her to marry, and the brother who had been silent was disappointed, for he thought she would surely marry this one. He said to her, "I have never spoken before, so I think you should heed my words. At other times, our other brothers acted as spokesmen. This man is such a good provider you should marry him. You will have a comfortable home and everything you need. I think you should listen to me."

Corn Silk did not obey the request, and the mother was angry and said, "One of your brothers never spoke, but this man was a good provider, and he

3. Another version of this myth is reported in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 63–76.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 bundles containing articles representing sacred beings believed
425 to be living in the world above, which would include People Above bundles, Star, and Holy Women bundles.

778 Bundle-owners doctored for insanity, feeble-mindedness, spasms and fits, premature births, and paralysis. Payment was
755 made if the patient recovered, or, when the case was given up as hopeless, the relatives requested that the doctor continue his efforts. Pine needles were burned as incense, and the Black Medicine root was chewed and blown over the victim. The songs were sung while using a large gourd rattle.

778 Calf Woman believed that the bundles were primarily war bundles because the Sun was a cannibal who brought war parties together and had some killed so he could eat them. Men having the Sun as their god believed that it would be the enemy who would be killed.

778 One could sell rights in the bundle four times but usually reserved singer rights and the rattle for the oldest daughter and
425 her husband. Women buying with the husband held Holy Woman rights to Old Woman Above and were entitled to wear magpie feathers and a braid of sweet grass and to carry an ash digging stick when attending a medicine feast.

772 Calf Woman added this general information about the beliefs associated with the ritual of the ceremony:

> The world is in three layers: above world; the land we live on; and the lower land. First Creator and Lone Man created the land we live on. These lands and the sky are held apart by four large posts, for the universe is a large earth lodge. The earth is floating on water which separates it from the lower land because water comes out of the ground. There are people living on these three lands.
>
> 821 Sun dies during an eclipse. When there is a total eclipse of Sun, those with People Above bundles, which always includes Sun, burn pine spills that come from the Rocky Mountains, while all the people cry. Even the dogs cry. If the people are on the march when Sun dies, they stop to cry until Sun comes back to life. Sometimes Sun is sick, and then only part of the sun is dark.
>
> Comets and constellations are people who once lived on the earth as holy people. The people were getting careless and broke the rules and did not treat these holy people right, so they went back to the sky and are making their home there now. When one sees a star going across the sky, it is because it is changing places, traveling as an arrow.
>
> 838 I saw three men who dressed like women; one was a Mandan, a brother to Four Bears;[3] the other two were Hidatsa. If a man dreams of the Holy Women and later finds a rope or porcupine quills in the forest, that is a sign that these

3. Four Bears also had a son who dressed in women's clothing.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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who lives on the planet Venus and protects men. Fifth was one called the Lying Prairie Wolf, a sort of wandering Jew and evil spirit, but without power. Lastly was Ochkih-Hedde; he came once to the village and taught them many things, then disappeared. When anyone saw him in a dream it was a sign of death. Sacrifices were offered to him and images of him were exposed in the village. 776

The sun was worshipped as the place where the Lord of Life lived. In the moon lived the Old Woman Who Never Dies, who had a white line around her head. She corresponded to the Corn Mother of the Arikara and was supposed to be very powerful. Many sacrifices were offered to her. She had six children, three sons and three daughters. The first son was day (the first of creation), the second was the sun, the third was night. The eldest daughter was the morning star (the woman who carries a bunch of feathers), the second was the striped pumpkin (a star revolving about the polar star), the third was the evening star. Besides these there was a group of supernatural beings of less prominence, among whom were the first chief, certain animal people, the thunder-bird and similar beings. 776 772

They seemed to have two distinct theories as to the hereafter, according to Maximilian part of the people adhered to each view. Both beliefs agreed that each man had four souls, one black, one brown, one clear, and the other not described. The first sect believed that the clear soul returned to the Lord of Life; another one went to the villages to the south which are often visited by the gods, and one of the souls of the brave and great men went to the villages of the gods. There was a separate village for the wicked. Life in all these villages was a continuance of that on earth, they had food, women, went hunting and on war parties, and had an abundance of everything. To this might be added Catlin's story,[1] somewhat less credible, that they believed in a warm heaven and a cold hell; that all went to hell for a while where the Good Spirit punished them, after which they went to heaven where they were again tempted by the Evil Spirit. The other sect described by Maximilian believed that after death they went to live in the sun or stars.[2] 775

[1] Op. cit., vol. 2, p. 157. [2] Op. cit., p. 489.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

776 773 in the form of an aged man, and, at others, in that of a young man. The first man, Numank-Machana, holds the second rank; he was created by the lord of life, but is likewise of a divine nature. The lord of life gave him great power, and they, therefore, worship and offer sacrifices 776 to him. He is nearly identical with Nanabush among the Chippeways, or the people of the Algonquin language, who, according to the notion of those tribes, acts as mediator between the 171 creator and the human race. Nanabush and the creator frequently had disputes, and the Mandans have similar legends. Omahank-Chika, the evil one of the earth, is a malignant spirit, 776 who has, likewise, much influence over men, but who is not as powerful as the lord of life and 773 the first man. The fourth being is Rohanka-Tauihanka, who lives in the planet Venus, and it is he who protects mankind on the earth; for without his care the race would have been long since extinct. A fifth being, who, however, has no power, is something like the wandering Jew, ever in motion, and walking on the face of the earth in human form. They call him the lying prairie wolf. Besides these there is a sixth being, Ochkih-Hadda, whom it is difficult to class, and of whom they have a tradition, that whoever dreams of him is doomed soon to die. He appears to figure in their traditions as a kind of devil, is said to have once come to their villages, and taught them many things, but has not since appeared. They are afraid of him, offer sacrifices to him, and have in their villages a hideous figure representing him. They worship the sun, because they 776 believe it to be the residence of the lord of life. All their medicines or sacrifices are offered 772 chiefly to the sun, or rather to the lord of life, as inhabiting it. In the moon, say they, lives the old woman who never dies, and who wears a white band from the front to the back of the head; sacrifices and offerings are likewise made to her. They do not know who she is, but her power is great. She has six children, three sons and three daughters, who all live in certain stars. The eldest son is the day (the first day of the creation), the second is the sun, in which the lord of life has his abode. The third son is the night. The eldest daughter is the star that rises in the east, the morning star; and they call her, "the woman who wears a plume." The second daughter, called "the striped gourd," is a high star which revolves around the polar star; and, lastly, the third daughter is the evening star which is near to the setting sun.

539 The old woman in the moon desired to find a wife for her son, and brought a girl, whom she desired to wait outside the door. When the old woman sent out to fetch her, they found in her place a toad; indignant at the exchange, the toad was boiled in a vessel, that it might be destroyed. But this could not be done, nor could it be eaten, and it was, therefore, cursed, on which it remained always visible as a spot in the moon. The narrator could not say whether [821] the sun was large or small, but, at all events, it was glowing hot. The son married a woman whom they called "the narrow-leaved wormwood." They had a son, of great promise, who appeared destined to act an important part. He was very skilful in making arrows, and versed in all kinds of hunting and catching of animals. He shot birds for his mother, though she had

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

tribes, and have on that account often been obliged to change the seat of their villages. 105

"Yet they have often been quarreling with the Ricaras, who like them are agricultural people; and they often make predatory expeditions against the Shoshones, in the eastern valleys of the Rocky mountains. Both the Mandans and the Minnetaries consider themselves as natives of that part of the country.

"The tradition of the Mandans is that they came from under ground by means of a great vine, which, breaking under the weight of some of them, has left behind a part of their nation, whom they expect to join after death. The color of the chief who visited Washington appeared less dark than that of our Indians, and he was the only full-breed Indian ever seen by me, whose eyes were of a bluish cast. It is believed that this is the tribe, often spoken of as White Indians, and which gave rise to the fabulous account of a tribe descended from the Welsh and speaking their language, a tale which the knowledge we have now acquired of the various Indian nations and of their dialects has set at rest. 773 142

"The vocabulary of the stationary Minetaries and the specimen of the Crow of Upsaroka dialect were obtained by Dr. Say. We knew from Lewis and Clarke that the Mandans spoke a kindred dialect, and this has been confirmed by the significant names of their chiefs, subscribed to a treaty with the United States. Lewis and Clarke appear to have considered the Rapid, Fall or Paunch Indians, sometimes also called the "Minetaries of the Prairies," as belonging to the same family. But all the subsequent accounts agree in assigning to them an entirely distinct language." (P. 125.) 197

The above reference to the "chief who visited Washington" (Big White) is from Albert Gallatin.

We will here refer to the note by Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson on the Mandans, found among his notes on "Historical Sketch of North and South Dakota," by Dr. William M. Blackburn, in Hist. Coll., S. D., Vol. I, page 98, being a very concise and creditable summary of the tribe. In that note Dr. Robinson affirms that "their traditions give their former abode as being about the headwaters of Lake Winnipeg. It is probable that they were driven from their homes at Lake Winnipeg about 1680 by the Crees and Assiniboines, both powerful tribes which about this period came into possession of firearms. Their first stopping place, after being driven out by their enemies, was on the Mis- 174

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648 lower village brought down four of the Sharhas. We explained to them our intentions, and advised them to remain at peace with each other; we also gave them a flag, some tobacco, and a speech for their nation. These were accompanied by a letter to Messrs. Tabeau and Gravelines at the Ricara village, requesting them to preserve peace if possible, and to declare the part which we should be forced to take if the Ricaras and Sioux máde war on those whom we had adopted. After distributing a few presents to the Sharhas and Mandans, and showing them our curiosities, we dismissed them, apparently well pleased at their reception." (id 187.)

Mandan Religion—Origin. "Tuesday, 4th. Oscapsaee and
776 two young chiefs passed the day with us. The whole religion
782 of the Mandans consists in the belief of one great spirit presiding over their destinies. This being must be in the nature of a good genius, since it is associated with the healing art, and the great spirit is synonymous with the great medicine, a name also applied to every thing which they do not understand. Each individual selects for himself the particular object of his devotion, which is termed his medicine, and is either some invisible being or more commonly some animal, which henceforward becomes his protector or his intercessor with the great spirit; to propitiate whom every attention is lavished, and every personal consideration is sacrificed. 'I was lately owner of seventeen horses,' said a Mandan to us one day, 'but I have offered them all up to my medicine, and am now poor.' He had in reality taken all his wealth, his horses, into the plain, and turning them loose, committed them to the care of his medicine, and abandoned them forever. The horses, less religious, took care of themselves, and the pious votary traveled home on foot. Their belief in a future state
775 is connected with this tradition of their origin; the whole nation
773 resided in one large village under ground, near a subterraneous lake; a grape vine extended its roots down to their habitation, and gave them a view of the light; some of the most adventurous climbed up the vine, and were delighted with the sight of the earth, which they found covered with buffalo and rich with every kind of fruits; returning with the grapes they had gathered, their countrymen were so pleased with the taste of them that the whole nation resolved to leave their dull residence for the charms

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of the upper region; men, women and children ascended by means of the vine; but when about half the nation had reached the surface of the earth, a corpulent woman, who was clambering up the vine, broke it with her weight, and closed upon herself and the rest of the nation the light of the sun. Those who were left on earth made a village below, where we saw the nine villages; and when the Mandans die they expect to return to the original seats of their forefathers; the good reaching the ancient village by means of the lake, which the burdens of the sins of the wicked will not enable them to cross." (id 191.) 775 773

Buffalo Chase. "Friday, December 7th. The wind still continued from the northwest, and the day is very cold. Shahaka, the chief of the lower village, came to apprise us that the buffalo were near, and that his people were waiting for us to join them in the chase. Captain Clarke with fifteen men went out and found the Indians engaged in killing the buffalo, the hunters mounted on horseback and armed with bows and arrows encircled the herd, and gradually drive them into a plain or an open place fit for the movements of horse; they then ride in among them, and singling out a buffalo, a female being preferred, go as close as possible and wound her with arrows till they think they have given the mortal stroke; then they pursue another till the quiver is exhausted. If, which rarely happens, the wounded buffalo attacks the hunter, he evades his blow by the agility of his horse, which is trained for the combat with great dexterity. When they have killed the requisite number they collect their game, and the squaws and attendants come up from the rear and skin and dress the animals. Captain Clarke killed ten buffalo, of which only five were brought to the fort, the rest, which could not be conveyed home, being seized by the Indians, among whom the custom is, that whenever a buffalo is found dead without an arrow, or any particular mark, he is the property of the finder; so that often a hunter secures scarcely any of the game he kills, if the arrow happens to fall off; whatever is left out at night falls to the share of the wolves, who are the constant and numerous attendants of the buffalo." (id 193.) 224

Mandan Games. "Wednesday, 19th. The weather moderated, and the river rose a little, so that we were unable to continue the picketing of the fort. Notwithstanding the extreme cold, we 524

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778 gether. It has somewhat the appearance of a large barrel, and is emblematic of the ark in which, according to Mandan mythology, the sole survivor of the deluge was saved. The square, the medicine-lodge, with its four poles in front, surmounted by sacrificial effigies, and the ark, as they may be seen at Fort Berthold today, seem to be the almost exact counterparts of those which were seen in the old Mandan village at Fort Clarke, in 1832 and 1833, by George Catlin and the Prince of New-Wied, if we are to judge by the drawings they have given us. Within the temple and around the ark, the Mandans still perform the ceremony of the Okeeps, which Catlin so accurately describes. The awful severities of the rites have, however, been somewhat mitigated since his day."

000 **Aricaree Medicine-Lodge.** "The medicine-lodges of the Aricarees is larger than that of the Mandans, and is used for a greater variety of ceremonies. Some of these performances, consisting of ingenious tricks of jugglery and dances, representative of various hunts, we might be inclined to call theatrical rather than religious. Probably these Indians consider them both worshipful and entertaining.

"It is often hard to tell how much of a religious ceremony is intended to propitiate the unknown powers, and how much to please the spectators."

712 **Fortifications—Stockades.** "Many travelers have described their towns as being fortified, sometimes with walls, but usually with ditches and stockades, or with stockades alone. The latter system of defense was in use at the village of Fort Berthold until the winter of 1865, when they cut down the palisades for firewood; and they have never since restored them. The presence of United States troops in their neighborhood, and the growing weakness of the Dakotas, were probably the causes which led them to discontinue their fortifications."

• 773 Matthews virtually bears out Catlin concerning the mythical veneration of the Mandans for the corn symbol:

243 **Agriculturalists—"Corn Mother."** "The Aricarees and Man-
174 dans have doubtlessly tilled the soil for many centuries. Their accounts of the origin of corn are mingled with their earliest myths and traditions. There are some reasons for believing that the Aricarees represent an older race of farmers than the Man-

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dans; for their religious ceremonies connected with planting are the more numerous, and they honor the corn with a species of worship. In every Aricaree lodge, there is a large ear of corn, which has lasted for generations, sticking out of the mouth of a medicine-bag. At their feasts, they make offerings to the corn by rubbing a piece of meat on it, while they pray to it for plentiful harvests, and address it by the name of 'mother.' The Hidatsas claim to have had no knowledge of corn until they first ate it from the trenchers of the Mandans; and they have no important ceremonies connected with the harvesting, yet they cultivated it long before the advent of the white man." (p. 12.)

"Three Tribes" at Berthold—From South Dakota. "When Lewis and Clarke ascended the Missouri, in 1804, they found four tribes of agricultural Indians, numerous and prosperous, inhabiting the upper Missouri valley, west of the Dakota nation. They had eight permanently inhabited towns, others which they lived in only temporarily, and a number more which they had abandoned and allowed to go to ruin. They are spoken of in Lewis and Clarke's journal as the 'Ricaras,' 'Mandans,' 'Minnetarees,' and 'Ahnahaways.' All that are left of the four tribes are now gathered together in this one village, at Fort Berthold, which does not probably number 2,500 souls. The remains, now nearly obliterated, of their old towns, may be traced on nearly every prairie terrace adjacent to the Missouri, along six hundred miles of its course, from the mouth of the Lower White-Earth to the mouth of the Little Missouri. The Indians at Fort Berthold are, however, now generally referred to as the 'three tribes'; for one of the nations spoken of by Captain Lewis—that which he calls Ahnahaways—is no longer an organized tribe, but has been merged into the Minnetarees." (p. 12.)

"Mandan"—Previous History. "The Mandans, about a hundred years ago, lived in several villages near the mouth of Heart river. From this neighborhood, they moved up the Missouri, stopping and building villages at different localities. In 1804, they were found dwelling in two towns about four miles below the mouth of Knife river. One of these towns was named Metutahanke, Metutahankish, or, as Maximilian writes it, 'Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kusch,' meaning lower village. The other was called Ruptari or Nuptadi. They were almost exterminated by the

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231 properly, will enrich them, a scrub lean steer being as valuable in their eyes as a fat, blooded one. These Indians are virtually self-supporting, as they receive very little from the government." (Wheeler, p. 224.)

361 Wheeler here notes the reason why the upper of the two Mandan villages proper near Knife river, which stood on the northeast bank of the Missouri in 1804, was found on the southwest bank in 1833:

Apparently Crossed River. "The five villages mentioned by Lewis and Clarke in 1804, were still in existence in 1833, when Maximilian visited these Indians. One important change had, he states, occurred. The Missouri river had characteristically changed its channel and in Maximilian's day flowed on the eastern side of Rooptahee, or Ruhptare, the second Mandan town of our narrative, so that both the Mandan villages were then on the western south bank."

•773 **Mandans and Hidatsas.** "The tradition relating to the origin of the Mandans given by Lewis and Clarke, according to Dr. Matthews, relates, not only to the Mandans, but to the Hidatsa as well. This tradition, I find, is current at the present day and the lake from which the tribe emerged is said to be Minnewakan, or Devil's Lake in North Dakota, the Hidatsa name for this lake—Midihopa—meaning sacred or mysterious water. Dr. Matthews thinks that 'one nation borrowed its legend from the other,' so that both have a common source." (Wheeler, p. 228.)

771 **Polytheism.** "These people had a belief in a 'Great Spirit,' or
797 'Old Man Immortal,' or 'Great Mystery,' and Dr. Matthews discusses it quite fully in his paper. Their ancient belief appears to have been, on the whole, a species of Polytheism. Religious missionary work on the Fort Berthold reservation began in 1876, and since then there has been a marked change in their religious ideas. The leaven acted but slowly at first, but when its results were apparent it seemed to work with cumulative effect. 'Only a small minority of the people now hold to the wreck of their old paganism.' Carlisle, Santee, and other schools have had their influence in producing this uplift. The younger generations see things with a new and broader vision and their moral and religious notions are cast in a new mold." (Wheeler, p. 229.)

797 Wheeler quotes as follows from Rev. C. L. Hall, the Congrega-

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621 miles west of the site of Old Fort Berthold, is yet known as the Fort Berthold Indian agency, and all of the instrumentalities of
124 the agency, including an Indian school, were centered there, although the agency had been officially discontinued June 30, 1904. But, as stated in Part I of this paper in the account of the Aricarees, the Indians themselves were so completely separated from each other as forming tribal communities as to have erased all semblance of their former tribal relations, and had in fact taken lands in severalty and become citizens. The writer was able to interview but two Mandans in the brief time covered by his visit to that quarter, and was obliged to cross the Missouri and seek them on the southwesterly side of that stream at a point some seven miles below the mouth of the Little Missouri. Through the solicitude of Rev. Hall, and of Hon. Anzi W. Thomas, late Indian agent, an interpreter, who was assistant farmer at the agency, was furnished the writer in connection with the interviews of the Indians Bear's Ghost and Little Owl—two Mandans who were pointed out by Rev. Hall and others as likely to be able to impart information concerning the traditions of their tribe, though neither was an old man; nor was it possible to find an aged member of the tribe near the agency headquarters. Furthermore, there seemed to be no very old member of the former band or tribe within the reservation who was conspicuous as the possessor of the tribal history and traditions in an eminent degree. However, those who were interviewed were evidently equipped to intelligently communicate the seemingly common story of the creation, the flood, etc., as it was understood by the Mandans.

•773 "It will be seen that these Indians had no definite information in the nature of tradition as to their origin; but there runs through the narrative an unmistakable thread of marine experience in passing from somewhere beyond the sea or the Mississippi into the interior; as found in the account of the boat 'without the oars'—(indicating, it is believed, sailing vessels)—the 'other Mandans' who came from 'down under the earth,' the first or 'lone man' who while wandering met the 'Coyote' from the south and together they fashioned the whole landscape, made the inhabitants of earth and air; while the 'Corn Mother' who was revered as the symbol of germination and growth, the buffalos representing the four seasons, the ducks which brought earth from under

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•773 the water, etc., these and kindred phases of the mythology which is the sole back-ground of their tribal past, make up the substance of the strange narratives unfolded, through the moderate abilities of the interpreter, Joseph Packineau, son of Charles Pactineaude or Pattineaux of the fur-trading days, to the writer.

142 "While there was nothing specially marked about the appearance of Little Owl, we can not refrain from remarking that Bear's Ghost made a distinct impression by his bearing and the manner of his speech. He was one of the most perfect specimens of the commanding physical man we ever observed. His figure was tall and lithe, his eye exceptionally bright, intelligent and winning, his voice soft yet animating; his speech was accompanied by such grace of attitude and fitting gestures as to captivate the listener. His complexion was much lighter than that of the Sioux Indian of the Dakotas, yet not as fair as to relieve his countenance from the general impress of Indian lineage. There was, however, less than usual of the more salient Indian features in high or prominent cheek-bones and roughness of contour. He appeared, in a word, the perfect gentleman and master of expression, and it was difficult to realize that an Indian was discoursing or narrating. His entire attitude was that of intelligent handling of his subject and of utter absence of any sense of inferiority. Sincerity, and a desire to emphasize the point that what he said was truth itself—these elements gave character to his narrative. And while much that he recounted seemed trival and fantastic, yet the air in which it was told gave his story the cast of respect if not of persuasion. We here repeat what has been said before in this paper—that it is believed it is not improbable that the reference to the vine and the under-world was derived from the tradition of the Gros Ventres or Minnetarees who probably came to the Missouri from the Devil's Lake region.

"Little Owl's account will be first given, as it was obtained first. It is seen that if his narrative and that of Bear's Ghost is given credence the Mandans came up the Missouri and from the lower Mississippi."

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539 **Little Owl's Account—The Creation, Etc.** "The five villages below the Knife river. Bear-on-the-Water and he is the oldest man, he says they came from the—where the Mississippi empties in the sea; after that I can't give you an account of it. They

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had a long boat and they didn't have any oars, and the only thing they did was to get in and told the boat to go—they named it 'The Go.' The boat carried any number except seven; they wouldn't let seven ride, because the boat didn't go right, and gets wicked. They could go across the sea without the oars, they just told the boat to go. That is when they lived at the mouth of the river and the boat was in the sea. The boat would go anywhere on the water, up-stream or anywhere. There was some Indians on the other side of the sea, when the Mandans—and they go with the boat there and bring the sea shells from the other side of the sea, and the Mandans were there and part of them on this side. This boat travels without oars. So that one day Bad Boy went along and the boat was standing there on the river bank, and Bad Boy told the boat to go, and the boat went and they have never seen the boat since. Then they moved up this way; of course they called the Mississippi the Big River, and this is called the Missouri river; and they came along and in villages that you see at places, at the Mandans, from the mouth of the sea up here. The Rees have villages too; they had villages down by the Cannon-Ball and maybe further. These Mandans came all the way up to Heart river. They came up the Mississippi and up the Missouri to Heart river. Back of the Heart river they called it the Middle Hole, that is where they came from, the other Mandans. They was down in the earth and the Mandans were there; and one young man, he goes by the name of Magpie, he is a spirit, and he finds the light upon the hill up there, and he saw where the vine went up clear up to this earth here, top of the earth, so he climbed up there till he came out this way, and he see the country and the timbers and springs and grass and the games (game), and he killed some game and he took the sinews and some meat and some other part of the hide of the animal and took them down below where the others were and showed them what a nice country there was up here, and they would all go up there; and then he says 'All right, that is the place to go,' and this man took him and showed him, and then the chief says 'All right, we'll go;' and he sent all the Holy Spirit, they got the Holy Spirit, they sent them up first, and they took it up by following this vine, and each friend goes up—climbs up by himself, they go up there night and day right along, till they were about

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half of them went up, and then the woman came along, she was big, and the people forbid her, and said she better come last, and the woman says 'No, I have a right to go just as well as anybody,' and she got hold of the vine and get up a little ways towards the top and broke the vine, so they—part of them are down in the earth yet; and it is a good many is here, and some of them we grow; some of my father's ancestors away back came from the earth. The vine was below here, at the Middle Hole."

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The First Man. "There is a man—when this earth was no grass, no wood, nothing at all on top, just bare earth—and a man was walking along, and when he walked along and after a while he woke up, and he says 'I wonder where I come from,' all at once; then he turned around and looked at his track, the track was a buffalo track; so the man thought he must know where he come from and he followed his trail back, and then the grass was grown up and had some large white flowers on them, then another nice little fly was sitting on the flower, and the man thought this must be 'I come from here,' his tracks come from where that grass and flower is, and he looked around and he couldn't see any tracks, and the grass spoke and says 'I am the person that sent you up, the Lone Man,' that is the name they gave him, Lone Man. The little fly says to him 'We are the ones that sent you.' At the time that this man went away he had a lance block and he had his pipe when this beginning, to fix the country with, and rules with those things in the country he makes, that is, his commandments. So the Lone Man went off traveling and he met Mr. Coyote Chief, and the Lone Man thought 'I wonder where this man come from, I thought I was the only man in this world in here,' and he met this man and shook hands with him and he says 'Where you come from?' and he told him where he come from, and he says 'Where you come from too?' and Lone Man says 'I am the oldest, you will be my brother but I am the oldest, I will be the one to rule the country,' and the Coyote says 'No, I am the oldest, I will be the one to rule this country, you follow me.' So he says 'We'll go'—Coyote says 'You fix the country, you fix the north and I'll fix the south.' So they went on to fix the coulies and springs and rivers and timber and everything, and the bad lands; Coyote he made the mountains, the narrow places and more bad lands and more springs and more coulies and every-

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thing so the Indians could get their arrows, and short distance for shooting, and Lone Man he makes the north, makes so many lakes, there is no timber, a flat country, nothing but a prairie, and he couldn't be seen anywheres for long distances, and no guiding place and no nothing; and he made some springs in the country, and made timber up away back, and when he makes it timber he makes a big body of timber, and then he goes along the prairie again for miles and miles and makes timber the same way. Then he makes game, buffalo all colors, like tame cattle, with white horns. Then the Coyote he made these buffalos; and after they got through they counted the head (or meat); and he says, the first thing he asked—Coyote asked of the Lone Man 'What kind of buffalo you make?' he says 'I make some gray, some white, some red and black and white horns, and all colors and long tails.' Coyote says 'You make them long, what buffalo I make it is the kind of buffalo you won't make.' So Coyote says 'I made only one white buffalo, makes them once in a while, they'll be pretty hard to get,' so it would be of more value to the Indians for their robe. So he says—Lone Man says 'All right, I'll drive back what I made into the sea, and some of these days when the rule comes to an end when our buffalo are all gone, what I make people will live on it forever.' So this Lone Man afterwards, after he got through he knew the Mandans was in the Middle Hole and he knew those on the other side of the sea, and he knew those on this side of the mouth of the river that empties into the sea; and then he looked all over the tribes and he thought that the Mandans were the quietest and best characters, and he joined in with them and staid with them. So he advised everything that is good."

The Holy Man. "He was the Holy Man, sent on with the Holy Spirit, and a man, something like the whites that believe in Christ, he was a good character, and he didn't have anything to do with women or no wife of any kind; so the other Coyote and Rees—he makes a good country and good things, but on the other hand he was not as good as Lone Man; so they didn't take his advice but they took Lone Man's advice. He has a pipe, they got his pipe today, and they got his lance block, and they believe in him. So the Mandans they lived on Heart river. That name is by reason that right there where the Mandans is they called the

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river the Heart river, that is in the middle, from where you go from there to the south to the sea, and east the same distance, and north and west the same distance—right in the middle there, and so they called it the Heart."

The Middle Hole. "The first man (named above as being on the water), his ancestors came from the mouth of the river, and my ancestors and all other Mandans came from the Middle Hole."

Went to Winnipeg. "My father was Hit-him-in-the-Back; I was born in Ft. Berthold; am forty years old. My father was born in the Five Villages away down the river. The Five Villages was about ninety years ago. They lived there right after the smallpox was there. The villages down the Missouri river through South Dakota and to the Mississippi, that had ditches around them, were Mandan villages. The Rees have villages down here this side (north) of the Cheyenne river, just about there. They had five villages too. I don't know how far south of the Cheyenne they had villages. The Mandans grow as a people, and there are so many people and each one has a head man and chief; and they have taken their places all over, and one of the villages has gone at that time to the north to Winnipeg, and during that time one of the villages has gone again—one of the villages which the chief controls has gone; and the chief is called Tattooed Face and he has great control over the people and the largest village; and no one could tell where he went to those people. So this Winnipeg went over there, and five brothers, four of them goes in this spirit in the buffalo bulls—they were buffalo, and the youngest brother, the fifth one was a magpie, and their mother was Corn. So they went away to the north here where the Winnipegs were, and in the large timber there. they had their village there. They started from her, this side of Bismarck; and so Magpie goes out and roams around the country, and he comes back, and all his brothers were sitting and eating and laughing and enjoying themselves and plenty to eat and everything, and he sat down and he says 'My brothers, there's hard times coming:' so the August Buffalo Bull and the Fall Bull and the March Bull and the June Bull—so the August Bull said 'There's no hard times here' before he asked any questions—each one of the chiefs represents three months—so he says 'I call any of the buffalo, at the call buffalo they come in all the houses here, the children

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have plenty to eat, when the fall comes the Fall Chief calls the buffalo, and when winter comes the Winter Bull calls them,' etc. He says 'Our mother Corn Woman will plant corn on the rocks and it will grow anywheres;' so the boy Magpie he showed up. Then Magpie he has power too, he says 'I want to move to the Missouri river, I don't want to stay here in the north.' Then he got the old crier out to say that those men were going to move and that these people must go; so he brings back about half of the people—half of a village. Then he came over here to Bird's Bill at Fort Rice. And then it came to the winter, and then the buffalos and the north wind laps them, blow and storm, and they are starving; and they sent Jack Rabbit over there to Magpie's village to see how he was getting along, and they gave him two sunflower seed, so he had some of them take it back. 'They aint starving,' he said, 'They are all right;' and they took their buffalo robes and painted it right and left to hang up, so it looks like flesh, and they were kind of starving too, so he deceived them; all these buffalo robes kept all the buffalos away from him, so he deceived him. So Jack Rabbit told them 'You had better burn up the old wooden pans, etc., and call Lone Man, you are in hard shape.' So he did hallo for Lone Man, and Lone Man didn't come but sent Chinook Wind and drove all the cold away, and it kept going to the north and they are all right. So about one year from that time a flood came there and wiped out all of the houses on the north to Winnipeg, and there was a great big lodge of four of the Bulls—his brother on top of the lodge—and he came in there and says 'You said there was no hard time,' the one that spoke before he spoke first again, he says 'Why, you must have your heart just like a bone, you never told us this,' and Magpie says 'I tried to tell you about the hard times but you never gave me any show, no person could explain it to you, all you depend on you call buffalo, you don't look to other things.' 'Where's my mother?' he says. 'Your mother is right down straight here in the ground, she can't come, but she will if you want her.' And she says 'My son, are you here?' 'Yes, mother, but wait a while till I call you.' Then he went to work and pulled the bull's hair up on the top of his head to make a string to tie them like a loup, and when he got through—'Now,' he says 'I am ready, now you come, mother.' And she came up on

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the ear of yellow corn, she shot up like that—"(indicating)," and he got hold of her and put that string loup around her. When he comes up he got her around the neck and hung it down cross-ways, and they started to swim to the river. They had an awful long swim and got overe here back half way to Winnipeg, and he drowned first, and the August Bull drowned and the Winter Bull he drowned, two of them. The second Bull says 'There will be plenty of buffalo here when I am gone.' So the Fall Buffalo drowned, the third. And the Spring Buffalo he landed in Bird's Bill, he was the strongest and saved his mother that he was carrying on his neck—and she was turned to be an ear of corn.

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"My grandfather was Yellow Tail. He was born on the Heart river I suppose. My grandfather, they knew him in the Five Villages when he was a real old man.

"This story that I tell you came from my father and grandfather and the old people of my tribe. I am a full-blooded Mandan."

Below is the account of the Mandans given by Bear's Ghost:

Bear's Ghost's Narrative. "I am a full blooded Mandan. Age 47; born this side of Knife river, what they call Manhanen, on the Point. The village is there. My father was Foolish Chief. My grandfather's name was Ghost Heart. My father was born at the Five Villages, my grandfather was born at the same place.

"There is two ways that we came from the Mandan. It would take about four days to tell it all." (Here we indicated to the interpreter—after being told that the writer could not remain so many days—that he would narrate the main part of the tradition, etc.)

"Where the Mandans came from, there's two ways, and the generals talk and talk about it all the time. Those Mandans here, there is Rushing Eagle, Standing Bear, all the three lodges once here; they could tell the story. We are younger men and we don't know, but we hear them talk about it. I will tell you the best I can. The man that walks on the water, he always wants to remember where he came from. There was no earth, it was all water in this country when he walked on it. He went back, and they called the weeds Big Medicine, and the leaves were about so big (indicating); and he followed the trail back to the weeds called Big Medicine. So the leaves were about so big (indicat-

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ing); and the flood came out of one of the leaves, on the edge of the stalk where the joints come to, and he thought 'This is my mother.' This weed says 'Yes, I am your mother, I sent you out and I want you to do something, make up your mind to have to do something.' This man was going around on top of the water, he was naked, he went on top of the water, and he walked along, and finally he run across a track, and he went on, and the other fellow—he didn't know who he was at this time—he crossed his track and hunted around for a time three or four times, and they came across one another's tracks, and finally they met one another; and he told him—Lone Man told the other fellow, where he arrived from and where he started. The other fellow says 'I don't know where I come from but I walked along this way,' and the other fellow his hair was kind of kinky, and he was short and heavy joints and muscles were quite large on him, and the other fellow was kind of small and his body was nice built and his nose was small and his hair was kinky, and he had yellow eyes—he was Man Chief. So they walked along together and they come onto two divers, ducks, and asked them 'What are you doing here?' 'We don't know where we came from, we're here'—no other birds but them. So they asked them 'What are you eating, how far do you go down there?' 'We go down to the bottom of the mud in the water, pretty hard.' He says 'Go down there and bring me some earth.' They dived down there and didn't come up for some time, and after a while they came back without it, and took a rest. They go down again and bring some up; and they hold their hands, each one on their right hand—hold their right hand out and the ducks put the mud in there. So they dried it and grind it. And they go and they named it west and north and east and south. And so he told them—Man Chief told Lone Man to go to work and make the land on the east and north side, and I'll make the south side, and we will make this river—this Missouri river. So they went on and worked on them quite a while, and they made everything come together again. And Lone Man, what earth he got he ground it so fine, make the country more prairie, and the other fellow didn't grind it so fine and makes more bad lands. They went to work, and they come together, and Man Chief asked Lone Man what kind of buffalo he made, he told him he made spotted

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ones and all kinds, and he made the same, and he (meaning, probably, Lone Man) says 'You done wrong making those kind of buffalos;' and they had a dispute. He says 'I made the game so you could kill them or catch them,' he says 'You make the game, you can't catch them soon enough, they are pretty wild, some of these days your buffalo will be gone and mine will walk around amongst the people.' He told him he made the moose and all that kind of game, white bear and all kinds in the north; and birds blue and red and yellow and all color, east. Then the other fellow he made the eagles and hawks and the other kind of birds around west and south. That is the way they did. So they make the people, and they come into the Mandans, and started on the Mandans, the first language they made was the Mandan language, he made it himself."

First Men Meet at the Sea. "In the mouth of the sea, where this river empties into the sea, right below, there is where the two men met each other, and he make the earth. Then when they got through Lone Man staid with them, he staid right there; and the people moved to the west and he moved along with them—Lone Man did. Then down in the south here the Corn Man came up from under the earth and followed the vine up, and he killed the game and took the sinews and paunch and some other things, the fat, and took it down there, and he says 'What a fine country, and here's plenty to eat,' and so on; and they started to moving and coming up the vine, they caught hold of the vine and came from under the earth up, and about half way over, and this large woman came, and they all told her not to go, not to start. 'No,' she says, 'I'll go,' and she started up, and she broke the vine, and under the earth down there they cried; and they quit and halloed up and says to the people that was up (half of them were up)—they says 'You can go, it is all right.' Some of the grandfathers or mothers or fathers were down in the earth and some of them were up. So they traveled towards the Missouri, and this Lone Man traveled up to the west side of the river, and they met the Mandans and the other Mandans, and they came together.

"It is just the same as we—they started to meet her—this Corn Woman, and she married one of the Bulls, he took her over there to Winnipeg and started a village there; and this woman—and

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they had five children, the Fall Bull, Winter Bull, Spring Bull, and Summer Bull, and Magpie." (The rest of his story on this head is, as the interpreter states, the same as that of Little Owl.)

"The people that came from below the earth and followed the vine met the tobacco—(here a sample of the upper Missouri tobacco is shown). The Magpie went over to where they were—the four Bulls sat up on top of the lodge, etc. (continuance of the story of the other Indian, Little Owl). They had a long swim, and one died over at Mouse river by Minot, and the other was half way down the Missouri and the fellow came down to Coal Harbor (in McLean Co., N. D.) and died, and the other fellow swam down to Bird's Bill (Fort Rice) and died."

Four Bull and the Flood. "You whites have a flood. This flood where the four Bulls swam down is the same flood. There was a general that they kept an account of the years until—they kept it at the time of the smallpox, I can't explain very well, but the villages down the river, but Lone Man says 'You must not go to some other country, follow this river all the time;' and the time that those corn people all came up under the earth to meet the Lone Man people, that is the time they plant corn, squash, tobacco, beans, etc., and they have been raising it ever since. And now our seeds are going amongst the whites and amongst the Sioux, and everywhere our seed is growing.

"I want you to put this down just as I tell it; and you people knew God and His making the world. Maybe it is the same, but we have seen, our people have seen with their naked eyes that they made the world too. We have the same flood, only we couldn't keep the date, we lost the track.

"I was three years old when I left the village to come up to Berthold." (Meaning when he came to the old Confederated Village.)

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

(2) Nup'tadi (no meaning); (3) Ma'nana'rE ("Those Who Quarreled"); (4) Awi'-ka-xa (no meaning); and (5) Nu'itadi ("Our People").

While living in the Heart River region, dialectic differences also existed between bands. Three major dialectic groups existed then, according to Crows Heart and Scattercorn: Nuptadi, Nuitadi, and Awigaxa. The latter group was small and was assimilated into the Nuitadi after the first smallpox epidemic. Linguistic differences between the Nuptadi and Nuitadi were recognized by Maximilian, who prepared a partial list of Mandan words of the two dialects.[1] These differences are still recognized by Mandan informants. The Nuitadi was the largest linguistic group and comprised the Nuitadi proper, the Is'topa, and the Ma'nana'rE. The latter two bands separated from the Nuptadi proper for economic reasons when the village population became too large for the further exploitation of the corn grounds.

In historic times and before coming to Fort Clark, according to Crows Heart, the Istopa and MananarE had separate villages. In addition, there were several villages of Nuitadi. The Istopa were believed to occupy the territory north of the Heart River and had as their nearest neighbors the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa, who moved there from below the Cannonball River. Their principal village was at the Motsiff site. Crows Heart's grandmother was of the Istopa band, and she was born in their village near the present town of Sanger, North Dakota.

The Mandan have been a relatively small tribe since the first smallpox epidemic which reached them before leaving the Heart River villages. Lewis and Clark reported ruins of their villages in that region in 1804, and the natives informed him that in their time nine villages were occupied simultaneously. The east-side villages united into one village and moved northward, while the west-side group united first into two villages and later into one village and moved northward along the west bank of the Missouri and settled at Fort Clark Village.

There is some inconsistency in the Mandan migration myths,

1. Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. R. G. Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906), XXIV, 259.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

since some accounts tell of being created at the Heart River while others tell of a migration along the Missouri from the southeast. This same inconsistency was recognized by Maximilian.[2] My informants did not consider this to be an inconsistency at all. Their explanation was that, when Lone Man made the land around the Heart River, he also made the land to the south as far as the ocean. He made fish people, eagle people, bear people, corn people, buffalo people, and others whose history was inaugurated into myths of the sacred bundles. These various people were born into the Mandan tribe by magical means, thus populating the lands.

The large number of village sites belonging to a single archeological focus adjacent to the Missouri River both below and above the junction with the Heart River indicates that the tribe at one time numbered several thousand, possibly as much as seven or eight thousand, while the depth of refuse establishes continuous residence there of several centuries.

THE MANDAN HOUSEHOLD

The household was the smallest economic unit and was composed of one or more biological families related through the females. Theoretically, the household was held together by females so long as their lineage was unbroken and the lodge belonged to the clan of which the females were members. When a village was first built on a new site, each household selected a site for its lodge, corn scaffolds, and caches. There was a tendency for related families to select adjacent quarters, while those intimately connected with the Okipa ceremony selected lodge sites adjacent to the open circle. These lodge sites within the village were held permanently within the female line, and, when returning to rebuild after a temporary abandonment of the village, female descendants of the original builders were entitled to their former sites. When a family died out, the lodge belonged to the clan of the females and could be occupied by another group of the same clan or could be sold to females of a different clan. My informants emphatically denied that abandoned lodges could be occupied until they had received permission

2. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 307–8. There is some inconsistency present, since other myths imply that the Mandan have been on or near the Heart River since the creation of man by Lone Man.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

fifty lodges, while the later villages of historic times were much smaller, owing to the smaller population. Maximilian reported sixty-five lodges at Mitutanka and thirty-eight at Nuptadi. My informants listed forty-three lodges at Like-a-Fishhook. After 1870, the Mandan began abandoning the circular four-post earth lodge for small rectangular log cabins, two of them housing the population formerly living in a single earth lodge. Frequently a log cabin was built with two rooms, one room being occupied by the older people, who preserved the sacred bundles in their quarters, and the other room being occupied by the younger married family.

THE CLAN AND MOIETY SYSTEM

At the present time there are four Mandan clans, and they are divided into nameless moieties according to their position in the Okipa lodge. The Okipa or ceremonial lodge occupied a position on the north side of the village open circle, with the entrance facing the sacred cedar. According to the traditions of the Okipa, there were formerly thirteen clans which were divided into moieties known as an east-side moiety, comprising these clans: Prairie Chicken; Speckled Eagle; Bear; Red Hill; Crow; Badger; Bunch of Wood; and a west-side moiety consisting of six clans: Waxi'kEna; Tami'sik; Tami'xixiks; and three extinct clans. In the construction of the ceremonial lodge all clans participated. The east-side clans erected their side of the lodge and placed yellow corn in each posthole. The west-side clans erected the west side of the ceremonial lodge and placed small mats of buffalo hair in the central postholes of their side.

According to tradition, the clans were not all established simultaneously. It is said that Lone Man announced while living in the tribe that he belonged to the WaxikEna clan. It was the custom for this clan to sit near the door on the left, or west, side in council and during the ceremonies. The other five clans which were believed to be closest in relationship to the WaxikEna clan occupied the west side of the lodge also. It was believed that those who were of no clan occupied the entire east section of the lodge in no particular order until Clay on the Face, when returning from a successful war expedition, announced an arbitrary division of the young men then sitting in council. It is said that

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

614 he divided those sitting on the east side into seven groups and
773 gave each group a name, informing them that their sisters and mothers would belong to the same group. Since men of all villages were present at the time, clans were taken back to all villages of the tribe.

614 Of the thirteen clans, nine have become extinct. Bites in Nose
616 was said to be the last to remember the thirteen clans which he would call in turn during the Okipa ceremony. The WaxikEna and Tamisik constitute one moiety and the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle make up the other moiety today. When the last performance of the Okipa ceremony was held after going onto the Reservation, the WaxikEna and Tamisik occupied the west side of the lodge, and the other two clans took the opposite side. At that time Hidatsa fasters participated in the ceremony, and the members of their three-clan moiety sat with the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while the four-clan moiety sat on the opposite side.

614 The Mandan consider the WaxikEna to be the highest clan,
[424] since it held the rights in the Okipa ceremony. The word *waxikEna* means "to tell bad stories about." The word *tamisik* has no meaning, but the people of that clan were said to be stingy and were frequently teased for serving small portions on wooden platters placed before visitors. *Tamixixiks* refers to poor leather used in making harnesses for carrying wood.

According to tradition, when the Mandan were first created by the culture hero, Lone Man, young men married their own sisters until the tribe became numerous, when clans were established to prevent marriage between relatives. The clan names had no sacred significance, and in the cases of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle there was no prohibition against killing these birds by members of the two clans.

The clans were organized groups and elected a leader who
[554] acted in an advisory capacity. He was an older person who had been successful in warfare or in hunting and had shown considerable interest in the members of the clan, particularly the old men and women. There were frequent clan feasts by some mem-
614 ber of the clan, at which time they would discuss the success of
431 individual members. When a young man contemplated buying an important ceremonial bundle or performing a ceremony, it

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the prime of life and others who, having been crippled either in warfare, hunting, or other active pursuits, were unable to carry out the work normally performed by men. The older men of the lodge usually made the arrows used by the men of the household, and ten arrows complete with heads and feathers had the value of one unpainted robe. Young men of the lodge paid the older men for the right to learn the techniques of arrowmaking. The Mandan in 1929 remembered two men who had been crippled, one when his leg was broken by a wounded buffalo, the other who had had a femur bone shattered by a bullet and who had spent much of their time preparing arrows which they sold.

Another class of people who were highly regarded were the storytellers. The art of storytelling was highly developed; the stories had a variety of themes and were highly formalized. One paying for the right to have a story told was expected to repeat the story after the informer until it was learned in complete detail. The customary way of buying the story was to have a feast and a supply of tobacco mixed with red willow bark prepared before calling the informer in to relate his stories. The stories were of a semisacred character, and many dealt with the exploits of distinguished persons who had once lived in the village or tribe. It was considered improper to relate sacred myths belonging to others unless the informer was an owner in the particular rites, in which instance the buyer was expected to have enough robes and other goods so that each person having rights in the story would receive pay even when only one of their member was relating the story. The actual storytelling was then held at a later time when the informant could be alone with his pupil.

There was considerable traditional lore not actually associated with any ceremony at the time this study was being made. Informants were of the opinion that these myths once were associated with bundle rites now extinct and that the stories had continued as common property of the tribe. These stories have to do with such mythological characters as Corn Silk, Buffalo, First Creator, and the Snakes. Both men and women were storytellers, and they were highly respected as possessors of important tribal lore. They enjoyed intimate con-

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773 tacts with most families, since a person was not considered
538 important who could not argue in council for a certain point of
554 view based on traditional action of the group. Group action was
571 in a large measure regulated by custom. These patterns of behavior were in a large measure perpetuated by the storyteller. Anyone seeking the position of chief would need a considerable knowledge of tribal history to attain that status. No amount of success in warfare or performance of ceremonies would in themselves have been sufficient. It was this extra knowledge of tribal lore that distinguished them as leaders. Actually, whenever one was the recipient of goods and honors from another, a new and intimate relationship was established between them. Those who had provided many feasts and acquired a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were ultimately selected to become the leaders of the various groups.

571 Men who had reached middle age were called on to insert the
785 thongs for a "son" who was preparing to fast and to pray for
554 his success. They were expected to supervise the fasting and have it terminated when there was a possibility that the "son" was carrying his fasting to excess. Those who had good war records or had made significant contributions toward village welfare in other ways offered many feasts to the older men hoping that, by so doing, they would be named village leaders. A man would announce renewal feasts to his ceremonial bundle from time to time and call in those who had similar bundles. Some would assist in removing arrows and opening wounds or doctor in other ways when the occasion warranted.

561 Men of middle age belonged to the Black Mouth Society,
701 which was intrusted with the organization and protection of the village. This was the most highly organized men's society. It met every two or three days and received its instructions from the older men meeting in council. It was their duty, whenever the village was in danger of attack, to see that none left the village without permission. Each member carried a club carved according to his own individual preference, and he was expected to use it if anyone was found violating the rules. If the announcer called through the village that the people were not to leave the village and anyone was seen leaving, the Black Mouths would drive him back. Crows Heart remembered a

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able numbers along the Heart River and in the vicinity of Square Butte Creek. With the introduction of the horse they were less commonly used, although the practice was not entirely abandoned until after 1870. Buffalo, deer, elk, and wolves were captured in them. Older men also managed the fish traps, of which there were a number for each village. An account of fish-trapping is given in chapter viii, "Catfish-trapping Ceremony," which appears in this account of ceremonialism.

The old people were generally well cared for by the Mandan. They were held in high respect, and my informants frequently condemned neighboring tribes for abandoning their old people. On the other hand, Mandan old people frequently were left back when the village went on a buffalo hunt and refused to have others remain with them, claiming that they would get along and that, if the enemy came and killed them, it was all right, as one could not live forever. Usually a few families remained in the village to care for the old people who were too feeble to travel.

The Mandan traditions state that, when people were first created and placed on the earth, Lone Man decreed that they should not live to be older than one hundred years and that some would die at various ages from birth to old age. It was believed that people died from improper fasting, violation of tribal custom, disrespect of holy things, quarreling, foreign objects in the body, and loss of "power." It was also believed that those who neglected the unfortunate would not live long, since the sacred things frequently sent destitute people into the tribe to detect the selfish families. The sun was believed to be a cannibal who would adopt a "son" in an enemy tribe, subsequently giving a Mandan a dream instruction to go out on the warfare where he would be killed.

The Mandan believed that a person had four souls. One was the white spirit, which was often seen traveling through the air as a shooting star. It was regarded as the principal spirit and was represented by the white upland sage. The second spirit was light brown and scarcely visible and was represented by the meadow lark. These two spirits united in the spirit world and became the individual of the hereafter. The third spirit was known as the lodge spirit and remained near the lodge of which

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tween bundle lines. Some informants thought that these bundles must have originated in different villages because their older people who were living when the tribe occupied two villages had spoken of ceremonial differences between the villages. They believed that these ceremonial differences went back to mythological times when the ceremonies were first taught to the people. 796 778 124

Mandan tribal sacred bundles had these elements in common: each contained objects representing the characters and incidents of the myth; the rites were dramatizations of the sacred myths; there were prescribed rules of behavior when in the presence of the bundle or while it was open; an incense was always burned while the bundle rites were being performed or when the rites were terminated; there were songs and a sacred myth which belonged to the bundle; each bundle included a buffalo skull; the ritualistic lore was secret, and payment must be made to the bundle-owner for a knowledge of the rites; there were fixed rules of inheritance for the sale and transfer of the bundle; tribal sanction of a bundle transfer was at a public feast to which those owning related bundles were invited; feasts were made to the bundle by nonowners as a social obligation; and bundle-owners on occasion would give Bundle Renewal feasts to their own bundles to which were invited those owning important tribal bundles. 796 778 773 424

The Mandan recognize four seasons which were associated with the spring, summer, autumn, and winter buffalo. Since informants could not agree on any other division of the year, it is highly unlikely that they recognized any other uniform divisions. The year count was important in relating events. Ceremonies were, in general, evenly divided over the year. Ceremonies for success in warfare or doctoring were held at any time. On the other hand, rites relating to agriculture were begun in late winter when the first water birds appeared and were held throughout the summer until the southern flight of these birds had passed. The Okipa was always held during the warmest months, while the Snow Owl, Red Stick, and White Buffalo Cow ceremonies to bring the winter buffalo herds were always held 796 805 221

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221 796 805 during the coldest months. Table 3 gives the approximate time of the principal tribal ceremonies.

778 The Mandan attach great significance to the sacred myths associated with the sacred bundles, and informants constantly ex- 773 plained the relationship of one bundle to another in terms of in-

TABLE 3

APPROXIMATE TIME AND PURPOSE OF PRINCIPAL TRIBAL CEREMONIES

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Approximate Month	Ceremony	Purpose of Ceremony
June to August	Okipa	General tribal welfare Buffalo fertility rites
May	Corn Fertility	To insure good gardens
March to October	Goose Society	Rains and good growing conditions for crops
August to October	Harvest festival	Thanksgiving rites for crops
March to October	Old Woman Who Never Dies	Rain and good growing conditions to insure good gardens
January to January	Old Woman Who Never Dies	Doctoring and warfare
March to October	Corn Pipe	Fertility
September to November	Eagle-trapping rites	To capture eagles
July to September	Eagle-trapping rites	To trap fish
January to January	Eagle-trapping rites	To corral buffaloes
April	Eagle-trapping rites	Success in hunting or warfare
April and November	Big Bird	Warfare Rain
January to January	Small Hawk	Warfare
June to August	Small Hawk	To call buffaloes
December to March	Snow Owl	To call winter buffaloes
January to January	Snow Owl	Warfare
March to October	Snow Owl	Rain
January to January	People Above	Warfare Doctoring
January to January	Shell Robe	Warfare Doctoring
December to March	Red Stick	To call winter buffaloes
December to March	White Buffalo Cow	To call winter buffaloes
January to January	Bear	Doctoring and warfare
March to November	Snake	Rain Doctoring Warfare

778 cidents mentioned in these myths. For that reason, the sacred 773 myths belonging to the various bundle rites were recorded as completely as possible and appear in this study in much the same form and detail as they were recorded. It was a customary practice for a Mandan to invite to his lodge one having important tribal bundles and pay him to have the myths related privately. Those having a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were held in high esteem. The sacred myths were considered

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secret and were never related publicly. One paying to have the myths related did not receive rights in the ceremony. Instructions in the rites and songs were divulged only to those purchasing the bundle rites.

So far as the writer was able to determine, the ceremonial pattern had been established prior to A.D. 1800 and underwent little change in subsequent years. There was, however, a greater display of goods after the introduction of the horse and the establishment of trading posts.

Matthews wrote: "The work of Prince Maximilian contains the most accurate and extensive information regarding their customs and manners. Notwithstanding the great changes in the tribe since 1834, the majority of his notes might be used without alteration in describing the Mandan of to-day."[1]

The Mandan preserved their rich ceremonialism after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, according to Matthews, who added:

> The square, the medicine-lodge, with its four poles in front, surmounted by sacrificial effigies, and the ark, as they may be seen to-day, seem to be the almost exact counterparts of those which were seen in the old Mandan village at Ft. Clark, in 1832 and 1833, by George Catlin and the Prince of New-Wied, if we are to judge by the drawings they have given us. Within the temple and around the ark, the Mandans still perform the ceremony of the Okeepa, which Catlin so accurately describes. The awful severities of the rite, have however, been somewhat mitigated since his day.[2]

In addition to the sacred myths associated with the bundles, there were numerous stories of a magical character which were bought and sold. A few of these myths were recorded in the field but are omitted from this book, since a number of them have already appeared in print.[3] The most popular of these were: (1) the exploits of Spring Buffalo and Corn Silk; (2) Stiff Robe and the Buffaloes of the Four Seasons; (3) Four Wings; (4) Snake Village and Buffalo Village; (5) Sun as a Gambler and Cannibal; and (6) the Pet Magpie.[4]

The First Creator myths also belong in this category. Since this mythological character had a dual personality, in organizing

1. Washington Matthews, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Language of the Hidatsa* (New York, 1873–74), p. 14.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
3. See Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [Boston, 1938]).
4. See also the myths recorded below in chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping Ceremony."

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the material for this volume, myths of a less sacred character were excluded.

Mandan-Hidatsa eagle-trapping rites were treated collectively in this study, since tribal differences were no greater than differences appearing in separate bundle lines. This is due possibly to recent borrowing by the Hidatsa, because the territory eastward of their historic range, from which they moved in late prehistoric times, was unsuited to eagle-trapping.

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stood. This lodge was circular in outline and differed from the regular earth lodges only by its greater size.

The open-circle concept was definitely established among the Mandan at a very early date according to the archeological evidence from the Heart River region.[2] There is some evidence in the Grand River region of the Mandan-type open-circle village arrangement, but the situation there is in most instances obscured by subsequent Arikara occupations.

Lone Man, according to tradition, established the custom of leaving an open area within each village for dancing. Later, when he was leaving the tribe, he erected a Red-painted cedar, as a symbol of his body and of all the Mandans who had lived before. The cedar was surrounded by a wall of cottonwood planks as a symbol of the wall he erected to protect the people from the flood. A water willow surrounding the planks marked the highest advance of the flood waters. He also established the custom of maintaining a special ceremonial lodge in each village and taught the ceremonies associated with its construction. The lodge was a symbol of Dog Den Butte where Hoita (the speckled eagle) imprisoned all living things. Six central posts were used making it oblong in form, with a flat side facing the open circle.[3] Lone Man also established the WəxikEna and Tamisik clans and indicated their seating arrangement in the ceremonial lodge. He divided the lodge into two halves, the left half or east side belonging to the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, and five other clans of that moiety. The right side belonged to the WaxikEna, Tamisik, Tamixixiks and three other clans of that moiety.

According to the sacred myths the moiety and clan system was as follows prior to the smallpox epidemics:

West-Side Moiety (Buffalo)	East-Side Moiety (Corn)
Waxi'kEna (Tell Bad News)	Sipuska'numak (Prairie Chicken People)
Tami'sik (no meaning)	Ipoka'numak (Speckled Eagle People)
Tami'xixiks (Bad Strap)	Mato'domak (Bear People)
[Three extinct clans whose names are not now remembered]	MasE'domak (Red Hill People)
	Amaka'domak (Badger People)
	HoxExaka'numak (Crow People)
	Manakasa'numak (People in Grove)

2. By 1500 in sites of the Huff focus in villages of rectangular lodges.

3. This was the habitation lodge which was retained for ceremonial purposes when the circular earth lodge was adopted shortly before 1600.

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614 Prior to the first smallpox epidemic there were thirteen named
616 clans, six clans dying out as a result of that epidemic. The three above clans of the west-side moiety survived together with the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, Crow, and Bear clans of the opposite moiety. The Bad Straps were assimilated into the Tamisik clan, while the Crow and Bear clans either died out or were assimilated with the Prairie Chickens after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

776 The west-side moiety was established by Lone Man, who
616 represented the village activities and peace functions of the tribe. The other moiety was divided into clans by Clay on the
614 Face, who promised to give the people sitting opposite Lone Man's moiety names if he returned from a successful war ex-
773 pedition. As he returned from this expedition singing, he saw prairie chickens which were making a loud noise as they ate, the speckled eagles flying in the air, the bears in the timber, the snake people living in the red buttes near Old Woman Who Never Dies' lodge, the badger near his burrow on the prairie, the crows which were cawing, and mysterious people living in the small brush thickets. These were the names he gave to the people of his moiety.

Of the ten clans listed above, four survived the smallpox epi-
614 demic of 1837. They were WaxikEna, Tamisik, Prairie Chicken, and Speckled Eagle. Scattercorn's father, Moves Slowly, an officer in the Okipa, would call the name of each Nuptadi clan on the last day, and those impersonating the bulls would bellow as each was named. He had heard that the officers from the other village would formerly call the names of thirteen clans, but while at Fort Clark they dropped six extinct clans from the rites.

346 Each moiety owned its side of the ceremonial lodge. When
616 erecting a new lodge or repairing the old one, the clans forming a moiety worked as a unit on their own side. Those fasting dur-
614 ing the Okipa occupied places inside the lodge at the wall according to clan. Those of the WaxikEna were next to the door on the right side. The Tamisik occupied the balance of that side. On the left side the Prairie Chicken clan sat near to the door, and the Speckled Eagle clan occupied the remaining space on that side.

000 The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of

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these groups set up a cedar whenever a new village was built. 621
Each had its own set of officers, but the turtles originally be- 619
longed to the Nuptadi band into which the original Lone Man
was once born, and it was necessary to borrow them whenever 778
the Okipa was being performed in one of the other villages. They
were the common property of the WaxikEna clan. Crows Heart
explained that quarrels sometimes occurred in a village, with
part of the population breaking away, but that in such in-
stances no cedar would be erected or ceremonial lodge built
until it was decided to make the village a permanent one. Scat-
tercorn thought that the groups were stable, although a few
families were always leaving one group and joining another. She
thought that fission of villages was a difficult thing, as new
Okipa officers would be needed.

The Mandan have a number of creation stories which were a 773
part of the sacred myths of the bundles and their associated
ceremonies. The sacred myth of the Corn ceremony relates the
exploits of the Corn People, who formerly lived below the sur-
face of the earth beside a lake before coming to the surface under
the chieftainship of Good Furred Robe. The Buffalo People,
who were the performers of the Okipa, were created on the
earth near Heart River by Lone Man after the lands were made.
In mythological times there was an earth-lodge village of hawks
to the east, bears to the north, eagles and other large birds in-
cluding the Sun and Moon in the sky, to mention but a few of
them. The Heart River region became a meeting place of
peoples of all these groups. The Corn People migrated north-
ward and united with the Buffalo People. Other peoples were
added from time to time through intermarriage and were identi-
fied according to their respective bundles. It was believed that [787]
the visions one had were dependent on the mythological group
to which he belonged.

The Animal rites of the Okipa ceremony are reported to have 796
originally belonged to the Buffalo People, who were created in 773
the vicinity of Heart River by Lone Man and are a dramatization
of the freeing of the animals from Dog Den Butte. As new groups
united with them, modifications were instituted in the cere-

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region shortly before the first smallpox epidemic. Their emphasis was on corn rites instituted by Good Furred Robe while living far to the south.

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796 mony. In the beginning, the people lived an extremely simple life without tools and weapons. At that time there were no so-
●773 cieties and only a few simple rites, one of which was a Buffalo Dance in which one man danced. It is believed that, as time passed, the people acquired skills along many lines; there was a corresponding development of mutual obligations; new societies and ceremonies were adopted which grew in complexity. It is also believed that there was a parallel development of the Okipa ceremony from the simple Buffalo Dance to its complex form as performed until seventy-five years ago, and that the cultural growth of the tribe was divided into four periods which were represented by the four days of the ceremony.

The principal characters in the ceremony were Lone Man (NumakmaxEna), Speckled Eagle (Hoita), Giver of Ceremony (Koni'saka), and the singers.

796 Lone Man was without question the tribe's most important deity. The original Lone Man belonged to the WaxikEna clan,
776 and a bundle was founded which contained all the articles used
614 by the Lone Man impersonator during the ceremony. Inherit-
778 ance was through the WaxikEna clan. Before the smallpox epidemics, there were at least two similar and graded bundles in each village, and the men holding rights in the Okipa met to select from their number those who would officiate during the next ceremony.

796 According to tradition the original Lone Man established the rule that the bundle should belong to the WaxikEna clan.
778 However, before he left the tribe, he desired a white buffalo
424 robe owned by his brother's son. The young man offered to exchange his robe for Lone Man's bundle, and this transaction was made, the bundle and office passing temporarily from the WaxikEna clan. The principal bundle was kept, after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, at Nuptadi Village, and a secondary
[562] bundle was kept by the other village group. Women could inherit and buy the bundle but could not officiate in the rites. Beaver's brother owned a bundle originally at Nuptadi Village prior to 1837. When he died, his sister transferred the bundle to her daughters, Shells and Grows First, who were both of the WaxikEna clan. Little Eagle, who had married the two sisters, paid them for the right to officiate in the ceremony. He then

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778 1. A buffalo-skin apron with buffalo-hair strands attached
2. Flat staff with the moon and thunderbird carved on one side, a star and the sun on the other
3. A stuffed raven
4. Two-piece wooden pipe inlaid with a dark-colored stone
5. Jackrabbit-skin collar and anklets
6. Headdress of porcupine trimmed with jackrabbit skin
7. A set of buffalo teeth
8. A war-bonnet trailer of alternating raven and swan feathers
9. A buffalo-hair headdress with a stuffed owl attached
10. Four buffalo tails with white buffalo hair attached
11. A staff decoration consisting of a buffalo tail trimmed with weasel fur

Bundle-owners were custodians of the turtle drums, the sacred cedar, and the ceremonial lodge.

796 776 773 The office of Hoita ranked equal in importance with that of the Lone Man during the performance of the Okipa but otherwise was unimportant. Hoita or Speckled Eagle represented the People Above but had had no part in the creation of the earth according to the mythology. He was born into the tribe where he was recognized for his supernatural powers. Because of jealousy over a white buffalo robe, he imprisoned the animals in Dog Den Butte. When he learned that another who claimed to be his "son" through the medium of the "walking" ceremony was holding the Okipa, he freed the animals and agreed to co-operate with Lone Man in performing the Okipa.

796 614 The rule was that the Hoita should belong to either the WaxikEna or Tamisik clan, and there is no evidence that this rule was ever broken, at least in the memory of my informants. During the period of readjustment following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, Big Turtle (Tamisik clan) held the office. He sold rights in the office to Moves Slowly (WaxikEna clan), who impersonated Hoita, while Big Turtle served as director of the singers. Moves Slowly sold his rights to Iron Eyes (WaxikEna), who officiated, while Moves Slowly assisted the singers. The right to officiate in the Okipa ceremony was given at a public feast.

796 The Hoita directed the ceremonies performed inside the ceremonial lodge. He supervised the fasters and saw that none who had interrupted their fasting returned to the lodge. He directed the selection of characters represented in the dances and supervised the painting, indicating the time when each rite was to be

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used in decorating the Bull Dancers. Eight men selected beforehand danced eight times before the sacred cedar during the second day. These men were the largest individuals to be found in the village, and they were trained carefully to take the parts assigned them by the Hoita. 796

While the Okipa ceremony was going through its first day's performance, the owners of bundles representing creatures which were to appear in the ceremony met according to bundles and selected those who were to dance and receive offerings of goods on the "Everything Comes Back Day." Legitimate bundle-owners could officiate or they could select a young man who, according to custom, would probably inherit one of their bundles. When no selection was made, the Hoita could choose some good dancer to assume the part. Some characters were selected by the Hoita, particularly those representing buffalo bulls who danced during the second day.

The following is a list of characters participating in the ceremony on the third day.

1. Eight men representing buffalo bulls: These men were selected by the Hoita, who chose large men of uniform size. Fasters were often selected, in which instance their fasting was terminated.

2. Two men representing bald eagles: Big Bird bundle-owners selected these.

3. Two men impersonating women: Holy Women, Old Woman Who Never Dies, Holy Robe, and Woman Above bundle-owners met to select their representatives. One was to impersonate a foolish woman, the other a wise one.

4. Two men representing swans: Men having Lone Man rights were selected, since the swan feathers were alternated with raven feathers on the Lone Man's war-bonnet trailer.

5. Two men representing snakes: Snake bundle-owners, of which there were a large number, selected their representatives.

6. Two men, one representing a calumet eagle, and the other a hawk: Selected by the Bird bundle-owners.

7. Two men representing the black bears of the Eagle-trapping bundles.

8. Two men representing grizzly bears: Selected by Grizzly Bear bundle-owners.

9. Two men representing beavers: Those individuals with Creek or River bundles selected them.

10. Two men representing strips of dried meat: They were selected by the Hoita.

11. Two men representing night: They were selected by those people having bundles relating to the stars or moon. Many mythological characters were believed to be living in the sky as stars, and men whose bundle rites included these would meet and select representatives. Many of these mythological characters were believed to have lived on the earth in early days. [773]

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of life has his abode. The third son is the night. The eldest daughter is the star that rises in the east, the morning star; and they call her, "the woman who wears a plume." The second daughter, called "the striped gourd," is a high star which revolves around the polar star; and, lastly, the third daughter is the evening star which is near to the setting sun.[39]

ORIGIN MYTH RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[40]

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A long time ago the Missouri River flowed into the Mississippi River and thence into the ocean. On the right bank there was a high point on the ocean shore that the Mandan came from. They were said to have come from under the ground at that place and brought corn up. Their chief was named Good Furred Robe. He had one brother named Cornhusk Earrings and another younger brother called No Hair on Him or Head for Rattle after the gourds. They had a sister named Corn Stalk.

In this early time when they came out of the ground, Good Furred Robe was Corn Medicine, and he had the right to teach the other people how to raise corn. The people of Awigaxa asked him to teach them his songs so as to keep the corn and be successful in growing their corn. Good Furred Robe also had a robe which, if sprinkled with water, would cause rain to come.

When they came out of the ground, there were many people but they had no clothing on. They said, "We have found Ma'tahara." That was what they called the river as it was like a stranger. It is also the word for "stranger." They went a short distance and planted corn, even though they were naked. They were located there for a few years, and all that time they planted corn. Then they moved north, and no one knows the number of years they stopped at the different places. At last they came to the place where the river flowed into the ocean. When they came to the mouth of this river, they saw people on the other side who could understand their language and they thought they were Mandan too. The village on the other side had a chief whose name was Maniga. It was a very large village.

While they were stopping there, they found that the people on the other side owned bowls made of shells. At Good Furred Robe's village they would kill the rabbits for the hides. They also killed the meadowlarks for the yellow crescents. They took them to the people of the other village to trade for shell bowls. They would also take the rabbit hides painted red and trade for the shells.

Good Furred Robe also owned a boat that was holy. It could carry twelve men. Each time they wanted to trade in the other village, they would take the red rabbit hides and the yellow meadowlark breasts and float over. There was a rough place in the middle, and they would drop some of these objects into the water, and then the water would calm.

All during this time they had enough corn to live on, but nothing is told

39. *Op. cit.*, pp. 301–3.

40. Wolf Chief secured this information from Chief, his Mandan father-in-law, whose wife was formerly married to Bobtail Bull, a Corn ceremony bundle-owner. For other versions of this myth see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 10–11; Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels*, ed. Thwaites, XXIII, 312–17; and Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I, 279–80.

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in the traditions about their clothing. They continued moving up the river until they came to the mouth of the Missouri River. They saw many trees on the Mississippi River and decided to go across and live on the Mississippi. They stayed in that country for three or four years, all the time planting corn along the river. They said, "We have discovered a better river and it will be a good place to plant the corn." They discovered fine evergreen trees, and we have called them medicine trees since that time.

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There were no bows and arrows in those days, and one of the men made a bow and arrows, practicing with them and picking out sharp bones with which to tip the arrows. He also found the sinews that would stretch the bow. We do not know if they were eating meat or not at that time. There were many elk, deer, and beaver on this river, and that is why they called it Good River. At that time they found a dead buffalo in a mud hole, and one of them said that they ought to take the hide off and cut it into a long string to catch deer with. When they took the hide off, they cut the strings and twisted them to dry. Then they made a loop on the end. They would go out and find deer trails to hang it in to catch the deer. They made many of these snares and set them out in many places. They would find some dead deer and even some elk hanging there.

After they learned how to do this, they had plenty of meat to eat with their corn. They stayed at that place for over ten years. It was at this time that they learned how to use the bow and arrows tipped with bone, to kill smaller game.

Again they moved from there farther up the Mississippi River until they found a place where there was much timber but the surrounding land was flat. They found a flat place where the timber was not so thick, and there they lived for six years. At that time they called themselves Nu'itadi, meaning "from us." Some of them were called Nup'tadi (no meaning); another group was called Awi'gaxa (no meaning). One of the latter two bands moved from the others under a chief named Four Bulls and came to a place where there was much timber. The village after the split must have been in the western part of Minnesota not far from Pipestone.

They traveled southward then until they came to heavy timber and had a big village[41] there. While there they learned more about bows and arrows and could shoot even beavers and other game. Then they had plenty of food. Again they traveled on through the deep timber and had another village, staying there for four years. The earth lodges at that time were of the eagle-trapping type with grass and dirt covering the sides.

When they stopped there, a man went out looking for game and followed a creek. He saw some mud sticking out of a hill, and there was a spring at that place. The mud was sticky; he took some of it out and carried it away a short distance. He left some of it flat on the ground to dry. When he went back where he had left the mud, it was hard except that there was one crack. He thought that there should be some use for that mud. He thought, "I will get some sand and mix it with this mud and leave it again. It might be of some use." Then he went home again. When he returned, the mud was still cracked. He thought, "If I crack some stones and crush them fine to mix with the clay,

41. These villages were named in the Okipa ceremony, but the language used was unintelligible to the listener, as it was an old dialect. The translation was a part of the secret lore which passed with bundle sales. [198]

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it might be better." He found some hard stones and put them in the fire to burn four days. Then he crushed the stones and took the material to the place where the clay had been left. He mixed the clay with the crushed stone, shaped it into a pot, and left it in the sun to dry. Next day when he went back, he found that it was hard and could be used. He made many more; some he made into the shape of spoons.[42] From that time they had pots. After that they made large ones and baked them to cook in. The Mandan were the first to discover pottery; the Hidatsa and other people learned the art from them. The mud was a special kind, and it was hard to find. Later they found this clay around the flint they took out of the tops of hills west of the Missouri River.

They stayed there for more than ten years, for there were many animals suitable for food as well as good corn grounds. During this time some of the young men were looking for game, and they came out of the timber. They could see the flatland for a great distance, so they thought that they would move. At first they did not come completely out of the woods but stayed on the edge.

When they came out of the timber, they had another large village again. They stayed there a long time, for there was much game and they had their gardens in the timber.

When they had the village there, it happened that they had a dry year. The people who called themselves Awigaxa made a feast, and they had some of the women paint their faces and wear geese[43] on their heads. First Creator and Lone Man came at that time. They asked these people where they came from, and they replied that they had come up from under the ground and that they had traveled around much since then. The two men said, "You seem to be getting along well here. We came from the west bank of the Missouri River. We discovered some prairie dogs in a village there, but we changed them into humans. We showed them how to put on the Buffalo Dance, but we see now that we would rather have you people here put on that ceremony, for you would be more careful about giving the dance."

Then the two men walked off and returned to the prairie-dog village they had changed into humans. First Creator and Lone Man had made the dance for the prairie dogs, and, when they came back, they saw that these people were not fit to give the dance, for they had left the drum in the ashpile. They thought, "These people don't appreciate the dance, for they are not the right kind of people to begin with. It would be much better to take the Buffalo Dance from them." The two men took the Buffalo Dance away from the prairie dogs and gave it to the Mandan. They gave the prairie dogs a curing ceremony instead. The Arikara were the prairie-dog people. They have the Prairie Dog Curing Medicine yet.

First Creator and Lone Man came back to the Mandan village and said, "We are going to show you the Buffalo Dance."

They said "What is it?"

They replied, "It is a good thing for you, and any time you have a shortage of food, you will pray for food. This way it will increase your people and bring you plenty of food." They showed these people how to give the ceremony, paint, and dress.

42. Spoons have never been found in Mandan archaeological sites, whereas pots are abundant.

43. The Goose Women's Society. It was founded by Good Furred Robe, and the Corn bundle-owner was singer for this society.

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They thought, "How will we paint to make them good-looking? We might use some of the color of the snakes; they look nice. It is not a real snake but the worm on the chokecherry bushes. Between the shoulders they grow a hook. We will have that represent the mask and take that color for the buffaloes. The hook behind will be the buffalo horn and the branches will be the branches of the worm nest."

The people inquired how they would fix up that way and Lone Man said, "Go out and kill a buffalo; take all the flesh off of the skin and bring the hide to me." The people went out and killed a buffalo and brought the hide to the two men. They called one of the young men to stand before them. They took the horn off with the horn core removed. The young man had long hair hanging down. They put the horn on his back with the brush over it, reaching over his head and hanging down nearly to the ground. They painted him on the chest, legs, and arms with red, black, and white. All this was representative of this bug in color. When he was painted, he was very beautiful.

At this time they had a hide for a drum. They wanted to practice the songs that belonged to this drum, but the drum was not very solid. It would sink into the ground and soon wear out. Lone Man was doing the drumming, and he said to First Creator, "You show them how the dancing is done, and I will do the drumming." Lone Man sang the song, and First Creator danced, stretching his arms out. He danced and showed the painted man how to dance.

Lone Man said to the people, "You must not touch this drum, for it is very holy. We are going out to look for another drum and will be back after a while."

They went out, and after a while they came back with the badger. Even before they had the Buffalo Dance, Lone Man had a flat stick. Before he touched the badger, he held the stick up, but the badger pleaded that he was not strong enough. When he held the stick up, the badger sank into the ground.

They said, "The badger has no strength and is not suitable." They went to the beaver, but, before he ever hit the beaver, the animal sank into the ground. Each time he held his stick up, the earth shook. They went out again and came to a turtle. They asked him but the turtle replied, "I have no strength or power. I would rather that you went to the big turtle who is in the ocean. He would be a better drum, for his life will be so long that he will last forever. He will be better for the drum."

When they came to the shore, they found a large turtle; it was brown. They talked to the turtle saying, "We are looking for a drum to use in the dance, and now we need you for the drum."

The Turtle said, "That is all right. I do not think I can go myself, but you can look me over and then make one yourself out of a buffalo hide. When you fix it that way I will be there just the same, for you will be taking the shape of my body. If you do that, I will last forever."

When they returned, they killed a buffalo, took the hide off of the bull, and made a turtle. They made the legs out of oak and covered it with a hide from which the hair had been removed. Then they painted the outside with red paint. They finished the turtle, and in two days the hide was all dried up. First Creator said, "We must pick out a young man to dance in the costume; you show him how to dance." Lone Man made a motion as of striking the turtle. At the same time there was a noise as if the earth were cracking and

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dust came up, but the turtle was not driven into the earth like the other animals had been. Then Lone Man said, "That is the kind of drum we want; it will last forever. After this if any of you people dream of this dance or have a dream in which it is a part, then you must put up this dance. We are not going off right away but will be around near by."

He said, "When a young man is dancing, he may want to smoke the pipe. If they feel like smoking it, fill it up. I made it out of a green buffalo tail, bent it on one end to hold the tobacco, and filled it with sand until it was dry. The men with the buffalo heads must not touch the pipe. If he wants to smoke, you hold the pipe while he smokes."

About this time, Good Furred Robe, who was always traveling, found a red spot and wondered what it was. Going there, he saw that it was a stone. He thought that it might be a good thing to make a pipe from. Up to this time the people had used black stone pipes for smoking. He brought the red stone back. He thought how in the Buffalo Dance they used the buffalo tail and how it would be a good thing to fix up the red stone pipe and let them use that. He made a pipe with no elbow; the hole was in the end.

They had another Buffalo Dance, and one young man danced. At that time Lone Man came back. Good Furred Robe took the pipe to him and said, "I saw you using the buffalo tail, and I think this is better." Lone Man said, "It looks pretty, but I am afraid of it, for it is the color of human blood."

The Goose Women had put up a feast because the fields were drying up. Good Furred Robe took the pipe to them and said, "I have a good pipe here; it is a nice color. You should use it instead of the one you have that is not pretty." They said, "We are afraid of it because it is the color of human blood." The people were wondering where he had found the the red stone, and he took some of them to the place and showed them where he had found it. They saw some of the pretty stones and made a few pipes for their personal use. (I tried to claim the pipe stone quarries by this story, but some people did not believe it. Mrs. White Duck has Good Furred Robe's skull, but some of the younger men do not claim it because they are not familiar with this old story.)

Later three men were traveling around a great deal, and each time they would get out farther and farther. One time they came to the Missouri River and saw timber on each side. They reported this to the people, who thought that it must be a branch of the river they passed farther to the south. They decided to move from their village toward the river. They came to the Missouri River at what they called White Clay Creek.[44] It is below the Cheyenne River today. The camp was just opposite that river on the east side.

They built a camp there, and after three years the Awigaxa disappeared. They thought that the Awigaxa must have gone up the Cheyenne or White Clay River to the west. Two years afterward, about twelve families of the Awigaxa came back.

When they came back, they said, "They sent us back because the people out there do not think you know the Corn Medicine rites. They asked us to teach them to you."

The Awigaxa already talked a little differently from the others. Three years after they came back, the Buffalo Dance had increased so that four danced.

44. This is White River, which enters the Missouri River below Chamberlain, South Dakota.

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It is not known how many times they had villages along the river. At that time a man dreamed of the Buffalo Dance. He told his people afterward, "I saw more than one bull and many different birds and animals. There was a human being with a long penis. I saw four turtles instead of one."

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Lone Man came back. He related his dream to Lone Man, who said, "That is all right. You should try to put up the ceremony."

In the dream he had seen the four turtles. They had eagle feathers on their heads, but Lone Man said, "It would be hard for you to save that many feathers. You will have time to save some. Take your time saving all those feathers. If you think there are enough for four turtles, call me, and I will hear even though I am far away."

He saved all the feathers, knowing that it would take him a long time. In three or four years he had the necessary feathers, and then he called Lone Man. They made three more turtles just like the other one they had fixed before on the pattern of the ocean turtle.

When the two finished the turtles, they arranged them in a row, first the small one, then the two medium-sized ones, and then the large one which had been made first. Lone Man said, "You should give them what you can." It was the speckled eagle feathers that he was giving them. When he came to the last one, thinking it would like the calumet eagle's feathers best, he decorated it with those feathers. The one at the head said to the man, "You did not give me the right kind. That feather I do not like. For that reason, I am going back to the water."

They tried to hold him but could not. He walked away and went into the water. They called to Lone Man to help them. He came back and walked toward the turtle in the water. He took his lance up, sang his song, motioning with it at the water which ran apart. He could see the turtle in the water. He said, "They gave you the best of all. What is the matter?"

The turtle said, "That is all right." Then the water covered over the turtle again. I was never at the place[45] where it went into the water, but it was about opposite where Fort Yates now stands. The place or village is called "Where Turtle Went Back."

When Lone Man saw that the turtle was in the water, he turned around and walked back. Then they started the ceremony, and Lone Man said, "It is all right, for there are three left." They selected a big lodge and by that time the buffalo masks were taken inside. Lone Man was in there and the Ho'-kaha, a tall blue-gray bird with a long bill and a short tail [probably the heron], was in its place.

There were forty families that went out to White High Butte, now called Sheep Butte. These people separated from the others over in the woods before the Mandan reached the Missouri River. There is a river which runs north at Minot, North Dakota. There is a high butte up there called White High Butte. It is to the north of the Turtle Mountains. Their chief was Four Bulls, as you recall earlier in the story. Four Bulls and all his people had moved up there, building villages along the way until they reached this spot. Sometime in the spring they were living there. The Indians would make a trap of brush

45. Crows Heart has seen the spot and says that it is upstream from the mouth of the Cannonball River at an old village near Butte without Hair on the east bank. This is probably the Shermer Site. There is another Butte without Hair directly opposite on the west side of the Missouri River.

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and woven hair and put bait inside it. The birds going inside were taken. The birds were fat and good to eat. In the spring a young man, not knowing any better, pulled all the feathers off one of the birds and stuck one of the feathers through the bird's bill and nostrils. There were four medicine men there named Spring Buffalo, Winter Buffalo, Middle of the Summer Buffalo, and Autumn Buffalo.

At the time some of the young men in the village went out and caught young buffalo calves and brought them into the village. It was customary to blow up the entrails to dry. The young men blew up some, dried them, putting them over the calves' heads and telling them to go. When the Lone Man created these birds, he had them represent the water by the little spots under their wings. The four medicine men were angry at the way the calves were treated. The birds were angry also. They caused rain to fall for a long time. The water kept rising, getting nearer and nearer to the villages. The people called for Lone Man, saying that the water was coming and covering them. He fixed up the sticks in a circle with a water willow around them. When he finished, he took all the people of the village into the corral around the village. The four medicine men changed into buffaloes. They had a younger brother who was the magpie.

When the water began to cover the village, they started to swim to the Missouri. Magpie had a string around his neck which held the corn. One of the buffaloes was exhausted and said, "In the future there will be plenty of buffalo here and people can come here and hunt them." Then there were three. After a while one more of them was exhausted, and, before sinking, he said, "In the future there will be plenty of buffaloes if the people come here," and he sank.

A third one became exhausted, and he said, "In the future if people come here they will find plenty of buffaloes," and then he sank. There was one buffalo left, and he was swimming along. He saw a high butte in front of him. It was Birds Bill Butte,[46] and he swam toward it. He was completely exhausted when he reached the butte.

Back where Lone Man had the people in the corral, they were saved by the power of his corral. He said, "This cedar and corral is my protector. From this time on, you will always have it." The Mandan under Good Furred Robe traveled northward along the Missouri River until they reached the Heart River, where they joined the others whom Lone Man and First Creator had created at that place. At this time the flood was coming. These people built a large corral south of the Heart River on Eagle Nose Butte where they also were safe from the flood.

The Awigaxa did not have the turtles and cedar to protect them, for they had the Corn to worship. While living on the White Clay Creek and Cheyenne River, the Awigaxa became separated, and the group not having the Corn ceremonies was lost while making sinews near the Black Hills. Before the flood, the others came back to the Missouri River, for the river bottoms were not so large where they had been and not much corn could be grown. They built large villages at the mouth of the Cheyenne, Moreau, and other streams until they reached the mouth of the Grand River. At this time they had corn rites, but there is no mention of the Okipa or the sacred cedar.

When word reached the people who were living at the Grand River that a great flood was coming, they must not have had a sacred cedar since those who

46. Also known as Eagle Nose Butte.

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remained in their villages were drowned while those who escaped to the Rocky Mountains were saved. After the waters had retreated, those in the mountains planted corn out there, but the seasons were too short and the yields were small. The people wanted to return to the Grand River, but other people were living there. Scouts sent out reported that the other Mandan who had lived on the west bank of the Missouri near Painted Woods had left their village, the ruins of which were still standing, to seek shelter in a large corral built by Lone Man near the Heart River. The people decided to move from the mountains and built a village near Painted Woods at a spot where there was much wood.

While living in this village called Awigaxa, Lone Man and First Creator came along and found them. They came along when the water was high during the spring floods and told the people that higher floods might come and that they should have something to protect them. Some of the people thought it would be easier to escape to the mountains, since it took so much goods to perform the Okipa and the rites at the sacred cedar. Others thought that it was more costly to travel so far. Still others thought that the cedar would be useful for other purposes. Lone Man sent a young man a dream in which he saw the buffaloes dancing at the sacred cedar, and the old men interpreted the dream to mean that they should give the Okipa. Some thought that goods should be paid in large quantities equal to the inconvenience of moving to the mountains, and from this time the Awigaxa were the most liberal of the villages in supplying goods for the ceremonies. Lone Man and First Creator came and taught young men who were brave and intelligent how to impersonate the different characters. There were more people in the ceremony than when the other Mandan were taught the ceremony while living far to the southeast.

Even the Awaxawi and Awatixa who were living on the Missouri at that time came to make offerings and to fast. The Hidatsa must not have come south yet from the place where they had gone to escape the flood, for nothing is said of them in this old story. After the Okipa ceremony was given, the people were very lucky because there were so many more gods to protect them. Because the people were so lucky, when the wood was exhausted at one place, they built another village near by. No bad luck came to them until smallpox was brought in by the white men.

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Chapter VI

THE CORN CEREMONIES

THE Corn ceremonies were of two general groups based on their mythological backgrounds. Either because of purchase or other factors, possibly village union, the two separate ceremonies were consolidated during the memory of the older Mandan. One ceremony which was represented by two bundles was believed to have been performed when the tribe resided under the ground near the mouth of the Mississippi. In this land beneath the earth, the people lived a simple life, depending on corn for their sustenance. They were naked and had neither pottery nor bows and arrows. Their spiritual leader was Corn Father, who, by performing certain rites, caused the seed to germinate and grow, producing the mature plants and ripe corn. The whole tribe relied on him for supernatural guidance. The growing plant was a symbol of his power, and it was believed that the seed would not grow without his rites.

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When the people began to come to the surface of the earth by means of a grape vine, the leader of the Corn ceremonies was at the back of the line and was separated from his three sons, Good Furred Robe, Cornhusk Earrings, and Uses His Head for Rattle, and a daughter named Waving Corn Stalk, when the vine was broken by the weight of a woman heavy with child. Calling to his children who had reached the earth, he instructed them to continue the rites as they had seen him perform them. The ceremonial myth from that point traces out the traditional migrations of the tribe, the acquisition of new tools and skills, and the founding of the Black Mouth and Goose societies. In the myth, Good Furred Robe, being the oldest brother, took the leading part. This myth was closely interwoven with the Okipa myth.[1]

After the tribe had completed its migrations and had reached

1. See Creation Myth narrated by Chief to his son-in-law, Wolf Chief (chap. iv).

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796 After the tribe had completed its migration and had reached
773 the Heart River region, the three brothers died. Good Furred
778 Robe never married, but, before he died, he sold his sacred robe and pipe to his brother's son, who preserved it as a sacred bundle belonging to the Corn ceremonies. The three brothers' skulls were taken from the scaffolds and kept in a leather bag as a second Corn ceremony bundle.

778 The Sacred Robe bundle contained the following articles: (1) a robe said to have belonged to Good Furred Robe, on which was painted a map of the world showing the Missouri River as a large snake and the hole through which the Corn People reached the earth; (2) Good Furred Robe's pipe, carved from wood, the stem being carved to represent a goose's head and neck, the mouthpiece being the goose's bill; (3) a headdress of foxskins; (4) a bundle of young white sage; (5) moccasins made of buffalo hide with the hair on the inside; (6) a clay pot; (7) a strip of elkhide; (8) a dried gourd for a rattle; (9) a substance resembling and representing corn silk; (10) one ear of white flint corn, one ear of yellow corn, and one ear of white soft corn; (11) a narrow strip of badger skin; (12) blackbird heads and the head of one green-headed duck; (13) a whitetail deer skull with antlers attached to place the bundle on; (14) three dried squash; (15) one sunflower head; (16) a robe made of kit-fox hides; and (17) a braid of cornhusks.

796 The ceremonial significance of many of the articles in the
773 bundle are self-evident, particularly Items 8, 9, 10, 14, and 15,
778 since these are products from the gardens. The robe was made from a buffalo heifer's hide. Scattercorn explained that such hides, especially those killed in the late fall, had beautiful hair. The paintings on the hide depicted the traditional migration of the tribe from the mouth of the Mississippi and expressed the close association of the tribe with the Missouri River section of the Plains. The Missouri River was depicted as a huge snake. The robe was believed to have supernatural powers over the weather, and those who wished to have rain for their crops paid the robe-owner to open the bundle and sprinkle water on the robe. He would sing the "Song of the Robe" while sprinkling the robe with water shaken from a bundle of white sage (Item 4 of the bundle). The robe was considered the most important ar-

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icle in the bundle and was believed to have once belonged to Good Furred Robe, who wore it during the various Corn rites. 796 778

The pipe differed little from other ceremonial pipes. The bowl and part of the stem were carved from wood. There appeared to be a stone or clay lining to the bowl. A second piece of wood was carved to resemble a goose's head and neck. This pipe was owned by Good Furred Robe and, according to tradition, used by him in the ceremonies. 773

The headdress of foxskins (Item 3), badger fur (Item 11), kit-fox robe (Item 16), and strip of elkhide (Item 7) were represented in the bundle because these animals assisted in bringing the people out of the ground.

The sage belonging to the bundle was the kind kept in all earth lodges and used by the women at the close of a day's work in the gardens to cleanse themselves by rubbing their body and clothing with it. It was said that, in ancient times, worms and diseases were removed by this simple household cleansing rite. [515]

The dried gourd, used as a rattle, was symbolic of Good Furred Robe's brother, Uses His Head for a Rattle, who had assisted in the early Corn ceremonies. The braided cornhusks represented the other brother, Cornhusk Earrings, while all the other articles representing products from the garden were symbolic of Waving Corn Stalk, their sister, who repelled the Sun by walking through the gardens waving her robe, thus protecting her gardens from the heat.

The blackbird heads, duck head, and deer skull have a dual symbolic significance. They represent the birds that come north in the spring and the deer that inhabit the woodlands, but they are also the helpers of Old Woman Who Never Dies. In that sense the bundle ritualism is psychologically related to the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles and rites.

The second traditionally related Corn ceremony bundle is known as the Skull bundle (see Fig. 24). The contents of this bundle are: (1) Good Furred Robe's skull; (2) Cornhusk Earring's skull; (3) Uses Head for Rattle's skull; (4) a bundle of young white sage; (5) a substance resembling and representing corn silk; (6) a headdress of foxskins; and (7) a wooden pipe.

At the time this study was being made, Scattercorn was owner of the Robe bundle and Mrs. White Duck (Rattles Medicine) 778 796

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241 361 796 points was the accessibility to desirable corn grounds. With the prominent place of agriculture in the economic life of these people, it was a logical consequence that leaders of the Corn ceremonies should determine sites for new villages. Although the actual site was selected by the Corn bundle-owners, the laying-out of the open circle and location of the sacred cedar and ceremonial lodge was the responsibility of the individuals impersonating Lone Man and Hoita in the Okipa ceremony.

796 From an analysis of traditions and rites retained after the smallpox epidemics something of the nature of the old corn ceremonies could be determined.

1. There was only one Robe bundle, which came from the Nuptadi Village of the east side of the Missouri.

2. The Skull bundle was of west-side origin and came originally from the Awigaxa band, who were last to reach the Upper Missouri.

3. Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles and secondary bundles belonging to this ceremony were found in all Mandan villages and, in fact, in Hidatsa, Awatixa, and Awaxawi villages. The ceremonies and beliefs with few exceptions were identical between villages and tribes. This seems to be an older, widely diffused Mandan-Hidatsa ceremony to which new practices, particularly the fertility or consecration of the seed rites, were added, based mythologically on a dramatization of corn as people coming from the ground.

CORN MYTH OF THE ROBE BUNDLE RELATED BY SCATTERCORN[8]

773 539 The Corn People were living under the ground by a lake. One day some of the people saw an opening reaching up to the land above, and there was a vine growing in this hole. They asked the Fox to climb up and see this land. He climbed up, but, when he stuck his nose out, he got only a brief look at the beautiful land above because Sun burned his nose.

Then they asked Elk to go up and dig the hole larger with his horns. He made the hole large so the people could get through. The people started up, following the vine. They came up continuously for four days, but on the last day a woman heavy with child broke the vine and ended the migration forever. All these people had been raising the corn on this land beneath the earth.

8. For another version of the same myth, apparently also related by Scattercorn, see Will and Hyde, *op. cit.*, pp. 218–23. Also see Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 35–48, for data on Good Furred Robe, including data on Corn Priest, Goose Women Society, and Black Mouth Society.

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There were four leaders in the group that reached the earth. They were three brothers and a sister. Their names were Good Furred Robe, Cornhusk Earrings, Uses His Head for Rattle, and a sister named Waving Corn Stalk. Good Furred Robe began to lay out the villages and fields. He laid out the lodges in rows like the rows of corn, and he assigned the garden plots to each family. Then he distributed corn, beans, squash, and sunflower seeds to each family.

In those days the sister would be out in the fields all day overseeing the work. One day a stranger came to the gardens and wanted to talk to her, but she would not see him. He came four times to see her, but each time she refused. That man was Sun. On his fourth visit he said, "What you plant you will not harvest."

The next day when the sun came up, the air was so hot that the corn wilted. After the sun had set, she went through the gardens with her robe singing the holy songs, and the corn plants revived. Sun scorched the gardens four times, and each time she revived them with her robe and songs.

The people were living there when men appeared on the opposite bank and said that they wanted to cross, and the Mandans called them Miditadi after that time. After the Hidatsa crossed the Missouri they camped near the Mandan villages. Some of their young men were foolish, and the customs at that time were quite different, so the older men were afraid that there would be trouble.

Good Furred Robe said, "Our ways are a little different, so I think it would be better if you had villages of your own. If you stay too near us, there will be trouble. If you go too far away, we will be strangers and there will be trouble. The best plan will be for you to travel north until, when you camp, you cannot see our fires. That will be the best place to settle. If you will send your chiefs over in the morning, I will give them all the different seeds we have."

That morning when the men arrived, Good Furred Robe broke an ear in two and said, "My friend, you can take the tip or the butt." The Hidatsa took the tip because he thought that it was the best part. The Hidatsa left that day. The Mandan built fires on the hills, and, when the Hidatsa had traveled until they could no longer see these fires, they stopped and built their village, which was at Knife River.

Good Furred Robe told the people that in the spring they should have certain songs sung when the ducks and other waterbirds came north so that there would be plenty of rain and good crops. He also told them that each family should bring out two kernels of each crop they grew and he would cleanse them so that they would germinate. All that spring and summer, he was painted with red paint and wore moccasins with the fur side on the inside. He wore his sacred robe all that time and could not eat early plums, berries, or garden products until the fall when the corn was ripe and the people announced that they had their seed for the next year. Men brought his meals to him while the crops were growing. He could not sleep with or go near his wives or other women. At the close of these restrictions, those with Corn medicines met, and there was a cleansing feast, after which these restrictions were removed.

Good Furred Robe also told the people that, when working in the gardens, they should burn sage and rub themselves with it to remove the bad spirits of the fields. In those days when he instructed them in that manner, worms and bugs fell from their robes, so the Mandan women set the rule of always burning sage at the close of the day's work in the fields.

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Then he organized two societies, one for the men and the other for the women. He called the society for the men "Brave Warrior Society" or "Black Mouths." He brought in the men to dance. Two were given cornstalks, for only the bravest were to carry them, and he told them that these plants represented the bravest men. In war these two men could get a stick and attach raven feathers to represent the corn. If this staff was stuck into the ground, they could hold the enemy back, and, if the Mandan wanted to retreat, they could pull up the staffs and retreat without being killed. The men were between thirty and forty years old.

He organized a women's society and called it the Goose Society. The older ones would be around thirty years of age and would keep the society for five years. He selected two little girls about eight years old and stood them in the middle of the group. One girl's mouth was painted blue, the other's was black, and both represented geese. Each member wore a gooseskin and head for a headdress. Whenever anyone made an offering to the waterbirds when they came north in the spring or in the fall when they returned to the south, this society met and danced. All others with rights in the Corn ceremonies came out at those times also. The leader of the Goose Society and the last woman in the line both carried small clay pots. People could come to these dances and make offerings of horses, guns, or robes which entitled them to dance in the line, going around the Corn Priest four times, which was a sign that the giver would live to be old.

When Good Furred Robe grew old, he told the people to keep his skull and that praying to it would be like praying to him when he was living. There was a little difference in the way that offerings were made to him. I told you today that, when anyone puts on a feast to Old Woman Who Never Dies, an image of her is put up before the giver's lodge so that all will know that the household has made a feast to her. When feasts to the Sacred Robe or the Sacred Skulls are made, the offering is placed on a post on the prairies near the village.

The inheritance of the Sacred Robe bundle was from Good Furred Robe's brother, Uses His Head for Rattle.

SKULL BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY MRS. WHITE DUCK

Long ago the Mandan lived together under the ground near the ocean. Some hunters found a hole reaching up to the surface of the land we are now living on and climbed up to investigate. Before they reached the top they heard the bellowing of the buffalo herds. On reaching the top, they found buffalo herds everywhere. Elk, deer, and antelope were in great numbers also. They killed some buffaloes and dried the meat to take back to the people. Then they returned to the hole and went back down to the land below. When the people below learned that game was plentiful up above, they wished to come up at once, but the second chief of the people warned them that fat women heavy with child must not go up at that time.

The people started coming up to the top, but, when about half of them were up, a large woman heavy with child started up. The people said she should not go up but should wait until her child was born. She insisted, but her weight broke the grapevine, and she fell down. This separated the people, half being below and half above.

Before coming out of the ground, Corn was a man. Everyone looked to him to give them success in raising their garden products. When the vine broke, he was still below, but his daughter, Waving Corn Stalk, succeeded in reaching the

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top. She looked back into the hole and cried when she learned that her father was separated from her. She cried, "What shall I do? I am up here all alone."

Her father replied, "You are old enough to understand all my ways of doing things. I give you the right to plant the corn anywhere you wish. Plant the corn anywhere up there, and it will grow, even though you plant it on top of rocks. You have your three brothers with you up there."

After the Mandan had been on the earth a long time, word came that because of angering Manika a big flood was coming. The people separated then, most of the west-side people went to the Rocky Mountains, but the others stopped at Birds Bill Butte south of Mandan, building their village on the highest banks out of reach of the waters. It took a long time for the ones who went west to reach the mountains because there were only dogs to draw the travois. While there they said they would make some holy things to bring the rain when they wanted it, so they killed an elk to get a robe on which they drew a picture of the mountains with the clouds, lightning, and the thunderbird on it. They lived there many years but turned back because it was not a good place to raise corn. The people found plenty of buffalo, but they were disappointed because they could not raise corn. Others did not like the climate with its frequent rains and snowstorms.

While they were in the high mountains, the flood came to the people along the Missouri River, but, when they reached the old villages, the water had gone down. They came to the camp opposite Yellow Earth Village on the west side and there found the old people they had left building a new village, for they had moved up the river fom Birds Bill Butte. There was another Mandan village just a short distance up the river from Yellow Earth Village on the same side of the river. We called those east-side people Nuptadi in late years, but they came from one of the two east-side villages, I think it was Yellow Earth Village.

During the time they were up to the mountains the three men whose skulls I have were with them. Many years after they came back the three brothers and the sister died. Since Waving Corn Stalk was a woman, her brother had helped her in the ceremonies to the corn, and, since he could not live forever, he taught others the ritual for corn-growing and asked that the people keep his skull when he died, for praying to it would be the same as praying to him. All three brothers were placed on a scaffold when they died. A year later the flesh had all decayed so their skulls were put in the same bundle which became a part of the Corn Medicine. The sister, Waving Corn Stalk, being one of the Spirit Women, became associated with the bundle for the Old Grandmothers.

OLD WOMAN WHO NEVER DIES MYTH RELATED BY MRS. GOOD BEAR[9]

The Old Woman Who Never Dies formerly lived below the Cannonball River on an island in the ocean, and no one knew there was such a person living there until two young men, Black Medicine and Sweet Medicine, were out hunting. In their wandering, they came to an object on the ground resembling a large baloon. There was a spot on the ground where the ground was bubbling

9. For a closely related myth see Hidatsa myth concerning visit of two men to Old Woman Who Never Dies in my MS, "Hidatsa Ceremonial Life" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago). Also see Densmore, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–84, for a portion of this myth related by Ben Benson.

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up. These two hunters shot into it with their arrows, and a strong wind came out of it and blew them far out into the water onto an island. When the wind went down, the two brothers looked about and saw an earth lodge and many whitetail deer near by. The two men went to the earth lodge where they found the Old Woman Who Never Dies, and she was glad to see them. She asked how they got there, and the two brothers told of the big wind that had brought them there.

When they arrived at her lodge, she was making some corn mush, and her spoons were made of clam shells. She had no dishes, so she gave them the pot to eat from. They ate in turn. At first they thought the portion was too small and that there would not be enough, but they ate all they wanted and the pot still remained as full as before they began their meal.

After finishing their meal, they told the Old Woman that they were going out to kill some of the deer, and the Old Woman nodded her consent. They soon saw whitetail deer jumping up everywhere about them, killed two of them, and butchered them for her with their flint knives. They returned with the animals, and the Old Woman expressed her pleasure at their success. She asked them to leave the deer at the door, for she wanted to cut them up for drying and they did. As soon as the boys were inside she told the deer to jump up and run away and to tell all the other deer to stay away from the lodge for a while because the two brothers were good shots.

One day the grandmother told the young men to stay out of sight as it was getting late in the fall, and she was expecting visitors for the winter. The next morning when the waterbirds flew by, the boys saw the Corn Spirits flying to the door of the lodge in groups of two. The young men noticed that all were beautiful women. All were well mannered and timid. Each carried dried meat which was piled in a heap near the center of the lodge saying, "I have come from the northland with your messengers who have shown me the way. Take good care of me or I will die."

Grandmother said, "I will take good care of you and keep you until spring when my messengers go back to the northland for the summer. I will awaken you then and send you back to my people at the Heart River." Then each turned into an ear of seed corn; some were white, others yellow, red, blue, pink, black, or mixed color. She put them away according to their group. The young men saw what had happened and knew that this was the winter home of the Corn Spirits.

The boys stayed around for a while and became homesick; they knew of no way to get home, for they were on an island and everywhere they looked there was water. They thought of fastening logs together for a raft, but the Old Woman said that her grandfather (husband's father) would take them to land. They looked about, but they saw no man. She said, "That is all right; go to the shore this evening and say to the waters 'Grandfather,'[10] we want to go home in the morning.' "

The next morning the Old Woman arose early and made four large four-in-one corn balls. They were made of corn, sunflowers, squash, and beans ground together. She gave the two boys the corn balls for their journey would be tiring, since the distance was so great. When the two boys reached the lake shore, they saw a large snake on the water. This serpent had but one eye,

10. One's grandmother's grandfather, man or woman speaking, is also addressed as "Grandfather."

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which was in the middle of his head. This eye resembled a sunflower very closely except that at times lightning would flash forth. The snake was about thirty feet long and had two large horns resembling deer horns. The Old Woman told the boys to hang onto the horns, sitting on the head while traveling and their grandfather would take them across safely. When ready, the snake started and swam for a long time. When he grew fatigued, the boys gave him one of the corn balls, which refreshed him again. He became fatigued a second and a third time, and each time the two brothers fed him one of the corn balls. Just after giving him the fourth corn ball, the brothers saw land ahead, but the snake did not have strength to complete the journey. One of the brothers thought of some dried meat he had in his pockets and fed this to the snake so he was able to get them safely to the shore. They landed, and the snake disappeared. They thought he went back to the island, swimming under the water.

The two men traveled all day and failed to reach home. The second day they traveled until nearly evening when they saw something before them. Coming nearer, they saw that it was a large snake. It was so large they could not climb over and so long that they could not walk around it. They thought the best way would be to burn a hole through it, so they began to gather buffalo chips which they heaped against the snake. When the pile was as high as their heads, they lit the fire. Soon the snake was thoroughly cooked. One of the young men was foolish and suggested to the other that they eat some of the meat, but the wiser one said that it was wrong to do so. Nevertheless, the foolish one ate his fill, remarking to the other that the snake tasted like fish. Still the other would not be tempted.

After finishing his meal, they went through the opening burned in the snake and traveled until dark. They lay down on the prairie to sleep. In the morning the one who ate the snake said something was wrong with his feet. When he removed his moccasins he found that his feet were the same color as the snake's body. He was happy and said, "Now my girl will like me with my pretty feet." The wiser boy thought that something bad would surely come out of it all.

The third night they killed a deer, ate its ribs roasted before the fire, and went to sleep as soon as they had eaten. On awakening the next morning, he found the spots had extended until they were above his knees. The sensible brother was afraid, but the man with the spots thought nothing bad would come of it. The fourth night they camped as before and retired shortly after eating. In the morning the young man's entire body had turned into a snake with one eye just like the snake he had eaten of. His brother was very sad and did not know what to do. He cried aloud, and in a little while the snake spoke to him and said, "Take me down to the river." The other man could not carry him, so he was obliged to crawl. As they traveled toward the river, lightning from the snake's eye set the prairies afire. Finally, they reached the river opposite Birds Bill Butte which were just west of the Missouri River. In parting, the snake said, "My head will be up toward the mouth of the Yellowstone and my tail will be at the Birds Bill Butte. You can tell my people whenever they think about me, to make four corn balls, throw them into the waters, and then pray to me." (I have done this often. People who crossed the river often made these offerings so that the snake would protect them.)

The snake said, "I want you to get me a skunk cap. Make it look pretty.

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When you bring it to the river, tie it to one of the red willows and throw it into the water. I'll be there to receive it."

The young man made a cap as instructed and threw it into the river together with four corn balls. Afterward the young man became prominent in the tribe. He was successful in war and brought back many scalps. When he first came home, he told his friend's father and mother about their son so they would not grieve. The wise young man became the leader of the tribe and had more power than any of them. Every summer he would go down to the river and offer corn balls to his friend. He also told the tribe about his meeting with the Old Woman who was one of the Holy Women.

Years after this all happened, the Old Woman Who Never Dies moved up the river to Holding Eagles just across the river from Elbowoods, where she would spend the summers. The men on the warpath or out hunting found her there, but none seemed to know how she got there. They thought that she came north in spring with the summer birds. She liked buffalo paunch which she dried before preparing it as food. While she lived there, she had a large garden on the river bottoms just below her lodge. There she raised corn, squash, sunflowers, and beans in great quantities.

While she lived there, Sun and Moon, who lived above in the sky, came down to the earth. These two men, Sun and Moon, had a mother who was getting old and feeble.

Moon said to Sun, "Our mother is getting quite old. I think we should marry."

Sun said, "What kind of girl do you want to marry?"

Moon said, "I want to marry a girl from one of those Corn-sheller villages."

Sun said, "Do you like those women?"

"Yes," replied Moon, "they are good-looking women."

Sun said, "You are mistaken. The women have only one eye with wrinkles all over their faces whenever they look at me."

"Well," replied Moon, "what kind of woman do you want to marry?"

Sun said, "A Toad Woman. When they look at me they have such pretty blue eyes."

"Then," said Moon, "you marry a Toad Woman, and I'll get a Mandan girl for my wife."

It was time to marry. Moon came down to get his wife. There was a large summer village on a flat near the woods. Moon transformed himself into a porcupine and climbed up into a young cottonwood tree. Two Mandan girls came into the woods looking for firewood. They saw the porcupine and one said, "Let's get this porcupine." The younger one climbed into the tree. When she came to the porcupine, he went higher. This continued with the tree growing higher until they could see her no longer. Moon changed himself back to a human being and took the girl into his lodge. Juneberries were growing at the door. At the door of Sun's lodge red willows were growing.

Moon said to his mother, "Go out and get my wife." The old woman found the girl and brought her into the lodge.

Then Sun said to his mother, "Go out and get my wife."

The Old Woman went out and could not find anyone. Sun said, "Look under the brush." She looked under the brush and there she found a large toad. The toad hopped up to the door but could not quite jump over the step. She passed water at each jump. At last she got in the lodge.

The mother brought in the two girls and asked them what they wanted to

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eat. The Mandan girl wanted the thin part of the paunch, and the toad wanted the thick part. She cooked the paunch and some dried meat. She gave the thin part to the Mandan girl and the thick part to Toad Woman.

The Old Woman wanted to know which could eat the better and make the loudest crackling noise with her teeth. The Mandan girl had sharp teeth and could eat like a wolf. The toad had no teeth, so she tried to chew charcoal so as to make a noise. Everyone laughed at her. Moon laughed at her, and she became very angry. She jumped from the corner up onto Moon's breast and stuck there. Moon cut her away with his knife and threw her into the fire. Then she jumped on his back between his shoulder blades where he couldn't reach her. The Toad Woman said, "I shall stay here as long as I live." When we see the moon up in the sky, the black spot in the middle is that Toad Woman there still.

Moon had a son by the Mandan girl. The girl did not have much to do, so she went out digging wild turnips. One day she pulled up a large male turnip that has no bloom. In taking it out, she punched a hole through the ground and saw the earth down below where she had come from. Everything looked beautiful there, and then she knew where she belonged. She set about to find some means of getting down. She thought that if she had a long string she could get down to the earth. She told her son to ask his father to get all the sinews of a buffalo when on the hunt. The father wanted to know why his son wanted sinews. The Mandan girl said that they were to be used in her work. Moon went out hunting and brought back all the sinews of the buffalo except a little piece from the hip. Then she had a mouse fashion them into a long rope. However, she could only get to the top of the trees because the sinews from the hip had been left out. Moon came back from hunting and could not find his wife. He looked about for a long time. He finally remembered where his wife had been digging turnips. He found the turnip hole and saw his wife hanging down there on the end of the rope.

When Moon saw this, he looked down at her and said, "I will kill that woman."

He picked up a stone from above and sent it down, instructing it to kill the woman but to spare her son. The stone is still to be found near where Holding Eagles live. The stone hit the girl on the head, killed her, and knocked her down near the edge of Old Woman Who Never Dies' garden.

The Old Woman went out to her garden one day and saw the tracks of a little child. She wondered whether it was a boy or girl, so she made a ball of buffalo skin with a stick to hit it with and also a bow and arrows. She lay in the brush near by and watched. While she was there, a little child came walking that way. He picked up the bow and arrow. He shot at the ball.

After the Old Woman saw this, she knew it was a boy and caught him.She put his face against her breast and coddled him. Then she took him to her lodge and fed him corn mush. Her pot was full of mush which never could be completely consumed. The Old Woman told him that he should have a bow and arrows so that he could kill birds. She told him to take the juneberry branch down to the Short Missouri and say, "Grandfather, make me a bow and arrows."

Then she told him to leave it there and come back, adding, "You can scatter red corn around the fireplace so the blackbirds will come in and eat but don't kill any." The boy did as he was told. Many birds came into the lodge

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to eat, but he covered up the smokehole and, taking up a stick, killed many of them.

After he killed the blackbirds, the Old Woman came home. Grandson said, "Grandmother, see; I have killed all these blackbirds so they won't trouble your garden."

The Old Woman said, "All right," and shooed out the live birds before piling up the dead ones. Then the little boy was told to go down to the Short Missouri and get his arrows and bow. He ran down to the edge of the water and found his bow and arrows, which made him very happy.

Meanwhile, the Old Woman went off for a day. The boy learned that the Old Woman traveled up in the air even though she had no wings and could go anywhere she wanted to. After he got his bow and arrows, he was out hunting every day. He always went to the places where his grandmother told him not to go.

One day she said to him, "You keep away from those hills. Something there will get you."

The boy was very anxious to find out what was there, so he went to the hills. A large elk came out of the hills and ran toward the boy, intending to kill him, but the boy didn't run away. When the elk was near, the boy shot and killed him. Another elk came, and it was the doe.

The boy said, "Stop! I don't want to kill you because you are a doe."

She stopped, and he went up to her and pulled out her front teeth which then were very sharp. He threw away the sharp teeth so that the elk could not bite people. He replaced them with big beans so we have the blunt elk teeth of today. He then butchered the bull and brought the paunch in for his grandmother.

The next day he went out hunting again and went quite a long distance from his grandmother's lodge to the edge of the woods. A large bear came out after him. The little boy said, "Stop or I will kill you," so the bear stopped. In those days bears had very sharp teeth, but the little boy thought that they shouldn't have such teeth. He set to work with a stone and filed down the bear's teeth. He said to the bear, "Take me to my grandmother's lodge," and the bear did.

He called his grandmother and she came. "See here," he said, "I have a servant for you who is strong and can pack heavy loads."

The boy had also taken up some dirt and put in the bear's eyes. Since then the bears haven't been able to see as well as they used to. The grandmother was very surprised to see the boy on the bear's back. She said that she was very glad to have a big dog. After the little boy went into the house she told the bear to leave and turned him loose. The bear went back into the woods again.

The Old Woman had a bed surrounded by curtains of buffalo hide. It was made as they used to in those times. Once a day she would take corn mush in a wooden bowl and put it in the bed. After a while she would take out the plate and it would be empty. The boy noticed this and wondered who was in her bed. One day after the grandmother went away the boy opened the bed and found a snake which was the Old Woman's husband. He took his bow and arrow down and shot the snake. He took him down to the Short Missouri River and threw him into the water.

When the Old Woman came home, the boy told her about killing the snake and told her where he had put it. The Old Woman became afraid of him and suspected that he had greater power than ordinary people.

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In the morning she told him not to go into the bunch of box elders some distance from the lodge. When the grandmother went away, he went over there. He found two men there butchering a buffalo cow with a calf in it. The boy thought his grandmother would like the calf, so the men pulled out the buffalo calf and threw it toward the boy. He backed off and climbed into a tree to the very top. The men left the calf at the foot of the tree. They then picked up the rest of the buffalo meat and left.

After the men had been away some time they thought of the boy in the tree, and they went back. They took the boy down; he was thin. The calf was still under the tree. The two men told the boy that the old grandmother was their sweetheart but that she would not have them. They wanted her so they asked the boy to hurry and have the ceremonies so they could "walk" with the grandmother.

In the meanwhile she was looking for the boy because she thought that someone had killed him, but she went by the place without seeing him. The boy came home and told his grandmother what the men had said. She thought that she would find a way to get revenge for the way they had made the boy suffer those four days. She told the boy in advance that at the ceremonies there would be both good and poor bows.

She said, "Take the poorest one they have for that will be the oldest one. It will be the best one, for it can even shoot over a hill and kill things."

When the time came for the medicine doings, she prepared corn balls. They sent for the two men, who came also. Bows and arrows were brought. When the boy selected the old bow, the men said that the boy would be lucky. During the ceremonies, the two men "walked with the grandmother."[11]

The two men were about to return when the Old Woman said, "You caused my grandson to suffer for four days. Now, I am going to make you suffer, too." The men did not pay any attention to her and went away.

The winter set in hard and cold. The men made a good living hunting buffalo and elk until toward spring. The Old Woman said, "Now is the time."

Using her whistle, she caused a severe snowstorm to come. It snowed for four days. The men built a temporary shelter to protect their fire. Soon their wood was gone, and they had no more meat. They thought they would surely die. The grandson came and cried. Then the storm stopped.

Some time later the Old Woman said to her grandchild, "Don't go to that red hill over there."

The boy said he wouldn't, but still he had a desire to go there. Finally he went to the hill. The hill was covered with snakes. He reached their large circular den and went in. He sat on a flat rock in the middle of the den which was like the interior of an eagle-trapping lodge. They talked to him, and he told them stories until nearly daylight. He told them about his life. They went to sleep one at a time. Some of them tried to go under him but the flat rock prevented them. Finally, he said he would tell them a story, for all the snakes were drowsy by that time.

The snakes had poles for pillows. He got up after all were asleep. He took his knife out and cut their heads off. One small snake escaped. The boy chased the snake but could not get him as the snake went into his hole.

After he killed the snakes,[12] he remembered what his grandmother had told

11. This rite was to bring buffaloes near the villages.

12. See chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping" for ritualistic observances relating to this snake den.

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him about his family. Then he made up his mind to go home. He started home from the big den and did not return to his grandmother.

Finally he reached his mother's village at Heart River. He saw that his people were lean and starving. He said, "What is the matter?" At the same time a party was coming back with the meat. He saw white crows in the air crying, "Pas," causing the meat to turn bitter. The boy said, "I'll fix that."

As soon as the crows said the word, the meat became bitter and could not be eaten. The men then threw the meat away, and the crows ate it. The boy caught two birds, a male and a female. He painted them black and made them change their cry to "Ka." Since then the crows don't cry "Pas" any more.

After that no more meat spoiled. The people of the village did not know who the boy was, but they had heard that he was the grandchild of the Old Woman Who Never Dies.[13]

After he changed the crows' color, the people told him about another bad thing. It was about the dogs. The dogs could talk. They would tell stories to the men about their wives running out at night. They thought that it would be better for the dogs not to be able to talk.

In those days the dogs had mouths like humans. The boy took his knife out and slit their mouths from ear to ear. From then on the dogs could not talk.

After that he left the village and went to another one. When he got there, he found that the people had no mouths, although they had teeth. He walked among them and wondered how they ate enough to live. He saw that the people made very rich corn balls and smelled of them. That was how they lived. He asked them why they had no mouths. They replied that they did not know, for they had been that way all their lives, so he cut all their mouths open so they could eat.

When he was returning to the first village, it rained very hard, and he was wet. He sat on the ground. The little snake had always watched for his chance. He was sitting down when the little snake entered Grandson's body and went up into his entrails. He broke the boy's body in two and then went up into his head. He broke the head from the body and went into the skull. The head rolled down the hill and stopped upside down. There came a heavy rain and filled the skull with water. Then the sun shone very bright, and it became warm. The water warmed and almost came to a boil. This is how hot it was. The snake kept going in and out of the hole [foramen magnum]. Finally the skull caught the snake in the hole and squeezed him. The body came together, and the boy was as before.

In those days the snakes had long noses. The boy took up a rock and filed the nose until it was nearly all worn off. The snake said, "Stop! Otherwise, I'll have no nose."

The boy said, "You must never bite the people or bother them."

The snake agreed, saying, "There will be people with medicine to make the snakes harmless from now on."[14]

Then he went over to a little hole and said to the boy, "I won't do any harm to anyone unless he hurts me or tries to catch me." Then he went down his hole. Since then the rattlesnakes haven't bitten people unless disturbed.

The boy came back to the first village and became a great man and leader. He was able to make the buffaloes come close to the village whenever he

13. He is No'hąka Tawi'hąka of the Okipa ceremony.
14. This was the mythological basis for Snake-curing bundles.

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wanted to, so that the people always had meat. He had good luck on the battlefield and could bring rains for the crops. 773

Then he was married. Two sisters were brought to him by their father and mother. (This was the custom in olden times. The parents of children of marriageable age would bring them to some eligible man.) 539

The boy's grandmother is still living. The people downstream from the Knife River used to follow the river up to her place when on the warpath and eat corn with her. She would tell them now many people they would kill.

She became tired of this because they came too often, so she moved down the river about four miles, then up into the hills to the west where she disappeared. Since then she has been one of the Holy Women connected with corn. She must come back to Short Missouri, as people fasting there during the summer dream of her. Grandson went back to the sky and became one of the large stars.

CORN PIPE CEREMONY

This ceremony became extinct after ~~1837~~ and is remembered only from tradition. The principal article in its bundle was a sacred wooden pipe. The pipe was kept by Blue Snake Woman when her husband and children died during the smallpox epidemic. She surrendered the bundle to a daughter, who sold the pipe to Black Bear, who died a few years ago. The full bundle ritual was not performed after the smallpox epidemic, since those holding rights or acquainted with the ceremony had died. 796 778

The pipe was noted for its supernatural powers in producing winds. It was brought out when the days were warm and sultry to drive away the mosquitoes, so that women would not suffer from their bites while in the gardens. People were not permitted to climb on the lodge in which it was kept. If it was dropped or touched, the wind would blow. 778 821

According to tradition, a woman went to the Missouri River for water when the river was at flood stage. Driftwood was floating down. When she dipped up the water, she saw the pipe and an ear of yellow flint corn together in the water. She took the pipe and corn home and gave them to her husband, who called all the holy men to tell them of her discovery. They were afraid of the pipe because a high wind came up when one dropped it and did not want to keep it. They put it back in the water, thinking it would float on wherever it was going to. The woman found the pipe and corn four times at four different places where they camped. The holy men concluded that, since they had tried to get rid of it but it kept following them, it should be kept. They thought the corn should be divided among the families. In that way yellow flint corn was introduced in the tribe. 778 773

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the purchaser. He could receive instructions and rights in a limited number of fundamental rites to trap eagles without going into the entire lore belonging to the ceremony. He could then lead trapping expeditions to established trapping grounds, open the lodge, receive the birds brought in by the trappers, and send the spirits away. He could not, however, dig new pits, make offerings to the holy women, or perform the many other simple rites associated with these expeditions. He would not attract the best trappers on his expeditions, as informants stated that successful trappers preferred to go out with leaders who had special rites for all situations likely to arise.

Some bundle-owners took particular interest in the mythology and rites belonging to eagle-trapping to the extent that supplementary purchases were made. In time, these leaders became authorities on eagle-trapping and received popular recognition comparable to specialists in any other pursuit such as warfare or hunting. Whenever such an owner discovered that another had a sacred song or simple rite used in connection with eagle-trapping, a purchase could be made, regardless of the clan of the seller. In this manner new elements modified or supplemented the original bundle rites.

The rites were further modified by vision instructions. When Bear on the Flat received his bundle from his father, Belly Up, he was instructed not to permit anyone to touch the snake poles. Subsequently, Bear on the Flat received a vision from the snakes in which he was advised to permit his trappers to wipe their hands on the poles as the snakes' portion of the meal.

Every major ceremony, whether Mandan or Hidatsa, had a mythological origin, and, in this respect, eagle-trapping ceremonies occupied major bundle status. In theory, eagle-trapping was first employed by two classes of small bears, the small black bears that had their pits on the east side of the Missouri River and the small brown bears that trapped on the west bank. There were seven mythological eagle-trapping camps at which these small bears were accustomed to meet in autumn to catch the young black-tipped eagles (see Fig. 29).

The brown-bear camps were at: (1) Thunder Butte; (2) Knife River, near the present town of Golden Valley; and (3) Heart River Ravine, near the town of New Salem. The black-bear

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camps were at: (1) One Cottonwood Camp, at the mouth of the Yellowstone; (2) First Trapping Camp, the high ridge south of Sanish; (3) Buckbrush Trapping Camp, south of Shell Creek; and (4) High Butte Trapping Camp, southeast of Like-a-Fish-hook Village.

FIG. 29.—Mythological trapping camps of the Bears. *1*, One Cottonwood Camp; *2*, First Trapping Camp; *3*, Buckbrush Trapping Camp; *4*, High Butte Trapping Camp; *5*, Thunder Butte Trapping Camp; *6*, Sand Lodge Camp; *7*, Heart River Ravine Camp.

According to native belief, the small bears had trapped for a long time before the Indians received instruction in trapping. The theory of acquiring this supernatural knowledge conforms to the tribal pattern by which the world of the sacred is brought to the secular world through the medium of a hero. In this case, the hero was Black Wolf, who had been separated from a hunting party and was saved from starvation by a party of small black bears, then engaged in trapping eagles to the north of the

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796 villages on the east bank of the Missouri River. The method of
773 acquiring this sacred lore is characteristic of most Mandan-
776 Hidatsa bundles, but the particular spirits participating and the contributions made by each is characteristic solely of eagle-trapping. The chief spirit contributors were Old Black Bear, Coyote, Snake, Buffalo, Young Eagle, and Little Black Bear.

796 Old Black Bear taught Black Wolf these songs: (1) song to the
773 lodge (sung when building the lodge); (2) song to the sweat
776 lodge (sung when the sweat lodge was being built and when it was being used); (3) song to the bait; (4) song to the pit;
533 (5) song to the snare; (6) song to the goose; (7) song to the swan; (8) song to the little bear; and (9) song to the bear.

Coyote taught the following song:

My old one in autumn
here I go (come to) Your power is strong.

The snakes contributed a song to be used when making offerings to the snake poles, since they belonged in the ceremony because Grandson once visited the bears while the ceremony was in progress.[6]

Buffalo[7] asked to come along and he contributed this song:

Lodge we have come lodge they have come

The *ma-si* eagle taught this song:

Earth above I am walking
Earth on I am walking

773 Several versions of the origin of eagle-trapping were recorded
539 during this study, and they were all essentially alike. Ben Benson, who had secured his rights from Iron Eyes, his father, supplied the following origin myth of eagle-trapping.

EAGLE-TRAPPING MYTH (BLACK WOLF) RELATED BY BEN BENSON[8]

A long time ago the Mandan did not know how to catch eagles or how to do many of the things they learned to do in later years. In one of the villages

6. Cf. my manuscript on "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Life" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago), for myth of Grandson visiting the Snakes, which slept with their heads on two poles and on opposite sides of the fire in Red Butte; cf. also above for the myth of Grandson, son of the Moon, in chap. vi, on "The Corn Ceremonies."

7. A bundle containing a buffalo bull skull occupied major bundle status.

8. For other relations of this myth by Ben Benson see Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 64–69, and Martha

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there was a young man by the name of Black Wolf who never went far from home. He preferred to stay around camp where he could dress up in fine clothes and call on all the girls. The active young men who were always out away fom the village hunting and fighting the tribe's enemies did not like the way he spent his time with the girls of the village. One night he was sitting under the corn scaffold in front of a young girl's lodge when an old man, one of the announcers of the village, went from house to house calling the names of the best runners of the tribe. He asked that these young men go out in search of the buffalo herds.

When this man came near where Black Wolf was sitting, he arose and went to the man and said, "I want to go. Won't you call my name so I can go?"

The announcer replied, "We have only selected good runners who have a good reputation in the tribe." Black Wolf only asked that his girl might hear him and not because he really wanted to go out in search of the herds. The announcer said, "Young man, come to the lodge where we meet and tell when you want to go."

Black Wolf went to the lodge, and the young men decided to go out at once. Their village was Yellow Earth Village,[9] and they set out in a northerly direction. It was dark when they left. The others saw that Black Wolf was with them and did not like it, for he was always with their girls, and, besides, he did not know the country they were traveling through. One of the hunters said, "We'll give him a good run," so they ran two or three miles, then walked a short distance, after which they ran again. Since they were afoot, Black Wolf soon became tired and lagged far behind. A little before daybreak the leader of the hunters halted the party to sleep for a short time. Black Wolf went sound asleep, and, when he awoke, the others had gone on. "Let him sleep," they had said as they started out. The day was foggy, and Black Wolf did not know where to go, for he had never been so far from home before. He called to the others, but nobody replied. The fog lifted in the middle of the day, and he found that he was far to the north. He walked along and each time he came to a buffalo skull, he took off some of the fine clothes he had been wearing when he went to see the girls until he was naked. Each article of clothing he offered to the buffaloes. He came to some buckbrush and lay down in it looking up into the sky. While there a beautiful calumet eagle[10] came above him, and the boy thought of his father who often shot them. While he was watching the eagle, he saw it come down to the ground and light. Suddenly the eagle disappeared from sight and something black came out of the ground and walked away. He wanted to know what all this meant, so he walked over to the spot where the eagle was seen to disappear. He found an eagle pit with a dim trail leading away from it. He followed the trail leading away from the ravine to a spring of clear water, near which he saw a round grass lodge. The

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Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 206–14. The latter work also includes a version of the myth related by Bears Arm (below, Appendix IV). Another version of the myth by Wolf Chief is reported by George H. Pepper and Gilbert L. Wilson, *An Hidatsa Shrine and the Beliefs Respecting It* ("Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association," Vol. II [1907–15]), pp. 306–18.

9. One of the east-side villages north of Bismarck known today as the Bourgeois or Double Ditch site.

10. The eagle with white tail feathers and black tips.

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lodge had been made by sticking green poles in the ground in the form of a circle and bending them over at the top so that the lodge was like half a ball. Each pole was less than half the length of a man's foot apart, and the spaces between were filled with grass so that from the outside only the grass could be seen.[11]

On reaching the grass lodge, he saw eagle tail feathers hanging everywhere about the outside of the lodge. Inside he heard someone moving, and then a voice said, "You should bring the firewood."

Someone came out and saw Black Wolf standing there. He went inside and said, "Black Wolf is out there."

Another voice said, "Tell him to come in."

Someone came to the door and said, "Come in."

There was a little fellow in there, and he said, "Sit beside your younger brother." They cooked tender fat meat, and there was plenty of fresh water and dried meat, so that all had enough to eat. There were many people there, and they lived chiefly on young eagles. These people were the little bears. The black ones belonged on the left side and the brown ones on the right.[12]

Next morning someone called, "There is a good wind; the wind is from the right direction."

The little boy dressed and said, "I must go out catching eagles." All the others in the house left, leaving Black Wolf alone all day. When evening came, the little boy returned with an eagle.

Black Wolf said, "Younger brother, I want to go with you next time; it is too lonesome here alone."

The little boy said he would ask his father. The father said, "You may go with him, but you should be very careful."

Next morning they went out, and Black Wolf went with them. The little boy and Black Wolf both climbed into the pit. Black Wolf said, "Younger brother, when the eagles come, let me catch one."

He replied, "That is what father meant when he said for you to be careful. You must be very quick."

The little boy had been catching them by sticking his hand out as bait, and, when the eagle came down, he had been seizing it with the other hand. "This time you better be quick," the little boy warned, "for my hand is out." A bald-headed eagle was coming down; they are hard to catch. Before Black Wolf caught the eagle, it had stuck its claws through the little boy's wrists. Black Wolf pulled the eagle into the pit and took the claws out of the little boy's hand, but the pain was so severe that he cried and went home. Black Wolf walked right behind him, crying too, he felt so sorry for his little brother.

As they walked, Black Wolf saw a pretty leaf and dug to the roots of the plant to get the black sweet roots to chew and put on the wounds, thinking it might help the boy's hand. This root was Black Medicine.[13] He put the root which he chewed up onto the boy's hand, and it felt better immediately. The

11. This type lodge appears frequently in Mandan mythology, but there is no record of its use in any of the recorded expeditions.

12. This represents the mythological distribution of trapping sites with the Black Bears on the east bank of the Missouri River and the Brown Bears on the right bank.

13. The introduction of Black Medicine to the ceremony illustrates native belief of the development of a ceremony. Even ceremonial founders draw elements from other sources.

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little boy was happy to be relieved of the pain, and the father inquired of Black Wolf where he found the material, for he wanted to gather some to keep near in case eagles should seize anyone again.

In a few days the little boy's hand was well again. Black Wolf was sitting on top of a hill when the little boy came to him and asked why he was sitting there alone. Black Wolf said, "I am lonesome for my people. At this time of day we had such good times at Yellow Earth Village. I am homesick."

The little boy promised to speak to his father about it. The father said he could go any time he wished, and the boy came back with the news to Black Wolf.

"If father asks you when you want to go, say 'Now,' for 'Tomorrow' means one year from now." The father said he could go in the morning.

Early in the morning the three awakened and dressed. After eating, the father said, "You two boys go out to the side of the lodge and pick the best feathers you can find there." The boys found many good eagle feathers and soon had a bag full of them. The father asked that two bunches of sage he brought and divided into two equal piles and he gave each pile to Black Wolf. He said, "Go south until you come to the highest place. Go up there and put one bunch of sage on the ground and step on it; put the other bunch one step ahead, and step on that, reaching back for the bunch behind you. Step that way four times, and the fourth time you will look ahead of you and see your village."

Black Wolf went south toward the highest hill, where he put the sage down as he had been directed and stepped ahead four times. When he looked up, he was near home, and the sun was just going down. He thought he would stay outside the village until it was dark and then go in.

The old man eagle-trapper had told Black Wolf that, when he arrived home, the chief would bring his two daughters to him to take as his wives. "When you are married to them, come over and see us. Bring one wife.[14] Go a little ways from camp and step on the sage just as I told you, and you will be here at once."

The little brother had said to him after they went to bed the last night, "My father says you will come back. When you come here cry, 'My father, I want a stuffed animal' and keep saying that over and over." The father had heard them talking and asked them to be quiet and go to sleep, but the little boy said that they were only talking about the brother's trip home the next day.

After dark Black Wolf went into the village and walked to his father's lodge, which he found closed. He called, "Father, I am home."

The man said, "Who can that be talking?" The boy had been away so long that he had been nearly forgotten. The father opened the door, saw Black Wolf, put his arms around his boy's neck and fainted. The mother come to the door, saw her son, and fainted also. Soon the parents regained their senses. A bright fire was built up and the boy put the package down. In the meanwhile, the father went through the village calling, "My son whom we thought dead is home." They opened the package and found many fine eagle tail feathers in it. The chief's son was there and saw all the fine feathers. He went home at once and told his father about it, for the young man had longed for a fan made of eagle feathers.

14. This would be the older wife, as she was first to partake in the ceremonies.

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The chief said, "If you want a fan, it is best that you let your sisters marry the man."

The young son replied, "You can attend to that better yourself."

The chief ordered his wives to cook some of the best dried meat and corn before inviting Black Wolf in. The two daughters had a bed decorated with porcupine quill flaps.

The chief said, "Sit down there beside your wives. Now get out one of those robes for him to wear." The girls brought out a beautiful white buffalo robe decorated on the skin side with purcupine quills.

Black Wolf thanked them and said, "I am going to take this robe to my other father," and they knew then that he had some other spirits, holy people, somewhere.

Black Wolf walked out on top of the lodge and called, "My fathers, the Northern Black Bears, I have a beautiful white robe here for your bedding." His own father heard all about it and went to his own lodge where he inquired of his wife the number of tanned buffalo robes on hand. The wife thought there were thirty-five or forty. The husband said that he wished to use them. He also asked his parents[15] to furnish robes until, in all, he had a pile of nearly one hundred robes. He invited his son to eat with him and invited all the important men of the village to be there. Then he presented all the robes to the young son, who went onto the roof and offered them to his "spirit" father.

Before leaving Black Bear's lodge, the little boy had said, "When you come back, bring a large corn ball and a wooden medicine pipe filled with tobacco. When you get to the door keep crying, 'I want a stuffed animal.' Keep crying until he lets you in. Let your wife go in first and stand before him. If he says you get a stuffed animal, that is all there is to it."

Black Wolf said to his oldest wife, "We go to the north in four days." When the four days were up, they started. The wife had a corn ball made of four-in-one [corn, beans, sunflowers, and squash]. She carried the corn ball, and he had the pipe. When they reached the highest hill, he gathered four bunches of sage, giving two to his wife and keeping two for himself. He told her the way she should step from one to the other four times. Soon they were before the grass lodge, but the sun was setting so they had traveled all day.

He began to cry, "I want a stuffed animal," repeating it over and over until the old man inside said, "You shall have it." Black Wolf sent his wife in ahead, telling her to stand before the old man. He carried in the corn ball and pipe and put them before the old man.

The old man said, "Sit down. We will fix this up some time later." Black Wolf sat beside the one he called younger brother. The old man took the corn ball and pipe. The pipe was passed around three times before it was lit. Then the little boy said he would light it and eat the corn ball. He broke the corn ball in two, kept half and gave the other half to the others.

They smoked and food was cooked for them to eat. At last the old man said, "You will go home in the morning. After four days at home you must make a sweat lodge of sticks with a pit in the center. Have rocks and water at hand and find an old tepee cover to go over the framework of sticks. All those you see in this lodge will be there. I will tell you what you have to do in the future. Have plenty of food ready. The robes you have prepared must be hung beside the sweat lodge. Before you go home, take your little brother over the

15. Parents also included all men of the father's clan and their wives.

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hills and tickle him; he will go to sleep at once. You want a stuffed animal. After the boy has gone to sleep, skin out his hind legs and pull the skin over his head but do not cut any of the bones. Stuff the skin and bring it here and put it before me where I am sitting." 773 539

He did as he was told. Then he returned to his own village with his wife and the little boy.

Black Wolf began to prepare for Old Black Bear's visit. Everything was in readiness just as directed by the Bears. Just before the Bears started, Coyote, the First Creator, came to the Bears and said, "My friends, you aren't going to leave me, are you? You can't leave without me. I will be the one to teach the people how to kill the enemy and strike the coups."

"All right, we'll take you and you can walk with our son's [Black Wolf's] wives.

A large grizzly bear came and said, "Why can't I go along? I can do a lot of work in those ceremonies. I will be the waiter."

Then the buffalo bull came and he said, "I will let buffaloes out around the village. I must go because I will be useful to the people over there."

The snakes, the eagles, and the coyotes wanted to go, and Old Black Bear agreed to take them all.

Just before starting, Old Black Bear said, "We will fix up something for our son, Black Wolf." All were ready to go and just outside the grass lodge Old Black Bear sang a song, and all the others knew it and sang it with him. While they were singing the song, Black Wolf far away heard it and knew that the Old Black Bears were coming.

It didn't take them long to get there. They stopped once and sang the song, went a ways farther and sang again, then still farther and sang. The fourth time they were at the village. Black Wolf saw them and came out with his wife, carrying a large corn ball and the wooden pipe filled with tobacco. He put the corn ball and pipe before the Old Black Bear. Old Black Bear picked up the corn ball and pipe, and returned it to Black Wolf. The party presented Black Wolf with a buffalo skull, and his wife walked[16] with it toward their lodge, the others walking behind. She also had the stuffed animal which represented the little brother, and Old Black Bear gave them two green poles representing the Snakes which always went with the birds.

Meanwhile the sweat lodge was ready and the rocks heated. Old Black Bear said, "My son, watch everything we do. We are tired so we must go in the sweat." The animals put the rocks in and went inside. Black Wolf, from the outside, listened to the song the animals sang in the sweat, which was the sweat-lodge song.

Those are medicine	take of them	a part (portion)
take of them	they are holy	

All this meant that Black Wolf and Little Boy had trapped for eagles, and the little boy had hurt his hand. Black Wolf had taken the medicine of the Black Medicine to cure the wounds. It was of this root that the animals were singing.

When they finished the song, they prayed to the animals, and, after pouring water on themselves, came out and said to Black Wolf, "You see how we

16. This act made the woman daughter-in-law to the buffaloes.

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fixed the sweat lodge; when we come out, we are not tired. You can doctor[17] and cure people with the sweat-lodge baths." This was the first sweat lodge, and this story tells how the first sweat lodges came to the Mandan.

After the animals came out of the sweat lodge, they sat down in a circle while Old Black Bear instructed Black Wolf in the technique of catching eagles. Old Black Bear said, "My son can catch eagles from the top of his lodge or he can go out on the prairies. It is better to go out on the prairies; there dig a hole on the side or top of the hill. The hole should be so deep that when you sit up your head will just reach the top of the pit. The pit must be long enough to allow you to stretch out in, and you must face to the west, where the eagles come from in the fall of the year." Then Old Black Bear gave Black Wolf the ritual to follow and the restrictions necessary to catch the birds. First Creator was there and taught Black Wolf how to use the Little Black Bear when on the hunt or warpath.

Old Black Bear gave Black Wolf instructions in the use of fish traps, how the corral of willows should be tied, which baits to use, and the depth in the water to set the trap. When making the trap, Little Black Bear [stuffed animal] should be kept at home in a bed of robes and calicoes with his face to the fireplace. He taught the use of the snare for corraling buffaloes.

When Old Black Bear was giving the instructions to Black Wolf, he had said, "Take good care of your little brother; give him corn balls and corn mush every day."

One day Black Wolf's mother-in-law, while making mush for Little Black Bear, burned her hands and was very angry. She said, "Every day I cook for that sharp-nosed bear, and what good does it do?" Little Black Bear heard and cried because the remarks hurt his feelings. She brought the mush to Little Black Bear and set it before him. In the evening Black Wolf came in and walked right up to his little brother. He saw the tears in his younger brother's eyes and noticed that the little fellow had not eaten the food set before him. Black Wolf inquired why he had not eaten the food, and Little Black Bear replied, "I am angry. Mother-in-law is cross with me and she called me 'sharp-nose.' I am going back to my people, the Black Bear people."

Black Wolf sat down beside him and begged him to stay. "I don't say bad things about you, neither do my wives, so why be angry."

Little Black Bear said, "I will stay if you stay all night with me without sleeping." Black Wolf agreed to the proposition and asked his wives to make up a big feast, for he was inviting all the old men to spend the night with him and Little Black Bear. The old people were glad to sit up all night with him. They sat up all night until nearly morning, when Little Black Bear extended the night another night's length. Still they stayed until it was nearly morning, when Little Black Bear extended the night another night's length. He did this three times. The fourth time the old people all lay sleeping except Black Wolf, who was sitting up sleeping by that time. Seeing that his brother was sleeping, Little Black Bear got up, and quietly returned home to the Black Bears in the north. Black Wolf woke up and saw his brother in his usual place and spoke to him. Little Black Bear did not answer, for his soul or spirit had gone back even though the body remained there.

When Little Black Bear reached home, his father asked why he had returned, and Little Black Bear replied, "She called me names. I left my body,

17. The bears were believed to be the greatest doctors.

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and the power is still [illegible]h it. They can still use me in catching the eagles, but I will not ha[illegible]ve where I am insulted." 539

The following narrative by Wolf Chief was a part of both his father's and his father-in-law's bundles and comes from the Mandan. The division of the bears into two groups representing two sides of the Missouri River is symbolic of the moiety division of the tribe into an east-side and a west-side seating arrangement for council meetings and the Okipa ceremony. The myth expresses the potency of the snare and gives the traditional origin of a number of songs and rites. 778 773 539

EAGLE-TRAPPING MYTH (BLACK AND BROWN BEARS) RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[18]

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In the beginning all the Black Bears were said to be living on the north side of the earth, while on the south side were the small Brown Bears. All the bears on the left side of the river, from the Yellowstone and beyond, even down to Knife River, belonged to the Black Bears. The Brown Bears on the right side of the river would know ahead of time the main trails of the eagles and get there ahead of the others from the left bank. There was a place called One Cottonwood Camp, where the Yellowstone runs into the Missouri River. When the birds traveled, they always came through that country. At that time the Black Bears were catching young eagles there and would eat them, for they were tender. They caught only that kind, for they liked to eat them.

Brown Bear called himself the real spirit. He had so much power that he did not have to use bait but could use his own hands to catch them. He selected his place called Thunder Butte where he went to catch the birds by hand. One of the Brown Bears had selected his place, at the Knife River south of the town of Golden Valley where the brush runs to the east, to catch only black tips. He called it Sand Lodge from the sand stones around there. There was another place at Heart River called Heart River Ravine.

On the north side the Black Bears had a trapping place called First Trapping Camp, the highest butte just below Sanish. (The Hidatsa Four Bears used to trap there.) Another place was at Buckbrush Trapping Camp, the flat west of the Mormon church just below Shell Creek. They put up a trap there, for they saw many eagles. The pits were in the hills at The Slides and to the north; another trapping place was below Fishhook to the east on the high banks, and they called it High Butte Trapping Camp. We do not know if it was Sandy Lodge, Thunder Butte, or One Cottonwood that he had his lodge close to.

Brown Bear had a lodge in one of these places. He lost his little boy from one of these lodges. When he disappeared, they looked all over. It was foggy, and they could not see a long distance or find his tracks. After a while they learned that the eagles had hidden the boy. They went far away looking, but it was foggy all the time until they came to the Heart River east of Dickinson. There they thought they had discovered his tracks along the edge of the

18. For portions of this myth, also related by Wolf Chief, see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX, Part IV [1929]), pp. 156 and 214–16.

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creek. They thought according to the tracks that he was going to Rainy Buttes; sometimes the tracks were plain, other times dim. The father thought when he came near the butte that they were hiding his son inside the butte. Before reaching the Rainy Buttes, the tracks disappeared. They looked all the way around the butte, and his father said, "I am sure that they must have taken him inside of this butte; I am going to cut this butte down and destroy it. I am going to use my snare to put around it and pull the butte to pieces to see if we can find him inside." Before putting the snare around the butte, he sang a holy song:

Acira Acira goes toward the butte.

Then he put the snare (calls it medicine robe) around the butte and pulled. He caved off about half of the butte, but he did not have the power to tear it all down. Still he did not find him in there. He went all over the earth looking around, but still the boy could not be found. At last the boy had been gone for a year, and the parents were very sad. They came back to their camp, and the fog still covered the sky, sometimes clearing slightly and then darkening. All this time Brown Bear's boy was trying to clear the fog, but he was not powerful enough. At this time the young one was alone. The fog was beginning to break, and he could see far. The leaves were taking on color; he remembered his father and mother and knew that it was at this time of the year that his father and mother had a good time. He remembered himself and could tell where he came from, and he knew the location of the camp. As soon as he recognized the place, he sang his holy song while walking toward his home.

I will come to that hill.

Then he came to the hill. He saw timber ahead. He sang:

I will reach that big timber.

He was there at once. He saw the Missouri River.

I will reach that river.

He was there. Then he saw a road and he sang:

I will reach that road.

He was there. Then he saw the door and he sang:

I will reach that door.

He was there at once.

The father was feeling sad about it and was going to do something to the birds for punishment. He went to Eagle Butte and went into a pit. He would spit on his hand and hold it out. The eagles would come down, and he would seize them. Sometimes the eagles would fly up nearly to the sky, and then he would hold up his holy snare. Then the eagles would come right down. After that all these places were good ones to catch eagles. The Brown Bears would have a lodge. One with a son had more power than the others. He would take out his snare, and that would draw the birds down. They would say that he was the most powerful one in the lodge.

They were supposed to leave for the traps when the leaves began to change color. The Brown Bears had one lodge. The youngest one wanted to go trapping, but the father said that he was too young. Still he insisted that he knew the holy songs and their order, so he went out without the father's permission. He was in a hole watching the eagles, and while there he went to sleep. The

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eagles picked him up and took him away. All that time on the eagles' side there was a leader who said when he picked up the little bear, "He is sleeping down there; this is a good chance to take him away." This bird was a large one, the largest of the birds. The little brown bear's father wondered what had become of him and went out the second day to see. When he came to the pit, he saw from the signs that the birds had picked him up and carried him into the sky. When he learned this, he came back and was very sad. He thought that he would catch the leader among the birds, the one who caused his son to be caught. He made plans at once to catch the bird. At his lodge there were five of these small brown bears, but one was the leader.

The old one said, "I will try to catch that big bird, for that is the one who took the boy above. I think that bird will come along about tomorrow or the next day." The leader of the Brown Bears stood up and said, "That big bird has started already," and when he went outside he sang:

Where I have my trap it is already; catch the one I want to.[19]

He said to the older bears, "I will go out repeating that song on the way to the pit. When I bring that bird in, you repeat that song, take the bird, and throw it to the head of the lodge as hard as you can."[20] He went into the hole, and soon the big bird was in the air above him. He pretended to be asleep, and the bird came down. He picked up his snare and sang the holy songs. When the bird was near, he threw his snare up, caught the bird by the legs, and pulled him down. When he caught the bird, it began to beg saying, "Save my life."

Brown Bear said, "No, I am going to sit on you," meaning that he was going to eat the bird. He tied the bird up and carried him home. When he was near the lodge he cried:

I am trapping. I am holy. I know I am
I am trapping. I have caught him
I am trapping. Now I know I am going to eat.

He came back to the lodge and gave the bird to the others to seize and throw as hard as they could to the head of the lodge. All that time the bird was begging them not to kill him, but the bear who caught the bird said, "Do not listen to him but get that clay pot ready to put in the fire for we will eat him."

The bears were singing while they were getting ready. They sang:

Put that pot in the fire. We will eat.
Take your knife out and get ready. We will eat.

The bird said, "I will be with you and be a great help in the future. I know that you have much power, for I can see that. If you have my help, you will have still more power."

They sang:

Acira [Small Brown Bear] your pot moves toward the fire.
Your pot is already in the fire.
Acira your pot is boiling.
Acira your pot is nearly red hot.
Acira your pot is boiling.

19. Song of the pit.
20. This explains the practice of throwing the birds violently to the head of the lodge.

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At this time they decided to sing their holy song which was the Knife Song to be used when butchering the bird. The bird jumped up again and promised that he would be among them forever and that he would help them along, too, and give them success in the future in whatever they should do. They asked of the bird, "How would you help us?"

The bird said, "You will call me Acira's sister; you will pick up any kind of stick and tie a small offering of leather to it, and that will be myself. When you want to get more eagles, you can say a prayer to me, and you will succeed, for I am the leader of these birds. This will go on forever, but, if you kill me, you will eat me up, and then you will have nothing to show. It may be in the future that some woman will have monthlies. The eagles are afraid of them then. There is a holy song[21] that I will teach you, and, if there is such a woman, you will have it to protect you. Then you will not have bad luck but get good luck from the eagles."

They said to the bird, "We will take your word for it, but we will give you orders that in the future you must not claw the humans, for if you do, we will get rid of you and kill all of you."

They said among themselves, "We will let the bird go, but we will put the snare around its neck with black medicine. If he disobeys what we say, having the snare around his neck, we have a chance to sit on him [eat him] again."

The leader said to the bird, "Remember what we said and do not scratch any of the people, for we are going to trap for a long time in the future. We do not want any trouble from you."

This was kept up for a long time until a few years ago.

Even in my time if some woman with monthlies did not report it, the tail feathers were poor.

On the east side at The Slides, in the brush, there were about thirty black bears who had trapping places on the high hills from Lucky Mound to Joe Black Bear's home today. They had another pit in the buckbrush west of where the church is, for they saw many eagle feathers around there and thought it would be a good thing to have a trap. This pit near the buckbrush was the best of all, and they decided that, instead of using them all, they would take turns at that pit; the first man caught five eagles and the others stayed on the butte to watch. Eagles would fly over there and then disappear in the ground. Five birds would be caught there nearly every day. They used the pit for two years and hardly used the others at all, for so few birds were caught in them. They came back to try the trap again and did not succeed, so they thought that someone had spoiled it. All the time they were cleansing themselves, and then they went to the pit to see what was the matter. They cleaned out the pit and found a flint knife in it and knew at once that the bad luck was caused by the knife. The leader cleaned the pit, but still they did not succeed. They watched the sky and saw that the birds would go into the air and fly around, then go away. Even the others were having bad luck. After catching only two eagles, they decided to give up. They do not know who spoiled the pit. After all the acira had gone away the people had pits there, and they never learned why the pit was not as good as formerly.

I never heard what became of the little boy.

21. Song for menstruating woman. See the account of Bears Arm, below, Appendix IV.

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Big Cloud's bundle was not complete; Iron Eyes had a main one.[22] Small Ankles would put up the lodge and put the snake pole in with the buffalo skull. He tied it into place with dark sage. I heard that once Old Woman's Grandson came in so they had the two poles brought in at that time to represent the snake.[23] 539

With respect to inheritance of trapping rights, rather marked differences exist between the Hidatsa and the Mandan. The former employed exclusively transfer from father to son or from individuals standing in the father-son relationship. Not a single instance of variation from the rule was observed except in the instance of Big Cloud's two sales to Wolf Eyes and Small Ankles. No doubt that exception can be traced to the circumstance that, though belonging to the Hidatsa Water-buster clan, Big Cloud lived in one of the Mandan villages with his Mandan father and Hidatsa mother. Hidatsa sales of trapping rights followed the normal pattern of bundle transfer from father to son, with a clan brother of the seller acting as sponsor to give instruction and prepare the bundle. Frequently a purchaser's brothers assisted in a joint purchase, taking possession upon death of the brother, but the next transfer would be to the son of original purchaser or his brother's son. 778 223 171 425

The small village of Awaxawi apparently had been strongly influenced by the Mandan, and clan inheritance was followed if the two bundles purchased just after the smallpox of 1837 were characteristic of all bundles formerly in the village prior to that epidemic.

Mandan inheritance of eagle-trapping bundles was affected by numerous factors. Except for the last generation in which it was from father to son, or other individuals standing in that relationship, inheritance was generally from one standing in the relationship of *pta'wadato'dE*, a special kinship term for the mother's brother and the mother's mother's brother. In tracing back inheritance of Mandan eagle-trapping bundles, one is impressed by a sudden change within a single generation to the Hidatsa pattern of purchasing from the father. 778 425 171

Iron Eyes' bundle had belonged in the WaxikEna clan for several generations. He purchased from his mother's brother before the Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook 423 223 778 425

22. He means the principal bundle.
23. See the myth of Old Woman Who Never Dies, chap. vi, above.

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head. If you drowse, you will roll off of it, and in that way the rock won't let you go to sleep.

When earth is taken from the four corners of the pit, a prayer is spoken assuring you that everything harmful to the human body or spirit has been removed. Persons going into pits can't scratch themselves or the birds will have poor feathers. They will be old birds and covered with insects.

When Black Bear was on the earth, he ate birds and everything else he could catch. One day he was in the pits when he heard a thundering noise. This noise recurred for three days. On the fourth day a large rock fell on him. While he was unconscious, Buffalo packed him off to the north where the old bears lived. Father of Black Bear was there after the boy was taken north. Buffalo was at the head of the lodge alive. The father of the Black Bear set fire to the lodge. As Buffalo was coming out, Old Black Bear caught Buffalo long enough to singe him from the chest down; that is why the hair is long on the buffalo's back but short on the chest; that is also why the buffalo skull is placed at the head of the lodge, for he is lucky and will bring good luck.

Crows Heart represents the Black Bear Cub who once packed an earthenware vessel on his back and wandered aimlessly about in the neighborhood of the Heart River. There he was met by two Mandans, called the Two Men, on the high ridge six miles south of Bismarck and nearly opposite the Huff site. One of the Two Men was foolish; the other was wise. The foolish one asked of Black Bear Cub, "What do you eat? You carry that pot on your back for nothing."

Cub said, "I have plenty of food, and I can cook my meal any time I want to."

Saying that, he spit on his left arm and sang a sacred song. They heard a sound in the skies, the noise made by an eagle coming down to perch on Cub's uplifted arm. When it lit, Cub strangled it with the hemp rope which he put over the bird's head. Then he began to pull out the feathers. After that he packed the meat into the kettle. Although the kettle was small, he was able to pack it all in. When the meat was ready, he placed four bunches of sage in the form of a square around the pot, singing this song:

> Water flow into the kettle.
> Fire burn round the kettle.
> Kettle boil.

Everything took place simultaneously with the uttering of the words. The fourth song said:

> This kettle is sacred.

And his meal was cooked. In this manner he got a meal from little effort.

The Two Men thought they should live leisurely also, so they stole the kettle and ran away to hide in all the prominent hills with names. Every time they went into one of the hills, Cub would come with his rope and pull the hill down. Then the occupants of the hill would drive the Two Men out. So they went from hill to hill, the Killdeer Mountains, Thunder Buttes [south of Sanish], Eagle Buttes, Birds Bill Butte, and then to Dog Den Butte where the hills now lean. Dog Den Butte was the home of many gods and was considered very holy. The Two Men fortified themselves there. Cub came with his rope, which he threw around the hill, and pulled on the hill.

The Two Men, having no other place to go, gave themselves up. Cub was going to kill them, but they said they would be his servants and do his hunt-

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ing. On the eagle-trapping expeditions these two men supplied the meat for the camp. This party being small, only Crows Heart has that office. He should sleep opposite the Old Black Bear. 223 773

You should be tortured and cry for the birds to have good luck.

KINDS OF BIRDS

1. Bald-headed Eagle. White head and white tail. Parent to speckled eagle. 223
2. Speckled Eagle. 825
3. Spotted-barred tail. Body is black.
4. White tail with black tip. Known as the calumet eagle.
5. "Half of each feather good, half bad."
6. "Black but has white tails"; head is white; is a hawk.
7. I'pamasina.
8. Chicken hawk. Tails barred black and light brown.
9. Goose.
10. One of the smaller geese.

The twelve sticks on the altar represent the twelve tail feathers but also represent the ten birds listed above. 223

When in the pit one must not smoke. When you get in, even up the grass and while you are away from the pit hide the poles put on top to keep grass from blowing.

When tying the bait, be sure to put it close enough so that you can reach the bird. You will get a wooden pin from the leader to stick into the wall for the snare to hang onto. When catching an eagle, grab one foot first; then the bird will pull away from the pit; get a hold of the other foot and hold both feet with one hand; then fold its wings over and choke it with the snare.

The second day in camp was usually spent digging new pits or cleaning out those previously used. The walls of old pits were often broken in. Care was taken to remove all the earth in baskets or robes to a place where the birds would not see it or the people walk on it.[32] The pits should be deep enough for the trapper to sit upright in but not quite long enough to stretch out full length in. Most trappers had their pits on the tops of hills near the northwest edge, but it was believed that the best pits were those on the northwest slope, about three rods from the top of the hill, so situated that there was an open view for many miles westward. Birds approaching from that direction while still flying high in the air could see the bait.

In alighting, they would fly beyond the summit of the hill and turn back to light, facing into the west wind. It was difficult to find a good natural location. Should the pit be too near the rim, the birds lit too far back and were likely to sense danger while walking up to the bait. On the other hand, pits located too far

32. This was done because the pit was sacred.

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ing of trappers was performed the evening that the pits were completed. 796 223

Ordinarily when a party was composed of advanced middle-aged men, none were tortured, except on occasions when the birds would not stop, or when the winds continued from the wrong direction, there would be fasters on the hills crying during the night. If bad luck continued, then some would offer their bodies for torture and even cut off a piece of finger as an offering to the birds. In historic times there seems to have been somewhat more emphasis of the torture feature when eagle-trapping by the Mandan than the Hidatsa. Since we know from historic accounts[35] that the torture feature was highly developed with the Mandan, it appears that there occurred a transfer from village to nonvillage rites, the latter taking place when on hunting, eagle-trapping, and war expeditions. 785

Someone was selected, generally one of the waiters, to go out before daylight to determine the direction of the wind. The wind must be from a westerly direction, or it was believed that the birds were not traveling. Crows Heart explained that the calumet eagles nested in the Rocky Mountains and that the pits were located along the migration route to their wintering grounds to the southeast.[36] A piece of soft hide tied to the top of a pole placed on a high hill within view of the camp was employed to indicate the direction of the wind. If favorable winds were blowing, the leader was notified. He ordered all the trappers to prepare for trapping. None was allowed to eat before going out to the pits, as trapping was considered a form of ceremonial "suffering for the birds." Each trapper left shortly after daybreak for his pit, carrying his bait, a ceremonial fiber snare painted red with a piece of Black Medicine attached to it, and several leather snares. The bait was tied to two stakes driven into the ground four inches from the west edge of the pit. A shallow 223 [825]

35. See Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIII (Cleveland, 1906), 331–33, 377–78; cf. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 265–75.

36. Benson explained that the southland was the meeting place in winter of many creatures considered holy. Among these he included the thunderbirds, eagles, hawks, ducks, geese, cranes, herons, as well as the spirits of the corn and other garden products. This meeting place was an island where Old Woman Who Never Dies lived in her large earth lodge with four large snakes living in the water surrounding her island as her helpers. 825 773

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796 over from the women's camp. Afterward the trapper smoked. Each trapper, after eating, discussed happenings at the pit, and, 223 from the information thus supplied, the leader offered suggestions for increasing the catch. When birds circled the bait but would not come down, it was suggested that raw meat be used. Sometimes the birds flew by without appearing to see the bait, and decoys were recommended.

223 The leader did not have a pit for his own use but remained in camp. However, if the wind was from the wrong direction in the morning and the men were out hunting game, he could go into any of the pits should the wind change to the west.

223 Evenings were spent in storytelling. The leader would acquaint the trappers with the myths associated with eagle-trap- 773 ping. There were many of these myths, and a good leader would 538 be able to consume every evening for the usual four weeks in camp without exhausting his stock. Each was related in great detail with endless repetitions. Some of the longer myths consumed four nights in telling; others were short and could be related in one night. All were expected to listen attentively while seated on a buffalo robe. Those who nodded were pinched with the bird stick. An example of the stories told is given in the Appendix.

223 The position of women in eagle-trapping ceremonies varied among bundle-owners. (1) Most bundle-owners prohibited 562 women from entering the ceremonial lodge or looking inside. (2) Several bundle-owners had special rites to which women were invited when birds had been caught. (3) A few bundle- [841] owners required a menstruating woman to come into the lodge and breathe the smoke from sage burned at the four corners of the fire pit.

223 Unless special rites relative to the women were purchased, 562 they were required to stay away from the ceremonial lodge and 841 its vicinity. The right to bring women into the lodge was a separate purchase not essential to trapping eagles. There were separate 171 songs and a myth, giving the right to call in a menstruating woman, which could be purchased. It referred to the capture of the leader of the eagles who, in return for having her life spared, promised unusual success if her song was sung when a menstruating woman was brought into the lodge. The consensus of both

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Mandan and Hidatsa informants was that women took a more prominent place in Mandan than in Hidatsa ceremonies and that bringing women into the lodges was a Mandan rite that some Hidatsa bought. This native belief is borne out by a woman's right to perform the Okipa ceremony with her brother's assistance and to own bundles of deceased relatives until a successor had qualified.

In the selection of eagle-trapping territory, consideration was given to the suitability of the region for hunting. Some informants thought that not more than one-third of the days were suitable for catching eagles. When the winds were not from a westerly direction, the party went out hunting and received their orders from the Chief of the Hunters, whose place in the ceremonial lodge was near the head of the lodge on the left side and opposite the leader.

The office of Chief of the Hunters was filled by the leader when selecting the places for the men when first entering the lodge. In mythological times, Two Men[40] discovered Black Bear's cub carrying a clay pot in which he cooked his food mysteriously, and, resolving to live leisurely thereafter, they stole the vessel. The cub chased them into Dog Den Butte and captured them with his snare. Cub contemplated killing them, but they agreed to do the hunting[41] for the eagle-trappers if their lives were spared. In time they acquired the position of leaders of the hunters.

The eagle-trapping territory was distantly removed from the summer villages in a region not occupied permanently by any tribe.[42] Except for sites on the east side of the Missouri River, the territory was deeply eroded with isolated wooded areas along, and adjacent to, the principal streams. The badlands region along the Little Missouri River and its tributaries was a favorite habitat of the elk, black-tail deer, and mountain sheep. White-tail deer remained more or less in the wooded bottom lands of streams, while buffalo and antelope ranged in herds and bands on the high grass plains a few miles from the principal streams.

40. See my manuscript on "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization" for an account of the exploits of these two characters.

41. Their medicine was the arrow.

42. See map of eagle-trapping camps (Fig. 28).

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Chapter VIII

CATFISH-TRAPPING CEREMONY

THIS ceremony was associated with the eagle-trapping bundle, and both possessed a common mythological origin from Black Wolf. There was no direct reference to the fish trap in the Black Wolf myth, but in theory the sacred snare could catch anything. Crows Heart explained that even a buffalo corral was in reality a large snare, so a man owning a sacred snare was selected to stand on a high hill and by means of motions, as of snaring the buffaloes, pulled the animals by its magical powers into the corral.[1] War leaders took their sacred snares along when looking for enemies for supernatural aid in ensnaring and destroying their foes.

Purchase of catfish- and eagle-trapping rites could be made simultaneously, or the fish-trapping rights could be bought at a later date. Some men bought rights in only one of the ceremonies. A seller possessing rights in both ceremonies could sell each ceremony four times. Associated closely with these two ceremonies were the sweat lodge and the snare rites for doctoring and officiating at the buffalo and antelope pounds.

Although the Missouri River carries considerable sediment, catfish are very abundant. The presence of catfish bones in ancient Mandan and Hidatsa villages indicates that considerable use was made of these fish as food.

When a fish trap was in use, the black-bear hide was kept in the owner's lodge, laid out on calicoes on a four-post standard with its head pointing toward the fireplace. Food was offered to the bundle each day while the fish trap was being used.

Ben Benson remembered these Mandan who had catfish-trapping rights about 1880:

1. Black Tongue (Big Turtle). He was also custodian of the Okipa turtle drums, Hoita in the Okipa, owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a singer in the Corn ceremonies.

1. Refer to my manuscript, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization," for an account of the ceremonies associated with the buffalo corral.

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Chapter IX

BIG BIRD CEREMONY

796 773 THE birds belonging to this ceremony were classed in four groups: (1) hawks, ravens, and crows; (2) young calumet eagles; (3) old calumet eagles; and (4) bald eagles. According to the myth, the thunderbird was considered a relative of these birds, while in other myths the thunderbird was referred to as any one of the four groups of birds listed above.

796 821 The various rites were frequently referred to as the Thunderbird ceremony. However, birds other than those included in these rites, as well as the Sun and Moon and the snakes, were believed to possess the supernatural power of producing thunder and lightning.

796 778 773 There were two principal bundles appertaining to the ceremony. The Black Medicine bundle owned by Red Buffalo Cow (Prairie Chicken clan) was traditionally founded by Black Medicine, while the Sweet Medicine bundle was believed to have been founded by Grows in Lee Places, his twin brother. The latter bundle was last owned by Sand (Speckled Eagle clan). These two bundles came from Nuptadi Village. A second Black Medicine bundle owned by Little Shield (Prairie Chicken clan) [614] came from Fort Clark Village. The linked character of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle clans was expressed by the inheritance through the clan of two closely related bundles from two "brothers" of different clans.

The two bundles had a common mythological origin based on the exploits of two brothers. The myth was supplied by Ben Benson, while much of the data on rites relating to the bundle were secured from White Calf.

BIG BIRD CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEN BENSON[1]

773 539 This account goes back to the time when the villages were near the mouth of Heart River. Chief Bird was the head man of one of the villages. His sons

1. For another relation of this myth by the same informant see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," XXXII [1938]), pp. 53–62.

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by different mothers were named Black Medicine, after a root used to cure scratches from eagle claws or bites from rattlesnakes, because he was made of black medicine, and Grows in Lee Places, after a brown plant. The older boy, Black Medicine, was sensible; the other one was a little foolish and did not respect people or think anything was holy. Both were good hunters and went out often.[2]

One day Black Medicine said, "Let's go out hunting; we have not been out for a long time. If we kill a fat elk or buffalo, we can have a fine meal." The other agreed, so they went out and soon killed a deer. They cooked the meat and enjoyed themselves eating it. They went on and killed another, which they carried along until it was all eaten. They were surprised to find no more game, however far they traveled. Soon they came to a timbered coulee and saw smoke. They knew someone lived there, so they went in the direction of the smoke. They found the smoke coming out of a grass lodge, but, when they reached the door, a man walked out with something on his back without paying any attention to the two hunters. The two brothers could not understand that but walked into the lodge. The entire interior of the lodge was fixed up with fresh grass to lie on, while ribs, tongues, and legs were roasting beside the fire. The two sat down and waited for someone to appear. They waited a long time, and nobody came.

The foolish one said, "What is the use of sitting here? Let's eat this."

Black Medicine replied, "No, the owner will come back."

The foolish one was very hungry and, never respecting others anyway, said, "I am too hungry; I am going to eat."

When he had eaten nearly all the meat, Black Medicine ate what remained. They found water in a bag and drank of it.

They slept comfortably in the grass lodge until morning. Before leaving, they picked the bones from any meat they could find and left. As they were leaving, the foolish one asked, "Who can that fellow be who paid no attention to us? He went to the southeast. We should go that way and see who he is."

They went in that direction and hunted a little but could see no game of any kind. They traveled until the sun was low. They were on a high bluff overlooking a deep ravine when they saw the smoke again. They went in the direction of the smoke, and, when they reached the grass lodge, the same man with something on his back passed them without looking at them or speaking.

The foolish one said, "This is just the same as yesterday, and he isn't going to come back." The foolish one took his meat and turned it over once to brown it a little, but left some for the morning. They slept in the lodge and next morning ate all that was left. One of the young men said, "We will go after this man, for it looks like something will happen to us."

This day they looked only for the man who behaved so queerly. When the sun was low, they came to a deep ravine and saw smoke below them; then the grass lodge came into sight. One of the young men said, "That man smells us before we get to his place. That is why he leaves." So they studied the winds and came up against the wind until they were close. One brother said, "We must go up quietly and try to get as close as possible. When he comes out, we can seize him."

2. The two brothers, one wise and the other foolish, suggest the Two Men of Hidatsa mythology and the First Man and Foolish One exploits of the Mandan Okipa ceremony.

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They crept up quietly, one on each side of the door, and, when he came out with the bundle on his back, they seized him. The bundle was thrown to the ground, making such a noise that people a long distance away could hear it. The bundle burst, and deer, buffalo, elk, antelope, and all the big animals ran all over the earth. The two men knew then that he was the one who had been holding the game in his power. The man ran away, and nobody knew who he was. The two brothers said there would be plenty of game the next morning.

In the grass lodge that the mysterious man had deserted so quickly they found plenty of meat to eat, so they remained there overnight and went on in the morning. They saw all the big animals that had been freed, and the hunting was good. All at once they saw something white on the ground. It was bubbling up, and the foolish one shot into it with his arrows; then they went on. Soon they saw a big white cloud coming [a tornado]. It was making a loud noise and with it was a strong wind. Black Medicine said to his brother, "Come to me." He tied the two of them together with the sinews of their bows. The winds took them into the air, and they did not know where they were until they passed the river where the Arikara grow corn [Grand River, South Dakota]. The foolish one did not think it a bad place to be, for up in the air, at least, they did not have to walk. Evening came, and Black Medicine sang his medicine song. Then the wind went down, letting them descend to earth again. They found themselves on an island among many islands with water as far as they could see.

They looked about and one said, "What can we do now? Here we are on a small island with water everywhere, but there seems to be plenty of game to eat." They did not hunt that night but went to sleep at once, for they were tired from their ride through the air.

The next morning they did not know what to do. Black Medicine said, "Let's go along the edge of the water and see what this island is like." Soon they came to a well-used path and knew that someone lived on the island. The path led to a large earth lodge, and they saw the cornfields and gardens on all sides of them. They came to the earth lodge and walked in, where they found only an old woman [Old Woman Who NeverDies] who was glad to see them. She said, "Here are my two grandchildren, sons of Chief Bird. Have you come to see me?"

They told her of the wind, and she said, "You boys can stay here, for I think you are hungry. Help yourselves to that mush." The boys did not think there would be enough, and she read their thoughts, saying, "Stir it up." The vessel was full again. They ate most of the mush and stirred the balance up again.

After they had been on the island two days they thought they should do some hunting. They did not go far until they saw a white-tail buck and shot it. The animal was butchered where it fell and then they presented it to Old Woman. She said, "You boys did well; eat it. I don't eat that kind of food myself; I eat only antelope and buffalo. I will take the deer outside and make dried meat of it."

When she got the deer outside, she said to the animal, "Get up now and run away. Don't come near, for those boys are good hunters."

When she returned to the earth lodge, she said to the boys, "If you kill white-tail deer, don't bring the meat here; cook it out in the woods and eat what you want, for the white-tail deer look after my gardens for me." After

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that they ate the meat in the woods. Sometimes they would stay out in the woods as long as three days at a time.

One day Old Woman told them not to go out hunting that day but to hide near the wall of the lodge and be quiet. Soon they heard the noise of two people coming in; then some more people came in. Looking out from under their robes, the two boys saw that the visitors were all women. Each woman had brought in dried meat which was heaped in a pile. As the meat was put on the pile, each woman would say, "My leader, take good care of me and give me this."

One woman had something in her robe and wouldn't show it. The others asked her what she had, and she said, "I have something here but it isn't very good. That is why I don't like to show it." She took it out and it was an earthen pot full of cooked corn and buffalo-foot cords. The others said, "That is good food." The boys observed everything carefully, learning that these women were the corn who had turned themselves into humans.

After the women finished talking, the Old Woman Who Never Dies said, "I am so glad each of you brought me something. I am going to keep you until spring,[3] and I will take good care of you." When she said that, each woman turned into an ear of seed corn, and Old Woman put them away in different places according to the kind of corn they were. She took the meat to use during the winter.

One day the boys were sitting quietly gazing out across the water when their grandmother asked them why they were so quiet. They told her that they were lonesome and could see that they had no way of going home. She said, "I am glad you have come to visit me. You get ready to go home tomorrow. I will fix you up a meal of four-in-one corn balls. [Four-in-one corn balls were made of ground corn, beans, and sunflowers, to which boiled squash was added.] I will make you four of these corn balls."

The next morning after breakfast she gave the corn balls to the boys and instructed them to go to the shore and call, "Grandfather, come out and take us across the water." She explained, "You will see the waves moving, and a large snake with a single horn will come out of the deep water. When he reaches the shore, tell him he is not the one you want. Call again, and there will be another snake with two forked horns but send him back, also, for he is not the one either. A third one will come out, and you will see a growth of young willows and small cottonwoods between his two horns. Tell him he is not the one you want either. Call 'Grandfather' again, and there will be large waves along the shore. The last snake will have long horns with cottonwood, willows, grass, and sage growing all over his head. Tell him you want him to take you across the water. Ask him to put his head close to the shore. You must jump onto the snake. You will find many deer tracks on his head. Be careful not to do anything foolish while you are on your way."

The boys did everything as instructed, and everything happened just as the Old Woman Who Never Dies said it would. They jumped on the snake's head, and he swam with them for a long time until he said he was tired. The boys broke up one of the corn balls and fed the snake. Refreshed, the snake swam on until he was tired again, when the boys again fed him a corn ball. Again they went forward. After feeding the snake the fourth corn ball, land came in

3. This island was the winter meeting place of many creatures (see chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping Ceremony").

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sight. The snake came to the shore, and the boys asked him to put his head up on dry land, but the snake could not put his head out on the dry land. Black Medicine jumped, but the snake almost swallowed him. He was afraid that his brother would be swallowed, so he called back to him to be careful, but the other brother said he would jump from the snake's nose. Black Medicine warned him not to jump from the snake's nose, but the brother did, and the snake swallowed him.

Black Medicine was left alone. He cried all day as he walked back and forth along the shore. Next morning as he walked along the shore, the big snake came up and opened his mouth. He saw his brother in the snake's mouth standing there and making motions to Black Medicine that it was nice in the snake's mouth and urging him to come in, but Black Medicine would not. He cried all that night, he missed his brother so. The next morning he again saw the snake and his brother, who invited him to come in, but again he refused. The third day the same thing happened. That night just when the wind was going down, while the water was calm, he saw a man standing beside the shore wearing a robe with the hair side out. He noted that there were pieces of white jackrabbit fur along the edges of the robe, and he wondered what the meaning of that could be. He heard a noise above him, and, looking up, he saw the man whose reflection he had seen in the water. This man had a flat stick two feet long in his arms. He asked the cause of all the crying each night, and Black Medicine told of the trouble with the serpent and how his brother had been swallowed and taken into the water. The stranger asked if he had seen his brother since, and Black Medicine told of seeing the snake come up to the surface of the water, and how he was able to see his brother in the snake's mouth motioning for him to come in.

The man in the air said, "Good! That snake comes close to shore because he likes corn balls."

"But I have no more corn balls," Black Medicine replied.

The man in the air brought forth a corn ball, made of only a little corn and mostly of ground sunflower seeds and rabbit manure which he gave to Black Medicine. He took the corn ball and cried all night. On the morning of the fourth day, the big snake came close to the shore and Black Medicine said, "Grandfather, I have a nice corn ball for you. Will you come close so I can put it in your mouth? Come closer." When he had the snake close to land, he gave the corn ball to the snake who ate it. Black Medicine said to the snake, "I want to see my brother once more to shake hands with him and then I will go home." The big snake came up and opened his mouth. There was the brother standing in the snake's mouth, but Black Medicine complained that he was too far away and asked the snake to come closer. The snake came closer but refused to put his head on the shore. Black Medicine walked toward the corner of the snake's mouth, but the brother refused to come toward him until he had begged four times.

The snake asked, "Do you see any black clouds?" Though there were a number in the sky, Black Medicine said that there were none. Suddenly Black Medicine seized his brother by the wrist and pulled him out. They hit the shore and bounced up at once, jumping farther up the bank. That moment a long flash of lightning shot out of a cloud above, and the snake sent out lightning at the same time. Thunder above had the stronger lightning and killed the big snake, which was thrown up onto the dry land.

The young men were knocked unconscious and lay on the ground as though

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dead. Thunderbird noted the condition they were in and brought them back to their senses. He took the two boys with him and went to his earth lodge. Thunderbird had a wife and two daughters. He said to his daughters, "Hurry! These young men killed a large snake. We must go there and butcher it." 773 539

The wife never moved but remained in her bed all day long. Thunderbird, his daughters, and the two young men went to the place where the snake lay dead. Thunderbird cut the snake up into small pieces and carried it home. Thunderbird and his family ate the snake, but the two boys would not touch the meat. Thunderbird noticed that these young men were active, with more powers than ordinary Indians. He said to them one evening, "You know that every man should have a wife. You should have a wife, and you will sometime. I am here alone; my wife is sick in bed all the time. I have two daughters, and they are good-looking girls. I want you boys to marry my daughters. The older boy should take the older girl and the younger boy should marry the younger girl."

Black Medicine was sensible, but the other was foolish. Black Medicine hung his head and studied for a long time, but the foolish one kept saying, "Why don't you tell him that we will take the wives."

At last Black Medicine said, "We will take the girls for our wives."

After that the young men were out hunting a great deal and brought in the meat from the animals they had killed. The father-in-law praised them for their skill. Thunderbird said, "You must not go to the other side of that hill, for there is long grass there and the ground is wet and boggy." They agreed not to go there.

One day while out hunting the foolish one said, "Let's see what it is like over back of that hill where our father-in-law says for us not to go." They went there and found a dangerous lake with a white beaver on the shore next to them in the grass. The beaver heard them coming. His tail was covered with flint tools arranged like the shingles on a roof. The beaver slapped his tail, and small pieces of flint stones struck them with such force that they were obliged to run for their lives. They studied from the top of the hill how they could get the beaver. Black Medicine went to the pocket gopher for help. The pocket gopher agreed to dig a hole under the ground until he came to the beaver's bed. When the hole was big enough for the men to get through, he came back and told them that the hole was ready.

Next morning the boys went to the hill overlooking the lake and saw the beaver in his usual bed beside the lake. They crawled along in the tunnel that the pocket gopher had made until under the beaver. They could see the beaver's heart moving, they were so near to him. Black Medicine shot his best arrow through the beaver's heart and killed him. The two brothers went home at once, and the father-in-law knew something had happened.

They said, "Yes, we went to that big spring and lake you spoke about. We saw a white beaver and killed him."

The father-in-law could hardly believe their words. Thunderbird went back with them and butchered the beaver and carried it home on his back. They ate the meat and shelled the arrowheads off the tail like a woman shells corn from the cob until there was a large pile of arrowheads. The arrowheads were just what the father-in-law wanted.

One day the father-in-law said, "There is an animal over in those red hills. It is a red jackrabbit. I would like to get his hide, but something keeps warning him every time I go after him."

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The young men agreed to go after the rabbit, and the father-in-law told them where they would find the rabbit. One day they went out, but just as they were nearing the red hills the rabbit ran over the hill and was gone. They said they would get him the next time.

All this time their mother-in-law was in bed ill. The young men asked their wives what was the matter with their mother and were told of a long porcupine quill in her foot. Black Medicine[4] told his wife that he could doctor. The boys built a sweat lodge first. They found the quill in her foot, squeezed the pus out, pulled out the quill, and put her in the sweat. When they carried her out, Black Medicine took a piece of black medicine from his pocket, chewed it, and blew it over her foot. Then he put her to bed, and she had a good rest. Soon she was able to walk around again.

One day there was no breeze, and they decided that the right time had come to get the rabbit, for, without the wind to help him, he would not be able to smell the two brothers as they approached thehill. They reached Red Hill, and Black Medicine sent his brother to the other side of the hill. Black Medicine walked through the peaks, and the red rabbit saw him and ran over the hill. When he saw the other hunter, he turned about and was shot in the side and killed. They left the rabbit for the old man to get. When they reached home, the father-in-law knew that something had happened. They told him where he would find the rabbit. The old man skinned the rabbit and saved the fur; the meat he cooked and ate.

For a long time after this, the young men did not find hunting very good. One day when hunting was poor, they wondered how far they could shoot. Each shot two arrows, and they walked along, picking up the arrows. They found that one of the arrows had gone through a snake with a head on each end, killing it.

When they reached home, the old man said, "I smell something." The young men insisted that they had not killed anything, but he still insisted that he smelled something. They told how they had not killed anything except that, while practicing for distance, one arrow went through a small double-headed snake.

When they reached the spot where the snake had been killed, they found that the snake had grown large. The father-in-law cut the snake up and all carried the meat to the earth lodge. The father-in-law said, "It is good that you killed this snake, for my relatives will be here soon. I must get ready for them." He went outside and cut some chokecherry sticks the size of a pencil and about two feet long. Some of these he peeled the bark from and fastened to them the arrowheads he got from the beaver's tail. He fastened a piece of red rabbit skin to the side and sage to the other, until he had enough of these sticks to make a large bundle.[5]

Thunderbird sat on his lodge for a long time, and at last he said to his wife, "Cook the snake, for my relatives are coming." He asked the boys to hide themselves in the earth lodge. The first arrival walked right in; he was a man, but just before he entered he was a raven. He was pleased with the abundance

4. In the myth of the origin of Eagle-trapping, Black Wolf also doctored the bear cub with black medicine.

5. These were known as bird sticks and were a part of most Eagle-trapping bundles. When trapping, these sticks were arranged at the altar.

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of food, and the old man gave him one of the sticks he had prepared. The raven finished eating and said that he would go back to spread the news that the old man had much to eat. The old man went on top of the lodge but came right down again, for another person was coming. He came right in and was given food and one of the sticks, and he said, "I came ahead to find out how things are here. The main party will arive here tomorrow." This man was the chicken hawk.

Thunderbird said, "You tell them to stop a little ways from my place before coming in. Tell them when they stop over by my house to divide up into their own groups."

The sisters told their husbands when they doctored their mother-in-law for a sore foot that she was one of a large party of birds going west in the spring. She could not go on because of her bad foot.

The next day birds began to come, and each arrival sought his own group near the lodge. The groups were: (1) hawks, ravens, and crows; (2) young calumet eagles; (3) old calumet eagles; and (4) bald eagles.

The old man went out with the snake meat, which he divided into four piles, and he divided the sticks into four piles also. The birds began to eat, and soon all the food was eaten. Each took a stick with the flint stone attached. When the feast was finished, the old man said, "I have done all these things you like, but I didn't get it all myself. I have two sons-in-law. They are Mandan. They did all this." Then he called the two young men out, and all were surprised to see them. Some were afraid and would have run away had the old man not spoken to them.

When they finished eating, the old man said, "You can go to your homes now [autumn], but, when spring comes, I would like to have you come to me. We will move somewhere else then."

The birds all went to their old nests and stayed away all winter until spring came. Then the old man said to his wife, "Spring is here, and our friends will be coming soon. We are expected to move up the rivers. What are we to do with our sons-in-law? They have no wings, and it would not be right to take our daughters without them. When the four groups are here, we will discuss the matter with them and see what they think about it."

Soon the four groups of birds came, and he said to them, "What are we going to do with my sons-in-law? They have no wings and they are humans. My daughters like them. What shall we do?"

The birds replied, "I think it is best that we hatch the young men into birds." They decided that the bald-headed eagles should lay them, for they were the oldest birds. The young men were brought out of the earth lodge and went up on top of it. The birds asked the boys to roll up into a ball, and the bald-headed eagle put her wings over them. When she flew away to the other birds, there were two eggs where she had been sitting.

On each of the two eggs there was a straight line and a zigzagged line representing the lightning, for sometimes the flashes are straight, other times zigzagged. The bird went back and set on the eggs. The eggs hatched on the second day, and she flew away. Soon she came back and set on them again, and, when she flew away, their wings were nearly grown. When she flew away the fourth time, the young birds had grown into full-sized, bald-headed eagles. All the birds watched them while they flew up into the air. Everything

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was ready for the birds to travel; their course was up the Missouri River. Two birds were selected to be the scouts and go ahead of the main body of travelers. The scouts were the chicken hawk with the white feathers at the base of the tail feathers and the raven. All the other birds traveled along behind the scouts. They traveled along until the chicken hawk came back to report something strange in a ravine ahead.

The birds said, "We will have the two Mandan men investigate and get whatever it is." They called the two brothers and told them about it. Each of the big eagles had a sword[6] shaped like a knife; some were white; others were black. All of them were very beautiful.

The young men were given their pick, but before they made a selection the wives said, "If they tell you to take certain ones, be sure to take the old one; it is a little cracked, but it has much power and is very sacred. If you swing that, you will never miss."

The young men did as they were told and selected a very old sword. The wives said, "When they let you go to kill what is in the ravine, be sure to go high in the air and sing this song we always use when we kill something. Then come down, both of you at the same time and turn sidewise when you are nearly there, one going to the right and the other to the left. Do this three times. The last time swoop down together until you are close to the ground, and the one who has the sword hit at it easy and very slowly. Then go straight up into the air again, for you will kill what you want to kill."

The big party of birds did not tell the boys to sing the bird song, but the wives taught them the song. The two went high into the air but could see nothing and came back. The other birds said, "That was all our fault; we should have told you to look sidewise."

They went out again and soon saw a serpent. Just then, the other birds remembered that they had not taught the boys the song and were surprised to hear the "eagle-killing song."[7] The boys dived out of the sky three times and the fourth time made a motion with their sword. A flash of lightning shot forth. At the same time the snake sent up lightning. They killed the snake and returned to the other birds, who praised them for their skill in killing the snake. In a short time the birds had eaten up the snake and had begun to fly northwest along the Missouri River.

The chicken hawk and raven returned a second time and said that they were nearing a Mandan village where a man by the name of Chief Bird was giving a feast for all the big birds just as he always did at this time of the year. The boys heard the name of their father and knew that they were near home. They talked to their wives about it. They told their wives that this was their home and that Chief Bird was their father. They asked their wives to go to their home with them. The boys went to their father and told him of their adventures. The wives were invited to come and live in the village, but next morning they were afraid to go in since they looked so unlike the Mandan.

The sisters said, "We are afraid to go there; we would feel out of place. It is best that we give you something that represents us." They pulled out a wing feather the birds put their heads under when they go to sleep. The Mandan call this feather "sleep feather." Each pulled out the sleep feather from the underside of the left wing and gave it to her husband. After the feast was

6. The sword is a part of the sacred bundle for this ceremony.
7. One of the sacred songs of the Big Bird ceremony.

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over, the boys decided to give a feast for the big birds every fall when the birds went south. They gathered robes all summer, for it took a large amount of goods, besides the meat, in order to put on the ceremony. Twelve stones were used in the sweat lodge representing the twelve tail feathers each of the big birds has. Seven robes were needed to cover the sweat lodge. All the people belonging to this group met together, and the two young men brought out the two "sleep feathers" representing the two wives. The rights in the ceremony were sold to their "Children of the Clan" and have continued down to this day.

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could be sold four times. The usual transfer was to sisters married to one man, in which instances the women acquired rights in the sacred robe and other paraphernalia of that section, and the husband took over the balance of the bundle. Such purchases were made only after several years of married life, as it was considered a sign of bad luck for common bundle-owners to quarrel. Crows Heart explained that having a common interest in a bundle was a powerful factor in making marriages permanent. Sale was not made until the parent-in-law taboo had been removed. 778 421 425 [777]

The prominence of these bundles is demonstrated by their representation in the Okipa ceremony. During the early summer all men owning primary and secondary rights in a Small Hawk ceremony met in one of their earth lodges to select two young men to represent their bundles in that summer's Okipa ceremony. Either young men of this group or men who were eligible to inherit a bundle were selected to dance in the ceremony and to receive goods offered to Small Hawk bundle-owners.

Women owning rights in the bundle were entitled to dress in the sacred robe, place sage and magpie tail feathers in the hair, and carry the ash digging stick at the close of the Okipa ceremony, when separate offerings were made to them by the Okipa Maker and his fellow-fasters and on other occasions when a feast was made to the bundle as a Buffalo-calling ceremony. [292]

The rites are based on the exploits of Corn Silk, who visited the small hawk at his lodge on the eastern horizon where he lived with his mother. This small hawk, being a good hunter, taught the Buffalo-calling rites. Because he could produce thunder, he also introduced a rain-calling rite. His son, Looks Down To Hunt, inherited all his father's powers. 796 773

The holy robe and its rites have as their mythological origin Looks Down To Hunt's experiences on the northern horizon where he encountered his wife's mother who lived in a large earth lodge. After avoiding many hazards which she had set up to protect her people, the buffaloes, she was obliged to free these animals. The Mandan had many sacred robes, but each had its separate origin myth. 778 773

The myth throws light on the native theories of the universe. In one place Looks Down To Hunt asked the spider for his body 773 772

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773 in order that he could retreat to the lowest level in the universe.
772 It was believed that the earth comprised four horizontal levels and that the surface of the earth was the top level. The sky was likewise made up of four semicircular hemispheres shaped like an earth-lodge roof and supported by four posts. This belief was associated with rites performed by a female robe-owner whenever a new lodge was erected or an old one repaired.

796 There was no spring or autumn bird feast, as in the case of the Big Bird bundles. When the bundle-owners were paid to per-
778 form the Buffalo-calling ceremony, the man officiated as the singer, carried the rattles, and wore the hawk on his head; his wife was dressed in the robe, wore the sage and magpie tail feathers, used the ash stick to dig a small hole near the head of the lodge, and "called up the buffaloes," as had been done by Frog Earrings in the mythology. A young man, about to go to war, asked the help of a bundle-owner belonging to his father's clan and promised to make an offering to the bundle upon his return. For this, he received a feather to wear on his head when in battle.

778 The sacred robe was held in high regard as a means of ward-
ing off misfortune. Because of the wicked disposition and power
773 of Frog Earrings, whom the robe represented, it was believed that men took to wearing women's clothing and followed female
[828] avocations. She was also believed to be the cause of insanity,
[826] feeble-mindedness, malformations, twisted jaws, and premature
[845] births.

SMALL HAWK MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[3]

773 It was the fall of the year. Corn Silk and her nine brothers were living to-
539 gether. Whenever any young man would ask her to marry him, she would refuse. One of the brothers always spoke for the young man, but there was one of them who never paid any attention to her or urged her to marry. A young man, an unusually fine hunter, asked her to marry, and the brother who had been silent was disappointed, for he thought she would surely marry this one. He said to her, "I have never spoken before, so I think you should heed my words. At other times, our other brothers acted as spokesmen. This man is such a good provider you should marry him. You will have a comfortable home and everything you need. I think you should listen to me."

Corn Silk did not obey the request, and the mother was angry and said, "One of your brothers never spoke, but this man was a good provider, and he

3. Another version of this myth is reported in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 63–76.

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had confidence you would obey him. It looks like you are going to have Sikaraxa [Split Wing Feathers] for a husband." 773 539

Sikaraxa lived in the direction of the sunrise. Corn Silk invited in four old women of the village, and they asked the purpose of the invitation. She said, "My mother wants me to marry Sikaraxa, and I want to know where he lives."

The old women said, "We heard it is in a far-away country. It is almost impossible for any human being to go that far. The best way for you to get there is to make a ball."

Corn Silk made a ball as directed. She invited the four old women in again, and they said, "When you start out in the morning, go out onto the ridge and kick the ball. Then you will be at the next ridge [horizon]. If you can't get there today, you will be sure to get there tomorrow. Take as much food as you can carry."

They instructed her to kick the ball four times toward the horizon. She was to kick it three times, and, on the fourth kick, there would be a forest running crosswise to her course. There she would find some of her grandmothers.

She followed their instructions. At the end of the fourth kick she reached the timber and there found a lodge. Inside were the mice [grandmothers]. Corn Silk could hear them talk of the day's work digging roots. One of the mice came out for wood and saw Corn Silk. At first they were frightened, but, when they learned that it was Corn Silk, they invited her in and asked, "What has brought you here so far from home?"

Corn Silk said, "My brothers have sent me here because I refused to marry a great hunter. They sent me to Sikaraxa, and I am on the way to the place where this bird dwells."

She stayed with the long-nosed field mice the first night, traveled all the next day, and reached the home of the mice with white breasts and red backs the second night. The third night she spent with the black mice, and the fourth night with the moles. At each stop she explained her mission. The mice all followed her and met at the moles' lodge. From there, all were to go together to the cliff and lake where Sikaraxa lived.

The mice warned her, "You are in danger and must follow our instructions carefully. When you get there, you will find yourself on a buffalo skull. He will come and ask you to take a bath with him, and you must say, 'I don't think it is necessary for me to stand on this skull and meet my death. I have heard about you and don't intend to go through all these rites.' Then kick the buffalo skull out from under you and see what happens."

Corn Silk went to the village on the island and there found an enormous earth lodge. Sikaraxa lived in it. He said at once, "Let's take a bath."

The man's mother said, "You must not take her to the lake so soon. You always do that and put an end to them. I don't want to see Corn Silk's life ended so soon. We may like her when we know her better."

Sikaraxa would not listen to his mother. The two walked out together. Mole whispered to Corn Silk, "Today we are all going to die together. The only way we can save you is by putting strong wristlets, anklets, and a necklace on you. Make the strings strong. The strings to your moccasins must be strong with long extensions so that we can hold onto them. Have your belt extensions to the back."

When the people in the village saw Sikaraxa taking Corn Silk to the lake to bathe, they were sorry that so beautiful a young woman was to die so soon. All admired her because of her long hair. No other woman who had come to

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him had been nearly so beautiful. He commanded her to stand on the buffalo skull, and she refused saying, "It is not necessary for me to die on a buffalo skull."

She kicked it into the lake. A large fish[4] with long teeth leaped from the lake, took the buffalo skull, and ate it. Then Sikaraxa ordered Corn Silk to remove her clothing and lie on her back with her head toward the lake. She refused, saying, "I came here to marry you, and I refuse to go through these rites. I won't undress."

Sikaraxa said, "I will come toward you four times, and the ceremony will be over," so she lay down as ordered. The moles dug holes to her wrists, ankles, neck, and waist, holding onto the straps. They also dug a trench so her body was level with the ground. Sikaraxa went out of sight in the air and came down as the Thunderbird, making much noise, and bringing the wind with him. He thought she would surely be blown into the lake, but she was not, since the mice were holding her firmly. The second time, he came lower, and the wind was stronger, but he saw that she did not move. The third time he was down to the height of the trees, and the fourth time he came within a few feet of her. During one of the intervals between the winds, the mice said, "The fourth time he will be only a few feet above you. Seize the white thing he has around his neck," but he went by before she could get it. Then he circled a few feet above her, wondering what held her. One of the moles punched Corn Silk who had gone to sleep and woke her up. She reached up and grabbed the object he had round his neck. At the moment he lost the object, he changed from a bird to a human being and stood beside her.

They walked back to the village, but she kept the object which was his heart. He stayed close to his wife during the daytime, following her everywhere she went. The people laughed at him and said, "He has taken a strange turn of life."

His powers were almost all taken from him because of the loss of his heart. The mother-in-law was glad to have a young woman in the lodge who had returned unharmed, and all the village was happy. Sikaraxa had been a great traveler, being a bird, but, after this, he never went out. Instead he would be found tagging after his wife wherever she went.

They were together until she gave birth to a child, a small boy. They continued to live together until the boy was three or four years old and able to talk. He was inquisitive and was always asking questions. Corn Silk wore the heart sewed on the inside of her buckskin dress and kept a belt over it so that Sikaraxa did not know where it was. One day the boy asked her if this was her native village, and she said, "No, we came from the Missouri River. You have uncles [mother's brothers] and a grandmother there."

The boy said, "Let's go home."

She said to Sikaraxa, "Our son has learned that he has relatives at the Missouri River, and he wants to see them. We are planning to go back for that purpose." Sikaraxa was willing to go along as protection for them. The boy was very happy, but the mother said, "It will take a long time to get to your relatives this way." The father made a nest and placed the boy in it, asking his wife to sit on the boy. He performed rites that changed the boy into an egg which shortly afterward hatched into a bird.

Sikaraxa was to follow later. They were transformed into two white swans

4. The pike called by the Mandan "Wolf Fish."

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swimming near the edge of the lake. They stopped there a while to feed. When Sikaraxa thought it was time, he started after them to see how far they had gone. He was changed into Thunderbird. He could not find them, but he saw two swans feeding along the shore of a lake. The two were afraid, and the mother said, "If your father does not know we changed into swans, he may kill us. Shout to him, 'Here we are.' " The father sent them on their journey, all the time flying toward their village, but Sikaraxa was far above them in the skies.

When they reached the village, they changed back to their former selves again. They entered the home village again. Corn Silk, being a holy person, was recognized by all, who cried, "Corn Silk is back from her search for a husband." They were curious to see the man she brought back.

There had been a famine after she left, so Sikaraxa made medicine to bring back the buffalo herds. He also brought rain for the crops. Since Corn Silk's father was chief, their family had plenty to eat. Sikaraxa lived with them a long time. During the course of his visit, Sikaraxa and his wife took a bath in a pond near the village while the little boy played on the bank. While playing there, he saw the heart sewed into his mother's dress and, lifting it, called to the mother, "Mother, look what I found."

Both the man and his wife ran for it, but the man got there first. All the while, the mother was pleading for the boy not to let his father have it, but he gave it to his father. Immediately, the man transformed himself into a large bird and flew into the air. He soared over them. Corn Silk was on the point of scolding the boy when Sikaraxa said, "Don't scold him. It is all for the best. When he grows up, he will be successful; he will be a great hunter and bring the herds near the village."

Corn Silk scolded the man for making promises that could not be fulfilled. She added, "You better fly away. We don't need you any more. The boy has enough uncles [mother's brothers] to provide for him."

Now Corn Silk was a widow. The boy was unusually intelligent and came to be considered a great hunter. He resembled his father closely, and people all remarked of their close resemblance. Time passed fast, and soon the boy had grown to manhood. It was late summer, and the families were thinking of a suitable winter village site. Half of the people had left.

The boy said, "I hate to go to the winter camp where we have to shovel snow and haul in wood. We have enough corn here, and I can hunt a little."

His family decided not to go to the winter village. Half of the people stayed in the summer village with them. Soon he was renowned as a hunter, and his lodge became the central meeting place where most people got their meals. They were getting along better than they had expected. His father had given him the name "Looks Down To Hunt." He kept his mother well supplied with meat, and, during his leisure, he would sit on a pile of rocks on the hill back of the village. One day as he looked down from his rock pile, he noticed that his mother was dressed up in fine clothing and prettily painted. She was playing kickball. As he watched, he heard a sound resembling a song, but the words were not distinct.

He went back the next day, for he was curious to learn what the song was. It was more distinct, so he knew it was someone far away singing. When he saw his mother dressed up in her fine clothes again, he was so angry that he went to bed without eating. The third day, the singers were closer and the words were something about his name, but his name was all that he could dis-

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tinguish. When he saw his mother playing the third day, he was disgusted, and, when she spoke to him as a woman does to her husband, he was all the angrier. When he was on the hill the fourth day, the sound was just back of the hill from where he sat. There were two singers, and the words were:

> We have Looks Down To Hunt in our heart,
> But his mother is silly about her son.
> Our feet are blistered from walking so far.

The boy was facing the east, looking down onto the village. When he recognized the words, he was so angry he would not go down the hill. The two singers approached. The one from the north was of dark complexion and had long black hair; the singer from the south was of light complexion with yellow hair. The one from the north carried a yellow wooden bowl full of pemmican, and the one from the south carried a woven bowl full of four-in-one corn balls. Each carried a pair of moccasins. When they came to him, he was at a loss concerning the order in which to eat the food, for he thought, "If I take one's food first, the other will be jealous." So he took from each bowl at the same time and put both portions into his mouth at the same time.

Then the woman from the south said, "I have never been jealous, so eat from my friend's first, for my friend from the north often gets jealous." When it came to the moccasins, he thought of the same thing and took one from each pair, but his hands were awkward. The woman from the south said, "You should put on the pair the woman from the north brought. She gets jealous."

He took both women to his lodge. His mother was out again dressed up in her finest clothing playing the kickball game. When she returned, he said, "You foolish old woman! I have brought you two daughters-in-law."

When she heard that, she ran into her lodge, pulled off the elkskin dress and robe, rubbed charcoal over her paint, and came out looking like an old woman again. When it was time to go to bed, the three went together into the same bed, he in the middle with one of his arms under each wife's head. They slept that way all night.

Next day, the woman from the south said, "I am not jealous; tonight you should sleep with the woman from the north." The woman from the south was Corn Silk and the woman from the north was Buffalo Woman.

Buffalo Woman was first to give birth to a child, a little boy. Next night a child, also a boy, was born to Corn Silk. Nothing of importance happened until the boys were old enough to talk. One day they were playing together and enjoying themselves. The women were busy at their quill work. Buffalo Woman's boy cried and bothered his mother until she gave him a hoop laced with rawhide to play with. He enjoyed himself with it for some time. Corn Silk's boy wanted to play with it, but the other would not let him. He kept crying until finally Corn Silk brought him a small pumpkin the size of a ball and gave it to him to play with. The pumpkin made a rumbling sound as the boy rolled it on the ground. The buffalo boy threw his hoop away and cried for the pumpkin. Buffalo Woman said to Corn Silk, "Why can't you tell your boy to let mine play with the pumpkin? You have given many people chapped hands; you have caused many people to grow old from work; you have cut many people about the face with your dry husks. You always want to eat the best part of my body, especially the fat on my bowels."

Corn Silk replied, "You, too, always want to eat some part of my body. In the winter you go south where I came from to eat cornhusks; you eat the

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bodies of human beings." [She meant that when on the buffalo hunt there were instances of death of Indians from enemies or from injuries inflicted by the buffaloes.] 773 539

They scolded each other until Buffalo Woman said, "Get up, Calf!" They started for their home in the north.

When the husband came in, his wife said, "I told you the other wife was jealous. If you want to, you can follow them." He decided to follow and see how his son was getting along and then return to the village.

When he was ready to start, Corn Silk said, "When you get to the place where Buffalo Woman lives, you will get into trouble, but I will help you." He waited two or three days and then went to the place where he was accustomed to sit. He changed himself into a bird and flew in the direction his wife had taken. He changed into one of the small hawks known as the kite. When he got near the place where she lived, he came to large cactus plants as high as the cottonwood trees. Their needles were a foot long. Buffalo Woman and Calf did not stop but went straight into the cactus thicket. The father saw them from above and thought of striking her on the head with his lightning, but the calf was too near her. They were all day going through the cactus brush. That evening they came out and set up their skin tepee, which was almost white in color. The husband changed himself into a human being and went up to the door. His son came out and saw him. He was happy and ran inside to tell his mother. She only said, "Your father is not a very good man. Besides, he couldn't travel through that thick brush."

Calf asked if he could let his father in, but the Buffalo Woman said nothing. The boy ran to the door and said, "Mother wants you to come in." He went in. That night they slept in the tepee. Next morning he awoke to find himself sleeping in a buffalo wallow. His family and the tepee were gone. He could not find any tracks to tell him which way they had gone. He flew up, transformed into a bird, and shortly afterward he jumped a jackrabbit which he killed for his morning meal. He flew high into the air and found his wife and son approaching a large lake. First they would gallop, then they would run. When they reached the lake, the cow jumped into the water and the calf followed. They swam nearly all day and reached the other shore just as the sun was setting. Then they became human beings again and pitched their tepee. The husband came up, was invited in by the little boy, and slept in the tepee just as he had done the night before. Next morning he found the tepee gone as before. He changed into a bird, flew into the air, and again killed a jackrabbit for his morning meal. He found his wife and their son at the foot of a rocky ridge. He could see that she was working hard to get over the high rocks with the calf. It was sunset when they crossed the last ridge. They pitched their tent for the night. The husband stood at the door, but the wife did not think he would come that far, but the son found him and brought him in. The boy gave his share of the roasted buffalo ribs to his father. The boy slept with his father, but he was so noisy that his mother called him back to her bed.

Next morning the husband again found himself sleeping in a wallow with the tepee gone. He killed a jackrabbit for his morning meal and flew into the sky. He found them going through thorn-apple brush with the cow pushing her way ahead with difficulty. When the cow and calf came out of it, the sun was just setting. They pitched their tepee for the night.

She was roasting ribs for the meal when the husband came up. The boy asked his mother if he could give his father some. He took two of them to him

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to eat. (That is why a man today has ribs shaped like a buffalo's.) He slept with his father that night.

He said to his father, "Tomorrow is the day that we are to get home. I have much to tell you. My grandmother is mean. There are ten of us grandchildren. We all look alike and are boys. The first obstacle you will have to overcome is the door. It is one solid rock. If you are a little too fast or too slow, it will fall on you. You will have to find me. If you watch closely, you will see one run against the bed two or three times. That bed is my mother's. If you get in without being killed, grandmother will tell you to hang up your quiver against my mother's bed. If you watch closely, I will rub against it."

The husband changed into the down from his feather. The rock fell to crush him but instead it sucked him into the lodge. Once inside, he changed back to a human being again. He found the mother-in-law to be large, with earrings of live toads. He saw the boy bump into the bed three times, so he hung his quiver up over the bed the boy had bumped into. Then the calves were lined up, and he was asked to find his son, but he recognized him when Calf wiggled his left ear once. Then his son changed into a child again.

The fourth obstacle he was to encounter was that of the sweat lodge. The old woman said, "Calf, your father has traveled far and must be very tired. I am going into the sweat lodge with him."

She put the stakes of the lodge deep into the ground, and the covering was so thick that it was almost impossible to get out. She placed large boulders the size of an earth lodge but reduced, though holding the same amount of heat, in the pit. She hung three buffalo paunches full of water on the side of the door. As he went into the sweat lodge, he picked up a spider and said to him, "I will be burned to death if you do not help me."

He took the spider's body and went with it to the fourth layer under the ground. It was dark in the large earth lodge along the walls. Ten buffaloes were there in the lodge, unseen. They held the sides of the sweat lodge down so none could escape. When she put water on the stones, it was so hot that none could stand it, so she was surprised that her son-in-law should call for so much more water. The spider, speaking for the man said, "Bring more water for your mother-in-law." The toads she wore for earrings were nearly dead from the heat.

She came out of the lodge and the son-in-law came up from the fourth layer of the universe. He said, "That sweat was not warm enough to limber me up. Son,[5] can't your grandmother build another sweat tonight?"

She refused saying, "There is something I am afraid of which has come among us." He conquered death and then lived among them for some time.

One day the old woman came back from visiting a friend. She was crying, and they asked her what was the matter. She said, "They have been burning some dry cottonwood. I asked for some, but they said I had an Indian for a son-in-law. They said, 'Get him to bring some.' "

When she said that, her son-in-law agreed to get it. She said that in a certain ravine there was a dry cottonwood, the only tree of its kind there. All the time, the old woman knew that there was a family of bald eagles living there. He started for the tree; just before he reached it, the eagle saw him and began to send out lightning. He ordered them to stop sending the lightning, and the eagle said, "I thought you was an Indian." The eagle split the wood with his

5. He speaks to his mother-in-law indirectly.

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lightning and the man took it back to his mother-in-law. She took some of it to the people who had refused to give her any, so she said. 773 539

Some time later, she again came back crying and said her friend had some wolf pups a son-in-law had brought her. The pups were red from the chest up. She said that they had refused to give her any, since she had a son-in-law of her own. Again he volunteered to go out for her, this time for the wolf pups, if he only knew where they were to be found.

The mother-in-law said, "One will have to go north until he reaches some Red Buttes; one is higher than the other. The wolf pups are at the foot of the highest butte."

He started on the trip for the wolf pups. When he came to the place, the wolf and its mate came out to eat him, flames shooting out of their eyes. Before they could harm him, he told them who he was. He took two of the pups back alive, and the old woman was amazed that he was not eaten up. She said she was so proud she was going to give one of them to her friend, but actually she turned them loose, for these were some of the servants she had employed to devour her son-in-law.

Her friend, she said, had snow-white beaver cubs, and she wanted one of them, but the friend said she had an Indian for a son-in-law. He went after them for her. She said they were found in a certain lake. When he came near, the beavers switched their tails, and flints flew off chipping pieces of wood and even breaking stones. The man said, "Beavers! Stop that or I will kill you," and they stopped. He took two of the cubs back to the old woman.

Again she came back crying. This time she wanted juneberry sticks for arrows. Buffalo Woman scolded her for asking for so many things. Again she told how her friend's son-in-law had some he was cleaning the bark from with his teeth, but that they wouldn't give her any, telling her she had a son-in-law who was an Indian. Again he went out; this time it was for the sticks to make arrows from. While he was away, she said aloud, "I have put off long enough this matter of destroying him. I am not going to depend on my servants any longer. I am going to kill him myself now."

Before he left, he had inquired where they were, and she had said that they were on the other side of the hill just back of the camp. This was a high hill with a ravine beyond it. The sticks were at the bottom of the ravine. When he began to cut, he remembered that the best sticks were always at the bottoms of ravines. Actually the ravine was the old mother-in-law's rectum, and, when he began to cut, he found himself inside the old woman. She thought he would surely be killed by suffocation so she let up on her hold and then he was free to move about, but he could not get out. He looked through her stomach and saw a corn basket attached to a rope coming from above. He remembered then that his wife, Corn Silk, had said that when he was in trouble she would help him. The old woman thought she had disposed of him and had made a laughingstock of him as well. But he flew up as a swallow and gave the old woman the juneberry sticks, both the straight and crooked ones.

She had been using the other gods to kill her son-in-law. Again she thought she would try it herself. She said to Calf, "Your father has good vision. I am going to see which of us can recognize the island in the lake to the northeast.

He said, "My medicines, I am in trouble. I want you birds of the air to do the seeing for me," and the slender raven said, "I am the only bird with a long vision." (When a man is in trouble, he does not say "my friend" but "my medicines.")

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Raven took his eyeballs out and put them into the man's eye sockets. When he was ready, the woman said, "Let's go up on the lodge and see if you can sight the island."[6] He looked in the direction of the island and proceeded to describe the curves of the shore line and everything else on the island. She said he had described everything correctly.

When making a bet like this, the loser can have a second chance. She said, "Now, give me a second chance by seeing which of us has the better voice." The man went to his medicines again, and Land Gull said, "I am the bird with the clearest voice; use me for your voice."

During the breeding season, the buffalo bulls can be heard for over twenty miles. The woman used the voice of the bull. The old woman and her son-in-law were to be the sole judges of the contest. They separated and were far apart. When the bull bellowed, no sound came to the man. When the bird sounded, its voice could be heard as though it had come from just back of her ears.

Then she thought she could defeat the man in the foot race and thus kill him. Though this old woman lived in an earth lodge, actually the whole world was inside it. The four uprights were the four posts of the universe[7] which held up the sky. The four uprights were to be blackened, and the first to make the rounds of them was to be the winner. He called on his medicines to help him. The lodge was considered to be the earth; the wall was the horizon; the posts were the four uprights which held up the sky. He asked the killdeer bird to make the land between the first two posts boggy, and he called on the small gray fox to run the first stretch for him. The old woman employed four buffaloes, one for each stretch. He called on the red fox to run the second stretch; that land was undermined by the moles, who left just enough soil to hold the fox up but the old woman's buffalo floundered about helplessly. He called on the coyote to make the third run, but nothing was done to the land. He made the last run himself.

The race began. When the buffalo got to the first post, he was far behind. Each time when the buffalo reached the post, he would find it blackened. The man finished the race, transformed into a bird. After he won the race, the man said to the mother-in-law, "I want that prize to take home."

She said, "That is right," and, going to the head of the lodge and taking her wooden digging stick with her, she pried a rock out of its place and spoke down into the hole saying, "All of you come out." The buffaloes came out, but they were hairless and covered with grease. They had no meat, only fat on them.

He thought, "If I take them, my son will not get out." He refused them.

A second herd was called out, but they had long legs, long horns, long manes, and turned-up noses; they ate human beings. He refused them, and they returned into the earth. The third herd called up had long horns, manes that reached the ground, and bushy tails like horses, but they were larger than the others. He refused that herd, so she sent them back. The fourth herd was like the buffaloes we know.

He thought, "Here is a chance to take my wife and child back," so he accepted them.

6. She uses direct address. In extreme circumstances the mother-in-law will address the son-in-law directly.

7. So far as it was possible to determine, this was the only myth referring to the earth as a huge earth lodge. The mouth of Heart River was the fireplace.

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The old woman said, "This is the herd I tried to keep from you, but I am going to make a ruling that, when a white one appears, or a calf is born in the winter, it will be of great value." 773 539

That custom persisted until the buffalo were exterminated. He took the herd home, but let his wife and children [all the cow's sister's children were classified as children] go with the herd. He parted from them, for they were now considered food. This was also the beginning of the custom of a man parting with his wife and child and thinking little about it. This man taught the people that the world was an earth lodge supported by four posts. Thus, in building an earth lodge of the four-post standard, either an eagle lodge or earth lodge, calicoes were given to the posts in commemoration of this event.

When he reached home, the corn was short, for the season was dry; the buffalo herds were far away. He caused it to rain and brought the herds close to the village. All the people prospered and were happy, for the man by his adventures had brought good luck to all the people. By his suffering, he gained powers, and it was for the good of all his people.

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778 425 614 sales were as follows: (1) arrowmaking rights (Items 1, 2, 3, 4, 10); (2) owl rights (Items 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10); and (3) Holy Woman rights (Items 10, 11, 12, 13). The buffalo-calling rights were reserved for the main bundle-owner. There is no evidence of a bundle coming from Mitutanka Village.

SNOW OWL CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[5]

773 539 A long time ago the Mandan were divided up into groups trapping eagles along the creeks west of the Missouri River. They were living in the usual eagle-trapping lodges made on the four-post standard. Black Wolf was one of the party. Being a good hunter, Old Black Bear was glad to have him along. He would go out into the pit whenever the winds were from the west and he was catching many birds. One warm afternoon, when in his pit, he became sleepy and was dozing off when he heard a rumbling sound. He awoke instantly. This same sound occurred on three consecutive days, but each time he woke up. On the fourth day, he was asleep when it occurred.

When he finally woke up, his pit was so dark that he thought night had come. When he touched the roof of his pit, he found that a large rock covered it, holding him prisoner beneath. When he could not get out, he cried. He lost all track of time. At last he saw daylight and was glad to get out of the pit. He found himself in a strange country. He saw a high hill and went there to get his directions again. From there he saw timber farther on, and at the edge of it there was a very small man motioning with his robe for him to come over. He went to the stranger and found him to be a small man, almost a dwarf, with a fair complexion, yellow hair, and a slightly hooked nose. This little man spoke in Mandan, and Black Wolf was glad to hear a voice again. He was invited to a lodge which was a four-post eagle-trapping lodge. There he saw a middle-aged man sitting at the head of the lodge making arrows. The arrowmaker did not speak, but the little man asked him to sit down.

After a while the arrowmaker said to the little man, "My helper, you have brought in a stranger. Prepare food for him."

The little man brought in dried meat and fat which he cooked over the coals. When it was crisp, he placed it on a wooden platter and set it before Black Wolf. Being very hungry, he ate it all up. Then the little man brought him water in a buffalo horn.

When Black Wolf had eaten, the arrowmaker said to the little man again, "It is time for us to eat now." The meat Little Man brought in was from around the sinews of the back. This he pounded up with a stone hammer and made into pemmican. Then he brought out an earthen kettle full of water and set it onto the fire. When the water was hot, he brought out a white substance and put it into the kettle. Then he said, "The meal is ready."

The arrowmaker said, "Bring my paint," and the Little Man ran to obey him. The paint was yellow, and the arrowmaker daubed spots of it all over his body. He tied a scalp on his left wrist, then stood up and danced around the fire to the rhythm of his own breathing. Each time he came to the kettle, he

5. Another version of this myth is recorded in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 149–54.

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sifted a little of the pemmican into it and then ate a little out of the kettle each time around until he had his fill. Little Man did just as the larger man had done.

At the evening meal, everything happened just as at the previous one.

At the morning meal, the food was prepared as formerly. Black Wolf ate first; the arrowmaker went through the dance as he ate, as before, but added the words, "If you don't bring in the elk, you are a coward."

It was customary for Black Wolf and Little Man to bring the firewood from the timber. While in the woods, Black Wolf asked Little Man what the arrowmaker meant by calling him a coward if he did not bring the elk. Little Man replied, "A large elk lives in a lake far to the north. It comes out of the lake in the middle of the day to take a nap. By my cunning, I always approach him and shave off a small piece of his horns to bring home to cook in the earthen pot we keep by the fire."

Black Wolf said, "I will bring in that elk."

Little Man said, "There are two cranes watching the elk. They cry out, and their voices echo over the whole country whenever anyone approaches."

Black Wolf left immediately in quest of the elk. Toward evening he came to a forest. He thought he would spend the night there and soon found a four-post lodge near the edge of the trees. He went to the lodge and stopped at the door. Inside he heard women talking of digging roots and wild potatoes in the forest. Some said their work was easy; others said it was difficult. They said they were hungry and that one should go outside for the firewood. The one who went out was short, with a long nose, but she was very good-looking. She saw Black Wolf outside and invited him in, but the other women, on seeing him, became so frightened that they ran to the head of the lodge and fell in a pile on the floor. The woman at the bottom of the pile said, "I am smothering. There is nothing to be afraid of. It is only Black Wolf. It is our grandchild who frightened us."

Black Wolf took out a piece of tallow for the grandmothers to grease their hands with and to eat. Some ate theirs; others greased their hands.

When the excitement died down, one of the women asked, "Grandchild, what made you come so far?"

Black Wolf replied, "That is right. I am far from home." Then he related the strange things he had experienced. He told how the rock fell over his pit, how the two men danced as they ate, and how they had called him a coward if he did not bring Elk-with-Antlers. The women listened carefully to all he related.

Then one of the grandmothers said, "Grandchild, this is a dangerous undertaking. If you keep traveling north, you will meet more of your grandmothers [long-nosed mice living in the timber]. When you go, we will follow after you, and you can tell the next grandmothers you meet we are coming to them."

He gave the women a small piece of fat before leaving in the morning. He traveled all day, and toward evening he came to a lodge in the forest. As he came nearer, he saw the smoke coming from the lodge and heard voices inside. Their conversation was also about digging roots and wild potatoes. One of their number was sent out for firewood, and she cried back saying, "An Indian has come to our lodge." All the mice ran to the side of the lodge opposite the door where they formed a huge pile.

One of the number said, "It has been a long time if it was an Indian. She must have been fooling us."

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A second mouse went out to see what was the matter. She called back, "It is Black Wolf. Our grandchild must be on an important errand to be so far from home," so they opened the door, and Black Wolf went in.

One of the women said, "How is it you are up north so far from home? We never expected to see you here." Black Wolf thought of the reception and of the fat in his pockets. One of the mice said, "My lips and hands are chapped." He gave each grandmother a piece of fat. Some used it on chapped hands; others ate theirs. Then he related all that had happened since the rock rolled over his pit, making him a prisoner. When he told them that the grandmothers one camp back were coming, they said that there were more mice farther north and that another day's travel would bring him to them. They asked him to spend the night there. These mice were red-backed with white breasts. Before he left, they said that they would follow him to where the elk lived.

Next morning he went on, and at evening he came to the timber again. There he found a lodge and stood beside the door. Inside he could hear the usual conversation about chapped hands. Soon one of the mice was sent out for firewood and saw Black Wolf. Again they were all frightened and rushed to the back of the lodge to form a pile. The one spoke saying, "It is time the Indian was coming in. She may be fooling us."

Saying this, she went out and saw Black Wolf standing at the door. They were no longer frightened when they saw that Black Wolf had come to their lodge. They told of their chapped lips and hands. He thought of his fat and gave them larger pieces than he had done at the other lodges. These mice were nearly black. They asked the same questions concerning his business in the far north, and he told the same story as before. They said, "One day's journey from here will take you to the other grandmothers. Tell them we are following you to their lodge. We have nothing to say about your errand. It is those at the first lodge whose word is authority."

Black Wolf spent the night there and started on his journey next day at sunrise. That evening at sunset he came to a timber that lay crosswise to the course of his journey and saw a lodge just inside the timber. He heard those inside telling of digging roots and wild potatoes. One of their number was sent out to gather firewood and saw Black Wolf. She called to the others, "There is an Indian at our door." All the mice ran to the back of the lodge. One said, "She must be fooling us. It is time he came in." She went out to find Black Wolf standing there. She invited him in. They questioned him about the reason for being so far from home, and he told them everything.

They said, "That big man who took you after you were held prisoner in the pit is one nobody can do anything with. He captured Little Man to be his slave. There is no way to capture the elk, but, when your other grandmothers arrive, we will talk the matter over and see what can be done. That elk sleeps at noon." These were the moles.

The other mice arrived that evening. First they told him that the elk was white. When the mice were ready, they told him to remain in the lodge. All of them went outside without telling him why. The mice of the first night began a tunnel underground and dug until they were tired; the mice of the second lodge dug on; the mice of the third lodge dug as far as they could; the mice of the fourth lodge finished the tunnel up to the sleeping elk. Then they called Black Wolf to follow the tunnel and kill the elk. Its heart beat was so strong that Black Wolf could hear it. He went up to the sleeping elk and shot four arrows tipped with flint into the heart, and the animal died. When the mice

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dug the tunnel, the cranes set to guarding the elk knew nothing of it so did not let out a cry until it was too late.

The grandmothers advised him to return at once with the elk. Being holy, he made the trip in one day. As soon as he reached the lodge of the two men, he informed the large man that he had killed the elk. He only replied, "Good! We will bring it in." Being birds, they made the trip there and brought in all the meat in one day.

When all the elk was taken into the lodge, the large bird danced around the food before eating. The small portion they used to put into the kettle was the fat from the horns. Now they had all the horns so they were well supplied. At first the large man was satisfied with the meat, but he got tired of it after three meals. They he danced and chanted "If you don't bring the four stripes, you are not a man." He referred to a man who had four stripes painted in his hair.

Little Man was one of the small gray-colored owls about the size of a blackbird found in the timber. Black Wolf continued to gather wood with Little Man. That day he asked what Big Man meant about the four stripes, and Little Man said, "He means that you should go after a man with hair striped white, red, blue, and bright red. This man lives near the ocean. There is no way of reaching him. That is the person Big Man was speaking of."

Black Wolf said, "I will go for him."

When Big Man heard of this, he was very happy, for he had no way of getting the man. Black Wolf changed into a bird and made the flight to the seashore. Then he changed back into a human being again. He walked along the edge of the forest where he saw many tracks of animals. Soon he saw an earth lodge with smoke coming from the smokehole and knew that it was occupied. Without awaiting an invitation, he walked in. There was only one occupant, a woman (the white-tail deer). She said, "What brings you so far from home?" She gave him corn-meal porridge, cooked dried meat, and water. Being hungry, he ate it all up and drank the soup. Again she asked him what brought him to the lodge. He told her of Big Man who took him in; how he sang a song telling of Black Wolf's cowardice if he did not bring in the white elk; and how Big Man now wanted him to bring in the man with the striped scalp.

When he finished, the woman said, "It is a good time to go now, for that man is in love with me."

She wore a dress of buckskin. This she took off and stood naked before him. Then she asked Black Wolf to do the same. Then she rubbed his body until he had her physique. When she came to the calves of his legs where one of the veins looks like lightning, she said, "If I change that vein, you will not run so fast. Now you look just like me except your lower legs. Now you must go to the shore and say, 'Grandfather, my grandmother has ordered you to cross me.' If a snake comes out, tell him he is not the right one, and he will disappear."

He did as she directed. When the first snake came out, there were only red willows on the bank, so he knew it was not the right one. He called again, and the growth on the shore was the small cottonwoods. He said, "Grandfather, you are not the right one."

The snake said, "I am sorry. I came for nothing."

The grandmother had said, "The third one to come out will lay its head on the shore. If the cottonwoods show smooth bark, tell him he is not the one you want, and he will disappear. The fourth time you call, the shore line will be changed to rocky sides and the cottonwoods will be large in circumference

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but not tall, with red willows growing at their feet." She gave Black Wolf eight large corn balls and said, "That snake will say, 'Grandchild, put one of those corn balls into my mouth,' but instead of doing it, put it into the water and let the snake get it himself. All these growths will be on the serpent's head."

When the last snake came to the shore, Black Wolf said, "Come a little closer," and it obeyed. Four times he asked the snake to come closer, and each time the large snake drew its head farther up on the bank. Then Black Wolf jumped and grabbed some red willows to hold onto. He missed the draft that nearly sucked him into the snake's mouth. The snake swam on, since he could not get Black Wolf at the shore. He hoped to swallow the man when he put corn balls into his mouth but, instead, Black Wolf threw them into the water for the snake to get as best he could. Corn balls were thrown into the water four times on the trip, and then they reached shore. There the snake placed his head even with the water, but Black Wolf did not dare to get off and asked him to move farther up the bank. This way, he moved the snake four times so that he was far up on the bank. Black Wolf jumped safely to shore.

At once he dressed in the woman's costume and started for the earth-lodge village. The grandmother had instructed him to look for a lodge facing south, which he had no difficulty in finding, once he reached the village. The young men of the village, playing the hoop-and-stick game, stopped to admire the pretty young woman passing by. One of them said, "She is the prettiest girl to come to this island. No doubt she is going to visit Four Stripes."

He went to the lodge and said, "Here is a woman who wants to come in."

When Four Stripes' mother heard, she went out to the girl and said, "Pretty woman, did you come to see my son?"

Black Wolf said, "Yes." The old woman showed her to a seat. Black Wolf was dressed in an elk robe, mountain-sheep dress, and leggings. He was very beautiful in women's clothing.

The grandmother, in giving instructions, had said, "Four Stripes' mother has the reputation of being a very mean woman."

Black Wolf was given food, and about that time Four Stripes returned. He was very handsome with light complexion and long hair. He was dressed in a beautiful costume. He had just returned from courting the chief's daughter. He carried a long lance in his hand. This he hung up at the head of his bed while he changed his robe. The mother said, "This young woman has come to you, and you better sit beside her and become her husband." He agreed, and they were married.

The mother-in-law sent Black Wolf for water. At the edge of the spring, he found a mountain-sheep horn that was always in motion. It had peppermint growing on its edges. He took the horn, filled it with water, and gave it to Four Stripes. The mother-in-law instructed Black Wolf to return the horn where he found it. He was given food, and, when the two had eaten, they heard a loud noise above. A woman came down through the smokehole. She was a bird with a long neck and on her back carried a sharpened ash pole with which she killed anything she attacked. She was a holy woman. She traveled like a bird and devoured humans as food. Her hair was dark with gray stripes. She was sister to Four Stripes. Also in the lodge was Four Stripes' mother's

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sister (called mother). When the holy woman[6] flew in from the skies, she was surprised to see the woman beside Four Stripes.

The mother said, "Don't you do anything to my daughter-in-law," for this woman was in the habit of eating anyone who came to marry Four Stripes.

Holy Woman said, "If she is a woman, let her stand up like a woman." She meant that she should strip naked. The holy woman asked her to let her arms hang. As it was dark in the lodge, she lit willows to examine Black Wolf. Then she commanded Black Wolf to turn his face from the fire, and then she admitted that there was a resemblance to a woman. She noticed the veins on Black Wolf's legs, and she flew up through the smokehole, saying, "The calves of her legs are not those of a woman."

It was not long until it was time to retire. Black Wolf wanted intercourse with Four Stripes and set the night back four times. Near the end of the fourth night, Four Stripes went to sleep. Black Wolf got up and shook Four Stripes, but he was sound asleep. Then he began to cut the head off with a flint knife. When he came to the fat around the spinal cord, he found that it was a chokecherry branch. He finished cutting the head off and put it inside his dress. He said to the mother-in-law, "I have my periods. I should go outside to sleep while I have them."

The mother-in-law said, "You should go on a scaffold."

"No, I will sleep on the earth-lodge entrance," Black Wolf replied.

The mother-in-law made a covering of robes for Black Wolf. As he walked, blood dripped from the head, and she thought it was from the sickness. He left one of his lice in the bed to impersonate him. He ran to the shore and found the monster still waiting for him.

He said, "Grandfather, I am back." He was nearly sucked into the snake's mouth as he jumped onto its head. He gave out the four corn balls on the way, but they had not reached the shore. The snake asked for flesh from the thigh of Black Wolf's leg. That gave him strength to reach the shore. Black Wolf landed safely and ran to meet the grandmother. She said, "Hurry, take off your clothing." By the same rubbing process, he was returned to his old self again. She forgot to rub under his arm, so that to this day, a man's skin there resembles a woman's.

When the excitement was over, the grandmother said, "Hurry, and try to reach the lodge at Fat Hill (north of Little Missouri River). Don't stop at the entrance but run inside as fast as you can."

He left the grandmother and ran toward the lodge as fast as he could. Just before reaching the lodge, the holy woman in the air said, "The head is drying up. There is no chance for you to get out alive." He ran into the lodge and threw himself out of reach of the large bird. The only person in the lodge was a small boy with a dirty nose; he was playing in the ashes. The holy woman landed a little behind Black Wolf but did not go into the lodge. The little boy was named Bad Bone, the Mandan term for the sternum bone.

The holy woman called into the lodge, "Send Black Wolf out. If any harm comes to him, I will make you suffer." Bad Bone went to the left side of the lodge and rubbed it with his hand, and the lodge immediately changed into

6. Four Stripes' sister. One of holy women entitled to dress up and dance at the close of the Okipa ceremony and to receive gifts whenever a major bundle rite was being performed.

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a solid rock, holding the two inside. The holy woman flew up into the sky and came down with the pointed stick, attempting to chip the stone. Bad Bone caused a crack to appear in the stone, large enough for her to stick her pointed rod into, and then he caused the lodge to go back together, holding the stick and woman prisoner. When the bird was fast, he returned to his playing and did not say a word to Black Wolf. Bad Bone then caused it to rain, and the holy woman became wet and cold. She called to the boy, but he paid no attention to her. Then he caused it to snow, and there was a blizzard from the northwest. She called that she was freezing, and they could hear her shiver. At last she died. Black Wolf went outside, cut her head off, and told Bad Bone that he could eat the body.

He left the lodge immediately, carrying the two heads. He reached Big Man's lodge without further difficulty and presented them to him. Big Man was glad to get the two heads, which he skinned and dried. Before this time, it had been customary for Black Wolf to eat first but Big Man said, "My helper, get something to eat. We will eat together." He tied Four Stripes' scalp on Big Man's wrist and gave the woman's scalp to Little Man to wear on his wrist. When Black Wolf first came, Big Man had a scalp on his left wrist; this he gave to Black Wolf to wear on his left wrist. The three danced around the food before eating.

For several days they danced in this manner before each meal. Each time they ate, part of the elk's horn fat went into the kettle with the pounded meat. Black Wolf and Little Man went for wood each day. One day Black Wolf told of his desire to go home.

When he made his wishes known, Little Man said, "When you get to the lodge, bow your head and make it known that you are homesick. He will ask me what is wrong and you address him Igi]'tahE." IgiitahE was the owl that lived in the north. It always faced the wind, no matter how cold and stormy it might be. This owl was almost pure white in color.

When Big Man asked him what was the matter, Black Wolf told him he was lonesome. IgiitahE asked when he wanted to return, and Black Wolf said, "I have brought you all the things you desired, and now I think I have earned my freedom. I want to start for home today."

IgiitahE said, "That is true; you brought me everything I asked for. My last wish is that you stay with us tonight. Your home is not far, and you can reach it in one day."

That evening they ate together and then retired. Early next morning, IgiitahE woke up and asked Little Man to get a meal together, as it would be their last one with Black Wolf. Then IgiitahE asked Little Man to bring the medicine bundle, and the boy gave him the bundle. From the bundle Big Man took a rib with a hole through it. It was one such as is used for straightening arrow shafts and making the grooves. He said to Black Wolf, "See how I make them." He took out a wooden object with a hollow in it to polish the shaft. He put pulverized stone in the groove. The third object was a piece of rawhide tanned in such a way that pulverized stone stuck to it, serving like a sandpaper for smoothing arrows. The pulverized stone clung to the hide by a glue made of boiled sinew. The fourth object was a grapevine the length of the arm and the diameter of the thumb. He also gave Black Wolf a tanned fawnskin, both his spur claws, yellow clay for paint, black clay also for paint, and one of his largest feathers pulled from his wing.

Then he instructed Black Wolf that on the way home he would meet a very

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pretty woman who would say that she heard he was returning. "You should shun her and not even smile at her. She is pretty, but farther on there is a prettier one. The second one will try to attract you and even make advances toward you. Don't smile or talk to her, or she will use her powers over you and take you to her lodge. You will meet four pretty women.[7] You are privileged to talk to the fourth woman, if you are not strong-hearted, for man is not strong that way."

Black Wolf met the three women just as IgiitahE had said he would but passed them all up. Coming to the fourth woman, he saw that she was the most beautiful of them all. He thought of the privilege he had been given, so when she got in his path, he smiled and spoke to her. She invited him to her lodge, saying, "Come, my lodge is over there," and she prepared a meal. Then she asked him to marry her. Looking around, he saw that there were eight beds. He had been warned to be on the lookout all the time, for there were many dangers. He remembered that he had been warned that, in the course of intercourse, he would need the articles give him by IgiitahE. As they lay there, something tried to bite him. He used the rib employed in manufacturing arrows and the vaginal teeth chewed it to pieces. Next time the teeth tried to bite him, he used the two wooden tools for smoothening arrows; the third time he used the rawhide sandpaper which it took a long time to chew up; the fourth time he used the grapevine, which it chewed on for a long time. Then he had normal intercourse.

Shortly afterward, one of the men returned to the lodge. This lodge was the Dog Den Butte. The other six men came back soon afterward. Each time one of the men came in, he noticed an outsider in the lodge and would say, "Hurry and make us a meal of that animal you have just devoured."

The sister would say, "You can't eat this one; he is your brother-in-law." It had been customary, when killing a man, for the sister to bite off the penis, and then the brothers would eat the corpse. It was the custom of these brothers to lead the Mandan into the vicinity of Dog Den Butte, where, when a battle took place with the enemy, one of the warriors would be killed. These seven brothers would then take the corpse into Dog Den Butte and eat it. When the seven brothers could not induce their sister to give up Black Wolf, they said, "We are going to have a dance. Let Black Wolf dance with us."

She warned Black Wolf, "Do not dance with them, or they will eat you."

He only replied, "Since my brothers-in-law want me to join their dance, I will."

"But they will kill you," his wife replied. Black Wolf insisted that he could dance like them and thus be safe from harm. He put on a costume like Big Man had given him and braided his hair into a knot on the top of his head. He used the wing feather, yellow clay and black clay, tying the spurs of the white owl to each wrist; he slung the fawnskin over his shoulders. He made a pretty sight with his body painted yellow and spotted with the black clay. When the dance began, some of the dancers threw off their heads, others their stomachs, hearts, and even legs.

Black Wolf dressed in his bed. When ready for the dance, his wife said, "Your brother-in-law is coming out." They stood beside his bed ready to seize him when he appeared. Instead, he threw the fawnskin out, which, coming to life, frightened the brothers. Black Wolf impersonated the white owl and

7. In order these women were: White-Tail Deer, Black-Tail Deer, Elk, and Buffalo.

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screeched. The seven brothers ran away, leaving portions of their bodies they had been holding in their hands.

Black Wolf said, "I am very sorry they wanted me to take part in this, for they are all afraid of me."

The brothers begged the sister to get Black Wolf to give them back the pieces of their bodies deserted in the wild scramble for the door. One by one the dancers overcame their fright and ran into the lodge, seizing the lost parts. Black Wolf told them he had taken off his costume so they were safe in returning to the lodge. The brothers gathered around the fire, but they still feared Black Wolf. Each time he moved they would rush out of the lodge.

Black Wolf said, "I was on my way home when you brought me in. Now I must go home." At this time Black Wolf noticed an old bow with a knotted string, also a lance with a warped handle, and a quiver full of holes hanging over the door. He thought there must be some reason for the things hanging there. The brothers gave him his choice of the three, and he saw that his wife wanted to speak to him so he listened to her before making a choice. She whispered, "The important articles are at the farther end. If you take one of the two, you are making a good selection."

Black Wolf said to the brothers-in-law, "You have been good to me, but I am not worthy of taking your best, so I will take the bow and lance."

He left immediately, but the wife said, "Wait."

The brother-in-law said, "You did not take the best."

Another said, "You have given him his choice, and you should let it go at that."

Another said, "It is the custom for a married woman to go with her husband."

Another said, "No, she is the one who gets us food when we fail to bring in meat."

The brothers all agreed that she should say something to her husband before he left. She said, "You must go home and marry any kind of woman, even if she is not honorable. Then leave her for another. Do this four times, for I want to be jealous four times. When you go home, I will stay here and perform ceremonies. When you prepare for the ceremony, my brothers and I will be there. The chief will ask you to his lodge and offer you his daughter. Your answer will be 'I have important work to perform, and, when I get it done, I will take her.' "

When they were ready to let him go, she took four bundles apart and asked him to walk on them with his eyes shut and to open his eyes when he stepped on the last one. Then he would be home. He did as directed, and on the fourth step he reached home.

Word went around the village that Black Wolf was back. The chief heard of it and invited him to his lodge, saying, "During your absence, we have had hard times. I want you to marry my daughter so times will be better."

Black Wolf said, "I have come home to perform some very important business. I must complete that task. After that, I will consider marrying your daughter." That same night he married a girl from a poor family and word went around that he was foolish to marry the poor girl when the chief had offered him his daughter. Next morning the wife was found dead, and Black Wolf married a second wife the same day. She, too, died the next morning, and he married a third wife, who died on the morning following her marriage. He married four wives, and all of them died.

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Then he was free to marry the chief's daughter, for he knew that the woman in Dog Den Butte had had her jealousy satisfied. (To this day, it is believed that when a man loses many wives, it is due to the jealousy of the woman living in the Dog Den Butte.) He was married and lived in the chief's lodge. Black Wolf had promised that, when he returned to the village, he would perform the ceremony. The property necessary for the ceremony included over one hundred buffalo robes and one white buffalo robe. When he left the Dog Den Butte, he did not take the old bow and lance, for his wife in the Dog Den Butte had said, "When you give the ceremony, I will deliver the things to you."

When he made the sacrifice of robes to the people in the Dog Den Butte, they knew that the time had come. The chief's daughter removed her clothing and carried a plain black pipe. The people from the Dog Den Butte made four stops coming to the village so the girl was sent with the pipe, corn balls, and a robe to meet them at each stop. The robe was given them at the first stop, but they also received one at the door of the chief's lodge. When they made their last stop, they were at the door of the lodge, and all entered. Someone laid the robe on the floor, and the people from the Dog Den Butte laid Black Wolf's bow and lance on it. The sacred dances then commenced. The woman from Dog Den Butte was naked with a small robe over her shoulders, and a turtle shell over her pudendal region. The dance was very suggestive. They danced continually through the ceremony. Then the woman took up the bow and lance, which she gave to Black Wolf. The woman and each of her brothers took turns promising Black Wolf success in warfare and in taking scalps.

The brothers said, "You will be chief of this village and never have any bad luck."

The woman said, "In the future, when any Indian thinks of me, he must make offerings to me and give his wife to the one who is head of this medicine."

That was the way the custom of "giving the wives" began, and it has continued down to its present keeper, Little Owl. All the sacred objects are kept. The ones making the ceremony within memory of those living are Standing Bear, Belly Up, Foolish Bear, and Bear on the Flat. The last person to impersonate the woman of Dog Den Butte was Flat Bear's grandmother, Brave Woman. She is called Woman Living in Dog Den Butte. In the last dance a man by the name of Big Turtle was on one side of the door. He had marks painted in red clay showing the kinds of wounds an enemy might inflict on the Mandan. A young man wanting to be lucky would go to him and ask for the privilege of striking an enemy. Then, when he was successful, he paid the man for sending him good luck.

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women want the man to pick it up. If he picks it up, but few do, he dresses like a woman. 838

There are three women, one in each of the three places where Sun stops to smoke. They are his sisters. Their names are Sunrise Woman, Above Woman, and Sunset Woman. They are all evil women. Because Sun is my god, I have the right to give children such names as Lone Woman from Sun's mother, Buffalo Woman from the buffalo skull, Digs Turnips or Chokecherry Tree from the Bear. 776 553

Although the woman represented in the Shell bundle is one of the Holy Women, rights in the People Above ceremony did not carry rights in the Shell bundle. 778 776

These Holy Women cause twisted faces and insanity, and people with rights in the bundle can cure them. I have the right also to doctor those thrown from horses or hit with an ash stick. This right comes from the People Above bundle. [553] [828]

The myth Calf Woman had been taught when buying the bundle was as follows: 773 539

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY CALF WOMAN

Three people go together in this story; they are Sun, Moon, and Old Woman Above. A long time ago a young woman named Corn Silk wanted to marry Sun. She went to a very old woman, who was a Holy Woman, to get instructions as to where Sun lived and how she might reach him. This Holy Woman said, "Your grandmothers, the mice, are living on the prairies. You can stop at their earth lodges each night on the way."

She started on her journey and came to the home of the lodge mice about sundown. She walked up to the lodge and stood outside. One of the children who came outside saw her and ran inside to tell the mice about it. The old women told the little mouse to invite her in. She asked the woman who was doing the cooking to prepare Corn Silk some ground beans for her supper. The young woman had buffalo fat along; she gave some of it to the mice to use, for their hands were chapped from digging beans. She also had some blue stone beads along, and she gave some of them to the old women. She slept there and the next morning went on.

The lodge mice told her that there was another family of mice a little farther on. She reached them at sunset. They were the white-breasted mice. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads as before. She also gave them fat for their chapped hands. One of the old women asked her where she was going, and she replied that she was on her way to marry Sun. They told her she would find another family of mice a little farther on.

She traveled all day and reached the lodge of the mosquito mice at sunset. One came out and saw her, and she was invited in as before. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads and buffalo fat.

They inquired, "Where are you going, my beautiful grandchild?"

She answered, "I am on my way to marry Sun."

She slept until morning and ate her breakfast with the mice. She traveled all day and reached the home of the pocket gophers at sunset. They saw her,

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and she was invited in. Each of the pocket gophers had a little clay pot cooking in the fire.

The head woman said, "The first cooked beans must be given to our grandchild."

Corn Silk had some corn balls with her, and she gave each old woman one of them with the buffalo fat. They asked where she was going, and she told of her trip to marry Sun.

Next day she traveled on until she reached the lodge where Sun lived. She stood at the door. Sun's mother, Old Woman Above, came out and saw the beautiful girl. Sun and Moon each owned a side of the lodge. Old Woman Above called her in and sent her to Moon's side of the lodge instead of Sun's.

About this time a Cheyenne woman came up from below, and Old Woman Above took her to Sun's side. Sun was on the inside of the lodge and knew all that was going on outside of the lodge. He saw that his mother was cheating him. He told his mother about it, but she said that not many women came to be the wife of Moon. Old Woman Above brought in the Cheyenne woman and said to Sun, "Here is your wife."

Moon said, "Mother, cook something for your daughters-in-law."

Sun was a cannibal, so Old Woman Above cooked human hands, ears, and skin which the Cheyenne woman helped Sun eat.

They had been married some time when the women knew that they were to have children. Moon told his wife he had a nest in a tree and asked Corn Silk to give birth to her child there, for Sun was fierce and would otherwise eat the baby. She had only to make the motion of jumping up to the nest, and she was there. Moon's wife gave birth to a boy. She and her baby were safe in a tree.

Shortly afterward, Sun's wife gave birth to a boy also. Sun picked it up and licked it like a buffalo licks her calf. Both parents were proud of their baby boys. Moon would go out in the evening and come back in the morning just when Sun was leaving. Sun said that he did not want the children to be babies all the time, and Moon agreed with him. Moon was afraid of Sun, since Sun would play with the children while Moon was away during the night. Moon knew that Sun had done something to his son, so he looked in the baby's mouth, where he found pieces of skin from humans Sun had been feeding him.

Sun said the babies should sit up, and they sat up; that they should walk, and they walked; that they should run around, and they ran around. That way they were full grown in a short time, and Sun gave the boys names. Moon's child was named Prairie Dog Owl. Sun's child was named Game Piece Stone.

Sun said, "Our boys are grown up, so I am anxious to have some people to eat."

When Moon went out that night, Sun had the boys play the gambling game. Old Woman Above watched closely every moment of the time. Moon's boy won the game but Sun said to play it over again; again Moon's boy won, and a second time Sun said to play it over. They played the game over four times, and each time Moon's boy won, but each time Sun said, "My boy has won the game."

Old Woman Above said, "Moon's son won every time."

They quarreled, and Sun said, "You always help Moon."

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Old Woman Above replied, "Moon's boy won every time, and you always want to take it away from him." 773

In every game there was something bet. Once Moon's boy bet a Mandan household and Sun's boy bet his Cheyenne mother's ten brothers. When Moon came back, Old Woman Above told of the affair. 539

Moon said to his wife, "I will lengthen the night four times. You put a flea on the bed and tell it to talk to Sun, who will think it is you. Try to get to the village you came from with the boy. There you will be safe. The flea will tell the story over and over taking your place for four entire nights."

Moon's wife started back toward her village, and, while she traveled on through a night four nights long, the flea began the story. He told how Corn Silk went to the holy old woman to learn how she could get to Sun; how she visited and spent the nights with the mice for one night on the way; how she inquired the way to Sun's lodge and eventually found it.

About that time Sun became nervous because morning did not come. Then Moon added another night, and the flea told of the second night Corn Silk had spent with the mice.

Sun wondered why morning did not come again and said, "Something must have happened; it ought to be morning."

Moon set the night back a third time, and the flea told of the third night Corn Silk spent with the mice. The fourth night Corn Silk spent with the pocket gophers, the flea explained to Sun. Then the flea told how Corn Silk came to the lodge and Old Woman Above put her on Moon's side even though she came to marry Sun. The flea told of her marriage with Moon and Sun's marriage with the Cheyenne woman. By that time it was daylight.

Moon, who was also a large bird, one of the Thunderbirds, came back but not to the lodge. Instead he sat on a high cliff. He painted and prepared for war and flew around looking for the Cheyenne woman's ten brothers who were on their way to attack the village where Corn Silk's people lived. He found them and killed them with one flash of lightning. Just as soon as the ten men were killed, the Holy Women (magpies) who were evil spirits came and ate the meat from the bodies. Sun's child was among the ten. Moon's child cut the head off of Sun's child, but he had to put fire on him to kill the body completely. Moon had said that it was the only way Sun's child could be completely killed. He saved the head from Sun's boy. When Corn Silk and her son reached Prairie Chicken River, Moon's son ordered the Prairie Chickens to come together so that they formed a bridge with their beaks for the two to cross over on. The birds did as he ordered, and, when the boy was in the middle of the river, he dropped the head into the water and said, "Grandfather [Snake], I am making an offering of Sun's boy's head to you."

The two reached their village, and the people were proud of them and sang songs of praise because the boy's father had killed their enemies, the Cheyennes. They put him above all the others in the tribe and eventually made him their war chief.

By that time, Sun awoke and knew something had happened. He went to the spot where the bodies lay. There he found his son's ashes and put them together. The little boy jumped up without a head and fell down again. Sun then went to the spot where the Cheyenne had been killed, but only one skinny skeleton remained uneaten by the evil spirits

Moon's wife had a lodge of her own where she lived with her son. He had

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a pile of stones on a high hill, and he went there to sit nearly every day. Since his father was a Thunderbird, he liked to sit on high places and sing his sacred songs.

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Calf Woman's bundle contained these articles (see Fig. 40): (1) copper ring representing Old Woman Above; (2) copper ring representing Sun; (3) copper crescent representing Moon;[4] (4) one large gourd rattle; (5) six magpie tail feathers (the Holy Women were identified by these magpie feathers); (6) twelve owl tail feathers (the owl was associated with the moon and the

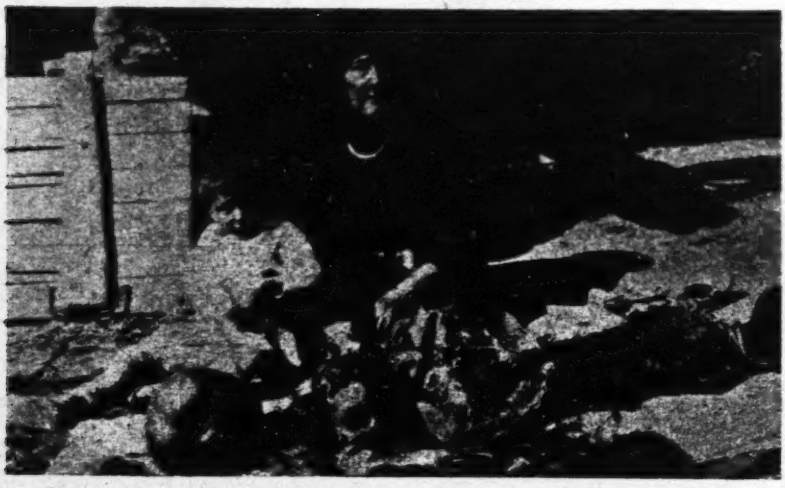

FIG. 40.—People Above bundle with owner, Calf Woman, and her grandson

night); (7) human scalp, said to be one that was taken from a Cheyenne Indian, killed by Moon when his son escaped; (8) left arm of a grizzly bear, used in the ceremony, since Corn Silk and her son did not have time to get a forearm of one of the Cheyenne; (9) grizzly bear's skull;[5] (10) tuft of long hair from a buffalo bull's lower jaw; (11) a strip of hide from a buffalo calf's head; (12) long hair from a buffalo's foreleg; (13) buffalo left horn; (14) a buffalo skull.[6] (The buffalo was represented in the

4. The three copper objects were obtained from white traders.

776 5. Scattercorn explained that the Holy Women were the only ones who could master a grizzly bear and compel it to work for them carrying wood from the forests. The significance of this skull was not clear to the informant. She thought that it had been added by a former owner and was not a true part of the bundle.

6. The rites were of major bundle status.

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Chapter XIII

THE SHELL ROBE BUNDLE

778 THIS bundle was spoken of as the Shell Robe of the Holy Women to distinguish it from other Holy Women bundles. Traditionally, the robe originated in Yellow Dog's village of Awatixa and reached the Mandan by intermarriage a long time ago, while the Mandan were still living in the Heart River region. The bundle consisted of a tanned piece of elkhide approximately two feet square to which were attached pieces of human scalps and clam shells set in rows. The hair had been removed from the hide, and a piece of scalp and a clam shell were fastened together in some manner not clear to informants, before being attached to the robe. A star representing the morning star was painted on the center of the robe. The bundle also contained magpie tail feathers, a braid of sweet grass, an ash digging stick, a buffalo-bull skull, and a plain wooden pipe. These, except the buffalo skull, were kept in a buffalo-hide sack. The bundle was one of a number having its mythological origin from the Holy Women, being so identified by the presence of magpie tail feathers, braids of sweet grass, and the ash digging stick.

778 This was the most widely known of the Holy Women myths. Those having other Holy Women bundle rights could sell the
•773 story independently of the Shell Robe bundle. Bear on the Flat,
726 whose mother had rights in the Woman in Dog Den bundle, claimed rights in this bundle by virtue of rights in a Holy Woman bundle. This was primarily a war bundle, and feasts given by men leading war parties were of frequent occurrence. The feasts entitled them to have an image erected before the giver's lodge and to have given them some article from the bundle by the Shell Robe owner. The article was carried on war expeditions and prayed to during the performance of the war rituals when away from the village. The number of feasts that could be given or the number of times articles associated with the bundle could be given out was unlimited. The blessings of the Holy Women

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were sought, since these women went out at night, according to the myths, to fight and to incite fights between the Mandan and their own people or the enemy in order to have people to eat. They were described as cannibals in all the myths. 778 326 773

The peculiar ceremonial pattern and traditional history of the bundle, in a large measure, explained the general knowledge of the myths belonging to the ritual. The bundle-owner and his wives could sell the story. Owners of all bundles in which were represented Holy Women, consisting of Buffalo Woman, Old Woman Above (Sun's mother), Woman in Dog Den Buttes, Old Woman Who Never Dies, and Striped Scalp (Sun's sister), were included in this group. Traditionally, the myth survived when the Hidatsa sold the bundle. Those who had bought the right to hear the story could in turn retell when payment was made. Those who had made offerings to the robe could learn the story and retell it upon payment of goods. The bundle was normally transferred from parents to sons and daughters if they were living and wanted it; otherwise to a daughter and her husband, inheritance being in the Prairie Chicken clan. Transfer was made at a public feast, but the preliminary instructions were direct between buyer and seller and in secret. The people of the Prairie Chicken clan of Awatixa and the Mandan villages claimed rights to the bundle. 778 773 425

When doing ethnological work with Mandan informants, it was evident that there was no hesitation in giving information on this ceremony, as was the case with the People Above ceremony. There was no reference to punishing people with insanity, paralysis, and other afflictions, as was the case with the People Above mythology, in spite of the fact that the female characters represented were believed to be members of the Holy Women band. These women, although cannibals and evil in character, were often represented in the mythology as kind, sending fog to conceal their movements while they brought meat into the Mandan villages and loaded down the corn scaffolds during times of famine. People were not permitted to speak in a loud voice in the lodge where the bundle was kept, and mice that ran over it were said to have died. 776 124

During the last century the bundle and its owners have occupied an important place in the traditional history of the Man- 778

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where the Sioux were hiding. The Sioux rushed out, and a shot broke Bobtail Bull's leg above the ankle, and he said, "I am Bobtail Bull." He shot several with his arrows but in turn was hit in the chest with a bullet and died. The Sioux who killed him named himself Bobtail Bull.

Because Bobtail Bull killed the enemy at the small Mandan village, these people were obliged to come to Like-a-Fishhook Village for protection.

There is a slight variation in the myth between villages. This was determined by ascertaining the villages the various family lines had resided in. There were two distinct Mandan versions and one Hidatsa version. Several accounts were recorded of which three representative versions are given. They are: (1) Mitutanka version, supplied by Mrs. Owen Baker, granddaughter of Bobtail Bull; (2) Nuptadi version, narrated by Ben Benson; and (3) Hidatsa version, related by Bears Arm.[5]

MITUTANKA SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY MRS. OWEN BAKER[6]

She was a Mandan. The people went to a winter camp, coming from the Heart River. They were at the place where they dig paint near the Little Missouri. It was east of [illegible] the road crosses north of Killdeer. This place was called "Where they [illegible]t." They were traveling along slowly, for they had dogs. The girl and he[illegible] got lost. Though the children were missing, the people could find no t[illegible] of them. The two children built a lodge shaped like the eagle-trapping lodge. When they had finished, they were hungry, so they looked around. They found rose berries and wild turnips. They dug a cellar and put them away for the winter.

In a short time, the sister found a friend who stayed at home all the time, but the sister rarely stayed at home. She brought in elk, deer, and many kinds of meat. One day the boy brought in an elkhide. The women tanned the hide and made a robe of it. When they finished, they pasted clam shells to it. They painted the morning star on the middle of the robe.

She said, "Leave a space where I can put something on the left side for Corn Tassel." (The Awatixa call her Red Feather.)

Her brother did not know what it all meant, so he worried about it. After he had eaten, he would lie down to worry.

The two women tanned hides for their robes and dresses. The sister did not like the place and thought it was not a good place to live, so she left the place and went to Big Timber. There she built a large lodge and had all the mysterious holy women help her. They lived there a few years. When she was away, the brother would hear a strange noise while hunting and wondered what it was, but he was never able to get the answer. One day when she was gone, his other sister told him that his sister (Feather on Head) was after him.

She said, "Did you hear a noise? That is your sister. She flies into the skies and fights there. She is trying to take your life. I will try to help you out so you will be safe. When you go hunting, if you kill an elk or buffalo, cut the meat and hide up into small pieces and throw it around where you butchered."

5. This version was from Awatixa Village of the Hidatsa tribe.
6. For the Nuptadi and Awatixa versions see Appendix II.

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He came home, and it was then that he told the other sister that he had cut the elk up and thrown it around. 773 539

She said, "When your sister gets back, tell her that you killed an elk and that, when you got it, you were tired. Tell her to get it in the morning. Be sure to hide your tracks. Cover them and walk in the water. When you have escaped, go toward the Fire Man, for she is afraid of that man."

She came home, and he told her that he had killed the elk and that she should get it for him. As soon as they had eaten in the morning, she started out. She saw where he had butchered. There were many small pieces, and she wondered what it was all about. It was hard to gather them, but she collected them in her robe and ran home with them.

He traveled along, hiding his tracks. He came into the lodge backward and put his arrow into the ashes to jump. The arrow carried him along. He ran fast. The meadowlark told him to try to reach the butte, "for the only person that your sister is afraid of is Fire Man."

She came back and found wood piled before the door, so she called for him to open the door.

He had left an arrow to talk to her, and Arrow said, "I am busy; open it yourself."

She broke open the door and found no one at home. She looked for the tracks and followed them but could not find how he went out. At last she saw where he had gone up through the smokehole. She got her digging stick, put her magpie feathers on her head, and flew out. The meadowlark told him to hurry, for she was near. He threw arrows out, and the best ones went farthest. He gathered those and put them in his mouth, where he would have them ready to use.

She said, "There is no place that you can go to and be safe."

The boy turned back with an arrow pointed and shot. The sister used a bunch of black sage, but both missed each other. He shot three times but missed; then he was close to the lodge where Fire Man lived.

He fell through the lodge and said, "Grandfather, I am done."

A very old man lived in there. A hot kettle was on the fire, and the boy was puffing.

The sister looked in and said, "Give him back to me."

The old man said, "Get him yourself."

"Give him back to me, or I will include you," she said.

"Are you crazy? That is your own brother," he replied. He picked up the kettle and chased her away.

The grandfather said, "Your sister has turned into a spirit now. She will never die. No one can do anything to her. She is the head of all the Holy Women, but she is afraid of me, for she is afraid of this fire. You go home this evening, and I will warn her. I will fix you so you can go home."

He put cottonwood limbs in the fire, for they bend as they burn. He put the bracelets of curved, charred cottonwood on the boy's wrists.

"You will hear her crying as you come near the lodge. She will be waiting to kill you. You put your arm through the door, and she will see the fire and be afraid. Then she will sit down and cry," the grandfather explained.

He did just as the old man told him. She gave him his supper, and he ate.

He stayed a few days and his sister said, "You can go home to our people now. They are not far from us. When you get home, they will give you the chief's two daughters. Then you can make your medicine and keep me, for I will never go back again, and I will never die."

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When he was ready to go, she said, "Wait a while," and she went out and brought in a large buffalo. She said, "I want you to fix up my brother as he should be dressed."

She showed him where the village was, so he went back. He went back to the Mandan and not to the Hidatsa.

When he got back, the people were told of his experiences. A chief gave him his two daughters. He told his wives about his experiences and how he had been sent back to perform the ceremony. His father-in-law was happy and prepared everything for him, since it took a great deal of goods. He took one of his wives and went back to his sister. When he reached the door, he was crying.

She said, "My son [not a brother now], come in."

His wife had corn balls of four-in-one and she took them to the holy woman. The other wife stayed home and cooked sweet corn, corn balls, and meatballs to have everything ready. He took the pipe and corn balls and put them in front of him. She went out and called the buffalo in again.

She said, "Bless the corn ball. You smoke first, for you are the one to supply meat for my 'son.'"

Buffalo smoked first and then broke the corn balls. She went out and invited in all her friends who were the Holy Women, the magpies and the buffalo cows. When they had finished eating, they said, "You can go home now, and we will be there in four days."

When he had been home four days, the morning was foggy and still. When the fog lifted, the people could see them coming. Buffalo was first; then the sister came, carrying a live Assiniboine Indian on her back. She wanted her "son" to strike a live enemy there in the lodge during the medicine feast. They went into the lodge which belonged to his father-in-law.

She said, "I have brought you an enemy. I want you to strike him so that you will be successful against the enemy." His sister passed the medicine to his wife to press against her breast. Then she gave the robe to him.

She said, "This is my body. It will protect you through life until you are old. When you are old, you must pass it on to another to protect him." She gave the scalp from the Assiniboine to her "son" to put on the robe. When the ceremony was over, she went back, and he never saw her after that. These had been Hidatsa, but he went back to the Mandan at Heart River, so the medicine got to the Mandan.

He killed many Assiniboines. Because he killed more enemies then the other men, he was made chief. He died of old age. The sister is called Feather on Head Woman, the same name as my mother had. The boy's name was In the Corn Tassel.

If mice ran in front of the robe, they died. People could not talk out loud in front of it. It belonged to Big Coat; then it went to Bobtail Bull; Big Foot Bull got it through his wives.

Big Coat was on the warpath during the June raise. He had thirty Mandan who were all afoot. They came to a large Sioux camp and did not know which way to run except toward the river. It was high, and he did not know which way to go. He was responsible for his men, so he called to cross the river.

He said, "My old mother, I saw you tall as a cottonwood tree. Now I want to wade this river."

He pointed his pipe at the river. They waded in, and the river did not seem high. He crossed safely, and in that way he saved his men.

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Chapter XIV

RED STICK CEREMONY

THE Red Stick ceremony was a winter buffalo-calling rite of four nights' duration and was held during the coldest part of the winter to bring the winter herds near the village. The ceremony was given by some young man who in his dream witnessed the ceremony given, heard the buffaloes singing the sacred song, or saw the ceremonial objects arranged in their proper place in his lodge. 796

Standing Bear, last bundle-owner before the disappearance of the buffaloes, purchased the bundle from his father and mother but, having no children, sold the bundle to Iron Eyes, who was not a relative.[1] The bundle consisted of a buffalo robe representing First Pretty Woman[2] and twelve flat boards painted red, with vestigial buffalo hoofs attached. One end was tapered to provide a handhold. There were a large wooden pipe, an owl, two hide rattles, a painted robe, and sage in the bundle. 796 778

There was only one song belonging to the ceremony, and it referred to the information given by the twelve winter buffalo bulls who appeared during a blizzard and sang: 796

the one	first woman	pretty
has eaten	most of you	

The ceremony was based on a dramatization of the exploits of Corn Silk, who brought back a little girl to the Mandan Village. Each night the occupants of one earth lodge would disappear until the village became alarmed. The old men met to seek a solution to the mysterious disappearance of their people. One young man volunteered to fast in an effort to get advice from the spirits as to the cause of the misfortune to these households. A blizzard came in from the north, and twelve buffalo bulls, each carrying a red stick to which buffalo vestigial hoofs, 796 773

1. It was not possible to determine the rule of inheritance, since Standing Bear and his wives were of the same clan.
2. Refer to the Okipa ceremony (chap. iv) for her part in those rites.

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796 lungs, heart, and windpipe were tied, drifted along with the wind until they reached the foot of the hill where the young man 773 was fasting. They sang a song which mentioned the name of the young girl who was the cause of the disappearance of these families. She was destroyed by burning, which freed the people she had consumed. A sacred bundle was established by the young man. A buffalo robe represented the young girl, and twelve red sticks were carved to represent the twelve buffalo bulls.

778 Bundle transfer was traditionally from father to son,[3] but the information on actual transfers is so limited that it was not pos- 425 sible to check this belief with actual transfers. The ceremony was not given after the buffalo herds disappeared.

The pledge to give the ceremony could be made either by an 796 individual or by an age-grade society. In the case of the former, 778 clan brothers of about the same age assisted by bringing their wives with food and goods. The owner of the sacred bundle 561 would select twelve older men who had given the ceremony or who had sacred buffalo skulls, acquired through vision or purchase with bundles, to carry the red sticks. When an age-grade society gave the ceremony, the bundle-owner distributed the red sticks among the members of the next highest age-grade society who impersonated the buffalo bulls.

The ceremony was held in the giver's lodge. He paid those who 796 carried the red sticks and the bundle-owner who set up the robe 778 of First Pretty Woman on an ash stake to represent a young girl. These carriers of the red sticks met at the bundle-owner's lodge in the evening to receive their ceremonial paraphernalia, after which by four stages they approached the lodge where the ceremony was being held. At each stop the giver's wife would put down a robe and a corn ball.

Upon entering the lodge where the ceremonies were to be held, the carriers placed the red sticks in a row extending from the fireplace to the head of the lodge, and the image of First Pretty Woman was placed to the right of them.

During the afternoon the Black Mouths sent their criers through the village announcing the buffalo dances were to be

3. We cannot be certain that this is true. Owing to influences of the Hidatsa pattern, 177 Mandan bundles were in the process of shifting from clan to father-son inheritance during the eighteenth century. In numerous instances where informants stated inheritance was from father to son, genealogies showed inheritance to be within the clan.

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tribes who had recently married into the tribe, believing that the spirits of the red sticks would then help the other tribe. However, when such women had joined a Mandan clan, they could participate. 796 837 614

Sometimes, when a man refused to walk with his "granddaughter," her husband placed a filled pipe before him. This left the old man one of two choices: (1) he could walk with her, or (2) he could invoke the spirits of the north that sent storms driving the buffaloes to the Missouri River to help her and her husband. A woman was not offered to a man of her own clan or to immediate blood relatives.

Mrs. Good Bear recognized this as a separate ceremony at the lower village, Mitutanka, and did not believe that it was performed at Nuptadi in this form, as they had the Buffalo-calling rites of the Snow Owl ceremony, which was similar in some respects to the Red Stick ceremony. Scattercorn verified this information by stating that Standing Bear, who owned the Red Stick ceremony, came up early to Like-a-Fishhook Village (about 1845) together with the survivors of the lower village and that, after the Nuptadi survivors joined the other Mandans, both ceremonies were given but never at the same time. 796

The sacred myth belonging to the ceremony was related by Mrs. Good Bear.

RED STICK CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY MRS. GOOD BEAR

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A long time ago there was a respectable young woman named Corn Silk who had then been single for several years. Many men wanted to marry her, but she always refused. One day her parents said, "Why don't you get married?" They scolded her, and she felt bad because they had quarreled. When night came, she went outside and lay on top of the doorway to the earth lodge to sleep and would not go into the lodge that night. She went to sleep.

When she awoke, someone was carrying her on his shoulders, and she knew that someone had her in his power. She couldn't get away. They went along until they came to his lodge. He put her in a bed, thinking that she was asleep, but she knew everything that happened. Then there was another woman, an owl, and a large grizzly bear in the lodge. The man asked Owl Woman to cook something for Corn Silk, and she began to prepare food. Then she said, "Corn Silk, you should get up and eat." Owl Woman brought water for her to wash with, and then she ate.

The man came in again and said to Owl Woman, "Send her into the woods to get fuel. Tell her to take the bear with her."

He walked out and then Owl Woman said, "You are a good and beautiful

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young woman, I am going to tell you what will happen to you. That man plans to eat you. That is why he brought you here. You must try hard to save your life. He will kill you when you get back from the woods, so be on your guard."

Corn Silk took the bear and the travois to bring the wood in with. The bear lay down while she gathered dry sticks, figuring all the time how she could get away. Owl Woman had said, "If you get to that sharp hill before he gets you, you will be safe." She picked up one of her lice while she was in the woods and thought that she would get away while the louse answered anyone who came along. She ran as fast as she could.

At that time the man came along and inquired where the girl was, and the louse replied, "In the woods." He waited. Corn Silk was nearly to the hill. The man went in to see where she was. He asked the bear where she had gone, and he replied that she asked him to lie down, so he did not know. He asked where she was, and the louse replied, "Here I am."

The man said, "I know where she is," and he ran toward the sharp hill to get her.

He came close and kept saying, "I will get you!" She had some waterbird feathers stripped down to work, like in quill work. She threw one of the feather sticks back, and thousands of these white birds [a bird on the lakes of the north, the land gull] flew up and beat him in the face, slowing him up.

When he got out of the flock, she threw back an elk-horn scraper which was used to flatten quills, asking help of the elk bulls, who appeared and hooked him. This slowed him up, but he passed them. He said, "I'll get you this time."

She had a pumice stone to smoothen the feathers with, and she threw that back. Sharp hills of pumice stone came up, and they caused him to fall often. About this time she reached the hill and found the door open. She ran in. A little boy named Breast was inside playing with a bow and arrow, but he did not pay any attention to the young woman who had come in. Soon Spirit Man was outside, and he called, "Send her out, or I will get you, too." The boy was shooting into the fireplace. Each time the man said, "I'll get you, too," the boy repeated it.

The man said, "This will be the last time that I will warn you."

The boy took up a pipe called "Tail Pipe" [a buffalo tail hide stuffed with sand until dry, when a hole was made in the end, leaving the tip hair on]. The boy picked up the pipe and filled it with tobacco, lighting it. The man was standing a short distance away. Breast took a deep suck on the pipe and blew the smoke toward the man, who fell down and died. He called to his sister to come outside and burn the body. They covered it with buffalo chips and burned the body until it was reduced to ashes.

When evening came, the little boy said, "Sister, I have quite a few brothers; some are foolish, and they are out hunting now, so you must go behind their beds and hide before they get here." She hid and they came in; they were all young men; they cooked a meal and talked of the hunt for a long while.

The little boy sat there and suddenly said, "I found something," but they paid no attention to him. He repeated it, but they paid no attention to him.

At last one said, "Our little brother said that he found something."

The others said, "Show us what you found."

After a long time he said, "I found a sister." They all agreed that they

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would have her for a sister, so the little boy said, "Sister, come out." She came out from hiding as a beautiful young woman.

All the young men called her sister, and one of them said, "It is a good thing that you reached here because that man kills people and eats them. It is a lucky thing that Breast was here. It won't do to keep you here all the time, so in a few days we will take you home again. You can stay two days and rest and then go home again."

The next day they told her that they were going hunting and that she was to stay with Breast through the day. They said to Breast, "Stay with our sister, and you must not go out anywhere at all." They said to the young woman, "Sister, we are saying this because there are many evil spirits who would take you away."

While they were gone, an old woman came along packing an old man like they carried babies. His face was ugly; his nose was dirty; he cried like a baby. All this was to try to get Corn Silk to look at him. She hung her head and would not look at him. The old woman was angry because Corn Silk would not look, but they went out.

Toward evening the brothers came home and inquired whether anyone had been there, and Corn Silk told of the old man and woman whom she would not look at. The brothers said, "We thought so; everyone will be after you. It is best for you to go home. We will let you take something along with you so that you will be safe. Then nobody will bother you." One of them pulled out a beautiful otter skin with the skull still in it. She wrapped it up to carry on her back. At the same time she pounded dry meat for her trip home. Her brothers said, "If anyone stops you or tries to give you anything to eat, you must refuse it. Do not eat with them."

She walked along until evening came, when she met a beautiful young girl who said, "My friend, I have a lodge. You should come and stay with me overnight." They went into a ravine. The woman had a wood-and-brush tepee. They went in, and she said, "My friend, I will give you something to eat." So she dished out a portion of a man's brain with a mountain-sheep spoon. Corn Silk took out the brain and gave it to the otter skull, which ate it all up. She slept there. While she slept, the other woman went away, for in the morning she was alone. She set the tepee afire and traveled along.

She walked all day until afternoon, when a small child came to her crying for its mother. She looked at it and knew that it was not a real human and passed it up. Soon she saw another and passed it up; still another cried, and she thought of taking it because it looked so pretty. She went on. It cried louder and louder. Toward evening she met another woman, who addressed her as "my friend" and asked her to her house in a ravine. It was another brush tepee. She said that she was cooking dried squash, but they were people's ears. Corn Silk said, "I have something here for you to eat," and she gave the dried meat to the woman. Corn Silk gave the ears to the otter skull. The skull ate all the ears. The other woman said she was glad Corn Silk ate all the squash. When Corn Silk awoke, she was alone. She set the tepee afire as before.

She traveled until nearly evening, when she met another baby; she passed a second one also. The third one was a very beautiful girl who was just learning to walk. The baby touched Corn Silk's dress, and she looked at it. She took it even though she had been told not to take anything. She packed the baby on her back. She came home with the baby girl the same evening. Everyone

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called that Corn Silk was back, and all admired the very pretty baby she had with her. Everyone heard about the baby and came to admire it. This went on for three days. One morning when the village awoke, an entire family[8] was gone. The people wondered about it. The next morning another family had disappeared, and still a third family on the third morning. Some of the older people met and debated the cause of this and what could be done. It was something very mysterious, and they told the young men to stay up all night and keep watch. One young man said, "I will fast on the hills and see if I can find out what it is all about."

He cried all day, and a snowstorm and blizzard came up toward evening. In the night during the storm twelve buffalo bulls came along under the hill walking in the snow. They were walking toward the village. Each had a flat board about two feet long with hoofs, lungs, and a heart tied to the handle. They stopped at the foot of the hill near the young man, circled around, and sang their song.

First Pretty Woman was the name of the child which had been brought into the village, and the bulls gave the name. They said, "First Pretty Woman nearly ate up your village," and then they bellowed, pushing each other with their bodies. They were carrying the red sticks all this time. When they finished singing the song, the bulls went away and the young man returned to his village.

He said to the older men, "You wanted some young man to learn what has become of the people. I fasted on the hill to find out. While I was there, a storm came. I stood up against the wind and cried, and at the foot of the hill there appeared twelve buffalo bulls. They stood in a circle and sang a beautiful song. Each carried boards painted red. On the handles of each were hung heads, lungs, heart, and windpipe. They sang a song, and these words were in the song: 'First Pretty Woman ate up most of your people.'

"You must learn whether there is any child in the village named First Pretty Woman."

An old man said, "Corn Silk brought in a baby named First Pretty Woman, and that must be the one."

The older men called the Black Mouth Society, ordering them to go from lodge to lodge and find out who she was. They inquired the names of all the children in each family until they came to Corn Silk. They asked her if that was her own baby, and she said that it was. Then they asked the name and she replied, "First Pretty Woman."

Then the Black Mouths said, "That is the child we are looking for. We lost our families and something got them. We heard one of the young men say that First Pretty Woman was the name of the child who ate them. That must be the one, and we are going to take the baby from you."

Corn Silk replied, "She isn't mine because I picked her up on the prairie one morning at daybreak.[9] Once the child flew down through the smokehole and came to me. I tickled her, and she laughed. I saw a piece of meat between her teeth and pulled it out. It was the fingernail of a human."

The Black Mouths took the baby along, called through the village that they had found the child, and directed the people to bring wood to burn her.

8. "Family" here is used to designate all residents of an earth lodge.

9. This is one of the holy women and was identified by the magpie tail feather she wore and the ash digging stick she carried.

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They built a large fire and threw the child into the fire. She jumped out three times. The fourth time the baby burned, and its stomach swelled up and burst. All the people she had eaten came out and walked back to their lodges. 773 539

After that was done, this young man made up the ceremony. He made the sticks just like the ones he saw the buffaloes carrying. It was not in the dream but instead of the lungs he put on hoofs. It was the custom to put on this dance whenever the buffaloes were scarce, and then they came near the village. When the young man came back, he was the first to make these sticks. The old men met and came to his lodge to sing the song that went with the sticks. The young man's friends brought their wives, and the old men walked with them.

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the ceremonies would begin at such a time, and the people were expected to have a wood supply on hand. The people were expected to be quiet, and stray dogs were either tied up or killed. Both Calf Woman and Scattercorn (her father, Moves Slowly, was singer for the Mandan women) believed that the society was founded by the Mandan and bought by the Hidatsa.

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ORIGIN MYTH OF THE WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY RELATED BY SCATTERCORN

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The White Buffalo Women's Society began from a dream a man once had when he was fasting out on the hills. He dreamed that he heard a man calling from far away. He continued to fast. The fourth night the voice was so clear that he could heard the words. The voice kept saying, "Put a child with them." Soon he saw a man coming with two small children in his arms.

The man said, "I am going to give you these two children. Prepare a feast, and I will return to you. I am the buffalo. When you have the feast ready, I will come; you will have plenty of buffaloes all the time."

The man who had been fasting came back to the village and told how a buffalo man had promised him that his people were coming to the village to give him two buffalo children. He asked that the people put up a feast of all the different varieties of corn. He asked two women to come and receive the two buffalo children.

Soon a party of strange women came to eat the food and showed them how to give the dance. When the women left, the two children struggled to free themselves because they wanted to follow the women. One got away, but the other one was kept in the village. The child was reared in the tribe, and it was from this feast that the White Buffalo Society began.

Each winter the women came back to see the child. They were the buffalo cows, so the society danced to give the buffaloes a chance to see their child. The buffalo women would bring the winter buffalo herds with them.

The rule was that a woman should not belong to this society until she was beyond the childbearing age. This was the highest and last society to which women could belong. Women could not be members while they still had menstruation periods, as it was believed that the blood would drive the buffaloes away.

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The society kept four men as singers. They bought their rights and could sell out whenever they wanted to. Before the ceremony of selling was held, the women put up a sweat-lodge frame which resembled an inverted bullboat frame. The ones buying must supply five or six robes for the cover. Each one buying gave a wooden dish and robes to one of the older women, whom she called "mother," to get her rights in the society. One person was selected to buy the leader's robe, which was white. As soon as the sale was concluded, the new society women lined up. The leader would be on the end of the line wearing the white buffalo robe with the hair outside. The child, a little girl between the years of two and nine, stood in the center of the line wearing a robe with the hair side out. A woman at the end of the line wore the robe of a summer buffalo and was called the summer buffalo. All the other women wore their robes with the hair side in. A woman standing next to the child burned the

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Chapter XVII

SUMMARY

796 THE ceremonies were highly formalized and were in part organized on an annual basis. The Mandan attributed
•773 their creation and appearance on the earth to certain magical
776 acts of the sacred beings who preceded them to prepare the world before creating all the living things. It was believed that the sacred beings protected the people so long as the ceremonies were performed. The Mandan also believed that other peoples created by the same sacred beings in mythological times performed similar ceremonies and that the sacred beings favored those tribes making the most lavish ceremonial display of goods. It was believed that good relations must exist with all the sacred beings. To accomplish this, segments of the total ceremonialism were intrusted to certain individuals or groups of individuals, and the novice was informed that failure to perform the rites in the prescribed manner would bring bad luck.

778 Sacred objects were believed to have *xo'pini*, which informants translated as meaning "power." An individual's "power"
785 was said to increase if he fasted frequently, assisted others in the purchase of sacred bundles, or bought tribal bundles. This "power" was consumed when leading war parties, being largely gone at the end of the fourth expedition, when a man was expected to terminate his war expeditions. This "power" was believed to be lost a little at a time in the daily life of crossing rivers, hunting buffaloes, training horses, or performing other hazardous avocations. A man was believed to acquire a great
[837] deal of *xo'pini* from the buffaloes when he invited older men to have ceremonial sexual intercourse with a wife, and, by the same token, men frequently refused intercourse when they had partaken in a number of the "walking" ceremonies. Very old people were believed to have less *xopini*, having given most of it away to the younger people, particularly the men, who re-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 buying subsidiary rights until, when reaching maturity, he had
793 full knowledge of the ceremony. The teaching of a ceremony by sections characterized the entire ceremonial pattern of the Mandan and constitutes one of the major differences between Mandan and Hidatsa ceremonial training, the latter tribe giving the instruction in its entirety at the time of bundle sale.

796 The Mandan believed that the Okipa began as a simple buf-
173 falo dance at a time when the tribe was small and life was simple and that the ceremony grew in complexity as the tribe increased in numbers and complexity. Crows Heart explained that, as new tribal bundles were added, additional impersonators were added for the "Everything Comes Back Day." The changes instituted since the ceremony was described by Catlin and Maximilian were insignificant. The number of singers was reduced to three, and the torture feature was performed outside the ceremonial lodge.

796 It is significant to note that, in spite of the prominent place of
241 agriculture in the Mandan economic life, little recognition was given to agriculture in the "Everything Comes Back Day" of this important ceremony. The Old Woman Who Never Dies was represented together with other holy women by two men dressed as women, and those of one moiety rubbed their wounds with corn meal. Otherwise, little recognition was given to agriculture.

796 The importance of mythology in Mandan ceremonialism
173 should not be minimized.[1] Left to his own resources in describing a ceremony, a Mandan informant invariably introduced the subject by first relating the myth. These myths explain the peculiar topography of the Mandan country with lakes and sloughs to the east, badlands and streams to the west, and the Missouri River dividing the two. These sacred myths even explain the creation of the white men and their cattle on the east bank of the Missouri River, where, in mythological times, they were found to be too weak to survive and were sent back across the ocean. When the writer showed Bear on the Flat fossilized clam shells and wood in coal-bearing beds, he immediately explained their presence in terms of the flood sent by Maniga to

1. Lowie writes: "Several Plains tribes—notably the Hidatsa, Blackfoot, and Arapaho—utilize widespread tales to account for the origin of rituals" (Robert H. Lowie, *Myths and Traditions of the Crow Indians* ["Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXV], p. 8).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

destroy the Mandans. Sacred myths played an important role in the interpretation of situations arising from time to time. First of all, these myths constituted the traditional history of the tribe, and the Mandan were accustomed until a few years ago to return from time to time to these sacred places at and near the Heart River to examine these shrines. My informants often remarked that they would have forgotten many of these stories had they not been able to see for themselves what the older people had explained.[2] 796 773

The sacred myths expressed a fundamental pattern of conduct which regulated and to a certain degree regimented the population. The fear of accident or misfortune being ever present, those possessing a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were consulted frequently by those not so well informed. A young man accustomed to consult his elders on important matters was considered wise, and the older people would say, "He will become eminent because he endeavors to regulate his behavior along the line laid down by the sacred things long ago." 773 626

The sacred myths established psychological relationships between bundles which to the student of Mandan ceremonialism are otherwise not understandable. In the natives' minds certain bundles are related, and, when a ceremony for one of the bundles of the complex was held, those having bundles believed to be related were expected to attend. The Old Woman Who Never Dies rites will illustrate this point. Since this culture hero formerly cared for her gardens along the Missouri River, the psychological relationship with the Corn Skull bundles is evident. The association of the Bear bundles with this rite become intelligible only when examining the sacred myth in which it is said that she used the grizzly bear for a dog because she was so powerful that all animals were her slaves. Additional information on this point appears in the accounts of the various ceremonies which appear above. 796 778 773

Ceremonies were native dramatizations of the sacred myths. In native theory, the details of the ceremony continued un- 796 773

2. Differences in myths and rites now recognized by the older Mandan probably represent cultural differences between villages which become apparent only when the survivors of the Heart River villages united to occupy a single village.

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796 773 changed from generation to generation. When no sacred myth belonged to the ceremony or there were no sacred instructions at the time of the inception of the ceremony, the Mandan believed these ceremonies were borrowed of neighboring tribes. The Adoption Pipe ceremony belonged in this category. The sacred myth enumerated the benefits which would accrue to the tribe and the giver of the ceremony when the rites were performed.

773 602 776 The sacred myths were the basis for an extension of the kinship system to include the world of the supernatural. First Creator was addressed as "very old one," while Lone Man, who assisted him in the creation of the earth, was addressed by persons of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans as "ptawadatodE" or "mother's brother." Those of the opposite moiety addressed him as "father." Sun and Moon were "father" and their sister was "father's sister." Their mother was addressed as "grandmother," a term also used for the various holy women of the ash groves, the field mice, the corn mill, and all female beings present on the earth on the "first day of creation." An individual addressed a sacred being appearing in a dream and not belonging to the category of tribal gods as "father" if a male and "father's sister" if a female.

778 425 428 614 The Mandan system of bundle inheritance shows evidence of change within the last century. Certain bundles and ceremonial rights traditionally inherited through the clan and more specifically from the mother's brother, such as the Okipa belonging to the WaxikEna clan and the Shell Robe bundle of the Prairie Chicken clan, showed a tendency to change to a father-son inheritance of the Hidatsa pattern. The eagle-trapping lodges were still inherited through the clan as late as 1929, but the associated bundles had changed from clan inheritance to father-son inheritance after 1875. The system of inheritance was more flexible than for the Hidatsa, with whom they were intimately associated. At first I was inclined to believe that this greater flexibility was due, in part at least, to the breakdown of the older system, an opinion which I have now abandoned. The Mandan parents often selected their daughters' husbands and gave them preliminary assistance in ceremonial matters. The sons and daughters of a household usually purchased the par-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Appendix I

MYTHS OF THE OKIPA CEREMONY

ORIGIN MYTH RELATED BY WHITE CALF[1]

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My father was named Little Eagle. He was killed sixty-three years ago when out to war along the Mouse River [1867]. My mother's name was Shell Corn, and she died thirty-two years ago. I was born just after my father was killed.

My information comes from Big Turtle. He told the stories to One Side of Feather, Short Bull, Bear on Water, Big Foot Bull, and Two Chiefs when they were buying offices in the Okipa, and I bought my Lone Man's bundle from Two Chiefs, who married my mother after my father was killed."

In the beginning the earth was covered with water. Lone Man was walking along on top of the waves. He turned back to follow his tracks, all the time wondering where he came from. He came to a flower and saw that there was blood in it. The Flower said, "My son, you were born from me. I gave birth to you in order that you could go around in the world and do much work."

He went on, for he now knew who his mother was. He thought that there should be something at the bottom of the water, so he went on until he came to two ducks. He thought that there must be something in the water that his mother came from.

The Ducks said, "There is a bottom to the water."

Lone Man said, "Go down to the bottom and bring me up some earth," and they went down four times, so that he had four pieces of earth from the bottom of the water. He scattered the earth as he went along. When he looked back, he saw that the land had come up from the four pieces that he had scattered. He saw that the land he had made was good; there were trees in places, and some of them had fruit on them.

He secured wood from the trees and made a wooden pipe. He carried it on his arm as he walked along. He came to a buffalo bull, but the bull did not know where he had come from. There was some grass around the spot where the bull stood, and Lone Man decided to scatter that so that the hills would have grass. The bull saw that Lone Man had nothing in his pipe, so he passed water in spots that Lone Man had loosened in the earth.

The Bull said, "You can go on now but come back when you hear a sound like thunder." Lone Man wondered about it as he traveled along. He came to a small mouse with a long nose called Mosquito Mouse, and after that he came to a cornmill, and, because these were found in early times, we still call them "grandmother."

1. For other versions of this myth see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 1–21, and also Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, 1906), XXIII, 304–12.

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He went on with his pipe until he came to First Man (Coyote) and said to him, "You are younger than I am," and there was an argument, each betting that he was the older. Lone Man had a lance representing the two birds that brought up the earth from the bottom of the water. Lone Man stuck his lance in the ground and First Man lay down beside it.

Lone Man walked away and after a while he heard a noise like thunder. He went back to his garden and saw healthy tobacco plants growing there. There were many bees around the blooms, and they were making a sound like thunder. The Bull came back and made a tobacco sack from a buffalo's bladder. He filled his pipe, and the smoke was of fine flavor.

He thought of the bet he had made with First Man, so he went to the place where he had left his lance. He found it warped and said, "I told you I was the older man," so he left the lance and went on. After a number of years he came back and the stick was still there, but First Man's bones were scattered. The fourth time he came back, the stick of his lance was bent nearly to the ground, and he thought that Coyote was surely dead, so he took the lance out of the ground, and, by rubbing it with his hands, it was like new. When he was about to walk away, First Man jumped up, proving that he was the older. First Man said, "We will go around the world, and I will help you in everything that you undertake."

They made over the country. Because the pipe was in two parts which did not come entirely together, water was left between so that the land did not entirely come together, leaving the Missouri River between. Lone Man made the north or east side, and First Man made the other side of the Missouri River. They finished and came back to the Heart River.

Lone Man said, "I made my side flat with lakes, small hills, many rocks, waterbirds, and spotted buffaloes."

First Man said, "I made my land rough with springs and trees so that the people could come close to the buffaloes. I made the buffaloes, and they are fat and dark."

Lone Man said, "I made my buffaloes spotted and tame so that they would be easy for the people to hunt, but yours will be wild and hard to get."

They went around and examined the lands they had made. Lone Man secured a wolf hide for a robe. He killed rabbits to get the hide to put around his ankles as white stockings.

By that time there were quite a few Indians on this land they had made. He was among them, but they never noticed him. He wondered how he could get into one of the women so that he could be born into the tribe. He found a girl eating dry corn, but he thought that she would crack him with her teeth, so he gave that up. One day an old woman and her daughter were in the woods for firewood. The girl went to the river as she was thirsty. She saw a dead buffalo floating along in the current and drew it to shore. Seeing the kidney fat sticking out of a hole in its back, she ate some of it. She told her mother about the buffalo, but when they returned to the river, the animal had broken away from shore.

A month afterward, the girl learned that she was in a family way, and they wondered how it had happened. When it was nearly time for the baby to be born, it heard every word that the people said and thought that it was then time to come out into the world again. The girl was sick, and her mother put her in the lodge where the baby was born. They observed that the baby was painted black on the forehead, and the people knew that it was more than an

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

average baby. They wrapped the baby in a hide smoked in the smokehole, and that was not good for him because it caused him to forget himself. 773 539

Nevertheless, the baby grew rapidly and soon he was a young man. He knew many things. Hoita[2] was living there at that time and was receiving many fine presents, especially white robes with the hoofs and horns attached. Lone Man wanted one of these robes and wondered how he could get one of them. He hired Thunder, Rain, Whirlwind, and Sun to help him. He did all this to get Hoita's white buffalo robe. The thunder came, followed by rain. The people went inside, but the lodges leaked and everything was wet. Hoita took his fine robe out after the rain and left it in the sun to dry. A whirlwind came along and carried the robe into the air, and it came down far to the north. A party of Indians found it and brought it back to the village. They said that it was even better than the one that had been given to Hoita. Everyone thought that they would surely give it to Hoita, but instead they gave it to Lone Man (Na'-to-re).[3]

Hoita was angry and went to Dog Den Butte,[4] taking all the animals with him. He held the animals there.[5] One day Lone Man went up onto a mound on a hill and noticed that there were no animals around. Soon a raven came along and disappeared to the north, and he thought that there must be something over there. Three white swans flew over, going in the same direction. Then three jackrabbits went by, and shortly afterward a wolf with the front part of his shoulders painted red went by. Lone Man saw seven buffaloes grazing on a hill to the north, and he thought that he would go there and inquire where they came from. He went to the spot where they had been grazing but could not find them, but he found a sharp-nosed mosquito mouse with her six young ones.

Mosquito Mouse said to Lone Man, "You are slowly losing your mind. I have been trying to make you understand what is happening. When you see a raven fly by, that represents your cap; the white swans represent your lance; the three jackrabbits represent your anklets; the wolf represents the robe you are wearing. Hoita has every living thing captive inside of Dog Den Butte. You should go there to see what you can do to protect your people. Then you can have your own ceremony just like Hoita is performing. You should have some young man dress up like Hoita, and, if he comes around, have the young man say 'I am your son because you walked with my mother,' but if he says he never walked with her, say 'She put your medicine bundle against her heart and that is why I was born.' "

After the talk with the mouse Lone Man went on to Dog Den Butte.[6] He saw nothing outside except a few rabbits running around. He changed himself

2. The speckled eagle.
3. He is addressed here as "the old one."
4. These are buttes of Northeast McLean County, N.D.
5. For a similar Hidatsa myth concerning Dog Den Butte see Beckwith, *op. cit.*, pp. 144–48.
6. Note that in the other origin myth of the Okipa, recorded above (chap. iv), the ceremony was believed to have originated downstream near the White River in South Dakota. According to native accounts, differences in myths explaining the origin and significance of the same ceremony were common. Informants would say, "the people of the other villages would tell somewhat different stories, but the ceremony was performed in the same way in all the villages."

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into a rabbit from the roughlands, but they were afraid of him. He ate the cactus, too, and toward morning they all went into the den.

Hoita said, "You are Lone Man; you are not a rabbit."

That evening they were having a dance, and they used a dried buffalo hide rolled up for the drum. There were two blue herons standing beside the drummers, picking up the bugs that were beaten from the hide. He saw everything that went on inside Dog Den Butte, and then he went back to his village toward morning. They were having a famine in the village. He decided to do just as the mouse had advised. He found an intelligent young man whose mother had walked with the Hoita and told him that a famine was coming and that they should perform the ceremony to free the animals. He called the old people together and told them of his plans. He instructed the young man who was to impersonate the real Hoita.

He secured a dry buffalo hide for the drum and selected two young men with long legs to stand by the drum and impersonate the herons picking up the bugs. Instead of worms they had corn balls to pick up. Lone Man didn't like the hide for a drum and brought in a beaver, but after the beaver was hit a few times, it was broken. He then brought out a badger, but that animal could not stand the blows either. The third time he brought a common turtle, but it could not stand the blows. He could see that it would take something very strong to stand the blows, so he went south to the ocean, and there he found the ocean turtle in the water near a sand bar. He put his pipe before the large ocean turtles, and they smoked. The leader of the turtles asked, "What is it that you want of me?"

Lone Man replied, "I want something strong enough for a drum in the Buffalo Dance."

The turtle said, "The world is supported on our backs, so we four turtles cannot leave here. You can look us over and made drums like us but of the strongest and thickest buffalo-bull hide."

Lone Man went back to the village and secured the hides. He used the thickest part of the neck and sewed it up with the heaviest of hide lace. He sewed an extra piece of hide on the turtles' backs so that, when a hole wore into the back, he could take the piece off and sew a new one in place. The framework was of oak which were the trees that the turtles were supporting on their backs. He put a little buffalo of buffalo sheddings inside of each and instructed the people that the turtles should be repaired secretly in a bullboat anchored in the Missouri River. Young men made offerings of speckled eagle feathers to fashion a collar for each turtle.[7]

Hoita was using a hide rolled up for the drum in his ceremony inside of Dog Den Butte, but Lone Man used the turtles, and the sound was so loud that it could be heard far away in Dog Den Butte. Hoita wanted to know what was going on, so he sent Swift Fox out. The fox went to the village to learn how the people were getting along. Lone Man knew what was being done, so he sent the men out to make a fox trap and bait it with a buffalo rib. The fox came near the village and was caught in the trap. The men tied the rib around the fox's neck and sent him back to Dog Den Butte.

The next day Hoita sent Red Fox out to see what was going on. He was also caught in the trap, and again the men tied a buffalo rib around the fox's neck and sent him home.

7. This is the correct description of the turtle drums. Maximilian errs in describing them as sacks filled with water.

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The third day First Creator went out and ran over to Lone Man's village He saw that the people were doing well and stayed there.

Red Fox said, "Hoita, you are there yourself," and Hoita went over to see for himself.

Lone Man knew that Hoita was coming and announced it to the people. The people thought that they would fool Hoita so they made four corn balls and placed them in a row so that he would pass them as he approached the ceremonial lodge. Hoita came in and saw a young man in his place and inquired what right he had to impersonate the real Hoita.

The young man said, "You are my father."

Hoita said, "I never walked with your mother."

The boy replied, "I got into my mother's body the time she put the sage which you gave her next to her breast."

Hoita was suspicious and said, "Get up. I want to look at you. I didn't know that I had a son. Look at me." Every time he looked toward Hoita, lightning came from his eyes. The light came from the fireflies that Lone Man had put in the young man's eyes. Hoita decided that the boy was his son. This was the first time that the turtles were used.

There are many words in the ceremony which are not understood today because the meanings have changed. We understand enough of the words in the songs and ritual to know that they refer to pieces of buffalo meat and the dust raised by the herds when they are running.

Hoita went back to Dog Den Butte and told the animals that they could leave. He sent the black-tail deer to the badlands, the white-tail deer to the timber, the bears to the points in the river, the buffaloes to the flat, and the antelopes to the hills. "The Mandan can go out now and find plenty of meat. All the people will be happy. Lone Man and I will work together, for I have a son in that village." All these people were Nuptadi, and I am one of them myself.

The people were accustomed to cross the water to trade for shells in Maniga's village. They had a boat that would carry twelve men, and it would cross merely by saying, "Go." These shells were on an island. Lone Man wanted to go also, so thirteen were in the boat that time. It was rough in the middle of the water. They landed and went to Maniga's village. The people in that village were accustomed to kill off the Mandan by having them eat, drink, and smoke too much. Then the women of the tribe were offered to the Mandan. The Mandan had brought a sunflower which they had hollowed and through which they passed the food and water. A man with the medicine of the tobacco bee came along, so they were not taken sick from smoking. They used a buffalo tail from which the hair had been removed to overcome the last barrier. Then Maniga's people brought out the shells in large sacks for the Mandan to take back to their village.

Maniga announced that he would return the visit in four days, which meant four years. He came as the flood.[8] Lone Man built a wall around the village, and all went inside. The water came as high as the band on the outside of the wall and could not come higher. This band was of the water willow, but in recent years young cottonwoods are being used.

Maniga liked skunkskins. When the water was at its highest point, he threw the shells over the wall. The sacred cedar is a symbol of the flood in

8. Catlin records a variant of this flood story (George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I [Philadelphia, 1857], 277–78).

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miniature. The cedar represents Lone Man and all the people; the enclosure is the wall he built around the people to protect them from the flood; the band of water willow surrounding the wall represents the highest point reached by the water. After the flood, the water went down in a few days, and there was dry land again.

Lone Man was well built and very good-looking. He never married while he was in the tribe. Whenever there were hard times, he helped the people.

There was a good, young woman in one of the villages who never went out with any of the young men. Burrs got into her dress, and she went into her mother's lodge to search for them. She had taken off her dress and was standing just under the smokehole when a shadow passed over like when the sun is shaded by a cloud. She thought that there was someone on the roof so she hid herself. Not long after that she heard someone singing inside her. Her family could not understand it. In a short time the pain inside nearly killed her. That night a child was born to her, but it disappeared immediately in the darkness. She called her family, and they built up the fire. The child was black in color with white spots. He was jumping up and down, and the family could not do anything with him. He grew very fast. He was always jumping or running about, and they could not do anything with him.

One day his grandfather was making arrows and tipping them with speckled eagle feathers. The boy liked them and wanted to wear some of the feathers in his hair. His grandfather fixed him up a bunch of these feathers. He asked his grandfather for a cane. and he tied a ball on one end of it. One day he wanted to go outside, but they were afraid to let him go outside for fear that he would run away. He begged, and they let him go out. He made great leaps, running up the sides of the lodges. It was great entertainment for the people. His name was OxinhEdE,[9] or Foolish One. He went out among the high hills, jumping from one hill to the other. He killed the sacred snakes and many other things that the people worshiped. He even killed the Holy Women who lived in the ash thickets. All the gods met to decide what should be done with him. Since these gods were working for the benefit of the Mandan, they decided to kill the little black boy.

Foolish One asked the people to make four warbonnets. While they were working on the warbonnets, a heavy fog came up. He went out and returned several times, but at last he did not return. When the fog raised, his father came down from the sun and found his son lying dead on the prairie. He met Lone Man and inquired who had killed the boy. All the spirits that had been present when the boy was killed fled and hid in the Killdeer Mountains. At that time they were in one block, but the black man hit the mountains with his club and broke them into two pieces, leaving them as we see them today, one being the head and the other the body.

The elder Foolish One was painted black all the time. He asked Lone Man what should be done with the body. They came to a large rock. Lone Man hit it with his staff, and it split open. They put the boy inside and squeezed the rock together again. This rock is near one of the old villages at Heart River. Foolish One went back to the sun.

At that time there were four turtles. The people thought a great deal of them. These turtles liked the tail feathers of the speckled eagles and the bald

9. For another version of the incident centering around this character see *ibid.*, pp. 280–81.

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eagles. One was the leader of the turtles. The people gave him a feather of the yearling calumet eagle, and he became angry. This happened on the east side of the Missouri River, opposite and a little above Standing Rock. They could not hold the turtle, and Lone Man was away. A man who was good at thinking said, "I will do that," for Lone Man had said that he would return in spirit if the people would only think of him. Lone Man returned this time. He split the water with his lance, and the turtle lay on the bottom of the river. Lone Man said, "What is the matter?"

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The turtle replied, "I am angry. I guess they can get along without me."

Lone Man went to the southwest. Before leaving he said, "When people think of me, I will answer as the south wind."

ORIGIN MYTH RELATED BY SCATTERCORN

The world was sandy and watery in the beginning. When the Lone Man whom we call NumakmaxEna came to himself, he had been walking for a long time.

He said, "Who am I? Where did I come from?"

He turned back and saw his tracks in the sand and decided to follow them and learn where he had come from. At the end of his trail he found a large plant [I'data'ki] about a foot high. It was green with white stripes on the leaves and had a red flower. It was growing in a spring. He wondered if the plant or the bug was his mother. He turned away from the plant and went his way.

He traveled to many different places and met another man, the First Creator[10] [Ki'numakci or Coyote], who said, "How did you happen to be here?"

"I just found myself walking in the world. I know where I walked, but I don't know whether my mother is the red flower or the bug in the flower. I am older than you are."

First Creator said, "I am the older."

They argued for a long while about it. They decided to lie down where they stood and lie there for a long time. There they decayed and were covered with dirt until there were hardly any bones left. First Creator was afraid to get up, while Lone Man thought he was the only man alive. At last Lone Man arose, and Coyote jumped up. Lone Man admitted the other was the older. They decided to call each other the older brothers of the tribe.

Then they decided to fix up the land, for it was too boggy. First Creator took the right side of the Missouri River and Lone Man the left side. They laid out the land to suit themselves, and, when they had finished, they met again. Lone Man said, "I laid out my land flat. I made lakes and only a little timber here and there so that people on the warpath can see a long ways." First Creator said, "I made many ravines, hills, and rocks; I made plenty of springs. I think I made the best land."

They decided to separate, each going his own way. Lone Man came to the Heart River, where there was a hill near by shaped like a heart and he named it Heart Butte. This he decided was to be the "Heart of the World," and this hill is still holy to our people.

He saw a buffalo in a ravine and said, "I haven't seen anything like you since I came here. How did you come here?"

10. Also known as Omahank-Numakshi (see Maximilian, *op. cit.*, pp. 301–3).

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"I just came to myself here. What do you have in your pipe?" asked the Buffalo.

"I am just carrying it around."

The Buffalo said, "You should have something to put in it. I am going to make something for it."

The buffalo dug in the sod and passed water all through the rows of the small garden. Then the Buffalo said, "Go on your way. When you hear loud thunder, you will find your tobacco in this place." When Lone Man heard the noise of the thunder, he returned. He found the tobacco all in blossom. The Buffalo said, "This is your tobacco."

He looked at it. There were many tobacco flies on it. They were the ones who were making the noise. Even today we have them, and they make a loud noise.

The Buffalo picked off the ends of the blossoms and said, "I will get you something to dry your tobacco on." The whole side of his coat came off. "You put your tobacco on this, and, when you think it is dry, come back again." Lone Man left the place and went on his way again.

When he returned, he found his tobacco dry. The buffalo was there, and he gave Lone Man a sack for it. The sack was made of a buffalo bladder.

Buffalo said, "Try your tobacco and see if it is good. Then put the rest of it in your bag." Lone Man tried it and liked it and was glad he got it.

The Buffalo said, "Whenever you are out of it, come back here again, and I will get you some more."

Lone Man left and again traveled all through the land he had made. He thought there should be some people living in the world, and he decided to make some. He took two ends off of his ribs,[11] one on each side and made one into a man and the other a woman. He directed them to stay there and build themselves a lodge. Some time after he had made this man and woman he thought of them again. When he returned, he found that they had children, and he was pleased. He married the boys and girls together and did this several times. That is how they increased. Each time he came back, he united new groups.

He was pleased with the manner in which the tribe grew. In this early time, the men called their wives by the name "sister," but, after the tribe was larger, they called them "wife" instead.

The village grew to be very large, and Lone Man said, "Sometimes I am gone a long time. If anything happens, and you need me, you can call me. I will hear and come back."

Every time the village was in need, they called him. When he came back, he traveled through the air like a shooting star, only not quite so fast, a little more like the lights on a car at night. Whenever any little thing came up, they would call, and he became impatient. He instructed them that if anything happened he would not come back but would look back and that the south wind was the sign that they were being answered. This proved more conven-

11. The other informants stated that a mudhen brought up clay after the world was made and that this earth was shaped into a man and a woman. The notion of shaping a figure and producing life from it is also expressed in the making of a clay doll by a barren woman desiring children. Curtis also secured similar information of Iron Eyes, his Mandan informant. Another myth speaks of coming from underground, bringing corn up with them.

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ient, and, when the south wind blew, they knew that he was thinking of them and answering their prayers. 773

After the people increased, and the Corn People had come from below, and the Sky People from above, the village was so large that they had to divide it. The number of villages grew until there were five. Lone Man often came back at night and saw how happy they were. This pleased him. 539

When the villages had grown in number until there were five, he thought he ought to be born in the tribe again so that he could be one of the people. He went to the village and climbed upon the earth lodges to look about, but he had difficulty in finding a suitable young woman to be his mother. In the first four villages he found the girls all foolish about the young men. In the fifth village he found a young woman that he was satisfied with, so he decided he would have her for his mother and be born from her. She had no lovers but went about her business when out in the village. He didn't know just how to get into her body. He thought he would get into her food, but the kernel of corn he hid in fell out of the bowl onto the ground, so he failed in that attempt. He tried other schemes, but in each he failed.

One day the girl and her mother went out into the garden to hoe the corn. While working there, the sun was hot and the girl became thirsty. She ran down to the river to get a drink. The water was up to the willows, and a dead buffalo came floating by near the edge of the river. Its back was cut open, so that the kidney fat was sticking out. She pulled the animal to the bank and ate some of the fat. Then she tied the animal fast to a willow while she ran to tell her mother what she had found. When they returned, the buffalo was gone. They never found it, but the willows were still there. This was the way Lone Man got into her body.

The two women went back home, and there the girl described a peculiar feeling inside of her. The mother told her that she was in a family way. Her mother wanted to know how she got in such a condition, unless she knew some young man. She asked her to name him, but the girl insisted that she had never been intimate with any of the young men. The mother said it was impossible to be in such a condition otherwise. So this was the way that our chief god came to be one of us.

At the time the pains came on, the girl told her mother about them. Her father was one of the chiefs of the fifth village (Nuptadi) of the Mandan. When he learned about this he said, "Whoever you are in there, come out and stop your mother's pains," and Lone Man came right out.

He knew everything they did from the beginning. They had only buffalo robes to wrap him in, but they took good care of him. He grew up in the tribe and became a child of the village. The mother was ashamed to be out in the village and seldom was seen in the company of others. This young boy lived with his grandfather. Every time the grandfather painted himself, Lone Man painted his own forehead red with the paint the grandfather had given him in a little paint bag.

He played with the other small boys, and the other chief of the village often watched them from his seat on the earth lodge. He saw the small boys with robes over them imitating buffaloes running into a small cave they had dug. He noticed that every time they ran in, one of them was a real buffalo calf. He watched the next day, and there was a real calf again. He watched them for four days and concluded that this young buffalo must be the poor fatherless boy. He was much concerned about this; everything was so strange and

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unlike anything he had ever heard of before. If this could be true, he must make friends with this boy, and possibly the boy would give him some of his powers to enable him to rise to the place of first chief of the village. He asked his wife to invite the boy over and give him the finest foods.

Lone Man told the people he had a name, Muska' Ko'oma, meaning "Wild Animal Foating." Each day the second chief's wife called to Muska' Ko'oma to come and eat. The food set before him was made from sunflowers, beans, corn, and pumpkins boiled together. When the boy finished eating, the second chief gave him a spotted eagle feather to play with. The boy liked it so much that he took it home with him. When he returned, he gave the feather to his grandfather. After this he was invited to eat with the second chief frequently, because the boy's powers were plainly seen by that time. He would tell the chief that at a certain time so many buffaloes would come near the village, and the men would go out and always find them. Everyone knew he was a spirit, or he could not predict these things.

In another village, a spirit also grew up by being born into a woman who had never had intercourse with any man. This man was the Spotted Eagle, but the Mandan called him Hoita. Both of these spirits grew up in their own villages; Hoita was the eagle spirit; Lone Man was the buffalo. The people came to recognize the two spirits and made offerings to them. White buffalo robes were considered valuable, and both of these spirits liked them. But one time a man possessing one of these robes got up on the earth lodge and offered it to Hoita. Lone Man became jealous because the people had been giving so many things to the other man.

He thought, "You won't have that robe, Hoita." He went to Thunder and said, "I want you to work for me."

"All right," Thunder said.

"You rain and wet Hoita's robe; soak through the roof and wet it well." Thunder did as directed, and then Lone Man went to Whirlwind and asked him to work for him.

He said, "When Hoita takes his robe out to dry, carry it far away from the village where people will find it."

The rain came and soaked the robe, and then the sun came out. Hoita took the robe out of the lodge and hung it on a scaffold to dry. Whirlwind came and carried it away. Thus Hoita lost his fine white buffalo robe. It was carried far away to the southeast. There were other people living in that direction, and some men looking for buffaloes found the robe. They said, "We will fix this robe up and take it to the Missouri River, for the Mandan place great value on these hides."

This robe was brought to Lone Man's village and bought by the chief. One day the chief climbed onto his earth lodge and offered the robe to Lone Man. When Hoita heard of this, he said, "Let him have it; they have been giving me many things lately." But one day Lone Man took his beautiful white robe out in the sun to air. Hoita saw that it resembled his, and he realized that a trick had been played on him.

Hoita vowed revenge for losing his white robe, so he put on the Buffalo Dance in Dog Den Butte. This was the first time it was ever given. He called all the buffaloes away from around the villages and herded them together in the Dog Den Butte. Every form of living thing was brought into this hill, which resembled a large earth lodge on the inside. The people on the outside were starving, and there was hardly any game to be found. Lone Man would

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go out in search of game, but he could not find any either, but he did find the bones of dead animals on the prairies. These he ordered taken to the village and broken open for the marrow. He would touch these bones with his sacred headdress and sing his sacred songs. There came a time when there was no longer any marrow in the bones.

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All this time he knew Hoita was the one who was doing this, but he did not know just how to get around it and bring the animals back. One day he was on a hill wandering about, wondering what he should do, when he saw a raven flying northward followed by a swan, then a wolf, and finally seven buffaloes. He thought how good it was to see them, but when he ran over where they had been, he discovered that they had disappeared.

Finally he heard a feeble voice in the grass say, "We are here, but you can't see us."

He looked into the grass and saw seven tiny mosquito mice with long pointed noses. One said, "This Hoita has got everything in Dog Den Butte, and we are the last to go in. He has all the animals in there. Just a little while ago you saw a raven go by. That raven was your headdress. The swan was part of your headdress too. That wolf was your robe. We are the last ones, and we are going too. Before you know it, if you don't look out, your sacred pipe will roll down the hill into the Dog Den Butte."

The mosquito mice told Lone Man everything and added in leaving as a warning, "If you don't look out, you will be trapped. We are the last ones. You ought to change into a jackrabbit. There are three kinds of jackrabbits, so you tell Hoita that you are a fourth kind and come from the Rocky Mountains. Tell him your legs are longer than the other rabbits and that you jump over the sage brush, hills, trees, and coulees. Tell him that out in the Rocky Mountains you heard of the things going on down here because his medicine was so strong. You must practice passing your manure so that you always pass seven at each leap. He will ask what you eat. Tell him your favorite food is the cactus plant. You must practice eating from the cactus, since he will ask you to eat some. The jackrabbits are turned out of the Dog Den Butte when evening comes, and you must run among them. Tell them you are the fourth kind and that you come from the Rocky Mountains. Tell Hoita that everything must be done by fours, and he will believe you."

He changed himself into a rabbit, and, when he reached the Dog Den Butte, the other three rabbits ran away from him until he told them that he was from the Rocky Mountains. They believed him, and he went into the butte with them.

When they got inside, Hoita asked, "There are only three kinds of rabbits. What is that other fellow doing here? There is no fourth rabbit."

"I am the rabbit from the Rocky Mountains and that is why I am larger than the others. I heard about your taking all the animals in here," he replied.

"All right, if you are a rabbit, pass manure as a rabbit," Hoita demanded. He passed seven each time he leaped just as the mosquito mice had directed.

The mosquito mice had instructed that he should watch everything that happened in the hill and picture everything in his mind. He should observe the arrangement of the lodge, the steps of the dances, and learn the songs sung. When he got back to his own village, he should find a young man who looked like Hoita and have him impersonate Hoita in a big animal ceremony like that taking place in the Dog Den Butte, and have him do all the things that they

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were doing in the hill. When everything was done just like in the hill, the Mandan would overcome their starvation.

Before he entered the hill, he changed himself into a spider. He crawled down from a rafter until he was near where the singers were. From his hiding place overhead, he looked down and observed everything. After he learned all the steps of this animal ceremony, he returned to his own village but left the fourth rabbit in Dog Den Butte. He told the people that the only way to get away from starvation was to put on the Buffalo Dance (Okipa), for that would make Hoita open the hill and free the animals.

He selected for the leader the man in the village who looked the most like Hoita and gave him instructions for the ceremony. One of the largest lodges was cleaned out for the purpose, since in those days the Mandan did not have a special ceremonial lodge. He informed the leader that he should claim to be the son of Hoita, since Hoita would come over from Dog Den Butte when the new ceremony was given and inquire concerning their right to give the ceremony.

Lone Man said, "Tell him that he once 'walked' with your mother and that you came from that relation. He will remember that and call you his son." The young man agreed. He looked just like Hoita, only younger, and the people were pleased to have such a near-likeness. It is said that when the real Hoita opened his eyes at night, light flashed out of them. Knowing that Hoita would ask the young man to open his eyes, fireflies were put into his eyes. Hoita would ask to see his eyes, and would know the young man was his son when he saw the eyes flash.

The Buffalo ceremony began then. To begin with, a long dry buffalo hide was used for the drum, but, when the people struck the hide, worms came out. So only the Hoxa, ones who had the blue herons as gods, were allowed to beat the hide.

After the ceremony got under way, the real Hoita said, "We have kept all these animals from the Mandan so they probably are all dead by this time."

He sent Red Fox out. He found the Mandan all dancing and having a good time, and the ceremony was just the same as the one going on in the Dog Den Butte. Then Hoita sent out Gray Fox, and he reported the same thing, but Hoita did not believe that it could be true. He sent the magpie out, and the magpie returned complaining, "They are all having a good time, and here you have kept us all shut up here while they are doing all the things we are."

Hoita said, "I will go myself and see," just as the mosquito mouse had said he would when the fourth time came.

Lone Man had corn balls prepared for Hoita. The mice had told him that he should search for corn, sunflowers, beans, and squash to make into balls and to have them ready so that when the real Hoita came there will be some on the outside where he will step on them. Hoita would then wonder about this because he would expect to find all the people starved.

Hoita came just as the mice said he would. He stepped on the two corn balls and turned to the boy who resembled the real Hoita and inquired, "What right have you to be in my place?"

The boy answered, "I am your son."

Hoita replied, "I have no son. You have insulted me by claiming me as your father. How does it come that you are my son?"

The young Hoita said, "I know you are my father because my mother was given to you once to walk with. My mother took the bundle of sage you had in your hand. That sage conceived me."

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"If you are my son, open your eyes and look at me," Hoita demanded. 773
When he opened them, something like lightning came out and flashed to the top of the earth lodge. Hoita was convinced and said, "All right, you are 539
my son. I remember the time your mother was given to me. It is good that they put you in my place.[12] Now all these people will be free because you are my son." He turned to Lone Man and said, "You are very smart. You have put my son in place of me, and now we shall not work against each other any more."

He set the animals free as well and told them that the people had not starved. It was the Okipa that the buffaloes had been dancing in Dog Den Butte. From that time on, Hoita and Lone Man co-operated for the good of the people, but Lone Man continued to be the more powerful.

In the Okipa the Mandan first used a drum made of a dried buffalo hide with the hair off and rolled up. When they beat the hide, worms came out of it, and the blue heron was kept near by to eat them. Lone Man did not like the worms and looked around for a substitute.

First he went to the beaver and asked if he would be a drum for the Okipa and let himself be hit on the back, but the beaver said, "I am just a weak thing even though I can cut down big trees. If you hit me once, I would be smashed to the ground."

Lone Man went to the badger, but the badger said he was not strong enough. Then he went to the otter, but the otter claimed to be too weak. He roamed all over the world until he came to the ocean which is southeast of us a few days' march below the Cannonball River. At the ocean, as far out on the water as he could see there were a few very large trees. There were the largest oak trees he had ever seen. He wanted to learn why they were there, so he went out skimming along on the water. He was curious to know if there was land underneath them or whether they just grew out of the water. He carried a sacred staff called *dawo'dokidi* in his hand, and he pointed it down at what was the bottom of the water, and the way opened up so that he could see everything beneath him. There was a large turtle at the bottom of the ocean, and it was holding the trees up.

He said, "I have been looking for something to use for my drum, and I believe you are just what I am looking for."

Turtle replied, "You can't use me because the whole world is attached to me."

Lone Man stuck his sacred lance under the turtle, and everything moved but the turtle. It would not come loose.

Turtle said, "You can look me over and make your drums just like me."

Lone Man looked the turtle over, first on one side and then the other until he had every part of him in mind. He went back to the villages and made turtles just like he had seen. He secured the thickest buffalo-bull hide, and he sewed it up so that it was exactly like a turtle. The wood he used for the legs was of the oak that the turtle in the ocean was holding up. He made four of these turtles, three were of the same size and one a smaller one, and he named the last one "the lean turtle."

When he finished his job, he had the people put the feathers on. Feathers of the speckled eagle were put all over the head, for the buffaloes like speckled

12. For details of the "walking" rites of the Buffalo-calling ceremony see chap. xiv, "Red Stick Ceremony."

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eagle feathers. Whenever offerings are made to the buffaloes, the speckled feathers are used even today.

One of the turtles was called the leader. In addition to the speckled feathers, calumet-eagle down was put on his head, but he became angry because he thought it was a snowbird's feather.

He said, "I am going back to the ocean," and he started toward the river. The people tied ropes to him and lashed him to the corn scaffolds to keep him from escaping. Nothing could hold him back when he started. He pulled all the people into the river. There is a place still to be seen where he dragged them into the river. It is marked by a little gully. This place is below the Heart River on the east side of the Missouri.

The escaped turtle said, "You will have three turtles for the dance, but I am going back to the ocean." We have kept the other three since that time, but several times we came near losing them, and it is because they are so holy that they never went away.

When Nuptadi Village was burned by the Sioux, the lodge they were in was burned, but the turtles produced water which protected them, although their feather collars were burned off.[13] Lone Man told the people that sometimes the turtles would need mending. The last man to mend them was Moves Slowly, my father. The turtles were taken to the river and put in a buffalo bullboat and floated out into the river. The boat was fastened to a snag, and the turtles were repaired in the boat, out there in the water. Lone Man told the people that there was a little buffalo in each turtle. While repairing one a long time ago, a man stuck in his entire finger and felt the sheddings of the tiny buffalo. He could hear the breathing. So we are told that a little buffalo was put in. When there were going to be many buffaloes, the turtles became very heavy, but now they are very light. The turtles were used to bring the buffaloes near the villages.

Once our people lived beside a large lake. They had a large boat in those times that was able to carry twelve people. On the other side of the lake was a large tribe of people whose chief was named Maniga. This boat would go by its own power; all the people needed to do was to point it and say, "Go." In the middle of this lake there was a rough place, and sometimes it seemed that the boat would surely tip over. When the people neared the shore, the red willows would turn into warriors and wrestle with them. Beyond the willows was the village of which Maniga was chief. The Mandan crossed this lake for shells which were very numerous on that shore, but they could not get them without being seen by these people. Maniga always called his people together whenever the Mandan came across. He would supply so much food, water, tobacco, and women that many of the Mandan died of excessive indulgence. If they did as they were ordered, Maniga gave them great quantities of shells. They crossed every summer, and the hardships encountered always killed several of the party.

Lone Man said he would go over. He took along a man named Bull Spirit who had the medicine of the water plants and could drink forever. Another man had the medicine of the buffalo that eats all the time. The third man had the medicine of the tobacco bee that lives on the tobacco plant but never gets sick. Lone Man went to protect his people and free themselves from the Maniga. He quieted the rough water and weakened the young men who were the red

13. This village was destroyed about 1785.

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willows of the bank. They went directly to Maniga's village and ordered the women to bring out the food, water, and tobacco which was already prepared for them. The man with the spirit of the water plants complained of not having enough to drink; the man with the spirit of the buffalo complained of not having enough to eat; the man with the spirit of the tobacco bee complained of the weak tobacco; Lone Man complained that not enough women had been supplied him. Maniga observed that none of the Mandan died and that this party was not like the others. He realized that Lone Man had outwitted him.

Maniga said, "You people have gone too far."

Lone Man replied, "It is you who have gone too far, doing all these things before giving my people the shells they need so much."

Maniga gave a large bag of shells to each of the Mandans. Someone put a dead dog in their path, and one of the men kicked it out of the way. Maniga accused the Mandan of being murderers, one of the worst insults the Mandan knew.

Maniga said, "I will visit your village within the next four days," but that meant within the next four years.

When the party returned to the Mandan village on the other side of the lake, Lone Man began preparations for the flood. A cedar post was put up in the center of the village which was to represent Lone Man. Before that time the villages did not have the large open center like they did after the cedar post was put up. A wooden fence around the cedar was to represent the fortifications, and the wood used to tie around the wall was of water willow. We notice that, when the river rises in the spring, it never gets about the bank where the water willows grow, so they must have the power of keeping the waters down.

When the floods came that summer, the waters reached to the willows tied around the wall of the cedar. This cedar protected the people against the flood when Maniga came over. The boat was lost because a foolish boy said, in fun, "Go on your way," and it never returned. This boat was called I'dEHE or "to go with."

We have had the sacred cedar ever since we lived beside the lake a long time ago. Some people think this lake was under the ground and that we left it when we came up out of the ground. Others think it is on top of the ground. The young men who went to the world war thirteen years ago say that the lake is still there and that it is still rough in the center but that it is on top of the ground. I am sure that we once lived beside a lake a long time ago because I have heard so many stories about them. Our old people must have got some of their stories mixed because they tell of coming out of the ground as a tribe and also of the making of the world on top at the Heart River. Others say they came from the sky.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE SACRED PIPE RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[14]

Long ago there was a man running on the water. He was thinking. He wondered where he came from, so he turned around and came to a big flower that grows in water around springs. This flower has a blossom reddish in color. One of the branches was broken down, so he decided that this was where he came from. They called this flower "Great Medicine" after that.

14. This is one of the origin myths of the Okipa ceremony.

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When he learned that he came from the plant, he wondered who his father was. Someone said, "I am your father," and he thought that it was the day, "the First Day of Creation." All this time he was walking along on the water. Soon he saw another man walking on the water, too, and he went up to the other. He saw that the other man was painted and had feathers on his head. He inquired of the other man where he came from, and the other said he came from far to the south. The two went off together on the water, and at a distance they saw a black spot. They wondered what it was and went there and discovered that it was a little black diving duck.

They questioned the bird saying, "Where did you come from and what are you doing here?"

The bird replied, "I just came to myself here."

"What do you eat to build up your body and live?" they inquired.

The bird said, "When I get hungry, I dive down a long distance. Sometimes I am almost exhausted, but I find dirt and sand there. You can see that I have been down there so many times that my eyes are red."

The two men talked about it and wanted the bird to go for some dirt to make the earth from.

The bird went down and brought up some dirt and handed it to them. It was only a little bit. As they handled it, it grew to the size of a ball. Lone Man divided up the earth into two pieces and gave half to First Creator. He told First Creator to build the west side while he built the east side. We say that the west side is the woman and the other side is the man. They worked on the land, and then they came together. They decided that the center of the earth would be at Heart River and that the river would be the "Heart of the World." On the south side of the Heart River they made the Heart Butte with the dirt First Creator had left over. The Missouri River was in the center between the two sides. On the east side there is a small butte which was made up of the earth that was left over and was called "Big Hill."

After they finished making the land there was nothing growing on it. It was sandy and bare. When they looked over their earth, they saw a little track on it. Upon looking around, they came to the end of the tracks and found a little black mouse. She said, "I was born myself."

They said, "She is going to be our grandmother."

Again they went along and came to another track. When they came to the end, there was a large turtle. They asked him where he came from, and he said that he was born by himself right there.

They traveled along and found a few grass plants here and there. Then they came to a larger track, so they followed the track until they came to a buffalo standing there. They asked him where he came from, and he said, "I came from myself without any parents."

They asked him what he ate and he said, "I am eating these few plants of the grass that are growing on the land here." Then he added, "While you are traveling along you will hear a loud noise; come toward it, for I will be there doing much good. I will fix you some tobacco."

The two men did not know what the tobacco was, and Buffalo said, "You will see what the tobacco is when you come."

They asked him to fix the tobacco at once, and the buffalo agreed. He passed water in spots and then walked off. In places there was something growing.

In less than a year the two men who had been traveling around began to

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come back in that direction. They decided that Lone Man wanted the east or left side and that First Creator could work on the west side. They decided to separate and go to work. They began to work on the two sides, making the hills, creeks, and trees. They made the different animals and birds also. No one knows how long it took to make the earth. After they finished the land, the hills, lakes, and living things, they met to discuss what each had done.

Lone Man said, "I made almost flat land, with lakes and timber far to the east."

First Creator said, "I have made deep ravines with many springs and much shelter for the game."

Lone Man said, "I made all the different kinds of stock with long horns and mixed colors of red, white, and black. How did you make your animals?"

He replied, "I have made the animals with short horns and hump backs. Since the side I made was the woman, I made much rough land with plenty of shelter. After a while we should go out and look over the land we have made. We will see first how you did."

They went out together to see how Lone Man had made it. They saw all the flat land and the living things and how they were made.

First Creator said, "You made a mistake; the animals are too mixed. Because the land is so flat storms will kill off some of the animals, for there are no shelters or windbreaks. These animals that you made do not have enough hair. With such level land I do not think they will live. I tell you what we will do; we will send all the animals across the ocean to that other land that we made. It may be that in the future they can be used again."

Then they decided to come back to the west side that First Creator had made and examine that. They saw the buffaloes with plenty of hair to live through the winter; there were plenty of springs, hills, and good shelters. Both agreed then that it would be best that they should have it that way.

All this time they kept hearing a noise far away. They remembered that they had met something a long time before, so they went back to the place where they heard the loud noise. They arrived at the place where they had met the buffalo, and they found the tobacco in blossom. There were insects flying around the plants. They saw that these insects were making the roaring sound.

Buffalo said again, "That is the tobacco that I was going to make; you go back again; I am going to fix you a pipe. When you hear someone bellowing, hurry back again."

They traveled on until they heard the bellowing, and then they started back again. While they were running toward the tobacco, they heard a voice saying, "It has almost come together again."

While the voice was calling, "It has almost come together" a second time, they came to the buffalo. They saw that the stem and the bowl of the pipe had almost come together. The stem of the pipe was the east side and represented man. The part where they put in the tobacco was the west side and represented the woman. If the voice had got to the place where it had all come together, there would have been no Missouri River.

When they came to where the tobacco was, they saw that it looked good. They asked Buffalo how they could fix it up, and he said, "I will fix it." He rolled and some of his hair came out. He fixed it up for them to lay the tobacco on.

They asked how to prepare the tobacco, and Buffalo said they would have

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to grease it. They asked how to grease it, and Buffalo said, "You will have to open up my body and get some of the kidney fat to grease it with."

"How are we going to dry up the tobacco?" they inquired. Buffalo made a fire and showed them how to dry the tobacco and break it up. They asked how they should smoke it, and he showed them how it was done.

After they finished smoking, they went out and traveled along, but nobody knows how long. They were talking among themselves and wondered who was the older. Lone Man said, "We will find out. We will lie on the ground; the one who lies on the ground longest will be the older." Lone Man when traveling had a stick on which were alternating black and white feathers. It was painted red and had a feather on the end. He would often say, "This is my body." He stuck this staff into the ground.

First Creator said, "I am going to lie down as the coyote." Lone Man stuck his staff into the ground to act as his body while he traveled on alone. After two years he came back to the place where First Creator lay on the ground. He found the bones scattered around, but the staff was still standing up straight. After four years were up he went back again and found the staff bent so that the top nearly touched the ground. The feathers were gone. He looked over at First Creator and saw only a few bones then nearly covered with dirt.

He thought, "Poor fellow. He wanted to be older than I."

He pulled out the staff, rubbing his hands over it, and it was new again. The First Creator jumped up, and he was a coyote again. First Creator said, "That is what I said; I was the older, and now I have proved it." They agreed that he was the older, and the people believed it after that incident.

(Nowadays we have cattle of all different colors, but they were mentioned a long time ago. That is why we have them today. They all came from the east.)

After the people appeared on this earth, they learned of the origin of the pipe.

Lone Man said to the Mandan, "I am going to leave you some day and go back home. When there is a change in the world, I will be back again. The sign will be when the Missouri River changes its course and flows in the other direction. Then the big trees will grow in the opposite direction with the roots sticking up at the top. Then the antelopes will have no flesh on the lower part of their breasts. All that will be a sign that I will come back again. At that time the people asked him where he belonged, and he said, "I am the wind from the far south. My home is down there. When it is spring, I will send the warm winds from my home in the warm southland. I belong to the WaxikEna clan. If you run out of wood toward spring, you should say, 'My older brother, I am out of wood.' "

They asked First Creator where he was going to go, and he said, "I am going to be among you people forever." It is pretty hard to get rid of these coyotes. Sometimes those of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans used to talk to Lone Man, saying, "My older brother, I am out of wood, and I want you to send us warm winds to melt all the snow." While they were among these peoples, they did many things.

Since the pipe did not come entirely together, we use two pieces of wood, and so there is a Missouri River. Now they are irrigating up the river and making the waters flow north.

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Lone Man said, "We made land to the south where the ocean is. We made the Fish People, and they will come up this way. You will be all mixed up, eagle people, bear people, corn people, buffalo people, and others." And that is the way it was.

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ORIGIN MYTH OF OXINHEDE, OR FOOLISH ONE RELATED BY CROWS HEART[15]

One time there was a woman in the village who had never been around with young men. While returning from her field with the other women she brushed into some burrs, and they fastened to her dress. She went into the lodge to take off the dress and remove the burrs. It was dark in the lodge, so she stood under the opening where the smoke went out. Suddenly she saw a shadow at the smokehole, and she hid herself. In a short time she heard someone inside her singing, and it nearly killed her. In the night a child was born to her, and it disappeared as soon as it was born. She called all the family, and they built a bright fire. He was black. He kept jumping up and down, and they could not do anything with him.

He grew very fast and was never still. He was always running and jumping about. One day his grandfather was making up arrows and tipping them with wing feathers of the speckled eagle. The boy liked them and wanted them over his shoulder in a sheath. The boy took the arrows and went out. This was the first time he had ever been out of the earth lodge, for the people were afraid that he would run away. When he got outside the earth lodge, he ran about, making great leaps, running up the earth lodges, and flitting around to the entertainment of the people.

But this little black boy ran out onto the hills where he killed the sacred snakes and many other holy things. He even killed the wicked women who lived in the earth and crept out at dark to entice men away from their wives. He would not stay away from the sacred things. Finally, all the spirits of the sacred things got together and vowed that he must be killed.

One day there was a heavy fog sent by the spirits of the holy things. When it cleared up, Foolish One was not to be found. In a short time his father came looking for him. His father must have been the Sun or lived in the Sun. He found the boy dead and was very angry. All the people of the village had liked him even though he had been so foolish. The father was very angry and demanded of Lone Man who killed his son. All the spirits that had helped kill little Foolish One became frightened of the Sun spirit and hid in a hole on the top of the Killdeer Mountains. At that time the mountains were solid. The spirit from the Sun hit the mountain with his club and broke it in two parts, so that today there are two parts, the head and the body.

Big Foolish One asked Lone Man what should be done with the little fellow. They came to a big rock, and Lone Man split it with his lance. They put the boy in the rock and fitted the rock back. This rock is near one of our camps on the Heart River. Big Foolish One went back to the Sun, and he never came back again. Many still worship him as a great spirit, and we put him in the Okipa on one of the days of dancing because he was here on earth when Lone Man was here.

15. This is a brief summary of the Foolish One, who is represented in the Okipa ceremony. George Catlin (*Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* [Philadelphia, 1857], I, 280–81) records another version of this myth.

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Appendix II

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NUPTADI SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY BEN BENSON[1]

A long time ago the Mandan had no horses. They used dogs to pack their bedding, tepees, and things they took when moving. Each family had quite a few dogs. The camp I am telling of was somewhere south of Mandan. They moved north a little ways to winter in the bottoms around Square Butte Creek. A dog was hitched to a travois with a little boy on it. The dog ran away over the hills chasing a coyote (Kinumakci, the First Creator). This dog came to a ravine and was caught in the brush. He backed up and freed himself, returning to camp without the boy. The boy stood up and cried. He wandered through the ravine until he became very hungry.

While he was walking along, he found a little bow with arrows. Some spirit probably had left it there to save someone's life. He took the bow and arrows and walked along until he saw a buffalo bull. He crept close but not near enough for the arrow to be effective. However, the little fellow hit the bull in the side and pierced its heart. The buffalo fell down dead.

He had no way of butchering the bull. He found a flint knife and opened the buffalo's side near the kidneys. He pulled out the kidneys and part of the liver. He wanted some fat also, so he put a stone under one of the legs and kept hitting the end of the bone to make it break, so he could get the marrow out. Finally, he broke the bone. A piece flew away whistling.

As soon as the fragment struck the ground, he could hear a little baby crying. He went over to see what it was, and, when he got there, he saw that a little newborn baby girl was lying there. He took the baby in his arms. He didn't know what to do with her but finally decided to pull out some of the buffalo head hair to lay the baby on.

About that time, a magpie[2] came and built a fire to cook the food. They cooked and ate. Then Coyote came. He was Kinumakci, the First Creator. He said that he was going to cook some meat and eat it. After he ate he said, "Little brother, bring me some gray sage."

The boy brought in a little bunch of gray sage. The man then took some charcoal and burned the sage to produce smoke. He said to the boy, "Bring the baby here; she is our sister."

The man took the little baby and put her over the smoke, raising her up and down. He said, "I want her to grow." When he put the baby on the ground, she started to walk.

"Bring her back again," he commanded.

1. For another relation of this same myth by the same informant see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 96–102.

2. The magpie is always associated with the Holy Women.

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The child was put over the smoke again, and this time the baby could run about. The third time the little girl was put on the fire he talked to her. He said, "Grow little girl, grow!"

This time she could walk, jump around, and talk. But this wasn't enough. So he made more smoke by adding more sage to the fire and raised the girl up and down in the smoke. Then she was large enough to work at tanning hides and cooking meals.

The man said, "This is enough. You have a girl big enough to cook and care for you. I must leave and travel around."

By this time the boy had become a young man. After First Creator left, the boy set to work building a bark tepee[3] or lodge with four posts on the inside. When the girl was a little older, she was a great worker. She could cut up meat and tan the hides as good as any old woman.

She said to her brother, "This lodge of ours is too small; we must make a larger one."

They went out into the woods and burned trees with crotches (the fire was blown around the base by means of a hollow reed) to use for the four posts. They built an earth lodge with plenty of room to live in comfortably.

The girl said, "Brother, it doesn't look right for you to be single; you should get married."

The boy said, "Where am I going to find a wife?"

The girl replied, "Do you want to get married?"

The brother said, "Yes, if you can get me a good wife."

The girl went off and came back. She said, "I have found some girls, but they do not want to marry you on account of your quick temper."

The boy said, "All right, I'll stay single. I have been able to get along all these years. I guess I can get along for the rest of my life."

The sister answered, "Well, don't give up so soon; I will try again."

She went off again. The second time she came back and said that two girls were coming to see him. Then she set to work cooking up dry meat in preparation for a big feast. That night two very pretty girls came. She gave them plenty to eat. While they were eating, she said that she had to go out for firewood so she left them alone with her brother.

The girls said to the young man, "Is it true that you would like us for wives?"

He said, "Yes, but my sister tells me that you do not like me on account of my temper. If you girls think me too mean, leave me alone."

The sisters answered, "No. It is the other way. It is your sister who is mean. She is going to kill you some day. In the night when you sleep, she gets up and goes out to kill people. She puts their scalps on her robe. Her elkhide robe is covered with scalps except in one place on the shoulder. She wants to fill that space with your scalp and intends to do that."

After these two sisters had spoken they went home.

The boy said to his sister, "I am going to kill a young female elk, and I want you to make a robe for me."

All this time she had an elkhide robe of her own hanging up in a bundle. The boy had never seen her wear it. He always wondered why she didn't use that robe. One day he took it down to open it, but, before he did, he smoked sweet grass which grew in low places in the timber. Inside of the robe bundle

3. Eagle-trapping lodge type.

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there were many clam shells. He wrapped it up carefully again and hung it up as before. He suspected then that she was more than a common woman. Many nights she was away; many times when he awoke near daybreak she was cooking something, the nature of which he did not recognize. Once he asked her what she was cooking and eating. She wouldn't tell, saying, "I thought you were sound asleep."

One day the boy went away hunting, and the sister was home alone. She said, "I am going to fix up my robe now." She burned sweet grass for the robe, and then she took it down and opened the bundle. When she opened it, the shells were as she had left them. She laid the robe out; it wasn't very large, only two feet square. She had a number of little round scalps and clam shells. She put the scalps on the robe and then placed a clam shell over each. Then the scalps stuck to the robe. She put them in rows. One place was left in front of the shoulder.

She said, "I thought I had enough, but I haven't. I will need one more scalp. I think I will have to get his scalp and put it there. He worked hard to raise me, but I think I will get his scalp for that place nevertheless."

The time when the boy was supposed to be out hunting, he really did not go but stayed near by and hid. He heard everything that she said and then set out for the hunt. When the sister was looking at her own robe, she took down her brother's robe and a blaze of fire came forth.

"Ah," she said, "he has power, too!"

He came back from hunting and told his sister that he had killed some game near by and that she should go out with her hide basket and bring in the meat. Her basket was shaped like a corn basket, but it was covered with hide. She went after the meat.

The girls had told him that, when he escaped from the lodge, he should hide in White Clay Tepee where they lived, or his sister would kill him. While she was out gathering the meat, the boy thought that he would escape. He pondered a plan for getting out. He thought he would go through the smokehole so that she would not see his tracks. He stuck an arrow in the center of the fireplace.

He picked a louse from his head and said to it, "When my sister comes and calls, put her off. Tell her to wait a little while."

He put the louse on the ground. Then he stepped on the arrow and went out through the smokehole, taking his elkskin robe with him. In a little while she came back. She found the door blocked with poles.

She said, "Open it. What are you doing?"

The louse said, "Wait a while; I am busy here."

This continued until the sister became angry and broke open the door.

She called, "Where are you? I don't see you."

The louse, still pretending to be her brother answered, "Over here."

She went to the spot where the sound came from and could not find anything because the louse was hidden in the dirt. The sister knew then that the brother had escaped.

She said, "I know where you are." Then she burned sweet grass before her robe, opened it, and put it on her back. She picked up her digging stick and went away, flying into the air, although she didn't have any wings. She soon saw that the boy was almost to the lodge where the other women were living.

She said, "I'll get you before you get there." Just as she was about to

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catch up with the boy, the door opened, and he ran in. The women were inside.

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They were angry and said to his sister, "We are the ones who told your brother to come in here in order that he might save his life."

The boy's name was One Feather on the Head (Wo'kide), and the girl's name was Feather on the Head Woman (O'kimi'hE). The girls and the boy had digging sticks, too. Each time they hit at the sister, she would go up in the air, so they could only hit her legs.

The boy said, "I'll get her." He came out with his bow and arrows. While the sister was fighting, she had two magpie feathers stuck in the back of her head. The brother took his bow and arrows out and shot at her. The first shot hit the center of the tail supporting the feathers and split one feather. He had been told by a meadowlark when he came out of the lodge that he should aim for the feathers in her hair. She fell down and was dying. After she was on the ground, he walked up to her before she died.

She spoke to him saying, "Brother, I am all finished now. Take my robe and go home. Take good care of it because it is the same as my body. You can go back to your people where you will have power over them because of this robe."

He went back to his people and did as he was told. His father and mother were living yet, and they were so glad to see him that they cried. He had the medicine robe with him and told them what it was and all about it. Since then the Mandan people have called that robe "Young Grandmother." The boy became a great man and kept that robe until he died. Then another man took it.

The descent of the robe went from father to son or father to daughter and her husband. Each had to pay for the robe when he got it.

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Appendix III

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AWATIXA SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY BEARS ARM

The people came from Knife River after corn-planting time. They followed the Missouri River and went over toward the Little Missouri, crossed it, and were between the Little and Big Missouries. The camp was of Hidatsa. They were traveling along. It was at the time when the young meadowlarks were old enough to fly. There was a young woman who had a small brother in the party.

The little brother said, "Sister, I wish to have a young bird," so the sister took her little brother away while the main camp traveled westward. They went off to look for a young bird. Somehow the two got separated from the main party and lost their way.

The main party sent out scouts looking for the girl and her brother, but they failed to find them. The camp went on and turned to the southwest and traveled far. The girl and brother went to the Little Missouri River and came to a place suitable to camp. She put up a little lodge like the men use when eagle-trapping. Near by there was a high cliff and just below it was a level place. He became a hunter; she put out snares and caught rabbits. In that way they made a living. Near the lodge was a spring of clear water. They stayed there for some time. Soon the boy grew up and was big enough to use a bow and arrows. Before that time he would use stones to kill young prairie chickens.

He said to his sister, "It is about time for me to have a bow and arrows."

She replied, "Go out and get ten young cherry branches and flints. Take them to this high cliff and lay them down at the foot of the cliff and say, 'Make me arrows.' Lay them down and come home."

The boy got the sticks and flint and took them to the cliff. He spoke as she had instructed him to. He came home, and his sister said, "In four nights you can go back and see about your arrows." He left his arrows there.

Meantime his sister, being mysterious, would go out to find game and bring the meat back.

After four days, the sister said, "You should go over and see about your arrows," so he left for the cliff. When he came to the place where he left the sticks, there were ten arrows with feathers and flint arrowheads. Beside them lay a good bow and string.

The boy said, "You have done me a fine turn by making these arrows for me. I will shoot with these and stop throwing stones." He took the bow and arrows to his camp. He was now able to kill bigger game.

The two lived there for a long time by themselves. One day the boy was home alone while his sister was away as usual, for she had begun to leave each day. She would go far out. She would cause the people to have wars between themselves so she could come home with scalps. She had a robe of her own,

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and she made one also for her brother. She had one in particular that had scalps fastened to it. Every time she came home, she would spread her robe out on the floor and put a new scalp on the robe. She would use a small clam shell to fasten the scalp to, and some way the scalp and shell would cling to the robe.

One day she went off in the morning. A meadowlark flew by and said, "Your sister is planning to kill you. You must do something to save yourself." Meantime the sister, being able to go all over, found White Lodge Butte called Where the White Lodge Stands. [This butte is between the Little and Big Missouri rivers near the western border of the Fort Berthold Reservation.] In this lodge lived two women who each had a daughter. The sister went to the lodge, saw the two women, and said, "I have a brother who wishes to take your daughters as his wives."

The two women said, "Our girls are young, and they are good girls. We will think about the matter." The sister left the lodge and, being holy, heard everything. She heard the two women discussing the proposal. They said, "No doubt the boy is a good boy, but we know the kind of person his sister is."

The sister went home. When she got back to her camp, she told her brother of the proposal she made for him. One day the sister went away as usual. He, too, was going out on a hunt that day. He picked a louse from his hair and left it in the lodge, saying to it, "You take my place and, if she comes back, don't answer her. See what she does."

He left, and soon she came back. She said, "I know my brother, Feather on Head, that you were out, and I know that you are here." No answer came. She went in and took her robe down. She said, "Right here is where I am going to put you," meaning the brother's scalp. During that time he ran over to where the White Lodge stood. He arrived, and the women came out.

He said, "I have come to you people to see if you could give me some help. My sister is planning to kill me."

The girls went in and told their mothers what Feather on Head had come for. The women said, "Yes, we will help him when the proper time comes."

The girls came back to Feather on Head and told him what their mothers said. He said to the girls, "From this time on watch for me, for I will run away from my sister and come here."

He returned to his lodge and stayed there for some time. Meadowlark came and said to Feather on Head, "You must hurry and get away from here. Go a long ways off and kill a large buffalo bull. When you have it skinned, take the hide and spread it on the ground and cut your meat up in small pieces. Pile the pieces up on top of the hide. Then you must go back and tell your sister that you have the meat cut up and piled ready for her to come after."

He did as the meadowlark directed. He killed the bull, skinned it, spread the hide, piled the meat on the hide, and cut the meat up in small pieces. Then he returned to the lodge and told his sister that he had killed a buffalo bull and had the meat piled on the hide.

She said, "All right, I will go after it, and I will find the meat no matter where it is."

She always had a piece of buffalo hide that she wore over her back so she would not get her dresses bloody. She started out and went over the hill. Feather on Head followed her for a ways, and he saw her going over a ridge. He came back to the camp and picked up what few things belonged to him and ran as fast as he could for the White Lodge. When he was near the lodge,

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he saw his sister coming after him. She was wearing a light feather painted red on her head. She overtook him, and he shot her with an arrow. She lifted her arm to shield her face, and he shot her in the chest. She reached over and pulled the arrow out. When she was nearer, he shot again, and she turned, raising her right arm to shield her face. He shot her in the right side of the chest. At that moment Meadowlark came along and flew over Feather on Head's head. She said, "Shoot the feather on her head." He took an arrow out and shot at the feather on her head. He cut the feather in two. She bled, for the feather on her head was her heart.

Before she fell over and died she staggered around, saying, "This is my mistake. I came to kill you, and now you have killed me."

She was wearing the robe that had so many scalps on it. She said, "Brother, you may take this robe. If you wear it in the battles, you will always come out victorious. The songs that go with the robe you will learn in a dream."

The young man took the robe. She died with her head toward the east and her feet toward the west.

Just then the girls and their mothers came. They helped take the robe off of the dead woman. The young man went back to his camp. When he got back there, he wept. The woman and the girls at White Tepee carried out a buffalo robe from which the hair had been removed. They dug a grave and put the body on the hide. They wrapped it around her and buried her there. They did this because there were so many coyotes and wolves. They knew that if they left the dead body on top of the ground, the wolves would come and eat her flesh.

The young man came back to White Lodge and married the two girls. He stayed there for a long time. He hunted and killed many kinds of game. The time came when he grew homesick. He would get up on the lodge with his head bowed.

His mothers-in-law said, "We know where his home is, and we know that he is lonesome. You girls are his wives, and you will have to go with him if he decides to go home."

The wives inquired whether he was lonesome, and he said, "Yes, I am getting lonesome; I want to see my people, and I feel sad because I killed my own sister. In a way, it is all right that I killed my own sister; if I had not killed her, she would have killed me."

The wives said, "If you want to go back to your people, we will be obliged to go back with you."

He said, "I am glad that you are going with me. You prepare for the journey, and in a few days we will go back to my people."

As soon as his wives were ready, they started back to the village at Knife River. It took them several days to make the trip from White Lodge to the mouth of Knife River. They arrived home, and he was glad to see his people. They were glad to see him back safely.

His wives said, "Now, we want you to leave other women alone; do not have anything to do with them. Do not let any woman touch you. If you touch any woman, we will leave you and go back to our home."

One day he went to the river and bathed. He came toward his lodge. When he reached a narrow place where the lodges were grouped closely, he met one of his sisters-in-law, and she said, "You had it announced that no one would be allowed to touch you. I am going to touch you."

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"You must not lay hand on me," he replied and tried to run around her. She seized the corner of his robe and cut it off. She threw it onto the lodge. 773

He went home. As soon as he went in, his wives said, "You have been touched. You know that we told you not to be touched by any other woman. We must leave you." 539

He begged his wives to stay, but they said, "No. We will have to go."

The corn was high by that time, and the sunflowers stood even higher. They walked through the fields to the edge of the gardens. They stopped there. He kept begging his wives to return to the village with him. While he stood there looking at his wives, they changed into two tall, wild sunflowers.

He could do nothing more, so he returned to the village. He told the people what had happened. He said, "Do not pull up wild sunflowers or urinate close to them."

In the meantime he learned all the songs that went with this Sacred Robe. That robe was handed down to the proper ones, and Wolfs Ghost was the last one to keep it. People used to go into his lodge to worship this sacred robe and offer sacrifices to it. When Wolfs Ghost died, a few years ago, that robe was still in his lodge, and nobody knows what became of it.

Feather on Head had the robe, and he would wear it whenever the enemy came to attack the village. It was very hard for the enemy to do anything to him, for the robe protected him. He married again and raised a family. He went up to White Lodge, but there was no entrance. He became famous as a great warrior and died of old age. When the smallpox of 1837 came, Bobtail Bull was the owner. He came from the Mi-tu-tan-ka Village of the Mandan.

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Appendix IV

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON EAGLE-TRAPPING

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Evenings were spent in storytelling. The leader would acquaint the trappers with the myths associated with eagle-trapping. There were many of these myths, and a good leader would be able to consume every evening for the usual four weeks in camp without exhausting his stock. Each was related in great detail with endless repetitions. Some of the longer myths consumed four nights in telling; others were short and could be related in one night. All were expected to listen attentively while seated on a buffalo robe. Those who nodded were pinched with the bird stick. An example of the stories told is given below.

MYTH OF BROWN OLD MAN RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[1]

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There are two ways of telling this story; one is that he came from the heavens and the other that he came from the earth through being born of a woman. I heard many stories, when nineteen years of age from Small Ankles, my father, and Chief,[2] my father-in-law, in the winter village at Blue Buttes above here. Even the older people would have them come out and tell the story to them and put on a feast to them.

Brown Old Man came to the village and always knew himself that he was not a real human, but he would stay with them. When they needed meat, he would call the buffaloes. If they needed rain, he would call it. The people did not know, and he never told them, who he was. After he had been with the people a while, he thought that he would marry. In the spring the buffalo hides get brown, and he had one of those brown hides for a robe until they came to call him Brown Old Man. Sometimes the people would invite him in and feed him well. Then he would say that this man will strike an enemy; sometimes he would say two or more, and it would always come true. Still the people of the village did not know who he was at heart. At last the people began to realize that he was trying to be a holy man, and they would say, "If he were a real medicine man, he would have a good living with more to show for his powers." He felt bad when he heard it but would say, "I am a man who saves the people here." At last he was getting old and white, and his wife was old and white too.

There was one man in the village who invited in Brown Old Man often, and, when he went out to fast, he dreamed of Brown Old Man. He saw in his dream this Brown Old Man painted all over so that he looked more like a

1. For another relation of this myth by Wolf Chief see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX, Part IV [1929]), pp. 187–94. There is also a very brief version in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 204–5.

2. Chief was a Mandan of the Prairie Chicken clan.

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bird. When the young man was with the war parties, he would be the first to strike, and he thought that this was being caused by Brown Old Man. Brown Old Man's lodge was small, and he had only a few articles in it, but he was a medicine man, nevertheless. One day this young man called Brown Old Man and gave him and his wife some pieces of meat.

Brown Old Man said, "My son, I am the one who gave you the dream and spirit; you are my "son." I am the man who gave you the power to strike the enemy and made you chief."

The young man began to tell his dream, saying, "In my dream I saw you painted all over, and you looked like a bird and had bird claws, but I never told you or anyone else."

The old man said, "That is right; I am not really human. When I gave you that dream, you were not supposed to tell it to your own people. You dreamed that you saw me painted all over. I had a father who was a red bird. That is why you saw me painted with red paint."

The young man was happy and took off his leggings, moccasins, and robe, which he gave to the old man. Brown Old Man said to the young man, "You have already seen me in your dream, and I think you will be successful."

Even when the young man went out eagle-trapping he would succeed in bringing back many eagle tails. The old man would smoke some days, and then he would take on new life again. In the fall the people in that village would go out eagle-trapping in all directions; some went to the Little Missouri River; others went along the Missouri and Yellowstone, so that the people were scattered out in camps all over the roughland. The old man said to his wife, "I am going out to the west and see all my different sons."[3]

At this time not even the old woman knew that he was a bird, and she said, "I do not think you can find your way. You are too old." His "son" who had dreamed of Brown Old Man had already left and was at the mouth of Yellowstone River in a camp called One Cottonwood Camp.

He replied, "I am going to One Cottonwood Camp."

She said, "You can't find that place; you are just childish and think you are young again."

He said, "I know all the earth; of course you do not know me; that is why you say that. When I am ready to go, you will go with me a little ways until we come to a hill. Then you can come back. I am not really human; I am different altogether from humans. That is why we did not have any children."

They walked out of the village to a hill, and he said, "Cover up your head and you will see a god."

She covered herself and did not see him, but she heard a noise like a big bird. Then she was sure that he was something else besides a human. Before she took the robe off, her husband was flying through the air just above her, singing a holy song. When he told her to take the robe off, she looked up and saw her husband had turned into a spotted eagle.[4] When she saw the big bird, she cried and lay on the ground while the bird flew around. He said, "You can go home; I will come back some day."

He flew up the Missouri River and came to the hills, south of the present Fishhook site, called High Butte Trapping Place. There were some people in the hills trapping eagles. Before he reached the village he changed into Brown

3. Sons of clan brothers.
4. The Hoita of the Mandan Okipa ceremony represented the spotted eagle.

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Old Man again. He carried a cane and made them believe that he was an old man. He walked toward one of the little lodges, and they said, "There is Brown Old Man; we should take him in and feed him."

Others said, "We don't want to bother with him."

Some treated him well, while others let him go without food. He went into one lodge and was fed; then the young man said that he would give him water and asked the old man to open his mouth so that he could put the water into it. When it was dark, the old man was still sitting near the door. Some thought that, being old, he might have some stories to tell, but others thought that, since he did not have much wealth at the old village, he would not know very much. Some were good to him and said, "Brown Old Man, we would like to hear a story." But others did not care to hear it.

Brown Old Man said, "I may not be able to tell a good story, but I will tell a story. One of you go out and bring a block of wood and set it before that buffalo skull for me to sit on."

One of them found a block of wood and left it before the skull. Brown Old Man folded his brown robe, put it on the wood, and sat on it.

He said: "A long time ago there was a red bird, and he had a son. The son thought that he would go among the people and turn himself into a human and be born among the people to lead them. (When he mentioned these words, some said that he was crazy, and they wanted to drag him outside, while others wanted to hear it all, thinking it was a good story.) There was a man there who thought that he would take some of the young people as 'sons,' and then they would strike the enemy, bring buffalo or rain; and everything happened as he had predicted. Sometimes in the fall the people would go out eagle-trapping, and he thought, since he knew all the places, he would tell them where to go to have good luck, and it was always so. Even then the people would not believe it. (Some wanted to throw him out; others wanted to give him a feast.) This bird they would call Brown Old Man. When he was old, he would smoke himself and get new life. He was always leading his people even though they did not realize it. In the fall they were all out eagle-trapping. Brown Old Man was getting very old at that time; his wife was old too. The old man told his wife that he was going out to see all his sons, but she did not believe that he knew the way and thought that he would get lost. Brown Old Man told his wife that he knew all the places and would not get lost. He asked his wife to go out a short distance, and they went out a short distance together. He told her to cover up herself, for he was not a true human; she heard a noise like a bird. He flew up into the air and sang a holy song and told her to uncover herself. She saw a large spotted eagle flying above her. She cried and rolled herself on the ground all the time the large bird was flying around in the air. He told the old woman to go back and that he would return to her some day. The bird flew up the river to the place where the people were trapping eagles, and there he alighted and turned into an old man with a cane. He walked into the camp. Some of them treated him well; others did not. Some fed him, and others wanted to throw him out. When the old man finished eating, the good young man took his mountain-sheep horn spoon and gave him water. The old man thought, 'I know that the rest of the men here do not like me. Those who treat me well will get birds, for I am a big bird; but those who treat me badly will get none. Those who treat me well will get six or seven eagles.' "

By that time all the men were looking at Brown Old Man. He said, "To

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the one who treated me best and gave me water, I will give the power to catch twelve eagles. I am that Brown Old Man." Then he changed himself into a spotted eagle and flew out, saying, "You people see that I am holy," and was gone.

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The next night he reached a place called Buckbrush Trapping Camp (the hills around Slide Coulee). When they saw the old man, they said that they were crowded and that he might pass his water inside the lodges. He sat outside until it was getting dark, and some said that they should take him in or he might freeze. They called him in and fed him and wanted him to tell a story.

He said, "I came, and the people would not take me in; they will not get any birds, for I am a bird."

He flew away. When he left, all the people there worried about him. They did not get any eagles at all that year, and not even deer or buffaloes. At last they were starving and went back to the village.

He came to a camp called "First Trapping Place" (below Sanish). When he stopped there, he saw many people. They had much dried meat hanging in the trees and were having a good time. As soon as it was evening, he changed himself into an old man with a cane. He walked toward the village.

The people there said, "I wonder how he got here; he is such an old man."

They said to the younger people, "You should take care of him, for the young should always treat the old kindly."

Even his moccasins were worn out, and they gave him new ones, showing him every kindness. They wanted him to tell them a story, and he called for a block of wood which they brought and put beside the buffalo skull. When he told the story, he told how he came to the first trapping place. Some treated him well. He promised twelve eagles, to the man who gave him the water, but those who were not kind to him would get none. At the second place they did not like him because he was old, and they were afraid that he would wet in the lodge. They would not get any birds or food but would starve because they did not know that he was a bird. He changed into a bird and flew out the smokehole. He came to the third place, and they treated him well, and, when he was near, the young men ran to tell the camp that the Brown Old Man was coming. They fed him, gave him moccasins, and treated him well. All those would get twelve or more birds each and have plenty to eat.

He thought, "They have treated me well, and I will sing my medicine song to show them that I am holy." As he was changing into a bird, he said, "You see me as a bird. I am your father," and he sang as he flew off:

Hiu ho ho ho Hiu ho ho ho

They were lucky in getting eagles and found plenty of game near the camp.

He went on and came to the mouth of the Yellowstone River. It was here that the young man who had a dream from Brown Old Man was living with his younger, unmarried brother. When he came to the village, there were no men there, but the son's wife was there; also another man's wife was there. The latter treated the old man well and gave him food and water, but the former did not treat him well even though she was the wife of the old man's "son." The good woman took him in and talked to him.

In the evening the men came back, and Brown Old Man's son said to his wife, "What did you do to my father? Did you feed him?"

She said, "I didn't do anything to him, and I did not feed him."

The other man asked, "What did you do to the old man?"

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His wife said, "I brought him in and gave him meat seasoned with peppermint and fresh water. I noticed that his moccasins were worn through, and I gave him new ones."

The other man was angry because his wife had not treated him well. When he went out trapping, he was unlucky, but the other man whose wife had treated Brown Old Man well got many birds. The Brown Old Man wanted to give his "son" eagles but thought he would not, since the woman had not treated him right. The lucky man got many eagles, and at last he found a white buffalo near the village and killed it. After they had been there some time, the weather began to get cold, so Brown Old Man decided he would leave soon. He wanted to tell a story before he left, so one night he told the men that he was going to tell a story.

He said: "There was a spotted eagle who came to the people changed into a human. They called him Brown Old Man. He gave a dream to a young man and took him as his son. This old man would say that certain things would happen, and they did. Brown Old Man thought that he would go out to see the people at their traps and that he would call on his son. He took his wife out on a hill and she saw him in the air. He came to different camps along the river. At some of the places he was treated well; at others he was not. He thought that those who had treated him well would get many eagles, but those who did not would not have good luck. He came to the second place and was very badly treated. They would not take him in for fear he would dirty the lodge. The old man knew everything they said. He thought that, since these people treated him so badly, he would not give them any birds. He came to the third camp, and most of the people treated him well, and he was glad. They would catch many eagles and have plenty of food. When he left that place, he thought again of his son, a young man whom he loved very much, and decided to go to that camp and see his son. When he came to the fourth place at One Cottonwood Camp, he changed himself back into a human. When he was near, he found two women outside. His "granddaughter," he could tell at once, did not like him; the other one liked him and called him in to feed him. He thought that even though this woman's husband was not his son, he would bring him good luck. Since the other one's wife did not like him, he would not get any birds. Instead he would get dirty and covered with grass in the pit. He thought that this man who was not his son would catch five eagles and also kill a white buffalo. That Brown Old Man is myself."

He went back to Knife River again.

The man whose wife treated him well caught twelve eagles and killed a white buffalo. The "son" and his wife quarreled after that and could not get along together. Before leaving the place, he killed a white buffalo also. The other man was lucky though and killed much game. He had a white buffalo hide, and he and his wife were happy. He said, "We should go home, for it will soon be cold weather."

They broke camp and came back along the Missouri River. They reached the hilly country below the Yellowstone River. All that time the son was angry, and, as they walked along, he said, "We should stop here, my wife, and let the others go ahead." The man's brother liked the wife and wanted to stay back with them, but his brother sent him ahead. He set up two sticks in the ground, and then he tied his wife to the sticks and built a fire under her. He let her burn to death. The others were ahead waiting for them to catch up.

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After a while he came alone, and they asked him where his wife was, and he said, "She will come up."

Then the boy said, "I think I will go back and see my sister-in-law."

The husband said, "You can go back if you want to." When the boy came back to the place where they had stopped, he saw something but at first could not tell what it was. He walked toward the place and saw an owl, a wolf, and a black bear there. When he saw the three animals, he began to cry. His sister-in-law was there and said, "Do not cry. I always loved you. This wolf, owl, and little bear brought me to life again." When he looked at her, he saw that her eyes looked bright while her hair was light-colored and long.

She said, "Do not cry; I am your medicine now. I am holy, and you will be holy too. Your brother fastened me to stakes and burned me, but this black bear came and cleaned out the bad spirits. The owl fixed my eyes and hair, and now I am holy. The wolf fixed up my body."

Black Bear said to the woman, "I know that you have suffered; Brown Old Man was responsible for that. We know Brown Old Man's father, the Red Bird, and I think I will get rid of him."

She said to the boy, "You are old enough; we could go back to the lodge and trap eagles." They went back to the lodge. Beside the door was a snare singing a holy song:[5]

> Young woman, she is crying, but she will be holy.
> Young man was crying, but he will become holy.

(This song is used just before going into the holes and means that everything will be caught.)

Then the snare said that everything would be caught or held tight. (They used this song when putting up the snare in the trapping lodge. I fasted while eagle-trapping and heard a song, but it had different words:

> The young man was crying, and for that he became different.

That time I held an elkhorn on one side of my chest and a mountain-sheep head on the left. They had cut a hole through the skin of my shoulders, and I had a buck head fastened there to thongs through my flesh. I was running around the lodge when I heard the song.)

They moved into the lodge and cleaned out the pits to trap in. After a while they each caught a bird. They did not have much meat in the camp, and after a while the woman said to the boy, "You should go out to hunt," but the boy thought he was still too young.

She said, "I think you can. If you find a buffalo, you will be able to kill it. While you are gone, I will go into the pit." She brought in two eagles,[6] and he killed two buffaloes. After that they had plenty to eat and got along well.

The woman said, "You remember the time we were here; your brother was angry at me for not taking in Brown Old Man. He nearly killed me, but Little Black Bear said that he was going to catch Brown Old Man's father. I think if we got thirty eagles, it would be enough to satisfy your brother for the trouble I made him by failing to feed Brown Old Man. You go out and you will see some buffaloes. There will be a white one; you get the hide to give to your brother."

5. "Song of the Snare."
6. Mandan and Hidatsa women were not permitted to trap eagles.

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The boy came back with the white buffalo, and, it being just at the beginning of cold weather, it was of good quality. He said, "You should tan it and keep it for yourself." Just then he noticed that she had caught some eagles and had carried them to the camp.

She smiled and said, "You treat me very well. In my dream I saw the snare that hangs on the wall, and it was singing a song. It was the same thing I dreamed of. I also dreamed of the small black bear and the Bear said, 'When I use this snare to trap with I never miss, no matter what animal I go after.' You know when we came into the lodge at first we heard that snare singing. It sang two songs for us, and I want you to own those songs because I was killed by your brother. You came to see me and were crying. All those things you did for me I have not forgotten; now you have given me this white buffalo hide, so you can own those two songs, and, any time when you are having bad luck, you can use those songs. When you want anything, sing these songs, and your wish will come true. Keep them for the future, for it will be better for you to have them, since you are a young man. It is a rule that we are to stop trapping now, for the river is beginning to freeze up along the edges. Even the Black Bears quit at that time. The eagles might take some human lives or take away our spirits. As soon as I finish this tanning, we should go home."

They put all the feathers, thirty sets in all, together. She packed up the meat, and then they went back toward Knife River. They stopped several times on the way before they reached home.

Before going into the village, she said to the boy, "I know that your brother was angry, but it was my mistake; he was angry about not getting enough eagles and the white robe, so we will go back to your brother's lodge. You give him the thirty tails and robe and say, 'I want you to take back my sister-in-law again.' "

The woman looked changed now with different eyes and hair that was combed down. When they went into the lodge, they found that her husband was making arrows. He did not recognize the woman with his brother and wondered who she was. Even the younger brother looked different, for he had been among the gods.

The younger brother said, "I know that you are angry about those eagle tails and white robe, but you can have these, and I want you to live with her again." He put the robe over his brother's shoulders. Then his brother began to cry.

The older brother said, "What you said, is all true. The Brown Old Man was my god and loved me and that is where the trouble began, for your sister-in-law did not treat him right. I burned her, but now I can see that she has turned into a holy person, so she can stay here and be my holy spirit and look after me. She can look after the village too."

The woman said to the boy, "I have taught you the two holy songs that were sung by the snare, and you know them already. You keep them and then you will be chief and look after the village. I am not going to stay here forever. Once I nearly died, and those three gods brought me back to life. Some day I am going back to the owls."

This woman lived with her husband again, but he was always afraid of her, since her actions were different and she did not talk very much. They did not get along like they had formerly. Before they were aware of it, the woman disappeared.

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In the same village there was a man who was always changing himself into a black bear. He was good at trapping eagles, for he was the head of the trappers. He grew to be a very old man. He planned to go out trapping and selected six men. They came to the high buttes just below Fort Stevenson. He had experience in trapping, but the other six did not know anything about it. He went out with them fixing the pits, and then he sent them out after bait. He would sing a holy song for them.

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He said, "I have my trap prepared; my trap is between those trees. You young men ought to make offerings. If you have any colored birds at home promise them to the eagles. If you have any meadowlarks with bright yellow breasts, offer them to the eagles if you catch any eagles."

He asked each of the young men where his pit was. There was one boy who was poor and had no parents. When he came to the poor boy, that one answered, "I have mine close to a spring, for I thought the eagles might get thirsty and come there to drink. I might get them there."

The old man said, "You did right. You should ask your grandmother. She might have something that you could give to the eagles as offerings."

Then he would talk to each young man, telling him to make an offering. The last time they were making an offering, the poor one peeped into the lodge and said, "Now small Black Bear, I want to make an offering to you that some day you will make my grandmother[7] your mother-in-law," and the Black Bear said, "That is a good thing."

Black Bear said to the young men, "After it has snowed, I want all of you to hunt a deer. If you have a chance to shoot it, do not follow it, or you might drop dead."

After a while it began to snow. When it had cleared, they went out, shot a buck, and saw it run into the trees. It fell down between the trees. When they saw the animal fall down, they said, "We must not follow it, for we are not supposed to go up to it."

They came back, and the old man said, "I do not think that deer fell close to my trap so it will be hard to catch that red bird. If I drag the deer to the bait, the bird will know it. I think the only way I can catch that red bird is to dig a hole under the ground to the deer." He dug into the ground and went up to the deer and tied himself tightly under the deer. He noticed that Red Bird was coming his way.

Old Black Bear stayed there, and other birds flew around above. They said, "This looks like a trap, so we better stay here until Red Bird comes." They sat in the trees and waited for Red Bird to come. After a while Red Bird came, and the others said, "This deer looks fat, and we wanted you to get your share. We have waited for you to get yours first."

Then Red Bird said to the other birds, "I am afraid, for I know that that Old Black Bear is the real trapper and never misses anything; he has great power for tying things up. Look around and see if there are any tracks."

"We have looked around carefully, and there are no tracks. That deer must have run a long ways before falling."

Red Bird said, "If you could catch hold of that deer and move it to the side, I would take my share. I will pick one of you to move it to one side. I will select the baldheaded eagle to move it to the side, for you are strong."

The baldheaded eagle went to the deer and tried to lift it but could not

7. Black Bear would be taking the poor boy as his son.

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move it, only pulling out the hair. He said, "I can't lift it; I do not think there is anything under the deer."

Then Red Bird slowly flew down toward the deer, circling, and then went down to the deer. Old Black Bear seized him and said to the bird, "You are not the one who is holy; I am the holy man and have much more power than you have. I am going to get rid of you."

The bird cried, "Save my life; if you get rid of me, there will be no birds."

The Bear said, "You have made the people suffer, so I am going to kill you and get rid of you."

He pulled all the feathers out of the bird, saying, "I do not want to see any red birds like you, and I do not want you to treat people again as you did in the past. If you treat the people like you have in the past, I am going to get rid of you by cutting your head off." He turned the red bird loose, but after that they did not see any red birds like this one again.

About this time Brown Old Man in the village knew what was happening to his father, Red Bird, and he was sad. After they caught his father and pulled all the feathers out, Brown Old Man did not have his former strength. Still he had one holy song.

At the village they were playing the pole-and-stone game, and one fellow would win the game all the time. His medicine was the Snake. He was playing the game with another who had a father who was a chief. The boy always bet the things that belonged to his father. He would put in the lodge or all the things in the lodge. He even bet his parents' bedding. After a while they were sleeping in hay for bedding and did not have much left.

At this time the man said to his son, "You ought to see that we do not have much left and that we are very uncomfortable. What you should do now is call in Brown Old Man and give him a little roasted corn and moccasins. Tell him that you will give him your wife for a daughter-in-law. Do this after sundown."

The young man secured roast corn, fat, and moccasins. He went to Brown Old Man's lodge and invited him over. He said to Brown Old Man. "I was playing a game with the young man who has the Snake Medicine and he has beaten me. We do not have very much left. I know that you are a holy man, and I want you to help me. I will give you these things and, if I ever marry, I will have my wife for your daughter-in-law."

The old man said, "It is pretty hard to win a game from him. That stick he plays with is a snake too. That is why he wins the game all the time. You will never win the game so long as he has that snake for a stick. You can't tell the difference, but it is a snake just the same even though you cannot recognize it. I heard some stories about that snake; I am a bird and snakes are my food; that is the reason why that fellow is against me all the time. If you do not win the game, I will not take your wife as my daughter-in-law. If you win, I will call her that. You go out and see what you can find over there where Snake Man is; you will see much earth and various things scattered around. That is not real earth but eagle tails and other things he has won. You take some of them."

The young man went and came back. He brought back a robe full of articles, and he put them in the lodge on the ground but there was nothing visible except the dirt floor.

Brown Old Man sent him out a third time, a little after midnight saying, "Do not let him see you. There will be two sticks standing there. Go slowly

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and get those sticks for me. The first thing in the morning call to him, 'Let us play the game again.' When he comes, tell him that you want to use a bigger stick. If he says it is all right and then takes the smaller stick, it will mean that he is going to lose his mind. This earth you piled here, I will change like before into many valuable things that he has won from your father."

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Brown Old Man stood up and took hold of the largest stick and said, "I am going to sing a holy song." He bent the stick, rubbing it, and started it moving like a snake. When he had finished singing, it had changed into a real stick with no sign of a snake. He threw the stick onto the ground. He threw it from one place to another like a bird throws a snake and said, "There is no snake left to it." He took the smaller stick and bent it, and it seemed like a snake too. Then he sang his holy song and threw it onto the ground several times, and it was a stick again.

He said, "When you are ready to play the game, put one of these bird's claws on each end of the stick. If there are any snakes, these claws will catch them. When you want to start the game, take the largest stick and say that you are going to say your prayer, and he will say that you are not a real medicine man. Say that you always pray before the game and then take some dirt and rub it on the stick. Be sure that you have a hoop of your own. After a while he will let you use it and that, too, is a sign that he will lose his mind. Play this game with him for four days, and by that time he will be about exhausted, with water coming out of his mouth."

Brown Old Man went to the earth pile and sang his holy song, saying, "Pick what you want for your bidding from this pile," and the earth changed to eagle tails.

When he changed the earth there were four eagle tails. "The Snake Man will say, 'Where did you get those eagle tails?' and you say, 'I have been around begging from my friends.' Then he will not be afraid and put his four tails on, too. When you play the game, go as fast as you can. While you are running remember the holy song I taught you and sing it in your mind. Have some young men run with you when you play the game. On the last day I may be there, for I know that that snake hates me."

After he finished talking, he smoked the two sticks and told the young man to take them back and put them where they belonged, for Snake Man, who was sleeping, would not hear him. Brown Old Man said, "The first thing in the morning, go to the river and take a bath. Put mud on your head. I will be praying to the birds all the time, and you will not get exhausted but light while you run. Call the first thing in the morning that you are ready to play, and he will ask why you don't use white clay instead of that dirt, and you say, 'I am in such a hurry that I am going to use this kind of paint.' "

Snake Man came and asked where he got the tails, and he replied that they were given him by different people who scolded him because he was using up all his father's things. He sent for his eagle tails to bet against the young man. The young man said to Snake Man, "I want a bigger stick this time, for you are always using your small ones. I don't know how to win the game anyhow and you will win."

The other one agreed to use the larger stick. Brown Old Man had said that he would go easy with Snake Man at first. There were many young fellows around, and he begged some of them to follow him while he ran even though he couldn't win the game. They ran, letting the loop go first. Snake Man threw his stick first and then the other threw. The stick went where it should go, so

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he won the first game and had two sticks. They threw the sticks out again. Before the stick stopped, he saw that he was nearer and then he had four of the sticks. After a while the young man won the eagle tails, so he had eight tails. He thought he would fool the opponent by saying, "Now that I have the eight tails I will be able to play all the longer before you win them back from me as you will eventually."

Snake Man sent for eight more eagle tails, and they began to run again. Each time they threw, the young man would hit the right place; then he began to lag so the other would not be suspicious, until late in the evening when he won the game outright. Then he had sixteen eagle tails.

Snake Man said, "I am tired now so we will stop." The other said, "When I was losing, you always wanted to go until sundown," but Snake Man thought that he would stop so he could fix his sticks.

The young man said to his helpers, "I will pay you after I have finished the game."

Next day they had another game and Snake Man brought out all the eagle tails left and said, "If you win all the tails, I suppose I can put in robes and other things?" The young man agreed to do so. The third day he won the game again and had robes and everything that Snake Man had.

The third night, Brown Old Man came and said, "Tomorrow will be your last day for the game. After he has lost everything, he will bet his wife, for she is his real power, so you must do your best to win her."

The boy's father was at the lodge when they brought in all the things that the father had lost before. On the last day Snake Man did not have very much property to bet, bringing only pots, bedding, spoons, and such things as he could get hold of. The young man put up eagle tails against them. The game went on, and Snake Man said, "Now I have nothing left. I will bet my earth lodge." When he lost that, Snake Man said, "I will bet my wife now. That is all that I have left."

Brown Old Man had said formerly, "During the last game when he bets his wife, I will be sitting ahead of you, for if you do not win right away, she may throw you off in your throw. She has great power."

When the other people saw that he was winning the game back, they would run beside him and make much noise in victory. By that time Snake Man was nearly exhausted with water running from his mouth. When the last game was played, they began to run with Brown Old Man in the lead. When Snake Man threw his stick, he saw the old man and thought that he would throw the stick past Brown Old Man. After the game was over Snake Man said, "Brown Old Man, I think you were the one who did this, making me throw my stick in the wrong direction."

The young man said to the people, "You may carry all the things over to the lodge I have won and put them inside. I know that Snake Man once won all these valuables from you, and I am going to return them to you again."

He called Snake Man's wife in and said, "You belong to me, but I do not think I will keep you. I will give you some clothing to put on and you can go anywhere you please."

She dressed and went out. When he had everything collected that he had won from Snake Man, he called in his "father," Brown Old Man. Snake Man came in with nothing on but a breechcloth. The young man inquired what he had come for, to smoke or what? Snake Man said, "I went down to the river to take a bath, and I vomited out only earth."

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The other said, "I had that happen, too, when you were winning, so I don't think it is anything serious. If you find anything more to bet on, I am ready. I always give a person a chance to get back what he lost." 773● 539

After a while Snake Man stepped out. Late that night Brown Old Man came and ate with the young man, and they were happy. He told Brown Old Man what Snake Man had said and then Brown Old Man laughed.

He said, "I made one mistake here; at the time you fellows ran I was angry, and I thought that every time Snake Man breathed the dirt would go into his mouth. That is why he threw all that dirt up. That was a mistake, for I am afraid that he will not have a long life."

While the gambling was going on, the young man had married. He told his wife to go out and take a bath, for he had promised Brown Old Man that if he won the game and had a wife he should take her as a daughter-in-law. Brown Old Man had said, "I will sleep beside her and take her as my daughter-in-law, but I will not touch her. What you have done, giving her to me for my daughter-in-law, makes me happy." They slept together until the next day. The young man and his "father," Brown Old Man, ate together and were happy. Brown Old Man said to his "son," "I sang a holy song while you were playing the game, and it is yours. In the future when you go out to attack your enemy, use that song, and you will win that game too."

Meanwhile Snake Man was vomiting up the dirt; it was not long after that until he died.

Brown Old Man died in that village, but, when they tell the story, the old people do not say whether he went back to the birds or not, but it seems from the earlier part of the story that he must have.

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF EAGLE-TRAPPING. I

The people were living out on the Reservation by this time [1888]. I was about twenty-four years old then. By that time we had wagons so we went with teams. We went across from Independence and set out west toward Heart Singer Butte, near which we camped that night. The next time we moved, we camped at Eagle Nest Butte. Bad Coat had his wife, True Woman (Water-buster clan); Iron Eyes had his wife, Brown Chest (AwaxEnawita clan); Charging had his wife, Robe (Knife clan); Little Crow had his wife, Otter (Water-buster clan); Packs Wolf had his wife, Comes Along Pink (AwaxEnawita clan); Spotted Weasel had his wife, Cedar (AwaxEnawita clan); Raven Knows Nothing had his wife, Bear Woman (Knife clan); Sitting Owl had his wife, Pink Blossom (AwaxEnawita clan); Sitting Owl had an adopted son along called Standing Bull. 223

The next time we camped just the other side of where the White Lodge stands, where there are large springs. The next day we came opposite Buffalo Manure Butte, called Lone Butte today, and camped on the banks of the Little Missouri River. We crossed the Little Missouri there and followed Buffalo Manure Creek, called Crosby Creek today, and crossed the divide to the west and camped. The camp was on the Little Missouri River in the timber.

We set to work, for we had wagons then, cutting the timbers and posts. They were mostly ash, and we hauled them on the wagons. We set up the four posts with the rails at the top and then carried the timbers around the sides of the place where the lodge was to stand. All the men worked on this, and we finally finished it. It took us one day to cut the timbers while others were scraping the ground down, taking the roots out. The next day we commenced 223 346

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leaned against them. We were not allowed to shoot or throw stones at any kind of birds. Nor were we allowed to sing other than the songs that went with the trapping. The leader tied pieces of calico to ash trees as offering to the Holy Women and told the new members that the region back of the lodge or west was holy ground as the birds came from that direction. 346 784 223

Then we did the "Tied" ceremony, meaning marking the corners of the new pits so that they were square and deep enough to be over one's head when sitting up in them. On the side wall a hole was dug like a small shelf and a stone was put in it. The stone is called Baby Stone, for the eagles were considered sacred. The stone was used as a shield, and, when one catches an eagle and wishes to kill it in the pit, instead of using the words "kill it" we said "put it to sleep" and took the stone down and placed it between the eagles wings, took the cord tied around its neck, and pulled the cord back, and that way broke the neck. 223 796

The bears were the first ones to trap eagles; there are two different stories about eagle-trapping. The leader goes in and blesses the lodge and prays to the spirits. When they first learned of eagle-trapping, the bear was doing this. He had a cord and spread it out, opening it, and said, "All are caught." It was because the bears prayed that prayers had to be offered to the spirits to whom the bears prayed. [173]

There must have been a great difference in the ceremonies once, since the stone is called "Tied" and also "Sleep Stone."

When our leader saw that all was ready, he said, "We must go in." He named Little Bull to be the Crack Shot and go in first; then he named Holding Eagle to sit next to the Crack Shot; then Wolfs Eyes went in and took his place at the head of the lodge; then the helper, Big Walk, went in. Whatever the leader does in singing and praying, the man sitting next to him is expected to give him assistance. The leader and his helper are the ones to offer prayers and do the singing, while the Crack Shot and the man next to him work together too. Their duty is to torture the men. Then the other men came in on both sides and took their places. Then there were two waiters selected by the leader. They were not named, nor is anyone named until the lodge is completed and ready to move in.

No excuses are allowed. When the leader says, "I select you as a waiter," one has no right to refuse. After this, we went in and took our places. The leader said, "Waiter, burn some incense," and, while the waiter burned it, the leader took his sacred articles out and held them in the smoke. He held up the cord, and while he was singing the song to the snares he made a motion as of throwing the loop to catch something. He did that three times, and the fourth time the Crack Shot jumped up and took the snare, saying, "Leader, you have snared everything; you have roped everything north, south, west, and east," meaning that then he had everything in the world caught in his snare.

There are many songs[12] to be sung by the leader and his helper. After he sings these songs, there is a special song for the waiter, who gets up and dances with the cord, making the sign of throwing the loop to catch something. Then, one of the men who is not married would say, "Waiter, I feel someone at my back."

Then the waiter looked and said, "There is a very handsome woman back

12. See Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 69–80.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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which were pushed in as they burnt. This was done because the First Man told them they must never have a big fire after the day's cooking was done and showed them how it should be built. It recalls the sacred fire of the Muskogi and other tribes of the lower Mississippi. They declared that many of the every day customs were taught them thus and consequently they always did them a certain way,—thus Ochkih-Hedde taught them to tattoo themselves, and their first chief taught them to kill buffalo and to make shields. 372 [773]

The Mandans practiced penances and sacrifices, especially self-torture which they carried to great extremes. Their medicine or personal guardian spirit was acquired by three or four days fasting and self injury, after which the medicine, often an animal, appeared to the candidate in a dream. This ceremony was also taught to them by Ochkih-Hedde. No expedition or enterprise was undertaken without a liberal sacrifice to some supernatural being, either by offering valuable goods or by physical self-torture. Finger joints were frequently cut off as an offering to the gods and fasting was common as a propitiation. Often a day or more would be spent near one of the medicine scaffolds in groaning, praying and weeping. Lewis and Clarke relate that finger joints were also cut off as a sign of mourning, which Maximilian denies, and Catlin tells how such a sacrifice was a part of the catalogue of tortures in the great Okeepa dance. The custom of consecrating personal property is found here as among the neighboring tribes. A man could make his gun, his horse, his pipe and other similar articles medicine by going through certain ceremonies, most important of which was the giving of a feast. The feast[1] was announced by a public crier, a certain number of guests were invited, the invitations being originally little rods and later playing cards. The drum and rattle made the round of the company. Then the article was consecrated; if a gun, it was rubbed with meal several times, with soup, and lastly with fat, after which the feast took place. 782 304 776 785 [765] 782 574

There were many shrines and sacred articles among the Mandans, but judging from the accounts, the sacred bundle or 778

[1] Maximilian: p. 463.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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778 which Lewis and Clarke, Henry, Catlin, and Maximilian all give
accounts. The Mandans told Lewis and Clarke that this rock,
787 which was at three days march to the southwest, informed them of every thing to happen during the year and that they visited it every spring and sometimes in the summers.[1] The description which Maximilian gives of this rock seems worth repetition: "It is situated at two or three days from the village on the edge of the Cannonball River from which it is about one hundred paces. They say it is on the summit of a rather high hill, the top of which is level. It is marked by the footprints of men and other animals, dogs and travois. It is a sort of oracle. They offer it all sorts of valuable articles — knives, pipes, cloth. . . . When going to war they pass near and consult the stone. They approach it, weep, groan, smoke, and retire to a distance where they pass the night. Next day they take down on parchment what the stone shows. This painted parchment is carried to the village where the old men interpret it. Undoubtedly new figures are seen on the stone from time to time. Not far from this place was the ark where part of the nation was saved." The Minnetarees also had one of these medicine stones which was consulted in practically the same way. One more of their natural sacred objects deserves
778 mention; this was a lake some distance from their villages
782 where a great serpent, formerly a Mandan warrior, was said to reside. This serpent was a good genius and offerings of all sorts were thrown into the lake to procure his aid.

791 The shaman although mentioned occasionally is not described, nor are his powers well defined by any of the authorities. Maximilian remarked that there were shamans who gathered herbs and pretended to cure diseases and others who did tricks and conducted preparations for the ceremonies.

MYTHOLOGY:—Practically all material on Mandan mythology
773 comes from Maximilian who wrote down a large number of
539 stories directly as they were told to him by a Mandan chief, Dipeuch. Catlin and Lewis and Clarke reinforce these with a few details. It is found by analysis of the myths given by Maximilian that two distinct, parallel, mythological stories of

[1] Lewis and Clarke: Feb. 21, 1805.

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the origin of the people existed, both were told by the same man, each of these accounts being made up of a number of separate myths. Perhaps a short synopsis of these two cycles will best show the condition of the mythology and the relationship with that of other nations. According to one of these, the Lord of Life created the First Man, who in turn created the earth. It was made of mud brought up from the bottom of the sea by a duck. The First Man walked about on it, meeting some animals and then finally the Lord of Life; a dispute arose between the two as to which should be called father, and they sat down, agreeing that the first one to rise should be the son. Many years they sat and when the Lord of Life was only a pile of whitened bones, the First Man arose. At once the Lord of Life jumped up and was acknowledged as father. The two of them went about together, the Lord of Life said the earth must be remade and called the buffalo, who was commanded to fetch grass and wood. Then the two gods each took half the land to shape—they were at the mouth of the Heart River and the Lord of Life took the south side of the Missouri, the First Man took the north. The Lord of Life made hills and coulées, but First Man made his section flat and wooded so people could not live there. Then each made himself a wooden pipe, the Lord of Life making his of ash wood inlaid with stone, the First Man making his of soft wood. They placed the two together and the Lord of Life said, "This will be the center, the heart of the world." They walked along and met a buffalo from whom they got tobacco. Then they made men, but limited their life to one hundred years lest the world be over-populated, and these men were taught by the Lord of Life to use buffalo. After this the Lord of Life and the First Man killed all the old wolves and taught the young ones not to eat men, the skins of the old ones floating down the river, turned into white men. A little later the First Man saw a girl ineffectually attempting to bring ashore a dead buffalo cow, he supernaturally guided it to her and she ate some of the flesh and in consequence became pregnant. A boy was born to her who became the first chief. This chief made a canoe which understood him when he spoke to it. In it he sent some men down to a white nation

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to get shells and beads. The men were killed, so finally he went himself and came back safely. Then the First Man went down with another party and all were killed but he. He saved himself by strategy. The white men became angry because they could not kill him and they made the waters rise so that the whole earth was submerged. Related to this is a statement by a Mandan to Catlin that the earth was a huge turtle, the white men stuck a knife through its shell and it sank so the water flooded its back. The First Man made them build a tower on a height on the lower bank of the Heart River and the whole nation was saved there. Soon after the flood, the First Man went away to the west and said he would come back when they needed him. One day they wanted him and could not discover how to reach him, till at last a man said that thought would do it. He sat down and thought and cried, "I think, I have thought, I return," and rose bathed in sweat, and the First Man came, and helped them. Just after this the Lord of Life turned into a goose and being hurt fell into a Mandan village where he escaped plucking by cursing the women. Thence he flew to the Hidatsa village, where he clawed and beat a woman who said she would have no one but the Lord of Life for her husband. The next day, however, he returned to the sun and caused her to ascend to him by means of a rope which he let down, the story continuing the Siouan myth of the boy and the mother coming down a sinew cord to the earth again.

The second cycle of stories does not begin with a creation myth, but merely with a brief account of the earliest existence. The Mandans said that there were four stories under the earth and four stories above; before the flood they lived in a village under the earth near a lake, and a grape-vine grew down through, letting the light into the underworld. They wanted to come up and sent the mouse, badger, a strange, mythical animal and a deer to dig out a hole. Then they climbed out by the grape-vine till half were on earth and a very corpulent woman broke the vine. A flood came when they were first coming out and the first tribe (Tattooed Faces) perished almost wholly. All this happened near a lake to the east. If they are good the Mandans go back to this old village under ground when they die.

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They now found themselves on the surface of the earth. The people were led by a chief and they kept walking till they reached the Missouri at the mouth of the White River. They ascended it to the Moreau, here they found enemies in the Cheyenne, and they went to war and killed and scalped for the first time. The great chief who led them out of the earth together with his sister and brother taught them to make shields, and then he divided them into bands and led them against the Cheyenne. After a long struggle he performed a miracle by which the enemy were nearly all slain. Then the Mandans moved up to the Heart River. Here one day, four Hidatsa came to them for a time and on leaving promised to return in four days. Four years later they returned with a numerous band. The Hidatsa crossed the river and built villages, and the Mandans taught them to raise corn. Then after a few years they moved up to the Knife River where they settled. This was during the period at which the Mandans lived in a village on the Heart River.

Besides these two myth cycles there are also a number of tales as yet unconnected with either group. First among these should be considered the tales about the Old Woman Who Never Dies. The Old Woman Who Never Dies owns a very large plantation in the south where her two deer and many blackbirds guard her crops, and the mouse and mole help work the soil. The water birds she sends north as her representatives in the spring, and at the same time goes north to visit the Old Man Who Never Dies, but she stays with him only a short time. She is the goddess of corn, and the ceremonies in her honor are to bring good crops. Formerly she lived on the Little Missouri where the Indians visited her. She gave the Hidatsa once a little corn in a dish and it fed twelve men. Finally she went south to live.

The story of the great serpent forms an important tale for comparative purposes. The great serpent was supposed to have been one of two Mandan braves who crawled through a hole in the bluff and came out in a land of giants. On returning, the two killed a monstrous snake of which one of them ate. He himself soon turned into a great snake and became a sort of minor deity for the people.

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As has been said there are in the Mandan myths two distinct cycles of tales; there seems to be two sources for the detached stories as well. The first cycle seems to be along the lines of the Siouan and Algonquin stories. The creation myth is much like that of the Chippewa: the naming of the animals, the story of the Sun Boy, and the tale of reaching the First Man by thought, seem to be Siouan in their origin for we find them most important in that stock. The creation myth exists likewise among the Crows, and it is told by the Arikara,—the latter, however, have a more popular creation tale. The Mandan myth is not found among the Skidi Pawnee. The story of the making of the Heart River region is naturally found among the Arikara as are some tales about Lucky Man and the Wolf who seem to correspond to the Lord of Life and the First Man, but none of these characters are found among the Skidi tales where Tirawa, the Creator, has no companion in his work. The tale of the struggle between the Lord of Life and the First Man as to which should be father is distinguishable in the Arikara, but not in the Skidi. The tale of the Sun Boy is, however, found in the Pawnee, but is known also in practically every plains tribe. The story of the child born to the girl from eating cow fat, is in the Crow but not in the Arikara or Skidi. In general so far as comparable material is at hand these tales do not appear to be of Caddo origin, and are in most cases connected with the tales of some other Siouan tribe.

As to the other cycle of tales there is little in the Siouan stories with which it may be compared. The story of an underground origin is developed characteristically in the southwest,—it appears in numerous forms among the Arikara and with even more detail among the Skidi. The first chief in the Mandan migration, the man who led them from underground, is very closely allied with the Corn Mother leader of the Arikara, and the preservation of his skull in a sacred bundle is again suggestive of the southern plains.

The Corn Mother tale seems most clearly related to Caddoan. The tale of the Great Serpent as well as that of the Sun Boy is spread over the whole plains region,—the Crow, the Arikara, the Pawnee, and the Dakota all possess more or less close ver-

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sions of this story. None of the Caddoan Poor Boy stories have been found in the Mandan, but this may be due to the limited extent of Maximilian's collection. It can only be said that the Mandan myths so far as known seem to be about an equal mixture of north and south plains types. 773 171

CEREMONIALS:—The Mandan dance system seems to have been rather complicated, and in it are found again the two conflicting influences. In one case the origin of the dances is said to have been due to Ochkih-Hedde, the evil spirit. Again the First Chief who led them out of the ground is said to have arranged all their dances, and the Okeepa, according to Catlin, was instituted by the First Man. There were two sorts of dances; first those in which it appears that anyone could take part, and secondly those belonging to the different societies previously referred to.* Of the first kind there were four principal ones, and of these the Buffalo dance and the Scalp dance, although not the most important, were most frequently danced and were practically identical with the same dances of other plains tribes; the Scalp dance was performed by those related to persons with newly acquired coups. The Buffalo dances were of two types. One was for the purpose of getting the good will of influential men and is described by Henry and Catlin. This dance had several obscene features. The other Buffalo dance was danced by the men in relays wearing a buffalo head and its purpose was to bring the buffalo in time of need. 535 796

The other two dances deserve more particular mention. Catlin says of all these dances,[1] "Every dance has its peculiar step and song." The songs were understood only by the medicine men and required much application and study. Candidates paid to learn them. This applies particularly to the Okeepa which is the best-known dance of the Mandans. No description is necessary as Catlin has given two very full ones and Maximilian has also given a good account of it. The Okeepa was performed once a year as a rule and nearly every inhabitant of the village had some part to play in it. It lasted four days, and in all the dances, dance groups and ceremonial

[1] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 126.

* [Cf. pp. 129-561, cat. 116. — Analyst].

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575 Some additional information on this society was furnished by Wounded-face, Water-chief, and Little-crow. Of these, Wounded-face and Water-chief belonged to the same group as Black-chest, while Little-crow was a member of the group from which the other three informants purchased their membership. Black-chest sets his present age at 62, while Little-crow is supposed to be 74. At the time they purchased their membership, the age of Little-crow, Wounded-face and Water-chief was about 14, 20, and 16 respectively.

575 ●773 Wounded-face regards Good-fur-robe, a mythical hero, as the founder of the society. Good-fur-robe pulled out two sunflower stalks from the ground and presented them to two young men. He instructed them to plant these stalks in the ground during an encounter with the enemy and not to retreat from the spot. The sunflower and the corn, this informant added, were essentially one. A similar account was furnished by Packs-wolf, who further stated that at a later time lances were substituted for the stalks. Though Maximilian does not mention a Mandan Kit-Fox society, the following tradition recorded by him as to the origin of the other Mandan organizations is very suggestive in view of the statements obtained from my own informants. The chief who first ascended to the earth from the subterranean regions formerly inhabited by the Mandan was named Village-smoke, but assumed the name of Good-fur-robe ("die Robe oder das Fell mit schönem Haare, la robe à beau poil") after reaching the upper world. He founded the societies, beginning with the Dogs. For the Soldiers he made two hooked-sticks wrapped with otterskin and two other sticks trimmed with raven feathers. The hooked sticks represented sunflowers; the other sticks, the corn plant. These emblems were to be planted into the ground in fighting an enemy and were never to be abandoned.[1]

575 432 Water-chief mentions the interesting point that his group bought the Kit-Fox organization at the suggestion of the owners. These came to the younger men and said, "We wish to give you this Fox society and make you our sons." It is quite clear from the other accounts that this fact did not affect the initial mode of procedure. A pipe was put before the fathers and [576] had to be accepted and smoked by one of their number in the same way as when Little-crow's group decided to buy the membership on their own initiative. In both cases the fathers seem to have been able to dictate the terms of purchase: at the time when Black-chest and Water-chief became Kit-Foxes, a ten nights' entertainment was demanded, while in Little-crow's day the feasting of the sellers lasted twelve nights.

Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for

[1] Maximilian, II. 162.

[For bibliography, see Category 113-- Analyst]

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575 each tipped with a thick white plume, adorned the head. One member
292 carried a beautiful fan of white feathers, and wore on the head a complete
535 swan's tail, each feather of which was decorated with dyed horsehair. The
[293] members wrapped themselves completely in their robes, and carried bow-lances trimmed with feathers, colored cloth, glass beads, and the like; most of them had fox skins attached to their heels. Several men beat a drum, while the rest formed a circle and imitated the sound of buffalo bulls. After they had danced for a while, the spectators threw a quantity of tobacco down for them, whereupon they departed for the village in the woods, taking off their wigs on the way. In another place, the Prince mentions rattles as well as drums, and states that the bow-lances were also decorated with bear guts.[1]

Black-Tail Deer Society.

575 All the old men above fifty were, according to Maximilian, members of
561 the Black-Tail Deer organization (cu'psi ō'xat'e). Two female attendants
301 cooked and served fresh water during a dance. All of the men wore a
554 wreath of grizzly claws round the head, and displayed their honor marks in the form of feather head ornaments, braids of hair on arms and legs, scalps, painting, etc.

575 Wounded-face says that the organization originated on the Bad Creek,
773 near the Heart River. One day two young men with arrows stayed on a high wooded hill by the Creek. They dug a deep pit, put sticks across, and covered them with grass. They wanted to snare some animals. One morning one of the men went towards the trap. As he drew close, he heard signs of a trapped animal. He was glad, looked inside, and saw that he had caught a large and very fat black-tail deer. He fitted an arrow to his bow, but the deer said, "Don't shoot me." "Why not?" "You are my son, you must not shoot me. Make a path for me to get out." The young man obeyed, and the buck got out. Then he said, "You are a young man, and I know what you desire: honor marks. I have the power to give them to you, but you have many other fathers, who will instruct you later." He stretched his legs, jumped away, and went some distance. Then he stretched his legs again, and sang a song. When his song was ended, he went towards a wooded hill. The young man knew there was a house there. It belonged to the Deer, and the door closed with a thud. The house was the Black-Tail lodge.

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[1] Maximilian, II, 145f., 281f.

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The young man returned to the village and told the people that he had caught and liberated a deer, but he did not tell them anything else. He waited for the good wishes of the Deer to come true. His father, whom he told about it, bade him fast. Accordingly, he went into the Deer's wood, fasting and crying for two nights. A boy came to him and said, "They are calling you." This boy led him into an earth-lodge, where the young man beheld many men sitting around. In the center were two girls, each carrying a pipe pointed towards the door. The Deer sat by the door of his lodge, and tobacco was heaped up before him. The stranger was asked to sit near his host, who thus addressed him: "Now, my son, I told you that you had a great many fathers. They wish to talk to you now." Then each old man said in turn, "My son, look at me, and see what honor marks I have on my clothes. These marks are yours." When he at last came to the Deer himself, he was addressed thus: "You see what honors we have given you. I will add one thing more. If you get wounded, no matter where, you shall not die from your wounds. You will get all the honors given by your fathers." Then the Deer asked the others, how long their son was to live. They allowed the girls to decide. The girls discussed the matter, and one of them said, "We want him to be very old and to die from old age in his sleep." All the men assented. The host then said, "My son, you see this society, but you must not found it immediately, wait until you are very old." The girls wore eagle plumes above the ears. All the men began to sing, and the young man learned every one of their songs. Finally, the Deer said, "When you wish to fight, paint your body yellow, put black on both arms as far as the elbow and also from the knees to the feet. Here [giving him his own black-tail necklace] is your necklace. If enemies get close, they will miss you, for your fathers were never wounded by arrows."

The young man returned to the village, and became a great warrior. When very old, he sent for men distinguished for martial deeds. They came, and he explained his vision to them. He told them he wished to found the society; all were willing to join, and learned the songs. Then he said, "We will get two girls loved by their fathers." They selected two such girls, and let them sit in the center, carrying pipes and wearing plumes on their heads.

When very young, Wounded-face saw a very old woman who had been one of the Black-Tail Deer girls.

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Once the Mandan lived underground. A small mouse went about and discovered a little hole in the ground, through which he crawled up and thus came to see the surface of the earth. He liked the light and the grass. He returned, and told his people about it. They said to Fox, "You are small enough to get up through the hole." So Fox went up. He got to the ground, looked about, and found everything good there. He liked it, and told the three chiefs[1] and their sister. The hole was still too small, so the Elk was called. "You have wide horns, make a little passage for us to get through." The Elk did as he was bidden, got above ground, and enjoyed the sight. He returned, and told them how good the country above was. Then the youngest of the three brothers went up through the opening, and found plenty of buffalo and elk. He hunted them, killed a buffalo and took the sinew and paunch, which he gave to his brothers on his return. They were very glad to get sinew, for underground they had been obliged to use sunflower threads for cordage. All the people wished to go above ground. They went to the hole, and found a vine passing from their country to the earth. The chiefs climbed up first on the vine. They found an abundance of game, and camped near the hole. The people went up, one after another, until a pregnant woman tried to climb up and broke the vine. It was impossible to readjust the vine, so those behind the woman were obliged to remain below. The chiefs' sister had forgotten to take along her elk robe, and called down for it to her mother, who was still underground at the time when the vine broke. But the woman answered, "You cannot get it now; however, you will find one just like it above. When you die, you will come back, and then you will be able to get your elk robe again." The girl, accordingly, got a new elk robe above ground just like the one left behind. It was tanned soft, without the hair on, and painted black on one side; fleshed bluebirds were attached to it. This robe was passed from heir to heir until the time of the Ft. Berthold settlement, where Moves-slowly, a Corn-singer, kept it by his shrine.

The Mandan ascended the River and built their villages. They came to a big clay hill named Bare-Hill, where no grass grew. Near this hill they built one village. A young man went up the hill in order to get a vision. On a high hill, on the opposite bank of the Missouri, he saw many women dancing. Every time he went up the hill he saw the same vision, but each time the women got closer. The fourth time they came closer still, they came across the Missouri. When they approached the man, he saw how they were dressed. They were all mysterious beings. At the same time, some women just like them rose from the Bare-Hill itself, and began to dance. They wore crowns of live snakes,[2] whose necks were striped with different colors. Their heads were on the left side of the dancers, the tails on the right. The visionary was also able to hear the mysterious women's songs. In accordance with this vision he started the River Women society. In the place of the snake crowns, he took blue-grass about three feet long and from a triple braid of this material he made the head band emblematic of the organization (Fig. 15). Into the left side of the head band he stuck in obliquely the tail feather of an eagle. The ends of the crown were tied in the middle of the forehead. Kinumakci came to the visionary, and was

[1] The skulls of these three chiefs, according to Hides-and-eats, were still kept by Poor-wolf at the time of my visit. Cf. Maximilian (II, 161): "Noch gegenwärtig heben die Mandans in ihrer Medicine-Tasche oder Beutel 3 heilige Schädel auf, von welchen der eine der des gesammten Chefs und die anderen die dessen Bruders und Schwester seyn sollen."

[2] Garter-snakes, according to one informant; according to another, brown snakes about 3 feet long, which the Indians call "grass-eaters."

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575 delighted. He said, "I like this society. I wish to add something to your feather."
773 Then he broke off some (unidentified) grass, and tied it to the feather. In the dance
539 these feathers were meant to shake. Kinumakci said, "I will give you one of my songs." And he gave the man a song quite different from other songs. When Kinumakci had done singing, the visionary told the women whom he had organized

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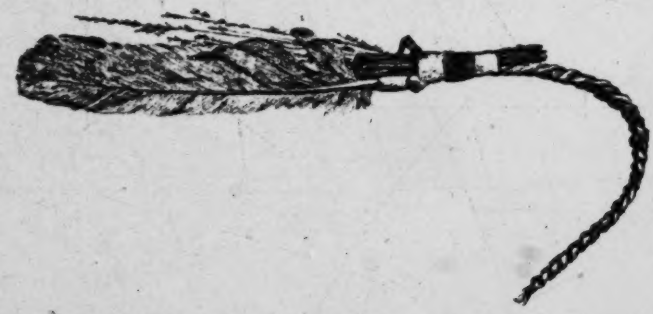

Fig. 15 (50.1–4329). River Society Head Ornament. Length, 61 cm.

to take their head bands, untie them, smooth them out, and put them down on the ground. The women obeyed, and the head bands turned into snakes and crawled away. From that time on the society was kept up.

575 Two-chiefs adds to the account as just given that several other beings
773 made contributions to the dance regalia. The eagle feathers were distrib-
301 uted among the original dancers by the Eagle. The Bear gave them his claws to be strung for a necklace. The Mink allowed them to use his skin and claws: the two leaders and the two rear officers were to wear mink-claw necklaces, while the four middle officers were to wear a minkskin necklace, to which were attached bluish shells.[1] The organizer of the society selected four male singers and picked out for membership a number of women ranging in age from twenty to thirty. Calf-woman substitutes the mythical character I'tsi'kawa'herec[2] for Ki'numakci, and the Otter for the Mink.

575 One day Hides-and-eats was called by her friends to attend a meeting.
432 This was shortly after the time of the smallpox. Very few of the River women had survived the epidemic; all of them had been very old women, about Hides-and-eats' present age. The young women called the survivors, heaped up property before them, and expressed their desire to purchase the
[608] society. The older group consented to sell. In this instance the sellers for some obscure reason were not considered the purchasers' mothers. Hides-and-eats and her comrades remained in this society for ten years. Then

[1] Two-chiefs gives twice the number of officers fixed by Hides-and-eats.
[2] This is probably the Hidatsa equivalent for Ki'numakci.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Fig. 15. As soon as the ice in the rivers breaks up, they run to the banks and throw this interlaced hoop into the water. In the summer time the Mandans and Manitaries often amuse themselves with races in the prairie, for which they have the best opportunity in the vicinity of their villages; twenty young men, or more, often run at once, and on these occasions there is always high betting. Some of them are very swift runners, and can hold out a long time. 526

The Mandans and Manitaries are extremely superstitious, and all their important actions are guided by such motives. They have most strange ideas of surrounding nature, believe in a multitude of different beings in the heavenly bodies; offer sacrifices to them; invoke their assistance on every occasion; howl, lament, fast, inflict on themselves cruel acts of penance, to propitiate these spirits; and, above all, lay very great stress upon dreams. Some of their traditions have a resemblance to the revelations of the Bible; for instance, Noah's Ark and the Deluge, the history of Samson, &c. The question here arises whether these particulars have not been gradually introduced among them, from their intercourse with Christians, and this seems highly probable. If they have not yet embraced the Christian religion, it would, however, appear that they have adopted some portions which strike them as being either remarkable or interesting.* The belief in a future life, or a better state of things after death, exists among all the American nations; this is confirmed by D'Orbigny (Voyages, tom. iii. p. 90), who justly blames Azara for denying all religious ideas to the people of Paraguay. In order to obtain correct information respecting all their traditions and ideas, we persuaded Dipauch† to enliven our long winter evenings by his narratives, which he readily agreed to do. He spoke with much seriousness and gravity, and I had a most excellent interpreter in Mr. Kipp. I give these narratives, which are often extremely silly, as they were written down from his communications, though I must beg my reader's patience and indulgence. It was not possible to curtail them or to choose only the more interesting parts, since all their traditions and legends have a certain connexion, and really possess some influence on the actual mode of life of this people. 771 771 124

According to Dipauch, these Indians believe in several superior beings, of whom the lord of life, Ohmahank-Numakshi, is the first, the most exalted and the most powerful; who created the earth, man, and every existing object.‡ They believe that he has a tail, and appears sometimes 776 773

* This conjecture is adopted by Dr. Edwin James, the learned author of Tanner's Life among the Indians, p. 357 of that work. I refer to this interesting book for the remarkable hieroglyphics of the people of the Algonquin tribe.

† Dipauch is a very distinguished man, and might have been a chief long ago if he had pleased, as he possesses all the necessary qualifications. His father was shot by the Sioux during Lewis and Clarke's winter residence among these Indians. These travellers offered to assist the Mandans against their enemies, and to take the field with them, to which, however, they would not consent.

‡ Bradbridge, p. 71, is very much mistaken in believing that the Mandans and Manitaries worship only buffalo heads, for, if the latter are medicines, it is incontrovertibly true that they believe in a number of superior beings who make a figure in their mythology.

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776 773 in the form of an aged man, and, at others, in that of a young man. The first man, Numank-Machana, holds the second rank; he was created by the lord of life, but is likewise of a divine nature. The lord of life gave him great power, and they, therefore, worship and offer sacrifices 776 171 to him. He is nearly identical with Nanabush among the Chippeways, or the people of the Algonquin language, who, according to the notion of those tribes, acts as mediator between the creator and the human race. Nanabush and the creator frequently had disputes, and the Mandans have similar legends. Omahank-Chika, the evil one of the earth, is a malignant spirit, 776 773 who has, likewise, much influence over men, but who is not as powerful as the lord of life and the first man. The fourth being is Rohanka-Tauihanka, who lives in the planet Venus, and it is he who protects mankind on the earth; for without his care the race would have been long since extinct. A fifth being, who, however, has no power, is something like the wandering Jew, ever in motion, and walking on the face of the earth in human form. They call him the lying prairie wolf. Besides these there is a sixth being, Ochkih-Hadda, whom it is difficult to class, and of whom they have a tradition, that whoever dreams of him is doomed soon to die. He appears to figure in their traditions as a kind of devil, is said to have once come to their villages, and taught them many things, but has not since appeared. They are afraid of him, offer sacrifices to him, and have in their villages a hideous figure representing him. They worship the sun, because they 776 believe it to be the residence of the lord of life. All their medicines or sacrifices are offered 772 chiefly to the sun, or rather to the lord of life, as inhabiting it. In the moon, say they, lives the old woman who never dies, and who wears a white band from the front to the back of the head; sacrifices and offerings are likewise made to her. They do not know who she is, but her power is great. She has six children, three sons and three daughters, who all live in certain stars. The eldest son is the day (the first day of the creation), the second is the sun, in which the lord of life has his abode. The third son is the night. The eldest daughter is the star that rises in the east, the morning star; and they call her, "the woman who wears a plume." The second daughter, called "the striped gourd," is a high star which revolves around the polar star; and, lastly, the third daughter is the evening star which is near to the setting sun.

539 The old woman in the moon desired to find a wife for her son, and brought a girl, whom she desired to wait outside the door. When the old woman sent out to fetch her, they found in her place a toad; indignant at the exchange, the toad was boiled in a vessel, that it might be destroyed. But this could not be done, nor could it be eaten, and it was, therefore, cursed, on which it remained always visible as a spot in the moon. The narrator could not say whether [821] the sun was large or small, but, at all events, it was glowing hot. The son married a woman whom they called "the narrow-leaved wormwood." They had a son, of great promise, who appeared destined to act an important part. He was very skilful in making arrows, and versed in all kinds of hunting and catching of animals. He shot birds for his mother, though she had

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forbidden him to kill the prairie larks, yet he shot all his arrows at these birds, but he was unable to kill any. Upon this, one of the birds said to him, "Why will you kill me, since I am related to you?" He dug up in the moon the pomme blanche (*Psoralea esculenta*), for which his mother reproved him, because, through the hole which he had dug, they could see the Manitari villages in the earth beneath. And his mother said, "See, all those men are our relations; I did not intend to descend to the earth yet, but now we must go thither." The father once ordered the son to shoot a buffalo for him, and to bring him all the sinews of the animal; but the son twisted a rope with part of those sinews, in order thereby to let himself down to the earth. Accordingly he descended to the earth in the vicinity of the Little Missouri, but his rope reached only to the top of the trees. If he had had all the sinews of the buffalo, his rope would have reached the ground, but now remained suspended, and swung backwards and forwards. A large stone was thrown at him from the moon, which stone was in existence not very long since. The stone, however, could not kill him, he being medicine, that is, charmed. 539

The Mandans believe that the thunder is produced by the motion of the wings of a gigantic bird. When this bird flies softly, as is usually the case, he is not heard, but when he flaps his wings violently, he occasions a roaring noise. This huge bird is said to have only two toes on each foot, one behind and the other before. It lives in the mountains, where it builds an immense nest, as big as Fort Clarke. Its food consists of deer and other large animals, the horns of which are heaped up round the nest. The glance of its eyes produces lightning; it breaks through the clouds, the canopy of heaven, and makes a way for the rain. The isolated and peculiarly loud claps of thunder are produced by a gigantic tortoise, which lives in the clouds. When the lightning strikes, it is a sign of anger. They believe the stars to be deceased men. When a child is born, a star descends and appears on the earth in human form; after death it reascends and appears again as a star in the heavens. 821 [775]

The rainbow is a spirit accompanying the sun, and is especially visible at its setting. Many affirm that the northern lights are occasioned by a large assembly of the medicine men and distinguished warriors of several nations in the north, who boil their prisoners and slain enemies in immense cauldrons. The Chippeways are said to call this phenomenon "the dancing spirit," and the milky way, "the path of the ghosts." [171]

Dipauch related a history of the creation and the origin of the Mandan tribe, in the following manner. Though this narrative is equally silly and tiresome, I subjoin it, as giving an idea of the intellectual condition of this people, and the nature of their conversations. 773 539

Before the existence of the earth, the lord of life created the first man, Numank-Machana, who moved on the waters, and met with a diver or duck, which was alternately diving and rising again. The man said to the bird, "You dive so well, now dive deep and bring up some earth."

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773 539 The bird obeyed, and soon brought up some earth, which the first man scattered upon the face of the waters, using some incantations, commanding the earth to appear, and it appeared. The land was naked; not a blade of grass was growing on it; he wandered about and thought that he was alone, when he suddenly met with a toad. "I thought I was here alone," said he, "but you are here, and who are you?" It did not answer. "I do not know you, but I must give you a name. You are older than I am, for your skin is rough and scaly; I must call you my grandmother, for you are so very old." He went further and found a piece of an earthen pot. "I thought I was here alone, but men must have lived here before me." Thereupon he took the potsherd and said, "I will give you also a name, and, as you were here before me, I must, likewise, call you my grandmother." On going further he met with a mouse: "It is clear," said he to himself, "that I am not the first being; I call you also my grandmother." A little further on he and the lord of life met. "Oh, there is a man like myself," exclaimed he, and went up to him. "How do you do, my son?" said the man to Omahank-Numakshi; but he answered, "I am not your son, but you are mine." The first man answered, "I dispute this." But the lord of life answered, "You are my son, and I will prove it; if you will not believe me, we will sit down and plant our medicine sticks which we have in our hands in the ground; he who first rises is the youngest, and the son of the other." They sat down and looked at each other for a long time, till, at length, the lord of life became pale, his flesh dropped from his bones, on which the first man exclaimed, "Now you are surely dead." Thus they looked at each other for ten years, at the end of which time, when the bare bones of the lord of life were in a decomposed state, the first man rose, exclaiming, "Now he is surely dead." He seized Omahank-Numakshi's stick, and pulled it out of the ground; but at the same moment the lord of life stood up, saying, "See here, I am your father, and you are my son," and the first man called him his father. As they were going on together, the lord of life said, "This land is not well formed, we will make it better." At that time the buffalo was already on the earth. The lord of life called to the weasel, and ordered him to dive and bring up grass, which was done. He then sent him again to fetch wood, which he brought in like manner. He divided the grass and the wood, giving one half to the first man. This took place at the mouth of Heart River. The lord of life then desired the first man to make the north bank of the Missouri, while he himself made the south-west bank, which is beautifully diversified with hills, valleys, forests, and thickets. The man, on the contrary, made the whole country flat, with a good deal of wood in the distance. They then met again, and, when the lord of life had seen the work of the first man, he shook his head and said, "You have not done this well: all is level, so that it will be impossible to surprise buffaloes or deer, and approach them unperceived. Men will not be able to live there. They will see each other in the plain at too great a distance, and will be unable to avoid each other, consequently they will destroy each other."

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He then took the first man to the other side of the river, and said, "See here, I have made springs and streams in sufficient abundance, and hills and valleys, and added all kinds of animals and fine wood; here men will be able to live by the chase, and feed on the flesh of those animals." They then both proceeded to the mouth of the Natke-Passaha (Heart River), in order, according to the directions of the lord of life, to make medicine pipes. He himself made them of ash, lined with stone. The man, on the contrary, made his pipes of box-alder, a soft wood. They placed these pipes together, and the lord of life said, "This shall be the heart, the centre of the world; and this river shall be the Heart River." Each of them had now his pipe in his hand, and when they met any creature, the lord of life laid the pipe down before it: on doing this to a buffalo, it said, "This is not enough; there must be something to smoke in the pipe." And the lord of life said, "Then do you get something to smoke." On which the buffalo cleared a spot on the ground with his fore foot, and said, "When the rutting time of the buffaloes approaches, come here and you will find something to smoke." The lord of life accordingly sent at the time appointed to fetch tobacco, but it was not yet dry and prepared; he therefore ordered the buffalo to be called, which at once spread out the leaves and dried them; and the lord of life smoked, and found the tobacco very good. The bull then taught him to pull off and smoke the flowers and the buds, for these are the best parts of the plant.

The lord of life and the first man were now resolved to create the human race. They began their operations near the bank of the Missouri; and, in order to promote the increase of the species, they placed the part necessary for that purpose in the forehead; but the frog came up out of the water, and said, "How foolish you are!" and altered the situation of the part. "What business have you to speak?" said the lord of life, and struck the frog upon the back with his stick, and since that time the frog has had a humped back. God had made man, and told him he should increase and multiply, but not live longer than a hundred years; since, otherwise, there would not be room enough for all. The first man now said to his father, "When buffaloes are hunted, the skins of the animals killed must be immediately taken off to wear as robes; the stomach must be emptied, and pemmican made of the flesh." The lord of life, however, answered, "This would not be advisable. Men would then quarrel and destroy each other. Let them rather take the animals home, and tan the hides, then they will have robes for their own use, and for sale." And it appeared that the lord of life was always right.

The first man was once on the banks of the Missouri, when a dead buffalo cow, in the side of which the wolves had eaten a hole, floated down the stream. A woman was on the bank, who called to her daughter, "Make haste, pull off your clothes, and bring the cow on shore." The first man heard this, and brought the cow to the spot. The girl eat some of the flesh, which the first man gave her, and became pregnant. She was ashamed, and said to her mother, that "she could not tell how she came into this state, as she had had no intercourse with any man," and her mother was

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ashamed with her. The daughter was afterwards delivered of a son, who grew with extraordinary rapidity, and soon became a robust young man. He was immediately the first chief of his people—a great leader among men. The first thing he did was to build a boat, which understood whatever he said to it. He filled it with men, ordered it to cross the river and come back, and in this manner he sent it over several times. The new chief was of the nation of the Numakaki (the Mandans). A saying was then current among these people, that on the other side of the great water, or the sea, there lived white men, who possessed wampum shells. Bodies of fifteen or twenty men were frequently sent thither, but they were all killed. Hereupon the chief said, "I will send my boat thither, with eight men; this is the right number." And the boat went, arrived at the right place, and brought to the white men the red mouse hair (beaver hair), which they highly valued. They were well received, feasted in the dwellings, and materials for smoking were given them. Each received buffalo skins filled with wampum shells, and the boat returned quickly. The boat then went, for the second time, with eleven men, and the lord of life accompanied it. He had dressed himself in mean apparel, and took with him a large hollow cane. On their arrival they went into a village, but the first man remained sitting near the boat, and dug a deep hole, over which he seated himself. The inhabitants of the village agreed to kill the strangers by overfeeding them, and, with this view, gave them abundance of food. The first man, to whom the overplus of the provisions was brought, let them drop through his cane into the hole, and the white men were astonished at the quantity of provisions consumed. They then agreed to kill them by smoke; but the first man made the smoke pass through his cane, and their plan was again defeated. They now thought of killing them by means of women, all of whom they left at their disposal.* As they could not kill the strangers either by eating, smoking, or women, they gave them as many wampum shells as they could take in their boat, and sent them away. When the children learnt that the boat understood what was said to it, they ordered it to go down the river to the white people; it obeyed, and was never afterwards seen.

The first man now said to the Numangkake that he should leave them, and never return; that he was going to the west; but that, in case of need, they might apply to him, and he would assist them. They were living in a small village, on Heart River, when their enemies surrounded them, and threatened to destroy them. In this great distress they resolved to apply to their protector; but how were they to get to the first man? One man proposed to send a bird to him; but birds could not fly so far. Another thought that the eyesight must be able to reach him; but the prairie hills were in the way. At last, a third said that thought would undoubtedly be the best means of reaching the first man. He wrapped himself in his robe and fell to the ground. Soon afterwards he said, "I think!—I have thought!—I return!" He threw off his

* Numank-Machana autem, partim naturalis loco caula vacuus usus erat: inquit hoc, valde stupefacti prostantes et insidiosa primi hominis visu admiserunt.

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robe, and was in a profuse perspiration all over. "The first man will quickly come," he exclaimed; and he was soon there, fell furiously on the enemy, drove them away, and immediately vanished. Since that time he has not been again seen.

The lord of life once told the first man, that if the Numangkake should go over the river they would be devoured by the wolves; on which they both crossed the river, and killed all the old wolves. They ordered the young wolves not to devour men in future, but to confine themselves to buffaloes, deer, and other wild animals. They threw the old wolves into the north ocean, where they became putrid, and their hair swam on the surface of the water, from which the white men originated. The lord of life also told the Numangkake, that when they had boiled their maize they should keep up only a small fire for the rest of the day; and this they still do. When the fire would not burn, they were to take the larger brands from below, and lay them on the top. When the lord of life was a little below Heart River, in the spring, when the first wild geese flew past, he told them to wait, because he would fly with them, and assumed the form of a goose. The Indians are accustomed to shout and halloo when the see the flocks of geese, by which they are frightened, and thrown into confusion. So it happened on this occasion to the lord of life, and he fell to the ground. He was carried into the hut of the chief, who sent the youngest woman to pluck the goose, but it bit her, and she gave it to the oldest, who was likewise bitten; so that the lord of life escaped. He then flew to the Manitaries. A young woman, who refused to marry, was here whipped and beaten by him. She went to the lower village, and complained that God had punished her, because she would not marry. A young man, who wished to have her for his wife, took the dress of the lord of life, as she was resolved to marry none but him. She now desired to know whether her lover was really what he pretended to be, and with this view placed some pointed stakes in the ground, on which he must wound himself in the night, if he were not of a superior nature. He came and wounded himself, on which she fell on him, took away all his clothes and hid them, so that he looked for a long time both for them and his weapons. When day came, two long lines, like fishing lines, were hanging down from the sun to the earth, and near to the place where the girl was. A voice called to her, from above, to climb up by the lines; that the clothes were no longer in the place where she had hidden them; it was, therefore, the lord of life who had appeared to her under the form of the young man. The girl took hold of the lines, and the sun seemed to come down. Several of her relations, and other men, pulled the lines, but could not draw the sun down, while the lord of life lay quietly in it. A very strong man, who was able to pull up the largest trees by the roots, and cast them from him, was not able to do anything on this occasion; the line turned round his shoulders. "I can pull up the largest trees," said he, "and my strength is greater than that of all other men united, and yet I cannot break this small line." To which the lord of life answered, "If you reach and kill me, the human race will be destroyed from the face of the earth."

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At the time that the first man had incensed the Whites by his voracity, the latter made the water rise so high that all the land was overflowed. On this, the first man advised the ancestors of the Numangkake to build a wooden tower, or fort, upon an eminence, assuring them that the water would not rise higher than that point. They followed his advice, and built the ark, on the lower side of Heart River, on a large scale, and a part of the nation was preserved in this building, while the remainder perished in the waves. In remembrance of the kind care of the first man, they placed in each of their villages a miniature model of this ark, one of which still exists in the village of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush. The waters afterwards subsided, and they still celebrate the festival of Okippe in honour of this ark, of which we shall have to speak in the sequel.

Before the first great deluge, the Numangkake lived below ground, but a band of them (the same of which we have been speaking) took up their abode above ground at an earlier period. They believe that there are four stories below ground, and as many above, and they now inhabit the fourth from below. The band which first came above ground is called by them Histoppa (those with the tattooed countenance), and these, for the most part, perished in the great deluge. Those who lived under ground one day perceived a light over their heads, which made them desire to ascertain what was above. They accordingly sent up a mouse, which looked about, returned, and reported that the land above was similar to that which they inhabited. They then sent up a certain animal, called by them, Nahsi, about the size of a polecat, and distinguishable by black stripes on its face and legs. Perhaps this was the racoon, which is not now to be found in this part of the country. This animal, when he came back, said that it was much more pleasant above than below. They, therefore, ordered the badger to dig a larger opening, as the present issue was too small. After the badger had performed his task, the black-tailed deer was ordered to go up and enlarge the opening by means of his horns. He ran about the whole day, ate service berries, and returned in the evening. His tail was at that time white, but as this deer returned at sunset, and the sun went down at the very moment when his tail only was above ground, that was ever afterwards black.

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The Numangkake now resolved to go up. The great chief, with his medicine and his schischikué in his hand, went first. They climbed up, one after another, by the aid of a branch of a vine; and when exactly half their number had ascended, and a corpulent woman was half-way up the vine, it broke, and the remainder of the nation fell to the ground. This happened in the neighbourhood of the sea-shore. Those who had reached the surface went on till they came to the Missouri, which they reached at White Earth River. They then proceeded up the Missouri to Moreau's River. At that time they knew nothing of enemies. Once, when a Mandan woman was scraping a hide, a Chayenne Indian came and killed her. The Mandans followed the traces of this new enemy till they came to a certain river, where they all turned

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back with the exception of two, the husband and the brother of the woman who was killed. These two men went on till they discovered the enemy, killed one of them, and took his scalp with them. Before they got back to their village they found some white clay which they had never seen before, and took a portion of it with them. When they came to their great chief, the first who had climbed up the vine, and whose skull and schischikué they still preserve, as a relic, in the medicine bag of the nation, they gave him the white clay, with which he marked some lines on his schischikué. The name of this chief was, at first, Mihti-Pihka (the smoke of the village), but when he ascended to the surface of the earth he called himself the Mihti-Shi (the robe with the beautiful hair). When he had received the clay and the scalp, he commanded all his people to shoot buffaloes, but only bulls, and to make shields of the thickest part of the hide, which they did. When this was done, they asked the chief what were his next commands? To which he replied, "Paint a drooping sunflower on this shield" (as a sort of medicine, or amulet), on which the sister of the chief said, "You are fools! paint a bean on it; for what is smoother than a bean to ward off the arrows?"

The chief now introduced the establishment of the bands or unions, and founded first that of "the foolish dogs." He made four caps of crow's feathers, and commissioned the Mandans to make a number of similar ones. He then gave them the war pipe and song, and exhorted them to be always valiant and cheerful, and never to retreat before the point of the arrow. He also gave them the strips of red cloth which hang down behind, and added that, if they would follow his directions, they would always be esteemed as brave and worthy men. The chief then made two of the bent sticks covered with otter skins, and gave them the kana-karakachka, and then two others adorned with raven's feathers, which he also presented to them. The first represent the sunflower, and the latter the maize. "These badges," said he, "you are to carry before you when you go against the enemy; plant them in the ground, and fight to the last man, that is to say, never abandon them." He next founded the band of "the little foolish dogs," and assembled many young men, whom he ordered to paint their faces of a black colour, and gave them a song of their own, with the war whoop at the end, and said he would call them "the blackbirds." He afterwards went to war with his people against the Chayennes. They reached the enemy and laid all their robes in a heap together. The chief wore a cap of lynx skin, and had his medicine pipe on his arm. He did not join in the action, but sat apart on the ground during the whole time that it lasted. They fought almost the whole day, drove the enemy into their village, and were then repulsed, which happened three or four times, and one of the Numangkake was killed. When the chief was informed of this, he ordered them to go to the river and bring him a young poplar with large leaves, which he planted in the ground near to the enemy, and challenged the Chayennes to attack him; but they answered, they would wait for his attack. As

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he would commence the combat, the enemy shot at him, but their arrows only grazed his arm and robe. He then held up the poplar, which suddenly shot up to a colossal size, was thrown, by a violent storm which arose, among the enemies, crushed many of them, and obliged the Chayennes to retreat across the Missouri.

The Numangkake now went up the Missouri to beyond the Heart River, where a Mandan village had long stood. An old man of their tribe was fishing at this place, when four men appeared on the opposite bank. On his inquiring who they were, they told him their names, and put the same question to him, which he answered; and, having an ear of maize with him, he fastened it to an arrow, and shot it over to the strangers. Finding the maize very agreeable to the taste, they called to him and said that, within four nights, a great many men would come, for whom he would do well to prepare plenty of food. They then returned to their camp, and gave their countrymen an account of the maize. They had likewise tasted the pomme blanche, and several other vegetables, but considered the maize as the best of all. The camp was accordingly broken up, and they proceeded slowly onwards. The Numangkake expected the strangers for four nights; they cooked and made everything ready for their reception, but, as their visitors did not make their appearance at the end of the fourth night, they ate the provisions themselves. A year passed by, and the strangers did not come; the second and the third year likewise; at length, in the spring of the fourth year, all the surrounding hills were covered with red men. Thus, instead of four days, four years had elapsed. The new comers crossed the river, and built a village near the Numangkake, and the name of Manitaries was given, *i. e.*, those who came over the waters.

The principal chief of each nation met, and had a conference together. The Manitari chief asked the other whence they procured so much red maize? To which he replied, "When we fought with our enemies, and they killed our wives and children in the maize fields, the maize grew up, and was for the most part red." To which the Manitari chief replied, "that he would assist them with his people against their enemies." Already on the following day many Chayennes came and killed a number of women in the plantations; the united nations attacked them, killed many during the whole day, and drove them back to a small river which falls into the Missouri. The two allied nations now remained united, but, being so numerous that the country did not afford them sufficient subsistence, the Mandans said to the Manitaries, "Remove higher up the Missouri: this whole country belongs to us. There are the rivers Little Missouri, Yellow Stone, and Knife River, on the banks of which you can settle, but do not go beyond the latter river, for it is only in this case that we shall remain good friends. If you go too far we shall have disputes, make peace and again disagree; but if you remain on this side there will be constant friendship between us." The Manitaries removed as proposed, but built

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one of their villages on the other side of Knife River, which frequently occasioned dissension between them, and it is only within these fourteen years that permanent peace and concord have existed between the two people.

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At the time when our narrator was a young man, the Arikkaras were near and dangerous enemies to the Mandans. They often fought with them as well as with the Sioux. When one of the two allied nations fought alone, it was almost always defeated, but when they were combined they generally triumphed. The preceding long narrative throws, as I have said, much light on the actual condition of this people, and of their prevalent superstitious customs.

At the time of their first alliance with the Manitaries, the Mandans are said to have inhabited eight or nine villages on the two banks of the Missouri, on the Heart River, and higher upwards. Subsequently a great number of the Mandans were carried off by the small-pox, and their enemies, the Sioux, entirely destroyed their largest village, and massacred the inhabitants. The remaining population then collected in the two villages that still exist—Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush and Ruh-stare. Plate XVI. is a view of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, of which a ground plan will be found at the end of this chapter. Previously to the devastations of the small-pox, the Sioux were not very dangerous enemies to the Mandans, because they lived at too great a distance from them, but the Chayennes and the Arikkaras were their natural adversaries. I shall now proceed to treat of the religious and superstitious practices which still prevail among them.

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These Indians are full of prejudice and superstition, and connect all the natural phenomena with the before-mentioned silly creations of their own imaginations. They undertake nothing without first invoking their guardian spirit, or medicine, who mostly appears to them in a dream. When they wish to choose their medicine or guardian spirit, they fast for three or four days, and even longer, retire to a solitary spot, do penance, and even sacrifice joints of their fingers; howl and cry to the lord of life, or to the first man, beseeching him to point out their guardian spirit. They continue in this excited state till they dream, and the first animal or other object which appears to them is chosen for their guardian spirit or medicine. Every man has his guardian spirit. There is, in the prairie, a large hill where they remain motionless many days, lamenting and fasting; not far from this hill is a cave, into which they creep at night. The choice and adoration of their medicine are said to have been taught them by the strange man or spirit who appeared in their villages many years ago, and has not since been seen, and of whom mention has already been made by the name of Ochkih-Hadda. He is said also to have taught them the art of tattooing, and to have instituted their medicine feasts. In all natural phenomena, which are not of daily occurrence, they see wonders, and indications of favourable or unfavourable events. If the falling stars are numerous, or in a certain direction, it is to them an indication of war, or of a great mortality in the human race. They were not willing to have their portraits painted, because they alleged that they should soon die if their portraits came into other hands; 774

at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote.

796 785 304 during the whole life, like thick swollen weals. This is to be observed in a much higher degree among the Manitaries than among the Mandans; the former seem to submit to much more severe tortures. The buffalo skulls, which these Indians have dragged about with much pain, are preserved in their huts, where they are everywhere to be seen, to be handed down from the father to the children. Many such heads are looked upon by them as medicine; they are kept in the huts, and sometimes the Indians stroke them over the nose, and set food before them. In general, the buffalo is a medicine animal, and more or less sacred.

796 837 Another very remarkable medicine festival is that for attracting the herds of buffaloes, which is usually celebrated in the autumn, or winter. I shall describe this festival, as an eye-witness among the Manitaries, where it is observed precisely in the same manner as among the Mandans. At this festival they leave their wives to the older men, and individual Indians do the same on certain occasions, when they desire to ask good wishes for the attainment of some object they have in view. A man, in such a case, goes, with his pipe, and accompanied by his wife, who wears no clothes except her buffalo robe, to another hut. The wife carries a dish of boiled maize, which she sets down before a third person, and the man does the same with his pipe. The woman then passes the palm of her hand down the whole arm of the person favoured in this manner, takes him by the hand, and he must follow her to a retired spot, generally to the forest surrounding the huts in the winter time; after which she returns and repeats the same process, often with eight or ten men. As soon as the man so favoured has resumed his seat, the person who asks his good wishes presents his pipe to him that he may smoke; whereupon he expresses his best wishes for the success of the undertaking or project in hand. By way of returning thanks, his arm is again stroked.

796 773 A third medicine feast is that described by Say, by the name of the corn dance of the Manitaries. He is pretty correct in his account of it, and it is used as well among the Mandans as the Manitaries. It is a consecration of the grain to be sown, and is called the corn dance feast of the women. The old woman who never dies sends, in the spring, the water-fowl, swans, geese, and ducks, as symbols of the kinds of grain cultivated by the Indians. The wild goose signifies maize; the swan, the gourd; and the duck, beans. It is the old woman that causes these plants to grow, and, therefore, she sends these birds as her signs and representatives. It is very seldom that eleven wild geese are found together in the spring; but, if it happens, this is a sign that the crop of maize will be remarkably fine. The Indians keep a large quantity of dried flesh in readiness for the time in the spring when the birds arrive, that they may immediately celebrate the corn feast of the women. They hang the meat, before the village, on long stages made of poles, three or four rows, one above another, and this, with various articles of value, is considered as an offering to the old woman. The elderly females, as representatives of the old woman who never dies, assemble on a certain day about the stages, carrying a stick in their hands, to one

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end of which a head of maize is fastened. Sitting down in a circle, they plant their sticks in the ground before them, and then dance round the stages. Some old men beat the drum, and rattle the schischikué. The maize is not wetted or sprinkled, as many believe, but, on the contrary, it is supposed that such a practice would be injurious. While the old women are performing these ceremonies, the younger ones come and put some dry pulverized meat into their mouths, for which each of them receives, in return, a grain of the consecrated maize, which she eats. Three or four grains are put into their dish, and are afterwards carefully mixed with the seed to be sown, in order to make it thrive and yield an abundant crop. The dried flesh on the stages is the perquisite of the aged females, as the representatives of the old woman who never dies. During the ceremony, it is not unusual for some men of the band of dogs to come and pull a large piece of flesh from the poles, and carry it off. As members of this band, and being men of distinction, no opposition can be offered. 796 773

A similar corn feast is repeated in the autumn, but at that season it is held for the purpose of attracting the herds of buffaloes, and of obtaining a large supply of meat. Each woman then has not a stick with a head of maize, as in the former instance, but a whole plant of that grain, pulled up by the roots. They designate the maize as well as the birds, which are the symbols of the fruits of the earth, by the name of the old woman who never dies, and call upon them in the autumn, saying—"Mother, have pity on us; do not send the severe cold too soon, so that we may have a sufficient supply of meat; do not permit all the game to go away, so that we may have something for the winter."

In autumn, when the birds emigrate to the south, or, as the Indians express it, return to the old woman, they believe that they take with them the presents—especially the dried flesh—that were hung up at the entrance of the village, for the giver and protectress of the crop. They further imagine that the old woman partakes of the flesh. Some poor females among these Indians, who are not able to offer flesh or any valuable gift, take a piece of parchment, in which they wrap the foot of a buffalo, and suspend it to one of the poles as their offering. The birds on their return, go to the old woman, each bringing something from the Indians; but, towards the end, one approaches, and says—"I have very little to give you, for I have received only a very mean gift." To this, the old woman, on receiving the buffalo's foot from the poor women, or widows, says—"This is just what I love; this poor offering is more dear to me than all the other presents, however costly." Upon this she boils a piece of the foot with some maize, and eats it with much satisfaction.

The old woman who never dies has very extensive plantations of maize, the keepers of which are the great stag and the white-tailed stag. She has, likewise, many blackbirds, which help to guard her property. When she intends to feed these keepers, she summons them, and they fall with avidity upon the maize fields. As these plantations are very large, she requires many 773

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773 labourers, and the mouse, the mole, and the before-mentioned stags, perform the work. The birds, which fly from the sea-shore in the spring, represent the old woman, who then travels to the north to visit "the old man who never dies," and who always resides in that quarter. She does not, however, stop there long, but generally returns in three or four days. In former times, the old woman's hut was near the little Missouri, where the Indians often went to visit her. One day, twelve Manitaries came to her, and she set before them a pot of maize, which was so small, that it was not sufficient to satisfy even one; but she invited them to eat, and, as soon as the pot was empty, it was instantly refilled, and all the twelve men had enough. This occurred several times while the old woman resided in that spot.

773 755 [825] 778 Serpents, especially the rattlesnakes, are in a greater or less degree "medicine" for these people, who kill them, and cut off the rattles, which they regard as an effectual remedy in many diseases. They chew one of the joints, and wet various parts of the body of the patient with the saliva. They likewise believe in the existence of a colossal medicine serpent, which lives in a lake three or four days' journey from this place, and to which they make offerings. The following is their tradition of this monster:—Two young men were strolling along the bank of the river, and observed a cavern, through which curiosity led them to go. On reaching the further end, they were surprised at beholding a picturesque country, wholly unknown to them, where numerous herds of buffaloes were grazing. Suddenly, however, an immense giant stood before them, who demanded—"Who are you, you little people? I am afraid, if I were to lay hold of you, I should crush you!" He then lifted them in his hands very carefully, and carried them into the village, which was inhabited by giants like himself. Accompanied by the two Mandans, they went out to hunt buffaloes. The giants killed the buffaloes by throwing stones, but the Mandans destroyed many with their arrows, which greatly delighted the giants. At that time the giants were at war with the eagles, which were very numerous, and which they slew by flinging stones. The Mandans, however, shot them with arrows, so that they speedily procured a large quantity of eagles' feathers. They then took leave of the giants, and were permitted to depart with all their valuable feathers. On their return they found the cave blocked up by a colossal serpent. At first they were at a loss how to make a passage, but they soon collected a large pile of wood and burnt the monster. One of them tasted the roasted flesh of the serpent, and, finding it palatable, partook of more. They proceeded on their way, when the head of the Mandan who had tasted the serpent's flesh began to swell prodigiously, and an intolerable itching came over his face. He begged his friend not to leave him, but to take him home. On the second day he continued to swell, increased in length, felt an irritation all over, and was soon afterwards transformed into a serpent, upon which he begged his companion to take him to the Missouri, which the latter accomplished in three days. As soon as the serpent reached the water, he dived, but speedily rose to the surface, and said, "There are many like me below, but

773 778

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

they hate me, therefore carry me to the long water, three days' journey from the Missouri." This, too, was done, but the serpent not liking his new abode, his comrade was obliged to carry him to a second lake, called Histoppa-Numangka (the place of the tattooed countenance), when the serpent was satisfied, and resolved to remain. He commissioned the young man to bring him four things, viz. a white wolf, a polecat, some pounded maize, and eagles' tails: after this he was to go to war four times, and kill an enemy in each combat. All this accordingly took place. The serpent then added that he would always remain in this lake, never die, be medicine, and, when the Mandans desired anything, they might come hither, do penance, or make offerings, that is to say, hang robes, eagles' tails, and other articles of value, on poles on the banks of the lake, which the Indians sometimes do even to this day. 779 778

Another curiosity of a similar nature is the Medicine Stone, which is mentioned by Lewis and Clarke, and which the Manitaries likewise reverence. This stone is between two and three days' journey from the villages on Cannon-ball River, and about 100 paces from its banks. I was assured that it was on a tolerably high hill, and in the form of a flat slab, probably of sandstone. The stone is described as being marked with impressions of the footsteps of men, and animals of various descriptions, also of sledges with dogs. The Indians use this stone as an oracle, and make offerings of value to it, such as kettles, blankets, cloth, guns, knives, hatchets, medicine pipes, &c., which are found deposited close to it. The war parties of both nations, when they take the field, generally go to this place, and consult the oracle as to the issue of their enterprise. Lamenting and howling, they approach the hill, smoke their medicine pipes, and pass the night near the spot. On the following morning they copy the figures on the stone upon a piece of parchment or skin, which they take to the village, where the old men give the interpretations. New figures are undoubtedly drawn from time to time on this stone, near to which the celebrated ark, in which part of the nation was saved in the great deluge, formerly stood. 787 778

The Mandans have many other medicine establishments in the vicinity of their villages, all of which are dedicated to the superior powers. Mr. Bodmer has made very accurate drawings of those near Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, one of which consists of four poles placed in the form of a square; the two foremost have a heap of earth and green turf thrown up round them, and four buffalo skulls laid in a line between them, while twenty-six human skulls are placed in a row from one of the stakes at the back to the other; some of these skulls are painted with a red stripe. Behind the whole a couple of knives are stuck into the ground, and a bundle of twigs is fastened at the top of the poles with a kind of comb, or the teeth of a rake, painted red (Vignette XIV). The Indians repair to such places when they desire to make offerings or put up petitions; they howl, lament, and make loud entreaties, often for many days together, to the lord of life, which the French Canadians call weeping, though no tears are shed. A similar medicine establishment is represented in Plate XXV., where a couple of human figures, very clumsily made of skins, 778 782

300 ingly grotesque and amusing, and that part of them which has a relation to the Deluge is harmless and full of interest.

361 In the centre of the Mandan village is an open, circular area of 150 feet diameter, kept always clear, as a public ground, for the display of all their public feasts, parades, &c. and around it are their wigwams placed as near to each other as they can well stand, their doors facing the centre of this public area.

778 In the middle of this ground, which is trodden like a hard pavement, is a
796 curb (somewhat like a large hogshead standing on its end) made of planks (and bound with hoops), some eight or nine feet high, which they religiously preserve and protect from year to year, free from mark or scratch, and which they call the "big canoe"—it is undoubtedly a symbolic representation of a part of their traditional history of the Flood; which it is very evident, from this and numerous other features of this grand ceremony, they have in some way or other received, and are here endeavouring to perpetuate by vividly impressing it on the minds of the whole nation. This object of superstition, from its position, as the very centre of the village is the rallying point of the whole nation. To it their devotions are paid on various occasions of feasts and religious exercises during the year; and in this extraordinary scene it was often the nucleus of their mysteries and cruelties, as I shall shortly describe them, and becomes an object worth bearing in mind, and worthy of being understood.

796 This exciting and appalling scene, then, which is familiarly (and no doubt
805 correctly) called the "Mandan religious ceremony," commences, not on a particular day of the year, (for these people keep no record of days or weeks),
773 but at a particular season, which is designated by the full expansion of the willow leaves under the bank of the river; for according to their tradition, "the twig that the bird brought home was a willow bough, and had full-grown leaves on it," and the bird to which they allude, is the mourning or turtle-dove, which they took great pains to point out to me, as it is often to be seen feeding on the sides of their earth-covered lodges, and which, being, as they call it, a *medicine-bird*, is not to be destroyed or harmed by any one, and even their dogs are instructed not to do it injury.

796 On the morning on which this strange transaction commenced, I was sitting at breakfast in the house of the Trader, Mr. Kipp, when at sun-rise, we were suddenly startled by the shrieking and screaming of the women, and barking and howling of dogs, as if an enemy were actually storming their village.

"Now we have it!" (exclaimed *mine host*, as he sprang from the table,) the grand ceremony has commenced!—drop your knife and fork, Monsr. and get your sketch-book as soon as possible, that you may lose nothing, for the very moment of *commencing* is as curious as anything else of this strange affair." I seized my sketch-book, and all hands of us were in an instant in front of the medicine-lodge, ready to see and to hear all that was to take place. Groups of women and children were gathered on the tops of

7: Catlin R, E. 5 (1832-1840) 1857
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The reader will forgive me for here inserting the Certificates which I have just received from Mr Kipp, of the city of New York, and two others, who were with me; which I offer for the satisfaction of the world, who read the above account. 000

"*We hereby certify, that we witnessed, in company with Mr. Catlin, in the Mandan Village, the ceremonies represented in the four paintings, and described in his Notes, to which this Certificate refers; and that he has therein faithfully represented those scenes as we saw them transacted, without any addition or exaggeration.*

"J. KIPP, *Agent Amer. Fur Company.*
L. CRAWFORD, *Clerk.*
"*Mandan Village, July* 20, 1833. ABRAHAM BOGARD."

The strange country that I am in—its excitements—its accidents and wild incidents which startle me at almost every moment, prevent me from any very elaborate disquisition upon the above remarkable events at present; and even had I all the time and leisure of a country gentleman, and all the additional information which I am daily procuring, and daily expect to procure hereafter in explanation of these unaccountable mysteries, yet do I fear that there would be that inexplicable difficulty that hangs over most of the customs and traditions of these simple people, who have no history to save facts and systems from falling into the most absurd and disjointed fable and ignorant fiction.

What few plausible inferences I have as yet been able to draw from the above strange and peculiar transactions I will set forth, but with some diffidence, hoping and trusting that by further intimacy and familiarity with these people I may yet arrive at more satisfactory and important results.

That these people should have a tradition of the Flood is by no means surprising; as I have learned from every tribe I have visited, that they all have some high mountain in their vicinity, where they insist upon it the big canoe landed; but that these people should hold an annual celebration of the event, and the season of that decided by such circumstances as the full leaf of the willow, and the medicine-lodge opened by such a man as Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (who appears to be a white man), and making his appearance "from the high-mountains in the West;" and some other circumstances, is surely a very remarkable thing, and requires some extraordinary attention. 773

This Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (first or only man) is undoubtedly some mystery or medicine-man of the tribe, who has gone out on the prairie on the evening previous, and having dressed and painted himself for the occasion, comes into the village in the morning, endeavouring to keep up the semblance of reality; for their tradition says, that at a very ancient period such a man did actually come from the West—that his body was of the white colour, as

 [See pp. 159-61, cat. 116 — Analyst] A A

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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•173 this man's body is represented—that he wore a robe of four white wolf skins—his head-dress was made of two raven's skins—and in his left hand was a huge pipe. He said, "he was at one time the only man—he told them of the destruction of every thing on the earth's surface by water—that he stopped in his *big canoe* on a high mountain in the West, where he landed and was saved."

"That the Mandans, and all other people were bound to make yearly sacrifices of some edged-tools to the water, for of such things the big canoe was made. That he instructed the Mandans how to build their medicine-lodge, and taught them also the forms of these annual ceremonies; and told them that as long as they made these sacrifices, and performed their rites to the full letter, they might be assured of the fact, that they would be the favourite people of the Almighty, and would always have enough to eat and drink; and that so soon as they should depart in one tittle from these forms, they might be assured, that their race would decrease, and finally run out; and that they might date their nation's calamity to that omission or neglect."

These people have, no doubt, been long living under the dread of such an injunction, and in the fear of departing from it; and while they are living in total ignorance of its origin, the world must remain equally ignorant of much of its meaning, as they needs must be of all Indian customs resting on ancient traditions, which soon run into fables, having lost all their system, by which they might have been construed.

[17] This strange and unaccountable custom, is undoubtedly peculiar to the Mandans; although, amongst the Minatarees, and some others of the neighbouring tribes, they have seasons of abstinence and self-torture, somewhat similar, but bearing no other resemblance to this than a mere feeble effort or form of imitation.

It would seem from their tradition of the willow branch, and the dove, that these people must have had some proximity to some part of the civilized world; or that missionaries or others have been formerly among them, inculcating the Christian religion and the Mosaic account of the Flood; which is, in this and some other respects, decidedly different from the theory which most natural people have distinctly established of that event.

There are other strong, and almost decisive proofs in my opinion, in support of the assertion, which are to be drawn from the diversity of colour in their hair and complexions, as I have before described, as well as from their tradition just related, of the "*first or only man*," whose body was white, and who came from the West, telling them of the destruction of the earth by water, and instructing them in the forms of these mysteries; and, in addition to the above, I will add the two following very curious stories, which I had from several of their old and dignified chiefs, and which are, no doubt, standing and credited traditions of the tribe.

"The Mandans (people of the pheasants) were the first people created in the world, and they originally lived inside of the earth; they raised many

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vines, and one of them had grown up through a hole in the earth, over head, and one of their young men climbed up it until he came out on the top of the ground, on the bank of the river, where the Mandan village stands. He looked around, and admired the beautiful country and prairies about him—saw many buffaloes—killed one with his bow and arrows, and found that its meat was good to eat. He returned, and related what he had seen; when a number of others went up the vine with him, and witnessed the same things. Amongst those who went up, were two very pretty young women, who were favourites of the chiefs, because they were virgins; and amongst those who were trying to get up, was a very large and fat woman, who was ordered by the chiefs not to go up, but whose curiosity led her to try it as soon as she got a secret opportunity, when there was no one present. When she got part of the way up, the vine broke under the great weight of her body, and let her down. She was very much hurt by the fall, but did not die. The Mandans were very sorry about this; and she was disgraced for being the cause of a very great calamity, which she had brought upon them, and which could never be averted; for no more could ever ascend, nor could those descend who had got up; but they built the Mandan village, where it formerly stood, a great ways below on the river; and the remainder of the people live under ground to this day."

773

The above tradition is told with great gravity by their chiefs and doctors or mystery-men; and the latter profess to hear their friends talk through the earth at certain times and places, and even consult them for their opinions and advice on many important occasions.

The next tradition runs thus:—

"At a very ancient period, O-kee-hee-de (the Evil Spirit, the black fellow mentioned in the religious ceremonies) came to the Mandan village with Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (the first or only man) from the West, and sat down by a woman who had but one eye, and was hoeing corn. Her daughter, who was very pretty came up to her, and the Evil Spirit desired her to go and bring some water; but wished that before she started, she would come to him and eat some buffalo meat. He told her to take a piece out of his side, which she did and ate it, which proved to be buffalo-fat. She then went for the water, which she brought, and met them in the village where they had walked, and they both drank of it—nothing more was done.

"The friends of the girl soon after endeavoured to disgrace her, by telling her that she was *enciente*, which she did not deny. She declared her innocence at the same time, and boldly defied any man in the village to come forward and accuse her. This raised a great excitement in the village, and as no one could stand forth to accuse her, she was looked upon as *great medicine*. She soon after went off secretly to the upper Mandan village, where the child was born.

"Great search was made for her before she was found; as it was expected

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113 that the child would also be great *medicine* or mystery, and of great importance to the existence and welfare of the tribe. They were induced to this belief from the very strange manner of its conception and birth, and were soon confirmed in it from the wonderful things which it did at an early age. They say, that amongst other miracles which he performed, when the Mandans were like to starve, he gave them four buffalo bulls, which filled the whole village—leaving as much meat as there was before they had eaten; saying that these four bulls would supply them for ever. Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (the first or only man) was bent on the destruction of the child, and after making many fruitless searches for it, found it hidden in a dark place, and put it to death by throwing it into the river.

"When O-kee-hee-de (the Evil Spirit) heard of the death of this child, he sought for Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah with intent to kill him. He traced him a long distance, and at length found him at *Heart River*, about seventy miles below the village, with the big medicine-pipe in his hand, the charm or mystery of which protects him from all of his enemies. They soon agreed, however, to become friends, smoked the big pipe together, and returned to the Mandan village. The Evil Spirit was satisfied; and Nu-mohk-muck-a-na told the Mandans never to pass Heart River to live, for it was the centre of the world, and to live beyond it would be destruction to them; and he named it *Nat-com-pa-sa-hah* (heart or centre of the world)."

Such are a few of the principal traditions of these people, which I have thought proper to give in this place, and I have given them in their own way, with all the imperfections and absurd inconsistencies which should be expected to characterize the history of all ignorant and superstitious people who live in a state of simple and untaught nature, with no other means of perpetuating historical events, than by oral traditions.

I advance these vague stories then, as I have done, and shall do in other instances, not in support of any theory, but merely as I have heard them related by the Indians; and preserved them, as I have everything else that I could meet in the Indian habits and character, for the information of the world, who may get more time to theorize than I have at present; and who may consider better than I can, how far such traditions should be taken as evidence of the facts, that these people have for a long period preserved and perpetuated an imperfect knowledge of the Deluge—of the appearance and death of a Saviour—and of the transgressions of mother Eve.

I am not yet able to learn from these people whether they have any distinct theory of the creation; as they seem to date nothing further back than their own existence as a people; saying (as I have before mentioned), that they were the first people created; involving the glaring absurdities that they were the only people on earth before the Flood, and the only one saved was a white man; or that they were created inside of the earth, as their tradition says; and that they did not make their appearance on its

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outer surface until after the Deluge. When an Indian story is told, it is like all other gifts, "to be taken for what it is worth," and for any seeming inconsistency in their traditions there is no remedy; for as far as I have tried to reconcile them by reasoning with, or questioning them, I have been entirely defeated; and more than that, have generally incurred their distrust and ill-will. One of the Mandan doctors told me very gravely a few days since, that the earth was a large tortoise, that it carried the dirt on its back—that a tribe of people, who are now dead, and whose faces were white, used to dig down very deep in this ground to catch *badgers;* and that one day they stuck a knife through the tortoise-shell, and it sunk down so that the water ran over its back, and drowned all but one man. And on the next day while I was painting his portrait, he told me there were *four tortoises,*—one in the North—one in the East—one in the South, and one in the West; that each one of these rained ten days, and the water covered over the earth. 773

These ignorant and conflicting accounts, and both from the same man, give as good a demonstration, perhaps, of what I have above mentioned, as to the inefficiency of Indian traditions as anything I could at present mention. They might, perhaps, have been in this instance however the creeds of different sects, or of different priests amongst them, who often advance diametrically opposite theories and traditions relative to history and mythology.

And however ignorant and ridiculous they may seem, they are yet worthy of a little further consideration, as relating to a number of curious circumstances connected with the unaccountable religious ceremonies which I have just described

The Mandan chiefs and doctors, in all their feasts, where the pipe is lit and about to be passed around, deliberately propitiate the good-will and favour of the Great Spirit, by extending the stem of the pipe *upwards* before they smoke it themselves; and also as deliberately and as strictly offering the stem to the four *cardinal points* in succession, and then drawing a whiff through it, passing it around amongst the group. 782 788

The *annual religious ceremony* invariably lasts *four* days, and the other following circumstances attending these strange forms, and seeming to have some allusion to the *four* cardinal points, or the "four tortoises," seem to me to be worthy of further notice. *Four* men are selected by Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (as I have before said), to cleanse out and prepare the medicine-lodge for the occasion—one he calls from the *north* part of the village—one from the *east*—one from the *south*, and one from the *west*. The *four* sacks of water, in form of large tortoises, resting on the floor of the lodge and before described, would seem to be typical of the same thing; and also the *four* buffalo, and the *four* human skulls resting on the floor of the same lodge—the *four* couples of dancers in the "bull-dance," as before described; and also the *four* intervening dancers in the same dance, and also described. 796 801

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Arapahoes having fully as many children who have gray hair, it being seemingly an inherited quality in certain families. I have also seen the same thing in other tribes. In regard to the light hair, one of the old men said to me that when God made them He as a special mark of His pleasure took the silky tassel of the corn with which to make their hair. As a matter of fact this peculiarity is of recent date. Since 1804, when Lewis and Clarke spent their winters with this tribe, their liking for the white men of their party is a matter of record, and particularly of one or two of the men who had red hair and blue eyes." (P. 241.) 144

The above expressed opinion that those peculiarities were of "recent date," and Clarke's evident intention of referring them as to origin to the period of the Lewis and Clarke visit is, we believe, so far fetched as to be without any substantial basis. We have already seen and will hereinafter find further references to evidences which are indisputable to the effect that long before Lewis and Clarke saw the Mandans they had become renowned in the Canadian and eastern American country as "Bearded Whites" and as "Welsh Indians." Even Verendrye, as will be seen later on, knew of those reports and expressed disappointment that the Mandans were not much nearer white men in complexion than he found them to be.

Clarke concludes with the following:

Religious Phases. "They place calico and other cloths round the posts in their lodges as a gift to the god of timber to satisfy him for the spoilation, believing that it hurts a tree to be cut down; i. e., gives it physical pain. The tree is alive and its destruction is the destruction of life, but by giving something to God—making a sacrifice—it pleases Him and gives them good luck. This is a curious peculiarity of their religious belief, which is shared by no other tribe that I have ever met. Near the village and cultivated fields I saw poles fifteen or twenty feet long planted in the ground, with bundles of female clothing tied to these poles near the top. On inquiry they told me that these were gifts to the three Mandan medicine women, who keep the lodges for the sun—one where the sun rises, one at the zenith and one where the sun sets. These women never die, and the sun stops at their lodges to smoke. 'By watching closely,' said the old man, 'you can see that the sun stops for a short time just as he rises, the same at meridian, and he stays with the third at night, 774 778 783

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

able numbers along the Heart River and in the vicinity of Square Butte Creek. With the introduction of the horse they were less commonly used, although the practice was not entirely abandoned until after 1870. Buffalo, deer, elk, and wolves were captured in them. Older men also managed the fish traps, of which there were a number for each village. An account of fish-trapping is given in chapter viii, "Catfish-trapping Ceremony," which appears in this account of ceremonialism. 888 421 224

The old people were generally well cared for by the Mandan. They were held in high respect, and my informants frequently condemned neighboring tribes for abandoning their old people. On the other hand, Mandan old people frequently were left back when the village went on a buffalo hunt and refused to have others remain with them, claiming that they would get along and that, if the enemy came and killed them, it was all right, as one could not live forever. Usually a few families remained in the village to care for the old people who were too feeble to travel. 888

The Mandan traditions state that, when people were first created and placed on the earth, Lone Man decreed that they should not live to be older than one hundred years and that some would die at various ages from birth to old age. It was believed that people died from improper fasting, violation of tribal custom, disrespect of holy things, quarreling, foreign objects in the body, and loss of "power." It was also believed that those who neglected the unfortunate would not live long, since the sacred things frequently sent destitute people into the tribe to detect the selfish families. The sun was believed to be a cannibal who would adopt a "son" in an enemy tribe, subsequently giving a Mandan a dream instruction to go out on the warfare where he would be killed. 773 761

The Mandan believed that a person had four souls. One was the white spirit, which was often seen traveling through the air as a shooting star. It was regarded as the principal spirit and was represented by the white upland sage. The second spirit was light brown and scarcely visible and was represented by the meadow lark. These two spirits united in the spirit world and became the individual of the hereafter. The third spirit was known as the lodge spirit and remained near the lodge of which 774

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

774 it was a member during the life of the individual. It was the earth spirit and was believed to hover around the lodge so long as any visible evidence of the lodge ruins remained. People would see dim lights around the abandoned villages and attributed these lights to the third spirit. The fourth spirit was black and remained outside the lodge and traveled away from the village at times but would return frequently. It was represented by a shadow and was the spirit that frightened people. It was this spirit that Calf Woman believed frightened her the evening before government rations were issued so that she was unable to walk out for her share. It was also the spirit that came [787] to a person in his dreams. When moccasins were burned at the doorway of the lodge where a person had died, it no longer frightened people.

775 The Mandan concept of the hereafter was based largely on vision experiences. They have a number of accounts of persons who "died" and then returned. All informants were in agreement that the first two spirits returned downstream. Some of the very old people who were remembered by my informants claimed that they would go to the Heart River, where their old people had lived and died. At that place there was a spirit village for each of the villages of the Heart River area, and a spirit-house stood over the body of each person either buried or placed on the prairie there. Some claimed that they would return to Baby Hill and be reincarnated into the tribe. At the present time the older Mandan think that they will return to Like-a-Fishhook Village, where they will be reunited with their relatives who lived and died there. They believe that the spirit people live in earth-lodge villages, plant gardens, hunt, and perform ceremonies much the same as during their lifetime. One's status in the hereafter is essentially the same as when one died.

775 Children who died before being named were wrapped in robes and placed in trees or interred apart from the rest of the dead. 776 There were no rites, since they were not considered a part of the village until they had been named. They were believed to return immediately to the Home of the Babies to be reborn later.

000 When a person believed he was about to die, the relatives

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

773 one of their villages on the other side of Knife River, which frequently occasioned dissension 534 between them, and it is only within these fourteen years that permanent peace and concord have 173 existed between the two people.

At the time when our narrator was a young man, the Arikkaras were near and dangerous 173 enemies to the Mandans. They often fought with them as well as with the Sioux. When one 721 of the two allied nations fought alone, it was almost always defeated, but when they were combined they generally triumphed. The preceding long narrative throws, as I have said, much light on the actual condition of this people, and of their prevalent superstitious customs.

At the time of their first alliance with the Manitaries, the Mandans are said to have inhabited eight or nine villages on the two banks of the Missouri, on the Heart River, and higher upwards. Subsequently a great number of the Mandans were carried off by the small-pox, and their enemies, the Sioux, entirely destroyed their largest village, and massacred the inhabitants. The remaining population then collected in the two villages that still exist—Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush and Ruhptare. Plate XVI. is a view of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, of which a ground plan will be found at the end of this chapter. Previously to the devastations of the small-pox, the Sioux were not very dangerous enemies to the Mandans, because they lived at too great a distance from them, but the Chayennes and the Arikkaras were their natural adversaries. I shall now proceed to treat of the religious and superstitious practices which still prevail among them.

These Indians are full of prejudice and superstition, and connect all the natural phenomena 771 with the before-mentioned silly creations of their own imaginations. They undertake nothing 776 without first invoking their guardian spirit, or medicine, who mostly appears to them in a dream. 782 When they wish to choose their medicine or guardian spirit, they fast for three or four days, and even longer, retire to a solitary spot, do penance, and even sacrifice joints of their fingers; howl and cry to the lord of life, or to the first man, beseeching him to point out their guardian spirit. They continue in this excited state till they dream, and the first animal or other object which appears to them is chosen for their guardian spirit or medicine. Every man has his guardian spirit. There is, in the prairie, a large hill where they remain motionless many days, lamenting and fasting; not far from this hill is a cave, into which they creep at night. The choice and adoration of their medicine are said to have been taught them by the strange man or spirit who appeared in their villages many years ago, and has not since been seen, and of whom mention has already been made by the name of Ochkih-Hadda. He is said also to have taught them the art of tattooing, and to have instituted their medicine feasts. In all natural phenomena, which are not of daily occurrence, they see wonders, and indications of favourable or unfavourable events. If the falling stars are numerous, or in a certain direction, it is to them an indication of war, or of a great mortality in the human race. They were not willing to have their portraits 774 painted, because they alleged that they should soon die if their portraits came into other hands; at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

757 When blindness arises from the dazzling brightness of the snow, which it very frequently does in March, they bathe the eyes with a solution of gunpowder in water. They often have recourse to bleeding, which they perform with a sharp flint, or a knife. They often apply to the Whites for medicine, and willingly follow their prescriptions. These Indians have also various remedies for their horses; thus, when a horse has the strangury, they give it a piece of a wasp's nest.

764 When a Mandan or Manitari dies, they do not let the corpse remain long in the village; but convey it to the distance of 200 paces, and lay it on a narrow stage, about six feet long, resting on four stakes about ten feet high, the body being first laced up in buffalo robes and a blanket. The face, painted red, is turned towards the east. A number of such stages are seen about their villages, and, although they themselves say that this custom is injurious to the health of the villages, they do not renounce it. On many of these stages there are small boxes, containing the bodies of children wrapped in cloth or skins. Ravens are usually seen sitting on these stages, and the Indians dislike that bird, because it feeds on the flesh of their relations. If you ask a Mandan why they do not deposit their dead in the ground, he answers—"The lord of life has, indeed, told us that we came from the ground, and should return to it again;" yet we have lately begun to lay the bodies of the dead on stages, because we love them, and would weep at the sight of them. They believe that every person has several spirits dwelling in him; one of 774 775 these spirits is black, another brown, and another light-coloured, the latter of which alone returns to the lord of life. They think that after death they go to the south, to several villages which are often visited by the gods; that the brave and most eminent go to the village of the good, but the wicked into a different one: that they there live in the same manner as they do here, carry on the same occupations, eat the same food, have wives, and enjoy the pleasures of the chase and war. Those who are kind-hearted are supposed to make many presents and do good, find everything in abundance, and their existence there is dependant on their course of life while in the world. Some of the inhabitants of the Mandan villages are said not to believe all these particulars, and suppose that after death they will live in the sun or in a certain star.

765 [304] They mourn for the dead a whole year; cut off their hair, cover their body and head with white or grey clay, and often, with a knife or sharp flint, make incisions in their arms and legs in parallel lines, in their whole length, so that they are covered with blood. For some days after death the relations make a loud lament and bewailing. Often a relative, or some other friend, covers the dead, as they express it: he brings one or two woollen cloths, of a red, blue, white, or green colour, and, as soon as the body is laid on the stage, mounts upon the scaffolding, and conceals the body beneath the covering. A friend who will do this is, in token of respect, presented, by the family of the deceased, with a horse. If it is known beforehand that a person intends doing this honour to the dead, a horse is at once tied near the stage, and the friend, having per-

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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once that curiosity was leading them reluctantly, where their pride checked and forbade them to go. The rush soon after became general, and the chiefs and medicine-men took possession of my room, placing *soldiers* (braves with spears in their hands) at the door, admitting no one, but such as were allowed by the chiefs, to come in. 123

Monsr. Kipp (the agent of the Fur Company, who has lived here eight years, and to whom, for his politeness and hospitality, I am much indebted), at this time took a seat with the chiefs, and, speaking their language fluently, he explained to them my views and the objects for which I was painting these portraits; and also expounded to them the manner in which they were made,—at which they seemed all to be very much pleased. The necessity at this time of exposing the portraits to the view of the crowds who were assembled around the house, became imperative, and they were held up together over the door, so that the whole village had a chance to see and recognize their chiefs. The effect upon so mixed a multitude, who as yet had heard no way of accounting for them, was novel and really laughable. The likenesses were instantly recognized, and many of the gaping multitude commenced yelping; some were stamping off in the jarring dance—others were singing, and others again were crying—hundreds covered their mouths with their hands and were mute; others, indignant, drove their spears frightfully into the ground, and some threw a reddened arrow at the sun, and went home to their wigwams.

The pictures seen,—the next curiosity was to see the man who made them, and I was called forth. Readers! if you have any imagination, save me the trouble of painting this scene. • • • • 123 774 •

• • • I stepped forth, and was instantly hemmed in in the throng. Women were gaping and gazing—and warriors and braves were offering me their hands,—whilst little boys and girls, by dozens, were struggling through the crowd to touch me with the ends of their fingers; and whilst I was engaged, from the waist upwards, in fending off the throng and shaking hands, my legs were assailed (not unlike the nibbling of little fish, when I have been standing in deep water) by children, who were creeping between the legs of the bystanders for the curiosity or honour of touching me with the end of their finger. The eager curiosity and expression of astonishment with which they gazed upon me, plainly shewed that they looked upon me as some strange and unaccountable being They pronounced me the greatest *medicine-man* in the world; for they said I had made *living beings*,—they said they could see their chiefs alive, in two places—those that I had made were a *little* alive—they could see their eyes move—could see them smile and laugh, and that if they could laugh they could certainly speak, if they should try, and they must therefore have *some life* in them.

The squaws generally agreed, that they had discovered life enough in them to render my *medicine* too great for the Mandans; saying that such an

123 774 operation could not be performed without taking away from the original something of his existence, which I put in the picture, and they could see it move, could see it stir.

This curtailing of the natural existence, for the purpose of instilling life into the secondary one, they decided to be an useless and destructive operation, and one which was calculated to do great mischief in their happy community; and they commenced a mournful and doleful chaunt against me, crying and weeping bitterly through the village, proclaiming me a most "dangerous man; one who could make living persons by looking at them; and at the same time, could, as a matter of course, destroy life in the same way, if I chose. That my medicine was dangerous to their lives, and that I must leave the village immediately. That bad luck would happen to those whom I painted—that I was to take a part of the existence of those whom I painted, and carry it home with me amongst the white people, and that when they died they would never sleep quiet in their graves."

123 In this way the women and some old quack medicine-men together, had succeeded in raising an opposition against me; and the reasons they assigned were so plausible and so exactly suited for their superstitious feelings, that they completely succeeded in exciting fears and a general panic in the minds of a number of chiefs who had agreed to sit for their portraits, and my operations were, of course, for several days completely at a stand. A grave council was held on the subject from day to day, and there seemed great difficulty in deciding what was to be done with me and the dangerous art which I was practicing; and which had far exceeded their original expectations. I finally got admittance to their sacred conclave, and assured them that I was but a man like themselves,—that my art had no *medicine* or mystery about it, but could be learned by any of them if they would practice it as long as I had—that my intentions towards them were of the most friendly kind, and that in the country where I lived, brave men never allowed their squaws to frighten them with their foolish whims and stories. They all immediately arose, shook me by the hand, and dressed themselves for their pictures. After this, there was no further difficulty about sitting; all were ready to be painted,—the squaws were silent, and my painting-room a continual resort for the chiefs, and braves, and medicine-men; where they waited with impatience for the completion of each one's picture,—that they could decide as to the likeness as it came from under the brush; that they could laugh, and yell, and sing a new song, and smoke a fresh pipe to the health and success of him who had just been safely delivered from the hands and the mystic operation of the "*white medicine.*"

In each of these operations, as they successfully took place, I observed that a pipe or two were well filled, and as soon as I commenced painting, the chiefs and braves, who sat around the sides of the lodge, commenced smoking for the success of the picture (and probably as much or more so for the safe deliverance of the sitter from harm while under the operation);

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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and so they continued to pass the pipe around until the portrait was completed. 123

In this way I progressed with my portraits, stopping occasionally very suddenly as if something was wrong, and taking a tremendous puff or two at the pipe, and streaming the smoke through my nostrils, exhibiting in my looks and actions an evident relief; enabling me to proceed with more facility and success,—by flattering and complimenting each one on his good looks after I had got it done, and taking them according to rank, or standing, making it a matter of honour with them, which pleased them exceedingly, and gave me and my art the stamp of respectability at once.

I was then taken by the arm by the chiefs, and led to their lodges, where feasts were prepared for me in elegant style, *i. e.* in the best manner which this country affords; and being led by the arm, and welcomed to them by *gentlemen* of high and exalted feelings, rendered them in my estimation truly elegant.

I was waited upon in due form and ceremony by the *medicine-men*, who received me upon the old adage, "Similis simili gaudet." I was invited to a feast, and they presented me a *she-shee-quoi*, or a doctor's rattle, and also a magical wand, or a doctor's staff, strung with claws of the grizzly bear, with hoofs of the antelope—with ermine—with wild sage and bat's wings—and perfumed withal with the *choice* and *savoury* odour of the pole-cat—a dog was sacrificed and hung by the legs over my wigwam, and I was therefore and thereby initiated into (and countenanced in the practice of) the arcana of medicine or mystery, and considered a Fellow of the Extraordinary Society of *Conjurati*. 123 791

Since this signal success and good fortune in my operations, things have gone on very pleasantly, and I have had a great deal of amusement. Some altercation has taken place, however, amongst the chiefs and braves, with regard to standing or rank, of which they are exceedingly jealous; and they must sit (if at all) in regular order, according to that rank; the trouble is all settled at last, however, and I have had no want of subjects, though a great many have become again alarmed, and are unwilling to sit, for fear, as some say, that they will die prematurely if painted; and as others say, that if they are painted, the picture will live after they are dead, and they cannot sleep quiet in their graves. 123 774

I have had several most remarkable occurrences in my painting-room, of this kind, which have made me some everlasting enemies here; though the minds and feelings of the chiefs and medicine-men have not been affected by them. There has been three or four instances where proud and aspiring young men have been in my lodge, and after gazing at the portraits of the head chief across the room (which sits looking them in the eyes), have raised their hands before their faces and walked around to the side of the lodge, on the right or left, from whence to take a long and fair side-look at the chief, instead of staring him full in the face (which is a most unpardonable offence

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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123 774 in all Indian tribes); and after having got in that position, and cast their eyes again upon the portrait which was yet looking them full in the face, have thrown their robes over their heads and bolted out of the wigwam, filled equally with astonishment and indignation; averring, as they always will in a sullen mood, that they "saw the eyes move,"—that as they walked around the room "the eyes of the portrait followed them." With these unfortunate gentlemen, repeated efforts have been made by the Traders, and also by the chiefs and doctors, who understand the illusion, to convince them of their error, by explaining the mystery; but they will not hear to any explanation whatever; saying, that "what they see with their eyes is always evidence enough for them;" that they always "believe their own eyes sooner than a hundred tongues," and all efforts to get them a second time to my room, or into my company in any place, have proved entirely unsuccessful.

123 791 I had trouble brewing also the other day from another source; one of the "*medicines*" commenced howling and haranguing around my domicil, amongst the throng that was outside, proclaiming that all who were inside and being painted were fools and would soon die; and very materially affecting thereby my popularity. I however sent for him and called him in the next morning, when I was alone, having only the interpreter with me; telling him that I had had my eye upon him for several days, and had been so well pleased with his looks, that I had taken great pains to find out his history, which had been explained by all as one of a most extraordinary kind, and his character and standing in his tribe as worthy of my particular notice; and that I had several days since resolved that as soon as I had practiced my hand long enough upon the others, to get the stiffness out of it (after paddling my canoe so far as I had) and make it to work easily and successfully, I would begin on his portrait, which I was then prepared to commence on that day, and that I felt as if I could do him justice. He shook me by the hand, giving me the "Doctor's grip," and beckoned me to sit down, which I did, and we smoked a pipe together. After this was over, he told me, that "he had no inimical feelings towards me, although he had been telling the chiefs that they were all fools, and all would die who had their portraits painted—that although he had set the old women and children all crying, and even made some of the young warriors tremble, yet he had no unfriendly feelings towards me, nor any fear or dread of my art." "I know you are a good man (said he), I know you will do no harm to any one, your medicine is great and you are a great 'medicine-man.' I would like to see myself very well—and so would all of the chiefs; but they have all been many days in this medicine-house, and they all know me well, and they have not asked me to come in and be *made alive* with paints—my friend, I am glad that my people have told you who I am—my heart is glad—I will go to my wigwam and eat, and in a little while I will come, and you may go to work;"—another pipe was lit and smoked, and he got up and went off. I prepared my canvass and pa-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

We were told never to forget these women, and we make these gifts to them so that they will say a kind word for us.' Their oath is made by the moon or sun. After death they believe they go to the east, and claim that a man killed in battle is better treated, better liked, in the hereafter than one who dies of disease. They cling tenaciously to their old beliefs, customs and habits, and though they have adopted some of the manners of the Sioux and their own allies, the Arickarees and Gros Ventres, they are bitterly opposed to the ways of the whites.

Language Different from Sioux. In speaking of their language Mr. Mitchell says: 'I always contended that Mr. Gallatin was in error in supposing the Mandans and Sioux descended from the same stock. Mr. Kipp, who has been well acquainted with both tribes for upward of thirty years, and speaks both languages with great fluency and correctness, fully concurs with me in opinion. There are a few words that are somewhat similar in sound, but this Mr. Kipp accounts for by the fact of the Sioux and Mandans having been neighbors from time immemorable, and during intervals of peace visiting and intermarrying with each other.' Many of them now speak the Sioux language, and though I consider their vocal language as distinct and different from all others, still high authorities at present class it with the Sioux; that is, being with the same stock." (P. 242.)

From the "Collections of the American Antiquarian Society," Vol. II (Cambridge, 1836), we quote the following concerning the Mandans, in which they are spoken of as one of three tribes of the Minnetarees. What is said therein concerning the chief Big White and the Welsh theory will receive consideration later on.

"The Minetares (Minetaree and Minetaries) consist of three tribes, speaking three different languages which belong to a common stock. Its affinities with the Dahcota are but remote, but have appeared sufficient to entitle them to be considered as of the same family.

"Two of those tribes, the Mandans, whose numbers do not exceed fifteen hundred, and the stationary Minetaries, amounting to three thousand souls, including those called Annahwas, cultivate the soil and live in villages situated on or near the Missouri, between the forty-seventh and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude. They are kept in a state of perpetual alarm by the Assiniboines, the Tetons, the Rapid Indians and other erratic

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

648 lower village brought down four of the Sharhas. We explained to them our intentions, and advised them to remain at peace with each other; we also gave them a flag, some tobacco, and a speech for their nation. These were accompanied by a letter to Messrs. Tabeau and Gravelines at the Ricara village, requesting them to preserve peace if possible, and to declare the part which we should be forced to take if the Ricaras and Sioux made war on those whom we had adopted. After distributing a few presents to the Sharhas and Mandans, and showing them our curiosities, we dismissed them, apparently well pleased at their reception." (id 187.)

Mandan Religion—Origin. "Tuesday, 4th. Oscapsaee and
776 two young chiefs passed the day with us. The whole religion
782 of the Mandans consists in the belief of one great spirit presiding over their destinies. This being must be in the nature of a good genius, since it is associated with the healing art, and the great spirit is synonymous with the great medicine, a name also applied to every thing which they do not understand. Each individual selects for himself the particular object of his devotion, which is termed his medicine, and is either some invisible being or more commonly some animal, which henceforward becomes his protector or his intercessor with the great spirit; to propitiate whom every attention is lavished, and every personal consideration is sacrificed. 'I was lately owner of seventeen horses,' said a Mandan to us one day, 'but I have offered them all up to my medicine, and am now poor.' He had in reality taken all his wealth, his horses, into the plain, and turning them loose, committed them to the care of his medicine, and abandoned them forever. The horses, less religious, took care of themselves, and the pious votary traveled home on foot. Their belief in a future state
• 775 is connected with this tradition of their origin; the whole nation
773 resided in one large village under ground, near a subterraneous lake; a grape vine extended its roots down to their habitation, and gave them a view of the light; some of the most adventurous climbed up the vine, and were delighted with the sight of the earth, which they found covered with buffalo and rich with every kind of fruits; returning with the grapes they had gathered, their countrymen were so pleased with the taste of them that the whole nation resolved to leave their dull residence for the charms

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

of the upper region; men, women and children ascended by means of the vine; but when about half the nation had reached the surface of the earth, a corpulent woman, who was clambering up the vine, broke it with her weight, and closed upon herself and the rest of the nation the light of the sun. Those who were left on earth made a village below, where we saw the nine villages; and when the Mandans die they expect to return to the original seats of their forefathers; the good reaching the ancient village by means of the lake, which the burdens of the sins of the wicked will not enable them to cross." (id 191.) 775 773

Buffalo Chase. "Friday, December 7th. The wind still continued from the northwest, and the day is very cold. Shahaka, the chief of the lower village, came to apprise us that the buffalo were near, and that his people were waiting for us to join them in the chase. Captain Clarke with fifteen men went out and found the Indians engaged in killing the buffalo, the hunters mounted on horseback and armed with bows and arrows encircled the herd, and gradually drive them into a plain or an open place fit for the movements of horse; they then ride in among them, and singling out a buffalo, a female being preferred, go as close as possible and wound her with arrows till they think they have given the mortal stroke; then they pursue another till the quiver is exhausted. If, which rarely happens, the wounded buffalo attacks the hunter, he evades his blow by the agility of his horse, which is trained for the combat with great dexterity. When they have killed the requisite number they collect their game, and the squaws and attendants come up from the rear and skin and dress the animals. Captain Clarke killed ten buffalo, of which only five were brought to the fort, the rest, which could not be conveyed home, being seized by the Indians, among whom the custom is, that whenever a buffalo is found dead without an arrow, or any particular mark, he is the property of the finder; so that often a hunter secures scarcely any of the game he kills, if the arrow happens to fall off; whatever is left out at night falls to the share of the wolves, who are the constant and numerous attendants of the buffalo." (id 193.) 224

Mandan Games. "Wednesday, 19th. The weather moderated, and the river rose a little, so that we were unable to continue the picketing of the fort. Notwithstanding the extreme cold, we 524

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

766 name were taken to the usual place, where they were placed on a scaffold or interred, according to the parents' preference.

775 The Mandan believed that there was a Baby Hill near Fort Clark, another near the Heart River, and a third near Dickinson which had interiors like an earth lodge, in which an old man cared for them. If a child died before being named, it returned to the Baby Hill. People claimed to have seen baby tracks on the tops and sides of these hills. It was believed that the spirits in the hill near the Heart River came north when the Mandan [842] came north. If a woman had been married a number of years and was childless, desiring a child, she would go to one of these hills to pray for one. Those wanting a daughter brought girl's clothing and a ball; for a son she brought a small bow and arrow. The Mandan believed in rebirth. Calf Woman's grandfather said he was one who had been reborn. One of her grandchildren had a spot on her hip, and it was thought she was one who had lived before. It was believed that children choose the mother they want and that a child resembling a sibling who had died was the reincarnation of the other child. The Mandan cite numerous instances of culture heroes who selected a mother when desiring to be born into the tribe.

553 A girl usually keeps her first name as long as she lives. If she was sick or unlucky, her parents frequently put up a feast to get a new name for her. If she had grown up, her brothers and sisters helped her prepare a renaming feast.

853 A nursing child frequently developed a sore mouth which in-
755 terfered with its feeding. In such cases, the parents selected a man of the child's father's clan to cure it by piercing the skin of the ceremonial father's leg and permitting the child to suck of his blood. A payment was made to the man selected by the child's clan brothers and sisters.

TRAINING

861 The child's training was both economic and ritualistic and
868 differed according to the sex of the child. A girl was trained in lodge management, household arts, gardening, curing of meat,
562 and certain ritualistic practices, receiving her instruction primarily from the women of the lodge. A boy was taught hunting and fishing and went out while still a boy to help bring meat

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

774 it was a member during the life of the individual. It was the earth spirit and was believed to hover around the lodge so long as any visible evidence of the lodge ruins remained. People would see dim lights around the abandoned villages and attributed these lights to the third spirit. The fourth spirit was black and remained outside the lodge and traveled away from the village at times but would return frequently. It was represented by a shadow and was the spirit that frightened people. It was this spirit that Calf Woman believed frightened her the evening before government rations were issued so that she was unable to walk out for her share. It was also the spirit that came [787] to a person in his dreams. When moccasins were burned at the doorway of the lodge where a person had died, it no longer frightened people.

• 775 The Mandan concept of the hereafter was based largely on vision experiences. They have a number of accounts of persons who "died" and then returned. All informants were in agreement that the first two spirits returned downstream. Some of the very old people who were remembered by my informants claimed that they would go to the Heart River, where their old people had lived and died. At that place there was a spirit village for each of the villages of the Heart River area, and a spirit-house stood over the body of each person either buried or placed on the prairie there. Some claimed that they would return to Baby Hill and be reincarnated into the tribe. At the present time the older Mandan think that they will return to Like-a-Fishhook Village, where they will be reunited with their relatives who lived and died there. They believe that the spirit people live in earth-lodge villages, plant gardens, hunt, and perform ceremonies much the same as during their lifetime. One's status in the hereafter is essentially the same as when one died.

775 Children who died before being named were wrapped in robes and placed in trees or interred apart from the rest of the dead.
766 There were no rites, since they were not considered a part of the village until they had been named. They were believed to return immediately to the Home of the Babies to be reborn later.

000 When a person believed he was about to die, the relatives

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

768 smallpox epidemic of 1837. The orphans were taken in by the
602 females according to clan affiliation and reared as their own
614 children.

Suicide was rare among the Mandan. The only instances
762 remembered by Mandan informants were immediately follow-
775 ing the last smallpox epidemic. When a household had been nearly exterminated, the remaining females frequently took their lives. Crows Heart thought that suicides were buried and that their spirits did not reach the spirit world. Scattercorn remembered hearing of two girls who hanged themselves in 1837 in the village where her father lived and said that they were placed on the scaffold which was built by her father whose sister sent the spirits away at the end of four days.

The last murder of a male occurred among the Mandan in
682 1820, part of the Mandan separating from the village group to
627 live on Eagle Nose Butte until 1823, when the relatives of the murdered man invited them to return to Fort Clark Village. One who had been murdered was treated as though he had been killed in battle or had died a natural death. There was the usual preparation of the body by the relatives of the father's clan. The murderer, if caught, was killed by the murdered man's male siblings or clansmen, and his body was buried at a distance
[766] from the village. No rites were performed to send his spirit away. The murder of a woman by another woman was treated lightly and settled by a payment of goods.

The Mandan, and in later years the Hidatsa also, were accus-
765 tomed to collect the bones of their relatives after the scaffolds
614 on which they were placed had rotted and fallen to the ground.
778 The skulls were taken to a place adjacent to the scaffolds and there arranged in circles of which there were a number near each village. Scattercorn claimed that the skulls of each circle were of closely related people who had belonged to the same clan and that these shrines enhanced the "sacred powers" of the Woman Above bundles which were a part of the shrine.[4] If these were clan shrines, the practice of arranging the circles according to clans must have been abandoned after moving to Like-a-Fishhook Village, as there were only two or three circles at most, and the Hidatsa made simultaneous use of these shrines

4. See Catlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–52, for an eyewitness description of these circles.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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who lives on the planet Venus and protects men. Fifth was one called the Lying Prairie Wolf, a sort of wandering Jew and evil spirit, but without power. Lastly was Ochkih-Hedde; he came once to the village and taught them many things, then disappeared. When anyone saw him in a dream it was a sign of death. Sacrifices were offered to him and images of him were exposed in the village. 776

The sun was worshipped as the place where the Lord of Life lived. In the moon lived the Old Woman Who Never Dies, who had a white line around her head. She corresponded to the Corn Mother of the Arikara and was supposed to be very powerful. Many sacrifices were offered to her. She had six children, three sons and three daughters. The first son was day (the first of creation), the second was the sun, the third was night. The eldest daughter was the morning star (the woman who carries a bunch of feathers), the second was the striped pumpkin (a star revolving about the polar star), the third was the evening star. Besides these there was a group of supernatural beings of less prominence, among whom were the first chief, certain animal people, the thunder-bird and similar beings. 776 772

They seemed to have two distinct theories as to the hereafter, according to Maximilian part of the people adhered to each view. Both beliefs agreed that each man had four souls, one black, one brown, one clear, and the other not described. The first sect believed that the clear soul returned to the Lord of Life; another one went to the villages to the south which are often visited by the gods, and one of the souls of the brave and great men went to the villages of the gods. There was a separate village for the wicked. Life in all these villages was a continuance of that on earth, they had food, women, went hunting and on war parties, and had an abundance of everything. To this might be added Catlin's story,[1] somewhat less credible, that they believed in a warm heaven and a cold hell; that all went to hell for a while where the Good Spirit punished them, after which they went to heaven where they were again tempted by the Evil Spirit. The other sect described by Maximilian believed that after death they went to live in the sun or stars.[2] 775

[1] Op. cit., vol. 2, p. 157. [2] Op. cit., p. 480.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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775 In this description of an after life, there was a marked mixture of ideas. The idea of multiple souls is Siouan, the rest is more or less common over most of the region.

776 821 As usual in the plains area every natural phenomenon and unaccountable event was mystery or medicine, and the medicine idea played the usual important part in all their religious customs. Thunder was ascribed to the familiar thunder-bird, the glitter of whose eyes dug a path through the clouds for the rain and caused the lightning.[1] Solitary claps of thunder were ascribed to a huge turtle which lived in the clouds. The rainbow was said to be a spirit which accompanies the sun and which shows itself when the sun retires for the night. The aurora borealis was said to be the fire kindled at an assembly of the great medicine men and warriors of the northern nations, over which they cooked their dead enemies in huge pots.[2] They had several beliefs about the stars—that of the Sioux, that each star is a man, and when a child is born the star comes down and when he dies it returns; also that a multitude of supernatural beings existed in the stars to which sacrifices and prayers were offered. Dreams were of very great importance and governed nearly all their acts. [787]

789 843 There were many small personal superstitions or mysteries. One man told Maximilian that he could turn a snowball into a white stone, another claimed that his nose always bled if he picked up his pipe by the bowl. There were many signs of good and bad luck. A pregnant woman was considered to bring luck at the game of Skohpe. The medicine men told them that if a clay image of an enemy were made with a needle or quill in it for a heart, and were placed at the foot of some medicine structure, that enemy would die. A pregnant woman brings bad luck to her husband in hunting. Many of the Mandans believed that they had some animal, as a buffalo, turtle or frog in them; the women had a dance when they thought an ear of corn was in them, which the dance caused to come out.[3] There were a number of other superstitions of this sort, mostly common to all the plains tribes. One more notable might be mentioned, however, that of building the fire with two sticks crossed in the center, 372

[1] Ibid., p. 422. [2] Ibid., p. 423. [3] Ibid., p. 463.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

forbidden him to kill the prairie larks, yet he shot all his arrows at these birds, but he was unable to kill any. Upon this, one of the birds said to him, "Why will you kill me, since I am related to you?" He dug up in the moon the pomme blanche (*Psoralea esculenta*), for which his mother reproved him, because, through the hole which he had dug, they could see the Manitari villages in the earth beneath. And his mother said, "See, all those men are our relations; I did not intend to descend to the earth yet, but now we must go thither." The father once ordered the son to shoot a buffalo for him, and to bring him all the sinews of the animal; but the son twisted a rope with part of those sinews, in order thereby to let himself down to the earth. Accordingly he descended to the earth in the vicinity of the Little Missouri, but his rope reached only to the top of the trees. If he had had all the sinews of the buffalo, his rope would have reached the ground, but now remained suspended, and swung backwards and forwards. A large stone was thrown at him from the moon, which stone was in existence not very long since. The stone, however, could not kill him, he being medicine, that is, charmed. 539

The Mandans believe that the thunder is produced by the motion of the wings of a gigantic bird. When this bird flies softly, as is usually the case, he is not heard, but when he flaps his wings violently, he occasions a roaring noise. This huge bird is said to have only two toes on each foot, one behind and the other before. It lives in the mountains, where it builds an immense nest, as big as Fort Clarke. Its food consists of deer and other large animals, the horns of which are heaped up round the nest. The glance of its eyes produces lightning; it breaks through the clouds, the canopy of heaven, and makes a way for the rain. The isolated and peculiarly loud claps of thunder are produced by a gigantic tortoise, which lives in the clouds. When the lightning strikes, it is a sign of anger. They believe the stars to be deceased men. When a child is born, a star descends and appears on the earth in human form; after death it reascends and appears again as a star in the heavens. 821 [775]

The rainbow is a spirit accompanying the sun, and is especially visible at its setting. Many affirm that the northern lights are occasioned by a large assembly of the medicine men and distinguished warriors of several nations in the north, who boil their prisoners and slain enemies in immense cauldrons. The Chippeways are said to call this phenomenon "the dancing spirit," and the milky way, "the path of the ghosts." [171]

Dipauch related a history of the creation and the origin of the Mandan tribe, in the following manner. Though this narrative is equally silly and tiresome, I subjoin it, as giving an idea of the intellectual condition of this people, and the nature of their conversations. 773 539

Before the existence of the earth, the lord of life created the first man, Numank-Machana, who moved on the waters, and met with a diver or duck, which was alternately diving and rising again. The man said to the bird, "You dive so well, now dive deep and bring up some earth."

757 When blindness arises from the dazzling brightness of the snow, which it very frequently does in March, they bathe the eyes with a solution of gunpowder in water. They often have recourse to bleeding, which they perform with a sharp flint, or a knife. They often apply to the Whites for medicine, and willingly follow their prescriptions. These Indians have also various remedies for their horses; thus, when a horse has the strangury, they give it a piece of a wasp's nest.

764 When a Mandan or Manitari dies, they do not let the corpse remain long in the village; but convey it to the distance of 200 paces, and lay it on a narrow stage, about six feet long, resting on four stakes about ten feet high, the body being first laced up in buffalo robes and a blanket. The face, painted red, is turned towards the east. A number of such stages are seen about their villages, and, although they themselves say that this custom is injurious to the health of the villages, they do not renounce it. On many of these stages there are small boxes, containing the bodies of children wrapped in cloth or skins. Ravens are usually seen sitting on these stages, and the Indians dislike that bird, because it feeds on the flesh of their relations. If you ask a Mandan why they do not deposit their dead in the ground, he answers—"The lord of life has, indeed, told us that we came from the ground, and should return to it again;" yet we have lately begun to lay the bodies of the dead on stages, because we love them, and would weep at the sight of them. They believe that every person has several spirits dwelling in him; one of 774 these spirits is black, another brown, and another light-coloured, the latter of which alone 775 returns to the lord of life. They think that after death they go to the south, to several villages which are often visited by the gods; that the brave and most eminent go to the village of the good, but the wicked into a different one: that they there live in the same manner as they do here, carry on the same occupations, eat the same food, have wives, and enjoy the pleasures of the chase and war. Those who are kind-hearted are supposed to make many presents and do good, find everything in abundance, and their existence there is dependant on their course of life while in the world. Some of the inhabitants of the Mandan villages are said not to believe all these particulars, and suppose that after death they will live in the sun or in a certain star.

765 They mourn for the dead a whole year; cut off their hair, cover their body and head with [304] white or grey clay, and often, with a knife or sharp flint, make incisions in their arms and legs in parallel lines, in their whole length, so that they are covered with blood. For some days after death the relations make a loud lament and bewailing. Often a relative, or some other friend, covers the dead, as they express it: he brings one or two woollen cloths, of a red, blue, white, or green colour, and, as soon as the body is laid on the stage, mounts upon the scaffolding, and conceals the body beneath the covering. A friend who will do this is, in token of respect, presented, by the family of the deceased, with a horse. If it is known beforehand that a person intends doing this honour to the dead, a horse is at once tied near the stage, and the friend, having per-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

648 lower village brought down four of the Sharhas. We explained to them our intentions, and advised them to remain at peace with each other; we also gave them a flag, some tobacco, and a speech for their nation. These were accompanied by a letter to Messrs. Tabeau and Gravelines at the Ricara village, requesting them to preserve peace if possible, and to declare the part which we should be forced to take if the Ricaras and Sioux made war on those whom we had adopted. After distributing a few presents to the Sharhas and Mandans, and showing them our curiosities, we dismissed them, apparently well pleased at their reception." (id 187.)

Mandan Religion—Origin. "Tuesday, 4th. Oscapsaee and
776 two young chiefs passed the day with us. The whole religion
782 of the Mandans consists in the belief of one great spirit presiding over their destinies. This being must be in the nature of a good genius, since it is associated with the healing art, and the great spirit is synonymous with the great medicine, a name also applied to every thing which they do not understand. Each individual selects for himself the particular object of his devotion, which is termed his medicine, and is either some invisible being or more commonly some animal, which henceforward becomes his protector or his intercessor with the great spirit; to propitiate whom every attention is lavished, and every personal consideration is sacrificed. 'I was lately owner of seventeen horses,' said a Mandan to us one day, 'but I have offered them all up to my medicine, and am now poor.' He had in reality taken all his wealth, his horses, into the plain, and turning them loose, committed them to the care of his medicine, and abandoned them forever. The horses, less religious, took care of themselves, and the pious votary traveled home on foot. Their belief in a future state
775 is connected with this tradition of their origin; the whole nation
773 resided in one large village under ground, near a subterraneous lake; a grape vine extended its roots down to their habitation, and gave them a view of the light; some of the most adventurous climbed up the vine, and were delighted with the sight of the earth, which they found covered with buffalo and rich with every kind of fruits; returning with the grapes they had gathered, their countrymen were so pleased with the taste of them that the whole nation resolved to leave their dull residence for the charms

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

up by death or divorce; some fathers were in disrepute, having 861
conducted an unsuccessful war expedition. An old man of a 561
boy's lodge, one who had belonged to many societies, learning
in the village that there was talk of buying the youngest society, 602
would encourage his grandson to join and would help him accumulate the goods used for the purchase.

Joining an age-grade society for the first time as a boy, he encountered a "father-son" relationship which had heretofore applied only to his own household. He was selected by a member who was of his father's clan, and the initiate addressed him as "father" during all the proceedings preliminary to the formal purchase; he learned that the other two or three boys his ceremonial "father" had selected were likewise based on a "father-son" relationship. This "father-son" relationship, extending outside his own household, formally instituted when making his first purchase into a society, became the basis of his behavior in buying and selling societies and ceremonies for the rest of his life.

FASTING AND FIRST WAR EXPEDITIONS

Fasting during the Okipa ceremony marked the introduction 785
of the boy to status in the tribe as a whole and was first insti- 881
tuted at the age of eight or nine, when the people of all the vil- 869
lages were assembled for this annual event. The first fasting was
of short duration. The fasting periods increased until a boy reached the age of seventeen or eighteen, when he was expected to fast for the entire duration of the Okipa ceremony and to drag buffalo skulls or be suspended by means of thongs inserted under the skin. Visions were not induced each time one fasted; [777]
neither were they expected.

It was believed that one's social personality was determined [776]
by sacred beings before the birth of the individual and that fasting was a means of renewing these former instructions that were temporarily forgotten while being born and cared for in the village. It was also believed that in the universe there were many sacred people who would adopt as a "son" those who fasted frequently and made offerings to them or who gave feasts to the sacred bundles of the village. A young man was taught to consult not only his own father but all men of his father's clan on matters of a sacred character. If one's sister's son seemed neg-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

stood. This lodge was circular in outline and differed from the regular earth lodges only by its greater size. 361 171

The open-circle concept was definitely established among the Mandan at a very early date according to the archeological evidence from the Heart River region.[2] There is some evidence in the Grand River region of the Mandan-type open-circle village arrangement, but the situation there is in most instances obscured by subsequent Arikara occupations.

Lone Man, according to tradition, established the custom of leaving an open area within each village for dancing. Later, when he was leaving the tribe, he erected a Red-painted cedar, as a symbol of his body and of all the Mandans who had lived before. The cedar was surrounded by a wall of cottonwood planks as a symbol of the wall he erected to protect the people from the flood. A water willow surrounding the planks marked the highest advance of the flood waters. He also established the custom of maintaining a special ceremonial lodge in each village and taught the ceremonies associated with its construction. The lodge was a symbol of Dog Den Butte where Hoita (the speckled eagle) imprisoned all living things. Six central posts were used making it oblong in form, with a flat side facing the open circle.[3] Lone Man also established the WəxikEna and Tamisik clans and indicated their seating arrangement in the ceremonial lodge. He divided the lodge into two halves, the left half or east side belonging to the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, and five other clans of that moiety. The right side belonged to the WaxikEna, Tamisik, Tamixixiks and three other clans of that moiety. 773 776 346

According to the sacred myths the moiety and clan system was as follows prior to the smallpox epidemics: 773 614 616

West-Side Moiety (Buffalo)	East-Side Moiety (Corn)
Waxi'kEna (Tell Bad News)	Sipuska'numak (Prairie Chicken People)
Tami'sik (no meaning)	Ipoka'numak (Speckled Eagle People)
Tami'xixiks (Bad Strap)	Mato'domak (Bear People)
[Three extinct clans whose names are not now remembered]	MasE'domak (Red Hill People)
	Amaka'domak (Badger People)
	HoxExaka'numak (Crow People)
	Manakasa'numak (People in Grove)

2. By 1500 in sites of the Huff focus in villages of rectangular lodges.

3. This was the habitation lodge which was retained for ceremonial purposes when the circular earth lodge was adopted shortly before 1600.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

614 Prior to the first smallpox epidemic there were thirteen named
616 clans, six clans dying out as a result of that epidemic. The three above clans of the west-side moiety survived together with the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, Crow, and Bear clans of the opposite moiety. The Bad Straps were assimilated into the Tamisik clan, while the Crow and Bear clans either died out or were assimilated with the Prairie Chickens after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

The west-side moiety was established by Lone Man, who
●776 represented the village activities and peace functions of the
616 tribe. The other moiety was divided into clans by Clay on the
614 Face, who promised to give the people sitting opposite Lone
773 Man's moiety names if he returned from a successful war expedition. As he returned from this expedition singing, he saw prairie chickens which were making a loud noise as they ate, the speckled eagles flying in the air, the bears in the timber, the snake people living in the red buttes near Old Woman Who Never Dies' lodge, the badger near his burrow on the prairie, the crows which were cawing, and mysterious people living in the small brush thickets. These were the names he gave to the people of his moiety.

Of the ten clans listed above, four survived the smallpox epi-
614 demic of 1837. They were WaxikEna, Tamisik, Prairie Chicken, and Speckled Eagle. Scattercorn's father, Moves Slowly, an officer in the Okipa, would call the name of each Nuptadi clan on the last day, and those impersonating the bulls would bellow as each was named. He had heard that the officers from the other village would formerly call the names of thirteen clans, but while at Fort Clark they dropped six extinct clans from the rites.

346 Each moiety owned its side of the ceremonial lodge. When
616 erecting a new lodge or repairing the old one, the clans forming
614 a moiety worked as a unit on their own side. Those fasting during the Okipa occupied places inside the lodge at the wall according to clan. Those of the WaxikEna were next to the door on the right side. The Tamisik occupied the balance of that side. On the left side the Prairie Chicken clan sat near to the door, and the Speckled Eagle clan occupied the remaining space on that side.

000 The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 mony. In the beginning, the people lived an extremely simple
773 life without tools and weapons. At that time there were no societies and only a few simple rites, one of which was a Buffalo Dance in which one man danced. It is believed that, as time passed, the people acquired skills along many lines; there was a corresponding development of mutual obligations; new societies and ceremonies were adopted which grew in complexity. It is also believed that there was a parallel development of the Okipa ceremony from the simple Buffalo Dance to its complex form as performed until seventy-five years ago, and that the cultural growth of the tribe was divided into four periods which were represented by the four days of the ceremony.

The principal characters in the ceremony were Lone Man (NumakmaxEna), Speckled Eagle (Hoita), Giver of Ceremony (Koni'saka), and the singers.

796 Lone Man was without question the tribe's most important
●776 deity. The original Lone Man belonged to the WaxikEna clan, and a bundle was founded which contained all the articles used
614 by the Lone Man impersonator during the ceremony. Inheri-
778 tance was through the WaxikEna clan. Before the smallpox epidemics, there were at least two similar and graded bundles in each village, and the men holding rights in the Okipa met to select from their number those who would officiate during the next ceremony.

796 According to tradition the original Lone Man established the rule that the bundle should belong to the WaxikEna clan.
778 However, before he left the tribe, he desired a white buffalo
424 robe owned by his brother's son. The young man offered to exchange his robe for Lone Man's bundle, and this transaction was made, the bundle and office passing temporarily from the WaxikEna clan. The principal bundle was kept, after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, at Nuptadi Village, and a secondary
[562] bundle was kept by the other village group. Women could inherit and buy the bundle but could not officiate in the rites. Beaver's brother owned a bundle originally at Nuptadi Village prior to 1837. When he died, his sister transferred the bundle to her daughters, Shells and Grows First, who were both of the WaxikEna clan. Little Eagle, who had married the two sisters, paid them for the right to officiate in the ceremony. He then

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 1. A buffalo-skin apron with buffalo-hair strands attached
2. Flat staff with the moon and thunderbird carved on one side, a star and the sun on the other
3. A stuffed raven
4. Two-piece wooden pipe inlaid with a dark-colored stone
5. Jackrabbit-skin collar and anklets
6. Headdress of porcupine trimmed with jackrabbit skin
7. A set of buffalo teeth
8. A war-bonnet trailer of alternating raven and swan feathers
9. A buffalo-hair headdress with a stuffed owl attached
10. Four buffalo tails with white buffalo hair attached
11. A staff decoration consisting of a buffalo tail trimmed with weasel fur

Bundle-owners were custodians of the turtle drums, the sacred cedar, and the ceremonial lodge.

796 The office of Hoita ranked equal in importance with that of
776 the Lone Man during the performance of the Okipa but other-
773 wise was unimportant. Hoita or Speckled Eagle represented the People Above but had had no part in the creation of the earth according to the mythology. He was born into the tribe where he was recognized for his supernatural powers. Because of jealousy over a white buffalo robe, he imprisoned the animals in Dog Den Butte. When he learned that another who claimed to be his "son" through the medium of the "walking" ceremony was holding the Okipa, he freed the animals and agreed to co-operate with Lone Man in performing the Okipa.

796 The rule was that the Hoita should belong to either the
614 WaxikEna or Tamisik clan, and there is no evidence that this rule was ever broken, at least in the memory of my informants. During the period of readjustment following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, Big Turtle (Tamisik clan) held the office. He sold rights in the office to Moves Slowly (WaxikEna clan), who impersonated Hoita, while Big Turtle served as director of the singers. Moves Slowly sold his rights to Iron Eyes (WaxikEna), who officiated, while Moves Slowly assisted the singers. The right to officiate in the Okipa ceremony was given at a public feast.

796 The Hoita directed the ceremonies performed inside the cere-
monial lodge. He supervised the fasters and saw that none who had interrupted their fasting returned to the lodge. He directed the selection of characters represented in the dances and supervised the painting, indicating the time when each rite was to be

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Mrs. Good Bear remembered an old man with the medicine of the otter. The otter was said to extract arrowheads and bullets by sticking his head into the wound.

The Mandan had one doctoring practice not employed by the Hidatsa. Sometimes a baby got a sore mouth and could not nurse its mother. The child's father would call one of his own brothers saying, "I want to drink of your blood."

The father would use an awl to prick a hole in his brother's leg and the child's mouth was put over the wound. When a man had no brothers, he called a man of his own clan. The rule was that the blood one drank must come from a man of the father's clan. Crows Heart showed several scars where he had given blood to cure sore mouths.

Breaking rules was believed to be the cause of bad luck. This could be either intentional or unintentional. Sometimes the guardian spirit was said to abandon one who violated some rule. Crows Heart said that it was impossible to explain why some men who were so particular about obeying all the rules should lose power. Edgar Crows Heart took his mother's brother's mink hide[13] to use in a dance without getting permission. Shortly afterward, he was thrown from a horse and suffered a broken nose, a result, Crows Heart, the father, said of taking a medicine bundle without the right.

Scattercorn was the only informant to give an example of sleight-of-hand practices performed as the result of a dream. In the hereditary bundle rites people claimed to have corn, buffalo, and other spirits in their body which came up into the mouth during the ceremonies.[14] Her account is of one not informed in the actual rites.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF POWER OF MEDICINE

My father's father ran away from the village when the smallpox came and lived with the Crow Indians out west. He was one who fasted much. One time he fasted on a high mountain. He became so weak that he could not get down the mountain and fell unconscious in the snow. A bear, porcupine, and otter came to him and said, "Son, we heard you cry and are going to help you." Those spirits carried him down the mountain, and he was so weak that he could not help himself. He became unusually holy because so many animals

13. Hidatsa Creek medicine.

14. Also reported by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIV (Cleveland, 1906), 33.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

787 159 176

came to him and promised him many things, taught him medicine songs and told him how to make a bundle.

He came back to the village where there were just a few Mandan living. The Ree were living in the village too and were mistreating the Mandan, but when they heard he was a holy man, they gave him robes and blankets to keep him from doing them harm.

When my father was grown, my grandfather said, "I am going to fix you up with the gods I have and teach you everything the bear, porcupine, and otter taught me. I will give you the songs, but you will have to pay me for them. I will teach you all the things I have been taught in my dreams."

He made a hole through two bullets; one he tied around my father's neck and the other round the wrist. He made a shield and painted a picture of a bear, porcupine, and otter on it, but the bear had two heads. He tied a soft eagle feather to the shield.

"If they shoot this little feather, they will kill you. Otherwise they can't kill you or hurt you in battle,"[15] he said.

He told my father, Moves Slowly, how to fix up the medicine for battle. Twice my father struck an enemy. This power was given him to be lucky, and his exploits brought him a high place in the tribe.

He once said to my father, "If the spirits agree, I will know it." He taught my father's sister the songs.[16] One time he asked the women to bring much firewood into the earth lodge and get out his three drums because he was going to bring all the gods in that night. He stood a long pole with a rattle tied on the end up through the smokehole. There was another rattle near the kettle beside the fireplace. There was a small sweat lodge in one corner of the earth lodge. Many people came in to look on. Two men tied him up hand and foot and put him in the sweat lodge. He was to bring in the spirits while the girl sang his medicine songs. The people were told that the spirits would hit them if they were not quiet. Soon the rattles began to shake, and the spirits came down and untied him and tied the lariat up in a knot. Then he ordered the fire built up, and everything was bright again.

He was able to name the person stealing things and locate lost storage pits. The spirits on the mountains showed him how to detect thieves or find things. One time some friends made a robe, but before it was finished someone stole it. They called my father in to sing his medicine songs. While he was singing, a dog barked out in the village and two men going by told him they passed a man wearing a robe that had not been trimmed around the edge. It was a Ree who had stolen it.

Another time he had just finished ten arrows. He had given a horse for the heads on the arrows and was proud of them. He missed them so that night he sang the medicine songs and asked the gods to help him find them. When he finished, he just wandered aimlessly through the village and went into a lodge, not knowing why he did. He told about his arrows and one of the men in the lodge said there was a young man sleeping there who had nice ones. They were the arrows he lost. So my father believed the promise made by his father that "the spirits would send powers" was true.

15. The feather represented the source of his power, and the only way to harm him was by breaking or destroying his connection with the supernatural.

[428] 16. This form of inheritance from parents to children was characteristic of personal bundles which should not be confused with tribal bundles which were theoretically clan owned.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

camps were at: (1) One Cottonwood Camp, at the mouth of the Yellowstone; (2) First Trapping Camp, the high ridge south of Sanish; (3) Buckbrush Trapping Camp, south of Shell Creek; and (4) High Butte Trapping Camp, southeast of Like-a-Fishhook Village.

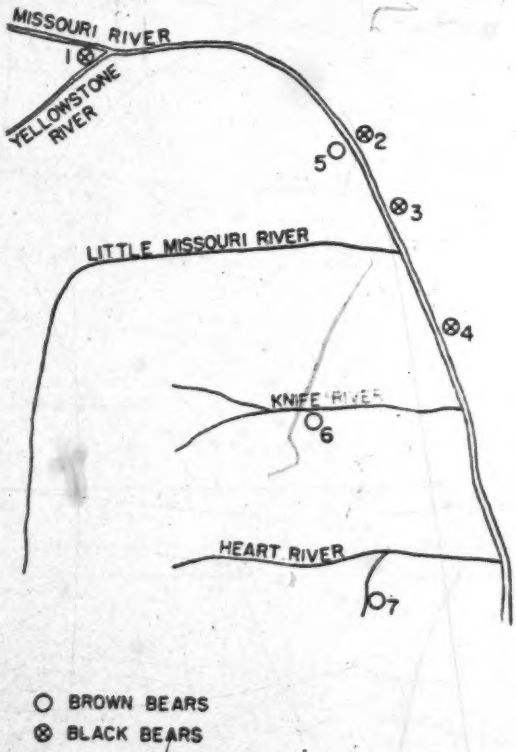

FIG. 29.—Mythological trapping camps of the Bears. *1*, One Cottonwood Camp; *2*, First Trapping Camp; *3*, Buckbrush Trapping Camp; *4*, High Butte Trapping Camp; *5*, Thunder Butte Trapping Camp; *6*, Sand Lodge Camp; *7*, Heart River Ravine Camp.

According to native belief, the small bears had trapped for a long time before the Indians received instruction in trapping. The theory of acquiring this supernatural knowledge conforms to the tribal pattern by which the world of the sacred is brought to the secular world through the medium of a hero. In this case, the hero was Black Wolf, who had been separated from a hunting party and was saved from starvation by a party of small black bears, then engaged in trapping eagles to the north of the

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 villages on the east bank of the Missouri River. The method of
773 acquiring this sacred lore is characteristic of most Mandan-
Hidatsa bundles, but the particular spirits participating and the
•776 contributions made by each is characteristic solely of eagle-trapping. The chief spirit contributors were Old Black Bear, Coyote, Snake, Buffalo, Young Eagle, and Little Black Bear.

796 Old Black Bear taught Black Wolf these songs: (1) song to the
773 lodge (sung when building the lodge); (2) song to the sweat
776 lodge (sung when the sweat lodge was being built and when it was being used); (3) song to the bait; (4) song to the pit;
533 (5) song to the snare; (6) song to the goose; (7) song to the swan; (8) song to the little bear; and (9) song to the bear.

Coyote taught the following song:

My old one in autumn
here I go (come to) Your power is strong.

The snakes contributed a song to be used when making offerings to the snake poles, since they belonged in the ceremony because Grandson once visited the bears while the ceremony was in progress.[6]

Buffalo[7] asked to come along and he contributed this song:

Lodge we have come lodge they have come

The *ma-si* eagle taught this song:

Earth above I am walking
Earth on I am walking

773 Several versions of the origin of eagle-trapping were recorded
539 during this study, and they were all essentially alike. Ben Benson, who had secured his rights from Iron Eyes, his father, supplied the following origin myth of eagle-trapping.

EAGLE-TRAPPING MYTH (BLACK WOLF) RELATED BY BEN BENSON[8]

A long time ago the Mandan did not know how to catch eagles or how to do many of the things they learned to do in later years. In one of the villages

6. Cf. my manuscript on "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Life" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago), for myth of Grandson visiting the Snakes, which slept with their heads on two poles and on opposite sides of the fire in Red Butte; cf. also above for the myth of Grandson, son of the Moon, in chap. vi, on "The Corn Ceremonies."

7. A bundle containing a buffalo bull skull occupied major bundle status.

8. For other relations of this myth by Ben Benson see Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 64–69, and Martha

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter XII

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY

796 THE ceremony is called HapminakE, meaning "Day Boat"
778 or "Day Traveler." At least five distinct Mandan bundle lines were in existence in 1837, represented by Arrowhead Earrings (custodian of the Okipa lodge), who sold to his daughter, Spring Woman, and her husband, who sold to Calf Woman, principal contributor of data on this ceremony; Bull Otter, who sold to his son, Clam Necklace, who sold to his son Ole Bull (still living); Short Bull, whose bundle was bought by his daughter, Diamond Snake, who sold to her son, Percy Baker (still living); Red Buffalo Cow, who sold to his daughter, Antelope Woman; Four Bears, who died during the smallpox epidemic of 1837 without making a sale, although one son dreamed of the Old Woman Above and dressed as a woman thereafter. This is a greater number of bundle lines than it was possible to identify for the Hidatsa villages. The Arrowhead Earrings bundle was inherited in the clan and was considered the principal or original bundle. The other bundles were sold from father to son.

796 The ceremony was performed to the Sun, Moon, and Old
782 Woman Above, their mother. Some bundle lines included rites
776 to Old Woman Above's daughter,[1] an evil spirit who was blamed for much of the tribe's misfortunes. The ceremony differs in function from most ceremonies in that it was performed to ward off misfortunes sent by these evil mythological gods. Other sacred beings are either neutral or helpful, but not so with the Sun or his sister. They were cannibals and brought miscarriages, insanity, twisted faces, droughts, death, and misfortunes to the people. Ceremonies were rites of appeasement. The Sun was a cannibal who brought death to members of war parties and carried their bodies to his mother's lodge above, where she prepared them for his meals. He would not, however, knowingly

1. Called Omahank-Chika by Maximilian (see *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIII [Cleveland, 1906], 302).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

eat those he had sent dreams to or those who had his bundles 796
and gave feasts or offerings of goods to him regularly. The pres- 782
ence of so many bundle lines, both original and secondary, sur- 776
viving the smallpox of 1837, indicates the popularity of such bundles.

This was a very difficult bundle ceremony to secure informa- 778
tion about. All tribal ceremonies were secret. The difficulty in
securing information on this ceremony was based on fear of 124
death. Calf Woman explained that, since she had joined the church and was not likely to sell rights in her other bundles four times, she was always willing to explain things in her other bundles. She had described everything Wilson and Lowie asked of her and never felt fear of the loss of good fortune.[2] She added:

> I showed you the masks yesterday that belonged in the Okipa ceremony. 778
> Of course, I smoked pine branches before I opened the bundle, but I always
> do that. I don't feel the same way about the Peope Above bundle. The Moon 776
> in the bundle doesn't worry me, but Sun is an evil spirit. He brought death to our warriors. My first husband was killed on the warpath even though his father and mother had a People Above bundle which together with my husband's sisters we would have had rights had he lived. So, you see, sometimes the Sun will even kill his own. It may be that the Sun had already blessed the enemy and adopted him as a son was why my husband was killed. This Old Woman Above is mean, but she is fair. Her daughter is evil; she causes men to leave their wives and little children; she causes insanity, fits, and feeblemindedness. People are always careful to follow the rules belonging to these bundles, or their neighbors blame them when someone breaks a leg or has a tree fall on him. I worried last night because I had promised to tell you the myth.

Wolf Chief expressed the same fears when asked to explain 124
the Hidatsa ceremony to Woman Above. That there was a rich 776
ritualism connected with these bundles is evident from isolated data appearing in other sacred myths. There are a number of qualified informants, but to date it has been impossible to secure complete information from them. Variations no doubt existed between villages and even in bundle lines within the same village, but this could not be determined, since such information was not obtainable from Calf Woman.

Bundle purchase followed the normal tribal pattern. The in- 778
struction was directly between seller and buyer, which, when
completed, was followed by a medicine feast at the time the 425
transfer was made. Attendance was limited to persons with

2. Gilbert L. Wilson and Robert H. Lowie.

2: Bowers E.-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

women want the man to pick it up. If he picks it up, but few do, he dresses like a woman. 838

There are three women, one in each of the three places where Sun stops to smoke. They are his sisters. Their names are Sunrise Woman, Above Woman, and Sunset Woman. They are all evil women. Because Sun is my god, I have the right to give children such names as Lone Woman from Sun's mother, Buffalo Woman from the buffalo skull, Digs Turnips or Chokecherry Tree from the Bear. 776 553

Although the woman represented in the Shell bundle is one of the Holy Women, rights in the People Above ceremony did not carry rights in the Shell bundle. 778 776

These Holy Women cause twisted faces and insanity, and people with rights in the bundle can cure them. I have the right also to doctor those thrown from horses or hit with an ash stick. This right comes from the People Above bundle. [553] [828]

The myth Calf Woman had been taught when buying the bundle was as follows: 773

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY CALF WOMAN 539

Three people go together in this story; they are Sun, Moon, and Old Woman Above. A long time ago a young woman named Corn Silk wanted to marry Sun. She went to a very old woman, who was a Holy Woman, to get instructions as to where Sun lived and how she might reach him. This Holy Woman said, "Your grandmothers, the mice, are living on the prairies. You can stop at their earth lodges each night on the way."

She started on her journey and came to the home of the lodge mice about sundown. She walked up to the lodge and stood outside. One of the children who came outside saw her and ran inside to tell the mice about it. The old women told the little mouse to invite her in. She asked the woman who was doing the cooking to prepare Corn Silk some ground beans for her supper. The young woman had buffalo fat along; she gave some of it to the mice to use, for their hands were chapped from digging beans. She also had some blue stone beads along, and she gave some of them to the old women. She slept there and the next morning went on.

The lodge mice told her that there was another family of mice a little farther on. She reached them at sunset. They were the white-breasted mice. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads as before. She also gave them fat for their chapped hands. One of the old women asked her where she was going, and she replied that she was on her way to marry Sun. They told her she would find another family of mice a little farther on.

She traveled all day and reached the lodge of the mosquito mice at sunset. One came out and saw her, and she was invited in as before. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads and buffalo fat.

They inquired, "Where are you going, my beautiful grandchild?"

She answered, "I am on my way to marry Sun."

She slept until morning and ate her breakfast with the mice. She traveled all day and reached the home of the pocket gophers at sunset. They saw her,

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

773 539 a pile of stones on a high hill, and he went there to sit nearly every day. Since his father was a Thunderbird, he liked to sit on high places and sing his sacred songs.

778 Calf Woman's bundle contained these articles (see Fig. 40): (1) copper ring representing Old Woman Above; (2) copper ring representing Sun; (3) copper crescent representing Moon;[4] (4) one large gourd rattle; (5) six magpie tail feathers (the Holy Women were identified by these magpie feathers); (6) twelve owl tail feathers (the owl was associated with the moon and the

FIG. 40.—People Above bundle with owner, Calf Woman, and her grandson

night); (7) human scalp, said to be one that was taken from a Cheyenne Indian, killed by Moon when his son escaped; (8) left arm of a grizzly bear, used in the ceremony, since Corn Silk and her son did not have time to get a forearm of one of the Cheyenne; (9) grizzly bear's skull;[5] (10) tuft of long hair from a buffalo bull's lower jaw; (11) a strip of hide from a buffalo calf's head; (12) long hair from a buffalo's foreleg; (13) buffalo left horn; (14) a buffalo skull.[6] (The buffalo was represented in the

4. The three copper objects were obtained from white traders.

776 5. Scattercorn explained that the Holy Women were the only ones who could master a grizzly bear and compel it to work for them carrying wood from the forests. The significance of this skull was not clear to the informant. She thought that it had been added by a former owner and was not a true part of the bundle.

6. The rites were of major bundle status.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

were sought, since these women went out at night, according to the myths, to fight and to incite fights between the Mandan and their own people or the enemy in order to have people to eat. They were described as cannibals in all the myths. 778 776 773

The peculiar ceremonial pattern and traditional history of the bundle, in a large measure, explained the general knowledge of the myths belonging to the ritual. The bundle-owner and his wives could sell the story. Owners of all bundles in which were represented Holy Women, consisting of Buffalo Woman, Old Woman Above (Sun's mother), Woman in Dog Den Buttes, Old Woman Who Never Dies, and Striped Scalp (Sun's sister), were included in this group. Traditionally, the myth survived when the Hidatsa sold the bundle. Those who had bought the right to hear the story could in turn retell when payment was made. Those who had made offerings to the robe could learn the story and retell it upon payment of goods. The bundle was normally transferred from parents to sons and daughters if they were living and wanted it; otherwise to a daughter and her husband, inheritance being in the Prairie Chicken clan. Transfer was made at a public feast, but the preliminary instructions were direct between buyer and seller and in secret. The people of the Prairie Chicken clan of Awatixa and the Mandan villages claimed rights to the bundle. 778 773 425

When doing ethnological work with Mandan informants, it was evident that there was no hesitation in giving information on this ceremony, as was the case with the People Above ceremony. There was no reference to punishing people with insanity, paralysis, and other afflictions, as was the case with the People Above mythology, in spite of the fact that the female characters represented were believed to be members of the Holy Women band. These women, although cannibals and evil in character, were often represented in the mythology as kind, sending fog to conceal their movements while they brought meat into the Mandan villages and loaded down the corn scaffolds during times of famine. People were not permitted to speak in a loud voice in the lodge where the bundle was kept, and mice that ran over it were said to have died. 776 124

During the last century the bundle and its owners have occupied an important place in the traditional history of the Man- 778

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter XVII

SUMMARY

796 THE ceremonies were highly formalized and were in part
773 organized on an annual basis. The Mandan attributed
their creation and appearance on the earth to certain magical
•776 acts of the sacred beings who preceded them to prepare the
world before creating all the living things. It was believed that
the sacred beings protected the people so long as the ceremonies
were performed. The Mandan also believed that other peoples
created by the same sacred beings in mythological times performed similar ceremonies and that the sacred beings favored
those tribes making the most lavish ceremonial display of
goods. It was believed that good relations must exist with all the
sacred beings. To accomplish this, segments of the total ceremonialism were intrusted to certain individuals or groups of
individuals, and the novice was informed that failure to perform the rites in the prescribed manner would bring bad luck.

778 Sacred objects were believed to have *xo'pini*, which inform-
ants translated as meaning "power." An individual's "power"
785 was said to increase if he fasted frequently, assisted others in the
purchase of sacred bundles, or bought tribal bundles. This
"power" was consumed when leading war parties, being largely
gone at the end of the fourth expedition, when a man was expected to terminate his war expeditions. This "power" was believed to be lost a little at a time in the daily life of crossing
rivers, hunting buffaloes, training horses, or performing other
hazardous avocations. A man was believed to acquire a great
[837] deal of *xo'pini* from the buffaloes when he invited older men to
have ceremonial sexual intercourse with a wife, and, by the
same token, men frequently refused intercourse when they had
partaken in a number of the "walking" ceremonies. Very old
people were believed to have less *xopini*, having given most of
it away to the younger people, particularly the men, who re-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 773 changed from generation to generation. When no sacred myth belonged to the ceremony or there were no sacred instructions at the time of the inception of the ceremony, the Mandan believed these ceremonies were borrowed of neighboring tribes. The Adoption Pipe ceremony belonged in this category. The sacred myth enumerated the benefits which would accrue to the tribe and the giver of the ceremony when the rites were performed.

773 602 776 The sacred myths were the basis for an extension of the kinship system to include the world of the supernatural. First Creator was addressed as "very old one," while Lone Man, who assisted him in the creation of the earth, was addressed by persons of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans as "ptawadatodE" or "mother's brother." Those of the opposite moiety addressed him as "father." Sun and Moon were "father" and their sister was "father's sister." Their mother was addressed as "grandmother," a term also used for the various holy women of the ash groves, the field mice, the corn mill, and all female beings present on the earth on the "first day of creation." An individual addressed a sacred being appearing in a dream and not belonging to the category of tribal gods as "father" if a male and "father's sister" if a female.

778 425 428 614 The Mandan system of bundle inheritance shows evidence of change within the last century. Certain bundles and ceremonial rights traditionally inherited through the clan and more specifically from the mother's brother, such as the Okipa belonging to the WaxikEna clan and the Shell Robe bundle of the Prairie Chicken clan, showed a tendency to change to a father-son inheritance of the Hidatsa pattern. The eagle-trapping lodges were still inherited through the clan as late as 1929, but the associated bundles had changed from clan inheritance to father-son inheritance after 1875. The system of inheritance was more flexible than for the Hidatsa, with whom they were intimately associated. At first I was inclined to believe that this greater flexibility was due, in part at least, to the breakdown of the older system, an opinion which I have now abandoned. The Mandan parents often selected their daughters' husbands and gave them preliminary assistance in ceremonial matters. The sons and daughters of a household usually purchased the par-

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Maximilian[1] also gives a description of the pottery;—"They 323
make pots of different shapes and sizes. The clay is slate-colored and turns a yellowish red in the fire. It is mixed with powdered granite which has been burnt. A large round stone is stuck into the clay which is prevented from spreading sideways. It is polished with a piece of poplar bark. When shaped, it is filled with dry chips, and also surrounded by them on the outside, then burned. They use no enamel on the pots." This pottery has not been made for a number of years, and there are only a few whole samples of the cruder sort in collections.

AGRICULTURE: — The Mandans were, above all, an agricul- 241
tural people, far more so than any of their neighbors. They [177]
have a tradition of having taught the Hidatsa how to cultivate the soil, and even the Arikara, who are said by some to have taught the Mandans, were somewhat inferior to the latter in the pursuit of agriculture. The Mandans were dependent on the soil for nearly all of their food, according to Verendrye, in
1738. By the time Lewis and Clarke came, however, they were [224]
about on the dividing line between being a hunting and an agricultural nation. They were not the hunters that their neighbors the Hidatsa were, because they were too weak in numbers to venture on long hunting trips. The agricultural ceremonies
and dances shared honor with those of hunting, and the Old [176]
Woman Who Never Dies, or the Corn Mother, was an important personage in the ceremonial life of the people.

The land about the Mandan villages, smooth river bottoms and very fertile, was always extremely easy to work, and required but the crudest implements. Consequently the cultivation was fairly extensive. Maximilian says that each family cultivated three fields of four or five acres each, which were never fenced. The farms were shifted to a new place when the old area began to yield smaller crops. There seems to have been no attempt at fertilization, and it was hardly necessary in view of the great abundance of good land. Henry[2] gives an animated picture of the Mandan farming operations:

"We passed extensive fields of corn, beans, squashes and

[1] Op. cit., p. 386. [2] Op. cit., vol. I, pp. 343 et seq.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

831 among the Arikara and Hidatsa. The men boasted their love
171 exploits, and carried often about the village small bundles of sticks each representing a conquest, or one large stick with stripes indicating the number; this was also a Hidatsa custom.

585 When a man wished to marry, after obtaining the girl's and the father's consent, he led horses to the door of the father's house and tied them there. Then the father took the same number of his own horses and tied them to the young man's door. After this the girl cooked corn each day and carried it to the young man's house for a certain number of days. Then the young man went to the father's house and claimed his wife. The young people either built a new home or lived with one of their parents, in which case the father remained master of the
587 house. On marrying an eldest sister, a man acquired the right of marriage over all the other sisters. Catlin tells us that the girls usually married at from twelve to fourteen years of age.

858 Children were never disciplined and were always humored by their parents who seemed to be very fond of them. The
601 father's brother and sister were called father and mother. The
606 mother's sister was called mother and her brother uncle.
551 Cousins called each other brother and sister. The mother-in-law was not permitted to address her son-in-law till he had come back with the scalp and gun of an enemy. Someone was usually paid to give the child his name, which was chosen by the parent.

●776 RELIGION:—The religious ideas of the Mandans resemble in a number of respects both those of the Sioux and the Arikara. While there are a number of deities, there was one among them to whom special veneration was paid. This one, the creator of the earth and everything in it, and of men, was called the Lord of Life.[1] Next after him came the First Man to whom the Lord of Life gave great power and who acted as a sort of mediator for men. Catlin says he was the only person saved from the great deluge, and he played an important part in the Okeepa. He was worshipped and sacrifices were made to him. Next was an evil spirit who, though powerful, ranks far below the First Man. Fourth on the list was Rokanka-Tauihanka

[1] Maximilian: p. 419.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

who lives on the planet Venus and protects men. Fifth was one called the Lying Prairie Wolf, a sort of wandering Jew and evil spirit, but without power. Lastly was Ochkih-Hedde; he came once to the village and taught them many things, then disappeared. When anyone saw him in a dream it was a sign of death. Sacrifices were offered to him and images of him were exposed in the village. 776

The sun was worshipped as the place where the Lord of Life lived. In the moon lived the Old Woman Who Never Dies, who had a white line around her head. She corresponded to the Corn Mother of the Arikara and was supposed to be very powerful. Many sacrifices were offered to her. She had six children, three sons and three daughters. The first son was day (the first of creation), the second was the sun, the third was night. The eldest daughter was the morning star (the woman who carries a bunch of feathers), the second was the striped pumpkin (a star revolving about the polar star), the third was the evening star. Besides these there was a group of supernatural beings of less prominence, among whom were the first chief, certain animal people, the thunder-bird and similar beings. 776 772

They seemed to have two distinct theories as to the hereafter, according to Maximilian part of the people adhered to each view. Both beliefs agreed that each man had four souls, one black, one brown, one clear, and the other not described. The first sect believed that the clear soul returned to the Lord of Life; another one went to the villages to the south which are often visited by the gods, and one of the souls of the brave and great men went to the villages of the gods. There was a separate village for the wicked. Life in all these villages was a continuance of that on earth, they had food, women, went hunting and on war parties, and had an abundance of everything. To this might be added Catlin's story,[1] somewhat less credible, that they believed in a warm heaven and a cold hell; that all went to hell for a while where the Good Spirit punished them, after which they went to heaven where they were again tempted by the Evil Spirit. The other sect described by Maximilian believed that after death they went to live in the sun or stars.[2] 775

[1] Op. cit., vol. 2, p. 157. [2] Op. cit., p. 480.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

775 In this description of an after life, there was a marked mixture of ideas. The idea of multiple souls is Siouan, the rest is more or less common over most of the region.

As usual in the plains area every natural phenomenon and
•776 unaccountable event was mystery or medicine, and the medicine
821 idea played the usual important part in all their religious customs. Thunder was ascribed to the familiar thunder-bird, the glitter of whose eyes dug a path through the clouds for the rain and caused the lightning.[1] Solitary claps of thunder were ascribed to a huge turtle which lived in the clouds. The rainbow was said to be a spirit which accompanies the sun and which shows itself when the sun retires for the night. The aurora borealis was said to be the fire kindled at an assembly of the great medicine men and warriors of the northern nations, over which they cooked their dead enemies in huge pots.[2] They had several beliefs about the stars—that of the Sioux, that each star is a man, and when a child is born the star comes down and when he dies it returns; also that a multitude of supernatural beings existed in the stars to which sacrifices and prayers
[787] were offered. Dreams were of very great importance and governed nearly all their acts.

789 There were many small personal superstitions or mysteries.
843 One man told Maximilian that he could turn a snowball into a white stone, another claimed that his nose always bled if he picked up his pipe by the bowl. There were many signs of good and bad luck. A pregnant woman was considered to bring luck at the game of Skohpe. The medicine men told them that if a clay image of an enemy were made with a needle or quill in it for a heart, and were placed at the foot of some medicine structure, that enemy would die. A pregnant woman brings bad luck to her husband in hunting. Many of the Mandans believed that they had some animal, as a buffalo, turtle or frog in them; the women had a dance when they thought an ear of corn was in them, which the dance caused to come out.[3] There were a number of other superstitions of this sort, mostly common to all the plains tribes. One more notable might be mentioned, how-
372 ever, that of building the fire with two sticks crossed in the center,

[1] Ibid., p. 422. [2] Ibid., p. 423. [3] Ibid., p. 463.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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which were pushed in as they burnt. This was done because the First Man told them they must never have a big fire after the day's cooking was done and showed them how it should be built. It recalls the sacred fire of the Muskogi and other tribes of the lower Mississippi. They declared that many of the every day customs were taught them thus and consequently they always did them a certain way,—thus Ochkih-Hedde taught them to tattoo themselves, and their first chief taught them to kill buffalo and to make shields. 372 [773]

The Mandans practiced penances and sacrifices, especially self-torture which they carried to great extremes. Their medicine or personal guardian spirit was acquired by three or four days fasting and self injury, after which the medicine, often an animal, appeared to the candidate in a dream. This ceremony was also taught to them by Ochkih-Hedde. No expedition or enterprise was undertaken without a liberal sacrifice to some supernatural being, either by offering valuable goods or by physical self-torture. Finger joints were frequently cut off as an offering to the gods and fasting was common as a propitiation. Often a day or more would be spent near one of the medicine scaffolds in groaning, praying and weeping. Lewis and Clarke relate that finger joints were also cut off as a sign of mourning, which Maximilian denies, and Catlin tells how such a sacrifice was a part of the catalogue of tortures in the great Okeepa dance. The custom of consecrating personal property is found here as among the neighboring tribes. A man could make his gun, his horse, his pipe and other similar articles medicine by going through certain ceremonies, most important of which was the giving of a feast. The feast[1] was announced by a public crier, a certain number of guests were invited, the invitations being originally little rods and later playing cards. The drum and rattle made the round of the company. Then the article was consecrated; if a gun, it was rubbed with meal several times, with soup, and lastly with fat, after which the feast took place. 782 304 776 785 [765] 782 574

There were many shrines and sacred articles among the Mandans, but judging from the accounts, the sacred bundles or 778

[1] Maximilian: p. 422.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Fig. 15. As soon as the ice in the rivers breaks up, they run to the banks and throw this interlaced hoop into the water. In the summer time the Mandans and Manitaries often amuse themselves with races in the prairie, for which they have the best opportunity in the vicinity of their villages; twenty young men, or more, often run at once, and on these occasions there is always high betting. Some of them are very swift runners, and can hold out a long time. 526

The Mandans and Manitaries are extremely superstitious, and all their important actions are guided by such motives. They have most strange ideas of surrounding nature, believe in a multitude of different beings in the heavenly bodies; offer sacrifices to them; invoke their assistance on every occasion; howl, lament, fast, inflict on themselves cruel acts of penance, to propitiate these spirits; and, above all, lay very great stress upon dreams. Some of their traditions have a resemblance to the revelations of the Bible; for instance, Noah's Ark and the Deluge, the history of Samson, &c. The question here arises whether these particulars have not been gradually introduced among them, from their intercourse with Christians, and this seems highly probable. If they have not yet embraced the Christian religion, it would, however, appear that they have adopted some portions which strike them as being either remarkable or interesting.* The belief in a future life, or a better state of things after death, exists among all the American nations; this is confirmed by D'Orbigny (Voyages, tom. iii. p. 90), who justly blames Azara for denying all religious ideas to the people of Paraguay. In order to obtain correct information respecting all their traditions and ideas, we persuaded Dipauch† to enliven our long winter evenings by his narratives, which he readily agreed to do. He spoke with much seriousness and gravity, and I had a most excellent interpreter in Mr. Kipp. I give these narratives, which are often extremely silly, as they were written down from his communications, though I must beg my reader's patience and indulgence. It was not possible to curtail them or to choose only the more interesting parts, since all their traditions and legends have a certain connexion, and really possess some influence on the actual mode of life of this people. 771 771 124

According to Dipauch, these Indians believe in several superior beings, of whom the lord of life, Ohmahank-Numakshi, is the first, the most exalted and the most powerful; who created the earth, man, and every existing object.‡ They believe that he has a tail, and appears sometimes 776 773

* This conjecture is adopted by Dr. Edwin James, the learned author of Tanner's Life among the Indians, p. 353 of that work. I refer to this interesting book for the remarkable hieroglyphics of the people of the Algonquin tribe.

† Dipauch is a very distinguished man, and might have been a chief long ago if he had pleased, as he possesses all the necessary qualifications. His father was shot by the Sioux during Lewis and Clarke's winter residence among these Indians. These travellers offered to assist the Mandans against their enemies, and to take the field with them, to which, however, they would not consent.

‡ Brackenbridge, p. 71, is very much mistaken in believing that the Mandans and Manitaries worship only buffalo heads, for, if the latter are medicine, it is incontrovertibly true that they believe in a number of superior beings who make a figure in their mythology.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

776 773 in the form of an aged man, and, at others, in that of a young man. The first man, Numank-Machana, holds the second rank; he was created by the lord of life, but is likewise of a divine nature. The lord of life gave him great power, and they, therefore, worship and offer sacrifices to him. He is nearly identical with Nanabush among the Chippeways, or the people of the 776 171 Algonquin language, who, according to the notion of those tribes, acts as mediator between the creator and the human race. Nanabush and the creator frequently had disputes, and the Mandans have similar legends. Omahank-Chika, the evil one of the earth, is a malignant spirit, 776 who has, likewise, much influence over men, but who is not as powerful as the lord of life and 773 the first man. The fourth being is Rohanka-Tauihanka, who lives in the planet Venus, and it is he who protects mankind on the earth; for without his care the race would have been long since extinct. A fifth being, who, however, has no power, is something like the wandering Jew, ever in motion, and walking on the face of the earth in human form. They call him the lying prairie wolf. Besides these there is a sixth being, Ochkih-Hadda, whom it is difficult to class, and of whom they have a tradition, that whoever dreams of him is doomed soon to die. He appears to figure in their traditions as a kind of devil, is said to have once come to their villages, and taught them many things, but has not since appeared. They are afraid of him, offer sacrifices to him, and have in their villages a hideous figure representing him. They worship the sun, because they 776 believe it to be the residence of the lord of life. All their medicines or sacrifices are offered 772 chiefly to the sun, or rather to the lord of life, as inhabiting it. In the moon, say they, lives the old woman who never dies, and who wears a white band from the front to the back of the head; sacrifices and offerings are likewise made to her. They do not know who she is, but her power is great. She has six children, three sons and three daughters, who all live in certain stars. The eldest son is the day (the first day of the creation), the second is the sun, in which the lord of life has his abode. The third son is the night. The eldest daughter is the star that rises in the east, the morning star; and they call her, "the woman who wears a plume." The second daughter, called "the striped gourd," is a high star which revolves around the polar star; and, lastly, the third daughter is the evening star which is near to the setting sun.

539 The old woman in the moon desired to find a wife for her son, and brought a girl, whom she desired to wait outside the door. When the old woman sent out to fetch her, they found in her place a toad; indignant at the exchange, the toad was boiled in a vessel, that it might be destroyed. But this could not be done, nor could it be eaten, and it was, therefore, cursed, on which it remained always visible as a spot in the moon. The narrator could not say whether [821] the sun was large or small, but, at all events, it was glowing hot. The son married a woman whom they called "the narrow-leaved wormwood." They had a son, of great promise, who appeared destined to act an important part. He was very skilful in making arrows, and versed in all kinds of hunting and catching of animals. He shot birds for his mother, though she had

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

773 one of their villages on the other side of Knife River, which frequently occasioned dissension 534 between them, and it is only within these fourteen years that permanent peace and concord have 173 existed between the two people.

At the time when our narrator was a young man, the Arikkaras were near and dangerous 173 enemies to the Mandans. They often fought with them as well as with the Sioux. When one 721 of the two allied nations fought alone, it was almost always defeated, but when they were combined they generally triumphed. The preceding long narrative throws, as I have said, much light on the actual condition of this people, and of their prevalent superstitious customs.

At the time of their first alliance with the Manitaries, the Mandans are said to have inhabited eight or nine villages on the two banks of the Missouri, on the Heart River, and higher upwards. Subsequently a great number of the Mandans were carried off by the small-pox, and their enemies, the Sioux, entirely destroyed their largest village, and massacred the inhabitants. The remaining population then collected in the two villages that still exist—Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush and Ruhptare. Plate XVI. is a view of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, of which a ground plan will be found at the end of this chapter. Previously to the devastations of the small-pox, the Sioux were not very dangerous enemies to the Mandans, because they lived at too great a distance from them, but the Chayennes and the Arikkaras were their natural adversaries. I shall now proceed to treat of the religious and superstitious practices which still prevail among them.

These Indians are full of prejudice and superstition, and connect all the natural phenomena 771 with the before-mentioned silly creations of their own imaginations. They undertake nothing 776 without first invoking their guardian spirit, or medicine, who mostly appears to them in a dream. 782 When they wish to choose their medicine or guardian spirit, they fast for three or four days, and even longer, retire to a solitary spot, do penance, and even sacrifice joints of their fingers; howl and cry to the lord of life, or to the first man, beseeching him to point out their guardian spirit. They continue in this excited state till they dream, and the first animal or other object which appears to them is chosen for their guardian spirit or medicine. Every man has his guardian spirit. There is, in the prairie, a large hill where they remain motionless many days, lamenting and fasting; not far from this hill is a cave, into which they creep at night. The choice and adoration of their medicine are said to have been taught them by the strange man or spirit who appeared in their villages many years ago, and has not since been seen, and of whom mention has already been made by the name of Ochkib-Hadda. He is said also to have taught them the art of tattooing, and to have instituted their medicine feasts. In all natural phenomena, which are not of daily occurrence, they see wonders, and indications of favourable or unfavourable events. If the falling stars are numerous, or in a certain direction, it is to them an indication of war, or of a great mortality in the human race. They were not willing to have their portraits 774 painted, because they alleged that they should soon die if their portraits came into other hands; at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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789 was dry and the sky was clear; the squaws were crying, and their corn was withering at its roots.

War-rah-pa (the beaver) was the next; he also spent his breath in vain upon the empty air, and came down at night—and Wak-a-dah-ha-hee (the white buffalo's hair) took the stand the next morning. He is a small, but beautifully proportioned young man. He was dressed in a tunic and leggings of the skins of the mountain-sheep, splendidly garnished with quills of the porcupine, and fringed with locks of hair taken by his own hand from the heads of his enemies. On his arm he carried his shield, made of the buffalo's hide—its boss was the head of the war-eagle—and its front was ornamented with "red chains of lightning." In his left hand he clenched his sinewy bow and one single arrow. The villagers were all gathered about him; when he threw up a feather to decide on the course of the wind, and he commenced thus:—"My friends! people of the pheasants! you see me here a sacrifice—I shall this day relieve you from great distress, and bring joy amongst you; or I shall descend from this lodge when the sun goes down, and live amongs the dogs and old women all my days. My friends! you saw which way the feather flew, and I hold my shield this day in the direction where the wind comes—the lightning on my shield will draw a great cloud, and this arrow, which is selected from my quiver, and which is feathered with the quill of the white swan, will make a hole in it. My friends! this hole in the lodge at my feet, shows me the medicine-men, who are seated in the lodge below me and crying to the Great Spirit; and through it comes and passes into my nose delightful odours, which you see rising in the smoke to the Great Spirit above, who rides in the clouds and commands the winds! Three days they have sat here, my friends, and nothing has been done to relieve your distress. On the first day was Wah-kee (the shield), he could do nothing; he counted his beads and came down—his medicine was not good—his name was bad, and it kept off the rain. The next was Om-pah (the elk); on his head the raven was seen, who flies *above* the storm, and he failed. War-rah-pa (the beaver) was the next, my friends; the beaver lives *under* the *water*, and he never wants it to rain. My friends! I see you are in great distress, and nothing has yet been done; this shield belonged to my father the White Buffalo; and the lightning you see on it is red; it was taken from a black cloud, and that cloud will come over us to-day. I am the white buffalo's hair—and I am the son of my father."

[776] In this manner flourished and manœuvred Wak-a-dah-ha-hee (the white buffalo's hair), alternately addressing the audience and the heavens—and holding converse with the winds and the "*je-bi*" (spirits) that are floating about in them—stamping his foot over the heads of the *magi*, who were involved in mysteries beneath him, and invoking the spirits of darkness and light to send rain, to gladden the hearts of the Mandans.

It happened on this memorable day about noon, that the steam-boat

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Mrs. Good Bear remembered an old man with the medicine of the otter. The otter was said to extract arrowheads and bullets by sticking his head into the wound.

The Mandan had one doctoring practice not employed by the Hidatsa. Sometimes a baby got a sore mouth and could not nurse its mother. The child's father would call one of his own brothers saying, "I want to drink of your blood."

The father would use an awl to prick a hole in his brother's leg and the child's mouth was put over the wound. When a man had no brothers, he called a man of his own clan. The rule was that the blood one drank must come from a man of the father's clan. Crows Heart showed several scars where he had given blood to cure sore mouths.

Breaking rules was believed to be the cause of bad luck. This could be either intentional or unintentional. Sometimes the guardian spirit was said to abandon one who violated some rule. Crows Heart said that it was impossible to explain why some men who were so particular about obeying all the rules should lose power. Edgar Crows Heart took his mother's brother's mink hide[13] to use in a dance without getting permission. Shortly afterward, he was thrown from a horse and suffered a broken nose, a result, Crows Heart, the father, said of taking a medicine bundle without the right.

Scattercorn was the only informant to give an example of sleight-of-hand practices performed as the result of a dream. In the hereditary bundle rites people claimed to have corn, buffalo, and other spirits in their body which came up into the mouth during the ceremonies.[14] Her account is of one not informed in the actual rites.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF POWER OF MEDICINE

My father's father ran away from the village when the smallpox came and lived with the Crow Indians out west. He was one who fasted much. One time he fasted on a high mountain. He became so weak that he could not get down the mountain and fell unconscious in the snow. A bear, porcupine, and otter came to him and said, "Son, we heard you cry and are going to help you." Those spirits carried him down the mountain, and he was so weak that he could not help himself. He became unusually holy because so many animals

13. Hidatsa Creek medicine.

14. Also reported by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIV (Cleveland, 1906), 33.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

could be sold four times. The usual transfer was to sisters married to one man, in which instances the women acquired rights in the sacred robe and other paraphernalia of that section, and the husband took over the balance of the bundle. Such purchases were made only after several years of married life, as it was considered a sign of bad luck for common bundle-owners to quarrel. Crows Heart explained that having a common interest in a bundle was a powerful factor in making marriages permanent. Sale was not made until the parent-in-law taboo had been removed. 778 421 425 [777]

The prominence of these bundles is demonstrated by their representation in the Okipa ceremony. During the early summer all men owning primary and secondary rights in a Small Hawk ceremony met in one of their earth lodges to select two young men to represent their bundles in that summer's Okipa ceremony. Either young men of this group or men who were eligible to inherit a bundle were selected to dance in the ceremony and to receive goods offered to Small Hawk bundle-owners.

Women owning rights in the bundle were entitled to dress in the sacred robe, place sage and magpie tail feathers in the hair, and carry the ash digging stick at the close of the Okipa ceremony, when separate offerings were made to them by the Okipa Maker and his fellow-fasters and on other occasions when a feast was made to the bundle as a Buffalo-calling ceremony. [292]

The rites are based on the exploits of Corn Silk, who visited the small hawk at his lodge on the eastern horizon where he lived with his mother. This small hawk, being a good hunter, taught the Buffalo-calling rites. Because he could produce thunder, he also introduced a rain-calling rite. His son, Looks Down To Hunt, inherited all his father's powers. 796 773

The holy robe and its rites have as their mythological origin Looks Down To Hunt's experiences on the northern horizon where he encountered his wife's mother who lived in a large earth lodge. After avoiding many hazards which she had set up to protect her people, the buffaloes, she was obliged to free these animals. The Mandan had many sacred robes, but each had its separate origin myth. 778 773

The myth throws light on the native theories of the universe. In one place Looks Down To Hunt asked the spider for his body 773 772

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 796 of you; it is an A-ci-ra'-wi'-a," meaning really a bear woman, for the origin was from the bears.

224 462 In early days when young men went out this way, the single girls would marry some of them before they left and then go out there. The women would prepare the meat from the mountain sheep and work on the hides while the men trapped. To secure these fine hides, women would marry a single man in order to get a chance to go out there.

223 796 The pits being dug, early the next morning we got up without having any breakfast and went to our pits. Some of the pits were old ones, but several new ones were made. Sometimes there would be two pits together, and then they would fix the last pit up and go into it. For their baits some had blood stored away while others had jackrabbits. Others had a hide fixed up so that it looked like some animal. Water was mixed with the dry blood and put on the bait. In the evening each man came out, and those who did not catch anything came home quietly, while those who had caught eagles would come in crying. When they heard someone come crying, the waiter would burn incense as the man with the eagle came into camp.

Eagle-trapping is called "Tied," when persons catching eagles are to kill them in the pit before bringing them to the lodge. The first man who came in that day was Little Bull. He had two birds with black tips. White Body was burning the incense. In case both the waiters were away, the leader would burn the incense himself. The next man who came in was Holding Eagle, and he had two birds with black tips. Black Bear caught two also. The saying is that, where you catch two eagles, they are a brother and a sister, for they travel together. These birds were all killed in the pit. The birds were brought in and placed at the head of the lodge in a row. The tails were brought in and placed on the buffalo head, each man keeping track of his own feathers.

223 ●777 The next day my brother, Little Bull, took me along, and we went into his pit. He caught four that day, and, when the fifth had landed on the bait, he told me to catch it by the feet, which I did. He helped me pull the bird down into the pit. He took me along to show me how to catch the birds. The next time he went out he caught three more, which made ten in all that he had caught. Three warbonnets could be made of them, and he had one tail extra. The leader said to him, "That is enough; you must not go out any more, or you will have bad luck." After that Little Bull did not go out any more.

223 The second time Holding Eagle went out he caught three, and the third time he caught two, so that he had seven. Black Bear caught two the first time, three the second time, and two the third time, making seven for him. Lance Owner did not have any luck in his pit, so he was advised to go into Little Bull's pit, where he caught two. Little Crow did not catch anything in his pit, so he was also told to go into Little Bull's pit, and he caught two there. Sitting Woman caught three; White Body did not catch any. Wolfs Eyes and his helper did not trap.

223 796 All these birds were killed in the pit, each trapper having a Baby Stone in his hole. While facing east, they broke the birds' necks, and in that way the spirits of the birds would return to their spirit home down the river.

There are two ways of trapping eagles. This time we followed the ceremony called "Tied" which originated with the black bear. The other way was the real eagle-trapping and in that ceremony they had ways that were different from the ceremony Wolfs Eyes used. In the other ceremony if a trapper fell down and tells the leader about it, his named is changed. This time we did

778 were fixed upon poles, representing, as we were told, the sun and moon, probably the lord of life
782 and the old woman who never dies. Wormwood, of which they generally fasten a bunch to the poles, is a sacred medicine herb, to which they ascribe various effects.

Dreams, as I have before said, afford the usual motives for such actions, and for the
787 penances which they impose upon themselves, and they believe all that appears in their dreams
782 to be true. They were not yet acquainted with fire-arms, when one of the Indians dreamt
789 of a weapon with which they could kill their enemies at a great distance, and soon afterwards the white men brought them the first gun. In the same manner they dreamt of horses
304 before they obtained any. Even the Whites who live among them are infected with this belief in dreams, and other superstitions. They frequently promise, on undertaking anything, the joint of a finger, which they cut off at once, and keep in a handful of wormwood; this I myself saw among the Blackfeet, where, at that time, it was a sign of mourning. It is also done at the time of the Okippe in May and June. Almost all the Mandans and Manitaries have lost one or two joints of the fingers, and several of them more. There are numerous superstitious ideas and prejudices among these Indians. Thus, they believe that a person to whom they wish ill must die, if they make a figure of wood or clay, substituting for the heart, a needle, an awl, or a porcupine quill, and bury the image at the foot of one of their medicine poles. When a child is born, the father must not bridle a horse, that is to say, he is not to fasten the halter to the lower jaw, otherwise the child would die in convulsions. If the wife be pregnant, this circumstance is often the cause of much ill fortune to the husband, and he is frequently unsuccessful in hunting. If an Indian, in such cases, wounds a buffalo, without being able to kill it quickly, he endeavours to carry the heart of a buffalo home, and makes his wife discharge an arrow at
● 777 it; he then again feels confidence in his weapons, that they will speedily kill. The Indians affirm that a pregnant woman is very lucky at a game called billiards. Many consider it a bad omen when a woman, while several Mandans are smoking together, passes between them. If a woman is lying on the ground between the men who are smoking, a piece of wood is laid across her, to serve as a communication between the men. The strongest man now living among the
789 Mandans, who has been the victor in several wrestling matches with the Whites, always takes
555 hold of his pipe by the head, for, were he to touch it in another part, the blood would suddenly rush from his nostrils. As soon as he bleeds in this manner, he instantly empties his pipe, and throws the contents into the fire, where it explodes like gunpowder, and the bleeding immediately stops. Nobody, they say, can touch this man's face, without at once bleeding at the nose and mouth. A certain Indian affirms that, whenever another offers him a pipe to smoke, out of civility, he immediately has his mouth full of worms, handfuls of which he throws into the fire. The medicine of another man consists in making a snow-ball, which he rolls a long time between his hands, so that it at length becomes hard, and is converted into a white stone, which, when

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Arapahoes having fully as many children who have gray hair, it being seemingly an inherited quality in certain families. I have also seen the same thing in other tribes. In regard to the light hair, one of the old men said to me that when God made them He as a special mark of His pleasure took the silky tassel of the corn with which to make their hair. As a matter of fact this peculiarity is of recent date. Since 1804, when Lewis and Clarke spent their winters with this tribe, their liking for the white men of their party is a matter of record, and particularly of one or two of the men who had red hair and blue eyes." (P. 241.) 144

The above expressed opinion that those peculiarities were of "recent date," and Clarke's evident intention of referring them as to origin to the period of the Lewis and Clarke visit is, we believe, so far fetched as to be without any substantial basis. We have already seen and will hereinafter find further references to evidences which are indisputable to the effect that long before Lewis and Clarke saw the Mandans they had become renowned in the Canadian and eastern American country as "Bearded Whites" and as "Welsh Indians." Even Verendrye, as will be seen later on, knew of those reports and expressed disappointment that the Mandans were not much nearer white men in complexion than he found them to be.

Clarke concludes with the following:

Religious Phases. "They place calico and other cloths round the posts in their lodges as a gift to the god of timber to satisfy him for the spoilation, believing that it hurts a tree to be cut down; i. e., gives it physical pain. The tree is alive and its destruction is the destruction of life, but by giving something to God—making a sacrifice—it pleases Him and gives them good luck. This is a curious peculiarity of their religious belief, which is shared by no other tribe that I have ever met. Near the village and cultivated fields I saw poles fifteen or twenty feet long planted in the ground, with bundles of female clothing tied to these poles near the top. On inquiry they told me that these were gifts to the three Mandan medicine women, who keep the lodges for the sun—one where the sun rises, one at the zenith and one where the sun sets. These women never die, and the sun stops at their lodges to smoke. 'By watching closely,' said the old man, 'you can see that the sun stops for a short time just as he rises, the same at meridian, and he stays with the third at night. 774 778 783

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800 to sweat the part afflicted, by holding the face over a hot stone, and receiving the fumes from snow thrown on it. A large red fox was killed today." (id 222.)

"Sunday, 17th. The weather continued as yesterday, though in the afternoon it became fair. Shotawoorora and his son came to see us, with about thirty pounds of dried buffalo meat and some tallow." (id 223.)

145 763 **Dying Mandan—Ceremonial.** "Wednesday, 20th. The day was delightfully fine, the mercury being at sunrise two degrees, and in the course of the day twenty-two degrees above zero, the wind southerly. Kagohomi came down to see us early; his village is afflicted by the death of one of their eldest men, who, from his account to us, must have seen one hundred and twenty winters. Just as he was dying, he requested his grandchildren to dress him in his best robe when he was dead, and then carry him to a hill and seat him on a stone, with his face down the river towards their old village, that he might go straight to his brother who had passed before him to the ancient village under ground. We have seen a number of Mandans who have lived to a great age; chiefly however the men, whose robust exercises fortify the body, while the laborious occupations of the women shorten their existence."

•778 787 **Medicine Stone.** "Thursday, 21st. We had a continuance of the same pleasant weather. Oheenaw Shahaka came down to see us, and mentioned that several of their countrymen had gone to consult their medicine stone as to the prospects of the following year. The medicine stone is the great oracle of the Mandans, and whatever it announces is believed with implicit confidence. Every spring and on some occasions during the summer, a deputation visits the sacred spot, where there is a thick porous stone twenty feet in circumference, with a smooth surface. Having reached the place, the ceremony of smoking to it is performed by the deputies, who alternately take a whiff themselves, and then present the pipe to the stone; after this they retire to an adjoining wood for the night, during which, it may be safely presumed that all the embassy do not sleep; and in the morning they read the destines of the nation in the white marks on the stone, which those who make them are at no loss to decipher. The Minnetarees have a stone of a similar kind, which has the same qualities,

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and the same influence over the nation. Captain Lewis returned from his excursion in pursuit of the Indians. On reaching the place where the Sioux had stolen our horses, they found only one sled, and several pair of moccasins which were recognized to be those of the Sioux. The party then followed the Indian tracks till they reached two old lodges, where they slept, and the next morning pursued the course of the river, till they reached some Indian camps, where Captain Clarke passed the night some time ago, and which the Sioux had now set on fire, leaving a little corn near the place, in order to induce a belief that they were Ricaras. From this point the Sioux tracks left the river abruptly and crossed into the plains, but perceiving that there was no chance of overtaking them, Captain Lewis went down to the pen where Captain Clarke had left some meat, which he found untouched by the Indians, and then hunted in the low grounds on the river, till he returned with about three hundred pounds of meat, some drawn in a sled by fifteen of the men, and the rest on horseback; having killed thirty-six deer, fourteen elk and one wolf." (id 223.)

"Friday, 22nd. The morning was cloudy and a little snow fell, but in the afternoon the weather became fair. We were visited by a number of Indians, among them was Shotawhorora, a chief of much consideration among the Mandans although by birth a Ricara." (id 225.)

"Monday 25th. We were occupied in drawing up the boats on the bank. The smallest one we carried there with no difficulty, but the barge was too heavy for our elk-skin ropes, which constantly broke. We were visited by Orupsebara or Black Moccasin, and several other chiefs, who brought us presents of meat on the backs of their squaws, and one of the Minnetarees requested and obtained permission for himself and his two wives to remain all night in the fort. The day was exceedingly pleasant. (id 226.)

"Tuesday, 26th. The weather is again fine. By great labor during the day, we got all the boats on the bank by sunset, an operation which attracted a great number of Indians to the fort." (id 226.)

Report from Aricaras. "Thursday, 28th. **Mr. Gravelines with two Frenchmen and two Indians, arrived from the Ricara nation,

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of the caches or circular pits of the confederated village Mat- 251
thews speaks below. The writer found some of the remains of those caches on said site in 1905:

Caches, or Pits. "The numerous caches, or pits, for storing grain, are noteworthy objects in the village. In summer, when they are not in use, they are often left open, or are carelessly covered, and may entrap the unwary stroller. When these Indians have harvested their crops, and before they start on their winter's hunt, they dig their caches, or clear out those dug in previous years. A cache is a cellar, usually round, with a small opening above, barely large enough to allow a person to descend; when finished, it looks like an ordinary round cistern. Reserving a small portion of corn, dried squash, etc., for winter use, they deposit the remainder in these subterranean store houses, along with household utensils and other articles of value which they wish to leave behind. They then fill up the orifices with earth, which they trample down and rake over, thus obliterating every trace of excavation.

"Some caches are made under the floors of the houses, others outside, in various parts of the village grounds; in each case, the distance and direction from some door, post, bedstead, fire-place, or other object is noted, so that the stores may be found on the return of the owners in the spring. Should an enemy enter the village while it is temporarily deserted, the goods are safe from fire and theft. This method of secreting property has long been used among many tribes, has been adopted by whites living on the plains, and is referred to in the works of many travelers."

It is seen from the following account of the "medicine-lodge" 346
of the Mandans, as observed by Matthews, that he ascribes to it 361
a religious character, as did Catlin and others:

Mandan and Arricara "Medicine-Lodges." "There are, in the village, two open spaces, which, although of irregular shape, may be called squares; one of these is in the Mandan, the other in the Aricaree quarter. Besides each square stands a large round 'medicine-lodge,' or temple, built as described in the second paragraph of section three, which is used for purposes that, in a general way, are called religious."

The Ark—Ceremony of Okeepa. "In the center of the Mandan 778
square is a small circular palisade, about six feet high and four feet in diameter, made of neatly hewn puncheons set closely to-

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 gether. It has somewhat the appearance of a large barrel, and is emblematic of the ark in which, according to Mandan mythology, the sole survivor of the deluge was saved. The square, the medicine-lodge, with its four poles in front, surmounted by sacrificial effigies, and the ark, as they may be seen at Fort Berthold today, seem to be the almost exact counterparts of those which were seen in the old Mandan village at Fort Clarke, in 1832 and 1833, by George Catlin and the Prince of New-Wied, if we are to judge by the drawings they have given us. Within the temple and around the ark, the Mandans still perform the ceremony of the Okeepa, which Catlin so accurately describes. The awful severities of the rites have, however, been somewhat mitigated since his day."

000 **Aricaree Medicine-Lodge.** "The medicine-lodges of the Aricarees is larger than that of the Mandans, and is used for a greater variety of ceremonies. Some of these performances, consisting of ingenious tricks of jugglery and dances, representative of various hunts, we might be inclined to call theatrical rather than religious. Probably these Indians consider them both worshipful and entertaining.

"It is often hard to tell how much of a religious ceremony is intended to propitiate the unknown powers, and how much to please the spectators."

712 **Fortifications—Stockades.** "Many travelers have described their towns as being fortified, sometimes with walls, but usually with ditches and stockades, or with stockades alone. The latter system of defense was in use at the village of Fort Berthold until the winter of 1865, when they cut down the palisades for firewood; and they have never since restored them. The presence of United States troops in their neighborhood, and the growing weakness of the Dakotas, were probably the causes which led them to discontinue their fortifications."

773 Matthews virtually bears out Catlin concerning the mythical veneration of the Mandans for the corn symbol:

243 **Agriculturalists—"Corn Mother."** "The Aricarees and Man-
174 dans have doubtlessly tilled the soil for many centuries. Their accounts of the origin of corn are mingled with their earliest myths and traditions. There are some reasons for believing that the Aricarees represent an older race of farmers than the Man-

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361 Aboriginal Mandan village sites had the following distinctive
174 characteristics.

1. The circular four-post earth lodge was the most common type used for summer residence, although semirectangular lodges did occasionally occur. These lodges were closely grouped within a limited area.

2. A central open space approximately one hundred and fifty feet in diameter was reserved for the dances and ceremonies. A
[778] cedar was set into the ground at the center of the open circle and surrounded by an inclosure of wood to represent the culture hero's (NumakmaxEna) body. The inclosure was a symbol of the wall which NumakmaxEna erected to protect the people
[344] from the flood. The ceremonial lodge was on the north side of the open area and in line with the other lodges which formed the circumference of the open area. Lodge entrances of this inner circle faced to the center. The ceremonial lodge was distinguished from other lodges by its flat front and greater length than width.

3. Villages were usually either protected by a surrounding wall and ditch or so situated as to employ as defenses such natural features of the terrain as cliffs, ravines, or riverbanks.

4. Villages were, with one or two exceptions, built near the Missouri River or its tributaries and adjacent to the wooded river bottoms which were cleared for gardens.

[764] 5. Although scaffolds for the dead were erected near the villages, isolated human bones, cache burials, and secondary bundle burials occur so frequently within the older villages that we are justified in assuming that these practices were characteristic of the older culture and that scaffold disposal was of late adoption.

6. There was a marked uniformity between villages of the same age with respect to material culture.

7. The clustering of a considerable number of village sites of a single archeological focus and the absence of all other foci within the region adjacent to the Heart River indicate Mandan domination of an extensive area along the Upper Missouri.

174 The Mandan claim to have been divided into bands which, in
large part, were broken down while living at the Heart River.
619 These were: (1) Is'topə ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves");

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554 leader.[6] Even the most distinguished war leader, who was one of
796 the two head chiefs of the village, frequently joined an expedi-
626 tion under another for the purpose of capturing horses, although in this instance recognition was often shown an outstanding leader by naming him a co-leader.

622 An essential function of a chief was to mold public opinion so that a village could act in unison. A chief was considered eminent if for a long time under his leadership there had been a minimum of dissension in the village. Mandan informants still speak of Good Boy, who was chief of Slant Village below the Heart River after the first smallpox epidemic. He was able to unite the remnants of several villages into a single village and to co-ordinate elements with a minimum of friction. He was essentially a village leader who devoted himself, according to tradition, to the rebuilding of the tribe to its former prominence. It is significant to note that, a few years after his death, one group of Mandan separated from the parent-village and were not reunited until Good Boy's son, Four Bears, was elevated to second chief.

622 A chief could prevent intervillage or intravillage warfare only
182 to the extent to which he could inculcate a concept of tribal unity. Neither a chief nor the council has authority to prevent a
778 portion of a village from separating and establishing a separate village. Such separations as have occurred have usually been of short duration, largely because of the integration of the ceremonial structure through the entire tribal population. Although each permanent Mandan village was in a large measure a separate economic, social, and ceremonial unit, the villages were not entirely independent. The turtle drums, which were considered the most sacred objects of the tribe, were held within the Nuptadi band of east-side Mandan, and the other villages were obliged to borrow them for ceremonial purposes. Whereas the sacred cedar in the center of each village was a symbol of village unity, the Mandan considered the turtle drums a symbol of tribal unity.

6. Cf. chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping."

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785 lectful and took little interest in securing a "guardian spirit,"
881 the mother's brother would tease him and tell him he was bring-
869 ing dishonor to his clan and suggest that, to be rich and hon-
ored, he must begin fasting. He would collect goods for his sister's son and instruct him that he should go out on the hills and fast, using the goods on his return to pay his "clan father" for interpreting the dream. The mother's brother also supervised the fasting of the young boys of ten to fourteen years of age, selecting an isolated place at a short distance from the village where the boys were sheltered in a temporary brush lodge and instructed in the proper procedures for inducing visions.

869 Children acquired an attitude of respect for the sacred ob-
jects of the lodge while young, first by being scolded for playing
• 778 near the platform on which the bundles were kept, and later by observation of a fixed ritualistic behavior by the parents when the bundles were opened. They were taught that the bundles "protected" them until they were old enough to own "gods" of their own and were informed that their success was in direct proportion to the number and potency of "gods" owned. Children who would inherit or assist in the performance of certain tribal bundle rites received special training beginning when they were ten or twelve years of age. They were also expected to fast often and establish personal bundles based on heir supernatural experiences.

[785] Fasting was a prerequisite to participation in the organized
701 war expeditions. One would conclude from an examination of
726 the mythology that a young man, after his first experience with the supernatural, organized a war expedition immediately and served as leader. In examining the war records of a number of Mandan, it was found that none would have followed a young man receiving his first vision experience and that, even as a member of a recognized war leader's party, he would be "camp tender," bringing wood and water to the camp, preparing the food, and waiting on the leader during the performance of the rites appertaining to warfare. When he was alert and anticipated the needs of the leader and was not lazy, he was promoted to scout and in company with others of that rank was sent out ahead of the main party each morning to look for the enemy or horses. It was while serving as scout that a young man received

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not possessing wealth or important sacred bundles it was largely 581
a social event involving the two households. Although young 584
men would court their girls, marriages were arranged by the relatives, who disapproved of elopements. The mother would watch her daughters, and, when she saw that they were seeing the young men often, she would discuss the matter with her husband. She would advise her daughters not to marry without a considerable exchange of goods, as to do so would be grounds for criticism. Mothers would explain the importance of ceremonial bundles and advise their daughters of the importance of keeping them in the lodge. People would say that a daughter was no good if little was received at her wedding.

There were in each of the Mandan villages a large number of 581
families owning or controlling important tribal bundles. These 778
families were considered the authorities on tribal lore and custom. They received, in addition to the produce of their gardens 425
and their share of meat and hides from animals taken on the group hunts, a great deal of property and honors for officiating at the ceremonies. To preserve their status, they endeavored [556]
to have a considerable display of goods at the marriage of one of their children. Families with important related bundles 581
endeavored to marry their children into families also having 778
important bundles, the feeling being that those reared in a 796
lodge where important bundles were kept were better trained in learning the complicated rites associated with tribal bundles. A household that held an important tribal bundle inherited within a clan endeavored and generally succeeded in selecting a son-in-law who was of the same clan as the daughter's father. It was also believed that a man and his son-in-law got along better when they were of the same clan. In a large measure, the Mandan were successful in preserving most of their rich ceremonialism through the smallpox epidemic of 1837 because of the character of the formal training of those who were to inherit the traditional rights and responsibilities for the ceremonies and because of a system of preferred marriage in which the parents of both households selected their children's mates. It can be definitely said that the bulk of Mandan tribal lore was preserved by a small number of families, that their status was high in the

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581 village, and that they endeavored by selective marriages to keep
778 the bundles and the associated ceremonies within their group.
796

The Mandan taught their children that they should marry
584 by the same method as their parents married. An analysis of the various methods of marrying will illustrate the significance of this Mandan rule.

The method used by the most distinguished families was
584 known as "choosing a son-in-law and buying him a sacred bun-
437 dle." The parents of a young woman who had reached the age
778 when she should marry selected a young man who had a good
583 reputation as a warrior and hunter and whose family owned an important ceremonial bundle. They would buy a white buffalo robe from some of the hunters or trade corn and horses for it with one of the many tribes that came to the village each fall. These robes were highly valued and would cost a family a high price in horses, garden products, and robes. Having secured one of these robes, they discussed the proposed marriage with the oldest daughter and secured her consent. It was important to get the daughter's consent, since, should she refuse after the marriage arrangements were instituted and run away, the village would learn of it and speculate as to the causes for her action. A daughter was expected to obey her parents and forget any other young men she had been seeing.

584 The young man was invited in by the girl's father, and an
431 offer of marriage to the daughter was suggested. A robe was
778 put down, and he was asked to sit on it with the young woman. The white buffalo robe was put over their shoulders, and they were given food prepared by the girl's mother. If the girl had younger sisters, they sat with him and became his wives when they were grown. The girl's brothers brought their new brother-in-law horses. As soon as the food had been eaten, he walked out and onto the top of his father-in-law's lodge, where he addressed his father's sacred bundle, announcing that the white robe was offered to his father's gods. His father's sister would come to the lodge when hearing him make this announcement and take the robe down to care for it until he performed the ceremony.

585 Having made the vow to perform the rites, he began collect-
431, ing robes and other property and was assisted by his wife and
778

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potential wives, his brothers-in-law, members of his own age-grade society, members of his wives's age-grade society, and the younger people of his clan. He paid the people occupying the Okipa lodge to vacate for the duration of the ceremony and selected berdaches to sweep the lodge, remove the ashes from the firepit, and repair the sweat lodge. On the date announced for the ceremony, the goods to be given away were taken into the lodge and hung on a line in full view of the spectators. Among them he hung the white buffalo robe where all could admire it. All the men and women having rights in his father's bundle and related bundles were expected to attend and to receive goods. The wives passed around food from time to time. 585 431 778

Those with singer rights directed the singing of the sacred songs. At the end of each song the young man and his wife would present a robe or other article of value to one of the older participants, who would pray to the white robe, asking it to give the young man and his wife or wives success in all their undertakings. He would then give the young man and his wife a small article from his sacred bundle. While the ceremony was in progress, the father's sister remained seated on two buffalo robes with two robes wrapped around her and one held in her hands, these constituting her payment for taking the white robe down from the lodge roof and protecting it until the ceremony was performed.

When the people who were invited had rights in the Corn ceremonies, they were paid to paint the white robe with a design of a corn plant. The one painting the stalk received a horse; for each ear a robe was paid; he paid five robes for the tassel; for each root, a robe was paid. The elaborateness of the design was in a large measure determined by the amount of property acquired for the ceremony. The robe became a part of his ceremonial bundle and was opened during the Corn ceremonies. 585 778

If the ceremony was given to the sacred cedar, which was believed to represent Lone Man's body, the robe was draped over the sacred cedar at the termination of the ceremony and became the property of the WaxikEna clan. If the ceremony was to Bird bundles, after the painting was completed, it was carried out onto the prairie where it was draped over a post and

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585 778 left there to disintegrate. If the ceremony was to the various Holy Women, it was wrapped around a figure representing an old woman and placed on a pole erected at the side of the wife's lodge.

585 778 431 The ceremony completed the marriage, and it was believed that the wife or wives were married to the husband's ceremonial bundles. A marriage in this manner brought together all the people of the village and usually a large number of people from the other villages; those having rights in the ceremony came to receive presents, and the others came to see the presents but more particularly the painted white robe.

584 583 A second class of marriages was known as "marriage by exchange of presents." The young man's parents selected a young woman who was acceptable to their son or who had received some attention by the son. The young man's parents went to the girl's parents and offered them a specified number of horses for their consent to the marriage. If the marriage was approved, the horses were taken to the girl's lodge and tied to the door. The girl gave the horses to her brothers, who were expected to give her an equal or greater number, which she took to the young man's lodge and presented to his father.

585 The marriage ceremony was held four or five days later to allow time for the preparation of the feast. The food was prepared by her mother and brothers' wives, who, on the designated day, carried the food to the young man's lodge and left immediately without waiting for the completion of the ceremony. When the women returned, the girl left for her prospective husband's lodge, leading the horses. The young man's relatives were gathered in the lodge, and a woman who had been married in this manner was selected to pass the food. Each of the young man's female relatives brought presents which were stacked in a pile. The act of eating together completed the ceremony. Word was then sent to the girl's parents, and the females of the lodge came for the empty vessels and took the presents as their own.

591 The husband's mothers and sisters presented her with presents which consisted chiefly of clothing, and she remained with her husband in his parents' lodge. She assisted with the work but was not considered a co-owner of the lodge property. In the

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assistance and the fact that the game run into yards was divided on a moiety basis.

Households having no males suffered most in their ceremonial life. When an important tribal bundle got out of the lodge, it was usually difficult to get it back.

Marriage within the clan was not permitted. There was no punishment other than tribal criticism, and in the census taken as of 1870–72 only one instance was reported by informants, and all the informants questioned on this point mentioned the case. The one instance of marriage within the clan was between Standing Bear and Beaver Woman; though the tribe did not approve of the marriage, they thought that in a way it was justified, since Beaver Woman's mother suggested the marriage after both parties were over fifty-five years of age. The women were brought to Standing Bear's lodge, and the marriage was entered into after the women lost their lodge.

Certain Mandan clans had Hidatsa equivalents. Both had a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna clan was considered equivalent to the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik clan was equivalent to the Hidatsa Knife clan. The Mandan were not in agreement as to the wisdom of marriage between Mandan-Hidatsa equated clans. Some treated them as separate lineages and considered marriage permissible. Bad Gun's wife's younger sister, however, refused to marry him, believing that the Tamisik and Knife were divisions of a single clan.

The Mandan claim that moieties were exogamous until after 1837 and that it was more convenient to go through the ceremonies with the wives when they were of opposite moieties, giving as the basis for the breakdown of the moieties the shortage of men. People preferred to marry into the moiety to marrying outside the tribe.

Both the levirate and the sororate were permissible. When a man married to the older sister died, a younger brother had first chance to marry the widow, which he could do with only a token payment. Such marriages were highly regarded. This was rarely done, since, with a shortage of men, the younger brother was usually already married to several women. When a wife died, the husband could claim one of her younger sisters as wife, and she seldom refused, especially if her sister had small children.

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768 smallpox epidemic of 1837. The orphans were taken in by the
602 females according to clan affiliation and reared as their own
614 children.

Suicide was rare among the Mandan. The only instances
762 remembered by Mandan informants were immediately follow-
775 ing the last smallpox epidemic. When a household had been nearly exterminated, the remaining females frequently took their lives. Crows Heart thought that suicides were buried and that their spirits did not reach the spirit world. Scattercorn remembered hearing of two girls who hanged themselves in 1837 in the village where her father lived and said that they were placed on the scaffold which was built by her father whose sister sent the spirits away at the end of four days.

682 The last murder of a male occurred among the Mandan in
627 1820, part of the Mandan separating from the village group to live on Eagle Nose Butte until 1823, when the relatives of the murdered man invited them to return to Fort Clark Village. One who had been murdered was treated as though he had been killed in battle or had died a natural death. There was the usual preparation of the body by the relatives of the father's clan. The murderer, if caught, was killed by the murdered man's male siblings or clansmen, and his body was buried at a distance
[766] from the village. No rites were performed to send his spirit away. The murder of a woman by another woman was treated lightly and settled by a payment of goods.

The Mandan, and in later years the Hidatsa also, were accus-
765 tomed to collect the bones of their relatives after the scaffolds
614 on which they were placed had rotted and fallen to the ground. The skulls were taken to a place adjacent to the scaffolds and
•778 there arranged in circles of which there were a number near each village. Scattercorn claimed that the skulls of each circle were of closely related people who had belonged to the same clan and that these shrines enhanced the "sacred powers" of the Woman Above bundles which were a part of the shrine.[4] If these were clan shrines, the practice of arranging the circles according to clans must have been abandoned after moving to Like-a-Fishhook Village, as there were only two or three circles at most, and the Hidatsa made simultaneous use of these shrines

4. See Catlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–52, for an eyewitness description of these circles.

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for the disposal of the skulls of their dead. The other bones were gathered and wrapped in a hide before being buried in the village refuse or along the river and creek banks. 765 614 778

The custom of bringing back the skulls of those who died or were killed while away from the village was continued until the Mandan were placed on individual land allotments. When one died while away from the village, the body was wrapped in robes and either placed in a tree, a crevice among the rocks, or a shallow grave covered with rocks. The body was left there for one year, when it became the duty of the father's sister to make provision for its return. If the summer buffalo-hunting camp was in the vicinity of the grave, she would pay some man to obtain the skull, or she secured it herself if the party passed near by. The skull was wrapped in white sage and carried in a soft leather bag. It was considered sacred and was prayed to. Young men who addressed it as father would request permission to fast near it. When the party reached the village, the skull became a part of one of the skull circles. 765 778

After the Mandan were placed on individual allotments on the Fort Berthold Reservation, it was customary to place the dead in boxes and trunks or to wrap them in robes and blankets which were placed in crevices in rocks or on high hills. Those who were closely affiliated with one of the churches were prevailed upon to have their dead buried in the church cemetery. Some bodies were unburied as late as 1928. For a number of years after moving onto individual allotments, a skull circle was maintained on a hill a short distance east of the Tom Smith farm, but in later years the skulls were not removed. 764 177

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INTRODUCTION TO MANDAN CEREMONIALISM

796 FEW Mandan bundle transfer ceremonies had been performed
177 during the thirty years preceding this study, and the information secured on the former ceremonial activities was based on observations and participation of informants or the informal instructions received of former bundle-holders. Medicine feasts to the bundles were held at irregular intervals, but the forced change from village to rural life when the tribe was placed on family allotments scattered throughout the Reservation, the extinction of the buffalo, and the termination of intertribal warfare in large measure led to the abandonment of the ceremonies. The first of the major ceremonies to be dropped was the annual summer Okipa, which was last performed about 1890. At the time this study was being made, the old women of the Goose Society were accustomed to meet annually during the summer, and some of the old men were using the fish traps for which the ancient rites were still employed. A few men still maintained eagle-trapping lodges along the Little Missouri River, where they were accustomed to go during the fall months to trap eagles and hunt deer.

796 Most of the principal tribal bundles were preserved by the
children of former custodians. White Calf had the Lone Man
•778 bundle; Calf Woman had the buffalo masks for the Okipa and a Woman Above bundle; Ben Benson had two of the turtle drums, and Scattercorn had the other; Scattercorn also had Moves Slowly's Hoita and Corn ceremony bundles except the portions that had been accidentally burned; Foolish Woman had his father's Star bundle; Little Owl had Hits on Back's Sigaraga bundle; Mrs. White Duck had the Skull bundle. Feasts were sometimes made to these bundles by relatives largely out of respect to the old people, but lavish disposal of goods was no longer practiced. Crows Heart and his sister, Front Woman, were still making offerings to the eagles and hawks in the spring

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796 at the time of the first thunder. The Eagle-trapping bundle
•778 rites were still being performed, and a few old people doctored those who were ill or had suffered an accident.

The secret character of Mandan ceremonialism contributed
796 to the difficulty of the study. Each Mandan ceremony was
778 secret, and rules providing for the performance of and acquaint-
124 ance with the secret rites differed somewhat between bundles. In general, it was not possible to complete the study of a ceremony with a single informant, owing to overlapping rights in the bundle, one informant being unwilling to divulge information belonging to another.

This study doubtlessly does not cover all ceremonies performed by the Mandan after 1837. Informants claim that all tribal rites were preserved through the smallpox epidemics of 1782 and 1837. It was possible to obtain intelligible accounts of all rites mentioned by early travelers to the Mandan villages. There was, however, a reduction in the number of duplicate bundles for the same ceremony. When reductions occurred, the
[784] original bundle was preserved. The individual rites introduced from time to time by the medium of vision instruction were usually of short duration in the tribe and died out before becoming inaugurated into the tribal ceremonial structure. A few instances of vision bundle experiences are cited in chapter v, "Personal Bundles and Vision Experiences." Had time permitted, several hundred vision experiences could have been recorded, since they were related on many social and ceremonial occasions. Informants never volunteered to relate the sacred myths or to supply data on a ceremony, nor did they volunteer information to the effect that they owned certain rights. They would, however, divulge the names of others having knowledge of tribal bundles. The writer found that better co-operation was received from an informant when a simple feast was made to the bundle. It removed the fear informants felt when relating the rites.

The writer was impressed with the extreme conservatism of the Mandan. Informants frequently requested a retranslation of a significant portion of a rite to make certain that it had been properly recorded. They recognized variations in myths be-

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tween bundle lines. Some informants thought that these bundles must have originated in different villages because their older people who were living when the tribe occupied two villages had spoken of ceremonial differences between the villages. They believed that these ceremonial differences went back to mythological times when the ceremonies were first taught to the people. 796 778 124

Mandan tribal sacred bundles had these elements in common: each contained objects representing the characters and incidents of the myth; the rites were dramatizations of the sacred myths; there were prescribed rules of behavior when in the presence of the bundle or while it was open; an incense was always burned while the bundle rites were being performed or when the rites were terminated; there were songs and a sacred myth which belonged to the bundle; each bundle included a buffalo skull; the ritualistic lore was secret, and payment must be made to the bundle-owner for a knowledge of the rites; there were fixed rules of inheritance for the sale and transfer of the bundle; tribal sanction of a bundle transfer was at a public feast to which those owning related bundles were invited; feasts were made to the bundle by nonowners as a social obligation; and bundle-owners on occasion would give Bundle Renewal feasts to their own bundles to which were invited those owning important tribal bundles. 796 778 773 424

The Mandan recognize four seasons which were associated with the spring, summer, autumn, and winter buffalo. Since informants could not agree on any other division of the year, it is highly unlikely that they recognized any other uniform divisions. The year count was important in relating events. Ceremonies were, in general, evenly divided over the year. Ceremonies for success in warfare or doctoring were held at any time. On the other hand, rites relating to agriculture were begun in late winter when the first water birds appeared and were held throughout the summer until the southern flight of these birds had passed. The Okipa was always held during the warmest months, while the Snow Owl, Red Stick, and White Buffalo Cow ceremonies to bring the winter buffalo herds were always held 796 805 221

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221 796 805 during the coldest months. Table 3 gives the approximate time of the principal tribal ceremonies.

778 773 The Mandan attach great significance to the sacred myths associated with the sacred bundles, and informants constantly explained the relationship of one bundle to another in terms of in-

TABLE 3

APPROXIMATE TIME AND PURPOSE OF PRINCIPAL TRIBAL CEREMONIES

796 221

Approximate Month	Ceremony	Purpose of Ceremony
June to August	Okipa	General tribal welfare Buffalo fertility rites
May	Corn Fertility	To insure good gardens
March to October	Goose Society	Rains and good growing conditions for crops
August to October	Harvest festival	Thanksgiving rites for crops
March to October	Old Woman Who Never Dies	Rain and good growing conditions to insure good gardens
January to January	Old Woman Who Never Dies	Doctoring and warfare
March to October	Corn Pipe	Fertility
September to November	Eagle-trapping rites	To capture eagles
July to September	Eagle-trapping rites	To trap fish
January to January	Eagle-trapping rites	To corral buffaloes
April	Eagle-trapping rites	Success in hunting or warfare
April and November	Big Bird	Warfare Rain
January to January	Small Hawk	Warfare
June to August	Small Hawk	To call buffaloes
December to March	Snow Owl	To call winter buffaloes
January to January	Snow Owl	Warfare
March to October	Snow Owl	Rain
January to January	People Above	Warfare Doctoring
January to January	Shell Robe	Warfare Doctoring
December to March	Red Stick	To call winter buffaloes
December to March	White Buffalo Cow	To call winter buffaloes
January to January	Bear	Doctoring and warfare
March to November	Snake	Rain Doctoring Warfare

778 773 cidents mentioned in these myths. For that reason, the sacred myths belonging to the various bundle rites were recorded as completely as possible and appear in this study in much the same form and detail as they were recorded. It was a customary practice for a Mandan to invite to his lodge one having important tribal bundles and pay him to have the myths related privately. Those having a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were held in high esteem. The sacred myths were considered

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secret and were never related publicly. One paying to have the myths related did not receive rights in the ceremony. Instructions in the rites and songs were divulged only to those purchasing the bundle rites.

So far as the writer was able to determine, the ceremonial pattern had been established prior to A.D. 1800 and underwent little change in subsequent years. There was, however, a greater display of goods after the introduction of the horse and the establishment of trading posts.

Matthews wrote: "The work of Prince Maximilian contains the most accurate and extensive information regarding their customs and manners. Notwithstanding the great changes in the tribe since 1834, the majority of his notes might be used without alteration in describing the Mandan of to-day."[1]

The Mandan preserved their rich ceremonialism after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, according to Matthews, who added:

> The square, the medicine-lodge, with its four poles in front, surmounted by sacrificial effigies, and the ark, as they may be seen to-day, seem to be the almost exact counterparts of those which were seen in the old Mandan village at Ft. Clark, in 1832 and 1833, by George Catlin and the Prince of New-Wied, if we are to judge by the drawings they have given us. Within the temple and around the ark, the Mandans still perform the ceremony of the Okeepa, which Catlin so accurately describes. The awful severities of the rite, have however, been somewhat mitigated since his day.[2]

In addition to the sacred myths associated with the bundles, there were numerous stories of a magical character which were bought and sold. A few of these myths were recorded in the field but are omitted from this book, since a number of them have already appeared in print.[3] The most popular of these were: (1) the exploits of Spring Buffalo and Corn Silk; (2) Stiff Robe and the Buffaloes of the Four Seasons; (3) Four Wings; (4) Snake Village and Buffalo Village; (5) Sun as a Gambler and Cannibal; and (6) the Pet Magpie.[4]

The First Creator myths also belong in this category. Since this mythological character had a dual personality, in organizing

1. Washington Matthews, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Language of the Hidatsa* (New York, 1873–74), p. 14.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
3. See Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [Boston, 1938]).
4. See also the myths recorded below in chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping Ceremony."

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The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of the WaxikEna clan who was known as the custodian of the Okipa lodge.[4] His family lived with him in the lodge. The WaxikEna clan, to which Lone Man, traditional founder of the ceremony, belonged, met and selected one of their number to occupy the lodge and protect the ceremonial equipment left there by the various officers of the ceremony. The Mandan, upon joining the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, built a ceremonial lodge and selected Arrowhead Earrings as custodian. His family lived in the lodge except when it was needed for a ceremony, at which time they removed their lodge property. The family was paid for the use of the lodge or, as Calf Woman explained, for the trouble they had been put to in preparing the lodge for the ceremony. When Arrowhead Earrings died, the lodge should have been taken over by another member of the WaxikEna clan. His son-in-law, Never Eats Marrow, although of the Hidatsa Knife clan, was held in such high respect by the Mandan that he was intrusted with the lodge, and his daughter, Calf Woman, who supplied much of the information about this ceremony, was born in this lodge. She ultimately acquired the buffalo masks used in the ceremony through purchase from the WaxikEna clan after the buffaloes became extinct and the ceremony was no longer being performed.[5]

The repair of the cedar[6] and the wall inclosing it was also in-

4. Catlin is possibly in error when he says: "The 'Medicine Lodge,' the largest in the village and seventy-five feet in diameter, with four images (sacrifices of different-coloured and costly cloths) suspended on poles above it, was considered by these people as a sort of temple, held as strictly sacred, being built and used solely for these four days' ceremonies, and closed during the rest of the year" (George Catlin, *O-Kee-Pa* [Philadelphia, 1867], p. 81).

5. This is an instance of shifting from clan inheritance commonly occurring since 1845.

6. Scattercorn in recent years was considered custodian of the sacred cedar, which was placed west of Crows Heart's home. Members of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans were expected to attend and assist in the repair. Others would come to make offerings to the cedar at that time, which in recent years consisted chiefly of calicoes. She used one song during the ceremonial repairing of the cedar and inclosure, and it was directed to the four directions.

At the east side of the cedar she would sing:

o-ta'-nu-mą-kE (east people)
mikaxo' (big herd. Buffalo cows.)
EhE'nakahoc (I am saying)
masa'numąkE (north people)
maxEnu (one)

At the west side she sang:

ota'numąkE
mikaxo'
EhE'nakahoc
masa'numąkE
nupa (two)

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

trusted to the WaxikEna clan, who could take any articles left at the cedar as an offering for their own use. The amount of goods placed at the cedar during a year was considerable, since sometime during the performance of every ceremony and age-grade society dance a visit was made to the cedar to ask the blessings of Lone Man, and some article of value was placed there. In the case of strictly winter ceremonies held in the winter camp where a cedar was never erected, offerings frequently were not made to the cedar. The cedar together with the surrounding wall and willow band was called Minimi'tahEdE, meaning "the retreat of the waters."

In theory, goods deposited at the cedar became the property of any member of the WaxikEna clan who happened to be passing by. In practice, however, the goods finally reached the old men and women of that clan. Those appropriating too much goods for personal use lost status in the village. Those living near the cedar had an advantage over those more distantly removed in reaching the goods first. Apparently there was no tendency to take the offerings away at once. Scattercorn told how a very beautiful robe hung on the wall several days before a man removed it and then not until a number of people had gathered there and to whom he announced that he had observed that a feeble clan brother was in need of a new robe since the one he was then wearing was shabby.

Each fixed village unit had its own complete set of officers. Crows Heart explained that the tribe was formerly divided into a number of fixed bands, each one occupying one or more villages. His mother belonged to the Is'topa ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves"). There were also the Nuptadi, Ma'nana'-rE[7] ("Those Who Quarreled"), Awigaxa,[8] and Nuitadi. Each of

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At the north side she sang:

o-ta'-nu-mą-kE	masa'numąkE
mi-ka-xo'	na'mini (three)
EhE'nakahoc	

At the south side she sang:

ota'numąkE	masa'numąkE
mikaxo'	to'pa (four)
EhE'nakahoc.	

7. Other informants thought that the Mananada was not a fixed band but any small group who separated from a principal village when quarrels occurred.

8. According to tradition, this group lived near the Grand River until late prehistoric times and did not practice the Okipa until they moved to the Painted Woods

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

these groups set up a cedar whenever a new village was built. Each had its own set of officers, but the turtles originally belonged to the Nuptadi band into which the original Lone Man was once born, and it was necessary to borrow them whenever the Okipa was being performed in one of the other villages. They were the common property of the WaxikEna clan. Crows Heart explained that quarrels sometimes occurred in a village, with part of the population breaking away, but that in such instances no cedar would be erected or ceremonial lodge built until it was decided to make the village a permanent one. Scattercorn thought that the groups were stable, although a few families were always leaving one group and joining another. She thought that fission of villages was a difficult thing, as new Okipa officers would be needed.

The Mandan have a number of creation stories which were a part of the sacred myths of the bundles and their associated ceremonies. The sacred myth of the Corn ceremony relates the exploits of the Corn People, who formerly lived below the surface of the earth beside a lake before coming to the surface under the chieftainship of Good Furred Robe. The Buffalo People, who were the performers of the Okipa, were created on the earth near Heart River by Lone Man after the lands were made. In mythological times there was an earth-lodge village of hawks to the east, bears to the north, eagles and other large birds including the Sun and Moon in the sky, to mention but a few of them. The Heart River region became a meeting place of peoples of all these groups. The Corn People migrated northward and united with the Buffalo People. Other peoples were added from time to time through intermarriage and were identified according to their respective bundles. It was believed that the visions one had were dependent on the mythological group to which he belonged.

The Animal rites of the Okipa ceremony are reported to have originally belonged to the Buffalo People, who were created in the vicinity of Heart River by Lone Man and are a dramatization of the freeing of the animals from Dog Den Butte. As new groups united with them, modifications were instituted in the cere-

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region shortly before the first smallpox epidemic. Their emphasis was on corn rites instituted by Good Furred Robe while living far to the south.

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796 mony. In the beginning, the people lived an extremely simple
773 life without tools and weapons. At that time there were no societies and only a few simple rites, one of which was a Buffalo Dance in which one man danced. It is believed that, as time passed, the people acquired skills along many lines; there was a corresponding development of mutual obligations; new societies and ceremonies were adopted which grew in complexity. It is also believed that there was a parallel development of the Okipa ceremony from the simple Buffalo Dance to its complex form as performed until seventy-five years ago, and that the cultural growth of the tribe was divided into four periods which were represented by the four days of the ceremony.

The principal characters in the ceremony were Lone Man (NumakmaxEna), Speckled Eagle (Hoita), Giver of Ceremony (Koni'saka), and the singers.

796 Lone Man was without question the tribe's most important
776 deity. The original Lone Man belonged to the WaxikEna clan,
614 and a bundle was founded which contained all the articles used by the Lone Man impersonator during the ceremony. Inheritance was through the WaxikEna clan. Before the smallpox
•778 epidemics, there were at least two similar and graded bundles in each village, and the men holding rights in the Okipa met to select from their number those who would officiate during the next ceremony.

796 According to tradition the original Lone Man established the
778 rule that the bundle should belong to the WaxikEna clan. However, before he left the tribe, he desired a white buffalo
424 robe owned by his brother's son. The young man offered to exchange his robe for Lone Man's bundle, and this transaction was made, the bundle and office passing temporarily from the WaxikEna clan. The principal bundle was kept, after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, at Nuptadi Village, and a secondary
[562] bundle was kept by the other village group. Women could inherit and buy the bundle but could not officiate in the rites. Beaver's brother owned a bundle originally at Nuptadi Village prior to 1837. When he died, his sister transferred the bundle to her daughters, Shells and Grows First, who were both of the WaxikEna clan. Little Eagle, who had married the two sisters, paid them for the right to officiate in the ceremony. He then

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paid Big Turtle, Hoita in the same ceremony, for instructions. Little Eagle, who was of the Speckled Eagle clan, was killed in warfare, and Cuts His Horn (WaxikEna clan) bought the right to officiate from the two sisters, and, not being a close relative, a new bundle was established by Big Turtle and the other men having Okipa rights. He officiated once or twice until there was a male in the main bundle line qualified to officiate. Two Chiefs (Prairie Chicken clan) married the two sisters and assumed the office of Lone Man after paying to receive instructions from Big Turtle and the other officers of the Okipa. White Calf, son of Shells (corn) and Little Eagle, bought the rights in the bundle from his mother and received his instructions from Two Chiefs. He never officiated as Lone Man in the ceremony after acquiring the bundle, since the ceremony was prohibited by the army officer in charge of the Reservation. White Calf was asked who would be the legitimate successor after him, and he gave this explanation:

> I could sell my rights to men of my clan, the WaxikEna, three times while still retaining my original rights. Usually only one or two sales were made. Those sales would be to men who had dreamed of Lone Man. People had a great respect for original bundles which had passed through many hands, so possession of new bundles did not give one much prestige unless he had given many feasts to the bundle, and that was hard to do.
>
> Who would receive my original bundle depended on many things. If my wife who helped me put on the feast when I got the bundle were living and had remarried to one of my clan, her husband would have first chance to take the bundle. If she were not alive, then my brothers would have first chance. If none were living, my sister could take the bundle, and her husband could get instructions from the other Okipa officers before officiating in the ceremony. Then the bundle would pass to her son when he was mature.

Before a bundle was transferred or sold, there was a period of private instruction by either one holding Lone Man rights or one of the other officers of the ceremony. The transfer was made final at a medicine feast attended by all persons holding Okipa rights. Goods and food were accumulated beforehand. Eminent men of the tribe offered their prayers for the giver's success and received some articles for their part in the ceremony. This public feast was a means of notifying the village of the legitimacy of the bundle transfer.

The bundles were identical as to content. They contained the following items:

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1. A buffalo-skin apron with buffalo-hair strands attached
2. Flat staff with the moon and thunderbird carved on one side, a star and the sun on the other
3. A stuffed raven
4. Two-piece wooden pipe inlaid with a dark-colored stone
5. Jackrabbit-skin collar and anklets
6. Headdress of porcupine trimmed with jackrabbit skin
7. A set of buffalo teeth
8. A war-bonnet trailer of alternating raven and swan feathers
9. A buffalo-hair headdress with a stuffed owl attached
10. Four buffalo tails with white buffalo hair attached
11. A staff decoration consisting of a buffalo tail trimmed with weasel fur

Bundle-owners were custodians of the turtle drums, the sacred cedar, and the ceremonial lodge.

796 776 773 The office of Hoita ranked equal in importance with that of the Lone Man during the performance of the Okipa but otherwise was unimportant. Hoita or Speckled Eagle represented the People Above but had had no part in the creation of the earth according to the mythology. He was born into the tribe where he was recognized for his supernatural powers. Because of jealousy over a white buffalo robe, he imprisoned the animals in Dog Den Butte. When he learned that another who claimed to be his "son" through the medium of the "walking" ceremony was holding the Okipa, he freed the animals and agreed to co-operate with Lone Man in performing the Okipa.

796 614 The rule was that the Hoita should belong to either the WaxikEna or Tamisik clan, and there is no evidence that this rule was ever broken, at least in the memory of my informants. During the period of readjustment following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, Big Turtle (Tamisik clan) held the office. He sold rights in the office to Moves Slowly (WaxikEna clan), who impersonated Hoita, while Big Turtle served as director of the singers. Moves Slowly sold his rights to Iron Eyes (WaxikEna), who officiated, while Moves Slowly assisted the singers. The right to officiate in the Okipa ceremony was given at a public feast.

796 The Hoita directed the ceremonies performed inside the ceremonial lodge. He supervised the fasters and saw that none who had interrupted their fasting returned to the lodge. He directed the selection of characters represented in the dances and supervised the painting, indicating the time when each rite was to be

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796 some willow sticks. He said, "I would like to have a foolish person who looks like a human to paint his body black with white spots and carry a stick representing his penis." That was OxinhEdE, the foolish one. The one selected to assume that part came forward and received one of the sticks.

Then he would ask for a star to join in, and another would take a stick. Then he said, "I would like to have this dry meat represented. I want to have a Black Bear in it," and another took a stick. "I would like to have a grizzly bear."

Then he said, "I want to have a woman in it. I want someone to be the bald eagle. I want a hawk in this ceremony. I want a meadowlark." Men would come and take the sticks.

[778]

FIG. 15.—Present condition of the sacred cedar

He would say, "I want to select the good buffaloes. I want four of them to be the real buffaloes." Four came and took sticks. "We must have a First Creator here too. I want an antelope." When he came to the antelope, more than one came and took the remainder of the sticks. There would be many antelopes. That ended the naming of the characters so far as I remember, but I know I forgot some of them.

The antelopes would go out and cover their bodies with mud and have sticks for horns. The hawk would have long braided grass and a ball at the end for a club. The bald-headed eagle would have the braided grass for his club. Black Bear would be dressed in a black bearskin.

Third day: "Everything Comes Back Day."—The painting of the Bull Dancers and all the characters represented during this day began at daybreak and continued until nearly noon. The special painters prepared the eight Bull Dancers and the one

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter V

PERSONAL BUNDLES AND VISION EXPERIENCES

778 428 POSSESSION of tribal bundles inherited from the preceding generation was not the good fortune of all men and women. Some were unable to acquire hereditary tribal bundles because they were not eligible either through birth or through marriage. Since the oldest son usually inherited his parents' bundle or bundles through the mother's lineage, younger sons and the daughters could, at most, hold partial rights through assistance in the transfer ceremonies and later became the titular bundle-owner should the older brother die. There are numerous instances of bundle transfers to a daughter and son-in-law in cases where there were no sons, providing the daughter and family were occupying her parents' lodge and especially when tribal custom prescribed clan inheritance of the bundle.

787 864 785 All males and females, regardless of bundles then owned or expected to be inherited at a later date, sought personal powers of the supernatural during their younger years. In exceptional instances the quest of supernatural power was continued until forty-five or fifty years of age. Fasting began at eight or nine, the parents recommending fasting and pointing out distinguished men who had been successful because of visions acquired through that practice. Parents never scolded or urged a son to fast. It was felt that a child's reputation was predetermined by the supernatural and that he would learn his destiny through the desire to fast. Parents would repeat their own experiences with the supernatural, either vision-inspired or through purchase. Small boys would be advised to fast a day or two during the Okipa ceremony to begin with and extend the length of their fasting at subsequent performances of that ceremony. Only four occasions provided formalized fasting. These were: during the Okipa ceremony, while trapping eagles, while

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Calf Woman told of an old Mandan with ten sons who instructed them each to take one of his teeth to be carried in battle. After he died, he was placed on a scaffold for one year, when the teeth were taken by the sons and kept as sacred objects. The skull was placed at one of the skull circles near a People Above shrine, and the other bones were buried. He had been very successful in warfare but died of a boil. 766 778

The skulls of those who died away from the village were usually brought back a year later, if requested by the relatives, by either a man or woman of the father's clan. It was customary to have a woman bring back the skull if summer village hunting expeditions were in the vicinity; otherwise a man leaving on a war expedition was delegated to secure the skull. Skulls brought back were placed at one of the shrines, of which there were a number adjacent to each village.

All men and women fasted, and most people had vision experiences. All were medicine men just as all were warriors or hunters. Some acquired reputations as medicine men just as some had good reputations as warriors or hunters. There was no grouping into cults according to vision; such division as did occur was based on ownership of related hereditary tribal bundles, a system much like the Pawnee except for a greater flexibility deriving from the four-sale right. It cannot be said that inherited bundle-owners were higher in tribal regard than those who practiced doctoring or led successful war parties. Each stood on his own record. Such advantage as hereditary bundle-owners had over others came from their possession of tribal lore belonging to the bundle. Since each hereditary bundle-owner was instructed in the traditional history of the bundle, he became an authority on the early history of the tribe. Four Bears rose to eminence and became second chief without inheriting any bundles of his parents other than a sacred shield and rain-calling robe. He had a successful war record and did much fasting. That would never have elevated him to more than a war leader, but the many feasts he made to which the older hereditary bundle-owners were invited gave him the necessary prestige. He gave the Okipa twice. Crows Heart had a good war record but never rose to eminence. His home being near a river crossing, people were always stopping there for meals. Nevertheless, he gave few for- 787 554 785 795

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

787 554 785 795 mal feasts to which the older people were invited and was considered selfish, in spite of the fact that he probably fed more people than those who offered feasts from time to time.

778 428 171 432 It was the duty of all to fast, but few could inherit tribal bundles. After the smallpox of 1837, there was probably a much higher percentage of the population owning these hereditary tribal bundles. Visions could be bought and sold like hereditary bundles, but their existence was usually short-lived unless they became incorporated into hereditary bundle rites. A man ordinarily did not boast of the bundles he owned. Instead, he would boast of the potency of the bundles. The Hidatsa custom of buying the father's bundle because he dreamed of it was not the Mandan way. A Mandan bought because he was expected to, and people would condemn him for failing to buy. The man would ask his son to buy. If he had no son, but a son-in-law was living in the lodge, he would ask him to buy. Instruction was direct between seller and buyer, whereas the Hidatsa used a member of the father's clan as intermediary. Moves Slowly did not dream of the Corn Medicine before buying. He was hereditarily entitled to it. When one of the Mandan Corn bundles reached the Awaxawi,[17] Poor Wolf bought because he dreamed of it. The Hidatsa performed a ceremony because they had a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Little Eagle, the NumakmaxEna bundle-owner, was killed in war, and his wives automatically became the bundle-owners. When they remarried, their second husband received permission from them to officiate in the Okipa until White Calf, their son, was of proper age to assume the office. He had not dreamed of the bundle. The NaxpikE or Hide-beating ceremony of the Hidatsa was never given except when one who was a son of a man having this bundle received a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Such was not the custom in giving the Okipa. Permission must be given by the Okipa Society because an eligible candidate either had received vision instruction or had a feeling of responsibility to give it. So we see that even between these two groups, the Mandan and Hidatsa, who have lived in close contacts for a few centuries, some fundamental differences in ceremonial organization persisted.

17. A Hidatsa band.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 After the tribe had completed its migration and had reached
773 the Heart River region, the three brothers died. Good Furred
778 Robe never married, but, before he died, he sold his sacred robe and pipe to his brother's son, who preserved it as a sacred bundle belonging to the Corn ceremonies. The three brothers' skulls were taken from the scaffolds and kept in a leather bag as a second Corn ceremony bundle.

778 The Sacred Robe bundle contained the following articles: (1) a robe said to have belonged to Good Furred Robe, on which was painted a map of the world showing the Missouri River as a large snake and the hole through which the Corn People reached the earth; (2) Good Furred Robe's pipe, carved from wood, the stem being carved to represent a goose's head and neck, the mouthpiece being the goose's bill; (3) a headdress of foxskins; (4) a bundle of young white sage; (5) moccasins made of buffalo hide with the hair on the inside; (6) a clay pot; (7) a strip of elkhide; (8) a dried gourd for a rattle; (9) a substance resembling and representing corn silk; (10) one ear of white flint corn, one ear of yellow corn, and one ear of white soft corn; (11) a narrow strip of badger skin; (12) blackbird heads and the head of one green-headed duck; (13) a whitetail deer skull with antlers attached to place the bundle on; (14) three dried squash; (15) one sunflower head; (16) a robe made of kit-fox hides; and (17) a braid of cornhusks.

796 The ceremonial significance of many of the articles in the
773 bundle are self-evident, particularly Items 8, 9, 10, 14, and 15,
778 since these are products from the gardens. The robe was made from a buffalo heifer's hide. Scattercorn explained that such hides, especially those killed in the late fall, had beautiful hair. The paintings on the hide depicted the traditional migration of the tribe from the mouth of the Mississippi and expressed the close association of the tribe with the Missouri River section of the Plains. The Missouri River was depicted as a huge snake. The robe was believed to have supernatural powers over the weather, and those who wished to have rain for their crops paid the robe-owner to open the bundle and sprinkle water on the robe. He would sing the "Song of the Robe" while sprinkling the robe with water shaken from a bundle of white sage (Item 4 of the bundle). The robe was considered the most important ar-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ticle in the bundle and was believed to have once belonged to Good Furred Robe, who wore it during the various Corn rites. 796 778

The pipe differed little from other ceremonial pipes. The bowl and part of the stem were carved from wood. There appeared to be a stone or clay lining to the bowl. A second piece of wood was carved to resemble a goose's head and neck. This pipe was owned by Good Furred Robe and, according to tradition, used by him in the ceremonies. 773

The headdress of foxskins (Item 3), badger fur (Item 11), kit-fox robe (Item 16), and strip of elkhide (Item 7) were represented in the bundle because these animals assisted in bringing the people out of the ground.

The sage belonging to the bundle was the kind kept in all earth lodges and used by the women at the close of a day's work in the gardens to cleanse themselves by rubbing their body and clothing with it. It was said that, in ancient times, worms and diseases were removed by this simple household cleansing rite. [515]

The dried gourd, used as a rattle, was symbolic of Good Furred Robe's brother, Uses His Head for a Rattle, who had assisted in the early Corn ceremonies. The braided cornhusks represented the other brother, Cornhusk Earrings, while all the other articles representing products from the garden were symbolic of Waving Corn Stalk, their sister, who repelled the Sun by walking through the gardens waving her robe, thus protecting her gardens from the heat.

The blackbird heads, duck head, and deer skull have a dual symbolic significance. They represent the birds that come north in the spring and the deer that inhabit the woodlands, but they are also the helpers of Old Woman Who Never Dies. In that sense the bundle ritualism is psychologically related to the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles and rites.

The second traditionally related Corn ceremony bundle is known as the Skull bundle (see Fig. 24). The contents of this bundle are: (1) Good Furred Robe's skull; (2) Cornhusk Earring's skull; (3) Uses Head for Rattle's skull; (4) a bundle of young white sage; (5) a substance resembling and representing corn silk; (6) a headdress of foxskins; and (7) a wooden pipe.

At the time this study was being made, Scattercorn was owner of the Robe bundle and Mrs. White Duck (Rattles Medicine) 778 796

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owned the Skull bundle. The former was a Mandan woman of the Nuptadi band, and the latter was a descendant of the small Awaxawi band of Hidatsa. Scattercorn had been told by her father that a long time ago the two bundles belonged to one man and were kept together. They were inherited together, generation after generation, until one owner had two sons who wanted the Corn ceremony rights when the bundle was divided,

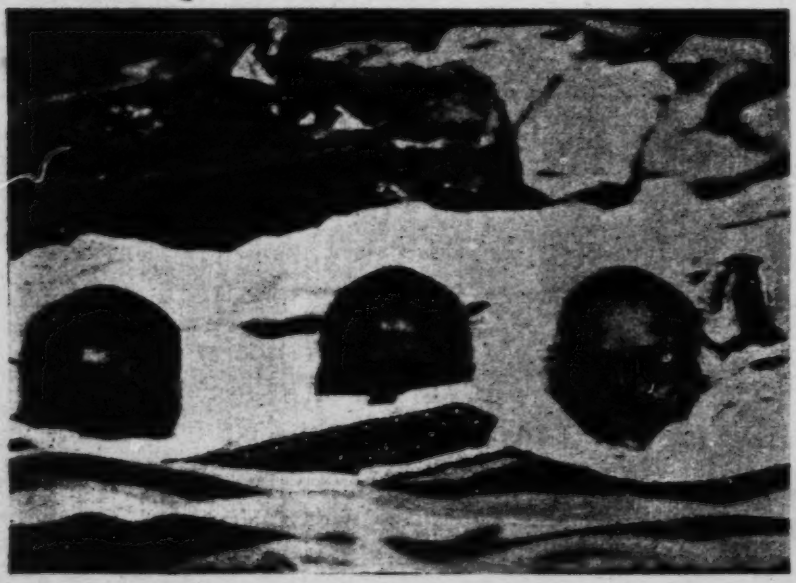

FIG. 24.—Skull bundle of the Corn ceremonies. Characters: Good Furred Robe Cornhusk Earring, and Uses Head for Rattle.

one taking the robe and the other the skulls. Eventually the Skull bundle was taken to a west-side village of the Heart River group, where it remained until the smallpox epidemic of about 1782, when it was brought northward by the Mandan, finally becoming the principal Corn ceremony bundle of Mi'tutanka Village, where it was owned by a Mandan named Red Bird at the time of the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

The Robe bundle belonged to the east-side Mandan who migrated from the Round Lodge and Yellow Earth villages and established a village between Mi'tutanka and the Knife River Hidatsa villages. The bundle became associated with the Nup-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

tadi band of Mandan. Immediately after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, both bundles were kept at Nuptadi but had different owners. Crows Belt owned the Robe bundle and Red Bird owned the Skull bundle. A year after the smallpox epidemic, Red Bird lost a son from smallpox and contemplated putting the bundle away on the hills, the customary method of relinquishing an unsold bundle, when his son-in-law, Bear Looks Around, an Awaxawi, indicated a desire to purchase the bundle.[2] 796 778

The Mandan who owned rights in all the Corn ceremonies met and approved the transfer, since at that time there was considerable intertribal marriage and the principal Mandan Corn bundle containing Good Furred Robe's robe was not involved in the sale. Bear Looks Around bought the bundle, which he later transferred to his "younger brother" (sister's son), Poor Wolf, who transferred it to Mrs. White Duck, his daughter, the present owner.

The Robe bundle was transferred from Crows Belt to Moves Slowly, last head of the Corn ceremonies at Like-a-Fishhook Village. Having no "younger brother," and since no male of his clan indicated a desire to purchase the bundle, he sold his rights to his daughter, Scattercorn.[3] She lost the robe and most of the bundle when their earth lodge burned but saved the pipe. She replaced part of the bundle but not the robe.

A second group of somewhat more complicated Corn ceremonies was associated with Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles. Four groups of bundles belonged to these rites. They were:

1. *Principal bundles.*—These consisted of a large number of articles symbolic of characters and objects referred to in the Old Woman Who Never Dies myth. There was no full bundle in existence at the time of this study. Information was supplied largely by Scattercorn and supplemented by isolated bits of information from a number of informants whose families owned secondary bundles associated with the principal bundles and containing varying numbers of articles similar to those in the principal bundles. From this scattered information, the inform-

[616 428]

2. Father-in-law to son-in-law or older brother to younger brother constitute moiety inheritance when moieties are exogamous.

3. Scattercorn died in 1940. Her rights in the Corn ceremony were transferred to Mrs. Little Owl, a clan daughter.

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796 778 ants were in full agreement on some points. They stated that those with singer rights in the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles were singers for the Women's Goose Society and that greater emphasis was placed on warfare rites. There was no reference in the Robe and Skull myths or rites to warfare except in the incident when Good Furred Robe founded the Black Mouth or Brave Warrior Society and gave a sunflower plant to each of the two bravest men, who were to carry them on war expeditions. The following articles were contained in a principal bundle: corn basket, elkskin robe, clay pot, wooden pipe, deer skull and antlers, corn, beans, squash, sunflowers, blackbird heads, bull-snake skin, bundle of young white sage, duck heads, swan feathers, goose heads, strip of grizzly-bear skin, gourd rattles, and a scalp. Owners of principal bundles held singer status. Bobtail Bull, so far as it was possible to determine, was the only Mandan with this status surviving the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

778 425 432 2. *Secondary bundles.*—Those holding secondary bundle rights were exceedingly numerous. Such bundles were hereditary in character but followed two distinct patterns. For instance, a qualified individual wishing to buy the Snake rites from Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles could either purchase rights from a Snake bundle-owner or could go to a principal bundle-owner and make the purchase. The purchase pattern was the same in both instances. White Calf purchased his Snake bundle from his parents, although his father was dead at the time of the transfer, and Bears Ghost bought from his father, Foolish Chief. On the other hand, Bobtail Bull sold the Snake rites to his son-in-law from a principal bundle.[4] He could do that without subdividing the bundle, since four sales were permissible. Bear bundles could be transferred or made up in the same manner. Men or women either could buy individually or could purchase jointly. There was a difference between group purchases instituted by a man from that of a female purchase. When a man bought, his wives, sisters, and brothers could purchase jointly. However, when a woman initiated the purchase, her sisters, brothers, and their wives could purchase jointly, but the husband could

4. There was a tendency to sell secondary bundles to sons, whereas clan inheritance by transfer to a sister's son or a son-in-law was generally practiced for original or principal tribal bundles.

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not participate in the transfer or hold rights in the bundle. The desire to own one of these secondary bundles could come either from vision instruction or from a sense of responsibility to perpetuate the parents' bundles. When vision instructed, sale was made by an owner of the father's clan having rights in a bundle; otherwise the vision recipient could make up a bundle according to the instructions received in the dream. In the latter case, although having as a personal god one of the characters represented in the Old Woman Who Never Dies rites, he was not considered qualified to attend Corn ceremonies and receive gifts.

3. *Composite bundles.*—This was the result of incorporation of Old Woman Who Never Dies rites into the ceremonialism associated with the Robe bundles. Scattercorn had heard her father say that in former times these were separate ceremonies. Crows Belt did not have rights in the Old Woman Who Never Dies ceremony. After the death of Bobtail Bull, Moves Slowly bought Crows Belt's Robe bundle and proceeded to purchase rights in additional ceremonies pertaining to garden crops, thereby building up a reputation as leader in all of the Corn ceremonies. Whereas some men acquired status in warfare, others rose to prominence by purchasing ceremonial bundles. Crows Heart thought that one was about as hard to do as the other. Buying into the ceremonies required a great deal of material wealth which had either to be prepared or bought. It is interesting to observe a parallelism between the records of Moves Slowly and of Poor Wolf, who purchased the Skull bundle at about the same time as Moves Slowly acquired the Robe bundle. There was always rivalry between the two men, who were at that time living at Like-a-Fishhook Village. Moves Slowly was eligible to inherit the Skull bundle, since his grandfather through the male line had owned rights in the bundle. Bear Looks Around bought the bundle before Moves Slowly was old enough to make the purchase. Crows Belt, who had no legitimate heir, sold the Robe bundle to Moves Slowly shortly after Poor Wolf secured the Skull bundle from Bear Looks Around. Both undertook the purchase of rights in related ceremonies, and the rivalry became keen in their efforts to build up the reputation of their bundles. Moves Slowly bought Hoita rights in the Okipa, assisted his brother, Bear on the Water, in

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796 buying their father's Holy Woman bundle, learned to bring
778 down the spirits in a sleight-of-hand act, learned how to find lost
554 articles, and had every god pertaining to corn as his personal guardian. Poor Wolf (Awaxawi) acquired Earthmaking, River, Old Woman Who Never Dies, Imitating Buffalo, Painted Red Stick, and Eagle-trapping bundles. Both were singers in the Women's Goose societies. For twenty years these two men were rivals because Poor Wolf acquired the Skull bundle which legitimately should have gone to Moves Slowly. When this rivalry ended, no other men owned rights in so many ceremonies as these men. Poor Wolf consolidated the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundle and River bundle with the Skull bundle for the Corn ceremonies, but the others were kept separate. Moves Slowly did likewise. Moves Slowly had the right to give out seed in the Spring Fertility ceremony, but Poor Wolf could not do this, since Bear Looks Around had failed to buy that right of Red Bird, and there were none to purchase from except Moves Slowly, whose price no doubt would have been high to a rival. Moves Slowly enjoyed exclusive authority in the Spring Fertility rites of distributing sacred seed corn, two kernels being given to each women, who paid him for thus assuring her that the seed she planted would germinate.

During middle age these two men worked hard and were poor in material wealth, since it took all they could acquire to perform the bundle transfers, but their wealth measured in social status and ceremonial lore grew until each became an authority on the traditional history of his respective group. Both were selected as village or peace chiefs of their respective tribes.

796 4. *Sacred pot ceremonies.*[5]—Two large clay pots were a part of
778 the Old Woman Who Never Dies ceremony at Nuptadi Village when that group lived above Burnt Creek on the east side of the Missouri River. The information that reached Scattercorn through her father indicated that the ceremony was one of rainmaking. People would pay to have the ceremony given, at which time the pots were taken out. These pots were said to have been given to the Nuptadi by Old Woman Who Never Dies with the understanding that, whenever they were used, her image would

5. See my "Hidatsa Ceremonial Life" for an account of the Hidatsa version of this ceremony.

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be erected before the Okipa lodge, where the ceremony was held. One pot was symbolic of the Old Woman and the other represented her husband, a large snake. The owner kept them in a storage chamber near the head of his lodge covered with a hide when not in use. Unlike the Awaxawi pots, which were used as drums, the Nuptadi pots were used to prepare food for the feast. When the Sioux destroyed Nuptadi Village after the first smallpox epidemic, the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundle-owner was killed defending his lodge and his bundles which were burned. The other similar bundles did not have these large pots, so these special Mandan rain-making feasts ceased, and they went to Awaxawi Village, where a somewhat similar ceremony was performed, except that the pots were used as drums.

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Whenever one paid to have the sacred pots brought out for the rain-making feast, the bundle-owner erected an image of the Old Woman Who Never Dies. This was composed of a pole to which was tied a robe with white sage at the top, leggings, moccasins, a corn-stirring paddle, and a corn basket so arranged as to resemble a person.

The following account indicates the native theory of the function of the corn bundles in Mandan religious life.

796 778

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF CORN BUNDLES

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The Robe bundle-owner[6] prays each year for good crops, but people lately have not followed the rules of the tribe, so the crops are unusually poor. Only wooden pipes can be used in these ceremonies. A few years ago at Mandan, Crows Heart was asked to officiate in the pageant representing the first meeting of the Mandans with the whites. Someone at Mandan, not knowing our ways, gave him a red pipe to use. He offered smoke to the four directions, and that night all our gardens froze.

I bought my rights in this bundle from my father, Moves Slowly, when he grew old and his eyes were poor. I was the first woman to own one of these bundles, for the bundle usually went to the oldest son.[7] People dreaming of the things grown in the garden or of the animals and birds associated with corn asked my father to officiate when a feast was given to their medicine. At such

6. The Robe bundle is possibly the best of all the tribal bundles known to students of Mandan culture. George F. Will and George E. Hyde in *Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri* (St. Louis, Mo., 1917), pp. 244, 262–68, relate in considerable detail the function of the Mandan Corn Priest. O. G. Libby, secretary of the North Dakota Historical Society, has prepared a painting of the thirty-three owners of the bundle, of which Moves Slowly is the last, and secured much information on the history of the bundle.

7. Informant has, no doubt, been influenced by Hidatsa customs. See above where actual inheritance is given as taken from genealogies.

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796 times he painted a picture of the plant or animal dreamed of on a robe for the person giving the feast; for this service he was paid robes, horses, or blankets.

778 He was the head singer in the Goose Women's ceremony and was the owner of the songs addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies, but he bought 159 those extra. In the spring, the Goose Women's Society danced under his direction, and he supervised the sale of the society to the younger women; he officiated in the ceremonial transfer of the holy objects belonging to the society.

[787] Someone during the winter always dreamed that the corn crop would be large if he or she put on a feast to the corn. The one having the vision then 796 sent word by someone of his father's clan to ask the Corn bundle-owner to take charge. The giver prepared robes and food. At the appointed time, which 778 was when the waterbirds came north, all those with rights met. Participating 241 were the Corn bundle-owner, all those with the medicine of garden products or associated animals and birds, the Black Mouth Men's Society, and Goose Women's Society. The Corn bundle was carried into the earth lodge and opened at the entrance to the sweat lodge, where it was laid out on a deer skull and elkskin. Songs were addressed to the Corn Bundle People who came out of the ground; additional songs were addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies. Only four stones were used in the sweat, each one representing one of the Sun's visits to Waving Corn Stalk. The stones were our enemies just as the Sun had been. The giver of the ceremony named four enemies he wished to conquer while the stones were taken into the sweat lodge. Those entering the sweat lodge imitated the geese and waterbirds while the Corn bundle-owner sang his four songs. Those not entering the sweat lodge were sprinkled with water dipped from the clay vessel belonging to the bundle. Corn and beans often came up into peoples throats while the ceremony was in progress; those people danced and rubbed their throats with sage to put the objects back down. Food was served to the Corn bundle and then to the guests.

The giver of the ceremony gave each person attending a robe or present and received in return a prayer for the giver's success. When the ceremony was completed, an image of the Old Woman Who Never Dies was made from an elk robe and lashed to a pole in front of the giver's lodge.

The Corn bundle-owner was expected to ask the help of the spirits who sent good crops. In the spring before seeding time, he held the ceremony of cleansing the seeds so that they would germinate. Early on the appointed day he went to the top of his earth lodge where he faced to the south singing the Corn bundle songs to call the spirits of the corn back from the south. He held a vessel containing shelled corn. Each woman making a garden came to him and received two seeds of each kind of corn, beans, sunflowers, and squash, paying for them and the prayers he addressed to his gods. Payment was made in elk robes, blankets, and other clothing.

778 The Corn bundle-owner underwent numerous taboos while the crops were growing. Owners of minor Corn bundles prepared his food beginning four days 241 before the cleansing of the seed. When the previous year's crop was poor, he lived apart from all women until the crop was ripe and the seed corn for the 784 next season had been gathered. He painted his body red and wore moccasins of buffalo hide with the hair on the inside. He wore a robe all summer long. He was not permitted to eat plums, berries, or corn. All the people of the tribe knew that after the cleansing ceremony the restrictions went into effect and were careful not to violate any of the rules lest the crop fail. Each woman kept

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a bunch of sage in her lodge and rubbed her body after returning from the fields to cleanse herself from the spirits in the gardens. Years ago, it is said that, when this was done, worms came out of the women's bodies. The Corn bundle-owner walked through the gardens several times during the summer, carrying the pipe and singing the Corn songs.

When the weather was too hot, too cold, or too dry, all those with Corn medicine rights met, and the Goose Women's Society joined them to dance and pray. While the ceremony was in progress, people of each household brought presents and offered them for relief from the adverse weather.

Many women pledged a ceremony to the Corn if good crops were sent by the gods. A person making such a vow, first prepared an elkhide robe and paid the Corn Priest to officiate. When the time appointed for the offering came and after the crop was harvested, she carried the robe to her field, where she tied it to a cottonwood pole and covered the pole with corn on the ear until the pile reached nearly to the robe. The young men of the tribe were invited to come and charge the robe, the first one there taking it. At a signal, the young men searched for the meat under the pile of corn. The Corn bundle-owner received four things for his part in the ceremony. Many different women gave this ceremony each fall when the crops were abundant.

The Corn bundle-owner officiated whenever corn was sold to people of other tribes. It was thought that it must be done or the spirits in the corn might leave the Mandan and help the people who took the corn away. He dressed in his ceremonial outfit and "called back" the Corn Spirits.

Whenever a cache of stored corn was opened, four ears of corn were taken to the Corn bundle-owner as payment for his part in protecting the stored corn.

The order of Corn Priests is as follows:

1. Uses Head for Rattle
2. Brown
3. Pot
4. Bull Leg
5. Acting Foolish (OxinhEdE)
6. Foolish Man
7. Strong Arm
8. Raises Tail
9. Forearm Bone
10. Hunts His Enemy
11. Bull Standing on Land
12. WErukirihEri
13. Enemy
14. Sacred Cedar
15. Cedar Feather
16. Star
17. Head Comes Out
18. Water Bag
19. Coyote
20. Crow
21. WErukirihEri
22. Bloody Knife
23. Garden
24. Tree in Garden
25. Uses His Head for Rattle
26. HoxdEkE
27. Corn Grinder
28. Lying Down
29. Left-Hand Bull
30. Scabby
31. WErukirihEri
32. Crows Belt
33. Moves Slowly
34. Scattercorn
35. Mrs. Little Owl (present owner)

The many references to corn in the mythology express the significance of agriculture to this tribe. Archeological work in their prehistoric sites indicates that economically agriculture has played an important role in shaping the habits of these people. The primary factor in establishing villages at certain

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wanted to, so that the people always had meat. He had good luck on the battlefield and could bring rains for the crops. 773

Then he was married. Two sisters were brought to him by their father and mother. (This was the custom in olden times. The parents of children of marriageable age would bring them to some eligible man.) 539

The boy's grandmother is still living. The people downstream from the Knife River used to follow the river up to her place when on the warpath and eat corn with her. She would tell them now many people they would kill.

She became tired of this because they came too often, so she moved down the river about four miles, then up into the hills to the west where she disappeared. Since then she has been one of the Holy Women connected with corn. She must come back to Short Missouri, as people fasting there during the summer dream of her. Grandson went back to the sky and became one of the large stars.

CORN PIPE CEREMONY

This ceremony became extinct after 1837 and is remembered only from tradition. The principal article in its bundle was a sacred wooden pipe. The pipe was kept by Blue Snake Woman when her husband and children died during the smallpox epidemic. She surrendered the bundle to a daughter, who sold the pipe to Black Bear, who died a few years ago. The full bundle ritual was not performed after the smallpox epidemic, since those holding rights or acquainted with the ceremony had died. 796 778

The pipe was noted for its supernatural powers in producing winds. It was brought out when the days were warm and sultry to drive away the mosquitoes, so that women would not suffer from their bites while in the gardens. People were not permitted to climb on the lodge in which it was kept. If it was dropped or touched, the wind would blow. 778 821

According to tradition, a woman went to the Missouri River for water when the river was at flood stage. Driftwood was floating down. When she dipped up the water, she saw the pipe and an ear of yellow flint corn together in the water. She took the pipe and corn home and gave them to her husband, who called all the holy men to tell them of her discovery. They were afraid of the pipe because a high wind came up when one dropped it and did not want to keep it. They put it back in the water, thinking it would float on wherever it was going to. The woman found the pipe and corn four times at four different places where they camped. The holy men concluded that, since they had tried to get rid of it but it kept following them, it should be kept. They thought the corn should be divided among the families. In that way yellow flint corn was introduced in the tribe. 778 773

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clan or who had occupied unclaimed territory, erected his own lodge, and marked the outlines of pits. Inheritance of trapping sites was through the clan, and one could not secure permanent ownership of a trapping site owned by a man of a different clan. The nearest clan relative took possession of the site upon the death of the owner if it had not been sold. One could pay for permission to use a particular site for a season from one of a different clan when the owner did not intend to make use of it himself, but he was obliged to use the pits already dug and could not prepare new ones. In other words, a man could rent a site from an owner of a different clan, but he could not buy. When a site had been abandoned so long that its owner was not known, another could claim the site. Evidently little trouble was experienced over claims to sites, since a violator would have been severely criticized. There was, in addition, a religious taboo, since both the eagles and the bears belonging to the ritual occupied major bundle status in each tribe, and a trespasser could never have attained a position of prominence in either tribe.

The ritualistic differences between the Mandan and Hidatsa were no greater than those between separate bundle lines within the same village. Wolf Chief's narrative (to be quoted later) illustrates the extent to which one tribe borrowed from the other in purchasing an eagle-trapping bundle. His father, Small Ankles, purchased his rights from Big Cloud, who advised him to receive his instructions from Arrowhead Earrings, a Mandan, who was better informed. A study of individual bundle lines reveals that borrowing back and forth has been going on regularly since the smallpox epidemic of 1837, and from traditional information from informants this also applied to all their neighboring tribes as well. In native theory the particular ritual practiced at any time depended on these three factors: (1) the instructions received when the bundle was transferred; (2) elements of other eagle-trapping bundle rituals purchased; and (3) vision instructions.

A bundle-owner could sell his rights four times, and it was only when the fourth sale was made that the original bundle was transferred, new bundles being made up for the first three sales. The amount of instruction received depended on the desires of

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the purchaser. He could receive instructions and rights in a limited number of fundamental rites to trap eagles without going into the entire lore belonging to the ceremony. He could then lead trapping expeditions to established trapping grounds, open the lodge, receive the birds brought in by the trappers, and send the spirits away. He could not, however, dig new pits, make offerings to the holy women, or perform the many other simple rites associated with these expeditions. He would not attract the best trappers on his expeditions, as informants stated that successful trappers preferred to go out with leaders who had special rites for all situations likely to arise.

Some bundle-owners took particular interest in the mythology and rites belonging to eagle-trapping to the extent that supplementary purchases were made. In time, these leaders became authorities on eagle-trapping and received popular recognition comparable to specialists in any other pursuit such as warfare or hunting. Whenever such an owner discovered that another had a sacred song or simple rite used in connection with eagle-trapping, a purchase could be made, regardless of the clan of the seller. In this manner new elements modified or supplemented the original bundle rites.

The rites were further modified by vision instructions. When Bear on the Flat received his bundle from his father, Belly Up, he was instructed not to permit anyone to touch the snake poles. Subsequently, Bear on the Flat received a vision from the snakes in which he was advised to permit his trappers to wipe their hands on the poles as the snakes' portion of the meal.

Every major ceremony, whether Mandan or Hidatsa, had a mythological origin, and, in this respect, eagle-trapping ceremonies occupied major bundle status. In theory, eagle-trapping was first employed by two classes of small bears, the small black bears that had their pits on the east side of the Missouri River and the small brown bears that trapped on the west bank. There were seven mythological eagle-trapping camps at which these small bears were accustomed to meet in autumn to catch the young black-tipped eagles (see Fig. 29).

The brown-bear camps were at: (1) Thunder Butte; (2) Knife River, near the present town of Golden Valley; and (3) Heart River Ravine, near the town of New Salem. The black-bear

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and the power is still there with it. They can still use me in catching the eagles, but I will not have to live where I am insulted." 539

The following narrative by Wolf Chief was a part of both his father's and his father-in-law's bundles and comes from the Mandan. The division of the bears into two groups representing two sides of the Missouri River is symbolic of the moiety division of the tribe into an east-side and a west-side seating arrangement for council meetings and the Okipa ceremony. The myth expresses the potency of the snare and gives the traditional origin of a number of songs and rites. 778 773 539

EAGLE-TRAPPING MYTH (BLACK AND BROWN BEARS) RELATED BY WOLF CHIEF[18]

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In the beginning all the Black Bears were said to be living on the north side of the earth, while on the south side were the small Brown Bears. All the bears on the left side of the river, from the Yellowstone and beyond, even down to Knife River, belonged to the Black Bears. The Brown Bears on the right side of the river would know ahead of time the main trails of the eagles and get there ahead of the others from the left bank. There was a place called One Cottonwood Camp, where the Yellowstone runs into the Missouri River. When the birds traveled, they always came through that country. At that time the Black Bears were catching young eagles there and would eat them, for they were tender. They caught only that kind, for they liked to eat them.

Brown Bear called himself the real spirit. He had so much power that he did not have to use bait but could use his own hands to catch them. He selected his place called Thunder Butte where he went to catch the birds by hand. One of the Brown Bears had selected his place, at the Knife River south of the town of Golden Valley where the brush runs to the east, to catch only black [illegible] He called it Sand Lodge from the sand stones around there. There was another place at Heart River called Heart River Ravine.

On the north side the Black Bears had a trapping place called First Trapping Camp, the highest butte just below Sanish. (The Hidatsa Four Bears used to trap there.) Another place was at Buckbrush Trapping Camp, the flat west of the Mormon church just below Shell Creek. They put up a trap there, for they saw many eagles. The pits were in the hills at The Slides and to the north; another trapping place was below Fishhook to the east on the high banks, and they called it High Butte Trapping Camp. We do not know if it was Sandy Lodge, Thunder Butte, or One Cottonwood that he had his lodge close to.

Brown Bear had a lodge in one of these places. He lost his little boy from one of these lodges. When he disappeared, they looked all over. It was foggy, and they could not see a long distance or find his tracks. After a while they learned that the eagles had hidden the boy. They went far away looking, but it was foggy all the time until they came to the Heart River east of Dickinson. There they thought they had discovered his tracks along the edge of the

18. For portions of this myth, also related by Wolf Chief, see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX, Part IV [1929]), pp. 156 and 214–16.

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Big Cloud's bundle was not complete; Iron Eyes had a main one.[22] Small Ankles would put up the lodge and put the snake pole in with the buffalo skull. He tied it into place with dark sage. I heard that once Old Woman's Grandson came in so they had the two poles brought in at that time to represent the snake.[23] 539

With respect to inheritance of trapping rights, rather marked differences exist between the Hidatsa and the Mandan. The former employed exclusively transfer from father to son or from individuals standing in the father-son relationship. Not a single instance of variation from the rule was observed except in the instance of Big Cloud's two sales to Wolf Eyes and Small Ankles. No doubt that exception can be traced to the circumstance that, though belonging to the Hidatsa Water-buster clan, Big Cloud lived in one of the Mandan villages with his Mandan father and Hidatsa mother. Hidatsa sales of trapping rights followed the normal pattern of bundle transfer from father to son, with a clan brother of the seller acting as sponsor to give instruction and prepare the bundle. Frequently a purchaser's brothers assisted in a joint purchase, taking possession upon death of the brother, but the next transfer would be to the son of original purchaser or his brother's son. 778 223 171 425

The small village of Awaxawi apparently had been strongly influenced by the Mandan, and clan inheritance was followed if the two bundles purchased just after the smallpox of 1837 were characteristic of all bundles formerly in the village prior to that epidemic.

Mandan inheritance of eagle-trapping bundles was affected by numerous factors. Except for the last generation in which it was from father to son, or other individuals standing in that relationship, inheritance was generally from one standing in the relationship of *pta'wadato'dE*, a special kinship term for the mother's brother and the mother's mother's brother. In tracing back inheritance of Mandan eagle-trapping bundles, one is impressed by a sudden change within a single generation to the Hidatsa pattern of purchasing from the father. 778 425 171

Iron Eyes' bundle had belonged in the WaxikEna clan for several generations. He purchased from his mother's brother before the Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook 423 223 778 425

22. He means the principal bundle.
23. See the myth of Old Woman Who Never Dies, chap. vi, above.

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423 Village, but he sold to his son after living one generation with
223 the Hidatsa. He inherited the eagle-trapping sites of his moth-
778 er's brother, but his son, Ben Benson, did not inherit his father's
425 trapping lodges, since they were of different clans. Trapping territory and lodges continued to be clan-inherited and were not affected by this change to father-son inheritance of bundles.

778 Residence also was a factor in determining Mandan bundle transfers. When marriage was arranged on the initiative of the
425 girl's parents, who selected the husband, the girl and her husband lived with her parents. As soon as it was evident that the marriage would become permanent, the girl's parents undertook what was known as "building up the son-in-law's reputation." First they would secure a white buffalo robe, which they presented to their son-in-law, who in turn would offer it to his own father's bundle.

If the young man came to regard the parents-in-law highly, he would, when successful in warfare, present his mother-in-law with a scalp, after which he could speak to her at will. Small Ankles lived in the same lodge with his wife and her parents, and he received his eagle-trapping rights from his father-in-law, Big Cloud, who also sold to his younger brother, Wolf Eyes. Wolf Chief, son of Small Ankles, was eligible to buy from his father. He also was invited to own his father-in-law's (Chief, a Mandan) eagle-trapping rights. This was an instance where a man (Hidatsa) was eligible to purchase his father's rights but through marriage to a Mandan and living in his parents-in-law's lodge could, according to Mandan custom, have inherited his father-in-law's bundle and rights.

Wolf Chief gave an account of a bundle transfer as told to him by his father, Small Ankles. The account illustrates quite definitely a considerable interchange of elements between the Mandan and Hidatsa, resulting in an enriched ceremonial life for both groups. The Hidatsa think of Small Ankles' rites as Hidatsa, but this account will show that the chief body of lore connected with the bundle was drawn from the Mandan.

223 WOLF CHIEF'S NARRATIVE OF A BUNDLE TRANSFER

778 I do not own the trapping rights, and by custom I should not tell; but,
425 since I have changed my ways, I will. My father, Small Ankles, did not get
159 the rights from his father but from Big Cloud, his father-in-law. Before Big

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Cloud[24] died, he told my father that it would be better for him to put up a sweat and thus receive the Small Bear, for he might get some use out of it. When people in the future would make offerings to the bears, he would receive presents.

Small Ankles told me that he got this Small Bear shortly after the smallpox. He said to me, "I treated my father-in-law well; he was like an older brother to me; that was the reason why he asked me to buy the medicines. I had to put up the sweat and some articles before I received it. At that time there were few trade goods, so I went out for buffaloes and saved about twenty-five hides. I had them tanned by the women. I prepared a sweat bath and called Big Cloud. He showed me two feet belonging to the little bear; one was without hide and was called Bone Foot. It was difficult to find a man who knew all the songs, but we remembered that there was a man named White Finger Nails. He had a son who knew the holy songs, so he was selected to come in and sing the songs. That man was a Mandan, Calf Woman's mother's father, named Arrowhead Earrings.[25] Big Cloud did not own a complete bundle but had only part of the rites and songs, so they selected this man since he knew them all. The man selected I called "father" because he and my father were in some way distantly related. Also I said that it would be best to have my father-in-law there too, for he knew some of the songs and knew how to put up the trap with the songs for the baits and pits. They met together to have the ceremony." Small Ankles was there. Big Cloud gave his medicines to Small Ankles and taught him how to trap, sing the songs, and set the baits. Then the other man gave him a small piece of bear hide and foot, telling him that when out trapping, if bad luck came, he could call him "father" and say what he wished to say, and Arrowhead Earrings would remember.

Big Cloud received the ten hides and said, "It will be all the better to let this other man have fifteen hides and a horse, for he is the one who did most to give you a complete ceremony."

When they covered the sweat lodge with the robes, there was a buffalo skull and the medicines that were to go to Small Ankles inside. Then they sang the holy songs. Big Cloud gave Small Ankles the bear foot, three snares, and eagle down, saying, "I give these to use when trapping; keep them in good order." Then they went in and sang a holy song and called some of the people to come in front of the sweat to be cleansed of the evil spirits.

There were not many people there, for most of the eagle-trapping bundles had died out during the smallpox; all who did own such bundles came there. Arrowhead Earrings said to Small Ankles, "When you go out eagle-trapping, remember this medicine is connected with trapping fish too, so you must not trap both in the same year. If you do, you will surely get into trouble, for this is holy. It is best to change off and go out after eagles one year and catch fish the next. If you use both the same year, trouble will come, for the fish have the stronger spirit."

There was a holy man with eagle medicine named Medicine Eagle [Mandan]. Small Ankles heard that he was holy and learned that, when any of the

24. Big Cloud had no sons and was living with his daughter, who had married Small Ankles.

25. Arrowhead Earrings was a Mandan of the WaxikEna clan and custodian of the Okipa lodge, where he lived with his family when the lodge was not needed for the ceremonies. His eagle-trapping rights were secured from White Finger Nails.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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people wanted to make offerings to the eagles, Medicine Eagle would draw the picture of the things that they offered.

Small Ankles said, "I was trying to call him to come to my place and inquired what he did about making the signs for the eagle, thinking that it would help me in eagle-trapping. I called him in and told him I would like to own 'how he drew the picture,' and the man said he was willing to let me have it. He said it was not necessary to put up a big sweat and ceremony but to give enough articles, and he would show me how. He also owned a holy song for eagle-trapping which I could use. He gave them both to me to use.

" 'I will save enough hides to buy it from you,' and the man said that he would be ready any time. I looked up eight hides and my wife tanned them. A mare and colt were included. I put up a feast besides and told the medicine man that I was ready to own the medicine. The man came painted. His face was red; his hair was over his forehead; he wore the longest wing feathers. He came in, and I said, 'Here is the material I have put up to own your medicine song; here are two sticks which represent the mare and colt; this food also goes along with it.'

"When the man saw that, he said, 'I am satisfied with it, my son. You have put up all these things, and I am happy.' I had a pipe ready and handed it to him. He called for a little fire and I carried him a coal, but before he began to smoke he held up his pipe to the sky and prayed, then to the ground, and then to the birds of the four directions. When he finished smoking, he said that he would sing the holy song which belonged to the bait and show me how to draw the picture, for, when any man makes an offering to the eagles, then that man will have the right to draw a picture on his robe.[26] Medicine Eagle said, 'I will show you how to make the picture, for one who makes an offering to his own medicines, the eagles. I have a holy song for that.' I [Small Ankles] was taught the song, and the man said that he had already heard that I had bought the right to trap and now with my holy song it would be all the easier to trap an eagle. He taught how to sing the holy song, but one was not supposed to sing it aloud, just loud enough so that the people could hear it. The song had some words.

Female eagles come back first.

"Then he taught me how to draw the picture and said, 'Some day the people may make an offering to the eagles, and then you can draw the picture. Have some mud on a stick. When you draw the picture, make first a crooked line for lightning and then one straight line alternating until you have made six or eight figures representing lightning. Pull out one of the wing feathers and put it on one corner of whatever they offer when you finish drawing the pictures. When you have finished, cut an ash stick and put the robe around it with sage fastened on the top of it. Have a belt around the middle. Put it beside the door of his lodge so that it will stand there. When you go out eagle-trapping, remember the holy song and think whether you are getting enough birds. If you think you are not getting enough, use that song, singing it on the way to the pit or while smoking the bait. When you go into the pit, sing it. When you are at the pit, lift the bait in the air to the west and sing. If an eagle shows up while you are singing, it means that you will be successful. Do not sing this song often, only when you need it very badly.' "

26. The practice of painting robes to depict bundle rights was universal with the Mandan but uncommon with the Hidatsa.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Small Ankles did not go out often, for there were many enemies. He did not like to go because of that. I went out along the Little Missouri River to Shoot-in-Nose Creek, and Small Ankles said I was four years old then. Then, Old Woman Crawling, Flying Above, and Big Cloud were along. There were old pits, but no one knew whose, so they fixed them in the same places. That is all right if one did not know whose they were. Many eagles were flying. One man stayed at home to protect the women. Big Cloud told of birds destroying the bait when the enemy appeared on the hill. The men freed the birds and ran away from the place. They traveled all night coming back. 223 778 425 159

The actual transfer of the bundle was a public event in both tribes. When a Hidatsa transfer was to be made, a clan brother of the seller occupied an important place, giving the instructions beforehand and directing the ceremonial transfer. He was recipient of most of the goods offered in payment. Attending the transfer ceremony and feast were all persons, male or female, owning a bundle containing a buffalo skull. These participants were considered the major bundle-owners of the tribe. 778 425

Mandan public transfer of this bundle was direct from seller to purchaser, and the only persons entitled to attend were legitimate owners of Eagle-trapping, Big Bird (this includes eagles, hawks, owls, thunder), Snake, and Bear bundles. Instruction in the techniques and rites of eagle-trapping was received directly from the seller without the assistance of a clan father. Each legitimate participant at the transfer received payment for his attendance and prayed for the success of the purchaser. Instruction was received from the seller privately, and appropriate payments were made from time to time during the period of apprenticeship. For instance, the buyer would be told that he should have so much goods ready at a stated time, and he would be taught how to erect the lodge; at another time how to dig the pits; etc. Each song would require its appropriate payment. When the feast was given, all knew that the buyer had received at least the minimum information necessary for leading eagle-trapping expeditions. Both tribes employed public transfers as an instrument for informing the population at large of the buyer's legitimate right to perform the ceremony. Transfer was always made in the village and never while on the trapping grounds.

There were two methods of organizing an eagle-trapping party depending on the inclination of the leader or bundle-owner. Some leaders selected their trappers, while others announced 223

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 their intentions of trapping at certain localities and called for volunteers. The bundle-owner was leader, and his authority began as soon as the party left the village. Announcement that they would be trapping at a specified site was made in the village as soon as a party was organized, in order that hunting parties or other eagle-trapping parties would know their whereabouts.

Trapping parties left for the trapping sites when the leaves began to change color in the fall. In the party would be the leadder and his trappers, together with their wives and children. It [224] being customary to hunt game for the winter's needs when the winds were not from a westerly direction, the women were taken along to cure the meat and prepare the hides.

223 346 Two types of lodges were used in connection with eagle-trapping. According to tradition, when Black Wolf visited the bears, he found them using a grass lodge consisting of a sweat-lodge frame covered with grass mats. When this lodge was used, the rigid rules associated with eagle-trapping were dispensed with. The bears had said, "When you use the grass lodge, there will be no rules." Any suitable location for the lodge could be agreed upon where it would be centrally located in relation to the pits. Neither were there rules governing the excavation of pits nor the appropriation of old ones. Each trapped where he chose, killed the birds, and secured the feathers. This type lodge was rarely used except when trapping in new territory under circumstances such that it was considered unlikely that the party would ever return there again to trap.

223 346 778 The second type lodge was known as the wood lodge. There were two variants of this type. When it was planned to return to the locality again, it was constructed on a four-post standard, each post having a fork at the top on which poles were suspended forming a square. The sides of the lodge were built by leaning poles against this standard to form a roughly conical structure. Bark and earth were banked around the outer edge of the lodge to a height of three feet for warmth and protection from attack. This was the preferred type lodge. With it went ownership of the adjacent pits and hunting territory. It was the residence of the males and was owned by the leader who had directed its construction. When used in connection with eagle-trap-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ping, the full ritual belonging to the bundle was used. These were permanent sites and were used from year to year. (The camps indicated in Fig. 28 used this lodge.) Transfer of ownership was through the clan, although a leader of a different clan could pay for the right to use a lodge and pits for a season when neither the owner nor a member of the owner's clan intended to use it. 223 346 778

A variant of the pole lodge was generally used when a new territory was being explored for the first time. In exterior form it resembled the four-post lodge but lacked the standard on which the poles were leaned. The structure was begun by lashing four poles together in the manner of the four-pole tepee of the Plains, after which poles were leaned together at the top forming a circular base and conical exterior. The base had the same exterior covering of bark and earth for protection from the weather as well as defense from enemies. 223 346

Many of these pole lodges are still to be found, even though eagle-trapping was generally discontinued fifty years ago. In the autumn of 1932 the writer accompanied Bear on the Flat, Crows Heart, and Mark Mato on an eagle-trapping expedition and use was made of a lodge and pits owned by Iron Eyes (born into the WaxikEna clan but raised in the Prairie Chicken clan), a member of Bear on the Flat's clan.

When a trapping party returned to an old site, the first duty was to repair the trapping lodge. Broken poles were taken out of the wall and replaced by new ones, after which the sides were banked with bark and earth. When six or eight men were in the party, the lodge was the size of the regular hide tepee. When parties of fourteen to twenty men went out, the lodge was enlarged to twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter. Hide tepees were never used for the men when on eagle-trapping expeditions. The lodge was always concealed in a thicket of timber near running water. The head of the lodge was in a westerly direction, usually more north than west so that the entrance was in a general direction of the Missouri River's course. The head of the lodge and adjacent area on that side of the lodge were considered holy. One could not cut wood, perform tasks not related to the ceremonies, or loiter there. The sweat lodge was south of the trapping lodge. The women erected their hide tepees or pole lodges without the four-post standard, and their drying scaffolds were 223 346 778

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 346 778 in line with the entrance of the ceremonial lodge to the east. Before the introduction of horses, women lived in pole lodges, but these lodges were replaced with hide tepees as soon as possession of horses became general.

223 796 When returning to a site that had been used the former year, the two poles representing the snakes were brought from their place on the west side of the lodge and placed at the door; otherwise new ones were cut and brought to the lodge. Before the leader carried in the sacred bundle, he would sing the Song to the Lodge, with the trappers seated around him. After this he addressed the bundle, announced that trapping was about to commence, and asked for good luck from the Bears, the Buffalo, and the Snare. He then entered the lodge, invited the Buffalo and the trappers to come in, and placed the Buffalo skull and bundle at the head of the lodge.

When all were inside, the leader sang the Song of the Snakes and called for the two snake poles, which were brought in and placed one on the left side and the other on the right side of the lodge with the large ends representing the heads pointed toward the head of the lodge and the altar. The leader then produced a short sharp stick, usually decorated with porcupine quills, and marked off the limits of the fireplace, after which a rectangular pit was excavated. The rectangular shape of the fireplace was symbolic of the eagle-trapping pit, while the fire was addressed as "Grandfather," meaning that "it goes back in time to the beginning of things." The two ash poles were then placed on opposite sides of the fireplace. The pole on the left side represented the male snake and the one on the right side represented the female.[27] According to Mandan-Hidatsa tradition, Two Men[28] once came along and stopped with a party trapping eagles and informed the leader that the eagles ate snakes while the snakes preferred to eat eagle down. In that way snake poles were used in the ceremonial lodge for the men to place their heads on while sleeping.

The leader placed a juneberry branch tied up with white sage, representing the moon and also identified with the black-tipped

27. The arrangement of these two poles was symbolic of the lodge in Red Butte, visited by Grandson, where the snakes slept with their heads on poles at opposite sides of the fire.

28. Lodge Boy and Spring Boy of Hidatsa mythology.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go across the divide;[45] there you will find blacktail deer meat;
Go across the divide; there you will find blacktail deer meat.

Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go to Grape River;[46] there you will find elk meat;
Go to Grape River; there you will find elk meat.

Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go to the Big Bend;[47] there you will find buffalo meat;
Go to the Big Bend; there you will find buffalo meat.
Now you are home.[48]

When this song was ended, the spirits of the eagles left to join their people in the meeting place of the spirits near a large body of water. Only the leaders could send the spirits away. Men without eagle-trapping rights were afraid to catch eagles for fear that the spirits, being unsent, might bring bad luck to the trappers. All who caught eagles gave the leader pay in feathers, calicoes, robes, or knives for singing these songs and sending the birds' spirits away.

Then the leader sang the cleansing song, rubbing all the feathers with the sage. He rubbed each person in the party to cleanse him and bring him back to a human being again. While trapping, the men were impersonating the small bears. My father gave each trapper a new name connected with the bears for the duration of trapping. Mandan generally had this change of names. If a trapper stumbled when out trapping, he would report it and get another name, otherwise he would have bad luck. Each man paid the leader for his name, but it was relinquished when the cleansing ceremony ended.

The leader and as many as wished went into the sweat lodge, where the trappers hung the feathers on the sides in imitation of the bear's lodge far to the north. The sweat-lodge rites completed the ceremonies, after which the families united again either to return home at once or to hunt along the way according to their inclinations.

Benson claimed to be the fourteenth owner of the bundle which he used. In order of succession from Black Wolf, the owners were reported as follows: (1) Black Wolf; (2) Bull Leg;

45. The Mandan called that section of the country between the Cannonball and Grand rivers "The Divide." The blacktail deer meat was believed to be on a high hill at the mouth of the Grand River and on the north bank.

46. The Little Bend of the Missouri River is at the mouth of the Cheyenne River, called by the Mandan Grape River.

47. The Big Bend of the Missouri is below Pierre, South Dakota.

48. The Mandan believed that the Missouri River entered the ocean not far below the Big Bend. This was believed to be the winter home of migratory waterfowl, corn, and the large birds of the eagle family (see chap. ix).

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(3) Round Clouds; (4) White around the Arms; (5) Fills His Lodge; (6) White Finger Nails; (7) Blind; (8) Berdache; (9–10) not able to recall their names; (11) White Finger Nails, WaxikEna clan; (12) Arrowhead Earrings, WaxikEna clan; (13) Iron Eyes, WaxikEna clan; and (14) Ben Benson, Tamisik clan.

Two accounts of eagle-trapping by Bears Arm were recorded in their entirety, without interruption by the writer, in order to determine what the informant considered the essentials of trapping. These are to be found in the Appendix. It was evident after this study had continued some time that special emphasis was given to certain aspects of a ceremony while other sections of the ritual received little attention. In the two eagle-trapping accounts it will be noted that Bears Arm emphasized these points: (1) the leader and persons attending; (2) the preparation of the ceremonial lodge, pits, and baits; (3) the seating arrangement and officers; (4) the differences in ritual between bundle-owners; (5) the number of birds caught and the names of the successful trappers; (6) the torturing of the trappers; and (7) the final cleansing rites.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter VIII

CATFISH-TRAPPING CEREMONY

THIS ceremony was associated with the eagle-trapping bundle, and both possessed a common mythological origin from Black Wolf. There was no direct reference to the fish trap in the Black Wolf myth, but in theory the sacred snare could catch anything. Crows Heart explained that even a buffalo corral was in reality a large snare, so a man owning a sacred snare was selected to stand on a high hill and by means of motions, as of snaring the buffaloes, pulled the animals by its magical powers into the corral.[1] War leaders took their sacred snares along when looking for enemies for supernatural aid in ensnaring and destroying their foes.

Purchase of catfish- and eagle-trapping rites could be made simultaneously, or the fish-trapping rights could be bought at a later date. Some men bought rights in only one of the ceremonies. A seller possessing rights in both ceremonies could sell each ceremony four times. Associated closely with these two ceremonies were the sweat lodge and the snare rites for doctoring and officiating at the buffalo and antelope pounds.

Although the Missouri River carries considerable sediment, catfish are very abundant. The presence of catfish bones in ancient Mandan and Hidatsa villages indicates that considerable use was made of these fish as food.

When a fish trap was in use, the black-bear hide was kept in the owner's lodge, laid out on calicoes on a four-post standard with its head pointing toward the fireplace. Food was offered to the bundle each day while the fish trap was being used.

Ben Benson remembered these Mandan who had catfish-trapping rights about 1880:

1. Black Tongue (Big Turtle). He was also custodian of the Okipa turtle drums, Hoita in the Okipa, owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a singer in the Corn ceremonies.

1. Refer to my manuscript, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization," for an account of the ceremonies associated with the buffalo corral.

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2. Hits on Back. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, a Holy Woman Robe bundle, and a Bird bundle of Sikaraxa.

3. Iron Eyes. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, a Wolf ceremony bundle, and custodian of an Okipa turtle drum.

4. Old (Black) Bear. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle.

5. Little Shield. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a Big Bird (Thunderbird) bundle.

6. Big Walker. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle.

It will be noted that each of these men also had eagle-trapping rights. In addition to these six bundle-owners, there were a number of men possessing fish-trap rights without securing a bundle. Such rights were acquired by payment of goods to a bundle-owner, who authorized the construction of a trap with instruction that the purchaser address his prayers to the seller's bundle. The following account by Crows Heart illustrates purchase by this method. His maternal grandfather had owned fish-trapping rites which had not been passed on. To receive instruction, his mother's sister directed him to the nearest relative of the opposite moiety.

CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF FISH-TRAPPING

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When I was a young man, I often fished with a line and metal hooks bought at the trading post. I never had very good luck catching fish that way. I only caught small catfish, bullheads, and white shiners which were full of bones. I often went down to the river in the fall when the water was low and helped the old men bail the fish out. They were catching the fish at night. Their fish were large ones, mostly catfish. Many of the very old people, especially the old women whose husbands were dead, came to the traps, and the men would give them fish. This made the old women very happy, and they would sing songs of praise to the old men. When I saw how happy it made them, I decided to trap fish when I grew up and make the old people happy.

One day I asked my "mother" how I could get the right to make a fish trap, and she said, "Go to Old Black Bear;[2] he is the man you must see."

When she said that, I asked, "Must I pay him?"

She replied, "You will have to pay him a horse and some blankets."

When I was nearly thirty years old, I invited Old Black Bear to my earth lodge. My wife prepared a feast of meat, bread, and coffee. I spread out a new robe on the floor, and he sat down on it. I had an overcoat I had paid $30.00 for; I put that over his shoulders. I also gave him a good gun, a fair horse, a redstone pipe, a good butcher knife, and three or four pieces of calico. Then he said, "What's up? What's all this for?"

I replied, "I want you to do me a favor. I want you to give me the right to make a fish trap."

He said, "I will give you the right to make and set out a fish trap. There's not much time today. I will teach you how to make the trap. If you think it

2. Crows Heart's father's moiety.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter IX

BIG BIRD CEREMONY

796 773 THE birds belonging to this ceremony were classed in four groups: (1) hawks, ravens, and crows; (2) young calumet eagles; (3) old calumet eagles; and (4) bald eagles. According to the myth, the thunderbird was considered a relative of these birds, while in other myths the thunderbird was referred to as any one of the four groups of birds listed above.

796 821 The various rites were frequently referred to as the Thunderbird ceremony. However, birds other than those included in these rites, as well as the Sun and Moon and the snakes, were believed to possess the supernatural power of producing thunder and lightning.

796 778 773 There were two principal bundles appertaining to the ceremony. The Black Medicine bundle owned by Red Buffalo Cow (Prairie Chicken clan) was traditionally founded by Black Medicine, while the Sweet Medicine bundle was believed to have been founded by Grows in Lee Places, his twin brother. The latter bundle was last owned by Sand (Speckled Eagle clan). These two bundles came from Nuptadi Village. A second Black Medicine bundle owned by Little Shield (Prairie Chicken clan) [614] came from Fort Clark Village. The linked character of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle clans was expressed by the inheritance through the clan of two closely related bundles from two "brothers" of different clans.

The two bundles had a common mythological origin based on the exploits of two brothers. The myth was supplied by Ben Benson, while much of the data on rites relating to the bundle were secured from White Calf.

BIG BIRD CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEN BENSON[1]

773 539 This account goes back to the time when the villages were near the mouth of Heart River. Chief Bird was the head man of one of the villages. His sons

1. For another relation of this myth by the same informant see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," XXXII [1938]), pp. 53–62.

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Chapter X

THE SMALL HAWK CEREMONY

796 ONLY the principal bundle belonging to this ceremony[1] re-
778 mained in existence following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, although Scattercorn had heard that there had been a number of them formerly. The surviving bundle came from Mitutanka. The rites occupied a high place in the tribe's ceremonial life, and the small hawk, belonging to the bundle, was impersonated by one of the performers in the Okipa ceremony. The other bundle lines, of which there were said to have been several, were broken by the death of all eligible inheritors.

The single surviving bundle was owned by Berdache and her sister of the Tamisik clan and their husband of the WaxikEna clan. The latter two died after their daughters Calf Woman and Stands Yellow had married Hits on Back who had come to his wives' lodge to live. Hits on Back of the WaxikEna clan and his two wives bought the bundle from Berdache.[2] The bundle consisted of a sacred buffalo robe which traditionally came from Toad Earrings, mother of Buffalo Woman, a hide rattle representing Buffalo Woman, a gourd rattle representing Corn Silk, sage and magpie tail feathers representing membership in the Holy Woman Society, a stuffed hawk with blue shoulders and yellow spotted breast representing Split Wing Feathers and Looks Down To Hunt, a small ash digging stick, a wooden pipe, and a buffalo skull.

The bundle could be divided into two sections. One section
778 consisted of the hawk, sage, hide rattle, pipe, and a buffalo skull
421 and was transferable to a man of the WaxikEna clan, while the
425 other section, the sacred robe, gourd rattle, sage, magpie and tail feathers, could be bought by the wife. Subdivided bundles seem to have soon lost their hereditary character. Each section

1. The bundle is known as the Sikaraxa bundle, referring to the small hawk or kite mentioned in the sacred myth.

2. This purchase illustrates the character of bundle purchase through the female line.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

could be sold four times. The usual transfer was to sisters married to one man, in which instances the women acquired rights in the sacred robe and other paraphernalia of that section, and the husband took over the balance of the bundle. Such purchases were made only after several years of married life, as it was considered a sign of bad luck for common bundle-owners to quarrel. Crows Heart explained that having a common interest in a bundle was a powerful factor in making marriages permanent. Sale was not made until the parent-in-law taboo had been removed.

The prominence of these bundles is demonstrated by their representation in the Okipa ceremony. During the early summer all men owning primary and secondary rights in a Small Hawk ceremony met in one of their earth lodges to select two young men to represent their bundles in that summer's Okipa ceremony. Either young men of this group or men who were eligible to inherit a bundle were selected to dance in the ceremony and to receive goods offered to Small Hawk bundle-owners.

Women owning rights in the bundle were entitled to dress in the sacred robe, place sage and magpie tail feathers in the hair, and carry the ash digging stick at the close of the Okipa ceremony, when separate offerings were made to them by the Okipa Maker and his fellow-fasters and on other occasions when a feast was made to the bundle as a Buffalo-calling ceremony.

The rites are based on the exploits of Corn Silk, who visited the small hawk at his lodge on the eastern horizon where he lived with his mother. This small hawk, being a good hunter, taught the Buffalo-calling rites. Because he could produce thunder, he also introduced a rain-calling rite. His son, Looks Down To Hunt, inherited all his father's powers.

The holy robe and its rites have as their mythological origin Looks Down To Hunt's experiences on the northern horizon where he encountered his wife's mother who lived in a large earth lodge. After avoiding many hazards which she had set up to protect her people, the buffaloes, she was obliged to free these animals. The Mandan had many sacred robes, but each had its separate origin myth.

The myth throws light on the native theories of the universe. In one place Looks Down To Hunt asked the spider for his body

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

773 in order that he could retreat to the lowest level in the universe.
772 It was believed that the earth comprised four horizontal levels and that the surface of the earth was the top level. The sky was likewise made up of four semicircular hemispheres shaped like an earth-lodge roof and supported by four posts. This belief was associated with rites performed by a female robe-owner whenever a new lodge was erected or an old one repaired.

796 There was no spring or autumn bird feast, as in the case of the Big Bird bundles. When the bundle-owners were paid to per-
778 form the Buffalo-calling ceremony, the man officiated as the singer, carried the rattles, and wore the hawk on his head; his wife was dressed in the robe, wore the sage and magpie tail feathers, used the ash stick to dig a small hole near the head of the lodge, and "called up the buffaloes," as had been done by Frog Earrings in the mythology. A young man, about to go to war, asked the help of a bundle-owner belonging to his father's clan and promised to make an offering to the bundle upon his return. For this, he received a feather to wear on his head when in battle.

778 The sacred robe was held in high regard as a means of warding off misfortune. Because of the wicked disposition and power
773 of Frog Earrings, whom the robe represented, it was believed that men took to wearing women's clothing and followed female
[828] avocations. She was also believed to be the cause of insanity,
[826] feeble-mindedness, malformations, twisted jaws, and premature
[845] births.

SMALL HAWK MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[3]

773 It was the fall of the year. Corn Silk and her nine brothers were living to-
539 gether. Whenever any young man would ask her to marry him, she would refuse. One of the brothers always spoke for the young man, but there was one of them who never paid any attention to her or urged her to marry. A young man, an unusually fine hunter, asked her to marry, and the brother who had been silent was disappointed, for he thought she would surely marry this one. He said to her, "I have never spoken before, so I think you should heed my words. At other times, our other brothers acted as spokesmen. This man is such a good provider you should marry him. You will have a comfortable home and everything you need. I think you should listen to me."

Corn Silk did not obey the request, and the mother was angry and said, "One of your brothers never spoke, but this man was a good provider, and he

3. Another version of this myth is reported in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 63–76.

Chapter XI

THE SNOW OWL CEREMONY

796 THERE were four separate rituals belonging to this bundle.
778 They were: (1) medicine feast to the owls; (2) arrowmaking rites; (3) buffalo-calling rites; and (4) Holy Woman rites.

Each of these rites relates to a specific section of the sacred myth wherein Black Wolf was taken prisoner by the snow owl. The experiences of Black Wolf in his excursion into the sacred world formed the basis for the performance of the various rites. Although it was not possible to secure a detailed account of a bundle transfer, a number of informants had participated sufficiently in the various rites to secure an adequate picture of the mythological background and pattern of the ceremony in relation to the larger tribal ceremonial pattern.

The medicine feast to the two owls in the bundle followed the regular tribal pattern. Young men going to war would pledge a feast to the owls for success and would receive an article from the bundle to wear into battle. Several times during the bundle-owner's active years, he and those owning rights in the bundle would prepare a "renewal"[1] feast to the bundle. There was the usual period of preparation. To the feast would be invited all leading bundle-owners, who would pray for the success of the giver and receive goods for their part in the ceremony. At the close of the ceremony the bundle-owner and his family would be virtually destitute. Those dreaming of the snow owl and being otherwise eligible by the inheritance rules could buy rights in the owls and have new bundles made up. Sales could be made
796 four times. These subdivisions of main bundles seem to have
778 lost their hereditary character in a few generations.

The arrowmaking rites were associated with the two owls of
411 the bundle, and the arrowmaker's tools were given to Black

1. Renewal feasts were not unique to this bundle alone. All major tribal bundle-owners were expected to give renewal feasts from time to time to enhance the status of the bundles.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Wolf as payment for his services to these birds in the sacred myth. According to tradition, only those who had purchased the right made arrows. Arrowmaking techniques were taught by certain bundle-owners. It is highly improbable that any living informant at the time this study was made was able to enumerate all bundles with arrowmaking rights. At least the following, which is no doubt only a partial list, had arrowmaking rights: Eagle-trapping; Big Bird; Snow Owl; and Woman Above bundles. All of these bundles were associated with birds of prey.

The belief was that certain men were arrowmakers in early times and that those in need of arrows bought their supply. People without the rights were not allowed to stand around when arrows were being made. Incidentally, pottery-making was also a secret art, and the women bought the rights and knowledge in the techniques of their mothers or clanswomen, using only such designs as they were instructed to make. There was a song to the arrows and another when approaching the thicket where the shafts were secured. The stone tips were believed to have been first secured from the beavers.

The buffalo-calling rites were performed during the winter and were initiated by a young man dreaming of the buffaloes. Woman Living in Dog Den Butte (Buffalo Woman) had said in the myth, "In the future, when any Indian thinks of me, he must make offerings to me and give his wife to the one who is head of this medicine."

The three officers in the ceremony were (1) the bundle-owner and his wives, who sat to the left side near the head of the lodge and were the singers; (2) a woman impersonating Woman Living in Dog Den Butte, who wore a buffalo robe with hair side out and had sage and magpie tail feathers in her hair, her place being at the head of the lodge; and (3) a man impersonating the brothers who lived in Dog Den Butte; he had red marks painted on his skin indicating the kinds of wounds a man could receive in battle, and his place was on the right side of the lodge near the door.

The Okipa lodge was used for the ceremony. After a young man had made the vow, robes and other goods were accumulated for the ceremony. A man received help from his wife, brothers, sisters, clan brothers and sisters, and the people of both his

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Den Butte would be with the enemy. The performers were then cleansed with sage by the leader and left the lodge. The giver and his wife remained to assist in the division of the goods. Then a man with rights in one of the Holy Woman bundles entered to announce that there were a great many holy women who were always working for the benefit of the Mandan.[3] These women came in dancing and received a part of the goods. 796

The officers of the ceremony, the giver, and his wife went to the bundle-owner's lodge where a sweat lodge was ready. After the cleansing ceremony, all received food prepared by the bundle-owner's wives.

Persons giving the ceremony within the memory of living informants were Standing Bear, Belly Up, Foolish Bear, and Bear on the Flat.

Women could buy the right to wear the buffalo robe, representing Woman Living in Dog Den Butte, and to dance in the Buffalo-calling ceremony. She was also entitled to wear the magpie tail feathers and sage on her head, as well as to carry an ash digging stick when other women representing various Holy Women met to dance. 796 778

A complete bundle contained the following articles: (1) arrow-straightener of buffalo rib with perforations; (2) wooden groover; (3) rawhide with sand glued to it as polisher; (4) grapevine; (5) tanned fawnskin; (6) two feet of white owl; (7) two feet of the small owl; (8) yellow and black clay for painting; (9) one large white-owl wing feather; (10) gray sage; (11) bow and lance; (12) buffalo robe; (13) magpie tail feathers; and (14) plain black elbow pipe. 778

Hits on Back was the only owner of a complete bundle which had come from Nuptadi Village. Inheritance was in the Waxi-kEna clan, since the ceremony was related to the Okipa. Related items in the bundle could be sold four times, but the last sale was of the entire original bundle. 778 425 614

When sales were made of portions of the bundle, transfer was from father to son or individuals in that relationship.[4] Partial

3. Actually, after the smallpox epidemic, there were few women holding rights in the Holy Women bundles.

4. The practice of transmitting principal bundles within the clan and secondary or partial bundles from father to son is not unique to this ceremony along. See Old Woman Who Never Dies myth (chap. vi) and the Okipa ceremony (chap. iv) for additional data.

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778 425 614 sales were as follows: (1) arrowmaking rights (Items 1, 2, 3, 4, 10); (2) owl rights (Items 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10); and (3) Holy Woman rights (Items 10, 11, 12, 13). The buffalo-calling rights were reserved for the main bundle-owner. There is no evidence of a bundle coming from Mitutanka Village.

SNOW OWL CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[5]

773 539 A long time ago the Mandan were divided up into groups trapping eagles along the creeks west of the Missouri River. They were living in the usual eagle-trapping lodges made on the four-post standard. Black Wolf was one of the party. Being a good hunter, Old Black Bear was glad to have him along. He would go out into the pit whenever the winds were from the west and he was catching many birds. One warm afternoon, when in his pit, he became sleepy and was dozing off when he heard a rumbling sound. He awoke instantly. This same sound occurred on three consecutive days, but each time he woke up. On the fourth day, he was asleep when it occurred.

When he finally woke up, his pit was so dark that he thought night had come. When he touched the roof of his pit, he found that a large rock covered it, holding him prisoner beneath. When he could not get out, he cried. He lost all track of time. At last he saw daylight and was glad to get out of the pit. He found himself in a strange country. He saw a high hill and went there to get his directions again. From there he saw timber farther on, and at the edge of it there was a very small man motioning with his robe for him to come over. He went to the stranger and found him to be a small man, almost a dwarf, with a fair complexion, yellow hair, and a slightly hooked nose. This little man spoke in Mandan, and Black Wolf was glad to hear a voice again. He was invited to a lodge which was a four-post eagle-trapping lodge. There he saw a middle-aged man sitting at the head of the lodge making arrows. The arrowmaker did not speak, but the little man asked him to sit down.

After a while the arrowmaker said to the little man, "My helper, you have brought in a stranger. Prepare food for him."

The little man brought in dried meat and fat which he cooked over the coals. When it was crisp, he placed it on a wooden platter and set it before Black Wolf. Being very hungry, he ate it all up. Then the little man brought him water in a buffalo horn.

When Black Wolf had eaten, the arrowmaker said to the little man again, "It is time for us to eat now." The meat Little Man brought in was from around the sinews of the back. This he pounded up with a stone hammer and made into pemmican. Then he brought out an earthen kettle full of water and set it onto the fire. When the water was hot, he brought out a white substance and put it into the kettle. Then he said, "The meal is ready."

The arrowmaker said, "Bring my paint," and the Little Man ran to obey him. The paint was yellow, and the arrowmaker daubed spots of it all over his body. He tied a scalp on his left wrist, then stood up and danced around the fire to the rhythm of his own breathing. Each time he came to the kettle, he

5. Another version of this myth is recorded in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 149–54.

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Chapter XII

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY

796 THE ceremony is called HapminakE, meaning "Day Boat"
778 or "Day Traveler." At least five distinct Mandan bundle lines were in existence in 1837, represented by Arrowhead Earrings (custodian of the Okipa lodge), who sold to his daughter, Spring Woman, and her husband, who sold to Calf Woman, principal contributor of data on this ceremony; Bull Otter, who sold to his son, Clam Necklace, who sold to his son Ole Bull (still living); Short Bull, whose bundle was bought by his daughter, Diamond Snake, who sold to her son, Percy Baker (still living); Red Buffalo Cow, who sold to his daughter, Antelope Woman; Four Bears, who died during the smallpox epidemic of 1837 without making a sale, although one son dreamed of the Old Woman Above and dressed as a woman thereafter. This is a greater number of bundle lines than it was possible to identify for the Hidatsa villages. The Arrowhead Earrings bundle was inherited in the clan and was considered the principal or original bundle. The other bundles were sold from father to son.

796 The ceremony was performed to the Sun, Moon, and Old
782 Woman Above, their mother. Some bundle lines included rites to Old Woman Above's daughter,[1] an evil spirit who was blamed
776 for much of the tribe's misfortunes. The ceremony differs in function from most ceremonies in that it was performed to ward off misfortunes sent by these evil mythological gods. Other sacred beings are either neutral or helpful, but not so with the Sun or his sister. They were cannibals and brought miscarriages, insanity, twisted faces, droughts, death, and misfortunes to the people. Ceremonies were rites of appeasement. The Sun was a cannibal who brought death to members of war parties and carried their bodies to his mother's lodge above, where she prepared them for his meals. He would not, however, knowingly

1. Called Omahank-Chika by Maximilian (see *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIII [Cleveland, 1906], 302).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

eat those he had sent dreams to or those who had his bundles 796
and gave feasts or offerings of goods to him regularly. The pres- 782
ence of so many bundle lines, both original and secondary, sur- 776
viving the smallpox of 1837, indicates the popularity of such bundles.

This was a very difficult bundle ceremony to secure informa- 778
tion about. All tribal ceremonies were secret. The difficulty in 124
securing information on this ceremony was based on fear of death. Calf Woman explained that, since she had joined the church and was not likely to sell rights in her other bundles four times, she was always willing to explain things in her other bundles. She had described everything Wilson and Lowie asked of her and never felt fear of the loss of good fortune.[2] She added:

> I showed you the masks yesterday that belonged in the Okipa ceremony. 778
> Of course, I smoked pine branches before I opened the bundle, but I always
> do that. I don't feel the same way about the Peope Above bundle. The Moon 776
> in the bundle doesn't worry me, but Sun is an evil spirit. He brought death
> to our warriors. My first husband was killed on the warpath even though his
> father and mother had a People Above bundle which together with my hus-
> band's sisters we would have had rights had he lived. So, you see, sometimes
> the Sun will even kill his own. It may be that the Sun had already blessed the
> enemy and adopted him as a son was why my husband was killed. This Old
> Woman Above is mean, but she is fair. Her daughter is evil; she causes men
> to leave their wives and little children; she causes insanity, fits, and feeble-
> mindedness. People are always careful to follow the rules belonging to these
> bundles, or their neighbors blame them when someone breaks a leg or has a
> tree fall on him. I worried last night because I had promised to tell you the
> myth.

Wolf Chief expressed the same fears when asked to explain 124
the Hidatsa ceremony to Woman Above. That there was a rich 776
ritualism connected with these bundles is evident from isolated data appearing in other sacred myths. There are a number of qualified informants, but to date it has been impossible to secure complete information from them. Variations no doubt existed between villages and even in bundle lines within the same village, but this could not be determined, since such information was not obtainable from Calf Woman.

Bundle purchase followed the normal tribal pattern. The in- 778
struction was directly between seller and buyer, which, when 425
completed, was followed by a medicine feast at the time the transfer was made. Attendance was limited to persons with

2. Gilbert L. Wilson and Robert H. Lowie.

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778 425 bundles containing articles representing sacred beings believed to be living in the world above, which would include People Above bundles, Star, and Holy Women bundles.

778 755 Bundle-owners doctored for insanity, feeble-mindedness, spasms and fits, premature births, and paralysis. Payment was made if the patient recovered, or, when the case was given up as hopeless, the relatives requested that the doctor continue his efforts. Pine needles were burned as incense, and the Black Medicine root was chewed and blown over the victim. The songs were sung while using a large gourd rattle.

778 Calf Woman believed that the bundles were primarily war bundles because the Sun was a cannibal who brought war parties together and had some killed so he could eat them. Men having the Sun as their god believed that it would be the enemy who would be killed.

778 425 One could sell rights in the bundle four times but usually reserved singer rights and the rattle for the oldest daughter and her husband. Women buying with the husband held Holy Woman rights to Old Woman Above and were entitled to wear magpie feathers and a braid of sweet grass and to carry an ash digging stick when attending a medicine feast.

772 Calf Woman added this general information about the beliefs associated with the ritual of the ceremony:

> The world is in three layers: above world; the land we live on; and the lower land. First Creator and Lone Man created the land we live on. These lands and the sky are held apart by four large posts, for the universe is a large earth lodge. The earth is floating on water which separates it from the lower land because water comes out of the ground. There are people living on these three lands.
>
> 821 Sun dies during an eclipse. When there is a total eclipse of Sun, those with People Above bundles, which always includes Sun, burn pine spills that come from the Rocky Mountains, while all the people cry. Even the dogs cry. If the people are on the march when Sun dies, they stop to cry until Sun comes back to life. Sometimes Sun is sick, and then only part of the sun is dark.
>
> Comets and constellations are people who once lived on the earth as holy people. The people were getting careless and broke the rules and did not treat these holy people right, so they went back to the sky and are making their home there now. When one sees a star going across the sky, it is because it is changing places, traveling as an arrow.
>
> 838 I saw three men who dressed like women; one was a Mandan, a brother to Four Bears;[3] the other two were Hidatsa. If a man dreams of the Holy Women and later finds a rope or porcupine quills in the forest, that is a sign that these

3. Four Bears also had a son who dressed in women's clothing.

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women want the man to pick it up. If he picks it up, but few do, he dresses like a woman. 838

There are three women, one in each of the three places where Sun stops to smoke. They are his sisters. Their names are Sunrise Woman, Above Woman, and Sunset Woman. They are all evil women. Because Sun is my god, I have the right to give children such names as Lone Woman from Sun's mother, Buffalo Woman from the buffalo skull, Digs Turnips or Chokecherry Tree from the Bear. 776 553

Although the woman represented in the Shell bundle is one of the Holy Women, rights in the People Above ceremony did not carry rights in the Shell bundle. 778 776

These Holy Women cause twisted faces and insanity, and people with rights in the bundle can cure them. I have the right also to doctor those thrown from horses or hit with an ash stick. This right comes from the People Above bundle. [553] [828]

The myth Calf Woman had been taught when buying the bundle was as follows: 773 539

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY CALF WOMAN

Three people go together in this story; they are Sun, Moon, and Old Woman Above. A long time ago a young woman named Corn Silk wanted to marry Sun. She went to a very old woman, who was a Holy Woman, to get instructions as to where Sun lived and how she might reach him. This Holy Woman said, "Your grandmothers, the mice, are living on the prairies. You can stop at their earth lodges each night on the way."

She started on her journey and came to the home of the lodge mice about sundown. She walked up to the lodge and stood outside. One of the children who came outside saw her and ran inside to tell the mice about it. The old women told the little mouse to invite her in. She asked the woman who was doing the cooking to prepare Corn Silk some ground beans for her supper. The young woman had buffalo fat along; she gave some of it to the mice to use, for their hands were chapped from digging beans. She also had some blue stone beads along, and she gave some of them to the old women. She slept there and the next morning went on.

The lodge mice told her that there was another family of mice a little farther on. She reached them at sunset. They were the white-breasted mice. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads as before. She also gave them fat for their chapped hands. One of the old women asked her where she was going, and she replied that she was on her way to marry Sun. They told her she would find another family of mice a little farther on.

She traveled all day and reached the lodge of the mosquito mice at sunset. One came out and saw her, and she was invited in as before. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads and buffalo fat.

They inquired, "Where are you going, my beautiful grandchild?"

She answered, "I am on my way to marry Sun."

She slept until morning and ate her breakfast with the mice. She traveled all day and reached the home of the pocket gophers at sunset. They saw her,

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a pile of stones on a high hill, and he went there to sit nearly every day. Since his father was a Thunderbird, he liked to sit on high places and sing his sacred songs.

• 778 Calf Woman's bundle contained these articles (see Fig. 40): (1) copper ring representing Old Woman Above; (2) copper ring representing Sun; (3) copper crescent representing Moon;[4] (4) one large gourd rattle; (5) six magpie tail feathers (the Holy Women were identified by these magpie feathers); (6) twelve owl tail feathers (the owl was associated with the moon and the

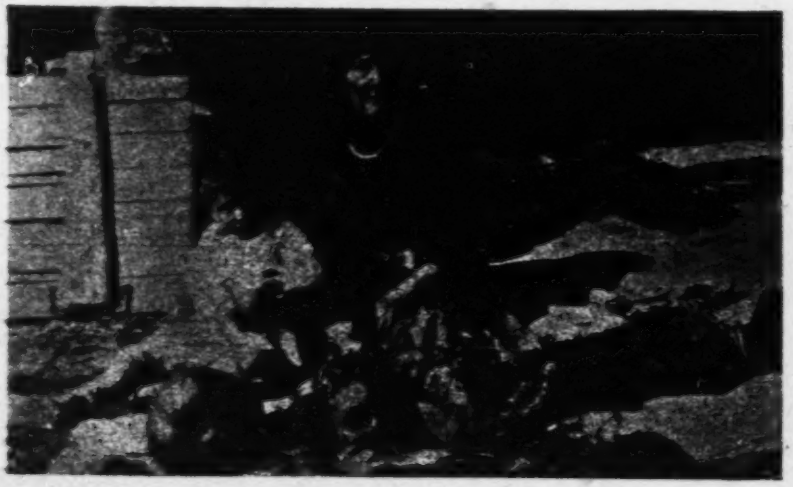

FIG. 40.—People Above bundle with owner, Calf Woman, and her grandson

night); (7) human scalp, said to be one that was taken from a Cheyenne Indian, killed by Moon when his son escaped; (8) left arm of a grizzly bear, used in the ceremony, since Corn Silk and her son did not have time to get a forearm of one of the Cheyenne; (9) grizzly bear's skull;[5] (10) tuft of long hair from a buffalo bull's lower jaw; (11) a strip of hide from a buffalo calf's head; (12) long hair from a buffalo's foreleg; (13) buffalo left horn; (14) a buffalo skull.[6] (The buffalo was represented in the

4. The three copper objects were obtained from white traders.

776 5. Scattercorn explained that the Holy Women were the only ones who could master a grizzly bear and compel it to work for them carrying wood from the forests. The significance of this skull was not clear to the informant. She thought that it had been added by a former owner and was not a true part of the bundle.

6. The rites were of major bundle status.

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bundle because Corn Silk also married a buffalo); and (15) one stuffed jackrabbit, which served as a scout for Sun. 778

Bundle-owners had shrines on the prairies near the village which they were expected to maintain. Whenever these shrines became weathered and the images of Sun, Moon, and Woman Above had fallen down, the bundle-owner, someone who had either dreamed of the bundle, or one planning to lead a war expedition, pledged a feast to the People Above bundle (see Fig. 41). Bundle-owners also put on renewal feasts to their bundles several times during middle age.

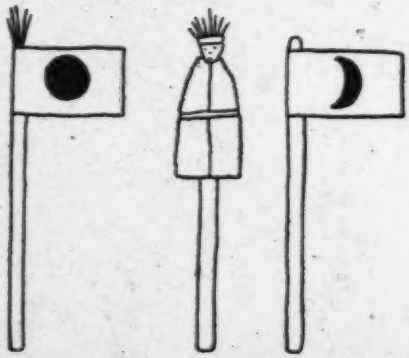

FIG. 41.—Images of People Above characters: Sun, Old Woman Above, and Moon

Calf Woman, who lived in the Okipa lodge with her parents and Arrowhead Earring (her mother's father), who was custodian of the lodge, observed a bundle renewal ceremony in which Clam Necklace and his wives gave a feast for his bundle. 796 431

CALF WOMAN'S NARRATIVE OF A BUNDLE RENEWAL CEREMONY

Bears Ghost was asking my mother for the lodge [Okipa lodge]. He wanted to give the Snake ceremony [secondary bundle belonging with the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles] for his parents, Foolish Chief and Dressed Up, from whom he was buying, when Clam Necklace came to ask for the lodge to give the People Above ceremony to his own bundle. He gave my mother several fine robes for the use of the lodge. He needed it for one day and night. She was glad that he was giving a feast to his own bundle, since he was a young man just building up his reputation. She had one of those bundles, and feasts like that gave her credit. He hung the robes on a line around the six central posts [see Fig. 42].

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People receiving goods were:

Women	Men
Big Chief Woman	Wolf Ghost
Spring Woman	Crows Breast
Lone Woman	Big Foot Bull
Hides and Eats	Afraid To Be Chief
Stays Yellow	Red Buffalo Cow
Unborn Calf Woman	Bull against Wind
Penned Up	Red Shield
Goes Out	Small Ankles
Owl Woman	Awaxniax (?)
Beaver Woman	Belly Up
Different Corn Silk	Broken Ax
Feather on Head Woman	
Otter Woman	
Eagle Woman	
Cedar Woman	

After the gifts were all presented, the people went home. Clam Necklace and his two wives went outside the village near the scaffolds for the dead and put up three new images, one of the Sun, one of the Moon, and another of the Old Woman Above. 796 778

The image of the Sun consisted of a round red disk painted on white calico or hide. Chokecherry brush was lashed to the top of the pole. The Old Woman Above image was made of a robe, hair side out, wrapped around an ash pole, with a piece of black hide for the face and white sage for the hair. It was tied to the pole with a belt which held the image in place. Moon's image was a red crescent painted on a white calico or hide lashed to an ash post [see above, Fig. 41]. The images were set up before sunrise.

Bundles having Old Woman Above's daughter represented added a fourth image. Instead of placing the images in a row with mounds in front of Sun's and Moon's images, the four images were placed at four corners of a square with the mounds in the center. White sage was set into the ground at the apex of the mound representing the Sun and black sage on the other mound representing the Moon. When two buffalo skulls were placed at the shrine, one was a bull's and the other a cow's skull. When four skulls were used, they were bull's skulls and represented buffaloes of the four seasons. These shrines became fasting places to which were brought skulls of relatives taken from the scaffolds. Enemies whose skulls lay on the prairies were brought to these shrines by those fasting there. Children's skulls were not placed in these circles. 778 764 [727]

The presence of enemy skulls in these circles was not unusual. Men fasting on the hills often collected the skulls of their enemies or went to the spot where the body lay to seek visions. 778 727 778

Maximilian referred to these shrines when he wrote:

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The Mandans have many other medicine establishments in the vicinity of their villages, all of which are dedicated to the superior powers. Mr. Bodmer has made very accurate drawings of those near Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, one of which consists of four poles placed in the form of a square; the two foremost have a heap of earth and green turf thrown up round them, and four buffalo skulls laid in a line between them, while twenty-six human skulls are placed in a row from one of the stakes at the back to the other; some of these skulls are painted with a white stripe. Behind the whole a couple of knives are stuck into the ground, and a bundle of twigs is fastened at the top of the poles with a kind of comb, or the teeth of a rake, painted red. The Indians repair to such places when they desire to make offerings or put up petitions; they howl, lament, and make loud entreaties, often for many days together, to the lord of life, which the French Canadians call weeping, though no tears are shed. A similar medicine establishment is represented where a couple of figures, very clumsily made of skins, were fixed upon poles, representing, as we were told, the sun and moon, probably the lord of life and the old woman who never dies.[7]

Catlin, who describes similar skull circles and mounds, writes:

When the scaffolds on which the bodies rest, decay and fall to the ground, the nearest relatives having buried the rest of the bones, take the skulls, which are perfectly bleached and purified, and place them in circles. . . . There are several of these "Golgothas" or circles of twenty or thirty feet in diameter, and in the centre of each ring or circle is a little mound of three feet high, on which uniformly rests two buffalo skulls (a male and female); and in the centre of the little mound is erected a "medicine pole," about twenty feet high, supporting many curious articles of mystery and superstition, which they suppose have the power of guarding and protecting this sacred arrangement. Here then, to this strange place do these people again resort, to evince their further affections for the dead—not in groans and lamentations however, for several years have cured the anguish; but fond affections and endearments are here renewed, and conversations are here held and cherished with the dead.[8]

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Catlin refers to the frequent visits to these shrines by the women, which was verified by Calf Woman. She added that the single mound and offering was to Sun's sister, one of the evil Holy Women. People sometimes placed skulls around her shrine also. This practice of assembling fasting shrines composed of images, mounds, and skulls was employed by the Hidatsa after moving to Like-a-Fishhook Village and was reported by both Wolf Chief and Bears Arm. Whether this practice was employed at the Knife River villages has not as yet been determined by actual archeological investigations. The Heart River Mandan sites have an abundance of disarticulated human bones, other

7. Maximilian, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

8. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 151–53.

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than skulls, which usually appear singly in refuse heaps, pits, or shallow graves.

Women took an active part in these ceremonies. Calf Woman thought that it was because they did not want their gardens burned by Sun, who she said once tried to marry Waving Corn. (People never prayed to the sun to bring warm weather. When the winter was severe, they prayed to Lone Man of the Okipa to come as the south wind.) When he was refused, he came four times, and each time the plants withered. Women would fast at these shrines to save their crops and ask help for their men away on the warpath.

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Chapter XIII

THE SHELL ROBE BUNDLE

•778 THIS bundle was spoken of as the Shell Robe of the Holy Women to distinguish it from other Holy Women bundles. Traditionally, the robe originated in Yellow Dog's village of Awatixa and reached the Mandan by intermarriage a long time ago, while the Mandan were still living in the Heart River region. The bundle consisted of a tanned piece of elkhide approximately two feet square to which were attached pieces of human scalps and clam shells set in rows. The hair had been removed from the hide, and a piece of scalp and a clam shell were fastened together in some manner not clear to informants, before being attached to the robe. A star representing the morning star was painted on the center of the robe. The bundle also contained magpie tail feathers, a braid of sweet grass, an ash digging stick, a buffalo-bull skull, and a plain wooden pipe. These, except the buffalo skull, were kept in a buffalo-hide sack. The bundle was one of a number having its mythological origin from the Holy Women, being so identified by the presence of magpie tail feathers, braids of sweet grass, and the ash digging stick.

778 This was the most widely known of the Holy Women myths. Those having other Holy Women bundle rights could sell the
773 story independently of the Shell Robe bundle. Bear on the Flat,
726 whose mother had rights in the Woman in Dog Den bundle, claimed rights in this bundle by virtue of rights in a Holy Woman bundle. This was primarily a war bundle, and feasts given by men leading war parties were of frequent occurrence. The feasts entitled them to have an image erected before the giver's lodge and to have given them some article from the bundle by the Shell Robe owner. The article was carried on war expeditions and prayed to during the performance of the war rituals when away from the village. The number of feasts that could be given or the number of times articles associated with the bundle could be given out was unlimited. The blessings of the Holy Women

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

were sought, since these women went out at night, according to the myths, to fight and to incite fights between the Mandan and their own people or the enemy in order to have people to eat. They were described as cannibals in all the myths. 778 726 773

The peculiar ceremonial pattern and traditional history of the bundle, in a large measure, explained the general knowledge of the myths belonging to the ritual. The bundle-owner and his wives could sell the story. Owners of all bundles in which were represented Holy Women, consisting of Buffalo Woman, Old Woman Above (Sun's mother), Woman in Dog Den Buttes, Old Woman Who Never Dies, and Striped Scalp (Sun's sister), were included in this group. Traditionally, the myth survived when the Hidatsa sold the bundle. Those who had bought the right to hear the story could in turn retell when payment was made. Those who had made offerings to the robe could learn the story and retell it upon payment of goods. The bundle was normally transferred from parents to sons and daughters if they were living and wanted it; otherwise to a daughter and her husband, inheritance being in the Prairie Chicken clan. Transfer was made at a public feast, but the preliminary instructions were direct between buyer and seller and in secret. The people of the Prairie Chicken clan of Awatixa and the Mandan villages claimed rights to the bundle. 778 773 425

When doing ethnological work with Mandan informants, it was evident that there was no hesitation in giving information on this ceremony, as was the case with the People Above ceremony. There was no reference to punishing people with insanity, paralysis, and other afflictions, as was the case with the People Above mythology, in spite of the fact that the female characters represented were believed to be members of the Holy Women band. These women, although cannibals and evil in character, were often represented in the mythology as kind, sending fog to conceal their movements while they brought meat into the Mandan villages and loaded down the corn scaffolds during times of famine. People were not permitted to speak in a loud voice in the lodge where the bundle was kept, and mice that ran over it were said to have died. 776 124

During the last century the bundle and its owners have occupied an important place in the traditional history of the Man- 778

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 dan and Awatixa. The bundle was at Mitutanka before the smallpox epidemic of 1837 and was brought to Like-a-Fishhook Village by the lower group of Mandan when the village was built. Bobtail Bull and his wife were owners. He was killed July 13, 1850.[1]

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF THE SHELL ROBE BUNDLE

718 173 The bundle went from Bobtail Bull to his daughter, Good Ways, and to her husband named Big Foot Bull; thence to Wolf Ghost, Good Ways' brother. When Wolf Ghost was dying, he sent word to Montclair to come for the Holy Woman Robe to take home and keep. Montclair sent word back that he did not want to keep it in his lodge and to leave it in its place. It was left there after Wolf Ghost's death.[2]

The robe had its beginning in Yellow Dog's village and got over into the Mandan tribe by sale. The Mandan took the robe and passed it from generation to generation by father and mother to son or daughter and husband. Bobtail Bull passed it to Montclair through his daughters to their son, Montclair. In Montclair's early days he did not belong to the church and kept the robe as a protector. Later he turned it over to Wolf Ghost, his mother's brother, and joined the Congregational church.

After Wolf Ghost died, people would continue to go there and make offerings to the robe until it disappeared.

I learned the story from Poor Wolf, who got it from the old men. Poor Wolf said, "Whenever I want to learn a story, I make a feast and pay a man of my father's clan[3] to go to the old man and ask to hear the story. The old man would take the things and tell just how it all happened. I would sometimes forget something and have to go over it again, so I would go back to the old man and have him repeat it. By the third time I would have it thoroughly learned."

I would feed Poor Wolf and give him presents and have him come over to tell me the stories. I would always go to the man with the rights. Poor Wolf did not learn the story from the Mandan but from an Awaxawi who had bought the story from older people in his tribe, so the story is a little different from the way the Mandan tell it.

Poor Wolf said: "I made a feast and gave gifts to buy the right to know the stories, and, when I thought I forgot, I had them repeated three or four times. Even Ree have ceremonies of the same kind. I was adopted by the Ree and wanted to know the rites, so I told the man I wanted to know the meaning. The Ree sent all out, and then told me all about the Ceremony of Adoption."

At Like-a-Fishhook Village the people were few after the smallpox. The village was well fortified with hewn timber, and a bell had been put up. At certain times each morning the Black Mouth Society would ring the bell and open the gate to let the people out to the cornfields or for wood. They would work all day, and, when the bell rang, the people would come through the

1. *Journal of Rudolph Friedrich Kurz*, trans. Myrtis Jarrell; ed J. N. B. Hewitt (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 115 [Washington, 1937]), pp. 74–75.

2. Calf Woman said that the bundle belonged to the Prairie Chicken clan and that men married into this family line merely helped in the ceremonies.

3. This was the Hidatsa method.

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gate, and it would be tied up for the night. If any were left out and they came to the gate and were recognized, the gate would be opened for them. If an enemy came, he could not get in.

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Some Mandans named Bobtail Bull, Bad Gun, Standing Bear, Lean Bear, Sand, Dancing Flag, and a few others belonging to the Buffalo Society went to the southeast on a war expedition. They stopped at the small Mandan village, Nuptadi, where a few Mandan were still living. This was eighty-two or eighty-three years ago [from 1933]. A woman had a horse tied to a corn scaffold and was on top slicing squash. The war party went inside and sat down. An enemy Sioux came in, and they received him and gave him leggings, but, when he sat down, Bobtail Bull jumped up and killed the Sioux, who was named Bull Boy. Then the war party left. The Sioux came to the small Mandan village, but those people said that they had nothing to do with it; that it was done by the other Mandan living at Fishhook. The lower Mandan were the ones who had fought with the other Mandan and had not then united.[4]

The Sioux chased Bobtail Bull's party, and they ran into the woods near Mannhaven or Yellow Water. A Sioux called, "My friend, I am here," but the Mandan would not come out. In the night they made a raft and swam the woman's horse across and came back to Like-a-Fishhook Village. Since the village was fortified, they could not get in until morning when the bell was rung. They painted their faces black and ran through the village with their scalp.

Sometime afterward, Bobtail Bull had a dream from this Holy Woman Robe. The robe said to him, "I am bringing you a warning. You will not be permitted to go out anywhere during the summer. You must stay in the village and not go out hunting or on the warpath until the first snow comes. Then you will be out of danger."

Bobtail Bull called in his war party and some of the old men and told them this. He said, "My robe has told me to stay in the village during the summer season. There is danger ahead for me, and I am not allowed to go outside of the fortification."

The men said, "That is all right. It is good that your robe has warned you."

During the summer he stayed inside of the village and out of sight in his lodge. The people coming back from their travels reported many wild turnips and thought the people should go out to dig them. After Bull Boy was killed, whenever the Sioux made a fire, they would put a stone in the fire and name it Bobtail Bull so that it would mean he was to die if the stone snapped. All this time the Holy Woman tried to keep it from cracking, but she said to Bobtail Bull in a dream, "Do not go out today. I have worked for you, but the Sioux will have luck if you leave the village, for now I am getting tired and feel weak."

He told his wives this, but one was part Sioux, and she must have been helping her people. He dressed up, and his friends asked him why he was dressed up to dig turnips. He related what his medicine had told him. Since his wife wanted him to go so badly, he was going to try it. His wife had insisted that they would be near the village. They went three miles east of the village. The women said, "You ride around and find them, and we will dig them."

While he was looking for the wild turnips, they came near the Badlands

4. This division referred to by Bears Arm occurred in 1820. He explained that the group moved to Birds Bill Butte south of Mandan and did not return until 1823, when they settled near Mitutanka Village.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

where the Sioux were hiding. The Sioux rushed out, and a shot broke Bobtail Bull's leg above the ankle, and he said, "I am Bobtail Bull." He shot several with his arrows but in turn was hit in the chest with a bullet and died. The Sioux who killed him named himself Bobtail Bull.

Because Bobtail Bull killed the enemy at the small Mandan village, these people were obliged to come to Like-a-Fishhook Village for protection.

There is a slight variation in the myth between villages. This was determined by ascertaining the villages the various family lines had resided in. There were two distinct Mandan versions and one Hidatsa version. Several accounts were recorded of which three representative versions are given. They are: (1) Mitutanka version, supplied by Mrs. Owen Baker, granddaughter of Bobtail Bull; (2) Nuptadi version, narrated by Ben Benson; and (3) Hidatsa version, related by Bears Arm.[5]

MITUTANKA SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY MRS. OWEN BAKER[6]

She was a Mandan. The people went to a winter camp, coming from the Heart River. They were at the place where they dig paint near the Little Missouri. It was east of where the road crosses north of Killdeer. This place was called "Where they dig paint." They were traveling along slowly, for they had dogs. The girl and her brother got lost. Though the children were missing, the people could find no trace of them. The two children built a lodge shaped like the eagle-trapping lodge. When they had finished, they were hungry, so they looked around. They found rose berries and wild turnips. They dug a cellar and put them away for the winter.

In a short time, the sister found a friend who stayed at home all the time, but the sister rarely stayed at home. She brought in elk, deer, and many kinds of meat. One day the boy brought in an elkhide. The women tanned the hide and made a robe of it. When they finished, they pasted clam shells to it. They painted the morning star on the middle of the robe.

She said, "Leave a space where I can put something on the left side for Corn Tassel." (The Awatixa call her Red Feather.)

Her brother did not know what it all meant, so he worried about it. After he had eaten, he would lie down to worry.

The two women tanned hides for their robes and dresses. The sister did not like the place and thought it was not a good place to live, so she left the place and went to Big Timber. There she built a large lodge and had all the mysterious holy women help her. They lived there a few years. When she was away, the brother would hear a strange noise while hunting and wondered what it was, but he was never able to get the answer. One day when she was gone, his other sister told him that his sister (Feather on Head) was after him.

She said, "Did you hear a noise? That is your sister. She flies into the skies and fights there. She is trying to take your life. I will try to help you out so you will be safe. When you go hunting, if you kill an elk or buffalo, cut the meat and hide up into small pieces and throw it around where you butchered."

5. This version was from Awatixa Village of the Hidatsa tribe.
6. For the Nuptadi and Awatixa versions see Appendix II.

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Chapter XIV

RED STICK CEREMONY

THE Red Stick ceremony was a winter buffalo-calling rite of four nights' duration and was held during the coldest part of the winter to bring the winter herds near the village. The ceremony was given by some young man who in his dream witnessed the ceremony given, heard the buffaloes singing the sacred song, or saw the ceremonial objects arranged in their proper place in his lodge. 796

Standing Bear, last bundle-owner before the disappearance of the buffaloes, purchased the bundle from his father and mother but, having no children, sold the bundle to Iron Eyes, who was not a relative.[1] The bundle consisted of a buffalo robe representing First Pretty Woman[2] and twelve flat boards painted red, with vestigial buffalo hoofs attached. One end was tapered to provide a handhold. There were a large wooden pipe, an owl, two hide rattles, a painted robe, and sage in the bundle. 796 778

There was only one song belonging to the ceremony, and it referred to the information given by the twelve winter buffalo bulls who appeared during a blizzard and sang: 796

the one	first woman	pretty
has eaten	most of you	

The ceremony was based on a dramatization of the exploits of Corn Silk, who brought back a little girl to the Mandan Village. Each night the occupants of one earth lodge would disappear until the village became alarmed. The old men met to seek a solution to the mysterious disappearance of their people. One young man volunteered to fast in an effort to get advice from the spirits as to the cause of the misfortune to these households. A blizzard came in from the north, and twelve buffalo bulls, each carrying a red stick to which buffalo vestigial hoofs, 796 773

1. It was not possible to determine the rule of inheritance, since Standing Bear and his wives were of the same clan.
2. Refer to the Okipa ceremony (chap. iv) for her part in those rites.

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796 lungs, heart, and windpipe were tied, drifted along with the wind until they reached the foot of the hill where the young man 773 was fasting. They sang a song which mentioned the name of the young girl who was the cause of the disappearance of these families. She was destroyed by burning, which freed the people she had consumed. A sacred bundle was established by the young man. A buffalo robe represented the young girl, and twelve red sticks were carved to represent the twelve buffalo bulls.

Bundle transfer was traditionally from father to son,[3] but the 778 information on actual transfers is so limited that it was not possible to check this belief with actual transfers. The ceremony 425 was not given after the buffalo herds disappeared.

The pledge to give the ceremony could be made either by an 796 individual or by an age-grade society. In the case of the former, 778 clan brothers of about the same age assisted by bringing their wives with food and goods. The owner of the sacred bundle 561 would select twelve older men who had given the ceremony or who had sacred buffalo skulls, acquired through vision or purchase with bundles, to carry the red sticks. When an age-grade society gave the ceremony, the bundle-owner distributed the red sticks among the members of the next highest age-grade society who impersonated the buffalo bulls.

The ceremony was held in the giver's lodge. He paid those who 796 carried the red sticks and the bundle-owner who set up the robe 778 of First Pretty Woman on an ash stake to represent a young girl. These carriers of the red sticks met at the bundle-owner's lodge in the evening to receive their ceremonial paraphernalia, after which by four stages they approached the lodge where the ceremony was being held. At each stop the giver's wife would put down a robe and a corn ball.

Upon entering the lodge where the ceremonies were to be held, the carriers placed the red sticks in a row extending from the fireplace to the head of the lodge, and the image of First Pretty Woman was placed to the right of them.

During the afternoon the Black Mouths sent their criers through the village announcing the buffalo dances were to be

3. We cannot be certain that this is true. Owing to influences of the Hidatsa pattern, 171 Mandan bundles were in the process of shifting from clan to father-son inheritance during the eighteenth century. In numerous instances where informants stated inheritance was from father to son, genealogies showed inheritance to be within the clan.

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held that evening. Any of the old men could go and sit on the right side nearer the door than the red-stick carriers. The young men came in with their wives, who wore only buffalo robes, and sat on the left side of the lodge (see Fig. 43). There was only one ceremonial song; it was sung four times. The young women brought by their husbands formed a single line, where each sat

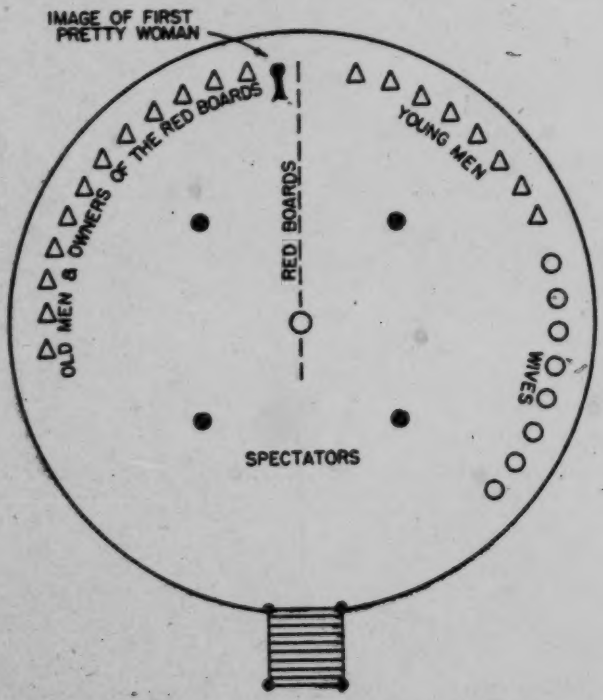

FIG. 43.—Arrangement of the lodge for the Buffalo Dance

down on her heels and walked the length of the red boards. The woman in the lead must be one who had never had intercourse with anyone other than her present husband. The head of the line was a coveted position, and an attempt was sometimes made by an unqualified woman to lead the others over the red sticks. Then some man with whom she had had intercourse would laugh to make his presence known, whereupon she would drop out of line and take up the last place in the procession. The act of walking along the red sticks was known as "Walking with the Buffalo Bulls" or "Having Intercourse with the Buffalo

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796 Bulls." The women then returned to their places, put on their
778 buffalo robes, and passed around the food to the old men representing the buffalo bulls and to the spectators.

The next performance was the "Giving the Wives" to the
796 buffalo bulls.[4] One of the young men, addressing his wife, would
837 say, "Wife, I want you to help me to become a lucky man. I
614 want you to walk with my father."[5] The rule was for a young man always to select an old man of his father's clan. If the man selected did not choose to have intercourse with his "son's" wife, he would stop her before she reached the door.

One time when Red Coyote was selected, he said: "Stop right there, my 'granddaughter.' I want you to hold my medicine bundle now. Once I fasted four days in a ravine. While I slept, an owl came to me and said that I would be a lucky man and live to be old. I have killed an enemy, captured six horses, and struck three enemies. I pray that you will live a long time, be healthy, raise many children, and keep free of diseases."[6] Both returned to their places and sat down.

Each young man selected an old man to "walk with his wife."[7] Some men stopped the women at the door and did not care to go outside with them; others went outside. In either case, the woman was given the old man's medicine bundle (vision bundle), which she clasped to her breast, believing that, by doing so, some of its powers would enter her body.

An unmarried man could participate by bringing his brother's or clan brother's wife. Men never brought women of other

4. This portion of the ceremony appears to have been rather famous among the early visitors to the Mandan and Hidatsa (see *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition 1804–1806*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, I [New York, 1905], 245; *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri*, ed. and trans. Annie Heloise Abel [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939], pp. 196–97; Maximilian in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites [Cleveland, 1906], XXIII, 334; XXIV, 27–31). In addition, Thompson and Henry saw portions of a similar ceremony but apparently misinterpreted the actions (see *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812*, ed, J. B. Tyrrell [Toronto, 1916], pp. 225–38, and "Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson," in *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, ed. Elliot Coues, I [New York, 1897], 326–27).

5. This is what Good Bear said when he sent his wife to one of the old men, according to Mrs. Good Bear. "Father" refers to a male member of Good Bear's father's clan.

6. Red Coyote was frozen in a late-spring blizzard near Rainy Buttes shortly after this.

7. Mrs. Good Bear related that her ceremonial grandfather went out with her, all the while bellowing in imitation of a buffalo bull.

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Chapter XVI

ADOPTION PIPE CEREMONY

THERE were many people, both men and women, owning rights in this ceremony. Although Crows Heart believed that the ceremony was bought from the Arikaras a long time ago, Maximilian[1] recognized two types of sacred pipes, one[2] of which had been in the tribe for a long time and which he could have seen for one hundred dollars. He describes in detail the adoption ceremony, which is in every sense identical to Crows Heart's account. The two pipes carried in the ceremony are one belonging to the seller and one the purchaser was to receive. This ceremony performed an important social and religious role. The Hidatsa and Mandan adoption were identical as to ritual and songs. 796 778

In reality it was the pipe stem that was sacred, since the red stone bowls could be removed for daily use, whereas the stems were kept in bundles and were not taken out, except preliminary to an Adoption Pipe ceremony. Crows Heart is probably correct in his statement that the ceremony was bought of the Arikara, since this is the only instance when red stone pipes were used for ceremonial purposes. Objection to red stone is based on the myth wherein Good Furred Robe, in early times, was unable to introduce redstone pipes because they were the color of human blood.[3] 778

Crows Heart, who had been adopted twice, supplied the information on the adoption ceremony. 796 597

CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF THE ADOPTION CEREMONY[4] 778

The old Mandans told me that the sacred pipes were bought from the Arikara quite a long while ago. The stand represents the cornstalks; the horse

1. See Maximilian in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, 1906), XXIII, 319–21.

2. This was known as the Corn Pipe and was in no way connected with the adoption ceremony.

3. See Okipa ceremony origin myth (chap. iv).

4. Lewis and Clark witnessed an adoption ceremony, but furnish few details (see *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites [New York, 1905], I, 222).

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796 tail hairs represent the corn silks; the stem represents an ear of corn; the birds'
597 heads are connected with the Old Woman who tends the crops. I heard that
the red heads on the pipe are from a bird that lived a long ways below Fort
● 778 Yates.[5] The Indians down there brought them up here and traded them for
horses and corn.

796 If I want to adopt, I go to a young man who is son of a man who belongs
to my clan, which is the Prairie Chicken clan. We never adopt a person who
597 has no horses but select a man who has the finest buffalo horses. If I want to
get his horses, I go out and kill a deer or possibly a buffalo, and my wife prepares a feast. Then I invite him to come with his family and visit us. My wife cleans the earth lodge up and puts down a good robe for him to sit on. When he gets through eating, and they cannot eat it all, his wife takes what is left over from the meal and goes home. Then we sit together and smoke, and I say to him, "I want to adopt you as a son, and I want to fix up my medicine pipe for you." He will always accept. If he refused, others would hear about it and say bad things about him.

When he agrees, I inquire, "How many of you will be in the family?" He will include the wife, the children, and may even include his small brothers and sisters, until there are probably six of them in all. When all is agreed upon, I tell him that I will give him the pipe many days, usually about a month, later. In the meanwhile I look around for presents and usually get together some good moccasins and leggings for the man, his wife, and their children. Sometimes we have elks' teeth, and we decorate a dress for his wife. If one is not able to get all the things he needs, he goes to his brothers and sisters for help.

796 Four days before I am to give the pipe, I invite all the old men who have
these medicine pipes to come to my lodge, and we work together repairing
778 a pipe stem. There is a song that goes with the pipes, and we sing that and
597 burn sweet grass before we open the bundle that contains the stem. Eagle tail feathers of the young eagle [black tips] are then put on the stem, and a red pipe is fitted onto it. The pipe is repaired each time a man is adopted.

796 On the day that the adoption is to take place, all the men having medicine
pipes go to the lodge of the man who is adopting the son and dress up in the
597 fine clothes that are to go to the young man. Then all the men go out onto the
prairie and make a hole in the ground representing a duck's nest. These men form a circle around the nest, holding their own medicine pipes and singing the songs that go with the pipes. By the time the men return to the village, the young man will be ready with his horses tied to the lodge, one horse for each person going into the adoption ceremonies with him. The pipe medicine people, coming in from the prairie, go directly to the young man's lodge, singing and beating drums all the while. The man doing the adopting goes ahead, carrying the pipe.

When they reach the door of the young man's lodge, all stop singing. One of the men who killed an enemy and destroyed his tepee or had other good luck in war counts his coups; how he charged a tepee, killed all, took the blankets, or whatever his record is. This man goes in first, and all the others follow. They sing and walk around the fireplace once while the man doing the adopting goes to the young man and asks him to stand up and go with him. Other Medicine Pipe men each take a boy or girl of the young man's family

5. See Maximilian, *op. cit.*, pp. 319–21.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and all go to the place where the dance is to be held. They sing the medicine song as they go. 796

The lodge selected for the dance is the large Okipa lodge, which can be prepared easily for the occasion. There will be at least twelve singers with drums and two dancers, one with a pipe and the other with a rattle. Nearly all the people in the village will come in for at least a few minutes, for everyone is curious to see the clothes the old man will give the young man, and the buffalo horses that he will receive. People must give good clothing and horses, or these people will speak unkindly of them. When the dance is over, the boy's clan and society come in to help him out and bring with them shirts, blankets, and leggings which are piled up before the young man. 597

It is then announced that the person adopted is going to be bathed and dressed by the head of the medicine pipe people. The young man is led to the center of the room, and four bunches of rushes are brought in and placed before him in the form of a square. A dish made of rushes is brought in filled with water, and one of the Medicine Pipe men steps up, counts his coups, and punches a hole through it so that the water runs onto the young man's body. A wildcat's hide is used to dry his body. None of the others in his family are bathed.

Then the young man returns to his seat, and men with blankets held out hide those who are being adopted while they are fitted out in the new clothes. Each is painted with red paint over the mouth, one streak over the nose, and two streaks over the eyes. A fine black-tipped eagle feather is put in the hair of each person adopted; then all are paraded around so that each person there can see them.

Then the horses are led into the lodge. There will be as many horses given as there are people in the family being adopted. The pile of goods brought in by the young man's friends and clan brothers is given out to the men of the Medicine Pipe Society as their pay for helping in the ceremony. When all the things have been passed out, the dancing continues for a while. [431]

After a while the young man says to the adopted father, "Father, come over to my house and rub off my paint."

All the Medicine Pipe men go to the young man's lodge, where there is a feast. The young man is then given the pipe, and his wife is given one ear of yellow corn. The head man of the Medicine Pipe Society makes a motion as though to wash the young man, after which the young man rubs the paint off.

The old man says, "Son, I have given you my pipe. You can adopt four times. After that you can't adopt any more."

We respect these pipes highly, take them with us to war, and pray to them often at such times. We call them medicine pipes because of the powers they have. All the people who have such pipes belong to a society and meet at times to open their bundles and smoke the pipes. We never use them for everyday smoking. 778 597

A man sometimes adopts a daughter, and she, in turn, can adopt a young man and give him a pipe, or she may adopt another woman, whichever she wishes to do. Only the men go out on the prairies to build the nest and sing the Medicine Pipe songs, however. 597

[p. 332 is blank]

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Chapter XVII

SUMMARY

796 773 776 THE ceremonies were highly formalized and were in part organized on an annual basis. The Mandan attributed their creation and appearance on the earth to certain magical acts of the sacred beings who preceded them to prepare the world before creating all the living things. It was believed that the sacred beings protected the people so long as the ceremonies were performed. The Mandan also believed that other peoples created by the same sacred beings in mythological times performed similar ceremonies and that the sacred beings favored those tribes making the most lavish ceremonial display of goods. It was believed that good relations must exist with all the sacred beings. To accomplish this, segments of the total ceremonialism were intrusted to certain individuals or groups of individuals, and the novice was informed that failure to perform the rites in the prescribed manner would bring bad luck.

•778 785 Sacred objects were believed to have *xo'pini*, which informants translated as meaning "power." An individual's "power" was said to increase if he fasted frequently, assisted others in the purchase of sacred bundles, or bought tribal bundles. This "power" was consumed when leading war parties, being largely gone at the end of the fourth expedition, when a man was expected to terminate his war expeditions. This "power" was believed to be lost a little at a time in the daily life of crossing rivers, hunting buffaloes, training horses, or performing other hazardous avocations. A man was believed to acquire a great [837] deal of *xo'pini* from the buffaloes when he invited older men to have ceremonial sexual intercourse with a wife, and, by the same token, men frequently refused intercourse when they had partaken in a number of the "walking" ceremonies. Very old people were believed to have less *xopini*, having given most of it away to the younger people, particularly the men, who re-

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quired much "power" to pursue successful war and hunting activities.

A Mandan would say, "I claim no power for myself. I have no power except what my sacred objects have promised me." Children were protected by the parents' bundles until they were old enough to fast.

A young man on his first war expedition usually carried a sacred object from his father's bundle. This practice was repeated until the potency of the son's sacred bundle was established.

Supernatural power was acquired by the purchase of tribal bundles, feasts to tribal bundles, ceremonial sexual license, self-torture, and by showing kindness to the old people. The Mandan also believed that some people were "adopted" by a supernatural being without the novice's knowledge, since some people possessing no important tribal or individual bundles were unusually successful.

Women participating in sexual ceremonialism during the buffalo-calling rites contributed to the husband's supernatural "powers." The writer interviewed a number of women who had "walked with the buffaloes," as the practice is called. All agreed that they sought a good home, a loyal husband who was successful in hunting and warfare, good health, and plenty of food and clothing. They believed that the sexual act was tantamount to intercourse with the buffaloes, who, when placated, sent the herds to the prairies near the villages and promised the warriors success in warfare. Ceremonial sexual intercourse strengthened the marital bonds. It was believed that the buffaloes did all that they promised in dreams. Dreams were easy to get from the buffaloes.

The concept of "power" as a substance was further demonstrated by the manner of handling sacred objects. During the buffalo-calling ceremonies, the men impersonating buffaloes held out their sacred bundles for the women to press to their naked breasts. A woman placed her arms on the "holy man," dragging her arms downward toward the hand holding the bundle as though drawing the sacred powers possessed from the body into the sacred bundle, which was then taken from the buffalo impersonator and held to her breast. By this act it was

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believed that the supernatural powers were transferred to her own body. These supernatural powers were in turn transmitted to her husband in the daily activities of living and working together. Men receiving sacred objects either to own or to hold took them in the same manner but did not hold them to the breast. 778 789

The faith of the Mandan in their sacred objects was unshaken by two severe smallpox epidemics. They speak of these epidemics as unfortunate and explain the impotency of their rites to protect the tribe on the grounds that, when the original ceremonies were introduced into the tribe, the sacred beings made no promise of tribal immunity to the white man's diseases. They believe that the tribe would have been exterminated by their enemies subsequent to the last smallpox epidemic had the ceremonies been abandoned. 778 731

The Mandan sacred bundles fall into two general categories. They are (1) the hereditary tribal bundles and (2) the personal bundles. Of these two groups of bundles, the former played a more significant role in the total ceremonial life and in a large measure set the background for the supernatural experiences which instituted the personal bundles. 778

At this point it would be well to indicate some of the general characteristics of these bundles not indicated in the main body of the report. The Mandan place greatest values on those bundles and ceremonies which traditionally were instituted in very early times. Foremost of these are the Okipa, founded by Lone Man and Hoita, and those Corn ceremonies which were founded by Good Furred Robe. Not only are these two ceremonies considered oldest, but they also involve the greatest number of participants. 778 796

The Okipa was without question the most complicated and colorful ceremony performed in the Northern Plains. According to tradition, the principal officers of the ceremony belonged to the WaxikEna clan. This clan was intrusted with the care and repair of the sacred cedar and other sacred objects appertaining to the ceremony. A male member of that clan occupied the sacred lodge and acted as announcer whenever tribal ceremonies were performed. A man selected one of his own clan to become his son-in-law to perpetuate the lineage in the sacred 778 796 614 428

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•778 lodge. The principal officer of the Okipa was the Lone Man,
796 who, traditionally, belonged to the WaxikEna clan. The rights
614 to impersonate Lone Man were inherited through the Waxi-
428 kEna clan. A buyer was assisted by his brothers and sisters, who became secondary owners in the bundle. Should the buyer die, a brother was entitled to officiate until a new owner was qualified. When the bundle-owner had no brothers, the sisters' husband was authorized to officiate by performing a ceremonial feast to the bundle until a qualified successor in the clan was se-
[604] lected. The bundle and office passed from a man to his sister's son. A man could sell his rights in the office four times, but few sales were made in later years, since there were two separate bundle lineages representing the two villages built near Fort Clark which were adequate to meet ceremonial needs. In fact, one of these lineages died out shortly after 1837 and was never re-established. The Hoita lineage, though theoretically in the WaxikEna clan, was, in historic times, held temporarily by a member of the Tamisik clan.

778 Although villages were reported to be largely independent ceremonially, they were not entirely so. The three sacred turtle
621 drums were kept by individual members of the WaxikEna clan at Nuptadi Village, one of the east-side villages of the Heart River group, and were borrowed by the other villages when the Okipa was to be performed. In later years when the tribe moved to Fort Clark, these drums were kept at the Upper Village situated near Deapolis. Each village was believed to possess its own complement of officers. There was, however, a certain amount of collaboration between villages when new officers were receiving training.

778 The sacred cedar was erected in each village if the village group had a complete complement of Okipa officers. It was the
621 rule that, whenever a ceremony or organized social event was
361 performed in the summer village, out of respect to Lone Man, whose body was represented by this inclosed post, the group
[431] should dance once at this sacred shrine. On these occasions, gifts of robes or other clothing were placed over the cedar as an
[782] offering to the Lone Man and became the property of the WaxikEna clan. The Mandan considered the entire open-circle area inclosing the sacred cedar sacred also. Even as late as

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1929, informants unwilling to divulge sacred lore were equally 778
unwilling to divulge the arrangement of lodges around this 621
circle. Their explanation was that the area was sacred because 361
they had suffered there during the Okipa, standing at this point in the village when thongs were inserted in their flesh for dragging buffalo skulls, or because so many ceremonies had been performed there. When ceremonies were performed at the winter camps, it was customary to leave goods at the sacred cedar when returning later to the summer village.

Mandan informants disagree relative to the purpose of performing the Okipa ceremony. All give a number of reasons; they 796
are: to bring buffaloes to the village; to acquaint young people with the history of the tribe; to give the young men an opportunity to fast. White Calf thought that the principal reason for performing the ceremony was to bring all the gods back so that all the holy beings would be working for the Mandan and not their enemies. He remarked that summer was the season when the gods, particularly the big birds, returned. At this point it is interesting to note that, although a restricted number of officers were intrusted with the direction and performance of this ceremony, on the third day, known as "Everything Comes Back Day," characters represented in the ceremony comprised most of the major bundle-owners of the village.

The person pledging the ceremony was known as the Okipa 796
Maker. The ceremony was considered a "sacred feast to tribal
bundles," and the benefits accruing to the Okipa Maker were 554
comparable to those received when offering a feast to any other sacred bundles. He received a section of a sand-bar willow for his sacred bundle and was entitled to participate in important tribal discussions. There was no clan restriction as to performance. However, only those who had demonstrated bravery and industry were permitted to give the ceremony.

The principal officers of the Okipa were Lone Man and 796
Hoita impersonators and the singers. They received their
rights after undergoing formal training. For new officers, tribal 793
recognition of their authority was given at a ceremonial feast held prior to the performance of the Okipa. Actually, one desiring to participate in the Okipa and being eligible according to the rules of inheritance underwent instruction at an early age,

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destroy the Mandans. Sacred myths played an important role in the interpretation of situations arising from time to time. First of all, these myths constituted the traditional history of the tribe, and the Mandan were accustomed until a few years ago to return from time to time to these sacred places at and near the Heart River to examine these shrines. My informants often remarked that they would have forgotten many of these stories had they not been able to see for themselves what the older people had explained.[2]

The sacred myths expressed a fundamental pattern of conduct which regulated and to a certain degree regimented the population. The fear of accident or misfortune being ever present, those possessing a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were consulted frequently by those not so well informed. A young man accustomed to consult his elders on important matters was considered wise, and the older people would say, "He will become eminent because he endeavors to regulate his behavior along the line laid down by the sacred things long ago."

The sacred myths established psychological relationships between bundles which to the student of Mandan ceremonialism are otherwise not understandable. In the natives' minds certain bundles are related, and, when a ceremony for one of the bundles of the complex was held, those having bundles believed to be related were expected to attend. The Old Woman Who Never Dies rites will illustrate this point. Since this culture hero formerly cared for her gardens along the Missouri River, the psychological relationship with the Corn Skull bundles is evident. The association of the Bear bundles with this rite become intelligible only when examining the sacred myth in which it is said that she used the grizzly bear for a dog because she was so powerful that all animals were her slaves. Additional information on this point appears in the accounts of the various ceremonies which appear above.

Ceremonies were native dramatizations of the sacred myths. In native theory, the details of the ceremony continued un-

2. Differences in myths and rites now recognized by the older Mandan probably represent cultural differences between villages which become apparent only when the survivors of the Heart River villages united to occupy a single village.

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796 773 changed from generation to generation. When no sacred myth belonged to the ceremony or there were no sacred instructions at the time of the inception of the ceremony, the Mandan believed these ceremonies were borrowed of neighboring tribes. The Adoption Pipe ceremony belonged in this category. The sacred myth enumerated the benefits which would accrue to the tribe and the giver of the ceremony when the rites were performed.

773 602 776 The sacred myths were the basis for an extension of the kinship system to include the world of the supernatural. First Creator was addressed as "very old one," while Lone Man, who assisted him in the creation of the earth, was addressed by persons of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans as "ptawadatodE" or "mother's brother." Those of the opposite moiety addressed him as "father." Sun and Moon were "father" and their sister was "father's sister." Their mother was addressed as "grandmother," a term also used for the various holy women of the ash groves, the field mice, the corn mill, and all female beings present on the earth on the "first day of creation." An individual addressed a sacred being appearing in a dream and not belonging to the category of tribal gods as "father" if a male and "father's sister" if a female.

778 425 428 614 The Mandan system of bundle inheritance shows evidence of change within the last century. Certain bundles and ceremonial rights traditionally inherited through the clan and more specifically from the mother's brother, such as the Okipa belonging to the WaxikEna clan and the Shell Robe bundle of the Prairie Chicken clan, showed a tendency to change to a father-son inheritance of the Hidatsa pattern. The eagle-trapping lodges were still inherited through the clan as late as 1929, but the associated bundles had changed from clan inheritance to father-son inheritance after 1875. The system of inheritance was more flexible than for the Hidatsa, with whom they were intimately associated. At first I was inclined to believe that this greater flexibility was due, in part at least, to the breakdown of the older system, an opinion which I have now abandoned. The Mandan parents often selected their daughters' husbands and gave them preliminary assistance in ceremonial matters. The sons and daughters of a household usually purchased the par-

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ents' bundle collectively and designated one of their number, generally the oldest son, to be the custodian. A family having only daughters sold to the son-in-law providing he had been successful in warfare and had removed the mother-in-law taboo. 778 425 428 614

Unlike the Hidatsa, where bundle transfers were vision inspired, the Mandan seem to have placed greater emphasis on the personality and interests of the one to receive a tribal bundle. One owning an important bundle and getting along in years would frequently suggest to a younger person that he should buy into the bundle rites. The period of preparation was prolonged and frequently extended over several years. Since bundle rights could be sold four times, there were usually a number of people receiving instructions simultaneously. New bundles were made up for those buying part of the rites, while the original bundle was retained for the nearest relatives. When feasts were given to the bundle, all those having any rights in the bundle or related bundle rites were entitled to attend. This practice extended the ritualistic lore to many persons outside the immediate bundle-owner's family and probably explains why so much of the traditional lore was preserved through the smallpox epidemic of 1837. So far as it was possible to determine, the number of tribal bundle rites was not materially reduced during the nineteenth century. 778 425 869

The personal bundles constitute another important group of sacred objects. These were individually owned and were rarely inherited. The bundle was assembled after receiving a vision from some supernatural being, instructing him to assemble a bundle which would bring certain benefits to the individual. Unlike the tribal bundles, a buffalo skull was not a part of the bundle, and there were no sacred myths. There was a sacred song and a prescribed rule of behavior to be followed when the bundle was open. An unusually successful individual would sometimes sell his bundle to a son about to leave on a war expedition. These bundles, however, were rarely sold and were usually put away when the original owner died. 778 787

Both men and women had personal bundles. Women usually fasted less frequently and had only one bundle; usually the guardian spirit promised her a long life and the right to cure. Men fasted frequently and were recognized for the number of 778 554

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778 sacred bundles they had acquired, providing, of course, they
554 had been successful in life and had not "kicked the stone." One having repeated bad luck usually put his bundles away and sought new vision experiences. This could not be done with tribal bundles. The only instance on record of an attempt to dispose
425 of a tribal bundle was made by Red Bird in 1838, a year after
778 the smallpox epidemic when he lost a son of smallpox. A son-in-law offered to buy the bundle and received tribal approval of the transfer. Personal bundles were normally taken to the scaffold and hung with the pipe and firearms when the owner died.

796 In summary, the above report covers the main features of the Mandan ceremonial life so far as it was possible to ascertain. In
178 evaluating the data supplied by informants, the writer gave especial emphasis to the information of those informants whose
114 parents lived in the Nuptadi village which was occupied at Deapolis as a separate Mandan village after the Fort Clark village group had united with the Hidatsa. It was found that the Mandan preserved their ceremonial structure with minor variations after the smallpox epidemic. The clan system and age-grade organization were simplified to meet the new conditions of a reduced population. I have not attempted to indicate cultural borrowing, since a companion report covering details of the Hidatsa social and ceremonial organization is in the process of preparation. So far as the Mandan were concerned, there is little evidence of ceremonial borrowing since 1837, owing in large part, no doubt, to the heavy ceremonial burden inherited from earlier times when the population was materially larger. That the Mandan have played an important role in the growth of Plains culture must be inferred from their central position in the Low Plains, the high development in trade for agricultural products with their nomadic neighbors, and the admitted borrowing by the Hidatsa of many significant elements of their culture.

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tween, these were the scalp poles and effigies of the gods. The 361
ground on which the village was located was chosen for defence, the bluff on the river side went down perpendicularly, and the village was on a point jutting out into the river so that only one side needed protection. Across this point was a palisade 361
and inside this was a ditch, three to four feet deep according to 712
Catlin. The palisade, he says, was of timbers eighteen feet high and one or more feet in diameter, set far enough apart to allow of shooting between. The warriors stayed in the ditch in defending the palisade. Concerning this palisade Henry and Maximilian both mention that it was in very poor repair indeed, but Henry adds that he was told it could be put in good condition very soon, every person in the village lending a hand. There is yet no mention of bastions and ramparts such as Verendrye refers to, but Maximilian[1] describes something similar. He says that at the corners of the palisade in four places were arcs or bastions, which formed an angle open toward the village, and said to have been built by the whites. These were intrenchments in the form of an arc, covered with a matting of willow and having loop holes.

On entering the village it seemed to be a mass of circular 342
houses from forty to ninety feet in diameter, set down haphazard closely crowded together. The houses were of earth with a smooth coating of pounded clay on the top, where most of the inhabitants were usually stationed. Before each house 343
was a scaffold, fronting the covered entrance. These scaffolds were six feet high, twenty feet long and ten broad[2] and were used for hanging up corn and meat to dry. They had a good floor, also, which was covered in the fall with drying beans. The staging for drying corn and meat was made as follows:[3] posts were set up on the scaffolds themselves, across these rafters were laid, and upon these cross rafters or poles the corn, meat and sliced squashes were hung. Before almost every 778
house were one or more poles about twenty feet high, to which images of the gods, or sacrifices to them were attached.

In the center of the village was a large open space of about 000

[1] Op. cit., p. 31. [2] Henry: vol. I, p. 340. [3] Ibid.

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In the center of the village was a large open space of about four acres[1] and in the center of this was the "Ark of the First Man." This was in the shape of a hogshead, of planks and hoops.[2] It was open above, the planks were embedded in the ground, and the hoops were branches tied around to hold these together. The Mandans called this the Big Canoe[3] and in it were some of their greatest medicines. This open space was the seat of all their festivals, dances and ceremonies, and here also they played their games of Chungkee or Skohpe. The space was closely surrounded by houses placed at equal distances apart and all facing the center. The largest of these lodges on the south side of the area was the medicine lodge, and on a pole above this was a figure of skin, with a carved wooden head, which represented the Evil Spirit. 361 778 [346]

About one quarter of a mile or less to the south of the village was a race-course; a hundred or more scaffolds on which the dead were deposited; slides for their games were also made outside the palisades. The ground about the houses was honeycombed with pits and caches in which most of the food and many of the valuables of the inhabitants were stored. The house roofs formed a general repository where bull boats, buffalo skulls, pottery, sledges and people were scattered promiscuously over the rounded surface, around the edge of which Bradbury says they built a sort of low railing. 361 [764] [351]

HOUSES:—The houses themselves were many times described, sometimes with considerable variation, and it is highly probable that there was more or less variation of construction in the minor details. They were distinguished from those of the Arikara in that the ground was first excavated, and that they were rather hemispherical, whereas the houses of the latter were more conical, like those of the Pawnee. Catlin[4] places the average size of the houses at from forty to sixty feet in diameter, depending on the size and importance of the family, and Henry[5] tells us that the one in which he himself stayed was ninety feet in diameter. 342 [171]

[1] Henry: vol. I, p. 238. "Sixty feet across," Maximilian: p. 366; "One hundred and fifty feet," Catlin: vol. I, p. 88.

[2] Catlin gives this as eight to ten feet high, Maximilian as four or five.

[3] Catlin: vol. I, p. 88. [4] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 81.

[5] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 238.

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had been shot six times; some wore a wooden knife, a sign they 721
had killed an enemy with a knife. Maximilian describes one 554
man, a chief, whose face was painted half yellow and half 301
red, with stripes made by rubbing the color off; his arms had 302
seventeen lines showing the number of his deeds, and on his breast, in yellow, was a hand showing that he had made prisoners.

When a youth first wished to lead a war party he at once 701
acquired a medicine. Then he solicited his young men friends 554
by presents and assurances of the efficacy of his medicine and 778
after feasts and dances he departed with as many followers as he could get. In the large war parties there were four real leaders and sometimes three others called bad leaders. Each real leader carried a medicine pipe in a case on his back. To become a chief it was necessary to begin as a war party leader, then to kill a man while in a party where the candidate was not a leader. Again, while following another leader, he must be the first to discover the enemy and kill one of them, and lastly he must have owned at some time a white buffalo hide. Each 726
warrior carried about his neck the whistle of his band, and at the moment of falling upon the enemy these were blown and the war-cry was sounded.

The Mandans seldom took male prisoners but even when 727
taken they were never tortured. As soon as a prisoner had entered the village and eaten corn he was considered as one of the nation; the women, however, could go out and meet the returning party and kill the prisoners then. Scalps were dried and used in decoration. When a successful war party returned they were met by the women and children who entered the village with them dancing the scalp dance. The warriors painted the face, and often the whole body, black, and the scalp dance was danced in the medicine lodge four nights, then later in the middle of the village. If no Mandan was killed in the campaign, the dance was kept up for six months.

In all these war customs we find nothing more than the [171]
general plains ideas such as were found in all the Sioux tribes and among most of their neighbors.

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561 the buyers. The first band was that of "The Dogs Whose Names Are Not Known." To this band boys from ten to fifteen years of age could belong. Maximilian was told that at first older men might belong to this band but that this was afterwards changed. Admission to this society and the learning of the dance was bought from a member by the boy's father. Maximilian says that the dances of all the bands were about the same, the differences being in the songs. Each band had a particular drum and rattle.

The second band was the "Band of the Crows" composed of men from twenty to twenty-six years of age.[1] There was usually an interval between the first and the second band when the man belonged to no group. Crow plumes were the distinguishing feature of this division.

561 625 623 [778] [71] The third society was the "Soldier Band" and was composed of the most distinguished warriors of the tribe. The members of this band could never retreat before an enemy. Another feature was its possession of two sacred pipes. All members of the higher bands belonged at the same time to this one. This group had charge of policing and regulating the village, a well-known feature of the Soldier Band among the Sioux and other plains tribes. They formed a committee which regulated all the important affairs of the nation, fixed the time for hunts and applied all the laws.[2]

561 The fourth division was the "Dog Band." Three members from this wore a red cloth down the back such as all the first band wore. These three were known as the Dogs, and anyone could throw a piece of meat on the floor or in the fire, saying "There, Dog, eat," and any of these three must obey.

The fifth band was that of the "Buffalos" or "Wolves." These in dancing wore the skin of a buffalo head with the horns. The two bravest, chosen by all, who never under any conditions could flee from an enemy, wore the whole head and horns and looked through artificial eyes. This was the only band which had a wooden drum. In this society there was also one woman who offered the two head dancers a basin of water as they danced. [534]

[1] Op. cit., p. 409. [2] Ibid., p. 411.

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which were pushed in as they burnt. This was done because the First Man told them they must never have a big fire after the day's cooking was done and showed them how it should be built. It recalls the sacred fire of the Muskogi and other tribes of the lower Mississippi. They declared that many of the every day customs were taught them thus and consequently they always did them a certain way,—thus Ochkih-Hedde taught them to tattoo themselves, and their first chief taught them to kill buffalo and to make shields. 372 [773]

The Mandans practiced penances and sacrifices, especially self-torture which they carried to great extremes. Their medicine or personal guardian spirit was acquired by three or four days fasting and self injury, after which the medicine, often an animal, appeared to the candidate in a dream. This ceremony was also taught to them by Ochkih-Hedde. No expedition or enterprise was undertaken without a liberal sacrifice to some supernatural being, either by offering valuable goods or by physical self-torture. Finger joints were frequently cut off as an offering to the gods and fasting was common as a propitiation. Often a day or more would be spent near one of the medicine scaffolds in groaning, praying and weeping. Lewis and Clarke relate that finger joints were also cut off as a sign of mourning, which Maximilian denies, and Catlin tells how such a sacrifice was a part of the catalogue of tortures in the great Okeepa dance. The custom of consecrating personal property is found here as among the neighboring tribes. A man could make his gun, his horse, his pipe and other similar articles medicine by going through certain ceremonies, most important of which was the giving of a feast. The feast[1] was announced by a public crier, a certain number of guests were invited, the invitations being originally little rods and later playing cards. The drum and rattle made the round of the company. Then the article was consecrated; if a gun, it was rubbed with meal several times, with soup, and lastly with fat, after which the feast took place. 782 304 776 785 [765] 782 574

There were many shrines and sacred articles among the Mandans, but judging from the accounts, the sacred bundles or 778

[1] Maximilian: p. 463.

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778 medicine bags as Maximilian calls them, seem to have been much less important than among the Arikara. Nevertheless these bundles were by no means absent. Maximilian relates that each man had his own medicine bag, the contents of which no one else might see. In addition to this there was a large medicine bag in the medicine lodge within which, Maximilian tells us, were preserved three sacred skulls, those of the chief who had led them out from underground, of his sister, and of his brother — also this chief's rattle. In the medicine lodge were also the sacred rattle and the four drums of hide, filled with water, which were made to resemble turtles and which they claimed, according to Catlin, they had always had. They had a sacred pipe or calumet also, which Maximilian was not allowed to see, the price of looking at it alone being placed at one hundred dollars. He says[1] that it was very hard for the Mandans to get these sacred pipes and much more trouble to consecrate them. Certain things must be hung upon them and among these was the skull of an animal which at that time was not found in the vicinity, and for which an enormous price had to be given. There were many other pipes called medicine pipes belonging to private owners, these however were merely ordinary pipes which had been consecrated by the ceremony already described. Each Mandan regarded his own medicine as a sacred animal, and in addition there were several animals which were regarded as sacred throughout the whole tribe. Owls and screech owls were kept in the lodges to predict the future. The war-eagle was considered as having great medicine power and they kept all sorts of birds of prey alive in the huts for their plumes. Geese were considered to be very sacred also, first because in one of their tales the Lord of Life turned into a goose and flew away with a flock of them, and also as they are the messengers of the Old Woman Who Never Dies or the Corn Mother. Of greatest importance among these sacred animals, however, was the white buffalo, whose hide was the most valuable article that a Mandan could possess. The hides were bought mostly from other nations, they were tanned with horns and hoofs on, and were not valuable unless of heifers

778 825

778 [439]

[1] Op. cit., p. 439.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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under two years old. These hides were worth ten to fifteen horses or sixty ordinary robes. No man could be of great importance in the tribe unless he had at one time owned one of them. Immediately on its acquisition the hide was hung up on a pole before the owner's lodge and consecrated to the Lord of Life, the sun, or the First Man. The ceremony of consecration was rather elaborate and was conducted by the shaman. A great mass of valuables, the collection of three or four years, was also offered or given away at the same time. The robe was either left suspended until it rotted away, or was taken down and cut into strips, one of which was worn by each member of the owner's family.

The Mandans seem to have had something in the nature of shrines and sacred images both natural and artificial. First among the artificial ones might be mentioned the Ark or Big Canoe which has already been described. This formed the central figure for most of the Mandan ceremonial dances. There was also the image of Ochkih-Hedde which hung before the medicine lodge; and there were similar images hanging before nearly every one of the other lodges, these were made of skin, branches and earth[1] and were intended to represent the Lord of Life and the First Man. Other shrine-like structures were built on the prairie. One of these is described by Maximilian.[2] "... Four poles are placed in a square, the two front ones garnished at the base with a pile of earth and sod. Between them are four buffalo skulls in a row, between the two back poles are twenty-six human skulls painted partly with red stripes, behind the whole are two knives fixed in the ground. The poles are surmounted by bundles of branches; on these again is a crest of pieces of sharp wood, the ends painted red. ... Sometimes on two of the poles are tied stuffed figures to represent the sun and moon, or the Lord of Life and the Old Woman Who Never Dies. Wild absinthe (wormwood) is attached by handfuls to the poles." These are probably the same things which Catlin mentions in connection with the burial customs.

Chief among the natural shrines was the medicine rock of

[1] Maximilian: p. 444. [2] Ibid., p. 460.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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778 which Lewis and Clarke, Henry, Catlin, and Maximilian all give
accounts. The Mandans told Lewis and Clarke that this rock,
781 which was at three days march to the southwest, informed them of every thing to happen during the year and that they visited it every spring and sometimes in the summers.[1] The description which Maximilian gives of this rock seems worth repetition: "It is situated at two or three days from the village on the edge of the Cannonball River from which it is about one hundred paces. They say it is on the summit of a rather high hill, the top of which is level. It is marked by the footprints of men and other animals, dogs and travois. It is a sort of oracle. They offer it all sorts of valuable articles — knives, pipes, cloth. . . . When going to war they pass near and consult the stone. They approach it, weep, groan, smoke, and retire to a distance where they pass the night. Next day they take down on parchment what the stone shows. This painted parchment is carried to the village where the old men interpret it. Undoubtedly new figures are seen on the stone from time to time. Not far from this place was the ark where part of the nation was saved." The Minnetarees also had one of these medicine stones which was consulted in practically the same way. One more of their natural sacred objects deserves
778 mention; this was a lake some distance from their villages
782 where a great serpent, formerly a Mandan warrior, was said to reside. This serpent was a good genius and offerings of all sorts were thrown into the lake to procure his aid.

791 The shaman although mentioned occasionally is not described, nor are his powers well defined by any of the authorities. Maximilian remarked that there were shamans who gathered herbs and pretended to cure diseases and others who did tricks and conducted preparations for the ceremonies.

773 MYTHOLOGY:—Practically all material on Mandan mythology
539 comes from Maximilian who wrote down a large number of stories directly as they were told to him by a Mandan chief, Dipeuch. Catlin and Lewis and Clarke reinforce these with a few details. It is found by analysis of the myths given by Maximilian that two distinct, parallel, mythological stories of

[1] Lewis and Clarke: Feb. 21, 1805.

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575 608 432 527 After this speech, Big-thief returned to his place. Then all the Kit-Foxes rose and brought presents of food to their fathers. Black-chest again selected Good-bear for his individual Father, but explains that this was not obligatory. Wounded-face was obliged to select a new father, for the one chosen by him in purchasing the Kit-Fox organization had been killed in battle; otherwise, he says he should have kept the same individual for his father in buying all the higher societies. On this occasion his choice fell on Little-crow, to whom he presented a kettleful of food as a token of his selection. Black-chest states that five of the fathers had been killed since the purchase of the Kit-Fox society.

575 432 431 Black-chest says that on this occasion the River Women did not aid the purchasers, as both they and the latter had married. This obviously refers to the period of the fathers' entertainment, as the same informant mentions a contribution by this women's organization to the initial payment (see p. 303). On the other hand, the Black Mouths attended the performance and brought food for the sellers.

575 778 527 837 533 At a height of about seven feet from the ground the fathers stretched a rawhide rope between the two rear main posts. To each end of the rope they attached a whip, and near its center they folded over it two red cloth sashes. These sashes were considered sacred. The wife of one of the buyers then rose, stripped naked and covering her genitalia with her hands, approached the rear of the fireplace. Rising on tiptoes, she seized one of the sashes, covered her nakedness again, pressed the sash to her breast and hung it up as before. Each one of the buyers' wives went through the same ceremony. During this performance the fathers were all singing. The women returned to their seats and put on their blankets. Each husband then said to his wife: "I will give you to my father, for I want his song. Perhaps he will pray for us, and it will be well for both of us."

575 [844] 837 432 527 [782] Then the father and the woman offered to him went out together. Menstruating women were absolved from this performance, for they were not supposed to come to the lodge at all on such occasions. As a matter of fact, Black-chest says that only very few fathers availed themselves of the right surrendered to them, being generally afraid of ill luck if they did. The form, however, was gone through by each wife on each of the twenty nights. Black-chest's wife told her husband that Good-bear merely took her outside, faced west with her and said, "Daughter-in-law, stop and stand there." Then he prayed as follows: "My gods, my son has given me his wife. I wish that my daughter-in-law may always enjoy a long and happy life, and I ask you in behalf of my son that he may conquer his enemies." After this prayer he bade the woman go back, and both returned to the lodge.

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wore robes with the hairy side out, wore painted women's robes. They formed a circle, the men began to sing, and the women danced, taking up the tune at the same time. They waddled like ducks from side to side, raising each foot alternately higher than the other, but not moving from their position. After a while there was an intermission, which was again followed by a dance. Only the older members had the tattoo marks between mouth and chin that were distinctive of the society. When Maximilian saw the society from Ruptare perform, there were three male musicians, who also wore white buffalo skin headdresses, and none of the women carried bundles of twigs. Otherwise the equipment was the same as in the other dance.[1] 575 527 292 [304]

An illustration of the dance of this society, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas, is shown in Fig. 16.

Boller's account, which is of considerably later date, contributes the important fact that in case of a famine the White Buffalo Cow women were expected to make buffalo herds come nearer to the village. A similar function is attributed by Catlin to *male* Buffalo dancers wearing masks of a type described in this paper in connection with the Bull society (p. 315). Catlin, however, does not connect his Buffalo dance with any organization, for though only about ten or fifteen men are said to have joined in the dance at one time, he states that every Mandan was obliged to keep a buffalo mask for possible use in the buffalo-calling ceremony on the request of the chiefs.[2] Oddly enough, both Catlin and Boller say that their respective Buffalo dancers never failed to bring in the herds for the reason that they continued their performance for weeks if necessary, until buffalo were actually sighted. The dance of the society is thus described by Boller: 575 767 535

> The different members of the White-Cow band began to assemble, and soon the regular taps of the drum notified the camp that the great and important ceremony was in full progress. At one end of the lodge sat the musicians or drummers, three in number, who were untiring in their efforts, and aided their instrumentation by singing in a monotonous chanting strain. The women, comprising some forty or fifty matrons of the village, most of whose charms had unmistakably faded, were all attired in their quaintly garnished deer-skin dresses. Each had a spot of vermilion on either cheek, and their long black hair, which was carefully combed out and dressed with marrow grease, fell full and flowing over their shoulders, confined around the forehead with a fillet of white buffalo cow-skin. One of them had a white robe (which is very scarce, and held in the highest esteem) wrapped around her. This white robe was the common property of the band, and in its great power as a "medicine" were centred their hopes of bringing in the buffalo.[3] [302] [778]

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[1] Ibid., 283–284, 297.
[2] Catlin, I, 127–128.
[3] Boller, 218–219.

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I will now present my own field notes concerning this society.

Calf-woman joined the White Buffalo women when she was only two years old. Two years later she began to take part in the performances. Some old women went round the village looking for a female child whose parents loved her dearly and had given away a great deal of property in her honor. They came to Calf-woman's parents, and these consented to have their daughter adopted. Calf-woman's mother gave Brave-woman one pony and several blankets on this occasion. Whenever there was a dance of the society, a member named Berry carried the newly adopted infant on her back. There were about fifty women members, and five men acted as singers. The most important dance, or ceremony, of the society took place once a year, in the winter, on four successive nights. Sometimes the dance was kept up every other night for a month.

In preparation for the great ceremony the Indians of the village gathered an abundance of food and property for the society. Each member had a red line painted on the right side of her face, from temple to eyebrow, and a corresponding line in blue on the opposite side. All wore the buffalo skin caps emblematic of the organization and put on only on this special occasion, and moreover each member wore a buckskin dress and a robe. Three officers were distinguished by wearing their robes hair side out. The leader of this trio had a *white* buffalo skin robe; Calf-woman, who walked in the center, wore the best *calf* skin robe obtainable; and the third officer donned a *coarse*-haired robe. In approaching the earth-lodge where the ceremony was to be performed, the members halted four times on the way. At each stopping-place they formed a circle and danced in the same way as they were going to do in the lodge. The leader entered the lodge and made a circuit walking to the right (for one entering). A buffalo cow skull had been placed at the foot of the northwestern main pole in the center of the lodge, and *ditūre* was burnt for incense in front of it. A special incense-burner conducted the leader to the skull, letting her stand there so that she might be smoked, and then led her back again to her place. The two other officers mentioned above were similarly treated. North of the door, in a line in front of that joining the two southern center poles, sat the five men singers. As soon as these musicians began to sing, the leader, the middle officer, and the rear officer danced forward to the fireplace, where they met, and then danced in position, facing the fire. After they had returned to their original places, a special song was chanted. This was a signal for the incense-burner to go dancing from member to member and remove their robes. Then the dancing began. Every song and dance was repeated four times. Towards the close of the first night's performance a particular song was intoned, indicating that the paint was to be rubbed off

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state of decay, were erected for the Indians by the Whites. There is nothing of the kind at Ruhptare. The huts, as I have before remarked, stand close to each other, leaving, in the centre, an open circular space, about sixty paces in diameter, in the centre of which (among the Mandans) the ark of the first man is set up,[1] of which we shall speak in the sequel. It is a small cylinder, open above, made of planks, about four or five feet high, fixed in the ground, and bound with climbing plants, or pliable boughs, to hold them together (see the woodcut, p. 342). 361 712

At the north end of this circular space is the medicine lodge, in which festivals are celebrated, and certain customs practised, which are connected with the religious notions of this people, which we shall treat of in the sequel. At the top of a high pole, a figure is here placed, made of skins, with a wooden head, the face painted black, and wearing a fur cap and feathers, which is intended to represent the evil spirit, Ochkih-Hadda (corresponding with the devil), or a wicked man, as they affirm, who once appeared among them, had neither wife nor child, and vanished, and whom they now stand greatly in dread of. Other grotesque figures, made of skins and bundles of twigs, we saw hanging on high poles, most of them being offerings to the deity. Among the huts are many stages of several stories, supported by poles, on which they dry the maize. The huts themselves are of a circular form, slightly vaulted, having a sort of portico entrance. When the inmates are absent the entrance is shut up with twigs and thorns; and if they wish merely to close the door they put up a skin stretched out on a frame, which is shoved aside on entering. In the centre of the roof is a square opening for the smoke to find vent, over which is a circular sort of screen made of twigs, as a protection against the wind and rain, and which, when necessary, is covered with skins (see woodcut). 361 346 778 [343] 342

The interior of the hut is spacious, tolerably light, and cleanly. Four strong pillars towards the middle, with several cross beams, support the roof. The inner circumference of the hut is formed by eleven or fifteen thick posts, four or five feet in height, between which other rather shorter ones are placed close to each other. On these shorter posts, which are all of an equal

1 [This shrine, the sacred cedar, represents the culture hero's body. See Category 116, Source 2: Bower, pp. 24, 116 for a more up-to-date summary.--Analyst]

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600 at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote. One of their
771 chiefs never smoked out of a stone pipe, but always used a wooden one. Mato-Topé never
778 partook of other people's tobacco, but always smoked by himself, with the doors shut. They
276 do not willingly show their medicines or amulets, which are usually kept wrapped up in a bundle or bag, and never opened except on important occasions. They have particular medicine pipes, or, as the English call them, medicine stems, which are uncovered and used for smoking only on solemn occasions. Many make such pipes according to their own taste; such, for instance, was the pipe of Dipauch (Plate XXI. fig. 3). The bowl was nearly in the form of a Turkish pipe, and was made of brownish-red clay; the tube, which was rather short and thick, represented the lord of life in human form, but which it required some stretch of the imagination to discover. The nation preserves a celebrated pipe of this kind as a sacred relic, which no stranger is permitted to see. It has been in their possession since remote ages, and they offered to show it to me
435 for the value of 100 dollars. The Indians cannot obtain such pipes but at a considerable expense:
439 many of the necessary ornaments are not to be procured among them, such as the upper bill and the red crown of a species of woodpecker (*Picus pilcatus*, Linn.), a bird which is not found so high up the Missouri. For the head of one of these woodpeckers, which was brought from
597 St. Louis, they gave a large handsome buffalo robe, worth six or eight dollars. If a man pos-
796 sesses such a pipe, he sometimes conceives the idea of adopting a medicine son. The young man
171 whom he is to choose appears to him in a dream; it is, however, requisite that he should be of a good family, or have performed some exploit. He acquaints him with his intention, and, after having provided two similar medicine pipes, he asks his newly-adopted son, whether he is ready to undergo the ceremony of the pipes? The latter frequently answers in the affirmative, and the time for the ceremony is fixed: but, if he has not yet made up his mind, it is deferred. The adoptive father then chooses two young men, who practise the medicine dance together, with the two pipes in their hands. The father often dances, in the morning, on the roof of his hut, and instructs these two young men. When the time arrives, and the adopted son is ready for the ceremony, the father, with all his relations, and the two young dancers, repairs to the hut of his newly-chosen son, and brings him a present of maize, cloth, blankets, kettles, and other valuable articles. The father takes his son by the hand and makes him sit down, after which the company dance round him, with the two pipes; they sing, accompanied by the drum and schischikué, the two young dancers keeping time to the music with their pipes. When the ceremony is over, and the presents laid in one or two heaps, the relations of the medicine son bring horses, cloth, blankets, and other things of value, which the two parties reciprocally divide between them. The father then again takes his son by the hand, makes him rise from his seat, and dresses him in new clothes from head to foot, and likewise paints his face according to his fancy. The dress and pipe are henceforth his property, and he is considered as a real son, who must support and defend his father.

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This custom exists among most of the nations on the Missouri, and even among the Esquimaux there is a somewhat similar usage. If the adopted son and father have not happened to meet for a long time, they make presents to each other; the father gives the son a new dress, and the latter presents him with a good horse. Among all the Indian nations of North America, there is a particular class of men, who are specially engaged in all the above-mentioned ceremonies and medicines. They are, also, the physicians, and are called, among the Mandans, Numak-Choppenih, which signifies medicine man.

The skin of a white buffalo cow is an important article, and an eminent medicine in the opinion of the Mandans and Manitaries. He who has never possessed one of them is not respected. Suppose two men to be disputing about their exploits, the one an old veteran warrior, who has slain many enemies, the other, a young lad without experience; the latter reproaches the other with never having possessed a white buffalo cow hide, on which the old man droops his head, and covers his face for shame. He who possesses such a hide generally offers it to the lord of life, to whom he dedicates it, or, which is equivalent, to the sun, or to the first man. He collects, perhaps, in the course of a whole twelvemonth, various articles of value, and then hangs them up all together on a high pole in the open prairie, generally in the neighbourhood of the burying-place, or in the village before his hut. Distinguished men and chiefs of eminence are for the most part poor, because, in order to gain reputation and influence, they give away everything of value which they possess. A large number of relatives is one of the chief means of acquiring riches, for a young man who wishes to distinguish himself, and to be liberal, does honour to the whole family, who assist him to the utmost of their power. When one of his relations has anything of value, the young man goes to the owner to demand it, and not unfrequently takes it away without ceremony. Sometimes he hangs his head in silence, and then something of value is given him, a handsome dress, a horse, &c. If he wishes to gain reputation and a claim to distinction, it is necessary that he should make presents. All the people in the village notice very accurately what presents are made, and the donor has a right to display all such presents painted on his robes, and in this manner to hand down his reputation to posterity, as has been already related. This and military glory are, in the eyes of these men, the greatest virtues. They dare not draw a stroke too much on their robes for the horses, guns, &c., which they have given away, for the young men keep a most strict account against each other, and universal ridicule would be the immediate consequence of violating this rule. Among the distinctions of any man, the white buffalo hide is the greatest. He who has not been so fortunate as to kill a white buffalo himself, which is generally the case, as these animals are very rare, purchases a hide, often at a great distance from home, and other nations bring them hither, being well aware of the great value attached to them by the Mandans. The hide must be that of a young cow, not above two years old, and be taken off complete and tanned, with the horns,

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778 nose, hoofs, and tail. The value of ten to fifteen horses is given for it. A certain Mandan gave
281 ten horses, a gun, some kettles, and other articles, for such a hide. The white hide of a bull or
[435] of an old cow is by no means so valuable. The white hide of a young cow suffices for all the daughters of a family. They do not wear it as a robe, like the Manitaries, or, at the utmost, the wife, or one of the daughters of the family, wears it once at some great festival, but never a second
796 time. The Mandans have particular ceremonies at the dedication of the hide. As soon as they have obtained it they engage an eminent medicine man, who must throw it over him; he then walks round the village in the apparent direction of the sun's course, and sings a medicine song. When the owner, after collecting articles of value for three or four years, desires to offer his treasure to the lord of life, or to the first man, he rolls it up, after adding some wormwood or a head of maize, and the skin then remains suspended on a high pole till it rots away. At the time of my visit there was such an offering at Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, near the stages for the dead without the village. Sometimes, when the ceremony of dedication is finished, the hide is cut into small strips, and the members of the family wear parts of it tied over the head, or across the
554 forehead, when they are in full dress. If a Mandan kills a young white buffalo cow, it is
224 accounted to him as more than an exploit, or having killed an enemy. He does not cut up the animal himself, but employs another man, to whom he gives a horse for his trouble. He alone who has killed such an animal is allowed to wear a narrow strip of the skin in his ears. The whole robe is not ornamented, being esteemed superior to any other dress, however fine. The
[435] traders have, sometimes, sold such hides to the Indians, who gave them as many as sixty other
[136] robes in exchange. Buffalo skins with white spots are likewise highly valued by the Mandans; but there is a race of these animals with very soft silky hair, which has a beautiful gold lustre when in the sunshine: these are, likewise, highly prized, and sold for ten or fifteen dollars, and,
778 sometimes, for the value of a horse. Besides the white buffalo skins which are offered in sacrifice and hung on poles, there are, in the vicinity of the villages of the Mandans and Manitaries, other strange figures on high poles, as represented in Plate XXV. These figures are composed of skin, grass, and twigs, which, it seems, represent the sun and moon, perhaps, also, the lord of life, and the first man. The Indians resort to them when they wish to petition for anything, and sometimes howl and lament for days and weeks together.

796 The Mandans have several medicine festivals, of which the Okippe, or the penitential ceremony of the ark, is by far the most remarkable. It is celebrated in the spring or summer, and I regret to say that I cannot describe it as an eye-witness. I am, however, enabled to give a circumstantial description of it, word for word, as it was communicated to me by men initiated in the mysteries of the nation.*

* The author refers to a letter on this subject, written by Mr. Catlin, and published in a New York paper; but this is by no means so complete as that given in his valuable work published last year.—*Translator's Note.*

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773 labourers, and the mouse, the mole, and the before-mentioned stags, perform the work. The birds, which fly from the sea-shore in the spring, represent the old woman, who then travels to the north to visit "the old man who never dies," and who always resides in that quarter. She does not, however, stop there long, but generally returns in three or four days. In former times, the old woman's hut was near the little Missouri, where the Indians often went to visit her. One day, twelve Manitaries came to her, and she set before them a pot of maize, which was so small, that it was not sufficient to satisfy even one; but she invited them to eat, and, as soon as the pot was empty, it was instantly refilled, and all the twelve men had enough. This occurred several times while the old woman resided in that spot.

773 Serpents, especially the rattlesnakes, are in a greater or less degree "medicine" for these
755 people, who kill them, and cut off the rattles, which they regard as an effectual remedy in many
[825] diseases. They chew one of the joints, and wet various parts of the body of the patient with
778 the saliva. They likewise believe in the existence of a colossal medicine serpent, which lives in a lake three or four days' journey from this place, and to which they make offerings." The following is their tradition of this monster:—Two young men were strolling along the bank of the river, and observed a cavern, through which curiosity led them to go. On reaching the further end, they were surprised at beholding a picturesque country, wholly unknown to them, where numerous herds of buffaloes were grazing. Suddenly, however, an immense giant stood before them, who demanded—"Who are you, you little people? I am afraid, if I were to lay hold of you, I should crush you!" He then lifted them in his hands very carefully, and carried them into the village, which was inhabited by giants like himself. Accompanied by the two Mandans, they went out to hunt buffaloes. The giants killed the buffaloes by throwing stones, but the Mandans destroyed many with their arrows, which greatly delighted the giants. At that time the giants were at war with the eagles, which were very numerous, and which they slew by flinging stones. The Mandans, however, shot them with arrows, so that they speedily procured a large quantity of eagles' feathers. They then took leave of the giants, and were permitted to depart with all their valuable feathers. On their return they found the cave blocked up by a colossal serpent. At first they were at a loss how to make a passage, but they soon collected a large pile of wood and burnt the monster. One of them tasted the roasted flesh of the serpent, and, finding it palatable, partook of more. They proceeded on their way, when the head of the Mandan who had tasted the serpent's flesh began to swell prodigiously, and an intolerable itching came over his face. He begged his friend not to leave him, but to take him home. On the second day he continued to swell, increased in length, felt an irritation all over, and
773 was soon afterwards transformed into a serpent, upon which he begged his companion to take
778 him to the Missouri, which the latter accomplished in three days. As soon as the serpent reached the water, he dived, but speedily rose to the surface, and said, "There are many like me below, but

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they hate me, therefore carry me to the long water, three days' journey from the Missouri." This, 775
too, was done, but the serpent not liking his new abode, his comrade was obliged to carry him to a 778
second lake, called Histoppa-Numangka (the place of the tattooed countenance), when the serpent was satisfied, and resolved to remain. He commissioned the young man to bring him four things, viz. a white wolf, a polecat, some pounded maize, and eagles' tails: after this he was to go to war four times, and kill an enemy in each combat. All this accordingly took place. The serpent then added that he would always remain in this lake, never die, be medicine, and, when the Mandans desired anything, they might come hither, do penance, or make offerings, that is to say, hang robes, eagles' tails, and other articles of value, on poles on the banks of the lake, which the Indians sometimes do even to this day.

Another curiosity of a similar nature is the Medicine Stone, which is mentioned by Lewis 787
and Clarke, and which the Manitaries likewise reverence. This stone is between two and three 778
days' journey from the villages on Cannon-ball River, and about 100 paces from its banks. I was assured that it was on a tolerably high hill, and in the form of a flat slab, probably of sandstone. The stone is described as being marked with impressions of the footsteps of men, and animals of various descriptions, also of sledges with dogs. The Indians use this stone as an oracle, and make offerings of value to it, such as kettles, blankets, cloth, guns, knives, hatchets, medicine pipes, &c., which are found deposited close to it. The war parties of both nations, when they take the field, generally go to this place, and consult the oracle as to the issue of their enterprise. Lamenting and howling, they approach the hill, smoke their medicine pipes, and pass the night near the spot. On the following morning they copy the figures on the stone upon a piece of parchment or skin, which they take to the village, where the old men give the interpretations. New figures are undoubtedly drawn from time to time on this stone, near to which the celebrated ark, in which part of the nation was saved in the great deluge, formerly stood.

The Mandans have many other medicine establishments in the vicinity of their villages, 778
all of which are dedicated to the superior powers. Mr. Bodmer has made very accurate drawings 782
of those near Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, one of which consists of four poles placed in the form of a square; the two foremost have a heap of earth and green turf thrown up round them, and four buffalo skulls laid in a line between them, while twenty-six human skulls are placed in a row from one of the stakes at the back to the other; some of these skulls are painted with a red stripe. Behind the whole a couple of knives are stuck into the ground, and a bundle of twigs is fastened at the top of the poles with a kind of comb, or the teeth of a rake, painted red (Vignette XIV). The Indians repair to such places when they desire to make offerings or put up petitions; they howl, lament, and make loud entreaties, often for many days together, to the lord of life, which the French Canadians call weeping, though no tears are shed. A similar medicine establishment is represented in Plate XXV., where a couple of human figures, very clumsily made of skins,

778 were fixed upon poles, representing, as we were told, the sun and moon, probably the lord of life
782 and the old woman who never dies. Wormwood, of which they generally fasten a bunch to the poles, is a sacred medicine herb, to which they ascribe various effects.

Dreams, as I have before said, afford the usual motives for such actions, and for the
787 penances which they impose upon themselves, and they believe all that appears in their dreams
782 to be true. They were not yet acquainted with fire-arms, when one of the Indians dreamt
789 of a weapon with which they could kill their enemies at a great distance, and soon afterwards the white men brought them the first gun. In the same manner they dreamt of horses
304 before they obtained any. Even the Whites who live among them are infected with this belief in dreams, and other superstitions. They frequently promise, on undertaking anything, the joint of a finger, which they cut off at once, and keep in a handful of wormwood; this I myself saw among the Blackfeet, where, at that time, it was a sign of mourning. It is also done at the time of the Okippe in May and June. Almost all the Mandans and Manitaries have lost one or two joints of the fingers, and several of them more. There are numerous superstitious ideas and prejudices among these Indians. Thus, they believe that a person to whom they wish ill must die, if they make a figure of wood or clay, substituting for the heart, a needle, an awl, or a porcupine quill, and bury the image at the foot of one of their medicine poles. When a child is born, the father must not bridle a horse, that is to say, he is not to fasten the halter to the lower jaw, otherwise the child would die in convulsions. If the wife be pregnant, this circumstance is often the cause of much ill fortune to the husband, and he is frequently unsuccessful in hunting. If an Indian, in such cases, wounds a buffalo, without being able to kill it quickly, he endeavours to carry the heart of a buffalo home, and makes his wife discharge an arrow at
777 it; he then again feels confidence in his weapons, that they will speedily kill. The Indians affirm that a pregnant woman is very lucky at a game called billiards. Many consider it a bad omen when a woman, while several Mandans are smoking together, passes between them. If a woman is lying on the ground between the men who are smoking, a piece of wood is laid across her, to serve as a communication between the men. The strongest man now living among the
789 Mandans, who has been the victor in several wrestling matches with the Whites, always takes
555 hold of his pipe by the head, for, were he to touch it in another part, the blood would suddenly rush from his nostrils. As soon as he bleeds in this manner, he instantly empties his pipe, and throws the contents into the fire, where it explodes like gunpowder, and the bleeding immediately stops. Nobody, they say, can touch this man's face, without at once bleeding at the nose and mouth. A certain Indian affirms that, whenever another offers him a pipe to smoke, out of civility, he immediately has his mouth full of worms, handfuls of which he throws into the fire. The medicine of another man consists in making a snow-ball, which he rolls a long time between his hands, so that it at length becomes hard, and is converted into a white stone, which, when

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struck, emits fire. Many persons, even Whites, pretended they had seen this, and it is utterly useless to attempt convincing them to the contrary. The same man pretends that, during a dance, he plucked white feathers from a certain small bird, which he rolled between his hands, and formed of them, in a short time, a similar white stone. Sometimes an Indian takes it into his head to make his gun medicine, or to consecrate it, which he does not dare afterwards to part with. With this view he generally makes a yearly feast in the spring. The crier (kettle-tender, or marmiton) must invite a certain number of guests, and receive an equal number of small sticks, which he delivers to them, as a sign of their being invited; nay, now, European playing cards are actually sent round for this purpose. The guests appear, lay their guns aside, and take their places, on which the drum and schischikué go round, and every guest sings, and plays the drum and rattle. While this music is going on, they eat the food which has been dressed, nor are they allowed to leave any of it. The host then takes his gun, cuts a piece of flesh, and with it rubs the barrel, and flings the meat into the fire; this is repeated thrice. He then takes up some of the water in which the meat was boiled, rubs the whole length of the barrel with it, pours the rest of the broth into the fire; and, lastly, takes fat, with which he rubs the whole of his gun, and then throws the remainder into the fire.

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A great many Mandans and Manitaries believe that they have wild animals in their body; one, for instance, affirmed he had a buffalo calf, the kicking of which he often felt; others said they had tortoises, frogs, lizards, birds, and so forth. Among the Manitaries we saw medicine dances of the women, where one pretended that she had a head of maize in her body, which she cast out by dancing, and then ate, after it had been mixed with wormwood. Another discharged blood, but of this we shall speak in the sequel. Similar feats are seen among the Mandans also. They likewise relate a number of foolish stories of miraculous and supernatural events. Thus, a girl refused to marry, and had no intercourse with the other sex. One night, while she was asleep, a man lay down by her side, on which she awoke, and saw him go away in a white buffalo robe. As he returned on the two succeeding nights, she resolved to mark him, and stained her hand with red. He appeared, and she gave him a blow, with her hand, on his back, not being able to hold him. On the following day she examined all the robes in the whole village, but could not find the mark of her hand, till at length she discovered it on the back of a large white dog. Some months after, as the Indians are fully persuaded, she was delivered of seven young dogs. The people consider owls as medicine birds, and pretend to hold conversations with them, and to understand their attitudes and voices; often, indeed, they keep these animals alive in their huts, and look upon them as soothsayers. I shall, subsequently, have occasion to speak of the manner in which they catch all kinds of birds of prey, which feed on the flesh of dead animals, particularly eagles, which they sometimes preserve alive. They frequently look upon them as medicine.

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778 Many instruments used by the Whites, especially mathematical, are a great medicine, or charm, in their eyes, because they do not comprehend the use of them. Thus, the Indian women were frequently embarrassed when we looked at them through a telescope, because they believed that we had the power of penetrating their inmost thoughts, and of discovering their past and future actions.

805 The division of time, especially that of the year into months, is pretty conformable to nature; they count the years by winters, and say so many winters have passed since such an event. They are able to reckon the winters either by numbers, or on their fingers, for their numerals are very complete.

1. The month of the seven cold days, answering to our January.
2. The pairing month—February.
3. The month of weak eyes—March.
4. The month of game. Some call it the month of the wild geese. It is likewise often called the month of the breaking-up of the ice.
5. The month in which maize is sown, or the month of flowers—May.
6. The month of ripe service berries.
7. The month of ripe cherries.
8. The month of ripe plums.
9. The month of ripe maize.
10. The month of the falling leaves.
11. The month in which the rivers freeze.
12. The month of slight frost.

Here and there other names are given to the months, but the above are the most common.

461 The chief occupations of the Indians, besides adorning and painting their persons, looking in
224 the glass, smoking, eating, and sleeping, are the chase and war, and these fill up a great part of their time. The principal beast of chase is the buffalo, or, rather, the buffalo cow. The men generally go hunting in a body, on horseback, in order to be the more secure against a superior
492 force of their enemies. The equipments of their horses are much like those of the Blackfeet, and their saddle resembles the Hungarian; though, now, they sometimes obtain saddles from the Whites, which they line and ornament with red and blue cloth. In riding, they never leave hold of their whip, the handle of which is made of wood, and not of elk's horn, as among the more
224 western nations. They never wear spurs. In the summer time, if the herds of buffaloes are dispersed to great distances in the prairie, the chase, of course, requires more time and exertion; but in winter, when they approach the Missouri, and seek shelter in the woods, a great number are

461 the east or the west, the scenes of their battles, which they are recounting over to each other. In another direction, the wooing lover, softening the heart of his fair Taih-nah-tai-a with the notes of his simple lute. On other lodges, and beyond these, groups are engaged in games of the "moccasin," or the "platter." Some are to be seen manufacturing robes and dresses, and others, fatigued with amusements or occupations, have stretched their limbs to enjoy the luxury of sleep, whilst basking in the sun. With all this wild and varied medley of living beings are mixed their dogs, which seem to be so near an Indian's heart, as almost to constitute a material link of his existence.

361 In the centre of the village is an open space, or public area, of 150 feet in diameter, and circular in form, which is used for all public games and
●778 festivals, shews and exhibitions; and also for their "annual religious ceremonies," which are soon to take place, and of which I shall hereafter give some account. The lodges around this open space front in, with their doors towards the centre; and in the middle of this circle stands an object of great religious veneration, as I am told, on account of the importance it has in the conduction of those annual religious rites.

778 This object is in form of a large hogshead, some eight or ten feet high, made of planks and hoops, containing within it some of their choicest medicines or mysteries, and religiously preserved unhacked or scratched, as a symbol of the "Big Canoe," as they call it.

One of the lodges fronting on this circular area, and facing this strange object of their superstition, is called the "Medicine Lodge," or council house. It is in this sacred building that these wonderful ceremonies, in commemoration of the flood, take place. I am told by the Traders that the cruelties of these scenes are frightful and abhorrent in the extreme; and that this huge wigwam, which is now closed, has been built exclusively for this grand celebration. I am every day reminded of the near approach of the season for this strange affair, and as I have not yet seen any thing of it, I cannot describe it; I know it only from the relations of the Traders who have witnessed parts of it; and their descriptions are of so extraordinary a character, that I would not be willing to describe until I can see for myself, —which will, in all probability, be in a few days.

351 In ranging the eye over the village from where I am writing, there is
778 presented to the view the strangest mixture and medley of unintelligible trash (independant of the living beings that are in motion), that can possibly be imagined. On the roofs of the lodges, besides the groups of living, are buffaloes' skulls, skin canoes, pots and pottery; sleds and sledges—and suspended on poles, erected some twenty feet above the doors of their wigwams, are displayed in a pleasant day, the scalps of warriors, preserved as trophies; and thus proudly exposed as evidence of their warlike deeds. In other parts are raised on poles the warriors' pure and whitened shields and quivers, with medicine-bags attached; and here and there a sacrifice of red

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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cloth, or other costly stuff, offered up to the Great Spirit, over the door of some benignant chief, in humble gratitude for the blessings which he is enjoying. Such is a part of the strange medley that is before and around me; and amidst them and the blue streams of smoke that are rising from the tops of these hundred "coal-pits," can be seen in distance, the green and boundless, treeless, bushless prairie; and on it, and contiguous to the piquet which encloses the village, a hundred scaffolds, on which their "dead live," as they term it.

These people never bury the dead, but place the bodies on slight scaffolds just above the reach of human hands, and out of the way of wolves and dogs; and they are there left to moulder and decay. This cemetery, or place of deposite for the dead, is just back of the village, on a level prairie (PLATE 48); and with all its appearances, history, forms, ceremonies, &c. is one of the strangest and most interesting objects to be described in the vicinity of this peculiar race.

Whenever a person dies in the Mandan village, and the customary honours and condolence are paid to his remains, and the body dressed in its best attire, painted, oiled, feasted, and supplied with bow and quiver, shield, pipe and tobacco—knife, flint and steel, and provisions enough to last him a few days on the journey which he is to perform; a fresh buffalo's skin, just taken from the animal's back, is wrapped around the body, and tightly bound and wound with thongs of raw hide from head to foot. Then other robes are soaked in water, till they are quite soft and elastic, which are also bandaged around the body in the same manner, and tied fast with thongs, which are wound with great care and exactness, so as to exclude the action of the air from all parts of the body.

There is then a separate scaffold erected for it, constructed of four upright posts, a little higher than human hands can reach; and on the tops of these are small poles passing around from one post to the others; across which a number of willow-rods just strong enough to support the body, which is laid upon them on its back, with its feet carefully presented towards the rising sun.

There are a great number of these bodies resting exactly in a similar way; excepting in some instances where a chief, or medicine-man, may be seen with a few yards of scarlet or blue cloth spread over his remains, as a mark of public respect and esteem. Some hundreds of these bodies may be seen reposing in this manner in this curious place, which the Indians call, "the village of the dead;" and the traveller, who visits this country to study and learn, will not only be struck with the novel appearance of the scene; but if he will give attention to the respect and devotions that are paid to this sacred place, he will draw many a moral deduction that will last him through life: he will learn, at least, that filial, conjugal, and paternal affection are not necessarily the results of civilization; but that the Great Spirit has given them to man in his native state; and that the

300 ingly grotesque and amusing, and that part of them which has a relation to the Deluge is harmless and full of interest.

361 In the centre of the Mandan village is an open, circular area of 150 feet diameter, kept always clear, as a public ground, for the display of all their public feasts, parades, &c. and around it are their wigwams placed as near to each other as they can well stand, their doors facing the centre of this public area.

778 796 In the middle of this ground, which is trodden like a hard pavement, is a curb (somewhat like a large hogshead standing on its end) made of planks (and bound with hoops), some eight or nine feet high, which they religiously preserve and protect from year to year, free from mark or scratch, and which they call the "big canoe"—it is undoubtedly a symbolic representation of a part of their traditional history of the Flood; which it is very evident, from this and numerous other features of this grand ceremony, they have in some way or other received, and are here endeavouring to perpetuate by vividly impressing it on the minds of the whole nation. This object of superstition, from its position, as the very centre of the village is the rallying point of the whole nation. To it their devotions are paid on various occasions of feasts and religious exercises during the year; and in this extraordinary scene it was often the nucleus of their mysteries and cruelties, as I shall shortly describe them, and becomes an object worth bearing in mind, and worthy of being understood.

796 805 773 This exciting and appalling scene, then, which is familiarly (and no doubt correctly) called the "Mandan religious ceremony," commences, not on a particular day of the year, (for these people keep no record of days or weeks), but at a particular season, which is designated by the full expansion of the willow leaves under the bank of the river; for according to their tradition, "the twig that the bird brought home was a willow bough, and had full-grown leaves on it," and the bird to which they allude, is the mourning or turtle-dove, which they took great pains to point out to me, as it is often to be seen feeding on the sides of their earth-covered lodges, and which, being, as they call it, a *medicine-bird*, is not to be destroyed or harmed by any one, and even their dogs are instructed not to do it injury.

796 On the morning on which this strange transaction commenced, I was sitting at breakfast in the house of the Trader, Mr. Kipp, when at sun-rise, we were suddenly startled by the shrieking and screaming of the women, and barking and howling of dogs, as if an enemy were actually storming their village.

"Now we have it!" (exclaimed *mine host*, as he sprang from the table,) the grand ceremony has commenced!—drop your knife and fork, Monsr. and get your sketch-book as soon as possible, that you may lose nothing, for the very moment of *commencing* is as curious as anything else of this strange affair." I seized my sketch-book, and all hands of us were in an instant in front of the medicine-lodge, ready to see and to hear all that was to take place. Groups of women and children were gathered on the tops of

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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or war-clubs in their hands. I gave the wink to my companions as I was passing in, and the potency of my *medicine* was such as to gain them a quiet admission, and all of us were comfortably placed on elevated seats, which our conductor soon prepared for us.

We were then in full view of everything that transpired in the lodge, having before us the scene exactly, which is represented in the first of the four pictures. To this seat we returned every morning at sunrise, and remained until sun-down for four days, the whole time which these strange scenes occupied.

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In addition to the preparations and arrangements of the interior of this sanctuary, as above described, there was a curious, though a very strict arrangement of buffalo and human skulls placed on the floor of the lodge, and between them (which were divided into two parcels), and in front of the reclining group of young candidates, was a small and very delicate scaffold, elevated about five feet from the ground, made of four posts or crotches, not larger than a gun-rod, and placed some four or five feet apart, supporting four equally delicate rods, resting in the crotches; thus forming the frame of the scaffold, which was completed by a number of still smaller and more delicate sticks, transversely resting upon them. On the centre of this little frame rested some small object, which I could not exactly understand from the distance of twenty or thirty feet which intervened between it and my eye. I started several times from my seat to approach it, but all eyes were instantly upon me, and every mouth in the assembly sent forth a hush—sh—! which brought me back to my seat again; and I at length quieted my stifled curiosity as well as I could, upon learning the fact, that so sacred was that object, and so important its secrets or mysteries, that not *I* alone, but even the young men, who were passing the ordeal, and all the village, save the conductor of the mysteries, were stopped from approaching it, or knowing what it was.

This little mystery-thing, whatever it was, had the appearance from where I sat, of a small tortoise or frog lying on its back, with its head and legs quite extended, and wound and tasselled off with exceedingly delicate red and blue, and yellow ribbons or tassels, and other bright coloured ornaments; and seemed, from the devotions paid to it, to be the very nucleus of their mysteries—the *sanctissimus sanctorum*, from which seemed to emanate all the sanctity of their proceedings, and to which, all seemed to be paying the highest devotional respect.

This strange, yet important *essence* of their mysteries, I made every enquiry about; but got no further information of, than what I could learn by my eyes, at the distance at which I saw it, and from the silent respect which I saw paid to it. I tried with the doctors, and all of the *fraternity* answered me, that that was "*great medicine*," assuring me that it "could not be told." So I quieted my curiosity as well as I could, by the full conviction that I had a *degree* or two yet to take before I could fathom all

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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the arcana of Indian superstitions; and that this little, seemingly wonderful, relic of antiquity, symbol of some grand event, or "secret too valuable to be told," might have been at last nothing but a silly bunch of strings and toys, to which they pay some great peculiar regard; giving thereby to some favourite Spirit or essence an ideal existence, and which, when called upon to describe, they refuse to do so, calling it "*Great Medicine*," for the very reason that there is nothing in it to reveal or describe. 796 778

Immediately under the little frame or scaffold described, and on the floor of the lodge was placed a knife, and by the side of it a bundle of splints or skewers, which were kept in readiness for the infliction of the cruelties directly to be explained. There were seen also, in this stage of the affair, a number of cords of rawhide hanging down from the top of the lodge, and passing through its roof, with which the young men were to be suspended by the splints passed through their flesh, and drawn up by men placed on the top of the lodge for the purpose, as will be described in a few moments.

There were also four articles of great veneration and importance lying on the floor of the lodge, which were sacks, containing in each some three or four gallons of water. These also were objects of superstitious regard, and made with great labour and much ingenuity; each one of them being constructed of the skin of the buffalo's neck, and most elaborately sewed together in the form of a large tortoise lying on its back, with a bunch of eagle's quills appended to it as a tail; and each of them having a stick, shaped like a drum-stick, lying on them, with which, in a subsequent stage of these ceremonies, as will be seen, they are beaten upon by several of their mystery-men, as a part of the music for their strange dances and mysteries. By the side of these sacks which they call *Eeh-teeh-ka*, are two other articles of equal importance, which they call *Eeh-na-dee* (rattles), in the form of a gourd-shell made also of dried skins, and used at the same time as the others, in the music (or rather *noise* and *din*) for their dances, &c.

These four sacks of water have the appearance of very great antiquity; and by enquiring of my very ingenious friend and patron, the *medicine-man*, after the ceremonies were over, he very gravely told me, that "those four tortoises contained the waters from the four quarters of the world—that these waters had been contained therein ever since the settling down of the waters!" I did not think it best to advance any argument against so ridiculous a theory, and therefore could not even enquire or learn, at what period they had been instituted, or how often, or on what occasions, the water in them had been changed or replenished.

I made several propositions, through my friend Mr. Kipp, the trader and interpreter, to purchase one of these strange things by offering them a very liberal price; to which I received in answer that these, and all the very numerous articles used in these ceremonies, being a *society property* were 796 421

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648 lower village brought down four of the Sharhas. We explained to them our intentions, and advised them to remain at peace with each other; we also gave them a flag, some tobacco, and a speech for their nation. These were accompanied by a letter to Messrs. Tabeau and Gravelines at the Ricara village, requesting them to preserve peace if possible, and to declare the part which we should be forced to take if the Ricaras and Sioux made war on those whom we had adopted. After distributing a few presents to the Sharhas and Mandans, and showing them our curiosities, we dismissed them, apparently well pleased at their reception." (id 187.)

Mandan Religion—Origin. "Tuesday, 4th. Oscapsaee and
776 two young chiefs passed the day with us. The whole religion
782 of the Mandans consists in the belief of one great spirit presiding over their destinies. This being must be in the nature of a good genius, since it is associated with the healing art, and the great spirit is synonymous with the great medicine, a name also applied to every thing which they do not understand. Each individual selects for himself the particular object of his devotion, which is termed his medicine, and is either some invisible being or more commonly some animal, which henceforward becomes his protector or his intercessor with the great spirit; to propitiate whom every attention is lavished, and every personal consideration is sacrificed. 'I was lately owner of seventeen horses,' said a Mandan to us one day, 'but I have offered them all up to my medicine, and am now poor.' He had in reality taken all his wealth, his horses, into the plain, and turning them loose, committed them to the care of his medicine, and abandoned them forever. The horses, less religious, took care of themselves, and the pious votary traveled home on foot. Their belief in a future state
775 is connected with this tradition of their origin; the whole nation
773 resided in one large village under ground, near a subterraneous lake; a grape vine extended its roots down to their habitation, and gave them a view of the light; some of the most adventurous climbed up the vine, and were delighted with the sight of the earth, which they found covered with buffalo and rich with every kind of fruits; returning with the grapes they had gathered, their countrymen were so pleased with the taste of them that the whole nation resolved to leave their dull residence for the charms

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

each end of the drum. Lone Man sat in front of the drum dressed in his full ceremonial outfit, smoking his pipe, and eating of the pemmican placed before him. The altar was set up between the northeast and northwest posts of the lodge and so arranged that half was on each half of the lodge; that is, there would be two human skulls and two buffalo skulls, and two posts of the small four-post structure symbolic of the four posts of the universe, on each half of the lodge. The Bull Dancers' paraphernalia were on the four-post altar, and beneath it were the sharp-edged tools and splints to be used later in the torture feature of the ceremony (see Fig. 14).

The first act was the ceremonial transfer of Lone Man's pipe to the Okipa Maker to be used by him for the duration of the ceremony. Lone Man then called Hoita from his place to supervise the performance and to see that every detail of the dance, as given in the Dog Den Butte when he was in charge, was carried out.[17] The dance began within the Okipa lodge at once. At definite places in the dance, the drummers picked up the hide serving as a drum and moved it to the east by four stages. At midnight, when the dancing stopped, the drums were on the east side of the lodge. The fasters were expected to cry all night.

First day.—At daybreak the fasters turned their buffalo robes around so that the hair was on the outside and the head side of the robe was over their heads, imitating buffaloes. The three drummers[18] (Hoxka) came out of the Okipa lodge at sunrise, placed their rolled-up hide serving as a drum to the east side of the sacred cedar, and sat down back of the drum facing toward the entrance to the Okipa lodge. The two men with rattles next came out and sat down behind the drummers. When the drummers and rattlers were in their places, the Okipa Maker came out of the lodge dressed in an antelope hide with the head on,

17. Catlin says that Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (Lone Man) left the ceremony and village after the transfer of the pipe (George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* [Philadelphia, 1857], p. 253). Maximilian says that Numank-Machana (Lone Man) officiates again on the fourth day of the ceremony (*Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites [Cleveland, 1906], XXIII, 333).

18. Maximilian reports six drummers: "Three of the men must strike in the direction of the river downwards, and three in the direction upwards" (*ibid.*, p. 325). Six drummers was the correct number according to tradition. The number was reduced after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

worn like an apron. He wore the hair shed from a buffalo over his head and carried Lone Man's pipe and pemmican balls, which he placed on the ground in front of the drummers. Then he walked to the south side of the sacred cedar and stood on the buffalo skull he had previously placed there. Grasping the wooden planks inclosing the cedar with both hands and pressing his forehead against the wood, he asked Lone Man to hear him and send the people all they asked for, to bring the buffaloes near the villages, and to keep all bad luck away.

At the completion of the Okipa Maker's prayer and while he stood grasping the wooden inclosure, the drummers and rattlers began singing; this was the signal for the fasters to come out. They were dressed in their robes with the hair side out and hooked at each other in imitation of a herd of buffaloes as they danced toward the sacred cedar in a double line,[19] one line going to the east of the sacred cedar, the other to the west side. There they formed a straight line on the south side and danced forward and backward in front of the Okipa Maker, who continued his weeping, addressing the first Lone Man to help the people. When the drummers changed the song to one with a rapid tempo, the fasters and the Okipa Maker returned to the Okipa lodge, imitating a herd of buffaloes as they entered the lodge following the Okipa Maker.

The drummers, Okipa Maker, and fasters came out to dance four times the first day, and the procedure was the same on each occasion. They came out at sunrise, before noon, at mid-afternoon, and just before sunset.

Just before dark, after dancing outside had finished for the day, women brought willow firewood to the Okipa lodge, where it was placed in two piles on each side of the door. Women of the WaxikEna-Tamisik moiety placed theirs on the west side, while the other clans placed theirs on the east side. Male representatives of the two divisions of the tribe carried in the wood for the fire, since women were not permitted inside the lodge. The small boys and many of the young men left the Okipa lodge at the end of the first day, usually leaving from thirty to fifty fasters who intended to remain the entire four days without

19. Each half represented one of the moieties. The fasters were also symbolic of the animals held captive in Dog Den.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

a bunch of sage in her lodge and rubbed her body after returning from the fields to cleanse herself from the spirits in the gardens. Years ago, it is said that, when this was done, worms came out of the women's bodies. The Corn bundle-owner walked through the gardens several times during the summer, carrying the pipe and singing the Corn songs. 778 241 784

When the weather was too hot, too cold, or too dry, all those with Corn medicine rights met, and the Goose Women's Society joined them to dance and pray. While the ceremony was in progress, people of each household brought presents and offered them for relief from the adverse weather. 796 782 778

Many women pledged a ceremony to the Corn if good crops were sent by the gods. A person making such a vow, first prepared an elkhide robe and paid the Corn Priest to officiate. When the time appointed for the offering came and after the crop was harvested, she carried the robe to her field, where she tied it to a cottonwood pole and covered the pole with corn on the ear until the pile reached nearly to the robe. The young men of the tribe were invited to come and charge the robe, the first one there taking it. At a signal, the young men searched for the meat under the pile of corn. The Corn bundle-owner received four things for his part in the ceremony. Many different women gave this ceremony each fall when the crops were abundant. 241

The Corn bundle-owner officiated whenever corn was sold to people of other tribes. It was thought that it must be done or the spirits in the corn might leave the Mandan and help the people who took the corn away. He dressed in his ceremonial outfit and "called back" the Corn Spirits. 778 [439]

Whenever a cache of stored corn was opened, four ears of corn were taken to the Corn bundle-owner as payment for his part in protecting the stored corn. [251]

The order of Corn Priests is as follows:

1. Uses Head for Rattle
2. Brown
3. Pot
4. Bull Leg
5. Acting Foolish (OxinhEdE)
6. Foolish Man
7. Strong Arm
8. Raises Tail
9. Forearm Bone
10. Hunts His Enemy
11. Bull Standing on Land
12. WErukirihEri
13. Enemy
14. Sacred Cedar
15. Cedar Feather
16. Star
17. Head Comes Out
18. Water Bag
19. Coyote
20. Crow
21. WErukirihEri
22. Bloody Knife
23. Garden
24. Tree in Garden
25. Uses His Head for Rattle
26. HoxdEkE
27. Corn Grinder
28. Lying Down
29. Left-Hand Bull
30. Scabby
31. WErukirihEri
32. Crows Belt
33. Moves Slowly
34. Scattercorn
35. Mrs. Little Owl (present owner)

The many references to corn in the mythology express the significance of agriculture to this tribe. Archeological work in their prehistoric sites indicates that economically agriculture has played an important role in shaping the habits of these people. The primary factor in establishing villages at certain 241 361 796

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter XII

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY

796 THE ceremony is called HapminakE, meaning "Day Boat"
778 or "Day Traveler." At least five distinct Mandan bundle lines were in existence in 1837, represented by Arrowhead Earrings (custodian of the Okipa lodge), who sold to his daughter, Spring Woman, and her husband, who sold to Calf Woman, principal contributor of data on this ceremony; Bull Otter, who sold to his son, Clam Necklace, who sold to his son Ole Bull (still living); Short Bull, whose bundle was bought by his daughter, Diamond Snake, who sold to her son, Percy Baker (still living); Red Buffalo Cow, who sold to his daughter, Antelope Woman; Four Bears, who died during the smallpox epidemic of 1837 without making a sale, although one son dreamed of the Old Woman Above and dressed as a woman thereafter. This is a greater number of bundle lines than it was possible to identify for the Hidatsa villages. The Arrowhead Earrings bundle was inherited in the clan and was considered the principal or original bundle. The other bundles were sold from father to son.

796 The ceremony was performed to the Sun, Moon, and Old
782 Woman Above, their mother. Some bundle lines included rites
776 to Old Woman Above's daughter,[1] an evil spirit who was blamed for much of the tribe's misfortunes. The ceremony differs in function from most ceremonies in that it was performed to ward off misfortunes sent by these evil mythological gods. Other sacred beings are either neutral or helpful, but not so with the Sun or his sister. They were cannibals and brought miscarriages, insanity, twisted faces, droughts, death, and misfortunes to the people. Ceremonies were rites of appeasement. The Sun was a cannibal who brought death to members of war parties and carried their bodies to his mother's lodge above, where she prepared them for his meals. He would not, however, knowingly

1. Called Omahank-Chika by Maximilian (see *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIII [Cleveland, 1906], 302).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

eat those he had sent dreams to or those who had his bundles 796
and gave feasts or offerings of goods to him regularly. The pres- 782
ence of so many bundle lines, both original and secondary, sur- 776
viving the smallpox of 1837, indicates the popularity of such bundles.

This was a very difficult bundle ceremony to secure informa- 778
tion about. All tribal ceremonies were secret. The difficulty in 124
securing information on this ceremony was based on fear of death. Calf Woman explained that, since she had joined the church and was not likely to sell rights in her other bundles four times, she was always willing to explain things in her other bundles. She had described everything Wilson and Lowie asked of her and never felt fear of the loss of good fortune.[2] She added:

> I showed you the masks yesterday that belonged in the Okipa ceremony. 778
> Of course, I smoked pine branches before I opened the bundle, but I always
> do that. I don't feel the same way about the Peope Above bundle. The Moon 776
> in the bundle doesn't worry me, but Sun is an evil spirit. He brought death
> to our warriors. My first husband was killed on the warpath even though his
> father and mother had a People Above bundle which together with my hus-
> band's sisters we would have had rights had he lived. So, you see, sometimes
> the Sun will even kill his own. It may be that the Sun had already blessed the
> enemy and adopted him as a son was why my husband was killed. This Old
> Woman Above is mean, but she is fair. Her daughter is evil; she causes men
> to leave their wives and little children; she causes insanity, fits, and feeble-
> mindedness. People are always careful to follow the rules belonging to these
> bundles, or their neighbors blame them when someone breaks a leg or has a
> tree fall on him. I worried last night because I had promised to tell you the
> myth.

Wolf Chief expressed the same fears when asked to explain 124
the Hidatsa ceremony to Woman Above. That there was a rich 776
ritualism connected with these bundles is evident from isolated data appearing in other sacred myths. There are a number of qualified informants, but to date it has been impossible to secure complete information from them. Variations no doubt existed between villages and even in bundle lines within the same village, but this could not be determined, since such information was not obtainable from Calf Woman.

Bundle purchase followed the normal tribal pattern. The in- 778
struction was directly between seller and buyer, which, when 425
completed, was followed by a medicine feast at the time the transfer was made. Attendance was limited to persons with

2. Gilbert L. Wilson and Robert H. Lowie.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

than skulls, which usually appear singly in refuse heaps, pits, or shallow graves.

Women took an active part in these ceremonies. Calf Woman thought that it was because they did not want their gardens burned by Sun, who she said once tried to marry Waving Corn. (People never prayed to the sun to bring warm weather. When the winter was severe, they prayed to Lone Man of the Okipa to come as the south wind.) When he was refused, he came four times, and each time the plants withered. Women would fast at these shrines to save their crops and ask help for their men away on the warpath.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 lodge. The principal officer of the Okipa was the Lone Man,
796 who, traditionally, belonged to the WaxikEna clan. The rights
614 to impersonate Lone Man were inherited through the Waxi-
428 kEna clan. A buyer was assisted by his brothers and sisters, who became secondary owners in the bundle. Should the buyer die, a brother was entitled to officiate until a new owner was qualified. When the bundle-owner had no brothers, the sisters' husband was authorized to officiate by performing a ceremonial feast to the bundle until a qualified successor in the clan was se-
[607] lected. The bundle and office passed from a man to his sister's son. A man could sell his rights in the office four times, but few sales were made in later years, since there were two separate bundle lineages representing the two villages built near Fort Clark which were adequate to meet ceremonial needs. In fact, one of these lineages died out shortly after 1837 and was never re-established. The Hoita lineage, though theoretically in the WaxikEna clan, was, in historic times, held temporarily by a member of the Tamisik clan.

778 Although villages were reported to be largely independent
621 ceremonially, they were not entirely so. The three sacred turtle drums were kept by individual members of the WaxikEna clan at Nuptadi Village, one of the east-side villages of the Heart River group, and were borrowed by the other villages when the Okipa was to be performed. In later years when the tribe moved to Fort Clark, these drums were kept at the Upper Village situated near Deapolis. Each village was believed to possess its own complement of officers. There was, however, a certain amount of collaboration between villages when new officers were receiving training.

778 The sacred cedar was erected in each village if the village
621 group had a complete complement of Okipa officers. It was the
361 rule that, whenever a ceremony or organized social event was performed in the summer village, out of respect to Lone Man, whose body was represented by this inclosed post, the group
[434] should dance once at this sacred shrine. On these occasions, gifts of robes or other clothing were placed over the cedar as an
[782] offering to the Lone Man and became the property of the WaxikEna clan. The Mandan considered the entire open-circle area inclosing the sacred cedar sacred also. Even as late as

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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which were pushed in as they burnt. This was done because the First Man told them they must never have a big fire after the day's cooking was done and showed them how it should be built. It recalls the sacred fire of the Muskogi and other tribes of the lower Mississippi. They declared that many of the every day customs were taught them thus and consequently they always did them a certain way,—thus Ochkih-Hedde taught them to tattoo themselves, and their first chief taught them to kill buffalo and to make shields. 372 [773]

The Mandans practiced penances and sacrifices, especially self-torture which they carried to great extremes. Their medicine or personal guardian spirit was acquired by three or four days fasting and self injury, after which the medicine, often an animal, appeared to the candidate in a dream. This ceremony was also taught to them by Ochkih-Hedde. No expedition or enterprise was undertaken without a liberal sacrifice to some supernatural being, either by offering valuable goods or by physical self-torture. Finger joints were frequently cut off as an offering to the gods and fasting was common as a propitiation. Often a day or more would be spent near one of the medicine scaffolds in groaning, praying and weeping. Lewis and Clarke relate that finger joints were also cut off as a sign of mourning, which Maximilian denies, and Catlin tells how such a sacrifice was a part of the catalogue of tortures in the great Okeepa dance. The custom of consecrating personal property is found here as among the neighboring tribes. A man could make his gun, his horse, his pipe and other similar articles medicine by going through certain ceremonies, most important of which was the giving of a feast. The feast[1] was announced by a public crier, a certain number of guests were invited, the invitations being originally little rods and later playing cards. The drum and rattle made the round of the company. Then the article was consecrated; if a gun, it was rubbed with meal several times, with soup, and lastly with fat, after which the feast took place. 782 304 776 785 [765] 782 574

There were many shrines and sacred articles among the Mandans, but judging from the accounts, the sacred bundles or 778

[1] Maximilian: p. 463.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

under two years old. These hides were worth ten to fifteen horses or sixty ordinary robes. No man could be of great importance in the tribe unless he had at one time owned one of them. Immediately on its acquisition the hide was hung up on a pole before the owner's lodge and consecrated to the Lord of Life, the sun, or the First Man. The ceremony of consecration was rather elaborate and was conducted by the shaman. A great mass of valuables, the collection of three or four years, was also offered or given away at the same time. The robe was either left suspended until it rotted away, or was taken down and cut into strips, one of which was worn by each member of the owner's family.

The Mandans seem to have had something in the nature of shrines and sacred images both natural and artificial. First among the artificial ones might be mentioned the Ark or Big Canoe which has already been described. This formed the central figure for most of the Mandan ceremonial dances. There was also the image of Ochkih-Hedde which hung before the medicine lodge; and there were similar images hanging before nearly every one of the other lodges, these were made of skin, branches and earth[1] and were intended to represent the Lord of Life and the First Man. Other shrine-like structures were built on the prairie. One of these is described by Maximilian.[2] "... Four poles are placed in a square, the two front ones garnished at the base with a pile of earth and sod. Between them are four buffalo skulls in a row, between the two back poles are twenty-six human skulls painted partly with red stripes, behind the whole are two knives fixed in the ground. The poles are surmounted by bundles of branches; on these again is a crest of pieces of sharp wood, the ends painted red. ... Sometimes on two of the poles are tied stuffed figures to represent the sun and moon, or the Lord of Life and the Old Woman Who Never Dies. Wild absinthe (wormwood) is attached by handfuls to the poles." These are probably the same things which Catlin mentions in connection with the burial customs.

Chief among the natural shrines was the medicine rock of

[1] Maximilian: p. 444. [2] Ibid., p. 460.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 which Lewis and Clarke, Henry, Catlin, and Maximilian all give
787 accounts. The Mandans told Lewis and Clarke that this rock, which was at three days march to the southwest, informed them of every thing to happen during the year and that they visited it every spring and sometimes in the summers.[1] The description which Maximilian gives of this rock seems worth repetition: "It is situated at two or three days from the village on the edge of the Cannonball River from which it is about one hundred paces. They say it is on the summit of a rather high hill, the top of which is level. It is marked by the footprints of men and other animals, dogs and travois. It is a sort of oracle. They offer it all sorts of valuable articles — knives, pipes, cloth. . . . When going to war they pass near and consult the stone. They approach it, weep, groan, smoke, and retire to a distance where they pass the night. Next day they take down on parchment what the stone shows. This painted parchment is carried to the village where the old men interpret it. Undoubtedly new figures are seen on the stone from time to time. Not far from this place was the ark where part of the nation was saved." The Minnetarees also had one of these medicine stones which was consulted in practically the same way. One more of their natural sacred objects deserves
778 mention; this was a lake some distance from their villages
782 where a great serpent, formerly a Mandan warrior, was said to reside. This serpent was a good genius and offerings of all sorts were thrown into the lake to procure his aid.

791 The shaman although mentioned occasionally is not described, nor are his powers well defined by any of the authorities. Maximilian remarked that there were shamans who gathered herbs and pretended to cure diseases and others who did tricks and conducted preparations for the ceremonies.

773 MYTHOLOGY:—Practically all material on Mandan mythology
539 comes from Maximilian who wrote down a large number of stories directly as they were told to him by a Mandan chief, Dipeuch. Catlin and Lewis and Clarke reinforce these with a few details. It is found by analysis of the myths given by Maximilian that two distinct, parallel, mythological stories of

[1] Lewis and Clarke: Feb. 21, 1805.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 After this speech, Big-thief returned to his place. Then all the Kit-
608 Foxes rose and brought presents of food to their fathers. Black-chest again
432 selected Good-bear for his individual Father, but explains that this was
527 not obligatory. Wounded-face was obliged to select a new father, for the one chosen by him in purchasing the Kit-Fox organization had been killed in battle; otherwise, he says he should have kept the same individual for his father in buying all the higher societies. On this occasion his choice fell on Little-crow, to whom he presented a kettleful of food as a token of his selection. Black-chest states that five of the fathers had been killed since the purchase of the Kit-Fox society.

575 Black-chest says that on this occasion the River Women did not aid the
432 purchasers, as both they and the latter had married. This obviously refers
431 to the period of the fathers' entertainment, as the same informant mentions a contribution by this women's organization to the initial payment (see p. 303). On the other hand, the Black Mouths attended the performance and brought food for the sellers.

575 At a height of about seven feet from the ground the fathers stretched a
778 rawhide rope between the two rear main posts. To each end of the rope
527 they attached a whip, and near its center they folded over it two red cloth
837 sashes. These sashes were considered sacred. The wife of one of the buyers
533 then rose, stripped naked and covering her genitalia with her hands, approached the rear of the fireplace. Rising on tiptoes, she seized one of the sashes, covered her nakedness again, pressed the sash to her breast and hung it up as before. Each one of the buyers' wives went through the same ceremony. During this performance the fathers were all singing. The women returned to their seats and put on their blankets. Each husband then said to his wife: "I will give you to my father, for I want his song. Perhaps he will pray for us, and it will be well for both of us."

575 Then the father and the woman offered to him went out together.
[841] Menstruating women were absolved from this performance, for they were
837 not supposed to come to the lodge at all on such occasions. As a matter of fact, Black-chest says that only very few fathers availed themselves of
432 the right surrendered to them, being generally afraid of ill luck if they did.
527 The form, however, was gone through by each wife on each of the twenty nights. Black-chest's wife told her husband that Good-bear merely took her outside, faced west with her and said, "Daughter-in-law, stop and
[782] stand there." Then he prayed as follows: "My gods, my son has given me his wife. I wish that my daughter-in-law may always enjoy a long and happy life, and I ask you in behalf of my son that he may conquer his enemies." After this prayer he bade the woman go back, and both returned to the lodge.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

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the pledger. Then the pledger's property and food were distributed among the members, and a general feast followed in conclusion of the ceremony.

Young Beaver said that when she and her comrades bought the Goose society they assembled outside the village and erected a long meat-rack. Along this each member had a place allotted to her, where she could hang up the dried meat and fat prepared by her. Then they called their mothers, and presented them with the food suspended from the rack. In addition, those who could afford it gave their mothers a horse apiece, while the poorer ones made gifts of calico cloth. On receiving these presents each mother put some "black medicine" (a root) into her daughter's mouth. In the fall the members put up a similar rack. One man, the corn-singer had the power — acquired by purchase — of passing along the rack from end to end, touching each portion of meat and singing mystery songs. In the spring or autumn any man or woman might give a feast to the society and otherwise pay them to perform for the benefit of his or her cornfields. On such occasions the host rose and passed from one member to another, and any one that owned some medicine put a little into his mouth, at the same time praying to the Corn in his behalf:—

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[182]

"tawi^{n}'hakehak', tē'ha hā'keharā makū'nista. nimā'ᴍihe
"This is my grandson, long life for me give him. Your blankets
I'wakise ki'ritkāksō'ore."[1]
I made for you.

The last part of this prayer refers to the custom of piling up all the corn in one place and covering it with calico as an offering to the Corn. Then some boy would run up, strike the calico as though it were an enemy, and snatch it away.

The two or three hand-drums employed by the society were, according to the same informant, painted with representations of goose tracks.

Yellow-hair said that the women who initiated her and her associates into the Goose society were the comrades of the surviving White Buffalo women of today. At the transfer of the membership privileges, which took place, as stated by other informants, close to the meat-rack previously set up, the mothers sang four times. During the intermission between the songs, the food was given to the sellers. The horses to be paid were tied in a near-by coulée. After the fourth time, all the novices rose, and approached their aunts, who were holding sagebrush in their arms. The buyers took the sage and paid calico for it. Then they also received their Goose society head bands. When this performance had been completed, the women went back to the village. On the following day the novices danced from morning

[1] This prayer is in Mandan.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

M H 527 575 432

till evening. The mothers came to the dance ground, and each one called her daughter to her lodge, feasted her, and presented her with a fine tanned robe and a sheepskin dress. Four days were spent in this way, then the new members stopped dancing. According to Yellow-hair, the Goose women were divided into two divisions, the members being distinguished by the use of white and dark head bands respectively, and having seats on opposite sides of the dance lodge. Each of the two young middle officers belonged to one of these divisions. Those wearing white head bands occupied the right-hand side for one entering the lodge, while the women with dark head bands sat on the left. One special officer, Calf-woman, served food to the Corn at every feast. She took a piece of meat and offered it to the Corn, saying, "You, Corn, eat this. I pray to you in order that the members of my society may live long."

M H [782]

In the winter preceding the attempt to purchase the Goose society made by Buffalo-bird-woman's group, Yellow-woman — possibly on account of a vision — desired to prepare a feast for the members of the Goose society. All the other members of her group assisted her by preparing some meat and fat. In the spring, when the geese came back from the east, the women set up a meat-rack. Then the woman whose prospective mother was leader of the Goose women hung up her meat, followed by the other women about to buy the society. Anyone that desired to give her mother a horse pledged herself to do so by fastening a stick to the meat. When the food had all been suspended, the men's societies were heard approaching. The Dogs came, blowing their whistles, and the Foolhardy Dogs, Foxes, and other organizations likewise appeared. The women cheered them in the manner termed *ī'rara'zke,* that is, by repeatedly pronouncing the syllable "la, la, la, la" with a rapid movement of the tongue. Each society appropriated one portion of side-ribs, leaving a blanket in its place. The buyers took pains to hide the best pieces of meat until after the men's societies had departed, in order to reserve them for their mothers. In the meantime the Goose women drummed and danced inside their lodge. The starter of the feast took a pipe and a piece of fat on a cottonwood stick, and ran all alone to the Goose society lodge. Each of the Goose women was holding in her left arm sagebrush about 5 feet long and wrapped round a long stick on which was impaled an ear of corn. The representative of the buyers placed the pipe before the singers. The pipe was smoked and returned, whereupon the delegate returned to the meat-rack. This procedure was repeated several times. All that day the buyers refrained from eating and drinking. The Goose women approached the meat-rack, halting several times and dancing each time. When they arrived at the place where the meat was suspended, they sat down in a circle and placed their sagebrush on the

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Gun Society.

575 Hides-and-eats says that in the Gun society (Mandan: ĩ'rupe ō'xat'e) [607] there was no adoption. Three men who had guns for their personal medi- 535 cine went round the village, selecting young girls for the dance. The girls combed their hair loose, stuck feathers in the back like the Skunks,[1] put on their beaded belts and mountain-sheep dresses, and entered an earth-lodge, where they ranged themselves in the arc of a circle. The three men were seated between the fire and the screen between the two main poles facing the door; they were the singers and drummers. The girls danced up and down in their places, seating themselves when a song ended and rising to [782] dance when a new one was intoned. At the close of each song one of the three men expressed the following prayer: "My sacred gun, I pray to you, I wish to conquer my enemies." One of the men rose, impaled food on a stick, and cast it into the fire as an offering to the guns. After a prayer, food that had been previously prepared was distributed among the members. This food must all be eaten on the spot; it was not permissible to take any of it away. At the close of the performance sweetgrass was placed on a potsherd with some charcoal and burnt for incense. One of the men went round with the sherd, beginning at the right side of the door, and smoked each member in turn.

Sometimes the dance was performed, not in an earth-lodge, but outdoors in the village. The Gun women danced only during one month in the summertime. The next year the three men selected other young girls or young married women for the performance.[2] The object of the ceremony was to prevent the recurrence of losses from the enemy.

From the statements quoted it appears doubtful whether the Gun "society" was really a society, though the same term *ō'xat'e* is applied to it as to the other organizations.

River Women Society.

575 The River Women society (pasa'ˈmĩ'he ō'xat'e) is called "Grass Crown society" (mikā'kikiĩ) by the Hidatsa.

The following origin legend had been heard by Hides-and-eats:

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[1] Maximilian says they wore eagle plumes.

[2] Big-cloud, Bull-horn, and White-young-bear are said to have reörganized this society before the time of the smallpox.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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one of their villages on the other side of Knife River, which frequently occasioned dissension between them, and it is only within these fourteen years that permanent peace and concord have existed between the two people.

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At the time when our narrator was a young man, the Arikkaras were near and dangerous enemies to the Mandans. They often fought with them as well as with the Sioux. When one of the two allied nations fought alone, it was almost always defeated, but when they were combined they generally triumphed. The preceding long narrative throws, as I have said, much light on the actual condition of this people, and of their prevalent superstitious customs.

At the time of their first alliance with the Manitaries, the Mandans are said to have inhabited eight or nine villages on the two banks of the Missouri, on the Heart River, and higher upwards. Subsequently a great number of the Mandans were carried off by the small-pox, and their enemies, the Sioux, entirely destroyed their largest village, and massacred the inhabitants. The remaining population then collected in the two villages that still exist—Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush and Ruhptare. Plate XVI. is a view of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, of which a ground plan will be found at the end of this chapter. Previously to the devastations of the small-pox, the Sioux were not very dangerous enemies to the Mandans, because they lived at too great a distance from them, but the Chayennes and the Arikkaras were their natural adversaries. I shall now proceed to treat of the religious and superstitious practices which still prevail among them.

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These Indians are full of prejudice and superstition, and connect all the natural phenomena with the before-mentioned silly creations of their own imaginations. They undertake nothing without first invoking their guardian spirit, or medicine, who mostly appears to them in a dream. When they wish to choose their medicine or guardian spirit, they fast for three or four days, and even longer, retire to a solitary spot, do penance, and even sacrifice joints of their fingers; howl and cry to the lord of life, or to the first man, beseeching him to point out their guardian spirit. They continue in this excited state till they dream, and the first animal or other object which appears to them is chosen for their guardian spirit or medicine. Every man has his guardian spirit. There is, in the prairie, a large hill where they remain motionless many days, lamenting and fasting; not far from this hill is a cave, into which they creep at night. The choice and adoration of their medicine are said to have been taught them by the strange man or spirit who appeared in their villages many years ago, and has not since been seen, and of whom mention has already been made by the name of Ochkih-Hadda. He is said also to have taught them the art of tattooing, and to have instituted their medicine feasts. In all natural phenomena, which are not of daily occurrence, they see wonders, and indications of favourable or unfavourable events. If the falling stars are numerous, or in a certain direction, it is to them an indication of war, or of a great mortality in the human race. They were not willing to have their portraits painted, because they alleged that they should soon die if their portraits came into other hands; 774

at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

This custom exists among most of the nations on the Missouri, and even among the Esquimaux there is a somewhat similar usage. If the adopted son and father have not happened to meet for a long time, they make presents to each other; the father gives the son a new dress, and the latter presents him with a good horse. Among all the Indian nations of North America, there is a particular class of men, who are specially engaged in all the above-mentioned ceremonies and medicines. They are, also, the physicians, and are called, among the Mandans, Numak-Choppenih, which signifies medicine man.

The skin of a white buffalo cow is an important article, and an eminent medicine in the opinion of the Mandans and Manitaries. He who has never possessed one of them is not respected. Suppose two men to be disputing about their exploits, the one an old veteran warrior, who has slain many enemies, the other, a young lad without experience; the latter reproaches the other with never having possessed a white buffalo cow hide, on which the old man droops his head, and covers his face for shame. He who possesses such a hide generally offers it to the lord of life, to whom he dedicates it, or, which is equivalent, to the sun, or to the first man. He collects, perhaps, in the course of a whole twelvemonth, various articles of value, and then hangs them up all together on a high pole in the open prairie, generally in the neighbourhood of the burying-place, or in the village before his hut. Distinguished men and chiefs of eminence are for the most part poor, because, in order to gain reputation and influence, they give away everything of value which they possess. A large number of relatives is one of the chief means of acquiring riches, for a young man who wishes to distinguish himself, and to be liberal, does honour to the whole family, who assist him to the utmost of their power. When one of his relations has anything of value, the young man goes to the owner to demand it, and not unfrequently takes it away without ceremony. Sometimes he hangs his head in silence, and then something of value is given him, a handsome dress, a horse, &c. If he wishes to gain reputation and a claim to distinction, it is necessary that he should make presents. All the people in the village notice very accurately what presents are made, and the donor has a right to display all such presents painted on his robes, and in this manner to hand down his reputation to posterity, as has been already related. This and military glory are, in the eyes of these men, the greatest virtues. They dare not draw a stroke too much on their robes for the horses, guns, &c., which they have given away, for the young men keep a most strict account against each other, and universal ridicule would be the immediate consequence of violating this rule. Among the distinctions of any man, the white buffalo hide is the greatest. He who has not been so fortunate as to kill a white buffalo himself, which is generally the case, as these animals are very rare, purchases a hide, often at a great distance from home, and other nations bring them hither, being well aware of the great value attached to them by the Mandans. The hide must be that of a young cow, not above two years old, and be taken off complete and tanned, with the horns,

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

they hate me, therefore carry me to the long water, three days' journey from the Missouri." This, too, was done, but the serpent not liking his new abode, his comrade was obliged to carry him to a second lake, called Histoppa-Numangka (the place of the tattooed countenance), when the serpent was satisfied, and resolved to remain. He commissioned the young man to bring him four things, viz. a white wolf, a polecat, some pounded maize, and eagles' tails: after this he was to go to war four times, and kill an enemy in each combat. All this accordingly took place. The serpent then added that he would always remain in this lake, never die, be medicine, and, when the Mandans desired anything, they might come hither, do penance, or make offerings, that is to say, hang robes, eagles' tails, and other articles of value, on poles on the banks of the lake, which the Indians sometimes do even to this day. 773 778

Another curiosity of a similar nature is the Medicine Stone, which is mentioned by Lewis and Clarke, and which the Manitaries likewise reverence. This stone is between two and three days' journey from the villages on Cannon-ball River, and about 100 paces from its banks. I was assured that it was on a tolerably high hill, and in the form of a flat slab, probably of sandstone. The stone is described as being marked with impressions of the footsteps of men, and animals of various descriptions, also of sledges with dogs. The Indians use this stone as an oracle, and make offerings of value to it, such as kettles, blankets, cloth, guns, knives, hatchets, medicine pipes, &c., which are found deposited close to it. The war parties of both nations, when they take the field, generally go to this place, and consult the oracle as to the issue of their enterprise. Lamenting and howling, they approach the hill, smoke their medicine pipes, and pass the night near the spot. On the following morning they copy the figures on the stone upon a piece of parchment or skin, which they take to the village, where the old men give the interpretations. New figures are undoubtedly drawn from time to time on this stone, near to which the celebrated ark, in which part of the nation was saved in the great deluge, formerly stood. 787 778

The Mandans have many other medicine establishments in the vicinity of their villages, all of which are dedicated to the superior powers. Mr. Bodmer has made very accurate drawings of those near Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, one of which consists of four poles placed in the form of a square; the two foremost have a heap of earth and green turf thrown up round them, and four buffalo skulls laid in a line between them, while twenty-six human skulls are placed in a row from one of the stakes at the back to the other; some of these skulls are painted with a red stripe. Behind the whole a couple of knives are stuck into the ground, and a bundle of twigs is fastened at the top of the poles with a kind of comb, or the teeth of a rake, painted red (Vignette XIV). The Indians repair to such places when they desire to make offerings or put up petitions; they howl, lament, and make loud entreaties, often for many days together, to the lord of life, which the French Canadians call weeping, though no tears are shed. A similar medicine establishment is represented in Plate XXV., where a couple of human figures, very clumsily made of skins, 778 782

Wied-Neu 5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 were fixed upon poles, representing, as we were told, the sun and moon, probably the lord of life
782 and the old woman who never dies. Wormwood, of which they generally fasten a bunch to the poles, is a sacred medicine herb, to which they ascribe various effects.

Dreams, as I have before said, afford the usual motives for such actions, and for the
787 penances which they impose upon themselves, and they believe all that appears in their dreams
782 to be true. They were not yet acquainted with fire-arms, when one of the Indians dreamt
789 of a weapon with which they could kill their enemies at a great distance, and soon after-
304 wards the white men brought them the first gun. In the same manner they dreamt of horses before they obtained any. Even the Whites who live among them are infected with this belief in dreams, and other superstitions. They frequently promise, on undertaking anything, the joint of a finger, which they cut off at once, and keep in a handful of wormwood; this I myself saw among the Blackfeet, where, at that time, it was a sign of mourning. It is also done at the time of the Okippe in May and June. Almost all the Mandans and Manitaries have lost one or two joints of the fingers, and several of them more. There are numerous superstitious ideas and prejudices among these Indians. Thus, they believe that a person to whom they wish ill must die, if they make a figure of wood or clay, substituting for the heart, a needle, an awl, or a porcupine quill, and bury the image at the foot of one of their medicine poles. When a child is born, the father must not bridle a horse, that is to say, he is not to fasten the halter to the lower jaw, otherwise the child would die in convulsions. If the wife be pregnant, this circumstance is often the cause of much ill fortune to the husband, and he is frequently unsuccessful in hunting. If an Indian, in such cases, wounds a buffalo, without being able to kill it quickly, he endeavours to carry the heart of a buffalo home, and makes his wife discharge an arrow at
777 it; he then again feels confidence in his weapons, that they will speedily kill. The Indians affirm that a pregnant woman is very lucky at a game called billiards. Many consider it a bad omen when a woman, while several Mandans are smoking together, passes between them. If a woman is lying on the ground between the men who are smoking, a piece of wood is laid across
789 her, to serve as a communication between the men. The strongest man now living among the
555 Mandans, who has been the victor in several wrestling matches with the Whites, always takes hold of his pipe by the head, for, were he to touch it in another part, the blood would suddenly rush from his nostrils. As soon as he bleeds in this manner, he instantly empties his pipe, and throws the contents into the fire, where it explodes like gunpowder, and the bleeding immediately stops. Nobody, they say, can touch this man's face, without at once bleeding at the nose and mouth. A certain Indian affirms that, whenever another offers him a pipe to smoke, out of civility, he immediately has his mouth full of worms, handfuls of which he throws into the fire. The medicine of another man consists in making a snow-ball, which he rolls a long time between his hands, so that it at length becomes hard, and is converted into a white stone, which, when

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526 525 stake their liberty upon the issue of these games, offering themselves as slaves to their opponents in case they get beaten.

Feasting and *fasting* are important customs observed by the Mandans, 796 as well as by most other tribes, at stated times and for particular purposes. These observances are strictly religious and rigidly observed. There are many of these forms practiced amongst the Mandans, some of which are exceedingly interesting, and important also, in forming a correct estimate of the Indian character; and I shall at a future period take particular pains to lay them before my readers.

Sacrificing is also a religious custom with these people, and is performed 782 in many different modes, and on numerous occasions. Of this custom I shall also speak more fully hereafter, merely noticing at present, some few of the hundred modes in which these offerings are made to the Good and Evil Spirits. Human sacrifices have never been made by the Mandans, nor by any of the north western tribes (so far as I can learn), excepting the Pawnees of the Platte; who have, undoubtedly, observed such an inhuman practice in former times, though they have relinquished it of late. The Mandans sacrifice their fingers to the Great Spirit, and of their worldly goods, the best and the most costly; if a horse or a dog, it must be the favourite one; if it is an arrow from their quiver, they will select the most perfect one as the most effective gift; if it is meat, it is the choicest piece cut from the buffalo or other animal; if it is anything from the stores of the Traders, it is the most costly—it is blue or scarlet cloth, which costs them in this country an enormous price, and is chiefly used for the purpose of hanging over their wigwams to decay, or to cover the scaffolds where rest the bones of their departed relations.

Of these kinds of sacrifices there are three of an interesting nature, erected over the great medicine-lodge in the centre of the village—they consist of ten or fifteen yards of blue and black cloth each, purchased from the Fur Company at fifteen or twenty dollars per yard, which are folded up so as to resemble human figures, with quills in their heads and masks on their faces. These singular-looking figures, like "*scare crows*" (PLATE 47), are erected on poles about thirty feet high, over the door of the mystery-lodge, and there are left to decay. There hangs now by the side of them another, which was added to the number a few days since, of the skin of a white buffalo, which will remain there until it decays and falls to pieces.

This beautiful and costly skin, when its history is known, will furnish a 782 striking proof of the importance which they attach to these propitiatory 439 offerings. But a few weeks since, a party of Mandans returned from the Mouth of the Yellow Stone, two hundred miles above, with information that a party of Blackfeet were visiting that place on business with the American Fur Company; and that they had with them a white buffalo robe for sale. This was looked upon as a subject of great importance by the chiefs, and one worthy of public consideration. A white buffalo robe is a

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782 439 great curiosity, even in the country of buffaloes, and will always command an almost incredible price, from its extreme scarcity; and then, from its being the most costly article of traffic in these regions, it is usually converted into a *sacrifice*, being offered to the Great Spirit, as the most acceptable gift that can be procured. Amongst the vast herds of buffaloes which graze on these boundless prairies, there is not one in an hundred thousand, perhaps, that is white; and when such an one is obtained, it is considered great *medicine* or mystery.

On the receipt of the intelligence above-mentioned, the chiefs convened in council, and deliberated on the expediency of procuring the white robe from the Blackfeet; and also of appropriating the requisite means, and devising the proper mode of procedure for effecting the purchase. At the close of their deliberations, eight men were fitted out on eight of their best horses, who took from the Fur Company's store, on the credit of the chiefs, goods exceeding even the value of their eight horses; and they started for the Mouth of the Yellow Stone, where they arrived in due time, and made the purchase, by leaving the eight horses and all the goods which they carried; returning on foot to their own village, bringing home with them the white robe, which was looked upon by all eyes of the villagers as a thing that was vastly curious, and containing (as they express it) something of the Great Spirit. This wonderful anomaly laid several days in the chief's lodge, until public curiosity was gratified; and then it was taken by the doctors or high-priests, and with a great deal of form and mystery consecrated, and raised on the top of a long pole over the *medicine-lodge;* where it now stands in a group with the others, and will stand as an offering to the Great Spirit, until it decays and falls to the ground.

000 This Letter, as I promised in its commencement, being devoted to some of the customs peculiar to the Mandans, and all of which will be new to the world, I shall close, after recording in it an account of a laughable farce, which was enacted in this village when I was on my journey up the river, and had stopped on the way to spend a day or two in the Mandan village.

789 Readers, did you ever hear of "*Rain Makers?*" If not, sit still, and read on; but laugh not—keep cool and sober, or else you may laugh in the *beginning*, and cry at the *end* of my story. Well, I introduce to you a new character—not a *doctor* or a *high-priest*, yet a *medicine-man*, and one of the highest and most respectable order, a "*Rain Maker!*" Such dignitaries live in the Mandan nation, aye, and "*rain stoppers*" too; and even those also amongst their *conjurati*, who, like Joshua of old, have even essayed to stop the sun in his course; but from the inefficiency of their medicine or mystery, have long since descended into insignificance.

Well, the story begins thus:—The Mandans, as I have said in a former Letter, raise a great deal of corn; and sometimes a most disastrous drought will be visited on the land, destructive to their promised harvest. Such

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outer surface until after the Deluge. When an Indian story is told, it is like all other gifts, "to be taken for what it is worth," and for any seeming inconsistency in their traditions there is no remedy; for as far as I have tried to reconcile them by reasoning with, or questioning them, I have been entirely defeated; and more than that, have generally incurred their distrust and ill-will. One of the Mandan doctors told me very gravely a few days since, that the earth was a large tortoise, that it carried the dirt on its back—that a tribe of people, who are now dead, and whose faces were white, used to dig down very deep in this ground to catch *badgers;* and that one day they stuck a knife through the tortoise-shell, and it sunk down so that the water ran over its back, and drowned all but one man. And on the next day while I was painting his portrait, he told me there were *four tortoises,*—one in the North—one in the East—one in the South, and one in the West; that each one of these rained ten days, and the water covered over the earth. 773

These ignorant and conflicting accounts, and both from the same man, give as good a demonstration, perhaps, of what I have above mentioned, as to the inefficiency of Indian traditions as anything I could at present mention. They might, perhaps, have been in this instance however the creeds of different sects, or of different priests amongst them, who often advance diametrically opposite theories and traditions relative to history and mythology.

And however ignorant and ridiculous they may seem, they are yet worthy of a little further consideration, as relating to a number of curious circumstances connected with the unaccountable religious ceremonies which I have just described

The Mandan chiefs and doctors, in all their feasts, where the pipe is lit and about to be passed around, deliberately propitiate the good-will and favour of the Great Spirit, by extending the stem of the pipe *upwards* before they smoke it themselves; and also as deliberately and as strictly offering the stem to the four *cardinal points* in succession, and then drawing a whiff through it, passing it around amongst the group. 782 788

The *annual religious ceremony* invariably lasts *four* days, and the other following circumstances attending these strange forms, and seeming to have some allusion to the *four* cardinal points, or the "four tortoises," seem to me to be worthy of further notice. *Four* men are selected by Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (as I have before said), to cleanse out and prepare the medicine-lodge for the occasion—one he calls from the *north* part of the village—one from the *east*—one from the *south*, and one from the *west*. The *four* sacks of water, in form of large tortoises, resting on the floor of the lodge and before described, would seem to be typical of the same thing; and also the *four* buffalo, and the *four* human skulls resting on the floor of the same lodge—the *four* couples of dancers in the "bull-dance," as before described; and also the *four* intervening dancers in the same dance, and also described. 796 801

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Arapahoes having fully as many children who have gray hair, it being seemingly an inherited quality in certain families. I have also seen the same thing in other tribes. In regard to the light hair, one of the old men said to me that when God made them He as a special mark of His pleasure took the silky tassel of the corn with which to make their hair. As a matter of fact this peculiarity is of recent date. Since 1804, when Lewis and Clarke spent their winters with this tribe, their liking for the white men of their party is a matter of record, and particularly of one or two of the men who had red hair and blue eyes." (P. 241.) 144

The above expressed opinion that those peculiarities were of "recent date," and Clarke's evident intention of referring them as to origin to the period of the Lewis and Clarke visit is, we believe, so far fetched as to be without any substantial basis. We have already seen and will hereinafter find further references to evidences which are indisputable to the effect that long before Lewis and Clarke saw the Mandans they had become renowned in the Canadian and eastern American country as "Bearded Whites" and as "Welsh Indians." Even Verendrye, as will be seen later on, knew of those reports and expressed disappointment that the Mandans were not much nearer white men in complexion than he found them to be.

Clarke concludes with the following:

Religious Phases. "They place calico and other cloths round the posts in their lodges as a gift to the god of timber to satisfy him for the spoilation, believing that it hurts a tree to be cut down; i. e., gives it physical pain. The tree is alive and its destruction is the destruction of life, but by giving something to God—making a sacrifice—it pleases Him and gives them good luck. This is a curious peculiarity of their religious belief, which is shared by no other tribe that I have ever met. Near the village and cultivated fields I saw poles fifteen or twenty feet long planted in the ground, with bundles of female clothing tied to these poles near the top. On inquiry they told me that these were gifts to the three Mandan medicine women, who keep the lodges for the sun—one where the sun rises, one at the zenith and one where the sun sets. These women never die, and the sun stops at their lodges to smoke. 'By watching closely,' said the old man, 'you can see that the sun stops for a short time just as he rises, the same at meridian, and he stays with the third at night. 774 778 783

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

783 We were told never to forget these women, and we make these gifts to them so that they will say a kind word for us.' Their oath is made by the moon or sun. After death they believe they 775 go to the east, and claim that a man killed in battle is better treated, better liked, in the hereafter than one who dies of disease. They cling tenaciously to their old beliefs, customs and 186 habits, and though they have adopted some of the manners of the Sioux and their own allies, the Arickarees and Gros Ventres, they are bitterly opposed to the ways of the whites.

Language Different from Sioux. In speaking of their language 197 Mr. Mitchell says: 'I always contended that Mr. Gallatin was in error in supposing the Mandans and Sioux descended from the same stock. Mr. Kipp, who has been well acquainted with both tribes for upward of thirty years, and speaks both languages with great fluency and correctness, fully concurs with me in opinion. There are a few words that are somewhat similar in sound, but this Mr. Kipp accounts for by the fact of the Sioux and Mandans having been neighbors from time immemorable, and during intervals of peace visiting and intermarrying with each other.' Many of them now speak the Sioux language, and though I consider their vocal language as distinct and different from all others, still high authorities at present class it with the Sioux; that is, being with the same stock." (P. 242.)

From the "Collections of the American Antiquarian Society," Vol. II (Cambridge, 1836), we quote the following concerning the Mandans, in which they are spoken of as one of three tribes of the Minnetarees. What is said therein concerning the chief Big White and the Welsh theory will receive consideration later on.

"The Minetares (Minetaree and Minetaries) consist of three tribes, speaking three different languages which belong to a common stock. Its affinities with the Dahcota are but remote, but have appeared sufficient to entitle them to be considered as of the same family.

"Two of those tribes, the Mandans, whose numbers do not 105 exceed fifteen hundred, and the stationary Minetaries, amounting to three thousand souls, including those called Annahwas, cultivate the soil and live in villages situated on or near the Missouri, between the forty-seventh and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude. They are kept in a state of perpetual alarm by the Assiniboines, the Tetons, the Rapid Indians and other erratic

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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younger women called them and offered them property. "Then we adopted them and called them our daughters." Sometimes it happened that a single individual wished to join. In such a case she might buy a head band from a father's sister and become an additional member without replacing anyone. This, however, was not the regular way of entering the society. 575 432 [608]

In Hides-and-eats' time, there were two male head-singers, who called in five young men and taught them to sing, for which they received a compensation and were called "fathers" by the young men. From another statement by the same authority it would appear that the five men bought the right of singing and drumming from their predecessors in very much the same way as the young women bought the right to membership. 868 432

The officers of the society included a leader wearing a necklace of bear claws attached to otterskin; a rear officer with the same badge; and two middle officers with a loose-fitting white-shell necklace hanging down a few inches below the neck in front. There was one special member who surrendered to the society her earth-lodge to dance in; in Hides-and-eats' time this member's name was One-corn-seed. Calf-woman, who was one of the officers wearing a shell necklace, kept the dance-lodge, because her parents loved her dearly and never refused her anything. The ceremonial dance lasted four nights, the actual dancing beginning before sunset. The members were expected to remain in the earth-lodge during these four nights.[1] Some women, however, would clandestinely absent themselves and go home. As soon as the other members discovered their absence, they went to the woman's house, and sang outside, "Our friend, get up and come out here again." The drummers beat their drums, and the members, if necessary, seized the truant and brought her back to the dance lodge by force. The close of the performance was marked by a cleansing ceremony. The musicians tied together peppermint (?) stalks, and with these they brushed the members' bodies, from the shoulders down. The object of this was to remove the mysterious (xo'pinic) properties with which the members were endowed while dancing. In Calf-woman's time only one man, Bad-shirt performed this ceremony; he was paid with calico goods and food. Painted-up said the brusher was the singer of the Bird ceremony. The ceremonial cleansing took place only after the performances of the three *sacred* women's societies, that is, the River women, Goose women and White Buffalo women organizations. 575 301 527 535 [783]

Two-chiefs said that during the four nights' performance the head bands were suspended from a rawhide rope passing round the earth-lodge, and 575

[1] That is to say, they were not to sleep with their husbands. But if any member had a little child at home, she might go there to attend to its wants. In this case she was brought back to the lodge before daybreak.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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M 575 [301]

members were expected to sleep below these headdresses. During part of the dance the women wearing bearclaw necklaces, (that is, the leaders and rear officers) performed alone, and were then supposed to present gifts to their own aunts or uncles. The middle officers also performed when a special song was sung, and they were expected to make a similar distribution of gifts. At the conclusion of the whole ceremony, the members sat down in a circle and placed their crowns in front of them. A man whose personal medicine was the Eagle or the Thunder was summoned to purge first the headdresses, and then the women themselves. Then, after the removal of the eagle feathers, which were saved for another occasion, the head bands were taken to the outskirts of the village, and abandoned there.

M [783]

H 575 432 527

Buffalo-bird-woman gave the following account of the purchase of the River Women, or, as she called it, Grass Crown, society. Her statements, she said, also applied to the Skunk society. A male "friend" led the procession of purchasers, carrying a pipe[1] to the lodge of the sellers. The girls or women pretended to weep in feigned expectation of the possibility that their offer to buy the society might be declined by their mothers. On the first evening they merely stated their request, saying "Mothers, we desire to get this society, we do not know how to get it." As soon as the mothers had consented to give up their society, they pretended to cry, saying, "We have lost our songs." Then there followed ten nights during which the "mothers" were entertained by the purchasers. On the first of these nights the aunts[2] danced four times, whereupon each buyer brought a kettleful of food to her aunt. This was repeated every following night. On the tenth night, each daughter gave a special present to her mother and put a pipe before her, which was smoked, as before, by a male friend, and then returned. On the next evening each mother called her daughter to her own lodge and gave her a new suit of clothes, including head band, dress, and robe. It is not clear whether it was on this or another occasion that the mothers served food for their daughters, the statement being that this took place after the first dance by the new Grass Crown women. If two or three candidates had the same woman for their mother, the latter was not a real aunt of all of them. If the mother, in such a case was an officer, only one of her daughters received the office. When Buffalo-bird-woman bought the society, there were four women having a joint mother, who had considerable difficulty in getting together the requisite amount of clothing for the four novices. The officers were not selected. It depended merely on the novice's mother whether a novice became an officer. If the mother happened to be an officer, her badge and office were simply transferred to the purchaser.

[1] This pipe was smoked by a male "friend" of the sellers.

[2] See p. 227.

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happened to be an officer, her badge and office were simply transferred to the purchaser. 000

The Hidatsa derived this society from the Mandan, but did not consider it so sacred as the Mandan did. Thus, as stated above, the Mandan rule was that women must not sleep with their husbands but must remain in the dance lodge during the four nights of the dance. Among the Hidatsa only the unmarried members regularly stayed in the dance lodge overnight. The married women went home, unless their husbands consented to let them follow the Mandan regulation. M H 575

Although Buffalo-bird-woman denied that the dance was regarded as sacred by her people, two features seem to have a religious character. In the first place, the annual performance took place after someone having had a dream to that effect had given a feast to the organization. Secondly, the performance closed with the ceremonial sweating and cleansing. The women took off their grass head bands, removed the feathers from them, piled up the crowns on the top of the sweat lodge, and went in to sweat, a few at a time. Then a man approached, holding in his hand some sagebrush with which he brushed off the sweat lodge, singing a song. All the women rose and faced him, and he brushed off the women, one by one, singing a song for each member. This power, my informant imagined, had been acquired by purchase. M H 575 783

Cheyenne[1] Women Society.

Young-beaver who had entered the River Women society when not quite 20, bought the Cheyenne Women membership, with some thirty of her comrades, at the age of a little over 30. She still considers herself a member of the Cheyenne Women society. M 575 561

The name of this organization (cō'ota mī ō'xat'e) indicates the source from which it is said to have been derived by the Mandan. Buffalo-bird-woman said that she first heard of the society about 56 years ago (1911), and that she joined as the only Hidatsa woman, her father having been asked for his consent. Any member who chose might assume men's garb. Some dressed like the Dakota, tying their front braids with otterskin, while others affected the long switches of the Crow. From two to four male singers were also chosen. At a dance of the organization a man carrying an eagle feather fan acted as leader, followed by the women in single file. At the intonation of a certain song, the leader held his fan close to his face, M 575 292 535

[1] One interpreter translated the native word "Sioux."

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 431 554 number of robes and other clothing to be given away were especially highly respected by the tribe.

The Okipa Maker was not permitted to kill any buffaloes or 796 to do any butchering during the period he was under pledge to 784 give the Okipa, nor was he permitted to eat any of the entrails from the buffalo. It was believed to have done so would have angered the buffaloes.

796 One of the oldest men of the WaxhikEna clan lived in the Okipa lodge with his family. He was custodian of such ceremonial objects as might be kept there to be used in succeeding Okipa ceremonies. When the time came to prepare for the ceremony, the NumakmaxEna gave instructions that the lodge be cleared of all the family's personal effects. Four men with Holy Women bundle rights swept the floor, carried out the ashes, and sprinkled the floor to settle the dust, after which sage was scattered about on the floor. Each received a robe from the Okipa Maker for his services. No women were permitted to go [562] inside the lodge after it was cleaned until the ceremony had ended.

The one who was to represent Lone Man asked four men owning ceremonial bundles of The Woman Above (Sun ceremony) to paint the interior of the lodge.[9] At the last performance of the Okipa, the entire interior of the earth lodge was painted, the west half being black and the east half red. Formerly, only a narrow band about four inches wide was painted on each post, black on the west posts and red on the east ones. Woman Above bundle-owners each received a robe for painting the posts.

Opening the Okipa lodge.—When all was ready, the crier (the old man of WaxikEna clan living in the medicine lodge) went through the village before daylight announcing that the Lone Man would open the Okipa lodge the next morning at sunrise in order that the ceremony could be given. The head chief,[10] second chief,[11] council of old men, and all the owners of important tribal bundles painted their faces black and went to the head

9. There were only three Woman Above bundle-owners when the last performance was held, and one of these belonged to a woman, Calf Woman. The two other owners, Ears and Clam Necklace, painted the lodge with the assistance of two Hidatsa men owning similar bundles.

10. Red Buffalo Corn was head chief at Like-a-Fishhook Village.

11. Bad Gun was second chief at Like-a-Fishhook Village.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 times he painted a picture of the plant or animal dreamed of on a robe for the
778 person giving the feast; for this service he was paid robes, horses, or blankets.

He was the head singer in the Goose Women's ceremony and was the own-
159 er of the songs addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies, but he bought those extra. In the spring, the Goose Women's Society danced under his direction, and he supervised the sale of the society to the younger women; he officiated in the ceremonial transfer of the holy objects belonging to the society.

[787] Someone during the winter always dreamed that the corn crop would be large if he or she put on a feast to the corn. The one having the vision then
796 sent word by someone of his father's clan to ask the Corn bundle-owner to take charge. The giver prepared robes and food. At the appointed time, which
778 was when the waterbirds came north, all those with rights met. Participating
241 were the Corn bundle-owner, all those with the medicine of garden products or associated animals and birds, the Black Mouth Men's Society, and Goose Women's Society. The Corn bundle was carried into the earth lodge and opened at the entrance to the sweat lodge, where it was laid out on a deer skull and elkskin. Songs were addressed to the Corn Bundle People who came out of the ground; additional songs were addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies. Only four stones were used in the sweat, each one representing one of the Sun's visits to Waving Corn Stalk. The stones were our enemies just as the Sun had been. The giver of the ceremony named four enemies he wished to conquer while the stones were taken into the sweat lodge. Those entering the sweat lodge imitated the geese and waterbirds while the Corn bundle-owner sang his four songs. Those not entering the sweat lodge were sprinkled with water dipped from the clay vessel belonging to the bundle. Corn and beans often came up into peoples throats while the ceremony was in progress; those people danced and rubbed their throats with sage to put the objects back down. Food was served to the Corn bundle and then to the guests.

The giver of the ceremony gave each person attending a robe or present and received in return a prayer for the giver's success. When the ceremony was completed, an image of the Old Woman Who Never Dies was made from an elk robe and lashed to a pole in front of the giver's lodge.

The Corn bundle-owner was expected to ask the help of the spirits who sent good crops. In the spring before seeding time, he held the ceremony of cleansing the seeds so that they would germinate. Early on the appointed day he went to the top of his earth lodge where he faced to the south singing the Corn bundle songs to call the spirits of the corn back from the south. He held a vessel containing shelled corn. Each woman making a garden came to him and received two seeds of each kind of corn, beans, sunflowers, and squash, paying for them and the prayers he addressed to his gods. Payment was made in elk robes, blankets, and other clothing.

778 The Corn bundle-owner underwent numerous taboos while the crops were growing. Owners of minor Corn bundles prepared his food beginning four days
241 before the cleansing of the seed. When the previous year's crop was poor, he
784 lived apart from all women until the crop was ripe and the seed corn for the next season had been gathered. He painted his body red and wore moccasins of buffalo hide with the hair on the inside. He wore a robe all summer long. He was not permitted to eat plums, berries, or corn. All the people of the tribe knew that after the cleansing ceremony the restrictions went into effect and were careful not to violate any of the rules lest the crop fail. Each woman kept

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

a bunch of sage in her lodge and rubbed her body after returning from the fields to cleanse herself from the spirits in the gardens. Years ago, it is said that, when this was done, worms came out of the women's bodies. The Corn bundle-owner walked through the gardens several times during the summer, carrying the pipe and singing the Corn songs. 778 241 784

When the weather was too hot, too cold, or too dry, all those with Corn medicine rights met, and the Goose Women's Society joined them to dance and pray. While the ceremony was in progress, people of each household brought presents and offered them for relief from the adverse weather. 796 782 778

Many women pledged a ceremony to the Corn if good crops were sent by the gods. A person making such a vow, first prepared an elkhide robe and paid the Corn Priest to officiate. When the time appointed for the offering came and after the crop was harvested, she carried the robe to her field, where she tied it to a cottonwood pole and covered the pole with corn on the ear until the pile reached nearly to the robe. The young men of the tribe were invited to come and charge the robe, the first one there taking it. At a signal, the young men searched for the meat under the pile of corn. The Corn bundle-owner received four things for his part in the ceremony. Many different women gave this ceremony each fall when the crops were abundant. 241

The Corn bundle-owner officiated whenever corn was sold to people of other tribes. It was thought that it must be done or the spirits in the corn might leave the Mandan and help the people who took the corn away. He dressed in his ceremonial outfit and "called back" the Corn Spirits. 778 [439]

Whenever a cache of stored corn was opened, four ears of corn were taken to the Corn bundle-owner as payment for his part in protecting the stored corn. [251]

The order of Corn Priests is as follows:

1. Uses Head for Rattle
2. Brown
3. Pot
4. Bull Leg
5. Acting Foolish (OxinhEdE)
6. Foolish Man
7. Strong Arm
8. Raises Tail
9. Forearm Bone
10. Hunts His Enemy
11. Bull Standing on Land
12. WErukirihEri
13. Enemy
14. Sacred Cedar
15. Cedar Feather
16. Star
17. Head Comes Out
18. Water Bag
19. Coyote
20. Crow
21. WErukirihEri
22. Bloody Knife
23. Garden
24. Tree in Garden
25. Uses His Head for Rattle
26. HoxdEkE
27. Corn Grinder
28. Lying Down
29. Left-Hand Bull
30. Scabby
31. WErukirihEri
32. Crows Belt
33. Moves Slowly
34. Scattercorn
35. Mrs. Little Owl (present owner)

The many references to corn in the mythology express the significance of agriculture to this tribe. Archeological work in their prehistoric sites indicates that economically agriculture has played an important role in shaping the habits of these people. The primary factor in establishing villages at certain 241 361 796

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clan or who had occupied unclaimed territory, erected his own lodge, and marked the outlines of pits. Inheritance of trapping sites was through the clan, and one could not secure permanent ownership of a trapping site owned by a man of a different clan. The nearest clan relative took possession of the site upon the death of the owner if it had not been sold. One could pay for permission to use a particular site for a season from one of a different clan when the owner did not intend to make use of it himself, but he was obliged to use the pits already dug and could not prepare new ones. In other words, a man could rent a site from an owner of a different clan, but he could not buy. When a site had been abandoned so long that its owner was not known, another could claim the site. Evidently little trouble was experienced over claims to sites, since a violator would have been severely criticized. There was, in addition, a religious taboo, since both the eagles and the bears belonging to the ritual occupied major bundle status in each tribe, and a trespasser could never have attained a position of prominence in either tribe.

The ritualistic differences between the Mandan and Hidatsa were no greater than those between separate bundle lines within the same village. Wolf Chief's narrative (to be quoted later) illustrates the extent to which one tribe borrowed from the other in purchasing an eagle-trapping bundle. His father, Small Ankles, purchased his rights from Big Cloud, who advised him to receive his instructions from Arrowhead Earrings, a Mandan, who was better informed. A study of individual bundle lines reveals that borrowing back and forth has been going on regularly since the smallpox epidemic of 1837, and from traditional information from informants this also applied to all their neighboring tribes as well. In native theory the particular ritual practiced at any time depended on these three factors: (1) the instructions received when the bundle was transferred; (2) elements of other eagle-trapping bundle rituals purchased; and (3) vision instructions.

A bundle-owner could sell his rights four times, and it was only when the fourth sale was made that the original bundle was transferred, new bundles being made up for the first three sales. The amount of instruction received depended on the desires of

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BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF EAGLE-TRAPPING. II

223 Early in fall the leader, Wolfs Eyes, said, "I am going out eagle-trapping." There are two ways of getting up a group; some leaders accept volunteers, or the leader may select his men. We went to him and said. "We wish to go with you," and he said that it would be all right. He told us to take certain products from the garden such as roast corn, dried yellow corn, white flour corn, and dried squash. Some prepared their own baits at home. Most of the baits were stuffed jackrabbit skins. Those who did not have any baits made them after we were located at the eagle-trapping lodge and the tepees had been put up. Some would use a piece of deer hide cut up with ears on and two legs on the side.

In the party were the leader, Wolfs Eyes; Big Walk; Little Crow; Lance Owner; Little Bull; Holding Eagle; Black Bear; SittingWoman; White Body; Bears Arm; Louie Wolf or Red Horse; Many Birds; a boy, Spotted Weasel; Little Crow's wife, Otter Woman, and their daughter, Comes Out; Big Walk's wife, Plain Blossom, and their grandson, Jim Foot or Foot Prints; Plain Blossom's daughter, Too Costly; Woman in Water, wife of Charging Eagle, and her son, Richard Burr; Lance Owner's wife, Yellow Stalk; Holding Eagle's wife, Bobcat Woman. Charging Eagle being a policeman, he could not get away, but his wife, being Bears Arm's mother's sister, went along to help with the work in the camp. Also my mother's mother and Woman in Water were [462] sisters. There were several women along because there was much to do, since in bad weather we would go out and kill mountain sheep, elk, and deer, so the women came along to care for the meet and hides.

484 When everything was ready, the young women took their bullboats to the river and crossed our stuff consisting of tepees, poles, provisions, bedding, 492 and cooking utensils. It took nearly all day to cross the stuff. The first camp was at Beaver Creek. We used tepee poles tied together as travois. The horses pulled poles with the tepees and bedding, while several additional pack horses were loaded down with bedding. We were all on horseback and traveled very slowly. When traveling, the leader was at the head of the party, while the hunters were to the side or in advance of the others.

487 The second day we traveled to End of World Buttes and stopped northeast of Killdeer the third night. After camping on the east side of Killdeer, we went around the north side of the Killdeer Mountains and camped on the north side. From there we went north because that was the best route to cross the Little Missouri River. After we left the Little Missouri, we went to the place called Wolf Pit. When we reached our destination, we commenced to put up our lodge, for there was no lodge there before.

223 The place was selected by the leader because of the presence of a prairie-dog town there in a valley extending from the Yellowstone River eastward to the Little Missouri. All along that valley there were prairie dogs, and the eagles traveled along this valley in order to catch these animals. Then the Indians would come to this site, and our leader thought that it would be a good place to catch the birds.

346 As soon as the camp was selected, all set to work erecting the lodge, even the women helped by cutting the grass to pack between the poles and digging 784 dirt to put over the lodge. There was an opening at the top for the sparks and 223 smoke. There were four posts and railing on top, while the rest of the poles

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leaned against them. We were not allowed to shoot or throw stones at any 346
kind of birds. Nor were we allowed to sing other than the songs that went with 784
the trapping. The leader tied pieces of calico to ash trees as offering to the
Holy Women and told the new members that the region back of the lodge or 223
west was holy ground as the birds came from that direction.

Then we did the "Tied" ceremony, meaning marking the corners of the 223
new pits so that they were square and deep enough to be over one's head when
sitting up in them. On the side wall a hole was dug like a small shelf and a 796
stone was put in it. The stone is called Baby Stone, for the eagles were considered sacred. The stone was used as a shield, and, when one catches an eagle and wishes to kill it in the pit, instead of using the words "kill it" we said "put it to sleep" and took the stone down and placed it between the eagles wings, took the cord tied around its neck, and pulled the cord back, and that way broke the neck.

The bears were the first ones to trap eagles; there are two different stories about eagle-trapping. The leader goes in and blesses the lodge and prays to the spirits. When they first learned of eagle-trapping, the bear was doing this. He had a cord and spread it out, opening it, and said, "All are caught." It [773]
was because the bears prayed that prayers had to be offered to the spirits to whom the bears prayed.

There must have been a great difference in the ceremonies once, since the stone is called "Tied" and also "Sleep Stone."

When our leader saw that all was ready, he said, "We must go in." He named Little Bull to be the Crack Shot and go in first; then he named Holding Eagle to sit next to the Crack Shot; then Wolfs Eyes went in and took his place at the head of the lodge; then the helper, Big Walk, went in. Whatever the leader does in singing and praying, the man sitting next to him is expected to give him assistance. The leader and his helper are the ones to offer prayers and do the singing, while the Crack Shot and the man next to him work together too. Their duty is to torture the men. Then the other men came in on both sides and took their places. Then there were two waiters selected by the leader. They were not named, nor is anyone named until the lodge is completed and ready to move in.

No excuses are allowed. When the leader says, "I select you as a waiter," one has no right to refuse. After this, we went in and took our places. The leader said, "Waiter, burn some incense," and, while the waiter burned it, the leader took his sacred articles out and held them in the smoke. He held up the cord, and while he was singing the song to the snares he made a motion as of throwing the loop to catch something. He did that three times, and the fourth time the Crack Shot jumped up and took the snare, saying, "Leader, you have snared everything; you have roped everything north, south, west, and east," meaning that then he had everything in the world caught in his snare.

There are many songs[12] to be sung by the leader and his helper. After he sings these songs, there is a special song for the waiter, who gets up and dances with the cord, making the sign of throwing the loop to catch something. Then, one of the men who is not married would say, "Waiter, I feel someone at my back."

Then the waiter looked and said, "There is a very handsome woman back

12. See Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 69–80.

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back to the village. Economic training came largely from his father and the older men of the lodge. If he were inclined to be lazy, his mother would talk to him, while her brother would shame him and accuse him of bringing disgrace to the clan. 861 868 562

A boy was taught to begin fasting when he was eight or nine years of age. The parents would tell him of the benefits he would receive and cite the various eminent men of the village who had attained their position from this practice. The mother's brother and his older brothers would give him goods to take into the Okipa to present to some man of his father's clan and designate the person entitled to the gift. An older brother planning to fast would bring a younger brother to the Okipa ceremony and instruct him, sending him home when he thought he had been there long enough, while the father would give him some small article from his ceremonial bundle to wear, thinking it would help to get a "vision." 861 869 785

A lodge "grandfather" contributed a great deal to a boy's education. He would make toy bows and arrows and teach him to use them. If he had a fish trap, his grandsons did much of the work of carrying willows to the bank for weaving into sections for the walls, and he would permit them to bail the fish out of the trap. He would teach them games, especially techniques and skills which would be useful in warfare, and tell them stories. Using rivalry between the moieties, these old men who were too old to hunt would arrange the boys ten years and younger on sides and teach them to use shields for their protection, shooting at each other with arrows on the blunt ends of which a ball of mud or wrapped hide had been attached. 868 616

Not to be discounted in the training of a young Mandan boy or girl was the informal education they received by living in intimate contact with the entire village population, observing the conduct of others, and being kept informed of contemplated group action by the village "criers" who announced each decision of the village leaders. He learned that he must treat different relatives in various ways and that they would laugh at him if he did not. Learning that he was expected to treat different relatives the same way his brothers did, he imitated his older brothers unconsciously and followed their advice. 861 867

A girl's education was essentially the same as a boy's except 861 562 602

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up by death or divorce; some fathers were in disrepute, having conducted an unsuccessful war expedition. An old man of a boy's lodge, one who had belonged to many societies, learning in the village that there was talk of buying the youngest society, would encourage his grandson to join and would help him accumulate the goods used for the purchase.

Joining an age-grade society for the first time as a boy, he encountered a "father-son" relationship which had heretofore applied only to his own household. He was selected by a member who was of his father's clan, and the initiate addressed him as "father" during all the proceedings preliminary to the formal purchase; he learned that the other two or three boys his ceremonial "father" had selected were likewise based on a "father-son" relationship. This "father-son" relationship, extending outside his own household, formally instituted when making his first purchase into a society, became the basis of his behavior in buying and selling societies and ceremonies for the rest of his life.

FASTING AND FIRST WAR EXPEDITIONS

Fasting during the Okipa ceremony marked the introduction of the boy to status in the tribe as a whole and was first instituted at the age of eight or nine, when the people of all the villages were assembled for this annual event. The first fasting was of short duration. The fasting periods increased until a boy reached the age of seventeen or eighteen, when he was expected to fast for the entire duration of the Okipa ceremony and to drag buffalo skulls or be suspended by means of thongs inserted under the skin. Visions were not induced each time one fasted; neither were they expected.

It was believed that one's social personality was determined by sacred beings before the birth of the individual and that fasting was a means of renewing these former instructions that were temporarily forgotten while being born and cared for in the village. It was also believed that in the universe there were many sacred people who would adopt as a "son" those who fasted frequently and made offerings to them or who gave feasts to the sacred bundles of the village. A young man was taught to consult not only his own father but all men of his father's clan on matters of a sacred character. If one's sister's son seemed neg-

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785 lectful and took little interest in securing a "guardian spirit," the mother's brother would tease him and tell him he was bringing dishonor to his clan and suggest that, to be rich and honored, he must begin fasting. He would collect goods for his sister's son and instruct him that he should go out on the hills and fast, using the goods on his return to pay his "clan father" for interpreting the dream. The mother's brother also supervised the fasting of the young boys of ten to fourteen years of age, selecting an isolated place at a short distance from the village where the boys were sheltered in a temporary brush lodge and instructed in the proper procedures for inducing visions.

Children acquired an attitude of respect for the sacred objects of the lodge while young, first by being scolded for playing near the platform on which the bundles were kept, and later by observation of a fixed ritualistic behavior by the parents when the bundles were opened. They were taught that the bundles "protected" them until they were old enough to own "gods" of their own and were informed that their success was in direct proportion to the number and potency of "gods" owned. Children who would inherit or assist in the performance of certain tribal bundle rites received special training beginning when they were ten or twelve years of age. They were also expected to fast often and establish personal bundles based on heir supernatural experiences.

Fasting was a prerequisite to participation in the organized war expeditions. One would conclude from an examination of the mythology that a young man, after his first experience with the supernatural, organized a war expedition immediately and served as leader. In examining the war records of a number of Mandan, it was found that none would have followed a young man receiving his first vision experience and that, even as a member of a recognized war leader's party, he would be "camp tender," bringing wood and water to the camp, preparing the food, and waiting on the leader during the performance of the rites appertaining to warfare. When he was alert and anticipated the needs of the leader and was not lazy, he was promoted to scout and in company with others of that rank was sent out ahead of the main party each morning to look for the enemy or horses. It was while serving as scout that a young man received

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his fundamental training in warfare. In company with other 785
young men, and frequently afoot, whereas the main party was on 701
horseback, they were required to travel ahead, watching from 726
high buttes, and by means of signals to report the presence of an enemy or horses. It was necessary for the scouts to keep in touch with their leader, who, in turn, was intrusted with the duty of relaying information to the main body. New scouts were taught the proper posture when running to prevent premature exhaustion, and there were contests between scouts to determine their relative durability in reaching distant lookout points. The leader of the scouts reported the winners to the leader, who praised them publicly when the party returned to the village. The old women then sang their victory songs while the old men encouraged more fasting.

A sister was taught that fasting while her brother was away 785
on war expeditions would bring him success in "striking the 593
enemy" or capturing horses. She would take quill work with 765
her at daybreak and leave the village for a low hill or mound or recline on a platform in the garden where she would cry for his success, addressing her prayers to all the holy things. If the expedition was long overdue, she would go to the scaffolds of deceased relatives or skull circles to weep, returning to her lodge each evening. Successful war parties returned to the village at daybreak, and she would leave her lodge immediately to meet her brother. If he had captured horses, the best animal was presented to her. This was equivalent to presenting the horse to all the females of his mother's lodge. These females, on the other hand, were the principal mourners if he were killed, and the married sisters were expected to undergo extreme self-inflicted torture by gashing their bodies, cutting off the ends of fingers, cutting their hair, and shortening their dresses.

Their brothers fasted four, seven, or nine days without food 785
or water, remaining outside the village in some secluded spot
for the full period of the fast. From time to time, the father 787
would send a clan brother to observe whether his son was endangering his life, and he could stop the fast if in his opinion the young man's self-torture was excessive. A young man returning from fasting which had not induced a vision was given an object from his father's bundle to carry on war expeditions and

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785 was permitted to sleep near the sacred bundle until he recovered, believing that the bundle would induce visions. In the
787 case of supervised fasting directed by the mother's brother, he defined the rules and terminated the fasting. He also prepared the first food taken by those completing their fast and watched that none ate or drank excessively for a few days.

701 A young man distinguishing himself as a scout and desiring to advance to warrior status, when learning another war leader was organizing an expedition, would go to his lodge, hoping that he would be invited to join the party. As a warrior there was greater likelihood of capturing horses or striking an enemy. The leader was responsible for the welfare of all those serving under him and selected the members of his party. When the party was large, the leader selected those with the best war records to serve as co-leaders.

Mandan warfare was highly formalized, and there was a strict
701 division of labor. At the top, the leader or Old Wolf directed the
554 party, selecting the scouts and their leader, the Young Wolves or warriors, and the Camp Tenders, and he was responsible to the village but more particularly to the families represented in the party for their welfare. He determined the territory where the enemy would be sought, places to camp, the time to make or break camp, and whether an attack would be made when the enemy was found. A great leader was a successful teacher who instructed his party in methods of "striking the enemy" without loss to his own party. A leader who lost a man was said to have "kicked the stone," which reduced his status until he had "refasted" and led a successful war party.

727 Returning from an unsuccessful war expedition, the leader
554 would cry as he approached the village, while the other members
785 would walk quietly to their lodges. For many leaders, this would be the last expedition as leader. He would be condemned by the
614 brothers, sisters, and parents of the one killed and would be op-
431 posed by them every time he sought advancement in status. He could and frequently did overcome their opposition by going into mourning for the one he was held responsible for. He would gash his legs and cut off a finger which was offered to the Sun. He would set up a tent or build a simple shelter at a distance from the village where he would remain. In the meanwhile, his

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brothers and sisters, assisted by their clan and his age-grade society, would accumulate robes and other property which were given to the lodge group that had lost a member. They were expected to accept the goods which was at first refused "because they loved their relative so much." The unsuccessful war leader's representatives then sought the "village chief," a man who by virtue of his tact in settling quarrels and his generosity in caring for the old was highest in village esteem, and paid him to take his pipe to the grieved relatives, lay it before them, and inform them that they, as relatives and associates of the unsuccessful war leader, begged them to accept it. Since none could refuse a request when a sacred pipe was placed before them, the aggrieved people, both men and women, smoked and accepted the goods to which in the meanwhile had been added horses and other articles of value.

The aggrieved family, feeling compassion for the unsuccessful war leader who had shown, by his act of fasting and his family's lavish display of goods, respect for their lost relative, sent a representative with new clothing to the fasting place, dressed and painted him, and conducted him to their lodge, where he was given the choicest foods to eat. While he was eating, the brothers of the boy who had been killed, brought their best horse and riding equipment to the lodge. When the feast was ended, the unsuccessful warrior, now in good graces with the family, was told to mount. He was led through the village, while the oldest female of the lodge sang the "Praise Songs." If an enemy had been killed at the time one of the party was lost, the "Victory Songs" were then sung and the Scalp Dance rites were performed. The unsuccessful warrior, by his acts of mourning and the payment of goods to the aggrieved family, regained his former status. If he were successful the next time he led a war party, the people said that bad luck will sometimes come even to those most careful to conform to tribal custom, and "never hold it against him." However, a second unsuccessful war expedition was his last as leader. He would not fast again, and having paid for his bad luck once, his relatives and clan advised him to forsake leadership of war parties as he had "kicked the stone." People would say he had not fasted right and would have been afraid to follow him. By giving many

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727 554 785 431 feasts, he would be respected as an average person, but he would never be able to rise to eminence.

727 554 431 A young man's first participation in a successful war expedition in which he captured horses and "struck" an enemy was an important occasion in his life and involved practically everyone in the village as well the other villages of the tribe. In the division of his horses, he expressed his respect for those who assisted him during the expedition as well as his affection for his friends and relatives in the village. If he captured a number of horses, among which was an animal of peculiar markings which the leader dreamed of and described before it was found, that animal belonged to the leader. The leader would also receive the first horse captured. Strays went to the first one seeing them regardless of the person capturing them. He would give the camp tender one if he had not already received one. Returning to the village, he would give one horse to his oldest married sister, who would, in turn, give it to her husband to use. This was a means of expressing rivalry between brothers-in-law of the same age. If his sisters were not married, the horse would go to his mother. His sisters would not ordinarily get horses on subsequent occasions unless they came out to meet him. He would give one horse to his father and, if there were any additional animals, would keep them for himself. However, if he had also been successful in striking the enemy while capturing these horses, he would not succeed in keeping any of the horses, for, on the succeeding day while the Scalp Dance was celebrated, an old woman of his father's clan would announce that he was to receive a new name to supplant the one he had received as a baby. He was presented with new moccasins, leggings, and shirt, and he paid her as representative of his father's moiety in horses and other property.

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554 616 553 431 A young man's reputation was based on his relatives' generosity which was contingent on the wealth and status of his relatives. Learning that he had struck the enemy and knowing one always received a new name that had belonged to a man of the father's moiety, the brothers and sisters accumulated goods for the occasion. They were assisted by members of their clan and young men of his age-grade society. During the Scalp Dance, singing was interrupted while the mother and her

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A man's social status at any one period varied greatly between individuals. It was in part determined by birth, those being born in households having important bundles and a well-balanced household economy and, particularly if there were many brothers and sisters, had a great advantage over those whose households had been broken up by death or divorce. Children of eminent parents were presumed to be better informed than those who had lived from lodge to lodge.

Upon reaching maturity, a man's role in the total ceremonial life of the village and tribe was largely determined by his previous participations in ceremonies. This role followed a generalized tribal pattern which varied little from generation to generation unless unusual situations occurred such as epidemics or severe losses in warfare. A man would usually fast less when he reached maturity, but he would fast if he considered the situation warranted it until he reached old age. If he had bad luck while leading a war expedition, his fasting would often be long. He would even lash his legs with a knife and cut off portions of fingers. When a man was poor or received few presents during the ceremonies or secular dances, he would often fast to draw the attention of the village to his poverty. The people would say that he is fasting to bring good luck to the village and that he was entitled to rewards for his generosity. There was considerable rivalry between individuals, and this was expressed in a number of ways. For instance, when the winter buffalo herds were late in arriving at their grazing grounds along the streams near the villages, the people would suffer considerably from a meat shortage. One who had felt that he had been neglected and had not been receiving appropriate recognition would announce that, when the weather became severe, he would go out and fast on the hills to bring the buffaloes. The village would recognize that fasting under such conditions was a distinct sacrifice. Since the cold weather and storms would cause the buffaloes to seek the sheltered sections along the Missouri River bottoms, one announcing that he would fast during the coldest days when the wind was from the north would time his fasting to coincide with the normal first arrival of the winter herds. Such a person was said to place the welfare of the village above consideration for his personal comfort and

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554 received goods in abundance from people of the village, par-
785 ticularly persons of his children's clan.

Since the Mandan lived in a territory of uncertain rainfall, the crops were frequently endangered by drought. There were
554 formal rainmaking ceremonies, but these frequently failed to
785 bring rain. A man would frequently announce that he was fast-
789 ing on a certain day to bring the rains. If rains came before the fasting began, he received credit for them and was paid generously for his services. When the rains had not come on the day when fasting was to begin, he would go to some designated spot to fast, singing his holy songs while watching the sky for the approaching clouds, which he would endeavor to direct toward the gardens. Anyone could fast to bring rains to the gardens or buffaloes near the village, but in general these extra rites were performed by persons lacking formal tribal bundles and were people who felt that they had not received proper recognition for their successes in warfare, horse-stealing, or in finding the buffalo herds. They had little to lose; failing to bring buffaloes or rain, they were thought none the less of for their failure and were praised if they succeeded.

785 There was a certain amount of fasting when bad luck persisted. When on eagle-trapping expeditions, some men would catch eagles while others did not. One who had been especially lucky would volunteer the use of his pit to one who had failed to catch birds. If the latter's bad luck persisted, he would fast and even have thongs inserted through his skin for dragging buffalo skulls.

224 There was a certain degree of specialization of males in a
554 Mandan village. Those who had acquired an aptitude of finding
788 the buffalo herds were relied upon for their good judgment in supervising the summer buffalo-hunting expeditions. Even those who eventually attained the status of leader were expected to attain that position by degrees. He was first taken out as scout to assist in locating the herds and later as leader of the hunters when he was expected to perform simple rites immediately before the attack was made on the herd. He would pray to the buffaloes not to send the party bad luck, and, when the surround had been made, he would make an offering of sage and feathers from the speckled eagle to the buffaloes by tying

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224 462 could go to the pile brought in by anyone if her husband was slow in returning with his meat. There was no moiety division of the animals as was employed with the corral. Everyone was expected to work curing the meat, men and women alike. Older men would haul poles for scaffolds and set them up. Some husbands would be out as scouts and could not butcher. Crows Heart had been on a number of summer hunts and said that he never made a special effort to help his lodge group. As soon as he unloaded his meat, it was taken by anyone who was ready to cure it. Scattercorn said that one did not ask permission to take a hunter's meat and that one was more likely to be criticized for not working hard enough than for appearing selfish. All my informants were in agreement that quarrels over division of the meat and hides were unknown.

224 The leader and the leader of the hunters were entitled to the tongues, but these were shared with others having the buffalo as a god, while some tongues were given to old people. The evenings were spent in dancing and singing.

785 789 224 796 There was a marked increase of fasting during the summer hunts. Many thought that they secured better visions when fasting away from the village. Others thought that it would be highly desirable to fast far from the village to get visions from supernatural beings that might not come to the villages to "adopt a son." The older men taught that the young buffaloes lived in certain buttes and that fasting while out on the summer buffalo range would increase the next year's calf crop. To perpetuate the buffalo supply, they made offerings of speckled eagle feathers and calicoes to these buttes and encouraged the young men to fast near them. The leader would receive many valuable presents from young men seeking visions at that time while praying for their success when the thongs were being inserted through the skin. Dragging heads of recently killed buffaloes through the camp was a customary practice. Crows Heart thought that most young men who had recently fasted in the Okipa ceremony and had not received visions would repeat their vision quest at that time. The hunt would be terminated in time to reach the village before the corn was in the milk stage. Usually a second performance of the Okipa was held a short time after returning.

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773 tacts with most families, since a person was not considered
538 important who could not argue in council for a certain point of
554 view based on traditional action of the group. Group action was
571 in a large measure regulated by custom. These patterns of behavior were in a large measure perpetuated by the storyteller. Anyone seeking the position of chief would need a considerable knowledge of tribal history to attain that status. No amount of success in warfare or performance of ceremonies would in themselves have been sufficient. It was this extra knowledge of tribal lore that distinguished them as leaders. Actually, whenever one was the recipient of goods and honors from another, a new and intimate relationship was established between them. Those who had provided many feasts and acquired a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were ultimately selected to become the leaders of the various groups.

571 Men who had reached middle age were called on to insert the
785 thongs for a "son" who was preparing to fast and to pray for
554 his success. They were expected to supervise the fasting and have it terminated when there was a possibility that the "son" was carrying his fasting to excess. Those who had good war records or had made significant contributions toward village welfare in other ways offered many feasts to the older men hoping that, by so doing, they would be named village leaders. A man would announce renewal feasts to his ceremonial bundle from time to time and call in those who had similar bundles. Some would assist in removing arrows and opening wounds or doctor in other ways when the occasion warranted.

561 Men of middle age belonged to the Black Mouth Society,
701 which was intrusted with the organization and protection of the village. This was the most highly organized men's society. It met every two or three days and received its instructions from the older men meeting in council. It was their duty, whenever the village was in danger of attack, to see that none left the village without permission. Each member carried a club carved according to his own individual preference, and he was expected to use it if anyone was found violating the rules. If the announcer called through the village that the people were not to leave the village and anyone was seen leaving, the Black Mouths would drive him back. Crows Heart remembered a

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888 561 562 hunting. Women holding rights in the various Holy Women bundles also met whenever a medicine feast was given. Their rights were individually acquired by assisting their husbands or brothers in the bundle purchase. Some of their number were members of the Goose or the White Buffalo Cow societies.

888 562 The older people performed an important role in the ceremonies so long as they were not too feeble to get around. Women who had assisted others at childbirth became doctors after the menopause and could substitute for a man in a great many of the societies. In many ceremonies they were the medium through which the traditions and bundles were transmitted to a legitimate male heir.

888 785 755 Fasting was generally completed by the time one reached fifty years of age. In case of repeated bad luck or failure to attain a definite goal, fasting for short periods was practiced during a ceremony. When an epidemic of sore eyes broke out at Fishhook Village, one old woman fasted to seek relief from her affliction. Since her eye trouble was cleared up shortly afterward, quite a number of middle-aged and old people fasted to cure the ailment. Calf Woman said that more than half of them got relief.

888 431 787 People who were past middle age and who had been relatively successful all their lives would frequently have bad dreams in which they were being killed and cut up by the enemy or were drowning. It was believed that one could forestall this misfortune by giving away all his property. He would call in those who had been successful and were owners of important tribal bundles to give away his property, consisting of robes and bedding, household utensils, dogs, and horses, until the family was utterly destitute. One doing this would walk through the village repeating the dream. When the bad dream failed to materialize within the designated time, such people were said to be holy and as such were called the "protectors of the village." In appreciation of their sacrifices, each household group was expected to contribute something toward their comfort.

888 421 124 The old people had privately owned game pits and were entitled to the animals found in them. According to tradition, before horses were acquired, pits were widely used and owned by households. Ruins of game pits are still to be seen in consider-

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The first evening.—The ceremony began in the evening. The Okipa Maker carried in all the goods he had succeeded in collecting during the year and heaped them at the back of the lodge. Then he carried in a bag of specially prepared cornballs known as "four in one" because they contained ground corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers. He also brought in a sack of pemmican. A singer brought in a dry buffalo hide rolled up like a cylinder to serve as a drum.[14]

For weeks previous to the performance of the Okipa, the clan leaders, old men, and the tribal medicine bundle-owners talked to the young men, telling them of the importance of seeking visions during the Okipa. Older clan brothers advised specific young men to fast. Men who had been successful warriors, hunters, or doctors attributed much of their good luck to the powers that they had acquired while fasting or hanging from the roof of the Okipa lodge by means of leather thongs fastened through their skin. The result was that a larger number of young men came to the Okipa lodge to fast through the four days of the ceremony. After uniting with the Hidatsa, many young Mandans preferred to fast and go through the torture feature while on eagle-trapping or buffalo-hunting expeditions as the women of the Hidatsa and Arikara tribes did not observe the same rules. The fasters came in directly after the Okipa Maker had completed carrying in the robes, cornballs, and pemmican, and ranged in age from boys of eight years to middle-aged men of thirty-five years. Each was naked and painted according to his own inclination and carried a shield and bow in one hand and the father's medicine bundle in the other.[15] The quiver with the bow and arrows in it was hung back of the faster, and the medicine bundle was attached to a small twig stuck into the ground in front of him. Each carried in a buffalo skull for a pillow and sage brush for a bed. All the fasters arranged themselves around the wall, the Tamisik-WaxikEna division being on the west side, and the other half on the east

14. This dry hide was symbolic of the first Okipa in the Dog Dens when only a dry hide served as a drum through the whole ceremony performed by Hoita. For the west-side Mandans it represented one of the periods of tribal history before the turtle drums were acquired.

15. Many had no medicine bundles but brought one belonging to the father, thinking that they might have good luck thereafter.

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side. The lodge would be full of fasters the first night. Men who had had good dreams came in only to fast a short time.

The hide drum was to the west side of the southwest post 796

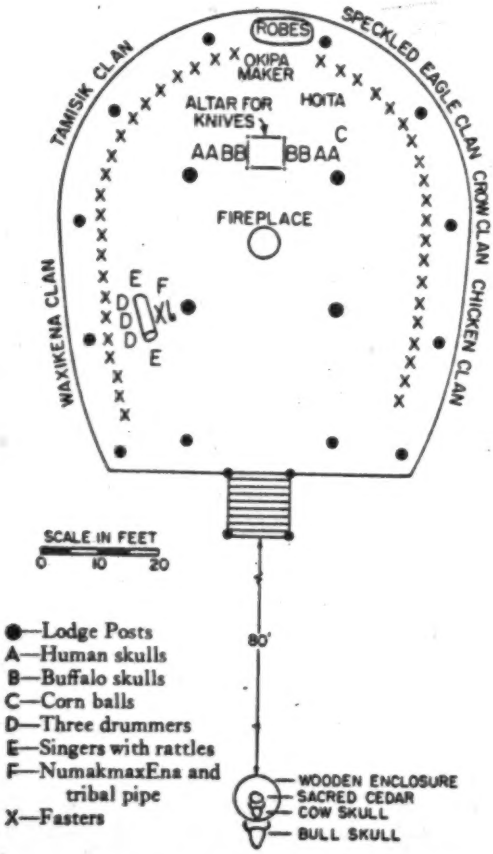

FIG. 14.—Seating arrangement for first night of Okipa

near where the fasters of the WaxikEna clan sat, and the three drummers, called the Blue Herons (Hox'ka), sat just back of it.[16] The three drummers were painted red with eagle feathers in their hair and had objects from their own medicine bundles worn around their ankles. Two men serving as rattlers sat at

16. They were called Blue Heron because during the mythological period these birds were called in to pick up the worms beaten from the hide.

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worn like an apron. He wore the hair shed from a buffalo over his head and carried Lone Man's pipe and pemmican balls, which he placed on the ground in front of the drummers. Then he walked to the south side of the sacred cedar and stood on the buffalo skull he had previously placed there. Grasping the wooden planks inclosing the cedar with both hands and pressing his forehead against the wood, he asked Lone Man to hear him and send the people all they asked for, to bring the buffaloes near the villages, and to keep all bad luck away. 796 782

At the completion of the Okipa Maker's prayer and while he stood grasping the wooden inclosure, the drummers and rattlers began singing; this was the signal for the fasters to come out. They were dressed in their robes with the hair side out and hooked at each other in imitation of a herd of buffaloes as they danced toward the sacred cedar in a double line,[19] one line going to the east of the sacred cedar, the other to the west side. There they formed a straight line on the south side and danced forward and backward in front of the Okipa Maker, who continued his weeping, addressing the first Lone Man to help the people. When the drummers changed the song to one with a rapid tempo, the fasters and the Okipa Maker returned to the Okipa lodge, imitating a herd of buffaloes as they entered the lodge following the Okipa Maker. 796 535

The drummers, Okipa Maker, and fasters came out to dance four times the first day, and the procedure was the same on each occasion. They came out at sunrise, before noon, at mid-afternoon, and just before sunset.

Just before dark, after dancing outside had finished for the day, women brought willow firewood to the Okipa lodge, where it was placed in two piles on each side of the door. Women of the WaxikEna-Tamisik moiety placed theirs on the west side, while the other clans placed theirs on the east side. Male representatives of the two divisions of the tribe carried in the wood for the fire, since women were not permitted inside the lodge. The small boys and many of the young men left the Okipa lodge at the end of the first day, usually leaving from thirty to fifty fasters who intended to remain the entire four days without 796 562 796 785

19. Each half represented one of the moieties. The fasters were also symbolic of the animals held captive in Dog Den.

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796 food or water and to participate in the torture features. After the
785 Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, there were usually as many Hidatsas as Mandans fasting, but the moiety arrangement of fasters was observed. In fact, Hidatsas gave the ceremony as often as Mandans at this time.

796 The turtle drums remained in the lodges of their custodians during the first day of the ceremony. These turtles were con-
421 sidered tribal property in the larger sense, and the WaxikEna clan were their custodians. WaxikEna clansmen paid to hold
614 custodianship which could be revoked by clan action. Individuals of the WaxikEna clan were willing to buy the right to keep them when the Okipa was not being performed, otherwise they remained in the Okipa lodge under the charge of the old man living there. Keepers of the turtles treated them like other medicine bundles, making feasts for them and praying to them on various occasions.

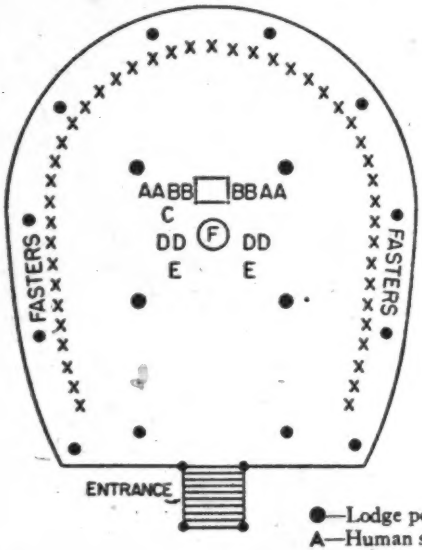
796 At sunset the Lone Man impersonator dressed up in his cere-
787 monial outfit and went for the turtles. While the Mandan were living in two villages near Fort Clark, the turtles were kept at Nuptadi Village. He went to the owner of the big turtle, the leader of the turtles, and asked him for this turtle first. It was believed that he could predict the abundance of buffaloes through the year by the weight of the turtle drums for, it was said, that the turtles were heavy when the buffalo herds were going to be near the village. People were not allowed to cross his trail when he carried the turtles to the Okipa lodge. The three turtles replaced the rolled-up hide as drums that evening. Everyone awaited word from inside the Okipa lodge concerning the weight of the turtle drums. Soon after the turtles were in their places, the old man of the WaxikEna clan who was custodian of the Okipa lodge called through the village that "the turtles are very heavy and the buffaloes will be near the village so all the people can have enough to eat."

Each of the drummers continued through the ceremony, using the turtle drums. These drums were moved four times in the evening and reached the east side of the lodge at midnight, where they remained until sunrise.

796 *Second day.*—Before sunrise, young men not having an active part in the ceremony brought in green willow branches to be

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 535 the whole ceremony. The Bulls danced directly toward the sacred cedar and formed a circle around it, then formed in pairs to mark out the four cardinal points, and, finally separated to mark the eight directions (see Fig. 15). A change in rhythm was a signal for the Bulls to return to the Okipa lodge.



●—Lodge posts
A—Human skulls
B—Buffalo skulls
C—Okipa Maker
D—Turtle drums
E—Rattles
F—Fireplace

FIG. 16.—Lodge plan prior to torture feature. (After Catlin.)

The drummers, rattlers, Okipa Maker, and the eight Bull Dancers came out eight times the second day and repeated the same performance. The fasters came out only once the second day, following the first appearance of the Bulls. They formed a row at the south side of the sacred cedar and were dressed in buffalo robes with the hair side out. They returned into the lodge last and did not come out again that day (see Fig. 16).

796 785 Fasters began to present themselves for the torture feature[23]

23. Cutting off the fingers in the Okipa gradually died out and was uncommon after 1837, though it continued to be a practice when mourning a death or when fasting on a hill or in a remote place. It was said that a man in a dream was instructed that the fingers were needed to handle firearms.

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on the second day. Each candidate selected a man of his father's clan to cut the holes through the skin and insert the skewers. These men were selected by each candidate before the ceremony, and the knife to be used was given to the Lone Man the evening of the "Going In" ceremony. As each candidate stepped forward and presented himself, the clan "father" picked up a knife from the altar and cut the holes for the skewers. Two skewers were inserted through the skin on the back or on the breast by which the candidate was suspended in midair by a lariat fastened over a pole of the Okipa lodge. Other skewers were inserted through the skin of the legs to which buffalo skulls were hung. When there were enough candidates, one was hung up while the Bulls were outside dancing in order that each Bull in returning to his place in the lodge could hook the sufferer (see Fig. 17). During the later years at Like-a-Fishhook Village, a corn scaffold was erected at the entrance to the Okipa lodge, and those tortured were often suspended from its beams where they were hooked about by the Bull Dancers when leaving or entering the lodge.[24] When the candidate became unconscious, he was lowered to the ground and left to regain consciousness without being molested by any of the observers. It was believed that experiences with the supernatural when acquired at that time were the most genuine and the richest ones.[25]

A midday meal was prepared for the Bull Dancers. The women preparing the meal wore their robes with the hair side out to resemble buffaloes. They motioned to the lodge where the food was cooked, and the Bulls ran there instead of going into the Okipa lodge. After finishing their meal, the Bulls carried food to the Hoita, Lone Man, Blue Heron, and the Rattlers. The Okipa Maker and fasters were not permitted to eat food or drink water, although they could smoke whenever they wished.

Preparations were made during the evening for the third day,

24. At the last performances of the Okipa, a tall pole was set in the ground between the ceremonial lodge and cedar with a rope hanging down. Those going through the torture feature were tied to the rope by means of thongs in their flesh but were not suspended.

25. After uniting with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, the torture elements and associated vision quests of the Okipa declined in importance. Those seeking visions preferred to suffer in isolated places, since the necessary rules of conduct were being broken, particularly by women, in the consolidated village.

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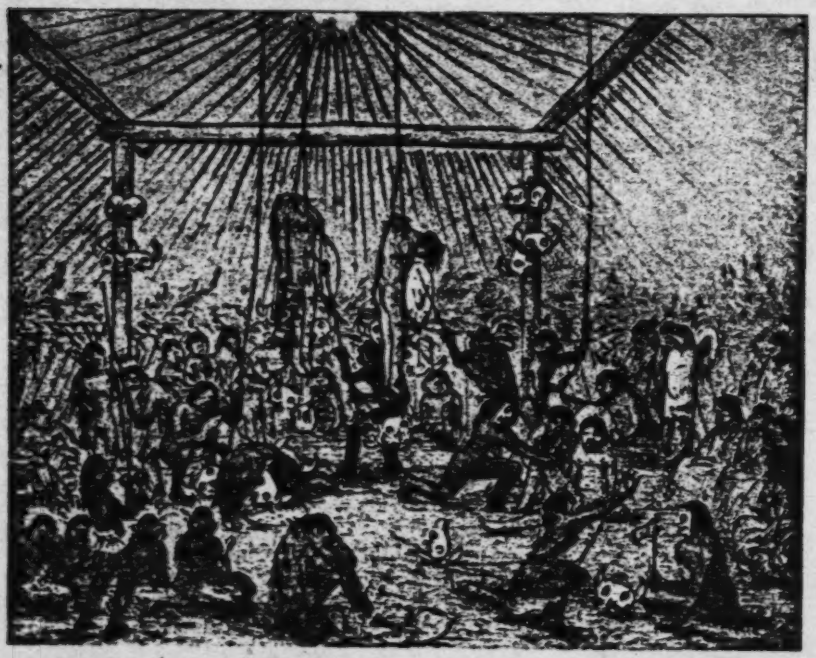

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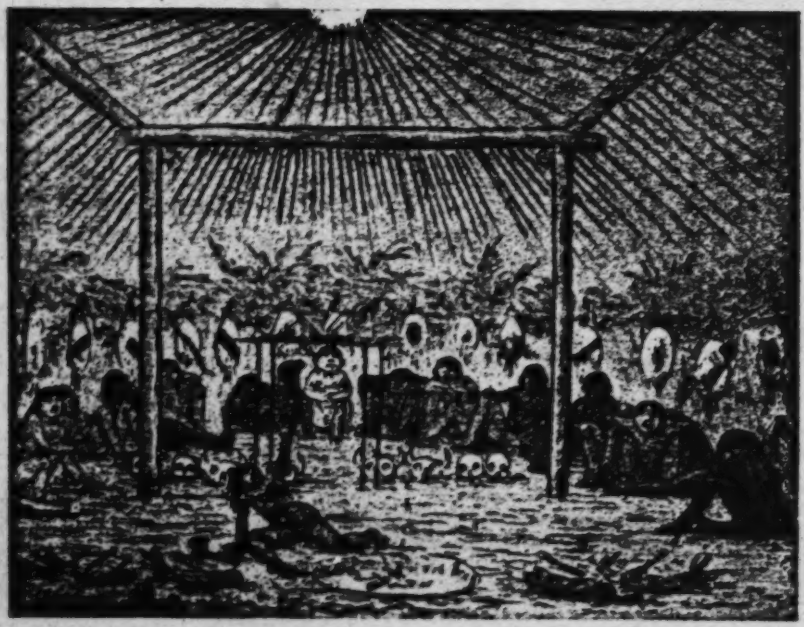

FIG. 17.—Altar arrangement and torture feature. (After Catlin.)

[p. 136]

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796 proached the young women first. Then he advanced toward the Bulls, dancing around the sacred cedar as though smelling them. Each time the performers came out of the Okipa lodge, Foolish One approached the two men dressed like women, one being sensible, the other foolish. First he approached the sensible girl[28] and by signs told her that he loved her and offered her his corn-husk necklace, but she would refuse to have anything to do with him. Then he directed his attention to the other girl,[29] who gladly accepted his offers. The spectators laughed at this comical performance. He performed during four of the twelve times the dancers came out. At the end of the fourth dance, his staff was broken in entering the Okipa lodge by trying to enter with the rod crosswise of the door. The women, then losing all fear of him, rushed at him, broke his staff into little pieces, and drove him out of the village, pelting him with rocks, dirt, and pieces of wood. He ran to the river, where he washed off his paint while two men, also having Foolish One rights, who had followed him, gathered up the presents and tied up his cap and necklace in a buffalo-calf hide to resemble a doll. This doll was then lashed to a pole before the Okipa lodge to be an offering to the Foolish One who lived in the Sun.

The women brought food for the animals at midday and threw it to them while they danced. The food for the Bull Dancers was kept in an earth lodge near by. When the Bulls saw a woman approaching with the hair side of her robe out, they knew their food was ready. All the animal impersonators rushed toward the lodge where the Bulls were to eat, and there was general disorder. The Antelopes, being faster runners than the Buffaloes, who were burdened with the masks and willows, reached the door first. Two men, one painted to represent a large hawk, the other a bald eagle, were stationed on each side of the doorway with stone hammers to keep the Antelopes out, but some usually got in.

796 785 Fasters began presenting themselves to be tortured when the dancers had come out the fifth time. A long pole had been rigged up south of the sacred cedar, and a faster was fastened to the

28. She represented Corn Silk, who went above to marry the Moon, as well as all the other kindly female deities.

29. She represented Cheyenne Woman, who married the Sun.

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lariat hanging down from the top of the pole by means of skewers through his chest. He ran around this pole for the duration of one appearance of the dancers and was then cut loose.[30] A different faster was attached to the pole each time that the Bull Dancers were outside dancing. 796 785

The two men representing the night or stars led the dancers on their last appearance on the third day, taking very short steps so that they scarcely moved along, and timed the dance to finish just as the first evening star (*no'hąka tawi'hąka*, or "grandson") appeared after sunset. The two men at dusk returned to the Okipa lodge and spent the night in places just back of the Okipa Maker.

There were usually a number of women fasting on top of the entrance to the Okipa lodge. They came there the first night and left at sunset of the third day. These women sought various benefits; some sought relief for illness; others sought success for relatives about to leave or then away from home on the warpath.

Fourth day: "The Hunting Day."—All those who had gone through the torture feature on the second and third days left the Okipa lodge the night before the fourth day. There were only four Bull Dancers on this day who were men selected because of their great size and bravery in battle. The Bulls were painted and dressed as on the preceding days. Young men brought fresh willows from the sand bars to decorate the Okipa lodge. Those who were to impersonate the hunters prepared willow hoops with rawhide lacing across them and poles, such as were used in the Hoop and Pole game, which they took into the Okipa lodge to use in the hunting rites. 796

The fasters did not come out for the first dance on the fourth day; only the Okipa Maker, the drummers, the rattlers, and the four Bull Dancers appeared to dance four times before returning to the Okipa lodge. The Bulls came out once for each of the

30. This account of the Okipa was supplied in part by Scattercorn, to whom her father, Moves Slowly, described the ceremony as held in his boyhood. She tells me that when her father was young the torturing was done in the medicine lodge and no pole was set up outside. The use of a pole suggests Hidatsa NaxpikE influence. Maximilian, as reported in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Thwaites, XXIII, 332, says that some hung over a bank. Boller (*op. cit.*, p. 104) reports a pole was put up south of the sacred cedar.

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796 clans on the last day, and the clan names were recited in the ritual.[31]

796 The Okipa Maker and the remaining fasters underwent vari-
785 ous tortures on the last day just before the Bull Dancers came out the final time. Often there were not more than two fasters remaining with the Okipa Maker, and at times the Okipa Maker was the only one left to be tortured. Two men of the father's clan pierced the flesh for the skewers and suspended the candidates above the ground. Buffalo skulls were hung from their legs. A man who had killed an enemy could wear an enemy's skull around his neck. When a faster became unconscious, he was taken down.

796 After the sixteenth dance, one of the drummers came out with rattles made of buffalo hide, followed by the four Bulls, who danced in a weaving course around the sacred cedar. The Hoita came last with two gourd rattles. The dancers, when on the east side of the cedar, addressed the song to Mother Corn as mother, then went to the west side to address the song to Thunderbird as father,[32] after which all retired to the Okipa lodge.

Inside the lodge four songs were sung. These were the songs used when repairing the sacred cedar. After each song the turtles were lifted to determine how heavy they were, and each time the turtles were moved all the young men in the lodge stamped their feet in imitation of the buffalo herds which had also stamped on being released from the Dog Den Butte.

After the turtles had been moved four times, with the stamping of feet accompanying each move, the time for the "freeing of the animals" and the "animal hunt" had come.[33] The Hoita led the way from the Okipa lodge, carrying Lone Man's pipe. The drummers followed, carrying the three turtles which they placed in their customary place east of the sacred cedar. The Four Bulls followed Hoita, who in turn led the hunters with

31. Six extinct clans were dropped from these rites while performing the ceremony at the Fort Clark villages.

32. Many of the songs have words that are not understood. In this song only the words "Thunderbird Father" and "Mother Corn Mother" were recognized by the uninformed.

33. In the mythology, when Hoita came from Dog Den Butte, where he had the animals imprisoned, and found his son officiating in Lone Man's village, he agreed to free the animals so that the people could hunt them and resolved that in the future he would work with Lone Man for the benefit of the tribe. Thereafter the two men assisted each other in directing the Okipa ceremony.

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their poles and hoops. Hoita took the Okipa Maker's place south of the cedar, and the Bulls stood in a row south of him. All the hunters formed in a line south of the Bulls, and Lone Man stood alone south of the hunters. The participants faced the entrance of the Okipa lodge. The Bulls danced toward Hoita, who sent them back four times, symbolizing the four times scouts were sent from Dog Den Butte to report on the condition of the Mandan whom Hoita believed to be starving. Each time the hunters, using the poles as spears, charged the Bulls, who were bleeding from many wounds. Wolf Chief explained that it was a very painful performance, as his legs were pierced in many places. 796

After the hunt, the Four Bulls stood at the entrance to the Okipa lodge and formed at the four cardinal points. Each bellowed in imitation of a bull in the following order, east, west, north, and south. Then the Hoita directed them to the sacred cedar, where each of the Bulls stood at the cardinal points and again bellowed, in the same order.[34] The Four Bulls represented the buffaloes from every direction as well as the buffaloes for the four seasons. The north buffalo called for the winter buffalo, the east buffalo for the spring buffalo, the south buffalo for the summer buffalo, and the west buffalo for the autumn buffalo.

After the calling of the buffaloes from the four directions was completed, the remaining portion of the ceremony progressed rapidly. The drummers began beating rapidly, and the hunters formed a circle about the sacred cedar, holding to the willow hoops. The Four Bulls threw off their masks and danced around the circle as rapidly as possible. Each remaining faster was led out of the Okipa lodge by two of his father's clansmen[35] who had the right half of their bodies painted blue and the left side red. They held straps wrapped around the faster's arms. Each faster had one or more buffalo skulls dragging from skewers fastened through the skin; those who had struck an enemy were permitted to wear a skull as a necklace. The father's clansmen led or 796 785

34. The sacred cedar represented Lone Man's body, and this act symbolized the eternal friendship of Lone Man and Hoita.

35. Only men of good war records, who were entitled to paint as indicated above, could participate. The painting of the body in two colors, blue on the right side and red on the left side or comparable painting of leggings and shirt, indicated that one had killed an enemy far from home or had been the first or second to strike a lone enemy far from home.

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dragged the young man around the sacred cedar in a clockwise direction as fast as they could travel until the victim fell unconscious. When the last faster fell to the ground, the drumming ceased, and the hunters threw their hoops into the air. All the fasters returned to the Okipa lodge, where those on the west-side moiety rubbed their wounds with buffalo marrow while those of the opposite moiety rubbed theirs with ground yellow corn.

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The Lone Man carried all the knives and sharp-edged tools to the bank of the Missouri River, where they were thrown into the water as an offering to the Grandfather Snake. A few robes and seven corn balls were offered to the river at the same time.

A sweat ceremony, in which all the officers with their paraphernalia took part, completed the ceremony.

The goods collected by the Okipa Maker were given to the Lone Man, Hoita, Bulls, Drummers, Rattlers, to the characters represented during the "Everything Comes Back Day," and to the father's clansmen who prepared the Okipa Maker for the last ordeal. The Okipa Maker and the fasters made medicine bundles according to instructions received from the supernatural beings which had appeared to them during the ceremony, and each faster received a section of a sand-bar willow as an article for his personal medicine bundle.

The following description of the Okipa ceremony by Maximilian in 1834 will illustrate the character of the ceremony as performed at that time. Three years later smallpox killed roughly 80 per cent of the tribe, but the ceremony as described by eyewitnesses underwent only a few minor changes. The number of singers was reduced to three; a torture pole was erected south of the sacred cedar; the Bull Dancers were painted differently, the abdomen being painted with alternate stripes; there were fewer animal representatives on the third day due to the extinction of certain bundle lines. Except for these minor changes, the ceremony was essentially the same as performed in 1834. When the Mandan joined the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, men of the latter tribe sometimes gave the ceremony and bought minor offices, but the principal officers were Mandans. The supernatural beings enumerated by Maximilan are also readily identified from my informant's accounts.

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Chapter V

PERSONAL BUNDLES AND VISION EXPERIENCES

778 POSSESSION of tribal bundles inherited from the preceding generation was not the good fortune of all men and women.
428 Some were unable to acquire hereditary tribal bundles because they were not eligible either through birth or through marriage. Since the oldest son usually inherited his parents' bundle or bundles through the mother's lineage, younger sons and the daughters could, at most, hold partial rights through assistance in the transfer ceremonies and later became the titular bundle-owner should the older brother die. There are numerous instances of bundle transfers to a daughter and son-in-law in cases where there were no sons, providing the daughter and family were occupying her parents' lodge and especially when tribal custom prescribed clan inheritance of the bundle.

787 All males and females, regardless of bundles then owned or expected to be inherited at a later date, sought personal powers
869 of the supernatural during their younger years. In exceptional
785 instances the quest of supernatural power was continued until forty-five or fifty years of age. Fasting began at eight or nine, the parents recommending fasting and pointing out distinguished men who had been successful because of visions acquired through that practice. Parents never scolded or urged a son to fast. It was felt that a child's reputation was predetermined by the supernatural and that he would learn his destiny through the desire to fast. Parents would repeat their own experiences with the supernatural, either vision-inspired or through purchase. Small boys would be advised to fast a day or two during the Okipa ceremony to begin with and extend the length of their fasting at subsequent performances of that ceremony. Only four occasions provided formalized fasting. These were: during the Okipa ceremony, while trapping eagles, while

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on war expeditions, and during the summer buffalo hunt. Of these four, only during one, the Okipa ceremony, was fasting done within the village. This is in sharp contrast with the Hidatsa custom of fasting during many bundle-transfer ceremonies. Crows Heart preferred to fast away from the village, thinking that women were less inclined to conform to tribal custom, which made dreams hard to get.

A man who advised and instructed his own sons in the benefits to be attained from fasting would be abusive with his sister's sons whom he did not believe were making enough effort to secure supernatural guardians. He would use the argument that it would enhance the prestige of the clan. He would talk of an occasion when other young men would be fasting in the Okipa and state that he would expect the "younger brother" to be there, and he would give him goods to pay the officers for that privilege. The older male members of the various clans were especially watchful to see that the sections reserved for the clans were well filled. The other clans laughed at those who had only a few fasting during the ceremony.

Not all who fasted either alone beyond the village limits or during the Okipa did so with the expectation of having a vision. Nor were visions received each time. Self-privation was believed to please the supernatural, and both individual and general well-being was the natural consequence. Although boys began to fast at the age of eight or nine because they were advised to, the serious seeking of guardian spirits or vision experiences was not made until the property-owning age was reached and shortly after marriage.

Three methods were employed in gaining supernatural experiences. Some would fast in various ways; others would inflict torture; and still others would make presents of valued property. Of the three, offering of valued goods was considered the hardest to do, since it required much work to amass the goods.

Self-torture administered during the Okipa ceremony was more severe than that practiced in any of the Hidatsa ceremonies; otherwise the customs of the two tribes differed little as to severity of the measures employed. The father's clansmen prepared the young man for the torture feature by securing and inserting the thongs. Suspension of the one tortured was not em-

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785 171 ployed by the Hidatsa in the NaxpikE ceremony, the Sun Dance equivalent of that tribe, as was the case with the Mandans in their Okipa ceremony, where the one tortured was suspended until he became unconscious. This practice was modified in later years to conform with the Hidatsa custom.

785 562 304 765 The custom of cutting off fingers in mourning was universally practiced by the women but rarely by the men. The sacrifice of fingers as a means of self-torture was practiced by men and in only a few instances by women who, upon the death of a relative through warfare, sought by self-torture to revenge the relative's slaying at a time when her brothers contemplated a retaliatory raid on the enemy's camp during which time she would be fasting. Those seeking visions used a buffalo skull to cut the fingers on when a vision was sought.

787 785 Four Bears' fasting record at the base of a large oak tree in which a raven had its young, to learn the name of the Arikara who had killed his brother, is still related as an example of the power which the supernatural had to clarify past deeds and bring success to the one adopted.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF FOUR BEARS[1]

787 785 539 A Mandan named Four Bears sent his younger brother out with the horses to a spot farther from the village, where there was more grass. The Arikara came and killed the boy. The men found him with a spear stuck through his body, which was a challenge to Four Bears to come and fight if he thought he was lucky. Four Bears went out and brought the boy back to the village and saved the spear. He had already fasted in the Okipa and had many gods, but he began fasting again. He would fast and cry for seven days and nights without food and then come back to the village to rest. Then he would go out fasting again. He fasted near a high tree in which the ravens had a nest. He cut the flesh on his chest and inserted sticks with which he hung from the tree until he fell exhausted. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. One time he cut off a finger and offered it to the People Above and the raven that had its nest there.

The bird said, "It is an easy thing. You will find the man who killed your brother." The raven promised him that he could also bring rain. The bird added, "The one who killed your brother is named Bear Necklace, and he is the one you should kill."

In those days the dogs had names, so a clan father of Four Bears brought a dog to Four Bears to name, and he gave it the name Bear Necklace even before he killed the man. When Four Bears killed the Arikara without losing a man, and everything happened just as he had said the raven had predicted, he was highly respected.

1. This incident is mentioned in George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 238–41.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

When he returned to the village, people of his father's clan took away his gun, bow and arrows, and knife. He was required to pay in robes to get them back. The more one paid on these occasions, the higher he was regarded. 787 785 539

Scattercorn used the story of Big Coat to illustrate the severity of self-torture:

When Big Coat was eight years old, the Nuptadi Village was destroyed by the Sioux, and he was taken prisoner. When he was older, he escaped with his mother and came back to the Mandan. Thinking of the treatment of his people, he vowed that he would get a guardian spirit that was real strong so that he could kill many Sioux. He first went out to fast when he was seventeen years old. At first he only fasted four days at a time, and many animals offered him help. Then he began to fast seven days to get still greater gods. All the people began to recognize his ambitions and say that he would surely be lucky and become a great leader who would do much good some day. He began to cut off his fingers and offer them to the Sun, Moon, and big birds of the sky. [304] He cut off three fingers of each hand, leaving only the thumb and middle finger of each hand which he needed to use the bow and arrow. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. He even cut off his flesh and offered it to the Holy Women.[2] Before he stopped fasting, he had nearly everything as a guardian. He was always successful when leading war parties.

Offerings of fingers and flesh were made chiefly to the Sun, but included the other characters represented in the Sun bundles, which were the Moon, Old Woman Above, Woman Above (sister of the Sun), and the Holy Women. Sun was a cannibal and was believed to eat the human flesh offered to him. 785 304

Fasting and self-torture were practiced when on eagle-trapping expeditions.[3] The leader expected the younger men to volunteer. Dragging buffalo skulls by means of thongs through the skin of the back or suspension from trees or banks were the usual methods employed. Others drew wood to camp by means of these thongs. Fasting was not employed regularly at these camps except for short periods, since, to be successful, more time was consumed than in self-torture. When trapping was poor, many advanced middle-aged men would fast and cry to bring success. Self-torture was employed regularly when on war expeditions, but fasting was not practiced, since there was not time for the party to wait several days in one spot. Generally they were hung over a bank or from a tree. The thongs were inserted by one of the father's clan. 785

Dragging of buffalo skulls was done when in the summer vil-

2. These were his father's gods.
3. See chap. vii below.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

785 lage, during marches in summer buffalo hunting, in eagle-trapping camps, or at the winter camp. This was the most common type of self-torture, since it was easier to induce a dream from the buffaloes. Human-skull circles were considered desirable places to fast for those who were making offerings of flesh or fingers to the Sun. Skull circles which had been prepared by owners of People Above bundles (the Sun, Moon, and their mother being the principal supernatural beings represented in those bundles) were considered particularly desirable.

785 The number of times one had fasted or inflicted self-torture was as much a part of one's record as the number of enemy 554 killed or struck in battle, and both were related during ceremonial 431 feasts. Those who had given the Okipa were especially respected, since the torturing of the Okipa Maker was even more severe than for the other fasters. There was the added fact that the Okipa Maker had sacrificed so much property that at the termination of the ceremony his family was entirely destitute and remained so until those who felt obligated to lend assistance sent help. Every normal male inflicted self-torture several times during early manhood. Everyone was expected to fast and be tortured at least once during the Okipa ceremony, although some were tortured annually for a number of years. Broken Ax, a Mandan, gave the Okipa eight times, and not once did he have a dream. He gave the ceremony, not from vision instruction, but because no others had dreamed of the Okipa.

785 Crows Heart told of instances when men fasted outside at night during the coldest weather. They would tie a lariat to a stake driven into the bank and call men of the father's clan to insert the thongs. They would hang over the bank until their clan fathers feared for their lives and brought them into camp. Others would remove all their clothing and walk around camp until nearly frozen.

Calf Woman told of an instance of a man dying as a result of fasting. She said, "People don't get visions every time they fast and don't expect to. Even though the gods send no instructions, they show their appreciation by sending good luck. Black Body, the husband of Turtle Woman who is still living, started for Saddle Butte to fast but decided to fast at the river instead. He fixed himself a place to fast and rolled up in his blanket. During

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the night something pulled his blanket off, and he was frightened. He ran back to the village and died shortly afterward of pneumonia." 785

CROWS HEART'S REMINISCENCES AND PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

When a man has a real dream, everything that is going to happen comes to him in his dream. Hairy Coat [owner of a People Above bundle], fasted nine days and everything he did came to him in his dreams. An animal came to him in his dream and said, "You have suffered long enough, and I am going to send you home now. I will give you one enemy, and you can go out and bring in his scalp." The Mandan did all this fasting to get scalps just as you white men are always working to get money. 785 787 159 223

I was twenty-three years old when I first went out to trap eagles. When the lodge was ready, the men went in. That night I knew the leader would suggest that someone should suffer for the birds. That day I looked around and found a sharp bank. On top of the bank I drove a sharp stake and tied a long lariat to it as securely as I could. I knew that the Old Male Black Bear [leader of eagle-trapping party] would suggest that I go out on the top of the hills to cry as long as I could, so I did this to be ready. When I finished driving the stake, I came back and got two men of my father's clan, one being the Good Shot, to go out with me to cut holes through the skin of my chest with an arrow and insert two sticks each two inches long through the holes. After they did it, they said the bank was too high to get down alone and that they would put the rope around my breast to let me down. I told them to leave me alone and go back to camp. 785 159 223

When they left, the lariat [30–35 feet long] was coiled up by the stake. I crawled over the edge and fell to the end of the rope. I got such a jerk that I lost my senses. When I came to, I found myself still hanging down. I cried and ran until I made a trail along the sharp edge. Then the weight became less painful.

That night there was a heavy frost. I cried all the time. I kept running, and it was very cold. I began at dark and suffered until about ten o'clock, when two of the hunters came after me. When they got there, they caught the rope and pulled me up to the top. They tried to take the sticks out, but the swellings were so great that they could not get them loose. I had to carry the rope and sticks in my arms to camp.

When we got there, the head man laid me up where the buffalo skull was. He used a big bunch of buffalo hair to thaw out the swelling, and then the sticks came out. After the sticks were out, I went back to bed, but the swelling extended from my navel to my chin. I rolled without sleeping until nearly daybreak. I could not sleep, so I got up early to see the flag on the hill. I wanted to see if we had the right kind of wind to go to the pits.

I found that we had the right kind of wind, came back to camp, wakened the others, and told them the wind was in the west, the right direction for trapping. My breast was so swollen I had to put the rope for carrying the bait around my forehead when walking to the pit. I put my bait where it was supposed to be and sat there in the pit looking up through the covering. Soon I heard a noise and looked up. There was a large eagle coming down. He sat on

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785 top of my bait, and I stuck my right hand out and caught him. He was a big
159 beautiful eagle, and that was the result I got for my suffering the night before.
223 Before I finished killing him, another big one came down on top of my pit and walked over to the bait. I caught him as I had the other one and pulled him into the pit where I killed him, and there was never a happier person than I. I forgot all about my pains. I was happy as I thought of what I had done the night before. I did not have to go very far to get results for the suffering I did the night before. After that the leader said, since I was lucky, I should get up mornings and look at the flag to see if the winds were right.

787 If a man goes out on the hills to fast and suffer and some holy person or
785 animal comes to him and tells him that he will be lucky and kill an enemy,
159 but when he goes out as leader, the enemy kills one of his party instead, he will come home crying because the people will think that he didn't fast right or that his dream wasn't real. Brave men will start fasting again and seek an even stronger god by fasting longer and offering their flesh to the Sun. The older men watch one who has lost a warrior when he fasts. If the suffering is too severe, men of his father's clan pay him to stop for fear that he will kill himself. After he has suffered a while, the parents of the warrior who was killed in battle will give a feast to the man and ask him to stop. When a leader goes out to war as a result of the promise of a certain animal and loses one of his men, he will reject that animal's vision instructions if sent to him again in a dream. He will keep on fasting until another god comes to him. It is often hard to get men to follow an unlucky leader. If he goes out a second time and kills or strikes an enemy, the people will say, "You have a real protector now, one that is going to be a great help to you."

My god is the horse. When I was a young man, I led a horse around the sacred cedar standing in the center of Like-a-Fishhook Village by means of thongs in my flesh until I fell down unconscious. As I lay there, a horse came to me and promised me success in hunting and warfare. I killed two enemies a long ways from home because of this dream. The horse sang me his sacred songs, but I am not allowed to sing them for you. I have done all the things the horse asked of me, and the horse has done everything he promised me he would. The doctoring you saw me do did not come from the instructions the horse gave me. The sharp stick I used for letting out matter came from my rights in the Big Bird ceremony my sisters and I bought of Big Black, my father's brother.

726 I can illustrate by a story how a man organizes a war party to go out for
159 the enemy that his god has promised him. The leader is careful to do just as he was instructed.

The party was to leave from Fishhook Village. The leaders were Old Bear (Tamisik clan), Crows Breast (Tamisik clan), and Porcupine Head (Speckled Eagle clan). I joined the party because of a suggestion by Afraid To Be Chief [his mother's brother and head of the lodge at that time] that he had no horses. If we got horses, we would be pretty well fixed. When a party of this kind is made up, they do not announce it but act quietly in preparation for the trip. A night was set to leave. Those planning to join got together a supply of moccasins and food. A lodge was designated as our meeting place. The party met this time in Two Chief's lodge. Others came to look on and wish us luck so that the lodge was packed full of people.

In addition to the leaders mentioned already, there were these warriors in the party: Big Steal (Tamisik clan), Long Tail (Prairie Chicken clan), Afraid

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lose any Young Wolves. It would be a blur to my record to 'kick the stone' so I am going back." The others returned with him. 726 159

When we came back, there was nothing of importance until we reached the Killdeer Mountains, where a Sioux war party saw us. We took the middle of the flat east of the Killdeer Mountains, and one of the party killed an antelope. We wasted no time pulling the hide off, and went right on to Red Paint Creek. I laid the hide out to dry to use on my horse that had a sore back. While we were roasting the meat, a whirlwind took the hide up into the air and whirled it, all the time with the flat side down.

When it happened, we said as a joke, "The enemy is upon us," but each of us jumped onto his horse and followed the creek down to the Little Missouri. We did not stop until we reached Cedar Butte, four miles above Hans Creek, when we went into an elm thicket to rest the horses. While there, an owl came and hooted. The enemy had outnumbered us ten to one and had been watching us from the Killdeer Mountains. They thought they had us, but it was the whirlwind that saved us. It was almost a miracle that we escaped the enemy. [The enemy was never seen but was merely suspected by the signs.] From our camp in Hans Creek we left at dawn without food and rode until we reached Manure Creek, where we grazed our horses in a clearing in the woods and cooked meat. We reached Like-a-Fishhook Village at sunset.

Puts Away His Hair got no credit for the lodge even though he found it just where his medicine said it would be.

The Mandan distinguished two kinds of supernatural experiences, those which were received through dreams and those actually seen, the latter being considered the more reliable. Crows Heart thought that what one actually saw could be depended on, whereas all dreams were not real. Scattercorn told of a Mandan who was visiting the Crow Indians. She said: "A friend took him to the top of a high mountain. While there a storm came up so they sought shelter under a cliff. During the night Thunderbird came by with his wings straight out. The lightning came out of his neck, and, when he moved his wings ever so little, it thundered. This Mandan really saw this bird, and it was his guardian after that." 787

All women fasted at least once during their lifetime. Self-torture was rarely practiced except in unusual instances. Scattercorn recalled an instance when three brothers were killed by the Cheyennes, who had been in the village exchanging robes for corn. When they left, they met men coming back loaded with meat. No precautions were taken when they saw the Cheyennes, since they knew what their mission had been. The brothers of the slain men fasted and practiced self-torture to get supernatural aid. When the war party left, one sister cut off two fingers 785 562

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785 562 and offered them to the sky-gods. She slashed her legs and arms where they had just healed after the mourning cuts she had inflicted. She fasted four days. Although she did not receive a vision, she attributed the unusual success of the war party to her sacrifices.

Men and women never fasted at the same places. Women usually fasted in their gardens or on the corn scaffolds. Women could pledge to give the Okipa, in which case they were permitted to fast on the roof, while a brother assumed the responsibilities of Okipa Maker. They rarely fasted more than one day and night at a time. The supernatural powers which one received were believed to be in direct proportion to one's suffering. Front Woman did not think women needed as powerful guardians as men, so she fasted only one day and night until she contracted sore eyes which would not heal. She and her mother's sister who also had eye trouble paid for the right to fast on the Okipa lodge while the ceremony was being held. Her eyes improved, but her mother's sister's eyes did not. Both fasted during the four days of the ceremony but returned to their lodge at evening.

787 756 428 Doctoring rights were included with most tribal hereditary bundles, and the rights to doctor were sold with the bundle. Such rights could also be acquired through supernatural instructions or purchased from one who had secured the right through visions. The latter practice, though common, did not continue for more than two or three generations. Only tribal bundles continued the hereditary character of doctoring rights generation after generation and with little change. Both men and women doctored. Women rarely doctored outside their own family until after the menopause.

The following account is typical of doctoring beliefs and practices.

MRS. GOOD BEAR'S NARRATIVE OF DOCTORING

787 756 159 My mother, Stays Yellow, fasted in the woods in quest of a god. Just before daylight she fell asleep. In her dream she saw two old people doctoring a woman who was having difficulty bearing a child. She saw that they were using black roots [Black Medicine] which they dug up in the forest. The old people, a man and a woman, had a hide rattle decorated with white feathers. She listened to the song they were singing. At the same time they administered to the woman giving birth to the child, they were doctoring to a number of dead watersnakes. The old woman chewed the roots and blew the chewed-up mass over the snakes; each time she blew on a snake, it came alive and

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Calf Woman told of an old Mandan with ten sons who instructed them each to take one of his teeth to be carried in battle. After he died, he was placed on a scaffold for one year, when the teeth were taken by the sons and kept as sacred objects. The skull was placed at one of the skull circles near a People Above shrine, and the other bones were buried. He had been very successful in warfare but died of a boil. 766 778

The skulls of those who died away from the village were usually brought back a year later, if requested by the relatives, by either a man or woman of the father's clan. It was customary to have a woman bring back the skull if summer village hunting expeditions were in the vicinity; otherwise a man leaving on a war expedition was delegated to secure the skull. Skulls brought back were placed at one of the shrines, of which there were a number adjacent to each village.

All men and women fasted, and most people had vision experiences. All were medicine men just as all were warriors or hunters. Some acquired reputations as medicine men just as some had good reputations as warriors or hunters. There was no grouping into cults according to vision; such division as did occur was based on ownership of related hereditary tribal bundles, a system much like the Pawnee except for a greater flexibility deriving from the four-sale right. It cannot be said that inherited bundle-owners were higher in tribal regard than those who practiced doctoring or led successful war parties. Each stood on his own record. Such advantage as hereditary bundle-owners had over others came from their possession of tribal lore belonging to the bundle. Since each hereditary bundle-owner was instructed in the traditional history of the bundle, he became an authority on the early history of the tribe. Four Bears rose to eminence and became second chief without inheriting any bundles of his parents other than a sacred shield and rain-calling robe. He had a successful war record and did much fasting. That would never have elevated him to more than a war leader, but the many feasts he made to which the older hereditary bundle-owners were invited gave him the necessary prestige. He gave the Okipa twice. Crows Heart had a good war record but never rose to eminence. His home being near a river crossing, people were always stopping there for meals. Nevertheless, he gave few for- 787 554 785 795

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mal feasts to which the older people were invited and was considered selfish, in spite of the fact that he probably fed more people than those who offered feasts from time to time.

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It was the duty of all to fast, but few could inherit tribal bundles. After the smallpox of 1837, there was probably a much higher percentage of the population owning these hereditary tribal bundles. Visions could be bought and sold like hereditary bundles, but their existence was usually short-lived unless they became incorporated into hereditary bundle rites. A man ordinarily did not boast of the bundles he owned. Instead, he would boast of the potency of the bundles. The Hidatsa custom of buying the father's bundle because he dreamed of it was not the Mandan way. A Mandan bought because he was expected to, and people would condemn him for failing to buy. The man would ask his son to buy. If he had no son, but a son-in-law was living in the lodge, he would ask him to buy. Instruction was direct between seller and buyer, whereas the Hidatsa used a member of the father's clan as intermediary. Moves Slowly did not dream of the Corn Medicine before buying. He was hereditarily entitled to it. When one of the Mandan Corn bundles reached the Awaxawi,[17] Poor Wolf bought because he dreamed of it. The Hidatsa performed a ceremony because they had a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Little Eagle, the Numakmaxena bundle-owner, was killed in war, and his wives automatically became the bundle-owners. When they remarried, their second husband received permission from them to officiate in the Okipa until White Calf, their son, was of proper age to assume the office. He had not dreamed of the bundle. The NaxpikE or Hide-beating ceremony of the Hidatsa was never given except when one who was a son of a man having this bundle received a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Such was not the custom in giving the Okipa. Permission must be given by the Okipa Society because an eligible candidate either had received vision instruction or had a feeling of responsibility to give it. So we see that even between these two groups, the Mandan and Hidatsa, who have lived in close contacts for a few centuries, some fundamental differences in ceremonial organization persisted.

17. A Hidatsa band.

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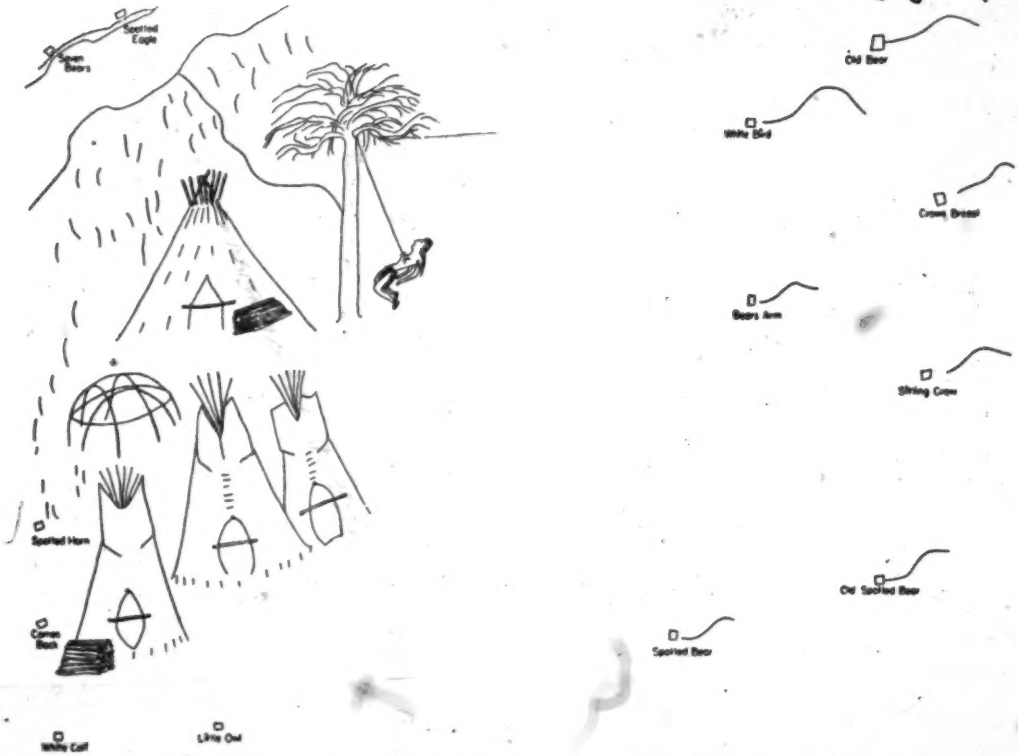

FIG. 27.—Eagle-trapping camp and pits, Old Bear, leader. (Drawn by Bears Arm to show himself fasting when seventeen years of age.)

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223 or a foxskin. When trapping in the lake region east of the Missouri either a stuffed duck or goose was used. When a suitable bait was difficult to secure, the head and neck of an antelope were used. Usually the bait was secured while the party was traveling to the trapping grounds. When a stuffed skin was used, a piece of raw meat was tied to it. Some picketed a live eagle near the pit when one was available, if luck was unusually bad. There was a song to the bait which the leader used when "tying the bait," as well as a prescribed method of carrying it to and from the pit.

796 223 785 [787] Torture of the trappers, by one of several techniques, occurred regularly, and there was a prescribed ritual for the person offering himself. It was believed that someone should "suffer for the birds" if the expedition were to be successful. The Mandan felt, after uniting with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, that visions were difficult to secure in the village ceremonies because there were too many ill-informed people, particularly women, who violated the customs. Crows Heart frequently stated that torture in the Okipa ceremony was less frequently practiced and that he preferred to seek a vision away from the village. Usually a young man would decide beforehand to seek a vision while away from the village trapping eagles, the type of torture being recommended by an older clan brother. The Chief of the Hunter's duty was to pierce the flesh and insert the thongs, except that, when he stood in a joking relationship with the vision-seeker, he could not serve, and another was selected, usually his assistant. Some trappers pulled buffalo skulls through camp by means of thongs fastened through the skin of the back. Crows Heart once hung over a cliff by means of thongs through the skin of the chest. Bears Arm hung from a tree. Sometimes the vision-seeker had no preference, and the leader suggested that he bring wood into camp. In such instances, wood was tied up into twelve bundles,[34] to which lariats were fastened, and dragged to camp by means of thongs through the flesh to which the lariats were tied. All the wood was dragged into camp without help from others, the sufferer even removing his moccasins to make the pain more severe. Tortur-

34. Each bundle represented one of the eagle's tail feathers.

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ing of trappers was performed the evening that the pits were completed. 796 223 785

Ordinarily when a party was composed of advanced middle-aged men, none were tortured, except on occasions when the birds would not stop, or when the winds continued from the wrong direction, there would be fasters on the hills crying during the night. If bad luck continued, then some would offer their bodies for torture and even cut off a piece of finger as an offering to the birds. In historic times there seems to have been somewhat more emphasis of the torture feature when eagle-trapping by the Mandan than the Hidatsa. Since we know from historic accounts[35] that the torture feature was highly developed with the Mandan, it appears that there occurred a transfer from village to nonvillage rites, the latter taking place when on hunting, eagle-trapping, and war expeditions.

Someone was selected, generally one of the waiters, to go out before daylight to determine the direction of the wind. The wind must be from a westerly direction, or it was believed that the birds were not traveling. Crows Heart explained that the calumet eagles nested in the Rocky Mountains and that the pits were located along the migration route to their wintering grounds to the southeast.[36] A piece of soft hide tied to the top of a pole placed on a high hill within view of the camp was employed to indicate the direction of the wind. If favorable winds were blowing, the leader was notified. He ordered all the trappers to prepare for trapping. None was allowed to eat before going out to the pits, as trapping was considered a form of ceremonial "suffering for the birds." Each trapper left shortly after daybreak for his pit, carrying his bait, a ceremonial fiber snare painted red with a piece of Black Medicine attached to it, and several leather snares. The bait was tied to two stakes driven into the ground four inches from the west edge of the pit. A shallow 223 [825]

35. See Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIII (Cleveland, 1906), 331–33, 377–78; cf. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 265–75.

36. Benson explained that the southland was the meeting place in winter of many creatures considered holy. Among these he included the thunderbirds, eagles, hawks, ducks, geese, cranes, herons, as well as the spirits of the corn and other garden products. This meeting place was an island where Old Woman Who Never Dies lived in her large earth lodge with four large snakes living in the water surrounding her island as her helpers. 825 773

Chapter XVII

SUMMARY

796 THE ceremonies were highly formalized and were in part
773 organized on an annual basis. The Mandan attributed
776 their creation and appearance on the earth to certain magical acts of the sacred beings who preceded them to prepare the world before creating all the living things. It was believed that the sacred beings protected the people so long as the ceremonies were performed. The Mandan also believed that other peoples created by the same sacred beings in mythological times performed similar ceremonies and that the sacred beings favored those tribes making the most lavish ceremonial display of goods. It was believed that good relations must exist with all the sacred beings. To accomplish this, segments of the total ceremonialism were intrusted to certain individuals or groups of individuals, and the novice was informed that failure to perform the rites in the prescribed manner would bring bad luck.

778 Sacred objects were believed to have *xo'pini*, which informants translated as meaning "power." An individual's "power"
785 was said to increase if he fasted frequently, assisted others in the purchase of sacred bundles, or bought tribal bundles. This "power" was consumed when leading war parties, being largely gone at the end of the fourth expedition, when a man was expected to terminate his war expeditions. This "power" was believed to be lost a little at a time in the daily life of crossing rivers, hunting buffaloes, training horses, or performing other hazardous avocations. A man was believed to acquire a great
[837] deal of *xo'pini* from the buffaloes when he invited older men to have ceremonial sexual intercourse with a wife, and, by the same token, men frequently refused intercourse when they had partaken in a number of the "walking" ceremonies. Very old people were believed to have less *xopini*, having given most of it away to the younger people, particularly the men, who re-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 quired much "power" to pursue successful war and hunting activities.

•785 A Mandan would say, "I claim no power for myself. I have no power except what my sacred objects have promised me." Children were protected by the parents' bundles until they were old enough to fast.

778 A young man on his first war expedition usually carried a sacred object from his father's bundle. This practice was repeated until the potency of the son's sacred bundle was established.

Supernatural power was acquired by the purchase of tribal 789 bundles, feasts to tribal bundles, ceremonial sexual license, self-torture, and by showing kindness to the old people. The Mandan also believed that some people were "adopted" by a supernatural being without the novice's knowledge, since some people possessing no important tribal or individual bundles were unusually successful.

789 Women participating in sexual ceremonialism during the buf-
789 falo-calling rites contributed to the husband's supernatural
796 "powers." The writer interviewed a number of women who had
837 "walked with the buffaloes," as the practice is called. All agreed that they sought a good home, a loyal husband who was success-
787 ful in hunting and warfare, good health, and plenty of food and clothing. They believed that the sexual act was tantamount to intercourse with the buffaloes, who, when placated, sent the herds to the prairies near the villages and promised the warriors success in warfare. Ceremonial sexual intercourse strengthened the marital bonds. It was believed that the buffaloes did all that they promised in dreams. Dreams were easy to get from the buffaloes.

778 The concept of "power" as a substance was further demon-
789 strated by the manner of handling sacred objects. During the buffalo-calling ceremonies, the men impersonating buffaloes held out their sacred bundles for the women to press to their naked breasts. A woman placed her arms on the "holy man," dragging her arms downward toward the hand holding the bundle as though drawing the sacred powers possessed from the body into the sacred bundle, which was then taken from the buffalo impersonator and held to her breast. By this act it was

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

224 223 796 cial song for the waiter in which he danced alone. The leader's waiter on his side was the main waiter, and the other was an assistant. If the main waiter was absent, the assistant did the work. In the evening the women would bring wood into the camp for the sweathouse.

223 796 When the wind was in the right direction, we went into the pits. That is what we called the good wind. When the wind is from the southwest or northwest, it was considered good to fair wind, but the west was considered the best. The waiter was the first one to be up and around. He would go out and look at the flag. When he saw that the wind was from the right direction, he would say, "The wind is in the right direction." The men would all get out of bed and go to their pits.

The leader would say, "I will help the waiter if he wants to go into his pit. I will stay and do his work."

When the waiter went out to see the flag and the wind was blowing from the other directions, he would come back and report it to the leader by saying, "Leader, the wind is in the wrong direction."

The leader would say to the men, "When you are through eating, go out and hunt." There was a term that they used. Instead of saying morning meal, he would say, "After you are through sitting on it," meaning that the eagle sits on the bait. That was why he used that term. He would use the words, "Go out and throw stones at animals," meaning to hunt game. When the wind was right, we went to our pits. Raven Knows Nothing caught three good eagles with black tips; then we had another meeting the same as before. The women would come, and we would have a good time. The leader would have the men come to him for their corn balls again.

Another time we went to our pits and Packs Wolf caught two with black tips, and then the leader, himself, caught two. They were black tipped also. Those were all the birds caught.

•785 796 The night after the catch was made, I asked the Crack Shot (Sitting Owl, Maxoxati clan) to fill up the pipe; he did so and gave it to me. I took the pipe and gave it to the leader, saying, "My leader, take this pipe, for I wish to suffer." He was glad. Beforehand, I had prepared my sticks. I made three of them. The Crack Shot and his helper took me outside close to the lodge by a tree and there they cut my breast on both sides and on the top of my right arm. They fastened the rawhide rope to the sticks, and then I ran around the tree while the ceremony and singing was going on inside the lodge. After all the songs were sung, the same men who tortured me came out and took the rawhide rope off and pulled the sticks out. The sticks were taken in and placed on the altar. Several days after that, Charging was tortured. When I suffered, I had my medicine bundle, the Bear Medicine, that I got from my father, hanging on my right arm. When I suffered, it was like a prayer asking the great spirits to help me to live long in the world, be fortunate in everything I undertook, and have property. I prayed to Black Medicine because Spring Boy and Lodge Boy said that they would turn into that root[11] but that their spirits would go back into the skies and help the people. That was why I prayed to them. The idea of fasting and offering myself this way was so that I might be blessed by the spirits. Then in war I would come out victorious and defeat the enemy.

11. A piece of this root is tied to each snare.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

I told you of the case where a man fasted in a bear's den, and the bear took a hold of him and threw him to one side. This man dreamed that night that the bear came and blessed him and told him that he would be a successful warrior and a brave man. Afterward a son was born to him; the son was Seven Bears. The Assiniboine came with the intention of destroying our village, but Seven Bears was brave. They shot him with arrows and bullets, but they had no effect on him. His horse was shot, but he got on another and came back. He fought the enemy and ran over them; he struck them so that the enemy turned and ran back. Torturing was a part of our prayers, for, whenever one prays, he should fast. In torturing, one will have a dream of a spirit, and that way he is blessed. By doing these things, some of the men got great power from the spirits. Crows Heart once saw that Old White Man's back was full of scars, and Crows Heart asked him how many times he had suffered. Old White Man could not remember; his skin had been pierced so many times. 785 796

The next one to be tortured was Packs Wolf. His suffering was inside of the lodge, where he was fastened to the roof. His feet were off of the ground, and a stick was given to him with which to swing himself. While he was hanging there, the leader sang his songs.

Then several days after that Spotted Weasel whittled four sticks, came back, and made a sweathouse. They ran sticks through his wrist and up to the braces of the sweat lodge, and he was also tortured on the breast. When one is tortured in the sweathouse, the women are not permitted to go into it at any time. The Crack Shot was Sitting Owl, and Spotted Weasel was his son-in-law, so he got another man to act in his place. He asked Raven Knows Nothing to do the torturing. When we went in there, the leader began to pour water on the stones, and we got down low near the ground, but Spotted Weasel could not, being tied up there near the roof. He cried to the spirits; it was a hardship for him to go through, but he did. After that, we went into our pits, but no one caught any more birds, even though we were there over one month.

Now that the sweathouse was made, each one of us got some good dried meat and a whole meat [the large piece stripped off of the length of the animal's back]. We paid the leader, and he took us into the sweat lodge to cleanse all of us. We broke camp and started for home. Bluestone and I, being single, left the others and came ahead.

On the other trips with other men, they would not let the women come into the lodge. I thought that the reason for being unlucky was because they had let the women in. 223 796

I heard that Blue Stone's father, Wood Mouth or Medicine Bird, whipped his wife one day when he was a leader and his men did not have any luck in catching the eagles. By doing that their luck changed from bad to good. They caught many eagles. I do not know if some great spirit told him to do that or not, but I do know that they ordinarily did not do that, for men, women, and children were expected to be kindhearted and not have any ill-feeling toward each other. 562

We did not change pipes but used both red and black stone, depending on the kind the leader had. In early days they did not have the red stone pipes. Then the stone was black, and the pipe was straight without the elbow. The hole was in the end, and the stone fitted in on the inside was called I-go-xE'. 276 796

In the ceremony they used a special medicine pipe taken from the bundles.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

which were pushed in as they burnt. This was done because the First Man told them they must never have a big fire after the day's cooking was done and showed them how it should be built. It recalls the sacred fire of the Muskogi and other tribes of the lower Mississippi. They declared that many of the every day customs were taught them thus and consequently they always did them a certain way,—thus Ochkih-Hedde taught them to tattoo themselves, and their first chief taught them to kill buffalo and to make shields. 372 [773]

The Mandans practiced penances and sacrifices, especially self-torture which they carried to great extremes. Their medicine or personal guardian spirit was acquired by three or four days fasting and self injury, after which the medicine, often an animal, appeared to the candidate in a dream. This ceremony was also taught to them by Ochkih-Hedde. No expedition or enterprise was undertaken without a liberal sacrifice to some supernatural being, either by offering valuable goods or by physical self-torture. Finger joints were frequently cut off as an offering to the gods and fasting was common as a propitiation. Often a day or more would be spent near one of the medicine scaffolds in groaning, praying and weeping. Lewis and Clarke relate that finger joints were also cut off as a sign of mourning, which Maximilian denies, and Catlin tells how such a sacrifice was a part of the catalogue of tortures in the great Okeepa dance. The custom of consecrating personal property is found here as among the neighboring tribes. A man could make his gun, his horse, his pipe and other similar articles medicine by going through certain ceremonies, most important of which was the giving of a feast. The feast[1] was announced by a public crier, a certain number of guests were invited, the invitations being originally little rods and later playing cards. The drum and rattle made the round of the company. Then the article was consecrated; if a gun, it was rubbed with meal several times, with soup, and lastly with fat, after which the feast took place. 782 304 776 785 [765] 782 574

There were many shrines and sacred articles among the Mandans, but judging from the accounts, the sacred bundles or 778

[1] Maximilian: p. 463.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 act in conformity with their parts, endeavouring to imitate the natural attitudes of the animals they represent. 5. Two men, representing white-headed eagles, are painted of a dark brown colour; the head, neck, fore arm and hands, and the lower part of the legs, are white; they carry a stick in their hands, and their business is to pursue the antelopes. 6. Are two beavers; they wear the robe with the hairy side outwards, have a piece of parchment, resembling a beaver's tail, fastened to their girdle, and are painted brown. 7. Are two birds of prey; their shoulders are blue, the breast yellowish and spotted; they have feathers on their heads, and the feet of birds of prey in their hands. 8. Are two or four bears (mato), wrapped in bears' skins, with the head and claws, which cover their head and their whole body; they generally walk in a stooping attitude about the dancers, and growl like those animals. 9. Two men represent the dried meat, which is cut in small strips. They wear a cap of white hare skin; their body is painted with zig-zag stripes; round the waist they have a girdle of green boughs, and they dance with the others. 10. Forty or fifty Indians of different ages perform the part of antelopes; they are painted red on the back, the rest of the body and limbs are white, the nose and mouth black; they carry small sticks, and run about very swiftly. 11. Two men personate the night; they are naked, painted quite black, with white stars; on their backs they have the setting moon, and on their breast the rising sun; they are not allowed to sit, during the whole day, till the sun has set: they then sit down and must not rise till the next morning. 12. Are one or two wolves; they are painted white, wear a wolf's skin, and pursue the antelopes, which fly before them: if they catch one, the bears come and take it from them and devour it. All these animals imitate the originals to the best of their power. 13. Two prairie wolves; the tops of their heads are painted white, their faces yellowish-brown; they wear dry herbs in their hair, and carry in their hands a stick, painted with reddish-brown stripes, and run in the prairie before the other animals when they leave the village. Almost all these animals are said to have different songs, with words, [424] which the uninitiated do not understand; they sometimes practise these songs for a whole summer, and are frequently obliged to pay a high price for instruction. Originally there were only ten masks at this festival. The white-headed eagles, the beavers, and the prairie wolves, are a modern addition, and no part of the true ancient observances of it. When all these animals come together they fight with each other, and perform all sorts of antics. Every animal acts according to its natural character; the beavers strike with their tails, making a loud clapping noise; the buffaloes roll and wallow in the sand; the bears strike with their paws, &c.

796 785 304 During all these masquerade dances, the penitents have remained three entire days in the medicine lodge, where they have fasted and thirsted, sitting perfectly still and quiet. On the afternoon of that day, the persons of the ten masks also meet in the medicine lodge, and all together then leave this place. The penitents lie down on their bellies, in a circle round the ark, at some distance from it; the masks dance among them and over them, to the sound of

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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the schischikué. Some already begin to suffer the tortures: they give a gun, a blanket, or some other article of value, to an eminent person, to inflict the tortures on them. During this time the Kani-Sachka has been moaning, and leaning on the ark. The tortures of the penitents now begin. In many of them strips of skin and flesh are cut from the breast, or the arms, and on the back, but in such a manner that they remain fast at both ends. A strap is then passed under them, and the sufferers are thrown over the declivity of the bank, where they remain suspended in the air; others have a strap drawn through the wound, to which the head of a buffalo is fastened, and they are obliged to drag this heavy weight about; others have themselves suspended by the muscles of the back; others have joints of their fingers cut off; others, again, are lifted up by the flesh, which is cut across the stomach, or have some heavy body suspended to the muscles, which have been cut and loosened, and other similar tortures. Those who have been tortured on this day return directly to their huts; but those who can bear to fast longer do not submit themselves to the torture till the fourth day.

Fourth day of the Okippe.—All those who have endured fasting for four days are now assembled in the medicine lodge. Such as feel themselves faint beg that the dancing may begin early. Accordingly, the masquerade, and the dances performed yesterday, begin at daybreak. They dance on this day sixteen times—eight times in the morning, and eight times in the afternoon. The candidates for the torture are cut about two o'clock in the afternoon; and when they have suffered to the utmost of their power, a large circle is formed; two men, who have no part in the festival, take one of the penitents between them, hold him by the hand, and the whole circle moves round with the greatest rapidity. The Kani-Sachka is likewise treated in this manner. The famished and tortured penitents, for the most part, soon fall down, and many faint away, but no regard is paid to this; they are dragged and pulled about as long as they can possibly bear it; they are then let loose, and remain stretched on the ground as if dead. The eight buffalo bulls now come forward to execute their last dance. Meantime, Numank-Machana (the first man) stands on one side of the place, and invites the inhabitants to assemble. The men come on foot and on horseback, with their bows and arrows: the arrows are adorned with green leaves at the wooden points; and, when the eight buffaloes have approached, dancing, the first man, and been repulsed by him, they are shot at from all sides, fall, roll on the ground, and then lie still as if dead. The first man then invites the inhabitants to take the flesh of the buffaloes. The latter, whose robes have already fallen off, rise, and retire into the medicine lodge. Then the dancers divide into two parties, extend their arms and legs, strike themselves on the stomach, exclaiming that they feel themselves strong; some, that they will kill enemies; others, that they will slay many buffaloes, &c. They then retire, take food, and rest themselves, and the festival is concluded.

The wounds that have been inflicted on this occasion are now healed, but they remain visible

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 785 304 during the whole life, like thick swollen weals. This is to be observed in a much higher degree among the Manitaries than among the Mandans; the former seem to submit to much more severe tortures. The buffalo skulls, which these Indians have dragged about with much pain, are preserved in their huts, where they are everywhere to be seen, to be handed down from the father to the children. Many such heads are looked upon by them as medicine; they are kept in the huts, and sometimes the Indians stroke them over the nose, and set food before them. In general, the buffalo is a medicine animal, and more or less sacred.

796 837 Another very remarkable medicine festival is that for attracting the herds of buffaloes, which is usually celebrated in the autumn, or winter. I shall describe this festival, as an eye-witnes s among the Manitaries, where it is observed precisely in the same manner as among the Mandans. At this festival they leave their wives to the older men, and individual Indians do the same on certain occasions, when they desire to ask good wishes for the attainment of some object they have in view. A man, in such a case, goes, with his pipe, and accompanied by his wife, who wears no clothes except her buffalo robe, to another hut. The wife carries a dish of boiled maize, which she sets down before a third person, and the man does the same with his pipe. The woman then passes the palm of her hand down the whole arm of the person favoured in this manner, takes him by the hand, and he must follow her to a retired spot, generally to the forest surrounding the huts in the winter time; after which she returns and repeats the same process, often with eight or ten men. As soon as the man so favoured has resumed his seat, the person who asks his good wishes presents his pipe to him that he may smoke; whereupon he expresses his best wishes for the success of the undertaking or project in hand. By way of returning thanks, his arm is again stroked.

796 773 A third medicine feast is that described by Say, by the name of the corn dance of the Manitaries. He is pretty correct in his account of it, and it is used as well among the Mandans as the Manitaries. It is a consecration of the grain to be sown, and is called the corn dance feast of the women. The old woman who never dies sends, in the spring, the water-fowl, swans, geese, and ducks, as symbols of the kinds of grain cultivated by the Indians. The wild goose signifies maize; the swan, the gourd; and the duck, beans. It is the old woman that causes these plants to grow, and, therefore, she sends these birds as her signs and representatives. It is very seldom that eleven wild geese are found together in the spring; but, if it happens, this is a sign that the crop of maize will be remarkably fine. The Indians keep a large quantity of dried flesh in readiness for the time in the spring when the birds arrive, that they may immediately celebrate the corn feast of the women. They hang the meat, before the village, on long stages made of poles, three or four rows, one above another, and this, with various articles of value, is considered as an offering to the old woman. The elderly females, as representatives of the old woman who never dies, assemble on a certain day about the stages, carrying a stick in their hands, to one

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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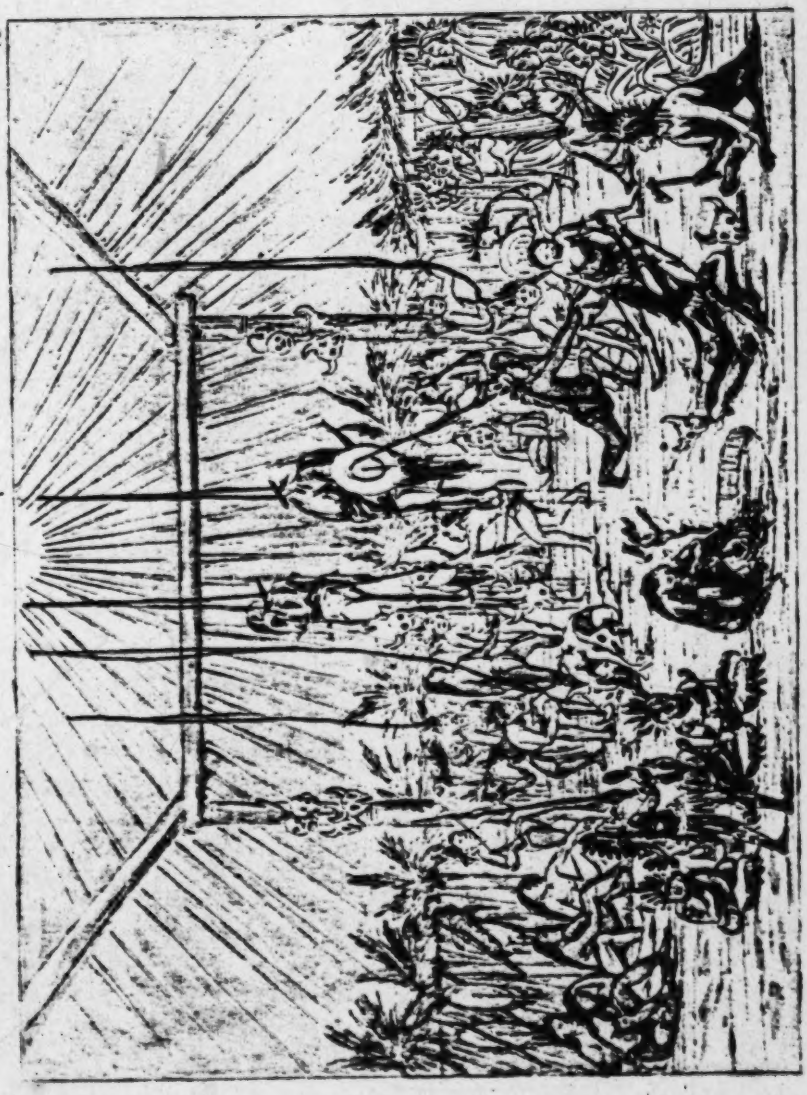

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[facing p. 169]

526 covered with dust and sweat. The race is at least six miles long,
481 and it is surprising to see what a great distance some of them gain
702 upon others. This violent exercise is performed on the hottest summer days, and it is a wonder that some of them do not pay dearly for their temerity.

541 During my absence yesterday [July 21 - Analyst] my people, who remained here, witnessed a horse race. The Mandanes assembled in great numbers on horseback, and rode about three miles below the village, where all mustered. They set out in a body, pell-mell, whipping and kicking their horses, directing their course along the foot of the hills, and made a long circuit at full speed around the village. Some of their horses appeared very swift and spirited, but others were miserable animals. On their arrival, they performed their warlike manoeuvres on horseback, feigning their different attacks upon the enemy, giving their strokes of the battleax and thrusts of the spear, and defending themselves in turn by parrying blows and covering themselves with their shields.

526 ...I observed one particular game among the Mandanes, which the young men were continually playing. Two persons are each provided with a stick six feet long, on which are cut a certain number of notches, an inch long, in the intervals of which are fixed the same number of small bunches of feathers of divers colors, with three pieces of wood, 16 inches square, one near each end, and one in the middle; these are perforated in the center, and through them is passed the rod, painted of divers colors. Each notch has a particular mark, the nature of which they themselves only understand—indeed, the same may be said of the whole game. The ground on which they play is a smooth level space, about 40 paces long and 5 broad. The players stand side by side, start from one end of the ground, and trot on till they are halfway through, when one of them throws a ball gently ahead, in such a manner that it will not roll further than the space allowed for the game; at the same time both players push their rod forward to overtake and keep pace with the ball, but not to check its course. They then examine the particular notch or bunch of feathers at which the ball stops, and count accordingly.

304 The greater part of the men—Big Bellies, Mandanes, and
787 Saulteurs (Souliers)—have lost a joint of several fingers, [364]
785 particularly of the left hand, and it is not uncommon to see only the

[p. 384(F)]

304 two forefingers and thumbs entire. Amputation is performed for
787 the loss of a near relation, and likewise during the days of penance,
785 on which they display their fortitude and courage in the following manner: When a young man has attained the age of 20 years, he generally, in the depth of winter, performs his penance by setting out entirely naked and alone, with only two or three pairs of shoes, the iron barb of an arrow, and no means of making a fire. In this condition he repairs to a certain high hill, a day's journey from the village. On this hill he must remain as many days as his strength will permit, during which time he neither eats, drinks, nor sleeps, but passes the time in dancing, bawling, howling, and lamenting. Here also he amputates a finger with the iron barb brought for that purpose. Some have been known to be absent seven days in the severest weather. This may appear incredible, but I have it from several eye-witnesses of such pilgrimages, and do not doubt it. After several days—more or fewer—the penitent makes his appearance, coming at full speed, and as there is continually somebody upon the huts, information is instantly given of his return. He is met by a particular friend, who has kept account of the number of days he has been absent, and for every day has been prepared a bull's head, to which has been fastened 1 1/2 fathams of cord. The other end of this is affixed to an incision in the penitent's back or shoulders, by pinching up a fold of skin and flesh, through which is thrust the barb of an arrow; as many days as he has been absent, so many must be the incisions, and the number of heads must also tally with them. He must then walk around the village, howling and bawling, with all those bulls' heads trailing on the ground; in some places, where the ground is rough, the poor fellow must pull and tug hard to get through, as the horns continually catch in uneven spots, and often fall into some of the empty corn pits, where they would hold until the skin gave way or the cord broke, were they not [365] attended to by some children who make it their business to disengage the horns. So many days as he has been absent, so many times must he walk round the village, never ceasing to utter lamentations. Some have been known to fall senseless during this painful ordeal; but even then they only allow themselves a few moments to recover, and proceed again. Having finished the necessary rounds, he is disengaged from the bulls' heads by his friend, with a long harangue, applauding his courage and fortitude; he may then retire to his hut and take care of his wounds, as he is in a shocking condition. Some never recover, and others languish for months before they get well.

[p. 384(G)]

304 They have another custom of putting their courage and con-
785 tempt of pain to task by tormenting their flesh in a most atrocious manner. This is done by pinching up a fold of the skin and flesh an inch broad, under which they pass the iron barb of an arrow; they raise stripes in this manner from the back of the hand to the shoulder, and thence to the breast, there joining three or four separate circles of incisions made in the same manner on the lower part of the breast. Some content themselves by raising stripes of different lengths upon their arms and thighs, and forming crescentic cuts on the breast in a very regular manner, one within the other; some with the horns upward, others downward, according to fancy.

304 Most of the women have their faces tattooed in a very savage manner, lines a quarter inch broad passing from the nose to the ear, and down each side of the mouth and chin to the throat. This disfigures them very much; otherwise, some would have tolerably
304 good faces. Some tattooing is done to beautify the face, but at
684 other times it is the disfiguring mark of a fit of jealousy in the husband. [366] When a Mandane's handsome young wife is too lavish of her favors without his consent, he tattoes her face as a punish-
[576] ment. Although it cannot be said that these people are much given
837 to jealousy, still it is absolutely necessary for a woman to have the consent of her husband to cohabit with a stranger, whether he is white or one of their own people. But I observed during my stay that this consent is not so very necessary in regard to the inhabitants of the same village, as every morning early there were examples to be seen in their plantations of their loose way of living. Many
[164] of our servants who frequent these parts to trade in the winter, and who have too intimate connections with the fair sex, are attacked by a painful and loathsome disorder, which commonly appears in the groin, where it forms abscesses and, if neglected, will soon prove dangerous.

574 [401] At three o'clock we were all safely lodged in Black Cat's
609 hut, whom we found as usual very civil and complaisant, although he plainly saw we had nothing to pay him for his trouble. This man is one of the best Indians we met on the Missourie. We found
[432] what articles we had left in his charge all in good order, and carefully hung up to keep them from the mice. He even gave me his best horse upon credit; payment to be sent this fall by any opportunity. This was considered an extraordinary circumstance for a Mandane. He gave us several instances of his good nature and generosity while we were packing; every assistance in his power he gave us, without

[p. 384 (H)]

834 [326] Some few are modest enough to conceal with one hand
515 what should not be exposed to public view, but even this is done so carelessly as seldom to answer the purpose—a flea or a louse, of which they have a good store, will make them raise the hand to the parts attacked, leaving their nudities exposed. The river being very shallow for some distance from shore, they make no scruple of standing only knee deep, and thus wash themselves before going further to swim; and in coming out they pass close by you as unconcernedly as if they had on a petticoat or shift. They sometimes bundle up their leather garment under the arm or in one hand and walk deliberately into the village to their own huts, where they sit by the fire for some time with their families, they go to bed entirely naked.

834 .....This evening we were plagued for some time by young women, who came in and wanted to lie with us; but as we did not care to accept their kind offers, they retired very much displeased, and muttering something we could not understand.

●786 About midnight we were awakened by some extraordinary
832 noise in the village. On going to the outer porch door I saw about 25 persons of both sexes, entirely naked, going about the village singing and dancing. At times they withdrew in couples, but soon rejoined their companions in [327] the dance and song. During this short separation from the rest they appeared to be very closely engaged, and notwithstanding the night was dark I could perceive them occupied in enjoying each other with as little ceremony as if it had been only the common calls of nature. This affair continued about two hours, during which they made the tour of the village several times. What was the meaning of this ceremony I could not learn; but certainly there could be no performance more lascivious than the one I witnessed. The young men kept watch
625] during the night, sitting on the tops of the huts or walking round the village, singing amorous songs to their particular favorites. This is done, I am told, to prevent a surprise in case an enemy may be at
832 hand. Love is not made by entering the tent at night and lying
834 down near the woman, as it is among other nations I have seen. The custom here is to barricade the doors of the huts during the night and not admit the young men. The latter therefore employ the night in addressing love songs to their mistresses, who either come out of the huts immediately, or wait until daybreak, when they

[p. 384 (B)]

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

800 to sweat the part afflicted, by holding the face over a hot stone, and receiving the fumes from snow thrown on it. A large red fox was killed today." (id 222.)

"Sunday, 17th. The weather continued as yesterday, though in the afternoon it became fair. Shotawoorora and his son came to see us, with about thirty pounds of dried buffalo meat and some tallow." (id 223.)

145 763 **Dying Mandan—Ceremonial.** "Wednesday, 20th. The day was delightfully fine, the mercury being at sunrise two degrees, and in the course of the day twenty-two degrees above zero, the wind southerly. Kagohomi came down to see us early; his village is afflicted by the death of one of their eldest men, who, from his account to us, must have seen one hundred and twenty winters. Just as he was dying, he requested his grandchildren to dress him in his best robe when he was dead, and then carry him to a hill and seat him on a stone, with his face down the river towards their old village, that he might go straight to his brother who had passed before him to the ancient village under ground. We have seen a number of Mandans who have lived to a great age; chiefly however the men, whose robust exercises fortify the body, while the laborious occupations of the women shorten their existence."

778 787 **Medicine Stone.** "Thursday, 21st. We had a continuance of the same pleasant weather. Oheenaw Shahaka came down to see us, and mentioned that several of their countrymen had gone to consult their medicine stone as to the prospects of the following year. The medicine stone is the great oracle of the Mandans, and whatever it announces is believed with implicit confidence. Every spring and on some occasions during the summer, a deputation visits the sacred spot, where there is a thick porous stone twenty feet in circumference, with a smooth surface. Having reached the place, the ceremony of smoking to it is performed by the deputies, who alternately take a whiff themselves, and then present the pipe to the stone; after this they retire to an adjoining wood for the night, during which, it may be safely presumed that all the embassy do not sleep; and in the morning they read the destines of the nation in the white marks on the stone, which those who make them are at no loss to decipher. The Minnetarees have a stone of a similar kind, which has the same qualities,

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and the same influence over the nation. Captain Lewis returned from his excursion in pursuit of the Indians. On reaching the place where the Sioux had stolen our horses, they found only one sled, and several pair of moccasins which were recognized to be those of the Sioux. The party then followed the Indian tracks till they reached two old lodges, where they slept, and the next morning pursued the course of the river, till they reached some Indian camps, where Captain Clarke passed the night some time ago, and which the Sioux had now set on fire, leaving a little corn near the place, in order to induce a belief that they were Ricaras. From this point the Sioux tracks left the river abruptly and crossed into the plains, but perceiving that there was no chance of overtaking them, Captain Lewis went down to the pen where Captain Clarke had left some meat, which he found untouched by the Indians, and then hunted in the low grounds on the river, till he returned with about three hundred pounds of meat, some drawn in a sled by fifteen of the men, and the rest on horseback; having killed thirty-six deer, fourteen elk and one wolf." (id 223.)

"Friday, 22nd. The morning was cloudy and a little snow fell, but in the afternoon the weather became fair. We were visited by a number of Indians, among them was Shotawhorora, a chief of much consideration among the Mandans although by birth a Ricara." (id 225.)

"Monday 25th. We were occupied in drawing up the boats on the bank. The smallest one we carried there with no difficulty, but the barge was too heavy for our elk-skin ropes, which constantly broke. We were visited by Orupsebara or Black Moccasin, and several other chiefs, who brought us presents of meat on the backs of their squaws, and one of the Minnetarees requested and obtained permission for himself and his two wives to remain all night in the fort. The day was exceedingly pleasant. (id 226.)

"Tuesday, 26th. The weather is again fine. By great labor during the day, we got all the boats on the bank by sunset, an operation which attracted a great number of Indians to the fort." (id 226.)

Report from Aricaras. "Thursday, 28th. **Mr. Gravelines with two Frenchmen and two Indians, arrived from the Ricara nation,

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

up by death or divorce; some fathers were in disrepute, having 861
conducted an unsuccessful war expedition. An old man of a 561
boy's lodge, one who had belonged to many societies, learning 602
in the village that there was talk of buying the youngest society, would encourage his grandson to join and would help him accumulate the goods used for the purchase.

Joining an age-grade society for the first time as a boy, he encountered a "father-son" relationship which had heretofore applied only to his own household. He was selected by a member who was of his father's clan, and the initiate addressed him as "father" during all the proceedings preliminary to the formal purchase; he learned that the other two or three boys his ceremonial "father" had selected were likewise based on a "father-son" relationship. This "father-son" relationship, extending outside his own household, formally instituted when making his first purchase into a society, became the basis of his behavior in buying and selling societies and ceremonies for the rest of his life.

FASTING AND FIRST WAR EXPEDITIONS

Fasting during the Okipa ceremony marked the introduction 785
of the boy to status in the tribe as a whole and was first insti- 881
tuted at the age of eight or nine, when the people of all the vil- 869
lages were assembled for this annual event. The first fasting was of short duration. The fasting periods increased until a boy reached the age of seventeen or eighteen, when he was expected to fast for the entire duration of the Okipa ceremony and to drag buffalo skulls or be suspended by means of thongs inserted under the skin. Visions were not induced each time one fasted; [787] neither were they expected.

It was believed that one's social personality was determined [776]
by sacred beings before the birth of the individual and that fasting was a means of renewing these former instructions that were temporarily forgotten while being born and cared for in the village. It was also believed that in the universe there were many sacred people who would adopt as a "son" those who fasted frequently and made offerings to them or who gave feasts to the sacred bundles of the village. A young man was taught to consult not only his own father but all men of his father's clan on matters of a sacred character. If one's sister's son seemed neg-

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his fundamental training in warfare. In company with other 785
young men, and frequently afoot, whereas the main party was on 701
horseback, they were required to travel ahead, watching from 726
high buttes, and by means of signals to report the presence of an enemy or horses. It was necessary for the scouts to keep in touch with their leader, who, in turn, was intrusted with the duty of relaying information to the main body. New scouts were taught the proper posture when running to prevent premature exhaustion, and there were contests between scouts to determine their relative durability in reaching distant lookout points. The leader of the scouts reported the winners to the leader, who praised them publicly when the party returned to the village. The old women then sang their victory songs while the old men encouraged more fasting.

A sister was taught that fasting while her brother was away 785
on war expeditions would bring him success in "striking the 593
enemy" or capturing horses. She would take quill work with 765
her at daybreak and leave the village for a low hill or mound or recline on a platform in the garden where she would cry for his success, addressing her prayers to all the holy things. If the expedition was long overdue, she would go to the scaffolds of deceased relatives or skull circles to weep, returning to her lodge each evening. Successful war parties returned to the village at daybreak, and she would leave her lodge immediately to meet her brother. If he had captured horses, the best animal was presented to her. This was equivalent to presenting the horse to all the females of his mother's lodge. These females, on the other hand, were the principal mourners if he were killed, and the married sisters were expected to undergo extreme self-inflicted torture by gashing their bodies, cutting off the ends of fingers, cutting their hair, and shortening their dresses.

Their brothers fasted four, seven, or nine days without food 785
or water, remaining outside the village in some secluded spot
for the full period of the fast. From time to time, the father 787
would send a clan brother to observe whether his son was endangering his life, and he could stop the fast if in his opinion the young man's self-torture was excessive. A young man returning from fasting which had not induced a vision was given an object from his father's bundle to carry on war expeditions and

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785 was permitted to sleep near the sacred bundle until he recovered, believing that the bundle would induce visions. In the
787 case of supervised fasting directed by the mother's brother, he defined the rules and terminated the fasting. He also prepared the first food taken by those completing their fast and watched that none ate or drank excessively for a few days.

701 A young man distinguishing himself as a scout and desiring to advance to warrior status, when learning another war leader was organizing an expedition, would go to his lodge, hoping that he would be invited to join the party. As a warrior there was greater likelihood of capturing horses or striking an enemy. The leader was responsible for the welfare of all those serving under him and selected the members of his party. When the party was large, the leader selected those with the best war records to serve as co-leaders.

Mandan warfare was highly formalized, and there was a strict
701 division of labor. At the top, the leader or Old Wolf directed the
554 party, selecting the scouts and their leader, the Young Wolves or warriors, and the Camp Tenders, and he was responsible to the village but more particularly to the families represented in the party for their welfare. He determined the territory where the enemy would be sought, places to camp, the time to make or break camp, and whether an attack would be made when the enemy was found. A great leader was a successful teacher who instructed his party in methods of "striking the enemy" without loss to his own party. A leader who lost a man was said to have "kicked the stone," which reduced his status until he had "refasted" and led a successful war party.

727 Returning from an unsuccessful war expedition, the leader
554 would cry as he approached the village, while the other members
785 would walk quietly to their lodges. For many leaders, this would be the last expedition as leader. He would be condemned by the
614 brothers, sisters, and parents of the one killed and would be op-
431 posed by them every time he sought advancement in status. He could and frequently did overcome their opposition by going into mourning for the one he was held responsible for. He would gash his legs and cut off a finger which was offered to the Sun. He would set up a tent or build a simple shelter at a distance from the village where he would remain. In the meanwhile, his

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888 561 562 hunting. Women holding rights in the various Holy Women bundles also met whenever a medicine feast was given. Their rights were individually acquired by assisting their husbands or brothers in the bundle purchase. Some of their number were members of the Goose or the White Buffalo Cow societies.

888 562 The older people performed an important role in the ceremonies so long as they were not too feeble to get around. Women who had assisted others at childbirth became doctors after the menopause and could substitute for a man in a great many of the societies. In many ceremonies they were the medium through which the traditions and bundles were transmitted to a legitimate male heir.

888 785 755 Fasting was generally completed by the time one reached fifty years of age. In case of repeated bad luck or failure to attain a definite goal, fasting for short periods was practiced during a ceremony. When an epidemic of sore eyes broke out at Fishhook Village, one old woman fasted to seek relief from her affliction. Since her eye trouble was cleared up shortly afterward, quite a number of middle-aged and old people fasted to cure the ailment. Calf Woman said that more than half of them got relief.

888 431 787 People who were past middle age and who had been relatively successful all their lives would frequently have bad dreams in which they were being killed and cut up by the enemy or were drowning. It was believed that one could forestall this misfortune by giving away all his property. He would call in those who had been successful and were owners of important tribal bundles to give away his property, consisting of robes and bedding, household utensils, dogs, and horses, until the family was utterly destitute. One doing this would walk through the village repeating the dream. When the bad dream failed to materialize within the designated time, such people were said to be holy and as such were called the "protectors of the village." In appreciation of their sacrifices, each household group was expected to contribute something toward their comfort.

888 421 124 The old people had privately owned game pits and were entitled to the animals found in them. According to tradition, before horses were acquired, pits were widely used and owned by households. Ruins of game pits are still to be seen in consider-

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it was a member during the life of the individual. It was the earth spirit and was believed to hover around the lodge so long as any visible evidence of the lodge ruins remained. People would see dim lights around the abandoned villages and attributed these lights to the third spirit. The fourth spirit was black and remained outside the lodge and traveled away from the village at times but would return frequently. It was represented by a shadow and was the spirit that frightened people. It was this spirit that Calf Woman believed frightened her the evening before government rations were issued so that she was unable to walk out for her share. It was also the spirit that came to a person in his dreams. When moccasins were burned at the doorway of the lodge where a person had died, it no longer frightened people.

The Mandan concept of the hereafter was based largely on vision experiences. They have a number of accounts of persons who "died" and then returned. All informants were in agreement that the first two spirits returned downstream. Some of the very old people who were remembered by my informants claimed that they would go to the Heart River, where their old people had lived and died. At that place there was a spirit village for each of the villages of the Heart River area, and a spirit-house stood over the body of each person either buried or placed on the prairie there. Some claimed that they would return to Baby Hill and be reincarnated into the tribe. At the present time the older Mandan think that they will return to Like-a-Fishhook Village, where they will be reunited with their relatives who lived and died there. They believe that the spirit people live in earth-lodge villages, plant gardens, hunt, and perform ceremonies much the same as during their lifetime. One's status in the hereafter is essentially the same as when one died.

Children who died before being named were wrapped in robes and placed in trees or interred apart from the rest of the dead. There were no rites, since they were not considered a part of the village until they had been named. They were believed to return immediately to the Home of the Babies to be reborn later.

When a person believed he was about to die, the relatives

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796 778 at the time of the first thunder. The Eagle-trapping bundle rites were still being performed, and a few old people doctored those who were ill or had suffered an accident.

796 778 124 The secret character of Mandan ceremonialism contributed to the difficulty of the study. Each Mandan ceremony was secret, and rules providing for the performance of and acquaintance with the secret rites differed somewhat between bundles. In general, it was not possible to complete the study of a ceremony with a single informant, owing to overlapping rights in the bundle, one informant being unwilling to divulge information belonging to another.

This study doubtlessly does not cover all ceremonies performed by the Mandan after 1837. Informants claim that all tribal rites were preserved through the smallpox epidemics of 1782 and 1837. It was possible to obtain intelligible accounts of all rites mentioned by early travelers to the Mandan villages. There was, however, a reduction in the number of duplicate bundles for the same ceremony. When reductions occurred, the original bundle was preserved. The individual rites introduced [784] from time to time by the medium of vision instruction were usually of short duration in the tribe and died out before becoming inaugurated into the tribal ceremonial structure. A few instances of vision bundle experiences are cited in chapter v, "Personal Bundles and Vision Experiences." Had time permitted, several hundred vision experiences could have been recorded, since they were related on many social and ceremonial occasions. Informants never volunteered to relate the sacred myths or to supply data on a ceremony, nor did they volunteer information to the effect that they owned certain rights. They would, however, divulge the names of others having knowledge of tribal bundles. The writer found that better co-operation was received from an informant when a simple feast was made to the bundle. It removed the fear informants felt when relating the rites.

The writer was impressed with the extreme conservatism of the Mandan. Informants frequently requested a retranslation of a significant portion of a rite to make certain that it had been properly recorded. They recognized variations in myths be-

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these groups set up a cedar whenever a new village was built. 621
Each had its own set of officers, but the turtles originally be- 619
longed to the Nuptadi band into which the original Lone Man 778
was once born, and it was necessary to borrow them whenever the Okipa was being performed in one of the other villages. They were the common property of the WaxikEna clan. Crows Heart explained that quarrels sometimes occurred in a village, with part of the population breaking away, but that in such instances no cedar would be erected or ceremonial lodge built until it was decided to make the village a permanent one. Scattercorn thought that the groups were stable, although a few families were always leaving one group and joining another. She thought that fission of villages was a difficult thing, as new Okipa officers would be needed.

The Mandan have a number of creation stories which were a 773
part of the sacred myths of the bundles and their associated ceremonies. The sacred myth of the Corn ceremony relates the exploits of the Corn People, who formerly lived below the surface of the earth beside a lake before coming to the surface under the chieftainship of Good Furred Robe. The Buffalo People, who were the performers of the Okipa, were created on the earth near Heart River by Lone Man after the lands were made. In mythological times there was an earth-lodge village of hawks to the east, bears to the north, eagles and other large birds including the Sun and Moon in the sky, to mention but a few of them. The Heart River region became a meeting place of peoples of all these groups. The Corn People migrated northward and united with the Buffalo People. Other peoples were added from time to time through intermarriage and were identified according to their respective bundles. It was believed that [787] the visions one had were dependent on the mythological group to which he belonged.

The Animal rites of the Okipa ceremony are reported to have 796
originally belonged to the Buffalo People, who were created in 773
the vicinity of Heart River by Lone Man and are a dramatization of the freeing of the animals from Dog Den Butte. As new groups united with them, modifications were instituted in the cere-

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region shortly before the first smallpox epidemic. Their emphasis was on corn rites instituted by Good Furred Robe while living far to the south.

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796 performed so that the day and night were properly divided. Lone Man directed the re-enactment of the flood, ceremonies at the cedar, and the use of the turtles as drums. The Hoita could not leave the lodge during the ceremony but sat in his place without speaking while the rites were being performed. This was symbolic of the time he sat in Dog Den Butte holding all the animals prisoners.

Eight singers were required; six used the rolled hides or the turtles, three beating toward the "upstream" and three toward [424] the "downstream" direction. The other two singers carried rattles. Singers bought the right to officiate, and a checkup of [614] clan affiliation of singers reveals an absence of clan restrictions. Likewise anyone having Lone Man or Hoita rights could be a singer providing he was not officiating in another capacity. There were usually many with singer rights so that turns were taken.

One man was selected by the other officers to impersonate the blue heron when none owned that right. He sat at the head of the lodge throughout the ceremony without speaking. The ceremonial paraphernalia which he wore were returned to the officers at the close of the ceremony.

The above-mentioned officers formed the nucleus of the ceremony and constituted, together with those who had previously given the ceremony, the Okipa Religious Society. To these men, meeting in council, was intrusted the duty of selecting qualified young men to give the ceremony. It is doubtful that any man could rise to the position of head or second chief who had not at one time given the ceremony. My informants were in agreement that the two highest chiefs would belong to the Okipa Religious Society by virtue, not of being officers of the Okipa, but because they had given the ceremony.

796 The desire to give the ceremony was the result of a vision experience wherein one had seen buffaloes singing the Okipa •787 songs. The vision recipient would then have a feast prepared in his lodge, to which he invited the Okipa Religious Society. After the feast he would relate his vision experience and ask for an interpretation. Not all men dreaming of the buffalo bulls singing Okipa songs were permitted to give the ceremony. A young man having such a dream would tell his parents of his supernatural

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796 experience. They would know the qualities one must possess to go through the ordeals of the ceremony. They would appraise •787 their son's ability to meet these requirements. If he were too young or his wives were not industrious or loyal, they would advise him instead to give a feast to the men having Okipa rights, and they would, in turn, pray for his success, giving him some article to wear when out to war. It was necessary to eliminate some candidates. Even then, there were two or three performances in each village every summer as a rule. Sons of former Okipa makers received preference, as young men were expected to maintain their fathers' record.

When the young man having a suitable vision had invited the Okipa Religious Society in and had described his vision, the members would discuss the matter among themselves. They would either compliment him on his good fortune in receiving supernatural instruction to perform the ceremony if they considered him worthy or, if in doubt, they would tell him that it appeared that he was to give the ceremony some time and advise him to fast much, offer feasts to the older men, be helpful to the old people, and go out to war. He was then on probation. If successful, some member of the society would inform him that his former dream was genuine and that he should begin preparations to give the ceremony the following year when the willows were in full leaf. Since there was little inclination to dis-796 pense with the village summer buffalo hunt, it was necessary to set a time for Okipa performances so as to avoid confliction. When one Okipa performance was planned, it was usually held after the village had returned from the hunt. If there were to be two performances, the first was given before the hunt and the second one upon their return.

As soon as a candidate received permission to give the ceremony, the chiefs' criers announced the news through the village that "a certain man will have the Bulls dance when the next water willows are in full leaf."

According to tradition, the Okipa must be given every summer to insure an abundance of buffaloes and general good fortune. Occasions arose when none had pledged the ceremony for a particular summer. Anyone could then volunteer to give the ceremony and not be required to accumulate goods as payments

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796 *The first evening.*—The ceremony began in the evening. The Okipa Maker carried in all the goods he had succeeded in collecting during the year and heaped them at the back of the lodge. Then he carried in a bag of specially prepared cornballs known as "four in one" because they contained ground corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers. He also brought in a sack of pemmican. A singer brought in a dry buffalo hide rolled up like a cylinder to serve as a drum.[14]

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796 For weeks previous to the performance of the Okipa, the clan leaders, old men, and the tribal medicine bundle-owners talked 787 to the young men, telling them of the importance of seeking visions during the Okipa. Older clan brothers advised specific 785 young men to fast. Men who had been successful warriors, hunters, or doctors attributed much of their good luck to the powers that they had acquired while fasting or hanging from the roof of the Okipa lodge by means of leather thongs fastened through their skin. The result was that a larger number of young men came to the Okipa lodge to fast through the four days of the ceremony. After uniting with the Hidatsa, many young Mandans preferred to fast and go through the torture feature while on eagle-trapping or buffalo-hunting expeditions as the women of the Hidatsa and Arikara tribes did not observe the same rules. The fasters came in directly after the Okipa Maker had completed carrying in the robes, cornballs, and pemmican, and ranged in age from boys of eight years to middle-aged men of thirty-five years. Each was naked and painted according to his own inclination and carried a shield and bow in one hand and the father's medicine bundle in the other.[15] The quiver with the bow and arrows in it was hung back of the faster, and the medicine bundle was attached to a small twig stuck into the ground in front of him. Each carried in a buffalo skull for a pillow and sage brush for a bed. All the fasters arranged themselves around the wall, the Tamisik-WaxikEna division being on the west side, and the other half on the east

14. This dry hide was symbolic of the first Okipa in the Dog Dens when only a dry hide served as a drum through the whole ceremony performed by Hoita. For the west-side Mandans it represented one of the periods of tribal history before the turtle drums were acquired.

15. Many had no medicine bundles but brought one belonging to the father, thinking that they might have good luck thereafter.

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side. The lodge would be full of fasters the first night. Men who had had good dreams came in only to fast a short time.

The hide drum was to the west side of the southwest post 796

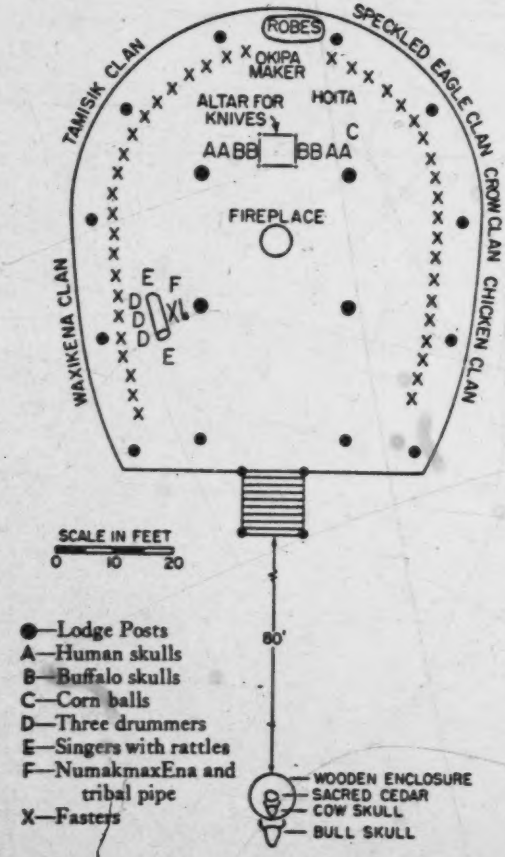

FIG. 14.—Seating arrangement for first night of Okipa

near where the fasters of the WaxikEna clan sat, and the three drummers, called the Blue Herons (Hox'ka), sat just back of it.[16] The three drummers were painted red with eagle feathers in their hair and had objects from their own medicine bundles worn around their ankles. Two men serving as rattlers sat at

16. They were called Blue Heron because during the mythological period these birds were called in to pick up the worms beaten from the hide.

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796 food or water and to participate in the torture features. After the
785 Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, there were usually as many Hidatsas as Mandans fasting, but the moiety arrangement of fasters was observed. In fact, Hidatsas gave the ceremony as often as Mandans at this time.

796 The turtle drums remained in the lodges of their custodians during the first day of the ceremony. These turtles were con-
421 sidered tribal property in the larger sense, and the WaxikEna clan were their custodians. WaxikEna clansmen paid to hold
614 custodianship which could be revoked by clan action. Individuals of the WaxikEna clan were willing to buy the right to keep them when the Okipa was not being performed, otherwise they remained in the Okipa lodge under the charge of the old man living there. Keepers of the turtles treated them like other medicine bundles, making feasts for them and praying to them on various occasions.

796 At sunset the Lone Man impersonator dressed up in his cere-
monial outfit and went for the turtles. While the Mandan were
787 living in two villages near Fort Clark, the turtles were kept at Nuptadi Village. He went to the owner of the big turtle, the leader of the turtles, and asked him for this turtle first. It was believed that he could predict the abundance of buffaloes through the year by the weight of the turtle drums for, it was said, that the turtles were heavy when the buffalo herds were going to be near the village. People were not allowed to cross his trail when he carried the turtles to the Okipa lodge. The three turtles replaced the rolled-up hide as drums that evening. Everyone awaited word from inside the Okipa lodge concerning the weight of the turtle drums. Soon after the turtles were in their places, the old man of the WaxikEna clan who was custodian of the Okipa lodge called through the village that "the turtles are very heavy and the buffaloes will be near the village so all the people can have enough to eat."

Each of the drummers continued through the ceremony, using the turtle drums. These drums were moved four times in the evening and reached the east side of the lodge at midnight, where they remained until sunrise.

796 *Second day.*—Before sunrise, young men not having an active part in the ceremony brought in green willow branches to be

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Chapter V

PERSONAL BUNDLES AND VISION EXPERIENCES

778 428 POSSESSION of tribal bundles inherited from the preceding generation was not the good fortune of all men and women. Some were unable to acquire hereditary tribal bundles because they were not eligible either through birth or through marriage. Since the oldest son usually inherited his parents' bundle or bundles through the mother's lineage, younger sons and the daughters could, at most, hold partial rights through assistance in the transfer ceremonies and later became the titular bundle-owner should the older brother die. There are numerous instances of bundle transfers to a daughter and son-in-law in cases where there were no sons, providing the daughter and family were occupying her parents' lodge and especially when tribal custom prescribed clan inheritance of the bundle.

787 864 785 All males and females, regardless of bundles then owned or expected to be inherited at a later date, sought personal powers of the supernatural during their younger years. In exceptional instances the quest of supernatural power was continued until forty-five or fifty years of age. Fasting began at eight or nine, the parents recommending fasting and pointing out distinguished men who had been successful because of visions acquired through that practice. Parents never scolded or urged a son to fast. It was felt that a child's reputation was predetermined by the supernatural and that he would learn his destiny through the desire to fast. Parents would repeat their own experiences with the supernatural, either vision-inspired or through purchase. Small boys would be advised to fast a day or two during the Okipa ceremony to begin with and extend the length of their fasting at subsequent performances of that ceremony. Only four occasions provided formalized fasting. These were: during the Okipa ceremony, while trapping eagles, while

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on war expeditions, and during the summer buffalo hunt. Of these four, only during one, the Okipa ceremony, was fasting done within the village. This is in sharp contrast with the Hidatsa custom of fasting during many bundle-transfer ceremonies. Crows Heart preferred to fast away from the village, thinking that women were less inclined to conform to tribal custom, which made dreams hard to get. 787 869 785

A man who advised and instructed his own sons in the benefits to be attained from fasting would be abusive with his sister's sons whom he did not believe were making enough effort to secure supernatural guardians. He would use the argument that it would enhance the prestige of the clan. He would talk of an occasion when other young men would be fasting in the Okipa and state that he would expect the "younger brother" to be there, and he would give him goods to pay the officers for that privilege. The older male members of the various clans were especially watchful to see that the sections reserved for the clans were well filled. The other clans laughed at those who had only a few fasting during the ceremony. 785 869 796 614

Not all who fasted either alone beyond the village limits or during the Okipa did so with the expectation of having a vision. Nor were visions received each time. Self-privation was believed to please the supernatural, and both individual and general well-being was the natural consequence. Although boys began to fast at the age of eight or nine because they were advised to, the serious seeking of guardian spirits or vision experiences was not made until the property-owning age was reached and shortly after marriage. 785 787

Three methods were employed in gaining supernatural experiences. Some would fast in various ways; others would inflict torture; and still others would make presents of valued property. Of the three, offering of valued goods was considered the hardest to do, since it required much work to amass the goods. 785 787 431

Self-torture administered during the Okipa ceremony was more severe than that practiced in any of the Hidatsa ceremonies; otherwise the customs of the two tribes differed little as to severity of the measures employed. The father's clansmen prepared the young man for the torture feature by securing and inserting the thongs. Suspension of the one tortured was not em- 785 171

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785 171 ployed by the Hidatsa in the NaxpikE ceremony, the Sun Dance equivalent of that tribe, as was the case with the Mandans in their Okipa ceremony, where the one tortured was suspended until he became unconscious. This practice was modified in later years to conform with the Hidatsa custom.

785 562 304 765 The custom of cutting off fingers in mourning was universally practiced by the women but rarely by the men. The sacrifice of fingers as a means of self-torture was practiced by men and in only a few instances by women who, upon the death of a relative through warfare, sought by self-torture to revenge the relative's slaying at a time when her brothers contemplated a retaliatory raid on the enemy's camp during which time she would be fasting. Those seeking visions used a buffalo skull to cut the fingers on when a vision was sought.

787 785 Four Bears' fasting record at the base of a large oak tree in which a raven had its young, to learn the name of the Arikara who had killed his brother, is still related as an example of the power which the supernatural had to clarify past deeds and bring success to the one adopted.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF FOUR BEARS[1]

787 785 539 A Mandan named Four Bears sent his younger brother out with the horses to a spot farther from the village where there was more grass. The Arikara came and killed the boy. The men found him with a spear stuck through his body, which was a challenge to Four Bears to come and fight if he thought he was lucky. Four Bears went out and brought the boy back to the village and saved the spear. He had already fasted in the Okipa and had many gods, but he began fasting again. He would fast and cry for seven days and nights without food and then come back to the village to rest. Then he would go out fasting again. He fasted near a high tree in which the ravens had a nest. He cut the flesh on his chest and inserted sticks with which he hung from the tree until he fell exhausted. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. One time he cut off a finger and offered it to the People Above and the raven that had its nest there.

The bird said, "It is an easy thing. You will find the man who killed your brother." The raven promised him that he could also bring rain. The bird added, "The one who killed your brother is named Bear Necklace, and he is the one you should kill."

In those days the dogs had names, so a clan father of Four Bears brought a dog to Four Bears to name, and he gave it the name Bear Necklace even before he killed the man. When Four Bears killed the Arikara without losing a man, and everything happened just as he had said the raven had predicted, he was highly respected.

1. This incident is mentioned in George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 238–41.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

When he returned to the village, people of his father's clan took away his gun, bow and arrows, and knife. He was required to pay in robes to get them back. The more one paid on these occasions, the higher he was regarded. 787 785 539

Scattercorn used the story of Big Coat to illustrate the severity of self-torture:

When Big Coat was eight years old, the Nuptadi Village was destroyed by the Sioux, and he was taken prisoner. When he was older, he escaped with his mother and came back to the Mandan. Thinking of the treatment of his people, he vowed that he would get a guardian spirit that was real strong so that he could kill many Sioux. He first went out to fast when he was seventeen years old. At first he only fasted four days at a time, and many animals offered him help. Then he began to fast seven days to get still greater gods. All the people began to recognize his ambitions and say that he would surely be lucky and become a great leader who would do much good some day. He began to cut off his fingers and offer them to the Sun, Moon, and big birds of the sky. [304] He cut off three fingers of each hand, leaving only the thumb and middle finger of each hand which he needed to use the bow and arrow. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. He even cut off his flesh and offered it to the Holy Women.[2] Before he stopped fasting, he had nearly everything as a guardian. He was always successful when leading war parties.

Offerings of fingers and flesh were made chiefly to the Sun, but included the other characters represented in the Sun bundles, which were the Moon, Old Woman Above, Woman Above (sister of the Sun), and the Holy Women. Sun was a cannibal and was believed to eat the human flesh offered to him. 785 304

Fasting and self-torture were practiced when on eagle-trapping expeditions.[3] The leader expected the younger men to volunteer. Dragging buffalo skulls by means of thongs through the skin of the back or suspension from trees or banks were the usual methods employed. Others drew wood to camp by means of these thongs. Fasting was not employed regularly at these camps except for short periods, since, to be successful, more time was consumed than in self-torture. When trapping was poor, many advanced middle-aged men would fast and cry to bring success. Self-torture was employed regularly when on war expeditions, but fasting was not practiced, since there was not time for the party to wait several days in one spot. Generally they were hung over a bank or from a tree. The thongs were inserted by one of the father's clan. 785

Dragging of buffalo skulls was done when in the summer vil-

2. These were his father's gods.
3. See chap. vii below.

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the night something pulled his blanket off, and he was frightened. He ran back to the village and died shortly afterward of pneumonia." 785

CROWS HEART'S REMINISCENCES AND PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

When a man has a real dream, everything that is going to happen comes to him in his dream. Hairy Coat [owner of a People Above bundle], fasted nine days and everything he did came to him in his dreams. An animal came to him in his dream and said, "You have suffered long enough, and I am going to send you home now. I will give you one enemy, and you can go out and bring in his scalp." The Mandan did all this fasting to get scalps just as you white men are always working to get money. 785 787 159 223

I was twenty-three years old when I first went out to trap eagles. When the lodge was ready, the men went in. That night I knew the leader would suggest that someone should suffer for the birds. That day I looked around and found a sharp bank. On top of the bank I drove a sharp stake and tied a long lariat to it as securely as I could. I knew that the Old Male Black Bear [leader of eagle-trapping party] would suggest that I go out on the top of the hills to cry as long as I could, so I did this to be ready. When I finished driving the stake, I came back and got two men of my father's clan, one being the Good Shot, to go out with me to cut holes through the skin of my chest with an arrow and insert two sticks each two inches long through the holes. After they did it, they said the bank was too high to get down alone and that they would put the rope around my breast to let me down. I told them to leave me alone and go back to camp. 785 159 223

When they left, the lariat [30–35 feet long] was coiled up by the stake. I crawled over the edge and fell to the end of the rope. I got such a jerk that I lost my senses. When I came to, I found myself still hanging down. I cried and ran until I made a trail along the sharp edge. Then the weight became less painful.

That night there was a heavy frost. I cried all the time. I kept running, and it was very cold. I began at dark and suffered until about ten o'clock, when two of the hunters came after me. When they got there, they caught the rope and pulled me up to the top. They tried to take the sticks out, but the swellings were so great that they could not get them loose. I had to carry the rope and sticks in my arms to camp.

When we got there, the head man laid me up where the buffalo skull was. He used a big bunch of buffalo hair to thaw out the swelling, and then the sticks came out. After the sticks were out, I went back to bed, but the swelling extended from my navel to my chin. I rolled without sleeping until nearly daybreak. I could not sleep, so I got up early to see the flag on the hill. I wanted to see if we had the right kind of wind to go to the pits.

I found that we had the right kind of wind, came back to camp, wakened the others, and told them the wind was in the west, the right direction for trapping. My breast was so swollen I had to put the rope for carrying the bait around my forehead when walking to the pit. I put my bait where it was supposed to be and sat there in the pit looking up through the covering. Soon I heard a noise and looked up. There was a large eagle coming down. He sat on

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785 top of my bait, and I stuck my right hand out and caught him. He was a big
159 beautiful eagle, and that was the result I got for my suffering the night before.
Before I finished killing him, another big one came down on top of my pit and
walked over to the bait. I caught him as I had the other one and pulled him
223 into the pit where I killed him, and there was never a happier person than I.
I forgot all about my pains. I was happy as I thought of what I had done the
night before. I did not have to go very far to get results for the suffering I did
the night before. After that the leader said, since I was lucky, I should get up
mornings and look at the flag to see if the winds were right.

787 If a man goes out on the hills to fast and suffer and some holy person or
animal comes to him and tells him that he will be lucky and kill an enemy,
785 but when he goes out as leader, the enemy kills one of his party instead, he
will come home crying because the people will think that he didn't fast right
159 or that his dream wasn't real. Brave men will start fasting again and seek an
even stronger god by fasting longer and offering their flesh to the Sun. The
older men watch one who has lost a warrior when he fasts. If the suffering is
too severe, men of his father's clan pay him to stop for fear that he will kill
himself. After he has suffered a while, the parents of the warrior who was
killed in battle will give a feast to the man and ask him to stop. When a leader
goes out to war as a result of the promise of a certain animal and loses one of
his men, he will reject that animal's vision instructions if sent to him again in
a dream. He will keep on fasting until another god comes to him. It is often
hard to get men to follow an unlucky leader. If he goes out a second time and
kills or strikes an enemy, the people will say, "You have a real protector now,
one that is going to be a great help to you."

My god is the horse. When I was a young man, I led a horse around the sacred cedar standing in the center of Like-a-Fishhook Village by means of thongs in my flesh until I fell down unconscious. As I lay there, a horse came to me and promised me success in hunting and warfare. I killed two enemies a long ways from home because of this dream. The horse sang me his sacred songs, but I am not allowed to sing them for you. I have done all the things the horse asked of me, and the horse has done everything he promised me he would. The doctoring you saw me do did not come from the instructions the horse gave me. The sharp stick I used for letting out matter came from my rights in the Big Bird ceremony my sisters and I bought of Big Black, my father's brother.

726 I can illustrate by a story how a man organizes a war party to go out for
the enemy that his god has promised him. The leader is careful to do just as
159 he was instructed.

The party was to leave from Fishhook Village. The leaders were Old Bear (Tamisik clan), Crows Breast (Tamisik clan), and Porcupine Head (Speckled Eagle clan). I joined the party because of a suggestion by Afraid To Be Chief [his mother's brother and head of the lodge at that time] that he had no horses. If we got horses, we would be pretty well fixed. When a party of this kind is made up, they do not announce it but act quietly in preparation for the trip. A night was set to leave. Those planning to join got together a supply of moccasins and food. A lodge was designated as our meeting place. The party met this time in Two Chief's lodge. Others came to look on and wish us luck so that the lodge was packed full of people.

In addition to the leaders mentioned already, there were these warriors in the party: Big Steal (Tamisik clan), Long Tail (Prairie Chicken clan), Afraid

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lose any Young Wolves. It would be a blur to my record to 'kick the stone' so I am going back." The others returned with him. 726 159

When we came back, there was nothing of importance until we reached the Killdeer Mountains, where a Sioux war party saw us. We took the middle of the flat east of the Killdeer Mountains, and one of the party killed an antelope. We wasted no time pulling the hide off, and went right on to Red Paint Creek. I laid the hide out to dry to use on my horse that had a sore back. While we were roasting the meat, a whirlwind took the hide up into the air and whirled it, all the time with the flat side down.

When it happened, we said as a joke, "The enemy is upon us," but each of us jumped onto his horse and followed the creek down to the Little Missouri. We did not stop until we reached Cedar Butte, four miles above Hans Creek, when we went into an elm thicket to rest the horses. While there, an owl came and hooted. The enemy had outnumbered us ten to one and had been watching us from the Killdeer Mountains. They thought they had us, but it was the whirlwind that saved us. It was almost a miracle that we escaped the enemy. [The enemy was never seen but was merely suspected by the signs.] From our camp in Hans Creek we left at dawn without food and rode until we reached Manure Creek, where we grazed our horses in a clearing in the woods and cooked meat. We reached Like-a-Fishhook Village at sunset.

Puts Away His Hair got no credit for the lodge even though he found it just where his medicine said it would be.

The Mandan distinguished two kinds of supernatural experiences, those which were received through dreams and those actually seen, the latter being considered the more reliable. Crows Heart thought that what one actually saw could be depended on, whereas all dreams were not real. Scattercorn told of a Mandan who was visiting the Crow Indians. She said: "A friend took him to the top of a high mountain. While there a storm came up so they sought shelter under a cliff. During the night Thunderbird came by with his wings straight out. The lightning came out of his neck, and, when he moved his wings ever so little, it thundered. This Mandan really saw this bird, and it was his guardian after that." 787

All women fasted at least once during their lifetime. Self-torture was rarely practiced except in unusual instances. Scattercorn recalled an instance when three brothers were killed by the Cheyennes, who had been in the village exchanging robes for corn. When they left, they met men coming back loaded with meat. No precautions were taken when they saw the Cheyennes, since they knew what their mission had been. The brothers of the slain men fasted and practiced self-torture to get supernatural aid. When the war party left, one sister cut off two fingers 785 562

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785 562 and offered them to the sky-gods. She slashed her legs and arms where they had just healed after the mourning cuts she had inflicted. She fasted four days. Although she did not receive a vision, she attributed the unusual success of the war party to her sacrifices.

Men and women never fasted at the same places. Women usually fasted in their gardens or on the corn scaffolds. Women could pledge to give the Okipa, in which case they were permitted to fast on the roof, while a brother assumed the responsibilities of Okipa Maker. They rarely fasted more than one day and night at a time. The supernatural powers which one received were believed to be in direct proportion to one's suffering. Front Woman did not think women needed as powerful guardians as men, so she fasted only one day and night until she contracted sore eyes which would not heal. She and her mother's sister who also had eye trouble paid for the right to fast on the Okipa lodge while the ceremony was being held. Her eyes improved, but her mother's sister's eyes did not. Both fasted during the four days of the ceremony but returned to their lodge at evening.

787 756 428 Doctoring rights were included with most tribal hereditary bundles, and the rights to doctor were sold with the bundle. Such rights could also be acquired through supernatural instructions or purchased from one who had secured the right through visions. The latter practice, though common, did not continue for more than two or three generations. Only tribal bundles continued the hereditary character of doctoring rights generation after generation and with little change. Both men and women doctored. Women rarely doctored outside their own family until after the menopause.

The following account is typical of doctoring beliefs and practices.

MRS. GOOD BEAR'S NARRATIVE OF DOCTORING

787 756 159 My mother, Stays Yellow, fasted in the woods in quest of a god. Just before daylight she fell asleep. In her dream she saw two old people doctoring a woman who was having difficulty bearing a child. She saw that they were using black roots [Black Medicine] which they dug up in the forest. The old people, a man and a woman, had a hide rattle decorated with white feathers. She listened to the song they were singing. At the same time they administered to the woman giving birth to the child, they were doctoring to a number of dead watersnakes. The old woman chewed the roots and blew the chewed-up mass over the snakes; each time she blew on a snake, it came alive and

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squirmed away. The last of the snakes had young in her body and was slow to come to life. The woman blew the black root on the snake several times, and each time the snake gave birth to a young snake until all were born. The old man and woman then instructed Stays Yellow that she could doctor women when they had difficulty bearing children. My mother never killed snakes after that; she always blew some of the medicine root on any snake near our lodge and then carried it away. 787 756 159

My mother's mother, Coyote Woman, lived with her husband between the Knife and the Heart rivers.[6] He was very mean to her and beat her a great deal. He sent her out every morning at daylight to see if there were any animals in their pits. One day there was a large wolf in one of the pits. 754 159

The wolf said, "Take me out, and I will give you power to do anything you ask."

Coyote Woman did not know what to do because she was afraid of her husband. The wolf knew her thoughts. He coughed up a blue stone.

"Take that stone and use it among your people," he said. "If you use it, you will stay awake all night just like the wolves do." She took the stone and let the wolf out.

From fear of her husband, she told him what had happened. The old man was very cross and inquired how much power the wolf gave her. She showed him the blue stone, and the old man took it away from her.

When the wolf gave her the stone he had said, "If anybody in your tribe is mean to you and you want to get rid of him, cut out an image of him in leather, put the stone beside the image, and cover both with hot ashes. Then the person will die."

She told all this to her husband. She had had another husband when she was young, and the old man immediately put a piece of hide cut out in the shape of the other man together with the blue stone into the ashes, calling the other man's name. That night the old man and his wife could not sleep. The next morning the woman's first husband died. She knew that she would have to get the stone away from her husband or he would kill half the tribe, so she stole the stone. When he missed the stone, he beat her; then he took her to the prairie where he drove down four posts, tying her arms and legs each to a post. In the night the wolf came and chewed off all the straps, thus setting her free.[7]

The Wolf said, "Any time you want to know anything, come out on the hills and I will tell you." 787

She went home and slept during the day. A large bear came to her and said, "You are having a hard time. From now on, you must go among your people doctoring. People will give you white buffalo robes, leggings, dresses, and moccasins, for you will cure all who ask your help." 756 159

Then the wolf came to her in her dream and said, "Tell your husband to go on the warpath. The first time the wolves will send him good luck and all the people will praise him; the second time he won't come back, for the wolves will eat him."

He did as she said. The second time he did not come back. After ten days,

6. This was the village of the Awigaxa and Istopa bands.

7. This suggests Hidatsa beliefs concerning wolves. See "Wolf Ceremonies" in Bowers, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, MS).

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787 Coyote Woman went onto a hill. The wolf said, "Your husband who was like
756 an enemy to you has been eaten up. Don't feel sorry for him, or I will never
159 help you."

Before she went home, she cut deep gashes in her arms and legs with a flint knife and cut the sleeves from her dress. As she approached the village, she began to cry, and all the people ran out to learn the cause of her mourning. She said that her husband and all his party were dead.

She began doctoring the sick people the way she had formerly been instructed by the bear.[8] She examined her patients first to learn what caused the
[753] illness. Some were made ill by the snakes or bugs in their bodies; others from the influence of evil spirits; others from the loss of a god. She had a medicine song and a medicine root. If she found the pain was in one spot, she sucked with her mouth or a hollow horn, sometimes drawing out long slim worms or maggots of different colors. She pressed the stomach for pains located in the stomach or bowels and blew chewed-up cedar bark over the patient; when a person had a headache, she let out blood from the forehead.

756 The stone was burned so our people lost that. When Coyote Woman was
159 old, she did not sell my mother the right to doctor, but my mother often heard her tell how she cured her patients. We have always believed since then that the bear was the greatest of all doctors.

844 Certain doctors were called upon to help women laboring in childbirth.
159 Some of the women of the house would fill a pipe and place it before the woman they wished to act as midwife or doctor. The doctor gave instructions which must be carried out and set the price which was for the number of days she would serve. If she failed to help the patient in that time, she left to give another a chance to cure the patient. If the doctor failed to cure the patient in the time designated, the relatives might again place the pipe before her, and she was obliged to remain longer. Extra goods were then paid for the additional time. When the doctor entered the lodge where the woman in labor
[841] lived, she ordered all the men and small children out, and women then in their menstrual period were asked to stay away from the lodge. Should any woman during her menstrual period come into the lodge, sage was immediately burned in four places in the lodge, two fires being made of sage painted red and two of white sage.[9] If this was not done, it was believed that the patient might die. A special song was sung during the burning of the sage, for which the doctor received an additional fee. The doctor called in two young girls while the four fires were burning and asked them to doctor the patient in her stead by singing the medicine songs and dancing around the sick person. At the end of the songs, the two girls walked to the sick person and said, "You are well now," and left the lodge. The doctor then continued to administer to the sick woman.

The doctor selected an old woman to take the child as soon as it came. Women gave birth to children usually in bed or on a robe laid on the floor. The lodge was darkened, and only the doctor and the sick woman's mother were allowed inside. As soon as the child was born, a wide belt was bound tightly around the mother's abdomen. Because of the cost, many women did not engage a doctor unless difficulty was experienced.

8. Bear bundle rites were inherited in the Bear clan until the clan died out after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

9. Apparently this practice was a part of each doctoring rite. Red sage represented the sun and white sage represented the moon.

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Mrs. Good Bear remembered an old man with the medicine of the otter. The otter was said to extract arrowheads and bullets by sticking his head into the wound.

The Mandan had one doctoring practice not employed by the Hidatsa. Sometimes a baby got a sore mouth and could not nurse its mother. The child's father would call one of his own brothers saying, "I want to drink of your blood."

The father would use an awl to prick a hole in his brother's leg and the child's mouth was put over the wound. When a man had no brothers, he called a man of his own clan. The rule was that the blood one drank must come from a man of the father's clan. Crows Heart showed several scars where he had given blood to cure sore mouths.

Breaking rules was believed to be the cause of bad luck. This could be either intentional or unintentional. Sometimes the guardian spirit was said to abandon one who violated some rule. Crows Heart said that it was impossible to explain why some men who were so particular about obeying all the rules should lose power. Edgar Crows Heart took his mother's brother's mink hide[13] to use in a dance without getting permission. Shortly afterward, he was thrown from a horse and suffered a broken nose, a result, Crows Heart, the father, said of taking a medicine bundle without the right.

Scattercorn was the only informant to give an example of sleight-of-hand practices performed as the result of a dream. In the hereditary bundle rites people claimed to have corn, buffalo, and other spirits in their body which came up into the mouth during the ceremonies.[14] Her account is of one not informed in the actual rites.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF POWER OF MEDICINE

My father's father ran away from the village when the smallpox came and lived with the Crow Indians out west. He was one who fasted much. One time he fasted on a high mountain. He became so weak that he could not get down the mountain and fell unconscious in the snow. A bear, porcupine, and otter came to him and said, "Son, we heard you cry and are going to help you." Those spirits carried him down the mountain, and he was so weak that he could not help himself. He became unusually holy because so many animals

13. Hidatsa Creek medicine.

14. Also reported by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIV (Cleveland, 1906), 33.

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came to him and promised him many things, taught him medicine songs and told him how to make a bundle.

He came back to the village where there were just a few Mandan living. The Ree were living in the village too and were mistreating the Mandan, but when they heard he was a holy man, they gave him robes and blankets to keep him from doing them harm.

When my father was grown, my grandfather said, "I am going to fix you up with the gods I have and teach you everything the bear, porcupine, and otter taught me. I will give you the songs, but you will have to pay me for them. I will teach you all the things I have been taught in my dreams."

He made a hole through two bullets; one he tied around my father's neck and the other round the wrist. He made a shield and painted a picture of a bear, porcupine, and otter on it, but the bear had two heads. He tied a soft eagle feather to the shield.

"If they shoot this little feather, they will kill you. Otherwise they can't kill you or hurt you in battle,"[15] he said.

He told my father, Moves Slowly, how to fix up the medicine for battle. Twice my father struck an enemy. This power was given him to be lucky, and his exploits brought him a high place in the tribe.

He once said to my father, "If the spirits agree, I will know it." He taught my father's sister the songs.[16] One time he asked the women to bring much firewood into the earth lodge and get out his three drums because he was going to bring all the gods in that night. He stood a long pole with a rattle tied on the end up through the smokehole. There was another rattle near the kettle beside the fireplace. There was a small sweat lodge in one corner of the earth lodge. Many people came in to look on. Two men tied him up hand and foot and put him in the sweat lodge. He was to bring in the spirits while the girl sang his medicine songs. The people were told that the spirits would hit them if they were not quiet. Soon the rattles began to shake, and the spirits came down and untied him and tied the lariat up in a knot. Then he ordered the fire built up, and everything was bright again.

He was able to name the person stealing things and locate lost storage pits. The spirits on the mountains showed him how to detect thieves or find things. One time some friends made a robe, but before it was finished someone stole it. They called my father in to sing his medicine songs. While he was singing, a dog barked out in the village and two men going by told him they passed a man wearing a robe that had not been trimmed around the edge. It was a Ree who had stolen it.

Another time he had just finished ten arrows. He had given a horse for the heads on the arrows and was proud of them. He missed them so that night he sang the medicine songs and asked the gods to help him find them. When he finished, he just wandered aimlessly through the village and went into a lodge, not knowing why he did. He told about his arrows and one of the men in the lodge said there was a young man sleeping there who had nice ones. They were the arrows he lost. So my father believed the promise made by his father that "the spirits would send powers" was true.

15. The feather represented the source of his power, and the only way to harm him was by breaking or destroying his connection with the supernatural.

16. This form of inheritance from parents to children was characteristic of personal bundles which should not be confused with tribal bundles which were theoretically clan owned.

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Calf Woman told of an old Mandan with ten sons who instructed them each to take one of his teeth to be carried in battle. After he died, he was placed on a scaffold for one year, when the teeth were taken by the sons and kept as sacred objects. The skull was placed at one of the skull circles near a People Above shrine, and the other bones were buried. He had been very successful in warfare but died of a boil. 766 778

The skulls of those who died away from the village were usually brought back a year later, if requested by the relatives, by either a man or woman of the father's clan. It was customary to have a woman bring back the skull if summer village hunting expeditions were in the vicinity; otherwise a man leaving on a war expedition was delegated to secure the skull. Skulls brought back were placed at one of the shrines, of which there were a number adjacent to each village.

All men and women fasted, and most people had vision experiences. All were medicine men just as all were warriors or hunters. Some acquired reputations as medicine men just as some had good reputations as warriors or hunters. There was no grouping into cults according to vision; such division as did occur was based on ownership of related hereditary tribal bundles, a system much like the Pawnee except for a greater flexibility deriving from the four-sale right. It cannot be said that inherited bundle-owners were higher in tribal regard than those who practiced doctoring or led successful war parties. Each stood on his own record. Such advantage as hereditary bundle-owners had over others came from their possession of tribal lore belonging to the bundle. Since each hereditary bundle-owner was instructed in the traditional history of the bundle, he became an authority on the early history of the tribe. Four Bears rose to eminence and became second chief without inheriting any bundles of his parents other than a sacred shield and rain-calling robe. He had a successful war record and did much fasting. That would never have elevated him to more than a war leader, but the many feasts he made to which the older hereditary bundle-owners were invited gave him the necessary prestige. He gave the Okipa twice. Crows Heart had a good war record but never rose to eminence. His home being near a river crossing, people were always stopping there for meals. Nevertheless, he gave few for- 787 554 785 795

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787 554 785 795 mal feasts to which the older people were invited and was considered selfish, in spite of the fact that he probably fed more people than those who offered feasts from time to time.

778 428 171 432 It was the duty of all to fast, but few could inherit tribal bundles. After the smallpox of 1837, there was probably a much higher percentage of the population owning these hereditary tribal bundles. Visions could be bought and sold like hereditary bundles, but their existence was usually short-lived unless they became incorporated into hereditary bundle rites. A man ordinarily did not boast of the bundles he owned. Instead, he would boast of the potency of the bundles. The Hidatsa custom of buying the father's bundle because he dreamed of it was not the Mandan way. A Mandan bought because he was expected to, and people would condemn him for failing to buy. The man would ask his son to buy. If he had no son, but a son-in-law was living in the lodge, he would ask him to buy. Instruction was direct between seller and buyer, whereas the Hidatsa used a member of the father's clan as intermediary. Moves Slowly did not dream of the Corn Medicine before buying. He was hereditarily entitled to it. When one of the Mandan Corn bundles reached the Awaxawi,[17] Poor Wolf bought because he dreamed of it. The Hidatsa performed a ceremony because they had a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Little Eagle, the NumakmaxEna bundle-owner, was killed in war, and his wives automatically became the bundle-owners. When they remarried, their second husband received permission from them to officiate in the Okipa until White Calf, their son, was of proper age to assume the office. He had not dreamed of the bundle. The NaxpikE or Hide-beating ceremony of the Hidatsa was never given except when one who was a son of a man having this bundle received a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Such was not the custom in giving the Okipa. Permission must be given by the Okipa Society because an eligible candidate either had received vision instruction or had a feeling of responsibility to give it. So we see that even between these two groups, the Mandan and Hidatsa, who have lived in close contacts for a few centuries, some fundamental differences in ceremonial organization persisted.

17. A Hidatsa band.

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796 times he painted a picture of the plant or animal dreamed of on a robe for the person giving the feast; for this service he was paid robes, horses, or blankets.

778 He was the head singer in the Goose Women's ceremony and was the own-
159 er of the songs addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies, but he bought those extra. In the spring, the Goose Women's Society danced under his direction, and he supervised the sale of the society to the younger women; he officiated in the ceremonial transfer of the holy objects belonging to the society.

[787] Someone during the winter always dreamed that the corn crop would be large if he or she put on a feast to the corn. The one having the vision then
796 sent word by someone of his father's clan to ask the Corn bundle-owner to take charge. The giver prepared robes and food. At the appointed time, which
778 was when the waterbirds came north, all those with rights met. Participating
241 were the Corn bundle-owner, all those with the medicine of garden products or associated animals and birds, the Black Mouth Men's Society, and Goose Women's Society. The Corn bundle was carried into the earth lodge and opened at the entrance to the sweat lodge, where it was laid out on a deer skull and elkskin. Songs were addressed to the Corn Bundle People who came out of the ground; additional songs were addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies. Only four stones were used in the sweat, each one representing one of the Sun's visits to Waving Corn Stalk. The stones were our enemies just as the Sun had been. The giver of the ceremony named four enemies he wished to conquer while the stones were taken into the sweat lodge. Those entering the sweat lodge imitated the geese and waterbirds while the Corn bundle-owner sang his four songs. Those not entering the sweat lodge were sprinkled with water dipped from the clay vessel belonging to the bundle. Corn and beans often came up into peoples throats while the ceremony was in progress; those people danced and rubbed their throats with sage to put the objects back down. Food was served to the Corn bundle and then to the guests.

The giver of the ceremony gave each person attending a robe or present and received in return a prayer for the giver's success. When the ceremony was completed, an image of the Old Woman Who Never Dies was made from an elk robe and lashed to a pole in front of the giver's lodge.

The Corn bundle-owner was expected to ask the help of the spirits who sent good crops. In the spring before seeding time, he held the ceremony of cleansing the seeds so that they would germinate. Early on the appointed day he went to the top of his earth lodge where he faced to the south singing the Corn bundle songs to call the spirits of the corn back from the south. He held a vessel containing shelled corn. Each woman making a garden came to him and received two seeds of each kind of corn, beans, sunflowers, and squash, paying for them and the prayers he addressed to his gods. Payment was made in elk robes, blankets, and other clothing.

778 The Corn bundle-owner underwent numerous taboos while the crops were growing. Owners of minor Corn bundles prepared his food beginning four days
241 before the cleansing of the seed. When the previous year's crop was poor, he lived apart from all women until the crop was ripe and the seed corn for the
784 next season had been gathered. He painted his body red and wore moccasins of buffalo hide with the hair on the inside. He wore a robe all summer long. He was not permitted to eat plums, berries, or corn. All the people of the tribe knew that after the cleansing ceremony the restrictions went into effect and were careful not to violate any of the rules lest the crop fail. Each woman kept

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223 or a foxskin. When trapping in the lake region east of the Missouri either a stuffed duck or goose was used. When a suitable bait was difficult to secure, the head and neck of an antelope were used. Usually the bait was secured while the party was traveling to the trapping grounds. When a stuffed skin was used, a piece of raw meat was tied to it. Some picketed a live eagle near the pit when one was available, if luck was unusually bad. There was a song to the bait which the leader used when "tying the bait," as well as a prescribed method of carrying it to and from the pit.

796 223 78 [787] Torture of the trappers, by one of several techniques, occurred regularly, and there was a prescribed ritual for the person offering himself. It was believed that someone should "suffer for the birds" if the expedition were to be successful. The Mandan felt, after uniting with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, that visions were difficult to secure in the village ceremonies because there were too many ill-informed people, particularly women, who violated the customs. Crows Heart frequently stated that torture in the Okipa ceremony was less frequently practiced and that he preferred to seek a vision away from the village. Usually a young man would decide beforehand to seek a vision while away from the village trapping eagles, the type of torture being recommended by an older clan brother. The Chief of the Hunter's duty was to pierce the flesh and insert the thongs, except that, when he stood in a joking relationship with the vision-seeker, he could not serve, and another was selected, usually his assistant. Some trappers pulled buffalo skulls through camp by means of thongs fastened through the skin of the back. Crows Heart once hung over a cliff by means of thongs through the skin of the chest. Bears Arm hung from a tree. Sometimes the vision-seeker had no preference, and the leader suggested that he bring wood into camp. In such instances, wood was tied up into twelve bundles,[34] to which lariats were fastened, and dragged to camp by means of thongs through the flesh to which the lariats were tied. All the wood was dragged into camp without help from others, the sufferer even removing his moccasins to make the pain more severe. Tortur-

34. Each bundle represented one of the eagle's tail feathers.

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778 quired much "power" to pursue successful war and hunting activities.

785 A Mandan would say, "I claim no power for myself. I have no power except what my sacred objects have promised me." Children were protected by the parents' bundles until they were old enough to fast.

778 A young man on his first war expedition usually carried a sacred object from his father's bundle. This practice was repeated until the potency of the son's sacred bundle was established.

789 Supernatural power was acquired by the purchase of tribal bundles, feasts to tribal bundles, ceremonial sexual license, self-torture, and by showing kindness to the old people. The Mandan also believed that some people were "adopted" by a supernatural being without the novice's knowledge, since some people possessing no important tribal or individual bundles were unusually successful.

789 Women participating in sexual ceremonialism during the buf-
falo-calling rites contributed to the husband's supernatural
796 "powers." The writer interviewed a number of women who had
837 "walked with the buffaloes," as the practice is called. All agreed that they sought a good home, a loyal husband who was success-
•787 ful in hunting and warfare, good health, and plenty of food and clothing. They believed that the sexual act was tantamount to intercourse with the buffaloes, who, when placated, sent the herds to the prairies near the villages and promised the warriors success in warfare. Ceremonial sexual intercourse strengthened the marital bonds. It was believed that the buffaloes did all that they promised in dreams. Dreams were easy to get from the buffaloes.

778 The concept of "power" as a substance was further demon-
strated by the manner of handling sacred objects. During the
789 buffalo-calling ceremonies, the men impersonating buffaloes held out their sacred bundles for the women to press to their naked breasts. A woman placed her arms on the "holy man," dragging her arms downward toward the hand holding the bundle as though drawing the sacred powers possessed from the body into the sacred bundle, which was then taken from the buffalo impersonator and held to her breast. By this act it was

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ents' bundle collectively and designated one of their number, generally the oldest son, to be the custodian. A family having only daughters sold to the son-in-law providing he had been successful in warfare and had removed the mother-in-law taboo. 778 425 428 614

Unlike the Hidatsa, where bundle transfers were vision inspired, the Mandan seem to have placed greater emphasis on the personality and interests of the one to receive a tribal bundle. One owning an important bundle and getting along in years would frequently suggest to a younger person that he should buy into the bundle rites. The period of preparation was prolonged and frequently extended over several years. Since bundle rights could be sold four times, there were usually a number of people receiving instructions simultaneously. New bundles were made up for those buying part of the rites, while the original bundle was retained for the nearest relatives. When feasts were given to the bundle, all those having any rights in the bundle or related bundle rites were entitled to attend. This practice extended the ritualistic lore to many persons outside the immediate bundle-owner's family and probably explains why so much of the traditional lore was preserved through the smallpox epidemic of 1837. So far as it was possible to determine, the number of tribal bundle rites was not materially reduced during the nineteenth century. 778 425 869

The personal bundles constitute another important group of sacred objects. These were individually owned and were rarely inherited. The bundle was assembled after receiving a vision from some supernatural being, instructing him to assemble a bundle which would bring certain benefits to the individual. Unlike the tribal bundles, a buffalo skull was not a part of the bundle, and there were no sacred myths. There was a sacred song and a prescribed rule of behavior to be followed when the bundle was open. An unusually successful individual would sometimes sell his bundle to a son about to leave on a war expedition. These bundles, however, were rarely sold and were usually put away when the original owner died. 778 787

Both men and women had personal bundles. Women usually fasted less frequently and had only one bundle; usually the guardian spirit promised her a long life and the right to cure. Men fasted frequently and were recognized for the number of 778 554

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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775 In this description of an after life, there was a marked mixture of ideas. The idea of multiple souls is Siouan, the rest is more or less common over most of the region.

As usual in the plains area every natural phenomenon and 776 unaccountable event was mystery or medicine, and the medicine 821 idea played the usual important part in all their religious customs. Thunder was ascribed to the familiar thunder-bird, the glitter of whose eyes dug a path through the clouds for the rain and caused the lightning.[1] Solitary claps of thunder were ascribed to a huge turtle which lived in the clouds. The rainbow was said to be a spirit which accompanies the sun and which shows itself when the sun retires for the night. The aurora borealis was said to be the fire kindled at an assembly of the great medicine men and warriors of the northern nations, over which they cooked their dead enemies in huge pots.[2] They had several beliefs about the stars—that of the Sioux, that each star is a man, and when a child is born the star comes down and when he dies it returns; also that a multitude of supernatural beings existed in the stars to which sacrifices and prayers [787] were offered. Dreams were of very great importance and governed nearly all their acts.

789 There were many small personal superstitions or mysteries. One man told Maximilian that he could turn a snowball into a 843 white stone, another claimed that his nose always bled if he picked up his pipe by the bowl. There were many signs of good and bad luck. A pregnant woman was considered to bring luck at the game of Skohpe. The medicine men told them that if a clay image of an enemy were made with a needle or quill in it for a heart, and were placed at the foot of some medicine structure, that enemy would die. A pregnant woman brings bad luck to her husband in hunting. Many of the Mandans believed that they had some animal, as a buffalo, turtle or frog in them; the women had a dance when they thought an ear of corn was in them, which the dance caused to come out.[3] There were a number of other superstitions of this sort, mostly common to all the plains tribes. One more notable might be mentioned, how- 372 ever, that of building the fire with two sticks crossed in the center,

[1] Ibid., p. 422. [2] Ibid., p. 423. [3] Ibid., p. 463.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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under two years old. These hides were worth ten to fifteen horses or sixty ordinary robes. No man could be of great importance in the tribe unless he had at one time owned one of them. Immediately on its acquisition the hide was hung up on a pole before the owner's lodge and consecrated to the Lord of Life, the sun, or the First Man. The ceremony of consecration was rather elaborate and was conducted by the shaman. A great mass of valuables, the collection of three or four years, was also offered or given away at the same time. The robe was either left suspended until it rotted away, or was taken down and cut into strips, one of which was worn by each member of the owner's family. 778 [554] 778 782

The Mandans seem to have had something in the nature of shrines and sacred images both natural and artificial. First among the artificial ones might be mentioned the Ark or Big Canoe which has already been described. This formed the central figure for most of the Mandan ceremonial dances. There was also the image of Ochkih-Hedde which hung before the medicine lodge; and there were similar images hanging before nearly every one of the other lodges, these were made of skin, branches and earth[1] and were intended to represent the Lord of Life and the First Man. Other shrine-like structures were built on the prairie. One of these is described by Maximilian.[2] "... Four poles are placed in a square, the two front ones garnished at the base with a pile of earth and sod. Between them are four buffalo skulls in a row, between the two back poles are twenty-six human skulls painted partly with red stripes, behind the whole are two knives fixed in the ground. The poles are surmounted by bundles of branches; on these again is a crest of pieces of sharp wood, the ends painted red. ... Sometimes on two of the poles are tied stuffed figures to represent the sun and moon, or the Lord of Life and the Old Woman Who Never Dies. Wild absinthe (wormwood) is attached by handfuls to the poles." These are probably the same things which Catlin mentions in connection with the burial customs. 778

Chief among the natural shrines was the medicine rock of 787

[1] Maximilian: p. 444. [2] Ibid., p. 460.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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778 which Lewis and Clarke, Henry, Catlin, and Maximilian all give accounts. The Mandans told Lewis and Clarke that this rock, ●787 which was at three days march to the southwest, informed them of every thing to happen during the year and that they visited it every spring and sometimes in the summers.[1] The description which Maximilian gives of this rock seems worth repetition: "It is situated at two or three days from the village on the edge of the Cannonball River from which it is about one hundred paces. They say it is on the summit of a rather high hill, the top of which is level. It is marked by the footprints of men and other animals, dogs and travois. It is a sort of oracle. They offer it all sorts of valuable articles — knives, pipes, cloth. . . . When going to war they pass near and consult the stone. They approach it, weep, groan, smoke, and retire to a distance where they pass the night. Next day they take down on parchment what the stone shows. This painted parchment is carried to the village where the old men interpret it. Undoubtedly new figures are seen on the stone from time to time. Not far from this place was the ark where part of the nation was saved." The Minnetarees also had one of these medicine stones which was consulted in practically the same way. One more of their natural sacred objects deserves 778 mention; this was a lake some distance from their villages 782 where a great serpent, formerly a Mandan warrior, was said to reside. This serpent was a good genius and offerings of all sorts were thrown into the lake to procure his aid.

791 The shaman although mentioned occasionally is not described, nor are his powers well defined by any of the authorities. Maximilian remarked that there were shamans who gathered herbs and pretended to cure diseases and others who did tricks and conducted preparations for the ceremonies.

773 MYTHOLOGY:—Practically all material on Mandan mythology comes from Maximilian who wrote down a large number of 539 stories directly as they were told to him by a Mandan chief, Dipeuch. Catlin and Lewis and Clarke reinforce these with a few details. It is found by analysis of the myths given by Maximilian that two distinct, parallel, mythological stories of

[1] Lewis and Clarke: Feb. 21, 1805.

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they hate me, therefore carry me to the long water, three days' journey from the Missouri." This, too, was done, but the serpent not liking his new abode, his comrade was obliged to carry him to a second lake, called Histoppa-Numangka (the place of the tattooed countenance), when the serpent was satisfied, and resolved to remain. He commissioned the young man to bring him four things, viz. a white wolf, a polecat, some pounded maize, and eagles' tails: after this he was to go to war four times, and kill an enemy in each combat. All this accordingly took place. The serpent then added that he would always remain in this lake, never die, be medicine, and, when the Mandans desired anything, they might come hither, do penance, or make offerings, that is to say, hang robes, eagles' tails, and other articles of value, on poles on the banks of the lake, which the Indians sometimes do even to this day. 773 778

Another curiosity of a similar nature is the Medicine Stone, which is mentioned by Lewis and Clarke, and which the Manitaries likewise reverence. This stone is between two and three days' journey from the villages on Cannon-ball River, and about 100 paces from its banks. I was assured that it was on a tolerably high hill, and in the form of a flat slab, probably of sandstone. The stone is described as being marked with impressions of the footsteps of men, and animals of various descriptions, also of sledges with dogs. The Indians use this stone as an oracle, and make offerings of value to it, such as kettles, blankets, cloth, guns, knives, hatchets, medicine pipes, &c., which are found deposited close to it. The war parties of both nations, when they take the field, generally go to this place, and consult the oracle as to the issue of their enterprise. Lamenting and howling, they approach the hill, smoke their medicine pipes, and pass the night near the spot. On the following morning they copy the figures on the stone upon a piece of parchment or skin, which they take to the village, where the old men give the interpretations. New figures are undoubtedly drawn from time to time on this stone, near to which the celebrated ark, in which part of the nation was saved in the great deluge, formerly stood. 787 ● 778

The Mandans have many other medicine establishments in the vicinity of their villages, all of which are dedicated to the superior powers. Mr. Bodmer has made very accurate drawings of those near Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, one of which consists of four poles placed in the form of a square; the two foremost have a heap of earth and green turf thrown up round them, and four buffalo skulls laid in a line between them, while twenty-six human skulls are placed in a row from one of the stakes at the back to the other; some of these skulls are painted with a red stripe. Behind the whole a couple of knives are stuck into the ground, and a bundle of twigs is fastened at the top of the poles with a kind of comb, or the teeth of a rake, painted red (Vignette XIV). The Indians repair to such places when they desire to make offerings or put up petitions; they howl, lament, and make loud entreaties, often for many days together, to the lord of life, which the French Canadians call weeping, though no tears are shed. A similar medicine establishment is represented in Plate XXV., where a couple of human figures, very clumsily made of skins, 778 782

778 were fixed upon poles, representing, as we were told, the sun and moon, probably the lord of life
782 and the old woman who never dies. Wormwood, of which they generally fasten a bunch to the poles, is a sacred medicine herb, to which they ascribe various effects.

Dreams, as I have before said, afford the usual motives for such actions, and for the
787 penances which they impose upon themselves, and they believe all that appears in their dreams
782 to be true. They were not yet acquainted with fire-arms, when one of the Indians dreamt
789 of a weapon with which they could kill their enemies at a great distance, and soon afterwards the white men brought them the first gun. In the same manner they dreamt of horses
304 before they obtained any. Even the Whites who live among them are infected with this belief in dreams, and other superstitions. They frequently promise, on undertaking anything, the joint of a finger, which they cut off at once, and keep in a handful of wormwood; this I myself saw among the Blackfeet, where, at that time, it was a sign of mourning. It is also done at the time of the Okippe in May and June. Almost all the Mandans and Manitaries have lost one or two joints of the fingers, and several of them more. There are numerous superstitious ideas and prejudices among these Indians. Thus, they believe that a person to whom they wish ill must die, if they make a figure of wood or clay, substituting for the heart, a needle, an awl, or a porcupine quill, and bury the image at the foot of one of their medicine poles. When a child is born, the father must not bridle a horse, that is to say, he is not to fasten the halter to the lower jaw, otherwise the child would die in convulsions. If the wife be pregnant, this circumstance is often the cause of much ill fortune to the husband, and he is frequently unsuccessful in hunting. If an Indian, in such cases, wounds a buffalo, without being able to kill it quickly, he endeavours to carry the heart of a buffalo home, and makes his wife discharge an arrow at
777 it; he then again feels confidence in his weapons, that they will speedily kill. The Indians affirm that a pregnant woman is very lucky at a game called billiards. Many consider it a bad omen when a woman, while several Mandans are smoking together, passes between them. If a woman is lying on the ground between the men who are smoking, a piece of wood is laid across
789 her, to serve as a communication between the men. The strongest man now living among the
555 Mandans, who has been the victor in several wrestling matches with the Whites, always takes hold of his pipe by the head, for, were he to touch it in another part, the blood would suddenly rush from his nostrils. As soon as he bleeds in this manner, he instantly empties his pipe, and throws the contents into the fire, where it explodes like gunpowder, and the bleeding immediatly stops. Nobody, they say, can touch this man's face, without at once bleeding at the nose and mouth. A certain Indian affirms that, whenever another offers him a pipe to smoke, out of civility, he immediately has his mouth full of worms, handfuls of which he throws into the fire. The medicine of another man consists in making a snow-ball, which he rolls a long time between his hands, so that it at length becomes hard, and is converted into a white stone, which, when

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struck, emits fire. Many persons, even Whites, pretended they had seen this, and it is utterly useless to attempt convincing them to the contrary. The same man pretends that, during a dance, he plucked white feathers from a certain small bird, which he rolled between his hands, and formed of them, in a short time, a similar white stone. Sometimes an Indian takes it into his head to make his gun medicine, or to consecrate it, which he does not dare afterwards to part with. With this view he generally makes a yearly feast in the spring. The crier (kettle-tender, or marmiton) must invite a certain number of guests, and receive an equal number of small sticks, which he delivers to them, as a sign of their being invited; nay, now, European playing cards are actually sent round for this purpose. The guests appear, lay their guns aside, and take their places, on which the drum and schischikué go round, and every guest sings, and plays the drum and rattle. While this music is going on, they eat the food which has been dressed, nor are they allowed to leave any of it. The host then takes his gun, cuts a piece of flesh, and with it rubs the barrel, and flings the meat into the fire; this is repeated thrice. He then takes up some of the water in which the meat was boiled, rubs the whole length of the barrel with it, pours the rest of the broth into the fire; and, lastly, takes fat, with which he rubs the whole of his gun, and then throws the remainder into the fire. 789 556

A great many Mandans and Manitaries believe that they have wild animals in their body; one, for instance, affirmed he had a buffalo calf, the kicking of which he often felt; others said they had tortoises, frogs, lizards, birds, and so forth. Among the Manitaries we saw medicine dances of the women, where one pretended that she had a head of maize in her body, which she cast out by dancing, and then ate, after it had been mixed with wormwood. Another discharged blood, but of this we shall speak in the sequel. Similar feats are seen among the Mandans also. They likewise relate a number of foolish stories of miraculous and supernatural events. Thus, a girl refused to marry, and had no intercourse with the other sex. One night, while she was asleep, a man lay down by her side, on which she awoke, and saw him go away in a white buffalo robe. As he returned on the two succeeding nights, she resolved to mark him, and stained her hand with red. He appeared, and she gave him a blow, with her hand, on his back, not being able to hold him. On the following day she examined all the robes in the whole village, but could not find the mark of her hand, till at length she discovered it on the back of a large white dog. Some months after, as the Indians are fully persuaded, she was delivered of seven young dogs. The people consider owls as medicine birds, and pretend to hold conversations with them, and to understand their attitudes and voices; often, indeed, they keep these animals alive in their huts, and look upon them as soothsayers. I shall, subsequently, have occasion to speak of the manner in which they catch all kinds of birds of prey, which feed on the flesh of dead animals, particularly eagles, which they sometimes preserve alive. They frequently look upon them as medicine. 787 778

224 The wolf and the fox are sometimes shot with a gun, as well as the white hare, in the winter time, or they are caught in traps. They set for the wolves very strong traps. The prairie wolf is not easily caught, being very cautious. Foxes are caught in small traps, which are covered with brushwood and buffaloes' skulls, to conceal them. Many such traps are seen everywhere in the prairies, which are surrounded with small stakes, that the animals may not enter them sideways. Beavers are now caught, in great numbers, in iron traps, which they procure from the Whites. Small animals, such as the ermine, are caught with horsehair springs, set before
223 their burrows. The manner in which birds of prey are caught is said to be very remarkable. The birdcatcher lies down at full length in a narrow pit made on purpose, and exactly large enough to hold him. As soon as he has lain down, the pit is covered with brushwood and hay, pieces of meat are laid upon it, and a crow, or some such bird, fastened to it. The eagle, or other bird of prey, is said to descend, and to sit down, in order to eat, on which the birdcatcher seizes it by the legs. I would not believe this had not men worthy of credit given me their word for it. In this manner they catch the eagle, called, by the English, the war-eagle, and the golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*), the Quilion, or *oiseau de medicine*, of the Canadians, which I was not so fortunate as to meet with, and which they highly value, as I have already stated.

721 Next to the chase, war is the chief employment of the Indians, and military glory the highest object of their ambition. It is well known that Indian bravery is very different from that of the Whites; for wilfully to expose themselves to the enemy's fire would, in their eyes, not be bravery, but folly. Cunning and stratagem give them the advantage over the enemy; their strength lies in concealing their march, and surprises at daybreak. He who kills many enemies without sustaining any loss is the best warrior.

721 When a young man desires to establish his reputation in the field, he fasts for four or seven days, as long as his strength permits him, goes alone to the hills, complains and cries to
787 the lord of life, calls incessantly to the higher powers for their aid, and only goes home, some-
555 times, in the evening, to sleep. A dream suggests his medicine to him. If the lord of life makes him dream of a piece of cherry-tree wood, or of an animal, it is a good omen. The young men who take the field with him have then confidence in his medicine. If he can perform an exploit his reputation is established. But whatever exploits he may perform, he acquires no respect if he does not make valuable presents; and they say of him, "He has indeed performed many exploits, but yet he is as much to be pitied as those whom he has killed." A man may have performed many exploits, and yet not be allowed to wear tufts of hair on his clothes, unless he carries a medicine pipe, and has been the leader of a war party. When a young man, who has never performed an exploit, is the first to kill an enemy on a warlike expedition, he
721 paints a spiral line round his arm, of whatever colour he pleases, and he may then wear a
555 whole wolf's tail at the ankle or heel of one foot. If he has first killed and touched the

721 727 the prisoners ere they can reach the village, and kill them; this is especially an act of revenge for their husbands or sons who may have fallen in the battle.

721 555 When a young man desires to become a leader, or partisan, he first gains, by gifts, the favour of the other young men, and then dedicates a medicine pipe, which is a plain, unornamented tube. This ceremony is accomplished by a four days' fast, and supplications for assistance to the lord of life, the first man, &c. &c., and other supernatural beings. He then addresses the young men, and calls upon them to give him their support in his undertakings. If a sufficient number testify their readiness to accompany him in a warlike expedition, and such an expedition is determined upon, they dance and feast in the medicine lodge for several successive nights, from whence, too, they generally march off by night. The women never accompany these expeditions. On setting out the men are badly clothed, and not painted. They do not depart in a body, but, for the most part, singly, or in small detatched parties. At a certain distance from the village they halt upon an isolated hill, open their medicine bags, and, after the men have sat down in a circle, the partisan produces his medicine pipe, which all present smoke; the person who smokes last, then spreads his medicines on the ground, or hangs them up, and from them foretels the fate of the expedition. The Indians manifest much gravity and decorum on solemn occasions like these.

[787]

727 535 When the warriors return from their expedition, the scalps are carried on in advance, on high poles: if they have performed any exploits, they paint their faces black; very frequently the whole body is thus disfigured. The women and children go out to meet them, and they enter the village performing the scalp dance. This dance is then repeated four successive nights in the medicine lodge, and is subsequently danced in the open space, in the centre of the village. If the campaign took place in the spring, it is danced, at intervals, till the fall of the leaf in autumn; if in the autumn, it is danced till spring, but should any of the nation be killed in the interim all festivities immediately cease. In the scalp dance the Indians paint themselves in various ways, form a semicircle, advance, and retreat amid the din of singing, the beating of the drum and schischikué. The wives of those men who have obtained the scalps carry them on long rods.

555 All the distinguished deeds performed by a war party are placed to the account of the partisan. All the scalps that are taken belong to him, and also the horses that they have captured. He who has killed an enemy is a brave man, and reckons one exploit; but the partisan rises the highest on that account, even though he had not seen any of the enemies who have been slain. When he returns home, the old men and women meet, and sing the scalp song, on which he must make them all presents of value. He gives away all the captured horses, and valuable articles, and is afterwards a poor man, but his reputation is great. Successful partisans afterwards become chiefs, and are highly respected by their nation. The Indian youths go to war when they are only fourteen or fifteen years of age. Sometimes they make excursions on horseback in the winter.

526 covered with dust and sweat. The race is at least six miles long,
481 and it is surprising to see what a great distance some of them gain
702 upon others. This violent exercise is performed on the hottest summer days, and it is a wonder that some of them do not pay dearly for their temerity.

541 During my absence yesterday [July 21 - Analyst] my people, who remained here, witnessed a horse race. The Mandanes assembled in great numbers on horseback, and rode about three miles below the village, where all mustered. They set out in a body, pell-mell, whipping and kicking their horses, directing their course along the foot of the hills, and made a long circuit at full speed around the village. Some of their horses appeared very swift and spirited, but others were miserable animals. On their arrival, they performed their warlike manoeuvres on horseback, feigning their different attacks upon the enemy, giving their strokes of the battleax and thrusts of the spear, and defending themselves in turn by parrying blows and covering themselves with their shields.

526 ...I observed one particular game among the Mandanes, which the young men were continually playing. Two persons are each provided with a stick six feet long, on which are cut a certain number of notches, an inch long, in the intervals of which are fixed the same number of small bunches of feathers of divers colors, with three pieces of wood, 16 inches square, one near each end, and one in the middle; these are perforated in the center, and through them is passed the rod, painted of divers colors. Each notch has a particular mark, the nature of which they themselves only understand—indeed, the same may be said of the whole game. The ground on which they play is a smooth level space, about 40 paces long and 5 broad. The players stand side by side, start from one end of the ground, and trot on till they are halfway through, when one of them throws a ball gently ahead, in such a manner that it will not roll further than the space allowed for the game; at the same time both players push their rod forward to overtake and keep pace with the ball, but not to check its course. They then examine the particular notch or bunch of feathers at which the ball stops, and count accordingly.

304 The greater part of the men—Big Bellies, Mandanes, and
787 Saulteurs (Souliers)—have lost a joint of several fingers, [364]
785 particularly of the left hand, and it is not uncommon to see only the

[p. 384(F)]

304
787
785

two forefingers and thumbs entire. Amputation is performed for the loss of a near relation, and likewise during the days of penance, on which they display their fortitude and courage in the following manner: When a young man has attained the age of 20 years, he generally, in the depth of winter, performs his penance by setting out entirely naked and alone, with only two or three pairs of shoes, the iron barb of an arrow, and no means of making a fire. In this condition he repairs to a certain high hill, a day's journey from the village. On this hill he must remain as many days as his strength will permit, during which time he neither eats, drinks, nor sleeps, but passes the time in dancing, bawling, howling, and lamenting. Here also he amputates a finger with the iron barb brought for that purpose. Some have been known to be absent seven days in the severest weather. This may appear incredible, but I have it from several eye-witnesses of such pilgrimages, and do not doubt it. After several days—more or fewer—the penitent makes his appearance, coming at full speed, and as there is continually somebody upon the huts, information is instantly given of his return. He is met by a particular friend, who has kept account of the number of days he has been absent, and for every day has been prepared a bull's head, to which has been fastened 1 1/2 fathams of cord. The other end of this is affixed to an incision in the penitent's back or shoulders, by pinching up a fold of skin and flesh, through which is thrust the barb of an arrow; as many days as he has been absent, so many must be the incisions, and the number of heads must also tally with them. He must then walk around the village, howling and bawling, with all those bulls' heads trailing on the ground; in some places, where the ground is rough, the poor fellow must pull and tug hard to get through, as the horns continually catch in uneven spots, and often fall into some of the empty corn pits, where they would hold until the skin gave way or the cord broke, were they not [365] attended to by some children who make it their business to disengage the horns. So many days as he has been absent, so many times must he walk round the village, never ceasing to utter lamentations. Some have been known to fall senseless during this painful ordeal; but even then they only allow themselves a few moments to recover, and proceed again. Having finished the necessary rounds, he is disengaged from the bulls' heads by his friend; with a long harangue, applauding his courage and fortitude; he may then retire to his hut and take care of his wounds, as he is in a shocking condition. Some never recover, and others languish for months before they get well.

[p. 364(G)]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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Since the Mandan lived in a territory of uncertain rainfall, the crops were frequently endangered by drought. There were 554 formal rainmaking ceremonies, but these frequently failed to 785 bring rain. A man would frequently announce that he was fasting on a certain day to bring the rains. If rains came before the 789 fasting began, he received credit for them and was paid generously for his services. When the rains had not come on the day when fasting was to begin, he would go to some designated spot to fast, singing his holy songs while watching the sky for the approaching clouds, which he would endeavor to direct toward the gardens. Anyone could fast to bring rains to the gardens or buffaloes near the village, but in general these extra rites were performed by persons lacking formal tribal bundles and were people who felt that they had not received proper recognition for their successes in warfare, horse-stealing, or in finding the buffalo herds. They had little to lose; failing to bring buffaloes or rain, they were thought none the less of for their failure and were praised if they succeeded.

785 There was a certain amount of fasting when bad luck persisted. When on eagle-trapping expeditions, some men would catch eagles while others did not. One who had been especially lucky would volunteer the use of his pit to one who had failed to catch birds. If the latter's bad luck persisted, he would fast and even have thongs inserted through his skin for dragging buffalo skulls.

224 There was a certain degree of specialization of males in a Mandan village. Those who had acquired an aptitude of finding 554 the buffalo herds were relied upon for their good judgment in 788 supervising the summer buffalo-hunting expeditions. Even those who eventually attained the status of leader were expected to attain that position by degrees. He was first taken out as scout to assist in locating the herds and later as leader of the hunters when he was expected to perform simple rites immediately before the attack was made on the herd. He would pray to the buffaloes not to send the party bad luck, and, when the surround had been made, he would make an offering of sage and feathers from the speckled eagle to the buffaloes by tying

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the offerings to the horns of some weathered buffalo skull found 224
conveniently near by. If a horse fell into a washout, stepped 554
into a badger hole and injured its rider, or was gored by a 788
buffalo, the leader was said to have "kicked the stone" and was usually never selected again unless he fasted sufficiently to receive the forgiveness of the aggrieved parties.

As leader of the hunters, he was expected to make successful surrounds without losing his men from accident. Having been successful on many surrounds, it was believed that he was lucky and had sacred objects that were protecting him and his party. He was then eligible to become the leader of a future summer buffalo-hunting party.

A man's responsibilities increased greatly as the leader of the summer buffalo-hunting party. His selection was made in council held a month before the village was to leave for the summer hunt. The principal men of the village met to consider the matter of a leader. Crows Heart claimed that all who had been lucky in warfare or in leading the hunters aspired to be the summer buffalo-hunt leader at least once in their lifetime. The leader was selected from those who had buffalo skulls as a part of their sacred bundles. These skulls became a part of bundles either through purchase of a hereditary bundle or, more rarely, were introduced into a bundle when vision instructed. It was necessary to have unanimous consent of the head men to become leader, and the appointment was for only one expedition away from the village. A change was usually made for subsequent hunts on the former leader's recommendation, as it was believed that one would have bad luck if he led too many hunts. When a selection had been made, the crier for the Black Mouth Society[1] went through the village announcing the [203] decision.

The leader consulted the village chief in matters relative to 224
preparation of the equipment and the leaders of war parties relative to the protection of the party which would comprise the entire population except a few feeble people who preferred to visit in a neighboring village while the party was away. The [462] women first weeded and hilled their garden crops while the men prepared the dog and horse equipment. While preparations for the summer hunt were being completed, scouts were sent

[1] [The men's society intrusted with the organization and protection of the village. See pp. 94-95, Cat. 116.—Analyst]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
Hidatsa NQ14

MH 575 17 MH

In Calf-woman's day[1] the number of Mandan and of Hidatsa women in the society was about equal. The performances ceased, under Government pressure, when she was about fourteen years of age.

MH 575 561

Hides-and-eats, who had served as rear officer, added a number of details. It was necessary to join in the wintertime because that was the season of the dance. The person who called for the performance of the great ceremony must have dreamt to that effect and was expected to prepare a great deal of food for the society. If, during the dance, a member went outside from necessity and a young man pulled her blanket, she was obliged [788] to say, "A wolf has bitten me." If she failed to say this, she was in danger of actually being bitten by a wolf. The members were middle-aged, while the two women with skunkskin head bands were elderly. Hides-and-eats set the number of singers at four; their age was immaterial, but as a matter of fact they were about fifty or sixty. They were not identical with the musicians of other women's societies.

MH 575 527 [788]

Buffalo-bird-woman says that the White Buffalo women were in the habit of going round the village in the morning, passing every lodge. One member would enter a clan daughter's lodge, and say to her, "So-and-so's daughter, give me light" (that is, fire). The clan daughter sometimes answered, and sometimes remained silent. Once the informant's aunt addressed her as stated above, and she replied, "Yes, I will do so." This signified her willingness to provide a feast. The next day, accordingly, she brought large quantities of food, invited all the White Buffalo women to her lodge, and entertained them. Further, she gave the society a new gun as a present, and a piece of calico to be smoked with incense. The incense-burner, who also had the privilege of taking off all the members' robes and hanging them up, took charcoal, made incense, seized the head of the rear officer's robe, shook it, proceeded to the middle officer's,[2] and repeated the same performance, as she finally did with the leader also. She made incense as she passed along the circle of members. Then the [535] dance began. All wore their crowns of white buffalo skin on this occasion. When the singers commenced to sing, the leader and the rear officer rose and danced forward, crossing each other's path. They returned to their places, and repeated the performance at the next two songs. At the fourth song, the middle officer also rose, and all three danced, facing alternately the fireplace and the door, and finally returning to their places. At the following song everyone rose and danced. After the dance was over, the little girl approached the rear officer with a corn-ball, and put a little of the corn

[1] This informant is about 56 years old (1910).
[2] This informant, like Hides-and-eats, speaks of but one little girl in the society.

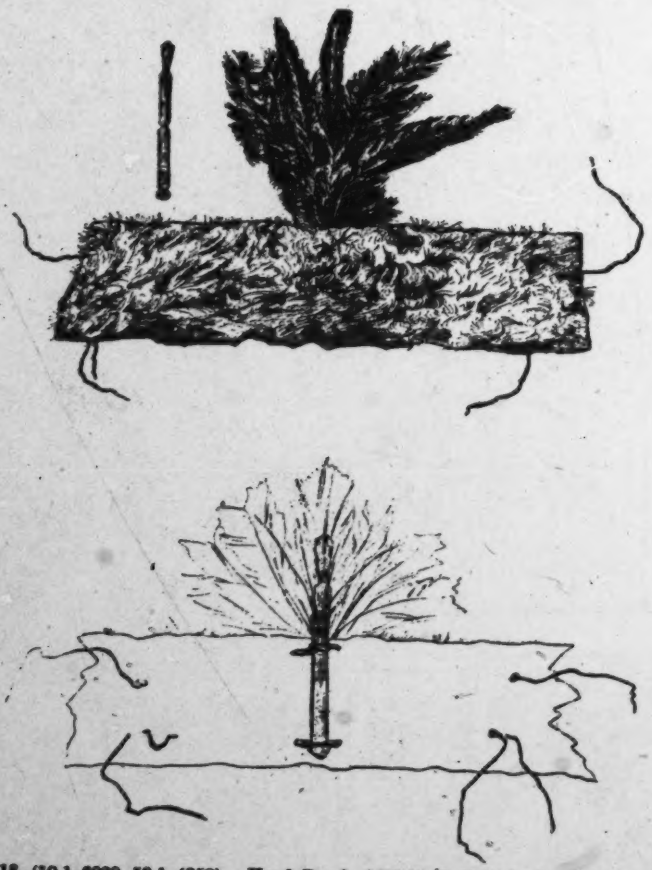
4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913

NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Hidatsa NQ14

M H 575 527

on the nose of the rear officer's skin robe. She did the same with the leader's robe, then she walked back to her place and went through the same performance with her own robe. This procedure which was regarded as an offering to the robes was called *ō'xkipati*. It was repeated three times. At the last song the incense-burner went to the rear officer, and untied her



M H [292]

Fig. 18. (50.1-6020, 50.1-4350). Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society, front and back view. Length, 62 cm.

robe, causing it to drop to the ground. She proceeded to the middle officer, and thence to the leader, untying all the robes. This dropping of the robes symbolized the shedding of the buffaloes' hair. [788]

Apparently anyone interested in the success of the buffalo chase might

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

outer surface until after the Deluge. When an Indian story is told, it is like all other gifts, "to be taken for what it is worth," and for any seeming inconsistency in their traditions there is no remedy; for as far as I have tried to reconcile them by reasoning with, or questioning them, I have been entirely defeated; and more than that, have generally incurred their distrust and ill-will. One of the Mandan doctors told me very gravely a few days since, that the earth was a large tortoise, that it carried the dirt on its back—that a tribe of people, who are now dead, and whose faces were white, used to dig down very deep in this ground to catch *badgers;* and that one day they stuck a knife through the tortoise-shell, and it sunk down so that the water ran over its back, and drowned all but one man. And on the next day while I was painting his portrait, he told me there were *four tortoises,*—one in the North—one in the East—one in the South, and one in the West; that each one of these rained ten days, and the water covered over the earth. 773

These ignorant and conflicting accounts, and both from the same man, give as good a demonstration, perhaps, of what I have above mentioned, as to the inefficiency of Indian traditions as anything I could at present mention. They might, perhaps, have been in this instance however the creeds of different sects, or of different priests amongst them, who often advance diametrically opposite theories and traditions relative to history and mythology.

And however ignorant and ridiculous they may seem, they are yet worthy of a little further consideration, as relating to a number of curious circumstances connected with the unaccountable religious ceremonies which I have just described

The Mandan chiefs and doctors, in all their feasts, where the pipe is lit and about to be passed around, deliberately propitiate the good-will and favour of the Great Spirit, by extending the stem of the pipe *upwards* before they smoke it themselves; and also as deliberately and as strictly offering the stem to the four *cardinal points* in succession, and then drawing a whiff through it, passing it around amongst the group. 782 788

The *annual religious ceremony* invariably lasts *four* days, and the other following circumstances attending these strange forms, and seeming to have some allusion to the *four* cardinal points, or the "four tortoises," seem to me to be worthy of further notice. *Four* men are selected by Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (as I have before said), to cleanse out and prepare the medicine-lodge for the occasion—one he calls from the *north* part of the village—one from the *east*—one from the *south*, and one from the *west*. The *four* sacks of water, in form of large tortoises, resting on the floor of the lodge and before described, would seem to be typical of the same thing; and also the *four* buffalo, and the *four* human skulls resting on the floor of the same lodge—the *four* couples of dancers in the "bull-dance," as before described; and also the *four* intervening dancers in the same dance, and also described. 796 801

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 another glass of whiskey and at night Captain Clarke and part of the men returned from the village, the rest remained all night.

"Wednesday, 2nd. This day I discovered how the Indians keep their horses during the winter. In the day time they are permitted to run out and gather what they can, and at night are brought into the lodges, with the natives themselves, and fed upon cottonwood branches, and in this way are kept in tolerable ease. (p. 66.)

789 "Sunday, 20th. I went up with one of the men to the villages. They treated us friendly and gave us victuals. After we were done eating they presented a bowlful to a buffalo head, saying "**eat that.**" Their superstitious credulity is so great that they believe by using the head well the living buffalo will come and that they will get a supply of meat. (p. 68)

721 **Sioux Hostilities.** "Thursday, 28th. Sixteen of us went up the river about six miles, where we found and cut down trees for four canoes. While we were absent an express arrived from the Rickarees village with news that the Sioux had declared war against us, and also the Mandans and Gros Ventres. They had boasted of the robbery of the 14th, at the Rickarees village in their way home, and that they intended to massacre the whole of us in the spring. By this express we therefore found out that it was the Sioux who had taken the horses from our men. (p. 70)

000 "Saturday, 6th. The day was clear and pleasant. This day we heard that some of the Rickarees had come up to the Mandan villages. Our interpreter and some of the men were sent over to ascertain the truth of the report and we were detained all day waiting their return. (p. 72)

Ricara Delegation. "Sunday, 7th. The men returned and four of the Rickarees with them. The commanding officers held a conversation with these Indians and they concluded that some of them would go down in the boat from their village to St. Louis. About five o'clock in the afternoon we left Fort Mandan in good spirits. Thirty-one men and a woman went up the river and thirteen returned down it in the boat. We had two perioques and six canoes and proceeded about four miles and encamped opposite the first Mandan village on the north side.

Departure From Mandan Villages. "Monday, 8th. At 12 the word was passed from a canoe in the rear that it was sinking,

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

224 462 could go to the pile brought in by anyone if her husband was slow in returning with his meat. There was no moiety division of the animals as was employed with the corral. Everyone was expected to work curing the meat, men and women alike. Older men would haul poles for scaffolds and set them up. Some husbands would be out as scouts and could not butcher. Crows Heart had been on a number of summer hunts and said that he never made a special effort to help his lodge group. As soon as he unloaded his meat, it was taken by anyone who was ready to cure it. Scattercorn said that one did not ask permission to take a hunter's meat and that one was more likely to be criticized for not working hard enough than for appearing selfish. All my informants were in agreement that quarrels over division of the meat and hides were unknown.

224 The leader and the leader of the hunters were entitled to the tongues, but these were shared with others having the buffalo as a god, while some tongues were given to old people. The evenings were spent in dancing and singing.

785 789 224 796 There was a marked increase of fasting during the summer hunts. Many thought that they secured better visions when fasting away from the village. Others thought that it would be highly desirable to fast far from the village to get visions from supernatural beings that might not come to the villages to "adopt a son." The older men taught that the young buffaloes lived in certain buttes and that fasting while out on the summer buffalo range would increase the next year's calf crop. To perpetuate the buffalo supply, they made offerings of speckled eagle feathers and calicoes to these buttes and encouraged the young men to fast near them. The leader would receive many valuable presents from young men seeking visions at that time while praying for their success when the thongs were being inserted through the skin. Dragging heads of recently killed buffaloes through the camp was a customary practice. Crows Heart thought that most young men who had recently fasted in the Okipa ceremony and had not received visions would repeat their vision quest at that time. The hunt would be terminated in time to reach the village before the corn was in the milk stage. Usually a second performance of the Okipa was held a short time after returning.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

437 utilize other decorations, she was obliged to seek another
421 woman entitled to make the particular decoration and buy the
425 right of her.

There was a similar specialization for men. When a young
437 man was found to have an especially good voice which was
heard above the others in the songs of the society dances, he
425 was encouraged to buy singer rights in dances of both a sacred
535 and a secular character. Although they were obliged to make
555 payments either to existing singers or to the owners of bundles, their rewards far exceeded the initial costs. Their training included information relative to the ceremonies that were being performed, and they received recognition comparable to that shown those who had directed a number of successful war expeditions. In council, their authority was as great as those who had directed war parties, summer buffalo hunts, or eagle-trapping expeditions.

555 Those who could tattoo or paint designs appreciated by the people of the village were highly regarded and received a con-
616 siderable amount of goods for their services. There were usually
531 at least two skilled painters in each village, and they were
789 expected to belong to opposite moieties. A man of one moiety would go to a man of the other moiety to have a robe, shield, or clothing painted either according to his particular inclination or with specific designs of things dreamed of. Each warrior had one or more shields made of buffalo hide taken from around the neck, and these were used universally by the Mandan for protection against arrows and spears until guns became more universal. The designs were believed to offer supernatural protection, and their potency was considered to be enhanced when the design was painted by a man of the opposite moiety, since there would be a payment to the "father" who would pray for the "son's" success. These painters were held responsible for the proper painting of the characters represented in the Okipa and received much property for their services. If they were otherwise sensible men, they enjoyed the same status as those who had been successful in other pursuits.

555 The arrowmakers were highly regarded. Although all males
887 usually made arrows, some were employed specially for arrow-making. These were the older men of the lodge who had passed

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter VIII

CATFISH-TRAPPING CEREMONY

THIS ceremony was associated with the eagle-trapping bundle, and both possessed a common mythological origin from Black Wolf. There was no direct reference to the fish trap in the Black Wolf myth, but in theory the sacred snare could catch anything. Crows Heart explained that even a buffalo corral was in reality a large snare, so a man owning a sacred snare was selected to stand on a high hill and by means of motions, as of snaring the buffaloes, pulled the animals by its magical powers into the corral.[1] War leaders took their sacred snares along when looking for enemies for supernatural aid in ensnaring and destroying their foes.

Purchase of catfish- and eagle-trapping rites could be made simultaneously, or the fish-trapping rights could be bought at a later date. Some men bought rights in only one of the ceremonies. A seller possessing rights in both ceremonies could sell each ceremony four times. Associated closely with these two ceremonies were the sweat lodge and the snare rites for doctoring and officiating at the buffalo and antelope pounds.

Although the Missouri River carries considerable sediment, catfish are very abundant. The presence of catfish bones in ancient Mandan and Hidatsa villages indicates that considerable use was made of these fish as food.

When a fish trap was in use, the black-bear hide was kept in the owner's lodge, laid out on calicoes on a four-post standard with its head pointing toward the fireplace. Food was offered to the bundle each day while the fish trap was being used.

Ben Benson remembered these Mandan who had catfish-trapping rights about 1880:

1. Black Tongue (Big Turtle). He was also custodian of the Okipa turtle drums, Hoita in the Okipa, owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a singer in the Corn ceremonies.

1. Refer to my manuscript, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization," for an account of the ceremonies associated with the buffalo corral.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

quired much "power" to pursue successful war and hunting activities.

A Mandan would say, "I claim no power for myself. I have no power except what my sacred objects have promised me." Children were protected by the parents' bundles until they were old enough to fast.

A young man on his first war expedition usually carried a sacred object from his father's bundle. This practice was repeated until the potency of the son's sacred bundle was established.

Supernatural power was acquired by the purchase of tribal bundles, feasts to tribal bundles, ceremonial sexual license, self-torture, and by showing kindness to the old people. The Mandan also believed that some people were "adopted" by a supernatural being without the novice's knowledge, since some people possessing no important tribal or individual bundles were unusually successful.

Women participating in sexual ceremonialism during the buffalo-calling rites contributed to the husband's supernatural "powers." The writer interviewed a number of women who had "walked with the buffaloes," as the practice is called. All agreed that they sought a good home, a loyal husband who was successful in hunting and warfare, good health, and plenty of food and clothing. They believed that the sexual act was tantamount to intercourse with the buffaloes, who, when placated, sent the herds to the prairies near the villages and promised the warriors success in warfare. Ceremonial sexual intercourse strengthened the marital bonds. It was believed that the buffaloes did all that they promised in dreams. Dreams were easy to get from the buffaloes.

The concept of "power" as a substance was further demonstrated by the manner of handling sacred objects. During the buffalo-calling ceremonies, the men impersonating buffaloes held out their sacred bundles for the women to press to their naked breasts. A woman placed her arms on the "holy man," dragging her arms downward toward the hand holding the bundle as though drawing the sacred powers possessed from the body into the sacred bundle, which was then taken from the buffalo impersonator and held to her breast. By this act it was

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

believed that the supernatural powers were transferred to her own body. These supernatural powers were in turn transmitted to her husband in the daily activities of living and working together. Men receiving sacred objects either to own or to hold took them in the same manner but did not hold them to the breast. 778 789

The faith of the Mandan in their sacred objects was unshaken by two severe smallpox epidemics. They speak of these epidemics as unfortunate and explain the impotency of their rites to protect the tribe on the grounds that, when the original ceremonies were introduced into the tribe, the sacred beings made no promise of tribal immunity to the white man's diseases. They believe that the tribe would have been exterminated by their enemies subsequent to the last smallpox epidemic had the ceremonies been abandoned. 778 731

The Mandan sacred bundles fall into two general categories. They are (1) the hereditary tribal bundles and (2) the personal bundles. Of these two groups of bundles, the former played a more significant role in the total ceremonial life and in a large measure set the background for the supernatural experiences which instituted the personal bundles. 778

At this point it would be well to indicate some of the general characteristics of these bundles not indicated in the main body of the report. The Mandan place greatest values on those bundles and ceremonies which traditionally were instituted in very early times. Foremost of these are the Okipa, founded by Lone Man and Hoita, and those Corn ceremonies which were founded by Good Furred Robe. Not only are these two ceremonies considered oldest, but they also involve the greatest number of participants. 778 796

The Okipa was without question the most complicated and colorful ceremony performed in the Northern Plains. According to tradition, the principal officers of the ceremony belonged to the WaxikEna clan. This clan was intrusted with the care and repair of the sacred cedar and other sacred objects appertaining to the ceremony. A male member of that clan occupied the sacred lodge and acted as announcer whenever tribal ceremonies were performed. A man selected one of his own clan to become his son-in-law to perpetuate the lineage in the sacred 778 796 614 428

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

775 In this description of an after life, there was a marked mixture of ideas. The idea of multiple souls is Siouan, the rest is more or less common over most of the region.

776 821 As usual in the plains area every natural phenomenon and unaccountable event was mystery or medicine, and the medicine idea played the usual important part in all their religious customs. Thunder was ascribed to the familiar thunder-bird, the glitter of whose eyes dug a path through the clouds for the rain and caused the lightning.[1] Solitary claps of thunder were ascribed to a huge turtle which lived in the clouds. The rainbow was said to be a spirit which accompanies the sun and which shows itself when the sun retires for the night. The aurora borealis was said to be the fire kindled at an assembly of the great medicine men and warriors of the northern nations, over which they cooked their dead enemies in huge pots.[2] They had several beliefs about the stars—that of the Sioux, that each star is a man, and when a child is born the star comes down and when he dies it returns; also that a multitude of supernatural beings existed in the stars to which sacrifices and prayers were offered. Dreams were of very great importance and governed nearly all their acts. [787]

789 843 There were many small personal superstitions or mysteries. One man told Maximilian that he could turn a snowball into a white stone, another claimed that his nose always bled if he picked up his pipe by the bowl. There were many signs of good and bad luck. A pregnant woman was considered to bring luck at the game of Skohpe. The medicine men told them that if a clay image of an enemy were made with a needle or quill in it for a heart, and were placed at the foot of some medicine structure, that enemy would die. A pregnant woman brings bad luck to her husband in hunting. Many of the Mandans believed that they had some animal, as a buffalo, turtle or frog in them; the women had a dance when they thought an ear of corn was in them, which the dance caused to come out.[3] There were a number of other superstitions of this sort, mostly common to all the plains tribes. One more notable might be mentioned, however, that of building the fire with two sticks crossed in the center, 372

[1] Ibid., p. 422. [2] Ibid., p. 423. [3] Ibid., p. 463.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

wore robes with the hairy side out, wore painted women's robes. They formed a circle, the men began to sing, and the women danced, taking up the tune at the same time. They waddled like ducks from side to side, raising each foot alternately higher than the other, but not moving from their position. After a while there was an intermission, which was again followed by a dance. Only the older members had the tattoo marks between mouth and chin that were distinctive of the society. When Maximilian saw the society from Ruptare perform, there were three male musicians, who also wore white buffalo skin headdresses, and none of the women carried bundles of twigs. Otherwise the equipment was the same as in the other dance.[1]

575 527 292 [304]

An illustration of the dance of this society, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas, is shown in Fig. 16.

Boller's account, which is of considerably later date, contributes the important fact that in case of a famine the White Buffalo Cow women were expected to make buffalo herds come nearer to the village. A similar function is attributed by Catlin to *male* Buffalo dancers wearing masks of a type described in this paper in connection with the Bull society (p. 315). Catlin, however, does not connect his Buffalo dance with any organization, for though only about ten or fifteen men are said to have joined in the dance at one time, he states that every Mandan was obliged to keep a buffalo mask for possible use in the buffalo-calling ceremony on the request of the chiefs.[2] Oddly enough, both Catlin and Boller say that their respective Buffalo dancers never failed to bring in the herds for the reason that they continued their performance for weeks if necessary, until buffalo were actually sighted. The dance of the society is thus described by Boller:

575 789 535

> The different members of the White-Cow band began to assemble, and soon the regular taps of the drum notified the camp that the great and important ceremony was in full progress. At one end of the lodge sat the musicians or drummers, three in number, who were untiring in their efforts, and aided their instrumentation by singing in a monotonous chanting strain. The women, comprising some forty or fifty matrons of the village, most of whose charms had unmistakably faded, were all attired in their quaintly garnished deer-skin dresses. Each had a spot of vermilion on either cheek, and their long black hair, which was carefully combed out and dressed with marrow grease, fell full and flowing over their shoulders, confined around the forehead with a fillet of white buffalo cow-skin. One of them had a white robe (which is very scarce, and held in the highest esteem) wrapped around her. This white robe was the common property of the band, and in its great power as a "medicine" were centred their hopes of bringing in the buffalo.[3]

[302] [778]

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[1] Ibid., 283–284, 297.
[2] Catlin, I, 127–128.
[3] Boller, 218–219.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Throughout the ceremony two women whose normal position in the circle was on the right side of the rear officer preserved order in the lodge; the distinctive badge of their office consisted of a skunkskin head band (Fig. 17). 575 626

The object of the ceremony was to lure the buffalo near the fireplace. Once, when the performance took place in a clearing in the woods, one buffalo came directly to the doorway, and was killed on the spot. During the same season a great abundance of buffalo were found in the timber. Apparently, anyone who was desirous of making the buffalo come could take the initiative and ask the society to undertake the performance. 575 789

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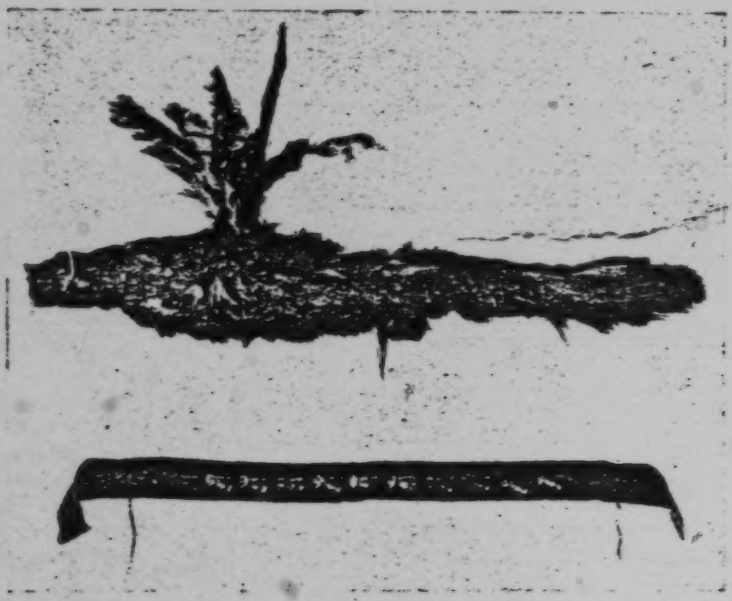

Fig. 17 (50.1–4815, 50.1–4731). Skunkskin Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society and Head Band of Kit-Fox Society. Lengths, 79 cm. and 85 cm.

Any old member could adopt as many new ones as she wished, and was obliged to provide each tyro with a headdress. Calf-woman obtained one of these headdresses at the time of her adoption, though she was only two years of age. She became the middle officer because her adoptive mother gave her the appropriate calfskin robe. The musicians adopted new musicians who were obliged to pay heavily for the songs. Four of them had drums for instruments, while the remaining one used a rattle of buffalo skin. 575 608 432 [534]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
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Appropriately anyone interested in the success of the buffalo chase might give a feast to the society and make offerings. Buffalo-bird-woman remembered one instance when a white man made offerings to the buffalo spirits before a hunt. He gave the society a butcher knife and other property and thus addressed them: "You, Buffalo women, I give offerings to you. I will give you a butcher knife when you cross in the dance. I wish to save all these men from getting injured and I desire to get all the meat."

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The Museum owns several White Buffalo headdresses actually used by members and collected by Rev. Wilson and the present writer. One of these is represented in Fig. 18, together with the small notched wooden feather-straightener. In the skunkskin head band (Fig. 17) the feathers are attached in similar fashion.

778 were fixed upon poles, representing, as we were told, the sun and moon, probably the lord of life
782 and the old woman who never dies. Wormwood, of which they generally fasten a bunch to the poles, is a sacred medicine herb, to which they ascribe various effects.

Dreams, as I have before said, afford the usual motives for such actions, and for the
787 penances which they impose upon themselves, and they believe all that appears in their dreams
782 to be true. They were not yet acquainted with fire-arms, when one of the Indians dreamt
789 of a weapon with which they could kill their enemies at a great distance, and soon afterwards the white men brought them the first gun. In the same manner they dreamt of horses
304 before they obtained any. Even the Whites who live among them are infected with this belief in dreams, and other superstitions. They frequently promise, on undertaking anything, the joint of a finger, which they cut off at once, and keep in a handful of wormwood; this I myself saw among the Blackfeet, where, at that time, it was a sign of mourning. It is also done at the time of the Okippe in May and June. Almost all the Mandans and Manitaries have lost one or two joints of the fingers, and several of them more. There are numerous superstitious ideas and prejudices among these Indians. Thus, they believe that a person to whom they wish ill must die, if they make a figure of wood or clay, substituting for the heart, a needle, an awl, or a porcupine quill, and bury the image at the foot of one of their medicine poles. When a child is born, the father must not bridle a horse, that is to say, he is not to fasten the halter to the lower jaw, otherwise the child would die in convulsions. If the wife be pregnant, this circumstance is often the cause of much ill fortune to the husband, and he is frequently unsuccessful in hunting. If an Indian, in such cases, wounds a buffalo, without being able to kill it quickly, he endeavours to carry the heart of a buffalo home, and makes his wife discharge an arrow at
777 it; he then again feels confidence in his weapons, that they will speedily kill. The Indians affirm that a pregnant woman is very lucky at a game called billiards. Many consider it a bad omen when a woman, while several Mandans are smoking together, passes between them. If a woman is lying on the ground between the men who are smoking, a piece of wood is laid across
789 her, to serve as a communication between the men. The strongest man now living among the
555 Mandans, who has been the victor in several wrestling matches with the Whites, always takes hold of his pipe by the head, for, were he to touch it in another part, the blood would suddenly rush from his nostrils. As soon as he bleeds in this manner, he instantly empties his pipe, and throws the contents into the fire, where it explodes like gunpowder, and the bleeding immediatly stops. Nobody, they say, can touch this man's face, without at once bleeding at the nose and mouth. A certain Indian affirms that, whenever another offers him a pipe to smoke, out of civility, he immediately has his mouth full of worms, handfuls of which he throws into the fire. The medicine of another man consists in making a snow-ball, which he rolls a long time between his hands, so that it at length becomes hard, and is converted into a white stone, which, when

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

struck, emits fire. Many persons, even Whites, pretended they had seen this, and it is utterly useless to attempt convincing them to the contrary. The same man pretends that, during a dance, he plucked white feathers from a certain small bird, which he rolled between his hands, and formed of them, in a short time, a similar white stone. Sometimes an Indian takes it into his head to make his gun medicine, or to consecrate it, which he does not dare afterwards to part with. With this view he generally makes a yearly feast in the spring. The crier (kettle-tender, or marmiton) must invite a certain number of guests, and receive an equal number of small sticks, which he delivers to them, as a sign of their being invited; nay, now, European playing cards are actually sent round for this purpose. The guests appear, lay their guns aside, and take their places, on which the drum and schischikué go round, and every guest sings, and plays the drum and rattle. While this music is going on, they eat the food which has been dressed, nor are they allowed to leave any of it. The host then takes his gun, cuts a piece of flesh, and with it rubs the barrel, and flings the meat into the fire; this is repeated thrice. He then takes up some of the water in which the meat was boiled, rubs the whole length of the barrel with it, pours the rest of the broth into the fire; and, lastly, takes fat, with which he rubs the whole of his gun, and then throws the remainder into the fire. 789 556

A great many Mandans and Manitaries believe that they have wild animals in their body; one, for instance, affirmed he had a buffalo calf, the kicking of which he often felt; others said they had tortoises, frogs, lizards, birds, and so forth. Among the Manitaries we saw medicine dances of the women, where one pretended that she had a head of maize in her body, which she cast out by dancing, and then ate, after it had been mixed with wormwood. Another discharged blood, but of this we shall speak in the sequel. Similar feats are seen among the Mandans also. They likewise relate a number of foolish stories of miraculous and supernatural events. Thus, a girl refused to marry, and had no intercourse with the other sex. One night, while she was asleep, a man lay down by her side, on which she awoke, and saw him go away in a white buffalo robe. As he returned on the two succeeding nights, she resolved to mark him, and stained her hand with red. He appeared, and she gave him a blow, with her hand, on his back, not being able to hold him. On the following day she examined all the robes in the whole village, but could not find the mark of her hand, till at length she discovered it on the back of a large white dog. Some months after, as the Indians are fully persuaded, she was delivered of seven young dogs. The people consider owls as medicine birds, and pretend to hold conversations with them, and to understand their attitudes and voices; often, indeed, they keep these animals alive in their huts, and look upon them as soothsayers. I shall, subsequently, have occasion to speak of the manner in which they catch all kinds of birds of prey, which feed on the flesh of dead animals, particularly eagles, which they sometimes preserve alive. They frequently look upon them as medicine. 787 778

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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[facing p. 132]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

782 great curiosity, even in the country of buffaloes, and will always command an almost incredible price, from its extreme scarcity; and then, from its being 439 the most costly article of traffic in these regions, it is usually converted into a *sacrifice*, being offered to the Great Spirit, as the most acceptable gift that can be procured. Amongst the vast herds of buffaloes which graze on these boundless prairies, there is not one in an hundred thousand, perhaps, that is white; and when such an one is obtained, it is considered great *medicine* or mystery.

On the receipt of the intelligence above-mentioned, the chiefs convened in council, and deliberated on the expediency of procuring the white robe from the Blackfeet; and also of appropriating the requisite means, and devising the proper mode of procedure for effecting the purchase. At the close of their deliberations, eight men were fitted out on eight of their best horses, who took from the Fur Company's store, on the credit of the chiefs, goods exceeding even the value of their eight horses; and they started for the Mouth of the Yellow Stone, where they arrived in due time, and made the purchase, by leaving the eight horses and all the goods which they carried; returning on foot to their own village, bringing home with them the white robe, which was looked upon by all eyes of the villagers as a thing that was vastly curious, and containing (as they express it) something of the Great Spirit. This wonderful anomaly laid several days in the chief's lodge, until public curiosity was gratified; and then it was taken by the doctors or high-priests, and with a great deal of form and mystery consecrated, and raised on the top of a long pole over the *medicine-lodge;* where it now stands in a group with the others, and will stand as an offering to the Great Spirit, until it decays and falls to the ground.

000 This Letter, as I promised in its commencement, being devoted to some of the customs peculiar to the Mandans, and all of which will be new to the world, I shall close, after recording in it an account of a laughable farce, which was enacted in this village when I was on my journey up the river, and had stopped on the way to spend a day or two in the Mandan village.

789 Readers, did you ever hear of "*Rain Makers?*" If not, sit still, and read on; but laugh not—keep cool and sober, or else you may laugh in the *beginning*, and cry at the *end* of my story. Well, I introduce to you a new character—not a *doctor* or a *high-priest*, yet a *medicine-man*, and one of the highest and most respectable order, a "*Rain Maker!*" Such dignitaries live in the Mandan nation, aye, and "*rain stoppers*" too; and even those also amongst their *conjurati*, who, like Joshua of old, have even essayed to stop the sun in his course; but from the inefficiency of their medicine or mystery have long since descended into insignificance.

Well, the story begins thus:—The Mandans, as I have said in a former Letter, raise a great deal of corn; and sometimes a most disastrous drought will be visited on the land, destructive to their promised harvest. Such

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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was the case when I arrived at the Mandan village on the steam-boat, Yellow-Stone. Rain had not fallen for many a day, and the dear little girls and the ugly old squaws, altogether (all of whom had fields of corn), were groaning and crying to their lords, and imploring them to intercede for rain, that their little respective patches, which were now turning pale and yellow, might not be withered, and they be deprived of the pleasure of their customary annual festivity, and the joyful occasion of the "roasting ears," and the "green corn dance."

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The chiefs and doctors sympathized with the plaints of the women, and recommended patience. Great deliberation, they said, was necessary in these cases; and though they resolved on making the attempt to produce rain for the benefit of the corn; yet they very wisely resolved that to begin too soon might ensure their entire defeat in the endeavour; and that the longer they put it off, the more certain they would feel of ultimate success. So, after a few days of further delay, when the importunities of the women had become clamorous, and even mournful, and almost insupportable, the *medicine-men* assembled in the council-house, with all their mystery apparatus about them—with an abundance of wild sage, and other aromatic herbs, with a fire prepared to burn them, that their savoury odours might be sent forth to the Great Spirit. The lodge was closed to all the villagers, except some ten or fifteen young men, who were willing to hazard the dreadful alternative of making it rain, or suffer the everlasting disgrace of having made a fruitless essay.

They, only, were allowed as witnesses to the *hocus pocus* and *conjuration* devised by the doctors inside of the medicine-lodge; and they were called up by lot, each one in his turn, to spend a day upon the top of the lodge, to test the potency of his medicine; or, in other words, to see how far his voice might be heard and obeyed amongst the clouds of the heavens; whilst the doctors were burning incense in the wigwam below, and with their songs and prayers to the Great Spirit for success, were sending forth grateful fumes and odours to Him "who lives in the sun and commands the thunders of Heaven." Wah-kee (the shield) was the first who ascended the wigwam at sunrise; and he stood all day, and looked foolish, as he was counting over and over his string of mystery-beads—the whole village were assembled around him, and praying for his success. Not a cloud appeared—the day was calm and hot; and at the setting of the sun, he descended from the lodge and went home—"his *medicine* was not good," nor can he ever be a *medicine-man*.

Om-pah (the elk) was the next; he ascended the lodge at sunrise the next morning. His body was entirely naked, being covered with yellow clay. On his left arm he carried a beautiful shield, and a long lance in his right; and on his head the skin of a raven, the bird that soars amidst the clouds, and above the lightning's glare—he flourished his shield and brandished his lance, and raised his voice, but in vain; for at sunset the ground

789 was dry and the sky was clear; the squaws were crying, and their corn was withering at its roots.

War-rah-pa (the beaver) was the next; he also spent his breath in vain upon the empty air, and came down at night—and Wak-a-dah-ha-hee (the white buffalo's hair) took the stand the next morning. He is a small, but beautifully proportioned young man. He was dressed in a tunic and leggings of the skins of the mountain-sheep, splendidly garnished with quills of the porcupine, and fringed with locks of hair taken by his own hand from the heads of his enemies. On his arm he carried his shield, made of the buffalo's hide—its boss was the head of the war-eagle—and its front was ornamented with "red chains of lightning." In his left hand he clenched his sinewy bow and one single arrow. The villagers were all gathered about him; when he threw up a feather to decide on the course of the wind, and he commenced thus:—"My friends! people of the pheasants! you see me here a sacrifice—I shall this day relieve you from great distress, and bring joy amongst you; or I shall descend from this lodge when the sun goes down, and live amongs the dogs and old women all my days. My friends! you saw which way the feather flew, and I hold my shield this day in the direction where the wind comes—the lightning on my shield will draw a great cloud, and this arrow, which is selected from my quiver, and which is feathered with the quill of the white swan, will make a hole in it. My friends! this hole in the lodge at my feet, shows me the medicine-men, who are seated in the lodge below me and crying to the Great Spirit; and through it comes and passes into my nose delightful odours, which you see rising in the smoke to the Great Spirit above, who rides in the clouds and commands the winds! Three days they have sat here, my friends, and nothing has been done to relieve your distress. On the first day was Wah-kee (the shield), he could do nothing; he counted his beads and came down—his medicine was not good—his name was bad, and it kept off the rain. The next was Om-pah (the elk); on his head the raven was seen, who flies *above* the storm, and he failed. War-rah-pa (the beaver) was the next, my friends; the beaver lives *under* the *water*, and he never wants it to rain. My friends! I see you are in great distress, and nothing has yet been done; this shield belonged to my father the White Buffalo; and the lightning you see on it is red; it was taken from a black cloud, and that cloud will come over us to-day. I am the white buffalo's hair—and I am the son of my father."

[776] In this manner flourished and manœuvred Wak-a-dah-ha-hee (the white buffalo's hair), alternately addressing the audience and the heavens—and holding converse with the winds and the "*je-bi*" (spirits) that are floating about in them—stamping his foot over the heads of the *magi*, who were involved in mysteries beneath him, and invoking the spirits of darkness and light to send rain, to gladden the hearts of the Mandans.

It happened on this memorable day about noon, that the steam-boat

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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Yellow Stone, on her first trip up the Missouri River, approached and landed at the Mandan Village, as I have described in a former epistle. I was lucky enough to be a passenger on this boat, and helped to fire a salute of twenty guns of twelve pounds calibre, when we first came in sight of the village, some three or four miles below. These guns introduced a *new sound* into this strange country, which the Mandans at first supposed to be thunder; and the young man upon the lodge, who turned it to good account, was gathering fame in rounds of applause, which were repeated and echoed through the whole village; all eyes were centred upon him—chiefs envied him—mothers' hearts were beating high whilst they were decorating and leading up their fair daughters to offer him in marriage, on his signal success. The medicine-men had left the lodge, and came out to bestow upon him the envied title of "*medicine-man*," or "*doctor*," which he had so deservedly won—wreaths were prepared to decorate his brows, and eagle's plumes and calumets were in readiness for him; his friends were all rejoiced—his enemies wore on their faces a silent gloom and hatred; and his old sweethearts, who had formerly cast him off, gazed intensely upon him, as they glowed with the burning fever of repentance.

During all this excitement, Wak-a-dah-ha-hee kept his position, assuming the most commanding and threatening attitudes; brandishing his shield in the direction of the thunder (PLATE 58), although there was not a cloud to be seen, until he (poor fellow), being elevated above the rest of the village, espied, to his inexpressible amazement, the steam-boat ploughing its way up the windings of the river below; puffing her steam from her pipes, and sending forth the thunder from a twelve-pounder on her deck! * * * The White Buffalo's Hair stood motionless and turned pale, he looked awhile, and turned to the chief and to the multitude, and addressed them with a trembling lip—"My friends, we will get no rain!—there are, you see, no clouds; but my medicine is great—I have brought a *thunder boat*! look and see it! the thunder you hear is out of her mouth, and the lightning which you see is on the waters!"

At this intelligence, the whole village flew to the tops of their wigwams, or to the bank of the river, from whence the steamer was in full view, and ploughing along, to their utter dismay and confusion.

In this promiscuous throng of chiefs, doctors, women, children and dogs, was mingled Wak-a-dah-ha-hee (the white buffalo's hair), having descended from his high place to mingle with the frightened throng.

Dismayed at the approach of so strange and unaccountable an object, the Mandans stood their ground but a few moments; when, by an order of the chiefs, all hands were ensconced within the piquets of their village, and all the warriors armed for desperate defence. A few moments brought the boat in front of the village, and all was still and quiet as death; not a Mandan was to be seen upon the banks. The steamer was moored, and three or four of the chiefs soon after, walked boldly down the bank and on to her

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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789 deck, with a spear in one hand and the calumet or pipe of peace in the other. The moment they stepped on board they met (to their great surprise and joy) their old friend, Major Sanford, their agent, which circumstance put an instant end to all their fears. The villagers were soon apprized of the fact, and the whole race of the beautiful and friendly Mandans was paraded on the bank of the river, in front of the steamer.

The "rain maker," whose apprehensions of a public calamity brought upon the nation by his extraordinary *medicine*, had, for the better security of his person from apprehended vengeance, secreted himself in some secure place, and was the last to come forward, and the last to be convinced that this visitation was a friendly one from the white people; and that his *medicine* had not in the least been instrumental in bringing it about. This information, though received by him with much caution and suspicion, at length gave him great relief, and quieted his mind as to his danger. Yet still in his breast there was a rankling thorn, though he escaped the dreaded vengeance which he had a few moments before apprehended as at hand; as he had the mortification and disgrace of having failed in his mysterious operations. He set up, however (during the day, in his conversation about the strange arrival), his *medicines*, as the cause of its approach; asserting everywhere and to everybody, that he knew of its coming, and that he had by his magic brought the occurrence about. This plea, however, did not get him much audience; and in fact, everything else was pretty much swallowed up in the guttural talk, and bustle, and gossip about the mysteries of the "thunder-boat;" and so passed the day, until just at the approach of evening, when the "White Buffalo's Hair" (more watchful of such matters on this occasion than most others) observed that a black cloud had been jutting up in the horizon, and was almost directly over the village! In an instant his shield was on his arm, and his bow in his hand, and he again upon the lodge! stiffened and braced to the last sinew, he stood, with his face and his shield presented to the cloud, and his bow drawn. He drew the eyes of the whole village upon him as he vaunted forth his super-human powers, and at the same time commanding the cloud to come nearer, that he might draw down its contents upon the heads and the corn-fields of the Mandans! In this wise he stood, waving his shield over his head, stamping his foot and frowning as he drew his bow and threatened the heavens, commanding it to rain—his bow was bent, and the arrow drawn to its head, was sent to the cloud, and he exclaimed, "My friends, it is done! Wak-a-dah-ha-hee's arrow has entered that black cloud, and the Mandans will be wet with the water of the skies!" His predictions were true;—in a few moments the cloud was over the village, and the rain fell in torrents. He stood for some time wielding his weapons and presenting his shield to the sky, while he boasted of his power and the efficacy of his *medicine*, to those who had been about him, but were now driven to the shelter of their wigwams. He, at length, finished his vaunts and his threats, and descended

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from his high place (in which he had been perfectly drenched), prepared to receive the honours and the homage that were due to one so potent in his mysteries; and to receive the style and title of "*medicine-man*." This is one of a hundred different modes in which a man in Indian countries acquires the honourable appellation. 789

This man had "made it rain," and of course was to receive more than usual honours, as he had done much more than ordinary men could do. All eyes were upon him, and all were ready to admit that he was skilled in the magic art; and must be so nearly allied to the Great or Evil Spirit, that he must needs be a man of great and powerful influence in the nation, and well entitled to the style of doctor or *medicine-man*.

Readers, there are two facts relative to these strange transactions, which are infallibly true, and should needs be made known. The first is, that when the Mandans undertake to make it rain, *they never fail to succeed*, for their ceremonies never stop until rain begins to fall. The second is equally true, and is this:—that he who has once "*made it rain*," never attempts it again; his medicine is undoubted—and on future occasions of the kind, he stands aloof, who has once done it in presence of the whole village giving an opportuuity to other young men who are ambitious to signalize themselves in the same way.

During the memorable night of which I have just spoken, the steam-boat remained by the side of the Mandan village, and the rain that had commenced falling continued to pour down its torrents until midnight; black thunder roared, and livid lightning flashed until the heavens appeared to be lit up with one unceasing and appalling glare. In this frightful moment of consternation, a flash of lightning buried itself in one of the earth-covered lodges of the Mandans, and killed a beautiful girl. Here was food and fuel fresh for their superstitions; and a night of vast tumult and excitement ensued. The dreams of the new-made medicine-man were troubled, and he had dreadful apprehensions for the coming day—for he knew that he was subject to the irrevocable decree of the chiefs and doctors, who canvass every strange and unaccountable event, with close and superstitious scrutiny, and let their vengeance fall without mercy upon its immediate cause.

He looked upon his well-earned fame as likely to be withheld from him; and also considered that his life might perhaps be demanded as the forfeit for this girl's death, which would certainly be charged upon him. He looked upon himself as culpable, and supposed the accident to have been occasioned by his criminal desertion of his post, when the steam-boat was approaching the village. Morning came, and he soon learned from some of his friends, the opinions of the wise men; and also the nature of the tribunal that was preparing for him; he sent to the prairie for his three horses, which were brought in, and he mounted the *medicine-lodge*, around which, in a few moments, the villagers were all assembled. "My friends! (said he) I see you all around me, and I am before you; my medicine, you see, is great—it is

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

789 *too great*—I am young, and I was too fast—I knew not when to stop. The wigwam of Mah-sish is laid low, and many are the eyes that weep for Ko-ka (the antelope:) Wak-a-dah-ha-hee gives three horses to gladden the hearts of those who weep for Ko-ka; his medicine was great—his arrow pierced the black cloud, and the lightning came, and the *thunder-boat* also! who says the medicine of Wak-a-dah-ha-hee is not strong?"

At the end of this sentence an unanimous shout of approbation ran through the crowd, and the "Hair of the White Buffalo" descended amongst them, where he was greeted by shakes of the hand; and amongst whom he now lives and thrives under the familiar and honourable appellation of the "BIG DOUBLE MEDICINE."

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 which Lewis and Clarke, Henry, Catlin, and Maximilian all give
787 accounts. The Mandans told Lewis and Clarke that this rock, which was at three days march to the southwest, informed them of every thing to happen during the year and that they visited it every spring and sometimes in the summers.[1] The description which Maximilian gives of this rock seems worth repetition: "It is situated at two or three days from the village on the edge of the Cannonball River from which it is about one hundred paces. They say it is on the summit of a rather high hill, the top of which is level. It is marked by the footprints of men and other animals, dogs and travois. It is a sort of oracle. They offer it all sorts of valuable articles — knives, pipes, cloth. . . . When going to war they pass near and consult the stone. They approach it, weep, groan, smoke, and retire to a distance where they pass the night. Next day they take down on parchment what the stone shows. This painted parchment is carried to the village where the old men interpret it. Undoubtedly new figures are seen on the stone from time to time.' Not far from this place was the ark where part of the nation was saved." The Minnetarees also had one of these medicine stones which was consulted in practically the same way. One more of their natural sacred objects deserves
778 mention; this was a lake some distance from their villages
782 where a great serpent, formerly a Mandan warrior, was said to reside. This serpent was a good genius and offerings of all sorts were thrown into the lake to procure his aid.

791 The shaman although mentioned occasionally is not described, nor are his powers well defined by any of the authorities. Maximilian remarked that there were shamans who gathered herbs and pretended to cure diseases and others who did tricks and conducted preparations for the ceremonies.

773 MYTHOLOGY:—Practically all material on Mandan mythology
539 comes from Maximilian who wrote down a large number of stories directly as they were told to him by a Mandan chief, Dipeuch. Catlin and Lewis and Clarke reinforce these with a few details. It is found by analysis of the myths given by Maximilian that two distinct, parallel, mythological stories of

[1] Lewis and Clarke: Feb. 21, 1805.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

This custom exists among most of the nations on the Missouri, and even among the Esquimaux there is a somewhat similar usage. If the adopted son and father have not happened to meet for a long time, they make presents to each other; the father gives the son a new dress, and the latter presents him with a good horse. Among all the Indian nations of North America, there is a particular class of men, who are specially engaged in all the above-mentioned ceremonies and medicines. They are, also, the physicians, and are called, among the Mandans, Numak-Choppenih, which signifies medicine man.

The skin of a white buffalo cow is an important article, and an eminent medicine in the opinion of the Mandans and Manitaries. He who has never possessed one of them is not respected. Suppose two men to be disputing about their exploits, the one an old veteran warrior, who has slain many enemies, the other, a young lad without experience; the latter reproaches the other with never having possessed a white buffalo cow hide, on which the old man droops his head, and covers his face for shame. He who possesses such a hide generally offers it to the lord of life, to whom he dedicates it, or, which is equivalent, to the sun, or to the first man. He collects, perhaps, in the course of a whole twelvemonth, various articles of value, and then hangs them up all together on a high pole in the open prairie, generally in the neighbourhood of the burying-place, or in the village before his hut. Distinguished men and chiefs of eminence are for the most part poor, because, in order to gain reputation and influence, they give away everything of value which they possess. A large number of relatives is one of the chief means of acquiring riches, for a young man who wishes to distinguish himself, and to be liberal, does honour to the whole family, who assist him to the utmost of their power. When one of his relations has anything of value, the young man goes to the owner to demand it, and not unfrequently takes it away without ceremony. Sometimes he hangs his head in silence, and then something of value is given him, a handsome dress, a horse, &c. If he wishes to gain reputation and a claim to distinction, it is necessary that he should make presents. All the people in the village notice very accurately what presents are made, and the donor has a right to display all such presents painted on his robes, and in this manner to hand down his reputation to posterity, as has been already related. This and military glory are, in the eyes of these men, the greatest virtues. They dare not draw a stroke too much on their robes for the horses, guns, &c., which they have given away, for the young men keep a most strict account against each other, and universal ridicule would be the immediate consequence of violating this rule. Among the distinctions of any man, the white buffalo hide is the greatest. He who has not been so fortunate as to kill a white buffalo himself, which is generally the case, as these animals are very rare, purchases a hide, often at a great distance from home, and other nations bring them hither, being well aware of the great value attached to them by the Mandans. The hide must be that of a young cow, not above two years old, and be taken off complete and tanned, with the horns,

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and so they continued to pass the pipe around until the portrait was completed. 123

In this way I progressed with my portraits, stopping occasionally very suddenly as if something was wrong, and taking a tremendous puff or two at the pipe, and streaming the smoke through my nostrils, exhibiting in my looks and actions an evident relief; enabling me to proceed with more facility and success,—by flattering and complimenting each one on his good looks after I had got it done, and taking them according to rank, or standing, making it a matter of honour with them, which pleased them exceedingly, and gave me and my art the stamp of respectability at once.

I was then taken by the arm by the chiefs, and led to their lodges, where feasts were prepared for me in elegant style, *i. e.* in the best manner which this country affords; and being led by the arm, and welcomed to them by *gentlemen* of high and exalted feelings, rendered them in my estimation truly elegant.

I was waited upon in due form and ceremony by the *medicine-men*, who received me upon the old adage, "Similis simili gaudet." I was invited to a feast, and they presented me a *she-shee-quoi*, or a doctor's rattle, and also a magical wand, or a doctor's staff, strung with claws of the grizzly bear, with hoofs of the antelope—with ermine—with wild sage and bat's wings—and perfumed withal with the *choice* and *savoury* odour of the pole-cat—a dog was sacrificed and hung by the legs over my wigwam, and I was therefore and thereby initiated into (and countenanced in the practice of) the arcana of medicine or mystery, and considered a Fellow of the Extraordinary Society of *Conjurati*. 123 791

Since this signal success and good fortune in my operations, things have gone on very pleasantly, and I have had a great deal of amusement. Some altercation has taken place, however, amongst the chiefs and braves, with regard to standing or rank, of which they are exceedingly jealous; and they must sit (if at all) in regular order, according to that rank; the trouble is all settled at last, however, and I have had no want of subjects, though a great many have become again alarmed, and are unwilling to sit, for fear, as some say, that they will die prematurely if painted; and as others say, that if they are painted, the picture will live after they are dead, and they cannot sleep quiet in their graves. 123 774

I have had several most remarkable occurrences in my painting-room, of this kind, which have made me some everlasting enemies here; though the minds and feelings of the chiefs and medicine-men have not been affected by them. There has been three or four instances where proud and aspiring young men have been in my lodge, and after gazing at the portraits of the head chief across the room (which sits looking them in the eyes), have raised their hands before their faces and walked around to the side of the lodge, on the right or left, from whence to take a long and fair side-look at the chief, instead of staring him full in the face (which is a most unpardonable offence

7: Catlin R. E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

123 774 in all Indian tribes); and after having got in that position, and cast their eyes again upon the portrait which was yet looking them full in the face, have thrown their robes over their heads and bolted out of the wigwam, filled equally with astonishment and indignation; averring, as they always will in a sullen mood, that they "saw the eyes move,"—that as they walked around the room "the eyes of the portrait followed them." With these unfortunate gentlemen, repeated efforts have been made by the Traders, and also by the chiefs and doctors, who understand the illusion, to convince them of their error, by explaining the mystery; but they will not hear to any explanation whatever; saying, that "what they see with their eyes is always evidence enough for them;" that they always "believe their own eyes sooner than a hundred tongues," and all efforts to get them a second time to my room, or into my company in any place, have proved entirely unsuccessful.

123 791 I had trouble brewing also the other day from another source; one of the "*medicines*" commenced howling and haranguing around my domicil, amongst the throng that was outside, proclaiming that all who were inside and being painted were fools and would soon die; and very materially affecting thereby my popularity. I however sent for him and called him in the next morning, when I was alone, having only the interpreter with me; telling him that I had had my eye upon him for several days, and had been so well pleased with his looks, that I had taken great pains to find out his history, which had been explained by all as one of a most extraordinary kind, and his character and standing in his tribe as worthy of my particular notice; and that I had several days since resolved that as soon as I had practiced my hand long enough upon the others, to get the stiffness out of it (after paddling my canoe so far as I had) and make it to work easily and successfully, I would begin on his portrait, which I was then prepared to commence on that day, and that I felt as if I could do him justice. He shook me by the hand, giving me the "Doctor's grip," and beckoned me to sit down, which I did, and we smoked a pipe together. After this was over, he told me, that "he had no inimical feelings towards me, although he had been telling the chiefs that they were all fools, and all would die who had their portraits painted—that although he had set the old women and children all crying, and even made some of the young warriors tremble, yet he had no unfriendly feelings towards me, nor any fear or dread of my art." "I know you are a good man (said he), I know you will do no harm to any one, your medicine is great and you are a great 'medicine-man.' I would like to see myself very well—and so would all of the chiefs; but they have all been many days in this medicine-house, and they all know me well, and they have not asked me to come in and be *made alive* with paints—my friend, I am glad that my people have told you who I am—my heart is glad—I will go to my wigwam and eat, and in a little while I will come, and you may go to work;"—another pipe was lit and smoked, and he got up and went off. I prepared my canvas and pa-

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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lette, and whistled away the time until twelve o'clock, before he made his appearance; having used the whole of the fore-part of the day at his toilette, arranging his dress and ornamenting his body for his picture.

At that hour then, bedaubed and streaked with paints of various colours, with bear's grease and charcoal, with medicine-pipes in his hands and foxes tails attached to his heels, entered Mah-to-he-hah (the old bear, PLATE 55), with a train of his own profession, who seated themselves around him; and also a number of boys, whom it was requested should remain with him, and whom I supposed it possible might have been pupils, whom he was instructing in the mysteries of *materia medica* and *hoca poca*. He took his position in the middle of the room, waving his eagle calumets in each hand, and singing his medicine-song which he sings over his dying patient, looking me full in the face until I completed his picture, which I painted at full length. His vanity has been completely gratified in the operation; he lies for hours together, day after day, in my room, in front of his picture, gazing intensely upon it; lights my pipe for me while I am painting—shakes hands with me a dozen times on each day, and talks of me, and enlarges upon my *medicine* virtues and my talents, wherever he goes; so that this new difficulty is now removed, and instead of preaching against me, he is one of my strongest and most enthusiastic friends and aids in the country.

There is yet to be described another sort of personage, that is often seen stalking about in all Indian communities, a kind of nondescript, with whom I have been somewhat annoyed, and still more amused, since I came to this village, of whom (or of *which*) I shall give some account in my next epistle.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of the WaxikEna clan who was known as the custodian of the Okipa lodge.[4] His family lived with him in the lodge. The WaxikEna clan, to which Lone Man, traditional founder of the ceremony, belonged, met and selected one of their number to occupy the lodge and protect the ceremonial equipment left there by the various officers of the ceremony. The Mandan, upon joining the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, built a ceremonial lodge and selected Arrowhead Earrings as custodian. His family lived in the lodge except when it was needed for a ceremony, at which time they removed their lodge property. The family was paid for the use of the lodge or, as Calf Woman explained, for the trouble they had been put to in preparing the lodge for the ceremony. When Arrowhead Earrings died, the lodge should have been taken over by another member of the WaxikEna clan. His son-in-law, Never Eats Marrow, although of the Hidatsa Knife clan, was held in such high respect by the Mandan that he was intrusted with the lodge, and his daughter, Calf Woman, who supplied much of the information about this ceremony, was born in this lodge. She ultimately acquired the buffalo masks used in the ceremony through purchase from the WaxikEna clan after the buffaloes became extinct and the ceremony was no longer being performed.[5]

The repair of the cedar[6] and the wall inclosing it was also in-

4. Catlin is possibly in error when he says: "The 'Medicine Lodge,' the largest in the village and seventy-five feet in diameter, with four images (sacrifices of different-coloured and costly cloths) suspended on poles above it, was considered by these people as a sort of temple, held as strictly sacred, being built and used solely for these four days' ceremonies, and closed during the rest of the year" (George Catlin, *O-Kee-Pa* [Philadelphia, 1867], p. 81).

5. This is an instance of shifting from clan inheritance commonly occurring since 1845.

6. Scattercorn in recent years was considered custodian of the sacred cedar, which was placed west of Crows Heart's home. Members of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans were expected to attend and assist in the repair. Others would come to make offerings to the cedar at that time, which in recent years consisted chiefly of calicoes. She used one song during the ceremonial repairing of the cedar and inclosure, and it was directed to the four directions.

At the east side of the cedar she would sing:

o-ta'-nu-mąkE (east people)	masa'numąkE (north people)
mikaxo' (big herd. Buffalo cows.)	maxEnu (one)
EhE'nakahoc (I am saying)	

At the west side she sang:

ota'numąkE	masa'numąkE
mikaxo'	nupa (two)
EhE'nakahoc	

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 trusted to the WaxikEna clan, who could take any articles left
at the cedar as an offering for their own use. The amount of
•793 goods placed at the cedar during a year was considerable, since
614 sometime during the performance of every ceremony and age-
796 grade society dance a visit was made to the cedar to ask the
blessings of Lone Man, and some article of value was placed
there. In the case of strictly winter ceremonies held in the winter
camp where a cedar was never erected, offerings frequently were
not made to the cedar. The cedar together with the surrounding
wall and willow band was called Minimi'tahEdE, meaning "the
retreat of the waters."

778 In theory, goods deposited at the cedar became the property
of any member of the WaxikEna clan who happened to be
614 passing by. In practice, however, the goods finally reached the
421 old men and women of that clan. Those appropriating too much
goods for personal use lost status in the village. Those living
near the cedar had an advantage over those more distantly re-
moved in reaching the goods first. Apparently there was no
tendency to take the offerings away at once. Scattercorn told
how a very beautiful robe hung on the wall several days before
a man removed it and then not until a number of people had
gathered there and to whom he announced that he had ob-
served that a feeble clan brother was in need of a new robe since
the one he was then wearing was shabby.

621 Each fixed village unit had its own complete set of officers.
Crows Heart explained that the tribe was formerly divided into
619 a number of fixed bands, each one occupying one or more vil-
778 lages. His mother belonged to the Is'topa ("Those Who Tat-
tooed Themselves"). There were also the Nuptadi, Ma'nana'-
rE[7] ("Those Who Quarreled"), Awigaxa,[8] and Nuitadi. Each of

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At the north side she sang:

o-ta'-nu-mą-kE	masa'numąkE
mi-ka-xo'	na'mini (three)
EhE'nakahoc	

At the south side she sang:

ota'numąkE	masa'numąkE
mikaxo'	to'pa (four)
EhE'nakahoc.	

7. Other informants thought that the Mananada was not a fixed band but any small group who separated from a principal village when quarrels occurred.

8. According to tradition, this group lived near the Grand River until late prehistoric times and did not practice the Okipa until they moved to the Painted Woods

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

1929, informants unwilling to divulge sacred lore were equally unwilling to divulge the arrangement of lodges around this circle. Their explanation was that the area was sacred because they had suffered there during the Okipa, standing at this point in the village when thongs were inserted in their flesh for dragging buffalo skulls, or because so many ceremonies had been performed there. When ceremonies were performed at the winter camps, it was customary to leave goods at the sacred cedar when returning later to the summer village. 778 621 361

Mandan informants disagree relative to the purpose of performing the Okipa ceremony. All give a number of reasons; they are: to bring buffaloes to the village; to acquaint young people with the history of the tribe; to give the young men an opportunity to fast. White Calf thought that the principal reason for performing the ceremony was to bring all the gods back so that all the holy beings would be working for the Mandan and not their enemies. He remarked that summer was the season when the gods, particularly the big birds, returned. At this point it is interesting to note that, although a restricted number of officers were intrusted with the direction and performance of this ceremony, on the third day, known as "Everything Comes Back Day," characters represented in the ceremony comprised most of the major bundle-owners of the village. 796

The person pledging the ceremony was known as the Okipa Maker. The ceremony was considered a "sacred feast to tribal bundles," and the benefits accruing to the Okipa Maker were comparable to those received when offering a feast to any other sacred bundles. He received a section of a sand-bar willow for his sacred bundle and was entitled to participate in important tribal discussions. There was no clan restriction as to performance. However, only those who had demonstrated bravery and industry were permitted to give the ceremony. 796 554

The principal officers of the Okipa were Lone Man and Hoita impersonators and the singers. They received their rights after undergoing formal training. For new officers, tribal recognition of their authority was given at a ceremonial feast held prior to the performance of the Okipa. Actually, one desiring to participate in the Okipa and being eligible according to the rules of inheritance underwent instruction at an early age, 796 793

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 buying subsidiary rights until, when reaching maturity, he had full knowledge of the ceremony. The teaching of a ceremony by 793 sections characterized the entire ceremonial pattern of the Mandan and constitutes one of the major differences between Mandan and Hidatsa ceremonial training, the latter tribe giving the instruction in its entirety at the time of bundle sale.

796 The Mandan believed that the Okipa began as a simple buffalo dance at a time when the tribe was small and life was 173 simple and that the ceremony grew in complexity as the tribe increased in numbers and complexity. Crows Heart explained that, as new tribal bundles were added, additional impersonators were added for the "Everything Comes Back Day." The changes instituted since the ceremony was described by Catlin and Maximilian were insignificant. The number of singers was reduced to three, and the torture feature was performed outside the ceremonial lodge.

796 It is significant to note that, in spite of the prominent place of agriculture in the Mandan economic life, little recognition was 241 given to agriculture in the "Everything Comes Back Day" of this important ceremony. The Old Woman Who Never Dies was represented together with other holy women by two men dressed as women, and those of one moiety rubbed their wounds with corn meal. Otherwise, little recognition was given to agriculture.

796 The importance of mythology in Mandan ceremonialism should not be minimized.[1] Left to his own resources in describing a ceremony, a Mandan informant invariably introduced the 773 subject by first relating the myth. These myths explain the peculiar topography of the Mandan country with lakes and sloughs to the east, badlands and streams to the west, and the Missouri River dividing the two. These sacred myths even explain the creation of the white men and their cattle on the east bank of the Missouri River, where, in mythological times, they were found to be too weak to survive and were sent back across the ocean. When the writer showed Bear on the Flat fossilized clam shells and wood in coal-bearing beds, he immediately explained their presence in terms of the flood sent by Maniga to

1. Lowie writes: "Several Plains tribes—notably the Hidatsa, Blackfoot, and Arapaho—utilize widespread tales to account for the origin of rituals" (Robert H. Lowie, *Myths and Traditions of the Crow Indians* ["Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXV], p. 8).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Calf Woman told of an old Mandan with ten sons who instructed them each to take one of his teeth to be carried in battle. After he died, he was placed on a scaffold for one year, when the teeth were taken by the sons and kept as sacred objects. The skull was placed at one of the skull circles near a People Above shrine, and the other bones were buried. He had been very successful in warfare but died of a boil. 766 778

The skulls of those who died away from the village were usually brought back a year later, if requested by the relatives, by either a man or woman of the father's clan. It was customary to have a woman bring back the skull if summer village hunting expeditions were in the vicinity; otherwise a man leaving on a war expedition was delegated to secure the skull. Skulls brought back were placed at one of the shrines, of which there were a number adjacent to each village.

All men and women fasted, and most people had vision experiences. All were medicine men just as all were warriors or hunters. Some acquired reputations as medicine men just as some had good reputations as warriors or hunters. There was no grouping into cults according to vision; such division as did occur was based on ownership of related hereditary tribal bundles, a system much like the Pawnee except for a greater flexibility deriving from the four-sale right. It cannot be said that inherited bundle-owners were higher in tribal regard than those who practiced doctoring or led successful war parties. Each stood on his own record. Such advantage as hereditary bundle-owners had over others came from their possession of tribal lore belonging to the bundle. Since each hereditary bundle-owner was instructed in the traditional history of the bundle, he became an authority on the early history of the tribe. Four Bears rose to eminence and became second chief without inheriting any bundles of his parents other than a sacred shield and rain-calling robe. He had a successful war record and did much fasting. That would never have elevated him to more than a war leader, but the many feasts he made to which the older hereditary bundle-owners were invited gave him the necessary prestige. He gave the Okipa twice. Crows Heart had a good war record but never rose to eminence. His home being near a river crossing, people were always stopping there for meals. Nevertheless, he gave few for- 787 554 785 795

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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mal feasts to which the older people were invited and was considered selfish, in spite of the fact that he probably fed more people than those who offered feasts from time to time.

It was the duty of all to fast, but few could inherit tribal bundles. After the smallpox of 1837, there was probably a much higher percentage of the population owning these hereditary tribal bundles. Visions could be bought and sold like hereditary bundles, but their existence was usually short-lived unless they became incorporated into hereditary bundle rites. A man ordinarily did not boast of the bundles he owned. Instead, he would boast of the potency of the bundles. The Hidatsa custom of buying the father's bundle because he dreamed of it was not the Mandan way. A Mandan bought because he was expected to, and people would condemn him for failing to buy. The man would ask his son to buy. If he had no son, but a son-in-law was living in the lodge, he would ask him to buy. Instruction was direct between seller and buyer, whereas the Hidatsa used a member of the father's clan as intermediary. Moves Slowly did not dream of the Corn Medicine before buying. He was hereditarily entitled to it. When one of the Mandan Corn bundles reached the Awaxawi,[17] Poor Wolf bought because he dreamed of it. The Hidatsa performed a ceremony because they had a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Little Eagle, the Numakmaxena bundle-owner, was killed in war, and his wives automatically became the bundle-owners. When they remarried, their second husband received permission from them to officiate in the Okipa until White Calf, their son, was of proper age to assume the office. He had not dreamed of the bundle. The NaxpikE or Hide-beating ceremony of the Hidatsa was never given except when one who was a son of a man having this bundle received a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Such was not the custom in giving the Okipa. Permission must be given by the Okipa Society because an eligible candidate either had received vision instruction or had a feeling of responsibility to give it. So we see that even between these two groups, the Mandan and Hidatsa, who have lived in close contacts for a few centuries, some fundamental differences in ceremonial organization persisted.

17. A Hidatsa band.

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

"Tuesday, January 1st, 1805. In the morning we permitted sixteen men with their music to go up to the first village, where they delighted the whole tribe with their dances, particularly with the movements of one of the Frenchmen *who danced on his* head. In return they presented the dancers with several buffalo robes and quantities of corn. We were desirous of showing this attention to the village, because they had received an impression that we had been wanting in regard for them, and because they had in consequence circulated invidious comparisons between us and the northern traders. All of these, however, they declared to Captain Clarke, who visited them in the course of the morning, were made in jest." (id 203.) 000

Buffalo Dance. "Saturday, 5th. We had high and boisterous winds last night and this morning; the Indians continue to purchase repairs with grain of different kinds. In the first village there has been a buffalo dance of the last three nights, which has put them all into commotion, and the description which we received from those of the party who visited the village, and from other sources, is not a little ludicrous. The buffalo dance is an institution originally intended for the benefit of the old men, and practiced at their suggestion. When buffalo becomes scarce, they send a man to harangue the village, declaring that the game is far off and that a feast is necessary to bring it back, and if the village be disposed, a day and a place is named for the celebration of it. At the appointed hour the old men arrive, and seat themselves cross-legged on skins around the fire in the middle of the lodge with a sort of doll or small image, dressed like a female, placed before them. The young men bring with them a platter of provisions, a pipe of tobacco, and their wives, whose dress on this occasion is only a robe or mantle loosely thrown around the body. On their arrival each youth selects the old man whom he means to distinguish by his favour, and spreads before him the provisions, after which he presents the pipe and smokes with him." (id 206.) 796

Hunt. "Sunday, 13th January, 1805. We have a continuation of clear weather, and the cold has increased, the mercury having sunk to 34 degrees below zero. Nearly one-half of the Mandan nation passed down the river to hunt for several days; in these excursions men, women and children, with their dogs, all leave 224

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stream from the Knife River, where they separated after quarreling over the division of a buffalo. Those who moved farther upstream along the Missouri and Yellowstone became the "Paunch" Indians, while those who remained near the other Hidatsa villages were known as the Hidatsa.

By 1700 the entire section of the Missouri from the Cannonball to the mouth of the Yellowstone was occupied by groups of Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow of the "Paunch" band. The greatest concentration of villages was near the mouth of Heart River. These large earth-lodge villages were occupied by Mandan of the Nuptadi and Nuitadi bands and were situated on both banks of the Missouri. Agriculture was intensively practiced by these groups. Farther upstream at the Painted Woods, the Awigaxa band of Mandan and the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa had villages. The Awatixa band of Hidatsa were on the south bank of Knife River. Agriculture was practiced by all these groups. North of Knife River were the less agricultural Hidatsa, who sometimes came to the north bank of Knife River to occupy their large earth-lodge village and to plant corn. Generally they were farther upstream, on the Mouse River, or in the Turtle Mountains, living as nomadic hunters. Immediately to the west of the more nomadic Hidatsa were the nomadic Crow. These groups had prescribed territories and lived peacefully together so long as one group did not infringe on the territorial rights of the others. These groups moved little until the close of the eighteenth century, when the aboriginal population was sharply reduced by smallpox and other epidemics. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the region below the Cannonball was occupied by nomadic groups who were in part replaced by the Arikara after 1725 when they began their northward migration which did not terminate until 1862, at which time they united with the survivors of the Mandan and Hidatsa villages at Fishhook Village.

In another report the writer has analyzed the ceremonial organizations of the various village groups of Mandan and Hidatsa, using genealogies, historic accounts of travelers, and native traditions and has shown that two distinct inheritance patterns existed: (1) the Mandan pattern of inheritance of principal bundles and rites within the clan and (2) the Hidatsa and

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Awaxawi pattern, which provided for the inheritance of bundles and rites from the father or a member of the father's clan.[30] In this respect, the Awatixa, who have the longest traditional history of residence near the Mandan, were intermediate, having features of both systems.

TABLE 1

INTERTRIBAL AND INTERVILLAGE CULTURAL BORROWING

Ceremony	Mandan	Hidatsa	Awatixa	Awaxawi
Okipa	x			
Corn and Fertility	x			
Old Woman Never Dies	x	x	x	x
Small Hawk	x			
Snow Owl	x			
Robe bundles	x			
Shell Robe	x		x	
Knife clan bundle			x	
Water-buster clan bundle			x	
Earth-naming		x		x
Hide-beating (Sun Dance)		x	x	x
Bear	x	x	x	x
Imitating Buffalo		x	x	x
Painted Red Stick	x	x		x
Buffalo Corral	x	x	x	x
Buffalo Neckbone	x	x	x	x
Sunset Wolf		x	x	x
Sunrise Wolf*		x	x	x
Thunder	x	x	x	x
Missouri River		x	x	x
Creek	x		x	
Earth-lodge-making	x		x	
Sacred Pot	x			x
Woman Above	x	x	x	x
Holy Woman	x	x	x	x
Eagle-trapping	x	x	x	x
Fish-trapping	x	x	x	x

* The Mandan had a Wolf rite inherited through the Prairie Chicken clan, but the features of the rites are only remotely similar to the Hidatsa Wolf ceremonies.

Table 1 indicates the extent of intertribal and intervillage cultural borrowing which had occurred between the Mandan and Hidatsa village groups with respect to ceremonies performed.

30. Bowers, *op. cit.*

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to demonstrate the extent to which he had worked for the welfare of the entire village, then offered an opinion as to the wisdom of a certain act or policy. He was never demoted, the Mandan claimed; others younger who had been distinguishing themselves merely replaced the older man in public esteem. A chief's greatness was based on the length of time that his opinions were accepted to the exclusion of all others' opinions. A chief was expected to conform strictly to village and tribal custom.

The day-by-day and calendar round of economic, social, and ceremonial activities were rigidly regulated by tradition. In matters relative to gardening, the Corn Bundle leaders, Goose Society, and females of the various households set their own rules. When public sanction was given a young man by one or more members of the council of older men to perform a certain ceremony and he had made public announcement from a rooftop that he would perform the ceremony, a time was reserved for the ceremony, and the Black Mouths would have prevented any interference. The Mandan believed that quarrels should not arise over schedules for performance of the various ceremonies. The fact is that the Mandan liked to attend ceremonies and believed that bad luck would come to anyone who deviated from the normal pattern of behavior.

The responsibilities for leadership in various Mandan social and ceremonial activities were profusely scattered through the entire population. A person who would be the leader in one activity became a subordinate member of another activity in which he was expected to follow the leader's directions. For instance, when the time arrived for the performance of the Okipa ceremony, the entire population was organized around the officers for that ceremony, while the Black Mouth Society enforced the rules. It is highly improbable that the Black Mouths received any formal instruction. Custom defined the rules of behavior during the Okipa which were known by all except very young children. It was also customary when the enemy were not especially troublesome for the greater part of a village group to leave for a short time to trap eagles. The village would break up into a dozen or more camps, each of which was under the leadership of a male having an eagle-trapping bundle. Regardless of a man's status during other activities, he was subordinate to the

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554 leader.[6] Even the most distinguished war leader, who was one of
796 the two head chiefs of the village, frequently joined an expedi-
626 tion under another for the purpose of capturing horses, although in this instance recognition was often shown an outstanding leader by naming him a co-leader.

622 An essential function of a chief was to mold public opinion so that a village could act in unison. A chief was considered eminent if for a long time under his leadership there had been a minimum of dissension in the village. Mandan informants still speak of Good Boy, who was chief of Slant Village below the Heart River after the first smallpox epidemic. He was able to unite the remnants of several villages into a single village and to co-ordinate elements with a minimum of friction. He was essentially a village leader who devoted himself, according to tradition, to the rebuilding of the tribe to its former prominence. It is significant to note that, a few years after his death, one group of Mandan separated from the parent-village and were not reunited until Good Boy's son, Four Bears, was elevated to second chief.

622 A chief could prevent intervillage or intravillage warfare only
182 to the extent to which he could inculcate a concept of tribal unity. Neither a chief nor the council has authority to prevent a
778 portion of a village from separating and establishing a separate village. Such separations as have occurred have usually been of short duration, largely because of the integration of the ceremonial structure through the entire tribal population. Although each permanent Mandan village was in a large measure a separate economic, social, and ceremonial unit, the villages were not entirely independent. The turtle drums, which were considered the most sacred objects of the tribe, were held within the Nuptadi band of east-side Mandan, and the other villages were obliged to borrow them for ceremonial purposes. Whereas the sacred cedar in the center of each village was a symbol of village unity, the Mandan considered the turtle drums a symbol of tribal unity.

6. Cf. chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping."

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not possessing wealth or important sacred bundles it was largely a social event involving the two households. Although young men would court their girls, marriages were arranged by the relatives, who disapproved of elopements. The mother would watch her daughters, and, when she saw that they were seeing the young men often, she would discuss the matter with her husband. She would advise her daughters not to marry without a considerable exchange of goods, as to do so would be grounds for criticism. Mothers would explain the importance of ceremonial bundles and advise their daughters of the importance of keeping them in the lodge. People would say that a daughter was no good if little was received at her wedding. 581 584

There were in each of the Mandan villages a large number of families owning or controlling important tribal bundles. These families were considered the authorities on tribal lore and custom. They received, in addition to the produce of their gardens and their share of meat and hides from animals taken on the group hunts, a great deal of property and honors for officiating at the ceremonies. To preserve their status, they endeavored to have a considerable display of goods at the marriage of one of their children. Families with important related bundles endeavored to marry their children into families also having important bundles, the feeling being that those reared in a lodge where important bundles were kept were better trained in learning the complicated rites associated with tribal bundles. A household that held an important tribal bundle inherited within a clan endeavored and generally succeeded in selecting a son-in-law who was of the same clan as the daughter's father. It was also believed that a man and his son-in-law got along better when they were of the same clan. In a large measure, the Mandan were successful in preserving most of their rich ceremonialism through the smallpox epidemic of 1837 because of the character of the formal training of those who were to inherit the traditional rights and responsibilities for the ceremonies and because of a system of preferred marriage in which the parents of both households selected their children's mates. It can be definitely said that the bulk of Mandan tribal lore was preserved by a small number of families, that their status was high in the

581 778 425 [556] 581 778 796

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581 village, and they endeavored by selective marriages to keep
778
796 the bundles and the associated ceremonies within their group.

The Mandan taught their children that they should marry
584 by the same method as their parents married. An analysis of the various methods of marrying will illustrate the significance of this Mandan rule.

The method used by the most distinguished families was
584 known as "choosing a son-in-law and buying him a sacred bun-
437 dle." The parents of a young woman who had reached the age
778 when she should marry selected a young man who had a good
583 reputation as a warrior and hunter and whose family owned an important ceremonial bundle. They would buy a white buffalo robe from some of the hunters or trade corn and horses for it with one of the many tribes that came to the village each fall. These robes were highly valued and would cost a family a high price in horses, garden products, and robes. Having secured one of these robes, they discussed the proposed marriage with the oldest daughter and secured her consent. It was important to get the daughter's consent, since, should she refuse after the marriage arrangements were instituted and run away, the village would learn of it and speculate as to the causes for her action. A daughter was expected to obey her parents and forget any other young men she had been seeing.

584 The young man was invited in by the girl's father, and an
431 offer of marriage to the daughter was suggested. A robe was
778 put down, and he was asked to sit on it with the young woman. The white buffalo robe was put over their shoulders, and they were given food prepared by the girl's mother. If the girl had younger sisters, they sat with him and became his wives when they were grown. The girl's brothers brought their new brother-in-law horses. As soon as the food had been eaten, he walked out and onto the top of his father-in-law's lodge, where he addressed his father's sacred bundle, announcing that the white robe was offered to his father's gods. His father's sister would come to the lodge when hearing him make this announcement and take the robe down to care for it until he performed the ceremony.

585 Having made the vow to perform the rites, he began collect-
431, ing robes and other property and was assisted by his wife and
778

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224 out daily to travel as much as one hundred and fifty miles from the village to observe the numbers and movements of the buffalo. Returning war leaders were called in to report the number and size of the herds they had observed. The leader planned the hunt on the basis of the knowledge he had acquired from several sources and designated the spots where the party would camp each night. This information together with the time of departure from the village was given to the Black Mouth Society, which sent its announcer through the village to notify the people.

221 241 •796 The summer buffalo hunt was scheduled as a permanent part of the summer's activities and did not interfere with the normal village routine. The gardens were prepared and planted in May, and the first performance of the Okipa was celebrated just prior to leaving for the summer hunt. Since one of the purposes of the Okipa was to have the Buffalo Dance performed, it was believed that it should be held prior to the summer hunt. Ceremonies to the buffalo were believed to insure a good hunt and the replenishment of their numbers by the escape of the buffalo spirits from the spirit homes in which they lived before being born into the herds. The leader was not authorized to call an unscheduled hunt.

224 561 Crows Heart believed that all the leaders selected in his time belonged to the Black Mouth or Bull men's societies, since these were the two oldest active societies, but felt that membership was not obligatory, since in former times there were so many people that all did not belong, especially those who were too busy with other ceremonial matters. The leader never undertook to direct the hunt unassisted. He invited in all those with the right to pray to the buffalo to meet at his lodge and assist him. These would be the officers of the Okipa and Red Stick ceremonies, Okipa Makers, and all those who had buffalo skulls in their bundles whether acquired by vision or purchase. He discussed his plans with them and changed them if any offered a reasonable objection. The hunt was frequently canceled when war leaders reported unusual numbers of enemies about.

224 In early times dogs were used, but, after horses were acquired, the summer hunts of later times were out much farther. The leader was always to the front, and the party followed behind

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224 462 could go to the pile brought in by anyone if her husband was slow in returning with his meat. There was no moiety division of the animals as was employed with the corral. Everyone was expected to work curing the meat, men and women alike. Older men would haul poles for scaffolds and set them up. Some husbands would be out as scouts and could not butcher. Crows Heart had been on a number of summer hunts and said that he never made a special effort to help his lodge group. As soon as he unloaded his meat, it was taken by anyone who was ready to cure it. Scattercorn said that one did not ask permission to take a hunter's meat and that one was more likely to be criticized for not working hard enough than for appearing selfish. All my informants were in agreement that quarrels over division of the meat and hides were unknown.

224 The leader and the leader of the hunters were entitled to the tongues, but these were shared with others having the buffalo as a god, while some tongues were given to old people. The evenings were spent in dancing and singing.

785 789 224 796 There was a marked increase of fasting during the summer hunts. Many thought that they secured better visions when fasting away from the village. Others thought that it would be highly desirable to fast far from the village to get visions from supernatural beings that might not come to the villages to "adopt a son." The older men taught that the young buffaloes lived in certain buttes and that fasting while out on the summer buffalo range would increase the next year's calf crop. To perpetuate the buffalo supply, they made offerings of speckled eagle feathers and calicoes to these buttes and encouraged the young men to fast near them. The leader would receive many valuable presents from young men seeking visions at that time while praying for their success when the thongs were being inserted through the skin. Dragging heads of recently killed buffaloes through the camp was a customary practice. Crows Heart thought that most young men who had recently fasted in the Okipa ceremony and had not received visions would repeat their vision quest at that time. The hunt would be terminated in time to reach the village before the corn was in the milk stage. Usually a second performance of the Okipa was held a short time after returning.

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INTRODUCTION TO MANDAN CEREMONIALISM

FEW Mandan bundle transfer ceremonies had been performed during the thirty years preceding this study, and the information secured on the former ceremonial activities was based on observations and participation of informants or the informal instructions received of former bundle-holders. Medicine feasts to the bundles were held at irregular intervals, but the forced change from village to rural life when the tribe was placed on family allotments scattered throughout the Reservation, the extinction of the buffalo, and the termination of intertribal warfare in large measure led to the abandonment of the ceremonies. The first of the major ceremonies to be dropped was the annual summer Okipa, which was last performed about 1890. At the time this study was being made, the old women of the Goose Society were accustomed to meet annually during the summer, and some of the old men were using the fish traps for which the ancient rites were still employed. A few men still maintained eagle-trapping lodges along the Little Missouri River, where they were accustomed to go during the fall months to trap eagles and hunt deer.

Most of the principal tribal bundles were preserved by the children of former custodians. White Calf had the Lone Man bundle; Calf Woman had the buffalo masks for the Okipa and a Woman Above bundle; Ben Benson had two of the turtle drums, and Scattercorn had the other; Scattercorn also had Moves Slowly's Hoita and Corn ceremony bundles except the portions that had been accidentally burned; Foolish Woman had his father's Star bundle; Little Owl had Hits on Back's Sigaraga bundle; Mrs. White Duck had the Skull bundle. Feasts were sometimes made to these bundles by relatives largely out of respect to the old people, but lavish disposal of goods was no longer practiced. Crow Heart and his sister, Front Woman, were still making offerings to the eagles and hawks in the spring

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796 778 at the time of the first thunder. The Eagle-trapping bundle rites were still being performed, and a few old people doctored those who were ill or had suffered an accident.

796 778 124 The secret character of Mandan ceremonialism contributed to the difficulty of the study. Each Mandan ceremony was secret, and rules providing for the performance of and acquaintance with the secret rites differed somewhat between bundles. In general, it was not possible to complete the study of a ceremony with a single informant, owing to overlapping rights in the bundle, one informant being unwilling to divulge information belonging to another.

This study doubtlessly does not cover all ceremonies performed by the Mandan after 1837. Informants claim that all tribal rites were preserved through the smallpox epidemics of 1782 and 1837. It was possible to obtain intelligible accounts of all rites mentioned by early travelers to the Mandan villages. There was, however, a reduction in the number of duplicate bundles for the same ceremony. When reductions occurred, the original bundle was preserved. The individual rites introduced [784] from time to time by the medium of vision instruction were usually of short duration in the tribe and died out before becoming inaugurated into the tribal ceremonial structure. A few instances of vision bundle experiences are cited in chapter v, "Personal Bundles and Vision Experiences." Had time permitted, several hundred vision experiences could have been recorded, since they were related on many social and ceremonial occasions. Informants never volunteered to relate the sacred myths or to supply data on a ceremony, nor did they volunteer information to the effect that they owned certain rights. They would, however, divulge the names of others having knowledge of tribal bundles. The writer found that better co-operation was received from an informant when a simple feast was made to the bundle. It removed the fear informants felt when relating the rites.

The writer was impressed with the extreme conservatism of the Mandan. Informants frequently requested a retranslation of a significant portion of a rite to make certain that it had been properly recorded. They recognized variations in myths be-

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tween bundle lines. Some informants thought that these 796
bundles must have originated in different villages because their 778
older people who were living when the tribe occupied two vil- 124
lages had spoken of ceremonial differences between the villages. They believed that these ceremonial differences went back to mythological times when the ceremonies were first taught to the people.

Mandan tribal sacred bundles had these elements in common: 796
each contained objects representing the characters and incidents 778
of the myth; the rites were dramatizations of the sacred myths; 773
there were prescribed rules of behavior when in the presence of 424
the bundle or while it was open; an incense was always burned while the bundle rites were being performed or when the rites were terminated; there were songs and a sacred myth which belonged to the bundle; each bundle included a buffalo skull; the ritualistic lore was secret, and payment must be made to the bundle-owner for a knowledge of the rites; there were fixed rules of inheritance for the sale and transfer of the bundle; tribal sanction of a bundle transfer was at a public feast to which those owning related bundles were invited; feasts were made to the bundle by nonowners as a social obligation; and bundle-owners on occasion would give Bundle Renewal feasts to their own bundles to which were invited those owning important tribal bundles.

The Mandan recognize four seasons which were associated 796
with the spring, summer, autumn, and winter buffalo. Since in- 805
formants could not agree on any other division of the year, it is 221
highly unlikely that they recognized any other uniform divisions. The year count was important in relating events. Ceremonies were, in general, evenly divided over the year. Ceremonies for success in warfare or doctoring were held at any time. On the other hand, rites relating to agriculture were begun in late winter when the first water birds appeared and were held throughout the summer until the southern flight of these birds had passed. The Okipa was always held during the warmest months, while the Snow Owl, Red Stick, and White Buffalo Cow ceremonies to bring the winter buffalo herds were always held

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221 796 805 during the coldest months. Table 3 gives the approximate time of the principal tribal ceremonies.

778 773 The Mandan attach great significance to the sacred myths associated with the sacred bundles, and informants constantly explained the relationship of one bundle to another in terms of in-

TABLE 3

APPROXIMATE TIME AND PURPOSE OF PRINCIPAL TRIBAL CEREMONIES

796 221

Approximate Month	Ceremony	Purpose of Ceremony
June to August	Okipa	General tribal welfare Buffalo fertility rites
May	Corn Fertility	To insure good gardens
March to October	Goose Society	Rains and good growing conditions for crops
August to October	Harvest festival	Thanksgiving rites for crops
March to October	Old Woman Who Never Dies	Rain and good growing conditions to insure good gardens
January to January	Old Woman Who Never Dies	Doctoring and warfare
March to October	Corn Pipe	Fertility
September to November	Eagle-trapping rites	To capture eagles
July to September	Eagle-trapping rites	To trap fish
January to January	Eagle-trapping rites	To corral buffaloes
April	Eagle-trapping rites	Success in hunting or warfare
April and November	Big Bird	Warfare Rain
January to January	Small Hawk	Warfare
June to August	Small Hawk	To call buffaloes
December to March	Snow Owl	To call winter buffaloes
January to January	Snow Owl	Warfare
March to October	Snow Owl	Rain
January to January	People Above	Warfare Doctoring
January to January	Shell Robe	Warfare Doctoring
December to March	Red Stick	To call winter buffaloes
December to March	White Buffalo Cow	To call winter buffaloes
January to January	Bear	Doctoring and warfare
March to November	Snake	Rain Doctoring Warfare

778 773 cidents mentioned in these myths. For that reason, the sacred myths belonging to the various bundle rites were recorded as completely as possible and appear in this study in much the same form and detail as they were recorded. It was a customary practice for a Mandan to invite to his lodge one having important tribal bundles and pay him to have the myths related privately. Those having a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were held in high esteem. The sacred myths were considered

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secret and were never related publicly. One paying to have the myths related did not receive rights in the ceremony. Instructions in the rites and songs were divulged only to those purchasing the bundle rites.

So far as the writer was able to determine, the ceremonial pattern had been established prior to A.D. 1800 and underwent little change in subsequent years. There was, however, a greater display of goods after the introduction of the horse and the establishment of trading posts.

Matthews wrote: "The work of Prince Maximilian contains the most accurate and extensive information regarding their customs and manners. Notwithstanding the great changes in the tribe since 1834, the majority of his notes might be used without alteration in describing the Mandan of to-day."[1]

The Mandan preserved their rich ceremonialism after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, according to Matthews, who added:

> The square, the medicine-lodge, with its four poles in front, surmounted by sacrificial effigies, and the ark, as they may be seen to-day, seem to be the almost exact counterparts of those which were seen in the old Mandan village at Ft. Clark, in 1832 and 1833, by George Catlin and the Prince of New-Wied, if we are to judge by the drawings they have given us. Within the temple and around the ark, the Mandans still perform the ceremony of the Okeepa, which Catlin so accurately describes. The awful severities of the rite, have however, been somewhat mitigated since his day.[2]

In addition to the sacred myths associated with the bundles, there were numerous stories of a magical character which were bought and sold. A few of these myths were recorded in the field but are omitted from this book, since a number of them have already appeared in print.[3] The most popular of these were: (1) the exploits of Spring Buffalo and Corn Silk; (2) Stiff Robe and the Buffaloes of the Four Seasons; (3) Four Wings; (4) Snake Village and Buffalo Village; (5) Sun as a Gambler and Cannibal; and (6) the Pet Magpie.[4]

The First Creator myths also belong in this category. Since this mythological character had a dual personality, in organizing

1. Washington Matthews, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Language of the Hidatsa* (New York, 1873–74), p. 14.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
3. See Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [Boston, 1938]).
4. See also the myths recorded below in chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping Ceremony."

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Chapter IV

THE OKIPA CEREMONY

•796 198 THE Okipa[1] ceremony was an elaborate and complicated affair. It was a dramatization of the creation of the earth, its people, plants, and animals, together with the struggles the Mandan endured to attain their present position. The history of the tribe was a part of the secret lore held by the officers of the ceremony. The uninformed could pay to have the creation myths told but could not repeat them. The songs, chants, and rituals were conducted by men who by virtue of inheritance and purchase had acquired that right, but the words were unintelligible to the population at large, being, according to tradition, in an ancient Nuptadi dialect. Only the legitimate officers understood their meaning, and that information was never divulged to another except when purchase was being made into the ceremony. The few phrases recognized, such as "Corn Mother" and "Thunder Father," were insufficient to understand the substance of the rites.

796 361 Certain arrangement of lodges within the village was necessary for the performance of the ceremony. Each village had an open circle some one hundred and fifty feet in diameter reserved for this ceremony, and lodges were not permitted in that section. A cedar post, surrounded by a plank wall, occupied the center of this open circle, and lodges were arranged around the circle with their entrances toward the cedar.

361 346 The ceremonial lodge was to the north of the cedar and was a part of the row of lodges facing toward the open circle. It was distinguishable from the other lodges by its flat side at the entrance (see Fig. 13), which was to the south. It was so oriented that the entrance faced in the direction Lone Man[a] went when he left the tribe.

Since lodges were not permitted within the open circle, nor were ashes and refuse deposited there, through normal accumu-

1. The word *okipE'* means "to look alike" and refers to the Bull Dancers, who were of the same stature and were painted and dressed alike for the dances.

a [Culture hero; impersonated in the Okipa ceremony - Analyst]

The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of the WaxikEna clan who was known as the custodian of the Okipa lodge.[4] His family lived with him in the lodge. The WaxikEna clan, to which Lone Man, traditional founder of the ceremony, belonged, met and selected one of their number to occupy the lodge and protect the ceremonial equipment left there by the various officers of the ceremony. The Mandan, upon joining the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, built a ceremonial lodge and selected Arrowhead Earrings as custodian. His family lived in the lodge except when it was needed for a ceremony, at which time they removed their lodge property. The family was paid for the use of the lodge or, as Calf Woman explained, for the trouble they had been put to in preparing the lodge for the ceremony. When Arrowhead Earrings died, the lodge should have been taken over by another member of the WaxikEna clan. His son-in-law, Never Eats Marrow, although of the Hidatsa Knife clan, was held in such high respect by the Mandan that he was intrusted with the lodge, and his daughter, Calf Woman, who supplied much of the information about this ceremony, was born in this lodge. She ultimately acquired the buffalo masks used in the ceremony through purchase from the WaxikEna clan after the buffaloes became extinct and the ceremony was no longer being performed.[5]

The repair of the cedar[6] and the wall inclosing it was also in-

4. Catlin is possibly in error when he says: "The 'Medicine Lodge,' the largest in the village and seventy-five feet in diameter, with four images (sacrifices of different-coloured and costly cloths) suspended on poles above it, was considered by these people as a sort of temple, held as strictly sacred, being built and used solely for these four days' ceremonies, and closed during the rest of the year" (George Catlin, *O-Kee-Pa* [Philadelphia, 1867], p. 81).

5. This is an instance of shifting from clan inheritance commonly occurring since 1845.

6. Scattercorn in recent years was considered custodian of the sacred cedar, which was placed west of Crows Heart's home. Members of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans were expected to attend and assist in the repair. Others would come to make offerings to the cedar at that time, which in recent years consisted chiefly of calicoes. She used one song during the ceremonial repairing of the cedar and inclosure, and it was directed to the four directions.

At the east side of the cedar she would sing:

o-ta'-nu-mą-kE (east people)	masa'numąkE (north people)
mikaxo' (big herd. Buffalo cows.)	maxEnu (one)
EhE'nakahoc (I am saying)	

At the west side she sang:

ota'numąkE	masa'numąkE
mikaxo'	nupa (two)
EhE'nakahoc	

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trusted to the WaxikEna clan, who could take any articles left at the cedar as an offering for their own use. The amount of goods placed at the cedar during a year was considerable, since sometime during the performance of every ceremony and age-grade society dance a visit was made to the cedar to ask the blessings of Lone Man, and some article of value was placed there. In the case of strictly winter ceremonies held in the winter camp where a cedar was never erected, offerings frequently were not made to the cedar. The cedar together with the surrounding wall and willow band was called Minimi'tahEdE, meaning "the retreat of the waters."

In theory, goods deposited at the cedar became the property of any member of the WaxikEna clan who happened to be passing by. In practice, however, the goods finally reached the old men and women of that clan. Those appropriating too much goods for personal use lost status in the village. Those living near the cedar had an advantage over those more distantly removed in reaching the goods first. Apparently there was no tendency to take the offerings away at once. Scattercorn told how a very beautiful robe hung on the wall several days before a man removed it and then not until a number of people had gathered there and to whom he announced that he had observed that a feeble clan brother was in need of a new robe since the one he was then wearing was shabby.

Each fixed village unit had its own complete set of officers. Crows Heart explained that the tribe was formerly divided into a number of fixed bands, each one occupying one or more villages. His mother belonged to the Is'topa ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves"). There were also the Nuptadi, Ma'nana'-rE[7] ("Those Who Quarreled"), Awigaxa,[8] and Nuitadi. Each of

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At the north side she sang:

o-ta'-nu-mą-kE	masa'numąkE
mi-ka-xo'	na'mini (three)
EhE'nakahoc	

At the south side she sang:

ota'numąkE	masa'numąkE
mikaxo'	to'pa (four)
EhE'nakahoc.	

7. Other informants thought that the Mananada was not a fixed band but any small group who separated from a principal village when quarrels occurred.

8. According to tradition, this group lived near the Grand River until late prehistoric times and did not practice the Okipa until they moved to the Painted Woods

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these groups set up a cedar whenever a new village was built. 621
Each had its own set of officers, but the turtles originally be- 619
longed to the Nuptadi band into which the original Lone Man
was once born, and it was necessary to borrow them whenever 778
the Okipa was being performed in one of the other villages. They
were the common property of the WaxikEna clan. Crows Heart
explained that quarrels sometimes occurred in a village, with
part of the population breaking away, but that in such in-
stances no cedar would be erected or ceremonial lodge built
until it was decided to make the village a permanent one. Scat-
tercorn thought that the groups were stable, although a few
families were always leaving one group and joining another. She
thought that fission of villages was a difficult thing, as new
Okipa officers would be needed.

The Mandan have a number of creation stories which were a 773
part of the sacred myths of the bundles and their associated
ceremonies. The sacred myth of the Corn ceremony relates the
exploits of the Corn People, who formerly lived below the sur-
face of the earth beside a lake before coming to the surface under
the chieftainship of Good Furred Robe. The Buffalo People,
who were the performers of the Okipa, were created on the
earth near Heart River by Lone Man after the lands were made.
In mythological times there was an earth-lodge village of hawks
to the east, bears to the north, eagles and other large birds in-
cluding the Sun and Moon in the sky, to mention but a few of
them. The Heart River region became a meeting place of
peoples of all these groups. The Corn People migrated north-
ward and united with the Buffalo People. Other peoples were
added from time to time through intermarriage and were identi-
fied according to their respective bundles. It was believed that [787]
the visions one had were dependent on the mythological group
to which he belonged.

The Animal rites of the Okipa ceremony are reported to have 796
originally belonged to the Buffalo People, who were created in
the vicinity of Heart River by Lone Man and are a dramatization 773
of the freeing of the animals from Dog Den Butte. As new groups
united with them, modifications were instituted in the cere-

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region shortly before the first smallpox epidemic. Their emphasis was on corn rites instituted by Good Furred Robe while living far to the south.

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•796 773 mony. In the beginning, the people lived an extremely simple life without tools and weapons. At that time there were no societies and only a few simple rites, one of which was a Buffalo Dance in which one man danced. It is believed that, as time passed, the people acquired skills along many lines; there was a corresponding development of mutual obligations; new societies and ceremonies were adopted which grew in complexity. It is also believed that there was a parallel development of the Okipa ceremony from the simple Buffalo Dance to its complex form as performed until seventy-five years ago, and that the cultural growth of the tribe was divided into four periods which were represented by the four days of the ceremony.

The principal characters in the ceremony were Lone Man (NumakmaxEna), Speckled Eagle (Hoita), Giver of Ceremony (Koni'saka), and the singers.

796 776 614 778 Lone Man was without question the tribe's most important deity. The original Lone Man belonged to the WaxikEna clan, and a bundle was founded which contained all the articles used by the Lone Man impersonator during the ceremony. Inheritance was through the WaxikEna clan. Before the smallpox epidemics, there were at least two similar and graded bundles in each village, and the men holding rights in the Okipa met to select from their number those who would officiate during the next ceremony.

796 778 424 According to tradition the original Lone Man established the rule that the bundle should belong to the WaxikEna clan. However, before he left the tribe, he desired a white buffalo robe owned by his brother's son. The young man offered to exchange his robe for Lone Man's bundle, and this transaction was made, the bundle and office passing temporarily from the WaxikEna clan. The principal bundle was kept, after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, at Nuptadi Village, and a secondary [562] bundle was kept by the other village group. Women could inherit and buy the bundle but could not officiate in the rites. Beaver's brother owned a bundle originally at Nuptadi Village prior to 1837. When he died, his sister transferred the bundle to her daughters, Shells and Grows First, who were both of the WaxikEna clan. Little Eagle, who had married the two sisters, paid them for the right to officiate in the ceremony. He then

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paid Big Turtle, Hoita in the same ceremony, for instructions. 796
Little Eagle, who was of the Speckled Eagle clan, was killed in 778
warfare, and Cuts His Horn (WaxikEna clan) bought the right
to officiate from the two sisters, and, not being a close relative, 424
a new bundle was established by Big Turtle and the other men having Okipa rights. He officiated once or twice until there was a male in the main bundle line qualified to officiate. Two Chiefs (Prairie Chicken clan) married the two sisters and assumed the office of Lone Man after paying to receive instructions from Big Turtle and the other officers of the Okipa. White Calf, son of Shells (corn) and Little Eagle, bought the rights in the bundle from his mother and received his instructions from Two Chiefs. He never officiated as Lone Man in the ceremony after acquiring the bundle, since the ceremony was prohibited by the army officer in charge of the Reservation. White Calf was asked who would be the legitimate successor after him, and he gave this explanation:

> I could sell my rights to men of my clan, the WaxikEna, three times while still retaining my original rights. Usually only one or two sales were made. Those sales would be to men who had dreamed of Lone Man. People had a great respect for original bundles which had passed through many hands, so possession of new bundles did not give one much prestige unless he had given many feasts to the bundle, and that was hard to do.
>
> Who would receive my original bundle depended on many things. If my wife who helped me put on the feast when I got the bundle were living and had remarried to one of my clan, her husband would have first chance to take the bundle. If she were not alive, then my brothers would have first chance. If none were living, my sister could take the bundle, and her husband could get instructions from the other Okipa officers before officiating in the ceremony. Then the bundle would pass to her son when he was mature.

Before a bundle was transferred or sold, there was a period of private instruction by either one holding Lone Man rights or one of the other officers of the ceremony. The transfer was made final at a medicine feast attended by all persons holding Okipa rights. Goods and food were accumulated beforehand. Eminent men of the tribe offered their prayers for the giver's success and received some articles for their part in the ceremony. This public feast was a means of notifying the village of the legitimacy of the bundle transfer.

The bundles were identical as to content. They contained the 778
following items:

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778 1. A buffalo-skin apron with buffalo-hair strands attached
2. Flat staff with the moon and thunderbird carved on one side, a star and the sun on the other
3. A stuffed raven
4. Two-piece wooden pipe inlaid with a dark-colored stone
5. Jackrabbit-skin collar and anklets
6. Headdress of porcupine trimmed with jackrabbit skin
7. A set of buffalo teeth
8. A war-bonnet trailer of alternating raven and swan feathers
9. A buffalo-hair headdress with a stuffed owl attached
10. Four buffalo tails with white buffalo hair attached
11. A staff decoration consisting of a buffalo tail trimmed with weasel fur

Bundle-owners were custodians of the turtle drums, the sacred cedar, and the ceremonial lodge.

796 The office of Hoita ranked equal in importance with that of
776 the Lone Man during the performance of the Okipa but other-
773 wise was unimportant. Hoita or Speckled Eagle represented the People Above but had had no part in the creation of the earth according to the mythology. He was born into the tribe where he was recognized for his supernatural powers. Because of jealousy over a white buffalo robe, he imprisoned the animals in Dog Den Butte. When he learned that another who claimed to be his "son" through the medium of the "walking" ceremony was holding the Okipa, he freed the animals and agreed to co-operate with Lone Man in performing the Okipa.

796 The rule was that the Hoita should belong to either the
614 WaxikEna or Tamisik clan, and there is no evidence that this rule was ever broken, at least in the memory of my informants. During the period of readjustment following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, Big Turtle (Tamisik clan) held the office. He sold rights in the office to Moves Slowly (WaxikEna clan), who impersonated Hoita, while Big Turtle served as director of the singers. Moves Slowly sold his rights to Iron Eyes (WaxikEna), who officiated, while Moves Slowly assisted the singers. The right to officiate in the Okipa ceremony was given at a public feast.

796 The Hoita directed the ceremonies performed inside the cere-
monial lodge. He supervised the fasters and saw that none who had interrupted their fasting returned to the lodge. He directed the selection of characters represented in the dances and supervised the painting, indicating the time when each rite was to be

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•796 performed so that the day and night were properly divided. Lone Man directed the re-enactment of the flood, ceremonies at the cedar, and the use of the turtles as drums. The Hoita could not leave the lodge during the ceremony but sat in his place without speaking while the rites were being performed. This was symbolic of the time he sat in Dog Den Butte holding all the animals prisoners.

Eight singers were required; six used the rolled hides or the turtles, three beating toward the "upstream" and three toward [424] the "downstream" direction. The other two singers carried rattles. Singers bought the right to officiate, and a checkup of [614] clan affiliation of singers reveals an absence of clan restrictions. Likewise anyone having Lone Man or Hoita rights could be a singer providing he was not officiating in another capacity. There were usually many with singer rights so that turns were taken.

One man was selected by the other officers to impersonate the blue heron when none owned that right. He sat at the head of the lodge throughout the ceremony without speaking. The ceremonial paraphernalia which he wore were returned to the officers at the close of the ceremony.

The above-mentioned officers formed the nucleus of the ceremony and constituted, together with those who had previously given the ceremony, the Okipa Religious Society. To these men, meeting in council, was intrusted the duty of selecting qualified young men to give the ceremony. It is doubtful that any man could rise to the position of head or second chief who had not at one time given the ceremony. My informants were in agreement that the two highest chiefs would belong to the Okipa Religious Society by virtue, not of being officers of the Okipa, but because they had given the ceremony.

796 The desire to give the ceremony was the result of a vision experience wherein one had seen buffaloes singing the Okipa 787 songs. The vision recipient would then have a feast prepared in his lodge, to which he invited the Okipa Religious Society. After the feast he would relate his vision experience and ask for an interpretation. Not all men dreaming of the buffalo bulls singing Okipa songs were permitted to give the ceremony. A young man having such a dream would tell his parents of his supernatural

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•796 787 experience. They would know the qualities one must possess to go through the ordeals of the ceremony. They would appraise their son's ability to meet these requirements. If he were too young or his wives were not industrious or loyal, they would advise him instead to give a feast to the men having Okipa rights, and they would, in turn, pray for his success, giving him some article to wear when out to war. It was necessary to eliminate some candidates. Even then, there were two or three performances in each village every summer as a rule. Sons of former Okipa makers received preference, as young men were expected to maintain their fathers' record.

When the young man having a suitable vision had invited the Okipa Religious Society in and had described his vision, the members would discuss the matter among themselves. They would either compliment him on his good fortune in receiving supernatural instruction to perform the ceremony if they considered him worthy or, if in doubt, they would tell him that it appeared that he was to give the ceremony some time and advise him to fast much, offer feasts to the older men, be helpful to the old people, and go out to war. He was then on probation. If successful, some member of the society would inform him that his former dream was genuine and that he should begin preparations to give the ceremony the following year when the willows were in full leaf. Since there was little inclination to dis-
796 pense with the village summer buffalo hunt, it was necessary to set a time for Okipa performances so as to avoid confliction. When one Okipa performance was planned, it was usually held after the village had returned from the hunt. If there were to be two performances, the first was given before the hunt and the second one upon their return.

As soon as a candidate received permission to give the ceremony, the chiefs' criers announced the news through the village that "a certain man will have the Bulls dance when the next water willows are in full leaf."

According to tradition, the Okipa must be given every summer to insure an abundance of buffaloes and general good fortune. Occasions arose when none had pledged the ceremony for a particular summer. Anyone could then volunteer to give the ceremony and not be required to accumulate goods as payments

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to the performers, or one who had given the ceremony could volunteer. Men giving the ceremony more than once were highly respected. Four Bears gave the ceremony a second time even after he had already become second chief. 796 [554]

Though the ceremony was long, candidates offering to perform the Okipa were acquainted with most of the songs, dances, and prayers beforehand, so the task of instructing the candidate did not require a great deal of time. Since most young men hoped that sometime they would be selected to be a Bull Dancer, they noted carefully the role performed by the Bulls.

It took a great deal of courage to become an Okipa Maker, and the tribe spoke of those who had done so as the bravest men and looked to them for leadership. It required a considerable amount of property to give the Okipa, for the giver was expected to prepare feasts for the officers of the Okipa during the time he received instructions. He was expected to have at least one hundred articles consisting of robes, elkskin dresses, dress goods, shirts with porcupine work, knives, and men's leggings. Usually one family could not acquire so much personal property. 796 431

The Okipa Maker's wives began to gather clothing as soon as permission was granted their husband to direct the ceremony, which was usually a year in advance. The women called in their female relatives, and sometimes their women's societies helped them. The man asked help of his mothers and sisters as well as the members of his own and his father's clan. As a last resort, he gave a clan feast which all the members of his clan attended. There would be speeches about clan loyalty, and the old men would tell of the great men of the tribe who belonged to their clan and how "this young man has brought honor to us by offering to give the Okipa." Each speech would end with an appeal for goods of some sort to be used in the coming summer ceremony "which was, after all, given for our benefit." People gave freely for the benefit of a clan brother. 796 431 614

Each family of the tribe felt itself to be benefited by the summer Okipa ceremony and expected to give something. The Okipa Maker took his pipe to each lodge where people of his clan lived, placing it before the door, and the women brought out their contributions. Okipa Makers able to produce a large 796 431 554

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796 431 554 number of robes and other clothing to be given away were especially highly respected by the tribe.

The Okipa Maker was not permitted to kill any buffaloes or 796 to do any butchering during the period he was under pledge to 784 give the Okipa, nor was he permitted to eat any of the entrails from the buffalo. It was believed to have done so would have angered the buffaloes.

796 One of the oldest men of the WaxhikEna clan lived in the Okipa lodge with his family. He was custodian of such ceremonial objects as might be kept there to be used in succeeding Okipa ceremonies. When the time came to prepare for the ceremony, the NumakmaxEna gave instructions that the lodge be cleared of all the family's personal effects. Four men with Holy Women bundle rights swept the floor, carried out the ashes, and sprinkled the floor to settle the dust, after which sage was scattered about on the floor. Each received a robe from the Okipa Maker for his services. No women were permitted to go [562] inside the lodge after it was cleaned until the ceremony had ended.

The one who was to represent Lone Man asked four men owning ceremonial bundles of The Woman Above (Sun ceremony) to paint the interior of the lodge.[9] At the last performance of the Okipa, the entire interior of the earth lodge was painted, the west half being black and the east half red. Formerly, only a narrow band about four inches wide was painted on each post, black on the west posts and red on the east ones. Woman Above bundle-owners each received a robe for painting the posts.

Opening the Okipa lodge.—When all was ready, the crier (the old man of WaxikEna clan living in the medicine lodge) went through the village before daylight announcing that the Lone Man would open the Okipa lodge the next morning at sunrise in order that the ceremony could be given. The head chief,[10] second chief,[11] council of old men, and all the owners of important tribal bundles painted their faces black and went to the head

9. There were only three Woman Above bundle-owners when the last performance was held, and one of these belonged to a woman, Calf Woman. The two other owners, Ears and Clam Necklace, painted the lodge with the assistance of two Hidatsa men owning similar bundles.

10. Red Buffalo Corn was head chief at Like-a-Fishhook Village.

11. Bad Gun was second chief at Like-a-Fishhook Village.

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chief's lodge, where they waited for Lone Man. Dressed in his ceremonial paraphernalia, he came directly toward the village from the prairies to the south.[12] When he reached the village, he was met by the Black Mouth Society men (the police), who questioned him as to whether he was a friend or enemy until he had made known his identity and explained that he had come from his home on a high hill, generally associated with Buffalo Home Butte, in the south to open their Okipa lodge door for the buffalo dance. He was taken directly to the lodge by the custodian of the Okipa lodge, where the head men were assembled. There he told of the time when he lived with the Mandan. He told of the conflict with Hoita concerning a white buffalo robe and that he had once freed the animals from the Dog Den Butte so the Mandan would not starve. He told how he had saved them from the flood and that he had given them the turtles, sacred cedar, Okipa lodge, and the ceremony itself. He told them that he returned every year when the willow leaves were full grown to open their Okipa lodge. He was dressed in a wolf robe, and his body and face were painted white; he wore a headdress of porcupine hair fringed with jackrabbit fur, and on the top of this he had tied a stuffed raven. His collar and anklets were of jackrabbit skin. He carried a wooden pipe in the left hand and in the right hand a flattened ash club with the moon and thunderbird on one side, the morning star and the sun on the other.

The head chief sent the announcer through the village to order all the women and small children to stay in their lodges and to keep their dogs tied up inside while the Lone Man made the rounds of the village relating the origin of the people[13] and their struggles against starvation and floods. At lodges in which resided young men who were to be tortured during the ceremony, he secured knives which he took to the Okipa lodge to be used later in cutting the flesh of the ones undergoing the torture feature. He carried a bag of pemmican from which he gave each man a handful. Much of the day was spent in relating the history of the people and the manner of acquiring all the things he had given the people to make them happy.

12. At Like-a-Fishhook Village he approached from downstream, which was from an easterly direction.

13. Witnesses to this portion of the ceremony say that a very old language was used, the words being largely unintelligible.

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•796 *The first evening.*—The ceremony began in the evening. The Okipa Maker carried in all the goods he had succeeded in collecting during the year and heaped them at the back of the lodge. Then he carried in a bag of specially prepared cornballs known as "four in one" because they contained ground corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers. He also brought in a sack of pemmican. A singer brought in a dry buffalo hide rolled up like a cylinder to serve as a drum.[14] [534]

796 For weeks previous to the performance of the Okipa, the clan leaders, old men, and the tribal medicine bundle-owners talked 787 to the young men, telling them of the importance of seeking visions during the Okipa. Older clan brothers advised specific 785 young men to fast. Men who had been successful warriors, hunters, or doctors attributed much of their good luck to the powers that they had acquired while fasting or hanging from the roof of the Okipa lodge by means of leather thongs fastened through their skin. The result was that a larger number of young men came to the Okipa lodge to fast through the four days of the ceremony. After uniting with the Hidatsa, many young Mandans preferred to fast and go through the torture feature while on eagle-trapping or buffalo-hunting expeditions as the women of the Hidatsa and Arikara tribes did not observe the same rules. The fasters came in directly after the Okipa Maker had completed carrying in the robes, cornballs, and pemmican, and ranged in age from boys of eight years to middle-aged men of thirty-five years. Each was naked and painted according to his own inclination and carried a shield and bow in one hand and the father's medicine bundle in the other.[15] The quiver with the bow and arrows in it was hung back of the faster, and the medicine bundle was attached to a small twig stuck into the ground in front of him. Each carried in a buffalo skull for a pillow and sage brush for a bed. All the fasters arranged themselves around the wall, the Tamisik-WaxikEna division being on the west side, and the other half on the east

14. This dry hide was symbolic of the first Okipa in the Dog Dens when only a dry hide served as a drum through the whole ceremony performed by Hoita. For the west-side Mandans it represented one of the periods of tribal history before the turtle drums were acquired.

15. Many had no medicine bundles but brought one belonging to the father, thinking that they might have good luck thereafter.

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side. The lodge would be full of fasters the first night. Men who had had good dreams came in only to fast a short time.

The hide drum was to the west side of the southwest post 796

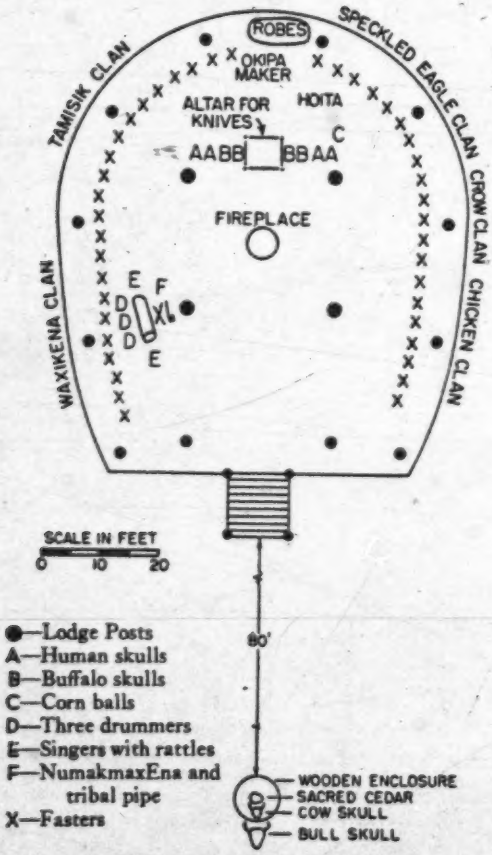

FIG. 14.—Seating arrangement for first night of Okipa

near where the fasters of the WaxikEna clan sat, and the three drummers, called the Blue Herons (Hox'ka), sat just back of it.[16] The three drummers were painted red with eagle feathers in their hair and had objects from their own medicine bundles worn around their ankles. Two men serving as rattlers sat at

16. They were called Blue Heron because during the mythological period these birds were called in to pick up the worms beaten from the hide.

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796 each end of the drum. Lone Man sat in front of the drum dressed in his full ceremonial outfit, smoking his pipe, and eating of the pemmican placed before him. The altar was set up between the northeast and northwest posts of the lodge and so arranged that half was on each half of the lodge; that is, there would be two human skulls and two buffalo skulls, and two posts of the small four-post structure symbolic of the four posts of the universe, on each half of the lodge. The Bull Dancers' paraphernalia were on the four-post altar, and beneath it were the sharp-edged tools and splints to be used later in the torture feature of the ceremony (see Fig. 14).

The first act was the ceremonial transfer of Lone Man's pipe to the Okipa Maker to be used by him for the duration of the ceremony. Lone Man then called Hoita from his place to supervise the performance and to see that every detail of the dance, as given in the Dog Den Butte when he was in charge, was carried out.[17] The dance began within the Okipa lodge at once. At definite places in the dance, the drummers picked up the hide serving as a drum and moved it to the east by four stages. At midnight, when the dancing stopped, the drums were on the east side of the lodge. The fasters were expected to cry all night.

First day.—At daybreak the fasters turned their buffalo robes 796 around so that the hair was on the outside and the head side 782 of the robe was over their heads, imitating buffaloes. The three drummers[18] (Hoxka) came out of the Okipa lodge at sunrise, placed their rolled-up hide serving as a drum to the east side of the sacred cedar, and sat down back of the drum facing toward the entrance to the Okipa lodge. The two men with rattles next came out and sat down behind the drummers. When the drummers and rattlers were in their places, the Okipa Maker came out of the lodge dressed in an antelope hide with the head on,

17. Catlin says that Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (Lone Man) left the ceremony and village after the transfer of the pipe (George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* [Philadelphia, 1857], p. 253). Maximilian says that Numank-Machana (Lone Man) officiates again on the fourth day of the ceremony (*Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites [Cleveland, 1906], XXIII, 333).

18. Maximilian reports six drummers: "Three of the men must strike in the direction of the river downwards, and three in the direction upwards" (*ibid.*, p. 325). Six drummers was the correct number according to tradition. The number was reduced after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

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worn like an apron. He wore the hair shed from a buffalo over his head and carried Lone Man's pipe and pemmican balls, which he placed on the ground in front of the drummers. Then he walked to the south side of the sacred cedar and stood on the buffalo skull he had previously placed there. Grasping the wooden planks inclosing the cedar with both hands and pressing his forehead against the wood, he asked Lone Man to hear him and send the people all they asked for, to bring the buffaloes near the villages, and to keep all bad luck away. 796 782

At the completion of the Okipa Maker's prayer and while he stood grasping the wooden inclosure, the drummers and rattlers began singing; this was the signal for the fasters to come out. They were dressed in their robes with the hair side out and hooked at each other in imitation of a herd of buffaloes as they danced toward the sacred cedar in a double line,[19] one line going to the east of the sacred cedar, the other to the west side. There they formed a straight line on the south side and danced forward and backward in front of the Okipa Maker, who continued his weeping, addressing the first Lone Man to help the people. When the drummers changed the song to one with a rapid tempo, the fasters and the Okipa Maker returned to the Okipa lodge, imitating a herd of buffaloes as they entered the lodge following the Okipa Maker. 796 535

The drummers, Okipa Maker, and fasters came out to dance four times the first day, and the procedure was the same on each occasion. They came out at sunrise, before noon, at mid-afternoon, and just before sunset.

Just before dark, after dancing outside had finished for the day, women brought willow firewood to the Okipa lodge, where it was placed in two piles on each side of the door. Women of the WaxikEna-Tamisik moiety placed theirs on the west side, while the other clans placed theirs on the east side. Male representatives of the two divisions of the tribe carried in the wood for the fire, since women were not permitted inside the lodge. The small boys and many of the young men left the Okipa lodge at the end of the first day, usually leaving from thirty to fifty fasters who intended to remain the entire four days without 796 562 796 785

19. Each half represented one of the moieties. The fasters were also symbolic of the animals held captive in Dog Den.

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796 785 food or water and to participate in the torture features. After the Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, there were usually as many Hidatsas as Mandans fasting, but the moiety arrangement of fasters was observed. In fact, Hidatsas gave the ceremony as often as Mandans at this time.

796 421 614 The turtle drums remained in the lodges of their custodians during the first day of the ceremony. These turtles were considered tribal property in the larger sense, and the WaxikEna clan were their custodians. WaxikEna clansmen paid to hold custodianship which could be revoked by clan action. Individuals of the WaxikEna clan were willing to buy the right to keep them when the Okipa was not being performed, otherwise they remained in the Okipa lodge under the charge of the old man living there. Keepers of the turtles treated them like other medicine bundles, making feasts for them and praying to them on various occasions.

796 787 At sunset the Lone Man impersonator dressed up in his ceremonial outfit and went for the turtles. While the Mandan were living in two villages near Fort Clark, the turtles were kept at Nuptadi Village. He went to the owner of the big turtle, the leader of the turtles, and asked him for this turtle first. It was believed that he could predict the abundance of buffaloes through the year by the weight of the turtle drums for, it was said, that the turtles were heavy when the buffalo herds were going to be near the village. People were not allowed to cross his trail when he carried the turtles to the Okipa lodge. The three turtles replaced the rolled-up hide as drums that evening. Everyone awaited word from inside the Okipa lodge concerning the weight of the turtle drums. Soon after the turtles were in their places, the old man of the WaxikEna clan who was custodian of the Okipa lodge called through the village that "the turtles are very heavy and the buffaloes will be near the village so all the people can have enough to eat."

Each of the drummers continued through the ceremony, using the turtle drums. These drums were moved four times in the evening and reached the east side of the lodge at midnight, where they remained until sunrise.

796 *Second day.*—Before sunrise, young men not having an active part in the ceremony brought in green willow branches to be

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used in decorating the Bull Dancers. Eight men selected beforehand danced eight times before the sacred cedar during the second day. These men were the largest individuals to be found in the village, and they were trained carefully to take the parts assigned them by the Hoita. 796

While the Okipa ceremony was going through its first day's performance, the owners of bundles representing creatures which were to appear in the ceremony met according to bundles and selected those who were to dance and receive offerings of goods on the "Everything Comes Back Day." Legitimate bundle-owners could officiate or they could select a young man who, according to custom, would probably inherit one of their bundles. When no selection was made, the Hoita could choose some good dancer to assume the part. Some characters were selected by the Hoita, particularly those representing buffalo bulls who danced during the second day.

The following is a list of characters participating in the ceremony on the third day.

1. Eight men representing buffalo bulls: These men were selected by the Hoita, who chose large men of uniform size. Fasters were often selected, in which instance their fasting was terminated.

2. Two men representing bald eagles: Big Bird bundle-owners selected these.

3. Two men impersonating women: Holy Women, Old Woman Who Never Dies, Holy Robe, and Woman Above bundle-owners met to select their representatives. One was to impersonate a foolish woman, the other a wise one.

4. Two men representing swans: Men having Lone Man rights were selected, since the swan feathers were alternated with raven feathers on the Lone Man's war-bonnet trailer.

5. Two men representing snakes: Snake bundle-owners, of which there were a large number, selected their representatives.

6. Two men, one representing a calumet eagle, and the other a hawk: Selected by the Bird bundle-owners.

7. Two men representing the black bears of the Eagle-trapping bundles.

8. Two men representing grizzly bears: Selected by Grizzly Bear bundle-owners.

9. Two men representing beavers: Those individuals with Creek or River bundles selected them.

10. Two men representing strips of dried meat: They were selected by the Hoita.

11. Two men representing night: They were selected by those people having bundles relating to the stars or moon. Many mythological characters were believed to be living in the sky as stars, and men whose bundle rites included these would meet and select representatives. Many of these mythological characters were believed to have lived on the earth in early days. [773]

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12. Two men representing day: These men symbolize the "first day of creation"[20] and were selected by Woman Above bundle-owners.

13. Two men representing wolves: They were selected by the war-party leaders who were known as Old Wolves.

14. One man representing First Creator (the coyote): The Hoita selected the First Creator impersonator, who was usually a mature man with considerable ceremonial knowledge and a record of assisting in many ceremonies.

15. One man representing the meadow lark: He was selected by the Hoita. The meadow lark was represented in the ceremony because it was said to warn war parties of enemies and because, in very early times, the men exchanged the crescents from its breast for seashells with Maniga's people.

16. Young men representing a band of antelopes: There was no selection of impersonators. As many as wished could volunteer.

17. One man representing the Foolish One (OxinhEdE): There were a number of OxinhEdE bundle-owners. Their bundles were graded. They selected one of their number or a man who would ultimately inherit the principal bundle.

All those who were to perform on the third day were selected beforehand, but final authorization was received from the Hoita on the morning of the third day in a manner to be described in the account of the third day's performance.

Those impersonating buffalo bulls were painted red, white, and black. When the walking ceremony was to be performed at the close of the Okipa, the face of a small child[21] was painted in black on the abdomen of each bull. While the dancers were being painted, fasters from opposite sides of the Okipa lodge imitated bulls fighting.

After the Bull Dancers were painted, buffalo heads of tanned hide, cut so that they extended to the dancers' hips, were put on. There was a single buffalo horn on the middle of the back of each Bull Dancer's costume to which were tied bundles of willows symbolic of the flood. Each Bull Dancer wore a breechcloth of buffalo skin and wristlets and anklets of buffalo hair. The eight Bulls were all dressed alike and were of equal size.

Early on the second morning, while the Bull Dancers were being painted and dressed, Lone Man walked through the village carrying his pipe in one hand and the carved wood stick in

20. Cf. Wolf Chief's version of the Creation Myth to follow.

21. The face was that of First Pretty Woman. For an account of this mythological character refer to chap. xiv, "Red Stick Ceremony." If the walking ceremony, called by Catlin "Feast to the Buffaloes" (*O-Kee-Pa*, p. 32), was not to be performed, the Bull Dancers' chests and abdomen were painted with alternate horizontal white and red stripes about two inches wide. The "walking" ceremony was performed at the close of the Okipa whenever the age-grade society assisted the Okipa Maker in collecting the necessary property for payment to the officers of the Okipa.

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the other. The people gave him robes, for he symbolized the first Lone Man who went through the village each morning at sunrise attending to the needs of all his people. 796

Those painting the Bull Dancers worked all morning and did not finish until noon.[22] The two men with buffalo-hide rattles came out and took their places. The Okipa Maker came out

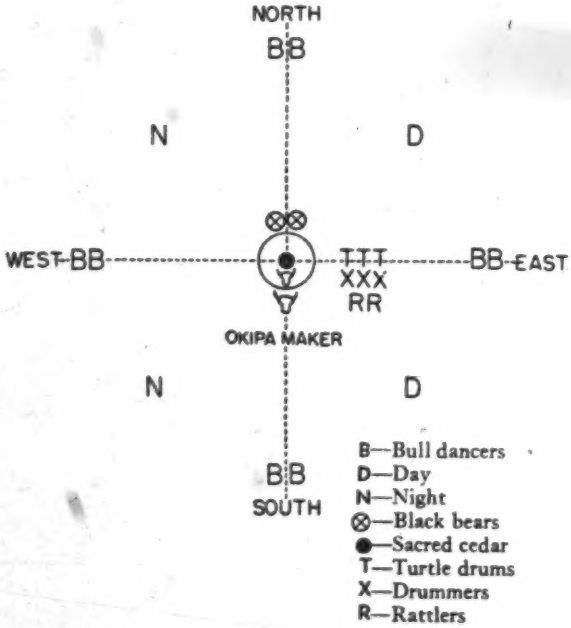

FIG. 15.—Direction symbolism for the bull dances

dressed as on the previous day and placed the pipe and pemmican ball in front of the turtles. He proceeded to the south side of the sacred cedar, where he again wept as he prayed to Lone Man to bring the buffaloes near and keep bad luck away from the village. While he was praying, the drummers began to beat the drums and sing, which was the signal for the Bull Dancers to come out. The people would congregate on lodges and around the open circle to observe these elaborately painted actors who performed the dances which were the most colorful of 796 535

22. Men bought the right and privilege to paint the characters of the ceremony. The Okipa Maker paid the painters for their services.

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•79b 535 the whole ceremony. The Bulls danced directly toward the sacred cedar and formed a circle around it, then formed in pairs to mark out the four cardinal points, and, finally separated to mark the eight directions (see Fig. 15). A change in rhythm was a signal for the Bulls to return to the Okipa lodge.

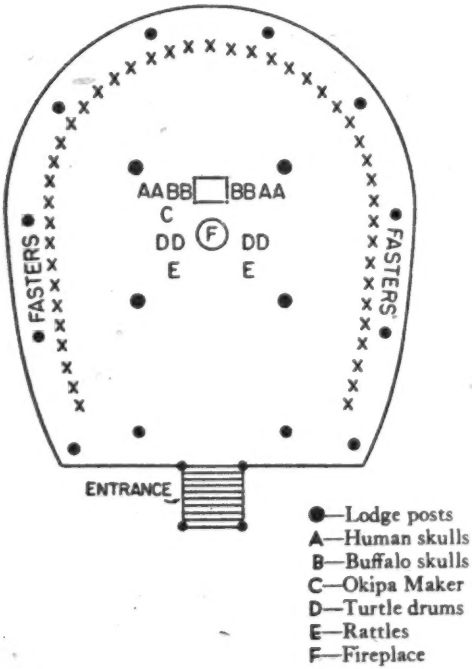

FIG. 16.—Lodge plan prior to torture feature. (After Catlin.)

The drummers, rattlers, Okipa Maker, and the eight Bull Dancers came out eight times the second day and repeated the same performance. The fasters came out only once the second day, following the first appearance of the Bulls. They formed a row at the south side of the sacred cedar and were dressed in buffalo robes with the hair side out. They returned into the lodge last and did not come out again that day (see Fig. 16).

79b 785 Fasters began to present themselves for the torture feature[23]

23. Cutting off the fingers in the Okipa gradually died out and was uncommon after 1837, though it continued to be a practice when mourning a death or when fasting on a hill or in a remote place. It was said that a man in a dream was instructed that the fingers were needed to handle firearms.

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on the second day. Each candidate selected a man of his father's clan to cut the holes through the skin and insert the skewers. These men were selected by each candidate before the ceremony, and the knife to be used was given to the Lone Man the evening of the "Going In" ceremony. As each candidate stepped forward and presented himself, the clan "father" picked up a knife from the altar and cut the holes for the skewers. Two skewers were inserted through the skin on the back or on the breast by which the candidate was suspended in midair by a lariat fastened over a pole of the Okipa lodge. Other skewers were inserted through the skin of the legs to which buffalo skulls were hung. When there were enough candidates, one was hung up while the Bulls were outside dancing in order that each Bull in returning to his place in the lodge could hook the sufferer (see Fig. 17). During the later years at Like-a-Fishhook Village, a corn scaffold was erected at the entrance to the Okipa lodge, and those tortured were often suspended from its beams where they were hooked about by the Bull Dancers when leaving or entering the lodge.[24] When the candidate became unconscious, he was lowered to the ground and left to regain consciousness without being molested by any of the observers. It was believed that experiences with the supernatural when acquired at that time were the most genuine and the richest ones.[25]

A midday meal was prepared for the Bull Dancers. The women preparing the meal wore their robes with the hair side out to resemble buffaloes. They motioned to the lodge where the food was cooked, and the Bulls ran there instead of going into the Okipa lodge. After finishing their meal, the Bulls carried food to the Hoita, Lone Man, Blue Heron, and the Rattlers. The Okipa Maker and fasters were not permitted to eat food or drink water, although they could smoke whenever they wished.

Preparations were made during the evening for the third day,

24. At the last performances of the Okipa, a tall pole was set in the ground between the ceremonial lodge and cedar with a rope hanging down. Those going through the torture feature were tied to the rope by means of thongs in their flesh but were not suspended.

25. After uniting with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, the torture elements and associated vision quests of the Okipa declined in importance. Those seeking visions preferred to suffer in isolated places, since the necessary rules of conduct were being broken, particularly by women, in the consolidated village.

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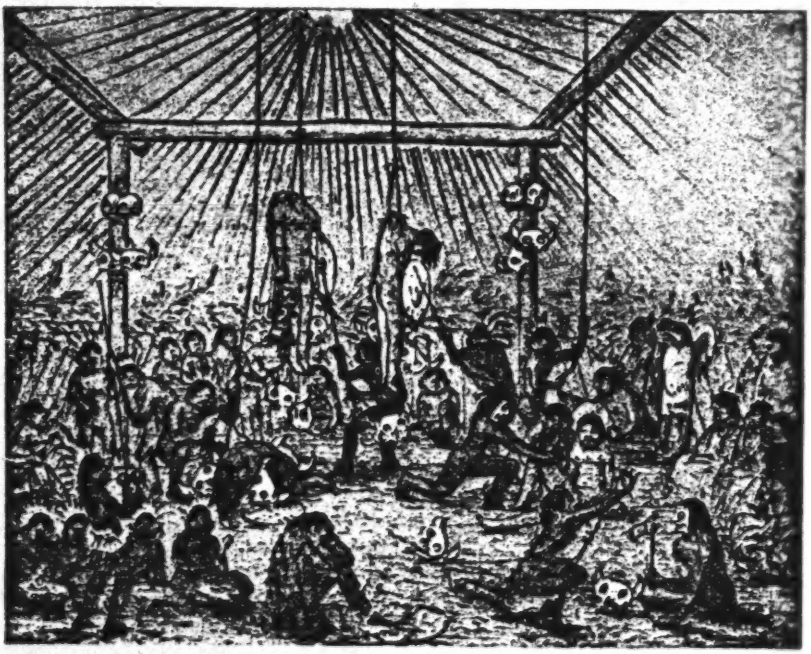

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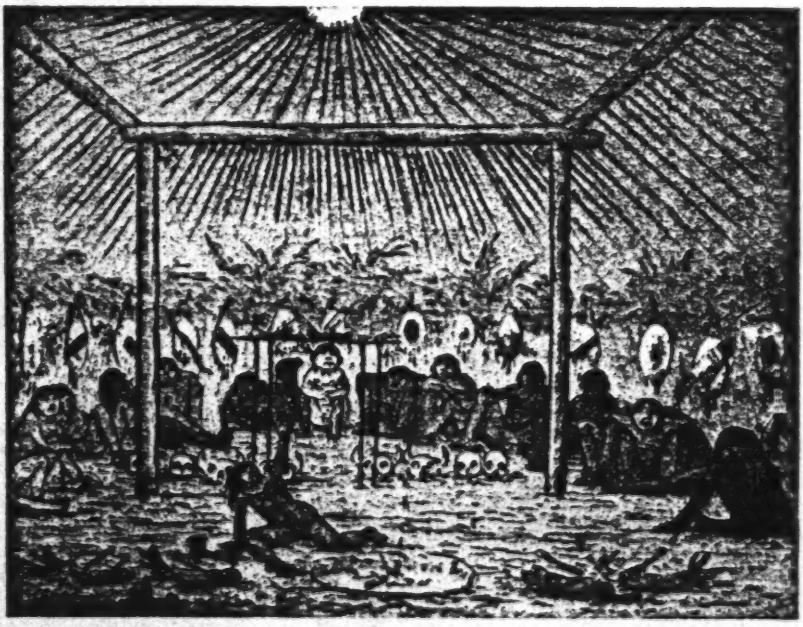

FIG. 17.—Altar arrangement and torture feature. (After Catlin.)

[p. 136]

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796 which was known as "Everything Comes Back Day." This was the day when all the mythological beings that were on the earth when the first Lone Man and Hoita lived among the Mandan came back. The participants were nominated as stated above

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FIG. 18.—Back view of turtle drum with feather collar

and met at the ceremonial lodge to receive their sticks, which was their authority to officiate. (See Figs. 18 and 19.)

Wolf Chief supplied the following firsthand information on the calling-out of those who had previously been selected by the respective bundle-owners to enact their parts in the third day's performance:

The masks were at the head of the lodge when I entered. They began to name the men who were to imitate the different animals belonging in the dance. The officers first chose First Creator to sit beside the door. He had

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796 some willow sticks. He said, "I would like to have a foolish person who looks like a human to paint his body black with white spots and carry a stick representing his penis." That was OxinhEdE, the foolish one. The one selected to assume that part came forward and received one of the sticks.

Then he would ask for a star to join in, and another would take a stick. Then he said, "I would like to have this dry meat represented. I want to have a Black Bear in it," and another took a stick. "I would like to have a grizzly bear."

Then he said, "I want to have a woman in it. I want someone to be the bald eagle. I want a hawk in this ceremony. I want a meadowlark." Men would come and take the sticks.

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FIG. 15.—Present condition of the sacred cedar

He would say, "I want to select the good buffaloes. I want four of them to be the real buffaloes." Four came and took sticks. "We must have a First Creator here too. I want an antelope." When he came to the antelope, more than one came and took the remainder of the sticks. There would be many antelopes. That ended the naming of the characters so far as I remember, but I know I forgot some of them.

The antelopes would go out and cover their bodies with mud and have sticks for horns. The hawk would have long braided grass and a ball at the end for a club. The bald-headed eagle would have the braided grass for his club. Black Bear would be dressed in a black bearskin.

Third day: "Everything Comes Back Day."—The painting of the Bull Dancers and all the characters represented during this day began at daybreak and continued until nearly noon. The special painters prepared the eight Bull Dancers and the one

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Mangy Buffalo, while the other characters were painted by bundle-owners of their own respective groups. Fresh willows were brought in from the river bottoms to decorate the sides of the Okipa lodge and to be worn by the Bull Dancers. A long pole with a rawhide lariat was erected south of the sacred cedar in later years. Here some of the fasters were to "suffer for the Buffaloes" during the day.

The "coming-out" ceremony on the third day was the same as on the second day. The two men with rattles led, followed by the three drummers carrying the turtle drums. The Okipa Maker came out, carrying the pipe and pemmican ball, which he placed in front of the drummers, and took his place on the south side of the sacred cedar, as before, where he prayed to the first Lone Man. The fasters followed close behind him and lay down in a straight line on the south side of the sacred cedar. The drummers began one of the songs, and the animals came out, dancing in pairs. The Bull Dancers formed at the four cardinal points and then at the eight directions. The two characters representing day danced on the east side and the two representing night were on the west side (see Fig. 15). The Bears danced on the north side because the Old Black Bears, whom the Mandan believe taught them the art of trapping eagles and catching fish, lived in the north. The Bear impersonators were dressed in bearhides. Those impersonating the eagles were painted black with white heads. The Antelopes were young boys painted with yellow bodies and white heads. Two men were painted with spots on the back to represent the Snakes, and two wore close-fitting buffalo hides and beaver tails to represent the Beavers (see Figs. 20–23).

Wolf Chief, who had danced the Bull Dance on the "Everything Comes Back Day," had these comments to make on that day's performance:[26]

All this time Lone Man was at the head of the lodge with another representing the First Creator. Lone Man carried a staff with black raven feathers and white swan feathers alternating in rows between each other on the stick.

26. For other descriptions of the Okipa ceremony see Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I, 244–76, and *O-Kee-Pa;* Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Thwaites, XXIII, 324–34; and Henry A. Boller, *Among the Indians: Eight Years in the Far West* (Philadelphia, 1868), pp. 100–111.

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796 He had a jackrabbit hide on his ankles; his cap was of raven feathers; he was painted with red paint.

First Creator had a coyote hide covering his shoulders. He had his forehead painted black. He wore a coyote hide around his head.

FIG. 20.—Okipa ceremony impersonator: OXINHEDE (Foolish One). (After Catlin.)

Big Turtle was the leader (Hoita) in the Okipa I saw. He selected the Buffaloes; they were Bears Ghost (Mandan), Chicken Bear (Hidatsa), Wolf Chief (Hidatsa), and Red Leaves (Mandan). He asked us to stand at the four directions inside the lodge. I saw the buffalo masks and the young sand-bar willows they were bringing in. They stuck the willows into the wall both upside down and right side up.

Big Turtle said, "It is nearly midday. You should paint these Buffaloes now." During this time the Antelopes were going down to the river to paint, climbing up onto the lodges, or running around in every direction. Bad Buf-

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falo, a Mandan, painted me. They had black, white, and red paint. The Bulls had to be tall to use the heads, so that is why they picked us. They asked me to spread out my legs and arms and rest on two sticks in order to stretch. While he was painting me, calicoes were offered to him. I tried to get my share. Later, when dancing, someone would motion to us that an offering was to be

FIG. 21.—Okipa ceremony impersonator: Bull Dancer. (After Catlin.)

made. The first ones there would get the best, and they shared with the others.

In painting us they left a space open on the chest which the masks would cover, otherwise our body was painted red and white stripes crosswise over the abdomen. We had black noses and foreheads. The mask over our heads nearly covered our faces. I held the hair from the mask with my mouth. They painted red and white stripes on our legs and arms. We wore buffalo long hair around our ankles. Each of us wore a belt cut from an old robe. Painting was slow, for it was fancy work. I stood there so long I became tired. Big Turtle brought

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•796 the sacred pipe for me to smoke, but he would not let me touch it with my hands while smoking.

When the painting was finished, Big Turtle told the singers to get ready to go outside. Short Bull, Bites the Nose, and Cedar were the singers. Those with rattles were Little Shield and Clamshell Necklace. They went to the cedar

FIG. 22.—Okika ceremony impersonators: Night and First Day of Creation (After Catlin.)

and took their places. About that time men dressed as women (one was White Belly and the other Crazy Raven) appeared. Their faces looked like women's as they had their hair combed like women do. They were short in stature. They wore beautiful dresses made of elk hide decorated with good quillwork. They wore women's leggings and carried sticks with scalps attached. At that time the Foolish One came in from the prairie and jumped around. He jumped over everything, even the holy things, while now and then he would make a motion toward the sun and say that everything was good below. Inside the

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lodge again, Lone Man would get up and ask the Black Bears and Grizzly Bears to go out and see if there were any offerings to them. They would go outside. At the same time the Birds would be walking around watching the Antelopes. The Stars were painted in red with white spots all over. There was one man dressed as Dry Meat, and he would have red marks in different places over his body. 796

FIG. 23.—Okipa ceremony impersonators: Snake and Beaver. (After Catlin.)

The singers told us to stand in front of them. Lone Man would say something I could not understand, for he used an old Mandan dialect, but afterward I learned that he was saying something which had to do with a cleaning act to make us light and active in dancing. [198]

Then Lone Man said that the singers should begin again. The men with the rattles began and the other singers joined in beating the turtles. It seemed that the earth was shaking. At that time First Creator was gone, but I saw him afterward on the south side of the cedar. All that time, two Women, four Buf-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 faloes, two Stars, Dry Meat, and the other impersonators divided in two rows as they came out and stood on each side of the cedar. The Blue Heron was sitting by the Lone Man in the lodge. He was still there when we returned, for he was not supposed to move until the ceremony was over.

When the singers took the turtles out, they went to the cedar and faced the door with the turtles in front of them. We came out bellowing like the Buffalo Bulls. They all sang at the turtles, and then we went by pairs to each side. One woman impersonator went one way, the other went the other way. I saw the Antelopes being chased by the Birds and running onto the lodges, while the Bears stood by the cedar. First Creator had a coyote hide over his shoulder and was running in circles all the time without stopping. Every time they sang we danced until we met behind the cedar. Those who pretended to be stars said they had to travel slowly like stars. The singers would beat the drums rapidly and the Bulls would dance so violently they were almost exhausted. Still the Stars hardly moved. At times people would make offerings to the Bears, and the Antelopes would try to take the goods away from them. Then the Hawks and Big Birds would come to take the goods away from the Antelopes, hitting them with their clubs. While all this was going on, the Stars hardly moved. If anyone owned the star medicine, he would invite the Stars to come and eat. We always looked around while dancing, but it happened that I did not see it because I was dancing the east direction facing the cedar when someone waved. When I looked around, I saw who it was, but the other Buffaloes got there first and took the food and drygoods. While we ate, we gave the goods to the men who painted us. Our protectors, the Birds, would try to take it away from us. After we finished, the singers took their turtles inside, went around in a circle inside the lodge, and came right back out again. They placed their turtles on the ground again.

Sometimes they would invite us to eat several times. The Stars walked slowly, and we tired, they were so slow. When we went out again, the men impersonating women were in front of us. I rubbed them on both sides, and some of the men said that a Buffalo was after those women, even though I did it only for fun. I saw a man with a sack drawn over his body and painted with blue mud. He had a fork tine in front of him, and every time he came near the Bulls, he would stick it into them, and they would run away. Whenever the people dressed as different characters came out, men with that same medicine would call them and give them a feast. It would not take long after we began to dance until all the paint would be run off.

The dancers came out twelve times the third day.

Throughout the ceremony there had been challenges sent to the Foolish One to come and match his powers with the Lone Man and his pipe. Foolish One symbolized those who did not respect sacred things, and the drama illustrated the unhappy lot of those who failed to fast or seek supernatural protection through purchase or fasting. Just after the performers had completed their first dance on the third day, he appeared on the prairie following a zigzag course to the village. He was scantily clothed, wearing a breechcloth of buffalo hair, a buffalo tail be-

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hind, anklets of buffalo hair, and a small close-fitting cap of buffalo hair with a raven feather in it. He was painted black with white teeth painted around his mouth; a red disk on his chest represented the sun; a red crescent on his back represented the moon; dozens of white circles on the body, limbs, and head represented the stars. He wore a rod and two small pumpkins representing male genitals. His limbs appeared to have holes through them at the joints due to the peculiar manner of painting a red spot with a white circle around it at the desired points. He wore a cornhusk necklace and carried a staff about eight feet long on the end of which hung a ball of buffalo hair which was symbolic of a human head.

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As he approached the village, he leaped about in imitation of the Foolish One of the mythology, jumping over any person in his way. Small children had been told that this terrible creature ate people,[27] since he came from the sun, so they hid back of their mothers. Women threw robes toward him, and other men with the right to take the part of the Foolish One followed behind collecting them.

While the Foolish One approached the open circle of the village, the Okipa Maker continued praying at the sacred cedar and did not move from his place until he heard him near by, within the open circle. The Okipa Maker grasped Lone Man's pipe in both hands and, carrying it before him, advanced toward the Foolish One, challenging that one's right to come among the people to frighten them and bring misfortune or death at the hands of their enemies by breaking up the dances for the buffaloes. As he advanced, the singing and dancing stopped, while all looked on attentively at the drama. No person was to utter a sound, and any dog that barked was killed by the Black Mouths. It was believed the tribe's welfare was dependent on the powers of Lone Man's pipe to overcome the power of the Foolish One's staff. The Foolish One retreated before the Okipa Maker, and the people sang the victory songs. It was believed that Lone Man's pipe had saved the people from this evil one who brought death and ill fortune to those who dreamed of him. Foolish One then behaved like a clown and entertained the onlookers by imitating bulls during the breeding season. He ap-

27. See chap. xii, "People Above Ceremony," where he is described as a cannibal.

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796 proached the young women first. Then he advanced toward the Bulls, dancing around the sacred cedar as though smelling them. Each time the performers came out of the Okipa lodge, Foolish One approached the two men dressed like women, one being sensible, the other foolish. First he approached the sensible girl[28] and by signs told her that he loved her and offered her his corn-husk necklace, but she would refuse to have anything to do with him. Then he directed his attention to the other girl,[29] who gladly accepted his offers. The spectators laughed at this comical performance. He performed during four of the twelve times the dancers came out. At the end of the fourth dance, his staff was broken in entering the Okipa lodge by trying to enter with the rod crosswise of the door. The women, then losing all fear of him, rushed at him, broke his staff into little pieces, and drove him out of the village, pelting him with rocks, dirt, and pieces of wood. He ran to the river, where he washed off his paint while two men, also having Foolish One rights, who had followed him, gathered up the presents and tied up his cap and necklace in a buffalo-calf hide to resemble a doll. This doll was then lashed to a pole before the Okipa lodge to be an offering to the Foolish One who lived in the Sun.

The women brought food for the animals at midday and threw it to them while they danced. The food for the Bull Dancers was kept in an earth lodge near by. When the Bulls saw a woman approaching with the hair side of her robe out, they knew their food was ready. All the animal impersonators rushed toward the lodge where the Bulls were to eat, and there was general disorder. The Antelopes, being faster runners than the Buffaloes, who were burdened with the masks and willows, reached the door first. Two men, one painted to represent a large hawk, the other a bald eagle, were stationed on each side of the doorway with stone hammers to keep the Antelopes out, but some usually got in.

796 785 Fasters began presenting themselves to be tortured when the dancers had come out the fifth time. A long pole had been rigged up south of the sacred cedar, and a faster was fastened to the

28. She represented Corn Silk, who went above to marry the Moon, as well as all the other kindly female deities.

29. She represented Cheyenne Woman, who married the Sun.

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lariat hanging down from the top of the pole by means of skewers through his chest. He ran around this pole for the duration of one appearance of the dancers and was then cut loose.[30] A different faster was attached to the pole each time that the Bull Dancers were outside dancing. 796 785

The two men representing the night or stars led the dancers on their last appearance on the third day, taking very short steps so that they scarcely moved along, and timed the dance to finish just as the first evening star (*no'hąka tawi'hąka*, or "grandson") appeared after sunset. The two men at dusk returned to the Okipa lodge and spent the night in places just back of the Okipa Maker.

There were usually a number of women fasting on top of the entrance to the Okipa lodge. They came there the first night and left at sunset of the third day. These women sought various benefits; some sought relief for illness; others sought success for relatives about to leave or then away from home on the warpath.

Fourth day: "The Hunting Day."—All those who had gone through the torture feature on the second and third days left the Okipa lodge the night before the fourth day. There were only four Bull Dancers on this day who were men selected because of their great size and bravery in battle. The Bulls were painted and dressed as on the preceding days. Young men brought fresh willows from the sand bars to decorate the Okipa lodge. Those who were to impersonate the hunters prepared willow hoops with rawhide lacing across them and poles, such as were used in the Hoop and Pole game, which they took into the Okipa lodge to use in the hunting rites. 796

The fasters did not come out for the first dance on the fourth day; only the Okipa Maker, the drummers, the rattlers, and the four Bull Dancers appeared to dance four times before returning to the Okipa lodge. The Bulls came out once for each of the

30. This account of the Okipa was supplied in part by Scattercorn, to whom her father, Moves Slowly, described the ceremony as held in his boyhood. She tells me that when her father was young the torturing was done in the medicine lodge and no pole was set up outside. The use of a pole suggests Hidatsa NaxpikE influence. Maximilian, as reported in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Thwaites, XXIII, 332, says that some hung over a bank. Boller (*op. cit.*, p. 104) reports a pole was put up south of the sacred cedar.

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796 clans on the last day, and the clan names were recited in the ritual.[31]

796 The Okipa Maker and the remaining fasters underwent vari-
785 ous tortures on the last day just before the Bull Dancers came out the final time. Often there were not more than two fasters remaining with the Okipa Maker, and at times the Okipa Maker was the only one left to be tortured. Two men of the father's clan pierced the flesh for the skewers and suspended the candidates above the ground. Buffalo skulls were hung from their legs. A man who had killed an enemy could wear an enemy's skull around his neck. When a faster became unconscious, he was taken down.

796 After the sixteenth dance, one of the drummers came out with rattles made of buffalo hide, followed by the four Bulls, who danced in a weaving course around the sacred cedar. The Hoita came last with two gourd rattles. The dancers, when on the east side of the cedar, addressed the song to Mother Corn as mother, then went to the west side to address the song to Thunderbird as father,[32] after which all retired to the Okipa lodge.

Inside the lodge four songs were sung. These were the songs used when repairing the sacred cedar. After each song the turtles were lifted to determine how heavy they were, and each time the turtles were moved all the young men in the lodge stamped their feet in imitation of the buffalo herds which had also stamped on being released from the Dog Den Butte.

After the turtles had been moved four times, with the stamping of feet accompanying each move, the time for the "freeing of the animals" and the "animal hunt" had come.[33] The Hoita led the way from the Okipa lodge, carrying Lone Man's pipe. The drummers followed, carrying the three turtles which they placed in their customary place east of the sacred cedar. The Four Bulls followed Hoita, who in turn led the hunters with

31. Six extinct clans were dropped from these rites while performing the ceremony at the Fort Clark villages.

32. Many of the songs have words that are not understood. In this song only the words "Thunderbird Father" and "Mother Corn Mother" were recognized by the uninformed.

33. In the mythology, when Hoita came from Dog Den Butte, where he had the animals imprisoned, and found his son officiating in Lone Man's village, he agreed to free the animals so that the people could hunt them and resolved that in the future he would work with Lone Man for the benefit of the tribe. Thereafter the two men assisted each other in directing the Okipa ceremony.

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their poles and hoops. Hoita took the Okipa Maker's place south of the cedar, and the Bulls stood in a row south of him. All the hunters formed in a line south of the Bulls, and Lone Man stood alone south of the hunters. The participants faced the entrance of the Okipa lodge. The Bulls danced toward Hoita, who sent them back four times, symbolizing the four times scouts were sent from Dog Den Butte to report on the condition of the Mandan whom Hoita believed to be starving. Each time the hunters, using the poles as spears, charged the Bulls, who were bleeding from many wounds. Wolf Chief explained that it was a very painful performance, as his legs were pierced in many places.

After the hunt, the Four Bulls stood at the entrance to the Okipa lodge and formed at the four cardinal points. Each bellowed in imitation of a bull in the following order, east, west, north, and south. Then the Hoita directed them to the sacred cedar, where each of the Bulls stood at the cardinal points and again bellowed, in the same order.[34] The Four Bulls represented the buffaloes from every direction as well as the buffaloes for the four seasons. The north buffalo called for the winter buffalo, the east buffalo for the spring buffalo, the south buffalo for the summer buffalo, and the west buffalo for the autumn buffalo.

After the calling of the buffaloes from the four directions was completed, the remaining portion of the ceremony progressed rapidly. The drummers began beating rapidly, and the hunters formed a circle about the sacred cedar, holding to the willow hoops. The Four Bulls threw off their masks and danced around the circle as rapidly as possible. Each remaining faster was led out of the Okipa lodge by two of his father's clansmen[35] who had the right half of their bodies painted blue and the left side red. They held straps wrapped around the faster's arms. Each faster had one or more buffalo skulls dragging from skewers fastened through the skin; those who had struck an enemy were permitted to wear a skull as a necklace. The father's clansmen led or

34. The sacred cedar represented Lone Man's body, and this act symbolized the eternal friendship of Lone Man and Hoita.

35. Only men of good war records, who were entitled to paint as indicated above, could participate. The painting of the body in two colors, blue on the right side and red on the left side or comparable painting of leggings and shirt, indicated that one had killed an enemy far from home or had been the first or second to strike a lone enemy far from home.

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•796 785 dragged the young man around the sacred cedar in a clockwise direction as fast as they could travel until the victim fell unconscious. When the last faster fell to the ground, the drumming ceased, and the hunters threw their hoops into the air. All the fasters returned to the Okipa lodge, where those on the west-side moiety rubbed their wounds with buffalo marrow while those of the opposite moiety rubbed theirs with ground yellow corn.

796 The Lone Man carried all the knives and sharp-edged tools to the bank of the Missouri River, where they were thrown into the water as an offering to the Grandfather Snake. A few robes and seven corn balls were offered to the river at the same time.

A sweat ceremony, in which all the officers with their paraphernalia took part, completed the ceremony.

The goods collected by the Okipa Maker were given to the Lone Man, Hoita, Bulls, Drummers, Rattlers, to the characters represented during the "Everything Comes Back Day," and to the father's clansmen who prepared the Okipa Maker for the last ordeal. The Okipa Maker and the fasters made medicine bundles according to instructions received from the supernatural beings which had appeared to them during the ceremony, and each faster received a section of a sand-bar willow as an article for his personal medicine bundle.

The following description of the Okipa ceremony by Maximilian in 1834 will illustrate the character of the ceremony as performed at that time. Three years later smallpox killed roughly 80 per cent of the tribe, but the ceremony as described by eyewitnesses underwent only a few minor changes. The number of singers was reduced to three; a torture pole was erected south of the sacred cedar; the Bull Dancers were painted differently, the abdomen being painted with alternate stripes; there were fewer animal representatives on the third day due to the extinction of certain bundle lines. Except for these minor changes, the ceremony was essentially the same as performed in 1834. When the Mandan joined the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, men of the latter tribe sometimes gave the ceremony and bought minor offices, but the principal officers were Mandans. The supernatural beings enumerated by Maximilan are also readily identified from my informant's accounts.

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on war expeditions, and during the summer buffalo hunt. Of these four, only during one, the Okipa ceremony, was fasting done within the village. This is in sharp contrast with the Hidatsa custom of fasting during many bundle-transfer ceremonies. Crows Heart preferred to fast away from the village, thinking that women were less inclined to conform to tribal custom, which made dreams hard to get. 787 869 785

A man who advised and instructed his own sons in the benefits to be attained from fasting would be abusive with his sister's sons whom he did not believe were making enough effort to secure supernatural guardians. He would use the argument that it would enhance the prestige of the clan. He would talk of an occasion when other young men would be fasting in the Okipa and state that he would expect the "younger brother" to be there, and he would give him goods to pay the officers for that privilege. The older male members of the various clans were especially watchful to see that the sections reserved for the clans were well filled. The other clans laughed at those who had only a few fasting during the ceremony. 785 869 796 614

Not all who fasted either alone beyond the village limits or during the Okipa did so with the expectation of having a vision. Nor were visions received each time. Self-privation was believed to please the supernatural, and both individual and general well-being was the natural consequence. Although boys began to fast at the age of eight or nine because they were advised to, the serious seeking of guardian spirits or vision experiences was not made until the property-owning age was reached and shortly after marriage. 785 787

Three methods were employed in gaining supernatural experiences. Some would fast in various ways; others would inflict torture; and still others would make presents of valued property. Of the three, offering of valued goods was considered the hardest to do, since it required much work to amass the goods. 785 787 431

Self-torture administered during the Okipa ceremony was more severe than that practiced in any of the Hidatsa ceremonies; otherwise the customs of the two tribes differed little as to severity of the measures employed. The father's clansmen prepared the young man for the torture feature by securing and inserting the thongs. Suspension of the one tortured was not em- 785 171

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Chapter VI

THE CORN CEREMONIES

THE Corn ceremonies were of two general groups based on their mythological backgrounds. Either because of purchase or other factors, possibly village union, the two separate ceremonies were consolidated during the memory of the older Mandan. One ceremony which was represented by two bundles was believed to have been performed when the tribe resided under the ground near the mouth of the Mississippi. In this land beneath the earth, the people lived a simple life, depending on corn for their sustenance. They were naked and had neither pottery nor bows and arrows. Their spiritual leader was Corn Father, who, by performing certain rites, caused the seed to germinate and grow, producing the mature plants and ripe corn. The whole tribe relied on him for supernatural guidance. The growing plant was a symbol of his power, and it was believed that the seed would not grow without his rites.

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773

When the people began to come to the surface of the earth by means of a grape vine, the leader of the Corn ceremonies was at the back of the line and was separated from his three sons, Good Furred Robe, Cornhusk Earrings, and Uses His Head for Rattle, and a daughter named Waving Corn Stalk, when the vine was broken by the weight of a woman heavy with child. Calling to his children who had reached the earth, he instructed them to continue the rites as they had seen him perform them. The ceremonial myth from that point traces out the traditional migrations of the tribe, the acquisition of new tools and skills, and the founding of the Black Mouth and Goose societies. In the myth, Good Furred Robe, being the oldest brother, took the leading part. This myth was closely interwoven with the Okipa myth.[1]

After the tribe had completed its migrations and had reached

1. See Creation Myth narrated by Chief to his son-in-law, Wolf Chief (chap. iv).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 After the tribe had completed its migration and had reached
773 the Heart River region, the three brothers died. Good Furred
778 Robe never married, but, before he died, he sold his sacred robe and pipe to his brother's son, who preserved it as a sacred bundle belonging to the Corn ceremonies. The three brothers' skulls were taken from the scaffolds and kept in a leather bag as a second Corn ceremony bundle.

778 The Sacred Robe bundle contained the following articles: (1) a robe said to have belonged to Good Furred Robe, on which was painted a map of the world showing the Missouri River as a large snake and the hole through which the Corn People reached the earth; (2) Good Furred Robe's pipe, carved from wood, the stem being carved to represent a goose's head and neck, the mouthpiece being the goose's bill; (3) a headdress of foxskins; (4) a bundle of young white sage; (5) moccasins made of buffalo hide with the hair on the inside; (6) a clay pot; (7) a strip of elkhide; (8) a dried gourd for a rattle; (9) a substance resembling and representing corn silk; (10) one ear of white flint corn, one ear of yellow corn, and one ear of white soft corn; (11) a narrow strip of badger skin; (12) blackbird heads and the head of one green-headed duck; (13) a whitetail deer skull with antlers attached to place the bundle on; (14) three dried squash; (15) one sunflower head; (16) a robe made of kit-fox hides; and (17) a braid of cornhusks.

796 The ceremonial significance of many of the articles in the
773 bundle are self-evident, particularly Items 8, 9, 10, 14, and 15,
778 since these are products from the gardens. The robe was made from a buffalo heifer's hide. Scattercorn explained that such hides, especially those killed in the late fall, had beautiful hair. The paintings on the hide depicted the traditional migration of the tribe from the mouth of the Mississippi and expressed the close association of the tribe with the Missouri River section of the Plains. The Missouri River was depicted as a huge snake. The robe was believed to have supernatural powers over the weather, and those who wished to have rain for their crops paid the robe-owner to open the bundle and sprinkle water on the robe. He would sing the "Song of the Robe" while sprinkling the robe with water shaken from a bundle of white sage (Item 4 of the bundle). The robe was considered the most important ar-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ticle in the bundle and was believed to have once belonged to Good Furred Robe, who wore it during the various Corn rites. 796 778

The pipe differed little from other ceremonial pipes. The bowl and part of the stem were carved from wood. There appeared to be a stone or clay lining to the bowl. A second piece of wood was carved to resemble a goose's head and neck. This pipe was owned by Good Furred Robe and, according to tradition, used by him in the ceremonies. 773

The headdress of foxskins (Item 3), badger fur (Item 11), kit-fox robe (Item 16), and strip of elkhide (Item 7) were represented in the bundle because these animals assisted in bringing the people out of the ground.

The sage belonging to the bundle was the kind kept in all earth lodges and used by the women at the close of a day's work in the gardens to cleanse themselves by rubbing their body and clothing with it. It was said that, in ancient times, worms and diseases were removed by this simple household cleansing rite. [515]

The dried gourd, used as a rattle, was symbolic of Good Furred Robe's brother, Uses His Head for Rattle, who had assisted in the early Corn ceremonies. The [illegible]ed cornhusks represented the other brother, Cornhusk Earrings, while all the other articles representing products from the garden were symbolic of Waving Corn Stalk, their sister, who repelled the Sun by walking through the gardens waving her robe, thus protecting her gardens from the heat.

The blackbird heads, duck head, and deer skull have a dual symbolic significance. They represent the birds that come north in the spring and the deer that inhabit the woodlands, but they are also the helpers of Old Woman Who Never Dies. In that sense the bundle ritualism is psychologically related to the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles and rites.

The second traditionally related Corn ceremony bundle is known as the Skull bundle (see Fig. 24). The contents of this bundle are: (1) Good Furred Robe's skull; (2) Cornhusk Earring's skull; (3) Uses Head for Rattle's skull; (4) a bundle of young white sage; (5) a substance resembling and representing corn silk; (6) a headdress of foxskins; and (7) a wooden pipe.

At the time this study was being made, Scattercorn was owner of the Robe bundle and Mrs. White Duck (Rattles Medicine) 778 796

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•796 778 owned the Skull bundle. The former was a Mandan woman of the Nuptadi band, and the latter was a descendant of the small Awaxawi band of Hidatsa. Scattercorn had been told by her father that a long time ago the two bundles belonged to one man and were kept together. They were inherited together, generation after generation, until one owner had two sons who wanted the Corn ceremony rights when the bundle was divided,

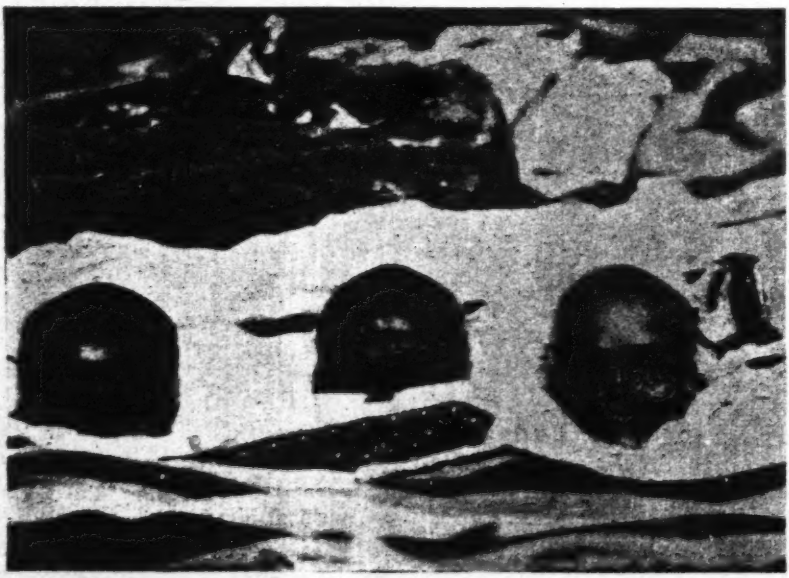

FIG. 24.—Skull bundle of the Corn ceremonies. Characters: Good Furred Robe Cornhusk Earring, and Uses Head for Rattle.

one taking the robe and the other the skulls. Eventually the Skull bundle was taken to a west-side village of the Heart River group, where it remained until the smallpox epidemic of about 1782, when it was brought northward by the Mandan, finally becoming the principal Corn ceremony bundle of Mi'tutanka Village, where it was owned by a Mandan named Red Bird at the time of the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

The Robe bundle belonged to the east-side Mandan who migrated from the Round Lodge and Yellow Earth villages and established a village between Mi'tutanka and the Knife River Hidatsa villages. The bundle became associated with the Nup-

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tadi band of Mandan. Immediately after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, both bundles were kept at Nuptadi but had different owners. Crows Belt owned the Robe bundle and Red Bird owned the Skull bundle. A year after the smallpox epidemic, Red Bird lost a son from smallpox and contemplated putting the bundle away on the hills, the customary method of relinquishing an unsold bundle, when his son-in-law, Bear Looks Around, an Awaxawi, indicated a desire to purchase the bundle.[2]

The Mandan who owned rights in all the Corn ceremonies met and approved the transfer, since at that time there was considerable intertribal marriage and the principal Mandan Corn bundle containing Good Furred Robe's robe was not involved in the sale. Bear Looks Around bought the bundle, which he later transferred to his "younger brother" (sister's son), Poor Wolf, who transferred it to Mrs. White Duck, his daughter, the present owner.

The Robe bundle was transferred from Crows Belt to Moves Slowly, last head of the Corn ceremonies at Like-a-Fishhook Village. Having no "younger brother," and since no male of his clan indicated a desire to purchase the bundle, he sold his rights to his daughter, Scattercorn.[3] She lost the robe and most of the bundle when their earth lodge burned but saved the pipe. She replaced part of the bundle but not the robe.

A second group of somewhat more complicated Corn ceremonies was associated with Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles. Four groups of bundles belonged to these rites. They were:

1. *Principal bundles.*—These consisted of a large number of articles symbolic of characters and objects referred to in the Old Woman Who Never Dies myth. There was no full bundle in existence at the time of this study. Information was supplied largely by Scattercorn and supplemented by isolated bits of information from a number of informants whose families owned secondary bundles associated with the principal bundles and containing varying numbers of articles similar to those in the principal bundles. From this scattered information, the inform-

2. Father-in-law to son-in-law or older brother to younger brother constitute moiety inheritance when moieties are exogamous.

3. Scattercorn died in 1940. Her rights in the Corn ceremony were transferred to Mrs. Little Owl, a clan daughter.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 778 ants were in full agreement on some points. They stated that those with singer rights in the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles were singers for the Women's Goose Society and that greater emphasis was placed on warfare rites. There was no reference in the Robe and Skull myths or rites to warfare except in the incident when Good Furred Robe founded the Black Mouth or Brave Warrior Society and gave a sunflower plant to each of the two bravest men, who were to carry them on war expeditions. The following articles were contained in a principal bundle: corn basket, elkskin robe, clay pot, wooden pipe, deer skull and antlers, corn, beans, squash, sunflowers, blackbird heads, bull-snake skin, bundle of young white sage, duck heads, swan feathers, goose heads, strip of grizzly-bear skin, gourd rattles, and a scalp. Owners of principal bundles held singer status. Bobtail Bull, so far as it was possible to determine, was the only Mandan with this status surviving the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

778 425 432 2. *Secondary bundles.*—Those holding secondary bundle rights were exceedingly numerous. Such bundles were hereditary in character but followed two distinct patterns. For instance, a qualified individual wishing to buy the Snake rites from Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles could either purchase rights from a Snake bundle-owner or could go to a principal bundle-owner and make the purchase. The purchase pattern was the same in both instances. White Calf purchased his Snake bundle from his parents, although his father was dead at the time of the transfer, and Bears Ghost bought from his father, Foolish Chief. On the other hand, Bobtail Bull sold the Snake rites to his son-in-law from a principal bundle.[4] He could do that without subdividing the bundle, since four sales were permissible. Bear bundles could be transferred or made up in the same manner. Men or women either could buy individually or could purchase jointly. There was a difference between group purchases instituted by a man from that of a female purchase. When a man bought, his wives, sisters, and brothers could purchase jointly. However, when a woman initiated the purchase, her sisters, brothers, and their wives could purchase jointly, but the husband could

4. There was a tendency to sell secondary bundles to sons, whereas clan inheritance by transfer to a sister's son or a son-in-law was generally practiced for original or principal tribal bundles.

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not participate in the transfer or hold rights in the bundle. The desire to own one of these secondary bundles could come either from vision instruction or from a sense of responsibility to perpetuate the parents' bundles. When vision instructed, sale was made by an owner of the father's clan having rights in a bundle; otherwise the vision recipient could make up a bundle according to the instructions received in the dream. In the latter case, although having as a personal god one of the characters represented in the Old Woman Who Never Dies rites, he was not considered qualified to attend Corn ceremonies and receive gifts.

3. *Composite bundles.*—This was the result of incorporation of Old Woman Who Never Dies rites into the ceremonialism associated with the Robe bundles. Scattercorn had heard her father say that in former times these were separate ceremonies. Crows Belt did not have rights in the Old Woman Who Never Dies ceremony. After the death of Bobtail Bull, Moves Slowly bought Crows Belt's Robe bundle and proceeded to purchase rights in additional ceremonies pertaining to garden crops, thereby building up a reputation as leader in all of the Corn ceremonies. Whereas some men acquired status in warfare, others rose to prominence by purchasing ceremonial bundles. Crows Heart thought that one was about as hard to do as the other. Buying into the ceremonies required a great deal of material wealth which had either to be prepared or bought. It is interesting to observe a parallelism between the records of Moves Slowly and of Poor Wolf, who purchased the Skull bundle at about the same time as Moves Slowly acquired the Robe bundle. There was always rivalry between the two men, who were at that time living at Like-a-Fishhook Village. Moves Slowly was eligible to inherit the Skull bundle, since his grandfather through the male line had owned rights in the bundle. Bear Looks Around bought the bundle before Moves Slowly was old enough to make the purchase. Crows Belt, who had no legitimate heir, sold the Robe bundle to Moves Slowly shortly after Poor Wolf secured the Skull bundle from Bear Looks Around. Both undertook the purchase of rights in related ceremonies, and the rivalry became keen in their efforts to build up the reputation of their bundles. Moves Slowly bought Hoita rights in the Okipa, assisted his brother, Bear on the Water, in

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796 778 554 buying their father's Holy Woman bundle, learned to bring down the spirits in a sleight-of-hand act, learned how to find lost articles, and had every god pertaining to corn as his personal guardian. Poor Wolf (Awaxawi) acquired Earthmaking, River, Old Woman Who Never Dies, Imitating Buffalo, Painted Red Stick, and Eagle-trapping bundles. Both were singers in the Women's Goose societies. For twenty years these two men were rivals because Poor Wolf acquired the Skull bundle which legitimately should have gone to Moves Slowly. When this rivalry ended, no other men owned rights in so many ceremonies as these men. Poor Wolf consolidated the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundle and River bundle with the Skull bundle for the Corn ceremonies, but the others were kept separate. Moves Slowly did likewise. Moves Slowly had the right to give out seed in the Spring Fertility ceremony, but Poor Wolf could not do this, since Bear Looks Around had failed to buy that right of Red Bird, and there were none to purchase from except Moves Slowly, whose price no doubt would have been high to a rival. Moves Slowly enjoyed exclusive authority in the Spring Fertility rites of distributing sacred seed corn, two kernels being given to each women, who paid him for thus assuring her that the seed she planted would germinate.

During middle age these two men worked hard and were poor in material wealth, since it took all they could acquire to perform the bundle transfers, but their wealth measured in social status and ceremonial lore grew until each became an authority on the traditional history of his respective group. Both were selected as village or peace chiefs of their respective tribes.

796 778 4. *Sacred pot ceremonies.*[5]—Two large clay pots were a part of the Old Woman Who Never Dies ceremony at Nuptadi Village when that group lived above Burnt Creek on the east side of the Missouri River. The information that reached Scattercorn through her father indicated that the ceremony was one of rainmaking. People would pay to have the ceremony given, at which time the pots were taken out. These pots were said to have been given to the Nuptadi by Old Woman Who Never Dies with the understanding that, whenever they were used, her image would

5. See my "Hidatsa Ceremonial Life" for an account of the Hidatsa version of this ceremony.

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be erected before the Okipa lodge, where the ceremony was held. One pot was symbolic of the Old Woman and the other represented her husband, a large snake. The owner kept them in a storage chamber near the head of his lodge covered with a hide when not in use. Unlike the Awaxawi pots, which were used as drums, the Nuptadi pots were used to prepare food for the feast. When the Sioux destroyed Nuptadi Village after the first smallpox epidemic, the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundle-owner was killed defending his lodge and his bundles which were burned. The other similar bundles did not have these large pots, so these special Mandan rain-making feasts ceased, and they went to Awaxawi Village, where a somewhat similar ceremony was performed, except that the pots were used as drums. 796 778

Whenever one paid to have the sacred pots brought out for the rain-making feast, the bundle-owner erected an image of the Old Woman Who Never Dies. This was composed of a pole to which was tied a robe with white sage at the top, leggings, moccasins, a corn-stirring paddle, and a corn basket so arranged as to resemble a person.

The following account indicates the native theory of the function of the corn bundles in Mandan religious life. 796 778 159

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF CORN BUNDLES

The Robe bundle-owner[6] prays each year for good crops, but people lately have not followed the rules of the tribe, so the crops are unusually poor. Only wooden pipes can be used in these ceremonies. A few years ago at Mandan, Crows Heart was asked to officiate in the pageant representing the first meeting of the Mandans with the whites. Someone at Mandan, not knowing our ways, gave him a red pipe to use. He offered smoke to the four directions, and that night all our gardens froze.

I bought my rights in this bundle from my father, Moves Slowly, when he grew old and his eyes were poor. I was the first woman to own one of these bundles, for the bundle usually went to the oldest son.[7] People dreaming of the things grown in the garden or of the animals and birds associated with corn asked my father to officiate when a feast was given to their medicine. At such

6. The Robe bundle is possibly the best of all the tribal bundles known to students of Mandan culture. George F. Will and George E. Hyde in *Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri* (St. Louis, Mo., 1917), pp. 244, 262–68, relate in considerable detail the function of the Mandan Corn Priest. O. G. Libby, secretary of the North Dakota Historical Society, has prepared a painting of the thirty-three owners of the bundle, of which Moves Slowly is the last, and secured much information on the history of the bundle.

7. Informant has, no doubt, been influenced by Hidatsa customs. See above where actual inheritance is given as taken from genealogies.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

•796 times he painted a picture of the plant or animal dreamed of on a robe for the
778 person giving the feast; for this service he was paid robes, horses, or blankets.
He was the head singer in the Goose Women's ceremony and was the own-
159 er of the songs addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies, but he bought those extra. In the spring, the Goose Women's Society danced under his direction, and he supervised the sale of the society to the younger women; he officiated in the ceremonial transfer of the holy objects belonging to the society.

[787] Someone during the winter always dreamed that the corn crop would be large if he or she put on a feast to the corn. The one having the vision then
796 sent word by someone of his father's clan to ask the Corn bundle-owner to take charge. The giver prepared robes and food. At the appointed time, which
778 was when the waterbirds came north, all those with rights met. Participating
241 were the Corn bundle-owner, all those with the medicine of garden products or associated animals and birds, the Black Mouth Men's Society, and Goose Women's Society. The Corn bundle was carried into the earth lodge and opened at the entrance to the sweat lodge, where it was laid out on a deer skull and elkskin. Songs were addressed to the Corn Bundle People who came out of the ground; additional songs were addressed to the Old Woman Who Never Dies. Only four stones were used in the sweat, each one representing one of the Sun's visits to Waving Corn Stalk. The stones were our enemies just as the Sun had been. The giver of the ceremony named four enemies he wished to conquer while the stones were taken into the sweat lodge. Those entering the sweat lodge imitated the geese and waterbirds while the Corn bundle-owner sang his four songs. Those not entering the sweat lodge were sprinkled with water dipped from the clay vessel belonging to the bundle. Corn and beans often came up into peoples throats while the ceremony was in progress; those people danced and rubbed their throats with sage to put the objects back down. Food was served to the Corn bundle and then to the guests.

The giver of the ceremony gave each person attending a robe or present and received in return a prayer for the giver's success. When the ceremony was completed, an image of the Old Woman Who Never Dies was made from an elk robe and lashed to a pole in front of the giver's lodge.

The Corn bundle-owner was expected to ask the help of the spirits who sent good crops. In the spring before seeding time, he held the ceremony of cleansing the seeds so that they would germinate. Early on the appointed day he went to the top of his earth lodge where he faced to the south singing the Corn bundle songs to call the spirits of the corn back from the south. He held a vessel containing shelled corn. Each woman making a garden came to him and received two seeds of each kind of corn, beans, sunflowers, and squash, paying for them and the prayers he addressed to his gods. Payment was made in elk robes, blankets, and other clothing.

778 The Corn bundle-owner underwent numerous taboos while the crops were growing. Owners of minor Corn bundles prepared his food beginning four days
241 before the cleansing of the seed. When the previous year's crop was poor, he
784 lived apart from all women until the crop was ripe and the seed corn for the next season had been gathered. He painted his body red and wore moccasins of buffalo hide with the hair on the inside. He wore a robe all summer long. He was not permitted to eat plums, berries, or corn. All the people of the tribe knew that after the cleansing ceremony the restrictions went into effect and were careful not to violate any of the rules lest the crop fail. Each woman kept

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

a bunch of sage in her lodge and rubbed her body after returning from the fields to cleanse herself from the spirits in the gardens. Years ago, it is said that, when this was done, worms came out of the women's bodies. The Corn bundle-owner walked through the gardens several times during the summer, carrying the pipe and singing the Corn songs. 778 241 784

When the weather was too hot, too cold, or too dry, all those with Corn medicine rights met, and the Goose Women's Society joined them to dance and pray. While the ceremony was in progress, people of each household brought presents and offered them for relief from the adverse weather. 796 782 778

Many women pledged a ceremony to the Corn if good crops were sent by the gods. A person making such a vow, first prepared an elkhide robe and paid the Corn Priest to officiate. When the time appointed for the offering came and after the crop was harvested, she carried the robe to her field, where she tied it to a cottonwood pole and covered the pole with corn on the ear until the pile reached nearly to the robe. The young men of the tribe were invited to come and charge the robe, the first one there taking it. At a signal, the young men searched for the meat under the pile of corn. The Corn bundle-owner received four things for his part in the ceremony. Many different women gave this ceremony each fall when the crops were abundant. 241

The Corn bundle-owner officiated whenever corn was sold to people of other tribes. It was thought that it must be done or the spirits in the corn might leave the Mandan and help the people who took the corn away. He dressed in his ceremonial outfit and "called back" the Corn Spirits. 778 [439]

Whenever a cache of stored corn was opened, four ears of corn were taken to the Corn bundle-owner as payment for his part in protecting the stored corn. [251]

The order of Corn Priests is as follows:

1. Uses Head for Rattle
2. Brown
3. Pot
4. Bull Leg
5. Acting Foolish (OxinhEdE)
6. Foolish Man
7. Strong Arm
8. Raises Tail
9. Forearm Bone
10. Hunts His Enemy
11. Bull Standing on Land
12. WErukirihEri
13. Enemy
14. Sacred Cedar
15. Cedar Feather
16. Star
17. Head Comes Out
18. Water Bag
19. Coyote
20. Crow
21. WErukirihEri
22. Bloody Knife
23. Garden
24. Tree in Garden
25. Uses His Head for Rattle
26. HoxdEkE
27. Corn Grinder
28. Lying Down
29. Left-Hand Bull
30. Scabby
31. WErukirihEri
32. Crows Belt
33. Moves Slowly
34. Scattercorn
35. Mrs. Little Owl (present owner)

The many references to corn in the mythology express the significance of agriculture to this tribe. Archeological work in their prehistoric sites indicates that economically agriculture has played an important role in shaping the habits of these people. The primary factor in establishing villages at certain 241 361 796

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241 361 796

points was the accessibility to desirable corn grounds. With the prominent place of agriculture in the economic life of these people, it was a logical consequence that leaders of the Corn ceremonies should determine sites for new villages. Although the actual site was selected by the Corn bundle-owners, the laying-out of the open circle and location of the sacred cedar and ceremonial lodge was the responsibility of the individuals impersonating Lone Man and Hoita in the Okipa ceremony.

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From an analysis of traditions and rites retained after the smallpox epidemics something of the nature of the old corn ceremonies could be determined.

1. There was only one Robe bundle, which came from the Nuptadi Village of the east side of the Missouri.

2. The Skull bundle was of west-side origin and came originally from the Awigaxa band, who were last to reach the Upper Missouri.

3. Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles and secondary bundles belonging to this ceremony were found in all Mandan villages and, in fact, in Hidatsa, Awatixa, and Awaxawi villages. The ceremonies and beliefs with few exceptions were identical between villages and tribes. This seems to be an older, widely diffused Mandan-Hidatsa ceremony to which new practices, particularly the fertility or consecration of the seed rites, were added, based mythologically on a dramatization of corn as people coming from the ground.

CORN MYTH OF THE ROBE BUNDLE RELATED BY SCATTERCORN[8]

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The Corn People were living under the ground by a lake. One day some of the people saw an opening reaching up to the land above, and there was a vine growing in this hole. They asked the Fox to climb up and see this land. He climbed up, but, when he stuck his nose out, he got only a brief look at the beautiful land above because Sun burned his nose.

Then they asked Elk to go up and dig the hole larger with his horns. He made the hole large so the people could get through. The people started up, following the vine. They came up continuously for four days, but on the last day a woman heavy with child broke the vine and ended the migration forever. All these people had been raising the corn on this land beneath the earth.

8. For another version of the same myth, apparently also related by Scattercorn, see Will and Hyde, *op. cit.*, pp. 218–23. Also see Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 35–48, for data on Good Furred Robe, including data on Corn Priest, Goose Women Society, and Black Mouth Society.

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wanted to, so that the people always had meat. He had good luck on the battlefield and could bring rains for the crops. 773

Then he was married. Two sisters were brought to him by their father and mother. (This was the custom in olden times. The parents of children of marriageable age would bring them to some eligible man.) 539

The boy's grandmother is still living. The people downstream from the Knife River used to follow the river up to her place when on the warpath and eat corn with her. She would tell them now many people they would kill.

She became tired of this because they came too often, so she moved down the river about four miles, then up into the hills to the west where she disappeared. Since then she has been one of the Holy Women connected with corn. She must come back to Short Missouri, as people fasting there during the summer dream of her. Grandson went back to the sky and became one of the large stars.

CORN PIPE CEREMONY

This ceremony became extinct after 1837 and is remembered only from tradition. The principal article in its bundle was a sacred wooden pipe. The pipe was kept by Blue Snake Woman when her husband and children died during the smallpox epidemic. She surrendered the bundle to a daughter, who sold the pipe to Black Bear, who died a few years ago. The full bundle ritual was not performed after the smallpox epidemic, since those holding rights or acquainted with the ceremony had died. 796 778

The pipe was noted for its supernatural powers in producing winds. It was brought out when the days were warm and sultry to drive away the mosquitoes, so that women would not suffer from their bites while in the gardens. People were not permitted to climb on the lodge in which it was kept. If it was dropped or touched, the wind would blow. 778 821

According to tradition, a woman went to the Missouri River for water when the river was at flood stage. Driftwood was floating down. When she dipped up the water, she saw the pipe and an ear of yellow flint corn together in the water. She took the pipe and corn home and gave them to her husband, who called all the holy men to tell them of her discovery. They were afraid of the pipe because a high wind came up when one dropped it and did not want to keep it. They put it back in the water, thinking it would float on wherever it was going to. The woman found the pipe and corn four times at four different places where they camped. The holy men concluded that, since they had tried to get rid of it but it kept following them, it should be kept. They thought the corn should be divided among the families. In that way yellow flint corn was introduced in the tribe. 778 773

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter VII

EAGLE-TRAPPING CEREMONY[1]

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CAPTURING eagles from concealed pits[2] was practiced by all tribes of the Northern Plains. So far as our meager information indicates, the technique was essentially the same for a large number of tribes occupying territory adjacent to the Mandan and Hidatsa. Less is known of the ceremonial aspect of the practice, organization of expeditions, values of feathers for decoration, number of leaders, inheritance of rites and skills, or the socioreligious position of its shaman.

Shooting young developed eagles was uncommon, but both Mandan and Hidatsa informants claimed that the Crows made less use of pits, since they lived near the Rocky Mountains, where most of the birds nested and were able to shoot them in trees or near decoys. Such information as the literature gives indicates that all the tribes of the Upper Missouri River Region adjacent to the Mandan and Hidatsa used the pit method of trapping.

In this discussion of eagle-trapping it is proposed to indicate the territory claimed by the Mandan and Hidatsa, the technique of securing birds, mythological background, inheritance of rights to trap, as well as the economic and religious position of leaders in the tribal life.[3]

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Eagle-trapping by the Mandan and Hidatsa was confined to the rough lands adjacent to wooded streams. The ceremonial lodge for the men and the wood or hide tepees for the women and children were always erected in sheltered spots among the high trees along streams, while the pits were dug on the top or

1. For a detailed account of practices associated with eagle-trapping see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX [1929]), pp. 99–245.

2. For Maximilian's short account of eagle-trapping see Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, XXIII (Cleveland, 1906), 346.

3. Eagle-trapping rites and beliefs for both the Mandan and the Hidatsa are treated together in this chapter, since tribal differences were insignificant.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

near the top of hills or on benchlands adjacent to the streams (see Figs. 25–27). Of the total area claimed by these two tribes, only a small part of the entire territory was suitable for trapping, and that was confined to narrow sections of river country (see Fig. 28).

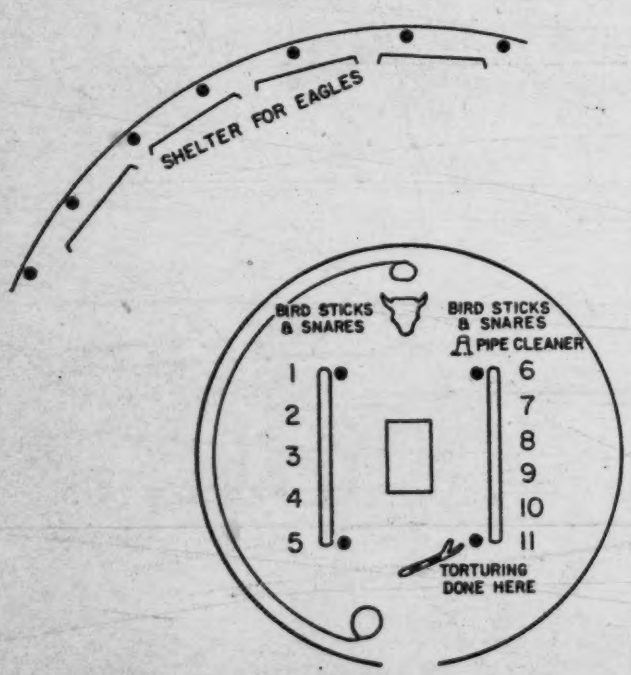

FIG. 25.—Plan of eagle-trapping lodge. *1*, Wolf Eyes—leader (Maxoxati-H); *2*, Big Walker—assistant leader (Tamisik-M); *3*, Little Crow (Low Hat); *4*, Lance-owner (3 clan); *5*, White Body (Maxoxati); *6*, Holding Eagle—Crack Shot (Prairie Chicken); *7*, Little Bull (Knife); *8*, Black Bear (Knife); *9*, Sitting Woman (Prairie Chicken); *10*, Bears Arm (Knife); *11*, Louie Wolf—waiter (Water-buster).

Historic accounts of these two tribes give little information on eagle-trapping, but there are frequent references to their value in trade. The standard price of a good horse was three war bonnets containing a total of one hundred and eight black-tipped feathers, which would be the feathers from nine birds.

Archeological evidence verifies native tradition of the great antiquity of eagle-trapping. In the rough country west of the Missouri River there are thousands of depressions marking the sites of former pits. These pits vary from sharply rectangular

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 forms with rotted sections of the cover still protruding to gently
223 rounded depressions now nearly filled by erosional activity. The
172 number of pits, together with their wide distribution, points to a universal practice of considerable antiquity.

796 During the century 1770–1870 there was a general northward
223 movement of the Mandan and Hidatsa which was accompanied
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648 [346]

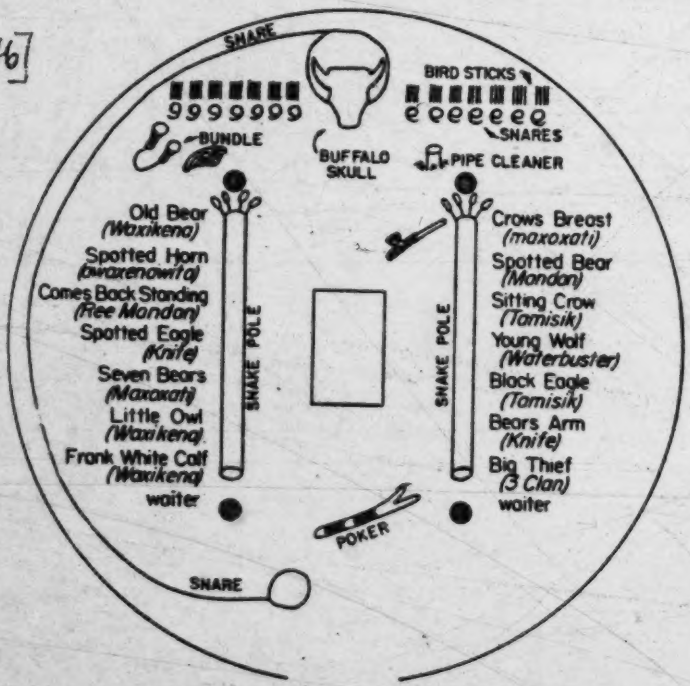

FIG. 26.—Floor plan of eagle-trapping lodge, Old Bear, leader. Bird sticks: *1*, "Both Ends White"; *2*, "Speckled"; *3*, "Four Stripes"; *4*, "The Young One."

by a shift in eagle-trapping territory. Crows Heart (Mandan), who had been on many trapping expeditions with both Mandan and Hidatsa leaders, stated that the Mandan claimed eagle-trapping rights to the territory on both sides of the Missouri River from Like-a-Fishhook Village to the Yellowstone and along the Little Missouri River to its headwaters. While living in the Heart River region, the Mandan claimed trapping rights to all the rough lands between the Little and Big Missouri rivers as far west as Powder River in Montana. To the south

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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FIG. 57.—Eagle-trapping camp and pits, Old Bear, leader. (Drawn by Bears Arm to show himself fasting when seventeen years of age.)

[p. 209]

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they trapped along the Cannonball River and in the Black Hill region, especially along the north side, which was jointly occupied with the Cheyenne, whom he believed used the same methods and followed the same rituals. He had heard the old men say that it was understood that the eagle-trapping season should not be marked by bloodshed between the two tribes, or the trappers would have bad luck, and that their camps were often only a short distance apart. There would be visiting between camps and good-natured joking about the potency of their respective bundles. He further added that, through misfortune, the Mandan died off in such large numbers that they were obliged to relinquish most of their territory and establish a new territory which Hidatsa leaders had relinquished through simultaneous misfortunes. He had also heard the old men say that before abandoning the Cannonball region the Arikara, who then lived as far north as the Grand River to the south, had a similar treaty with the Sioux not to fight during the eagle-trapping season and at that time began to come into Mandan territory to make trouble. Since one was not permitted to carry his weapons to the pit,[4] a practice observed until trapping was abandoned a few years ago, the Mandan decided that it would be best to abandon their Cannonball River sites. New sites were established in Hidatsa trapping territory after the Mandan moved from the Heart River region to join the Hidatsa. Crows Heart had often visited the Crows and had heard them say they preferred to shoot the young birds, while still near their nesting places, to sitting in pits. There was also a period when the Snake Indians bothered the trappers, but he thought that it was not so long ago, as the Indians had horses by that time.[5]

A few leaders went to the east side of the Missouri River while occupying the Heart River region. Pits were dug as far east as Dog Den Butte and around Devils Lake. This was a limited territory since, in general, the country was too flat on the east side of the Missouri for successful trapping.

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Ownership of a site was vested in the leader who had either purchased the lodge and adjacent pits from a man of his own

4. This practice suggests that a truce between tribes was quite universal before the introduction of the horse.

5. No doubt he referred to a recent eastward movement of Shoshonean-speaking groups after the appearance of the horse on the Northern Plains.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

clan or who had occupied unclaimed territory, erected his own lodge, and marked the outlines of pits. Inheritance of trapping sites was through the clan, and one could not secure permanent ownership of a trapping site owned by a man of a different clan. The nearest clan relative took possession of the site upon the death of the owner if it had not been sold. One could pay for permission to use a particular site for a season from one of a different clan when the owner did not intend to make use of it himself, but he was obliged to use the pits already dug and could not prepare new ones. In other words, a man could rent a site from an owner of a different clan, but he could not buy. When a site had been abandoned so long that its owner was not known, another could claim the site. Evidently little trouble was experienced over claims to sites, since a violator would have been severely criticized. There was, in addition, a religious taboo, since both the eagles and the bears belonging to the ritual occupied major bundle status in each tribe, and a trespasser could never have attained a position of prominence in either tribe.

The ritualistic differences between the Mandan and Hidatsa were no greater than those between separate bundle lines within the same village. Wolf Chief's narrative (to be quoted later) illustrates the extent to which one tribe borrowed from the other in purchasing an eagle-trapping bundle. His father, Small Ankles, purchased his rights from Big Cloud, who advised him to receive his instructions from Arrowhead Earrings, a Mandan, who was better informed. A study of individual bundle lines reveals that borrowing back and forth has been going on regularly since the smallpox epidemic of 1837, and from traditional information from informants this also applied to all their neighboring tribes as well. In native theory the particular ritual practiced at any time depended on these three factors: (1) the instructions received when the bundle was transferred; (2) elements of other eagle-trapping bundle rituals purchased; and (3) vision instructions.

A bundle-owner could sell his rights four times, and it was only when the fourth sale was made that the original bundle was transferred, new bundles being made up for the first three sales. The amount of instruction received depended on the desires of

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 the purchaser. He could receive instructions and rights in a
778 limited number of fundamental rites to trap eagles without go-
223 ing into the entire lore belonging to the ceremony. He could then lead trapping expeditions to established trapping grounds, open the lodge, receive the birds brought in by the trappers, and send the spirits away. He could not, however, dig new pits, make offerings to the holy women, or perform the many other simple rites associated with these expeditions. He would not attract the best trappers on his expeditions, as informants stated that successful trappers preferred to go out with leaders who had special rites for all situations likely to arise.

796 Some bundle-owners took particular interest in the mytholo-
778 gy and rites belonging to eagle-trapping to the extent that
424 supplementary purchases were made. In time, these leaders became authorities on eagle-trapping and received popular recognition comparable to specialists in any other pursuit such as warfare or hunting. Whenever such an owner discovered that another had a sacred song or simple rite used in connection with eagle-trapping, a purchase could be made, regardless of the clan of the seller. In this manner new elements modified or supplemented the original bundle rites.

The rites were further modified by vision instructions. When Bear on the Flat received his bundle from his father, Belly Up, he was instructed not to permit anyone to touch the snake poles. Subsequently, Bear on the Flat received a vision from the snakes in which he was advised to permit his trappers to wipe their hands on the poles as the snakes' portion of the meal.

796 Every major ceremony, whether Mandan or Hidatsa, had a
773 mythological origin, and, in this respect, eagle-trapping cere-
223 monies occupied major bundle status. In theory, eagle-trapping was first employed by two classes of small bears, the small black bears that had their pits on the east side of the Missouri River and the small brown bears that trapped on the west bank. There were seven mythological eagle-trapping camps at which these small bears were accustomed to meet in autumn to catch the young black-tipped eagles (see Fig. 29).

The brown-bear camps were at: (1) Thunder Butte; (2) Knife River, near the present town of Golden Valley; and (3) Heart River Ravine, near the town of New Salem. The black-bear

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

camps were at: (1) One Cottonwood Camp, at the mouth of the Yellowstone; (2) First Trapping Camp, the high ridge south of Sanish; (3) Buckbrush Trapping Camp, south of Shell Creek; and (4) High Butte Trapping Camp, southeast of Like-a-Fish-hook Village.

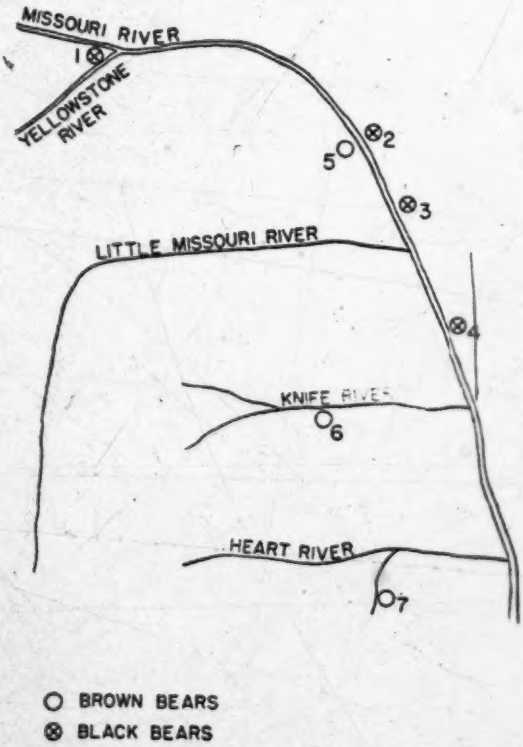

FIG. 29.—Mythological trapping camps of the Bears. *1*, One Cottonwood Camp; *2*, First Trapping Camp; *3*, Buckbrush Trapping Camp; *4*, High Butte Trapping Camp; *5*, Thunder Butte Trapping Camp; *6*, Sand Lodge Camp; *7*, Heart River Ravine Camp.

According to native belief, the small bears had trapped for a long time before the Indians received instruction in trapping. The theory of acquiring this supernatural knowledge conforms to the tribal pattern by which the world of the sacred is brought to the secular world through the medium of a hero. In this case, the hero was Black Wolf, who had been separated from a hunting party and was saved from starvation by a party of small black bears, then engaged in trapping eagles to the north of the

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 villages on the east bank of the Missouri River. The method of
773 acquiring this sacred lore is characteristic of most Mandan-
776 Hidatsa bundles, but the particular spirits participating and the contributions made by each is characteristic solely of eagle-trapping. The chief spirit contributors were Old Black Bear, Coyote, Snake, Buffalo, Young Eagle, and Little Black Bear.

796 Old Black Bear taught Black Wolf these songs: (1) song to the
773 lodge (sung when building the lodge); (2) song to the sweat
776 lodge (sung when the sweat lodge was being built and when it was being used); (3) song to the bait; (4) song to the pit;
533 (5) song to the snare; (6) song to the goose; (7) song to the swan; (8) song to the little bear; and (9) song to the bear.

Coyote taught the following song:

My old one — in autumn
here I go (come to) — Your power is strong.

The snakes contributed a song to be used when making offerings to the snake poles, since they belonged in the ceremony because Grandson once visited the bears while the ceremony was in progress.[6]

Buffalo[7] asked to come along and he contributed this song:

Lodge — we have come lodge — they have come

The *ma-si* eagle taught this song:

Earth above — I am walking
Earth on — I am walking

773 Several versions of the origin of eagle-trapping were recorded
539 during this study, and they were all essentially alike. Ben Benson, who had secured his rights from Iron Eyes, his father, supplied the following origin myth of eagle-trapping.

EAGLE-TRAPPING MYTH (BLACK WOLF) RELATED BY BEN BENSON[8]

A long time ago the Mandan did not know how to catch eagles or how to do many of the things they learned to do in later years. In one of the villages

6. Cf. my manuscript on "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Life" (Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago), for myth of Grandson visiting the Snakes, which slept with their heads on two poles and on opposite sides of the fire in Red Butte; cf. also above for the myth of Grandson, son of the Moon, in chap. vi, on "The Corn Ceremonies."

7. A bundle containing a buffalo bull skull occupied major bundle status.

8. For other relations of this myth by Ben Benson see Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 64–69, and Martha

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223 346 778 in line with the entrance of the ceremonial lodge to the east. Before the introduction of horses, women lived in pole lodges, but these lodges were replaced with hide tepees as soon as possession of horses became general.

223 796 When returning to a site that had been used the former year, the two poles representing the snakes were brought from their place on the west side of the lodge and placed at the door; otherwise new ones were cut and brought to the lodge. Before the leader carried in the sacred bundle, he would sing the Song to the Lodge, with the trappers seated around him. After this he addressed the bundle, announced that trapping was about to commence, and asked for good luck from the Bears, the Buffalo, and the Snare. He then entered the lodge, invited the Buffalo and the trappers to come in, and placed the Buffalo skull and bundle at the head of the lodge.

When all were inside, the leader sang the Song of the Snakes and called for the two snake poles, which were brought in and placed one on the left side and the other on the right side of the lodge with the large ends representing the heads pointed toward the head of the lodge and the altar. The leader then produced a short sharp stick, usually decorated with porcupine quills, and marked off the limits of the fireplace, after which a rectangular pit was excavated. The rectangular shape of the fireplace was symbolic of the eagle-trapping pit, while the fire was addressed as "Grandfather," meaning that "it goes back in time to the beginning of things." The two ash poles were then placed on opposite sides of the fireplace. The pole on the left side represented the male snake and the one on the right side represented the female.[27] According to Mandan-Hidatsa tradition, Two Men[28] once came along and stopped with a party trapping eagles and informed the leader that the eagles ate snakes while the snakes preferred to eat eagle down. In that way snake poles were used in the ceremonial lodge for the men to place their heads on while sleeping.

The leader placed a juneberry branch tied up with white sage, representing the moon and also identified with the black-tipped

27. The arrangement of these two poles was symbolic of the lodge in Red Butte, visited by Grandson, where the snakes slept with their heads on poles at opposite sides of the fire.

28. Lodge Boy and Spring Boy of Hidatsa mythology.

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eagle, and a fiber snare over the entrance. The sun, also identified with the speckled eagle, was represented by a chokecherry branch and a fiber snare tied over the front standard above the altar. 223 796

Then followed the assignment of places for the duration of the trapping season and the selection of officers. Until the assignment of places was made, the leader gave no indication of the selections he contemplated making. The leader's place was at the head of the lodge on the right side. For the place next to him he would select an assistant, whenever possible one who also had eagle-trapping rights. At the end of the row next to the door he would place the waiter. For the left side opposite the leader he would select the "Chief of the Hunters" or "Crack Shot." Next he would select an assistant to the Chief of the Hunters. In mythological times these last two positions were occupied by a single officer, Bear Cub, until Two Men stole his earthen pot. When they found that they could not escape from the Cub, they agreed to do the hunting for the bears, as they were arrows in spirit. When the party was quite large, a second waiter was selected to sit at the end of the line.

The assignment of "bird sticks" varied with different leaders. Bear on the Flat used twelve bird sticks cut from chokecherry branches, to which he tied pieces of calico. These sticks were stuck into the ground in a row in front of the buffalo skull. They represented the twelve tail feathers of the eagle and also the birds that belong in the eagle family according to native belief. Iron Eyes and Ben Benson placed one bird stick on the altar for each member of the party. Each stick was decorated with a piece of flint,[29] a strip of rabbit skin, and some white sage. Old Bear, a Mandan, placed four bird sticks at the altar for each trapper, representing four types of eagles—the bald-headed, speckled, four stripes (on tail feathers), and calumet (white tail feathers with black tips) varieties. Small Ankles gave each of his trappers two bird sticks decorated with calico. One was offered to the calumet and the other to all the other eagles.

After the lodge was entered, assignment of pits was in order. When returning to habitual trapping grounds, it was rarely necessary to dig new pits. The right to dig new pits was by a sepa- 223 425 423

29. See chap. ix for origin of flint knives.

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223 425 423 rate purchase, and all leaders did not possess this. Purchasers received a short ash digging stick for laying out the corners of the pit and the right to sing the Song to the Pit. Lacking this right, it was necessary for a leader to select an established camp of a clan brother or a site which he had formerly purchased or borrowed, as he could not lay claim to a new site without the right to dig new pits. It was customary for a leader to return to the same site year after year, except that he could not lead eagle-trapping expeditions and put out a fish trap the same year.

When new pits were to be dug, the trapper made his own selection of the site and then called for the leader to mark the corners, which was done with the small ash stick while singing the Song to the Pit at each of the corners. He received payment for this service.

223 In order to avoid disputes when selecting pits, the leader would name two men to select their pits until each trapper had a pit. It was believed that the birds would not come down if disputes occurred. The first day in camp was usually spent in preparing the trapping lodge and assigning the pits. In the evening when the lodge was completed and the altar had been set up, the leader went out and called the birds, told them that the lodge was ready, informed the trappers of the rules, and sang the trapping songs.

796 223 When the writer was on one of these trapping expeditions in 1932, Bear on the Flat gave us the following instructions in this order. Mark Mato served as interpreter. The main points stressed by Bear on the Flat were of necessity recorded in brief outline.

BEAR ON THE FLAT'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR EAGLE-TRAPPING

When the four-post eagle-trapping lodges are put up, the eagle-trapping owner should come out to that site each fall. When a person comes to a region for one season and knows that he will not return to the same site next season, he puts up the simple tepee-shaped lodge without the four central posts.

When lodges were used formerly, twelve to twenty trappers went out; the lodges were approximately twenty-five feet in diameter, and the snake poles were relatively larger. No one was allowed to touch the snake poles. If someone did, Old Black Bear punched him severely with one of the bird poles used as a poker for the fire. Children were pinched severely by anyone near at hand.

It is customary to wipe the hands on the snake poles after eating, as the snakes' share of the meal. Men sleep at night with their heads on the snake

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poles. Now, Bear on the Flat has asked the snakes to let them touch the poles, and the snakes came in a dream and gave him permission.

In mythological times Black Bear was alive and sat at the left side of the entrance, but in later years they put a bear skull and hide down. Now, they merely imagine that he is there, and in place of him put a skin on the altar.

The sun was represented on the back standard or crosspiece by a hoop of twisted wheat grass and a chokecherry twig to hang it on. The cherry represents the speckled eagle. At the front on a crosspiece was a twisted grass hoop on a juneberry twig, the hoop representing the moon and the twig the black-tipped eagle.

When an eagle is caught, it is to be brought in on the left side of the door. Short gray sage will be used to smoke the bird. Then the bird is thrown toward the buffalo skull, whether the bird is dead or alive.

When the first eagle is caught, it is put next to Post 1,[30] and a ball of parched corn is given to the bird and its blessing asked. Afterward each member of the party partakes of the corn.

Koicita is the name of the head man or Old Male Black Bear. If the party is large, he does not trap but keeps the lodge fire burning. Then he is not expected to go into the pits. In case the hunters are out after game because of adverse winds and the winds change to the west, he can go into any of their pits. Crows Heart is the Map'si or Chief of the Hunters and gets his orders from the Koicita. He should stay at Post 2[31] and receive eagles when brought in; also he should supply the camp with meat.

Evenings the party is expected to go into the sweat lodge, and each has his own place there. When in the sweat lodge, anyone can put in the rocks, but the same order of naming the rocks is carried out; when putting in the first rock, he says, "This is the mother of birds." He says for the second stone, "This is the child of the mother of birds." For the third he says, "This is the oldest bird." For the fourth he says, "This is the genuine speckled eagle." The rest of the stones are thrown in without ceremony.

It is believed that when the birds are ready to come southeast, they send a scout ahead to see if there is a lodge. If there is one, it peeps into the lodge. If it sees the offering on the twelve bird poles, it goes back to the land of the birds and tells what it saw. Then the birds know that the people of that lodge are showing respect for them, while the people know that all the sky-gods will be gathering around that lodge. That is the reason only those who know the proper ceremonies to the gods gathering there can be at the head of eagle-trapping.

During the mythological period, Buffalo said to Black Bear, "I am always lucky. Place me at the head of the lodge, and you will be the owner of some fine eagle down." Since that time, whenever a bird is caught, some of its down is given to the Black Bear hide near the buffalo skull.

A buffalo-bull horn is used to throw water on the rocks of the sweat lodge. Only those who buy the rights can make a sweat. Bear on the Flat bought his rights from his father. The bird poles are used to poke the fire as well as for pulling coals from the fire for the pipe. The gods are like humans; some are jealous, while others are good to the people and work for their welfare.

A rock is put into the trapping pit. If you get sleepy, put it under your

30. The post next to which the leader sits (see plan of lodge, Fig. 26).
31. Opposite the leader.

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head. If you drowse, you will roll off of it, and in that way the rock won't let you go to sleep.

When earth is taken from the four corners of the pit, a prayer is spoken assuring you that everything harmful to the human body or spirit has been removed. Persons going into pits can't scratch themselves or the birds will have poor feathers. They will be old birds and covered with insects.

When Black Bear was on the earth, he ate birds and everything else he could catch. One day he was in the pits when he heard a thundering noise. This noise recurred for three days. On the fourth day a large rock fell on him. While he was unconscious, Buffalo packed him off to the north where the old bears lived. Father of Black Bear was there after the boy was taken north. Buffalo was at the head of the lodge alive. The father of the Black Bear set fire to the lodge. As Buffalo was coming out, Old Black Bear caught Buffalo long enough to singe him from the chest down; that is why the hair is long on the buffalo's back but short on the chest; that is also why the buffalo skull is placed at the head of the lodge, for he is lucky and will bring good luck.

Crows Heart represents the Black Bear Cub who once packed an earthenware vessel on his back and wandered aimlessly about in the neighborhood of the Heart River. There he was met by two Mandans, called the Two Men, on the high ridge six miles south of Bismarck and nearly opposite the Huff site. One of the Two Men was foolish; the other was wise. The foolish one asked of Black Bear Cub, "What do you eat? You carry that pot on your back for nothing."

Cub said, "I have plenty of food, and I can cook my meal any time I want to."

Saying that, he spit on his left arm and sang a sacred song. They heard a sound in the skies, the noise made by an eagle coming down to perch on Cub's uplifted arm. When it lit, Cub strangled it with the hemp rope which he put over the bird's head. Then he began to pull out the feathers. After that he packed the meat into the kettle. Although the kettle was small, he was able to pack it all in. When the meat was ready, he placed four bunches of sage in the form of a square around the pot, singing this song:

Water flow into the kettle.
Fire burn round the kettle.
Kettle boil.

Everything took place simultaneously with the uttering of the words. The fourth song said:

This kettle is sacred.

And his meal was cooked. In this manner he got a meal from little effort.

The Two Men thought they should live leisurely also, so they stole the kettle and ran away to hide in all the prominent hills with names. Every time they went into one of the hills, Cub would come with his rope and pull the hill down. Then the occupants of the hill would drive the Two Men out. So they went from hill to hill, the Killdeer Mountains, Thunder Buttes [south of Sanish], Eagle Buttes, Birds Bill Butte, and then to Dog Den Butte where the hills now lean. Dog Den Butte was the home of many gods and was considered very holy. The Two Men fortified themselves there. Cub came with his rope, which he threw around the hill, and pulled on the hill.

The Two Men, having no other place to go, gave themselves up. Cub was going to kill them, but they said they would be his servants and do his hunt-

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ing. On the eagle-trapping expeditions these two men supplied the meat for the camp. This party being small, only Crows Heart has that office. He should sleep opposite the Old Black Bear. 223 773

You should be tortured and cry for the birds to have good luck.

KINDS OF BIRDS

1. Bald-headed Eagle. White head and white tail. Parent to speckled eagle. 223
2. Speckled Eagle. 825
3. Spotted-barred tail. Body is black.
4. White tail with black tip. Known as the calumet eagle.
5. "Half of each feather good, half bad."
6. "Black but has white tails"; head is white; is a hawk.
7. I'pamasina.
8. Chicken hawk. Tails barred black and light brown.
9. Goose.
10. One of the smaller geese.

The twelve sticks on the altar represent the twelve tail feathers but also represent the ten birds listed above. 223

When in the pit one must not smoke. When you get in, even up the grass and while you are away from the pit hide the poles put on top to keep grass from blowing.

When tying the bait, be sure to put it close enough so that you can reach the bird. You will get a wooden pin from the leader to stick into the wall for the snare to hang onto. When catching an eagle, grab one foot first; then the bird will pull away from the pit; get a hold of the other foot and hold both feet with one hand; then fold its wings over and choke it with the snare.

The second day in camp was usually spent digging new pits or cleaning out those previously used. The walls of old pits were often broken in. Care was taken to remove all the earth in baskets or robes to a place where the birds would not see it or the people walk on it.[32] The pits should be deep enough for the trapper to sit upright in but not quite long enough to stretch out full length in. Most trappers had their pits on the tops of hills near the northwest edge, but it was believed that the best pits were those on the northwest slope, about three rods from the top of the hill, so situated that there was an open view for many miles westward. Birds approaching from that direction while still flying high in the air could see the bait.

In alighting, they would fly beyond the summit of the hill and turn back to light, facing into the west wind. It was difficult to find a good natural location. Should the pit be too near the rim, the birds lit too far back and were likely to sense danger while walking up to the bait. On the other hand, pits located too far

32. This was done because the pit was sacred.

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223 or a foxskin. When trapping in the lake region east of the Missouri either a stuffed duck or goose was used. When a suitable bait was difficult to secure, the head and neck of an antelope were used. Usually the bait was secured while the party was traveling to the trapping grounds. When a stuffed skin was used, a piece of raw meat was tied to it. Some picketed a live eagle near the pit when one was available, if luck was unusually bad. There was a song to the bait which the leader used when "tying the bait," as well as a prescribed method of carrying it to and from the pit.

796 223 785 [787] Torture of the trappers, by one of several techniques, occurred regularly, and there was a prescribed ritual for the person offering himself. It was believed that someone should "suffer for the birds" if the expedition were to be successful. The Mandan felt, after uniting with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, that visions were difficult to secure in the village ceremonies because there were too many ill-informed people, particularly women, who violated the customs. Crows Heart frequently stated that torture in the Okipa ceremony was less frequently practiced and that he preferred to seek a vision away from the village. Usually a young man would decide beforehand to seek a vision while away from the village trapping eagles, the type of torture being recommended by an older clan brother. The Chief of the Hunter's duty was to pierce the flesh and insert the thongs, except that, when he stood in a joking relationship with the vision-seeker, he could not serve, and another was selected, usually his assistant. Some trappers pulled buffalo skulls through camp by means of thongs fastened through the skin of the back. Crows Heart once hung over a cliff by means of thongs through the skin of the chest. Bears Arm hung from a tree. Sometimes the vision-seeker had no preference, and the leader suggested that he bring wood into camp. In such instances, wood was tied up into twelve bundles,[34] to which lariats were fastened, and dragged to camp by means of thongs through the flesh to which the lariats were tied. All the wood was dragged into camp without help from others, the sufferer even removing his moccasins to make the pain more severe. Tortur-

34. Each bundle represented one of the eagle's tail feathers.

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ing of trappers was performed the evening that the pits were completed. 796 223 785

Ordinarily when a party was composed of advanced middle-aged men, none were tortured, except on occasions when the birds would not stop, or when the winds continued from the wrong direction, there would be fasters on the hills crying during the night. If bad luck continued, then some would offer their bodies for torture and even cut off a piece of finger as an offering to the birds. In historic times there seems to have been somewhat more emphasis of the torture feature when eagle-trapping by the Mandan than the Hidatsa. Since we know from historic accounts[35] that the torture feature was highly developed with the Mandan, it appears that there occurred a transfer from village to nonvillage rites, the latter taking place when on hunting, eagle-trapping, and war expeditions.

Someone was selected, generally one of the waiters, to go out before daylight to determine the direction of the wind. The wind must be from a westerly direction, or it was believed that the birds were not traveling. Crows Heart explained that the calumet eagles nested in the Rocky Mountains and that the pits were located along the migration route to their wintering grounds to the southeast.[36] A piece of soft hide tied to the top of a pole placed on a high hill within view of the camp was employed to indicate the direction of the wind. If favorable winds were blowing, the leader was notified. He ordered all the trappers to prepare for trapping. None was allowed to eat before going out to the pits, as trapping was considered a form of ceremonial "suffering for the birds." Each trapper left shortly after daybreak for his pit, carrying his bait, a ceremonial fiber snare painted red with a piece of Black Medicine attached to it, and several leather snares. The bait was tied to two stakes driven into the ground four inches from the west edge of the pit. A shallow 223 [825]

35. See Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIII (Cleveland, 1906), 331–33, 377–78; cf. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 265–75.

36. Benson explained that the southland was the meeting place in winter of many creatures considered holy. Among these he included the thunderbirds, eagles, hawks, ducks, geese, cranes, herons, as well as the spirits of the corn and other garden products. This meeting place was an island where Old Woman Who Never Dies lived in her large earth lodge with four large snakes living in the water surrounding her island as her helpers. 825 773

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223 ditch wide enough to permit the trapper to reach out his right hand was then dug to the bait. A short stick was kept in the pit to punch away hawks and magpies. The trapper sat down in the pit and fitted the cover into place. The fiber snare was hung on a peg pressed into the west wall, and the "sleep stone," a small stone about three inches in diameter, was set on the east wall.[37]

When eagles flying by saw the bait, they usually circled around the hill a few times before coming down to light a short distance from the bait and walk up to it. Rarely did birds light directly on the bait. As soon as the bird reached the bait, the trapper thrust out his right hand, seized the leg, and pulled the bird down toward the ground. Ben Benson, who owned full trapping rights, said that he always gave his trappers this instruction:

> When the eagle comes to the bait, it will be so close that you can see it through the grass covering over the pit. Use your right hand and catch the leg closest to you. Pull the bird down toward the ground, not toward you. Put out the left hand and get the other leg. Hold both legs with the left hand and put the right hand out and swing one wing over against the other. Hold both wings together at the tips, and the bird can't hurt you. Tie the feet together then. Eagles are strong and fierce. They can stick their claws through your hand, pick your face, or cut your face with their wings. Don't catch bald-headed eagles; they are fierce and will fight.

Live eagles, when used as decoys, were staked down at the southeast corner of the pit. Benson never allowed more to be kept alive than the number of trappers. Some leaders required the trappers to kill their birds as soon as they were caught. Decoys were carried to the pits while trapping; other times they were kept in the bird shelter on the west side of the ceremonial lodge. Whenever an eagle flew by the pit, the decoys whistled, attracting the other bird's attention to the bait and warning the man in the pit.

• 796 223 Ceremonial crying when approaching the lodge with an eagle was practiced by all leaders. If the bird caught was a young black-tipped bird, crying continued all the way to the door of the lodge. Crying stopped when about one hundred and fifty paces from the lodges if a spotted golden eagle, the parent of a black tip, was being brought to camp. For a white-headed

37. When excavating an old pit for Crows Heart in 1932, we found a stone near the south wall, and a perforated clam shell used for paint was on a shelf dug in the east wall.

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eagle, crying stopped at a considerable distance from camp. The bird was taken in at the left side of the lodge. Women around camp went into their lodges and covered their heads while birds were being brought into camp.

The leader did not have a trap but stayed around camp while the trappers were out in order to be ready to receive the birds as they were brought in by the men at sunset. When crying continued until the lodge was reached, the leader knew that a young calumet eagle had been caught. Coals were placed near the front right post, and sage was burned there as incense for the snare and other sacred objects.

A song was addressed to the snare, announcing to it that it had caught something. A second song[38] addressed to the people by Black Bear referred to the sacredness of the birds in the opinion of the people, a belief not shared by the bears. A third song referred to the coming feast when the bird was to be eaten.

The trapper announced the kind of bird, after which it was pushed violently through the left side of the doorway, moving the hide-door covering sufficiently to get the bird through. The twelve tail feathers which had been removed beforehand were tied together and placed on the bird's back as it was taken in the lodge, part way to the altar, and thrown violently at the snare on the altar. The leader produced a corn ball from which a small piece was broken and rubbed on the bird's beak saying, "Acira[39] feeds you." The ceremonial pipe was produced, and the bird's beak was touched with the pipe as an offering to the bird.

When the first eagle was brought in, Iron Eyes extracted five white down feathers from his bundle; two were offered to the snake poles, one to the sun snare, one to the moon snare, and one to the buffalo skull. The leader directed the successful trapper to carry his bird to the back of the lodge, as the lodge was too sacred even for so sacred a creature as an eagle.

The trappers returned to the ceremonial lodge at sunset carrying their baits on their back. As soon as a trapper came into the lodge, the waiter gave him food which had been brought

38. When the bears instructed Black Wolf in the art of eagle-trapping, they explained that the people considered the eagles sacred, but not so with the bears, who considered them their favorite food.

39. Some bundles had a bear's foot, in which case the leader said, "Footbone feeds you."

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796 over from the women's camp. Afterward the trapper smoked. Each trapper, after eating, discussed happenings at the pit, and, 223 from the information thus supplied, the leader offered suggestions for increasing the catch. When birds circled the bait but would not come down, it was suggested that raw meat be used. Sometimes the birds flew by without appearing to see the bait, and decoys were recommended.

223 The leader did not have a pit for his own use but remained in camp. However, if the wind was from the wrong direction in the morning and the men were out hunting game, he could go into any of the pits should the wind change to the west.

223 Evenings were spent in storytelling. The leader would ac-773 quaint the trappers with the myths associated with eagle-trap-538 ping. There were many of these myths, and a good leader would be able to consume every evening for the usual four weeks in camp without exhausting his stock. Each was related in great detail with endless repetitions. Some of the longer myths consumed four nights in telling; others were short and could be related in one night. All were expected to listen attentively while seated on a buffalo robe. Those who nodded were pinched with the bird stick. An example of the stories told is given in the Appendix.

223 The position of women in eagle-trapping ceremonies varied 562 among bundle-owners. (1) Most bundle-owners prohibited women from entering the ceremonial lodge or looking inside. (2) Several bundle-owners had special rites to which women were invited when birds had been caught. (3) A few bundle-[841] owners required a menstruating woman to come into the lodge and breathe the smoke from sage burned at the four corners of the fire pit.

223 Unless special rites relative to the women were purchased, 562 they were required to stay away from the ceremonial lodge and 841 its vicinity. The right to bring women into the lodge was a separate purchase not essential to trapping eagles. There were 171 separate songs and a myth, giving the right to call in a menstruating woman, which could be purchased. It referred to the capture of the leader of the eagles who, in return for having her life spared, promised unusual success if her song was sung when a menstruating woman was brought into the lodge. The consensus of both

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223 a brief ritual closed the eagle-trapping period. It was essen-
796 tially the same for all bundle-owners. Ben Benson's ritual, which he received of Iron Eyes, was explained as follows.

BEN BENSON'S NARRATIVE OF CLOSING RITES

When ice began to form along the edges of small creeks, the men knew that it was time to stop trapping eagles. Usually three to eight weeks were spent trapping. The leader was in full charge of the expedition, and no one knew when he would order the trapping stopped. Early on the day trapping was to stop, the leader would kindle the fire and say, "Get up. There is a big flood coming." This meant that they must stop trapping, for when the flood comes there is no changing its course. Those who had never been out before did not know the meaning, but the old trappers knew that the time had come to return home.

After eating, the leader would say, "It is time now to kill all your live eagles. Kill them with Rope-in-Wood Snare. Carry all your eagles over the hill [he then designated the place] and put them in a row. Then you should make an offering of calico[43] to them."

By the time this had been done and the trappers had returned to camp, the leader had his eagle-trapping bundle closed and the women had their tepees down, ready to break camp.

One of the party, usually the man with the best war record, was sent out by the leader "to see if there are any enemies in the neighborhood." He went to the place where the dead eagles were lined up and returned in a hurry to report that there were a certain number of enemies just beyond the hill. [The number reported corresponded with the dead birds counted.] The trappers prepared for battle, painted their faces, dressed lightly, and put their hair up in a ball on top of their heads where it would not cover their eyes. Each trapper sang his personal sacred song and wore some article from his sacred bundle. At a signal from the leader, all charged the "enemies," shooting and calling as they ran. Each seized a bird and cut off the wings and five body feathers, running back to camp as quickly as possible.

The party moved away from camp immediately and stopped to make camp again after traveling a mile or more. The young men built a sweat lodge under the leader's direction, while the women prepared food. The sweat-lodge entrance was to the south. The trappers placed the wing and tail feathers they had secured on the west side of the fireplace, while the leader stood at the entrance to the sweat lodge with his eagle-trapping bundle on one side and a bundle of sage on the other.

223 The leader began by chanting four wordless songs and then, half-singing,
796 half-talking, he addressed the eagles in these words:
533

> Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
> Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
> Go; walk; go in the right direction;
> Go; walk; go in the right direction;
> Go to Birds Bill Butte;[44] there you will find antelope meat;
> Go to Birds Bill Butte; there you will find antelope meat.

43. In early times a strip of soft tanned elkhide was used.

44. Birds Bill Butte, better known today as Eagle Nose Butte, is a high promontory south of Mandan, North Dakota.

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Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go across the divide;[45] there you will find blacktail deer meat;
Go across the divide; there you will find blacktail deer meat.

Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go to Grape River;[46] there you will find elk meat;
Go to Grape River; there you will find elk meat.

Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go to the Big Bend;[47] there you will find buffalo meat;
Go to the Big Bend; there you will find buffalo meat.
Now you are home.[48]

When this song was ended, the spirits of the eagles left to join their people in the meeting place of the spirits near a large body of water. Only the leaders could send the spirits away. Men without eagle-trapping rights were afraid to catch eagles for fear that the spirits, being unsent, might bring bad luck to the trappers. All who caught eagles gave the leader pay in feathers, calicoes, robes, or knives for singing these songs and sending the birds' spirits away.

Then the leader sang the cleansing song, rubbing all the feathers with the sage. He rubbed each person in the party to cleanse him and bring him back to a human being again. While trapping, the men were impersonating the small bears. My father gave each trapper a new name connected with the bears for the duration of trapping. Mandan generally had this change of names. If a trapper stumbled when out trapping, he would report it and get another name, otherwise he would have bad luck. Each man paid the leader for his name, but it was relinquished when the cleansing ceremony ended.

The leader and as many as wished went into the sweat lodge, where the trappers hung the feathers on the sides in imitation of the bear's lodge far to the north. The sweat-lodge rites completed the ceremonies, after which the families united again either to return home at once or to hunt along the way according to their inclinations.

Benson claimed to be the fourteenth owner of the bundle which he used. In order of succession from Black Wolf, the owners were reported as follows: (1) Black Wolf; (2) Bull Leg;

45. The Mandan called that section of the country between the Cannonball and Grand rivers "The Divide." The blacktail deer meat was believed to be on a high hill at the mouth of the Grand River and on the north bank.

46. The Little Bend of the Missouri River is at the mouth of the Cheyenne River, called by the Mandan Grape River.

47. The Big Bend of the Missouri is below Pierre, South Dakota.

48. The Mandan believed that the Missouri River entered the ocean not far below the Big Bend. This was believed to be the winter home of migratory waterfowl, corn, and the large birds of the eagle family (see chap. ix).

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Chapter VIII

CATFISH-TRAPPING CEREMONY

THIS ceremony was associated with the eagle-trapping bundle, and both possessed a common mythological origin from Black Wolf. There was no direct reference to the fish trap in the Black Wolf myth, but in theory the sacred snare could catch anything. Crows Heart explained that even a buffalo corral was in reality a large snare, so a man owning a sacred snare was selected to stand on a high hill and by means of motions, as of snaring the buffaloes, pulled the animals by its magical powers into the corral.[1] War leaders took their sacred snares along when looking for enemies for supernatural aid in ensnaring and destroying their foes.

Purchase of catfish- and eagle-trapping rites could be made simultaneously, or the fish-trapping rights could be bought at a later date. Some men bought rights in only one of the ceremonies. A seller possessing rights in both ceremonies could sell each ceremony four times. Associated closely with these two ceremonies were the sweat lodge and the snare rites for doctoring and officiating at the buffalo and antelope pounds.

Although the Missouri River carries considerable sediment, catfish are very abundant. The presence of catfish bones in ancient Mandan and Hidatsa villages indicates that considerable use was made of these fish as food.

When a fish trap was in use, the black-bear hide was kept in the owner's lodge, laid out on calicoes on a four-post standard with its head pointing toward the fireplace. Food was offered to the bundle each day while the fish trap was being used.

Ben Benson remembered these Mandan who had catfish-trapping rights about 1880:

1. Black Tongue (Big Turtle). He was also custodian of the Okipa turtle drums, Hoita in the Okipa, owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a singer in the Corn ceremonies.

1. Refer to my manuscript, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization," for an account of the ceremonies associated with the buffalo corral.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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2. Hits on Back. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, a Holy Woman Robe bundle, and a Bird bundle of Sikaraxa.

3. Iron Eyes. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, a Wolf ceremony bundle, and custodian of an Okipa turtle drum.

4. Old (Black) Bear. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle.

5. Little Shield. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a Big Bird (Thunderbird) bundle.

6. Big Walker. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle.

It will be noted that each of these men also had eagle-trapping rights. In addition to these six bundle-owners, there were a number of men possessing fish-trap rights without securing a bundle. Such rights were acquired by payment of goods to a bundle-owner, who authorized the construction of a trap with instruction that the purchaser address his prayers to the seller's bundle. The following account by Crows Heart illustrates purchase by this method. His maternal grandfather had owned fish-trapping rites which had not been passed on. To receive instruction, his mother's sister directed him to the nearest relative of the opposite moiety.

CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF FISH-TRAPPING

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When I was a young man, I often fished with a line and metal hooks bought at the trading post. I never had very good luck catching fish that way. I only caught small catfish, bullheads, and white shiners which were full of bones. I often went down to the river in the fall when the water was low and helped the old men bail the fish out. They were catching the fish at night. Their fish were large ones, mostly catfish. Many of the very old people, especially the old women whose husbands were dead, came to the traps, and the men would give them fish. This made the old women very happy, and they would sing songs of praise to the old men. When I saw how happy it made them, I decided to trap fish when I grew up and make the old people happy.

One day I asked my "mother" how I could get the right to make a fish trap, and she said, "Go to Old Black Bear;[2] he is the man you must see."

When she said that, I asked, "Must I pay him?"

She replied, "You will have to pay him a horse and some blankets."

When I was nearly thirty years old, I invited Old Black Bear to my earth lodge. My wife prepared a feast of meat, bread, and coffee. I spread out a new robe on the floor, and he sat down on it. I had an overcoat I had paid $30.00 for; I put that over his shoulders. I also gave him a good gun, a fair horse, a redstone pipe, a good butcher knife, and three or four pieces of calico. Then he said, "What's up? What's all this for?"

I replied, "I want you to do me a favor. I want you to give me the right to make a fish trap."

He said, "I will give you the right to make and set out a fish trap. There's not much time today. I will teach you how to make the trap. If you think it

2. Crows Heart's father's moiety.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter IX

BIG BIRD CEREMONY

•796 773 THE birds belonging to this ceremony were classed in four groups: (1) hawks, ravens, and crows; (2) young calumet eagles; (3) old calumet eagles; and (4) bald eagles. According to the myth, the thunderbird was considered a relative of these birds, while in other myths the thunderbird was referred to as any one of the four groups of birds listed above.

796 821 The various rites were frequently referred to as the Thunderbird ceremony. However, birds other than those included in these rites, as well as the Sun and Moon and the snakes, were believed to possess the supernatural power of producing thunder and lightning.

796 778 773 There were two principal bundles appertaining to the ceremony. The Black Medicine bundle owned by Red Buffalo Cow (Prairie Chicken clan) was traditionally founded by Black Medicine, while the Sweet Medicine bundle was believed to have been founded by Grows in Lee Places, his twin brother. The latter bundle was last owned by Sand (Speckled Eagle clan). These two bundles came from Nuptadi Village. A second Black Medicine bundle owned by Little Shield (Prairie Chicken clan) [614] came from Fort Clark Village. The linked character of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle clans was expressed by the inheritance through the clan of two closely related bundles from two "brothers" of different clans.

The two bundles had a common mythological origin based on the exploits of two brothers. The myth was supplied by Ben Benson, while much of the data on rites relating to the bundle were secured from White Calf.

773 BIG BIRD CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEN BENSON[1]

539 This account goes back to the time when the villages were near the mouth of Heart River. Chief Bird was the head man of one of the villages. His sons

1. For another relation of this myth by the same informant see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," XXXII [1938]), pp. 53–62.

Chapter X

THE SMALL HAWK CEREMONY

796 778 ONLY the principal bundle belonging to this ceremony[1] remained in existence following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, although Scattercorn had heard that there had been a number of them formerly. The surviving bundle came from Mitutanka. The rites occupied a high place in the tribe's ceremonial life, and the small hawk, belonging to the bundle, was impersonated by one of the performers in the Okipa ceremony. The other bundle lines, of which there were said to have been several, were broken by the death of all eligible inheritors.

The single surviving bundle was owned by Berdache and her sister of the Tamisik clan and their husband of the WaxikEna clan. The latter two died after their daughters Calf Woman and Stands Yellow had married Hits on Back who had come to his wives' lodge to live. Hits on Back of the WaxikEna clan and his two wives bought the bundle from Berdache.[2] The bundle consisted of a sacred buffalo robe which traditionally came from Toad Earrings, mother of Buffalo Woman, a hide rattle representing Buffalo Woman, a gourd rattle representing Corn Silk, sage and magpie tail feathers representing membership in the Holy Woman Society, a stuffed hawk with blue shoulders and yellow spotted breast representing Split Wing Feathers and Looks Down To Hunt, a small ash digging stick, a wooden pipe, and a buffalo skull.

778 421 425 The bundle could be divided into two sections. One section consisted of the hawk, sage, hide rattle, pipe, and a buffalo skull and was transferable to a man of the WaxikEna clan, while the other section, the sacred robe, gourd rattle, sage, magpie and tail feathers, could be bought by the wife. Subdivided bundles seem to have soon lost their hereditary character. Each section

1. The bundle is known as the Sikaraxa bundle, referring to the small hawk or kite mentioned in the sacred myth.

2. This purchase illustrates the character of bundle purchase through the female line.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

could be sold four times. The usual transfer was to sisters married to one man, in which instances the women acquired rights in the sacred robe and other paraphernalia of that section, and the husband took over the balance of the bundle. Such purchases were made only after several years of married life, as it was considered a sign of bad luck for common bundle-owners to quarrel. Crows Heart explained that having a common interest in a bundle was a powerful factor in making marriages permanent. Sale was not made until the parent-in-law taboo had been removed.

The prominence of these bundles is demonstrated by their representation in the Okipa ceremony. During the early summer all men owning primary and secondary rights in a Small Hawk ceremony met in one of their earth lodges to select two young men to represent their bundles in that summer's Okipa ceremony. Either young men of this group or men who were eligible to inherit a bundle were selected to dance in the ceremony and to receive goods offered to Small Hawk bundle-owners.

Women owning rights in the bundle were entitled to dress in the sacred robe, place sage and magpie tail feathers in the hair, and carry the ash digging stick at the close of the Okipa ceremony, when separate offerings were made to them by the Okipa Maker and his fellow-fasters and on other occasions when a feast was made to the bundle as a Buffalo-calling ceremony.

The rites are based on the exploits of Corn Silk, who visited the small hawk at his lodge on the eastern horizon where he lived with his mother. This small hawk, being a good hunter, taught the Buffalo-calling rites. Because he could produce thunder, he also introduced a rain-calling rite. His son, Looks Down To Hunt, inherited all his father's powers.

The holy robe and its rites have as their mythological origin Looks Down To Hunt's experiences on the northern horizon where he encountered his wife's mother who lived in a large earth lodge. After avoiding many hazards which she had set up to protect her people, the buffaloes, she was obliged to free these animals. The Mandan had many sacred robes, but each had its separate origin myth.

The myth throws light on the native theories of the universe. In one place Looks Down To Hunt asked the spider for his body

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

773 in order that he could retreat to the lowest level in the universe.
772 It was believed that the earth comprised four horizontal levels and that the surface of the earth was the top level. The sky was likewise made up of four semicircular hemispheres shaped like an earth-lodge roof and supported by four posts. This belief was associated with rites performed by a female robe-owner whenever a new lodge was erected or an old one repaired.

796 There was no spring or autumn bird feast, as in the case of the
778 Big Bird bundles. When the bundle-owners were paid to perform the Buffalo-calling ceremony, the man officiated as the singer, carried the rattles, and wore the hawk on his head; his wife was dressed in the robe, wore the sage and magpie tail feathers, used the ash stick to dig a small hole near the head of the lodge, and "called up the buffaloes," as had been done by Frog Earrings in the mythology. A young man, about to go to war, asked the help of a bundle-owner belonging to his father's clan and promised to make an offering to the bundle upon his return. For this, he received a feather to wear on his head when in battle.

778 The sacred robe was held in high regard as a means of warding off misfortune. Because of the wicked disposition and power
773 of Frog Earrings, whom the robe represented, it was believed that men took to wearing women's clothing and followed female
[828] avocations. She was also believed to be the cause of insanity,
[826] feeble-mindedness, malformations, twisted jaws, and premature
[845] births.

SMALL HAWK MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[3]

773 It was the fall of the year. Corn Silk and her nine brothers were living to-
539 gether. Whenever any young man would ask her to marry him, she would refuse. One of the brothers always spoke for the young man, but there was one of them who never paid any attention to her or urged her to marry. A young man, an unusually fine hunter, asked her to marry, and the brother who had been silent was disappointed, for he thought she would surely marry this one. He said to her, "I have never spoken before, so I think you should heed my words. At other times, our other brothers acted as spokesmen. This man is such a good provider you should marry him. You will have a comfortable home and everything you need. I think you should listen to me."

Corn Silk did not obey the request, and the mother was angry and said, "One of your brothers never spoke, but this man was a good provider, and he

3. Another version of this myth is reported in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 63–76.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter XI

THE SNOW OWL CEREMONY

796 778 THERE were four separate rituals belonging to this bundle. They were: (1) medicine feast to the owls; (2) arrowmaking rites; (3) buffalo-calling rites; and (4) Holy Woman rites.

Each of these rites relates to a specific section of the sacred myth wherein Black Wolf was taken prisoner by the snow owl. The experiences of Black Wolf in his excursion into the sacred world formed the basis for the performance of the various rites. Although it was not possible to secure a detailed account of a bundle transfer, a number of informants had participated sufficiently in the various rites to secure an adequate picture of the mythological background and pattern of the ceremony in relation to the larger tribal ceremonial pattern.

The medicine feast to the two owls in the bundle followed the regular tribal pattern. Young men going to war would pledge a feast to the owls for success and would receive an article from the bundle to wear into battle. Several times during the bundle-owner's active years, he and those owning rights in the bundle would prepare a "renewal"[1] feast to the bundle. There was the usual period of preparation. To the feast would be invited all leading bundle-owners, who would pray for the success of the giver and receive goods for their part in the ceremony. At the close of the ceremony the bundle-owner and his family would be virtually destitute. Those dreaming of the snow owl and being otherwise eligible by the inheritance rules could buy rights in the owls and have new bundles made up. Sales could be made four times. These subdivisions of main bundles seem to have lost their hereditary character in a few generations.

796 778 411 The arrowmaking rites were associated with the two owls of the bundle, and the arrowmaker's tools were given to Black

1. Renewal feasts were not unique to this bundle alone. All major tribal bundle-owners were expected to give renewal feasts from time to time to enhance the status of the bundles.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Wolf as payment for his services to these birds in the sacred myth. According to tradition, only those who had purchased the right made arrows. Arrowmaking techniques were taught by certain bundle-owners. It is highly improbable that any living informant at the time this study was made was able to enumerate all bundles with arrowmaking rights. At least the following, which is no doubt only a partial list, had arrowmaking rights: Eagle-trapping; Big Bird; Snow Owl; and Woman Above bundles. All of these bundles were associated with birds of prey.

The belief was that certain men were arrowmakers in early times and that those in need of arrows bought their supply. People without the rights were not allowed to stand around when arrows were being made. Incidentally, pottery-making was also a secret art, and the women bought the rights and knowledge in the techniques of their mothers or clanswomen, using only such designs as they were instructed to make. There was a song to the arrows and another when approaching the thicket where the shafts were secured. The stone tips were believed to have been first secured from the beavers.

The buffalo-calling rites were performed during the winter and were initiated by a young man dreaming of the buffaloes. Woman Living in Dog Den Butte (Buffalo Woman) had said in the myth, "In the future, when any Indian thinks of me, he must make offerings to me and give his wife to the one who is head of this medicine."

The three officers in the ceremony were (1) the bundle-owner and his wives, who sat to the left side near the head of the lodge and were the singers; (2) a woman impersonating Woman Living in Dog Den Butte, who wore a buffalo robe with hair side out and had sage and magpie tail feathers in her hair, her place being at the head of the lodge; and (3) a man impersonating the brothers who lived in Dog Den Butte; he had red marks painted on his skin indicating the kinds of wounds a man could receive in battle, and his place was on the right side of the lodge near the door.

The Okipa lodge was used for the ceremony. After a young man had made the vow, robes and other goods were accumulated for the ceremony. A man received help from his wife, brothers, sisters, clan brothers and sisters, and the people of both his

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 own and his wife's age-grade societies. During the period of preparation the bundle-owner came to the giver's lodge to instruct in the ceremony and to burn incense near the goods to be given away.

The ceremony was performed during four nights. The approach to the ceremonial lodge was made by four stages. At each stop the giver's wife came over to the group of performers led by the bundle-owner and placed on the ground a buffalo hide with a corn ball and a black stone pipe on it. The robe was taken by one of the party. The party advanced in single file, led by the bundle-owner, with the woman impersonating Woman Living in Dog Den Butte following just behind him. The third in line was the impersonator of the men in Dog Den Butte.

The fourth and last stop was at the door of the Okipa lodge. Men owning bundles containing buffalo skulls were eligible to attend and to sit on the right side of the lodge.

Usually a large number of clan brothers availed themselves of this opportunity to bring their wives and to receive the blessings of the older men. Each such participant brought additional goods for the occasion. The young men's wives were dressed only in their robes, while the woman impersonating Woman Living in Dog Den Butte wore a short buffalo robe with the hair side out. A small turtle shell was tied in place over her pudendal region.

The bundle-owner officiated as singer. The older men, representing buffalo bulls, and the woman, representing Buffalo Woman, were the only ones to dance. At the close of each [837] dance, a young woman would approach a man of her husband' father's clan selected by her husband and ask him to walk with her. He could buy himself off by praying for the success of the young woman and her husband and receive goods or go outside the village for intercourse. Food was passed around from time to time until late in the night when all returned to their respective lodges. The second and third nights' performance was the same as on the first. On the fourth night, the Woman Living in Dog Den Butte presented the giver with a bow and lance before termination of the dances and the man[2] near the door promised the group that all the bad luck to warriors fighting near Dog

2. Big Turtle (also called Black Panther), who represented the Hoita in the Okipa ceremony, held this office by virtue of his position in that ceremony.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Den Butte would be with the enemy. The performers were then cleansed with sage by the leader and left the lodge. The giver and his wife remained to assist in the division of the goods. Then a man with rights in one of the Holy Woman bundles entered to announce that there were a great many holy women who were always working for the benefit of the Mandan.[3] These women came in dancing and received a part of the goods. 796

The officers of the ceremony, the giver, and his wife went to the bundle-owner's lodge where a sweat lodge was ready. After the cleansing ceremony, all received food prepared by the bundle-owner's wives.

Persons giving the ceremony within the memory of living informants were Standing Bear, Belly Up, Foolish Bear, and Bear on the Flat.

Women could buy the right to wear the buffalo robe, representing Woman Living in Dog Den Butte, and to dance in the Buffalo-calling ceremony. She was also entitled to wear the magpie tail feathers and sage on her head, as well as to carry an ash digging stick when other women representing various Holy Women met to dance. 796 778

A complete bundle contained the following articles: (1) arrow-straightener of buffalo rib with perforations; (2) wooden groover; (3) rawhide with sand glued to it as polisher; (4) grapevine; (5) tanned fawnskin; (6) two feet of white owl; (7) two feet of the small owl; (8) yellow and black clay for painting; (9) one large white-owl wing feather; (10) gray sage; (11) bow and lance; (12) buffalo robe; (13) magpie tail feathers; and (14) plain black elbow pipe. 778

Hits on Back was the only owner of a complete bundle which had come from Nuptadi Village. Inheritance was in the WaxikEna clan, since the ceremony was related to the Okipa. Related items in the bundle could be sold four times, but the last sale was of the entire original bundle. 778 425 614

When sales were made of portions of the bundle, transfer was from father to son or individuals in that relationship.[4] Partial

3. Actually, after the smallpox epidemic, there were few women holding rights in the Holy Women bundles.

4. The practice of transmitting principal bundles within the clan and secondary or partial bundles from father to son is not unique to this ceremony along. See Old Woman Who Never Dies myth (chap. vi) and the Okipa ceremony (chap. iv) for additional data.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter XII

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY

796 THE ceremony is called HapminakE, meaning "Day Boat" or "Day Traveler." At least five distinct Mandan bundle 778 lines were in existence in 1837, represented by Arrowhead Earrings (custodian of the Okipa lodge), who sold to his daughter, Spring Woman, and her husband, who sold to Calf Woman, principal contributor of data on this ceremony; Bull Otter, who sold to his son, Clam Necklace, who sold to his son Ole Bull (still living); Short Bull, whose bundle was bought by his daughter, Diamond Snake, who sold to her son, Percy Baker (still living); Red Buffalo Cow, who sold to his daughter, Antelope Woman; Four Bears, who died during the smallpox epidemic of 1837 without making a sale, although one son dreamed of the Old Woman Above and dressed as a woman thereafter. This is a greater number of bundle lines than it was possible to identify for the Hidatsa villages. The Arrowhead Earrings bundle was inherited in the clan and was considered the principal or original bundle. The other bundles were sold from father to son.

796 The ceremony was performed to the Sun, Moon, and Old Woman Above, their mother. Some bundle lines included rites 782 to Old Woman Above's daughter,[1] an evil spirit who was blamed 776 for much of the tribe's misfortunes. The ceremony differs in function from most ceremonies in that it was performed to ward off misfortunes sent by these evil mythological gods. Other sacred beings are either neutral or helpful, but not so with the Sun or his sister. They were cannibals and brought miscarriages, insanity, twisted faces, droughts, death, and misfortunes to the people. Ceremonies were rites of appeasement. The Sun was a cannibal who brought death to members of war parties and carried their bodies to his mother's lodge above, where she prepared them for his meals. He would not, however, knowingly

1. Called Omahank-Chika by Maximilian (see *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIII [Cleveland, 1906], 302).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

eat those he had sent dreams to or those who had his bundles 796
and gave feasts or offerings of goods to him regularly. The pres- 782
ence of so many bundle lines, both original and secondary, sur- 776
viving the smallpox of 1837, indicates the popularity of such bundles.

This was a very difficult bundle ceremony to secure informa- 778
tion about. All tribal ceremonies were secret. The difficulty in
securing information on this ceremony was based on fear of 124
death. Calf Woman explained that, since she had joined the church and was not likely to sell rights in her other bundles four times, she was always willing to explain things in her other bundles. She had described everything Wilson and Lowie asked of her and never felt fear of the loss of good fortune.[2] She added:

> I showed you the masks yesterday that belonged in the Okipa ceremony. 778
> Of course, I smoked pine branches before I opened the bundle, but I always
> do that. I don't feel the same way about the Peope Above bundle. The Moon 776
> in the bundle doesn't worry me, but Sun is an evil spirit. He brought death to our warriors. My first husband was killed on the warpath even though his father and mother had a People Above bundle which together with my husband's sisters we would have had rights had he lived. So, you see, sometimes the Sun will even kill his own. It may be that the Sun had already blessed the enemy and adopted him as a son was why my husband was killed. This Old Woman Above is mean, but she is fair. Her daughter is evil; she causes men to leave their wives and little children; she causes insanity, fits, and feeblemindedness. People are always careful to follow the rules belonging to these bundles, or their neighbors blame them when someone breaks a leg or has a tree fall on him. I worried last night because I had promised to tell you the myth.

Wolf Chief expressed the same fears when asked to explain 124
the Hidatsa ceremony to Woman Above. That there was a rich 776
ritualism connected with these bundles is evident from isolated data appearing in other sacred myths. There are a number of qualified informants, but to date it has been impossible to secure complete information from them. Variations no doubt existed between villages and even in bundle lines within the same village, but this could not be determined, since such information was not obtainable from Calf Woman.

Bundle purchase followed the normal tribal pattern. The in- 778
struction was directly between seller and buyer, which, when
completed, was followed by a medicine feast at the time the 425
transfer was made. Attendance was limited to persons with

2. Gilbert L. Wilson and Robert H. Lowie.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

bundle because Corn Silk also married a buffalo); and (15) one stuffed jackrabbit, which served as a scout for Sun. 778

Bundle-owners had shrines on the prairies near the village which they were expected to maintain. Whenever these shrines became weathered and the images of Sun, Moon, and Woman Above had fallen down, the bundle-owner, someone who had either dreamed of the bundle, or one planning to lead a war expedition, pledged a feast to the People Above bundle (see Fig. 41). Bundle-owners also put on renewal feasts to their bundles several times during middle age.

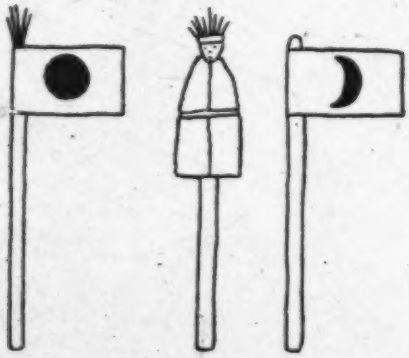

FIG. 41.—Images of People Above characters: Sun, Old Woman Above, and Moon

Calf Woman, who lived in the Okipa lodge with her parents and Arrowhead Earring (her mother's father), who was custodian of the lodge, observed a bundle renewal ceremony in which Clam Necklace and his wives gave a feast for his bundle. 796 431

CALF WOMAN'S NARRATIVE OF A BUNDLE RENEWAL CEREMONY

Bears Ghost was asking my mother for the lodge [Okipa lodge]. He wanted to give the Snake ceremony [secondary bundle belonging with the Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles] for his parents, Foolish Chief and Dressed Up, from whom he was buying, when Clam Necklace came to ask for the lodge to give the People Above ceremony to his own bundle. He gave my mother several fine robes for the use of the lodge. He needed it for one day and night. She was glad that he was giving a feast to his own bundle, since he was a young man just building up his reputation. She had one of those bundles, and feasts like that gave her credit. He hung the robes on a line around the six central posts [see Fig. 42].

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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The older men and women of the tribe arrived shortly after dark. When it was time for the ceremony to begin, Clam Necklace came into the Okipa lodge with his face painted white except for a red half-circle extending from the cheeks across the forehead. In his hair he wore two bunches of sage, one white and representing the sun, the other black and representing the moon. He carried a robe and the ceremonial bundle, which he laid out on a bench at the back of the lodge. On his way to the back of the lodge, he gave his bundle to Stands Yellow to pray to, and she took one of the robes as payment. His two wives followed him to the back of the lodge.

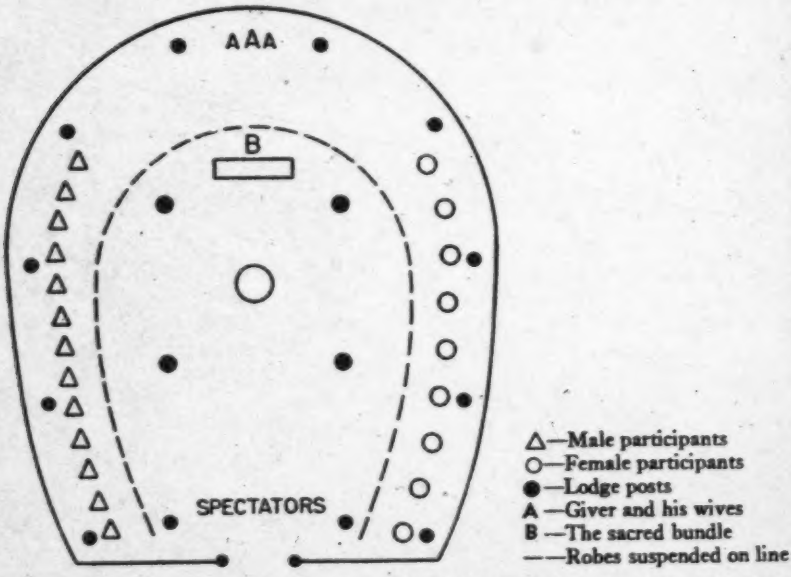

FIG. 42.—Lodge arrangement for People Above ceremony

First he chewed Black Medicine and blew it over himself and his wives; then he opened the bundle and spread the contents out on the robe laid on the bench. Although he took charge of the ceremony, his wives helped him in the singing. He burned pine needles brought from the Rocky Mountains. He sang the medicine songs through as he opened the bundle. As soon as the bundle was opened, the singing stopped. He placed food on the end of a stick and offered it to things in the bundle, after which all the visitors ate food passed around by his wives.

When the food was all eaten, Clam Necklace took a robe down from the roof, placed some object from the bundle on it, and called the name of the person to whom he presented the robe. The receiver of the gift prayed to his personal medicine objects to send good luck to the giver, then returned the medicine object, retaining the gift. When the robes were all given away, horses, dogs, calicoes, knives, moccasins, and dresses were given away. Each person receiving a gift prayed for the success of the giver. Clam Necklace gave presents to twenty-six people, fifteen of whom were women.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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People receiving goods were:

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Women	Men
Big Chief Woman	Wolf Ghost
Spring Woman	Crows Breast
Lone Woman	Big Foot Bull
Hides and Eats	Afraid To Be Chief
Stays Yellow	Red Buffalo Cow
Unborn Calf Woman	Bull against Wind
Penned Up	Red Shield
Goes Out	Small Ankles
Owl Woman	Awaxniax (?)
Beaver Woman	Belly Up
Different Corn Silk	Broken Ax
Feather on Head Woman	
Otter Woman	
Eagle Woman	
Cedar Woman	

After the gifts were all presented, the people went home. Clam Necklace and his two wives went outside the village near the scaffolds for the dead and put up three new images, one of the Sun, one of the Moon, and another of the Old Woman Above. 796 778

The image of the Sun consisted of a round red disk painted on white calico or hide. Chokecherry brush was lashed to the top of the pole. The Old Woman Above image was made of a robe, hair side out, wrapped around an ash pole, with a piece of black hide for the face and white sage for the hair. It was tied to the pole with a belt which held the image in place. Moon's image was a red crescent painted on a white calico or hide lashed to an ash post [see above, Fig. 41]. The images were set up before sunrise.

Bundles having Old Woman Above's daughter represented added a fourth image. Instead of placing the images in a row with mounds in front of Sun's and Moon's images, the four images were placed at four corners of a square with the mounds in the center. White sage was set into the ground at the apex of the mound representing the Sun and black sage on the other mound representing the Moon. When two buffalo skulls were placed at the shrine, one was a bull's and the other a cow's skull. When four skulls were used, they were bull's skulls and represented buffaloes of the four seasons. These shrines became fasting places to which were brought skulls of relatives taken from the scaffolds. Enemies whose skulls lay on the prairies were brought to these shrines by those fasting there. Children's skulls were not placed in these circles. 778 764 [727]

The presence of enemy skulls in these circles was not unusual. Men fasting on the hills often collected the skulls of their enemies or went to the spot where the body lay to seek visions. 778 727 778

Maximilian referred to these shrines when he wrote:

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

than skulls, which usually appear singly in refuse heaps, pits, or shallow graves.

Women took an active part in these ceremonies. Calf Woman thought that it was because they did not want their gardens burned by Sun, who she said once tried to marry Waving Corn. (People never prayed to the sun to bring warm weather. When the winter was severe, they prayed to Lone Man of the Okipa to come as the south wind.) When he was refused, he came four times, and each time the plants withered. Women would fast at these shrines to save their crops and ask help for their men away on the warpath.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter XIV

RED STICK CEREMONY

THE Red Stick ceremony was a winter buffalo-calling rite of four nights' duration and was held during the coldest part of the winter to bring the winter herds near the village. The ceremony was given by some young man who in his dream witnessed the ceremony given, heard the buffaloes singing the sacred song, or saw the ceremonial objects arranged in their proper place in his lodge.

Standing Bear, last bundle-owner before the disappearance of the buffaloes, purchased the bundle from his father and mother but, having no children, sold the bundle to Iron Eyes, who was not a relative.[1] The bundle consisted of a buffalo robe representing First Pretty Woman[2] and twelve flat boards painted red, with vestigial buffalo hoofs attached. One end was tapered to provide a handhold. There were a large wooden pipe, an owl, two hide rattles, a painted robe, and sage in the bundle.

There was only one song belonging to the ceremony, and it referred to the information given by the twelve winter buffalo bulls who appeared during a blizzard and sang:

the one	first woman	pretty
has eaten	most of you	

The ceremony was based on a dramatization of the exploits of Corn Silk, who brought back a little girl to the Mandan Village. Each night the occupants of one earth lodge would disappear until the village became alarmed. The old men met to seek a solution to the mysterious disappearance of their people. One young man volunteered to fast in an effort to get advice from the spirits as to the cause of the misfortune to these households. A blizzard came in from the north, and twelve buffalo bulls, each carrying a red stick to which buffalo vestigial hoofs,

1. It was not possible to determine the rule of inheritance, since Standing Bear and his wives were of the same clan.
2. Refer to the Okipa ceremony (chap. iv) for her part in those rites.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

lungs, heart, and windpipe were tied, drifted along with the wind until they reached the foot of the hill where the young man was fasting. They sang a song which mentioned the name of the young girl who was the cause of the disappearance of these families. She was destroyed by burning, which freed the people she had consumed. A sacred bundle was established by the young man. A buffalo robe represented the young girl, and twelve red sticks were carved to represent the twelve buffalo bulls.

Bundle transfer was traditionally from father to son,[3] but the information on actual transfers is so limited that it was not possible to check this belief with actual transfers. The ceremony was not given after the buffalo herds disappeared.

The pledge to give the ceremony could be made either by an individual or by an age-grade society. In the case of the former, clan brothers of about the same age assisted by bringing their wives with food and goods. The owner of the sacred bundle would select twelve older men who had given the ceremony or who had sacred buffalo skulls, acquired through vision or purchase with bundles, to carry the red sticks. When an age-grade society gave the ceremony, the bundle-owner distributed the red sticks among the members of the next highest age-grade society who impersonated the buffalo bulls.

The ceremony was held in the giver's lodge. He paid those who carried the red sticks and the bundle-owner who set up the robe of First Pretty Woman on an ash stake to represent a young girl. These carriers of the red sticks met at the bundle-owner's lodge in the evening to receive their ceremonial paraphernalia, after which by four stages they approached the lodge where the ceremony was being held. At each stop the giver's wife would put down a robe and a corn ball.

Upon entering the lodge where the ceremonies were to be held, the carriers placed the red sticks in a row extending from the fireplace to the head of the lodge, and the image of First Pretty Woman was placed to the right of them.

During the afternoon the Black Mouths sent their criers through the village announcing the buffalo dances were to be

3. We cannot be certain that this is true. Owing to influences of the Hidatsa pattern, Mandan bundles were in the process of shifting from clan to father-son inheritance during the eighteenth century. In numerous instances where informants stated inheritance was from father to son, genealogies showed inheritance to be within the clan.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

held that evening. Any of the old men could go and sit on the right side nearer the door than the red-stick carriers. The young men came in with their wives, who wore only buffalo robes, and sat on the left side of the lodge (see Fig. 43). There was only one ceremonial song; it was sung four times. The young women brought by their husbands formed a single line, where each sat

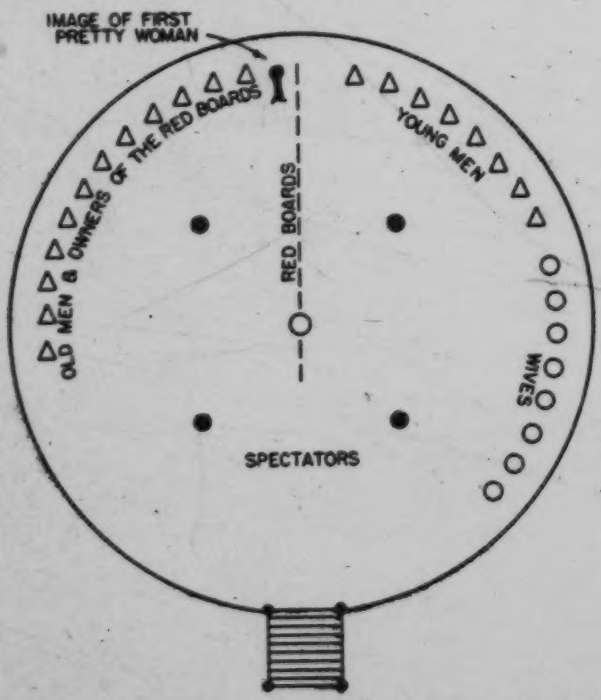

FIG. 43.—Arrangement of the lodge for the Buffalo Dance

down on her heels and walked the length of the red boards. The woman in the lead must be one who had never had intercourse with anyone other than her present husband. The head of the line was a coveted position, and an attempt was sometimes made by an unqualified woman to lead the others over the red sticks. Then some man with whom she had had intercourse would laugh to make his presence known, whereupon she would drop out of line and take up the last place in the procession. The act of walking along the red sticks was known as "Walking with the Buffalo Bulls" or "Having Intercourse with the Buffalo

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 Bulls." The women then returned to their places, put on their
778 buffalo robes, and passed around the food to the old men representing the buffalo bulls and to the spectators.

The next performance was the "Giving the Wives" to the
796 buffalo bulls.[4] One of the young men, addressing his wife, would
837 say, "Wife, I want you to help me to become a lucky man. I
614 want you to walk with my father."[5] The rule was for a young man always to select an old man of his father's clan. If the man selected did not choose to have intercourse with his "son's" wife, he would stop her before she reached the door.

One time when Red Coyote was selected, he said: "Stop right there, my 'granddaughter.' I want you to hold my medicine bundle now. Once I fasted four days in a ravine. While I slept, an owl came to me and said that I would be a lucky man and live to be old. I have killed an enemy, captured six horses, and struck three enemies. I pray that you will live a long time, be healthy, raise many children, and keep free of diseases."[6] Both returned to their places and sat down.

Each young man selected an old man to "walk with his wife."[7] Some men stopped the women at the door and did not care to go outside with them; others went outside. In either case, the woman was given the old man's medicine bundle (vision bundle), which she clasped to her breast, believing that, by doing so, some of its powers would enter her body.

An unmarried man could participate by bringing his brother's or clan brother's wife. Men never brought women of other

4. This portion of the ceremony appears to have been rather famous among the early visitors to the Mandan and Hidatsa (see *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition 1804–1806*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, I [New York, 1905], 245; *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri*, ed. and trans. Annie Heloise Abel [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939], pp. 196–97; Maximilian in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites [Cleveland, 1906], XXIII, 334; XXIV, 27–31). In addition, Thompson and Henry saw portions of a similar ceremony but apparently misinterpreted the actions (see *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell [Toronto, 1916], pp. 225–38, and "Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson," in *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, ed. Elliot Coues, I [New York, 1897], 326–27).

5. This is what Good Bear said when he sent his wife to one of the old men, according to Mrs. Good Bear. "Father" refers to a male member of Good Bear's father's clan.

6. Red Coyote was frozen in a late-spring blizzard near Rainy Buttes shortly after this.

7. Mrs. Good Bear related that her ceremonial grandfather went out with her, all the while bellowing in imitation of a buffalo bull.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

tribes who had recently married into the tribe, believing that the spirits of the red sticks would then help the other tribe. However, when such women had joined a Mandan clan, they could participate. 796 837 614

Sometimes, when a man refused to walk with his "granddaughter," her husband placed a filled pipe before him. This left the old man one of two choices: (1) he could walk with her, or (2) he could invoke the spirits of the north that sent storms driving the buffaloes to the Missouri River to help her and her husband. A woman was not offered to a man of her own clan or to immediate blood relatives.

Mrs. Good Bear recognized this as a separate ceremony at the lower village, Mitutanka, and did not believe that it was performed at Nuptadi in this form, as they had the Buffalo-calling rites of the Snow Owl ceremony, which was similar in some respects to the Red Stick ceremony. Scattercorn verified this information by stating that Standing Bear, who owned the Red Stick ceremony, came up early to Like-a-Fishhook Village (about 1845) together with the survivors of the lower village and that, after the Nuptadi survivors joined the other Mandans, both ceremonies were given but never at the same time. 796

The sacred myth belonging to the ceremony was related by Mrs. Good Bear.

RED STICK CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY MRS. GOOD BEAR

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A long time ago there was a respectable young woman named Corn Silk who had then been single for several years. Many men wanted to marry her, but she always refused. One day her parents said, "Why don't you get married?" They scolded her, and she felt bad because they had quarreled. When night came, she went outside and lay on top of the doorway to the earth lodge to sleep and would not go into the lodge that night. She went to sleep.

When she awoke, someone was carrying her on his shoulders, and she knew that someone had her in his power. She couldn't get away. They went along until they came to his lodge. He put her in a bed, thinking that she was asleep, but she knew everything that happened. Then there was another woman, an owl, and a large grizzly bear in the lodge. The man asked Owl Woman to cook something for Corn Silk, and she began to prepare food. Then she said, "Corn Silk, you should get up and eat." Owl Woman brought water for her to wash with, and then she ate.

The man came in again and said to Owl Woman, "Send her into the woods to get fuel. Tell her to take the bear with her."

He walked out and then Owl Woman said, "You are a good and beautiful

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Chapter XV

THE WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY[1]

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THE two highest of the four women's age-grade societies, the White Buffalo Cow and Goose societies, were religious in character. The Goose Society[2] was organized, according to tradition, by Good Furred Robe to dance during the Corn ceremonies. During the time women were performing the ceremony, they would dream of corn or the supernatural beings associated with corn so that, when the time came to sell the society to younger women and buy into the next age-grade society, most women had minor rights in the Corn ceremonies and were invited to come to the corn feasts.

When Calf Woman was two years old, she was taken into the White Buffalo Cow Society to represent the buffalo calf. As a young woman she bought into the Goose Society. After selling out to younger women, she always attended and danced with the society. There was not the entire relinquishment of rights in the two highest Mandan women's societies so characteristic of the men's societies and the lower women's societies. Both Scattercorn and Calf Woman were in agreement that this was due to their religious character. The Goose Society was associated with the spring and fall migration of the birds and the summer Corn ceremonies. The White Buffalo Cow Society was associated with the winter migration of the buffalo herds from the flats to the river bottoms. The ceremony was held during the shortest days to bring the winter buffaloes. While the ceremony was in progress, the Black Mouth Society policed the winter village to see that none chopped wood, left the village to hunt, or had their dogs running loose. Announcement was given in advance that

1. See Maximilian in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, 1906), XXIII, 297; XXIV, 48–49; Henry A. Boller, *Among the Indians* (Philadelphia, 1868), pp. 216–22; Robert H. Lowie, *Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XI [1916]), pp. 346–54.

2. See Boller, *op. cit.*, pp. 147–49 and 283.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the ceremonies would begin at such a time, and the people were expected to have a wood supply on hand. The people were expected to be quiet, and stray dogs were either tied up or killed. Both Calf Woman and Scattercorn (her father, Moves Slowly, was singer for the Mandan women) believed that the society was founded by the Mandan and bought by the Hidatsa.

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ORIGIN MYTH OF THE WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY RELATED BY SCATTERCORN

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The White Buffalo Women's Society began from a dream a man once had when he was fasting out on the hills. He dreamed that he heard a man calling from far away. He continued to fast. The fourth night the voice was so clear that he could heard the words. The voice kept saying, "Put a child with them." Soon he saw a man coming with two small children in his arms.

The man said, "I am going to give you these two children. Prepare a feast, and I will return to you. I am the buffalo. When you have the feast ready, I will come; you will have plenty of buffaloes all the time."

The man who had been fasting came back to the village and told how a buffalo man had promised him that his people were coming to the village to give him two buffalo children. He asked that the people put up a feast of all the different varieties of corn. He asked two women to come and receive the two buffalo children.

Soon a party of strange women came to eat the food and showed them how to give the dance. When the women left, the two children struggled to free themselves because they wanted to follow the women. One got away, but the other one was kept in the village. The child was reared in the tribe, and it was from this feast that the White Buffalo Society began.

Each winter the women came back to see the child. They were the buffalo cows, so the society danced to give the buffaloes a chance to see their child. The buffalo women would bring the winter buffalo herds with them.

The rule was that a woman should not belong to this society until she was beyond the childbearing age. This was the highest and last society to which women could belong. Women could not be members while they still had menstruation periods, as it was believed that the blood would drive the buffaloes away.

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The society kept four men as singers. They bought their rights and could sell out whenever they wanted to. Before the ceremony of selling was held, the women put up a sweat-lodge frame which resembled an inverted bullboat frame. The ones buying must supply five or six robes for the cover. Each one buying gave a wooden dish and robes to one of the older women, whom she called "mother," to get her rights in the society. One person was selected to buy the leader's robe, which was white. As soon as the sale was concluded, the new society women lined up. The leader would be on the end of the line wearing the white buffalo robe with the hair outside. The child, a little girl between the years of two and nine, stood in the center of the line wearing a robe with the hair side out. A woman at the end of the line wore the robe of a summer buffalo and was called the summer buffalo. All the other women wore their robes with the hair side in. A woman standing next to the child burned the

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561 incense and smoked the clothing they wore. The child represented the small buffalo calf left in the tribe by the buffalo women.

796 The dance was symbolic of the return of the buffaloes. All wore a band of buffalo hide around the arms and forehead, in which were tied owl and magpie feathers. The head woman wore a headband of white buffalo hide.

The dance was performed in the winter during the shortest days. Its purpose was to bring the buffalo herds back to the villages. It also was believed to bring cold weather, causing the herds to desert the flats for the sheltered river bottoms. Failure to have given the dances would have resulted in small herds or none at all. Someone always paid to have the dances.

CALF WOMAN'S NARRATIVE OF THE WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY

561 I was two years old when I went into the Hidatsa White Buffalo Society, and the women would carry me on their backs in the dance. The singers were
159 Crows Paunch, Bear Looks Out, Poor Wolf, and Red Wing (a Mandan).

The Goose Society was first, and the women selling out the Goose Society bought in. The society also came from the Mandan, but it passed over to the Hidatsa long before the Goose Society was passed over. Women were forty-five to fifty years old when joining. Bear Looks Out and Poor Wolf liked the ways of the society, and they went to the Mandan and bought singer rights.

The members of the society were: Calf Woman (a child), Otter, Dances Along, Different Sage, Root, Lone Woman, Good Paint, Long Hair, both of the Sioux Women, All Blossoms, Flying, Spring Woman, Cherry Women, and all those who had belonged to the Goose Society except Juneberries. I am today the only Mandan or Hidatsa with rights in the society.

After a group of women sell their rights in the Goose Society, they still have the right to attend their meetings and dance. [Scattercorn verified this.]

Everything in buying is the same as with the Goose Society, and the sale is made in the late fall. They meet each night for sixty nights; during that time those who are buying the society bring in food for the society they are buying out. At the end of the sixty nights, the older people give the clothing needed in the ceremony to the ones who are buying in.

Otter wore the white robe; I was the middle person wearing the little calf robe. Flying was the third person to wear one of the special robes of a calf and was well into the forties at that time.

561 We would meet in the wintertime when the days were the coldest, also in early winter when the days were shortest. The leader wore the white robe;
796 they called her "white robe." The middle one wore a calf robe; she was called "good calf robe." *MitE'atu'ki* means "white robe." The third officer is
159 "keeper of the incense." They make incense of a fine, pulpy, yellow material such as is used in the Bear ceremony. It comes from the Crow Indians. Lead or Lone Woman [mother's sister of Calf Woman] was "keeper of the incense." The last woman in the line holds the robes over the smoke before they put them on. They dance in a circle just like in the Goose Society. The singers in the Goose Society kept their rights even when the women sold out. Two women sit back of the woman with the white robe, wearing skunk headdresses, and it is their job to look after the spectators. Lone Woman attended to the incense, taking incense to the first three officers, then to the buffalo skull and finally around to all the women and the singers. They dance in the winter when they want the buffaloes to come and any other time, except when warm

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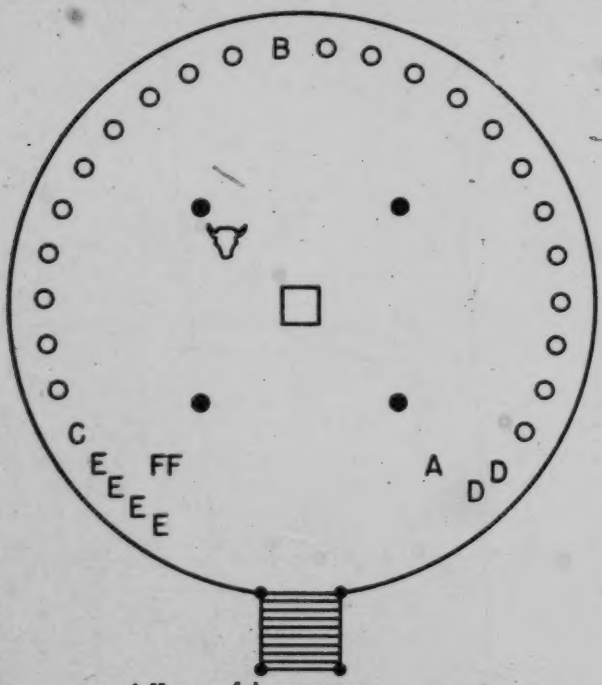
enough for the crops, upon invitation. When they sing the songs in the spring after the crops are in, the frost will kill all the plants, so they are afraid to sing or dance then. They would not meet often in the wintertime if someone did not offer them a feast. They feel that they must dance once in the year, anyway, even though no one puts it on. Then they smoke the robes and skull before dancing. All the dancers wear a headband of white buffalo hair, two magpie tail feathers, and white down feathers of the eagle together with owl



A, Keeper of the ceremony
B, Child representing Buffalo Calf
C, Woman representing Summer Buffalo
D, Women acting as waiters
E, Singers
F, Giver of ceremony and wife

FIG. 44.—Lodge plan of the White Buffalo Cow Women's Society

feathers. They dance four times beginning in the evening, and it takes them until late into the night. The fourth time they dance, Lone Woman stands up and takes all their robes off so they dance in their buckskin dresses. The person giving the ceremony would sit with his wife next to the singers and toward the door (see Fig. 44).

They always meet in the leading woman's lodge, in this case Otter's lodge. Otter had three daughters, three sisters, and a mother living in that lodge, and that way there were eight of them; they would hitch up their dogs and bring in wood and water for the ceremony. She had three sons and a son-in-law, and they brought the buffalo meat. That was what they had when they danced.

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She was "Keeper of the Ceremony," and, when they danced, she fed the whole society. If another was putting on the ceremony, it would still be best to hold it in Otter's lodge. Old Packineau used to invite them in often. Otter made corn balls for the ceremony, and after the first dance she passed small pieces to each of the women.

The Mandan White Buffalo Society singers were Moves Slowly, Red Buffalo Cow, Short Bull, and Iron Eyes; Brown Nose, wife of Bear on Water, was the leader.

One time they danced in winter camp north and opposite to Independence. While they danced, a buffalo came and walked up to the door, and they killed it there.[3] They would take my little robe and all the headdresses to tie to a stick. They put them outside of the lodge in the morning after dancing all night; then in the evening they would take them back, doing that every day and taking them down for the four nights of dancing. During the four days of the ceremony, they stayed at the lodge, sleeping there when the ceremony was not in session. After the dance, each woman made corn balls. One of the singers with his rattle, in this case it was Red Wing, would sprinkle water on them. When he did that, the people would come in. They passed the corn balls around four times to the people who came to look on. They would place their headdresses and robes in a row with corn balls in front of each one. Then the owners would come and take the corn balls that were placed in front of their robes. They gave Red Wing many things for doing this for the women and singers, and he was the one who got the principal reward for it all.

There were four old women in the group who sold out, Corn Woman, Brave Woman, Spring Woman, and All Blossom. Each had from four to six younger women whom they had to claim as "daughters." They had to give the younger ones robes and clothing to be used in the ceremony. Corn Women had no daughters of her own. Spring Woman had one daughter (myself) and took as her daughters, Cherries, Long Hair, Many Yellow, Root, Different Sage, Flying Woman—seven in all, but not all were of the Chicken clan. Brave Woman took in Calf Woman, Cherries, and Peppermint. Corn Woman took in Lone Woman, the two Sioux Women, and another Cherry Woman. All Blossom took in all the rest of the women who were left. Red Wing had Crow Paunch, Bear Looks Out, and Poor Wolf. Red Wing was the only one of the old singers who had belonged with the four old women. Before dancing, the women painted the left side of their faces red and the right side blue with clay. They wore buckskin dresses and robes, but three had special robes and headdresses and painted their temples. The singers dressed in any manner they wished and also used any face paints they wanted.

After the ceremony was over, Red Wing cleansed the articles and each put her things away carefully, ready for the next ceremony. After that, different ones would invite us to their lodges immediately to feast, and then we would go back to our own lodges, having been away for four nights. I was the only girl in my family, and they thought so much of me that they urged and helped me to join different societies.

At Like-a-Fishhook Village the Mandan and Hidatsa kept their ceremonies separate. The Mandan met in Moves Slowly's lodge. He was head singer, getting his rights from Corn Woman's father, Enemy Face.

The ceremony in the two tribes was identical. The songs were alike also.

3. See *ibid.*, p. 305, for a reference to a similar incident.

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Chapter XVI

ADOPTION PIPE CEREMONY

THERE were many people, both men and women, owning rights in this ceremony. Although Crows Heart believed that the ceremony was bought from the Arikaras a long time ago, Maximilian[1] recognized two types of sacred pipes, one[2] of which had been in the tribe for a long time and which he could have seen for one hundred dollars. He describes in detail the adoption ceremony, which is in every sense identical to Crows Heart's account. The two pipes carried in the ceremony are one belonging to the seller and one the purchaser was to receive. This ceremony performed an important social and religious role. The Hidatsa and Mandan adoption were identical as to ritual and songs.

In reality it was the pipe stem that was sacred, since the red stone bowls could be removed for daily use, whereas the stems were kept in bundles and were not taken out, except preliminary to an Adoption Pipe ceremony. Crows Heart is probably correct in his statement that the ceremony was bought of the Arikara, since this is the only instance when red stone pipes were used for ceremonial purposes. Objection to red stone is based on the myth wherein Good Furred Robe, in early times, was unable to introduce redstone pipes because they were the color of human blood.[3]

Crows Heart, who had been adopted twice, supplied the information on the adoption ceremony.

CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF THE ADOPTION CEREMONY[4]

The old Mandans told me that the sacred pipes were bought from the Arikara quite a long while ago. The stand represents the cornstalks; the horse

1. See Maximilian in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, 1906), XXIII, 319–21.

2. This was known as the Corn Pipe and was in no way connected with the adoption ceremony.

3. See Okipa ceremony origin myth (chap. iv).

4. Lewis and Clark witnessed an adoption ceremony, but furnish few details (see *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites [New York, 1905], I, 222).

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796 tail hairs represent the corn silks; the stem represents an ear of corn; the birds'
597 heads are connected with the Old Woman who tends the crops. I heard that
the red heads on the pipe are from a bird that lived a long ways below Fort
778 Yates.[5] The Indians down there brought them up here and traded them for horses and corn.

796 If I want to adopt, I go to a young man who is son of a man who belongs to my clan, which is the Prairie Chicken clan. We never adopt a person who
597 has no horses but select a man who has the finest buffalo horses. If I want to get his horses, I go out and kill a deer or possibly a buffalo, and my wife prepares a feast. Then I invite him to come with his family and visit us. My wife cleans the earth lodge up and puts down a good robe for him to sit on. When he gets through eating, and they cannot eat it all, his wife takes what is left over from the meal and goes home. Then we sit together and smoke, and I say to him, "I want to adopt you as a son, and I want to fix up my medicine pipe for you." He will always accept. If he refused, others would hear about it and say bad things about him.

When he agrees, I inquire, "How many of you will be in the family?" He will include the wife, the children, and may even include his small brothers and sisters, until there are probably six of them in all. When all is agreed upon, I tell him that I will give him the pipe many days, usually about a month, later. In the meanwhile I look around for presents and usually get together some good moccasins and leggings for the man, his wife, and their children. Sometimes we have elks' teeth, and we decorate a dress for his wife. If one is not able to get all the things he needs, he goes to his brothers and sisters for help.

796 Four days before I am to give the pipe, I invite all the old men who have these medicine pipes to come to my lodge, and we work together repairing
778 a pipe stem. There is a song that goes with the pipes, and we sing that and
597 burn sweet grass before we open the bundle that contains the stem. Eagle tail feathers of the young eagle [black tips] are then put on the stem, and a red pipe is fitted onto it. The pipe is repaired each time a man is adopted.

796 On the day that the adoption is to take place, all the men having medicine pipes go to the lodge of the man who is adopting the son and dress up in the
597 fine clothes that are to go to the young man. Then all the men go out onto the prairie and make a hole in the ground representing a duck's nest. These men form a circle around the nest, holding their own medicine pipes and singing the songs that go with the pipes. By the time the men return to the village, the young man will be ready with his horses tied to the lodge, one horse for each person going into the adoption ceremonies with him. The pipe medicine people, coming in from the prairie, go directly to the young man's lodge, singing and beating drums all the while. The man doing the adopting goes ahead, carrying the pipe.

When they reach the door of the young man's lodge, all stop singing. One of the men who killed an enemy and destroyed his tepee or had other good luck in war counts his coups; how he charged a tepee, killed all, took the blankets, or whatever his record is. This man goes in first, and all the others follow. They sing and walk around the fireplace once while the man doing the adopting goes to the young man and asks him to stand up and go with him. Other Medicine Pipe men each take a boy or girl of the young man's family

5. See Maximilian, *op. cit.*, pp. 319–21.

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and all go to the place where the dance is to be held. They sing the medicine song as they go. 796

The lodge selected for the dance is the large Okipa lodge, which can be prepared easily for the occasion. There will be at least twelve singers with drums and two dancers, one with a pipe and the other with a rattle. Nearly all the people in the village will come in for at least a few minutes, for everyone is curious to see the clothes the old man will give the young man, and the buffalo horses that he will receive. People must give good clothing and horses, or these people will speak unkindly of them. When the dance is over, the boy's clan and society come in to help him out and bring with them shirts, blankets, and leggings which are piled up before the young man. 597

It is then announced that the person adopted is going to be bathed and dressed by the head of the medicine pipe people. The young man is led to the center of the room, and four bunches of rushes are brought in and placed before him in the form of a square. A dish made of rushes is brought in filled with water, and one of the Medicine Pipe men steps up, counts his coups, and punches a hole through it so that the water runs onto the young man's body. A wildcat's hide is used to dry his body. None of the others in his family are bathed.

Then the young man returns to his seat, and men with blankets held out hide those who are being adopted while they are fitted out in the new clothes. Each is painted with red paint over the mouth, one streak over the nose, and two streaks over the eyes. A fine black-tipped eagle feather is put in the hair of each person adopted; then all are paraded around so that each person there can see them.

Then the horses are led into the lodge. There will be as many horses given as there are people in the family being adopted. The pile of goods brought in by the young man's friends and clan brothers is given out to the men of the Medicine Pipe Society as their pay for helping in the ceremony. When all the things have been passed out, the dancing continues for a while. [431]

After a while the young man says to the adopted father, "Father, come over to my house and rub off my paint."

All the Medicine Pipe men go to the young man's lodge, where there is a feast. The young man is then given the pipe, and his wife is given one ear of yellow corn. The head man of the Medicine Pipe Society makes a motion as though to wash the young man, after which the young man rubs the paint off.

The old man says, "Son, I have given you my pipe. You can adopt four times. After that you can't adopt any more."

We respect these pipes highly, take them with us to war, and pray to them often at such times. We call them medicine pipes because of the powers they have. All the people who have such pipes belong to a society and meet at times to open their bundles and smoke the pipes. We never use them for everyday smoking. 778 597

A man sometimes adopts a daughter, and she, in turn, can adopt a young man and give him a pipe, or she may adopt another woman, whichever she wishes to do. Only the men go out on the prairies to build the nest and sing the Medicine Pipe songs, however. 597

[p. 332 is blank]

Chapter XVII

SUMMARY

•796 773 776 THE ceremonies were highly formalized and were in part organized on an annual basis. The Mandan attributed their creation and appearance on the earth to certain magical acts of the sacred beings who preceded them to prepare the world before creating all the living things. It was believed that the sacred beings protected the people so long as the ceremonies were performed. The Mandan also believed that other peoples created by the same sacred beings in mythological times performed similar ceremonies and that the sacred beings favored those tribes making the most lavish ceremonial display of goods. It was believed that good relations must exist with all the sacred beings. To accomplish this, segments of the total ceremonialism were intrusted to certain individuals or groups of individuals, and the novice was informed that failure to perform the rites in the prescribed manner would bring bad luck.

778 785 Sacred objects were believed to have *xo'pini*, which informants translated as meaning "power." An individual's "power" was said to increase if he fasted frequently, assisted others in the purchase of sacred bundles, or bought tribal bundles. This "power" was consumed when leading war parties, being largely gone at the end of the fourth expedition, when a man was expected to terminate his war expeditions. This "power" was believed to be lost a little at a time in the daily life of crossing rivers, hunting buffaloes, training horses, or performing other hazardous avocations. A man was believed to acquire a great [837] deal of *xo'pini* from the buffaloes when he invited older men to have ceremonial sexual intercourse with a wife, and, by the same token, men frequently refused intercourse when they had partaken in a number of the "walking" ceremonies. Very old people were believed to have less *xopini*, having given most of it away to the younger people, particularly the men, who re-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

quired much "power" to pursue successful war and hunting activities.

A Mandan would say, "I claim no power for myself. I have no power except what my sacred objects have promised me." Children were protected by the parents' bundles until they were old enough to fast.

A young man on his first war expedition usually carried a sacred object from his father's bundle. This practice was repeated until the potency of the son's sacred bundle was established.

Supernatural power was acquired by the purchase of tribal bundles, feasts to tribal bundles, ceremonial sexual license, self-torture, and by showing kindness to the old people. The Mandan also believed that some people were "adopted" by a supernatural being without the novice's knowledge, since some people possessing no important tribal or individual bundles were unusually successful.

Women participating in sexual ceremonialism during the buffalo-calling rites contributed to the husband's supernatural "powers." The writer interviewed a number of women who had "walked with the buffaloes," as the practice is called. All agreed that they sought a good home, a loyal husband who was successful in hunting and warfare, good health, and plenty of food and clothing. They believed that the sexual act was tantamount to intercourse with the buffaloes, who, when placated, sent the herds to the prairies near the villages and promised the warriors success in warfare. Ceremonial sexual intercourse strengthened the marital bonds. It was believed that the buffaloes did all that they promised in dreams. Dreams were easy to get from the buffaloes.

The concept of "power" as a substance was further demonstrated by the manner of handling sacred objects. During the buffalo-calling ceremonies, the men impersonating buffaloes held out their sacred bundles for the women to press to their naked breasts. A woman placed her arms on the "holy man," dragging her arms downward toward the hand holding the bundle as though drawing the sacred powers possessed from the body into the sacred bundle, which was then taken from the buffalo impersonator and held to her breast. By this act it was

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believed that the supernatural powers were transferred to her own body. These supernatural powers were in turn transmitted to her husband in the daily activities of living and working together. Men receiving sacred objects either to own or to hold took them in the same manner but did not hold them to the breast. 778 789

The faith of the Mandan in their sacred objects was unshaken by two severe smallpox epidemics. They speak of these epidemics as unfortunate and explain the impotency of their rites to protect the tribe on the grounds that, when the original ceremonies were introduced into the tribe, the sacred beings made no promise of tribal immunity to the white man's diseases. They believe that the tribe would have been exterminated by their enemies subsequent to the last smallpox epidemic had the ceremonies been abandoned. 778 731

The Mandan sacred bundles fall into two general categories. They are (1) the hereditary tribal bundles and (2) the personal bundles. Of these two groups of bundles, the former played a more significant role in the total ceremonial life and in a large measure set the background for the supernatural experiences which instituted the personal bundles. 778

At this point it would be well to indicate some of the general characteristics of these bundles not indicated in the main body of the report. The Mandan place greatest values on those bundles and ceremonies which traditionally were instituted in very early times. Foremost of these are the Okipa, founded by Lone Man and Hoita, and those Corn ceremonies which were founded by Good Furred Robe. Not only are these two ceremonies considered oldest, but they also involve the greatest number of participants. 778 796

The Okipa was without question the most complicated and colorful ceremony performed in the Northern Plains. According to tradition, the principal officers of the ceremony belonged to the WaxikEna clan. This clan was intrusted with the care and repair of the sacred cedar and other sacred objects appertaining to the ceremony. A male member of that clan occupied the sacred lodge and acted as announcer whenever tribal ceremonies were performed. A man selected one of his own clan to become his son-in-law to perpetuate the lineage in the sacred 778 796 614 428

778 lodge. The principal officer of the Okipa was the Lone Man, who, traditionally, belonged to the WaxikEna clan. The rights
796 to impersonate Lone Man were inherited through the Waxi-
614 kEna clan. A buyer was assisted by his brothers and sisters, who
428 became secondary owners in the bundle. Should the buyer die, a brother was entitled to officiate until a new owner was qualified. When the bundle-owner had no brothers, the sisters' husband was authorized to officiate by performing a ceremonial feast to the bundle until a qualified successor in the clan was se-
[604] lected. The bundle and office passed from a man to his sister's son. A man could sell his rights in the office four times, but few sales were made in later years, since there were two separate bundle lineages representing the two villages built near Fort Clark which were adequate to meet ceremonial needs. In fact, one of these lineages died out shortly after 1837 and was never re-established. The Hoita lineage, though theoretically in the WaxikEna clan, was, in historic times, held temporarily by a member of the Tamisik clan.

778 Although villages were reported to be largely independent ceremonially, they were not entirely so. The three sacred turtle
621 drums were kept by individual members of the WaxikEna clan at Nuptadi Village, one of the east-side villages of the Heart River group, and were borrowed by the other villages when the Okipa was to be performed. In later years when the tribe moved to Fort Clark, these drums were kept at the Upper Village situated near Deapolis. Each village was believed to possess its own complement of officers. There was, however, a certain amount of collaboration between villages when new officers were receiving training.

778 The sacred cedar was erected in each village if the village group had a complete complement of Okipa officers. It was the
621 rule that, whenever a ceremony or organized social event was
361 performed in the summer village, out of respect to Lone Man, whose body was represented by this inclosed post, the group should dance once at this sacred shrine. On these occasions,
[431] gifts of robes or other clothing were placed over the cedar as an
[782] offering to the Lone Man and became the property of the WaxikEna clan. The Mandan considered the entire open-circle area inclosing the sacred cedar sacred also. Even as late as

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1929, informants unwilling to divulge sacred lore were equally 778
unwilling to divulge the arrangement of lodges around this 621
circle. Their explanation was that the area was sacred because 361
they had suffered there during the Okipa, standing at this point in the village when thongs were inserted in their flesh for dragging buffalo skulls, or because so many ceremonies had been performed there. When ceremonies were performed at the winter camps, it was customary to leave goods at the sacred cedar when returning later to the summer village.

Mandan informants disagree relative to the purpose of per- 796
forming the Okipa ceremony. All give a number of reasons; they are: to bring buffaloes to the village; to acquaint young people with the history of the tribe; to give the young men an opportunity to fast. White Calf thought that the principal reason for performing the ceremony was to bring all the gods back so that all the holy beings would be working for the Mandan and not their enemies. He remarked that summer was the season when the gods, particularly the big birds, returned. At this point it is interesting to note that, although a restricted number of officers were intrusted with the direction and performance of this ceremony, on the third day, known as "Everything Comes Back Day," characters represented in the ceremony comprised most of the major bundle-owners of the village.

The person pledging the ceremony was known as the Okipa 796
Maker. The ceremony was considered a "sacred feast to tribal
bundles," and the benefits accruing to the Okipa Maker were 554
comparable to those received when offering a feast to any other sacred bundles. He received a section of a sand-bar willow for his sacred bundle and was entitled to participate in important tribal discussions. There was no clan restriction as to performance. However, only those who had demonstrated bravery and industry were permitted to give the ceremony.

The principal officers of the Okipa were Lone Man and 796
Hoita impersonators and the singers. They received their
rights after undergoing formal training. For new officers, tribal 793
recognition of their authority was given at a ceremonial feast held prior to the performance of the Okipa. Actually, one desiring to participate in the Okipa and being eligible according to the rules of inheritance underwent instruction at an early age,

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796 buying subsidiary rights until, when reaching maturity, he had full knowledge of the ceremony. The teaching of a ceremony by 793 sections characterized the entire ceremonial pattern of the Mandan and constitutes one of the major differences between Mandan and Hidatsa ceremonial training, the latter tribe giving the instruction in its entirety at the time of bundle sale.

796 The Mandan believed that the Okipa began as a simple buffalo dance at a time when the tribe was small and life was 173 simple and that the ceremony grew in complexity as the tribe increased in numbers and complexity. Crows Heart explained that, as new tribal bundles were added, additional impersonators were added for the "Everything Comes Back Day." The changes instituted since the ceremony was described by Catlin and Maximilian were insignificant. The number of singers was reduced to three, and the torture feature was performed outside the ceremonial lodge.

796 It is significant to note that, in spite of the prominent place of agriculture in the Mandan economic life, little recognition was 241 given to agriculture in the "Everything Comes Back Day" of this important ceremony. The Old Woman Who Never Dies was represented together with other holy women by two men dressed as women, and those of one moiety rubbed their wounds with corn meal. Otherwise, little recognition was given to agriculture.

796 The importance of mythology in Mandan ceremonialism should not be minimized.[1] Left to his own resources in describing a ceremony, a Mandan informant invariably introduced the 773 subject by first relating the myth. These myths explain the peculiar topography of the Mandan country with lakes and sloughs to the east, badlands and streams to the west, and the Missouri River dividing the two. These sacred myths even explain the creation of the white men and their cattle on the east bank of the Missouri River, where, in mythological times, they were found to be too weak to survive and were sent back across the ocean. When the writer showed Bear on the Flat fossilized clam shells and wood in coal-bearing beds, he immediately explained their presence in terms of the flood sent by Maniga to

1. Lowie writes: "Several Plains tribes—notably the Hidatsa, Blackfoot, and Arapaho—utilize widespread tales to account for the origin of rituals" (Robert H. Lowie, *Myths and Traditions of the Crow Indians* ["Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXV], p. 8).

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destroy the Mandans. Sacred myths played an important role in the interpretation of situations arising from time to time. First of all, these myths constituted the traditional history of the tribe, and the Mandan were accustomed until a few years ago to return from time to time to these sacred places at and near the Heart River to examine these shrines. My informants often remarked that they would have forgotten many of these stories had they not been able to see for themselves what the older people had explained.[2]

The sacred myths expressed a fundamental pattern of conduct which regulated and to a certain degree regimented the population. The fear of accident or misfortune being ever present, those possessing a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were consulted frequently by those not so well informed. A young man accustomed to consult his elders on important matters was considered wise, and the older people would say, "He will become eminent because he endeavors to regulate his behavior along the line laid down by the sacred things long ago."

The sacred myths established psychological relationships between bundles which to the student of Mandan ceremonialism are otherwise not understandable. In the natives' minds certain bundles are related, and, when a ceremony for one of the bundles of the complex was held, those having bundles believed to be related were expected to attend. The Old Woman Who Never Dies rites will illustrate this point. Since this culture hero formerly cared for her gardens along the Missouri River, the psychological relationship with the Corn Skull bundles is evident. The association of the Bear bundles with this rite become intelligible only when examining the sacred myth in which it is said that she used the grizzly bear for a dog because she was so powerful that all animals were her slaves. Additional information on this point appears in the accounts of the various ceremonies which appear above.

Ceremonies were native dramatizations of the sacred myths. In native theory, the details of the ceremony continued un-

2. Differences in myths and rites now recognized by the older Mandan probably represent cultural differences between villages which become apparent only when the survivors of the Heart River villages united to occupy a single village.

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796 773 changed from generation to generation. When no sacred myth belonged to the ceremony or there were no sacred instructions at the time of the inception of the ceremony, the Mandan believed these ceremonies were borrowed of neighboring tribes. The Adoption Pipe ceremony belonged in this category. The sacred myth enumerated the benefits which would accrue to the tribe and the giver of the ceremony when the rites were performed.

773 602 776 The sacred myths were the basis for an extension of the kinship system to include the world of the supernatural. First Creator was addressed as "very old one," while Lone Man, who assisted him in the creation of the earth, was addressed by persons of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans as "ptawadatodE" or "mother's brother." Those of the opposite moiety addressed him as "father." Sun and Moon were "father" and their sister was "father's sister." Their mother was addressed as "grandmother," a term also used for the various holy women of the ash groves, the field mice, the corn mill, and all female beings present on the earth on the "first day of creation." An individual addressed a sacred being appearing in a dream and not belonging to the category of tribal gods as "father" if a male and "father's sister" if a female.

778 425 428 614 The Mandan system of bundle inheritance shows evidence of change within the last century. Certain bundles and ceremonial rights traditionally inherited through the clan and more specifically from the mother's brother, such as the Okipa belonging to the WaxikEna clan and the Shell Robe bundle of the Prairie Chicken clan, showed a tendency to change to a father-son inheritance of the Hidatsa pattern. The eagle-trapping lodges were still inherited through the clan as late as 1929, but the associated bundles had changed from clan inheritance to father-son inheritance after 1875. The system of inheritance was more flexible than for the Hidatsa, with whom they were intimately associated. At first I was inclined to believe that this greater flexibility was due, in part at least, to the breakdown of the older system, an opinion which I have now abandoned. The Mandan parents often selected their daughters' husbands and gave them preliminary assistance in ceremonial matters. The sons and daughters of a household usually purchased the par-

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778 554 sacred bundles they had acquired, providing, of course, they had been successful in life and had not "kicked the stone." One having repeated bad luck usually put his bundles away and sought new vision experiences. This could not be done with tribal bundles. The only instance on record of an attempt to dispose 425 of a tribal bundle was made by Red Bird in 1838, a year after 778 the smallpox epidemic when he lost a son of smallpox. A son-in-law offered to buy the bundle and received tribal approval of the transfer. Personal bundles were normally taken to the scaffold and hung with the pipe and firearms when the owner died.

•796 In summary, the above report covers the main features of the Mandan ceremonial life so far as it was possible to ascertain. In 178 evaluating the data supplied by informants, the writer gave especial emphasis to the information of those informants whose 114 parents lived in the Nuptadi village which was occupied at Deapolis as a separate Mandan village after the Fort Clark village group had united with the Hidatsa. It was found that the Mandan preserved their ceremonial structure with minor variations after the smallpox epidemic. The clan system and age-grade organization were simplified to meet the new conditions of a reduced population. I have not attempted to indicate cultural borrowing, since a companion report covering details of the Hidatsa social and ceremonial organization is in the process of preparation. So far as the Mandan were concerned, there is little evidence of ceremonial borrowing since 1837, owing in large part, no doubt, to the heavy ceremonial burden inherited from earlier times when the population was materially larger. That the Mandan have played an important role in the growth of Plains culture must be inferred from their central position in the Low Plains, the high development in trade for agricultural products with their nomadic neighbors, and the admitted borrowing by the Hidatsa of many significant elements of their culture.

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223 346 putting the lodge up, finishing the actual building in one day. The next day the leader put the wood pillows on the ground, dug out the fireplace, and placed the stakes at the head of the lodge where the buffalo head belonged. He finished everything up just as in the other drawings I made. After the skull was brought in by the leader, it was placed at the head of the lodge. Then we went out and cut soft grass for bedding. Iron Eyes was the man to stay in the lodge and burn incense, for he was an old man and did not go into any of the pits.

223 Each one of us went out and selected a spot where our pits should be; sometimes two would go together and make one pit. When finished, they would go to another site and make another pit for the other one. That took us two days. Where one had a pit close to a washout or bank, he would carry the dirt and throw it in there. Those on the level would carry the dirt far off and put it in a low pile to make it look as though a ground mole or pocket gopher had dug it up. After a pit was dug, we took the measurements of it for the cover and cut the six sticks for the frame. Buckbrush was tied between the pole frames to make a shield for the grass which was to come next.

The bait's place was at the west side. There were two stakes to hold it down with a crotch on the end of each. Stakes were driven into the ground, and the bait was tied to the two stakes to keep it from being moved by the birds. There was a stake on the inside of the pit in the wall also. The third stake had a crotch, and a strong cord was tied to it and to the bait so that the eagle could not move the bait.

As soon as all the stakes were tied together, to get into the pit, we would take the cover up and drop our things in under it and crawl in feet first. Before going in, the bait was fixed from the outside and the cord dropped down into the pit to be tied to the stake. Then we smoothed the grass covering. We always used six poles for the cover; that way it made the covering strong enough to hold a bird's weight. Some trappers often reported that birds came and fought the decoy if it was too close to the bait, so I always had mine farther off. That was why I never had any trouble catching birds.

223 796 When we had the lodge completed, the leader told us we could go in. We took our firearms up and stood in front of the lodge. The Leader said, "Sitting Owl, you will go in and be the Crack Shot (*mariisakihE*)."[8] He did not know that he would be selected. In fact, none of us knew who would be selected for the different places. Then Charging was told to go in, then Raven Knows Nothing, Bears Arm, and Spotted Weasel, who was selected as the waiter on that side. Then, on the other side Packs Wolf was selected waiter (*ix'-ta-ki*). Blue Stone, Little Crow, Iron Eyes, and Bad Coat went in last.

Each man beginning with the Crack Shot had four sticks, each one representing one of the four eagles, making in all twenty sticks on one side and twenty sticks on the other side. There were no markings on them; they were cut from chokecherry branches. When Wolfs Eyes went out, he had no sticks in front at all. Old Bear also gave each man four sticks which were placed in a row at the altar.

I never knew of offering strips of beaver hides to the stakes, as Crows Heart says, but it may have been in some of the other men's rites. I was out with Old Black Bear, and he was doing a little differently, but White Eagle came and asked me to go home as my folks wanted me. The leader thought

8. Hidatsa language.

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I ought to go back, so I came away. In that trapping, I understood that there were some rules that were somewhat different. If a trapper coming home from his pit stumbles and falls, when he comes back into the lodge, he has to tell it; when he does so, a new name was given him for the time of the trapping. He also changed all their names during the time of trapping and gave them names about bears or eagles. He sold his rights to Stephen Bird, who is still living. 223 796

When everything was completed, the leader burned incense and offered smoke to the buffalo skull and offered sacrifices of calicoes to the skull. That is what we called "Blessing the Lodge." Then we went to our pits. Sitting Owl caught two white tails with black tips. In the evening we went into the lodge. The leader produced a piece of corn ball and called the Crack Shot, who, instead of crawling on his elbow and knees, stooped over and walked to the leader. He received the corn ball, and the leader said, "The Footbone is giving you this corn ball."

The Crack Shot took it and tasted it, saying "Footbone, the bottom of your foot is delicious and sweet." Each one when he came up to the leader in turn said the same thing. Each person had a piece of corn ball in front of him, and the tail feathers of the eagles were given to Crack Shot. He received them and touched the corn ball with them and passed them around until the feathers reached the leader again.

When the leader received the feathers, he again got up and went over to the buffalo skull, saying, "Old Man with Ears Backwards,[9] here are your tail feathers, but they are not yours. Your children wish you to keep these feathers."

Then the waiter went out and called, asking the women to come over to the lodge. All the women came over and sat down close to the entrance. The leader painted himself with red paint on his forehead, cheeks, hands, wrists, and the top of his head. He had a feather back of his head. He represented the Old Black Bear. His rattles were the bear's feet tied together with a long string. When the women came in, the leader and those who were sitting with him sang. The women sang with the men, and Iron Eyes'[10] wife had a little bear's skin on her lap. It was the bear that had been at the altar. When the women came in, the leader gave it to her to lay on her lap and make it dance. Each one of us took our snares from the little sticks on the altar, opened up the loops, and swung them up and down in time with the leader, who was singing a special song. The women sang, and the woman with the bear's skin made it dance in time with the music. We all enjoyed ourselves singing. At the end of each song, we would hold our cords up and pretend to be roping something.

Then this practice was also different from the others I was out with. Any one of the men could make a game trap by setting up posts with braces as a deadfall. The one who finds a red fox or coyote in the trap takes it out, throwing it to one side, and then takes the skin off for the altar. In case there is a boy old enough in camp, he can go out, take the animal, and bring it in. We had one boy along, but he was too young, so they did not have the trap set. They just sang the song that went with it. When the ceremony was going on, there was one song that we danced to when it came up. There was also a spe- 224 223 796

9. Ceremonial name for the buffalo.
10. He owned a complete Mandan Eagle-trapping bundle.

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324 223 796 cial song for the waiter in which he danced alone. The leader's waiter on his side was the main waiter, and the other was an assistant. If the main waiter was absent, the assistant did the work. In the evening the women would bring wood into the camp for the sweathouse.

223 796 When the wind was in the right direction, we went into the pits. That is what we called the good wind. When the wind is from the southwest or northwest, it was considered good to fair wind, but the west was considered the best. The waiter was the first one to be up and around. He would go out and look at the flag. When he saw that the wind was from the right direction, he would say, "The wind is in the right direction." The men would all get out of bed and go to their pits.

The leader would say, "I will help the waiter if he wants to go into his pit. I will stay and do his work."

When the waiter went out to see the flag and the wind was blowing from the other directions, he would come back and report it to the leader by saying, "Leader, the wind is in the wrong direction."

The leader would say to the men, "When you are through eating, go out and hunt." There was a term that they used. Instead of saying morning meal, he would say, "After you are through sitting on it," meaning that the eagle sits on the bait. That was why he used that term. He would use the words, "Go out and throw stones at animals," meaning to hunt game. When the wind was right, we went to our pits. Raven Knows Nothing caught three good eagles with black tips; then we had another meeting the same as before. The women would come, and we would have a good time. The leader would have the men come to him for their corn balls again.

Another time we went to our pits and Packs Wolf caught two with black tips, and then the leader, himself, caught two. They were black tipped also. Those were all the birds caught.

785 796 The night after the catch was made, I asked the Crack Shot (Sitting Owl, Maxoxati clan) to fill up the pipe; he did so and gave it to me. I took the pipe and gave it to the leader, saying, "My leader, take this pipe, for I wish to suffer." He was glad. Beforehand, I had prepared my sticks. I made three of them. The Crack Shot and his helper took me outside close to the lodge by a tree and there they cut my breast on both sides and on the top of my right arm. They fastened the rawhide rope to the sticks, and then I ran around the tree while the ceremony and singing was going on inside the lodge. After all the songs were sung, the same men who tortured me came out and took the rawhide rope off and pulled the sticks out. The sticks were taken in and placed on the altar. Several days after that, Charging was tortured. When I suffered, I had my medicine bundle, the Bear Medicine, that I got from my father, hanging on my right arm. When I suffered, it was like a prayer asking the great spirits to help me to live long in the world, be fortunate in everything I undertook, and have property. I prayed to Black Medicine because Spring Boy and Lodge Boy said that they would turn into that root[11] but that their spirits would go back into the skies and help the people. That was why I prayed to them. The idea of fasting and offering myself this way was so that I might be blessed by the spirits. Then in war I would come out victorious and defeat the enemy.

11. A piece of this root is tied to each snare.

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I told you of the case where a man fasted in a bear's den, and the bear took a hold of him and threw him to one side. This man dreamed that night that the bear came and blessed him and told him that he would be a successful warrior and a brave man. Afterward a son was born to him; the son was Seven Bears. The Assiniboine came with the intention of destroying our village, but Seven Bears was brave. They shot him with arrows and bullets, but they had no effect on him. His horse was shot, but he got on another and came back. He fought the enemy and ran over them; he struck them so that the enemy turned and ran back. Torturing was a part of our prayers, for, whenever one prays, he should fast. In torturing, one will have a dream of a spirit, and that way he is blessed. By doing these things, some of the men got great power from the spirits. Crows Heart once saw that Old White Man's back was full of scars, and Crows Heart asked him how many times he had suffered. Old White Man could not remember; his skin had been pierced so many times. 785 796

The next one to be tortured was Packs Wolf. His suffering was inside of the lodge, where he was fastened to the roof. His feet were off of the ground, and a stick was given to him with which to swing himself. While he was hanging there, the leader sang his songs.

Then several days after that Spotted Weasel whittled four sticks, came back, and made a sweathouse. They ran sticks through his wrist and up to the braces of the sweat lodge, and he was also tortured on the breast. When one is tortured in the sweathouse, the women are not permitted to go into it at any time. The Crack Shot was Sitting Owl, and Spotted Weasel was his son-in-law, so he got another man to act in his place. He asked Raven Knows Nothing to do the torturing. When we went in there, the leader began to pour water on the stones, and we got down low near the ground, but Spotted Weasel could not, being tied up there near the roof. He cried to the spirits; it was a hardship for him to go through, but he did. After that, we went into our pits, but no one caught any more birds, even though we were there over one month.

Now that the sweathouse was made, each one of us got some good dried meat and a whole meat [the large piece stripped off of the length of the animal's back]. We paid the leader, and he took us into the sweat lodge to cleanse all of us. We broke camp and started for home. Bluestone and I, being single, left the others and came ahead.

On the other trips with other men, they would not let the women come into the lodge. I thought that the reason for being unlucky was because they had let the women in. 223 796

I heard that Blue Stone's father, Wood Mouth or Medicine Bird, whipped his wife one day when he was a leader and his men did not have any luck in catching the eagles. By doing that their luck changed from bad to good. They caught many eagles. I do not know if some great spirit told him to do that or not, but I do know that they ordinarily did not do that, for men, women, and children were expected to be kindhearted and not have any ill-feeling toward each other. 562

We did not change pipes but used both red and black stone, depending on the kind the leader had. In early days they did not have the red stone pipes. Then the stone was black, and the pipe was straight without the elbow. The hole was in the end, and the stone fitted in on the inside was called I-go-xE'. 276 796

In the ceremony they used a special medicine pipe taken from the bundles.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

leaned against them. We were not allowed to shoot or throw stones at any kind of birds. Nor were we allowed to sing other than the songs that went with the trapping. The leader tied pieces of calico to ash trees as offering to the Holy Women and told the new members that the region back of the lodge or west was holy ground as the birds came from that direction.

Then we did the "Tied" ceremony, meaning marking the corners of the new pits so that they were square and deep enough to be over one's head when sitting up in them. On the side wall a hole was dug like a small shelf and a stone was put in it. The stone is called Baby Stone, for the eagles were considered sacred. The stone was used as a shield, and, when one catches an eagle and wishes to kill it in the pit, instead of using the words "kill it" we said "put it to sleep" and took the stone down and placed it between the eagles wings, took the cord tied around its neck, and pulled the cord back, and that way broke the neck.

The bears were the first ones to trap eagles; there are two different stories about eagle-trapping. The leader goes in and blesses the lodge and prays to the spirits. When they first learned of eagle-trapping, the bear was doing this. He had a cord and spread it out, opening it, and said, "All are caught." It was because the bears prayed that prayers had to be offered to the spirits to whom the bears prayed.

There must have been a great difference in the ceremonies once, since the stone is called "Tied" and also "Sleep Stone."

When our leader saw that all was ready, he said, "We must go in." He named Little Bull to be the Crack Shot and go in first; then he named Holding Eagle to sit next to the Crack Shot; then Wolfs Eyes went in and took his place at the head of the lodge; then the helper, Big Walk, went in. Whatever the leader does in singing and praying, the man sitting next to him is expected to give him assistance. The leader and his helper are the ones to offer prayers and do the singing, while the Crack Shot and the man next to him work together too. Their duty is to torture the men. Then the other men came in on both sides and took their places. Then there were two waiters selected by the leader. They were not named, nor is anyone named until the lodge is completed and ready to move in.

No excuses are allowed. When the leader says, "I select you as a waiter," one has no right to refuse. After this, we went in and took our places. The leader said, "Waiter, burn some incense," and, while the waiter burned it, the leader took his sacred articles out and held them in the smoke. He held up the cord, and while he was singing the song to the snares he made a motion as of throwing the loop to catch something. He did that three times, and the fourth time the Crack Shot jumped up and took the snare, saying, "Leader, you have snared everything; you have roped everything north, south, west, and east," meaning that then he had everything in the world caught in his snare.

There are many songs[12] to be sung by the leader and his helper. After he sings these songs, there is a special song for the waiter, who gets up and dances with the cord, making the sign of throwing the loop to catch something. Then, one of the men who is not married would say, "Waiter, I feel someone at my back."

Then the waiter looked and said, "There is a very handsome woman back

12. See Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 69–80.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 of you; it is an A-ci-ra'-wi'-a," meaning really a bear woman, for the origin was
796 from the bears.

In early days when young men went out this way, the single girls would
224 marry some of them before they left and then go out there. The women would
462 prepare the meat from the mountain sheep and work on the hides while the men trapped. To secure these fine hides, women would marry a single man in order to get a chance to go out there.

The pits being dug, early the next morning we got up without having any
223 breakfast and went to our pits. Some of the pits were old ones, but several
796 new ones were made. Sometimes there would be two pits together, and then they would fix the last pit up and go into it. For their baits some had blood stored away while others had jackrabbits. Others had a hide fixed up so that it looked like some animal. Water was mixed with the dry blood and put on the bait. In the evening each man came out, and those who did not catch anything came home quietly, while those who had caught eagles would come in crying. When they heard someone come crying, the waiter would burn incense as the man with the eagle came into camp.

Eagle-trapping is called "Tied," when persons catching eagles are to kill them in the pit before bringing them to the lodge. The first man who came in that day was Little Bull. He had two birds with black tips. White Body was burning the incense. In case both the waiters were away, the leader would burn the incense himself. The next man who came in was Holding Eagle, and he had two birds with black tips. Black Bear caught two also. The saying is that, where you catch two eagles, they are a brother and a sister, for they travel together. These birds were all killed in the pit. The birds were brought in and placed at the head of the lodge in a row. The tails were brought in and placed on the buffalo head, each man keeping track of his own feathers.

The next day my brother, Little Bull, took me along, and we went into his
223 pit. He caught four that day, and, when the fifth had landed on the bait, he
777 told me to catch it by the feet, which I did. He helped me pull the bird down into the pit. He took me along to show me how to catch the birds. The next time he went out he caught three more, which made ten in all that he had caught. Three warbonnets could be made of them, and he had one tail extra. The leader said to him, "That is enough; you must not go out any more, or you will have bad luck." After that Little Bull did not go out any more.

223 The second time Holding Eagle went out he caught three, and the third time he caught two, so that he had seven. Black Bear caught two the first time, three the second time, and two the third time, making seven for him. Lance Owner did not have any luck in his pit, so he was advised to go into Little Bull's pit, where he caught two. Little Crow did not catch anything in his pit, so he was also told to go into Little Bull's pit, and he caught two there. Sitting Woman caught three; White Body did not catch any. Wolfs Eyes and his helper did not trap.

All these birds were killed in the pit, each trapper having a Baby Stone in
223 his hole. While facing east, they broke the birds' necks, and in that way the
796 spirits of the birds would return to their spirit home down the river.

There are two ways of trapping eagles. This time we followed the ceremony called "Tied" which originated with the black bear. The other way was the real eagle-trapping and in that ceremony they had ways that were different from the ceremony Wolfs Eyes used. In the other ceremony if a trapper fell down and tells the leader about it, his named is changed. This time we did

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

not even get names when we began trapping. One morning the leader woke us and said, "There is water coming down," so we had to stop trapping. The bodies of the eagles were taken to the east side of the lodge and put on the ground. Then we all went back and ran toward the dead eagles and shot over them and then struck them. The eagles represented our enemies. That was why we had to do that. Then we broke camp and started for home. The birds had been put about two hundred yards from the medicine lodge. We cut the wings off, pulled the light feathers out, and left the bodies there. When we got back to the village the leader collected all the tails and went through a little ceremony to send the spirits of the eagles away. Sometimes they did that in the camp, but when we had to hurry, as in this case, for slush ice was forming in the river, we did it at the village. Sending the spirits away was done by making a feast and paying the leader to put on the sweat-lodge ceremony. He offered prayers to the birds and bears, asking the spirits of the birds to go away. Then he beat on a hide, and each one in the village, especially men, stood by their doors making much noise and pounding on the hide covering of the door. Then he took all those who were out trapping with him into the sweat lodge where they were cleansed by having water sprinkled on them.

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[p. 394 is blank]

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

sions of this story. None of the Caddoan Poor Boy stories have been found in the Mandan, but this may be due to the limited extent of Maximilian's collection. It can only be said that the Mandan myths so far as known seem to be about an equal mixture of north and south plains types. 773 171

CEREMONIALS:—The Mandan dance system seems to have been rather complicated, and in it are found again the two conflicting influences. In one case the origin of the dances is said to have been due to Ochkih-Hedde, the evil spirit. Again the First Chief who led them out of the ground is said to have arranged all their dances, and the Okeepa, according to Catlin, was instituted by the First Man. There were two sorts of dances; first those in which it appears that anyone could take part, and secondly those belonging to the different societies previously referred to.* Of the first kind there were four principal ones, and of these the Buffalo dance and the Scalp dance, although not the most important, were most frequently danced and were practically identical with the same dances of other plains tribes; the Scalp dance was performed by those related to persons with newly acquired coups. The Buffalo dances were of two types. One was for the purpose of getting the good will of influential men and is described by Henry and Catlin. This dance had several obscene features. The other Buffalo dance was danced by the men in relays wearing a buffalo head and its purpose was to bring the buffalo in time of need. 535 796

The other two dances deserve more particular mention. Catlin says of all these dances,[1] "Every dance has its peculiar step and song." The songs were understood only by the medicine men and required much application and study. Candidates paid to learn them. This applies particularly to the Okeepa which is the best-known dance of the Mandans. No description is necessary as Catlin has given two very full ones and Maximilian has also given a good account of it. The Okeepa was performed once a year as a rule and nearly every inhabitant of the village had some part to play in it. It lasted four days, and in all the dances, dance groups and ceremonial

[1] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 126.

* [Cf. pp. 129-561, cat. 116 — Analyst]

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

535 796 objects, they kept a careful observance of the number four and its multiples. The Okeepa appears to have been quite different from the usual sun-dance ceremonies, although the sun-dance observance formed a part of it. Catlin says that no other nation had such a dance, although many had features of it in their own dances. In some respects it seems to show a rather remarkable similarity to some of the dances of the Pueblo region and very possibly some of these features were transmitted from there through the southern plains tribes. The resemblance is in small details such as the decorating of the ark with willow branches which is much like the preparation of the kisi. Communication with old villages underground was supposed to be established by pounding on the ark, as it was among the southwestern dancers by stepping on the sipapu. From the description of the sacred object in the center of the Mandan altar, it seems to have been something like the Pueblo squash blossoms. Lastly the story of the visit of the First Man to the whites and his institution of the Okeepa, after having escaped them, is much like the origin story of the Pueblo Snake and Antelope Dance. The most peculiar feature of the ceremony was the connection which it had with the flood myth; the ark was supposed to be a copy of the tower in which the Mandans were saved from the flood. It formed the center in all the different parts of the ceremony. The Okeepa had features which have been ascribed by Maximilian to the influence of early missionaries.

535 796 241 The second of these dances was the Corn Dance and this was doubtless of Caddo origin. This dance was danced to the Old Woman Who Never Dies by the old women of the village for whom a number of old men furnished the music. Each old woman carried an ear of corn on the end of a stick and the ceremony was intended to consecrate this corn. After the consecration the corn was distributed, a few grains to each family, by whom it was mixed with the seed corn for spring planting. The ceremony took place when the representatives of The Old Woman Who Never Dies — the water birds — returned north, and a quantity of dried meat was hung up on the scaffolds as a sacrifice. After the dance this dried meat

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

became the property of the dancers. Another corn dance was held in the fall, but Maximilian tells us that the purpose of this one was to bring the buffalo. In this dance each woman carried a whole stalk of corn—the corn was called by the name of the water bird which represented it, and a prayer was made to the Old Woman Who Never Dies through these birds. The birds going south were supposed to carry these prayers to their mistress, and in this dance each old woman made a sacrifice of some valuable article. The elements of the corn dance agree in most particulars with those of the Pawnee and southern plains tribes.

535 796 241 [171] 764

BURIAL:—In their burial customs the Mandans show close analogy with the Sioux. Their cemeteries were usually only two hundred to three hundred paces from the palisade and consisted of a number of scaffolds on which the dead were placed. These scaffolds were made on four posts about twelve feet high, the length of the rectangle being about six feet. Across the posts willow rods, just strong enough to support the body, were placed.[1] When a person died he was left in the village but a very short time; the face was painted red, the body was oiled, dressed in the finest clothes and wrapped in a green buffalo skin or at a later period in a piece of cloth. The whole was then tightly wrapped with thongs of rawhide from head to foot. Then other robes were soaked in water and tightly wrapped and tied around the body. After this the corpse was immediately carried out and placed on the scaffold together with a bow and quiver, shield, pipe and tobacco, knife, flint and steel and provisions for several days. In case of a child, it was wrapped up in a small bundle which was tied to the scaffold by a cloth or hide. Catlin says the bodies were placed with their feet to the rising sun. Maximilian says the face was turned to the east.[2] Lewis and Clarke[3] give an account of a different sort of burial which must have been of rare occurrence for we find no mention of anything of the sort elsewhere. It is as follows: "An old man . . . . . one hundred and twenty winters old, he requested his grand Children to Dress him after Death, & Set him on a Stone on a hill, with his

[1] Catlin; vol. I, p. 89. [2] Op. cit., p. 479. [3] Feb. 20, 1805.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17
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sown in order to enhance its fertility. The food on the rack fell to the old women's share because they represented Old-woman-who-never-dies, but frequently some members of the Dog society appeared and appropriated large portions of the meat (see p. 288).

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The autumn ceremony was celebrated in order to attract the buffalo herds. Then the women performers did not carry corncobs on sticks, but entire corn plants. Both the corn and the birds symbolizing the plants were called by the name of the female deity, and addressed in prayer as the women's mother. They were requested to pity the suppliants, to postpone a severe cold, and prevent the game from moving away lest the people should be in want of food. When the birds in question began their migration southward, or, as the Indians believed, returned to Old-woman-who-never-dies, they were supposed to take with them gifts suspended for that deity outside the village, – more particularly the dried meat, which Old-woman was believed to eat herself. Some poor women unable to make other offerings would wrap up and suspend the foot of a buffalo, but these gifts were even more acceptable to the deity than any of the others.[1]

While it is impossible to speak with assurance on this point, we can readily understand how the Goose society might have become secondarily associated with a corn ceremony when we recollect the identification of the wild geese with corn and Old-woman-who-never-dies.

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It is evident that the Goose society is of a distinctly more religious character than either the Skunk or the Enemy society. According to Buffalo-bird-woman, the Goose ceremony shared a feature with the ceremonies of two other sacred women's societies of the Mandan, viz. a final brushing-off of the performers to divest them of their sacred character (see pp. 343, 344). My informant added that there are worms in the corn and that these might have got into the performers' bodies unless they had been brushed off.

Old Women Society.

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The Old Women society (kā'ru parū'wa+ī'r) is said to have been an Hidatsa institution, and Buffalo-bird-woman was the only informant that described it in this connection. Though she mentioned it in the same breath with the other women's societies and explained how it helped "friendly" groups, it was clearly one of the totally different unions of people performing sacred bundle ceremonies. It seems that membership was

[1] Maximilian, II, 182–184.

600 at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote. One of their
771 chiefs never smoked out of a stone pipe, but always used a wooden one. Mato-Topé never
778 partook of other people's tobacco, but always smoked by himself, with the doors shut. They
276 do not willingly show their medicines or amulets, which are usually kept wrapped up in a bundle or bag, and never opened except on important occasions. They have particular medicine pipes, or, as the English call them, medicine stems, which are uncovered and used for smoking only on solemn occasions. Many make such pipes according to their own taste; such, for instance, was the pipe of Dipauch (Plate XXI. fig. 3). The bowl was nearly in the form of a Turkish pipe, and was made of brownish-red clay; the tube, which was rather short and thick, represented the lord of life in human form, but which it required some stretch of the imagination to discover. The nation preserves a celebrated pipe of this kind as a sacred relic, which no stranger is permitted to see. It has been in their possession since remote ages, and they offered to show it to me
435 for the value of 100 dollars. The Indians cannot obtain such pipes but at a considerable expense:
439 many of the necessary ornaments are not to be procured among them, such as the upper bill and the red crown of a species of woodpecker (*Picus pileatus*, Linn.), a bird which is not found so high up the Missouri. For the head of one of these woodpeckers, which was brought from St. Louis, they gave a large handsome buffalo robe, worth six or eight dollars. If a man pos-
597 sesses such a pipe, he sometimes conceives the idea of adopting a medicine son. The young man
796 whom he is to choose appears to him in a dream; it is, however, requisite that he should be of a
171 good family, or have performed some exploit. He acquaints him with his intention, and, after having provided two similar medicine pipes, he asks his newly-adopted son, whether he is ready to undergo the ceremony of the pipes? The latter frequently answers in the affirmative, and the time for the ceremony is fixed: but, if he has not yet made up his mind, it is deferred. The adoptive father then chooses two young men, who practise the medicine dance together, with the two pipes in their hands. The father often dances, in the morning, on the roof of his hut, and instructs these two young men. When the time arrives, and the adopted son is ready for the ceremony, the father, with all his relations, and the two young dancers, repairs to the hut of his newly-chosen son, and brings him a present of maize, cloth, blankets, kettles, and other valuable articles. The father takes his son by the hand and makes him sit down, after which the company dance round him, with the two pipes; they sing, accompanied by the drum and schischikué, the two young dancers keeping time to the music with their pipes. When the ceremony is over, and the presents laid in one or two heaps, the relations of the medicine son bring horses, cloth, blankets, and other things of value, which the two parties reciprocally divide between them. The father then again takes his son by the hand, makes him rise from his seat, and dresses him in new clothes from head to foot, and likewise paints his face according to his fancy. The dress and pipe are henceforth his property, and he is considered as a real son, who must support and defend his father.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

This custom exists among most of the nations on the Missouri, and even among the Esquimaux there is a somewhat similar usage. If the adopted son and father have not happened to meet for a long time, they make presents to each other; the father gives the son a new dress, and the latter presents him with a good horse. Among all the Indian nations of North America, there is a particular class of men, who are specially engaged in all the above-mentioned ceremonies and medicines. They are, also, the physicians, and are called, among the Mandans, Numak-Choppenih, which signifies medicine man.

The skin of a white buffalo cow is an important article, and an eminent medicine in the opinion of the Mandans and Manitaries. He who has never possessed one of them is not respected. Suppose two men to be disputing about their exploits, the one an old veteran warrior, who has slain many enemies, the other, a young lad without experience; the latter reproaches the other with never having possessed a white buffalo cow hide, on which the old man droops his head, and covers his face for shame. He who possesses such a hide generally offers it to the lord of life, to whom he dedicates it, or, which is equivalent, to the sun, or to the first man. He collects, perhaps, in the course of a whole twelvemonth, various articles of value, and then hangs them up all together on a high pole in the open prairie, generally in the neighbourhood of the burying-place, or in the village before his hut. Distinguished men and chiefs of eminence are for the most part poor, because, in order to gain reputation and influence, they give away everything of value which they possess. A large number of relatives is one of the chief means of acquiring riches, for a young man who wishes to distinguish himself, and to be liberal, does honour to the whole family, who assist him to the utmost of their power. When one of his relations has anything of value, the young man goes to the owner to demand it, and not unfrequently takes it away without ceremony. Sometimes he hangs his head in silence, and then something of value is given him, a handsome dress, a horse, &c. If he wishes to gain reputation and a claim to distinction, it is necessary that he should make presents. All the people in the village notice very accurately what presents are made, and the donor has a right to display all such presents painted on his robes, and in this manner to hand down his reputation to posterity, as has been already related. This and military glory are, in the eyes of these men, the greatest virtues. They dare not draw a stroke too much on their robes for the horses, guns, &c., which they have given away, for the young men keep a most strict account against each other, and universal ridicule would be the immediate consequence of violating this rule. Among the distinctions of any man, the white buffalo hide is the greatest. He who has not been so fortunate as to kill a white buffalo himself, which is generally the case, as these animals are very rare, purchases a hide, often at a great distance from home, and other nations bring them hither, being well aware of the great value attached to them by the Mandans. The hide must be that of a young cow, not above two years old, and be taken off complete and tanned, with the horns,

778 nose, hoofs, and tail. The value of ten to fifteen horses is given for it. A certain Mandan gave
281 ten horses, a gun, some kettles, and other articles, for such a hide. The white hide of a bull or
[435] of an old cow is by no means so valuable. The white hide of a young cow suffices for all the daughters of a family. They do not wear it as a robe, like the Manitaries, or, at the utmost, the wife, or one of the daughters of the family, wears it once at some great festival, but never a second
796 time. The Mandans have particular ceremonies at the dedication of the hide. As soon as they have obtained it they engage an eminent medicine man, who must throw it over him; he then walks round the village in the apparent direction of the sun's course, and sings a medicine song. When the owner, after collecting articles of value for three or four years, desires to offer his treasure to the lord of life, or to the first man, he rolls it up, after adding some wormwood or a head of maize, and the skin then remains suspended on a high pole till it rots away. At the time of my visit there was such an offering at Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, near the stages for the dead without the village. Sometimes, when the ceremony of dedication is finished, the hide is cut into small strips, and the members of the family wear parts of it tied over the head, or across the
554 forehead, when they are in full dress. If a Mandan kills a young white buffalo cow, it is
224 accounted to him as more than an exploit, or having killed an enemy. He does not cut up the animal himself, but employs another man, to whom he gives a horse for his trouble. He alone who has killed such an animal is allowed to wear a narrow strip of the skin in his ears. The whole robe is not ornamented, being esteemed superior to any other dress, however fine. The
[435] traders have, sometimes, sold such hides to the Indians, who gave them as many as sixty other
[136] robes in exchange. Buffalo skins with white spots are likewise highly valued by the Mandans; but there is a race of these animals with very soft silky hair, which has a beautiful gold lustre when in the sunshine: these are, likewise, highly prized, and sold for ten or fifteen dollars, and,
778 sometimes, for the value of a horse. Besides the white buffalo skins which are offered in sacrifice and hung on poles, there are, in the vicinity of the villages of the Mandans and Manitaries, other strange figures on high poles, as represented in Plate XXV. These figures are composed of skin, grass, and twigs, which, it seems, represent the sun and moon, perhaps, also, the lord of life, and the first man. The Indians resort to them when they wish to petition for anything, and sometimes howl and lament for days and weeks together.

796 The Mandans have several medicine festivals, of which the Okippe, or the penitential ceremony of the ark, is by far the most remarkable. It is celebrated in the spring or summer, and I regret to say that I cannot describe it as an eye-witness. I am, however, enabled to give a circumstantial description of it, word for word, as it was communicated to me by men initiated in the mysteries of the nation.*

* The author refers to a letter on this subject, written by Mr. Catlin, and published in a New York paper; but this is by no means so complete as that given in his valuable work published last year.—*Translator's Note.*

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Numank-Machana, the first man, ordered the Numangkake to celebrate this medicine feast every year. When the village has fixed the time for this festivity, they choose a man of distinction, in whom confidence can be placed, who must put himself at the head, and direct the solemnities. In the year 1834 Mato-Topé was chosen. He is called Kani-Sachka. This man then causes the medicine lodge to be prepared and cleaned before the appointed time, and wood and other necessaries to be provided. 796

First day of the Okippe.—At sunset the Kani-Sachka goes into the lodge, and begins the fast, which continues four days. With him are six men, who are to strike what is called the tortoise, a vessel or sack made of parchment, and filled with water. Three of the men must strike in the direction of the river downwards, and three in the direction upwards. They strike the tortoise during the whole night. Before sunrise a man representing the Numank-Machana, or the first man, arrives. He dresses himself in the medicine lodge in the following manner: round his body he fastens a wolf's skin, on his head, raven's feathers, in his arms he carries the medicine pipe, and in his robe a portion of pemmican. His face is painted red, and on the small of the back he binds a piece of wood, to which the tail of a buffalo cow is fastened. Dressed in this manner, he goes early in the morning of the first day of the festival, and sings on the open space in the centre. All kinds of valuable articles, such as guns, robes, blankets, &c., are thrown towards him, of which he afterwards takes possession, while on his part he distributes pemmican among the people. He then returns to the medicine lodge, but is not at that time permitted to speak a word. The most eminent men of the nation now come to the lodge, address the first man as their uncle, and say, "Well, uncle, how did you fare in the villages? How did you find them? Were you well received?" To which he replies, "Very well, nephew. I have not once lowered my pipe to the ground." By which he means to say that he has received ample presents, and offerings of all kinds have been hung upon his pipe. He then says, "I have seen a great many buffaloes feeding in the prairie and drinking at the river; they are very abundant everywhere." These were the horses; but he means to intimate that, by the medicine of this day, the buffaloes will be attracted in great numbers. All those who intend to submit their bodies to a penance or certain tortures, in order to render themselves acceptable to the lord of life and the first man, come to the medicine lodge early in the morning. Their number is, of course, uncertain; sometimes many present themselves, at other times only a few. They are smeared all over with white clay, with no other covering besides their robes, with the hairy side outwards, and drawn over their heads, so that the face is covered, and they are quite wrapped up in them. In the medicine lodge they lay aside their robes. On the first day of the feast they go four times, wrapped up as before described, and dance around the ark, which stands in the centre of the open space. The Kani-Sachka remains during all this time mounting and leaning against the ark. All

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796 this is done in the forenoon. In the afternoon all is silent, and neither dance nor procession takes place.

Second day of the Okippe.—On the second day, early in the morning, eight men appear, who represent buffalo bulls. They are naked, wearing only an apron of blue and white striped woollen cloth. Their body is painted black in front, with two red perpendicular stripes like the facings of a military uniform, and with several white transverse stripes looking like lace or bands. The fore arm and ankles are alternately striped white and red. In their hands they carry a fan of green willow twigs, and on their back a buffalo robe, the head of which, with the long hair on the forehead, hangs over the face. To the middle of the robe a single buffalo horn is fastened, while at the head and loins green willow branches are appended. The eight buffalo bulls put on this fantastic dress in the lodge, and, when this is done, march out two abreast in an inclined posture, extending their robes with outspread hands, and holding the willow fans upright. In this manner they dance up to the ark, where they divide, four going to the left and four to the right round the space. They again join opposite the medicine lodge, and then return as before to the ark, where they continue to dance. When they are opposite to each other they stand upright and imitate the roaring of the buffalo. As soon as this dance begins, the six tortoise strikers bring their instrument from the centre of the lodge, and place it near the ark in an easterly direction, striking it, and singing a certain song which is said to be a prayer. The Kani-Sachka stands, with his head bowed, leaning on the ark, directly opposite the tortoise, and moans without ceasing. He is quite naked except an apron of buffalo skin. His whole body is bedaubed with yellow, and on his forehead he has a wreath of bleached buffalo hair or wool hanging over the eyes. The eight buffalo bulls form a ring and dance round him, covering him with their robes; they dance in like manner to the tortoise, and next go to the door of the medicine lodge, where they make a kind of covered way with their robes, beneath which the tortoise is conveyed into the lodge. The whole ceremony is repeated eight times on this day, four times in the morning and four times in the afternoon.

Third day of the Okippe.—The same masks as yesterday dance on this day twelve times, and are prohibited from either eating or drinking. A number of other masks join them. 1, Two men, dressed like women, who dance in this costume, keeping by the side of the eight buffalo bulls. They wear clothes of bighorn leather, women's leggins (mitasses), the robes having the hair outwards. Their cheeks are painted red, their chins tattooed, and their heads adorned with glass beads, as is the custom among the women. 2. Two other men represent a couple of swans; they are naked, carry a swan's tail in their hand, are painted all over white, only the nose, mouth (representing the bill), and the lower part of the legs and feet, black. 3. A couple of rattlesnakes; the back is painted with black transverse stripes, in imitation of those

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animals, the front of the body yellowish; a black line is drawn from each eye down the cheeks, and in each hand they carry a bunch of wormwood. 4. One man represents the evil spirit; he is conducted by two men of the village to the river, where he is dressed and painted; his entire body is painted black, and, as soon as this is done, he is not permitted to speak a word. They put on his head a cap, with a black cock's-comb; he likewise wears a mask, with white wooden rings left for the opening round the eyes. They then make for him large teeth of cotton yarn, paint the sun upon his stomach, the crescent upon his back, and on each joint of the arms and legs, a white circle; they then put on a buffalo's tail, and place a small stick in his hand, with a ball, made of skin, at the end, to which a scalp, painted red on the under side, is fastened. The ball represents the head of an enemy. When this monster is completed, they let him loose, and he runs, like one possessed, about the prairie, comes into the village, gets upon the huts, one after the other, and prys into every corner, while the inhabitants throw out to him all kinds of valuable articles as presents. As soon as he perceives this he turns towards the sun, and intimates to it, by signs, how well he is treated, and that it is foolish of it (the sun) to keep at so great a distance. He goes about and looks on the people's heads for vermin, and, if he finds any, he pretends to be very happy, and runs about with great rapidity. The Indians are very much afraid of the devil, for which reason this part cannot be assigned to anybody; but he who wishes to perform it must offer himself. My informant added that this medicine feast was once celebrated on the banks of Heart River, where the Mandans then resided, and the man who had undertaken this part was conducted into the river. When his clothes were taken off, in order to paint and dress him, he appeared very uneasy, and required to be let loose; and when this was done he seemed as one possessed by the evil spirit, and ran, with the velocity of an arrow, on the hills and about the plain. His two attendants were alarmed, and pursued him to the village, but the new demon darted past them, leaped over the high fence of the village, jumped down into the huts, and again made his egress, and then ran to the river; this now convinced them that he was possessed. It cost the inhabitants much trouble to catch and wash him, but he trembled like an aspen leaf, wrapped himself in his robe, and continued in this condition for the remainder of his life without ever speaking a word.* While the devil is walking about, the other masks continue dancing, and

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* When some Indians that for three or four days together, they dream very frequently of the devil, and, in this case, they believe that they have not long to live. The narrator had once fasted for a long time at this festival, and suffered himself to be hung up by the back. During the night he dreamed of the devil, who appeared far more frightful and taller than he could ever be represented. His phiz of features reached to the clouds, and he ran about as quick as lightning. On several other occasions he dreamed of this devil, but now he is resolved not to fast any more, that he might not die prematurely. He added, that he had often looked without apprehension, and with pleasure, on the mask representing the devil; but he now regarded the matter in a different light, for, the more he thought of him, the taller and the more frightful did he appear to him, and, under these circumstances, the spirit had been very near him, and, if he had but once touched him, he certainly should have been dead already.

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796 act in conformity with their parts, endeavouring to imitate the natural attitudes of the animals they represent. 5. Two men, representing white-headed eagles, are painted of a dark brown colour; the head, neck, fore arm and hands, and the lower part of the legs, are white; they carry a stick in their hands, and their business is to pursue the antelopes. 6. Are two beavers; they wear the robe with the hairy side outwards, have a piece of parchment, resembling a beaver's tail, fastened to their girdle, and are painted brown. 7. Are two birds of prey; their shoulders are blue, the breast yellowish and spotted; they have feathers on their heads, and the feet of birds of prey in their hands. 8. Are two or four bears (mato), wrapped in bears' skins, with the head and claws, which cover their head and their whole body; they generally walk in a stooping attitude about the dancers, and growl like those animals. 9. Two men represent the dried meat, which is cut in small stripe. They wear a cap of white hare skin; their body is painted with zig-zag stripes; round the waist they have a girdle of green boughs, and they dance with the others. 10. Forty or fifty Indians of different ages perform the part of antelopes; they are painted red on the back, the rest of the body and limbs are white, the nose and mouth black; they carry small sticks, and run about very swiftly. 11. Two men personate the night; they are naked, painted quite black, with white stars; on their backs they have the setting moon, and on their breast the rising sun; they are not allowed to sit, during the whole day, till the sun has set: they then sit down and must not rise till the next morning. 12. Are one or two wolves; they are painted white, wear a wolf's skin, and pursue the antelopes, which fly before them: if they catch one, the bears come and take it from them and devour it. All these animals imitate the originals to the best of their power. 13. Two prairie wolves; the tops of their heads are painted white, their faces yellowish-brown; they wear dry herbs in their hair, and carry in their hands a stick, painted with reddish-brown stripes, and run in the prairie before the other animals when they leave the village. Almost all these animals are said to have different songs, with words, which the uninitiated do not understand; they sometimes practise these songs for a whole summer, and are frequently obliged to pay a high price for instruction. Originally there were only ten masks at this festival. The white-headed eagles, the beavers, and the prairie wolves, are a modern addition, and no part of the true ancient observances of it. When all these animals come together they fight with each other, and perform all sorts of antics. Every animal acts according to its natural character; the beavers strike with their tails, making a loud clapping noise; the buffaloes roll and wallow in the sand; the bears strike with their paws, &c.

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796 785 304 During all these masquerade dances, the penitents have remained three entire days in the medicine lodge, where they have fasted and thirsted, sitting perfectly still and quiet. On the afternoon of that day, the persons of the ten masks also meet in the medicine lodge, and all together then leave this place. The penitents lie down on their bellies, in a circle round the ark, at some distance from it; the masks dance among them and over them, to the sound of

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the schischikué. Some already begin to suffer the tortures: they give a gun, a blanket, or some other article of value, to an eminent person, to inflict the tortures on them. During this time the Kani-Sachka has been moaning, and leaning on the ark. The tortures of the penitents now begin. In many of them strips of skin and flesh are cut from the breast, or the arms, and on the back, but in such a manner that they remain fast at both ends. A strap is then passed under them, and the sufferers are thrown over the declivity of the bank, where they remain suspended in the air; others have a strap drawn through the wound, to which the head of a buffalo is fastened, and they are obliged to drag this heavy weight about; others have themselves suspended by the muscles of the back; others have joints of their fingers cut off; others, again, are lifted up by the flesh, which is cut across the stomach, or have some heavy body suspended to the muscles, which have been cut and loosened, and other similar tortures. Those who have been tortured on this day return directly to their huts; but those who can bear to fast longer do not submit themselves to the torture till the fourth day.

Fourth day of the Okippe.—All those who have endured fasting for four days are now assembled in the medicine lodge. Such as feel themselves faint beg that the dancing may begin early. Accordingly, the masquerade, and the dances performed yesterday, begin at daybreak. They dance on this day sixteen times—eight times in the morning, and eight times in the afternoon. The candidates for the torture are cut about two o'clock in the afternoon; and when they have suffered to the utmost of their power, a large circle is formed; two men, who have no part in the festival, take one of the penitents between them, hold him by the hand, and the whole circle moves round with the greatest rapidity. The Kani-Sachka is likewise treated in this manner. The famished and tortured penitents, for the most part, soon fall down, and many faint away, but no regard is paid to this; they are dragged and pulled about as long as they can possibly bear it; they are then let loose, and remain stretched on the ground as if dead. The eight buffalo bulls now come forward to execute their last dance. Meantime, Numank-Machana (the first man) stands on one side of the place, and invites the inhabitants to assemble. The men come on foot and on horseback, with their bows and arrows: the arrows are adorned with green leaves at the wooden points; and, when the eight buffaloes have approached, dancing, the first man, and been repulsed by him, they are shot at from all sides, fall, roll on the ground, and then lie still as if dead. The first man then invites the inhabitants to take the flesh of the buffaloes. The latter, whose robes have already fallen off, rise, and retire into the medicine lodge. Then the dancers divide into two parties, extend their arms and legs, strike themselves on the stomach, exclaiming that they feel themselves strong; some, that they will kill enemies; others, that they will slay many buffaloes, &c. They then retire, take food, and rest themselves, and the festival is concluded.

The wounds that have been inflicted on this occasion are now healed, but they remain visible

796 785 304 during the whole life, like thick swollen weals. This is to be observed in a much higher degree among the Manitaries than among the Mandans; the former seem to submit to much more severe tortures. The buffalo skulls, which these Indians have dragged about with much pain, are preserved in their huts, where they are everywhere to be seen, to be handed down from the father to the children. Many such heads are looked upon by them as medicine; they are kept in the huts, and sometimes the Indians stroke them over the nose, and set food before them. In general, the buffalo is a medicine animal, and more or less sacred.

796 837 Another very remarkable medicine festival is that for attracting the herds of buffaloes, which is usually celebrated in the autumn, or winter. I shall describe this festival, as an eye-witnes s among the Manitaries, where it is observed precisely in the same manner as among the Mandans. At this festival they leave their wives to the older men, and individual Indians do the same on certain occasions, when they desire to ask good wishes for the attainment of some object they have in view. A man, in such a case, goes, with his pipe, and accompanied by his wife, who wears no clothes except her buffalo robe, to another hut. The wife carries a dish of boiled maize, which she sets down before a third person, and the man does the same with his pipe. The woman then passes the palm of her hand down the whole arm of the person favoured in this manner, takes him by the hand, and he must follow her to a retired spot, generally to the forest surrounding the huts in the winter time; after which she returns and repeats the same process, often with eight or ten men. As soon as the man so favoured has resumed his seat, the person who asks his good wishes presents his pipe to him that he may smoke; whereupon he expresses his best wishes for the success of the undertaking or project in hand. By way of returning thanks, his arm is again stroked.

796 773 A third medicine feast is that described by Say, by the name of the corn dance of the Manitaries. He is pretty correct in his account of it, and it is used as well among the Mandans as the Manitaries. It is a consecration of the grain to be sown, and is called the corn dance feast of the women. The old woman who never dies sends, in the spring, the water-fowl, swans, geese, and ducks, as symbols of the kinds of grain cultivated by the Indians. The wild goose signifies maize; the swan, the gourd; and the duck, beans. It is the old woman that causes these plants to grow, and, therefore, she sends these birds as her signs and representatives. It is very seldom that eleven wild geese are found together in the spring; but, if it happens, this is a sign that the crop of maize will be remarkably fine. The Indians keep a large quantity of dried flesh in readiness for the time in the spring when the birds arrive, that they may immediately celebrate the corn feast of the women. They hang the meat, before the village, on long stages made of poles, three or four rows, one above another, and this, with various articles of value, is considered as an offering to the old woman. The elderly females, as representatives of the old woman who never dies, assemble on a certain day about the stages, carrying a stick in their hands, to one

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end of which a head of maize is fastened. Sitting down in a circle, they plant their sticks in the ground before them, and then dance round the stages. Some old men beat the drum, and rattle the schischikué. The maize is not wetted or sprinkled, as many believe, but, on the contrary, it is supposed that such a practice would be injurious. While the old women are performing these ceremonies, the younger ones come and put some dry pulverized meat into their mouths, for which each of them receives, in return, a grain of the consecrated maize, which she eats. Three or four grains are put into their dish, and are afterwards carefully mixed with the seed to be sown, in order to make it thrive and yield an abundant crop. The dried flesh on the stages is the perquisite of the aged females, as the representatives of the old woman who never dies. During the ceremony, it is not unusual for some men of the band of dogs to come and pull a large piece of flesh from the poles, and carry it off. As members of this band, and being men of distinction, no opposition can be offered. 796 773

A similar corn feast is repeated in the autumn, but at that season it is held for the purpose of attracting the herds of buffaloes, and of obtaining a large supply of meat. Each woman then has not a stick with a head of maize, as in the former instance, but a whole plant of that grain, pulled up by the roots. They designate the maize as well as the birds, which are the symbols of the fruits of the earth, by the name of the old woman who never dies, and call upon them in the autumn, saying—"Mother, have pity on us; do not send the severe cold too soon, so that we may have a sufficient supply of meat; do not permit all the game to go away, so that we may have something for the winter."

In autumn, when the birds emigrate to the south, or, as the Indians express it, return to the old woman, they believe that they take with them the presents—especially the dried flesh—that were hung up at the entrance of the village, for the giver and protectress of the crop. They further imagine that the old woman partakes of the flesh. Some poor females among these Indians, who are not able to offer flesh or any valuable gift, take a piece of parchment, in which they wrap the foot of a buffalo, and suspend it to one of the poles as their offering. The birds on their return, go to the old woman, each bringing something from the Indians; but, towards the end, one approaches, and says—"I have very little to give you, for I have received only a very mean gift." To this, the old woman, on receiving the buffalo's foot from the poor women, or widows, says—"This is just what I love; this poor offering is more dear to me than all the other presents, however costly." Upon this she boils a piece of the foot with some maize, and eats it with much satisfaction.

The old woman who never dies has very extensive plantations of maize, the keepers of which are the great stag and the white-tailed stag. She has, likewise, many blackbirds, which help to guard her property. When she intends to feed these keepers, she summons them, and they fall with avidity upon the maize fields. As these plantations are very large, she requires many 773

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LETTER—No. 15.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

A WEEK or more has elapsed since the date of my last Letter, and nothing as yet of the great and curious event—or the *Mandan religious ceremony*. There is evidently much preparation making for it, however; and from what I can learn, no one in the nation, save the *medicine-men*, have any knowledge of the exact day on which it is to commence. I am informed by the chiefs, that it takes place as soon as the willow-tree is in full leaf; for, say they, "the twig which the bird brought in was a willow bough, and had full-grown leaves on it." So it seems that this celebration has some relation to the Flood. 796

This great occasion is close at hand, and will, undoubtedly, commence in a few days; in the meantime I will give a few notes and memorandums, which I have made since my last. 080

I have been continually at work with my brush, with fine and picturesque subjects before me; and from the strange, whimsical, and superstitious notions which they have of an art so novel and unaccountable to them, I have been initiated into many of their mysteries—have witnessed many very curious incidents, and preserved several anecdotes, some of which I must relate.

Perhaps nothing ever more completely astonished these people than the operations of my *brush*. The art of portrait-painting was a subject entirely new to them, and of course, unthought of; and my appearance here has commenced a new era in the arcana of *medicine* or mystery. Soon after arriving here, I commenced and finished the portraits of the two principal chiefs. This was done without having awakened the curiosity of the villagers, as they had heard nothing of what was going on, and even the chiefs themselves seemed to be ignorant of my designs, until the pictures were completed. No one else was admitted into my lodge during the operation; and when finished, it was exceedingly amusing to see them mutually recognizing each other's likeness, and assuring each other of the striking resemblance which they bore to the originals. Both of these pressed their hand over their mouths awhile in dead silence (a custom amongst most tribes, when anything surprises them very much); looking attentively upon the portraits and myself, and upon the palette and colours with which these unaccountable effects had been produced. 123

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stake their liberty upon the issue of these games, offering themselves as slaves to their opponents in case they get beaten.

Feasting and *fasting* are important customs observed by the Mandans, as well as by most other tribes, at stated times and for particular purposes. These observances are strictly religious and rigidly observed. There are many of these forms practiced amongst the Mandans, some of which are exceedingly interesting, and important also, in forming a correct estimate of the Indian character; and I shall at a future period take particular pains to lay them before my readers.

Sacrificing is also a religious custom with these people, and is performed in many different modes, and on numerous occasions. Of this custom I shall also speak more fully hereafter, merely noticing at present, some few of the hundred modes in which these offerings are made to the Good and Evil Spirits. Human sacrifices have never been made by the Mandans, nor by any of the north western tribes (so far as I can learn), excepting the Pawnees of the Platte; who have, undoubtedly, observed such an inhuman practice in former times, though they have relinquished it of late. The Mandans sacrifice their fingers to the Great Spirit, and of their worldly goods, the best and the most costly; if a horse or a dog, it must be the favourite one; if it is an arrow from their quiver, they will select the most perfect one as the most effective gift; if it is meat, it is the choicest piece cut from the buffalo or other animal; if it is anything from the stores of the Traders, it is the most costly—it is blue or scarlet cloth, which costs them in this country an enormous price, and is chiefly used for the purpose of hanging over their wigwams to decay, or to cover the scaffolds where rest the bones of their departed relations.

Of these kinds of sacrifices there are three of an interesting nature, erected over the great medicine-lodge in the centre of the village—they consist of ten or fifteen yards of blue and black cloth each, purchased from the Fur Company at fifteen or twenty dollars per yard, which are folded up so as to resemble human figures, with quills in their heads and masks on their faces. These singular-looking figures, like "*scare crows*" (PLATE 47), are erected on poles about thirty feet high, over the door of the mystery-lodge, and there are left to decay. There hangs now by the side of them another, which was added to the number a few days since, of the skin of a white buffalo, which will remain there until it decays and falls to pieces.

This beautiful and costly skin, when its history is known, will furnish a striking proof of the importance which they attach to these propitiatory offerings. But a few weeks since, a party of Mandans returned from the Mouth of the Yellow Stone, two hundred miles above, with information that a party of Blackfeet were visiting that place on business with the American Fur Company; and that they had with them a white buffalo robe for sale. This was looked upon as a subject of great importance by the chiefs, and one worthy of public consideration. A white buffalo robe is a

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LETTER—No. 22.

MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

Oh! "*horribile visu—et mirabile dictu*!" Thank God, it is over, that I have seen it, and am able to tell it to the world.

The *annual religious ceremony*, of four days, of which I have so often spoken, and which I have so long been wishing to see, has at last been enacted in this village; and I have, fortunately, been able to see and to understand it in most of its bearings, which was more than I had reason to expect; for no white man, in all probability, has ever been before admitted to the *medicine-lodge* during these most remarkable and appalling scenes.

Well and truly has it been said, that the Mandans are a strange and peculiar people; and most correctly had I been informed, that this was an important and interesting scene, by those who had, on former occasions, witnessed such parts of it as are transacted out of doors, and in front of the *medicine-lodge*.

Since the date of my last Letter, I was lucky enough to have painted the *medicine-man*, who was high-priest on this grand occasion, or conductor of the ceremonies, who had me regularly installed doctor or "*medicine*;" and who, on the morning when these grand refinements in mysteries commenced, took me by the arm, and led me into the *medicine-lodge*, where the Fur Trader, Mr. Kipp, and his two clerks accompanied me in close attendance for four days; all of us going to our own quarters at sun-down, and returning again at sun-rise the next morning.

I took my sketch-book with me, and have made many and faithful drawings of what we saw, and full notes of everything as translated to me by the interpreter; and since the close of that horrid and frightful scene which was a week ago or more, I have been closely ensconced in an earth covered wigwam, with a fine sky-light over my head, with my palette and brushes, endeavouring faithfully to put the whole of what we saw upon canvass, which my companions all agree to be critically correct, and of the fidelity of which they have attached their certificates to the backs of the paintings. I have made four paintings of these strange scenes, containing several hundred figures, representing the transactions of each day; and if I live to get them home, they will be found to be exceedingly curious and interesting.

I shudder at the relation, or even at the thought of these barbarous and

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These people living in a climate where they suffer from cold in the severity of their winters, have very naturally reversed our ideas of Heaven and Hell. The latter they describe to be a country very far to the north, of barren and hideous aspect, and covered with eternal snows and ice. The torments of this freezing place they describe as most excruciating; whilst Heaven they suppose to be in a warmer and delightful latitude, where nothing is felt but the keenest enjoyment, and where the country abounds in buffaloes and other luxuries of life. The Great or Good Spirit they believe dwells in the former place for the purpose of there meeting those who have offended him; increasing the agony of their sufferings, by being himself present, administering the penalties. The Bad or Evil Spirit they at the same time suppose to reside in Paradise, still tempting the happy; and those who have gone to the regions of punishment they believe to be tortured for a time proportioned to the amount of their transgressions, and that they are then to be transferred to the land of the happy, where they are again liable to the temptations of the Evil Spirit, and answerable again at a future period for their new offences. 771

Such is the religious creed of the Mandans, and for the purpose of appeasing the Good and Evil Spirits, and to secure their entrance into those "fields Elysian," or beautiful hunting grounds, do the young men subject themselves to the horrid and sickening cruelties to be described in the following pages.

There are other three distinct objects (yet to be named) for which these religious ceremonies are held, which are as follow:— 796

First, they are held annually as a celebration of the event of the subsiding of the Flood, which they call *Mee-nee-ro-ka-ha-sha*, (sinking down or settling of the waters.)

Secondly, for the purpose of dancing what they call, *Bel-lohck-na-pic* (the bull-dance); to the strict observance of which they attribute the coming of buffaloes to supply them with food during the season; and

Thirdly and lastly, for the purpose of conducting all the young men of the tribe, as they annually arrive to the age of manhood, through an ordeal of privation and torture, which, while it is supposed to harden their muscles and prepare them for extreme endurance, enables the chiefs who are spectators to the scene, to decide upon their comparative bodily strength and ability to endure the extreme privations and sufferings that often fall to the lots of Indian warriors; and that they may decide who is the most hardy and best able to lead a war-party in case of extreme exigency. 796 881

This part of the ceremony, as I have just witnessed it, is truly shocking to behold, and will almost stagger the belief of the world when they read o it. The scene is too terrible and too revolting to be seen or to be told, were it not an essential part of a whole, which will be new to the civilized world, and therefore worth their knowing. 000

The bull-dance, and many other parts of these ceremonies are exceed-

300 ingly grotesque and amusing, and that part of them which has a relation to the Deluge is harmless and full of interest.

361 In the centre of the Mandan village is an open, circular area of 150 feet diameter, kept always clear, as a public ground, for the display of all their public feasts, parades, &c. and around it are their wigwams placed as near to each other as they can well stand, their doors facing the centre of this public area.

778 In the middle of this ground, which is trodden like a hard pavement, is a
796 curb (somewhat like a large hogshead standing on its end) made of planks (and bound with hoops), some eight or nine feet high, which they religiously preserve and protect from year to year, free from mark or scratch, and which they call the "big canoe"—it is undoubtedly a symbolic representation of a part of their traditional history of the Flood; which it is very evident, from this and numerous other features of this grand ceremony, they have in some way or other received, and are here endeavouring to perpetuate by vividly impressing it on the minds of the whole nation. This object of superstition, from its position, as the very centre of the village is the rallying point of the whole nation. To it their devotions are paid on various occasions of feasts and religious exercises during the year; and in this extraordinary scene it was often the nucleus of their mysteries and cruelties, as I shall shortly describe them, and becomes an object worth bearing in mind, and worthy of being understood.

796 This exciting and appalling scene, then, which is familiarly (and no doubt
805 correctly) called the "Mandan religious ceremony," commences, not on a particular day of the year, (for these people keep no record of days or weeks),
773 but at a particular season, which is designated by the full expansion of the willow leaves under the bank of the river; for according to their tradition, "the twig that the bird brought home was a willow bough, and had full-grown leaves on it," and the bird to which they allude, is the mourning or turtle-dove, which they took great pains to point out to me, as it is often to be seen feeding on the sides of their earth-covered lodges, and which, being, as they call it, a *medicine-bird*, is not to be destroyed or harmed by any one, and even their dogs are instructed not to do it injury.

796 On the morning on which this strange transaction commenced, I was sitting at breakfast in the house of the Trader, Mr. Kipp, when at sun-rise, we were suddenly startled by the shrieking and screaming of the women, and barking and howling of dogs, as if an enemy were actually storming their village.

"Now we have it!" (exclaimed *mine host*, as he sprang from the table,) the grand ceremony has commenced!—drop your knife and fork, Monsr. and get your sketch-book as soon as possible, that you may lose nothing, for the very moment of *commencing* is as curious as anything else of this strange affair." I seized my sketch-book, and all hands of us were in an instant in front of the medicine-lodge, ready to see and to hear all that was to take place. Groups of women and children were gathered on the tops of

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their earth-covered wigwams, and all were screaming, and dogs were howling, and all eyes directed to the prairies in the West, where was beheld at a mile distant, a solitary individual descending a prairie bluff, and making his way in a direct line towards the village!

The whole community joined in the general expression of great alarm, as if they were in danger of instant destruction; bows were strung and thrumed to test their elasticity—their horses were caught upon the prairie and run into the village—warriors were blackening their faces, and dogs were muzzled, and every preparation made, as if for instant combat

During this deafening din and confusion within the piquets of the village of the Mandans, the figure discovered on the prairie continued to approach with a dignified step and in a right line towards the village; all eyes were upon him, and he at length made his appearance (without opposition) within the piquets, and proceeded towards the centre of the village, where all the chiefs and braves stood ready to receive him, which they did in a cordial manner, by shaking hands with him, recognizing him as an old acquaintance, and pronouncing his name *Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah* (the first or only man). The body of this strange personage, which was chiefly naked, was painted with white clay, so as to resemble at a little distance, a white man; he wore a robe of four white wolf skins falling back over his shoulders; on his head he had a splendid head-dress made of two ravens' skins, and in his left hand he cautiously carried a large pipe, which he seemed to watch and guard as something of great importance. After passing the chiefs and braves as described, he approached the *medicine* or mystery lodge, which he had the means of opening, and which had been religiously closed during the year except for the performance of these religious rites.

Having opened and entered it, he called in four men whom he appointed to clean it out, and put it in readiness for the ceremonies, by sweeping it and strewing a profusion of green willow-boughs over its floor, and with them decorating its sides. Wild sage also, and many other aromatic herbs they gathered from the prairies, and scattered over its floor; and over these were arranged a curious group of buffalo and human skulls, and other articles, which were to be used during this strange and unaccountable transaction.

During the whole of this day, and while these preparations were making in the *medicine-lodge*, Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (the first or only man) travelled through the village, stopping in front of every man's lodge, and crying until the owner of the lodge came out, and asked who he was, and what was the matter? to which he replied by relating the sad catastrophe which had happened on the earth's surface by the overflowing of the waters, saying that "he was the only person saved from the universal calamity: that he landed his big canoe on a high mountain in the west, where he now resides; that he had come to open the *medicine-lodge*, which must needs receive a present of some edged-tool from the owner of every wigwam, that

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•796 it may be sacrificed to the water; for he says, "if this is not done, there will be another flood, and no one will be saved, as it was with such tools that the big canoe was made."

Having visited every lodge or wigwam in the village, during the day, and having received such a present at each, as a hatchet, a knife, &c. (which is undoubtedly always prepared and ready for the occasion), he returned at evening and deposited them in the *medicine-lodge*, where they remained until the afternoon of the last day of the ceremony, when, as the final or closing scene, they were thrown into the river in a deep place, from a bank thirty feet high, and in presence of the whole village; from whence they can never be recovered, and where they were, undoubtedly, *sacrificed* to the Spirit of the Water.

796 881 During the first night of this strange character in the village, no one could tell where he slept; and every person, both old and young, and dogs, and all living things were kept within doors, and dead silence reigned every where. On the next morning at sunrise, however, he made his appearance again, and entered the *medicine-lodge;* and at his heels (in "*Indian file,*" *i. e.* single file, one following in another's tracks) all the young men who were candidates for the self-tortures which were to be inflicted, and for the honours that were to be bestowed by the chiefs on those who could most manfully endure them. There were on this occasion about fifty young men who entered the lists, and as they went into the sacred lodge, each one's body was chiefly naked, and covered with clay of different colours; some were red, others were yellow, and some were covered with white clay, giving them the appearance of white men. Each one of them carried in his right hand his *medicine-bag*—on his left arm, his shield of the bull's hide—in his left hand, his bow and arrows, with his quiver slung on his back.

When all had entered the lodge, they placed themselves in reclining postures around its sides, and each one had suspended over his head his respective weapons and *medicine*, presenting altogether, one of the most wild and picturesque scenes imaginable.

Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (the first or only man) was in the midst of them, and having lit and smoked his medicine-pipe for their success; and having addressed them in a short speech, stimulating and encouraging them to trust to the Great Spirit for His protection during the severe ordeal they were about to pass through; he called into the lodge an old medicine or mystery-man, whose body was painted yellow, and whom he appointed master of ceremonies during this occasion, whom they denominated in their language *O-kee-pah Ka-se-kah* (keeper or conductor of the ceremonies). He was appointed, and the authority passed by the presentation of the medicine-pipe, on which they consider hangs all the power of holding and conducting all these rites.

After this delegated authority had thus passed over to the medicine-man; Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah shook hands with him, and bade him good

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bye, saying "that he was going back to the mountains in the west, from whence he should assuredly return in just a year from that time, to open the lodge again." He then went out of the lodge, and passing through the village, took formal leave of the chiefs in the same manner, and soon disappeared over the bluffs from whence he came. No more was seen of this surprising character during the occasion; but I shall have something yet to say of him and his strange office before I get through the Letter.

To return to the lodge,—the medicine or mystery-man just appointed, and who had received his injunctions from Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah, was left sole conductor and keeper; and according to those injunctions, it was his duty to lie by a small fire in the centre of the lodge, with his medicine-pipe in his hand, crying to the Great Spirit incessantly, watching the young men, and preventing entirely their escape from the lodge, and all communication whatever with people outside, for the space of four days and nights, during which time they were not allowed to *eat*, to *drink*, or to *sleep*, preparatory to the excruciating self-tortures which they were to endure on the fourth day.

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I mentioned that I had made four paintings of these strange scenes, and the first one exhibits the interior of the medicine-lodge at this moment; with the young men all reclining around its sides, and the conductor or mystery-man lying by the fire, crying to the Great Spirit (PLATE 66). It was just at this juncture that I was ushered into this sacred temple of their worship, with my companions, which was, undoubtedly, the first time that their devotions had ever been trespassed upon by the presence of pale faces; and in this instance had been brought about in the following strange and unexpected manner.

I had most luckily for myself, painted a full-length portrait of this great magician or high-priest, but a day previous to the commencement of the ceremonies (in which I had represented him in the performance of some of his mysteries), with which he had been so exceedingly pleased as well as astonished (as "he could see its eyes move"), that I must needs be, in his opinion, deeply skilled in magic and mysteries, and well-entitled to a respectable rank in the craft, to which I had been at once elevated by the unanimous voice of the doctors, and regularly initiated, and styled *Te-ho-pee-nee-wash-ee-waska-pooska*, the *white medicine* (or Spirit) *painter*.

With this very honourable degree which had just been conferred upon me, I was standing in front of the medicine-lodge early in the morning, with my companions by my side, endeavouring to get a peep, if possible, into its sacred interior; when this *master of ceremonies*, guarding and conducting its secrets, as I before described, came out of the door and taking me with a firm *professional* affection by the arm, led me into this *sanctum sanctorum*, which was strictly guarded from, even a peep or a gaze from the vulgar, by a vestibule of eight or ten feet in length, guarded with a double screen or door, and two or three dark and frowning centinels with spears

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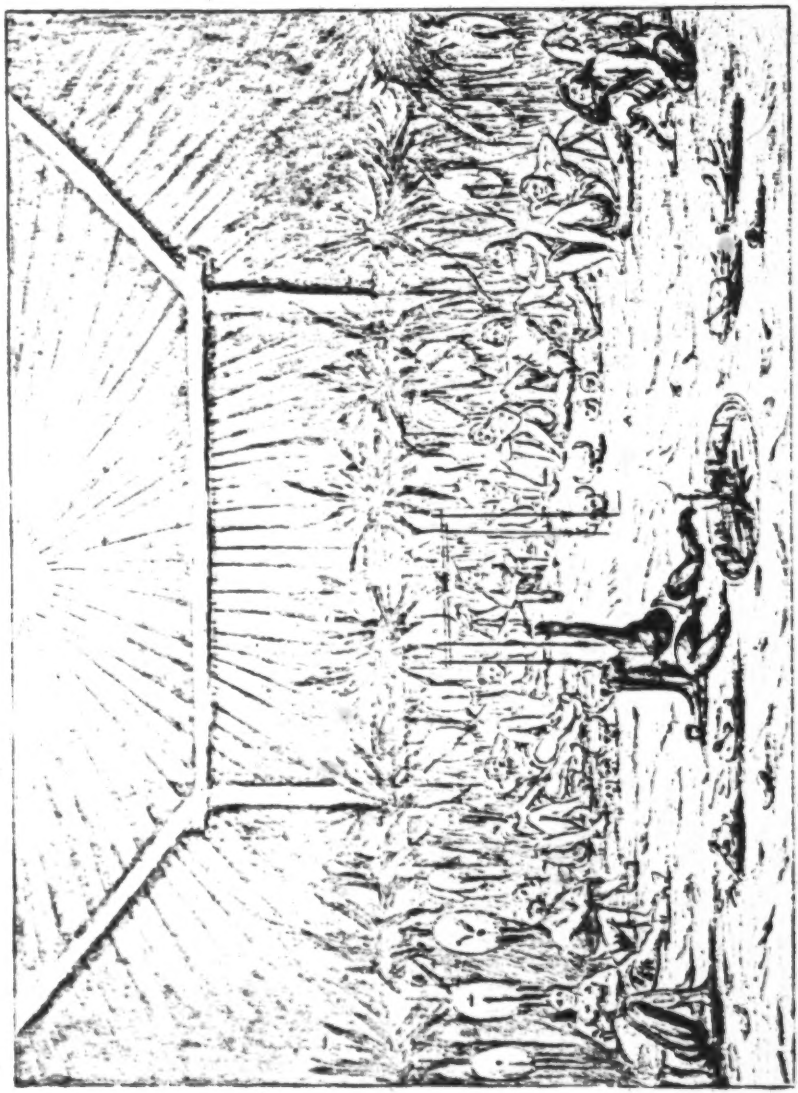

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796 or war-clubs in their hands. I gave the wink to my companions as I was
123 passing in, and the potency of my *medicine* was such as to gain them a quiet admission, and all of us were comfortably placed on elevated seats, which our conductor soon prepared for us.

We were then in full view of everything that transpired in the lodge, having before us the scene exactly, which is represented in the first of the four pictures. To this seat we returned every morning at sunrise, and remained until sun-down for four days, the whole time which these strange scenes occupied.

796 In addition to the preparations and arrangements of the interior of this
778 sanctuary, as above described, there was a curious, though a very strict arrangement of buffalo and human skulls placed on the floor of the lodge, and between them (which were divided into two parcels), and in front of the reclining group of young candidates, was a small and very delicate scaffold, elevated about five feet from the ground, made of four posts or crotches, not larger than a gun-rod, and placed some four or five feet apart, supporting four equally delicate rods, resting in the crotches; thus forming the frame of the scaffold, which was completed by a number of still smaller and more delicate sticks, transversely resting upon them. On the centre of this little frame rested some small object, which I could not exactly understand from the distance of twenty or thirty feet which intervened between it and my eye. I started several times from my seat to approach it, but all eyes were instantly upon me, and every mouth in the assembly sent forth a hush—sh—! which brought me back to my seat again; and I at length quieted my stifled curiosity as well as I could, upon learning the fact, that so sacred was that object, and so important its secrets or mysteries, that not *I* alone, but even the young men, who were passing the ordeal, and all the village, save the conductor of the mysteries, were stopped from approaching it, or knowing what it was.

This little mystery-thing, whatever it was, had the appearance from where I sat, of a small tortoise or frog lying on its back, with its head and legs quite extended, and wound and tasselled off with exceedingly delicate red and blue, and yellow ribbons or tassels, and other bright coloured ornaments; and seemed, from the devotions paid to it, to be the very nucleus of their mysteries—the *sanctissimus sanctorum*, from which seemed to emanate all the sanctity of their proceedings, and to which, all seemed to be paying the highest devotional respect.

This strange, yet important *essence* of their mysteries, I made every enquiry about; but got no further information of, than what I could learn by my eyes, at the distance at which I saw it, and from the silent respect which I saw paid to it. I tried with the doctors, and all of the *fraternity* answered me, that that was "*great medicine*," assuring me that it "could not be told." So I quieted my curiosity as well as I could, by the full conviction that I had a *degree* or two yet to take before I could fathom all

the arcana of Indian superstitions; and that this little, seemingly wonderful, relic of antiquity, symbol of some grand event, or "secret too valuable to be told," might have been at last nothing but a silly bunch of strings and toys, to which they pay some great peculiar regard; giving thereby to some favourite Spirit or essence an ideal existence, and which, when called upon to describe, they refuse to do so, calling it "*Great Medicine*," for the very reason that there is nothing in it to reveal or describe. 796 778

Immediately under the little frame or scaffold described, and on the floor of the lodge was placed a knife, and by the side of it a bundle of splints or skewers, which were kept in readiness for the infliction of the cruelties directly to be explained. There were seen also, in this stage of the affair, a number of cords of rawhide hanging down from the top of the lodge, and passing through its roof, with which the young men were to be suspended by the splints passed through their flesh, and drawn up by men placed on the top of the lodge for the purpose, as will be described in a few moments.

There were also four articles of great veneration and importance lying on the floor of the lodge, which were sacks, containing in each some three or four gallons of water. These also were objects of superstitious regard, and made with great labour and much ingenuity; each one of them being constructed of the skin of the buffalo's neck, and most elaborately sewed together in the form of a large tortoise lying on its back, with a bunch of eagle's quills appended to it as a tail; and each of them having a stick, shaped like a drum-stick, lying on them, with which, in a subsequent stage of these ceremonies, as will be seen, they are beaten upon by several of their mystery-men, as a part of the music for their strange dances and mysteries. By the side of these sacks which they call *Eeh-teeh-ka*, are two other articles of equal importance, which they call *Eeh-na-dee* (rattles), in the form of a gourd-shell made also of dried skins, and used at the same time as the others, in the music (or rather *noise* and *din*) for their dances, &c.

These four sacks of water have the appearance of very great antiquity; and by enquiring of my very ingenious friend and patron, the *medicine-man*, after the ceremonies were over, he very gravely told me, that "those four tortoises contained the waters from the four quarters of the world—that these waters had been contained therein ever since the settling down of the waters!" I did not think it best to advance any argument against so ridiculous a theory, and therefore could not even enquire or learn, at what period they had been instituted, or how often, or on what occasions, the water in them had been changed or replenished.

I made several propositions, through my friend Mr. Kipp, the trader and interpreter, to purchase one of these strange things by offering them a very liberal price; to which I received in answer that these, and all the very numerous articles used in these ceremonies, being a *society property* were 796 421

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796 421 *medicine*, and could not be sold for any consideration; so I abandoned all thoughts of obtaining anything, except what I have done by the *medicine* operation of my pencil, which was applied to everything, and even upon that they looked with decided distrust and apprehension, as a sort of theft or sacrilege.

796 Such then was the group, and such the appearance of the interior of the medicine-lodge during the three first, and part of the fourth day also, of the Mandan religious ceremonies. The medicine-man with a group about him, of young aspirants who were under his sole controul, as was every article and implement to be used, and the sanctity of this solitary and gloomy looking place, which could not be trespassed upon by any man's presence without his most sovereign permission.

796 535 During the three first days of this solemn conclave, there were many very curious forms and amusements enacted in the open area in the middle of the village, and in front of the medicine-lodge, by other members of the community, one of which formed a material part or link of these strange ceremonials. This very curious and exceedingly grotesque part of their performance, which they denominated *Bel-lohck-nah-pick* (the bull-dance) of which I have before spoken, as one of the avowed objects for which they held this annual fête; and to the strictest observance of which they attribute the coming of buffaloes to supply them with food during the season—is repeated four times during the first day, eight times on the second day, twelve times on the third day, and sixteen times on the fourth day; and always around the curb, or "*big canoe*," of which I have before spoken.

This subject I have selected for my second picture, and the principal actors in it were eight men, with the entire skins of buffaloes thrown over their backs, with the horns and hoofs and tails remaining on; their bodies in a horizontal position, enabling them to imitate the actions of the buffalo, whilst they were looking out of its eyes as through a mask (PLATE 67).

The bodies of these men were chiefly naked and all painted in the most extraordinary manner, with the nicest adherence to exact similarity; their limbs, bodies and faces, being in every part covered, either with black, red, or white paint. Each one of these strange characters had also a lock of buffalo's hair tied around his ancles—in his right hand a rattle, and a slender white rod or staff, six feet long, in the other; and carried on his back, a bunch of green willow boughs about the usual size of a bundle of straw. These eight men, being divided into four pairs, took their positions on the four different sides of the curb or big canoe, representing thereby the four cardinal points; and between each group of them, with the back turned to the big canoe, was another figure, engaged in the same dance, keeping step with them, with a similar staff or wand in one hand and a rattle in the other, and (being four in number) answering again to the four cardinal points. The bodies of these four young men were chiefly naked, with no other dress upon them than a beautiful kelt (or quartz-quaw), around the waist, made of eagles

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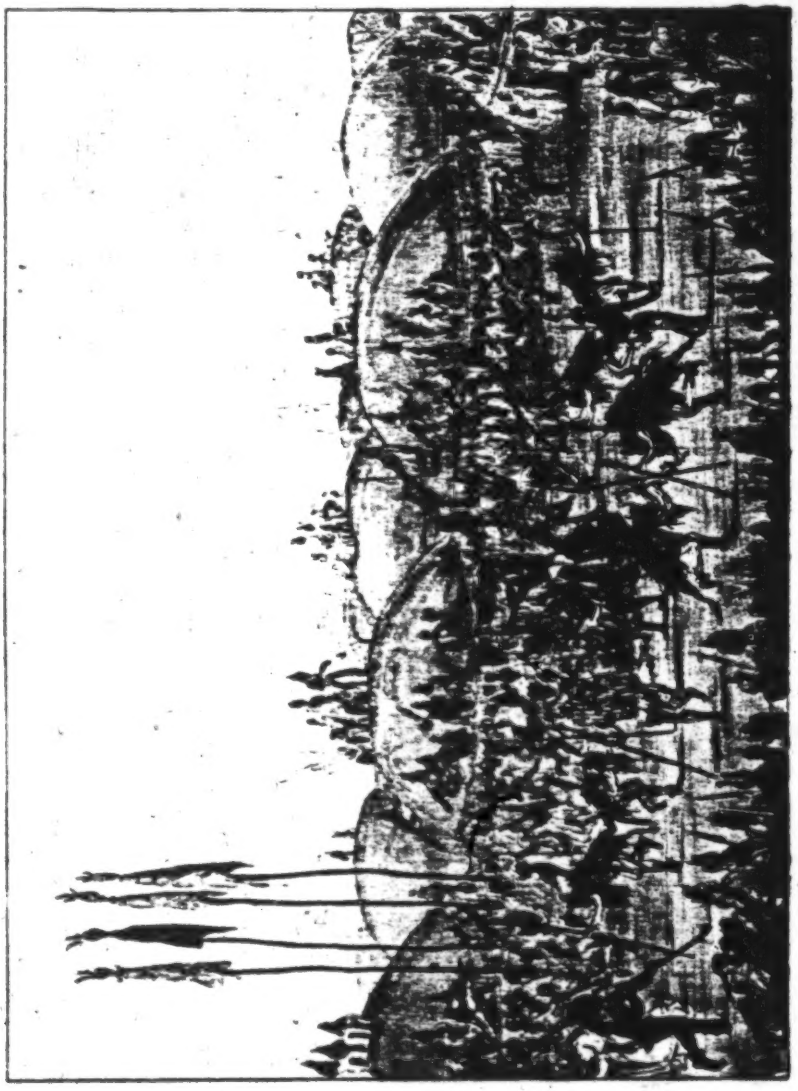

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quills and ermine, and very splendid head-dresses made of the same materials. Two of these figures were painted entirely black with pounded charcoal and grease, whom they called the "firmament or night," and the numerous white spots which were dotted all over their bodies, they called "stars." The other two were painted from head to foot as red as vermilion could make them; these they said represented the day, and the white streaks which were painted up and down over their bodies, were "ghosts which the morning rays were chasing away."

These twelve are the only persons actually engaged in this strange dance, which is each time repeated in the same form, without the slightest variation. There are, however, a great number of characters engaged in giving the whole effect and wildness to this strange and laughable scene, each one acting well his part, and whose offices, strange and inexplicable as they are, I will endeavour to point out and explain as well as I can, from what I saw, elucidated by their own descriptions.

This most remarkable scene, then, which is witnessed more or less often on each day, takes place in presence of the whole nation, who are generally gathered around, on the tops of the wigwams or otherwise, as spectators, whilst the young men are reclining and fasting in the lodge as above described. On the first day, this "*bull-dance*" is given *once* to each of the cardinal points, and the medicine-man smokes his pipe in those directions. On the second day, *twice* to each; *three times* to each on the third day, and *four times* to each on the fourth. As a signal for the dancers and other characters (as well as the public) to assemble, the old man, master of ceremonies, with the medicine-pipe in hand, dances out of the lodge, singing (or rather crying) forth a most pitiful lament, until he approaches the big canoe, against which he leans, with the pipe in his hand, and continues to cry. At this instant, four very aged and patriarchal looking men, whose bodies are painted red, and who have been guarding the four sides of the lodge, enter it and bring out the four sacks of water, which they place near the big canoe, where they seat themselves by the side of them and commence thumping on them with the mallets or drumsticks which have been lying on them; and another brandishes and shakes the *seh-na-dees* or rattles, and all unite to them their voices, raised to the highest pitch possible, as the music for the *bull-dance*, which is then commenced and continued for fifteen minutes or more in perfect time, and without cessation or intermission. When the music and dancing stop, which are always perfectly simultaneous, the whole nation raise the huzza! and a deafening shout of approbation; the master of ceremonies dances back to the medicine-lodge, and the old men return to their former place; the sacks of water, and all rest as before, until by the same method, they are again called into a similar action.

The supernumeraries or other characters who play their parts in this grand spectacle, are numerous and well worth description. By the side of the

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796 big canoe are seen two men with the skins of grizzly bears thrown over
535 them, using the skins as a mask, over their heads. These ravenous animals are continually growling and threatening to devour everything before them and interfering with the forms of their religious ceremony. To appease them, the women are continually bringing and placing before them dishes of meat, which are as often snatched up and carried to the prairie, by two men whose bodies are painted black and their heads white, whom they call bald eagles, who are darting by them and grasping their food from before them as they pass. These are again chased upon the plains by a hundred or more small boys, who are naked, with their bodies painted yellow and their heads white, whom they call *Cabris* or antelopes; who at length get the food away from them and devour it; thereby inculcating (perhaps) the beautiful moral, that by the dispensations of Providence, his bountiful gifts will fall at last to the hands of the innocent.

During the intervals between these dances, all these characters, except those from the medicine-lodge, retire to a wigwam close by, which they use on the occasion also as a sacred place, being occupied exclusively by them while they are at rest, and also for the purpose of painting and ornamenting their bodies for the occasion.

During each and every one of these dances, the old men who beat upon the sacks and sing, are earnestly chanting forth their supplications to the Great Spirit, for the continuation of his influence in sending them buffaloes to supply them with food during the year; they are administering courage and fortitude to the young men in the lodge, by telling them, that "the Great Spirit has opened his ears in their behalf—that the very atmosphere all about them is peace—that their women and children can hold the mouth of the grizzly bear—that they have invoked from day to day O-ke-hee-de (the Evil Spirit)—that they are still challenging him to come, and yet he has not dared to make his appearance!"

796 But alas! in the last of these dances, on the fourth day, in the midst of all their mirth and joy, and about noon, and in the height of all these exultations, an instant scream burst forth from the tops of the lodges!—men, women, dogs and all, seemed actually to howl and shudder with alarm, as they fixed their glaring eye-balls upon the prairie bluff, about a mile in the west, down the side of which a man was seen descending at full speed towards the village! This strange character darted about in a zig-zag course in all directions on the prairie, like a boy in pursuit of a butterfly, until he approached the piquets of the village, when it was discovered that his body was entirely naked, and painted as black as a negro, with pounded charcoal and bear's grease; his body was therefore everywhere of a shining black, except occasionally white rings of an inch or more in diameter, which were marked here and there all over him; and frightful indentures of white around his mouth, resembling canine teeth. Added to his hideous appearance, he gave the most frightful shrieks and screams as he dashed through the village

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and entered the terrified group, which was composed (in that quarter) chiefly of females, who had assembled to witness the amusements which were transpiring around the "big canoe." 796

This unearthly looking creature carried in his two hands a wand or staff of eight or nine feet in length, with a red ball at the end of it, which he continually slid on the ground a-head of him as he ran. All eyes in the village, ave those of the persons engaged in the dance, were centred upon him, and he made a desperate rush towards the women, who screamed for protection as they were endeavouring to retreat; and falling in groups upon each other as they were struggling to get out of his reach. In this moment of general terror and alarm there was an instant check! and all for a few moments were as silent as death.

The old master of ceremonies, who had run from his position at the big canoe, had met this monster of fiends, and having thrust the *medicine-pipe* before him, held him still and immoveable under its charm! This check gave the females an opportunity to get out of his reach, and when they were free from their danger, though all hearts beat yet with the instant excitement, their alarm soon cooled down into the most exorbitant laughter and shouts of applause at his sudden defeat, and the awkward and ridiculous posture in which he was stopped and held. The old man was braced stiff by his side, with his eye-balls glaring him in the face, whilst the medicine-pipe held in its mystic chains his *Satanic* Majesty, annulling all the powers of his magical wand, and also depriving him of the powers of locomotion! Surely no two human beings ever presented a more striking group than these two individuals did for a few moments, with their eye-balls set in direst mutual hatred upon each other; both struggling for the supremacy, relying on the potency of their medicine or mystery. The one held in check, with his body painted black, representing (or rather assuming to be) his sable majesty, O-kee-hee-de (the Evil Spirit), frowning everlasting vengeance on the other, who sternly gazed him back with a look of exultation and contempt, as he held him in check and disarmed under the charm of his sacred mystery-pipe.

When the superior powers of the medicine-pipe (on which hang all these annual mysteries) had been thus fully tested and acknowledged, and the women had had requisite time to withdraw from the reach of this fiendish monster, the pipe was very gradually withdrawn from before him, and he seemed delighted to recover the use of his limbs again, and power of changing his position from the exceedingly unpleasant and really ridiculous one he appeared in, and was compelled to maintain, a few moments before; rendered more superlatively ridiculous and laughable, from the further information, which I am constrained to give, of the plight in which this demon of terror and vulgarity made his *entrée* into the midst of the Mandan village, and to the centre and nucleus of their first and greatest religious ceremony.

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•796 Then, to proceed: I said that this strange personage's body was naked—was painted jet black with charcoal and bear's grease, with a wand in his hands of eight feet in length with a red ball at the end of it, which he was rubbing about on the ground in front of him as he ran. In addition to this he had—*ung gee ah waheea notch,t oheks tcha, ung gee an ung hutch tow a tow ah chet menny. Ung gee ah to to wun nee, ahkst to wan ee eigh' s ta w.*

In this plight, in which I have not dared fully to represent him in the picture, he pursued the groups of females, spreading dismay and alarm wherever he went, and consequently producing the awkward and exceedingly laughable predicament in which he was placed by the sudden check from the medicine-pipe, as I have above stated, when all eyes were intently fixed upon him, and all joined in rounds of applause for the success of the magic spell that was placed upon him; all voices were raised in shouts of satisfaction at his defeat, and all eyes gazed upon him; of chiefs and of warriors—matrons and even of their tender-aged and timid daughters, whose education had taught them to receive the *moral* of these scenes without the shock of impropriety, that would have startled a more fastidious and consequently sensual-thinking people.

After repeated attempts thus made, and thus defeated in several parts of the crowd, this blackened monster was retreating over the ground where the buffalo-dance was going on, and having (apparently, par accident) swaggered against one of the men placed under the skin of a buffalo and engaged in the "bull dance," he started back, and placing himself in the attitude of a buffalo,—*hi ung ee a wahkstia, chee a nahk s tammee ung s towa; ee ung ee aht gwaht ee o nunghths tcha ho a, tummee oxt no ah, ughstono ah hi en en ah nahxt gwi aht gahtch gun ne. Gwee en on doatcht chee en aht gunne how how en ahxst tchu!*

After this he paid his visits to three others of the eight, in succession, receiving as before the deafening shouts of approbation which pealed from every mouth in the multitude, who were all praying to the Great Spirit to send them buffaloes to supply them with food during the season, and who attribute the coming of buffaloes for this purpose entirely to the strict and critical observance of this ridiculous and disgusting part of the ceremonies.

During the half hour or so that he had been jostled about amongst man and beasts, to the great amusement and satisfaction of the lookers-on, he seemed to have become exceedingly exhausted, and anxiously looking out for some feasible mode of escape.

In this awkward predicament he became the laughing-stock and butt for the women, who being no longer afraid of him, were gathering in groups around, to tease and tantalize him; and in the midst of this dilemma, which soon became a very sad one—one of the women, who stole up behind him with both hands full of yellow dirt—dashed it into his face and eyes, and ill

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796 over him, and his body being covered with grease, took instantly a different hue. He seemed heart-broken at this signal disgrace, and commenced crying most vehemently, when, *a l'instant*, another caught his *wand* from his hand, and broke it across her knee. It was snatched for by others, who broke it still into bits, and then threw them at him. His power was now gone—his bodily strength was exhausted, and he made a bolt for the prairie—he dashed through the crowd, and made his way through the piquets on the back part of the village, where were placed for the purpose, an hundred or more women and girls, who escorted him as he ran on the prairie for half a mile or more, beating him with sticks, and stones, and dirt, and kicks, and cuffs, until he was at length seen escaping from their clutches, and making the best of his retreat over the prairie bluffs, from whence he first appeared.

At the moment of this signal victory, and when all eyes lost sight of him as he disappeared over the bluffs, the whole village united their voices in shouts of satisfaction. The bull-dance then stopped, and preparations were instantly made for the commencement of the cruelties which were to take place within the lodge, leaving us to draw, from what had just transpired, the following beautiful moral:—

That in the midst of their religious ceremonies, the Evil Spirit (O-kee-hee-de) made his entrée for the purpose of doing mischief, and of disturbing their worship—that he was held in check, and defeated by the superior influence and virtue of the *medicine-pipe*, and at last, driven in disgrace out of the village, by the very part of the community whom he came to abuse.

796 881 At the close of this exciting scene, preparations were made, as above stated, by the return of the master of ceremonies and musicians to the medicine-lodge, where also were admitted at the same time a number of men, who were to be instruments of the cruelties to be inflicted; and also the chief and doctors of the tribe, who were to look on, and bear witness to, and decide upon, the comparative degree of fortitude, with which the young men sustain themselves in this most extreme and excruciating ordeal. The chiefs having seated themselves on one side of the lodge, dressed out in their robes and splendid head-dresses—the band of music seated and arranged themselves in another part; and the old master of ceremonies having placed himself in front of a small fire in the centre of the lodge, with his "big pipe" in his hands, and having commenced smoking to the Great Spirit, with all possible vehemence for the success of these aspirants, presented the subject for the third picture, which they call "*pokk-hong*," the cutting scene (PLATE 68). Around the sides of the lodge are seen, still reclining, as I have before mentioned, a part of the group, whilst others of them have passed the ordeal of self-tortures, and have been removed out of the lodge; and others still are seen in the very act of submitting to them, which were inflicted in the following manner:—After having removed the *sanctissimus sanctorum*, or little scaffold, of which I before spoke, and having

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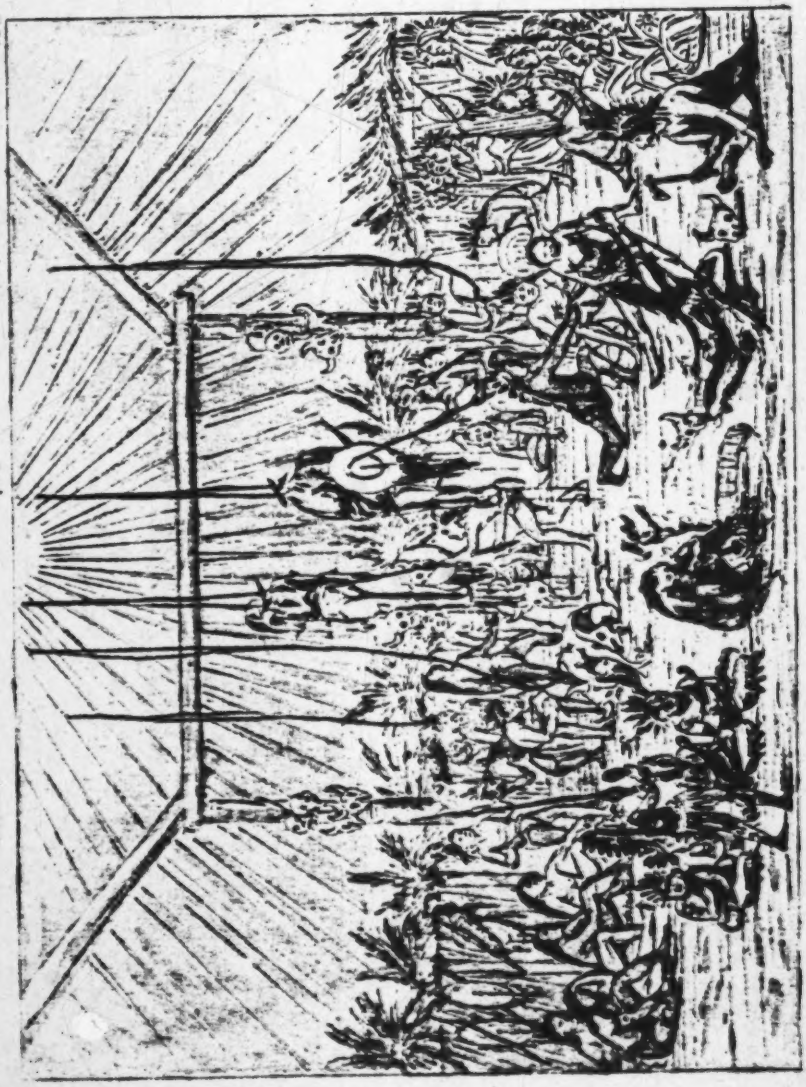

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removed also the buffalo and human skulls from the floor, and attached them to the posts of the lodge; and two men having taken their positions near the middle of the lodge, for the purpose of inflicting the tortures—the one with the scalping-knife, and the other with the bunch of splints (which I have before mentioned) in his hand; one at a time of the young fellows, already emaciated with fasting, and thirsting, and waking, for nearly four days and nights, advanced from the side of the lodge, and placed himself on his hands and feet, or otherwise, as best suited for the performance of the operation, where he submitted to the cruelties in the following manner:—An inch or more of the flesh on each shoulder, or each breast was taken up between the thumb and finger by the man who held the knife in his right hand; and the knife, which had been ground sharp on both edges, and then hacked and notched with the blade of another, to make it produce as much pain as possible, was forced through the flesh below the fingers, and being withdrawn, was followed with a splint or skewer, from the other, who held a bunch of such in his left hand, and was ready to force them through the wound. There were then two cords lowered down from the top of the lodge (by men who were placed on the lodge outside, for the purpose), which were fastened to these splints or skewers, and they instantly began to haul him up; he was thus raised until his body was suspended from the ground where he rested, until the knife and a splint were passed through the flesh or integuments in a similar manner on each arm below the shoulder (over the *brachialis externus*), below the elbow (over the *extensor carpi radialis*), on the thighs (over the *vastus externus*), and below the knees (over the *peroneus*).

In some instances they remained in a reclining position on the ground until this painful operation was finished, which was performed, in all instances, exactly on the same parts of the body and limbs; and which, in its progress, occupied some five or six minutes.

Each one was then instantly raised with the cords, until the weight of his body was suspended by them, and then, while the blood was streaming down their limbs, the bystanders hung upon the splints each man's appropriate shield, bow and quiver, &c.; and in many instances, the skull of a buffalo with the horns on it, was attached to each lower arm and each lower leg, for the purpose, probably, of preventing by their great weight, the struggling, which might otherwise have taken place to their disadvantage whilst they were hung up.

When these things were all adjusted, each one was raised higher by the cords, until these weights all swung clear from the ground, leaving his feet, in most cases, some six or eight feet above the ground. In this plight they at once became appalling and frightful to look at—the flesh, to support the weight of their bodies, with the additional weights which were attached to them, was raised six or eight inches by the skewers; and their heads sunk forward on the breasts, or thrown backwards, in a much more frightful condition, according to the way in which they were hung up.

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The unflinching fortitude, with which every one of them bore this part of the torture surpassed credulity; each one as the knife was passed through his flesh sustained an unchangeable countenance; and several of them, seeing me making sketches, beckoned me to look at their faces, which I watched through all this horrid operation, without being able to detect anything but the pleasantest smiles as they looked me in the eye, while I could hear the knife rip through the flesh, and feel enough of it myself, to start involuntary and uncontroullable tears over my cheeks.

When raised to the condition above described, and completely suspended by the cords, the sanguinary hands, through which he had just passed, turned back to perform a similar operation on another who was ready, and each one in his turn passed into the charge of others, who instantly introduced him to a new and improved stage of their refinements in cruelty.

Surrounded by imps and demons as they appear, a dozen or more, who seem to be concerting and devising means for his exquisite agony, gather around him, when one of the number advances towards him in a sneering manner, and commences turning him around with a pole which he brings in his hand for the purpose. This is done in a gentle manner at first; but gradually increased, when the brave fellow, whose proud spirit can controul its agony no longer, burst out in the most lamentable and heart-rending cries that the human voice is capable of producing, crying forth a prayer to the Great Spirit to support and protect him in this dreadful trial; and continually repeating his confidence in his protection. In this condition he is continued to be turned, faster and faster—and there is no hope of escape from it, nor chance for the slightest relief, until by fainting, his voice falters, and his struggling ceases, and he hangs, apparently, a still and lifeless corpse! When he is, by turning, gradually brought to this condition, which is generally done within ten or fifteen minutes, there is a close scrutiny passed upon him among his tormentors, who are checking and holding each other back as long as the least struggling or tremour can be discovered, lest he should be removed before he is (as they term it) "entirely dead."

When brought to this alarming and most frightful condition, and the turning has gradually ceased, as his voice and his strength have given out, leaving him to hang entirely still, and apparently lifeless; when his tongue is distended from his mouth, and his *medicine-bag*, which he has affectionately and superstitiously clung to with his left hand, has dropped to the ground; the signal is given to the men on top of the lodge, by gently striking the cord with the pole below, when they very gradually and carefully lower him to the ground.

In this helpless condition he lies, like a loathsome corpse to look at, though in the keeping (as they call it) of the Great Spirit, whom he trusts will protect him, and enable him to get up and walk away. As soon as he is lowered to the ground thus, one of the bystanders advances, and pulls out the two splints or pins from the breasts and shoulders, thereby disengaging

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796 him from the cords by which he has been hung up; but leaving all the others with their weights, &c. hanging to his flesh.

881 In this condition he lies for six or eight minutes, until he gets strength to rise and move himself, for no one is allowed to assist or offer him aid, as he is here enjoying the most valued privilege which a Mandan can boast of, that of "trusting his life to the keeping of the Great Spirit," in this time of extreme peril.

796 As soon as he is seen to get strength enough to rise on his hands and
881 feet, and drag his body around the lodge, he crawls with the weights still
304 hanging to his body, to another part of the lodge, where there is another Indian sitting with a hatchet in his hand, and a dried buffalo skull before him; and here, in the most earnest and humble manner, by holding up the little finger of his left hand to the Great Spirit, he expresses to Him, in a speech of a few words, his willingness to give it as a sacrifice; when he lays it on the dried buffalo skull, where the other chops it off near the hand, with a blow of the hatchet!

Nearly all of the young men whom I saw passing this horrid ordeal, gave in the above manner, the little finger of the left hand; and I saw also several, who immediately afterwards (and apparently with very little concern or emotion), with a similar speech, extended in the same way, the *fore*-finger of the same hand, and that too was struck off; leaving on the left hand only the two middle fingers and the thumb; all which they deem absolutely essential for holding the bow, the only weapon for the left hand.

One would think that this mutilation had thus been carried quite far enough; but I have since examined several of the head chiefs and dignitaries of the tribe, who have also given, in this manner, the little finger of the right hand, which is considered by them to be a much greater sacrifice than both of the others; and I have found also a number of their most famous men, who furnish me incontestible proof, by five or six corresponding scars on each arm, and each breast, and each leg, that they had so many times in their lives submitted to this almost incredible operation, which seems to be optional with them; and the oftener they volunteer to go through it, the more famous they become in the estimation of their tribe.

No bandages are applied to the fingers which have been amputated, nor any arteries taken up; nor is any attention whatever, paid to them or the other wounds; but they are left (as they say) "for the Great Spirit to cure, who will surely take good care of them." It is a remarkable fact (which I learned from a close inspection of their wounds from day to day) that the bleeding is but very slight and soon ceases, probably from the fact of their extreme exhaustion and debility, caused by want of sustenance and sleep, which checks the natural circulation, and admirably at the same time prepares them to meet the severity of these tortures without the same degree of sensibility and pain, which, under other circumstances, might result in inflammation and death.

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During the whole of the time of this cruel part of these most extraordinary inflictions, the chiefs and dignitaries of the tribe are looking on, to decide who are the hardiest and "stoutest hearted"—who can hang the longest by his flesh before he faints, and who will be soonest up, after he has been down; that they may know whom to appoint to lead a war-party, or place at the most honourable and desperate post. The four old men are incessantly beating upon the sacks of water and singing the whole time, with their voices strained to the highest key, vaunting forth, for the encouragement of the young men, the power and efficacy of the *medicine-pipe*, which has disarmed the monster O-kee-hee-de (or Evil Spirit), and driven him from the village, and will be sure to protect them and watch over them through their present severe trial.

As soon as six or eight had passed the ordeal as above described, they were led out of the lodge, with their weights hanging to their flesh, and dragging on the ground, to undergo another, and a still more appalling mode of suffering in the centre of the village, and in presence of the whole nation, in the manner as follows:—

The signal for the commencement of this part of the cruelties was given by the old master of ceremonies, who again ran out as in the buffalo-dance, and leaning against the big canoe, with his *medicine-pipe* in his hand, began to cry. This was done several times in the afternoon, as often as there were six or eight who had passed the ordeal just described within the lodge, who were then taken out in the open area, in the presence of the whole village, with the buffalo skulls and other weights attached to their flesh, and dragging on the ground! There were then in readiness, and prepared for the purpose, about twenty young men, selected of equal height and equal age; with their bodies chiefly naked, with beautiful (and similar) head-dresses of war-eagles' quills, on their heads, and a wreath made of willow boughs held in the hands between them, connecting them in a chain or circle in which they ran around the *big canoe*, with all possible speed, raising their voices in screams and yelps to the highest pitch that was possible, and keeping the curb or big canoe in the centre, as their nucleus.

Then were led forward the young men who were further to suffer, and being placed at equal distances apart, and outside of the ring just described, each one was taken in charge of two athletic young men, fresh and strong, who stepped up to him, one on each side, and by wrapping a broad leather strap around his wrists, without tying it, grasped it firm underneath the hand, and stood prepared for what they call *Eh-ke-nah-ka-nah-pick* (the last race, PLATE 69). This, the spectator looking on would suppose was most correctly named, for he would think it was the last race they could possibly run in this world.

In this condition they stand, pale and ghastly, from abstinence and loss of blood, until all are prepared, and the word is given, when all start and run around, outside of the other ring; and each poor fellow, with his weights

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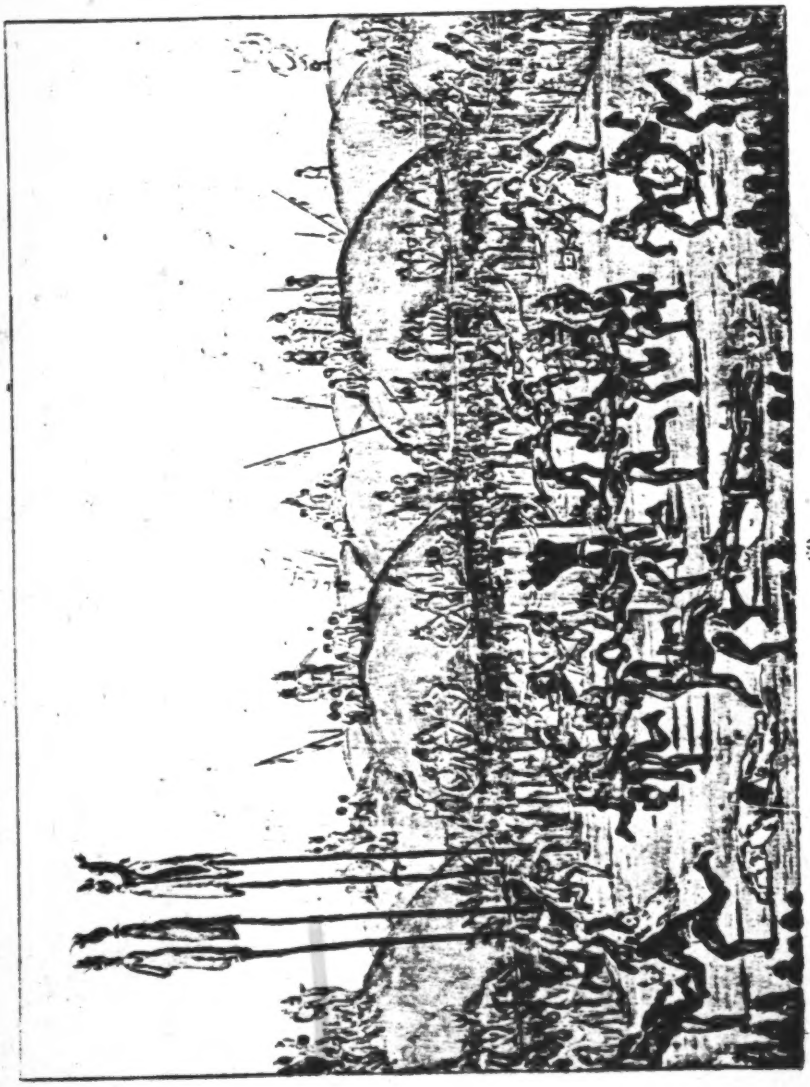

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dragging on the ground, and his furious conductors by his side, who hurry him forward by the wrists, struggles in the desperate emulation to run longer without "dying" (as they call it) than his comrades, who are fainting around him and sinking down, like himself, where their bodies are dragged with all possible speed, and often with their faces in the dirt. In the commencement of this dance or race they all start at a moderate pace, and their speed being gradually increased, the pain becomes so excruciating that their languid and exhausted frames give out, and they are dragged by their wrists until they are disengaged from the weights that were attached to their flesh, and this must be done by such violent force as to tear the flesh out with the splint, which (as they say) can never be pulled out endwise, without greatly offending the Great Spirit and defeating the object for which they have thus far suffered. The splints or skewers which are put through the breast and the shoulders, take up a part of the pectoral or trapezius muscle, which is necessary for the support of the great weight of their bodies, and which, as I have before mentioned, are withdrawn as soon as he is lowered down—but all the others, on the legs and arms, seem to be very ingeniously passed through the flesh and integuments without taking up the muscle, and even these, to be broken out, require so strong and so violent a force that most of the poor fellows fainted under the operation, and when they were freed from the last of the buffalo skulls and other weights, (which was often done by some of the bystanders throwing the weight of their bodies on to them as they were dragging on the ground) they were in every instance dropped by the persons who dragged them, and their bodies were left, appearing like nothing but a mangled and a loathsome corpse! At this strange and frightful juncture, the two men who had dragged them, fled through the crowd and away upon the prairie, as if they were guilty of some enormous crime, and were fleeing from summary vengeance.

Each poor fellow, having thus patiently and manfully endured the privations and tortures devised for him, and (in this last struggle with the most appalling effort) torn himself loose from them and his tormentors, he lies the second time, in the "keeping (as he terms it) of the Great Spirit," to whom he issues his repeated prayers, and entrusts his life: and in whom he reposes the most implicit confidence for his preservation and recovery. As an evidence of this, and of the high value which these youths set upon this privilege, there is no person, not a relation or a chief of the tribe, who is allowed, or who would dare, to step forward to offer an aiding hand, even to save his life; for not only the rigid customs of the nation, and the pride of the individual who has entrusted his life to the keeping of the Great Spirit, would sternly reject such a tender; but their superstition, which is the strongest of all arguments in an Indian community, would alone, hold all the tribe in fear and dread of interfering, when they consider they have so good a reason to believe that the Great Spirit has undertaken the special care and protection of his devoted worshippers.

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In this "last race," which was the struggle that finally closed their sufferings, each one was dragged until he fainted, and was thus left, looking more like the dead than the living: and thus each one laid, until, by the aid of the Great Spirit, he was in a few minutes seen gradually rising, and at last reeling and staggering, like a drunken man, through the crowd (which made way for him) to his wigwam, where his friends and relatives stood ready to take him into hand and restore him.

In this frightful scene, as in the buffalo-dance, the whole nation was assembled as spectators, and all raised the most piercing and violent yells and screams they could possibly produce, to drown the cries of the suffering ones, that no heart could even be touched with sympathy for them. I have mentioned before, that six or eight of the young men were brought from the medicine-lodge at a time, and when they were thus passed through this shocking ordeal, the medicine-men and the chiefs returned to the interior, where as many more were soon prepared, and underwent a similar treatment; and after that another batch, and another, and so on, until the whole number, some forty-five or fifty had run in this sickening circle, and, by leaving their weights, had opened the flesh for honourable scars. I said *all*, but there was one poor fellow though (and I shudder to tell it), who was dragged around and around the circle, with the skull of an elk hanging to the flesh on one of his legs,—several had jumped upon it, but to no effect, for the splint was under the sinew, which could not be broken. The dragging became every instant more and more furious, and the apprehensions for the poor fellow's life, apparent by the piteous howl which was set up for him by the multitude around; and at last the medicine-man ran, with his medicine-pipe in his hand, and held them in check, when the body was dropped, and left upon the ground, with the skull yet hanging to it. The boy, who was an extremely interesting and fine-looking youth, soon recovered his senses and his strength, looking deliberately at his torn and bleeding limbs; and also with the most pleasant smile of defiance, upon the misfortune which had now fallen to his peculiar lot, crawled through the crowd (instead of walking, which they are never again at liberty to do until the flesh is torn out, and the article left) to the prairie, and over which, for the distance of half a mile, to a sequestered spot, without any attendant, where he laid three days and three nights, yet longer, without food, and praying to the Great Spirit, until suppuration took place in the wound, and by the decaying of the flesh the weight was dropped, and the splint also, which he dare not extricate in another way. At the end of this, he crawled back to the village on his hands and knees, being too much emaciated to walk, and begged for something to eat, which was at once given him, and he was soon restored to health.

These extreme and difficult cases often occur, and I learn that in such instances the youth has it at his option to get rid of the weight that is thus left upon him, in such way as he may choose, and some of those modes are

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far more extraordinary than the one which I have just named. Several of the Traders, who have been for a number of years in the habit of seeing this part of the ceremony, have told me that two years since, when they were looking on, there was one whose flesh on the arms was so strong that the weights could not be left, and he dragged them with his body to the river by the side of the village, where he set a stake fast in the ground on the top of the bank, and fastening cords to it, he let himself half-way down a perpendicular wall of rock, of twenty-five or thirty feet, where the weight of his body was suspended by the two cords attached to the flesh of his arms. In this awful condition he hung for several days, equi-distant from the top of the rock and the deep water below, into which he at last dropped and saved himself by swimming ashore!

I need record no more of these shocking and disgusting instances, of which I have already given enough to convince the world of the correctness of the established fact of the Indian's superior stoicism and power of endurance, although some recent writers have, from motives of envy, from ignorance, or something else, taken great pains to cut the poor Indian short in everything, and in *this*, even as if it were a virtue.

I am ready to accord to them in this particular, the palm; the credit of outdoing anything and everybody, and of enduring more than civilized man ever aspired to or ever thought of. My heart has sickened also with disgust for so abominable and ignorant a custom, and still I stand ready with all my heart, to excuse and forgive them for adhering so strictly to an ancient celebration, founded in superstitions and mysteries, of which they know not the origin, and constituting a material part and feature in the code and forms of their religion.

Reader, I will return with you a moment to the medicine-lodge, which is just to be closed, and then we will indulge in some general reflections upon what has passed, and in what, and for what purposes this strange batch of mysteries has been instituted and perpetuated.

After these young men, who had for the last four days occupied the medicine-lodge, had been operated on, in the manner above described, and taken out of it, the old medicine-man, master of ceremonies, returned, (still crying to the Great Spirit) sole tenant of that sacred place, and brought out the "edged tools," which I before said had been collected at the door of every man's wigwam, to be given as a sacrifice to the water, and leaving the lodge securely fastened, he approached the bank of the river, when all the medicine-men attended him, and all the nation were spectators; and in their presence he threw them from a high bank into very deep water, from which they cannot be recovered, and where they are, correctly speaking, made a sacrifice to the water. This part of the affair took place just exactly at sun-down, and closed the scene, being the end or finale of the *Mandan religious ceremony*.

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outer surface until after the Deluge. When an Indian story is told, it is like all other gifts, "to be taken for what it is worth," and for any seeming inconsistency in their traditions there is no remedy; for as far as I have tried to reconcile them by reasoning with, or questioning them, I have been entirely defeated; and more than that, have generally incurred their distrust and ill-will. One of the Mandan doctors told me very gravely a few days since, that the earth was a large tortoise, that it carried the dirt on its back—that a tribe of people, who are now dead, and whose faces were white, used to dig down very deep in this ground to catch *badgers;* and that one day they stuck a knife through the tortoise-shell, and it sunk down so that the water ran over its back, and drowned all but one man. And on the next day while I was painting his portrait, he told me there were *four tortoises,*—one in the North—one in the East—one in the South, and one in the West; that each one of these rained ten days, and the water covered over the earth. 773

These ignorant and conflicting accounts, and both from the same man, give as good a demonstration, perhaps, of what I have above mentioned, as to the inefficiency of Indian traditions as anything I could at present mention. They might, perhaps, have been in this instance however the creeds of different sects, or of different priests amongst them, who often advance diametrically opposite theories and traditions relative to history and mythology.

And however ignorant and ridiculous they may seem, they are yet worthy of a little further consideration, as relating to a number of curious circumstances connected with the unaccountable religious ceremonies which I have just described

The Mandan chiefs and doctors, in all their feasts, where the pipe is lit and about to be passed around, deliberately propitiate the good-will and favour of the Great Spirit, by extending the stem of the pipe *upwards* before they smoke it themselves; and also as deliberately and as strictly offering the stem to the four *cardinal points* in succession, and then drawing a whiff through it, passing it around amongst the group. 782 788

The *annual religious ceremony* invariably lasts *four* days, and the other following circumstances attending these strange forms, and seeming to have some allusion to the *four* cardinal points, or the "four tortoises," seem to me to be worthy of further notice. *Four* men are selected by Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (as I have before said), to cleanse out and prepare the medicine-lodge for the occasion—one he calls from the *north* part of the village—one from the *east*—one from the *south*, and one from the *west*. The *four* sacks of water, in form of large tortoises, resting on the floor of the lodge and before described, would seem to be typical of the same thing; and also the *four* buffalo, and the *four* human skulls resting on the floor of the same lodge—the *four* couples of dancers in the "bull-dance," as before described; and also the *four* intervening dancers in the same dance, and also described. 796 801

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796 801 The bull-dance in front of the medicine-lodge, repeated on the *four* days, is danced *four* times on the first day, *eight* times on the second, *twelve* times on the third, and *sixteen* times on the *fourth*; (adding *four* dances on each of the *four* days,) which added together make *forty*, the exact number of days that it rained upon the earth, according to the Mosaic account, to produce the Deluge. There are *four* sacrifices of black and blue cloths erected over the door of the medicine-lodge—the visits of Oh-kee-hee-de (or Evil Spirit) were paid to *four* of the buffaloes in the buffalo-dance, as above described; and in every instance, the young men who underwent the tortures before explained, had *four* splints or skewers run through the flesh on their legs—*four* through the arms and *four* through the body.

000 Such is a brief account of these strange scenes which I have just been witnessing, and such my brief history of the Mandans. I might write much more on them, giving yet a volume on their stories and traditions; but it would be a volume of fables, and scarce worth recording. A nation of Indians in their primitive condition, where there are no historians, have but a temporary historical existence, for the reasons above advanced, and their history, what can be certainly learned of it, may be written in a very small compass.

I have dwelt longer on the history and customs of these people than I have or shall on any other tribe, in all probability, and that from the fact that I have found them a very peculiar people, as will have been seen by my notes.

From these very numerous and striking peculiarities in their personal appearance—their customs—traditions and language, I have been led conclusively to believe that they are a people of decidedly a different origin from that of any other tribe in these regions.

From these reasons, as well as from the fact that they are a small and feeble tribe, against whom the powerful tribe of Sioux are waging a deadly war with the prospect of their extermination; and who with their limited numbers, are not likely to hold out long in their struggle for existence, I have taken more pains to pourtray their whole character, than my limited means will allow me to bestow upon other tribes.

From the ignorant and barbarous and disgusting customs just recited, the world would naturally infer, that these people must be the most cruel and inhuman beings in the world—yet, such is not the case, and it becomes my duty to say it; a better, more honest, hospitable and kind people, as a community, are not to be found in the world. No set of men that ever I associated with have better hearts than the Mandans, and none are quicker to embrace and welcome a white man than they are—none will press him closer to his bosom, that the pulsation of his heart may be felt, than a Mandan; and no man in any country will keep his word and guard his honour more closely.

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231 properly, will enrich them, a scrub lean steer being as valuable in their eyes as a fat, blooded one. These Indians are virtually self-supporting, as they receive very little from the government." (Wheeler, p. 224.)

361 Wheeler here notes the reason why the upper of the two Mandan villages proper near Knife river, which stood on the northeast bank of the Missouri in 1804, was found on the southwest bank in 1833:

Apparently Crossed River. "The five villages mentioned by Lewis and Clarke in 1804, were still in existence in 1833, when Maximilian visited these Indians. One important change had, he states, occurred. The Missouri river had characteristically changed its channel and in Maximilian's day flowed on the eastern side of Rooptahee, or Ruhptare, the second Mandan town of our narrative, so that both the Mandan villages were then on the western south bank."

773 **Mandans and Hidatsas.** "The tradition relating to the origin of the Mandans given by Lewis and Clarke, according to Dr. Matthews, relates, not only to the Mandans, but to the Hidatsa as well. This tradition, I find, is current at the present day and the lake from which the tribe emerged is said to be Minnewakan, or Devil's Lake in North Dakota, the Hidatsa name for this lake—Midihopa—meaning sacred or mysterious water. Dr. Matthews thinks that 'one nation borrowed its legend from the other,' so that both have a common source." (Wheeler, p. 228.)

771 **Polytheism.** "These people had a belief in a 'Great Spirit,' or 'Old Man Immortal,' or 'Great Mystery,' and Dr. Matthews discusses it quite fully in his paper. Their ancient belief appears to have been, on the whole, a species of Polytheism. Religious missionary work on the Fort Berthold reservation began in 1876, and since then there has been a marked change in their religious ideas. The leaven acted but slowly at first, but when its results were apparent it seemed to work with cumulative effect. 'Only a small minority of the people now hold to the wreck of their old paganism.' Carlisle, Santee, and other schools have had their influence in producing this uplift. The younger generations see things with a new and broader vision and their moral and religious notions are cast in a new mold." (Wheeler, p. 229.)

797 Wheeler quotes as follows from Rev. C. L. Hall, the Congrega-

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tional Indian missionary who has been among the Mandans at Fort Berthold for some thirty years: 797

The Missionaries. "Mr. Hall, the missionary among these people, in discussing their general condition, past and present, says:

" 'Twenty-five years ago the old Indian community was like Sodom; now the Indians live decently on the allotments, with their wives, and none of them have more than one. There is vice to fight, but only as in every white community. Religiously the phenomena of growth are seen here as elsewhere. Form and ritual are in sight, and are adopted before the inner power is felt. The old beliefs have largely passed away from the younger generation. The Christian teaching answering to all that was of higher aspiration and better living in the old religion, has saved them from infidelity and won their intellectual faith. The church is more a social centre to them than a spiritual.'

"Both the Congregationalists and Catholics now have religious organizations on the reservation. The former have three churches, and the latter a church and school combined, but this was unused at the time of the writer's visit. One of the Congregational chapels is largely the work of the Aricaree Indians. It cost nine hundred dollars, and of this the Indians contributed more than one-third. They hewed the logs and hauled the stone and lumber, the latter from a distance of sixty miles. There are also a few Episcopalians among these people." (p. 229.)

Says Wheeler of the allowances to be made in judging of the morals of the Mandans: 000

Morals. "In considering the moral excellencies and delinquinces of the old Mandans and allied tribes, we must necessarily, I take it, consider in connection therewith their ideas of entertainment and hospitality. And we must remember that we are reviewing the ethical acts and beliefs of an uncivilized, uncultivated people, touched with the frost of savagery and barbarism, and a hundred years removed, as well, from the canons of moral conduct at present taught them." (p. 230.)

Welsh Theory—Indian Supervision. "In the early days the Mandans were noted for their long light hair and fair complexions. This caused Catlin to exploit a notion that these people were descended from a colony of Welshmen who were supposed to have landed on the Florida coast or thereabouts in very early 142

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outer surface until after the Deluge. When an Indian story is told, it is like all other gifts, "to be taken for what it is worth," and for any seeming inconsistency in their traditions there is no remedy; for as far as I have tried to reconcile them by reasoning with, or questioning them, I have been entirely defeated; and more than that, have generally incurred their distrust and ill-will. One of the Mandan doctors told me very gravely a few days since, that the earth was a large tortoise, that it carried the dirt on its back—that a tribe of people, who are now dead, and whose faces were white, used to dig down very deep in this ground to catch *badgers;* and that one day they stuck a knife through the tortoise-shell, and it sunk down so that the water ran over its back, and drowned all but one man. And on the next day while I was painting his portrait, he told me there were *four tortoises,*—one in the North—one in the East—one in the South, and one in the West; that each one of these rained ten days, and the water covered over the earth. 773

These ignorant and conflicting accounts, and both from the same man, give as good a demonstration, perhaps, of what I have above mentioned, as to the inefficiency of Indian traditions as anything I could at present mention. They might, perhaps, have been in this instance however the creeds of different sects, or of different priests amongst them, who often advance diametrically opposite theories and traditions relative to history and mythology.

And however ignorant and ridiculous they may seem, they are yet worthy of a little further consideration, as relating to a number of curious circumstances connected with the unaccountable religious ceremonies which I have just described

The Mandan chiefs and doctors, in all their feasts, where the pipe is lit and about to be passed around, deliberately propitiate the good-will and favour of the Great Spirit, by extending the stem of the pipe *upwards* before they smoke it themselves; and also as deliberately and as strictly offering the stem to the four *cardinal points* in succession, and then drawing a whiff through it, passing it around amongst the group. 782 788

The *annual religious ceremony* invariably lasts *four* days, and the other following circumstances attending these strange forms, and seeming to have some allusion to the *four* cardinal points, or the "four tortoises," seem to me to be worthy of further notice. *Four* men are selected by Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (as I have before said), to cleanse out and prepare the medicine-lodge for the occasion—one he calls from the *north* part of the village—one from the *east*—one from the *south*, and one from the *west*. The *four* sacks of water, in form of large tortoises, resting on the floor of the lodge and before described, would seem to be typical of the same thing; and also the *four* buffalo, and the *four* human skulls resting on the floor of the same lodge—the *four* couples of dancers in the "bull-dance," as before described; and also the *four* intervening dancers in the same dance, and also described. 796 801

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796 The bull-dance in front of the medicine-lodge, repeated on the *four* days,
801 is danced *four* times on the first day, *eight* times on the second, *twelve* times on the third, and *sixteen* times on the *fourth*; (adding *four* dances on each of the *four* days,) which added together make *forty*, the exact number of days that it rained upon the earth, according to the Mosaic account, to produce the Deluge. There are *four* sacrifices of black and blue cloths erected over the door of the medicine-lodge—the visits of Oh-kee-hee-de (or Evil Spirit) were paid to *four* of the buffaloes in the buffalo-dance, as above described; and in every instance, the young men who underwent the tortures before explained, had *four* splints or skewers run through the flesh on their legs—*four* through the arms and *four* through the body.

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193 character in that they may be regularly inflected with the pronoun.

●802 193 NUMERALS:—The numeration in the Mandan appears to be formed on a decimal system, but there are points which seem to go against this. The Mandan numerals themselves show no traces of the quinary system on an ordinary observation, but when it is seen that a number of related dialects show signs of that method and that a little similarity can be traced between these systems and that of the Mandan, a doubt may arise as to whether the Mandan enumeration is purely decimal. It must be remembered, however, that the Catawba has a decimal system and that the Winnebago seems to have it.

The cardinal numbers are:—

1. *maxana*	6. *kihma*
2. *nompah*	7. *kuhpa*
3. *nahmeni*	8. *tettake*
4. *tohpa*	9. *maxpe*
5. *kexu*	10. *piraq* or *pidaks*

The cardinals from ten to twenty are formed by adding the word *ahga* or *ag* to the cardinal, as:—

11. *ahga maxana*	16. *ag kihma*
12. *ahga nompah*	17. *ag kuhpa*
13. *ahga nahmeni*	18. *ag tettake*
14. *ahga tohpa*	19. *ag maxpe*
15. *ahga* or *ag kexu*	

The decades are formed by prefixing the cardinals to *piraq* (ten) or *ampiraq*

20. *nompah piraq*	60. *kihma ampiraq*
30. *nahmeni ampiraq*	70. *kuhpa ampiraq*
40. *tohpe ampiraq*	80. *tettake ampiraq*
50. *kexu ampiraq*	90. *maxpe ampiraq*

The intervening numbers are constructed thus, twenty one= *nompah pirake roh maxana*, twenty two=*nompah pirake roh nompah*, etc.

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According to Maximilian the same ending, *c*, found on the adjective so often, is also usually put at the end of the numerals, e. g. 30=*nahmeni ampirakoc*, 40=*tohpa ampirakoc*, etc. 802 193

For the number one hundred, the Mandan had a regular word, but judging from the text at hand this seems to have been corrupted later into the "big ten" of the Hidatsa and other Siouan languages. In 1834 the original Mandan for one hundred was *ehsuk maxana*. The Hidatsa is *pidaki'tia*.

The hundreds run regularly thus, 200=*ehsuk nompa*, 300=*ehsuk nahmeni*, etc. 101=*ehsuk maxana roh numpoc*, etc., 1000=*isukki kakohi*, 1001=*isukki kakohi roh maxana*, 1100=*isukki ahga maxanac*, 2000=*isukki kakohi numpoc*, 10000=*isukki kakohi pirakoc* (Maximilian).

The cardinal numerals are used like the adjectives and follow the words modified; thus, ten commandments=*toinksa pidaks*. The word for one half is *ihcanhe*.

The ordinal numbers are formed in about the same way that abstract nouns are formed from adjectives, that is the syllable *ko* is prefixed to the cardinal. In addition the numerals seem to add also the syllable *hank* except in the case of first, which moreover is not formed from the cardinal. According to Maximilian, the ordinals run as follows:—

first—*koonti*
second—*konumpehank*
third—*konahmenihank*
fourth—*kotohpahank*
thousandth—*kosukkikakohihank*

The syllable *hank* may be derived from *iohanke*, the word for end. The word for last is formed with the aid of the same prefix, *koihkahce*.

The numeral adverbs as once, twice, etc., are formed as follows; once=*xanahre maxanac*, twice=*xanahre numpoc*, etc.

THE ADVERB:—Of the adverb little need be said; the distinction between them and the postpositions on one side and the adjectives on the other is very difficult to make. In fact adverbs often appear as little more than modifying suffixes. The two adverbs used in comparison have been already 193

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tween bundle lines. Some informants thought that these bundles must have originated in different villages because their older people who were living when the tribe occupied two villages had spoken of ceremonial differences between the villages. They believed that these ceremonial differences went back to mythological times when the ceremonies were first taught to the people. 796 778 124

Mandan tribal sacred bundles had these elements in common: each contained objects representing the characters and incidents of the myth; the rites were dramatizations of the sacred myths; there were prescribed rules of behavior when in the presence of the bundle or while it was open; an incense was always burned while the bundle rites were being performed or when the rites were terminated; there were songs and a sacred myth which belonged to the bundle; each bundle included a buffalo skull; the ritualistic lore was secret, and payment must be made to the bundle-owner for a knowledge of the rites; there were fixed rules of inheritance for the sale and transfer of the bundle; tribal sanction of a bundle transfer was at a public feast to which those owning related bundles were invited; feasts were made to the bundle by nonowners as a social obligation; and bundle-owners on occasion would give Bundle Renewal feasts to their own bundles to which were invited those owning important tribal bundles. 796 778 773 424

The Mandan recognize four seasons which were associated with the spring, summer, autumn, and winter buffalo. Since informants could not agree on any other division of the year, it is highly unlikely that they recognized any other uniform divisions. The year count was important in relating events. Ceremonies were, in general, evenly divided over the year. Ceremonies for success in warfare or doctoring were held at any time. On the other hand, rites relating to agriculture were begun in late winter when the first water birds appeared and were held throughout the summer until the southern flight of these birds had passed. The Okipa was always held during the warmest months, while the Snow Owl, Red Stick, and White Buffalo Cow ceremonies to bring the winter buffalo herds were always held 796 805 221

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221 796 805 during the coldest months. Table 3 gives the approximate time of the principal tribal ceremonies.

778 773 The Mandan attach great significance to the sacred myths associated with the sacred bundles, and informants constantly explained the relationship of one bundle to another in terms of in-

TABLE 3

APPROXIMATE TIME AND PURPOSE OF PRINCIPAL TRIBAL CEREMONIES

796 221

Approximate Month	Ceremony	Purpose of Ceremony
June to August	Okipa	General tribal welfare Buffalo fertility rites
May	Corn Fertility	To insure good gardens
March to October	Goose Society	Rains and good growing conditions for crops
August to October	Harvest festival	Thanksgiving rites for crops
March to October	Old Woman Who Never Dies	Rain and good growing conditions to insure good gardens
January to January	Old Woman Who Never Dies	Doctoring and warfare
March to October	Corn Pipe	Fertility
September to November	Eagle-trapping rites	To capture eagles
July to September	Eagle-trapping rites	To trap fish
January to January	Eagle-trapping rites	To corral buffaloes
April	Eagle-trapping rites	Success in hunting or warfare
April and November	Big Bird	Warfare Rain
January to January	Small Hawk	Warfare
June to August	Small Hawk	To call buffaloes
December to March	Snow Owl	To call winter buffaloes
January to January	Snow Owl	Warfare
March to October	Snow Owl	Rain
January to January	People Above	Warfare Doctoring
January to January	Shell Robe	Warfare Doctoring
December to March	Red Stick	To call winter buffaloes
December to March	White Buffalo Cow	To call winter buffaloes
January to January	Bear	Doctoring and warfare
March to November	Snake	Rain Doctoring Warfare

778 773 cidents mentioned in these myths. For that reason, the sacred myths belonging to the various bundle rites were recorded as completely as possible and appear in this study in much the same form and detail as they were recorded. It was a customary practice for a Mandan to invite to his lodge one having important tribal bundles and pay him to have the myths related privately. Those having a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were held in high esteem. The sacred myths were considered

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526 regular archery contests in which each competitor paid an entrance fee; the object was to see which man could get the most arrows into the air at once.[1]

The women played a game with a large leather ball, ornamented and well made, which they caused to fall alternately on the foot and knee by bouncing. There was also a children's game, called Assé, played with the tip of an antler to the base of which two feathers were attached. The children also played a game with a hoop covered with a number of leather bands, and about a foot in diameter. This hoop was rolled along and they hit it and knocked it down by throwing a pointed stick; the one that struck nearest the center won. In the spring after the break-up, the children used to run along the bank and throw this ring into the water.[2] Catlin also gives an account of sham battles under the leadership of older men in which the boys engaged.

533 MISCELLANEOUS:—As to the other features of their culture perhaps a few words from Maximilian[3] will give some idea.

He says:—"Many of them take a real pleasure in music and painting and are very skillful in both. . . . Their musical instruments are simple. The songs consist of cries uttered from time to time, and broken by louder bursts of joy. These are accompanied by heavy drum blows and the sound of rattles. . . . They 521 discussed with pleasure subjects of the highest order, the universe and its cause together with kindred topics, saying that their own explanation was far from satisfactory. . . . They are 537 very fine orators, and use very impressive figurative language. They like to talk. . . . By nature they are proud and full of ambition. . . . They often are highly sensitive, and some have 156 been known to die of love or from wounded personal pride due to an insult to their honor."

538 Maximilian also says that they were good story tellers and took great pleasure in relating their myths and legends. They had a sort of literature in the shape of rituals for their elaborate dances, and these were handed down through the medicine men. ● 805 They paid considerable attention to the stars in their ceremonies but were not students of the heavens, and their calendar was a

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 141. [2] Maximilian: p. 417. [3] Ibid., pp. 404 et seq.

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purely lunar one. Some record was kept of the years, a certain symbol of some distinctive event standing for each year on the record robe, the same system used by the Dakotas. The year was divided as follows: 805 [211]

January	Moon of	seven cold days.
February	" "	the rut of wolves.
March	" "	sore eyes.
April	" "	game; or of the river break-up.
May	" "	sowing; or of flowers.
June	" "	ripe june-berries.
July	" "	ripe choke-cherries.
August	" "	ripe wild plums.
September	" "	ripe corn.
October	" "	the fall of leaves.
November	" "	the freezing rivers.
December	" "	the little cold.

The Mandans were a very liberal and hospitable people, more so than any of their neighbors according to Henry. Food was practically common property in the village. No man could become a chief without much giving of presents, and giving was considered a great honor, the gifts which a man had made being painted on his robe along with his deeds in war. If one expressed a desire for anything it was immediately given to him but a present of equal value was expected in return. In connection with this might be mentioned the custom of taking back a sale; by a return of the purchase price a man might regain anything which he had sold, whenever he wished to. 574 554 431 437

The hospitality of the Mandans is mentioned by every visitor. Verendrye speaks particularly of his kind reception and says, "Their custom being to feed liberally all who came among them, selling only what was to be taken away."[1] Even their worst enemy when once in their village had nothing to fear and was treated with all kindness. Henry remarked that the Mandans were thieves but never touched any property of a stranger who was a guest in a lodge. They were bound to protect any stranger, even an enemy who might seek refuge in the village. 574

[1] Op. cit., p. 15.

778 Many instruments used by the Whites, especially mathematical, are a great medicine, or charm, in their eyes, because they do not comprehend the use of them. Thus, the Indian women were frequently embarrassed when we looked at them through a telescope, because they believed that we had the power of penetrating their inmost thoughts, and of discovering their past and future actions.

805 The division of time, especially that of the year into months, is pretty conformable to nature; they count the years by winters, and say so many winters have passed since such an event. They are able to reckon the winters either by numbers, or on their fingers, for their numerals are very complete.

1. The month of the seven cold days, answering to our January.
2. The pairing month—February.
3. The month of weak eyes—March.
4. The month of game. Some call it the month of the wild geese. It is likewise often called the month of the breaking-up of the ice.
5. The month in which maize is sown, or the month of flowers—May.
6. The month of ripe service berries.
7. The month of ripe cherries.
8. The month of ripe plums.
9. The month of ripe maize.
10. The month of the falling leaves.
11. The month in which the rivers freeze.
12. The month of slight frost.

Here and there other names are given to the months, but the above are the most common.

461 The chief occupations of the Indians, besides adorning and painting their persons, looking in
224 the glass, smoking, eating, and sleeping, are the chase and war, and these fill up a great part of their time. The principal beast of chase is the buffalo, or, rather, the buffalo cow. The men generally go hunting in a body, on horseback, in order to be the more secure against a superior
492 force of their enemies. The equipments of their horses are much like those of the Blackfeet, and their saddle resembles the Hungarian; though, now, they sometimes obtain saddles from the Whites, which they line and ornament with red and blue cloth. In riding, they never leave hold of their whip, the handle of which is made of wood, and not of elk's horn, as among the more
224 western nations. They never wear spurs. In the summer time, if the herds of buffaloes are dispersed to great distances in the prairie, the chase, of course, requires more time and exertion; but in winter, when they approach the Missouri, and seek shelter in the woods, a great number are

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300 ingly grotesque and amusing, and that part of them which has a relation to the Deluge is harmless and full of interest.

361 In the centre of the Mandan village is an open, circular area of 150 feet diameter, kept always clear, as a public ground, for the display of all their public feasts, parades, &c. and around it are their wigwams placed as near to each other as they can well stand, their doors facing the centre of this public area.

778 796 In the middle of this ground, which is trodden like a hard pavement, is a curb (somewhat like a large hogshead standing on its end) made of planks (and bound with hoops), some eight or nine feet high, which they religiously preserve and protect from year to year, free from mark or scratch, and which they call the "big canoe"—it is undoubtedly a symbolic representation of a part of their traditional history of the Flood; which it is very evident, from this and numerous other features of this grand ceremony, they have in some way or other received, and are here endeavouring to perpetuate by vividly impressing it on the minds of the whole nation. This object of superstition, from its position, as the very centre of the village is the rallying point of the whole nation. To it their devotions are paid on various occasions of feasts and religious exercises during the year; and in this extraordinary scene it was often the nucleus of their mysteries and cruelties, as I shall shortly describe them, and becomes an object worth bearing in mind, and worthy of being understood.

796 This exciting and appalling scene, then, which is familiarly (and no doubt correctly) called the "Mandan religious ceremony," commences, not on a ●805 particular day of the year, (for these people keep no record of days or weeks), 773 but at a particular season, which is designated by the full expansion of the willow leaves under the bank of the river; for according to their tradition, "the twig that the bird brought home was a willow bough, and had full-grown leaves on it," and the bird to which they allude, is the mourning or turtle-dove, which they took great pains to point out to me, as it is often to be seen feeding on the sides of their earth-covered lodges, and which, being, as they call it, a *medicine-bird*, is not to be destroyed or harmed by any one, and even their dogs are instructed not to do it injury.

796 On the morning on which this strange transaction commenced, I was sitting at breakfast in the house of the Trader, Mr. Kipp, when at sun-rise, we were suddenly startled by the shrieking and screaming of the women, and barking and howling of dogs, as if an enemy were actually storming their village.

"Now we have it!" (exclaimed *mine host*, as he sprang from the table,) the grand ceremony has commenced!—drop your knife and fork, Monsr. and get your sketch-book as soon as possible, that you may lose nothing, for the very moment of *commencing* is as curious as anything else of this strange affair." I seized my sketch-book, and all hands of us were in an instant in front of the medicine-lodge, ready to see and to hear all that was to take place. Groups of women and children were gathered on the tops of

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wanted to, so that the people always had meat. He had good luck on the battlefield and could bring rains for the crops. 773

Then he was married. Two sisters were brought to him by their father and mother. (This was the custom in olden times. The parents of children of marriageable age would bring them to some eligible man.) 539

The boy's grandmother is still living. The people downstream from the Knife River used to follow the river up to her place when on the warpath and eat corn with her. She would tell them now many people they would kill.

She became tired of this because they came too often, so she moved down the river about four miles, then up into the hills to the west where she disappeared. Since then she has been one of the Holy Women connected with corn. She must come back to Short Missouri, as people fasting there during the summer dream of her. Grandson went back to the sky and became one of the large stars.

CORN PIPE CEREMONY

This ceremony became extinct after 1837 and is remembered only from tradition. The principal article in its bundle was a sacred wooden pipe. The pipe was kept by Blue Snake Woman when her husband and children died during the smallpox epidemic. She surrendered the bundle to a daughter, who sold the pipe to Black Bear, who died a few years ago. The full bundle ritual was not performed after the smallpox epidemic, since those holding rights or acquainted with the ceremony had died. 796 778

The pipe was noted for its supernatural powers in producing winds. It was brought out when the days were warm and sultry to drive away the mosquitoes, so that women would not suffer from their bites while in the gardens. People were not permitted to climb on the lodge in which it was kept. If it was dropped or touched, the wind would blow. 778 821

According to tradition, a woman went to the Missouri River for water when the river was at flood stage. Driftwood was floating down. When she dipped up the water, she saw the pipe and an ear of yellow flint corn together in the water. She took the pipe and corn home and gave them to her husband, who called all the holy men to tell them of her discovery. They were afraid of the pipe because a high wind came up when one dropped it and did not want to keep it. They put it back in the water, thinking it would float on wherever it was going to. The woman found the pipe and corn four times at four different places where they camped. The holy men concluded that, since they had tried to get rid of it but it kept following them, it should be kept. They thought the corn should be divided among the families. In that way yellow flint corn was introduced in the tribe. 778 773

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter IX

BIG BIRD CEREMONY

796 773 THE birds belonging to this ceremony were classed in four groups: (1) hawks, ravens, and crows; (2) young calumet eagles; (3) old calumet eagles; and (4) bald eagles. According to the myth, the thunderbird was considered a relative of these birds, while in other myths the thunderbird was referred to as any one of the four groups of birds listed above.

796 821 The various rites were frequently referred to as the Thunderbird ceremony. However, birds other than those included in these rites, as well as the Sun and Moon and the snakes, were believed to possess the supernatural power of producing thunder and lightning.

796 778 773 There were two principal bundles appertaining to the ceremony. The Black Medicine bundle owned by Red Buffalo Cow (Prairie Chicken clan) was traditionally founded by Black Medicine, while the Sweet Medicine bundle was believed to have been founded by Grows in Lee Places, his twin brother. The latter bundle was last owned by Sand (Speckled Eagle clan). These two bundles came from Nuptadi Village. A second Black Medicine bundle owned by Little Shield (Prairie Chicken clan) [614] came from Fort Clark Village. The linked character of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle clans was expressed by the inheritance through the clan of two closely related bundles from two "brothers" of different clans.

The two bundles had a common mythological origin based on the exploits of two brothers. The myth was supplied by Ben Benson, while much of the data on rites relating to the bundle were secured from White Calf.

BIG BIRD CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEN BENSON[1]

773 539 This account goes back to the time when the villages were near the mouth of Heart River. Chief Bird was the head man of one of the villages. His sons

1. For another relation of this myth by the same informant see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," XXXII [1938]), pp. 53–62.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 bundles containing articles representing sacred beings believed
425 to be living in the world above, which would include People Above bundles, Star, and Holy Women bundles.

778 Bundle-owners doctored for insanity, feeble-mindedness, spasms and fits, premature births, and paralysis. Payment was
755 made if the patient recovered, or, when the case was given up as hopeless, the relatives requested that the doctor continue his efforts. Pine needles were burned as incense, and the Black Medicine root was chewed and blown over the victim. The songs were sung while using a large gourd rattle.

778 Calf Woman believed that the bundles were primarily war bundles because the Sun was a cannibal who brought war parties together and had some killed so he could eat them. Men having the Sun as their god believed that it would be the enemy who would be killed.

778 One could sell rights in the bundle four times but usually reserved singer rights and the rattle for the oldest daughter and
425 her husband. Women buying with the husband held Holy Woman rights to Old Woman Above and were entitled to wear magpie feathers and a braid of sweet grass and to carry an ash digging stick when attending a medicine feast.

772 Calf Woman added this general information about the beliefs associated with the ritual of the ceremony:

The world is in three layers: above world; the land we live on; and the lower land. First Creator and Lone Man created the land we live on. These lands and the sky are held apart by four large posts, for the universe is a large earth lodge. The earth is floating on water which separates it from the lower land because water comes out of the ground. There are people living on these three lands.

821 Sun dies during an eclipse. When there is a total eclipse of Sun, those with People Above bundles, which always includes Sun, burn pine spills that come from the Rocky Mountains, while all the people cry. Even the dogs cry. If the people are on the march when Sun dies, they stop to cry until Sun comes back to life. Sometimes Sun is sick, and then only part of the sun is dark.

Comets and constellations are people who once lived on the earth as holy people. The people were getting careless and broke the rules and did not treat these holy people right, so they went back to the sky and are making their home there now. When one sees a star going across the sky, it is because it is changing places, traveling as an arrow.

838 I saw three men who dressed like women; one was a Mandan, a brother to Four Bears;[3] the other two were Hidatsa. If a man dreams of the Holy Women and later finds a rope or porcupine quills in the forest, that is a sign that these

3. Four Bears also had a son who dressed in women's clothing.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

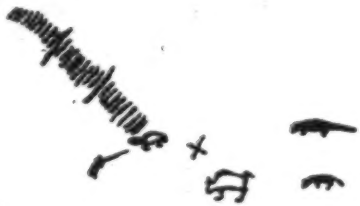
775 In this description of an after life, there was a marked mixture of ideas. The idea of multiple souls is Siouan, the rest is more or less common over most of the region.

776 As usual in the plains area every natural phenomenon and unaccountable event was mystery or medicine, and the medicine ●821 idea played the usual important part in all their religious customs. Thunder was ascribed to the familiar thunder-bird, the glitter of whose eyes dug a path through the clouds for the rain and caused the lightning.[1] Solitary claps of thunder were ascribed to a huge turtle which lived in the clouds. The rainbow was said to be a spirit which accompanies the sun and which shows itself when the sun retires for the night. The aurora borealis was said to be the fire kindled at an assembly of the great medicine men and warriors of the northern nations, over which they cooked their dead enemies in huge pots.[2] They had several beliefs about the stars—that of the Sioux, that each star is a man, and when a child is born the star comes down and when he dies it returns; also that a multitude of supernatural beings existed in the stars to which sacrifices and prayers [787] were offered. Dreams were of very great importance and governed nearly all their acts.

789 There were many small personal superstitions or mysteries. One man told Maximilian that he could turn a snowball into a 843 white stone, another claimed that his nose always bled if he picked up his pipe by the bowl. There were many signs of good and bad luck. A pregnant woman was considered to bring luck at the game of Skohpe. The medicine men told them that if a clay image of an enemy were made with a needle or quill in it for a heart, and were placed at the foot of some medicine structure, that enemy would die. A pregnant woman brings bad luck to her husband in hunting. Many of the Mandans believed that they had some animal, as a buffalo, turtle or frog in them; the women had a dance when they thought an ear of corn was in them, which the dance caused to come out.[3] There were a number of other superstitions of this sort, mostly common to all the plains tribes. One more notable might be mentioned, how- 372 ever, that of building the fire with two sticks crossed in the center,

[1] Ibid., p. 422. [2] Ibid., p. 423. [3] Ibid., p. 463.

532 212 instead of writing; for instance, the figures on their robes, the drawing of Mato-Topé (Plate XXII.), and the subjoined Indian letter from a Mandan to a fur trader:



212 437 The following is the explanation of the hieroglyphic figures contained in it:

The cross signifies, "I will barter, or trade." Three animals are drawn on the right hand of the cross: one is a buffalo; the two others, a weasel (*Mustela Canadensis*), and an otter. The writer offers, in exchange for the skins of these animals (probably meaning that of a white buffalo), the articles which he has drawn on the left side of the cross.

He has, in the first place, depicted a beaver very plainly, behind which there is a gun; to the left of the beaver are thirty strokes, each ten separated by a longer line; this means, I will give thirty beaver skins and a gun for the skins of the three animals on the right hand of the cross.

● 821 Many of them dispute, with great earnestness, on more elevated subjects; thus, they inquired our ideas of the various heavenly bodies, and of the origin of the universe, as they, themselves, declare their own silly traditions to be insufficient. Some, indeed, thought our ideas on these subjects much more silly than their own. They laughed outright, when we affirmed that the earth was round, and revolved about the sun. Others, however, would not reject our views, and were of opinion that, as the Whites could do so much which was incomprehensible to them, it was possible they might be right on this point also.

537 In all works that treat of these remarkable people, we find recorded very energetic and well-digested speeches of their chiefs. They frequently use very appropriate figures, and often said bitter truths to their white oppressors. Dr. Morse quotes some such phrases, used at the conclusion of treaties of peace, or declarations of war, which express much in a few words. Thus, in declarations of war: "The blood of our wives and children smokes on the ground! The bones of our warriors and old men are uncovered, and whiten the earth! The tomahawk is raised!" And on the conclusion of peace: "The bones of our warriors are buried! the tomahawk is buried! the blood of our women and children is covered! The path which leads to them must be kept clean; no weeds may grow there. The chain which binds us together must not become rusty."

Or, on the contrary: "The chain begins to rust," &c. &c..

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

776 773 in the form of an aged man, and, at others, in that of a young man. The first man, Numank-Machana, holds the second rank; he was created by the lord of life, but is likewise of a divine nature. The lord of life gave him great power, and they, therefore, worship and offer sacrifices to him. He is nearly identical with Nanabush among the Chippeways, or the people of the 776 171 Algonquin language, who, according to the notion of those tribes, acts as mediator between the creator and the human race. Nanabush and the creator frequently had disputes, and the Mandans have similar legends. Omahank-Chika, the evil one of the earth, is a malignant spirit, 776 773 who has, likewise, much influence over men, but who is not as powerful as the lord of life and the first man. The fourth being is Rohanka-Tsuihanka, who lives in the planet Venus, and it is he who protects mankind on the earth; for without his care the race would have been long since extinct. A fifth being, who, however, has no power, is something like the wandering Jew, ever in motion, and walking on the face of the earth in human form. They call him the lying prairie wolf. Besides these there is a sixth being, Ochkih-Hadda, whom it is difficult to class, and of whom they have a tradition, that whoever dreams of him is doomed soon to die. He appears to figure in their traditions as a kind of devil, is said to have once come to their villages, and taught them many things, but has not since appeared. They are afraid of him, offer sacrifices to him, and have in their villages a hideous figure representing him. They worship the sun, because they 776 believe it to be the residence of the lord of life. All their medicines or sacrifices are offered 772 chiefly to the sun, or rather to the lord of life, as inhabiting it. In the moon, say they, lives the old woman who never dies, and who wears a white band from the front to the back of the head; sacrifices and offerings are likewise made to her. They do not know who she is, but her power is great. She has six children, three sons and three daughters, who all live in certain stars. The eldest son is the day (the first day of the creation), the second is the sun, in which the lord of life has his abode. The third son is the night. The eldest daughter is the star that rises in the east, the morning star; and they call her, "the woman who wears a plume." The second daughter, called "the striped gourd," is a high star which revolves around the polar star; and, lastly, the third daughter is the evening star which is near to the setting sun.

539 The old woman in the moon desired to find a wife for her son, and brought a girl, whom she desired to wait outside the door. When the old woman sent out to fetch her, they found in her place a toad; indignant at the exchange, the toad was boiled in a vessel, that it might be destroyed. But this could not be done, nor could it be eaten, and it was, therefore, cursed, on which it remained always visible as a spot in the moon. The narrator could not say whether [821] the sun was large or small, but, at all events, it was glowing hot. The son married a woman whom they called "the narrow-leaved wormwood." They had a son, of great promise, who appeared destined to act an important part. He was very skilful in making arrows, and versed in all kinds of hunting and catching of animals. He shot birds for his mother, though she had

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

forbidden him to kill the prairie larks, yet he shot all his arrows at these birds, but he was unable to kill any. Upon this, one of the birds said to him, "Why will you kill me, since I am related to you?" He dug up in the moon the pomme blanche (*Psoralea esculenta*), for which his mother reproved him, because, through the hole which he had dug, they could see the Manitari villages in the earth beneath. And his mother said, "See, all those men are our relations; I did not intend to descend to the earth yet, but now we must go thither." The father once ordered the son to shoot a buffalo for him, and to bring him all the sinews of the animal; but the son twisted a rope with part of those sinews, in order thereby to let himself down to the earth. Accordingly he descended to the earth in the vicinity of the Little Missouri, but his rope reached only to the top of the trees. If he had had all the sinews of the buffalo, his rope would have reached the ground, but now remained suspended, and swung backwards and forwards. A large stone was thrown at him from the moon, which stone was in existence not very long since. The stone, however, could not kill him, he being medicine, that is, charmed. 539

The Mandans believe that the thunder is produced by the motion of the wings of a gigantic bird. When this bird flies softly, as is usually the case, he is not heard, but when he flaps his wings violently, he occasions a roaring noise. This huge bird is said to have only two toes on each foot, one behind and the other before. It lives in the mountains, where it builds an immense nest, as big as Fort Clarke. Its food consists of deer and other large animals, the horns of which are heaped up round the nest. The glance of its eyes produces lightning; it breaks through the clouds, the canopy of heaven, and makes a way for the rain. The isolated and peculiarly loud claps of thunder are produced by a gigantic tortoise, which lives in the clouds. When the lightning strikes, it is a sign of anger. They believe the stars to be deceased men. When a child is born, a star descends and appears on the earth in human form; after death it reascends and appears again as a star in the heavens. 821 [775]

The rainbow is a spirit accompanying the sun, and is especially visible at its setting. Many affirm that the northern lights are occasioned by a large assembly of the medicine men and distinguished warriors of several nations in the north, who boil their prisoners and slain enemies in immense cauldrons. The Chippeways are said to call this phenomenon "the dancing spirit," and the milky way, "the path of the ghosts." [171]

Dipauch related a history of the creation and the origin of the Mandan tribe, in the following manner. Though this narrative is equally silly and tiresome, I subjoin it, as giving an idea of the intellectual condition of this people, and the nature of their conversations. 773 539

Before the existence of the earth, the lord of life created the first man, Numank-Machana, who moved on the waters, and met with a diver or duck, which was alternately diving and rising again. The man said to the bird, "You dive so well, now dive deep and bring up some earth."

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

000 to me: 'This is the only one who can speak better to thee about it. Thou dost not understand properly what has been said to thee; I do not lie. Last summer I killed one who was covered with iron, as I have already said several times. If I had not killed the horse first I could not have killed the man.'

"I said to him: 'What hast thou brought of his spoil to show us that thou speakest the truth?' 'As I wished to cut off his head I noticed men on horseback, who were blocking the way; I escaped with difficulty; I kept nothing to carry off; I threw away everything I had, even to my blanket in my flight. What I say is true, and I will have it told to thee by others who were with me the following spring. They are not here now, but thou shall see them. What I have said I repeat; the other side of the river cannot be seen; the water is salt; it is a country of mountains; a great extent between the mountains of fine land; many cattle, big and stout, white and of different colors; many stags and deer; I have seen their wheat fields, where no women are to be seen; what I tell thee is without deceit; thou will learn further of it afterwards.' "

•823 It cannot well be doubted that what is recorded by Verendrye as having been related to him by the Mandans concerning the whites "who work in iron" on "the lower part of the rivers" refers to the Spaniards and mailed warriors of that race inhabiting the lower Mississippi, and that the Mandans then knew enough of that lower country to understand that those whites peopled it; and it seems a fair deduction from the reference to the lower part of the river being "very wide, land not being visible from one shore to the other; the water bad for drinking," that they there referred to the mouth of the Mississippi. Again, they speak of the "Pananas"; that is, the Pawnees or Aricaras, as having "several forts at a day's journey from the last of their forts." It also appears that some of their own warriors had come into hostile contact with the Spaniards, and it was made clear to Verendrye from information given him by the Mandans that "on the lower part of the river there were men like us, who made cloth and linen, were very numerous, and had wars with a large part of the Indians," whose "forts and houses are stone," and that it would "take a whole summer to make the journey" to the whites below.

000 Now it is in evidence from an entirely different source that

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go across the divide;[45] there you will find blacktail deer meat;
Go across the divide; there you will find blacktail deer meat.

Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go to Grape River;[46] there you will find elk meat;
Go to Grape River; there you will find elk meat.

Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Eagles, go; leave us; go, everyone of you;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go; walk; go in the right direction;
Go to the Big Bend;[47] there you will find buffalo meat;
Go to the Big Bend; there you will find buffalo meat.
Now you are home.[48]

When this song was ended, the spirits of the eagles left to join their people in the meeting place of the spirits near a large body of water. Only the leaders could send the spirits away. Men without eagle-trapping rights were afraid to catch eagles for fear that the spirits, being unsent, might bring bad luck to the trappers. All who caught eagles gave the leader pay in feathers, calicoes, robes, or knives for singing these songs and sending the birds' spirits away.

Then the leader sang the cleansing song, rubbing all the feathers with the sage. He rubbed each person in the party to cleanse him and bring him back to a human being again. While trapping, the men were impersonating the small bears. My father gave each trapper a new name connected with the bears for the duration of trapping. Mandan generally had this change of names. If a trapper stumbled when out trapping, he would report it and get another name, otherwise he would have bad luck. Each man paid the leader for his name, but it was relinquished when the cleansing ceremony ended.

The leader and as many as wished went into the sweat lodge, where the trappers hung the feathers on the sides in imitation of the bear's lodge far to the north. The sweat-lodge rites completed the ceremonies, after which the families united again either to return home at once or to hunt along the way according to their inclinations.

Benson claimed to be the fourteenth owner of the bundle which he used. In order of succession from Black Wolf, the owners were reported as follows: (1) Black Wolf; (2) Bull Leg;

45. The Mandan called that section of the country between the Cannonball and Grand rivers "The Divide." The blacktail deer meat was believed to be on a high hill at the mouth of the Grand River and on the north bank.

46. The Little Bend of the Missouri River is at the mouth of the Cheyenne River, called by the Mandan Grape River.

47. The Big Bend of the Missouri is below Pierre, South Dakota.

48. The Mandan believed that the Missouri River entered the ocean not far below the Big Bend. This was believed to be the winter home of migratory waterfowl, corn, and the large birds of the eagle family (see chap. ix).

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

323 the whites came among them; and that when they saw the bril-
301 liantly colored beads of the traders, they conceived the idea of improving their art by using these beads. If they ever possessed the art of making glass de novo, there is no record, tradition, or other evidence of it, that I have been able to find."

Was It Ancient Art. "One of many reasons, though perhaps an insufficient reason, for believing the art to be of no recent origin among them, is that they used the triangular pendants, not as ornaments only, but as evidences of betrothal, as long ago as
[584] the oldest men can remember. When a girl was promised in marriage in her infancy by her parents, as was not infrequently done, one of these pendants was tied to her forelock so as to hang down over her forehead. When the promise was fulfilled, the husband removed the pendant and threw it away." (p. 22-23.)

439 **Inter-Tribal Trade.** "With the nomadic tribes around, they exchanged their agricultural produce for horses, and, recently,
[824] for robes. When the Dakotas saw a certain flower (Liatris punctata) blooming on the prairie, they knew that the corn was ripe, and went to the villages of the farming Indians to trade. From
721 the time they came in sight of the village to the time they disappeared there was a truce. When they had passed beyond the bluffs, they might steal an unguarded pony or lift a scalp, and were in turn liable to be attacked." (p. 27.)

439 **Trade With Pacific Coast—Shells.** "It appears probable that they once carried on trade indirectly with the tribes of the Pacific coast, for they had Dentalium shells similar to those obtained on the Pacific and they prized them so highly that the white traders found it advisable to obtain them for the trade. As late as 1866, ten of these shells, of inferior size, costing the traders only a cent a piece, would buy a superior buffalo robe, and formerly only two or three of the same quality were paid for a robe. Modern traders, with whom the writer had conversed, obtained their shells from eastern importers, and know nothing of the original source of supply. They supposed them to come from the Atlantic coast or the Great Lakes, and called them 'Iroquois shells,' which is probably their corruption of the Chinook 'hyakwa;' but it is possible the reverse is the case.

439 "They also used, and still use, as ornaments, fragments of the
301 **Abalone** shells (one or more species of **Haliotis**) of the Pacific.

574 The Mandans are hospitable, and often invite their acquaintance to come and see them. Their pipes are made of the red-stone, or of black clay. They obtain the red pipe-heads chiefly from the Sioux; sometimes they have wooden heads lined with stone; the tube is plain, long, round or flat, on the whole, of the same shape as among the Sioux, but they are not so fastidious about ornamenting their pipes as other tribes. They smoke the leaves of the tobacco plant, which is cultivated by them; the bark of the red willow *(Cornus sericea)*, which they obtain from the traders, is sometimes mixed with the tobacco, or the latter with the leaves of the bearberry *(Arbutus uva ursi)*. The tobacco of the Whites, unmixed, is too strong for the Indians, because they draw the smoke into their lungs; hence they do not willingly smoke cigars.

276 241 824

415 The meals of the Mandans are served in wooden dishes. The spoons are generally large and deep; they are made of the horn of the bighorn (see woodcut, p. 251); sometimes they are yellow, or else they are shallow, made of black buffalo's horn. They have a considerable variety of dishes. The Indians residing in permanent villages have the advantage of the roving hunting tribes, in that they not only hunt, but derive their chief subsistence from their plantations, which afford them a degree of security against distress. It is true these Indians sometimes suffer hunger when the buffalo herds keep at a great distance, and their crops fail; but the distress can never be so great among the Missouri Indians, as in the tribes that live further northwards. The plants which they cultivate are maize, beans, French beans, gourds, sunflowers, and tobacco *(Nicotiana quadrivalvis)*, of which I brought home some seeds, which have flowered in several botanic gardens.

224 241

243 Of maize there are several varieties of colour, to which they give different names. The several varieties are:—1. White maize. 2. Yellow maize. 3. Red maize. 4. Spotted maize. 5. Black maize. 6. Sweet maize. 7. Very hard yellow maize. 8. White, or red-striped maize. 9. Very tender yellow maize.*

241

The beans are likewise of various sorts—small white beans, black, red, and spotted beans. The gourds are—yellow, black, striped, blue, long, and thick-shelled gourds.

241 The sunflower is a large helianthus, which seems perfectly to resemble that cultivated in our gardens. It is planted in rows between the maize. There are two or three varieties, with red, and black, and one with smaller seeds. Very nice cakes are made of these seeds. The tobacco

276

* I brought to Europe specimens of the several kinds of maize grown among the Mandans; these have been sown, but only the early species were ripe in September, 1835. The heads have by no means attained the same size, on the Rhine, as in their native country. There the plant attains a height of five or six feet, and the colours of the grains are very various, bright and beautiful: while, on the Rhine, the plant grew to the height of four or four and a half feet. The later sorts grew to the height of ten feet, and were not quite ripe at the end of October. (See Bradbury, page 145, for an account of the maize of the Mandans.)

According to Tanner (page 180), an Ottawa Indian first introduced the cultivation of maize on the Red River, among the Ojibwas, or Chippeways.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

cultivated by the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, attains a great height, and is suffered to 241
grow up from the seeds, without having any care whatever bestowed upon it. It is not trans- 276
planted. When it is ripe the stalks are cut, dried, and powdered; or the leaves, with the small branches, are cut into little pieces. The taste and smell are disagreeable to an European, resembling camomile rather than tobacco. The plant is not now so much cultivated as formerly, being superseded by the more pleasant tobacco of the Whites; but the species is still preserved. It is only on solemn occasions, for instance, in negotiations for peace, that this tobacco is still smoked; the seed is, therefore, preserved in the medicine bag of the nation, that the plant may never be lost. When they mean to smoke this tobacco, a small quantity of fat [278]
is rubbed on it.

The cultivation of the maize and other fields, of which each family prepares three, four, 241
or five acres, takes place in the month of May. Rows of small furrows are made, into which 221
the grains of maize are thrown singly, and covered with earth. Three times in the summer the plants are hoed, and the earth heaped up against them, that the moisture may have better access to them. The harvest takes place in October, when men, women, and children, each lend a helping hand. At present the women use, in their field labour, a broad iron hoe, with a crooked wooden handle, which they obtain from the merchants. Charbonneau recollected the time when they used the shoulder blade of the buffalo for this purpose. The fields are never fenced, but lie quite open and exposed.

The wild plants of the prairie are used by the Mandans, and other people of the Upper 222
Missouri; and to those before-mentioned, I can only add the feverolles *(Faba minor equina)*, 252
a fruit resembling the bean, which is said to grow in the ground, but which I did not see; there 824
are many other roots in the prairie, which are used for food. The gourds are eaten fresh as 262
well as dry. The beans are seldom eaten of one kind, but many sorts are mixed together. The maize is boiled or roasted, then pounded, mixed with fat, and made up into small cakes and baked. There are, of course, many other ways of dressing it. The sweet maize has a very pleasant taste, especially when it is in what is called the milky state; it is then boiled, dried, and laid by for use.

All kinds of animals serve the Mandans for food; the bear, when it is young and fat, the 224
wolf, the fox, in short, everything except the horse; the ermine is not eaten by many; and of 825
birds they dislike the turkey-buzzard, and the raven, because they feed on the dead bodies 262
deposited on the stages. They have a great aversion from serpents, but eat the turtle; the buffalo is the chief object of their chase, as it supplies them with skins, meat, tallow, marrow-bones, sinews, and many other necessaries. Next to the buffalo the beaver is the most indispensable to them, since it not only furnishes them with valuable skins, but supplies them with delicate food, the fat tail, especially, being considered quite a dainty morsel by the Indians. Pemmican, 262

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

262 which is so favourite a dish among the northern Indians, is not much in use among the Mandans. Their only drink is water, for they are unacquainted with the method of preparing fermented liquors. They did not obtain any spirits, either from the American Fur Company, or the agents [273] of Messrs. Soublette and Campbell; hence an intoxicated person is scarcely ever seen. They are extremely fond of sugar, and likewise of salt, which they procure from their lakes, and, if the supply is insufficient, purchase from the Whites. They are likewise fond of coffee and tea, well sweetened. It has been affirmed, that several North American nations, especially those which speak the Algonquin language, are cannibals, and more particularly the Chippeways and the Potawatomis; but I found no trace of this unnatural custom among the Missouri nations.

592 Two, and sometimes three, families usually live together in an Indian hut, commonly the 595 father, with his married sons or sons-in-law. Polygamy is everywhere practised, and the number 596 of wives differs; however, they have very seldom more than four, and, in general, only one. The women are very skilful in various kinds of work, particularly in dyeing and painting the buffalo 386 robes. They extract a red colour from the roots of the savoyenne, or from buffalo berries; yel- 824 low from a lichen of the Rocky Mountains; black from belianthus, as well as from a black stone 439 or clay; blue and green they extract from European substances. Among the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, the women, as Lewis and Clarke relate, manufacture beads from coloured glass. They powder those which they have obtained from the traders, and mould them into different shapes. This custom is, however, no longer common. The dyeing of the skins, of 323 which many travellers have spoken, employs a great portion of the women's time. These three nations understand the manufacture of earthen pots and vessels, of various forms and sizes. The clay is of a dark slate colour, and burns a yellowish-red, very similar to what is seen in the burnt tops of the Missouri hills. This clay is mixed with flint or granite, reduced to powder by the action of fire. The workwoman forms the hollow inside of the vessel by means of a round stone which she holds in her hand, while she works and smooths the outside with a piece of poplar bark. When the pot is made, it is filled and surrounded with dry shavings, and then burnt, 501 when it is ready for use. They know nothing of glazing. With respect to their boats, the North Americans are far more expert than the Brazilians, Patagonians, and other South Americans, who live on the banks of rivers, and yet have contrived no means to pass them. The Chippeways and other northern nations have handsome vessels of birch bark; the Esquimaux makes his kiack, which is curiously covered with seal skin; and on the Missouri, especially among the Mandans, there are boats of buffalo skin, which are represented in the plates accompanying this work. They are very light, of a circular form, stretched on a frame of several pieces of wood crossing each other, and may be carried on the shoulder of a single individual.

584 If a young Indian desires to marry, and has obtained the consent of the girl, he endeavours to procure that of her father; when he is certain of this, he brings two, three, nay, even eight or

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The Mandans and Manitaries make excursions as far as the Rocky Mountains, against their enemies, the Blackfeet, and against the Chippeways, to the country of Pembina. Their other enemies are the Sioux, the Arikkaras, the Assiniboins, and the Chayennes (spelt, by the English, Shiennes). They are at peace with the Crows. 721

The weapons of the Mandans and Manitaries are, first, the bow and arrow. The bows are made of elm or ash, there being no other suitable kinds of wood in their country. In form and size they resemble those of the other nations; the string is made of the sinews of animals twisted. They are frequently ornamented. A piece of red cloth, four or five inches long, is wound round each end of the bow, and adorned with glass beads, dyed porcupine quills, and strips of white ermine. A tuft of horsehair, dyed yellow, is usually fastened to one end of the bow. Pehriska-Ruhpa, in Plate XXIII., has such a weapon in his hand. The quiver, to which the bow-case is fastened, is made of panther or buffalo skin; in the first case, with the hair outwards, the long tail hanging down, and, as among the Blackfeet, lined with red cloth, and embroidered in various figures with white beads. Their handsome quivers are made of otter skin, which are much esteemed. A very beautifully ornamented one, belonging to the Crows, is represented in Plate XLVIII. Fig. 16. Narrow strips of skin hang down at both ends of the quiver. The arrows of the Mandans and Manitaries are neatly made; the best wood is said to be that of the service berry *(Amelanchier sanguinea)*. The arrows of all the Missouri nations are much alike,* with long, triangular, very sharp, iron heads, which they themselves make out of old iron: it is but slightly glued to the shaft of the arrow, which is rather short, and generally remains in the body of the wounded animal. They know nothing of poisoning their arrows. The arrow-heads were formerly made of sharp stones: when Charbonnean first came to the Missouri, some made of flint were in use, and in the villages they are still met with, and in all those parts of the United States where the expelled or extirpated aborigines formerly dwelt. We were told that, in the prairie, near the Manitari villages, there is a sand hill, where the wind has uncovered a great number of such stone arrow-heads. Almost all the Mandans and Manitaries now have guns, which they ornament with bits of red cloth, on the brass rings of the ramrod, and at the but-end 411 [824]

* Though all their arrows appear, at first sight, to be perfectly alike, there is a great difference in the manner in which they are made. Of all the tribes of the Missouri the Mandans are said to make the neatest and most solid arrows. The iron heads are thick and solid, the feathers glued on, and the part just below the head, and the lower end, are wound round with very even, extremely thin sinews of animals. They all have, in their whole length, a spiral line, either carved or painted red, which is to represent the lightning. The Manitaries make the iron heads thinner, and not so well. They do not glue on the feathers, but only tie them on at both ends, like the Brazilians. The Assiniboins frequently have very thin and indifferent heads to their arrows, made of iron-plate. Mr. Say (Major Long's Expedition) says, that the arrow-wood (silberum) is used for their arrows by the Indians on the Lower Missouri and the neighbouring prairies. I conjecture that this shrub is the sloisir (*Crataegus terminalis*) of the Upper Missouri, which is sometimes used for bows, but very seldom for arrows. [824]

 796

ing. On the eagle-trapping expeditions these two men supplied the meat for the camp. This party being small, only Crows Heart has that office. He should sleep opposite the Old Black Bear. 223 773

You should be tortured and cry for the birds to have good luck.

KINDS OF BIRDS

1. Bald-headed Eagle. White head and white tail. Parent to speckled eagle. 223
2. Speckled Eagle. 825
3. Spotted-barred tail. Body is black.
4. White tail with black tip. Known as the calumet eagle.
5. "Half of each feather good, half bad."
6. "Black but has white tails"; head is white; is a hawk.
7. I'pamasina.
8. Chicken hawk. Tails barred black and light brown.
9. Goose.
10. One of the smaller geese.

The twelve sticks on the altar represent the twelve tail feathers but also represent the ten birds listed above. 223

When in the pit one must not smoke. When you get in, even up the grass and while you are away from the pit hide the poles put on top to keep grass from blowing.

When tying the bait, be sure to put it close enough so that you can reach the bird. You will get a wooden pin from the leader to stick into the wall for the snare to hang onto. When catching an eagle, grab one foot first; then the bird will pull away from the pit; get a hold of the other foot and hold both feet with one hand; then fold its wings over and choke it with the snare.

The second day in camp was usually spent digging new pits or cleaning out those previously used. The walls of old pits were often broken in. Care was taken to remove all the earth in baskets or robes to a place where the birds would not see it or the people walk on it.[32] The pits should be deep enough for the trapper to sit upright in but not quite long enough to stretch out full length in. Most trappers had their pits on the tops of hills near the northwest edge, but it was believed that the best pits were those on the northwest slope, about three rods from the top of the hill, so situated that there was an open view for many miles westward. Birds approaching from that direction while still flying high in the air could see the bait.

In alighting, they would fly beyond the summit of the hill and turn back to light, facing into the west wind. It was difficult to find a good natural location. Should the pit be too near the rim, the birds lit too far back and were likely to sense danger while walking up to the bait. On the other hand, pits located too far

32. This was done because the pit was sacred.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ing of trappers was performed the evening that the pits were completed. 796 223

Ordinarily when a party was composed of advanced middle-aged men, none were tortured, except on occasions when the birds would not stop, or when the winds continued from the wrong direction, there would be fasters on the hills crying during the night. If bad luck continued, then some would offer their bodies for torture and even cut off a piece of finger as an offering to the birds. In historic times there seems to have been somewhat more emphasis of the torture feature when eagle-trapping by the Mandan than the Hidatsa. Since we know from historic accounts[35] that the torture feature was highly developed with the Mandan, it appears that there occurred a transfer from village to nonvillage rites, the latter taking place when on hunting, eagle-trapping, and war expeditions. 785

Someone was selected, generally one of the waiters, to go out before daylight to determine the direction of the wind. The wind must be from a westerly direction, or it was believed that the birds were not traveling. Crows Heart explained that the calumet eagles nested in the Rocky Mountains and that the pits were located along the migration route to their wintering grounds to the southeast.[36] A piece of soft hide tied to the top of a pole placed on a high hill within view of the camp was employed to indicate the direction of the wind. If favorable winds were blowing, the leader was notified. He ordered all the trappers to prepare for trapping. None was allowed to eat before going out to the pits, as trapping was considered a form of ceremonial "suffering for the birds." Each trapper left shortly after daybreak for his pit, carrying his bait, a ceremonial fiber snare painted red with a piece of Black Medicine attached to it, and several leather snares. The bait was tied to two stakes driven into the ground four inches from the west edge of the pit. A shallow 223 [825]

35. See Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIII (Cleveland, 1906), 331–33, 377–78; cf. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 265–75.

36. Benson explained that the southland was the meeting place in winter of many creatures considered holy. Among these he included the thunderbirds, eagles, hawks, ducks, geese, cranes, herons, as well as the spirits of the corn and other garden products. This meeting place was an island where Old Woman Who Never Dies lived in her large earth lodge with four large snakes living in the water surrounding her island as her helpers. 825 773

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 medicine bags as Maximilian calls them, seem to have been much less important than among the Arikara. Nevertheless these bundles were by no means absent. Maximilian relates that each man had his own medicine bag, the contents of which no one else might see. In addition to this there was a large medicine bag in the medicine lodge within which, Maximilian tells us, were preserved three sacred skulls, those of the chief who had led them out from underground, of his sister, and of his brother — also this chief's rattle. In the medicine lodge were also the sacred rattle and the four drums of hide, filled with water, which were made to resemble turtles and which they claimed, according to Catlin, they had always had. They had a sacred pipe or calumet also, which Maximilian was not allowed to see, the price of looking at it alone being placed at one hundred dollars. He says[1] that it was very hard for the Mandans to get these sacred pipes and much more trouble to consecrate them. Certain things must be hung upon them and among these was the skull of an animal which at that time was not found in the vicinity, and for which an enormous price had to be given. There were many other pipes called medicine pipes belonging to private owners, these however were merely ordinary pipes which had been consecrated by the ceremony already described. Each Mandan regarded his own medicine as a sacred animal, and in addition there were several animals which were regarded as sacred throughout the whole tribe. Owls and screech owls were kept in the lodges to predict the future. The war-eagle was considered as having great medicine power and they kept all sorts of birds of prey alive in the huts for their plumes. Geese were considered to be very sacred also, first because in one of their tales the Lord of Life turned into a goose and flew away with a flock of them, and also as they are the messengers of the Old Woman Who Never Dies or the Corn Mother. Of greatest importance among these sacred animals, however, was the white buffalo, whose hide was the most valuable article that a Mandan could possess. The hides were bought mostly from other nations, they were tanned with horns and hoofs on, and were not valuable unless of heifers

778 825

778 [439]

[1] Op. cit., p. 439.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Once the Mandan lived underground. A small mouse went about and discovered a little hole in the ground, through which he crawled up and thus came to see the surface of the earth. He liked the light and the grass. He returned, and told his people about it. They said to Fox, "You are small enough to get up through the hole." So Fox went up. He got to the ground, looked about, and found everything good there. He liked it, and told the three chiefs[1] and their sister. The hole was still too small, so the Elk was called. "You have wide horns, make a little passage for us to get through." The Elk did as he was bidden, got above ground, and enjoyed the sight. He returned, and told them how good the country above was. Then the youngest of the three brothers went up through the opening, and found plenty of buffalo and elk. He hunted them, killed a buffalo and took the sinew and paunch, which he gave to his brothers on his return. They were very glad to get sinew, for underground they had been obliged to use sunflower threads for cordage. All the people wished to go above ground. They went to the hole, and found a vine passing from their country to the earth. The chiefs climbed up first on the vine. They found an abundance of game, and camped near the hole. The people went up, one after another, until a pregnant woman tried to climb up and broke the vine. It was impossible to readjust the vine, so those behind the woman were obliged to remain below. The chiefs' sister had forgotten to take along her elk robe, and called down for it to her mother, who was still underground at the time when the vine broke. But the woman answered, "You cannot get it now; however, you will find one just like it above. When you die, you will come back, and then you will be able to get your elk robe again." The girl, accordingly, got a new elk robe above ground just like the one left behind. It was tanned soft, without the hair on, and painted black on one side; fleshed bluebirds were attached to it. This robe was passed from heir to heir until the time of the Ft. Berthold settlement, where Moves-slowly, a Corn-singer, kept it by his shrine.

The Mandan ascended the River and built their villages. They came to a big clay hill named Bare-Hill, where no grass grew. Near this hill they built one village. A young man went up the hill in order to get a vision. On a high hill, on the opposite bank of the Missouri, he saw many women dancing. Every time he went up the hill he saw the same vision, but each time the women got closer. The fourth time they came closer still, they came across the Missouri. When they approached the man, he saw how they were dressed. They were all mysterious beings. At the same time, some women just like them rose from the Bare-Hill itself, and began to dance. They wore crowns of live snakes,[2] whose necks were striped with different colors. Their heads were on the left side of the dancers, the tails on the right. The visionary was also able to hear the mysterious women's songs. In accordance with this vision he started the River Women society. In the place of the snake crowns, he took blue-grass about three feet long and from a triple braid of this material he made the head band emblematic of the organization (Fig. 15). Into the left side of the head band he stuck in obliquely the tail feather of an eagle. The ends of the crown were tied in the middle of the forehead. Kinumakci came to the visionary, and was

[1] The skulls of these three chiefs, according to Hides-and-eats, were still kept by Poor-wolf at the time of my visit. Cf. Maximilian (II, 161): "Noch gegenwärtig heben die Mandans in ihrer Medicine-Tasche oder Beutel 3 heilige Schädel auf, von welchen der eine der des genannten Chefs und die anderen die dessen Bruders und Schwester seyn sollen."

[2] Garter-snakes, according to one informant; according to another, brown snakes about 3 feet long, which the Indians call "grass-eaters."

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

cultivated by the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, attains a great height, and is suffered to 241
grow up from the seeds, without having any care whatever bestowed upon it. It is not trans- 276
planted. When it is ripe the stalks are cut, dried, and powdered; or the leaves, with the small branches, are cut into little pieces. The taste and smell are disagreeable to an European, resembling camomile rather than tobacco. The plant is not now so much cultivated as formerly, being superseded by the more pleasant tobacco of the Whites; but the species is still preserved. It is only on solemn occasions, for instance, in negotiations for peace, that this tobacco is still smoked; the seed is, therefore, preserved in the medicine bag of the nation, that the plant may never be lost. When they mean to smoke this tobacco, a small quantity of fat [278]
is rubbed on it.

The cultivation of the maize and other fields, of which each family prepares three, four, 241
or five acres, takes place in the month of May. Rows of small furrows are made, into which 221
the grains of maize are thrown singly, and covered with earth. Three times in the summer the plants are hoed, and the earth heaped up against them, that the moisture may have better access to them. The harvest takes place in October, when men, women, and children, each lend a helping hand. At present the women use, in their field labour, a broad iron hoe, with a crooked wooden handle, which they obtain from the merchants. Charbonneau recollected the time when they used the shoulder blade of the buffalo for this purpose. The fields are never fenced, but lie quite open and exposed.

The wild plants of the prairie are used by the Mandans, [illegible] people of the Upper 222
Missouri; and to those before-mentioned, I can only add the [illegible] (*Faba minor equina*), 252
a fruit resembling the bean, which is said to grow in the ground, but which I did not see; there 824
are many other roots in the prairie, which are used for food. The gourds are eaten fresh as 262
well as dry. The beans are seldom eaten of one kind, but many sorts are mixed together. The maize is boiled or roasted, then pounded, mixed with fat, and made up into small cakes and baked. There are, of course, many other ways of dressing it. The sweet maize has a very pleasant taste, especially when it is in what is called the milky state; it is then boiled, dried, and laid by for use.

All kinds of animals serve the Mandans for food; the bear, when it is young and fat, the 224
wolf, the fox, in short, everything except the horse; the ermine is not eaten by many; and of 825
birds they dislike the turkey-buzzard, and the raven, because they feed on the dead bodies 262
deposited on the stages. They have a great aversion from serpents, but eat the turtle; the buffalo is the chief object of their chase, as it supplies them with skins, meat, tallow, marrow-bones, sinews, and many other necessaries. Next to the buffalo the beaver is the most indispensable to them, since it not only furnishes them with valuable skins, but supplies them with delicate food, the fat tail, especially, being considered quite a dainty morsel by the Indians. Pemmican, 262

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

773 labourers, and the mouse, the mole, and the before-mentioned stags, perform the work. The birds, which fly from the sea-shore in the spring, represent the old woman, who then travels to the north to visit "the old man who never dies," and who always resides in that quarter. She does not, however, stop there long, but generally returns in three or four days. In former times, the old woman's hut was near the little Missouri, where the Indians often went to visit her. One day, twelve Manitaries came to her, and she set before them a pot of maize, which was so small, that it was not sufficient to satisfy even one; but she invited them to eat, and, as soon as the pot was empty, it was instantly refilled, and all the twelve men had enough. This occurred several times while the old woman resided in that spot.

773 Serpents, especially the rattlesnakes, are in a greater or less degree "medicine" for these
755 people, who kill them, and cut off the rattles, which they regard as an effectual remedy in many
[825] diseases. They chew one of the joints, and wet various parts of the body of the patient with
778 the saliva. They likewise believe in the existence of a colossal medicine serpent, which lives in a lake three or four days' journey from this place, and to which they make offerings. The following is their tradition of this monster:—Two young men were strolling along the bank of the river, and observed a cavern, through which curiosity led them to go. On reaching the further end, they were surprised at beholding a picturesque country, wholly unknown to them, where numerous herds of buffaloes were grazing. Suddenly, however, an immense giant stood before them, who demanded—"Who are you, you little people? I am afraid, if I were to lay hold of you, I should crush you!" He then lifted them in his hands very carefully, and carried them into the village, which was inhabited by giants like himself. Accompanied by the two Mandans, they went out to hunt buffaloes. The giants killed the buffaloes by throwing stones, but the Mandans destroyed many with their arrows, which greatly delighted the giants. At that time the giants were at war with the eagles, which were very numerous, and which they slew by flinging stones. The Mandans, however, shot them with arrows, so that they speedily procured a large quantity of eagles' feathers. They then took leave of the giants, and were permitted to depart with all their valuable feathers. On their return they found the cave blocked up by a colossal serpent. At first they were at a loss how to make a passage, but they soon collected a large pile of wood and burnt the monster. One of them tasted the roasted flesh of the serpent, and, finding it palatable, partook of more. They proceeded on their way, when the head of the Mandan who had tasted the serpent's flesh began to swell prodigiously, and an intolerable itching came over his face. He begged his friend not to leave him, but to take him home. On the second day he continued to swell, increased in length, felt an irritation all over, and
773 was soon afterwards transformed into a serpent, upon which he begged his companion to take
778 him to the Missouri, which the latter accomplished in three days. As soon as the serpent reached the water, he dived, but speedily rose to the surface, and said, "There are many like me below, but

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

773 in order that he could retreat to the lowest level in the universe.
772 It was believed that the earth comprised four horizontal levels and that the surface of the earth was the top level. The sky was likewise made up of four semicircular hemispheres shaped like an earth-lodge roof and supported by four posts. This belief was associated with rites performed by a female robe-owner whenever a new lodge was erected or an old one repaired.

796 There was no spring or autumn bird feast, as in the case of the Big Bird bundles. When the bundle-owners were paid to per-
778 form the Buffalo-calling ceremony, the man officiated as the singer, carried the rattles, and wore the hawk on his head; his wife was dressed in the robe, wore the sage and magpie tail feathers, used the ash stick to dig a small hole near the head of the lodge, and "called up the buffaloes," as had been done by Frog Earrings in the mythology. A young man, about to go to war, asked the help of a bundle-owner belonging to his father's clan and promised to make an offering to the bundle upon his return. For this, he received a feather to wear on his head when in battle.

778 The sacred robe was held in high regard as a means of warding off misfortune. Because of the wicked disposition and power
773 of Frog Earrings, whom the robe represented, it was believed that men took to wearing women's clothing and followed female
[828] avocations. She was also believed to be the cause of insanity,
[826] feeble-mindedness, malformations, twisted jaws, and premature
[848] births.

SMALL HAWK MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[3]

773 It was the fall of the year. Corn Silk and her nine brothers were living to-
539 gether. Whenever any young man would ask her to marry him, she would refuse. One of the brothers always spoke for the young man, but there was one of them who never paid any attention to her or urged her to marry. A young man, an unusually fine hunter, asked her to marry, and the brother who had been silent was disappointed, for he thought she would surely marry this one. He said to her, "I have never spoken before, so I think you should heed my words. At other times, our other brothers acted as spokesmen. This man is such a good provider you should marry him. You will have a comfortable home and everything you need. I think you should listen to me."

Corn Silk did not obey the request, and the mother was angry and said, "One of your brothers never spoke, but this man was a good provider, and he

3. Another version of this myth is reported in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 63–76.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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women want the man to pick it up. If he picks it up, but few do, he dresses like a woman. 838

There are three women, one in each of the three places where Sun stops to smoke. They are his sisters. Their names are Sunrise Woman, Above Woman, and Sunset Woman. They are all evil women. Because Sun is my god, I have the right to give children such names as Lone Woman from Sun's mother, Buffalo Woman from the buffalo skull, Digs Turnips or Chokecherry Tree from the Bear. 776 553

Although the woman represented in the Shell bundle is one of the Holy Women, rights in the People Above ceremony did not carry rights in the Shell bundle. 778 776

These Holy Women cause twisted faces and insanity, and people with rights in the bundle can cure them. I have the right also to doctor those thrown from horses or hit with an ash stick. This right comes from the People Above bundle. [753] [828]

The myth Calf Woman had been taught when buying the bundle was as follows: 773 539

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY CALF WOMAN

Three people go together in this story; they are Sun, Moon, and Old Woman Above. A long time ago a young woman named Corn Silk wanted to marry Sun. She went to a very old woman, who was a Holy Woman, to get instructions as to where Sun lived and how she might reach him. This Holy Woman said, "Your grandmothers, the mice, are living on the prairies. You can stop at their earth lodges each night on the way."

She started on her journey and came to the home of the lodge mice about sundown. She walked up to the lodge and stood outside. One of the children who came outside saw her and ran inside to tell the mice about it. The old women told the little mouse to invite her in. She asked the woman who was doing the cooking to prepare Corn Silk some ground beans for her supper. The young woman had buffalo fat along; she gave some of it to the mice to use, for their hands were chapped from digging beans. She also had some blue stone beads along, and she gave some of them to the old women. She slept there and the next morning went on.

The lodge mice told her that there was another family of mice a little farther on. She reached them at sunset. They were the white-breasted mice. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads as before. She also gave them fat for their chapped hands. One of the old women asked her where she was going, and she replied that she was on her way to marry Sun. They told her she would find another family of mice a little farther on.

She traveled all day and reached the lodge of the mosquito mice at sunset. One came out and saw her, and she was invited in as before. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads and buffalo fat.

They inquired, "Where are you going, my beautiful grandchild?"

She answered, "I am on my way to marry Sun."

She slept until morning and ate her breakfast with the mice. She traveled all day and reached the home of the pocket gophers at sunset. They saw her,

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

animals, the front of the body yellowish; a black line is drawn from each eye down the cheeks, and in each hand they carry a bunch of wormwood. 4. One man represents the evil spirit; he is conducted by two men of the village to the river, where he is dressed and painted; his entire body is painted black, and, as soon as this is done, he is not permitted to speak a word. They put on his head a cap, with a black cock's-comb; he likewise wears a mask, with white wooden rings left for the opening round the eyes. They then make for him large teeth of cotton yarn, paint the sun upon his stomach, the crescent upon his back, and on each joint of the arms and legs, a white circle; they then put on a buffalo's tail, and place a small stick in his hand, with a ball, made of skin, at the end, to which a scalp, painted red on the under side, is fastened. The ball represents the head of an enemy. When this monster is completed, they let him loose, and he runs, like one possessed, about the prairie, comes into the village, gets upon the huts, one after the other, and prys into every corner, while the inhabitants throw out to him all kinds of valuable articles as presents. As soon as he perceives this he turns towards the sun, and intimates to it, by signs, how well he is treated, and that it is foolish of it (the sun) to keep at so great a distance. He goes about and looks on the people's heads for vermin, and, if he finds any, he pretends to be very happy, and runs about with great rapidity. The Indians are very much afraid of the devil, for which reason this part cannot be assigned to anybody; but he who wishes to perform it must offer himself. My informant added that this medicine feast was once celebrated on the banks of Heart River, where the Mandans then resided, and the man who had undertaken this part was conducted into the river. When his clothes were taken off, in order to paint and dress him, he appeared very uneasy, and required to be let loose; and when this was done he seemed as one possessed by the evil spirit, and ran, with the velocity of an arrow, on the hills and about the plain. His two attendants were alarmed, and pursued him to the village, but the new demon darted past them, leaped over the high fence of the village, jumped down into the huts, and again made his egress, and then ran to the river; this now convinced them that he was possessed. It cost the inhabitants much trouble to catch and wash him, but he trembled like an aspen leaf, wrapped himself in his robe, and continued in this condition for the remainder of his life without ever speaking a word.* While the devil is walking about, the other masks continue dancing, and

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* When these Indians fast for three or four days together, they dream very frequently of the devil, and, in this case, they believe that they have not long to live. The narrator had once fasted for a long time at this festival, and suffered himself to be hung up by the back. During the night he dreamed of the devil, who appeared far more frightful and taller than he could ever be represented. His plume of feathers reached to the clouds, and he ran about as quick as lightning. On several other occasions he dreamed of this devil, but now he is resolved not to fast any more, that he might not die prematurely. He added, that he had often looked without apprehension, and with pleasure, on the mask representing the devil; but he now regarded the matter in a different light, for, the more he thought of him, the taller and the more frightful did he appear to him, and, under these circumstances, the spirit had been very near him, and, if he had but once touched him, he certainly should have been dead already.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 from the rim were undesirable because birds flew past the bait before seeing it and frequently did not come down. Certain pits were known to be better than others because of their proper location in respect to the contour of the hill and because of an unobstructed view westward for many miles.

223 425 829 Even in localities visited annually, ancient pits were discovered from time to time. Anyone finding an old pit, if within reasonable distance of a trapping camp, could appropriate it for his use, in which case it became the property of the leader under whom the trapper served. It was not necessary to perform the rites at the pit when reopening the pit, as it was assumed that such rites had been performed originally when the pit was dug. It was both Mandan and Hidatsa belief that all tribes trapping eagles had similar rites. During this study, in an effort to learn the extent of knowledge concerning eagle-trapping by neighboring tribes with whom these two tribes were in constant contacts, Crows Heart was asked if he knew whether the Assiniboine, Cheyenne, and Sioux had ceremonies associated with eagle-trapping. His reply was that he was positive that they did and that both the rites and songs were the same as for his people. When inquiry was made relative to the source of his information whether from attending their trapping expeditions or from information supplied by Indians of these various tribes, his reply was that he had never been out with Indians of any tribe other than the Mandan and Hidatsa, neither had he discussed the matter with Indians of neighboring tribes, but that "it was common sense that they used the same ceremonies, as all eagle-trapping came from the Black Bears, otherwise these neighboring tribes would never have caught eagles." He then added, "If the ceremonies had been omitted, or improperly conducted, the Indians not only would never have caught eagles but other bad luck would have befallen them." This example illustrates the unreliability of information secured from an informant relative to a society of which he is not a part.

223 Whenever advice was needed, the trapper consulted the leader and paid him for his services. The leader usually supervised construction of the cover for the pit. Six poles were crossed and tied as illustrated in Figure 30. This framework was called the "buffalo's backbone." To these poles were tied buckbrush and

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The sixth group was that of the "Black-tail Deer" and consisted of men over fifty years of age. There were two women in this band who served food and distributed fresh water during the dances. The men wore a crown of bears' claws. 561

There were a few other dances which were bought and sold, but which hardly deserve a place in the regular system. One of these was the dance of the "Half Shaven Head Band" which the lowest band could buy before reaching the proper age to buy into the "Soldier Band." Another was the "Old Dog Dance." The "Dog Band" could buy this of the "Buffalo Band" before becoming Buffalos themselves or being able to. The "Hot Dance" was danced at Rouhptare by the youngest band, and also at the Hidatsa village where it was purchased from the Arikara. The dancers danced barefoot over live coals and plunged their hands into boiling water. 561 424 535

The women, too, were divided into bands. There were four of these of which the first was "The Band of the Gun" which consisted of the younger girls. Next was the "River Band." The third band was the "Hay Women" who sang only the scalp dance. The fourth and last band was that of the "Women of the White Cow," most of them were old, and they were all tattooed with black lines from the mouth to the base of the chin. 561 [304]

The marriage customs of the Mandan Indians differed little from those of their neighbors. Polygamy was common, although a large part of the men had but one wife. Descent was probably along the male line, though there may have been remains of an older custom of descent along the female line, for all the horses captured by a young man belonged to his sister. The women worked hard and were sometimes badly treated though not as a general rule. Lewis and Clarke says that infidelity was punishable by death. Maximilian says it was punishable by cutting off the woman's nose. When a man's wife was stolen he had a right to demand a horse from the abductor. Separations occurred among them quite frequently. Virtue among the women was held in high esteem but was rather scarce. There are accounts of a celebration where prizes were given to the virtuous maids — these celebrations also took place 595 611 562 684 [586] 831 171

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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831 among the Arikara and Hidatsa. The men boasted their love
171 exploits, and carried often about the village small bundles of sticks each representing a conquest, or one large stick with stripes indicating the number; this was also a Hidatsa custom.

585 When a man wished to marry, after obtaining the girl's and the father's consent, he led horses to the door of the father's house and tied them there. Then the father took the same number of his own horses and tied them to the young man's door. After this the girl cooked corn each day and carried it to the young man's house for a certain number of days. Then the young man went to the father's house and claimed his wife. The young people either built a new home or lived with one of their parents, in which case the father remained master of the
587 house. On marrying an eldest sister, a man acquired the right of marriage over all the other sisters. Catlin tells us that the girls usually married at from twelve to fourteen years of age.

858 Children were never disciplined and were always humored
601 by their parents who seemed to be very fond of them. The
606 father's brother and sister were called father and mother. The
551 mother's sister was called mother and her brother uncle. Cousins called each other brother and sister. The mother-in-law was not permitted to address her son-in-law till he had come back with the scalp and gun of an enemy. Someone was usually paid to give the child his name, which was chosen by the parent.

776 RELIGION:—The religious ideas of the Mandans resemble in a number of respects both those of the Sioux and the Arikara. While there are a number of deities, there was one among them to whom special veneration was paid. This one, the creator of the earth and everything in it, and of men, was called the Lord of Life.[1] Next after him came the First Man to whom the Lord of Life gave great power and who acted as a sort of mediator for men. Catlin says he was the only person saved from the great deluge, and he played an important part in the Okeepa. He was worshipped and sacrifices were made to him. Next was an evil spirit who, though powerful, ranks far below the First Man. Fourth on the list was Rokanka-Tauihanka

[1] Maximilian: p. 419.

834 [326] Some few are modest enough to conceal with one hand
515 what should not be exposed to public view, but even this is done so carelessly as seldom to answer the purpose—a flea or a louse, of which they have a good store, will make them raise the hand to the parts attacked, leaving their nudities exposed. The river being very shallow for some distance from shore, they make no scruple of standing only knee deep, and thus wash themselves before going further to swim; and in coming out they pass close by you as unconcernedly as if they had on a petticoat or shift. They sometimes bundle up their leather garment under the arm or in one hand and walk deliberately into the village to their own huts, where they sit by the fire for some time with their families, they go to bed entirely naked.

834 .....This evening we were plagued for some time by young women, who came in and wanted to lie with us; but as we did not care to accept their kind offers, they retired very much displeased, and muttering something we could not understand.

786 About midnight we were awakened by some extraordinary
● 832 noise in the village. On going to the outer porch door I saw about 25 persons of both sexes, entirely naked, going about the village singing and dancing. At times they withdrew in couples, but soon rejoined their companions in [327] the dance and song. During this short separation from the rest they appeared to be very closely engaged, and notwithstanding the night was dark I could perceive them occupied in enjoying each other with as little ceremony as if it had been only the common calls of nature. This affair continued about two hours, during which they made the tour of the village several times. What was the meaning of this ceremony I could not learn; but certainly there could be no performance more lascivious than the one I witnessed. The young men kept watch
[625] during the night, sitting on the tops of the huts or walking round the village, singing amorous songs to their particular favorites. This is done, I am told, to prevent a surprise in case an enemy may be at
832 hand. Love is not made by entering the tent at night and lying
834 down near the woman, as it is among other nations I have seen. The custom here is to barricade the doors of the huts during the night and not admit the young men. The latter therefore employ the night in addressing love songs to their mistresses, who either come out of the huts immediately, or wait until daybreak, when they

[p. 384 (B)]

832 repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men,
834 who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young
men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on
461 the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to
526 hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times
they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback;
and performing warlike manoeuvres; they have also a favorite
game which occupies much of their time.

512 [328]...this is the first work performed by the women in the
515 morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed
themselves in the Missourie. ...every family being provided
415 with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh.
177 Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to
771 say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those
574 earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest
kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come
in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the
contents.

231 .....Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed
437 in the meadow but never allowed them to be for a moment out of
648 his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them.
We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles,
for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco.

439 [329] It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail
upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger
has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first
village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many
439 European articles as they can, [330] particularly arms and ammuni-
609 tion. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each
other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have
578 often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death
569 of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also
to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great
distance. The Pawnees, also, with whom the Mandanes formerly
lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies.
Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and every-
one has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

675 We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the
673 landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut
[577] in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect
security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

[P. 384(C)]

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held that evening. Any of the old men could go and sit on the right side nearer the door than the red-stick carriers. The young men came in with their wives, who wore only buffalo robes, and sat on the left side of the lodge (see Fig. 43). There was only one ceremonial song; it was sung four times. The young women brought by their husbands formed a single line, where each sat 796 778

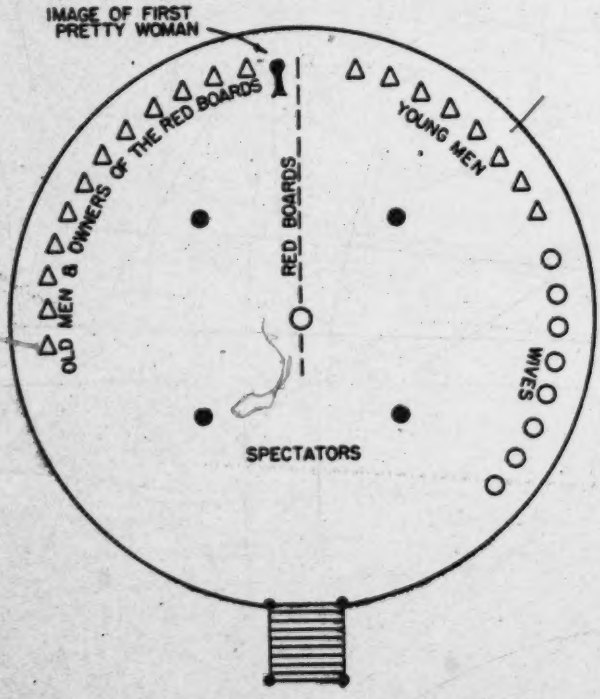

FIG. 43.—Arrangement of the lodge for the Buffalo Dance

down on her heels and walked the length of the red boards. The woman in the lead must be one who had never had intercourse with anyone other than her present husband. The head of the line was a coveted position, and an attempt was sometimes made by an unqualified woman to lead the others over the red sticks. Then some man with whom she had had intercourse would laugh to make his presence known, whereupon she would drop out of line and take up the last place in the procession. The act of walking along the red sticks was known as "Walking with the Buffalo Bulls" or "Having Intercourse with the Buffalo [834]

●834 [326] Some few are modest enough to conceal with one hand
515 what should not be exposed to public view, but even this is done so carelessly as seldom to answer the purpose—a flea or a louse, of which they have a good store, will make them raise the hand to the parts attacked, leaving their nudities exposed. The river being very shallow for some distance from shore, they make no scruple of standing only knee deep, and thus wash themselves before going further to swim; and in coming out they pass close by you as unconcernedly as if they had on a petticoat or shift. They sometimes bundle up their leather garment under the arm or in one hand and walk deliberately into the village to their own huts, where they sit by the fire for some time with their families, they go to bed entirely naked.

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they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback,
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security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

593 Sisters have great privileges among these Indians. All the horses which a young man steals, or captures in war, belong to them. If an Indian returns from an expedition on horseback, and meets his sister, he will immediately alight, and give her the horse; on the other hand, if he wishes to possess some object of value belonging to his sister, for instance, a dress, he goes and abruptly demands it, and immediately receives it; even should it be the very dress she is wearing, she will take it off at once, and give it to her brother.

837 Prudery is not a virtue of the Indian women; they have often two, three, or more lovers: infidelity is not often punished. There was only one woman among the Mandans, a piece of whose nose was cut off, a circumstance which is very common among the Blackfeet. If an Indian elopes with a married woman, the husband whom she has abandoned avenges himself by seizing the seducer's property, his horses and other things of value, to which the latter must quietly [587] submit. Such a woman is never taken back. If a man has the eldest daughter of a family for his wife, he has a right to all her sisters. A chief business of the young men among these Indian 584 tribes is to try their fortune with the young maidens and the women, and this, together with their 836 toilet, fills up the greater part of their time. They do not meet with many coy beauties. In the evening, and generally till late at night, they roam about the villages, or in the vicinity, or from one village to the other. They have a singular mode of displaying their achievements in this field, especially when they visit the women in their best dresses. On these occasions they endeavour to gain credit by the variety of their triumphs, and mark the number of conquered beauties by bundles of peeled osier twigs, painted red at the tips. These sticks are of two kinds. Most of them are from two to three feet in length, others five or six feet. The latter, being carried singly, are painted with white and red rings alternately, which indicates the number of conquests. The shorter sticks are only painted red at the tips, and every stick indicates an exploit, the number of which is often bound up into a pretty large bundle. Thick fasces of this kind are carried about by the dandies in their gallant excursions. Among the Mandans these sticks are generally quite plain; among the Manitaries, on the contrary, there is, usually, in the middle of the bundle, one larger stick, at the end of which there is a tuft of black feathers. These feathers indicate the favourite, and the dandies tell everybody that she is the person for whom this honour is intended. (See Plate XXI. Fig. 6.)

If these people have had familiar intercourse with a person who wore the white buffalo robe, a piece of skin of that colour is fastened to the stick; if she wore a red blanket, or buffalo robe, a piece of red cloth is fastened to the stick. This custom, which is well known among the Mandans and Manitaries, has not, to my knowledge, been mentioned by any traveller.

601 They have distinct names for the several degrees of relationship. The father's brother is 000 called father, and the mother's sister, mother; cousins are called brothers and sisters. The

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Minnetarees, who fired on them; a circumstance which may occasion some disturbance between the two nations." (id 229.) 000

Letter to Aricaras. "Tuesday, 5th. About four o'clock in the morning there was a slight fall of snow, but the day became clear and pleasant, with the mercury forty degrees above zero. We sent down an Indian and a Frenchman to the Ricara village with a letter to Mr. Tabeau." (id 229.)

Prairie Fires. "Wednesday, 6th. The day was cloudy and smoky in consequence of the burning of the plains by the Minnetarees; they have set all the neighboring country on fire in order to obtain an early crop of grass, which may answer for the consumption of their horses, and also as an inducement for the buffalo and other game to visit it. The horses stolen two days ago by the Assiniboines have been returned to the Minnetarees. Ohhaw, second chief of the lower Minnetaree village came to see us. The river rose and overran the ice, so as to render the crossing difficult." (id 230.)

LeBorgne. "Saturday, 9th. The morning cloudy and cool, the wind from the north. The grand chief of the Minnetarees, who is called by the French LeBorgne, from his having but one eye, came down for the first time to the fort. He was received with much attention, two guns were fired in honor of his arrival, the curiosities were exhibited to him, and, as he said that he had not received the presents which we had sent him on his arrival, we again gave him a flag, a medal, shirt, arm braces and the usual presents on such occasions, with all which he was much pleased. In the course of the conversation, the chief observed, that some foolish young men of his nation had told him that there was a person among us quite black, and he wished to know if it could be true. We assured him that it was true, and sent for York; the Borgne was very much surprised at his appearance, examining him closely, and spit on his finger and rubbed the skin in order to wash off the paint; nor was it until the negro uncovered his head, and showing his short hair that the Borgne could be persuaded that he was not a painted white man."

Mandan Justice. "Sunday, 10th. A cold windy day. Tetuckopinreha, chief of the Ahnahaway and the Minnetaree chief, Ompschara, passed the day with us, and the former remained during the night. We had occasion to see an instance of the 627 837

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627 summary justice of the Indians. A young Minnetaree had car-
ried off the daughter of Cagonomokshe, the Raven Man, second
•837 chief of the upper village of the Mandans; the father went to the village and found his daughter, whom he brought home, and took with him a horse belonging to the offender. This reprisal satisfied the vengeance of the father and of the nation, as the young man would not dare to reclaim his horse, which from that time became the property of the injured party. The stealing of young women is one of the most common offenses against the police of the village, and the punishment of it always measured by the power or the passions of the kindred of the female. A voluntary elopement is of course more rigidly chastised. One of the wives of the Borgne deserted him in favor of a man who had been her lover before the marriage, and who after some time left her, and she was obliged to return to her father's house. As soon as he heard it the Borgne walked there and found her sitting near the fire. Without noticing his wife, he began to smoke with the father; when they were joined by the old men of the village, who, knowing his temper, had followed in hopes of appeasing him. He continued to smoke quietly with them, till rising to return, he took his wife by the hair, led her as far as the door, and with a single stroke of his tomahawk put her to death before her father's eyes. Then turning fiercely upon the spectators, he said that if any of her relations wished to avenge her, they might always find him at his lodge; but the fate of the woman had not sufficient interest to excite the vengeance of the family. The caprice or the generosity of the same chief gave a very different result to a similar incident which occurred some time afterwards. Another of his wives eloped with a young man, who not being able to support her as she wished, they both returned to the village, and she presented herself before the husband, supplicating his pardon for her conduct. The Borgne sent for the lover. At the moment when the youth expected that he would be put to death, the chief mildly asked them if they still preserved their affection for each other; and on their declaring that want, and not a change of affection had induced them to return, he gave up his wife to her lover, with the liberal present of three horses, and restored them both to his favor." (id 231.)

000 **Mandan Beads.** "Saturday, 16th. The weather is cloudy, the

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

885 others' directions. As the leader of his first war expedition, he
554 was expected to name others with a distinguished war record
701 to serve with him as co-leaders. They would share his rewards and assume their share of the responsibilities. His word was authority in all matters relating to his war expeditions, and, whereas in the past he had accepted the decisions of his leader in disputes appertaining to rewards for striking the enemy or capturing and dividing the spoils, he demanded similar obedience from his group.

554 The Mandan had a highly formalized method of recording
721 war honors, and it was the duty of the war leader to verify their authenticity. He would relate the exploits of his men during social occasions and ceremonies. Those holding war honors were entitled to express them by means of particular decorations. Of
[177] these decorations, the Mandan claim that the practice of wearing eagle feathers was of recent origin and was borrowed from the Sioux.

554 The highest honor was accorded to a man who went out alone
703 and found an enemy whom he killed and scalped. He was authorized to paint one legging black and the other either
628 yellow or white and to paint each half of his shirt in the same
721 manner. He was also permitted to wear a coyote tail at each ankle signifying that he saw an enemy first and afterward "struck" him. He could also wear one eagle feather in his hair and was the recipient of much honor during the scalp dances as long as he lived. The most common motive for going out alone was to revenge a relative, particularly a sibling, when the slayer was known. In such cases, announcement was made in advance that he was leaving on a particular day to find his relative's slayer. Catlin records such an expedition by Four Bears, who went into the Arikara villages near the Grand River at night to avenge the death of his brother.[2] The old Mandan still related this incident in 1930, when the information for this report was collected. The only instance of one man going far
554 from the village and killing one or more persons remembered as
578 occurring during the lifetime of my informants was for revenge.
721 A distinguished war leader's wife ran away with another dis-

837 2. George Catlin, *The Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (London, 1841), pp. 239–40.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

tinguished man between whom there had been considerable rivalry, and he was very angry because he had pledged to give certain ceremonies and needed his wife's help to prepare the robes and food. He knew that his rival's relatives were laughing about it, for the wife's people were said to be selfish and wanted their daughter to marry a more distinguished man. If he took his wife back, he would lose face and would be laughed at during the dances when the men related their deeds of bravery. On the other hand, he could not go through the ceremony without a wife's assistance. He could have called her back to his lodge to have her painted and dressed beautifully and returned to her new husband on the best horse he could find. This would have been considered an honorable act. Instead he disappeared during the night when none would see him leaving and walked toward the Mouse River to get horses and scalps to be used in shaming his rival.

He left in the middle of the winter during the coldest part of the year and suffered a great deal from the cold while crossing the divide which separates the Missouri and Mouse rivers. Looking down from the high hills into the valley, he found a camp of Assiniboine and observed that the lodges were not closely assembled, since war parties rarely went out during the coldest part of the winter. He singled out an isolated lodge having only two occupants, a young man and his wife, and observed where their horses were taken for the night. After dark he went into the camp and selected a horse to ride back to his winter village and hid it in a suitable spot where he could reach it quickly when it was needed. When the camp was quiet, he went into the lodge, killing and scalping the young man. He did not kill the woman out of respect to his own motherless children, which fact he intended to mention when insulting his own wife after he returned.

Taking the scalp as proof of his success and riding the horse, he reached his home in two days. He rested one day during which time preparations were made for the Scalp Dance. On the second day he sent for his wife, who was obliged to come. He washed her face, dressed her in the best clothing he could find, and placed her on the horse. She cried from shame. During the Scalp Dance she was sent on horseback from the lodge to

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554 578 721 837 return to her new husband's lodge. A family having two eligible daughters invited him in to marry them. He then had help to perform the ceremonies he had pledged. Having killed an enemy when out alone far from home, he became a man of unusual distinction and was respected in council.

554 703 When several went out and found one enemy who was killed far from home, the first to strike him painted one side of his shirt and legging black and wore one coyote tail; the second painted the shirt and leggings in the same manner and wore the coyote tail but added a red stripe to the eagle feather. The third and fourth painted only the legging black, the third one painting two stripes on the eagle feather, and the fourth painting three stripes.

There were also distinctive markings to indicate those who had struck a single enemy on different expeditions. A person striking a lone enemy could paint or decorate two X's on the legging, one above the knee and the other below the knee, or he could put them on the sleeve of the shirt. For the second enemy found alone and struck, he added two X's to either the other legging or the shirt. Crosses on both sleeves of the shirt and both leggings indicated that he had struck a lone enemy on four different war expeditions when far from the village. The Mandan interpreted "far from the village" as meaning beyond the usual hunting territory.

A coyote tail worn on the ankle signified that the wearer had struck one enemy far from home; two coyote tails signified that he had struck an enemy on two occasions or had killed and struck one enemy when out alone and far from home. When feathers of the crow or raven were attached to the coyote tail, it signified that he was also first to see the enemy.

The leader or Old Wolf was entitled to carry a scalp stick to which was attached a portion of a scalp for each scalp taken while serving as leader. He was also authorized to wear scalps on his shirt; for the first scalp, he would wear one piece on one sleeve; for the second scalp he would wear pieces on both sleeves. He wore a piece of scalp on each sleeve of the shirt and each leg of the leggings for four enemies killed on four different expeditions. He did not, however, wear feathers in his hair, paint his leggings, or wear the coyote tails unless he struck an enemy while serving as leader.

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592 only her clothing and children. Even the bedding belonged with
768 the lodge and could not be taken whether she had assisted in
421 tanning and preparing them or not. Responsibility for the children's care rested with her sisters and the female members of her clan.

586 Divorce was easy and common. The elopement of a married
837 woman having children with a married man also having chil-
578 dren was the cause of much trouble, since it involved so many
431 people. Learning that their brother had eloped with another
583 man's wife, the brothers and sisters would take horses and other property to the injured man to prevent him from causing them injury, since they were accountable for a sibling's conduct. Learning that his wife had run away with another man, he was entitled to retaliate against the man's brothers and sisters and would start killing their horses. My Mandan informants enjoyed relating instances when the brothers and sisters, learning that a brother had eloped with another man's wife, had reached the lodge before the wife was missed. They would come to his lodge in a group leading the horses. Seeing the people with horses, he would hurry into his lodge or go through the village calling for his wife. People considered it very humorous to surprise a man in that way, and it was the subject of gossip for quite a while. He was expected to accept the horses and forget his wife. The elopers usually visited the Crow Indians until
586 the husband was reconciled to his loss. When a prominent man
837 lost his wife, he would usually organize a war party or go out
578 alone against the enemy. He could disregard his former wife,
583 and those most concerned with public opinion usually did. However, a man of position usually called her into his lodge when she returned from her elopement, painted and dressed her, mounted her on a good horse, and took her back to her new husband. Those who cried because a wife eloped or who attempted to take her back or agreed to let her return if she requested it were considered weaklings and not worthy of respect. Bear on the Water, a Mandan, stole the young Arikara wife of Four Bears, the principal war chief of the Hidatsa. While they were away, Four Bears made so many threats that the Mandan were obliged to leave the village for fear of war. He refused to accept horses or to smoke the pipe with Bear on

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the Water's relatives. He demanded that his younger wife be returned on the grounds that she had a small child who was ill. The people all knew that this one was his favorite wife and that there were enough other wives and females in the lodge to care for the child. The Mandan were quite angry at Four Bears for his actions, which they did not consider worthy of a chief. A year before, Poor Wolf, the second chief of the Hidatsa, stole the wife of Flying Eagle, a Mandan, and the latter man had said, "Let him have her" and thought nothing more of it. Mandan informants were in general agreement that the Hidatsa more commonly demanded that the wife be returned.

Even when the husband accepted his wife's elopement with good grace, the couple usually encountered plenty of trouble when they returned to the village. A woman would frequently permit her husband to bring his stolen wife into the lodge when the women were close relatives of the same clan. In a few instances, the stolen wife was a younger sister of the first wife and had not been getting along well with her husband. The family had actually conspired with the man to get her back and were prepared to make payment as soon as the elopement occurred. When the elopement did not have the approval of a man's wife and her brothers, there were usually complications. She would be driven out of the first wife's lodge, and the husband was obliged to live between two lodges. The women would be jealous and carry knives, watching for an opportunity to slash each other's faces and clothing. If the first wife had many brothers, she was likely to be pretty saucy, particularly if the other woman had none. On the other hand, when the first wife had no brother while the second one had several, she would be inclined to accept the situation and get along as best she could until she had an opportunity of separating from her husband and getting another.

Marrying a brother's widow was considered the honorable way of providing for his children, in which case the man lived between two lodges. A woman having several brothers rarely married her deceased husband's brother, as it frequently meant sharing a husband with women of a different clan and household. In the event of separation or death the children were pro-

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man who drew his gun when being driven back and was killed by the Black Mouths. Usually it was the duty of one's brothers to revenge a sibling's death, but in this instance siblings took no action. The Black Mouths were believed to be the bravest men of the village. Before making an attack on the enemy, their leaders would stick their lances into the ground which meant that they would not retreat. When on the summer buffalo hunts they received their orders from the leader and were instructed to prevent premature hunting and to see that the party did not break up. Although they endeavored to prevent war parties from leaving the village when there was danger of attack, they inflicted no punishment when an unauthorized war party returned.

It was believed that an individual's influence with sacred things advanced in age. They were consulted on sacred matters and were offered their "sons'" wives frequently during the buffalo ceremonies. Men and women assisted in the disposal of the dead. It was a man's duty to assist a clan sister in the construction of the scaffold for one whose father was of their clan, to superintend the painting and wrapping of the body.

OLD AGE AND DEATH

The old people were respected members of the household. The grandfather would assist the youngsters of the lodge in making toys and in playing their simple games, but he was always held in high regard as the one from whom the child's father had acquired much of his training in sacred matters. Having more time to give to the instruction of the children of the lodge, he would assist them in learning stories if the children were interested in hearing them. The older women assisted the younger women about the lodge and in the gardens but were not expected to do much work.

The older women were organized into two age-grade societies which were sacred in character. Women of advanced middle age joined the Goose Society and, when they had reached the menopause, sold to younger women and bought into the White Buffalo Cow Society.[3] As members of these societies they were respected for their supernatural powers over agriculture and

3. See the chapters on ceremonialism for an account of their origin.

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796 own and his wife's age-grade societies. During the period of preparation the bundle-owner came to the giver's lodge to instruct in the ceremony and to burn incense near the goods to be given away.

The ceremony was performed during four nights. The approach to the ceremonial lodge was made by four stages. At each stop the giver's wife came over to the group of performers led by the bundle-owner and placed on the ground a buffalo hide with a corn ball and a black stone pipe on it. The robe was taken by one of the party. The party advanced in single file, led by the bundle-owner, with the woman impersonating Woman Living in Dog Den Butte following just behind him. The third in line was the impersonator of the men in Dog Den Butte.

The fourth and last stop was at the door of the Okipa lodge. Men owning bundles containing buffalo skulls were eligible to attend and to sit on the right side of the lodge.

Usually a large number of clan brothers availed themselves of this opportunity to bring their wives and to receive the blessings of the older men. Each such participant brought additional goods for the occasion. The young men's wives were dressed only in their robes, while the woman impersonating Woman Living in Dog Den Butte wore a short buffalo robe with the hair side out. A small turtle shell was tied in place over her pudendal region.

The bundle-owner officiated as singer. The older men, representing buffalo bulls, and the woman, representing Buffalo Woman, were the only ones to dance. At the close of each [837] dance, a young woman would approach a man of her husband' father's clan selected by her husband and ask him to walk with her. He could buy himself off by praying for the success of the young woman and her husband and receive goods or go outside the village for intercourse. Food was passed around from time to time until late in the night when all returned to their respective lodges. The second and third nights' performance was the same as on the first. On the fourth night, the Woman Living in Dog Den Butte presented the giver with a bow and lance before termination of the dances and the man[2] near the door promised the group that all the bad luck to warriors fighting near Dog

2. Big Turtle (also called Black Panther), who represented the Hoita in the Okipa ceremony, held this office by virtue of his position in that ceremony.

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796 Bulls." The women then returned to their places, put on their
778 buffalo robes, and passed around the food to the old men representing the buffalo bulls and to the spectators.

796 The next performance was the "Giving the Wives" to the buffalo bulls.[4] One of the young men, addressing his wife, would
●837 say, "Wife, I want you to help me to become a lucky man. I
614 want you to walk with my father."[5] The rule was for a young man always to select an old man of his father's clan. If the man selected did not choose to have intercourse with his "son's" wife, he would stop her before she reached the door.

One time when Red Coyote was selected, he said: "Stop right there, my 'granddaughter.' I want you to hold my medicine bundle now. Once I fasted four days in a ravine. While I slept, an owl came to me and said that I would be a lucky man and live to be old. I have killed an enemy, captured six horses, and struck three enemies. I pray that you will live a long time, be healthy, raise many children, and keep free of diseases."[6] Both returned to their places and sat down.

Each young man selected an old man to "walk with his wife."[7] Some men stopped the women at the door and did not care to go outside with them; others went outside. In either case, the woman was given the old man's medicine bundle (vision bundle), which she clasped to her breast, believing that, by doing so, some of its powers would enter her body.

An unmarried man could participate by bringing his brother's or clan brother's wife. Men never brought women of other

4. This portion of the ceremony appears to have been rather famous among the early visitors to the Mandan and Hidatsa (see *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition 1804–1806*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, I [New York, 1905], 245; *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri*, ed. and trans. Annie Heloise Abel [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939], pp. 196–97; Maximilian in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites [Cleveland, 1906], XXIII, 334; XXIV, 27–31). In addition, Thompson and Henry saw portions of a similar ceremony but apparently misinterpreted the actions (see *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell [Toronto, 1916], pp. 225–38, and "Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson," in *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, ed. Elliot Coues, I [New York, 1897], 326–27).

5. This is what Good Bear said when he sent his wife to one of the old men, according to Mrs. Good Bear. "Father" refers to a male member of Good Bear's father's clan.

6. Red Coyote was frozen in a late-spring blizzard near Rainy Buttes shortly after this.

7. Mrs. Good Bear related that her ceremonial grandfather went out with her, all the while bellowing in imitation of a buffalo bull.

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tribes who had recently married into the tribe, believing that the spirits of the red sticks would then help the other tribe. However, when such women had joined a Mandan clan, they could participate. 796 837 614

Sometimes, when a man refused to walk with his "granddaughter," her husband placed a filled pipe before him. This left the old man one of two choices: (1) he could walk with her, or (2) he could invoke the spirits of the north that sent storms driving the buffaloes to the Missouri River to help her and her husband. A woman was not offered to a man of her own clan or to immediate blood relatives.

Mrs. Good Bear recognized this as a separate ceremony at the lower village, Mitutanka, and did not believe that it was performed at Nuptadi in this form, as they had the Buffalo-calling rites of the Snow Owl ceremony, which was similar in some respects to the Red Stick ceremony. Scattercorn verified this information by stating that Standing Bear, who owned the Red Stick ceremony, came up early to Like-a-Fishhook Village (about 1845) together with the survivors of the lower village and that, after the Nuptadi survivors joined the other Mandans, both ceremonies were given but never at the same time. 796

The sacred myth belonging to the ceremony was related by Mrs. Good Bear.

RED STICK CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY MRS. GOOD BEAR

773 539

A long time ago there was a respectable young woman named Corn Silk who had then been single for several years. Many men wanted to marry her, but she always refused. One day her parents said, "Why don't you get married?" They scolded her, and she felt bad because they had quarreled. When night came, she went outside and lay on top of the doorway to the earth lodge to sleep and would not go into the lodge that night. She went to sleep.

When she awoke, someone was carrying her on his shoulders, and she knew that someone had her in his power. She couldn't get away. They went along until they came to his lodge. He put her in a bed, thinking that she was asleep, but she knew everything that happened. Then there was another woman, an owl, and a large grizzly bear in the lodge. The man asked Owl Woman to cook something for Corn Silk, and she began to prepare food. Then she said, "Corn Silk, you should get up and eat." Owl Woman brought water for her to wash with, and then she ate.

The man came in again and said to Owl Woman, "Send her into the woods to get fuel. Tell her to take the bear with her."

He walked out and then Owl Woman said, "You are a good and beautiful

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Chapter XVII

SUMMARY

796 THE ceremonies were highly formalized and were in part
773 organized on an annual basis. The Mandan attributed
776 their creation and appearance on the earth to certain magical acts of the sacred beings who preceded them to prepare the world before creating all the living things. It was believed that the sacred beings protected the people so long as the ceremonies were performed. The Mandan also believed that other peoples created by the same sacred beings in mythological times performed similar ceremonies and that the sacred beings favored those tribes making the most lavish ceremonial display of goods. It was believed that good relations must exist with all the sacred beings. To accomplish this, segments of the total ceremonialism were intrusted to certain individuals or groups of individuals, and the novice was informed that failure to perform the rites in the prescribed manner would bring bad luck.

778 Sacred objects were believed to have *xo'pini*, which inform-
785 ants translated as meaning "power." An individual's "power" was said to increase if he fasted frequently, assisted others in the purchase of sacred bundles, or bought tribal bundles. This "power" was consumed when leading war parties, being largely gone at the end of the fourth expedition, when a man was expected to terminate his war expeditions. This "power" was believed to be lost a little at a time in the daily life of crossing rivers, hunting buffaloes, training horses, or performing other hazardous avocations. A man was believed to acquire a great
•[837] deal of *xo'pini* from the buffaloes when he invited older men to have ceremonial sexual intercourse with a wife, and, by the same token, men frequently refused intercourse when they had partaken in a number of the "walking" ceremonies. Very old people were believed to have less *xopini*, having given most of it away to the younger people, particularly the men, who re-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

quired much "power" to pursue successful war and hunting activities.

A Mandan would say, "I claim no power for myself. I have no power except what my sacred objects have promised me." Children were protected by the parents' bundles until they were old enough to fast.

A young man on his first war expedition usually carried a sacred object from his father's bundle. This practice was repeated until the potency of the son's sacred bundle was established.

Supernatural power was acquired by the purchase of tribal bundles, feasts to tribal bundles, ceremonial sexual license, self-torture, and by showing kindness to the old people. The Mandan also believed that some people were "adopted" by a supernatural being without the novice's knowledge, since some people possessing no important tribal or individual bundles were unusually successful.

Women participating in sexual ceremonialism during the buffalo-calling rites contributed to the husband's supernatural "powers." The writer interviewed a number of women who had "walked with the buffaloes," as the practice is called. All agreed that they sought a good home, a loyal husband who was successful in hunting and warfare, good health, and plenty of food and clothing. They believed that the sexual act was tantamount to intercourse with the buffaloes, who, when placated, sent the herds to the prairies near the villages and promised the warriors success in warfare. Ceremonial sexual intercourse strengthened the marital bonds. It was believed that the buffaloes did all that they promised in dreams. Dreams were easy to get from the buffaloes.

The concept of "power" as a substance was further demonstrated by the manner *of handling sacred objects. During the* buffalo-calling ceremonies, the men impersonating buffaloes held out their sacred bundles for the women to press to their naked breasts. A woman placed her arms on the "holy man," dragging her arms downward toward the hand holding the bundle as though drawing the sacred powers possessed from the body into the sacred bundle, which was then taken from the buffalo impersonator and held to her breast. By this act it was

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 After this speech, Big-thief returned to his place. Then all the Kit-
608 Foxes rose and brought presents of food to their fathers. Black-chest again
432 selected Good-bear for his individual Father, but explains that this was
527 not obligatory. Wounded-face was obliged to select a new father, for the one chosen by him in purchasing the Kit-Fox organization had been killed in battle; otherwise, he says he should have kept the same individual for his father in buying all the higher societies. On this occasion his choice fell on Little-crow, to whom he presented a kettleful of food as a token of his selection. Black-chest states that five of the fathers had been killed since the purchase of the Kit-Fox society.

575 Black-chest says that on this occasion the River Women did not aid the
432 purchasers, as both they and the latter had married. This obviously refers
431 to the period of the fathers' entertainment, as the same informant mentions a contribution by this women's organization to the initial payment (see p. 303). On the other hand, the Black Mouths attended the performance and brought food for the sellers.

575 At a height of about seven feet from the ground the fathers stretched a
778 rawhide rope between the two rear main posts. To each end of the rope
527 they attached a whip, and near its center they folded over it two red cloth
● 837 sashes. These sashes were considered sacred. The wife of one of the buyers
533 then rose, stripped naked and covering her genitalia with her hands, approached the rear of the fireplace. Rising on tiptoes, she seized one of the sashes, covered her nakedness again, pressed the sash to her breast and hung it up as before. Each one of the buyers' wives went through the same ceremony. During this performance the fathers were all singing. The women returned to their seats and put on their blankets. Each husband then said to his wife: "I will give you to my father, for I want his song. Perhaps he will pray for us, and it will be well for both of us."

575 Then the father and the woman offered to him went out together.
[844] Menstruating women were absolved from this performance, for they were
837 not supposed to come to the lodge at all on such occasions. As a matter of fact, Black-chest says that only very few fathers availed themselves of
432 *the right surrendered to them,* being generally afraid of ill luck if they did.
527 The form, however, was gone through by each wife on each of the twenty nights. Black-chest's wife told her husband that Good-bear merely took her outside, faced west with her and said, "Daughter-in-law, stop and
[782] stand there." Then he prayed as follows: "My gods, my son has given me his wife. I wish that my daughter-in-law may always enjoy a long and happy life, and I ask you in behalf of my son that he may conquer his enemies." After this prayer he bade the woman go back, and both returned to the lodge.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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The mode of purchase, as described by Maximilian, closely resembles that followed in buying membership in the other organizations. The boys desiring to become members approached the owners, addressed them as "fathers," and secured in exchange for blankets, cloths, horses and powder, the dances, songs, and regalia characteristic of the society. In this connection the Prince does not mention the feasting of the fathers, but the custom is referred to by my informants: Little-crow's group entertained the sellers for thirty, and that of Yellow-hair's husband for twenty nights. 575 432 527

One noteworthy addition to the purchase ceremony had become possible in later times through the change in the age of the members. As the Crazy Dogs were no longer boys as in Maximilian's day, but married men, the surrender of wives as a partial payment was no longer out of the question. As a matter of fact, I have no direct statement to the effect that wives were surrendered in this instance, but Yellow-hair's account strongly suggests that such was the case. According to this authority, all the women attended the purchase of the Crazy Dog membership. A rope was stretched between two poles and from it were suspended three headdresses and three sashes. On each of the twenty nights of entertainment six women removed their insignia, took them outside, pressed them to their breasts, and finally brought them back and hung them up again. Then six other women went through the same performance, and so on. 575 432 527 837

In view of Black-chest's statements as to the purchase of the Little Dog society (p. 304), I am inclined to believe that Yellow-hair's account is incomplete and that the women who took down the regalia and passed outdoors were offered as a part payment for the benefits to be derived from the fathers. This interpretation is confirmed by Maximilian's repeated reference to the wife-offering as a feature common to all the higher societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa. 575 837 432

The badge of all members, according to the Prince, was a whistle made from the wing-bone of a wild goose. Yellow-hair says that this whistle was suspended from the neck by means of a quill-wrapped string. Everyone carried a rattle of globular or ring shape. The rattles were trimmed with raven wing-feathers. To the back of the head members attached an ornament of split raven wing-feathers. Some of the Crazy Dogs wore neither shirt nor leggings, but daubed their bodies with yellow paint. While dancing, members were permitted to bear lances. 575 292 301

From the rank and file there were distinguished, in Maximilian's day, three officers wearing a long, broad strip of red cloth extending down the back, from neck to foot. Yellow-hair also speaks of three sash-wearers; the red cloth was edged with white, and a slit made it possible to slip the sash over the head. At the shoulder, near the white edging, there was attached 575 292

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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hands into the boiling water, took out some of the meat, and ate it at the risk of scalding themselves. Those coming last to the kettle had the worst of it, for they were obliged to dig down deeper into the water than their predecessors. During the dance the performers carried weapons and rattles in their hands. 575 535

I did not obtain any Mandan description of the Hot dance. My Hidatsa information is given on p. 253. 000

Crow Society.

Maximilian translates the name of the society Hä'derucha-O'chatä as "Crow, or Raven, band."[1] Its members were from 20 to 25 years old. Sometimes the younger men had not owned a society for half a year or longer. Then one of them went to a Hä'derucha and said to him, "Father, I am poor, but I wish to buy of you." If the father consented, the young men then received the raven feathers worn on the head by the members of the society, a double whistle formed of two goose wing bones fastened together, a drum, rattle, song, and dance. In this case, as in other societies, a head man decided whether the privileges sought by the younger men should be sold and he it was that the prospective buyers approached. Then a feast was prepared in the medicine lodge for forty nights, and the fathers were entertained at their sons' expense. Moreover, the purchasers surrendered their wives to the sellers every evening until the fathers were satisfied and abdicated their membership. 575 432 [837]

Half-shaved Heads.

My Mandan informants did not refer to this society (Ischohä-Kakoscho'chatä), though it was described by my Hidatsa friends (p. 272). According to Maximilian, the *Hä'deruch-O'chatä* bought the Half-Shaved Head dance from the Soldiers before they were old enough to become Soldiers. It is worth while to summarize Maximilian's detailed account of the purchase. 575

The buyers were to entertain the sellers for forty nights. On the first night the drum was beaten to call the negotiating parties to the medicine lodge. A fire was burning in the center, the women sat along the walls, while the white visitors and several noted Soldiers sat in front of the draught- 575 432 527

[1] Compare what is said above about the Hidatsa *Hä'rerö'ka* society (p. 266).

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 screen. Along the wall to the left sat the remaining Soldiers, about twenty-
432 five in number; while some were clad in fine garments, the majority dressed
527 in ordinary clothes. Some exposed the upper part of the body. In the
center three drummers seated themselves. The purchasers stood on the
right side of the fire. They were expected to give valuable presents to the
[837] Soldiers, to feast them and furnish them with tobacco for forty nights, and
every evening they were to offer them their wives. The sellers approached
the lodge amidst singing and drumming, and entered with their regalia.
These consisted of four lances, from 7 to 8 feet long, with an iron head point-
[293] ing downwards. The shaft was wrapped with broad bands of otterskin,
while pairs of otterskin strips were tied to the head and several other points
on the lance. Two of the lances were hooked, the two others were straight.
A fifth emblem consisted of a war club with iron point, which was colored
red and was decorated with several feathers in the back. Further there
were three lances, decorated alternately with black and white feathers, and a
beautifully ornamented bow and quiver. At first, the Soldiers remained
concealed behind the screen, and were merely holding these insignia so that
they projected into the main space of the lodge. After standing in this
position, singing and drumming violently, for a while, they entered, placed
the lances against the wall, and stuck the war club into the ground, near one
of the main pillars. Then they all took seats along the wall. While the
[576] singing and drumming was alternately renewed, the purchasers prepared
their pipes, and handed them to each of the guests in turn, for which act
they stooped, holding the mouthpiece towards the smokers. When the
guests had taken a few puffs, the purchasers did likewise, and then carried
the pipe in regular order, from right to left, to each of the sellers. This
smoking consumed considerable time; each guest, during this part of the
[535] performance, was also presented with a little cake of sweet-corn. After
about half an hour, two of the Soldiers rose and danced towards each other.
One of them seized the war club, and held it stiffly in his left hand, while the
right hung straight down. Bending the upper part of his body forward,
he jumped stiffly into the air with both feet; keeping time with the music.
The other dancer had fine decorations on his head and legs, and the upper
part of his body was likewise exposed. He seized one of the otterskin lances,
which he held, sloping, between his two hands, and both men then danced
or hopped towards each other. After several minutes the second performer
put the lance away, and took a seat, while all the other members gave the
war whoop and gave vent to exclamations of joy, amidst vigorous beating
of the drum. Then there was silence. The man with the war club ad-
dressed the buyers, calling them his "sons," and recounted several of his
martial exploits, whereupon he handed them the war club. One of the

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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575 purchasers then called him his "father," stroked his arm downwards with
432 his hand, took the weapon out of his hand, and again put it in its place.
527 The other dancer followed, recounted some of his deeds, and offered the lance to one of the buyers, who received it in the same manner as his predecessor, and then put it in its place. The periods of intermission were filled with smoking, singing and drumming, but no rattles were used. Two other Soldiers also rose, told of how they had stolen horses, medicine bundles, or other possessions, from the enemy, and gave two more insignia to the purchasers. After this had been done four or five times, the wives of the
•[837] buyers rose. Four of them divested themselves of their robes, quickly seized the lances, and carried them, one after another, outside the lodge. After a while they brought them in again. This ceremony was repeated twice, the disrobed women stroked the arms of the strangers and fathers, put on their robes, and passed outside. The persons stroked were expected to follow them into the woods. This procedure resembled that of the Hidatsa in their medicine festival.[1]

575 Some time after the purchase Maximilian had occasion to observe the
535 dance of the new Half-Shaved Heads. About twenty of them entered the
302 Fort, threw off their robes so as to expose their gaily colored bodies, and formed a circle. They were elaborately decorated and carried the insignia of the dance, such as the otter-wrapped sticks. One man wore a bonnet with horns and ermine strips; another, mounted on horseback, was decorated with paint symbolizing the blood from wounds. Three Soldiers (= Black Mouths) served as musicians. As soon as the drum was beaten, the dancers protruded the upper part of their bodies, and leaped into the air with both feet, at the same time holding their guns ready for firing. Thus they danced in the circle for about a minute, then hallooed, rested for a while, and resumed their performance. After receiving some tobacco, they dispersed, put on their robes, and went to Ruptare, where they also danced among the Hidatsa.[2] A picture of the dance, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas is shown in Fig. 11.

Black Mouths.

575 The native name of this society is *ī'he psi'here ō'xat'e*, or *numā'k zarā'k*
625 *ō'xat'e*. Maximilian calls the members of this society "Soldiers." They form the third society in his list, but he states that all the higher classes

[1] Maximilian, II, 274–277.
[2] Maximilian II, 286–287.

593 Sisters have great privileges among these Indians. All the horses which a young man steals, or captures in war, belong to them. If an Indian returns from an expedition on horseback, and meets his sister, he will immediately alight, and give her the horse; on the other hand, if he wishes to possess some object of value belonging to his sister, for instance, a dress, he goes and abruptly demands it, and immediately receives it; even should it be the very dress she is wearing, she will take it off at once, and give it to her brother.

837 Prudery is not a virtue of the Indian women; they have often two, three, or more lovers: infidelity is not often punished. There was only one woman among the Mandans, a piece of whose nose was cut off, a circumstance which is very common among the Blackfeet. If an Indian elopes with a married woman, the husband whom she has abandoned avenges himself by seizing the seducer's property, his horses and other things of value, to which the latter must quietly [587] submit. Such a woman is never taken back. If a man has the eldest daughter of a family for his wife, he has a right to all her sisters. A chief business of the young men among these Indian 584 tribes is to try their fortune with the young maidens and the women, and this, together with their 836 toilet, fills up the greater part of their time. They do not meet with many coy beauties. In the evening, and generally till late at night, they roam about the villages, or in the vicinity, or from one village to the other. They have a singular mode of displaying their achievements in this field, especially when they visit the women in their best dresses. On these occasions they endeavour to gain credit by the variety of their triumphs, and mark the number of conquered beauties by bundles of peeled osier twigs, painted red at the tips. These sticks are of two kinds. Most of them are from two to three feet in length, others five or six feet. The latter, being carried singly, are painted with white and red rings alternately, which indicates the number of conquests. The shorter sticks are only painted red at the tips, and every stick indicates an exploit, the number of which is often bound up into a pretty large bundle. Thick faces of this kind are carried about by the dandies in their gallant excursions. Among the Mandans these sticks are generally quite plain; among the Manitaries, on the contrary, there is, usually, in the middle of the bundle, one larger stick, at the end of which there is a tuft of black feathers. These feathers indicate the favourite, and the dandies tell everybody that she is the person for whom this honour is intended. (See Plate XXI. Fig. 6.)

If these people have had familiar intercourse with a person who wore the white buffalo robe, a piece of skin of that colour is fastened to the stick; if she wore a red blanket, or buffalo robe, a piece of red cloth is fastened to the stick. This custom, which is well known among the Mandans and Manitaries, has not, to my knowledge, been mentioned by any traveller.

601 They have distinct names for the several degrees of relationship. The father's brother is 000 called father, and the mother's sister, mother; cousins are called brothers and sisters. The

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

by the Americans, head-man, who decides on the sale of its rights and attributes. This head-man is chiefly applied to when any one wishes for admission; a festival then takes place in the medicine lodge, which is continued for forty successive nights, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They dance, eat, and smoke there; the purchasers defray the expenses, and give up their wives every night to the sellers, till the fathers, as they are called, are satisfied, and transfer their rights to the purchasers, with which the festival concludes. 561 [837]

The third class or band is that of the soldiers, the most eminent and esteemed warriors. In their dances they paint the upper part of the face red, and the lower part black. Their war pipe is large, and made of the wing bone of a crane. Their badges are two long straight sticks bound with otter skin, to which owl's feathers are appended. When they go to war, they plant these sticks in the ground in front of the enemy, and, this done, they dare not leave them, not unlike the colours in a European army. They have a similar stick ornamented with raven's feathers (see second woodcut, page 256). They likewise have a dance and song peculiar to their band, and must purchase their admission into higher classes. Their schischikué or rattle is made of iron plate, in the form of a small kettle, with a handle. They likewise possess two tobacco pipes, which are used for smoking on special occasions. Two men keep and carry with them these pipes. All the higher classes may, at the same time, belong to the band of the soldiers, who act as police officers; it is, however, understood that all the members must be satisfied with the purchase. If but one object to the sale, the bargain cannot be concluded. It often happens that some individuals do not immediately give their consent, in order to raise the price and sell to more advantage afterwards. These soldiers, as they are called, form a kind of committee, which decides all the principal affairs, particularly general undertakings, such as changes of their places of abode, buffalo hunting, and the like. If the buffalo herds are in the vicinity, they watch them, and do not suffer them to be disturbed by individuals, till a general chase can be undertaken. 561 554 623 [534]

If, during this time, any one fires at a wolf or other animal, the soldiers take away his gun, ill-use, and sometimes beat him, to which he must submit; even the chiefs are not spared on these occasions. The Whites living in the neighbourhood are subject, during such a time, to the same laws, and the soldiers have often taken their hatchets from the woodcutters of the fort, or forbidden them to cut wood, that the buffaloes might not be disturbed by the noise.

The fourth band, that of the dogs, wear in their dance a large cap of coloured cloth, to which a great number of raven's, magpie's, and owl's feathers is fastened, adorned with dyed horse-hair and strips of ermine; they have a large war pipe of the wing bone of a swan. Three of them have the same strips of red cloth hanging down the back, as have been mentioned, when speaking of the first band. The head is generally adorned with a thick tuft of owl's, magpie's, and raven's feathers hanging down behind, and often all the three kinds of feathers are mixed together. 561

561 The three men before-mentioned, who wear the strips of red cloth (the dogs, properly so called), are obliged, if any one throws a piece of meat into the ashes, or on the ground, saying, "There, dog, eat," to fall upon it, and devour it raw, like dogs or beasts of prey. The schischikué of this band is a stick, a foot or a foot and a half long, to which a number of animals' hoofs are fastened [534] The costume of these three dogs is shown in the portrait of Pehriska-Rupe. (Plate XXIII.)

The fifth band is that of the buffaloes. In their dance they wear the skin of the upper part of the head, the mane of the buffalo, with its horns, on their heads; but two select individuals, the bravest of all, who thenceforward never dare to fly from the enemy, wear a perfect imitation of the buffalo's head, with the horns, which they set on their heads (Plate XVIII.), and in which there are holes left for the eyes, which are surrounded with an iron or tin ring. This band alone has a wooden war pipe, and in their union they have a woman, who, during the dance, goes round with a dish of water, to refresh the dancers, but she must give this water only to the bravest, who wear the whole buffalo's head. She is dressed, on these occasions, in a handsome new robe of bighorn leather, and colours her face with vermilion. The men have a piece of red cloth fastened behind, and a figure representing a buffalo's tail; they also carry their arms in their hands. The men with the buffaloes' heads always keep in the dance at the outside of the group, imitate all the motions and the voice of this animal, as it timidly and cautiously retreats, looking around in all directions, &c. (Plate XVIII.)

561 554

The sixth band is that of the black-tailed deer. It consists of all the men above fifty years of age, who, however, likewise dance. Two women belong to the band, who wait on them at the dance, cook, carry water round to refresh them, and the like. All the men of this band wear a garland of the claws of the grizzly bear round their heads, and all insignia of their warlike exploits about their bodies, such as feathers on their heads, tufts of hair on their arms and legs, scalps, painting, &c.

561

All these bands, as well as the following dances, are bought and sold, and, as has been already observed, on these occasions, the buyer must give up his wife to the seller during the festivity. But if a young man is still unmarried, he will sometimes travel to a great distance to another village, to ask a friend or companion for his wife, who accordingly goes with him, and, on the evenings of the dance, gives up his wives for him. A man often brings three or four, and even more, wives, and gives them to his father, as he is called, as soon as the dancing, eating, smoking, and the relating of their exploits, are concluded. Thus one woman after the other comes, as will be described in the account of the buffalo medicines of the Manitaries, strikes, with her hand, the arm of the man whom she will favour, and goes to the entrance of the tent, where she waits till he follows her. The man so invited often keeps his seat, and bows down his head; the woman then goes home, brings articles of value, such as guns, robes, blankets, &c., which she lays, piece by piece, before him, till he is satisfied, stands up, and follows her.

561 425 837 572

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796 785 304 during the whole life, like thick swollen weals. This is to be observed in a much higher degree among the Manitaries than among the Mandans; the former seem to submit to much more severe tortures. The buffalo skulls, which these Indians have dragged about with much pain, are preserved in their huts, where they are everywhere to be seen, to be handed down from the father to the children. Many such heads are looked upon by them as medicine; they are kept in the huts, and sometimes the Indians stroke them over the nose, and set food before them. In general, the buffalo is a medicine animal, and more or less sacred.

796 837 Another very remarkable medicine festival is that for attracting the herds of buffaloes, which is usually celebrated in the autumn, or winter. I shall describe this festival, as an eye-witness among the Manitaries, where it is observed precisely in the same manner as among the Mandans. At this festival they leave their wives to the older men, and individual Indians do the same on certain occasions, when they desire to ask good wishes for the attainment of some object they have in view. A man, in such a case, goes, with his pipe, and accompanied by his wife, who wears no clothes except her buffalo robe, to another hut. The wife carries a dish of boiled maize, which she sets down before a third person, and the man does the same with his pipe. The woman then passes the palm of her hand down the whole arm of the person favoured in this manner, takes him by the hand, and he must follow her to a retired spot, generally to the forest surrounding the huts in the winter time; after which she returns and repeats the same process, often with eight or ten men. As soon as the man so favoured has resumed his seat, the person who asks his good wishes presents his pipe to him that he may smoke; whereupon he expresses his best wishes for the success of the undertaking or project in hand. By way of returning thanks, his arm is again stroked.

796 773 A third medicine feast is that described by Say, by the name of the corn dance of the Manitaries. He is pretty correct in his account of it, and it is used as well among the Mandans as the Manitaries. It is a consecration of the grain to be sown, and is called the corn dance feast of the women. The old woman who never dies sends, in the spring, the water-fowl, swans, geese, and ducks, as symbols of the kinds of grain cultivated by the Indians. The wild goose signifies maize; the swan, the gourd; and the duck, beans. It is the old woman that causes these plants to grow, and, therefore, she sends these birds as her signs and representatives. It is very seldom that eleven wild geese are found together in the spring; but, if it happens, this is a sign that the crop of maize will be remarkably fine. The Indians keep a large quantity of dried flesh in readiness for the time in the spring when the birds arrive, that they may immediately celebrate the corn feast of the women. They hang the meat, before the village, on long stages made of poles, three or four rows, one above another, and this, with various articles of value, is considered as an offering to the old woman. The elderly females, as representatives of the old woman who never dies, assemble on a certain day about the stages, carrying a stick in their hands, to one

10: Neill H-4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

son who Lewis and Clarke found in October, 1804, trading among the Indians. On the 19th Henry and party came in sight of the Missouri. He writes in his Journal: "Descending the high banks we came to the river Bourbeuse [Bourbeux, Moiy.] We had much difficulty in crossing; on both sides nothing but soft clay, into which our horses sunk almost up to their ears. Having got through we washed and cleaned them, and ourselves in the Missouri * * * At 2 o'clock we saddled and proceeded on passing near to the water side. At the foot of the Lodge de Serpent is a bank upon the north side of the Missouri, about three hundred feet high; the side fronting the river is very steep and barren composed of gravel intermixed with a quantity of flat decayed stones of bluish and iron color with some streaks." 114

A short distance from the foot of the hill was a Gros Ventres winter village[1] and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon they arrived opposite the mouth of the Knife River, on the bank of which a mile from the Missouri, was also a village of Gros Ventres.[2] Riding down on the north bank of the Missouri, a distance of five miles, to a Mandan village, "we passed," writes Henry, "through one of their old villages that was abandoned a few years ago; they have now built about a mile lower down the river. Near this deserted village we saw great numbers of the dead exposed upon stages about eight feet from the ground. The envelopes or coverings are generally of dressed leathe- and parchments, many of which were still good, whilr others were decayed, and nothing but the bones appeared. e * * We now met a Mandan who was well armed, he ac* companied a party of women that were hoeing corn, and he served as their guard. On perceiving us, he instantly came up and shook hands with us and expressed himself by signs that we should put up at his village. We saw numbers of women and children at work in the corn field. 000 574 576

Just before we entered the village we were met by the chief of the place, Chat Noir * [Black Cat] and a number of the natives. Every one of them were shaking hands with us, and bid us welcome. The chief then conducted us to one of his huts, appropriated for the reception of the strangers. He has another, in which the principal friends of his family resides. He keeps one of his wives, in the one we were in, to attend upon his guests, cook, bring water, etc., and to serve as a bed fellow if required. [837]

In a moment, the whole village flocked around us, and all were curious to see what articles we had brought to trade, and they were neither troublesome, nor impertinent. Having unsaddled our horses, and taken our baggage into the hut, the 574 609

* Lewis and Clarke made Poscopseah or Black Cat, the first chief of the village, and the grand chief of the whole Mandan nation.

1 [See category 116, p. 322, for section, missing here, which is in original account. Analyst] 2 [See category 116, p. 323, for missing section. — Analyst]

142 a dark brown, some few indeed I observed whose hair was almost fair. A Big Belly, in particular, I saw with yellow hair. This circumstance, I believe, could scarcely proceed from any connection with the whites, as it is now more than thirty years since they first saw us, and this man was at least forty years old. Their eyes are jet black, some few are of a dark grey.

LONG HAIR.

302 The men wear their hair long, twisted into small quaittes hanging down to the rump. Some have it of enormous length, trailing upon the ground. They seldom tie it, but allow their numerous small quaittes to flow in a more graceful manner upon their backs; they always daub it with white and red earth. The women wear their hair short, allowing it to grow no longer than to be of sufficient length to cover the ears and neck. They never tie it, nor make use of any ornament for the head further than sometimes daubing it with red earth.

LASCIVIOUSNESS.

●837 609 578 They seem to be a very lascivious people. The men make not the least scruple in offering their wives to lay with strangers, without any solicitation, and are even offended, if their offers are not accepted, unless you can convince them, by some good reason, for refusing to comply, and that it is not out of contempt. They always expect payment for their complaisance, but a mere trifle will satisfy, even a single coat-button. Notwithstanding this courteous behavior to strangers, they are not entirely free from jealousies among themselves, which sometimes cause quarrels and bloodshed. The woman generally falls a sacrifice in an affair of this nature.[1]

MODE OF ROASTING MEAT.

252 They have a very peculiar way of roasting meat; a plecotte, in particular, is suspended from the roof of the hut exactly over the fire, the cord being passed through and fastened to the centre of the piece keeps it in a flat position directly over the flames. A person is seated near it, and with a small stick keeps it continually in motion by pushing it to and fro. When one side is done, it is turned over, and fit for use. This method is much more expeditious than the common way of roasting before the fire, and preferable, as it retains the natural juice and flavor.[2]

EDWARD D. NEILL.

1 [See category 116, p. 342-3. -A.]

2 [For further information in Henry's Journal not mentioned by Neill, see category 116, pp. 343 ff. -Analyst.]

304 They have another custom of putting their courage and con-
785 tempt of pain to task by tormenting their flesh in a most atrocious manner. This is done by pinching up a fold of the skin and flesh an inch broad, under which they pass the iron barb of an arrow; they raise stripes in this manner from the back of the hand to the shoulder, and thence to the breast, there joining three or four separate circles of incisions made in the same manner on the lower part of the breast. Some content themselves by raising stripes of different lengths upon their arms and thighs, and forming crescentic cuts on the breast in a very regular manner, one within the other; some with the horns upward, others downward, according to fancy.

304 Most of the women have their faces tattooed in a very savage manner, lines a quarter inch broad passing from the nose to the ear, and down each side of the mouth and chin to the throat. This disfigures them very much; otherwise, some would have tolerably
304 good faces. Some tattooing is done to beautify the face, but at
684 other times it is the disfiguring mark of a fit of jealousy in the husband. [366] When a Mandane's handsome young wife is too lavish of her favors without his consent, he tattoes her face as a punish-
[576] ment. Although it cannot be said that these people are much given
837 to jealousy, still it is absolutely necessary for a woman to have the consent of her husband to cohabit with a stranger, whether he is white or one of their own people. But I observed during my stay that this consent is not so very necessary in regard to the inhabitants of the same village, as every morning early there were examples to be seen in their plantations of their loose way of living. Many
[164] of our servants who frequent these parts to trade in the winter, and who have too intimate connections with the fair sex, are attacked by a painful and loathsome disorder, which commonly appears in the groin, where it forms abscesses and, if neglected, will soon prove dangerous.

574 [401] At three o'clock we were all safely lodged in Black Cat's
609 hut, whom we found as usual very civil and complaisant, although he plainly saw we had nothing to pay him for his trouble. This man is one of the best Indians we met on the Missourie. We found
[432] what articles we had left in his charge all in good order, and carefully hung up to keep them from the mice. He even gave me his best horse upon credit; payment to be sent this fall by any opportunity. This was considered an extraordinary circumstance for a Mandane. He gave us several instances of his good nature and generosity while we were packing; every assistance in his power he gave us, without

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 bundles containing articles representing sacred beings believed
425 to be living in the world above, which would include People Above bundles, Star, and Holy Women bundles.

778 Bundle-owners doctored for insanity, feeble-mindedness, spasms and fits, premature births, and paralysis. Payment was
755 made if the patient recovered, or, when the case was given up as hopeless, the relatives requested that the doctor continue his efforts. Pine needles were burned as incense, and the Black Medicine root was chewed and blown over the victim. The songs were sung while using a large gourd rattle.

778 Calf Woman believed that the bundles were primarily war bundles because the Sun was a cannibal who brought war parties together and had some killed so he could eat them. Men having the Sun as their god believed that it would be the enemy who would be killed.

778 One could sell rights in the bundle four times but usually reserved singer rights and the rattle for the oldest daughter and
425 her husband. Women buying with the husband held Holy Woman rights to Old Woman Above and were entitled to wear magpie feathers and a braid of sweet grass and to carry an ash digging stick when attending a medicine feast.

772 Calf Woman added this general information about the beliefs associated with the ritual of the ceremony:

> The world is in three layers: above world; the land we live on; and the lower land. First Creator and Lone Man created the land we live on. These lands and the sky are held apart by four large posts, for the universe is a large earth lodge. The earth is floating on water which separates it from the lower land because water comes out of the ground. There are people living on these three lands.
>
> 821 Sun dies during an eclipse. When there is a total eclipse of Sun, those with People Above bundles, which always includes Sun, burn pine spills that come from the Rocky Mountains, while all the people cry. Even the dogs cry. If the people are on the march when Sun dies, they stop to cry until Sun comes back to life. Sometimes Sun is sick, and then only part of the sun is dark.
>
> Comets and constellations are people who once lived on the earth as holy people. The people were getting careless and broke the rules and did not treat these holy people right, so they went back to the sky and are making their home there now. When one sees a star going across the sky, it is because it is changing places, traveling as an arrow.
>
> 838 I saw three men who dressed like women; one was a Mandan, a brother to Four Bears;[3] the other two were Hidatsa. If a man dreams of the Holy Women and later finds a rope or porcupine quills in the forest, that is a sign that these

3. Four Bears also had a son who dressed in women's clothing.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

women want the man to pick it up. If he picks it up, but few do, he dresses like a woman. 838

There are three women, one in each of the three places where Sun stops to smoke. They are his sisters. Their names are Sunrise Woman, Above Woman, and Sunset Woman. They are all evil women. Because Sun is my god, I have the right to give children such names as Lone Woman from Sun's mother, Buffalo Woman from the buffalo skull, Digs Turnips or Chokecherry Tree from the Bear. 776 553

Although the woman represented in the Shell bundle is one of the Holy Women, rights in the People Above ceremony did not carry rights in the Shell bundle. 778 776

These Holy Women cause twisted faces and insanity, and people with rights in the bundle can cure them. I have the right also to doctor those thrown from horses or hit with an ash stick. This right comes from the People Above bundle. [553] [828]

The myth Calf Woman had been taught when buying the bundle was as follows: 773

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY CALF WOMAN 539

Three people go together in this story; they are Sun, Moon, and Old Woman Above. A long time ago a young woman named Corn Silk wanted to marry Sun. She went to a very old woman, who was a Holy Woman, to get instructions as to where Sun lived and how she might reach him. This Holy Woman said, "Your grandmothers, the mice, are living on the prairies. You can stop at their earth lodges each night on the way."

She started on her journey and came to the home of the lodge mice about sundown. She walked up to the lodge and stood outside. One of the children who came outside saw her and ran inside to tell the mice about it. The old women told the little mouse to invite her in. She asked the woman who was doing the cooking to prepare Corn Silk some ground beans for her supper. The young woman had buffalo fat along; she gave some of it to the mice to use, for their hands were chapped from digging beans. She also had some blue stone beads along, and she gave some of them to the old women. She slept there and the next morning went on.

The lodge mice told her that there was another family of mice a little farther on. She reached them at sunset. They were the white-breasted mice. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads as before. She also gave them fat for their chapped hands. One of the old women asked her where she was going, and she replied that she was on her way to marry Sun. They told her she would find another family of mice a little farther on.

She traveled all day and reached the lodge of the mosquito mice at sunset. One came out and saw her, and she was invited in as before. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads and buffalo fat.

They inquired, "Where are you going, my beautiful grandchild?"

She answered, "I am on my way to marry Sun."

She slept until morning and ate her breakfast with the mice. She traveled all day and reached the home of the pocket gophers at sunset. They saw her,

648 Among a number of other customs, was treaty making with other tribes. This was well described by Henry who accompanied the Mandans and Hidatsa when they went to make a treaty with the Cheyennes. Most of the people went on these treaty visits; the band marched in a procession of fixed order and a number of ceremonial objects were carried exposed throughout the march. The party was met with great ceremony by the new allies and its members were taken into their [597] houses. Several days of ceremonial feasting occurred and finally the head chief of each party adopted a son from the other [439] tribe. After this there was more feasting and several days of trade between the two bands, when both returned home.

597 The adoption of sons occurred also among the different families. Maximilian describes the adoption of a "medicine son" to whom a sacred pipe was given. The man chose his adopted son through a dream. The new pipe was consecrated and gifts were showered upon the son's family by the adopted father and his relatives. A dance and feast was then held. This custom was prevalent over all the Missouri region.

• 838 There were a number of men who dressed and acted like women and were treated in every way as such. These men claimed to follow this life by an order from the spirits given to them in a dream.

567 Catlin says that the Mandans did not have slaves and there is no mention of them elsewhere. The Arikara, however, had a regular slavery system, and the Crows made slaves and sold 201 them on the Missouri. The Mandans were very good at the sign language so Maximilian tells us. They were expert swim- 481 mers, and collected their whole supply of wood by swimming 313 out and towing in the drift wood at the time of the spring break-ups.

511 In point of general culture the Mandans were superior to any of their immediate neighbors, surpassing even the other sedentary people, the Hidatsa and Arikara. Catlin says that they had advanced far in the arts of manufacture and had more comforts and luxuries than other tribes. When Verendrye saw them he, too, was struck by their superior skill. He said that the Mandans dressed leather and worked in feathers better

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

mother-in-law never speaks to her son-in-law; but if he comes home, and brings her the scalp of a slain enemy, and his gun, she is at liberty, from that moment, to converse with him. This custom is found among the Manitaries, who have, doubtless, borrowed it from the Mandans, but not among the Crows and Arikkaras. Among the Chippeways, and the Algonquins in general, the name must not be changed; and persons with the same name must not marry, but consider each other as brothers and sisters. Among all the North American Indian nations there are men dressed and treated like women, called, by the Canadians, Bardaches, of whom Mc Kenzie, Tanner, Langsdorff, and others, have spoken; but there was only one such among the Mandans, and two or three among the Manitaries.

Volney, and some other writers, have spoken rather too unfavourably of the moral character of the aborigines of North America, and their domestic habits. According to them, distrust and hostile feeling prevail among them, for which reason they never leave their huts unarmed; but I can bear witness that they are frequently seen in their villages, as well as in the environs, without arms, and that it is only at greater distances, and when they appear in state, that they carry their weapons in their hands. I have never observed any disputes among them, but, on the contrary, much more unity and tranquillity than in civilized Europe. It has often been asserted that the Indians are inferior in intellectual capacity to the Whites; but this has been now sufficiently refuted; and Harlan is not wrong in saying that, among the races of men, of which Blumenbach reckons five, the American should be ranked immediately after the Caucasian. If man, in all his varieties, has not received from the Creator equally perfect faculties, I am, at least, convinced that, in this respect, the Americans are not inferior to the Whites. Many of the Mandans manifest a great thirst for knowledge, and much desire to hear something of objects of a higher order; and if they were not so much attached to the prejudices inherited from their ancestors, many of them might be very easily instructed. The bad examples which they so often observe in the white men, who roam about their country in quest of gain, are not calculated to inspire them with much respect for our race, or to improve their morality. And if they have not been found inclined to the Christian religion, this is, certainly, in some measure, the consequence of the bad conduct of the Whites, who call themselves Christians, and are often worse, and more immoral, than the most uncivilized of the Indians. Many American and foreign works have taken notice of the striking good sense and wit, the correct judgment of the Indians, in all the occurrences of daily life, and it would be mere repetition here to quote examples. One is often at a loss to answer their questions, founded on correct and natural judgment. The inactive mode of life natural to the Indians, which disdains all laborious exertion, is a great obstacle to their adopting a different system. But they are not deficient in talent for drawing, music, &c., and this is quite manifest at first sight. Several Mandans not only took much pleasure in drawing, but had a decided talent for it. The hieroglyphics are well known, which the Indians employ

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

787 Coyote Woman went onto a hill. The wolf said, "Your husband who was like
756 an enemy to you has been eaten up. Don't feel sorry for him, or I will never
159 help you."

Before she went home, she cut deep gashes in her arms and legs with a flint knife and cut the sleeves from her dress. As she approached the village, she began to cry, and all the people ran out to learn the cause of her mourning. She said that her husband and all his party were dead.

She began doctoring the sick people the way she had formerly been instructed by the bear.[8] She examined her patients first to learn what caused the
[753] illness. Some were made ill by the snakes or bugs in their bodies; others from the influence of evil spirits; others from the loss of a god. She had a medicine song and a medicine root. If she found the pain was in one spot, she sucked with her mouth or a hollow horn, sometimes drawing out long slim worms or maggots of different colors. She pressed the stomach for pains located in the stomach or bowels and blew chewed-up cedar bark over the patient; when a person had a headache, she let out blood from the forehead.

The stone was burned so our people lost that. When Coyote Woman was
756 old, she did not sell my mother the right to doctor, but my mother often
159 heard her tell how she cured her patients. We have always believed since then that the bear was the greatest of all doctors.

Certain doctors were called upon to help women laboring in childbirth.
844 Some of the women of the house would fill a pipe and place it before the wom-
159 an they wished to act as midwife or doctor. The doctor gave instructions which must be carried out and set the price which was for the number of days she would serve. If she failed to help the patient in that time, she left to give another a chance to cure the patient. If the doctor failed to cure the patient in the time designated, the relatives might again place the pipe before her, and she was obliged to remain longer. Extra goods were then paid for the additional time. When the doctor entered the lodge where the woman in labor
• [841] lived, she ordered all the men and small children out, and women then in their menstrual period were asked to stay away from the lodge. Should any woman during her menstrual period come into the lodge, sage was immediately burned in four places in the lodge, two fires being made of sage painted red and two of white sage.[9] If this was not done, it was believed that the patient might die. A special song was sung during the burning of the sage, for which the doctor received an additional fee. The doctor called in two young girls while the four fires were burning and asked them to doctor the patient in her stead by singing the medicine songs and dancing around the sick person. At the end of the songs, the two girls walked to the sick person and said, "You are well now," and left the lodge. The doctor then continued to administer to the sick woman.

The doctor selected an old woman to take the child as soon as it came. Women gave birth to children usually in bed or on a robe laid on the floor. The lodge was darkened, and only the doctor and the sick woman's mother were allowed inside. As soon as the child was born, a wide belt was bound tightly around the mother's abdomen. Because of the cost, many women did not engage a doctor unless difficulty was experienced.

8. Bear bundle rites were inherited in the Bear clan until the clan died out after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

9. Apparently this practice was a part of each doctoring rite. Red sage represented the sun and white sage represented the moon.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 over from the women's camp. Afterward the trapper smoked.
Each trapper, after eating, discussed happenings at the pit, and,
223 from the information thus supplied, the leader offered suggestions for increasing the catch. When birds circled the bait but would not come down, it was suggested that raw meat be used. Sometimes the birds flew by without appearing to see the bait, and decoys were recommended.

223 The leader did not have a pit for his own use but remained in camp. However, if the wind was from the wrong direction in the morning and the men were out hunting game, he could go into any of the pits should the wind change to the west.

223 Evenings were spent in storytelling. The leader would ac-
773 quaint the trappers with the myths associated with eagle-trap-
538 ping. There were many of these myths, and a good leader would be able to consume every evening for the usual four weeks in camp without exhausting his stock. Each was related in great detail with endless repetitions. Some of the longer myths consumed four nights in telling; others were short and could be related in one night. All were expected to listen attentively while seated on a buffalo robe. Those who nodded were pinched with the bird stick. An example of the stories told is given in the Appendix.

223 The position of women in eagle-trapping ceremonies varied
562 among bundle-owners. (1) Most bundle-owners prohibited women from entering the ceremonial lodge or looking inside. (2) Several bundle-owners had special rites to which women were invited when birds had been caught. (3) A few bundle-
• [841] owners required a menstruating woman to come into the lodge and breathe the smoke from sage burned at the four corners of the fire pit.

223 Unless special rites relative to the women were purchased,
562 they were required to stay away from the ceremonial lodge and
841 its vicinity. The right to bring women into the lodge was a sepa-
171 rate purchase not essential to trapping eagles. There were separate songs and a myth, giving the right to call in a menstruating woman, which could be purchased. It referred to the capture of the leader of the eagles who, in return for having her life spared, promised unusual success if her song was sung when a menstruating woman was brought into the lodge. The consensus of both

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Mandan and Hidatsa informants was that women took a more prominent place in Mandan than in Hidatsa ceremonies and that bringing women into the lodges was a Mandan rite that some Hidatsa bought. This native belief is borne out by a woman's right to perform the Okipa ceremony with her brother's assistance and to own bundles of deceased relatives until a successor had qualified.

In the selection of eagle-trapping territory, consideration was given to the suitability of the region for hunting. Some informants thought that not more than one-third of the days were suitable for catching eagles. When the winds were not from a westerly direction, the party went out hunting and received their orders from the Chief of the Hunters, whose place in the ceremonial lodge was near the head of the lodge on the left side and opposite the leader.

The office of Chief of the Hunters was filled by the leader when selecting the places for the men when first entering the lodge. In mythological times, Two Men[40] discovered Black Bear's cub carrying a clay pot in which he cooked his food mysteriously, and, resolving to live leisurely thereafter, they stole the vessel. The cub chased them into Dog Den Butte and captured them with his snare. Cub contemplated killing them, but they agreed to do the hunting[41] for the eagle-trappers if their lives were spared. In time they acquired the position of leaders of the hunters.

The eagle-trapping territory was distantly removed from the summer villages in a region not occupied permanently by any tribe.[42] Except for sites on the east side of the Missouri River, the territory was deeply eroded with isolated wooded areas along, and adjacent to, the principal streams. The badlands region along the Little Missouri River and its tributaries was a favorite habitat of the elk, black-tail deer, and mountain sheep. White-tail deer remained more or less in the wooded bottom lands of streams, while buffalo and antelope ranged in herds and bands on the high grass plains a few miles from the principal streams.

40. See my manuscript on "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization" for an account of the exploits of these two characters.

41. Their medicine was the arrow.

42. See map of eagle-trapping camps (Fig. 28).

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

575 After this speech, Big-thief returned to his place. Then all the Kit-
608 Foxes rose and brought presents of food to their fathers. Black-chest again
432 selected Good-bear for his individual Father, but explains that this was
527 not obligatory. Wounded-face was obliged to select a new father, for the one chosen by him in purchasing the Kit-Fox organization had been killed in battle; otherwise, he says he should have kept the same individual for his father in buying all the higher societies. On this occasion his choice fell on Little-crow, to whom he presented a kettleful of food as a token of his selection. Black-chest states that five of the fathers had been killed since the purchase of the Kit-Fox society.

575 Black-chest says that on this occasion the River Women did not aid the
432 purchasers, as both they and the latter had married. This obviously refers
431 to the period of the fathers' entertainment, as the same informant mentions a contribution by this women's organization to the initial payment (see p. 303). On the other hand, the Black Mouths attended the performance and brought food for the sellers.

575 At a height of about seven feet from the ground the fathers stretched a
778 rawhide rope between the two rear main posts. To each end of the rope
527 they attached a whip, and near its center they folded over it two red cloth
837 sashes. These sashes were considered sacred. The wife of one of the buyers
533 then rose, stripped naked and covering her genitalia with her hands, approached the rear of the fireplace. Rising on tiptoes, she seized one of the sashes, covered her nakedness again, pressed the sash to her breast and hung it up as before. Each one of the buyers' wives went through the same ceremony. During this performance the fathers were all singing. The women returned to their seats and put on their blankets. Each husband then said to his wife: "I will give you to my father, for I want his song. Perhaps he will pray for us, and it will be well for both of us."

575 Then the father and the woman offered to him went out together.
[841] Menstruating women were absolved from this performance, for they were
837 not supposed to come to the lodge at all on such occasions. As a matter of fact, Black-chest says that only very few fathers availed themselves of
432 the right surrendered to them, being generally afraid of ill luck if they did.
527 The form, however, was gone through by each wife on each of the twenty nights. Black-chest's wife told her husband that Good-bear merely took her outside, faced west with her and said, "Daughter-in-law, stop and
[782] stand there." Then he prayed as follows: "My gods, my son has given me his wife. I wish that my daughter-in-law may always enjoy a long and happy life, and I ask you in behalf of my son that he may conquer his enemies." After this prayer he bade the woman go back, and both returned to the lodge.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

766 name were taken to the usual place, where they were placed on a scaffold or interred, according to the parents' preference.

775 The Mandan believed that there was a Baby Hill near Fort Clark, another near the Heart River, and a third near Dickinson which had interiors like an earth lodge, in which an old man cared for them. If a child died before being named, it returned to the Baby Hill. People claimed to have seen baby tracks on the tops and sides of these hills. It was believed that the spirits in the hill near the Heart River came north when the Mandan [842] came north. If a woman had been married a number of years and was childless, desiring a child, she would go to one of these hills to pray for one. Those wanting a daughter brought girl's clothing and a ball; for a son she brought a small bow and arrow. The Mandan believed in rebirth. Calf Woman's grandfather said he was one who had been reborn. One of her grandchildren had a spot on her hip, and it was thought she was one who had lived before. It was believed that children choose the mother they want and that a child resembling a sibling who had died was the reincarnation of the other child. The Mandan cite numerous instances of culture heroes who selected a mother when desiring to be born into the tribe.

553 A girl usually keeps her first name as long as she lives. If she was sick or unlucky, her parents frequently put up a feast to get a new name for her. If she had grown up, her brothers and sisters helped her prepare a renaming feast.

853 A nursing child frequently developed a sore mouth which in-
755 terfered with its feeding. In such cases, the parents selected a man of the child's father's clan to cure it by piercing the skin of the ceremonial father's leg and permitting the child to suck of his blood. A payment was made to the man selected by the child's clan brothers and sisters.

TRAINING

861 The child's training was both economic and ritualistic and
868 differed according to the sex of the child. A girl was trained in lodge management, household arts, gardening, curing of meat,
562 and certain ritualistic practices, receiving her instruction primarily from the women of the lodge. A boy was taught hunting and fishing and went out while still a boy to help bring meat

775 In this description of an after life, there was a marked mixture of ideas. The idea of multiple souls is Siouan, the rest is more or less common over most of the region.

As usual in the plains area every natural phenomenon and
776 unaccountable event was mystery or medicine, and the medicine
821 idea played the usual important part in all their religious customs. Thunder was ascribed to the familiar thunder-bird, the glitter of whose eyes dug a path through the clouds for the rain and caused the lightning.[1] Solitary claps of thunder were ascribed to a huge turtle which lived in the clouds. The rainbow was said to be a spirit which accompanies the sun and which shows itself when the sun retires for the night. The aurora borealis was said to be the fire kindled at an assembly of the great medicine men and warriors of the northern nations, over which they cooked their dead enemies in huge pots.[2] They had several beliefs about the stars—that of the Sioux, that each star is a man, and when a child is born the star comes down and when he dies it returns; also that a multitude of supernatural beings existed in the stars to which sacrifices and prayers
[787] were offered. Dreams were of very great importance and governed nearly all their acts.

789 There were many small personal superstitions or mysteries.
843 One man told Maximilian that he could turn a snowball into a white stone, another claimed that his nose always bled if he picked up his pipe by the bowl. There were many signs of good and bad luck. A pregnant woman was considered to bring luck at the game of Skohpe. The medicine men told them that if a clay image of an enemy were made with a needle or quill in it for a heart, and were placed at the foot of some medicine structure, that enemy would die. A pregnant woman brings bad luck to her husband in hunting. Many of the Mandans believed that they had some animal, as a buffalo, turtle or frog in them; the women had a dance when they thought an ear of corn was in them, which the dance caused to come out.[3] There were a number of other superstitions of this sort, mostly common to all the plains tribes. One more notable might be mentioned, how-
372 ever, that of building the fire with two sticks crossed in the center,

[1] Ibid., p. 422. [2] Ibid., p. 423. [3] Ibid., p. 463.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

603 the same clan as the boy's father, on occasions he received presents from his grandson during the ceremonies. A man addressed
[601] as "grandchild" the wives of all those men he addressed as "son" and the spouses of all he addressed as "grandchild."

603 *Grandmother–grandchild* (*maxis'–ptawi'hąkE*).—The maternal grandmother was always present and assisted in the birth
• 844 and care of her daughter's child and the paternal grandmother was expected to carry out the other's instructions. In case the paternal grandmother had a superior ceremonial bundle and a good reputation for successful deliveries, she was asked to take charge. The child's closest affection was for the grandmother belonging to the lodge group. The grandmother would make clothing for her grandchildren and teach them stories. The paternal grandmother delighted in preparing nice robes and other clothing for son's children and would invite them to her lodge to eat, when she would dress them in the pretty clothes. Informants thought that the father's mother showed more affection for a grandchild than a maternal grandmother, since the former did not have them under foot every day. They thought that grandmothers had a tendency to get cross as they grew old and that the maternal grandmother, while scolding children for jumping on her bed, would scold her own daughter if she thought the children were not treated right.

603 A grandmother was more closely associated with her granddaughter than her grandson. She would teach the granddaugh-
868 ter the arts of dressing hides and making pottery, and she ex-
601 pected payment for this instruction. The grandson was expected to give her meat if she met him at the outskirts of the village without having to ask him for it. This obligation to give meat to a grandmother was extended to include all females addressed as "grandmother." A woman addressed as "grandchild" the wives of all those men she addressed as "son" and the spouses of all she addressed as "grandchild."

604 *Mother's brother–sister's child* (*pta'warato'dE–ptu'hakE*).—The mother's brother was a very important relative in the Mandan
592 matrilinear system, as he had considerable authority over his
613 sister's household even when living in another household. As an occupant of his wife's lodge, he was a subordinate member, but in his sister's lodge, by virtue of his position as the oldest male

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter III

THE MANDAN LIFE-CYCLE

000 THERE are many occasions during the lifetime of a Mandan when the relatives have important duties and obligations. Since the behavior between various pairs and groups of relatives has been outlined, the writer proposes to follow an individual from birth to death in an attempt to indicate some of the more important events when relatives play a significant role. In Mandan society, living as they did in earth-lodge villages of closely assembled lodges, there were daily contacts between all the individuals of the village, but the closest contacts were between groups of close relatives. A complete account of a person's relationship with all the people of the village would be an account of Mandan culture to the extent that one village was independent of the other villages of the tribe. This study is designed merely as an introduction to such an account.

BIRTH AND NAMING

844 A woman preferred to give birth to a child in her mother's lodge. When the woman began her first labor, everyone was sent out of the lodge except the old women of the lodge. The lodge was darkened by closing the door and shutting off part of the smokehole. A robe was laid out on the floor near the bedposts where the woman could reach up and hold them. If labors were prolonged, the father's sister came and prepared a drink from one of the ceremonial plants contained in her brother's bundle in which she held rights. In extreme cases, a medicine man or woman of considerable eminence was called in.[1] The most popular bundles were those with the snake, bear, or mink; sacred rites were employed, but the older women supervised turning the child or straightening a leg if delivery was not normal.

1. For a firsthand account see Mrs. Good Bear's narrative in chap. v below.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The old women attended to the child, disposing of the placenta and seeing that the child was properly greased and painted with red ocher under the arms, around the neck, between the legs, and on the top of the head to prevent chafing. It was wrapped in a piece of tanned hide taken from a tepee smokehole, since such leather did not harden when wet. The child was placed in the leather cradle shortly after birth. In the wintertime it was wrapped in a tanned buffalo calf hide from which the hair had not been removed. At night the child was taken from the cradle to sleep with the mother. Twice a day the child was taken from the cradle to be cleaned and greased.

On the tenth day a feast was given in the lodge, at which time the child was named. The parents selected the person who was to officiate at the naming ceremony. If the father had already acquired eminence and owned a jor tribal bundle, he or his sister named the child; otherwise he called in people of his clan to give the name. The child's brothers and sisters and persons of the child's clan brought robes, and the father would frequently contribute a horse. The naming of a child was one of many occasions during one's lifetime when he would be expected to give goods to others ceremonially. The parents used the medium of the feast and the naming of the child, with an abundant display and disposal of goods, to enhance their social status in the tribe.

Until the child received a name, it was not considered a part of the social unit of the village but of the "baby home" from whence it had come. The child received a name relating to the ceremonial bundle of the person giving the name. Thus such names as Scattercorn, Stands Yellow, Pumpkin Blossom, Corn Piles Up, and Corn Silk belonged to Corn ceremony bundles. Others like Lone Woman, Calf Woman, Game Stone, Sage Woman, Big Feather on Head, and Berdache were taken from the Woman Above bundles. The person giving the name received a horse. Both men and women belonging to the child's father's clan were entitled to attend and were expected to receive some article and to pray for the child's success. Upon receiving a name, the child acquired status in the household and clan. Children dying before the naming ceremony were wrapped in hides and placed in a tree used for that purpose, and there were no rites of "sending the spirits away." Those dying after getting a

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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The doctor selected an old woman to take the child as soon as it came. Women gave birth to children usually in bed or on a robe laid on the floor. The lodge was darkened, and only the doctor and the sick woman's mother were allowed inside. As soon as the child was born, a wide belt was bound tightly around the mother's abdomen. Because of the cost, many women did not engage a doctor unless difficulty was experienced.

8. Bear bundle rites were inherited in the Bear clan until the clan died out after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

9. Apparently this practice was a part of each doctoring rite. Red sage represented the sun and white sage represented the moon.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

My mother received the right to doctor women having trouble in childbirth, but she never practiced until she was quite an old woman. She learned of a woman that other doctors had given up to die and went to help her. The woman was scarcely alive but still conscious and could talk a little. 844 159

My mother said to her, "I have no great powers, but I am going to do just as I saw in my dream when a young woman." She chewed the black root and blew it over the sick woman and sang the medicine song she heard the old man and woman singing. She asked one of the old women standing near by to bring a stiff feather. Then she lifted the sick woman's head up and opened her mouth. She pressed one knee on the patient's stomach and at the same time pushed the feather down her throat, causing her to strain as in vomiting. This contracted the abdominal muscles, and, the fourth time the feather was pushed down her throat, the child came. My mother did not dream that she should use the feather. It was her own idea. She boiled some of the black root and gave the sick woman the water off of it to drink. She got a good horse, ten blankets, and much calico for doctoring this woman.

My mother turned her doctoring bundle over to me when she was old. The bundle consisted of black root, sage, and the song. She did not have the hide rattle, as it was the man in her dream who held that. I only doctored one woman who was having pains before her child was born. I did just as my mother instructed me to. I went to her lodge, sent everyone out except one woman, the sick one's mother, and made the room dark. I sang the song and blew chewed black root over her. I boiled black root and gave her the water to drink. The child was born before I had time to use the feather. I was paid a fat steer for helping her.

Crows Heart thought that a person rarely called in another to doctor except when the case was serious. People usually depended on their own bundles for protection and recovery from illness or accident. In the case of imbedded arrows, anyone might be asked to help remove them. Arrowheads or bullets imbedded in the flesh of the limbs were usually pressed on through the limb. He cited examples, one when a man doctored his own injuries and one where help was asked of others. 755 752

CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF CHERRY NECKLACE

Once the Mandan went toward Dickinson on their summer buffalo hunt. Nearly one thousand Sioux attacked them, and Poor Bear was shot through the chest so that the bullet come out through his shoulder blade. He bled through his nose and mouth when he was carried into his tepee. He said that when he got his medicine spirit, the Bear, he was promised protection. Although bullets might hit him they could not kill him if he carried out the instructions received in his dream. He asked his wives to bring him wild plums to eat, but there were none because it was early in the summer. Instead they brought him plum leaves and said they were plums. He chewed the leaves and sang his sacred songs. His wives helped him to his feet, and he danced while he sang with the blood flowing from the two wounds. In four days he was able to walk through camp again.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ten horses, and fastens them to the hut of the young woman, who gives them to her father. The latter then takes other horses, and if he has them not himself, his relations assist him, and these horses are fastened, in return, to the hut of the intended son-in-law. In such a case an estimate is previously made of the number of horses possessed by the woman's relations, for all presents are returned in equal number. The bride next boils some maize, and daily carries a kettle or dish filled with it to the hut of the bridegroom. After some time has elapsed, the young man repairs to the hut of his bride, where he passes the night with her, and the marriage is considered as complete. The young couple often continue to reside in the hut of the father-in-law, but they more frequently build a new hut for themselves; sometimes, however, they afterwards separate. The father-in-law is, subsequently, the principal person in the hut; everything depends on him, and is done on his account, and for him; if game is killed, the flesh is first presented to him, &c. There are often many children in these Indian families; some had as many as ten; yet, on the whole, the Indians have not so many children as the Whites, doubtless because they keep them longer at the breast. They are extremely fond of them, but the children are often weak and sickly, in consequence, it is supposed, of the hard labour which the women have to perform. I was universally assured, that the new-born children are of a reddish colour. The births are, in general, extremely easy, and the mother bathes in the river immediately afterwards, even if it is frozen; in ten days the child is considered as safe, having got over the most dangerous period. A person is paid to give it the name chosen by the parents and relations. The child is held up, then turned to all sides of the heavens, in the direction of the course of the sun, and its name proclaimed. They have cradles for their infants, consisting of a leather bag, which is suspended by a strap to a cross beam in the hut. These cradles of the Mandans are not so elegant and beautifully worked as those which we saw among the Sioux and Assiniboins. The children of these Indians are subject to no kind of discipline whatever; they may do and say whatever they please, and nobody finds fault with them. Everything is done to excite a spirit of independence and self-will in the boys; if the mother speaks to one of them, he will very likely slap her face, or kick her, nay, sometimes he will do the same to his father, who says, coolly, bowing his head, this boy will one day become a famous warrior. The men sometimes treat their wives very brutally; and it has not unfrequently happened, that a woman, after such treatment, has left the hut and hanged herself on a tree. This lately happened in the case of an aged woman, whose grown-up son had ill-treated her. She was missed, and was afterwards found suspended from a tree. The women have nothing to indemnify them for their incessant and laborious work, not even good clothing, for this right of the fair sex in Europe is claimed among the Indians by the men. It is singular that these women, who are condemned constantly to work like slaves, refuse to do any work whatever if they marry a white man, and, the Whites being entirely in the power of the Indians, and the relations of their wives, they are obliged to submit to this. Sisters have great

584 [585] 591 596 [163] 856 844 553 854 861 865 562 762 000

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

773 in order that he could retreat to the lowest level in the universe.
772 It was believed that the earth comprised four horizontal levels and that the surface of the earth was the top level. The sky was likewise made up of four semicircular hemispheres shaped like an earth-lodge roof and supported by four posts. This belief was associated with rites performed by a female robe-owner whenever a new lodge was erected or an old one repaired.

796 There was no spring or autumn bird feast, as in the case of the Big Bird bundles. When the bundle-owners were paid to per-
778 form the Buffalo-calling ceremony, the man officiated as the singer, carried the rattles, and wore the hawk on his head; his wife was dressed in the robe, wore the sage and magpie tail feathers, used the ash stick to dig a small hole near the head of the lodge, and "called up the buffaloes," as had been done by Frog Earrings in the mythology. A young man, about to go to war, asked the help of a bundle-owner belonging to his father's clan and promised to make an offering to the bundle upon his return. For this, he received a feather to wear on his head when in battle.

778 The sacred robe was held in high regard as a means of warding off misfortune. Because of the wicked disposition and power
773 of Frog Earrings, whom the robe represented, it was believed that men took to wearing women's clothing and followed female
[828] avocations. She was also believed to be the cause of insanity,
[826] feeble-mindedness, malformations, twisted jaws, and premature
[845] births.

SMALL HAWK MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[3]

773 It was the fall of the year. Corn Silk and her nine brothers were living to-
539 gether. Whenever any young man would ask her to marry him, she would refuse. One of the brothers always spoke for the young man, but there was one of them who never paid any attention to her or urged her to marry. A young man, an unusually fine hunter, asked her to marry, and the brother who had been silent was disappointed, for he thought she would surely marry this one. He said to her, "I have never spoken before, so I think you should heed my words. At other times, our other brothers acted as spokesmen. This man is such a good provider you should marry him. You will have a comfortable home and everything you need. I think you should listen to me."

Corn Silk did not obey the request, and the mother was angry and said, "One of your brothers never spoke, but this man was a good provider, and he

3. Another version of this myth is reported in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 63–76.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

it was a member during the life of the individual. It was the earth spirit and was believed to hover around the lodge so long as any visible evidence of the lodge ruins remained. People would see dim lights around the abandoned villages and attributed these lights to the third spirit. The fourth spirit was black and remained outside the lodge and traveled away from the village at times but would return frequently. It was represented by a shadow and was the spirit that frightened people. It was this spirit that Calf Woman believed frightened her the evening before government rations were issued so that she was unable to walk out for her share. It was also the spirit that came to a person in his dreams. When moccasins were burned at the doorway of the lodge where a person had died, it no longer frightened people.

The Mandan concept of the hereafter was based largely on vision experiences. They have a number of accounts of persons who "died" and then returned. All informants were in agreement that the first two spirits returned downstream. Some of the very old people who were remembered by my informants claimed that they would go to the Heart River, where their old people had lived and died. At that place there was a spirit village for each of the villages of the Heart River area, and a spirit-house stood over the body of each person either buried or placed on the prairie there. Some claimed that they would return to Baby Hill and be reincarnated into the tribe. At the present time the older Mandan think that they will return to Like-a-Fishhook Village, where they will be reunited with their relatives who lived and died there. They believe that the spirit people live in earth-lodge villages, plant gardens, hunt, and perform ceremonies much the same as during their lifetime. One's status in the hereafter is essentially the same as when one died.

Children who died before being named were wrapped in robes and placed in trees or interred apart from the rest of the dead. There were no rites, since they were not considered a part of the village until they had been named. They were believed to return immediately to the Home of the Babies to be reborn later.

When a person believed he was about to die, the relatives

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The old women attended to the child, disposing of the placenta and seeing that the child was properly greased and painted with red ocher under the arms, around the neck, between the legs, and on the top of the head to prevent chafing. It was wrapped in a piece of tanned hide taken from a tepee smokehole, since such leather did not harden when wet. The child was placed in the leather cradle shortly after birth. In the wintertime it was wrapped in a tanned buffalo calf hide from which the hair had not been removed. At night the child was taken from the cradle to sleep with the mother. Twice a day the child was taken from the cradle to be cleaned and greased.

On the tenth day a feast was given in the lodge, at which time the child was named. The parents selected the person who was to officiate at the naming ceremony. If the father had already acquired eminence and owned a major tribal bundle, he or his sister named the child; otherwise he called in people of his clan to give the name. The child's brothers and sisters and persons of the child's clan brought robes, and the father would frequently contribute a horse. The naming of a child was one of many occasions during one's lifetime when he would be expected to give goods to others ceremonially. The parents used the medium of the feast and the naming of the child, with an abundant display and disposal of goods, to enhance their social status in the tribe.

Until the child received a name, it was not considered a part of the social unit of the village but of the "baby home" from whence it had come. The child received a name relating to the ceremonial bundle of the person giving the name. Thus such names as Scattercorn, Stands Yellow, Pumpkin Blossom, Corn Piles Up, and Corn Silk belonged to Corn ceremony bundles. Others like Lone Woman, Calf Woman, Game Stone, Sage Woman, Big Feather on Head, and Berdache were taken from the Woman Above bundles. The person giving the name received a horse. Both men and women belonging to the child's father's clan were entitled to attend and were expected to receive some article and to pray for the child's success. Upon receiving a name, the child acquired status in the household and clan. Children dying before the naming ceremony were wrapped in hides and placed in a tree used for that purpose, and there were no rites of "sending the spirits away." Those dying after getting a

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A girl usually keeps her first name as long as she lives. If she was sick or unlucky, her parents frequently put up a feast to get a new name for her. If she had grown up, her brothers and sisters helped her prepare a renaming feast.

A nursing child frequently developed a sore mouth which interfered with its feeding. In such cases, the parents selected a man of the child's father's clan to cure it by piercing the skin of the ceremonial father's leg and permitting the child to suck of his blood. A payment was made to the man selected by the child's clan brothers and sisters.

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The child's training was both economic and ritualistic and differed according to the sex of the child. A girl was trained in lodge management, household arts, gardening, curing of meat, and certain ritualistic practices, receiving her instruction primarily from the women of the lodge. A boy was taught hunting and fishing and went out while still a boy to help bring meat

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3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

831 among the Arikara and Hidatsa. The men boasted their love
171 exploits, and carried often about the village small bundles of sticks each representing a conquest, or one large stick with stripes indicating the number; this was also a Hidatsa custom.

585 When a man wished to marry, after obtaining the girl's and the father's consent, he led horses to the door of the father's house and tied them there. Then the father took the same number of his own horses and tied them to the young man's door. After this the girl cooked corn each day and carried it to the young man's house for a certain number of days. Then the young man went to the father's house and claimed his wife. The young people either built a new home or lived with one of their parents, in which case the father remained master of the
587 house. On marrying an eldest sister, a man acquired the right of marriage over all the other sisters. Catlin tells us that the girls usually married at from twelve to fourteen years of age.

858 Children were never disciplined and were always humored
601 by their parents who seemed to be very fond of them. The father's brother and sister were called father and mother. The
606 mother's sister was called mother and her brother uncle.
551 Cousins called each other brother and sister. The mother-in-law was not permitted to address her son-in-law till he had come back with the scalp and gun of an enemy. Someone was usually paid to give the child his name, which was chosen by the parent.

776 RELIGION:—The religious ideas of the Mandans resemble in a number of respects both those of the Sioux and the Arikara. While there are a number of deities, there was one among them to whom special veneration was paid. This one, the creator of the earth and everything in it, and of men, was called the Lord of Life.[1] Next after him came the First Man to whom the Lord of Life gave great power and who acted as a sort of mediator for men. Catlin says he was the only person saved from the great deluge, and he played an important part in the Okeepa. He was worshipped and sacrifices were made to him. Next was an evil spirit who, though powerful, ranks far below the First Man. Fourth on the list was Rokanka-Tauihanka

[1] Maximilian: p. 419.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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back to the village. Economic training came largely from his father and the older men of the lodge. If he were inclined to be lazy, his mother would talk to him, while her brother would shame him and accuse him of bringing disgrace to the clan. 861 868 562

A boy was taught to begin fasting when he was eight or nine years of age. The parents would tell him of the benefits he would receive and cite the various eminent men of the village who had attained their position from this practice. The mother's brother and his older brothers would give him goods to take into the Okipa to present to some man of his father's clan and designate the person entitled to the gift. An older brother planning to fast would bring a younger brother to the Okipa ceremony and instruct him, sending him home when he thought he had been there long enough, while the father would give him some small article from his ceremonial bundle to wear, thinking it would help to get a "vision." 861 869 785

A lodge "grandfather" contributed a great deal to a boy's education. He would make toy bows and arrows and teach him to use them. If he had a fish trap, his grandsons did much of the work of carrying willows to the bank for weaving into sections for the walls, and he would permit them to bail the fish out of the trap. He would teach them games, especially techniques and skills which would be useful in warfare, and tell them stories. Using rivalry between the moieties, these old men who were too old to hunt would arrange the boys ten years and younger on sides and teach them to use shields for their protection, shooting at each other with arrows on the blunt ends of which a ball of mud or wrapped hide had been attached. 868 616

Not to be discounted in the training of a young Mandan boy or girl was the informal education they received by living in intimate contact with the entire village population, observing the conduct of others, and being kept informed of contemplated group action by the village "criers" who announced each decision of the village leaders. He learned that he must treat different relatives in various ways and that they would laugh at him if he did not. Learning that he was expected to treat different relatives the same way his brothers did, he imitated his older brothers unconsciously and followed their advice. 861 867

A girl's education was essentially the same as a boy's except 861 562 602

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

that a different set of relatives instructed her for a different set of economic pursuits. The women of the lodge were responsible for her training. They gave her toys, related stories and traditions, and taught her to care for her younger siblings. Her mother taught her to harness the dogs and took her to the forest for firewood. Some of my informants' most tender memories were of the times when as young girls, their mothers had given them dogs with harnesses, and had taken them along in gathering brush for the fires. The mother-daughter bonds were of deep affection. When the women of the lodge dressed hides, the daughter would help, and she had her own sewing kit containing awls, sinew thread, paints, beads, and porcupine quills, and she was taught the techniques of hide dressing and decoration, giving those who helped her little presents to express her affection. As a little girl, she made crude pots when the women of the lodge were making pottery, and, when old enough, she bought her mother's rights in the techniques and designs of pottery-making.

Parents owning rights in age-grade societies encouraged their children to join an age-grade society. Those too young to belong to a society would see older ones dancing. A girl's older sisters and women of the lodge would explain the procedure of buying as a group and helped collect goods for the transfer of the society to the younger girls. Membership in a society introduced a series of new obligations. Heretofore her obligations were with the persons of her parental household. As a member of an organized female group, composed largely of persons of her own age and outside her own household, she was called on to prepare robes and other clothing for the brother or husband of a society member who was buying a ceremonial bundle or was having rites performed for the renewal of a bundle. As a member of an organized group she likewise received assistance when her own family was buying rights in a sacred bundle. Collectively she treated those in the next older group as mothers and those in the group younger than her own as daughters.

Preadolescent boys also joined an age-grade society, buying as a group from the older boys on the advice of their parents. All boys of the age eligible to buy would organize to join. Some boys were not interested; some households were temporarily broken

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up by death or divorce; some fathers were in disrepute, having conducted an unsuccessful war expedition. An old man of a boy's lodge, one who had belonged to many societies, learning in the village that there was talk of buying the youngest society, would encourage his grandson to join and would help him accumulate the goods used for the purchase.

Joining an age-grade society for the first time as a boy, he encountered a "father-son" relationship which had heretofore applied only to his own household. He was selected by a member who was of his father's clan, and the initiate addressed him as "father" during all the proceedings preliminary to the formal purchase; he learned that the other two or three boys his ceremonial "father" had selected were likewise based on a "father-son" relationship. This "father-son" relationship, extending outside his own household, formally instituted when making his first purchase into a society, became the basis of his behavior in buying and selling societies and ceremonies for the rest of his life.

FASTING AND FIRST WAR EXPEDITIONS

Fasting during the Okipa ceremony marked the introduction of the boy to status in the tribe as a whole and was first instituted at the age of eight or nine, when the people of all the villages were assembled for this annual event. The first fasting was of short duration. The fasting periods increased until a boy reached the age of seventeen or eighteen, when he was expected to fast for the entire duration of the Okipa ceremony and to drag buffalo skulls or be suspended by means of thongs inserted under the skin. Visions were not induced each time one fasted; neither were they expected.

It was believed that one's social personality was determined by sacred beings before the birth of the individual and that fasting was a means of renewing these former instructions that were temporarily forgotten while being born and cared for in the village. It was also believed that in the universe there were many sacred people who would adopt as a "son" those who fasted frequently and made offerings to them or who gave feasts to the sacred bundles of the village. A young man was taught to consult not only his own father but all men of his father's clan on matters of a sacred character. If one's sister's son seemed neg-

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ten horses, and fastens them to the hut of the young woman, who gives them to her father. The 584
latter then takes other horses, and if he has them not himself, his relations assist him, and these horses are fastened, in return, to the hut of the intended son-in-law. In such a case an estimate is previously made of the number of horses possessed by the woman's relations, for all presents are returned in equal number. The bride next boils some maize, and daily carries a kettle or dish filled with it to the hut of the bridegroom. After some time has elapsed, the young man repairs [585]
to the hut of his bride, where he passes the night with her, and the marriage is considered as complete. The young couple often continue to reside in the hut of the father-in-law, but they more 591
frequently build a new hut for themselves; sometimes, however, they afterwards separate. The 596
father-in-law is, subsequently, the principal person in the hut; everything depends on him, and is done on his account, and for him; if game is killed, the flesh is first presented to him, &c. There [163]
are often many children in these Indian families; some had as many as ten; yet, on the whole, the Indians have not so many children as the Whites, doubtless because they keep them longer at the breast. They are extremely fond of them, but the children are often weak and sickly, in con- 856
sequence, it is supposed, of the hard labour which the women have to perform. I was universally 844
assured, that the new-born children are of a reddish colour. The births are, in general, extremely easy, and the mother bathes in the river immediately afterwards, even if it is frozen; in ten days the child is considered as safe, having got over the most dangerous period. A person is 553
paid to give it the name chosen by the parents and relations. The child is held up, then turned to all sides of the heavens, in the direction of the course of the sun, and its name proclaimed. They have cradles for their infants, consisting of a leather bag, which is suspended by a strap to 854
a cross beam in the hut. These cradles of the Mandans are not so elegant and beautifully worked as those which we saw among the Sioux and Assiniboins. The children of these Indians are sub- 861
ject to no kind of discipline whatever; they may do and say whatever they please, and nobody 865
finds fault with them. Everything is done to excite a spirit of independence and self-will in the boys; if the mother speaks to one of them, he will very likely slap her face, or kick her, nay, sometimes he will do the same to his father, who says, coolly, bowing his head, this boy will one day become a famous warrior. The men sometimes treat their wives very brutally; and it 562
has not unfrequently happened, that a woman, after such treatment, has left the hut and hanged 762
herself on a tree. This lately happened in the case of an aged woman, whose grown-up son had ill-treated her. She was missed, and was afterwards found suspended from a tree. The women have nothing to indemnify them for their incessant and laborious work, not even good clothing, for this right of the fair sex in Europe is claimed among the Indians by the men. It is singular that these women, who are condemned constantly to work like slaves, refuse to do any work whatever if they marry a white man, and, the Whites being entirely in the power of the Indians, and the relations of their wives, they are obliged to submit to this. Sisters have great 000

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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parents must consciously, deliberately, and actively train their children to become like whites (Inkeles 1955). Children in Lone Hill and probably elsewhere are prepared for a world conceived by their parents which is in part dependent upon what the parents expect their children to be. Cultural transmission is as much a projection into the future as it is a heritage from the past. This emerges most clearly from an examination of the age-grading of language learning in the village. Lone Hill is a bilingual community in that Hidatsa is spoken in daily contact and at public gatherings, while all but two of the 137 adults also speak English. In part because of a widespread belief in the village that, as one informant expressed it, " . . . it is confusing for a child to learn two languages at once," the majority of the families in this bilingual community decide between Hidatsa and English as a first language for their offspring. Their choice provides one convenient criterion for distinguishing those families who are preparing their children for a life in Lone Hill as opposed to those families who are preparing their children for a life with whites outside the village.

Table 2 shows, for each family in Lone Hill, the language spoken in the home, which is the first language learned by the children of that family.

Table 2.—Language Spoken in the Home

Degree of Acculturation	Hidatsa	Hidatsa & English	English
Unacculturated	25	1	5
Unacculturated (white model)	2	1	—
Marginal	4	1	2
Acculturated	1	1	5

In the majority of the unacculturated homes the children are taught Hidatsa as a first language and learn to speak English when they attend school. In these families, knowledge of English is one acculturative influence that does not arise from early learning in the home but is acquired from agents outside the home after the child has reached the age of seven or eight. In the five unacculturated families in which English is spoken, a Mandan-Hidatsa resident of the village has married a member of an alien tribe, so that one spouse does not understand Hidatsa. English is spoken by necessity rather than by choice. In five of the acculturated houses the parents, although they know Hidatsa, speak only English to their children. Many of these children never learn the Indian language. One acculturated family sent its eldest child to the Lone Hill day school. The boy, who spoke only English, was soon withdrawn and sent to a white school in a nearby town, after the parents discovered that their child was learning to speak Hidatsa in the village school. This story is often repeated among the acculturated families who now send their children to off-reservation schools. Language usage structures much of the life-way usage, for invariably the Indian child who comes to school with a knowledge of English is considered more intelligent by his teachers and finds it easier to interact with whites and thereby learn more white ways.

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It is to be emphasized that individuals in Lone Hill do not become acculturated by chance; their parents consciously and actively prepare them for a life in the white world. To be "white-oriented" is not sufficient. Almost all the adult Indian people in Lone Hill would like the approval of whites, may seek membership in white social groups, may empathize with white authority figures, may consider themselves as a "we" group with most Americans on particular issues such as opposition to communism, have adopted and understood some aspects of white culture, are able to act in white ways as a manipulatory technique in certain situations, desire American material objects, and often compare themselves with whites. After the members of the village understood the kind of information I was seeking, individuals would come and tell me themselves if they were preparing their children for a life in the Indian or the white way. One middle-aged widow came over to our home and announced, "I don't want my kids to lose their language. They speak Hidatsa and I teach them the Indian ways."

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The following conversation with Oliver Brown, a twenty-six year old veteran, and his wife, Marie, occurred toward the end of my field trip and clearly indicates that the Brown family are raising their children to emulate whites and to reject Indian ways. I knew the family well enough to take notes during the interview and reproduce them below, almost verbatim. The interview was one of a series in which I asked the parents of all the English-speaking families why they decided to teach English to their children when others in the village were taught and spoke Hidatsa. Oliver has just started in the cattle business and already has sixty-five head. Theirs is the only Indian home in Lone Hill with a bottle gas refrigerator, stove, deep freeze, and oil heater. They now have four children; a boy of three, another of two, and twin girls less than a year old. On this occasion, Oliver was watching the children, I was seated at the kitchen table, while Marie was washing the dinner dishes. I started the conversation by asking what language they had first learned at home.

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MARIE: My mother used to tell us kids about Indian ways but we learned English first, and I never picked up Hidatsa good.

OLIVER: [directing his remarks to me] When kids are brought up to speak Hidatsa they have a hard time in school. I learned Hidatsa and Mandan first, both together, and then English in school. And I had a tough time of it at Marty [an off-reservation Catholic boarding school]. I felt out of place there. My kids will be brought up to speak English, strictly English.

MARIE: But they are Indians and it's in them and they will learn Indian.

OLIVER: [in an impatient tone to his wife] I don't care if they never learn to speak Indian. The Indian language don't get them no place or anything higher. [Oliver turned to me] I want my kids to get an education and make a good living some day. They'll have to mix among the whites and go to school among the whites outside. For their own good, not for my good, I want them to mix with whites and not be among Indians.

BRUNER: After your boys finish school, do you think they might want to come back here and work in your cattle business?

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177 OLIVER: They could if I build it up. But they would make a better living if they get an education and get out and not stay around here.

861 BRUNER: Why don't you want them to be among Indians?

181 OLIVER: As long as they make a good living it doesn't make any difference if they mix with Indians or whites.

124 MARIE: As long as they mix with the right kind of people!

OLIVER: [to his wife] Education is the whole thing. If they have an education they will mix with the right kind of people, that's understood.

BRUNER: Who are the right kind of people?

OLIVER: The people that try to get somewhere, that want to make an easier living for themselves, that build up and save. Take John and Bill Fast Leg. They're good for nothing. They don't care about anything. They just live; tomorrow is just another day for them.

[At this point we had a long discussion of particular people in Lone Hill to determine exactly who the Browns considered to be the right kind of people—those with whom they would like to see their children associate. The right kind of people were the children of the group that the Browns currently associate with—acculturated people like themselves. When the unacculturated Rainbow family was mentioned, I remarked that their daughter, Flora Rainbow, had never said one word to either my wife or myself, even though we had visited her house many times and were friendly with her parents. To this Oliver made the following comment.]

OLIVER: That's because they're too backward. They don't care to associate except with their own class. Flora won't even talk to Marie! They were brought up that way; it's in their blood, I guess. They were brought up with the Indian language and never heard an English word until they were seven years old. That's what that does!

MARIE: When you visit there you don't feel welcome. I never felt at ease with them.

OLIVER: They're just backward.

MARIE: That's why we want our kids to go out and mix. If they stayed here they would be just like them.

177 The future state envisioned by the Browns, in which they see their children as accepted members of white society, may or may not become an actuality. My data indicate that the total process of acculturation, from the mixed marriage to the time individuals drift off to seek their places in white society, takes three, four, or more generations for completion (cf. Keesing 1954:90; Hallowell 1952:106). In Oliver Brown's case, his grandfather was a white man, a Civil War deserter who married an Indian woman, and his father, Jim Brown, was a successful farmer on the reservation. Oliver's sister, who no longer lives in Lone Hill, had this to say about their father:

177 861 Jim Brown pounded into us kids about working. Saving money and all that. Jim preaches today about white man's ways like get up in the morning like the white man does, and buying things that would get us ahead. He told us to try to finish school and go to college and get jobs outside. He taught us against donating, though he did it himself. But he always said it never got him anywhere. I don't believe in that donating stuff now. I guess it was just pounded into us.

That Jim Brown " . . . taught us against donating, though he did it himself," was found to be a pattern in all of the acculturated families. The parents raised

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their children to become like whites even though they continued to adhere to many Indian ways and values. As one informant expressed it, "Jim Brown played two parts."

It is probable that many of the unacculturated families have not remained unacculturated by choice, for in some cases they too have aspirations that they and their children may live in the white world. But the total situation in Lone Hill is such that the unacculturated families lack both sufficient understanding of white ways and realistic opportunities by which they may live successfully in middle class white society. As an illustration, selected because it is admittedly extreme, I present the case of Paul Beaver, a middle-aged unacculturated Indian who decided to move to a large city in North Dakota with his wife and eight children. He lived in a hotel where his expenses were far beyond the family's meager earnings, and they existed by borrowing money until they ran up a huge debt. The man was employed as a helper in a paint shop and one winter day he heated the paint to make it smooth. The paint exploded, burned down the shop, and caused damages estimated at $50,000. Paul Beaver was promptly fired from his job. At one time he planned to tour the country with an Indian show, but he had no agent, no conception of where to go, and no advance booking. Another time he had the idea of setting up a wood carving store in a large city. He carves only one item, small Indian heads, which he has never sold, nor did he know if there was a market in the city for Indian heads. Although Paul Beaver has made three or four attempts within the last thirty years to leave Lone Hill, he readily adjusts to life in the village when he returns. Those unacculturated families who live in Lone Hill as a second choice can do so effectively and with ease, without the inner conflict and vacillating identifications of the marginal families. Paul Beaver is an announcer at the Indian dances, an officer in one of the village societies, and he receives recognition and satisfaction in traditional Indian ways. He speaks lightly of his off-reservation experiences, and with considerable humor.

CONCLUSION

The interplay of two factors, the presence or absence of a white model through intermarriage and the conscious preparation of children by their parents for an adult life in the Indian or white world, has led to a preliminary definition of the basis of group differences in Mandan-Hidatsa acculturation.

1. Thirty-one unacculturated families attend the Indian dances, have not had a white model, and train their children to live among the people of Lone Hill village. Although their culture is mixed and continually changing, the unacculturated families have relatively clear-cut identifications with and adjustment to contemporary reservation culture.

2. Seven acculturated families do not attend the dances, have had a white model, and prepare their children for a life among whites outside the village. Members of the acculturated families have not been passive agents adjusting to forces impinging upon them. Individuals within the acculturated group are active and creative agents in the acculturation process, who change them-

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592 593 [604] by the father's sister and treated as a daughter. She, on the other hand, thought of the father's sister as a special relative, one who was between the mother and the grandmother and was taught to speak of her as "my little grandmother." She was considered a special "holy woman" who on certain occasions, particularly when a brother or sister died, performed the rites of sending the spirit away.

All the women of the lodge addressed as "mothers" were treated with respect, and all contributed to the daughters' training.

Mother–son (*na'E'–miniks'*).—The same bonds of love and affection existed between the mother and son as was shared between the mother and daughter. It was based on a close kinship bond, though partially modified by sex dichotomy. As a small child he received the same affection as his sisters. The mother would make toys for his amusement, and, when he was three or four years old, she taught him to give her small items such as a few beads or other trinkets in payment for an especially well-decorated robe, moccasins, or leggings. His mother's brother or an older sibling would assist him in securing presents for the mother. His first knowledge about the clan would come [867] from the mother; she would tell him of men of the clan who had been brave in battle, had brought rain for the crops, had been especially kind to the old people of the clan, or had distinguished themselves in other ways. She taught him not to play in front of the platform at the head of the lodge where the ceremonial paraphernalia was kept and explained that, if he obeyed the older men and was industrious and brave, he would some day be custodian of the bundle. His mother encouraged him to join a Boys Society. The son, as a young single man, assisted in the buffalo hunt and helped his parents with the butchering. If the sister married, she was expected to bring her husband to the lodge. Then, when he married, he would live with his wife in another lodge. As a married man this deep affection for his mother and her sisters continued. When returning with meat, knowing she was without fresh meat, he would go to her lodge first and give her the choicest portions before returning to his wife's family. She received the most valuable mare taken on his first horse-stealing raid if his sisters were small. This bond of

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affection continued while his mother lived. Although it was considered improper for a man to be alone in the lodge with his daughter, nothing was thought of a son being alone with his mother.

Father-daughter (*tatE'-mi'nuhą'kE*).—The father was a respect relative providing he remained married to the daughter's mother, otherwise he was generally disregarded, since children of divorced mates were reared by the mother. He was expected to provide for the daughter and, in those families where the father and mother were successfully mated, co-operated with his wife in the training of the children. He avoided being alone with his daughter in the lodge.

Father-son (*tatE'-miniks'*).—A son treated his father with a respect which was sacred in character as he was informed at an early age of his father's fasting and war record and was taught to believe that the family's possession of property and good health was attributable to the father's fasting, respect for sacred objects, and kindness to the old people. The father was expected to provide meat for the family, but he took little part in the care of the son until he was old enough to understand the sacred character of certain objects in the lodge. When the son was old enough to play in the group games, he was encouraged to participate and was given game objects. He was encouraged to fast during the Okipa, if for only a day, and his father would loan him a small item from his personal bundle to wear while fasting. The father was an adviser but not a punishing member of the family. The mother or her brother would teach him to seek advice regularly of the father and present him with a small article of value each time the father offered him significant information. The father would explain that the members of his own clan were the son's "fathers" and that he should seek their advice also. By the time a young man was sixteen or seventeen years of age, the advice of distinguished males of the father's clan was frequently sought, and it was their duty, in the event that the son was killed while away from the village, to see that his skull was returned to the village and placed at one of the shrines.

Husband-wife (*mi'woro-mu'hE*).—The Mandan have several terms for a husband and wife. A man addresses his wife as

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and the extended household preserved the structure in spite of numerous separations of individual families.

When marriage was by exchange of gifts and a feast, and the husband lived with his wife's people, he held prior claim to the wife's sisters as they became of marriageable age, and such marriages were encouraged.

Older brother–younger brother (*mṵ'kas–mi'cṵ'ka*).—The bond between brothers was very strong. It was based on common blood and residence and included all in the household who stood in an older brother–younger brother relationship. There was no distinction between siblings and children of the mother's sister if all had a common residence. Older brothers cared for their younger brothers, taught them games and the care of the horses, and teased each other mildly. Quarrels were rare and soon forgotten. The older brother who had participated in the ceremonies would urge the younger brother to follow his example and would assist his younger brother in collecting materials to be presented to the father's clan. If the younger brother showed little interest in fasting or ceremonial participation, the older brother could and frequently did severely criticize him. If a brother were killed in battle, his brother was expected to inflict self-torture and to revenge his death. He also had first claim to his brother's widow, and she could not marry until he made known his intentions.

When grown up and married, brothers co-operated in providing for their mother's household. Brothers co-operated in the purchase of ceremonial bundles and rites. This intimate bond continued for life and was extended to include mother's sister's son's and father's brother's sons, the feeling of nearness being determined by residence and participation in joint activities.

Older sister–younger sister (*mirukE'–pṭa'ka*).—The bond between sisters was very strong and was based largely on common blood, mutual activities, and lifelong residence together. No distinction was made between sisters with different fathers, even when the fathers were of different clans. Neither was distinction made between one's own sisters and daughters of the mother's sister if all grew up together in the same household. There was not, however, the same close bond of affection with "sisters" of the father's second wife when his second wife occu-

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back to the village. Economic training came largely from his father and the older men of the lodge. If he were inclined to be lazy, his mother would talk to him, while her brother would shame him and accuse him of bringing disgrace to the clan. 861 868 562

A boy was taught to begin fasting when he was eight or nine years of age. The parents would tell him of the benefits he would receive and cite the various eminent men of the village who had attained their position from this practice. The mother's brother and his older brothers would give him goods to take into the Okipa to present to some man of his father's clan and designate the person entitled to the gift. An older brother planning to fast would bring a younger brother to the Okipa ceremony and instruct him, sending him home when he thought he had been there long enough, while the father would give him some small article from his ceremonial bundle to wear, thinking it would help to get a "vision." 861 869 785

A lodge "grandfather" contributed a great deal to a boy's education. He would make toy bows and arrows and teach him to use them. If he had a fish trap, his grandsons did much of the work of carrying willows to the bank for weaving into sections for the walls, and he would permit them to bail the fish out of the trap. He would teach them games, especially techniques and skills which would be useful in warfare, and tell them stories. Using rivalry between the moieties, these old men who were too old to hunt would arrange the boys ten years and younger on sides and teach them to use shields for their protection, shooting at each other with arrows on the blunt ends of which a ball of mud or wrapped hide had been attached. 868 616

Not to be discounted in the training of a young Mandan boy or girl was the informal education they received by living in intimate contact with the entire village population, observing the conduct of others, and being kept informed of contemplated group action by the village "criers" who announced each decision of the village leaders. He learned that he must treat different relatives in various ways and that they would laugh at him if he did not. Learning that he was expected to treat different relatives the same way his brothers did, he imitated his older brothers unconsciously and followed their advice. 861 867

A girl's education was essentially the same as a boy's except 861 562 602

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purchased with cash income derived from productive employment are obtained by the people of Lone Hill directly from natural sources. 105 177

The paternalistic policy of the Indian Bureau has probably been more effective than the geographical isolation and the ecological setting in limiting direct social relationships between the Indian people and surrounding whites. Most of the necessary economic, educational, and welfare activities are handled by the Agency staff instead of by the Indian people. What is called paternalism arose from the necessities of an earlier historical period, during which it was a humane and just policy to aid those Indian people whose life pattern had been disrupted by American expansion. The people of Lone Hill still expect this protection today, yet they resent the associated dependency. At Fort Berthold and on other Indian reservations, this has come to be one of the most complex and pressing problems of native administration. Given the problems that exist, the current Bureau policy of withdrawal is far from an adequate solution. In a paper of this scope we can do no more than call attention to the importance of the administration as an isolating barrier between the Mandan-Hidatsa and the larger American society. 657

What is possibly the most important isolating factor stems from the sharp discontinuity in the unacculturated Indian life career. From the point of view of the age grading of the learning process, acculturative influences are operative primarily in the adult years. During the early formative period the unacculturated child comes to internalize Indian ways from an intimate group of close relatives in a permissive and secure atmosphere. Before he attends school the child eats Indian food, attends the ceremonial dances, and hears about the daring exploits of the Stone Hammer Society from his old grandfather. The activities of the outside world are dim and vague to the Indian child, for he rarely leaves the village and has few opportunities for direct contact with whites. He does attend an occasional movie and he listens to the radio, but the child has had no context within his own experience with which to relate these impersonal mass media. Those whites who come to Lone Hill on business deal with the adults and rarely see the children. I recorded three life histories of young adults who knew no white people until they were seven or eight years of age. 177 867

From the unacculturated child's point of view, life in Lone Hill revolves around his family, peer, and residential groups. His main satisfactions are obtained from within these groups, and the activities of their members, most of whom are relatives, form the major topics of conversation. That kinship is widely extended among the Mandan-Hidatsa takes on added meaning in this context, as all of an unacculturated Indian's emotionally charged and rewarding experiences occur within, and are shared by, the kinship group. Members of the kinship group are also the agents of cultural transmission, and from them the child learns the approved norms of conduct and patterns of social relations. 177 867 602 571

The unacculturated Indian child soon learns that his emotional security and his very identity are dependent upon his maintaining good relationships with his kinsmen. He does not derive security from acts designed merely to 156 602 431

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

156 further his own ends, nor is there any pressure put upon him to realize ab-
602 solute ideals. The value of generosity in this perspective, and as defined by the
431 Indian people, is any act which promotes group welfare. Those persons who do work together on such secular affairs as road projects are said to have donated their time to the group. At a dance for his son serving in Korea, one man in Lone Hill donated "the whitewashing of the school lunch room and the repair of the grade school window sashes." As the kinship system embodies the primary societal values, a man's position in society is assured if he meets the obligations of that system at all public gatherings and in his everyday be-
[626 havior in the village. If a person behaves in any way that destroys group co-
571] operation he is not threatened or physically punished. His mother or older sister will tell him the right way, and if they are not effective his grandparents or other joking relatives will tease and ridicule him into conformity. The Mandan-Hidatsa have a tremendous elaboration of joking relationships which serve as a very effective mechanism of enforcing conformity to group norms.

177 By the time the unacculturated child becomes an adult, he has been so effectively socialized to Indian ways that white contact has very little in-
867 fluence. But the adult reality is such that he must live in a superordinate white world. This is the sharp discontinuity in his life career. Every Indian must deal with members of white society in order to perform necessary economic and educational activities. The unacculturated Indian does not change himself to become like a white person; instead he learns how to adjust to white people. One informant described the technique as follows: "We Indians are just like those lizards that change their colors. When we are with whites we act one way and when we are with Indians we act another way." I think this kind of compartmentalized behavior is called "situational role specificity"—but possibly the analogy of the chameleon has a virtue of its own. In a sense, the unacculturated people of Lone Hill come to learn two cultures, but it is a
177 case of differential learning with different points of origin. The unacculturated
154 Indian character is incorporated into the child in his formative years, while a
867 superficial knowledge of white culture and of the techniques of adjustment to white people are learned primarily in adulthood. The unacculturated people of Lone Hill are not torn with inner conflict between two worlds; they just internalize the Indian way as children and learn aspects of the white way as a necessary accessory when they become adults. Erikson (1950:115) in his study of the Sioux was intrigued by this point:

> This, it seemed to us, was the most astonishing single fact to be investigated: That Indian children could live for years without open rebellion or any signs of inner conflict between two standards which were incomparably further apart than those of any two generations or two classes in our culture.

177 The unacculturated Indian does not internalize white ways as an adult, not
because all learning stops in childhood, but because of the vast cultural differ-
563 ences between members of the two groups, the nature of the situations in which adult Indian-white interaction occurs, and the attitudes of white

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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Fort Berthold tribes has increased on an average of 3.8 percent per year (Riefel 1952:87–100).

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It is interesting to note that the process of change in which acculturated individuals leave, thereby making for the persistence of traditional ways within the village, had its counterpart in the historical period from 1740 to 1890. As individuals and as family groups, those Mandan and Hidatsa who preferred the Plains warrior-hunting life changed tribal affiliations and left their sedentary villages to join a nomad tribe (Bowers MS). As Holder (1950) has shown, this intertribal exchange of personnel reflected the development of a deep conflict in the earth-lodge social organization based upon the allocation of prestige. Aboriginal Mandan and Hidatsa society was stratified into classes, with the cultural rewards reserved for a select nobility who inherited the sacred tribal bundles (Bowers 1950). Many young men, born into less fortunate matrilineal kin groups who owned no bundles and who had been exposed to nomadic life, tried to achieve recognition through accomplishments in warfare and through vision experiences. These young men, placed in disadvantageous positions in the social structure, tended to leave their villages to become nomads. The Cheyenne and the Crow as cultures, adopted nomadism (Strong 1940); among the Mandan and Hidatsa, individuals became nomads by changing cultures. Thus, both in the past and in the present, those dissatisfied with the traditional Indian ways of the majority group left the village. This mode of change seems to be characteristic of the Mandan-Hidatsa, and is a general process with time depth.

THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION

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White intermarriage may be a necessary condition but it is not in itself a sufficient condition for acculturation in Lone Hill. Of the seventeen families who have had a white model through intermarriage, seven are acculturated, seven marginal and three unacculturated. The presence of a white person in the nuclear family does no more than create the possibility that the children of the mixed marriage will learn white ways. Cultural transmission is not merely an automatic transferal from the past in which parents mechanically stamp their culture into the child. Some of the white men who married Mandan-Hidatsa women may well have preferred to assimilate to Indian ways and may not have passed their understanding of white ways on to their offspring, while others may have desired that their children learn American ways but may not have implemented that desire in the socialization process. As it is no longer possible to study the original family situations in which a white man married an Indian woman, we cannot determine why those original parents have adopted the acculturated, marginal, or unacculturated life pattern. But partial understanding of the process involved may be obtained by an examination of cultural transmission in the contemporary families.

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There are two steps by which an individual in Lone Hill becomes acculturated; first there must be a white model, so that at least one of the parents has a fundamental understanding of American culture, and second, the

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

parents must consciously, deliberately, and actively train their children to become like whites (Inkeles 1955). Children in Lone Hill and probably elsewhere are prepared for a world conceived by their parents which is in part dependent upon what the parents expect their children to be. Cultural transmission is as much a projection into the future as it is a heritage from the past. This emerges most clearly from an examination of the age-grading of language learning in the village. Lone Hill is a bilingual community in that Hidatsa is spoken in daily contact and at public gatherings, while all but two of the 137 adults also speak English. In part because of a widespread belief in the village that, as one informant expressed it, " . . . it is confusing for a child to learn two languages at once," the majority of the families in this bilingual community decide between Hidatsa and English as a first language for their offspring. Their choice provides one convenient criterion for distinguishing those families who are preparing their children for a life in Lone Hill as opposed to those families who are preparing their children for a life with whites outside the village.

Table 2 shows, for each family in Lone Hill, the language spoken in the home, which is the first language learned by the children of that family.

Table 2.—Language Spoken in the Home

Degree of Acculturation	Hidatsa	Hidatsa & English	English
Unacculturated	25	1	5
Unacculturated (white model)	2	1	—
Marginal	4	1	2
Acculturated	1	1	5

In the majority of the unacculturated homes the children are taught Hidatsa as a first language and learn to speak English when they attend school. In these families, knowledge of English is one acculturative influence that does not arise from early learning in the home but is acquired from agents outside the home after the child has reached the age of seven or eight. In the five unacculturated families in which English is spoken, a Mandan-Hidatsa resident of the village has married a member of an alien tribe, so that one spouse does not understand Hidatsa. English is spoken by necessity rather than by choice. In five of the acculturated houses the parents, although they know Hidatsa, speak only English to their children. Many of these children never learn the Indian language. One acculturated family sent its eldest child to the Lone Hill day school. The boy, who spoke only English, was soon withdrawn and sent to a white school in a nearby town, after the parents discovered that their child was learning to speak Hidatsa in the village school. This story is often repeated among the acculturated families who now send their children to off-reservation schools. Language usage structures much of the life-way usage, for invariably the Indian child who comes to school with a knowledge of English is considered more intelligent by his teachers and finds it easier to interact with whites and thereby learn more white ways.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

In most instances, the unit of extension is the clan, but these relationships are based on individual relations and groups. This point will be further developed in the analysis of the ceremonial structure.

The following behavioristic pattern prevailing between relatives will illustrate this point. For any individual the total number of relationships into which he entered largely determines his "social personality." The most basic of these are between the members of the elementary family, the parents and the children, but in Mandan society this is frequently modified by the presence of old women of the lodge who occupy a virtual second-mother position. An elementary family consisting of parents and children rarely occupied a lodge to the exclusion of all other relatives. There are eight possible combinations of relatives within an elementary family with a general pattern of behavior existing between each pair. They are:

Mother–daughter (*na'E'–mi'nuhą'kE*).—An intimate bond of love and affection existed between a mother and her daughter. Not a single instance of quarreling or serious difference was remembered by the Mandan informants, nor were there disputes over property held in common. They worked together in the gardens or performed domestic tasks in the lodge and were very intimate in their daily relations. She taught the child to grind corn and cure meat, to make baskets and clay pots, to dress hides, to color porcupine quills for decorating clothing, and to care for her own personal effects. She taught her daughter to make a small payment, a small colored bead or a few kernels of corn, for each little skill taught her, thus establishing at an early age a significant behavioristic pattern of paying those who taught her a new skill, a myth or song, or who received her into a rite or dance. Usually there were other women in the lodge whom she addressed as "Mother," and, if one of these had no daughter of her own, she would take over or adopt a daughter from the lodge unit for especial affection and care. Frequently the father's older sister, if she had no one to care for her, would come to the lodge to live when the lodge was one that had been erected or owned in the father's line and the mother had come here to live when marrying because the father was needed to care for his relatives who were old. She was called "daughter"

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

603 the same clan as the boy's father, on occasions he received presents from his grandson during the ceremonies. A man addressed
[601] as "grandchild" the wives of all those men he addressed as "son" and the spouses of all he addressed as "grandchild."

603 *Grandmother–grandchild* (*maxis'–ptawi'hąkE*).—The maternal grandmother was always present and assisted in the birth
844 and care of her daughter's child and the paternal grandmother was expected to carry out the other's instructions. In case the paternal grandmother had a superior ceremonial bundle and a good reputation for successful deliveries, she was asked to take charge. The child's closest affection was for the grandmother belonging to the lodge group. The grandmother would make clothing for her grandchildren and teach them stories. The paternal grandmother delighted in preparing nice robes and other clothing for son's children and would invite them to her lodge to eat, when she would dress them in the pretty clothes. Informants thought that the father's mother showed more affection for a grandchild than a maternal grandmother, since the former did not have them under foot every day. They thought that grandmothers had a tendency to get cross as they grew old and that the maternal grandmother, while scolding children for jumping on her bed, would scold her own daughter if she thought the children were not treated right.

603 A grandmother was more closely associated with her granddaughter than her grandson. She would teach the granddaugh-
• 868 ter the arts of dressing hides and making pottery, and she ex-
601 pected payment for this instruction. The grandson was expected to give her meat if she met him at the outskirts of the village without having to ask him for it. This obligation to give meat to a grandmother was extended to include all females addressed as "grandmother." A woman addressed as "grandchild" the wives of all those men she addressed as "son" and the spouses of all she addressed as "grandchild."

604 *Mother's brother–sister's child* (*pta'warato'dE–ptu'hakE*).—The mother's brother was a very important relative in the Mandan
592 matrilinear system, as he had considerable authority over his
613 sister's household even when living in another household. As an occupant of his wife's lodge, he was a subordinate member, but in his sister's lodge, by virtue of his position as the oldest male

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

766 name were taken to the usual place, where they were placed on a scaffold or interred, according to the parents' preference.

775 The Mandan believed that there was a Baby Hill near Fort Clark, another near the Heart River, and a third near Dickinson which had interiors like an earth lodge, in which an old man cared for them. If a child died before being named, it returned to the Baby Hill. People claimed to have seen baby tracks on the tops and sides of these hills. It was believed that the spirits in the hill near the Heart River came north when the Mandan [842] came north. If a woman had been married a number of years and was childless, desiring a child, she would go to one of these hills to pray for one. Those wanting a daughter brought girl's clothing and a ball; for a son she brought a small bow and arrow. The Mandan believed in rebirth. Calf Woman's grandfather said he was one who had been reborn. One of her grandchildren had a spot on her hip, and it was thought she was one who had lived before. It was believed that children choose the mother they want and that a child resembling a sibling who had died was the reincarnation of the other child. The Mandan cite numerous instances of culture heroes who selected a mother when desiring to be born into the tribe.

553 A girl usually keeps her first name as long as she lives. If she was sick or unlucky, her parents frequently put up a feast to get a new name for her. If she had grown up, her brothers and sisters helped her prepare a renaming feast.

853 A nursing child frequently developed a sore mouth which interfered with its feeding. In such cases, the parents selected a 755 man of the child's father's clan to cure it by piercing the skin of the ceremonial father's leg and permitting the child to suck of his blood. A payment was made to the man selected by the child's clan brothers and sisters.

TRAINING

861 The child's training was both economic and ritualistic and 868 differed according to the sex of the child. A girl was trained in lodge management, household arts, gardening, curing of meat, 562 and certain ritualistic practices, receiving her instruction primarily from the women of the lodge. A boy was taught hunting and fishing and went out while still a boy to help bring meat

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

back to the village. Economic training came largely from his father and the older men of the lodge. If he were inclined to be lazy, his mother would talk to him, while her brother would shame him and accuse him of bringing disgrace to the clan. 861 868 562

A boy was taught to begin fasting when he was eight or nine years of age. The parents would tell him of the benefits he would receive and cite the various eminent men of the village who had attained their position from this practice. The mother's brother and his older brothers would give him goods to take into the Okipa to present to some man of his father's clan and designate the person entitled to the gift. An older brother planning to fast would bring a younger brother to the Okipa ceremony and instruct him, sending him home when he thought he had been there long enough, while the father would give him some small article from his ceremonial bundle to wear, thinking it would help to get a "vision." 861 869 785

A lodge "grandfather" contributed a great deal to a boy's education. He would make toy bows and arrows and teach him to use them. If he had a fish trap, his grandsons did much of the work of carrying willows to the bank for weaving into sections for the walls, and he would permit them to bail the fish out of the trap. He would teach them games, especially techniques and skills which would be useful in warfare, and tell them stories. Using rivalry between the moieties, these old men who were too old to hunt would arrange the boys ten years and younger on sides and teach them to use shields for their protection, shooting at each other with arrows on the blunt ends of which a ball of mud or wrapped hide had been attached. 868 616

Not to be discounted in the training of a young Mandan boy or girl was the informal education they received by living in intimate contact with the entire village population, observing the conduct of others, and being kept informed of contemplated group action by the village "criers" who announced each decision of the village leaders. He learned that he must treat different relatives in various ways and that they would laugh at him if he did not. Learning that he was expected to treat different relatives the same way his brothers did, he imitated his older brothers unconsciously and followed their advice. 861 867

A girl's education was essentially the same as a boy's except 861 562 602

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

after the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the ex-
caption of three men, who remained to instruct the new members in singing. These
575 three fathers stood between the door and the fireplace, but nearer to the
527 latter, while the new group of Little Dogs ranged themselves in a three-
868 quarter circle in the rear of the lodge. While the fathers sang, the members
533 danced, moving both feet at the same time and also raising and lowering their arms. Then the Little Dogs proceeded in single file to an open place, the singers following in the rear. Wounded-face says that as first lancer he took the lead, while his associate brought up the rear, and that the sash-wearers had no special place in the line. All the new members blew their whistles while coming out and formed a circle in the open place. The three fathers stepped inside the circle. At this first public parade, the old people called out the members' names and admonished them to try to die soon. Water-chief actually went on a war party soon after the parade, and put on his sash, thinking, "If I get killed, my old people will call out my name; if I live, I shall strike an enemy." As a matter of fact, he struck two women near the enemy's camp, and his people rejoiced.

575 After several songs and dances the Little Dogs stopped and went back
431 to their lodge, where they sat about and danced. The fathers sent messengers to summon their sons. Each son then went to his father's house, sometimes accompanied by his wife. The father gave his son a present of food, which the wife took home; if the son came alone, he took the food back to the society's lodge.

575 Like other societies, the Little Dogs occasionally went through the camp at night singing and waking up the villagers.

Crazy Dog Society.

575 In Maximilian's account the Crazy Dog (mini's'ōxka ō'xat'e)[1] society
561 figures as that of the youngest age group, embracing boys of from 10 to 15 years of age. In the list of my informants it ranks as the fourth society to be purchased by young men. It was obviously constituted in their day by married men; for they had all married before the purchase of the next lower society (see p. 304). Maximilian was told that in former days old men had also belonged to the organization, but on the understanding that they were never to retreat from the enemy.

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[1] The native name is nowadays at first blush interpreted as "Broncho Society." Maximilian, however, renders it "die thörichten Hunde, oder die Hunde deren Namen man nicht kennt, (les chiens fols, ou les chiens dont on ne connaît pas le nom)," and this translation is confirmed on further inquiry. Cf. footnote, p. 302. Yellow-hair explicitly identified the Mandan *minis'ō'xka ō'xate* with the Hidatsa *macu'ka ward^{ra}ze* (see p. 280).

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

younger women called them and offered them property. "Then we adopted them and called them our daughters." Sometimes it happened that a single individual wished to join. In such a case she might buy a head band from a father's sister and become an additional member without replacing anyone. This, however, was not the regular way of entering the society. 575 432 [608]

In Hides-and-eats' time, there were two male head-singers, who called in five young men and taught them to sing, for which they received a compensation and were called "fathers" by the young men. From another statement by the same authority it would appear that the five men bought the right of singing and drumming from their predecessors in very much the same way as the young women bought the right to membership. 868 432

The officers of the society included a leader wearing a necklace of bear claws attached to otterskin; a rear officer with the same badge; and two middle officers with a loose-fitting white-shell necklace hanging down a few inches below the neck in front. There was one special member who surrendered to the society her earth-lodge to dance in; in Hides-and-eats' time this member's name was One-corn-seed. Calf-woman, who was one of the officers wearing a shell necklace, kept the dance-lodge, because her parents loved her dearly and never refused her anything. The ceremonial dance lasted four nights, the actual dancing beginning before sunset. The members were expected to remain in the earth-lodge during these four nights.[1] Some women, however, would clandestinely absent themselves and go home. As soon as the other members discovered their absence, they went to the woman's house, and sang outside, "Our friend, get up and come out here again." The drummers beat their drums, and the members, if necessary, seized the truant and brought her back to the dance lodge by force. The close of the performance was marked by a cleansing ceremony. The musicians tied together peppermint (?) stalks, and with these they brushed the members' bodies, from the shoulders down. The object of this was to remove the mysterious (xo'pinic) properties with which the members were endowed while dancing. In Calf-woman's time only one man, Bad-shirt performed this ceremony; he was paid with calico goods and food. Painted-up said the brusher was the singer of the Bird ceremony. The ceremonial cleansing took place only after the performances of the three *sacred* women's societies, that is, the River women, Goose women and White Buffalo women organizations. 575 301 527 535 [783]

Two-chiefs said that during the four nights' performance the head bands were suspended from a rawhide rope passing round the earth-lodge, and 575

[1] That is to say, they were not to sleep with their husbands. But if any member had a little child at home, she might go there to attend to its wants. In this case she was brought back to the lodge before daybreak.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LETTER—No. 19.

MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

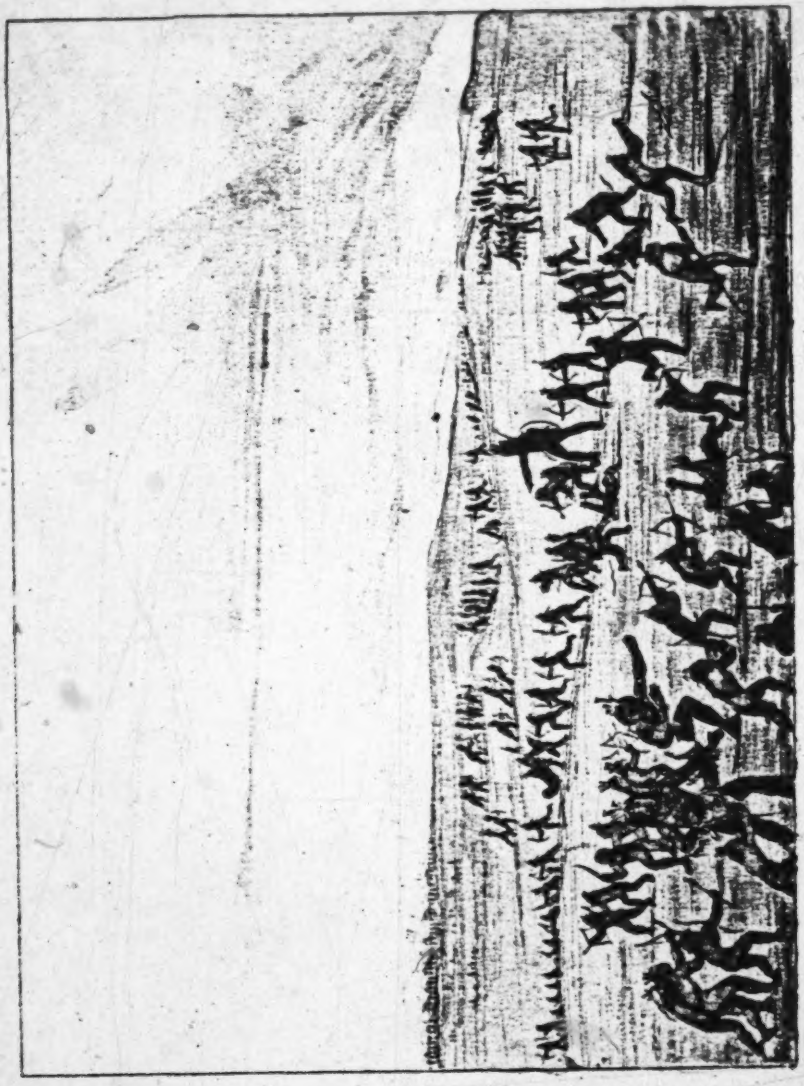
000 In my last Letter I gave an account of the buffalo dance, and in future epistles may give some descriptions of a dozen other kinds of dance, which these people have in common with other tribes; but in the present Letter I shall make an endeavour to confine my observations to several other customs and forms, which are very curious and peculiar to the Mandans.

• 868 Of these, one of the most pleasing is the *sham-fight* and sham scalp-dance of the Mandan boys, which is a part of their regular exercise, and constitutes a material branch of their education. During the pleasant mornings of the summer, the little boys between the age of seven and fifteen are called out, to the number of several hundred, and being divided into two companies, each of which is headed by some experienced warrior, who leads them on, in the character of a teacher; they are led out into the prairie at sunrise, where this curious discipline is regularly taught them (PLATE 57). Their bodies are naked, and each one has a little bow in his left hand and a number of arrows made of large spears of grass, which are harmless in their effects. Each one has also a little belt or girdle around his waist, in which he carries a knife made of a piece of wood and equally harmless—on the tops of their heads are slightly attached small tufts of grass, which answer as scalps, and in this plight, they follow the dictates of their experienced leaders, who lead them through the judicious evolutions of Indian warfare—of feints—of retreats—of attacks—and at last to a general fight. Many manœuvres are gone through, and eventually they are brought up face to face, within fifteen or twenty feet of each other, with their leaders at their head stimulating them on. Their bows are bent upon each other and their missiles flying, whilst they are dodging and fending them off.

If any one is struck with an arrow on any vital part of his body, he is obliged to fall, and his adversary rushes up to him, places his foot upon him, and snatching from his belt his wooden knife, grasps hold of his victim's scalp-lock of grass, and making a feint at it with his wooden knife, twitches it off and puts it into his belt, and enters again into the ranks and front of battle.

This mode of training generally lasts an hour or more in the morning,

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17



868

[facing p. 131]

7: Catlin R. F-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

868 and is performed on an empty stomach, affording them a rigid and wholesome exercise, whilst they are instructed in the important science of war. Some five or six miles of ground are run over during these evolutions, giving suppleness to their limbs and strength to their muscles, which last and benefit them through life.

After this exciting exhibition is ended, they all return to their village, where the chiefs and braves pay profound attention to their vaunting, and applaud them for their artifice and valour.

Those who have taken scalps then step forward, brandishing them and making their boast as they enter into the *scalp-dance* (in which they are also instructed by their leaders or teachers), jumping and yelling—brandishing their scalps, and reciting their *sanguinary deeds*, to the great astonishment of their tender aged sweethearts, who are gazing with wonder upon them.

526 525 The games and amusements of these people are in most respects like those of the other tribes, consisting of ball plays—game of the moccasin, of the platter—feats of archery - horse-racing, &c.; and they have yet another, which may be said to be their favourite amusement, and unknown to the other tribes about them. The game of Tchung-kee, a beautiful athletic exercise, which they seem to be almost unceasingly practicing whilst the weather is fair, and they have nothing else of moment to demand their attention. This game is decidedly their favourite amusement, and is played near to the village on a pavement of clay, which has been used for that purpose until it has become as smooth and hard as a floor. For this game two champions form their respective parties, by choosing alternately the most famous players, until their requisite numbers are made up. Their bettings are then made, and their stakes are held by some of the chiefs or others present The play commences (PLATE 59) with two (one from each party), who start off upon a trot, abreast of each other, and one of them rolls in advance of them, on the pavement, a little ring of two or three inches in diameter, cut out of a stone; and each one follows it up with his "tchung-kee" (a stick of six feet in length, with little bits of leather projecting from its sides of an inch or more in length), which he throws before him as he runs, sliding it along upon the ground after the ring, endeavouring to place it in such a position when it stops, that the ring may fall upon it, and receive one of the little projections of leather through it, which counts for game, one, or two, or four, according to the position of the leather on which the ring is lodged. The last winner always has the rolling of the ring, and both start and throw the tchung-kee together; if either fails to receive the ring or to lie in a certain position, it is a forfeiture of the amount of the number he was nearest to, and he loses his throw; when another steps into his place. This game is a very difficult one to describe, so as to give an exact idea of it, unless one can see it played—it is a game of great beauty and fine bodily exercise, and these people become excessively fascinated with it; often gambling away every thing they possess, and even sometimes, when everything else was gone, have been known to

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

clan member, he was titular head of the lineage. This authority was nominally vested in the oldest male clan member of the household, and the mother's brother assumed this authority when his own mother's brother died or was too feeble to get around. A clan chief was the most distinguished of the mother's brothers of the households comprising the clan. He had considerable authority over his sister's children. He would scold them and frequently ducked a sister's son in the river. At the same time he assumed the responsibility for their final education and participation in the ceremonies and assisted them in the accumulation of robes and horses for ceremonial purchases. He would urge his sister's sons to fast during the ceremonies and would see that they came out. He would tell his sister's sons that the people of the other clans would tease them if his clan was not well represented. He would take his sister's son with him on war expeditions to teach him success in that enterprise.

The mother's brother began early the training of his sister's sons and daughters in the rites of certain tribal bundles and was assisted by the children's mother. It was believed that some young people would not live to maturity; therefore, it was necessary to begin the instruction early in life so that several would know the rites to prevent the bundles from getting out of the household. Since many tribal bundles, particularly those of the Okipa, descended through the closest related male members of the clan, the mother's brother was an important relative for the perpetuation of the ceremonial office within the household. The rule of inheritance for tribal bundles belonging to the clan was: mother's mother's brother; mother's brother; older brother; sister's male child; sister's daughter's male child. Failure to have a qualified male of the household prepared to perform a specific role in the tribal ceremonies would provoke criticism and lead to eventual relinquishment of the bundle.

Father's sister–brother's child (*ptu'minikE-minuha'kE; ptu'-minikE-koni'kE*).—The Mandan speak of the father's sister as a "little grandmother." She was a respect relative by virtue of her possession of certain rights in her brother's bundles. She helped her mother when a brother's child was born and was invariably the one called upon to name a female child, supplying a name associated with a bundle owned in common with her brother.

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back to the village. Economic training came largely from his father and the older men of the lodge. If he were inclined to be lazy, his mother would talk to him, while her brother would shame him and accuse him of bringing disgrace to the clan. 861 868 562

A boy was taught to begin fasting when he was eight or nine years of age. The parents would tell him of the benefits he would receive and cite the various eminent men of the village who had attained their position from this practice. The mother's brother and his older brothers would give him goods to take into the Okipa to present to some man of his father's clan and designate the person entitled to the gift. An older brother planning to fast would bring a younger brother to the Okipa ceremony and instruct him, sending him home when he thought he had been there long enough, while the father would give him some small article from his ceremonial bundle to wear, thinking it would help to get a "vision." 861 869 785

A lodge "grandfather" contributed a great deal to a boy's education. He would make toy bows and arrows and teach him to use them. If he had a fish trap, his grandsons did much of the work of carrying willows to the bank for weaving into sections for the walls, and he would permit them to bail the fish out of the trap. He would teach them games, especially techniques and skills which would be useful in warfare, and tell them stories. Using rivalry between the moieties, these old men who were too old to hunt would arrange the boys ten years and younger on sides and teach them to use shields for their protection, shooting at each other with arrows on the blunt ends of which a ball of mud or wrapped hide had been attached. 868 616

Not to be discounted in the training of a young Mandan boy or girl was the informal education they received by living in intimate contact with the entire village population, observing the conduct of others, and being kept informed of contemplated group action by the village "criers" who announced each decision of the village leaders. He learned that he must treat different relatives in various ways and that they would laugh at him if he did not. Learning that he was expected to treat different relatives the same way his brothers did, he imitated his older brothers unconsciously and followed their advice. 861 867

A girl's education was essentially the same as a boy's except 861 562 602

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up by death or divorce; some fathers were in disrepute, having conducted an unsuccessful war expedition. An old man of a boy's lodge, one who had belonged to many societies, learning in the village that there was talk of buying the youngest society, would encourage his grandson to join and would help him accumulate the goods used for the purchase.

Joining an age-grade society for the first time as a boy, he encountered a "father-son" relationship which had heretofore applied only to his own household. He was selected by a member who was of his father's clan, and the initiate addressed him as "father" during all the proceedings preliminary to the formal purchase; he learned that the other two or three boys his ceremonial "father" had selected were likewise based on a "father-son" relationship. This "father-son" relationship, extending outside his own household, formally instituted when making his first purchase into a society, became the basis of his behavior in buying and selling societies and ceremonies for the rest of his life.

FASTING AND FIRST WAR EXPEDITIONS

Fasting during the Okipa ceremony marked the introduction of the boy to status in the tribe as a whole and was first instituted at the age of eight or nine, when the people of all the villages were assembled for this annual event. The first fasting was of short duration. The fasting periods increased until a boy reached the age of seventeen or eighteen, when he was expected to fast for the entire duration of the Okipa ceremony and to drag buffalo skulls or be suspended by means of thongs inserted under the skin. Visions were not induced each time one fasted; neither were they expected.

It was believed that one's social personality was determined by sacred beings before the birth of the individual and that fasting was a means of renewing these former instructions that were temporarily forgotten while being born and cared for in the village. It was also believed that in the universe there were many sacred people who would adopt as a "son" those who fasted frequently and made offerings to them or who gave feasts to the sacred bundles of the village. A young man was taught to consult not only his own father but all men of his father's clan on matters of a sacred character. If one's sister's son seemed neg-

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785 lectful and took little interest in securing a "guardian spirit,"
881 the mother's brother would tease him and tell him he was bring-
869 ing dishonor to his clan and suggest that, to be rich and honored, he must begin fasting. He would collect goods for his sister's son and instruct him that he should go out on the hills and fast, using the goods on his return to pay his "clan father" for interpreting the dream. The mother's brother also supervised the fasting of the young boys of ten to fourteen years of age, selecting an isolated place at a short distance from the village where the boys were sheltered in a temporary brush lodge and instructed in the proper procedures for inducing visions.

869 Children acquired an attitude of respect for the sacred ob-
718 jects of the lodge while young, first by being scolded for playing near the platform on which the bundles were kept, and later by observation of a fixed ritualistic behavior by the parents when the bundles were opened. They were taught that the bundles "protected" them until they were old enough to own "gods" of their own and were informed that their success was in direct proportion to the number and potency of "gods" owned. Children who would inherit or assist in the performance of certain tribal bundle rites received special training beginning when they were ten or twelve years of age. They were also expected to fast often and establish personal bundles based on heir supernatural experiences.

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701 war expeditions. One would conclude from an examination of the mythology that a young man, after his first experience with
726 the supernatural, organized a war expedition immediately and served as leader. In examining the war records of a number of Mandan, it was found that none would have followed a young man receiving his first vision experience and that, even as a member of a recognized war leader's party, he would be "camp tender," bringing wood and water to the camp, preparing the food, and waiting on the leader during the performance of the rites appertaining to warfare. When he was alert and anticipated the needs of the leader and was not lazy, he was promoted to scout and in company with others of that rank was sent out ahead of the main party each morning to look for the enemy or horses. It was while serving as scout that a young man received

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Chapter V

PERSONAL BUNDLES AND VISION EXPERIENCES

778 POSSESSION of tribal bundles inherited from the preceding generation was not the good fortune of all men and women.
428 Some were unable to acquire hereditary tribal bundles because they were not eligible either through birth or through marriage. Since the oldest son usually inherited his parents' bundle or bundles through the mother's lineage, younger sons and the daughters could, at most, hold partial rights through assistance in the transfer ceremonies and later became the titular bundle-owner should the older brother die. There are numerous instances of bundle transfers to a daughter and son-in-law in cases where there were no sons, providing the daughter and family were occupying her parents' lodge and especially when tribal custom prescribed clan inheritance of the bundle.

787 All males and females, regardless of bundles then owned or expected to be inherited at a later date, sought personal powers
864 of the supernatural during their younger years. In exceptional
785 instances the quest of supernatural power was continued until forty-five or fifty years of age. Fasting began at eight or nine, the parents recommending fasting and pointing out distinguished men who had been successful because of visions acquired through that practice. Parents never scolded or urged a son to fast. It was felt that a child's reputation was predetermined by the supernatural and that he would learn his destiny through the desire to fast. Parents would repeat their own experiences with the supernatural, either vision-inspired or through purchase. Small boys would be advised to fast a day or two during the Okipa ceremony to begin with and extend the length of their fasting at subsequent performances of that ceremony. Only four occasions provided formalized fasting. These were: during the Okipa ceremony, while trapping eagles, while

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on war expeditions, and during the summer buffalo hunt. Of these four, only during one, the Okipa ceremony, was fasting done within the village. This is in sharp contrast with the Hidatsa custom of fasting during many bundle-transfer ceremonies. Crows Heart preferred to fast away from the village, thinking that women were less inclined to conform to tribal custom, which made dreams hard to get.

A man who advised and instructed his own sons in the benefits to be attained from fasting would be abusive with his sister's sons whom he did not believe were making enough effort to secure supernatural guardians. He would use the argument that it would enhance the prestige of the clan. He would talk of an occasion when other young men would be fasting in the Okipa and state that he would expect the "younger brother" to be there, and he would give him goods to pay the officers for that privilege. The older male members of the various clans were especially watchful to see that the sections reserved for the clans were well filled. The other clans laughed at those who had only a few fasting during the ceremony.

Not all who fasted either alone beyond the village limits or during the Okipa did so with the expectation of having a vision. Nor were visions received each time. Self-privation was believed to please the supernatural, and both individual and general well-being was the natural consequence. Although boys began to fast at the age of eight or nine because they were advised to, the serious seeking of guardian spirits or vision experiences was not made until the property-owning age was reached and shortly after marriage.

Three methods were employed in gaining supernatural experiences. Some would fast in various ways; others would inflict torture; and still others would make presents of valued property. Of the three, offering of valued goods was considered the hardest to do, since it required much work to amass the goods.

Self-torture administered during the Okipa ceremony was more severe than that practiced in any of the Hidatsa ceremonies; otherwise the customs of the two tribes differed little as to severity of the measures employed. The father's clansmen prepared the young man for the torture feature by securing and inserting the thongs. Suspension of the one tortured was not em-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ents' bundle collectively and designated one of their number, generally the oldest son, to be the custodian. A family having only daughters sold to the son-in-law providing he had been successful in warfare and had removed the mother-in-law taboo. 778 425 428 614

Unlike the Hidatsa, where bundle transfers were vision inspired, the Mandan seem to have placed greater emphasis on the personality and interests of the one to receive a tribal bundle. One owning an important bundle and getting along in years would frequently suggest to a younger person that he should buy into the bundle rites. The period of preparation was prolonged and frequently extended over several years. Since bundle rights could be sold four times, there were usually a number of people receiving instructions simultaneously. New bundles were made up for those buying part of the rites, while the original bundle was retained for the nearest relatives. When feasts were given to the bundle, all those having any rights in the bundle or related bundle rites were entitled to attend. This practice extended the ritualistic lore to many persons outside the immediate bundle-owner's family and probably explains why so much of the traditional lore was preserved through the smallpox epidemic of 1837. So far as it was possible to determine, the number of tribal bundle rites was not materially reduced during the nineteenth century. 778 425 869

The personal bundles constitute another important group of sacred objects. These were individually owned and were rarely inherited. The bundle was assembled after receiving a vision from some supernatural being, instructing him to assemble a bundle which would bring certain benefits to the individual. Unlike the tribal bundles, a buffalo skull was not a part of the bundle, and there were no sacred myths. There was a sacred song and a prescribed rule of behavior to be followed when the bundle was open. An unusually successful individual would sometimes sell his bundle to a son about to leave on a war expedition. These bundles, however, were rarely sold and were usually put away when the original owner died. 778 787

Both men and women had personal bundles. Women usually fasted less frequently and had only one bundle; usually the guardian spirit promised her a long life and the right to cure. Men fasted frequently and were recognized for the number of 778 554

832 repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men,
834 who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young
men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on
461 the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to
526 hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times
they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback,
and performing warlike manoeuvres; they have also a favorite
game which occupies much of their time.

512 [328] . . . this is the first work performed by the women in the
515 morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed
themselves in the Missourie. . . . every family being provided
415 with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh.
177 Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to
771 say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those
574 earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest
kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come
in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the
contents.

231 . . . . . Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed
437 in the meadow but never allowed them to be for a moment out of
648 his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them.
We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles,
for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco.

439 [329] It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail
upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger
has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first
village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many
439 European articles as they can, [330] particularly arms and ammuni-
609 tion. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each
other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have
578 often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death
● 569 of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also
to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great
distance. The Pawnees, also, with whom the Mandanes formerly
lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies.
Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and every-
one has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

675 We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the
673 landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut
[577] in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect
security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

[p. 384(C)]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

up by death or divorce; some fathers were in disrepute, having conducted an unsuccessful war expedition. An old man of a boy's lodge, one who had belonged to many societies, learning in the village that there was talk of buying the youngest society, would encourage his grandson to join and would help him accumulate the goods used for the purchase.

Joining an age-grade society for the first time as a boy, he encountered a "father-son" relationship which had heretofore applied only to his own household. He was selected by a member who was of his father's clan, and the initiate addressed him as "father" during all the proceedings preliminary to the formal purchase; he learned that the other two or three boys his ceremonial "father" had selected were likewise based on a "father-son" relationship. This "father-son" relationship, extending outside his own household, formally instituted when making his first purchase into a society, became the basis of his behavior in buying and selling societies and ceremonies for the rest of his life.

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7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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These people living in a climate where they suffer from cold in the severity of their winters, have very naturally reversed our ideas of Heaven and Hell. The latter they describe to be a country very far to the north, of barren and hideous aspect, and covered with eternal snows and ice. The torments of this freezing place they describe as most excruciating; whilst Heaven they suppose to be in a warmer and delightful latitude, where nothing is felt but the keenest enjoyment, and where the country abounds in buffaloes and other luxuries of life. The Great or Good Spirit they believe dwells in the former place for the purpose of there meeting those who have offended him; increasing the agony of their sufferings, by being himself present, administering the penalties. The Bad or Evil Spirit they at the same time suppose to reside in Paradise, still tempting the happy; and those who have gone to the regions of punishment they believe to be tortured for a time proportioned to the amount of their transgressions, and that they are then to be transferred to the land of the happy, where they are again liable to the temptations of the Evil Spirit, and answerable again at a future period for their new offences. 771

Such is the religious creed of the Mandans, and for the purpose of appeasing the Good and Evil Spirits, and to secure their entrance into those "fields Elysian," or beautiful hunting grounds, do the young men subject themselves to the horrid and sickening cruelties to be described in the following pages.

There are other three distinct objects (yet to be named) for which these religious ceremonies are held, which are as follow:— 796

First, they are held annually as a celebration of the event of the subsiding of the Flood, which they call *Mee-nee-ro-ka-ha-sha*, (sinking down or settling of the waters.)

Secondly, for the purpose of dancing what they call, *Bel-lohck-na-pic* (the bull-dance); to the strict observance of which they attribute the coming of buffaloes to supply them with food during the season; and

Thirdly and lastly, for the purpose of conducting all the young men of the tribe, as they annually arrive to the age of manhood, through an ordeal of privation and torture, which, while it is supposed to harden their muscles and prepare them for extreme endurance, enables the chiefs who are spectators to the scene, to decide upon their comparative bodily strength and ability to endure the extreme privations and sufferings that often fall to the lots of Indian warriors; and that they may decide who is the most hardy and best able to lead a war-party in case of extreme exigency. 796 881

This part of the ceremony, as I have just witnessed it, is truly shocking to behold, and will almost stagger the belief of the world when they read o it. The scene is too terrible and too revolting to be seen or to be told, were it not an essential part of a whole, which will be new to the civilized world, and therefore worth their knowing. 000

The bull-dance, and many other parts of these ceremonies are exceed-

796 it may be sacrificed to the water; for he says, "if this is not done, there will be another flood, and no one will be saved, as it was with such tools that the big canoe was made."

Having visited every lodge or wigwam in the village, during the day, and having received such a present at each, as a hatchet, a knife, &c. (which is undoubtedly always prepared and ready for the occasion), he returned at evening and deposited them in the *medicine-lodge*, where they remained until the afternoon of the last day of the ceremony, when, as the final or closing scene, they were thrown into the river in a deep place, from a bank thirty feet high, and in presence of the whole village; from whence they can never be recovered, and where they were, undoubtedly, *sacrificed* to the Spirit of the Water.

796 During the first night of this strange character in the village, no one could tell where he slept; and every person, both old and young, and dogs, ●881 and all living things were kept within doors, and dead silence reigned every where. On the next morning at sunrise, however, he made his appearance again, and entered the *medicine-lodge;* and at his heels (in "*Indian file,*" *i. e.* single file, one following in another's tracks) all the young men who were candidates for the self-tortures which were to be inflicted, and for the honours that were to be bestowed by the chiefs on those who could most manfully endure them. There were on this occasion about fifty young men who entered the lists, and as they went into the sacred lodge, each one's body was chiefly naked, and covered with clay of different colours; some were red, others were yellow, and some were covered with white clay, giving them the appearance of white men. Each one of them carried in his right hand his *medicine-bag*—on his left arm, his shield of the bull's hide—in his left hand, his bow and arrows, with his quiver slung on his back.

When all had entered the lodge, they placed themselves in reclining postures around its sides, and each one had suspended over his head his respective weapons and *medicine*, presenting altogether, one of the most wild and picturesque scenes imaginable.

Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (the first or only man) was in the midst of them, and having lit and smoked his medicine-pipe for their success; and having addressed them in a short speech, stimulating and encouraging them to trust to the Great Spirit for His protection during the severe ordeal they were about to pass through; he called into the lodge an old medicine or mystery-man, whose body was painted yellow, and whom he appointed master of ceremonies during this occasion, whom they denominated in their language *O-kee-pah Ka-se-kah* (keeper or conductor of the ceremonies). He was appointed, and the authority passed by the presentation of the medicine-pipe, on which they consider hangs all the power of holding and conducting all these rites.

After this delegated authority had thus passed over to the medicine-man; Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah shook hands with him, and bade him good

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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bye, saying "that he was going back to the mountains in the west, from whence he should assuredly return in just a year from that time, to open the lodge again." He then went out of the lodge, and passing through the village, took formal leave of the chiefs in the same manner, and soon disappeared over the bluffs from whence he came. No more was seen of this surprising character during the occasion; but I shall have something yet to say of him and his strange office before I get through the Letter.

To return to the lodge,—the medicine or mystery-man just appointed, and who had received his injunctions from Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah, was left sole conductor and keeper; and according to those injunctions, it was his duty to lie by a small fire in the centre of the lodge, with his medicine-pipe in his hand, crying to the Great Spirit incessantly, watching the young men, and preventing entirely their escape from the lodge, and all communication whatever with people outside, for the space of four days and nights, during which time they were not allowed to *eat*, to *drink*, or to *sleep*, preparatory to the excruciating self-tortures which they were to endure on the fourth day.

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I mentioned that I had made four paintings of these strange scenes, and the first one exhibits the interior of the medicine-lodge at this moment; with the young men all reclining around its sides, and the conductor or mystery-man lying by the fire, crying to the Great Spirit (PLATE 66). It was just at this juncture that I was ushered into this sacred temple of their worship, with my companions, which was, undoubtedly, the first time that their devotions had ever been trespassed upon by the presence of pale faces; and in this instance had been brought about in the following strange and unexpected manner.

I had most luckily for myself, painted a full-length portrait of this great magician or high-priest, but a day previous to the commencement of the ceremonies (in which I had represented him in the performance of some of his mysteries), with which he had been so exceedingly pleased as well as astonished (as "he could see its eyes move"), that I must needs be, in his opinion, deeply skilled in magic and mysteries, and well-entitled to a respectable rank in the craft, to which I had been at once elevated by the unanimous voice of the doctors, and regularly initiated, and styled *Te-ho-pee-nee-wash-ee-waska-pooska*, the *white medicine* (or Spirit) *painter*.

With this very honourable degree which had just been conferred upon me, I was standing in front of the medicine-lodge early in the morning, with my companions by my side, endeavouring to get a peep, if possible, into its sacred interior; when this *master of ceremonies*, guarding and conducting its secrets, as I before described, came out of the door and taking me with a firm *professional* affection by the arm, led me into this *sanctum sanctorum*, which was strictly guarded from, even a peep or a gaze from the vulgar, by a vestibule of eight or ten feet in length, guarded with a double screen or door, and two or three dark and frowning centinels with spears

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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796 over him, and his body being covered with grease, took instantly a different hue. He seemed heart-broken at this signal disgrace, and commenced crying most vehemently, when, *a l'instant*, another caught his *wand* from his hand, and broke it across her knee. It was snatched for by others, who broke it still into bits, and then threw them at him. His power was now gone—his bodily strength was exhausted, and he made a bolt for the prairie—he dashed through the crowd, and made his way through the piquets on the back part of the village, where were placed for the purpose, an hundred or more women and girls, who escorted him as he ran on the prairie for half a mile or more, beating him with sticks, and stones, and dirt, and kicks, and cuffs, until he was at length seen escaping from their clutches, and making the best of his retreat over the prairie bluffs, from whence he first appeared.

At the moment of this signal victory, and when all eyes lost sight of him as he disappeared over the bluffs, the whole village united their voices in shouts of satisfaction. The bull-dance then stopped, and preparations were instantly made for the commencement of the cruelties which were to take place within the lodge, leaving us to draw, from what had just transpired, the following beautiful moral :—

That in the midst of their religious ceremonies, the Evil Spirit (O-kee-hee-de) made his entrée for the purpose of doing mischief, and of disturbing their worship—that he was held in check, and defeated by the superior influence and virtue of the *medicine-pipe*, and at last, driven in disgrace out of the village, by the very part of the community whom he came to abuse.

796 At the close of this exciting scene, preparations were made, as above stated, by the return of the master of ceremonies and musicians to the medicine-lodge, where also were admitted at the same time a number of men, who were to be instruments of the cruelties to be inflicted; and also the chief and doctors of the tribe, who were to look on, and bear witness to, and decide upon, the comparative degree of fortitude, with which the young men sustain themselves in this most extreme and excruciating ordeal. The chiefs having seated themselves on one side of the lodge, dressed out in their robes and splendid head-dresses—the band of music seated and arranged themselves in another part; and the old master of ceremonies having placed himself in front of a small fire in the centre of the lodge, with his "big pipe" in his hands, and having commenced smoking to the Great Spirit, with all possible vehemence for the success of these aspirants, presented the subject for the third picture, which they call "*pohk-hong*," the cutting scene (PLATE 68). Around the sides of the lodge are seen, still reclining, as I have before mentioned, a part of the group, whilst others of them have passed the ordeal of self-tortures, and have been removed out of the lodge; and others still are seen in the very act of submitting to them, which were inflicted in the following manner:—After having removed the *sanctissimus sanctorum*, or little scaffold, of which I before spoke, and having

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removed also the buffalo and human skulls from the floor, and attached them to the posts of the lodge; and two men having taken their positions near the middle of the lodge, for the purpose of inflicting the tortures—the one with the scalping-knife, and the other with the bunch of splints (which I have before mentioned) in his hand; one at a time of the young fellows, already emaciated with fasting, and thirsting, and waking, for nearly four days and nights, advanced from the side of the lodge, and placed himself on his hands and feet, or otherwise, as best suited for the performance of the operation, where he submitted to the cruelties in the following manner:—An inch or more of the flesh on each shoulder, or each breast was taken up between the thumb and finger by the man who held the knife in his right hand; and the knife, which had been ground sharp on both edges, and then hacked and notched with the blade of another, to make it produce as much pain as possible, was forced through the flesh below the fingers, and being withdrawn, was followed with a splint or skewer, from the other, who held a bunch of such in his left hand, and was ready to force them through the wound. There were then two cords lowered down from the top of the lodge (by men who were placed on the lodge outside, for the purpose), which were fastened to these splints or skewers, and they instantly began to haul him up; he was thus raised until his body was suspended from the ground where he rested, until the knife and a splint were passed through the flesh or integuments in a similar manner on each arm below the shoulder (over the *brachialis externus*), below the elbow (over the *extensor carpi radialis*), on the thighs (over the *vastus externus*), and below the knees (over the *peroneus*).

In some instances they remained in a reclining position on the ground until this painful operation was finished, which was performed, in all instances, exactly on the same parts of the body and limbs; and which, in its progress, occupied some five or six minutes.

Each one was then instantly raised with the cords, until the weight of his body was suspended by them, and then, while the blood was streaming down their limbs, the bystanders hung upon the splints each man's appropriate shield, bow and quiver, &c.; and in many instances, the skull of a buffalo with the horns on it, was attached to each lower arm and each lower leg, for the purpose, probably, of preventing by their great weight, the struggling, which might otherwise have taken place to their disadvantage whilst they were hung up.

When these things were all adjusted, each one was raised higher by the cords, until these weights all swung clear from the ground, leaving his feet, in most cases, some six or eight feet above the ground. In this plight they at once became appalling and frightful to look at—the flesh, to support the weight of their bodies, with the additional weights which were attached to them, was raised six or eight inches by the skewers; and their heads sunk forward on the breasts, or thrown backwards, in a much more frightful condition, according to the way in which they were hung up.

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The unflinching fortitude, with which every one of them bore this part of the torture surpassed credulity; each one as the knife was passed through his flesh sustained an unchangeable countenance; and several of them, seeing me making sketches, beckoned me to look at their faces, which I watched through all this horrid operation, without being able to detect anything but the pleasantest smiles as they looked me in the eye, while I could hear the knife rip through the flesh, and feel enough of it myself, to start involuntary and uncontroullable tears over my cheeks.

When raised to the condition above described, and completely suspended by the cords, the sanguinary hands, through which he had just passed, turned back to perform a similar operation on another who was ready, and each one in his turn passed into the charge of others, who instantly introduced him to a new and improved stage of their refinements in cruelty.

Surrounded by imps and demons as they appear, a dozen or more, who seem to be concerting and devising means for his exquisite agony, gather around him, when one of the number advances towards him in a sneering manner, and commences turning him around with a pole which he brings in his hand for the purpose. This is done in a gentle manner at first; but gradually increased, when the brave fellow, whose proud spirit can controul its agony no longer, burst out in the most lamentable and heart-rending cries that the human voice is capable of producing, crying forth a prayer to the Great Spirit to support and protect him in this dreadful trial; and continually repeating his confidence in his protection. In this condition he is continued to be turned, faster and faster—and there is no hope of escape from it, nor chance for the slightest relief, until by fainting, his voice falters, and his struggling ceases, and he hangs, apparently, a still and lifeless corpse! When he is, by turning, gradually brought to this condition, which is generally done within ten or fifteen minutes, there is a close scrutiny passed upon him among his tormentors, who are checking and holding each other back as long as the least struggling or tremour can be discovered, lest he should be removed before he is (as they term it) "entirely dead."

When brought to this alarming and most frightful condition, and the turning has gradually ceased, as his voice and his strength have given out, leaving him to hang entirely still, and apparently lifeless; when his tongue is distended from his mouth, and his *medicine-bag*, which he has affectionately and superstitiously clung to with his left hand, has dropped to the ground; the signal is given to the men on top of the lodge, by gently striking the cord with the pole below, when they very gradually and carefully lower him to the ground.

In this helpless condition he lies, like a loathsome corpse to look at, though in the keeping (as they call it) of the Great Spirit, whom he trusts will protect him, and enable him to get up and walk away. As soon as he is lowered to the ground thus, one of the bystanders advances, and pulls out the two splints or pins from the breasts and shoulders, thereby disengaging

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796 him from the cords by which he has been hung up; but leaving all the others with their weights, &c. hanging to his flesh.

●881 In this condition he lies for six or eight minutes, until he gets strength to rise and move himself, for no one is allowed to assist or offer him aid, as he is here enjoying the most valued privilege which a Mandan can boast of, that of "trusting his life to the keeping of the Great Spirit," in this time of extreme peril.

796 As soon as he is seen to get strength enough to rise on his hands and
881 feet, and drag his body around the lodge, he crawls with the weights still hanging to his body, to another part of the lodge, where there is another
304 Indian sitting with a hatchet in his hand, and a dried buffalo skull before him; and here, in the most earnest and humble manner, by holding up the little finger of his left hand to the Great Spirit, he expresses to Him, in a speech of a few words, his willingness to give it as a sacrifice; when he lays it on the dried buffalo skull, where the other chops it off near the hand, with a blow of the hatchet!

Nearly all of the young men whom I saw passing this horrid ordeal, gave in the above manner, the little finger of the left hand; and I saw also several, who immediately afterwards (and apparently with very little concern or emotion), with a similar speech, extended in the same way, the *fore*-finger of the same hand, and that too was struck off; leaving on the left hand only the two middle fingers and the thumb; all which they deem absolutely essential for holding the bow, the only weapon for the left hand.

One would think that this mutilation had thus been carried quite far enough; but I have since examined several of the head chiefs and dignitaries of the tribe, who have also given, in this manner, the little finger of the right hand, which is considered by them to be a much greater sacrifice than both of the others; and I have found also a number of their most famous men, who furnish me incontestible proof, by five or six corresponding scars on each arm, and each breast, and each leg, that they had so many times in their lives submitted to this almost incredible operation, which seems to be optional with them; and the oftener they volunteer to go through it, the more famous they become in the estimation of their tribe.

No bandages are applied to the fingers which have been amputated, nor any arteries taken up; nor is any attention whatever, paid to them or the other wounds; but they are left (as they say) "for the Great Spirit to cure, who will surely take good care of them." It is a remarkable fact (which I learned from a close inspection of their wounds from day to day) that the bleeding is but very slight and soon ceases, probably from the fact of their extreme exhaustion and debility, caused by want of sustenance and sleep, which checks the natural circulation, and admirably at the same time prepares them to meet the severity of these tortures without the same degree of sensibility and pain, which, under other circumstances, might result in inflammation and death.

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During the whole of the time of this cruel part of these most extraordinary inflictions, the chiefs and dignitaries of the tribe are looking on, to decide who are the hardiest and "stoutest hearted"—who can hang the longest by his flesh before he faints, and who will be soonest up, after he has been down; that they may know whom to appoint to lead a war-party, or place at the most honourable and desperate post. The four old men are incessantly beating upon the sacks of water and singing the whole time, with their voices strained to the highest key, vaunting forth, for the encouragement of the young men, the power and efficacy of the *medicine-pipe*, which has disarmed the monster O-kee-hee-de (or Evil Spirit), and driven him from the village, and will be sure to protect them and watch over them through their present severe trial.

As soon as six or eight had passed the ordeal as above described, they were led out of the lodge, with their weights hanging to their flesh, and dragging on the ground, to undergo another, and a still more appalling mode of suffering in the centre of the village, and in presence of the whole nation, in the manner as follows:—

The signal for the commencement of this part of the cruelties was given by the old master of ceremonies, who again ran out as in the buffalo-dance, and leaning against the big canoe, with his *medicine-pipe* in his hand, began to cry. This was done several times in the afternoon, as often as there were six or eight who had passed the ordeal just described within the lodge, who were then taken out in the open area, in the presence of the whole village, with the buffalo skulls and other weights attached to their flesh, and dragging on the ground! There were then in readiness, and prepared for the purpose, about twenty young men, selected of equal height and equal age; with their bodies chiefly naked, with beautiful (and similar) head-dresses of war-eagles' quills, on their heads, and a wreath made of willow boughs held in the hands between them, connecting them in a chain or circle in which they ran around the *big canoe*, with all possible speed, raising their voices in screams and yelps to the highest pitch that was possible, and keeping the curb or big canoe in the centre, as their nucleus.

Then were led forward the young men who were further to suffer, and being placed at equal distances apart, and outside of the ring just described, each one was taken in charge of two athletic young men, fresh and strong, who stepped up to him, one on each side, and by wrapping a broad leather strap around his wrists, without tying it, grasped it firm underneath the hand, and stood prepared for what they call *Eh-ke-nah-ka-nah-pick* (the last race, PLATE 69). This, the spectator looking on would suppose was most correctly named, for he would think it was the last race they could possibly run in this world.

In this condition they stand, pale and ghastly, from abstinence and loss of blood, until all are prepared, and the word is given, when all start and run around, outside of the other ring; and each poor fellow, with his weights

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dragging on the ground, and his furious conductors by his side, who hurry him forward by the wrists, struggles in the desperate emulation to run longer without "dying" (as they call it) than his comrades, who are fainting around him and sinking down, like himself, where their bodies are dragged with all possible speed, and often with their faces in the dirt. In the commencement of this dance or race they all start at a moderate pace, and their speed being gradually increased, the pain becomes so excruciating that their languid and exhausted frames give out, and they are dragged by their wrists until they are disengaged from the weights that were attached to their flesh, and this must be done by such violent force as to tear the flesh out with the splint, which (as they say) can never be pulled out endwise, without greatly offending the Great Spirit and defeating the object for which they have thus far suffered. The splints or skewers which are put through the breast and the shoulders, take up a part of the pectoral or trapezius muscle, which is necessary for the support of the great weight of their bodies, and which, as I have before mentioned, are withdrawn as soon as he is lowered down—but all the others, on the legs and arms, seem to be very ingeniously passed through the flesh and integuments without taking up the muscle, and even these, to be broken out, require so strong and so violent a force that most of the poor fellows fainted under the operation, and when they were freed from the last of the buffalo skulls and other weights, (which was often done by some of the bystanders throwing the weight of their bodies on to them as they were dragging on the ground) they were in every instance dropped by the persons who dragged them, and their bodies were left, appearing like nothing but a mangled and a loathsome corpse! At this strange and frightful juncture, the two men who had dragged them, fled through the crowd and away upon the prairie, as if they were guilty of some enormous crime, and were fleeing from summary vengeance.

Each poor fellow, having thus patiently and manfully endured the privations and tortures devised for him, and (in this last struggle with the most appalling effort) torn himself loose from them and his tormentors, he lies the second time, in the "keeping (as he terms it) of the Great Spirit," to whom he issues his repeated prayers, and entrusts his life: and in whom he reposes the most implicit confidence for his preservation and recovery. As an evidence of this, and of the high value which these youths set upon this privilege, there is no person, not a relation or a chief of the tribe, who is allowed, or who would dare, to step forward to offer an aiding hand, even to save his life; for not only the rigid customs of the nation, and the pride of the individual who has entrusted his life to the keeping of the Great Spirit, would sternly reject such a tender; but their superstition, which is the strongest of all arguments in an Indian community, would alone, hold all the tribe in fear and dread of interfering, when they consider they have so good a reason to believe that the Great Spirit has undertaken the special care and protection of his devoted worshippers.

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In this "last race," which was the struggle that finally closed their sufferings, each one was dragged until he fainted, and was thus left, looking more like the dead than the living: and thus each one laid, until, by the aid of the Great Spirit, he was in a few minutes seen gradually rising, and at last reeling and staggering, like a drunken man, through the crowd (which made way for him) to his wigwam, where his friends and relatives stood ready to take him into hand and restore him.

In this frightful scene, as in the buffalo-dance, the whole nation was assembled as spectators, and all raised the most piercing and violent yells and screams they could possibly produce, to drown the cries of the suffering ones, that no heart could even be touched with sympathy for them. I have mentioned before, that six or eight of the young men were brought from the medicine-lodge at a time, and when they were thus passed through this shocking ordeal, the medicine-men and the chiefs returned to the interior, where as many more were soon prepared, and underwent a similar treatment; and after that another batch, and another, and so on, until the whole number, some forty-five or fifty had run in this sickening circle, and, by leaving their weights, had opened the flesh for honourable scars. I said *all*, but there was one poor fellow though (and I shudder to tell it), who was dragged around and around the circle, with the skull of an elk hanging to the flesh on one of his legs,—several had jumped upon it, but to no effect, for the splint was under the sinew, which could not be broken. The dragging became every instant more and more furious, and the apprehensions for the poor fellow's life, apparent by the piteous howl which was set up for him by the multitude around; and at last the medicine-man ran, with his medicine-pipe in his hand, and held them in check, when the body was dropped, and left upon the ground, with the skull yet hanging to it. The boy, who was an extremely interesting and fine-looking youth, soon recovered his senses and his strength, looking deliberately at his torn and bleeding limbs; and also with the most pleasant smile of defiance, upon the misfortune which had now fallen to his peculiar lot, crawled through the crowd (instead of walking, which they are never again at liberty to do until the flesh is torn out, and the article left) to the prairie, and over which, for the distance of half a mile, to a sequestered spot, without any attendant, where he laid three days and three nights, yet longer, without food, and praying to the Great Spirit, until suppuration took place in the wound, and by the decaying of the flesh the weight was dropped, and the splint also, which he dare not extricate in another way. At the end of this, he crawled back to the village on his hands and knees, being too much emaciated to walk, and begged for something to eat, which was at once given him, and he was soon restored to health.

These extreme and difficult cases often occur, and I learn that in such instances the youth has it at his option to get rid of the weight that is thus left upon him, in such way as he may choose, and some of those modes are

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far more extraordinary than the one which I have just named. Several of the Traders, who have been for a number of years in the habit of seeing this part of the ceremony, have told me that two years since, when they were looking on, there was one whose flesh on the arms was so strong that the weights could not be left, and he dragged them with his body to the river by the side of the village, where he set a stake fast in the ground on the top of the bank, and fastening cords to it, he let himself half-way down a perpendicular wall of rock, of twenty-five or thirty feet, where the weight of his body was suspended by the two cords attached to the flesh of his arms. In this awful condition he hung for several days, equi-distant from the top of the rock and the deep water below, into which he at last dropped and saved himself by swimming ashore!

I need record no more of these shocking and disgusting instances, of which I have already given enough to convince the world of the correctness of the established fact of the Indian's superior stoicism and power of endurance, although some recent writers have, from motives of envy, from ignorance, or something else, taken great pains to cut the poor Indian short in everything, and in *this*, even as if it were a virtue.

I am ready to accord to them in this particular, the palm; the credit of outdoing anything and everybody, and of enduring more than civilized man ever aspired to or ever thought of. My heart has sickened also with disgust for so abominable and ignorant a custom, and still I stand ready with all my heart, to excuse and forgive them for adhering so strictly to an ancient celebration, founded in superstitions and mysteries, of which they know not the origin, and constituting a material part and feature in the code and forms of their religion.

Reader, I will return with you a moment to the medicine-lodge, which is just to be closed, and then we will indulge in some general reflections upon what has passed, and in what, and for what purposes this strange batch of mysteries has been instituted and perpetuated.

After these young men, who had for the last four days occupied the medicine-lodge, had been operated on, in the manner above described, and taken out of it, the old medicine-man, master of ceremonies, returned, (still crying to the Great Spirit) sole tenant of that sacred place, and brought out the "edged tools," which I before said had been collected at the door of every man's wigwam, to be given as a sacrifice to the water, and leaving the lodge securely fastened, he approached the bank of the river, when all the medicine-men attended him, and all the nation were spectators; and in their presence he threw them from a high bank into very deep water, from which they cannot be recovered, and where they are, correctly speaking, made a sacrifice to the water. This part of the affair took place just exactly at sun-down, and closed the scene, being the end or finale of the *Mandan religious ceremony*.

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daughters called the names of old men and women of the opposite moiety who were to receive presents. After the breakdown of the moiety system, the method of naming varied slightly. Formerly, when the father and mother were of different moieties, the name selected was that of a deceased male of distinction who was of the father's moiety, and the presents were given to men and women of the father's moiety. After the breakdown of the moiety system following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, the clan became the exogamous unit. When the father and mother belonged to clans within the same moiety, the name given was that of a distinguished deceased person of the father's clan, but gifts were given to persons of all the clans except the mother's, which was the assisting group.

Within a few days after returning from a successful war expedition, a young man would usually receive an offer of marriage from the parents of some eligible young woman who had not been married before. He could refuse, but few did. An ambitious young man wishing to establish a good reputation both as a war leader and as a person of distinction in the village needed several wives to assist him in the performance of ceremonies and the purchase of important sacred bundles. Those not eligible to inherit important tribal bundles could purchase the right to participate in important ceremonies, or they could pledge to perform the Okipa and, in recognition of their contribution to these tribal rites, received some sacred object associated with the ceremony to carry when on war expeditions. Social recognition of a man's right to be a war leader was given during these ceremonies when some older man of high status in the village announced while receiving goods that the young man would be lucky in "all that he undertook." Without this sanction by the older men, young warriors would have been unwilling to follow him on war expeditions.

The attainment of the rank of war leader marked an important point in a man's training and altered his relations materially with the people of the village. His opinions were solicited relative to problems of village welfare, and he received presents during ceremonial and social occasions in recognition of his position. He was now responsible for those fighting under his leadership and became the teacher of the skills he had acquired under

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885 others' directions. As the leader of his first war expedition, he
554 was expected to name others with a distinguished war record
701 to serve with him as co-leaders. They would share his rewards and assume their share of the responsibilities. His word was authority in all matters relating to his war expeditions, and, whereas in the past he had accepted the decisions of his leader in disputes appertaining to rewards for striking the enemy or capturing and dividing the spoils, he demanded similar obedience from his group.

554 The Mandan had a highly formalized method of recording
721 war honors, and it was the duty of the war leader to verify their authenticity. He would relate the exploits of his men during social occasions and ceremonies. Those holding war honors were entitled to express them by means of particular decorations. Of
[177] these decorations, the Mandan claim that the practice of wearing eagle feathers was of recent origin and was borrowed from the Sioux.

554 The highest honor was accorded to a man who went out alone
703 and found an enemy whom he killed and scalped. He was authorized to paint one legging black and the other either
628 yellow or white and to paint each half of his shirt in the same
721 manner. He was also permitted to wear a coyote tail at each ankle signifying that he saw an enemy first and afterward "struck" him. He could also wear one eagle feather in his hair and was the recipient of much honor during the scalp dances as long as he lived. The most common motive for going out alone was to revenge a relative, particularly a sibling, when the slayer was known. In such cases, announcement was made in advance that he was leaving on a particular day to find his relative's slayer. Catlin records such an expedition by Four Bears, who went into the Arikara villages near the Grand River at night to avenge the death of his brother.[2] The old Mandan still related this incident in 1930, when the information for this report was collected. The only instance of one man going far
554 from the village and killing one or more persons remembered as
578 occurring during the lifetime of my informants was for revenge.
721 A distinguished war leader's wife ran away with another dis-

837 2. George Catlin, *The Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (London, 1841), pp. 239–40.

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MATURITY AND MIDDLE AGE

885 A man was considered to have reached maturity when, several years after his first marriage, he had assumed most of the responsibility of providing meat for the household and had taken over important ceremonial duties. Marriage introduced him to a new set of relatives with a new pattern of behavior in his daily associations with them. Marriage also introduced his wife to new sets of relations as well as new ceremonial relatives.

561 By the time a young man had reached maturity, he would normally have advanced through at least three age-grade societies. Except for the first society which was owned by the young preadolescent boys, the buyer was expected to bring his wife to the transfer ceremonies. She was expected to give assistance in the preparation of the food and goods used during the society transfer. A man's ceremonial "father" from whom he received paraphernalia and instructions in the lore and rites of the society was a ceremonial "grandfather" to the wife and was entitled to have "intercourse" with her during the transfer ceremonies. The men's societies all followed a common pattern when being transferred. The sellers individually selected young men, not more than four in number and whose fathers were of the seller's clan, to sponsor during the transfer ceremonies. He had the necessary clothing and equipment prepared for his "sons" and gave them individual instructions prior to the meeting of the two groups representing the sellers and buyers.

561 554 The sellers addressed the buyers collectively as "sons," who in turn addressed the sellers as "fathers." All the wives of the buyers were addressed by the sellers as "granddaughters." A man's social status grew in proportion to the number of societies he had owned at one time or another and was especially enhanced if he had kept the same wives who assisted him in all his society purchases. Those who had enjoyed the loyalty of their wives while making many society purchases were especially regarded because they continued the same "father-son" relationship independent of the societies afterward. Crows Heart frequently referred to occasions in later years when he had invited in the men who acted as his sponsors when buying into a society and had given them a meal and little presents.

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437 utilize other decorations, she was obliged to seek another
421 woman entitled to make the particular decoration and buy the
425 right of her.

There was a similar specialization for men. When a young
437 man was found to have an especially good voice which was
heard above the others in the songs of the society dances, he
425 was encouraged to buy singer rights in dances of both a sacred
535 and a secular character. Although they were obliged to make
555 payments either to existing singers or to the owners of bundles, their rewards far exceeded the initial costs. Their training included information relative to the ceremonies that were being performed, and they received recognition comparable to that shown those who had directed a number of successful war expeditions. In council, their authority was as great as those who had directed war parties, summer buffalo hunts, or eagle-trapping expeditions.

555 Those who could tattoo or paint designs appreciated by the
people of the village were highly regarded and received a con-
616 siderable amount of goods for their services. There were usually
531 at least two skilled painters in each village, and they were
789 expected to belong to opposite moieties. A man of one moiety would go to a man of the other moiety to have a robe, shield, or clothing painted either according to his particular inclination or with specific designs of things dreamed of. Each warrior had one or more shields made of buffalo hide taken from around the neck, and these were used universally by the Mandan for protection against arrows and spears until guns became more universal. The designs were believed to offer supernatural protection, and their potency was considered to be enhanced when the design was painted by a man of the opposite moiety, since there would be a payment to the "father" who would pray for the "son's" success. These painters were held responsible for the proper painting of the characters represented in the Okipa and received much property for their services. If they were otherwise sensible men, they enjoyed the same status as those who had been successful in other pursuits.

555 The arrowmakers were highly regarded. Although all males
● 887 usually made arrows, some were employed specially for arrow-
making. These were the older men of the lodge who had passed

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the prime of life and others who, having been crippled either in warfare, hunting, or other active pursuits, were unable to carry out the work normally performed by men. The older men of the lodge usually made the arrows used by the men of the household, and ten arrows complete with heads and feathers had the value of one unpainted robe. Young men of the lodge paid the older men for the right to learn the techniques of arrowmaking. The Mandan in 1929 remembered two men who had been crippled, one when his leg was broken by a wounded buffalo, the other who had had a femur bone shattered by a bullet and who had spent much of their time preparing arrows which they sold.

Another class of people who were highly regarded were the storytellers. The art of storytelling was highly developed; the stories had a variety of themes and were highly formalized. One paying for the right to have a story told was expected to repeat the story after the informer until it was learned in complete detail. The customary way of buying the story was to have a feast and a supply of tobacco mixed with red willow bark prepared before calling the informer in to relate his stories. The stories were of a semisacred character, and many dealt with the exploits of distinguished persons who had once lived in the village or tribe. It was considered improper to relate sacred myths belonging to others unless the informer was an owner in the particular rites, in which instance the buyer was expected to have enough robes and other goods so that each person having rights in the story would receive pay even when only one of their member was relating the story. The actual storytelling was then held at a later time when the informant could be alone with his pupil.

There was considerable traditional lore not actually associated with any ceremony at the time this study was being made. Informants were of the opinion that these myths once were associated with bundle rites now extinct and that the stories had continued as common property of the tribe. These stories have to do with such mythological characters as Corn Silk, Buffalo, First Creator, and the Snakes. Both men and women were storytellers, and they were highly respected as possessors of important tribal lore. They enjoyed intimate con-

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was customary for the clan to meet in the clan leader's lodge and make provisions for the accumulation of goods to be used in the rites. It was believed that a successful ceremony with an abundance of gifts to be given away brought credit to the entire clan.

Moieties were in theory exogamous, but they had ceased to regulate marriage after 1837. Scattercorn explained that, while the Mandan considered those who sat on the same side in the Okipa or in council as brothers, it was considered better to marry into a clan of the same moiety than to marry outside the tribe. Marriages within the clan were disapproved.

The clan was a property-holding group. The major bundles of the Okipa ceremony were held in the WaxikEna clan, which also owned the sacred cedar and controlled the Okipa lodge and sacred turtles. Traditionally, the Shell Robe bundle belonged in the Prairie Chicken clan. Eagle-trapping lodges belonged to the clan of the member building it and remained in the clan when the original owner died. There were two bundles for the Big Bird ceremonies which were known as Black Medicine bundle and Sweet Medicine bundle. The former was inherited in the Prairie Chicken clan and the latter in the Speckled Eagle clan of the same moiety. Each clan was the theoretical custodian of one variety of corn. The WaxikEna clan was custodian of the bluish-green flint corn; the Tamisik had the red corn; the Prairie Chicken had the yellow flint and dent; the Speckled Eagle had the rainbow corn. Crows Heart stated that Hides-and-Eats, an old woman who lived in his lodge, told him that, when she was young, people of one clan were not permitted to raise corn belonging to the other clans without first securing the rights and that each clan claimed to be the preserver of its own corn.

It was the duty of the clan to assist its own members. It was the clan's duty to care for its old people having no blood children. During the smallpox epidemic of 1837, women went through the villages and gathered the orphans of their clan, who were taken into their lodges to be reared. Old people were invited in to be fed and clothed by younger members of their own clan. When returning from a successful hunt, young men would offer meat to the old people who met them at the outskirts of the village. One was expected to offer meat to old people of the same clan without being asked for it.

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give her the best mare taken. She would not refuse him anything he asked of her, and, if he were killed while fighting with the enemy, she was expected to inflict self-torture and dress in mourning. She would assist her brothers in acquiring property needed for the ceremonies. This bond of mutual assistance was not affected by his subsequent marriage. Brothers and sisters were supposed to share in the perpetuation of their parents' ceremonial bundles. In old age, when their respective families were broken up by deaths, brothers would frequently return to the parental lodge. The smallpox epidemic of 1837 left many orphans, and these were taken into households where the females were of the same clan.

Grandfather–grandchild (*tata'xis–ptawi'hąkE*).—The grandfather–grandchild relation was, in general, one of affection. The grandfather would make toys for his grandsons, teach them stories, and watch after them when on summer buffalo hunts, especially when moving camp or while the men and women of middle age were busy butchering and drying meat. Of the large number of persons addressed as "grandfather," his closest relations were those associated with him in the daily life of the household. The lodge grandfather was usually the one to take a grandson to the river early each morning to bathe. He teased his grandson mildly for falling off a horse or for small infractions of tribal custom, but the grandson would not reciprocate, since the grandfather was respected for his knowledge of tribal lore, the enemies he had struck, or the horses he had captured. A young man was expected to respect older people as holy, since in their lifetime they had had experiences with sacred things in the ceremonies.

The grandfather would play with a granddaughter when she was young and teach her stories. When she attained the age of ten years, he would avoid her lest people gossip. Should he come into the lodge and find a granddaughter alone, he would leave immediately.

A grandfather never punished grandchildren, but he would scold them. A grandfather living in the lodge was highly respected and was very helpful in preparing a grandson for ceremonies and war expeditions. If he became cross as he grew old, the grandson generally avoided him. If the grandfather was of

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man who drew his gun when being driven back and was killed by the Black Mouths. Usually it was the duty of one's brothers to revenge a sibling's death, but in this instance siblings took no action. The Black Mouths were believed to be the bravest men of the village. Before making an attack on the enemy, their leaders would stick their lances into the ground which meant that they would not retreat. When on the summer buffalo hunts they received their orders from the leader and were instructed to prevent premature hunting and to see that the party did not break up. Although they endeavored to prevent war parties from leaving the village when there was danger of attack, they inflicted no punishment when an unauthorized war party returned.

It was believed that an individual's influence with sacred things advanced in age. They were consulted on sacred matters and were offered their "sons'" wives frequently during the buffalo ceremonies. Men and women assisted in the disposal of the dead. It was a man's duty to assist a clan sister in the construction of the scaffold for one whose father was of their clan, to superintend the painting and wrapping of the body.

OLD AGE AND DEATH

The old people were respected members of the household. The grandfather would assist the youngsters of the lodge in making toys and in playing their simple games, but he was always held in high regard as the one from whom the child's father had acquired much of his training in sacred matters. Having more time to give to the instruction of the children of the lodge, he would assist them in learning stories if the children were interested in hearing them. The older women assisted the younger women about the lodge and in the gardens but were not expected to do much work.

The older women were organized into two age-grade societies which were sacred in character. Women of advanced middle age joined the Goose Society and, when they had reached the menopause, sold to younger women and bought into the White Buffalo Cow Society.[3] As members of these societies they were respected for their supernatural powers over agriculture and

3. See the chapters on ceremonialism for an account of their origin.

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888 561 562 hunting. Women holding rights in the various Holy Women bundles also met whenever a medicine feast was given. Their rights were individually acquired by assisting their husbands or brothers in the bundle purchase. Some of their number were members of the Goose or the White Buffalo Cow societies.

888 562 The older people performed an important role in the ceremonies so long as they were not too feeble to get around. Women who had assisted others at childbirth became doctors after the menopause and could substitute for a man in a great many of the societies. In many ceremonies they were the medium through which the traditions and bundles were transmitted to a legitimate male heir.

888 785 755 Fasting was generally completed by the time one reached fifty years of age. In case of repeated bad luck or failure to attain a definite goal, fasting for short periods was practiced during a ceremony. When an epidemic of sore eyes broke out at Fishhook Village, one old woman fasted to seek relief from her affliction. Since her eye trouble was cleared up shortly afterward, quite a number of middle-aged and old people fasted to cure the ailment. Calf Woman said that more than half of them got relief.

888 431 787 People who were past middle age and who had been relatively successful all their lives would frequently have bad dreams in which they were being killed and cut up by the enemy or were drowning. It was believed that one could forestall this misfortune by giving away all his property. He would call in those who had been successful and were owners of important tribal bundles to give away his property, consisting of robes and bedding, household utensils, dogs, and horses, until the family was utterly destitute. One doing this would walk through the village repeating the dream. When the bad dream failed to materialize within the designated time, such people were said to be holy and as such were called the "protectors of the village." In appreciation of their sacrifices, each household group was expected to contribute something toward their comfort.

888 421 224 The old people had privately owned game pits and were entitled to the animals found in them. According to tradition, before horses were acquired, pits were widely used and owned by households. Ruins of game pits are still to be seen in consider-